

# SOME TENTH-CENTURY CHARTERS – LOCATING ‘STANTUN’

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## **ABSTRACT**

The subject of this paper is a place named ‘*Stantun*’ in two charters, both found in Burton Abbey’s archives, the originals of which dated from the tenth century. It is generally thought that the two charters deal with the same 2 hides of land of uncertain location. For instance, one respected academic suggested that *Stantun* is the present day Stanton together with Newhall (near Swadlincote, South Derbyshire) while another suggests Stanton in Peak and Birchover (near Bakewell, Derbyshire).

The case is made, with the help of other charters and surveys, that the 2 hides of ‘*Stantun*’, having been divided into two separate estates in the second of these two charters, became modern-day Stanton by Bridge in South Derbyshire and its neighbour, now called King’s Newton (extending to the county boundary at the western end of Donington Park, Leicestershire).

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## STRUCTURE OF THIS PAPER

The evidence that *Stantun*, as referenced in two tenth-century charters, consisted of the modern Stanton by Bridge and its neighbour King's Newton requires to be supported by some quite complex analysis. In order not to lose track of the underlying arguments much of the intricate discussion has been placed in a series of Appendices. One downside of this approach is that the Appendices are larger than the main body of the paper!

## THE TWO CHARTERS

In brief summary the content of these two charters, S 224 and S 768<sup>1</sup>, is as follows:-

- [S 224] Somewhere between A.D. 900 and 914 Æthelflæd gave 2 hides (Latin *manentium*<sup>2</sup>) of land at *Stantun* to Ealhhelm (written Alchelm in the Latin text) in return for 60 pigs and 300 solidi in silver (300 shillings – £15).
- [S 768] In A.D. 968 King Edgar granted 1 of 2 hides of land at *Stantun* to a bishop<sup>3</sup> called Wulfric; the other hide being held by Ælfnað.

Æthelflæd, known as 'lady of the Mercians', was the first child of King Alfred (The Great) of Wessex and wife of Æthelred the (sub)King of Mercia. By A.D. 968 Mercia and Wessex had the same king – Edgar.

Both of these charters are written in Latin but S 768 includes a description of the boundaries – a 67 word statement in Old English (OE) defining the bounds of the 2 hides. It was not said where the division between the 2 hides was. The full text of these charters may be accessed via Electronic Sawyer and other useful online resources.

## THE BASIS FOR THE HYPOTHESIS

The starting point for the hypothesis – that the *Stantun* of these two charters included Stanton by Bridge and King's Newton (both Derbyshire) – is “*æðtheredes hoh*”. This is one of the named boundary points in the composite bounds of the two estates described in S 768.

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<sup>1</sup> Sawyer numbers – see Electronic Sawyer (<https://esawyer.lib.cam.ac.uk>)

<sup>2</sup> Latin genitive plural of 'manens' meaning a tenant of land, generally translated as 'hides'. The translation is literally 'land ... of 2 tenants'. This was not meant to say that there were 2 tenants but rather that it was originally considered to be sufficient land to support 2 extended families and their retainers.

<sup>3</sup> His see is not known but Hereford and Dorchester have been suggested since the names of the incumbents at both these locations are not really known for the dates in question (although the bishop called Wulfric is signatory to 8 charters from 958 to 970). Both Hereford and Dorchester were in Mercia, presumably like *Stantun* since Æthelflæd was the grantor in the early tenth century.

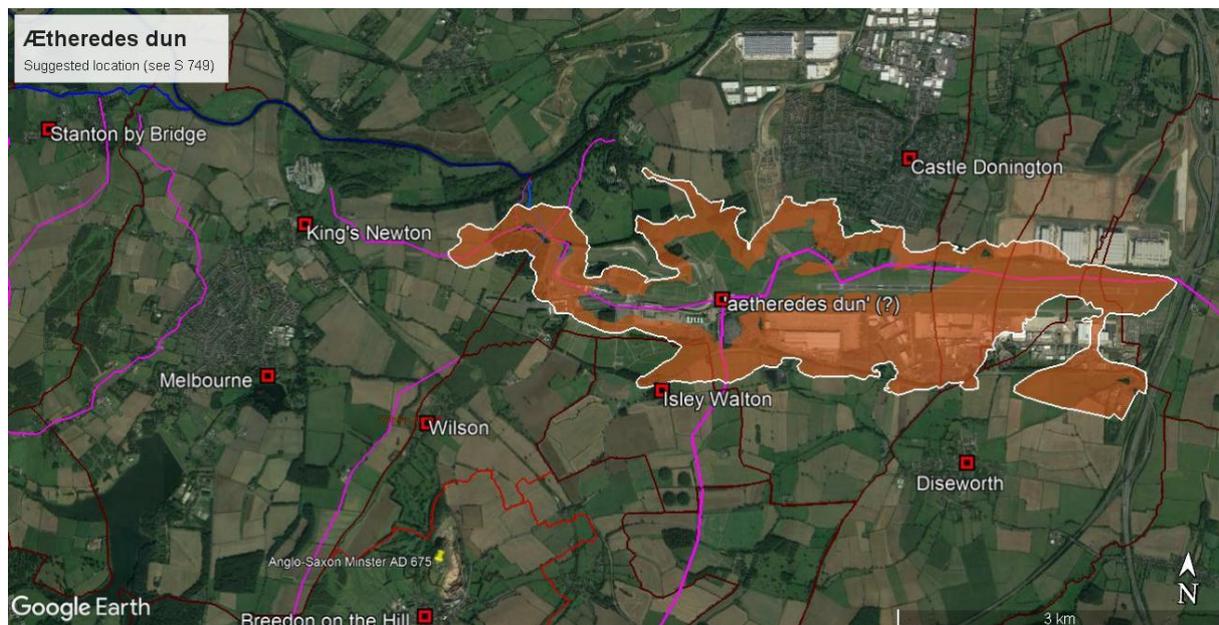
Firstly the word *hoh* which, in place-names often follows a personal name, is topographical, meaning a projecting hill-spur, often with a concave slope<sup>4</sup>. The hill-spur in question is associated with the personal name *Æthered*, an alternative spelling of *Æthelred*. The -es ending is genitive, making the full name of the location ‘*Æthered’s hill-spur*’. By definition every hill-spur has a hill, and if the same name *Æthered* can be found as a qualifier to one of the words meaning ‘hill’, the search for *Stantun* may be aided.

It may not then be any coincidence that another charter (S 749) amongst those in the Burton Abbey archives includes a 3 hide estate at *Æþeredes dune* or, anglicising the ‘thorn’ character, *Ætheredes dune*. At this point it is noted that S 768 employed the ‘eth’ character while S 749 used ‘thorn’ – in later OE these were often used interchangeably and there doesn’t seem any reason to doubt that these two references are to the same name.

On the meaning of *dūn*; dative *dūne* Gelling<sup>5</sup> 1984 says “I have no doubt that the commonest meaning is ‘hill with a summit which is suitable for a settlement-site’” and that it is also “often used of ridges, as well as of sub-circular hills” of the type just described.

The location of *Ætheredes dun* was discussed by the current author<sup>6</sup> and also by A.E. Brown<sup>7</sup>. In S 749 it appears as part of *Breodun*, which was used as the name of a composite or multiple estate, in a sequence of included place-names – *Æbredon*, *Wifelesthorp*, *Ætheredes dun*, and *Digtheswyrth*, where the Ð, ð (eth) and Þ, þ (thorn) characters have been anglicised. The argument was made that these were a clockwise sequence of adjoining settlements being those at modern Breedon on the Hill (i.e. the village and its land rather than the *dūn*, the hill itself, or the district), Wilson, ‘greater Isley Walton’, and Diseworth.

It is notable that most commentators have been in agreement about the locations of three of these four place-names – Breedon, Wilson and Diseworth. The land between Wilson and Diseworth in the sequence filled by *Ætheredes dun*, if it were what Brown refers to as ‘greater Isley Walton’ or adjacent to it, forms a near-perfect example of Gelling’s description of a *dūn* (see Appendix 4).



**FIGURE 1. SUGGESTED LOCATION OF ÆTHEREDES DUN (SEE S 749)**

An attempt to demonstrate the *dūn* is provided in Figure 1 above. In this figure, Google Earth Pro has been used to show the area enclosed by a 275 foot (83.82 m) contour. Within this, the brown-

<sup>4</sup> Gelling, M. and Cole, A. (2014), *The Landscape of Place-names*. 2nd ed. Donington, Lincolnshire: Shaun Tyas, pp.186-190.

<sup>5</sup> Gelling, M. (1984), *Place-Names in the Landscape*. Paperback ed. (2000). London: Phoenix Press, p.142.

<sup>6</sup> Fawcett, G. (2020), *The Land of Breedon Minster*. [online] Available at: <http://www.thelittlehouseatorthez.com/Land of Breedon Minster 191212.pdf> [Accessed 13 May 2021].

<sup>7</sup> Brown, A.E. (2003), ‘The Lost Village of Andreschurch’, *Trans. Leicestershire Archaeol. and Hist. Soc.*, 76.

shaded area ends at the 300 foot (91.44 m) contour. The highest point within this inner area is at 101 metres (about 330 feet) where the name has been placed in the Figure.

It is clear that there is an area of land here, with the present-day village of Isley Walton on its edge, which very much fits Gelling's description of a 'dun'. The pink lines show the watershed lines – two main ridges. Where they meet is the highest point at about 330 feet, so it is clear that the area contained within the 275 foot contour is a large hilltop plateau of about 2½ square miles within which there is no more than about 55 feet variation in altitude. In the modern era, advantage has been taken of this plateau by East Midlands Airport and Donington Park motor racing circuit.

The hypothesis on which this paper is based is that *æðeredes hoh*, or *Ætheredes hoh*, was a hill-spur of the hilltop plateau known as *Ætheredes dun*, and was located on the western side of the dun, or hill, in the direction of Stanton by Bridge.

## THE CHARTER BOUNDS

The bounds included in S 768 are written in Old English and contain clues that point to *Stantun* being Stanton by Bridge with the addition of the adjoining King's Newton (extending as far as the western end of Donington Park) which is now in Melbourne civil parish rather than in Stanton.

The charter bounds<sup>8</sup> say:-

ærest of alde wíc þæt swa[.]n myra hoh . of myra hoh in ðæt dæl þæt swa on æðeredes . hoh . of æðeredes h[oh] in þæt dæl . of ðæm dæle in swines hoh þæt swa 7long dæles þæt in ðone stanegan fórd . of þæm fórd 7long broces þæt eft in þæt alde wíc. ðis send ðara twegra hida gemæro ðe Wulfric biscop hafað ane hide . oðer hafað Ælfnað

Before suggesting a full translation, some of the possible meanings / translations of the original text are discussed:-

- *wíc* has a range of possible meanings. These include “dwelling place, habitation, village, street, monastery or convent, camp for soldiers, castle, fortress, a place of security for boats, i.e. bay or creek”<sup>9</sup>. It may, especially in the case of the last meaning, have the additional connotation of a place where goods are traded.
- *myra*, like *æðeredes* and *swines* is used with the word *hoh*. These 3 descriptive words used with *hoh* are genitives with *myra* seeming to be a plural genitive. The letter y in *myra* is often an alternative to other vowels such as e, ea, æ and, as pointed out by Gelling<sup>10</sup>, it is often difficult in translation to modern English to distinguish between the three nouns ‘boundary’, ‘horse / mare’ and ‘pond, pool, lake’. The context (i.e. hill-spur) here possibly makes the third of these unlikely.
- *hoh* is a projecting hill-spur, often with a concave slope. (See EPNE, Gelling, etc.)
- *dæl* (masculine singular nominative and accusative; with genitive *dæles* and dative *dæle*) has a variety of translations. In earlier OE it is thought to have referred to a pit or a hollow. It also meant a share or portion. In later OE it has the additional meaning of a valley.
- *brōces* is the singular genitive (to follow *andlang*) of the Old English masculine noun *brōc*. While ‘brook’ came to be one of the later meanings, EPNE gives an earlier meaning of the word, which survived in use, as ‘water-meadow’. It should be noted that, although Domesday Book (DB) is largely written in Latin, the OE genitive word *brōces* is used in the DB entry for King William’s land at Ingleby – the neighbouring settlement to Stanton by Bridge. It seems clear that, in that entry, the word refers to water-meadow or Trent floodplain meadow.
- *myra hoh* – Is this ‘the hill-spur of the boundaries’ or ‘the hill-spur of the horses (or mares)’?

Bearing these points in mind, possible translations of the charter bounds might be:-

<sup>8</sup> Sawyer, P. (1979), *Charters of Burton Abbey*. Oxford: OUP, p.38. and also [online] Available at: <https://esawyer.lib.cam.ac.uk/charter/768.html#> [Accessed 20 Apr. 2021].

<sup>9</sup> Bosworth, J. and Toller, T. (1898). *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, p.456.

<sup>10</sup> Gelling, M. (1984), *Place-Names in the Landscape*. Paperback ed. (2000). London: Phoenix Press, p. 26.

First from the old 'wic'<sup>①</sup> thence to the hill-spur of the 'myra'<sup>②</sup> (?boundaries, ?horses / mares). From the hill-spur of the 'myra' into that valley<sup>③</sup> then to Æthered's hill-spur<sup>④</sup>. From Æthered's hill-spur in(to) that valley<sup>⑤</sup>. From that valley<sup>⑥</sup> to the 'hill-spur of the pig'<sup>⑦</sup> thence along the valley<sup>⑧</sup> to the stony ford<sup>⑨</sup>. From the ford along the water-meadow / floodplain<sup>⑩</sup> until back to the old 'wic'<sup>①</sup>. These are boundaries of the two hides of which bishop Wulfric has one, Ælfnað has the other.

Boundary points are numbered for later use. The last sentence of the above raises a particular question. If the charter in which the bounds are given concerns the grant of 1 hide of land to bishop Wulfric, why do the bounds only describe the larger area of 2 hides?

One possible inference of this is that the subdivided area granted to bishop Wulfric was not newly surveyed for the purpose of describing the charter bounds but that an earlier recitation of the bounds of the undivided estate was available. Maybe it was thought that natural features of the time, e.g. shared woodland or common land, defined a clear boundary between the two parts of *Stantun* that didn't need to be spelt out. **Whatever the reason, it is necessary to consider that the description of *Stantun's* bounds may date from earlier than the charter of A.D. 968.**

Æthelflæd's charter, S 224, is known only from a mid-thirteenth-century copy of the original which was described by Sawyer as 'abbreviated and miscopied'. It contains the sentence "Ista terra est circumcincta et determinata terminis et cetera." A translation might be "This land is surrounded by and fixed by bounds etc.". This suggests that the original contained boundary clauses, which may then have been omitted by the thirteenth-century scribe – hence the 'et cetera'.

It is possible, therefore, that the boundary description in S 768 actually dates from Æthelflæd or at least from some other date prior to A.D. 968.

## THE CLUES TO LOCATING STANTUN

There are several clues contained in the charter bounds which may help us to determine where *Stantun* was located. In particular:-

- A. There was a hill-spur, *æðeredes hoh*, associated with a personal name Æthered. By definition, every hill-spur has a hill and if the same name Æthered can be found as a qualifier to one of the words meaning 'hill', the search for *Stantun* may be eased.
- B. We also know from S 768 that the original 2 hides of *Stantun* became subdivided into two estates. We may therefore, in later years, be looking for two place-names rather than one. [N.B. This was the result in the case of other proposed locations, i.e. Stanton and Newhall, and Stanton in Peak and Birchover.]
- C. There was an old 'wic' adjoining water-meadow or floodplain on one side and a hill-spur on the other side (next item).
- D. There was a hill-spur possibly associated with the boundary of a multiple estate or with mares.
- E. There was a hill-spur associated with a pig or pigs with a valley beyond it leading to F.
- F. There was a (stony) ford – likely to refer to a river rather than a minor stream.
- G. The ford was followed by water-meadow / floodplain.

## WHERE WAS STANTUN?

The OE place-name *Stantun* means 'stony farm' or 'stony settlement'. In England and in Domesday Book (DB) there are, of course, many places that were called *stantun*, others called *stanton*; *staunton* was another variant. Many of these have become modern-day settlements with the spelling Stanton.

Copies of both charters were in the cartulary of Burton Abbey and the older of the two was a grant from Æthelflæd. This has concentrated discussion of the possible location of *Stantun* around modern Stantons within Mercia and within a reasonable distance from Burton upon Trent. The approximate distances from Burton upon Trent, in increasing order, of modern Stanton / Staunton place-names are tabulated in Appendix 1 (page 20).

The obvious reason for a copy of a charter being in the possession of the abbey is that land at *Stantun* was held by, or at least intended for, them. There could, of course, be other reasons that are not understood.

Others have suggested possible locations for *Stantun*, bearing in mind that S 224 is a Mercian charter. Sawyer<sup>11</sup> reviewed two contenders:

- Cameron<sup>12</sup> suggested that *Stantun* is the present day Stanton together with Newhall (cf. Stanton and Newhall, near Swadlincote, South Derbyshire which became a civil parish in 1866), just 3½ miles from Burton. Sawyer states that Cameron suggested this “apparently because Burton Abbey later owned a carucate there as part of its holding in Stapenhill”. He made no specific connection with the names of any of the boundary points although he (Sawyer) suggested locations for them. Having considered the parish boundary and the grid references he gave, I find it impossible to agree with his statement that “the modern parish boundary of Stanton and Newhall agrees very well with the boundary in the charter” – it agrees quite poorly. While it is known that Burton Abbey held land at this particular Stanton there are additional reasons, as will be seen later particularly in Appendices 2 and 3, for thinking that this place is unlikely to have been the location of the *Stantun* of the two charters.
- Hart<sup>13</sup> suggested Stanton in Peak together with Birchover (near Bakewell), 30 miles from Burton. He said that the bounds agree well with those of Stanton in the Peak and Birchover, although he acknowledged that none of the names of boundary points could be identified. Again, though, his conclusion that the bounds of Stanton fit the combined modern parishes of Stanton and Birchover “as a hand fits a glove” is impossible to agree with. Once you have failed to connect any boundary point with the modern location of any place or field name you are left with looking for some valleys and some hill-spurs – features which exist in numerous parishes. Furthermore, when moving across the landscape, hill-spurs are typically followed by valleys and vice versa. The OE charter bounds required him to propose three hill-spurs – which he did. Having the rivers Wye and Derwent as boundaries, like any parish which has a river boundary, finding a ford is also straightforward.

A vital source of help in locating the *Stantun* of the two charters (S 224 and S 768), used by both these authors, is Domesday Book. While this was more than a century after S 768, it also seems to offer clues. The evidence, which stacks up against both Stanton in Peak and Stanton by Newhall and in favour of Stanton by Bridge, is discussed in Appendices 2 and 3 starting on pages 21 and 23 respectively.

## THE CLUES ONE BY ONE

Seven clues, from the charter S 768 and the boundaries sequentially described in Old English, were shown in a list (letters A to G) above on page 5. This paper is based on the hypothesis involving the first clue – that the boundary point hill-spur named *æðeredes hoh* might be identifiable if an *æðeredes* ‘hill’ can be found. The other clues are then addressed to see whether they make sense in relation to the identified *æðeredes hoh*.

### Clue A – *Ætheredes dun*

We know of a place called *æðeredes dun*, i.e. ‘Æthered’s hill’, from another charter of King Edgar, from A.D. 972, also held by Burton Abbey, i.e. S 749. Although there is no surviving place-name based on that in the charter, it is thought that it was located between Wilson and Diseworth. A justification of this is included in Appendix 4 starting on page 28. Both Wilson and Diseworth are in modern Leicestershire but Wilson’s western edge adjoins the Derbyshire boundary, as would ‘Æthered’s hill’.

The approximate position of *æðeredes dun* in relation to other named places was indicated in Figure 1 on page 3. The location of ‘Æthered’s hill-spur’ is suggested in Figure 4 on page 12.

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<sup>11</sup> Sawyer, P. (1979), *Charters of Burton Abbey*. Oxford: OUP, pp. xlvii, 2, 39.

