

THE CHURCH OF SAINT ALKMUND, DERBY

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INTRODUCTION

This paper is published with the aid of a grant from the Department of the Environment.

The new ring road in Derby required the construction of a crossing with an underpass on the west side of the River Derwent, immediately outside the north-east corner of the medieval defences. The work involved the destruction of the Church of St. Alkmund, which stood within those defences, at the top of a slope overlooking the valley, above the place where the medieval bridge had crossed the river. The building dated from the 19th century and was not architecturally distinguished. It replaced a medieval church, which was thought to have stood on one of the oldest Christian sites in the area. The plan of this building, made before its demolition in 1844, incorporated features that could not be later than the 12th century; its demolition produced a number of pre-Conquest sculptured stones, the oldest of which dated from the ninth century, perhaps as early as c. A.D. 800.

Since the centre of population in the parish of St. Alkmund had moved into the suburban area, it was decided to erect a new church in a more convenient place, so that the long Christian tradition of the community could be carried on.

The Corporation of Derby readily responded to representations made by the Derbyshire Archaeological Society and by Professor Maurice Barley of the University of Nottingham, urging that the site of the church be excavated. A Committee was formed with representatives of the Borough, the Diocese, the Society and of the University of Nottingham, with Mr. N. S. Fisher, then Town Clerk of Derby, in the Chair. I was invited by the Committee to advise and was subsequently appointed Director of Excavations, with Mr. Ian Young as Assistant Director. Work was begun in October 1967 and was completed in the following spring. Mr. Young was throughout in charge of operations on the site and compiled a full record of the progress of the work. Summaries were prepared at frequent intervals and were circulated to the members of the Committee. It is a pleasure on this occasion to place on record the deep debt which the Committee and I, as Director of Excavations, owe to Mr. Young for his unflagging interest in the work, which often had to be carried out under unpleasant weather conditions.

The exploration of the remains beneath the church of St. Alkmund was a common effort undertaken with the full support of the civil and ecclesiastical authorities. Without this co-operation it would not have been possible to carry through the task and to achieve the successful results recorded in this report. The known burials were exhumed and reinterred elsewhere. All the movable fittings, together with the more interesting of the monuments, were removed before the building was handed over to the civic authorities. The excavation was carried out with labour, equipment, machines and transport provided by the Borough of Derby and with the aid of a grant from the Ministry of Public Building and Works, now the Department of the Environment.

Throughout the Committee received every assistance from the Ministry of Transport and the Borough of Derby, which were responsible for the construction of the road. Work had necessarily to be co-ordinated with the progress of the scheme in order to ensure the economical use of labour and the disposal of soil and debris. The smooth working of these arrangements was ensured by the Borough Engineer, Mr. W. G. Penny, to whom the Committee's best thanks are due. The treatment of the sculptured stones

found in the excavation was organized by the Derby Museums, in which they are now displayed. The reassembly of the monolithic sarcophagus, in particular, raised problems, which were solved with the technical advice of the then Ministry of Public Building and Works. For this assistance the Committee is deeply indebted to the Curator and staff of the Derby Museums. Tribute must also be paid to the volunteers from the Derbyshire Archaeological Society and others, who assisted Mr. Young in the excavation of the more delicate features at weekends and on other occasions; their co-operation ensured the recovery of essential data, which might otherwise have been lost in view of the tight schedule of the operation.

I visited the site at frequent intervals, noting the progress of the work and the various features discovered. But this report is based on the records kept by Mr. Young and on his summaries, circulated to the Committee. It has, unfortunately, not been possible to get into touch with him during its compilation and he has not seen the finished text. For the presentation of the report and the interpretation of the results, I accept sole responsibility and any errors are mine.

The completion of this report owes much to Mr. J. R. Marjoram, who was at all times in close touch with the progress of the work. He secured a valuable photographic record, which has been of great use in checking details. Mr. Marjoram has also read in draft the account of the excavation and I am much indebted to him for many comments and criticisms, which have been incorporated in the finished text. Mr. R. G. Hughes assisted greatly in the recording of the sculptured stones found during the excavation and afforded every facility for the study of those found in 1844, which have been in the custody of the Museum for more than a century. A list and analysis of the records, maps, plans and illustrations of the medieval church, drawn up by Mr. J. Wigley, has proved a valuable guide to the elucidation of the later history of St. Alkmund's Church. The plans of the excavation, with the exception of Fig. 2, have been drawn by Mr. Young and the photographs of the sculptured stones and of the Anglo-Saxon penny were provided through the good offices of Mr. Hughes and the Derby Museums. To these helpers and to many others, citizens of Derby, I offer my most sincere thanks for assistance given in many ways.

Mr. Christopher Blunt and Mr. E. W. Danson have contributed sections of the report, which appear over their signatures. I have also had the benefit of discussing certain aspects of the discoveries with Mr. Martin Biddle, Professor Rosemary Cramp and Dr. H. M. Taylor. For advice and assistance in various ways I am indebted to the Right Reverend Geoffrey Allen, Lord Bishop of Derby at the time of the excavation, to Professor Maurice Barley and Mr. J. R. C. Hamilton of the Inspectorate of Ancient Monuments. To all of these and to many others I would express my gratitude.

THE VICTORIAN CHURCH

(Fig. 1)

It was decided to rebuild the medieval church in 1841. The surviving minutes of the Church Building Committee start on 14th September 1843 and the foundation stone was laid on 6th May 1844. The church was completed during that year.

The plans of the new building were modified more than once. As completed the new church of St. Alkmund had a chancel, an aisled nave of four bays and a prominent western tower flanked by a continuation of the aisles. The main entrance was through a south porch corresponding to the fourth bay of the nave. A vestry on the south side of the chancel was added in 1891. The church was built in the Perpendicular style. The windows were tracered, in some cases with modern stained glass. The walls were covered with a large number of memorial tablets, some of which came from the old church.

The Victorian church ignored the plan of the medieval building, which was completely

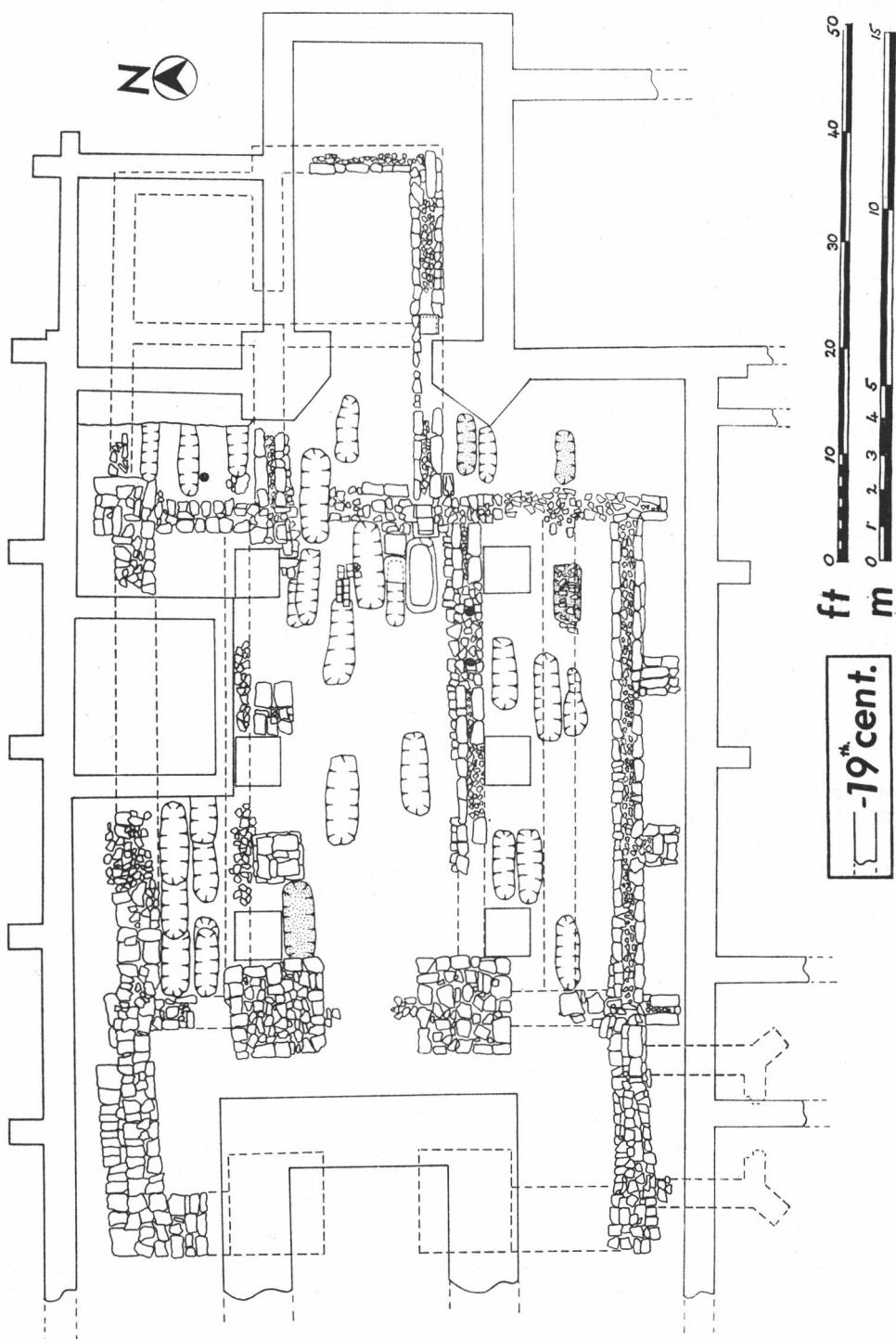


Fig. 1 St. Alkmund's Church: general plan of excavations

enclosed within the 19th-century walls. Measures were taken to protect the vaults and graves, including those lying outside the medieval church, the tombstones being sunk 60 cm. (2 ft.) below the level of the floor.

At least seven pre-Conquest carved stones were found during the demolition of the medieval building. Two were walled into the new fabric. All are described in the present report, together with the carved stones found in the excavations and during the demolition of the 19th-century fabric.

THE EXCAVATION OF THE MEDIEVAL CHURCH

The dominant style of the building demolished in 1843–44 was Perpendicular, but the irregularities of the plan¹ showed that the structure was of more than one date. In particular, the asymmetrical layout of the arcades — that on the north aligned with the side of the chancel and that on the south rather over 1 m. (3 ft. 3 in.) outside the line of the corresponding wall — could only have arisen in the course of the replanning of an older building. A trial excavation carried out in the area in front of the south respond of the medieval chancel arch and extending beyond the east respond of the arcade disclosed the complexity of the building sequence and confirmed the fear that the interior of the older building had been extensively used for burial.

The perimeter of the 19th-century building enclosed the medieval church, but the piers and responds often cut into or lay within the medieval walls. The Victorian walls were built in wide foundation trenches, noted in places at the edges of the excavation. The piers stood on separate blocks of masonry, which had, in part at least, been built free. The areas disturbed in the upper layer were therefore more extensive than the foundation trenches cut into the natural soil, though they could not be exactly defined in the loose fill.

The roof and windowless walls of the modern structure were largely left in position to provide shelter during the excavation, which had to proceed through the winter months (Pl. 1a). Only the tower and the west end had been demolished before work started. These circumstances imposed a start at the east end in order to facilitate the disposal of soil. Each area was cleared in turn, leaving graves and other features for a more detailed examination. Much of the latter work was carried out by volunteers belonging to the Derbyshire Archaeological Society, under the direction of Mr. Young.

It had originally been hoped that the remains of the medieval building would be of sufficient interest to incorporate in the layout of the open space covering the site of the churchyard. But the fragmentary nature and poor condition of the masonry uncovered did not justify the expense that consolidation would have involved. The medieval walling was therefore demolished in the hope of recovering further carved stones.

The area within the older walls was stripped down to undisturbed soil, except in those places where later remains had penetrated to a depth which destroyed all hope of recovering medieval remains. The space between the medieval and the Victorian walls was explored only in part. Immediately below the modern floor the whole space was covered with a layer of rubble about 60 cm. (2 ft.) deep. This was removed by machine, leaving the Victorian foundations standing above the medieval floor level.

The removal of the modern rubble brought to light a number of walls and other features. Only a few patches of the earlier floor remained in position. The most extensive, at the east end of the nave, covered, in part, two graves, one of which had a lead coffin of recent date. This pavement was of plain red tiles, measuring 21 cm. (8½ in.) square and of post-Reformation date. Beneath this level was a layer of medium coloured brown soil much disturbed by burials. In places, as in the chancel, this layer was over 1 m. (3 ft. 3 in.) deep. A similar layer, sometimes rather greyer in colour, was found in the aisles of the medieval church. Though disturbed, these layers extended up to the face of the later medieval walls and piers and covered some of the older features. Recognizably late graves and the brick vaults of recent date were cut through this layer.

