CHAPTER III

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND TO THE SCULPTURE

TOPOGRAPHY

Nottinghamshire likes to call itself the 'Queen of the Midlands' (Fig. 4). Whether it is worthy of the description or not, its topographical character reflects the two main types of Midlands topography. It is a county of two contrasting parts: the rich lands of the Trent valley and the Wolds in the east and south, so characteristic of the East Midlands, and the poorer country of the north and west, sitting over the Triassic rocks and not dissimilar in topographical character to much of the northern and western Midlands.

To the north, the county extends almost as far as the Humber, being separated from the Yorkshire Ouse only by the great 'wastes' of Thorne and Hatfield. Along what have been poorly defined boundaries in this area in the past, allegiances have shifted and at least one parish, Finningley, has historically been within Nottinghamshire but now lies in South Yorkshire. The broad valley through which the lower stretches of the River Idle flow just before it joins the Trent (and which has subsequently offered a route for the Chesterfield Canal) provides a clear topographical boundary with the Isle of Axholme, which has always been linked with Lincolnshire. The county boundary then follows the twists and turns of the Trent for nearly twenty miles until the great river meets the low-lying, poor quality, heavily wooded carr–lands due west of Lincoln on its eastern bank south of Newton-on-Trent. Here the Nottinghamshire county boundary heads inland in a finger that points north–eastwards to within five miles of Lincoln city before trending southwards to include all of the lower–lying land east of the Trent. Today this excursion into what might otherwise seem to be Lincolnshire puzzles both visitors and residents; but it is of great antiquity, being the outline of the wapentake and deanery of Newark. Still today, settlements in this country look towards Newark rather than Lincoln for their needs.

Running along the foot of low Liassic ridges to the east for some distance, the boundary eventually crosses them east of Newark to join the valley of the River Witham, which it follows for a while before reaching the Vale of Belvoir. Nottinghamshire shares this famously beautiful valley with Leicestershire. From a point near the Great North Road, the boundary between the two counties meanders south west, enclosing the many Vale villages that line both banks of the rivers Devon and Smite. At the head of the Vale of Belvoir, around Broughton Sulney, the Nottinghamshire boundary heads for the high ground, cutting directly across the line of Keuper Marl hills, down the centre of which runs the Fosse Way, making for the River Soar north of Loughborough. In these high hills, Nottinghamshire's 'Wolds', the neat nucleated villages look indistinguishable from those in Leicestershire, and indeed have been subject to more or less identical histories of settlement. The Soar at this point is quite a sizeable river and separates the gentle Wold country of both Leicestershire and Nottinghamshire from the rougher uplands of Charnwood Forest to the west; it seems quite appropriate that Nottinghamshire should include no part of that distinctive landscape of industry and dispersed settlement.

Flowing north, the Soar joins the Trent in a broad basin created where it is also joined from the north by the rivers Derwent and Erewash. After a short diversion to the east along the Trent, the county boundary heads northwards once again along the valley of the latter river. As it does so, it bisects the peri–urban landscapes of former industries (principally coal, pottery and steel) and only locals will spot where the towns of Trowell and Stapleford in Nottinghamshire become Ilkeston and Long Eaton in Derbyshire. At the upper end of the Erewash valley, west of Mansfield, the boundary with Derbyshire must cross another water–shed; but, having done so near Tibshelf, it does not storm downhill into the Doe Lea valley as does the M1, but instead sticks to the high ground, skirting along the skyline eastwards to the River Meden, a river that bisects the county as it flows eastwards to join the Idle at Retford, twenty miles away to the north
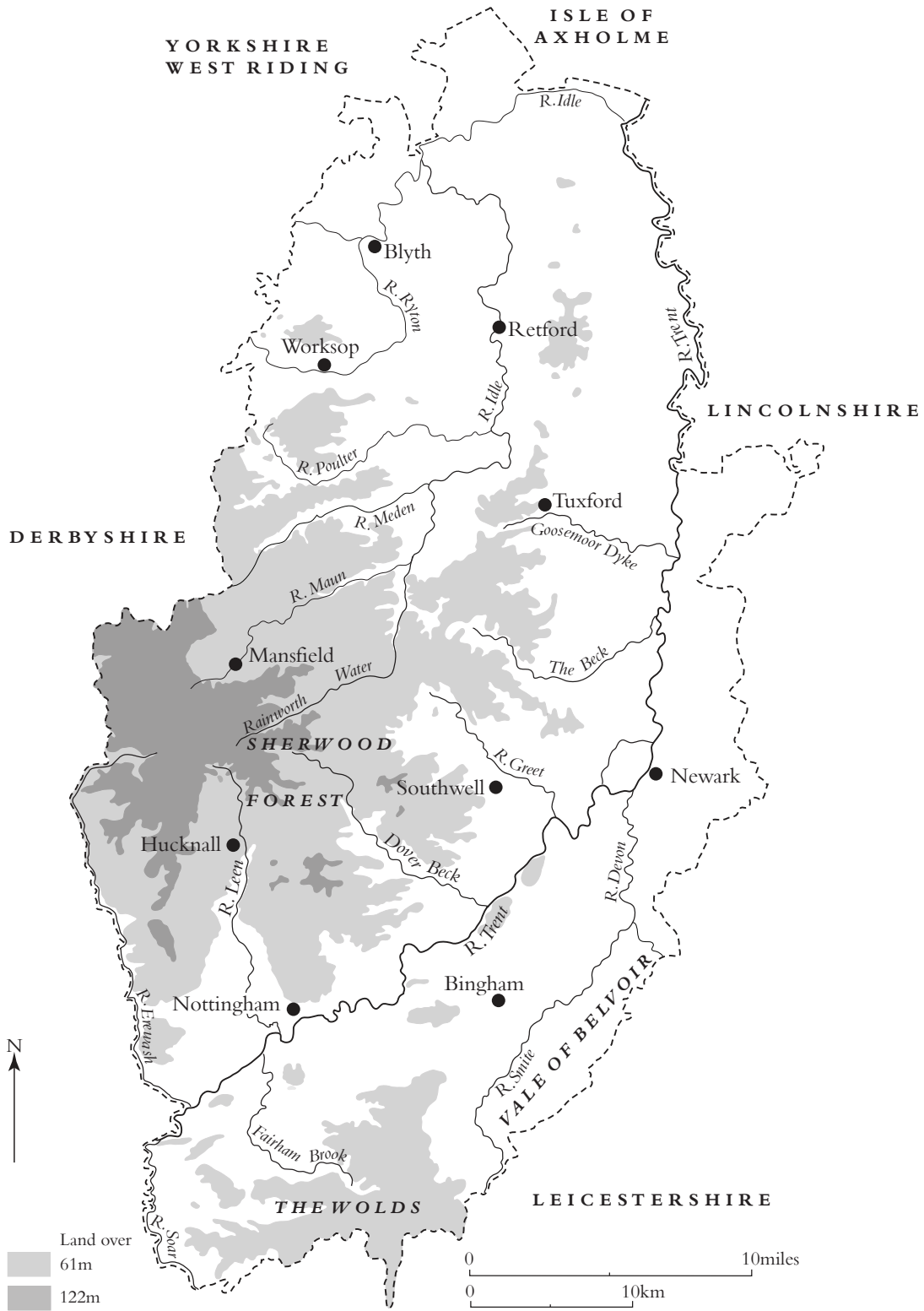
FIGURE 4
Topography and bounds of county of Nottinghamshire

east. Having claimed the Meden for Nottinghamshire, the boundary heads north once again, through what was once a great coal-mining area and enclosing the well-wooded expanses of Sherwood. North of Worksop the trees have largely been cleared, but the raised plateau and the dispersed settlement pattern along both sides of the River Ryton reveal this land's similar settlement history to the forest land further south. North of Blyth the broad valley dominated by the ancient town of Tickhill provides another clear boundary, although the town that dominates this area today, Bawtry, lies on the north side of the Idle and has never been within Nottinghamshire.

The county boundary just delineated encloses around a million acres of land. This area, as well as containing a multitude of diverse local topographies, offers two easily distinguished landscape types. The Trent valley — taken broadly and extending as far to the west as the Nottingham to Blyth road, now the A614 — is a generous zone of East Midland countryside. The villages are nucleated, each usually clustered around its ancient church focus, with little outlying development in what were once highly productive and well-organized common and open fields, one of which one — at Laxton — still survives in a somewhat truncated form. Enclosure typically came late to these areas, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and usually by means of Parliamentary Act. This is also an area of small towns, offering markets and services for the rich agricultural lands surrounding them; towns such as Retford, Tuxford, Newark, Southwell and Bingham.

To the north and west of this broad prosperous country, on the unforgiving hard sandstones, landscape utilization has always presented a marked contrast. Here the modern Sherwood Forest is a truncated remnant of a band of less accommodating landscape running north to south for more than thirty miles and extending at least ten miles east to west. It represents perhaps one third of the county's area. Within this historic forest, which has always been a mixture of open land and stands of trees, settlement has been sparse, with large parishes and a small population. The agricultural land belonging to these settlements was small in extent, poor in quality and frequently owned by individual occupants (Garton with Nailor 2007; Garton with Leary 2008). In this part of the county, the population made a living (often quite a good one) out of woodland and industrial products. While in the Anglo-Saxon and medieval periods these industries would have been based on the timber (not just in its own right but also when used for charcoal) and on the

clays which were serviceable for pottery, this same area was encroached upon during the last two centuries to exploit the concealed coalfield. As 'forest land', much of the area was claimed by the Crown, until in the seventeenth century most of the northern part was alienated to aristocratic families for substantial sums of money, and has become known as the 'Dukeries'.

The Nottinghamshire forest land does not run quite up to the county's western boundary, however. Along the Erewash valley, where the bedrock changes once again and the Permian geology emerges from underneath the Triassic, the land is less intractable and particularly between Attenborough and Mansfield the countryside contains a number of older settlements. The county town stands at the point where these distinct zones of landscape and settlement meet. Located where the Triassic sandstone peters out on the north bank of the Trent, Nottingham is close to the clusters of settlements on the Permian geology to the west and looks across the Trent, eastwards and north-eastwards, towards the classic 'midland' villages of the Wolds and Trent valley.

SETTLEMENT HISTORY

THE ROMAN PERIOD

Nottinghamshire makes little sense as a discrete unit before the later Anglo-Saxon period. In discussing the late Iron Age and Roman periods, scholars divide the modern county between two topographical zones along a similar boundary to that noted above as characterizing the county's topography. The southern and eastern two-thirds, from the Trent valley south-eastwards, were probably Corieltauvian territory in the late Iron Age. This would mean that they looked to the *civitas* capital at Leicester, *Ratae Corieltauvorum*, after the Roman invasion, even though the Corieltauvi were more a political grouping of tribes than a single tribal unit. To the north and west lay the country of the Brigantes, and it may be that the boundary between the two political units was little clearer at that time than it is now. It is not impossible, however, that at this period it lay along the approximate line of Nottinghamshire's fundamental topographical division between the Trent valley and the dry forest, rather than any further to the north west.

