

To my family and my love

“IN DOMINIO SUNT III CARRUCAE ET VI SERUI ET III ANCILLAE”:
UNDERSTANDING FEMALE SLAVES IN EARLY MEDIEVAL
ENGLAND THROUGH DOMESDAY BOOK

The Graduate School of Economics and Social Sciences

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ANKARA

September 2019

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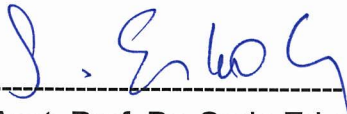
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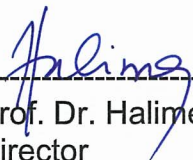
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ABSTRACT

"IN DOMINIO SUNT III CARRUCAE ET VI SERUI ET III ANCILLAE": UNDERSTANDING FEMALE SLAVES IN EARLY MEDIEVAL ENGLAND THROUGH DOMESDAY BOOK

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The aim of this thesis is to provide an insight into the place and role of female slaves in eleventh-century England by examining the records of six counties in Domesday Book. In a general sense, medieval women are portrayed, if they are, as either wives or daughters; otherwise, they are invisible. However, Domesday Book reveals the presence of female slaves in Early Medieval England. They do not seem to be linked to any father or husband, and more interestingly, only female slaves are enumerated with a constant and regular pattern, and separately from the male members of peasantry with a few exceptions of widows. The records of the counties Cheshire, Gloucestershire, Herefordshire, Shropshire, Warwickshire, and Worcestershire are selected and examined due to the fact that they have a greater number of female slaves than the other counties and they are geographically close to each other. Domesday Book offers statistical data of female slaves; however, their position, their duties and potential working areas remain a puzzle to be solved. Therefore, this thesis explores the possible places where slaves,

especially female slaves may have been put to work, based on the number and clues of possible occupations obtained from Domesday Book. In this respect, it manifests that female slaves were active members of Early Medieval English society even though their class and gender may have restricted their life.

Keywords: Domesday Book, Female Slaves, Medieval Women, Gender

ÖZET

“IN DOMINIO SUNT III CARRUCAE ET VI SERUI ET III ANCILLAE”: “DOMESDAY BOOK” ARACILIĞIYLA ERKEN ORTA ÇAĞ İNGİLTERESİ'NDE KADIN KÖLELERİ ANLAMAK

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Tez Danışmanı: Doktor Öğretim Üyesi Paul Latimer

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Bu tezin amacı, İngiltere'deki altı idari bölgeye ait Domesday Book kayıtlarının incelenerek on birinci yüzyıl İngilteresi'nde kadın kölelerin rolü ve yerini açığa çıkarmaktır. Orta Çağ'da kadınlar genel olarak, tasvir edilirse, bir erkeğin ya eşi ya da kızı olarak tasvir edilir; aksi takdirde görünmezdir. Ancak Domesday Book kayıtları, Erken Orta Çağ İngilteresi'nde kadın kölelerin varlığını açıkça ortaya koyar. Ayrıca bu kayıtlarda kadın kölelerden bir erkeğin ne eşi ne de kızı olarak bahsedilir. Daha da ilginç, birkaç dul kadın dışında, sadece kadın köleler hem köylü sınıfının erkek üyelerinden bağımsız hem de düzenli bir şekilde sayılmıştır. Cheshire, Gloucestershire, Herefordshire, Shropshire, Warwickshire ve Worcestershire idari bölgeleri, kayıtlarının diğer bölgelere göre daha fazla kadın köle sayısı sunması ve bu idari bölgelerin coğrafi olarak birbirlerine yakın olması nedeniyle bu araştırma için seçilmiş ve incelenmiştir.

Domesday Book, kadın köleler hakkında sayısal olarak bilgi verir ancak bu kadınların toplumdaki konumları, görevleri ve potansiyel çalışma alanları çözülmesi gereken bir sır olarak kalmıştır. Bu sebeple, bu tez Domesday Book'un sayısal verilerine ve çalışma alanı olarak ipucu veren kayıtlarına dayanarak kölelerin, özellikle kadın kölelerin nerelerde çalıştırılmış olabileceğini araştırır. Bu yüzden, bu tez, sınıfları ve cinsiyetleri kadın kölelerin hayatını kısıtlamış olsa da onların Erken Orta Çağ İngiliz toplumunun aktif üyeleri olduğunu ortaya koyar.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Domesday Book, Kadın Köleler, Orta Çağ'da Kadın, Cinsiyet

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Thesis Statement

This thesis was initiated with the realization of the fact that female slaves are the only group of this gender, who were regularly recorded in Domesday Book. There are few widows and dead widows in the records, yet the enumeration of female slaves manifests that there must have been something different from the others to be recorded in such an important survey. What makes them different? Whether their being a “resource” which was exploited by the owners, or their active and functional position in the society is indeed a profound question that needs to be examined in detail. In order to analyse their importance and functions, slavery as a term and practice is explored.

Slavery’s shape and exercise may change; however, it has retained its existence from very ancient times. On the other hand, the medieval era is thought to be where slavery

was not practiced although slavery is widely acknowledged to have existed in ancient times and in the New World. It is not true. Serfdom and free labour were conspicuously present in the Middle Ages.¹ From this, we can infer that the majority of labourers may be serf or free. Yet, this does not mean that slavery was not exercised. On the contrary, slavery is usually one of the most prevalent components of the history of humanity. Also, slavery is considered very beneficial and important for a society. Its importance and benefit to the society lie of course in its advantage used in every aspect of labour and service. Moreover, some historians tone down slavery in their works by putting forward particular various justifications. We can observe that they put slavery in a position almost necessary for the sake of the society.² Some other historians also profess that slavery was not executed by their own societies; even if it was executed, it was most probably because of the trade with other civilisations.³

¹ William D. Phillips, *Slavery from Roman Times to the Early Transatlantic Trade* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1985), 3.

² Edward Augustus Freeman displays slavery as salvation from the society's contemporary conditions. He touches on Yorkshire streets in which the circumstances are so poor. People could sell themselves as slaves so as to reach some food. Freeman shows this selling oneself as society's self-healing process and mentions that when the conditions ameliorate, good masters could free them. (Edward Augustus Freeman, *The History of the Norman Conquest, vol iv.* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1875–1879), 291-292.) Dorothy Whitelock states slaves could be from different ethnic groups and some of them are obtained from wars. However, she also declares that people may consent to be enslaved in order not to be affected by famine. Moreover, people could be made slaves because of their illegal acts or their failure in fulfilling the responsibilities. (Dorothy Whitelock, *The Beginnings of English Society* (Baltimore, Maryland: Penguin Books, 1962), 111-2.) Both reasons, famine and penalty, seems justifications to normalization of slavery in the society. Also, David Wyatt criticises some medieval historians such as C. Oman, Sir Frank Stenton, R.A. Arnold and John Davies, for disregarding slavery intentionally in their studies. He finds their approach perfunctory even if they mention slavery. (David Wyatt, *Slaves and Warriors in Medieval Britain and Ireland, 800–1200* (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2009), 2.)

³ H. R. Loyn states that Moslems and Scandinavians are the ones who benefit from slave trade although he admits that slave sources are wars, penalties and unfavorable conditions before the Norman Conquest. (H. R. Loyn, *Anglo-Saxon England and the Norman Conquest* (New York: Longman, 1991), 90-1.) Similarly,

The slavery examined in this thesis is primarily the slavery in England after Battle of Hastings which established that William, the Duke of Normandy as the new king of England. To put it more precisely, this thesis's concern is the slaves alluded to in Domesday Book. This should not and does not necessarily mean that slaves are referred in Domesday Book as individuals. On the contrary, they were enumerated as a resource of their masters and/or mistresses. The first idea of collecting information and making a Domesday Book is also thought to aim to reveal who has what before and after the conquest. That is, Domesday Book is thought to be prepared for mainly fiscal motives among others. Regardless of this record's target, Domesday Book is distinctly appreciated by historians for its wide scope and its fast compilation at such an early date, eleventh century. This record includes landowners'—from the king to the far down in the social and economic scale— lands, ploughs and other possessions which were deemed valuable and maybe taxable in the eyes of the commissioners who were the representative of the new government.⁴

It is important to note that both male and female slaves were enumerated in Domesday Book. Slaves are thought of as male, to be exploited in hard works which require great energy and effort. Therefore, male slaves—as well as the ones mentioned Domesday Book—are easily connected to agricultural tasks. Moreover, they are also easily

David A. E. Pelteret states Scandinavians are the primary enslavers in England. However, before Scandinavians' slaving people in England, there is not any indication that Anglo-Saxons do not perform any enslaving activities. (David A. E. Pelteret, *Slavery in Early Mediaeval England* (Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 1995), 70.)

⁴ David Roffe, *Domesday: The Inquest and the Book* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 1-3.

connected to ploughs. However, a plough is not an equivalent indication for a social class that was seen the lowest of all. There must have been many other tasks which were more possible for the slaves.

What about female slaves? There is not a plausible indication suggesting female slaves were not abused in agricultural labour. We can also link female slaves to ploughs although a plough sounds higher for slave standard. On the one hand, it is now widely acknowledged that women are intentionally or unintentionally rarely dealt with and written about in historical documents. On the other hand, it does not seem possible to think that a slave, female or male, was not set to work by his/her master.

There are plenty types of works that can be attributed to female slaves. Works coming to mind straightforwardly are domestic ones in a household, such as cleaning, cooking, and needlework.⁵ However, regarding that Domesday Book presents so many puzzles to solve and hints to discover; we can create new ideas about what female slave may do or may not do apart from their number in the record. Yet, there is one more important issue to take into consideration, that is, Domesday Book numbers may not reflect the real number of slaves, or other categories of people because the commissioners' principles in recording individuals may change from county to county.

⁵ Pelteret, *Slavery in Early Mediaeval England*, 203. Jane Whittle, "Rural Economies," in *The Oxford Handbook of Women and Gender in Medieval Europe*, ed. Judith M. Bennet and Ruth Mazo Karras (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), 317.

This study aims to analyse the female slaves recorded in six counties of Domesday Book. Through this analysis, we can also try to understand their lives and the importance of their presence in Domesday Book. In order to do that, first we create a table comprised of these six counties' landholders, hundreds they reside in, and lands as well as male and female slave numbers. This table also contains mills and ploughs. We know that women were always given secondary importance in life and in history.⁶ However, Domesday Book recorded female slaves who are expected to be nameless. Based on the records of six counties, this thesis aims to portray the functions of female slaves and what they may have done in rural England in the eleventh century.

1.2 Limitations

Although Domesday Book is respected for its significant details about society after the Norman conquest, it does not offer a full and accurate account and statistics of the society. This is also what we witness throughout this study and for the aim of this study. Domesday Book does not adopt one particular system for its count and record. The determined questions to be answered may vary from county to county.⁷ In other words,

⁶ Judith M. Bennett and Ruth Mazo Karras, "Women, Gender, and Medieval Historians," in *The Oxford Handbook of Women and Gender in Medieval Europe*, ed. Judith M. Bennet and Ruth Mazo Karras (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), 2.

⁷ H.C. Darby, *Domesday England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 19779), 57-8.

there is not a standard structure which all counties have. Therefore, we cannot reach an exact number of what we are able to look up in Domesday Book.

Another challenge in this study is to obtain a map of counties. Even if we are able to draw a map of a county; the hundreds' boundaries are so complex that sometimes a part of a hundred could be found in another hundred. Even, between the hundreds of a county, you may find land which actually belongs to another county. This also prevents us to comment on a hundred as a whole.

As stated perpetually, women are trivialized and put in the periphery in history. We do not have adequate data and sources in order to talk about them, and understand and interpret their life conditions. When it comes to female slaves then, it is much more challenging. There are not many sources related to them, even mentioning as "female slave". This thesis aims to reveal female slaves in the society using the hints from Domesday Book.

1.3 Organization and Methodology

This study has been based on Domesday Book records of six counties, namely, Cheshire, Gloucestershire, Herefordshire, Shropshire, Warwickshire, and Worcestershire. There are some indications that these records are gathered by the groups of people who are called

commissioners.⁸ They are charged with different regions but still there is not an explicit data about the region allocation. The number of the members of each group are not certain, either. Scholars call the regions which were allocated between the commissioners “circuits” and they are still sceptical about the allocation.

Although the records are invaluable sources for us to have statistical information about the society, uncertainty of some accounts brings about the limited interpretation. For instance, sometimes the slave numbers are not clearly stated and this aggravates our study because of the narrow comparison between the counties.

In these six counties’ records, we look up for the landlords, portion of the lands, ploughs, slaves (male and female), and mills as shown in *Table 1*. This table contains randomly chosen entries. In the factual (six) counting tables, each one includes only one county and its records.

⁸ Sally Harvey, *Domesday: Book of Judgment* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014) 87-88.

Table 1 Representation of My Domesday Book Count

County	Landholder	Hundred	Holding	Hide	Plough	Plough in Lordship	Land for... Ploughs	# of female slaves	# of male slaves	Combined # of slaves	# of slaves	Mills
Worcestershire	King William	Came	Broomsgrove	30	79	2		1	9	0	10	3
Warwickshire	King William	Fexhole	Brailes	46	52	6	60	3	12	0	15	1

Domesday Book was originally written in Latin. There are some abbreviations which are common in all books I have a sample of. The table below (*Table 2*) is what we get when we enumerate what is recorded by the commissioners. As seen, there is also a column for the combined number. We call the number “combined” because records give a total number for female and male slaves. Thus, we do not understand the gender of the slaves and cannot categorize them according to their gender. We examine and analyse female and male slave numbers in the pertinent chapter. However, it is important to state that female slaves are indeed less, yet there is also the possibility that the commissioners do not record the exact number of female slaves.

Table 2 The Number of Slaves in Our Domesday Book Count

County	Servus	Ancilla	Combined	Total	Ratio of Female Slaves to All
Warwickshire	798	34	5	837	4%
Gloucestershire	2019	78	276	2373	3%
Worcestershire	662	105	25	792	13%
Herefordshire	689	94	54	837	11%
Shropshire	883	49	70	1010	5%
Cheshire	202	8	12	222	4%
Total	5267	373	470	6118	6%

This thesis consists of four chapters including introduction and conclusion. These chapters are divided in accordance with their topic. The first chapter introduces the thesis statement and organization. The second chapter is employed as a background about slavery and Domesday Book in general. First, slavery's definition(s) are meticulously examined and its contrast with freedom is examined. As slavery is often analysed as an economic organism in the society, we try to approach it from different ways. Then, slavery in ancient and medieval Europe will be our concern. Indeed, this section intends to observe how slavery as an institution is operated in the ancient societies and how slavery transforms into its medieval shape. This section is restricted to ancient Roman and the following civilisations since slavery in medieval England is greatly affected by them rather than the ancient Greek or other civilisations. Then, we focus on slavery in early medieval England. We analyse how slavery is approached and employed before Norman conquest in England. In the next section, we deal with the idea of how a person could be or is made a slave in the ancient and medieval world. We end this chapter with Domesday Book. We try to examine all the progress of Domesday Book, with its undeniable and obscure details.

The following chapter gives statistical data and analysis of six counties. However, before the analysis, the characters referred in Domesday Book, particularly slaves and the possible working areas are assessed. The counties' analyses are sorted according to their female slaves' numbers in total; and each analysis probes into details of total slave numbers, total plough numbers, and total mill numbers. Moreover, the potential working

areas are examined. These may vary among salt-houses, fisheries, meadows, pastures and woodland.

Finally, the last chapter concludes this study via the interpretation of female slaves in these six counties, supported with the background and critical approaches given in the second chapter. At last, we will have a portrayal of female slaves who may have been involved in different commitments in rural England in the eleventh century.

CHAPTER II

SLAVERY AND DOMESDAY BOOK

In this chapter, the first four sections will deal with slavery in general while the last section explores Domesday Book. Therefore, this chapter prepares a background for us to understand and analyse Domesday Book slaves.

2.1 Slavery and Freedom

We can state that “slavery” in the Middle Ages represents the lowest group of the people who are unfree. However, exploring slavery by its definition(s) as our first step will help to analyse it, and compare and contrast it with freedom. Moreover, some scholars’ definition of slavery may develop a new perspective and may resemble each other in some ways. For example, D. B. Davis explains a slave like this: “his person is the property of another man, his will is subject to his owner’s authority, and his labor and

services are obtained through coercion.”⁹ Some historians, on the other hand, (intentionally or unintentionally) compare medieval slavery to New World slavery, which causes comparison of these two. New World slavery could easily be spotted since it is a part of economic, legal, and social structure and so it could create its own class. On the other hand, these three (economic, legal and social structure) make medieval slavery more complex to perceive and study on, since these are not possessed at the same time by the medieval slaves. That is to say while the society’s legal codes designate some people slaves, their economic position may be similar to free people’s economic position. In other words, medieval slavery as a status changes in accordance with the context.¹⁰ We can also relate this to our Domesday Book slaves. While slaves were enumerated as a property or resource in Domesday Book, they can also be likened to other groups of peasantry, like villagers or ploughmen. Legal codes may have separated slaves from other groups; yet the entries of Domesday Book display that slaves may have had share in a plough with villagers, smallholders or any other group of people: “A priest, 3 villagers, 4 smallholders and 4 slaves with 5 ploughs”¹¹

William D. Phillips also refers to New World slavery and states that thanks to “our familiarity with the history of slavery in the antebellum American South”, we can

⁹ David Brion Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in Western Culture* (Ithaca, New York and London: Cornell University Press, 1966), 31.

¹⁰ Ruth Mazo Karras, *Slavery and Society in Medieval Scandinavia* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1988), 5.

¹¹ Frank and Caroline Thorn, *Domesday Book, vol 17: Herefordshire* (Chichester: Phillimore, 1983), fo. 181 a.

imagine that slaves were brought from different and distant lands; their colour, their language were also different. However, he states that a working definition is crucial in studying slavery because American slavery may have some key points and maybe mutual features, but these features are not typical for all forms of slavery.¹² For example, in American slavery, slaves were owned as a property and could be punished, sold, and put to work. Their body and physical power were all at their owner's disposal. Thus, "they had few if any legal rights, not even the right to form families, although some indulgent masters did allow slave marriages."¹³ In order to have a general idea about slaves as a property, we could see the power relation between the slave and the master. In other words, the master's position is very important in this power struggle. This also works for understanding the difference and discord between slavery and other use of labour. Even though the master's behaviour was friendly and/or considerate, it would not be the same with the free labour because slave was a property after all. Moreover, unlike the slavery in American South, in medieval societies there could be slaves from the same land and enjoying the same language.¹⁴ Although we cannot be sure about it, Domesday Book slaves also may have been from the same country and had the same language with their masters. Even though there is not any evidence, they may have also been descendants of slaves who had been bought, or made slaves because of not paying a debt. There is also

¹² Phillips, *Slavery from Roman Times*, 5.

¹³ Phillips, *Slavery from Roman Times*, 5.

¹⁴ See "How to Become a Slave in Ancient and Early Middle Ages"

another possibility; that is, they may have intentionally been slaves for the sake of being fed.

Pierre Dockés, first gives a legal definition: “on the right of property in another human being, comprising three elements: *usus, fructus, abusus*. Consequent upon the legal definition of the property is the purchase or sale of the slave commodity.” Then he remarks that this definition seems sufficient at first glance and only if the social relation in most cases parallels the legal relation. He also asserts that the master and/or mistress has such a great power that s/he is free to manipulate the slave “as he wishes (to extract from it surplus labor, services, or pleasure)”. Moreover, s/he also has the same power and liberty over the slave’s children and if s/he wishes, s/he could kill the slave.¹⁵ Here, we can also observe the reflection of the master’s power over the slavery. That is, the master manifests his power through the slave. As we have mentioned above, the power relation is one of the key points to interpret slavery as it reveals not only the slave’s position but also the master’s authority gained from it. That is why we will concentrate on this later in this chapter.

Ruth Mazo Karras describes slavery as a “conceptual category” and explains that it is a kind of method of designating individuals. Her conceptual category has two sides which are the juridical side and the social side. The juridical side reflects the legal categorization of social classes, yet the latter one is what makes an individual a slave.

¹⁵ Pierre Dockés, *Medieval Slavery and Liberation* (Chicago: The University Of Chicago Press, 1982), 4.

However, she emphasizes slavery is not a system on its own because slaves committed themselves to diverse tasks and uses in a society.¹⁶ Here, the slave system and slave society are important to analyse because slave society and the societies which benefit from slaves are different kinds of phenomena.

While in some societies, slaves were the direct source of labour which was the most effective in economy, in some other societies slaves were seen as auxiliary power to the main economic authority. Marxist scholars call the first one “slave mode of production”, in which economy was sustained by the slaves.¹⁷ Hence, we can simply describe slave system as the system in which main production, if not all, was obtained from slaves’ labour. Dockés underlines the other slave system in which slaves were not the main element in economy, in detail. That is, in some societies, slaves were mostly benefited from their domestic labour instead of their production. Masters could glorify their status through having slaves; they could also exploit slaves sexually and/or make use of them in household issues. Such service from the slaves does not make slavery a system. In slave system, slaves produce and their masters gain wealth through the slaves’ products.¹⁸ In light of this, we may state that many medieval societies were not slave societies because medieval slavery was not a principal element of economic production. However, this does not necessarily mean that medieval European societies did not benefit from slavery.

¹⁶ Karras, *Slavery and Society*, 6.

¹⁷ Phillips, *Slavery from Roman Times*, 9.

¹⁸ Dockés, *Medieval Slavery*, 9-10.

On the contrary, “slaves did exist in medieval Europe, in a wide variety of social and economic roles, and were culturally if not economically significant.”¹⁹ Yet, its degree varied in accordance with time and place.

When we go back to the definitions, freedom also keeps an important place although it did not have an explicit definition. Hence, it could have been interpreted in plenty of ways. The terms, namely freedom and slavery, were definitely not used in the Middle Ages as we use them now. In other words, medieval people (both the public and the authority) who give us the sources did not think of the terms like we do. Wyatt states that freedom has more than one definition. He puts forward the idea that slaves in Britain in the Middle Ages had some “privileges.” They could get married, have a family and even have some possessions. However, they are still labelled as unfree. He states if we judge the people by their traditional and cultural privileges and/or rights, when they do not match our conception of slavery, we cannot call them slaves.²⁰

Freedom is also not necessarily the absence of duties and commitments. If it is, then everyone is free and also unfree because a person could be dependent on someone else in various respects. In another respect, that someone else could be dependent on the other. If freedom represents the ultimate power, then even the higher class of people (whom we automatically think free) are not independent since they need the grant of the king or

¹⁹ Karras, *Slavery and Society*, 5.

²⁰ David Wyatt, *Slaves and Warriors*, 37.

whoever is their supreme power.²¹ We can also define freedom as not being a slave, as the antonym of freedom. This definition also leads us to the sharp end of the spectrum. Also, this may mean the people who have duties to pay but still are not in the servile position. A person may not be a slave, so he is in the free line of the opposition. However, the same person could be financially weak and need to please his higher positioned lord or someone else. Then, we can also state that a person's financial capacity does not display that he is unfree.²²

Although we seem to determine the direct contradiction between freedom and slavery and specify the apparent division, according to M. I. Finley, the reason why we do not understand ancient (and/or medieval) societies very well, and why their social structure seems so complicated is because we have not set ourselves free from thinking about the opposition of free and unfree. Hence, approaching the social status in these societies regarding the two definitions above will not help us understand the atmosphere and conditions of the ancient/medieval society. Finley also remarks that a person's position in classical society could be regarded as "continuum or spectrum" in which rankings are described roughly as between slavery and freedom. He explains that the aforementioned "continuum" is a good metaphor "when applied to the ancient Near East or to the earliest periods of Greek and Roman history. There one status did shade into another."²³

²¹ Karras, *Slavery and Society*, 37.

²² Karras, *Slavery and Society*, 37.

²³ M. I. Finley, "Between Slavery and Freedom," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 6, no. 3 (April 1964): 248–9.

Similarly, Karras argues that almost all people in the Middle Ages were somehow contingent on each other. She gives nobles as an example: “even nobles, whose feudal dependence would not make them unfree in the eyes of their contemporaries, had a set of specific freedoms— liberties or privileges granted by a king or emperor—rather than a generalized freedom.”²⁴ This means that, if a special right or exemption was not accorded, a person could do nothing about it even if he is from a higher position in the society. This also leads us to the conclusion that there is not a check list through which we can specify an individual as free or unfree. However, slavery remains as a property ready for the masters to benefit from although slavery’s definition may vary.

Finley formulates an “illustration” through which we can classify the status and/or position between the two ultimate ends, namely slavery and freedom:

1) Claims to property, or power over things [...]. 2) Power over human labour and movements, whether one's own or another's –including, of course, the privilege of enslaving others. 3) Power to punish, and, conversely, immunity from punishment. 4) Privileges and liabilities in judicial process, such as immunity from arbitrary seizure or the capacity to sue and be sued. 5) Privileges in the area of the family: marriage, succession and so on [...] 6) Privileges of social mobility, such as manumission or enfranchisement, and their converse: immunity from, or liability to, bondage, penal servitude and the like. 7) Privileges and duties in the sacral, political and military spheres.²⁵

According to this measurement, we can understand that slavery covers those who have the least interest, benefit, immunity and advantage from the social structure. Slaves in

²⁴ Karras, *Slavery and Society*, 6.

²⁵ Finley, “Between Slavery” 247-8.

Medieval Scandinavia meet the requirements in accordance with the scheme above.²⁶

When it comes to the medieval slaves in Britain, it becomes rather complex because there are indications that some slaves could own their home, and could get married etc.²⁷

Karras argues that Finley's scheme hinges on the juridical standards. Giving the example of a free peasant, she emphasizes that this free person could take advantage of the rights granted in theory, but in reality he could not manage his rights because of unfavourable financial conditions. She also states that a person whose owner prevented him/her from doing something cannot find a juridical remedy and security.²⁸

Regarding what makes the slave a slave, she also generates a kind of scale. It may help us identify whom can be labelled as a slave in Medieval Europe.

1. The slave lacks all or most of the rights accorded to others in the particular society (or accorded to others of the same age and sex, since free women and children may also lack the rights of free men). 2. The slave is an outsider who does not belong in a kin group or the community. 3. The slave labors under the direct control of the owner or the owner's representative. 4. Contemporaries identify slaves as a distinct status group, the lowest in the society. Where contemporaries distinguish between slaves and another group (for example, bound debtors), we should respect that distinction and not consider bound debtors as slaves.

Here, the standards above encompass all the possible people who could be labelled slave in the Middle Ages.²⁹ However, this scale does not question and/or attest whether they were indeed slaves or not. In this respect, we may state that the slave was a possession of

²⁶ Karras, *Slavery and Society*, 7.

²⁷ Wyatt, *Slaves and Warriors*, 37

²⁸ Karras, *Slavery and Society*, 7.

²⁹ Karras, *Slavery and Society*, 11.

a master who has authority over the slave's body physically and sexually. These slaves were in some way taken away from their family, land, and culture and are alienated in their new society. However, these standards are not totally accepted by all of the scholars.

Wyatt criticizes historians because they apply contemporary conceptions in expounding and interpreting slavery and freedom. In medieval Britain, social status determined the approaches and attitudes in the society. The society aggrandised the higher-class people, while people positioned lower are directly humiliated and deemed unworthy.³⁰ Thus, we can state that slavery was useful in society for indicating the power and supremacy of higher-class people. The abuse of labour became the indication of the power, honour and regard of the slaveowners. In other words, slavery was not only the manipulation of human labour or an economic resource. Rather, it has a psychological side. Through the slaves' despair, the owner exalted his own honour, vigour, and potency.

This psychological side also encompasses sexual abuse of slaves. Wyatt likens slavery in Britain to the Middle East in the Middle Ages in terms of slavery's sexual side although historians do not focus on this side while studying slavery in the Middle Ages. However, in medieval societies, slavery as an institution was set and used, though not everywhere at all times, and so the sexual side was certain since sexuality was also a sign of the power of patriarchy.³¹ It is not challenging to think that slaves were abused sexually. Since

³⁰ Wyatt, *Slaves and Warriors*, 38.

³¹ Wyatt, *Slaves and Warriors*, 39-40.

women were considered fragile and powerless, when one of them was enslaved, the owner could use his property for his own pleasure. As it is a property, there is no limitation for its owner after all. For a different scenario, if a woman was enslaved by someone, either her father or husband's honour would be tainted, whereas the owner of the enslaved woman strengthened his mightiness. Yet still, there are court records in which a male master and female slave or female mistress and male slave have sexual intercourse.³² This is not approved of in a society based on hierarchal codes. Thus, it seems strange to see such relationships while treating slaves unhuman. Yet, it is impossible not to think that sexual relations could be linked to the relationship of master and property. As the slave side of this relationship was the one seen as property, the owners could use their possessions as s/he wishes.

In the studies related to slavery, Orlando Patterson is highly regarded because he approaches slavery as a social practice rather than as an economic one. Karras and Wyatt address Patterson's definition of slavery: "the permanent, violent domination of natively alienated and generally dishonored persons."³³ Karras evaluates this definition as a reminder that slavery has many more social and/or cultural cues than legal ones. She states that even though slavery is reached via the juridical documents, understanding the

³² Dockés, *Medieval Slavery*, 8. Dockés cites P. Bonnassié for his statement about that it was forbidden to free women to have a relationship with male slaves. Dockés also states that this relationship was seen equal to bestiality in especially Visigoths.

³³ Orlando Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death: A Comparative Study* (Cambridge, Mass. and London: Harvard University Press, 1982), 13.

social mind which causes this slavery is the most significant.³⁴ Thus, we can infer here that slavery's definitions, even where it is based on legal grounds, should have a component which provides a window showing the inner side of the slavery. Wyatt underlines that Patterson's attention to honour in the formation of slavery is especially relevant to "the warrior societies of medieval Europe in which powerful and emotive codes of honour had fundamental social significance."³⁵ We clearly see that Patterson's definition and the other definitions, legal and economic, strengthen each other. Evaluating sociological, economic, and legal definitions of slavery separately only provides us with the blurred idea of slavery. In this manner, we look at different attitudes towards slavery in order to understand and illustrate it. Scholars, for example, lay stress on the analogy of death and slavery.

