DERBYSHIRE EXTENSIVE URBAN SURVEY
ARCHAEOLOGICAL ASSESSMENT REPORT

REPTON

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1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 The assessment report

This assessment report forms part of the Extensive Urban Survey Programme, an English Heritage funded initiative to assist local planning authorities with the conservation of their urban archaeological resource. Repton is one of a series of small towns and large villages in Derbyshire selected for such assessment.

The report is a desk-based survey, the scope of which includes both above and below ground archaeological remains of all periods, using information from the County Sites and Monuments Record, local histories, early maps and plan form analysis, with the results presented as a series of maps generated by GIS. It forms the foundation for an archaeological management strategy which can be adopted by the local planning authority as supplementary planning guidance.

1.2 Overview of Repton

The earliest clear evidence of settlement at Repton dates from the 7th century, although there may have been Roman or earlier occupation close to, or even on the site of the present village. Repton was an important Mercian centre, both religious and political, and was a favoured royal burial place as well as the site of a renowned monastery. Much of its early importance appears to have come to an end with the arrival of the Vikings in 873-4, who set up their winter camp there. The settlement clearly continued, however, and the church functioned as a minster for the surrounding area for the next three centuries. Following the establishment of an Augustinian Priory in the second half of the 12th century, Repton became the seat of two churches, the Priory of the Holy Trinity and St Mary to the east and the parish church of St Wystan to the west. Not long after the dissolution of the monasteries, part of the priory was sold to form a free grammar school. Repton School has continued to occupy the site since that time, expanding considerably over the last 150 years.

As far as the village itself is concerned, to quote Macdonald (1929): 'There is naturally not much to be said about the history of Repton after the Norman Conquest apart from the Priory and School'. As this implies, the fortunes of the village probably depended to a large extent on the fortunes of those two institutions, the Priory attracting pilgrims and the school attracting pupils. Otherwise Repton appears to have been essentially an agricultural settlement, whose market and fairs are first referred to in 1330, although they were certainly in existence before that. It did not particularly prosper as a market centre, however, perhaps in part due to relatively poor communications to the north, and it developed little in the way of industry beyond some involvement in the malting trade. Its main expansion until recently was focused on the school, which developed both new buildings and sports grounds on the outskirts; however, the last few decades have seen the development of areas for housing on both the eastern and western sides of the village.

2. GEOLOGY AND TOPOGRAPHY

The southern part of Derbyshire is made up largely of soft red marls and sandstone with small inliers of the Carboniferous rocks (including Coal Measures) which lie beneath them. The siting of a settlement must often have depended on the availability of water. Repton lies in an area where gravels rest on impervious marls and where, therefore, springs are common. It is situated on a prominent bluff above a cut-off channel of the River Trent and lies at a height of approximately 50m AOD. The bluff, or river cliff, is composed of sandstones of the Sherwood Sandstone Group, in particular Bunter Sandstone,

pebbly to coarse-grained stone with occasional pebbles, while finer Keuper Sandstone, which lies stratigraphically above it, outcrops on Parson's Hill to the west of the village (Stanley 1990).

3. ADMINISTRATIVE UNIT

In 1086 Repton lay in *Walecros* wapentake, which later became the hundred of Repton and Gresley (see 5.3.1 below). It is now in South Derbyshire District.

4. SOURCES

4.1 Primary sources

Early sources include published versions of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, some Anglo-Saxon charters, a list of burial places of the saints, and some contemporary references to the monastery. Unfortunately there is no cartulary for the later Priory, so relatively few primary sources have survived relating to this aspect of Repton's history. However, a large number of deeds are held at the Public Record Office, of which 120 were transcribed and published in the Derbyshire Archaeological Journal (Williamson 1932). The parish records of St Wystan's church, from 1579 to 1970, are held at Derbyshire Record Office in Matlock, as are the estate papers of the Harpur-Crewe family, lords of the manor of Repton from the 16th century. These include large numbers of deeds, some court rolls, rentals and other material. They also include some material relating to Repton School, but much of the early documentation is still held by the School. Some of the estate papers of the Burdett family are also held at the Derbyshire Record Office, but only a handful of these appear to relate to Repton; possibly more are held at Foremark or at the family's main seat in Wiltshire (DRO archivist, pers. comm.).

4.2 Secondary sources

Repton has long attracted the attention of historians and antiquarians, and several histories of Repton have been produced, including the *Historical and Topographical Description of Repton* by R Bigsby, published in 1854 and the relatively more recent *Short History of Repton* by A Macdonald (Macdonald's manuscript notes, correspondence, sketch plans and drawings collected for his history are held in the Derbyshire Record Office). However, following the extensive archaeological, survey and documentary work carried out over many years by Martin Biddle, Birthe Kjølbye-Biddle and their associates, a new and undoubtedly fuller history of Repton is said to be forthcoming.

4.3 Cartographic evidence

Although Repton's fields and commons were enclosed in 1769, no map is known to have survived; however, documents detailing lands exchanged at that time give map reference numbers, indicating that there must have been one. A map by Richard Crabtree made in 1825 and formerly in the Burdett Estate Office at Foremark is also lost at present (Biddle 1993). The earliest map of Repton to be available, therefore, is a parish map of 1829, of which at least two copies are available on microfilm at the Derbyshire Record Office in Matlock. One of these appears to have had later features, such as the road to Willington Bridge, superimposed upon it. A terrier has survived which accompanies the map. No tithe map exists for the parish, and there are therefore no large-scale maps for the period between 1829 and the first edition 25" Ordnance Survey map of 1881.

4.4 Archaeological evidence

The majority of archaeological information comes from the many excavations carried out over the years in Repton, particularly those which have taken place under the direction of Martin Biddle, Birthe Kjølbye-Biddle and Harold Taylor between 1974 and 1988, for which only interim reports and a few papers are available at present. Investigations, both antiquarian and recent, have tended to concentrate on the northern end of Repton, within the area of the church and priory, and there is no archaeological information about the village itself.

5. HISTORICAL AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL SUMMARY

5.1 Prehistoric (Figure 1)

Recent excavations carried out at Repton in various areas have all produced waste and worked flints of probable late Mesolithic or early Neolithic character. A number of features found at the lowest level of the sequence during excavations in the vicarage garden were also identified as being of probable prehistoric date. These included a wide flat-bottomed depression, a narrow V-shaped gully and a series of shallow dished pits characterised by various heavily weathered fills, although none of these features produced artefacts (Biddle & Kjølbye-Biddle 1986a; site 'A' on Figure 1). Sherds of 'dark and coarse prehistoric pottery' were also found during excavations to the north-west of the church in *c.* 1913 (Cox 1913) (SMR 24524).

To the east of the village, two or more barrows of probable Bronze Age date (SMR 24507) were reportedly visible on the summit of Askew Hill until the early 19th century, but by the middle of the century they were ploughed out and their exact location had been forgotten (Bigsby 1854). Aerial photographs of the area surrounding Repton have indicated the presence of crop-marks on Parson's Hills, just to the west of the village (SMR 24503), where two or three possible ring ditches and parts of rectangular enclosures are visible. Similarly to the south-east of the village two distinct ring ditches and a fainter large circle have been identified (SMR 24509). Far more extensive crop-marks are present on the northern banks of the Trent, both to the east and west of Willington. Excavation of an area to the west of Willington in advance of gravel quarrying found evidence of intermittent occupation from the Neolithic to the Saxon periods, including two late Neolithic settlements, an Iron Age settlement and field system, and three prehistoric ritual monuments (SMR 27906-8; Wheeler 1979). To the east of Willington crop marks indicate the presence of ring ditches, pit alignments, enclosures and other linear features, including a cursus (SMR 19903-6, 19912-3, 19916, 27401-3, 27406, 27410, 27426-8). Part of this area has been scheduled (SAM Derby 251), while excavation and field-walking in other areas has produced material from the Palaeolithic onwards. It is possible that similar sites may lie to the south of the Trent also, but that they are buried under deeper deposits of alluvium.

5.2 Roman (Figure 1)

Antiquarian tradition has Repton as a Roman colony, with the name of *Repandunum*, although this appears to have derived from speculation that there were traces in a meadow near the Trent of an old Roman camp ('The Buries', see below), rather than any certain proof that Repton itself had Roman origins. However, evidence from recent excavations in various parts of Repton has led to the suggestion that there may well have been a settlement of Roman date on or very near the bluff at the northern end of Repton, since fragments of Roman pottery, tile and other material have been found scattered over the whole of the investigated area, probably through ploughing in the Roman period or afterwards (Biddle & Kjølbye-Biddle 1992). Within the vicarage garden, for example, a dark brown ploughsoil was found to contain pottery dating from the 1st or 2nd century AD to the 4th century, coming particularly from the northern side of the excavated area towards the river (Biddle & Kjølbye-Biddle 1986a; site 'A' on Figure 1). Excavations in the early 20th century to the north-west of the church had also recovered 'pseudo-Samian ware' and parts of Roman tiles (Cox 1913) (SMR 24524), while in 1968, again in the vicarage garden to the west of the church a pillar base was uncovered which was thought to be of Roman date (Salt 1969).

Roman material has also been found in the area surrounding the village. To the north, beyond the Old Trent Water, lies a rectangular earthwork known as 'The Buries' (SMR 24501). It consists of a bank and outer ditch, containing two mounds and the remains of three parallel ridges with furrows, which appear to line up with ridge and furrow surrounding the earthwork, indicating a later date for the earthwork. Antiquarian tradition had assigned a Roman date to the enclosure, based on its shape and the fact that it was only some 2 miles from Ryknield Street, although Bateman, when shown a drawing of the earthwork, considered it too small for a Roman camp and wondered whether the mounds were tumuli and the enclosure a boundary around them (Bigsby 1854). Excavations carried out in 1910 recovered pottery dating from the 15th to the 17th century, some tiles and a coin of Charles II, with no signs of permanent occupation. Investigation of the mounds showed that they were not tumuli, although a few sherds of Romano-British pottery were found in the larger mound. To the north-west, on the opposite side of the Trent, excavation of an area in advance of gravel quarrying found evidence

of two Romano-British farmsteads (SMR 27909) (Wheeler 1979), while to the north-east Romano-British sherds were found both from field-walking and from excavated features (Trent & Peak Archaeological Trust, Potlock Summary Reports 1987-1990; site 'B' on Figure 1).

To the east of the village, a single Romano-British potsherd was found during field-walking in the Askew Hill area (SMR 24508). Further east, close to Milton, a sestertius of Antonius Pius (*c.* 150-160 AD) and a fragment of a bronze votive statuette were picked up (SMR 24520) while just beyond Milton another Roman coin, a silver-washed bronze follis of Diocletian (296-305 AD) was found in 1934 during excavations for a new pumping-house (SMR 24515).

5.3 Early Medieval

5.3.1 Place name evidence

Place name evidence shows that the hundred of Repton and Gresley was one of the areas of greatest Scandinavian settlement. The name of the hundred in Domesday Book, *Walecros Wap'* may in fact be wholly Scandinavian, with a meaning of either 'Welshmen's cross' or 'Váli's cross', the latter being the more likely (Cameron 1959). It is *wapentac et hundredrum de Rapendona* in *c.* 1158, although by the 13th century part of the hundred was called *wapentachi de Greseleg* with the two being coupled some time after this.

Repton itself is described as being the 'only really archaic name in the county' (Cameron 1959). The earliest references to it are found in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle under the year 755, and again in 874. At that time its form was *Hreopandune* or *Hreopendune*, with other early forms including *Hreope dune and Hrypadun*. In Domesday Book it is transcribed as Rapendune, with the earliest date of its modern form being 1443, although even as late as 1596 an alternative spelling of *Repingdon* was given. Its meaning is 'Hill of the Hrype or Hreope tribe' (Cameron 1959). The name of this tribe also provides the first element of the place-name Ripon in West Yorkshire, and indicates that it was a northern tribe. Stenton considered that this Anglian tribe could have their origins in the fifth century although there is nothing to suggest such an early date for Repton, and their appearance in Derbyshire is likely to have occurred at least half a century later than in Yorkshire (Cameron 1959).

