Settlement, Landscape and Identity in Medieval Royal Forests:

The Impact of Forest Law on Sherwood and the Peak, c. AD 650 to 1348

Volume I: Text

Craig Arthur Dicken, BA (Hons), MA

Thesis submitted to the University of Nottingham for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

May 2018

Declaration

I certify that:

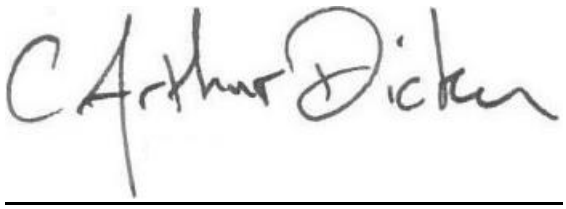
a. The following dissertation is my own original work.

b. The source of all non-original material is clearly indicated.

c. All material presented by me for other modules is clearly indicated.

d. All assistance received has been acknowledged

Nottingham, May 2018



Craig Arthur Dicken

21th May 2018

Abstract

This research looks to present a reinterpretation of medieval forests, the least well understood landscapes of medieval Western Europe. The thesis focuses on the Forest of High Peak and Sherwood Forest and seeks to address several key themes, including the diversity of forest landscapes, the long-term impact of Forest Law, and evidence for power-relations and social dynamics within the forests. A wide variety of sources are utilised within this research, including map analysis and regression techniques, analysis of material culture, documentary sources, place names, church architecture, and funerary monuments.

Evidence is found for forests having had a dynamic landscape character, including not only woodland, but also moorland, farmland, industrial areas, and urban areas, as well as a range of human activities that included mining, glass and charcoal manufacture, ironworking, leatherworking, carpentry, construction, and intensive arable and pastoral farming. Far from being universally oppressive, it emerges that through its protection of woodland Forest Law also preserved common rights and areas of royal demesne, the impact of which was a high degree of peasant agency during the medieval period.

And as they walked the forest along,
Upon a midsummer day,
There was he aware of three foresters,
Clad all in green array.
With brave long falchions by their sides,
And forest bills in their hands;
They called aloud to those bold outlaws,
And charged them to stand.
Why, who are you, cry'd bold Robin,
That speak so boldly here?
We three belong to King Henry,
And are keepers of his deer.
The devil thou art, said Robin Hood,
I am sure that it is not so;
We be the keepers of this forest,
And that you soon shall know.

Anonymous (1790, 54-55)
Robin Hood's Delight: or a New Combat Fought between Robin Hood, Little John, and Will Scarlet, with Three Stout Keepers in Sherwood Forest

Acknowledgements

My thanks go firstly to my doctoral supervisors, Professor Christopher Loveluck and Dr Christopher King, without whom this work would not have been possible. This thesis has its conceptual origins in a discussion I had with Professor Loveluck eight years ago. Throughout the past five years in my doctoral research, Dr King and Professor Loveluck have been an ongoing source of support, advice, and guidance. I am indebted to the School of Humanities at the University of Nottingham for funding this research.

The research underlying this thesis has been reliant on the use of large body of data to which I have been granted access. I am extremely grateful to Nichola Manning, former historic environment record officer for Derbyshire; Virginia Baddeley, former historic environment record officer for Nottinghamshire; Daniel Pett and the Portable Antiquities Scheme; the Derbyshire Record Office; the Nottinghamshire Archives; and the National Archives. Each provided me with access to records or data and were exceptionally helpful during our correspondence.

I am immensely grateful to Professor Robert Liddiard and Professor Mark Pearce for agreeing to examine this thesis. Professor Pearce and Professor Liddiard made the viva process surprisingly enjoyable; their assessment and comments were insightful, constructive and good-humoured. The chance to discuss my work with two leading experts was a privilege.

Finally, thanks go to my parents and sister, who helped spark an interest in archaeology and history during my childhood, and have encouraged and supported me throughout my university life; and my wife, who has made the past few years the most enjoyable and meaningful of my life.

Table of Contents

Declaration i

Abstract ii

Acknowledgements iv

Table of Contents v

List of Tables x

List of Abbreviations xii

Chapter 1: Introduction 1

1.1 General Introduction and Research Context 1

1.2 Previous Research on Medieval Forest Landscapes 2

1.3 The Approach of this Thesis to Royal Forests 9

1.3.1 Specific Research Questions and Aims 9

1.3.2 Research Themes and Context 10

1.3.3 Introduction to the Study Area 32

1.3.4 Thesis Structure and Summary of Method 35

1.3.5 Definitions and Medieval Forest Law 36

Chapter 2: Methodology 42

2.1 Methodological Approach and Objectives 42

2.2 Data Creation and Presentation 43

2.3 Macro-Regional Analysis: Regional Distribution Analyses 47

2.3.1 Specific Evidence used Within the Macro-Level Approach 50

2.4 Micro-Regional Analysis: Settlement Dynamics at a Local Level 61

2.4.1 A Case Study Approach to Clusters of Parishes 61

2.4.2 Specific Evidence used Within the Micro-Regional Analytical Approach 65

2.5 Structure of the Data Presentation 73

Chapter 3: Regional Trends: Pays, Landscapes and Settlement Patterns 75

3.1 The Natural Landscape and Pays of Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire 75
3.1.1 Landscape Terrain 76
3.1.2 Geology 77
3.1.3 Pays, Rivers and Forest Boundaries 77
3.1.4 Woodland and Land Use in the Eighteenth Century 78
3.2 Antecedent Central Places and Settlement Context 79
3.2.1 Bronze Age and Iron Age Hillforts 79
3.2.2 Roman Villas and Forts 80
3.3 Medieval Settlement and Landscape 82
3.3.1 Early Anglo-Saxon Settlement Context 82
3.3.2 Routes of Communication 83
3.3.3 Medieval Settlement Pattern Typology 87
3.3.4 Medieval Settlement Hierarchy 89
3.3.5 Place Names 91
3.3.6 The Religious and Funary Landscape 92
3.3.7 Domesday Book 96
3.3.8 Deer Parks 100
3.4 Conclusion: Pays, Settlement, and Forests 101
Chapter 4: Regional Trends: Patterns of Material Culture Access, Use and Discard 104
4.1 Distribution and Trends of PAS Finds, 400-1500 105
4.1.1 The Seventh and Eighth Centuries 107
4.1.2 The Ninth, Tenth, and Eleventh Centuries 110
4.1.3 The Twelfth, Thirteenth, and Fourteenth Centuries 112
4.2 Numismatic Evidence 113
4.2.1 The Sixth to Eleventh Centuries 113
4.2.2 The Twelfth to Fifteenth Centuries 117
4.3 Evidence for Horse Riding 122

4.4 Evidence for Literacy 125
4.5 Anomalies in PAS Discard 127
4.6 Conclusion 128
Chapter 5: Nottinghamshire Case Studies 131
5.1 Case Study 1: North Sherwood 131
5.1.1. Parish Landscapes and Settlement Context 134
5.1.2. Settlement Plan Analysis 141
5.1.3. The Built Environment 148
5.2 Case Study 2: Central Sherwood Forest 153
5.2.1 Parish Landscapes and Settlement Context 156
5.2.2 Settlement Plan Analysis 163
5.2.3 The Built Environment 168
5.3 Case Study 3: The Nottinghamshire Trent Valley 172
5.3.1 Parish Landscapes and Settlement Context 174
5.3.2 Settlement Plan Analysis 178
5.3.3 The Built Environment 182
5.4 Conclusion 185
Chapter 6: Derbyshire Case Studies 187
6.1 Case Study 4: The White Peak 187
6.1.1 Parish Landscapes and Settlement Context 189
6.1.2 Settlement Plan Analysis 195
6.1.3 The Built Environment 201
6.2 Case Study 5: The Dark Peak 204
6.2.1 Parish Landscapes and Settlement Context 208
6.2.2 Settlement Plan Analysis 216
6.2.3 The Built Environment 221
6.3. Conclusion 222

Chapter 7: Pays, Industry, and Settlement Dynamics in Medieval Sherwood and the Peak, 650-1348 224
7.1 Industry and Farming in Forest Landscapes 226
7.1.1 Iron 227
7.1.2 Lead 229
7.1.3 Coal 232
7.1.4 Pastoral Farming 233
7.1.5 Timber and Wood Crafts 236
7.1.6 Brewing 238
7.1.7 Pottery 238
7.1.8 Stone 240
7.1.9 Other Forest Industries 240
7.2 Common Rights, Wood-Pasture, and Settlement Growth in Forests 240
7.2.1 Common Rights and Wood-Pasture 240
7.2.2 Settlement Expansion through Woodland Clearance 245
7.3 Free Peasants and Green-Side Settlements 250
7.4 The Impact of the Forest Administration on Settlement 257
7.5 Conclusion 259
Chapter 8: Power-Relations and Social Dynamics in Medieval Sherwood and the Peak, 650-1348 263
8.1 Royal Power 263
8.2 Aristocratic Power 264
8.3 Ecclesiastical Power 268
8.4 Communal Power and Peasant Agency 270
8.5 Conclusion 282
Chapter 9: Networks and Identities in Medieval Sherwood and the Peak, 650-1348 284
9.1 Network of Central Places and Territories 285

9.2 Exchange, Industry, and Material Culture....287
9.3 Monumentality....289
9.1.1 Verderers....290
9.1.2 Foresters....303
9.1.3 Woodwards....307
9.1.4 Other Monuments within the Forests....307
9.1.5 Distribution of Monuments....308
9.4 Conclusion....310
Chapter 10: Conclusion....311
10.1 Key Findings and Implications....311
10.1.1 Diversity: Forests as More than Woodland....311
10.1.2 The Longue Durée: Antecedent Landscapes and the Impact of Afforestation....312
10.1.3 Authority: Power Relations in a Medieval Forest....315
10.1.4 Social Dynamism: Identity and Agency in a Medieval Forest....318
10.2 Future Research....322
Bibliography....325

List of Tables

Table 1 The hierarchy of social groups (from Piggott and Thirsk 1981, 58) 22

Table 2 Rippon's (2012b) categories of settlement patterns within parishes 89

Table 3 Numbers of recorded PAS finds by century from the Nottinghamshire Trent Valley, Sherwood Forest, the Forest of High Peak, and the rest of the Peak and Uplands Pays 106

Table 4 PAS coins of the twelfth century according to mint locations from the Nottinghamshire Trent Valley, Sherwood Forest, the Forest of High Peak, and the rest of the Peak and Upands Pays.....119

Table 5 PAS coins of the thirteenth century according to mint locations from the Nottinghamshire Trent Valley, Sherwood Forest, the Forest of High Peak, and the rest of the Peak and Uplands Pays.....120

Table 6 PAS coins of the fourteenth century according to mint locations from the Nottinghamshire Trent Valley, Sherwood Forest, the Forest of High Peak, and the rest of the Peak and Uplands Pays.....121

Table 7 PAS coins of the fifteenth century according to mint locations from the Nottinghamshire Trent Valley, Sherwood Forest, the Forest of High Peak, and the rest of the Peak and Uplands Pays.....122

Table 8 Lords of land within the North Sherwood case study (sourced from Morris 1977 and Thoroton 1790a; 1790b).....134

Table 9 Lords of land within the Central Sherwood case study (sourced from Morris 1977 and Thoroton 1790a; 1790b).....155

Table 10 Lords of land within the Nottinghamshire Trent Valley case study (sourced from Morris 1977 and Thoroton 1790a; 1790b) 173

Table 11 Lords of land within the White Peak case study (sourced from Morris 1978; Tilley 1892; and Lysons and Lysons 1817, 23-43) 188

Table 12 Lords of land within the Dark Peak case study (sourced from Morris 1978; Kerry 1893; and Lysons and Lysons 1817).....206

Table 13 Landowning verderers in Sherwood Forest.....292

Table 14 Landowning verderers in the Forest of High Peak.....298

Table 15 Landowning foresters-of-fee in the Forest of High Peak.....303

List of Abbreviations

CAA	Conservation Area Appraisal
DRO	Derbyshire Record Office
EMC	Early Medieval Coin Corpus
EUS	Extensive Urban Survey
FLO	Finds Liaison Officer
GIS	Geographic Information System
HELE	Historic England List Entry
HER	Historic Environment Record
HLC	Historic Landscape Characterisation
IOI	Images of England, Historic England
NMR	National Monuments Record
NRO	Nottinghamshire Record Office
OS	Ordnance Survey
PAS	Portable Antiquities Scheme
SCP	Southwell Churches Project
SMR	Sites and Monuments Record
TNA	The National Archives

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 General Introduction and Research Context

Royal hunting forests are perhaps the most widely misunderstood landscapes of medieval Europe. The "forest myth" sees forests often viewed today as large areas of dense woodland; the *Paperback Oxford English Dictionary* for instance gives its primary definition of a forest as "a large area covered thickly with trees and plants" (Soanes 2006, 294). There has long been an awareness within academia, such as in studies of medieval geography and society, that medieval forests were a legal definition rather than a single landscape type (for example, Postan 1972, 21), but their study has seen them generally incorporated into the larger theme of medieval hunting and hunting landscapes. The study of medieval hunting as a theme has collectively borne a great deal of valuable research, including studies of their natural landscapes and flora (Rackham 1998), medieval hunting parks (Liddiard 2007), zooarchaeological analysis of hunted species (Sykes *et al.* 2016; Sykes 2011), and reinterpretation of the demographics of medieval hunting (Almond 2003). This body of highly important research has revolutionised our understanding of medieval hunting, and furthermore there should be no disagreement that forests had an important role within the sphere of medieval hunting. The potential for analysing forests from the perspective of medieval settlement, industry, and society (in terms of identity and social dynamics) however has been little explored, and this thesis seeks to partially redress this.

An area of "forest" was a legally-defined area, covered by Forest Law. Forest Law was a legal system imported to Britain and Ireland by the Norman kings (although there are arguments that it existed in England earlier, which will be seen later in the chapter). Forest Law existed separate to English Common Law, and stipulated that within these select areas the clearing of trees and hunting of deer and boar were illegal to all but the king on all property regardless of the owner (see Young 1979, 1-6). Although the clearing of trees was illegal this had no relation to how much woodland existed within the area, a forest could contain a large variety of landscape

types, as this thesis shall examine. In fact, a detailed dedicated comparison of the settlement and society of a range of royal forests has never taken place, and as such many important questions are currently unanswered. This is important to rectify because up to a third of England was designated as forest at some point in the medieval period (Young 1979, 5).

This thesis will feature a comparative analysis of Sherwood Forest in Nottinghamshire and the Forest of High Peak in Derbyshire within their landscape context. A broad chronological and geographical approach will be taken to the forests. This approach aims to explore why select areas were chosen to be covered by Forest Law, what influenced the placement of their boundaries, and how different they were to their surrounding landscapes. Additionally, the chronological coverage of 650 AD onwards is designed to allow a longer-term view which explores features of their landscapes which may have influenced their selection as forests. The end of the timeframe of the thesis, 1348, is defined by the onset of the Black Death.

1.2 Previous Research on Medieval Forest Landscapes

Previous analyses of royal forests which examine settlement and society within their bounds has unfortunately been very limited. Scholarly research on forests began, and has mostly consisted of, compilations and analyses of historical sources from the forests. Key volumes on this theme of forest history include J. C. Cox's (1905) *The Royal Forests of England*, Peter J. Neville Havins's (1976) *The Forests of England*, Charles Young's (1979) *The Royal Forests of Medieval England*, and Raymond Grant's (1991) *The Royal Forests of England*. These books examine the nature of Forest Law, the hierarchy of the forest administration, cases from the forest courts, grants, rights, and the overall chronology of the growth and decline of Forest Law. Cox (1905) examines the historical documents of various forests, including Sherwood Forest and the Forest of High Peak, as well as undertaking a brief analysis of funerary monuments found to forest officials, including ones from Sherwood

Forest and the Forest of High Peak, which have received little subsequent attention. Monuments to forest officials in specific geographical areas have been mentioned by McClain (2010, 47; 2005, 135-136) and Saul (2009, 241), but these works are not concerned with monumentality in forests specifically and do not look at examples from Nottinghamshire or Derbyshire. Therefore, despite its age Cox (1905) remains an important text. Alongside the works of Cox (1905), Havins (1976), and Grant (1991), most of the research on forests has been historical in nature. However, there are exceptions to this.

Phillip Nicholls (1972) was ahead of his time in his approach to forests with his examination of the settlement and landscape of Needwood Forest, Staffordshire. Nicholls finds that Saxon settlement developed in Needwood's margins from around the seventh century (*ibid.*, 60). By the time of Domesday there was settlement along the Trent and Dove rivers and pasturable woods at Marchington and Fauld. The Norman period did not see the area being immediately covered by Forest Law, instead it was granted to Henry de Ferrers under whom Needwood was a baronial chase (*ibid.*). This period saw new settlement growth out of the pre-existing Saxon settlement foci, particularly on the area's central plateau and slopes, with the creation of new hamlets and expansion of existing settlements (*ibid.*, 60-61). Assarting increased during this time, particularly in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries where areas of woodland were granted and converted to use for cultivation or settlement. The creation of new villages and hamlets and the grants of assarts were intended as an incentive to new settlers. The populace also enjoyed rights of free pasture, *pannage*, and *estovers* in Needwood's woodlands (*ibid.*) (defined later in this chapter in section 1.3.5). The clearance of further woodlands was limited by the unusually high number of deer parks – twelve – enclosed by the Ferrers within the later forest boundary (*ibid.*). The Ferrers estates were confiscated in 1266 and for a time Needwood was under the control of the Duchy of Lancaster, before finally the chase became a royal forest in 1399 (*ibid.*). Afforestation saw the immediate establishment of a forest hierarchy, a court system, and the implementation of *agistment* (defined later in this chapter in section 1.3.5) in the place of free grazing rights (*ibid.*, 62). Nicholls finds that as Forest Law was applied the commoners lost their rights to assart and settle on new land, but retained their rights to graze animals and collect timber (*ibid.*, 63). The forest was used

simultaneously as royal hunting ground and common land, a "conflict" that was to continue for centuries (*ibid.*).

Another series of work that examined a royal forest from the perspective of its landscape was Beryl Schumer's work on Wychwood Forest, published as *The Evolution of Wychwood to 1400: Pioneers, Frontiers and Forests* (1984) and later updated as *Wychwood: The Evolution of a Wooded Landscape* (1999). Schumer (1999, 1984) uses Domesday Book and other medieval sources to reconstruct the region's area of medieval woodland. She furthermore investigates the rights of the forest dwellers, the development of settlements and the extent of medieval assarting. Schumer (1984, 59) describes remarkable stability, especially in the woodland of certain areas of the forest (the western and south-eastern areas) between 1086 and the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

The late Oliver Rackham's (1998) book on Hatfield Forest, *The Last Forest: The Story of Hatfield Forest*, is one of the more notable recent books on a specific forest landscape. Rackham explores the forest from its pre-afforestation to the present, exploring the nature of its woodland and natural landscape. This book eloquently outlines the two competing histories of medieval forests. The first states that forests necessarily contained a high degree of woodland, that Forest Law was required to protect the King's hunting, and that ultimately the forests lost large areas of woodland to provide timber for shipbuilding (*ibid.*, ix). The second type of history Rackham draws attention to is that of Cox (1905) and Young (1979), where there is a focus on legal history, vegetation, and the grazing of animals (Rackham 1998, ix). Rackham (1998, ix) rightly contests the notion that "forests necessarily have to do with trees," but conversely also proposes that the essential elements of a medieval forest be defined as deer, cattle, coppice-woods, pollards, scrub, timber trees, grassland, and fen (Rackham 2001, 180; 1998, 1). It is based on these elements surviving in Hatfield that Rackham (2001, 180; 1990) asserts that Hatfield is the only example of a surviving forest. The importance of Rackham's work cannot possibly be overstated, but by approaching the landscape as an historical ecologist and geographer he naturally viewed the essential elements of a medieval forest from the perspective of the natural landscape, despite noting that woodland was not the only criterion. He did not however note essential features such as forest courts, forest administration (and as a result, a resident population and society), and a

central *caput*. Nor did he note features which were ubiquitous in medieval forests including arable agriculture, industry and villages[1] (see Williamson *et al.* 2013, Jones and Page 2006 and Schumer 1999, 1984), or consider their importance as constituent elements of a forest. As medieval forests could contain a great variety of landscape types and uses, it can be suggested that the high degree of woodland and very low level of settlement found in modern Hatfield is the result of an unusually high degree of woodland and low level of settlement within this forest in the medieval period, relative to forests like Sherwood and High Peak (and others explored in this chapter, such as Whittlewood Forest and Rockingham Forest). In this sense, Hatfield Forest may be viewed as atypical rather than a lone survivor.

The 1990s saw some of the most important books in landscape and settlement studies, which will be discussed later, but this was largely not matched, at least initially, by a growth in interest in the specific study of settlement and society within forest landscapes. This was perhaps in part influenced by a subconscious assumption that forest landscapes were already understood or would not yield as much settlement evidence as the traditional "champion" regions on which landscape archaeology has tended to focus (a focus noted for instance by Rippon 2008, v). Champion landscapes (from the Champagne region of France [Roberts and Wrathmell 2003, 1]), which are areas with intensive arable cultivation and containing a high density of villages, are traditionally found in England in a central belt extending north-south through the midlands (see Williamson *et al.* 2013).

Rockingham Forest has been under study initiated by Glenn Foard since the early 1990s. This first element of the study analysed specific medieval industries within Rockingham Forest, such as the pottery industry (Foard 1991) followed by the analysis of iron-mining, iron-working and agricultural industries (Foard 2001). More recently, research has focused on interpreting the historic landscape of Rockingham Forest (Williamson *et al.* 2013; Foard *et al.* 2009; Foard *et al.* 2005; Hall *et al.* 2004). Foard *et al.* (2005, 7) demonstrated that pre-existing "Celtic" settlement was replaced in a late Roman or early medieval reorganisation. Woodland seemingly became more extensive in the Early Medieval Period (*ibid.*, 8), possibly due to a fall in population levels. It was a restructuring around the ninth century which

[1] 'In 1867 Marx (2011, 803) was prompted by the expropriation of populated landscapes as hunting spaces to remark that "everyone knows that there are no real forests in England", a remark that shows ignorance of the medieval concept of forest (Weis 2017, 93).

determined the nature of settlement organisation for the following 1000 years (*ibid.*, 8). An intensification of arable cultivation occurred, with a large proportion of the landscape being dedicated to arable use (*ibid.*, 8). This took the form of an extensively-planned open field system, which reached its peak around 1300 through the conversion of pasture to arable, resulting in more arable land being in use than at any time since (*ibid.*, 8-9). The core area of this land appeared to reuse Roman estate boundaries (*ibid.*, 9). The transition to nucleated settlements, meanwhile, had seemingly begun well before 850; these nucleated settlements seemingly show strong evidence for medieval planning (*ibid.*, 9-10). Generally, meadow and heath was found in the valleys, open field in the mixed geologies, and woodland on the plateaus. In the champion areas woodland and heathland had been cleared to extend the open field system (*ibid.*, 12).

More recently, the publication *Rockingham Forest: An Atlas of the Medieval and Early-Modern Landscape* (Foard *et al.* 2009) uses cartographic sources to regress the forest's landscape through the Victorian, early modern, and medieval periods, in terms of settlements, woodland, heathland, and field systems. The gazetteer of the volume discusses each settlement's manorial history as well as elements of their physical development. This book demonstrates the scale of agriculture within this forest landscape. Vast areas of the landscape were devoted to open field agriculture, especially in the south-west of the forest, as well as containing large villages. Many of these areas could be best described as "champion" landscape, and therefore this is a good comparison for the results of this thesis. The GIS data behind this project has been published and made available online (Williamson *et al.* 2011).

The early evolution of the New Forest has been studied by Mew (2001). She argues that an earlier forest was later extended, and hence became the New Forest. This area furthermore was seemingly cleared of settlement to extend the area of hunting (*ibid.*, 159-160). She furthermore argues that that the New Forest had a separate entry in Domesday Book because it represented the mainland part of a military lordship or quasi-rape, an administrative subdivision of larger territory, which had also included the Isle of Wight and which may have had Jutish origins (*ibid.*, 165).

An article by Paul Courtney (2003) looks at the parish of Anstey on the periphery of the royal Leicester Forest, with the unafforested (not covered by Forest Law) Charnwood Forest on its other side. Courtney (2003, 58) finds that the modern

village was the result of two distinct settlement foci and manors. The older of the two foci was probably in existence from between the ninth and eleventh centuries. The two manors also had distinct field systems. Elsewhere such as at Raunds in Northamptonshire, Courtney (*ibid.*) notes that two field systems were associated with different "ends" of the village, both of Saxon date. He goes on to speculate that there was a division between the manorial demesne "North End", and the "Thorpe End" which was possibly occupied by *sokemen* (*ibid.*). Later growth at the settlement saw the tenurial division between the two ends erode (*ibid.*). The settlement contained multiple phases including an apparent planned phase. Anstey was an area of champion landscape between landscapes of woodland pasture, Leicester Forest and Charnwood Forest. Yet even here the shape of the parish suggests it was assarted land (*ibid.*, 60). Courtney also finds significant evidence for a wealthy peasantry, including cruck-framed architecture and records of peasants purchasing their freedom from serfdom (*ibid.*).

The Medieval Settlements and Landscapes in the Whittlewood Area project which focused on Whittlewood Forest in Northamptonshire is one of the most important projects of recent years. The result of this project was Jones and Page's (2006) *Medieval Villages in an English Landscape: Beginnings and Ends*. The afforestation of this area during the Norman period is a fact that Jones and Page are consciously aware of, but largely their focus was not on the impact of Forest Law. Nonetheless, they did observe that afforestation was responsible for preventing the evolution of a traditional champion landscape (*ibid.*, 128-129). The forest landscape of Whittlewood had a high economic value as a source of timber, grazing, venison, and raw materials (*ibid.*). It had been ploughed in other periods of history, but the Saxon kings selectively preserved and managed Whittlewood; this status was consolidated by Forest Law under the Normans (*ibid.*). Even as surrounding areas were cleared for agriculture between 1200 and 1350, woodland in Whittlewood was selectively preserved (*ibid.*). That said, they found that the landscape did nonetheless undergo considerable change during this period, with woodlands and wood-pasture converted for use in arable farming, whilst other large areas were preserved. The practise of wood-pasture in these areas existed alongside an open field system, although in some areas this remained small in scale, such as at Passenham where only 50% of the parish was covered by open fields, compared to 90% in some champion areas (*ibid.*, 153-154).

A recent edited volume by Langton and Jones (2010) contains several articles on medieval forests. Many of these articles are historical in nature, but several articles are related to the methodology of this thesis. Jones (2010) explores the competing narratives of the forests as lordly hunting spaces and as common resources. Thomas (2010, 91-100) looks at the management of woodland in Bernwood Forest including the existence of a system of wood pasture, and she demonstrates the growth of arable cultivation during the time Bernwood was under Forest Law. The majority of wood-pasture was cleared however after the medieval period, and after Forest Law had ended. Schumer (2010, 101-109) similarly discusses significant assarting in the medieval Forest of Wychwood, including during the period 1066 to 1350 (see also, Schumer 1999, 1984). Winchester (2010, 109-124) analyses the grazing grounds of upland forests and found that between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries the forests shifted from "closed" to "open". Winchester (*ibid.*) reveals a pattern of demesne exploitation in the thirteenth century which was replaced by the leasing of land and the creation of peasant hill farming hamlets in the fourteenth to fifteenth centuries. This impacted upon hunting, as increasingly hill valleys were given over to pastoral farming as grazing grounds. Furthermore, a recent article by Langton (2015) charts the instigation and development of royal and non-royal forests and chases in England and Wales from a historical perspective.

Hadrian Cook (forthcoming) in *New Forest: The Forging of a Landscape* analyses the New Forest from 10,000 BC to the present, focusing on the development of the landscape in human prehistory, the management of the forest's natural resources, the management of the forest with emphasis on resources and exclusion of specific social groups, and attempts to conserve the forest landscape. For the medieval period, the book looks at economy, law, settlements, and the administration of the forest (*ibid.*).

Although forests have still received comparatively little attention, in recent years significant strides have been taken towards understanding these landscapes (especially Foard *et al.* 2009, Foard 2001, and Jones and Page 2006). Although this is important research which has illuminated many aspects of medieval afforestation, it nonetheless has limitations. One of these is that there has been a specific geographical clustering of the major recent landscape studies of royal forests. Much as Rippon (2008, v) has charged that landscape archaeology has traditionally

focused on midland counties in southern England, firmly within the "central zone" (see Roberts and Wrathmell 2000, later in this chapter), so too have analyses of forest landscapes and settlement within forests focused on this region. Rockingham Forest (Foard *et al.* 2009; 2005) and Whittlewood Forest (Jones and Page 2006) are both located in Northamptonshire, while Wychwood (Schumer 2010; 1999; 1984) is located in Oxfordshire. These forests reflect similar landscape and settlement traits, containing a high degree of woodland, and a highly-arable "champion" landscape which was extended through assarting. Furthermore, these studies examined the nature of settlement within select forests, but did not extensively analyse the impact that Forest Law had on the nature of landscape and settlement, if any. The physical impact of Forest Law is therefore still little understood. This thesis aims to build upon these important previous studies and address several key questions relating to settlement, landscape, and society (in terms of identity and social dynamics) between circa AD 650 and 1348 in areas that were covered by Norman Forest Law.

1.3 The Approach of this Thesis to Royal Forests

1.3.1 Specific Research Questions and Aims

The common public perception that medieval forests were uniformly, or almost entirely, wooded has been thoroughly demonstrated to be inaccurate (Williamson *et al.* 2013; Page and Jones 2006). Nonetheless, these detailed studies have tended to focus on a specific region of England and have tended to focus on individual forests; this thesis seeks to explore the range of landscape types which could exist within a medieval forest by examining two forests with very different terrains and landscape settings.

This thesis aims to explore the long-term effect of Forest Law on settlement, on landscape character and development, and on society within the landscapes that it covered. Three important considerations have been incorporated into the methodology of this thesis to allow this long-term impact to be analysed. The first of these is the wide timeframe of this thesis, AD 650 to *circa* 1348; the second is

that the forest landscapes are studied in conjunction with neighbouring areas outside of Forest Law; the third is that two forests in very different landscape settings are studied comparatively to attempt to achieve a more holistic understanding. These three factors mean that the chronology of landscape development before and after afforestation will be studied in areas inside and neighbouring the forests, revealing the impact of afforestation. Studying forests of very different landscape character together will allow regional-specific responses to afforestation to emerge.

A traditional understanding of medieval society emphasises tight control by aristocratic and royal elites (Bailey 2010, 36). It could be suggested that this would be especially true in a royal forest, where an additional series of stringent and controlling laws were applied. Forest Law was innately hierarchical, where hunting and the clearing of woodland were just two of the privileges limited to the king alone, or the favourites to whom these rights were granted. This thesis will examine power-relations in the medieval forests, and the way this power was expressed, as well as patterns of landholding in the forests.

This thesis will also examine the social dynamics of medieval forests. Recent research, to be outlined below, has challenged the traditional view that the peasantry as a whole were tightly controlled and had little opportunity for social mobility. Evidence for a section of the peasantry operating with a significant degree of agency within medieval forests will be presented, a "proto-middling sort". This thesis will look at topics such as settlement creation and possible planning, the foundation of parish churches, the use of funerary monuments, and the use of material culture that is largely considered to be indicative of a higher status, and assesses the degree to which it was traditional elites or members of the peasantry who engaged in these activities within the forests.

1.3.2 Research Themes and Context

Though previous research on forests has been limited, a large body of research within medieval archaeology more generally forms the conceptual influence behind the approach of this thesis to its research questions and aims. This includes research

on the development of settlement, identity, power, and status in medieval England. These conceptual influences behind the methodology of this thesis will be outlined here.

Medieval Settlement

Settlement Patterns and Regional Variation

Physical variation in settlement patterns across Britain has long been recognised, even as long ago as the Elizabethan period, when William Harrison wrote of England being divided into types, first the "champion" country (from the French Champagne region) containing nucleated settlement, and second the woodland country with scattered dwellings (Roberts and Wrathmell 2003, 1). The writing of John Leland also in the sixteenth century described various champion areas which when plotted on a map are found predominantly between Wessex and the north-east of England (Rippon 2008, 2). In the late nineteenth century, Maitland (1897, 16-17) observed that the English midlands was a landscape of villages, whereas to the west around Devon was a landscape of hamlets (Lewis, Mitchell-Fox, and Dyer 1997, 7).

Gray (1915; Rippon 2008, 4), working in the early twentieth century, divided Britain (and England) into three zones of underlying settlement character. He opined that the use of the Midland System (with two, three or four village-based open fields [see Fox 1986]) was limited to the midlands (Gray 1915; Rippon 2008, 4). The east of England, including East Anglia and Kent, he argued had a less structured form of open fields and a more limited number of tenants, making it easier for the system to be eradicated by enclosure (*ibid.*). The west of Britain, including Cornwall, Wales and Scotland, had a landscape and settlement organisation that he wrote was "Celtic" in origin, with small hamlets (*ibid.*). Although it was suggested that this area may too have had fields divided into strips, they were argued to be of much a lesser scale, with a far less overall reliance on common field farming (*ibid.*).

The father of modern English landscape studies, W. G. Hoskins (1955, 42), wrote that the Anglo-Saxons spread villages and the Midland System across all of England,

but in a large concentration in central England. Here villages could be found less than two miles from each other, a density which was exacerbated by Scandinavian settlement (*ibid.*). Where villages were less common, such as Devon and Cornwall, he ascribed this to "Celtic" hamlets and farmsteads surviving in greater numbers (*ibid.*).

Many of these basic underlying interpretations and assumptions remain essentially true, albeit simplistic, in today's literature. A great deal of research of the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries has focused on analysing this basic model and exploring its nuances. Research has questioned precisely when the spread of villages and the Midland System occurred, the date of origin of dispersed settlement patterns, and when regional differences between the zones of nucleated and dispersed patterns first appeared. Modern research has also investigated the factors which led to the adoption of different forms of settlement in different areas, and why the boundaries of these regions were located precisely where they were.

More recently, the work of Brian K. Roberts and Stuart Wrathmell (2003, 2000) analysed the entirety of England using nineteenth- and twentieth-century Ordnance Survey maps, and assigned scores to areas of settlement based on their level of nucleation and dispersion. These scores were overlaid onto a map of England, and the results conclusively demonstrated the existence and boundaries of a central "champion" zone of nucleated villages running from Somerset, through the English midlands, to south-east Scotland, and south-eastern and north-western zones which had higher degrees of dispersed settlement.

The degree of continuity between Roman settlement and medieval settlement has been studied by a number of authors (Jones and Page 2005, Rippon 2008 and Williamson *et al.* 2013, and others.). This continuity is highly significant in terms of what it means in relation to the huge social changes that are traditionally expected from the aftermath of the Roman period. It is also significant because Roman to medieval continuity is a necessary step to allow further forms of continuity over a longer period, from the medieval back into prehistory. Rippon (2012, 152, 185-186) has explored the relationship between early medieval estates and earlier Roman or ancient administrative units. Jones and Page (2005, 31-57) have studied the location of ancient settlements in relation to their apparent medieval successors. What this continuity in settlement would mean in relation to political or social continuity is

much less certain; nonetheless it would radically change how we view medieval landscape, settlement and society, in terms of whether these new systems were detached from what came before, or whether they were developments of Roman precursors.

The Development of Nucleated Settlement

Nucleated settlements and open fields resulted from a significant change in the organisation of settlement in the medieval landscape after 850, throughout Britain but predominantly in the "central zone". The aforementioned Midland System was a farming regime in which two, three, or four fields around a settlement were divided into long and narrow strips (Fox 1986), which were typically divided among the lord (part of the demesne land), the church (part of the glebe), and the commoners (Rippon 2012b, 113; Bailey 2002, 4). Each year one of these fields lay fallow (*ibid.*). As has been noted, the Midland System was in use throughout England, as well as Britain more widely, even if it is most heavily associated with the midlands.

Recent literature poses two possible chronologies for the emergence of the village. One of these argues that after 850 areas of dispersed settlement were abandoned and nucleated villages were created, with this transition mostly occurring in the tenth or eleventh centuries (Rippon 2008, 13). The alternate theory suggests that this was a longer process which began before 850, with a phase around the tenth century in which villages had a secondary replanning and in which open fields were introduced (*ibid.*). After the emergence of the village, the date at which nucleated villages were replanned with regularly-arranged plans has been disputed and may have varied nationally. The work of June Sheppard revealed that Wheldrake, Yorkshire, had been planned between approximately 1066 to 1086 (Aston 1985, 72). Similarly, Pamela Allerston's (1970, 95-109) research in North Yorkshire demonstrated planning during the period 1070 to 1200; the Harrying of the North by the Normans may have provided plenty of opportunity for replanning settlements (Aston 1985, 72). Another period of planning may have followed, between the eleventh and mid twelfth centuries; research in Durham demonstrated

a phase of planning between 1130 and 1200 (Aston 1985, 73). Trevor Rowley (1978, 35) advocates the general period 1100 to 1300, while excavation by David Austin (1989) at Thrislington provided a date of planning taking place before 1200, while the work of Brian K. Roberts has also given a general date of around 1200 (Aston 1985, 70). More recently, Williamson *et al.* (2013) have disputed that villages were ever formally planned at all. They argue that the regularly-arranged plots of linear villages, which they term "strippy villages", came into existence through the tofts and crofts of villages being set within – and reusing the regular boundaries of – strip fields which were located upon and around the pre-existing site of the settlement. This removes the question of whether "planned" nucleated settlements emerged fully-formed at a single moment, and instead makes clear that they may have evolved slowly, whereby further strip fields were brought into the settlement and built upon as deemed necessary by population growth.

Another debate within studies of nucleated settlements is the cause of nucleated development developing through Britain, especially within the "central zone". Of recent settlement studies, one of the most important is Lewis *et al.* (1997) *Village, Hamlet and Field*. This study examines the midland counties of Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Leicestershire, and Northamptonshire. They find that a pre-existing pattern of dispersed settlement dating to between 400 and 850 was replaced in a shift to nucleated settlement that occurred between 850 and 1200 (*ibid.*, 94-95, 235). Excavation suggests that some of the nucleated settlements occupied sites of earlier dispersed settlements, whereas others did not and were seemingly new foundations (*ibid.*, 95-97). Even though these counties are at the heart of England's champion country the research reveals areas where a shift to nucleated settlements did not occur and a dispersed pattern prevailed (*ibid.*, 97, 235). This demonstrates how settlement patterns should be interpreted in terms of *degrees* of nucleation and dispersion, rather than absolutes. A theory they suggest for the adoption of villages and open fields is that population growth caused an expansion in the cultivation of arable land until all viable land was farmed; the competition this caused led to increasingly exact land boundaries. Or, as individual fields were increasingly subdivided through partible inheritance the result was a patchwork field system which presented difficulties in allowing universal access to communal meadows, pasture and woodland, while beasts strayed onto arable land. The best solution to these problems would have been to work communally to reorganise the arable land

into blocks of common fields. This meant that it was sensible to position the tofts together in the centre of the field system, equalling the distance that everyone had to travel to the multiple disparate strips that they held across the field system (*ibid.*, 235-236). This explanation clearly emphasises human agency, whether peasant or lord, for the adoption of nucleated villages and open fields, which in the 1990s emerged as the dominant form of explanation over environmental determinism (Rippon 2008, 11).

Tom Williamson's (2003) *Shaping Medieval Landscapes* is one of the most recent books to question human agency in the adoption of nucleation and open fields. Williamson (2003, 180-182) does not discount factors such as population growth, but stresses the importance of clay soils and the availability of meadow in the English midlands. Heavier soils required greater cooperation in the form of plough teams, whilst large meadows and the haymaking this encouraged were reliant on a quickly assembled workforce due to factors such as the precise timing of collection and favourable weather. This need for cooperation made it necessary to live in communal conditions such as allowed by a nucleated village.

Jones and Page's (2006) aforementioned book *Medieval Villages in an English Landscape: Beginnings and Ends* is one of the most important recent texts within landscape and settlement archaeology. One of their keys findings is that the nucleated villages of Whittlewood evolved out of earlier pre-village nuclei during the period 850 to 1000, rather than as new settlements created upon the abandonment of an earlier dispersed settlement pattern (*ibid.*, 228). They argue that the two forms of settlement pattern, nucleated and dispersed, emerged simultaneously in different areas of Whittlewood because of the same processes (*ibid.*, 236-239). The variance in morphology of settlement across the study area they suggest is the result of human actions and responses rather than environmental causes. The findings of Jones and Page (2006) specifically in relation to royal forests have been summarised earlier in this chapter.

Stephen Rippon's (2008) book *Beyond the Medieval Village* was designed to tackle many of the problems of previous settlement research. In light of the fixation on southern midland England, Rippon elected to focus on areas not as frequently examined in settlement research for his case studies, including Cornwall, Somerset, Pembrokeshire, and Norfolk. This study incorporated wetlands reclaimed during

the medieval period, to account for factors such as soil variability and the antecedent landscape inherited from the late Roman period (*ibid.*, 250). Rippon challenges the connection that has been drawn between the high population and plough-teams recorded in the midlands in Domesday Book and the use of nucleated settlements and the Midland System by contrasting this with the recorded high population of Somerset (*ibid.*, 252). Rippon also tests the idea that villages and open fields spread through emulation, and notes that the adoption of these in twelfth-century Wales is a possible instance of this, but it does not explain why areas with populations as high as the midlands such as East Anglia and Somerset did not adopt these practices (*ibid.*, 252). Instead Rippon espouses the view that perhaps differences in the pre-medieval antecedent landscape influenced how the medieval landscape evolved (*ibid.*, 252). However, he also notes that his research on wetlands within Somerset proves it was not solely a matter of the antecedent landscape (*ibid.*, 253). This prompts Rippon to caution that seeking single causes should be avoided as many such problems are more nuanced. Rippon also challenges the theory that nucleated villages were created during the period 850-1200, instead arguing that stronger evidence exists for the eighth century (*ibid.*, 264-265).

Williamson *et al.* (2013), building upon the research of Williamson *et al.* (2011) have recently investigated the origins of nucleated villages and open fields within Northamptonshire. They demonstrate the variability of the Northamptonshire landscape, including areas of woodland and pasture (Williamson *et al.* 2013, 106), despite previous emphasis on the arable areas of the county. They find significant evidence for the role of climate, physical geography, and topography in the development of medieval settlement; a role which has been under-emphasised in recent research (*ibid.*, 221). They note also that in the aftermath of the Roman period, a degree of relationship existed between the organisation of medieval settlement and the physical landscape, primarily within the most fertile soils (*ibid.*, 49-54). Furthermore, they reveal evidence for a large number of unplanned settlements around greens and commons (*ibid.*).

Dispersed Settlement

Outside the "central zone" of nucleated settlement a dispersed pattern of "ancient" forms of dispersed farmsteads and hamlets largely prevailed. More recently studies have challenged knowledge about dispersed forms of settlement, found predominantly in the east and especially the west zones of Britain. Although presented as "ancient" and stable, not all areas of dispersed settlement patterns pre-date the creation of nucleated villages (Dyer 2002, 18-21). For example, the period 1100 to 1300 was one of intense expansion, in both raw population and the expanse of agriculture; across Britain the increasing competition for arable land prompted the clearance of woodlands and enclosure of these new lands for the purposes of farming and settlement. This would frequently take the form of wealthy members of the peasantry being granted or creating new dispersed farmsteads (*ibid.*, 160-161). Research in the western zone of Britain has found that many hamlets sit on sites not occupied before the eleventh century (*ibid.*, 18-21). This shows how dispersed settlement forms were not necessary "ancient", but instead were dynamic and continued to develop after the creation of nucleated villages, both inside and outside of Britain's central zone. Two important studies on the development of a dispersed settlement pattern after 1100 resulting from woodland clearance are Roberts's (1968) work on the (unafforested) Forest of Arden and Dyer's (1990) work on Pendock in Malvern Forest, both of which shall be examined in Chapter 7.

Urban Landscapes

A further important development in settlement is urbanisation. Urbanisation is not a major theme analysed in detail in this thesis but nonetheless is important for consideration in settlement analysis. The general definition of a town is a concentration of settlement with a permanent population in, or over, hundreds of individuals, a social structure, institutions, and engagement in a diverse range of non-agricultural occupations (Astill 2009, 56; Dyer 2002, 58). Gorringe (2002, 129) considers a charter, size, and roles in trade, recreation, defence, religion, and

administration to be key factors in the defining of a town. The criteria by which "urban" spaces are defined in this thesis are presented in section 3.3.4.

Some of the earliest towns grew up around pre-urban nuclei such as a fortress or church (Dyer 2002, 58). Some of these early towns developed as a result of the *burh* fortress-building policy of the Anglo-Saxon kings, but as Dyer (*ibid.*) notes, not all *burh* forts developed into towns. Those which did develop into urban sites contained, by the tenth century, features such as rectilinear grids of cobbled streets, defensive features, trade activity, small plots that could function as houses, outhouses, and the workshops of crafts-people, and mints (*ibid.*, 58-59). The occupants of these sites included royal officials, clergy, and merchants (*ibid.*, 59). However, although this conforms to the ideal as found in Wessex, there was a high degree of variation nationally (*ibid.*). The primary period of town growth in England was in the years between 850 and 1066, which saw the proportion of town dwellers increase fourfold (*ibid.*, 62). These early medieval towns were involved in a number of industries, including pottery production, leather working, butchery, baking, metal-working, and cloth production (*ibid.*, 64-65). By Domesday Book many towns had reached significant size (*ibid.*, 62).

England continued to become increasingly urbanised after 1066. The effects of the Norman Conquest resulted in a small decline in the populations of many towns in the latter eleventh century, but this trend was short-lived (White 2012, 101). Between 1066 and around 1300 the proportion of England's town dwelling population rose to around 15-20% of the population, an increase of 10% (White 2012, 99), and the number of towns increased from around 100 to 830 (Dyer 2002, 187). Towns were heavily impacted by the rapid growth of the national population between 1100 and 1300, especially after 1180 (Schofield and Vince 2005, 26). Towns attracted hundreds of thousands of peasants who migrated from their rural hinterlands (Dyer 2002, 187). With the towns increasing in population and wealth, changes to the townscapes included the construction of civic and religious buildings, and new stone walls as well as other town defences (Schofield and Vince 2005, 26). With an increase in monetisation, the market economy, and urbanisation, towns consolidated their position as important distribution centres for inland trade (*ibid.*, 27). This provided a number of opportunities for craftworking and mercantile activity that were exploited by individuals, including peasants (*ibid.*, 227). Peasants

are recorded, for example, borrowing money in records of the later thirteenth century (*ibid.*, 211). The creation of new planted towns during the Norman period was such that 40 such creations were made between 1066 and 1130 (Beresford 1988, 327), and this rate increased. This activity reached its peak in the 1220s, a decade in which 10 towns were planted (*ibid.*, 328). The period 1200 to 1500 also saw the issue of 2,800 market grants, most of which were before 1275 (White 2012, 105); the participants of these markets were largely peasants (Dyer 2002, 190). The thirteenth century was therefore one of particularly swift urbanisation. Although the Black Death of 1348 is widely seen as having marked a shift that resulted in substantial decline, indicators of stagnation had already appeared in the urban economy at the end of thirteenth century, due to factors such as the Flemish cloth industry supplanting that of England, causing England to increasingly export wool (Dyer 2002, 28). Although towns contracted in size more rapidly after 1348, most had already begun this process by around 1300 (Keene 2000, 75).

Identity and Status

Identity in archaeology operates at multiple levels which include status, age, and ethnicity, and these were often geographically and historically dependent (Gilchrist 2009, 389; Diaz-Andreu and Lucy 2005). Identity can also have various scales, with there being personal identity, group identity, regional identity and national identity (Jones 2007, 24, 169-170; Jenkins 2008). Different forms of material culture offer different levels of insight into the different aspects of identity. Meskell (2007, 24-28) for instance has proposed that the study of archaeological material culture can give insights into ethnicity, status, and religion, although certain types of material culture are more useful for this than others. It may be the case, for example, that ethnicity is reflected more through food consumption practices than pottery remains (*ibid.*, 25).

This thesis is not concerned with presenting a complete analysis of medieval identity in Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire; for example, debates as to age and gender largely do not feature, especially in terms of material culture. Identity is not studied in its own right, but rather is looked at specifically in the two forests within the

broader context of how afforestation helped shape settlement and society. The way that identity is analysed in this thesis is therefore very specific, and the aspects that feature most heavily are ethnic affiliation and status. The examination of ethnicity will include items such as dress accessories and regional artefact styles; whereas the analysis of status will examine coins, artefacts made of rare materials, and imported goods.

Wealth and status are usually examined in archaeology largely from burial and settlement evidence. In this thesis a small amount of burial evidence is featured, but status in material culture is largely examined in this thesis through chance finds recorded by the Portable Antiquities Scheme (PAS) database, with similar principles to burial assemblages. Goods made from rare or exotic materials are generally taken to indicate links with exchange networks; the low availability of such goods is usually interpreted to mean that those who did own them were figures of high status and wealth.

Many of these assumptions have been challenged. For instance, in burial archaeology it has been noted that burials and their assemblages are a creation of the mourning community rather than the deceased; as such a burial is a representation of how the community chose to commemorate the dead instead of a direct representation of the deceased's own wealth and status (Lucy 1998, 25). Even if it is assumed that these "luxury" imported goods were owned by the deceased, it cannot be known that they specifically conveyed high status (Loveluck 1995, 84). This can also be applied to PAS finds as found in this thesis; the degree to which different areas were connected with the North Sea exchange networks forms the context in which patterns of artefact deposition are understood. It can be suggested that a major river system such as the Trent would have significant access to exotic goods, and this can form part of how we understand the volume of finds from this area and the level of status they conveyed, as opposed to further inland where such goods were rarer. In other words, how we understand goods and the status of their owners varies by region; this applies to chance finds and burials in these areas. There are matters of survival also; Lucy (1998, 49) has argued that in early medieval society, with its agrarian economy and immature monetary system, organic materials may have held as much status as precious metals. Organic materials may have been deposited as grave goods, but their degradation eliminates

this evidence. Similarly, organic remains are less likely to be recorded in the PAS database; this and other limitations on PAS data will be discussed in the next chapter.

With regards to burial archaeology specifically, there have been burials discovered of such extreme wealth in terms of grave goods, or markedly more ornate than those which surround it, that the deceased having held significant status is the most logical explanation; an example is the site of Sutton Hoo (Lucy 1998, 25). Conversely, a lack of grave goods should not be assumed to designate the deceased lacking wealth or status. Forms of burial, as well as the symbolism conveyed by these burials, and the use of grave goods varied by time as well as region (Dickinson 2002, 84).

Closure theory is an idea which explains how status was created. It suggests that a hierarchical society was propagated through social groups using and controlling access to material culture (and spaces in buildings), as a means of excluding those "outside" (Bourdieu 1977); this is a model employed in archaeology in terms of material culture by Hinton (2006) and in buildings archaeology by Johnson (1996, 77-90; 1993).

The symbolism of material culture was used in a variety of ways through the medieval period. Types of material culture could be indicative of an individual's social role or occupation (rather than, for example, their ethnic affiliation), which is linked to the creation of group identities. For example, groups of individuals who shared specific roles in society (such as ecclesiastical elites, secular elites, merchants, craftworkers, or artisans) also shared similar lifestyles, and therefore we can potentially expect patterns of consumption and use that are role-specific (see for example Loveluck and Tys 2006).

The use and adoption of material culture by those lower in the social order may have been influenced by a desire to challenge the social order. For example, in a Marxist influenced approach to agency and the social hierarchy, Smith (2009, 310-313) argues that lower status occupants of late medieval Wharram Percy adopted ostensibly "elite" elaborate dress accessories to challenge the "peasant" identity that the medieval social hierarchy imposed upon them.

Another explanation is emulation and imitation. This suggests that individuals sought to imitate the successful individuals higher in the social hierarchy, and went beyond the actual causes of their status and extended to their behaviours and outward appearance, and hence their dress accessories and general material culture usage (Shennan 1989, 22). These two explanations are not altogether mutually exclusive, and in both cases demonstrate the power of objects in the formation of status. It must be emphasised that social status was not simply expressed in medieval society through just material culture but also through authority and control over the landscape (see for example Hinton 1990 and Scull 1993).

The Social Hierarchy

Table 1 The hierarchy of social groups (from Piggott and Thirsk 1981, 58)

	Middle Saxon, c. 650-c. 850	**Late Saxon c. 850-c.1066**
Slave	theow	theow, thraell
Unfree or half free cottager	esnewyrhta (ceorl)	cotsetla (ceorl)
Freedman occupying a farm	gebur (ceorl)	gebur (ceorl)
Rent-paying tenant	gafolgelda (ceorl)	gafolgelda (ceorl)
Free farmer	geneat, syxhynde	geneat, dreng, radcniht
Landed nobleman	gesith, thegn, twelfhynde	thegn, landrica
Governor of one or more shires	ealdorman	ealdorman, eorl

In the early centuries of the Anglo-Saxon period, large areas of Britain were divided into territories which have come to be called multiple estates. Lords would move between their estate centres, with tributes of food delivered from their tenants, which comprised a low proportion of the tenant's income (Dyer 2002, 27-29). Kings would spend little more than a day at each centre, the lords a few days as they

had fewer estates. All farmed land was under the control of their peasant occupants, and as such there was no inland demesne land and very little direct land management by the lords (*ibid.*). The peasant occupants owed the lord services, but of the nature of assisting in hunting and feeding the lord's dogs rather than the heavy labour services of later centuries. After 850, multiple estates fragmented at an increasing rate. This resulted in a larger number of lords, each holding a smaller portfolio of land; in some cases, as few as one or two manors. This established what would in later years become the rural gentry (*ibid.*, 29-30). As a result of these processes lords were no longer as itinerant (*ibid.*). These changes meant that the income of the average lord was reduced and in response their demands for increasing tributes evolved into high rents (*ibid.*, 31-32). Lords now had the motivation and means to directly supervise the operation of their manors, leading to the establishment of the lord's inland demesne, different to warland in that it was cultivated directly for the lord's benefit, simultaneous with the introduction of heavier labour services owed by their peasant tenants (*ibid.*). Warland was land not cultivated to directly supply the lord's household and was liable to be cultivated by peasants in return for payment in rents or services (Butcher 2016, 13). Faith (1997, 34) suggests that much of this initial work on inland was carried out by slaves and servants rather than through peasant labour. Other researchers, such as Baxter (2011, 101), have argued that the divisions between inland and warland were ancient, possibly prehistoric. It may be that there was a high degree of regional variation.

What separated free peasants – which are particularly important in this thesis – from other peasants was they were not bound to either their lord or the manor, nor did they owe service. *Ceorls* (or *churls*) were the lowest class of freemen in Anglo-Saxon society, with only slaves below them (Corèdon and Williams 2004, 64). The category of *ceorl* as presented in Table 1 was a wide social grouping which encompassed several more specific tiers, including *cotsetla*, *gebur*, *lysing*, *colibertus*, and *gafolgelda* (*ibid.*). The degree to which this broad group could be described as free in its entirety is questionable; *cotsetlas* for example were bound to their lord, but *gafolgeldas* were rent-paying tenants more akin to *sokemen* (see Table 1). There is a record of *ceorls* being envious of the freedom of newly-freed slaves (Day 2011, 451), and they are recorded as both owing services and paying rent (Dyer 2002, 31, 38). *Ceorls* often provided military service to their lords but there is no evidence that they were in all

cases obliged to (Lavelle 2012, 54-55). It was traditionally interpreted that the manorial system gradually reduced the status of *ceorls* to the extent that by the end of the Anglo-Saxon period the majority were dependent on their lord (Palgrave 1896, 624). Yet, there was a degree of social mobility within this group, as they could raise enough wealth to become thegns, the requirement for which was to hold five hides of land (Dyer 2002, 77; Faith 1997, 127). Hence it is just as possible that the typical degree of freedom held by a *ceorl* dropped overall because the *ceorls* of highest status had attained the rank of *thegn*. In some respects, *thegns* had less personal freedom than those who held their land in *socage*, as *thegnland* was held in return for service and could not be alienated (Williams 1995, 76). The personally-free tiers within the ceorl group (*gebur*, *leysing*, *colibertus*, and *gafolgelda*) could be considered freemen, while those tied to their lord could not (*cotsetlas*). Although *ceorls* were generally closest to what became *villeins* that is not to say that the *ceorl* grouping were not part of the development of *sokemen*; as discussed further in Chapter 10 the highest status *ceorls*, such as *gafolgelda*, held rights that made them more similar to *sokemen* than *villeins*. Legal changes to the status of *villeins*, especially in the thirteenth century when traditionally their freedoms were most curtailed (Levine 2001, 201), meant that *villeins* did not have the same degree of freedom as many of the groups comprising their *ceorl* forebears.

Higher in the social hierarchy were the groups of *geneat*, *dreng*, *radcniht*, which could all be considered freemen. Each were independent farmers owning their own land and free of owing labour to a lord; although they did owe other services, such as *geneats* hunted for and guarded their lord (Schofield 2003, 35), and *drengs* and *radcnights* owed similar military services to which would be owed later by *thegns* (Faith 1997, 98). There were many such minor landowners who owned land consisting of a single manor or less in their own right. Allod-holders held their own land without any superior lord (Faith 1997, 124); as such they technically held their lands on the same terms as major landowners. These allod-holders, including lesser *thegns* (*ibid.*, 96), may not have been significantly different in wealth to affluent and independent *sokemen* (as also were the earlier *geneats*, *drengs*, and *radcnights*), so much so that in some places "*sokeman*" and "*allodarius*" were used interchangeably (*ibid.* 124). In Domesday Book in 1086 *radcnihtas* and *drengs* were found only in the West Midlands whereas *allodarii* were found only in the area south and east of London (Day 2011, 105-112). This perhaps indicates that there was high regional variation in not just

the types and terminology of social classes but perhaps also the rights that they held. Alternately we could consider that these geographical distributions were due to the practices of the Domesday surveyors whose use of terminology was not standardised.

Between the tenth and eleventh centuries there was a decrease in numbers of slaves, who were increasingly granted peasant holdings, to the point that slavery did not exist by 1100 (Dyer 2002, 36-37). This had the converse effect that the tied peasantry collectively had to burden an increasing degree of labour, as evidenced by the growing services they owed (*ibid.*). Peasant tenants owing light services were pressured into a greater degree of subservience and services in return for guarantees of help in poor harvests, access to more land, or threats of having such privileges like access to land taken away (*ibid.*, 35-36).

Several other significant changes occurred around the time of the Norman Conquest, the period in which the new tenures of villeinage, socage, and knight service were introduced (Faith 1997, 136). Peter Coss (1993) has explored the origins of knights and *milites* and has demonstrated that knights between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries could be little more than retainers who were enfeoffed with land by a baron, earl, or the king in return for owing military service. In fact, as Coss (1993, 21) argues, knights in the twelfth century were often of very modest wealth and little more than tenant farmers who owed military service in lieu of rent, just as many tenant farmers had owed military service to their lord in the Anglo-Saxon period. The equipment of knights recorded to be essential in the twelfth century according to St Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury, included a horse, with bridle and saddle, and for the knight himself a hauberk, helmet, shield, and sword (*ibid.*). However, the income of many knights at this time may not have been enough to cover all of their costs, and there was likely to be great variety in the equipment and lifestyle that a knight in the eleventh to thirteenth centuries could afford (Coss 1993, 24). How common it was to hold a knight's fee is illustrated by the fact that 7,525 knight's fees were supported by the barons in 1166 (*ibid.*). To have a "peasant knighthood" (as opposed to a "noble knighthood") is a phrase that has been applied to these less wealthy knights, which Coss (1993, 26-27) considers acceptable as it illustrates that many of these knights were ultimately of peasant descent, but he also notes that by being members of the section of

society who fought, and to some extent through their lifestyle when operating in the households of wealthy lords, they were nonetheless members of seigniorial society. Similar contemporary medieval phrases were used disparagingly to refer to those with "peasant knighthoods", as in the early twelfth century knights of lower wealth and not of genteel-descent were referred to pejoratively as "*milites gregarii*", "*milites rustici*", and in a record of 1169, "*agrarios milites*" (Coss 1993, 43), which in modern parlance would be to mock these knights as being little more than common soldiers and farmers. The term "*rustici*" meant literally one who owes "rustic work", or agricultural labour rents, and as such were unfree men (Faith 1997, 248), making this an especially disparaging comparison; in the late thirteenth century "*rustici*" was interchangeable with "*villein*" (*ibid.*, 251). Despite knightly status being a Norman importation to England, the Latin-derived French *milites* was terminology not adopted directly into English, where instead it was supplanted by the English "knight". It is of no coincidence that "knight" bears a strong etymological link with the Anglo-Saxon status of "*radcniht*", a free farmer who owned a horse and owed military service (*ibid.*, 98). The lack of association between knights and wealth or high status continued even in the early decades of the thirteenth century, when Robert Vernay was disqualified from being one of four knights to investigate a litigant who had essoined because Vernay did not hold his own land (Coss 1993, 43). This not only illustrates how there were still knights of low wealth who did not own their own land, but also hints at the discrimination and stigma that existed within the social hierarchy of knights well into the thirteenth century.

A *sokeman* was an individual who held land in *socage*, which meant they held land freely in return for rent or services, but crucially the individual was not dependent on the lord or bound to the manor and did not owe military service (Corèdon and Williams 2004, 261-2). These, after the Norman Conquest, are generally what are meant by free peasants or freemen. Many *sokemen* held significant amounts of land, and operated their land effectively as manors within manors, with their own *bordar*s and slaves (Faith 1997, 66, 74). *Sokemen* or *ceorls* could gain enough wealth to purchase their own land, and if by so doing they accumulated five hides of land would qualify as *thegns*, or they could be promoted to this position by an earl (Williams 1995, 73). *Sokemen* were entitled to attend the *sokemanmoot*, the hundred court or "county community" of landowners, from which *villeins* were excluded (Faith 1997, 258). The new Norman aristocracy were wilfully ignorant of the

freedoms and rights that *sokemen* held, such as their right to change lord and their freedom from services, and imposed services on them with the effect that they were reduced in status from free to servile and bound to their manor (Britnell 1996, 61; Faith 1997, 215-217). This included legal changes in the late twelfth century, such as an edict dictating that an Englishman could only hold land through servitude rather than hereditary right (Faith 1997, 219-200). The numbers of *sokemen* dwindled rapidly between 1066 and 1100, which may be an indication that a large number were reduced in status (Baxter 2011, 105; Dyer 2002, 89; Faith 1997, 215). While many *sokemen* would have been reduced to villeinage, it is equally true that a large number were granted land and became minor lords, and many of the knight's fees created between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries (see above) would have been created through the promotion of *sokemen*. *Sokemen* had individual freedom – and hence can be considered freemen – but did not own their land, instead holding it from a landlord by rent-paying tenure; while another class of freemen were personally free and held their own land freehold, called *franklins* (Yıldız 2017, 331; Dyer 2000, 111; Faith 1997, 97), which can be compared with yeomen and gentlemen farmers, which emerged at the end of the medieval period (Schofield 2003, 125; Dyer 2002, 269; Britnell 1996, 200). A law of 1247 stipulated that all *franklins* must be knighted (Schlebecker 1981, 154), motivated by the increased tax yield rather than an acknowledgement of status (knighthoods in the High Medieval Period did not confer status, see above). In wealth and status, the line was blurred between the wealthiest freeholders and *franklins* compared to minor lords (Schofield 2003, 20-33; Faith 1997, 206-209).

At the time of the Conquest, "*villein*" was not a specific status, and was a term used to refer to any occupant of a manor, including instances in which it was applied to minor thegns and *geneats* (Faith 1997, 251). This general usage was derived from Latin, from the terminology used for the workers of Roman villas (*ibid.*, 261). Over time, the use of "*villein*" took on more specific connotations; it was defined in common law that *villein* tenure was not determined by performing labour duties, but instead by the terms according to which the duties were owed (*ibid.*, 261). The defining principle of unfree tenure was to owe unfixed or uncertain labour rent, meaning that the *villein* was to work a specified number of days on the inland (week-work) but did not know what tasks they would be given the next day, nor could they marry without paying fines (*ibid.*; Dyer 2002, 140). While *ceorls* in previous

centuries owed labour to their overlord they were nonetheless legally free (Dyer 2002, 98). *Villeins* were unable to sue their lord in the royal court in relation to their tenement as they did not hold it freely, and it was illegal for a *villein* to abandon the manor they were attached to (Corèdon and Williams 2004, 290). A *villein* was however free to sue anyone else, as it was only with regard to matters of their tenement and their relationship with their lord that they were not free, which separated them from slaves (Faith 1997, 245). In the late twelfth century, the common law courts distinguished between freeland (which could be recovered through the royal courts) and unfree land (which could not) (Schofield 2003, 13). This dispute over freedom also inadvertently defined the meaning of not being free (ibid.). This had the effect that certain peasants who had enjoyed a degree of freedom were now strictly defined as unfree (*ibid.*).

There was also a subset of *villeins*, who owed the same labour services and rents but the terms of their tenure were fixed, called *villein-sokemen*. They had a higher degree of freedom than regular *villeins* in relation to their tenure, and had protection of the royal courts and could not be ejected from their lands (Faith 1997, 261; Martin 1983, 64). Martin (1983, 64) summarises that they were not bound by personal servitude or the lord's jurisdictional powers, meaning that the lord was limited to maintaining the conditions of their tenure. *Villein-sokeman* tenure was generally limited to ancient royal demesne, and it has been suggested that *villein-sokemen* were largely the descendants of *sokemen* from the time of Domesday Book, whose status had been lowered to a more servile nature (Day 2011, 12).

With the decline of multiple estates, magnates in the wake of the Norman Conquest still held vast numbers of, often disparate, manors; these were collectively called "honours" (Dyer 2002, 106). The magnate – or tenant-in-chief – often subinfeudated manors in their entirety to sub-lords. Some sub-lords held five or more manors and had the status of baron in their own right; more usually they were of lesser status, such as knights. There were also a large number of minor lords who held as little as a single manor directly from the Crown and therefore constituted minor gentry (Schofield 2003, 49). Many lesser lords in late Anglo-Saxon society would have been considered *thegns*, which was determined by holding more than five hides of land (Faith 1997, 137). It has been suggested that lords with smaller portfolios of land were more concerned with extracting as much profit as possible

from their manors (*ibid.*), but Britnell (1980) has demonstrated that both major and minor lords tried to maximise opportunities for profit, with the resources and opportunities that were open to major lords actually making them the more successful in this regard. The operation of manors became increasingly efficient in extracting income from the peasantry, with manorial officials accounting profit in the thirteenth century including the lord's cash surplus and the goods supplied to the manorial household (Dyer 2002, 129). Investment was a considered part of manorial operations, with the officials considering the costs and benefits of actions such as constructing a new barn or changes to agricultural methods (*ibid.*). Peasants were burdened as a result with heavier labour services and higher rents (*ibid.*, 133).

This thesis will examine the degree of peasant agency within the forests of High Peak and Sherwood. The definition of "peasant" will follow Faith's (1997, xi) all-inclusive usage, including from serfs to independent yeoman farmers. The terms "free peasants" or "upper peasantry" will be used through this thesis to refer to the elements of the peasantry (according to the above definition) that were personally free, including certain *ceorl* groups (*geburs*, *leysinger*, *coliberti, gafolgeldas*), *geneats*, *drengs*, *radcnihts*, *sokemen*, and *franklins*.

Peasant Agency

It may appear that ever increasingly peasants had their freedoms and wealth curtailed through the medieval period (Bailey 2010, 36), but this view is complicated by a series of factors. One of these is the type of lord holding a manor. As demonstrated conclusively by Marjorie McIntosh (2002) in her study of the royal manor of Havering between 1200 and 1500, the tenants of royal manors enjoyed exceptional autonomy compared to manors owned and operated by lords. Theoretically based on her research the Crown was predominantly occupied with national and international political concerns and tended to neglect its role in orchestrating the plethora of manors under its direct control, and instead allowed them to largely function as autonomous communities. Those who gained administrative posts over manors from the Crown tended to delegate these tasks to local men for whom it was more sensible to maintain friendly relations with the

local populace than to inevitably antagonise them by seeking to increase profits, when the Crown took little interest either way and there was little chance of promotion. On a manor controlled by a lord, the lord would jealously prevent any substantial growth in the income of peasants and would desire any profit for themselves, whereas on a royal manor the Crown itself paid no attention to this and the local officials having no reason to get jealous on the Crown's behalf would leave this effectively unregulated (*ibid.*). This raises the possibility that areas of royal demesne in this thesis will yield significant evidence for social dynamics.

Across medieval society evidence can be found for the peasantry holding a significant degree of agency. An array of evidence exists for a substantial degree of peasant dynamics across the medieval period, including during the period 1100 to 1300 which was nominally one where the rights of peasants were severely limited. In the wake of the Norman Conquest the growth of a monetised market economy especially offered a variety of opportunities taken advantage of by the peasantry (Britnell 1996, 79-101). The period 1100 to 1300 in particular was one in which the peasantry engaged in a growing number of specialised industries (*ibid.*, 102-127). The engagement of peasants in market activity included the sale of poultry, eggs, fruit, vegetables, and fish; the number of crafts and industries included salt production, peat digging, wood cutting, mining, carpentry, tailoring, charcoal burning, brewing, and building; and dealings in the transfer of land (Dyer 2002, 163-178; Britnell 1996). In addition to this, the evidence from Pendock and Arden (Dyer 1990; Roberts 1968), analysed further in Chapter 7, illustrate the degree of opportunity open to peasants during this period. A number of recent studies have revealed significant evidence for peasant agency, as well as access to goods traditionally thought to be limited to those of high status.

Loveluck and Tys (2006) show that between 600 and 1000 there was significantly more exploitation of marginal coastal landscapes than has previously been appreciated (*ibid.*, 160). They draw attention to the important role of "free peasant traders" in coastal societies throughout the North Sea region (*ibid.*, 147). They find that these societies were exposed to a wide range of exotic and imported goods to a higher degree than inland zones, where they would be assumed as markers of prestige and status (*ibid.*). This was the result of coastal areas having direct access to the trade networks of the North Sea region. Loveluck and Tys (*ibid.*) argue that

these goods were to a large extent in the hands of the peasantry. It seems that access to luxury goods was not solely dependent on status, but also could be determined by factors such as proximity to supply routes (such as the coastline), where, because supply of exotic and imported goods was higher, they were attainable by individuals at a lower level in the social hierarchy. Another factor which must be considered is that peasant traders in coastal areas may have had a significant degree of wealth from the opportunity for trade and importation. The discoveries of this study revolutionise our understanding of peasant lifestyles and access to apparent markers of status and luxury (*ibid.*, 142).

Another example is within the drained marshlands such as the Cambridgeshire Fens, as studied by Oosthuizen (2012). She argues that between 900 and 1300 peasants of all status had a role in trade (*ibid.*, 220), and furthermore were partly responsible for the infrastructure that facilitated this trade. The locations of privately-made cuts to waterways correlated with areas of secondary ribbon development of arable land as well as encroachments on open spaces, and support new foci of waterborne trade being the result of peasant rather than lordly initiative (*ibid.*, 218). The vessels using these routes were large enough to be sea-faring (*ibid.*, 215). There is evidence for craft specialisation among the peasantry, coming for example from surname evidence (*ibid.*, 212). Peasants with low availability of arable land engaged in animal pasture and the cropping of reeds, sedge and peat to achieve a greater income (*ibid.*, 221). The smallholders and landless peasants of this area of the fens were communicating within a network of four or five neighbouring vills (*ibid.*, 218). The quality of life of these peasants in the Fens was possibly furthered by having lower work hours compared to other regions, the result of high arable productivity, rich available resources, and access to short and long-distance trade networks (*ibid.*, 221). Elsewhere in Cambridgeshire, Oosthuizen (2002, 82) has explored how moated manor houses were often the homesteads of freeholders built on woodland clearances in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; although also found here are a large number of manorial moated sites.

Stocker and Everson (2006, 67, 74, 76) in their study of Romanesque Norman church towers in Lincolnshire discover a strong correlation between villages whose churches were originally built upon former greens and settlements whose populations were largely *sokemen* at the time of Domesday Book. As these were

communal spaces, Stocker and Everson argue that *sokemen* worked cooperatively in the foundation of parish churches, without the intervention of their lord, rather than as foundations resulting from the solitary action of the lord (*ibid.*, 74). Stocker and Everson (*ibid.*) view this as comparable with examples of burgesses founding churches in towns. These findings show that peasant communities could act communally when it was mutually beneficial by combining their influence and resources.

These studies have shown how medieval peasants could have a significant degree of peasant agency, despite their servile nature, especially in coastal, wooded and reclaimed areas. The medieval forest, with its Forest Law and unique administration, is perhaps an arena in which one would expect the lives of peasants to be particularly well regulated and controlled. This thesis will seek to examine the extent of peasant wealth, opportunity and agency in the medieval forests by presenting evidence for social dynamics, and reinterpreting them as a result as zones of hitherto unappreciated and unexplored peasant opportunity.

1.3.3 Introduction to the Study Area

The forests of Sherwood and High Peak were both afforested for the duration of the later eleventh century to circa 1348 (Crook 2011; Kerry 1893). Both forests were important centres for natural resources, as shall be discussed through this thesis. Sherwood Forest was located within the "central zone", as defined by Roberts and Wrathmell (2003; 2000), whereas the Forest of High Peak was outside the "central zone", and was located in the "western zone" where dispersed settlement has been found to prevail. The location of the two forests in relation to these three zones can be seen in Figure 1. (The boundaries of Sherwood Forest presented are from 1232, the boundaries of the Forest of High Peak were stable from the later eleventh century to 1348 [see discussion of boundaries below]) Both forests are located north of where the majority of forest landscape studies have been conducted, which have focused predominantly on Northamptonshire and Oxfordshire.

The key perambulations of Sherwood Forest were conducted in 1218, 1232, and 1300, and have been recorded by Crook (1979), Boulton (1965, 33-42), Page (1906,

367), and Turner (1901, 118-119). The earliest perambulation which survives was created in 1218. The area of this perambulation included Blidworth, Calverton, Clipstone, Edwinstowe, Mansfield, Market Warsop, Nottingham, Ollerton, Papplewick, Skegby, and parts of Basford, Bulwell, Radford, Sutton in Ashfield, and Perlethorpe. After a series of disputes between 1218 and 1227 (see Crook 1979), by a perambulation of 1232 the forest had expanded, primarily to the east into an area called Thorneywood which had been part of the disafforested Forest of the Clay, and was now incorporated into Sherwood Forest. The boundary between the two essentially remained in existence through the area becoming one of the four wards or bailiwicks of the forest, with its own hereditary foresters (Manning 1994, 19) and court at Calverton (Cox 1905, 14). This area newly incorporated into Sherwood Forest, as described by Crook (1979) included Arnold, Bulcote, Burton Joyce, Colwick, Gedling, Lambley, Linby, Lowdham, Sneinton, Stoke Bardolph, Whiston, Woodborough, and parts of Kirkby in Ashfield and Annesley. The change in boundaries also meant that Sutton in Ashfield had been removed from Sherwood Forest (*ibid.*). It is this area contained within the later boundary of 1232 that will generally be referred to in this thesis by the term "Sherwood Forest". In the late thirteenth century several additional areas were claimed to be within the forest, these included Clumber, Scofton, Rayton, Thoresby, Sutton-upon-Ashfield, a park belonging to the king at Wellow, and all of Budby, Skegby, and Bulwell (only half of these three had been previously). The result of this dispute was a perambulation of 1300 specifying that these additional areas were again no longer afforested (*ibid.*). The perambulation of 1300 also referred to *Littlehawe*, where an area of wood in Farnsfield and Blidworth had been removed from afforestation which belonged to the archbishop of York (Boulton 1965; Page 1906, 367). Despite Nottingham being within the bounds of the forest throughout the High Medieval and Late Medieval periods, it was exempt from the laws being applied (Crook 2005a). A map of these boundaries of 1218, 1232, and 1300 is presented in Figure 2. (The creation of these boundary datasets is discussed within the methodology, in Chapter 2, section 2.2, including the sources for the counties and parishes used through this thesis).

The boundaries of the Forest of High Peak were stable, and were not recorded as fluctuating as many other forest boundaries did (Cox 1905, 151). The boundaries were recorded in a perambulation of 1274 and described an area including Castleton, Chapel-en-le-Frith, Fairfield, Glossop, Hayfield, Hope Woodlands,

Mellor, Wormhill, and part of Buxton, Hope, and Tideswell (Evans 1912, 4; Tilley 1892, 69). The forest contained three wards; Longdendale in the north with its court at Glossop, Hopedale in the south east with its court at Hope, and Campana (named because of its champion landscape) in the south west with its court at Tideswell or Peak Forest (Cox 1905, 152). The boundary of the Forest of High Peak is presented also in Figure 2.

Other forests were located within Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire; Duffield Frith for example was initially a private chase, passing into royal ownership in 1285 when it reverted to the Crown and was granted to the Duke of Lancaster (Wiltshire *et al.* 2005, 44). It was not until 1399, with the accession of Henry Bolingbroke, Duke of Lancaster to the throne, that Duffield Frith formally became Crown land (*ibid.*). A forest recorded only as "the forest between the Erewash and the Derwent" was recorded upon its disafforestation (removal from Forest Law) in a perambulation of 1225, and as its name suggests covered all the land in Derbyshire between the rivers Erewash and Derwent (Crook 1990).

Within Nottinghamshire, initially all of the county north and west of the Trent was covered by Forest Law (Crook 2011, 108). The east of this area, along the Trent Valley, was known as the Forest of the Clay as early as 1213, owing to the nature of its soils (*ibid.*, 111). A perambulation of 1227, confirmed in a royal charter of 1232, removed the Forest of the Clay from Forest Law (*ibid.*, 112). East of the Forest of the Clay and north of Sherwood Forest was an unnamed afforested area which Crook (2011) calls Hatfield. It must have been afforested due to the specification that all of the county north of the Trent river was afforested (see Crook 2011). Nothing is known about the forest administration of this area, and due to the lack of historical mention it can be presumed to have been disafforested simultaneously with the Forest of the Clay, if not before. The early application of the name "Sherwood" to refer to a royal forest is unclear and has been studied in detail by Crook (*ibid.*); the earliest reference to a "Sherwood Forest" was made in 1177 (Crook 2011, 109), and was not regularly in use until the later 1220s (*ibid.*, 112). Before this, references to the "forest of Nottingham" were more common, but the transition between the two names is not clear and may not have been initially interchangeable. It may be that Sherwood Forest referred only to the tract of forest leading immediately north from Nottingham town, whereas the Forest of

Nottingham may have referred to all of the area in Nottinghamshire covered by Forest Law, which after 1227 was only Sherwood Forest. Or, it has also been suggested Sherwood Forest referred to all of the forest within the county, while the 20-mile tract directly north of Nottingham was the forest of Nottingham (*ibid.*, 111-112). In either case, the reduction of the afforested area in Nottinghamshire to the single block north of Nottingham allowed the two phrases to become synonymous, and for the term "Forest of Nottingham" to fall out of use (*ibid.*). The work of Crook (2011) is recommended for a detailed discussion of this transition; it is nonetheless clear that the area now known as Sherwood Forest was afforested from the late eleventh century to after *circa* 1348 (*ibid.*). Despite the existence of other forests within Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire, this thesis will remain focused on the forests of Sherwood and High Peak.

All of the individual forests of Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire, as well as changes to their boundaries, are presented in Figure 3. A map of Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire depicting what areas were afforested for part, or all, of the period from *circa* the late eleventh century to 1348 is presented in Figure 4. As can be noted, only the areas of the Forest of High Peak and Sherwood Forest (most of its 1232 boundaries) were afforested throughout the period from the later eleventh century to 1348. A map of major modern places in Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire relative to the forests of High Peak and Sherwood can be found in Figure 5.

1.3.4 Thesis Structure and Summary of Method

This thesis will adopt a multi-scalar methodology. The first scale of analysis, the macro-regional perspective, is a broad analysis which will first present information on the natural landscapes of the forests and their counties more generally. This natural landscape data will be used to determine the natural landscape *pays* of Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire, which will be compared and contrasted with the boundaries of the medieval forests. The macro-regional perspective will then go on to analyse regional distributions of forms of settlement and land-use, as well as distributions of material culture types. Key trends in patterns of settlement within these forms of analysis will be highlighted. This macro-regional analysis will be

followed by a much more highly detailed micro-regional level of analysis. This will focus on much smaller case study areas, in which detailed map regression techniques will be used in conjunction with analysis of evidence such as documentary sources, place names, and building phases. These sources will be used to compare and contrast with the broad themes which emerged in the macro-regional analysis. These sections will be followed by a series of thematic discussions, where the evidence which has been presented will be compared to evidence previously presented from other forests, and historical sources, within several themes. This will be expanded upon in the next chapter which focuses on the methodology of this thesis.

1.3.5 Definitions and Medieval Forest Law

Care must be taken throughout this thesis with terminology to avoid confusion. The word "forest" will be used throughout strictly to mean an area that was covered by Forest Law. Nowhere in this thesis will it be used to refer to a body of trees. "Afforested" or "afforestation" are used to mean an area that was covered by Forest Law, whereas "disafforested" or "disafforestation" are used to mean the removal of an area from Forest Law. These terms will not be used to refer to increases or decreases in areas of woodland. When discussing the removal of an area of trees the term "cleared" will be used, or "assarted" where woodland was cleared for arable cultivation.

In general, the area meant when referring to "Sherwood Forest" is the area defined by the perambulation of 1232; the boundaries of the forest did however vary. The boundaries of the Forest of High Peak were fixed throughout its afforestation. Unless otherwise noted, the boundaries of Sherwood Forest in 1232 and the Forest of High Peak are the forest boundaries displayed in the accompanying maps. It will be necessary in some instances to refer to the areas within what became Sherwood Forest and the Forest of High Peak before they were actually afforested, in which case the terms Sherwood Forest and the Forest of High Peak will still be used to refer to these areas. For simplicity, the date range of this thesis will be broken into two broad phases. The Early Medieval Period will refer to the period from 410 to

1066, while the High Medieval Period will refer to 1066 to *circa* 1348. The Late Medieval Period will be used to refer to the period after the date range of this thesis, *circa* 1348 to 1485.

Within a forest, Forest Law protected elements of the landscape, and certain animals within it, that were important to the king. It was illegal to hunt red deer, fallow deer, roe deer, and wild boar, known collectively as "the venison", as well as in some instances species including hares, rabbits, wildfowl, birds used in falconry, and fish in forbidden rivers (Grant 1991, 6; Cox 1905, 25-26). Trees and other vegetation, "the vert", were protected by regulations preventing or restricting the cutting of wood or clearing of trees, limitations on the pasture of cattle and pigs, and enclosures designed to protect against either encroachment or escape by deer (Grant 1991, 6; Cox 1905, 68-69). Other laws prohibited the carrying of bows and arrows in a forest, and that dogs within the forest bounds must have their claws removed (Grant 1991, 6; Cox 1905, 19, 47).

Several important rights and fines existed within areas covered by Forest Law (some of which also existed outside areas of forest). These included *agistment*, the right to pasture cattle and pigs in royal demesne woods during the autumn in return for payment (Cox 1905, 23). The *agistment* of pigs was also known as *pannage* (Grant 1991, 9). The right to collect wood in the forest was known as *estovers* (Grant 1991, 215); the rights of *husbote*, *haybote* and *firebote* respectively allowed the collection of wood for mending houses, repairing fences, and to burn for fuel (Cox 1905, 68-69), while the right to collect dead wood and branches specifically blown down by wind was known as *cablish* (Grant 1991, 114). These privileges were often granted in isolation, suggesting they were not routinely granted to forest occupants. *Cheminage* was a toll charged on carts and carriages travelling through the forest during "fence month", but often it was charged on carts and carriages regardless of the time of year (Cox 1905, 59-60). Fence month lasted for fifteen days each side of Midsummer, and was the time when the deer were viewed as requiring extra protection, as it was the time of fawning (*ibid.*). The collection of *cheminage* and its enforcement seems to have varied between forests and across time (*ibid.*). A record from Sherwood Forest in 1334 shows two men being fined for carrying honey from the forest (Cox 1905, 40), demonstrating how unusual and far-ranging Forest Law could be.

The forests were divided into wards or bailiwicks. The forests were administered by a series of courts, the attachment courts, the swainmote courts, and the forest eyres (Grant 1991, 35-40, 55-68; Young 1979, 89-91). The forest eyres, also called the Court of Justice Seat, were the most important; pleas from whole counties or groups of counties were heard together at these courts, and all forest officials and those accused of breaking Forest Law since the previous eyre were summoned to attend (Grant 1991, 55-68). The eyres were meant to take place every seven years, but the effort involved meant that it was often much longer; Cox (1905, 10) points out that more than once Derbyshire had a gap of thirty years. The attachment courts were held within each ward or bailiwick of the forest on the Monday, Wednesday, Thursday and Friday of every sixth week, although often they had to adjourn due to lack of business (Grant 1991, 37-40; Cox 1905, 10). These courts would see the process of those who had been attached with punishments for minor offences. Attachment was a concept similar to that of arrest, but whereas arrest could only be carried out against a person, depending on the situation an attached individual could see their goods seized, or the person individually being taken into custody, or the payment of *mainprise*, a form of bail (Cox 1905, 14). The swainmote court was held three times a year, each with a specific purpose (Grant 1991, 35-36; Cox 1905, 14). The Midsummer swainmote saw the agisters meeting for the enforcement of the fence month; the Michaelmas swainmote saw the beginning of agistment; and the Martinmas swainmote concerned the receipt of pannage (Grant 1991, 35-36; Cox 1905, 14). Confusing matters, swainmote was a name that would also come to be applied to the attachment courts (Grant 1991, 37; Cox 1905, 14).