Patterson is one of them: "Perhaps the most distinctive attribute of the slave's powerlessness was that it always originated (or was conceived of as having originated) as a substitute for death, usually violent death." Being a slave does not obliterate death. Likening the master to a ransomer, Patterson states that the master monopolises the life of the slave. As the slaves are dependent on the master in all senses, they become not human.³⁶ While s/he is alive, his/her life becomes exactly like death. His/her life in every respect is determined and conditioned by someone else.

³⁴ Karras, *Slavery and Society*, 7.

³⁵ Wyatt, *Slaves and Warriors*, 43.

³⁶ Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death*, 5.

Dockés also associates slavery with death and states that since the slave is totally under the authority of a master, this master has the capacity to control the slave's own life. He also likens this relationship between the slave and his/her master to the relationships between paterfamilias and his family, the ruler and his subjects, the judge and the detainees, and finally a warrior and his captives from a war.³⁷ All of these examples display that the dominant character of the relationships above has a kind of power to determine whether his/her subordinate could live or die. In this very respect, the masters could kill their properties, yet they spare the slave's life and it is their mercy. Moreover, all of the subjects above are in one way or another entirely captured, at all points. Therefore, slaves are socially and economically dead. Apart from being bereft of their native lands, languages, and families, the slaves' being seen as a property makes them the other in the society and they lose their identity as a human being.

Alex Woolf, on the other hand, approaches this relationship between the slaves and their new families, the heads of which were their masters, in a different way. Stating that when slaves were sold to a new master it is much better working for someone other than their captors who had the slaves' former lives, Woolf suggests that the owners and their slaves most probably worked together. He likens slaves to brides and children, because slaves were brought to the house at a young age and adapted themselves to their new home. The main reason for the slaves' being like a family member may be that they are sold to

³⁷ Dockés, *Medieval Slavery*, 4-5.

someone living in the countryside. The conditions in a rural place were already poor, when a slave was brought to the house, everything may be shared from food to the room. Thus, they probably saw their master as saviour and most probably felt gratitude to the master.³⁸ Woolf's suggestion may also be true of Domesday slaves. As the peasantry's conditions may have not been so good, they could have worked together and eat together with the slaves. Dockés also emphasizes that separating the slave from his country, language, and family etc integrates slaves into their new places. Therefore, the slaves may see their masters as parents.³⁹ Hence, we can deduce here that the assimilation process for a slave may easily take place because slaves are forced to leave their cultural and natural origins. However, this assimilation may bring about either strong new family ties as slaves become a child of the house, or enmity as slaves are properties of their masters after all.

There is one more point related to the assimilation of the slave, which needs to be highlighted: the slave's lack of connections in the society. Phillips states that one of the major circumstances which makes slaves slaves is their being a stranger. In addition to their deprivation or withdrawal from any familial relations, their only connection to the society is through their masters:

The slave, as long as he or she remained a slave, was most often outside the kinship structure of the dominant society, thereby deprived of family ties and the ability to form them, and deprived of any links with the host society except

³⁸ Alex Woolf, *From Pictland to Alba 789-1070* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007), 19-20.

³⁹ Dockés, *Medieval Slavery*, 7.

through the master. In the Roman world, in the Christian and Islamic societies of the Middle Ages, in many African societies, and in the European colonies, slaves were mainly brought into the dominant society from outside, either by long distance trade or by more local exchanges.⁴⁰

As they are possessions of a master or a mistress, their prices correspond to their utility, function, and maybe sex. It is not so hard to assume that the slave's position in the social rank is quite low. Medieval law could also be helpful to estimate where slaves are situated in social rank –it is a fact that slaves are marginalized from the society though— Dockés, states slaves are regarded “between women and animals” and different medieval societies' legal codes put slaves into different categorizations. For example, while Burgundian law classifies slaves with farm animals in the same value, Salic law determines the value of a slave in accordance with the gender of the slave: “Burgundian law sets up a hierarchy of animality: a slave is worth five and a half oxen or five hogs. Salic law lays it down that the male slave is the equivalent of a stallion, the female slave of a mare.”⁴¹ What we can interpret here may be that a stallion is more valuable than the mare just like a male slave is thought to be useful thanks to his physical power. This also reminds us of the male slave numbers in Domesday Book: Were male slaves recorded more because they were seen much more functional than the female slaves, or were male slaves much more in number than female slaves in reality?

⁴⁰ Phillips, *Slavery from Roman Times*, 6.

⁴¹ Dockés, *Medieval Slavery*, 8.

The most distinct and known feature of slavery is that the slave is deemed as a property and slavery is a kind of relation of production: “The slave’s position as property and the unlimited rights the master had over him or her are two of the necessary conditions that distinguish a slave from other sorts of dependent laborer.”⁴² However, this relationship between the slavery/the property and the master may not be agreed by all the scholars. Patterson, for example, suggests that the relation between the master and the slave is a relation of domination. Regulating all the relations and even all the movements of the slave, the master dominates the slave’s life and estranges him/her from the society. Moreover, Patterson likens the master to a parasitic oppressor: through the domination over the slave, he reinforces his own status and power in the society.⁴³ However, it is worth remembering that in order to have domination over a person, one needs to have something powerful to have influence over him/her. The master has the power to terminate the slave’s life; what else does he need to have? In other words, to have a relation of domination also brings about the fact that the slave is the property of the master.

⁴² Phillips, *Slavery from Roman Times*, 6.

⁴³ Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death*, 340.

2.2 Slavery in Ancient and Medieval Europe

This is a section which sketches the concept of slavery in ancient and medieval Europe chronologically, beginning with the Romans and Germanic tribes. However, this study and section do not include slavery in Ancient Greece because the main focus of this study, slavery in early medieval England, obliges us to examine or at least briefly mention the important aspects of the execution of slavery in Roman civilisation and its successors, because “Roman slavery and slave laws and the attitudes of early Christianity shaped the European experience with slavery, despite major changes in the basic economies and social structures of the countries of the European West.”⁴⁴ On the other hand, it is important note that early German slavery and Scandinavian slavery may have not been affected by the Roman slavery.

At the very beginning of the Roman world, slavery was exercised to a small extent; they could use slaves in farms as labourers or at houses as domestic servants. However, the more the Romans occupied new lands, the more they enslaved people. We may infer from this that they provided their labour power or slave needs through their captives in wars.⁴⁵ The Latin word “servus” also hints at that because in Roman law one of the meaning of *servus* is a man whose life is granted.⁴⁶ The fate of slaves who were obtained

⁴⁴ Phillips, *Slavery from Roman Times*, 4.

⁴⁵ Phillips, *Slavery from Roman Times*, 17.

⁴⁶ Dockés, *Medieval Slavery*, 5.

from wars could be shaped in various ways: they could be sold or could be brought to Italy and could be the possession of the Romans who make them slaves.

Slaves in the Roman world were deployed in many different ways. We encounter urban slaves more than slaves in rural places because slaves in towns were more frequently mentioned in laws and literature. These are known to have participated in commercial transactions and work at the mines.⁴⁷ That is to say, slaves in rural places were generally benefited in agricultural labour while slaves were actively used in different areas. Urban slaves, on the other hand, were like a sign of the prosperity and authority of their masters. They were in service for anything their masters desire.⁴⁸ Domestic slaves were also much used in Roman world. They are obliged to do many things from cooking to repairing. They could be guards or maids. Romans also bought slaves in order to make them sexual partners. Eunuch slaves were also popular in high-class houses because they were expensive and hard to find. Urban slaves were also used in what we may call trade in town. To put it succinctly, they could work for their masters in artisanship and be agents on behalf of their masters in stores.⁴⁹

From the third to the first century BC the wars and the conquests continued, causing an increase in not only the slave population but also the prosperity of Roman society. This prosperity also affected the extent of the practice of slavery. Peasants were removed from

⁴⁷ Karras, *Slavery and Society*, 16.

⁴⁸ Dockés, *Medieval Slavery*, 9.

⁴⁹ Phillips, *Slavery from Roman Times*, 24-25.

their places and brought to the urban place, and slaves were put to work in the countryside in order to provide and maintain the landholders' wealth.⁵⁰ The underlying reason why peasants were sent to towns may actually be related to production. Slavery and the settlement of slaves in ancient Italy call forth more oversupply of food and goods and so more tradable yields. This oversupply may be obtained especially by the high capacity of the workers. Therefore, peasants and their families are forced to leave their lands; and slaves, who were less in number than the peasants, took their place. Keith Hopkins suggests that the rural or agricultural slaves were most probably male and single according to the treatises related to agriculture. Feeding one single man instead of a family costs the owner less. Changing the labour from peasants to slaves, the owners' production grew.⁵¹

We may suggest here that slavery in all senses was required in the Roman world because, on the one hand, as we have just mentioned, Rome's population expanded and the need for production increased. On the other hand, the higher classes of the Romans needed a labour force to employ in their lands in the countryside. Slaves were already being used on farms, but the expansion of the Roman world affects this, too. Large estates emerged in Italy and Sicily and the owners of these estates derive benefit from slave labour. These estates were also apparent in the recently conquered lands like northern Africa and

⁵⁰ Phillips, *Slavery from Roman Times*, 17.

⁵¹ Keith Hopkins, *Conquerors and Slaves*. (Cambridge, London, New York and Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1978), 106-7.

Spanish lands.⁵² Agriculture maintains its significance from ancient times to the medieval era due to its economic value.

Slavery in ancient Roman world can be best described by the gang slaves working in the villa.⁵³ As we have mentioned above, many slaves are captives from the wars, and we can infer that slaves worked in these villas are generally foreign. The slaves in the Roman villa system (Dockés calls them “collective slave”) could work for themselves at specific times. They could use the time for what they needed, such as growing food. However, the remaining time –that is, most of their time— they were compelled to work for the master. Their product that was yielded for the master could be expended in the villa or could be used for trade. The slaves who were not put to work in villas, on the other hand, were like an expense, because they do not earn through producing, such as the ones in villas.⁵⁴ However, we should also keep in mind that some urban slaves were artisans.

When the Roman world enters a period of peace under Augustus, this actually brought them stability, and stagnation in wars and thus a lack of new captives. New regulations also emerge. These regulations, which are related to agriculture, society and life, also affected the slaves and of course their owners. Slaves were now obtained from outside of the empire since it is strictly limited within the boundaries. Thus, the number of slaves declined, yet there were some novelties which could ameliorate slaves’ lives. For

⁵² Phillips, *Slavery from Roman Times*, 17-19.

⁵³ Karras, *Slavery and Society*, 16.

⁵⁴ Dockés, *Medieval Slavery*, 8-9.

example, villas expanded and the number of dormitories where slaves could stay also increased. There was a decrease in the number of gang slaves.⁵⁵ One of the reasons for this decrease may be related to fewer resources, yet there was also one more thing, which was the shortage of production. Gang slaves were not so willing to work and produce as they were treated as if they were not human and their production and its quality were poor.⁵⁶ We can infer from these changes that the masters make use of the extant slaves and their children. As people in the Roman world could not be enslaved; slaves outside of the empire could be bought and brought to the empire. Consequently, slaves' conditions improved because of this shortage. Yet, we cannot be sure how well these regulations are carried out. Our comments approach the changes under Augustus's reign as if they were favourable. However, scholars may not share the same approach for this. It is agreed that there is a fall of slave exploitation in these villas. However, the reason behind it creates discordance.

While some scholars suggest that the number of glorious victories is not sufficient to obtain slaves for the villas, the others suggest that the number of victories do not affect the quantity of slaves because trade could always meet the deficit of slaves. Moreover, besides trade, the breeding of new slaves reinforced the source of slaves and there is always the possibility of reproducing. However, this reproducing could damage the

⁵⁵ Phillips, *Slavery from Roman Times*, 21.

⁵⁶ Robert Latouche, *The Birth of Western Economy: Economic Aspects of the Dark Ages* (London: Methuen & Co Ltd, 1967), 18.

owner in terms of the expenses. While just one slave could work, the owner could just feed the one. However, after breeding new slaves, the owner's costs would multiply. However, it is apparent that reproducing does not create a great deal of profit, either.⁵⁷ As we have already mentioned, the need for agrarian production is an undeniable fact of the society; and gang slaves in the villas are dissolved.⁵⁸ The landowners could change the labour power if they have another option rather than the slaves. Then, whom could the landholders make use of instead of slaves?

Although it was mentioned above that peasants are replaced by slaves in villas, there were also rural workers in the free class of the Roman Italian society. These labourers were working on their own lands or as free tenants. When the gang slaves were dismissed, their masters allocated their lands to free peasants, former slaves who are now free, and even *servi casati*. Moreover, there were people renting the land. These were also free and called *coloni*. By the third century AD, free peasants were seen to become tenants; however, this new title affected their economic position in an adverse way. The underlying cause in this seems sociological rather than economic. Roman Italian society seems to undergo a change that people of the free category are not dealt with in an equal or just the same way. The citizens of this society do not behave as if their society was composed simply of citizens and slaves, either. Some groups in the "free" category of people have lost their respectful and honourable status in the society. However, this new

⁵⁷ Karras, *Slavery and Society*, 17.

⁵⁸ Phillips, *Slavery from Roman Times*, 36.

life changes not only the demeaned free people but also the slaves. Taking advantage of the new service from *coloni* causes the change in the life of slaves. They are allowed to settle in their own house. They are still unfree and more dependent on the landlord than *coloni*. However, they are allowed to have their own land and to work on there. This means that they are also allowed to maintain their own life. In the third century, *coloni* are made bound to the land (*adscripti glebae*). Hereby, they cannot depart from their land, yet their free status remains. That makes *coloni* different from slaves. However, their freedom and so free will are limited. This new system called colonate makes the tenants continue to lose their rights. For example, they are excluded from military service.⁵⁹ In the light of this, we can state that even though they are free, the class of *coloni* gradually comes to resemble slaves in terms of their dependence on the land and the landholder. They first lose their freedom to leave the land, then they are deprived of other rights which had made them different from slaves. From the end of the 300s, slave usage in agrarian labour had much diminished due to the regression of some free people's status and the development in slavery's position. However, slaves could still be seen in the towns and rural regions, even as a possession of a *colonus* who is disrespected in the society. Hence, we observe *servus* and *colonus* and this colonate system in the following societies despite the fall of the Roman Empire. However, their exploitation is not as great as in Ancient Roman Italian society. The Franks used them too. *Coloni* and *servi casati*

⁵⁹ Karras, *Slavery and Society*, 18. Phillips, *Slavery from Roman Times*, 36.

are also observed being worked in lands in Merovingian society; both are still used in the landlords' holdings as well as their own house.⁶⁰

Roman Empire is thought to have economic and political power; and scholars make a connection between this power and its being a Mediterranean society. Thanks to development in trade, the Mediterranean Sea also provides stability and power. During this period, slaves who are captured in wars were sold in this trade. However, this creates a motive for other people, like German tribes, to attack. Their ceaseless attacks begin and when they settle in Roman world, they also internalize the Romans' social behaviour and life.⁶¹ On the other hand, Agnes M. Wergeland, in her article "Slavery in Germanic Society During the Middle Ages", indicates that Germanic races already had slavery in their life. As the war is a part of Germanic tribes' life, slavery makes itself a normal thing in their life, too.⁶² Despite the chaotic life style which is brought about by the wars and endless interactions between different cultures and societies, there is always one thing steady. This is also what makes the slavery, in other words slave labour, the most required matter in the ancient and medieval world.

⁶⁰ Latouche, *The Birth of Western Economy*, 18. Karras, *Slavery and Society*, 19-20.

⁶¹ Pınar Ülgen, *Ortaçağ Avrupasında Kölelik-Toplum ve Hukuk* (İstanbul: Arkeoloji ve Sanat Yayınları, 2013), 10-12.

⁶² Agnes M. Wergeland, "Slavery in Germanic Society During the Middle Ages," *Journal of Political Economy* 9, no. 1 (December 1900): 98.

The place of slaves in Germanic tribes attracted Tacitus's attention. Tacitus states slaves were exploited differently from the Roman society and they have specific domestic tasks.

More importantly, slaves could own and manage a house:

They do not make use of the other slaves as we do, with functions assigned throughout the household: each slave is master of his own residence and his own home. The master imposes an amount of grain or cattle or cloth upon him as upon a tenant farmer, and the slave's obedience extends to this point: the master's wife and children accomplish the remaining tasks of the home. It is a rare thing to whip a slave and to punish him with chains and hard labor: they are accustomed to kill them, not for sternness of discipline, but in an outburst of anger, as with a personal enemy, except that when dealing with a slave there is no fear of punishment. The status of freedmen is only a little above that of slaves, rarely with any influence in the home and never any in the state, with the exception only of those tribes that are under the rule of kings. For there they rise even above freeborn men and above those of noble birth: among others, the inferiority of freedmen is a proof of liberty.⁶³

This slave image Tacitus describes is quite similar to *servus casatus* of the Romans in terms of their specific features. We have mentioned *servus casatus* above, yet it is important to note here that the time *servi casati* are put to work is later than Tacitus's time.

Regarding slavery in Germanic tribes, the inclusion of slavery in Germanic law shows how substantial it is in the Germanic people. As a tradition of wars, slaves are obtained when Germanic people assume control of the Romans' places. However, it is ambiguous if they took Roman population as their slaves.⁶⁴ In this way, we can interpret that slaves in Germanic tribes were acquired in two ways: they may gain control of the people who

⁶³ Cornelius Tacitus. *Tacitus' Agricola, Germany, and Dialogue on Orators*, trans. Herbet B. Benario (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991), 75-6.

⁶⁴ Karras, *Slavery and Society*, 13.

are already slave in the place they take over, and/or they may make populations (also slave-owners) slave.

As we have mentioned above, amongst Germanic people slavery is also a kind of symbol of power and dignity. Judged from this, we can suggest that this is why the Germanic people did not oppose slavery.⁶⁵ Through having slaves, the fighter members of Germanic tribes reflected their power. After Germanic tribes make the empire their home, law codes are established, yet they are much influenced by Roman law.⁶⁶ Legal codes include slaves; however, it is hard to illustrate their social and economic position through their place in these legal codes. History and law are the two main sources to our studies related to slavery. However, neither of them is adequate. History helps on the point where slavery first emerges and how it progresses. However, its features and identity are out of the history's context. Law; on the other hand, presents us slavery's legal position. Yet, slavery is much related to customary law and "above all a juridical relation."⁶⁷ Judged from these we can state again, it depends on where and when slavery is practiced in order to illustrate it well.

With the passage of time, rural slavery is thought to begin to transform into serfdom in medieval Europe. The similiarity between slavery in the countryside and in the town decreases. In other words, rural slaves turn out to be more independent step by step. On the other hand, the continuous and regular stream of slaves in the towns is not

⁶⁵ Wergeland, "Slavery in Germanic Society," 98.

⁶⁶ Karras, *Slavery and Society*, 13.

⁶⁷ Wergeland, "Slavery in Germanic Society" 100.

interrupted, since the slave trade continues. Thus, we can say that contrary to the agricultural/rural slavery, for the urban slaves to gain their own freedom is less possible due to the dynamic and steady course of trade. We can say the same for slavery in medieval Italy. In the countryside, agricultural slaves may have turned into serfs. On the other hand, urban slavery, as we have mentioned above, maintains its existence because of the ceaseless trade traffic in town. The different parts of Italy show different features in enslavement. For example,

Amalfi traded with the Arabs; Venice had to agree not to trade in Christian slaves but was active in the enslavement of Slavs on the Dalmatian coast. In Sicily, which had long been under Muslim control, slaves still composed 13 percent of the population in the fifteenth century. Greeks and baptized Arabs were enslaved along with Slavs, Tatars, and Muslims.⁶⁸

Similarly, the different approaches to slavery may be expected in the medieval Spanish lands because different religions—Christianity and Islam—face each other. The significance of slavery seems to remain unchanged in medieval Spanish society. Medieval Spain, under the control of Muslim power, is thought to have been more developed than the other European countries in the Middle Ages. Accordingly, the utilization of slavery could be defined as intense in the towns. On the other hand, there is not much indication of rural slavery. Regarding the eighth and ninth centuries, slaves in Christian lands were provided mainly from the northern lands in the Muslim realm including Muslim Spain even though Muslim slaves must have not been numerous.

⁶⁸ Karras, *Slavery and Society*, 14.

Slavery is thought to be a major element in the growth of medieval trade. This trade generated gain for the both sides—the Muslim world, and the European side mostly Christian. While the Muslim world obtained slaves, honey and fur, the other side gained spices and silk in exchange.⁶⁹

The Carolingian Empire is thought to apply and perform slave trade in accordance with clerical rules. The Church did not ban the slave trade, but a proper approach to the slave's identity and belief is specified. However, to state that the Church's main concern and sanction is to inhibit the commerce of Christian slaves to the pagan traders will not be wrong. Limitations bestowed by rulers are thought to have been useless because the slave trade was very resourceful and it seems at its peak point. Mainz and Verdun are two important markets in the empire. The slave trade is carried on mostly in these places and the slaves who are purchased and/or sold are generally Slavs. Moreover, the buyers are generally from Muslim Spain.⁷⁰

Besides the trade, wars between Muslim and Christian forces bring about more slaves for both sides. Muslims conquered the Spanish lands and Christian forces try to re-conquer the lands. Each time, each side enslaves the defeated ones' members and hereby the slaves come from a different religion and that makes enslavement easier in terms of religious creeds. Slavery is believed to be used in domestic issues and agricultural labour

⁶⁹ Karras, *Slavery and Society*, 14.

⁷⁰ Latouche, *The Birth of Western Economy*, 162-3.

in medieval Iberia. Slavery in medieval Castile and Portugal is provided with people of North Africa, not from local Muslim peasants.⁷¹

2.3 Slavery in Early Medieval Britain

In this section, we mainly focus on slavery in Anglo-Saxon England for two reasons. The first reason is that we do not have adequate evidence related to earlier times of Britain to concentrate on. The second and the most important reason (for us) is that the Anglo-Saxons' influence over the land, social structure and inhabitants may also be observed in Domesday Book. For the main purpose of this study, we may have some clues from the Anglo-Saxon world to compare with what we have obtained from the records of Domesday Book.

In order to evaluate slavery in Early Medieval England it is better to glance through the titles and terms applied on the island first. These titles for the members of the community and terms for the land allocation are also helpful in analysing the slaves in Domesday Book, as we frequently come across them in the records. That is why we analyse the following titles and terms in the next chapter in detail, yet it is also important to touch on them here in order to understand the social structure. Titles are varied: *ceorl*, *radman*,

⁷¹ Karras, *Slavery and Society*, 15.

kotsetla, *cottarius*, *bordarius*, *colibertus* and, of course, *servus* and *ancilla*. The terms which are used for the lands and we chiefly encounter are “hide”, “shire” and “hundred”. The title *ceorl* principally represents a freeman; who has some rights, from joining public meetings to owning weapons.⁷² The *ceorl* could also hold a “hide” which may originally have corresponded to approximately 120 acres of land.⁷³ This land unit, “hide”, is translated into Latin as “the land of a family” by Bede, yet along with the family there are other people who are thought to be low-ranked and possibly unfree, working for the *ceorl*.⁷⁴ We frequently come across the other titles above while working on the records of Domesday Book; and they display different titles for the peasants in the society. The lowest ranked peasant is *colibertus* who is presumably a former slave, a “freedman”, and the highest ranked peasant is *radman*. The *cottarius* or *bordarius* can be described as cottager. The economic status of these titles is thought to be probably the main factor which determines this rank system. However, the status of a person does not only reveal the economic position; it is also very influential and pertinent to how this person is approached and treated in the society. We can explain the term “*wergild*” as the approach

⁷² Nicholas Higham and Martin J. Ryan, *The Anglo-Saxon World* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2013), 108.

⁷³ David Thornton states this description of “hide” as 120 acres collapses by the seventh century. (David E. Thornton, “Communities and Kinship,” in *A Companion to the Early Middle Ages: Britain and Ireland c.500-c.1100*, ed. Pauline Stafford (Chichester and Malden: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), 97.)

⁷⁴ Higham and Ryan, *The Anglo-Saxon World*, 108-9.

and value which the society attributes to a person, for the purposes of compensation, and a person's status could elevate depending on the law applied.⁷⁵

When we go back to Britain between 500 and 800 AD, we see that it was populated by disorderly communities of chiefdoms and tribes. In time, tribes integrated with the chiefdoms but this change does not take place abruptly. Chiefdoms exercised authority through having a hierarchal system, which is important to note here for us because it displays the principal statuses in Anglo-Saxon England: the nobles, the ceorls and the slaves. The nobles were most probably the warriors and, thanks to their victories, they could be ranked in the highest positions in the society. When they returned victorious from a war, the king could give some land as a bounty; there could be other possible grants, yet here our concern is the land because this is where slaves and ceorls appear on the stage. The land granted by the king is most probably tilled by the people who are owned by the warrior, that is, slaves. These slaves could also be handed over to the warrior with the land by the king. There are also people who are neither noble nor slave: the ceorls. They were bound to work on these lands for both themselves and for the noble class, thereby the king.⁷⁶ They were obliged to support the noble class and the king; yet this does not mean that they were owned by someone. There may be duties for the ceorls

⁷⁵ David E. Thornton, "Localities," in *A Companion to the Early Middle Ages: Britain and Ireland c.500-c.1100*, ed. Pauline Stafford (Chichester and Malden: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), 447.) Thornton gives specific examples of increasing the status: According to *Nordleoda Laga*, the promotion of a person's status depends on owning an adequate piece of land. The *Leges inter Brettos et Scottos*, on the other hand, regards the person's ancestry.

⁷⁶ Pelteret, *Slavery in Early Mediaeval England*, 25-32.

to pay, yet they are far different from slaves. The ceorls' obligation to work for the nobles and indeed for the king, makes them acknowledged by the law and so a member of the chiefdom. Being a member, the ceorl was valued in the wergild system. Slaves are not thought to deserve a person's value, or wergild. Thus, they are not a member of the chiefdoms.⁷⁷

The only value the slaves could have is the master's compensation, if someone else steals or kills his slave. We can see a general consensus among scholars that before the Anglo-Saxons, slavery was in existence in the lands, which became England after the Anglo-Saxons. Scholars also agree that evidence is lacking by which to analyse it in detail. Cemeteries and findings from them enlighten us and help us make a comment on the inhabitants of Britain before and during the Anglo-Saxons' rule. For example, referring to the cemeteries, Pelteret states when an important person died, according to pagan ceremonies, some people could be sacrificed in honour of the dead person; and these sacrifices most probably were the slaves.⁷⁸ This sounds conceivable as slaves are thought to be their masters' property and things to be sacrificed. However, these slaves who are sacrificed are most probably the ones who are put to work in household, rather than on the land. As stated above, we do not have much evidence to argue over, related to earlier slavery in Britain.

⁷⁷ Pelteret, *Slavery in Early Mediaeval England*, 25-32.

⁷⁸ Karras, *Slavery and Society*, 30. Pelteret, *Slavery in Early Mediaeval England*, 33-4.

When we advance in time and when we take wars as a slave resource into consideration, we also see that enslavement is one of the natural results of the invasion of the Anglo-Saxons. Whitelock states that the unfree people in Britain could be from different nations. Although her generalizing statement of “unfree people” may encompass unfree people other than slaves in the society, this statement also at least includes slaves. She also states that in some of the Anglo-Saxon riddles, the duties which are unskilled and lacking prestige are attributed to the Britons. We also know that “walh” or “wealh” is used for “Briton” in Old English; “Welsh” derives from this word and it ends up meaning ‘slave’.⁷⁹ Higham and Ryan point to Gildas’s assertion that when Britons surrendered to the Saxons, they become slaves. There are some suggestions that when the Anglo-Saxons invaded, the British population must have not drastically diminished. Therefore, we can infer from this that some people of Briton origin, either free or unfree, continued to live under the authority of the Anglo Saxons. Howard B. Clarke also supports that the idea of a surviving population of Britons under the Anglo-Saxons; because the Germanic tribes did not settle in England in very considerable numbers and especially many of their women are from the Britons.⁸⁰

⁷⁹ Dorothy Whitelock, *The Beginnings of English Society*, 108. Margaret Lindsay Faull has an elaborate study examining the process of change in the meaning of the word “wealh”. Margaret Lindsay Faull, “The Semantic Development of Old English wealh,” *Leeds Studies in English*, no. 8 (1975), 20-44. Thornton also emphasizes that “wealh” in law in 900s and 1000s most likely implies the slaves rather than the people living in the south part of Britain. Thornton, “Localities,” 447.

⁸⁰ Higham and Ryan, *The Anglo-Saxon World*, 109. Howard B. Clarke, “Economy,” in *A Companion to the Early Middle Ages: Britain and Ireland c.500-c.1100*, ed. Pauline Stafford (Chichester and Malden: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), 65-6.