5.3.2 The settlement

It is possible that the site was continuously settled after the Roman period, and some decorated pottery sherds of probable pagan Saxon date were recovered from early ploughsoils excavated in the vicarage garden (Biddle & Kjølbye-Biddle 1986a). Cox (1913) also reported the discovery of fragments of what he described as 'early Saxon cinerary urns' from an area to the north-west of the church (SMR 24524). By the later 7th century, the site was probably in the possession of a prince named Friduricus, and was closely associated with the royal house of Mercia by the mid-8th century, several Mercian kings being buried there (Biddle & Kjølbye-Biddle 1986b). Bigsby (1854) suggests that there may have been a royal palace at Repton, probably close to the monastery. Some evidence of timber halls and other structures was found during excavations in 1987-8 (Biddle & Kjølbye-Biddle 1992; see below), but whether these were secular or formed part of the monastery is not clear at present.

Evidence of Late Saxon activity at Repton comes from two coins, a cut half-penny of Aethelred II and a broken half of a penny of Edward the Confessor (Biddle 1986). By the mid-11th century Repton formed part of the property of Earl Algar of Mercia, who is recorded in Domesday Book as having 6 carucates of land taxable and land for 8 ploughs there. In fact, Earl Algar had died in 1062, but although his son, Earl Edwin of Mercia, had succeeded to the Earldom, it was usually Earl Algar who was recorded in Domesday Book.

There is no evidence as yet for the location of the early medieval village. According to Bigsby (1854), it lay mainly to the west of the present village, on the higher ground of Parson's Hills. He wrote of the 'repeated discoveries that have been made of the foundations of buildings occupying an extended space along the summit of the hill' (Bigsby 1854, 7), some apparently not far from the edge of the old river cliff to the north, others 'at no great distance from the road that leads from Repton to Newton Solney', although he was aware that that the ground had been used for stone-digging at various periods. He also referred to 'the mingled remains of men and horses' supposedly found during the 18th century in the

neighbouring fields.

The main channel of the Trent must once have flowed immediately below the bluff on which Repton Church and Hall stand, and the arrival of the Viking Great Army at Repton in 873-4 may suggest that the channel was active and navigable at that time. At some point, the river altered its course, breaking through into a new channel. The old bed, known as Old Trent Water, can be followed from just east of Willington Bridge to its junction with the present main channel a short distance above Twyford Ferry. It is likely that for a while, at least, the river would have used both channels, with an island existing between them. Documentary evidence suggests that such an island may have been in existence by the second half of the 13th century, with a reference in a deed to 'one rood in the upper isle of Wylinton' in *c.*1265-70 (Fraser 1941). In later deeds there are references to Willington holme, the term 'holme' being used to signify an island in a river, a meaning not uncommon along the Derbyshire Trent, and, in the 16th century, to the Netherholme and the Overholme, suggesting there were two islands in this area (Fraser 1941). However, as Fraser notes, the names may have been retained long after the land itself ceased to be an island; indeed, two of the fields just to the north of Old Trent Water are recorded as 'Far Island' and 'Near Island' in the survey which relates to the 1829 map. It is also worth noting in this context that the parish boundary follows much of the course of the present Trent, leaving it just below Willington Bridge and running further south than the current course along an earlier bed, although still considerably further north than the Old Trent Water. The parish boundary also deviates from the present course close to the eastern junction of the river with Old Trent Water. This indicates that the active bed of the river has certainly altered since the parish boundary was determined which, although the date is not known with any certainty, may have been by the 10th century (Fraser 1941).

Additional evidence of a Saxon presence in the area comes from the finding of two long brooch fragments to the east and north-east of Repton (SMR 24519 & 24526) and from the northern side of the Trent, at Willington, where a Saxon settlement consisting of three sunken-featured buildings and a number of pits were excavated (SMR 27910; Wheeler 1979).

5.3.3 The early monastery

A double monastery for men and women, governed by an abbess of noble, possibly even royal, rank is known to have been established at Repton before the end of the 7th century. Many of the antiquarian sources state that it was present by 660; however, a charter dateable to some time between 675 and 692 records the grant by Friduricus *princeps* to the abbot of Breedon of land called *Hrepingas*, and it has been suggested that this grant was made for the foundation of the monastery (Biddle & Kjølbye-Biddle 1986b, 1992). Certainly it was present in the 690's, when Guthlac, a Mercian nobleman, took his vows there, before leaving a few years later to seek a more solitary existence. Tradition states that he launched himself on the Trent in a boat, determined to reside wherever the vessel should land. This association of the early monastery with Guthlac was continued in the medieval priory (see below).

The monastery was clearly closely associated with the royal house of Mercia, several kings being buried there, including Aethelbald (d. 757), Wiglaf (d. 840) and his grandson Wystan (or Wigstan), murdered in 849 in a struggle over the succession to the throne. Wystan was buried in his grandfather's mausoleum and his tomb became a place of pilgrimage, with miracles supposedly taking place there. Within a few decades, he was regarded as a saint, and the church was dedicated to him (Biddle & Kjølbye-Biddle 1992).

There is some evidence, albeit debatable, that the lead mines of Wirksworth 'pertained to the Abbey from its earliest foundation' (Bragge 1886-7). In 714 the abbess Ecgburg sent a coffin of lead and a shroud to Croyland for Guthlac's burial, while a later charter dating to 835 records the grant of land at Wirksworth by the abbess Cynewara to Duke Hubert, with a rent of lead worth 300 shillings to be paid to Archbishop Ceolnotho and Christ Church, Canterbury (Birch 1887). Although it is likely that both were abbesses of Repton, it seems that there is no definite contemporary evidence to confirm it (Biddle & Kjølbye-Biddle 1986b).

The life of the abbey is assumed to have come to a close with the arrival of the Viking Great Army in 873, who incorporated the church into a defensive rampart (see below), although the extent of any actual destruction of the other buildings and their inhabitants is not known at present. Although early references to the monastery are relatively few, there are none at all which post-date the 870's, the only

exception being the description of the removal by Cnut of the relics of Wystan from Repton to Evesham, which in itself supports the idea that little or nothing of the monastic community remained (Biddle & Kjølbye-Biddle 1986b).

5.3.3.1 Archaeological evidence

Remains of several early stone buildings appear to date to the mid-Saxon period, with additional evidence of an early timber structure. The first to be identified was uncovered during excavations in the Vicarage garden. It consisted of a two-roomed structure of Bunter sandstone sunk c. 80cm below the contemporary ground surface and entered from the west. It appeared to have been of high quality, built of well-dressed stonework and stuccoed internally; however, its function has not been established with any certainty, other than that it was 'an element in an ecclesiastical family of buildings', having possibly been built in the 8th century and abandoned in the early 9th century (Biddle & Kjølbye-Biddle 1986a). There is also evidence in the form of a spread of decayed yellow sandstone and in the reuse of fragments of dressed sandstone in the walls of the sunken structure which shows that there was, in fact, an earlier stone building on the site.

Excavations to the north of St Wystan's Church in 1986 uncovered evidence for as many as three buildings thought to pre-date the earliest surviving parts of the crypt. The first was little more than a few blocks of Bunter sandstone running at a slight angle below the corner of the Anglo-Saxon central space; this was itself later than a building with a clay-bonded wall of Bunter sandstone with an interior clay floor, which appeared to be associated with a massive water-channel. The wall was on precisely the same axis as the building in the Vicarage garden, and apparently structurally identical to it (Biddle & Kjølbye-Biddle 1986a). To the east of this was a third structure, which had been of timber and of which parts of its northern, eastern and southern walls could be identified. Finds included coarse pottery, some of which were of possible 7th century date, metal-working residue and a considerable quantity of animal bone (Biddle & Kjølbye-Biddle 1987). Further excavations to the north of the church in 1987-8 uncovered further evidence of timber buildings which may represent halls and other structures of the estate centre in the 7th century (Biddle & Kjølbye-Biddle 1992).

Comparison of the early stone structures with later ones made it clear that there were two distinct building styles at Repton in the Early Medieval period, the earlier consisting of brown Bunter sandstone bonded with clay, and the later of a finer green Keuper sandstone, with larger blocks set in mortar (Biddle & Kjølbye-Biddle 1986a; Stanley 1990). The stone for the earlier buildings is suggested to have come from the immediate vicinity and from the area just to the south, while the later style used stone which probably came from Parson's Hill, several hundred metres to the west (Stanley 1990).

5.3.4 St Wystan's church (SMR 24506)

As noted above, the church is dedicated to St Wystan, Wiglaf's grandson, murdered in 849 and said to have been buried in his grandfather's mausoleum. Its earlier dedication is not known.

The Anglo-Saxon church was cruciform, with a central crossing which may have supported a tower. The chancel, north-east and south-east angles of the crossing, part of the northern transept and the crypt all survive. The crypt had been forgotten, and was discovered by accident in 1779 when the ground gave way beneath a workman who was preparing a grave in the chancel. The church was repaved in 1792, and the debris, including grave monuments, thrown into the crypt, which was only properly cleared in 1802/3 by the Rev Dr Sleath.

Over the years there have been many studies of the church, of which Taylor (1987) considered some 17 articles published by 8 different authors to be the most important. The church had originally been placed stylistically in the late 10th century, with the basic structure of the crypt being pre-874 and the recesses and vaulting system being 11th century (Pevsner 1978). However, more recent consideration of all the evidence, including the fabric, documentation and archaeology, has led to a revision of these dates, placing both the surviving Anglo-Saxon church as well as the crypt in the period before 873-4.

The crypt is the earliest surviving part of the church, and itself is clearly of several periods. In its earliest stage it appears to have been a free-standing building almost completely below ground, with semi-circular barrel-vaulted windows opening over flat sills placed at ground level and ornamentally

stepped plinths above ground, which represent the full height of the earliest walls. It is built of Keuper stone which may have come from the quarry on Parson's Hill no more than 1000m to the west. The date of building of the walls must post-date *c.* 715 based on the date of a sceatta found in a layer sealed by the construction of the crypt. A low building was then erected over the crypt, joined at its western end to a low aisleless nave, of which only the eastern end survives as the choir or central space. Bunter sandstone from an earlier nearby building appears to have been used for the walls, although the foundations are of Keuper stone. A lateral chapel or porticus, was built on either side of the central space either at the same time or later, with much of the north porticus still surviving. Later still, the walls of the chancel, central space and porticus were carried up in Keuper stone to their present height (Taylor 1987). Within the crypt itself, vaulting and twisted columns were inserted at some point, while two stairways from the western corners of the crypt were built, presumably to allow circulation between the crypt and the church.

It has been suggested that the original freestanding building was the mausoleum of King Aethelbald, with the building being refurbished with columns, vaulting and probably the chancel above around the time of the burial of King Wiglaf in 839. When Wystan, Wiglaf's grandson was murdered and buried in the crypt, he became the object of the most important cult in Derbyshire, and soon afterwards the two stairways were built to enable to the flow of pilgrims to the tomb (Taylor 1989). However, Fernie (1989) has disagreed with this interpretation. He noted that all other known decorated columns of similar date are connected either with the burial of a saint or with the demarcation of a sanctuary. He considered, therefore, that on iconographic and architectural grounds the original free-standing building was more likely to be the tomb of King Wiglaf, and that the chancel and decorated columns were provided for Wystan in what became a crypt beneath the altar sanctuary, as at other sites.