The most powerful official in the administration of each individual forest was the forest warden, also called the keeper (in Sherwood Forest) or the bailiff (in the Forest of High Peak). This position was either hereditary or appointed by the Crown. Wardens presided over the forest courts, were responsible for fulfilling orders for venison and timber, and were generally responsible for the administration of the forest and served as the king's representative (Grant 1991, 94; Young 1979, 54; Cox 1905, 17). Foresters were officials appointed to protect the venison and vert in the ward to which they were appointed. They charged those found breaking Forest Law, and saw that they appeared at court. They had the power to stop those caught with dogs or armed with bows in the forest, and imprison those caught hunting deer. Furthermore, foresters had a role in caring for

the deer (Cox 1905, 19-20). There were ordinary walking foresters who were assigned to particular bailiwicks or wards of the forest. They were paid a salary and tasked with walking within their ward and finding and attaching forest offenders (Cox 1905, 19). There were higher ranking and higher salaried riding foresters who patrolled the forest on horseback (Grant 1991, 116; Cox 1905, 20). The Forest of High Peak had several which were called the *forestarii equitii* (Cox 1905, 20). There were also hereditary foresters of fee who held a grant of land within one of the forest wards. Within that particular ward the forester of fee was responsible for providing walking and riding foresters at their cost (Grant 1991, 112; Young 1979, 84). In Sherwood Forest for example the foresters of fee had to provide two walking foresters, a riding forester and boys to assist them (Young 1979, 84). In essence the foresters of fee of each ward, of which there could be a handful, were in charge of maintaining order within that ward. The foresters of fee were not paid; in return for their service they held the grant of land and collected taxes such as *cheminage*. In Sherwood Forest the foresters of fee paid a rent (Turner 1901, XXIII). The foresters of fee also had rights of *pannage* and common pasture, as well as other rights such as *cablish*, the right to collect dead wood and branches blown down by wind (Grant 1991, 114). The exact rights however varied by forest. The foresters of fee maintained rolls detailing attachments to be presented at the forest courts, which had to be certified by the verderers (Young 1979, 84). Technically the term "forester" applied to all the royally appointed officers, including the foresters of fee, riding foresters, walking foresters, and even the warden (Young 1979, 85).

The terms of Forest Law stipulated that even private woods within the forests were to be highly regulated (Cox 1905, 22). Just as on royal land, private woodland could not be cleared, not even by the owner; the construction of buildings and creation of industries such as charcoal burning and iron forges were strictly regulated for fear they could disturb the deer and woodlands (*ibid.*). The owners of private woodlands were required to hire their own officials to protect the venison and vert within; these were termed woodwards. The oddity of the situation, and innate conflict of interest, was that despite being hired by a private landowner the woodward was working on behalf of the king, and one of their primary tasks would have been to ensure that their social superior – the very landlord who employed them – was not breaking Forest Law in their own woodlands (*ibid.*). It was written into Forest Law that if a woodward was caught failing to report an offence within

the wood, the ownership of the wood would pass to the King, which suggests a preventative measure targeted directly against lords deliberately pressuring woodwards into overlooking any offences they committed (*ibid.*).

Verderers presided over lesser offences in the attachment courts. They had other tasks such as presenting details of offences in the forest eyre courts, working with the foresters to supervise the collection of *haybote*, *husbote*, and *firebote*, and arranging *agistment*. In addition, they supervised the foresters in finding and arresting suspects and collecting evidence (Grant 1991, 127-128; Young 1979, 85; Cox 1905, 127). Verderers were elected by the freeholders of the forests from among their number at the summoning of the sheriff, although were responsible to the Crown and could be removed by the Crown alone (Grant 1991, 126; Young 1979, 54; Cox 1905, 17-18); the Forest of High Peak also had hereditary verderers (Cox 1905, 157). Regarders were responsible for taking the *Regard* of the forest, an inspection of the forests held immediately before the eyre courts (in principle every three years) in search of *assarts*, woodland cleared and enclosed for arable use, *purprestures*, encroachments made by the construction of buildings or enclosures, or areas of trees that had been cleared, all of which would be illegal (Young 1979, 87; Cox 1905, 10-11). They were also tasked with appearing at the attachment courts and making general enquiries within the forests (Grant 1991, 128). Like verderers, regarders were elected in Sherwood (Cox 1905, 211), although in some other forests they were appointed by the sheriff (Young 1979, 87). Agisters were charged with controlling agistment, the pasturing of cattle and pigs within the royal demesne woods of the forest, as well as collecting the payment owed in return and reported to the verderers (Grant 1991, 129; Cox 1905, 23-24), whom also appointed them (Grant 1991, 214). The positions of verderer, regarder, and agister were unpaid, were elected (or selected by those who were), and were partly intended as a check against the paid and royally-appointed foresters abusing their power (Grant 1991, 128; Young 1979, 87).

Previous scholarship has considered that Forest Law may not have been a Norman import to England, and that a form of the system may have existed in the Early Medieval Period (Green 2013; Jørgensen 2010). One of the strongest pieces of evidence is the *Constitutiones de Foresta*, a law code supposedly issued by Cnut in 1016, which established many of the forest regulations found within later Norman society.

The *Constitutiones de Foresta* however is widely regarded as a later, post-Conquest, forgery (Green 2013, 429; Jørgensen 2010, 117). Mew (2001, 160) for instance argues that a pre-Norman forest (or hunting ground) may have existed at the New Forest, as Wulfgeat Hunter, a royal hunter in the forest, was recorded retaining lands in Domesday Book that he had already held in the time of King Edward. Despite a small but tantalising selection of evidence that forests had an existence in pre-Norman England, forests are still generally regarded as a Norman import to England and they will be assumed to be such throughout this thesis.

Chapter 2: Methodology

2.1 Methodological Approach and Objectives

As outlined in the first chapter, this thesis seeks to explore settlement, identity and social dynamics in the forests of Sherwood and High Peak from *circa* AD 650 to 1348. Major research themes and questions presented in the first chapter included investigating the landscape and settlement types within a medieval royal forest to demonstrate their dynamic character; the *longue durée* of forests, or their long-term impact on settlement and society; power-relations and authority in the medieval forests; and, social dynamics and agency in the medieval forests.

In order to investigate these themes a two-scale methodology has been devised. The first scale of analysis is a regional (or macro) scale of analysis; this analysis will present regional trends – largely from distribution analyses – which look across the entire extent of the Forest of High Peak, Sherwood Forest, and incorporate Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire as a whole. The second scale of analysis is an intensive (micro) local scale of analysis, which examines in detail the chronological development of individual settlements and landscapes in selected case study zones within Sherwood Forest, the Derbyshire Peak, and for reasons that shall be explained, the Nottinghamshire Trent Valley. The broad trends that emerge in the evidence from the macro-regional approach are designed to be compared and contrasted with the results of the more detailed and intensive micro-regional analysis. A more detailed explanation of how these two perspectives will operate and the evidence that they will analyse will be discussed in dedicated sections through this chapter.

The two-scale approach is necessary to allow access to evidence that would be unavailable to a thesis operating from just one of these perspectives. One of the great theoretical challenges of any landscape and settlement analysis is reconciling the regional with the local. Regional analyses are necessary for exploring broad settlement patterns and developments over wide areas, but lack detail. Local analyses, conversely, allow a deeper understanding of the settlement development

of a single area, such as a small group of parishes, but may lack wider context. No study has the scope however to study entire regions at the detailed local level, therefore isolating the results of a local analysis and limiting the extent to which they can be applied to, or compared with, their surrounding region. The ideal method of landscape research is one therefore that marries these two perspectives to facilitate both a broad and detailed analysis. The top-down two-scale approach of this thesis is designed to accomplish this. The macro-regional approach is designed to identify patterns in settlement and land use over a wide area; the micro-regional approach, by contrast, is intensive and provides a deep understanding of the select areas to which it is applied. A consequence of the top-down nature of this methodology is that the areas selected for intensive local analysis have been determined by the results of the regional analysis. The case study parishes are chosen according to those best suited to investigating in more detail the findings of the broad regional analyses. The results of the micro-regional analyses therefore exist not in isolation but in comparison with each other and within the context of the results of the regional analysis. The criteria according to which these local case studies are selected will be explored further in this chapter.

2.2 Data Creation and Presentation

The research behind this thesis is the result of analysis using Geographical Information Systems (GIS) software, conducted by the author specifically for this thesis. The specific program used for this purpose was QGIS. Every map presented in this thesis has been produced by the author, except where otherwise noted.

6-inch (1:10560) and 25-inch (1:2500) County Series first edition Ordnance Survey (OS) maps dating to the late nineteenth century were downloaded from the Edina Digimap online service (Edina 2017), and were loaded into QGIS. These maps were used in both the macro-regional and micro-regional analyses to find and identify archaeological features and boundaries, as well as for map regression analysis. In some instances, 6-inch and 25-inch first revision County Series OS maps from the early twentieth century were used where the preceding maps from the late nineteenth century were not of adequate quality. Modern OS maps as well as

geological data, showing rock and grain types within the soils of Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire, were also obtained through Edina (*ibid.*).

One of the initial stages of data analysis was to create the underlying system of parish, forest and county boundaries used throughout the thesis and its analysis, essential to the presentation of regional distribution maps; these were created through a variety of methods. The county boundaries used in this thesis are the county borders of Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire as they were in the 1850s, downloaded from the UK Data Service (Satchell, Kitson, Newton, Shaw-Taylor, and Wrigley 2016).

The medieval parish network of Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire discussed throughout this research is the result of interpretation made by the author specifically for this thesis. This involved two steps; firstly, the author had to determine which parishes existed in the medieval period, and secondly had to interpret the physical boundaries of these parishes. The first step was achieved by analysing Youngs' (1991) *Guide to Local Administrative Units of England* which lists whether a parish was an "ancient parish", or, if more recent, gives the date of creation of a parish and chapelries. This source was used to compile a list of medieval parishes and chapelries. The second step was achieved using the work of Roger Kain and Richard Oliver (in Satchell *et al.* 2016), who researched and plotted the parish boundaries of England that were in existence *circa* 1850. From this starting point, the author regressed the parish network of Kain and Oliver by editing their dataset to remove borders and parishes that came into existence after 1485. As a result, parishes of post-medieval date have been subsumed back into the larger medieval parishes from which they were carved. The result is an interpretation of the parish system as it existed *circa* 1485, at the end of the medieval period. A more reliable estimate can be provided for 1485 than can be given for 1348, the end of the timeframe of this thesis, due to much of the available evidence being from the end of the medieval period. In several cases, parochial chapels were upgraded to full parish church status before 1500, these sites therefore were at different times chapels and parish churches. This will be reflected in the presentation of these sites; for the purposes of distribution analyses of medieval churches, these examples will be included as parish churches; in distribution analyses of parochial chapelries they will be counted as chapelries. The parish model created for this thesis, as well as the

locations and names of all medieval churches and parochial chapels (independent chapels not including chapels-of-ease) can be seen in Figure 6.

The forest boundaries of Sherwood Forest and the Forest of High Peak were plotted by the author using GIS software. This was accomplished by following recorded perambulations of the forest boundaries, which were discussed in Chapter 1. The features that these perambulations describe were followed on OS maps of the late nineteenth century using GIS software (Edina 2017), and the routes were plotted as shapefiles. The Peak in Derbyshire was defined by combining the Dark Peak, the White Peak, and the South West Peak, as they are defined by Natural England's National Character Area profiles (Natural England 2015; 2014; 2013).

The *Atlas of Rural Settlement in England* project available from the Archaeological Data Service based on the research of Roberts and Wrathmell (2003; 2000) includes terrain data; this has also been utilised in this thesis (Lowerre *et al.* 2015).

The use of river networks, especially the River Trent, and their impact on medieval trade and communication is an integral part of the analysis of this thesis, especially in the macro-regional analysis. Rivers were also important in forming boundaries of administrative units. Modern river data, the *OS Open Rivers* dataset, has been downloaded from the Edina service (Edina 2017). It cannot be assumed that rivers followed their modern routes, and therefore the history of the most important rivers has been researched in order to interpret their medieval pathways, including how far inland they were navigable (MacDonald 2013; Bridgland and Howard 2011; Edwards and Hindle 1993); the aforementioned nineteenth-century Ordnance Survey maps are also a source of earlier river routes. The routes of the rivers in the *Open Rivers* have been edited where an older route is known. Of course, it must be acknowledged that the paths of rivers fluctuated even during the thesis's timeframe of *circa* 650 to 1348, so the single routes presented in this thesis act as composites of changeable entities. The medieval major road network has been similarly determined from previous research (Hindle 2013, 1976; Edwards 1987; Stenton 1936; Swinnerton 1910). Both have been plotted into shapefiles in GIS software using the Ordnance Survey maps of the nineteenth century as a guide.

A large volume of datasets were created by the author for this thesis. The various forms of distribution analyses presented in the thesis were created generally by one

of two methods. Firstly, with the use of another source (or sources), such as the HER, NMR, or SMR databases, which list the locations of specific medieval features (for example, the location of medieval markets, or place names), which were found and plotted by the author using GIS software; in these cases, the sources used will be clearly referenced. The database used (out of the HER, NMR, and SMR) is generally the HER, except where another has a higher and more detailed list of records for the feature under study. Where several databases contain unique records not found in the other databases, the databases may be combined by the author into a single database, and where action such as this has been taken it will be clearly stated. An important consideration is that the county HERs operate independently and therefore their databases cannot be assumed to have been completed to consistent criteria and diligence. This will have bearing on distribution analyses that are produced using this data. The second method of producing distribution analyses involved the author searching manually through the OS maps of the late nineteenth century to identify specific archaeological features, and plotting their locations.

A substantial degree of map analysis and map regression was conducted for this thesis. The methodology for these will be developed in the next section, but one source that was little-used in the creation of this data was the Historic Landscape Characterisations (HLC). HLC projects have been produced for both Nottinghamshire (Nottinghamshire County Council 2016; Bishop 2002) and Derbyshire (Derbyshire County Council 2016; Barnatt *et al.* 2000), but they are not incorporated in any substantial sense into the map analysis for a number of reasons. This in no way reflects on the importance or quality of the HLC projects, only that their aims and methodologies are very different from those of this thesis. The HLC projects are primarily concerned with identifying historic features extant within the modern landscape. This does not entail using historic maps and regression techniques to decipher earlier stages of landscape development that do not survive in the modern landscape. The drawbacks of analysing only the latest stages of the landscape are that earlier stages are overlooked, and majority of what is found is earlier or – to a large extent – later than the medieval period. In the micro-regional analyses especially, the approach of this thesis is to treat the landscape as a palimpsest; to reveal layers of landscape development dating specifically to the medieval period, even where this is now covered by later landscape development.

The principles and methodologies behind specific analyses to be presented in the macro-regional and micro-regional analyses will be developed further in the following dedicated sections.

2.3 Macro-Regional Analysis: Regional Distribution Analyses

The macro-regional approach will utilise heavily the *pays* approach to landscapes. The *pays* approach was adopted into English literature from French historical geographers by the Leicester School of local history who sought a way of understanding the regional divisions of England (Schurer 2000, 184). *Pays* are "natural regions" defined by their physical characteristics, and two broad methods have been used to define them (Rippon 2008, 7). One of these is to identify and isolate areas of the landscape into historically-recognised districts of unique character (usually named) such as the Weald, the Fens, the Chilterns, the Mendips, and the Cotswolds (*ibid.*; Everitt 1979, 82). The other method is through analysis of the physical landscape itself, such as recent research which has used geography and topography (Rippon 2008, 7; Lewis, Mitchell-Fox, and Dyer 1997, 211). Everitt (1986, 338-9) divides the landscape into distinct types – down, fell, fen, field, heath, marsh, wold, and "forest" (by which he meant woodland) – where each are considered a unique *pays*. Rippon (2008, 7) gives alternate examples of clay vales, downland, fenland, heathland, marshland, moorland, wolds, and woodland, and notes that the early division of England into "champion" and "woodland" landscape types by Harrison and Leland could also be considered a primitive use of the *pays* model. In one study, Rippon (2012b, 30-34) uses geology, topography, drainage patterns, soil types, agricultural potential, and climate, to define a series of detailed *pays* within south west England. Other recent researchers, such as Phythian Adams (1993), have defined *pays* not through the physical landscape but based on their distinctive social and economic characteristics, but this method is unusual (Rippon 2008, 7). There has been great variation in how *pays* are defined, but generally they conform to what could also be called "a country" in the antiquated sense of "a countryside", an area of homogeneous landscape character in the sense

found in the name "the Black Country" (Everitt 1979, 11). Everitt (1979, 2) viewed *pays* as flexible and changeable entities which could vary according to the historical period and aspects of human nature being studied. Jones and Page (2006, 5) note that the boundaries of *pays* are sometimes sharply-defined, but in other cases are interpreted as diffuse and grading imperceptively into each other.

The manner in which the *pays* approach to landscape is incorporated into archaeology is that it is argued that *pays* not only have a physical consistency but that this produced distinct communities with unique personalities and ways of life, hence why they are referred to as "cultural landscapes" (Rippon 2012b, 2, 18; 2008, 7). It can be explored whether and how differences in landscape character were indeed historically meaningful in terms of helping to shape ways of life, including farming regimes. It could be argued that this way of thinking is rooted in environmental determinism, where the physical landscape was thought to dictate human behaviour (Rippon 2012b, 3). A criticism on a related note has come from Dyer (1988, 12) who argues that when areas of similar landscape character are directly compared they are revealed to be never quite identical. These are not arguments however that proponents of the model accept; Thirsk (1987, 12, 15) for example counters that the physical landscape did not directly dictate human behaviour but rather imposed limitations on the options that communities had available. How humans responded to these limitations, however, was variable. Hence, the physical landscape did not determine human behaviour, and two physically similar *pays* should therefore not be assumed to contain identical communities. This model nonetheless serves as a valuable framework for analysing the different cultural landscapes of a royal forest. As has been argued, a forest was not a single landscape type and hence they are argued here to not be themselves individual *pays*, rather they were constituent parts of *pays* or contained multiple *pays* divisions.

Data including geology, and topography shall be used to define three broad natural regions – *pays* – across Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire. This application of the *pays* model is not intended to be exhaustive or definitive; the definition of *pays* as discussed in this chapter is partly subjective, and in a different study a larger number could be defined per different or stricter criteria. The *pays* defined should be perceived as general guides as to areas of contiguous landscape area; the boundaries

as defined should not be perceived as immediate or absolute, but rather the approximate lines of where natural *pays* converge, or transition into each other. The *pays* will follow the parish boundaries closest to where the transition in the landscape approximately occurs. In this thesis three *pays* will be defined, and the argument for the placement of their boundaries will be presented in Chapter 3.

These *pays* will be used in this thesis for two primary purposes. First, to contrast with the forest boundaries. It is unclear as to how the forest boundaries were formed, and whether they were geographically-meaningful units. That is to say, it shall be analysed whether they marked the boundaries of distinct landscape types, in which case the forest boundaries should show a correlation with the *pays* boundaries. The forest boundaries will also be compared with other natural features (such as rivers) and pre-existing administrative boundaries, to see which were most formative on the bounds of the forests. The second use for the *pays* units is for use as part of the distribution analyses, to test whether the natural landscape influenced patterns and forms of settlements and land use.

The macro-regional analysis will produce a variety of information, primarily of a quantitative nature. This quantitative information will largely be presented in the form of distribution analyses, which will be presented in maps, such as maps of settlement patterns, church locations, moated manor houses, languages of place names, locations of market charters, and artefact distributions, among others. This evidence will reveal how strongly the natural landscape determines the cultural landscape. The distribution maps presented shall be analysed to identify patterns and trends in settlement character. The forms these take will be explored in Chapter 3, but examples include a predominance of a particular settlement pattern, or a high or low volume of features such as churches and monasteries, or a high or low concentration of a particular style or culture of place name. These outcomes have been used to select the areas that are studied at a more intense level of analysis in the micro-regional analysis.

2.3.1 Specific Evidence used Within the Macro-Level Approach

Cartographic Analysis

In addition to the distribution analyses presented within the macro-level analysis, a combination of map evidence will also be used to regress the forest landscapes. These eighteenth- and nineteenth-century cartographic sources will be used to create a map which presents the extent of woodland, heathland, and agricultural fields present across the whole of the forests around the eighteenth century. These maps will cover the two forests of Sherwood and High Peak (as well as the areas of the case studies not within the forests). This general overview of the forests as they were in approximately the eighteenth century will provide a starting-point for more detailed analysis within the parish case studies. Within the case studies these maps of land use within approximately the eighteenth century will be scrutinised and regressed further, and in which additional sources will be used to regress the landscapes of the case studies to their state in the medieval period. This will be to a level of detail not possible for the entire forests. This method will be explained later in this chapter.

The sources for this regression of the landscape to approximately the eighteenth century will include, primarily, the OS 6-inch and 25-inch maps produced during the late nineteenth century (OS County Series 1:10560 1st Edition; OS County Series 1:2500 1st Edition). These are the earliest maps which cover the entirety of Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire in high detail, but are supplemented by other older and less detailed maps which also have wide coverage, including the OS one-inch Old Series maps, produced for Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire between the 1820s and 1840s (Cassini Historical Map 2006a; 2006b; 2006c; 2006d; 2006e; 2006f; 2006g; and 2006h). George Sanderson's (2001) *Twenty Miles Around Mansfield* map published first in 1835 covers the entirety of Sherwood Forest, but only into Derbyshire as far as the edge of Bakewell, and hence does not cover the Forest of High Peak. Furthermore, from the eighteenth century, John Chapman's (2003) map of Nottinghamshire first published in 1744, and Peter Perez Burdett's (1975) map of Derbyshire first published in 1767.

Material Evidence

Items of material culture presented in this thesis are predominantly from the Portable Antiquities Scheme (henceforth PAS) database, with additional items from the Early Medieval Corpus of Coin Finds (EMC) database, and a few important burial remains. In order to maintain consistency throughout the thesis, especially in the case studies, all PAS data used (except where otherwise noted) was downloaded and entered onto the GIS software on a single day (5th September 2015).
Several recent studies have been dedicated to analysing material and distributions in the Portable Antiquities Scheme database, as well as exploring the biases present in the material recorded. These specific studies did not all focus on medieval artefacts and therefore not all are related to the topic of this thesis. They are all, however, useful in terms of analysing their methodologies and demonstrating what can be realistically achieved analysing PAS data, and how biases in the PAS database can be negated. The design of a methodology to analyse PAS finds, including what conclusions can be drawn from this type of material and how best to account for biases on the data, are remarkably similar, regardless of the period or area of the country under study.

The best and most complete analysis of biases in the PAS database can be found in the PhD research of Katherine Robbins (2012), which was dedicated exclusively to analysing the impact of sampling biases upon the reliability of PAS data. Her findings will be summarised later in this section. Other important bodies of work are those of Walton (2011), Kelleher (2012) and Brindle (2014), which discuss similar possible biases. Two of these are studies of Roman Britain (Walton 2011 and Brindle 2014), but they relevant here in how they consider biases upon PAS data, how their methodologies are constructed to account for these biases, and their findings in light of such biases. The types of bias that are present within the Portable Antiquities Scheme can be broken into several categories, which will be defined in this section as matters of deposition, survival, discovery, reporting, and recording.

Artefacts came to be deposited in the soil through various means. One of the most important of these was whether the artefact was deposited intentionally or

accidentally. Intentional reasons for depositing an artefact include for burial purposes, as part of a ritual, or as part of a hoard for later retrieval. These reasons will impact upon the locations that were selected for their deposition. Accidental depositions depended on a range of factors such as the need for the item to be carried; the more frequently an artefact type was carried the higher the chance of such items being dropped. In the immediate aftermath of its loss the item may have been recovered from the surface by the owner or another person. The chance of this recovery includes the time and effort that the owner would devote to searching, the size of the object, and its appearance and visibility.

The survival of an object depends on its material of manufacture and the soil conditions. A metal object is clearly more likely to survive for several hundred years than textiles or wood. The pH balance of the soil is a significant factor in the preservation conditions (see Robbins 2012, 30), as is whether the site has been waterlogged. Burrowing animals or any act of human digging or construction may see the object disturbed or removed from the ground entirely.

The factors of discovery are some of the most varied, and relate to the object, the discoverer, and the site. The object must remain in a position where it can be found; if the finder is not using a metal detector then it must be on the surface or where the finder can otherwise luckily recover it. If the finder is using a metal detector then this will allow the discovery of metal objects a variable distance into the ground, depending on factors such as soil weight and the power of the metal detector, but at the cost that the finder will only find metal objects. These factors mean that ploughed fields, and hence agricultural areas, are where finds are most likely to be discovered. If the object is not clearly a historical artefact or it is judged to have no value, then it may be discarded. A metal detectorist or fieldwalker is more likely to return to an area where they have been lucky in the past, and less likely to return to areas where they were not. There may be no metal detectorists or field walkers active in a certain area, yet many active in others. In certain areas these activities may not be possible because the land is built upon or because permission would not be granted by the owner, such as council property or private land.

There are various causes of why an object may not be reported to the PAS. These include a finder being entirely unaware of the existence of the PAS. The finder may be sceptical about giving away the location of a site that has yielded artefacts, for

fear of either the PAS or other individuals, who have found the location from the website, searching the site for more artefacts. An object may have been obtained illegally from a site where searching had not been authorised, in which case a fake location may be given, if a report is made at all. The finder may have submitted reports of similar artefacts in the past and not realised that a report is encouraged (or if it is defined as treasure, legally necessary) for every object. The finder may not want to contact the PAS if they deem an object to be of little significance.

Finally, biases may exist within the recording process of the PAS itself and the Finds Liaison Officers (henceforth FLO). The FLO may have periods of work (for instance the summer) when they are especially busy, leading to artefacts not being recorded on the website or entries being written in haste. The FLO will naturally have a particular interest or specialisation in certain artefact types, leading to objects from those categories being more likely to be recorded or the information within the records containing more information or accuracy. The personality of the FLO is also important; if they engage with the metal detecting and field walking communities then an understanding and mutual trust is more likely to be developed which see a higher quantity of finds being reported.

To give one example, coins are the most common medieval artefact type recorded in the PAS database, and this fact could be explained through several interpretations about coins relative to other types of medieval material culture. It may mean that large numbers of coins were carried in the medieval period; that little effort was invested by medieval individuals in finding lost coins; that they were too small to be easily found once lost; that their constituent material meant they were more likely to survive in the soil; that their material means they are likely to be found by modern metal detectorists; that they are more likely to be found in clusters by repeat metal detecting; that their finders are more likely to attribute importance to them and report their discovery; that FLOs are likely to be interested in them and enter their details in the database; that the nature of coins allows them to be broken down into distinct types, of different rulers and different mints, and therefore with experience are easier to enter into the database and subject to a lesser degree of difficulty and interpretation. The reality is arguably that it is a combination of factors such as these that lead to variable numbers of different object types in the PAS database, rather than single causes.

Walton's (2011, 43) analysis was designed to analyse every parish in England from which 20 or more Roman coins have been recorded. This number is important as any fewer would not be a statistically accurate representation of coins actually used in the parishes across time. Walton (2011, 44) notes arguments that assemblages of over 100 coins, or even over 200, are preferable for statistical analyses in order to negate "numerical noise". Walton (*ibid.*) however states that such a stringent categorisation would make a national comparative analysis impossible as hardly any parishes in the north-west or south-west of England have recorded this many Roman coins. Therefore, Walton's broader category of more than 20 coins is justified. Walton (*ibid.*) also compiled a secondary dataset of coins from other sources, using 367 distinct non-PAS assemblages from around England. These were generally the result of excavations. This allowed Walton to conduct a statistical national comparison between Roman coins recorded by PAS through chance finds and those found by other means. Different biases exist on both datasets, but this gives possible insights into statistical abnormalities in the PAS dataset, and hence how strong the impact of the biases which act upon it are. Walton (2011, 288) finds for example a lack of coinage from a specific period in north Norfolk in the PAS database, and argues that this was probably the result of a change in Roman activity rather than any form of bias. Nationally she finds higher numbers of coins, including of bronze and silver, in southern England, although within these trends were various sub-trends visible on more localised scale. (*ibid.*, 289-290). She considers possible biases but argues that this trend is predominantly because of the pattern in the spread of the monetised economy (and, in theory, Romanisation) in England, which did not occur equally across the country (*ibid.*, 290-292), as well as the pattern of population distribution in England, which was generally higher in the south (*ibid.*, 293-294). In her site-specific analyses she found important evidence for the Roman settlement hierarchy by noting that certain coin types were generally found at sites of certain function, although this was not always close enough to calculate a site's function from its coin assemblage alone (*ibid.*, 294). Overall, she argues that the PAS database proves itself to be a useful and valid resource for studying patterns of discard in Roman England (*ibid.*, 288).

In his study of Portable Antiquities Scheme database biases, Kelleher (2012) found the effects of the database being open to several forms of bias. This included factors which affected object identification and the level of detail within the published

records (*ibid.*, 248). He observed the trend that the highest number of medieval coins have been found in East Anglia, which could be assumed to be a result of metal detectorists being most active in this area. He also observes however that medieval population and wealth estimates, such as those from Domesday Book and the lay subsidies, suggest that the most populated and wealthiest counties, Norfolk, Suffolk and Lincolnshire, are also the counties from which the most medieval coins have been recorded. Therefore, it is possible that the Portable Antiquities Scheme is reflecting genuine patterns of discard. Kelleher argues that the wealth of these counties in the south and east of England could be explained by their proximity to mainland Europe (*ibid.*, 249). He also argues that coin losses were significant in the rural landscape, and as such indicate a degree of monetisation that could not be inferred from other sources (*ibid.*, 252-253). Kelleher (2012, 248) argues that the EMC database is generally more accurate in its identification, because records are completed by a specialist, although the lower resolution of grid reference provided in the records (four digits) poses a difficulty for the creation of distribution analyses (*ibid.*, 248).

In Robbins's (2012) PhD study of biases in the PAS database she analyses the counties of Northamptonshire, Hampshire, and Isle of Wight as case studies. She argues of her findings that distributions reflect historic patterns of discard as well as factors of modern collection (*ibid.*, 236). Robbins found that there were more factors relating to exposure than anticipated, including the effects of harsh weather conditions and soil types upon the preservation of artefacts (*ibid.*, 237). Many key factors which cause biases in PAS data are related to the decisions of modern individuals, including details of land designations, whether landowners will grant access to their property, the decisions of metal detectorists on where to search, and their decisions on whether to report finds (*ibid.*, 236). The selection of sites to search has a much bigger impact than sampling methods, because a site that is not searched is completely invisible on distribution maps, and therefore the data is skewed towards well known metal detecting spots (*ibid.*, 238). Robbins finds seven themes that impact on the reporting of finds by a metal detectorist, including the different aims of metal detectorists; the time collectors have to report finds and the time FLOs have to record artefacts; the potential for loss of artefacts and collecting spots; the level of knowledge of all individuals concerned; trust and confidentiality

with findspots; the nature of the relationship between FLOs and metal detectorists, and how accessible the FLO is (*ibid.*, 240).

Brindle (2014, 115) finds significant variations in numbers of reported Roman PAS finds from different areas. One cause of this is physical constraints, such as the mountainous terrain of Cumbria or military restrictions in Wiltshire causing a lower artefact yield. In other cases, Brindle argues that variations reflect differences in the ancient settlement pattern. For example, citing north Lincolnshire, Brindle (*ibid.*) finds that Roman PAS data is associated with the highest terrain, while the river valleys, marshes and flood plains in the lower terrain are more poorly represented. The fact that this completely contradicts the fact that lowland areas are where metal detectorists generally prefer to search leads Brindle (*ibid.*) to suggest that there were lower levels of Roman settlement here, possibly due to flooding. Brindle (*ibid.*) also observes significantly more finds from Warwickshire than Worcestershire, possibly due to the higher availability of searchable arable land and better relationship between metal detectorists and archaeologists in Warwickshire, suggesting that this trend is the result of modern biases. Yet Brindle (*ibid.*) also notes differences in Roman settlement patterns between the two and suggests that this and modern recovery factors combined result in the lower yield of material from Worcestershire. As mentioned, it is very difficult to search for artefacts in the higher terrain of Cumbria, yet this issue may be compounded by little Roman settlement having existed here because of the difficult conditions, which Brindle (*ibid.*, 115-116) interprets from the scant HER data also from here, and as such it is an example of how ancient and modern factors can combine. That said, it has also been noted that the HER database can be subject to similar biases to the PAS database (Brindle 2014, 116; Robbins 2012, 238).

These studies outline the difficulty between ascribing trends to medieval activity or modern biases. They demonstrate that both, or a combination, are at different times the best possible explanation. These findings have influenced the design of the methodology of this thesis. This thesis analyses the distributions of various artefact types across the forests of Sherwood and High Peak. Unfortunately, one difficulty is caused by the variability in recorded finds; Sherwood Forest records a much higher number of finds than the Forest of High Peak. This disparity is so extreme that fewer than 5 medieval coins have been recorded from the Forest of High Peak.

The Trent Valley and the unafforested south Peak report a higher number of finds than the forests of Sherwood and High Peak respectively, and both were extremely important as natural routes of supply to the forests. For this reason, the Trent Valley and the unafforested Peak are included in the PAS analysis to provide a comparison to the forests themselves. Unfortunately to analyse the entirety of PAS finds from Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire was not possible within the confines of this research.

Historical Evidence

Evidence from historical documentation can be presented in a number of ways, depending on the nature of the information. Where this information can be converted to quantitative data, it is plotted in GIS software and presented as a distribution. Domesday Book is an important such source of information. An example is that Domesday Book records churches, which can be plotted in GIS software according to their location. The source for Domesday Book in this thesis is the *Phillimore Domesday Book* series (Morris 1977, 1978), and also utilised is the *Prosopography of Anglo-Saxon England* (PASE) Domesday project led by Dr Stephen Baxter (2010), which formerly offered its dataset for download. The PASE Domesday file is a shapefile with most statistics present in Domesday Book recorded, as well as the probable location of the manor. This means that the data can be manipulated with GIS software to map select aspects of the Domesday data. Manors can be selectively colour co-ordinated or showed in isolation to allow a visual representation of traits such as landlord who owned the manor(s) or which manors had churches. The PASE dataset does not include population statistics, so the PASE dataset was edited manually by the author using numbers of households from the Phillimore series (Morris 1977, 1978) and adding these to the dataset recorded within the PASE Domesday dataset. For simplicity, where two manors based at the same settlement had different population figures, these have been combined. This dataset also includes a GIS outline of England, as well as Wales and Scotland, which are used in the figures of this thesis.

In some instances, distributions will be presented for which there was no single source, and many have to be collated, by the author or by previous research. The sources within such compilations may be directly medieval, such as market and borough charters, which can be used to indicate centres of population and exchange, Or the sources may be modern, such as the National Monuments Record (NMR) and Historic Environment Record (HER) databases, which are invaluable. Another method used was for the author to manually search the OS maps of the nineteenth century looking manually for certain predetermined features, in cases where these features are not recorded by databases such as the HER. This is clearly fraught with difficulties, such as ensuring that all such examples are identified, but provides an opportunity to identify archaeological features in the absence of any other source. In all these cases the accuracy of the data produced depends on whether all examples, or a significant number, of the feature were identified.

The use of historical sources such as Domesday Book must be critiqued as the data cannot be verified. It is possible that the officials compiling the document missed or simply omitted certain features. It is known that Domesday Book was not a complete survey of settlement; there are known churches and settlements that were not included, and the population statistics are based on household numbers rather than people. The imperfections of Domesday Book are discussed by Darby (1977) in his *Domesday England*. He discusses the general uncertainties with the information it holds (*ibid.*, 12-14), and discusses more specifically the incomplete place name record it presents (*ibid.*, 13-26) and the imperfections of the population figures (*ibid.*, 57-61). John Blair (1991) addresses the problem that there may have been Anglo-Saxon churches present at locations where they were not recorded in Domesday Book. Despite these drawbacks Domesday Book provides a wealth of information about life in the transition between the late Anglo-Saxon period and the early Norman period which goes far beyond any other documentary source, and as such its inclusion in this work is easily justified. This difficulty can be applied more widely to other historical documentation; for example, no record being known of a market at a settlement cannot be interpreted as evidence that there was no market. Therefore, any distribution analyses of features such as these must be made with it borne in mind that some examples may be unrecorded. This means it will be necessary in certain instances to critique and interpret the data; an example of this

is that if a settlement was of significant size, it can be argued that it possibly had a church even if it was not recorded in Domesday Book.

Place Name Evidence

Evidence from place names can be used to interpret the minimum age for a settlement, such as Anglo-Saxon or Scandinavian, as well as identifying areas of possible unified cultural identity. Although place names are not used extensively in this thesis, this data can be plotted using GIS software to analyse patterns of distribution. The types of names that will be presented include those based on animal types, personal names, industrial activities, the nature of the nearby environment, or other miscellaneous and unique features of the site. Evidence for place names will largely be derived from the work of Cameron (1996, 1959), Gover *et al.* (1979) and Mills (2011). The names to be examined will generally be derived from two cultural roots.

Firstly, and most commonly Old English, a language developed from *Ingvaeonic* and imported from the Germanic areas of the North Sea coastline between Friesland and Jutland at the start of the Anglo-Saxon period and soon before the beginning of the chronological scope of this thesis (Barber 2000, 100). Secondly, many place names are derived from Old Norse, also ultimately a Germanic language. The Scandinavian linguistic impact on England does not appear to have been as profound as the Germanic impact four to five centuries earlier, but was still considerable, with many modern English words being derived from Old Norse.

These two linguistic influences make up the majority of the medieval place names to be found, but there are a few other forms to be considered. The first of these are place names which are "Celtic" or "British". This includes names such as Eccles (Mills 2011, 170). Finally, there are also names dating to after the Norman Conquest which contain introduced French elements. Names of this type include Chapel-en-le-Frith in Derbyshire and (Stoke) Bardolph and (Burton) Joyce in Nottinghamshire (Mills 2011, 105; Cameron 1996, 113; Gover *et al.* 1979, 177).

It is important to consider what information can be assumed from a place name. It can be difficult to establish a complete transition of a place name from its current

form to its original form. A source such as Domesday Book can be very useful in tracing the form of a name as far back as the end of the Early Medieval Period, yet there could have already been enough change by this time for it to be difficult to pinpoint the exact original meaning of a name. Furthermore, any attempt to draw a link between stylistic origin of a place name and apparent "culture" or "identity" at a site is at best tenuous. For example, the name *Blidworth* meant the "enclosure of man called Blitha" (Mills 2011, 63) in Old English; here we merely have the name of one individual who lived at the site in the Anglo-Saxon period. From the name Blitha it may (or may not) be that this individual was of a Germanic affiliation.

What can be interpreted from a name such as this is fraught with difficulty. It cannot be known whether the individual was a real person or a legendary founder of the settlement as part of a founding myth. It cannot be known whether they were the sole occupant of the settlement. It cannot be said that the named individual affiliated with the culture from which the name was stylistically-derived. It cannot be necessarily known whether this was the first name for the settlement. It cannot be assumed that the ethnic and cultural affiliation of the settlement's occupants did not change. All of these issues must be kept in mind when place names are being discussed as part of the macro-regional and micro-regional analyses. For example, a distribution map of Old Scandinavian place names would not necessarily show the full geographical extent of the spread of Norse language.

Though place names must be used tentatively, they can demonstrate that elements of certain languages were within the local lexicon, and hence that the spread of a given language had likely reached a specific settlement. Also, the styles can establish a *terminus ante quem*; the settlement must at the very least be as old or older than the stylistic date of its name. Although it also must be considered that elements may have remained within the local lexicon and continued to be used to form new names, and therefore the earliest documentation of specific place names will generally be relied upon as a *terminus ante quem* for the settlement's existence.

Burial and Cemetery Evidence

An important aspect of evidence that shall be utilised in this thesis is that of burial and cemetery evidence, which is especially important for the early Anglo-Saxon period. Knowledge about the locations of early medieval burials and cemeteries will come initially from Meaney's (1964) catalogue of sites as well as updates to this list from sources including Historic Environment Record (HER) data.

This form of data has limitations, such as material that has been recovered compared to that which still lies unearthed, as many burials may currently lie undiscovered, but also material that has been removed in the intervening years since it was deposited. It may be that many medieval barrows for example have long since been destroyed. As has already been discussed for PAS data, the material that best survives are made of metalwork, ceramics, and bone, as compared to textiles, wood and general organic matter which is vastly underrepresented in the archaeological record. Sites with better surviving material provide much more evidence, meaning that soil types and conditions will be heavily influential on the material that is ultimately presented.

2.4 Micro-Regional Analysis: Settlement Dynamics at a Local Level

2.4.1 A Case Study Approach to Clusters of Parishes

The macro-regional analysis presents distributions and trends apparent within a wide analysis of the landscape. The micro-regional approach, meanwhile, examines small areas (parish-based case studies) at a much higher level of detail. The aim of these parish case studies is to challenge the apparent regional trends that appear in the macro-regional studies, and to investigate the potential complexity behind those trends at a local level. The case studies have been chosen as clusters or zones of neighbouring parishes, with dedicated chapters to the case studies of Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire (the case study parishes are presented in Figure

7). The approach of analysing combined groups of parishes provides a bigger and more compact sample of data from select areas, rather than sampling random isolated parishes in the landscape where the findings could not be determined to be unique or common for the parish's surroundings. This allows a perspective that a method using just isolated case studies would not give.

The clusters of parishes have been selected according to which areas would most benefit from more detailed study in the macro-regional analysis. The selected case studies contain a high proportion of specific elements that this thesis seeks to study, such as material culture and a range of landscape and settlement types that allow a contrast. They include key locations in and around the forests, such as the locations of forest courts and the locations of administrative centres. Nottingham itself will not be included as a case study because the scope of investigating the medieval town of Nottingham as a whole would require a dedicated project not allowed by the parameters of this thesis. This limitation is not however damaging to the thesis overall because Nottingham played a very small role in the medieval operation of Sherwood Forest; despite being within the forest, it was exempt from Forest Law and the forest administration was delegated to the several large villages of Sherwood and the town of Mansfield (Cox 1905, 14; Crook 2005a).

The parish clusters deliberately stretch across the forest borders, and hence a number of parishes will be outside of the forests of Sherwood and High Peak. This is very important because these locations demonstrate the development of locations that were never covered by Forest Law or which were selectively removed from Forest Law, and, as such, provide essential comparisons in the consideration of what the effect of Forest Law may have been on the development of the landscape. Together, the case studies selected are ideal to allow the thesis to investigate its core research questions: The diversity of forest landscapes, the long-term effect of Forest Law, the impact of authority, and evidence for social dynamics and agency in the medieval forests.

Nottinghamshire

There will be three clusters of parishes in the case studies presented from Nottinghamshire. Two of these are found in the area of Sherwood Forest, and will be called the North Sherwood cluster and the Central Sherwood Cluster. Another case study cluster is presented from the Trent Valley. The North Sherwood cluster will contain the parishes and chapelries of Edwinstowe, Clipstone, Warsop, and Cuckney. This area was important to study in detail as it covers part of what essentially was the heart of medieval Sherwood Forest. As shall be seen in the following chapters, it was also here where the medieval kings did most of their Nottinghamshire hunting, where officials within the forest administration were based, where the highest proportion of royal demesne was located, and incidentally also where the highest proportion of woodland was located. The artefact distribution analyses will show that this area has yielded the most significant assemblage of PAS finds from Sherwood Forest, including a large number of coins and a number of items of riding gear. This case study includes King John's Palace in Clipstone, a significant royal hunting retreat. This case study straddles the northern border (as it was after the early thirteenth century) of Sherwood Forest, with Edwinstowe, Clipstone, and half of Warsop within the forest, and the other half of Warsop, Cuckney, and Welbeck outside the forest.

The second Sherwood Forest case study area is the Central Sherwood case study. This cluster of parishes includes the parishes of Calverton, Blidworth, Oxton, Farnsfield, and Mansfield, and the small extra-parochial areas of Haywood Oaks and Lindhurst. Mansfield was an important medieval town, and the administrative capital of the forest. This group of parishes mark an important geographical transition in landholding. While Mansfield was ancient royal demesne, as was most of the Northern Sherwood case study, Blidworth, Farnsfield, Oxton, and Calverton were part of the Archbishop of York's substantial landholding centred on Southwell. This case study has a moderately high number of reported PAS finds, although fewer than Northern Sherwood. The Central Sherwood case study has a lower proportion of woodland and a higher proportion of fields. This case study straddles the east boundary of Sherwood Forest, with Mansfield, Blidworth,

Calverton, and part of Farnsfield within the 1232 border of the forest, while Oxton and most of Farnsfield were outside.

The third Nottinghamshire case study is the Trent Valley case study. This includes the parishes of Dunham, Fledborough, and Cromwell. These were outside of Sherwood Forest and were not afforested after the thirteenth century. Throughout the distribution analyses however the Trent Valley, the Trent river system in particular emerges as an important conduit for the supply of goods to Nottinghamshire, with implications for Sherwood Forest. It was here where settlement in medieval Nottinghamshire expanded from, and artefacts are distributed much more densely than in any other case study. While Dunham was royal demesne, Fledborough and Cromwell were held by lords. Unlike the other case studies, the Trent Valley case studies are not contiguous. Instead these have been selected to offer a broad sample from across the Trent Valley; they are parishes with high numbers of PAS finds, a range of settlement types, or with good evidence for antecedent settlement.

Derbyshire

The Derbyshire case studies are titled the White Peak case study and the Dark Peak case study. The Dark Peak case study focuses on the three parishes of Hope, Castleton, and Chapel-en-le-Frith, and the parochial chapelry of Peak Forest. These four locations were all within the Forest of High Peak. Both Castleton and Hope were important centres of the forest administration, as well as centres of the local lead mining industry, and Peak Forest (a place within the Forest of High Peak) was the centre of royal hunting within the forest. Unfortunately, this of all the case studies has yielded the fewest finds, although no area of the Forest of High Peak has reported a higher number.

The White Peak case study focuses on the parish of Bakewell and two of its parochial chapelries, Ashford and Taddington. These parishes are within the unafforested Peak, to the south of the Forest of High Peak. Bakewell was one of the most important centres within the Peak, and the site of an Anglo-Saxon burh. This area of the White Peak contained lead mining and was at the north end of the

Peak barrow burials. This area has unfortunately recorded few PAS finds, but a higher number than the Dark Peak case study.

These case studies allow a detailed comparison of a variety of aspects of medieval settlement and landscape. The landscapes of the case studies include both hunting spaces and expansive fields; and major urban centres of Mansfield, Bakewell and Castleton, but also small villages such as Blidworth and Cuckney. The case studies include parishes inside, on the border, and outside of afforestation. The case studies are selected to maximise the number of finds under consideration. The rationale for the case study selections will be justified further during the macro-regional analysis.

2.4.2 Specific Evidence used Within the Micro-Regional Analytical Approach

The technique of the micro-regional analytical approach, which will be applied to the parish case studies, is one centred on map regression. Map regression relies on the notion that, despite changes in the intervening period, evidence for the medieval structure of the landscape can be found fossilised in the later landscape. The landscape is treated as a palimpsest, where multiple previous layers can be interpreted. This applies especially to medieval fields and villages. As no detailed medieval maps of the landscape are available, as discussed above, this thesis uses late nineteenth-century OS maps as the earliest available consistent alternative. This technique is one that that has been developed over a long period and has been applied in a large number of projects, as examined within section 1.3.2.

The technique is reliable in that it is non-destructive and can be replicated, but of course it is a practice that is open to interpretation and as such, two different researchers could potentially reach different conclusions. That being said, the approach is fairly standardised as the majority of landscape clues would be recognised similarly by anybody trained in map regression, and therefore differences between interpretations should be minimal, being restricted primarily to unique landscape features. Although the nuances are largely open to discrepancy, the overall findings and conclusions from the method are well-supported.

The technique works partly by multi-layering different facets of data. The ones used in the case studies of this thesis include modern Ordnance Survey maps, nineteenth-century Ordnance Survey maps, HER data, place name data, PAS finds, and medieval building phases. These layered together allow comparisons which help to reconstruct the morphology and topography of the medieval settlements and landscape.

Manorial Histories and Documentation

The first stage of the regression process is an analysis of landholding within the case study parishes. This includes an understanding of the type of owner (such as royal demesne, ecclesiastical, or lord) from Domesday Book through to approximately 1348. These have been analysed through study of Domesday Book itself (Morris 1978; 1977) and published manorial histories (Lysons and Lysons 1817; Thoroton 1796; 1790a; 1790b). Due to the volume of this information, it has been condensed into tables within the case studies. This information acts as context to any settlement changes that may be observed in the regression process, and aids in determining responsibility for the initiation of those changes. The boundaries of the parish network, and the changes thereto, have been recreated using the work of Youngs (1991) and the work of Kain and Oliver (in Satchell *et al.* 2016).

Cartographic Analysis

Map Regression

Section 2.3.1 outlined a method by which the landscapes of Sherwood Forest and the Forest of High Peak have been regressed to the eighteenth century – showing areas of arable cultivation, heathland, and woodland – through the use of a combination of cartographic sources. This analysis has been taken a step further in the parish case studies, where the landscapes are regressed to the medieval period, *circa* the fourteenth century.

The maps of the regressed landscape will show key aspects of the medieval landscape such as areas of open field, arable enclosures, settlements, pasture (enclosed or unenclosed), and woodland. The reality was more complicated; many areas, especially those with changing land-use, would have fitted into more than one of these categories at different times. The broad category of "pasture" encompasses pastoral fields, heathland, moorland, carrs, "waste", and brecks. Differentiating between woodland as opposed to heathland, "waste", or open pasture is in practice an artificial divide, as woodland may contain large clearings or areas of low tree density, while heathland, "waste" and open pasture would contain scattered trees, or even pockets of dense tree coverage. How areas of wood-pasture are categorised – either within the "heathland" category or in the "woodland" category – will depend on the apparent density of the woodland, and evidently the density and number of trees required to constitute "woodland" is a matter of interpretation which is openly acknowledged here. The distinction between pastoral and arable enclosures is similarly difficult, especially within the Derbyshire Peak, and indeed any distinction may be artificial, and due to changing land use may have been used for both purposes. Interpretation of their general use will rely on features such as, in particular, ridge and furrow from the sources outlined below, but where there is still a discrepancy an estimation will be made, and this will be clarified in the text. The maps that result from this process are similar to maps of the medieval landscape of Rockingham Forest researched and published by Foard *et al.* (2009).

A number of sources are used as part of this analysis. Rippon (2012b, 119-130) presents a method of breaking the landscape down into field types and landscape types, performed on OS maps of the late nineteenth century. These types include woodland, ornamental gardens, settlement, irregular enclosures, semi-regular enclosures, relict open fields, regular enclosures, and late enclosures. Two further categories are firstly modern disturbance, where recent activity present in the OS maps makes it impossible to interpret earlier phases in the landscape, examples include train lines, housing estates, and the creation of reservoirs. The second category is "waste" or unenclosed land, a broad category that is defined as land not covered by trees or settlement, but not enclosed for private use such as farming, gardening, or as a park. Examples of this include open heathland, valleys, and communal pasture. Despite the name, "waste" was of immense economic and societal value as open pasture, as well as potentially for use in industries such as

mining or quarrying. Rippon's (*ibid.*) method has been applied to the case studies of this thesis, and can be used to regress the landscape, as it identified features (such as late enclosures) that can be selectively removed, as well as features such as irregular enclosures which may be the remnants of an earlier field system, and hence can be used to reconstruct such a field system.

Several further cartographic sources are used as part of the map regression process; the majority of these sources are maps which cover individual parishes, which hence can only be used in the reconstruction of partial areas of each case study. Enclosure maps have been examined which cover parts of the Trent Valley case study (NRO: EA/26/2), the Central Sherwood case study (NRO: EA/14/2, EA/15/2), and the North Sherwood case study (NRO: EA/6/1, EA/11/1). Tithe maps have been examined from the Trent Valley case study (TNA: IR 30/26/49), the Central Sherwood case study (TNA: IR 30/26/78, IR 30/26/96), the North Sherwood case study (TNA: IR 30/26/22, IR 30/26/30, IR 30/26/37, IR 30/26/43), the White Peak case study (TNA: IR 30/8/10, IR 30/8/27, IR 30/8/40, IR 30/8/96, IR 30/8/99, IR 30/8/100, IR 30/8/178, IR 30/8/184, IR 30/8/205), and the Dark Peak case study (TNA: IR 30/8/1, IR 30/8/13, IR 30/8/34, IR 30/8/39, IR 30/8/49, IR 30/8/52, IR 30/8/81, IR 30/8/95, IR 30/8/102, IR 30/8/106, IR 30/8/110, IR 30/8/115, IR 30/8/116, IR 30/8/160, IR 30/8/207, IR 30/8/236).

The Trent Valley case study parishes are covered by the maps of Henry Stevens, dating to 1820 and of a 1:31,680 scale (British Library 2009a; 2009b). The estates of William Cavendish, Earl of Newcastle were mapped between 1629 and 1640 by William Senior. These maps cover Edwinstowe, Clipstone, Norton, and Sookholme within the North Sherwood case study, as well as a small area of Peak Forest in the Dark Peak case study. This has recently been published in physical and electronic form by Mastoris (2017). Another survey by Senior, mapping the estates of the Earls of Devonshire between 1600 and 1626, covered Ashford and Sheldon in the White Peak case study, and Chapel-en-le-Frith in the Dark Peak case study, although these maps have only been partially published (Fowkes and Potter, 1988). The landscape of Sherwood Forest was analysed as part of a Crown survey in 1609 by Richard Bankes, which has been published by Mastoris and Groves (1997). The written survey survives intact for the entire forest (including the parishes of Edwinstowe and Warsop in North Sherwood, and Calverton, Blidworth, and

Mansfield in the Central Sherwood case study), although the accompanying maps only survive from the southern half of the forest (which includes a map of Calverton, within the Central Sherwood case study). An additional map provided by Mastoris and Groves (1997) covers Gleadthorpe, in Warsop in the North Sherwood case study, probably from Bankes's survey. Aerial photography from Google Earth Pro (Google 2015) has been used in the interpretation of ridge and furrow; ridge and furrow is also noted in the HER and NM databases.

Some of these sources, such as Senior and Bankes, give detailed evidence for seventeenth-century land-use, such as private enclosures, rabbit warrens, or brecks. These can be problematic, because this level of information is not available for the majority of the case studies, and one key goal of the case studies is consistency. A second problem is that these sources show landscape use in the seventeenth century and not the medieval period, and as such they are merely a guide. A significant number of physical and social changes occurred in the post-medieval landscape, and therefore while these seventeenth century sources are incredibly useful, a level of scepticism must be maintained about applying these to the medieval landscape. For example, assarts or enclosures showed in these seventeenth-century sources were not necessarily the result of medieval activity.

A further source for regressing the landscape is the identification of farmsteads of potentially medieval date. A *terminus ante quem* for the existence of farmsteads within the case studies can be ascertained from place name studies which document the earliest record of their existence (Gover *et al.* 1979; Cameron 1959). The analysis will include all farmsteads recorded before, and including, the sixteenth century, to identify as many medieval farmsteads as possible. The two drawbacks are that, first, a farmstead in existence during the medieval period may have gone unrecorded until a much later and more detailed source, such as the OS maps of the nineteenth century; such farmsteads are impossible to determine without a widespread programme of fieldwalking. Second, the inclusion of sites recorded in the fifteenth and sixteenth century to maximise the number of pre-1348 sites identified may also identify farmsteads created after 1348, and as such these sites recorded post-1348 are treated with scepticism. Conversely, this can aid the regression process by highlighting stages of post-medieval landscape development; a sixteenth-century

farmstead located within the former open field system, for example, may serve as an indicator of early enclosure.

PAS chance finds are problematic. The discovery of an item in a certain location would appear to indicate human activity at that location at around the stylistic date of the item deposited. It is impossible however to be certain of when the item was deposited, the date range of the item merely provides a *terminus ante quem* for its deposition. At the moment of its deposition the individual carrying the item was not necessarily in a location where human activity was frequent; a hoard, for example, would logically be deposited in a location where human activity was uncommon. The location of PAS chance finds in relation to land-use must be treated with extreme scepticism.

The Historic Environment Record (HER) database has been searched for medieval settlement features, and these are marked on the landscape map. In addition, records within the National Archives are used also for interpreting the location of activities such as assarts. Both these sources are used as further evidence within the map regression process.

These aforementioned sources have been used in conjunction, to regress the landscape of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries back to approximately the fourteenth century. What maps produced for this thesis showing the regressed landscape cannot do is present a complete history of landscape development between the seventh and fourteenth centuries. What these maps instead offer is a single snapshot of the medieval landscape in approximately the fourteenth century, and which highlight developments that took place between, primarily, 650 (though largely after 1100) and 1348. To a large extent this methodology is replicable, and repeated analyses by different researchers should yield similar, if not identical, results. Nevertheless, there is also a significant degree of simplification and interpretation involved, and therefore an allowance for error must be incorporated. As a result, the reconstructions of the medieval landscapes are not – and are not intended or assumed to be – exhaustive, but are used as a tool within a wider discussion, and simply serve to highlight evidence for trends discussed and developed further within the text.

Settlement Plan Analysis

In addition to the map regression techniques which present the character of the medieval landscape within each of the parish case studies, a series of settlement plan analyses will examine in detail all of the major settlements within the parish cases studies.

The study of settlement plan forms began with study of urban morphologies. The work of Conzen (1960), in particular his study of the town of Alnwick, was highly influential in the origins of this discipline. Such plan analyses attempt to interpret a settlement's earliest features, foci and influences for the settlement's growth, what factors led to the placement of the settlement and the direction of growth, as well as the order in which elements of the settlements developed. This included using cartographic sources, generally dating to much later than the settlement's origins. Over time, scholars of the rural landscape adopted similar techniques in the study of rural settlement plans. One early proponent was Brian K. Roberts (1987; 1977). Research projects on Lincolnshire by Everson *et al.* (1991) and Stocker and Everson (2006) have been particularly important recent uses of the technique on rural settlement plans. Both studies analyse the settlement plans of various Lincolnshire villages, analysing the relative locations of the manorial *curia* and churches in relation to the tenement plots of the settlements. Stocker and Everson's (2006) *Summoning St Michael* focused specifically on the placement of churches within settlements, and divided settlements into categories including churches associated with the earliest settlement foci such as springs, churches found on greens or public spaces, and churches associated with manorial *curiae* (*ibid.*, 61).

These analyses of physical plans are used in conjunction with manorial histories, to further investigate how the physical forms may have developed. For example, in a settlement where multiple manors were recorded in Domesday Book, this can sometimes be correlated with multiple foci or zones of settlement within the settlement plan (for example, Stocker and Everson 2006, 98, 129-130, 135-136, 140-141, 148-149, 154-155, *passim*).

The principles employed in analysing a settlement plan within this thesis are adopted from Stocker and Everson (2006), Roberts (1987), and Aston (1985). The

method used in this thesis involves the creation of a digital model of the settlements as they appear in the OS maps within GIS software, then aspects of the settlement such as churches, manorial *curia*, green spaces, and tenement plots are analysed. Where possible, the settlements will also be analysed metrologically. This evidence will be used to support the hypothesis that certain settlement layouts resulted from deliberate planning, as well as to provide hints as to how this planning was carried out, and its relation to previous and subsequent settlement development. This will rely on utilising medieval measurements, including the perch which was locally variable and between 15 and 25 feet, but most commonly 16.5 feet (a statute perch, or a king's perch), which was adopted after 1300 (Aston 1985, 73; Jones 1979, 13-14; Sheppard 1974, 119). 18 and 20 foot perches were also common (Aston 1985, 73; Sheppard 1974, 119). A rood was equivalent to 40 square perches (Dyer 2000, 117), and as a result was locally dependent on the size of a perch.

Building Phases and Monuments

As part of the parish case studies, building phases and monuments will be used to seek further insights into settlement development. This will foremost concern church buildings, which form almost exclusively the surviving buildings within the parishes under study.

This will not entail analysis of the architectural styles themselves, but rather the evidence for patronage which results from the dates and nature of the changes made. Funerary monuments, generally consisting of alabaster effigies and incised cross slabs, will similarly be analysed to interpret the background of those to whom these monuments were created. It may be expected that funerary monuments were created for the manorial lords of the parish, and indeed many such examples will be present. Yet in a number of cases, funerary monuments will be seen as a method of expression used by free proprietors or members of the upper peasantry.

There are inherent difficulties in this form of analysis, primarily survival bias. Churches wholly or partially rebuilt since the medieval period, or monuments which have been destroyed, go unrepresented in the data, and this is a shortcoming that must be readily acknowledged. Evidence for church phases comes predominantly

from the Pevsner guides (1979; 2002), supplemented by sources which cover only some of the case study churches, including the Southwell Churches Project (SCP) covering Nottinghamshire, and books and articles covering the individual churches. Photographs of the churches were taken on site by the author except where noted; a select number of images from Historic England's Images of England (IOI) database have also been used.

2.5 Structure of the Data Presentation

As discussed, the approach of this thesis is top-down. The earliest stages will take a very broad approach to the landscapes of Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire, before building on preceding sections and focusing on more specific elements by selecting case studies for greater study.

Chapter 3 of this thesis is the first of the two macro-regional chapters and will use information from the natural landscape to formulate three broad *pays*, or natural regions, in Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire. It will be observed how similar or dissimilar the forests boundaries were with these *pays*, and other landscape features and settlement zones. The second part of Chapter 3 will present and examine a variety of distribution analyses with information from across Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire, such as the distribution of boroughs, markets, churches, monasteries, and place names. These distributions will be examined for patterns, with reference to the *pays* boundaries of Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire and the boundaries of the forests of High Peak and Sherwood. Chapter 4 will present the distribution of artefacts in the Nottinghamshire Trent Valley, Sherwood Forest, and the Derbyshire Peak, and will discuss chronological and geographical patterns within material culture, as well as what it indicates about status.

The two macro-regional chapters are followed by two chapters focusing on the micro-regional analysis. Chapters 5 will feature the two Sherwood Forest case studies and the Trent Valley case study; Chapter 6 focuses on the Derbyshire Peak case studies.

These are followed by three discussion chapters, with Chapter 7 focusing on settlement dynamics, Chapter 8 on power-relations and social dynamics, and Chapter 9 on networks and identities. These chapters use the information found within the data chapters of this thesis, and contextualise these findings. This will entail comparisons being made with pre-existing research on related themes, as well as reinterpreting information from historical accounts on the basis of this thesis's findings.

A final conclusion, Chapter 10, will conclude what this thesis has found and what it contributes to knowledge about medieval settlement and social dynamics. In particular, the conclusion will reflect on what this thesis has revealed about the impact of Forest Law.

Chapter 3: Regional Trends: *Pays*, Landscapes and Settlement Patterns

This chapter is the first of the macro-regional analysis. It focuses on the entirety of the forests of High Peak and Sherwood, as well as the counties of Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire in which the forests were situated, and aims to study the forests within their wider landscape settings. This chapter looks at the natural landscape *pays* of Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire with specific reference to the forests, and with particular reference to regional trends in settlement patterns and communication routes.

The chapter will be structured by first analysing the physical landscape, defining the natural landscape *pays* of Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire, which are compared with the forest boundaries. The second half of the chapter analyses settlement distributions, beginning with the antecedent landscape, before presenting medieval travel routes, settlement patterns, hierarchy of settlement, patterns of land ownership, and other aspects of medieval settlement. This analysis will analyse whether the pattern of medieval settlement was influenced by either the natural landscape or the placement of forest boundaries.

3.1 The Natural Landscape and *Pays* of Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire

Chapter 2 explained that the landscape of Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire has been divided into a series of *pays*. This section will introduce and examine three *pays* across Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire, and will explain how they have been defined. As discussed, these *pays* are not intended to be definitive, it may be that individual *pays* themselves contained subdivisions, or there are other pays in the study area that have not emerged here. Similarly, the *pays* boundaries are not intended to be precise borders of immediate landscape change, but rather mark the approximate point (following the closest parish boundaries) where the three

different natural regions merge into another. The *pays* approach adopted here is used as a structural framework that enables a comparison between the physical landscape and the forest boundaries.

The three *pays* to be presented in this chapter are the Trent Valley *Pays*, the East Derbyshire and Sherwood Plateau *Pays*, and the Peak and Uplands *Pays* (see Figure 8). These are defined by terrain topology and geology, which will be presented in the first section of this chapter.

3.1.1 Landscape Terrain

Terrain elevation data shows that the two counties can be divided into three broad types in terms of land height (see Figure 9). These are the lowest terrain, the lowland, which is defined as land generally under 210 mamsl (metres above sea level); the intermediate terrain, defined as generally between 180 and 300 mamsl; and the highest terrain, the upland, generally over 300 mamsl. Each of the three *pays* divisions used in this thesis largely conforms in its entirety to one of these types.

The terrain of the area defined as the Peak and Uplands *Pays* is highly variable in height above sea level. Although it contains valleys where the height is below 210 mamsl, the majority of this *pays* division is above 300 mamsl, and almost all of the land above 300 mamsl in either Derbyshire or Nottinghamshire is found within this *pays*. The area defined as the East Derbyshire and Sherwood Plateau *Pays* is largely stable in terrain height, and falls within what has been defined as the intermediate terrain; there are small valleys where the land falls below 180-210 mamsl, and one small area to the east of Nottingham is above 300 mamsl. The Trent Valley *Pays* is the lowest terrain of Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire, and is largely lowland under 210 mamsl, although on the west side of the *pays* an area of intermediate height is found, where this *pays* borders with the East Derbyshire and Sherwood Plateau *Pays*.

3.1.2 Geology

Underlying geology is the other form of physical evidence which has been used to define the three *pays* boundaries of Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire. Rock types in Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire are presented in Figure 10, while grain types are presented in Figure 11. The Peak and Uplands *Pays* contains a variety within its geology, including predominantly argillic-arenaceous limestone, arenaceous sandstone, and in the north of the *pays*, peat. The outer south border of the Peak and Uplands *Pays* is marked by a transition into argillaceous mudstone, which is not found within the *pays* itself. The East Derbyshire and Sherwood Plateau *Pays* can be broken into three main subdivisions of geological types: in the east, arenaceous-rudaceous sandstone; in the centre, argillic-rudaceous dolostone; in the west, argillic-arenaceaous mudstone, with small areas of arenaceous sandstone. The Trent Valley *Pays* is unique from the other *pays* for containing large areas of argillaceous mudstone. Along the immediate banks of the Trent river is a strip of argillic-arenaceous clay, bordered by arenaceous-rudaceous sand. In the far south of the Nottinghamshire section and the far west of the Derbyshire section of the Trent Valley *Pays*, an argillic-rudaceous diamicton of clay and gravel is found.

3.1.3 *Pays*, Rivers and Forest Boundaries

When the placement of the forest boundaries are compared with the *pays* that have been identified, there is no major correlation. The two forests are either entirely subsumed within the *pays*, or cross the boundaries. The Forest of High Peak was within the Peak and Uplands *Pays*; Sherwood Forest crossed the border of the East Derbyshire and Sherwood Plateau *Pays* and the Trent Valley *Pays* (see Figure 6). The only slight correlation is between part of the east boundary of Sherwood Forest and the border between the Trent Valley *Pays* and the East Derbyshire and Sherwood Plateau *Pays*. When the *pays* are compared with the zones of settlement outlined by Roberts and Wrathmell (2003; 2000), it can be observed that East Derbyshire and Sherwood Plateau *Pays* and the Trent Valley *Pays* were both within the "central zone", while the Peak and Uplands *Pays* was within the "western zone".

The placement of forest boundaries often had a relationship with river systems. The forest within twelfth-century Nottinghamshire for example was defined as the entire county north of the River Trent (Crook 2011, 108). When the rivers of Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire (from Edina 2017) are plotted against the borders of the Forest of High Peak and Sherwood Forest (the border of 1232, as defined in Chapter 1), there is to some extent a correlation (see Figure 12). The south-east, south, and south-west boundaries of Sherwood Forest was defined by the rivers Beck, Trent, and Leen. The River Meden defined the north forest boundary. The east and west boundaries of the forest were defined by roads and field boundaries, even where an alternate route using rivers were partly available. The Forest of High Peak (the border of which was outlined in Chapter 1) followed the river Derwent to the east, the Goyt to the west, and the Etherow in the north. Like Sherwood Forest, the south-east and south-west borders were determined by other factors; factors which shall be examined through this chapter. This demonstrates that rivers were highly influential on the course of forest boundaries, but only where they were available in the locality. If a certain area were to be afforested and no river was available in the immediate vicinity, then the boundary would follow other criteria rather than be diverted.

3.1.4 Woodland and Land Use in the Eighteenth Century

An approximate model of the landscapes of the forests of High Peak and Sherwood Forest as they existed in the eighteenth century has been created, according to the methodology defined in section 2.3.1 of this thesis. The map of Chapman (2003) depicts large areas of woodland, as well as areas of mixed heathland and woodland. Chapman (*ibid.*) did not record smaller or disparate areas of woodland within heathland individually, so the more detailed and higher-scale OS maps of the late nineteenth century have been used to interpret some of these possible areas. Chapman (*ibid.*) also shows the remnants of medieval open fields and settlements, covering all of the forest area which were neither woodland nor heathland. Sherwood Forest is found to have had heathland and woodland stretching from the north-east of the forest, to the south-west. There are nonetheless large areas of settlement and fields. This included around Mansfield in the north-west of the

forest, Edwinstowe, Warsop, Clipstone, and Ollerton in the north-east, Thorneywood in the south-east of the forest, and an isolated area at Blidworth in the centre of the forest. This alone demonstrates that the landscape of the medieval forest was far more than simply woodland, but this map will be challenged in the parish case studies to argue that the area of medieval cultivation and settlement may have been even more extensive. This combined map of approximate eighteenth-century woodland, heathland, settlement and fields is presented in Figure 13. Figure 13 also includes blocks of woodland that appear in the OS maps of the nineteenth century which do not appear depicted by Chapman (*ibid.*). It may be that Chapman's (*ibid.*) map lacked the detail to include some of these, or else they were the result of nineteenth-century woodland regeneration.

The Forest of the Peak is harder to assess, as Burdett's (1975) map of Derbyshire from 1767, revised in 1791, is less detailed than Chapman's (2003) for Nottinghamshire, but it has been possible to identify the forest's moorland as it existed during approximately the nineteenth century using the OS maps from this century as a guide. The OS maps demonstrate the limited areas of woodland found in the forest, compared to the moorland which dominated the centre to north-east of the forest. The areas of the Forest of High Peak with most settlement and arable agriculture in the eighteenth century were the north-west, south-west, and south-east areas. Figure 14 presents the approximate areas of woodland, heathland, settlement and fields that existed in the eighteenth century within what had been the forest.

3.2 Antecedent Central Places and Settlement Context

3.2.1 Bronze Age and Iron Age Hillforts

A total of 22 Bronze Age and Iron Age hillforts are recorded in the HER databases of Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire, which have been plotted on a map (see Figure 15). A number of the hillfort sites were located within and around what became the forests of High Peak and Sherwood. Two are found within what became the

medieval boundary of the Forest of High Peak, with a further 6 in Derbyshire within 15 miles of the boundary. One important example from within the forest is at Mam Tor, close to the later towns of Hope and Castleton (DHER: 3319). Another is Combs Moss, close to Chapel-en-le-Frith (DHER: 3510). Four have been found within the later bounds of Sherwood Forest, and a further eight within 10km of what became the forest boundary. Important examples from within Sherwood Forest are Whinny Hill, close to the town of Mansfield (NHER: M4004); Fox Wood (NHER: M1752) close to Calverton; and Cockpit Hill (NHER: M2051) between Calverton and Arnold. These cited examples were all located by settlements which would play a role in forest administration. Looking beyond the periphery of the forests, a single example is recorded each from the north of Nottinghamshire and the south of Derbyshire. This is of course not to say that a higher degree of settlements did not exist in the lowland areas such as the Trent Valley, only that this landscape was not as conducive to the construction of these structures.

3.2.2 Roman Villas and Forts

Roman settlement in Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire is predominantly concentrated in the Trent Valley, where a high number of villa and fort sites have been found, although there are a few important sites to be found within the forests (see Figure 16). Figure 15 shows villa and fort sites from both the NMR and HER databases. This is because the NMR database records 43 villa sites in Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire, compared to just 20 sites in the HER databases (none of which are in Derbyshire) which usually take precedent.

An important Roman site found within what became Sherwood Forest is the villa site at Mansfield Woodhouse (NHER: M4001). Excavation here found two large winged buildings, one 26m long and the other 46m; the smaller contained the remains of an ornate mosaic floor, as well as stucco floors and painted wall plaster (Patterson 2011, 207, 211). This was the most impressive Roman villa site discovered in either Nottinghamshire or Derbyshire. As Patterson (2011, 207-208) suggests, a villa needed to be able to draw on the agricultural economy around it, and the occupants would have to be of economic or political importance, or both.

Given that this was the largest and most richly-decorated villa in the county, it can be reasonably supposed that these buildings played a significant role in the administration of northern Nottinghamshire. As has been previously mentioned, Mansfield was also the site of an Iron Age hillfort at Whinny Hill.

Sherwood Forest also contained a number of Roman military installations, as recorded by the Nottinghamshire HER database, including probable fort sites at Calverton (NHER: M2768) and Farnsfield (NHER: M2782) immediately outside the later forest border. A number of other villa and fort sites have been found around the east and south forest borders.

The boundaries of the Forest of High Peak contain four Roman forts, each situated on the boundary itself. Two fort sites are located on the north boundary, close to Glossop (DHER: 6102, 14238), one on the south boundary at Buxton (DHER: 31112, 2840), and another on the south-east boundary at Brough, close to Hope (DHER: 8108). Through the positioning of these installations within the Derbyshire Peak it appears that it was recognised that control of the Peak was of strategic importance, partly perhaps because of the visibility offered of the surrounding region and the natural lead resources it produced. The relationship between the forts and the later forest boundaries is not necessarily meaningful (in terms of estate structures); the forest boundaries here were defined by rivers, and the forts may also have been placed with the intention to use of the rivers as water sources and natural defences, and it was this which led to the correlation between the two. Elsewhere in the Peak, there is a possible Roman fort at Ashford (DHER: 419), and several villa sites.

Overall, this pre-medieval settlement appears to suggest occupation particularly around the edges of what would later become the forests. In Sherwood Forest it has been found in the east around Calverton and in the north-west at Mansfield. In the Forest of High Peak, it has been found in the region of Hope in the east of the forest, and around Glossop in the north-west. The highest concentration of settlement appears to have been in the Trent Valley.

The north of Nottinghamshire was covered by an Iron Age or Roman field system which stretched from Bawtry to as far south as Clipstone (Garton 2009; Unwin 1983, 342; Riley 1980), and possibly as far as Farnsfield (NMR: SK 65 NW 9). The

lack of association between this field system and medieval boundaries leads Unwin (1983, 344-345) to argue that this system was abandoned, with medieval territories being unrelated to pre-existing Roman ones.

3.3 Medieval Settlement and Landscape

3.3.1 Early Anglo-Saxon Settlement Context

Previous research has suggested that "Early Saxon" settlement from the fifth and sixth centuries was largely limited to the Trent Valley, although with settlement as early as the sixth century within the White Peak (Barrett 2000, 2; Bishop 2000, 1; Unwin 1983, 345). This degree of settlement decline and withdrawal from inland areas is thought to have caused widespread social and economic collapse (Mudd 2014, 453). This previous research would at least ostensibly suggest that much of landscapes of the forests of High Peak and Sherwood (part of which was in the Trent Valley, to which this would not apply) were depopulated at the end of the Roman period. This hypothesis would allow for significant woodland regeneration at the start of the Early Medieval Period, before these inland areas were progressively repopulated.

Analysis of estate centres recorded in Domesday Book (from Morris 1978; 1977) reveals how they were often were located in close proximity to Roman and Iron Age estate centres, across Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire in general but also specifically within the forests (locations of major estate centres are presented in Figure 17). Within the Forest of High Peak, the Anglo-Saxon estate centre at Hope was located in close proximity to the Roman fort at Brough, and the Iron Age hillfort at Mam Tor. In Sherwood Forest, the Anglo-Saxon estate centre at Mansfield was close to the Roman villa at Mansfield Woodhouse and Iron Age hillfort at Whinny Hill. Another important Anglo-Saxon estate centre was located at Arnold, not far from the Roman fort at Cockpit Hill. This shows how the antecedent landscape continued to influence the pattern of settlement and the physical manifestation of administration into the medieval period, and that it is questionable whether settlement within these areas was ever completely abandoned.

The ancient hundreds of Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire are recorded by Domesday Book (Morris 1978; 1977) and have been determined geographically by the PASE Domesday project (Baxter 2010). The hundreds bore very little relation to the forest boundaries (see Figure 18); the only exception was the southern border of Sherwood Forest, defined by the Trent river, which also marked the boundary between Bingham and Thurgarton hundreds. The rest of the two forests show no such correlation, as the hundred of Blackwell is thought to have covered much of the Derbyshire Peak, including all of the Forest of High Peak, and further south to Bakewell. The boundaries of Sherwood Forest (of 1232) included part of three hundreds. The hundred of Broxtowe formed the west side of the forest; the hundred of Bassetlaw formed the north of the forest; the hundred of Thurgarton formed the east and centre of the forest. More similarity can be noted between the hundreds and the *pays* of Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire. The boundary of the Peak and Uplands *Pays* (its east boundary) with the East Derbyshire and Sherwood Plateau *Pays* conforms approximately to the boundary of Blackwell and Hamston hundreds with Scarsdale and Morleystone hundreds. The boundary of the Peak and Uplands *Pays* (its south boundary) with the Trent Valley *Pays* conforms approximately to the boundary of Hamston hundred with Litchurch and Appletree hundreds. Part of the border between the Trent Valley *Pays* and the East Derbyshire and Sherwood Plateau *Pays* conformed approximately with the boundary between Bassetlaw and Oswaldbeck hundreds.

3.3.2 Routes of Communication

Rivers and roads were crucial conduits facilitating the movement of goods and people, and also served as foci for the development of settlement. A large number of settlements could be found along the Trent Valley, which were heavily interconnected by the river itself. These settlements did not end at the north of Nottinghamshire but continued seamlessly into Lincolnshire, connecting the Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire Trent Valley settlements with a large number of sites including Torksey, Gainsborough, and Flixborough. The river then merges into the River Humber, connecting with further settlements such as Winteringham, Ferriby, and Barrow upon Humber, with direct access to Northumbria or Yorkshire

on the north bank of the Humber. This was one continuous network which transcended what became the county boundaries, and it is certainly possible that there was more direct contact between settlements of this network than they had with inland settlements (see Figure 19; populations depicted in this figure are from Domesday Book [Morris 1978; 1977]).

The road network was also highly important for medieval contact and exchange (see also, Figure 19). Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire are approximately at the halfway point between London and York, and as they were located so centrally most journeys from the south to the north of the country would pass through these two counties (see for example Hindle 2013, 1976 and Edwards 1987, 100). Analysis of the natural landscape as found in the omnidirectional map of Palmisano *et al.* (2015) shows that to transverse the two counties the far easiest route would be to travel through the Trent Valley. This is borne out by an analysis of major medieval routeways. The two counties essentially formed a nexus between southern and northern England, and this has framed their development. Although both Nottingham and Derby had pre-Scandinavian origins, they, and what became their surrounding counties, were incorporated into the Five Boroughs of the Danelaw, a military buffer zone designed to shield Scandinavian York from a southern attack (Richards 2004, 101). Although Lincoln was further north it was located peripherally, and in the event of attack Nottingham's central position would have made it a final defence against a northbound assault on York (Roffe 1987, 213-260).

The analysis by Edwards (1987, 100) shows that the major medieval roads from Derby led north to Doncaster (via Chesterfield), east to Nottingham, and south-west to Lichfield. Connections between Derby and other important centres like Leicester, Lincoln, York, or London were not direct, requiring the traveller to reach these destinations indirectly through one of the aforementioned three routes. For example, a journey from London to Derby would require travelling north to Nottingham, then travelling west from Nottingham to Derby; or from London to Lichfield, and then north-east to Derby. A direct road from Leicester to Derby had existed but was used so infrequently that when this route's bridge over the river Trent collapsed in the thirteenth century it was replaced instead by a ferry, and a new bridge was not built until the eighteenth century (Harrison 2004, 59). Nottingham was far more centrally located and was directly connected to regional

and national centres; it had Derby to the west (continuing in a straight path to Lichfield), Doncaster to the north (with a straight path beyond to York), Lincoln to the north-east, Grantham to the south-east and Leicester to the south (continuing straight to Northampton and ultimately London).

The fastest route from London to York seemingly went through Nottinghamshire throughout the medieval period, but the precise route varied over time. The route supposedly favoured in the Early Medieval Period required travelling through Nottingham, Ollerton, Blyth, and Bawtry and was known as the Great Way of Blyth (Stenton 1936, 10; Swinnerton 1910, 103), with the *Heathebethe Brigg* acting as a crossing point over the River Trent near West Bridgford (NHER: M8924). An alternate route of the Great Way of Blyth diverged north of Nottingham through Mansfield, Warsop, Worksop, then on to Blyth and Bawtry (Swinnerton 1910, 103). In the east of Nottinghamshire was the emerging Great North Road which ran through Balderton, Newark, Tuxford, Retford, before meeting with the other routes at Blyth or Bawtry (*ibid.*). Analysis of the itineraries of Plantagenet kings show that initially the Great Way of Blyth was the dominant route for south-north and north-south travel (Hindle 2013, 28; Edwards 1987, 113; Hindle 1976, 214-219), although it is possible that this was skewed by the monarch choosing to visit the royal castle at Nottingham *en route*. In the maps of Matthew Paris, drawn in 1250, and in the map of Richard Gough compiled in approximately the mid-fourteenth century, the Great North Road through Newark is depicted yet a route through Nottingham is not (Hindle 2013, 35; Edwards 1987, 36, 505), indicating that the Great North Road had perhaps displaced the Great Way of Blyth as the dominant north-south route sometime in the late twelfth or early thirteenth century. It cannot have been much earlier than this as a bridge was not constructed at Newark until the twelfth century (Harrison 2004, 54-55).

The major Roman routeway between London (*Londinium*) and York (*Eboracum*) was Ermine Street. Though the primary route of the road passed Stamford and Great Casterford, entered Lincolnshire and passed through Ancaster and Lincoln, extending on to Winteringham where it crossed the River Humber, tradition holds that there were alternate routes (Dugdale 1819, 595). One of these routes branched west five miles north of Lincoln, crossed the River Trent at Littleborough in Nottinghamshire, and proceeded north-west to Doncaster (*ibid.*). Another

branched off the primary route around six miles north of Stamford, extended north to Bottesford and then East Stoke in Nottinghamshire, to Southwell, and then on to Bawtry (*ibid.*; Allen 1833, 11). It is not certain what importance the original Ermine Street retained in the Early Medieval Period; the *Leges Edwardi Confessoris* and other legal compilations suggest that it remained the most important north-south route (Harrison 2004, 54). This has been analysed by Harrison (*ibid.*) who speculates that perhaps "Ermine Street" was used to describe the major north-south route to York of the time, even though it was no longer the route of the former Roman road. He supports this by citing Henry of Huntingdon describing the new route between Caithness and Totnes as the "Fosse Way", despite the original Roman Fosse Way having extended from Exeter to Lincoln (*ibid.*). It is possible that the former Roman Ermine Street remained the primary north-south route during this period (Steane 1985, 105), and even if not, it and its alternate routes had a clear influence on the key north-south routes of the medieval period. For instance, as discussed, a route of the Roman Ermine Street crossed the River Trent at Littleborough, in the north-east of Nottinghamshire, while the medieval Great North Road crossed the River Trent at Newark in the east of Nottinghamshire. The early medieval bridge at Cromwell (see Chapter 5), between Littleborough and Newark, and the only early medieval bridge in the county aside from that of Nottingham, may represent part of a transitionary stage in the development of Ermine Street into the medieval Great North Road.

It would be wrong therefore to view the medieval Great North Road as a new route. The itineraries of the Plantagenet kings do suggest that the Great North Road had been supplanted by the Great Way of Blyth – itself connecting into one of Ermine Street's alternate routes at Bawtry – by the early stages of the High Medieval Period. The emergence (or what could therefore be called a re-emergence) of the Great North Road was roughly contemporary with the expansion of the town of Newark, which saw Newark's population of taxpayers rise as high as 1,178 in 1377, almost as high as Nottingham's 1,447 (Rigby 2010, 415). The valuation of the towns of 1334 were even more striking, in which Newark was valued at £390.12, compared to Nottingham's lesser valuation of £370.50 (Letters 2005). Although Nottingham may have been affected by the other causes of fourteenth-century decline (discussed in Chapter 7, section 7.1.4), this was perhaps also linked to the Great North Road

taking much of the traffic that had previously gone through Nottingham (Harrison 2004, 54-55), with Newark enjoying economic growth as a consequence.