When we go back to the cemetery findings, Barbara Yorke argues that the indigenous population of England, the Britons, are still in existence even though the archaeological findings corroborate that the greater number of people carry Germanic features which are “dress and other customs”. That is why she puts forward the assimilation of people of British origin as a reason against these archaeological implications. She argues that the assimilation process is managed through killing the male members and taking the women into the conquerors’ possession and controlling them by force. Thus, the archaeological findings, indicating that population was chiefly composed of Germanic people, may be because the descendants of British people may have embraced German customs.⁸¹

Therefore, some historians and Gildas, seem to share the same point of view about Britons under the control of Germanic tribes; they survive but become slaves or the dependants of Anglo-Saxons. Higham and Ryan have also asserted that the people used as labour, slave or otherwise, in Roman Britain end up being inhabitants in the countryside of Anglo-Saxon England. All of these may raise the question whether all of the slaves in the Anglo-Saxon society are of British origin. Whitelock emphasises that English slaves are usually made slaves as a punishment, because they have not performed their duties or have not made necessary payments. If their redemption is not paid in a year, they lose all their rights and wergild. This seems to overlap with what we have

⁸¹ Barbara Yorke, “Britain and Ireland, c.500,” in *A Companion to the Early Middle Ages: Britain and Ireland c.500-c.1100*, ed. Pauline Stafford (Chichester and Malden: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), 52. Yorke also points out that this assimilation may vary from region to region: While the regions under the control of the Angles show more Germanic characteristics, the areas of Saxons seem to be much affected by the Britons.

discussed about slavery in Germanic tribes, as we have mentioned that they have already slavery in their culture. Apart from wars and trade, a person could be enslaved as a punishment in Germanic tribes. This punishment may stem from robbery, murder or any other illegality. Similarly, in Anglo-Saxon England we come across the slaves called “witepeowas”. They are also enslaved as a penalty. However, although English slaves and British slaves are classified into the same group, British slaves may have not been so lucky as the *witepeowas* to be able to get their freedom back.⁸²

The position of the slaves in the Anglo-Saxons must have not been so different from what we have stated so far. We have already remarked that they are not seen as a person who shows qualities worthy of having wergild. Thus, if a master’s slave is murdered, the master is paid because his property is harmed and/or killed; the master is damaged financially. A slave is thought to have been worth eight oxen. Since slaves do not have a legal status, in case of crime, the slave’s punishment cannot be by fines. According to the extent of their illegal act, the punishment may vary from being whipped to being killed. If his master pays whatever the slave’s penalty costs, the slave can survive. If the master kills the slave or behaves in a bad manner, he does not need to do anything because the slave is nothing in the law.⁸³

⁸² Higham and Ryan, *The Anglo-Saxon World*, 109. Whitelock, *The Beginnings of English Society*, 111-112. Loyn, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 90-1. Pelteret, *Slavery in Early Mediaeval England*, 32-4.

⁸³ Whitelock, *The Beginnings of English Society*, 108-114.

According to Pelteret, during the Anglo-Saxon period, the English Church regarded slavery as a natural and normal feature of society. The reason why the English Church were indifferent to slavery is they are familiar with slavery as it is always emphasized in Christianity, in Old and New Testament, in so famous an expression as “slave of God”. On the other hand, Whitelock states that Christian morals over slavery may make the attitude towards slaves less severe and less painful. Their gained rights include free time and they can earn money in this free time. Slaves’ rights may vary from place to place. As slaves have a right to own property, they may buy their own freedom, too.⁸⁴

It was not an unusual thing to see a slave’s escape. In order to prevent this, severe punishments are applied. In King Athelstan’s law, if a slave escapes and he is caught, his punishment is death. During the time of Danish attacks, the escape of slaves and their cooperation with the Danes are very commonly remarked on. A slave’s joining Danish forces sounds so reasonable because it is his chance to avenge what he has experienced at his master’s hands. In other words, the roles change, the master could be the slave and vice versa. Therefore, two parties, Vikings and Anglo-Saxons make an agreement that fugitive slaves are not accepted to either side.⁸⁵

According to Woolf, slavery is far more different in the British, Irish and Scandinavian countryside than we think. As a rural owner has already a limited life conditions

⁸⁴ Pelteret *Slavery in Early Mediaeval England*, 255-6. Whitelock, *The Beginnings of English Society*, 109.

⁸⁵ Whitelock, *The Beginnings of English Society*, 110. Whitelock mentioned two agreements (these are from Alfred’s and Ethelred the Unready’s reigns) which are signed between two forces, the Danish and the English.

regarding the town, their slave is more like a family member. They could live in the same house, even in the same room. They could share the same food, as the master/mistress grants the slaves what s/he has. A family or social tie may occur between them. The slave's gratitude for having a family or a house continues even if s/he is freed by his/her master. On the other hand, we should also keep in mind that the master's economic status is also important. They could share the food and home together. However, in any economic crisis for the family, the slave would be sold.⁸⁶ We may interpret all this along the lines of slaves being seen as property after all. In other words, no matter how bonded they are with the master's family, slaves are acquired for particular needs. They provide labour in the field, perform domestic tasks in the house, anything a farmer master desires to have in a rural situation. As they are bought, they can also be sold, whether with good grace or bad grace.

Regarding what slaves do in Anglo-Saxon society, some tasks have been mentioned above, like farming and household work. *Ælfric's Colloquy* is almost always referred to by historians for evidence of what a male slave does. He is a ploughman and is required to deal with many tasks and he is unfree.⁸⁷ This colloquy indeed reveals these clearly:

“Quid dicis tu, arator? Quomodo exerces opus tuum?”

“O, mi domine, nimium laboro. Exeo diluculo minando boues ad campum, et iungo eos ad aratrum; non est tam aspira hiems ut aedam latere domi pro timore

⁸⁶ Woolf, *From Pictland to Alba*, 19-21.

⁸⁷ Pelteret and Whitelock are among the historians who cites the ploughman's words. Yet Whitelock just mentions that the ploughmen describes how arduous his job is. Pelteret *Slavery in Early Mediaeval England*, 65. Whitelock, *The Beginnings of English Society*, 110.

domini mei, sed iunctis bobus, et confirmato uomere et cultro aratro, omni die debeo arare integrum agrum aut plus”

“Habes aliquem socium?”

“Habeo quondam puerum minantem boues cum stimulo, qui etiam modo raucus est pre frigore et clamatione.”

“Quid amplius facis in die?”

“Certe adhuc plus facio. Debeo implere presepia boum feno, et adaquar eos, et fimum eorum portare foras. O! O! magnus labor. Etiam, magnus labor est, quia non sum liber.”⁸⁸

Yet, bearing just this ploughman in mind may bring about a misunderstanding that all of the slaves are male and that all slaves are employed in agricultural works as ploughmen. On the one hand, female slaves are most probably put to work in farming even though they were not exploited as ploughwomen. On the other hand, ploughing may stand as a mild job for a slave, among other harsh duties. After all plough itself was a valuable property and many villagers could not have it. Therefore, in Anglo-Saxon society the working conditions of slaves were quite hard, as expected; they were subjected to

⁸⁸ *Aelfric's Colloquy*, lines 22-35, ed. G. N. Garmonsway (London: Methuen, 1947), 20-21.

Translation made by Pelteret is as follows:

“What have you to say, ploughman? How do you undertake your work?”

“Oh, my lord, I work excessively. I go out at day-break, goading the oxen to the field, and I join them to the plough; there is not a winter so harsh that I dare lurk at home for fear of my master. But after yoking the oxen and securing the ploughshare and coulter to the plough, throughout the whole day I must plough a full acre or more.”

“Have you a companion?”

“I have a boy spurring on the oxen with a whip, who even now is hoarse with the cold and the shouting.”

“Do you do anything else during the day?”

“I certainly do more. I must fill the stalls of the oxen with hay and supply them with water and carry their dung outside. Oh! Oh! The work is hard. Yes, the work is hard, because I am not free.” Pelteret, *Slavery in Early Mediaeval England*, 65.

arduous conditions and they are thought to be appropriate for exhausting and arduous labour, since they are slaves after all.

2.4 How to Become a Slave in the Ancient and Early Middle Ages

While being unfree is very challenging in the ancient and medieval world, it is also very easy to become unfree. You could innately be a slave or you can be made a slave. After all, being a slave is an unpleasant consequence. Wergeland states the determining circumstances of this consequence of being a slave are determined either artificial or natural circumstances. Artificial circumstances are either non-existent before, or are brought into existence by some coercive actions. In other words, before the influence of the artificial effects, the person was free and had the same rights as other members of his own society. However, due to these effects people are “reduced to servitude.”⁸⁹ As understood, the natural reason to be a slave is being born to a slave woman. Dorothy Whitelock clearly states for the Anglo-Saxons rule: “The offspring born in slavery to slaves of any origin would themselves unfree.”⁹⁰

The other ways of obtaining a slave can be summarized like this: capture in war, punishment and purchase. We can include piracy and banditry in wars, too. The most

⁸⁹ Wergeland, “Slavery in Germanic Society” 101-2.

⁹⁰ Whitelock, *The Beginnings of English Society*, 112. Ülgen, *Ortaçağ Avrupasında Kölelik-Toplum*, 19-20.

known supply of slaves is from captives in war. Wars are very likely the oldest way to acquire slaves. Slaves are an important part of the expected booty of wars. If you are defeated in a war you either lose your life or your freedom.⁹¹ However, acquiring slaves may also lead to their sale. The slave trade is not affected by supply and demand factors. In fact, there was always a need for labour in Ancient and Early Medieval society. For the people who are enslaved, working for someone other than their enslaver would be more agreeable since the enslaver had ended the slave's former life and sometimes murdered the rest of his family in the process; though this cannot have always happened.⁹²

Pirates could seize ships and all the goods in the ships, as well as the people on the ships. They could sell the people they hold by force on the slave markets and they could also ransom them. Pirates are known to introduce themselves as slave merchants even while Roman law forbids Romans themselves to engage in piracy. Bandits too could kidnap anyone and make them slaves, and either keep them or sell them. In addition to enslavement via seizure or as a result of a battle, a person could be made a slave by a verdict in a court, as a result of some offence punishable by enslavement. Moreover, children could be sold by their parents and a person could sell himself as a means of paying his debt.⁹³ According to Wergeland, being reduced to slavery as a result of a penalty does not resemble being slave because of a war. Slavery via penalty is related to

⁹¹ Wergeland, "Slavery in Germanic Society" 102. As we have mentioned above, some scholars such as Dockés and Patterson think that being a slave also is like an end of the life.

⁹² Woolf, *From Pictland to Alba*, 19-20.

⁹³ Ülgen, *Ortaçağ Avrupasında Kölelik-Toplum*, 17-20.

the order of the society and thus this consequence is just a necessity in order to keep the order and welfare of the society. Thus, a free person could be punished and become a slave if found guilty of homicide, burglary or debt.⁹⁴

According to Whitelock, famine is one of the reasons why people sold their children or relatives. Moreover, the people who are made slaves due to punishment are prevalently English in English society.⁹⁵ It is also important to keep in mind that some historical documents show that ex-slaves, who have been somehow freed by their masters, could themselves also hold slaves.⁹⁶ Moreover, Alex Woolf declares it is possible that even the people in the countryside could have a slave in their houses.⁹⁷ Therefore, we can infer that it would be wrong to deem that holding and/or owning a slave is only for elites in society.

2.5 How to Become Free Again: Manumissions

The previous section deals with the ways how and/or why people were reduced to slavery; and this necessitates this section's focus: manumissions. Manumissions could be explained as practices of releasing people from slavery; and these practices were

⁹⁴ Wergeland, "Slavery in Germanic Society" 104.

⁹⁵ Whitelock, *The Beginnings of English Society*, 111-112.

⁹⁶ Wyatt, *Slaves and Warriors*, 34-35.

⁹⁷ Woolf, *From Pictland to Alba*, 20.

executed and could be observed in both Roman and Germanic people and laws. However, in order to understand slavery and its disappearance in England we should examine the ones in the time of the Anglo-Saxons.⁹⁸

In Anglo-Saxon world, the first recorded manumission is reached via Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*. This manumission recorded by Bede indicates that Bishop Wilfrid freed an important number of slaves in around 680s.⁹⁹ Pelteret states that this manumission affected many other manumissions because Bede set down it officially and publicly; and the Kentish King Wihtred legally approved manumissions in his law codes; which was similar to the manumission in Roman law: *manumission in ecclesia*. This code gives freedom to the slave, yet his owner could still have some rights over him or his family. However, this having some rights over his family is also similar to the manumissions which were executed by the Germanic tribes.¹⁰⁰

This similarity to both Roman execution and Germanic execution suggests that the Anglo-Saxons easily internalized the Roman manumission and did not disconnect from the Germanic traditions.¹⁰¹ All aside, for the primary focus of this study we return to the causes and/or justifications of these manumissions and we observe religious and spiritual reasons. The owner's illness may have resulted in performing good deeds, and freeing

⁹⁸ Pelteret, *Slavery in Early Mediaeval England*, 131.

⁹⁹ Bertram Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors, *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), 374-6.

¹⁰⁰ Pelteret, *Slavery in Early Mediaeval England*, 137-8.

¹⁰¹ Pelteret, *Slavery in Early Mediaeval England*, 140.

slaves is one of them. Moreover, some owners release their slaves in order to show piety and for the sake of the slave's soul. Furthermore, marriage could be a reason for the manumission. However, Pelteret states that this gesture of releasing slaves must have actually had some hidden motives for the owners.¹⁰²

2.6 Domesday Book

This section focuses on how Domesday Book helps us to find out slaves and probe whether it is indeed helpful. In order to do that, first, I will examine the question of commissioners and Domesday Book circuits. Then my concern will be the population in Domesday Book, especially rural population. These all conduce me to build up the next chapter in which I will examine six counties.

The commissioners are believed to have belonged to the highest position. They were bestowed with judicial authority and responsible for the places where they do not possess wide scope of land and/or power. The known and detected members of the commissioners go like: Bishop Remigius of, Henry de Ferrers, Walter Giffard, and Adam fitxHubert and Bishop William of Durham.¹⁰³ There are only two questions we can ask

¹⁰² Pelteret, *Slavery in Early Mediaeval England*, 150-1.

¹⁰³ H. R. Loyn, "A General Introduction to Domesday Book," *The Story of Domesday Book* edited by R. W. H. Erskine and Ann Williams (Shopwyke Manor Barn, Chichester, West Sussex: Phillimore & Co. Ltd., 2003), 6.

here related to commissioners: How did they acquire the information we seek? How could we trust their records? Appreciated by the historians, *Inquisitio Eliensis* refers the commissioners' to do list or namely to learn list. This invaluable "terms of reference", as many historians call it, is a clue for us to understand what their scope like:

Hic subscribitur inquisicio terrarum quomodo barones regis inquirunt; uidelicet per sacramentum uicecomitis scire et omnium baronum et eorum francigenarum et tocius centuriatus, presbiteri, praepositi, vi uillani uniuscuiusque uille. Deinde quomodo uocatur mansio, quis tenuit eam tempore regis Ædwardi, quis modo tenet, quot hidae, quot carrucae in dominio, quot hominum, quot uillani, quot cotarii, quot serui, quot liberi homines, quot sochemani, quantum silue, quantum prati, quot pascuorum, quot molendine, quot piscine, quantum est additum uel ablatum, quantum ualebat totum simul, et quantum modo, quantum ibi quisque liber homo uel sochermanus habuit uel habet. Hoc totum tripliciter, scilicet tempore regis Æduardi et quando Rex Willelmus dedit et quomodo sit modo, et si potest plus haberi quam habeatur.¹⁰⁴

Given the multifaceted and detailed information the commissioners are assigned to obtain, scholars think the result is accomplishment.¹⁰⁵ Unfortunately, not all, maybe none of the commissioners acted in accordance with the guidance above. There may be several

¹⁰⁴ *Inquisitio comitatus Cantabrigiensis subijcitur Inquisitio Eliensis*, ed. by N. E. S. A. Hamilton (London, 1876), 97 quoted in Stephen Baxter "The Making Of Domesday Book And The Languages Of Lordship In Conquered England," *Conceptualizing Multilingualism in England, c.800-c.1250* edited by Elizabeth M. Tyler (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers n.v., 2011) 277. 'Here follows the inquiry concerning lands which the king's barons made according to the oath of the sheriff of the shire and of all the barons and their Frenchmen, and of the whole hundred court — the priest, reeve and six villeins from each village. They inquired what the manor was called; who held it in the time of King Edward; who holds it now; how many hides there are; how many ploughs in demesne and how many belonging to the men; how many villeins; how many cottars; how many slaves; how many freemen; how many sokemen; how much woodland; how much meadow; how much pasture; how many mills; how many fisheries; how much has been added to, or taken away from, the estate; what it used to be worth altogether; what it is worth now; and how much each freeman and sokeman had and has. All this to be recorded thrice: to wit, as it was in the time of King Edward, as it was when King William gave the estate, and as it is now. And it was also noted whether more can be assessed than may currently be assessed'

¹⁰⁵ Sally Harvey, "Domesday Book and Its Predecessors," *The English Historical Review* 86, n. 341 (1971): 773. David A. E. Pelteret, *Slavery in Early Mediaeval England: From the Reign of Alfred Until the Twelfth Century* (Woodbridge, Suffolk; Rochester, New York: Boydell Press, 1995), 186.

reasons for this deficiency. However, calling it indeed a deficiency may not be a valid route. Historians such as R. Welldon Finn state that even close neighbouring counties have disparities in enumerating the stock, wealth, plough etc.¹⁰⁶ Such disparities bring up a question of how commissioners obtained the data. We do not have a definite answer but some theories for how the commissioners gathered all the information we have now in Domesday Book. Information is gathered in a same method although the differences of the records lead us think that the different methods are performed— after all different counties are dealt with by different commissioners. It is generally acknowledged by the scholars that geld lists, hundredal juries, county lists are consulted by the commissioners in order to get the data. Sally Harvey and David Roffe both agree that county courts sessions were arranged and oral statements are also taken into consideration.¹⁰⁷ Pelteret, on the other hand, declares manorial official records played a significant role in the validity of the details and figures of the counties despite the cooperation with the court/hundred juries.¹⁰⁸ However, Roffe emphasizes that essential information was obtained through the court session accounts but the majority of the details are recorded by privately interviewing the tenants-in-chief and geld lists work as a reference to the information obtained.¹⁰⁹ Harvey highlights the hidage lists and county lists as the possible

¹⁰⁶ R. Welldon Finn, *The Domesday Inquest and Making Of Domesday Book* (London: Longmans, 1966), 36.

¹⁰⁷ Harvey, "Domesday Book and Its Predecessors," 772. David Roffe "Domesday Book and Northern Society: A Reassessment," *The English Historical Review* 105, n.415 (1990): 311.

¹⁰⁸ Pelteret, *Slavery in Early Mediaeval England*, 191.

¹⁰⁹ Roffe, "Domesday Book and Northern Society: A Reassessment," 311.

valuable source of information for the commissioners. If there is a conflict about a holding's possessor, the decision made by another court session. Harvey in her another work, *Domesday Book of Judgement* mentions that William the Conqueror has confidence in few people to assign for this collecting and combining the data the people he trusts require courts for the information: "some for a specific purpose, some for general witness—to collect, collate, and authorize Domesday data".¹¹⁰ Loyn encapsulates the process based on the terms of reference present in Ely Inquest:

Much preliminary work must have been done by routine methods in the traditional courts of the shire and its constituent hundreds. The commissioners, the king's barons, in all their dignity and with all their authority sat in judgment in the shire court, listening to the oaths sworn or receiving adequate testimony as to the oaths sworn relating to the written testimony delivered by the sheriff, by the great feudal lords whose interests lay in the shire (or their trusted representatives), and by representatives of each of the hundred courts.¹¹¹

Above all as Pelteret emphasizes the obtained data depends on the combining method the commissioner carried out and the data is what he heard as an answer for his question.¹¹² In other words, the records bear the trace of the commissioner.

All these leads to the assumption that no matter how the commissioners recorded the details with their similarities or differences and how identical the commissioners wrote down all the information, while the Domesday Book is literally formed into a compiled account in Winchester, the whole record may have been transformed into a different

¹¹⁰ Harvey, *Domesday*, 50.

¹¹¹ H. R. Loyn, "A General Introduction to Domesday Book," 6.

¹¹² Pelteret, *Slavery in Early Mediaeval England*, 187.

register rather than what the commissioners prepared. Thus, the dissimilarities between the counties, especially the ones we expect them to be similar, in the whole compilation are ascribable to uniformity issue. In order to avoid disorder, it seems the clerks may have encapsulated the original versions of the records developed by the commissioners.¹¹³ Thacker and Sawyer assert a similar idea to that. They maintain that the idea of circuits and their analysis has something defective and imperfect. To them, during the compilation of Domesday Book in Winchester, counties are examined one by one and prevalent characteristics are revealed.¹¹⁴

Before dealing with the counties, it is better to look at the details of the inquest which culminated in Domesday Book, which is revealed by the unknown chronicler of *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*:

Then at Christmas the king was at Gloucester with the council and held his court there for five days, and the archbishop and clerics had a synod for three days. There Maurice was elected Bishop of London, and William for Norfolk, and Robert for Cheshire — they were all clerics of the king. After this the king had much thought and very deep discussion with his council about this country — how it was occupied or with what sort of people. Then he sent his men over all England into every shire and had them find out how many hundred hides there were in the shire, or what land and cattle the king himself had in the country, or what dues he ought to have in twelve months from the shire. Also he had a record made of how much land his archbishops had, and his bishops and his abbots and his earls — and though I relate it at too great length — what or how much everybody had who was occupying land in England, in land or cattle, and how much money it was worth. So very narrowly did he have it investigated, that there was no single hide nor virgate of land, nor indeed

¹¹³ Galbraith, *The Making of Domesday Book*, 60.

¹¹⁴ P. H. Sawyer and A. T. Thacker, “The Cheshire Domesday: Introduction,” *A History of the County of Chester*, Volume I, edited by B. E. Harris (London 1987), 293-4.

(it is a shame to relate but it seemed no shame to him to do) one ox nor one cow nor pig which was there left out, and not put down in his record; and all these records were brought to him afterwards.¹¹⁵

After this evaluation and discussion meeting William the Conqueror assigned the commissioners to deal with the allocated shires. For many years, the scholars have agreed that the counties where the inquest is applied are separated into circuits and the commissioners are charged with these circuits. Each circuit is formed as a group of neighbouring counties. H. R. Loyn states that Domesday Book itself and “peculiarities in terminology and arrangement, make it likely that there were seven of these groups or ‘circuits’, though it is just possible, as some nineteenth-century scholars used to think, that there were further subdivisions in one or two of the larger groups.”¹¹⁶ However, how the circuits’ borders are determined or how they are constituted and what criteria is employed while deciding number of the circuits are not known. Moreover, it is not proved that circuits do exist before and during the inquest. Still, Carl Stephenson’s circuit grouping (*Table 3*) remains to be commonly held and referred by many historians. Galbraith, while talking about the grouping of the circuits, states that Stephenson’s grouping originated from Ballard’s. What differs Stephenson’s grouping from Ballard’s is that the number of circuits in Stephenson’s is diminished to seven from nine; and this is proposed by R. W. Eyton.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁵ *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: A Revised Translation* edited by Dorothy Whitelock, David C. Douglas and Susie I. Tucker (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1961), 161-162.

¹¹⁶ H. R. Loyn, “A General Introduction to Domesday Book,” 4.

¹¹⁷ V. H. Galbraith, *The Making of Domesday Book* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1961), 8 n.1

Table 3 The Circuits¹¹⁸

Circuits	Counties
I	Kent, Sussex, Surrey, Hampshire, Berkshire
II	Wiltshire, Dorset, Somerset, Devonshire, Cornwall
III	Middlesex, Hertford, Buckingham, Cambridge, Bedford
IV	Oxford, Northampton, Leicester, Warwick
V	Gloucester, Worcester, Hereford, Stafford, Shropshire, Cheshire
VI	Huntingdon, Derby, Nottingham, Rutland, York, Lincoln
VII	Essex, Norfolk, Suffolk

However, these historians are also aware of the fact that this grouping still has some erratic qualities in itself and they may not share the same ideas. For example, R. Weldon

Finn states:

But of the existence of these circuits, as an essential feature of the Inquest, no proof whatever exists. The arguments for grouping of shires have rested largely on contrasting formulae, omissions of categories of information, and the character of the entries, and when all these have been considered, there still remain sufficient inconsistencies and disagreements to make allotment to a particular group dubious.¹¹⁹

On the contrary to contrasting formulae, the circuits may have been formed basing their similarities. These similarities such as the same qualities, similar geographical conditions, as they are also connected via their neighbourhood, bring together the counties. However, Galbraith emphasizes: “We have to bear in mind that no number of common

¹¹⁸ Pelteret, *Slavery in Early Mediaeval England*, 187. Galbraith, *The Making of Domesday Book*, 8. Pelteret states he took this table from Galbraith and Galbraith from Bryce D. Lyon and ultimately this table is formed by Carl Stephenson. Both include the order of Domesday Book via giving the numbers in parentheses, I ignored that. I took the Table from Pelteret’s work.

¹¹⁹ Finn, *The Domesday Inquest*, 35.

characteristics proves that all the counties sharing them formed a single circuit.” On the other hand, Galbraith declares that circuits I, III, VII are almost definite while he cannot say the same thing for circuits IV, V and VI. Moreover, since circuit VI appears to be a challenging task because of its too many counties and circuit VI was likely to be comprised of just Lincolnshire and Yorkshire.¹²⁰ Although he states the mutual features do not mean that they are in the same circuit, he also puts forward Staffordshire’s possible place in circuit IV instead of circuit V for consideration.¹²¹ Even this idea is supported by several historians. Lewis also alleges that Staffordshire should be transferred to Circuit IV.¹²² Likewise, Pelteret corroborates the removal of Staffordshire from the Circuit V regarding two reasons. The first one is that *bouarii* are not detected in Staffordshire unlike the other four Circuit V members.¹²³ The other reason for Pelteret is that the commissioners of Circuit V seems determined to count *ancillae* but only one *ancilla* is counted in Staffordshire.¹²⁴ In other words, while the female slaves are much found in all other counties, Gloucester, Worcester, Hereford, Shropshire, it seems very strange that Staffordshire has only one female slave. Yet, Cheshire also has eight female slaves; it is quite low regarding the other counties.

¹²⁰ Galbraith, *The Making of Domesday Book*, 59.

¹²¹ Galbraith, *The Making of Domesday Book*, 200, n.2

¹²² C. P. Lewis, “An Introduction to the Shropshire Domesday”, in *The Shropshire Domesday*, eds. Ann Williams and R. W. H. Erskine (London: Alecto Historical Editions, 1990), 6, n.2.

¹²³ Pelteret, *Slavery in Early Mediaeval England*, 195, n.38.

¹²⁴ Pelteret, *Slavery in Early Mediaeval England*, 202, n.73.

We witness that the counties whether they are the member of the same circuit or not, their characteristics— namely what is enumerated and what is taken into consideration— are not always parallel to each other. There is not a particular criterion that fixes all the counties' records. Finn gives Shropshire as an example and states that no matter which circuit Shropshire is in, while its neighbour counties include meadow, Shropshire seems meadowless.¹²⁵ Other enumerations may also differ like ploughs. Some counties like Gloucestershire do not give specific data about ploughs while some like Shropshire and Warwickshire have records of ploughlands.

What we concern is the data which is shaped either by the commissioner before the compilation or the clerks in Winchester during the compilation. Pelteret states whether the data is created by the commissioners or the editors in Winchester does not make a difference on our analysis of the records. So, following the path of many scholars we also make use of the theory of the commissioners worked in circuits.¹²⁶ The commissioners and their technique are discussed above. However, apart from all of these, the essential point which really matters is what we should really understand from the commissioners' records in Domesday Book. As I have mentioned above, the commissioners left their imprints in the data and we have to understand both how they explained the details, especially of the people, and what these details purport indeed. Domesday Book entries offer plentiful features related to people and system of contemporary time. As the terms

¹²⁵ Finn, *The Domesday Inquest*, 36.

¹²⁶ Pelteret, *Slavery in Early Mediaeval England*, 187.

of reference suggests, the people who are supposed to be enumerated are designated. Thus, people could be categorized into approximately five groups which are villagers, cottars, slaves, freemen and sokemen. H. C. Darby in his *Domesday England* states that the category order which the commissioners' terms of reference suggests is reasonable because the villager, cottar and slave are connected to the demesne and the terms of reference gives them first; and the free peasantry come after the first three in the order: freemen and sokemen. However, there are many and various people of whom are spoken briefly in the records. In general, the information obtained suggests three principal categories: "First come freemen and sokemen; then comes villeins together with bordars, cottars and coscets; and lastly there are slaves."¹²⁷

We, however, cannot state a definite and clear assertion about the aforementioned five categories of people. Historians are also both appreciated for and aware of the misleading items in Domesday Book. Darby states "the picture that emerges [from Domesday Book] is only a very imperfect one"¹²⁸ and Russell, in his book *Medieval British Population*, declares that agricultural population is dealt with in a way achieving the expectations in the inquest. However, many groups of people are unlikely to be counted as they are positioned under the landholder. The reason why some class of people, who are not expected to be found in Domesday records, such as millers or smiths are mentioned is they have land albeit little. On the other hand, some people such as the clerks who are

¹²⁷ Darby, *Domesday England*, 61.

¹²⁸ Darby, *Domesday England*, 57.

expected to be in the records are not observed despite obtained information of agricultural population.¹²⁹ That is to say, there is still an obscurity about the number of people and what picture they portray.

¹²⁹ Josiah Cox Russell, *British Medieval Population* (Albuquerque: The University of New Mexico Press, 1948), 37-39.

CHAPTER III

FEMALE SLAVES IN SIX COUNTIES' DOMESDAY BOOK

3.1 Overall Approach

People who appeared in Domesday Book could be grouped into two: aristocracy with clergy, and peasantry. Aristocracy consists of landowners and their wealth is recorded with their names in the Book. Unlike the aristocracy, the members of peasantry are not recorded by their names. We cannot understand and interpret their position in the society thoroughly just by Domesday records. Some members of the peasantry could be listed as *villanus*, *bordarius*, *bovarius*, *radman*, and *colibertus*. Sometimes, craftsmen and priests are also thought to be included in peasantry.¹³⁰ Radmen or riding men are in riding service of the lords; however, what they are really required to do is unknown.¹³¹ They are

¹³⁰ H.C. Darby, *Domesday England*, 75. H.C. Darby and I.B. Terrett, eds., *The Domesday Geography of Midland England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1954), 18.

¹³¹ Reginald Lennard, *Rural England 1086-1135: A Study of Social and Agrarian Conditions* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1959), 276.

also recorded in Gloucestershire as ploughing and reaping. *Coliberti* are thought to be freedmen; therefore, their position must have been somewhere between *villanus* and *servus*. This category also raises curiosity about the disappearance of slavery in medieval England. However, we will focus on *villanus* and *bovarius* here in order to concentrate on our main concern: *servus* and *ancilla*.

Villanus can either be translated as villager or villein. Despite its various translations, it is a fact that in every county villagers are enumerated in Domesday Book and constitute the majority of the peasantry. The confusion created by the translation of the *villanus* stems from its possible meaning of peasantry in general. This also raises a question whether some slaves, male or female, may have been regarded as *villani* –after all *villanus* is also unfree.¹³² As we will elaborate on it later, slaves sometimes are recorded sharing a plough, and they may have been seen as villagers by the commissioners. Furthermore, villagers could own slaves; but their wealth is not expected to be enumerated in the records.¹³³ This may also be an indication that there may have been more slaves, both female and male, in early medieval England.