<sup>12</sup> Cameron, K. (1959), *The Place-Names of Derbyshire*. v.29, pt.3. Nottingham: EPNS, pp. 659-660.

<sup>13</sup> Hart, C. (1975), *The Early Charters of Northern England and the North Midlands*. Leicester: LUP, pp.185-6.

## Clue B – Two Place-Names

Other seekers of *Stantun* have settled on two main contenders, both of which are now identified by two place names – firstly Stanton and Newhall; and secondly Stanton in Peak and Birchover.

But let's look at Stanton by Bridge. If *æðeredes dun*, Æthelred's hill, was a settlement taking its name from the hilltop marked in Figure 4 on page 12 then logic suggests that *æðeredes hoh*, Æthelred's hillspur, a named boundary point which was negotiated in S 768, was connected to *æðeredes dun*. As *Stantun* is being sought, the search points us westwards in the direction of Stanton by Bridge. Between the latter and *æðeredes dun* lies a second settlement, now called King's Newton with, in both cases, no other settlements between them and the River Trent. The river therefore presents a natural boundary on their northern sides.

For this hypothesis the charter S 768 effectively divided the vill of Stanton by Bridge into two estates giving sound reason for the existence, or development, of another distinct place-name.

The development of a new place-name is suggested by two more Burton Abbey charters, S 1536 and S 906. The name *niwantun æt thære wic* is discussed below. This may have subsequently become Newton changing in time to Newton Regis or King's Newton (see Appendix 8).

## Clue C – The old 'wic'

Before going any further it is important to note that the charter S 768 uses the adjective *alde*, 'old', to qualify the noun *wic*. We are therefore looking for a *wic* which was still known in the tenth century, but which:-

- was of some obvious age at that date, and / or
- was becoming little used, or
- may have already gone out of use.

Amongst the 38 charters of Burton Abbey listed by Sawyer are 2 others that refer to a *wic*. These are the two which form the basis of the foundation of Burton Abbey – S 1536, Wulfric Spot's will, and S 906, King Æthelred's confirmation of Wulfric's will. Both of these refer to 'niwantun æt thære wic' and date from A.D. 1002 / 4. The OE 'niwantun' means 'new settlement', where *niwan* is the weak form of the adjective *niwe*. Many such place-names developed into Newton, so we possibly have 'Newton at the *wic*'. Clearly, a new settlement might develop near another which was becoming less important.

Sawyer (pp. xxix) proposed that "Niwantun æt thære wic" might be Newton by Middlewich in Cheshire. This is clearly a Newton in close proximity to a place-name derived from *wic*. However, not only is this in an area which is remote from other places bequeathed by Wulfric, it is 50 miles from Burton Abbey.

There are, of course, many other places called Newton and many other place-names that may have derived from *wic*. These include names ending in '-wich' or '-wick'. Keith Briggs<sup>14</sup> has plotted 44 '-wich' place-names, and 613 '-wick' place-names.

So let's consider the possibility that "Niwantun æt thære wic" became King's Newton, the neighbour of Stanton by Bridge, in South Derbyshire. This possibility has some advantages over other suggestions.

- Firstly, it is only 11 miles from Burton Abbey.
- Secondly, Wulfric Spot seems to have used a naming sequence which grouped places geographically, possibly based on multiple estates or districts. King's Newton possibly fits in with such a naming sequence as part of the old multiple estate of 'Hrepingas' (which relates to the place-names 'Hreopandun' and ultimately 'Repton')<sup>15</sup>.
- Third, there is a (now uninhabited) Trent riverside location within King's Newton's bounds, which still appears on OS maps, called 'The Wiggs' (see Figure 2 below).

<sup>14</sup> Briggs, K. [online] Available at: [http://www.keithbriggs.info/EPN\\_maps/wich.pdf](http://www.keithbriggs.info/EPN_maps/wich.pdf) and [http://www.keithbriggs.info/EPN\\_maps/wick.pdf](http://www.keithbriggs.info/EPN_maps/wick.pdf) [Accessed 20 Apr. 2021].

<sup>15</sup> This is the sequence Niwantun æt thære wic, Wædedun, the little estate which I have in the other Niwantun, Wineshulle, Suttun and Ticenheale.

With respect to this third bullet point, Cameron<sup>16</sup> could not firmly determine the origins of this place-name or field-name but said “perhaps from ON veggr ‘wall, boulder’”. However, there is no known wall



**FIGURE 2. THE WIGGS (ORDNANCE SURVEY 1901)**

or boulder which could corroborate this nor any evidence of a Scandinavian (ON) connection. In contrast, ‘The Wiggs’ lies beside a gradually silting up inlet of the Trent, part of a palaeochannel, that could have been used as a river harbour. The Wiggs – the land between the palaeochannel and the river – rises to about 4 metres above the normal waterline, the higher parts remaining dry during flood events. The fact that the charter bounds describe the approach to the ‘old *wic*’ as being along water-meadow or floodplain suggests that it is this meaning of ‘*wic*’, i.e. a river harbour, that could be the most relevant.

There are a number of modern riverside ‘-wick’ place-names which probably derive from that dictionary translation of *wic* meaning ‘a place of security for boats, hence a bay, creek, formed by the winding bank of a river’. In this context it is relevant that ‘*wic*’ and ‘*wigg(s)*’ are very feasible synonyms; for example, Stanwick (Northants, on the River Nene) was spelt as Stanewigge in a charter of A.D. 664 and Stanewige & Stanewiga in DB. Note that the -wigge spelling may have been pronounced as in ‘bridge’, not a stone’s throw from the modern pronunciation of ‘-wich’.

It is known<sup>17</sup> that, in 1652, ‘Great Wiggs’ comprised 18 acres and ‘Osior Wiggs’ was 6 acres, both meadows at that date. The river inlet or creek shown on the 1901 OS map (Figure 2) extends about 260 metres (280 yards) from the main channel of the Trent. The current OS map shows this largely silted up as marsh, but the land next to it is still shown as “The Wiggs” in contrast to the main bulk of the parish in which field-names are not generally labelled. One inference from this is that, despite our lack of current understanding of it, The Wiggs has retained a long-lasting significance in local culture stemming from its history, presumably as a once important location. Its name together with its correct

<sup>16</sup> Cameron, K. (1959), *The Place-Names of Derbyshire*. v.29, pt.3. Nottingham: EPNS, p.643.

<sup>17</sup> Derbyshire Record Office ref. D171/ME/18 [online] Available at: <https://calmview.derbyshire.gov.uk/calmview/Record.aspx?src=CalmView.Catalog&id=D171%2fME%2f18&pos=20> [Accessed 20 Apr. 2021].

position within a clockwise sequence of water-meadow, an old wic, a 'boundary' hill-spur, and 'Æthered's hill-spur' seems significant.

An 'old wic' in greater *Stantun* in A.D. 968 suggests occupation at an earlier date. The Historic Environment Record reveals lots of prehistoric activity either side of the river along this section of the Trent valley; for instance, The Wiggs is just over a mile from the southern terminus of the Aston Cursus, immediately above the floodplain on the opposite side of the river. But perhaps more specifically, in the immediate vicinity of The Wiggs and on the same side of the Trent there is Castle Hill ('le Castyll Hull', 1522; 'Castle Hill', 1673). As pointed out on page 30 the area around this location has yielded finds from every period from Mesolithic to Romano-British; indeed the Google satellite view (particularly the 1999 & 2001 imagery) hints at the possibility that there was a multivallate 'hillfort' here. Many hillforts include 'Castle' in their modern names. Note that J J Briggs' diary<sup>18</sup> for 6 September 1867, while talking about the pagan Anglo-Saxon cremation burials at King's Newton, includes: "On the hill opposite to that on which the urns were found are rude entrenchments also commanding a view of the river whilst a brook runs between them ...". This might suggest that some of the ditches / banks here were visible in 1867, even if modern ploughing methods have now removed them. If there were still some remnants visible above ground, the sight-line to the western end of these surmised earthworks, from the location of the site of the burials, is unimpeded. A satellite view of The Wiggs and the possible 'hillfort' cropmarks / soilmarks at Castle Hill is shown in Figure 3 below. Although this site is not at this time known as a hillfort, the good satellite imagery of these cropmarks has been taken from the hillforts website (Lock & Ralston, 2017)<sup>19</sup>. (Image © Esri, DigitalGlobe, GeoEye, Earthstar Geographics, CNES/Airbus DS, DigitalGlobe, Microsoft).



FIGURE 3. THE WIGGS AND CASTLE HILL

The Derbyshire Heritage Environment Record (HER) also documents the pagan cremation burials mentioned in the preceding paragraph, thought to be sixth century, unearthed during the nineteenth century construction of the railway line through King's Newton, at about a mile from The Wiggs and Castle Hill.

The path up the hill from The Wiggs meets the county boundary which, for about 2½ miles, appears to follow an ancient route to the Trent, of Roman or earlier date. There is no particular direct

<sup>18</sup> Heath, P. (ed.) (2005), *Melbourne 1820 – 1875: A Diary by John Joseph Briggs*. Melbourne, Derbyshire: Melbourne Historical Research Group, p.217.

<sup>19</sup> Lock, G, and Ralston, I. (2017) *Atlas of Hillforts of Britain and Ireland* [online]. Available at: <https://hillforts.arch.ox.ac.uk> [Accessed 20 Apr. 2021].

archaeological or historic evidence at the moment to demonstrate whether or not The Wiggs was a trading river port nor, if it was, at what dates it might have been in use as such. Usage up to the late ninth century is possible if a *wic* was associated with Breedon minster (AD 675 onwards) which lies about 2 miles distant. Professor Foot<sup>20</sup> has pointed out that many minsters were closely associated with markets or ports and gives examples of three (Hamwic, Fordwich and Sandwich). Minsters, particularly those which were well endowed, had surplus produce to sell and raw materials to buy. A river 'port' on the Trent, which was very navigable in that period, could well have developed, or increased in importance, because of the minster, particularly bearing in mind that it was also served by a long-distance land route. The Breedon minster is generally presumed to have become inactive by the time of, or as a result of, the Danish incursion in 873/4 so, if the minster had been the main user, a *wic* could have been an 'old *wic*' by the time of the 2 charters.

Its possibility of survival for any major purpose other than as a river harbour / port seem geographically limited. The potential for settlement expansion above the flood line was limited and it was distant from the arable – it might have been crying out for a 'new town'.

To summarise this section, if the 2 hides of *Stantun* broadly consisted of Stanton by Bridge and King's Newton, the 'old *wic*' could have been at The Wiggs. This links to and supports a related possibility that, after the *wic* had been abandoned, Wulfic Spot's "Niwantun æt thære *wic*", which has a possible translation as "Newton at The Wiggs" on these hypotheses, developed as a new settlement in the tenth century which became King's Newton by AD 1269<sup>21</sup>.

### Clue D – The '*myra*' hill-spur

As pointed out on page 4, there are several possibilities for the translation of the OE word *myra* – two of these, from Gelling, are 'boundaries' or 'mares' (Hart suggested 'pleasant, agreeable' and 'mare'). These are considered separately below.

#### The boundary of a multiple estate

It might be said that the whole section of the charter that is written in Old English is a set of boundary points and lines, and that therefore a 'boundary hill-spur' can have no real meaning. However, it seems that place-names or field-names which use the OE word for boundary often refer to older and more significant boundaries, e.g. the boundaries of the larger multiple estates<sup>22</sup>.

In a previous article written by the current author<sup>23</sup>, based on three early charters in the Peterborough archive, it was shown that, in the late seventh century, there would appear to have been three multiple estates near the modern Breedon on the Hill which became the initial lands in the hands of Breedon Minster. These were known by the names Bredun, Hrepingas and Cedenan Ac. In that analysis it was suggested, on the basis of evidence, that the boundary between Bredun and Hrepingas lay between the land that may have been *æðeredes dun* and the modern King's Newton. This boundary remained significant and a line in this locality became the boundary between Derbyshire and Leicestershire.

Before checking whether *myra hoh* could be a 'boundary hill-spur' which refers to the boundary which became the county boundary it is important to be aware that the latter changed slightly in this vicinity in 1965. Looking at the old county boundary, part of which appears in Figure 2, there is a hill-spur, which may be *myra hoh*, rising from it and extending up to the main east-west ridge line which would define *æðeredes dun*. The foot of this possible *myra hoh* rises from a position on the River Trent which is just a few hundred yards east of The Wiggs. If *myra hoh* is to be read as 'boundary hill-

<sup>20</sup> Foot, S. (1995), *Monastic Life in Anglo-Saxon England c. 600-900*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p.121.

<sup>21</sup> Cameron, K. (1959), *The Place-Names of Derbyshire*. v.29, pt.3. Nottingham: EPNS, p.642. [re. Assize Rolls of 1269 and 1306].

<sup>22</sup> Another local example may be the sequence of farm names near Belton, about 2 miles from Breedon on the Hill – from Long Mere Lane moving up the contours, Long Mere Farm, Merrill Grange, Middle Merrill Grange, Top Merrill Grange. Effectively Long Mere means long boundary and Merrill is a corruption of mere hill i.e. boundary hill. The boundary being referred to was possibly part of the eastern boundary of the, minster-period, Bredun multiple estate of 20 hides coinciding in part with sections of modern parish boundaries.

<sup>23</sup> Fawcett, G. (2020), *The Land of Breedon Minster*. [online] Available at: <http://www.thelittlehouseatorthez.com/Land of Breedon Minster 191212.pdf> [Accessed 13 May 2021].

spur', the charter bounds say "from the boundary hill-spur into that valley thence to Æthered's hill-spur".

The slight valley to the east of 'the boundary hill-spur' is the former county boundary. The valley, like any valley, peters out as one approaches the ridge from which it descends – in this case, the main east-west ridge. As the valley peters out, the county boundary then more or less takes the steepest path up to the highest point on that section of the ridge. There is a "pronounced bank with flanking ditches" following the line of the county boundary, from the cliff above the Trent and extending up to and beyond the ridge, for a total distance of about ½ mile. It has never been dated<sup>24</sup>.

It is very possible, then, that the east-west hill-spur to the west of that high point was known as *æðeredes hoh*. These and other features are shown in Figure 4 below:

- In the Figure, the pink lines are ridge lines in the sense of water catchment, i.e. precipitation theoretically drains away on either side. The labelled thinner pink line is the possible *myra hoh*. The labelled heavier pink line to the west of a local high point on the east-west ridge is the possible *æðeredes hoh*, dropping down towards the modern King's Newton.
- The blue line is the linear earthwork described above, which was also the county boundary. The deep red line extending from the south of the blue line is the continuation of the county (and parish) boundary along a prehistoric or Roman trackway.
- The points numbered 1 to 5 are the interpretation of the relevant section of the charter bounds – starting from 1, The Wiggs (the old *wic*), moving along the River Trent to 2, the foot of *myra hoh*, into the described valley at 3, following the valley up to 4, the upper end of *æðeredes hoh*, then down to the next valley, 5. The line from 3 to 5 became the county boundary.

The purpose of this section has been to demonstrate that, at King's Newton, the Derbyshire / Leicestershire border may have been a boundary between multiple estates at least as far back as the later seventh century. If so, a 'hill-spur of the boundaries' could have been here.

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<sup>24</sup> See Derbyshire HER 23227. [online] Available at: [https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results\\_Single.aspx?uid=MDR5430&resourceID=1023](https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=MDR5430&resourceID=1023) [Accessed 20 Apr. 2021]. and at <https://her.derbyshire.gov.uk/Monument/MDR5430> [Accessed 20 Apr. 2021]



FIGURE 4. MYRA HOH & ÆTHEREDES HOH

### A hill-spur associated with mares

There is another option, rather less convincing than the first, regarding the translation of the OE word *myra* – that it means ‘mares’ rather than ‘boundaries’.

To the east of the hill-spur connecting the straight-line section of the Derbyshire / Leicestershire county boundary to the River Trent there are the Stud Brook and Studbrook Hollow lying in Leicestershire, and there is a fourteenth-century reference to Stodefordshawe. The OE feminine noun

'stōd' means a stud, as of horses. Stodeford would be the stud's (river) ford, i.e. the 'e' added to 'stōd' makes the genitive.

Secondly, a short distance (1 km) to the south west from the top of the hill-spur just described there was, at the time of the relevant Enclosure Act, 1787, an area on the Derbyshire side of the county boundary called Stadfold Meadow. This had been rendered as 'Statfeld' in 1651. These were presumably from OE 'stod-fold' – a fold or field fenced to keep stallions; Gelling suggests 'feld' meant open ground which was not woodland although these later references could be associated with our modern understanding of 'field'.

The OE 'stod-myra' translates as 'broodmares', and it is possible that the land that later became the still extant deer park at Donington Park, or a larger area of about 400 acres, was at one time reserved for the raising of horses. If this were the case then it is feasible that the term 'myra hoh' meaning 'the hill-spur of the mares', could be applied to another of the two ridges rising from the Trent in his area.

### **Clue E – To the hill-spur of the pig**

After crossing *æðeredes hoh* (Æthered's hill-spur) the charter bounds take us "From Æthered's hill-spur in(to) that valley. From that valley to the 'hill-spur of the pig'."

#### **The valley after *æðeredes hoh***

In the sequence so far, if correct, then *æðeredes dun* and *æðeredes hoh* have been identified, as has the most likely point at which the latter is attained (point number 4 in Figure 4). The valley below the hill-spur can then only be that of Wilson Brook / Ramsley Brook and the obvious and direct line to it is via the old route that became the county boundary (connecting points numbered 4 and 5 in the Figure).

#### **Where was the 'hill-spur of the pig'?**

The next phase of the sequence is more problematic – where was the 'hill-spur of the pig' and at what point is the valley (Ramsley Brook) to be departed from?

It has not been found possible to find any surviving place-name or field-name, in the area of search, which connects to swine or pigs, although this would not necessarily be unexpected even if pig husbandry was being practiced there 1100 years ago. It would appear (S 224) that Ealhhelm and his family were producing pigs when he was formally granted 'bookright' to the 2 hide estate at *Stantun* since he paid 60 pigs, plus money, to Æthelflæd. It is possible that he had been the incumbent of *Stantun* before he received it as bookland. Whether or not that was the case, it would be no surprise if pork was being produced on the estate over which he had newly granted rights if there was suitable land for the purpose.

An alternative possibility is that, rather than simply being an identification of a location where pigs were raised, the reference to '*swines hoh*' was some sort of topographical description of the shape of the hill-spur. Such a link is not obvious in this search area.

Looking westwards from King's Newton towards and into the modern civil parish of Stanton by Bridge (which is identical to the present ecclesiastical parish), while looking for a hill-spur with a valley beyond it, there are three, water-catchment, ridge lines. These are marked as pink lines in Figure 5 on page 16, all rising southwards from the Trent valley, the highest of which is the most westerly. The most easterly of the three, which has a valley to its west, passes through Melbourne civil parish. The valley to its west, as it descends, would cut off Stanton from the preceding boundary points and is actually the boundary between the two modern parishes of Stanton by Bridge and Melbourne. This most easterly of the three ridges doesn't therefore seem to be a contender for being the 'hill-spur of the pig'.

The middle of the three ridges doesn't really have a valley between it and the westernmost ridge – it is more of a very slight hollow in a gentle side slope up to the main western ridge.

The most westerly of the three ridges is the highest and is fairly imposing when viewed from either side; it has a positive valley beyond. This ridge stands out as the highest this side of the Trent, when looking west towards Repton from Breedon Hill. If the charter bounds include the settlement core

(including the church) at Stanton by Bridge, then this ridge falling towards the Trent floodplain would have to be the 'hill-spur of the pig'.

The hill-spur and ridge heads up to a high point near St Brides at an altitude of about 415 feet above sea level. Despite their prominence, the hill-spur, ridge, and summit are not named on modern maps.