Both routes of the Great Way of Blyth would have taken travellers through areas that were throughout the later medieval period within Sherwood Forest and hence covered by Forest Law. Newark, lying on the south-east side of the river Trent, was never under Forest Law, and the path of the Great North Road ran northwards through the Forest of the Clay which as discussed was disafforested in 1227 (Crook 2011, 112). Journeys on the roads going through Sherwood Forest were required to pay the tax of cheminage, a tax on carts and carriages for travelling through an area covered by Forest Law (Cox 1905, 59), which would not have applied to journeys using the Great North Road. Another factor may have been a perceived danger of travelling through Sherwood. For instance, in 1264 messengers of Henry III were robbed in Sherwood Forest (Prestwich 2010, 118), and in 1456 a visitor to Welbeck Abbey insisted on being met to the south at Papplewick, for fear of travelling through the forest alone (Page 1910, 79-83). As shall be demonstrated, large areas of a forest could be populated with villages, however other areas did contain woodland such as around Edwinstowe and Blidworth; as seen in section 3.1.4, the area north of Papplewick (around Newstead) was one of the more wooded areas, and was not typical for the forest as a whole. Whether or not the forest was any more dangerous than any other area of the country, it would only be necessary for contemporary people to believe that it was. These factors may have made the Great North Road preferable to the Great Way of Blyth through Nottingham, and this would have had a significant economic impact by diverting the travel of merchants and craft-workers.

3.3.3 Medieval Settlement Pattern Typology

In his *Making Sense of an Historic Landscape*, Stephen Rippon (2012b) demonstrates a method of categorising the landscape in terms of nucleation and dispersion. With this method every parish is analysed using nineteenth-century OS maps to assign it a score, ranging from A (highly nucleated) to D (highly dispersed), based on its settlement pattern. A small number of extra-parochial areas and detached portions

of parishes appear to have contained no medieval settlement; for these another category – Type F – has been added for this thesis. These categories are presented in Table 2. This method has been applied to all the parishes of Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire (the smaller parishes of *circa* 1850 by Kain and Oliver (in Satchell *et al.* 2016), rather than parish dataset created especially for this thesis, because Kain and Oliver's (*ibid.*) smaller and more numerous parishes allow a higher sample and more detailed level of analysis for this particular analysis). Figure 20 reveals a substantial difference between the nucleated landscape of east Nottinghamshire and the dispersed landscape of west Derbyshire.

There are noticeable trends according to the *pays* divisions. The Trent Valley *Pays*, especially the Nottinghamshire Trent Valley, is mostly nucleated in character, with scores generally between A and B. The East Derbyshire and Sherwood Plateau *Pays* has a mixed landscape of nucleation and dispersion, with a large number of scores of B and C. The Peak and Uplands *Pays* has the most dispersed landscape, with a large number of scores of C and D. The forest boundaries have no noticeable bearing in the settlement typology; the upper and lower Sherwood Forest fit seamlessly into the general trends for the East Derbyshire and Sherwood Plateau *Pays* and the Trent Valley *Pays* respectively. The findings from the Forest of High Peak fit similarly seamlessly into the general pattern from the East Derbyshire and Sherwood Plateau *Pays*. From these results it can be suggested that the natural landscape was influential in the formation of settlement patterns but afforestation was not.

Table 2 Rippon's (2012b) categories of settlement patterns within parishes

Type A	**An entirely village-based settlement pattern; isolated farmsteads postdate the enclosure of open fields**
Type A1	Small parishes with a single village, open fields in most of the land
Type A2	Large parish with central village with smaller hamlets, each with open fields, and take up most of the land in the parish
Type B	**Largely villages, some peripheral dispersed settlements**
Type B1	Village associated with former open fields
Type B2	Little evidence for open fields in the surrounding landscape
Type C	**A more dispersed pattern, characterised by small nucleations**
Type C1	Several small hamlets with one or more associated with open fields. Settlements around churches show characteristics of villages; church, school, and cottages for workers. Unlike villages, multiple can be found in a parish. Land farmed only makes a small proportion of parish
Type C2	Parishes with several hamlets but little evidence for open fields
Type D	**Strongly dispersed, no evidence for open fields (small hamlets and isolated farmsteads)**
Type D1	Wholly dispersed with no significant nucleations
Type D2	Parishes with a wholly dispersed pattern but also a substantial nucleated settlement – a small medieval town
Type E	**Where the medieval landscape has been destroyed**
Type F	**No medieval settlement** (Added by author)

3.3.4 Medieval Settlement Hierarchy

Medieval settlements contained a number of elements. A medieval settlement needed to fulfil a combination of roles such as economic, social, political, administrative, and cultural functions, and to have a high population to be considered as a town or to be "urban" (Herbert and Thomas 2012, 1-16; Wickham 2006, 592; Pringle 1995, 70). The urban criteria adopted here are settlements that

had religious, administrative, economic, and defensive functions, with a large population and officially-recognised status.

Figure 21 shows locations of settlements with parish churches (potentially multiple), market charters, *burh* or borough status, castles, and populations over 50 or 100 households (in 1086). The locations of churches were defined as outlined in Chapter 2; locations with market charters were found in Letters (2005); *burhs* or boroughs were defined *per* Beresford and Finberg (1973); castles were plotted according to those recorded by the HER databases; and the population statistics used are those recorded in Domesday Book (Morris 1978; 1977). The only settlements in medieval Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire that had all five of these features were Derby, Nottingham, and Newark. Of this number, only Nottingham was within one of the two forests, although as discussed Nottingham was exempt from the laws being applied (Crook 2005a). It can be noted that Nottingham is located in the Trent Valley *Pays*, close to the East Derbyshire and Sherwood Plateau *Pays*, while Derby is located in the Trent Valley *Pays* but close to the transect with the East Derbyshire and Sherwood Plateau *Pays* and the Peak and Uplands *Pays*.

Several sites in the two counties fulfilled several but not all of these "urban" criteria. One of the best examples is Worksop, which had a church, market charter, castle, and population over 50 households, but lacked borough status. Chesterfield, Bakewell, and Castleton all had a castle, church, market charter, and borough status, but – in 1086 at least – lacked a population over 50 households. Other sites with borough status were Ashbourne and Wirksworth (both with a church and market charter), and Retford (with multiple churches and a market charter). These six boroughs could be categorised as "rural boroughs", sites which held officially granted borough status, yet on closer examination lacked some of the traditional characteristics of true urbanism as defined here.

The forests of High Peak and Sherwood contained several significant settlements. The Forest of High Peak contained the aforementioned rural borough of Castleton, as well as Glossop, which had a castle, church, and market charter. In addition to the exempt town of Nottingham, Sherwood Forest contained Mansfield, which had a church, market charter, and population over 50. In total, 16 parish churches and 4 market charters (Nottingham had two) were found in Sherwood Forest, and 5 parish churches and 5 market charters were found in the Forest of High Peak.

The two forests contained a small number of castle sites. The number within Sherwood Forest included Nottingham Castle (NMR: SK 53 NE 2) and Lowdham Motte (NHER: M1756), while Jordan Castle at Wellow was outside but close to the forest border (NHER: M4096). The Forest of High Peak contained Peveril Castle at Castleton (DHER: 3325), Hope Castle (DHER: 8111), and Mouselow Castle at Glossop (DHER: 6115). Nottingham Castle was a royal foundation (Hull 2009, 199). Peveril Castle, Hope Castle, and Mouselow Castle were within the lands of William Peverel at the time of their construction (Morris 1978, 7.7; Kerry 1893, 67; Lysons and Lysons 1817, 165-172; Thoroton 1790b, 17-33); lands which reverted to the Crown after Peverel's son was dispossessed (Warren 1977, 61). Peverel had been responsible for the administration of the Forest of High Peak (Kerry 1893, 67). Therefore, of the castle or motte sites within the bounds of the forests of High Peak and Sherwood, only Lowdham Motte was not either royally-owned or operated by the chief forest official; Lowdham Motte was constructed on the land of the de Lacys (Creighton 2002, 108).

3.3.5 Place Names

The primary settlements of each (medieval) parish have been plotted on a map according to their style (researched using Gover *et al.* 1979 and Cameron 1959), and reveal that the vast majority of primary names are rooted in Old English (see Figure 22). Sherwood Forest has a large number of Old Norse names around the forest boundary, including Skegby (Gover *et al.* 1979, 133), Kirkby (*ibid.*, 120) and Linby (*ibid.*, 122), as well as several other examples outside, although no major examples are found centrally. Other naming conventions are also found in the forest, with the Old English-French hybrids Stoke Bardolph (*ibid.*, 177) and Burton Joyce (*ibid.*, 157) found in the south east of Sherwood Forest. In the north-west of the forest, Mansfield is an Old English name which indirectly contains a "Celtic" element; it translates to the "open ground of the Maun," while the name of the river Maun itself is likely derived from the Celtic *mamm*, a "breast-like hill" (Mills 2011, 316; Gover *et al.* 1979, 123).

The primary place names of the Forest of High Peak, as well as the Derbyshire Peak as a whole, are almost entirely derived from Old English. The only exception from the forest itself is the name of Chapel-en-le-Frith, which is Norman French (Cameron 1959, 60). The largest concentration of Old Norse primary names is the Trent Valley, where in some areas they are as common as Old English names. This analysis of primary names and its findings will be contrasted with the results of more intensive analysis within the parish case studies examining secondary names and field names.

3.3.6 The Religious and Funerary Landscape

Early Medieval Barrows

A database of Anglo-Saxon barrow graves and cemeteries has been compiled from the NMR and HER databases, with additional information gleaned from Meaney (1964). The number of barrow burials, both primary and secondary, is a lot higher in Derbyshire than Nottinghamshire, especially in the south west of Derbyshire and the White Peak (see Figure 23). In the afforested area of the Peak itself there is a secondary barrow burial at Cowlow, and another near Dam Hall, close to the village of Peak Forest. A primary barrow burial was located close to Sparrowpit.

The close intermingling of early medieval primary and secondary barrow burials within Bronze and Iron Age barrows was potentially a deliberate attempt by the early medieval population to draw an association with their predecessors (Williams 2006, 32). The exact motivation of this association, however, is more difficult to determine. It is possible that this was a deliberate appropriation of a native cultural style by an immigrant population seeking to legitimise their standing. It is equally possible that it was a stylistic re-emergence among those of a "British" affiliation in response to an influx of new cultural styles. This issue was studied by Loveluck (1995) whose findings demonstrate native British and immigrant Anglo-Saxon elites co-existing within the Peak in the seventh century. These findings will be examined in more detail in the next chapter in section 4.1.1.

Parish Morphologies and Distribution of Churches and Chapels

The medieval parish network of Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire, interpreted for this thesis as it existed *circa* 1348 to 1500, including churches, chapels, monasteries, detached parts, and extra-parochial areas is presented in Figure 24 (sourced from Youngs 1991).

Proponents of the minster hypothesis argue that in the seventh and eighth centuries a series of *monasteria* spread across England (Blair 1988; Tinti 2016, 146). These minster churches were responsible for large territories, which, from around the tenth century, were fragmented by the creation of local parish churches and parochial chapelries (Clark 2010, 67). The minster hypothesis has faced a degree of scepticism (Cambridge and Rollason 1995), and certainly it cannot be assumed that the entire English landscape was divided into minsters, or that all minsters were formed concurrently. Nonetheless, the model has proved to be a useful hypothesis in understanding the development of churches in England (Palliser 1996). Rippon (2012b, 154) has argued that the relationship between mother churches and daughter parochial chapelries can be used as evidence in interpreting the existence of a pre-existing Anglo-Saxon minster. There are several examples of this from Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire (see Figure 25) (from Youngs 1991). The church at Bakewell was recorded with nine daughter chapels, the church at Ashbourne with five, the church at Duffield with four, and Blyth with three. The size of some medieval parishes alone possibly also hints at descent from a minster church; the parish of Worksop was over 10km from north-west to south-east, the parish of Chesterfield was nearly 15km from north-west to south-east.

The Trent Valley contained a large number of small parishes, and a low proportion of chapelries relative to numbers of parish churches, with no evidence of mass fragmentation from a series of mother churches. Exceptions to this such as Southwell did exist. Large areas of the Trent Valley *Pays* were divided into strip parishes, a pattern which continues east into Lincolnshire. Strip parishes were frequently found in clay soils such as Cambridgeshire, Surrey and Sussex (Williamson 2013, 99; Blair 1991, 33; Brandon 1969), a feature shared with the Trent Valley. The length of strip parishes allowed access to a range of landscapes and resources in the ecotones close to a river (Williamson 2013, 99). The East

Derbyshire and Sherwood Plateau *Pays* and the Peak and Uplands *Pays* are generally divided into larger parishes, which could be indicative of a later minster fragmentation. The East Derbyshire and Sherwood Plateau *Pays* contained a low proportion of chapels compared to parish churches, similar to the Trent Valley *Pays*. The Peak and Uplands *Pays* however has approximately the same number of parochial chapels as churches, a much higher proportion than the other two *pays*, and possibly an indicator that the hypothetical minster churches of this area fragmented later.

Within the forests, according to Youngs (1991) the church of Hope in the Forest of High Peak had parochial chapelries at Castleton, Chapel-en-le-Frith (both later churches in their own right) and Fairfield, and held a detached area at Fernilee. Not including its chapelries and detached areas, the parish of Hope stretched 24km from north to south. The manner in which this parish and its attached areas surrounded Tideswell and Wormhill raises the possibility that these also were originally part of the parish. The church of Glossop held chapelries at Hayfield and Mellor. The parishes of Glossop, Hope, and Tideswell (probably also part of Hope) together incorporated all the land which became the Forest of High Peak. The church of Edwinstowe in Sherwood Forest held chapelries at Clipstone, Carburton, Perlethorpe, Ollerton, and Wellow (Youngs 1991). The church of Mansfield held chapelries at Mansfield Woodhouse and Skegby (Youngs 1991).

A degree of relation can be noted between the parish system and the forest boundaries. The Forest of High Peak follows parish boundaries (and indeed the county boundary) on its west, north, and north-east edges; however, these were also the routes of rivers. In the south-east, the boundary followed water-courses and roads (which appear in the OS maps of the nineteenth century); in the south-west, the forest boundary follows roads. Much of the forest overlaps areas attached to the churches of Glossop and Hope, while lands attached to Bakewell church formed the outside of the south boundary, and lands attached to Hathersage church formed the outside of the east boundary. This pattern may be a result of the fact that many of the administrative units – the county and parish boundaries – were also defined by the paths of rivers. The south and east part of the boundary of Sherwood Forest (of 1232, as outlined in Chapter 1) followed parish boundaries, which also were the route of rivers, the only exception is through Farnsfield, which

followed the path of a road (which appears in the OS maps of the nineteenth century). The north and west part of the Sherwood Forest (1232) boundary show no correlation with parish boundaries, instead following rivers and roads. The lands attached to the church of Edwinstowe extended north and east of the forest border, while the lands of Mansfield extended west. Overall, the relation between forest boundaries and parish boundaries appears to only result from both following the same rivers.

Distribution of Monastic Houses

The monastic houses and hospitals of Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire are recorded by the Victoria County History series (Page 1910; 1907). These have been plotted for this project from the descriptions given, with approximation where necessary (see Figure 26). This analysis reveals that most monasteries were found in the East Derbyshire and Sherwood Plateau *Pays* and the Trent Valley *Pays*, although there were very few sites in the populous area on the south side of the River Trent in Nottinghamshire. Only two examples have been found within the Peak and Uplands *Pays*. Not a single monastery has been found in the Forest of High Peak, although a hospital was located near Castleton. In addition to several friaries in the exempt town of Nottingham, Sherwood Forest contained two monasteries, Rufford Abbey and Newstead Priory. Rufford Abbey was created through the destruction of a number of settlements within the forest (Barley 1957) (discussed further in Chapter 8).

The lack of monasteries in the Forest of High Peak is perhaps surprising given the emphasis on isolation of the Cistercian and Augustinian foundations (Loveluck 2013, 298-299; Berman 2010, 228), as this was one of England's most barren and isolated areas. Previous research by Menuge (2000) has challenged the "Cistercian myth" presented in documentary sources which presented the Cistercians as colonising and taming isolated landscapes. The evidence from the forests supports the notion that this ideology did not match reality; in Sherwood Forest an area of isolation was created by destroying settlement rather than by taming the landscape, while the area of Derbyshire that most corresponded with the ideology was avoided.

Distribution of Monastic Granges

The HER databases record 37 monastic granges in Derbyshire and 23 in Nottinghamshire. None of those examples were within the Forest of High Peak, though one site at Derwent was immediately outside the forest border (DHER: 4614). Five monastic granges are recorded within Sherwood Forest, at Newstead (NHER: M5305), at Winkerfield (NHER: M3358), Ruham (NHER: M3357), Cratley (NHER: M3356), and Sutton (NHER: M18314). Another was located immediately outside the forest boundary at Gleadthorpe (NHER: M18365).

Grange place names, potentially indicative of former monastic granges, can be found widely across the landscape (see Figure 27). Sherwood Forest contains several examples, and two have also been found in the Forest of High Peak. The White Peak contains a high concentration of grange names, which also includes the well-known excavated site of Roystone Grange (Hodges, 2006; DHER: 960). There is a tendency in grange names towards upland areas, possibly a result of the preference for sheep farming. The extent to which all of these represented monastic granges, however, shall be questioned further in the case studies.

Richard Hodges (2006) excavated Roystone Grange with the intent of establishing the general character of a monastic grange within the Derbyshire Peak. Twelfth and thirteenth-century evidence from the site revealed tanks perhaps used in the production of wool (*ibid.*, 105), and later evidence suggested that iron smelting took place at the site (*ibid.*, 106; DHER: 999).

3.3.7 Domesday Book

Landowners in 1066

Using Morris (1978; 1977) and Baxter (2010) for Domesday Book (as discussed in the methodology), the nature of manorial holdings in 1066 was disparate. Several major lords (defined here as holding 10 or more manors in the two counties) held

various manors spread widely across the landscape and intermingled with other manors, rather than concentrated in a single area (see Figure 28). The king held land across Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire, especially in north Nottinghamshire; including the north part of Sherwood Forest with manorial holdings at Warsop, Budby, Edwinstowe, Perlethorpe, Farnsfield. The king's manorial holdings were generally located in the north of the forest and around its edges, as well as well as Arnold and Nottingham itself. Other significant landowners held manors in Sherwood Forest. The archbishop of York held land in north and east Nottinghamshire, which included land inside Sherwood Forest, with manors at Blidworth and Calverton.

A series of major landowners with manors across southern Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire also held manors in what became Sherwood Forest. Wulfsige held a manor at Clipstone. Ulfkil held a series of manors which in Sherwood Forest consisted of Lambley, Woodborough, and Warsop. Ælfric held manors in Sherwood Forest at Calverton, Woodborough, Colwick, Basford, and Papplewick. Wulfric held a manor at Calverton. Godric held manors at Colwick, Bulwell, and Warsop; as this was a common name it may not have been the same individual.

Major landowners who held land in 1066 in what became the Forest of High Peak included the king, who held a manor at Hope. Godric held a manor at Kinder, and Leofnoth held a manor at Dinting. It must be noted that in some cases, the landholdings presented in Figure 28 may have included the lands of multiple people with the same name.

A range of individuals holding manors in 1066 are recorded as "thegns"; when these manors are mapped it is revealed that they were distributed across the landscape, although were least common in the areas that became the forests of Sherwood and High Peak (see Figure 29). Landholdings of thegns were most common in east Derbyshire, south Derbyshire, and north-east Nottinghamshire (the latter two areas both being in the Trent Valley *Pays*). Thegns held land in Sherwood Forest at Calverton (Aelfric); Colwick (Aelfric, Buggi and Godric); Lambley (Ulfkil); Clipstone (Wulfsige); Papplewick (Aelfheah, Aelfric, and Alric); Stoke Bardolph (Toki); Warsop (Godric and Ulfkil); and Woodborough (Aelfric and Ulfkil). Thegns held land in the Forest of High Peak at Ludworth (Brun); Dinting (Leofnoth); Kinder (Godric); and Wormhill (Siward).

Domesday Book records many minor lords with small landholdings. Figure 30 shows all individuals who are recorded holding two manors or fewer. The majority of these held land in the south of Nottinghamshire and south Derbyshire, with a large number also in the north of the two counties. In Sherwood Forest, these minor lords were Leofgeat (with a manor at Warsop), Algot (with a manor at Basford), and possibly three brothers (with a manor at Linby) whose identity was not recorded. In the Forest of High Peak minor lords were Aethelmaer (with manors at Chunal and Hayfield), Arnbiorn and Hundingr (with a shared manor at Castleton), and Sprot (with a manor at Bradwell).

Landowners in 1086

In the late Saxon landscape there was a disparate landholding pattern where no individual was dominant in any particular area, by 1086 the structure of landholding had changed significantly (see Figure 31). The king was still the largest landowner with broadly the same landholdings, although the series of manors in the north of the Forest of High Peak had been added to royal ownership. The land of the archbishop of York was largely unchanged. New Norman lords held large honours created from the dispossession of numerous Saxon lords. Unlike in the landscape of 1066 when landholding was disparate, in 1086 the major landowners were dominant in specific areas of the two counties. Roger de Bully held a new honour that covered north Nottinghamshire, including manors at Woodborough, Gedling, Gunthorpe, Clipstone, Ollerton, and Warsop. Walter d'Aincourt held several manors in south east Nottinghamshire, including one in Sherwood Forest at Bulcote. William Peverel held a large honour with land in Nottingham, which stretched north west through Derbyshire to Castleton in the Forest of High Peak, where he also held land at Bradwell and Hucklow. Henry de Ferrers held a vast honour through south west Derbyshire, which included Wormhill in the south of the Forest of High Peak.

There were also significant changes in the land held by thegns in 1086 (see Figure 32). Most noticeably the numbers of manors held by thegns had substantially reduced, including in the Forest of High Peak where all had transferred to the king

and Henry de Ferrers. The southern area of Sherwood Forest was one of the areas where land held by thegns best survived. Unnamed thegns held land at Papplewick, Basford, Woodborough, Calverton, and Kirkby. Aelfric and Buggi held a manor at Colwick; Ulfkil had a manor at Woodborough; Healfdene held manors at Lambley and Woodborough. All these locations had also been held by thegns in 1066.

The number of minor landlords, defined here as individuals who held two manors or fewer, was dramatically lower in 1086 than in 1066 (see Figure 33). Only three minor landlords were found in Sherwood Forest in 1086, all of whom were thegns mentioned in the previous section. Buggi, Ulfkil, and Aelfric all were recorded in 1066 as thegns with sizeable landholdings, whereas by 1086 they held one or two manors. There were exceptions to this trend. In 1066 Healfdene was recorded holding 4 manors in Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire (Snoswick, Nuthall, Toton, Broadholme) and was not recorded as a thegn; in 1086 he was recorded as a thegn and held a higher number of manors (Knapthorpe, Cromwell, Widmerpool, Awsworth, Lamcote, Kelham, Carlton on Trent, Trowell, Ulviritune and – in Sherwood Forest – Lambley and Woodborough). In 1066 all the thegns with land in the two forests had landholdings of more than three manors, while the several minor lords of the forests who held fewer than two manors were all of sub-thegnly rank. By 1086 a dramatic shift had seen all lords of lower than thegnly rank in the forests dispossessed, and several of the thegns themselves reduced to holding only one or two manors.

A general analysis of the change in landholding reveals that the vast majority of manors were held by a new Norman lord, or an individual presenting a "Norman" identity, in 1086 (see Figure 34), which occurred widely across the Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire landscape. Examples of this occurring will be presented in greater detail in the case studies of Chapter 5 and Chapter 6. The actual number of Norman individuals who arrived in England from Normandy not certain. Arguably this number was not so large that even the many Norman-named individuals who held only several – or even single – manors in Domesday Book had each made the journey and been rewarded for doing so. Ann Williams (1995, 204) has explored how English families quickly adopted Norman naming customs in the aftermath of the Conquest; it may be posited that this occurred even as early as in the 20 years after the Conquest. Some of the English population may have attempted to show

their allegiance and win the favour of their new Norman overlords by adopting Norman-style names, and the successful of these may represent the Norman-named individuals who held small land portfolios in 1086. The landholdings of the Crown and ecclesiastical hierarchy in Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire in 1086 largely remained attached to these offices, even after the positions themselves were held by Norman individuals. The highest concentration of lands that remained in the hands of individuals with what may be called English-, Saxon-, or Norse-style names was in the area around Nottingham.

Population Statistics

Population statistics demonstrate that the majority of the population in 1086 was located in the Trent Valley *Pays* (see Figure 35). This included the small area of Sherwood Forest which was located within this *pays*, approximately the area of Thorneywood. The East Derbyshire and Sherwood Plateau *Pays* had a middling level of settlement, with one of the more significant settlements being Mansfield in Sherwood Forest. Warsop was another centre of population in the north of the forest. The Peak and Uplands *Pays* contained little population, with no major centres of population.

3.3.8 Deer Parks

The HER database records several deer parks within Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire in existence, or probably in existence, before 1348 (see Figure 36). There is no clear correlation between the forests of High Peak and Sherwood and the distribution of deer parks within Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire. Analysis reveals that the number of parks within a forest was not necessarily higher than the number generally found elsewhere in the landscape. Indeed, only one deer park recorded in the HER databases of either county was located within one of the two forests; this park was located at Little Hayfield in the Forest of High Peak (DHER: 7576). The disparity in numbers between Derbyshire (65) and Nottinghamshire (14) is likely a

result of a more thorough level of recording within the Derbyshire HER database. Nonetheless, the records of each HER are far from complete; this can be illustrated by known deer parks from within the forests of High Peak and Sherwood.

For example, a record of 1251 (Cox 1905, 206-207) mentions Bestwood, Clumber, Linby, Bilhaugh, Birklands, Budby, Clipstone, and an unlocated park in the south of the forest called Welby (not to be confused with Welbeck, north of the forest) all being patrolled by forest officials. (Some of these sites appear in Figure 36 to have been outside of the forest. As discussed, the boundary of Sherwood Forest presented is of 1232. In the latter half of the thirteenth century this boundary was briefly under dispute, with several additional areas claimed to be within the forest; these areas were defined as outside by 1300 [see Chapter 1, section 1.3.3].) In the Forest of High Peak there was a significant park at Peak Forest (Youngs 1991, 82; Bulmer 1895, 144). It is therefore clear that across Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire in general there were many deer parks which are not recorded in the databases. In general, however, from the sample within the HER databases, there is no correlation between deer parks and the forests of Sherwood and High Peak. There is an association between parks that were in existence prior to 1348 and Duffield Frith, which was not a royal forest until 1399 (Wiltshire *et al.* 2005, 44), with eight recorded examples, and many more surrounding.

The lack of deer parks within forests is not unexpected; as only the king could hunt the Beasts of the Forest within a forest, it was natural for lords to locate their private parks outside the forests where they were not harassed by the forest officials. This effect was possibly not seen within Duffield Frith as it became a royal forest at a much later date than the forests of Sherwood and High Peak.

3.4 Conclusion: *Pays*, Settlement, and Forests

This chapter has analysed the inter-relationship between the natural landscape, settlement patterns, and forest boundaries. The natural landscape of Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire has been divided into three *pays*. The Peak and Uplands *Pays* is defined by its upland terrain and argillic-arenaceous limestone,

arenaceous sandstone, and peat soils. The East Derbyshire and Sherwood Plateau *Pays* is defined by its intermediate terrain height and a combination of arenaceous-rudaceous sandstone, argillic-rudaceous dolostone, and argillic-arenaceaous mudstone soils. The Trent Valley *Pays* is defined by its lowland terrain and argillaceous mudstone soil.

Very little relation can be noted between the *pays* and forest boundaries, with boundaries of natural regions (at least as defined here) not showing a strong relation with forest boundaries. The only exception was an area of the east Sherwood Forest boundary which approximately overlapped with the *pays* boundaries. Instead, features such as rivers and roads were used to define the forest boundaries; in some cases, there is concordance between forest boundaries and parish boundaries, but only in the sense that the parishes were often defined by the same rivers as which marked the forest boundaries, and no further relationship is supported. The use of rivers and roads was sensible, as these were (largely) fixed and unchanging reference points that could be easily understood by later generations from the documented perambulations. The forests were noted to transcend natural regions, and hence bore little relation to the *pays* defined within this thesis.

Patterns of settlement have been found to more closely relate to the natural landscape than the forest boundaries. A link was found between the *pays* and settlement patterns, with the lowland Trent Valley *Pays* showing a strong association between nucleated settlement and a high population level, the upland Peak and Uplands *Pays* showing an association with dispersed settlement and a low population, and the middling terrain of the East Derbyshire and Sherwood Plateau *Pays* showing a mixture of nucleated and dispersed settlement and an intermediate population level.

While previous research has suggested a large-scale abandonment of settlement throughout Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire in the wake of the Roman period, a degree of evidence also disputes this. A relationship between Iron Age, Roman, and Early Medieval central places (see section 3.3.1) and the medieval settlement hierarchy (see section 3.3.4) can be noted. Mansfield (including Mansfield Woodhouse) was noted as the site of an Iron Age hillfort, Roman villa, Early Medieval estate centre, and a regionally-important post-Norman settlement. Likewise, the vicinity of Hope contained an Iron Age hillfort at Mam Tor, a Roman

fort at Brough, an Early Medieval estate centre at Hope, and a borough town at Castleton; together demonstrating long-term centres of administrative or military power. Indeed, continuity is a trend that seemingly marks the settlement of the forests. The lack of association between the forest boundaries and patterns of settlement, as has been noted, demonstrates that the implementation of Forest Law did little to impact on the development of settlement at a regional scale.

These apparent general trends will be explored in much greater detail in the micro-regional parish case studies. However, prior to that analysis, the following chapter analyses regional distributions of recorded PAS material, to examine the relationship between discarded material culture and settlement patterns, the range of forms of material culture in use across the forests, potential exchange networks, and social affiliations between 650 and 1348 in the regions that became the forests of Sherwood and High Peak.

Chapter 4: Regional Trends: Patterns of Material Culture Access, Use and Discard

The previous chapter analysed the natural landscape, forest boundaries, and patterns of settlement within Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire. This chapter takes a macro-regional approach, aiming to look at regional trends in the deposition of material culture, in the forests of Sherwood and High Peak as well as a select part of their surrounding regions. These select regions will be the wider Nottinghamshire Trent Valley (the Trent Valley *Pays* minus its Derbyshire section) and the Peak and Uplands Pays. A map showing the areas included in this analysis is presented in Figure 36. A major cause of this inclusion is to act as context to what is found within the forests; one of the key points of Chapter 3 was that the forests transcended natural landscape boundaries. Riverine movement and trade to Sherwood Forest would be through the Trent river system, via the Trent Valley. Part of Sherwood Forest was within what is defined here as the Trent Valley *Pays*; this is predominantly the area of Thorneywood in the south-east of the forest, and this overlap can be seen in Figure 37. For the purposes of this discussion, material from this overlap will be tallied and discussed as part of the material from Sherwood Forest, not with the material collated as from the Nottinghamshire Trent Valley. The physical overlap between Sherwood Forest and the Trent Valley demonstrates how and why they were inextricably linked.

One major route of access to the Forest of High Peak, meanwhile, would be from the south through the rest of the Peak and Uplands *Pays* (see Chapter 3, section 3.3.2). The Forest of High Peak especially has yielded a very low number of recorded finds, and the southern Peak and Nottinghamshire Trent Valley have yielded many more finds than the forests of High Peak and Sherwood, respectively. The Trent Valley and southern Peak connected the two forests to wider communication and exchange networks (see Chapter 3, section 3.3.2), and, where material culture from the forests is lacking, what has been recovered from these areas serves as the best possible guide and comparison. It must be reiterated here that part of the Nottinghamshire Trent Valley, north of the river, was afforested

initially as the Forest of the Clay, but was removed from Forest Law before 1232 (Crook 2011, 112).

This chapter will predominantly discuss finds recorded by the PAS database, although the coin analysis will also incorporate material recorded by the Corpus of Early Medieval Coin Finds (EMC), for which the date range is AD 410 to 1180. Where possible this chapter will also refer to excavated evidence, but the lack of published large-scale excavations of medieval sites within Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire, and especially within the areas of Sherwood Forest and the Forest of High Peak, limit the extent of what can be analysed. The chapter will be divided into several sections, which analyse first the distribution of general finds across the areas of study, followed by more specific examinations of coinage, evidence for horse riding, and evidence for literacy. A number of limitations and biases exist within data recorded by the PAS database, and these can be found discussed in detail in Chapter 2, section 2.3.1.

4.1 Distribution and Trends of PAS Finds, 400-1500

The distribution of all medieval PAS finds across Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire has been analysed by using GIS software to create a grid which covers the two counties, with equally-sized cells measuring 10km by 10km (see Figure 38). 10 cells running along the X axis are labelled A (westernmost) through to J (easternmost), while 10 cells running along the Y axis are labelled 1 (southernmost) through to 10 (northernmost). Altogether the two counties are covered by a grid of 100 cells (though due to the shape of the counties 29 cells are outside of the county boundaries). Within this grid, the number of medieval finds from each grid can be tallied, and allows a comparison of numbers of finds from equally sized units across the two counties. It must be noted however that these have not been weighted for comparability; certain grid squares at the edges of the counties are not fully covered by the Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire study area. As a result, these grid squares at the edge of the study area in actual terms reflect smaller areas which do not have equal potential for the recovery of PAS finds. This analysis is therefore used to give

a general indication of where the highest and lowest numbers of PAS finds have been reported.

Table 3 Numbers of recorded PAS finds by century from the Nottinghamshire Trent Valley, Sherwood Forest, the Forest of High Peak, and the rest of the Peak and Uplands Pays

Century	Sherwood Forest	Nottinghamshire Trent Valley	Forest of High Peak	Rest of the Peak and Uplands Pays
Fifth	2	11	0	0
Sixth	1	85	0	2
Seventh	2	16	0	1
Eighth	1	45	0	0
Ninth	3	48	0	0
Tenth	1	30	1	2
Eleventh	2	80	0	2
Twelfth	9	70	0	10
Thirteenth	56	464	0	37
Fourteenth	78	680	4	60
Fifteenth	49	282	4	29

The total number of PAS finds within the dataset of this thesis is 3,865. Of this number, 90 finds from Derbyshire and 424 from Nottinghamshire date to between the fifth and eleventh centuries; 629 finds from Derbyshire and 2542 from Nottinghamshire date to between the twelfth and fifteenth centuries. The vast majority of finds from across the medieval period have been found within the Trent Valley, especially in squares I4, I5, and I6, each recording over 300 dated medieval finds, which combined make up over 25% of the total number of medieval finds recorded from the two counties (see Figure 39). The number of finds recorded from the upper Trent Valley, between Dunham and Newark, is much higher than in the lower Trent Valley, including the areas around the towns of Nottingham and Derby. A fairly large number of objects have been recovered from the northern half of the area of the East Derbyshire and Sherwood Plateau *Pays*, including a scatter of 205 dated medieval finds from the square around Blyth (G9), and 133 finds from the

square around Mansfield in the centre of Sherwood Forest (G6). The area of the Peak and Uplands *Pays* has yielded the lowest number of medieval finds. None of the 10km by 10km squares across the area have yielded more than 43 objects (this number comes from the most southerly square), while eight squares in the Peak and Uplands *Pays* area of the grid (out of a total of 19) have thus far yielded no medieval finds recorded by the PAS database.

For the number of finds from each century for the four areas examined in this section, see Table 3. All of the finds recorded by the PAS database from Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire from the fifth century to the eleventh century are presented on a map in Figure 40. All of the finds recorded by the PAS database from Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire from the twelfth century to the fifteenth century are presented in a map in Figure 41.

4.1.1 The Seventh and Eighth Centuries

The PAS evidence from the Trent Valley, (what became) Sherwood Forest, and the Peak and Uplands *Pays* in the period from the seventh to ninth centuries exhibit two major changes that will be explored in this section. The first of these was the transition in material culture between what could be called the "British" (or less precisely, "Celtic") cultural style that existed in Britain in the Late Roman period, and the "Anglo-Saxon" cultural style, which occurred between approximately 400 and 700. This transition, and the extent to which it reflected migration or cultural diffusion and assimilation, has been studied extensively by many researchers, including Loveluck and Laing (2011), Cleary (2011), Brugmann (2011), Laing (2006), and Loveluck (2002). The second major change to be examined here was an increase in evidence for exotic and expensive goods (but not in numbers of overall finds), occurring between approximately 600 and 800.

Culturally "Anglo-Saxon" goods appeared in the Trent Valley possibly as early the beginning of the fifth century, these goods included a supporting-arm brooch found at Collingham and dating from 400 to 450 (PAS: LVPL-EC97B2), and an Aberg I brooch dating to the middle fifth century from Orston (PAS: NLM5986; Martin 2015, 8; Green 2012, 273). The earliest culturally Anglo-Saxon evidence from

Sherwood Forest in the PAS database is a small-long brooch recovered from the west of Farnsfield and dating to between 450 and 600 (PAS: DENO-53F943). Two seventh-century hanging bowls are recorded, one from Clipstone, in the north of Sherwood Forest, with scrollwork design similar to the trumpet-pattern style or "Durrow" style (PAS: DENO-9FDBC1; Bruce-Mitford 2005, 13). A mount from a hanging bowl has been recovered from the Nottinghamshire Trent Valley at North Clifton. The mount is decorated with roundels and foliate decoration (PAS: DENO-2C8187) (see Figure 42). Geake (1999, 17) suggests that hanging bowls were deposited in Anglo-Saxon graves between 600 and 725, but their origin and use may have been earlier (Mills 2000, 63). Despite their appearance in Anglo-Saxon contexts, it is generally thought that hanging bowls had their origins in "Celtic" traditions (see Bruce-Mitford 2005, 23-29). Therefore, it is clear that elements of Late Roman culture were incorporated into Anglo-Saxon culture within the forest.

As mentioned above, published archaeological excavations are relatively rare for Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire, especially around the areas of the forests. One exception is the information gleaned from excavation of seventh-century barrow burials, primarily in the Derbyshire Peak, which supplement the known record of material culture recorded by the PAS database. The transition, competition, and potential conflict between British and Anglo-Saxon cultural styles in the Peak barrow burials has been studied by Loveluck (1995; 1994). The barrow burials are a sudden re-use of a native Bronze Age and Iron Age practice that had seemingly been long abandoned. It has been suggested that their re-use was possibly a deliberate choice by an Anglo-Saxon colonialist elite who sought to legitimise their social position through the use of this conspicuous and native, albeit archaic, practice (Loveluck 1995, 84).

Loveluck's (1995, 86) reappraisal of the Peak barrow evidence finds a powerful influence of British native burial styles, and questions the categorisation of many of the burials previously as "Anglo-Saxon". Some of the seventh-century barrow burials for example contained antler tines, quartz pebbles, Romano-British knives, and hanging bowls. Yet conversely there were also barrows constructed of earth alone (as opposed to earth and stone) and contained solely Anglo-Saxon artefacts. Several secondary inhumation burials have been found which are only accompanied by Anglo-Saxon goods (*ibid.*, 87). In some cases, antlers and quartz pebbles were

found in burials which otherwise contained seventh-century Anglo-Saxon grave goods, which may have been the result of Anglo-Saxon settlers adopting native funerary rituals, or the native population using Anglo-Saxon means of display (*ibid.*, 86). Loveluck (*ibid.*, 91) suggests that the context for the Anglo-Saxon movement into the Peak may have been the growth of the Mercian kingdom in the mid-seventh century. The incoming immigrant elites did not immediately replace the native elites, but rather in the late seventh century the two existed concurrently. There was evidence for both migration and acculturation of cultural styles, where the conspicuous display of wealth was fuelled by contact between the native and immigrant elites who existed in close proximity and adopted fashions from the other.

The second major trend within the PAS material from the Nottinghamshire Trent Valley, Sherwood Forest, and the Peak and Uplands *Pays* during predominantly 600 to 800 was a significant number of items which were expensive or were imported, whether imported whole or used raw materials which were imported. For example, from (what became) Sherwood Forest, a gilded copper-alloy plate mount with interlace decoration has been recorded from Papplewick (PAS: DENO-954CA3) (see Figure 43), and a D-sectioned penannular brooch including Irish decorative influence has also been recovered at Farnsfield (PAS: DENO-72EBC2) (see Figure 44). Examples of artefacts from the Nottinghamshire Trent Valley that show gilding include five mounts with style I and style II interlace zoomorphic design (PAS: DENO-E4A451; NLM-83ACC0 [see Figure 45]; DENO-696501; DENO-694706; DENO-C91841 [see Figure 46]), a gilded mount in the shape of a bird (PAS: DENO-E2DAF2), and a gilded mount fragment (PAS: DENO-C9ADF1). Other ornate or imported (including ones with imported raw materials) items include a copper-alloy pyramidal mount from a decorated sword scabbard (PAS: DENO-08BD33), an ornate gold and garnet button bearing strong similarities to examples found at Sutton Hoo (PAS: DENO-2A0601; see Carver and Evans 2005, xxxviii) (see Figure 47), a gold and garnet pendant (PAS: DENO-494555) (see Figure 48), and another mount with openwork decoration of a zoomorphic style with probable Irish or Scottish inspiration (PAS: DENO-4207C5) (see Figure 49). From the Peak and Upland *Pays*, from the unafforested area of Bakewell, a rectangular gold fitting which contained spaces for garnets has been found (PAS: DENO-CC9F5F) (see Figure 50). It is of an unknown purpose, and was potentially an item of jewellery,

according to its PAS report the fitting was perhaps originally in the shape of a cross (*ibid.*). In addition, a range of overseas coinage has been recovered from this period, to be analysed later. From the bank of the Trent river at Rampton, the discovery of an eighth-century bell (PAS: NLM-C90184) is possibly evidence for an itinerant merchant (see Loveluck 2013, 208). The PAS items from the seventh and eighth centuries are plotted in Figure 51.

The above-mentioned PAS material was accompanied by significant evidence from the seventh-century barrow burials. For example, excavation at Benty Grange found what was at the time the first Anglo-Saxon helmet ever found; although this has since been followed by the Sutton Hoo helmet, the Coppergate helmet (Addyman *et al.* 1982), and the Wollaston helmet (Welch 2001, 153). The frame of the helmet from Benty Grange is made out of iron, and the ribs are covered with horn and fastened with silver rivets. The crown of the helmet contains a bronze plate, with a bronze and silver-gilt boar figurine positioned on the top (Meaney 1964, 73). The helmet had an associated hanging bowl (Welch 2001, 153), and the grave was also found to be decorated with silver ornaments, two small silver crosses, and two bronze discs (Meaney 1964, 73). Another burial containing silver was found at Stand Low, Newton Grange, where a bead of twisted silver wire and a silver needle were found (*ibid.*, 78).

4.1.2 The Ninth, Tenth, and Eleventh Centuries

The material from Sherwood Forest, the Nottinghamshire Trent Valley, and the Peak and Uplands *Pays* from the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries displays two key trends. The first of these is the reduction in the range of expensive and imported materials (including coins) which had been so apparent in the eighth century. The second is a process of Scandinavianisation, in which Scandinavian cultural styles increasingly inspired the styles of material culture that have been recovered.

A large number of objects have been recovered dating to the ninth, tenth and eleventh centuries, but they often lack the level of decoration that was present on objects from the preceding centuries, such as gilding. For example, from Sherwood Forest, two copper-alloy strap ends with zoomorphic decoration have been

recovered from Clipstone (PAS: DENO-1B0854) and from Edwinstowe (PAS: DENO-CB4B63). The example from Clipstone is a Thomas class A type 2 (PAS: DENO-1B0854; Thomas 2000, 89) (see Figure 52). From the Nottinghamshire Trent Valley, a number of finds have been recovered including three "Frankish" ansate brooches (PAS: LIN-BDC3F1; DENO-D40583; DENO-C766ED [see Figure 53]), 20 strap ends, and 21 pins, all dating to approximately the ninth century. From the area of the Peak and Uplands *Pays* outside of the Forest of High Peak, a fragment of a Thomas Class A Type 2 strap end has been found (PAS: WMAS-BB6B71). From the tenth or eleventh century, Anglo-Saxon styles continue be evident, such as a hipped dress pin with wrythen decoration (PAS: LVPL-E1CE93; Atkins and Connor 2010, 49; Smith *et al.* 2005, 113) (see Figure 54).

Increasingly, Scandinavian or Anglo-Scandinavian styles became present, including from Sherwood Forest an Anglo-Scandinavian lozengiform brooch with openwork decoration and zoomorphic heads (PAS: DENO-752641) (see Figure 55) and an Anglo-Scandinavian buckle with Urnes decoration (PAS: DENO-50FE76), both from Clipstone. From the Nottinghamshire Trent Valley, several Thomas Class E Type 1 strap ends with Scandinavian-influenced Winchester styling have been recovered (PAS: DENO-C276C4, DENO-00F018, DENO-B728C0, DENO-EA44B1; Thomas 2000, 108). A Thomas Class E Type 2 strap end with anthropomorphic decoration, has been found which has Carolingian and Scandinavian parallels (PAS: DENO-1268B3; Thomas 2000, 112), among many other finds. Evidence for weaponry in this area has been uncovered in the form of a copper-alloy mount or fitting from a scabbard with zoomorphic design showing a four-legged animal probably intended to be a dragon (PAS: DENO-851F37), which it is noted by the PAS to be exceptionally similar to another example from Greetwell, east of Lincoln (PAS: LIN-3DE8C7). Another is a copper-alloy "lobed" type sword pommel, a Petersen L Type VI which is a hybrid of Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Scandinavian designs (PAS: DENO-F08A65; Thompson 2004, 90, 96) (see Figure 56).

Rather than the gold and gilded items of the seventh and eighth centuries, a lot of the dress accessories of this period were manufactured with lead, including two lead-alloy disk brooches (PAS: DENO-79F861, NLM-879595), a lead pendant (PAS: LVPL-AD5515), and a lead Scandinavian brooch with concentric design

(PAS: NLM-729CC7). There are exceptions, from the area of the area of the Peak and Uplands Pays outside of the Forest of High Peak, a tenth-century circular strap fitting has been recovered with zoomorphic decoration and traces of gilding (PAS: LVPL2050), and from the Nottinghamshire Trent Valley a copper alloy pendant in the form of a bird has been recovered, which was gilded and thought by the PAS to be very similar to a pendant recovered from Yaroslavl in Russia (PAS: DENO-55AE35), and two *cloisonné* brooches have gilding (PAS: LVPL-9DCA56 [see Figure 57], DENO-6C0D22).

Material from the Trent Valley from this period shows a growing amount of evidence for industry and commerce, including a balance (PAS: DENO-0619F7); a die stamp (PAS: DENO-698D71); and a weight (PAS: NLM-941282). Viking hacksilver and hackgold is found in the form of an ingot with 43% gold and 29% silver (PAS: LIN-152759), several ingot fragments (PAS: NLM-1B0476), and half a silver ring seemingly severed with a chisel and identified by the PAS to weigh within 2% of a quarter of 26.15g, which was the standard Viking bullion unit (PAS: NLM-269). All these items are plotted in Figure 58.

4.1.3 The Twelfth, Thirteenth, and Fourteenth Centuries

This section looks at the material culture from the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries, the period of this thesis' primary date range, when Forest Law was actually applied. The evidence from the Nottinghamshire Trent Valley, Sherwood Forest, and the Peak and Uplands *Pays* exhibits several noticeable trends.

Firstly, as can be seen in Table 3 in the Nottinghamshire Trent Valley, Sherwood Forest, and the area of the Peak and Uplands Pays outside of the Forest of High Peak, there was a sudden growth in the number of finds that have been recorded from the thirteenth century, which is surpassed by the number recorded from the fourteenth century. A range of evidence is present for coinage, horse riding, and literacy, which far exceeds the previous centuries, and these types shall be analysed separately later in this chapter. The Forest of High Peak was the exception, with only four objects recorded for the fourteenth century.

The Norman Conquest brought with it new cultural decorative styles. Early evidence for the Romanesque-style is found in a zoomorphic figurine of a dog (which may be interpreted as a hunting hound) from Sherwood Forest at Blidworth (PAS: DENO-CB2681) (Figure 59), while in the Nottinghamshire Trent Valley a Romanesque-style pin has been recovered (PAS: LVPL1221). These new Norman styles were not immediately adopted universally, demonstrated by an approximately twelfth-century openwork mount with zoomorphic design, found at Mansfield, which shows strong similarities to designs of the previous centuries (PAS: DENO-75BAA6) (see Figure 60).

A range of evidence from this period reflects expensive materials, importation and contacts with overseas. From Sherwood Forest two annular brooches with gilding (PAS: DENO-AFDBC5 and PAS: DENO-AFE8D3), and a French Dolphin Jetton (PAS: DENO-8BBBB7) have been recorded. In addition, a coin weight is recorded from Clipstone (PAS: DENO-1D7210). From the Nottinghamshire Trent Valley, the finds include a gilded buckle-plate depicting what appears to be a lion or leopard (PAS: NLM5781), a Limoges mount in the form of a saint (PAS: LIN-5555C4) (see Figure 61), 13 ampullae, resulting from exchange or pilgrimage (PAS: DENO-FCA184, DENO-E25637, DENO-803667, DENO-38D8B5; DENO-E48A0E; DENO-523A3C; LIN-AB0BE4; DENO-0E2C66; LVPL-A14031; DENO-88F045; DENO-F564D5; NLM-B0DD13), a brooch constructed from a demi-gros minted at Valenciennes (PAS: LIN-1E3E92), several pilgrim badges (PAS: DENO-D4E1F6; LVPL-D75692; NLM-33A234), a silver buckle (PAS: LIN-3484C2), and a silver pendant (PAS: LVPL-C95536). All of the PAS items from the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries are plotted in Figure 62.

4.2 Numismatic Evidence

4.2.1 The Sixth to Eleventh Centuries

Coins recovered from the sixth to eleventh centuries are presented in Figure 63. The earliest numismatic evidence from either the two forests, the Nottinghamshire Trent Valley, and the rest of the Peak and Uplands *Pays* comes from the Continent.

Fifth- or sixth-century Tremisses from Merovingian Francia have been found in the Trent Valley (EMC: 2005.0189; 2008.0316) and the area of the Peak and Uplands *Pays* outside of the Forest of High Peak. More extensive evidence for long-range and overseas contacts is present in the form of seventh-century sceattas from the Nottinghamshire Trent Valley. These included a late seventh-century silver porcupine sceat of series E, probably originally from Frisia, from the south side of the River Trent, adjacent to the forest (PAS: DENO-C30496; Sawyer 2013, 57) (see Figure 64), and other continental issues (PAS: LIN-BE2E81; EMC: 2010.0211, 1996.5001). The PAS and EMC databases record approximately equal numbers from the seventh century.

This range of evidence for long-distance and overseas contact from the Trent Valley continues into the eighth century, with recorded finds including a series G, type 3A likely from Quentovic (PAS: LEIC-869707; Gannon 2003, 174), nine further coins from unknown continental mints (EMC: 2005.0240, 2001.1130, 2001.1096, 2006.0258, 2010.0215, 2011.0065, 2010.0214, 2010.0209; PAS: LEIC-C44E21), and a Merovingian denier (EMC: 2015.0189). This evidence does not necessarily prove direct trade to and from continental Europe, but does suggest a minimum of indirect secondary contact; this is contemporaneous with the extensive range of expensive and imported goods recorded from the seventh and eighth century in the PAS database. A range of English mints are evident, including coins from East Anglia (EMC: 2009.0362; 2005.0243; 2006.0354; 2001.0150; 2007.0223), Canterbury (EMC: 2005.0227, 1988.0145, 2009.0368), York (EMC: 2001.1097), and Northumbria (PAS: SWYOR-348F92). No coins of this period are recorded from Sherwood Forest. A single eighth-century coin of Eadberht from York is recorded from the Peak and Uplands *Pays*, outside the area of the Forest of High Peak (EMC: 2012.0177). The range of material recorded by the EMC database from this period is far in excess of what is recorded by the PAS database. The majority of material recorded by both databases from the seventh and eighth century has, with minor exceptions, been found under 10km away from the estimated routes of navigable stretches of rivers, and most cases under 5km (see Figures 12 and 63).

The range of evidence from two forests, the Nottinghamshire Trent Valley, and the rest of the Peak and Uplands *Pays* from the ninth century shows a number of changes in distribution. Firstly, in previous centuries coins were found almost solely

in close proximity to navigable rivers; the ninth-century coins that are recorded from the two forests, were found much further inland than the coins of previous centuries. Three coins from Sherwood Forest are a coin of Burgred of Mercia minted in London and found at Stoke Bardolph (EMC: 1017.0094); two coins of Coelwulf of Mercia minted in Canterbury, one found at Lambley (EMC: 1997.0119) and the other found at Clipstone (PAS: DENO-4216F8). From the Forest of High Peak a single coin is recorded, a styca of Aethelred II of Northumbria minted in York and found on Castle Hill in Castleton (EMC: 2001.0532). The second major change is the disappearance from the material culture record of coins minted overseas which were evident from previous centuries. The recorded ninth-century coins all come from English mints with no overseas mints evident. This does not itself prove that direct or indirect contact with continental Europe had ceased, although it should be noted that this is contemporaneous with the ninth-century fall in expensive and imported goods recorded by the PAS database, discussed in the previous section.

Littleborough, situated on the bank of the river Trent in north-east Nottinghamshire, has yielded 24 of the EMC coins from the ninth century. Of this number, 4 are from the reign of Eanred of Northumbria and date to between 810 and 840 (EMC: 2009.0197, 2009.0198, 2009.0200, 2009.0210); 14 were issued by Aethelred II of Northumbria who reigned from 840 to 844 and from 844 to 848 (EMC: 2009.0211, 2009.0213, 2009.0196, 2009.0207, 2009.0212, 2009.0222, 2009.0209, 2009.0214, 2009.0216, 2009.0195, 2009.0199, 2009.0201, 2009.0218, 2009.0219, 2009.0220); one is a styca of Redwulf (EMC: 2009.0215); and four coins are irregular stycas dating to between 850 and 867 (EMC: 2009.0202, 2009.0208, 2009.0217, 2009.0221). This unusually high activity at Littleborough is not repeated in any other century, with Littleborough having yielded only two eighth-century coins (EMC: 2001.1096, 2001.1097), and single coins from the tenth (EMC: 2001.1251), and eleventh (EMC: 1994.0233) centuries. This would suggest that the unusually high number of ninth-century coins recorded from Littleborough is not the result of recovery biases. It may be that the coins were part of a single hoard of Northumbrian coins which was deposited after 850, but the lack of precise findspot data makes it impossible to be certain. Alternatively, as Littleborough is situated directly on the River Trent, it is possible that in the mid-ninth century the settlement was either a site of mercantile activity such as a small *emporium* or *wic*, or a tolling-

point for vessels on the River Trent. Littleborough was royal demesne at the time of Domesday Book (Morris 1977, 1.34), allowing the possibility of the site having an administrative function.

Numbers of finds from the PAS and EMC databases from the ninth century vary substantially, much more so than previous centuries. Despite the first coins from the forests appearing during this period, the PAS database records a significant decrease in coins in Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire during this century compared to the eighth century. The EMC database meanwhile records an increase in numbers of coins, although the majority of these are the aforementioned examples from Littleborough.

Tenth-century material recorded from the two forests, the Nottinghamshire Trent Valley, and the rest of the Peak and Uplands *Pays* reflects a largely similar pattern. Coins are again recorded from Sherwood Forest, including a penny of Aethelred II minted in London and found at Clipstone (PAS: DENO-1BE7F4) (see Figure 65), and a fragment of a coin minted between 899 to 975 found at Ollerton (EMC: 2008.0023). No coins are recorded from the Forest of High Peak, or from the rest of the Peak and Uplands *Pays*. Coinage from the Nottinghamshire Trent Valley again reflects largely English mints, with coins from Northumbria (EMC: 2014.0297, 2012.0284, 2009.0243, 2017.0001, 2001.1251); Lincoln (PAS: DENO-C63187); and Ipswich (EMC: 2010.0166). There is however an exception, a coin of Otto III minted in Cologne (EMC: 1986.0127). This again corresponds to what was found in material culture earlier in this chapter, where evidence for expensive and imported goods was marginally higher in the tenth century than the ninth century, but still far below the range of evidence from the seventh and eighth centuries.

The eleventh-century material includes a single coin from Ollerton in Sherwood Forest which was issued by William the Conqueror and minted between 1074 and 1077 in Canterbury (EMC: 2008.0021). Two coins are recorded from the Peak and Uplands *Pays*; a coin of Edward the Confessor minted at Stamford and found at Brailsford (EMC: 2001.0988), and a coin of William the Conqueror minted in Derby and found at Ashbourne (EMC: 2010.0114). The material from the Nottinghamshire Trent Valley reveals a range of domestic mints, including Lincoln (PAS: LIN-F1D86E; EMC: 2008.0364, 2002.0135); Nottingham (PAS: LEIC-AF78C2) (see Figure 66); London (PAS: LEIC-3F7258); Dover (EMC: 1996.0235);

Stamford (EMC: 2008.0365, 1994.0233); Leicester (EMC: 2001.1129); Warwick (EMC: 2015.0231); and Derby (EMC: 2011.0086). The number of eleventh-century coins from the PAS database compared to the EMC database are more equal than recorded from the previous two centuries, with a slightly larger number from the EMC database. It can be noted that two rare and local mints are included in the assemblage of material from the eleventh century, with coins from the mints of Derby (EMC: 2010.0114, 2011.0086) and Nottingham (PAS: LEIC-AF78C2). All of the coins recorded by the PAS database from the sixth to eleventh centuries are presented in Figure 63.

4.2.2 The Twelfth to Fifteenth Centuries

The EMC database records coin finds only up to 1180, and therefore a complete comparison cannot be made between twelfth- to fifteenth-century coins recorded by the PAS and EMC databases. From the twelfth century the EMC database records a single coin from Sherwood Forest, minted in London and found at Ollerton (EMC: 2008.0022). No coins are recorded from the Forest of High Peak, but from rest of the Peak and Uplands Pays a coin minted in Worcester and found at Carsington (EMC: 2004.0233), and a coin of William I of Scotland minted at Roxburgh and found near Chesterfield (EMC: 2013.0281) are recorded. The coins of the Trent Valley are sourced from a number of domestic mints including Tamworth (EMC: 2007.0156); London (EMC: 2007.0156, 2012.0193); Nottingham (EMC: 2009.0205); Oxford (EMC: 2011.0089); York (EMC: 2011.0025); Norwich (EMC: 2000.0031); Canterbury (EMC: 2010.0205); Carlisle (EMC: 2011.0047); and Carlisle or Newcastle (EMC: 2002.0131). A coin minted at Roxburgh in Scotland is also recorded (EMC: 1992.0304).

It is from the twelfth century onwards that numbers of recorded coins in Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire rapidly rise in the PAS database. Numbers and mint locations of the coins from the twelfth to fifteenth century can be found in Table 4, Table 5, Table 6, and Table 7. In Sherwood Forest, the Nottinghamshire Trent Valley, and the area of the Peak and Uplands *Pays* outside of the Forest of High Peak, numbers of coins peak in the thirteenth century and decline in the

fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The exception is the Forest of High Peak, which has no recorded coins dating before the fourteenth century.

In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries London is universally the most popular mint, comprising generally between a quarter and a half of all coin finds. Canterbury is the second most common mint, comprising between approximately 10% and 20% of coin finds. The only non-English mint recorded from the twelfth century is a single coin from Rhuddlan. In the thirteenth century, the number of non-English coins increase, with examples minted at Dublin, Perth, Rhuddlan, and Valenciennes.

From the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, coins minted in London are even more common, comprising around half of all coins recorded. The second most common mint is less clear with Canterbury and York both featuring prominently. The only non-English mint from the fourteenth century is a coin from Perth, whereas from the fifteenth century the mints of Calais, Dublin, and Venice are recorded.

The vast majority of the twelfth- to fifteenth-century coins in Sherwood Forest were found in the north of the forest in the area of Edwinstowe and Clipstone. The discovery of a twelfth-century coin weight from Clipstone (PAS: DENO-1D7210) would appear to reinforce trade or craft activity. A lesser number of coins have been recovered from around Mansfield in the north-west and Blidworth in the centre of the forest. Coins are not recorded from the vicinity of the major population centre of Nottingham. It can be noted that the distribution of findspots largely mirrors that of coins from the seventh to eleventh centuries, except the earlier period were far fewer in number. This suggests that the application of Forest Law to the area did very little to change at least the physical patterning of accidental coin discard. The three recorded coins from the Forest of High Peak were distributed widely, at Castleton in the east of the forest, at Wormhill in the south of the forest, and near Chapel-en-le-Frith in the west of the forest. All of the coins recorded by the PAS database from the twelfth to fifteenth centuries are presented in Figure 67.

Table 4 PAS coins of the twelfth century according to mint locations from the Nottinghamshire Trent Valley, Sherwood Forest, the Forest of High Peak, and the rest of the Peak and Uplands Pays

	Sherwood Forest	**Nottinghamshire Trent Valley**	**Forest of High Peak**	**Rest of the Peak and Uplands**
Total	6	44	0	3
Canterbury		6		1
Carlisle		2		
Ipswich		1		
Lincoln		1		
London	2	11		1
Northampton	1			
Nottingham		1		
Rhuddlan		1		
Thetford		1		
Winchester		1		1
York		1		
Unknown	3	18		1

Table 5 PAS coins of the thirteenth century according to mint locations from the Nottinghamshire Trent Valley, Sherwood Forest, the Forest of High Peak, and the rest of the Peak and Uplands Pays

	Sherwood Forest	**Nottinghamshire Trent Valley**	**Forest of High Peak**	**Rest of the Peak and Uplands**
Total	40	319	0	21
Berwick upon Tweed		4		2
Bristol		5		
Bury St Edmunds	1	6		2
Canterbury	8	51		5
Dublin	1	6		
Durham	1	5		
Exeter		1		1
Hereford		1		
Kingston upon Hull		1		
Lincoln		10		
London	11	117		9
Newcastle	1	3		
Northampton		1		
Norwich		1		
Oxford		1		
Perth		1		
Rhuddlan		1		
Shrewsbury		1		
Valenciennes		1		
Wilton		1		
Winchester	2	5		1
York	1	9		
Unknown	14	87		4

Table 6 PAS coins of the fourteenth century according to mint locations from the Nottinghamshire Trent Valley, Sherwood Forest, the Forest of High Peak, and the rest of the Peak and Uplands Pays

	Sherwood Forest	**Nottinghamshire Trent Valley**	**Forest of High Peak**	**Rest of the Peak and Uplands**
Total	30	193	2	15
Berwick upon Tweed				1
Bury St Edmunds	1	2	1	
Canterbury	1	27		1
Durham	4	11		1
Exeter				1
London	17	93	1	8
Newcastle		4		
Perth		1		
York	4	14		1
Unknown	3	41		6

Table 7 PAS coins of the fifteenth century according to mint locations from the Nottinghamshire Trent Valley, Sherwood Forest, the Forest of High Peak, and the rest of the Peak and Uplands Pays

	Sherwood Forest	**Nottinghamshire Trent Valley**	**Forest of High Peak**	**Rest of the Peak and Uplands**
Total	13	76	2	4
Bristol		1	1	
Calais	3	6		
Canterbury		9		1
Coventry		1		
Dublin		1		
Durham	1	6		
London	5	21	1	3
Venice		1		
York	1	12		
Unknown	3	18		2

4.3 Evidence for Horse Riding

An isolated item from the sixth century Trent Valley which demonstrates evidence for horse riding is a silver gilt copper-alloy mount from a horse harness, with Style I chip carving (PAS: DENO-75B237) (see Figure 68). The mount's design includes face masks in the corners and beasts with triple ribbon bodies. Style I carving is thought to have originated in southern Scandinavia and was used on objects of high status (Webster 2003, 16).

Another item with evidence for horse riding is not recorded until the tenth century. This material, again from the Trent Valley, consists of a horse harness cheek-piece with Scandinavian-style openwork design and incised lines (PAS: NLM5876), and a Williams Class A Type 8 stirrup-strap mount made of copper-alloy (PAS: LEIC-4777D5).

From within Sherwood Forest, recorded material from the eleventh century includes an Anglo-Scandinavian horse harness fitting from Clipstone (PAS: DENO-472608); a Williams Class B, type 1, Group 3 zoomorphic stirrup-strap mount from near Perlethorpe (PAS: DENO-DC5723); and a Williams Class A, Type 5 stirrup strap mount from near Kirkby (PAS: DENO-C2E2B4). From the Trent Valley area, a large number of openwork and zoomorphic strap ends have been recovered. These include an example of Ringerike design (PAS: DENO-C9B245), and of ring and dot decoration similar to what is found in the east of England and the Irish Sea area (PAS: LVPL-9EAF83) (see Figure 69). A number of harness fittings with Anglo-Scandinavian design have also been found in the Trent Valley from the eleventh century, including a Williams Type 1 cheek piece (PAS: LEIC-46C372); a very large number of stirrup terminals, including copper-alloy stirrup terminals with a beast's head with a long snout (SWYOR-4C69F1, DENO-52A193, DENO-380634, DENO-C9A925, LIN-BDD9D5); Williams Class B, Type 3, Group 1 stirrups (PAS: DENO-20F988, DENO-3EFF28, DENO-381834); and a series of Williams Class A stirrups (PAS: NLM-09E2D1, LVPL-CB3416, DENO-102895Z, SWYOR-24E1F5, DENO-766AD3, DENO-7DFD92, DENO-C98F31, DENO-388E85, DENO-BD4865). A D-shaped buckle (SWYOR-22FFC7), and two harness pendants have Ringerike decoration have also been recorded (PAS: DENO-1A4B33, DENO-D73301).

There are a few twelfth-century items of riding gear from the Trent Valley, including a harness pendant (PAS: DENO-1C6B04), but they are generally far fewer in number in both the Trent Valley and upper Sherwood Forest area than in the eleventh century. During the twelfth century Sherwood Forest and the Trent Valley north-west of the River Trent were covered by Forest Law. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries items of riding gear increase dramatically in the Trent Valley. For example, from the thirteenth century a harness fitting (PAS: DENO-121906); a harness mount (PAS: DENO-32D1C2); and four harness pendants (PAS: NLM-0A18F8, DENO-3298F5, DENO-B0F492 [see Figure 70], LVPL-DA2106) have been recovered. From the fourteenth century finds include two harness fittings (PAS: DENO-4DD815, DENO-6C8124); a harness hook (PAS: LEIC-C2D7C4); harness mounts; and over 30 harness pendants. Four items of riding gear have been found within the Peak and Uplands Pays, all outside the area of the Forest of High Peak, two eleventh-century stirrups (PAS: DENO-80ADE4, DENO-90F5F6) and

two fourteenth-century harness pendants (PAS: DENO-520BB6, DENO-09DE10).

Evidence has also emerged of horse riding within Sherwood Forest, during the period of afforestation. An eleventh-century harness fitting and a thirteenth-century spur have been found at Clipstone (PAS: DENO-472608, DENO-24A4F2). Furthermore, seven harness pendants, five of which are fourteenth-century examples from Edwinstowe (PAS: SWYOR-B46B02), Clipstone (PAS: DENO-41E647, DENO-C6C201), Mansfield (PAS: DENO-839174) and Lambley (PAS: DENO-906EA6), and fifteenth-century examples from Clipstone (PAS: DENO-41CA81) and Blidworth (PAS: DENO-425837), have also been recorded. This gives a total of nine items of riding gear dating to between the eleventh and fifteenth centuries from within the forest.

Around the edge of the Sherwood Forest border many further items of riding gear have been recovered. These include an eleventh-century stirrup and harness fitting from Teversal (PAS: DENO-C2E2B4, DENO-72EA46), an eleventh-century stirrup from Perlethorpe (PAS: DENO-DC5723), and thirteenth- and fourteenth-century harness mounts and harness pendants from Farnsfield (PAS: LEIC-AFF303, LEIC-AF73E0, DENO-104682, LEIC-AEBA05, LEIC-9EFAB5), Kirkby in Ashfield (PAS: DENO-108B84, DENO-0EF516, DENO-47E860); Oxton (PAS: DENO-9D9796); Warsop (DENO-4BC8D6) (see Figure 71); and Annesley (PAS: DENO-9CE4B6). This constitutes 12 thirteenth- and fourteenth-century items recorded within 2km of the 1232 and 1300 forest borders. This compares to nine items found within the much larger area inside the forest. This higher distribution of objects directly around the border is apparent despite hunting on horseback being only one form of horse riding, and there was no restriction on other forms of riding within a forest. It may be that area immediately outside the forest border, the forest's *purlieu*, was prime ground for legal hunting. There are good reasons that can be suggested for this. Firstly, the forest's *purlieu* would contain a large number of deer and boar that had moved out of the forest's protected area and would hence be fair game. Secondly, those who dwelled within the forest would naturally travel to the closest area immediately outside the forest boundary to legally hunt. Thirdly, hunting in the *purlieu* was the closest an individual could get to hunting within the King's own hunting ground, which may have given the outer-

forest area its own degree of prestige. A fourth explanation related to landholding will be discussed in Chapter 9. A combination of these factors may have meant that horse riding was more common around the edges of a medieval forest than directly inside. All the items of horse riding gear are plotted in Figure 72.

4.4 Evidence for Literacy

A wide array of evidence for literacy has been recovered from the two forests, the Nottinghamshire Trent Valley, and the rest of the Peak and Uplands *Pays*. One of the earliest, from the area of Carlton in Lindrick near Worksop (outside the area generally examined within this chapter), is a medieval stylus, dating to the tenth century, which was gilded and decorated, including the figure of a dragon (PAS: DENO-66AA97) (see Figure 73).

Some of the evidence for literacy from is from a clear ecclesiastical context. Several papal *bullae* are recorded, for example from the Nottinghamshire Trent Valley with several bullae being recorded from the twelfth century (PAS: LIN-10223D), the thirteenth century (PAS: DENO-D420E1, LVPL-B4B6A3, PUBLIC-2ED853, SWYOR-826B52), and the fourteenth century (PAS: DENO-938AE1, DENO-896813, DENO-AD5225). Several examples from the area of Peak and Uplands *Pays* outside the Forest of High Peak include a twelfth-century example issued by Adrian IV found at Bakewell (PAS: WMID-F5604E) and two thirteenth-century examples issued by Innocent IV (PAS: DENO-2A3E61) and Martinus IV (PAS: DENO-533BB4) from Morley and Carsington respectively. A papal bulla has also been recorded from Sherwood Forest itself, issued by Innocent IV and found at Mansfield (PAS: PUBLIC-276AA1) (see Figure 74).

There is also evidence for literacy within a secular context, from seal matrices. A large number have been recorded, 79 from the two forests, the Nottinghamshire Trent Valley, and the rest of the Derbyshire and Uplands *Pays*. The highest concentration of examples within Sherwood Forest are from Clipstone, where three are recorded. One of these was a seal matrix of Sir John Brocas, Master of the Horse for Edward III (PAS: DENO-4C6163) (see Figure 75). He was warden of

Nottingham Goal from 1336 to 1344. Another is a circular seal matrix with a lion rampant motif (PAS: LEIC-B35162). The final seal from Clipstone is a vesical-shaped seal from the thirteenth century with an inscription translating as "Seal of Ralph, son of Robert of P[.]ul" (PAS: DENO-4709B5), and therefore the seal matrix of seemingly a non-high-status individual. Two examples have been found at nearby Edwinstowe, one which is circular in shape and depicts a stylised Lamb of God; the lamb is however quite bird-like and appears to have a beak and two legs. The lettering around appears to translate as "I am Private" (PAS: DENO-D25D97). The other is a twelfth-century seal matrix of oval or vesical shape, with a depiction of either a feather, a leaf, or an ear of corn, shaped to look like a fleur-de-lys in the centre. The inscription translates approximately to "Seal of Hugo, son of Wivet" (PAS: DENO-D0B5F6), another seemingly to belong to an individual not of high status. Two seal matrices have also been recorded from Blidworth, one a circular matrix with a spiral pattern in the centre and an inscription reading "S' TOLVERD Ft EDVI'EVED[…]" (PAS: DENO-E35643). The other seal matrix from Blidworth is an oval or vesical shape with fleur-de-lys decoration and an inscription translating as "Seal of Alice daughter of Agnes" (PAS: DENO-9060C2) (see Figure 76). A seal matrix from Mansfield is rectangular and depicts a crowned lion (PAS: DENO-1488E7). A seal matrix found close to Budby, dating to between 1300 and 1400, is circular in shape and has a depiction of a pair of clasped hands, as well as "JE SV LEL" (a variation of "I am loyal"), although mistakenly written in the wrong order (PAS: DENO-4199F7).

A number of interesting seal matrices are recorded from the Nottinghamshire Trent Valley area. One seal found at Farnsfield, on the border of Sherwood Forest, contains an engraved face of a woman with a head dress and a rounded collar, with an inscription translating as "seal of Marilia Coleman" (PAS: LVPL-E3B2FD) (see Figure 77). Of the large number of seal matrices found near the Nottinghamshire Trent Valley settlement of Dunham, a selection of translated inscriptions includes a "seal of Galf son of Bruce" (PAS: NLM-1A8E02), "the seal of John" (PAS: NLM-9C2C0C), "the seal of Serlo[...] the Wight" (PAS: SWYOR-F4F941) (see Figure 78), and "the seal of Clement" (PAS: NLM-547507).

This assemblage demonstrates a wide range of individuals from different levels of the social hierarchy carrying seal matrices, including in and around Sherwood

Forest, from high level officials, to women, and members of the peasantry. The idea of wealthier peasants and local merchants owning seals in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries has been argued by Schofield (2015, 347-348), who suggests that many *villeins* may have been expected to own a seal before 1300. Jordan (2015, 233) has demonstrated previously that women owned seal matrices, suggesting their independent identity and ability to engage in transactions. The concept of *villeins* carrying seals, the extent to which seal matrices are evidence that their owners were literate, and further evidence for peasant literacy will be discussed in Chapter 9.

Further evidence for literacy in the Trent Valley includes two fourteenth-century book fittings from Staunton (PAS: DENO-1F47E1, DENO-1F4133); a plaque with silver gilding, lettering and an angel wing found at Orston (PAS: NLM6031); and two fifteenth-century book fittings found at Farnsfield (PAS: DENO-855810; DENO-851900). All the items of evidence for literacy from the PAS database are presented in Figure 79.

4.5 Anomalies in PAS Discard

Several areas have emerged in this chapter as having yielded very few artefacts recorded by the PAS database. Most notably this includes the vicinity of the medieval town of Nottingham (and although not examined as explicitly here, Derby), and the area of the Derbyshire Peak, which report considerably fewer finds than their surrounding areas. There are several explanations for these variations in discard. It may be the case that fewer objects were genuinely discarded in these areas leading to the recovery of low numbers. With the Peak this is possible, but in the case of Nottingham and Derby these highly active urban areas would be expected to yield a high volume of finds rather than, contradictorily, fewer than elsewhere. One explanation is that these landscapes pose difficulties for metal detectorists; the modern cityscapes of Nottingham and Derby are largely built upon with little open ground for fieldwalking and metal-detecting, whereas the rugged landscape of the Peak also limits the possibilities for these activities. In this setting it may be that the majority of finds from around Nottingham itself are discovered within residential gardens, by individuals who are less aware of the PAS service and

the need for reporting chance finds. The region around the modern cities lacking reported objects, however, extends out considerably beyond urbanised areas and into rural land, as can be seen in Figure 80, and hence this explanation is not sufficient. The number of recorded finds from around Nottingham can be compared with Newark, to the north-east or with Derby (see also Figure 80).

To test how unusual it is that in Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire the vicinity of urban areas lack reported medieval finds, a comparison can be made with other medieval towns, such as the urban areas of York, Northampton, and Leicester, which are presented in Figure 81, Figure 82, and Figure 83. Northampton shows a similar lack of reported finds within its core urban area, with the majority of finds being reported to the west of the modern town. Leicester shows a very clearly defined clustering of medieval finds around the west and north edge of the modern city, yet to the south and east of the city this is not so clearly defined, with an apparent lower volume of finds running to the south and east for several kilometres. In York, while there are clusters and gaps in the number of artefacts recovered from around the town, a fairly large number of artefacts have been recorded from within the modern city itself. In all these cases each of these towns and cities have yielded a far higher volume of artefacts in their immediate vicinity than either Derby or Nottingham.

4.6 Conclusion

This chapter has been intended to provide a regional-level picture of use and discard of material in the Derbyshire Peak, Sherwood Forest, and the Trent Valley from, primarily, the seventh to fourteenth centuries. This evidence allows a series of key conclusions to be made.

There had been a great disparity in numbers of finds recorded from different areas of Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire. The highest numbers have been recorded in the Trent Valley; the lowest numbers from the Derbyshire Peak. This would appear to correlate with the population analysis of Chapter 3, section 3.3.7. Yet this trend is far from conclusive; evidence excavated from the Peak barrow burials presents a

wealthy regional elite within a seventh-century local society which is unrepresented in PAS material. Furthermore, evidence presented within Chapter 6 and Chapter 7 will demonstrate that, with its lead industry, the Derbyshire Peak was one of the most industrial areas in medieval England. Although it is impossible to accurately measure the population of the Derbyshire Peak relative to the Trent Valley and the rest of Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire, it is near certain that there was settlement activity within the White Peak, if not the whole Peak, from very early in the Early Medieval Period, and therefore the almost complete lack of PAS material should not be viewed as indicating a complete lack of population. Furthermore, the urban centres of Nottingham and Derby were also found to lack recorded PAS finds, further demonstrating that recorded PAS finds do not necessarily correlate with population.

Numbers of recorded goods reached their peak inside and outside the forests at the same time; this was during the twelfth to fourteenth centuries, regardless of the implementation of Forest Law. A large number of expensive or imported goods (including raw materials) have been reported from across the Derbyshire Peak, Sherwood Forest, and Nottinghamshire Trent Valley. The excavated material of the Peak barrow burials demonstrates the existence of a wealthy regional elite, possibly derived from exploitation of the area's rich lead resources, mirroring the rich Peak lead mining industry of the High Medieval Period (see Chapter 7). The range of items of coinage, seal matrices, and riding gear, especially in the twelfth to fifteenth centuries, would indicate a wide engagement with the monetised economy, literacy, and horse riding, possibly as low in the social hierarchy as wealthy peasants. The seal matrices in particular, which named their owner, further prove this. Afforestation therefore did not have a noticeable impact on evidence for social dynamics; in fact, evidence for social dynamics and peasant agency could seemingly flourish under Forest Law. The level of material from Nottinghamshire Trent Valley in particular, and the social dynamism that it suggests, can be compared with previous research from coastal societies (Loveluck 2013; 2012; Loveluck and Tys 2006), possibly a result of its connection to the Humber estuary. At this broad level of analysis, however, it is generally impossible to precisely identify the background of the individual's depositing this material; this is a line of inquiry that will be returned to within the case studies.

These regional trends are going to be compared to the detailed case studies to explore the extent that these trends are misleading due to landscape and recovery biases.

Chapter 5: Nottinghamshire Case Studies

The previous chapters of this thesis have examined the forests of Sherwood and High Peak, and the wider counties of Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire, from a broad perspective. This and the following chapter take a far more concentrated approach as the micro-regional analysis.

The micro-regional analysis will itself be presented from three perspectives. These are parish-wide, settlement-specific, and site-specific. At the parish-wide level of analysis, the case studies examine general land-use and the development of industry and independent farmstead settlements outside the key settlements. At the settlement-specific level, the case studies focus on the plans of the villages and hamlets with a view to examining how they developed, including evidence for planning. The site-specific level of analysis focuses even more directly on the medieval built environment, primarily churches, examining their building phases and monuments with the aim of relating these changes and their patrons with contemporary changes that took place within the settlements and parishes, to investigate the primary actors within settlement change.

5.1 Case Study 1: North Sherwood

This case study focuses on a northern area of Sherwood Forest. It comprises the three parishes of Edwinstowe, Warsop, and Cuckney (see Figure 84). Cuckney, the furthest north of the three, contained the village of Cuckney and the hamlets of Norton, Holbeck, Holbeck Woodhouse, Nether Langwith, and formerly the area of Welbeck, which became separated as Welbeck Abbey and park (see Youngs 1991; Page 1910, 129) and is not included here. Immediately south of Cuckney was the parish of Warsop, containing Church Warsop, Market Warsop, Sookholme, and Nettleworth.

The parish furthest south in this case study, Edwinstowe, was a large parish containing the main village of Edwinstowe, and the hamlets of Clipstone and Budby. The land that Edwinstowe controlled was extensive, and it held parochial chapelries incorporating the lands of Perlethorpe, Thoresby, Carburton, Ollerton, and Wellow. The chronology by which the chapels were built and transitioned from chapels-of-ease to parochial chapels is not clear. Clipstone may have briefly had its own rector in the early fourteenth century (see Cox 1905, 212), but if so this was not a situation that lasted long (SCP: Edwinstowe, St Mary, History). Certainly, by the end of the medieval period only Edwinstowe, Clipstone and Budby were considered part of Edwinstowe parish (SCP: Edwinstowe, St Mary, History), and it is this latter parish area that features in this case study. The parish of Edwinstowe was almost entirely within Sherwood Forest, excepting the northern part of Budby, the parish of Warsop was split between forest and non-forest (Market Warsop was inside, Church Warsop was outside), and the parish of Cuckney was entirely outside the forest.

A substantial area of the north of Sherwood Forest was royal demesne from 1066 to 1348, including Edwinstowe and Budby (see Table 8); Edwinstowe was a berewick of the manor of Mansfield (Morris 1977, 1.28). Clipstone was held by Roger de Bully in 1086, but quickly reverted to the Crown (*ibid.*, 9.39). Part of Warsop was also royal demesne, sokeland of Mansfield (*ibid.*, 1.25) but was later held by a lord. Sookholme, part of the lands of Warsop in 1086, was separated and became land of the Priory of St Oswald. Cuckney, outside the northern forest boundary, was privately held from 1066 to 1348 by a series of lords.

All land in this area, bar that held by the king, was seized and granted to a new Norman lord and a number of these manors were delegated by their new owners to subtenants who were ostensibly "Norman", though could have been individuals of native decent identifying as culturally Norman, for example by adopting Norman naming fashions. At Warsop, Richard the Priest was the subtenant of Roger of Bully; at Cuckney, Richard was the tenant of Hugh (son of Baldric), and Geoffrey was the tenant of Roger of Bully.

The general analysis of place names in Chapter 3 found this area of Sherwood Forest to lack major (*i.e.* parish) names derived from Old Norse. A more detailed analysis however finds a different result. Old Norse-derived secondary names

(minor settlements and field names) within the North Sherwood case study area include the Grimston hybrid of Clipstone, Budby, Sookholme, Gleadthorpe, Holbeck and Welbeck (Gover *et al.* 1979, 73, 83, 91-93, 97, 102, 104). The lesser farmstead and field names in this area also contain a high number of elements derived from Old Norse. Cuckney parish contains Carr Lane, Holme Thwaite (*ibid.*, 302), and Bonbusk (*ibid.*, 83). Edwinstowe parish contains Bilhaugh, Birklands, Carr Brecks Farm (*ibid.*, 76-77), and Break Holm (*ibid.*, 302-303). In Warsop parish there was Car Leys and Holmes Lane (*ibid.*, 305).

Table 8 Lords of land within the North Sherwood case study (sourced from Morris 1977 and Thoroton 1790a; 1790b)

Holding	Parish or Chapelry	Lord in 1066	Lord in 1086	Major Landowners c. 1086 to 1348
Edwinstowe	Edwinstowe	Royal demesne	Royal demesne	Royal demesne
Budby	Edwinstowe	Royal demesne	Royal demesne	Royal demesne
Clipstone	Edwinstowe	Osbern and Wulfsi	Roger de Bully	Royal demesne
Warsop	Warsop	1. Godric, Leofgeat and Ulfkil 2. Royal demesne	1. Roger de Bully 2. Royal demesne	Fitz-Jordan, de Lexington, de Sutton, de Nunnes, de Ros
Gleadthorpe	Warsop	Thorsten and Wulfmer	Roger de Bully	De Lexington
Sookholme	Warsop	Part of Warsop	Part of Warsop	Nostell Priory
Nettleworth	Warsop	Part of Warsop	Part of Warsop	De London, de Tynneslaw
Cuckney	Cuckney	1. Swein. 2. Alric and Wulfsi	1. Hugh (son of Baldric) 2. Roger de Bully	De Cuckney, de Fauconberg, Welbeck Abbey

5.1.1. Parish Landscapes and Settlement Context

This section will discuss the results of analysis which are presented in various figures. Figure 85 presents the antecedent landscape of the North Sherwood case study. Figure 86 presents a landscape characterisation of the nineteenth-century OS

maps within the North Sherwood case study. Figure 87 presents an interpretation of the eighteenth-century character of the North Sherwood case study. Figure 88 presents the medieval landscape resulting from the regression process. The following section is written with reference to these simultaneously.