Outside the medieval walls the corresponding level consisted of looser soil of a darker colour, containing mortar, pieces of stone and fragments of recent pottery, together with disturbed human bones.

At a lower level and extensively cut into by graves of various dates, a hard brown sandy layer, forming the undisturbed subsoil, covered the whole area, inside and outside the medieval church. It was clear that the old ground surface nowhere survived within the area explored. The level of the south wall of the earliest building suggests that the natural surface lay at least 60 cm. (2 ft.) higher than the highest level, at which undisturbed subsoil was found. This may well be an under-estimate. If the first stone church was built on an eminence, its construction may have involved some levelling of the site. In the circumstances post holes or other evidence of an earlier wooden building could hardly have survived.

The 19th-century pier bases were cut through the disturbed brown layer into the natural soil, in which the foundation trenches could easily be seen. The only significant find in the foundation trenches was a coin of George III, dated 1806.

A number of brick-lined vaults were found within the older church. They had been dug down through the brown layer into the natural soil to a depth lower than the medieval

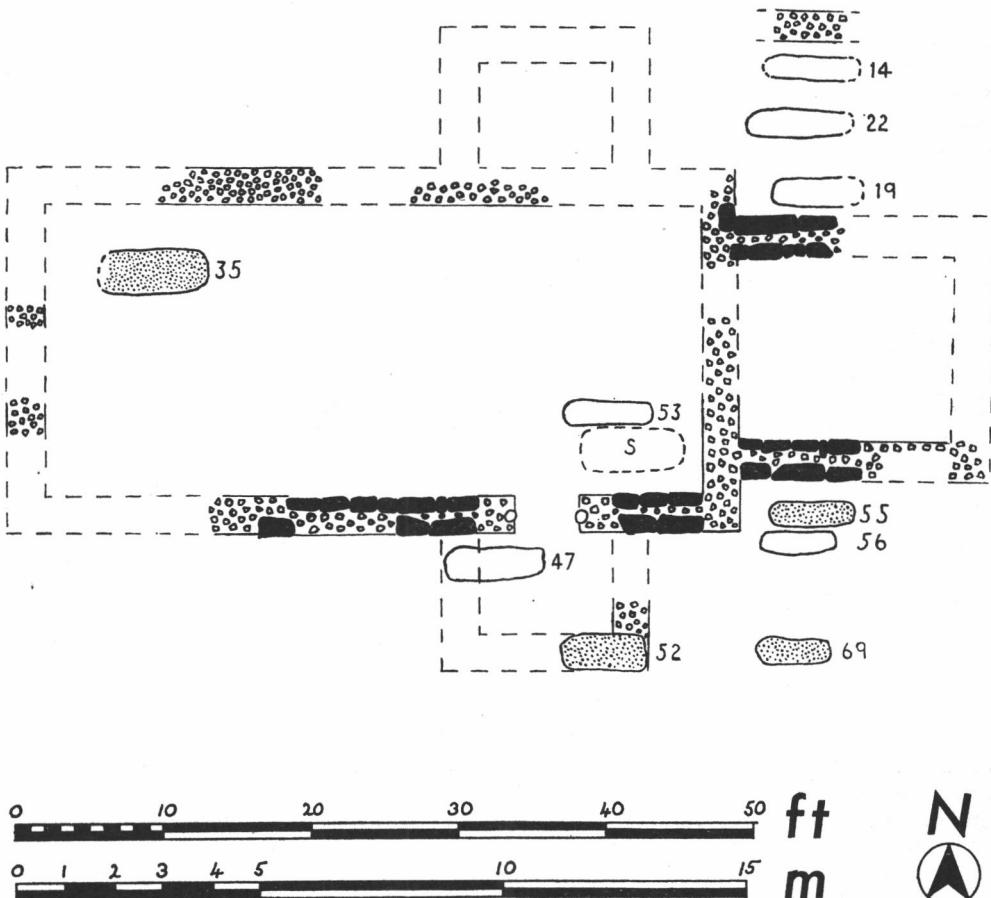


Fig. 2 St. Alkmund's Church: Phase 1 (pre-Conquest), showing graves (numbered) and position in which sarcophagus (S) was found.

foundations and the earliest graves. Late graves also reached a low level, being cut into the surface of the natural subsoil and destroying all earlier remains. Post-Conquest medieval graves probably lay nearer the contemporary surface so that the only remains of this date were a large quantity of dispersed bones and fragments of bone, found throughout the disturbed layer. Low-level graves covered by the layer of brown soil were probably of early date, dug from the lower level of the pre-Conquest floor. Not all these were undisturbed; some of them had caved in, probably when later burials were made immediately above.² In view of the probable significance of the oldest graves and their relation to the first church, they are shown on the plan of the earliest phase (Fig. 2). The pattern cannot, however, be regarded as complete, as much of the early evidence is likely to have been destroyed later in the Middle Ages and subsequently.

A few post holes were noted in the course of the excavation. Some were of late date, with modern pottery in the filling. With two exceptions (p. 32), none is demonstrably early.

Four building phases were identified when the whole plan became available for analysis. They will be described and discussed in chronological order. In addition to the sarcophagus (no. 2), which is intimately associated with the history of the site, a number of pre-Conquest carved stones were found. In view of the importance of the series, it has seemed desirable to include in the report an account, not only of those discovered in the course of the excavation, but also of the stones which have been known for more than a century, so that the evidence may be considered as a whole. In particular two of the stones found in 1844 and then walled in the porch have only been available for proper study since their recent removal to the Derby Museum. Small objects were few and fragmentary. None was found in a significant context. Only the pre-Conquest coin and the tokens are published. All finds are now in Derby Museum.

PHASE 1: THE PRE-CONQUEST CHURCH (Fig. 2)

The structure

The oldest building found on the site was represented by short stretches of masonry and rather more extensive lines of foundation. Only a single course of masonry remained in position. The floor³ level lay rather over 1 m. (3 ft. 3 in.) below the pavement of the Victorian church.

The best-preserved part was the south wall of the nave, which was later used as a sleeper wall for the south arcade. The foundation of medium-sized irregular stones set in poor mortar was laid in a trench about 1 m. (3 ft. 3 in.)⁴ wide and some 60 cm. (2 ft.) deep. This was traced for 11 m. (36 ft.) from the south-east corner of the nave and was then cut through by a recent vault, beyond which lay the deep foundation of the south-east pier of the late medieval tower. The lowest course of masonry, where preserved, was formed of two faces of large, roughly dressed blocks of stone with a filling of small rubble set in hard mortar. The stones of the outer face stood to a height of 32 cm. (13 in.); the stones of the inner face were smaller, measuring only 23 cm. (9 in.) high. The masonry consisted of two separate stretches with a gap between. The floor level, indicated by the base of the masonry course, was about 25 cm. (10 in.) higher to the east of the gap. The width of the wall was between 75 cm. and 80 cm. (2 ft. 6 in. and 2 ft. 9 in.). A similar foundation on the north side of the nave was traced with interruptions for the same distance and was then cut through by the foundation of a Victorian pier. On this side no stones of the wall remained in position and the foundation was covered by the layer of disturbed brown soil. The wall had clearly been demolished to ground level and even below, when the arcade was moved in phase 3 (p. 38). At the east end a similar foundation was traced across the line of the later medieval chancel arch and was cut through on the north side by a modern grave. One of the outer facing stones, near the north-east corner of the nave, remained in position beyond the outer face of the north wall of the annexe. The rest of this corner had been disturbed by later rebuilding, but the position of the south-east corner was established as the

continuation southwards of this wall had a gravel foundation of later date. At the west end traces of a similar foundation were found between the eastern piers of the late medieval tower. The nave measured internally 13·40 m. (44 ft.) by 5·80 m. (19 ft.).

At the east end similar foundations were discovered forming the sides of a narrower annexe. They were traced for 2·40 m. (8 ft.). Victorian foundations and older vaults made further excavation on the north side useless. On the south the foundations for the abutment of the Victorian chancel arch badly disturbed the line of the early wall, but the stones of the early foundation could be traced for a total distance of some 4 m. (13 ft.). The east end of the annexe had been completely destroyed during the construction of an early 18th-century vault, which filled the whole of the east end of the later medieval chancel (p. 35). At the west end the lowest course of the side wall remained in position for a distance of over 2 m. (6 ft. 9 in.). The construction was similar to that of the nave, but the width, 85 cm. (2 ft. 9 in.), was slightly greater. The external face of the stones, which included two fragments of pre-Conquest crosses (no. 3), showed a slight offset on the upper surface, indicating that they had formed the plinth of a rather narrower wall, of which a few stones remained in position near the west end of the later chancel.⁵ A single stone near the east end of the south wall showed a similar offset on the south and east sides; it was probably reset as it lay near the centre of the masonry and could not have served as a plinth in the position in which it was found. The annexe measured internally 3·70 m. (12 ft.) wide by about 3·20 m. (10 ft. 6 in.) long.

A close examination of the south wall of the nave disclosed an alteration near the east end, in an area in which the facing stones were missing. The foundation for a length of 1·30 m. (4 ft. 3 in.) was composed entirely of rounded stones, with the ends on either side of this space rather more solidly formed of roughly squared stones. A recess in the centre of each of these faces contained a post hole 30 cm. (1 ft.) across. The doorway, which probably had a wooden sill, is unlikely to have been external. Pre-Conquest doorways, though not rebated, have straight faces of masonry on each side of the opening. Later medieval doorways are normally rebated. But a wooden-framed doorway of the type indicated could well have led from the nave into an annexe or porticus closed by a door. The filling of the gap indicated that the door was later closed, probably with masonry. It seems unlikely that this change, which suggests that the porticus was abandoned, was connected with phase 2, during which the foundations were of gravel. A modification within phase 1 seems established.

Search for this porticus was difficult by reason of the disturbance of the south aisle of the later church, but it was not entirely barren. Grave no. 52, a charcoal grave, and therefore early (p. 35), lay a short distance south of the foundation of a Victorian pier base. The grave was cut through earlier masonry and had later been crushed and overlaid by the gravel foundation of the south aisle wall of phase 2. The area farther west had been disturbed and no further traces were found. Assuming that the feature cut through by grave 52 formed the south-east corner of the porticus and that the doorway was set centrally in the inner wall, the internal measurement of the porticus would be about 2·75 m. (9 ft.) from east to west and 2·15 m. (7 ft.) from north to south. The corresponding levels on the north side of the early nave were entirely destroyed by a group of modern graves under an area of paving stones and by the excavation for the Victorian organ chamber. The outer wall of a porticus on this side would have lain under the outer wall of the later aisle. This foundation, which alone had survived, was of a particularly massive character (p. 38) and must have destroyed any earlier remains.

West of the doorway the south wall of the nave included a stretch 1·60 m. (5 ft. 3 in.) long, where the stones were heavier and more carefully aligned. Among these stones was the cross arm (no. 3a, Pl. 1b). The area, some 5·50 m. (18 ft.) from the east end of the nave, lies opposite the pier base of the northern arcade of phase 3; it probably represents a resetting and strengthening of the early wall to carry the corresponding pier of the south arcade. The early wall was badly preserved in the area opposite the second pier of the north arcade.

The burials

A number of graves lying below the disturbed layer of brown soil probably belonged to the earliest phase contemporary with the existence of the first stone church on the site. Among them are four charcoal graves of a type known to have been in use in the tenth century and unlikely to date as late as 1066. Some of the graves had been subsequently disturbed. Where evidence for the rite survived, all burials were by extended inhumation with the head to the west; all were aligned with the main axis of the church.

Three burials lay side by side immediately north of the west end of the eastern annexe. They were apparently of about the same date and had been dug into the undisturbed, natural, sandy subsoil, in an area which had not subsequently been used for burial. The east end of each grave was curtailed by a Victorian foundation trench. The west end of the northernmost of the graves was cut by the foundation trench of the north-east buttress of phase 2. A short length of foundation running east was also cut by this foundation trench. Only a length of 1·50 m. (5 ft.) remained before it was also cut by the Victorian trench. The foundation lay immediately north of the outermost grave and could perhaps be an enclosure within the main cemetery reserved for a special class of burials, for example for canons of the minster.

Grave no. 14⁶ Undisturbed and with a well-preserved skeleton.

Grave no. 22 The greater part of the skeleton remained in position.

Grave no. 19 The loose fill included many dispersed fragments of bone.

Two early graves lay within the church. Though the evidence is poor, it would seem that burial within the church at this date was not common. A considerable proportion of the area was free of deep later disturbance and should have disclosed early graves, had they existed.

Grave no. 35 At the north-west corner of the nave, about 1 m. (3 ft. 3 in.) in from the north and west walls. The grave contained the greater part of a skeleton in good condition, which had been packed in charcoal. The west end of the grave, with the head and shoulders of the skeleton, had been cut away by the foundation trench of the north-east pier of the late-medieval tower. About 2 m. (6 ft. 6 in.) to the east an irregular patch of burning with two rows of stones forming a flue was found on the surface of the natural soil. The patch measured about 1 m. (3 ft. 3 in.) across; it may have been connected with the preparation of the charcoal for this grave.

