



CHAPTER IV HISTORICAL BACKGROUND TO THE SCULPTURE

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BEFORE THE ANGLO-SAXONS: THE ROMAN PERIOD AND THE FIFTH TO SEVENTH CENTURIES

No reference to Cornwall by name is found until about AD 700. The name of the county in the Brittonic languages, Cornish *Kernow*, Welsh *Cernyw*, is agreed to be derived from a British tribal name, **Cornowii* ‘horn-people’ (whence *Corn-wall* itself), the same as that of two known British tribes in the Roman period, one in modern Shropshire and Cheshire, the other in Caithness (Rivet and Smith 1979, 324–5); but the name is not attested in the south-west in the Roman period, except possibly in a place-name in the Ravenna Cosmography, corruptly *Purocoronavis*, perhaps for **Durocornovio*; there was also another *Durocornovium* in Wiltshire (Rivet and Smith 1979, 350). That place has not been securely identified, but it lay somewhere in the far south-west, presumably in Cornwall, and would probably have referred, like other *Duro-* names, to a walled town or Roman fort, specified by the local tribal name.

The lack of references to the **Cornowii* is generally taken to indicate that they were a sub-tribe of, or subject to, the *Dumnonii* (modern Devon) with their capital at Exeter; this inclusion is also implied if Ptolemy’s ‘*Damnonion* promontory’ referred to the Lizard peninsula in Cornwall, and again by a reference of Solinus (third century) to the *Dumnonii* as the tribe holding the shore opposite to Scilly (Rivet and Smith 1979, 429, 458). In the tenth century the River Tamar was formally recognised as the boundary between Devon and Cornwall; the likelihood is that this prominent natural feature, rising near the north coast and flowing right across the middle of the peninsula, demarcated the territories of these two tribes, or that of the sub-tribe, already in the Roman period. In recent years considerably more evidence of a Roman presence in Cornwall has been discovered than was

previously known, with a fort and civil settlement at Lostwithiel, a few miles south of the excavated fort at Nanstallon, and another fort at Calstock near the Tamar (below, p. 38). Large quantities of Roman coins have been found all over the county, including some substantial hoards (Penhallurick 2009), and it is likely that the tin industry ensured the economic integration of Cornwall into the rest of the Roman province.

The immediately post-Roman centuries are equally dark, for lack of historical information. Substantial amounts of imported Mediterranean pottery, found especially at Tintagel but also in smaller quantities at other sites, indicate direct trade between the south-western peninsula and the southern and eastern Mediterranean (below, p. 39), and tin extraction again provides an obvious explanation. Inscribed stones of the fifth to seventh centuries (below, Appendix E, p. 253) show that the population was Christian and stratified, and they also demonstrate settlement by Irish-speaking immigrants, who may have come from the Irish population in south-east Wales rather than directly from Ireland itself (Okasha 1993; Thomas, A. C. 1994; below, p. 40). The bilingual inscriptions on some of these stones suggest that the Irish population was becoming integrated into local Brittonic society. There are also a few carved crosses of the period, of chi-rho form, but without inscriptions (Okasha 1993, nos. 40 and 50). In the fifth to seventh centuries Cornwall and western Devon were thus part of a cultural continuum which included Wales and shared some of its culture with Ireland and Brittany, in distinction from that of Anglo-Saxon England which was approaching during this period; but those stones lie outside the cultural tradition embraced in this volume, and it would be difficult to claim any continuity between that tradition and the one studied here. Cornwall has always, from its shape and location, been extremely open to cultural and trading contacts overseas, and links between Cornwall and Wales, Brittany and



Ireland have continued throughout the Middle Ages and subsequently, so the potential for fresh influences from those regions has always existed.

The sole documentary clue to Cornwall's history during the fifth to seventh centuries appears in *De Excidio Britanniae* of Gildas, written probably in the sixth century, in which the named series of iniquitous rulers includes King Constantine of *Damnonia*, but no ruler of Cornwall (Winterbottom 1978, 29 and 99). If, as seems likely, the intention was to include all the major Brittonic rulers of southern Britain, the lack indicates that Cornwall was still embraced within 'greater Dumnonia', as in the Roman period.

THE EIGHTH CENTURY

Cornwall first appears by name in about AD 700. By that time Devon was in the process of being assimilated into Wessex, so Cornwall was emerging as the surviving tail-end of the former Brittonic tribal kingdom. At around this time, about a generation after the Synod of Whitby in 664, the learned Anglo-Saxon Aldhelm, abbot of Malmesbury, was asked by a synod of English ecclesiastics to write to the south-western king Gerent concerning the differences in church practice between his kingdom and the Anglo-Saxon ones. The letter was written before Aldhelm became first bishop of the Saxon see of Sherborne in about 705. He addressed Gerent as king of *Domnonia* (Ehwald 1919, 480–6; Lapidge and Herren 1979, 140–3, 155–60), perhaps in recognition that Gerent would be reluctant to acknowledge the shrunken nature of his realm; but the fact that Wessex was able to put this pressure on him, apparently successfully (for Gerent donated land in Cornwall to the minster at Sherborne: O'Donovan 1988 xli, xlvi, 81; Hooke 1994, 15), suggests the unequal nature of the relationship between the two kingdoms. At about this time, too, Aldhelm made a journey through Devon and Cornwall, which he named in a poem describing a great coastal storm which he experienced in a church there. It is this text which contains the earliest record of Cornwall by name (Ehwald 1919, 523–8; Lapidge and Rosier 1985, 171–9):

Quando profectus fueram
usque diram Domnoniam
per carentem Cornubiam
florulentis cespitibus
et foecundis graminibus ...

'When I had journeyed as far as grim *Domnonia*,

(travelling) through *Cornubia* which lacks flowery swards and fertile grasses ...' (I experienced a tremendous storm).

Cornwall's first appearance in the historical record is thus due to the fact that the progressive absorption of Devon into Wessex had by this time registered Cornwall upon the Anglo-Saxon consciousness; and upon that of the Welsh as well, since the second historical mention of it is in the Welsh Annals, under the year 722, *bellum Hehil apud Cornuenses* 'the battle of *Hehil* among the Cornish'. In this entry the Cornish were distinguished from the *dexterales Brittones* 'southern British', who achieved another victory (by implication against the English); the latter name could refer to surviving Britons in Devon, or (more likely) to south-east Wales (Morris 1980, 47, 87; Dumville 2002, 4–5).

The eighth century was thus Cornwall's single century of existence as a separate political entity, between the absorption of eastern *Dumnonia* (Devon itself) into Wessex in the later seventh and earlier eighth centuries, and the conquest of Cornwall in the ninth. In 710 King Gerent fought against Ine, king of Wessex (688–726), at an unnamed place (Batley 1986, 33; Whitelock *et al.* 1965, 26); but amicable relations between those two kings are shown not only by Abbot Aldhelm's letter and his visit to Dumnonia, but also by Gerent's own donation of land at Maker in Cornwall to Sherborne. The location of this gift, just inside Cornwall, may suggest that Gerent had, by this period, little authority east of the Tamar. Further conflicts are recorded in the course of the eighth century, in 743 (Cuthred, king of Wessex 740–56) and in a description of the reign of King Cynewulf (757–86), and by Cynewulf himself in a charter granting land to Wells (Batley 1986, 35–6; Whitelock *et al.* 1965, 29–30; Sawyer 1968, no. 262; the charter is considered spurious, but probably incorporating authentic material, including the phrase naming *Cornubii* 'the Cornish'). As in the reign of Gerent, it would be simplistic to assume that relations between the two kingdoms at this period were exclusively hostile, even though the relationship was an unequal one and it is chiefly hostilities which appear in the historical record. Sherborne's ownership of land within Cornwall was one obvious channel for peaceful cultural interaction.

THE NINTH CENTURY

In the ninth century Cornwall was brought within the kingdom of Wessex, creating opportunities for

sustained cultural contact in both directions. In 815–38 King Ecgbert (died 839) gained a series of military victories over the region, ending its century of independent existence. Although Cornwall was under the rule of Wessex from this time onwards, its royal line continued as sub-kings until the death of the last king in 876, and full administrative assimilation did not occur until the following century (below). The first victory was in 815 when Ecgbert ‘ravaged from east to west against the West British’ (Bately 1986, 41; Whitelock *et al.* 1965, 39). The second was in 825 at *Gafulford*, Galford (SX 4786), eight miles east of Polson bridge across the River Tamar, when Ecgbert used Crediton as his base according to information preserved at Winchester in the twelfth century (Bately 1986, 41; Whitelock *et al.* 1965, 40 note 2; Sawyer 1968, nos. 272–3). The record of this battle in the Chronicle (823 for 825) contains the earliest recorded instance of the term *Defnas* ‘men of Devon’ to denote the English; the usage implies that Devon was by this date considered sufficiently anglicised to make Cornwall on its own the surviving Brittonic region in the South-west. The third and final victory was in 838 at Hingston (SX 3971), three miles west of another crossing of the River Tamar (now New Bridge SX 433722), where Ecgbert defeated a combined force of Cornish and Vikings (Bately 1986, 42–3; Whitelock *et al.* 1965, 41). After that date there was no further conflict, and the absorption of Cornwall into Wessex proceeded peacefully.