### By what route?

The bounds don't tell us anything about how one is to get from the valley below Æthered's hill-spur to the hill-spur of the pig nor the point which is to be arrived at on the latter. Unfortunately, although it is known that King's Newton and Melbourne contained distinct manors and were probably not unified under a single lord, i.e. the king, until after DB (see Appendix 8), the location of the boundary between them (which may, in any case, have moved about during the intervening centuries) is no longer known, in the present author's knowledge – perhaps there is scope for further research to provide enlightenment.

Identification of the bounds in this section, from boundary point 5 to boundary points 6 and 7, is therefore conjectural based on:

- the location of the pagan cremation cemetery at King's Newton and the fact that they, like early-Christian cemeteries, were often at or near settlement boundaries.
- the existence of a prehistoric<sup>25</sup> east-west route (Breach Lane in this sector) which also seems to have, at some points in time, defined the edge of woodland, heath or common.

The relationship between this possible boundary line and later boundaries (e.g. DB, parish) is discussed further in Appendix 6.

## Clues F & G – A stony ford and 'broces'

### A stony ford

Stanton by Bridge (now a civil parish) and King's Newton (now a township of Melbourne civil parish) adjoin each other, i.e. there is no intervening settlement, and both are bounded to the north by the River Trent. This sector of the middle Trent, between the Dove and the Derwent / Soar confluences, has a morphologically dynamic channel-floodplain system. Satellite views show that there are numerous palæochannels, and quirks in the riverside parish boundaries suggest that some of these were active channels within the last 1000 years or so. We do not therefore know the precise line(s) of the Trent at Stanton by Bridge and King's Newton in the tenth century, although this will have been within the floodplain.

The noun *ford* is masculine and *stanegan* (or *stanigan*), meaning 'stony', is the weak adjective form of *stanig* for all cases other than the accusative – the weak form occurs here since it follows *ðone*. Note that the pronunciation of the terminal *-ig* in *stanig* was like a long 'y', as in the modern word 'many'.

Stanton by Bridge appears to have been *Stantun*, OE – meaning 'stony settlement', by the time of DB. This is the earliest documented reference other than possibly in the two tenth-century charters which are the basis of this paper. Variations of the place-name<sup>26</sup> after DB, amongst others, include the somewhat tautological Stonstanton, Stonistanton, Stonystanton, Stonistaunton and Stonystaunton from the early thirteenth to the late sixteenth centuries. Most of these spellings pre-date the construction of Swakestone Bridge. The prefix could have been used to distinguish from other Stantons but the place was clearly stony.

The floodplain land here is nowadays covered by alluvium, although this would not always have been so. Sand and gravel extraction from beneath this has taken place at Stanton to within less than 100 metres of the causeway known as Swarkestone Bridge which connects Swarkestone and Stanton by Bridge. A medieval bridge is likely to have been built to improve the river crossing connecting existing routes which had developed at an earlier ford. There is every likelihood that, before a reliable

<sup>25</sup> Todd, M. (1991), *The Coritani*, 2nd ed., Stroud: Alan Sutton Publishing Ltd., p.47 and Fig.10, p.48.

<sup>26</sup> Cameron, K. (1959), *The Place-Names of Derbyshire*. v.29, pt.3. Nottingham: EPNS, p.660.

bridge, there would have been a *stanegan ford*, a 'stony ford', between the Stanton and Swarkestone sides of the river.

Unfortunately the precise location of a tenth-century ford in the Stanton / Barrow / Swarkestone area is not known, as the Trent would appear to have followed any of numerous former channels. However, there is evidence that there was an active channel of the river along the most southerly edge of the floodplain (i.e. immediately below the village of Stanton by Bridge) at that date. There is potential for palaeological deposit sampling studies to provide some enlightenment. A suggested location for the boundary point numbered ⑨, a stony ford, is in the vicinity of an old route to the river passing through the original settlement core (the church). This is the point marked with that number in Figure 5 on page 16.

Further discussion of this matter is included in Appendices 6 and 7.

### **'Broces'**

The existence of floodplain and palæochannels between the western boundary of Stanton by Bridge and The Wiggs means that much of this riverside section might have been well described by the OE word 'brōc' (see above on page 4), in the meaning 'water-meadow' or 'floodplain meadow'.

It should be noted that, although DB is largely written in Latin, the word *brōces* (OE genitive of *brōc*) is used in the DB entry for King William's land at Ingleby – the neighbouring settlement to Stanton by Bridge. It seems clear that, in that entry, the word refers to water-meadow or Trent floodplain meadow. This translation ('water-meadow') was used in an electronic version of the Phillimore edition of DB<sup>27</sup>.

If the tenth-century charter bounds are progressing from a 'stony ford' on the River Trent to an 'old *wic*', also on the river, then 'water-meadow' or 'floodplain meadow' well describes the river frontage moving eastwards between Stanton by Bridge and The Wiggs. The latter lies within King's Newton township, now part of Melbourne parish.

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<sup>27</sup> Various (eds.), *Domesday text translation*, The University of Hull. [online] Available at: <https://hydra.hull.ac.uk/assets/hull:461/content> [Accessed 20 Apr. 2021]. and discussed by Morgan, P., Thorn, C. and Thorn, F. (under Ingleby in the .rtf file) [online] Available at: <https://hydra.hull.ac.uk/resources/hull:534> [Accessed 20 Apr. 2021].

## THE BOUNDS OF STANTUN ON THE MAP

Figure 5 shows, lightly shaded, how the bounds of Stantun, made up of two separate estates, may have looked on a modern satellite image. The numbered boundary points are those inserted, above on page 5, in the translation from the Old English.



FIGURE 5. SUGGESTED BOUNDS OF STANTUN (S 768)

As seen above, the charter seems to describe:

- to the extreme east, points 3 to 5, the county boundary which is also the eastern boundary of King's Newton and which separates 'Æthered's hill-spur' from Æthered's hill';
- to the extreme west, dark red line after point 8, the parish boundary between Stanton by Bridge and Ingleby;
- in the north, light / dark blue line, the water-meadow floodplain of the River Trent, although the precise line of the river's major channel(s) in the tenth century can only be guesstimated (the light blue line here is now a stream in a palaeochannel, which seems to have been a significant active channel at the time of construction of Swarkestone Bridge, as it was bridged by seven arches).

The line of the described southern boundary (i.e. inland from the Trent) is not entirely clear since, from the valley (i.e. now known as Ramsley Brook) below *æðeredes hoh*, Æthered's hill-spur, we must move up on to the 'hill-spur of the pig'. If it is assumed that this last hill-spur is the one identified above, although there doesn't appear to be any more recent place-name or field-name to confirm it, the question arises as to where we break away from Ramsley Brook and by what route the hill-spur of the pig is attained (and at what point along it).

To the tenth-century Mercian this may have been obvious. For instance it may have been the edge of woodland, heath or common. It is also well known that burial grounds dating from before the development of the parish churches were located near township boundaries. The pagan sixth century burial ground at King's Newton was therefore probably at or near the estate boundary. It seems possible, then, that the bounds of *Stantun* followed Ramsley Brook as far as this point where they then followed what was a probable prehistoric trackway<sup>28</sup> which is now approximately Main Street and Breach Lane. This assumption has been followed in presenting the map in Figure 5.

<sup>28</sup> Todd, M. (1991), *The Coritani*, 2nd ed., Stroud: Alan Sutton Publishing Ltd., p.47 and Fig.10, p.48.

## CONCLUSIONS

Some scholars have suggested that the two charters S 224 and S 768 concerning *Stantun*, held in the Burton Abbey archives, might relate to Stanton and Newhall or Stanton in Peak and Birchover. A summary of the key evidence which has led to the conclusion that they seem more likely to relate to Stanton by Bridge and its neighbour King's Newton is as follows:

1. The bounds of *Stantun*, written in OE, include a boundary point translated as 'Æthered's hill-spur'. Another charter held in the Burton archives, S 749, includes a place-name which translates as 'Æthered's hill', listed in a sequence which suggests that it adjoined Wilson on one side and Diseworth on another, both in North West Leicestershire. Its neighbour to the west, which would include 'Æthered's hill-spur', would then be King's Newton, Derbyshire.
2. The bounds of *Stantun*, include a location which may translate as 'boundary hill-spur', from which the bounds take us, via an adjacent hollow or valley, up to 'Æthered's hill-spur'. This was probably the boundary between two multiple estates. This became, prior to a change in 1965 affecting part of the length, the county boundary separating King's Newton, Derbyshire from Leicestershire.
3. There was an old 'wic' preceding the possible 'boundary hill-spur' which could coincide with the location which bears the name "The Wiggs" on modern maps. This area includes a long inlet from the River Trent, now partly silted up, which could have formed a natural river harbour (one of the meanings of 'wic'). Modern King's Newton, about a mile from The Wiggs, may have developed from Wulfric Spot's *niwantun æt thære wic* (in effect, 'new settlement at the wic' or 'Newton at the Wiggs'). Sawyer gave no explanation of why a location at SK 256 197 (Stanton / Newhall) might have been described as the *alde wic* nor what kind of 'wic' it might have been. Hart suggested, but without further elaboration, that Wye Farm at Stanton in Peak might have been the *alde wic*.
4. There was almost certainly a well-used ford of the River Trent at Stanton by Bridge / Swarkestone before the era of Cordy's Bridge and Swarkestone Bridge (causeway) – see Appendix 7. Bearing in mind the place-name Stanton and the gravel extraction that has taken place, its description as a 'stony ford' (*stanegan ford*), the term used in the bounds of *Stantun*, would not be surprising. In contrast, there is nothing that would need to be forded within the boundaries of Stanton and Newhall discussed by Sawyer. (Hart suggested a ford of the River Wye at Stanton in Peak).
5. A previous paper<sup>29</sup> found that the 66 hides (3 blocks – 20, 15 and 31 hides) of land of the former minster at Breedon on the Hill seemed to correlate with 66 carucates (geld valuation) in DB. This was based on a guess of natural features in the landscape which might have defined the boundaries of these earlier multiple estates. One might therefore expect that the 2 hides in the 2 *Stantun* charters would be represented by a geld valuation of 2 carucates in DB. There were 3 entries in the Derbyshire folios having the vill name *Stantun*. One entry, a single carucate, was in Blackwell wapentake. The other 2 *Stantun* manors were in Walecros wapentake and totalled 2 carucates. One of these (1½ carucates) is normally identified by all commentators as Stanton by Bridge. There is good reason to believe, therefore, that the other ½ carucate estate adjoined it as part of the same vill of *Stantun*. The overall vill total of 2 carucates would then also be consistent with the 2 hides of the charters S 224 and S 768.
6. (King's) Newton was not mentioned by name in DB. Yet the documentary evidence (see Appendix 8) suggests that it was not part of Melbourne (royal vill / parish) at the time of DB. If that were the case, and in the absence through to the present day of any evidence that there had been a parish church in King's Newton, the nearest adjoining Derbyshire vill / parish to which it might have paid relevant dues was Stanton by Bridge.
7. The location of *Stantun* at the modern Stanton by Bridge and King's Newton not only ties in with some boundary points mentioned in S 768 but also can be seen to be more consistent with DB's Walecros wapentake and with the Burton Abbey cartulary than other previously proposed locations (i.e. Stanton and Newhall, Stanton in Peak and Birchover).

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<sup>29</sup> Fawcett, G. (2020), *The Land of Breedon Minster*. [online] Available at: [http://www.thelittlehouseatorthez.com/Land of Breedon Minster 191212.pdf](http://www.thelittlehouseatorthez.com/Land%20of%20Breedon%20Minster%20191212.pdf) [Accessed 13 May 2021].

## FURTHER THOUGHTS

If *Stantun* (as in the two charters S 224 and S 768) is correctly identified as Stanton by Bridge together with King's Newton then there are some implications that might follow.

1. First however there is one implication that follows from *Stantun* being any of the 3 places that have been discussed (Stanton by Newhall, Stanton in Peak, or Stanton by Bridge) in this paper and by others. That is that Æthelflæd (the lady of the Mercians) must have been in a position to grant *Stantun* to 'her faithful friend' Alchelme [S 224] at a date (Sawyer suggests 914) which precedes her re-gaining full authority over the Danish burh at Derby in 917. This contradicts the quite common suggestion that, after A.D. 877, there was a whole geographical region to the north and east of Watling Street, incorporating all of present-day Derbyshire and Leicestershire, which was controlled by Danish rather than Mercian lords. If this had been the case then any of these *Stantuns* would have been beyond the control of the Mercian hierarchy. In reality it seems likely that, in this area, discrete estates were granted to Danish immigrants, rather as implied by Roffe<sup>30</sup> when discussing Burgred and Ceofwulf in the 870s.
2. Æthelflæd was the wife of Æthelred, (sub-)king of Mercia. It is possible, bearing in mind the place-names, that the latter was the direct holder of land that included *æðeredes hōh*, and *æðeredes dun*, i.e. 'Æthered's hill-spur' and 'Æthered's hill'. During his lifetime (he died in 911) they jointly issued a number of charters and she issued charters in her own name after that. Æthered's hill-spur, and the rest of *Stantun*, would then have been granted as 'bookland' out of a royal estate.
3. The two DB *Stantuns* in Derbyshire's Walecros wapentake are probably, as explained in the main text above and in Appendix 3, adjoining parts of the same former block of 2 carucates (cf. the 2 hides) named *Stantun* in the two tenth-century charters – S 224 and S768. If the ½ carucate part of *Stantun* of which Henry de Ferrers was the tenant in chief was at the eastern (i.e. King's Newton) end, it would join on to a solid block of a further 28½ carucates of Henry's land in Leicestershire's Goscote wapentake (see Figure 6).
4. There is now a possible connection, hitherto not understood, between 5 of the charters held by Burton Abbey (numbered 1, 22, 23, 28 and 29 in Sawyer 1979<sup>31</sup> and in brackets in the bulleted list below). The hypothesis would be as follows.

During the period known as the Monastic Revival or the Benedictine Revolution in the late tenth century, there was an attempt to re-create a monastic estate out of parts of the 66 hides of land of the former minster at Breedon on the Hill<sup>32</sup>.

- [1] In about AD 914 Æthelflæd, Lady of the Mercians granted the 2 hides of Stanton by Bridge to a certain Ealhhelm.
- [23] In about AD 968 King Edgar granted the King's Newton part, 1 hide, of Stanton by Bridge to Bishop Wulfric. These two charters (i.e. 1 and 23) were perhaps therefore in the Abbey's archives to provide provenance for Wulfric Spot's gift of *niwantun æt thære wic* to Burton Abbey as in charters 28 and 29.
- [22] Also, about AD 972, Bishop Æthelwold acquired 13 hides around Breedon via King Edgar for the former minster church at Breedon. This land adjoined Bishop Wulfric's land. The Æthelwold charter included the wording "...this gift he may possess for life, having got his wish, and after the end of his life he shall pass it on in reward to whatsoever body of men in holy orders he wishes. None of my successors will ever take away this portion of land from the church of God which is located in Breedune."
- [29] By the time of Wulfric Spot's will (1002 x 1004) it is possible that he had acquired the holdings of Bishop Wulfric and Bishop Æthelwold as well as some other places

<sup>30</sup> Roffe, D. (2006), *The Danes and the Making of the Kingdom of the English*. [online] Available at: <http://www.roffe.co.uk/tohoku.htm> [Accessed on 20 April 2021].

<sup>31</sup> Sawyer, P. (1979), *Charters of Burton Abbey*. Oxford: OUP.

<sup>32</sup> Fawcett, G. (2020), *The Land of Breedon Minster*. [online] Available at: [http://www.thelittlehouseatorhez.com/Land of Breedon Minster 191212.pdf](http://www.thelittlehouseatorhez.com/Land%20of%20Breedon%20Minster%20191212.pdf) [Accessed 13 May 2021].

which had previously been part of Breedon Minster's 66 hides<sup>33</sup>. His will gave the King's Newton part of Stanton by Bridge, now called *niwantun æt thære wic* to Burton Abbey. It also appears that he may have given the 13 hides around Breedon, under the place-names *Wibbetoft* and *Twonge*, – to a relative, for one lifetime, with instructions that they should then be passed on to Burton Abbey. This may be the reason why 22 was in the Abbey's archives.

- [28] King Æthelred confirmed Wulfric Spot's gifts, including the above, to Burton Abbey.

By the time of Domesday Book (1086) and the later Burton Surveys (early twelfth century), none of the land in the preceding bullet points was held by the Abbey. It is not known whether or not either of the two gifts just mentioned came into the Abbey's hands between 1002 and 1086. However, according to Bagshaw's 1846 Trade Directory of Derbyshire, in the entry for Stanton-by-Bridge, "A moiety of the manor, ... had belonged to Burton Abbey ...". Unfortunately, the directory gave no indication of the source of that suggestion and, although it seems, in this and other entries, to use the word 'manor' to mean 'vill' or 'parish', it gave no indication as to whether or not the extent of Stanton-by-Bridge might have altered.

It is possible that both of Wulfric Spot's gifts mentioned in the preceding bullet points did progress into the hands of Burton Abbey but that they became part of a trade-off for land closer than 11 miles from Burton. It is known from other Burton Abbey sources that the considerable estate based on Mickleover (including Littleover, Findern and Potlocks) and their holdings in the borough of Derby were acquired from King William at the same time as other unnamed estates were handed back to him<sup>34</sup>.

5. If King's Newton was seen as part of the vill of Stanton by Bridge in the tenth century, then some later process must have brought it into the modern parish of Melbourne rather than Stanton. Evidence as to how this might have happened is given in Appendix 8.

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<sup>33</sup> Apart from *Wibbetoft*, *Twonge*, and *Niwantun æt thære wic*, possibly *Wædedun* (?), the little estate in the other *Niwantun* (Newton Solney), *Wineshulle* (Winshill), *Suttun* (maybe Southwood / Calke) and *Ticenheale* (Ticknall).

<sup>34</sup> *Monasticon Anglicanum*, 3. p. 47.

## APPENDIX 1 – DISTANCES FROM BURTON

| Place-name                                  | Approx. distance from<br>Burton (miles) |
|---|---|
| Stanton (Newhall), Derbyshire               | 3½                                      |
| Stanton by Bridge, Derbyshire               | 9½                                      |
| Staunton (Harold), Leicestershire           | 12                                      |
| Stanton under Bardon, Leicestershire        | 18                                      |
| Stanton (near Mayfield), Staffordshire      | 20                                      |
| Stanton by Dale, Derbyshire                 | 21                                      |
| Stoney Stanton, Leicestershire              | 28                                      |
| Stanton in Peak, Derbyshire                 | 30                                      |
| Stanton on the Wolds, Nottinghamshire       | 30                                      |
| Stanton Hill, Nottinghamshire               | 33                                      |
| Stanton Ford, Derbyshire                    | 36                                      |
| Stanton (near Shifnal), Shropshire          | 36                                      |
| Staunton in the Vale, Nottinghamshire       | 44                                      |
| Stanton upon Hine Heath, Shropshire         | 49                                      |
| Stanton Long, Shropshire                    | 54                                      |
| Stanton Lacy, Shropshire                    | 62                                      |
| Staunton (near Tewkesbury), Gloucestershire | 72                                      |
| Stanton (near Broadway), Gloucestershire    | 75                                      |
| Staunton on Arrow, Herefordshire            | 77                                      |
| Staunton on Wye, Herefordshire              | 84                                      |
| Staunton (near Monmouth), Gloucestershire   | 92                                      |

## APPENDIX 2 – STANTON / NEWHALL AND STANTON IN PEAK / BIRCHOVER?

S 224 and S 768 are both amongst charters that were in the possession of Burton (upon Trent) Abbey. It is also clear from folios in the Burton cartulary, post-dating DB, that the Abbey held land in Stanton / Newhall as part of the vill of Stapenhill. This is much the nearest of possible Stantons to Burton, as shown in Appendix 1.

At this point, then, Sawyer had sound reasons for proposing that “The carucate at Stanton by Newhall was probably the subject of **1** and **23**.”<sup>35</sup> These are the 2 charters dealing with the 2 hides at *Stantun*. Then when discussing<sup>36</sup> Hart’s view, regarding **23**, that Stanton in Peak with Birchover, fitted the charter bounds, Sawyer added “The possibility that **1** refers to the same estate and Burton’s later interest in Stanton by Newhall are reasons for preferring the identification proposed here.”