Regarding *bovarii*, the people in this category are occasionally discussed in terms of being slaves or former slaves. *Bovarius* is translated as both oxman and ploughman. That

¹³² Maitland argues that *villanus* is both free and unfree. He also states that everyone who is above the rank of a *servus*, but below the rank of a thegn, is a *villanus*. (F.W. Maitland, *Domesday Book and Beyond: Three Essays in the Early History of England* (London and Glasgow: The Fontana Library, 1965), 60.)

¹³³ F.W. Maitland, *Domesday Book and Beyond: Three Essays in the Early History of England* (London and Glasgow: The Fontana Library, 1965), 70-1.

is why they are compared with the slaves: *servi* are believed to be recorded in relation to the ploughs.¹³⁴ On the other hand, *bovarii* are literally the people ploughing with oxen. Therefore, whether slaves' position in the society was promoted to being a ploughman is pertinent to the disappearance of slavery as argued among historians. Yet, Vinogradoff states that "[t]here is no reason for identifying them with the *bovarii* mentioned in some instances as dwellers on the demesne. The *bovarii* may be serfs or may be of villain stock, but the allusions to women slaves ought to teach us that the expressions were not equivalent."¹³⁵ We can reinforce Vinogradoff's statement with the fact that combined numbers of slaves are always given for male and female slaves and we have not observed it for *bovarii* and *ancillae*: "5 slaves, male and female; 6 ploughmen." (Ibi V inter servus et ancillae et VI bovarii)¹³⁶

The translation of the Latin word *servus* is not resolved among the historians and *servus* is sometimes translated as "serf" and sometimes as "slave".¹³⁷ Although its translation may vary, it is generally acknowledged that the people recorded as *servi* indicate the lowest positioned members of the unfree peasantry.

¹³⁴ Pelteret, *Slavery in Early Mediaeval England*, 194.

¹³⁵ Vinogradoff, *The Growth*, 334

¹³⁶ Darby, *Domesday England*, 74. Thorn, *Domesday Book, vol 17: Herefordshire*, fo. 180 d.

¹³⁷ The word "serf" is preferred for *servus* in *The Domesday Geography of Midland England* (H.C. Darby and I.B. Terrett, eds., *The Domesday Geography of Midland England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1954).) and in *The Domesday Geography of Northern England* (H.C. Darby and I.S. Maxwell, eds., *The Domesday Geography of Northern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1962).). However, Maitland claims that the people mentioned as *servi* must have been slaves in his work *Domesday Book and Beyond*. (F.W. Maitland, *Domesday Book and Beyond: Three Essays in the Early History of England* (London and Glasgow: The Fontana Library, 1965), 52.) Vinogradoff also maintains that *servus* of Domesday Book is "slave". (Vinogradoff, *The Growth of the Manor*, 333.)

The position of the *servus* in Domesday records, particularly in our six counties' records, may also be seen as an indication that they are recorded as a wealth, not as persons. They are generally listed after *villani* and *bordarii* and before or among such properties as the mills, meadows and woodlands. For example, in Yanworth in Gloucestershire, we read: "14 villagers and 2 smallholders with 7 ploughs. 7 slaves; a mill at 40d; woodland 3 furlongs long and 2 wide."¹³⁸ As observed in this record, they are occasionally next to the ploughs, and scholars suggest that slaves are also in a close connection with ploughs in real village life and work in ploughing lands. However, this example is not a typical record of Domesday Book, each county records exhibits a different order in people and properties. For example, in Herefordshire, a slave comes first in the record order: "Ralph of Tosny holds Dewshall, and William and Ilbert from him. Wulfheah held it. 1 hide. In lordship 2 ploughs; 1 slave; 4 smallholders with 2 ploughs."¹³⁹ We also encounter such entries of a county as they may show differences within itself. It is better to explain this with an example: Again, in Herefordshire, there is also an entry which is "Hinton. 1 hide which pays tax. ... In lordship 1 plough; 4 villagers with 2½ ploughs. 3 slaves and 4 cottagers. A mill at 4s."¹⁴⁰ In this entry, this time there are slaves between the villagers and cottagers, who are both known to have a higher position than slave in the peasantry, though with the villagers higher than the cottagers. That is to say, it does not seem a good path to interpret slaves according to just their relative position in the entries of Domesday

¹³⁸ John S. Moore, *Domesday Book, vol 15: Gloucestershire* (Chichester: Phillimore, 1982), fo. 170 b.

¹³⁹ Thorn, *Domesday Book, vol 17: Herefordshire*, fo. 181 b.

¹⁴⁰ Thorn, *Domesday Book, vol 17: Herefordshire*, fo. 182 d.

Book. Of course, we can link slaves to the ploughs provided the record specifies the position of *servus*, like in Aldon from Shropshire: “Of this manor’s land Richard holds 1 hide, and Aldred one member of the land. 1 plough there. 12 villagers, 7 smallholders and 3 slaves with 3 ploughs.”¹⁴¹ This example specifically displays that the slaves mentioned here with 3 ploughs are different from the same manor’s other and first record which is: “Roger also holds Aldon. Siward held it; he was a free man. 2½ hides which pay tax. Land for 15 ploughs. In lordship 2 ploughs; 8 slaves, male and female; 24 villagers, 2 smallholders and 1 Cottager with 8 ploughs between them. A mill at 5s.”¹⁴² We can be sure about the difference between the slaves with ploughs and the other slaves in this record. However, we cannot trust Domesday Book for always giving all the details while there is no single standard formula in all the counties.

Some scholars focus rather on the disappearance of slavery in England and Domesday counties. Also, their attention may be on whether the commissioners enumerate slaves individually or they just count the heads of the households.¹⁴³ It also matters for this study whether *servus* and *ancilla* are recorded individually or not because we are in quest

¹⁴¹ Frank and Caroline Thorn, *Domesday Book, vol 25: Shropshire* (Chichester: Phillimore, 1986), fo. 260 d.

¹⁴² Thorn, *Domesday Book, vol 25: Shropshire*, fo. 260 d.

¹⁴³ Darby links the disappearance of slavery to the landholders’ intent to make more use of people via making slaves peasants. He also mentions that there may be uncounted slaves in some counties such as Huntingdonshire and Yorkshire as their neighbour counties are recorded to have some. He also declares that the uncertainty about recording head of household or individuals causes misleading and/or wrong deductions of total population. (Darby, *Domesday England*, 73-4. Vinogradoff also links disappearance of slavery to economic conditions and transformation into serfdom in order to take more advantage from labour. (Vinogradoff, *The Growth*, 334).

of their life and what they are required to do and in the villages of eleventh-century England. Knowing they are recorded individually or not would be very effective on our speculations about their daily lives. Although we cannot be sure about how the commissioners enumerate the slaves, we tend to consider that slaves are recorded individually because sometimes we encounter many entries including “inter seruos et ancillas”: “In lordship there were 5 ploughs; 16 slaves, male and female;”¹⁴⁴

F.W. Maitland asserted that although there may have been some slaves who were in every sense bound to their owners, many slaves could have their own land and house in many places of eleventh-century England, especially in the south-western counties.¹⁴⁵ Maitland’s suggestion seems plausible as we have also observed some entries in which slaves could also have a share in plough. Moreover, Domesday Book does not give information about the peasantry’s houses: the commissioners seem interested in just wealth which may bring about economic gain. In addition to the example above, we can also give an example from Worcestershire: “The priests of Wolverhampton hold Lutley. 2 hides. They held them themselves before 1066. They have 2 villagers, 2 slaves and 1 smallholder with 4 ploughs.”¹⁴⁶ This example shows both the position of the slave in the entry—slaves are recorded before the smallholder. On the other hand, their position in the entry may also mean that they belong to the villagers and so work for the villagers.

¹⁴⁴ Thorn, *Domesday Book*, vol 25: *Shropshire*, fo. 260 d.

¹⁴⁵ Maitland, *Domesday Book and Beyond*, 59-60.

¹⁴⁶ Frank and Caroline Thorn, *Domesday Book*, vol 16: *Worcestershire* (Chichester: Phillimore, 1982), fo. 176 a.

The gradual improvement in slaves' conditions in the society is seen as a result of the need which is occasioned by economic development. To be clear, the slaveowners amended the oldest methods of having slaves in order to make more profit from the slaves; that is, the more the labourers feel free, the more the owners could take advantage of them. The owners actually help the economy develop (intentionally or unintentionally) in order to draw advantage from the slaves. Slaves may most probably have specialized in some professions. Especially animal husbandry fits what slaves may have been obliged to do, and Domesday Book presents some categories such as beekeeper and swineherds although we do not have many examples of the records of livestock.¹⁴⁷ For example, in Bushley, it is recorded that "In this manor 1 hide. In lordship 2 ploughs; 4 villagers, 8 smallholders, a reeve and a beadle; between them they have 4 ploughs. 8 slaves, male and female; a cowman and a dairymaid."¹⁴⁸ Therefore, it will not be a true deduction to link slaves to just occupations in arable farming. As they are slaves, they must have faced very many duties and commitments, no matter how improved their conditions are.

The *ancillae* are equally important member among the recorded members of the peasantry in Domesday Book; because *ancillae* are recorded in Domesday Book just like *villani* and *bordari* even though they are female. The Latin word *ancilla* (*ancillae* in

¹⁴⁷ Rosamund Faith, *The English Peasantry and The Growth of Lordship* (London and Washington: Leicester University Press, 1997), 64-5.

¹⁴⁸ Thorn, *Domesday Book, vol 17: Herefordshire*, fo. 180 c, d.

plural) is translated as female slave in general but we also come across its translation as bondwoman, as we have seen in Darby's *Domesday Geography* books.¹⁴⁹

In this study, when "female slave" is used, we mean *ancilla*; and as they are slaves, they are expected to be recorded due to the fact that they are seen as properties. On the other hand, there are few women mentioned in Domesday Book and they are generally from the aristocracy. We rarely observe women belonging to peasantry (they are actually wives of peasants); and *ancilla*, as someone not subsumed in a male household, takes her place along with main people enumerated in this survey. However, we cannot reach much information via either Domesday Book or the main research and studies about Domesday Book. *Ancillae* are also generally referred to when *servi* are studied; yet we cannot find a detailed study about female slaves on their own. The reason for this may be that they are not one of the main populations of a county, while *servi* often are, and always are when speaking of the six counties we deal with.

When we compare the numbers of female slaves and male slaves, we see that male slaves are always far more numerous than female slaves. However, we also sometimes see at least one female slave recorded in a place where there are no male slaves: "St. Mary's Church, Warwick, holds 1 hide in Myton. Land for 1 plough. 3 smallholders with 1 plough; 1 female slave. Meadow, 4 acres. The value was 5s; now 10s. Earl Edwin held

¹⁴⁹ H.C. Darby and I.B. Terrett, eds., *The Domesday Geography of Midland England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1954) and H.C. Darby and I.S. Maxwell, eds., *The Domesday Geography of Northern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1962).

it.”¹⁵⁰ It seems that there must have been more female slaves than ones recorded in a county. However, this raises a tricky question: what is the reason for the commissioners to record some of them while they do not record the rest? We never can be sure about this; actually, there may be no more female slaves than the recorded ones; we can never know this. However, if there were, then the reason may concern the same debate about whether Domesday people are counted individually or just by heads of households again. First of all, it seems not very likely for a woman to be counted as a head of household in Early Medieval England. Moreover, counting these female slaves as the male slaves’ wives does not make sense either, because of the significant difference between the numbers of female and male slaves. Pelteret’s suggestion may answer the question. Pelteret states that, “the *ancillae* enumerated were women holding positions of responsibility on an estate. [...] permanent staff such as slaves were important in the manorial economy, where they were needed to perform the daily services for which the occasional labour of the villein was unsuited.”¹⁵¹ This is right in that there must have been someone to deal with the everyday duties on a demesne, as *villani* are supposed to work on their lands and only sometimes render service to their lords; and female slaves would be suitable for the constant jobs on a demesne. However, this statement may also mean that female slaves’ commitments are definite. This also seems to omit other potential occupations which female slaves may have had. However, we do not have

¹⁵⁰ John Morris, *Domesday Book, vol 23: Warwickshire* (Chichester: Phillimore, 1976), fo. 241 d.

¹⁵¹ Pelteret, *Slavery in Early Mediaeval England*, 203.

adequate evidence to state which duties female slaves are required to perform. As they are seen as properties, they are expected to deal with many duties apart from the household duties which are automatically bestowed upon them. In fact, female slaves may have undertaken the same commitments which are expected from the male slaves as well.

For example, historians think that ploughs, as we have mentioned before, are in connection with the male slaves. However, Domesday Book gives us some examples which display no *servus* and no *bovarius*, but *ancillae*: “in Cirencester Hundred in Duntisbourne (‘Hotat’) 1 hide. Aelmer held it as a manor and could go where he would. In lordship 1 plough; 1 villager, 2 smallholders and 5 female slaves. The value was 40s; now 20s.”¹⁵² This example is from Gloucestershire, and this is the only record which does not refer to any male slave and ploughman from this county. Nonetheless, there are similar examples from other counties. The examples including female slaves and ploughs from Domesday Book may be less so far as to the ones with male slaves and ploughs. However, the commissioners may have disregarded many female slaves; and Domesday Book shows inconsistency in its records. Even if working in plough-teams is discordant with the gender roles, Domesday Book mentions other places where labour is needed apart from domestic duties and agrarian activities; and there is no evidence to state that

¹⁵² Moore, *Domesday Book, vol 15: Gloucestershire*, fo. 169 d, 170 a.

female slaves may not put into work in places such as mills, salt-houses, woodlands, meadows and fisheries.

Meadows and pastures maybe were the most probable areas where female slaves were put to work as well as domestic commitments, because these areas were perfect for animal husbandry. Female slaves could reap and prepare food for the animals; moreover, they could graze the animals in meadows and pastures. For Wales, Wendy Davies states that in winter, livestock is housed in the barns and fed with hay which was reaped from the meadows and pastures and dried.¹⁵³ This method was most probably used in Domesday counties too and female slaves may have been used in both reaping and animal husbandry.

Mills actually have bilateral effect on female slaves' duties. Female slaves' grinding the grain by hand are known, but when the number of water-mills increases and they extend over a large area, this hand-grinding is thought to decrease and perhaps come to an end, though perhaps not completely.¹⁵⁴ Water-mills are frequently recorded in Domesday Book and we suggest that female slaves as well as male ones not infrequently seem to have a connection with the mills. We cannot be sure about how they may have been exploited as there is no evidence about it. Yet, labour must have been required in the mills, especially in the ones which do not have a miller. Even if there is a miller, there

¹⁵³ Wendy Davies, *Wales in the Early Middle Ages* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1982), 41.

¹⁵⁴ Faith, *The English Peasantry*, 64-5.

may be a need to direct the water to the mill, to pour the grain and to collect the flour, portorage, and even catching the eels in the millpond could have been part of the daily routine in a mill. Therefore, in both grinding, by hand and in the water-mills, female slaves may have been assigned to work.

Woodlands are also among the potential working areas mentioned in Domesday Book because they contain resources such as timber, firewood, and also provide food for animals.¹⁵⁵ Besides woodlands, Domesday Book also presents enclosures and hawk's eyries which are clear indications of hunting. Therefore, female slaves may have been exploited in the woods in various ways from portorage to animal husbandry. They may have foraged pigs and sheep; they may have worked in enclosures taking care of the hunting animals such as hounds and horses. Furthermore, they may have also gathered berries or herbs for the household they worked for and they may have collected plants for dying textiles.

Domesday Book records also indicate that eels are a prevalent fish type in England. They are rendered from both mills and fisheries. From the records, we can deduce that salmon were also obtained in the fisheries. We suggest that fisheries are among the possible working zones for the female slaves. Domesday Book does not give information about how fishermen caught fish; but having no information about that also helps us speculate what female slaves may have done: cleaning fish, making nets, preparing bait for the

¹⁵⁵ Lennard, *Rural England*, 3.

hooks are the first things we can imagine. Porterage is also the most plausible duty for any slave. Moreover, female slaves may have been responsible for keeping fish fresh. This must have been a challenging job, but keeping fish and meat fresh and using salt in this process are very plausible tasks.

We suggest that female slaves may have been employed in salt-houses (or salt-pans). Many counties, which have a coast, obtain salt by evaporating the sea water. However, for our counties, salt is obtained from the brine springs for which Worcester and Cheshire are famous.¹⁵⁶ In each county, at least one record necessarily mentions a salt-house within itself or in Droitwich. For example, in Gloucestershire, it is recorded: “In Stanway 7 hides which belong to the Church. 2 ploughs in lordship; 8 villagers and 2 smallholders with 8 ploughs. A monastery; 5 slaves, male and female. A salt-house at Droitwich; meadow, 8 acres; woodland 3 furlongs long and 1 wide.”¹⁵⁷ Employing female slaves at a salt-house which was in a different county may sound a bit unreasonable. However, as slaves were property of their owners they had right to move their property as they wish. Even if moving female slaves from one county to the other is a far-fetched idea, we may expect the owners exploit female slaves at salt-houses in Worcestershire and Cheshire.

We also observe that timber obtained from woodlands was sold or sent to Droitwich in order to get salt in return. For example, a record says “woodland 2 leagues long and 1/2

¹⁵⁶ Lennard, *Rural England*, 243-44.

¹⁵⁷ Moore, *Domesday Book, vol 15: Gloucestershire*, fo. 163 c.

wide, from which the Bishop has whatever comes from it, in hunting and in honey and in timber for the salt-houses of Droitwich and 4s.”¹⁵⁸ Worcestershire is one of our favourite counties, because it has many female slaves; yet Cheshire has the least number of female slaves (8 in total), but the records give rules and also clues related to salt-work. For example, salt was carried in carts; oxen and horses were also used.¹⁵⁹ We do not have evidence who may have worked in these salt-houses and whether gender roles were effective in this or not. However, female slaves may have been used in heating salt-pans and obtaining salt. Moreover, they may have played a role in the organization of preparing salt for portage: depositing salt in carts, oxen and horses to carry salt.

These working areas were possible and feasible places where female slaves could have been exploited. However, there are other commitments which are automatically bestowed on them: household needs and domestic issues. These also encompass processing the milk and milk products, and we have already given an example of a dairymaid in Bushley.¹⁶⁰ Domesday Book presents such examples in very few numbers. However, there must have been more people for attending dairy, because milk and milk products are among the main foods. Apart from dairy, we can count many tasks in a house: preparing meals, washing clothes, cleaning, and building fire in a fireplace. These all could be subdivided into detailed pieces of works. For example, they could start a fire for

¹⁵⁸ Thorn, *Domesday Book, vol 16: Worcestershire*, fo. 172 d, 173 a.

¹⁵⁹ Philip Morgan, *Domesday Book, vol 26: Cheshire* (Chichester: Phillimore, 1978), fo. 268 a, 268 b.

¹⁶⁰ Thorn, *Domesday Book, vol 17: Herefordshire*, fo. 180 c, d.

both cooking and heating the house. Moreover, hot water may have needed for their owners and slaves may have supposed to have hot water in any time. Cleaning may include both the house of their owners, and barns and stalls where livestock is kept. They may have washed the clothes in the house or they may need to go to the riverside. Moreover, growing vegetables may have also been an important task for the slaves. We can reproduce many tasks for the slaves in a household even though Domesday Book does not tell us anything about it.

Domesday Book also presents the records of honey and vinyards and these also bring to mind that slaves may have also been involved in their processes. They may have collected honey from hives if not from the hives in the woods, and they could make wine or be put to work in the vinyards. Honey seems an important part of a kitchen because it was used for making beer, mead and also for sweetening other products.¹⁶¹

These possible working areas and slaves are closely examined in six counties — Worcestershire, Herefordshire, Gloucestershire, Shropshire, Warwickshire, and Cheshire. Their analyses are sorted in accordance with their female slave numbers. The reason to choose these counties is that they have more female slaves than the other counties; after all it is acknowledged that “there are comparatively many serfs in the manors of western counties, fewer in the midlands, and hardly any in the east.”¹⁶²

¹⁶¹ Davies, *Wales*, 41.

¹⁶² Vinogradoff, *The Growth*, 334.

In the analysis of the six counties, the same approach is applied to each of the counties: first, their slave numbers are examined; female slaves and male slaves are stated individually. We refer to entries where male and female slaves are given a single number as “combined”. After the examination of the slave numbers, we probe the records in which *ancillae* are mentioned in order to deal with where they could be exploited. We come across some features which may illuminate the path to understanding female slaves and their functions. These features include mills, pasture, fisheries, salt-houses, meadow, and woodland. It is important to note here that unless otherwise stated, all the numbers in the analyses are from my own survey of the Domesday records of the counties; and we have only taken the entries with slaves into consideration.

3.2 Worcestershire

Worcestershire is the most important county in our study due to the fact that it has the highest number of female slaves among the six counties we focus on. As seen in *Figure 1*, I have counted one hundred and five female slaves in the records of the county’s Domesday Book. However, we are sure that there are more female slaves in Worcestershire because in the records a combined number of female and male slaves is given and I count this group as twenty-five. This is quite inspiring because we can trace

female slaves in this county with more clues and hopefully understand what they did or at least what they were supposed to do.

Unlike the number of female slaves, the male slave number is lower than the ones in Gloucestershire, Warwickshire, Herefordshire, and Shropshire. Even so, the majority of the slaves in Worcestershire is male and their total is six hundred and sixty-two according to my survey. As expected, there are different suggestions for these numbers. For example, while Darby presents the total number for *ancillae* as 136, Pelteret's enumeration for *ancillae* is 128 in total. Their suggestions for the male slave numbers also differ; Darby gives 704 and Pelteret gives 590.¹⁶³



Figure 1 Slave Population in Worcestershire

¹⁶³ Darby, *The Domesday Geography of Midland England*, 236. Pelteret, *Slavery in Early Mediaeval England*, 193.

Apart from the slave population, Worcestershire Domesday Book offers the records of the other groups of people. The most important ones are *villanus* and *bordarius* as they comprise the majority of the population. We should also note that *servus* is also among the main groups in Worcestershire. These three groups are not the only population of the county; the records also mention millers, freemen, priests, *cotari*, *coliberti*, Frenchmen, and *radmen*. We observe in some entries that Frenchman could also have ploughs; we also come across with that in other counties. Interestingly, in an entry of Comberton, we also see that a Frenchman could have slaves, too: “A Frenchman holds 1 hide. He has 1 plough, 2 male slaves and 1 female slave.”¹⁶⁴ This is not common entry for our survey.

Our main concern in the population is *ancilla* of course, but we also observe dairymaids and widows in Worcestershire. Dairymaids (*daia*) are very interesting because they may be former slaves and this raises such questions as whether female slaves are enumerated in accordance with their duties’ importance. In that case, there must have been many more slaves whose deeds were seen unimportant by the commissioners.

¹⁶⁴ Thorn, *Domesday Book, vol 16: Worcestershire*, fo. 175 a, b.

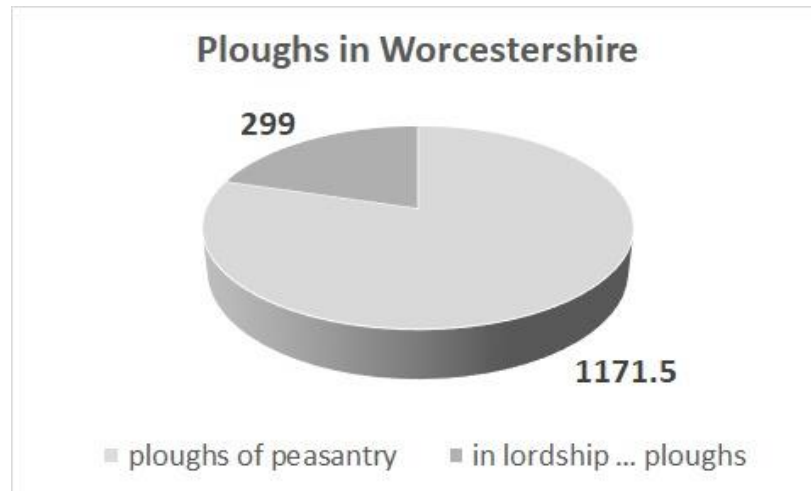
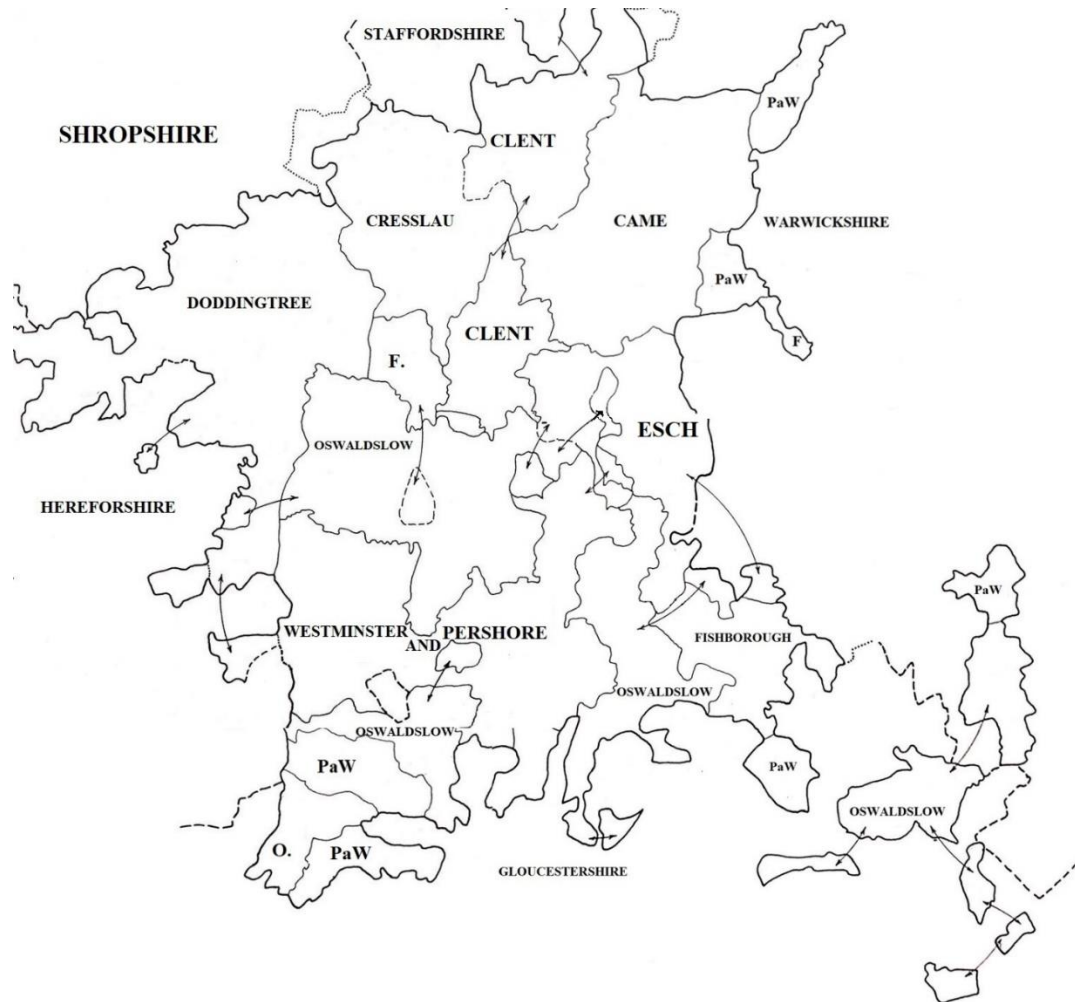


Figure 2 Ploughs in Worcestershire

The total number of ploughs in Worcestershire is 1470.5 and 299 of these are in the lordship. The rest of them are recorded as being owned by the villagers, radmen and other groups of people. Moreover, it is recorded that there is land for 269 more ploughs. Unlike Gloucestershire and Shropshire, there are some entries mentioning oxen as well as ploughs. For example, in Lyppard from Oswaldslow it is recorded that “3 villagers and 2 smallholders. A priest and 1 hunter. They have 1 plough and 6 oxen.”¹⁶⁵ Oxen bring mind to *bovarii* and *servus*. These two are thought to be in relation because *servi* are also thought to attend ploughing.

¹⁶⁵ Thorn, *Domesday Book, vol 16: Worcestershire*, fo. 173 d, 174 a.



*Figure 3 Worcestershire Hundreds*¹⁶⁶

Worcestershire as a county is also one of the most difficult counties to study on because determining the boundaries between the hundreds as well as understanding the places' hundred in the records are quite challenging. One of the hundreds of Worcestershire is Pershore and Westminster, which belonged to the Church. As seen in the figure above,

¹⁶⁶ In the figure some hundreds' names are abbreviated due to the lack of space. "PaW" indicates Pershore and Westminster Hundred, "O." indicates Oswaldslow and "F." indicates Fishborough.

hundreds do not take place as a whole; on the contrary, they expand in small pieces. This also makes it difficult to make a comment about hundreds. As our main concern is not to determine the boundaries, it is sufficient for this study to state that when we examine the results of my counting, we see that no female slave is recorded in Fishborough whereas we record female slaves in Came, Clent, Cresslau, Doddingtree, Esch, Oswaldslow, Pershore, and Westminster. We can demonstrate the numbers in a table as follows:

Table 4 Total Slave Numbers in Worcestershire Hundreds

Hundred	Female Slaves	Male Slaves	Combined
Came	5	21	7
Clent	7	48	0
Cresslau	7	20	18
Doddingtree	4	127	0
Esch	6	36	0
Fishborough	0	25	0
Oswaldslow	39	225	0
Pershore and Westminster	37	139	25

The entries mentioning mill(s) and female slaves are in the hundreds of Came, Clent, Cresslau, Doddingtree, Esch, and Oswaldslow. As we have mentioned above,

Fishborough does not have any female slaves. This means that other hundreds have both female slaves and mills in the same entry. The table below shows the details of them with the slave numbers and mill numbers.