More significant than the military conflicts is the evidence of administrative incorporation. Authority of the Saxon kings over north-west and mid-Devon by the mid eighth century is shown by grants to Anglo-Saxon minsters of lands on the River Torridge (perhaps at Petrockstow, SS 5109) in 729 and at Crediton in 739, in addition to grants of other estates in eastern Devon (Hooke 1994, 83, 86, 100). By the mid ninth century several pieces of evidence indicate that most of Devon was thoroughly anglicised: first, the use of *Defnas* to mean ‘Saxons’ (above); second, King Ecgbert’s use of Crediton as a centre in 825, both as a military base for his attack on Cornwall in that year, and as a centre for issuing a charter or charters (Sawyer 1968, nos. 272–3; Whitelock *et al.* 1965, 40 note 2; spurious charters but incorporating authentic detail about Ecgbert’s campaign); and, thirdly, the detailed boundary-clause of a royal grant of land made by King Æthelwulf of Wessex to himself, in the South Hams in 846. In this great area on the south coast of mid-Devon even the smallest features of the countryside had Old English names by this date

(Sawyer 1968, no. 298; Hooke 1994, 105–12; the land extended roughly from Ringmore to Batson, SX 6545 to SX 7339). The boundary-clause therefore stands in marked contrast with those appearing in grants of Cornish land in the tenth and eleventh centuries, where the Brittonic language was still alive and Cornish names are plentiful in the boundary-clauses. Furthermore, the names of the boundary-features in the South Hams charter incorporated Anglo-Saxon local history and lore, showing that by 846 the Saxons not only dominated the area linguistically, but already had a historical presence and knowledge of the ground there, incorporating observation of the landscape through the seasons and imposing their own cultural interpretations upon it. By this date they were not merely landowners in the area, but had for some time been settled farmers.

King Ecgbert (died 839) granted six separate estates in Cornwall to the minster at Sherborne (Napier and Stevenson 1895, 18–19, 102–10; Robinson 1918, 18–24; O’Donovan 1988, xlvi–xlix, 81; Hooke 1994, 16–17) (Fig. 9, p. 24). Three of these were near to the River Tamar in the east of the county, at Kilkhampton (SS 2511), Maker (SX 4451, presumably confirming King Gerent’s grant of a century earlier), and Lawhitton (SX 3582); but a fourth was in mid-Cornwall at Pawton (St Breock parish, SX 9570); while two others remain unidentified, at *Ros* (perhaps the Rame peninsula, SX 4249, adjacent to Maker) and *Cælluic* or *Cælling* (possibly Callington SX 3569). Ecgbert’s ability to grant a large estate in the middle of the county indicates (perhaps intentionally) his authority over the whole region. By the late ninth century the minster-church at Exeter had also been given lands in Cornwall, though those cannot now be identified among the Cornish estates which later belonged to the bishopric of Exeter (Padel 2011a, 68–71); by 1066 those estates also included the ones previously granted to Sherborne at Pawton and Lawhitton.

Ecclesiastically, too, Cornwall was by this period under English governance, again as a result of Ecgbert’s campaigns. During Ecgbert’s reign, or later in the ninth century, a Cornish bishop Kenstec formally acknowledged the supremacy of Ceolnoth, archbishop of Canterbury in 833–70. Kenstec named his see as *Dinuurrin*; its location is unknown. There is no other record of this place-name in Cornwall (Birch 1883–92, II, no. 527; some letters of the place-name are ambiguous in the manuscript, but *Dinuurrin* is a more likely form for a ninth-century Cornish place-name than alternative readings, including Birch’s *Dinnurrin*). No subsequent Cornish bishop is recorded until King

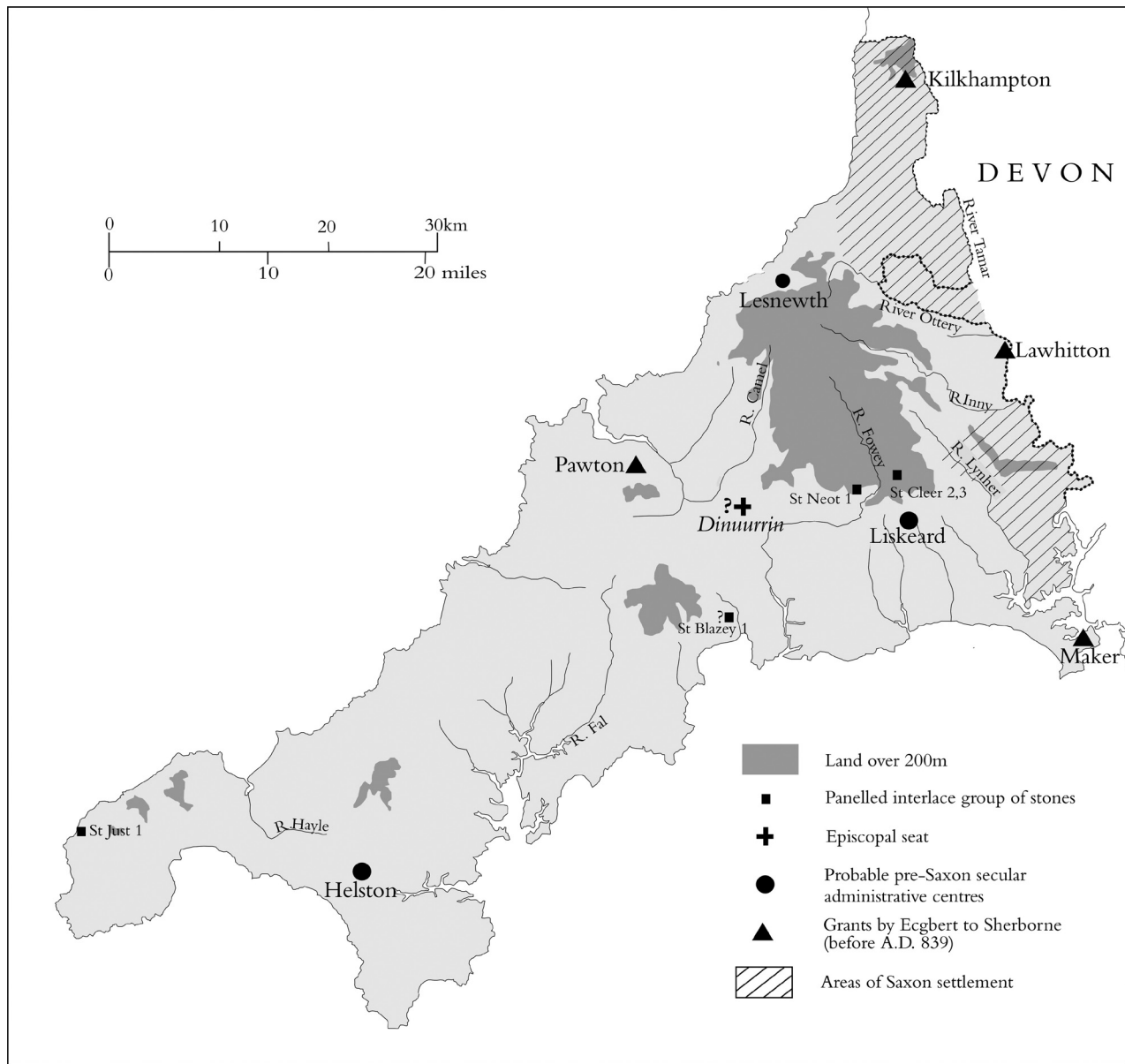


FIGURE 9
Cornwall in about A.D. 900

Athelstan created a see for the county at St Germans in about 930 (below, p. 27), possibly reviving one which had existed there at an earlier date. The Cornish name of St Germans was *Lannaled*, so the see of *Dinuurrin* presumably lay elsewhere. The likeliest location is Bodmin, which is at the centre of Cornwall and which seems later to have claimed its saint, Petrock, as a patron of the see of Cornwall alongside St German (Olson 1989, 51–6; Padel 2010a, 121) (Fig. 9).