Edwinstowe

The extent of Edwinstowe's medieval open fields (recorded first in 1086 [Gover *et al.* 1979, 75]) is found fossilised within the field systems recorded by Senior (Mastoris 2017), Chapman (2003) in 1774 and Sanderson (2001) in 1835, and this can be used to reconstruct their approximate bounds. PAS finds recorded from the vicinity of the village of Edwinstowe have been recorded almost entirely from within the extent of the open field system. The outside of this field system was by the nineteenth-century OS maps covered by a block of regular enclosures and late enclosures, which extended beyond the limits of the open field system in all directions. This was the result of the open field system being surrounded in the medieval period not by dense woodland but by heathland or sparse woodland, which was converted to breck during the medieval and post-medieval period to extend the open field system, and was almost certainly also utilised as meadow pasture; these are seen in Senior's (Mastoris 2017) map. Individual farmsteads were not found within this land, suggesting perhaps that it was used and converted communally. The site of Lidgett, first recorded in 1272, marked the southern entry to the open field system (from *hlidgaet*, the swing gate which provided access [Gover *et al.* 1979, 77]). To the north east of the main settlement was Cockglode, the "open glade where woodcocks were hunted" (*ibid.*, 78); this was reputedly the site of the lodge of the forest official patrolling Birklands and Bilhaugh (Rodgers 1908). Although a number of isolated farmsteads were located around Edwinstowe by the nineteenth century, closer examination suggests no evidence for independent farmsteads during the medieval period.

To the south of the open field system, the King's Stand Farm indicated on the nineteenth-century OS map what was known in 1609 as King's Stand Breck; at this location the Stuart kings had shot game (*ibid.*; Rodgers 1908). This was recorded as

"The Lord's Open Forest" by Senior (Mastoris 2017, Nottinghamshire Appendix 13-14). One area in which woodland appears to have existed in the medieval period which no longer existed by the nineteenth century is "South Forest", to the south-west of Edwinstowe's open fields, represented as late enclosures in the OS maps of the nineteenth century.

Directly north of Edwinstowe is a large block of woodland, consisting of Bilhaugh and Birklands. In the medieval period, both areas served as a royal hunting park (Cox 1905, 207), although it is not clear whether this included fenced boundaries. At the edge of the Birklands area, on the west boundary of Edwinstowe, Hanger Hill is located. Hanger Hill has been identified as the site of Thynghowe, a "thing" meeting site subject to a series of investigations by Mercian Archaeological Services (Gaunt 2017; Gaunt and Crossley 2014; Mallett *et al.* 2012), and possibly the site of Bassetlaw's wapentake court (Gaunt and Crossley 2014, 8).

Also within Edwinstowe parish was the area of Clipstone (first recorded 1086 [Gover *et al.* 1979, 73]). Gaunt (2011) has produced a similar analysis for the landscape of Clipstone, showing the features recorded by Senior (Mastoris 2017, Nottinghamshire Appendix 31-32) and Bankes (Mastoris and Groves 1997); he argues that features were influenced by imagery from *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*. Gaunt's map focuses on the landscape as is known to have existed at the end of the medieval period and in the early post-medieval period, whereas my current research attempts to regress further to *circa* the mid-fourteenth century. William Senior's 1630 map of Clipstone shows the open fields of Mill Field, to the north of the settlement, and Cross Field, to the east of the settlement. It is likely that a medieval mill was located within or close to Mill Field, which appears in Senior's (Mastoris 2017, Nottinghamshire Appendix 31-32) map. To the south-east of the settlement two fields of rabbit warrens, *coneygarth,* were located, which likely also served as pasture. To the west of the settlement was Waterfield and a series of closes, which perhaps may have also previously served as a single open field during the medieval period. A farmstead called Baulker Farm could be found in the OS maps of the late nineteenth century located on the boundary of the western-most of the series of closes, Wood Close, and was recorded first in the fourteenth century (Gover *et al.* 1979, 74), although cannot be seen on William Senior's map of 1630 (Mastoris 2017, Nottinghamshire Appendix 31-32). A "baulk" was a boundary in an open field

(Muir 2004, 13), along which the farmstead was located, further supporting this area previously having been an open field. It was from this area that the majority of PAS finds from around Clipstone have been recorded. Much of the south and east of the parish was wooded, although Senior (Mastoris 2017, Nottinghamshire Appendix 31-32) (and from this Gaunt 2011, 36) depicted launds in this area also.

To the west of the settlement was the park of Clipstone, the bounds of which have previously been interpreted by Gaunt (2011, 36) and Crook (1976, 37). The park was enclosed around 1178 to 1180, serving the King's Houses at Clipstone which were first constructed between 1164 and 1165 (Crook 1976, 35). The park was created by enclosing an area of royally-owned common pasture used by the commoners of several surrounding settlements. A series of disputes between the commoners of Mansfield, Mansfield Woodhouse, Clipstone, and Warsop and the king demonstrated that their ancient rights of pasture and right to *haybote* and *husbote* were disrupted by the creation of the park (*ibid.*, 35-39; Crook 2005b). The attachment of woodland to these commoners in surrounding parishes is possibly the result of an arrangement pre-dating the development of the parish boundaries.

Independent medieval farmsteads were not found around the landscape of Clipstone. One independent site of interest however was a hermitage to the north of the settlement, close to the parish border. The hermitage was dedicated to St Edwin (*cf.* Edwinstowe) and first recorded in 1201, when the hermit was paid 40 shillings by the king to pray for his and his ancestors' souls (NHER: M3998; SCP: Clipstone All Saints, History). As with many monastic orders, the principle and ideal of a hermitage was to seek seclusion and withdrawal from public life (Johnston 2000, 583-585). In actuality, the hermitage was only at the edge of woodland; it was under 2km from Clipstone village, and less than 300m from a major routeway leading to Edwinstowe from Mansfield Woodhouse and Mansfield. A farmstead at the site of Broomhill Grange, identified as a potential monastic grange in Chapter 3, section 3.3.6 based upon place name analysis, does not appear in Senior's map of 1630 (Mastoris 2017, Nottinghamshire Appendix 31-32), proving that there was almost certainly no medieval origin to this site. Around the area of Broomhill Grange pre-existing Roman fields have been identified, part of a field system covering much of the north of the county (NMR: SK 56 NE 11; Unwin 1983; Riley 1980); this shows no relation with medieval settlement.

The final substantial settlement within Edwinstowe parish was Budby, a hamlet found to the north of Edwinstowe (first recorded in 1086 [Gover *et al.* 1979, 91]). The landscape of Budby was much redeveloped with the construction of Castle William (Budby Castle) and its grounds in the eighteenth century (see HER: M9558, MNT26682). To the north-east of the settlement the remains of an open field can be reconstructed from a series of regular enclosures found to the south west of the settlement in the enclosure map, tithe map and OS maps of the nineteenth century. The area redeveloped as Thorsby Park to the south-east of the settlement almost certainly represents another such field. To the north-east another series of regular enclosures reflect a third open field, from which the majority of medieval PAS artefacts from around Budby are recorded. From the settlement stretching to the north-west was Budby Carr, indicative of an area of communal pasture. Within this area there are signs of cropmarks representing pre-Roman, probably Iron Age, enclosures (NMR: SK 67 SW 13). Outside the field systems, to the north and south, the hamlet was surrounded by Budby North Forest and Budby South Forest, the latter of which was recorded as a royal hunting park (Cox 1905, 207) No isolated farmsteads were located near to Budby, a feature that has also been noted in the rest of the parish.

Warsop

The outline of Warsop's open field system was still preserved in the enclosures found around Warsop (first recorded in 1086 [Gover *et al.* 1979, 101]) in OS maps of the nineteenth century. It was from these areas that the majority of PAS finds have been recorded. Warsop was divided into Church Warsop and Market Warsop, and each appeared to have distinct open fields. In a valley between the two settlements and their field systems, on the west side, was an area known as the Carrs; this was heathland grazing which seemingly stretched west and connected with Sookholme Moor. This likely corresponded with *Sower Meadowe*, recorded in 1609 (Mastoris and Groves 1997, 11). A large area around the south-east and north-west of Warsop appears to have been wooded, and was assarted in either the medieval or post-medieval period.

Arable fields can also be determined around the smaller sites of Sookholme (first recorded in 1189 [*ibid.*, 97]) and Nettleworth (first recorded in 1195 [*ibid.*, 102]). The open fields of Sookholme appear to have stretched west and aligned with those of Shirebrook in Derbyshire. Sookholme was seemingly bounded to the east by open carrs, an interpretation supported by its place name, "the marshy land in the valley" (*ibid.*, 97). Scatters of woodland interspersed with semi-regular enclosures west, south, and east of Nettleworth suggests that it was formerly wooded in these directions, although the timing of the removal of this woodland is difficult to determine. Analysis of the place names and field names of this area does not reveal any recorded before the early nineteenth century (Gover *et al.*1979, 102-103). From the north of Nettleworth to the south of Sookholme appears to have been an open field which was split between the two settlements (in addition to Sookholme's other aforementioned open fields). To the north-east of Nettleworth was the Common Field, an area of common pasture for the commoners of Warsop and Nettleworth by the seventeenth century (Mastoris and Groves 1997, 11). An area of "waste" next to Nettleworth to the west or the south was contested by Nettleworth and Mansfield Woodhouse, which lay to the south-west (*ibid.*, 14).

On the east side of Warsop parish was Gleadthorpe Grange, a manorial holding in its own right in Domesday Book (the first time the site was recorded [Gover *et al.* 1979, 102]) and later a monastic grange. To the south of the site were a large number of late assarts (Mastoris and Groves 1997, Map 2) which may have been conducted after 1348. A farmstead to the west of Gleadthorpe was the Burns, first recorded in 1310 and seemingly named in reference to *brunnr*, an Old Norse term for a spring (*ibid.*, 102); the Burns was indeed on the bank the Meden river. These were the only independent farmstead of potentially medieval date found in the parish. The area of Gleadworth Grange was covered by an aforementioned Roman fields system covering much of the north of the county (NMR: SK 56 NE 9, SK 56 NE 19; Unwin 1983; Riley 1980). It seems that woodland regrew in the Early Medieval Period over much of the area within Warsop that this system covered.

Cuckney

The settlements of Cuckney and Norton (first recorded in 1086 and approximately 1179 respectively [Gover *et al.* 1979, 75, 88] lay in close proximity to each other with adjoining open field systems. Similarly, in the north of the parish, Holbeck and Holbeck Woodhouse (first recorded in 1227 and 1179 respectively [*ibid.*, 83-84]) were positioned with adjoining field systems, which Bonbusk (first recorded 1227 [*ibid.*, 84]) was also connected to. The parish appears to have contained a large amount of medieval woodland around its edges, some of which to the south of Cuckney was likely assarted. To the north-west of the parish was a large area of woodland seemingly surrounded by open pasture. A group of regular enclosures surrounded by semi-regular enclosures defines the location of the woodland, as well as a post-medieval farmstead called Woodend on its edge. This timing of its clearance is unclear although the woodland was not present in Chapman's (2003) map of 1774; it may have been cleared around the same time as the open field system at Nether Langwith was enclosed, due to overlapping of the field systems.

The area around Norton is recorded in a map by Senior from the seventeenth century (Mastoris 2017, Nottinghamshire Appendix 5-6). Senior recorded the remains of a large area of open field farming to the west of the settlement, as well as a small open field to the east. A large area of common, *Norton Moore*, was located north of the settlement. Outside of the open fields to the west and east were a number of brecks (*ibid.*). A small settlement called Milnthorpe (first recorded in 1227 [Gover *et al.*1979, 88)) was located at the north-east end of Norton, which had been deserted by the late nineteenth-century OS maps.

The parish contained a number of independent farmsteads of potentially medieval origin. The monastic grange of Hatfield Grange, located east of Cuckney, was recorded first in 1232 (Gover *et al.* 1979, 88). Two sites were located to the west of Norton, South Carr first recorded 1539 (*ibid.*) and Collingthwaite first recorded in 1227 (*ibid.*, 84). In the west of the parish, Norwood Farm was first recorded 1301 (*ibid.*).

5.1.2. Settlement Plan Analysis

Edwinstowe

Edwinstowe was a linear village on a north-south axis, showing a high degree of regularity; the plan of the settlement is presented in Figure 89. The settlement was recorded with a fair in 1381, although was never recorded having a market (see Letters 2005). Unlike in the nineteenth-century OS maps, in the seventeenth century there was no crossroad through the village (Mastoris 2017, Nottinghamshire Appendix 13-14), but overall the plan of the settlement has remained essentially consistent through the post-medieval and modern period. The church was located in the plot furthest north in the western half of the settlement plan. North of the church was the vicarage, and then Edwinstowe Hall, both of which are empty space in Senior's map of 1638 (Mastoris 2017, Nottinghamshire Appendix 5-6). Immediately south of the churchyard was the manor farm, which it can be interpreted was a farm belonging directly to the manor (Rodgers 1908). All of the settlement plots appear to have been laid out simultaneously; there is no evidence for different units of plots (as discussed by Dyer and Lilley 2012, 89-90) which result from successive phases of expansion to a settlement, although Senior's map (Mastoris 2017, Nottinghamshire Appendix 5-6) does show more empty space at the north and south end of the village. In the OS maps of the late nineteenth century the dwellings appear to have had long tofts, but these were not present in Senior's (Mastoris 2017, Nottinghamshire Appendix 5-6) map of 1638, which suggests that the medieval settlement consisted of crofts without tofts, and that these were added after the enclosure of the open fields. The nineteenth-century OS maps and Senior's map (ibid.) can be compared to regress the settlement tenements of the nineteenth century back to the seventeenth century, to selectively remove boundaries and tenements which have come into existence after 1638 (as presented in Figure 88). The lengths of plots on both sides of the settlement tapered; the west side of the settlement appeared to range from 102m at north end to 132m at the south. On the east side of the settlement, plots measured from 85m at north end to 71m in length at the south. The widths of individual plots on the west side had measurements including 15m, 20m, 25m, and 30m which may be based on measurements of three, four, five, and six (statute) 16.5-foot perches, respectively.

Edwinstowe has recently been subjected to test-pitting analysis (Gaunt 2015), which revealed evidence for occupation possibly as early as the late tenth century around the vicinity of the church. These results have led Gaunt (*ibid.*, 5) to suggest that the earliest occupation of the settlement was within this area.

Clipstone was a linear settlement on an east-west axis; the plan of the settlement is presented in Figure 90. It changed much between the early seventeenth century and the OS maps of the late nineteenth century. The tofts in the north half of the settlement – seen in William Senior's map of 1630 – had been vastly reduced, with properties demolished and boundaries changed, caused by the creation of flood meadows in the early nineteenth century (see Wright 2013, 19). Figure 90 shows a reconstruction of the probable extent of the medieval settlement from Senior's (Mastoris 2017, Nottinghamshire Appendix 5-6) map. Like Edwinstowe, it appears that Clipstone was planned, containing a row of regular plots, although the degree of change since Senior's map makes a precise analysis of the boundaries difficult.

Recent analysis by Andy Gaunt (2017, 12), David Budge, and Mercian Archaeological Services has yielded large amounts of Early Saxon, Middle Saxon, Late Saxon, and Saxo-Norman pottery from Castle Field in Clipstone. The discovery of Early Saxon material demonstrates that the nucleated settlement at Clipstone was likely formed from a pre-village nucleus, as was discovered in forest settlements in Whittlewood Forest by Jones and Page (2006), rather than as a new foundation. It also indicates that the site of the palace was in use for a long period, possibly previously as a manorial *curia*, and may have been a primary focus in the settlement's development.

A selection of PAS finds from Clipstone were found in the area of the medieval settlement plots; the modern settlement plots have moved from their medieval location. These objects include thirteenth-to-sixteenth-century weights (PAS: DENO-F25EB3, DENO-F257D3), thirteenth-to-fifteenth-century coins (PAS: DENO-7B8431, DENO-88E135, DENO-F26EB2) and a fourteenth-century seal matrix (DENO-4C6163).

It is difficult to determine how closely the hamlet of Budby resembles its original medieval layout as the surrounding landscape was extensively remodelled as part of the building of Castle William in the eighteenth century by Earl Manvers (Curtis

1844, 43). The plan of the settlement is presented in Figure 91. The settlement in the nineteenth century lay mostly to the south of a small triangular green. Directly north of the green is a small river running east-west. The settlement by the nineteenth century appears to have shifted south slightly, with settlement previously having occupied the plots which by the nineteenth century lay empty around the green.

Warsop

Warsop consists of Market Warsop and Church Warsop, with the forest boundary running between the two; the plan of the settlements together is presented in Figure 92. Church Warsop contained the church and Old Hall Farm. Market Warsop in the post-medieval period was the bigger settlement, with a cross roads layout, with one of these streets being a market street. A high medieval or late medieval cross was located at the north and south end of the market street (NHER: M5327, M8947). The settlement plan is regularly organised and therefore likely to have been laid out deliberately in a planned fashion. The tenement plots of Church Warsop show a lesser degree of regularity. Monckton (2007, 6) has suggested that in the early thirteenth century Warsop was still a series of dispersed settlements, but this can be disputed on the basis that the two distinct settlements at Warsop were a likely result of the two manorial holdings present in Domesday Book (Church Warsop was held by Roger de Bully in 1086, while Market Warsop was royal demesne), a situation which changed when the manors were combined within the next century (Thoroton 1796, 366-370), so the settlement plan was likely in place by the eleventh century.

The right to hold the eponymous market at Market Warsop, and a fair, was granted to manorial lord John de Lexington in 1239 (Stroud 2001b, 7). Another record of 1327 saw the market held by John de Ros, lord of the manor, and a second market grant of a 1410 was made to William de Ros (Letters 2005). Furthermore, grants of fairs were made to John de Lexington in 1239, and two to William de Ros in 1410 (Letters 2005).

The settlement was not of a sufficient size however to be mentioned in the 1334 lay subsidy (Letters 2005); the only other settlements in the county to hold medieval markets yet not be recorded in the 1334 lay subsidy were Fiskerton and Morton upon Trent (Letters 2005)), and, as such, at this date Market Warsop was potentially small.

The medieval extent of Church Warsop and Market Warsop has been interpreted by Stroud (2001b; see the extent of settlement in Figure 92). Aspects of the early development of Warsop can be gathered from its church-*curia* complex. Between the settlements of Church Warsop and Market Warsop, on their west side, was an area of pasture called The Carrs. The church-*curia* complex of Church Warsop appears to have been placed on this area, and therefore was essentially founded on a green. This can be compared with the findings of Stocker and Everson (2006, 104-105, 116, 136) with regards to churches founded upon greens. The location of the manorial *curia* appears to predate the foundation of the neighbouring church. The church-*curia* enclosure juts out east into the road, and into the common land to the south, corresponding with land seemingly taken to make space for the churchyard within an existing manorial enclosure (see Figure 92). The record of the church in Domesday Book would suggest that this process took place before 1086. The Church of St Peter and St Paul at Church Warsop is a rectory church, and as such would have held a degree of autonomy and operated its glebe (SCP: Warsop, St Peter and St Paul, Introduction). Immediately next to the rectory in the late nineteenth-century OS maps was Church Farm, which based on its name is highly likely to have been part of the glebe. The location of the mill in nineteenth-century Church Warsop may have been the location of the mill recorded in Domesday Book (Stroud 2001b, 15).

The tenements within Church Warsop, as they are reflected in the nineteenth-century OS maps, appear to have been larger than those of Market Warsop. A length of around 100m by 32m in width appears to have been the normal in Church Warsop. Within the north area of Market Warsop, plots with widths of 12m and 18m may indicate the use of 20-foot perches. In the south of the settlement, there were plot with widths of 10m, 15m, and 20m may correlate with two, three, or four 16.5-foot (statute) perches. This is potentially consistent with the settlement plan being the result of expansion with the creation of a market in around 1300

according to statute perches of 16.5 feet (which were introduced in 1305 [Sheppard 1974, 119]).

The small hamlet of Sookholme consisted by the nineteenth century of just a few closely located farmsteads; it is possible that a more substantial settlement had existed here. The plan of the settlement is presented in Figure 93. The hamlet contains a small medieval chapel-of-ease dedicated to St Augustine. At the east end of the settlement was a narrow stretch of marshy land (or carr) that a stream, Bath Lane, ran through. This appears to have been an area of pasture which stretched east and connected with the pasture of Warsop. The chapel itself was seemingly created upon this area of pasture, and in the time of Senior's (Mastoris 2017, Nottinghamshire Appendix 15-16) map settlement was located east of the church, and a stretch of the carr still existed to the immediate east.

The small settlement of Nettleworth can be found as Nettleworth Hall and a single farm in the OS maps of the nineteenth century. A record of the site having commoners in the sixteenth century (Mastoris and Groves 1997, 11) indicates that it may have previously been a larger hamlet (see also NHER: M4040), although no indication of such a site can be ascertained from the nineteenth century maps.

Cuckney

The village of Cuckney was a nucleated and partly linear settlement; the plan of the settlement is presented in Figure 94. A church-*curia* complex was located slightly outside the settlement, at its northern extent. The core of the settlement appears to have been located immediately south of the church-*curia* complex. The settlement stretches from here in a linear fashion to the south-west, although by the nineteenth century many of these plots had been abandoned. Like at Clipstone, a degree of change to the plot structure also took place at Cuckney as a result of changes to the River Poulter during the construction of watermeadows between 1849 and 1850 (Hillman and Cook 2016, 88). The route of the river is noticeably different in the nineteenth-century OS maps compared to Chapman's (2003) map. Chapman's (*ibid.*) map can, although not detailed, can also be used to regress the nineteenth-

century OS maps to show the approximate area of settlement in the eighteenth century

The settlement appears to have included a large central green. A road running through this green seems to mark where the east side of this area (immediately south of the church-*curia* complex) was detached and settled, before the western half was later also settled. There is little evidence for the bounds of any medieval plots having survived in the plots found in the OS maps of the late nineteenth century.

The churchyard contained the site of Cuckney Castle, a motte and bailey castle constructed by Thomas de Cuckney during the Anarchy period, between 1135 and 1145 (Creighton 2002, 124). The parish church of St Mary's, which was recorded in Domesday Book (Morris 1977, 22.2), was and is located within what was the castle complex. The positioning of the castle and the church bears a strong similarity to church-*curia* complexes found frequently in medieval settlements (see Stocker and Everson 2006, as well as in examples such as Church Warsop in this thesis). It is highly possible that the construction of the castle actually represented a rebuilding of a previous manorial *curia* in the same position, and that, like Church Warsop, the church-*curia* complex ultimately dated to the eleventh century or earlier.

The castle was reportedly of an adulterine construction and may have never been finished (NMR: SK 57 SE 6; HER: M4376). Thomas de Cuckney had spent his formative years at King Stephen's court and was a known supporter of the King during the Anarchy (Page 1910, 129); it may therefore be the case that de Cuckney received permission to construct a castle which has not been recorded. Tradition holds that upon the conclusion of hostilities de Cuckney sought repentance for his sins in battle by founding Welbeck Abbey, with his dedication in the foundation charter stating that the abbey was "for my soul and the souls of my father and my mother, but also for all those whom I have unjustly plundered" (Creighton 2002, 124). In truth, it was Thomas de Cuckney's father Richard who had begun construction of the abbey in 1153, shortly before his death, and Thomas completed this work (Page 1910, 129). In 1153 the Anarchy was drawing to a close with the Treaty of Wallingford, and it can be argued that it was clear that in the long term the conflict would favour Matilda and her son Henry. With the potential of Stephen's strongest supporters facing future retribution, this may have been the factor that prompted the de Cuckneys's public penitence and generosity. This has

an important bearing on how to best understand the parish church which will be discussed later in the chapter. A market and fair were first recorded at the settlement 1317, granted to Henry de Fauconberg, the lord of the manor (Letters 2005).

North-east of Cuckney was the settlement of Norton; the plan of the settlement is presented in Figure 94. Norton in the nineteenth century retained much more evidence of a medieval settlement plan of potentially medieval date. The linear settlement was on a north-south axis, and although many of the plots within the pattern had been abandoned by the nineteenth century, enough remained to interpret the original planned area of the settlement. At the south end of the settlement, the plots on the west side had a length of 150m, compared to 100m on the east side of the settlement. This matches the use of 30 and 20 statute 16.5-foot perches, respectively. No consistency can be noted in the widths of individual plots as they appeared in the nineteenth century, however. The northern half of the settlement appears to have undergone a degree of redevelopment between the seventeenth century and the nineteenth century, with Senior's map (Mastoris 2017, Nottinghamshire Appendix 5-6) of the settlement showing longer plots. Alterations to the stream running east of the settlement, as found at Cuckney, has led to the field boundaries in this area bearing little similarity between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries (see Figure 94). A small hamlet site called Milnthorpe can be noted in Senior's map (Mastoris 2017, Nottinghamshire Appendix 5-6) attached to the north-east end of Norton, which has been deserted by the nineteenth-century OS maps.

To the north of Cuckney and Norton are Holbeck and Holbeck Woodhouse (the plans of both are presented in Figure 95). Both are located not far from the park of Welbeck Abbey. The settlements were both small and contained few tenement plots, but a degree of regularity is evident within these plots. On the north side of Holbeck, three tenement plots with long crofts had progressively longer boundaries of 220m, 230m, 240m, and 260m, possibly indicating the use of 44, 46, 48, and 52 16.5-foot (statute) perches. Between the two settlements, to the east, was Woodhouse Hall, which was recorded in Chapman (2003) in 1774, was described as "ancient" in 1643 (White 1832, 454), and the site was formerly a moated manorial *curia* (NHER: M11070). The alignment of this area with roads to the north and

south may reflect this area being cut out of an area of pasture (see as presented in Figure 95).

A final area of settlement within the parish of Cuckney is Nether Langwith, a linear and regular settlement on an east-west axis; the plan of the settlement is presented in Figure 96. The settlement was seemingly laid originally around a green. The place name of Nether Langwith suggests that it had formerly been part of the same estate as Upper Langwith at an earlier date, because of the two sharing the element of Langwith (based on the methodology of Rippon 2012b, 156-157). The parish of Upper Langwith was located immediately to the west of Cuckney parish, but was within the historic county of Derbyshire rather than Nottinghamshire, indicating that any estate link between Upper Langwith and Nether Langwith likely predated the county boundaries.

5.1.3. The Built Environment

Edwinstowe

Physical details about St Mary's Church at Edwinstowe (see Figure 97) are provided by Pevsner (1979, 119), the Southwell Churches Project (SCP: Edwinstowe, St Mary), and Gill (1914). Records about the church have been published by Rodgers (1908). These sources show that the church mostly dates to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The oldest phase of the building that survives includes a priest's doorway on the south side of the chancel which dates to between 1175 and 1200. The rest of the chancel is of a similar date (SCP: Edwinstowe, St Mary; Pevsner 1979, 119).

The west tower is of twelfth- or thirteenth-century date; it is of a broad and short construction and similar to the towers of both Cuckney and Warsop. The tower spire, which separates it from Warsop and Cuckney, was only added in the post-medieval period (SCP: Edwinstowe, St Mary; Pevsner 1979, 119). It contains two thirteenth-century lancet windows, of which the westernmost of the two contains a transom, a unique feature for the thirteenth century according to Pevsner (1979, 119). Also of this century are the south windows, which are typical for the late

thirteenth century, as well as the piscina, the south doorway and the south porch (SCP: Edwinstowe, St Mary; Pevsner 1979, 119). The south porch contains identical capitals to the arcade in the church at Warsop (*ibid.*). Later construction in the church includes the south arcade which contains octagonal piers, a Decorated-style east window (likely 1290 to 1350), and a Perpendicular clerestory and Perpendicular battlements on the nave and chancel. There are fragments of fourteenth-century glass in the north aisle's east window (*ibid.*).

The south aisle was constructed by brothers Henry and Robert de Edwinstowe between 1342 and 1350, to be used as a chantry chapel (SCP: Edwinstowe, St Mary). The two brothers had a connection to the churches of the area; Henry was the rector of the nearby church at Warsop, and was succeeded by his brother Robert, who was rector between 1331 and 1336 (SCP: Edwinstowe, St Mary, List of Incumbents). Henry was a figure of some importance, and during his life was a King's Clerk, a canon of Southwell Minster, Lincoln Cathedral, and Llandaff Cathedral (SCP: Edwinstowe, St Mary, History), and prebendary of Oxton and Crophill (Maxwell-Lyte 1898, 64). Henry fathered an illegitimate son, Thomas Fox, who between 1335 and 1346 was vicar of the church at Edwinstowe (SCP: Edwinstowe, St Mary, List of Incumbents). Thomas, therefore, was vicar at the start of the construction of his father's chantry chapel (Thoroton 1796, 153-160; White 1875; Baylay 1904; SCP: Edwinstowe, St Mary). There is little evidence as to the origins of Henry and Robert, and nothing to indicate that they were of aristocratic or genteel birth (*ibid.*). The manor of North Muskham came into their possession as a result of fines paid by Thomas de Muskham (in 1324) and Edmund de Coventry (in 1337) (*ibid.*). The brothers passed the manor to the Prior of St Mary of Newstead in 1341, upon the condition that the brothers construct the chantry chapel at Edwinstowe and that the priory of St Mary of Newstead would provide for two chaplains of two perpetual chantries (*ibid.*). This was however after the brothers had been involved in the church at Edwinstowe for many years. Instead of being aristocratic by birth it appears that the two brothers were from the local community; they rose through positions in the church to achieve prominence in local society, before expressing their wealth through patronage of the church itself.

As noted in the previous section, the manor of Edwinstowe was royal throughout the medieval period, although the tithes of the church and its chapelries were

granted by William II to the Dean and Chapter of Lincoln before 1146 (SCP: Edwinstowe, St Mary, History). Henry II reportedly funded the rebuilding of the church at Edwinstowe (SCP: Edwinstowe, St Mary, History). The masonry from this reconstruction may possibly be found in the chancel and possibly the west tower.

The church does not contain any significant funerary monuments, although a cross slab is located at the east end of the church. A pair of shears are depicted on the cross slab (see Figure 98). Gill (1914, 27) suggests that this indicates that the slab marked the grave of a woman, an association which has more recently been supported by McClain (2010, 46).

Warsop

Church Warsop contains the Old Hall, which although a multi-phase building is one of the only manorial buildings surviving in Nottinghamshire, and has been suggested to be the most important non-ecclesiastical building in the county due to the amount of surviving stonework (Monckton 2007, 39) (see Figures 99 and 100). The earliest evidence for the medieval hall is a single thirteenth-century doorway with nailhead decoration (*ibid.*, 15). The building contains significant fourteenth-century features, including the walls of the north range, which functioned as the open hall. The roof of the north range likely is of the fifteenth century, and significant blackening suggests the use of an open fire. The south range contained the hall's accommodation. Monckton (2007, 15-16) contends that there was a detached kitchen block, where later first floor chambers were inserted for additional accommodation. It was later converted into a barn. The presence of a dovecote is known from around 1268. In general, however the extent of the medieval house is not known (*ibid.*, 15-22). The lord of the manor in 1329 was John Nunnes, a citizen of London (Thoroton 1796, 336-370), who passed it and the advowson of the church to Sir John de Ros in 1330 (*ibid.*). The manor continued in the hands of de Ros's heirs until 1675, who included the Barons de Ros and the Earls of Rutland (*ibid.*). The significant medieval features of the building, such as the open hall and north range, were almost certainly initiated under their direction.

The Church of St Peter and St Paul at Warsop is detailed by Pevsner (1979, 364), Hill (1914), and the Southwell Churches Project (SCP: Warsop, St Peter and St Paul) (see Figure 101). The church contains a great deal of Norman masonry, including the majority of the tower (which is broad and short, as at Cuckney and Edwinstowe), the west door, the tower arch, and the north and south chancel doors (SCP: Warsop, St Peter and St Paul; Pevsner 1979, 364; Hill 1914). Later than this work are a significant number of Early English features, including the south door, the south porch, the south arcade (which has square columns with four broad demi-shafts, as found at Mansfield, and seats at their bases and moulded capitals, as found in the porch at Edwinstowe) (*ibid.*). These may be contemporary with the thirteenth-century doorway in the hall. The north arcade and north windows are from the fourteenth century, matching the open hall of the adjoining hall. The east window and the clerestory are Perpendicular style, possibly dating to around the same time as the hall's north range (*ibid.*).

Within the parish is a single chapel-of-ease, located at Sookholme, dedicated to St Augustine (see Figure 102), descriptions of which have been written by Pevsner (1979, 315) and Walkerdine and Buxton (1907), and the Southwell Churches Project (SCP: Sookholme, St Augustine). This chapel, is a rare example of a chapel-of-ease of entirely medieval date. The chapel is small and aisleless, with a two-cell construction consisting of a simple nave and chancel. According to Walkerdine and Buxton (1907), it was constructed during the reign of Henry II (1154-1189), which corresponds approximately with Pevsner's (1979, 315) more recent estimate for the date of the chancel arch of soon after 1100. Three small early windows are found at the east end, two lower and one located higher centrally between the other two; an identical layout is found at Carburton, Nottinghamshire (Pevsner 1979, 315).

Cuckney

A church was recorded at Cuckney in Domesday Book. Details about the architecture of the church are provided by Pevsner (1979, 110), Smith (1914), and the Southwell Churches Project (SCP: Norton Cuckney, St Mary). The Church of St Mary at Cuckney (see Figure 103) is unusually long, with the total length of the

building measuring 44m (145 feet). The earliest stages of the church are the lower half of the broad and short west tower (which is similar in dimensions and style to that of Edwinstowe), and the south door, which date to the twelfth century (SCP: Norton Cuckney, St Mary; Pevsner 1979, 110; Smith 1914). Next to be built was the unusually long nave and north aisle; the arcade has circular, quatrefoil, and octagonal piers, which Pevsner (1979, 110) hypothesises may have been a deliberate attempt to outdo the pattern of piers found at Worksop Priory (SCP: Norton Cuckney, St Mary; Pevsner 1979, 110; Smith 1914). After this came the upper stages of the west tower (which has mid thirteenth-century windows) and the south porch, which is Early English in style throughout (*ibid.*). The windows in the church are generally perpendicular, while a rood screen also survives, now moved to the tower arch, and contains perpendicular panel tracery (*ibid.*). The nave was repaired in the fifteenth century, and the chancel arch and tower arch were also built at this time (*ibid.*). No medieval monuments are found within the church.

The earliest surviving phases of the church have not been dated more precisely than the twelfth century, but it can be noted that this was also the century when the de Cuckney family ordered the construction of Welbeck Abbey on land granted from the manor of Cuckney (Anonymous 1899; Page 1910, 129). It is not inconceivable that the foundation of the abbey was simultaneous with major construction taking place on the church, or that masons worked at both sites.

Work beneath the church has uncovered a significant mass burial containing around 200 male skeletons divided into at least three trenches (NHER: M8707; Creighton 2002, 124). At the time of writing there is an ongoing project by The Battle of Hatfield Investigation Society (BOHIS) with funding from the Heritage Lottery Fund to discover whether these skeletons are the remains of participants in the Battle of Hatfield in 632 AD. If the grave is seventh-century in date, it would be highly coincidental for the first church to be constructed at the settlement (on exactly the same site) to be entirely unrelated; it may therefore be that the first chapel or church to be constructed at Cuckney was of an early medieval date, close to the date of the burial.

5.2 Case Study 2: Central Sherwood

This case study area focuses on a central area of Sherwood Forest. It includes 5 parishes, Calverton, Blidworth, Oxton, Farnsfield, and Mansfield, and the very small extra-parochial areas of Haywood Oaks and Lindhurst (see Figure 104). The parish of Calverton included not only the village of Calverton but also the deserted site of Salterford. The parish of Mansfield also included parochial chapelries at Skegby and Mansfield Woodhouse (SCP: Mansfield Woodhouse, St Edmund King and Martyr; Skegby, St Andrew), although these are not included in this case study. The area of Mansfield parish that was directly under the administration of the Church of St Peter and St Paul also included the hamlets of Pleasley Hill and Moorhaigh. Mansfield, Calverton and Blidworth were located within Sherwood Forest, Oxton was outside of the forest, and Farnsfield was partly inside the forest.

The archbishop of York was the primary landowner in the Central Sherwood area (see Table 9). The archbishop held land at Calverton, Blidworth, Farnsfield, and Oxton, which was in practice administered by the archbishop's minster church at Southwell. The king was also a major landowner within this area, with royal demesne at Mansfield and Farnsfield. Saxon landowners were largely dispossessed between 1066 and 1086; Othenkar, Thorsten, Alnoth, and Thori at Oxton were replaced by lords with Norman names, as was Wulfric at Calverton. The exceptions to this was Aelfric, who retained his manor at Calverton. Osbern (son of Richard) held a new manor at Salterford in 1086.

The royal manor of Mansfield was of quite significant size. It included berewicks at Skegby, Sutton-in-Ashfield, Edwinstowe (see the North Sherwood case study), and Grimston, as well as a large area of sokeland that encompassed much of northern Nottinghamshire (Morris 1977, 1.23-44) (see Figure 105). Researchers such as Bishop (1981) have argued that this represents the vestiges of a large single early medieval royal estate which covered much of northern Nottinghamshire. This view has been opposed by Hadley (2000, 144-148) who notes that scattered sokeland is not evidence for a single complete estate having previously existed. However, it can be noted that much of Mansfield's sokeland was closer to the royal estate centre at Dunham than to Mansfield, and if this land had been accumulated piecemeal, much

of it would have been assigned to the centre at Dunham. One way to understand this situation is to interpret that the royal manor of Mansfield was the oldest early medieval estate in north Nottinghamshire, and had encompassed either all land in the north of the county, or at least all royal land, and that the estate of Dunham was divided from this.

The wide analysis of Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire's primary place names (defined as parish names) in Chapter 3 found a thin zone stretching north from Basford to around Worksop where names were only derived from Old English, an area which includes the Central Sherwood case study. The lack of Old Norse primary names also found in the North Sherwood case study area was contrasted with the variety of secondary and field names derived from Old Norse. By contrast, the lack of Old Norse primary names in the Central Sherwood case study is generally supported by an analysis of its secondary names and field names. Exceptions however bearing Scandinavian influence from the area of Mansfield are Radmanthwaite, Dalestorth, Ravendale, and Ratcher (formerly *Radsterne*) Hill (Gover *et al.* 1979, 125-126).

A number of settlement names in this region refer to pastoral agriculture. This includes Oxton ("Oxen farm" [Gover *et al.* 1979, 173]) and Calverton ("Calves farm" [Gover *et al.* 1979, 158]) within this case study area, as well as the nearby sites of Bulcote, Colwick and Lambley. One possibility is that these settlements were all part of an early Anglo-Saxon estate, in which different settlements or farms within the estate specialised in different produce, such as the rearing of lambs (Lambley), bulls (Bulcote), calves (Calverton), cows (Colwick), and oxen (Oxton).

Table 9 Lords of land within the Central Sherwood case study (sourced from Morris 1977 and Thoroton 1790a; 1790b)

Holding	Parish or Chapelry	Lord in 1066	Lord in 1086	Major Landowners c. 1086 to 1348
Calverton	Calverton	1. Archbishop of York 2. Wulfric 3. Aelfric of Colwick	1. Archbishop of York 2. Roger of Poitou 3. Aelfric of Colwick	Archbishop of York, Peverel, Brewood Priory, Lancaster, De Vilers, De Strelley
Salterford	Calverton	Osbern son of Richard	Osbern son of Richard	Launde Priory
Blidworth	Blidworth	Archbishop of York	Archbishop of York	Archbishop of York
Mansfield	Mansfield	Royal demesne	Royal demesne	Royal demesne
Farnsfield	Farnsfield	1. Archbishop of York 2. Royal demesne	1. Walter d'Aincourt 2. Royal demesne	Archbishop of York
Oxton	Oxton	1. Othenkar (son of Alnoth), Thorsten. 2. Alnoth 3. Thori (son of Roald)	1. Roger de Bully 2. Royal demesne, Archbishop of York 3. Walter d'Aincourt	Archbishop of York, de Somerville, de Strelley

5.2.1 Parish Landscapes and Settlement Context

This section will discuss the results of analysis which are presented in various figures. Figure 106 presents the antecedent landscape of the Central Sherwood case study. Figure 107 presents a landscape characterisation of the nineteenth-century OS maps within the Central Sherwood case study. Figure 108 presents an interpretation of the eighteenth-century character of the Central Sherwood case study. Figure 109 presents the medieval landscape resulting from the regression process.

Calverton

Banke's (Mastoris and Groves 1997, Map 19) map of 1609 accurately records the outline of the open field system around Calverton. Surrounding this field system was a large area of open land and pasture. The settlement was itself first recorded in 1086 (Gover *et al.* 1979, 158). The *Breckes* was located north of the open field system, *Broadthorne Green* to the west, and the *Moores* to the east (*ibid.*). Two roads branching out from the east end of Calverton appear to mark where the open land of the *Moores* originally extended all the way to the east end of the settlement, as a village green. To the north-east was an area which included *Thorndale Sart*, indicating the removal of woodland late in the medieval period or in the post-medieval period. Also within the map of Bankes (*ibid.*) the *Newe Closes* were located immediately to the north-east of the open field system, which were potentially the result of early enclosure of part of the open field system. To the north was a large area of common, *Calverton Comon* (*ibid.*). The small manor of Salterford could be found in the north of Calverton parish (*ibid.*, Map 14), found as Salterford Farm in the OS maps of the nineteenth century and had been first recorded in 1086 (Gover *et al.* 1979, 158). Salterford also contained a medieval watermill by 1330 (NHER: M2874). Whether Salterford was ever a substantial settlement however is unclear. West of Salterford was a large open area dubbed as "waste" in the seventeenth century (Mastoris and Groves 1997, 143, Map 14). The parish of Calverton did not contain any known medieval independent farmsteads. At the north-east end of the parish, a high

medieval or late medieval cross marked the point where the parish boundaries of Calverton, Oxton, Farnsfield, Blidworth, and Haywood Oaks met (NHER: M2856). A moated site may have been located in the common north of the settlement (NMR: SK 65 SW 9). North of Calverton village, two small Roman fort sites have been discovered, immediately west of *Thorndale Sart* (NHER: M2768).

Blidworth

Blidworth's open field system can be reconstructed from the outline of Blidworth's fields in Chapman's (2003) map of 1774, as well as the field systems of Sanderson's (2001) map. It is within the southern area of the open field system that the majority of finds from Blidworth have been recovered. Blidworth itself was first recorded in 1086 (Gover *et al.* 1979, 115). To the east of the settlement was the primary area of woodland in the parish, which is found as Late Enclosures across the east of Blidworth and west of Farnsfield and Oxton in the OS maps of the nineteenth century. Domesday recorded an area of woodland in the manor of Blidworth three miles long and a mile wide (Curtis 1844, 28), approximately corresponding to the size of the area depicted. The archbishop of York was recorded as successively clearing parts of this woodland between 1277 and 1280 (TNA: C 143/4/26, C 47/11/3/4), as did the king in 1316 when the archbishopric was vacant (Cox 1905, 212). These clearances do not appear to have resulted in a large growth in arable cultivation, and the area is depicted as uncultivated in Sanderson's (2001) map. No farmsteads in this area are recorded before the nineteenth century; the parish as a whole does not contain independent medieval farmsteads. One which may have existed in the medieval period however is Blidworth Grange, possibly a monastic grange created by the archbishop or king in the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century. The site is not recorded in Chapman's (2003) map, although it may be one of the private dwellings recorded by Bankes in 1609 (Mastoris and Groves 1997), but if so it is not explicitly referenced as the former grange. Alternatively, like Broomhill Grange in Clipstone, it may be a recent creation. At the south of the block of woodland discussed was Haywood Oaks, a small extra-parochial area in Blidworth, first recorded in the thirteenth century. The name "Haywood Oaks" has been interpreted to mean "enclosed-in wood" or "fenced-in wood" (Gover *et al.*

1979, 118). At the north of the woodland was the site of Rainworth, first recorded in 1268 (*ibid.*, 168). At the north edge of the parish on the border with Lindhurst was Fountain Dale, the site of a moated manor house recorded in 1342, and possibly the site of a hunting lodge recorded in 1251 (NMR: SK 55 NE 5).

To the west and south of the settlement and open field system was heathland and pasture. Immediately to the west of the open fields in the one-inch OS maps of the early nineteenth century was the Warren; Chapman (2003) places Warren House in approximately this location, although these are the earliest references to a warren here. The details of the map held by the Duke of Rutland at Belvoir Castle (Skelton and Harvey 1986, 132-133) indicates that the area immediately south of the open field system was not wooded, as does Sanderson's (2001) map. At the southern border of the parish was Langton Arbor, a hunting lodge first recorded in 1474 and where a herd of the king's deer were kept (NHER: M2736). These unwooded pasture areas incorporate all of the PAS finds not found within the open field system. Sanderson's (2001) map of 1835 shows woodland along the west and south parish boundary. The Fishpool Hoard was discovered in this west area of the parish, which was deposited in 1464 (NHER: L2584); logically this would have been deposited in an area with enough woodland covering to conceal the activity and the disturbed ground.

Mansfield

The outline of an extensive open field system can be interpreted around Mansfield, as can be expected from a large settlement. The name of Mansfield translates as the "open land by the River Maun" and was first recorded in 1086 (Mills 2011, 316; Gover *et al.* 1979, 124). The "feld" element of the name is generally interpreted as indicating open land created through clearing (Mills 2011, 521). The description of the area as open appears to indicate that at the time the name was coined the surrounding landscape was generally not. This is supported by analysis of the south-east of the parish, where scattered woodland and regular and late enclosures in the OS maps of the nineteenth century indicate that this area had been largely covered by medieval woodland, as is found in Chapman's (2003) map. It would nonetheless

have contained clearings, with the location of the post-medieval Three Thorn Hollow Farm being one possible example. Part of this wooded area was Lindhurst, a wooded extra-parochial area first recorded in 1287 (Gover *et al.* 1979, 123). To the west of the open field system was an area of moorland; the physical character of this area is attested by names recorded in the OS maps of the nineteenth century, including Ashland and Bleakhills. Furthermore, the site of Dalestorth meant "dairy-maid's brushwood", and was first recorded in 1179 (Gover *et al.* 1979, 125). An independent farmstead called Dalestorth Farm was located at the edge of what had been the open field system in the OS maps of the nineteenth century, and this site may therefore have a medieval origin; however, the record of 1179 referred to an area called Dalestorth and did not explicitly mention a farmstead, therefore the date of the site is unclear. This area was furthermore depicted as heathland in Chapman's (2003) map, and it may correspond with Hill Moore Common, an area of common belonging to Mansfield recorded in 1609 (Mastoris and Groves 1997, 148). At the north end of this moorland was another independent farmstead, Halls Barn, possibly the home of John Ad Aulam in 1327 (Gover *et al.* 1979, 126). This area also contained Hermitage Mill, a corn mill first recorded in 1302 (NHER: M2573); the name of this mill reflected the fact that the Bishop of St David's had established a sanatorium for monks called *Estwaite Ermitage* in the thirteenth century at the same location or nearby on Mansfield Moor (Stroud 2001a, 5).

Pleasley Hill was a second settlement within Mansfield parish, first recorded in 1285 (Gover *et al.* 1979, 125). This was located on the northern parish boundary (also the county boundary), with Pleasley directly across the boundary in Derbyshire. Field boundaries can be used to determine an open field system, which directly connected with the open field system of Mansfield. The place name Pleasley meant "the woodland clearing of Plesa" (Mills 2011, 370), this suggests that the settlement was originally set within woodland. The woodland can potentially be reconstructed from regular enclosures. Within the west part of this area was the site of Moorhaigh, first recorded in 1218, which was the location of a small settlement or a large independent farmstead; repairs at the site found the buried remains of a building dating to before 1700 (NHER: M4000). A medieval well-house has also been discovered (NHER: M8943), and a chapel-of-ease is also known from the site (NHER: M3999). As the name reflects, this settlement was set within a moor, and the 1609 Crown survey recorded Moore Hay Waste (Mastoris and Groves 1997,

150); the woodland in this area is depicted as surrounding this moor. To the immediate east of Pleasley Hill was another possible independent farmstead, the site of Radmanthwaite, first recorded in the late twelfth century (*ibid.*, 125). The name of the site translates as the "clearing by the reedy pool" (*ibid.*, 125-126); the -*thwaite* element, indicative of a clearing (Mills 2011, 525), again suggests that the surrounding area was wooded at the time the name was coined. Two separate sites in the north of Mansfield bore this name in the OS maps of the nineteenth century, the southern of the two is the only one recorded in Chapman's (2003) map, and hence this was likely the original. The HER database records a medieval hunting lodge close to the site of the northern farm (NHER: M5332). A corn mill in operation from at least 1225 was also located on the River Meden, north of Radmanthwaite (NHER: M7515).

Independent farmsteads and sites in the parish included Ravensdale Farm, located between the east of the open field system and the woodland of the east of the parish, and first recorded in 1287 (Gover *et al.* 1979, 126). Another medieval mill in the parish was Stanton's Mill, located immediately west of Ravendale Farm, and was first recorded in 1370 (NHER: M4009). Mansfield Old Mill was located within Mansfield to the east of the church (NHER: M4010). A medieval quarry was located at the southern end of the open field system. The site was known as Lindly Quarry and yielded Mansfield White Stone (*ibid.*). The quarry was first referenced in 1315 and was recorded as providing stone for the construction at Southwell Minster in 1337, and for Nottingham Castle in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries (NMR: SK 56 SW 69).

The area of Mansfield also included significant pre-medieval settlement which may have influenced the pattern of medieval settlement. In the neighbouring parish of Mansfield Woodhouse, an Iron Age hillfort has been found at Whinny Hill (NHER: M4004). In the same parish, a Roman settlement (NHER: M8942), villa (NHER: M4001), and cemetery have been found (NHER: M3941). The villa was described in Chapter 3. The close proximity between these features and a significant Anglo-Saxon estate centre at Mansfield was perhaps not a coincidence. Jones and Page (2006, 65) have previously noted the relationship between the positioning of Iron Age hillforts and Roman forts and settlements relative to medieval estate centres, and infer that medieval territories were based on prehistoric and Roman

arrangements, with centres of power surviving in the landscape over long periods due to new elites seeking legitimacy.

Farnsfield

Large open fields existed to the east and south of Farnsfield, and another possible field may have run westwards, although the redevelopment of this entire area as regular and late enclosures make the definition of earlier boundaries difficult to determine. Farnsfield was first recorded in 958 (Gover *et al.* 1979, 163). Moorland was located to the north-west of the settlement; the settlement name translates as the "open land of the bracken" (*ibid.*). Roman enclosures have also been noted in cropmarks west of the settlement (NMR: SK 65 NW 9), possibly part of the Roman field system that covered much of northern Nottinghamshire (Unwin 1983; Riley 1980). Independent farmsteads were located throughout the parish, including a number located close to the settlement at Farnsfield. Carbank Farm was first recorded in 1287 and, as the name indicates, was located in a heathland area (Gover *et al.* 1979, 164). This heathland area has a high number of recorded PAS finds, one of the few such areas in the case studies where this is the case. Other farmstead sites located in the same area were Combs Farm and Riddings Hill Farm, both possible medieval farmsteads but recorded first in 1564 and 1556 respectively (*ibid.*, 164). Another name for the latter site, Ridding Wong, from the seventeenth century, demonstrates that the farmstead was close to meadow (*ibid.*, 164, 292).

A large area of woodland, intermixed with open heathland areas, was probably located on the west side of the parish. This was the only area of the parish covered by Forest Law for the majority of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Chapman (2003) depicted this as heathland in 1774. The forest perambulation of 1300 (Page 1906, 367) describes a select area of Farnsfield (called Littlehaw) and Blidworth as no longer in the forest when it had been in 1225 (Crook 1979). This area was owned by the Archbishop of York, and it is known that between the period 1216 and 1270, when royal power (and hence Forest Law) was weak, assarting was conducted in the parish with the participation of the peasant tenants (Rigg 2001, 5). As mentioned in the discussion of Blidworth, specific records of woodland clearance by the

archbishop in Farnsfield and Blidworth exist for 1277 and 1280 (TNA: C 143/4/26, C 47/11/3/4), and records for royal woodland clearance exist for 1316 (Cox 1905, 212). Within this woodland were the independent farmstead sites of Hill House (first recorded in 1327), and Baulker Farm and Lurcher Farm, which were both first recorded during the reign of Edward III (*ibid.*, 163-164). It is not clear whether these farms were the result of clearings created in this woodland or whether they were located in pre-existing clearings.

Another independent farmstead called Cockitt Farm, which was first recorded in 1335, was located in the north of the parish, (*ibid.*). Immediately west of Cockitt Farm the remains of prehistoric or Roman boundary ditches have been found (NMR: SK 65 NW 9), although there is no evidence this area was in use for arable during the medieval period. In the north-east of the parish was Hexgreave Park, a hunting park created by the Archbishop of York around 1255 (*ibid.*). It can be noted that this was deliberately set outside of Forest Law, however, the archbishop also owned a significant amount of land within the forest.

It is known that a Roman marching camp was located at Combs Farm close to Farnsfield (NMR: SK 65 NW 5); the large spread of Roman objects identified by the PAS database around this and the area of Carbank Farm, west of Farnsfield, make it possible that a more significant Roman settlement was located here.

Oxton

The remains of an open field system can be distinguished in the landscape surrounding Oxton. Oxton itself was first recorded in 1086 (Gover *et al.* 1979, 172). The landscape outside of the open field system appears to have been predominantly moorland; indeed one of the open fields was known as "Moorfield" (Gover *et al.* 1979, 173). Within, or at the edge, of Moorfield was an Anglo-Saxon round barrow dating to the seventh to eighth centuries which contained a cremation burial, as well as finds including a sword and a dagger with wooden scabbards, and 15 glass beads. (NHER: M5490; Rooke 1792).

On the east side of the parish was Lovell Grange (later Fallows Farm), a former monastic grange belonging to Welbeck Abbey (NHER: M2788). Further to the north of the parish were two further independent farmsteads; Oxton Grange, which was first recorded in 1335, and Hartwell Farm, first recorded in 1291 (Gover *et al.* 1979, 173). Sanderson's (2001) map of 1835 shows surviving open fields stretching north to Oxton Grange. A watermill was recorded on the boundary with Calverton in Bankes's map of 1609 (Mastoris and Groves 1997, Map 19). The mill was first recorded in 1589 (Gover *et al.* 1979, 173) although it is probably medieval in date (NHER: M2809).

Also within the moorland north of Oxton village were several prehistoric sites. This included a probable Iron Age hillfort (NHER: M2772) and a Bronze Age round barrow (NHER: M2771) located close together; this location was called *Iversishagi*, also later called Robin Hood Hill, and was recorded as the site of Thurgarton wapentake court in the twelfth century (Gover *et al.* 1979, 154).

5.2.2 Settlement Plan Analysis

Calverton

Calverton was a linear village on an east-west axis arranged into regular plots; the plan of the settlement is presented in Figure 110. The church was located at the east end of the village and in the 6-inch OS maps of the nineteenth century a hall was marked on the north side of the west end, though it is not clear how long this site existed. Although it cannot be determined whether this hall was the site of a medieval manorial centre, a large building was also depicted here in the 1609 map of Bankes (Mastoris and Groves 1997, Map 19). The settlement as it appears in the nineteenth-century OS maps can be regressed by overlaying Bankes's 1609 map onto it, which reveals around seven units of plots (units of plots are discussed by Dyer and Lilley 2012, 89-90), suggesting progressive expansion of the settlement. The boundaries of each of these units tapered, leading to large variety of plot lengths at the settlement. In the central area of the south of the settlement, the edges of the tenement units can be noted to have lengths of 100m, 195m, and 170m,

all allowing the use of 16.5-foot perches; furthermore, the width of the churchyard, 50m, equates to a measurement of 20 16.5-foot perches.

The settlement appears to have formerly opened at the east end onto a green, as suggested by the landscape analysis in the previous section; the church appears to have been placed in this area. The plot of the church corresponds with the regularity of the settlement plots which surround it. The plots of the central area of the settlement show a significant degree of merging and abandonment, but a comparison with Bankes's map of 1609 reveals that much of this occurred after the seventeenth century (Mastoris and Groves 1997, Map 19). In Bankes's map (*ibid.*) the settlement shows evidence for as many as seven different units of plots which indicate progressive expansion to the settlement.

Blidworth

Blidworth was a linear village on an east-west axis; the plan of the settlement is presented in Figure 111. The church was located at the south-west end of the settlement. The church as depicted in OS maps of the nineteenth century was set within a churchyard, which was set within a larger graveyard in which the priest's house was also located; this arrangement has continued into the twenty-first century. There is no evidence for a manorial *curia*. The fields surrounding the settlement show the possible outlines of some of the medieval tofts, although these corresponded very little with dwellings in the settlement. The settlement's linear plan was not as regularly-arranged as others examined such as Edwinstowe and Calverton. From analysis of the settlement in the OS maps of the nineteenth century, the settlement appeared to contain six different units of plots (an idea discussed by Dyer and Lilley 2012, 89-90) with three such units located on the north side and three on the south side of the settlement. Each of these units had tapering boundaries and no consistent measurements can be obtained.

Mansfield

The plan of the town of Mansfield has been the subject of study as part of the Extensive Urban Survey Programme (Stroud 2001a); the plan of the settlement is presented in Figure 112. In the nineteenth century the town was set around a large central market place, which was probably also the location of the medieval market place (Stroud 2001a, 16). The medieval church of Mansfield lay peripherally at the eastern edge of the town. Bridge Street, which passed to the north of the church, was wide enough that another, possibly earlier, market place may have been located to the north-west of the church (Stroud 2001a, 17). A market was granted to the people of the manor in 1227 and later a fair in 1337 (Letters 2005). Immediately to the east of the church was the site of a mill, referred to as ancient in the seventeenth century, and interpreted by Stroud (2001a, 16) as the site of the mill recorded in Domesday Book. Several other later mills around the town have been discussed, as the town had a role in wool trade. There was a fulling mill recorded at the town in 1292, and there is evidence for a weaver and fullers in the town by 1327 (Stroud 2001a, 6). The church and adjoining mill are all that is known about pre-Norman Mansfield, although it can be posited that Bridge Street represents the original medieval core of the settlement. As the centre of a royal estate there was likely to have been an estate centre complex here, possibly accompanying the church to the west or east.

The settlement was progressively expanded to the west, and the extent of the medieval settlement has been interpreted by Stroud (2001a). This incorporated Church Street, West Gate and Stockwell Gate. No aspects of the medieval buildings still exist, and the burgage tenements as depicted on the nineteenth-century OS maps may have undergone significant change. Nonetheless, plots with widths of around 16m to 17m (possibly three 18-foot perches) can be outlined on the north and south side of West Gate and the Stockwell Gate, and on the south side of Church Street and tenement lengths generally between 70m and 100m. The tenements at the west end of Church Street are on the same north-south alignment as those of West Gate. At the east end of Church Street however they were twisted to a more east-west alignment, reflecting how at an earlier stage the arrangement of the town was oriented more on the church. A small area of tenements can also be

noted to the east of the church, the only significant area of settlement on this side. These tenements appear to be narrower, with an apparent width of around 10m (possibly two 18-foot perches).

A post-medieval moot hall was located on the west side of the probable market place, which may have also been the site also of the medieval moot hall (Stroud 2001a, 18). Although the nineteenth-century market place was probably used also as the medieval market place, the shape was certainly different. Instead of being square and at the confluence of four major routeways, it was triangular and at the confluence of three routeways; Market Street was added later when the market space was altered in 1840 (Stroud 2001a, 17-18).

Another settlement within Mansfield was the small settlement of Pleasley Hill. This settlement was located at the north of the parish, immediately south of the Meden river. The Meden river marked the boundary with Derbyshire. Across the river, opposite Pleasley Hill, was the village of Pleasley in Derbyshire. Pleasley Hill was seemingly set around a small triangular green (Figure 113).

Farnsfield

The village of Farnsfield is a linear settlement on an east-west axis with regular plots; the plan of the settlement is presented in Figure 114. The village is located slightly to the east of the thirteenth-century medieval boundary of Sherwood Forest, although a part of Farnsfield parish was within the forest. The church was situated at the south west corner of the village, with the boundaries of the churchyard fitting into the strictly ordered settlement plan. A hall was recorded in the 6-inch OS maps of the nineteenth century, located to the west of the church, and outside of the area of regulated settlement, although it is not clear if this reflects a medieval building. The building east of this hall was marked as a farm belonging to the hall. The church at Farnsfield appears to have been constructed late in the medieval period (see later in this chapter) and it appears that the church was constructed within an empty tenement plot. The tenement plots can be noted to originally have had large crofts, though few of these remained by the nineteenth-century OS maps. The plots of the showed a degree of consistency, with widths of 25m common on the south side of

the settlement. Tapering within the plots created more uneven lengths. A group of full tofts and crofts can be measured to have a length of between 80m and 160m on the south side of the settlement, and 80m to 90m on the north.

A larger open space may formerly have existed at the west end of the settlement, which acted as a market space or green. The western-most plots of the planned area appear to cut into this open space in such a way that the road through the settlement diverts around them. This was potentially therefore a green destroyed by a new settlement plan.

Oxton

Oxton is a linear village on a north-south axis, containing regular plots; the plan of the settlement is presented in Figure 115. The settlement was recorded in the OS maps of the nineteenth century containing sites referred to as both a "hall" and "manor house". The Canon of Oxton was first appointed in 1242, a role which, until 1900, included being lord of two manors; the manor Oxton Overall and the manor of Oxton Netherall (SCP: Oxton, St Paul, History). This situation may account for two possible manorial buildings, or it may be that one, or both, were post-medieval creations. The parish church was located immediately south of the site recorded as the "hall", and immediately opposite the "manor house". The hall was located at the north-east of the settlement within a relatively large area of land; at the southern extent of this is the parish church, whose churchyard is seemingly cut out of the hall's grounds. It may be that this house was that of one of the two prebends of Oxton (see SCP: Oxton, St Peter, History). The manor house is on the west side of the settlement, roughly opposite the church, with the vicarage located immediately to the north; the manor house may have been occupied by the Canon of Oxton.

The settlement is divided into a series of plot units (see Dyer and Lilley 2012, 89-90). The most regular part of the settlement is at the far south, with a series of tenement plots around 130m in length, although with varying widths in the OS maps of the nineteenth century. North of this, part of the central area of the settlement appears to have been abandoned by the nineteenth century. The north

part of the settlement was far less regularly organised than the southern end, with plot lengths of between 140m and 220m in length and 20m in width, although the majority had been merged since their original planning. The settlement may have begun at the north end, where three roads merge into a central focal point, and as the settlement grew planned sections were added to the south.

5.2.3 The Built Environment

Calverton

Analysis of the architecture of the Church of St Wilfrid (see Figure 116) has been conducted by Pevsner (1979, 88-89) and the Southwell Churches Project (SCP: Calverton, St Wilfrid, Archaeology). The church contains an Early English chancel arch (1190 to 1250) standing on Norman piers which are said to date from before 1160 (*ibid.*). There are also Norman panels in the church. Much of the rest of the church is the result of later rebuilding. The figures of a cat and a cow with a human face on its nose are depicted on the Norman masonry of the church. The same images are found in Southwell Minster which may be indicative of the same school of masons working at St Wilfrid's after the completion of the minster in 1120 (SCP: Calverton; Pevsner 1979, 89). Furthermore, Domesday Book records a church and a priest at Calverton in 1086 as part of the manor belonging to the Archbishop of York (Morris 1977, 5.10) which was operated by the canons of Southwell; this background may explain masons working at both sites. The church does not contain any medieval monuments.

Blidworth

The architecture of the Church of St Mary at Blidworth (see Figure 117) has been described by Pevsner (1979, 76) and the Southwell Churches Project (SCP: Blidworth, St Mary, Introduction). The church building includes a west tower dating to the fifteenth century, and a font also dating to the fifteenth century. The modern church mostly dates to 1739 (Pevsner 1979, 76). The Southwell Churches Project

assert that there was previously a church of Norman construction here (SCP: Blidworth, St Mary), and some of the remains of an earlier church are found in the churchyard, including parts of the chancel, windows, doors, and fragments of broken cross slabs. No mention is made of a church being present at Blidworth at the time of Domesday Book. Regardless of when the church was originally constructed it clearly benefitted from a significant act of patronage in the fifteenth century at the end of the medieval period.

Mansfield

The architecture of the Church of St Peter and St Paul at Mansfield (see Figure 118) has been described by Prior (1925), Pevsner (1979, 168), and the Southwell Churches Project (SCP: Mansfield, St Peter, Introduction). The standing building contains a complete Norman west tower, including the west door; Pevsner (1979, 168) suggests that the waterleaf capitals indicate it to be as late as the twelfth century. The tower arch, the windows above the tower arch, the former roof line, and dome of the chancel masonry, are all Norman in date. The north aisle lancet window was added in the thirteenth century. The majority of the church, as it currently stands, dates to around 1300; at this time work was done to repair much of the church which had been damaged by fire, and both arcades were built, with tall slender piers consisting of four unattached demi shafts with fillets, as found at Worksop, Laxton, Warsop and Teversal (Pevsner 1979, 168). The top of the tower is of Decorated style and the east end of the church is Perpendicular, dating to around 1475.

Several medieval monuments can be found in the church. One such monument is a grave slab for a priest, depicting the priest wearing vestments (see Figure 119). Pevsner (1979, 168) ascribed a stylistic date of 1280 to the slab, while the Southwell Churches Project (SCP: Mansfield, St Peter, Monuments) has postulated that it may depict William de Beckhampton, who died in 1372. Another monument is a funerary effigy depicting a male figure wearing a tunic and with its feet resting upon a lion (see Figure 120). The monument has been dated to around 1300 (*ibid.*), and the Southwell Churches Project (*ibid.*) have indicated the similarity with an effigy

commemorating a member of the Pierrepont family in their church at Holme Pierrepont, and have suggested that therefore this monument may too commemorate a member of the Pierrepont family. The Pierrepont family are one of the families involved the administration of Sherwood Forest explored further in Chapter 9. Another monument in the church is a broken cross slab recycled as part of a squint window in the south chapel; this slab depicts a pair of dividers, the emblem of a master mason (see Figure 121; Prior 1925, 6). The quarrying industry around Mansfield discussed earlier in this chapter may have been the cause of masons to be based in Mansfield.

Farnsfield

The architecture of the Church of St Michael at Farnsfield (See Figure 122) has been described by Pevsner (1979, 125) and the Southwell Churches Project (SCP: Farnsfield, St Michael, Archaeology). At the time of Domesday Book there was no church recorded at Farnsfield (Morris 1977, 1.22, 11.17); this cannot be taken to always mean that a church was not present (Darby 1977, 52-53). The standing building contains an ashlar Perpendicular tower with diagonal buttresses (Pevsner 1979, 125). The church contains no medieval monuments.

It is probable that the church at Farnsfield was created late in the medieval period. As noted, the churchyard perfectly fits into the settlement pattern, allowing the possibility that the church was constructed in an empty tenement. Farnsfield was initially recorded as having a chapel-of-ease to the minster church at Southwell (SCP: Farnsfield, St Michael, History). Despite ongoing records of Farnsfield as a chapel to Southwell, in 1313 the Archbishop of York required the Chapter of Southwell to explain why they had illegally appropriated several parish churches, and Farnsfield was specified as one of the parish churches (*ibid.*). In 1466, Farnsfield was recorded as having a priest who was "*presbiterum parochialem de Farnsfield*" ("the parish priest of Farnsfield") (*ibid.*). This uncertainty ends in 1527 when the church was elevated through consecration to a vicarage by order of Cardinal Wolsey and awarded its own small tithes (*ibid.*). It is possible that the Perpendicular masonry

within the church was a late example of the style, and that construction was carried out on the building in conjunction with the church's upgraded status.

Oxton

The architecture of the Church of St Peter (see Figure 123) has been described by Pevsner (1979, 286) and the Southwell Churches Project (SCP: Oxton, St Peter, Archaeology). The church contains a chancel arch, blocked doorway, window and a rare pillar piscina, which are all Norman in date. The church has a thirteenth-century window, while others are of Decorated style. The north and south arcades are of the fourteenth century and the west tower is of Perpendicular style. In theory, the parishioners of Oxton in the fourteenth century would have been responsible for the upkeep of the nave, and hence may have been responsible for paying for the north and south arcades (Drew 1954, 8; French 2011, 161).

The church contains a fourteenth-century funerary effigy for Robert de Nottingham (Pevsner 1979, 286) (see Figure 124). The figure is depicted wearing a lawyer's gown and coiffe, with two small angels supporting his head, and his feet resting upon a dog (SCP: Oxton, St Peter, Monuments). Robert de Nottingham was Remembrancer of the Exchequer in 1322 and a Baron of Court in 1327 (*ibid.*). A Robert de Nottingham was recorded as a prebendary of Oxton in 1327 and 1331 (Le Neve and Hardy 1854, 447), and a grant to a "Robert de Nottingham, King's clerk, of the prebend of Oxton and Crophill" in 1223 suggests that this was the same individual (SCP: Oxton, St Peter and St Paul, Oxton). It is interesting to note that in the absence of a secular elite at Oxton, it was instead its ecclesiastical elite who displayed their status through funerary monuments. A stone cross slab can also be found within the church, set into the windowsill of the south-west window (see Figure 125).

5.3 Case Study 3: The Nottinghamshire Trent Valley

This case study analyses the parishes of Cromwell, Dunham, and Fledborough (see Figure 126), which were three parishes located in the east of Nottinghamshire within the Trent Valley. The parish church of Dunham operated parochial chapelries at Ragnall and Darlton (SCP: Dunham, St Oswald, History), although these are not included in this discussion. The main parish of Dunham also included a deserted and lost site called Swanston.

This case study is unique in that it is the only case study which does not comprise continuous adjoining parishes, although all are located within short distance of each other. Each parish borders the Trent river on their east side. Dunham was the most northern of the three. Fledborough was located around a kilometre to the south of Dunham, with the chapelry of Ragnall between them. Cromwell was located nearly 8km south of Fledborough, with the parishes Marnham, Normanton, Sutton on Trent, Carlton on Trent and Norwell located between them. By selecting these parishes in the Trent Valley, it allows this case study to study a wide stretch of land in the Trent Valley in some detail. All of these parishes were outside of Sherwood Forest, although were briefly afforested as part of the Forest of the Clay until 1232 (Crook 2011, 112).

The manor of Dunham was royal demesne in Domesday Book (see Table 10); in 1086 the soke of the manor was large, although not as large as that of Mansfield, and it included berewicks at Ragnall, Whimpton, Darlton and Swanston, and sokeland at Drayton, Markham, Greenley, Ordsall, Grove, Headon, Upton, and Normanton (SCP: Dunham, St Oswald, History; Morris 1977, 1.1; Chadwick 1921, 73). During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries Dunham was granted to patrons such as the Count of Flanders and the Count of Boulogne, although remained royal demesne in principle (Crook 2013, 73-81). In 1227 the manor was granted to Ralph fitz Nicholas, and was increasingly regarded as privately-owned rather than royal demesne, and was omitted from a list of royal demesnes made in 1327 (*ibid.*, 81-82).

The Saxon tenants of the study area recorded in Domesday Book were generally replaced by 1086 with new lords with Norman names. Countess Godiva's manor

at Fledborough was held in 1086 by the Bishop of Lincoln, while Swein's manor at Cromwell was held in 1086 by Gilbert Tison. The Bishop of Lincoln's manor of Fledborough was granted to subtenants as a knight's fee (Thoroton 1796, 187-190). Healfdene held a manor at Cromwell in 1066 and 1086, a rare case in Nottinghamshire of a Saxon or Danish lord holding onto his lands after the Conquest. In fact, Domesday Book records Healfdene as gaining land (Morris 1977, 30.2-47). Despite this, Healfdene was later recorded as holding land at Cromwell as half a knight's fee from the Bishop of Lincoln. Nevertheless, full control of the manor was regained by Healfdene's descendants, the Cromwell family (Thoroton 1796, 169-172).

Table 10 Lords of land within the Nottinghamshire Trent Valley case study (sourced from Morris 1977 and Thoroton 1790a; 1790b)

Holding	**Parish or Chapelry**	**Lord in 1066**	**Lord in 1086**	**Major Landowners c. 1086 to 1348**
Dunham	Dunham	Royal demesne	Royal demesne	Royal demesne, Fitz-Nicholas, de Valence
Swanston	Dunham	Berewick of Dunham	Berewick of Dunham	Deserted
Fledborough	Fledborough	Godiva	Bishop of Lincoln	Bishop of Lincoln, de Fledborough, de Lisures
Cromwell	Cromwell	1. Healfdene 2. Swein	1. Healfdene 2. Gilbert Tison	Bishop of Lincoln, de Cromwell

5.3.1 Parish Landscapes and Settlement Context

This section will discuss the results of analysis which are presented in various figures. Figure 127 presents the antecedent landscape of the Trent Valley case study. Figure 128 presents a landscape characterisation of the nineteenth-century maps within the Trent Valley case study. Figure 129 presents an interpretation of the eighteenth-century character of the Trent Valley case study. Figure 130 presents the medieval landscape resulting from the regression process.

Dunham

The village of Dunham was first recorded in 1086 (Gover *et al.* 1979, 48). The boundaries of the small parish of Dunham appear to largely reflect the extent of the open field system which filled the parish on the north, west, and east sides of the settlement; all medieval PAS finds from Dunham are found within this area. These PAS finds include nine seal matrices from the open fields to the north of Dunham (PAS: NLM-9C2C0C, NLM-9C1ED7, NLM-9B435E, NLM-1A8E02, NLM-952FF5, NLM-F16715, NLM-548785, NLM-547507, SWYOR-F4F941). (Since the date all PAS data was captured for this thesis, 5th September 2015, two further examples have been recovered [PAS: NLM-756791, NLM-4C7A2E].) This degree of evidence for peasant literacy at Dunham will be discussed further in Chapter 8. The field system of Ragnall was located immediately across the western and southern parish boundaries, and the field system of Laneham was located immediately across the north boundary, which is also reflected by surviving medieval field boundaries (NHER: L6228). This formed a contiguous area of open fields stretching through several parishes. The original parish of Dunham was larger, incorporating Ragnall and Darlton, and it is possible that when the boundaries were reorganised that the divide between the demesne attached directly to Dunham and the demesne of Ragnall was used as the new parish boundary. The lost hamlet of Swanston was also located within the bounds of Dunham. Swanston was recorded in Domesday Book as well as in documents of 1316 and 1334. The hamlet appears to have been lost by 1434 (NHER: M4699). There are a number of

possible sites for this hamlet, one that has been suggested is the road immediately north-west of Dunham village (*ibid.*). Another possibility is the intersection where a road from Dunham met a road from Ragnall to Laneham (see Figure 131). Aside from Swanston, the settlement of Dunham parish was highly centralised on the village of Dunham, with no evidence for any other hamlets or independent farmsteads within the parish.

To the east of Dunham was a large marsh area which stretched along the bank; in the late nineteenth-century OS maps part of this area was still called "The Green" and "Near Holme", while "Marsh Lane" stretching to the north also attests the character of this area. This area was likely used as common grazing. A change in the route of the River Trent can be noted to the south-east of Dunham, where the river was split into two channels around a large river island, which could be seen in the one-inch OS maps of the nineteenth century, Sanderson's (2001) map of 1835, and Chapman's (2003) map of 1774, but by the OS maps of the late nineteenth century the river flowed only through the east channel, as it does today. Determining how long this river island existed is difficult, it may have played a role in the foundation of the settlement and royal estate centre at Dunham. This large river island, one of the largest in the Trent Valley, would have formed one of the easier crossing points by splitting the river into two channels. It may also have provided a convenient tolling point for the river. The island itself in the one-inch OS maps of the nineteenth century is referred to as "Far Holme Pasture", and as such used as part of the common grazing to the east of the settlement. Common grazing appears to have been a common use for the river banks throughout the Nottinghamshire Trent Valley, with various large meadows and holmes depicted along the river in the maps of Chapman (2003) and Sanderson (2001).

Though a bridge over the Trent is present in the 6-inch OS maps of the nineteenth century, one was not present in Henry Stevens's maps of 1820 (British Library 2009a; 2009b), where a ferry point sits in its place; it is therefore unlikely that there was bridge here in the medieval period, although a ferry is possible.

Fledborough

The village of Fledborogh was first recorded between 1060 and 1066 (Gover *et al.* 1979, 185). The parish was a strip parish, which allowed a large number of communities to have access to amenities such as a river, as indeed Fledborough was located along the River Trent. The settlement of Fledborough was bounded to the south and west by an open field system; it is from here that all PAS finds from Fledborough have been reported, with one exception. At the west end of the open field system was Woodcoates, a hamlet first recorded in 1302 (Gover *et al.* 1979, 186). To the east of Fledborough, along the river bank, was Fledborough Holme, a probable area of communal pasture which is still publicly accessible in the twenty-first century. An area of moorland appeared to have been located to the west of the open field system, directly north of Woodcoates. The name of Woodcoates may indicate that this land was partly wooded during the medieval period; this woodland may have corresponded to where an area of late enclosures lay west of the settlement at Woodcoates and if so this had been cleared by the eighteenth century. At the far west end of the parish was the independent farmstead of Goodhouses, originally *Westgodyha*, first recorded in 1544 (*ibid.*, 185).

Cromwell

The village of Cromwell was first recorded in 1086 (Gover *et al.* 1979, 185). The open field system at Cromwell covered much of the southern part of the parish. Unlike at Fledborough and Dunham, there is no evidence for common pasture immediately east of the settlement along the river, although this does appear to have existed in the marshy land to the north-east. Cromwell Moor was recorded in the OS maps of the nineteenth century to the west of the settlement. Sanderson's (2001) map records a Spittal Bridge on the drainage system in the north of the parish. The use of this name may indicate the presence of a lost hospital in this area (Cameron 1996, 129).

The piers of an ancient bridge over the river Trent have been found in the parish, immediately to the east of Cromwell. Dendrochronological analysis by Chris

Salisbury (1995) has dated the piers to the eighth century or later. This would appear to mark Cromwell out as a major early medieval crossing point of the River Trent; the only other known early medieval bridge in the county was at Nottingham (*ibid.*). The bridge location appears to have had little bearing on the development and shape of the settlement. That said, a small routeway leads out of the settlement, directly beneath the church, and appears to lead towards the bridge location before abruptly jutting north into the field system (see Figure 132). It is feasible that this routeway originally continued towards the bridge as depicted in Figure 133, and was later redirected, but no trace can now be found of this hypothetical continuation. It must be noted that the bridge was not replaced, suggesting a significant shift in the regional travel routes for communication and trade. The bridge at Cromwell predates any known bridges at Newark or Nottingham itself, and may have been one of the major routeways across the Trent from the south to the north of England, possibly as discussed in Chapter 3 a stage between Ermine Street and the Great North Road. Charters from the 1130s record Henry I granting Bishop Alexander of Lincoln permission to divert the King's Highway to build a bridge over the river Trent at Newark and to construct a castle (Braun 1935). As Newark was so close to Cromwell, this act may have removed any need for a bridge at Cromwell. This action may have routed the Great North Road through Newark, having perhaps previously crossed the River Trent at Cromwell.

Cromwell parish also includes the remains of a major Roman villa, located to the north east of the main settlement (NHER: M4282), within what has been interpreted as the open field system within the medieval period. Patterson (2011, 22) describes the villa as imposed on top of Iron Age farmland. The villa had a main structure of 6 rooms, plus 2 projecting wings, with a total length of around 25m (*ibid.*, 245). Patterson (*ibid.*, 38-40) theorises that the nearby Roman settlements at Kelham, South Muskham, North Muskham, Carlton on Trent, Sutton on Trent, Normanton on Trent, and Cromwell itself, were populated by labourers who worked the lands attached to the villa at Cromwell. This bears a similarity to what is observed at Mansfield, where a large part of North Nottinghamshire may have been agricultural land attached to the villa at Mansfield. Unlike Mansfield however, there is no evidence of Cromwell going on to evolve a significant manorial centre with berewicks and sokelands overlapping what had been the territory of the Roman villa. A second Roman villa was located within Cromwell parish, to the

south-west of the main settlement and within the open field system (NHER: M4195).

5.3.2 Settlement Plan Analysis

Dunham

The village of Dunham was a nucleated village; the plan of the settlement is presented in Figure 131. The Church of St Oswald was located on the east side of the settlement seemingly in a position not influential on how the village has developed. The earliest section of the settlement was probably that to the north of the road above the church. It was here where the probable manorial *curia* of Dunham was located. Excavation here has yielded green-glazed ware, Maiolica ware, and Saintonge ware pottery, mainly dating to the twelfth century, as well as a bronze buckle, and iron axe head, three pieces of quern stones and a coin of Henry III (NHER: M4701; Archbell N.D., 3-6). Next to the manorial *curia* was Oswald House (now Dunham House), the parochial mansion of the prebendary of Dunham; the current building is of post-medieval date (NHER: M11920), although Pevsner (1979, 111) noted a medieval fireplace. During the reign of Henry I, the king granted the church of Dunham to Thurstan, Archbishop of York, for it to be made a prebend in the church of Southwell (Chadwick 1921). The plots in this area had a length of around 200m.

A record of Dunham made between 1200 and 1218 records a guildhouse within the settlement. Chadwick (1921) assumed this to mean that the settlement had a merchant guild as part of its liberties but Crook (2013, 78) casts doubt upon this and proposes that it was instead a communal building, such as where the soke court was held. That such a location was where a swainmote court for the Forest of the Clay was also held is also a possibility. It could also be suggested that the building was the site of a confraternity (see Von Heusinger 2007, 68). This building appears to demonstrate communal action by the peasantry of medieval Dunham.

To the east of the settlement was the bank of the river Trent, the holme, a marshy open area which acted as a flood plain and likely an area of communal grazing, as at Fledborough. Encroachment by the settlement into this space could be evident

by its eastern extent jutting into this space, including the church, although this may also simply reflect the shape of the terrace on which the settlement is sited. How a market place, church, and dwellings formed and developed in this area can be broken down into a series of stages.

The parish church may have been placed within upon land in a similar fashion to foundations discussed by Stocker and Everson (2006). The possibility of this church as an early medieval foundation will be discussed in the following section on the built environment. It is noteworthy that the royal manorial *curia* was located away from the church, and without an intermediate lord between the king and the peasant community it may be suggested that a peasant community founded the church. Immediately to the west of the church was a large rectilinear green, used as a market place, surrounding by dwellings. A market and fair were recorded as held by William de Valentia, earl of Pembroke at the settlement in 1281, who held the royal manor on behalf of the king (Crook 2013, 82) The placement of a market place here is attested by the discovery of the pedestal of a fourteenth-century market cross in 1890, in what was by then a residential garden (Chadwick 1921; NMR: 324791). This market place was encircled by a series of planned regular dwellings as shown in Figure 131. This layout resembles the arrangement by sun division, or *Solskifte* (for example, Rowley 1978, 32). The settlement shown in this figure is a reconstruction using the buildings from this area in the nineteenth-century OS maps as a guide, the placement and exact borders of which may have been very different to those of the medieval settlement. These tenements around the market place were short with no crofts.

The churchyard includes, to the north and west, two nineteenth-century arches which include fourteenth-century columns (NHER: M11449). This seemingly indicates that the churchyard boundary was in place by this date. Settlement then appears to have developed in the northern half of the market space, close to where the market cross was later recovered. The entirety of the north half of the market space was infilled by settlement by the time of the late nineteenth-century Ordnance Survey maps, although the southern half of the original market space remains common land to the present time and is still called "The Green".

It is notable that high status dwellings such as the manorial *curia* and Oswald House were separate from the possible *Solskifte* area. A *Solskifte* expansion would have

necessitated a deliberate and directed action, either by a group or an individual. It is possible (but by no means supported by other evidence) that this was a replanning contemporaneous with the settlement passing from the Crown to an individual lord. Firstly, the manor was granted by King John to the Earl of Boulogne, Reginald Dammartin, before reverting to the Crown and being granted by Henry III, before 1226, to Ralph Fitz-Nicholas, whose heirs enfeoffed William de Valence in 1257 (Crook 2013, 82). Over time, the manor was increasingly regarded as no longer royal demesne (see Crook 2013). It is also possible that changes in the plan of the settlement was the result of communal action, especially if it occurred during the manor's royal ownership.

Fledborough

Fledborough was a linear settlement on an east-west axis; it was likely regularly arranged but the degree of desertion that had occurred by the nineteenth century makes the outline of any plots difficult to determine. The plan of the settlement is presented in Figure 134. The Church of St Gregory was a rectory church, and was located on the east side of the parish next to the rectory house. The manor house was located around 200m south of the church, on the opposite side of the main east-west road running through the parish. Despite the relative closeness of the church and the manor house and the lack of surrounding settlement there are no obvious signs of them ever being set within a single enclosure. The 1820 map of Henry Stevens (British Library 2009a) appears to show the area of The Holmes Meadow immediately east of the church as an area of common ground, exactly as is found at Dunham.

Chapman's (2003) map of 1774 shows eight farmsteads, whilst in 1796, Throsby (Thoroton 1796, 187-190) wrote that the settlement contained just 7 or 8 houses, compared to the 22 households recorded in Domesday Book (Morris 1977). In the 1820 map of Stevens (British Library 2009a), there were isolated farmsteads stretching west from the church, where the main body of the settlement was perhaps originally located. In the 6-inch OS map of the nineteenth century only a

single farmstead still existed in this area. It would be reasonable to interpret this site after the nineteenth century as a deserted medieval village (DMV).

The name of the settlement refers to a *burh* (a defended settlement) at the site, although an examination of the settlement morphology does not suggest any surviving features from this defended settlement. Previous examination however has revealed earthworks south of the manor house resulting from an Iron Age and Roman period enclosure (NMR: SK 87 SW 54). It is possible that this remained in use long enough to have influenced the name of the site.