After the disruption and probable destruction of the monastery in 873-874, the church appears to have been in use again in the 10th century, although with 'no sign of monastic life or of aristocratic, let alone royal, interest except in the negative sense of the removal of the relics of Wystan by Cnut' (Biddle & Kjølbye-Biddle 1986). By this time it seems that it was functioning as a minster serving a large region (Biddle 1993), its importance being indicated in Domesday Book by the recording of two priests there, rather than one.

5.3.4.1 Archaeological evidence

Tales of underground passages between the crypt and Anchor church led to early 19th century excavations, with servants of the Rev Dr Sleath, who had cleared the crypt in 1802/3, apparently digging to a considerable depth in various parts of the ground forming the area of the crypt, but finding nothing (Bigsby 1854).

At the end of the 19th century the Rev Hipkins made some excavations on the east and south sides of the outer wall of the crypt, with the assistance of Dr Cox. This established that there had never been an apse, or three apses, marking burial recesses, as had been suggested by some. The foundations were exposed on both sides, and a flight of five steps were uncovered leading down to the eastern opening in the crypt, which was considered to have been a later addition, made during the time of the Augustinian Priory (Cox 1898). Further excavations outside the walls of the crypt took place in the early 1920's, when a deep trench was dug in order to get a better view of the masonry (Vassall 1924-5).

5.3.4.2 The cemetery

In 1792 a lead coffin of unknown date was found in forming a passage from the crypt to the east side of the church, which Bigsby (1854) suggested belonged to one of the Mercian court members or, even more fancifully as he himself admitted, possibly even to Aethelbald himself. He also refers to graves which were uncovered in the 'hall yard', presumably to the north-east of the church, which he considered to have been part of the cemetery belonging successively to the monastery and the priory, the site being 'plentifully garnished with skeletons', one of which had an inverted stone coffin placed over it, and was 'wrapped in a shroud of thick tawed hide, having also a skull-cap of the same material, tied originally with a leathern thong round the chin (Bigsby 1854, 251).

More recent excavations have brought to light numerous graves, and clarified the extent of the cemetery during this period, producing a range of burial practices (possible Viking burials are

considered separately below). Some of the earliest graves excavated came from the area to the south of the crypt. Burials to the north of the crypt, on the other hand, appear to have begun in the mid-870's, with the area continuing in use as a burial ground until the arrival of the canons in the 12th century. Burials to the west of the church, some of which, clustering around a burial mound (see below), were found to be exceptional, extended beyond the current western boundary of the churchyard (Biddle & Kjølbye-Biddle 1986a). To the east, excavations in the War Memorial Cloister in 1987 uncovered burials of probable 11th century date, with several generations of burial present, indicating that at least part of the later priory had been built over a pre-existing cemetery. It appears that by the 11th century the church stood in the middle of a vast cemetery, estimated to have extended as much as 60m in all directions (Biddle & Kjølbye-Biddle 1987).

5.3.5 The Viking overwintering

According to the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, in the year 874 'the army went from Lindsey to Repton and took up winter quarters there, and drove King Burgred across the sea ... And they conquered all that land ...' (Whitelock 1961). Since the annals in this part of the Chronicle begin in the autumn of the previous year, this means that they went to Repton in the autumn of 873 and left in the autumn of 874 (Biddle 1986b).

5.3.5.1 Viking artefacts

A number of finds probably dating to the Viking period had been made in Repton prior to the more recent excavations carried out since 1974. In 1801/2, a hogback tombstone had been discovered in the western part of the churchyard (SMR 24536), but was then broken up and used as a door-step for the dairy at the parsonage, an act which horrified Bigsby when he thought of the monument 'condemned, by the more than Hun-like barbarity of a modern utilitarian, to a purpose as vile, as the act itself was wanton and sacrilegious' (1854, 250). A sketch of the stone survives, however.

In 1839 an iron sword was found 'amidst an extraordinary quantity of human bones' (Bigsby 1854) by labourers who were excavating for a culvert beneath the new road to Willington (SMR 24513). No date was ascribed to the sword at the time, but it has recently been identified as being of the Viking period, while a further sword, now known only through an electrotype copy found in a Repton attic in 1948, is also thought to be Viking (Biddle & Kjølbye-Biddle 1992). Finally, in 1923 a bearded axe of Viking type (SMR 24505) was recovered when trenching was being carried out just outside the crypt (Vassall 1924-5).

5.3.5.2 The Viking defences (SMR 24540)

In 1976 the butt end of a large V-shaped ditch of obvious defensive function was found during excavations immediately to the south-east of the crypt. It appeared that there had been a bank on the northern side of the ditch, that it had been dug in relation to the standing church and that it had been backfilled after no more than a few decades. Burials of the 10th and/or 11th centuries had been cut into the fill. The course of the ditch to the east of the church could be identified following a resistivity survey, and was seen to curve to the north beneath the cloister of the later priory. To the west of the church, the course was traced in 1978 by caesium magnetometer survey. It terminated at the cliff above the Old Trent Water, where excavation revealed four successive ditches of which the earliest appeared to match that found to the east of the church, being V-shaped in section and having been back-filled shortly after its construction. It was clear, therefore, that a D-shaped defensive earthwork had been thrown up on the south bank of the Trent, enclosing an area of 1.46ha (3.65 acres), and incorporating the church as a strongpoint, probably a gatehouse, with the south and north doors of the nave providing a defended entrance to the enclosure. Based on stratigraphic evidence and on comparison of the earthwork with other known sites, it was concluded that the earthwork represented the defences of the Viking winter camp at Repton in 873-4 (Biddle & Kjølbye-Biddle 1992).

5.3.5.3 Viking period burials

Several burials have been dated to the Viking period. These include a male with unhealed blade injuries (grave 511), buried with a sword and scabbard on his right side, two further knives by the sword hilt, a silver Thor's hammer and two glass beads at his neck and a boar's tusk deliberately placed

between his thighs. A second male was subsequently buried with an iron knife just to the north (grave 295). Both graves were then covered with a rectangular setting of broken stones, with a post-hole centrally placed along its eastern side, and central to both graves, suggesting a substantial wooden grave-marker. In addition to these, there were at least two more weapon burials to the east of the church, one being the burial from which a Viking axe found in 1923 probably originally came, the other being indicated by an iron spearhead found loose in a later pit. Further burials are thought to form part of a cemetery belonging to, or at least beginning with, the events of 873-4. They include the burial of a woman (grave 529) which was dated by 5 silver pennies to the mid-870's, a grave with an iron knife, the wooden handle of which was found with silver wire, and two double graves. None of these were buried in a previously established cemetery, although burial continued in the area afterwards (Biddle & Kjølbye-Biddle 1992).

5.3.5.4 The burial mound (SMR 24541)

In July 1726 Dr Simon Degge visited Repton and was told by an old man named Walker how, some 40 years earlier, he had been 'cutting Hillocks' in a close on the north (*sic*) side of the church and:

> 'near the surface he met with an old Stone Wall, when clearing farther he found it to be a square Enclosure of Fifteen Foot ... In this he found a Stone Coffin, and with Difficulty removing the Cover, saw a *Skeleton* of a *Humane Body Nine Foot* long, and round it lay *One Hundred* Humane Skeletons, with their Feet pointing to the Stone Coffin. They seem'd to be of the ordinary Size ... over this Repository grows a Sycamore, planted by the Old Man when he filled in the Earth' (Degge 1727-8, quoted in Biddle 1986)

The mound was opened again in 1787 by the then owner of the close, Mr Gilbert, who recorded finding bones 'thrown in a heap together', while a witness to the opening of the mound recalled seeing fragments of iron artefacts, possibly including spearheads, swords and battle-axes (Bigsby 1854). Cox supposedly also put a trench in but found nothing, probably due to the size of his trench, which was identified during recent excavations as having been 34½ feet long but only 15 inches wide (Biddle 1986).

Excavations commenced in 1980 of a mound in the vicarage garden west of St Wystan's church which indicated that the report of the discoveries of the 1680's was essentially correct. The two-celled stone building in the Vicarage garden described above, had apparently been cut down to ground level to serve as the chamber of a burial mound. Re-excavation in 1980-6 uncovered the remains of a minimum of 249 individuals within the eastern compartment, all in disorder apart from a small group of long bones in one corner which were stacked at right-angles to the end wall. Presumably these bones had once been stacked 'charnel-wise' against the walls, but had been turned over by Walker in the 17th century (Biddle 1986). No trace of the central burial was found, but given the accuracy of the rest of the description it is assumed to have existed. Several objects were found among the disarticulated bones, at least some of which may have accompanied the central burial. These included an iron axe of early medieval type, a fragment of a two-edged sword, two large seaxes, a series of smaller seaxes and other knives, a chisel, a barrel-padlock key and other iron objects, as well as seven fragments of precious metalwork and six pins and tacks of gilded copper alloy. There were also five silver pennies, four of which were struck no earlier than *c.*872 and the fifth which may belong to 873/4 (Biddle & Kjølbye-Biddle 1992).

The burial chamber itself had been covered with flat stones resting on timber joists, and the whole building sealed by a low stone cairn, surrounded by an earth mound crowned by a stone kerb. Four pits appear to have been dug outside the building before the mound had been constructed and carefully backfilled later, while the simultaneous burial of three children and a *c.*17 year old at the south-west corner of the mound is thought to be a possible sacrificial deposit. Later burials had taken place on top of and around the mound; some of these graves, upon excavation, were found to contain the remains of gold-embroidered garments (Biddle & Kjølbye-Biddle 1992).

Based on the nature of the mound, the dating of the finds within it, particularly the coins, and the identification of the bones as being 80% male and supposedly 'of a massively robust non-local population type, parallels for which can be found in Scandinavia', it has been concluded that the deposit of bones is connected with the over-wintering of the Viking Great Army and its subsequent division in

the autumn of 874, and that it may represent a burial of kingly status 'to which the bodies of those of the Viking Great Army who had died in the season of 873-4 and perhaps in previous years had been gathered from graves elsewhere' (Biddle & Kjølbye-Biddle 1992).

Two earlier coins of the mid 8th century (SMR 24528) were found in or near the mound which were believed to have derived from the old ground surface which was scraped up to form the mound. One of these was of Pepin the Short of the mint of Verdun, possibly having reached Derbyshire via Dorestadt, Humberside and York (Biddle 1986).

5.3.6 The Repton Stone

In 1979 a large sculptured stone was discovered broken and upside-down in a pit just outside the crypt of St Wystan's Church (Biddle & Kjølbye-Biddle 1986b). Examination of the stone and its features suggest that it once formed the upper part of the shaft of a stone cross, the separate head of which was fixed in position by a centrally located dowel of wood or metal. Two of the four carved faces of the stone were well preserved, despite some weathering; the other two were not. One of the carvings depicts a horse and rider, holding a sword and shield and with another weapon, possibly a *seax*, at his waist. The other has as its main element a serpent whose segmented, wormlike body rises vertically from its coils to end in a 'human' head. There are two additional flanking figures embracing across the body of the serpent, with no heads but rather with tapering stumps entering the open mouth of the serpent. On various grounds it has been suggested that the stone is a monument of the 8th century, and that the rider may be a representation of Aethelbald, king of Mercia (Biddle & Kjølbye-Biddle 1986).

The stone had probably always stood in the open and appears to have been damaged after a period of weathering, with the probable destruction of the crosshead. However, since the damaged areas were weathered to a smooth surface, this suggested that the shaft had been left standing for a relatively long time. The stone was then deliberately broken up and disposed of soon afterwards, either in the 11th or, at the latest, in the early 12th century. Its original position is not known, but it may have stood to one side of the rampart erected to defend the Viking winter camp of 873-4, and been damaged in the process (Biddle & Kjølbye-Biddle 1986). The stone is now in Derby Museum.