Later in the ninth century further indications of Anglo-Saxon cultural influence in Cornwall appear. Before acceding to the throne of Wessex, presumably in about AD 865–70 when he was aged about 16–21, Alfred came hunting in eastern Cornwall; while there he visited a saint's shrine to obtain a cure for a chronic illness. The shrine was at St Neot, five miles north-west of Liskeard, which is proclaimed by its name (Cornish **lys* 'court') to have been a pre-Saxon administrative centre of Cornwall (Stevenson 1959, 55, ch. 74; Keynes and Lapidge 1983, 89, 254–5; Padel 1985, 150–1). Liskeard lies at the centre of the great district of East and Westwivelshire (Old English **Twi-feald-scīr* 'two-fold shire'), embracing the whole south-eastern quarter of the county; in the early eleventh century it appears as an English administrative centre, and in 1086 it was one of the largest comital manors in Cornwall (Thorn and Thorn 1979, 5, 1, 2; Padel 2009, 18, 22; Padel 2010b). Its name and later history give political and diplomatic significance to Alfred's visit in the 860s, when he was effectively crown prince of Wessex under his elder brother King Æthelred (whom Alfred was to succeed in 871). At this period King Doniarth, the last king of Cornwall, was presumably ruling as a sub-king of Wessex; his death by drowning occurred a few years later, in 876 (Morris 1980, 48, 90; Dumville 2002, 12–13; for the form of his name see the discussion in the catalogue under St Cleer 2, p. 135). At the time of Alfred's visit, therefore, Liskeard, as the greatest estate having Cornish **lys* 'court' in its name, and being one of the largest estates overall in Cornwall in 1086, was presumably a seat of King Doniarth, probably his chief one (Figs. 9 and 10); the stone bearing his name stands three miles outside the town (St Cleer 2, Ills. 51–4).

Further indicators of increasing cultural links during King Alfred's reign are provided by the Trehiddle hoard (Penhallurick 2009, 228–36, no. 235), containing Anglo-Saxon metalwork and coins of the ninth century and deposited near St Austell (perhaps by Vikings), probably in the 860s or 870s; and by the fact that three Irishmen who drifted ashore in Cornwall (*on Cornwallum*) in 891, having set

themselves adrift with no oars and a week's food 'for love of God', immediately went, or were taken, to King Alfred's court (Bately 1986, 54–5; Whitelock *et al.* 1965, 53).

Two eastern parts of the county probably were largely English-speaking by this date (Fig. 9). Their place-names were thoroughly English by the mid-eleventh century, unlike those of the rest of Cornwall but akin to those found over the whole of Devon. The toponymic similarity shows that these two parts of Cornwall were settled by the Anglo-Saxons as part of the same process as anglicised Devon, probably by the mid-ninth century; the implied settlement in Cornwall is likely to have occurred not long after (Padel 1999, 2007). One of the areas is that around Bude, in the northernmost part of Cornwall; this estate of Stratton was owned personally by King Alfred and bequeathed by him to Edward, his elder son, along with the neighbouring Hartland in Devon (Keynes and Lapidge 1983, 175 and map, p. 176). It is possible that the settlement there was connected with Alfred's personal interest in the area, and occurred during his reign. The southern area, around Callington, was less intensively settled (showing today a slightly higher proportion of Cornish-language place-names among the predominant English ones); it was the area within which the final battle of Hingston occurred in 838, and the anglicisation there may have been less due to encouragement from above, and more a self-driven advance of farming settlers.

Thus by the end of the ninth century Cornwall was under increasing English cultural, political and economic influence. It had been under the rule of Wessex for three-quarters of a century; its last king had died a quarter-century earlier; its last bishop had acknowledged the authority of Canterbury, and it now lay within the Saxon diocese of Sherborne. But it had not yet been administratively assimilated into Wessex: it was still governed probably in colonial fashion rather than as an integrated part of the kingdom. Full assimilation was to follow in the tenth century. However, one form of integration may have occurred as early as King Alfred's reign, namely the recognition of Cornish people as equal to the English under the law. Under King Ine of Wessex, two centuries earlier, *Wealas* had been of lower status than Saxons: the legal values of harming a *Wealh* were only half those of harming a free Saxon (Padel 2009, 29–31). But in the laws promulgated by the English kings from Alfred's reign on, there was no mention of a separate status for Cornish people. The implication is that by that date they were reckoned to be English under the law. This

policy was in marked contrast with that of the post-Conquest kings in Wales and Ireland, several centuries later, where a system of effective apartheid continued to operate, discriminating between the English resident in those countries and the natives of lower status. It seems that from as early as about 900 Cornish people enjoyed the benefits of being legally English.

Despite this gradual assimilation, Cornwall also had a very different cultural heritage from the rest of England; some of it was to last for centuries. Most noticeable was the language, still spoken over most of the county, and at that date virtually the same language as Welsh and Breton. Linguistically, and thus culturally as well, Cornwall lay in the middle of a continuum which ran from north Wales to southern Brittany. Asser, the Welsh biographer of King Alfred, was appointed bishop of Sherborne at some time in the 890s. The appointment included responsibility for Cornwall, and his choice was appropriate since, coming from south Wales, Asser would at that date have been able to talk without difficulty with Cornish people. The appointment also suggests the changing qualifications required of the occupant of that see: the different way in which Cornwall was being incorporated into the kingdom, compared with that of Devon, meant that by the late ninth century someone who could speak a Brittonic language was particularly needed.

In addition Cornwall had a very different culture of saints: in common with other Celtic-speaking lands, Cornwall already by this date possessed a multitude of ecclesiastical dedications to holy men and women, honoured sometimes at only a single site, often one of an extremely local nature. Even allowing for the probable loss of comparable Anglo-Saxon dedications in most of England in the Middle Ages and later, and even if every minster in England once had its own particular saint, the number of such cults in Cornwall would have exceeded that in any other county, many times over (Padel 2002; Padel 2010a, 111–16). Some two dozen of these dedications are already attested in a list drawn up in the early tenth century, naming the patron saints of minor church-sites in south Cornwall (Olson and Padel 1986). This distinctive culture of local saints was also reflected in the land-owning religious houses of the county (Fig. 11, p. 31), some of which eventually came to resemble English minsters, while others remained tiny establishments which did not fit into the pattern of churches recognised by the English (Padel 2010a, 119). To the bishops and clergy of the successive English dioceses which included Cornwall in the ninth to eleventh centuries (Sherborne, Crediton, Exeter), the multitude of small-scale sites

and the overall culture of local veneration would have been very different from what they were familiar with elsewhere in England.

It is within this context of administrative incorporation and increasing cultural links with Wessex that the first stone sculptures appear in Cornwall, probably in the late ninth century (the Panelled Interlace group: below, p. 85; see St Cleer 2 and 3, St Just 1, St Neot 1, and possibly St Blazey 1) (Fig. 10, p. 28). This group has features in common with monuments both in Devon and also in south Wales (below, p. 87). Given the position of Cornwall at this period in two cultural worlds, the Brittonic and the Anglo-Saxon, it is uncertain from which direction the influences may have come to produce this new development; and the Devon monuments themselves are similar to ones in south Wales (below, p. 87). Probably it is misleading to think in terms of distinct regions, but rather of a single region of shared sculptural (and other) culture, extending across all of south-western Britain at this period. However, south Wales had a sculptural tradition extending back into the eighth century and earlier (Edwards 2007, 116–17; Redknap and Lewis 2007, 136, 145), and there it is considered that the fresh developments in style which occurred in the ninth century, producing monuments similar to those which began to be made in Cornwall a little later, were due to outside influences from various places, principally England and the general area of the Irish Sea, with its mixture including Scandinavian and Irish cultural components (Edwards 2007, 117–18; Redknap and Lewis 2007, 148). But in Cornwall, unlike Wales, there is no sign of comparable monuments having been made earlier than the late ninth century; so it may be surmised that it was not so much the long-standing cultural links with Wales that gave rise to these new developments in Cornwall (for, if so, comparable monuments might have been expected earlier too), but rather the increasing links with the Anglo-Saxon world at this period, and possibly an increased prosperity which may have accompanied those links, which provided the stimulus for this new development within the county, embracing ideas current in both England and Wales. Asser's own career in Wales and Wessex neatly exemplifies the multi-directional cultural traffic which occurred between the regions, irrespective of whether he was himself instrumental in promoting the adoption of the new sculptural techniques in Cornwall.