Cromwell

The village of Cromwell was a linear village on a north-south alignment; the plan of the settlement is presented in Figure 133. The settlement of this parish is one of the most centralised of all of Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire. As it is recorded in the Stevens (British Library 2009a) map and nineteenth-century Ordnance Survey maps, the parish contains no farmsteads or cottages outside of the main village, and the primary study of the county's place names (Gover *et al.* 1979) records no pre-modern settlement names in the parish other than Cromwell itself.

The Church of St Giles, a rectory church, was located with the priest house at the south end of the settlement, on the east side. The manor house was probably at the north end of the linear settlement, on the east side, as indicated later by "Manorhouse Farm" (see in Figure 133). The settlement therefore fits into a category where the church and the manorial *curia* bookend a linear settlement; a basic layout also found in this thesis at Calverton. The north half of the settlement had a denser concentration of settlement in the nineteenth century, although this could have been the consequence of a combination of the northern half expanding, or the southern half shrinking, or both, and cannot be attributed to any general date.

Cromwell's early medieval bridge was described earlier in this chapter. Although the village is linear on a north-south axis, a road stretches south-east of the settlement in the direction of the bridge site; aside from this route, the settlement

plan shows no orientation towards the bridge site. The route appears to have been diverted as it enters the settlement, turning directly west in alignment with the settlement plots. The possible original route is shown in Figure 133 in defiance of the later settlement plan. It appears that after the bridge fell out of use the settlement was reorganised, with the introduction of a regular plan, and the road that led to the redundant bridge was moved out of the settlement core. A tentative period of use for the bridge was from the eighth century (Salisbury 1995) to the eleventh century, when it was replaced by the bridge at Newark (Braun 1935). This evidence would suggest that a nucleated settlement existed at the location of Cromwell at least before the eleventh century, which was reorganised after 1100. This correlates with previous research showing that villages arranged into regular plots were the result of a phase of secondary replanning between 1100 and 1300 (Austin 1989; Aston 1985, 70; Rowley 1978, 35).

5.3.3 The Built Environment

Dunham

The church of Dunham is dedicated to St Oswald (see Figure 135) and its architectural features are recorded by Pevsner (1979, 111) and the Southwell Churches Project (SCP: Dunham, St Oswald, Archaeology). The vast majority of the church was rebuilt in the nineteenth century except for the tower, which is of fifteenth-century date (SCP: Dunham, St Oswald, Archaeology; Pevsner 1979, 111). Despite the earliest evidence being fifteenth-century, this is almost certainly the location of an earlier church, likely early medieval, given Dunham's status as a late Saxon royal manorial centre in Domesday Book. No church was mentioned in Domesday Book (Morris 1977, 1.1), but failure to mention a church on royal estate centres was not unusual; of the five royal estate centres recorded in Nottinghamshire in Domesday Book (Mansfield, Dunham, Orston, Arnold, Bothamsall) only Mansfield and Orston have churches recorded (Morris 1977). The church was first recorded historically in 1170 (SCP: Dunham, St Oswald, History).

The tower includes five bells and very large Perpendicular windows consisting of four lights and a transom, with elaborate intersections in the top (SCP: Dunham, St

Oswald, Archaeology; Pevsner 1979, 111); Pevsner (*ibid.*) notes the similarity between the towers (not the rest of the structures) of this church and the church at Gainsborough in Lincolnshire. The tower at Dunham is ashlar-faced and includes diagonal buttresses, battlements, and pinnacles, which is in keeping with the style of the area (*ibid.*). The tower at Gainsborough, with similar large Perpendicular windows in the bell tower, can be seen in Figure 136.

The similarity with the church at Gainsborough was perhaps not a coincidence. Analysis of Dunham's manorial history reveals that the two manors of Dunham and Gainsborough were granted together to the Earl of Pembroke in 1314 (Chadwick 1921). The manors passed jointly by marriage first between 1377 and 1388 to Sir Thomas Percy, son of the Earl of Northumberland, then by marriage from the Percy family to Sir Edward Burgh in 1508 (*ibid.*). The fifteenth-century date ascribed to both the Gainsborough and Dunham towers (Pevsner and Harris 1989, 293-295; Pevsner 1979, 111) would indicate that they were built simultaneously or near-simultaneously during their ownership by the Percy family, who may have commissioned the same masons and builders to work on both. It can be noted that by rebuilding the towers the Percys were selectively patronising the most prominent part of the church.

Fledborough

The Church of St Gregory at Fledborough is recorded by Pevsner (1979, 128-129), the Southwell Churches Project (SCP: Fledborough, St Gregory, Archaeology), and Du Boulay Hill (1907) (Figure 137). The earliest surviving fabric in the church is the twelfth-century base of the tower and the Norman tower arch (SCP: Fledborough, St Gregory, Archaeology; Pevsner 1979, 128-129; Du Boulay Hill 1907). The upper half of the tower is thirteenth-century, with two bells dating to between 1350 and 1370 (*ibid.*). The nave is large and consists of four bays and two aisles, with arcades, all dating to the thirteenth century (*ibid.*). With the exception of the chancel, which is nineteenth-century in date, the rest of the church was built in the fourteenth century, including a clerestory; the original medieval chancel was said

to be 44 feet long (*ibid.*). The church contains a large amount of fourteenth-century stained glass (SCP: Fledborough, St Gregory, Archaeology).

There are several medieval monuments located within the church at Fledborough, including a foliated cross with stiff leaf and maize-like decoration, located in the tower chamber. There is an early fourteenth-century monument of a woman wearing a wimple with her head held by angels (see Figure 138), and the upper half of a knight from the late fourteenth century, made of alabaster (see Figure 139). The manor was held by the de Lisures family until around 1360 when it came into the possession of the Basset family (Thoroton 1796, 187-190), and the two monuments would seem to be to members of these families respectively. The size of the original church would seem to indicate what had been a large medieval community, in contrast to the settlement's later decline.

Cromwell

The church at Cromwell is dedicated to St Giles, and its architectural details are recorded by Pevsner (1979, 108-109) and the Southwell Churches Project (SCP: Cromwell, St Giles, Archaeology) (see Figure 140). The earliest stages of the current building are the south doorway, which is early thirteenth-century in date, and the nave, south aisle, and chancel, which are also of the thirteenth century (SCP: Cromwell, St Giles, Archaeology; Pevsner 1979, 108-109). The south of the chancel and the east end of the chancel were rebuilt in the fourteenth century; the chancel's windows include fragments of fourteenth- or fifteenth-century stained glass (*ibid.*). The east window of the chancel is a five-light fourteenth-century window. The tower consists of four stages including a belfry, and is said to date to 1427 (*ibid.*). The nave includes a fifteenth century tower arch, and has corbel heads of the same date. The clerestory dates to the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century (*ibid.*). The church does not contain any significant medieval monuments, although the principle seat of the Cromwell family in Nottinghamshire was at Lambley, where they had a moated manor house (HER: M11656) and most of its church was rebuilt in 1480 under provisions made by the will of Lord Ralph de Cromwell (SCP: Lambley, Holy Trinity, History).

That is not to say that the church at Cromwell was neglected; there is clear similarity between the towers at Cromwell (*circa* 1427) and Lambley (the lower half is twelfth- or thirteenth-century and the upper half dates to the 1480 rebuilding [Pevsner 1979, 160]), as can be seen in Figure 141. There was an apparent desire to link the architectural styles of the two churches; both were thin towers, divided into four sections, and had similar battlements. It can be postulated that the tower at Cromwell was also the result of patronage by the Cromwell family, and it may be that Cromwell's tower was based on that of Lambley, if the rebuilt tower at Lambley was of similar design to the original.

5.4 Conclusion

This series of case studies within Nottinghamshire has revealed a landscape with settlements of a highly nucleated character. The case study landscapes reveal few dispersed farmsteads, especially within the area of the forest. The nucleated settlements were surrounded by two or three field open field systems. There is a limited degree of evidence for assarting and the creation of independent farmsteads, especially around the fringes of the forest. The settlements themselves reveal a significant degree of evidence for planning, especially within the larger settlements.

A high degree of royal demesne was found within the Nottinghamshire case studies, especially within the North Sherwood area. Within these areas of royal demesne settlements continue to show signs of planning. This will be discussed further in Chapter 8.

PAS goods were found in high numbers in areas of open field (and some areas of pasture) to which peasants had access. This allows the strong possibility that they were in the ownership of individuals not necessarily of high status. The areas of Sherwood Forest from which the most evidence has been recovered, Edwinstowe, Clipstone, Blidworth, and Warsop were, as shall be seen in Chapter 9, an area that did not have an aristocratic elite.

A range of church monuments and building phases appear to demonstrate the use of these means to patronise and display status by the aristocratic elite. Within the

forest, however, these activities were seen less frequently. This will be discussed further in Chapter 9.

Chapter 6: Derbyshire Case Studies

This chapter focuses on the case studies of Derbyshire, and examines two key areas of the Derbyshire Peak. The first, the "White Peak" case study, examines the parish of Bakewell and two of its parochial chapelries, Ashford and Taddington, all located within the Derbyshire Peak outside of the Forest of High Peak. The second case study, the "Dark Peak" includes the parishes of Hope, Castleton, Chapel-en-le-Frith, and the extra-parochial area of Peak Forest (not to be confused with the Forest of High Peak itself). The Dark Peak case study covers a substantial area of the Forest of High Peak, around half of its total area.

6.1 Case Study 4: The White Peak

The medieval parish of Bakewell was extensive and included a large number of parochial chapelries, at Ashford, Baslow, Beeley, Burton, Chelmorton, Longstone, Monyash, and Taddington (Lysons and Lysons 1817, 23-43). This case study includes the area of Bakewell parish that was administered directly by Bakewell church rather than a parochial chapel. The area of Bakewell parish to be studied consists of Hassop, Birchill, Holme, Burton, Haddon, Conksbury, Alport, and Harthill. In addition, two of Bakewell's many parochial chapels have been selected for inclusion in this case study. These are Ashford chapelry, which included the settlements of Ashford, Sheldon, and Brushfield, and Taddington chapelry, which included the settlements of Taddington, Blackwell, and Priestcliffe (see Figure 142). A chapel of ease existed at Sheldon by the fifteenth century, although it remained administratively within Ashford throughout the medieval period (DHER: 12426; Lysons and Lysons 1817, 23-43).

The majority of land within this case study was royal demesne in 1086 (see Table 11). Bakewell and Ashford were each the centres of significant royal manors. The royal manor of Bakewell was recorded with a number of areas of sokeland, many of which were located within the parish of Bakewell. These were Burton, Conksbury, Holme, Haddon, and Rowsley (Morris 1978, 1.27). The manor of

Ashford was similarly large, and it included Taddington, Sheldon, Priestcliffe, and Blackwell, as well as Hassop and Birchill, which were in the parish of Bakewell (Morris 1978, 1.28). The only manorial holding in this case study which was not royal demesne in 1086 were two manors at Harthill. Both were held by Saxon lords in 1066 and had passed into the possession of major Norman landowners by 1086 (Morris 1978, 10.18, 6.75). The manor held by Ralph son of Hubert was delegated to a tenant lord, Cola (Morris 1978, 10.18).

Table 11 Lords of land within the White Peak case study (sourced from Morris 1978; Tilley 1892; and Lysons and Lysons 1817, 23-43)

Holding	**Parish or Chapelry**	**Lord in 1066**	**Lord in 1086**	**Major Landowners c. 1086 to 1348**
Bakewell	Bakewell	Royal demesne	Royal demesne	Royal demesne, Peverel, Gernon
Over Haddon	Bakewell	Part of Bakewell	Part of Bakewell	Royal demesne
Nether Haddon	Bakewell	(Part of Bakewell)	Part of Bakewell	Royal demesne, Avenell, Vernon, Basset
Rowsley	Bakewell	Part of Bakewell	Part of Bakewell	Royal demesne, Avenell, Vernon
Harthill	Bakewell	1. Leofnoth 2. Ketil	1. Ralph son of Hubert (Cola) 2. Henry de Ferrers	De Herthill, Cokaine
Hassop	Bakewell	Part of Ashford	Part of Ashford	Royal demesne, Foljambe, Plumpton

Ashford	Bakewell, Ashford	Royal demesne	Royal demesne	Royal demesne, Gwenwynwyn, Earl of Kent
Brushfield	Bakewell, Ashford	Part of Ashford	Part of Ashford	Rufford Abbey, Mountjoy, Blount
Sheldon	Bakewell, Ashford	Part of Ashford	Part of Ashford	Royal demesne, Wenwynwyn, Earl of Kent, de Pickford
Taddington	Bakewell, Taddington	Part of Ashford	Part of Ashford	Royal demesne, de Hamilton, Daniel
Blackwell	Bakewell, Taddington	Part of Ashford	Part of Ashford	Royal demesne, Peverel, Lenton Priory, Blackwall
Priestcliffe	Bakewell, Taddington	Part of Ashford	Part of Ashford	Daniel

6.1.1 Parish Landscapes and Settlement Context

This section will discuss the results of analysis which are presented in various figures. Figure 143 presents the antecedent landscape of the White Peak case study. Figure 144 presents a landscape characterisation of the nineteenth-century OS maps within the White Peak case study. Figure 145 presents an interpretation of the eighteenth-century character of the White Peak case study. Figure 146 presents the medieval landscape resulting from the regression process.

Bakewell

The majority of settlement within Bakewell parish was in the form of nucleated settlements with open fields, although there were also a number of independent

farmsteads. The settlements of Bakewell (first recorded in 926 [Cameron 1959, 30]), Burton (first recorded in 1086 [*ibid.*, 30]), Over Haddon and Nether Haddon (first recorded together as Haddon in 1086 [*ibid.*, 106]) were all located centrally within Bakewell parish with connecting open field systems. This contiguous block of open fields stretched to the south of the parish, to Harthill (first recorded in 1086 [*ibid.*, 108) and Alport (first recorded 1086 [*ibid.*, 108]). This can be determined partly from surviving ridge and furrow evident during fieldwork, from the tithe maps and from HER data (DHER: 831, 424, 828, 30202, 832, 833, 830, 11429, 10419). An area of marshy open pasture appears to have stretched from Bakewell to the south-east along the River Wye (Peak District National Park Authority 2013, 9; Stroud 2003, 16).

In 923 or 924 King Edward founded a *burh* at Bakewell, although no evidence for it can be traced. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle states that King Edward went to Bakewell and ordered a *burh* to be "made in the neighbourhood and manned" (Brighton 2005, 10-11; Swanton 1996, 104). This does not specify that the *burh* was Bakewell, rather than a separate site close to Bakewell. The deserted site of Burton was first recorded in Domesday Book (Morris 1978, 1.27), and was likely located to the south of Bakewell (see DHER: 829). It was set within open fields, and close to Burton Moor, Burton Moor Farm, Burton Ashes Wood, and Burton Closes, all of which are found in the OS maps of the nineteenth century. The *burh* element of this place name would suggest that this could be the site of the tenth-century *burh* (Cameron 1959, 30).

The deserted settlement of Nether Haddon was located to the south east of Bakewell, and first recorded individually in 1206 (Cameron 1959, 106). Over Haddon, located in the south of Bakewell, was first recorded in 1199 (*ibid.*, 107). Haddon Hall was located close to Nether Haddon, and was set within a deer park. An outline of the recent boundaries of the park have been recorded (see NHLE: 1000679; DHER: 10410) yet their original extent is unknown, but can be interpreted from field boundaries and the natural terrain. Immediately to the west of the hall, a number of lynchet earthworks indicate strip-farming with the open field system (DHER: 10419), however small areas of possible Romano-British fields may have been in use as arable enclosures (NMR: SK 26 NW 58). The site of Harthill was deserted within the medieval period (DHER: 6725), and a park was present at the

site possibly by the reign of Henry VIII and was potentially of medieval origin (*ibid.*). The open field system and location of the park are presented in Figure 146.

Outside this block of continuous open fields, further small hamlet sites were located around the parish. Birchill in the north of the parish was first recorded in 1086 and had a single open field (Cameron 1959, 110); Hassop was also in the north of the parish, was first recorded in 1086 (*ibid.*, 108), and had a single open field. Beneath – or alongside – this open field may have been an area of enclosures of "Celtic" origin (DHER: 7313). Rowsley was in the east of the parish, seemingly had two open fields, and was first recorded in 1086 (*ibid.*, 163). Across the west side of the parish was a large area of moorland, in which no ridge and furrow cropmarks can be noted, and in the OS maps of the nineteenth century was covered by late enclosures. This included Haddon Moor, where late enclosures covered a prehistoric or a Romano-British field system which was probably extant during the medieval period and likely used for pastoral agriculture (NMR: SK 16 NE 74).

The parish of Bakewell contained a number of hamlets and independent farmsteads. These included Millfield Farm recorded first in 1216 (Cameron 1959, 109). The Coombs (Cameron 1959, 35), Cowden Grange (*ibid.*, 32), Endcliff House (*ibid.*, 32), and Outrake (*ibid.*, 34), were all first recorded in the reign of Henry III. These farmsteads did not appear to be a result of assarting or pioneer activity (see Dyer 2002, 162), and furthermore this area is outside of Roberts and Wrathmell's (2000) central province. As such, it can be argued that dispersed settlement at Bakewell is a remnant of an ancient settlement pattern. As outlined in Chapter 1, however, patterns of ancient dispersed settlement were far from static, and the individual farmsteads themselves may not date to before c. 1300, having replaced older sites. Moor Hall was first recorded in the reign of Edward I (*ibid.*, 33; DHER: 884); it was occupied and built by the Gernon family, lords of Bakewell, and was recorded also as Gernon Hall in 1306 (Peak District National Park Authority 2013, 8). The site in now lost, but an estimation is shown in Figure 146. A significant clue is that an open field to the south-west of Bakewell was called Moorhall Field (see *ibid.*, 20); the edge of the east end of this field, immediately outside Bakewell, was divided into a small number of enclosures, and it can be hypothesised that this was the site of Moor Hall. A hermitage was located at Cratcliff Rocks in Harthill dating to the thirteenth or fourteenth century (DHER: 6728).

Several mills existed in the parish, for example a water mill was located at Alport (DHER: 6720); Caudwell's Mill at Rowsley was the site of two medieval water mills, a corn mill and a fulling mill (DHER: 12225); Lumford Mill was first recorded in the eighteenth century, although Lumford itself was first recorded in the reign of Henry III (Cameron 1959, 33), and a pre-existing medieval mill may have been located here; and Bakewell was the site of a corn mill, windmill, and fulling mill in 1339 (Peak District National Park Authority 2013, 10).

The lead mining site of Mandale Rake is recorded to the west of Over Haddon by the Derbyshire HER database, and is recorded as being in operation in litigations of 1284 and 1288 (DHER: 11428). A second site, on the edge of the parish, is recorded close to Alport at Lathkill Dale (DHER: 11491). William de Hamilton was recorded in the 1280s as the owner of a third of the mineral royalties of Taddington, Priestcliffe, and Over Haddon, and furthermore sought to purchase the franchise of Cope in Over Haddon, yet was blocked by Nicholas and Simon de Cromford (Rieuwerts 1973, 25); De Hamilton was simultaneously the lord of Taddington (Lysons and Lysons 1817, 23-43). Lead mines recorded in the OS maps of the late nineteenth century demonstrate the extent of this resource throughout the parish, and where medieval mining could have taken place. A medieval lead working and smelting site was located in the parish, at Bole Hill on moorland to the west of Bakewell (DHER: 834)

Four medieval bridges are known within the parish. One of these was the bridge at Bakewell first recorded in the reign of Edward I, and the current structure dates to around 1300 (DHER: 827). A bridge at Conksbury was recorded in 1269 (Cameron 1959, 107). A bridge near Rowsley, Fillyford Bridge, was of an unknown medieval date (DHER: 10415). A bridge was constructed at Rowsley itself in the fifteenth century (DHER: 12224).

Two early medieval barrow burials were located in the parish. One of these was the Burton Moor Bowl Barrow, which contained Bronze Age remains as well as a secondary early medieval inhumation burial which was accompanied by a bronze hanging bowl and part of an escutcheon's silver-plated frame (DHER: 809; Bateman 1861, 46-48). A primary early medieval burial was found within the Haddon Fields Round Barrow; finds from the site included an early medieval (or potentially Romano-British) pottery sherd, as well as fragments of bone and a

potential gritstone rubber (DHER: 10407; Ward 1888, 47-55). Several areas of ancient settlement have been found within the parish, for example an Iron Age hillfort at Ballcross (DHER: 5141), and most significantly, in the moorland of Harthill in the south of the parish, a Neolithic hillfort (DHER: 6701), two Iron Age hillforts (DHER: 6717, 6718), and three areas of Roman settlement (DHER: 6702, 6703, 6716).

Ashford

The vast majority of medieval settlement within Ashford chapelry took the form of nucleated settlements with open fields. The settlement of Ashford, first recorded in 926 (Cameron 1959, 27) was bounded to the north and west by an open field system. Although large, this was effectively a single open field. South-west of the settlement of Ashford was Sheldon. Sheldon operated a single, relatively small, open field, which was recorded in a map by Senior in the early seventeenth century (Fowkes and Potter 1988, xxxii). Sheldon was bounded to the west and south by Sheldon Moor. Part of this moorland contained a medieval field system with drystone walls which was reorganised as part of Parliamentary Enclosure; the fields were likely always used for pasture (NMR: SK 16 NE 62). To the north-west of the settlement of Ashford was Brushfield, which seemingly operated a single small field of enclosures. Beneath this field system was an earlier Iron Age or Roman field system (DHER: 2709, 2712; NMR: SK 17 SE 106, SK 17 SE 107).

The only independent sites in the chapelry were Churchdale Hall, located to the north-east of Ashford and first recorded in 1336 (Cameron 1959, 27); Ashford Hall, located between Churchdale Hall and Ashford, and first recorded in 1338 (*ibid.*, 27); and Red House, first recorded in 1529 (*ibid.*, 28), and probably the result of late medieval or early post-medieval enclosure of part of the open field system.

The medieval Magpie Mine was located within the chapelry of Ashford, within moorland to the south of Sheldon (DHER: 430). The number of old lead mines recorded in the OS maps of the nineteenth century however attest how common this resource was throughout the chapelry.

Four Early Medieval barrow and cairn burials have been found within the chapelry. One of these was a round barrow on Ashford Moor from which an iron arrowhead, human remains, flint objects, and pieces of sandstone and charcoal, were recovered (DHER: 416; Bateman 1848, 57-58). Three of these burials are located in the Brushfield area of Ashford, the most notable of which is a weapon burial at Lapwing Hill, which contained objects including containing a knife, sword, sheath, and two spearheads (DHER: 2706; Bateman 1861, 68-70). The fourth, found close by at Brushfield Hough, was a weapon burial containing an iron sword, a knife, a shield boss, and a buckle (DHER: 2717; Bateman 1848, 27). In addition to these medieval sites, a cairn dating to between the Neolithic and Bronze Age periods, also at Brushfield Clough, contained a secondary burial of potentially early medieval date, although this date is disputed (DHER: 2701).

Areas of ancient settlement within the chapelry of Ashford included a late Bronze Age hillfort at Fin Cop (DHER: 419). Three areas of Roman settlement were located on the west side of Ashford chapelry (DHER: 2710, 12453, 12424). The northern-most of these settlements (DHER: 2710) was located at the edge of Brushfield's open field, while the other two (DHER: 12453, 12424) were located around Sheldon's open field, allowing the possibility of a continuation in the boundaries of the open fields of Brushfield and Sheldon from as early as the Bronze Age to the medieval period. As noted, Brushfield has indeed been found to have an Iron Age field system beneath that of the medieval period (NMR: SK 17 SE 106, SK 17 SE 107). A Roman-period site at Dimin Dale to the north of Sheldon, known as Horsborough, had an attached Iron Age or Roman field system (DHER: 12424; NMR: SK 17 SE 5) as well as closely associated Neolithic and Bronze Age barrows (DHER: 12455, 12410, 12454, 12404).

Taddington

Like Ashford, Taddington chapelry was dominated by extensive moorland, with nucleated settlement and open fields. Taddington, first recorded in 1086 (Cameron 1959, 169) had open fields to its north and south-east. North-west of Taddington settlement, with a connecting open field, was Priestcliffe, which was first recorded

in 1086 (*ibid.*, 169). Further to the north-west was Blackwell, first recorded in 1086 (*ibid.*, 46), with a single open field. To the west of Blackwell were enclosures which may have been used at least in part for arable farming. Calton Farm, first recorded in 1578 (*ibid.*, 46), was an independent farmstead located to the west of Blackwell. Settlement was otherwise centralised within the nucleated settlements. A medieval mill was located north of Blackwell (DHER: 1709)

The name of the wapentake or hundred which contained the White Peak at the time of Domesday Book is not given. One of the earliest records of the wapentake is from 1195 where it was recorded as *Blakewell wapentaco*, interpreted as referring to Blackwell, near Taddington (Cameron 1959, 24-25). As discussed by Hadley (2000, 105), where a wapentake or hundred name included the name of a settlement, it generally meant that this was the meeting place for its hundred court.

A Romano-British settlement was located within the chapelry, north of Blackwell (DHER: 1704). This was located on the northern edge of what has been interpreted as Blackwell's open field, and as was the case with Ashford, this allows the possibility of a continuation in the boundaries of a Roman-period arable area which became the open field. Indeed, evidence has been found for a Romano-British or "Celtic" field system directly beneath the medieval lynchets (DHER: 1705; Thomas 1961).

6.1.2 Settlement Plan Analysis

Bakewell

Bakewell is a market town and during the medieval period was "the ancient capital of the Peak" (Brighton, 2005); the plan of the settlement is presented in Figure 147. The town was located within the river valley of the River Wye, with Ashford upstream also within this valley. Major routeways ran north-south and east-west through the settlement, at the confluence of these was the market place of the settlement. The church was located to the west of the market space, at the highest point of the settlement.

Medieval guilds within the town included the Guild of Our Lady, founded in 1254 by Ralph Gernon, to support the Chantry of our Lady which was created simultaneously. Gernon donated land south-east of the churchyard to house the chantry priest and to house the guild (Peak District National Park Authority 2013, 10). In 1344 Sir Geoffrey Foljambe founded the Chantry of the Holy Cross and simultaneously the Guild of the Holy Cross (*ibid.*). A potential location for the guild hall is the easternmost of the two shown on Figure 147, although this second location is less certain. In 1472 the two chantries were merged and henceforth located in the Chantry House in the north-west corner of the churchyard, which potentially already held a chantry priest from an earlier date (Peak District National Park Authority 2013, 10). The locations of these guilds were centred on the market place of the town rather than around the church. Gernon was lord of the manor of Bakewell and Foljambe was lord of the manor of Hassop; in 1360 Sir John Gernon granted the manor of Bakewell for life to Sir Godfrey Foljambe (Lysons and Lysons 1817, 23-43), and no trade guilds or communally-created guilds were founded in the town. In a survey of the town of 1799, a market place was recorded at the confluence of King Street and North Church Street, in use from the medieval to the post-medieval period and was used for the trade of lead and corn (DHER: 31208). North of North Church Street, along Buxton Road, was the site of a beast market (Peak District National Park Authority 2013, 23). A market was recorded in 1330, held by John, son of William Gernon, the lord of the manor (Letters 2005). A fair was granted by 1254 by William Gernon (Letters 2005) and was further recorded held by John, son of William Gernon, in 1330 (*ibid.*).

A wool house was constructed in the town by the Dean and Chapter of Lichfield, which acted as the collection point during the Later Medieval period for the tithes of wool and lambs which were owed to the Chapter of Lichfield (Peak District National Park Authority 2013, 9; Stroud 2003, 6). The twelfth century saw a simultaneous growth in the town and its wool industry, a major patron of which were monasteries (Peak District National Park Authority 2013, 9; Stroud 2003, 6), as well as the cathedral chapter.

There is little consistency in the tenements of the settlement in the OS maps of the nineteenth century, or in survey plans of the town from the eighteenth century (Peak District National Park Authority 2013, 20, 23). Any possible burgage plots in

the survey maps of the eighteenth century cannot be reliably overlaid on OS maps of the nineteenth century, and as such it is not possible to analyse any specific tenements of the medieval town. The approximate area of the modern town occupied in the medieval period has been interpreted by Stroud (2003, Figure 2), and this has been modified for this thesis onto the OS maps of the nineteenth century (Figure 147).

Over Haddon was a linear settlement on an east-west axis; the plan of the settlement is presented in Figure 148. A survey of 1799 shows more settlement on the east side of the settlement than is present in the OS maps of the nineteenth century, although it depicts Over Haddon in very little detail (Peak District National Park Authority 2013, 22). Within modern OS maps a Manor House Farm is located within the settlement. Although the evidence is lacking to ascribe any date to its origin, this may have been the site of a medieval home farm or demesne farm (the survival of these has previously been noted, for example Alcock and Miles 2013, 175). The west route of entry to the settlement split into two routes, one through the centre of the settlement, the other around the north of the tenements, with both meeting at the east end of the settlement. It is possible that the north half of the settlement (as it appears in the nineteenth century) was a green, demarcated by the path of the roads which encircle it. Indeed, less settlement appears in this area in a survey of 1799 (Peak District National Park Authority 2013, 22). If accurate, the original medieval tenements may have circled this open space, with settlement (including the Manor House Farm) encroaching upon this space. The settlement, as it appeared in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, showed little evidence for planning.

Alport was located at the confluence of the River Lathkill and the River Bradford. The settlement was of a circular plan (seen in Figure 149). At the north-east side of the settlement was the site of Alport watermill (DHER: 6720). The final significant settlement in Bakewell which remained extant by the nineteenth century was Rowsley. Rowsley was a nucleated settlement and, like Alport, was located between two rivers, the River Wye and the River Derwent. The settlement was centred on a crossroads, which may have functioned as a small green (the plan is presented in Figure 150). Immediately north of this central space is the Peacock Hotel which is possibly situated on the site of medieval inn (DHER: 12209). East of the settlement

was Rowsley Bridge, a fifteenth-century bridge spanning the River Derwent and linking Rowsley with the settlement of Little Rowsley (DHER: 12224). South of Rowsley was the aforementioned site of a medieval corn mill and a fulling mill (DHER: 12225), built upon the River Wye. Located in the current churchyard, which was a Victorian creation [Pevsner 2002, 312]), is a Saxon cross head dating to the ninth to eleventh centuries, which was found in the River Wye (DHER: 12202). This cross may have marked a medieval crossing point for the River Wye. A burial ground was discovered immediately south-east of Rowley, directly between the River Wye and the River Derwent. This contained an unspecified number of skeletons seemingly without coffins or grave goods. The skeletons were found close to a number stone slabs which have been interpreted as the remains of a chapel (DHER: 12204; NMR: 311090), almost certainly a chapel of ease to Bakewell. The medieval plots of Alport and Rowley cannot be determined, and neither site shows evidence for planning.

A number of other sites existed within the parish which were recorded in Domesday Book (Morris 1978, 1.27). These sites consisted of Conksbury, Hassop, Birchill, Holme, Burton, Nether Haddon, and Harthill. All, however, were reduced to very small sites or even single farmsteads by the time of the nineteenth-century OS maps.

Ashford

The settlement of Ashford appears to have been originally laid out around a large – roughly triangular – green; the plan of the settlement is presented in Figure 151. The two roads running into the south-west corner and west side of the settlement respectively expand in a funnel-like shape as they approach the settlement, as roads tend to do when opening into a green. The church was seemingly placed upon this former green. Stocker and Everson (2006) have previously argued for the link between churches founded on greens and settlements that have a high proportion of *sokemen*, with communal action placing the church on the green. This seems to conflict with the recording of Ashford as an estate centre in Domesday Book (Morris 1978, 1.28). This may be explained by the recorded history of the site. Ealdorman Uhtred bought land at Ashford and Hope from the Vikings in 911

(Hadley 2000, 120), which may have involved the manor of Ashford being created by separating it from Bakewell. Between the tenth and eleventh centuries this land must have returned to royal demesne. This would also explain why the centres of two large royal estates, Ashford and Bakewell, were located so close together that they shared a parish boundary. It is therefore possible that Ashford existed at the beginning of the tenth century as a berewick of the royal manor of Bakewell.

The green of the village included a moated manor house likely built for Edmund Plantagenet after the manor entered his possession in 1319 (DHER: 421; NMR: SK16NE9; Tilley 1892, 36). A pamphlet produced by Holy Trinity Church, Ashford on the history of the church records that next to the medieval tithe barn, to the south-west of the church at the edge of the churchyard, was Neville Old Hall, built by the Neville family perhaps in the early sixteenth century, and which was demolished in 1938 (Anon 1996, 12).

The process by which the central green came to be private land is uncertain. The church was located towards the bottom corner of the green and a road passing behind the churchyard suggests that this corner may have been cut away for the creation of the church, with the rest of the green remaining intact. When a green is used in the creation of a church, the church is often located centrally within the green rather than at the edge (Stocker and Everson 2006, 105, 116, 120, 134, 163, 181, 290). It may have been the case that the rest of the green continued in use until it was confiscated for the creation of Edward Plantagenet's manorial *curia*; or a previous royal estate centre may have existed on the same site.

Sheldon is a linear settlement on an east-west axis; the plan of the settlement is presented in Figure 152. The settlement was fortunately recorded in the seventeenth-century maps of William Senior (Fowkes and Potter 1988, xxxii) where it is found to have a similar form to the OS maps of the nineteenth century. The settlement included a Home Farm in the nineteenth century, which may have been the demesne farm. A chapel of ease existed at the settlement by the fifteenth century, dedicated to All Souls and located north-west of Spinney Cottage (DHER: 12426). The settlement includes a degree of regularity in the aligning of the plots, but they are of such varied widths and lengths that no consistent measurements can be made.

Taddington

The settlement of Taddington, which is on an east-west axis, shows clear signs of regularity and planning; the plan of the settlement is presented in Figure 153. Taddington chapel, dedicated to St Michael, was located within a roughly circular churchyard, itself located at the centre of a square field outside the core of the settlement (which, since the nineteenth century, the churchyard has expanded into). The churchyard, which includes a cross from the Early Medieval Period (DHER: 13516) appears to have been formed in relation to a different, earlier, settlement plan. The majority of secondary settlement replanning took place between 1100 and 1300 (see Chapter 1). The planned settlement at Taddington ran between two foci which bookend the settlement; the manor house at the east end and the chapel at the west end (although as mentioned the chapel was set back from the settlement. The church was also at the highest end of the settlement. Another important element of the settlement was the High Well, which was located in steep terrain to the south of the settlement (DHER: 13549), which may have been used as an early baptismal well and an early settlement focus.

The settlement plan of Taddington is more regular than the vast majority of settlements in this area of the Peak. The south of the settlement contained plots varying from 85m to 12m, while the north of the settlement was more consistent with lengths of between 175m and 185m, but the tapering of these areas makes an interpretation of the original units of measurement impossible.

The linear settlement of Blackwell was on an east-west axis and located north-west of Taddington; the plan of the settlement is presented in Figure 154. The settlement contained a probable hall at the north-east end of the settlement (DHER: 1715). In the post-medieval period this subsequently became Manor Farm and was replaced as the administrative centre by Hall Green, constructed north-east of the settlement (DHER: 1719). The settlement contained at least one manor farm (Hunt 1998, 509), while two are recorded in the modern OS map.

A third settlement was Priestcliffe, which was on a north-west axis and constructed around a green; the plan of the settlement is presented in Figure 155. Priestcliffe shows the remnants of what appear to be regular plots. The plots within Priestcliffe

appear to have been laid out according to 20-foot perches. A tenement on the north side of the settlement had an area of around 6,050 square metres, which was close to 160 square 20-foot perches, equivalent to 4 roods or 1 acre. One large tenement on the north side of the settlement had an area of approximately 11,890 square metres, which corresponds almost exactly 320 square perches, which is equivalent to 8 roods, or 2 acres. This was probably the result of two tenements having been merged. This is a strong indicator that a degree of orchestration may have been behind the plan of the settlement.

6.1.3 The Built Environment

Bakewell

The collegiate church of All Saints at Bakewell (see Figure 156) was a significant church within the region, holding 9 parochial chapelries. In 1291 it was recorded as being worth £194, the third most valuable church in England (Ellsworth 2002, 4). The churchyard contains two crosses. One a wayside cross dating to between the tenth and eleventh centuries and brought here from Holt House at Two Dales (DHER: 821; NMR: SK 26 NW 29; Sharpe 2002, 40-41). The second dates to between the eighth (DHER: 822; NMR: SK 26 NW 13) and the tenth century (Mora-Ottomano *et al.* 2012, 2). The cross contains a mixture of Christian and pagan Norse iconography. It is said locally that this cross used to be positioned at Hassop Cross Roads (Mora-Ottomano 2012, 2). Brighton (2005, 10) has proposed that the Anglo-Saxon church at Bakewell consisted of a nave and a chancel, and was located within the west half of the current church structure. An early medieval church at Bakewell is significant as it is one of the few early foundations in the Peak region and an almost certain example of a minster church. It has also been suggested that it was a regional centre of Anglo-Saxon sculptural production (Hadley 2000, 230), due to the number of pre-Conquest sculptural fragments found at the church (see Routh 1937, 8-19).

The church architecture is analysed in detail by Pevsner (2002, 71-74) and Cox (1877, 5-44). The west front of the church is mostly Norman in date, and includes uncompleted arches which were intended to lead into two west towers, which were

never constructed (Pevsner 2002, 71). This scale of work would be comparable with the church at Melbourne in south Derbyshire (*ibid.*). Norman period work can also be found in the outer wall of the south aisles, and the first bay of the arcades between the nave and aisles. Pevsner (2002, 71-74) suggests that the masonry could even be Anglo-Saxon, with later Norman arches. The Norman nave arcades and two Saxon windows were destroyed in the nineteenth century (*ibid.*). The initiation of these grand changes to the church, which included a plan for two west towers, corresponds with Bakewell prospering due to its burgeoning wool industry in the twelfth century (Peak District National Park Authority 2013, 9; Stroud 2003, 6), while the abandonment of these works may coincide with the church being granted to Lichfield Cathedral and the royal manor being granted to Ralph Gernon in 1192 (Lysons and Lysons 1817, 23-43).

The next observable architectural stage of the church dates to the thirteenth century and can be found near the east end of the building. The south transept, including an east aisle, was added between approximately 1220 and 1240 Pevsner (2002, 72). This construction work in the south transept almost certainly included a chantry chapel for the Chantry of our Lady (Ellsworth 2002, 13), founded by Ralph Gernon in 1254 (Peak District National Park Authority 2013, 10), and he is a strong candidate for the patron of this work. The chancel followed this construction, with Pevsner (*ibid.*) suggesting that the windows indicate a late thirteenth-century date, and included the chancel's south doorway, the sedilia, and the piscine. The crossing tower is a reconstruction but rests on thirteenth-century piers. The lower stage of the outer tower belongs to the same period, with the upper stage dating to around 1340 (*ibid.*). Around the same time in the mid-fourteenth century the south transept was extended and the roof raised. This work was probably motivated by the need to make space for a chantry chapel for the Chantry of Holy Cross, which had been founded by Sir Geoffrey Foljambe in 1344 (Peak District National Park Authority 2013, 10), and was henceforth located here (Ellsworth 2002, 13). Foljambe was himself therefore the likely patron of this work; at this time, the Foljambes were lords of the manor of Hassop but not Bakewell (Lysons and Lysons 1817, 23-43). Perpendicular architecture can be found in the south porch, the clerestory, the battlements, and the east window of the north transept (Pevsner 2002, 71-74).

The church contains a number of medieval monuments. According to a nineteenth-century account, 70 fragments of cross slabs were discovered within parts of the church destroyed in 1841, and approximately 280 were used in the new church fabric (Cutts 1849, 60). These were thought to largely date to before 1260, and a few to before 1110 (*ibid.*). Further fragments of medieval sculpture are located in the porch of the church (see Figure 157). This scale of sculpture may be an indicator that any role that Bakewell held in the production of early medieval sculpture continued into the early years of the Norman period. Of the iconography of these cross slabs, one depicted sheep shears (Brighton 2005, 17). Monuments to forest officials include a cross slab each for a verderer and for a forester (see Cox 1905, 17, 19) (see Figure 158). No alabaster tombs within the church date to before 1348. One example is dated to 1385 and dedicated to Sir Godfrey Foljambe and his wife. Foljambe had been granted the manor of Bakewell for life in 1360 (Lysons and Lysons 1817, 23-43).

Ashford

The church of Holy Trinity at Ashford (see Figure 159) was almost entirely rebuilt in the nineteenth century, however elements of the medieval church survive Pevsner (2002, 66). A Norman tympanum above the main doorway depicts a tree of life, a lion and a hog. The lower half of the west tower dates to the early thirteenth century (*ibid.*), which was approximately contemporary with the manor coming into the possession of Welsh Prince Gwenwynwyn ab Owain-Cyfeiliog (Lysons and Lysons 1817, 30). The north arcade dates to the fourteenth century, which could be contemporary with the manor being granted to Edmund Plantagenet in 1319, and the subsequent construction of the moated manor house (NMR: SK 16 NE 9; Tilley 1892, 36). It is very likely that the first chapel at Ashford was earlier than the thirteenth century, as the site was the centre of a large estate at the time of Domesday Book.

Taddington

The church of St Michael at Taddington (see Figure 160) contained within its churchyard an early medieval cross with zig-zag design (DHER: 13516). Situated within what was likely the territory of Bakewell minster, this cross perhaps marked a place of congregation. Pevsner (2002, 338) writes that the west tower of the church dates to the fourteenth century, whilst the rest of the church was rebuilt in the nineteenth century. However, there are other details which can be gleaned from analysis of the west wall of the nave. The west wall has prominent lines that run diagonally from the left and right and meet at roof level in the centre, as can been seen in Figure 161. What these appear to represent is the former roof line of the nave, at a much lower ceiling height than the current ceiling. This visible roof line cuts into a partly whitewashed medieval mural of St Michael on the west wall, indicating that the nave roof was raised before the sixteenth century. A further feature visible on this west wall is a bricked-up window. On the other side of this wall is the fourteenth-century west tower, and therefore this window (and hence this single wall) may predate the tower. This wall may be all that remains of tower-less single-cell church which was expanded around the fourteenth century with a tower and an enlarged nave. Within the chapel, a brass to Richard Blackwall (d. 1505) and his widow Agnes can be found (Pevsner 2002, 338; Cox 1877, 116). Blackwall held a stake in the manor of Blackwell (see Table 11), which is not found to have had a chapel of its own.

6.2 Case Study 5: The Dark Peak

This case study, focusing on the Dark Peak, examines Hope, Castleton, Chapel-en-le-Frith, and Peak Forest (see Figure 162). The parish of Hope was originally even more extensive than depicted in Figure 162; the ancient parish included Castleton, Tideswell, Buxton, Chapel-en-le-Frith, Hayfield, Edale, Derwent, Hucklow, Thornhill, Ashop, Shallcross, Highlow, Padley, Wardlow, and Wormhill (Burton 1966, 20). By the end of the medieval period almost all of these areas were parishes in their own right (see Youngs 1991). Hope parish as presented in Figure 162

represents the parish area which at the end of the medieval period had not been separated as a new parish or delegated to a parochial chapel. Featured also in this case study, the parishes of Chapel-en-le-Frith and Castleton and the extra-parochial area of Peak Forest (not to be confused with the Forest of High Peak, which Peak Forest was within) were created from Hope parish during the High Medieval Period (Burton 1966, 201; Cox 1905, 151-152) (see Figure 162).

Domesday records Hope as being the centre of a large royal manor with berewicks at Aston, Edale, Hazlebadge, Muchedeswelle, Offerton, Shatton, Stoke, and Tideswell (Morris 1978, 1.29) (see Table 12). Chapel-en-le-Frith and Peak Forest were not recorded in Domesday, but were encircled by the lands of Hope manor and hence almost certainly were part of the manor. All Saxon landowners recorded in 1066 had seemingly been dispossessed by major Norman landowners by 1086.

Castleton in Domesday Book is found under the ownership of William Peverel, having been detached from Hope manor to serve as Peverel's *caput* within the Peak, over which he operated as the chief forester of the Forest of High Peak. In Domesday Castleton was recorded under an earlier name, *Pechesers*, and Peveril Castle was also mentioned, the only Derbyshire castle to be recorded in the survey (Morris 1978, 7.7). The manor of Hope was also granted to Peverel (Kerry 1893, 67) but would have reverted to the Crown with the rest of Peverel's estates (Warren 1977, 61).

Within Chapter 3, the Forest of High Peak was found to lack Scandinavian-influenced major place names. This is not supported by a more detailed examination of secondary names, although Scandinavian-influenced names remain proportionally rare. Examples from Hope include The Car, Overdale (Cameron 1959, 50), Silly Dale (*ibid.*, 106), Killhill (*ibid.*, 121), Grimbocar, Hobholme (*ibid.*, 127), Slack Lane, and Carr Bottom (*ibid.*, 172). In Castleton, examples include Dunscar (*ibid.*, 55), Pin Dale, Red Seats (*ibid.*, 56), and Edale (*ibid.*, 87); in Chapel-en-le-Frith, Slackhall (*ibid.*, 66); and in Peak Forest, Beytonsdale (*ibid.*, 159), and Dam Dale (*ibid.*, 160). Although it appears that Old English forms were preferred within this area of the Dark Peak (for example *hlaw* over *haugr* [see Cameron 1959]), these secondary names show the use of several Norse place name elements in local parlance.

It may be assumed that this movement of this acculturation occurred from the south, from the Trent Valley. It must also be considered, however, that the Mersey river was significantly closer to the Forest of High Peak than the Trent river (a distance of around 40km from the centre of the forest, compared to around 60km). Therefore, this acculturation may have occurred from the west, through the mouth of the River Mersey.

Table 12 Lords of land within the Dark Peak case study (sourced from Morris 1978; Kerry 1893; and Lysons and Lysons 1817)

Holding	**Parish or Chapelry**	**Lord in 1066**	**Lord in 1086**	**Major Landowners c. 1086 to 1348**
Hope	Hope	Royal demesne	Royal demesne	Royal demesne, Peverel
Aston	Hope	Berewick of Hope	Berewick of Hope	Royal demesne, Peverel
Thornhill	Hope	Part of Hope	Part of Hope	Royal demesne, Peverel, Thornhill
***Muchedeswelle* (lost)**	Hope	Berewick of Hope	Berewick of Hope	Royal demesne, Peverel
Offerton	Hope	1. Berewick of Hope 2. Leofnoth, Leofric	1. Berewick of Hope 2. Ralph Fitz Hubert	Royal demesne, Peverel, Eyre
Highlow	Hope	Part of Abney?	Part of Abney?	Archer, Eyre

Abney	Hope	Swein	William Peverel	Royal demesne, Peverel, Archer, Bagshawe
Great Hucklow	Hope	Ernwy, Hundulf, Wulfric (as "Hucklow")	William Peverel	Peverel, Archer, Bagshawe
Little Hucklow	Hope	Part of Hucklow	Part of Hucklow	Foljambe
Grindlow	Hope	Part of Hucklow?	Part of Hucklow?	Lilleshall Abbey
Bradwell	Hope	Leofing, Owine, Sprot	William Peverel	Peverel
Hazlebadge	Hope	Leofwin	William Peverel	Peverel, Strelley
***Pechesers* (Castleton)**	Hope, Castleton	Arnbiorn, Hundingr	William Peverel	Peverel, royal demesne
Edale	Hope, Castleton	Berewick of Hope	Berewick of Hope	Royal demesne
Peak Forest	Hope, Extra-Parochial	Part of Hope	Part of Hope	Royal demesne
Chapel-en-le-Frith	Hope, Chapel-en-le-Frith	Part of Hope	Part of Hope	Royal demesne
Blackbrook	Hope, Chapel-en-le-Frith	Part of Hope	Part of Hope	Leigh

6.2.1 Parish Landscapes and Settlement Context

This section will discuss the results of the regression process which are presented in various figures. Figure 163 presents the antecedent landscape of the Dark Peak case study. Figure 164 presents a landscape characterisation of the nineteenth-century OS maps within the Dark Peak case study. Figure 165 presents an interpretation of the eighteenth-century character of the Dark Peak case study. Figure 166 presents the medieval landscape resulting from the regression process.

Hope

The medieval settlement within Hope parish was split evenly between nucleated settlements with open fields and areas of dispersed settlement with independent farmsteads and small hamlets. In the centre of the parish itself was a block of nucleated settlements which were connected by single, contiguous, block of open fields. This area included Thornhill (first recorded in 1200 [Cameron 1959, 171]), Aston (first recorded in 1086 [*ibid.*, 29]), Hope village (first recorded in 926 [*ibid.*, 120]), and Bradwell (first recorded in 1086 [*ibid.*, 48]). The area also stretched west into Castleton and operated essentially as a single agricultural unit within the parish. Other settlements with their own open fields, separate to the block described, were also found in the parish. The settlement of Abney, first recorded in 1086 (*ibid.*, 25), was located in the south-east of the parish, may have had a single open field to its north with surrounding closes, and extensive moorland, separating it from the other settlements of the parish. In the south-west of the parish were the settlements of Grindlow (first recorded in 1199 [*ibid.*, 105]), Great Hucklow, and Little Hucklow (recorded together as Hucklow in 1086 [*ibid.*, 131]); these were also connected by a continuous group of open fields, broken only by a thin stretch of open ground called Hilltop.

A large number of independent farmsteads and small hamlets were located in Hope. In the area of Abney these included Abney Grange, first recorded in 1086 (Cameron 1959, 25) and Cockey Farm, first recorded in the fourteenth century (*ibid.*, 26). In the area of Bradwell, Cotes was first recorded in 1306 (*ibid.*, 48). In Brough and

Shatton, Brough was first recorded in 1195 (*ibid.*, 50), Shatton in 1086 (*ibid.*, 50), and Upper Shatton in 1425 (*ibid.*, 50). In Grindlow, a grange operated by Lilleshall Abbey was first recorded in 1339 (DHER: 6607). In Highlow, Highlow Hall, was first recorded in 1340 (Cameron 1959, 119), and Broad Hay in 1552 (Cameron 1959, 119). Around the settlement of Hope itself, Eccles House was first recorded in 1306 (*ibid.*, 120), Hallsteads in 1280 (*ibid.*, 120), King's Haigh in the reign of Henry VIII (*ibid.*, 120), Twitchell Farm in 1376 (*ibid.*, 120), Bleak House in 1456 (*ibid.*, 120), Fullwood Stile in 1599 (*ibid.*, 121), Upper Fullwood in 1494 (*ibid.*, 121), and Lose Hill in 1599 (*ibid.*, 121). Within Hope Woodlands, Alport Farm was first recorded in 1285 (*ibid.*, 124), Ashop Farm in 1282 (*ibid.*, 124), Birchinlee in 1285 (*ibid.*, 124), Lockerbrook Farm in 1282 (*ibid.*, 125), Ronksley Farm in the fifteenth century (*ibid.*, 125), Rowlee Farm in the fifteenth century (*ibid.*, 125), Westend Farm in 1285 (*ibid.*, 125), Fairholmes in 1507 (*ibid.*, 126), Gillethey Farm in 1557 (*ibid.*, 126), Grimbo Carr in the fifteenth century (*ibid.*, 127), Hagg Farm in the fifteenth century (*ibid.*, 127), Hucklow Lees Barn in 1556 (*ibid.*, 127), and Nether Ashop in 1577 (*ibid.*, 128). In Great Hucklow, Poyntoncross House was seemingly named for an owner recorded in 1442 (*ibid.*, 132). In Offerton, Kentney Barn was first recorded in the thirteenth century (*ibid.*, 155), Glover Barn in the sixteenth century (*ibid.*, 156), and Offerton Hall in 1339 (*ibid.*, 156). In Thornhill, Wigley Farm was first recorded in 1599 (*ibid.*, 172).

Highlow Hall was occupied by the family of Archer, before coming into the occupation of the Eyre family (Lysons and Lysons 1817). Hope Hall was the seat of the family of Balguy (Lysons and Lysons 1817). Archer, Eyre and Balguy were hereditary foresters who were recorded in 1285 with landholdings formed from the royal manor of Hope in exchange for their forest service (Kerry 1893, 80-85). By holding independent farmsteads in return for forest service, these hereditary foresters were akin to *franklins* (discussed in Chapter 1).

Although a number of the larger settlements in the parish had open fields, the smaller sites (such as Offerton and Highlow) appear to have had arable enclosures. The independent farmsteads also were situated within enclosures, some of which (from evidence such as the lack of ridge and furrow and steep terrain) may have been entirely dedicated to pastoral farming; as discussed in the methodology drawing a distinction between arable and pastoral enclosures is difficult.

Three known medieval mills were located within Hope parish. A corn mill was located at Hope itself, first recorded in 1455 (DHER: 8159; Cameron 1959, 121), another at Highlow (DHER: 7810), and one at Brough, first recorded in 1195 (DHER: 2623; Cameron 1959, 50). A number of medieval chapels were located within the parish. One of these was located at Jaggers Clough in the north of Hope parish (DHER: 8118). A second chapel was located at Birchinlee, halfway between the first chapel and Hope village (DHER: 8232). Both of these sites were thought to have been monastic chapels operated by Welbeck Abbey (DHER: 8118, 8232). Neither are still standing. 500m south of Hope was an area called Eccles, which is understood to denote a Romano-British Christian church (Mills 2011, 170), but could also have been an open-air preaching site.

Despite the association between the Derbyshire Peak and lead mining, the HER database records only one medieval mine network within Hope parish, the site of Cop Rake close to the border with Castleton (DHER: 2253). Furthermore, a lead working site was located at Eccles Lane in Hope (DHER: 8168). Lead mines recorded in the OS maps of the nineteenth century demonstrate large lead resources south-west of Hope which seemingly were not exploited during the medieval period. In the north of the parish, a medieval quarry was located in the Alport Valley in Hope Woodlands (DHER: 34442).

There was a significant pre-medieval settlement within the parish, which may have influenced the pattern of medieval settlement. As well as an Iron Age hillfort in the south of the parish at Burr Tor, Hucklow (DHER: 6303), a Roman fort of Brough, *Navio* was located only 1.1km to the south-east of Hope village (DHER: 8108). The fort had an attached *vicus*, a civilian settlement (DHER: 2612, 8155), and a possible bathhouse (DHER: 8109). The siting of a Roman fort and settlement and a major Anglo-Saxon estate centre, to important central places, in such close proximity, was perhaps not a coincidence; this can be compared with the previous example of Mansfield (Chapter 5). Jones and Page (2006, 65) infer that medieval territories were based on prehistoric and Roman arrangements, with centres of power surviving in the landscape over long periods due to new elites seeking legitimacy. The positioning of the Roman settlement at Brough relative to the open fields of Hope, Aston, and Thornhill allows the possibility that this agricultural area was influenced by the bounds of an earlier agricultural area attached to the Roman fort and

settlement. A further Romano-British settlement was located close to Bradwell (DHER: 7623). A series of Bronze Age cairns were located at Highlow Bank with an attached field system (DHER: 7805; NMR: SK 28 SW 17), although this does not appear to have influenced the pattern of medieval settlement.

Castleton

The medieval town of Castleton, first recorded in 1285 (it had been recorded as Pechesers in 1086 [Morris 1978, 7.7]) was surrounded by open fields to its north, which connected with the open fields of Hope, forming a large single area of open fields that incorporated Castleton, Hope, Aston, and Thornhill.

Several independent farmsteads and hamlets were recorded in the parish of Castleton. These included, around Castleton itself, Treak Cliff, first recorded in 1285 (Cameron 1959, 57), Riding House and Winnats both recorded in the fourteenth century (*ibid.*, 57) Knowlegate and Redseats both in the fifteenth century (*ibid.*, 56, 58), and Woodseats in the sixteenth century (*ibid.*, 58). Spittal, the site of a medieval hospital, was recorded first in 1300 (*ibid.*, 57). Within Edale, the site of Barber Booth was first recorded in 1579 (*ibid.*, 87), Grindsbrook Booth in 1342 (*ibid.*, 88), Ollerbrook Booth in 1561 (*ibid.*, 88), and Nether Booth in 1577 (*ibid.*, 88). Treak Cliff was land held by the Forester family (Kerry 1893, 82), who held Treak Cliff in exchange for service within the forest (*ibid.*, 82). A medieval corn mill was recorded at Castleton (DHER: 3331), the first reference to which was made in 1243 (Stroud 2002 8). The parish contained extensive lead mining; the HER database records 24 groups of medieval *plumbaria* within Castleton, including Odin Mine and Blue John Mine (DHER: 33112), no other parish in Derbyshire has more than 3 recorded medieval lead mine networks. As such, Castleton appears to have been a major centre of the medieval lead mining industry. Despite this, numbers of lead mines recorded in the OS maps of the nineteenth century were far higher in Hope than Castleton, suggesting that the scale of medieval mining activity in Castleton was selective rather than dictated only by the size of the available lead resources. It is also possible however that the Hope resources were only exploitable with later technology, or that later mining in Hope has destroyed the evidence for earlier

activity. In the north of the parish, a fourteenth-century iron working site was located at Grindsbrook, Edale (DHER: 5018). A number of medieval quarries were located in the south-east area of the parish (DHER: 33191, 33160, 33159, 33145, 33192, 33143, 33145, 33154, 33161, 33185, 33144). Two medieval lime kilns were located around Castleton, at Dirtlow Rake (DHER: 33185) and near Peak Cavern (DHER: 33161), both locations of mining.

Like in Hope parish, pre-medieval sites may have influenced the pattern of medieval settlement in Castleton. Around 2km north-west of the town of Castleton was a Bronze Age to Iron Age hillfort and settlement on Mam Tor, with associated barrow burials (DHER: 3319). At only 5km to the west of Hope, this can be suggested as an earlier stage in the succession of central places, from Mam Tor hillfort, to Brough-Navio Roman fort, to Hope Anglo-Saxon royal estate centre.

Peak Forest

Peak Forest, not to be confused with the Forest of High Peak, was an extra-parochial area set within the Forest of High Peak (Youngs 1991, 82). The area was theoretically the primary royal deer park of the forest (Bulmer 1895, 144); it was from here for example that in 1251 the Earl of Derby and his companions were accused of taking two thousand heads of deer during his tenure as bailiff (MacGregor 1985, 34; Cox 1905, 155). It is not clear whether the park had a formal boundary at this stage; in 1579, in a final attempt to preserve the Forest of High Peak, Peak Forest was recorded being fully emparked with a fenced boundary (Barnatt and Smith 2004, 93). Nonetheless, like much of the rest of the forests, this too was a settled and worked landscape. The chamber of the foresters, Chamber Farm, was first recorded in 1383 (DHER: 11656; Cameron 1959, 159). The settlement of Old Dam was first recorded in 1405 (*ibid.*, 161); it is not clear whether the arable fields which surround the settlement were ever part of an open field, due to the late creation of the settlement. Medieval independent sites were incorporated neatly into this field system, with aligning boundaries, and it is possible that this system was a series of high medieval or late medieval arable enclosures. The modern settlement named Peak Forest is of uncertain date and it is not clear when the

settlement was first recorded; there is confusion between references to the settlement of Peak Forest, the extra-parochial area of Peak Forest, and the Forest of High Peak itself, which is often also called Peak Forest (see for example Cameron 1959, 159). Burton (1966, 41) suggests that the hamlet of Peak Forest began after the creation of the foresters' chambers. Several independent farmsteads existed within the area; Beytonsdale was recorded first in 1306 (Cameron 1959, 159), Kempshill Farm in 1281 (*ibid.*, 159), Barmoor in 1285 (*ibid.*, 160), Dam Dale in 1538 (*ibid.*, 160), and Eldon Hole in 1577 (*ibid.*, 160). Similar to Peak Forest, Macclesfield Forest also had a hamlet called Macclesfield Forest, where the foresters' chamber was located (Barnatt and Smith 2004, 93). Three groups of medieval lead mines were located in the extra-parochial area of Peak Forest, Watt's Grove Mines (DHER: 11629), Wrangling Rake Mines (DHER: 11669), and Eldon Bent Mines (DHER: 11666).

The only example of a medieval barrow burial within the Dark Peak case study was found at Peak Forest. This was a Bronze Age barrow which may have contained a secondary early medieval cremation burial (DHER: 11612). Aside from this possible example, early medieval barrow burials are not found in this case study, despite the large number of prehistoric barrows. This is quite unlike the White Peak case study, which revealed a high number of early medieval and prehistoric barrows.

Two Iron Age areas of settlement (DHER: 11625, 11611) and a number of Bronze Age barrows were located within the extra-parochial area, although located in moorland and bearing little relation to medieval settlement.

Chapel-en-le-Frith

The medieval settlement within the parish of Chapel-en-le-Frith was dominated by independent farmsteads and small hamlets, with a higher concentration than any of the other parishes and chapelries examined in this thesis. These sites include Allstone Lee, first recorded in the reign of Henry III (Cameron 1959, 60), Bagshaw in 1251 (*ibid.*, 60), Bank Hall in 1339 (*ibid.*, 64), Bettfield Clough in 1480 (*ibid.*, 64), Bings in 1564 (*ibid.*, 64), Birch Farm in 1251 (*ibid.*, 60), Blackbrook in 1223 (*ibid.*, 61), Bowden in the reign off Henry III (*ibid.*, 61), Bowden Head in 1549 (*ibid.*, 64),

Bradshaw Hall in the reign of Henry III (*ibid.*, 61), Bridgefield House in 1588 (*ibid.*, 64), Castle Naze in 1266 (DHER: 3507), Chapel Milton in 1290 (Cameron 1959, 61), Combs in 1251 (*ibid.*, 61), Courses in 1285 (*ibid.*, 62), Digleach in 1584 (*ibid.*, 64), Eaves in 1484 (*ibid.*, 62), Eccles House in the reign of Henry III (*ibid.*, 62), Ford Hall in 1251 (*ibid.*, 64), Hallhill in 1484 (*ibid.*, 64), Hallsteads Farm in the reign of Henry III (*ibid.*, 62), Hazlehurst in 1330 (*ibid.*, 65), Heylees in 1251 (*ibid.*, 62), Hollinknoll in 1584 (*ibid.*, 65), Horderns in 1251 (*ibid.*, 62), Lidgate in 1477 (*ibid.*, 65), Malcoff in the reign of Henry III (*ibid.*, 62), Marsh Hall in 1285 (*ibid.*, 65), Martinside in 1285 (*ibid.*, 63), Newfield Far in 1558 (*ibid.*, 65), Ollenshaw Hall in 1251 (*ibid.*, 63), Ridge Hall in the reign of Henry III (*ibid.*, 65), Rushup in the reign of Henry III (*ibid.*, 63), Slackhall in 1285 (*ibid.*, 66), Stodhart Farm in 1504 (*ibid.*, 63), Stonyford in 1285 (*ibid.*, 66), Thorny Lee in 1251 (*ibid.*, 63), Tunstead in 1251 (*ibid.*, 63), Tunstead Milton in 1330 (*ibid.*, 63), Wainstones in 1285 (*ibid.*, 66), Warmbrook in the reign of Henry III (*ibid.*, 63), Wash in 1546 (*ibid.*, 66), Whitehills in 1251 (*ibid.*, 66), and Whitehough in 1251 (*ibid.*, 64).

Many of these sites were part of the holdings of important families within the Forest of High Peak. Bradshaw Hall was the seat of the Bradshaw family (Lysons and Lysons 1817, 70-89); Ford Hall was the seat of the family of Bagshawe (*ibid.*, 70-89); Ridge Hall was the seat of a second branch of the Bagshawes (*ibid.*, 70-89). Hallsteads Farm may have been connected with the Halstead family of Hopedale (Kerry 1893, 83). The Bagshawe and Halstead families were hereditary foresters who were recorded in 1285 with landholdings formed from the royal manor of Hope in exchange for their forest service (Kerry 1893, 82). These and the other forester families of Hope and Castleton will be returned to in Chapter 9.

The settlement of Chapel-en-le-Frith itself was first recorded under this name in 1241 (Cameron 1959, 60), and there is reason to doubt whether the settlement had existed at the time of Domesday Book, in which it was not recorded. The eponymous chapel of Chapel-en-le-Frith was reputedly constructed around 1225 by foresters of the Forest of High Peak, who purchased land from the Crown (Stroud 1999, 4). Records from 1249-54 state that fourteen burgesses and three tenements were established on a virgin spot (*ibid.*, 4), while further records asserted that this area had not been cultivated at the time of William Peverel (*ibid.*, 4). It is possible that the individuals holding burgess status at Chapel-en-le-Frith were

indeed the foresters. Chapel-en-le-Frith had reportedly been previously known as Bowden (Burton 1966, 37), and was perhaps a hamlet that was substantially expanded in the High Medieval Period. What appears to have been a small area of open field farming was located immediately north of the settlement, which appeared to have stretched to Bowden Edge (Stenton 2016, 6). Otherwise, the settlement was surrounded by independent farmsteads, and a large number of enclosures. The majority of the farmsteads in this area appear to have been set within irregular fields, likely of pastoral use, and potentially of ancient origin. Aside from the main settlement of Chapel-en-le-Frith, hamlets within the parish seemingly also had attached enclosures rather than open fields; where open fields are found they were surrounded by potentially arable enclosures and contained isolated farmsteads, and perhaps were the result pre-existing areas of enclosures being converted to open fields. Some of the enclosures may have been used for arable agriculture, but a large number were likely used for pasture given the pastoral history of the area. As outlined in the methodology, however, determining which fields were used for arable or pastoral use is a matter of interpretation and may in practice be an artificial distinction.

A medieval chapel-of-ease was possibly located close to Whaley Bridge, west of the settlement of Chapel-en-le-Frith (DHER: 14913). Also to the west of Chapel-en-le-Frith was a location called Eccles, as was also found near Hope, where a Romano-British church or preaching site may have been located (Mills 2011, 170). A medieval water-powered corn mill was located at Tunstead Milton, which was first recorded in 1330 (DHER: 3534; Cameron 1959, 63). The site of Chapel Milton also almost certainly also had a medieval mill, and was first recorded in 1290; the name "Chapel" was presumably to distinguish it from Tunstead Milton (Cameron 1959, 61). No medieval lead mines are recorded by the HER database in the parish, and the lack also of lead mines recorded in the OS maps of the nineteenth century in the same area would suggest that this was due to a lack of lead resources in Chapel-en-le-Frith. A lead working site may have existed at Bole Hill, close to Ford Hall; the name Bole Hill is understood to refer to a hill where lead smelting took place (Neaverson and Palmer 1994, 83).

Within moorland in the south of the parish, an Iron Age hillfort had existed at the site of Castle Naze (DHER: 3510), together with a number of Bronze Age barrows

dotted around the east of the parish recorded by the HER database, and seen in Figure 163.

6.2.2 Settlement Plan Analysis

Hope

The settlement of Hope consists of a circular churchyard with a road fully encircling it; the plan of the settlement is presented in Figure 167. Immediately running northwards from the church is a linear settlement, with signs of regularity and planning. The settlement lies in the upper part of a long valley that runs to the east. The settlement is the location of a known Anglo-Saxon royal estate centre (Morris 1978, 1.29) and the centre of what was originally a significant parish (Burton 1966, 20) and may therefore have been the site of a minster church.

Hope Castle was located close to the church and was constructed in the eleventh century (DHER: 8111). The placement of Hope Castle and the church very close together makes it highly probable that the origins of the settlement began as a church and manorial *curia* complex which expanded following the nucleation of settlement after the eighth century. In the centre of the settlement was Hope Hall. Permission was granted by Edward I for the construction of Hope Hall by the Balguy family in December 1272 (Paul 2012, 62). This building was later knocked down and was replaced by another hall in the same location (*ibid.*, 62). There is no evidence that the Balguy family were ever lords of the manor of Hope, which appears to have remained royal demesne throughout the medieval period (Lysons and Lysons 1817, 70-89).

Three settlement plots at the time of the OS maps of the nineteenth century had widths of around 18m, corresponding to around three 20-foot perches. Another plot of 36m may represent the merging of two plots of three 20-foot perches. In terms of length the settlement plots were more variable; on the west side of the settlement the west end of the tenements tapered to the west, so that the tenements at the north end were longer than those at the south. Therefore, while the settlement plots were laid out with a degree of regularity, they were not precisely equal. The

eastern side of the settlement had been more extensively redeveloped before the nineteenth century, leaving no possible medieval tenement boundaries. At the northern end of the settlement was Hope Mill (DHER: 8123), first recorded in 1455 (Cameron 1959, 121). The settlement had undergone significant retraction by the nineteenth century, compared to its depiction in Burdett's (1975) map of the eighteenth century.

Within the same group of open fields as Hope was the settlement of Aston. Aston was a linear settlement which appears to have been greatly reduced between the medieval period and the OS maps of the nineteenth century; the plan of the settlement is presented in Figure 168. The outlines of former parallel tenement plots at Aston can be noted, as at Hope. Due to tapering, the lengths of the plots were between 250m and 290m in length on the south side of the settlement, and, from the limited boundaries which remained, were between 240m and 270m on the north side. Due to the degree of subdivision, no original plots can be determined, and the field lines that did survive in the nineteenth century were not straight and tapered indicating that the settlement was never neatly arranged. Measured at the end, one plot measured around 36m, possibly indicating what had been two plots of three 20-foot perches, as at Hope. No other plots however appear to correlate with these measurements. Therefore, although the tenements were arranged in parallel along the main road of the settlement, it is questionable whether any coordinated effort to plan the settlement ever occurred.

The linear settlement of Little Hucklow contained irregular plots, laid around what in the nineteenth-century OS maps can be determined as a long green which ran east-west through the middle of the settlement. The plan of the settlement is presented in Figure 169. It appears that originally this green space was much wider; the original settlement tenements appear in the nineteenth century to be set back, with later (possibly post-medieval) settlement which had developed over the green situated in front of the original tenements. The potential original tenements which can be determined lack regularity. At the nearby settlement of Grindlow, although no likely medieval tenement boundaries can be outlined, the settlement itself was laid out around a central knoll, further demonstrating the association with greens within a number of the secondary settlements around Hope. The plan of the settlement is presented in Figure 170.

In the south-west of the parish, the settlement of Abney in the nineteenth-century OS maps contained what may be four original tenements, each originally 183m in length, which is equal to 30 20-foot perches, but of irregular widths. No other possible medieval tenements can be determined in the rest of the settlement. The plan of the settlement is presented in Figure 171. No medieval settlement plots can be determined within Great Hucklow, Thornhill or Bradwell, which have irregular plans.

Castleton

Castleton is a small town located at the foot of a cliff on which sits Peveril Castle, overlooking the town; the plan of the settlement is presented in Figure 172. There is a degree of controversy over the name *Pechesers*, which was recorded in Domesday Book (Morris 1978, 7.7). Cameron (1959, 56) classifies this Domesday entry as referring to Peak Cavern, immediately beside Castleton, and argues the name is derived from "Peak's Arse", because the cavern was recorded as *Divillsarse* in 1630 and *Peak's Ars* in 1636. It is possible however that "*Pechesers*" did not refer to the cavern but was an earlier name for Castleton itself, which otherwise was not recorded in Domesday Book. *Pechesers* was recorded in Domesday Book with a castle (Morris 1978, 7.7), which may have been Peveril Castle, supporting the connection with Castleton. Accordingly, the comparison between *Pechesers* and "Peak's Arse" is unsupported, and its true origin is unknown. One hypothesis that may be suggested here is that *Pechesers* was a corruption of *Pechester*, from Old English *Peac-cæster*, or "Peak fort" (compare with *Peac Lond*, a name for the Peak recorded in 924 [Cameron 1959, 1] and *cæster*, an Old English reference to the site of a Roman station or fort [Mills 2011, 520]), especially because of the site's close relation to the Brough-*Navio* Roman fort and settlement. Like the origin of its name, the nature and size of any Anglo-Saxon settlement at Castleton is currently unknown. An extensive series of test-pitting took place at Castleton in 2012 and found post-Conquest medieval pottery, but no early medieval pottery. A partial human skeleton was found during the test-pitting which was radiocarbon-dated to between AD 721 and 924 (Bevan and Curtis 2013, 7), which indicates that there was certainly early medieval human activity at the site. During the early Norman

period, under the possession of William Peverel, the settlement underwent a radical reorganisation as a planned borough. Within two centuries after the Conquest, the settlement had planned plots, a market, Peveril Castle (DHER: 3325), and a Norman church (Burton 1966, 35), and the settlement was recorded as a borough by 1196 (Beresford and Finberg 1973, 85). A fair was recorded at the settlement in 1215, while the market was first recorded in 1223 (Letters 2005); the town had been a borough since at least 1196 (*ibid.*). The town ditch has partially survived at the south-east corner of the settlement and can be largely reconstructed (DHER: 3324; Stroud 2002, 16). There was a hall or manor house within the town, recorded in 1323 (Stroud 2002, 6), the location of which can be approximately determined in the north-west of the town (*ibid.*, 15). Immediately outside the town was a mill (*ibid.*, 6) and a medieval hospital (*ibid.*, 16). No medieval guilds were known within the town (see Peak District National Park Authority 2010; Stroud 2002).

By overlaying a plan of Castleton of 1841 (from Peak District National Park Authority 2010, 4) onto the OS maps of the late nineteenth century, several possible burgage plots can be outlined on the west side of the settlement, although of variable sizes, ranging from 50m to 65m.

Peak Forest

Peak Forest is a settlement said to have grown around the forester's chambers, the earliest recorded evidence of which is in 1383 (Burton 1966, 41; Cameron 1959, 159). The plan of the settlement is presented in Figure 173. Within the settlement of Peak Forest, the nineteenth-century OS maps show two standing churches located closely together; capturing the moment when the older church was being dismantled and a new church was being built partially using the fabric of the seventeenth-century church (Pevsner 2002, 297). According to Cox (1905, 151-152) the first chapel at the site was built before that of Chapel-en-le-Frith, which was constructed in 1225. David Hey (2014, 46) suggests a different view, that whilst the church that the foresters had previously patronised was at Chapel-en-le-Frith, their hall was at Chamber Farm in Peak Forest. Seeking to rectify this situation, Gervase de Bernake, the bailiff of the forest, oversaw the construction of a new chapel at

Peak Forest in the 1250s specifically for the use of the forest officials (*ibid.*, 46). This was likely on the same site as where the current church sits. The church actually lies at some distance from the forester's hall at Chamber Farm, and was likely the focus that the settlement of Peak Forest developed around. There is otherwise no indication that the settlement existed before 1348.

Chapel-en-le-Frith

Chapel-en-le-Frith was a settlement on an east-west axis and laid out along a long green; the plan of the settlement is presented in Figure 174. Before the construction of the chapel the settlement was apparently known as Bowden (Cox 1905, 151-152). In the early thirteenth century a number of forest officials lived around Bowden, located three miles to the north-west of their hall at Peak Forest. In 1220 the officials were successful in seeking permission from the Earl of Derby, William de Ferrers, to build a chapel at Bowden for their use (Burton 1966, 37; Hey 2014, 46). It is said by several authors (Burton 1966, 37; Smith 2009, 1) that from this point the chapel acted as a settlement focus around which the settlement grew rapidly.

Analysis of the chapel's positioning however makes this questionable. The chapel was located peripherally at the north-east end of the village, seemingly slotted into a pre-existing settlement structure, in a position not expected if the settlement grew around the church. The primary focus within the settlement appeared to be the central market place. On this evidence, it can be proposed that by the early thirteenth century the settlement was already laid out in its current plan. Instead, it appears more likely that a contemporary record was correct in saying that the number of settlers at Bowden "had become so numerous" that a chapel was necessary (Eardley 2009). The most curious element of the church's creation was that it had been funded by foresters of the Forest of High Peak. Their motive for this act of patronage will be analysed further in Chapters 7 and 8. A market was first recorded at the settlement in 1497 (Letters 2005).

6.2.3 The Built Environment

Hope

The present Church of St Peter at Hope (see Figure 175) includes a fourteenth-century tower, although it was later partially rebuilt. The chancel is Victorian but the piscina and sedilia date to 1300 or soon after (Pevsner 2002, 247). The manor was nominally a royal demesne; the Balguy family, who were landowners in the parish, had their hall at Hope (Lysons and Lysons 1817, 79-89). The construction of Hope Hall was ongoing during the fourteenth century by the Balguy family (Paul 2012, 62). This building work was broadly contemporary with the construction work within the church, and as a result the Balguy family may have also had responsibility for patronising the church.

Also found at Hope are two thirteenth-century monuments to officials of the Forest of High Peak (Pevsner 2002, 247). Both depict hunting horns and hence are possibly monuments to foresters-of-fee; one of the two also depicts a sword demonstrating that the deceased was also a knight (Cox 1905, 153) (see Figure 176).

Castleton

The church of St Edmund at Castleton as it exists today (see Figure 177) includes a Norman chancel, nave windows with late thirteenth-century tracery, and a perpendicular west tower (Pevsner 2002, 123). The remains of Peverel Castle similarly include masonry from the eleventh century (*ibid.*, 298). This construction work in the church was broadly contemporary with Peveril Castle which was first constructed before 1086 (DHER: 3325), while the town had achieved borough status by 1196 (Beresford and Finberg 1973, 85), supporting the notion that Castleton underwent a phase of borough planning under the patronage of William Peverel.

Chapel-en-le-Frith

The eponymous chapel at Chapel-en-le-Frith is dedicated to St Thomas Beckett (see Figure 178). The current church is quite large and is mostly of the early fourteenth century, with the nave and aisles constituting of four aisles, and the chancel arch being of the same date (Pevsner 2002, 124-125). The font is fifteenth-century (*ibid.*). In 1318 the Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield conferred upon the chapel the right to perform baptisms and burials, and therefore it was likely raised at this point to the status of a parochial chapel of Hope (Burton 1966, 37; Bulmer 1895, 144). The chapel's rebuilding may have been in light of this new status. It is known that in 1591 the church building at Chapel-en-le-Frith was in use as a court room (Bulmer 1895, 145); in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the swainmote courts for Longdendale were held at Chapel-en-le-Frith, and hence the church may have been used as a court room for this purpose (Cox 1905, 152).

Within the churchyard of Chapel-en-le-Frith is a ninth- or tenth-century cross which was moved from beside Eccles Road, in the west of the parish (DHER: 3521). This can be compared with a cross noted at Eccles, south of Hope, in the OS maps of the nineteenth century; these crosses may have marked ancient early medieval preaching sites.

6.3. Conclusion

The Derbyshire case studies have revealed significant differences in settlement and society between the Derbyshire Peak and the Nottinghamshire area of Sherwood and the Trent Valley. The Derbyshire Peak was one of the most industrial landscapes in medieval England, with a significant lead mining industry, apparently centred on Castleton. Just as in the Nottinghamshire case study, large parts of the Dark Peak case study within the Forest of High Peak were royal demesne. Some parts of this were detached in the creation of new holdings, often granted to families who served as hereditary foresters.

The settlement and landscape of the Forest of High Peak is marked by a great degree of continuity. Ancient settlement features such as hillforts and Roman settlements appear to have helped shaped the positioning of medieval settlement, even into the period of Forest Law. A continuity can be seen in the succession of central places, from Mam Tor hillfort, to Brough-*Navio* Roman fort and settlement, to Hope Anglo-Saxon estate centre, to Castleton Norman borough. This continuation renders it highly unlikely that the Dark Peak saw a complete abandonment of settlement in the wake of the Roman period. The case studies also reveal a range of settlements in existence from at least late in the Anglo-Saxon period, at a level which indicate that the almost complete lack of PAS material from the Derbyshire Peak is disproportionately low.

The settlement pattern of the Derbyshire case studies is one marked by dispersed settlement as much as nucleated settlement. Nucleated settlements did exist, especially within the White Peak case study where these formed the majority of settlement, but also in the Dark Peak case study where significant settlements such as Hope and Aston had open fields. Elsewhere within the Dark Peak case study, such as in Chapel-en-le-Frith, and parts of Hope parish, large numbers of independent farmsteads existed, a settlement pattern possibly partly ancient in origin. It should not be assumed that the individual farmsteads were themselves necessarily of ancient origin, but that a pre-existing pattern of dispersed settlement continued to exist and evolve. The occupiers of these independent farmsteads in the included several hereditary foresters-of-fee in Hope, Castleton, and Chapel-en-le-Frith, who held their land in return for their service within the forest, and it may be expected that other foresters held similar independent farmsteads in other parishes. It is possible that new farmsteads were created through individual action during the medieval period.

Chapter 7: *Pays*, Industry, and Settlement Dynamics in Medieval Sherwood and the Peak, 650-1348

The natural landscape (in terms of terrain heights and geology) was used in Chapter 3 to break Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire into three distinct *pays*; three areas of broadly distinct landscape type. The rest of Chapters 3 and 4, and to some extent the case studies, used this research paradigm to approach patterns of settlement and material culture discard within the forests of High Peak and Sherwood and their surrounding areas. This approach was taken in order to compare the relationship between the natural landscape, the forest boundaries, and patterns of settlement.

The three *pays* employed in this research are not without precedent. Oliver Creighton (1998, 16-26) for instance in his study of castles in Yorkshire and the East Midlands divides his study area, including Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire, into *pays* which include the Trent Vale (broadly contiguous with the Trent Valley *Pays*), the Pennine Peaks (broadly contiguous with the Peak and Uplands *Pays*), the Central Sand/Limestone Belt (broadly contiguous with the East Derbyshire and Sherwood Plateau *Pays*) and the South Derbyshire Lowlands (an area incorporated in this research into the Trent Valley *Pays*).

The use of the *pays* model has yielded important findings. It was very clear that the forest boundaries were largely not determined by landscape character, at least not by the criteria for assessing landscape character within this research, but rather that another feature of the natural landscape, rivers, were used to define the forest boundaries, as well as sometimes roads. The *pays* model furthermore demonstrated that patterns of settlement did not conform to the forest boundaries, but rather patterns of settlement showed more relationship with the natural *pays* (though were not necessarily *determined* by the landscape). Indeed, the Peak and Uplands *Pays* corresponds to the only part of Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire found outside of Roberts and Wrathmell's (2003; 2000) "central zone" of nucleated settlement. The *pays* model can also be used to highlight similarity between these *pays* and other areas of related landscape type nationally; as will be discussed later in this chapter, great similarities can be noted between settlement in the claylands of the

Nottinghamshire Trent Valley and other clayland settlement such as is found in Suffolk and Lincolnshire.

There are limitations upon the use of the *pays* model. It must be acknowledged that the definition of *pays* requires interpretation, in the forms of evidence by which they are defined, in the number of *pays* that are defined, and in the placement of the boundaries. There is a great deal of transition between the *pays* zones that is not reflected by the sharp lines of the *pays* as depicted on a map (see Figure 8). The macro-regional analysis is limited by not being able to analyse the social fabric causing the broad trends that it reveals, which the more intensive micro-regional approach is designed to do.

The *pays* model has revealed a relationship between the natural landscape and broad patterns of settlement, but this should not be exaggerated. Inevitably this relationship was found to be simplistic within the results of the micro-regional case studies. The Peak and Uplands *Pays* was found to be a natural region with a high rate of dispersed settlement by the macro-regional analysis, yet the micro-regional case studies nonetheless explored a rich variety of settlements within this area, including nucleated villages with open fields; some of these, for example Taddington, showed a degree of regularity comparable with any in zones of more nucleated settlement. A range of nucleated villages with open fields have been explored within the Forest of High Peak itself. Clearly then, the use of the *pays* model and the macro-scale analysis more generally was very useful, though the trends which emerge need to be qualified with the nuance and more detailed understanding of the micro-regional approach. In other cases, the interpretations of the macro-regional approach to the landscape were shown to contradict the micro-regional approach. The broad analysis of major place names (parish names) found few names with Old Norse influence in either the Forest of High Peak or Sherwood Forest, yet more detailed study of secondary place names within both revealed that Old Norse influence had indeed been present.

The case study chapters of this thesis have presented a range of evidence for industry and settlement organisation. This chapter will develop these themes through comparison with other areas within the locality and previous research such as on other areas afforested in the medieval period, such as the Forest of Rockingham, the Forest of Dean, the New Forest, and the resource-rich but non-

afforested areas of the Weald (which did contain afforested areas such as Ashdown Forest) and Arden (see Figure 179). Chapter 1 has already presented the key findings of previous research on royal forests, and settlements and landscapes in general; this chapter will discuss more specific previous findings on the themes of industry and settlement, and draw comparisons with the evidence found in this thesis. The themes to be explored will include the types and scale of industry in forest areas, the existence and development of ancient common rights over areas subsequently covered by Forest Law, the development of settlements with greens and what link they may have had to the *sokeman* class of peasants, and finally the ways in which the forest administration could impact on the physical development of settlements.

7.1 Industry and Farming in Forest Landscapes

Areas designated as under Forest Law were very commonly industrialised landscapes. Not only did the forests contain a high degree of arable and pastoral farming, but also a range of specialised industries and crafts. The parish case studies highlighted a few major industries within the forests of High Peak and Sherwood. This section will take this analysis further by analysing the scale of these medieval industries through documentary sources and draw comparisons with what has been found in other industrial landscapes in previous research, many of which are forests. Rockingham Forest will be seen to have been highly important primarily for its iron industry, but also for its lime burning, tanning, and pottery industries. The Weald is the source of another important medieval iron industry, but also had a significant industry in glass production. Yet another important iron industry is found in the Forest of Dean, where charcoal and timber production were also significant forest industries.

7.1.1 Iron

Study of Rockingham Forest by Glenn Foard (2001) has demonstrated the presence of a significant iron industry, with extraction of iron ore and iron-working beginning in the Iron Age and developing into a significant medieval industry (*ibid.*, 47). By the post-Conquest period Rockingham Forest had one of the largest iron industries in England, and although comparisons are difficult, seemingly almost on a scale with the Forest of Dean and the Weald (*ibid.*, 65).