Even so, it is thought that Roman administration was more influenced by the boundary formed by the Fosse Way than by this obvious topographical division in the landscape. This main, long-distance route from Lincoln to Cirencester and Exeter enters the county

at Brough-on-Fosse on the Lincolnshire border and heads south west and then south, leaving the county near Willoughby-on-the-Wolds *en route* to Leicester. The line of the road was probably originally established as a temporary frontier in the 40s AD and it may have continued to mark the administrative division between the 'civil' and 'military' zones of Roman *Britannia* long after Roman rule had been consolidated up to the Roman Wall. Nevertheless, how much of a boundary the Fosse Way represented is open to debate. David Knight and Andy Howard prefer to consider the Trent valley itself as the boundary:

> ' the Trent valley [is] a transition zone between the Romanized lowlands to the south and east, with its elaborate networks of the Roman towns, roadside settlements, villas and other rural settlements, and the more militarized zone to the north and west. Few civilian settlements northwards of the Trent may be shown to have grown to any size … and [any] growth was strongly linked to neighbouring military establishments. This contrasts starkly with the areas south and east of the Trent … with its string of flourishing small towns … and its hinterland of wealthy villas, nucleated settlements and enclosed farmsteads' (Knight and Howard 2004, 144–5).

Brough-on-Fosse was a small Roman town (*Crocolana*) and it was one of four along the road, within modern Nottinghamshire, spaced at approximately ten-mile intervals. As is also the case with others, it is claimed that Brough began life as a military station of some sort (Taylor, J. 2006, 143; Patterson 2011, 137–41). South west of Brough, it is now thought that Newark itself was the site of a small-scale roadside settlement where the Fosse Way intersected with a more ancient long-distance routeway called Sewstern Lane (Patterson 2011, 143–5); but the next town encountered by the Fosse Way traveller lay between the modern villages of East Stoke and Thorpe, and its name, *Ad Pontem*, evidently signals a nearby bridge across the Trent. Then came *Margidunum* situated to the south west of East Bridgford, and finally *Vernemetum* on the Wolds south east of Willoughby. Excavations at Brough in the early twentieth century were somewhat inconclusive regarding the character of settlement (Cecil and Woolley 1906), whilst those at *Ad Pontem* have confirmed its military origin and a subsequent, defended, civilian settlement (Oswald, A. 1938; Burnham and Wacher 1990, 273). The famous carved grave-marker depicting the god and goddess Sucellos

and Nantosuelta was discovered in 1789 apparently still standing upright in the civilian settlement's graveyard at *Ad Pontem*, offering clear evidence that such memorials were still visible in the landscape to the Anglo-Saxons (Huskinson 1994, 9–10, cat. 18; Patterson 2011, 73–4). No early military occupation was identified at *Vernemetum* during excavations by Malcolm Dean between 1964 and 1968 (Patterson 2011, 128). But amongst these Fosse Way settlements, only *Margidunum* has been explored by sustained modern excavations (Todd 1969; Patterson 2011, 53–67). Todd's work suggested that the interesting defended settlement also had a military origin, and perhaps focused on a large house with a bath suite, built around AD 150. There are many accounts of Roman stone being taken from the site between the sixteenth and the nineteenth centuries (Patterson 2011, 64–5), and there is every reason to suppose it was a valuable source of stone in the Anglo-Saxon period too.

The only other major Roman road within the modern county is the stretch of the main land-based route from the *colonia* at Lincoln to the legionary fortress and *colonia* at York, via Doncaster, which crosses the Trent at what was probably a ford (although a bridge had been suggested) to enter the county at Littleborough. It leaves Nottinghamshire at a similar ford across the Idle south of Bawtry, supervised by a fort of some sort at Scaftworth (van der Nort and Ellis 1997; Patterson 2011, 167–8). Although the name could also apply to the focus of settlement or fortlet lying on the Lincolnshire bank, Littleborough is probably the Roman small town of *Segelocum* (Riley *et al.* 1995; Patterson 2011, 164–6).

A number of military installations are known north of the Trent in Nottinghamshire: at Broxtowe, Calverton, Farnsfield, Holme, Gleadthorpe and Osmanthorpe. Each is presumed to have required a supply road, often springing at right-angles from the Fosse Way (Taylor, J. 2006, 143; Patterson 2011, 182–205). Some of these have been put into the 'marching camp' category (Welfare and Swan 1995, 146–9), whilst the large site at Broxtowe, now vanished below the new housing estates of north-west Nottingham, remains imperfectly understood. On the other hand, the crop-mark remains of the large (9 ha) fortress at Osmanthorpe, north west of Southwell, have been confidently placed in the military category (Bishop and Freeman 1993).

It is often suggested that a third road ran from the Mansfield area to the area north west of Worksop, where two 'villa' sites are known, along the line of

Leming Lane. Other villa sites line the hills along the Trent valley, at Ratcliffe-on-Soar, Aslockton, Barton-in-Fabis, Cromwell, Shelford and Epperstone, with a close group of three at Car Colston, Newton and Bingham all within a mile or two of *Margidunum* (Knight and Howard 2004, 135–7; Patterson 2011, 206–47). The focus of villas proximate to *Margidunum* seems to exemplify a relationship noted elsewhere in Britain, which indicates a late-Roman agricultural economy organized in production centres around a range of small towns, which in turn served as gathering points for produce and tax. Patterson has recently made a case for a total of between thirteen and nineteen sites in the county being considered villas, and their distribution is greatly biased towards the Trent valley itself and the Wold land to the south and south east (2011, 209). At Flawford, excavations undertaken between 1967 and 1984 by a local group have suggested that the church there — an early 'minster' with a number of dependent chapelries, which was demolished between 1773 and 1779 — was established on the site of a substantial villa of at least two ranges with mosaics and hypocausts (James 1994; Neal and Cosh 2002, 272). Perhaps the most famous example of a villa from the county, however, was established in that strip of more productive country along the western border, at Mansfield Woodhouse, where the villa, complete with splendid mosaics, was discovered in 1786 by Major Hayman Rooke (Rooke 1788; 1789; 1790, all reprinted with additions in Harrod 1801, 46–53; Neal and Cosh 2002, 272–4; Patterson 2011, 206–9). The important example beneath the Roman Catholic church at Oldcoates, near Worksop, is also an outlier of this Trent valley concentration, and it too is thought to have had fine mosaics (Neal and Cosh 2002, 274–5; Patterson 2011, 238–40).

The famous and elaborately decorated Roman site within Southwell itself, glimpsed by many antiquarians over the past two centuries, has also often been considered a villa (Daniels 1966; Neal and Cosh 2002, 276–9). Its large and elaborate buildings, however, are grouped around notable springs (later known as the 'south wells') and the site is more easily understood as a temple of some sort. A proper understanding of the character of the Roman complex here is essential background to interpretation of the earliest phases of church development at Southwell, but at the time of writing the most recent project work is at a standstill and an authoritative comment from the different teams of archaeologists who have been and are involved is awaited (for a recent summary, see Patterson 2011,

227–34; Dixon 2013, 27–32). Perhaps the Southwell complex represents a villa with a temple site attached, an interpretation to which our identification of a pair of massive architectural fragments (Southwell 3 and 4, p. 208) as probably sub-bases from a monumental curved Roman architectural feature, rather than pre-Conquest or Romanesque details, adds a gloss. The conjunction of building types is thought also to have occurred north of Ratcliffe-on-Soar, at Redhill, where an early crossing-point of the Trent was overlooked by both extensive secular structures and religious buildings where offerings were made to ensure safe passage (Palfreyman and Ebbins 2003). Many religious sites at this period, however, were probably not marked by built structures at all. Reverence was due, instead, to a variety of natural features, such as the 'sacred grove' that is thought to be the etymological origin of the place-name *Vernemetum*, on the Fosse Way. Nottinghamshire has produced the remains of three lead tanks, of the type which, following Toynbee's suggestion, have often been associated with early Christianity (Toynbee 1964, 353–6; Thomas 1981, 220–7; and see Crerar 2012 for a recent critical re-assessment). Two of these, from Brough and East Stoke, are mere fragments bearing a *chi-rho* symbol; but a complete example, decorated with an inscribed frieze and figures in the *orans* posture, was discovered during metal-detecting at Flawborough in 1998. Fortunately, this example was the subject of a limited excavation and survey that suggested that the vessel had been deliberately buried, perhaps following ritual 'killing'. The combination of significant design, and purposeful destruction and disposal make a Christian interpretation in this instance quite robust; while the find-spot lay adjacent to what the excavators thought might have been a 'house-church' associated with a villa (Elliott and Malone 2005).

The main Roman roads were not, of course, the only Roman route ways within the county. It is likely that a considerable network of minor routes linking the various settlements with the many more isolated native farmsteads was established, of which quite a large number are known (O'Brien 1977; id. 1979; Riley 1980). The extent to which 'native' settlements were integrated within a single economy in the Trent valley has been recently addressed in interesting terms by Knight and Howard (2004, 130, 137–44). To the north, the extensive 'brickwork' pattern of field systems on poorer lands of the Sherwood sandstones have been the subject of a long-running major fieldwalking project, which has dated their use to the Romano-British period, but which has revealed

a relatively low level of what is interpreted as largely native occupation (Garton with Leary 2008).

EARLY SAXON OCCUPATION

Nottinghamshire makes no more sense as a discrete place in the early Anglo-Saxon period than it does in the era that preceded it. No documents mention it, of course, and archaeological discoveries have been limited. Modern overviews are absent. Earlier discussion of the arrival of the Anglo-Saxons, being rooted in place-name studies, was dominated by simplistic models of a 'conquest', with boat-loads of invaders arriving via the river systems and overwhelming the indigenous inhabitants (Stafford 1985, 80–93). For Stafford, indeed, the Anglo-Saxon arrival in the Trent valley belonged to the sixth century rather than the fifth. Meaney's gazetteer lists a total of eleven potential cemetery sites in the modern county (1964, 200–2). Outstanding amongst these is the large cremation cemetery, now known as Millgate, situated close to the Trent bank and just south of what later became the walled town of Newark (Kinsley 1989), which compares with large early cremation cemeteries to the east in Lincolnshire (Leahy 2007, 35–56). A single rich burial of similar date, within an enclosure, has also been found north of the town along Winthorpe Road (Samuels and Russell 1999). Most Nottinghamshire cemeteries are smaller and mix inhumation and cremation rites. Burial sites whose full extent is unknown have been partially excavated at Cotgrave (Bishop, M. W. 1984) and Willoughby (Kinsley 1993), whilst a tumulus excavated by Hayman Rooke at Oxton in 1789, and considered by him to be Roman in date, contained a sword, dagger, bucket and beads, which clearly indicate an important 'final phase' burial of perhaps seventh-century date (Butler, R. 1954, 4; Geake 1997, 173). Just as characteristic of burials of the early Anglo-Saxon period, however, are those cremations and inhumations inserted into the earthworks of earlier cultures, particularly into the remains of Roman building complexes, as at South-well and *Margidunum* for example (Patterson 2011, 63, 229).