This multi-directional cultural intercourse is also well illustrated by the manuscript culture at this period and later. In about 900, somewhere in southern England,

a Cornish explanatory gloss was written into a copy of Boethius's *De Consolatione Philosophiae*, alongside other glosses written in Old English (Godden 2005; Sims-Williams 2005). The manuscript known as the Bodmin Gospels was written in Brittany in the later ninth century, but was present in Cornwall at St Petrock's monastery, presumably at Padstow, by the mid-tenth (below, pp. 29–30; Padel 2009), where its Latin marginal additions were entered, showing the mixture of Old English and Cornish personal names in use there by that date. Most glosses in the Cornish language itself occur in Anglo-Saxon contexts; but some of the books in which they occur may show Welsh or Breton associations, and indeed individual manuscripts from both Wales and England can contain glosses written in several languages (sometimes at different dates, maybe at different places), including Old Cornish, Old Welsh, Old Breton, Old English and (in Wales) Old Irish, in addition to Latin (Le Duc 1979; McKee 2000; Gwara 2004; Dumville 2005; Godden 2005; Lambert 2008; and see further below). An abbot at Athelney in Somerset during King Athelstan's reign (924–39) had a Brittonic name, so he may have been of Cornish origin (see below). In the ninth and tenth centuries both manuscripts and individual scholars and other clerics were moving freely around, and between, the Brittonic and Anglo-Saxon worlds, bringing their learning and cultural ideas with them; so the exchange and movement of other cultural themes, including sculptural ones, is to be expected.

THE TENTH CENTURY

Early in the tenth century, after the death of Asser as bishop of Sherborne in 909, King Edward the Elder subdivided that see as part of a general reorganisation of the sees of Wessex, since they had grown unwieldy with the expansion of the kingdom. Two accounts from later in the tenth century provide information about Cornwall in particular, since the Cornish properties which Ecgbert had given to Sherborne to support its diocesan work in the county thus became a contentious issue (Napier and Stevenson 1895, 18–19, 102–10; Robinson 1918, 18–24). Cornwall was included in the new diocese of Crediton, and the three Cornish estates (Pawton, Lawhitton and the unidentified *Caelling*) which supported the diocesan work were therefore passed to the new see (to Sherborne's loss); however, the diocese was still very large, so this arrangement in turn was to prove unwieldy, and it endured for only one generation.

Edward the Elder was succeeded by his son (Alfred's grandson), King Athelstan (924–39), whose reign was significant for the generous new arrangements which that king made for Cornwall, and was probably the time when its administrative position was normalised within the kingdom of Wessex. Athelstan divided the see of Crediton which his father had created out of Sherborne diocese, and instituted a bishopric for Cornwall itself at St Germans (Padel 1978; Padel 2010a, 122–3). In so doing he must necessarily have established, or recognised, a formal boundary between Devon and Cornwall, at least for ecclesiastical purposes. This fact gives credibility to the statement of William of Malmesbury, writing two centuries later in the 1120s, that Athelstan 'set the River Tamar' as the boundary of Cornwall (*terminum suae prouintiae citra Tambram fluiuium constituens*: Mynors *et al.* 1998–9, 1, 216–17). He may well have done so in secular administrative terms as well as ecclesiastical: the creation of the hundredal system for law-enforcement is sometimes attributed to Athelstan; and although the institution of the hundred must have existed in some form before that, it seems to have been in the tenth century that this legal system became formally established.

It is thus likely that this formalisation of the system of law enforcement occurred in Cornwall at the same date as in other English counties, whether that was done by Athelstan or slightly later in the tenth century. But in Cornwall the system was adapted to local conditions: the territorial units which were used as hundreds were much larger than ordinary English hundreds, seemingly because they were based on pre-existing districts of Cornwall. In 1086 Cornwall was divided into just seven hundreds, contrasting with thirty-one in Devon and thirty-nine in Dorset (Padel 2010b). These hundreds were so large that they sometimes had the English word 'shire' added to their names, as in some regions at the sub-county level in northern England (Hexhamshire, Richmondshire, and others), but already in 1086, and presumably earlier, they were hundredal subdivisions of the county, just like the smaller hundreds in other counties (Fig. 10).

The see which Athelstan created at St Germans (Fig. 11) was to last for just over a century, after which the bishopric of Cornwall became merged with Devon again (below); the lack of stone monuments of this period from St Germans itself is surprising, in view of its ecclesiastical importance in the tenth and eleventh centuries. Athelstan's establishment of the River Tamar as the formal boundary between Devon and Cornwall may have had another effect, for the Saxon

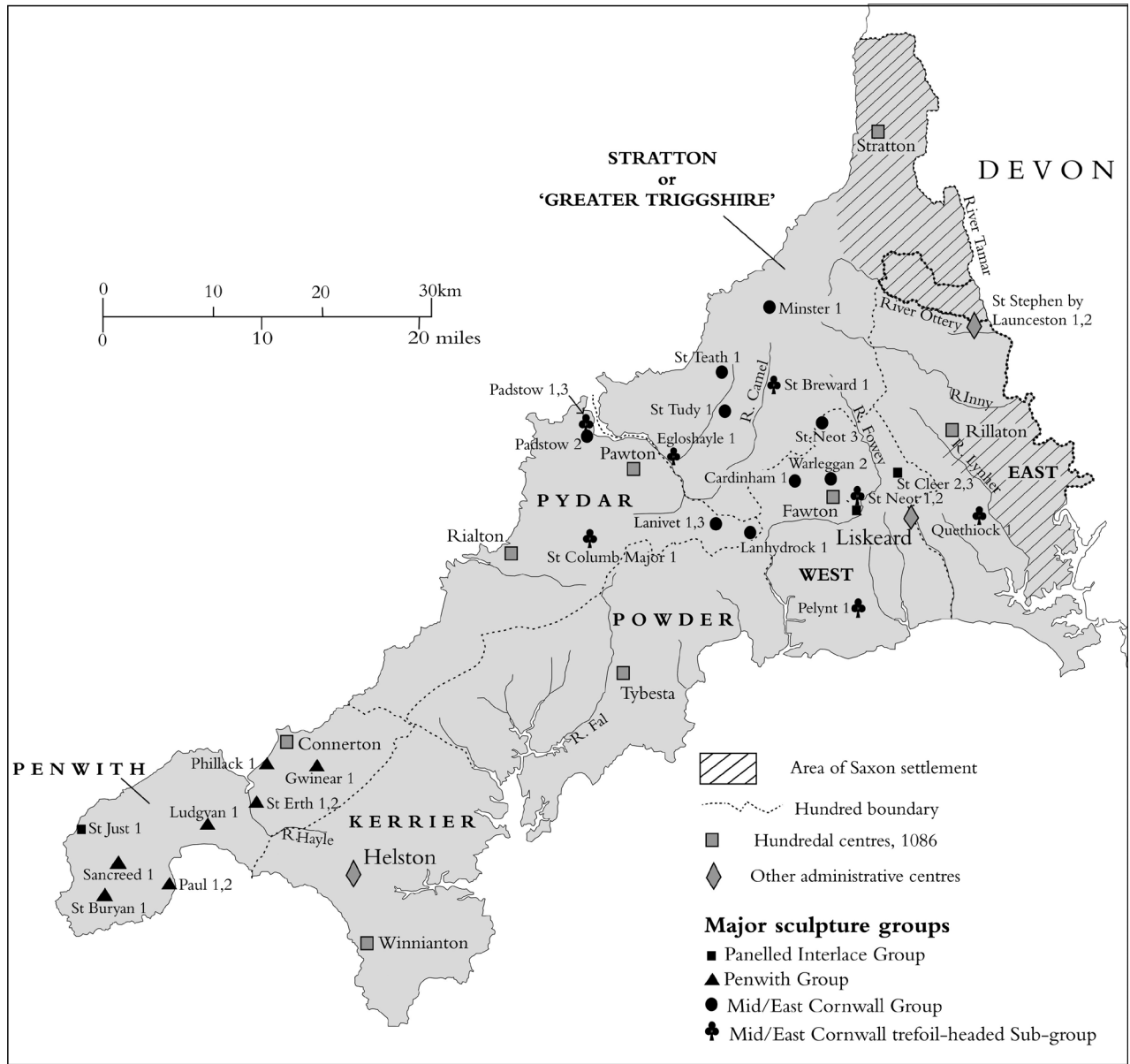


FIGURE 10
Cornwall in the tenth and eleventh centuries: administrative

settlement which had replaced the Cornish language and its place-names in two areas of eastern Cornwall, probably in the about late ninth century, seems not to have proceeded any further westwards: elsewhere in Cornwall the Brittonic language survived, along with the place-names (Padel 2007). It may be that Athelstan's formalisation of the administrative position of Cornwall within the kingdom thus acted to save the Cornish language from following its sister in Devon to extinction, at least for several centuries. If the north-eastern area around Bude had already been settled by Anglo-Saxons in King Alfred's time, as seems likely, then the use of the Tamar to form the boundary was a concession to Cornish sentiment, probably in recognition of an ancient tribal boundary although the ethnic division by then lay further into Cornwall.