5.3.7 Trade and Industry

The association of Repton with the lead industry of Derbyshire has already been noted above, and it has been argued that Repton supplied lead to European as well as to English ecclesiastical centres. Lead was apparently produced and transported by churchmen rather than merchants in this period, and was bartered for goods such as salt, rather than being sold, with clerics again being responsible for the transactions. It is known that early operations involving lead centred on an unnamed English monastery, and it seems likely that this was Repton, the monastery's association with Mercian kings also strengthening this interpretation (Daniel 1980).

5.4 Medieval

5.4.1 The manor

> *M & B. In Repton and Milton Earl Algar had 6 carucates of land taxable. Land for 8 ploughs. The King has in lordship 2 ploughs; 37 villagers and 3 smallholders who have 12 ploughs. A church and 2 priests with 1 plough. 2 mills; meadow, 42 acres; woodland pasture 1 league long and □ league wide. Value before 1066 15; now 8. (Domesday Book, Phillimore ed.)*

The manor belonged to the king in 1086 according to Domesday Book, with jurisdiction also in Ticknall and Ingleby. Domesday Book also states that 6 freemen who belonged to Repton had been 'placed' by the king in Winshill. Soon after, the manor had become the possession of the Earls of Chester, possibly having been given to Earl Hugh d'Avranches by William II. However, the male line ceased in 1232, whereupon the manor was divided between the four sisters of the deceased Earl, although the mill, the fishing and the bakehouse remained in common to all the co-heirs (Hipkins 1902). Two of the quarters became Crown property during the later 13th century, while the other two quarters became further divided, one into three and one into four. Some of these smaller portions were bequeathed to the Priory, so increasing the size of the priory manor. By the early 15th century the

Finderne family appear to have purchased half of the lay manor from the Crown and smaller portions from the various other families to which they had descended (Craven & Stanley 1991).

5.4.2 Communications

No documentary evidence as to the roads in the Repton area has been found, but it is assumed that they would have followed the approximate course of the modern roads to the south, east and west. As far as communications to the north were concerned, there were only two medieval bridges across the Trent in this area, one being at Burton and the other approximately 10 miles away at Swarkestone, Repton lying approximately midway between the two. Repton Priory had a connection with Swarkestone Bridge, a piece of meadowland lying between Swarkestone and Ingleby having been given to the Priory on condition that they supply a priest to sing mass in the chantry chapel which stood on the bridge (Kerry 1892). However, it was not necessary to travel as far as Swarkestone to cross the Trent, since the river was clearly fordable at Twyford from early times, its place-name indicating the existence of two fords here by at least 1086, when it is recorded in Domesday Book as *Tuiforde*, meaning double ford (Cameron 1959). A route leading out along Monsom Lane and then approximately parallel with the old course of the Trent would have led from Repton to Twyford and from there to Derby and the north. Whether the ford across the river at Willington is of a similarly early origin is not known. Presumably there would also have been an early bridge or ford across the Old Trent Water.

5.4.3 The settlement and its environs

Remnants of ridge and furrow in the fields around Repton indicate that in the medieval period the village would have had open fields to the east and west, while Repton Park (SMR 24516) lay to the south, the common to the south-east and probably meadow-land to the north. The number of fields in the open field system is not known, although medieval and later charters refer to land in Haskyefeld, Loscowfeld, Westfeld, and Ridgeway field (Williamson 1932). Beyond the existence of the Priory, little appears to be known of the settlement itself, including whether the Earls of Chester had a residence there. There is some suggestion it may have been in Repton Park, which is supposed to have included a ‘capital mansion’ in the mid-13th century (Craven & Stanley 1991).

5.4.4 Markets and fairs

In 1330 the proprietors of the manor claimed the right to a market on Wednesdays and a fair on July 1, on the grounds of their having been held from time immemorial (Coates 1965).

5.4.5 The motte and bailey castle

In 1986, excavations in the kitchen garden of the headmaster of Repton School had uncovered a deep cut, initially interpreted as either a Viking ship-slip or a 12th century castle ditch (Biddle & Kjølbye-Biddle 1986a). Further examination in 1987 indicated that the latter interpretation was the correct one, and that the ditch, which had been recut three times, surrounded the motte of a previously unknown Norman castle. The motte appears to have occupied broadly the area of the Hall garden, while the bailey took in the church and graveyard (Biddle & Kjølbye-Biddle 1987).

It has been suggested that soon after the acquisition of Repton by the Earls of Chester, the motte and bailey castle was erected to command the crossing of the Trent at the point where the road divided towards either Willington or Twyford. However, during the civil war between King Stephen and the Empress Matilda, the castle was put in a more defensible state, with the ditch being recut to a depth of about 4m at its deepest point. Material recovered from this first recut included wood, some animal and human bone, a fair amount of later 11th century pottery and an iron shield boss of conical shape (Biddle & Kjølbye-Biddle 1987). At this stage, the castle would have been in the possession of Ranulf II, whose power lay in a series of properties in northern Leicestershire, southern Nottinghamshire and southern Derbyshire along the upper Trent and who is reputed to have hoped to strengthen his power via a 'chain of fortresses securing his dominion from sea to sea' (Round 1895, quoted in Biddle & Kjølbye-Biddle 1986a). Following the accession to the throne of Henry II in 1154, however, the castle would probably have been destroyed, and the site later given by Ranulf's widow for the priory. The

ditch was apparently recut twice, probably during the 12th and 13th centuries by the canons, and used as a drain, before being filled in and used, first as a farmyard and later as a garden (Biddle & Kjølbye-Biddle 1987).

5.4.6 Repton Priory (SMR 24504)

Sometime between 1153 and 1159 Matilda (sometimes called Maud), the widow of Ranulph, the 4th Earl, granted a quarry at Repton and the advowson of the parish church there to Calke Priory on condition that they should move to Repton at the first suitable opportunity, presumably once the Repton buildings were completed. Traditionally this move is said to have taken place in 1172, although there appears to be no certainty of this; however it seems to be generally accepted that by that date the prior and canons of the Holy Trinity of Repton were established there, with the prior and convent at Calke having ceased to exist as an autonomous body, continuing only as a cell of Repton (Colvin 1982).

The priory buildings appear to have been placed very close to the old church, occupying the eastern half of the great cemetery of the minster church as well as the site of the Norman castle which had been levelled, with at least some of the new buildings being erected over the area (Biddle & Kjølbye-Biddle 1992). The ground plan of the priory is generally well known, partly as a result of the survival of some parts of the buildings in Repton School, and partly as the result of excavations over the years. It follows the usual monastic plan of church and adjacent cloister, with ranges round the cloister which included the chapter house on the east side, the refectory on the north side with an undercroft below, and the prior's lodgings and hall with cellars below on the west side. Although in the majority of monastic ground plans the church lies on the northern side of the cloister, at Repton it was on the south, possibly in order to site the living quarters closer to the Trent, and possibly in part also because of the 'soft ground' which was found to exist on the northern side (Macdonald 1929), the result, as is now known, of the infilling of the Viking and Norman ditches in this area.

The known ground plan of the church itself is not that of the original but of later rebuilds. It consisted of a nave with north and south aisles, north and south transepts, a choir or chancel which extended eastwards to form a presbytery, north and south choir aisles with a chapel to the south of the latter and, presumably, a tower over the crossing (Macdonald 1929). The canons' cemetery would have been situated to the east and north-east of the main priory complex; other buildings such as the infirmary and reredorter were probably also to the north-east, while a gatehouse and outbuildings lay to the south-west. The whole precinct was surrounded by a wall.

Sometime between 1214 and 1229 the priory managed to regain two small relics of St Wystan from Evesham, where they had been taken by Cnut (Biddle & Kjølbye-Biddle 1986b). In addition, it also possessed Guthlac's Sanctus Bell, said to be one of the treasures of the Priory and to have attracted pilgrims by virtue of its supposed miraculous ability to cure headaches (Macdonald 1929). The shrine and altar of St Guthlac are believed to have been in the north transept of the priory church (Hope 1885).

In 1272 a charter confirmed the Priory's possession of Repton church, together with its eight chapelries of Newton, Bretby, Milton, Foremark, Ingleby, Ticknall, Smisby and Measham, as well as the churches of Willington and Croxall and the Essex church of Baddow, its original endowments having been increased by generous grants over the years. The Priory was therefore able to draw in a considerable revenue from this large area.

In the first half of the 15th century a new Prior's lodge is believed to have been built by Prior Overton on the banks of Old Trent Water, of which a part remains, incorporated into the later Repton Hall. This remnant consists of a two-storey tower, known as Prior Overton's Tower, built of brick over a high plinth of ashlared Keuper sandstone. The tower forms one of the most ornate pieces of early domestic brick architecture in England and has been described as being 'of an importance considerably more than regional'.

5.4.6.1 Archaeological evidence

Bigsby (1854) remarked that foundations of Priory buildings were constantly being encountered whenever any alterations were made to the school buildings, a fact which had already been noted in 1790:

> 'In this ground, next the Priory building or school, has frequently been dug up the foundation of the ancient Priory-church; and the last time it was opened by the Rev. Mr. Stevens ... large pillars were discovered, apparently towards the chancel, with part of a floor of inlaid bricks, and some monumental relicks, one of which had an inscription partly legible, with the name of *Rolleston*, also a stone coffin inverted' (Stebbing Shaw 1790, 284)

Bigsby also records the finding of another inscribed gravestone in 1749, believed to have been uncovered in the area of the Priory church and to have been of 12th or 13th century date, although he notes that another record existed which implied that it was found near the mound in the Vicarage garden.

Dr Sleath, who was responsible for clearing the crypt in 1802, also carried out excavations of part of the Priory church in 1809, uncovering several pillar bases at the west front. In the same year, three cells measuring approximately 6' by 4'were discovered when a laundry was being made. Beneath the pavement of the cells three skeletons were found (Bigsby 1854).

In 1851, the British Archaeological Association congress visited Repton and was taken to see the results of several excavations in what was at that time a kitchen-garden:

> 'The excavators had come upon and laid bare several portions of the foundations of massive walls and of a large pillar. The latter of these, from its characteristic features, was at once pronounced to be the north-east pillar of a central tower of some vast ecclesiastical edifice. Its situation and markings afforded a key to the general structure of the edifice, and digging in several parts of the ground, indicated by the dimensions and position of the pillar, other fragments of foundations were discovered, answering in all ways to the expected remains, and quite sufficient to enable the architects to complete the probable ground-plan of the chancel and transepts of a building which had been long obliterated from the earth and having its base mouldings buried several feet beneath the earth's surface' (Ashpitel 1851).

Messiter (1907) summarised the excavations carried out in the priory in the last quarter of the 19th century. In 1879 two skeletons were found in the Priory, although no location is given, while in 1883 several skeletons were uncovered just below the floor of the south aisle of the Priory Church, together with a coin, when soil was being taken from there to raise the level of the Headmaster's Paddock so that it could be added to the cricket field (Hope 1884). At the same time a large tombstone was excavated in the centre of the nave, with a cross in the centre and a partial inscription around the border. In 1884 a body was found in a stone coffin only 4 feet long, between two piers in the south chancel aisle. The skeleton was said to have been laying on its right side with the legs doubled back, heels against thighs and knees against the end of the coffin (Messiter 1907). Apparently the bones disinterred during excavations were all buried together inside the choir, a little north of the entrance from the Pulpitum. In the same year a massive stone foundation was discovered running from the Hall westwards to the churchyard wall; the north wall of the 'new study wing' was built on top of it. In 1885 two 'fine stone coffins' without covers were found in the chapter house, about 3 feet below the old floor level, and in 1887 the remains of a doorway between the cloisters and the chapter house was uncovered (Messiter 1907). During these excavations in the late 1880's the eastern end of the presbytery was removed entirely and the ground lowered (Hope 1885). In 1894, during the alteration of a rockery in the south-east corner of the Hall garden, a brick room with a barrel roof was discovered, and was thought to be 'the ancient passage from the Cloisters and Fratry to the Infirmary' (Messiter 1907).