The limited quantity and character of Anglo-Saxon discoveries in the area north of the Trent has suggested to some that cultural traditions might have been similar to those to the south and east of the river (Collis 1983), but Alan Vince's survey of recent evidence still inclined to the view that the land north of the Trent followed a different course of cultural development compared with the remainder of the county (2006,

163). These parts might even have been in British hands through the fifth and sixth centuries and thus have formed a petty kingdom beyond the southern end of the chain of such kingdoms that are thought to have stretched southwards along the eastern flanks of the Pennine uplands. The southernmost of those documented kingdoms is known today by the name 'Elmet' (Loveluck 2003, 156–8). It possibly abutted southwards onto the ill-defined region now known as Lindrick in north-west Nottinghamshire, which place- and minor names suggest formerly extended at least as far north as Tickhill and south to and beyond Carlton-in-Lindrick (McClure 2008). Precise boundaries of this region are obscure and without any medieval definition, but they might have stretched from the River Ryton in the south, or even the Meden with Sherwood beyond (ibid.), to the parishes of Doncaster and Conisborough in the north. Possibly, five hundred years later, the region was recalled by the Honour of Tickhill. That honour had lands across much of this area, on both sides of the River Torn, which here provides the boundary between Nottinghamshire and the West Riding (Crook, D. 1984, 17–18). Although the honour's *caput* at Domesday was at Tickhill in Yorkshire, the principal church of the territory was at Blyth and its traditional meeting place was on the flat meadowland of the River Torn at Whitewater Common in Nottinghamshire, between the two. The element **ric* was in use, in Margaret Gelling's judgment, 'only during the earlier part of the Anglo-Saxon period' (Gelling and Cole 2000, 214): Lindrick, then, might have represented a small polity, similar to Elmet, in that era. What relationship Lindrick might bear to 'Hatfield', which we first encounter in the Middle Saxon period (below, p. 24), or to the grouping of lands across the Yorkshire border associated with Conisborough and known as Morthen (Davies 1980), is as unclear as the entity itself.

Whether Lindrick, assuming its existence, was an area of residual Christianity — as Elmet is sometimes thought to have been — is entirely unknown, although in a general way Mike Bishop has used the relative absence of Anglo-Saxon material culture in Nottinghamshire to suggest that this area might have been occupied by Christian communities, whose way of life did not leave behind artifacts of Early and Middle Saxon types as known in eastern and southern England (Bishop, M. W. 2000). Alternatively the territory of the later *Pecsætan*, a grouping known from the eighth-century Tribal Hidage (Davies and Vierck 1970), might conceivably have extended across the Doe Lea and into north-west Nottinghamshire.

The only boundary structure which might date from this period of early petty kingdoms is the so-called Grey Ditch, which draws a line at right-angles to the Roman road from Buxton to Doncaster, just outside the county. However, the similar earthwork known at King Lud's Entrenchment, which runs along the county's border with Leicestershire in the extreme south east, is no longer considered to date from this period (Vince 2006, 167).

As for indications of the character of settlement, Alan Vince's view was that 'settlement patterns and material culture [in early Anglo-Saxon Notting-hamshire] are simply unknown' (2006, 161). The East Midlands Anglo-Saxon Pottery Project (Vince and Young 1991) concluded that there was a pottery production centre in the northern Trent valley in the early Anglo-Saxon period, though it could have been in what is now Lincolnshire rather than Nott-inghamshire. The distribution of *sceattas* in the East Midlands as plotted on the Early Medieval Coin Index (Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge) in 2006 led Vince to judge that there was no 'emporium' as such within modern Nottinghamshire, although the metal-detector site known as 'South Lincolnshire' might represent just such a facility not far outside. Instead he believed that this coinage, and thus the international trade it is thought to represent, entered the area either via the Trent or via the Fens along the Ouse and Welland valleys (Vince 2006, 175). There have been metal-detected *sceatta* finds from Church Laneham, however, which suggested to him that there might be an eighth-century riverside trading site here, similar to that thought to have existed at Torksey on the Lincolnshire bank, where great quantities have been recovered (Stocker 2000, 189–91).

The remarkable fish weir at Colwick, yielding dates which place it in the Middle Saxon period (Salisbury 1981), indicates commercial exploitation of the Trent; but it is a reasonable presumption that the river was being exploited both as a food resource and as a transport route in the immediately preceding centuries. Bridge remains at Cromwell are thought to originate in the same Middle Saxon period, although they have still to be linked to the known road network (Salisbury 1995a; 1995b), but place-names at Shelford,[1] Wilford, Langford (Elliott *et al.* 2004, 157) and at Gunthorpe (Patterson 2011, 150 — citing Hill 1932a) indicate that most passages of the Trent were

still by means of fords. A minority of users of such routes would be local and long-distance travellers, whereas the crossings of the Trent must have been of crucial importance for the movement of livestock, especially as the transhumance networks that Harold Fox has explored developed, from the settled lands of the Trent valley either into the Wolds or into the forest country (Fox 1989).

THE MIDDLE SAXON PERIOD

The Tribal Hidage, a document conventionally ascribed to the eighth century and offering a starting point for understanding of England before the arrival of the Vikings (Davies and Vierck 1970), poses certain problems for the area that was to become Nottinghamshire. It seems clear that the later county would have fallen mostly within *Myrcenes Landes*, that is to say 'Mercia', which at 300,000 hides was one of the three largest blocks of territory surveyed. As noted above, it is possible that the much smaller group known as the *Pecsætna*, accounting for a total of 12,000 hides, might have occupied the north-western part of the county, though they were centred further to the north west. To the north east, however, the Tribal Hidage offers evidence that part of what was to become north Nottinghamshire was within an intermediate or border territory called Hatfield (*Heathfeldland*).

In an earlier paper (Everson and Stocker 2007), we have explored the jurisdictions in north-east Nottinghamshire in respect of what became Oswald-beck wapentake, which gave its name to a stream rising on the slopes of the locally prominent high-point of Maumhill and flowing north-eastwards between South Wheatley and Sturton le Steeple to join the Wheatley Beck and then the Trent near Bole. Oswaldbeck was evidently originally associated with the kingdom of Lindsey, across the Trent, though it had become a part of Mercia by the time of the Tribal Hidage. An apparently 'lost' royal centre or manor of 'Oswaldbeck', to which many peasants in this district who had no lord other than the king in Domesday Book were attached for rent and jurisdiction, was administered in 1066 by the distant, dominant north Nottinghamshire royal manor of Mansfield (Stenton 1910, 44ff; Crook, D. 1984). This 'soke of Oswaldbeck' persisted through the later Middle Ages and the demesne was evidently associated with South Wheatley (Gover *et al.* 1940, 24–5, 43; Throsby 1972, 333–4). The pre-Conquest half wapentake of Oswaldbeck, equating to what came to be known as the North Clay Division of 'The

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1. Coins struck at 'Shelford' in the late ninth century are likely to be from the Shelford in Cambridgeshire, rather than to this Shelford (Hart 1995).

Clays' region of Nottinghamshire (Anderson 1934, 39; Crook, D. 2000, 22–3), is presumed to have met at the mighty mound on Beacon Hill at Gringley-on-the-Hill (Crook, D. 2000, 23), perhaps in origin some form of prehistoric barrow, which does not so much overlook the Oswald Beck as the floodplain of the River Idle around Mattersey and, even more, the broad carrlands of the lower Idle and the whole lowlands of Hatfield beyond, bordering Northumbria.

Additionally, as M. S. Parker has persuasively proposed, this northern part of Nottinghamshire — 'The Clays' — which persisted as an identifiable administrative region with links to Lincolnshire well into the later Middle Ages, was associated with the adjacent low-lying parts of south Yorkshire and Lincolnshire to which the name 'Hatfield' has latterly been more directly attached, in forming the early *regio* of Hatfield (Parker 1992). Parker reasoned that the *regio* was associated at an early date — in the time of Edwin and Oswald in the early and mid seventh century — with the southern Northumbrian kingdom of Deira and that it included part of both west Lindsey and north Nottinghamshire. By the time of the Tribal Hidage, however, Hatfield lay in Mercia, for that kingdom is the document's scope, and was linked with Lindsey, though perceived as a separate *regio*.

This discussion is of great importance within the present study because it provides a critical backdrop to the discoveries made during this project of hitherto unknown sculptures of pre-Viking types at the church of South Leverton, immediately south of Wheatley (pp. 170–8, Figs. 26–8, Ills. 104–10). An early ecclesiastical foundation at South Leverton would provide the third component often found in groupings of *villa regalis*, church centre and meeting place. This issue is explored at greater length in Chapter VII. Our published study suggests, then, that South Leverton should enter the exclusive list of north Midland sites with some evidence for pre-Viking church activity (Everson and Stocker 2007). But, this status has to be reconciled with another Nottinghamshire ecclesiastical tradition, namely that regarding the baptism of the people of Lindsey in the Trent by St Paulinus in 628. Bede gives the location of this event as *Tiowulfingacæstir* (Bede 1969, 192, II.16). During the medieval period, one tradition was that this baptism took place at Southwell, and it is possible that many of the baptism-related rituals which became so elaborate in the medieval college at Southwell originated from the perceived connection (Dixon *et al.* 2001). The tradition that Southwell was *Tiowulfingacæstir* was reported by Camden (Gough 1806, II, 396; Dimock 1853, 265–8), but the wave of antiquarian research that Camden himself stimulated soon swept this long-held belief away. Candidates for *Tiowulfingacæstir*, it has long been argued, should be both a site that could be credibly described as a *ceaster* — i.e. a former Roman town — and one that was sufficiently close to Lindsey to have been suitable for a mass baptism of its people. For all that it is now known to have a significant Roman past (above), Southwell falls down on both of these counts. Newark has attracted support as an alternative location for the mass baptism (Samuels and Russell 1999, 81), but scholars' attention in the past century has focused increasingly on the Littleborough crossing of the Trent. Here is a confirmed Roman small town, correctly described as a *ceaster*, which also happens to be at the principal point of access to Lindsey from Northumbria, whence Paulinus travelled (Patterson 2011, 158–66). Furthermore it is also suspected that the crossing here was a ford, so potentially shallow and safe enough for a mass baptism, although it faces an embayment in the river's eastern bank, around Marton, which might have been equally suitable. Furthermore, Bede says that the baptism was not actually at *Tiowulfingacæstir*, but *in fluvio Treenta iuxta civitatem*. That is to say, it could easily have been undertaken on the Lindsey side of the river, possibly within the embayment.

Again our analysis of the church site and sculpture at South Leverton can help here; if this part of Nottinghamshire, including Littleborough, was within Hatfield, it might even have been considered to be within Lindsey at this date after all. Southwell, by contrast, was certainly never within Hatfield. Perhaps more importantly, that location no longer appears so liminal. The presence of a *villa regalis* in the area of Wheatley, for which we have argued, on or close to the Roman road leading to the Trent crossing at Littleborough, would make this area of landscape more directly comparable with the other mass baptisms, such as those described by Bede as taking place in the River Glen near to the *villa regalis* at Yeavering, on the northern boundary of Bernicia, and at Catterick on the northern boundary of Deira (Bede 1969, 188, II.14). Now revealed through its extraordinary collection of early sculpture as the church site associated with the *villa regalis*, we suggest, an early monastery at Leverton is given both context and substance.