Grave no. 53 The empty base of a shallow grave cut into the natural soil was found under a large re-used stone set alongside the sarcophagus when it was sunk into the floor of phase 2 (p. 37). The position, probably alongside the tomb of the saint, may indicate the burial of some important and specially favoured individual.

Two graves in the later south aisle lay within the area of the early porticus. One of these was a charcoal grave.

Grave no. 49 The grave with a filling of hard-packed natural sand from the subsoil covered a skeleton in position. Two stake holes with a soft filling impinged on the area of the grave, one of them breaking the left femur. The west end of the grave cuts the conjectured west wall of the porticus (p. 32), but a slight shift in the suggested line would bring the grave entirely within the wall.

Grave no. 52 The grave, which had been packed with charcoal, cut through masonry interpreted as the south-east corner of the porticus. The disturbed fill contained only scattered fragments of bone and was covered with the gravel foundation of phase 2, here dated to the early-13th century (p. 32).

Three graves lay south of the east annexe in positions analogous to those on the north side.

Grave no. 55 (Pl. 2a) The skeleton, which had been packed in charcoal, lacked the skull, but was otherwise in good condition.

Grave no. 56 (Pl. 2a) The grave contained a skeleton which had been decapitated, with the skull placed between the lower legs.

Grave no. 69 The skeleton, which had been packed in charcoal, had been badly disturbed by later burials. The west end was cut through by a hole filled with loose rubble. The filling appears to have been of the date of the demolition of the old church, but the hole, though enlarged, doubtless represents the foundation trench for the angle buttress of phase 2. The grave was probably cut in the first place by this trench.

Discussion

The dating of this church with a nave and narrower eastern annexe, and probably with two porticus opening out of the east end of the nave, is not easy. It is known that there was a church in this area at least as early as the ninth century and its origin probably goes back even further to the time when Christianity was first established in northern Mercia (p. 56). Two ninth-century crosses of monumental character are unlikely to have been brought as building material from a distance and afford presumptive evidence that the pre-Danish church stood on the same site. A church with crosses of this importance can only have been a stone church at the period in which they were erected. Though the evidence that there was no earlier wooden church is not conclusive, it is hardly possible that traces of an older building in stone would have been missed. It is therefore likely that the origin of the church found on the site goes back to a period before 800.

A number of pieces of early sculpture were found re-used in the fabric of phase 1, but none of these can certainly be associated with the earliest stage of the building. The only piece from the south wall of the nave (no. 3) came from the inner face of the rebuilt part of the wall, which has been explained as the base of a pier of the south arcade of post-Conquest date (p. 32). It was probably set in the position in which it was found in phase 2, and affords no evidence for the date of the earlier church. Two more stones, also of the ninth century, were found re-used in the walls of the eastern annexe (no. 3).⁷ It has been noted that this wall differs from that of the nave and taken, in conjunction with the evidence of the closing of the door into the south porticus, it is a legitimate deduction that the earliest building had to be extensively repaired or rebuilt after a period of neglect, perhaps even after a more or less complete destruction of the fabric. The rebuilding, which antedates phase 2, must be pre-Conquest of the tenth or 11th century, a date when the lost capitals (no. 1) show that work of some elaboration was being carried out at St. Alkmund. The rebuilt church involved the abandonment of the south porticus, which can hardly have been standing when grave no. 52 was dug and there is good reason to ascribe this grave to the tenth century (p. 35). Historically, the period of neglect or destruction can be equated with the period of Danish rule and the foundation of Derby as one of the Five Boroughs.

The only direct evidence for the date of the first church is therefore the plan. This is one found in a number of pre-Conquest minsters.⁸ Breamore, Hampshire,⁹ a minster serving a large area with a number of chapels, some of which only acquired full parochial status after the Reformation, may serve as the type. The space at the east end of the nave, which formed a separate division of the building, out of which the porticus opened, is still covered with a two-stage pyramidal roof in the Carolingian tradition, though the existing structure is late medieval. Only the south porticus remains, though the arch on the north side is still visible. The eastern annexe has been lengthened and rebuilt. Breamore is usually placed in the tenth century on the evidence of the pilaster strips and the double-splay windows of the nave. But these features could appear earlier and, in the writer's opinion, the church is of Alfredian date. The neighbouring church of Britford, Wiltshire,¹⁰ had a similar plan. The opening to the south porticus includes panels with vinescroll of c. 800, which are a part of the original building.

The excavation of the Old Minster at Winchester¹¹ has brought to light the plan of a church of the same type. It is the oldest post-Roman building on the site and is on

a larger scale, with a nave 22·90 m. (75 ft.) long in comparison with the 13·40 m. (44 ft.) of St. Alkmund. This church has been convincingly identified as the early cathedral of Winchester, built by King Kenwalh (643–74), a conclusion borne out by its greater size.

In the course of the tenth and 11th centuries this type of plan developed into the true cruciform church, with spacious transepts opening out of the crossing through wide and lofty arches.¹² A church with very small porticus and closed doorways, like St. Alkmund, should be early in the series. On this criterion a date in the eighth century or even at the end of the seventh, would be appropriate and would accord with the importance of the church in the ninth century (p. 56).

No evidence for the liturgical arrangement of the early church was found. Winchester is significant in this respect. There the altar stood at the east end of the nave, with a wooden ciborium over it.¹³ This is the traditional arrangement and is likely to have been followed in St. Alkmund in the pre-Danish period.

The sarcophagus (no. 2, Pl. 2b) was found buried in the south-east corner of the nave, the trench for its insertion having cut through the edge of the early foundation. But the elaborate decoration on all four sides shows that it was intended to be seen. Had it stood originally where it was found, but above the floor of the church, the sarcophagus would have flanked the altar in the traditional position at the east end of the nave. At Lindisfarne, rather over a century earlier, St. Cuthbert was buried beside the altar. When his body was enshrined a few years after his death, it was placed in a chest (*theca*), which stood in the same place, but above the pavement.¹⁴ St. Cuthbert's body remained incorrupt and the inner coffin of wood survives at Durham. It measures 1·65 m. (5 ft. 5 in.) by 42 cm. (16 in.) by 45 cm. (18 in.) high.¹⁵ The outer casing, which was probably of stone, must therefore have been on the same scale as the sarcophagus found in St. Alkmund. The ninth-century date and the care taken to dispose of this sarcophagus (p. 37) makes it certain that this was the shrine prepared for the relics of St. Alkmund, when they were translated from Lilleshall (p. 55.). The adjacent grave, no. 53, suggests a burial alongside the saint (*ad limina sancti*), an honour which might well have been accorded to the Ealdorman Aethelwulf (p. 57) or some other Mercian leader.

Charcoal graves, of which four were discovered in the course of the excavation, have not often been recorded in England. The best-documented series is that discovered in the Old Minster at Winchester, of which a summary account has been published.¹⁶ The area lying between the church of St. Peter and St. Paul, the early cathedral, and the Tower of St. Martin, was long used as a cemetery. The burials lying nearest to the axis of the church 'were normally in iron-bound coffins, and in many cases the coffins had been packed around with charcoal'. An apsed 'link building' fusing the two structures into a single church was added between 971 and 980. 'After the construction of the link building, many burials took place inside it, and these were normally in iron-bound coffins packed around with charcoal The location of the charcoal graves and their association with the obviously more expensive iron-bound coffins suggest that they were burials of persons of rank and wealth.' On the Winchester evidence 'the custom (of charcoal burial) seems to have been prevalent in the tenth century and certainly antedates the construction of the link building'. A similar dating would accord with the evidence of St. Alkmund. One of the graves, cut through the south-east corner of the south porticus (no. 52), should date after 870. Another (no. 35) lay in the north-west corner of the nave. In view of the scarcity of burials within the church it must have been that of a person of importance.

PHASE 2: THE TWELFTH AND EARLY THIRTEENTH CENTURIES (Fig. 3)

The second building phase was marked by two separate additions to the pre-Conquest church. The eastern annexe was lengthened to form an aisleless chancel with a crypt under the extension. Narrow aisles were built flanking the nave. Part of the walls of the crypt were uncovered behind the brick facing of the early 18th-century brick-lined vault prepared for the Revd. Henry Cantrell, Vicar from 1712 to 1773. Only the foundations of the aisles remained.

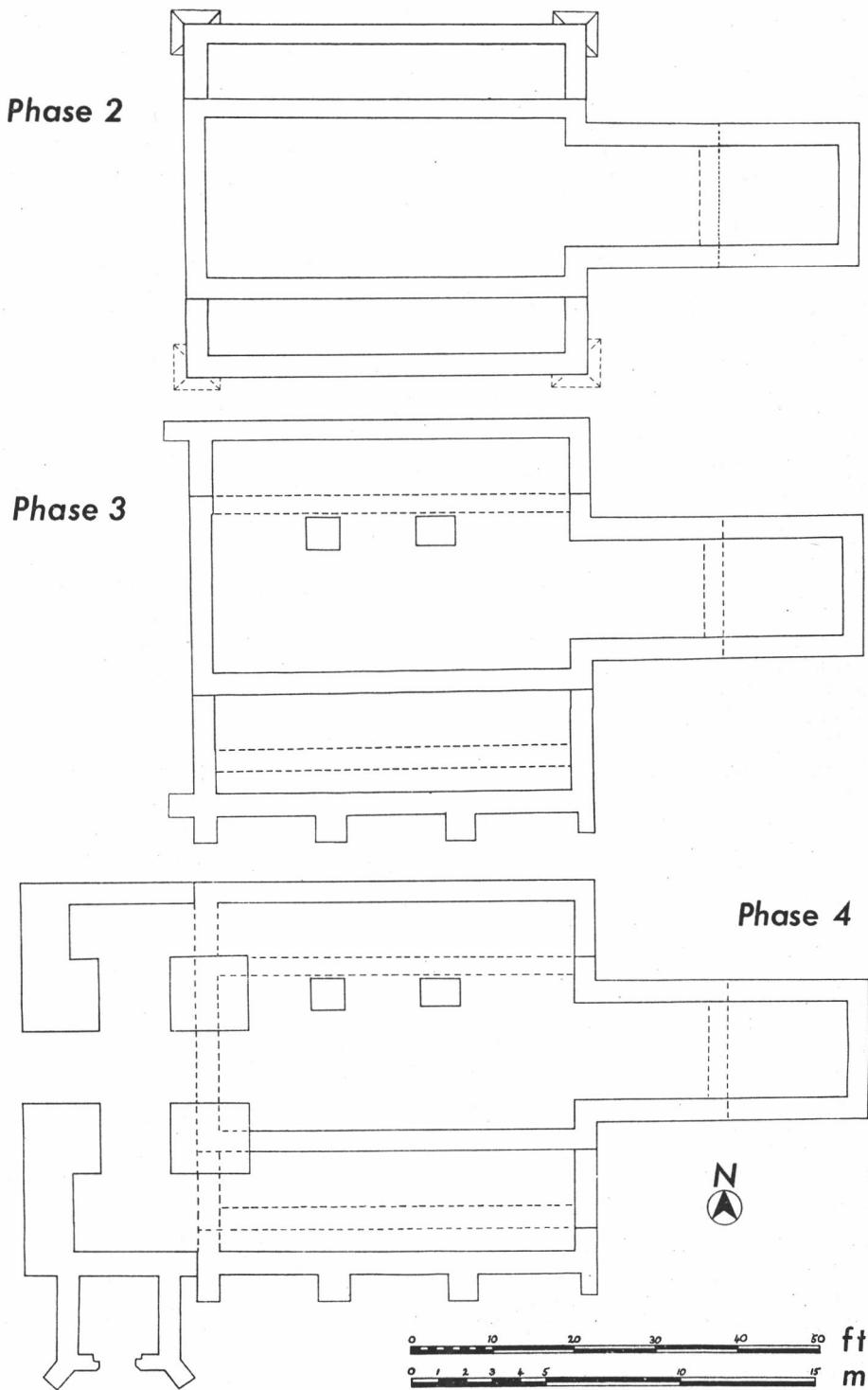


Fig. 3 St. Alkmund's Church: Phases 2–4 (12th century to c. 1500).