As Sawyer’s case for pre-DB *Stantun* being at Stanton and Newhall has been built on post-DB information, one would hope that there might be possibilities for linking these two eras using the extensive data included in DB. Unfortunately, though, this is where the case for Stanton and Newhall runs into some difficulties, predominantly that of reaching an explanation that makes DB and the Burton Surveys consistent.

It is clear that, at DB – say 1086, the Abbey held 4¼ carucates in Stapenhill. At a later date (1114 x 1133) the Burton Surveys<sup>37</sup> suggest that 1 carucate at *Stanton* (spelt with an ‘o’ and normally identified as Stanton by Newhall) had been included in with the Burton Abbey’s neighbouring land of 2 carucates at Stapenhill, together with another neighbour Bersincote, also unnamed in DB, assessed at 1¼ carucates. This block of 4¼ carucates has the same geld valuation as the Abbey’s DB entry under Stapenhill. (Nigel of Stafford was tenant-in-chief of another ¾ carucate at Stapenhill, making a whole number total for the Stapenhill vill of 5 carucates).

There would appear to have been 1 carucate at Stanton by Newhall which was unnamed in DB because it was part of the vill of Stapenhill. However, in addition to this, there are two manors bearing the vill-name *Stantun* (spelt with a *u* rather than an *o*) in Walecros wapentake of Domesday Book (DB) – 1½ carucates having Ernwy as tenant-in-chief, and ½ carucate under Henry de Ferrers.

About a century earlier S 768 described two adjoining estates, also totalling 2 hides / carucates<sup>38</sup>, at a place called *Stantun*. In 1959<sup>39</sup> Cameron seems to have associated one of the DB references to *Stantun* (presumably Ernwy’s manor) with Stanton by Bridge and the other (Henry de Ferrers’) with Stanton by Newhall. He also associated S 768 with the latter, also without further explanation.

What are the implications of this hypothesis? Since the 2 estates named *Stantun* in S 768 obviously adjoin, there are several options which might represent what Cameron (and Sawyer) suggested:

- Between AD 968 and 1086 the two estates making up S 768 have been re-amalgamated and could be represented by Henry de Ferrers’ single ½ carucate estate (rather than 2 hides), which they suggest was at Stanton / Newhall. From the Burton Surveys it is seen that an additional part of Stanton / Newhall must have belonged to Burton Abbey as part of their 4¼ carucates in the vill of Stapenhill (and therefore not named Stanton in DB). That is to say, Burton’s land in Stapenhill (including Bersincote, Stanton and the later-named Newhall) was 4¼ carucates in both DB and the Burton Surveys and can’t, therefore, have included any part of Henry de Ferrers’ estate at the time of the former. On this hypothesis there was a part of Stanton in Burton’s part of the vill of Stapenhill, plus a small DB vill, having a fractional (½ carucate) geld assessment, called *Stantun* at Stanton and Newhall as well as another Walecros vill called *Stantun* at Stanton by Bridge also with a fractional geld assessment (1½ carucates). or

<sup>35</sup> Sawyer, P. (1979). *Charters of Burton Abbey*. Oxford: OUP, p.xlvi.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid., p.39.

<sup>37</sup> Wrottesley, G. (1884). An Abstract of the Contents of the Burton Chartulary. *Collections for a History of Staffordshire*, 5(1), pp.1-104.

<sup>38</sup> Fawcett, G. (2020), *The Land of Breedon Minster*. [online] Available at: [http://www.thelittlehouseatorthez.com/Land of Breedon Minster 191212.pdf](http://www.thelittlehouseatorthez.com/Land%20of%20Breedon%20Minster%20191212.pdf) [Accessed 13 May 2021].

<sup>39</sup> Cameron, K. (1959), *The Place-Names of Derbyshire*. v.29, pt.3. Nottingham: EPNS, p.659.

- Between AD 968 and 1086 the two estates making up S 768 remained distinct at Stanton / Newhall. One of these was Henry de Ferrers' single  $\frac{1}{2}$  carucate estate (rather than 2 hides). The other  $1\frac{1}{2}$  carucates or hides had been acquired by Burton Abbey, re-assessed at 1 carucate, and incorporated into the Abbey's Stapenhill estate. On this hypothesis there was again a small DB vill, having a fractional ( $\frac{1}{2}$  carucate) geld assessment, called *Stantun* at Stanton and Newhall as well as another Walecros vill called *Stantun* at Stanton by Bridge also with a fractional geld assessment ( $1\frac{1}{2}$  carucates). or
- Between AD 968 and 1086 the two estates making up S 768 remained distinct at Stanton / Newhall and neither was mentioned by name as they were part of the vill of Stapenhill. One carucate then had Burton Abbey as tenant in chief, while the other presumably came under Nigel of Stafford. Under this hypothesis the location of Henry de Ferrers' *Stantun* then remains unidentified. Some commentators might be saying that it, also, was at Stanton and Newhall – if so, we have 3 parts, one of which again would have been a small DB vill, having a fractional ( $\frac{1}{2}$  carucate) geld assessment, called *Stantun* at Stanton and Newhall as well as another Walecros vill called *Stantun* at Stanton by Bridge also with a fractional geld assessment ( $1\frac{1}{2}$  carucates).

Of the two Walecros *Stantuns*, if just Henry de Ferrers' *Stantun* were to be at Stanton by Newhall, the latter would then consist of two (at least – see Appendix 3) holdings under different tenants-in-chief totalling  $1\frac{1}{2}$  carucates, with Stanton by Bridge (held by Ernwy) also being  $1\frac{1}{2}$  carucates. This, as will be demonstrated later, in Appendix 3, would leave two unexplained fractional vills. It would also mean that neither Stanton by Bridge nor Stanton by Newhall would be consistent with the *Stantun* of 2 hides in S 224 and S 768 (presuming hide and carucate values to be the same which seems to be the case in this area).

Unfortunately, the case for *Stantun* being Stanton by Newhall is also hampered by the lack of evidence of consistency with probably 5 of the clues listed above on page 5.

Secondly, the case for Stanton in Peak and Birchover is limited by the lack of connection with, and its distance away from, Burton Abbey. Hart made this suggestion which has other real problems:

- Stanton in Peak was in Blackwell wapentake as evidenced by Henry de Ferrers' 1 carucate holding there, which was clearly in a sequence which was geographically Blackwell. The  $\frac{1}{2}$  carucate estate which we are interested in here was also Henry de Ferrers' yet, in its sequence, it appears to be in Walecros wapentake.
- To place it in Stanton in Peak would leave that vill with a fractional total of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  carucates.

## APPENDIX 3 – STANTUN IN DOMESDAY BOOK

The part of Derbyshire which was south of the River Trent, according to the consensus view, was called Walecros wapentake in Domesday Book (DB). Places in the DB folios for Derbyshire are arranged according to who was tenant in chief in 1086 without, in most cases, information as to wapentake other than the sequence in which they appear. Under each tenant in chief there was a list of his manors, normally under the name of the vill (parish) in which they were situated, with some details of their resources. There is some evidence (see pages 37 and 38 below) that, although churches are not identified other than those lying in royal vill, the Walecros vill was also the ecclesiastical parishes that existed at the time.

Where an estate was part of a larger vill it was not normally distinctively named but was assigned the name of the vill (e.g. Ticknall, Ingleby, etc.). Also, where an estate included more than one settlement, the settlement names were often not written up in DB, as Roffe<sup>40</sup> has pointed out:

“Independent documentation frequently indicates that an estate or vill name stands for a number of hamlets and villages and archaeology has further demonstrated that hidden habitations are legion.”

For DB place-names that are no longer in use and for common place-names (e.g. Sutton, Stanton, Newton) this all means that other, non-DB, information may be needed in order to identify their geographical location.

The Derbyshire folios include 3 estates under the place-name *Stantun*, plus 1 named *Stanton* and 1 *Stanleji*. (In addition Staunton Harold, just over the border in Leicestershire, was a *Stanton*):

- The estate at *Stanton* is listed with Ilkeston, Hallam and Breaston and had Gilbert of Ghent as its tenant-in-chief. It must, from geographical reasoning, have been at Stanton by Dale in Morleystone wapentake. Together with the other 3 places it consisted of 7 carucates.
- One of the three estates under the place-name *Stantun* is included in a sequence of manors – Pilsley, Longstone, Stanton, Birchover, and Harthill – having Henry de Ferrers as tenant-in-chief. This seems therefore to have been at Stanton in Peak, in Blackwell wapentake, consisting of 1 carucate.
- The other 2 estates under the place-name *Stantun*, one of which was also Henry de Ferrers', have generally been considered from context to have both been in Walecros wapentake, i.e. that part of Derbyshire south of the River Trent.

For geld purposes, these last two *Stantun* estates were assessed at  $1\frac{1}{2}$  and  $\frac{1}{2}$  carucates respectively. They had different tenants in chief in 1086 and different lords in 1066. It is therefore not directly possible to see whether they adjoined under a single vill place-name or were geographically separate. Looking in more detail:

- The tenant in chief of the larger of the two ( $1\frac{1}{2}$  carucates) was Ernwy, who also had a very small estate in Ingleby (one twelfth of a carucate), as part of the same block of land, of which the DB text says “it lies in *Stantun*” – this *Stantun* is therefore normally identified with Ingleby's neighbour Stanton by Bridge in Walecros wapentake. By its size and the anomalous nature of the civil and ecclesiastical parish boundary to this day, the small Ingleby estate can possibly be identified as the land at Cobby Hill (SK 354255).
- The remaining estate under the place-name *Stantun* was valued at  $\frac{1}{2}$  carucate, was held by Henry de Ferrers, and was listed in a sequence that probably places it also in Walecros.

One point to note, though, is that fractional carucates only normally occur when subdivision into separate tenancies has taken place at some earlier date; if the subdivided parts are summed a whole number of carucates is found. So, in Walecros:-

- the 2 different entries for Stapenhille ( $4\frac{1}{4}$  and  $\frac{3}{4}$ ) add up to 5 carucates,
- the 3 entries for Tichenhalle ( $\frac{2}{3}$ ,  $\frac{7}{3}$  and 1) add up to 4 carucates,
- the 4 entries for Englebi ( $\frac{1}{12}$ ,  $\frac{3}{8}$ ,  $\frac{3}{8}$  and  $\frac{7}{6}$ ) add up to 2 carucates, and
- the 2 entries for Trangesbi / Trangesby ( $\frac{1}{2}$  and  $\frac{1}{2}$ ) add up to 1 carucate.

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<sup>40</sup> Roffe, D. (2007). Paperback ed. 2015. *Decoding Domesday*. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, p.189.

The only other fractional entries in Walecros are three – Achetorp, Stantun and Stantun. Firstly there was  $\frac{3}{4}$  carucate of waste land at Achetorp, i.e. Oakthorpe. There is no  $\frac{1}{4}$  carucate complement for this but neighbouring Donisthorpe was also waste amounting to 1 geldable carucate. Furthermore these villages are amongst a number which were intermingled with Leicestershire right up to the second half of the twentieth century. Donisthorpe had a separate small estate (1 carucate also waste) in Leicestershire. While the Walecros figures give a fractional total of geldable carucates there may have been confusion here for two reasons – the intermingling with Leicestershire, which was in a different DB circuit under a different set of commissioners, and the fact that, at the time of the DB survey, this area was waste, i.e. no land in cultivation. A possible resolution of the anomalous figures may come from the fact that both Oakthorpe and Donisthorpe, ‘waste’ in their DB Walecros entries, were said to only have land for  $\frac{1}{2}$  carucate each, i.e. a total of 1 carucate.

The remaining two estates in Walecros that were given unexplained fractional entries in DB were those mentioned above, assessed at  $1\frac{1}{2}$  carucates and  $\frac{1}{2}$  carucate respectively, both having the place-name *Stantun*. Rather than these being two geographically separate *Stantuns* as is sometimes assumed (e.g. Stanton by Bridge and Stanton by Newhall), it seems very possible that they made up a subdivided single vill totalling ( $1\frac{1}{2}$  plus  $\frac{1}{2}$  equals) 2 carucates. Since the carucates in the Walecros geld assessments seem as if they are the same as the hidage assessments from earlier charters<sup>41</sup>, it is possible that the two DB entries make up the same *Stantun* as the 2 hides in the two tenth century charters [S 224 and S 768].

Some historians suggest that the  $\frac{1}{2}$  carucate estate named *Stantun* was at Stanton, by Newhall. Geographically Stanton (of Stanton and Newhall) is in Walecros but is located mid-way between Drakelow and Hearthcote which are named as a single manor in Domesday Book (Drachelauue & Hedcote) valued at 4 carucates. There was clearly no odd  $\frac{1}{2}$  carucate which could account for (part of) Stanton by Newhall having been granted out of the Drakelow and Hearthcote vill.

Stapenhill Ancient Parish also included the later Caldwell Civil Parish and Stanton and Newhall Civil Parish. In DB Caldwell is separately listed under Burton Abbey with a geld assessment of 2 carucates. Newhall does not feature separately in DB and first appears by name in the historic record in about 1150<sup>42</sup>. The vill (parish) of Stapenhill had 2 estates – Burton Abbey’s at  $4\frac{1}{4}$  carucates and Nigel of Stafford’s at  $\frac{3}{4}$  carucate. Again, if *Stantun* was the Stanton adjacent to Newhall, there was no odd  $\frac{1}{2}$  carucate which could account for Henry de Ferrers’ *Stantun* having been granted as a separate manor out of Stapenhill. Nor is there any historical indication that a part of Stanton by Newhall ever became a separate vill or parish.

It is possible that confusion has resulted from Bridgeman’s work<sup>43</sup> on the early twelfth-century surveys in the Burton Abbey cartulary. It is known that Burton Abbey had 1 geldable carucate in Stanton (by Newhall). In two contradictory statements Bridgeman says:-

p. 294

"At STAPENHILL (Stapehull, Stapenhull) ... There is here an apparent discrepancy between the Burton Abbey Surveys and Domesday, where the assessment given is 4 carucates and 2 bovates. But it is only an apparent one, the explanation being that Domesday includes under Stapenhill the 10 bovates at Brisincote and the one carucate at Stanton."

[N.B. The Surveys show that the Abbot held 2 carucates of land at Stapenhill itself, 10 bovates at Brisincote, and 1 carucate at Stanton. With 8 bovates to the carucate, this adds up to the Abbot's  $4\frac{1}{4}$  carucates shown in DB under Stapenhill – another Stapenhill estate in DB was  $\frac{3}{4}$  carucate, making a Stapenhill total of 5 carucates]. Then Bridgeman goes on shortly afterwards:-

p. 296

"STANTON (Stantona) is described in Survey B as in defence for, and in Survey A as consisting of, one carucate held by Geoffrey de Clinton for 10s. and tithes. This seems to be the place which in Domesday appears as Stanton under the land of Henry de Ferrers, where however it was assessed at only half a carucate."

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<sup>41</sup> Fawcett, G. (2020), *The Land of Breedon Minster*. [online] Available at: <http://www.thelittlehouseatorthez.com/Land of Breedon Minster 191212.pdf> [Accessed 13 May 2021].

<sup>42</sup> Cameron, K. (1959), *The Place-Names of Derbyshire*. v.29, pt.3. Nottingham: EPNS, p.660.

<sup>43</sup> Bridgeman, C. (1916). *The Burton Abbey Twelfth Century Surveys. Collections for a History of Staffordshire*. pp.209-300.

In the first quote Bridgeman says that, in Domesday Book, one carucate at Stanton (by Newhall) was not separately listed but was included in Burton Abbey's estate at Stapenhill. In the second he says, in contradiction, that the single carucate at Stanton was not part of Burton Abbey's estate at Stapenhill in DB but was a separate ½ carucate estate in the land of Henry de Ferrers. For this latter statement to be the case then presumably, in the 30 years between DB and Survey B,

- it would not only have had to have found its way from Henry's into Burton Abbey's hands but also to have been re-assessed for taxation at twice its former size (1 rather than ½ carucate); but also
- Stapenhill (with Bersincote) – 3¼ carucates according to the Surveys – must have somehow inexplicably reduced by 1 carucate, from 4¼ carucates, in the 30 or so years since DB.

The first of Bridgeman's contradictory statements therefore seems to be the more reasonable and has been accepted by others, but not without confusion, e.g.:-

"This estate was assessed at 4 carucates and 2 bovates in 1086 and seems to be represented in the Burton Abbey Surveys (Bridgeman, pp. 238-40) by 2 carucates at Stapenhill, 10 bovates at Bersincote (Brizlincote, SK273220: Place-Names of Derbyshire, iii. pp. 623-24) and 1 carucate at Stanton; see the Burton Cartulary (Wrottesley, 'Burton Chartulary', pp. 23, 29)."<sup>44</sup>

However, the Hull studies from which this text is quoted go on to suggest that there was another part of Stanton by Newhall, seemingly a whole manor and vill amounting to ½ carucate, which was held by Henry de Ferrers. This ½ carucate was not then part of Stapenhill. The confusion is ongoing since the same view seems to have been adopted by Roffe<sup>45</sup> when he noted the equivalence of the DB valuation (10 shillings, a fairly common figure) of Henry's ½ carucate at *Stantun* and the rent paid by Geoffrey de Clinton to Burton Abbey for his 1 carucate at Stanton by Newhall, as recorded in the two Burton Surveys.

The evidence above, and continued below, doesn't support these views.

So, let's look a little further. There is good evidence that there were indeed two (n.b. not three) parts to Stanton (and Newhall) in the early twelfth century, the second of which was probably incorporated in the smaller DB manor in the vill of Stapenhill. (It is quite normal in DB for smaller settlements, hamlets, townships and chapelries to not be separately named but to be included under the name of the vill to which they pertained). Evidence is recorded, not in DB but in Folio 17 of the Burton cartulary<sup>46</sup>, that in the time of Burton's Abbot Nigel (died May 1113) Geoffrey de Clinton was the lord of another part of Stapenhill which included part of the township of Stanton (by Newhall) under a different tenant in chief, not there named. He made an agreement with Abbot Nigel in which he became lord (i.e. sub-tenant) of the part of Stanton of which Burton Abbey was tenant in chief in exchange for which he gave the church (named as Stapenhill, not Stanton) and 10 shillings in rent. It seems likely that he had been paying such rent to the Abbey at an earlier date than this agreement. This agreement resulted in the Abbey, via Stapenhill church, now receiving the tithes of both parts of Stanton.

To summarise up to this point – there were two parts of Stanton, both in Stapenhill vill, and also in Stapenhill parish since it received tithes from both. The church must have been in Nigel of Stafford's Stapenhill manor of ¾ carucate and not in Burton Abbey's manor (4¼ carucates). Geoffrey did a deal with Abbot Nigel in which he gifted the church to the latter, bringing the Abbot the tithes of all 5 carucates of Stapenhill. However, the land in the Abbey's fee still only included part of Stanton.

It is also known from the Liber Feodorum, under 1242 – 1243, that the Abbot of Burton only held part of Stanton at that date:

"Elemosina. Abbas de Burton' tenet totam villam de Stapehhul, Bergecote, medietatem de Stanton', Caudwell', Wyneshol', medietatem de Appilby, in capite de rege in pura elemosina."

<sup>44</sup> Morgan, P., Thorn, C. and Thorn, F. (under Stapenhill in the .rtf file) [online] Available at: <https://hydra.hull.ac.uk/resources/hull:534> [Accessed 20 Apr. 2021].

<sup>45</sup> Roffe, D. (2007). Paperback ed. 2015. *Decoding Domesday*. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, p.243.

<sup>46</sup> Wrottesley, G. (1884). An Abstract of the Contents of the Burton Chartulary. *Collections for a History of Staffordshire*, 5(1), p.32. (available as .pdf) but also [online] Available at: <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/staffs-hist-collection/vol5/pt1/pp18-34> [Accessed 20 Apr. 2021].