William of Malmesbury also stated that Athelstan expelled the Cornish from Exeter (Mynors *et al.* 1998–9, I, 216–17). His ultimate source here seems to have been local legend in that city about its origins, perhaps coloured by local antipathy towards the distinctive neighbours from west of the Tamar. If William's account is followed, the people who were expelled were not native Devonian Britons (who would anyway have been assimilated by the tenth century), but Cornish people who had come to Exeter to make their living in the town. There continued to be a 'British' quarter in the city in later centuries (perhaps containing people from Brittany as well as Cornwall), so Athelstan's act, if it occurred at all, had little effect on this tendency for economic migration to the primary town of the two south-western counties.

King Athelstan is also credited with a grant to the church of St Buryan near Land's End, in the westernmost corner of Cornwall (Sawyer 1968, no. 450; Olson 1989, 78–80; Hooke 1994, 22–7) (Fig. 12, p. 34). Although the charter is not genuine as it stands in the surviving fourteenth-century copy, it is based upon older material, probably a grant made around the time of Athelstan's reign (924–39). Its existence provides concrete evidence of the control which the kings of England exercised over the whole of Cornwall by the mid-tenth century; similar charters from slightly earlier may have existed but have not survived. The quality of its sculpture (St Buryan 1 and 2, pp. 126–8) reflects the importance of St Buryan's church in west Cornwall at this period, and perhaps also its royal patronage.

During Athelstan's reign there is further evidence of English influences in Cornish society. A hoard of Anglo-Saxon coins from Penhale in Tywardreath parish (SX 102527) was deposited probably in 928–

30 (Penhallurick 2009, 176, no. 161). It contained seventeen silver pennies, mostly of Wessex type, of the reigns of Athelstan and his father Edward the Elder (899–924). Although it was found near to the sea, the period of its deposition was not one of Viking activity, so it is likely to reflect the currency used in Cornwall at the time, and the economic integration of Cornwall into Wessex.

Another event occurring in Athelstan's reign was a donation made by a lord in east Cornwall, *Maenchi* the son of *Drehguoret*, who granted a small estate at Lanlawren (SX 167533) to St *Heldenus*, at the nearby church of Lansallos (Sawyer 1968, no. 1207; Padel 2005) (Fig. 12, p. 34). The charter was issued *regnante Adelstano rege* 'while Athelstan is reigning', and in the presence of an abbot called *Seigno* (or *Seignus*), whose name is probably Brittonic, perhaps Cornish. In his charter *Maenchi* styled himself *comes*, 'count' or 'earl', the Latin equivalent of *ealdorman* in an Anglo-Saxon context, though no such *ealdorman* is known. *Maenchi*'s name and that of his father, *Drehguoret*, are Brittonic personal names, hence natural as tenth-century Cornish forenames; but both names were particularly current in Brittany at the period, including a *Menki* who was a *vicecomes* 'viscount' twenty years later, in 958–60 (Guillotel *et al.* 1998–2004, I, fol. 140r; II, 99); which raises the intriguing possibility that *Maenchi* might actually have been a Breton lord who also held land in south Cornwall. Our knowledge of the grant arises from the fact that *Maenchi* apparently ensured its security by depositing a written copy of his charter at the monastery of Athelney in Somerset. The text of the charter reflects native Brittonic diplomatic practices (Cornish or Breton) rather than Anglo-Saxon ones (Davies 1982, 260 and note 8; Padel 2005, 75); but the preservation of the charter at Athelney, and the fact that this Brittonic landowner seems to have considered this deposition the best way to secure his gift to the saint, reflect the administrative incorporation of Cornwall into the English kingdom; the charter thus illustrates Cornwall's mixed cultural circumstances at this date.

From the 940s the earliest of the Bodmin Manuscripts appear, marginal additions in a gospel-book (British Library, Additional MS 9381), recording the acts whereby slaves were freed in mid-Cornwall, first at Padstow and subsequently at Bodmin; the entries continue from the mid-tenth century through to the late eleventh (Förster 1930; Padel 2009). The gospel-book itself was written in Brittany in the later ninth century; it is one of a number of such books which left Brittany, being taken either to England or eastwards

into France, as part of the diaspora of Bretons and their religious relics in the early tenth century in the face of Viking pressure in their homeland. Its presence at Padstow by the 940s shows Cornwall sharing in the reception of these emigrants all over southern England, especially by King Athelstan. But it is also significant that some of the early entries were written in Caroline script, placing them among the earliest instances in England of the new Continental hand. This precocity of scribal practice at Padstow suggests that the Continental influence in Cornwall might have come directly from Brittany, rather than through learned centres in south-eastern England. The gospel-book and its entries thus further illustrate the cultural mix present in Cornwall in the tenth century.

These records are also informative about life in Cornwall at the period (Pelteret 1995; Padel 2009). People of Cornish stock in mid-Cornwall had begun to adopt Anglo-Saxon names by the 940s, even at the lowest levels of society, showing the penetration of English cultural influence, alongside the use of English and Scandinavian sculptural motifs at about the same period (below, pp. 91–2; and compare especially the Fourhole Cross, St Neot 3, p. 174, Ills. 155–8). The entries also show the involvement of the kings of England in local affairs in Cornwall, for all the English kings from Edmund (939–46) through to Æthelred II the Unready (979–1016) are named as having personally freed slaves at the monastery, with the one exception of Edward the Martyr (975–9); the entries seem to imply that these kings all visited the monastery, though that is not certain. In particular King Edgar (959–75) took a close interest in the affairs of St Petrock's church, and in Cornish matters generally. In 963 he donated a portable shrine for St Petrock's relics, subsequently displayed at the court of King Henry I (1100–35); and he selected a priest of St Petrock's, Wulfsige Comoere, to become the third bishop of St Germans in 959×63. Almost a quarter of the Manumission-entries (twelve out of fifty) date from Edgar's reign.

Four more land-grants from Edgar's reign, plus a fifth issued by his son Edward the Martyr in 977, further illustrate the administrative assimilation of Cornwall into the newly-formed kingdom of England (Sawyer 1968, nos. 684, 755, 770, 810 and 832; Hooke 1994, 28–52) (Fig. 12, p. 34). Of these five grants made in the later tenth century, one was to a local church (St Kew: Sawyer 1968, no. 810), two to lay lords with Anglo-Saxon names (Sawyer 1968, nos. 684, 832), and two to local lords with dual names, English and Cornish: *Wulfnoth Rumuncant* on the Lizard in 967, and *Ælfeah*

Gerent at Lamorran near Truro in 969. Both of their Cornish names incorporate the name of a local saint, St Rumon of Ruan Major and Ruan Minor, and St Gerent of Gerrans parish (Sawyer 1968, nos. 755, 770); *Ælfeah* Gerent also had a wife with a Cornish name, *Moruurei*. These dual names thus reflect cultural adaptation in the far west of the county at this period, confirming the evidence of the Bodmin Manumissions of the names chosen by Cornish people at lower levels of society. Other men active in Cornwall having only an Anglo-Saxon name recorded may therefore have been people of Cornish background, who had adapted to the new political situation. Similarly Wulfsige Comoere, the third bishop of the Cornish see of St Germans, was evidently a Cornishman chosen for high office by King Edgar, who had presumably met him and appreciated his talents on a visit to Padstow.

The contents of these charters, with detailed boundary-clauses and the standard exemption from public-service dues except for the three universal burdens of bridge-building, fortification, and military service, show that by the 960s Anglo-Saxon government was operating normally in all parts of Cornwall as elsewhere in the kingdom. Two of the charters are concerned with lands in the Lizard peninsula, the south-westernmost extremity of the county, providing a good geographical parallel to the earlier grant made to St Buryan's church in the Penwith peninsula. By the mid-tenth century, at the latest, the English kings controlled the farthest corners of the county. These tenth-century grants of land issued by the English kings in Cornwall were not speculative land-grabs, of the kind made much later in Ireland by the kings of England. At least two were made to local laymen, and one to a local church, and they were all couched in the same terms as grants made elsewhere in England. Their detailed boundary-clauses imply that the neighbouring lands were held in like manner, and that there existed common legal ground whereby ownership would be recognised and agreed, and disputes could be resolved. By the mid-tenth century the operation of English law was functional and accepted throughout Cornwall.