Except at the west end, the north side of the medieval chancel had been entirely destroyed by Victorian foundations and by vaults. The south and east sides of the vault prepared for Henry Cantrell were stripped to uncover the walls of the medieval crypt. These stood to a height of up to 1·80 m. (6 ft.) on a gravel foundation 30 cm. (1 ft.) deep, the base of which lay at the floor level of the vault. The wall face was of roughly coursed rubble. The outer face of the walls was not fully uncovered; the stones had been largely robbed, doubtless to provide material for the Victorian foundations. The crypt measured 3·70 m. (12 ft.) from north to south. The extension had an internal length of 4 m. (13 ft.). The west wall was not found, but it may be assumed that it revetted the older east wall of the annexe and the soil beneath, giving an approximately square crypt. No evidence of the roof remained. The likely form is a central pier with four groined vaults. This would require a vertical interval of at least 2·75 m. (9 ft.) between the floor of the crypt and the pavement above. The floor level of the western part of the chancel at this date was not established. It probably lay slightly above that of the pre-Conquest annexe (*cf.* p. 32), which in turn lay about 1·50 m. (5 ft.) above the base of the crypt. This implies a rise of 1 m. (3 ft. 3 in.) or more between the chancel proper and the extension above the crypt. The latter must therefore have formed a separate space behind the altar. This may be interpreted as the setting for the translated relics of St. Alkmund.

The extension of the chancel with its crypt and the presumed translation of the relics cannot be dissociated from the discovery of the sarcophagus, which had originally been prepared for these relics. It was found, filled with rubble and sunk into the ground, in the south-east corner of the nave. The sarcophagus was not resting level, but the position of the remaining fragment of the cover, the south-east corner, suggests that when inserted this cover was intended to lie flush with the contemporary pavement.¹⁷ The trench for the insertion of the sarcophagus cut into the edge of the pre-Conquest foundation. In the later Middle Ages the floor level was raised (p. 40) and the cover completely hidden. It seems unlikely that the builders of phase 2 would have gone to the trouble of treating the sarcophagus in this manner if it had not been intended to have some liturgical significance; it would have been easier to break it up and use the fragments as building stone. The obvious explanation is that the sarcophagus was retained in its original position, but sunk below floor level, when the relics were translated and that it served as a secondary focus of devotion to the Saint, at which offerings could also be made. A rather later parallel is afforded by the detailed record of offerings made by Edward I in Glasgow Cathedral at both the shrine or feretory and the tomb of St. Kentigern.¹⁸

Two pre-Conquest grave covers, one (no. 11) of the 11th century, the other much defaced and of uncertain, but late, date, were found re-used in the south wall of the crypt. A simple hall-crypt of the type described might be of pre-Conquest date, as the more elaborate 11th-century example at Repton shows.¹⁹ But the use of a gravel foundation at St. Alkmund dissociates the extension from the pre-Conquest building and links it with the addition of the aisles which will be attributed to the early 13th century. Moreover, Glynne,²⁰ writing c. 1830, records on the south of the altar 'two mutilated stalls of Norman work, the shaft having a good sculptured capital and square base'.

The chancel was clearly altered in the 12th century, which may be accepted as the date of the extension with its crypt. It is probable that the heavy tomb cover with arcading on the long sides (p. 54) formed part of the arrangement of the shrine. It was designed to stand at floor level or on a low plinth. But the tapering shape is difficult to reconcile with the raised form that shrines assumed in the period after 1200. It may have been intended to stand before the altar in the position of a 'founder's tomb'.

Only the foundations of the added aisles were found. On the south the gravel foundation of the east wall of an aisle 2·15 m. (7 ft.) wide was traced, together with that of a south wall running for a distance of about 3·40 m. (11 ft.) and covering the charcoal grave no. 52. The rest had been destroyed by later disturbances. The arcade was of three bays; the strengthening of the older wall to carry the eastern pier has already

been described (p. 32). On the north side, where the ground falls away sharply, there was a heavier stone foundation 1·20 m. (4 ft.) wide with a massive clasping buttress on the north-east corner and another at the other end of the aisle. The destruction of the wall and the spread of the foundation made exact measurement impossible, but the width of the aisle can have varied little, if at all, from that on the south. The level of the eastern pier foundation of the south arcade implies that the floor level throughout the nave had been raised to that of the pre-Conquest east end (p. 32).

No close dating evidence for the aisles was obtained. The form of the north-east buttress can hardly be earlier than 1200. A large number of fragments of early 13th-century mouldings and dressings were found in the south wall of phase 3. They may have come from the earlier north arcade, which was then demolished (p. 39) and afford the best available indication of the date of the added aisles.

PHASE 3: THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY (Fig. 3)

The third building phase saw the remodelling of the church with two, approximately equal, aisles flanking the nave and providing an adequate space for a chapel at the eastern end of each. As the church lay on the side of the churchyard, above a steep slope, widening on the north side would have raised difficulties. The older north wall runs only 1·20 m. (4 ft.) within the line of the Victorian north wall, which formed the boundary on this side. Medieval liturgical practice required, wherever possible, the provision of a free path for processions completely encircling the building. The widening of St. Alkmund's was therefore carried out entirely on the south side. Retaining the line of the older south arcade, the aisle was widened to 3·65 m. (12 ft.). To obtain a comparable aisle on the north side, the old outer wall was re-used and the arcade moved inwards to continue the line of the side wall of the chancel, giving an aisle about

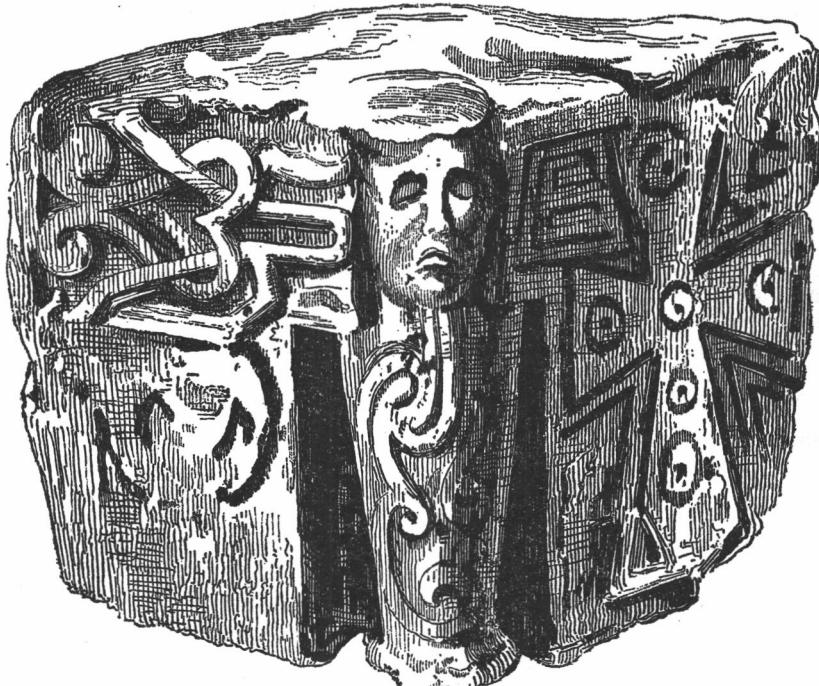


Fig. 4(a) St. Alkmund's Church: pre-Conquest imposts.

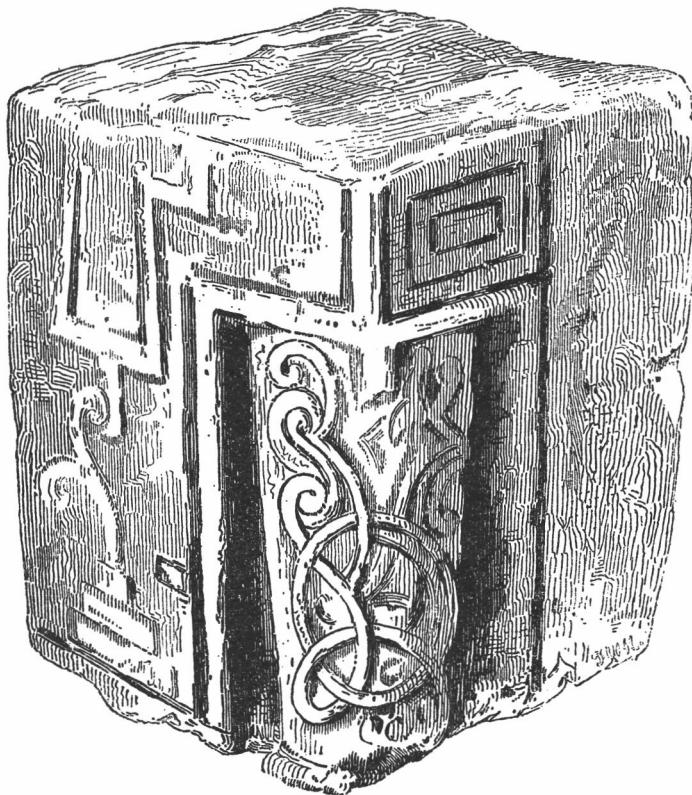


Fig. 4(b) St. Alkmund's Church: pre-Conquest imposts.

3·25 m. (10 ft. 9 in.) wide. The resulting asymmetry of the east end of the nave would have been disguised by the rood screen. Only the south wall of the aisle stood above ground level; the rest of the alterations were represented by foundations.

The inner face of the south wall of the aisle stood to a height of about 50 cm. (1 ft. 9 in.) above a slight offset, marking the contemporary floor level. The wall, 90 cm. (3 ft.) wide, had, where best preserved, two courses of regular squared stones with wide mortar joints. Externally the roughness and irregularity of the masonry suggested that the ground rose to a higher level and that none of the stonework uncovered was visible. Four equally spaced buttresses, which did not correspond to the baying of the arcades, divided the south wall of the aisle. That at the east end measured 75 cm. (2 ft. 6 in.) square. The other foundations were larger. The foundations also indicated a buttress at the west end; the eastern corner was disturbed. The piers of the new north arcade stood on separate foundations 1·20 m. (4 ft.) square and 90 cm. (3 ft.) deep. The central bay was about 3 m. (10 ft.) wide, indicating that there was a length of walling at each end of the arcade. This presumably reproduced the earlier arrangement, which would have been retained on the south side. No masonry remained from the other walls, which stood on the older foundations. Breaks in the foundation of the side walls opposite the eastern piers of the tower and traces of a foundation at the west end of the extension of the south aisle show that the alterations of phase 3 preceded the building of the western tower and the westward extension of the church. The buttresses on the west facade of phase 3 also show that this was a completed building and not merely a stage in a wider programme.

The new south wall incorporated many broken fragments of early 13th-century mouldings and dressings, some of which must have come from the demolished north arcade. Apart from its place in the building sequence, these constitute the only direct evidence for the dating of phase 3. Its closer chronological context can best be discussed when the evidence concerning the succeeding phase has been set out.

The main purpose of the wider late-medieval aisles of urban churches was to provide adequate side chapels with altars. These served both for the foundation of chantries by wealthy citizens and as chapels for guilds or fraternities. The custom and consequently the enlargement of town churches gathered momentum after 1300.²¹

PHASE 4: c. 1500 (Fig. 3)

The final building phase saw the enlargement of the church westward by a single bay, comprising a tower at the end of the nave flanked by extensions of the aisles. Only the foundations remained.

On the south side a break in the foundation was clearly visible 80 cm. (2 ft. 9 in.) west of the older wall, indicating a second buttress at the old south-west corner. Beyond this the heavy irregular foundation extended for a further 5·50 m. (18 ft.) to the new south-west corner, where no trace of a buttress could be discovered. A slight extension southward of the foundation marked the position of the west wall of the late-medieval porch, all other traces of which had been destroyed in the 19th century. The foundations on the north side were heavier, up to 1·75 m. (5 ft. 9 in.) wide and indicated a similar sequence. Traces of a buttress running at an angle were noted.

The two eastern piers of the tower stood on massive foundations 2·75 m. (9 ft.) square and formed of large blocks of stone set in hard mortar. They cut through the earlier west wall and were carried down into the undisturbed subsoil. The raft carrying the Victorian tower covered the corresponding western foundations and most of the west wall of the church.

The added tower and aisles followed the asymmetrical layout of phase 3. Only the breaks in the foundations and the indications of west-facing buttresses in the older wall showed that the realignment of the north arcade preceded the western extension of the church and justified the ascription of the late-medieval work to two distinct phases.

One further late-medieval alteration must be noted. The west end of each of the side walls of the chancel had been strengthened. On the south side the alteration included the re-use of two 12th-century chamfered dressings from the abacus of the older chancel arch. They were set at floor level as bearers for the respond of a new and wider arch and indicated that the floor level of the chancel and at the east end of the nave was about 25 cm. (9 in.) above that of the 12th-century nave, completely burying the sarcophagus (p. 37). The irregular setting of these bearers shows that they were not meant to be seen; they would have been hidden by the base of the rood screen. It is uncertain whether this alteration and the erection of the rood screen should be ascribed to phase 3 or phase 4.