Further excavations took place in various areas during the first decades of the 20th century. For example, excavations in the north-eastern corner of the Priory garden exposed a low splayed window and two small archways, together with the foundations of several walls, one of which was thought to be

the eastern wall of the refectory (Cox 1912). Excavations were also carried out in 1921 in the cloister, prior to the erection of a war memorial and to alterations to the priory house. These allowed a more detailed examination of the north range of the cloister, in particular the refectory undercroft, than had been possible previously. They also established that the cloister walks appeared to have been reconstructed at the end of the 14th or the beginning of the 15th century (Thompson 1923).

In 1987, excavations in the War Memorial Cloister were carried out to investigate that part of the north range of the cloister which crossed the eastern arm of the Viking defensive ditch. The foundation walls of the frator were uncovered, and it was found that, while these were shallow at their eastern end, where the buildings had extended over the ditch the foundations deepened abruptly to over 2.4m. Excavations in 1921-2 had also recorded exceptionally deep foundations in this area (Biddle & Kjølbye-Biddle 1987). A sub-basement room of probable early 13th century date was also uncovered. Previous excavations and levelling had removed all traces of floors.

Excavations to the west of the church

In the early 1900's it was proposed that a piece of ground known as Alleyne's Close to the north-west of the church be added to the churchyard. Excavations uncovered the remains of walls over 5' thick, which it was suggested dated to the founding of the Priory and may have represented an outbuilding of some sort, such as a barn, with later additions dating possibly to the 16th century. Some of the stone appeared to have been reused from an earlier, possibly Saxon, building, while pottery sherds ranged in date from prehistoric through to medieval (Cox 1913) (SMR 24524).

In 1951 Repton School Archaeology Society carried out an excavation in the Vicarage Paddock on the suggestion of the Vicar, who had come across stones when digging up a Christmas tree. The Paddock lay some 80 yards to the west of the church tower. The stones turned out to be 'rough flooring'. The material beneath contained considerable quantities of 13th and/or 14th century pottery, the majority of which had originally been green-glazed. No signs of buildings were found, and the deposit was assumed to be a rubbish dump (Stow 1952).

In 1968 excavations by the Derbyshire Archaeological Society took place in the Vicarage garden, with the brief report on the site indicating that there had been an earlier excavation, presumably also by the Society:

> 'The site is situated on a spur of sandstone just west of the mausoleum (and ten yards further west than the previous excavation locating two Saxon window tops and foundations of a substantial building) although the site was more like a miniature jungle when we started, traces of large buildings could be clearly discerned on the ground. These were thought to be part of the Abbey, so in November we obtained permission from the Vicar to excavate in his garden... before the first ten spadefuls of soil had been dug there appeared a cobble floor which extended along our trench for 15 ft; at the 25ft mark a robbed out wall was encountered' (Salt 1969)

The trench was extended to 70 ft, and another substantial wall foundation was encountered running for at least 15 ft straight down the middle of the trench, disappearing under a later gravel path. All pottery was 14th century. Three 10 ft squares were then opened up to the north of the main trench, revealing a complex of wall foundations with pottery and artefacts of the 13th century and later. A Roman pillar base appeared to join two of the walls together (Salt 1969). It is not clear from the description of the site as being 'just west of the mausoleum' where exactly it was. Further excavations were due to commence in early 1969, according to a DAS newsletter. In December 1969 another DAS newsletter refers to excavations having taken place on a site adjoining the churchyard prior to the building of a bungalow, which had been started by the Society but completed by H Wheeler (SMR 24539). Although only limited areas were available for excavation, a valuable group of pottery of 12th to 14th century date was recovered (*DAS Arch. Res. Group Newsletter* No. 16, Dec. 1969). Possibly this was the same site as that referred to by Salt, although no wall foundations are mentioned in the second report.

5.4.8 Trade and Industry

From a collection of papers belonging to the Measham family of Repton, dating from between 1275 and 1784, there is an early reference to a certain Nicholas, whose smithy lay 'near to the common furnace', and another reference to Henry, tanner of Repton (Cox 1914). The tannery may have been located on the site of the 19th century tannery (see below).

5.4.8.1 Quarrying

As mentioned above, the canons of Calke, conditional to their removal to Repton, were granted 'the working of the quarry of Rependune by Trent' as well as the advowson of the church, wording which was considered by Macdonald (1929) to indicate that the quarry was the most valuable part of the endowment. He suggested that it was sited either halfway between Calke and Repton, near The Shrubs, to the south of the village, or that it was on Parson's Hills. The latter is believed to have been the source of stone for much of St Wystan's church. An alternative site for the quarry was proposed by Fraser (1943) to the east of Repton School, in an area called Quarry Hill Close, where signs of stoneworking are also visible. Whether the quarry, or quarries, ever supplied anything more than local requirements is not known, but probably not very likely.

5.4.8.2 Tile Manufacture

In 1866 the boys of Repton School were levelling a piece of uneven grass within the Old Abbey Wall when they discovered first a number of tiles and later a tile kiln (SMR 24514). This consisted of two adjoining rectangular chambers, each arched over by six arches made of chamfered bricks or tiles. The floor was laid with plain black tiles, and a considerable number of tiles and tile fragments were recovered, many of which were wasters (Pears 1868). It was apparently not unusual for tileries, as well as potteries, to be attached to the larger religious establishments. Jewitt (1868) examined the numerous patterns and stamps found on the Repton tiles, and concluded that the kiln had supplied tiles to other religious houses and churches also, including Kegworth, Thurgarton and Bakewell. Macdonald (1929), however, has questioned whether tiles found elsewhere were indeed made at Repton, considering either that stamps were handed on from one kiln to another or that companies of tile-wrights travelled about, carrying with them stamps which they used in various kilns.

5.4.8.3 Milling

Two corn mills are known to have existed at Repton, both lying on the brook which runs just to the east of the village. The first of these belonged to the Priory, although whether it was constructed at the same time as the original monastic buildings is not known. A charter dated to some time between 1217 and 1231 of Ranulph, Earl of Chester, confirmed to the Holy Trinity of Repton 'the site of the mill and its pool below their Court in Rapendon as far as the water descending from the house of William Etebred on Trent...' (Williamson 1932), and it was still in existence at the time of the dissolution, since the details of the property acquired by Thomas Thacker included a water mill, described as 'adjoining the monastery' (Fraser 1942). However, neither its exact location nor the date of its disappearance are known. The brook now runs to the east of the precinct wall although the 1829 map of Repton shows a stream containing a long narrow pond branching off this and crossing the site that later became the school playing fields. It ran under an arch in the school wall, which was moved early in the 20th century, as indicated by a plaque set in the wall which reads:

> 'Under this arch once flowed the water to the Priory Mill. The arch was moved nine yards from the north to the present position in March 1905'

This part of the stream and the pond are not shown on the 1881 OS map, having presumably been filled in by then. It may, in fact, have been the original course, since Hipkins (1909) suggests that the stream was diverted to its present course outside the eastern boundary wall by Sir John Harpur in 1606 and Macdonald (1929) refers to a counterclaim made by Gilbert Thacker sometime after 1592 against Harpur for having interfered with the watercourse that worked the mill. Both Macdonald (1929) and

Gifford (1993) suggested that the mill had stood at Brook End, while Fraser (1942) considered that the laying out of the Repton School playing fields had destroyed any possibility of tracing its exact position. Bigsby (1854,115) refers to 'a spot called the "Dam Garden", on the south-west side of the "Paddock"', which he considered to indicate the location of the mill, but it is not clear from this exactly where he means.

The second mill lay further upstream, to the south. The valley is quite wide and flat here, and it seems that in order to get an adequate fall of water the pond was placed half a mile above the mill buildings, and a narrow leat was cut to carry the water to the wheel (Fraser 1942). This arrangement is clearly visible on maps of Repton, but whether it was the original one is uncertain, since an area of marshy ground shown on the 1829 map closer to the mill may represent an earlier pond. This mill presumably served the village, and although its date of origin is not known, Fraser (1942) considered that 'in all likelihood' it was the site of one of the 2 mills recorded in Domesday Book, although Gifford (1993) was somewhat less certain. As far as the site of the second Domesday mill is concerned, Gifford stated that it was 'almost certainly Priory Mill, at Brook End' (1993, 8), whereas Fraser thought it would 'doubtless be that once belonging to the Saxon Abbey' (1942, 87), which he considered the Vikings would not have destroyed, it being a secular rather than a religious building. He does not make it clear whether he thought that this earlier mill was on the same site as the later Priory Mill, however.

5.4.8.4 Wool

Wool was Derbyshire's second most important export in the 14th century, after lead. In c. 1340 Repton Priory provided 25 sacks of wool to merchants, out of a total of some 67 sacks from all the religious houses in the county (Blanchard 1967). Blanchard (1967) also noted that the aulnage accounts of Edwards IV's reign had their entries arranged under four main headings - Derby, Chesterfield, Ashbourne and Repton - suggesting that the latter was an important centre of production, although in Henry VIII's reign Repton did not appear to support a single cloth worker.

5.5 Post-Medieval (16th to 18th centuries)

5.5.1 The Manor

In 1540, following the dissolution, the priory buildings and surrounding land were granted to Thomas Thacker, Steward to the Chancellor, Thomas Cromwell, this estate remaining known as the priory manor. The last of the Thacker family died in 1728, at which time the hall passed via marriage to the Burdetts of Foremark (Tilley 1902). The lay manor, on the other hand, was in the hands of the Finderne family by the 15th century, and came by marriage to the Harpur family, George Finderne having left his estate to his niece, the wife of Sir Richard Harpur, in 1539.

5.5.2 Communications

5.5.2.1 River crossings and roads

As noted above, the Trent was bridgeless in the Repton area, with traffic to Derby and the north crossing at Twyford, and traffic to the west and north-west crossing at Willington where, during this period if not earlier, there was both a ford and a ferry. The ford was situated about four or five hundred yards below the present bridge, lying almost directly north of Repton. It was approached from the village along the Steinyard Lane, following the line of the brook as far as the Old Trent Water. The route then crossed the meadows to a point on the river bank opposite the eastern boundary of Willington Hall grounds (Fraser 1941). According to Macdonald (1929) the lane to the ford was also known as The Docks, because goods were supposedly unloaded from boats there. The other crossing was via a ferry some 400 yards above the bridge, which was approached along Tanner's Lane. A ferryman's cottage once stood at the site. The ferry appears to have been in existence by at least 1674, when a lease refers to a meadow abutting on Ferry Acre (Fraser 1941). Burdett's map of 1767 shows the most direct route to the north as being via the ford to Willington, with the route to the ferry at Willington seemingly stopping in the middle of nowhere, and the way to Twyford ford and ferry being

shown as via Milton rather than along Old Trent Water, although this does not mean that these two latter routes were not in use in the later 18th century. Possibly the route via Willington ford was the most important at that time, following the development of a wharf at Willington associated with the Upper Trent Navigation.

5.5.2.2 Waterways

The River Trent was notorious for continually changing its course, and attempts were clearly made from an early period to stabilise it in this region. Weirs were built of wattle and/or stone, running parallel to the river, to cut off side channels around unwanted islands. During flood time, silt would accumulate behind them and consolidate into a new bank; such weirs are known from at least the 13th century. It was also necessary to revet existing banks to facilitate navigation and protect fields (Salisbury 1985).