Wulfsige Comoere occupied the see of St Germans from about 960 until the 980s, living into the reign of Edgar's son, Æthelred the Unready. Probably at around this period the monastery of Padstow acquired a prestigious inland site at Bodmin, the geographical centre of Cornwall, and close to the probable former seat of the ninth-century bishopric, at *Dinuurrin* (Padel 2010a, 122–3) (Fig. 11). This move inland by St Petrock's monastery has been attributed to a Viking

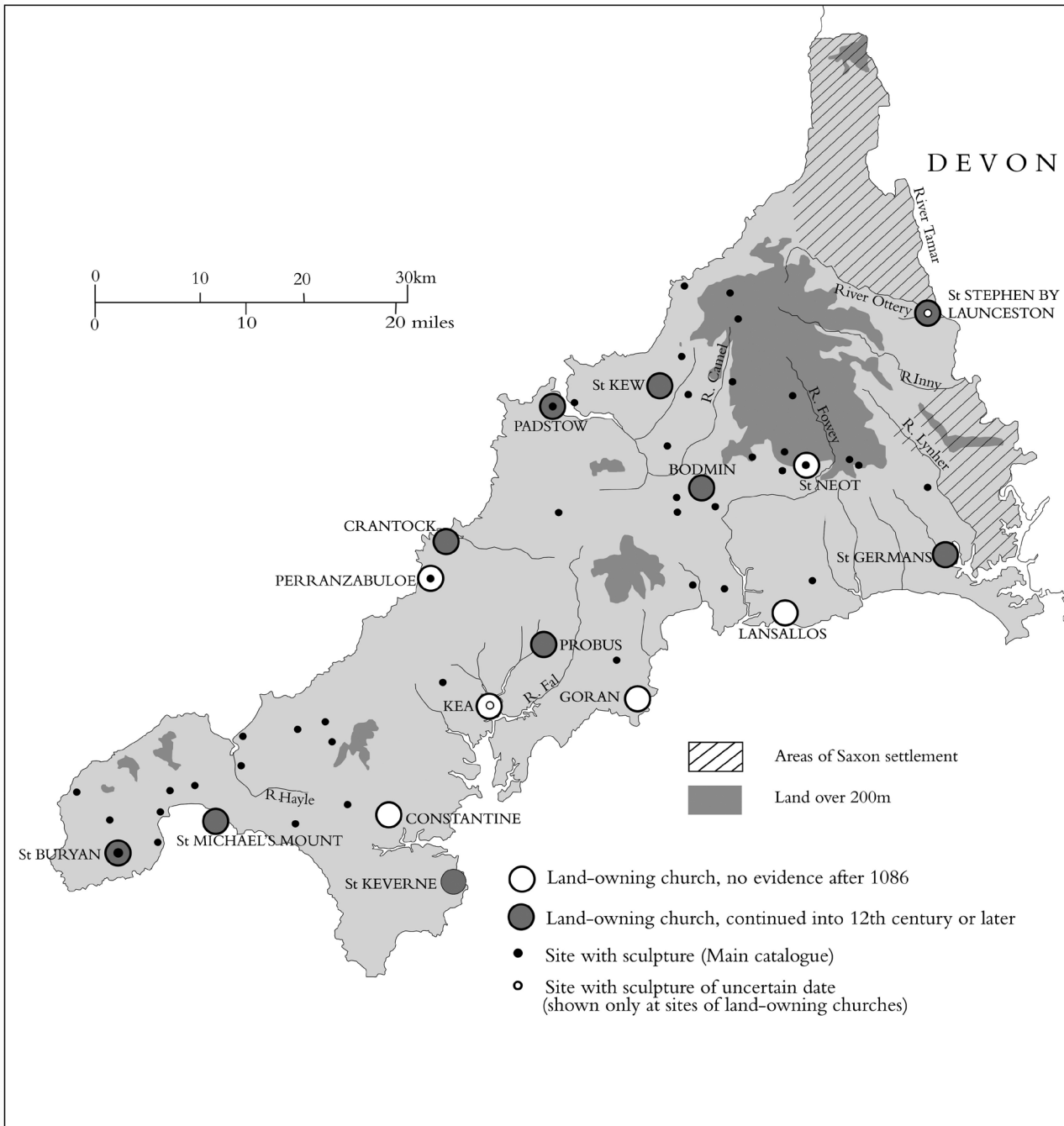


FIGURE 11
Cornwall in the tenth and eleventh centuries: ecclesiastical

attack on Padstow recorded in the Chronicle in 981 (O'Brien O'Keeffe 2000, 84; Whitelock *et al.* 1965, 80). Although the attack reflects the vulnerability of a coastal site such as that of Padstow, it may be unwise to assume that the move was due to that specific event. Bodmin itself is not actually attested in the historical record until the second half of the eleventh century, when two of the Bodmin Manumissions took place there; by that period it was apparently the principal site of the monastery, being listed first, before Padstow, among the possessions of St Petrock in Domesday Book (Thorn and Thorn 1979, 4,3–4). But, characteristically for a local saint, St Petrock's corporal remains may have remained at their original site of Padstow until even later, for there is no clear evidence for their being kept at Bodmin until the mid-twelfth century (Padel 2009, 6–7; compare Padel 2002, 351–2). It is thus uncertain when and how the inland site at Bodmin was acquired by the monastery. It is likely to have been before 994 when King Æthelred, confirming the Cornish see, allowed St Petrock special significance within the diocese but under the overall episcopal governance of St Germans (Padel 2010a, 122–3). The prestige and the central position of the site, at the point where the primary east–west route crosses a transpeninsular one, plus the fact that it lay in a different administrative hundred from Padstow, suggests that royal patronage may have been involved. Both Padstow and Bodmin later claimed King Athelstan as benefactor, though the claims prove little since that king was remembered so gratefully all over Cornwall and Devon. In later centuries it was Padstow, not Bodmin, which owned special rights of sanctuary for criminals; presumably these rights therefore originated before the move to Bodmin. Since King Edgar (959–75) is known to have taken a close interest in the monastery, he might be a natural candidate for the donor of the new site, but he died six years before the Viking attack which has been linked to the move.

Bodmin itself is notably lacking in surviving sculptural remains from this period, whereas Padstow possesses the largest number surviving at a single site in the county. Important pieces also survive from several parishes close to Bodmin, some but not all in the ownership of the monastery (see Cardinham 1, Egloshayle 1, Lanhydrock 1, and Lanivet 1–2). It is uncertain whether this imbalance of remains reflects the reality in the tenth and eleventh centuries. It could be due to the continuation of a stone-carving workshop which was already established at Padstow before the move to Bodmin; but even in such circumstances monuments could have been made there and shipped

up-river to the prestigious new site. The imbalance could alternatively be due to differential survival at the two sites; or even perhaps to the later removal of surviving fragments from Bodmin to other sites nearby (see Lanivet 1, discussion, p. 160; in 1538 four of the largest bells from the Priory church were sold to Lanivet parish: Maclean 1873, 345).

Whenever the move occurred, it still did not bring the ecclesiastical and secular centres in Cornwall into alignment. The centres of the two administrative systems remained separate in the county throughout the Middle Ages, with no indication that Bodmin or St Germans were centres of secular administration. It was probably in the tenth century that the estates forming the Anglo-Saxon hundredal centres were created, although they are not historically attested until Domesday Book (below). Most of them are on economically marginal sites, and so separate was the secular administration from the ecclesiastical that these important manors never acquired parish churches, except for Stratton which had been an Anglo-Saxon royal estate since the ninth century, and which lay in the most anglicised area of the county.

Soon after Edgar's reign, between 979 and 983, King Æthelred established a mint at St Stephen by Launceston, the earliest attestation of that name; the site possesses the only pieces of architectural sculpture in this volume, dating from about a century later (Appendix A, pp. 219–23, St Stephen by Launceston 1–2). Such mints existed all over the country, but the existence of one in Cornwall further illustrates its economic assimilation. Cultural exchanges continued, in both directions. In the late tenth century a small collection of four ecclesiastical documents (now Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Bodley 572, part i), written a few decades earlier in Cornwall, at least one of them for use at St Germans, had been taken apparently to Winchester; a century later it had travelled on to Canterbury (Jenner 1932; Jackson 1953, 54–6; Dumville 1992, 116–17; Dumville 1993, 97 note 74; Gwara 2004, 11–13; Gwara 2005). This collection illustrates some of the literary culture of Cornwall in the tenth century, and its subsequent history shows cultural influences working in both directions. The volume includes various texts: a fragment of a mass for the feast of St German for use at *Lannaled* in Cornwall (St Germans), where pilgrims would come to venerate the saint's relics; an *expositio missae* or explanation of the Mass, written by Amalarius of Metz (died 850); the Latin text of the apocryphal Old Testament Book of Tobit, here with three one-word explanatory glosses in Cornish; two epistles, by St

Augustine (died AD 430) and Caesarius of Arles (died AD 543); and the Latin school-text known as *De Raris Fabulis* ‘Concerning Uncommon Stories’, a Welsh or Cornish variant of the genre of conversational texts composed for teaching Latin, and containing (in this copy) numerous glosses in both Cornish and Welsh (Lapidge 1986, 94–5; Gwara 2004; Gwara 2005). The impossibility of being more precise about the location of some of this scholarly activity illustrates the common learned culture shared between Cornwall and the rest of England at this period, as well as with other areas including Wales and Brittany.