Foard (2001) argues for there being three types of distribution of smelting and smithing slag. The first being small scatters of iron slag in the valleys of Rockingham Forest, such as in the open fields of Bulwick, and on the clay land, like at Brigstock. Some of this distribution could be accounted for by ploughing activity, such as manuring, truncating the iron slag deposits and spreading them into the fields, but Foard argues that this does not account for most of the dispersed slag. Foard (2001, 67) considers that it may indicate a medieval agricultural expansion over the sites of earlier settlements dedicated to iron working. The second distribution type is made up of more intense concentrations of slag, in areas where fieldwalking is not possible, which are found across the Forest but again mainly in the valleys and clayland (*ibid.*, 67). These concentrations were the result of individual sites with furnaces, such as a small but dense concentration at Easton Maudit (4m by 7m, with a further diffused area spreading 20m by 28m) (*ibid.*). The third type are large slag heaps, often over 20m across, and in the case of Laxton parish, in a valley with Roman slag deposits adding up to 10 000 cubic metres and indicating thousands of individual smeltings (*ibid.*, 67-68).

Foard (2001, 68) summarises that in the Roman, Saxon and post-Conquest periods the intensity and scale of the iron industry in Rockingham Forest was seemingly far in excess of the rest of the surrounding region, even before afforestation. Foard (*ibid.*, 90) argues even that the iron and charcoal industries were large enough to influence the pattern of settlement in Rockingham. The scale of the industry before afforestation may be indicative of the industry being directly or indirectly part of the area's selection as a Norman forest.

The Forest of Dean was one of the major sources of iron ore in medieval England; iron production was an industry that was active in the area from the Iron Age through to the post-medieval period (Wren 2015, 65-74; Nicholls 1866, 27-82). LiDAR analysis has identified sixteen possible iron-working sites and fourteen possible further slag heaps in the forest area (Hoyle and Butler 2004; Hoyle 2008). Wren (2015, 65-74) examines the iron industry within the Forest of Dean and notes in particular the role that the monks of Flaxley Abbey played in the industry, who operated a number of forges within the bounds of the forest and obtained grants for the right to extract iron ore. This bears similarities to Cartmel Abbey in Cumbria and Hailes Abbey in Gloucestershire which generated a lot of their income from mining and metalworking (Havins 1976, 57). Flaxley Abbey was one of two major instigators of the Dean iron industry, the other being the Malemort family, whose role eventually grew to being the primary iron producer (Havins 1976, 57). The iron industry was large and lucrative enough to attract the attention of the forest administration, as *cheminage* (the toll paid for carts to travel through the forest) was levied in the Forest of Dean not only on wood but also on loads of coal and iron ore (Grant 1991, 102). Several of the wardens of the Forest of Dean were involved in mining on land owned by Flaxley Abbey, until the abbot appealed to the king that the rights to mine were actually his (Young 1979, 111).

Sweeting (1944, 2) records historical sources which note that in the early years after the Norman Conquest the largest supplier of iron to London was the Forest of Dean, which was perhaps because the Forest of Dean was previously an important supplier to the much closer Wessex and Winchester. After 1200, the difficulties caused by the physical distance from the Forest of Dean to London led to an expansion in the industry of the Weald (*ibid.*). Sweeting (1944, 2) reports orders from the Weald from 1253 of 12 000 nails, and from 1254 orders of 60 000 nails and 30 000 horse shoes. By the years 1330, 1331, and 1332, the Weald iron industry was producing 194, 224, and 231 blooms of iron respectively (*ibid.*). The Weald, although never afforested in its entirety, was a highly industrialised landscape. Its iron industry had been active from prehistory, through the Roman period, to the medieval period (Hodgkinson 2000; Cleere and Crossley 1995). Although the industry grew especially after 1200, the iron works were already considerable enough to be mentioned in Domesday Book (Brandon 1969, 139).

The micro-regional analysis did not reveal evidence for iron production within the specific areas of the case studies, although an iron working site was discussed at Grindsbrook, Edale, near Castleton (DHER: 5018). The king issued permits, essentially franchises, to operate iron forges within forests, and this monopoly was defended by punishing those who operated forges without permit (Grant 1991, 114; Young 1979, 111). The right to operate itinerant forges was granted within Sherwood Forest (Cox 1905, 8). A forge near Papplewick was established by the canons of the priory at Newstead, and later was granted to Lenton Priory (Gill 1916). The foresters often used the services of such forges (Grant 1991, 114).

An important class of people in the Forest of Dean mining industry were the freeminers. They are recorded as gaining the right to mine for iron ore as a reward for their service as sappers in the wars in Wales and the Continent in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries (Havins 1976, 42). However, Havins (*ibid.*) contends that they had probably been exercising this right for a long time already, and this grant was merely an official recognition of what was already tradition. A freeminer had the right to apply for a gale, an area which was his to individually mine, and royalties from this were collected for the King by the Gaveller (*ibid.*, 43). There were similar cases of miners elsewhere in the country, ones who even acted as sappers in times of conflict, who were not granted the status of freeminers; Havins (*ibid.*, 58) attributes the key difference to these other miners not operating in a royal forest.

7.1.2 Lead

The Peak region was a resource-rich landscape with many opportunities for mining; predominantly lead mining. Lead mining in the Peak was well-established before the medieval period, with the Roman centre for this industry at *Lutudarum*, possibly at the site of modern Wirksworth (Barnatt and Smith 2004, 49; Shone 2009). A number of locally excavated Roman lead pigs have been associated with this industry, including some with Latin inscriptions, although the exact mines where this Roman extraction took place are not yet known. No Roman activity has yet been found within a mine, perhaps due to being destroyed by later mining activity at the same site (Barnatt 1999).

The ninth-century lead mines of Wirksworth must have had a significant lead output as they were providing lead to the value of 300 shillings to Christ Church, Canterbury annually in 835 (Hart 1975, 102). The manor of Wirksworth came under Scandinavian influence in 874 when Repton Abbey, to which the manor of Wirksworth was attached, was overtaken by Norse invaders. The mines were then under the control of the Scandinavian puppet monarch Ceowulf, and thereafter remained property of the Crown (Ford and Rieuwerts 1968, 9). Odin Mine near Castleton was by tradition also operated through Norse rule (*ibid.*). In the Early Medieval Period the lead was utilised especially by ecclesiastical institutions, to which the lead was exported through the Trent and Humber river systems (Loveluck 2013, 187; Blanchard 2001a, 517). Blanchard's (*ibid.*, 532) research has suggested that the mines were inactive from ninth to the early eleventh centuries. In the eleventh century, Blanchard (*ibid.*) suggests that the mines again went into decline, with competition from mines at Rammelsberg in the Harz, Lower Saxony.

Domesday Book records the royal manor of Wirksworth as containing three lead mines (Morris 1978, 1.13), and one each at Bakewell (*ibid.*, 1.12), Ashford (*ibid.*, 1.28), and Matlock (*ibid.*, 1.12). The manor of Hope was not recorded a having any mines, but in 1066 Hope, Bakewell and Ashford were together required to pay £30, 5 ½ sesters of honey and five wagon-loads of 50 lead sheets annually, suggesting a substantial lead industry. In 1086 this was replaced by a single payment of £10 6s (*ibid.*, 1.29). The manors of Darley, Matlock, Wirksworth, Ashbourne, and Parwich were recorded paying 40 pounds of "*puri argenti*", or pure silver, annually, which Allen (2011, 115) suggests was possibly derived from lead mining; this will be discussed further below. The only non-royal mines found in Derbyshire in Domesday Book are at Crich and Shuckstonfield where Ralph son of Hubert held one lead mine (Morris 1978, 10.11). Ford and Rieuwerts (1968, 9) argue that what Domesday Book recorded may in fact have been smelting sites rather than the mines themselves, which were far more numerous. This would correlate with the findings from Hope in Chapter 6, where a lead working site was found but almost no lead mines.

Numerous medieval *plumbaria* were located within the Derbyshire Peak, as recorded within the HER database, shown in Figure 180. In addition, several lead working sites are recorded by the database and these are also recorded in Figure 180. A trend

is apparent whereby medieval lead mines and lead-working sites are not found in the same parish (with the exception of Cop Mine in Hope). This continues the observation made in Chapter 7 that the vast majority of mines were in Castleton and Peak Forest, with only one in Hope, yet Hope contained the only lead-working site in the case study. Similarly, the only other known lead-working sites recorded in the Derbyshire HER database, two in Eyam and two in Hathersage, are parishes without recorded medieval lead mines. This could indicate that those extracting the lead ore and those working the lead were two differentiated industries and two separate communities. Barnatt and Smith (2004, 52) argue that the location of some settlements was influenced by the placement of lead ore, as discovered in Rockingham by Foard (2001, 90). However, the number of known earthwork sites not in the middle of the lead ore rich areas of the limestone plateau suggest that agriculture was the primary factor in their location (*ibid.*).

Blanchard (2001b, 568) suggests there was growth in Derbyshire's mines after 1077 with the collapse of the Harz mines in Lower Saxony. New attempts were made to mine lead in Derbyshire in the late twelfth century, and the industry which had been foremost in the southern Peak and around Wirksworth was now concentrated in the High Peak. The mines of Tideslow Rake were producing 300 *carretatis* of lead (from 2,600 loads of lead ore) annually in 1195 and the industry continued to expand until the reign of King John when it entered decline (*ibid.*). This decline saw the peak of 5,000 loads of lead ore annually fall to a mere 500 loads by 1216, and further to 480 loads in 1242 (*ibid.*, 807). A recovery initially occurred with new workings at Hucklow and then continued with expansion at Wardlowe, which resulted in a peak of 1,800 wagonloads in 1256-7. This recovery was short lived and the industry entered another decline, with around 1,300 loads of lead ore produced in 1284-5, falling to around 520 loads in 1295-6. Between 1260 and 1350 new mining locations were sought, including ones further north in the Forest of High Peak but these were not prosperous enough to avert a net decline (*ibid.*, 809). Throughout the early fourteenth century new industries grew in the southern Peak (*ibid.*, 809-815).

Despite lead-working being the most well-known and most profitable metal extraction industry in the Peak, it was not the only one. Copper veins could also be found in the Peak, and exploitation of these veins goes as far back as the prehistoric

copper mines, although these were located slightly across the Staffordshire border in places such as Ecton (see Barnatt 2013; 1999). The Peak also contains silver deposits which have sometimes been discovered within the Peak's lead mines. Blanchard (2001a, 384) indicates that this industry was primarily active along with the lead industry from 780 to 850 and from 980 to 1016. A hint of this activity is possibly indicated by the previously-discussed record in Domesday Book of the five manors of Darley, Matlock, Wirksworth, Ashbourne and Parwich in 1066 being initially required to collectively pay £32 and 6 ½ sesters of honey, but in 1086 being instead required to pay £40 in "*puri argenti*", or pure silver (Allen 2011, 115; Morris 1978, 1.15). Allen (2012, 238-239) notes that silver in medieval England was derived from argentiferous (silver-bearing) lead ores. This involved the lead ore being smelted and then refined by cupellation, which separated the silver from the lead. This raises the possibility that silver production was a major activity of the Peak lead mines, perhaps with the arrangement that the peasant miners kept the lead and simultaneously produced a set amount of silver to be paid to the king (Allen 2011, 115).

The requirement in Domesday Book of the royal manors to pay proceeds of the mines to the king would appear to suggest that the profit of the mines was not otherwise passing to the king directly as the landowner. This suggests that these industries may have been largely operated independently by the peasants of the manors with an annual sum being paid for the right to do so. In the case of the Bakewell, Ashford, and Hope manors, the fact that the large sum of money and quantity of lead which was owed in 1066 was replaced in 1086 by a far lesser sum of money and no lead at all could be taken as an indication that there had been a change in how the industry was managed; perhaps for instance the smelting industry in 1086 had been taken under royal control. The rights of the Derbyshire freeminers will be explored in the next chapter.

7.1.3 Coal

Other important industries included coal, the extraction of which was an important source of fuel for powering the forges of many of the forest iron ore forges, such

as in Rockingham Forest (Birrell 1969, 93), as also found in the Forest of High Peak and Sherwood Forest.

Sherwood Forest lacks the scale of natural minerals found in many other forests, especially the Forest of High Peak, and as such there were no lead mines or any lead-working, and little iron-working. Sherwood Forest in this sense was more similar to forests like Whittlewood, where it was the rich supply of timber which served a variety of industries. The area around Sherwood was rich in coal, however, and despite being more associated with the Industrial Revolution, there was a significant industry in coal mining in Nottinghamshire during the medieval period. Goddard's (2012) investigation into the coal industry in Nottinghamshire between 1200 and 1520 reveals sites of medieval mines at Selston, Underwood, Kimberley, Cossall, Strelley, Trowell, Wollaton, Bilborough, and Basford. These sites were west of the border of Sherwood Forest in 1232, though were within the twelfth-century area of Nottingham which was afforested (see Crook 2011). Goddard's map showing these sites in relation to the available coalfield show it was the limitations of this which prevented further advancement into the forest (see Figure 181). Limited amounts of iron-ore were also recovered from these mines (Goddard 2012, 96).

7.1.4 Pastoral Farming

A major industry that grew in a number of forests was pastoral husbandry, especially sheep farming. Sheep farming was attractive to lords and tenants alike, as labour costs were low and wool was in great demand for the cloth industry (Page and Jones 2006, 214). There were fears that grain growth was so in decline with the growth of pastoral agriculture that people would starve in the event of a poor harvest, as occurred throughout the 1280s (Page and Jones 2006, 214; Cantor 2001, 74). In Whittlewood, sheep grazed former settlement sites such as Monksbarn, and landholders were encouraged to enclose former arable land and convert it to pasture (Jones and Page 2006, 143; 214). Vaccaries within forests in northern England were often located on royal land and held by leaseholders (Winchester 2010, 119).

The Derbyshire Peak area is also well known for pastoral farming, especially sheep farming. This activity is long established in the Peak, and open pasture was practised here as long ago as between 4000 BC and 2000 BC (Barnatt and Smith 2004, 4). It is thought that the first farmers in the Neolithic period were pastoralists, who would drive cattle, sheep and pigs around the limestone plateau and uplands of the Peak in the summer, before moving into lower ground for the winter (*ibid.*, 16). In the medieval period, the unenclosed lands outside of the villages and open fields were largely used as common pasture and the higher uplands as rough grazing (*ibid.*, 71). Barnatt and Smith (*ibid.*) cite these areas as being also used as sources of peat and turf, and timber was used from the steep valleys and gorges. The horns of the animals within the forest were likely also used within horn production; a medieval horn production centre existed within Derby (DHER: 32488).

There was a significant shift in the Peak from the cultivation of cereals to an even higher degree of sheep pasture after 1350 (Barnatt and Smith 2004, 76), after the date range of this thesis, but it is certain that the Peak's upland landscape supported a substantial and growing pastoral farming industry even before this. The circumstances which led to a growth in pastoral agriculture in the first half of the fourteenth century will be explored as part of the analysis of social dynamics within the next chapter.

Monastic houses were heavily involved in pastoral farming. Research at Roystone Grange for example has showed that the monastic granges operated by monasteries were frequently used as outposts for pastoral farming (Hodges 2006). As well as providing meat they acted as sources of wool which could then be sold into the highly lucrative cloth trade, generating plenty of revenue for the parent monastic house (*ibid.*).

A shift to a higher degree of sheep husbandry may be attributed to the effects of the Black Death, and indeed Carenza Lewis's (2016) research demonstrates the Black Death's startling impact. Yet this was not the only disaster of the fourteenth century. Between 1315 and 1322 England was struck by famine, partly caused by the poor quality of marginal soils being ploughed to feed a population that was the highest it had ever been (Kershaw 1973, 3-4), and partly caused by the sudden onset of the Little Ice Age which some researchers (such as Miller *et al.*, 2012) argue began as early as 1300. This resulted in a number of increasingly poor crop yields and

higher food prices. Furthermore, between 1319 and 1322 England was also struck by a dramatic cattle plague which killed large numbers of animals across Europe, with for example the Prior of Christ Church, Canterbury writing of losing over a thousand oxen and cattle in a year (Newfield 2009, 155). This was undoubtedly stoked by numbers of animals already dying from starvation. Cases were severe enough for an average of 60% of cattle within a herd to be lost, and in the worst cases 100% (*ibid.*, 156). At the king's farm at Clipstone up to half of the king's sheep flock died, including over 70% of lambs (Kershaw 1973, 21). The outcome of these was a reversal of the previous century's trends of population growth and agrarian expansion. This would perhaps have caused significant growth in the pastoral economy of the Peak in the decades before the Black Death. Although sheep were not unaffected by the cattle plague they had still proved more resilient than cattle, and the Peak is a landscape for which Moorland Sheep in particular are well-suited (Hey 2014, 117).

Sheep were not the only animals reared in the forest, horse breeding was another industry found in the Forest of High Peak. Stud farms could be found dotted around the landscape and were established at an early date (Cox 1905, 24), a large number of which were studs not only owned by the king but also by the queen (Yeatman 1892, 173). In the forest eyre court of 1286 it was heard that the queen, then Eleanor of Castile, held a stud with 115 mares, plus an uncounted number of foals, in the Campana ward of the forest, and that this was reportedly causing damage to the forest (Cox 1905, 165). It transpired that many of these horses actually belonged to foresters, who evaded blame for the damage that they caused, and the payment owed for their pasture, by claiming that they were part of the queen's stud (Strutt 1906, 175).

In an effort to tame the forest landscape, professional wolf-hunters were active in both Sherwood Forest and the Forest of High Peak, as cited by Cox (1905, 32-33). In 1160-1 the problem caused by wolves was so severe that the wolf-hunters were paid a bonus of 25 shillings; and their skill was so recognised that in 1167-8 the king paid 10 shillings for Peak wolf-hunters to be transported to deal with the wolf problems in Normandy. In both the Sherwood Forest and the Forest of High Peak tenures of land were granted for the service of wolf-killing. A record survives from the latter forest, dated to 1285, in which John le Wolfhunte and Thomas Foljambe

held a bovate of land as a sergeanty for killing wolves in the forest; both were also hereditary foresters-of-fee (Cox 1905, 32-33).

7.1.5 Timber and Wood Crafts

As in many areas of medieval metal production, the Forest of Dean was also a major source of timber, which when used to produce charcoal was used as source of smelting fuel. Mass timber sales were used in the Forest of Dean to raise money for royal building works and as gifts to favourites, as analysis of documentation by Cyril Hart (1966; also Birrell 1969, 92-93) revealing vast numbers of felled trees demonstrates. In 1252, 90 oaks and 60,000 shingles were transported from the Forest of Dean to Gloucester Castle; between 1275 and 1277 a total of 935 oak trees are recorded as being cut down (*ibid.*). In 1282 the regarders of the forests reported the stumps of 34 chestnut trees, 4,585 beech trees, and 7,497 oak trees, and in the same year the King ordered for 100 woodcutters from the Forest of Dean to work at clearing passes into Wales so the King's army could pass unimpeded (*ibid.*).

Charcoal production was also a major industry within Rockingham Forest, which was examined by Foard (2001, 70). Charcoal was important in iron production and made up half the cost of operating an iron furnace (*ibid.*, 82-83). Foard (*ibid.*) cites that 12kg of charcoal was necessary to produce 1kg of iron. It is difficult to find evidence for charcoal hearths, and especially to date them, but hundreds of dark soilmarks probably representing former sites have been found in Rockingham Forest (ibid., 90). None of these sites were more than 4km from a medieval settlement, and were located even closer still to some of the isolated bloomeries discussed in section 7.1.1.

For Sherwood Forest in particular, the cultivation of timber was especially important. As was found in Rockingham Forest and the Forest of Dean, Sherwood Forest's timber was used in grants from the King, which have been examined by Cox (1905, 205-206). In 1228 four oaks were granted to William Avenel; two were granted to Chesterfield's leper hospital; six were granted to the canons of Newark, and a further three to the canons of Thurgarton (*ibid.*). Alongside these, 20 beams

were sent to Wormegay Priory in Norfolk. The following year, 40 rafters were granted to the canons and abbot of Croxton (*ibid.*). There is a historical record of 50 oaks and then 60 more oaks from Sherwood Forest being gifted to Lincoln Cathedral in 1252 and 1254 respectively (Foot *et al.* 1986, 61), and this has been more recently confirmed by dendrochronological analysis of timbers from the roof of Lincoln Cathedral which has produced similar dates (Laxton 1997, 74). There were many smaller grants also, and one interesting example was a grant of a single oak to Richard de St John, with the direction that the oak had to be cut as close to the Trent as possible as it was being transported to Norfolk by water carriage (Cox 1905, 206), probably with the intention of transporting it north through the Trent Valley and then down the east coast of England.

The timbers of Sherwood Forest were also used in charcoal production. One record of this industry survives from 1316, when the King ordered 50 oaks from Blidworth in Sherwood Forest to be used in part for making charcoal (Cox 1905, 212). The variety of other uses for the timber of Sherwood Forest includes, in a record of 1316, the King ordering oaks from Sherwood Forest to be used to manufacture boards for dressers and trestle tables (*ibid.*). The King simultaneously ordered oaks from the bank of the Trent to be used as firewood in the King's hall in Lincoln (*ibid.*), possibly because they were of lesser quality, and leafless oaks to be used as firewood in the king's chamber in Lincoln (*ibid.*). Further uses included using timber for the construction of siege engines, including an order dated to 1324 (*ibid.*). Sherwood Forest's timber was probably also used a fuel for the iron forges in the forest, already discussed, as well as perhaps for lime burning.

The level of access peasants had to timber is unclear. Theoretically, Forest Law blocked access to timber, yet a range of industries used the material; wood was used in the construction of timber-framed buildings, was a major fuel source, and specialist wood craftsmen were common in forest villages (Birrell 1969, 95), leading Birrell (1987, 26-27) to argue that supplies must have been available. Jones and Page (2006, 125) argue on the basis of surnames recorded in the late thirteenth century that carpenters, charcoal burners, sawyers, and smiths were present in Whittlewood Forest, and cite William Drury of Foscote as being punished for felling three oaks which he used for producing charcoal at his hearth. Furthermore, charcoal pits have been identified within coppices in Whittlewood Forest (*ibid.*). The 1282 eyre court

of the Forest of Dean was found by Birrell (1969, 93) to contain individuals living within the forest with the surnames Carpenter, Cooper, Sawyer, and Wheeler, hinting at there being many such woodcrafts in the forest. Peasants may have been able to purchase small quantities of wood for producing implements (Birrell 1987, 35); wood was recorded being sold for making bowls in Duffield Frith in Derbyshire (Cox 1905, 72). There are records of foresters being bribed to overlook unlicensed sales of wood (Young 1979, 82). The process by which fines for cutting down trees within a forest were processed entailed the foresters assessing the value of the trees cut down and charging the amount (Young 1979, 85). This may mean that the process allowed individuals to acquire timber with generally little inconvenience, paying the fines akin to fees (the offender did not have to appear at the forest eyre court if the fine was below a certain value [Grant 1991, 64]); or stocks of wood may have been maintained for purchase. In either case, timber was clearly available under regulation, the effect of which was that Forest Law created a royal monopoly on timber sales.

7.1.6 Brewing

The brewing and selling of ale was an activity heavily associated with the foresters as a means of supplementing their income. Records exist of the foresters holding "scot ales", which were gatherings where the people of the forest were coerced to buy the ale sold by the foresters (Brown 2006, 65). Furthermore, it is known that the foresters sought to use their influence to prevent other brewers within the forest from selling their produce (Grant 1991, 118). This issue resulted in one of the terms in the Charter of the Forest in 1217 specifically banning the foresters from holding scot ales (Brown 2006, 65).

7.1.7 Pottery

Pottery production was an industry frequently found in forests. It was particularly important for example in Rockingham Forest. In the Anglo-Saxon and early

Norman periods, the major pottery centre in Rockingham Forest was Stamford on the northern edge of the forest. From the twelfth century onwards, pottery production moved into the woodland of the forest interior, with new centres at Stanion, Potters Lyvden, and at smaller sites at Upper Lyvden, Great Wheldon, Glapthorn and Woodnewton. The potters were based in village and hamlet tenements (Foard 2001, 92). Foard (*ibid.*) notes that the pottery industry tended to be based in smaller manors and avoided the major iron-production sites, perhaps as a result of competition for resources. Of the two Domesday manors at Stanion, Foard (*ibid.*, 92) has identified that the pottery kilns were within the wooded Upper Hall manor rather than the unwooded Nether Hall. Foard (*ibid.*, 92-93) also argues that unlike the other industries active within Rockingham Forest, the pottery, iron, and charcoal industries were adversely affected by a recession in the fourteenth century and had essentially vanished by the fifteenth century.

The pottery industry of Whittlewood was long-established (Jones and Page 2006, 24). The locating of pottery kilns in peasant crofts within settlements, such as at Potterspury, is similar to the rival industry in Rockingham Forest at Lyvden and Stanion (Jones and Page 2006, 196; Foard 2001, 92).

Pottery and tile industries were also found in Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire (the known centres recorded in the HER and NMR databases are depicted in Figure 182). Two of the known centres were in the Sherwood Forest or its immediate periphery. These were the sites of Holbeck and Skegby, and incidentally the third site was at the forest's one-time administrative centre of Laxton, which despite its status was far outside the forest (see later in this chapter). Despite this there does not seem to be any association between pottery production and the forests of either Sherwood or High Peak, and the majority of centres were outside of both in Derbyshire. On the other hand, there is more of an association between this industry and the much smaller (and not initially royal) forest of Duffield Frith, which contained four known pottery production sites.

7.1.8 Stone

Medieval stone quarrying was an activity known within Sherwood Forest, and was previously revealed around Mansfield in Chapter 5. This site was Lindly Quarry, producing Mansfield White Stone including for Southwell Minster and Nottingham Castle (NHER: M4010; NMR: SK 56 SW 69). This is the only site recorded in Sherwood Forest by the HER and NMR databases. Further to this, in 1249 permission was granted to the prior of Lenton to quarry for stone in Sherwood Forest, and in 1253 was permitted to take 140 cartloads of stone, for use in the fabric of the abbey buildings (Page 1910, 93). In the Forest of High Peak, 11 areas of quarries were identified in Chapter 6 in Castleton, and a further quarry in Hope.

7.1.9 Other Forest Industries

There were many other smaller industries that existed within medieval forests, such as lime-burning and tanning in Rockingham Forest (Foard 2001, 92). The freeminers of the Forest of Dean had the right to use the gold, red, and purple earth of Clearwell Caves to make pigments (Bucklow 2009). Within the Weald, an industry in glass production existed, due it being a major source of silica sand (Meek, *et al.* 2012; Highley 1975). It was also a source of gravel, clay, and gypsum, which served a large number of industries (Highley 1975).

7.2 Common Rights, Wood-Pasture, and Settlement Growth in Forests

7.2.1 Common Rights and Wood-Pasture

The majority of forests were commons, where the commoners had rights to graze animals (the rights of pasture and *pannage*) or to collect timber (Rackham 1998, 40-41). These rights could change over time but generally were long standing (Birrell

1987, 41). As Rackham (1998, 40-41) notes, however, these rights were not held by the public at large, nor in all cases by every inhabitant of the forest area, but instead were held usually by the occupants of particular farmsteads and houses. There also may have been different rights held by different categories of commoner (*ibid.*). The tenants of royal demesne within the forest in general had rights of common pasture in the king's demesne woods for their animals – except goats – year round (Birrell 1987 36; Young 1979, 134); the only limitation therefore on tenants of private landlords enjoying the same rights within their own manors was whether the lord was willing to grant the same privileges, not obstruction by the king. Some lords were repeatedly prosecuted for their attempts to ignore or remove their tenants' common rights within the forest (Birrell 1987, 43).

The designation of an area as forest itself did little in practice to impede the ancient rights that the forest occupants held; in fact, common rights were held by commoners in the forest in return for being subject to the forest laws (Jones and Page 2006, 224; Manwood 1717, 83), while certain common rights could be specific only to those who resided within a forest's bounds (Young 1979, 134). It has been demonstrated that common rights within forests were extremely persistent (Langton 2014; Linebaugh 2008, 75-76; Birrell 1987, 42). Manwood (1717, 83) attests that tenants in disafforested areas could lose their common rights, while the tenants could request to be returned to the forest and have their common rights restored. Nonetheless, in some instances commoners paid the king to retain their rights; the commoners of Mansfield for example paid King John for their right of pasture in the park of Clipstone (Young 1979, 46-47). Despite the strength of these rights, the warden and foresters frequently sought to abuse the arrangement by blocking rights of pasture unless significant fees were paid (Grant 1991, 101; Young 1979, 135), and the foresters could decide to supervise the pasturing (Grant 1991, 101).

Some of the commons over which the peasants held these rights were wood commons, where a form of wood-pasture was practiced (Rackham 1998, 40-41). Wood-pasture is the practice of using the same area of woodland to nurture trees and to graze animals, and is revealed by Domesday Book to have been widespread in England before 1086 (Muir 2006, 17; Rackham 2001, 144-145; Rackham 2000, 120-121). This arrangement entails an inherent conflict, as the more trees there are

the lower the quality of the pasture, while the more animals are grazed the more difficult it is to replace the trees (Rackham 2001, 143; Rackham 2000, 120). Wood-pasture by its nature had to be tightly regulated. The grazing animals would naturally consume any emerging saplings, with the result that as soon as wood-pasture was initiated the number of trees was on an inevitable steady decline, as trees are lost to felling, disease, and destructive weather and not replaced (Rackham 2001, 143; Rackham 2000, 120). Wood-pasture left unchecked therefore tended towards open pasture over time (Williamson 2003, 56). The trees were deliberately pollarded to grow upwards and out the reach of animals, to prevent the lower branches being consumed, with the adverse side effect of reducing the quantity of timber produced (Rackham 2000, 121). This inefficiency of wood-pasture providing neither good quality pasture nor high volumes of timber led in either of two directions: either for the practice of pollarding, producing timber, to be replaced by coppicing, producing underwood or coppice poles, which had the effect that animals could no longer be grazed beneath the trees; or for the woodland to be assarted for arable land or cleared for open pasture (Muir 2006, 18; Williamson 2003, 56-57). This is not to say that wood-pasture did not survive, it did especially in marginal areas, such as uplands, which leads Williamson (2003, 88) to say that this caused a particular association between surviving wood pasture and royal forests (Muir 2006, 17-18; Williamson 2003; Rackham 2001, 2000).

In his study of Rockingham Forest, Foard (2001) found that the forest contained three major blocks of Anglo-Saxon woodland which were divided between separate manors (*ibid.*, 41). In some instances, woodland was attached to distant manors which had no woodlands of their own in their immediate vicinity. Foard (*ibid.*, 44) interprets that originally all these manors were part of a larger estate, the occupants of which had common rights over the large areas of woodland. As this large estate fragmented, each of the new manors was assigned a block of woodland over which its occupants retained common rights. The woodland was not distributed evenly in the landscape and some of the manors did not have woodland in their immediate vicinity, so the area of attached woodland could be slightly distant. The woodland attached to the manor of Cogenhoe was located 8km south of the village (*ibid.*, 45). These rights were preserved into the later medieval period, with the woodland being opened up as wood-pasture for select months of the year (*ibid.*, 55). These rights only applied to the specific manor which held rights over that area of woodland,

and when assarts were carried out it was again the specifically attached manor which alone held the rights over this land (*ibid.*, 55).

The peasants and lords took advantage of the common land in Whittlewood Forest, which they held in exchange for allowing the King's deer to access their land unimpeded; the reality however was that these rights of pasture were much older than Forest Law, and instead the application of Forest Law solidified these rights (Jones and Page 2006, 224). Many of the manors of the forest did not contain land devoted to pasture within their bounds, and instead the requirements for grazing land were filled solely by the woodland commons. In places the common rights of the inhabitants grew, such as the right to common in the parks of the forest, such as at Handley, which at first had been prohibited to protect the deer (*ibid.*, 113; 134-135). The king was not always so generous, however, and in some cases dictated that there were areas in Whittlewood where no one could hold common, stopping the inhabitants from using these as areas of wood-pasture; one such area was Shrob (*ibid.*, 114). Despite the practice of assarting, common rights in Whittlewood survived into the post-medieval and early modern period. At this time there were six "in-towns" which had rights of common in the forest of Whittlewood from 25 March to 1 November; these were the six closest areas of settlement (Jones and Page 2006, 141-142). There were nine "out-towns" which were more peripheral to the forest and had rights from 23 April to 25 September. Jones and Page (*ibid.*) state that there is no evidence that this arrangement was already in place in the medieval period.

The early medieval name of Sherwood, *Scirewuda*, referred to a larger area of woodland than that which was covered by Forest Law after the Norman Conquest (Crook 2011); it referred to the stretch of land that ran from Bestwood through Newstead, Rufford, and Edwinstowe to the north of the county around Worksop. What was meant by it being the "shire's wood" is uncertain but a common interpretation is that all the people of the shire had rights of pasture and access to resources within the woodland (*ibid.*; White 2012, 9). Generally, although as Foard (2001, 44) finds in his study of Rockingham and Jones and Page (2005) in Whittlewood, woodland was seemingly associated with particular manors. It is possible that the area originally known as "Sherwood" was an area of woodland in the north of the county over which several surrounding settlements had rights of

pasture. This area was not the same as the boundaries of Sherwood Forest, but Sherwood may have incorporated a significant area of it, leading to the transfer of the name. There is no documentary evidence for the existence of this system in the Early Medieval Period, but select records from the Norman period may hint at such an arrangement. For example, in 1230 the ancient rights of the commoners of the manor of Mansfield to take *haybote* and *husbote* from the area of the forest were confirmed (Crook 1984, 27). The tenants were Oxton, as well as the prebendaries, were confirmed to have rights of pasture within the woodlands of Sherwood Forest in 1330 "in the same manner as men of the forest have," with it noted that the prebendary and tenants held this right "from time out of mind" (Maxwell-Lyte 1898, 64).

As in the forests of Whittlewood and Mavern, the proximity of the settlements of Sherwood to woodland and the records of the occupants having common rights (such as Mansfield) show that the early Norman inhabitants of Sherwood, and possibly in the Early Medieval Period, operated a system of wood-pasture on commons. The commoners of Mansfield Woodhouse had rights over a detached area of woodland in Clipstone called *Wodhousewod*, an area clearly named in relation to this right (Crook 1984., 32). Other areas of woodland in Sherwood bear names in the OS maps of the late nineteenth century which reflect settlements in the surrounding area. This occurs with the woods of Osberton Round, Edwinstowe Round, Blyth Corner, and Budby Corner. Perhaps these too reflect how these surrounding Nottinghamshire villages held common rights over specific blocks of Sherwood woodland. Even more intriguing are several areas of woodland named in reference to Derbyshire villages located in close proximity to the county border, including Clowne, Hardwick Wood, Whitwell Round and Wingfield Wood (see Figure 183). This may suggest that areas of Derbyshire also held common rights over Sherwood woodland. This is not altogether unlikely as these areas of Derbyshire were in fact closer to Sherwood than large parts of Nottinghamshire, but this arrangement would presumably have to date to before the establishment of the shire border and before Sherwood was explicitly the "shire wood" of Nottinghamshire.

This situation is extremely similar to what can be speculated about the early history of the Forest of High Peak. The area of Hope Woodlands, a large block of the

forest, was an area over which the inhabitants of Hope had common rights (Kerry 1893, 71). The majority of the medieval forest constituted the original parish boundaries of Hope and Glossop; it is possible that the shape of the Norman forest was defined by the area over which the inhabitants of the manors of Glossop and Hope had common rights.

7.2.2 Settlement Expansion through Woodland Clearance

The clearance of woodland to extend settlement and cultivation occurred throughout the medieval period, even during the Norman period in areas under Forest Law. Woodland which had regrown in the wake of the Roman period was cleared as population expanded (Dyer 2002, 13). Within Whittlewood Forest, Jones and Page (2006, 88-92) argue that woodland expanded in the immediate aftermath of the end of the Roman period, with a general settlement retreat towards better draining and more fertile soils.

In the ninth and tenth centuries, change in land use in woodland areas resulted in the woods being cleared to extend arable and pastoral cultivation (Dyer 2002, 17). The extent of this was such that royal and aristocratic elites sought to protect the woodlands under their ownership within enclosures (Dyer 2002, 18). Within Whittlewood Forest, there was a patchy pattern of dispersed settlement, with no evidence for there being a settlement reorganisation or abandonment of independent farmsteads for nucleated settlements before 850 (Jones and Page 2006, 88-92). What Jones and Page (*ibid.*) have identified in Whittlewood is a model of nucleation at odds with our general understanding. While usually what occurred was an inward movement of dispersed farmsteads which were abandoned for a new centrally-located site where a nucleated village was created, in Whittlewood there was an outward-movement, where dispersed settlement was not abandoned, but instead between 850 and 1000 acted as nuclei in the creation of new nucleated villages. Chapter 5 explored how previous excavation in Sherwood Forest at Edwinstowe has also suggested expansion from a pre-village nucleus.

Dyer (1990) examines the case study of Pendock, at the south edge of the royal forest of Malvern, which became a private chase after 1217 (*ibid.*, 102). Place names

within the area, including *feld, haga,* and *leah*, suggest that this was an area containing Early Medieval wood pasture (*ibid.*, 105). The heavily wooded area had been divided before 1000 and developed into the two halves of East Pendock and West Pendock. East Pendock was a lay manor, and would have contained peasant tenants, slave accommodation, and designated officials running the manor for the lord (*ibid.*). West Pendock on the other hand was woodland attached to the manor of Overbury, and Dyer (*ibid.*, 108) argues that if it contained inhabitants in 1086 then they were either tenants who paid cash rents or officials charged with managing the woodland, and hence neither would be found in Domesday Book.

In the High Medieval Period, the clearance of woodland continued (Dyer 2002, 101). This took many forms, and in some cases was carried out to extend the demesne land (Dyer 2002, 129-130). Within woodland areas where gentry were numerous, these entrepreneurial minor lords in some cases may even have created new manors to expand their income (Dyer 2002, 152). More commonly, woodland was cleared to create new peasant holdings, primarily in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries (Dyer 2002, 138). The peasantry played a substantial role within this activity; the lords granted the land and paid the fines for breaking Forest Law, but the work was carried out by the peasants (Dyer 2002, 160-161). The lords may have directed some of this work, but the initiative usually lay with the peasants themselves (Dyer 2002, 161). The entrepreneurial mindset of the aristocracy and gentry therefore provided opportunity for peasant expansion, but only with the motivation of profit.

Between 1100 and 1350, Jones and Page (2006, 153-154) find that areas of woodland and wood-pasture in Whittlewood were converted to arable land because of rapid population growth, and largely these were used in the cultivation of wheat and oats. Although generally the champion landscape was 90% utilised as arable land, in Whittlewood there were large areas of untouched woodland. They estimate that the open fields in the parish of Passenham comprised 50% of its area (*ibid.*). Despite this, there was concern about the growth of arable land at the cost of common rights. The size of assarts of Whittlewood at this time varied enormously, some were as big as 40 acres, whereas others measure barely a fragment of an acre (*ibid.*, 119). These assarts were seemingly carried out by the landlords and by the peasants, and the resulting arable land could be held by an individual or by a

community. An example of the latter comes from Silverstone, where 10 acres were cleared at *Blodhanger* and 2 acres at *Baggenha*. Assarted land at *Swynhey* around 1278 became an area of open fields; this example is particularly interesting as assarting at a site with this name may suggest that it had formerly been an area of wood-pasture for pigs (*ibid.*).

Assarting led to a new phase of dispersed settlement as these assarts and clearances were carried out and occupied by small, probably freeholding, landowners. For example, there were new isolated farmsteads at Stockholt, Heybarne, Monksbarn, as well as small clusters of cottages (*ibid.*, 120, 142, 146).

Dyer (1990, 99) explores Pendock as a landscape with high degree of dispersed settlement in the High Medieval Period and a number of occupants working in non-agrarian industries. The Domesday record of 1086 reveals a high proportion of freeholders in Pendock (*ibid.*). In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, there was a growth of arable cultivation at the cost of woodland and pasture; in one instance the de Pendock family were fined for contravening Forest Law by assarting without licence (*ibid.*, 108). Eventually very little common land remained in Pendock (*ibid.*, 111). The loss of common rights in Pendock, largely after the area's afforestation, will be contrasted with the survival of common rights in areas that remained afforested, in the next section. The settlement of Pendock consisted of five interrupted rows which lay alongside assarts, which Dyer (1990, 113, 116-117) argues were the result of piecemeal expansion in the eleventh and twelfth centuries onto the settlement's common pasture, and originally the settlements may have lain along the edge of a common for open pasture. Alongside this, there was a growth in numbers of small manor houses and moated sites, and a growth in land held by peasants (*ibid.*, 108). The clearing of woodland and the extension of arable farming occurred a century after similar processes had occurred in the champion landscape (Dyer 1990, 117). Dyer's (1990, 118) case study of Pendock shows that it was not the high population of the champion landscape which forced its inhabitants into nucleation, but rather he argues that woodland landscapes with dispersed settlement could have equally high populations as nucleated areas.

The landscape of Tanworth, in the Forest of Arden (studied by Roberts 1968) had been heavily wooded, especially in the Early Medieval Period, and was found to be scarcely populated in 1086. Arden was never covered by Forest Law, and its

development can be contrasted with similar landscapes which were covered by Forest Law (*ibid.*, 101). Roberts (1968, 103) found three phases of colonisation in Tanworth. Firstly, in the years up to 1200, there was a pattern of strip fields and demesne lands cleared out of the woodland before 1180 (*ibid.*). Around this date the Earl of Warwick sub-infuedated a third of the parish, leading to the second phase of settlement (*ibid.*). Between 1180 and 1250 a succession of charters from the Earl allowed a mass settling by free colonists on areas of waste and woodland in the parish, and by 1220 to 1230 these new farms were moving north and increasingly distant from the settlement nucleus, and by 1250 were moving onto the plateau (*ibid.*, 104-105). The Earl issued a series of larger grants around this time awarding large areas of heathland, and Roberts (*ibid.*, 106) notes that the Earl appeared to have been consciously preserving the major remaining blocks of woodland. These grants were seemingly to officials who had served the Earl and figures who had acted as witnesses to his charters. The peasant plots as this time were discrete holdings with part of the property in the area of strip fields or leased demesne land. As new holdings became available, the messuage plots were often abandoned for new land within the growing dispersed area of settlement. (*ibid.*, 107) The third phase of settlement Roberts identifies is from 1250 to around 1330, with the Earl granting wasteland to existing farms between 1268 and 1298. The pattern of settlement grew increasingly dispersed as it shifted away from the nucleus, with isolated farms dotted across the parish and small hamlets of smallholders. There was a rapid rise of small landowning freemen growing increasingly wealthy, who created compact holdings of land by exchanging and buying new land from the Earl. One example of this is the Archer family, whose land grew to the extent of adding the small manor of Monkpath (*ibid.*, 108). The parish of Tanworth was broken up into a series of submanors. Between 1250 and 1300 many of these small landowners began to construct moated farmsteads, which were soon numerous across the Arden landscape (*ibid.*, 109). Roberts (*ibid.*, 112) notes that this was a parish with a high level of free tenure, as 60% of the lord's income was from free rent, as opposed to 30-40% in the rest of Arden.

These trends can be compared and contrasted with what is found within the case studies of this thesis. The retreat to the fertile soils of the Trent Valley which is thought to have occurred throughout northern Nottinghamshire in the wake of the Roman period (Bishop 2000, 1; Unwin 1983, 345) mirrors what Page and Jones

(2006) have found in Whittlewood. The nucleated settlements of Sherwood Forest may have been originally created through woodland clearance in the Early Medieval Period. In the High Medieval Period, further clearance may have been involved in the creation of a limited number of independent farmsteads around the west half of Farnsfield and Mansfield. Some of the many independent farmsteads found in the parishes of Hope and Chapel-en-le-Frith in Derbyshire may also have been created during this time. The most evidence for independent farmsteads in the Nottinghamshire case studies, likely created through clearance during the period 1100-1300, was in areas immediately outside of Sherwood Forest, such as the east half of Farnsfield and Cuckney. The limited number of independent farmsteads in Sherwood Forest is especially true in areas of royal demesne, such as Edwinstowe, Budby, and Clipstone. The clearance of woodland during the medieval period in the forest seemingly occurred more on the land of lords than royal land; records show the archbishop of York assarting areas of Farnsfield. It can therefore be suggested that the tenants of lords within areas of Forest Law had the mutually-beneficial opportunity to create new independent farmsteads; allowing the peasant the opportunity to raise their income, while giving the lord the opportunity to collect higher rates of rent. The occupants of royal demesne in the forest would naturally have less – or even no – opportunity for such action; the king and his manorial officials would not have the inclination to grant the plots of woodland to tenants, allow them to clear the woodland, nor would the peasants have the means of paying the fine for breaking Forest Law. As shall be explored in the next chapter (and in the work of McIntosh 2002), royal manors were operated with little emphasis on maximising profit and had little overall interference. In many instances this benefitted the peasant community, but conversely it also limited peasant opportunity in cases such as this, where permission for expansion was required. Not only was interest in maximising profit lacking, but royal interests would naturally be behind upholding Forest Law and protecting the royal demesne woodlands.

7.3 Free Peasants and Green-Side Settlements

Village greens are predominantly viewed as characteristic of "ancient settlement" in the English landscape (Oosthuizen 2006, 187), and are especially associated with a dispersed settlement pattern (Warner 1987, 1). They are found foremost outside of Roberts and Wrathmell's (2003; 2000) central zone of nucleated villages and open fields, and are particularly associated with the eastern parts of England, especially East Anglia.

Several recent studies have analysed the link between settlements with *sokeman* populations and village greens (see Chapter 1). One such study, by Peter Warner (1987), focuses on common land and village greens in East Suffolk. Warner (1987, 9) suggests that the claylands of East Suffolk were settled by the early Roman period, but that there is no relation between Romano-British farmsteads and later greenside settlements. Despite this, relict Roman roads do appear to outline the shapes of the large commons, suggesting an early date for the formation of the commons (*ibid.*, 11). Additionally, green ditches appear to have previously marked the boundaries between Romano-British farmsteads, and after the Norman Conquest marked the border between common-land and individually-owned arable land, suggesting a continuation in function (*ibid.*, 11-12). There are many examples of churches created in the Early Medieval Period in Suffolk being placed on or near village greens, for example at Palgrave where the parish church was situated on a large green. Palgrave is mentioned in a charter of the late Early Medieval Period and a manor is found recorded there in Domesday Book, prompting Warner (*ibid.*, 18) to suggest that settlement was already well developed before 1086.

Warner (1987, 45) identifies three stages of tenement development in this region. Firstly, a series of tenant farmers with shares of land on the inside edges of the manor's ring-fence boundary intermixed with the lord's demesne land, held in return for services such as ploughing work. The tenants also had rights of pasture on the grazing land outside of the manor boundary which could be transferred for permanent or temporary enclosures. Secondly, tenements outside the original estate boundaries created out of the area of communal grazing and including attached enclosed land in place of rights of communal grazing, showing less dependence on

the manor, but also holding land within the ring-fence in return for labour. Thirdly, tenement outside the original estate boundaries near (and often overlapping) parish boundaries, set within moorland wastes, where land was enclosed and units shared between several manors, suggesting that these manors co-operated in their creation. These tenements frequently show a high degree of regularity and planning. Warner (1987, 45) considers that the third group could be groups of freemen located in marginal areas, holding freedom from owing services because they lacked shares of land intermixed with the demesne and because of the impracticality caused by the distance of their land from the manorial centre. Warner (*ibid.*, 45-46) finds this to be a common type of growth on clayland, comparing it to Norfolk, the London outskirts, and Warwickshire.

Warner's research bears many similarities to the work of Stocker and Everson (2006) in Lincolnshire, examining 60 parish churches, and the plans of their associated settlements. Of the 60 settlements, 21 contained a green or area of common land within the settlement itself (*ibid.*, 61). They found a significant overlap between settlements with greens and settlements with high proportions of *sokemen* in their populations in Domesday Book (*ibid.*, 67). Stocker and Everson (2006) go on to discuss how the placement of churches on common land or greens, as "sokeland churches" was probably through communal rather than lordly initiative (*ibid.*, 67). Manor houses could also be placed on common land or greens, usually with an associated church (*ibid.*, 67). What these acts mean in relation to medieval society and the power of *sokeman* communities will be discussed in the next chapters.

One example of Stocker and Everson's (2006, 158-164) method is Great Hale, Lincolnshire, where the rectangular churchyard lay in the middle of a large square green which was surrounded by neatly planned tenement plots. The manor at the time of Domesday Book consisted of solely 38 *sokemen* (Morris 1985, 24.41). Another example is Branston (Stocker and Everson 2006, 112-118), where they interpret the alignment of settlement and roads as reflecting a former large funnel-shaped green that ran east-west through the settlement. The church was located towards the west end, in the most prominent position; this positioning prompts the authors to suggest that it is a "sokeland church". The church is mentioned in Domesday Book, but the interpretation is made difficult as a high number of *villeins*

(48) and *bordars* (23) are found, and only 2 *sokemen* are recorded (Morris 1985, 31.11). This leads Stocker and Everson (2006, 158-164) to suggest that what had formerly been a *sokeman* settlement had undergone a progress of pre-Conquest manorialisation and a changing of the status of the occupants.

Another important body of work on this otherwise understudied theme is the work of Susan Oosthuizen (2006; 2002) on Cambridgeshire. She notes that greens were a feature of the ancient landscape, being associated with occupation from the sixth to ninth centuries (Oosthuizen 2002, 80). Within the champion landscape up to 90% of available land was arable, and it is commonly assumed that the introduction of open field agriculture between AD 900 and 1150 destroyed and replaced earlier field boundaries, with the need for greens and commons being replaced by communal grazing on fallow strips. On the back of these assumptions, Oosthuizen (2006, 187) notes that surviving greens in the English midlands are an anomaly, and asks why similar survivals are not commonly found in the midland's champion landscape outside of Cambridgeshire. Oosthuizen (2002, 80) observes that this area, as well as having a high number of greens, was also dominated by freemen in 1086. It must be noted that Oosthuizen was working without the benefit of Stocker and Everson's (2006) research which would soon complicate the idea of Cambridge as a midlands anomaly.

At Haslingfield, Oosthuizen (2002, 75) finds that the Great Green was encroached upon early, including a church placed at one end, which she suggests indicates that the majority of the green remained common-land, or otherwise the church would have been centrally-placed. Later, in the sixteenth century, a moated site was constructed in the centre of the green. Moated sites of the medieval period are often found associated with settlements with greens, and although often built by manorial lords, they were also frequently constructed by freemen, so it is important to distinguish between the two. Oosthuizen (2002, 82-83) finds little evidence for free peasant moated sites in her study area, and states that the majority were manorial.

The case studies of this thesis explored greens within settlements at sites including Ashford, Priestcliffe, Little Hucklow, Over Haddon, Chapel-en-le-Frith, Warsop, Cuckney, Budby, Holbeck, and Dunham. These together raise the possibility of a survival of greens in Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire comparable to Oosthuizen's (2002) survival of greens in Cambridgeshire, as well as a relationship between

sokemen and greens similar to those found by Stocker and Everson (2006), Warner (1987), and Oosthuizen (2002). The results of these studies reveal settlements highly similar in terms of morphology to examples from this thesis, for example Ashford in Derbyshire, where a church was placed on the former village green and later a moated manor was constructed alongside it (see Chapter 6). Though Ashford was a royal estate centre and therefore likely not founded by *sokemen*, an explanation is discussed in Chapter 6 (section 6.1.2), relating to the manor being split from Bakewell, which allows the possibility.

In addition to this evidence of greens from Cambridge and Lincolnshire, further evidence for numerous greens within the English midlands has been found in Northamptonshire by Williamson *et al.* (2013), further challenging Oosthuizen's (2006, 187) past interpretation that the survival of greens within Cambridgeshire was an anomaly. This thesis would suggest that Derbyshire, and especially Nottinghamshire, similarly contained a high degree of settlement formed around greens and common land, including within the forests.

The aforementioned studies have demonstrated a relationship between free peasants and settlement plans incorporating large greens or areas around common land. The rest of this section will attempt to examine whether a similar relationship existed within Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire, and therefore may have been the origin of many of the examples of greens presented within the forests in the parish case studies. These examples are from across the counties of Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire, but the results can be used in comparison with settlements within the forests. Two ways of identifying villages occupied by *sokemen* or free peasants during the medieval period can be suggested. One method is to use place names; it has been suggested that the name Carlton (or *ceorl-ton*) referred to the settlement being populated by free peasants during the medieval period (Cameron 1996, 136; Mills 2011, 97). The second is to analyse Domesday Book and find manors whose populations were exclusively or primarily *sokemen*. Settlements identified through either of these criteria then can be examined according to their physical plans. As discussed in Chapter 1 *ceorls* were not necessarily free peasants; the majority of *ceorls* were tied peasants more akin to what came to be considered *villeins*, yet higher status independent *ceorl* groups, such as the *gafolgelda,* could be considered freemen (Piggott

and Thirsk 1981, 58). As a result, some *ceorl* groups by the time of Domesday Book may have been regarded as *sokemen*.

Three instances of the name Carlton are found in Nottinghamshire or Derbyshire, Carlton, Carlton on Trent, and Carlton in Lindrick (consisting of North Carlton and South Carlton), all in Nottinghamshire. An examination of these settlements reveals a green in each case. Carlton, a village near Gedling in Nottinghamshire (and inside Sherwood Forest), was originally laid out around a large green running east to west, with the settlement running around this common land on its south, east and north sides (see Figure 184). Furthermore, Domesday Book records only *sokemen* dwelling at this settlement, with a record of 30 *sokemen* who lived at the three settlements of Carlton, Gedling, and Colwick (Morris 1977, 12.17). Carlton on Trent, within the Trent Valley, contained a large funnel-shaped green which ran from north to south, and it looks as if the southern half of this green was built upon before its settlement spread into the northern half (see Figure 185).

Carlton in Lindrick was split into North Carlton and South Carlton. Both contained a green around which the settlements were laid out, but it is actually possible to join these greens together, revealing what was originally a single large settlement positioned around a large area of common land, with foci at the north and south ends. As this green was encroached upon, it left two isolated areas of settlement which with time became perceived as two distinct settlements, North Carlton and South Carlton (see Figure 186). This can be compared to Holbeck and Holbeck Woodhouse being separated by a green in the North Sherwood case study. The rectory church of Carlton in Lindrick (dedicated to St John the Evangelist) was founded on the southern green. The church fabric shows that a church existed here in the eleventh century (SCP: Carlton in Lindrick, St John, Archaeology). This would suggest that the church had been built upon the green before the Norman Conquest and that the green therefore was created even earlier, perhaps in the tenth century or possibly earlier. All three of these examples of settlements called Carlton from Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire, likely founded by free peasants, appear to have been founded around greens or alongside common land.

Another method to identify manors whose populations solely consisted of *sokemen* is to use Domesday Book. A few examples of these are, in Derbyshire, the manor of Wingerworth which had 14 *sokemen* and Mosborough which had 13 *sokemen*

(Morris 1978, 1.2, 10.2). In Nottinghamshire, Wilford was listed with 23 *sokemen* (Morris 1977, 10.8).

The settlement of Mosborough was laid out around an imperfect pentagon-shaped green (see Figure 187). Wilford was originally laid out around a green but the settlement since appears to have migrated south (see Figure 188). At Wingerworth there is no apparent green, but it is also evident that the settlement was substantially redeveloped upon the construction of the hall and its attached deer park (see Figure 189).

One of best examples of the relationship between *sokemen*, churches, and village greens is within the sokeland of the bishop of Lincoln's manor of Newark in the Nottinghamshire Trent Valley. Domesday Book lists three entries of sokeland for this manor. In the first, Balderton had 26 *sokemen* and 3 *bordars*. The second was a joint entry consisting of *sokeland* at Kilvington, Syerston, Elston, East Stoke, Hawton, Coddington, Barnby-in-the-Willows, and Winthorpe, which together had 77 *sokemen* and 4 *bordars*. The third was another joint entry, for *sokeland* at South Scarle, Girton, Spalford, Thorney, Wigsley, Harby, and Cotham, which are listed with a combined population of 71 *sokemen* and 7 *bordars* (Morris 1977, 6.1-6.4). The combined *sokeman* population of this manor, 174, was far in excess of any other manor recorded in Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire.

The plans of the settlements of Barnby in the Willows (Figure 190), Coddington (Figure 191), East Stoke (Figure 192), Elston (Figure 193), Harby (Figure 194), Girton (Figure 195), South Scarle (Figure 196), Spalford (Figure 197), Syerston (Figure 198) all show evidence for greens. Of the 16 settlements within the sokeland of Newark manor, 11 feature a village green. Of the remaining five, four were the smallest settlements of the group, recorded as no bigger than hamlets in the OS maps of 1880, and showing no signs of having declined. Only in the cases of Winthorpe (Figure 199) and Wigsley (Figure 200) is there a difficulty in identifying a green, although nonetheless the settlement could have developed as a green-side settlement. Farndon and Balderton were recorded as berewicks of Newark (Morris 1977, 6.1). Balderton was listed twice in Domesday Book; once as a berewick and once as sokeland (*ibid*., 6.2). Newark, Balderton, and Farnsdon were together listed with a population of 56 burgesses (presumably all resident in Newark), 42 *villeins*, 7 *sokemen*, and 4 *bordars* (*ibid*., 6.1). As *sokeland*, Balderton was listed with a further 26

sokemen and 3 *bordars* (*ibid.*, 6.2). Farndon appears to have been created around a green which was settled upon piecemeal, and upon which a church was founded (see Figure 201). There is no evidence for a green within the settlement of Balderton (see Figure 202), though a funnel-shaped opening at the north of the settlement may have reflected where the settlement opened onto a large common, similar to the opening at the north end of Norton in the North Sherwood case study (Chapter 5). Within the manor of Newark, almost every settlement which had a majority *sokeman* population, and was larger than a hamlet was laid out around a green.

All of the settlements in Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire examined within this section are plotted in Figure 203. This evidence would appear to demonstrate significant evidence for settlements founded with greens or commons in Nottinghamshire especially but also Derbyshire, as well as a possible link in the presence of *sokemen* to the creation of churches upon greens. This evidence has been gathered from across the counties, but together with the examination of Carlton and the several greens demonstrated within the case studies, these trends may also have applied to the forests of High Peak and Sherwood.

Several important caveats must be added to this discussion. The settlements examined within this section may have been atypical. The naming of a settlement after its *ceorl* population would suggest this was not normal, and furthermore it was the atypical numbers of *sokemen* recorded within Newark manor (in relation to the surrounding manors) that led to its selection for analysis within this section. It is important to note also that despite the correlation, this does not mean that all villages with greens or common land were *sokeman* villages. Nor does it mean that every *sokeman* village had to contain a green or area of common land. Stocker and Everson (2006, 67) challenge these issues through a table comparing a settlement's Domesday population with whether it had a green, and a church or manor house on that green. This analysis is nonetheless open to the challenge that the status of the occupants may have changed between the settlement being laid out and it being documented in Domesday Book.

Within Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire, settlements laid out around greens but lacking a *sokeman* population in their corresponding manor in Domesday Book are more common than settlements which had a *sokeman* population in their corresponding manor but lacked a green. This tallies with the occupants of *sokeman*

villages often having their status reduced, which Stocker and Everson's (2006, 117) attribute as being often due to manorialisation before 1086. This could have happened in the pre-Conquest period, or could have happened between 1066 and 1086. Faith (1997, 215) observes that there was a sharp reduction in numbers of *sokemen* immediately after the Norman Conquest, in which case some manors recorded with *villeins* and *bordars* in 1086 would have originally been *sokeman* villages.

Regardless of these technicalities, the research undertaken for this thesis presented here strongly supports there being a significant correlation between *sokeman* populations and settlements laid out around a central green. The results from the forest in the parish case studies, in comparison with previous research and other settlements in Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire, suggest that a number of *sokeman* villages may have existed within the forests. Given the relative proximity of Lincolnshire and Cambridgeshire to the traditional heartlands of village greens in East Anglia, the results from this thesis, predominantly from the Trent Valley and south of Nottinghamshire, are perhaps the most surprising of all. It further demonstrates that Roberts and Wrathmell's (2003; 2000) landscape provinces were subject to regional variations, as they themselves predicted, and shows that nuanced settlement characteristics could transcend the boundaries of the settlement provinces.

What the relationship which has been established between *sokemen* and greens – sometimes with churches founded upon – tells us about the nature of communities and the power of groups of freemen and *sokemen* to direct the growth of settlements will be discussed in the following chapters.

7.4 The Impact of the Forest Administration on Settlement

It is possible to identify a series of ways in which the forest administration impacted on settlement, although it must be noted that generally settlements developed as they would have done outside of Forest Law. The roles that different settlements

played in the forest administration were complicated and often a single site could play many different roles, whereas others could play none.

The centre of the King's hunting in Sherwood Forest was originally located in Mansfield before a new palatial hunting lodge was constructed at Clipstone. The new hunting lodge was known as King John's Palace but was actually constructed by Henry II in 1164-5 (Crook 1984, 20). The King's hunting base in the Forest of High Peak, particularly for Henry II through to Henry III, was Peveril Castle at Castleton, which was originally a private castle built by William Peverel in the 1080s as his manorial *caput*, from which his son was dispossessed (Clarke 2014; Curtis *et al.* 2013, 4; Warren 1977, 61; Yeatman 1892, 161).

In the Forest of High Peak, the warden of the forest was also based at Peveril Castle. As mentioned, the forest's first warden William Peverel constructed the castle as his own Peak *caput*, and after his dispossession the castle reverted to the Crown and continued as the base of the warden, as the position of warden of the forest was routinely granted with the position of constable of the (now royal) castle (Curtis *et al.* 2013, 7). In Sherwood Forest the first known warden was Gerard de Normanville who was granted the post by William I; Normanville's descendants, the de Caux and de Everingham families, were the hereditary keepers of the forest and the lords of Laxton, which served as their *caput* (Crook 2011, 106, 111). After the dispossession of Robert de Everingham in 1289 the position of warden was granted to a series of individuals for life only, and was awarded in conjunction with the position of Constable of Nottingham Castle, making this then the base of the forest warden (Cox 1905, 39, 215).

The most important court of the forest was the Court of Justice Seat, also called the forest eyre court or the pleas of the forest, as discussed in section 1.3.5, which was overseen by the Justice of the Forest (also called the Chief Forester), or on rare occasions the King himself. At any one time there was only one, and later two, Justice of the Forest (Grant 1991, 88-111). For Sherwood Forest these courts were held consistently at Nottingham (Cox 1905, 206, 213). For the Forest of High Peak these were held initially at Wormhill, then at Camera in Campana (Peak Forest), then at Chapel-en-le-Frith, and finally from the late thirteenth century there are records of this court being held at Derby (Curtis *et al.* 2013, 6; Cox 1905, 151, 160; Kerry 1893, 69-70).

The Swainmote Courts and Attachment Courts dealt with lesser offences and were overseen by each forest's individual warden and verderers. In the Forest of Sherwood these were held at Mansfield, Edwinstowe, Linby, and Calverton (Cox 1905, 14, 212). The Forest of High Peak had a court for each of its three wards, the court for Campana was initially at Wormhill but was moved to Camera in Campana (Peak Forest); for Longendale the courts were held at Chapel-en-le-Frith; and for Hopedale the courts were held at Hope (Cox 1905, 152; Kerry 1893, 69-70).

The actions of the foresters had more of a direct impact on the physical nature of settlements. The foresters of the Foret of High Peak in 1225 purchased land from William de Ferrers to construct a church at Chapel-en-le-Frith, over which they held the right to appoint the chaplain (Curtis *et al.* 2013, 6; Burton 1966, 41; Kirke 1917; Cox 1905, 151). In the mid-thirteenth century, the foresters constructed a chapel and hall at Peak Forest, the *Chamber in Campana* (Hey 2014, 46).

7.5 Conclusion

It has been shown that the forests attracted a large number of industries, including mining, pottery production, metal-working, charcoal production, glass production, tanning, and pastoral farming. The rich mining and iron-production industry of the Weald and the wood-pasture of Arden, both non-afforested areas, show that many of the "forest" activities explored here could also be found in areas not covered by Forest Law. Therefore, it seems it was the resource-rich nature of the forest landscapes that attracted these industries, and the application of Forest Law may not have significantly contributed to their initial development. If the action of applying Forest Law to an area did not necessarily initiate or promote the industries discussed here, then it raises the possibility that it was at least in part used as a means of gaining control over them. As Birrell (1969, 92) argues, the local peasantry was deeply involved in these industries; peasants in and around the forests were employed, often-part time, to work in these specialised industries. Some of the peasants were employed by lords to carry out this work, while others did so independently. Some of the peasants engaged in this work secondarily to agriculture, while for some these specialised crafts were their primary occupation

(*ibid.*). Already discussed are the peasants of Whittlewood Forest and the Forest of Dean whose surnames suggest were involved in specialised industries, including Carpenter, Sawyer, Cooper and Smith. Birrell's (1969, 93) research has demonstrated that many of these figures were nonetheless documented engaging in agriculture as their primary occupation. One powerful independent group of free peasants were the freeminers of the Forest of Dean, who had the power to mine independently; it is possible that the Forest of High Peak's intensive mining industry was to a large or small extent perpetuated by a similar class of independent freeminers.

There is no evidence that afforestation increased the role or scale of the many industries discussed, but it does seem to be the case that, directly or indirectly, afforestation covered areas where they were already prevalent. Forest Law may have been used as a means to closely regulate and tax areas of natural resources and industry. Birrell (1969, 92) was correct in concluding that the forest industries were not unique to forests, but the forest dwellers were particularly well placed to engage in them.

Many of the industries required large supplies of timber to operate, and how they circumvented Forest Law is not certain, but it is absolutely inconceivable that the industries were operating so conspicuously at a large scale (for example, the metal-workers) without having a formal arrangement with the foresters and an authorised supply of timber. This could have been in the form of the craft-workers being granted, or paying for, supplies of timber. In light of the large grants of timber recorded being awarded from forests, Birrell (1969, 92-93) asserts that there were permanent professional woodcutters working for the king in the forests. One hypothesis is that there was a constant sustainable supply of forest timber readily available to purchase by anyone who required it, and it was via this means that forest industries were supplied. Under this hypothesis, far from Forest Law making timber strictly unattainable except via rare gifts from the king, forest timber may actually have been an enterprise operated by the forest officials for the king, with the enforcement of Forest Law protecting this as strictly a royal monopoly. The gifts of timber from the forests often evidenced in documentary sources may therefore have been noteworthy not for being the only means by which forest timber was

attainable, but instead only for the volume of timber being transferred and the fact that it was being given for free.

It can be seen from this discussion that from the aspect of industry, the tier of society being most hurt by Forest Law was the aristocracy. It is worth clarifying here exactly what the impact of Forest Law relating to woodland was. Forest Law made it illegal to cut down trees on your own land. Chopping down and taking trees from someone else's property was illegal and classed as theft whether it occurred in a forest or not. As a result, the forest laws on woodland only impacted upon those who owned woodland; generally speaking, this was not the peasantry, especially the tied peasantry. As a result, the ramifications of Forest Law on woodland were of less impact on the peasantry. If timber from royal land in forests was available for purchase, tied-peasants, free-proprietor peasants, and the aristocracy each could have done so should they require it, but this would have been the most bothersome for the aristocracy who already had woodland on their own land which they could not cut down and use it without breaking Forest Law. The rare times that the aristocracy and episcopacy were granted rights to clear their own woodland, it was for their own use rather than to sell, therefore still protecting a royal monopoly on the timber trade.

In the Anglo-Saxon landscape there were large areas of natural resources over which the peasants of surrounding villages held common rights, such as the woods of Sherwood and the Whittlewood, and the large areas of pasture and natural minerals found in Peak, Rockingham, and Dean; the new Norman monarchy took advantage of these large areas of resources by converting them to forests. As Rackham (1998, 40-41) notes, these ancient rights were not replaced by Forest Law, which merely added the prohibition on hunting and cutting down trees to the pre-existing body of rights. In looking for areas to cover with Forest Law, control over important and prosperous industries and high levels of natural resources may have been significant factors.

Generally speaking, in the first centuries after the Norman Conquest peasants' common rights dwindled at a rapid rate; rising populations caused the clearance of woodland, the growth of settlement and the enclosure of areas that had originally been commons. Despite the perception that the forests were an affront to the rights of the peasants of the forests, the situation was more complicated. By restricting

lords from assarting and enclosing their own land within the forests, Forest Law actually helped preserve the peasants' common rights by protecting the landscapes these rights covered, thus helping the rights themselves survive. It can therefore be seen that, though it has been observed that Forest Law did not initiate the industries that existed within them, the manner in which they protected common rights may have also protected the industries which relied upon these rights.

This chapter has presented and drawn together the evidence for forests as landscapes containing important industries which took advantage of significant natural resources. It has been seen how the primary actors in these industries were often members of the peasantry, who held ancient common rights over areas of the forest. The conditions set by Forest Law curtailed lords from actions such as assarting and prevented them extending their arable land at the cost of the woodland and the community's common rights. Forests were therefore largely unaffected by the need to clear woodland for the creation of settlement and farmland which existed in the rest of the country during the population expansion of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. As the English population did not reach the same levels for several centuries the need to clear woodland for settlement has only re-emerged during the modern era. The association of forests as large areas of woodland that exists today can therefore be attributed to two factors. Firstly, the fact that high quantities of natural resources, including timber, were selected to be a forest. Secondly, by protecting woodland from settlement and agricultural expansion during the population peak of the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, and the fact that the need for more land has only since re-emerged in the modern era means that woodland within former forests is more likely to have survived to the present. Similarly, as shall be explored in the next chapter on power relations, not only were ancient common rights also more likely to survive in forests, but the general durability of the rights of the inhabitants of ancient royal demesne, which forests generally were, created an unusually powerful peasantry. As shall also be seen in the next chapter, the free peasantry also played an active role in the administration of the forests.

Chapter 8: Power-Relations and Social Dynamics in Medieval Sherwood and the Peak, 650-1348

The previous chapter, the first of the synthetic discussion chapters, examined settlement dynamics, including common land and industry. This chapter will discuss medieval power-relations and social dynamics in Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire, and especially the forests of Sherwood and High Peak. Throughout this thesis an array of evidence has been presented for expressions of power and agency across the social hierarchy. This chapter will draw together and discuss the evidence for the application of power within the forests, including traditional manifestations of power such as that of royal, aristocratic, and ecclesiastical figures, as well as the limitations to their power. The chapter will also explore power and agency from the less traditional perspective of that held by the peasantry. Furthermore, the social processes and context which impacted upon, and shaped, expressions of power and agency within the medieval forests will also be explored.

8.1 Royal Power

The core principle of Forest Law was that within afforested areas the king held privileges beyond what the monarch ordinarily held under English Common Law. Crucially, Forest Law did not simply make it illegal to hunt the Beasts of the Forest or cut down trees, but stipulated that these acts were illegal regardless of who owned the land or who the perpetrator was (other than the king) (see Grant 1991, 4-7 and Young 1979, 3). The king was, therefore, extraordinarily powerful within the forests. Forest Law tended to be applied in areas where there was already a high proportion of royal demesne (Grant 1991, 7). As explored in Chapter 7, Forest Law allowed the Crown to tightly control and tax the use of natural resources and the industries found within their bounds, with the effect that a royal monopoly existed on timber sales, while rights such as to operate forges were sold as franchises. The power of the king was manifested archaeologically in various ways. The only deer

parks revealed within the Forest of High Peak or Sherwood Forest (see Chapter 3, section 3.3.8; Chapter 5; and Chapter 6) were royally-owned. Similarly, the vast majority of castles within the Forest of High Peak or Sherwood Forest were royally-owned or operated by the king's forest officials (see Chapter 3, section 3.3.4). The king constructed palatial hunting lodges within the forests, as found at Clipstone (Chapter 5).

8.2 Aristocratic Power

In one sense, Forest Law did little to disrupt the operation of lords within the forest. As seen in Chapter 3, section 3.3.8, a new Norman landowning class largely replaced the English landowners of pre-1066 in the forests of High Peak and Sherwood, just as elsewhere in England. The effects of the Norman Conquest on landownership were particularly strong in Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire, where by 1086 the vast majority of privately-held land had transferred to Norman lords (see Chapter 3). In the bounds of the Forest of High Peak this was especially evident, where Domesday Book records no land held by the same individual in both 1066 and 1086 (Morris 1978); the majority was royal demesne in 1066 and 1086, or was otherwise held by William Peverel (*ibid.*, 7.7). A stretch of land in the Trent Valley in Nottinghamshire did retain a number of Saxon lords, and this occurrence crossed into the Thorneywood area of Sherwood Forest, where Anglo-Saxon or Anglo-Scandinavian lords including Healfdene of Cromwell and Aelfric of Colwick retained land in 1086 (Morris 1977, 30.5, 30.8) In the north of Sherwood Forest, the majority of land was royal demesne in 1066 and 1086 (*ibid.*, 1.23, 1.24), but again a significant amount was also transferred to Norman lords such as Roger de Bully (*ibid.*, 9.38, 9.39, 9.40).

Forest Law did little to impact on the operations of manors or the control of lords over their tenants. Within this sphere power lay with the lord and the manorial court (see, for example, Grant 1991, 77). Evidence has been presented for members of the aristocracy within the forests using their power to influence the development of settlement. The development of the rural borough at Castleton, with its church, market, castle, and defences, suggests that it was laid out as a planned borough,

orchestrated by its lord, William Peverel (see Chapter 6). Similarly, manorial lords within the forests acted to stimulate economic activity through the creation of markets. The markets held at Market Warsop were granted to manorial lords John de Lexington and John de Ros (Letters 2005). Furthermore, surrounding the forests, lords were noted in the case studies to have created markets at Cuckney and Bakewell (see Chapter 5 and Chapter 6).

The role of manorial lords in planning the physical form of settlements has previously been researched (for example, see Aston 1985, 73 and Roberts 2008, chapter 8). There are instances from the forests of High Peak and Sherwood which support this. In addition to Castleton, the plan of Market Warsop was likely orchestrated by John de Lexington, or possibly John de Ros, the manorial lords of the settlement to whom market charters were granted. Surrounding the forests, the plans of settlements such as Norton and Taddington appear to suggest involvement by their landlords (see Chapter 5 and Chapter 6).

The depopulation and destruction of villages by lords for conversion to other forms of land use, such as parkland and open pasture, is a particularly extreme example of the power of lords over their manors. This practice occurred predominantly in the wake of the Black Death, and especially after 1450 (Dyer 1982, 19), when falling rent values and food prices made agricultural farming markedly less profitable than in previous centuries. In such cases as these, deliberate depopulation often followed several years of natural decline. In rarer instances, abandonment occurred before 1350 (Dyer 2000, 18). There were no examples of deliberate depopulations by secular landlords that emerged within the forests in the case studies, but a possible example is Annesley in Nottinghamshire, at the west edge of the Sherwood Forest. The location of the village was seemingly immediately to the north of the deer park (and west of Annesley Hall), which was, according to historical accounts, created in 1327 (NMR: 318085). The park was later expanded in the post-medieval period to incorporate what had been the area of the settlement (NHER: M2564), which had declined to the point of complete depopulation (NHER: M2562). It is possible however that the 1327 bounds of the park had already included an area of the settlement which was depopulated and destroyed. For instance, part of the original settlement may have extended between the sites of Annesley Castle (NHER: M2563) and Annesley Hall (NHER: M5299), which was built to replace the motte

and bailey castle before the fourteenth century, and before the creation of the first known park, along a trackway now known as Dog and Bear Lane (see Figure 204 204). It can also be noted that the medieval park appears to have been located immediately outside of the the post-1227 forest border, with the park bounds even seemingly following the forest border (see also Figure 204); this appears to reflect an effort to operate a park as close to the forest as legally possible.

The lords of the forest patronised churches and used funerary monuments in the display of their status. The church of Church Warsop was founded alongside the manorial *curia*, and as a result may have been constructed by an early manorial lord. Chapter 5 and Chapter 6 examined churches outside the forests at Cuckney (patronised by the de Cuckney family), Fledborough (patronised by the de Lisures family, with associated monuments), Cromwell (patronised by the Cromwell family), Bakewell (patronised by the Gernon family), where similarly lords used church building phases and monuments as means of expression.

Several individuals of seemingly aristocratic status were involved in the forest hierarchy, serving as verderers. These figures included Robert de Pierrepont, recorded as a verderer in 1330 (Blagg 1939, 120), who was manorial lord of Holme Pierrepont (Thoroton 1790a, 177-181); Sir Richard de Bingham was recorded as a manorial lord in 1303 (Standish 1914, 191), and was manorial lord of Bingham (Thoroton 1790a, 272); Sir William de Bevercotes was recorded as a verderer in 1253 (Maxwell-Lyte 1908, 171), and was manorial lord of Bevercotes (Thoroton 1796, 355-357); Sir John de Annesley was a verderer in 1280 (Standish 1914, 9), and was manorial lord of Annesley (Thoroton 1790b, 266-270); Sir Richard de Jorce, was a verderer in 1280 (Standish 1914, 9-10), and was manorial lord of Burton Joyce (Thoroton 1796, 18-23). The status of these individuals, however, will be investigated further in Chapter 9.

In these ways the operations of lords within the forests of High Peak and Sherwood was not unlike unafforested areas, and the overall impact of Forest Law should not be exaggerated. In another sense, it can be noted that a person taking deer or trees from land that they did not own was already illegal, as theft or poaching under common law (see Grant 1991, 63). As noted in the introduction to section 8.1, the impact of Forest Law was to make these acts illegal when carried out by a person on their own land. It follows therefore that the forest laws most heavily impacted

on those who owned – or rented – land large enough to hunt or clear trees upon, while having little impact at all on the unfree peasantry.

Aristocrats were frequency punished by the forest administration for infringements within the forests. Indeed, the majority of cases brought before the eyre courts, concerned the gentry and aristocracy, as well as members of the ecclesiastical hierarchy (Hanawalt 1998, 142). Furthermore, fines for contravening Forest Law were often set by the ability of the guilty individual to pay (Grant 1991, 48). A number of cases from the forests of High Peak and Sherwood concerned the aristocracy. In Sherwood Forest, John, son of Lord John de Gray, and his retinue were caught in the woods of Bestwood carrying bows and chasing deer, having already killed two (Cox 1905, 213). More notably, in 1286 the keeper of the forest himself, Robert de Everingham, with John de Everingham, John the Constable and eight others were held in Nottingham Castle charged with poaching venison, and subsequently de Everingham was deprived of the hereditary keepership (Cox 1905, 205). At the 1251 forest pleas of the Forest of High Peak, William de Ferrers, the Earl of Derby, Ralph de Beaufoy of Trusley, William May, Richard Curzon of Chaddesden, and Henry de Elton were charged with killing over 2,000 of the king's deer during de Ferrer's tenure as bailiff (1216-1222). De Ferrers had died in 1246, but Ralph, Robert and Henry were imprisoned and upon release were heavily fined, with Robert paying £40 and Ralph £10 (Cox 1905, 155). Similarly, a group including Thomas Gresley, lord of the manor of Castle Gresley, his brother Alan, and the Earl of Arundel were charged with taking three harts and two hinds (Cox 1905, 155). In another case, William de Vesci was charged with taking three harts also in the Forest of High Peak (Cox 1905, 156).

Consequently, it is not surprising that it was the aristocracy who put up the strongest resistance to Forest Law. Alongside the issue of *Magna Carta*, grievances over Forest Law were enough for the Barons to also issue the Charter of the Forest in 1217 (Grant 1991, 137). The terms of the charter dictated that landowners would be allowed to bring their lands into cultivation without hindrance and to make mills and fishponds (*ibid.*, 138). Other terms sought to limit the power of the forest officials, who were to be limited in number, while fines for unlawed dogs and cheminage were standardised. Furthermore, the holding of scot ales (discussed in Chapter 7) was banned (*ibid*, 138-139). The individual status of the forest officials

will be discussed in more depth in the next chapter, but evidence for the independent farmsteads that the hereditary foresters held in return for their forest service (see Chapter 6) illustrates that they were, at least initially, members of the upper peasantry who could be considered franklins, or what would later be called the yeomanry.

The foresters and their underforesters frequently sought to abuse their position, through poaching, making illegal assarts, embezzling fines (Grant 1991, 115), collecting illegally high sums for fines (Young 1979, 82), interfering with rights of common (Grant 1991, 134), and making false accusations for forest offences (*ibid.*, 119); examples have also been discussed in this thesis of the foresters holding scot ales (Chapter 7, section 7.1.6) and evading fees for pasture (Chapter 7, section 7.1.6). It is possible that at least part of the aristocracy's outrage at the actions of the foresters was based upon the fact that, by right, the foresters were generally of lower social standing than themselves. Forest Law made no distinction between lord and peasant; it contorted the social hierarchy by giving its forest officials an arena in which they held power over all but the king. Viewed in this context, the terms of the Charter of the Forest can be perceived as intentionally defining the powers of the foresters. In so doing, the aristocracy had leverage against the foresters abusing their position. An additional clause within the Charter of the Forest dictated that barons and bishops would henceforth have the right to take one or two deer when travelling through a forest (Grant 1991, 139); this clause introduced the notion that bishops and barons should have privileges beyond the rest of society under Forest Law.

8.3 Ecclesiastical Power

Like the aristocracy, the ecclesiastical hierarchy can be noted to have influenced the settlement and landscape within the forests in a number of ways. After the Norman Conquest, the archbishop of York was one of the biggest landowners in Sherwood Forest (Morris 1977, 5.9, 5.10, 5.18). The ecclesiastical hierarchy may have had a role in the planning of settlements, for example the plans of Calverton and Blidworth in the forest, as well as Farnsfield and Oxton outside the forest (as seen

in Chapter 5). The ecclesiastical hierarchy likely had a role in the patronage of the churches at these sites, while further patronage of church building by ecclesiastical figures was seen at Edwinstowe. Evidence was presented from Oxton, slightly outside the forest, for funerary monuments in the church monumentalising important ecclesiastical figures within the manor, comparable with those of manorial lords in their churches.

A major impact of the Church within forests was in the form of monasteries. No examples were found within the area of the parish case studies. Rufford Abbey was founded in 1147 through a donation by Gilbert de Gaunt (Barley 1957). The expansion of the abbey estate in 1156 required the destruction of the villages of Rufford, Grimston, Cratley, and Inkersall, all located within Sherwood Forest, and the depopulated peasants were moved to the new village of Wellow (Barley 1957). Another settlement, Beesthorpe, was depopulated to allow the construction of a monastic grange for Rufford Abbey (NHER: M4214). The creation of Newstead Abbey was probably not quite as destructive, but may have required the depopulation of a settlement at Newstead when it was founded in 1163 (NHER: MNT26781). Close to the northern border of Sherwood Forest located close to Cuckney was Welbeck Abbey, a house of Premonstratensian canons founded in 1154, which similarly perhaps necessitated the destruction of a settlement at Welbeck (NHER: M4375).

Just as with the aristocracy, there were various instances of the clergy being punished for contravening Forest Law. Nicholas de Nottingham, rector of Clipstone (the sole reference to a rector at Clipstone), was fined for taking branches within the forest (Cox 1905, 212). The rector of Kirkby, Robert de Kirkby, was fined for taking a dry stub (*ibid.*). William de Bevercote, a prebendary of Southwell, was imprisoned at Nottingham Castle, probably for poaching venison (*ibid.*). The clergy protested heavily to being tried within the forest courts, insisting that they could only be tried within ecclesiastical courts; this dispute, which involved even the pope, proved ultimately unsuccessful (Grant 1991, 81-84).

8.4 Communal Power and Peasant Agency

The peasantry, especially the upper peasantry, have been demonstrated to have had a great degree of agency and independence within the forests. An important consideration is that large areas of the forests of High Peak and Sherwood were royal demesne (see Chapters 3, 5 and 6). The work of McIntosh (2002) was discussed in Chapter 1, which noted that the Crown had little enthusiasm for controlling the operation of its individual manors or increasing tax revenues through micro-management. This gave tenants of royal demesne an exceptional degree of autonomy. This did have drawbacks, such as that as discussed in Chapter 7, the Crown's lack of motivation in maximising profit meant that it did not grant peasants larger landholdings created from cleared woodland or heathland, especially as this meant damaging the forest. Peasants under entrepreneurial manorial lords sometimes did have this opportunity (Dyer 2002, 160-161; Dyer 1990; Roberts 1968, 103-109), yet these grants were made solely in the expectation of receiving higher rents in return. Generally, however, the lack of lordly inference was to the benefit of tenants of royal demesne, as shall be seen in this chapter and Chapter 9.