Part of this appears to be describing what had been gifted by King William I (or predecessors and successors) at Stapenhill etc. and talks of “medietatem de Stanton” or “half of Stanton”.

The two Burton Surveys (1114 x 1133) seem to show that Burton Abbey’s part of Stanton (1 carucate) was included in their fee of  $4\frac{1}{4}$  carucates entered in DB, without mention of the Stanton place-name, under the vill of Stapenhill. It seems more than likely, then, that Geoffrey de Clinton’s other part of Stanton would, at the time of DB, have been in the other,  $\frac{3}{4}$  carucate, part of Stapenhill of which Nigel of Stafford, not Henry de Ferrers, was tenant in chief. After all, it appears to have paid tithes to Stapenhill church. If Henry de Ferrers’ *Stantun* had also been (an isolated holding) in Stanton / Newhall, it would have been some sort of strange extra-parochial enclave within the geographical vill of Stapenhill yet having full manor / vill status. In the absence of a church having ever existed in Stanton, tithes would presumably still have had to be paid at Stapenhill and it is unclear how the former might have attracted vill status.

The later position, recorded in the Papal Bull (Folio 7) of 1185, is that the Abbey then received all the tithes from the chapelry of Newhall (Nova Aula) and all the tithes from Stanton, which had no mention of either church or chapel.

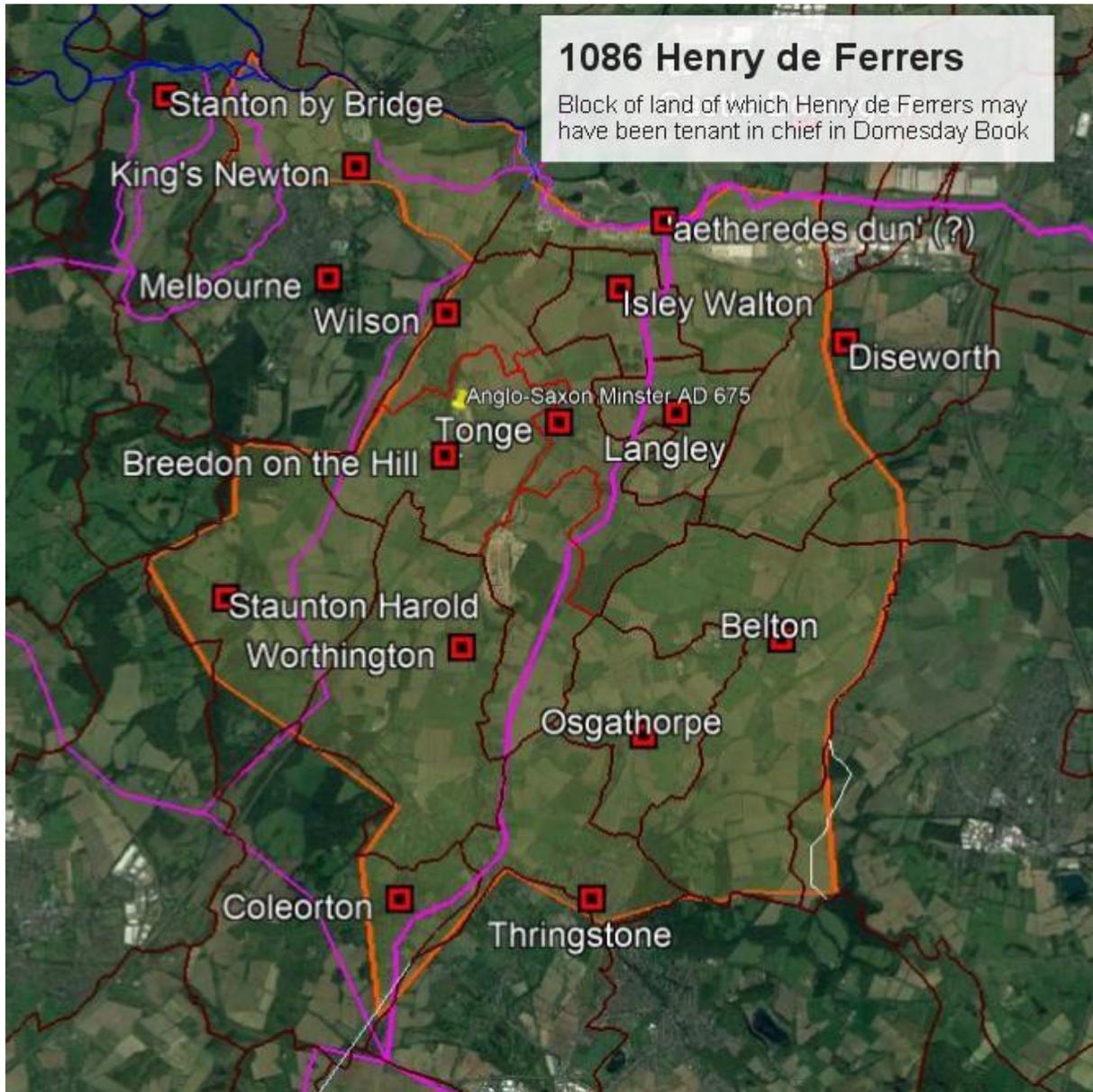
Stanton would not have been included by name in DB because it was only a settlement not a separate vill or parish. It remained as part of the Ancient Parish of Stapenhill, only as a settlement connected to the chapelry of Newhall, until comparatively recent times. Geographically, Stanton remains wholly in the ecclesiastical parish of St Peter, Stapenhill.

The likelihood of Henry de Ferrers having a third part of Stanton at the time of DB seems very slim indeed. It would have to be a sort of enclave within Stapenhill, with a different status, i.e. named as a very small (fractional) churchless vill, in comparison with the other two parts which were in Stapenhill vill. It would additionally seem to introduce unexplained fractional geld totals for the geographical vicinity of Stapenhill Ancient Parish. One might then also imagine that the Abbey’s land at Stanton / Newhall would have been described as ‘a third part of’, rather than ‘half of’, Stanton.

There are therefore several reasons why Henry de Ferrers’ fractional,  $\frac{1}{2}$  carucate, estate named ‘*Stantun*’ (n.b. spelt with a ‘u’ rather than the ‘o’ of all the early spellings of Stanton by Newhall) seems unlikely to have been at Stanton (by Newhall).

Once one accepts this point it can be seen that there is a more logical possibility which resolves the problem of the remaining fractional estates in Walecros wapentake.

It need not be seen as any coincidence that the only other fractional assessment ( $1\frac{1}{2}$  carucates) in Walecros wapentake that otherwise doesn’t have a complementary fraction is also called ‘*Stantun*’! This larger estate bearing the name *Stantun*, because of the details of the DB wording for this and for a very small estate in neighbouring Ingleby, is generally recognised as the present-day Stanton by Bridge. Together with Henry de Ferrers’ *Stantun* of  $\frac{1}{2}$  carucate they would comprise a vill of 2 carucates containing two estates. If Henry’s part of *Stantun* was Newton (that later became King’s Newton), not named separately in the DB entry because it was a small estate still considered part of the vill of *Stantun*, cf. neighbouring Ticknall and Ingleby, then it was part of a large single block of land for which Henry was tenant in chief and which had, in earlier centuries, made up part of the land that had been controlled by the minster at Bredun (see Figure 6 below in which the outer boundary lines are only approximate). That is to say, it would not have been an isolated Henry de Ferrers estate.



**FIGURE 6. SUGGESTED BLOCK OF HENRY DE FERRERS' LAND IN DOMESDAY BOOK**

This could now connect us to the *Stantun* of the two tenth century charters (also spelt with a 'u') which was assessed as 2 hides and had become divided into two estates as a result of the second of the charters (albeit 1 + 1 hides rather than the 1½ + ½ carucates of DB).

Bearing in mind other evidence, is there any argument for looking elsewhere than Stanton by Bridge or immediately adjoining it?

## APPENDIX 4 – THE LOCATION OF ÆTHEREDES DUN

We know of a place called *æðeredes dun*, i.e. 'Æthered's hill', from another charter of King Edgar, from A.D. 972, also held by Burton Abbey, i.e. S 749. In this charter the King gave 13 "cassati", normally translated as 'hides', of land adjacent to Breedon (on the Hill) to Bishop Æthelwold. It contains the words:-

Nullus successorum meorum ipsius terre portionem ab ecclesia dei que in Breodune sita est numquam presumptuosus auferat . Et est autem predicta tellus hiis locis compta . iii . videlicet cassati æt Æbredone . et . iii . æt WifelesÐorpe . (iii) . æt Æperedes dune . iiiii . scilicet æt Digpeswyrpe .

In modern English this might be (my translation)

None of my successors will ever take away this portion of land from the church of God which is located in Breodune. And it is moreover the aforesaid land that consists of 3 cassati at Æbredone, and 3 at Wifeles Thorpe, 3 at Ætheredes dune, 4 at Digtheswyrthe. [In which I have anglicised the Ð, ð (eth) and Þ, þ (thorn) characters<sup>47</sup>].

Note that the final 'e' of each of these place-names is the dative form referring to Breedon, Æbredon, Wifelesthorp<sup>48</sup>, Ætheredes dun, and Digtheswyrth<sup>49</sup>. Most commentators seem to agree on the locations of all but one of the places named in this gift – Ætheredes dun. With respect to the latter:

- Stenton said "The site of Ætheredes dun is no longer known".
- Hart<sup>50</sup> said that it was Atterton, without further explanation, although it is 15 miles away from the other named places.
- Sawyer<sup>51</sup> put a question mark against Atterton but provided no additional discussion or suggestions.
- Brown<sup>52</sup> suggested that it was a block of land that might be termed 'greater' Isley Walton, the latter lying between Wilson and Diseworth. He said, however, that there was no surviving comparable place-name nor any field or furlong name.
- Fawcett<sup>53</sup> broadly agreed with Brown and provided evidence of a topographical *dūn* and support for a variant of the place-name via a thirteenth-century document (reiterated below).

None of the above has suggested any reason why *Ætheredes dun* might have been Atterton other than it being in Leicestershire and having a rough similarity in spelling. It seems a highly unlikely proposition since it is 15 miles from the other places mentioned. Furthermore the words of the charter suggest that the 13 cassati are a single block of land ("*terre portionem*" and, earlier in the charter "*ruris particulam*") in a district or multiple estate known as *Breodun*.

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<sup>47</sup> Note that, although eth and thorn were often used interchangeably, eth sometimes transitioned into 'd' in modern English as well as into 'th'.

<sup>48</sup> This is normally assumed to be the first reference to the township of Wilson, or part of it. By the mid twelfth century Wilson had a 'ton' or 'tun' ending, the -thorp having disappeared from the record. The Wifel, Wivel, etc. remained until the fourteenth century and the v/f consonant finally disappeared in the early 1400s. The 'es' after 'Wifel' was the genitive, i.e. Wifel's. Wifel is said to be an OE (rather than Scandinavian) personal name. Cox, B. (2016), *The Place-Names of Leicestershire*. v.91, pt.7. Nottingham: EPNS, p.43. Brown, A.E. (2003). The Lost Village of Andreschurch, *Trans. Leicestershire Archaeol. and Hist. Soc.*, 76, pp.6-7.

<sup>49</sup> The first part of this place-name is said to be an OE (rather than Scandinavian) personal name 'Digoð'. It has descended, via a whole variety of spellings, to the present-day Diseworth. Diseworth was later (Leicestershire Survey) in the hands of 3 different lords – the territory of one of them being in Breedon parish (see Breedon Cartulary, and William Lilly's autobiography c. 1668). It seems likely, then, that the 4 hides in this charter were on the Breedon side of Diseworth, i.e. the western rather than the eastern side. Cox, B. (2016), *The Place-Names of Leicestershire*. v.91, pt.7. Nottingham: EPNS, p.117.

<sup>50</sup> Hart, C. (1975), *The Early Charters of Northern England and the North Midlands*. Leicester: LUP, p.69.

<sup>51</sup> Electronic Sawyer. [online] Available at: <https://esawyer.lib.cam.ac.uk/charter/749.html#> [Accessed 20 Apr. 2021].

<sup>52</sup> Brown, A.E. (2003). The Lost Village of Andreschurch, *Trans. Leicestershire Archaeol. and Hist. Soc.*, 76, p.7.

<sup>53</sup> Fawcett, G. (2020), *The Land of Breedon Minster*. [online] Available at: <http://www.thelittlehouseatorthez.com/Land of Breedon Minster 191212.pdf> [Accessed 13 May 2021].

Returning to Edgar's charter, there is a deliberate distinction between *Breodun* and *Æbredon*. In Old English (OE), the addition, as a prefix, of *Æ* or *A* to another word often denotes a negative, deteriorating or opposite signification, such as 'from', 'away', 'out', 'without', etc.<sup>54</sup> (This continues to some degree into modern English, e.g. 'moral', 'amoral'). The place-name *Æbredon*, in which the *Æ* prefix is added to one of the spellings of Breedon, may therefore signify 'outside the hill', 'not the hill' or 'not the multiple estate called Breedon'. Moreover, the place-name *Æbredon* has 3 cassati, while all 13 cassati are said, earlier in the charter, to be in *Breodun*! Thus the charter seems to make a naming distinction between a district or multiple estate known as *Breodun* and the village *Æbredon* within it. This *Æbredon* might perhaps have been the land that became Andreschurch (see Brown<sup>55</sup>) – the present-day village core of Breedon (i.e. below the hill) and an area of township land around it. It is also possible that the 3 cassati of *Æbredon* included the township of Tonge which was a relatively small area and was not separately named here.

A E Brown, in discussing this charter, suggests that there is a clockwise sequence of townships involved and that *Ætheredes dun* was 'greater Isley Walton', i.e. Isley Walton<sup>56</sup> plus an additional area later absorbed into Castle Donington.

The nineteenth century Isley Walton parish boundary is shown in Figure 7 below. However, the parish consists of a pair of hill spurs, i.e. perhaps 2 'hoh's rather than 1 'dun' (see Gelling). Nor does its neighbour on the east, Wavertoft, seem to contain a 'dun'. The Figure shows the probable extent of Wavertoft based on a fine<sup>57</sup> of 1619 which says that the manor consisted of 100 acres of land, 100 of meadow, 200 of pasture, and 20 of wood plus a messuage, garden, and orchard which was, by then, considered to be part of Castle Donington. The area amounted to 420 acres plus the area of the messuage, garden, and orchard; the shaded area in the Figure amounts to 453 acres.

This having been said, it is clear that there is an area of land here, with the present-day township of Isley Walton on its edge, which very much fits Gelling's description of a 'dun'. In Figure 7, the land above (approximately) the 275 foot and 300 foot contours are shown differently shaded. The pink lines show the watershed lines – two ridges. Where they meet is the highest point at about 330 feet, so it is clear that the area contained within the 275 foot contour is a large hilltop plateau of about 2½ square miles within which there is no more than about 55 feet variation in altitude.

This block of land connects the Wilson township boundary to Diseworth's boundary.

Also shown In Figure 7:-

- The dark red lines are modern (nineteenth-century) parish boundaries.
- The bright red lines are township boundaries between Breedon, Wilson and Tonge within the Lordship of Breedon at enclosure (A.D. 1758).
- The pale blue lines are probable route ways that existed during the tenth century. Of these, the westernmost became the county boundary.
- The mid-blue line from the northern end of the latter is a bank and ditch which also became the county boundary. Although it has never been excavated it might have been a 'cross ridge dyke' (i.e. Bronze Age, possibly into Iron Age). Alternatively it could have been an ancient boundary, pre-dating the counties.

There is no land above 275 feet in altitude to the north or east of the shaded area, as the land falls to the Trent and Soar. To the west the land is below 275 feet until past the settlement core of Stanton by Bridge. To the south, following the north – south ridge (shown as a pink line) there is a saddle point, at an altitude of about 260 feet, near where the ridge crosses the Isley Walton parish boundary. Beyond this to the south the land rises above 275 feet, and much more, as one moves further away from the Trent. For instance, the top of Breedon Hill is around about 400 feet above datum. Please note that, for clarity, none of this higher ground south of the possible area of *Ætheredes dun* is shown shaded.

<sup>54</sup> Bosworth, J. & Toller, T. (1898). *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, p.8.

<sup>55</sup> Brown, A.E. (2003). The Lost Village of Andreschurch, *Trans. Leicestershire Archaeol. and Hist. Soc.*, 76.

<sup>56</sup> The place-name Isley Walton first appears in the historic record as Waletona in 1185, in connection with the Knights Templars, with the Isley added by the early fourteenth century. The meaning of this place-name, i.e. 'the settlement of the British', i.e. not Anglo-Saxons, suggests that the settlement dates from much earlier than 1185.

<sup>57</sup> Fine, Mich., 17 James I, 1619.

To put this possible location of Ætheredes dun into its known historical and archaeological context, Figure 7 also shows known sites and findspots from the tenth century or earlier. Where these are densely clustered not all of them appear with their captions. There are two locations of this type in particular. Firstly, there is Breedon Hill where there have been many prehistoric finds dating from the Mesolithic through to the Iron Age (n.b. it was an IA 'hillfort') and the hill was also the core site of a minster from about A.D. 675. The other area of high find density is at the western end of the land within the 275 foot contour in the vicinity of a place later known as Castle Hill. This location has yielded finds from every period from Mesolithic to Romano-British; indeed the Google satellite view (particularly the 1999 & 2001 imagery) hints at the possibility that there was a 'hillfort' here<sup>58</sup>.

Returning to Ætheredes dun, if this is it, we may only speculate as to the precise extent of its bounds but it seems possible that its western boundary would have been the same as the boundary that subsequently became the Derbyshire / Leicestershire border and which was possibly the boundary of the older Breedon multiple estate. The county boundary follows, for about 2½ miles, a Roman or prehistoric road that presumably led to a river (Trent) crossing or port.

A second possibility regarding the western boundary is that it followed the straight line extension of the aforementioned road, which coincides with the main hill-spur, down to the River Trent at Kings Mills. There was a ferry here into recent times and it seems possible that there would also have been an earlier ford in this locality. However, to be wary, this location became complicated by a wier, a mill leet, and a canal cut.

The eastern extent of Ætheredes dun may have been to the "Thingou" near Finger Farm.

Some of this area that may have been Ætheredes dun later became part of Castle Donington's open field system. Much more recently, the motor racing circuit at Donington Park and East Midlands Airport have taken advantage of this plateau.

In S 749 it appears that Ætheredes dun had 3 ploughlands. Note that any settlement core (if there was one) and ploughlands would probably only have made up about ¼ of the area of the estate; the remaining ¾ could have been made up of pasture, woodland etc. A possible implication is that there was a 3 field rotation in operation by that date. These 3 ploughlands could have been adjoining each other although they were not necessarily clustered around a nucleated settlement (see Oosthuizen, p. 162). Two possibilities come to mind:-

- These 3 open or common fields had a nucleated settlement (perhaps in the neighbourhood of Hill Top Farm) in order that they might be accessed with reasonable convenience by the plough teams (up to about ½ mile distant). At a later date the nucleated settlement disappeared in favour of Isley Walton or Castle Donington from either of which the ploughlands were accessible.
- Another possibility is that, in transition from dispersed to nucleated settlement in the period between the seventh and tenth centuries, the 3 ploughlands of Ætheredes dun developed in the absence of nucleation.

Either way, it is clear from later evidence that ploughlands within the area that was probably Ætheredes dun, and situated in the likely looking area (see Figure) extending from Hill Top into the airport, came to be managed from Castle Donington. The first OS map surveyed in the 1820s shows this area labelled as Donington Field, but records from 1669 and 1778 show that it was part of Donington's Stonehill Field (others being Park Field and Trent Field).

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<sup>58</sup> There is other evidence in support of this possibility.