There can be no doubt that the late-medieval church gave the impression of a Perpendicular building. Cox, summarizing older descriptions, writes: 'It certainly seems as if the church had been rebuilt in the time of Henry VII'. The conclusion is borne out by the sketch which he published.²² This shows a clerestory with square, probably post-Reformation, windows, late, perhaps 16th century, windows in the chancel, together with a range of windows with vertical tracery of rather earlier type in the south aisle. It seems unlikely that this aisle, the most modern part of the church, would have required rebuilding when the westward extension was undertaken in phase 4; it is therefore likely that both phase 3 and phase 4 date from after 1400 and that they followed each other in succession during the 15th and early-16th centuries. The tower was also Perpendicular, though extensive repairs to the highest stage, forming the belfry, were carried out in 1624.²³ The chancel arch had octagonal responds and its asymmetrical setting would

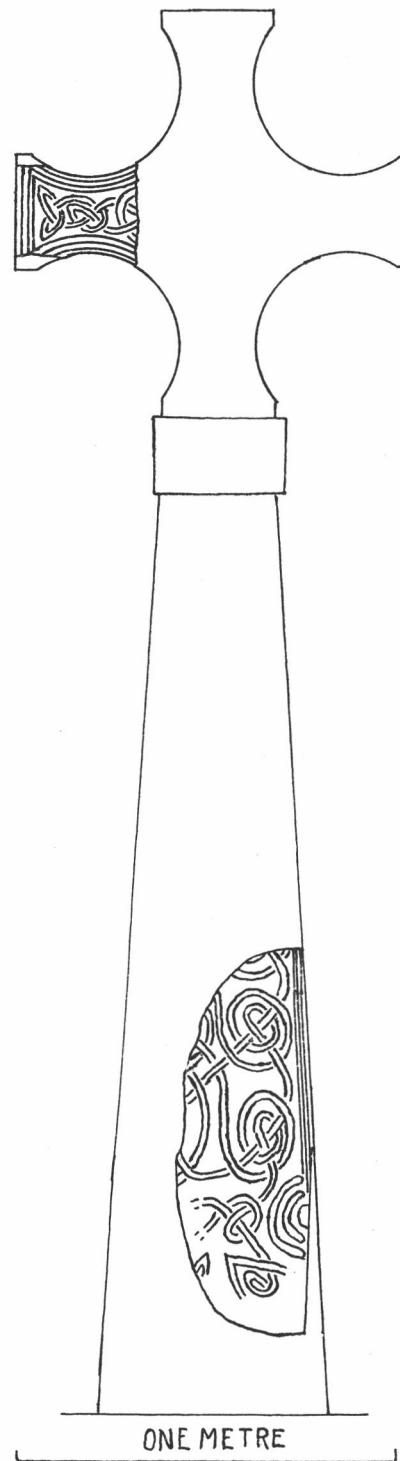


Fig. 5 St. Alkmund's Church: reconstruction of high cross (no. 3).

have been disguised by the rood screen. The space in front of the blank wall on the south was probably used as a continuing focus for devotion to St. Alkmund, perhaps represented by a painting or a statue, or possibly by an altar placed in front of the screen.

The 18th-century parish book includes references to repairs, but none of the structural work likely to have been carried out at this date would have left traces recoverable by excavation. Glynne, writing about 1830, stated that the arcades had circular piers with square capitals 'apparently modern'.²⁴ A redecoration of the interior in the prevalent classical taste seems indicated.

THE FINDS

THE PRE-CONQUEST PENNY (Pl. 3a), by Christopher Blunt

The solitary silver penny found in the excavations proves to be one of exceptional interest. It may be described as follows:

<i>Obv.</i>	(+MIRAILIA FECIT	Small cross in centre, pellet in two quarters
<i>Rev.</i>	DNS DS	
	‡	
	◊ REX	
<i>Wt.</i>	19·3 grs.	
<i>Die-axis</i>	↑ ↓	

This coin is one of a well-known group issued by the Vikings in Northumbria at the turn of the ninth and tenth centuries.²⁵ That coins of the group have survived in exceptionally large quantities is entirely due to the discovery of some 3,000 in the great Cuerdale hoard from Lancashire, deposited c. 903. With the exception of Cuerdale, very few find-spots are recorded. A few were found at Harkirke, also in Lancashire, in the 17th century, but were lost in the Civil War; a single coin was found in the Morley St. Peter hoard in Norfolk, and one or two isolated specimens have turned up in continental finds.²⁶ Claims of doubtful authority for other find-spots have also been made,²⁷ but Lyon and Stewart say, with every justification, that it would be conservative to estimate that at least 99 per cent of surviving examples come from Cuerdale. The specimen from St. Alkmund's, though found in an unstratified context, may, I am assured, be accepted as a genuine site find, and so adds a fourth English provenance for coins of this group. It is of particular interest that it should have turned up in one of the Five Boroughs of the Danes.

Most of the coins of this Northumbrian group bear the names of kings Siefred or Cnut (or of both) of whom little otherwise is known. Some bear the mint-name of York and a few that of Quentovic, the trading centre at the mouth of the Canche in the Pas de Calais. The coin from St. Alkmund, however, has neither personal nor mint-name. The inscriptions on both sides, which may be interpreted as MIRABILIA FECIT and D[omi]N[u]S D[eu]S o[mnipotens]REX, are liturgical.

The type, one of the less common ones, is 'g' in the British Museum Classification.²⁸ The reverse die is not found used on any specimen in the British Museum and, as that institution clearly sought to retain a specimen from every die in the Cuerdale hoard, may be a new one. The obverse die appears to be the one used for no. 1072 in the British Museum Catalogue.²⁹

OTHER COINS AND TOKENS, by E. W. Danson

Roman

c. A.D. 274–284. 'Barbarous radiate' or local copy of an antoninianus.

Obv. Traces of right-facing bust and AVG at end of legend. Outer circle shows that much of the design is off the flan.

Rev. Suggestions of a standing figure.

Bronze: 16–20 mm. (oval). Condition very poor indeed due to wear and corrosion.
Identification confirmed by Professor H. B. Mattingly.

The antoninianus was technically a silver coin but, by this time, it had become so debased that the silver content was sometimes less than 1 per cent.

British Isles

James I or Charles I

Royal farthing token.

Obv. No features visible.

Rev. Only strings of harp, base of crown and A of FRA visible.

Copper: 16 mm. Very corroded and fragile.

These tokens, manufactured under royal licence during the period 1613–36 by Lord Harrington, the duke of Lennox, the duchess of Richmond and Lord Maltravers in turn, yielded considerable profits to the licensees because of their low metal content. Inevitably they were unpopular with the public and Derby was one of the many places where outcries against them were recorded. The tokens were suppressed by Parliament in 1644.

Charles II

Farthing.

Copper: 22 mm. Very worn, date not visible (struck for years 1672–75 and 1679).

James II

Irish 'Gun Money' shilling, large size. *Aug:* 1689.

'Brass'; 25 mm. Fair, slightly buckled.

Issued in Ireland after James's abdication from the English throne, in order to pay his troops fighting against the forces of William III, and struck from any convenient metal such as church bells, old cannon and kitchen utensils. These coins, which are unusual in that they show the month of issue, would not legally circulate in Great Britain.

Nuremberg jetons or reckoning counters

The eight specimens found are all of the common, standard type, manufactured c. 1550–1650, *viz.:*

Obv. Three open crowns and three fleurs de lis arranged alternately around a rose, all within an inner circle. Legend between inner and outer circles.

Rev. A crowned orb (*reichsapfel*) within a double tressure of curves and angles, all within an inner circle. Legend between inner and outer circles. *The reichsapfel* was one of the symbols of Nuremberg.

All eight specimens are made of brass but now have a coppery appearance.

Hans Schultes, maker, active c. 1570–84

Outer circles beaded, inner circles plain.

Obv. ·VND·GLICK·IST·WALCZET (Good fortune comes in cycles)

Rev. ·HANS·SCHVLTES·ZV·NVRE

Quatrefoil stops both sides.

24.5 mm. Fair; cracked and bent.

Hans Krauwinckel, maker, active c. 1600–35

All four specimens have beaded inner and outer circles. The legends of the first three begin with rosettes of seven pellets.

Ov. HANNS·KRAVWINCKEL·IN·NVRENBE

Rev. GLVCK·BESCHERT·IST·VN·GEWERT (Good fortune comes unexpectedly)

24–25 mm. Little wear, but slight corrosion.

Ov. HANNS·KRAVWINCKEL·IN·NVR

Rev. GOTES·REICH·BLIBT·EWICKH (God's kingdom endures for ever)

21·5 mm. Little wear, but pierced.

Ov. HANNS·KRAVWINCKEL·IN·NV

Rev. GOTES·REICH·BLIBT·EWICK

21·5 mm. Little wear, but moderate corrosion.

Ov. GOTES SEGEN MACHT REICH (God's blessing enriches)

Rev. (Rosette of pellets?) HANNS KRAVWINCKEL IN NV

No stops between words.

22 mm. Slight wear, some surface pitting.

Anonymous

With meaningless or fictitious legends. All three specimens have plain inner and outer circles. Doubtful letters are shown in square brackets.

Ov. :IOSVAIO:SAEGIT[A]TE

Rev. (Open crown) IV[C]TGSAERBIV[G]T[CI] Double tressure of three arcs only.

25 mm. Fair; two chips missing.

Ov. (Rosette) IMEG[AM]IEOAMIEOAIMIO Lombardic Ms.

Rev. (Wedge pointing downward) BAIOABIOABOIBI[--]OI

25 mm. Fair, slightly buckled. Portion almost detached by crack.

Ov. MOBVPEMOBVPemo[BOB]E Closed Lombardic Es. Nine (?) annulets touching inside of inner circle.

Rev. (Open crown) BDEPAVOBDEPAVORBDEP The Ds appear to be reversed Lombardic Es and the Es resemble reversed Bs without the uprights.

26 mm. Cracked, chipped and distorted into scyphate (saucer) shape. Obverse (convex) fair; reverse (protected by concavity) fine.

It will be noted that 11 of these 12 pieces are of the 17th century or a little earlier. Jetons (or jettons) were used in conjunction with a ruled or chequered cloth or board for computation in Roman numerals. Although there is little evidence, it is possible that 'stock' type Nuremberg counters, found frequently in this country, were sometimes used unofficially in place of farthings or even halfpence, being heavier and often better made than the royal farthing tokens of James I and Charles I.

SCULPTURED STONES

A number of sculptured stones of pre-Conquest date and a raised tomb cover of the 12th century were found during the demolition of the medieval church in 1844 and in the course of the present excavations. No complete list of those found in 1844 was recorded and the first detailed account appeared in 1879.³⁰ This included two sections of cross shafts (nos. 5 and 6) and the hogback (no. 9), then preserved in Derby Museum, together with a third fragment of a cross shaft, which had been walled into the Victorian porch. The publication also illustrated from casts preserved in the Museum a fragment of a further cross shaft (no. 4) and one of the pair of imposts (no. 1), of which drawings had already been published at the time of their discovery.³¹ The originals of the two pieces published from casts and the second impost were no longer available in 1879 and have not since been located. In 1937 R. E. Routh included, in his *Corpus of pre-Conquest carved stones of Derbyshire*,³² the three preserved in the Museum, together with two others walled into the Victorian porch, one of which had been omitted from

the account published in 1879. The present excavations have brought to light parts of a shrine (no. 2) and of a further high cross (no. 3) and three grave covers of pre-Conquest date, one of which is too defaced for illustration (nos. 10, 11 and 12). The following list also describes the raised grave cover, which was standing in the churchyard in 1891 (no. 13).

Architectural fragments

Only two impost stones are recorded among the pre-Conquest carved stones found at St. Alkmund, a striking contrast to the rich series of friezes found at Breedon-on-the-Hill, Leicestershire.³³

- 1 Two impost stones with conical capitals (Fig. 4), now lost (Cox, pl. V E). Late tenth or 11th century, c. 1000.

The earliest record, of 1845, describes these stones as 'two capitals of conical form, discovered under the pavement in the late church of St. Alkmund, Derby'.³⁴ Cox, writing in 1879, who illustrated one of the stones from a cast, then in Derby Museum, states that they were 'about a foot square' and 'must have pertained to some small arch'.³⁵ Clapham, who reproduced the original drawings,³⁶ adds that 'they are unusually tall in proportion to their diameter, and, with the rest of the stone, from which they are cut, are enriched with a profusion of haphazard and somewhat barbaric ornament; the angle of one stone, above the capital, is carved with a human head. The recessed or nook shaft of these capitals seems to place them into the 11th century.' The scale of the ornament shows that they formed part of a comparatively small opening, such as the north door of the church at Hadstock, Essex.³⁷ The crude form of the impost, cut in one piece with the capital, might justify a slightly earlier date than that proposed by Clapham, possibly in the late tenth century.

Shrine

The early Christian shrine was a relic holder, containing either the body of a saint, perhaps disarticulated, or representative relics, which need not necessarily be corporeal. The sarcophagus found during the excavations, with its rich integrated decoration on all four sides and on the cover, was a shrine designed to contain the body of a saint. It is possible that the raised tomb cover (no. 13) was also part of a shrine, but it could also have covered the grave of a person of importance and it has been classed as a grave cover in this report.