Despite opposition, especially from Nottingham, Parliament granted approval for the Trent to be made navigable as far as Burton on Trent in 1699, with a wharf being erected at Willington, to the north of Repton (Owen 1968). However in 1777 the Grand Trunk Canal (Hull to Liverpool) was completed and as a result the Upper Trent navigation had essentially been given up by 1805 (Paget-Tomlinson 1978). It has been argued that Repton's decline as a market centre may derive, at least in part, from the cutting of this canal and the by-passing of the Trent (Tunley 1970).

5.5.3 The settlement and its environs

Although the medieval open field system was still in use in Repton during the post-medieval period, it is clear from references in numerous charters that some land was being enclosed from at least as early as the 16th century (Williamson 1932). In 1766 an Act of Parliament was obtained for the enclosure of the remainder of the open fields, commons and wastes within Repton parish, with the exception of Southwood, which was part of the Priory manor. The owners and proprietors of lands lying within the Priory manor had no claim of common right upon the commons within the lay manor of Repton (Stebbing Shaw 1790).

There does not appear to have been a manor hall in Repton itself for the owners of the lay manor. Bigsby (1854, 106) implies that it was in Repton Park, to the south of the village, although the earliest definite record of a building within the park is the hearth tax assessment of 1662 which records it as a lodge belonging to Sir John Harpur, indicating that it was probably built as a hunting lodge as an adjunct to the Calke estate. The park itself had been disparked and converted into farmland before the end of the 18th century, although the paling still remained until the early 19th century (Lysons & Lysons 1817).

With the dissolution of the monasteries, the Priory buildings were partly demolished, partly used for a school and partly converted in a residence for the Thacker family (see below). In addition, Thomas Thacker acquired 'all the fishing in le Weyre', and in 1538 he leased this weir, which was called the Convent weir. His son Gilbert extended the lease in 1548, but in addition to the rent, the lessees were 'to search and look unto Gilbert's swans on the Trent and be ready at all times to help repair the banks and maintain the grounds by the setting of osiers and driving of piles ...' (Williamson 1932).

According to Bigsby (1854, 108), Repton's importance ceased with the dissolution of the Priory and 'from being "a market towne of good note and worth" ... it sank at once into the mere village it has since remained'. Several references to specific parts of the settlement in the 16th and 17th centuries have survived. In 1510, two cottages are mentioned which lay between a tenement on the west 'and the town brook on the east in length and in breadth between the wall of the abbey of Repton on the north and the king's highway on the south' (Cox 1914). The 1829 map shows a building outside the south-eastern boundary wall of the priory, and this reference would appear to indicate a similar location. The wall is mentioned again in 1569 when 'a cottage house and tenement in Repton' are described as 'standing in the Hye strete over against the hye stone wall commonly called in tymes past ye Abbey wall'. It was probably the High Street, which was referred to in 1567 as 'the place vulgarly called "the

longe strete"' (Cox 1914). In the mid-17th century there are numerous references to mending the pinfold, including one 'for wood to mend the Little Bridge and pinfould' (Cox 1914), although it is not certain whether the pinfold was in the same or a similar position to that in the 19th century, namely on Pinfold Lane.

The destruction of several Priory buildings provided a source of stone for at least some of Repton's dwellings, the surviving 'Stone House' being an example. However, buildings would more commonly have been timber-framed until around the early 18th century, when brick became more commonplace, often produced locally. There are no known sites of brick kilns at Repton, but several 19th century field names indicate their earlier existence.

5.5.4 Population

Analysis of Derbyshire's population in the mid-17th century was carried out by Edwards (1982), using the hearth tax assessments and the Compton Census, data collected in 1676 giving numbers of conformists, papists and non-conformists. Unfortunately the data for Repton is considered to be too unsatisfactory to warrant any estimation of population, as the hearth tax assessments were incomplete and the Compton returns included Bretby with Repton.

5.5.5 Markets and fairs

The market and fairs are assumed to have continued to be held during at least some of this period. John Harpur, lord of the manor, petitioned the Queen in 1594 for a grant of the 'anciently held right' to keep a court leet, market and three fairs at Repton. These appear to have been granted in *c.* 1600 (D2375 138/18/1-8). However, at the beginning of the 19th century both the market and the fair (with the exception of a statute fair) are listed as disused, both having 'long ago been discontinued' (Lysons & Lysons 1817).

5.5.6 The Priory

Several archiepiscopal and episcopal visitations between 1496 and 1524 indicate that the community at Repton at this time varied in size between 13 and 18 canons, although it was somewhat reduced in 1535 when one canon was found to wish to leave religion and four were accused as sodomites. In 1537 Henry VIII accepted a large fine, or bribe, from Repton to avoid suppression and letters patent were granted exempting the priory from dissolution. This was just a short reprieve, however, and in October 1538 the Priory was surrendered by the sub-prior and eight canons, the prior having died three days before the surrender (Clark 1989). The Priory was granted to Thomas Thacker, who then purchased the contents, including all the fittings of the church. An inventory survives listing these and their locations, namely the church with five chapels, vestry, cloister, chapter house, dortour, fratery, hall, buttery, six chambers, kitchen, larder, brew-house, ale-house, 'boultyng' house and kiln house (Bigsby 1854).

The buildings are believed to have survived fairly intact for several years, but tradition has it that Thomas Thacker's son, Gilbert, concerned that Queen Mary was going to set the abbeys up again,

> 'called together the carpenters and masons of that county, and plucked down in one day (church work is a cripple in going up, but rides post in coming down) a most beautiful church belonging thereunto, adding, he "would destroy the nest, for fear the birds should build there again"' (Fuller's *Church History* quoted in Macdonald 1929).

Some parts of the Priory buildings were retained, however, while others may have been dismantled as a source for stone or timber, as mentioned above. According to Macdonald (1929, 53) stones were visible in various parts of the village which had 'every appearance of having come from this convenient quarry'.

In 1559 the priory buildings, with the exception of the Prior's Lodge, were sold for use as a school (see below).

5.5.7 Repton School

In 1557 Sir John Port, Knight of the Bath, who lived in Etwall to the north of the Trent, provided estates in his will for the purpose of building and maintaining a hospital at Etwall and a school at either Etwall or Repton. Consequently, in 1559 the trustees purchased the surviving west range of Repton priory from Gilbert Thacker to convert into the school-house and masters' residences (Bigsby 1854).

The Prior's Lodge and the gatehouse were retained by the Thacker family, although the school presumably had right of way through the latter. The gatehouse had been demolished by the end of the 18th century (Biddle 1993), with only an arch remaining to form the entrance to the school.

There were approximately 80 boys at the school in 1664. The numbers appear to have fluctuated between 100 and 200 boys during the first 60 years of the 17th century, a large proportion of these being day boys. There were 70 students in 1714 and around 150 in the 1770's although the numbers began to fall towards the end of the 18th century and into the early 19th century.

5.5.8 Repton Hall

Repton Hall was built about 1680 as a private house on the site of at least two earlier buildings. The first of these was the Prior's lodge said to have been built by Prior Overton in the 15th century. This was taken over by Thomas Thacker when he came into possession of the Priory after its dissolution, and the building used as a residence by the family, certainly once the school had come into being, although the form of the building at that time and whether parts of it were modified or rebuilt is not known. It is mentioned in 1662, when Godfrey Thacker had 'his dwelling house on the ruins of the Priory' taxed on 13 hearths (Craven & Stanley 1991). However, when Francis Thacker entered into the estate, he built what amounted to a new house in *c.* 1678-1680, with a nine-bay Carolean front facing south, but incorporating Prior Overton's tower at the east end of the north front. After the estate had passed from the Thackers to the Burdetts, the Hall was leased to Repton School.

5.5.9 The 'Tithe Barn'

This building is believed to post-date 1727, since it is not shown on a sketch of the gatehouse made at that time, and was clearly present by 1829, when it is depicted on the map of Repton. The building originally had a thatched roof, with some of the roof timbers being reused from a medieval building (Biddle 1993). Its current name is probably relatively recent, since Bigsby (1854, 115) refers to 'the "Abbey Barn"... now more generally called the "Tithe Barn"'.

5.5.10 Trade and Industry

Documents relating to the Measham family of Repton dating between 1275 and 1784 include, among other things, a reference to John Vernay of Repton, dyer, in 1510, to Henry Cantrell of Repton, tanner, and to William Rawston of Repton, weaver, in 1569 (Cox 1914). The tannery was probably on the same site as the 19th century tannery (see below). There were 8 alehouses in the village in 1577 (Hart 1879). The two corn mills were both in existence at the beginning of this period, but at some point the old priory mill disappeared.

Information on apprentices at the end of the 18th century provides some information on cottage industry in Repton at that time. The main employer was a Henry Hunt, described as a weaver in 1793 and both as a cotton weaver and a cotton spinner in 1794. There was also a flaxdresser, a cordwainer and a basket maker who took on apprentices (Boon 1995).

5.6 The 19th century

5.6.1 The manor

The Lord of the manor in 1829 is given as Sir George Crewe of Calke Abbey by *Glover's Directory*, with the Priory Manor within the Manor of Repton being the property of Sir Francis Burdet. In 1846, Sir John Harpur Crew and Sir Robert Burdett are cited as joint lords of the manor and principal owners (*Bagshaw's Directory*) with Sir John Harpur Crewe being patron of the church.

5.6.2 Communications

5.6.2.1 Roads and river crossings

Communications to the north were considerably improved in 1839 with the opening of the Willington Bridge, which had required the building of a new road from Repton. Tolls were charged to cross the bridge until 1898, although the tollhouse was not demolished until 1958 (Repton Village History Group 1987). When the bridge was built, the ferry ceased to exist and, in order that the tolls on the new bridge should not be circumvented, the ford was stopped up by deepening the river on the Repton side, and steepening the slope of the river bank (Fraser 1941).

5.6.2.2 Railway

Repton was one mile east from Willington station on the London and North Western and Midland railways. The line was opened for traffic in 1839 in the same year as the bridge across the Trent, so providing access for Repton to the railway (Repton Village History Group 1987). In 1847 the railway took over the Grand Trunk Canal and began to work it as an extension to their system, with one of the rail-water interchanges being located at Willington junction (Paget-Tomlinson 1978). The station closed in 1964.

5.6.3 The settlement and its environs

The settlement does not appear to have undergone much expansion during the 19th century, although several houses were built specifically to provide boarding accommodation for the boys attending Repton School. These included Brook House, on the eastern side of High Street, which was built in 1869, and St Wystan's on the western side of the street, built in 1885. In the opinion of Repton's 19th century historian, the principal street was 'composed, for the most part (it must be confessed), of indifferent-looking houses...' (Bigsby 1854).

5.6.4 Population

The 10-yearly census, started in 1801, provides the following figures for the township:

Year	Population
1801	1424
1811	1648
1821	1802
1831	1758
1841	1943
1851	1863
1861	1853
1871	1902
1881	1724
1891	1783

5.6.5 Markets and Fairs

In 1806 the market cross was altered, with the earlier square-sectioned shaft and capital being replaced by a plain round shaft with a ball on the top (Bigsby 1854). Quite why this alteration was made is not

clear, especially since, as already noted, Repton's market and fairs had ceased completely by then, with the exception of a statute fair for hiring servants which was held at Michaelmas (*Glover's Directory* 1829). By 1846, however, two further fairs are recorded, on the third Monday in April and the third Monday in November, although the market is described as 'long disused' (*Bagshaw's Directory*, 1846). This change in circumstances is explained by Bigsby:

> 'An attempt has been made, in late years, to revive its fair and market; the former for the sale of farming stock and various small merchandise, is still kept up with tolerable success; but the latter ... was soon discontinued' (1854, 109).

5.6.6 Religious Buildings

In addition to the parish church, the population of Repton was provided with three additional places of worship in the 19th century.