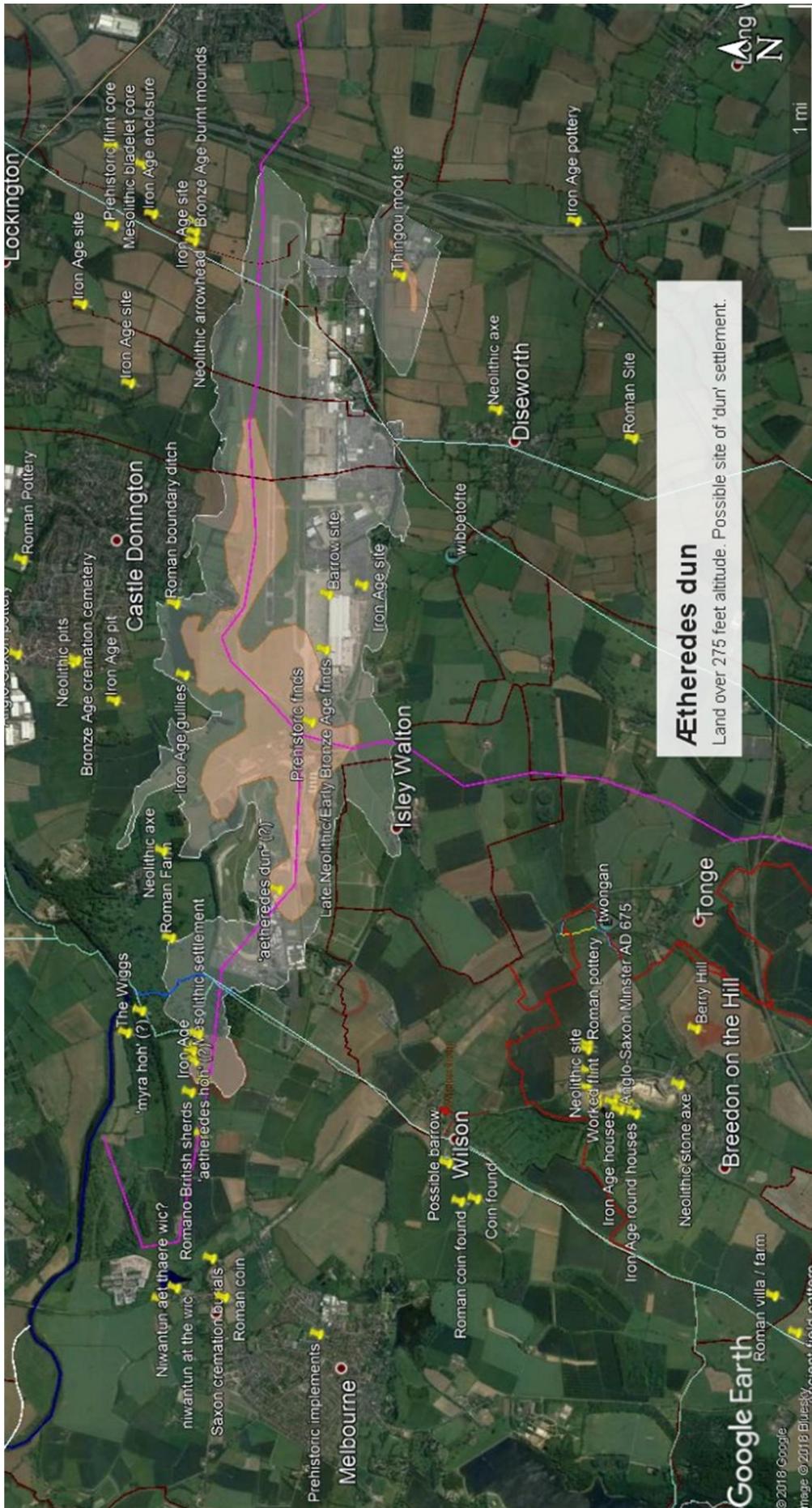


FIGURE 7. ÆTHEREDES DUN

As already mentioned, A E Brown has suggested that Ætheredes dun may perhaps have been part of a unit that also included Isley Walton. However, there is a strong suggestion from later parish and field boundaries, as can be seen in Figure 7, that Isley Walton was once part of an estate that also included Wartoft Grange (thirteenth-century Wavertoft). Neither of these are hitherto known from the historic record before the late twelfth century – however, the place-name Walton hints at an older history; and it is possible that Wavertoft was, 200 years earlier, Wulfric Spot's 'wibbetoft' (dative wibbetofte), which he gave [S 1536] to Æthelric with another township, 'twonge' (dative twongan), for life, after which it was to go to Burton Abbey. If this is the case and if 'twonge' became 'tunge', Leicestershire, by the time of Domesday Book (1086), then wibbetoft and twonge, alias Wavertoft and Tonge, would have been adjoining estates (i.e. before the foundation of Langley Priory). The OE placenames (in the dative) are shown, at the present day locations with which they might be associated, in Figure 7.

Ætheredes dun, as a place-name, has since disappeared from the historic record. There is, however, a reference that may be relevant in a charter of Isolda Pantulf dated 1247 but confirming the gift of land from her grandfather William Pantulf (in about 1150) to the nuns from Farewell Priory, Staffs., for the foundation of Langley Priory<sup>59</sup>. My translation from the Latin text of the relevant phrase is:-

... from the gift of William Pantulf the whole wood of Langeley, and whatever the same William had from the ditch / bank next to the well / spring / stream of Thoftes all the way to the boundary of Digesworth and Edredeland ...

'Eadred' seems to have been a Latinised form of Æthelræd in some 10<sup>th</sup> century documents; for instance, quoting from Asser (King Alfred's biographer)<sup>60</sup>:-

Nati sunt ergo regi filii et filias satis perspicui ac decoras formas, quorum quarumque nomina hic sunt deflorata, Eadward et Ethelward, Ethelfled et Ethelgifu, atque Elfthrid ... Æthelfled, soror eorum, Eadredo Merciorum principi in matrimonio copulata est

In (my) translation:-

The king then had sons and daughters, of quite bright and beautiful appearance, whose names were Eadward and Ethelward, Ethelfled and Ethelgifu, and Elfthrid ... [Text about some of those in this list] ... Æthelfled, their sister, was married to Eadred [Latin dative Eadredo] leader of the Mercians

Note that Asser has used the name 'Eadred' to refer to Æthelflæd's husband who is known to have been, in OE, Æthelred or Æthered. It was translated as Æthelred in Cook's English language text.

Returning to Isolda Pantulf's charter of 1247, we can see that there was an area then referred to as Edredeland which bordered Diseworth which may well have been wholly or partly the same as Ætheredes dun. The well (spring or stream) of Thoftes has become Tops Well by the time of the enclosure map. Additionally, the other places named in the extract may be located, so that the eastern edge of the 1247 Edredeland appears to have adjoined Langley or Wavertoft.

This, of course, is consistent with the supposition based on S 749, that Ætheredes dun had a common boundary with both Wilson and Diseworth.

## APPENDIX 5 – BREDUN / HREPINGAS BOUNDARY

Copies of three charters from the Peterborough archive, based on seventh-century documents, help us to distinguish some adjoining multiple estates.

- The first of these [S 1803] deals with the grant (by Friduric, 'princeps' of King Æthelred I of Mercia) of Bredun (20 hides, Latin 'manentium') for the foundation of a new minster for which Hedda had been chosen to become Abbot.
- In the second charter [S 1804] of this group of three we see Hedda purchasing Cedenan Ac (15 hides, Latin 'manentes') from the King.

<sup>59</sup> Nichols, J. (1804), *The History and Antiquities of the County of Leicester*. v.3, pt.2. London, p.866.

<sup>60</sup> Asser's "Life of King Alfred", thought to have been written around A.D. 893.

Cook, A. (1906), *Asser's Life of King Alfred*, Boston: Ginn & Company, p.37.

- The third [S 1805] deals with the subsequent gift (also by Friduric), to Abbot Hedda, of Hrepingas (31 hides, Latin 'manentium').

(Modern scholarship suggests that these may have been embellished by Peterborough scribes but that they may be otherwise accurate regarding the grant of land for the foundation of the minster at Breedon<sup>61</sup> etc.).

It can be seen then that at this point in the seventh century Bredun, Cedenan Ac, and Hrepingas were seen as composite or multiple estates and that all three were in the hands of Hedda and his religious community.

While Sawyer has suggested in relation to S 1805 that Hrepingas was Rippingale in Lincolnshire, he considered that it might be Repton when discussing another charter [S 72]. It seems much more likely that both Hrepingas and Cedenan Ac were neighbours of Bredun. If this is the case then presumably Hrepingas became or contained Hreopandune at a later date – variants of the latter occur, separated in time, in the AS Chronicle (copies dated about A.D. 1100). Hreopandune was probably, therefore, the name of the 31 hide multiple estate in the tenth century (like a wapentake or hundred name rather than just a parish and village), which produced, via many variants, the modern-day place-name Repton, presumably the estate centre of the multiple estate. Cedenan Ac ('ac' being oak) was possibly a multiple estate which contained Cademan, on Charnwood Forest, in an area abundant in oak because of its acid soils, and which includes a number of other oak place-names<sup>62</sup>. Hedda might have decided to purchase this area in order to access oak for the construction of minster buildings at Breedon, which is in limestone country (i.e. ash rather than oak). But perhaps more likely is that he acquired it merely as an extension of a block of land that could be administered from his minster at Breedon and which was not yet under other Christian influence.

If we consider the possibility that, in the tenth century, there were 3 adjoining multiple estates

- including Breedon (20 hides)
- including Repton (31 hides) and
- including Cademan (15 hides)

then it may be possible to re-construct their extent.

Regarding a multiple estate which included Repton a potential eastern boundary (with Breedon) would be that which later became the Derbyshire / Leicestershire border. If we additionally hypothesise that the southern boundary of this multiple estate was the main east – west watershed ridge we may obtain an area which equates to 31 geldable carucates in Domesday Book. We have the intriguing possibility that the Domesday Book geld assessment adopted older hidage assessments which had remained unchanged for several centuries. This would not be a unique instance – for example, Roffe<sup>63</sup> points out:

“The hide and carucate became the cornerstone of local government in the tenth century. As a unit of assessment the hide had had a longer history. From the seventh century it had been used as an indicator of extent in the grant of estates to monasteries. Here and there the same assessment might persist into the eleventh century, but by then its connotations had changed.”

In relating the Breedon and Cademan hides to Domesday Book assessments it must firstly be remembered that they lie in Leicestershire in a different circuit under different commissioners – we may not therefore find the same correspondence between older hidage and geldable carucates. Indeed the Leicestershire folios include several mentions of hides, sometimes called the Leicestershire hide, which appear to be equivalent to 18 carucates! There is also the difficulty that Breedon was not mentioned by name but was seemingly included under Tonge, with additional unnamed places, i.e. “Tunge cum omnibus appendicis”. Nevertheless, supposing the ‘manientes’ to be roughly equivalent to carucates, a supposition which might not be sensible in the more Danish parts of Leicestershire east of the River Soar, it is possible to suggest how two multiple estates of about 20 and 15 carucates, respectively, may have been constituted. It is slightly less controversial, perhaps, to

<sup>61</sup> Kelly, S., ed. (2009). *Charters of Peterborough Abbey*. Oxford: OUP, p.180.

<sup>62</sup> Abbot's Oak, Copt Oak, Oaks Farm, Oaks in Charnwood, The Oaks.

<sup>63</sup> Roffe, D. (2007). Paperback ed. 2015. *Decoding Domesday*. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, p.195.

suggest how the combined 35 hides or carucates was made up. Figure 8 shows how Abbot Hedda's 66 hides may have appeared on the modern map.<sup>64</sup>

Further details of how this was arrived at are not given here, as it is not the purpose of this paper<sup>65</sup>. However, an hypothesis that was applied and helped in this re-construction was that the seventh century boundary, at least in part, would have been the watershed ridges, visible from Breedon Hill. It is surmised, then that the northern boundary of Breedon was approximately the ridge (the pink line) forming the main east-west spine of the land that may have been Ætheredes dun.

In this Figure, the possible area of Bredun and Cedenan Ac is shown as one block with Hrepingas in a different colour. The odd bumps extending Bredun westwards into Derbyshire are shown because it is known that, certainly later in the medieval period, the Breedon estate included 'The Tatshall Fee' and Castle Donington included Derby Hills. These were high lands which seemed to have been used for transhumance, probably woodland or waste at an earlier date, and which might not have registered in the hidage figure. The precise detail of the boundary in those localities is not therefore of great significance for our purposes. It should also be remembered that a great deal of the land in the areas shown would have been common, heath, or woodland lying away from the core of each settlement and sometimes shared with adjacent settlements. Where this was the case any boundary line between them may have been imprecise.

The purpose of this section has been to demonstrate that, at King's Newton, the Derbyshire / Leicestershire border may have been a boundary between 'multiple' estates at least as far back as the later seventh century. If so, a 'hill-spur of the boundaries' could have been in this locality.

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<sup>64</sup> **Breedon (Breodun)** – Breedon, Wilson, Tonge, Worthington, Staunton Harold, Coleorton, Ætheredes Dun, Wavertoft, part of Diseworth.

**Cademan (Cedenan Ac)** – Belton, Thringstone, Osgathorpe, Swannington, Whitwick.

**Repton (Hrepingas)** – Repton, Milton, Foremark, Ingleby, Ticknall, Winshill, Southwood, Calke, Stanton-by-Bridge, Melbourne, King's Newton, Newton Solney, Bretby.

<sup>65</sup> But see Fawcett, G. (2020), *The Land of Breedon Minster*. [online] Available at: <http://www.thelittlehouseatorthez.com/Land of Breedon Minster 191212.pdf> [Accessed 13 May 2021].



## APPENDIX 6 – BOUNDARIES IN THE TENTH & ELEVENTH CENTURIES

In trying to interpret the OE recitation of the bounds of *Stantun* in the tenth-century charter S 768, if these were describing modern Stanton by Bridge and King's Newton, the problem arises as to what (if any) relationship they might have had to boundaries that are recognised today. The eleventh century is mentioned in the title of this Appendix because there is limited evidence from the Domesday Book (DB) that may help in this quest.

Many boundaries are generally thought to have remained largely unchanged for centuries – for instance, county boundaries must have come into existence before the time of DB (c. 1086) since that famous set of documents is organised county by county. Within the county, estate, vill and parish boundaries also existed. It is thought that little happened, in intervening years, to many of these boundaries, at least until well-documented changes in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. That having been said, DB only occasionally tells anything about the lines of those boundaries as its intent was largely to describe resources that had some value to the King, whether it be rendered by way of service or tax.

From the late seventh century the management of the lands falling within the districts known as Bredun, Hrepingas and Cedenan Ac in Mercia was likely to have been dominated by Abbot Hædda and his minster based at Breedon Hill. This administration of an area which seems to amount to nearly sixty square miles, see Fawcett 2020, probably lasted for two centuries but had some significant influence on developments in the tenth and eleventh centuries. A charter of AD 848 (S 197) records that about a quarter of this, location and boundaries not as yet identifiable, was returned to direct royal control. This time period was one in which historic minsters were under pressure.

The county, estate and parish boundaries, as one might imagine, don't appear to have been plucked out of mid-air but were likely to have been based on earlier understood boundaries. But how did boundaries of the seventh to the eleventh centuries relate? And, in particular, how did boundaries of an estate known as *Stantun*, as described in the tenth century, relate to any that we know today?

Some of these are recognised in the sub-sections below.

### The River Trent

The River Trent is one of England's major rivers and, although it was a natural channel for navigation, it was also a barrier to movement. The river provided fish and other resources, and the Trent valley in our region of interest was consequentially early-settled with a wealth of archaeological evidence of occupation from the prehistoric through to the present day.

The Trent provided a natural boundary between riverside settlements on opposite banks and this is reflected to the present day such that civil parishes, apart from some small anomalies mostly associated with changes of course of the river (see Appendix 7), were bounded by it. It would appear that, between confluences of the Dove and the Derwent / Soar rivers, the Trent was possibly:

- the boundary of the land occupied in the Roman period by the indigenous people known as the Corieltauvi,
- the boundary between areas known as South Mercia and North Mercia,
- the boundary of a Mercian region, administered by a 'princeps', occupied by people known as the Tomsætas (often translated as 'Tame dwellers' – the River Tame being one of the major contributors of the Trent's flow),
- the northern boundary of the district or multiple estate within Tomsæt and known as Hrepingas in the seventh century,
- the boundary between two DB Derbyshire wapentakes known as Walecros and Litchurch,
- the northern boundary between Derbyshire and Leicestershire, and
- the boundary between parishes either side of the river.

While it hasn't been considered important to provide references in justification of these bullet points, it seems highly likely that the Trent would have formed part of the charter bounds of any tenth-century riverside settlement such as Stanton by Bridge (which would have fallen on the edge of all the lands mentioned in the preceding seven bullet points). The Trent itself is named (*upp æft' treontan*) in charter bounds of 1009 relating to Weston on Trent (and including Aston, Shardlow and Great Wilne) and which, on the hypothesis of this paper, would seem to have been a common boundary with *Stantun*. It must, however, be borne in mind that the precise tenth-century line of the river, in such an

historically dynamic stretch having broad floodplain, could have been as much as a kilometre or so different from the modern line.

### **Inland boundary – Hrepingas / Bredun**

If they were adjoining (see Appendix 5), the 31 hides of Hrepingas, a district that probably included modern Repton, and the 20 hides of Bredun, which included Breedon on the Hill, are likely to have been separated by a known boundary. In (Fawcett 2020) the correspondence between the seventh-century hidage figures and the DB geld valuations (in carucates) was identified. This conclusion was based on probable natural boundaries by which seventh-century districts or multiple estates were likely to have been defined. It is to be noted that the exact correspondence of valuations fails if the ½ carucate of Henry de Ferrers' *Stantun* was not associated with modern King's Newton being one of two estates that made up the vill of *Stantun* from which modern Stanton by Bridge takes its name. Other suggested locations for Henry's *Stantun* (e.g. Stanton by Newhall) probably didn't lie within Hrepingas, which would have resulted in a total for the latter of 30½ carucates rather than 31.

The figures suggested that the northern section of the boundary between Hrepingas and Bredun lay between King's Newton / Melbourne and *Ætheredes dun* / Wilson. An obvious feature which seems to have existed in the seventh century, and possibly defined the boundary for about 2½ miles, was an old route thought to date from the Roman or prehistoric periods because of two adjacent Roman farms. This subsequently became the Derbyshire / Leicestershire county boundary which probably remained unchanged until the present day, apart from two known minor adjustments, one next to the Trent, and the other at Wilson (both 1965).

### **Inland boundary – Derbyshire / Leicestershire**

As described in the previous subsection, the county boundary as it extends to the south of the Trent may well have been based on the boundary between two seventh-century districts or multiple estates known as Hrepingas and Bredun.

In the main body of this paper (page 10 onwards), boundary points of *Stantun* in the charter S 768 are shown to correlate very well, in the east, with the later county boundary between Derbyshire and Leicestershire.

### **DB boundaries – General**

Domesday Book was organised by county and it is nowadays considered that these were grouped into 'circuits' in each of which the data on which the book was based appear to have been collected under one set of commissioners. The counties of Derbyshire and Leicestershire were in different circuits. The county of Derbyshire has its first documentary reference by name in 1048 (Leicestershire, 1086). It is not known at what date prior to these mentions the two counties might have come into being.

There is the same lack of knowledge regarding the dates of the creation of individual parishes. The Anglo-Saxon law-codes of Edgar (959 – 975), Æthelred (978 – 1013) and Cnut (1016 – 1035) show a transition from a previous period when minsters (e.g. Breedon) had the only churches, to the time when several classifications existed (particularly main minsters, lesser minsters, churches with burial rights and therefore cemeteries, churches without cemeteries). Tithes and other dues were allocated in these codes to these different categories since, after all, the churches of that time until the most recent centuries provided not only for the spiritual well-being of the community but also for other needs which we might now call the social services. Lesser churches such as chapels were funded by the owner out of his own pocket but what we would now call the parish church (i.e. with burial rights and cemetery) ultimately became the fundamental unit to which tithes were payable.