- 2 Sarcophagus with broken fragment of cover (Pls. 4–5). Ninth century. The monolithic sarcophagus measures 2·10 m. (6 ft. 10 in.) by 90 cm. (3 ft.) by 55 cm. (1 ft. 10 in.) high. The irregular interior measures approximately 1·75 m. (5 ft. 9 in.) by 70 cm. (2 ft. 3 in.) by 40 cm. (1 ft. 4 in.) deep. The fragment of the lid measures 41 cm. (1 ft. 4 in.) by 38 cm. (1 ft. 3 in.) by 14 cm. (5½ in.) thick; it originally fitted over the sarcophagus. The material is a coarse weathered, felspathic sandstone with mica.

Found in the south-east corner of the nave, carefully buried with the lid level with the surface of the pavement of phase 2. The sarcophagus, with its rich decoration, was clearly intended to stand above ground. Its careful burial in the 12th century shows that it was an object connected with the cult of a saint. In view of the date and of the history of the church, this can only be St. Alkmund (pp. 55 and 56).

The body of the sarcophagus is approximately rectangular with broad chamfered angles and the longer sides slightly convex. The interior is roughly hollowed out, with rounded corners. The cover, which was a separate stone, had chamfered edges and fitted on the flat top of the body; barely 10 per cent remains. The monolithic body was cracked into three pieces when moved. These have been joined and the measurements are those of the restored monument in Derby Museums.

With the exception of the bottom, which was dressed flat to stand on the floor of the church, the whole of the external faces, including the cover, are ornamented with

panels of regular, well-designed, interlace. Two separate strands, with a fillet between, rise up each of the chamfered angles and continue along the sloping edges of the cover to return down the adjacent angles. Within these borders each face constitutes a separate panel framed in a plain margin. The flat surface of the cover seems to have formed a similar panel, but the remaining part is too small to provide a reconstruction of the design or to exclude the possibility that it included a central feature, such as a cross.

The interlace is well set out with thick strands and prominent intersections. It may be compared with that on the large cross shaft (no. 15) at Breedon, Leicestershire,³⁸ which dates from before 875. On stylistic grounds a date in the late eighth or ninth centuries is indicated.

The design of the sarcophagus is inspired by a wooden building with the uprights bent over to frame panels of wattle. It recalls the 'little wooden house' erected over the relics of St. Ceadda, when these were translated from the cemetery into the church of St. Peter at Lichfield.³⁹ The sarcophagus at St. Alkmund, with its elaborate decoration, was clearly intended to stand on the floor of the church and form the shrine of the saint, when his relics were translated from Lilleshall, where he was first buried (p. 55). The size of the shrine indicated that the body was not yet disarticulated or that it had some inner casing, perhaps a wooden coffin, which could not be discarded.

Crosses

Anglo-Saxon crosses are of two, functionally distinct, types. The large, high cross must be distinguished from the individual memorial or headstone. Visually the distinction is one of size and subject and a discussion of fragments, such as are recorded in this report, should always, when possible, include an estimate of the original dimensions of the cross. This is not always possible, for example no. 7. Nor is the criterion of size always decisive. Early Irish crosses which fall functionally into the class of high crosses are often comparatively small — about 1 m. (3 ft. 3 in.) high⁴⁰ — and these small crosses may have continued in use in Northumbria and Mercia.

The high cross was basically commemorative or historical. It was designed to bring to the notice of all who saw it general or special aspects of the Christian faith or of the monastery or land in which it stood. It was a public monument intended to instruct or inspire the faithful. The high cross might be used to mark the holy places (*loca sancta*) set aside for public worship or for burial. A continental writer of the early eighth century describes how, as a child, the future St. Willibald was offered to the service of God at the foot of the cross. The scene was in Wessex and the narrative continues: 'for it is the custom of the Saxon people (i.e. in Britain) to erect on the estates of nobles, not a church, but the standard of the holy cross raised on high'.⁴¹ But these crosses were more usually associated with monasteries or minster churches. The most illuminating record is the early seventh-century plan of the Irish monastery of Tech Moling, drawn on a page of the Book of Mulling.⁴² This shows named crosses standing in relation to the schematic circle, which represents the monastic enclosure (*vallum monasterii*). This evidence may legitimately be applied to England in view of the widespread influence of the Irish missions to Northumbria and Mercia. Moreover, there is evidence to suggest that the use of the high cross, which is attested in early Christian days, was an Irish custom adopted by the Anglo-Saxon church.

The Anglo-Saxon high cross is often a monument of considerable size. Ruthwell and Bewcastle, which are among the earliest in the series, both rose to a height of over 5 m. (16 ft. 6 in.).⁴³ Gosforth, a late example, and one of the few that remains intact, is 4·42 m. (14 ft. 6 in.) high.⁴⁴ Collingwood's restored drawings of Ilkley and Otley both show crosses rising to a height of more than 4 m. (13 ft.)⁴⁵ (cf. no. 3).

The headstone seldom exceeds 1 m. (3 ft. 3 in.) in height. The two crosses at Middleton, Yorkshire,⁴⁶ are typical, but many are much smaller. The faces of these two crosses that are usually illustrated as examples of the Scandinavian ribbon animal, are the backs of

the two crosses. On the front is either a very stylized warrior with his weapons — sword, axe, etc. — or a huntsman. The figures indicate the character of these crosses as individual memorials. Many other examples could be cited from the areas of Danish settlement in northern and eastern England, though not all portray the individual commemorated. They are not essentially different in form or function from the stones recently discovered in position in the pre-Conquest cemetery under the south transept of York Minster and not yet published or from those in the long-known series from the early cemeteries below the pavement of Peterborough Cathedral⁴⁷ or under the ramparts of the Norman castle at Cambridge.⁴⁸ In all these cases the headstones were associated with grave covers and there are cases of the association of headstones with hogbacks, the significance of which has recently been reassessed.⁴⁹

The classification of fragments of sculptured crosses is not always easy. As a working rule it seems to be established that any shaft which exceeds 2 m. (6 ft. 6 in.) in height must be classed as a high cross. In most cases a cross less than 1 m. (3 ft. 3 in.) high is a headstone, while the greater number falling between these limits are probably high crosses. More easily established, when dealing with fragments, is the measurement of the section. But here there are wide variations due to differences in the stone used. Any shaft of which the dimensions exceed 30 cm. (1 ft.) by 20 cm. (8 in.) is likely to be a high cross.

3 Arm and parts of shaft of High Cross (Pls. 1b and 3b; Fig. 5). Ninth century.

a The arm, which has been roughly broken off, measures 35 cm. (1 ft. 1½ in.) by 21 cm. (8½ in.) high by 15 cm. (6 in.) thick.

Re-used in the foundation for the eastern pier of the south arcade of period 2 (p. 32; Pl. 1b).

The arm, which had been trimmed for re-use, had a slight rectangular terminal (Fig. 7). The curve of the two sides has a radius of about 24 cm. (10 in.), indicating a head with a width of about 108 cm. (3 ft. 6 in.).

The best-preserved face has a bold interlace within a plain margin. The other face had a similar pattern, now largely obliterated. The outer end retains two parallel lines from a frame with a plain centre. The curved edges are plain.

b Part of the shaft, measuring 1 m. (3 ft. 3 in.) high by a maximum of 35 cm. across and 33 cm. (1 ft. 1 in.) thick (Pl. 3b).

The material is a coarse weathered feldspathic sandstone with mica. Found re-used in the outer face of the rebuilt south wall of the eastern annexe (Pl. 2a).

The best-preserved face was covered with a well-designed interlace within a double margin. At one point design and margin are interrupted by a blob within three semicircles. A symmetrical restoration of the design would indicate an original width of about 55 cm. (1 ft. 9 in.) at this point. If the blob be regarded as a central point in the design a height of at least 1·60 m. (5 ft. 3 in.) would be required. But the surface below the blob has been dressed back, so that sufficient remains only to show that the interlace continued, not to recover the pattern. The sinister arris is preserved only as far down as the blob; below this it is dressed off. Sufficient remains to show that the shaft had a noticeable taper, but this cannot be exactly calculated. The restoration (Fig. 5) is only approximately correct. The sinister face retains only slight traces of a dressed-off design, probably an interlace. The original thickness of the shaft cannot be estimated.

A similar stone measuring 1·34 m. (4 ft. 4½ in.) high by 41 cm. (1 ft. 4 in.) across by 31 cm. (1 ft.) thick was found re-used in a similar position in the north wall of the annexe. The ornament was completely dressed off, but irregularities on the principal surface indicated the former existence of a similar design. This second fragment belonged to the same shaft.

The section of the shaft, at least 55 cm. (1 ft. 9 in.) by 31 cm. (1 ft.) indicates a monument on the same scale as the Bewcastle Cross, the shaft of which tapers from 57 cm. (1 ft. 10½ in.) by 53 cm. (1 ft. 9 in.) to 36 cm. (1 ft. 2 in.) by 33 cm. (1 ft. 1 in.) and rises to a height of 4·40 m. (14 ft. 6 in.).⁵⁰ There is no reason why the St. Alkmund cross should not have been on a similar scale, perhaps as a composite monument with a separate head or with the shaft in two pieces. The restoration, which has been attempted, is necessarily conjectural, in view of the uncertainty about the taper.

The interlace resembles that on the sarcophagus (no. 2). A date in the ninth century, contemporary with this, is probable, but the cross could be rather older.

4 Part of shaft of cross (Fig. 6), now lost. Ninth century.

Cox, writing in 1879, illustrates, from a cast then in Derby Museum, a part of a cross shaft. His note reads: 'Another cast of a missing stone is part of a third cross of freer pattern'.⁵¹ Only one face of the shaft is shown. Assuming that the larger drawings are to the same scale — and as far as can be checked this is the case — the shaft was originally 80 cm. (2 ft. 8 in.) wide and the remaining fragment measured about 55 cm. (1 ft. 10 in.) high.

A smooth-bodied beast is enmeshed in a vine scroll. The design is carried out in slight relief, not in the flat technique of the two shafts next discussed (nos. 5 and 6) and appears to represent the earliest surviving sculpture found on the site. The shaft, so far as the drawing shows, can be compared with monuments like the cross at Aldborough.⁵² A date early in the ninth century is indicated.

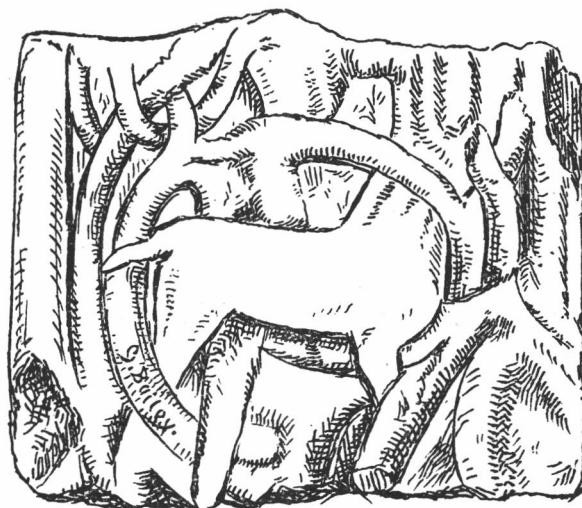


Fig. 6 St. Alkmund's Church: part of cross shaft.

5 Section of shaft of high cross (Pls. 6–7) (Cox, pl. V, B). Ninth century.

The shaft tapers from 37 cm. (1 ft. 2 in.) by 30 cm. (1 ft.) to 35 cm. (1 ft. 1 in.) by 25 cm. (10 in.). The section is 75 cm. (2 ft. 6 in.) high.

Found in 1844 and in Derby Museum in 1879.⁵³

The carving on all four faces is executed in a linear technique with the background cut away to leave the design with a flat surface in the same plane as the frame formed by the arris of the stone on each side. The pattern is emphasized by incision and by

slight sinkings, which enhance details, such as the intersection of the strands of interlace. It is uncertain which face formed the front of the shaft; it was probably that described as face A. The other faces are described anti-clockwise.

Face A is divided into two panels by a plain elliptical arch linking the frame on either side. At the base is an animal with the head turned back to the dexter. The body is covered with scales within a plain margin edged by an incised line; the eye and other details are also shown by incision. A long tongue with a median groove issues from the mouth and is looped through a strand of interlace (now largely lost) to a scrolled end. Above the arch an animal facing dexter has the long neck thrown back. The body has a plain margin and a simple emphasis of the joints, all indicated by incision. There is a prominent crest at the back of the head. The long tongue with median groove passes across the neck and is looped through the tail and round the erect right foreleg to finish with a scrolled end. The tail passes behind the body to form an interlace between the legs. Above, in the same panel a similar animal stands to sinister; the head is missing and only the stump of the erect tail remains. The missing parts of the animals would require an addition of at least 20 cm. (8 in.) at the bottom and 10 cm. (4 in.) at the top.