5.6.6.1 Independent Chapel

The Independent society first began in Repton in the 1780's, although its earliest meetings were held in the house of one of the members. In 1801 a small brick chapel, measuring 34' x 17' inside, was built at the top of the garden belonging to the house. A new chapel was built in 1836 and opened the following year. In 1840 the vestry had another storey added to it and side galleries were placed within the chapel, so that it could seat around 400 people (D3630/2/3). It became a Congregational chapel and is now part of the United Reformed Church. It is a grade II listed building.

5.6.6.2 Methodist Chapel

The Methodist chapel was erected in 1815 to seat *c.* 200 people, and was described as being a 'neat brick chapel' (*Bagshaw's Directory* 1846). Although the building still exists, it is no longer in use as a chapel.

5.6.6.3 School Chapel

Repton School Chapel was built to commemorate the 300th anniversary of the founding of Repton School. It was designed by the Derby architect, Henry Stevens, and was consecrated in 1859 (Repton Village History Group 1982). It is a grade II listed building.

5.6.7 Education

5.6.7.1 Repton School

Numbers of pupils at the school began falling during the last couple of decades of the 18th century, and by 1841 there were only 35 pupils. The school was revived under a new headmaster, Dr Pears, in the second half of the 19th century, however, and by 1890 numbers had risen to about 300 (Messiter 1907). This rapid growth was associated with a new phase of building, with a new chapel being built in 1857, as mentioned above, and the Pears Memorial Hall being erected on the site of the Priory church in 1883-1886. New boarding houses were also built in the village to accommodate the influx of pupils.

5.6.7.2 Village School

The village school was built on the western side of High Street in 1879 and was closed in 1974. It is now the Art Department of Repton School (Repton Village History Group 1982).

5.6.8 Repton Gas Works (SMR 24531)

The gas works were situated on the eastern side of the main street and were opened in 1857. The gas holder is no longer there (Repton Village History Group 1987).

5.6.9 Trade and Industry

Information on apprentices in Repton provides some information on local tradesmen in the first half of the 19th century. Apprentices were taken by the blacksmith, wheelwright and woodturner (Boon 1995); there were also three basket makers recorded as taking apprentices between 1819 and 1831, which indicates the use to which the local osiers were put, osier beds being widespread in the area, as shown on the 1829 map. The terrier which accompanies this map also allows the identification of local tradesmen and the location of their shops, including several blacksmiths, a cooper, a joiner, a shoemaker and several butchers.

The village mill continued in use, although OS maps towards the end of the century indicate considerable silting of the pond.

5.6.9.1 Malting

According to *Pigot's Directory* of 1821-2, Repton had no particular 'manufactures', but there were 'many malting concerns, some of which are upon an extensive scale'. Later directories do not mention this, however, and it appears that this particular industry had died out in Repton soon afterwards. A probable reason for this is provided by Bigsby (1854), who noted that Repton had previously been induced to grow barley and produce malt for the neighbouring town of Burton-upon-Trent, but that by the mid-19th century, brewers there were obtaining their malt from Lincolnshire.

5.6.9.2 Tanning

The earliest map and terrier of Repton, dated 1829, show that a tanyard lay to the west of the village, close to St Thomas's Well (SMR 24512) and probably on a stream arising from St Ann's Well (SMR 24527), further west. It is marked on the 1" OS map of 1836 as 'Tan Vats'. As mentioned previously, there are references to a tanner at Repton in 1275 and again in 1545, and it seems likely that the latter, and possibly the former also, were on the same site. The tanyard was still present in 1881, as shown on the OS map of that date; however by 1901 a steam laundry had been established on the site. An advertisement for it, printed in 1905, boasted its healthy situation, good spring water, open-air drying grounds and new and up-to-date machinery and methods, noting that 'Visitors to Repton are cordially invited to inspect the Laundry at any time when working' (Emmott 1905). It was demolished in September 1973 (Repton Village History Group 1987).

5.7 The 20th century

Repton School has continued to expand and to erect new buildings. These include New House by Forsyth & Maule on Burton Road, built in 1909, and the theatre and chemistry block by Marshall Sisson, built in 1957 (Pevsner 1978). The school began accepting girls in the sixth form in 1970. This required new facilities, and in 1979 a new boarding house, The Abbey, was built to take the increasing numbers of girls. In 1989, the school took the decision to take girls from the age of 13. This required the building of two further boarding houses, the first of which, The Garden, was opened in September 1992 (Repton School advertisement, 1993).

The second half of the 20th century has seen the development of relatively large areas of housing, together with access roads, particularly to the east of the historic core.

6. THE DEVELOPMENT OF REPTON

The settlement has been divided into plan elements, or components, based on available maps and documentary references. The plan elements have been subdivided below according to the earliest date of their assumed occurrence, although these divisions are tentative only, and would need to be

confirmed by further work. Subsequent changes to each component are briefly summarised, together with the degree of survival of early features to the present day.

6.1 Early Medieval and Medieval Components

Analysis of the possible area of early medieval and medieval settlement is based on the identification of possible earlier routes and regulated plots shown on historic maps, as well as on the few documentary references found in published deeds and charters. The components are shown on Figure 2.

Due to the existence of a number of important, but overlapping plan elements of both pre- and post-Conquest date at the northern end of Repton, the area has been designated as a single component (Component 1) for the purpose of this assessment. The plan elements have therefore not been mapped individually. The possible area of the early medieval settlement on Parsons Hills has also not been mapped, as it is beyond the existing limits of the village.

Component 1 ***The northern end of Repton***

This is an area of known archaeological significance and is of the highest importance. It includes the following plan elements:

1. The *early medieval monastery*, the extent of which has yet to be identified, but which almost certainly lay on the site of the existing church as well as to the north and west of it.

2. The *Church of St Wystan and its cemetery.* The earliest surviving structure is the 9th century crypt, with Anglo-Saxon work also present in the chancel, crossing and part of the north transept of the church. A wider south aisle was added to the church in the 13th century, with further additions and extensions in the 14th century, including a new entry into the crypt, a much wider north aisle, the south porch and the tower and spire. In the 15th century the clerestory was added (Taylor 1987). The church underwent certain alterations in 1854 and was restored in 1886 (Bragge 1886-7). By the 11th century the church appears to have stood approximately in the centre of a cemetery which extended some 60m in all directions (Biddle & Kjølbye-Biddle 1987).

3. The *Viking defended area*, which incorporated the church in its southern side.

4. The *Norman motte and bailey castle*, with the motte in the area of the Hall garden and the bailey taking in the church.

5. The *medieval Priory*, the precinct and some of the buildings of which are now incorporated into Repton School.

Component 2 ***Market place***

The area around the cross and the broad street to the north are assumed to have been the site of the medieval market. The lower part of the present-day market cross (SMR 24534), consisting of a flight of eight steps of octagonal plan, is believed to be medieval in date, and is presumably on its original site. The cross is a Grade I listed building.

Component 3 ***Block of tenements and crofts bounded by Willington road north and east and Burton Road south***

An area of irregular development to the south of the churchyard, along the western side of the market and along the northern frontage of the road to Newton Solney. The western boundary of this block has been drawn slightly further west than the settlement plots, to follow a strong single boundary shown on the 1829 map. There is no evidence of regular burgage-type plots, with the land to the rear of the buildings being divided into irregular blocks. Some buildings had been erected on these by the end of the 19th century, including the School Chapel, with further school buildings being constructed during

the 20th century.

Component 4 ***Triangular block of properties bounded by Brook End north, Boot Hill south-east and High Street west***

These properties have their frontages on Brook End and High Street, with small rear yards. The block is divided into two by a lane.

Component 5 ***Block of tenements and crofts bounded by Brook End north, Component 7 south, Repton Brook east and Boot Hill west***

Properties fronting Brook End and Boot Hill, with irregularly shaped plots to the rear. The southern boundary of this block is a lane shown on the 1829 map, now no longer in existence. The land to the rear has been built on in the 20th century, with access provided by a new road, Brookside Close.

Component 6 ***Block of properties, Burton Road north, Component 9 south, High Street east***

Plots fronting the north-western half of High Street and the southern side of Burton Road. As with Component 3, the western boundary of this block has been drawn slightly further west than the settlement plots, to follow a strong single boundary shown on the 1829 map. The buildings are set within irregularly- shaped plots, with the area behind them divided into crofts of various sizes. Only in the southern third of this block do the property boundaries run back to the western boundary. Much of the land to the rear has been built on in the 20th century.

Component 7 ***Block of properties lying between Components 5 and 8, with Repton Brook east and High Street west***

Plots along the eastern side of High Street, with plot boundaries running back from the street frontage to the stream. Its northern and southern limits are marked on the earliest map by lanes leading to small bridges across the stream, only the southern one of which survives. New houses fronting a new road, Askew Grove, have been built in the northern half of the area in the 20th century.

Component 8 ***Block of properties bounded by Component 7 north, Pinfold Lane south, Repton Brook east and High Street west***

Plots along the south-eastern side of High Street, again with boundaries running back from the street frontage to the stream. Plots are considerably more regular than those in Component 7 to the north. In the 20th century a few houses have been erected to the rear of existing buildings.

Component 9 ***Block of properties bounded by Component 6 north, Well Lane south and High Street east***

Plots along the south-western side of High Street. The properties within this area all share a common rear boundary, and are of similar length to those in Component 8, although more irregular in width.

Component 10 ***Tannery***

The tannery, which may have been on this site since the medieval period, was succeeded at the end of the 19th century by Repton Steam Laundry, which stood until 1973. The site now forms part of Repton School's Tanyard Sports area.

6.2 Post-Medieval Components

Six components have been tentatively identified for the post-medieval period, based on documentary evidence and on plan form analysis of the 1829 map of Repton. They are shown on Figure 3.

Component 11 ***Settlement at Brook End***

Buildings fronting Brook End, Monsom Lane and Milton Road. It is possible that some settlement already existed here in the medieval period.

Component 12 ***Settlement along Well Lane***

Some scattered buildings had been erected in this area by the 18th century, as evidenced by Danesgate, a Grade II listed building of that date.

Component 13 ***Settlement along the western side of Main Street***

The 1829 map shows a number of buildings fronting Main Street, apparently set in irregular plots, with no common back boundary. Many may have originated as squatter settlement along the side of the road.

Component 14 ***Settlement along the eastern side of Main Street***

Buildings fronting the eastern side of Main Street, set in generally broad plots, with boundaries running back to Repton Brook. The Congregational Chapel was erected to the rear of the northernmost plot in 1836, while Gas Works were erected towards the southern end of the component in 1857.

Component 15 ***Settlement along Pinfold Lane***

Housing and a farm, together with the pinfold, were present here by 1829.

Component 16 ***Site of water-powered corn mill***

The earliest date of this mill is not known at present, although it may be of medieval origin. The mill is now demolished, although photographs of it exist (Repton Village History Group 1987).

6.3 19th century Components

Five components have been identified for the 19th century, based on a comparison of the 1829 map and the 2nd edition 25" OS map of 1901. The components are shown on Figure 4.

Component 17 ***Sports grounds***

This area, which is recorded as the Hall Orchard in 1829, had been converted into a cricket ground by the end of the 19th century. The 1901 OS map indicates that it had been levelled to form several separate areas. Tennis courts have been constructed in the north-western third of the area in the 20th century.

Component 18 ***School Sanatorium***

The sanatorium was built some time after 1881 and before 1901.

Component 19 ***Settlement along Tanner's Lane***

A number of narrow plots are marked along the eastern side of Tanner's Lane in 1829. By the end of the century, a couple of buildings had been erected.

Component 20 ***Settlement at the north-eastern end of Milton Road***

A small area of terraced housing had been erected by the end of the 19th century

Component 21 ***Methodist Chapel***

This was erected in 1815, but is no longer in use as a chapel.