Table 5 Mills mentioned in the same entries with female slaves in Worcestershire

Hundred	# of Slaves			# of Mills with Female Slaves	# of Mills in the Whole Hundred
	Female	Male	Combined		
Came	2	13	0	5	5
Clent	14	30	0	8	11
Cresslau	7	14	0	4	9
Doddingtree	4	4	0	1	10
Esch	5	8	0	2	3
Oswaldslow	26	78	0	14	38
Pershore and Westminster	11	27	0	7	14

According to this table, each mill is recorded with female slaves in the entries of Came. Thus, female slaves are most probably put to work in mills along with other possible occupations in this county. The table also indicates that the highest number of female slaves recorded with the mills is in Oswaldslow. When we take the total number of slaves and the total number of mills into consideration, we see that in Doddingtree, and Pershore and Westminster, the ratio between the number of slaves and the mills is the highest. (In Doddingtree the ratio is approximately fourteen while in Pershore and Westminster the ratio is approximately thirteen.) This leads us to think that this place's slaves have tasks apart from the ones in the mill. As understood from the Table 2, all female slaves in Doddingtree are recorded with one mill in the same entry. Their equal number (both

female and male slave number is four) arises curiosity. We may ask whether they work in the mills in shifts? When we check their entry, we see that mill is not the only place to work for the slaves; their owner also holds meadow and woodland besides ploughs. Moreover, the entry mentions a smith and a miller.¹⁶⁷ Therefore, our questions arise: We can ask whether their owner regards gender roles and makes male slaves work in ploughs or cutting firewood in woodland whereas he makes female slaves work in the mills. Maybe, male slaves worked for the smith and female slaves helped the miller. Domesday Book does not help us answer these questions.

When we examine the entries mentioning mills, we are generally informed of how and how much they render. They may pay in different kinds: money or whatever they yield. For example in Lench from Oswaldslow, someone called Urso has 2 male and 2 female slaves and also a mill which pays 4s.¹⁶⁸ In Powick, there are 4 male and one female slave and also a mill “which serves the hall.”¹⁶⁹ This means that the mill shares the yield with the county hall. There are also mills recorded next to the eels. Since no fishery is recorded in the same entry, we can understand that the mills may have also yielded eels. For example, it is recorded that there are “16 male and 3 female slaves. A mill at 10s; 20

¹⁶⁷ Osbern son of Richard Scrope holds Berrington from the King. His father Richard held it. 2 hides which pay tax. In lordship 2 ploughs; 8 villagers, 4 smallholders, a smith and a miller with 9 ploughs; 1 more plough would be possible. 4 male and 4 female slaves. A mill which pays 22 packloads of corn; meadow, 10 acres; woodland 1½ leagues long and 1 league wide. (*Domesday Book, vol 16: Worcestershire*, fo. 176 c.)

¹⁶⁸ Thorn, *Domesday Book, vol 16: Worcestershire*, fo. 172 d, 173 a.

¹⁶⁹ Thorn, *Domesday Book, vol 16: Worcestershire*, fo. 174 d.

sticks of eels;”¹⁷⁰ in Fladbury and similarly it is recorded that there are “10 male and 4 female slaves. A mill at 10s; 20 sticks of eels;” in Cropthorne and Netherton.¹⁷¹ As we do not see any fishermen in neither of two entries, we assume that slaves may have also been assigned to catch eels in addition to their mill tasks. Moreover, the sticks mentioned in the entries may have been the tool for catching fish.

Interestingly, the entry of Cleeve and Lench displays that a mill could also have paid with honey: “A mill which pays 1 sester of honey. 4 male and 4 female slaves”.¹⁷² In this entry, we do not see any person related to honey making or any beekeeper. Thus, we can easily link slaves to gathering honey from the hives. The entries do not give clues about what crop is yielded in the county; we are just informed about corn is ground. For example, in Chaddesley from Cresslau Hundred, we learn that there are 3 mills and also 8 slaves, female and male. These mills render “12 packloads of corn”.¹⁷³

Apart from the eels which are obtained in a mill-pond, we also find them in the entries which mention fisheries. Actually, we do not observe any other type of fish except for eels, and in Worcestershire fisheries seems to pay in sticks of eels. For example, in Hallow and Broadwas it is recorded that there is “a fishery at 20 sticks of eels”¹⁷⁴

Sometimes, the records do not include how much they render as seen in Eardiston and

¹⁷⁰ Thorn, *Domesday Book, vol 16: Worcestershire*, fo. 172 d, 173 a.

¹⁷¹ Thorn, *Domesday Book, vol 16: Worcestershire*, fo. 174 a.

¹⁷² Thorn, *Domesday Book, vol 16: Worcestershire*, fo. 174 a.

¹⁷³ Thorn, *Domesday Book, vol 16: Worcestershire*, fo. 178 a.

¹⁷⁴ Thorn, *Domesday Book, vol 16: Worcestershire*, fo. 173 d, 174 a.

Knighton: “A mill at 10s; a fishery; meadow”¹⁷⁵ and in Wick “A fishery.”¹⁷⁶ These records inform us only about their presence. Either way, as we do not see any fisherman in the records, we may suppose that slaves could be involved in fishing tasks, from weaving the nets to catching fish with a stick.

The woodlands of Worcestershire and their size are occasionally given in the records. We can give Bromsgrove which King William holds as an example: “woodland 7 leagues long and 4 leagues wide”. In this place, 4 hawks’ eyries are also recorded.¹⁷⁷ The hawks eyries are the indication of hunting. Sometimes, the records give interesting features related to the woods as in Fladbury: “woodland 2 leagues long and 1/2 wide, from which the Bishop has whatever comes from it, in hunting and in honey and in timber for the salt-houses of Droitwich and 4s.”¹⁷⁸ Similarly, in the entry of Ripple and Upton it is recorded that there is “woodland ½ league long and 3 furlongs wide, in Malvern. From this he [Bishop] had honey and hunting and whatever came from there and 10 s in addition. Now it is in the Forest. The Bishop receives from it pasture dues, fire-wood and (timber) for repairing houses.”¹⁷⁹ The last two examples give so many details and also possible tasks for the slaves, male and female. To add more, both entries mention female and male slaves and no craftsman like a hunter or beekeeper; and as understood, the woodland is very resourceful in honey, timber, firewood, and hunting. These all guide us

¹⁷⁵ Thorn, *Domesday Book, vol 16: Worcestershire*, fo. 174 b.

¹⁷⁶ Thorn, *Domesday Book, vol 16: Worcestershire*, fo. 174 b, c.

¹⁷⁷ Thorn, *Domesday Book, vol 16: Worcestershire*, fo. 172 b.

¹⁷⁸ Thorn, *Domesday Book, vol 16: Worcestershire*, fo. 172 d, 173 a.

¹⁷⁹ Thorn, *Domesday Book, vol 16: Worcestershire*, fo. 173 a, b.

that slaves may have done what beekeepers, woodsmen and/or carpenters and hunters may have done. Gender roles may have been effective in the tasks but as long as they were labelled slaves, female slaves must have been doing all kinds of jobs even if they required too much physical strength. Even if they were excused from “men’s job”, they must have undertaken responsibilities around all kind of duties in the woodlands.

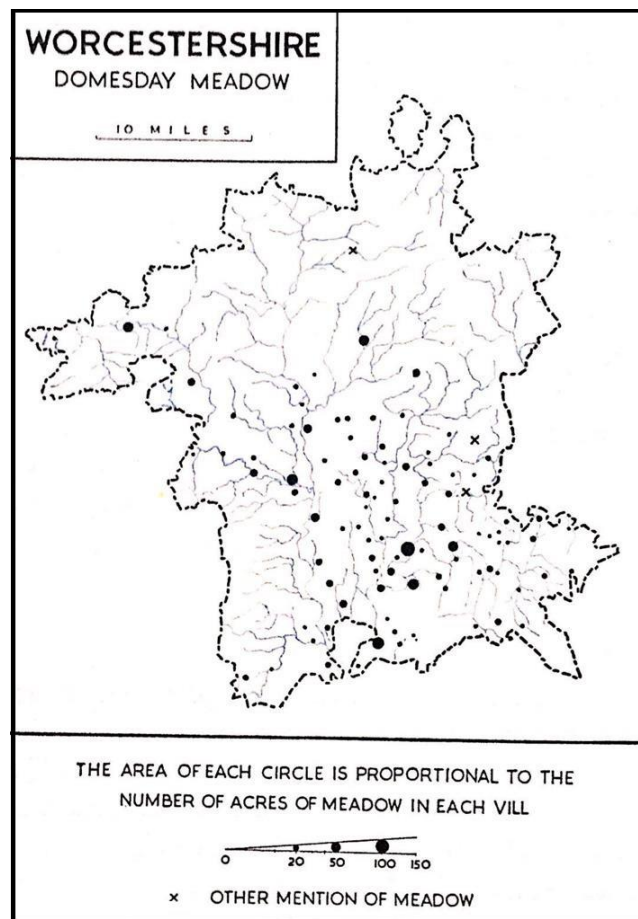


Figure 4 Meadows in Worcestershire¹⁸⁰

¹⁸⁰ Darby, *The Domesday Geography*, 248.

Regarding meadows, we are generally informed about their sizes in the entries as we see in (Rous) Lench there is “meadow, 6 acres”¹⁸¹ and in Dayleford there is “meadow, 20 acres”.¹⁸² However, there are also interesting details related to meadow. We are informed that in Eckington the landholders own meadows, as usual; however, the last statement of the entry arises curiosity: “These two, Dunning and Brictric, reaped for 1 day in their lord’s meadows as a customary due.”¹⁸³ From the entry, we learn that Dunning and Brictric are the former lords and now they are replaced by Urso and Thurstan son of Rolf respectively. While Urso has 4 male and 3 female slaves, Thurstan son of Rolf has 4 male, 3 female slaves. Assuming these lords took over the slaves while superseding, we infer that slaves must have reaped the lord’s meadows in place of their owners; this may have most probably continued and the slaves, regardless of their gender, may have presumably reaped for their new owners.

As we have understood in other countries’ records, Droitwich in Worcestershire is one of the most important resources of salt. We see quite a few salt-houses mentioned in the entries, many of which include female slaves. The salt houses recorded in Domesday Book, either in Droitwich or not, render salt or money. For example, four slaves, two of whom are female, are mentioned in Osmerley from Came Hundred, in this place there is also a salt house in Droitwich, and it renders 12 measures of salt.¹⁸⁴ On the other hand, in

¹⁸¹ Thorn, *Domesday Book, vol 16: Worcestershire*, fo. 172 d, 173 a.

¹⁸² Thorn, *Domesday Book, vol 16: Worcestershire*, fo. 173 b, c.

¹⁸³ Thorn, *Domesday Book, vol 16: Worcestershire*, fo. 174 c.

¹⁸⁴ “In Came Hundred ‘Osmerley’. Erlebald holds from him. Alfwood held it. 1 hide. In lordship 1 plough. 10 smallholders with 3 ploughs. 2 male and 2 female slaves. In Worcester 1 house at 16 d; in Droitwich 1

Halesowen from Clent Hundred, there are 2 female slaves and 8 male slaves, and also a salt house in Droitwich which pays 4s.¹⁸⁵ In Chaddesley in Cresslau Hundred, 8 slaves, female and male, and 5 salt-houses in Droitwich are recorded. These salt-houses paid 21 s and 4 d.¹⁸⁶ Droitwich is not the only place where salt is obtained, there are also other place entries referring to salt-houses but their places are not specified: 8 male and 2 female slaves along with 5 salt-houses are recorded in Salwarpe from Clent Hundred.¹⁸⁷ We also learn that in Cresslau Hundred there is a salt-house : “Rushock. Hunwulf holds from him. Aki held it. 5 hides. In lordship 1½ ploughs; 13 villagers, 1 smallholder and 3 cottage-men with 6½ ploughs. 4 slaves, female and male. A salt-house at 5 *ora*; woodland, 1½ leagues.”¹⁸⁸ These two entries do not specify the place of salt-houses. However, regarding our concern with female slaves, their place does not make so much difference. As salt is an important thing and profitable in trade, slaveowners could have used their slaves in salt making process. They may also have portered timber in carts to salt-houses or they may have been involved in the salt-making process in the salt-houses.

Worcestershire Domesday Book interestingly records one new growing vinyard in Oswaldslow Hundred: “Hampton. There were 5 hides before 1066. In lordship 3 ploughs;

salt-house which pays 12 measures of alt; wood ½ league. The value was 20s; value 13s.” Thorn, *Domesday Book, vol 16: Worcestershire*, fo. 177 c.

¹⁸⁵ Thorn, *Domesday Book, vol 16: Worcestershire*, fo. 176 a.

¹⁸⁶ Thorn, *Domesday Book, vol 16: Worcestershire*, fo. 178 a.

¹⁸⁷ “The Earl also holds Salwarpe, and Urso from him. Alwin Young held it. 5 hides. ... In lordship 1 plough; 6 villagers and 5 smallholders with 7 ploughs. 3 male and 3 female slaves. A mill at 10s; 5 salt-houses at 60s; woodland, ½ league; a park there. Value before 1066; 100s; now £6. 2 more ploughs possible.” Thorn, *Domesday Book, vol 16: Worcestershire*, fo. 176 a.

¹⁸⁸ Thorn, *Domesday Book, vol 16: Worcestershire*, fo. 177 c, d.

15 villagers, 5 smallholders and 1 Frenchman with 4 smallholders; between them they have 7 ploughs. 8 slaves. Meadow, 10 acres; a young vineyard there; 2 mills at 20s. The value was 100s; now £6.”¹⁸⁹ This entry does not refer to any female slave but eight male slaves. However, this also may lead us think that wine-making may be possible in Worcestershire manors. Unfortunately, we cannot assert that female slaves could work in this vineyard as they are not recorded in the same entry, yet we can assume that they could work in wine-making in somewhere else; wine is not required to be prepared in vineyards after all.

3.3 Herefordshire

Herefordshire is another county that has relatively high numbers of female slaves among the six counties we deal with. As observed in *Figure 5*, I have counted ninety-four female slaves in the records of Domesday Book. The total for the group of “Combined” is fifty-four. The majority of the slaves in Herefordshire are male and their total is six hundred and eighty-nine. Darby’s total for male slaves is 739 while his total for female slaves is 92.¹⁹⁰ Our totals and Darby’s total for female slaves are quite close although he divides

¹⁸⁹ Thorn, *Domesday Book, vol 16: Worcestershire*, fo. 175 d.

¹⁹⁰ Darby, *The Domesday Geography of Midland England*, 73.

the combined numbers of slaves half and allocate equal numbers for female slaves and male slaves.



Figure 5 Slave Population in Herefordshire

When we group the hundreds of Herefordshire according to whether they have female slaves or not, a list of hundreds without female slaves can be obtained: Golden Valley, Hazeltree and Wormelow. *Table 6* displays the total slave numbers in Herefordshire.

When we compare the number of male slaves and female slaves, we see few female slaves recorded while the male slaves are one of the main populations in Herefordshire.

We omitted three hundreds which do not have any female slaves in the table; however, it is important to note that some places actually belong to different counties, like

Gloucestershire and Worcestershire; yet they are recorded in Herefordshire Domesday Book. We have also removed these places and did not include them in Gloucestershire

and Worcestershire. In the table, we also see Castle and Castlery rows. These are indeed

not hundreds; in Herefordshire there are some castles, two of which have female slaves. One of them is in Monmouth, the other is in Clifford. Castlery is recorded in Caerleon. We can just assume that it is most probably in Wales because we learn from the entry that in that Castlery there are (apart from male and female slaves of course) 3 Welshmen and they are subject to Welsh law.¹⁹¹ When we examine *Figure 6*, we can also see the castles and also we can get an image of the slave distribution in the whole county.

When we examine the locations of Golden Valley, Hazeltree and Wormelow in order to see why especially they do not have any female slaves, we see that they do not share a mutual feature or a boundary; since they are located in different places. Darby's relief map for Herefordshire (shown in *Figure 3*) does not help us find a geographical reason, either. These three hundreds' altitudes appear to not be very high. Especially, Wormelow's altitude seems about 0 feet whereas the other two hundreds' altitudes vary from 0 feet to 600 feet. Even if we intend to link female slaves to agricultural activities and speculate that female slaves may have not been exploited in where agricultural tasks are not possible in rugged ground; this seems not applicable because we cannot say hundreds are in mountainous areas.

¹⁹¹ William of Ecouis holds carucates of and in the castlery of CAERLEON. Thurstan holds from him. He has 1 plough in lordship; 3 Welshmen who live under Welsh law, with 3 ploughs; 2 smallholders with $\frac{1}{2}$ plough; they pay 4 sesters of honey. 2 male slaves, 1 female. This land was waste before 1066, and when William acquired it. Value now 40s. (Thorn, *Domesday Book*, vol 17: *Herefordshire*, fo. 185 c.)

Table 6 Total Slave Numbers in Herefordshire Hundreds

Hundred	Female Slaves	Male Slaves	Combined
Archenfield	1	6	0
Bromsash	5	47	0
Castle (Monmouth and Clifford)	4	6	15
Castlery in Caerleon	1	2	0
Cutsthorn	17	37	0
Dinedor	7	12	9
Elsdon	1	18	5
Greytree	11	50	0
Plegelgate	10	122	25
Lene	2	6	0
Radlow	14	108	0
Staple	4	26	0
Straddle	3	2	0
Stretford	1	39	0
Thornlaw	4	83	0
Winstree	7	25	0
Wolphy	2	40	0



Figure 6 Herefordshire Hundreds

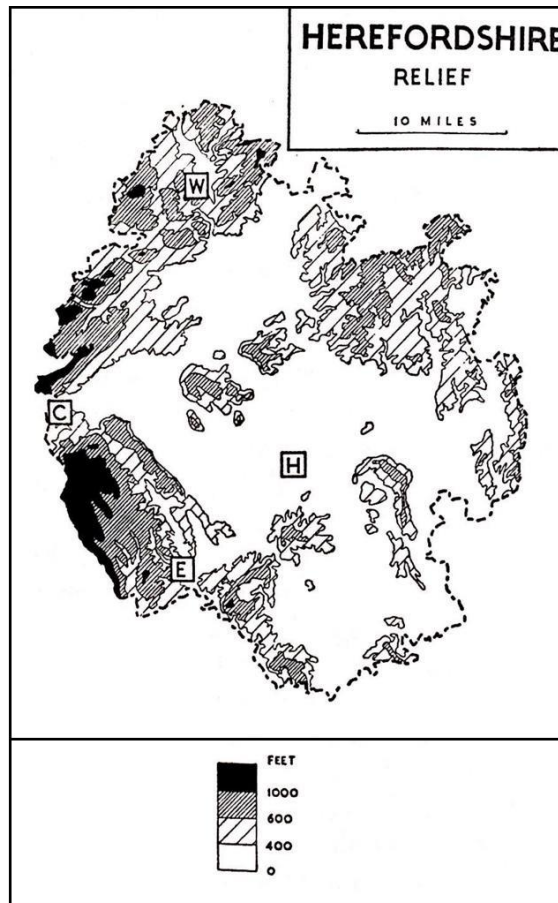


Figure 7 Herefordshire Relief Map¹⁹²

Apart from *servus* and *ancilla*, we also find other groups of people in Herefordshire records. We observe *villani*, *bordarii*, and *bovarii*, the first of which is the most numerous group in the county. These groups are not the only components of the population in Herefordshire, but their numbers prove significant, unlike, say, craftsmen. In Herefordshire, there are a considerable number of people in three groups: Welshmen,

¹⁹² Darby, *The Domesday Geography of Midland England*, 58. The capital letters “C”, “E”, “H” and “W” seen on the map represents respectively “Clifford”, “Ewias Harold”, “Hereford”, “Wigmore”.

knights (*milites*) and men (*homines*). We also come across some interesting records mentioning dairymaids (*daia*) and cowman (*vaccarius*). All these groups actually guide us as their names and duties may give us a clue about what female slaves may have done. For example, some categories of peasantry mentioned above are generally recorded with ploughs; in Gattertop “1 villager and 7 smallholders with 2 ploughs. 2 male and 2 female slaves; 1 further plough is possible.”¹⁹³ We do not see a *bovarius* in this record; and male slaves may have been assigned ploughmen’s duties in the fields. Actually, even female slaves may have been involved in this ploughing operation; yet we do not have any proof. However, even though female slaves may have not operated the plough, they may have most probably worked on the land; they may have picked up stones from the ground before the plough in order to ensure that plough will work smoothly. They may have even brought meals for the people working in the field. These are all only possibilities but they do not sound unreasonable.

We also observe numerous Welshmen in the records. Apart from ploughs, we see them paying honey measured in sesters. For example, in Caple, it is recorded that “5 Welshmen who have 5 ploughs; they pay 5 sesters of honey”¹⁹⁴ However, Welshmen are not the only people who pay some sesters of honey; we see in Howle that there are “[i]n lordship 2 ploughs; 4 ploughmen; 1 female slave. 12 villagers and 12 smallholders with

¹⁹³ Thorn, *Domesday Book, vol 17: Herefordshire*, fo. 180 b.

¹⁹⁴ Thorn, *Domesday Book, vol 17: Herefordshire*, fo. 181 a.

11 ploughs; they pay 18 sesters of honey.”¹⁹⁵ That is to say obtaining honey also requires some labour from taking care of the hives to preparing them for sale or paying dues; the only female slave mentioned in the entry may indicate that female slaves may have also been involved in obtaining honey.

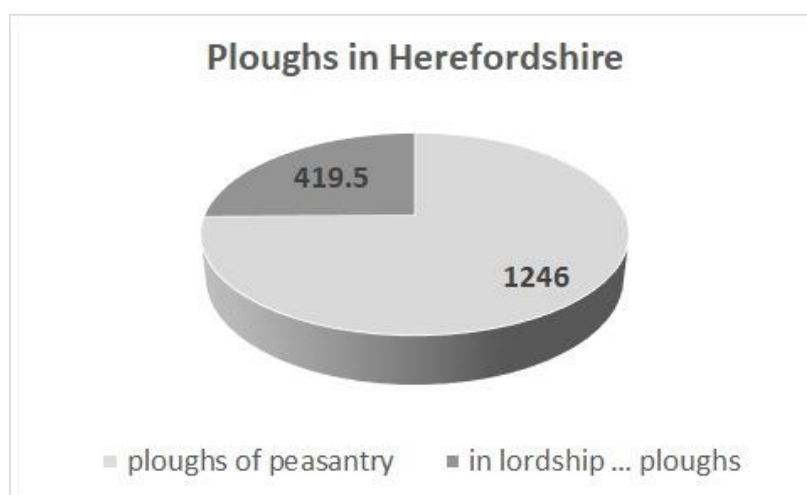


Figure 8 Ploughs in Herefordshire

The total number of ploughs in Herefordshire is 1665.5, and 419.5 of these were “in lordship”. The rest of them are recorded as belonging to the villagers and other groups of people. These numbers may vary slightly from historian to historian according to the precise methodology of counting and uncertainties in the text.¹⁹⁶ There are some interesting records related to ploughs. We observe that slaves may also have own or share ploughs, for example at Leominster: “In this manor the King now has in lordship 60 hides, 29 ploughs and 6 priests, 6 riders, 7 reeves; 7 beadles, 224 villagers, 81

¹⁹⁵ Thorn, *Domesday Book, vol 17: Herefordshire*, fo. 181 a.

¹⁹⁶ For example, Darby presents the total as 2421. (Darby, *The Domesday Geography*, 72.)

smallholders and 25 slaves, male and female; between them they have 201 ploughs.” This may be an indication for that slaves were involved in connection with the peasantry’s ploughs. We also see a record of Bushley which is “In this manor 1 hide. In lordship 2 ploughs; 4 villagers, 8 smallholders, a reeve and a beadle; between them they have 4 ploughs. 8 slaves, male and female; a cowman and a dairymaid.”¹⁹⁷ This entry is so interesting that we can ask many questions: Could cowman (*vaccarius*) and dairymaid (*daia*) be former slaves? As their titles suggest, they are responsible for the cows, milk and milk products; and slaves may have been most probably also been involved with these, especially in the manors which do not have dairymaids or cowmen; and we rarely come across with these people. That is to say, although Domesday Book gives the numbers of female slaves, there are so many potential jobs and duties to analyse.

The records mentioning mill(s) and female slaves together are in the hundreds of Bromsash, Castles (Clifford and Monmouth), Cutsthorn, Dinedor, Greytrees, Lene, Plegelgate, Winstree, and Wolphy. We have already mentioned that some of the hundreds in Herefordshire do not have any female slaves. On the other hand, there are also hundreds which do not have any mill, either. These are Archenfield, Castlery Caerleon (which is actually not a hundred), and Straddle. Apart from these, there are six hundreds whose entries do not mention female slaves and mills together: Elsdon, Radlow, Staple, Straddle, Stretford, and Thornlaw. They have female slaves, but it is apparent that the

¹⁹⁷ Thorn, *Domesday Book, vol 17: Herefordshire*, fo.180 c, d.

owners do not have any mill in which to put them to work. There are also landholders who have mills but do not have any female slaves. They possibly put their male slaves to work in the mills. The table below shows the details of the hundreds of which entries mention female slaves and mills together, with the slave numbers and mill numbers.

Table 7 Mills mentioned in the same entries with female slaves in Herefordshire

Hundred	# of Slaves			# of Mills with Female Slaves	# of Mills in the Whole Hundred
	Female	Male	Combined		
Bromsash	5	9	0	2	6
Castle	4	6	15	4	4
Cutsthorn	14	14	0	6.5	9.5
Dinedor	3	0	0	1	2
Greytree	1	19	0	4	6
Lene	2	6	0	2	2
Plegelgate	4	0	0	1	19
Winstree	6	8	0	1	4
Wolphy	2	0	0	1	1

When we examine the records of the hundreds above, each mill is recorded with female slaves in entries of Wolphy and Lene. Thus, female slaves are most probably put to work in mills along with other possible occupations in this county: “In Little Hereford 7 hides. Of these, 3 are waste; the others pay tax. In lordship 3 ploughs; 17 villagers and 3 smallholders with 11 ploughs. 2 female slaves; a mill at 6s 8d.”¹⁹⁸ This is the only record having a mill and slaves, which I have observed in Wolphy. There are other places in the same hundred which have male slaves, but these places do not have any mills. This single

¹⁹⁸ Thorn, *Domesday Book, vol 17: Herefordshire*, fo. 182 c.

record may direct us to find a connection between female slaves and mills. However, this is not always the same, as we have mentioned above that in some hundreds we also have mills and male slaves but no female slave. This table also displays that sometimes just a single place in the hundred is recorded as having both female slaves and mills. For example, in Bromsash we read that “Cleeve. Earl Harold held it. 14½ hides, with an outlier named Wilton. In lordship 4 ploughs; 20 villagers, a reeve, and 11 smallholders with 16 ploughs. 9 male and 5 female slaves and 1 ploughman. 2 mills at 6s; a fishery which pays nothing.”¹⁹⁹ As the table shows, there are 4 mills more in the hundred and they are recorded along with male slaves. Therefore, according to example, we may assume that female slaves could also work in the mill. We cannot know whether they really worked in the mill, whether all of them work or they are shared among other duties by their owners. In this direction, this is a good example for us to remember that Domesday Book does not give us clear-cut data and answers for this study’s question. We can only speculate about what we have got from Domesday Book and compare it with what we can find out more generally about slavery, particularly in this region of Europe.

When we closely examine the entries mentioning mills, we are generally informed about how and how much they render. They may pay in different ways: money or whatever they yield. For example, in Eardisland, one of the King’s land it is recorded that “15

¹⁹⁹ Thorn, *Domesday Book, vol 17: Herefordshire*, fo. 179 d, 180 a.

hides. In lordship 3 ploughs; 19 villagers, 9 smallholders and 2 riding men with 16 ploughs. 6 male and 2 female slaves and 6 freedmen.” 2 mills at 25s; woodland which pays 40d.”²⁰⁰ There are also mills recorded with sticks of eels. For example, it is recorded that there are “25 villagers, 5 smallholders, 2 ploughmen, 4 slaves and 4 freedmen; between them they have 21 ploughs. A mill at 20s; 25 sticks of eels;”²⁰¹ in Marden. As we do not see any fishermen in the entry, we might assume that slaves may have also been assigned to catch eels in addition to their mill tasks. Furthermore, as there is not a miller in the entry, slaves may operate the mill. They may feed or catch eels. Slaves might also work as porters. These tasks go for any slave who may work in the mill. The records, unfortunately, do not give clues about what crop is yielded in Herefordshire. We are informed about corn, but it could be any type of grain. For example, in Clifford Castle, we learn that there are “16 burgesses, 13 smallholders, 5 Welshmen, 6 male and 4 female slaves. A mill which pays 3 measures of corn”.²⁰² Nonetheless, this record creates a potential labour for the slaves in addition to grinding in the mills: They may have been used in the harvest of corn. Interestingly, the record of (Much) Marcle displays that a mill we have not encountered before: “In this manor is a reeve, 1 Frenchman and 1 riding man; they have 3 ploughs. 8 slaves, 1 ploughman and 6 female slaves. A mill which pays nothing, except sustenance for its keeper.”²⁰³ As the person is recorded as keeper (*qui*

²⁰⁰ Thorn, *Domesday Book, vol 17: Herefordshire*, fo. 179 d.

²⁰¹ Thorn, *Domesday Book, vol 17: Herefordshire*, fo. 179 c.

²⁰² Thorn, *Domesday Book, vol 17: Herefordshire*, fo. 183 a, b.

²⁰³ Thorn, *Domesday Book, vol 17: Herefordshire*, fo. 179d, 180 a.

eum custodit) he may have worked as miller. We can easily think of female slaves mentioned right before the mill in the record as a helper. As both the mill and the slaves' owner are not specified, we can suggest that the duties are fulfilled by the slaves.