Face B forms a single panel, with the design extending in both directions beyond the present limits of the stone. Below an incomplete panel of interlace is a combat between two animals. Both have plain bodies with margins marked by an incised line and the details shown by incision. The upper animal has its long neck turned back and downward to grip the pendent end of a strand of the interlace. The left hind leg penetrates the neck of the second animal, which grips the underside of the body of its opponent. Two of the feet impinge on the sinister margin of the panel. A completion of the combat scene would require only a slight addition at the bottom of the panel; the interlace must have extended for a considerable height, which cannot be estimated.

Face C is badly worn and weathered and the detail is difficult to decipher. There is a single panel with interlaced ribbon animals, incomplete at both top and bottom. The scaly coiled bodies are linked by plain strands. An acceptable restoration of the design would require at least 25 cm. (10 in.) added at both top and bottom of the panel. The concept may be compared with similar panels on a shaft at Colerne⁵⁴ and another from Ramsbury, both in Wiltshire.⁵⁵

Face D is divided into three panels by flat elliptical arches, as on face A. At the bottom an animal has a lumpy, toad-like, head turned backward to dexter. The body is covered with scales within a plain margin, outlined by an incised line. The prominent eye and other detail are also incised. The tongue is looped round the erect tail and penetrates the body to disappear across the broken lower margin; the lower part of the body and legs are lost. In the central panel an animal similar to that in the centre of face A has a simple pendent tongue and erect tail, both with scrolled ends. Below the body is a simple knot with scrolled ends. At the top an incomplete bird faces dexter. The body has the joints indicated and a plain margin. The long pinions of the wing and tail are indicated by incision. To complete the animal and bird an extension at least 15 cm. (6 in.) at the bottom and 10 cm. (4 in.) at the top would be required.

Face C shows that a further length of 50 cm. (1 ft. 7 in.) is the least that can be added to the shaft to give a reasonable layout. In practice, as the divisions between panels do not coincide on faces A and D, a considerably greater addition would be needed. To this minimum length of 1·25 m. (4 ft. 1 in.) must be added a head of some 60 cm. (2 ft.), making a minimum height of over 2 m. (6 ft. 6 in.), showing that this was another high cross, comparable in scale with no. 3.

Stylistically, a close local parallel is provided by the rather smaller shaft from Breedon-on-the-Hill, Leicestershire, though the animals there lack the plain margin outlined by an incised line — the so-called double outline. Breedon ceased to exist as a monastery in c. 874 and the site was still derelict in 967.⁵⁶

Penetration, of which two instances occur on this shaft, has been discussed by Kendrick.⁵⁷ It involves the piercing of the body of an animal by one of its members

or by a member of another animal or the piercing of a leaf by the stalk of a plant, in cases where interlacing would normally show the member or stalk passing completely over or behind the body or leaf. The mannerism is found more than once in the ornamental pages of the *Rome Gospels* (*Codex Vaticanus latinus 570*), an eighth-century ms. in Anglo-Saxon majuscule, probably written in England.⁵⁸ It can also be seen on a number of cross fragments, including the shaft at Croft, Yorkshire,⁵⁹ which probably dates to c. 800 or the early ninth century and the reverse of the larger shaft at Middleton, Yorkshire,⁶⁰ for which a date c. 900 has been suggested.

This cross shaft has been the subject of much discussion, both concerning its date and its relation to the Scandinavian Jellinge style. The first question is relevant to the present report and must be reconsidered in the light of the new evidence provided by the excavations. The second raises questions too wide to be conveniently discussed in the present context.

The architectural evidence from the excavations shows that the church of St. Alkmund suffered extensive damage during the pre-Conquest period, involving the complete rebuilding of the eastern annexe and the abandonment of the south, and also presumably of the north, porticus. There is no evidence about the structural state of the nave at this time. But the rarity of early burials in this part of the church and the survival of both the cult of St. Alkmund and of the shrine, in which his relics were treasured (no. 2), suggests that the site continued to serve as a centre of Christian worship. The rebuilding took place before c. 1000 when the Treatise on the Resting Place of the Saints was compiled (p. 55) and the imposts (no. 1) of about the same date probably mark its conclusion. At the same time fragments of at least one high cross (no. 3) were available for re-use as building material. All this points to the destruction of the Church, but does not preclude its continued use after temporary repairs, carried out soon after the destruction. These developments must be interpreted in the light of the religious and ecclesiastical history of this part of Mercia.

North-eastern Mercia, the area later known as the Five Boroughs, of which Derby was one, was 'shared out' by the Danish army in 877.⁶¹ Derby, eventually, if not immediately, became the centre of a Danish army.⁶² This army was heathen and a heathen cemetery of 60 mounds has been located in the Trent valley at Ingleby, ten km. (six miles) south of the city. The six excavated mounds covered cremations, one of which was associated with a sword hilt of c. 900.⁶³ Place names show that Scandinavian settlement was dense in the valley of the Trent, in the later Hundred of Repton and Gresley, and in Scarsdale, along the county boundary north of Derby. In the intervening Hundred of Litchurch and Morley, which includes Derby, Scandinavian influence is less marked in the place names, but is still significant.⁶⁴ The whole of this area must have had a substantial heathen element, which was politically dominant during the 40 years of Danish rule. Even in the north-west of the county, in the later Hundred of High Peak, where the place-name evidence shows far less Scandinavian influence, land was being bought back from the heathen (*paganis*) in the first decade of the tenth century.⁶⁵ It is reasonable to conclude that the damage to the church of St. Alkmund and the destruction of the high cross (no. 3) were associated with the Danish settlement in 877 and that the ethos of the region was essentially heathen during the 40 years that followed.

The evidence is admittedly meagre, though it all points in the same direction. And it may legitimately be supplemented by the fuller record of the analogous area further south—East Anglia and the Fenland—which has been analyzed by Dorothy Whitelock.⁶⁶ Her conclusions indicate that there was a widespread acceptance of Christianity by the end of the ninth century, but that ecclesiastical reorganization was delayed till the time of Theodred, Bishop of London (c. 909/21–55) and Oda, Archbishop of Canterbury (942–58). For the area of the Five Boroughs a similar chronology is borne out by the failure to re-establish the see of Leicester and the ephemeral character of the see of Lindsey, before its union with Dorchester in 958. The re-establishment of monasticism had to await the practical enthusiasm of St. Aethelwold, Bishop of Winchester (963–84).⁶⁷

That the church of St. Alkmund was patched up and continued to serve the needs of the local Christian community throughout this century-long interval is a reasonable conjecture in full accord with the evidence of the excavations. That it was in a position to erect a high cross on the scale of this monument is hardly credible. Nor is it likely that the heathen army based on Derby would have tolerated the erection of such a monument in the period before 917. The church lay close to the north gate of the borough, through which ran the road to Scarsdale, one of the principal areas of Scandinavian settlement. The heathen attitude to Christianity is perhaps better illustrated by the account of the settlement of Brattahlid, on Ericsfjord, in Greenland,⁶⁸ as recorded in the Sagas. Eric the Red remained a heathen when his wife, Thjodhild, was converted to Christianity and she built her church 'away from the farm' (*eigi allanaer husunum*), doubtless out of respect for her husband. In the writer's opinion we are compelled to accept Kendrick's argument 'that the St. Alkmund's cross shaft is English in the sense that it was carved before the Danes took possession of Derby'.⁶⁹ This implies a date in the middle or third quarter of the ninth century, a period borne out by the comparison with the shaft at Breedon-on-the-Hill, Leicestershire, and the use of penetration.

It remains only to consider the detailed argument put forward by Brøndsted in 1924,⁷⁰ which has had a wide influence on all subsequent writing. Discussing the shaft at Collingham, Yorkshire, he drew attention to the animals on one of the larger faces, which 'are furnished with three new features: lappets, double contour lines and spiral ends to the thighs — the so-called joint-spirals — three characteristic details, which together alter very materially the ornamental effect of the whole design'. He pointed out that these details were 'well-known peculiarities of the Scandinavian Jellinge style', but that they had previously been almost unknown on northern English crosses. They appeared suddenly and 'must be interpreted as a direct loan from Scandinavia'. The chronological implication was that crosses showing these features were later than the Danish settlements of c. 870.

Collingwood was greatly influenced by Brøndsted and adopted his chronology.⁷¹ But he had reservations, pointing out that the 'double outline' cannot be confined to the period after the Danish settlements, as it is found on the cross at Hackness⁷² with its inscription in honour of Abbess Aethelburga; this he argued must have been set up before c. 870, when the community came to an end. It is possible to go further. Both the 'double outline' (plain margin indicated by an incised line) and the joint spiral are well established in Insular art at a much earlier date. They occur, for instance, on the Lion of St. Mark and the Calf of St. Luke in the Book of Durrow⁷³ and on the stele from Papil in Shetland.⁷⁴ They are basically calligraphic and were absorbed into the repertory of sculpture on stone, when a flat barbaric style replaced the relief drawn from classical models. There is no need to look to Scandinavia, if an outside source is required. The lappet is nowhere closely defined by Brøndsted, but he agrees that the animals at Collingham, and by implication at St. Alkmund, are basically English, in the tradition of the 'Anglian beast'. In the opinion of the present writer Brønsted's derivation of these features, and with it the chronological implications of a post-Danish settlement date, must be rejected. That it has seemed necessary to spend so much space on a comparatively minor point is a tribute to a writer, whose penetrating analysis of the art of these crosses was seminal and is still bearing fruit.⁷⁵

6 Section of cross shaft (Pl. 8). Ninth century.

Tapers from 18 cm. (7 in.) by 15 cm. (6 in.) to 14 cm. (5½ in.) square; 52 cm. high. Found in 1844 and in Derby Museum in 1879 (Cox, pl. V, C).

The carving is carried out in a very low relief, rising from a sunk background. It is uncertain which face formed the front of the cross. They are described anti-clockwise, starting from the best preserved. Face D, one of the narrower faces and therefore an edge of the shaft, is missing.

Face A (Pl. 8a) is a single panel with an arched base of elliptical form and incomplete at the top. The panel, now 36 cm. (14 in.) high, has an animal facing sinister with a long pendent tongue. Slight crescents, placed at random, decorate the body. The tail coils round and ends in a bird's head. An addition of 10 cm. (4 in.) would be sufficient to complete the missing part of the head.

Face B (Pl. 8b) is much weathered and has a similar, but narrower, panel. The panel appears to contain an elongated bird with the neck stretched upward to cross the neck of a similar bird reversed. Most of the second bird is missing. If the interpretation is correct a symmetrical treatment of the theme would require a panel 60 cm. (2 ft.) high. Details appear to have been shown by incision, but the stone is too far perished to recover these.

Face C has a panel similar to face A, with an animal in the same style. All detail has been lost through weathering.

The design of face B, if it is correctly interpreted, would suggest that the ornamented shaft stood to a height of 60 cm. (2 ft.) above a plain base of 18 cm. (7 in.) which would have been set in the ground. To this would be added a cross head of about 45 cm. (1 ft. 6 in.), giving a total visual height of 1 m. (3 ft. 3 in.) or slightly over.

The design on face B, as interpreted, derives from birds on the Lindisfarne Gospels, a Northumbrian Ms. of the early eighth century, where the motif of interlaced birds appears on fol. 139a.⁷⁶ On stone, the nearest analogy is the cross at Aberlady,⁷⁷ which should probably be dated before 800. The beasts on the larger faces may be compared with those on the shaft at Otley,⁷⁸ but they are more stylized and probably later. The incised crescents link the shaft with the high cross at Breedon-on-the-Hill, Leicestershire.⁷⁹

The much-weathered surface of the stone makes it difficult to determine the function of this cross. The suggested dimensions would be appropriate to a large headstone and the scale may be compared with a cross from Bradbourne, now in the Derby Museums, which retains a considerable part of the head.⁸⁰ The original dimensions of this cross were about 1 m. (3 ft. 3 in.) high by 50 cm. (1 ft. 8 in.) across the head. The Bradbourne cross has interlaced ornament of the same character as that on the sarcophagus (no. 2) and dates from the ninth century; Bradbourne has other carved stones, all apparently antedating the Danish settlements of 877.

This small cross from St. Alkmund should be placed in the first half of the middle of the ninth century.

7 Section of cross shaft (Pl. 9a). Ninth century.

Thirty-four cm. (13½ in.) by 25 cm. (10 in.) by 60 cm. (2 ft.) high. Found in 1844 and reset in outer wall of 19th-century south porch (Cox, pl. V, D). Now in Derby Museums.

The back and top of the stone have been dressed off for re-use as a large quoin. In the process the original thickness has been reduced from about 30 cm. (11 in.), as indicated by the arch on the sinister face, to 25 cm. (10 in.). The angles on each side of the best-preserved face have been treated as colonettes with capitals, from which springs an arch. Above the capitals the spandrels are filled with weathered tree-like motifs, which also spread on to the side faces. The remains of similar motifs at the back of the side faces suggest that the lost angles were treated in the same manner and that the shaft originally had niches with figures on all four faces.