For the collection of tithes to function sensibly, the users of any piece of ground had to know into which parish they fell and the vill boundary, with the manors that it contained, and the parish boundary came to coincide. But quite when this came about in any specific location is not clear.

The DB recording of churches and priests in Derbyshire (Circuit VI), including Walecros wapentake in which we are most interested, appears to have been very limited; nevertheless there may be an underlying logic. In Walecros, of 42 named manors or sokes, in 33 vills, only 3 of the latter (the royal vills of Walton on Trent, Repton and Melbourne) are recorded as having a church and/or a priest; yet, for example, part of the existing church at Stanton by Bridge is said to have Anglo-Saxon architectural features. (The DB record in neighbouring Leicestershire, Circuit IV, is even more geographically confined, there being no churches listed other than in Leicester itself!).

The lack of mention of a parish church in DB does not, however, mean that one wasn't present. In the time of King William, as with previous kings, different grades of church existed<sup>66</sup>. From at least as far back as Æthelred, the king collected payments for his involvement in resolving breaches of the church's rights and immunities pertaining to 'main minsters' (OE *heafodmynstres*). For lesser minsters and all other churches, although the king and his witan laid down penalties for such breaches, the penalties were to be paid to the ecclesiastical or other local authorities. Most churches would not then be likely to feature in any record of actual or potential payments or services due directly to the king. Such was DB, which was about matters that rendered, or that might do so in the future, some return to King William.

All this having been said one can see that, in the whole of the area which might have been the 31 hides of the seventh-century *Hrepingas*, the DB vill names coincide with the subsequent names of the Ancient Parishes, apart from the absence of Calke which doesn't appear by name in DB. The Ancient Parish, and nowadays Civil Parish, of Calke possibly owes its origins to the foundation of an Augustinian Priory there around AD 1115 – 1120<sup>67</sup>. Prior to that it may have come under the vill, and parish, of Ticknall.

Two other vill names are worth mentioning - Rapendune & Middeltune (i.e. Repton, a manor, and Milton, a berewick) and Newetun & Bretebi (Newton Solney, a manor, and Bretby, a berewick). Both of these were held directly by King William. Milton appears never to have become a separate parish and remains part of Repton parish to this day. In contrast, Bretby was a chapelry and became a separate civil parish, but only in 1866.

There is therefore a strong hint that the ecclesiastical parishes in this part of Derbyshire were in existence by the time of DB and that the geography of the named vill was the same as that of the parishes.

The boundaries of DB vill in this part of the Walecros wapentake may well, for practical reasons of the collection of geld and tithes, have coincided with parish boundaries. This does not of course mean that the parish boundaries for which we have later details were the same as those at the time of DB. That having been said, changes in parish boundaries, of which there were quite a number in the twentieth and later nineteenth centuries, seem mainly to have been transfers of small (in comparison with the size of the parish) blocks of land from one parish to another. For instance, a 75 acre, Trent-side, detached part of Ticknall was transferred to Stanton by Bridge in 1884. Apart from these, though, it is possible that substantial sections of the later, known, parish boundaries were unchanged from the tenth and eleventh centuries.

Manor, rather than vill or parish, boundaries are a different matter. The DB details in our area of interest are listed according to who was the tenant in chief, each of whose manors are given the name of the vill in which it falls. Some vill contained several manors; for instance, Stanton by Bridge's neighbours Ticknall and Ingleby contained 3 and 4 manors respectively. Stanton itself, on the hypothesis of this paper, contained 2.

DB did not include any boundary details in this wapentake. However, one possible example of DB telling us something about a vill or parish boundary occurs with respect to Ingleby and Stanton by Bridge. The thane, Ernwy, who held the 1½ carucate manor at *Stantun* also held a very small estate (one twelfth of a carucate) in the vill of Ingleby. The text included the Latin sentence "In Stantun iacet" or, in English, "it lies in Stantun". Some have interpreted this as "it lies in the lands of Stanton by Bridge"<sup>68</sup>. To this day there is a very strange bubble in the Ingleby / Stanton by Bridge parish boundary at Coppy Hill which may well be the land that DB is describing here.

Quite apart from the lack of boundary information in DB, it is important to also bear in mind that the details of a manor did not necessarily include all land connected with that manor or within the vill of

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<sup>66</sup> See, for instance, Liebermann, F. (1903). *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*. p.493, and similar earlier pages for texts of other kings.

<sup>67</sup> Colvin, H. (1982). Calke Priory. *The Derbyshire Archaeological Journal*, 102, pp.102-105.

<sup>68</sup> Various (eds.), *Domesday text translation*, The University of Hull. [online] Available at: <https://hydra.hull.ac.uk/assets/hull:461/content> [Accessed 20 Apr. 2021]. and discussed by Morgan, P., Thorn, C. and Thorn, F. (under Ingleby in the .rtf file) [online] Available at: <https://hydra.hull.ac.uk/resources/hull:534> [Accessed 20 Apr. 2021].

which it may be just a part<sup>69</sup>. One possible indicator of this in DB is the excess of ploughs over the figures given for the number of ploughs that the manor might sustain (known as 'overstocking'). The 2 manors named *Stantun*, 1½ and ½ carucates respectively, are examples – overstocked by 2½ and ½ ploughs respectively. Another indicator is the presence of sokemen (a type of 'free' men) in an estate – of 42 estates in Walecros there were 7 which contained some sokemen. Four of these seven were royal estates (i.e. King William's). Another was Winshill, held by the Abbot of Burton. The remaining two were the two *Stantuns* (4 and 1 sokemen respectively).

The preceding paragraph suggests that, if the two DB *Stantuns* in Walecros wapentake were Stanton by Bridge and Kings Newton as is hypothesised for charters S 224 and S 768, their resources in land were probably under-reported in the DB record when compared with the vill or parish boundaries. While there may be some coincidence of parts of the bounds of the 'bookland' in S 768 with known parish boundaries, there could be good reason to suppose that the vill and parish of a 'greater Stanton by Bridge', that included Kings Newton, was larger still.

This potential difference between the boundaries given in a pre-conquest charter and the implied DB manor boundaries is apparently not uncommon. For instance, Roffe<sup>70</sup> says:

"Pre-Conquest charters frequently emphasize the unequivocal rights in **demesne land** [my emphasis] that were conveyed by booking; estates were granted with all appurtenances in fields, woods, pastures and the like, and the boundary clauses define the exact limits of property and proprietary rights. Free sokeland is less easily discernible. It is occasionally noticed in charters, and the different nature of the land, and the booklord's interest in it, is often apparent, for it is not always included in the boundary clause. Southwell (Notts), for example, which was granted by King Eadwy to the archbishop of York in 956, received soke dues from twelve of the surrounding vills, but the bounds only define the estate demesne. More usually sokeright is not mentioned, and its silent inclusion in grants is only apparent in those areas in which Domesday provides greater details of land tenure."

### **DB boundary – Ingleby / Stanton etc.**

While those extant documents which were probably records of the Domesday Inquest itself, i.e. of the collecting of data, were seemingly more extensive, the assets of an estate as listed in the subsequent Domesday Book were confined in their extent. They were more or less limited to those assets which returned some value directly to King William, whether it be rendered in money or by way of service. Land which was outside the demesne 'bookland', common, heath, 'waste', or unproductive woodland (i.e. neither *silva pastilis* nor *silva minuta*) appears to go unmentioned unless taxable land such as arable has become 'waste' for some reason. Sokemen owed dues to the landlord rather than to the king and the land that they occupied was not necessarily discernible in DB. Furthermore, DB doesn't describe boundaries and can't, except perhaps by inference for one little exception described earlier, tell us anything specific about the boundary between Stanton by Bridge and Ingleby in 1086. That having been said, the charter bounds in S 768 seem to correlate with the north-western boundary between the two ecclesiastical parishes (and the two modern civil parishes).

### **DB boundary – *Stantun* (Kings Newton) / Melbourne**

As just described, by 1086 the parishes may well have been defined and, in this part of Walecros wapentake at least, they appear as if they could have been the basis on which the DB vills are given. Any estate that did not contain a church, even if it had a chapel, was not separately named in DB but was listed under the vill name of the mother (parish) church. Newton (later Kings Newton) is not known to have ever had a church, merely a chapel which was ransacked at the Reformation<sup>71</sup>.

### **The southern boundary of *Stantun's* bookland**

The modern civil parish of Stanton by Bridge contains rising ground beyond ½ mile south from the old settlement core. It would appear to have included common at some point in its history, approached via

<sup>69</sup> See, for instance, Roffe, D. (2007). Paperback ed. 2015. *Decoding Domesday*. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, Chapter 6.

<sup>70</sup> Roffe D. (2002). *Brought to Book: Lordship and land in Anglo-Saxon England*. [online] Available at: <http://www.roffe.co.uk/bookland.htm> [Accessed 20 Apr. 2021].

<sup>71</sup> Heath, P. (2005). *Conservation Area Histories: King's Newton, District of South Derbyshire*. South Derbyshire District Council. p.3.

Common Lane, and several field-names hint at this (e.g. Archers Common, Breach Close, Gorsey Lees, No Man's Heath, St Brydes Heath, Upper Goss). The area close to the settlement provides ample area for the 1½ carucates, with potential for 2, of arable listed in DB – indeed, field boundaries give clues to where this might have been. Outside of this, west of the village, is the area that might have been the 'hill-spur of the pig' with the stream in the valley beyond it, which is the parish boundary.

## APPENDIX 7 – OLD RIVER CHANNELS (PALAEOCHANNELS), BRIDGES & FORDS

### Old River Channels (Palaeochannels)

The River Trent in the area of interest is known to have moved about, within the floodplain, such that its course in the tenth century is highly uncertain. It has been suggested<sup>72</sup> that:

“Between the end of the Roman occupation and c. AD 1500 the middle Trent appears to have witnessed major changes in river channel environments, including a transformation from meandering to laterally unstable, braided channels. The single-thread meandering channel of today only became established by the 15<sup>th</sup> century.”

Some major changes have been well demonstrated by palaeochannel studies. With respect to dating of palaeochannels, a deposit sampling study<sup>73</sup> which included two sites in the Repton / Twyford area provided radiocarbon dates for the organic matter which started to fill the non-active channels. Figure 9 below shows the probable course of these channels, and the sampling locations, as well as the current river in darker blue.

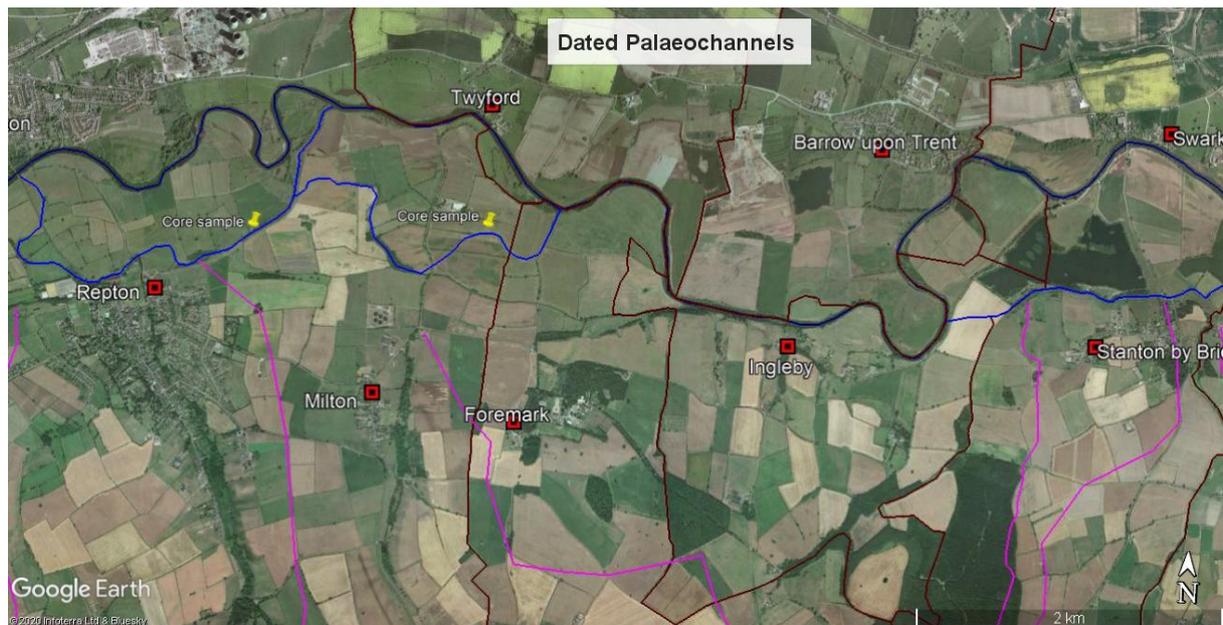


FIGURE 9. PALAEOCHANNELS THAT HAVE BEEN RADIOCARBON DATED

The westernmost palaeochannel, shown in light blue, is immediately to the north of Repton and is called 'Old Trent Water'. Documentary evidence suggests that it remained an active channel until the early eighteenth century. A sample taken from a position "located in a grass field beside the Old Trent Water drainage channel" gave radiocarbon dates for organic matter in the range 1650 – 1950. The range includes uncertainty inherent in the radiocarbon dating process.

<sup>72</sup> Richmond, A. and Coates, G. (2011). *The Weston Extension, Weston-on-Trent, Derbyshire, Shardlow Quarry*, Phoenix Consulting. Appendix D, p. 19.

<sup>73</sup> Havelock, G. and Howard, A. (2010). *Palaeoenvironmental deposit sampling*, [online] Trent Valley GeoArchaeology 2002 [data-set]. York: Archaeology Data Service. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.5284/1000125> [Accessed 20 Apr. 2021].

The more easterly of the two investigated channels is to the south of Twyford and was referred to as “Mill Plantation” by the authors. It yielded tighter date ranges for the two samples taken from a corn field: 1210 – 1290, and 1280 – 1400 respectively. It might be reasonable to infer that the channel remained active until perhaps the end of the twelfth century. If the current channel or another palaeochannel near to it were in use at the time, forming an island, we have a possible explanation for the place-name Twyford, from OE meaning ‘double ford’.

Unfortunately it seems that no similar studies have been carried out in the vicinity of Stanton by Bridge and Swarkestone but, on the evidence of the two examples just quoted and the extent of the floodplain, there could feasibly have been a channel, active in the tenth century, over half a mile away from the current river bridge.

Figure 9 also shows a third light blue line at Stanton by Bridge to be discussed later, place-names (located at the church or old settlement core), ridge lines (pink), and parish boundaries as they were in the nineteenth century (red).

These parish boundaries give further clues about palaeochannels that may have been active channels during the period in which parish boundaries, or older boundaries on which parish boundaries were based, have existed. Without further research, such as the deposit sampling just described, it is not possible to put tighter dates on these. There are five obvious examples in Figure 9:

- South of the current channel at Twyford, about 18 acres of Twyford and Stenson civil parish still remains on the wrong side of the river.
- Downstream of Twyford (i.e. moving left to right in the Figure), there is an anomalous 28 acre extension of Ingleby into Foremark which implies two former channels possibly forming an island.
- Again moving further downstream, the nineteenth-century Ingleby parish boundary extended by about 10 acres across the current channel into what is now Barrow upon Trent civil parish, suggesting an earlier line of the river.
- Next there was a 38 acre incursion of the nineteenth-century Barrow parish boundary across the current river channel into what is now part of Ingleby parish.
- Yet again downstream, immediately adjoining the previous item was a detached, for whatever reason, part of Ticknall parish reckoned at about 75 acres!

These would all appear to indicate palaeochannels which had been active at various points of the thousand or so years of the history of the parish boundaries. Numerous palaeochannels in the section of the River Trent between the Dove and Derwent / Soar confluences, as yet undated, are visible in LIDAR plots and satellite images of the last 20 years (see, for instance, historic imagery in Google Earth Pro).

There are hints of possible river island(s) at Stanton by Bridge:

- Firstly, the field-name Dry Holmes in the Stanton by Bridge civil parish. In inland locations the OE word *holm* meant a piece of dry land, or drier ground, surrounded by water or marsh, not necessarily all year round (e.g. water meadow). In this part of South Derbyshire and North-West Leicestershire at least, it very commonly also included the islands enclosed between mill lades and mill streams.
- Secondly the field-name, Kingesholme, at the eastern end of the most southerly Stanton by Bridge palaeochannel in the modern Melbourne civil parish, with possible support of LIDAR plots<sup>74</sup>. At the time of DB, Melbourne was a royal manor held directly by the King. In Appendix 8 it is suggested that, in the twelfth century, it absorbed land which had previously been in the vill of *Stantun* and which included Kingesholme. This was before the construction of Swarkestone Bridge, or causeway.

The nature of these two *holms* is not known – for instance, either of them might have been:

- a mill holme,
- an island enclosed by two river channels,
- a smaller island enclosed between a river channel and a palaeochannel still holding water, or two non-active palaeochannels which continued to hold stagnant water,
- a block of land that only became an island at times of flood.

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<sup>74</sup> Ref. the LIDAR plots

## Bridges

There was a bridge over the Trent known in Latin as the 'pons de Cordy', i.e. 'Cordy's bridge', probably originally wooden, connecting Swarkestone and Stanton (by Bridge) by 1204<sup>75</sup>, before the era of the late thirteenth-century / early fourteenth-century bridge / causeway. Apart from that early name, Swarkestone Bridge and Causeway was known as Swarkestone Bridge (rather than 'causeway') throughout its length, until very recent times. The term 'causeway' has now been assigned to the Scheduled Ancient Monument, which dates from the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century and extends for about 1000 metres across the floodplain.

With respect to Cordy's Bridge the relevant section of the Latin charter (dated 5 October 1204), of King John, is shown in Figure 10 below.

*Carta burgens̄  
de Derby.* } **Joh's Di gr̄a t̄c̄. Sciatis nos c̄cessisse, t̄  
p̄senti carta n̄ra conf, burgensibz n̄ris de  
Derby, ōms illas libas c̄suetudines q̄s bur-  
genses n̄ri de Notingh̄ h̄nt t̄ h̄nt tempe H. Reḡ p̄avi n̄ri, t̄  
tempe H. Reḡ p̄ris n̄ri, sc̄lz, toll, t̄ theam, t̄ infangenthef, t̄  
tolonea, a Dunebruge usq, ad pontē de Cordy, t̄ a ponte de  
Cordy usq, ad pontē de Estweit, sic̄ h̄re solent, t̄ de ōmibz  
Derewent t̄nseuntibz, ita plenarie ut i burgo de Dereby. Hōies**

FIGURE 10. SECTION OF CHARTER OF 1204

Filling out the abbreviations, this reads:

Johannes Dei grata etcetera. Sciatis nos concessisse et presenti carta nostra confero burgensibus nostris de Derby omnes illas libertates consuetudines quas burgenses nostri de Nottingham habent et habuerunt tempore H. Regis proavi nostri et tempore H. Regis patris nostri scilicet(us?) toll et theam et infangtheof et tolonea a Dunebruge usque ad pontem de Cordy et a ponte de Cordy usque ad pontem de Estweit sicut habere solent et de omnibus Derewent transeuntibus ita plenarie ut in burgo de Dereby.

In translation, substituting 'I' for the royal 'we', this goes something like:

[King] John by the grace of God etc. Be it known that I, by this present charter, grant to my burgesses of Derby all those customary liberties, having been conceded [by me], that my burgesses of Nottingham have, and had from the time of King Henry [I], my great-grandfather, and from the time of King Henry [II] my father, of course 'toll et theam et infangtheof', and toll charges from Doveridge all the way to Cordy's bridge and from Cordy's bridge all the way to the Eastwood bridge just as they are accustomed to have, and of all Derwent crossings fully, to the same extent as in the borough of Derby.