Herefordshire Domesday records mention fisheries. They are generally recorded with the statement of what they render but sometimes we encounter such entries as "a fishery which pays nothing."²⁰⁴ Luckily, we also see the records as in Fownhope: "18 male and 8 female slaves; a mill at 5s; 3 fisheries which pay 300 eels." Similarly, we learn from the entry of Broadfield that "3 male and 2 female slaves and 3 ploughmen (*bovarii*). A fishery which pays 600 eels."²⁰⁵ Apart from learning how much a fishery in Herefordshire renders, we can also suggest that female slaves may have been assigned a task in fisheries. As the entries do not mention a fisherman, we can suggest, as above, that slaves could feed the eels and also catch them. Even if they are not assigned to catch them; we can suggest that especially female slaves may have prepared the hooks or fishing nets. Aside from these possible tasks, slaves may have been used as porters.

Regarding meadows, we are generally informed about their sizes in the entries as we see in Hampton there is "2 female slaves; 2½ mills at 35s, meadow, 28 acres"²⁰⁶ and in Pyon there is "2 female slaves. Meadow, 2 acres".²⁰⁷ We can easily speculate that female slaves may have been assigned in the meadows, reaping and preparing hay for the

²⁰⁴ Thorn, *Domesday Book, vol 17: Herefordshire*, fo. 179 d, 180 a.

²⁰⁵ Thorn, *Domesday Book, vol 17: Herefordshire*, fo. 180 b.

²⁰⁶ Thorn, *Domesday Book, vol 17: Herefordshire*, fo. 182 a, b.

²⁰⁷ Thorn, *Domesday Book, vol 17: Herefordshire*, fo. 182 b.

animals or grazing animals in the meadow. However, there are also interesting details about meadows. Some entries limit the animals which can be grazed in the meadows, like in Sutton: “meadow only for the oxen.”²⁰⁸ We come across similar entries which emphasise that meadows could be used only for the oxen. However, this limitation is not applicable for all the meadows; and sometimes the entries give information that meadows both pay money and are used for grazing oxen: in Monkland, it is recorded that “From the meadow 5s besides pasture for the oxen.”²⁰⁹

Woods in Herefordshire Domesday records are also much mentioned; yet their sizes and how people could benefit from them are not always obviously given. A wood’s size is sometimes definite like in Eaton: “2 slaves; a mill at 5s; meadow, 12 acres; woodland 1 league long and 2 furlongs wide.”²¹⁰ However, in some entries we need to confront ambiguous information like in Burrington “very little woodland.”²¹¹ The records also present some woods which pay nothing; like in Birley: “4 slaves; woodland which pays nothing.”²¹² In addition to these informative entries, either clear or uncertain, there are also interesting entries related to woods, which do not appear in the other five counties. In Pembridge “there was woodland there for 160 pigs; if it had produced (mast).”²¹³ This record is somehow similar to the record of Leominster; first the wood’s information is

²⁰⁸ Thorn, *Domesday Book, vol 17: Herefordshire*, fo. 183 a.

²⁰⁹ Thorn, *Domesday Book, vol 17: Herefordshire*, fo. 183 b.

²¹⁰ Thorn, *Domesday Book, vol 17: Herefordshire*, fo. 181 c.

²¹¹ Thorn, *Domesday Book, vol 17: Herefordshire*, fo. 183 c, d.

²¹² Thorn, *Domesday Book, vol 17: Herefordshire*, fo. 184 d.

²¹³ Thorn, *Domesday Book, vol 17: Herefordshire*, fo. 186 a, b.

given — “woodland 6 leagues long and 3 leagues wide which pays 22s.” — then it is recorded that “each villager who has 10 pigs gives 1 pig in pasture dues.”²¹⁴ The Phillimore edition which I have used translates “de pasnagio” as in pasture dues. Darby’s suggestion is “pannage” for this Latin word and this indicates that woods are used for feeding pigs. As both entries involve slaves, the slaveowners may have put their slaves to grazing pigs in the woods.²¹⁵

Some entries also give clues about “cleared wood”; for example, in Weobley, it is recorded that “11 slaves; woodland ½ league long and 4 furlongs wide. A park; land for 1 plough, cleared wood, which pays 11s 9d.”²¹⁶ Similarly in the entry of Marcle it is recorded that “also in this manor are 58 acres of land, cleared, extracted from the woodland”. In other words, these places whose trees are removed could be used as arable fields. In both processes, slaves may have been exploited if the landowner has any slave. While cutting woods even if female slaves may have not been preferred; in clearing process female slaves may have picked the branches and stones in order to prepare the land for planting. They may have even dug out the stumps in order to flatten the ground.

²¹⁴ Thorn, *Domesday Book, vol 17: Herefordshire*, fo. 180 a.

²¹⁵ In Leominster it is recorded that “In this manor the King now las in lordship 60 hides, 29 ploughs and 6 priests, 6 riders, 7 reeves, 7 beadles, 224 villagers, 81 smallholders and 25 slaves, male and female” (Thorn, *Domesday Book, vol 17: Herefordshire*, fo. 180 a.) In Pembridge “Earl Harold held it. 11 hides, less 1 virgate; they pay tax. In lordship 3 ploughs; 20 villagers, 7 smallholders and 1 riding man with 12 ploughs. 3 slaves; a mill at 10 s.” (Thorn, *Domesday Book, vol 17: Herefordshire*, fo. 186 a, b.)

²¹⁶ Thorn, *Domesday Book, vol 17: Herefordshire*, fo. 184 d.

We also encounter some other clues about the use of woods; which can be listed as hawk's eyries, enclosures and parks. Here, I will give one example for each and then interpret what slaves may have been supposed to do. In Colwall, "1 hedged enclosure"²¹⁷ is recorded. There is no further information about this enclosure. However, it sounds like a private space and the places of the enclosures in Herefordshire are known to turn out to be a "distinct administrative unit" in the twelfth century.²¹⁸ Moreover, this hedged enclosure may have most probably been built in order to restrict animals to make hunting easier. In Hollow, "a park for wild animals, but it has been put outside the manor, with all the woodland"²¹⁹ is recorded. This park seems to be separated from the wood in order to inhibit random access to these animals. It may also have been incorporated in a royal forest, or other private forest working similarly to the royal forest, where there would be special regulations. This entry also shows that in this manor there are other woods apart from this park. In Hanley, we are informed that there are "20 villagers, 17 smallholders and a reeve; between them they have 17½ ploughs. 9 slaves, male and female; 6 pigmen pay 60 pigs; they have 4 ploughs. A mill at 2s; woodland 5 leagues in both length and width; it has been put outside the manor. A hawk's eyrie is there."²²⁰ Indeed, these are indications of hunting in the woods. Apart from general necessities such as collecting firewood, slaves could have worked in these three places. Any kind of maintenance for

²¹⁷ Thorn, *Domesday Book, vol 17: Herefordshire*, fo. 182 a, b.

²¹⁸ Charles R. Young, *The Royal Forests of Medieval England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015), 10.

²¹⁹ Thorn, *Domesday Book, vol 17: Herefordshire*, fo. 180 c, d.

²²⁰ Thorn, *Domesday Book, vol 17: Herefordshire*, fo. 180 c, d.

the places and for hunting, from preparing weapons to, let us say, repairing hedges was a necessity. Furthermore, it is important to pay attention to the pigmen and his pigs. These pigs may have been fed in the woodland and slaves may have been required to help this pigmen. Moreover, there may presumably be also other animals, from dogs to horses, which are used in hunting. Their care may have also been expected from the slaves, male or female.

In Herefordshire Domesday Book, woods and salt-houses sometimes seem linked to each other. Especially, the entries which mention that part of the woodland's income is spent for providing other needs: "Woodland which pays 5s which are given to Droitwich for 60 measures of salt" Marcle.²²¹ Moreover, we understand that wood's income may also be expended in buying timber which is used in salt-making, from the entry of Leominster: "woodland 6 leagues long and 3 leagues wide which pays 22s. From these, 5s are given for buying timber in Droitwich, and 30 measures of salt are had from there."²²² Although Herefordshire Domesday Book does not present a record about that, we learn from other counties that woodlands are also used for obtaining timber for salt-houses. Therefore, we can also infer that timber is prepared in Herefordshire woods in order to be used in salt-houses, too. Slaves may have been used in preparing timber in the woods.

²²¹ Thorn, *Domesday Book, vol 17: Herefordshire*, fo. 179 c, 180 a.

²²² Thorn, *Domesday Book, vol 17: Herefordshire*, fo. 180 a.

In Herefordshire Domesday Book, salt-houses are recorded aside from the records connecting woods to salt-houses. Many of the salt-houses are recorded as being in Droitwich, Worcestershire. It is recorded for Hugh L'Asne's land in Wellington that "11 male and 9 female slaves; 2 mills at 13s. At Droitwich he has 17 measures of salt for 30d."²²³ Sometimes, the records only provide us with the information that there are salt-houses in some places. That is to say, entries do not help us to understand even the value of the salt-house just like in Moreton (Jeffries): "4 male and 6 female slaves; meadow, 7 acres; 1 salt-house in Droitwich."²²⁴ Nonetheless, the entries, in which slaves and salt-houses are recorded together, give us the opportunity to suggest that slaves, male or female are also exploited in salt-houses. They may also have portered timber in carts to salt-houses or they may have been involved in the salt-making process in the salt-houses.

3.4 Gloucestershire

Gloucestershire is one of the counties that have relatively high numbers of female slaves among the six counties we deal with. As seen in *Figure 9*, I have counted seventy-eight female slaves in the records of Domesday Book. Some entries in the records show a combined number of female and male slaves; and the majority of the slaves in

²²³ Thorn, *Domesday Book, vol 17: Herefordshire*, fo. 187 b.

²²⁴ Thorn, *Domesday Book, vol 17: Herefordshire*, fo. 181 d, 182 a.

Gloucestershire are male and their total is two thousand and nineteen. My total for male slaves and Darby's total for slaves are close and he states that Gloucestershire has the highest percentage of all counties of slaves. Similarly, according to my counting, Gloucestershire has the highest number of male slaves of the six counties dealt with in this thesis.



Figure 9 Slave Population in Gloucestershire

When we group the hundreds of Gloucestershire according to whether they have female slaves or not, a list of hundreds without female slaves can be obtained: Barrington, Blacklow, Bleisloe, Botloe, Brightwells Barrow, Deerhurst, Dudstone, Edder stone, Garsdon, Kiftgate, Langley, Ledbury, Longbridge, Longtree, Lydney, Pucklechurch, Swinehead, Wattlescomb, Westbury and Whitstone. *Table 8* displays the total numbers of slaves in Gloucestershire hundreds.

Table 8 Total Slave Numbers in Gloucestershire Hundreds

Hundred	Female Slaves	Male Slaves	Combined
Bagstone	2	20	0
Berkeley	15	152	0
Bibury	0	19	27
Bisley	4	63	0
Bradley	2	46	29
Brentry	3	35	0
Cheltenham	1	17	11
Chelthorn	17	92	0
Cirencester	5	128	0
Greston	4	56	33
Grambalds Ash	0	48	8
Holford	3	27	42
Rapsgate	4	55	0
Salmonsbury	7	101	41
Tewkesbury	1	53	66
Tibblestone	7	59	0
Witley	3	145	19

Apart from *servus* and *ancilla*, we also come across other groups of people in Gloucestershire records. We observe *villani*, *bordarii*, *coliberti* and *radmen*, the first of which is the most numerous group in the county. These groups are not the only components of the population in Gloucestershire, but their numbers are the most significant, unlike, say, craftsmen.²²⁵

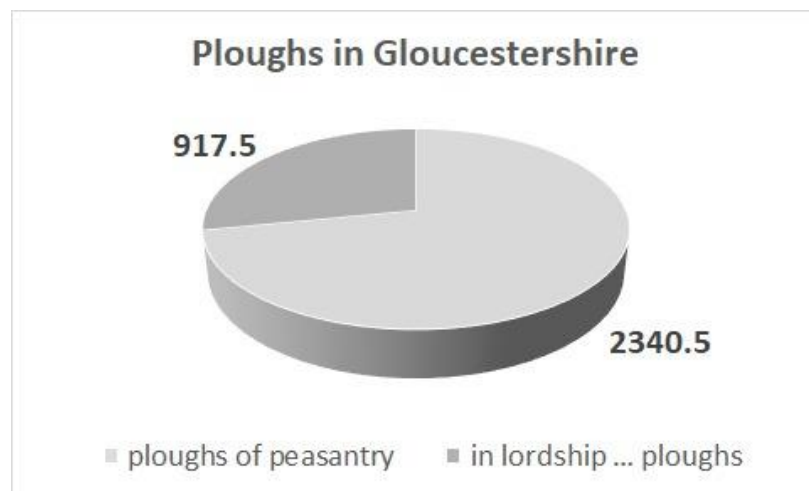


Figure 12 Ploughs in Gloucestershire

The total number of ploughs in Gloucestershire is 3258 and 917.5 of these are “in lordship”. The rest of them are recorded as belonging to the villagers, radmen and other groups of people. These numbers may vary slightly from historian to historian according to the precise methodology of counting and uncertainties in the text.²²⁶ Regarding the

²²⁵ Darby, *The Domesday Geography of Midland England*, 16-18.

²²⁶ For example, Darby presents the total as 3812. (Darby, *The Domesday Geography*, 16.)

groups of people, radmen seem interesting because we have records saying that they are working in the land of the lord. We also come across some widows of villagers in this county; it is recorded they have one plough.²²⁷

The entries mentioning mill(s) and female slaves are in the hundreds of Bagstone, Berkeley, Bibury, Bisley, Bradley, Cheltorn, Rapsgate, Salmonsbury, Tewkesbury and Witley. We have already mentioned that some of the hundreds in Gloucestershire do not have any female slaves. On the other hand, there are also six hundreds whose entries do not mention female slaves and mills together: Cheltenham, Cirencester, Greston, Grambalds Ash, Holford and Tibblestone. They have female slaves, but it is apparent that the owners do not have any mill in which to put them to work. There are also landholders who have mills but do not have any female slaves. They possibly put their male slaves to work in the mills. *Table 9* shows the details of the hundreds of which entries mention female slaves and mills together, with the slave numbers and mill numbers.

When we compare the two tables above, we see that all female slaves in Bagstone are recorded in the same entry with a mill even though it is half mill. This is same for the Berkeley, Bisley and Bradley although their mill numbers are different. It is better to probe into Bibury because there is no definite female number; we have just a combined number of female and male slaves. Therefore we cannot be sure how many female slaves are required to work in the mills. However, it important to note that we do not get an

²²⁷ Darby, *The Domesday Geography* 15, 17.

exact male numbers in the same entries with the mills. In other words, the entries do not give us male slaves numbers. Thus, we can suggest that the slaves who are mentioned together (like “inter servus et ancillas”) must have worked in the mills of the hundreds. For Rapsgate and Witley, we see that all female slaves in the counties are also recorded with the mills in the entries. However, when we check the numbers of slaves and the mills in general, it seems rather unreasonable, because total slave numbers are excessive in relation to the number of mills. Therefore, even though mills may be an important element in the county’s economy, slaves must have been exploited in other tasks as well as in mills.

Table 9 Mills mentioned in the same entries with female slaves in Gloucestershire

Hundred	# of Slaves			# of Mills with Female Slaves	# of Mills in the Whole Hundred
	Female	Male	Combined		
Bagstone	2	1	0	0.5	6
Berkeley	15	127	0	8	11
Bibury	0	0	27	4	4
Bisley	4	6	0	5	13
Bradley	2	4	0	1	8
Brentry	2	20	0	1	1
Chelton	5	4	0	1	1
Rapsgate	4	8	0	2	11
Salmonsbury	4	20	0	2	15
Tewkesbury	0	0	8	1	6
Witley	3	8	0	2	9

We find four hundreds in which female slaves and salt-houses are mentioned together in Gloucestershire records. These hundreds are Tewkesbury, Chelthorn, Holford and

Greston. In the manor of Tewkesbury 50 slaves, male and female, are mentioned. In the manors of Southwick, Tredington, Fiddington, Pamington, Natton, Walton and Aston (in the same hundred) together own 22 slaves, male and female.²²⁸ In Tewkesbury and Chelthorn the location of the salt-houses are given, i.e. Droitwich (Worcs); on the other hand, we do not know how many salt-houses belong to Chelthorn; we are just informed about the quantity as in the entries of Greston and Holford. For example, in Mickleton in Chelthorn Hundred, the entry states “8 male and 2 female slaves; 24 measures of salt from Droitwich.”²²⁹ We learn from the records that in Holford Hundred, there are 18 slaves, male and female; 3 mills at 24s; a salt-house at 20s and 12 packloads of salt.²³⁰ In Greston Hundred, 10 slaves, male and female; 2 mills at 20s; from a salt-house 50 measures of salt.²³¹ Darby states in Gloucester Domesday Book, ten areas are mentioned with reference to salt; and mostly Droitwich is specified in the entries. Thus, we can understand that Droitwich (Worcs.) is important for the economy of Gloucestershire.²³² This is also important for us because we know the commissioners are much interested in economic concerns and the fact that they count female slaves suggests that they contributed to economic activities and were themselves regarded as of economic importance.

²²⁸ Moore, *Domesday Book, vol 15: Gloucestershire*, fo. 163 b, c.

²²⁹ Moore, *Domesday Book, vol 15: Gloucestershire*, fo. 166 b.

²³⁰ Moore, *Domesday Book, vol 15: Gloucestershire*, fo. 167 d.

²³¹ Moore, *Domesday Book, vol 15: Gloucestershire*, fo. 169 b.

²³² Darby, *The Domesday Geography*, 38.

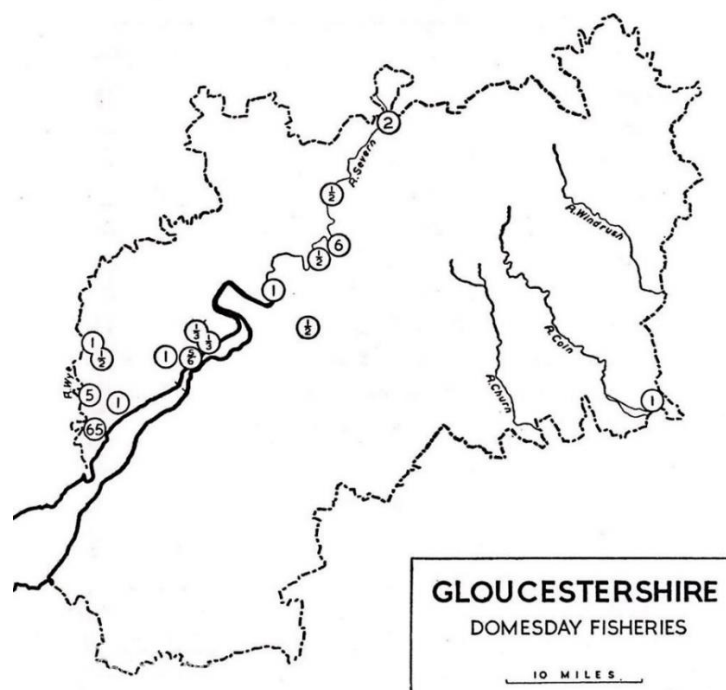


Figure 13 Fisheries in Gloucestershire²³³

In Tewkesbury we also come across fisheries in the same entries mentioned above. We also see other fisheries in different entries, yet the fisheries in Tewkesbury are the only ones which are recorded with female slaves.²³⁴ As Domesday Book does not give us detailed information about who worked where; all we can do is to ask whether slaves, especially female ones, may have worked in such places. As the record of Tewkesbury indicates, the position of fisheries and slaves is our best clue. For the other fisheries, as

²³³ Darby, *The Domesday Geography*, 37.

²³⁴ “In Tewkesbury before 1066 there were 95 hides. 45 of them are in lordship; they were exempt from all royal service, apart from the service of the lord himself whose manor it was. In the head of manor there were in lordship 12 ploughs; 50 slaves, male and female. 16 smallholders lived around the hall. 2 mills at 20s; a fishery; a salt-house at Droitwich which belongs to this manor.” (Moore, *Domesday Book, vol 15: Gloucestershire*, fo. 163 b, c.)

the figure above shows, many of them are located close to the tidal mouth of Severn.²³⁵

The only information we get from Domesday Book is salmon is also rendered: “Before 1066 St. Peter’s had 19s 5d and 16 salmon from its burgesses in Gloucester, now it has as many salmon and 50s.”²³⁶

Regarding the fisheries in Tewkesbury, both of the two records give a large number of slaves; the first one has 50 slaves, male and female; the second one has 22 slaves; male and female. Although there may be many other tasks for slaves in salt-houses, mills or other areas of the manor’s economy of which we are not informed, we can also suggest that female slaves may have been assigned a task in fisheries too. However, we are not informed how fisheries worked or how fishermen worked; and so how slaves may have been used in fisheries is open to speculation. Were they preparing bait for the hook? Perhaps female slaves were making fishing nets. Alternatively, maybe slaves were used just for carrying the fish wherever they have to delivered.

²³⁵ Darby, *The Domesday Geography*, 37-38.

²³⁶ Moore, *Domesday Book, vol 15: Gloucestershire*, fo. 165 c, d.

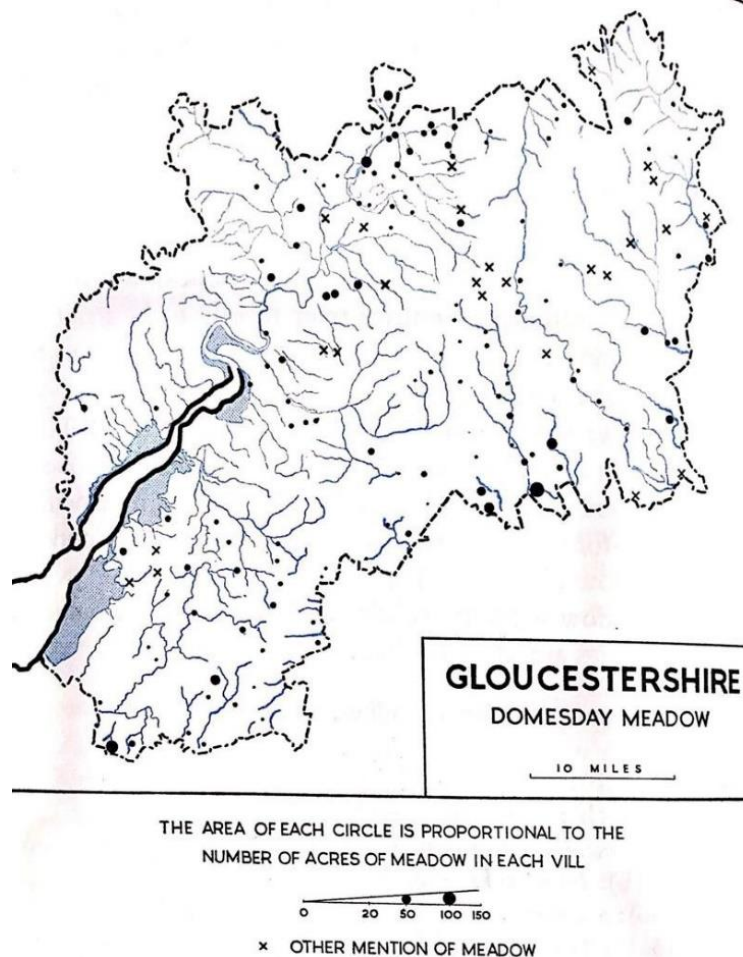


Figure 14 Meadows in Gloucestershire²³⁷

As the *Figure 14* shows, the records almost always present a mention of meadow in Gloucestershire. In general, these meadows' measurement is also reported. Concerning the entries which both include female slaves and meadows, we are lucky because we encounter these entries very often and this increases our chance to link meadow and female slaves' potential tasks. For example, we are generally informed about their sizes

²³⁷ Darby, *The Domesday Geography*, 34.

in the entries as we see in Winson, there are “10 slaves, male and female; a mill at 7s 6d; meadow, 15 acres”²³⁸. Making hay and grazing animals are just few of the possible tasks for the slaves.

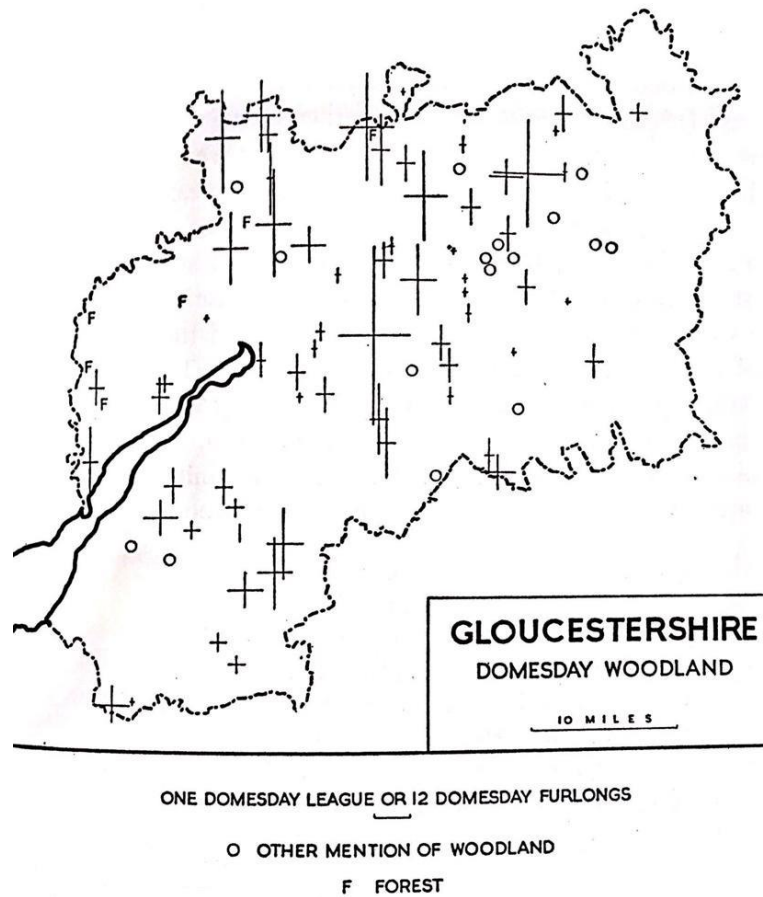


Figure 15 Woods in Gloucestershire²³⁹

²³⁸ Moore, *Domesday Book, vol 15: Gloucestershire*, fo. 169 d, 170 a.

²³⁹ Darby, *The Domesday Geography*, 27.

Woods in Gloucestershire Domesday records are also much mentioned; yet how people could benefit from it is not always clear. Therefore, we can illustrate what slaves could do in woods: Did they prepare for winter, cutting firewood? As a basic need, cooking also needs firewood, so perhaps they were sent to woods every day. Even if slaves were not used as a lumberjack, maybe they were used just as porters to carry woods or timber in carts. If these tasks were seen as requiring physical strength and female slaves were not preferred, then female slaves may have visited woods for some plants' roots for they could use these roots for dying textiles. Moreover, why could not slaves go there picking berries?

When we examine the pastures, we see that just five pastures are recorded in the whole county.²⁴⁰ Three of them are in Longtree Hundred; and one of them in the holding of Tetbury, while two in the holding of Shipton. One pasture recorded is in Kempsford, in the hundred of Brightwells Barrow; one pasture is in Holford Hundred.²⁴¹ The last holding is Guiting and it draws our attention more because of mentioning female slaves. Moreover, there are one salt-house and 3 mills apart from pasture. Differently, it is recorded in here that “from woodland and pasture 40 hens”.²⁴² These records lead us to

²⁴⁰ Darby, *The Domesday Geography*, 36.

²⁴¹ Tetbury: Moore, *Domesday Book, vol 15: Gloucestershire*, fo. 168 a. Two entries of Shipton: Moore, *Domesday Book, vol 15: Gloucestershire*, fo. 170 b. Kempsford: Moore, *Domesday Book, vol 15: Gloucestershire*, fo. 169 a,b. Guiting: Moore, *Domesday Book, vol 15: Gloucestershire*, fo. 167 d.

²⁴² “Guiting. 10 hides which pay tax, besides the lordship (land) which does not pay tax. Brictric, a thane of King Edward's, held it. In lordship 5 ploughs; 25 villagers, a priest and 7 riding men with 18 ploughs. 18 slaves, male and female; 3 mills at 24s; a salt-house at 20s and 12 packloads of salt; in Winchcombe 3 burgesses at 32d; in Gloucester 2 burgesses at 10d; from the woodland and pasture 40 hens.” Moore, *Domesday Book, vol 15: Gloucestershire*, fo. 167 d.

think that feeding and rearing poultry in manors may also been assigned to slaves, female or male. There may have been a coop in order to protect the poultry from any wild animals like foxes. Moreover, someone was required to release the animals from the coop each morning and s/he also needed to enclose them into the same coop each evening. There must have been eggs to be collected. All of these could be done by someone; and there is not a clue or evidence that slaves did not do this. Going back to pastures, we can easily consider someone grazing animals like sheep or cattle in pastures. Just as the plough is thought to be linked to male slaves, this someone can be also a male slave, but the entries do not give a clear distinction even in their numbers. Thus, why could not the female slaves graze the animals?

Gloucestershire Domesday Book interestingly records one vinyard in Stonehouse in Blacklow Hundred. In this entry we do not see any female slaves but four male slaves: “In Blacklow Hundred William of Eu holds Stonehouse. Tovi held it before 1066. There were 7 hides. In lordship 2 ploughs; 21 villagers and 9 smallholders with 20 ploughs. 4 slaves; 2 mills at 17s 6d. Vineyard, 2 *arpents*. The value is and was £8. This manor pays tax.”²⁴³ However, this also may lead us think that wine-making may be possible in Gloucester manors. Unfortunately, we cannot assert that female slaves worked in this vinyard as they are not recorded in the same entry, yet we can suggest that they could

²⁴³ Moore, *Domesday Book, vol 15: Gloucestershire*, fo. 166 d.

work in wine-making somewhere else; wine is not required to be prepared in vine-yards after all; and female slaves could have treaded the grapes.

3.5 Shropshire

Shropshire has the second highest total number of slaves among the six counties, yet in terms of the number of female slaves, this county proves to be the one which includes the lowest number of female slaves. As seen in *Figure 16*, the majority of the slaves in Shropshire is male, as expected; I count them eight hundred eighty-three in total. Even though what I get as the total number of female slaves is quite low, we see some entries which refer to some female slaves and no male slave, in Shropshire Domesday Book. This is rather interesting because we do not see such examples in other counties like Gloucestershire.