Another web of Nottinghamshire tradition associates this discussion, and Nottinghamshire, with Paulinus's patron, Edwin king of the Northumbrians. After his death at the battle in 633 'on the plain that is called *Hæthfelth*' — a location widely presumed to be within

the same Hatfield we have been considering, possibly on the great sandstone plain west of Retford (Bede 1969, 202, ɪɪ.20; Revill 1975) — Edwin is said to have been buried at St Edwin's chapel in the hay of Birkwood, in Edwinstowe parish, deep within Sherwood. North and west of this location the place-name 'Hatfield' has also been applied historically to several properties, indicating that 'Hatfield Chase' was once a very large area indeed, extending as many as thirty miles southwards from the River Don, and showing that the chapel might not have been that far from the field of battle (Revill 1975). The tradition that Edwin was buried at the Birkwood chapel was evidently current in the early thirteenth century, and the crown continued to support a chaplain there until the Reformation (Gover *et al.* 1940, 75–6; Crook, D. 2000, 30–1). The tradition persists today, although the chapel is sometimes elided with the parochial church of St Mary, Edwinstowe (Woodhead 2004, 10). If the tradition that Edwin was buried at Birkwood Hay is correct, presumably it would have been the site mentioned in the early eighth century by the author of the *Life of Gregory the Great*, who reported that, during the reign of the Mercian king Æthelred (675–704), the remains of King Edwin were recovered by a priest called Trimma and taken to Whitby, where they became the centre of a cult throughout the remainder of the Middle Ages (Colgrave 1968, 103–5; Sawyer 1998, 71–2). Two additional points are worth noting in this eighth-century account: firstly Trimma is said to have found Hatfield within Lindsey, which appears to be a further reflection of the association of the northern part of Nottinghamshire with Lindsey in the seventh century. Secondly, Peter Sawyer is surely correct to suggest that Trimma had originally intended to found a monastery dedicated to St Edwin at his burial site, but had relocated the saintly relics to Whitby because a cult to a Northumbrian king would no longer have been welcome in what was now Mercia (ibid.). Further evidence for the presence of some sort of early church at Edwinstowe, in fact, might also be deduced from its location, as it lies only five miles down-river from the known *villa regalis* at Mansfield; a comparable distance to that which separates Leverton and Wheatley (Crook, D. 1984; 2000). There are, however, no reports of early sculpture from the site of either the chapel in Birkwood or St Mary's Edwinstowe, nor have we discovered any during the course of work for this volume.

Further guesswork and supposition surrounds the connection between the early church in Nottingham-shire and the known early monastic site at Repton

(Derbyshire), some ten miles further upstream on the Trent from the county boundary (Hadley 2000a, 220–5). Felix's seventh-century life of St Guthlac reports that the saint placed himself under the guidance of Ælfthryth, who was abbess of Repton (Colgrave 1956, 84). This same monastery may have been later ruled by an abbess called Ecgburgh, who sent Guthlac a leaden coffin (ibid., 146), and it has been claimed that this lady may be identified with the Ædburga who was daughter of King Aldwulf of East Anglia, because of a later interlineation in the *Liber Eliensis* (Blake 1962, 19; Farmer 1997, 148–9), and, if the same individual is indeed represented, then it seems likely that her relics might have been removed from the monastery at Repton only during or after the period of Viking occupation of the site in 873. St Ecgburgh of Repton has also been associated with the Ecburh who occurs in the *Liber Vitae* of Durham (Dixon *et al.* 2001, 255). The most recent assessment of Anglo-Saxon saints, by John Blair, however, differentiates all these saints, proposing that there are in fact a minimum of four different saints called Ædburga and perhaps as many as five; and that accounting does not include saints with the similar, but distinct name Ecgburga (Blair 2002, 525–7). The only certainty (if certainty is possible in these circumstances) is that a saint with the — relatively common — name Ædburga is recorded in the list of resting places of saints known as the *Secgan by þam Godes sanctum*, since relics of one St Ædburg rested at Southwell (Rollason 1978, 63 and fn.12, 89; see below p. 33). From the point of view of the early history of Nottinghamshire in general and Southwell in particular, then, the only real matter for debate, according to Blair's analysis, is the date at which the section in which Ædburga of Southwell occurs was compiled. Both Blair and Rollason agree that this document was only set down in the early eleventh century, and therefore the only evidence we have for a cult at Southwell is very late, and dates from well after the Viking invasions.

This line of reasoning removes the only fragment of documentary evidence we have for any church presence at Southwell before the Viking invasions. As is rehearsed below (p. 34), the first unequivocal documentary references to the archbishop's involve-ment at Southwell do not occur until about 956, and that does not name or necessary imply a church. Recent archaeological work, however, has brought new evidence and new interpretations involving a pre-Viking church at Southwell, though not always convincing ones.

Archaeology has had an undistinguished record,

so far, in elucidating the pre-Conquest history of the church site at Southwell. The site's origins clearly relate to the extensive and elaborate Roman complex, traditionally described as a villa but perhaps a temple or cultic site, situated downslope and about 100 m due east of the present Minster choir. If Neal and Cosh are correct in proposing that the mosaic floor below the south transept of the Minster is also Roman work *in situ*, rather than the early medieval flooring of the pre-Conquest collegiate church reusing Roman tesserae, as is usually understood, then that 'villa' complex was notably extensive (Neal and Cosh 2002, 279; *contra* Dixon 2001; Dixon 2013, 27–32). Most is known about this important complex from Charles Daniels's excavations for the Ministry of Works in 1959 when the Minster School was built (Daniels 1966; for the late Roman mosaics revealed then and earlier, see now Neal and Cosh 2002, 276–8; for additional work in 2004, Elliott 2004). Five post-Roman inhumations were found dug into the Roman ruins in 1959, including a so-called 'clench nail' burial. This phenomenon is so common as to be almost ubiquitous in major Roman building complexes, and Stocker has offered an explanation of it in terms of the need for the Anglo-Saxons' ancestors to interact with those of the peoples into whose lands they came (Stocker 2006, 236). Two hundred and twenty-five undated but presumably medieval burials were destroyed when the Minster School was extended in 1971 (Alvey 1975); they lay east to west and, despite the difficult circumstances attending their recording, one was apparently accompanied by a medieval buckle. At least five further inhumations, all similarly oriented east-west, came up in the 2008 evaluations of the cleared Minster School site. One of these produced a C^{14} date of 1262 $^+/-$ 34 years BP, which translates to AD 660–870 (Rowe 2010, II, Appendix 3.8). This grey-literature *Archaeological Evaluation Report* concludes that the latter are part of a 'Saxon Christian cemetery' with the possibility of 'an early Saxon Minster situated close by or beneath the existing Minster' (ibid., 4). Taking the burial evidence as a whole to be a 'Middle Saxon cemetery', Dixon has made the qualified suggestion that a Middle Saxon church lay on the site, with which architectural fragments Southwell 3 and 4 have perhaps been associated as evidence of a rebuilding phase of the eleventh century (Dixon 2013, 11, 31–2, 34). However, the correct identification of these two major masonry fragments as Roman and belonging to a superbly masoned, monumental, curved architectural feature, rather than pre-Conquest, removes an element of the direct

evidence for an early church nearby (Appendix B, p. 208). It is an assessment that also fits most comfortably with the recorded stratigraphy of the site, as presently understood (pers. comm. U. Spence).

The narrative for Middle-Saxon Southwell that has developed recently and that focuses on the area down-hill and east of the Minster strains the evidence some-what. A discrete 'final phase' cemetery, presumably of the seventh to eighth centuries, in this same area has been added to the argument for the presence of an early church hereabouts (pers. comm. U. Spence); but this need not imply a church associated with the cemetery, as demonstrated by a complete excavation of a similar grouping at Roxby/Sheffield's Hill II in Lincolnshire (Leahy and Williams 2001). While the date range of the main group of burials remains quite unexplored, the bulk of them as recorded by Alvey are most naturally understood as medieval in date; probably representing the far eastern end of the Minster's medieval graveyard, as Alvey himself proposed (1975). They extended for unexplored distances both west and south. There seems no basis for terming the whole a 'Middle Saxon cemetery' from the single radiocarbon date from the disparate burials encountered in 2008, which themselves could have been akin to the scatter of early burials discovered in 1959. And without a large body of unequivocally contemporary burials, the inference of a Middle Saxon church nearby is difficult to sustain. From the viewpoint of Anglo-Saxon sculpture, it is notable that Southwell has not produced a single piece of pre-Viking sculpture, and even in the later period the only two items (Southwell 1 and 2, pp. 182–8) appear to belong to the last few years of the pre-Conquest era and probably relate to the collegiate community established in the mid eleventh century (below, p. 33).

Ten miles south of Southwell and twenty miles east of Repton, Granby might also have been the location of a Middle Saxon church site. Here an early and presumptively pre-parochial — and probably pre-Viking — church was located in what became the common field on the way to Langar. This church had an unusual, and probably early, dedication to St Æthelburg, although it was more commonly known as the *Giselkirk* and, Foulds speculates, originally served a pre-parochial estate in this region, including land in Langar, Bingham and Wiverton (Foulds 1994, 338–9 etc.). Of three documented saints named Æthelburg, only one has anything much to do with eastern Mercia or Nottinghamshire, namely St Æthelburg, abbess of Lyminge in Kent (Farmer 1997, 168–9). This Æthelburg is closely associated with both St Edwin,

king of Northumbria to whom she was married, and St Paulinus with whom she returned to Kent after Edwin's death. There is no structural or field evidence at all for a pre-Viking cult centre associated with one of the saints called Æthelburg at Granby, unless one accepts Esdaile's report of observing the ploughing of an old church or chapel site in the close called 'St Aubries' in Langar parish as indicating the location (Esdaile 1851, 44–5). But a lost fragment of stone sculpture from Granby, previously accepted as Roman, may rather be an Anglo-Saxon item of the sort that might be expected from such a cult site (see Appendix C, p. 212). The question of any links between these three relatively proximate sites — Repton, Southwell and Granby/Langar — remains open but, as Dawn Hadley points out, close connections between groups of early church sites of this character are frequent (2000a, 232).

Claims have also been made for a pre-Viking church site at Flawford in Ruddington parish, about half-way between Granby and Repton and also set in a dramatic location above the Trent valley; but despite the excavation of the site, cogent evidence for the date when the church here was founded appears absent (James 1994; see below). A far stronger case for an early ecclesiastical foundation can be put together at Shelford, on the basis of the learning and sophisticated intent of the sculpture surviving there, and its explicit connections with a successor Augustinian foundation, perhaps linked with the local name *Gillecrosse* (see Shelford 1, p. 152; and Chapter VII below).

The extremely obscure movements of saints and relics in this region accompany a relatively bald political narrative in the Middle Saxon period for the area that was to become Nottinghamshire. It is clear from Bede that Nottinghamshire — or at least Nottinghamshire north and west of the Trent — was claimed, along with Lindsey, by the seventh-century Northumbrian kingdom. With that affiliation it would have been part of the archdiocese of York. However, it also seems highly likely that the entire area occupied by the present-day county fell into Mercian hands following the battle of *Hæthfelth* or Hatfield in 633 (Bede 1969, 106, ii.20). This would have meant that for the following two centuries it would have fallen under the ecclesiastical hegemony of the diocese of Lichfield (briefly an archdiocese under King Offa), as well as under Mercian political control. Although the documentary sources are not rich for the eighth and ninth centuries, there is no reason to think that Northumbrian claims to this part of north-eastern Mercia were pressed again until the middle of the

ninth century, when the Northumbrians, now led by incomers from Scandinavia, intervened in the internecine wars of the Mercian royal house. By that date, however, the Mercian state had become little more than a client of the kingdom of Wessex, following their defeat at the battle of Ellendun (Wiltshire) in 825. In the 870s the Vikings' intervention was decisive (below).

It would be good to provide some account of the society on which these political events acted, but in fact very little Middle Saxon evidence has been recorded in Nottinghamshire. In the absence of direct local instances, it is presumed that Middle Saxon settlement in the Trent valley at least followed a similar pattern to that investigated very fully at Catholme, further up-stream in lowland Staffordshire. Here a settlement of substantial timber halls, accompanied by more minor buildings, migrated from location to location along the rich soils of the valley floor (Losco-Bradley and Kinsley 2002). Survey and excavation results at Girton have indeed revealed contemporary settlement of a similar type (Elliott, Jones and Howard 2004, 168–70), so it is likely that settlement of this general form and character existed on the riverine gravels in Nottinghamshire as well, probably as small settlements, widely scattered within the landscape and within their individual field systems. It was not until the tenth century that the nucleated pattern of villages that characterizes the southern and eastern parts of the county in the medieval period was established. That some, if not all, of these later nucleated settlements were established on sites that were previously occupied by smaller establishments is suggested by evidence from Laxton and Adbolton (Challis 1994a; Elliott 1996). To the north and west, however, within the poorer landscapes less suited to arable, the impression is of a much less intensive occupation of the land, though still scattered across it rather than focused in large settlements (Garton with Nailor 2007).