In the late tenth century there was renewed Viking activity in the south-west, including Cornwall. As well as the attack of 981 already mentioned at Padstow and elsewhere in Devon and Cornwall, another in 997 started in the Bristol Channel and then continued south around Land’s End to the River Tamar, penetrating as far inland as Tavistock and Lydford in Devon (O’Brien O’Keeffe 2000, 84, 88; Whitelock *et al.* 1965, 80, 84). However, there is no place-name evidence suggesting any Scandinavian settlement on the Cornish mainland, although several Norse place-names on the Isles of Scilly suggest sustained occupation there: the names of Scilly itself (‘island called *Sül-*’), of Grimsby on Treco, originally *Grimsey* ‘Grim’s island’, and Agnes, from *haga-nes* ‘pasture-headland’ (Padel 1988, 49, 90). In his later saga the Norwegian king Olaf Tryggvason was said to have been baptised as an adult on Scilly in the mid-eleventh century (Aðalbjarnarson 1941, I, 266, ch. 31; Laing, S. 1964, I, 29).

The lack of Scandinavian settlement on the Cornish mainland is slightly surprising, in view of the monuments in mid-Cornwall showing Scandinavian influence (below, pp. 64 and 91; notably Cardinham 1, p. 131, Ill. 46). By the later eleventh century there is evidence for people in Cornwall bearing the Norse personal names *Sictric* and *Thurcild*, an anglicised form of Old Norse *Dórkell* or *Dórketill* (Padel 2009, 33), and the hamlet of Grimscoth in Launcells parish (SS 262069) contains the Norse personal name *Grímr*, as in Grimsby; but such Scandinavian personal names were in use all over England by that date (Insley 1982; Insley 1985; the abbot of Tavistock from the 1040s until 1082 was called Sihtric, Old Norse *Sigtryggr*; Finberg 1943–4, 161), and bearers of such names were not necessarily of Scandinavian descent. If fashions of sculptural styles could be transferred between places and ethnic groups as readily as choices of forenames were, the use of these styles in mid-Cornwall need not indicate direct Scandinavian influence. On the other hand, a slave called by the Irish name *Muelpatric*

who was freed in the second half of the tenth century was presumably from Ireland; he may have been brought to Cornwall by way of trade (Padel 2009, 14). If there were similar settlers from higher up the social scale, they would provide a context for possible Irish influence in the Penwith group of crosses (below, p. 89). In the late eleventh century a man with the characteristically Hiberno-Norse name *Maccos* rose to high office in mid-Cornwall (see below, p. 36).

Although Cornwall was administratively assimilated into the kingdom of England by the year 1000, this had apparently happened in a very different manner from the earlier absorption of Devon and the two small parts of eastern Cornwall. King Athelstan’s establishment of the River Tamar as the administrative boundary seems to have halted the large-scale movement of farming settlers, or that movement had run out of steam of its own accord; so the English assimilation occurred peacefully, with the native land-owning class becoming anglicised and places retaining their Brittonic names. In 1000 much of the county was still largely Cornish-speaking, although English was already being used even in the western half of the county (as reflected in a few place-names, and in the Old English personal name inscribed on Camborne 2, and perhaps that on Camborne 1 as well, pp. 128, 130), and most of the eastern half was probably bilingual by this date, as indicated by charters in the following century (see below). The hundredal system of law-enforcement was presumably functioning as in the rest of England, although the individual hundreds shown in Domesday Book were distinctive, much larger than those in most of England, because of their different origin (Fig. 10, p. 28). As for the church, Cornwall had its own bishopric at St Germans, and the large land-owning church of St Petrock’s was probably flourishing at Bodmin as well as Padstow by the year 1000; but some smaller Cornish land-owning churches may not have been thriving, since they did not conform to the minster-system which the English church would have recognised: at least one such is known to have disappeared before 1066–86 (that of St *Heldenus* at Lansallos), and others survived to that period but disappear thereafter (Fig. 11, p. 31).

THE ELEVENTH CENTURY

In the eleventh century there is less narrative to offer, since the incorporation of Cornwall into the kingdom was complete. At the beginning of the century Ealdorman Æthelweard was apparently using

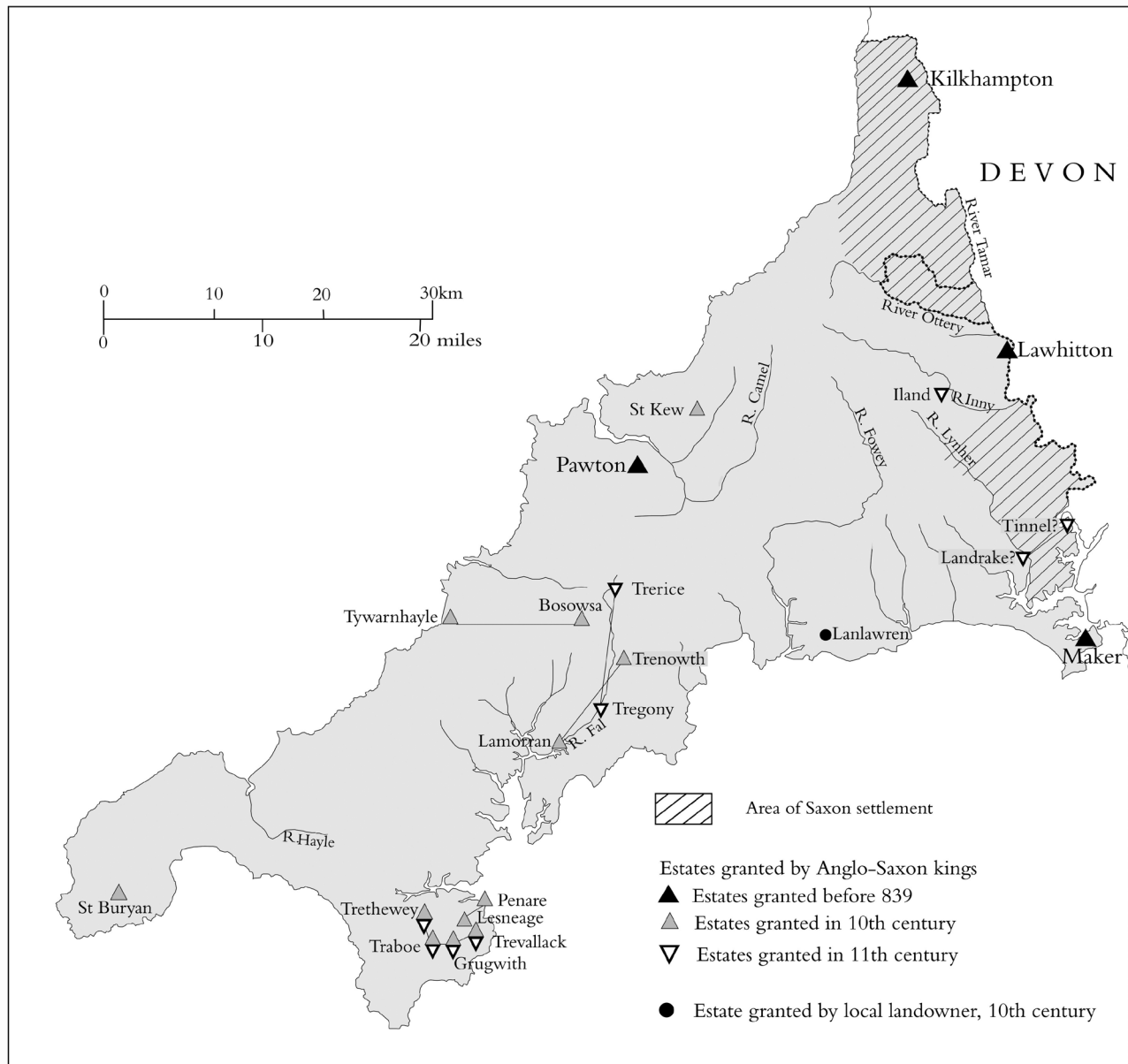


FIGURE 12
Cornwall in the tenth and eleventh centuries: land-grants

Liskeard as his administrative centre, with its name which indicates an earlier native-Cornish court (Padel 2009, 18, 22) (Fig. 10, p. 28). After the death in 1019×1027 of Bishop Buruhwold, the sixth bishop of St Germans, that see was occupied jointly with Crediton by Buruhwold's nephew Lyfing. From this period an illustrated pontifical (bishop's service-book) contains a formula for excommunication which refers to its user as *Lanaletensis episcopus* (bishop of St Germans). The manuscript itself was written around the year 1000, perhaps at Wells, but this text was added presumably while the book was in use at St Germans, again illustrating the cultural continuum of which Cornwall formed a part (Rouen, Bibliothèque municipale, MS. A.27 (368); Doble 1937b; Dumville 1992, 86–7, 91; Dumville 1993, 145 and note 23). At the same time Cornwall was also to retain its older cultural links within the Brittonic world, looking to Wales and particularly Brittany until the sixteenth century and later. In 1046 Lyfing was succeeded, as bishop of both Devon and Cornwall, by Bishop Leofric, who shortly afterwards in 1050, with papal approval, formally merged the two dioceses and moved the see to Exeter (Orme 2010, 12); Cornwall was to remain part of Exeter diocese until 1877.