The combined number of female and male slaves in this county is seventy. Darby presents the total number of the male slave as nine hundred and twenty-two while his total number of female slaves is eighty-eight. Pelteret; on the other hand, gives the total

number of male and female slave together as 918 and for the total number of female slaves 88.²⁴⁴



Figure 16 Slave Population in Shropshire

When I survey Shropshire Domesday Book, I get information about fourteen hundreds which are Alnothstree, Baschurch, Condertree, Condoover, Culvestone, Hodnet, Leintwardine, Overs, Patton, Rhiwset, Rinlow, Shrewsbury, Wittery, and Wrockwardine. Their positions and boundaries are seen in *Figure 17*.

²⁴⁴ Pelteret, *Slavery in Early Mediaeval England*, 193. Darby, *The Domesday Geography*, 127.



Figure 17 Shropshire Hundreds

Table 10 Total Slave Numbers in Shropshire Hundreds

Hundred	Female Slaves	Male Slaves	Combined
Alnothstree	4	109	0
Baschurch	1	106	0
Condertree	3	78	0
Condover	4	114	0
Culvestone	8	57	44
Hodnet	0	76	0
Leintwardine	0	25	0
Overs	0	22	8
Patton	0	82	0
Rhiwset	6	60	0
Rinlow	0	62	0
Shrewsbury	4	6	0
Wittery	0	28	0
Wrockwardine	19	58	18

When we examine the results of my counting, we see that no female slave is recorded in the hundreds Hodnet, Leintwardine, Overs, Patton, Rinlow and Wittery. We may link Leintwardine, Overs, Patton, Rinlow and Wittery and suggest a common feature as they are neighbours. However, Hodnet remains so far to these four to make a comment

pertinent to all of them. When we examine the relief map of Shropshire, Hodnet still seems unexpectedly irrelevant and inapplicable to have no female slave because it is pretty low-lying area as seen in *Figure 18* below. In order to make a comparison and to see whether we can associate female slaves and general population with plough-lands, we should also take a look at *Figure 19* which shows Darby's rate of plough-land in Shropshire. Although Darby's and my plough enumeration most probably differ in number, his study and plot will absolutely help us to illustrate the hundreds and their relation of population and plough-land.

Figure 18 supports our suggestion that the four hundreds, Leintwardine, Patton, Rinlow and Wittery somehow share a common feature as they are neighbours; and this feature seems geographical. Their altitudes reach sometimes 1000 feet. When we examine the *Figure 19*, we also see that the hundreds which do not have any female slaves have also lower rate in terms of plough-lands. However, it is interesting that the hundreds having the lowest rate of plough-lands do have female slaves. It is important to note here that female slaves are not linked to plough-teams by historians. Thus, from this approach, it is not surprising to see such an irrelevance of female slaves and plough-lands. Nevertheless, we expect to find that the higher population and economy are the greater number of female slaves. For this reason, we should not ignore the fact that female slaves must have been around the economic activity and thus the plough-lands.

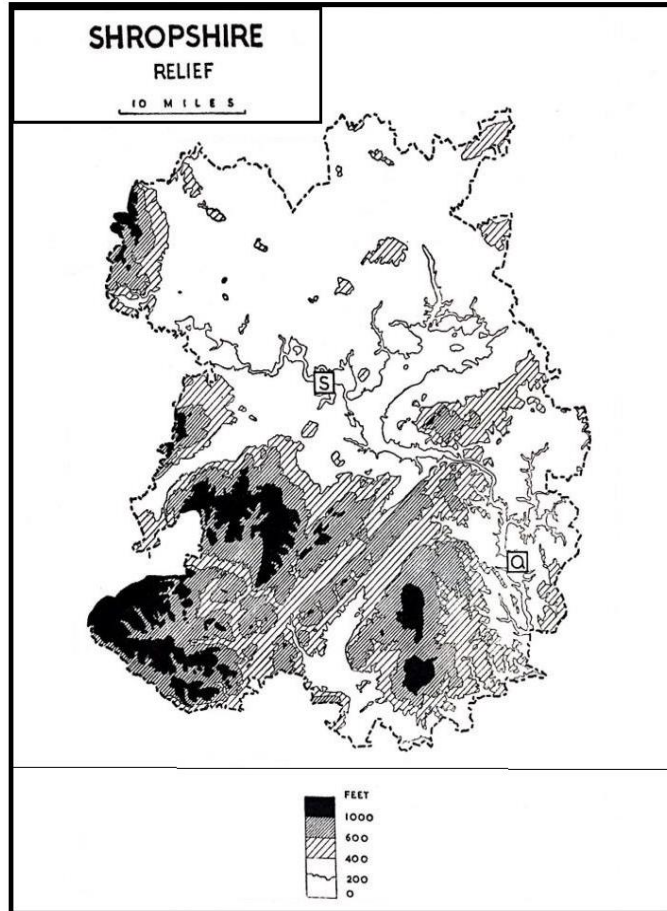


Figure 18 Relief Map of Shropshire²⁴⁵

²⁴⁵ Darby, *The Domesday Geography*, 116. The letters “Q” and “S” on the map represent Quatford and Shrewsbury.

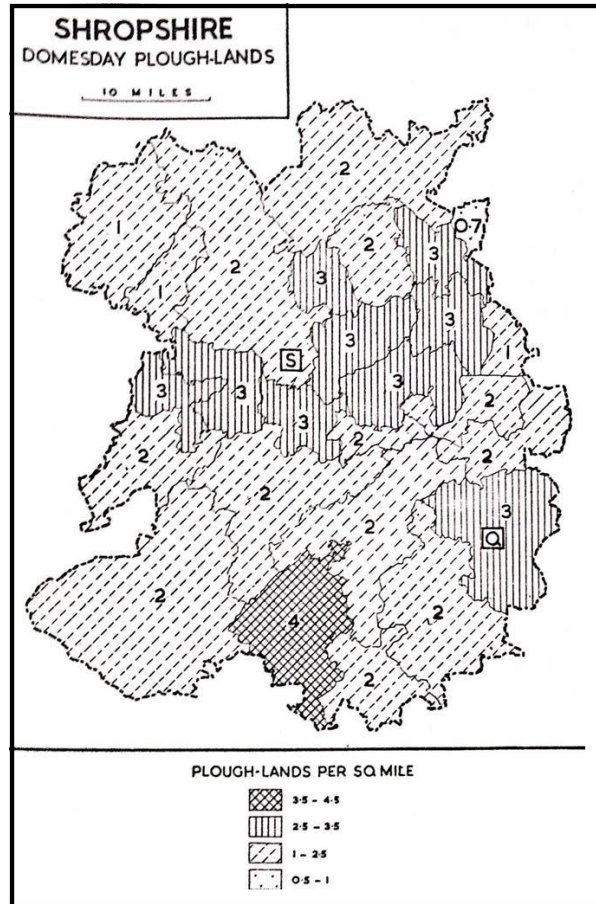


Figure 19 Plough-lands of Shropshire²⁴⁶

Apart from the slave population, Shropshire Domesday Book introduces us some other groups. These include *villani*, *bordarii* and *radmen*. We occasionally see them in entries because of their having ploughs. We also observe Welshmen, Frenchmen and such, but not always.

²⁴⁶ Darby, *The Domesday Geography*, 135.

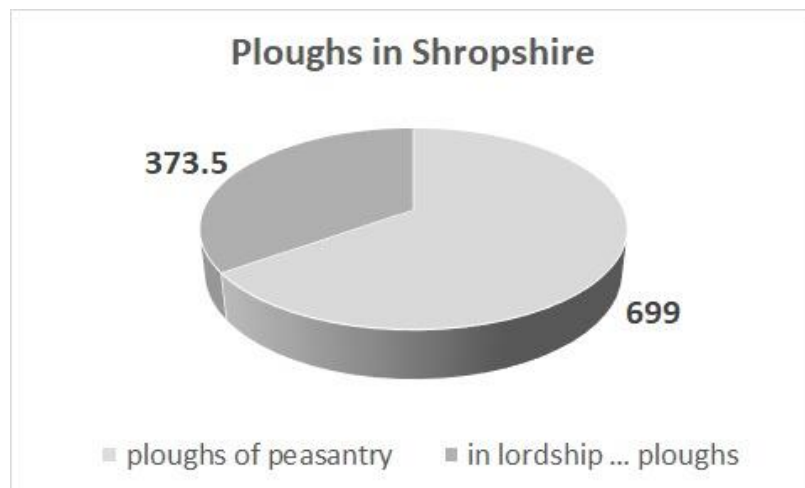


Figure 20 Plough Distribution in Shropshire

When we return to my enumeration of ploughs, we see that the whole county has 1072.5 ploughs in total. According to the figure above, it can be asserted that the majority of these ploughs belong to the peasantry. However, what draws our attention is that some entries mention ploughs but there is no reference to male slaves. For example, at Siefert in Culvestone Hundred, it is recorded that “In lordship 3 ploughs; 2 female slaves; 3 villagers and 3 smallholders with 1 plough”.²⁴⁷ In this entry, there is no male slave nor a ploughman to run the ploughs. As a plough can only be operated by two men, it seems in this place men are not enough for 4 ploughs in total even though we concede smallholders and villagers operate the ploughs. This raises the question why female slaves are not considered for being put to work with ploughs? We can put forward further examples similar to this question: In Donington from Alnothstree Hundred “In lordship 4

²⁴⁷ Thorn, *Domesday Book*, vol 25: *Shropshire*, fo. 253 d, 254 a.

ploughs; 8 ploughmen; 2 female slaves; 12 villagers and 2 smallholders with 3 ploughs".²⁴⁸ Here, we also have eight ploughmen; yet inadequate labourer number seems possible in terms of the total plough number and other possible tasks mentioned in the entry, like woodland and mill.

The entries mentioning mill(s) and female slaves are in the hundreds of Alnothstree, Condertree, Condoover, Culvestone, Rhiwset, Shrewsbury, and Wrockwardine. We have already stated that in Hodnet, Leintwardine, Overs, Patton, Rinlow and Wittery do not have any female slaves. On the other hand, there is also one more hundred whose entries do not mention female slaves and mills together: Baschurch. This hundred has one female slave but it is apparent that the owners do not have any mill in which to put them to work. There are also landholders who have mills but do not have any female slaves. They possibly put their male slaves to work in the mills. *Table 11* below shows the details of them with the slave numbers and mill numbers; yet we need to explore the entries themselves in order to make a plausible comment about them.

As revealed from *Table 11*, the entries mentioning both female slaves and the mills indicate that although they are mentioned in the same entries, slave numbers are quite high against mills. That is to say, it would be misleading to state that all female slaves may have worked in the mills. There must have been other tasks for female slaves, apart

²⁴⁸ Thorn, *Domesday Book, vol 25: Shropshire*, fo. 253 d, 254 a.

from the ones in the mills. Actually, regarding the mill numbers male slaves must have been more related to the mills.

Table 11 Mills mentioned in the same entries with female slaves in Shropshire

Hundred	# of Slaves			# of Mills with Female Slaves	# of Mills in the Whole Hundred
	Female	Male	Combined		
Alnothstree	2	6	0	1	8
Condertree	3	8	0	1	4
Condover	4	6	0	2	9
Culvestone	2	6	0	1	7
Rhiwset	6	20	0	1	3
Shrewsbury	4	6	0	1	1
Wrockwardine	7	8	0	3	7

In Shropshire records, we observe that some general entries related to slaves and mills and some of them are really interesting with regard to potential tasks for the slaves. The reason why we call some of them “general” is that they have common characteristics like how much they pay. For example, in Shrewsbury Hundred, a holding of Longdon has 6 slaves, male and female. A mill at 5s.”²⁴⁹ The interesting ones occasionally give some details like how and how much they pay like in Huntington from Culvestone Hundred a mill is recorded as “A mill at 400 eels.”²⁵⁰ On the other hand, at Ness in Baschurch the mill is referred as “A mill at 20s and 600 eels.”²⁵¹ In these two examples, we are not

²⁴⁹ Thorn, *Domesday Book, vol 25: Shropshire*, fo. 253 a.

²⁵⁰ Thorn, *Domesday Book, vol 25: Shropshire*, fo. 256 d, 257 a.

²⁵¹ Thorn, *Domesday Book, vol 25: Shropshire*, fo. 255 a, b.

informed about any slaves but it is also possible for the other mills in which slaves may have been supposed to work to render eels. This creates other tasks for the slaves such as feeding the eels and/or catching them. Another example showing how much the mills render is from Ford in Rhiwset Hundred: “A mill which pays 3 ora”.²⁵² We also see some holdings with only one female slave and more than one potential tasks as in the holding of Edgmond in Wrockwardine Hundred: “A mill with a fishery which pays 10s”.²⁵³ The mills recorded may give clues about crops as seen in the holding of Donington in Alnothstree Hundred: “A mill which pays 5 packloads of corn;” what makes this entry more interesting is that the holding has just two slaves and both are female.²⁵⁴ On the other hand, corn may indicate any type of grain; yet further examples of the entries with mill and slaves reveal more details; in Ryton, for example, we learn that a mill pays 8 sesters of rye.²⁵⁵ In Yockleton, a mill is recorded and it “pays one packload of malt”. It is also important to note here that in both places, Ryton and Yockleton, slaves are also mentioned. So far, we understand that in Shropshire people yield rye and most probably barley (as malt is stated). Also, we learn that Roger de Lacy has sixteen slaves, male and female and also a mill which pays nine packloads of wheat; a miller and a beekeeper in the holding of Stokesay in Culvestone.²⁵⁶ When we put the beekeeper aside despite how interesting his presence is, we learn from this entry that wheat is brought to the mill.

²⁵² Thorn, *Domesday Book, vol 25: Shropshire*, fo. 253 c, d.

²⁵³ Thorn, *Domesday Book, vol 25: Shropshire*, fo. 253 d, 254 a.

²⁵⁴ Thorn, *Domesday Book, vol 25: Shropshire*, fo. 253 d, 254 a.

²⁵⁵ Thorn, *Domesday Book, vol 25: Shropshire*, fo. 257 c, d.

²⁵⁶ Thorn, *Domesday Book, vol 25: Shropshire*, fo. 260 d.

Thus, wheat is also yielded in the neighbourhood. Moreover, we have not come across with a miller before. Thus, we can assume that other mills may have not been run by a miller and maybe slaves work in the mill to operate the grinding. Here, as we have a miller, slaves could have been used as porters or they may have assisted the miller in the process of grinding crops.

We also observe that in Shropshire records, entries sometimes link the mill to the fishery. For example, an entry for the place of Edgmond puts together a female slave, a mill and a fishery. This place is recorded that “In lordship 6 ploughs; 12 ploughmen; 1 female slave. 33 villagers and 8 smallholders with 2 Frenchmen have 11 ploughs. A mill with a fishery which pays 10 s;”²⁵⁷ The fisheries recorded in Shropshire are not necessarily linked to mills; we also have some entries which mention fisheries separately from the mills; and they are mentioned with some interesting points.

Here, we prefer presenting the fisheries which are in the same entries with the slaves, particularly the female ones. However, there are many entries related to fisheries though they do not mention any slave. Regarding the fisheries with the slaves we can give an example from Eyton in Wrockwardine; Church has 8 male and 4 female slaves and two fisheries “one pays 16 s, the other is for the monks’ supplies”.²⁵⁸ In Eaton we see that 4 male slaves, 2 female slaves and a fishery are mentioned together but the entry also states

²⁵⁷ Thorn, *Domesday Book, vol 25: Shropshire*, fo. 253 d, 254 a.

²⁵⁸ Thorn, *Domesday Book, vol 25: Shropshire*, fo. 252 c.

fishery as “on the Severn which pays nothing.”²⁵⁹ We also see many fisheries mentioned in the same place like in Crudginton; there are two male and one female slaves and also four fisheries.²⁶⁰ These entries evoke too many tasks for the slaves, from portorage to fishing.

In terms of woodland, Shropshire Domesday Book offers us a lot of records of woodland along with their sizes. We generally come across with “woodland, ... league(s)” and this size varies according to the entries. We also see a lot of entries which refer to both woodland and female slaves; yet here we concentrate on the ones which seem the most interesting and open to discussion: at Cound in Condover Hundred, 6 male and 4 female slaves along with a woodland for fattening 50 pigs are recorded.²⁶¹ This entry informs us about what a woodland could be used for, apart from tasks like collecting or preparing firewood, and collecting plants for various duties: looking after the pigs. This could encompass foraging and herding them. We also learn from the entry at Stretton in Culvestone Hundred, there are 8 slaves, two of whom are female; and in the woodland five enclosures are surrounded with hedges.²⁶² This is most probably for the hunting and slaves could have tasks in these enclosures.

²⁵⁹ Thorn, *Domesday Book, vol 25: Shropshire*, fo. 254 c, d

²⁶⁰ “Earl Eldwin held it. 1½ hides. In lordship 1 plough; 2 male slaves, 1 female; 9 villagers, 2 smallholders and 1 free man with 3 ploughs. 4 fisheries at 13s 4d.” (Thorn, *Domesday Book, vol 25: Shropshire*, fo. 256 a, b).

²⁶¹ “Cound. Earl Morcar held it. 4½ hides which pay tax. In lordship 2 ploughs; 6 male and 4 female slaves; 6 villagers and 6 smallholders with 4 ploughs. 2 mills at 20s; woodland for fattening 20 pigs. Value before 1066 £4 7s; now £10.” (Thorn, *Domesday Book, vol 25: Shropshire*, fo. 254 c).

²⁶² “Stretton. Earl Edwin held it, with 4 outliers. 8 hides.... In lordship 3 ploughs; 6 male and 2 female slaves; 18 villagers and 8 smallholders with a priest who have 12 ploughs. A mill; achurch; in the woodland

Remarkably, we have not encountered any reference to meadows and pastures in Shropshire Domesday Book. This arises the question that where the people could have hays for their animals. Apart from all of these, we also observe churches mentioned in the entries. For example, in Stretton from Culvestone Hundred a church is also recorded and in the same entry we are informed that there are 8 slaves, two of whom are female.²⁶³ It sounds quite intriguing when we think that who could take care of the church from cleaning to maintenance.

3.6 Warwickshire

Warwickshire is among the counties which have highest number of male slaves; yet we cannot say the same with regard to having a higher number of female slaves. According to my counting, Warwickshire has thirty four female slaves; and as we have mentioned and seen in *Figure 21*, the majority of the slaves in Warwickshire is male; I count them eight hundred eighty-three in total. The combined number of female and male slaves in this county is five. Although Darby's counting shows 53 female slaves, and 880 male slaves, Pelteret presents 34 for female slaves and 747 for male slaves.²⁶⁴ It is obvious that

5hedged enclosures; a further 6 ploughs possible. Vaue before 1066 £6; now 100s." (Thorn, *Domesday Book, vol 25: Shropshire*, fo. 253 d, 254 a).

²⁶³ Thorn, *Domesday Book, vol 25: Shropshire*, fo. 253 d, 254 a.

²⁶⁴ Pelteret, *Slavery in Early Mediaeval England*, 193.

our numbers for female slaves are the same with Pelteret's; yet for the male slaves our numbers do not correspond to his.



Figure 21 Slave Population in Warwickshire

When we survey Warwickshire Domesday Book, we get information about eleven hundreds which are Barcheston, Brinklow, Coleshill, Cuttlestone, Ferncombe, Fexhole, Hunsbury, Marton, Pathlow, Stoneleigh and Tremlow. However, we will focus on ten of them because of two reasons; the first of which is that in the records we are informed that Cuttlestone is actually in Staffordshire but its records are in Warwickshire. The other reason is that we do not encounter any female slaves in this hundred. Therefore, in this analysis we omit the hundred of Cuttlestone. The other hundreds which do not have any female slaves are Barcheston and Hunsbury. We can demonstrate the numbers in *Table 12*.

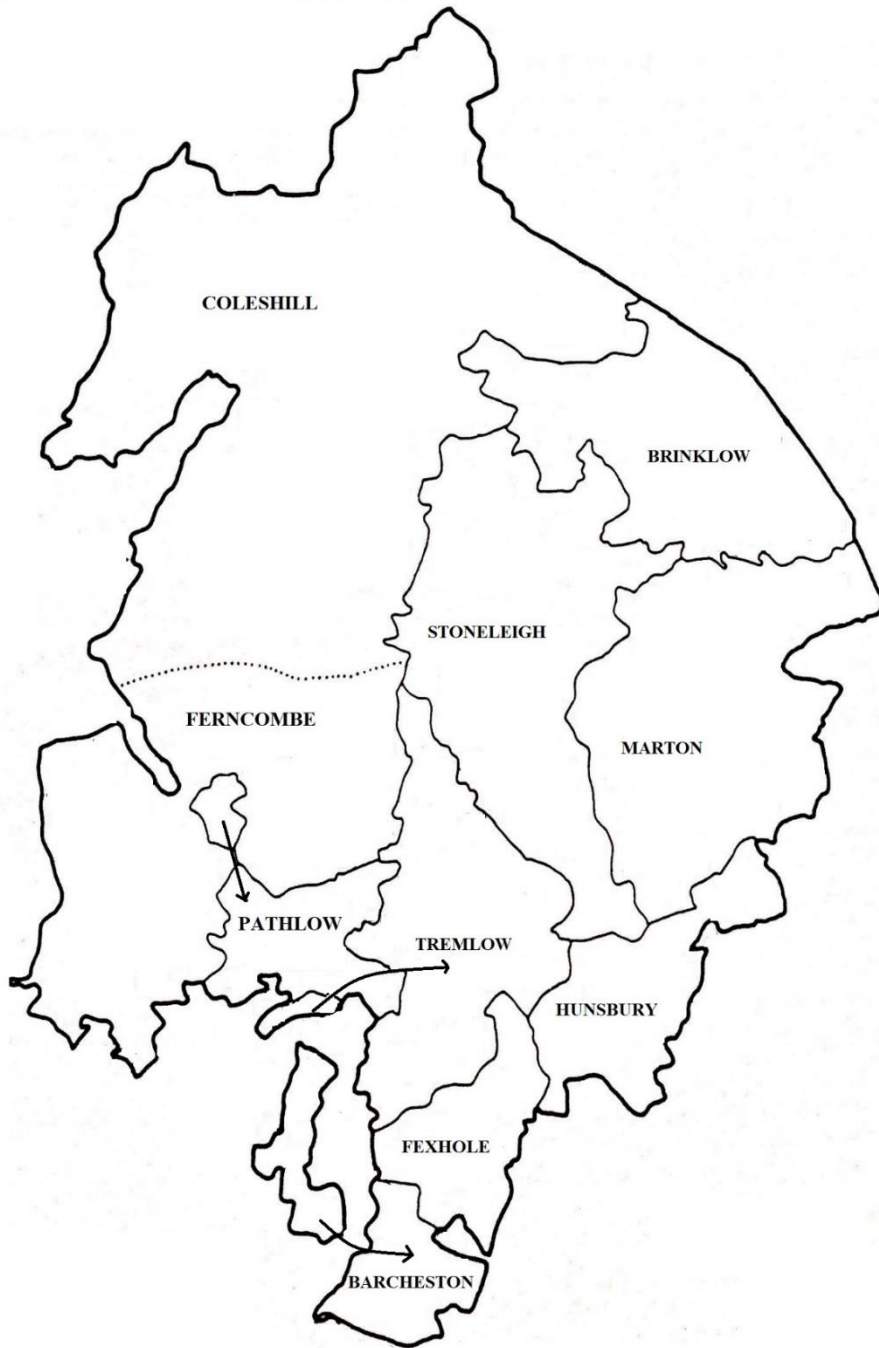


Figure 22 Warwickshire Hundreds

Table 12 Total Slave Numbers in Warwickshire Hundreds

Hundred	Female Slaves	Male Slaves	Combined
Brinklow	3	36	0
Coleshill	2	70	0
Ferncombe	7	135	5
Fexhole	5	46	0
Marton	2	118	0
Pathlow	1	17	0
Stoneleigh	5	88	0
Tremlow	9	126	0

When we compare the number of male slaves and female slaves, it is rather curious to have so few number of female slaves while the male slaves are one of the main populations in Warwickshire. This arises the debate whether all the female slaves are recorded or not. Warwickshire's most populous groups are *villanus* and *bordarius* in addition to *servus*. The entries also include priests, freemen, Frenchmen, and knights.

The total number of ploughs in Warwickshire is 1551; and 364.5 of these ploughs are "in lordship". The rest of them are recorded as being owned by the villagers, radmen, and other groups of people. Moreover, it is recorded that there is land for 1571 more ploughs. Some entries display people from that different type of groups which may have ploughs.

In Warwick, especially priests are the owners of the ploughs, such as at Leamington in Stoneleigh: “5 villagers with a priest and 3 smallholders have 4 ploughs.”²⁶⁵ After observing so many examples of free people, or at least having a name for doing a particular job like a priest, could have ploughs, it is so unusual to see slaves also could have plough. At Coughton in Ferncombe it is recorded that “2 free men, 7 smallholders and 4 slaves with 3 ploughs.”²⁶⁶ While the question of a male slave could have a plough is quite compelling, we also come across with a record which is much related to our main concern. One of the most important entries is that a female slave has a share in one plough with six smallholders: “Robert d’Oilly holds ½ hide in Lilington. Land for ½ plough. There is however 1, with 6 smallholders and 1 female slave who have another plough. Meadow, 4 acres. The value was 10s; now 20 s. Browning held it freely.”²⁶⁷ This entry evokes many questions and fruitful discussions to this study. Presumably, one of the most challenging questions is that how a slave, particularly a female one could own something, especially a plough? If she is a slave, how could she earn money to own a plough? Does she have some rights to own something? If she has a plough, is she required to work in it because in the entry there is no one else related to plough, i.e. ploughman or male slave is mentioned. These are very problematical questions to answer and the answers are not beyond speculation as we do not have an adequate data or accurate information in Domesday Book. Moreover, especially in Warwickshire

²⁶⁵ Morris, *Domesday Book, vol 23: Warwickshire*, fo. 239 b.

²⁶⁶ Morris, *Domesday Book, vol 23: Warwickshire*, fo. 241 d, 242 a.

²⁶⁷ Morris, *Domesday Book, vol 23: Warwickshire*, fo. 241 c.

Domesday Book, the entries mentioning ploughs are quite uninformative. We should state that entries do not necessarily give a definite data or number; thus, it is quite confusing for commenting on the number of ploughs. Nevertheless, when we put ploughs into a figure it will be more or less as following:

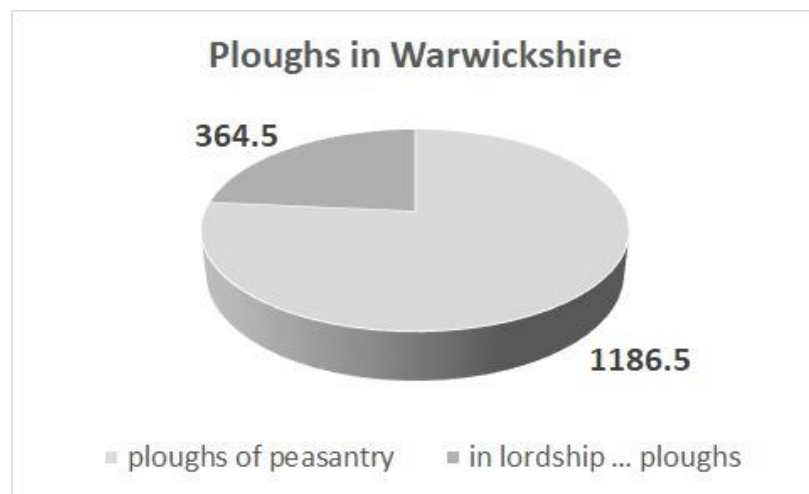


Figure 23 Plough Distribution in Warwickshire

The entries mentioning both mill(s) and female slaves are in the hundreds of Coleshill, Fexhole, Pathlow, Stoneleigh and Tremlow. We have already mentioned that in Hunsbury and Barcheston there are not any female slaves. On the other hand, there are also two hundreds whose entries do not mention female slaves and mills together: Brinklow and Marton. They have female slaves but it is evident that the owners do not have any mill in which to put them to work. There are also landholders who have mills but do not have any female slaves. They possibly put their male slaves to work in the mills. The table below shows the details of them with the slave numbers and mill

numbers; yet we need to explore the entries themselves in order to make a plausible comment about them.

Table 13 Mills mentioned in the same entries with female slaves in Warwickshire

Hundred	# of Slaves			# of Mills with Female Slaves	# of Mills in the Whole Hundred
	Female	Male	Combined		
Coleshill	2	2	0	1	10
Fexhole	5	15	0	1	6
Pathlow	1	0	0	3	5
Stoneleigh	1	1	0	2	19
Tremlow	6	14	0	3	16

According to this table, in Coleshill and Fexhole only one mill is recorded with female slaves in the entries. Thus, female slaves are most probably put to work in the mill in Coleshill. However, it is important to note that in Fexhole the entries mentioning both female slaves and mills refer to twenty slaves and one mill. Thus, expecting all slaves to work in only one mill does not sound reasonable. Therefore, in Fexhole female slaves may have most probably involved in different tasks. As understood from the table, in Pathlow only one female slave is recorded with three mills in the same entry. This is quite interesting; and when we examine this entry, we see that these mills render 1012 sticks of eels.²⁶⁸ The entry also mentions a meadow and as there is only one slave, we can

²⁶⁸ Morris, *Domesday Book, vol 23: Warwickshire*, fo. 238 c.

assume that this slave is put to work in both mills and meadow, apart from her possible tasks in the house. (We will examine this entry in detail in the next paragraph.) The table also indicates that the highest number of female slaves recorded with the mills is in Tremlow. On the other hand, the entry in Stoneleigh mentions one female slave and one male slave with two mills; therefore, it can be stated that in Stoneleigh, this female slave who belongs to the King may have most probably spent her time in working these mills.