As Chapter VII discusses (pp. 76–8), one aspect of Middle Saxon landscape on which our sculpture can shed some light is crossings of the Trent, which place-name evidence would suggest was largely by means of fords — Wilford, West Bridgford, Shelford, East Bridgford, Langford — even though two of these names clearly imply that a bridge was added to the ford at a relatively early date. However, these were not the only crossing points, as the excavations of an eighth-century bridge at Cromwell have demonstrated (Salisbury 1995a; 1995b).

The Viking invasions of the third quarter of the ninth century must have impacted greatly on an area — though still not yet a 'county' — focused around the Trent valley, which was evidently one of the principal river routes by which the Danish armies of that period traversed the country. In 867–8, the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* reports the Viking 'great army' marching south from York, where they had been established for some years, and overwintering for the first time at Nottingham (variants and references in Roffe 2006, 24 and fn.1; see also Whitelock 1979, 191–2). In the winter of 872 they were at Torksey, just across the Trent from Littleborough, and by 873 they had captured and fortified one of the principal seats of Mercian royal power, the monastery and royal mausoleum at Repton. Taken as a group these bare statements in the *Chronicle* conceal a decade's bitter warfare for control not just of the River Trent but of the entire Mercian state that depended upon it. Contingents of the army left for the north and East Anglia in 874 and 'began to plough and support themselves', and, as David Roffe points out (2010, 33–4), the possibility is strong that the Vikings left behind in the Trent valley also 'turned to the plough' in the later 870s. The Vikings' presence is clearly marked archaeologically by the conversion of the monastic church at Repton into a fortification and by the 'charnel' burial of displaced individuals in a stone-lined tumulus nearby (Biddle and Kjølbye–Biddle 1992; id. 2001; Hadley 2000a, 220–5), and even closer to the Nottinghamshire border, but still in Derbyshire, stands the approximately contemporary Viking burial ground at Ingleby (Richards *et al.* 1995). Work currently underway by the Universities of Sheffield and York at Torksey is producing evidence for occupation and burial at that site, too (pers. comm. Dawn Hadley and Julian Richards).

The first of the Viking army's overwintering sites 'at Nottingham', however, has yet to be located. It is often said to have been represented by the early enclosure on the eastern hill around St Mary's church, later known as the English Borough. In Asser's *Life of Alfred*, furthermore, the defences of the Viking camp at 'Nottingham' were said to be 'impregnable' (Keynes and Lapidge 1983, 241), and for some that description has been enough to prove that the Viking camp was on top of the river cliff, where the English Borough would become established. However, David Roffe makes the point that the modern cliff-face is certainly steeper than its ninth-century equivalent,

and also that later medieval properties in the English Borough extended over the cliff-edge and all the way down to the Trent (2006, 26, 32). Furthermore, if the overwinter camp of 867–8 was within the English Borough, the Vikings chose a site for their camp at Nottingham that was quite unlike those at Torksey and Repton. The latter two sites are at the water's edge, no doubt reflecting a need to beach and defend the long-ships and to permit a rapid exit by water. At Repton the Mercian church was incorporated in a massive D-shaped earthwork defence (Biddle and Kjølbye–Biddle 1992; 2001), whilst at Torksey, the entire camp was located on an island in the river, with plenty of suitable strands for beaching the fleet. Nottingham's English Borough has none of these characteristics. Although the English Borough might be seen as a large D-shaped enclosure against the cliff, the Trent was a considerable distance to the south, whilst the River Leen (which follows the cliff-foot today) fell into the main river much further to the west until the twelfth century (Roffe 2006, 31 fn.30; and see Fig. 5). Direct access down the cliff on which the English Borough stands and across the floodplain to the river, in order to reach the fleet presumably beached there, would have been neither rapid nor secure. Additionally, so far no distinctively Viking burials have come from the English Borough area, to compare with those from Repton and now from Torksey (pers. comm. J. Richards). In fact, two burials from Nottingham that might be considered to belong to this period of warfare in the late ninth century are said to have been found 'adjoining the new baths and wash-houses outside the town' ((——) 1851; Graham-Campbell 2001, 106). These baths were situated in New Bath Street, now Gedling Street (Beckett 1997a, 68; 2006b, 405), which, although not exactly on the Trent Meadows, is not on the hill-top either. Caution is required, then, before automatically equating the Viking camp, where the great army overwintered in 867, with the English Borough; its remains might yet be discovered on the flat land immediately south or south east of the medieval town.

According to Asser, Nottingham existed already in 867, being known in the British language as *Tig Guocobauc*, which means 'cave-house' or 'dwelling of caves' (Keynes and Lapidge 1983, 241). The term does not necessarily imply a settlement of any substance, however, and the employment of British language to describe it is also puzzling (Roffe 2006, 25). Following the overwintering, however, Nottingham had clearly become the centre of an estate by the late ninth century that included not just Sneinton and Whiston
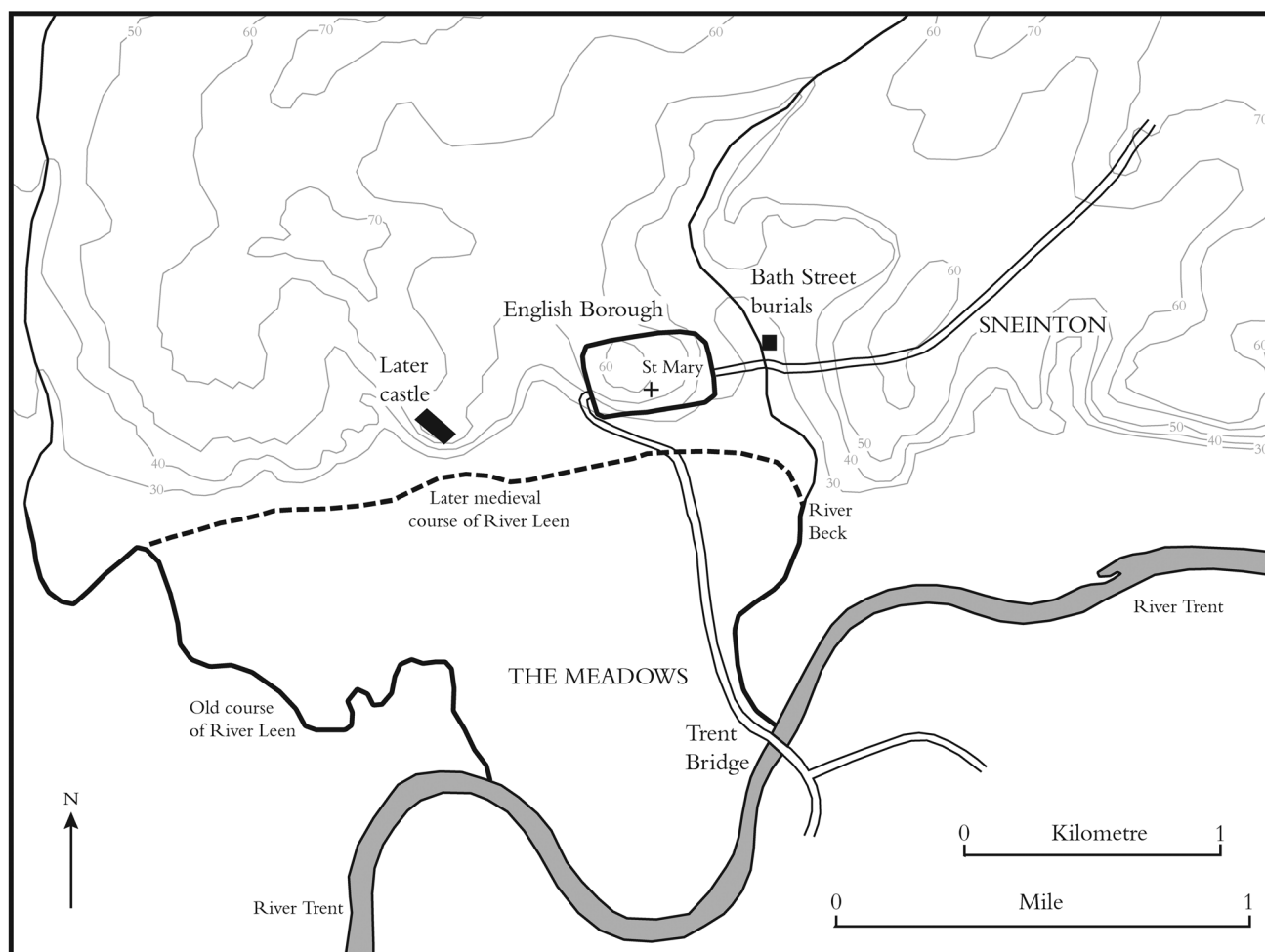
FIGURE 5
Topographical setting of Nottingham (old course of River Leen after Roffe 2006)

(to which it is linked etymologically) but also perhaps Lenton, Radford, Basford, Arnold, West Bridgford, Wilford, Barton and Clifton (ibid., 26). Furthermore, although the historical sources depict the 'great army' as external pagan aggressors falling on a peaceful English kingdom, in fact the Vikings' incursion along the Trent in 867 was very probably just one visible move in the long-drawn-out political disintegration of the Mercian state, which had begun with a split in the ruling family in the 820s. In 874, when King Burghred of Mercia was deposed by Ceolwulf II, it seems likely that the victor's military force was partly provided by the Viking army; and in 877 the kingdom was divided, not between the English Mercians and the Vikings, but between the two rival dynasties of Mercian kings, one of which had Viking support

(ibid., 27). No doubt partly because of the alliance, however, the main power-centre for the new eastern Mercian political entity was not local, but in York, and there are records of the Vikings of York continuing to be active as far south as the River Welland at this time.

Even so, the Viking 'alliance of warlords', which seems to have constituted political authority in eastern Mercia in the late ninth century, was under political and military pressure from the end of the reign of Alfred in 899, and that pressure continued into the first two decades of the tenth century. In 909 Edward the Elder launched a raid into Danish-held Lindsey, and his sister Æthelflæd is credited with a great victory of the Anglo-Saxon forces over the Viking and Northumbrian army at Tettenhall, near Wolverhampton in Staffordshire, in 910. A period of

rapprochement followed that victory, with the eastern Mercians co-operating with the Danes of York, and English garrisons are noted in Northampton and Leicester (913), Derby (917) and Stamford (918). After the death of his sister in 918, Edward assumed control of the resurgent Mercian state. He came to Nottingham and installed a garrison (Whitelock 1979, 216), evidently with the co-operation of both the indigenous Anglo-Saxons of the region and of the warlords of Viking descent. But when in the following year, 919, Ragnall and his Hiberno-Norse 'white' Vikings captured York from the older generation of Danish Vikings, Edward reorganised his defences along the Northumbrian border, redefining old burhs and building new ones (Insley 2012, 118–22). At this moment of crisis he probably established a burh at Tickhill on the Great North Road, just outside what was to become the northern Nottinghamshire boundary, and another at Bakewell somewhat beyond its western boundary.