The royal manor of Dunham demonstrates the power of the peasant community within royal demesne, and how change in manorial status and Forest Law may have impacted on the rights of the tenants, as studied by Crook (2013). The manor was not located within the forests of High Peak or Sherwood, but was located within the Forest of the Clay (disafforested in 1227 [Crook 2011, 112]) and was examined in Case Study 3 within Chapter 5. For several years the profit of the royal manor was given through grants of *terre date* to the count of Flanders and the count of Bologne (the manor fluctuated between the two because of the changing allegiance of the king), and the manor was administered by their appointed officials (Crook 2013, 75). Between 1156 and 1160, the yearly accounts of the manor of Dunham were taken by the sheriff for the king, but granted to the count of Flanders. In 1161, the income was still granted to the count, but the account was rendered by the men of the vill themselves and a second entry records Hugh and Vlfgiet accounting for £50, of which £6 4s was surplus; possibly these were two men of Dunham (*ibid.*). Dunham was then absent from the rolls between 1163 and 1166, when it paid a judicial penalty of 2 marks; the next year another penalty of 20s was paid for

breaking Forest Law. In 1170 the name of the count of Flanders was crossed out and replaced with the count of Boulogne (*ibid.*). By 1175 it had been granted back to the count of Flanders, and then by 1181 it had once again been granted to the count of Boulogne; this time however the staff of William de Mandeville, Earl of Essex took over the administration of Dunham on behalf of the count of Boulogne (*ibid.*, 76-78). For the tenants of the manor, having been pawns in a political game with the manor passing between the counts of Bologne and Flanders since 1155, the manorial administrators of William de Mandeville were a step too far. In the 1182 account of the annual sum owed by Nottinghamshire to the king, the entry for Dunham, as cited by David Crook (2013, 73, 78), reads:

'The soke of Dunham renders account of £40 for having confirmation of their liberties which they had in the time of King Henry.'

This was the first reference to a rural community's "liberties" in English history (*ibid.*, 73). The aristocratic owners had been more scrupulous in utilising the manor for profit than the Crown had been, to the detriment of the comfort of lifestyle of the occupants (*ibid.*, 77-78). It is evident that the community of Dunham were accustomed to the privileges of royal demesne, and lately enduring life as occupants of what was now in practice an aristocratically-operated manor, had to fight to retain the liberties they had enjoyed before 1155 (*ibid.*, 78). This highlights the difference between living within a royal manor and an aristocratic manor, and supports McIntosh's (2002) study of peasant autonomy within the royal manor of Havering. The community of Dunham were confident in the rights that were owed to them as occupants of (what came to be described as) ancient royal demesne, and were willing to pay to retain them (Crook 2013, 78).

The administration of the manor of Dunham continued to fluctuate, and over the following years was moved between John, Count of Mortain (later King John) and the count of Boulogne and his son-in-law and heir Renaud de Dammartin (Crook 2013, 79-81). In 1205 the manor was granted to foresters Geoffrey de Jorz and Richard de Lexington, together with land in Ragnall and Carlton, in order to sustain them financially (*ibid.*). In 1213, Renaud de Dammartin, again in possession of the manor, was captured in battle and remained a prisoner for thirteen years. Throughout this time Dunham was in principle still in his control (*ibid.*). In 1220, perhaps seizing on the weak leadership, the community of the manor of Dunham

complained to the king's chief minister that the commoners of Dunham had lost their ancient pasture in the creation of a royal park at Kingshaugh, as they were also barred from accessing the park's surrounding woodlands (*ibid.*). This wrong was corrected by allowing the commoners to use the woods around the park for pasture, and by the following year the sheriff had ordered the commoners' right of pasture to be extended, over the area between Dunham and Markham and within the king's wood at Kingshaugh, where the park created by King John ceased to exist (*ibid.*, 81). In the king's survey of knights' fees, sergeantries and granted royal lands made in 1212, the men of the manor themselves provided the information required to the sheriff, the only other manor to do so was Mansfield (Crook 2013, 80).

In 1225 the Forest of the Clay was disafforested leaving Dunham outside of Forest Law, and around the same time the forests of north Nottinghamshire were remodelled leaving Sherwood Forest as the sole forest in Nottinghamshire, as it remained for the rest of the medieval period (Crook 2013, 82; Crook 2011). Simultaneously, the ancient rights held by the community of Dunham slowly began to be dismantled. This was not immediate, for a time Dunham retained its status as ancient royal demesne, and this was used in 1273 to justify its occupants being exempt from pontage, murder fines, and fines imposed on Nottinghamshire as a whole, just as precedent had previously dictated (Crook 2013, 82). Crook (*ibid.*) suggests that it was an appeal by the community to the Earl of Pembroke, the contemporary owner, that resulted in this clarification. In 1320, the sheriff was ordered not to harass the men of Darlton and Ragnall to appear on assizes and juries, because as tenants of Dunham's ancient sokeland they were exempt (*ibid.*). The grants by which Dunham was held by private lords from the king were understood to be temporary and consisted of the right to administrate the manor and keep its income, but were nonetheless temporary – if indefinite – leases (*ibid.*). Over time, by the fourteenth century, the grants were understood to allow permanent private ownership of the manor; in 1327, the exclusion of Dunham from a list of royal demesne lands indicates it was no longer regarded as such (*ibid.*). This was nearly 200 years after the manor was first routinely granted to private lords and is testament not only to the durability of the status of ancient royal demesne, but also the resolute and independent community of the manor who worked over several generations to retain their privileged status. Nonetheless, their struggle to retain their royal demesne rights was lost.

A comparison can be made with the manor of Mansfield, where similar conflicts over ancient precedent occurred. Unlike Dunham, Mansfield remained afforested throughout the High Medieval and Late Medieval periods. Just as the community of Dunham paid a fine of £40 in 1182 to retain its liberties, the community of Mansfield paid a fine of 15 marks in 1200 to retain their right of common pasture in the park of Clipstone, which they had held before its emparkment in the 1170s (Crook 2006). In 1217, the manor was temporarily granted to Flemish knight Adam de St Martin, as an important ally of the king against France (*ibid.*, 23). In 1219 the community paid 20 marks to hold their lands as they had in the time of kings John and Henry III before the grant to St Martin, and not to be required to provide services and customs other than what were traditionally required, but what exactly these entailed was not specified (*ibid.*, 24). St Martin must have resisted, for sheriff Philip Marc was ordered to sequestrate the manor later the same year. Marc was then required to give the issues of the manor and the previous year's corn to St Martin in a manner that did not trouble the people of Mansfield and then return possession of the manor to him. Furthermore, St Martin was warned to take only the rightful rents and services, without destruction or waste of the manor's woods or men (*ibid.*, 24). St Martin had possession of the manor for a further three years without complaint (*ibid.*, 25). The community of Mansfield were far more successful than that of Dunham in retaining their status as ancient royal demesne, and were still citing this status in the reign of Queen Elizabeth I when it was granted to a private lord, and verifications of its status were made in 1685 and 1689 through reference to Domesday Book; incredibly one privilege of ancient demesne status, the little writ of right close – used in land transfers – was employed in Mansfield's soke court until 1809 (Crook 2013, 83). The Mansfield court roll contains no references to seigniorial prosecutions, which form the bulk of court rolls in non-royal manors (Crook 1985, 22). It has been already seen that common rights survived in the forest in return for enduring Forest Law (Chapter 7, section 7.2). Given the decline of Dunham's ancient royal demesne rights after its disafforestation in the thirteenth century, compared to the survival of those at Mansfield, it is not impossible that royal demesne rights were also preserved in the forests in return for being subject to Forest Law.

Another example of the power of peasant communities within the forests comes from Clipstone. The aforementioned appeal in 1200 by the commoners of

Mansfield for their rights of common pasture in areas of woodland lately incorporated into the park of Clipstone was followed by a similar appeal by the commoners of Mansfield Woodhouse at the beginning of the fourteenth century (Wright 2016, 90; Walkerdine and Buxton 1907). In 1327 several further appeals were made; the commoners of Clipstone itself claimed their own right of common pasture within the park of Clipstone, and the commoners of Mansfield Woodhouse claimed further that they had lost two hundred acres of woodland and a hundred acres of waste in an area called *Wodhouswod* adjoining the park at Clipstone (*ibid.*). It seems that this area of woodland was named to reflect its attachment to the commoners of Mansfield Woodhouse. It may have been the case that other areas of woodland around Clipstone and Sherwood were named to reflect the manors whose commoners held rights of pasture there. In 1328 the complaints were brought before Edward II himself by the combined commoners of Mansfield Woodhouse, Warsop, and Clipstone at the King's Houses at Clipstone, with the commoners being led by Robert de Clipstone with Alan Stuffyn, Richard Stuffyn, Alan son of Matthew, Walter le Wolfhunt, Robert de Kirlyngton, and John de Hathelsay (*ibid.*). The king was impressed by de Clipstone, and later in 1328 he was named keeper of the manor (*ibid.*), although it is impossible to say whether his ability or the necessity of silencing him through patronage weighed stronger in his appointment.

A number of the individuals named as present in petitioning the king can be connected with the hierarchy of forest officials. A Robert de Clipstone was recorded as a verderer of the forest in 1329 when he was a witness to a writ granting verderer Richard de Strelley the right to take dead wood in Bestwood, and another witness, Robert de Kirlyngton, was recorded as a regarder (Blagg 1939, 107). The Stuffyn family produced a number of officials, such as Alan Stuffyn, an agister of Clipstone park between 1250 and 1270; his son, also Alan, was a forester in 1288; a Robert Stuffyn was a forester in 1289; and Hugh Stuffyn was a regarder between 1301 and 1322 (Wright 2016, 90). Another Alan Stuffyn was recorded as a regarder of Sherwood Forest in 1329, likely the same individual involved in the Clipstone dispute (Blagg 1939, 107), and by 1347 presumably the same Alan Stuffyn was holding the position of verderer (Blagg 1939, 158). Walter le Wolfhunt was recorded as holding a sergeanty granting him land at Mansfield Woodhouse in exchange for his service in driving wolves out of Sherwood Forest (Blagg 1939, vi). This is a

situation directly comparable with the Forest of High Peak where John le Wolfhunt and Thomas Foljambe were recorded in 1285 as each holding a similar sergeanty in exchange for the same service, a service which also granted them the position of foresters-of-fee (Cox 1905, 33). By association it may have been routine for such sergeanties within areas covered by Forest Law to confer positions within the forest hierarchy. A Walter Wolfhunt was recorded as a regarder of Sherwood Forest (Standish 1914, 233), which if not the same individual was presumably a close relative. John de Hathelsay was recorded as an agister in 1329 (Blagg 1939, 107). From the seven named individuals, only Alan son of Matthew cannot be linked with individuals holding positions in the forest administration.

Wright (2016, 90) presents the view that these named individuals were defending the rights of their community, yet beyond the knowledge that they were leading the complaint to the king, their allegiance and motivation is difficult to judge. It is worthy of note that despite the presence of at least six forest officials in the delegation this was not an issue of Forest Law; commoners often held rights of pasture in royal demesne land covered by Forest Law without this causing conflict (see for example Jones and Page 2006, 113, 224). In fact, as noted in Chapter 7, section 7.2, the retention of these common rights was sometimes presented as being in exchange for living under Forest Law (Manwood 1717, 83). Clipstone, Stuffyn, Kirlyngton, and the other named forest individuals were not therefore present in their capacity as forest officials, but instead seemingly because they were leading members of their community. It may be that their roles within the forest administration enhanced and solidified their social standing within the local community, despite the unpopularity of Forest Law itself; or they were possibly elected to the positions of verderer, regarder, and agister because they were already influential figures within their manors.

A similar analysis can be performed for the Forest of High Peak, except for hereditary foresters rather than verderers. An inquisition of 1318 affirming the origins of the church of Chapel-en-le-Frith recorded as witnesses Thomas le Ragged, Richard de Melner, Richard le Ragged, Thomas Foljambe, Richard Daniel, Richard le Archer, Nicholas Foljambe, Adam Gomfrey, William Hally, Peter le Stratton, Robert le Eyre, and Nicholas de Bagshawe (Burton 1966, 37). These names bear a striking concordance with those of a record of 1285 recording the

hereditary foresters of the Forest of High Peak as Daniel, Archer, Foljambe, Gomfrey, Forester, Wolfhunt, Hally, Shatton, Eyre, Halstead, Balguy, Woodroffe, Hore, Melner, Ragged, Manwaring, and Whitfield (Kerry 1893). The Dark Peak case study in Chapter 6 revealed that many of these families dwelled within independent farmsteads and halls in Hope, Castleton, and Chapel-en-le-Frith, due to an early Norman arrangement which allowed them to hold these lands in return for their forest service.

In Chapter 6, the origin of the church of Chapel-en-le-Frith was discussed, where a group of foresters founded the church in 1220. It emerged that, by the foresters occupying independent farmsteads surrounding the settlement, it is not the case that the forest officials were creating a church for the community of Chapel-en-le-Frith (then called Bowden), but instead that the forest officials in fact *were* the community of Chapel-en-le-Frith, or at least its most prominent members. This bears a very strong similarity to the tenth- and eleventh-century communities of *sokemen* communally-establishing village churches, frequently on green spaces (see Chapter 7).

None of the families of de Clipstone, Stuffyn, le Wolfhunt, de Kirlyngton, and de Hathelsay – the forests officials mentioned in the dispute or 1328 – were recorded as manorial lords in the forest (see for instance, Thoroton 1796; 1790a; 1790b), furthermore the places of dispute – Mansfield, Warsop, and Clipstone – were royal demesne (see Chapter 5; Morris 1977, 1.23, 1.24). These individuals therefore were almost certainly peasants from within the forest community, and certainly of sub-gentry status. Section 8.3 identified what were seemingly members of the aristocracy or gentry who served as verderers within the forest; this section had demonstrated that members of the peasantry (defined following Faith 1997, xi) were also active within the hierarchy of forest officials. The progression of Alan Stuffyn of Sherwood Forest from regarder in 1329 to verderer in 1347 demonstrates the ability to progress through the positions of agister, regarder, and ultimately verderer, although this analysis did not illuminate the mechanics behind these progressions. This section has demonstrated that figures who were involved in the forest hierarchy may also take a leading role in matters such as local disputes and petitioning the king. Whether their role within the forest was a cause or effect of their social standing, these individuals had a social standing which enabled them to

be elected by their community to a position otherwise held by the aristocracy and the gentry.

A number of settlements within royal demesne have been noted to have had, what appear to be, layouts which were the result of planning. The plan of Edwinstowe, for instance, showed a high degree of regularity, while Clipstone, Hope, and Aston also appear to have undergone some degree of orchestration (see Chapter 5 and Chapter 6). Without lordly oversight, any degree of direction within the settlement plan of settlements within royal demesne would appear to be from with the peasant community of the manor, resulting from communal action. The settlement of Wellow immediately outside the boundary of Sherwood Forest, serves as an example of a settlement in which the peasant community were likely responsible for its plan. The last section saw how the peasants of Cratley, Grimston, Inkersall, and Rufford were rehoused at Wellow. According to (Britnell 1996, 63) peasant tenants who lost their homes upon the destruction of their village could gain their freedom from villeinage. Wellow was not present in Domesday Book and may have been a new village created to house the peasants. The village contained a large triangular green, and a further green north-west of the settlement. Originally these were almost certainly a single green, but as the medieval and post-medieval settlement expanded into the green the southern half became isolated (see Figure 205). The concept of a settlement expanding into the greens of "green-side" settlements is one discussed in Chapter 7, section 7.3. At Wellow this process is found in a less developed stage in the OS maps of the nineteenth century than the examples presented from around Newark in Chapter 7. The church at Wellow does not appear to have been placed on a former green, unlike in a large number of cases explored in Chapter 7, section 7.3 where churches were founded by free peasants; in fact it was located on a separate road to the east. The earliest building phases of the church at Wellow date to the twelfth century (Pevsner 1979, 372). The church was originally a chapel to St Mary's at Edwinstowe built by the peasant community shortly after Wellow was created, in the mid to late twelfth century (SCP: Wellow, St Swithun, History). The lack of an association between church and green is presumably because in traditional green-side villages or *sokeman* villages, which developed over a long period, the construction of the church by communal action required a pre-existing communal space. At Wellow, the church and green may have been formed simultaneously. A moat, Gorge Dyke, was constructed around the

settlement by the peasant community (NHER: M4095). It can be noted that the free peasant community at Wellow in the twelfth century created a settlement in a remarkably similar fashion to the development of *sokeman* villages between one and three centuries earlier. It included a large village green, *solskifte* arrangement (see Rowley 1978, 32), and a communally-founded church. Wellow's common rights still exist, with it being reported in the twenty-first century that 40 acres are still held as common grazing, which is purportedly the second-largest such surviving area north of Watford (Wellow Toftholders and Owners Association 2007, 20-21). In the early thirteenth century the peasant community of Wellow tried to claim rights of common pasture over their former grazing lands within the grounds of Rufford Abbey. The abbot responded by appealing to King John that the community could not have common rights over the land of the abbey because it had been granted to the abbey by Gilbert de Gaunt, whereas they now resided on land owned by Robert de Caux. It seems that in the process of accepting their freedom and obtaining new land, their original common rights within Rufford were severed (Holdsworth 1974, 199-203).

Chapter 7 explored the wide range of natural resources that were available within forest landscapes, and how these enabled a wide range of industries in which the peasantry played an important role. These industries within forests provided peasants with opportunity to increase their income. The mining communities within the forests in particular had significant privileges. The freeminers of the Forest of Dean had free grazing rights and the right to use forest timber, whilst the regular commoners had to pay a fee for these rights (Havins 1976, 42). A freeminer, at least in the post-medieval period in the Forest of Dean, was defined as a man over the age of 21 born in the hundred of St Briavel's (roughly contiguous with the bounds of the forest) and who had worked in the forest's mines for a year and a day, or more. Such an individual could apply for a gale, a grant of an area to individually mine, and any royalties from the mine would be collected by the King's Gaveller (*ibid.*, 43). It is noteworthy that the power of the freeminers, and their ancient rights in the royal forest, were strong enough that the mining industry of the Forest of Dean was never nationalised, and freeminers continued to operate at the time of Havins (*ibid.*, 152) writing in the 1970s.

In the thirteenth century the Derbyshire freeminers had customs and privileges from "time immemorial", but in 1287 petitioned for them to be recognised in law (Ford and Rieuwerts 1968, 9). These rights dictated that within the King's Field any man could search for lead ore, and once discovered an application was made to the Barmaster, with a payment of two dishes of lead; this was a standardised unit, the dish itself being held within the community (*ibid.*). The Barmaster would accept the application by granting two meers of ground (a distance of 32 yards within the Forest of High Peak, a lesser distance of 29 yards at Ashford and 28 yards at Youlgreave), wherein the grantee was allowed to mine as deep as they could. For every two meers granted, a third would be granted to the owner of the mineral duties, although this could be purchased by the miners at a value set by the Barmaster (*ibid.*, 10-12). These industries would unquestionably have acted as major focus for settlement within the Peak. The flourishing of a town such as Castleton was almost certainly influenced by opportunities for working within these lucrative industries and the economic activity that they produced.

A landscape with a high degree of moated sites (assuming the majority are not moated manorial sites) is often perceived as an indicator of containing a peasantry with a high degree of agency, with the moated sites being created through woodland clearance (see Oosthuizen 2002, 82-83, Roberts 1968, 112). When the distribution of moated sites recorded by the NMR database (which records substantially more examples than the HER databases) is analysed it emerges that the forests of High Peak and Sherwood contained a low number, in proportion to the Trent Valley (see Figure 206). No examples are known within the Forest of High Peak, while in Sherwood Forest examples may have been found at Calverton (NMR: SK 65 SW 9), Fountain Dale at Lindhurst (NMR: SK 55 NE 5), Lambley (NMR: SK 64 NW 8), and at Lowdham (NMR: SK 64 NE 1). The low number within the forests is not necessarily an argument against a high degree of peasant agency. The high degree of royal demesne in the forests and the lack of opportunity for woodland clearance in royal demesne may have therefore resulted in few moated sites.

Examples of towns were analysed within the forests. New boroughs were frequently created in the High Medieval Period, which conferred its burgesses the right to hold burgage tenements for fixed rents without the obligation of owing services (Dyer 2002, 145). One advantage for the lord was higher rents in return

(*ibid*., 146) as well as increasing the prosperity of their nearby rural manors (*ibid*.). For the peasants, the towns gave the opportunity to engage in potentially lucrative mercantile activity. Within the forests, a planned borough was found at Castleton, which almost certainly benefitted from the trade of lead and coal, from the local mining and agricultural industries (see Chapter 6). Furthermore, the burgesses at Chapel-en-le-Frith may have included some of the foresters themselves (also see Chapter 6).

A range of material culture explored within Chapter 4 suggests that the peasantry engaged in activities such as horse-riding, had some degree of literacy, engaged in the monetised economy, and may have access to certain imported and expensive materials. The nature of PAS material means it is impossible to assess the individual status of the owner of each item of discarded material culture and recorded by the PAS database. A number of factors allow some degree of confidence that the peasantry discarded some of the material recorded. In the case of seal matrices, they actually recorded the name of their owner; analysis of these individuals in Chapter 4, section 4.4 indicated that a number of the seals were owned by figures of sub-gentry status. Within the micro-regional analysis (especially Chapter 5) the discard of material culture in relation to the parish landscapes revealed that the majority were reported from areas such as former open fields and common pasture, to which the peasants had access. One find, from Clipstone, was reported from within what had been a tenement of the settlement. A further source of evidence is that the majority of finds from Sherwood Forest were found surrounding settlements which were within royal demesne (explored further in Chapter 9) where there was no aristocracy or gentry in the High Medieval Period. From these areas, as seen in Chapter 4 and as will be discussed further in Chapter 9, a significant array of coinage has been reported.

The status of seal owners has been discussed by Schofield (2015). He writes that in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries many wealthier peasants and local merchants would use seals in the validation of transactions and they were employed in matters of business even at a village-level (*ibid*., 347-348). *Villein*s may have been expected to have a personal seal before 1300, not for matters relating to their land tenure which was carried out in the manor court, but instead for use, for example, in the purchase of small plots of land, which was an increasingly common practice

for free and unfree peasants alike to engage in (*ibid.*). The recovery of personal seals belonging to peasant members of society, then, is not itself unusual. The degree of literacy within the peasantry is, however, questionable; the use of a seal does not prove that its owner could read or write. Michael Wood (2010, 266-267) in his analysis of the documents of Kibworth in Leicestershire has argued that peasant literacy is underestimated. He argues that the community had literate individuals even in the eleventh century, with the first literate peasant at Kibworth recorded in 1160, and that by 1200 everyone in the settlement was in contact with reading and writing (*ibid.*). Freemen and freewomen, even *villeins*, may have signed a lease of land in the porch of the church in the thirteenth century (*ibid.*). By comparison, it can be inferred that a similar degree of literacy may have existed among the users of the seal matrices in Sherwood Forest and the Trent Valley.

When peasants were punished for contravening Forest Law, the punishments tended to be not as severe as those the aristocracy and ecclesia suffered. In the New Forest in 1325, two poachers were caught hunting with nine greyhounds and a mastiff (Cox 1905, 307). They had killed two does and a fawn and loaded the carcasses onto a mare stolen from the same lands. Upon their capture they were put in the custody of county sheriff, Simon de Wynton. At the eyre court, the sheriff was required to appear and cover the debt of the prisoners, including the cost of the mare. By the time of the court, however, Simon was deceased and the heir to his lands, Sir Richard de Wynton, was required to pay the debt instead (*ibid.*). In another case, from Gloucestershire, two foresters were caught poaching and were fined 12 marks, except the court noted their poverty and inability to pay the fine so pardoned them (Young 1979, 13). In yet another case, Eustace de Hacche and six other transgressors were charged with having taken three does and a hind but were pardoned, likely due to their poverty (Cox 1905, 208). At the eyre court held in Nottingham in 1334, a nine-year-old case was heard, in which Hugh of Wotehall of Woodborough, William Hyend, Wilcock, and Stephen Fleming of Nottingham killed a deer in the woods of Arnold (Cox 1906, 213). By this time, Hyend and Wilcock could not be found and Fleming was since deceased, Hugh was imprisoned but was released and pardoned on account of him being of low wealth (Cox 1906, 213). It has been argued that, ironically, if a peasant were determined to poach venison, then a royal forest was the best place to do it after the thirteenth century, as the punishments were lesser than those for theft in common law or manorial law

(Cox 1905, 11). Even though Forest Law was arguably not concerned with punishing the peasantry as much as limiting the aristocracy, the peasantry was still affected, through the regulations on dogs (Grant 1991, 6; Cox 1905, 19, 47), the payment of cheminage (1905, 59-60), and the foresters blocking the commoners' rights of pasture (Grant 1991, 134). The attitude of the peasantry towards certain aspects of Forest Law is demonstrated by Thomas Cotton, blacksmith of Edwinstowe, who in 1334 was summoned to the forest courts, and on his way to the court fired an arrow at a deer in defiance (Jackson 1976, 5).

8.5 Conclusion

From historical sources, forests would appear to be some of the most socially polarised landscapes in medieval England. In theory, the forests were created solely for the king's enjoyment and within them was a peasant class who were hindered and bullied by oppressive laws. This chapter has presented a different view, in which the forests have been showed to have had a rich interplay of different forms of power. Ultimately, power within the forests lay with the king, especially over matters of protecting the forest; yet the king and his officials were more interested in national concerns than micro-managing the settlements of royal demesne, allowing a great degree of autonomy by the peasants. Manorial lords had powers over their tenants, yet were also more inclined than the king to act with profit in mind, and allow opportunities for expansion that may not have been available within royal demesne. By holding larger areas of land, the aristocracy were affected by Forest Law more than the peasantry; the effect of Forest Law was that it also emphasised hunting as a royal pursuit rather than an aristocratic pursuit. Over matters of Forest Law, the forest officials held power over the aristocracy and ecclesia, despite them being of potentially lower personal status themselves. The forests provided many opportunities to the peasantry, especially the upper peasantry such as *sokemen* and *franklins*, with opportunities to engage in forest industries and the hierarchy of forest officials. The evidence further suggests that these individuals engaged in activities such as settlement planning, church foundation, trade and exchange, and may have been literate. It would be premature

to call these groups anything like a "middling sort", which truly emerged much later (see Smith 2004; Hunt 1996), but it can be argued that these members of the upper peasantry were evidence of its early vestiges, a "proto-middling sort."

Chapter 9: Networks and Identities in Medieval Sherwood and the Peak, 650-1348

The previous discussion chapters have focussed on settlement dynamics and power-relations within the medieval forests of High Peak and Sherwood. This chapter will focus on networks and identities. It will examine the networks of settlement and material culture which have been presented through this thesis and attempt to interpret their meaning. The chapter will also seek to further investigate the identities and status of some of the forest officials, compared to what can be ascertained of their individual ancestral origins.

The basic definition of networks as utilised here is that fragments of archaeological evidence, such as an artefact, funerary monument, settlement, or church, are nodes, and nodes are connected by links. These connections between nodes could be formed according to a wide variety of characteristics. Settlement nodes for instance may be connected by having a certain settlement pattern or a specific landlord. Material culture nodes could be connected according to stylistic similarities, a similar date of origin, being part of the same exchange network by being traded through specific roads or rivers, or made using the same raw material. Any characteristic that can be used to define nodes can be used to form a network (for more detail on networks see the work of Knappett 2013; 2011).

This chapter will in particular draw and expand on much of the evidence presented in Chapter 3, Chapter 4, and the parish case studies. Various forest officials were recorded in documentary sources and these will be presented, their ancestral and social backgrounds have been researched for this thesis and will be analysed, and these figures will be linked to funerary monuments and church architecture to examine the identities that they portrayed relative to their background, and the means by which their status and identity were expressed.

9.1 Network of Central Places and Territories

Within Chapter 3, a correlation was noted between the geographical placement of Bronze Age or Iron Age, Roman, and Medieval central places. This was developed further within the Central Sherwood case study (Chapter 5) and the Dark Peak case study (Chapter 6). In Sherwood Forest, the development of Mansfield was charted from Whinny Hill hillfort, to Mansfield Woodhouse Roman villa, Mansfield royal manorial centre, and ultimately High Medieval town where forest courts were held. In the Forest of High Peak, a similar progression was noted from Mam Tor hillfort, to Brough-*Navio* Roman fort, to Hope royal manorial centre, to the planned Norman borough at Castleton. A similarity was also noted in the Derbyshire Peak between the possible outlines of pre-Roman field systems and medieval open fields.

The meaning of this correlation however is not clear. Caution should be showed before assuming that these centres represent contiguous territories, or that they reflect a smooth and unbroken direct progression of administration. Within Whittlewood, Jones and Page (2006, 64-65) discover a similar sequential patterning of central places. They note an Iron Age territory centred on Whittlebury, followed by the Roman town at Towcester, itself succeeded by an Anglo-Saxon estate centre at Greens Norton (*ibid.*).

There is increasingly a general consensus that pre-Roman estate units influenced early medieval territories (*ibid.*). Williamson *et al.* (2013) found that in Northamptonshire the strongest relationship between Roman and medieval settlement was within the most fertile soils and river valleys, while marginal areas seemingly underwent a higher level of abandonment. This has been supported by Rippon *et al.* (2015), who study nine broad regions across England and Wales. They note various factors which have led to the fifth century AD being viewed as one of ostensible discontinuity, including the perception of a definite end to Roman Britain, the lack of historical sources for the Early Medieval Period, and the debate over the degree of Romano-British population survival and the extent of Anglo-Saxon migration (*ibid.*, 306), as well as distinctive Anglo-Saxon building and material culture styles which had no precedent in the Roman period (*ibid.*, 307). Yet they note that their nine broad units were coherent cultural landscapes across the late

Roman and Early Medieval Periods. For instance, their Central Province was noted to mark an area with a high number of Roman villas, Roman temples, a hierarchy of settlements, and a Romanisation of material culture even within the lowest status sites. In the Early Medieval Period the same province was noted to mark an area of early Anglo-Saxon cemeteries with artefacts and settlements with Grubenhäuser buildings, and in the later medieval period a high degree of villages with open fields (*ibid.*). They discover furthermore a high degree of common orientation and alignment between medieval enclosures and open fields and preceding Roman field systems (*ibid.*, 323). The strongest evidence for discontinuity that they note is from marginal landscapes (ibid., 335). Though they exhibit caution, they reveal powerful evidence for forms of continuity between late Roman and Early Medieval England and Wales which tallies with Jones and Page (2006) and Williamson *et al.* (2013).

The series of succeeding central places noted in this thesis may similarly correlate with a succession of broadly contiguous and continuous territories. The successive central places situated around Hope may be indicative of broad continuity in territories that covered much of the Derbyshire Peak, while the central places around Mansfield may reflect a Roman territory across north Nottinghamshire administered by the Mansfield Woodhouse villa (see Chapter 3, section 3.2.2) succeeded by the large sokeland of the royal manor of Mansfield (see Chapter 5, section 5.2). However, the extensive Roman field system found across north Nottinghamshire bore no resemblance to the medieval field pattern that followed (see Unwin 1983), which may appear to discount the possibility of continuity. This is not necessarily so, as Rippon *et al.* (2015, 317) note, the Roman landscape was constantly evolving, allowing the possibility of the reorganisation of this field system within the Roman period itself. The degree of settlement abandonment and withdrawal to the Trent Valley (discussed in Chapter 3, section 3.3.1 and Chapter 7, section 7.2.1) is therefore questionable. As noted, the possible territories and any link between them postulated here should be treated with caution.

9.2 Exchange, Industry, and Material Culture

Chapters 3 and 4 explored the Trent Valley as conduit for trade into Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire. The Trent river (leading into the Humber river) was a recorded route for materials to and from both forests, with timber from Sherwood Forest being exported to south-east England through the Trent river (see Chapter 7, section 7.1.5) and lead from the Derbyshire Peak being exported south to the Trent river and then through the Humber river system (see Chapter 7, section 7.1.5). It can therefore be theorised that a significant degree of material within the forests of High Peak and Sherwood that were procured through long-distance exchange networks were transported through the River Trent.

A large quantity of PAS material has been reported from the Trent Valley (analysed in Chapter 4). A comparison can be made with the previous research of Loveluck and Tys (2006, 147) who argue that societies within coastal regions were exposed to higher quantities of exotic and imported goods than inland zones, and as a result these goods were more available to the peasantry. The same argument may be applied on a lesser scale to river valleys; these, too, were zones which have seen higher than average quantities of exotic and imported goods by acting as channels for merchants reaching inland areas. This, it can be suggested, may too have resulted in these goods being more available to the peasantry. This had an important bearing on Sherwood Forest; the southern area of Sherwood Forest was itself within the Trent Valley.

The majority of coins, riding gear, and seal matrices within Sherwood Forest were recorded within areas of royal demesne, primarily in the areas of Clipstone and Edwinstowe, but also in Warsop, Budby, Ollerton and Mansfield (see Chapter 4). As these areas lacked manorial lords it can be argued with a degree of confidence that these items were to a large extent discarded by the peasantry. It may be suggested that much of the material was in the possession of royal officials, but the bulk of the finds have been reported from what had been communal fields (see Chapter 5, section 5.1.1). Another site from which a relatively high number of finds have been recorded is Blidworth, which was owned by the archbishop of York (see Chapter 5, section 5.2); here the majority of finds were also reported from what are

interpreted as communal fields (see Chapter 5, section 5.2.1). The south of Sherwood Forest was largely under the control of landlords (see Chapter 5, section 3.3.7), and was part of the Trent Valley; a large number finds have generally been reported from the Trent Valley. South Sherwood Forest however bucks this trend, as very few finds have been reported from this area of the forest (see Chapter 4, section 4.1). Too many biases may be present within the PAS dataset to draw solid conclusions from these distributions, but the analysis demonstrates that royal demesne occupants had access to a range of material culture.

Though items of riding gear have been recovered from within the forest, predominantly Clipstone and Edwinstowe, more of this material has been reported from around the edge of the forest (See Chapter 4, section 4.3). This may be indicative of horse riding being been more common in these areas. Seal matrices were distributed geographically unevenly within the PAS database. To some extent this could be accounted for by biases on the method of recovery, yet this answer is not entirely satisfactory. For example, the unusually high number of seal matrices recorded in the fields north of Dunham, as well as at other locations, is disproportionately higher than other forms of material culture from the same locations, suggesting causes beyond biases in recovery. It is noteworthy that some of the locations where numbers of seal matrices were highest (Dunham, Edwinstowe, Clipstone) were royal demesne.

Few objects of material culture have been recorded within the PAS database from the Derbyshire Peak. This has been balanced somewhat by the evidence from the Peak barrow burials dating to around the seventh century (see Chapter 4, section 4.1.1 and Chapter 6). These barrows give clear evidence for a wealthy regional elite within the Peak. Control of the surrounding agricultural economy may not have been enough to support this level of wealth, and it may be speculated that these individuals had a role in the mining and trade of lead. The barrows yielded such finds as the Benty Grange helmet and many brooches and garnets, referred to as of "princely" status (Brown and Farr 2001, 153); these raw materials must originally have been imported. Lead ore and smelting waste found at two Roman period sites in the Peak suggests that Roman farmers in the Peak supplemented their income through the mining of lead (Barnatt and Smith 2004, 52). During the seventh century the mining industry may have been to some degree under the control of the

elites of the barrow burials. The recording of the lead mines in Domesday Book (see Chapter 7, section 7.1.2) demonstrates that the mining industry was indeed under a degree of royal control by the eleventh century. Conversely, the parallel between the Roman farmer-miners and the medieval class of freeminers (see Chapter 8, section 8.4) found within the Peak – whose rights were recorded as held from "time immemorial" in the thirteenth century (Ford and Rieuwerts 1968, 9) – may also be a reflection of the mining industry always having had a degree of independence.

9.3 Monumentality

Within the parish case studies, a range of funerary monuments and church building phases were analysed, which were created by (or for) manorial lords, as well as other individuals, partly as a means of displaying status. Chapter 8 (sections 8.2 and 8.4) discussed briefly the identity of individuals within the hierarchy of forest officials. This section will unite and further develop these two discussions, through the exploration of phases of church building constructed through the patronage of individuals connected to the forest hierarchy, and funerary monuments created to immortalise the status of individuals connected to the forest hierarchy.

The most recent major studies into medieval monumental church monuments have been conducted by Finch (2000) in Norfolk, by McClain (2005) in Yorkshire, and by Saul (2001) on the Cobham family of Surrey. The development of monuments from the twelfth to fourteenth centuries is discussed by Saul (2009, 37) who states that stone cross grave slabs were the most popular form of funerary monument in the twelfth century, and towards the end of this century the first effigies began to appear. In the thirteenth century brasses became popular, a development of inlays on incised slabs (*ibid.*). In the 1330s, alabaster began to replace Purbeck marble in effigies (*ibid.*). These constant experimentations with new materials and styles led to an evolutionary process where the new styles were first adopted by those of the highest status, and the older styles were adopted by clients of lesser means (*ibid.* 38-39, 60). The forms of monument used by the aristocracy were adopted in the following century by the gentry, and by the freeman class in the century after that.

The motivation behind this process came from a desire of each to differentiate themselves from their social inferiors (*ibid.*). This exact process and its chronology was however locally dependent on the regional economy or availability of materials (*ibid.*). Cross slabs were still used widely by the lesser laity and the clergy in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and Saul (*ibid.*, 38) suggests that the growth in the range of products could accommodate the growth in the aspirations of the clientele class purchasing these monuments. The growing use of monuments can be used as evidence for an expanding patron class, caused by a spike in prosperity that allowed new groups such as freemen to engage in this activity.

McClain (2005) found in her study that there was a high demand for funerary monuments between 970 and 1070, then a lull in demand until 1180, when the use of funerary monuments rapidly rose again (Saul 2009, 40; McClain 2005, 147-221). She correlates the decrease in monument use between 1070 and 1180 with an increase in individual patronage and building of churches during this time period (Saul 2009, 40; McClain 2005, 147-221). McClain (2005, 147-221) further argues that there were social shifts which caused the same tiers of society who patronised churches between the phase 1070 and 1180, to instead use personal funerary monuments after 1180, when individual patronage of churches dropped.

9.1.1 Verderers

The role of verderers in the forests was outlined in Chapter 1, section 1.3.5. This section will analyse the background and status of several verderers recorded from Sherwood Forest and the Forest of High Peak, before analysing how this group used church architecture and funerary monuments to exhibit their status. Entitlement and qualification for the position of verderer was important, so much so that in the early fourteenth century Alexander Gonalston was deemed by his peers to be insufficiently qualified to be a verderer and they attempted to remove him from the position on no less than four occasions (Russell 2007, 55). The issue of what criterion allowed an individual to be qualified is uncertain; it was not personal status alone as even the aristocracy were not immune from being ejected. Sir Robert de Jorce, one of many of the de Jorce (also spelled earlier as Georz or

Jorz and later as Joyce) family of Burton Joyce to hold the position of verderer, was targeted in 1328 for not being qualified to be a verderer; this same individual served six times as a member of parliament for Nottinghamshire between 1306 and 1340, and three years later in 1331 served as High Sheriff of Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire and the Royal Forests (Russell 2007, 36, 263, 268). The reason for his disqualification may have been that de Jorce had absconded from his post, as he was similarly removed as county coroner in 1327, until the king intervened and clarified that de Jorce had been on campaign with him in Scotland (*ibid.*, 36). The reason for his disqualification cannot have been because de Jorce had insufficient previous experience within the forest hierarchy as this would be quite normal. An analysis of the *Select Pleas of the Forest* (Turner 1901) and the *Abstracts of the Inquisitiones Post Mortem Relating to Nottinghamshire* (Blagg 1939; Standish 1914) yields no records of manorial lords (or knights) holding the position of regarder or agister in Sherwood Forest, but several served as verderers. It seems that the precedent was for individuals of higher than peasant status to enter the forest hierarchy as verderers, the highest elected position. (As noted in Chapter 1, a knighthood was not initially a marker of high status; yet nor could their holders be considered of low status.) Middling or higher status individuals may also be wardens or foresters-of-fee but these positions were in the gift of the king and were a separate part of the forest hierarchy (Grant 1991, 94, 112-113). Other verderers were disqualified for not owning land in the forest such as Nicholas de Widermerpool in 1312 (Page 1906, 371).

Analysis of the *Select Pleas of the Forest* (Turner 1901) and the *Abstracts of the Inquisitiones Post Mortem Relating to Nottinghamshire* (Blagg 1939; Standish 1914) yields evidence for individuals of middling or lower status climbing the hierarchy of forest officials in Sherwood Forest. Ralph the Clerk of Mansfield was recorded first as a regarder in 1281 (Standish 1914, 14) and in 1289 was a verderer (*ibid.*, 27). John Bythewater of Edwinstowe was an agister in 1289 (*ibid.*) and in 1308 was recorded as a verderer (*ibid.*, 226). Relatives of John probably include Henry Bythewater, perhaps John's father, who was recorded as a regarder for the final time in 1289 (*ibid.*, 27), and a possible descendant, William Bythewater, was a regarder in 1330 (Blagg 1939, 120). Robert son of Gilbert de Clipstone was recorded as a regarder in 1310 (Standish 1914, 233) and by 1329 was a verderer (Blagg 1939, 107). His father (or possibly grandfather of the same name) Gilbert had been a verderer in 1289

(Standish 1914, 27). In 1330, Alan Stuffyn had been recorded as a regarder (Blagg 1939, 120) and by 1347 was a verderer (*ibid.*, 158). A Hugh Stuffyn had been recorded as a verderer in 1280 (Standish 1914, 14) and in 1267 another Alan Stuffyn (*ibid.*, 128) was recorded as a verderer, perhaps ancestors of the later Alan. In 1329 the aforementioned Alexander Gonalston was a regarder (Blagg 1939, 107), by the following year he was a verderer, with appeals to the sheriff for another verderer to be elected in his place in 1330, 1337, and twice in 1340 (Russell 2007, 263). Robert de Clipstone and Alan Stuffyn were discussed previously in the last chapter where they acted in protest at the expansion of the park at Clipstone, in defence of the forest communities and their common rights. Other verderers were seemingly of higher status, as a number of manorial lords were recorded as verderers (see Table 13).

Table 13 Landowning verderers in Sherwood Forest

Family	**Associated Lands**	**Notable Members and Positions Held**
Annesley	Manor of Annesley (SCP: Annesley Old Church, History; Thoroton 1790b, 266-270)	Sir John de Annesley, verderer in 1280 (Standish 1914, 9); Alexander de Annesley, verderer in 1330 (Maxwell-Lyte 1898, 625-631); and John de Annesley, verderer in 1331 (Blagg 1939, 120)
Basage	Lands in Carlton, Gedling, and Stoke (Thoroton 1796, 9-13)	Hugh de la Basage, verderer in 1244 (Standish 1914, 96); William de la Basage, verderer in 1280 (*ibid.*, 11)
Bevercotes	Manor of Bevercotes (Thoroton 1796, 355-357)	Sir William de Bevercotes, verderer in 1253 (Maxwell-Lyte 1908, 171); Sir William de Bevercotes, verderer in 1280 (Standish 1914, 10); Sir John de Bevercotes, verderer in 1327 (Gorski 2003, 11)

Bingham	Manor of Bingham (Bailey 1853, 128; Thoroton 1790a, 272)	Sir Richard de Bingham who served as a verderer in 1303 (Standish 1914, 191)
Caltoft	Manor of East Bridgford (Thoroton 1790a, 194-201)	John de Caltoft, verderer in 1330 (Blagg 1939, 120), and Sir Philip de Caltoft, verderer until 1338 (Russell 2007, 267)
Clifton	Manors of Clifton and Wilford (Farrer 1925, 235)	Verderers Sir Gervase Clifton (d. around 1392) (Wood 1933), and Sir John Clifton (d. 1403) (Roskell *et al.* 1993)
Colwick	Manor of Colwick (Thoroton 1796, 4-8)	William de Colwick, verderer in 1287 (Owen 1943, 25)
Cossall	Manor of Cossall (Thoroton 1790b, 215-217)	Adam de Cossall, recorded as a verderer in 1289 (Standish 1914, 27)
Cromwell	Manors of Lambley and Cromwell (Morris 1977, 30.1-56; Curtis 1844, 154; Thoroton 1796, 15-18)	Ralph de Cromwell, verderer until 1356 (Russell 2007, 263), and John de Cromwell, warden of Sherwood Forest in 1330 (*ibid.*, 262)
Jorce	Manor of Burton Joyce (Thoroton 1796, 18-23)	Sir Richard de Jorce, verderer in 1280 (Standish 1914, 9-10), Robert de Jorce, verderer in 1294 (*ibid.* 63), and Robert de Jorce, verderer in 1341 (Russell 2007, 263)
Leek	Manors of Leake, Cotham, Langford, Screveton, and Sibthorpe (Roskell *et al.* 1993; Thoroton 1790a, 44-54; 244-252; 326-333; 341-345; 367-369).	Verderers Sir John Leek (d. around 1415) and Sir John Leek (d. around 1448) (Roskell *et al.* 1993)
Pierrepont	Manor of Holme Pierrepont (Thoroton 1790a, 177-181)	Lord Robert de Pierrepont, verderer in 1330 (Blagg 1939, 120)

Strelley	Manor of Strelley (Farrer 1925, 178-179; Thoroton 1790b, 218-222)	Samson de Strelley, verderer in 1313 (Page 1906, 371), and Samson de Strelley, verderer in 1330 (Blagg 1939, 120)

This analysis suggests that there were two classes of verderer in Sherwood Forest; firstly, figures such as the Annesley and Jorce families who were prominent local nobles and holders of manors within the forest, and secondly individuals who were sub-gentry, probably of free peasant status, who had previously held lesser positions in the forest hierarchy, and were part of lineages from which successive generations were forest officials. This analysis can however be complicated by an investigation into the backgrounds of the manorial lords.

A number of these manorial lords had originally held knight's fees. The family of Basage held half a knight's fee enfeoffed of William Bardolf in Carlton, Gedling, and Stoke in the thirteenth century (Thoroton 1796, 9-13). This was just one of many knight's fees held of these manors at this time (*ibid.*) and as Basage is not recorded thereafter it probably became extinct. The manor of Bevercotes came into the possession of the Bevercotes family after William de Bevercotes held a knight's fee there of Alice, countess of Ewe during the reign of Henry III (Thoroton 1796, 355-357). The manor of Burton Joyce was instead in the control of the d'Aincourt family in 1086; the family of de Jorce were first recorded at Burton Joyce in the early thirteenth century when Geoffrey de Georz (Jorce, later Joyce) held a knight's fee from the d'Aincourt family (Thoroton 1796, 18-23). The manor of Holme (later Holme Pierrepont) was held by the family of Malnuers, who were enfeoffed with a knight's fee here in the reign of Henry I. This knight's fee was held of Ralph Plucket during the reign of King John, and of John de Rye then Ralph fitzNicholas during the reign of Henry III. Annora de Malnuers was recorded marrying Henry de Pierrepont in 1251. Henry was the descendant of Robert de Pierrepont who had held a knight's fee of the Bishop of Lincoln (Thoroton 1790a, 177-181). As has been discussed (Chapter 1; Coss 1993), knights before the thirteenth century were not necessarily of high status, and instead were essentially the holders of a type of land tenure and owed military service to their lord.

Other manorial families presented in the above table were the descendants of subtenants. The manor of Annesley was held in 1086 by Ralph fitzHubert with a subtenant called Richard; Annesley was the only manor that Richard was found to be associated with (Morris 1977, 13.11). Richard and his son, Ralph Britto, continued to be subtenants of the fitzHubert family until the death of Robert fitzHubert in 1154 during the Anarchy (SCP: Annesley Old Church, History; Thoroton 1790b, 266-270). Britto came into full possession of the manor and adopted Ralph Britto de Annesley as his full name, and from him the de Annesley family were descended (SCP: Annesley Old Church, History; Thoroton 1790b, 266-270). The manor of Strelley in the early twelfth century came into the possession of Walter, who had married the widow of William de Moiz. Strelley had been within the Honour of Peverel and at this early time the ancestors of the Strelleys were possibly subtenants of the Peverels (Farrer 1925, 178-179; Thoroton 1790b, 218-222). According to legend, a Sir Alvared de Clifton had been lord of Clifton as well as guardian of Nottingham Castle during the later eleventh and twelfth centuries (Wood 1933; Thoroton 1790a, 102-117), but this seemingly was a story constructed to bestow the Clifton lineage a noble origin. The manors based at Clifton at the time of Domesday Book were held by William Peverel (Morris 1977, 10.5-10.6), the Bishop of Lincoln (*ibid.*, 6.8-6.12), Roger de Bully (*ibid.*, 9.3; 9.5), Ralph fitzHubert (*ibid.*, 13.3), and Ulfkil (*ibid.*, 30.25). The truth was that after Peverel's manors at Clifton reverted to the Crown it was granted to Gerbode de Escalt, who granted them to Sir Gerard de Rodes in 1213 (Farrer 1925, 235). Rodes sold the manor to Gervase (later Sir Gervase de Clifton) who had served as seneschal of the manors for Rodes (Thoroton 1790a, 102-117).

The manor of Colwick was originally held by Reginald de Colwick as a serjeanty in return for providing the King with twelve barbed arrows on his arrival to Nottingham Castle, and held Willoughby on the Wolds also as a serjeanty in return for service (Thoroton 1796, 4-8).

Two manors were based at Cossall at the time of Domesday Book, one held by William Peverel (Morris 1977, 10.36) and one held by Ralph fitzHubert (*ibid.*, 13.12). FitzHubert's manor came into the possession of the Cossall family, who took their name from the settlement and made it their seat (Thoroton 1790b, 215-217). The

manor though does not appear to have been large, as in Ralph fitzHubert's time it held just three *villeins* (*ibid.*), and therefore would have earned only a modest income.

The manor of Bingham was granted in 1257 to Radulphus Bugge de Nottingham, whose father of the same name had risen to prosperity as a wool merchant in Nottingham. Bugge changed his name to Radulphus de Bingham and sired a son, Sir Richard de Bingham, the aforementioned verderer (Bailey 1853, 128; Thoroton 1790a, 272). Radulphus de Bingham was also active in the Peak's lead mining industry, where he leased mines and in 1268 supplied 63 *carretatis* of lead to the king (Blanchard 2005, 1416; Yeatman 1892, 164). He had been the bailiff of the Forest of High Peak in 1252 (Cox 1905, 160). Likewise, Radulphus de Bingham's brother, Richard Bugge, also purchased land, including land in Ruddington in exchange for wool and then further land at Willoughby (Bailey 1853, 128; Thoroton 1790a, 272). Richard and his son, also Richard, changed their respective names to Richard de Willoughby (*ibid.*). The younger Richard, was a lawyer of enough wealth to purchase the manor of Wollaton (*ibid.*).

The family of Cromwell were descended from the thegn Healfdene (also transcribed as Alden, Haldane, or Halfdan) who at the time of Domesday Book in 1086 held ten manors including ones at Lambley and Cromwell (Morris 1977, 30.1-56; Curtis 1844, 154; Thoroton 1796, 15-18). Healfdene was not a Norman and was in fact Anglo-Saxon or Anglo-Scandinavian, and had been recorded in 1066 as holding six manors in 1066 (Morris 1977, 30.1-56). Healfdene's son, Hugh de Cromwell and grandson Ralph de Cromwell are a good example of the known trend for Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Scandinavian families to quickly "Normanise" themselves by adopting Continental French naming fashions (Williams 1995, 204). Healfdene was no doubt an important thegn locally, being listed among the King's Thegns in Domesday Book (Morris 1977, 30.1-30.56).

From this analysis, it is revealed that the status of manorial lords who served as verderers within the forest was actually complicated. Many had ancestrally held their manors as knight's fees, others had been subtenants, while another was the descendant of merchants. In one case, the descendants of an Anglo-Saxon or Anglo-Scandinavian lord had quickly adopted a Norman identity. In many cases, the ancestors of many of these lineages of manorial lord verderers would have been

similar in wealth and status to the free peasant verderers like Stuffyn and de Clipstone.

The Forest of High Peak does not have as much surviving documentation. In 1251, Mathew de Langesdon and Adam de Stanton were recorded as hereditary verderers (Cox 1905, 157). Between 1272 and 1307, Thomas le Ragged, Peter Rowland, Roger le Ragged de Rowworth, and Richard de Hatteman were recorded as verderers (Bevan and Curtis 2013, 10). From 1307 to 1327, Philip de Studleigh, William de Gratton, William del Hough, and Robert le Ragged were recorded as verderers (Bevan and Curtis 2013, 12; Kirke 1867, 41). When the lands associated with these individuals and their lineages are researched (see Table 14), it is demonstrated that this group included those who owned less than a manor and a knight's fee, while none had held their land since 1086.

Table 14 Landowning verderers in the Forest of High Peak

Family	Associated Lands
Ragged	Land at Beard near Hayfield, not recorded as lord of the manor (Noble 1833, 93). Manor of Whitfield until 1330 (Tilley 1892, 151; Lysons and Lysons 1817, 167), part of royal demesne in Domesday Book (Morris 1978, 1.30). Manor of Chisworth, John Foljambe enfeoffed with two thirds of this manor in 1345 (Lysons and Lysons 1817, 169).
Studleigh	Related to Strelley family of Nottinghamshire (Bailey 1853, 93)
Gratton	Land at Alport near Youlgreave by service of fealty (Maxwell-Lyte 1910, 183), Selston in Nottinghamshire as a knight's fee (Maxwell-Lyte 1910, 246), a moiety of Wansley in Nottinghamshire in 1272 (Thoroton 1790b, 260-262) and in 1311 held the manor of Denby (Kerry 1893, 18).
Langesdon	Land at Middleton (Maxwell-Lyte 1906, 286), Youlgreave (Wright 1906, 355), and at Eyam (Bowles 1908, 272); although none specified as whole manor
Rowland	Manor of Rowland from the Benteley family (Bowles 1908, 282), the (formerly royal) manor of Calver (Bulmer 1895, 349), as well as lands at Middleton (Bowles 1908, 270)

The family of Ragged had a strong connection to the forest hierarchy; as well as serving in the elected position of verderer, they were also recorded as regarders and as hereditary foresters-of-fee for Hopedale (Curtis *et al.*, 2013, 11). In addition, Richard le Ragged in 1257 and Thomas le Ragged in 1280 were recorded as the forest bailiff, a position granted by the king and the highest position in the hierarchy of the Forest of High Peak (Cox 1905, 161). The other mentioned individuals (Richard de Hatteman, and William del Hough) cannot be connected to any known lineages of landowners, and as such it is highly possible that these were peasant freeholders similar to those of Sherwood Forest who had qualified through experience (such as Robert de Clipstone and Alan Stuffyn). In general, these verderers were minor landholders with piecemeal landholdings which constituted small areas within large parishes, rather than the verderers from the gentry around

Sherwood Forest who held estates roughly contiguous with whole parishes and containing a single major nucleated settlement.

The symbol of office for verderers was an axe, and this symbol can sometimes be found on the funerary monuments of deceased verderers (Hart 1950, 3; Cox 1905, 18). Examples of incised stone cross slabs to verderers are found in Derbyshire, where single examples can be found at the churches of Bakewell (see Chapter 6) and Chelmorton in Derbyshire (see Figure 207). Cox (1905) attributes these examples to the twelfth century but through comparison to recent examples analysed in the work of Finch (2000, 210) and McClain (2010, 53-54) it is much more likely that these date to the thirteenth century. It is interesting to note that both of these Derbyshire examples are found to the south of the bounds of the Forest of High Peak. No examples of incised cross slabs of verderers are known from Sherwood Forest.

The vast majority of verderers were not monumentalised with incised cross slabs, at least not containing symbols actually identifying them as such, especially not in Sherwood Forest. This may be explained as a matter of status. In Sherwood Forest verderers were showed to be of either free peasant rank or genteel and aristocratic rank (see Chapter 8). In general, the aristocracy and gentry in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries opted to be monumentalised with stone or alabaster effigies placed in prominent places in their churches (Saul 2009, 109). For the higher status verderers, who presumably self-identified as gentry or aristocracy (in contrast to many of their origins), to have been a verderer was only a small part of their political and administrative life; they often held several other important administrative roles, even at a national level, as well as being a manorial lord.

Therefore, in the stone effigies of these prominent verderers, their service as forest officials was not recorded. A figure such as Sir Robert de Jorce who was a member of parliament, sheriff, and coroner (Russell 2007, 36, 263, 268), or William de Bevercotes who was also Chancellor of Scotland (Brown 1891, 142), was unlikely to view their position as verderer as especially noteworthy or prestigious, especially as their contemporary fellow verderers included tenants like Robert de Clipstone, Alan Stuffyn, and John Bythewater of Edwinstowe (see above, and Chapter 8, Section 8.4). For these free tenants the position was far more likely to be a privilege. It is highly probable that this different approach to their roles as verderer has an

impact on funerary monuments, in that free tenant verderers would be more likely to display their membership of the forest hierarchy. This can be confirmed by examining the monuments of the group of aforementioned known verderers drawn from the gentry or aristocracy. It can also be hypothesised that these same individuals were sponsors of church architecture; although it can be difficult to ascertain who was responsible for the construction and alteration of churches, as was found in the case studies. Although linking phases of churches with funerary monuments created simultaneously or near-simultaneously can serve as a useful guide.

The church at Burton Joyce, Nottinghamshire, contains building phases from around 1200, the thirteenth century (the nave), and the middle and later fourteenth century (the chancel) (SCP: Burton Joyce, St Helen, Archaeology; Pevsner 1979, 88); clearly the church enjoyed a degree of patronage during these centuries. From the same period a funerary effigy is found for Sir Robert de Jorce, the aforementioned verderer of 1341. As the manorial lord, it is highly likely that much of the work at the church was instigated by the Jorce family, and in part possibly by Robert himself. Robert is depicted in his effigy as a knight in armour with a shield displaying heraldry by his side; his hands are together on his chest as if in prayer. At the feet of the figure is a lion (see Figure 208).

The vast majority of the church of St Mary and All Saints at Bingham dates to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The new Lord of the Manor Sir Richard de Bingham, mentioned earlier as one of the verderers of Sherwood Forest, is known to have been a significant patron of this work (SCP: Bingham, St Mary and All Saints, History; Pevsner 73-74). A funerary effigy for Richard, who died between 1308 and 1314, is found within the church. Richard is depicted as an armoured knight with a shield bearing heraldry on his left side and his arms in prayer. His legs are crossed above the knee, in the fashion that tradition – almost certainly incorrectly – previously attributed to membership of the Knights Templar (Griffith-Jones and Park 2010, 126). As with the example of Robert de Jorce, at Richard's feet is a lion, except Richard's left foot rests atop the back of the lion's neck (see Figure 209). A second monument, made of alabaster, is found to Sir William de Bingham (son of Richard) who died in 1349, son of Richard; only a fragment of the

torso survives and shows that the knight depicted lay on his side (SCP: Burton Joyce, St Helen, Monuments; Pevsner 73-74) (see Figure 210).

The chancel at the church of All Saints, Strelley was endowed by Sir Samson de Strelley in 1356, and the church contains many other stages of the middle and later fourteenth century (SCP: Strelley, All Saints, History; Pevsner 338-339). Samson died in 1390 and his wife Elizabeth in 1405, and it is probably they who are found jointly monumentalised in an alabaster tomb. Samson wears armour and has at his feet a lion. Elizabeth wears a cloak and a kirtle and has at her feet two small dogs. The figures are holding hands, their right hands, and Samson's left hand holds his other glove (SCP: Strelley, All Saints, Monuments) (see Figure 211).

One of the aforementioned forest officials of Lambley was Ralph de Cromwell, a verderer who died in 1356; stages of the church at Lambley broadly contemporary with him are a chantry chapel dating to around 1340 and the north chancel wall which dates to the fourteenth century (SCP: Lambley, Holy Trinity, Archaeology). An incised slab is found within the church in memory of Lord Ralph de Cromwell, 1st Baron Cromwell, who died in 1398, is unfortunately now effaced beyond recognition (Pevsner 1979, 160). The church was almost entirely rebuilt according to the will of Ralph Cromwell, 3rd Baron Cromwell upon his death in 1454 (Pevsner 1979, 160), as was the church at Cromwell as found in the case study of Chapter 5.

The church of St Edmund at Holme Pierrepont dates largely to the thirteenth century, including the nave and west tower (Pevsner 1979, 146-147). The font of the church is fifteenth-century and contains heraldic shields, which clearly suggests patronage by the manorial lords, the Pierrepont family (*ibid.*). The church contains an early Tudor tomb effigy to Sir Henry Pierrepont, constructed upon his death in 1499 (*ibid.*). Henry is depicted as a knight in armour, with his hands in prayer and a dog at his feet (see Figure 212).

It seems that overall the manorial lords discussed here chose not to display or emphasise the role that they played in forest administration. Instead they chose to present themselves in the manner of traditional thirteenth- and fourteenth-century knights and lords. There is also significant evidence for these individuals being responsible for patronising church architecture.

As discussed, Saul (2009, 37-39) argues that new styles of monument were first adopted by those of the highest status, and older styles were used by clients of lesser means, resulting in the style of monument in use by the aristocracy in one century being adopted in the next by the gentry, and by freemen after that. Across society the adoption of styles, he argues, was driven primarily by each individual's desire to associate with the class above themselves and to differentiate from the class below. This framework can be used to explain the adoption of monuments by verderer groups within the forest.

The freeman class had been restricted in the years since the Norman invasion. Minor lords, freemen, and *sokemen*, of English descent, were attacked by new thirteenth-century laws which dictated that the "English" could only hold land by providing services and not by hereditary right (Faith 1997, 219-200). Simultaneously the growth in the independence of the *villein-sokeman* class in the late thirteenth and fourteenth century (see Chapter 1) left freemen as a class being consumed by the tier beneath them in the social hierarchy. With their established identity and rights being challenged, the freeman class had ample motivation to seek to reinforce their status. By monumentalising the dead with funerary monuments, the descendants of the deceased had a lasting confirmation of their inherited free status.

As the upper gentry began to adopt stone effigies, and the freeman class began to adopt incised grave slabs, this again would act as an incentive for the lower gentry to adopt stones effigies like their social superiors. This process is seen in Sherwood Forest with the aforementioned effigies of manorial lords verderers Sir Robert de Jorce, created around 1400 (Pevsner 1979, 88) and Sir Samson de Strelley, with his wife, also created around 1400 (*ibid.*, 339). These figures would have been eager to present the ideal that they were of genteel or aristocratic descent, using monuments and patronage of church architecture to promote this view. Conversely, the reality presented earlier in this chapter was that they, and many of the other lords of the forest, were recently descended from middling groups not unlike those they served alongside in the forest hierarchy.

9.1.2 Foresters

The types of foresters were outlined in Chapter 1, section 1.3.5. In the Forest of High Peak the hereditary foresters-of-fee were recorded in 1285 as, in Campana, Daniel, Archer, Foljambe, Gomfrey, Forester, and Wolfhunt; in Hopedale, Hally, Shatton, Eyre, Halstead, Balguy, Woodroffe, and Hore; and in Londendale, Melner, Ragged, Manwaring, and Whitfield (Kerry 1893). An early fourteenth-century record included the families of Archer, Bagshawe, Brown, Daniel, Eyre, Foljambe, Gomfrey, Hally, Mellor, le Ragged, and Stratton. Another later list included the families of Barley, Bagshawe, Eyre, Hynchley, Meverell, Needham, Stanley, and Woodroffe (Kirke 1867, 38-39)

The Derbyshire case study revealed that Archer, Eyre, Balguy, Bagshawe, Halstead and Forester families occupied independent farmsteads within Hope, Castleton, and Chapel-en-le-Frith. The terms of their tenure noted that they held these in return for service as hereditary foresters (Kerry 1893, 82-85), and indeed all of the hereditary foresters held land in return for their service (*ibid.*, 82-85). Lands found to be associated with these lineages are presented in Table 15.

Table 15 Landowning foresters-of-fee in the Forest of High Peak

Family	Associated Lands
Archer	Messuage and land at Great Hucklow for the serving as hereditary forester (Lysons and Lysons 1817, 184). By 1317, lords of Abney, Hucklow, Stoke, and Highlow (Bowles 1907, 131)
Gomfrey	Shared a bovate for service as hereditary foresters. Held a messuage of 15 acres at Wormhill in 1304 (Cox 1875, 210). Possibly same family as that of Richard Gomfrey, a clerk, who briefly held the manor of Unstone before 1368 (Statham 1938, 79)
Bagshawe	Land at Chapel-en-le-Frith, then moved to Ford Hall and the Ridge by 1141 (Lysons and Lysons 1817, 70-89; Burke 1879 596). Accumulated the former Archer manors of Abney and Hucklow (Glover 1829, 3), and other lands at Litton and Ford (Burke 1879, 43)

Daniel	Granted Taddington, Buxton, and Priestcliffe by King John for annual rent (Tilley 1892, 231). Later the manor of Tideswell between 1250 and 1286 (Lysons and Lysons 1817, 227; Farrer 1925, 246; Tilley 1892, 231-233)
Foljambe	Messuage and 30 acres for serving as hereditary forester (Cox 1905, 153). 15 acres at Wormhill for supporting a walking forester (*ibid.*). Accumulated the manors of Tideswell and Elton, and land at Wormhill, Litton, Abney, Little Hucklow, Great Milnhill, and Longside (Hodgson 1835, 71)
Browne	Land at Whitfield near Glossop, before moving to Marsh Hall (Tilley 1892, 95).
Balguy	Messuage at Aston in the twelfth century (Curtis *et al.* 2013, 96), recorded holding 4 bovates of land in return for their forest service in 1285 (Kerry 1893, 84), and later were recording occupying Hope Hall (Lysons and Lysons 1917, 70-89)
Eyre	Messuage and a bovate of land at Hope held specifically for service in the forest, and knight's fee at Barton in Warwickshire (Furness 1870, 235; Lysons and Lysons 1817, LXXXII, 70-89). Split into many pedigrees and lords of several manors by the end of the medieval period (Daniel-Tyssen 1871, 237).
Mellor	Descended from a younger son of the Staveley family, who held a subordinate manor at Mellor in the early thirteenth century (Tilley 1892 152; Cox 1875, 219)

This analysis has revealed that most of these families initially held messuages, a number of which were specified as held for forest service, before accumulating manorial holdings. Chapters 6 and 8 have argued that these hereditary foresters of the Forest of High Peak originally held independent farmsteads with attached land in return for their forest service. In time, a number of these families, including Archer, Foljambe, Eyre, and Bagshawe, grew into significant landowners within the Peak. Members of the le Ragged and Foljambe families were later recorded as bailiffs of the forest (Cox 1905, 160-161).

By the late thirteenth century it appears that in the Forest of High Peak there were select families which had grew to occupy all positions of the forest hierarchy, which multiple family members holding different roles at once. (Le Ragged and Foljambe were bailiffs of the forest at a time when these families held hereditary foresterships [Cox 1905, 160-161; Kerry 1893] and when other le Raggeds were recorded as verderer [Bevan and Curtis 2013, 10]). The analysis of the lands connected with these lineages suggests that at an early stage they were minor lords. To have in some cases ascended to being bailiff of the forest shows a significant drop in the status of this position from the early thirteenth century, when bailiffs of the Forest of High Peak had included the Earl of Derby, Ralph fitzNicholas, and John de Gray (Cox 1905, 155).

There were hereditary foresters-of-fee in Sherwood Forest too, but these were rarely recorded. When these figures are investigated, they cannot be linked with any known lineages of landowners in or around the forest. The named foresters-of-fee in Sherwood in 1287 were Richard of Coningston, Robert the tailor, Hugh Flambard, William the fisher, William of Durham, Adam of York, Robert of Strelley, and William of Blackburn (Turner 1901, 61). Rather than the foresters-of-fee in Sherwood Forest being paid for their service the opposite was true; the foresters-of-fee paid a fee to the forest keeper, essentially a rent, in return for holding the office and its appurtenant land and rights (*ibid.*). This arrangement sometimes was found in other forests (Young 1979, 84). This would appear to suggest that the foresters-of-fee in Sherwood Forest were essentially *sokemen*. One example of Sherwood Forest's foresters-of-fee which illustrates their middling status, is Maud, the widow of Hugh Flambard, who was recorded renting a third of a messuage, 12 acres of land, and an acre of meadow in Tuxford in the early fourteenth century (Maxwell-Lyte 1907, 269).

Foresters also adopted the use of incised cross slabs. These are identifiable by the appropriate symbolism; a bow for riding foresters, and a hunting horn for other foresters (Hanawalt and Wallace 1999, XVI; Cox 1905, 20). Of the examples to be discussed, some bore the symbolism of knights but the majority did not. Several families of hereditary foresters-of-fee have been identified, and many of their associated lands and churches were examined as part of the case studies, especially the Dark Peak case study, in Chapter 6. The Archer, Foljambe, and Bagshawe lands

within the areas of Abney, Hucklow, Stoke and Litton, were all within the parish of Hope. The Bagshawe lands at Bagshaw and Ridge and Marsh Hall of the Browne's were in the parish of Chapel-en-le-Frith. The church at Hope was revealed to contain incised cross slab monuments to foresters (see Chapter 6, section 6.2.3).

The church of St John the Baptist at Tideswell was built over 75 years during the fourteenth century (Pevsner 2002, 342-343). The church also contains a monumental brass to John Foljambe, who died in 1383 (*ibid.*). The monument contains an inscription stating that John was responsible for much of the fabric of the church. The monument is located in the chancel, and Pevsner (2002, 342-343) dates the chancel itself to 1360-1380, indicating that this was the work patronised by Foljambe.

There are other known monuments to foresters which are found in Derbyshire churches in areas which were never themselves covered by Forest Law. One of these was found in the case study of the White Peak in the analysis of Bakewell (see Figure 158), two further examples are found even further south at Wirksworth and Darley Dale, both monuments display a hunting horn and the swords of knights (Cox 1905, 153) (see Figure 213). Monuments to forest officials located outside the forest may be explained through the foresters owning additional lands further south in the Peak and Derbyshire Dales, where it is possible that they usually resided, and as such where they were commemorated in death.

As has been seen, Sherwood Forest's foresters-of-fee were of a sub-gentry status, such as *sokemen*. They held plots of land and held rights in return for paying rent to the keeper of the forest and owed forest service, an arrangement therefore comparable with the relationship between rent-paying tenants and their lords in previous centuries. To a large extent, monuments to foresters of Sherwood Forest are not found, but there are exceptions. One such example is an incised slab bearing the hunting horn and bow of a forester in the church of Papplewick in a central area of the forest (Pevsner 1979, 288; Cox 1905, 21) (see Figure 213).

Another monument to a forester-of-fee in Sherwood Forest is a stone effigy from Skegby in Sherwood Forest, which dates to around 1300 (Pevsner 1979, 314). The figure wears a cap and his outer garment has the appearance of a habit covering the whole body; the outer garment was perhaps a travelling cloak. A hunting horn lies

at the figure's waist and his feet rest on a hunting hound (Cox 1905, 66) (see Figure 214). Despite the expense and necessary status to leave a stone effigy this individual was choosing (or his family chose for him) to self-identify as a forester, unlike the verderers discussed previously which were dressed in the manner traditional for knights. It can also be noted that both of these monuments were found within the area of the contemporary Sherwood Forest boundary; unlike the Forest of High Peak where three of the four locations with monuments to foresters are actually outside of the forest. Evidently, this monument was created with the intention of memorialising the individual's role as a forester, much more so than the examples of effigies created for manorial lords celebrated their role as verderers, in section 9.1.1.

9.1.3 Woodwards

Records naming woodwards do not survive, so it is much more difficult to interpret the background and status of those who held this position. Given the nature of the position it seems sensible to suggest that the lord would grant it to one of his own peasant tenants, or tenants they had enfeoffed with knight's fees.

Rare examples of funerary monuments have been found to woodwards; the status of which was denoted on monuments by a hatchet (Cox 1905, 23; Nelson 1753, 257). An example is found at Papplewick in Sherwood Forest (Cox 1905, 23) (see Figure 215).

9.1.4 Other Monuments within the Forests

Two stone cross slabs from Papplewick have depictions of bellows, indicating that these individuals worked in the iron-working industry, probably operating a forge. The bellows symbolised that the individual was entitled to use an itinerant forge (Cox 1905, 8) (see Figure 216; SCP: Papplewick). The Papplewick church monuments were perhaps those of free peasants who operated an itinerant forge.

Although not strictly a monument, within the church at Wirksworth in Derbyshire, a rare medieval depiction is found of an industrial worker. An image carved in stone (not on a cross slab) depicts a medieval miner, carrying a pick-axe and a bag (see Figure 217). It was formerly found in the church at Bonsall and was reportedly moved in modern times to Wirksworth church (Henstock 1999, 68). It is possible that this individual was one of the Derbyshire Peak's class of freeminers.

9.1.5 Distribution of Monuments

Several trends can be found in the overall distribution of monuments around the forests of Sherwood and High Peak (see Figure 218). Monuments are much more common in Sherwood Forest than in the Forest of High Peak. Monuments bearing the symbolism of forest officials of Sherwood Forest are only found within the forest itself, specifically in the north-west area, whereas monuments bearing the symbolism of Forest of High Peak officials are generally found outside the forest itself, with examples found at Bakewell, Chelmorton, and Wirksworth. A number of effigies and grave slabs are found in the south of Sherwood Forest, and outside the southern border, which are to verderers (or their families) which do not bear symbolism of forest officials. Monuments to forest officials are not found at either Mansfield or Castleton, the administrative *caputs* of the forests of Sherwood and High Peak respectively.

There is a clear and distinctive variation in Sherwood Forest in expressions of identity through funerary monuments, and patronage of church architecture, between the outer forest and the forest core. The outer forest, including the areas west and south of the forest, and the largely agricultural southern boundary of the forest, reveal a higher quantity of evidence for monumentality but without the symbolism of the forest hierarchy. Sherwood Forest's most wooded area and the location of its primary administrative centres (what could be considered the "core" of the forest) was its northernmost area, according to its thirteenth- and fourteenth-century boundaries. This area, analysed as part of the Northern Sherwood and Central Sherwood case studies (Chapter 5), contained the settlements of Mansfield, Edwinstowe, Clipstone, and Warsop; this core area of the forest has an almost

complete lack of (surviving) medieval monuments, with or without forest symbolism. It is in areas peripheral to the forest's core such as Papplewick and Skegby that monuments to forest officials are found.

There is a clear explanation for this difference in distributions of funerary monuments and patronage of church architecture, which relates to land-holding and land use. The southern half of Sherwood Forest (as defined by its thirteenth- and fourteenth-century boundaries) was divided into a number of small independent manors, generally held by minor lords, who as has been seen in many cases had ancestors who were not dissimilar from the free peasantry. These lords sought to solidify their social status by engaging in the genteel and aristocratic practices of commissioning funerary monuments and patronising church architecture. The majority of these manors in the south of Sherwood Forest had their own parish church attached. The forest officials from these areas were frequently manorial lords. By contrast, in the northern forest, the vast majority of land was held for a significant part of the medieval period as royal demesne, or in some cases was held by ecclesiastical figures. This created powerful peasant communities from which forest officials were drawn; these communities generally did not adopt the effigies of the gentry and nobility, but in some cases did adopt the use of incised grave slabs.

In the Forest of High Peak, the boundaries of the foresters' manorial holdings were not contiguous with parish boundaries. These small manors were within large parishes and did not have their own attached parish church, and several of the manors would instead have shared a single church. Unlike in Sherwood Forest, the forest lords and officials were located within large parishes, and lacked a religious building to patronise (other than the distant parish church at Hope). The foresters responded to this by cooperating to establish their own church at Chapel-en-le-Frith.

9.4 Conclusion

A range of networks and identities have been explored within and around the forests of High Peak and Sherwood. One of the common themes throughout this discussion is one of continuity. The period of Norman Forest Law saw a possible continuation in central places which had seemingly dated as far as the Iron Age, through actions in the Norman period such as the creation of a planned borough. The exploitation of the Peak's lead resources may have been continuous from the Roman period, and partly played a role in the wealth of the Peak barrow burials. In the Norman period, this industry was key in making the Derbyshire Peak one of the most intensively industrial landscapes in medieval England.

There was a clear divide in terms of peasant freedom and agency between the southern and northern halves of Sherwood Forest. The north of the forest was heavily wooded royal demesne and allowed its peasant occupants a high degree of freedom. Within these areas a large number of free peasants were active within the forest administration. The south of the forest, as well as outside the and east, south, and west forest borders, were areas held in the fourteenth century by manorial lords who were also active in the forest administration, were responsible for the patronage of church architecture and funerary monuments, and were often descended from a socially-mobile class, such as freeman tenants who had acquired the manor as descendants of holders of knights' fees, or the subtenant of the manor.

The chapter has explored the status and identity of officials within the forest administration. Within Sherwood Forest there were ostensibly two classes of verderer; in the north of the forest, free peasants, and in the south of the forest, manorial lords. Further analysis indicated that the ancestral status of the two classes may not have been substantially different. The north of the forest was royal demesne, while the south of the forest was divided into small manors, some of which may have passed into the possession of erstwhile members of the upper peasantry through the granting of knight's fees. This again highlights the difference between the higher degree of communal freedom offered by royal demesne, and the higher degree of opportunity offered to limited numbers of aristocratic demesne tenants.

Chapter 10: Conclusion

10.1 Key Findings and Implications

The introduction to this thesis began by outlining the "forest myth" which presents forests as simply large woodlands. It also outlined how in academia, while there is a general understanding that forests were legally-defined areas rather than landscape types, research has tended to emphasise their role as hunting spaces. The wider study of medieval hunting practices (for example Sykes 2011) and hunting spaces (for example Liddiard 2007) has borne a great deal of significant research which has revolutionised knowledge about medieval hunting, and it is true that forests can be viewed as part of this sphere. This current research project has approached forests from a very different perspective, by bringing to the fore the diverse aspects of landscape and society within the areas of the medieval forests of Sherwood and High Peak. There is no doubt that medieval forests were in part hunting landscapes, but this thesis has demonstrated the roles of forest spaces in agriculture, industry, settlement, and trade, as well as arenas for social mobility. This thesis presents a new understanding of forests which should not supplant the approach to forests as part of the wider study of hunting spaces, but rather both approaches should be regarded as complementary, together providing a holistic understanding of medieval forests. The key findings of this thesis which shall be examined here are how forest landscapes were more than woodland, the chronological view of forests, power and authority, and social dynamics and agency.

10.1.1 Diversity: Forests as More than Woodland

The application of the *pays* model to Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire demonstrated clearly that the forests were not distinct natural regions. It showed furthermore that the borders of natural regions in Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire had generally little overall relationship with forest borders. The borders of forests were revealed to largely follow the outlines of rivers, as well as roads and

administrative units, including parish boundaries. Throughout this thesis, analysis of the physical landscape has revealed that forests contained agricultural land, including open fields, heathland and moorland, and rural and urban settlements, all in addition to woodland. Some areas of forests were dominated by nucleated settlements and agricultural farming, enough to be considered champion land, predominantly Thorneywood Chase in Sherwood Forest and Campagna in the Forest of High Peak.

The forests were rich reserves of natural resources; their landscape diversity produced wide economic diversity and allowed the conditions for significant social dynamics. The forest's resources were utilised by a great number of rural industries, in which the peasantry were active, and as examined in this thesis and forest research including activities such as the mining of coal, lead and iron; arable and pastoral farming; glass production; pottery production; and a series of timber industries that included charcoal production, carpentry, construction, and firewood cultivation. Although it is true that no forest had all of these industries, this thesis suggests each had a large combination and that no area of a forest landscape was unused. There are also indicators of a significant monetised economy, from evidence including a large assemblage of coinage, a great number of rural markets, and in the forests of High Peak and Sherwood, urban centres which included Castleton, Mansfield, and also nominally Nottingham, which was exempt from Forest Law and has not been examined in detail in this thesis.

Though the forests undoubtedly had a significant role in medieval hunting, which is an aspect of forests wholly deserving of analysis in its own right, viewing them only from this perspective is to miss the considerable socio-economic evidence they yield. This research demonstrates that a new appreciation is required for the dynamism of forest landscapes and their internal economies and societies.

10.1.2 The *Longue Durée*: Antecedent Landscapes and the Impact of Afforestation

This thesis takes a long-term view, examining the medieval landscapes of the forests of Sherwood and High Peak and their surroundings, pre-afforestation and during

afforestation, from *circa* AD 650 until 1348. This long-term view has been designed to reveal what, if anything, was unique about areas selected for coverage by Forest Law, as well as revealing how they evolved during afforestation in comparison to areas not afforested or to areas which were selectively removed from afforestation.

It has been discussed through this thesis how both the forests of Sherwood and High Peak contained significant areas of royal demesne, before and after the Conquest, and how they contained a great deal of communal resources over which the peasant inhabitants had common rights. It is possible in the case of both forests that areas of the landscape were used as hunting grounds by the Late Saxon kings; it has been noted also by Hooke (2010, 142-143) that there was a considerable overlap between Norman forests and areas of earlier Saxon hunting, while an association between forests and pre-existing common land has also been made (Whitefield 2009, 97). In places it seems that the forest boundaries may match these areas of common land, yet the forests also incorporated significant areas of settlement in which communities lived, and, as stated, the forest boundaries largely follow administrative boundaries.

This research has furthermore hinted at the long-term factors which have led to forests being associated with woodland. Forest Law often saw the afforestation of large areas of natural resources, including but not limited to woodlands. The nature of Forest Law, and its legal protection of trees, meant that woodlands within forests were protected and managed, and were more likely to have not been cleared by the end of the medieval period. It has long been understood (see for example Dyer 2002, 155-186) that the period 1100 to 1300 was one of significant expansion of settlement and agriculture, in which new land was converted for these uses, resulting in widespread clearance and assarting of woodlands. This has been shown to even occur in areas of Forest Law but generally on a much lesser scale; by comparison the unafforested woodlands of Arden were almost entirely cleared (the process of which has been studied by Roberts 1968). As has been seen in Sherwood Forest, Forest Law could act to prevent the mass clearance of the ancient woodlands it covered. It could be argued that the surge in population and arable growth between the eleventh and fourteenth centuries was even a factor - even if not the original cause - in the motivation of Norman kings to actively preserve their hunting spaces and limit the growth of settlements close to them. This could be

more readily achieved by including surrounding settlements within the afforested area and incorporating the local population into the forest administration. In the wake of the crises of the mid-fourteenth century the resulting population decline was not arrested until the sixteenth century (White 2012, 8), halting the growth of arable cultivation and the need for woodland clearance. Taken together, this meant that woodland within a royal forest was more likely to survive at least to the end of the early modern period than unafforested woodlands, and is arguably an influence on the distribution of even modern woodland. It can be strongly argued then that it was the influence of Forest Law on preserving woodland which has led to the current erroneous perception of medieval forests as wholly wooded.

In terms of the origins of nucleated villages in the forests, the little available excavated evidence – a significant quantity of which has been found by the ongoing work of Andy Gaunt and David Budge at Edwinstowe (Gaunt 2015) and Clipstone (Budge and Gaunt 2014) – suggests that nucleated villages within Sherwood Forest evolved out of pre-village nuclei. The origins of these pre-village nuclei could be dated to earlier than the seventh century. The forest villages therefore were seemingly not completely new settlements founded upon the abandonment of a previous dispersed settlement pattern after the mid-ninth century, which corresponds with what was found in Whittlewood Forest by Jones and Page (2006, 85-92).

This thesis has revealed within the forests of Sherwood and High Peak a long-term continuity in central places. What could be termed "successor central places" in each period succeeded or replaced those of the previous period. From within the area of Sherwood Forest, the forest's administrative centre at Mansfield was preceded by an Anglo-Saxon estate centre, a highly significant Roman villa, and a possible Iron Age hillfort. Within what became the Forest of High Peak, the forest's *caput* at Castleton was preceded by an Anglo-Saxon estate centre close by at Hope (also the location of one of the forest's courts), a Roman fort at Brough and a Bronze Age and Iron Age hillfort at Mam Tor. Although there is no evidence that these centres fulfilled identical functions over time (such as economic or military) it is nonetheless a remarkable consistency in the geographic foci of administration.

It is difficult to determine the economic impact of Forest Law on the growth of settlements. A strong case, however, was made in Chapter 3 that, although the

Forest Laws were not applied to Nottingham itself, the presence of the forest was of some influence in the stagnation of the town in the fourteenth century, while Newark prospered. It was interpreted that long-distance north-south journeys may have opted to avoid the regulations of the forest and travel via Newark rather than Nottingham, potentially assisting the growth of Newark and the Great North Road (although this may have been a continuation in the importance of Ermine Street) to the detriment of Nottingham and the Great Way of Blyth. It could alternatively be suggested that it was simply a growth of the Great North Road (or the regrowth of Ermine Street) that caused this impact.

It is interesting that for a legal system imported to England and opposed on the grounds that it defied the English tradition of Common Law (Jørgensen 2010, 115; Hanawalt 1998, 144), the overall trend that characterises the forests is continuity. The early medieval common rights and manorial rights of the forest inhabitants were preserved through Forest Law and the precedent of ancient royal demesne. The centres of power of the forest administration were inherited from Anglo-Saxon estate centres. Areas covered by Forest Law were previously the hunting territories of Anglo-Saxon kings. The degree of agency of the forest peasants was a continuation from the Early Medieval Period, defying the traditional model of feudalism. The ancient woodlands of forests were seemingly preserved by the regulations of Forest Law.

10.1.3 Authority: Power Relations in a Medieval Forest

Certain traditional markers of power within the forests have been clearly evident through this thesis. Substantial royal residences were located at Peveril Castle and King John's Palace at Castleton and Clipstone respectively, while large areas of Clipstone, Bestwood and Peak Forest were set aside as parks for the king's hunting. Many historical cases are recorded of harsh punishments given by royal authority for infringements within the areas covered by Forest Law. The geographical evidence for the administrative power structure was one marked by continuity, as seen by the relation between the forest's central places and those of the Anglo-Saxon period and earlier. These would all seem to suggest that forests were tightly

controlled and regulated landscapes, but the power-relations of the forests require a complex and nuanced understanding.