When we examine the entries mentioning mills, we are generally informed of how and how much they render. They may pay in different kinds: money or whatever they yield. For example, in Stoneleigh, the King has 1 male and 1 female slaves and also two mills which pay 35 s and 4d.²⁶⁹ There are also mills recorded next to the eels. Since no fishery is recorded in the same entry, we can understand that the mills may have also yielded eels. For example, it is recorded that there are “28 villagers, 15 smallholders and 1 female slave. They have 22 ploughs. 3 mills at 40s; 1012 sticks of eels;”²⁷⁰ in Alveston. Similarly, it is recorded that there are “3 male and 2 female slaves. A mill at 10s; 20 sticks of eels;” in Wixford.²⁷¹ As we do not see any fisher in neither of two entries, we assume that slaves may have also been assigned to catch eels in addition to their mill tasks. Also, in the first example with eels, just one female slave is recorded. Thus, she, in all likelihood, may have worked in the mill. However, what she may do in the mill

²⁶⁹ Morris, *Domesday Book, vol 23: Warwickshire*, fo. 238 b.

²⁷⁰ Morris, *Domesday Book, vol 23: Warwickshire*, fo. 238 c.

²⁷¹ Morris, *Domesday Book, vol 23: Warwickshire*, fo. 239 b.

depends. As there is not a miller in both entries, she may grind the crops. She may feed or catch eels. She may work as a porter. These tasks go for the other example in Wixford, actually for all slaves who may work in the mill. The entries also give clues about what crop is yielded in the county. For example, in Binton, we learn that there is a part of mill which renders “4 packloads of corn and 8 sticks of eels”.²⁷² Interestingly, the entry of Wasperton displays that a mill renders salt: “A mill at 20s, 4 packloads of salt and 1000 eels”.²⁷³ In this entry we do not see a female slave but a male one. We do not see any person related to obtaining salt. Yet, this enlightens us that people may not need a salt-house for salt. The landowners could obtain the salt for their need in his house; and as they do not attain salt at a tremendous rate, they may not notify the commissioners. Thus, we can easily link slaves to making salt in mills in other hundreds and counties even though Domesday Book does not record that.

We do not observe any fisheries in Warwickshire. All we get from Domesday Book related to fish is the eels which are obtained from the mills. However, it is strange because the mills in Warwickshire are most probably water mills and they are located to some rivers. Thus, we can infer that fisheries in Warwickshire may not be recorded in Domesday Book.

²⁷² Morris, *Domesday Book, vol 23: Warwickshire*, fo. 243 b.

²⁷³ Morris, *Domesday Book, vol 23: Warwickshire*, fo. 239 a.

We observe pastures though not many. As there is only one entry which mentions both a female slave and pasture at the same time, we only give it as an example: “in Thurlaston 2½ hides. Robert holds from him. Land for 6 ploughs. In lordship 1; 2 female slaves; 4 villagers and 1 smallholder with 2 ploughs. Meadow, 50 acres; pasture, 2 furlongs.”²⁷⁴

Since we do not have any other entry similar to this, making a comment for all the female slaves in town will be a misleading judgment for the county and female slaves. However, it will not be wrong to state that female slaves of this entry may have most probably worked in the pasture. Their tasks may have varied from rearing livestock to grazing them.

Unlike pastures, almost every entry in Warwickshire Domesday Book refers to some meadow with their sizes. Following examples given here are the ones which shares the same entry with female slaves. In “Bidford. King Edward held it 5 hides. Land for ... In lordship 5 ploughs; 8 male and 5 female slaves; 28 villagers and 13 smallholders with 16 ploughs. 4 mills at 43s 4d; meadow, 150 acres.”²⁷⁵ In Kirby “In lordship 7; 6 male and 2 female slaves; 41 villagers and 2 smallholders with 2 priests who have 21 ploughs. Meadow, 40 acres.”²⁷⁶ Meadows are also used for grazing animals. As understood from the two examples, female slaves could be sent to those meadows for grazing livestock since male slaves most probably put to work with ploughs.

²⁷⁴ Morris, *Domesday Book, vol 23: Warwickshire*, fo. 240 b.

²⁷⁵ Morris, *Domesday Book, vol 23: Warwickshire*, fo. 238 b.

²⁷⁶ Morris, *Domesday Book, vol 23: Warwickshire*, fo. 243 c.

The woodlands of Warwickshire and their size are occasionally given in the records. We can give Stoneleigh, which the King holds, as an example: “woodland 4 leagues long and 2 leagues wide”. In this place, 1 male and 1 female slave are also recorded.²⁷⁷ Sometimes the entries do not mention the word “woodland” but indication of a wood: “a spinney 2 furlongs long and 1 wide”.²⁷⁸ Similarly, in the entry of Donnelie it is recorded that there is “An enclosure which is ½ league long and as wide.”²⁷⁹ The last two examples may not mention a woodland but they still remind us of a small part of wood. After all we are familiar with enclosures right next to woodland record in other counties. These places both present tasks slaves, male or female, from preparing hay to grazing animals or from rearing animals to cutting firewoods.

In this analysis we prefer presenting the salt-houses which are in the same entries with the slaves, particularly the female ones. However, there is not an entry which mention both salt and female slaves. There is just one entry which indicates there may be a salt-house because it is recorded that the holding’s “value now £55 and 20 packloads of salt” and there is 12 male and 3 female slaves.²⁸⁰ As we have stated before, the salt may have been obtained in the mills and the entry informs us about there is also a mill. Either way, thanks to this entry we may link female slaves to salt. They may have worked in the mills

²⁷⁷ Morris, *Domesday Book, vol 23: Warwickshire*, fo. 238 a.

²⁷⁸ Morris, *Domesday Book, vol 23: Warwickshire*, fo. 240 c.

²⁷⁹ Morris, *Domesday Book, vol 23: Warwickshire*, fo. 240 a.

²⁸⁰ Morris, *Domesday Book, vol 23: Warwickshire*, fo. 238 b.

or salt-houses if there is and not recorded in Domesday Book. They may have been a porter for carrying salt or assigned a duty during the salt obtaining process.

3.7 Cheshire

We may call Cheshire the most interesting and most mysterious county in our study since it has the lowest number of female slaves among the six counties we focus on. As seen in *Figure 24*, I have counted eight female slaves in the records of the county's Domesday Book. However, we are sure that there are more female slaves in Cheshire because in the records sometimes a combined number of female and male slaves is given and I count this group as twelve. This is quite discouraging because the number of the female slaves shows that we may not trace female slaves in this county and understand what they did or at least what they were supposed to do.

The number of male slaves is also lower than the ones in the other five counties, Gloucestershire, Herefordshire, Shropshire, Warwickshire, and Worcestershire. Even so, male slaves comprise one of the main populations in Cheshire; and their total is two hundred and two according to my counting. As expected, there are different suggestions for these numbers. For example, while Darby presents the total number for *ancilla* as 5,

Pelteret's enumeration for *ancilla* is 11 in total. Their suggestion for the male slave numbers also differs; Darby gives 141 and Pelteret gives 130.²⁸¹



Figure 24 Slave Population in Cheshire

Apart from the slave population, Cheshire Domesday Book introduces us other groups of people. The most important ones are *villanus*, *bordarius*, *bovarius*, *radman* as they comprise the majority of the population. These five groups are not the only population of the county; the records also mention, priests, fishermen, and Frenchmen.

²⁸¹ Darby, *The Domesday Geography of Northern England*, 350. Pelteret, *Slavery in Early Mediaeval England*, 192.

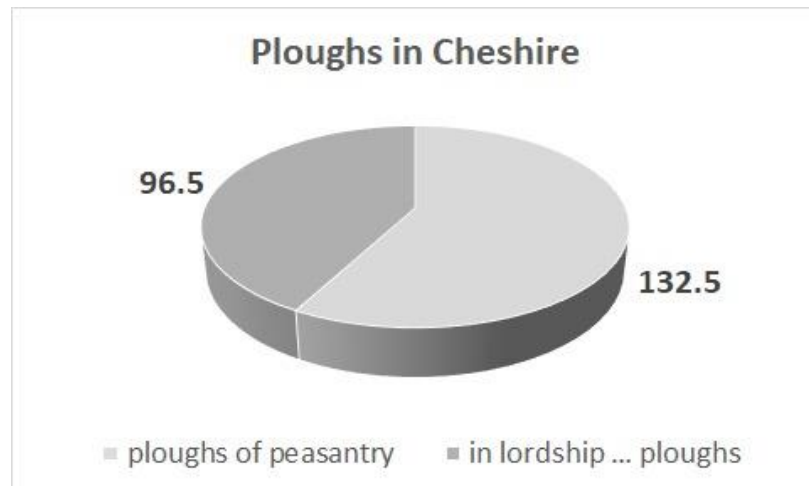


Figure 25 Ploughs in Cheshire

The total number of ploughs in Cheshire is 229 and 96.5 of these are “in lordship”. The rest of them are recorded as being owned by the other groups of the county, from priests to villagers. However, Cheshire records sometimes do not give adequate information about the ploughs or the lands. For example, in Larkton it is recorded that there is land for 3 ploughs”, yet the entry does not give information beyond that. Who owns it? Maybe there is not any plough; we cannot be sure.²⁸²

Cheshire as a county is also one of the most difficult counties to comment on because of its containing records of some parts of Wales as well as Lancashire. This makes understanding what we should take into consideration from the records quite challenging. I have counted what we got from Cheshire Domesday Book and we have records of the

²⁸² Morgan, *Domesday Book*, vol 26: *Cheshire*, fo. 264 c.

hundreds which are Ati's Cross, Broxton, Bucklow, Derby, Eddisbury, Macclesfield, Maelor Cymraeg, Nantwich, Northwich, Salford, and Wirral²⁸³.

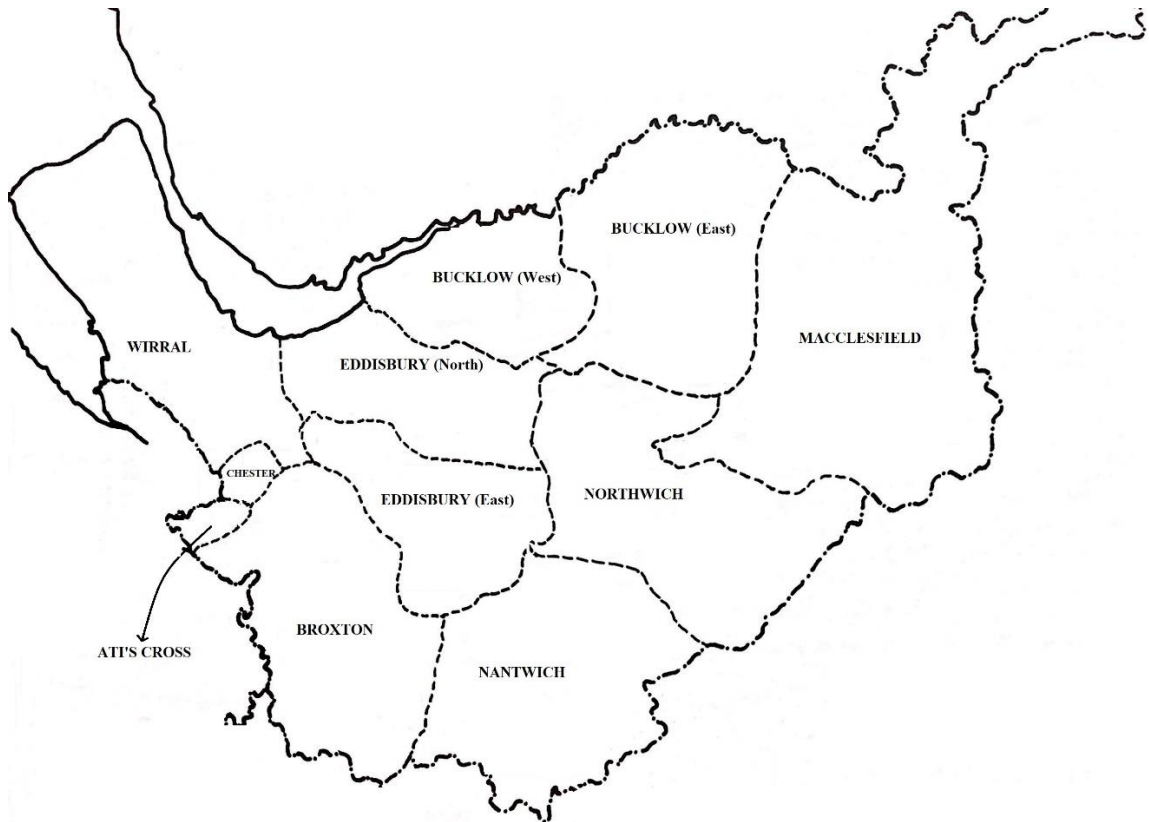


Figure 26 Cheshire Hundreds

²⁸³ Maelor Cymraeg is in Wales. Salford and Derby is in Lancashire.



Figure 27 Cheshire Hundred in Wales



Figure 28 Cheshire Hundreds in South Lancashire

As our main concern is not to determine the boundaries, it is sufficient for this study to state that when we examine the results of my counting, we see that no female slave is recorded in Macclesfield, Maelor Cymraeg, Nantwich, Northwich, Salford, and Wirral whereas we observe female slaves in Ati's Cross, Broxton, Bucklow, Derby and Eddisbury. In Ati's Cross we know there are female slaves although there is combined record of slaves. The others have female slaves; yet their number is quite low. We can demonstrate the numbers in a table as follows:

Table 14 Total Slave Numbers in Cheshire Hundreds

Hundred	Female Slaves	Male Slaves	Combined
Ati's Cross	0	31	12
Broxton	2	30	0
Bucklow	2	23	0
Derby	3	2	0
Eddisbury	1	23	0
Macclesfield	0	6	0
Maelor Cymraeg	0	3	0
Nantwich	0	5	0
Northwich	0	30	0
Salford	0	18	0
Wirral	0	31	0

The entry mentioning both mill(s) and female slaves is just in the hundred of Broxton. We have already mentioned that in Macclesfield, Maelor Cymraeg, Nantwich, Northwich, Salford, and Wirral we do not have any female slaves. On the other hand, there are also two hundreds whose entries do not mention female slaves and mills together: Ati’s Cross, Bucklow, Derby and Eddisbury. They have female slaves (in a small number) but it is apparent that the owners of those do not have any mill to put them into work there and vice versa. The landholders who have mills do not have any female slaves. They most probably put their male slaves into work. The table below shows the details of the hundred of which entry mentions female slaves and mills together, with the slave numbers and mill numbers.

Table 15 Mills mentioned in the same entry with female slaves in Cheshire

Hundred	# of Slaves			# of Mills with Female Slaves	# of Mills in the Whole Hundred
	Female	Male	Combined		
Broxton	2	0	0	1	3

As seen, there is only one hundred and one entry mentioning female slaves and mill together. When we examine the entry, we do not get much clue, either. The entry is “Christleton. Earl Edwin held it. 7 hides paying tax. Land for 14 ploughs. In lordship 1 plough; 2 female slaves; 12 villagers, 5 smallholders and 2 reeves with 8 ploughs. A mill

at 12s; 2 riders.”²⁸⁴ The entry just gives information about how much it pays. If it gives information about what is yielded, it would be much useful for us. When we examine other mills in Cheshire Domesday Book, we see some of them work in winter²⁸⁵ and some of them serve the hall like in Macclesfield and Weaverham.²⁸⁶ Male slaves could work in the mills. However, there are not many mills in the whole county.²⁸⁷ This makes us question that how people in Cheshire could grind the crops. Even if they grind by hand, how could people cope with so many crops? Female slaves could be used of course; however, only eight of them are recorded in Domesday Book and male slaves are not too many in this county, either. This means either people in Cheshire are so self-sufficient that they do not need any slave use; or there are many places in Cheshire remaining uncounted in Domesday Book.

The woodlands of Cheshire and their size are occasionally given in the records. Yet we have one entry mentioning both female slaves and woodland. The entry is recorded for the places named “North Meols, Halsall and Hurlston”. In this place there are “46 villagers, 1 rider, 62 smallholders, 2 male and 3 female slaves. They have 4 ploughs between them. Their woodland, 3½ leagues long and 1½ leagues and 40 perches wide, 3

²⁸⁴ Morgan, *Domesday Book, vol 26: Cheshire*, fo. 264 b.

²⁸⁵ Morgan, *Domesday Book, vol 26: Cheshire*, fo. 263 c, d.

²⁸⁶ Weaverham: Morgan, *Domesday Book, vol 26: Cheshire*, fo. 263 b, c. Macclesfield: Morgan, *Domesday Book, vol 26: Cheshire*, fo. 263 d.

²⁸⁷ According to my counting there are twelve mills in the whole county. However, we have just pay regard to slaves while counting. Therefore, there may be more mills. However, Darby states that mills are recorded only eighteen places. (Darby, *The Domesday Geography of Northern England*, 376).

hawk's eyries."²⁸⁸ Apart from woodland, we are informed about hawk eyries. We have already mentioned in other counties that hawks eyries are in a close connection with hunting. Therefore, female slaves may have been put into work in the woodland, and assigned to take care of the hawk's eyries. There are also some entries mentioning "deer park", these also indicate hunting. These entries from Kingsley and Weaverham and we have male slaves there even though there no female slaves.

Almost every entry in Cheshire Domesday Book refers to some meadow with their sizes. We also have an entry which mentions a female slave and meadow. It is in Trafford²⁸⁹ and female slaves as well as male slaves may have been assigned to work in meadows which can be used for the plants in addition to grazing livestock. Even though livestock is rarely recorded in Domesday Book, we sometimes encounter oxen like in Warford. It is recorded that the landholder has 2 oxen, 4 male and 2 female slaves.²⁹⁰ This makes us ask whether these oxen are fed just with the mixture of crops grounded in the mills or they are grazed in meadows. As the entry does not give information about that these two options are possible; and most probably slaves are assigned in feeding the animals.

²⁸⁸ Morgan, *Domesday Book, vol 26: Cheshire*, fo. 269 d.

²⁸⁹ "in Eddisbury (North) Hundred Trafford. 1 hide paying tax. Land for In lordship 1 plough; 4 male slaves and 1 female; 1 smallholder. Meadow, 1 acre. 1 man who pays 20d. Value before 1066, 5s; now 8s." (Morgan, *Domesday Book, vol 26: Cheshire*, fo. 263 b).

²⁹⁰ "Ranulf holds Warford himself. Godgyth holds from him. She held it herself; and was free. ½ hide paying tax. Land for 1 plough. She has 2 oxen; 4 male and 2 female slaves." (Morgan, *Domesday Book, vol 26: Cheshire*, fo. 267 b).

Cheshire was an important resource of salt. Unlike the other counties about which we suggest that female slaves may have worked in process of obtaining salt, we cannot put forward this because the number of female slaves is very low and none of them is mentioned in an entry related to salt. Unlike female slaves, we observe some entries which mention both male slaves and salt-houses. However, Domesday Book do not give much information about who could work in obtaining salt, except for the law declared in Northwich, Nantwich and Middlewich records in Domesday Book.²⁹¹ Attaining some idea from these laws, we can suggest that people could work in boiling and trading and carrying. Furthermore, we have already some suspicion about uncounted data in Cheshire. Therefore, we can also suggest that the uncounted slaves, especially female slaves could be exploited in salt-houses; either for portorage or boiling. We can link woods to salt-houses because we learn from other counties records that timber obtained from woodlands could be used in salt-houses. Therefore, we can argue that entries with woods could lead us to the salt-houses.

3.8 Conclusion

Throughout this chapter, six counties are analysed in line with the data obtained from Domesday Book and they are compared with what we can find out more generally about slavery and

²⁹¹ Morgan, *Domesday Book, vol 26: Cheshire*, fo. 268 a, 268 b.

potential tasks, particularly in this surrounding region. As Domesday Book does provide statistical information about the places, but does not provide detailed portraits of the recorded people; we could only speculate about the life of peasantry, particularly female slaves'. However, what Domesday Book offers is also very fruitful because the places could be the working areas of slaves. The main places we primarily focus on are mills, woodlands, meadows and pastures, salt-houses and fisheries. Speculating on these places as where female slaves may have worked, we pay attention to the records which involve female slaves and at least one of these five working areas. However, it should be taken into consideration that female slaves may have worked in these places even though they were not been recorded. It is also possible that their names may have been recorded with these places in the same entries even though they were not put to work there. However, we can state that female slaves must have worked in many tasks as they were seen as resources and recorded in Domesday Book, and these five possible working zones may be among the few of them. In other words, female slaves must have been active in every aspect of labour in these counties as they were recorded in Domesday Book.

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSION

The aim of this study has been to understand the position of female slaves and reveal their functions based upon the records of Domesday Book. I have dealt with slavery in ancient and medieval times in order to build a background; and have examined Domesday Book process, before examining Domesday Book records. When we come to the records, we observe that Domesday Book does not answer our questions related to female slaves' position and life sufficiently; however, we benefit from what Domesday Book offers as a wealth of aristocracy. Slaves, male or female, are also included in this wealth because they are regarded as properties. One of the most significant observations of the survey is that we do not detect any proper and continuous enumeration of female members of peasantry in Domesday Book. We rarely find female villagers or widows in the records. Still, female slaves are recorded in Domesday Book as if they formed a main population of the peasantry such as villagers and smallholders. As even female

landholders are rarely observed in Domesday Book, this is quite interesting to have female slaves are fairly routinely enumerated. However, they were slaves and their conditions are expected to have been different from the others. Domesday Book does not provide information about their daily life; indeed it does not provide such data for any other members, either. However, even enumeration of female slaves individually in the records indicates that they were different from the others. We can infer from their enumeration that they are not attached to any family. It seems they are just bound to their owners.

Domesday Book does not give information about other members, either. However, as any other “female” member of the society is not listed in such a concrete way, this leads us to deduce that what makes female slaves different from other women is their being slaves. This also leads us to discuss two things. First one is what makes them different is their being property. However, this is also a dead end because if they were not slaves and so property, we would not know they existed at all. In other words, they would be like other women who were not worth recording. Second point is that being a slave must have also resulted in alienation from the society. This alienation may have also resulted in having no “house”. This house carries double meanings: we do not know where they may have lived. They may have been given a bed in their owners’ house or there may have been a dormitory where all the slaves accommodate. Having no house also means that they may have lived without any communication with the society; they may have been treated as a “slave” and given just orders of what to deal with even though this sounds unlikely—as

disappearance of slavery is linked to their promotion in status and the change in the society's attitude towards them.

We can approach male slaves in a similar way. They were recorded in Domesday Book even though they were slaves; and they formed a large group in the society. However, Domesday Book does not give information about their life just like female ones. They may have had a more favourable life than female slaves, or worse. We cannot know. The only thing we can be sure about both female and male slaves must have been useful enough in rural life to their existence to be enumerated in such an important record.

In order to deduce from what Domesday Book offers, we have chosen six counties according to their total number of female slaves and their geographical conditions: Worcestershire, Herefordshire, Gloucestershire, Shropshire, Warwickshire, and Cheshire. The total number of female slaves' is quite low considering the total number of male slaves in the counties. However, Domesday Book's inconsistencies regarding the enumeration is known and there is still an ongoing uncertainty about whether all the slaves are recorded or not. In any case, Domesday Book presents us female slaves who were active members of the economy in eleventh-century England. Although we cannot be certain about how they were exploited; we could still speculate with the clues and numbers stated in the records of Domesday Book. As they were slaves, we suggest that they could have been involved in any type of task and their labour was exploited.

Gender roles may have been effective on the tasks assigned to female slaves. However, their “class” as slaves may also have limited these gender roles. That is to say, as they are in the slave class, women or men regardless of their gender may have been put to any kind of work. However, there is not adequate data to prove this argument. Even if gender roles determine the slaves’ tasks, female slaves must have been around the working area in order to help or do the less physical things. For example, ploughs are generally linked to male slaves, yet while oxen were pulling the plough, somebody may have gathered any hard object, mostly stones, in order to prevent stones from clashing with the sharp ends of plough. There is not any indication that this somebody was not a female slave. Moreover, they may have also been used in preparing food and bringing it to the field where people were working on the land.

Women in medieval times are generally associated with domestic tasks from cooking to weaving. These domestic duties are often associated with female slaves although we are not informed about them by Domesday Book. It only gives a few clues in terms of dairy and we can speculate on female slaves serving in animal husbandry, milk, and milk products. We do not see much livestock, sheep or the like, in Domesday Book. However, animal husbandry reserves new potential tasks like grazing the animals or if livestock is kept in a barn, cleaning their dung and perhaps gathering the dung for future use as a manure. Feeding them and milking them must have already been among the daily routine; yet sheep must have been used for their fleece. Female slaves may have clipped the sheep and used the wool in spinning yarn. They may have been involved in every phase of

weaving, from spinning to forming a fabric, including knitting clothes to weaving rugs. When we go back to animal husbandry, even feeding poultry may have been a task bestowed on slaves, female or male. Another possible job for the slaves could be building a coop for poultry, for free-range poultry picking up the eggs in specified periods may have been among the commitments expected from the slaves. Moreover, cleaning the coop and sometimes disinfecting it with calcite may have been necessities. Poultry dugs may have also been used in the fields, growing vegetables. Also, domestic tasks may have included washing the clothes, especially the ones belonging to the owner of the slaves. We cannot know how and where the clothes were washed, maybe a huge cauldron with hot water was enough, but water must have been boiled and carried; it sounds unreasonable to think of a female slave calling for help in carrying. Moreover, what was used for cleansing agent? Ashes were possible; but soap making could be expected.

Examining the records thoroughly has provided the data about potential working areas for the female slaves. These are mills, woodlands, meadows, pastures, fisheries, and salt-houses. Apart from them, there are other key words to speculate on: honey and vineyards. Considering these potential working areas, we can see they are quite important elements of maintaining life. Through flour ground in the mills, people could feed both themselves and also their animals.

Woodland is where people could supply their need for firewood or wood, forage their pigs, and hunt, in addition to other basic needs like plants, berries and maybe roots for

dying textiles. Meadows and pastures are also very useful for grazing animals and making hay for them. Mills and fisheries provide fish; and salt-houses serve to satisfy the most wanted and needed thing: salt. Salt is needed to preserve the freshness of fish and meat, especially for the unfavourable conditions and season, winter.

Moreover, we come across with honey as a payment in Domesday Book and it was important element both as a nutritious substance and sweetener for the foods and drinks. Vineyards are rarely recorded in Domesday Book, but wine making must have been common on manors. All of these are actually a starting point for speculating what female slaves may have done.

We put forward that female slaves may have been used in connection with the salt-houses. However, many of the salt-houses are recorded in Worcestershire, and whether the slaveowners may have sent their slaves to Worcestershire from another county is quite dubious. Yet, even if female slaves are not sent to this county, the high number of female slaves in Worcestershire helps us to suggest that female slaves in Worcester may have worked in the salt-houses. Along with Worcester, Cheshire is also an important county as both have brine springs. However, Cheshire's complicated records and low number of female slaves in total limit us on arguing the connection between female slaves and salt-houses.

From the very beginning of this survey, thinking of mills as possible working areas for slaves, I have included mills in my counting. However, in the six counties we cannot find

a general remarkable connection with the female slaves and mills. Even, in Cheshire, there is just one mill to which we might link female slaves. In the other five counties, we can easily examine the relation between mills and female slaves as their numbers increase. However, if we probe into the entries, we encounter important points. To generalize, we can link female slaves to mills and suggest that they may have worked in any process: they may have directed the river's stream to the mill, operated the grinding process, poured the grain, gathered the ground flour. Some records display that mills also rendered eels from the mill-pond; female slaves may have also involved in making nets to catch the eels or catch fish themselves with sticks. Even if all the speculation we made is false, we can be sure that female slaves also grind the crops by hands. However, as the water mills spread, their time for hand-grinding may have passed to the tasks in the mills. After all, they may have been thought to be experts on crops from grinding by hand.

In terms of fisheries, Warwickshire's and Cheshire's records do not provide us any entry to speculate on whether female slaves may have worked in the fisheries or not. For the other four counties, we may state that even if female slaves did not work physically or in action, they may have woven and repaired the fishing nets. They may have also prepared bait for the hooks; and even caught the fish since we have not come across fishermen in many fisheries. Their task may have also been cleaning the fish, carrying them or keeping them fresh with salt.

Woodlands in six counties offer various tasks for slaves; however, gender roles may restrict us to attribute some tasks to women. For example, cutting trees most probably may have been regarded as a man's job. However, there must have been some tasks considered proper for women such as picking berries and plants for dying fabrics.

Moreover, woodlands are places where some animals were pastured; and where hedged enclosures were recorded. We have also suggested that female slaves may have been assigned some tasks there.

Analysing these possible working places and speculating on what female slaves may have done also helps us compare and contrast what we have mentioned concerning slavery and freedom. First of all, we can infer from Domesday Book records that slaves' position may have most probably recovered. That is, the society's regard for slaves may have changed. We are sure that gang slaves from ancient times were no longer applied and especially in rural areas slaves and their owner had a closer relationship. We can deduce this from the records that slaves, even female one could have a share in a plough. Even if they did not, the records imply that slaves were related to villagers' ploughs.

Domesday Book offers the details of some people such as beekeepers, cowmen and particularly dairymaids. They could have been former slaves. Maybe the reason why they were not recorded as slaves is that slavery as a class had started to change. The scholars consider Domesday Book as evidence of the disappearance of slavery and the beginning of this disappearance may have resulted from this change in attitude to slaves. Regarding

the slavery we have discussed in the second chapter, we may also infer that our slaves, the slaves recorded in Domesday Book, may have most probably been descendants of these who were enslaved before. However, this also raises more questions like how this disappearance happened. Were these slaves (recorded in Domesday Book) able to change their status and become bordars? How could this happen? Did they die without any descendant? Hereby could slavery terminate? These questions may sound far-fetched, yet we cannot answer them as we do not have evidence even if it happened.

In conclusion, the records of female slaves in Domesday Book are scanty in number; however, they actually prove to be a strong indication of the female slaves' position in medieval society. Although it is believed and stated that women were of secondary importance and marginalized even from daily activities, indeed they were active in every aspect of life. They were recorded as slaves, which means that they were not seen as equal even to unfree peasants. However, as long as they were recorded in such a record, they must have constituted an important segment of the society. The potential tasks that female slaves may have been assigned to display and prove how functional they were in the society. That is to say, female slaves must have dealt with much more than what we can infer from the Domesday records.

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