As part of this review of the northern defences of the combined Mercian and West Saxon kingdom, Edward reorganised the defences of Nottingham itself in 920, constructing a second burh on the opposite bank of the Trent and linking the old and new burhs with a bridge (Whitelock 1979, 217). This was a tactic he had employed before at Buckingham, Hertford, Bedford and Stamford, and it gave him control not only of the river crossing but also of the river itself. The location of the second burh has remained as elusive as the first, despite Haslam's attempts to associate it with Wilford (Haslam 1987). It is perhaps more likely that it lay somewhere close to the London Road in West Bridgford (Roffe 2006, 34), presumably alongside an existing ford. If the original encampment had not been on the river cliff, where the English Borough became established, then perhaps it was moved there at this moment? Edward's reorganisation of the northern defences of his Mercian satellite gave Nottingham a regional prominence that it had not had before. Coins were minted for King Æthelstan here between 924–39 and David Roffe argues that tolls assigned to the town during the later Middle Ages indicate that the population over an area bounded by the rivers Ryton in the north, the Trent in the east and the Dove in the west now looked to Nottingham for justice and defence (ibid., 29). This boundary would encompass much of what was to become Derbyshire, as well as the later Nottinghamshire, and in the twelfth century Nottingham did indeed have control over aspects of justice and administration in Derbyshire.

Edward the Elder's new defensive infrastructure in the East Midlands provided the platform for Æthelstan's great victory over the Northumbrians at *Brunanburh* in 937, a battle probably fought somewhere in south Yorkshire, perhaps near the Nottinghamshire border (but see Hart 1992, 515–25). Only a year after Æthelstan's death in 939, however, his son Edmund ceded control of the East Midland burhs to the Hiberno-Norse kings of York, and thus Nottingham again passed into the political control of York. Yet this was only a temporary shift in local power; since in 942 Edmund reclaimed the territories of the burhs of Stamford, Leicester and Derby as well as Nottingham and Lincoln (Whitelock 1979, 221). David Roffe suggests that it was at this moment, when Edmund was re-establishing Wessex's control over the East Midlands, that the 'new work' at Newark was created, as an additional defence on the Trent and at a location that was possibly already an established river crossing (2006, 30) and/or a trading hard (Chapter VII below, p. 79), but 'new' in relation to the Roman crossing at *Ad Pontem*, between Farndon and East Stoke (see above, p. 20) or to that trading facility. As Roffe points out, the signs are that the territory around Newark had previously been a part of Lindsey, but by 955–9 Newark had become a mint for the coins of Eadwig and the area was subsequently administered from Nottingham and not Lincoln. The archaeological judgment that Newark only really developed as a town in the final quarter of the tenth century (Hall, R. 2001, 151) is not incompatible with Roffe's suggestions, and this chronology is also supported by the recent re-examination of the town's development by comparison with the early borough of Grantham (Stocker 2011, 260–1).

It is from this period, following the re-establishment of English rule in the second half of the tenth century, that the markets of Nottingham are likely to have been developed. This would make Nottingham very comparable with other major urban centres in the East Midlands, such as Leicester, Lincoln and Stamford. But archaeological evidence for a late tenth-century trading centre at Nottingham, to compare with those at contemporary Lincoln or Stamford, is yet to be brought forward. Indeed, drawing attention particularly to the much larger quantities of coin minted at Derby, Roffe has suggested that Nottingham might have been outperformed as a market by that town, and that the enclosure at the English Borough might have been exclusively reserved for the aristocracy and their households and for the legal and administrative institutions of the Five Boroughs (2006, 38). It would thus have been the appropriate

location for two meetings of the *Witan*: in 934 and *c.* 973 (Hall, R. 2001, 148). Perhaps, Roffe implies, Derby should be thought of as Nottingham's *alter ego*: as the more mercantile correlate of an administrative and aristocratic enclosure at the English Borough.

Another important consequence of this period of consolidation in the East Midlands in the second half of the tenth century was the creation of 12-carucate hundreds, grouped into wapentakes, which were then gathered as shires. It is a process which Roffe dates to the 950s or 960s (2006, 30) or somewhat later (2010, 41–2). From this moment we can talk of a territorial unit centred on Nottingham equivalent to the modern shire, consisting of four wapentakes and four half-wapentakes. Furthermore, that Nottingham territory was grouped with four others similarly associated with Derby, Lincoln, Stamford and Leicester, to form the 'Five Boroughs confederation' and placed under the authority of an ealdorman and a king's reeve (Roffe 1986, 114–15). The Five Boroughs grouping is imperfectly understood, and reference to it occurs in only four documents (Hall, R. 2001, 144), but it was primarily defensive and intended to facilitate the raising of levies and their co-ordination, to foster a sense of identity in the East Midlands, and to act as a buffer between the south and a north that remained potentially unstable — even though York had surrendered to the authority of the Wessex crown in 954. The entire system comprising the Five Boroughs confederacy and its territorial underpinning was embedded in the Wantage Code issued by Æthelred II *c.* 997 (Hall, R. 2001, 144), and it seems to have kept the peace between indigenous English and settlers of Scandinavian extraction for two generations. It is during this time, perhaps, and in recognition of their common experience of Scandinavian settlement, that we can sensibly talk of the development of an Anglo-Scandinavian culture.

The local governmental system established in this way was severely tested in the early eleventh century. In 1013, the Five Boroughs confederacy made a settlement with the invading Viking leaders, Swein and his son Cnut, and turned against the house of Wessex. Assuming the English throne in 1016, Cnut revised the organisation of administration in the East Midlands. The confederacy lapsed; but the groupings of East Midland wapentakes looking for justice and administration to specific burhs were confirmed, and emerged as independent entities explicitly named for the first time as 'shires'. The single exception was Stamford, whose shire was henceforth to be administered from Lincoln, and the dominance of

Nottingham over Derby was confirmed, in that the king's sheriff of Nottingham was also responsible for Derbyshire. With the former Five Boroughs grouping done away with entirely, the shires were merged with those further south and west to form a part of the earldom of Mercia.

In the East Midlands, the four decades between the reforms of Cnut and the Norman Conquest are poorly understood, but the region was subject to the complex making and re-making of earldoms in a jostling for political power and influence (Baxter 2007). Roffe suggests that part of the area might have fallen under the control of an earl of the Middle Angles after 1017, whilst by the 1050s it was apparently held by Earl Ralph of Hereford, before being amalgamated with Tosti's earldom of Northumbria, probably in 1062 (Roffe 2006). In 1065, Tosti provoked a rebellion which engulfed the East Midlands, including Nottingham, and led to his exile, and to his replacement by Earl Morcar of Mercia.

Given its political centrality in the previous two centuries it is no surprise that Domesday Book reveals Nottingham to have been a substantial town in 1066, with the English Borough's principal lord being the king — a relationship that distinguished Nottingham from other East Midland boroughs (Roffe 2006, 35). There were, however, other centres of power in the town now. The area that was to become the French Borough was originally the holding of the Earl of Mercia and was also an important and valuable urban estate, with a comital residence, perhaps associated with the chapel of St James, and its two churches of St Peter and St Nicholas. In addition, many other local and national lords had footholds in the urban centre. Roffe especially notes that that concentration of royal and comital power in Nottingham was 'largely unparalleled' elsewhere in the East Midlands, suggesting that Nottingham retained its significance for royal administration (2006, 36). By 1086 William the Conqueror had consolidated his hold on the county and the town, with the foundation of the royal castle at Nottingham in 1068, and the organisation of castle-guard provided by the principal barons of the district. Indeed it is notable that, in effect, the king ruled Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire directly from 1069, as he did not reappoint an earl. Nottingham remained, then, first and foremost an administrative and aristocratic rather than a marketing centre, though increasingly after the Conquest its trading function grew to considerable prominence, with the great market in the French Borough probably founded soon after the Conquest (Roffe 2006, 38).

This outline of the political development of the area of the Danelaw that eventually became Nottinghamshire in the later Anglo-Saxon period, and of the special status of Nottingham, provides a backdrop to the pattern of tenurial and ecclesiastical developments that grew up in response to its complexity. Domesday Book gives us a relatively clear idea of the tenurial patterns within the county at the end of the period, although there are interesting anomalies in respect of the county's tax position (Hart 1992, 387–427). Nottinghamshire was evidently a county dominated by great estates; some belonging to the Crown and others in the hands of various magnates (Bishop, M. W. 1981; Hart 1992, 246–8). The Crown held major manors at Arnold, Dunham, Grimston (a now deserted settlement near Ollerton), Orston, and Sneinton: the last probably representing the Crown's interest in Nottingham itself. But much the largest and most valuable Crown estate was based at Mansfield, to which both the extensive royal holdings in Oswaldbeck wapentake (see above) and those at Grimston were attached (Crook, D. 2000). After the Crown, the largest Nottinghamshire estates in 1066 belonged to the archbishop of York. His estate at Southwell is discussed below, and a second large holding was based around Sutton-by-Retford (Farrer 1914–15, 11–12; Sawyer 1968, 226, no. 679; Davies 1983), which probably held land in most if not all of the six outlying vills that are reported to have been parts of the soke of Sutton at Domesday (Hart 1992, 248; Hadley 2000a, 131). The archbishop also had major holdings at Cropwell Bishop, which included land in Hickling, and Laneham, South Muskham, Blidworth and Norwell. Earl Morcar of Mercia, along with Earls Algar and Tosti, held major manors based at Broughton Sulney, Granby, Newbold, Bothamsall and Bingham, whilst the extensive manor of Clifton with land in eleven other settlements was in the hands of the Lady Gytha, the wife of Earl Ralph of Hereford in 1066. Lady Godgifu, the wife of Earl Morcar of Mercia, held a large estate around Newark in 1066 that included land in almost all the settlements of Newark wapentake, as well as an important manor based at Fledborough. Two other large Domesday estates are worth mentioning: that held in 1066 by Toki and based at Laxton; and that held by Heming (and subsequently by Walter d'Aincurt) based at Granby, which also held land in Hickling. Finally, Nottinghamshire offers a rarely documented example of the donation of land by minor figures, presumably representing the whole of their holding, to a religious house: in the reign of Æthelred II (978–1016) Ærnketel and his wife Wulfrun gave their land in Hickling and Kinoulton to Ramsey Abbey (Macray 1886, 66–7; Sawyer 1968, 418, no. 1493).

It has long been thought that Newark wapentake, which lay mostly in Lady Godgifu's hands in 1066, belonged more logically with Lincolnshire than Nottinghamshire, and Cyril Hart's analysis of the sokes of the West Riding of Lindsey postulates a situation where almost the entire eastern bank of the Trent, from the Humber to the line of hills south of Newark, was divided administratively into three great estates: the northern one based at Kirton-in-Lindsey, the central based at Stow-in-Lindsey by the time of Domesday, but possibly of more ancient origin, and the southernmost based at Newark itself (Hart 1992, 236–8, 246, 262). These three great secular estates were, Hart argues, all in the hands of the earldom of Mercia at one stage. In fact, the distribution of these estates at Domesday might represent a relatively recent reorganisation, possibly dating no further back than the first half of the eleventh century.