The formulaic 'toll et theam et infangtheof' relates to rights to payments for the sale (in markets) or passage of goods, to hold a court to resolve matters relating to the previous, and the right to administer justice with respect to thieves etc. But the section of interest follows that and deals with the right acquired by the burgesses of Derby to collect toll charges for crossing the Derwent as well as the rivers Dove, Trent and Erewash which would appear to have been served, in southern Derbyshire, by just three bridges:

- on the Dove at Doveridge (Dunebruge, probably a misreading of the charter script for Duvebruge or Duvebrige; Dubrige in DB),
- on the Trent at Cordy's bridge (known from later documents to have been at Stanton by Bridge / Swarkestone – Cameron<sup>76</sup> suggests that Cordy was the surname of a local family of that era), and
- at Eastwood bridge on the Erewash.

<sup>75</sup> Charter Rolls – see Hardy, T. (1837). *Rotuli chartarum in Turri Londinensi asservati*. London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, p.138.

<sup>76</sup> Cameron, K. (1959), *The Place-Names of Derbyshire*. v.29, pt.3. Nottingham: EPNS, p.661.

The charter dates from 1204 but it is not clear whether one should infer that Cordy's bridge was in existence at the time of the reign of King John's great-grandfather King Henry I (1100 – 1135) or his father Henry II (1154 – 1189). Precisely where that bridge was located is not known, nor is it known where the Trent flowed at the time of King John.

However, within about 100 years of King John's charter, Swarkestone Bridge (i.e. the causeway) was constructed. It is said to be the longest stone bridge, and the longest inland bridge, in England. At its northern end the current five-arch river bridge was built in 1796/7 following a flood in 1795 which destroyed an earlier version, which may have consisted of 8 arches. Then moving south, grouped along the causeway there are a further 39 arches of various sizes. Most of these look like they were incorporated, either to allow flood water to pass, or to bridge old palaeochannels which still held water, whether stagnant or flowing. There is a group of four arches approximately half way across that looks like it might feasibly have been bridging a minor active channel at the time of construction. The last group of these 39 arches, at the southern end of the causeway, is a seven-arch bridge (six medieval arches and the seventh rebuilt) crossing what is now only a large stream in a palaeochannel. This southern bridge spans a distance which is much the same as the present-day river bridge a thousand metres distant across the floodplain. We have the intriguing possibility, then, that in the late thirteenth century there was a major river channel passing under the southern end of the causeway, at Stanton by Bridge. If this were the case the river might have flowed via this single channel or there could have been two (or more) active channels enclosing one (or more) island(s), as was the case at Old Trent Water, Repton, and remains the case at Burton upon Trent.

This evidence of the seven-arch bridge at the south of the causeway may be the reason, not explained in the document, why Barbara Foster<sup>77</sup> said:

"13th century references to lands lying on "the Brink" are a reminder of Swarkestone's perilous position at the floodplain edge. However, when the present settlement was first established it perhaps seemed safer, as the main channel of the Trent may then have run on the Stanton side of the valley. High river levels still cause anxiety today, and floodwater occasionally invades the lanes of the village."

[Relevant extract] "However, when the present settlement was first established ... the main channel of the Trent may then have run on the Stanton side of the valley."

The floodplain at Stanton / Swarkestone floods to a greater or lesser extent several time a year. An aerial image of flooding here was published<sup>78</sup> by the Environment Agency Midlands on 19 February 2020, shown below in Figure 11. Superimposed on, or visible in, the original image are:

- the current line of the River Trent passing under the 1796/7 bridge next to Swarkestone village (shown in blue),
- the palaeochannel passing under the seven-arch bridge next to the village of Stanton by Bridge (also shown in blue),
- unflooded areas of slightly higher ground (in the right hand half of the Figure),
- the former sand and gravel works, now a lake with sailing club – note that the group of four arches described above aligns with the edge of these works nearest to Swarkestone,
- Swarkestone Bridge – the causeway crossing the floodplain.

Quite why such a monumental structure as Swarkestone Bridge was built here remains something of a mystery, although there may be scope for further understanding this by way of dating of palaeochannels, which are numerous and complex in this locality, from deposit samples. That having been said, its predecessor Cordy's Bridge would appear to have been the only bridged crossing of the Trent between the Dove and Derwent / Soar confluences. The Borough of Derby was of clear importance at the time of the DB and its control of trade, including tolls etc., would have made this crossing particularly important. Bearing in mind that, if Cordy's Bridge crossed a single main channel, there may still have been secondary channels, and palaeochannels holding water, which would have to be forded. Additionally, periods of flood on the extensive floodplain would have meant that there were times in every year when crossing the Trent was not possible. Swarkestone Bridge, then, would

<sup>77</sup> Foster, B. (2005) Series editor: Heath, P. *Conservation Area Histories: Swarkestone, District of South Derbyshire*, Designed and published by South Derbyshire District Council; p. 2.

<sup>78</sup> Environment Agency Midlands, [online] Available at: <https://twitter.com/EnvAgencyMids/status/1230180308923899904>, [Accessed 20 Apr. 2021].

have provided the first 365 days a year crossing and one can imagine that there would have been, amongst the burgesses, considerable incentive for its construction.

The unflooded areas in Figure 11 are of potential interest when considering the era before Swarkestone Bridge was constructed including the time of Domesday Book and the tenth century which this paper is investigating. If those areas have long been islands in times of flood, or islands between active channels, then crossing the floodplain having forded the river or having crossed Cordy's Bridge becomes easier.

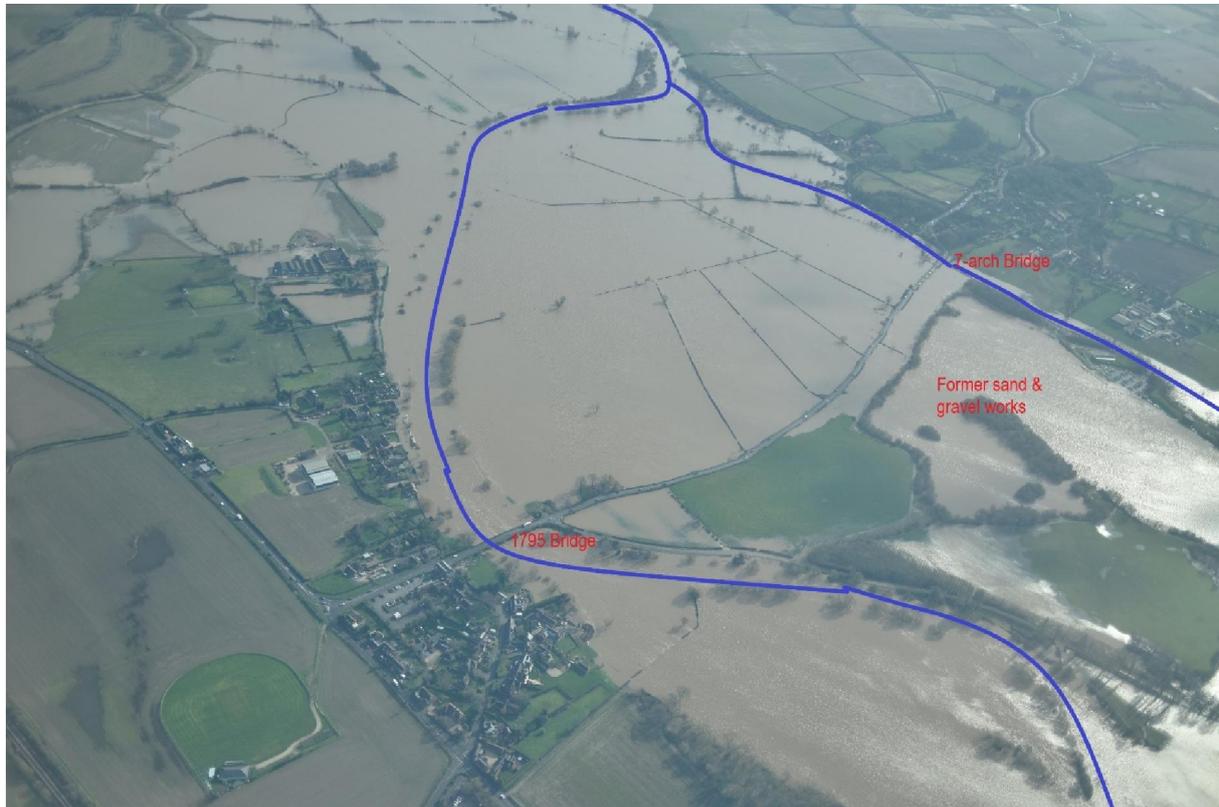


FIGURE 11. TRENT FLOODS 2020

## Fords

Bridges were often built in the near vicinity of fords, i.e. taking advantage of existing roads and tracks. Historically there were a number of known fords in this sector of the Trent (e.g. Twyford, meaning double ford, perhaps therefore making use of a river island, is just 3 miles upstream). Baulk'em Ford, at the north-western corner of Stanton by Bridge, is shown on the first edition of OS maps – surveyed about 1820 in this case. Maybe this is a corruption of the OE *balcum* – the dative plural of *balca* – in which case Baulk'em Ford would have the meaning 'the ford at the (boundary) banks / ridges' when the grammar requires the dative.

A District Council document<sup>79</sup> includes the following quote:

There was an old north-south route running from the Trent river crossing to the church, and this may explain why the church is some distance from the present main thoroughfare of the village. This route is partly preserved in a footpath, which runs south from the church to St. Brides, but where it meets the Trent flood plain it has been destroyed by 20th century gravel extraction.

The route and footpath so described do not point to the historic Swarkestone Bridge. This prompts the question as to whether this old route headed for Cordy's Bridge (see page 37 above) or to a ford which was used prior to the lifetime of that bridge?

<sup>79</sup> Morris, M. (2014). *Stanton by Bridge Conservation Area Character Statement*, South Derbyshire District Council, p.3.

Downstream there was also a ferry between Weston on Trent and King's Newton into the twentieth century.

## APPENDIX 8 – ABSORPTION OF KING'S NEWTON INTO MELBOURNE PARISH

If King's Newton was seen as part of the vill of Stanton by Bridge in the tenth century, then some later process must have brought it into the modern parish of Melbourne rather than Stanton. So when (and why) might it have become combined into Melbourne parish rather than Stanton by Bridge?

If modern King's Newton was part of the vill / parish of *Stantun* at the time of Domesday Book it was probably that ½ carucate part which had Henry de Ferrers as its tenant in chief (i.e. not directly held by the King). That would have made it a contiguous part of a single block of 29 carucates of de Ferrers' land that had probably, from the late seventh to the mid ninth centuries, been part of the land of Breedon Minster.

The 'new town' place-name possibly first appears in the written record as '*niwantun*', qualified by '*æt thære wic*' (which permits a translation 'at the river harbour'), in A.D. 1002/4<sup>80</sup>. This place was destined for Burton Abbey and may then have been 'traded in' by the Abbot in exchange for land closer to Burton (see page x above) at some point before 1066. The king would then have been in a position to re-grant it to whomsoever he wished, and DB tells us that this ½ carucate, still in the vill of *Stantun*, was held by Alwin at the time of Edward the Confessor's death.

If the de Ferrers' *Stantun* included Kings Newton one possible reason for the family's loss of it might have been that Robert II de Ferrers' (Earl of Derby) was a supporter of Stephen, rather than of Matilda and her son Henry FitzEmpress, until Tutbury Castle (the de Ferrers' base) was besieged in 1153. Although he then gave allegiance to Henry, Robert was relieved of his earldom in 1154 when Henry became king. Maybe loss of lordship of this Derbyshire manor was amongst other consequences he suffered during the latter period of 'The Anarchy' for having been on the wrong side! However it may simply have been that the king arranged a land-swap with de Ferrers to secure a riverside boundary for his royal vill of Melbourne, which had berewicks to the north of the Trent. The lack of such directly-controlled access may have stemmed from *Stantun* having been granted as bookland as far back as Æthelflæd.

The next documentary record refers to Neuton(a) in the early / mid 1150s. At that point a charter of Hugo de Bellocampo, to the canons of Calke, exchanges the tithes of his mill of Meleburn, which had been difficult to collect from the lessee, for a virgate<sup>81</sup> of land in Neuton. Hugo would therefore appear to have been lord of both Melbourne and Newton under the king; indeed he seems to have been the holder of all of Melbourne and its DB berewicks since an entry in the Liber Feodorum re. 1212 mentions gifts he had made in Normanton and Chellaston as well as a gift of a virgate of land to Melbourne church. The charter<sup>82</sup> gifting land in Neuton to the canons of Calke was not dated but is said to be from early in Henry II's reign (December 1154 – 1189). It is possible that it actually dates from slightly before December 1154 as it refers to Henry son of Empress Matilda (often called Henry FitzEmpress) rather than to King Henry. This was the name by which he was normally known while King Stephen was still alive. There was a period from November 1153 when Stephen recognised Henry FitzEmpress as his heir to the throne – Stephen died in October 1154. Hugo's charter may therefore actually date from late 1153 or 1154, but maybe from between late October 1154 and Henry's coronation in December 1154.

Another charter of Hugo de Bellocampo, also to the canons of Calke<sup>83</sup>, would appear to be later in date as it now referred to King Henry and his Queen, and their children. (Unfortunately for the purposes of dating, it seems from the Liber Feodorum re. 1212 that the original Hugo was succeeded by his son, also Hugo). In this charter the canons were given two 'acras'<sup>84</sup> of meadow in Meleburn in the location known as Kingesholm. The latter is in the extreme north-west of the modern parish of

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<sup>80</sup> Wulfric's charter and the king's confirmation charter – Sawyer numbers S 1536 and S 906.

<sup>81</sup> Virgate – normally used as a measure of arable land and often of the order of 30 acres in modern area.

<sup>82</sup> Add. Ch. 7213. Additional Charters in The British Library, London.

<sup>83</sup> Add. Ch. 7081. Additional Charters in The British Library, London.

<sup>84</sup> The meaning of this word at that date, in this part of the country at least, was probably 'enclosures' or what we might nowadays call 'fields' rather than 'acres' as a measure of area.

Melbourne and, if the hypothesis of this paper is correct, would have been included in *Stantun* at an earlier date.

However, nothing much is known of the manors in these villis for the years between DB of c.1086 and the 1150s and changes could clearly have occurred at some other point in this period.

At the time of DB King William had directly held Melbourne, which had berewicks at Barrow upon Trent, Swarkestone, Chellaston, Osmaston & Cottons, and Normanton; but Melbourne's neighbour (King's) Newton was not named. It therefore seems possible that King's Newton had become subject to the manor of Melbourne between 1086 and some point in the 1150s.

Amongst Henry III's Close Rolls, under March 1231, it is seen that Walter Mauclerk held the manor of Melbourne, which he rented for life, seemingly personally rather than in his capacity as Bishop of Carlisle. However, in the latter capacity he and his predecessors and successors was holder of the church in Melbourne and its appurtenances. An entry in the Liber Feodorum under 1219 suggests that this stemmed from a grant of Henry II or earlier.

Walter was the king's Lord High Treasurer from November 1228 until January 1233, a position which is said to have made him the third most important man in the king's administration. In the aforesaid Roll the king, in addition to extending the length of Melbourne's annual fair, removed the right to hold a weekly Wednesday market in 'Meleburn' to be replaced by a Saturday market in 'Neweton'. The Latin wording describes Neweton as a member, part, or division of the manor of Melbourne. It is possible that we are seeing here an acknowledgement of a distinct thirteenth-century status of Newton akin to what might, in DB, have been termed a berewick.

Then in the Fine Rolls of Henry III relating to the early 1230s, we see that the manor of Melbourne was taken away from Walter Mauclerk in January 1233, when the sheriff of Derbyshire was ordered to take it into the king's hands. This was because of a dispute over Walter's accounting, as the king's Lord High Treasurer. Once this dispute was resolved Melbourne was returned to Walter on the original terms in July 1234. He died in 1248. It was before 1249, therefore, that a manor at Barrow upon Trent, formerly a berewick of Melbourne, and the chapel at Chellaston, are said to have been granted (i.e. not just as a life tenant) to Walter<sup>85</sup> and subsequently passed to his successors as bishop, like Melbourne church and its land. Otherwise the rest of the manor of Melbourne and its berewicks returned to the Crown. These last mentioned events probably occurred before 27 June 1246 as this was said<sup>86</sup> to have been the date at which John de Scutevill became the keeper of the manor for the king.

It seems, then, that Melbourne was held directly by the king from that date and it could be that the place-name Newton became King's Newton (Newton Regis in Latin) between 1246 and 1259. At that last date the manor was leased by Henry III to Simon de Montfort. Following rebellion and the Battle of Evesham in 1265, Henry put his son Edmund in control of the possessions seized from Simon de Montfort, including Melbourne etc. This direct royal control continued for part of the reign of Edward I, who was Edmund's elder brother, and seems to have been the position in 1291.

An alternative date for the change in place-name (Newton to King's Newton) is therefore between 1265 and 1269 when Newton first appears in the written record as Newton(e) Regis, in an Assize Roll.<sup>87</sup>

Before 1308, probably in 1301, Edward I would appear to have given Melbourne and its remaining DB berewicks to his nephew Thomas, who had become Duke of Lancaster in 1296 following the death of his father Edmund. **In addition, King's Newton had been added to the earlier list**, i.e. Swarkestone, Chellaston, Osmaston & Cottons, and Normanton (Barrow upon Trent now absent as explained three paragraphs back).

This is seen from a Charter Roll of 1308, the first year of Edward II's reign, which indicates that Thomas quitclaimed Melbourne and these other places to the King to give to Robert de Holand. The Charter Roll adds that Thomas had held Melbourne etc., by right of a charter of Edward I.

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<sup>85</sup> Charter Rolls, 18 Edward I, 1290. Confirmation of a charter dating from 1246 – 1254.

<sup>86</sup> Liberate Rolls, 33 Henry III, 1249.

<sup>87</sup> The addition of 'Regis' may have come about in order to distinguish it from the Newton Solney, 7 miles away, which acquired its second word in about 1300 in the historic record. It had come into the hands of Alfred de Solenneio in 1205.

This evidence suggests that King's Newton was not subject to the manor of Melbourne until perhaps the mid twelfth century and is consistent with its apparent absence as a berewick or soke of that manor at the time of DB. It adds support to one of the findings of this article – that it is most probable that Henry de Ferrers' ½ carucate DB estate at *Stantun* adjoined, but was seen as a distinct part of, the vill and parish of Stanton by Bridge until then. The area in question is now known as King's Newton (which extends to the county boundary on the western side of Donington Park, Leicestershire) and, by subsequent changes, is now part of Melbourne civil parish.

[For completeness, it should be noted that the 1308 Charter Roll also newly included a hamlet at Wyveleston (modern Wilson, Leicestershire). Until 1965, all of the land on the western side of the prehistoric road through Wilson (joining Green Lane to Forty Foot Lane<sup>88</sup>) was in Derbyshire, at which point 2 acres of it on which were dwellings, was transferred to Leicestershire. The Derbyshire land beyond this still belongs to Melbourne parish. The author is not aware of whether or not this was the case at the time of DB. Although it seems likely, there is a shortage of evidence as to whether the small piece of Derbyshire land at Wilson was seen as an integral part of the manor of Melbourne which did not, therefore, deserve a separate mention. The enclosed park at Melbourne came into existence in about 1200 and left this small area, probably inhabited, beyond it. This might explain a separate reference to it in 1308.]

[Author's note – as a retired applied scientist and engineer, rather than a historian, archaeologist, or place-name philologist, I apologise for any failings in the above. Communications on the content sent to [garry@thelittlehouseatorthez.com](mailto:garry@thelittlehouseatorthez.com) will be considered for a future revision – Dr Garry Fawcett MBE].

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<sup>88</sup> In OE dictionaries 'feōrðes fōt', and other variants, meant 'four-footed'. Note that the OE letter eth (ð) sometimes transitioned to a modern 'd' and sometimes to a modern 'th'. Clearly the combination 'eo' has transitioned to 'ou' in 'four'. It is possible, then, that 'feōrðes fōt' has become 'forty foot'. It is suggested, therefore, that Forty Foot Lane may have meant a lane suitable for quadrupeds, i.e. a lane used as a pack-horse (or even a cart) route?