Land-grants by the kings of England continued (Fig. 12). Those of lands in eastern Cornwall, from the mid-century, show a mixture of language in their boundary-clauses, suggesting that the population east of Bodmin Moor was by that date using English, although Cornish was probably still alive in the area. (Sawyer 1968, no. 1005, granting land at Illand in Northill parish, SX 290783, in 1044; and no. 951, granting lands at Landrake, SX 373604, and at Tinnell in Landulph parish, SX 422638, dated '1018' but actually a forgery of the mid-century, showing the linguistic conditions in the area at that later date.) A charter from western Cornwall shows more Cornish-language topography in its boundary-clause, though not exclusively so even there (Sawyer 1968, no. 1019, granting lands at Tregony, SW 9244, and at Trerice in St Dennis parish, SW 931572).

The chief evidence from the eleventh century is Domesday Book, which provides much information about the state of Cornwall in 1066 as well as in 1086 (Thorn and Thorn 1979). It appears there as a county alongside Devon and the other south-western counties, though with distinctive features. In 1086 the great majority of the county (approximately 248 out of 340 manors) was in the hands of a single man, Robert count of Mortain, half-brother to William the Conqueror, and effectively earl of Cornwall,

although that title was not created until about 1140. It was divided into only seven hundreds (so termed in the Exeter copy), contrasting with over thirty in neighbouring counties. The east of the county was characterised by a large number of rather small manors; the western half had some similar small manors, but the two westernmost hundreds show fewer manors, of which two were very large. These two royal manors (Winnianton and Connerton) formed hundredal centres, and they subsumed within them a multiplicity of small estates, some listed in Domesday Book but others named only at later dates (Thorn and Thorn 1979, 1,1; 1,14).

The royal or comital manors from which the hundreds were governed and named in Domesday Book were distinctive settlements. The manorial centres of the two westernmost hundreds, at Winnianton for Kerrier hundred (SW 659207, at Gunwalloe churchtown) and at Connerton for Penwith hundred (SW 586412, at Gwithian churchtown) were coastal settlements, both located on rather unfavourable sites which later declined in importance although their manors continued as administrative institutions (Fig. 10, p. 28). They each adjoined a chapel dedicated to a Cornish saint, but in neither case did the chapel become a parish church until the sixteenth century, that of Gunwalloe being a chapelry of the nearby parish of Breage (SW 618284), and that of Gwithian a chapelry of Phillack (SW 565384). In both cases there is surviving sculpture of this period at the mother-church (Breage 1, p. 122; Phillack 1–3, p. 193), but none at the chapels of the royal hundredal manors (Gunwalloe, Gwithian), even though that at Gwithian already existed in the early tenth century (Olson and Padel 1986, 49). The failure of these manorial sites to flourish, and the low status of their chapels, suggests that as settlements these manors were recent creations, founded after the ecclesiastical administrative system had been established. They may have been created by the new English administration in the tenth century, their coastal locations perhaps chosen primarily for easy access by sea from the east, rather than as farming-estates in their own right. The two centres perhaps replaced a single older administrative court at Helston (SW 6527; Cornish *Hen-lys* 'old court', with Old English *tūn* added); this town was itself the centre of a particularly large manor, and it lay close to the boundary between the two hundreds, so it may earlier have served as the court for the districts of both the later hundreds, as Liskeard presumably did for East and Westwivelshire (Fig. 10, p. 28). Typically this town and royal manor also lacked a parish church

in the Middle Ages; but its mother-church, two and a half miles to the north, also has surviving sculpture (Wendron 1, p. 209). These western estates and churches again illustrate the non-coincidence between the ecclesiastical and secular centres in Cornwall at this period.

Similarly the administrative centres in 1086 for the later hundreds of Powder, at the manor of Tybesta (SW 947486, in Creed parish), and of Westwivelshire, at Fawton (SX 166682, in St Neot parish) do not have an appearance or name suggesting ancient settlements; Tybesta subsequently dwindled as a settlement and is now lost altogether, like Connerton. These manors may likewise have been created by the Anglo-Saxon administration. In the case of Fawton, the more ancient centre at Liskeard remained a large manor (as that of Helston did in the far west); Fawton and its sister-manor Rillaton for Eastwivelshire hundred (SX 296738, in Linkinhorne parish) were presumably chosen in order to provide a separate manor for governing each division of the 'two-fold-shire', instead of the single centre at Liskeard for both (Fig. 10, p. 28).

The landholders in Cornwall in 1066 had overwhelmingly English names, but (as already seen) that need not mean that they were of English descent; some may have been of Cornish stock but English in name. One or two men with Cornish-language names can be discerned among the tenants named in 1066, but they had gone by 1086: *Caduualant* at Nancekuke (Illogan parish), and *Bretel* at Trevillyn (Luxulian parish); also *Blechu* (unless he was a Breton) at Trenance in Mullion parish in 1086 (Thorn and Thorn 1979, 4,6; 5,13,10; 1,1). A few of the tenants in 1086 had Breton names, as in other counties including Devon and (especially) Yorkshire. These men were mostly from eastern Brittany, adjoining Normandy, and they are unlikely to have been Breton-speaking; their presence specifically in Cornwall is not significant, but is a symptom of the considerable eastern-Breton element in the Norman Conquest of England generally. In 1086 several of the distinctive small land-owning churches still survived, rather different from the English minster-churches although some of the Cornish ones had developed into similar institutions by this date. Those which failed to develop in that way mostly disappeared as institutions soon after 1086, and continued only as parish churches; but several of the larger ones survived to be refounded as monastic houses in the twelfth century (Padel 2010a, 119) (Fig. 11, p. 31).

Only six mills are mentioned in the county in

Domesday Book (Ravenhill 1967, 334); but two mills appearing in charters earlier in the eleventh century were not mentioned in the entries for the corresponding estates in Domesday Book, showing that silence is not decisive in that source (Sawyer 1968, no. 1019, *seo myln* 'the mill' at Trerice, St Dennis, in 1049; and no. 951, *cynges myln* 'king's mill' at Tinnel, Landulph, in the mid-eleventh century) (Fig. 12, p. 34). The treatment of the county in the survey may in some respects have been less detailed than that of some other counties further east. The Exeter copy of the survey includes details of demesne livestock, and the single bull mentioned in the whole county (at Bodardle, Lanlivery parish: Thorn and Thorn 1979, 5,4,13) is again symptomatic of the uneven treatment. However, this unevenness applies to subsidiary details, not to the overall coverage of landholding, which can be seen to be complete, except for some sub-manors which were included within their parent manor at that date (see above).

One tenant of St Petrock's lands well illustrates the state of Cornwall at this period. His name was Maccos, a rare name which probably characterised men of mixed Norse-Irish origins (Thornton 1997). In both 1066 and 1086 he was a tenant holding St Petrock's manor of Fursnewth (St Cleer parish, SX 225674; Thorn and Thorn 1979, 4,17), and he seems to have given his distinctive forename to another estate, that of Higher Tolcarne, formerly *Tolcarne Vaccas* 1694 (St Mawgan in Pydar parish, SW 884654), which had been seized from St Petrock's lands by the Count of Mortain (Thorn and Thorn 1979, 4,22), although there is no record of his having held that estate, except for its name. In two of the Bodmin Manumissions in the late eleventh century Maccos was recorded as acting as a *hundredes mann* or *centurio*, an administrative official within the English legal and fiscal system; he also freed a slave on his own account (Förster 1930, nos. 30 and 31; Padel in Thornton 1997, 95–8; Padel 2009, 14). This man probably of mixed Hiberno-Norse origins had apparently come to Cornwall, whether as a slave himself or voluntarily, and had risen within the system to become a landholder and administrative official: an illustration of the overseas as well as English influences present in the county by that time. Although such a glimpse of an individual is rare at this period, it provides a vivid illustration of the kind of traffic which must have existed all around the Irish Sea basin, forming the context for the mix of cultural influences seen in the stone monuments.