Apart from Domesday, early documentation for these early Nottinghamshire secular estates is largely absent. The archbishop of York's estate at Southwell is one of two notable exceptions, thanks to the survival of a charter of King Eadwig of Wessex copied into a fourteenth-century collection. It probably dates from 956, although there is some marginal uncertainty about the precise date (Jones, M. 2007, 63 n.2). It grants a substantial estate at Southwell to Oscytel, Archbishop of York (Farrer 1914–15, i, 10, no. 2; Sawyer 1968, 222, no. 659), and is — apparently — the first time in English diplomatic that the term 'soke' is defined. It carries boundary clauses giving the extent of the holding, which describe land in eleven outlying settlements: Bleasby, Farnsfield, Fiskerton, Gibsmere, Goverton, Halam, Halloughton, Kirklington, Morton, Normanton and Upton (Lyth 1982; id. 1986; Lyth and Davies 1992; Jones, M. 2007), and, with its chapelries of Farnsfield, Hallam, Halloughton, Bleasby, Fiskerton, Upton and Normanton, the area of the later medieval parish of Southwell closely followed the estate outlined in 956 (Hadley 2000a, 133). Dawn Hadley suggests (2000a, 123) that the soke holdings of Southwell might represent an estate, like Repton, which owes its origin to a considerably earlier estate, that might itself have been ecclesiastical. However, as we have already noted (p. 26 above), good evidence for a pre-Viking church at Southwell is yet to be forthcoming: and, for reasons outlined there, we feel that the central role allocated to the church in Middle-Saxon Southwell, that has developed recently, strains the evidence somewhat.

At Domesday the Southwell estate was rated at twenty-two and a half carucates of taxable land; and, in addition to this great holding, a further estate centred at Norwell and consisting of soke holdings in a further six settlements appears to have been added to the Southwell estate between the initial grant of 956 and Domesday (Hart 1992, 248). This documentation clearly reveals the scale of the archbishop of York's influence in the county, to an extent that surprised the editors of the Victoria County History (Cox 1910a, 38). However, the political history of the area in both the Middle and Late Saxon periods must imply that the involvement of the Northumbrian archbishop was of long standing. No matter where the actual baptism conducted by Paulinus took place, the area was presumably evangelized from York in the seventh century, and not from Canterbury. Although it lay under the jurisdiction of the Mercian bishop of Lichfield between the mid seventh and the mid ninth centuries, the political history outlined above makes it likely that it was the Northumbrian church that was active from the later ninth, which is a matter on which the sculpture studied in this volume can cast some light (see Chapter VII below). What the Southwell charter of 956 actually shows is the resurgent power of the Wessex kings actively promoting York's overt presence and formal ecclesiastical dominance in Nottinghamshire once again. At the same time, the 956 charter can also be seen as a move by the royal house of Wessex to secure the alignment of York (and Nottinghamshire) with their own regime based in Winchester and London, rather than giving it the freedom of renewed alignment with influences emanating from the various Scandinavian kingdoms. Archbishop Oscytel, despite the appearance of a Scandinavian background that his name might suggest, was a southerner with strong connections with the Wessex ecclesiastical establishment, and he was translated to York in 956 from the bishopric of Dorchester-on-Thames. No doubt the grant of a second important Nottinghamshire estate at Sutton by Edgar to the same Oscytel two years later, in 958, was part of the same direction in policy. This second early charter also has bounds, though the holding was not as large as that at Southwell (Farrer 1914–15, 11–12; Sawyer 1968, 226, no. 679). As the editors of the Victoria County History point out, by Domesday the bishop of Lichfield held no property in the county (Cox 1910a, 38).

The archbishop's great estate at Southwell, created in 956, might be read as one of the large number of ecclesiastical foundations and re-foundations, following the final unification of England under the Wessex kings, which are known as the Monastic Reform Movement. Oscytel himself was a kinsman of Odo, Archbishop of Canterbury (942–958) and one of the leading reformers and friend and patron of St Dunstan, who headed the reform movement in the next generation. This impetus emanating from ecclesiastics at the centre of the English court, however, usually resulted in the establishment of Benedictine monasteries along continental lines. There was clearly no new foundation of this sort at Southwell. No church is mentioned in the charter, and the only short-term ecclesiastical provision may have been a private chapel associated with a lordly residence. Just possibly, this may in effect have been a form of collegiate 'minster', with priests of the archbishop's church also having responsibilities for mission in the outlying settlements within the estate, thereby replicating the arrangements prevailing at many of Mercia's mother churches. But an argument can rather be made — in which the evidence of the sculpture Southwell 2 (p. 185) plays a part — that, for all that it was contemporary with the establishment of free-standing reformed monasteries across southern England, the creation of the Southwell estate was aimed at political ends and not directly at church endowment. There is a strong probability that the minster church and collegiate structure that had emerged by the end of the eleventh century was imposed by subsequent late Anglo-Saxon and early Norman archbishops. Such an origin would be consistent with the evidence that actually exists for Southwell, and, more importantly, forms part of a very distinctive pattern of institutional creations by those archbishops at their churches of sub-cathedral standing (Everson and Stocker forthcoming). Part of that pattern was the identification or appropriation of local saints. The single reference to one of the saints named Eadburh, alias Ædburg, 'resting at Southwell', occurs in the list of resting places of saints known as the *Secgan by þam Godes sanctum þe on Engla lande ærost reston* (BL, Stowe MS 944 at fol. 37; Liebermann 1889; Rollason 1978, 89; Blair 2002, 525–7). But although this document shows her presence here by 1031, it is not at all clear that the saint's relics had been culted here for any substantial period previously. As it now seems clear that St Ædburga of Southwell is not the same individual as Ecburga of Repton (Blair 2002; above p. 25) — who would surely have been culted at Repton until the third quarter of the ninth century anyway — this report cannot be used as evidence for a church at Southwell in the pre-Viking period. Furthermore, the current authors have suggested that

the reference to St Ædburga's cult in 1031 might have been recording a very recent development and may have represented one of the first steps towards the development of the archbishops' pre-Conquest college promoted by Ælfric Puttock or his immediate predecessors (Everson and Stocker forthcoming; below pp. 85–6). It remains the case that there is no evidence for a major church at Southwell to receive the saintly body before the archbishops' building programme through the middle years of the eleventh century, though the centre of the estate granted in 956 probably contained an archiepiscopal chapel that could have been a separate building.

Fortunately we have compelling evidence for the development of Southwell in the first half of the eleventh century in the parallel development of the equivalent archiepiscopal minsters at Beverley and Ripon. As did Beverley and Ripon, Southwell cont-inued to play a role as a 'deputy' cathedral for York throughout the Middle Ages. Its ecclesiastical customs and liberties throughout Nottinghamshire, confirmed in 1171, were modelled on those held by the York church, and included the distribution of chrism throughout the archdeaconry and the requirement to hold an archdeaconry synod (Cox 1910b, 157). Although the church at Southwell might have started life as little more than the palace chapel of the archbishop's estate, there is no reason to think that it did not flourish in the late tenth and early eleventh centuries. In 1051, Archbishop Ælfric of York died in the palace there, by which stage the church may have had a clearly defined collegiate structure. Archbishop Cynesige (died 1061) gave bells to the church — a matter on which the baluster shaft, Southwell 2, might cast some light (p. 185) — and shortly afterwards the construction of a refectory for the canons not only confirms their presence but also suggests that they were conforming to a form of collegiate life (Stenton 1967; 1970, 364–70). Stenton was the first to note that the endowments that supported the church here were not large by comparison with other churches (1967, 16; 1970, 368), and it was not until the church was effectively re-founded, perhaps by Archbishop Ealdred (1060–9), completing the process initiated by his predecessors, that the institution began to have the resources one might expect necessary to support a church of this size and importance (Jones, M. 2007, 67). Indeed Hamilton Thompson was clear that Ealdred had the strongest claim to be the real founder of the collegiate body, on the basis that he supplied its 'rules and regulations' (Thompson 1911, 16).

Elsewhere in the county, it is not clear how the secular estate blocks, of which Southwell is merely one documented example, relate to the establishment of the pattern of parochial churches with which Nottinghamshire was provided by the twelfth century. Simplistic models of parochial provision, which would postulate a single 'great church' at the centre of each such estate with lesser churches scattered around its dependent elements, are probably to be avoided, however. Where such a simple approach has been taken in Nottinghamshire it has come to grief (see the proposal in Bishop, M. W. 1981, which has been effectively critiqued by Hadley 2000a, 147–8). The situation was evidently much more complex. Nevertheless, in contrast to Lincolnshire, where for whatever reason the detection of a hierarchy of churches in the Anglo-Saxon period has proved surprisingly problematic, in Nottinghamshire details of senior churches within an area being paid dues, or being plausibly described as mother churches for other churches nearby, seem to be much more plentiful. These examples seem to suggest that a version of the 'minster hypothesis' for the foundation of the English parochial system does offer a viable explanation for the piecemeal creation of the developed medieval parochial system in Nottinghamshire through the break-up and subdivision of large proto-parishes or *parochiae*. (For a lucid summary of the 'hypothesis' and a critique of the ensuing debate, with full references relating to Nottinghamshire, see Hadley 2000a, 37–8, 216–20, 294–5.) For example, the dominant parish church in Nottingham's English Borough, St Mary's, can be presumed to owe its origin to the presence of the royal hall here in the second half of the tenth century, and all other churches in the region were evidently cut out of its large parish (Rogers 1972). The other churches of medieval Nottingham, however, achieved independence from St Mary's and were fully fledged parochial churches rather than mere chapelries.

Dependencies of other 'mother churches', which were often similarly associated with estate centres, remained in more visibly subordinate positions in the medieval documentation. St Peter's church at the major royal centre at Mansfield, focus of the network of estates around Grimston and in Oswaldbeck and Bassetlaw, provides an example; it served as the mother church of a family of daughter churches in the region, including Sutton-in-Ashfield, Skegby, Hucknall, Edwinstowe and Harworth (Hadley 2000a, 275). The importance of St Peter's Mansfield in the local church hierarchy was demonstrated after the Conquest when King William I granted it along with all of its dependencies to the newly founded

bishopric of Lincoln in 1072 (Owen, D. 1994, 115; Foster 1931, 17, no. 14). Furthermore, St Peter's was associated in this grant with the churches of other equally important East Midlands royal manors at Chesterfield and Ashbourne. The mother church at the royal centre at Orston, along with the family of chapels dependent on it — at Scarrington, Screveton, Staunton (including Flawborough) and Thoroton[2] — were given to the new dean, as was the mother church of the royal estate at East Markham, along with its chapel at West Markham. Furthermore, senior churches at Stoke, Coddington, Farndon, Balderton, Scarle and Clifton (all in the wapentake of Newark) were given to support the new canons of the cathedral as prebends. All these donations of important Nottinghamshire churches to Lincoln Cathedral in the late eleventh century are perhaps best seen as steps in William's strategic manoeuvres to contain the rebellious earldom of Northumbria by cementing the East Midlands firmly into the south of England and specifically into the province of Canterbury. They were perhaps an extension of the campaign which had begun with the removal of the East Midlands cathedral from Dorchester-on-Thames to Lincoln in the first place. Furthermore, although they do not appear in Lincoln Cathedral's earliest documentation, by 1109 it also held the major royal churches of Wirksworth and Derby in the same manner and probably for the same reasons (Foster 1931, 29, no. 38), and by 1146 the long list of cathedral properties in Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire also included South Leverton, where the royal manor had owned half of the church at Domesday (Foster 1931, 199, no. 252; Everson and Stocker 2007, 41).[3]

As we have seen, the archbishop's mother church of his estate at Southwell, however it was constituted, had responsibility for a number of chapels within it. The same structure pertained in the archbishop's estate at Sutton-by-Retford, where the mother church at Sutton probably oversaw five chapels — at Scrooby, Ranskill, Torworth, Barnby, Bilsby — within its proto-parish, which eventually became fully fledged

parishes, leaving only Lound attached to its original mother church by the end of the Middle Ages (Hadley 2000a, 141, 151).