A major form of power within the forests was ecclesiastical power, although how this power manifested itself and was utilised was highly variable. The archbishop of York was a significant landowner in Sherwood Forest, who held manors at Blidworth, Farnsfield, Calverton and Woodborough. The archbishop was generally curtailed by Forest Law, although records also exist of the archbishop's woods being selectively removed from the forest; the area of Bishopswood in Farnsfield was selectively removed from Forest Law in the fourteenth century (see Chapter 5). Monasteries were also significant landowners in the forests. In Sherwood Forest the creation of Rufford Abbey was highly disruptive, destroying four villages and seeing their populations moved to a new village to create a level of isolation appropriate for the "Cistercian myth". The other major monastery in Sherwood Forest was Newstead Abbey. A large number of granges additionally existed within the forest. Within the Peak, including the south of the Forest of High Peak, the tithes and advowsons of a large number of churches were granted to Lenton Priory. There was however little direct monastic presence in the Peak, aside from a small number of monastic granges. The Cistercian monastic order in particular is known for its isolationist ideology and foundation myth involving the taming of wild and harsh landscapes; research such as that by Menuge (2000) has argued that the reality was very different. Instead, Menuge (*ibid.*, 34-35) argues that these monasteries enjoyed a significant degree of wealth and were located in the margins of settled areas rather than in high seclusion. This correlates with the evidence from Sherwood Forest, where four settlements were destroyed to create the conditions for Rufford Abbey, in essence an artificial wilderness, and their populations moved to the new nearby village of Wellow. Yet in the Forest of High Peak, a landscape which included areas of extensive moorlands and little population, the ideal conditions for such a monastery, none were created. This suggests Cistercian monasteries only created the veneer of living in isolation and taming wild landscapes; while the harsh reality of a landscape exhibiting these features at their extremes was avoided.

Land within royal forests was largely, although not entirely, ancient royal demesne, especially at the time of Domesday Book. The lack of intermediate lords throughout

much of the forests meant that the peasantry enjoyed a direct relationship with the Crown, or the Crown's officials. Lords were generally profit-orientated and jealously protected their own status and wealth by imposing strict economic and personal regulations on their tenants, designed to maximise their income to the detriment of that of their peasantry. Work such as McIntosh's (2002) study of Havering meanwhile demonstrates that royal demesne operated very differently. The operations of specific manors were too trivial for direct management by the Crown itself, while the Crown's appointed officials had little interest in maximising manorial profits in light of little chance of personal gain or promotion. The precedent of ancient royal demesne meant that the rights of the tenants were persistent, with one privilege still being cited in Mansfield's soke court in 1809 (Crook 2013, 84). The result was that tenants of royal demesne enjoyed a significant degree of personal and economic freedom, in contrast to the high taxation and regulations imposed by lords. Peasant common rights were similarly persistent, with rights such as wood-pasture enduring partly because the required woodland was preserved, partly because these rights were reinforced by forest law, such as the right of *swinebote* and *agistment*. These rights and freedoms allowed forest peasants, especially the free peasantry, to flourish. This was in part however stifled by the regulations of Forest Law, which prevented the expansion of settlement and cultivation into the protected woodlands.

The lords of both forests were generally found around their southern borders, and held small landholdings. Examination of these lords in Sherwood Forest revealed that they often had ancestors whose status was akin to the upper peasantry, and whom were granted serjeanties or knight's fees which over subsequent generations raised the social status of their progeny. It was the aristocratic class who were hardest hit by the forests, being faced by the dual challenges of an uncommonly powerful peasantry and a landscape with impositions set by the King on their rights to hunt and cut woodland on their own land, damaging their ability to engage in aristocratic and entrepreneurial activities. It was examined in Chapter 8 that it was the aristocracy who most rebelled against Forest Law, such as the Barons' production of the Charter of the Forest, simultaneous with Magna Carta. The power relations of the forests, including the lack of aristocratic power together with the rich variety of natural resources often found in forest landscapes, laid the foundation for forests as arenas of significant social dynamics.

10.1.4 Social Dynamism: Identity and Agency in a Medieval Forest

A traditional understanding of medieval feudalism would not expect significant evidence for peasant agency. Recent research however has explored the social dynamics pertaining to the agency and influence of peasant groups in coastal societies in particular (Loveluck 2013; Loveluck and Tys 2006, 147), but also in reclaimed lands, such as the drained marshlands of the Fens (Oosthuizen 2012). Forests have hitherto not been perceived as arenas of social dynamics, the prevailing narratives of forests are ones which explore royal hunting and emphasise tight elite control. Research for this thesis has however revealed substantial evidence from the forests of Sherwood and High Peak for a high degree of peasant agency alongside complicated power-relations, before and during afforestation.

This forest research, through its choice of evidence, analyses the full range of material signatures from the medieval forests, which allows a rare insight into the lifestyles and activities of the medieval peasantry. It has been demonstrated that these peasants engaged in a significant number of industries, including independent free-mining, iron-working, and pastoral farming. The period 1100 to 1300 in particular has been shown as one in which the peasantry engaged in a growing number of specialised industries (Britnell 1996, 102-127) and had a significant role in the market economy (*ibid.*, 79-101). This was especially true in the forests due to the wealth of natural resources available and the freedom of peasants on royal demesne.

Communities of *sokemen*, members of the upper peasantry, have been showed to have wielded an especially high degree of independence. Comparisons with the work of Stocker and Everson (2006) have showed how these communities were established around a central village green, and commonly they cooperated to create parish churches within their settlements.

Members of the upper peasantry have been demonstrated to have been active in the forest hierarchy. Within the central area of Sherwood Forest, on royal demesne, these were seemingly leading members of their peasant communities. It is unclear whether these individuals were leading members of their communities because they

were in the forest administration, or whether they gained positions in the forest administration because they were already figureheads. In any case, the actions of these individuals (such as Robert de Clipstone) within the forest hierarchy no doubt bolstered their social standing. Foresters of fee were commonly members of the peasantry who were granted land and rights in exchange for service in the forest. Serving as a forester of fee in these instances was akin to a tenant owing service to their lord. In Sherwood they even owed a rent rather than being paid for the position as in other forests. Around Sherwood Forest's southern border small groups of upper peasants were increased in status to gentry, and this was partly consolidated through their activity in the forest hierarchy. In the Forest of High Peak, a number of forest officials owned large and independent dispersed farmsteads, the tenure of which was potentially originally held for their hereditary service.

The period 1100 to 1300 commonly saw the creation by peasants of new dispersed farmsteads, often out of forest clearances. The application of Forest Law was seemingly not evenly applied across the forests. In some areas established settlements grew and new farmsteads were created, while in other areas the woodland that did exist appears to have been protected more carefully, such as the areas of Bilhaugh and Birklands in the north of Edwinstowe. There is seemingly more evidence for new dispersed peasant farmsteads being created in the period 1100 to 1300 on land owned by lords rather than royal demesne (see for example the case study of Blidworth compared to Edwinstowe). This runs contrary to higher peasant freedoms in royal demesne but there is an explanation. As observed by Dyer (2002, 160-161), in areas of royal forest lords would sponsor peasants by granting them areas of woodland, orchestrated the clearance and enclosure of these areas, and paid the forest fine on the peasant's behalf. This was not out of interest for the peasant but for the cynical reasoning that the peasant could henceforth afford to pay more tax. This circumvention of Forest Law was unlikely to occur on royal demesne; the Crown's officials would not be motivated to offer peasants land for clearing at the cost of the king's woodlands, and a peasant was unlikely to be able to individually afford the fine for breaking Forest Law. Even though royal demesne offered higher peasant agency there was a complexity to this, and the laissez-faire attitude of the Crown and its officials worked both ways. While the Crown's officials had little interest in controlling and hindering the peasantry they

also had little interest in actively providing opportunity, especially at the cost of Forest Law. Conversely, while lords did control their peasants closely, they were also capable of providing opportunity when it was in their own economic interest to do so; although this had the caveat that it would be the lord who would see the most financial reward for this opportunity. This demonstrates that while royal demesne offered higher peasant freedom it did not always offer higher opportunity. On a related note, there is little evidence for moated manor houses within the forests of Sherwood and High Peak, a traditional indicator of high peasant agency, possibly a result of regulations against enclosures against animals. These points aside, it is clear that the peasantry of royal forests enjoyed a significant degree of individual freedom.

The high degree of social dynamics within the forests are similarly reflected through material remains. For instance, the range of Anglo-Scandinavian horse riding gear from Sherwood Forest indicates a society with a high degree of horse riding. Similarly, a number of early medieval brooches indicate figures within what became Sherwood Forest seemingly carrying what may have been portable markers of status. Coin finds present evidence for an economy with some degree of monetisation from the seventh century onwards, seemingly connecting Sherwood Forest in particular directly or indirectly to trade networks that incorporated the Humber river system and possibly continental Europe. Exotic finds from the Peak barrow burials, including gold, suggest similar long-distance trade. Numbers of coin finds from the forests increase in the Norman period, dramatically so in the thirteenth century. The thirteenth century has been described, including by Spufford (2002, 16), as a period of "commercial revolution", when the economy was heavily monetised; for example, lords extracted rents and taxes wholly in coin for the first time (*ibid.*, 16-19). To have the coin to pay these fees the peasantry was clearly entrenched in the monetary economy. Previous analysis has shown in the period 1100 to 1300 the growth in the scale of the peasantry as producers and as consumers (Schofield 2003, 149-156), with a considerable role in specialised industry and markets Britnell (1996, 79-127). The available evidence undoubtedly suggests a similar trend in Sherwood Forest. Although the conditions through which each coin recorded from chance discovery became deposited in the ground cannot be known, it is interesting to note that within Sherwood Forest by far the majority of coins of this period have been recovered from areas of royal demesne.

Likewise, analysis of the Trent Valley showed a large number of coins and portable goods found along the Trent river system, a patterning previously identified in coastal societies (Loveluck 2013, 13-14). What unites both these areas is that research has demonstrated them to have a comparatively wealthy and socially-mobile peasantry compared to inland aristocratically-dominated peasants. The peasantry of coastal societies in particular had access to a range of imported and exotic goods usually associated with regional elites when found inland (*ibid.*). It appears that the same was true to a lesser extent of river channels, which provided direct access to the coast. It is likely that a significant proportion of the coin finds from the royal demesne of Sherwood Forest are the result of accidental deposition by members of the peasantry.

Significant evidence for later medieval literacy has also been recovered from Sherwood Forest, as well as the rest of the Trent river system. This predominantly is in the form of the thirteenth and fourteenth century personal seal matrices some of which, from what the inscriptions on the seal matrices suggest, were in the ownership of peasants, and were used particularly in transfers of land. It is already well documented that the peasantry was engaged in this activity during this period (Schofield 2003, 52-76). One may reasonably question the extent to which this demonstrates that the owners themselves could actually read and write. The research of Michael Wood (2010) in his analysis of the documents of Kibworth in Leicestershire has revealed a great deal of evidence for records made by the thirteenth- and fourteenth-century peasantry themselves. By comparison, it can be inferred that there is a strong chance that a similar degree of literacy existed among the users of the seal matrices in Sherwood Forest and the Trent Valley.

This research has revealed a significant number of funerary monuments in Sherwood Forest and the Forest of High Peak. A series of incised stone cross slabs existed to forest officials, which in the Forest of High Peak and the areas of royal demesne in Sherwood Forest were free peasants. Elsewhere, in the privately-owned manors of Sherwood Forest's southern border, funerary monuments took the form of funerary effigies created to monumentalise lords which had risen over the previous two centuries from the upper peasantry. This existed alongside a tendency for these lords to patronise their manorial parish churches, while instances exist of forest officials in the upper peasantry and lesser gentry who lived in large parishes

creating churches, in a similar manner to their *sokeman* forebears. For instance, the church at Chapel-en-le-Frith appeared to be a donation by the foresters *for* the community of Chapel-en-le-Frith, whereas closer analysis makes it clear that these foresters *were* the community, or leading representatives, of the settlement.

This evidence for a high degree of social dynamics within the forests of Sherwood and High Peak is comparable with the results of research in the Fens and coastal societies. This is perhaps not a coincidence. Where woodlands and heaths could be cleared they offered similar prospects for land reclamation as found in the Fens. Where the woodlands were protected, settlements grew around these rich resources, and the peasants used the woodlands as a source of industry and food; this was not so different to the relationship between coastal societies and their seascapes. Further research is required to verify that these example forests are not anomalies, but generally forests deserve a reinterpretation as arenas of significant social dynamics.

10.2 Future Research

Further research is possible to more intensively examine settlement and social dynamics in the forests of Sherwood and High Peak, but much of this potential would rely on the availability of further data. Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire generally suffer from a lack of excavation, both published and unpublished. If more evidence were available from the forest settlements in particular, then a closer analysis could be made of the chronology and pattern of their development. This would also provide more material with which social dynamics could be analysed. The work of Andy Gaunt and Mercian Archaeological Services shows promise in this regard. On a related note, future research could include a programme of test-pitting and field-walking, both of which could be used to establish a chronology of settlement growth within the forests; this was unfortunately not possible in this thesis due to constraints imposed by time, resources, and project size. There has been a lack of analysis of pottery sequences from the two counties, especially Nottinghamshire. This is a knowledge gap which once filled would provide valuable context to pottery found within the forests, and establish more clearly the forests'

connections to pottery networks and further assess the possibility of pottery production centres within the forests.

This thesis generally is one which focuses largely on rural settlement, with the exception of the small towns of Mansfield and Castleton, both directly under Forest Law. The major settlement of Nottingham has intentionally been largely overlooked. This was partly because the range of landscape, architectural, and excavated evidence from the medieval town would comprise a research project in itself, and because the medieval town was an anomaly by being nominally in the forest but exempt from the laws themselves. A way to take this research project further would be to look at the relationship between the town and Sherwood Forest, in terms of the forest acting as the town's hinterland, and how Forest Law may have indirectly impacted on the economy and growth of the town.

Future research could also look to apply the methodology of this thesis to other forests. It was noted in Chapter 1 that most forest previous research has taken place within the southern English midlands. The two forests within this research, the Forest of High Peak and Sherwood Forest, are within the northern half of England and one (the Forest of High Peak) was outside Roberts and Wrathmell's (2003; 2000) central champion zone. Yet, both are nonetheless still within the English midlands. Further research may apply the same methodology to forests in other areas, for example the north-west of England which has seen few settlement studies. To explore even further afield, Forest Law is a concept imported to England, carried by the Normans from France, where forests had originally existed from much earlier under the Merovingian and Carolingian kings, appearing first in 648 upon the afforestation of the Ardennes Forest (Jørgensen 2010, 118). Forest Law spread through many countries on the Continent, even as far as Hungary (Szabó 2005), and existed alongside related concepts such as the German aristocratic and ecclesiastical *bannwald* (Konijnendijk 2008, 65). The Anglo-Norman aristocracy themselves exported Forest Law to Wales, Scotland, and Ireland. Future studies may explore the differences, or similarities, in the impact of Forest Law across these territories. Whether, for example, forests established much earlier and in existence over a longer period in France were as dynamic in landscape character, and saw the same degree of preservation of common rights and opportunities for the upper peasantry as has been found in this thesis. Conversely, the same questions

may be asked about forests such as those in Ireland which have collectively received very little attention; here Forest Law was applied much more briefly, for example the Forest of Glencree, afforested from the early thirteenth century until around 1305 (Le Fanu 1893), the woodland of which was explored by Aidan O'Sullivan (1998) as a major source of timber to Anglo-Norman Dublin. O'Sullivan (*ibid.*, 67) nonetheless stresses that due to the nature of Forest Law not all of the land was necessarily wooded, just as in English forests, opening the possibility of a study exploring the variability of such a landscape and its internal settlement and social dynamics. We may similarly ask whether afforestation for such a short period had any lasting impact at all. Studies similar to this thesis conducted on forests across Europe would allow the forests of Sherwood and High Peak to be situated within their European context, and these studies combined would enable a better understanding of these landscapes which covered so much of medieval Europe.

This thesis has presented a wide array of evidence from the forests of High Peak and Sherwood which portrays these forests as having dynamic landscape characters, industries, and societies. An insight also emerges from the forests into the general continuity of the landscape and lifestyle of peasants. These are features which are not traditionally associated with the medieval forest, and suggest that a re-examination of our understanding of the concept of medieval forests has been long overdue. The fact that forests covered up to a third of England and were found widely across Europe only adds to the necessity of this re-evaluation.

Bibliography

Addyman, P. V., Pearson, N., and Tweddle, D. 1982. "The Coppergate Helmet." *Antiquity* **56** (3), pp. 189-194.

Alcock, N. and Miles, D. 2013. *The Medieval Peasant House in Midland England*. Oxford: Oxbow Books.

Allen, M. 2011. "Silver Production and the Money Supply in England and Wales, 1086–c. 1500." *The Economic History Review* **64** (1), pp. 114-131.

Allen, T. 1833. *The History of the County of Lincoln: From the Earliest Period to the Present Time, Volume 1*. London: John Saunders, Junior.

Allen, M. 2012. *Mints and Money in Medieval England*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Allerston, P. 1970. "English Village Development: Findings from the Pickering District of North Yorkshire." *Institute of British Geographers Transactions* **51**, pp. 95-109.

Almond, R. 2003. *Medieval Hunting*. Stroud: Sutton Publishing.

Anonymous. 1790. *The English Archer, or, Robin Hood's Garland*. Lichfield: M. Morgan.

Anonymous. 1899. "Some Notes on Welbeck Abbey and Park." *Transactions of the Thoroton Society* **3**, 1-5

Anonymous. 1996. *Holy Trinity Church, Ashford in the Water*. Ashford: Holy Trinity Church.

Astill, G. 2009. "Medieval Towns and Urbanisation," in R. Gilchrist and A. Reynolds (eds.) *Reflections: 50 Years of Medieval Archaeology, 1957-2007*. Society for Medieval Archaeology Monographs, 30. Leeds: Maney Publishing, pp. 255-270.

Aston, M. 1985. *Interpreting the Landscape: Landscape Archaeology and Local History*. Oxford: Routledge Press.

Atkins, R. and Connor, A. 2010. *Farmers and Ironsmiths: Prehistoric, Roman and Anglo-Saxon Settlement beside Brandon Road, Thetford, Norfolk*. East Anglian Archaeology Monograph 134. Norwich: East Anglian Archaeology.

Austin, D. 1989. *The Deserted Medieval Village of Thrislington, County Durham: Excavations 1973–1974*. Society for Medieval Archaeology Monographs, 12. Lincoln: Society for Medieval Archaeology.

Bailey, M. 2002. *The English Manor, c.1200-c.1500*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Bailey, M. 2010. *Medieval Suffolk: An Economic and Social History, 1200-1500*. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press.

Bailey, T. 1853. *Annals of Nottinghamshire*, Volume 1. Nottingham: W. F. Gibson.

Barber, C. 2000. *The English Language: A Historical Introduction*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Barley, M. W. 1957. "Cistercian Land Clearances in Nottinghamshire: Three Deserted Villages and Their Moated Successor." *Nottingham Medieval Studies* **1**, pp. 75-89.

Barnatt, J. 1999. "Prehistoric and Roman Mining in the Peak District: Present Knowledge and Future Research." *Mining History: The Bulletin of the Peak District Mines Historical Society* **14** (2), pp. 19-30.

Barnatt, J. 2013. *Delving Ever Deeper: The Ecton Mines through Time*. Bakewell: Peak District National Park Authority.

Barnatt, J., Johnson, M., and May, R., 2000. *The Derbyshire Historic Landscape Survey Character Assessment - Aims, Method and Definition of Character Types*. Bakewell: Peak District National Park Authority for English Heritage and Derbyshire County Council.

Barnatt, J. and Smith, K. 2004. *The Peak District: Landscapes through Time*. Macclesfield: Windgather Press.

Barrett, D. 2000. *An Archaeological Resource Assessment of Medieval Derbyshire*. East Midlands Regional Research Framework.

Bateman, T. 1848. *Vestiges of the Antiquities of Derbyshire*. London: J. R. Smith.

Bateman, T. 1861. *Ten Years' Diggings in Celtic and Saxon Grave Hills in the Counties of Derby Stafford and York from 1848 to 1858*. London: J. R. Smith.

Baylay, A. M. Y. 1904. "Chantries at Edwinstowe." *Transactions of the Thoroton Society* **8**, pp. 79-93

Baxter, S. 2010. *PASE Domesday*. London: King's College London. [ONLINE] Available at: http://domesday.pase.ac.uk/ [Accessed 1 October 2014].

Baxter, S. 2011. "Lordship and Labour," in J. Crick and E. van Houts (eds.) *A Social History of England, 900-1200*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 98-114.

Beresford, M. W. 1988. *New Towns of the Middle Ages: Town Plantation in England, Wales and Gascony* (2nd Edition). London: Alan Sutton Publishing.

Beresford, M. W. and Finberg, H. P. R. 1973. *English Medieval Boroughs: A Handlist*. Newton Abbot: David and Charles

Berman, C. H. 2010. *The Cistercian Evolution: The Invention of a Religious Order in Twelfth-Century Europe*. Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Bevan, B. and Curtis, D. 2013. *Castleton–Hope Test Pits 2012: Report on Test Pits Excavated in Castleton and Hope Villages, as Part of the Lives of the Common People Project, June-July 2012*. Castleton: Castleton Historical Society and Hope Historical Society. [ONLINE] Available at: https://chstrial.files.wordpress.com/2016/10/castleton-hope-test-pits-report-part-1-main-report-and-appendices-1-2a-final1.pdf [Accessed 6 May 2016].

Birrell, J. 1987. "Common Rights in the Medieval Forest: Disputes and Conflicts in the Thirteenth Century." *Past & Present* **117**, pp. 22-49.

Birrell, J. R. 1969. "Peasant Craftsmen in the Medieval Forest." *Agricultural History Review* **17**, pp. 91-107.

Bishop, M. W. 1981. "Multiple Estates in Late Anglo-Saxon Nottinghamshire." *Transactions of the Thoroton Society* **85**, pp. 37-47.

Bishop, M. 2000. *An Archaeological Resource Assessment of Anglo-Saxon Nottinghamshire*. East Midlands Archaeological Research Frameworks.

Bishop, M. 2002. *The Character of Nottinghamshire's Historic Landscape, A Report for English Heritage*. Unpublished Report for Nottinghamshire County Council and English Heritage.

Blagg, T. M. 1939. *Abstracts of the Inquisitiones Post Mortem and Other Inquisitions Relating to Nottinghamshire*, Volume 3 (1321 to 1350). Nottingham: The Thoroton Society of Nottinghamshire.

Blair, J. (ed.) 1988. *Minster and Parish Churches: The Local Church in Transition, 950-1200*. Oxford: University of Oxford Press.

Blair, J. 1991. *Early Medieval Surrey: Landholding, Church, and Settlement before 1300*. Stroud: Alan Sutton Publishing.

Blanchard, I. 2001a. *Mining, Metallurgy and Minting in the Middle Ages: Volume 1: Asiatic Supremacy, 425-1125*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner.

Blanchard, I. 2001b. *Mining, Metallurgy and Minting in the Middle Ages: Volume 2: Afro-European Supremacy, 1125-1225*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag.

Blanchard, I. 2005. *Mining, Metallurgy and Minting in the Middle Ages: Volume 3: Continuing Afro-European Supremacy, 1250-1450*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag.

Boulton, H. E. 1965. *The Sherwood Forest Book*. Thoroton Society Record Series, 23. Nottingham: The Thoroton Society of Nottinghamshire.

Bourdieu, P. 1977. *Outline of a Theory of Practice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bowles, C. E. B. 1907. "The Manor of Abney: Its Boundaries and Court Rolls." *Derbyshire Archaeological and Natural History Society Journal* **29**, pp. 129-140.

Bowles, C. E. B. 1908. "The Staffords of Eyam." *Derbyshire Archaeological and Natural History Society Journal* **30**, pp. 261-294.

Brandon, P. F. 1969. "Medieval Clearances in the East Sussex Weald." *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* **48**, pp. 135-153.

Braun, H. 1935. "Notes on Newark Castle." *Transactions of the Thoroton Society* **39**, pp. 53-91.

Bridgland, D. R. and Howard, A. J. 2011. *Quaternary of the Trent*. Oxford: Oxbow Books.

Brighton, T. 2005. *Bakewell: The Ancient Capital of the Peak*. Wellington: Halsgrove Community History.

Brindle, T. 2014. *The Portable Antiquates Scheme and Roman Britain*. London: The British Museum Press.

British Library. 2009a. *Part of Nottinghamshire, H. Stevens, 1820, OSD 289*. [ONLINE] Available at: http://www.bl.uk/onlinegallery/onlineex/ordsurvdraw/p/002osd000000004u00251000.html [Accessed 15 March 2016].

British Library. 2009b. *Part of Nottinghamshire, H. Stevens, 1820, OSD 290*. [ONLINE] Available at: http://www.bl.uk/onlinegallery/onlineex/ordsurvdraw/p/002osd000000004u00252000.html [Accessed 15 March 2016].

Britnell, R. H. 1980. "Minor Landlords in England and Medieval Agrarian Capitalism." *Past and Present* **89**, pp. 3-22.

Britnell, R. H. 1996. *Commercialisation of English Society, 1000-1500*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Brown, B. B. 2006. "Hunting in the Medieval Royal Forests 1066-1307," in R. Hosking (ed.) *Wild Food: Proceedings of the Oxford Symposium on Food and Cookery, 2004*. Devon: Prospect Books, pp. 60-67.

Brown, C. 1891. *History of Nottinghamshire*. London: E. Stock.

Brown, M. P. and Farr, C. A. 2001. *Mercia: An Anglo-Saxon Kingdom in Europe*. London: Continuum.

Bruce-Mitford, R. L. S. 2005. *A Corpus of Late Celtic Hanging Bowls*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Brugmann, B. 2011. "Migration and Endogenous Change," in D. A. Hinton, S. Crawford, and H. Hamerow (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Anglo-Saxon Archaeology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 30-45.

Bucklow, S. 2009. *The Alchemy of Paint*. London: Marion Boyars Ltd.

Budge, D. and Gaunt, A. 2014. *King's Clipstone Village Project, 2013, Community Archaeology Test Pitting Project, King's Clipstone, Nottinghamshire, Interim Report*. Nottingham: Mercian Archaeological Services CIC.

Bulmer, T. 1895. *History, Topography, and Directory of Derbyshire*. Littleover: T. Bulmer and Co.

Bunting, J. 2006. *Bygone Industries of the Peak*. Sheffield: Wildtrack Publishing.

Burdett, P. P. 1975. *Map of Derbyshire, 1791*. Belper: Derbyshire Archaeological Society.

Burke, B. 1879. *A Genealogical and Heraldic History of the Landed Gentry of Great Britain and Ireland*, Volume 1 (6th Edition). London: Harrison.

Burton, I. E. 1966. *The Royal Forest of the Peak*. Bakewell: Peak Planning Board.

Butcher, D. 2016. "*Medieval Lowestoft: The Origins and Growth of a Suffolk Coastal Community*." Woodbridge: The Boydell Press.

Cambridge, E. and Rollason, D. 1995. "The Pastoral Organization of the Anglo-Saxon Church: A Review of the 'Minster Hypothesis." *Early Medieval Europe* **4** (1), pp. 87-104.

Cameron, K. 1959. *The Place-Names of Derbyshire: Part I: Introduction, River-Names, Etc, High Peak Hundred*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Cameron, K. 1996. *English Place Names* (6th Revised Edition). London: Batsford Ltd.

Cantor, N. F. 2001. *In the Wake of the Plague: The Black Death and the World It Made*. New York, USA: Simon and Schuster.

Cassini Historical Map. 2006a. *Ordnance Survey One-Inch Maps: Old Series 109, Manchester*. East Garston: Cassini Publishing Ltd.

Cassini Historical Map. 2006b. *Ordnance Survey One-Inch Maps: Old Series 110, Sheffield and Huddersfield*. East Garston: Cassini Publishing Ltd.

Cassini Historical Map. 2006c. *Ordnance Survey One-Inch Maps: Old Series 119, Buxton and Matlock*. East Garston: Cassini Publishing Ltd.

Cassini Historical Map. 2006d. *Ordnance Survey One-Inch Maps: Old Series 120, Mansfield and Worksop*. East Garston: Cassini Publishing Ltd.

Cassini Historical Map. 2006e. *Ordnance Survey One-Inch Maps: Old Series 121, Lincoln and Newark-on-Trent*. East Garston: Cassini Publishing Ltd.

Cassini Historical Map. 2006f. *Ordnance Survey One-Inch Maps: Old Series 128, Derby and Burton upon Trent*. East Garston: Cassini Publishing Ltd.

Cassini Historical Map. 2006g. *Ordnance Survey One-Inch Maps: Old Series 129, Nottinghamshire and Loughborough*. East Garston: Cassini Publishing Ltd.

Cassini Historical Map. 2006h. *Ordnance Survey One-Inch Maps: Old Series 130, Grantham*. East Garston: Cassini Publishing Ltd.

Chadwick, H. 1921. "The Manor of Dunham-on-Trent." *Transactions of the Thoroton Society* **25**, pp. 73-93.

Chapman, J. 2003. *Chapman's Map of Nottinghamshire 1774*. Nottingham: Nottinghamshire Council.

Clark, J. 2010. *A World by Itself: A History of the British Isles*. London: Random House.

Clarke, L. 2014. *Castleton: A History*. Stroud: Amberley Publishing.

Cleary, S. E. 2011. "The Ending(s) of Roman Britain," in D. A. Hinton, S. Crawford, and H. Hamerow (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Anglo-Saxon Archaeology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 13-29.

Cleere, H. and Crossley, D. 1995. *The Iron Industry of the Weald*. Chesterfield: Merton Priory Press.

Conzen. 1960. *Alnwick, Northumberland: A Study in Town Plan Analysis*. London: Institute of British Geographers.

Cook, H. Forthcoming. *New Forest: The Forging of a Landscape*. Macclesfield: Windgather Press.

Corèdon, C. and Williams, A. 2004. *A Dictionary of Medieval Terms and Phrases*. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer.

Coss, P. 1993. *The Knight in Medieval England*. Stroud: Alan Sutton Publishing Ltd.

Courtney, P. 2003. "Between Two Forests: The Social and Topographic Evolution of Medieval Anstey." *Transactions of the Leicestershire Archaeological and Historical Society* **77**, pp. 35-64.

Cox, J. C. 1875. *Notes on the Churches of Derbyshire*, *Volume 1: The Hundred of Scarsdale*. Chesterfield: Palmer and Edmunds.

Cox, J. C.1877. *Notes on the Churches of Derbyshire, Volume II: The Hundreds of the High Peak and Wirksworth*. Chesterfield: Palmer and Edmunds.

Cox J. C. 1905. *The Royal Forests of England*. London: Methuen and Co.

Creighton, O. H. *Castles and Landscapes: An Archaeological Survey of Yorkshire and the East Midlands*. University of Leicester, Unpublished Doctoral Thesis.

Creighton, O. H. 2002. *Castles in Medieval Society: Fortresses in England, France and Ireland in the Central Middle Ages*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Crook, D. 1976. "Clipstone Park and Peel." *Transactions of the Thoroton Society of Nottinghamshire* **80**, pp. 35-44.

Crook, D. 1979. "The Struggle Over Forest Boundaries in Nottinghamshire, 1218-1227." *Transactions of the Thoroton Society* **83**, pp. 35-45.

Crook, D. 1984. "The Community of Mansfield from Domesday Book to the Reign of Edward III." *Transactions of the Thoroton Society* **88**, pp. 14-38.

Crook, D. 1985. "The Community of Mansfield from Domesday Book to the Reign of Edward III: Part II." *Transactions of the Thoroton Society* **89**, pp. 16-29.

Crook, D. 1990. "The Forest between the Erewash and the Derwent, 1154 to 1225." *Derbyshire Archaeological Journal* **110**, pp. 93-104.

Crook, D. 2005a. "The Exemption of Nottingham from the Forest Laws in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries." *Transactions of the Thoroton Society* **109**, pp. 69-73.

Crook, D. 2005b. "Clipstone Peel: Fortification and Politics from Bannockburn to the Treaty of Leake 1314–1318," in M. Prestwich, R. Britnell and R. Frame (eds.) *Thirteenth-Century England X, Proceedings of the Durham Conference 2003*. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, pp. 187-196.

Crook, D. 2006. *Adam de St Martin and the King's Tenants of Mansfield. 1217-1222*. London: The National Archives and King's College London. [ONLINE] Available at: http://www.finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/month/fm-10-2006.html [Accessed 19 March 2016].

Crook, D. 2011. "Sherwood and Sherwood Forest." *Nottingham Medieval Studies* **55**, pp. 105-124.

Crook, D. 2013. "The Soke of Dunham and its Liberties in the Twelfth and Early Thirteenth Centuries." *Transactions of the Thoroton Society of Nottinghamshire* **117**, pp. 73-86.

Curtis, D., Darlington, A., Harrison, K., Holmes, J., Miles, P., Price, A., Talbot, J. and Bevan, B. 2013. *Medieval Lives in Castleton and Hope*. Castleton: Castleton Historical Society and Hope Historical Society.

Curtis, J. 1844. *A Topographical History of Nottinghamshire from Actual Survey,* Part 1. London: W. Strange.

Cutts, E. L. 1849. *A Manual for the Study of the Sepulchral Slabs and Crosses of the Middle Ages*. London: John Henry Parker.

Daniel-Tyssen, R. 1871. "Contributions towards a History of the Parish of Hope in the County of Derby." *The Reliquary Quarterly Archaeological Journal and Review* **11**, pp. 237-242.

Darby, H. C. 1962. *The Domesday Geography of Northern England*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Darby, H. C. 1977. *Domesday England*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Day, E. 2011. *Sokemen and Freemen in late Anglo-Saxon East Anglia in Comparative Context*. University of Cambridge, Unpublished Doctoral Thesis.

Derbyshire County Council. 2016. *Derbyshire Historic Landscape Characterisation (HLC)*. Matlock: Derbyshire County Council. [ONLINE] Available at: http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/derbyshire_hlc_2016 [Accessed 20 August 2016].

Diaz-Andreu, M. and Lucy, S. 2005. *The Archaeology of Identity: Approaches to Gender, Age, Status, Ethnicity and Religion*. Abingdon-on-Thames: Taylor and Francis.

Dickinson, T. M. 2002. "Review Article: What's New in Early Medieval Burial Archaeology?" *Early Medieval Europe* **11** (1), pp. 71-87.

Drew, C. 1954. *Early Parochial Organisation in England: The Origins of the Office of Churchwarden*. London: St Anthony's Press.

Du Boulay Hill, A. 1907. "Excursion 1907: Fledborough church." *Transactions of the Thoroton Society* **11**, pp. 1-9.

Dugdale, J. 1819. *The New British Traveller; or, a Modern Panorama of England and Wales; Exhibiting at One Complete View, an Ample, Accurate, and Popular Account, Historical, Topographical, and Statistical, of this Most Important Portion of the British Empire. Descriptive of its Several Counties, Cities, Towns, and Other Subdivisions; their Situation, Extent, Climate, Soil, and Productions, Natural and Artificial: Improvement and Present State of the Arts, Sciences, Manufactures, Agriculture, Commerce, Population, and Society. Forming a Complete Survey of South Britain; Comprising Authentic Information on Every Subject of a Local or General Nature, and Interspersed with Biographical Particulars of Eminent and Remarkable Persons, Volume 3*. London: J. Robins and Company.

Dyer, C. C. 1982. "Deserted Medieval Villages in the West Midlands.", *The Economic History Review* **35** (1), pp. 19-34.

Dyer, C. C. 1988. "Documentary Evidence: Problems and Enquiries," in G. Astill and A. Grant (eds.) *The Countryside of Medieval England*. Oxford: Blackwell, pp. 12-35.

Dyer, C. C. 1990. "Dispersed Settlements in Medieval England. A Case Study of Pendock, Worcestershire." *Medieval Archaeology* **34**, pp. 97-121.

Dyer, C. C. 2000. *Everyday Life in Medieval England*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Dyer, C. C. 2002. *Making a Living in the Middle Ages: The People of Britain 850-1520*. Yale: Yale University Press.

Dyer, C. C. and Lilley, K. 2012. "Town and Countryside: Relationships and Resemblances," in N. Christie and P. Stamper (eds.) *Medieval Rural Settlement: Britain and Ireland, AD 800-1600*. Oxford: Oxbow Books, pp. 81-98.

Eardley, D. 2009. *Villages of the Peak District*. Stroud: Amberley Publishing.

Edina. 2017. *Digimap*. Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh. [ONLINE] Available at: https://digimap.edina.ac.uk/ [Accessed 9 October 2013].

Edwards, J. P. 1987. *The Transport System of Medieval England and Wales: A Geographical Synthesis*. University of Salford, Unpublished Doctoral Thesis.

Edwards, J. F. and Hindle, B. P. 1993. "Comment: Inland Water Transportation in Medieval England." *Journal of Historical Geography* **19** (1), pp. 12-14.

Ellsworth, L. 2002. *All Saints' Parish Church, Bakewell*. Norwich: Jarrold Publishing.

Evans, S. 1912. *Bradwell, Ancient and Modern: History of the Parish and Incidents in the Hope Valley & District*. Chesterfield: Broad Oaks Press.

Everitt, A. 1979. "Country, County and Town: Patterns of Regional Evolution in England." *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* **29**, pp. 79-108.

Everitt, A. M. 1986. *Continuity and Colonization: The Evolution of Kentish Settlements*. Leicester: Leicester University Press.

Everson, P. L. Taylor, C. C., and Dunn, C. J. 1991. *Change and Continuity: Rural Settlement in North-West Lincolnshire*. London: H.M. Stationery Office.

Faith, R. 1997. *The English Peasantry and the Growth of Lordship*. Leicester: Leicester University Press.

Farrer, W. 1925. *Honors and Knights' Fees, Volume 1*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Fellows, G. 1907. *Arms, Armour and Alabaster Round Nottingham*. Nottingham: H.B. Saxton.

Finch, J. 2000. *Church Monuments in Norfolk before 1850: An Archaeology of Commemoration*. BAR British Series 317. Oxford: Archaeopress.

Foard, G. 1991. "The Medieval Pottery Industry of Rockingham Forest." *Medieval Ceramics* **15**, pp. 13-21.

Foard, G. 2001. "Medieval Woodland, Agriculture and Industry in Rockingham Forest, Northamptonshire." *Medieval Archaeology* **45**, pp. 41-95.

Foard, G., Hall, D. and Partida, T. 2005. "Rockingham Forest: The Evolution of a Landscape." *Landscapes* **6** (2), pp. 1-29.

Foard, G., Hall, D., and Partida, T. 2009. *Rockingham Forest: An Atlas of the Medieval and Early Modern Landscape*. Northampton: Northamptonshire Record Society.

Foot, N., Litton, C. D. and Simpson, W. G. 1986. "The High Roofs of the East End of Lincoln Cathedral," in S. Heslop and V. Sekules (eds.) *Medieval Art and Architecture at Lincoln Cathedral*. British Archaeological Association Conference Transaction 8. London: British Archaeological Association, pp. 47-74.

Ford, T. D. and Rieuwerts, J. H. (eds.) 1968. *Lead Mining in the Peak District*. Bakewell: Peak Park Planning Board.

Fowkes, D. V. and Potter, G. R. 1988. *William Senior's Survey of the Estates of the First and Second Earls of Devonshire, c. 1600-28*. Chesterfield: Derbyshire Record Society.

Fox, H. S. A. 1986. "The Alleged Transformation from Two-field to Three-field Systems in Medieval England." *Economic History Review* **39** (4), pp. 526-548.

French, K. L. 2011. "Margery Kempe and the Parish," in K. L. French and D. L. Biggs (eds.) *The Ties that Bind: Essays in Medieval British History in Honor of Barbara Hanawalt*. Surrey: Ashgate Publishing, pp. 159-197.

Furness, P. 1870. "The Family of Eyre of Hassop, in the County of Derby." *The Reliquary Quarterly Archaeological Journal and Review* **10**, pp. 232-238.

Gannon, A. 2003. *The Iconography of Early Anglo-Saxon Coinage: Sixth to Eighth Centuries*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Garton, D. 2009. *Fieldwalking the Cropmark Landscape on the Sherwood Sandstone of Nottinghamshire*. Nottingham: Trent and Peak Archaeology. [ONLINE] Available at: http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/brickworkplan_eh_2009/ [Accessed 27 September 2014].

Gaunt, A. 2011. *Clipstone Park and the Kings Houses: Reconstructing and Interpreting a Medieval Landscape through Non-Invasive Techniques*. University of Birmingham, Unpublished Masters Dissertation.

Gaunt, A. 2015. *"Robin Hood's Village Volunteer Dig 2014", Community Archaeology Test Pitting Project, Edwinstowe, Nottinghamshire, Interim Report*. Nottingham: Mercian Archaeological Services CIC. [ONLINE] Available at: http://www.mercian-as.co.uk/reports/Robin_Hoods_Village_Dig_2014_Test_Pittin.pdf [Accessed 18 January 2017].

Gaunt, A. 2017. *A Topographic Earthwork Survey of Thynghowe, Hanger Hill, Nottinghamshire*. Nottingham: Mercian Archaeological Services CIC. [ONLINE] Available at: http://www.thynghowe.org.uk/pdf/Th_topo_survey.pdf [Accessed 18 January 2017].

Gaunt, A. and Crossley, S. 2014. *The "Court Circle" Excavation at Thynghowe, Hanger Hill, Sherwood Forest, Nottinghamshire*. Nottingham: Mercian Archaeological Services CIC. [ONLINE] Available at: http://www.mercian-as.co.uk/reports/The_CourtCircle_Excavation_at_Thynghowe.pdf [Accessed 18 January 2017].

Geake, H. 1999. "When Were Hanging Bowls Deposited in Anglo-Saxon Graves?" *Medieval Archaeology* **43**, pp. 1-18.

Gilchrist, R. 2009. "Medieval Archaeology and Theory: A Disciplinary Leap of Faith," in R. Gilchrist and A. Reynolds (eds.) *Reflections: 50 Years of Medieval Archaeology, 1957-2007*. Society for Medieval Archaeology Monographs, 30. Leeds: Maney Publishing, pp. 385-408.

Gill, H. 1914. "Edwinstowe Church." *Transactions of the Thoroton Society* **18**, pp. 19-34.

Gill, H. 1916. "Notes on the Leen and the Buildings on its Banks, Including the Churches of Lenton, Radford, Old Basford and Bulwell." *Transactions of the Thoroton Society* **20**, pp. 1-46.

Glover, S. 1829. *The History, Gazetteer, and Directory of the County of Derby, Part 2*. Derby: Henry Mozley and Son.

Goddard, R. 2012. "Coal Mining in Medieval Nottinghamshire: Consumers and Producers in a Nascent Industry." *Transactions of the Thoroton Society* **116**, pp. 95-115.

Google. 2015. *Google Earth Pro, Version 7.1.5.1557*. [ONLINE] Available at: https://www.google.com/earth/index.html [Accessed 2 October 2015].

Gorringe, T. J. 2002. *A Theology of the Built Environment: Justice, Empowerment, Redemption*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Gorski, R. 2003. *The Fourteenth-Century Sheriff: English Local Administration in the Late Middle Ages*. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press.

Gover, J. E. B., Mawer, A., and Stenton, F. M. 1979. *The Place Names of Nottinghamshire*. English Place-Name Society, 17. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Grant, R. 1991. *The Royal Forests of England*. Stroud: Alan Sutton Publishing.

Gray, H. L. 1915. *English Field Systems*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

Green, J. A. 2013. "Forest Laws in England and Normandy in the Twelfth Century." *Institute of Historical Research* **86** (233), pp. 416-431.

Green, T. 2012. *Britons and Anglo-Saxons: Lincolnshire AD 400-650*. Lincoln: History of the Lincolnshire Committee.

Griffith-Jones, R. and Park, D. 2010. *The Temple Church in London: History, Architecture, Art*. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press.

Hadley, D. 2000. *The Northern Danelaw: its Social Structures, 800-1100*. Leicester: Leicester University Press

Hadley, D. 2006. *The Vikings in England: Settlement, Society and Culture*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Hall, D., Foard, G. and Britnell, T. 2004. "The Historic Landscape of Rockingham Forest." *Northamptonshire Past and Present* **57**, pp. 83-90.

Hanawalt, B. A. 1998 *"Of Good and Ill Repute": Gender and Social Control in Medieval England*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hanawalt, B. A. and Wallace, D. 1999. *Medieval Crime and Social Control*. London: University of Minnesota Press.

Harrison, D. F. 2004. *The Bridges of Medieval England: Transport and Society, 400-1800*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hart. C. E. 1950. *The Verderers and Speech-Court of the Forest of Dean*. Gloucester: John Bellows Limited.

Hart, C. E. 1966. *The Free Miners of the Royal Forest of Dean and Hundred of St. Briavels*. Gloucester: British Publishing Company.

Hart, C. R. 1975. *The Early Charters of Northern England and the North Midlands*. Leicester: Leicester University Press.

Havins, N. J. 1976. *The Forests of England*. London: Robert Hale Ltd.

Henstock, A. 1999. "'T'owd Mon Wor Frum Bonser': The Origins of the Medieval Miner's Effigy in Wirksworth Church." *Mining History: The Bulletin of the Peak District Mines Historical Society* **14** (2), pp. 68-69.

Herbert, D. and Thomas, C. 2012. *Cities in Space: City as Place*. Abingdon: Routledge.

Hey, D. 2014. *A History of the Peak District Moors*. Barnsley: Pen & Sword Books Ltd.

High Peak Borough Council. 2008. *Chapel-en-le-Frith Conservation Area Character Appraisal*. Local Development Framework.

Highley, D. E. 1975. "The Economic Geology of the Weald." *Proceedings of the Geologists' Association* **66** (4), pp. 559-569.

Hill, A. D. B. 1914. "Summer excursion 1914: Warsop church." *Transactions of the Thoroton Society* **18**, pp. 4-10.

Hillman, J. and Cook, H. 2016. "'By Floating and Watering Such Land as Lieth Capable Thereof': Recovering Meadow Irrigation in Nottinghamshire." *Transactions of the Thoroton Society* **120**, pp. 75-94.

Hindle, B. P. 1976. "The Road Network of Medieval England and Wales." *The Journal of Historical Geography* **2** (3), pp. 207-221.

Hindle, B. P. 2013. *Medieval Roads and Tracks*. Oxford: Shire Publications Ltd.

Hinton, D. A. 1990. *Archaeology, Economy and Society. England from the Fifth to the Fifteenth Century*. London: Seaby.

Hinton, D. A. 2006. *Gold & Gilts, Pots & Pins: Possessions and People in Medieval Britain*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hoskins, W. G. 1955. *The Making of the English Landscape*. London: Hodder and Stoughton.

Hodges, R. 2006. *Roystone Grange: 6000 Years of a Peakland Landscape*. Stroud: Tempus Limited.

Hodgkinson, J. S. 2000. "A Gazetteer of Medieval Iron-Making Sites in the Weald." *Wealden Iron, Bulletin of the Wealden Iron Research Group* **20**, pp. 23-31.

Hodgson, J. 1835. "Entail in the Family of Barton, of Fryton, of Property in Havergate, York," in J. G. Nichols (ed.) *Collectanea Topographica et Genealogica, Volume 2*. London: John Bowyer Nichols and Son, pp. 67-68.

Holdsworth, C. J. (ed.) 1974. *Rufford Charters, Volume 2, Thoroton Society Record Series, Volume 30*. Nottingham: The Thoroton Society of Nottinghamshire.

Hooke, D. 2010. *Trees in Anglo-Saxon England: Literature, Lore and Landscape*. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press.

Hoyle, J. P. and Butler, L. 2004. T*he Forest of Dean Gloucester. The Scowles and Associated Iron Industry Survey: Project Number 3342*. Gloucester Archaeology, Unpublished Report.

Hoyle, J. P. 2008. *The Forest of Dean, Gloucestershire. Lidar Survey of Selected Areas of Woodland and the Aggregates Resource Area. Project Number 4798. Project Report Volume 1: Methodology, Results, Discussion and Recommendations*. Gloucester Archaeology, Unpublished Report.

Hull, L. 2009. *Understanding the Castle Ruins of England and Wales: How to Interpret the History and Meaning of Masonry and Earthworks*. London: McFarland and Company, Inc.

Hunt, A. J. (ed.) 1998. *Gazetteer of Archaeological Investigations in England 1994. British and Irish Archaeological Supplement 5*. Bournemouth: School of Conservation Sciences, Bournemouth University.

Hunt, M. R. 1996. *The Middling Sort: Commerce, Gender, and the Family in England, 1680-1780*. London: University of California Press.

Jackson, M. J. 1976. *Edwinstowe: The Story of a Forest Village.* Mansfield: Author.

Jenkins, R. 2008. *Rethinking Ethnicity*. London: SAGE.

Johnson, M. 1993. *Housing Culture: Traditional Architecture in an English Landscape*. London: University College London Press.

Johnson, M. 1996. *An Archaeology of Capitalism*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Johnston, W. M. 2000. *Encyclopaedia of Monasticism*. London: Routledge.

Jones, A. 1979. "Land Measurement in England, 1150-1350." *The Agricultural History Review* **27** (1), pp. 10-18.

Jones, S. 1997. *The Archaeology of Ethnicity: Constructing Identities in the Past and the Present*. London: Routledge

Jones, R. and Page, M. 2006. *Medieval Villages in an English Landscape: Beginnings and Ends*. Macclesfield: Windgather Press.

Jordan, E. L. 2015. "Swords, Seals, and Coins: Female Rulers and the Instruments of Authority in Thirteenth-Century Flanders and Hainaut," in S. Solway (ed.) *Medieval Coins and Seals: Constructing Identity, Signifying Power*. Turnhout: Brepols Publishers NV, pp. 229-246.

Jørgensen, D. 2010. "The Roots of the English Royal Forest." *Anglo-Norman Studies, XXXII: Proceedings of the Battle Conference 2009*. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, pp. 114-128.

Keene, D. 2000. "The Medieval Urban Landscape, AD 900 – 1540," in P. Waller (ed.) *The English Urban Landscape*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 74-98.

Kelleher, R. M. 2012. *Coins, Monetisation and Re-Use in Medieval England and Wales: New Interpretations Made Possible by the Portable Antiquities Scheme*. Durham University, Unpublished Doctoral Thesis.

Kerry, C. 1893. "A Calendar of the Fines for the County of Derby, from their Commencement in the Reign of Richard III." *Journal of the Derbyshire Archaeological and Natural History Society* **18**, pp. 1-19.

Kershaw, I. 1973. "The Great Famine and Agrarian Crisis in England 1315-1322." *Past & Present* **59**, pp. 3-50.

Kirke, H. 1867. "The King's Forest of the High Peak," in L. Jewitt (ed.) *The Reliquary, Quarterly Archaeological Journal and Review*, 8. Derby: Bemrose and Sons, pp. 33-44.

Kirke, H. 1917. "The Chapel in the Forest." *Journal of the Derbyshire Archaeological and Natural History Society* **39**, pp. 189-191.

Knappett, C. 2011. *An Archaeology of Interaction: Network Perspectives on Material Culture and Society*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Knappett, C. (ed.) 2013. *Network Analysis in Archaeology: New Approaches to Regional Interaction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Konijnendijk, C. C. 2008. *The Forest and the City: The Cultural Landscape of Urban Woodland*. London: Springer-Verlag London Ltd.

Laing, L. R. 2006. *The Archaeology of Celtic Britain and Ireland: c. AD 400-1200*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Langton, J. 2014. "Forest Law in the Landscape: Not the Clearing of Woods but the Running of the Deer?" in K. Baker, R. Carden, R. Madgewick (eds.) *Deer and People*. Macclesfield: Windgather Press, pp. 218-230.

Langton, J, 2015. "Royal and Non-Royal Forests and Chases in England and Wales." *Institute of Historical Research* **88** (241), pp. 381-401.

Langton, J. and Jones, G. 2010. *Forests and Chases of Medieval England and Wales c.1000-c.1500*. Oxford: St John's College Press.

Lavelle, R. 2012. *Alfred's Wars: Sources and Interpretations of Anglo-Saxon Warfare in the Viking Age*. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press.

Laxton, R. 1997. "A 13th-Century Crisis in the Royal Forest of Sherwood in Nottinghamshire." *Transactions of the Thoroton Society* **101**, pp. 73-98.

Le Fanu, T. P. 1893. "The Royal Forest of Glencree." *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, Fifth Series* **3** (3), pp. 268-280.

Le Neve, J. and Hardy, T. D. 1854. *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae: Or A Calendar of the Principal Ecclesiastical Dignitaries in England and Wales and of the Chief Officers in the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge from the Earliest Time to the Year MDCCXV, Volume III*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Letters, S. (ed.) 2005. *Gazetteer of Markets and Fairs in England and Wales to 1516*. Kew: List and Index Society.

Levine, D. 2001. *At the Dawn of Modernity: Biology, Culture, and Material Life in Europe after the Year 1000*. London: University of California Press.

Lewis, C. 2016. "Disaster Recovery: New Archaeological Evidence for the Long-Term Impact of the 'Calamitous' Fourteenth Century." *Antiquity* **90** (6), pp. 777-797.

Lewis, C., Mitchell-Fox, P. and Dyer, C. C. 1997. *Village, Hamlet and Field: Changing Medieval Settlements in Central England*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Liddiard, R. (ed.) 2007. *The Medieval Park: New Perspectives*. Macclesfield: Windgather Press.

Linebaugh, P. 2008. *The Magna Carta Manifesto: Liberties and Commons for All*. London: University of California Press.

Loveluck, C. P. 1994. *Exchange and Society in Early Medieval England 400-700 AD*. Durham University, Unpublished Doctoral Thesis.

Loveluck, C. P. 1995. "Acculturation, Migration and Exchange: The Formation of an Anglo-Saxon Society in the English Peak District, 400-700 AD," in J. Bintliff and H. Hamerow (eds.) *Europe between Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages*. Oxford: British Archaeological Reports Ltd, pp. 84-98.

Loveluck, C. P. 2002. "The Romano-British to Anglo-Saxon Transition - Social Transformations from the Late Roman to Early Medieval Period in Northern England, AD 400-700," in C. Brooks., R. Daniels, and A. Harding (eds.) *Past, Present, and Future: The Archaeology of Northern England*. Durham: Architectural and Archaeological Society of Durham and Northumberland Research Report 5, pp. 127-148.

Loveluck, C. P. 2012. "Central Places, Exchange and Maritime-Oriented Identity around the North Sea and Western Baltic, AD 600-1100," in S. Gelichi and R. Hodges (eds.) *From One Sea to Another: Trading Places in the European and Mediterranean Early Middle Ages*. Seminari Del Centro Interuniversitario per la Storia e l'Archeologia Dell' Alto Medioevo 3. Turnhout: Brepols, pp. 123-165.

Loveluck, C. P. 2013. *Northwest Europe in the Early Middle Ages, c.AD 600–1150: A Comparative Archaeology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Loveluck, C. P. and Laing, L. R. 2011. "Britons and Anglo-Saxons," in D. A. Hinton, S. Crawford, and H. Hamerow (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Anglo-Saxon Archaeology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 534-555.

Loveluck, C. P. and Tys, D. 2006. "Coastal Societies, Exchange and Identity along the Channel and Southern North Sea Shores of Europe, AD 600–1000." *Journal of Maritime Archaeology* **1**, pp. 140-169.

Lowerre, A., Lyons, E., Roberts, B. K., and Wrathmell, S. 2015. Atlas of Rural Settlement in England. Archaeological Data Service. [ONLINE] http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/atlasrural_he_2015/ [Accessed 27 March 2016].

Lucy, S. 1998. *The Early Anglo-Saxon Cemeteries of East Yorkshire: An Analysis and Reinterpretation*. BAR British Series, 272. Oxford: Archaeopress.

Lysons, D. and Lysons, S. 1817. *Magna Britannia: Being a Concise Topographical Account of the Several Counties of Great Britain, Volume 5, Derbyshire*. London: T. Cadell and W. Davies.

MacDonald, N. 2013. *Reassessing flood frequency for the River Trent through the Inclusion of Historical Flood Information since AD 1320*. Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Liverpool.

MacGregor, A. 1985. *Bone, Antler, Ivory and Horn: The Technology of Skeletal Materials Since the Roman Period*. Abingdon: Routledge.

Mallett, L., Reddish, S., Baker, J., Brookes, S., and Gaunt, A. 2012. "Community Archaeology at Thynghowe, Birklands, Sherwood Forest." *Transactions of the Thoroton Society* **116**, pp. 53-72.

Manning, R. B. 1994. "Unlawful Hunting in England, 1500-1640." *Forest & Conservation History* **38** (1), pp. 16-33.

Manwood, J. 1717. *Treatise of the Forest Laws* (4th Edition). London: B. Lintott.

Martin, J. E. 1983. *Feudalism to Capitalism: Peasant and Landlord in English Agrarian Development*. Basingstoke: MacMillan Press Ltd.

Martin, T. F. 2015. *The Cruciform Brooch and Anglo-Saxon England*. Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer.

Marx, K. 2011. *Capital, Volume I: A Critique of Political Economy* (ed. by F. Engels) (trans. from German by S. Moore and E. Aveling). New York: Dover Publications.

Mastoris, S. 2017. *The Welbeck Atlas: William Senior's Maps of the Estates of William Cavendish, Earl of Newcastle, 1629-1640*. Nottingham: The Thoroton Society of Nottinghamshire.

Mastoris, S. and Groves, S. (eds.) 1997. *Sherwood Forest in 1609: A Crown survey by Richard Bankes*. Thoroton Society of Nottinghamshire Record Series 40. Nottingham: The Thoroton Society of Nottinghamshire.

Maxwell-Lyte, H. C. (ed.) 1898. *Calendar of Close Rolls: Edward III*, *Volume 2*. London: His Majesty's Stationary Office.

Maxwell-Lyte, H. C. (ed.) 1907. *Calendar of the Patent Rolls: Edward III, Volume 9*. London: His Majesty's Stationary Office.

Maxwell-Lyte, H. C. (ed.) 1908. *Calendar of the Patent Rolls: Henry III, Volume 4*. London: His Majesty's Stationary Office.

Maxwell-Lyte, H. C. 1910. *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem: Edward II, Volume 6*. London: His Majesty's Stationary Office.

McClain, A. N. 2005. *Patronage, Power, and Identity: The Social Use of Local Churches and Commemorative Monuments in Tenth to Twelfth-Century North Yorkshire*. Unpublished Doctoral Thesis, University of York.

McClain, A. N. 2010. "Cross Slab Monuments in the Late Middle Ages: Patronage, Production, and Locality in Northern England," in S. Badham and S. Oosterwijk (eds.) *Monumental Industry*. Donington: Shaun Tyas Press, pp. 37-65.

McIntosh, M. K. 2002. *Autonomy and Community: The Royal Manor of Havering, 1200-1500*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Meaney, A. 1964. A *Gazetteer of Early Anglo-Saxon Burial Sites*. London: George Allen and Unwin Limited.

Meek, A., Henderson, J., and Evans, J. 2012. "Isotope Analysis of English Forest Glass from the Weald and Staffordshire." *Journal of Analytical Atomic Spectrometry* **27** (5), pp. 786-795.

Menuge, N. J. 2000. "The Foundation Myth: Some Yorkshire Monasteries and the Landscape Agenda." *Landscapes* **1**, pp. 22-37.

Meskell, L. 2007. "Archaeologies of Identity," in T. Insoll (ed.) *The Archaeology of Identities: A Reader*. London: Routledge, pp. 23-43.

Mew, K. 2001. "The Dynamics of Lordship and Landscape as Revealed in a Domesday Study of the Nova Foresta." *Anglo-Norman Studies XXIII: Proceedings of the Battle Conference 2000*. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, pp. 155-166.

Miller, G. H., Geirsdóttir, A., Zhong, Y., Larsen, D. J., Otto-Bliesner, B. L., Holland, M. M., Bailey, D. A., Refsnider, K. A., Lehman, S. J., Southon, J. R., Anderson, C., Björnsson, B. and Thordarson, T. 2012. "Abrupt Onset of the Little Ice Age Triggered by Volcanism and Sustained by Sea-Ice/Ocean Feedbacks." *Geophysical Research Letters* **39**, pp. 1-5.

Mills, A. D. 2011. *A Dictionary of British Place Names*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Mills, N. 2000. *Celtic and Roman Artefacts*. Witham: Greenlight Publishing.

Monckton, L. 2007. *The Old Hall (Manor House), Church Warsop, Nottinghamshire: Historic Buildings Report*. Cambridge: English Heritage.

Mora-Ottomano, A. 2012. *Hassop Road Roundabout, Bakewell, Derbyshire, ARS Ltd Report 2012/31*. Bakewell: Archaeological Research Services Ltd. [ONLINE] Accessed at: http://www.archaeologicalresearchservices.com/Hassop%20Roundabout,%20Bakewell%20-%20Report%20on%20an%20Earthwork%20Survey.pdf [Accessed 9 September 2015].

Mora-Ottomano, A. with Mapplethorpe, K. and Flintoff, P. 2012. *The High Cross at Bakewell Churchyard, Derbyshire, Archaeological Excavation, ARS Ltd Report 2012/27*. Bakewell: Archaeological Research Services Ltd. [ONINE] Accessed at: http://www.archaeologicalresearchservices.com/Bakewell%20High%20Cross%20-%20Report%20on%20an%20Archaeological%20Excavation.pdf [Accessed 9 September 2015].

Morris, J. (ed.) 1977. *Domesday Book: Nottinghamshire*. London: Phillimore.

Morris, J. (ed.) 1978. *Domesday Book: Derbyshire*. London: Phillimore.

Morris, J. (ed.) 1985. *Domesday Book: Lincolnshire*. London: Phillimore.

Mudd, A. 2014. "The Anglo-Saxon and Later Landscape," in N. Cooke and A. Mudd (eds.) *A46 Nottinghamshire: The Archaeology of the Newark to Widmerpool Improvement Scheme, 2009*. Cirencester: Cotswold Wessex Archaeology, pp. 449-460.

Muir, R. 2004. *Landscape Encyclopaedia: A Reference Guide to the Historic Landscape*. Macclesfield: Windgather Press.

Muir, R. 2006. *Ancient Trees, Living Landscapes*. Stroud: Tempus Publishing Limited.

Natural England. 2015. *National Character Area Profile: 51, Dark Peak*. [ONLINE] Accessed at: http://publications.naturalengland.org.uk/publication/3684793?category=587130 [Accessed 17 November 2016].

Natural England. 2014. *National Character Area Profile: 52, White Peak*. [ONLINE] Accessed at: http://publications.naturalengland.org.uk/publication/6364771410509824?category=587130 [Accessed 17 November 2016].

Natural England. 2013. *National Character Area Profile: 53, South-West Peak*. [ONLINE] Accessed at: http://publications.naturalengland.org.uk/publication/12392045?category=587130 [Accessed 17 November 2016].

Neaverson, P. and Palmer, M. 1994. *Industry in the Landscape, 1700-1900*. Abingdon: Routledge.

Nelson, W. 1753. *The Laws Concerning Game: Of Hunting, Hawking, Fishing and Fowling*. London: T. Waller.

Newfield, T. P. 2009. "A Cattle Panzootic in Early Fourteenth-Century Europe." *Agricultural History Review* **57** (2), pp. 155-190.

Nicholls, H. G. 1866. *Iron Making in the Olden Times: As Instanced in the Ancient Mines, Forges, and Furnaces of the Forest of Dean*. London: CA Bartlett.

Nicholls, P. H. 1972. "On the Evolution of a Forest Landscape." *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* **56**, pp. 57-76.

Noble, T. (ed.) 1833. *The History and Gazetteer of the County of Derby*, II (I). Derby: Henry Mozley and Sons.

Nottinghamshire County Council. 2016. *Nottinghamshire Historic Landscape Characterisation* (HLC). [ONLINE] Accessed at: http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/notts_hlc_2016 [Accessed 12 April 2017].

O'Sullivan, A. 1998. "Woodmanship and the Supply of Underwood and Timber to Anglo-Norman Dublin," in C. Manning (ed.) *Dublin and Beyond the Pale: Studies in Honour of Patrick Healy*. Bray, Ireland: Wordwell Ltd, pp. 61-69.

Oosthuizen, S. M. 2002. "Medieval Greens and Moats in the Central Province: Evidence from the Bourn Valley, Cambridgeshire." *Landscape History* **24**, pp. 73-88.

Oosthuizen, S. M. 2006. "Sokemen and Freemen: Tenure, Status and Landscape Conservatism in Eleventh-Century Cambridgeshire," in S. Keynes and A. Smith (eds.) *Anglo-Saxons: Studies presented to Cyril Roy Hart*. Dublin: Four Courts Press, pp. 184-297.

Oosthuizen, S. M. 2012. "Cambridgeshire and the peat fen: medieval rural settlement and commerce, c. AD900-1300," in N. Christie and P. Stamper (eds.) *Medieval Rural Settlement: Britain and Ireland, AD 800-1600*. Oxford: Windgather Press, pp. 206-224.

Owen, L. V. D. 1943. "The Representation of Nottingham and Nottinghamshire in the Early Parliaments." *Transactions of the Thoroton Society of Nottinghamshire* **47**, pp. 20-28.

Page, W. (ed.) 1906. *The Victoria History of the County of Nottingham, Volume 1*. London: Constable and Co.

Page, W. (ed.) 1910. *The Victoria History of the County of Nottingham, Volume 2*. London: Archibald Constable & Co.

Palgrave, R. H. I. (ed.) 1896. *Dictionary of Political Economy, Volume 2* (Reprinted 1987). London: Macmillan Press Ltd.

Palliser, D. 1996. "Review Article: The 'Minster Hypothesis': A Case Study." *Early Medieval Europe* **5** (2), pp. 207-214.

Palmisano, A., Brookes, S.J., Reynolds, A. (2015). *Omnidirectional map of England and Wales*. [ONLINE] Accessed at: https://www.ucl.ac.uk/early-medieval-atlas/map-data/omni-directional [Accessed 14 October 2016].

Patterson, M. 2011. *Roman Nottinghamshire*. Nottingham: Five Leaves.

Paul, D. 2012. *Eyam: Plague Village*. Stroud: Amberley.

Peak District National Park Authority. 2013. *Bakewell: Conservation Area Appraisal*. Bakewell: Peak District National Park Authority. [ONLINE] Accessed at: http://www.peakdistrict.gov.uk/__data/assets/pdf_file/0019/338500/bakewell-conservation-area-appraisal.pdf [Accessed 23 September 2015].

Peak District National Park Authority. 2010. *Castleton: Conservation Area Appraisal*. Bakewell: Peak District National Park Authority. [ONLINE] Accessed at: http://www.peakdistrict.gov.uk/__data/assets/pdf_file/0005/202775/castleton-conservation-area-appraisal.pdf [Accessed 6 May 2016].

Pevsner, N. 1979. *The Buildings of England: Nottinghamshire* (Second Edition, revised by E. Williamson). Harmondsworth: Penguin Books.

Pevsner, N. 2002. *The Buildings of England: Derbyshire* (Second Edition, revised by E. Williamson). Yale: Yale University Press.

Pevsner, N. and Harris, J. 1989. *The Buildings of England: Lincolnshire*. London: Yale University Press.

Phythian Adams, C. 1993. "Introduction: An Agenda for English Local History," in C. Phythian Adams (ed.) *Societies, Cultures and Kinship 1580–1850*. Leicester: Leicester University Press, pp. 1-23.

Piggott, S. and Thirsk, J. (eds.) 1981. *The Agrarian History of England and Wales, Volume I*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Postan, M. M. 1972. *The Medieval Economy and Society: An Economic History of Britain, 1100-1500*. London: University of California Press.

Prestwich, M. 2010. *Plantagenet England: 1225-1360*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Pringle, D. 1995. "Town Defences in the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem," in I. A. Corgis and M. Wolfe (eds.) *The Medieval City Under Sieg*e. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, pp. 69-121.

Prior, A. H. 1925. *Mansfield Parish Church, Illustrated*. Mansfield: W. & J. Linney, Ltd.

Rackham, O. 1998. *The Last Forest: The Story of Hatfield Forest*. London: Phoenix Press.

Rackham, O. 2000. *The History of the Countryside: The Classic History of Britain's Landscape, Flora and Fauna*. London: Phoenix Press.

Rackham, O. 2001. *Trees and Woodland in the British Landscape: The Complete History of Britain's Trees, Woods and Hedgerows*. Phoenix Press.

Richards, J. D. 2004. *Viking Age England*. Stroud: Tempus.

Rieuwerts, J. H. 1973. *Lathkill Dale: Its Mines and Miners*. Rugeley: Moorland Publishing Company.

Rigby, S. 2010. "Urban Population in Late Medieval England: The Evidence of the Lay Subsidies." *The Economic History Review* **63** (2), pp. 393-417.

Rigg, M. 2001. *A History of Farnsfield*. Farnsfield: Farnsfield Millennium Trust.

Riley, D. N. 1980. *Early Landscape from the Air: Studies of Cropmarks in South Yorkshire & North Nottinghamshire*. Sheffield: University of Sheffield Press.

Rippon, S. 2008. *Beyond the Medieval Village: The Diversification of Landscape Character in Southern Britain*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Rippon, S. 2012. *Making Sense of an Historic Landscape*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Rippon, S., Smart, C. and Pears, B. 2015. *The Fields of Britannia: Continuity and Change in the Late Roman and Early Medieval Landscape*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Robbins, K. J. 2012. *From Past to Present: Understanding the Impact of Sampling Bias on Data Recorded by the Portable Antiquities Scheme*. Unpublished Doctoral Thesis, University of Southampton.

Roberts, B. K. 1968. "A Study of Medieval Colonization in the Forest of Arden, Warwickshire." *The Agricultural History Review* **16** (2), pp. 101-113.

Roberts, B. K. 1977. *Rural Settlement in Britain*. Folkestone: Dawson.

Roberts, B. K. 1987. T*he Making of the English Village: A Study in Historical Geography*. Harlow: Longman.

Roberts, B. K. 2008. *Landscapes, Documents and Maps: Villages in Northern England and Beyond, AD 900-1250*. Oxford: Oxbow Books.

Roberts, B. K. and Wrathmell S. 2000. *An Atlas of Rural Settlement in England*. London: English Heritage.

Roberts, B. K. and Wrathmell, S. 2003. *Region and Place: A Study of English Rural Settlement*. London: English Heritage.

Rodgers, J. 1908. *The Scenery of Sherwood Forest with an Account of some Eminent People There*. London: T. F. Unwin.

Roffe, D. 1987. *Nottinghamshire and the North: A Domesday Study*. Unpublished Doctoral Thesis, University of Leicester.

Rooke, H. 1792. "Roman Remains in Sherwood Forest, Discovered by Hayman Rooke, Esq. F. A. S. and Communicated by Him in a Letter to the Right Hon. Sir George Yonge, Bart." *Archaeologia, Or, Miscellaneous Tracts, Relating to Antiquity* **10**, pp. 381-384.

Roskell, J. S. Clark, L., and Rawcliffe, C. 1993. *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons 1386-1421*. Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer.

Routh, T, 1937, "A Corpus of the Pre-Conquest Carved Stones of Derbyshire." *Journal of the Derbyshire Archaeological and Natural History Society* **58**, pp. 1-46.

Rowley, T. 1978. *Villages in the Landscape*. London: J. M. Dent.

Russell, P. D. 2007. *Politics and Society in Nottinghamshire, 1327-1360*. Unpublished Doctoral Thesis, University of Nottingham,

Salisbury, C. 1995. "An 8th-Century Mercian Bridge over the Trent at Cromwell, Nottinghamshire, England." *Antiquity* **69**, pp. 1015-1018.

Sanderson, G. 2001. *Sanderson's Map: Twenty Miles around Mansfield, 1835*. Nottingham: Nottinghamshire County Council.

Satchell, A.E.M., Kitson, P.K., Newton, G.H., Shaw-Taylor, L. and Wrigley, E.A. 2016. *1851 England and Wales Census Parishes, Townships and Places*. Colchester: UK Data Archive. [ONLINE] Accessed at: http://reshare.ukdataservice.ac.uk/852232/ [Accessed 15 August 2016].

Saul, N. 2001. *Death, Art, and Memory in Medieval England: The Cobham Family and their Monuments 1300-1500*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Saul, N. 2009. *English Church Monuments in the Middle Ages: History and Representation*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Schlebecker, J. T. 1981. "The Many Names of Farmers." T*he Agricultural History Review* **55** (2), pp. 147-155.

Schofield, P. R. 2003. *Peasant and Community in Medieval England, 1200-1500*. Basingstoke: Palgrave.

Schofield, P. R. (ed.) 2015. *Seals and their Context in the Middle Ages*. Oxford: Oxbow Books.

Schofield, J. and Vince, A. 2005. *Medieval Towns* (2nd Revised Edition). Sheffield: Equinox Publishing Ltd.

Schumer, B. 1984. *The Evolution of Wychwood to 1400: Pioneers, Frontiers and Forests*. Leicester: University of Leicester, Department of English Local History.

Schumer, B. 1999. *Wychwood, the Evolution of a Wooded Landscape*. Charlbury: Wychwood Press.

Schumer, B. 2010. "Assarting in the Medieval Forest of Wychwood," in J. Langton and G. Jones (eds.) *Forests and Chases of Medieval England and Wales c.1000-c.1500*. Oxford: St John's College Press, pp. 102-126.

Scull, C. 1993. "Archaeology, Early Anglo-Saxon Society and the Origins of Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms," in W. Filmer-Sankey (ed.) *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History*, 6. Oxford: Oxford University Committee for Archaeology, pp. 65-82.

Schurer, K. 2000. "The Future for Local History," in R. C. Richardson (ed.) *The Changing Face of English Local History*. Aldershot: Ashgate, pp. 179-193.

Sharpe, N. T. 2002. *Crosses of the Peak District*. Ashbourne: Landmark Publishing Ltd.

Shennan, J. 1989. "Introduction," in S. J. Shennan (ed.) *Archaeological Approaches to Cultural Identity*. London: Unwin and Hyman, pp. 1-30.

Sheppard, J. A. 1974. "Metrological Analysis of Regular Village Plans in Yorkshire." *Agricultural History Review* **22** (2), pp. 118-135.

Shone, A. 2009. *Origins and History of Wirksworth: Lutudarum and the Peak District before the Norman Conquest* (2nd Edition). Derby: Wirksworth Roman Project. [ONLINE] Available at: https://duffieldcommunityorchard.files.wordpress.com/2014/03/wirksworth-history-lutudarum.pdf [Accessed 10 October 2015].

Skelton, R. A. and Harvey, P. D. A. 1986. *Local Maps and Plans from Medieval England*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Smith, J. W. 1914. "Summer Excursion 1914: Norton Cuckney Church." *Transactions of the Thoroton Society* **18**, pp. 10-15.

Smith, M. 2009. *Chapel-en-Frith through Time*. Stroud: Amberley Publishing.

Smith, R. D. 2004. *The Middling Sort and the Politics of Social Reformation: Colchester, 1570-1640*. Oxford: Peter Lang Publishing.

Smith, R. J., Andrews, P. and Stoodley, N. 2005. *The Origins of Mid-Saxon Southampton: Excavations at the Friends Provident St. Mary's Stadium, 1998-2000*. Salisbury: Wessex Archaeology.

Soanes, C. 2006. *Paperback Oxford English Dictionary*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Spufford, P. 2002. *Power and Profit: The Merchant in Medieval Europe*. London: Thames and Hudson.

Standish, J. 1914. *Abstracts of the Inquisitiones Post Mortem Relating to Nottinghamshire II (1279-1321)*. Nottingham: The Thoroton Society of Nottinghamshire.

Steane, J. 1985. *The Archaeology of Medieval England and Wales*. Abingdon: Routledge.

Stenton, F. M. 1936. "The Road System of Medieval England." *The Economic History Review* **7** (1), pp. 1-21.

Stenton, M. 2016. *Land at Bowden Lane, Chapel-en-e-Frith, Derbyshire. Heritage Impact Assessment, ArcHeritage Report 2016/52*. Sheffield: ArcHeritage.

Stocker, D. and Everson, P. 2006. *Summoning St Michael: Early Romanesque Towers in Lincolnshire*. Oxford: Oxbow Books.

Stroud, G. 1999. *Chapel-en-le-Frith: Derbyshire Extensive Urban Survey Archaeological Assessment*. London: English Heritage.

Stroud, G. 2001a. *Mansfield: Nottinghamshire Extensive Urban Survey Archaeological Assessment*. London: English Heritage.

Stroud, G. 2001b. *Warsop: Nottinghamshire Extensive Urban Survey Archaeological Assessment*. London: English Heritage.

Stroud, G. 2002. *Castleton: Derbyshire Extensive Urban Survey Archaeological Assessment*. London: English Heritage.

Stroud, G. 2003. *Bakewell: Derbyshire Extensive Urban Survey Archaeological Assessment*. London: English Heritage.

Strutt, F. 1906. "A Review of 'The Royal Forests of England,' by J. Charles Cox, LL.D., F.S.A." *Journal of the Derbyshire Archaeological and Natural History Society* (**28**), pp. 174-179.

Swanton, M. 1996. *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. London: The Orion Publishing Group.

Sweeting, G. S. 1944. "Wealden Iron Ore and the History of its Industry." *Proceedings of the Geologists Association* **55** (1), pp. 1-20.

Swinnerton, H. H. 1910. *Cambridge County Geographies: Nottinghamshire*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Sykes, N. 2011. "Woods and the Wild," in D. A. Hinton, S. Crawford, and H. Hamerow (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Anglo-Saxon Archaeology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 327-345.

Sykes, N., Ayton, G., Bowen, F., Baker, K., Baker, P., Carden, R. F., Dicken, C. A. Evans, J., Hoelzel, A. R., Higham, T. F. G. Jones, R., Lamb, A., Liddiard, R., Madgewick, R., Miller, H., Rainsford, C., Sawyer, P., Thomas, R. and Ward, C. 2016. "Wild to Domestic and Back Again: The Dynamics of Fallow Deer Management in Medieval England (c. 11th-16th century AD)." *STAR: Science & Technology of Archaeological Research*, **2** (1), pp. 113-126.

Szabó, P. 2005. *Woodland and Forests in Medieval Hungary*. Oxford: Archaeopress.

Thirsk, J. 1987. *Agricultural Regions and Agrarian History in England, 1500-1750*. Basingstoke: Macmillan Education.

Thomas, F. 1961. "Celtic Fields at Blackwell, Taddington." *Journal of the Derbyshire Archaeological and Natural History Society* **81**, pp. 147-148.

Thomas, G. 2000. *A Survey of Late Anglo-Saxon and Viking-Age Strap-Ends from Britain*. University College London, Unpublished Doctoral Thesis.

Thomas, R. 2010. "Woodland and Woodland Management in Lowland Medieval Forests: An illustration from Bernwood," in J. Langton and G. Jones (eds.) *Forests and Chases of Medieval England and Wales c.1000-c.1500*. Oxford: St John's College Press, pp. 91-101.

Thompson, L. 2004. "Ancient Weapons in Britain." Barnsley: Pen and Sword Military.

Thoroton, R. 1790a. *Thoroton's History of Nottinghamshire: Volume 1, Republished with Large Additions by John Throsby*. Nottingham: John Throsby.

Thoroton, R. 1790b. *Thoroton's History of Nottinghamshire: Volume 2, Republished with Large Additions by John Throsby*. Nottingham: John Throsby.

Thoroton, R. 1796. *Thoroton's History of Nottinghamshire: Volume 3, Republished with Large Additions by John Throsby*. Nottingham: John Throsby.

Tilley, J. 1892. *The Old Halls, Manors and Families of Derbyshire, Volume I, the High Peak Hundred*. Derby: Frank Murray.

Tinti, F. 2016. "Looking for Local Priests in Anglo-Saxon England," in S. Patzold and C. van Rhijn (eds.) *Men in the Middle: Local Priests in Early Medieval Europe*. Munich: De Gruyter, pp. 145-161.

Turner, G. J. (ed.) 1901. *Select Pleas of the Forest*. London: Bernard Quaritch.

Unwin, T. 1983. "Townships and Early Fields in North Nottinghamshire." *Journal of Historical Geography* **9** (4), pp. 341-346.

Von Heusinger, S. 2007. "The Topography of Sacred Space and the Representation of Social Groups: Confraternities in Strasbourg," in C. Ocker, M. Printy, P. Starenko, and P. Wallace (eds.) *Politics and Reformations: Communities, Polities, Nations, and Empires: Essays in Honour of Thomas A. Brady. Jr*. Leiden: Brill, pp. 67-84.

Walkerdine, H. and Buxton, A. S. 1907. *Old Churches of the Mansfield Deanery*. Mansfield: Mansfield Reporter.

Walton, P. J. 2011. *Rethinking Roman Britain: An Applied Numismatic Analysis of the Roman Coin Data Recorded by the Portable Antiquities Scheme*. Unpublished Doctoral Thesis, University College London.

Warner, P. 1987. *Greens, Commons and Clayland Colonization: The Origins and Development of Green-side Settlement in East Suffolk*. Leicester: Leicester University Press.

Warren, W. L. 1977. *Henry II*. London: University of California Press.

Webster, L. 2003. "Encrypted Visions: Style and Sense in the Anglo-Saxon Minor Arts, A.D. 400-900," in C. E. Karkov and G. H. Brown (eds.) *Anglo-Saxon Styles*. New York, USA: State University of New York Press, pp. 11-30.

Weis, V. V. *Marxism and Criminology: A History of Criminal Selectivity*. Leiden: Brill.

Welch, M. 2001. "The Archaeology of Mercia," in M. P. Brown and C. A. Farr (eds.) *Mercia: An Anglo-Saxon Kingdom in Europe*. London: Continuum Press, pp. 147-159.

Wellow Toftholders and Owners Association. 2007. *Wellow Village*. Wellow: Wellow Toftholders and Owners Association.

White, G. 2012. *The Medieval English Landscape, 1000-1540*. London: Bloomsbury Press.

White, R. 1875. *Worksop, The Dukery, and Sherwood Forest*. London: London: Simpkin, Marshall.

White, W. 1832. *History, Gazetteer, and Directory of Nottinghamshire*. Sheffield: Robert Leader.

Whitefield, P. 2009. *The Living Landscape: How to Read and Understand It*. East Meon: Permanent Publications.

Wickham, C. 2006. *Framing the Early Middle Ages: Europe and the Mediterranean, 400-800 (Paperback Edition)*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Williams, H. 2006. *Death and Memory in Early Medieval Britain*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Williams, A. 1995. *The English and the Norman Conquest*. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press.

Williamson, T. 2003. *Shaping Medieval Landscapes: Settlement, Society, Environment*. Macclesfield: Windgather Press.

Williamson, T. 2013. *Environment, Society and Landscape in Early Medieval England: Time and Topography*. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press.

Williamson, T. Liddiard, R. and Partida, T. 2013. *Champion: The Making and Unmaking of the English Midland Landscape*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press.

Williamson, T., Liddiard, R., Partida, T., Foard, G., Hall, D., and McClain, A. 2011. *A GIS Aided Study of Agriculture and Landscape in Midland England*. Norwich:

University of East Anglia. [ONLINE] Available at: http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/midlandgis_ahrc_2010/map.cfm [Accessed 23 December 2014].

Wiltshire, M., Woore, S., Crisp, B., and Rich, B. 2005. *Duffield Frith: History & Evolution of the Landscape of a Medieval Derbyshire Forest*. Ashbourne: Landmark Publishing Ltd.

Winchester, A. J. L. 2010. "Vaccaries and Agistment: Upland Medieval Forests as Grazing Grounds," in J. Langton and G. Jones (eds.) *Forests and Chases of Medieval England and Wales c.1000-c.1500*. Oxford: St John's College Press, pp. 109-124.

Wood, A. C. 1933. "Notes on the Early History of the Clifton Family." *Transactions of the Thoroton Society* **37**, pp. 24-40.

Wood, M. 2010. *The Story of England*. London: Penguin Books.

Wren, D. V. 2015. *Transformation of settlements, lifestyles and identity in south east Wales and the Marches of western Gloucestershire and southern Herefordshire, AD 1080-1280*. Unpublished Doctoral Thesis, University of Nottingham.

Wright, G. T. 1906. *Longstone Records, Derbyshire*. Bakewell: Benjamin Gratton.

Wright, J. 2013. *Brammer Farm House and Arundel Cottage, Mansfield Road, King's Clipstone, Nottinghamshire, NG21*. Nottingham: Mercian Archaeological Services CIC.

Wright, J. 2016. *A Palace for Our Kings: The History and Archaeology of a Mediaeval Royal Palace in the Heart of Sherwood Forest*. Nottingham: Triskele Publishing.

Yeatman, J. P. 1892. "The Lost History of Peak Forest, Hunting Ground of the Peverels." *Journal of the Derbyshire Archaeological and Natural History Society* **14**, pp. 161-175.

Yıldız, N. 2017. "Medieval Hybrid and Mimic Identities: Geoffrey Chaucer's Franklin in the Canterbury Tales." *Selçuk University Journal of Faculty of Letters* **37**, pp. 329-342.

Young, C. R. 1979. *The Royal Forests of Medieval England*. Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Youngs, F. A. 1991 *Guide to Local Administrative Units of England, Volume II: Northern England*. London: Royal Historical Society.