6.4 20th century development

Twentieth century development at Repton is represented by a single component, as shown on Figure 5.

6.5 Discussion

The widespread scatter of prehistoric and Roman material at the northern end of the village hints at the possibility of early habitation at Repton; however, not enough is known about this to be able to locate any actual settlement site.

The early medieval settlement, with its royal connections and important monastery, would have been of considerable status. The extent of the monastery cannot be traced at present, but is assumed to lie within Component 1, possibly represented by stone and timber structures located during excavations to the north and east of the church (see section 2.3.3.1). There may have been a royal palace at Repton also, but its existence has not yet been proven.

Tradition has the settlement itself lying mainly to the west of the present village, on the slightly higher ground of Parsons Hills, suggesting a primarily east-west orientation, rather than the essentially north-south alignment so clear on 19th century maps. Such an orientation would make maximum use of the defensive possibilities of the river cliff at this point. The course of the Trent at that time is not known.

Although the life of the monastery appears to have come to an end during the 9th century, possibly following the Viking overwintering, the church continued in use, probably functioning as a minster, its importance indicated by the size of the cemetery by the 11th century. Minsters appear to have provided an economic stimulus, attracting the growth of commercial activity (Blair 1988). A market may have grown up in the early medieval period, therefore, as the earliest documentary evidence for Repton, from 1330, simply claims that a market had been held there 'from time immemorial'.

The current street plan, in the form of a long main road running north-south, parallel to the brook, crossed by an east-west route and with a market cross at the junction of the two, is probably medieval, if not earlier, in origin. The question arises as to whether the north-south road once continued to the river but was blocked, resulting in the sharp turn to the west at the priory gate. It certainly appears to have been blocked by the time of the earliest map, this time just beyond the vicarage, having originally continued further west, descending the side of the river cliff down to the tannery (Component 10) before turning north-west towards Willington ferry.

Before the founding of the Priory, it is likely that the 11th and early 12th century settlement lay on either side of the road leading up to the church, to the north of the present cross. If so, then some of this early post-Conquest village would have been taken in by the priory precinct. The road to the north of the market cross is noticeably wider than the other roads, indicating that it may once have formed the market place, or at least a part of it. The form of Component 4 is somewhat suggestive of encroachment on the market place. However, the ground slopes markedly down to the east in this area, and it is equally possible, therefore, that the curving road of Boot Hill was a later development, perhaps cut through to avoid an awkward corner between High Street and Brook End. If, on the other hand, these buildings do represent early encroachment onto a previously much larger market space, then the block of properties at the top of Component 6, which appear on the 1823 map to constrict both Burton Road and High Street as these routes approach the market place, should also be considered as a possible encroachment. In this case, the lane forming the boundary between Components 5 and 7 would have entered a very large market place at its southern margin.

Properties in the northern part of the village, in the area of the market, show little regularity in their plot shapes and sizes; however further south along High Street there is an increasing tendency for plot

boundaries to run back from the road to a common rear boundary. In Components 8 and 9 plot lengths on either side of the road appear very similar, while breadths appear rather more regular than those in the components further north. These two areas may represent a deliberate extension of the settlement. In Component 8 in particular the properties are noticeably narrower. Possibly they were deliberately laid out as smaller plots, or subdivided from larger ones, at a time when the settlement was expanding in terms of population numbers but could not expand physically because it was constrained by its open fields. Certainly the funnelling out of the road at the southern end of High Street indicates that this was the limit of the settlement at one time, as is also suggested by the location of the pinfold near here.

With the enclosure of fields and commons in the post-medieval period, Repton was able to undergo some expansion to the south and to the east (Components 11-15), although there may have been settlement at Brook End prior to this. However, the evidence from the 1829 map suggests that such expansion was not particularly intense and it seems likely that most of any growth in the post-medieval population could probably be accommodated within the area of the existing medieval settlement. Similarly, 19th century expansion was very limited indeed, particularly in the absence of any real industrial activity, and consisted mainly of buildings associated with the school. It is only recently that the form of the village has changed, with the development of fairly extensive housing estates, particularly to the east.

7. ARCHAEOLOGICAL ISSUES

7.1 Research Questions

1. The spread of Roman material found in excavations at the northern end of Repton suggests that a settlement of Roman date may have existed. This is of particular interest in view of the association elsewhere of early medieval minsters with Roman sites (Blair 1988). However, the nature and extent of such a settlement is unknown at present.

2. Was there continuity of occupation from the Roman period through to the early Christian settlement? The existence of such continuity needs to be established.

3. The date at which Old Trent Water became an abandoned channel, together with early crossing points. The siting of Repton, with Willington on the opposite side of the Trent valley, might suggest an early crossing point of the river and the flood plain here.

4. The location and extent of the early Christian settlement has still to be established, together with the extent of important components within it, such as the monastery, and the existence or otherwise of a royal palace.

5. The impact of the Viking overwintering on the settlement and local population needs to be examined. It has been suggested that the monastery may not have continued in existence after this time, but that the church did continue to function. What were the implications for the settlement? Did it decline or did the presence of the pagan Viking burial mound simply continue the earlier tradition for burial of important individuals at the site, and even enhance Repton's status in the Danelaw, as suggested by the exceptional burials which clustered about it (Biddle & Kjølbye-Biddle 1986a)?

6. Location of Domesday mills, and what type they were, given the lack of fall of water. Is thre any possibility that at least one of them was on what is now Old Trent Water?

7. What was the full extent of the bailey of the motte and bailey castle? Does this bear any relationship to the form of the Priory precinct?

8. For the Priory, the layout of the church and cloister ranges appears to be reasonably well understood, but not the location of other associated buildings and areas, for example the

infirmary, cemetery, barns etc. This has a bearing on the relationship between the priory/ medieval settlement and the medieval finds reported from the area to the west of St Wystan's church.

9. The extent of medieval settlement in all directions, including Brook End, needs to be established.

10. In view of the possibility that the bricks for Prior Overton's Tower were made locally, where were the brick kilns located?

11. The 'Stone House' is the most obvious and complete example of the re-use of stone following the destruction of some of the Priory buildings in the 16th century. However, other less obvious survivals should be recorded, to provide some information on the uses to which it was put and the degree of rebuilding which was taking place at that time.

12. Are there any remnants of the malting trade?

7.2 Archaeological potential

7.2.1 Existing protection

Conservation areas

The *Planning (Listed Buildings and Conservation Areas) Act* 1990 required all Local Planning Authorities to determine which parts of their areas were of special architectural or historic interest and to designate them as conservation areas, in order to preserve or enhance the character and appearance of the area. It is also their duty to review them from time to time, and to determine whether any further parts of their areas should also be designated as conservation areas.

Repton's Conservation Area was designated in August 1969 and extended in February 1982 to cover the area shown on Figure 6. It comprises firstly the historic centre in the north, near the church, school and market cross, an area which includes good vernacular buildings of the 17th to 19th centuries. It then continues along the southwards extension of the village, to include an important group of historic buildings situated near 33 High Street (Tudor Lodge) and, further south, a number of 18th and 19th century frontages. The conservation area finally takes in the garden suburb along Well Lane, with its 18th and 19th century dwellings in their wooded grounds, and a laneside stream course, as well as Lutyen's house of 1906 (Tunley 1970).

Listed buildings

A listed building is one recognised by the government as being of special architectural or historic interest, as specified by the *Planning (Listed Buildings and Conservation Areas) Act* 1990. Listing is made at three levels of importance, Grade II, Grade II* and the most important, Grade I, and listed building consent is required, in addition to normal planning consent, before any alterations, extensions or demolitions can be made to a listed structure which might affect its character.

There are 38 listed buildings within the built-up area of Repton, as shown on Figure 6, the majority of which are Grade II, with the exception of an early 18th century house, 'The Grange', which is Grade II* and the market cross, the church, and parts of the priory, which are Grade I. The listed buildings can be broken down according to their earliest structural phase as follows:

Earliest Structural Phase	**C16 or earlier**	**C17**	**C18**	**C19**	**C20**
Number of structures	9	6	9	9	5

Planning Policy Guidance 15 allows the creation and maintenance of a list of buildings of local historic/architectural interest, although this does not confer a statutory obligation. There is currently no local list for Repton.

7.2.2 Above ground remains

Much of the street pattern survives from at least the 18th century, probably fossilising an even earlier pattern dating back to the medieval period, if not before. Although a new road now connects Repton with Willington via a bridge across the Trent, the early routes towards Willington ford and ferry and towards Twyford survive as lanes or footpaths. The early boundaries between the settlement and the surrounding fields, as indicated on the earliest surviving map, are also still present in the form of the meandering brook to the east and lanes to the west. The irregular plots surrounding modern buildings in the north-western part of Component 6 reflect the small irregular crofts shown in 1829, while further south, and on the eastern side of High Street, several property boundaries still run back at right angles from the road to the stream or the lane to the rear, probable survivors of earlier tenements.

As far as standing buildings are concerned, the church is of national importance, containing as it does 'one of the most precious survivals of Anglo-Saxon architecture in England' (Pevsner 1978, 303), while a number of important buildings have survived in the Priory complex, not least of which is the nationally important early brick structure known as Prior Overton's tower. As part of the recent archaeological work carried out in Repton, a survey of the buildings of the Priory has been undertaken. The remains have been recorded at 1:100, while the surviving block of 'The Old Priory' has been partly surveyed with plans, sections and elevations at 1:50. The Hall has been surveyed and the elevation of Prior Overton's Tower has been drawn (Biddle & Kjølbye-Biddle 1987).

Repton is also important because of its mix of architectural styles and forms, ranging from the survival of early timber-framed, stone and brick domestic structures, to the construction of several ambitious 19th and 20th century buildings, some domestic, such as the Lutyens and Parker & Unwin houses, and some associated with the school, such as the Pears Memorial Hall, the Chapel, and the Chemistry Block.

7.2.3 Below ground remains

The archaeological work already carried out around the church, in the vicarage garden and around the school buildings has indicated the enormous potential for survival of archaeological features in this area at the northern end of Repton.

Slightly further east, within the old priory precinct, a large amount of landscaping and leveling has taken place to form playing fields, which may have resulted in the destruction of some as yet unlocated components of the priory, such as the mill, the infirmary, and the cemetery, as well as possible 11th and early 12th century settlement evidence. However, not all leveling means destruction; for example, according to Hope (1884), soil was taken from the area of the Priory Church to raise the level of the Headmaster's Paddock so that it could be added to the cricket field. This offers the possibility for the survival of some features, buried under areas that were leveled up.

The lack of archaeological excavation elsewhere in the village means that it is difficult to assess the degree of survival of any remains. The relatively undeveloped rear area of many plots offers the potential for survival of features such as rubbish pits or small-scale industries in back-yard workshops, with the possibility of preservation of organic remains in the ground adjacent to Repton Brook

The rebuilding of later structures set back from the road may have allowed the survival of earlier features relating to buildings which were more directly sited on the street frontage. Comparison of the 1829 map with the modern map indicates that several such cases exist; in a few instances, street frontages open in 1829 have remained undeveloped to the present day. The extent to which current buildings are cellared, and the impact of this on earlier deposits, is not known.

The site of Repton corn mill is at present undeveloped, and offers the potential for establishing whether or not this site is that of one of the Domesday mills; the site of the tannery, on the other hand, may have been substantially, if not completely, destroyed by the later laundry and subsequent sports complex.

To the west of the village, the quarrying remains on Parsons Hills are of importance and interest in their own right, but also raise the question as to whether they may have destroyed earlier settlement along the top of the river cliff. Further south, however, towards Burton Road, crop marks indicate the survival of earlier features, while traces of ridge and furrow to the east of Tanners Lane offer the possibility of preservation of early remains below later medieval fields.

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