Despite the claim that 'the creation of rural parishes went hand in hand with the fragmentation of estates' (Stafford 1985, 184), major estate centres were not always the apex of the hierarchy of ecclesiastical provision in the district. In the case of Newark, for example, a settlement that was clearly a major estate centre from the mid tenth century if not earlier (above) was equipped with a single church, St Mary Magdalene, which is itself thought to have been created out of the proto-parish of East Stoke (Hadley 2000a, 278; Vince 2006, 171). Conversely, the Nottinghamshire place-name that might seem to indicate an early mother church, at Misterton (i.e. 'Minsterton') in the north-eastern corner of the county, has no indication at Domesday, or in any other later source, of any early ecclesiastical importance (Gover *et al*. 1940, 36–7). This is in line with modern understanding that such names signal an estate possessed by an early church rather than the presence of one (Gelling 1981). No early importance for the church at Misterton need be presumed.[4] Similarly, Blyth was not recorded as a church in any early source, or in Domesday, where it does not appear to be a major centre either. Even so, the fact that an existing church was granted to the new Priory of St Katherine at Rouen by Roger de Buisli in 1088 and that this church was already parochial, suggests not only its presence already in the eleventh century, but that it was a senior church in the local hierarchy with chapelries at Austerfield and Bawtry in Yorkshire (the former site having been the location for an ecclesiastical synod in 702/3, though it lies just over the Yorkshire border) (Capper 2013, 271). Blyth seems also to have a complex relationship with Sutton-by-Retford, and some of the dependent chapels of that estate (Hadley 2000a, 275–6).

Occasionally, the process of parish church found-ation is visible in Nottinghamshire. According to Pauline Stafford, the church at Ratcliffe-on-Soar, for example, was apparently built by one Sewy (Seawin), a local lord holding estates in three other local parishes besides Ratcliffe at Domesday (Morris 1977, 30: 19, 20, 23, 24; Stafford 1985, 184). She also reports that

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2. Dawn Hadley makes the point that the scattered character of Orston's later medieval ecclesiastical responsibilities might suggest that further parishes, namely Alvington, Aslockton, Elton, Hawksworth, Kilvington and Whatton, should be considered within the jurisdiction of the early mother church here (Hadley 2000a, 276).

3. Intriguingly, the churches belonging to the royal centre at Dunham, with its chapelries at Ragnall, Wimpton and Darlton, were not attached to the new cathedral, though Dunham lies across the water of Trent from Lincolnshire and as close to the city as anywhere in Nottinghamshire.

4. The Nottinghamshire village first recorded as 'Kirton' in the late twelfth century was earlier known as *Schridringtune* and similar forms (Gover *et al*., 1940, xviii, n.1, 52). Kirby-in-Ashfield, however, is recorded as such in Domesday.

groups of freemen founded and owned a number of Nottinghamshire churches in severalty, though she does not give examples (Stafford 1985, 186). It would not be surprising if Stafford's claim proved to be true, however, as similar 'communal' efforts in the establishment of churches by sokeman have been observed in Lincolnshire (Hadley 2000a, 186; Stocker and Everson 2006) and they are documented in Norfolk and Suffolk (Barlow 1979, 193). Such cases, where the impetus for the foundation of parochial churches probably came from the prosperous sokemen, and not from the lord himself, are a reminder of the distinctive social structure of the Danelaw. At all events, by 1086 the county returned 84 churches and 61 priests. No doubt this was a considerable under-accounting, since no church is returned for Colston Bassett, Girton, Hawksworth, Hickling, Kneesall, Screveton, Shelton or South Muskham, where pre-Conquest sculptures indicate a church's presence for several generations (see the main catalogue); and it is likely that Nottinghamshire's parochial structure was largely in place by Domesday, as it was elsewhere in the East Midlands.

Excavations in Nottinghamshire churches have added disappointingly little to our picture of the foundation or development of the Anglo-Saxon church in the county. Du Boulay Hill himself oversaw excavations by workmen at his own church of East Bridgford during the course of the extensive repair work there between 1902–14 (Hill 1903, 99–103; 1916a, 195–7; 1932a, chap. 14). That work revealed the plan of an earlier church on the site underlying the nave and the chancel. It was without aisles, but reportedly was provided with a central 'tower' between the nave and the choir, which was reconstructed by Hill as square-ended. There are problems with this plan, however; most notably that the early 'chancel' is not aligned with the nave and is of a different width. Hill reconstructed the church with *porticus* to north and south (1932a, pl. VI), but he gave no justification for his reconstruction. No doubt he was influenced by his earlier experience at Breamore (Hill 1897; 1898). This, too, presumably guided his dating, whereas the excavated structures are undated, except, as Hill noted, in underlying standing work of the later twelfth century. At Plumtree also, Hill was again on hand to see the dismantling of the important early Romanesque west tower (Hill 1905a). The tower itself was probably built not much later than 1100, but Hill detected an earlier west gable wall of the nave, on top of which the tower had been built, giving it a clear stratigraphic date in the late Anglo-Saxon period, if

not earlier. Unfortunately, this early fabric was not followed further east, so we remain ignorant of the church represented by this evidence.

Much more recently, excavations at Cossall and Cotgrave have demonstrated the value of such projects. At Cotgrave, the outline of an early nave was uncovered that was clearly of pre-twelfth-century date and was probably late pre-Conquest, marked by foundations of water-worn stones (Elliott and Gilbert 1999, figs. 5 and 6). At Cossall, the original plan of this simple medieval chapel of Wollaton was revealed, with un-aisled nave and chancel, below the substantially reconstructed building of 1842–3 (Elliott 2000). There was no sign during the course of these excavations of the origins of the chapel as early as the Anglo-Saxon period, but such revelations ought not to be expected in this type of 'minimum intervention' exercise. Offering similar potential for new discoveries, but from concealed evidence in standing fabric and through non-intrusive remote sensing, is the programme of work initiated in Nottinghamshire churches by Christopher Brooke: though as yet only a few examples illustrating the process and its potential have been published, and its impact on wider understanding of the county's early churches has yet to be demonstrated (Brooke, C. 1986).

Excavations at Flawford between 1967 and 1984 also revealed a putatively Anglo-Saxon church as the origin of the demolished church of St Peter (James 1973; id. 1994; Pevsner and Williamson 1979, 300). The claims made for this church are remarkable, and would indeed be of great significance had the evidence truly sustained them. It is said that the church excavated here was built within the standing ruins of a Roman villa, the tessellated floor of which was reused in some way by the Anglo-Saxons. Three phases of pre-Conquest construction are said to have been revealed, the earliest possibly dating from the seventh century. A published plan (James 1994, 135) shows the later church resting above a number of earlier walls, both beneath the chancel, where an earlier chancel was evidently square-ended, and also beneath the west end, where an earlier tower east of the final tower might be indicated. However, though coins of Burgred (852–874) and Alfred (871–899) were recovered, satisfactory evidence to support the claimed pre-Viking church here has simply not been forthcoming, either in respect of stratigraphic planning or in terms of dating evidence. Potentially, the work at Flawford has considerable significance, as there is some evidence that the church here was the mother church for a larger area. The archiepiscopal

register of Walter Grey refers to Edwalton as a chapelry of Flawford in the thirteenth century, and Bradmore, Bunny and Keyworth may also have been dependencies at one time. To this family of potential daughter churches Plumtree, Normanton and Clipston might also be added (Hadley 2000a, 233). Consequently, the excavated church site, isolated from settlement as it is and set dramatically on the top of a hill overlooking the Trent valley, represents a lost archaeological opportunity, since we can neither confirm the potential early character of the foundation, say anything coherent about the circumstances of its foundation, or even reconstruct its late Anglo-Saxon appearance.

Finally in this review of archaeological evidence for the late Anglo-Saxon Church in Nottinghamshire, we should mention the fine churches of Carlton-in-Lindrick and Church Warsop, both of which were offered by Hill as standing examples of Anglo-Saxon church architecture in the county. At Carlton, the magnificent west tower has long attracted admirers (Stacye 1869–70) and was allocated an Anglo-Saxon date by Fisher (1962, 150, 225–6, 302; 1969, *passim*) and by Harold and Joan Taylor (1965, ɪ, 149–52). However, in reviewing the group of early Lincolnshire towers, to which Carlton is closely related, the present authors established that towers of this type belong to the first few generations following the Norman Conquest and suggested that they represent developments in the burial liturgy promoted by Archbishop Lanfranc (Stocker and Everson 2006, 7, *passim*). The range of simple architectural details with which Carlton's tower is decorated (p. 221, Ills. 197–8) have similarities with examples in Lincolnshire and might suggest construction by masons from those parts, although other aspects of the tower link it more closely with early towers further north. The Taylors, however, also noted that Carlton's tower sits on the west gable of an earlier building, of which they made a hypothetical plan and which they thought 'certainly pre-Norman' (1965, ɪ, 151). They might have been correct. Church Warsop, by contrast, was not included in the Taylors' *magnum opus*. Hill's view that the 'western part of this greatly rebuilt tower is probably Saxon' (1914; 1916a, 198) was based largely on the fine ornamental ashlar masonry on the west face, but there is no reason to think the tower itself any earlier than the date of the capitals and other architectural details in the tower arch (see Appendix E, p. 221), which probably place its construction in the early twelfth century. Such a post-Conquest date would extend the duration of use of the grave-marker (Church Warsop 1, p. 95, Ills.

5–6) for its original purpose before it was reused over the window in the tower's south wall.

Other archaeological information concerning the foundation of early churches in Nottinghamshire is thin on the ground. An opportunity to investigate the circumstances of the foundation of Farndon church was probably missed in 1892, when a sword of ninth- or tenth-century date was found whilst digging the foundations for the church's new boiler chamber (Wilson 1968, fig. 1; Graham-Campbell 2001, 108). On the face of it, this would seem to represent the re-occupation of a pagan burial site by a Christian church, though whether the church had existed before the Viking period is unknown. Farndon is a parish that might have been created out of a larger proto-parish centred at East Stoke; so, if this burial was related to the foundation of the churchyard here, it would offer valuable evidence for the date of that break-up as well as for the ideology that sometimes guided the choice of sites for church foundations by local Anglo-Scandinavian communities.

In respect of the development of settlement in the late Anglo-Saxon landscape more broadly considered, Stenton made the point that the Southwell charter of 956 describes a landscape of nucleated settlements surrounded by their open fields that would have been very similar in layout to that surviving until the period of enclosure (1967, 14; 1970, 365). It is less clear, however, how long the process of creation of open fields and the concomitant nucleation of settlement in villages had been underway by that date. Perhaps not more than a century, if that. But not all settlement in the county was ever organised in this manner. In the north west, and especially in those areas under the formal jurisdiction of forest law, nucleated settlements were much less frequent, and where they did occur, they were on a much larger scale; more like towns such as Mansfield. Settlement had a dispersed pattern in these areas, with communities of no more than a few families, sitting at the centre of a more scattered pattern of individually owned fields and closes. Daryl Garton's recent extensive survey work on the Sherwood sandstones in the late pre-Conquest period also seems to reveal a very thinly scattered population (Garton with Nailor 2007).

The material gathered in this Corpus volume can make a contribution to our understanding of Nottinghamshire in the late Anglo-Saxon period. In some parts of the county, especially in the south and east, it provides dates for some of the complex changes in tenurial and ecclesiastical layout that are observable through other mechanisms. But because

those changes are themselves both the cause and consequence of broader agricultural and landscape change, our study can contribute to the debate about these major landscape changes too (see Chapter VII).