On the best-preserved face the niche contains a draped figure seated on a stool facing sinister and holding a large book or tablet with the left hand. In the right hand a long stylus with a cruciform head lies along the thigh. Above and in front of the head is a winged figure, badly damaged, but probably an angel. The niche on the sinister face has a similar seated figure with a bird in front. The whole surface has been roughly dressed back for re-use. The design on the dexter face was similar; only the head of the figure and a long shaft, possibly a sword, extending across the line of the arch are now visible.

Though stiff and lifeless, the carving is still in the Mercian tradition of the eighth century. The best-preserved figure is probably St. Matthew, to whom an angel is dictating the Gospel in accordance with early tradition⁸¹ St. John the Evangelist occupies the sinister panel and the dexter may well be St. Paul.

A rather earlier example in the same tradition, though not in Mercia, occurs on the long slab, perhaps an altar frontal, at Hovingham, Yorkshire.⁸² The St. Alkmund shaft, by reason of its subject and its size, belonged to a high cross, though no estimate of the height can be given. It is therefore unlikely to date after the Danish settlements and should be ascribed to the middle or first half of the ninth century.

8 Section of cross shaft (Pl. 9b). Tenth or 11th century.

Thirty cm. (11½ in.) by 13 cm. (5 in.) by 40 cm. (15½ in.) high. Found in 1844 and reset in the outer wall of the 19th-century porch.

The dexter angle of the main face has a rounded arris. The sinister angle has been dressed off, but the symmetrical character of the design shows that the shaft was about 33 cm. (13 in.) wide at the present bottom and that it tapered slightly.

The main face has two figures facing forward and standing on each side of a central shaft which branches to form arches above their heads; the outer ends of the arches rest on their shoulders. The shaft continues upwards. The figures were close-fitting tunics with flared skirts reaching to the knee. The arms are bent inwards at right angles to grasp the central shaft.

The dexter face has the remains of a continuous panel of poor, heavy interlace. The design shows that the original thickness of the cross shaft was about 20 cm. (8 in.).

Assuming a second range of figures, as indicated by the continuation of the central shaft, a minimum height of 90 cm. (3 ft.) shows that this was part of a high cross.

The symmetrical arrangement of the figures and the hard, formal design belong to one of the late panelled shafts, in which 'the figure subject itself had degenerated into a purely ornamental composition without serious doctrinal significance'.⁸³ The cross shaft at Aycliffe, Durham,⁸⁴ is a better-preserved example of the style, which belongs to the later tenth and 11th centuries. The piece from St. Alkmund is probably late in the series.

The model behind the design may well be a representation of the Temptation, with the hands of Adam and Eve stretched out towards the tree, round which the serpent, here missing, is coiled.⁸⁵

Grave covers

Ornamented grave covers are rare in the earlier pre-Conquest period, before the Scandinavian settlements of the ninth century. In the later period they become increasingly common. A number have been found in position in cemeteries in association with small cruciform headstones, most notably at York in the cemetery under the floor of the south transept of the Norman minster, as yet unpublished, and at Cambridge, under the ramparts of the Norman castle.⁸⁶ The practice continued after 1066; the cemetery of the Cathedral at Old Sarum is a good example, with graves dating mainly from the 12th century.⁸⁷ There are a number of specialized types, including the hogback of the Viking age (no. 9) and the raised and arcaded cover (no. 13).

9 Part of hogback grave cover (Pl. 10) (Cox, pl. V, A). Tenth century.

The surviving part is 30 cm. (1 ft.) with a pentagonal section of which the maximum measurements are 38 cm. (15 in.) by 35 cm. (13½ in.) high. The flat base 36 cm. (14 in.) across is rather narrower than the maximum breadth at the base of the gable.

The section comes near one end of the hogback. This end has been dressed back to a vertical face. The other end of the section has been roughly broken.

The body of the bear, which once adorned the end of the hogback, has largely been dressed off and the head is reduced to a shapeless lump, barely rising above the apex of the stone. But the paws can still be seen, extended along the arris at the foot of each slope of the gable.

The sides of the stone and the slopes of the gable form separate fields demarcated by plain margins. The sinister side has an elaborately interlaced serpent with a prominent head swallowing the tail of itself or of another serpent. The design extended beyond the broken end, probably to the full length of the stone. The head has a large eye and a median groove extends the full length of the body. The slope of the gable is filled with irregular interlace, also with a median groove. The much-weathered second slope had a similar design. The dexter side has a heavy clumsy interlace with a median groove. The coils swell in places with groove marking the outline. This design was probably also of serpents interlaced, as on the opposite side.

The hogback grave cover is a house-shaped grave cover of the Viking age.⁸⁸ Its distribution in England is centred in Yorkshire, with outliers in the valley of the middle Trent and to the north-west. In Scotland nearly all the known examples lie on the east side of the country. Hogbacks occur in groups on some sites which have no known monastic character; ten are recorded at Brompton in Yorkshire.⁸⁹ There is also evidence of their association with small standing headstones. The background suggests that they are the tombs of laymen of high rank and not of ecclesiastics. The use of the bear at the end of many of the covers is an additional link with Scandinavia, where the animal had sacred connections. The fragment from St. Alkmund is not among the earliest and should be placed late in the tenth century.

10 Grave cover (Pl. 11a). Eleventh century.

1·40 m. (4 ft. 8 in.), tapering from 45 cm. (1 ft. 5 in.) to 35 cm. (1 ft. 2 in.) wide by 20 cm. (8 in.) thick. The material is a coarse arkolic sandstone. Found re-used in the west part of the foundations of the north wall of phase 3.

On the surface a shaft, originally with a double outline, rises from a wider base with concave sides to carry a cup-shaped head with a triquetra knot, of which the lower member is rounded. The sides of the cover are plain.

11 Grave cover (Pl. 11b). Eleventh century.

1·30 m. (4 ft. 4 in.) by 45 cm. (1 ft. 5 in.) by 28 cm. (11 in.) thick. About 10 cm. (4 in.) is missing from one end, giving an original length of 1·40 m. (4 ft. 8 in.). The material is a decalcified oolitic limestone, badly weathered. Found re-used at the south-east corner of the crypt of Phase 2. Within a plain margin, a double cross. The sides are plain.

12 Oval grave cover (not illustrated). Eleventh century.

Sixty-six cm. (2 ft. 2 in.) by 30 cm. (1 ft.) by 16 cm. (6 in.).

Found re-used in phase 2 near the north end of the east wall of the chancel.

The ends of diagonals spring from a plain margin; the central part of the design was completely dressed off, before re-use, leaving a scar.

13 Raised grave cover (not illustrated). Twelfth century.

1·90 m. (6 ft. 2 in.) long, tapering from 53 cm. (1 ft. 9 in.) to 43 cm. (1 ft. 5 in.) by 33 cm. (1 ft. 1 in.) high.

Till the recent demolition the stone stood in a niche specially made for it outside the south wall of the Victorian vestry. It is now set on the floor under the concrete spire at the south-west corner of the nave in the modern church of St. Alkmund.

The long sides each have an arcade of 13 shallow round-headed arches, which spring from prominent capitals. The top and ends are badly weathered and retain no traces of ornament. The spacing of the arcades suggests that the larger end has been slightly cut back and that the cover originally measured about 2 m. (6 ft. 6 in.).

Grave covers of this type with blank arcading on the sides and sometimes with ornament on the top are not unusual in the 12th century. There is an elaborate example at Fordwich, near Canterbury,⁹⁰ which probably always stood within the church. The arcading on a smaller grave cover from Gainford, Co. Durham,⁹¹ more closely resembles that from St. Alkmund and is accompanied by crosses and an interlaced design on the top. Gainford has produced a series of pre-Conquest carved stones, but the arcaded grave cover probably dates after 1100. A fragmentary example from Old Sarum⁹² was found in the lay-folks cemetery north-west of the Norman Cathedral. There is no reason to connect any of these grave covers, including that from St. Alkmund, with the shrine of a saint, though the possibility cannot be excluded.

SAINT ALKMUND

The history of the decline of Northumbria in the later eighth century is recorded in the laconic entries of the northern annalist, whose work is incorporated in the History of the Kings of Symeon of Durham.⁹³ It is not a story of unrelieved disaster. Among the rulers who upheld the Christian practice of an earlier age was Alhred. Claiming descent from Ida, he succeeded in 765. During his reign a Northumbrian Synod authorized the mission to Frisia of St. Willehad, who later founded the See of Bremen, which became an influential centre for Christian missions to the Scandinavian north. Alhred was deposed in 774, apparently by a formal act of the nobles and of the royal household. He withdrew first to Bamburgh and then into exile.

Alhred had two sons. The elder, Osred, ruled briefly for a year. The younger, Alkmund, is the subject of an enigmatic entry in the annals for the year 800. 'In the same year Alkmund, the son of King Alhred, was seized, as some say, by the agents of King Eardwulf (King of Northumbria from 796 to 810) and by his orders killed in exile with his followers'.⁹⁴ Eardwulf had placed himself and his kingdom under the protection of Charlemagne. In 801 he had invaded Mercia, where King Coenwulf had been protecting his enemies, and peace was made on equal terms between the two rulers.

These bald statements come to life in the Polychronicon of Ranulf Higden, a 14th-century monk of Chester, who was probably drawing upon a Vita of St. Alkmund. After recording the accession of Egbert, King of Wessex, in 802, he continues: 'In these days, Ethelmund, a sub-king of Mercia, went forth from his own lands to Kempsford [on the Thames, near Cricklade] and fought with the Ealdorman of Wiltshire, Wehrstan. In which battle both leaders fell, but the men of Wiltshire obtained the victory. And St. Alkmund, the martyr, the son of Ahlred, king of Northumbria, who had taken part with Ethelmund, died. His body was buried at the White Monastery [Lilleshall, Staffordshire] and then at Derby in the church on the north side distinguished by his name. In which place he is famed for many miracles and is widely honoured by Northumbrians coming on pilgrimage'.⁹⁵

The battle at Kempsford is recorded in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, which provides the additional information that Ethelmund, who is called an Ealdorman, came from the province of the Hwicce, a region in what later became Gloucestershire and Worcestershire. But the entry makes no mention of Alkmund's part in the action.⁹⁶

St. Alkmund's burial at Derby, in the church named in his honour, is first mentioned in an anonymous tract, the Resting Place of the Saints. The Anglo-Saxon version of this work has a core assembled before 995; it was completed between 1013 and 1030 in a West Saxon centre, probably Winchester. A Latin translation was made between 1013 and 1080 at St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury. Both Saxon and Latin versions read, in translation, 'St. Alkmund [rests] in the minster called Northworthy, beside the River Derwent'.⁹⁷

THE PRE-CONQUEST MINSTER

Penda, the last heathen ruler of Mercia, died in 654. His son, Peada, who ruled over the Middle Angles during his father's lifetime, married a daughter of Oswiu, the Christian king of Northumbria, and was converted to that faith. The mission to the English Midlands began in his day, under the leadership of Diuma, who had been consecrated by St. Finan, Bishop of Lindisfarne.⁹⁸ But the organization of the church in Mercia came later, in the time of Theodore of Tarsus, Archbishop of Canterbury (668–90). His effort was facilitated by King Wulfhere of Mercia (657–74), who in his later years made himself supreme in the whole of Southern England.

Archbishop Theodore sent Ceadda to Mercia as Bishop. Ceadda, who had previously been Bishop of York, was trained under Celtic influences and there was some defect in his orders, but this was cured by the archbishop. Ceadda fixed his cathedral at Lichfield, not far from the Mercian royal seat at Tamworth, and this became and remained the main ecclesiastical centre in Mercia. A little later a separate see for the Middle Angles was founded at Leicester.⁹⁹

The ecclesiastical organization set up under Archbishop Theodore and his successors was based on a network of minsters, each with a community of clergy responsible for the conversion and later for the pastoral care of the district in which the minster was placed.¹⁰⁰ The foundation charter of the church at Breedon-on-the-Hill, Leicestershire, provides a good illustration of the type and purpose of these minsters. A grant of land was made by Friduric, an ealdorman (*princeps*) of King Aethelred of Mercia, between 675 and 692, so that 'a minster [monasterium] of monks serving God should be founded and a priest instituted, who should bring the grace of baptism and the teaching of the Gospel doctrine to the people committed to his care'.¹⁰¹ A number of the more important of these minsters were associated with and sustained the charge of a community of nuns headed by an abbess.¹⁰²

Few early records have survived from the area of the middle Trent. There is evidence that minsters, associated with communities of nuns, were in existence at Repton¹⁰³ and at Hanbury, Staffordshire,¹⁰⁴ before 700. These churches were connected with early saints — St. Wystan at Repton and St. Werburgh at Hanbury — whose relics were enshrined in them. The sarcophagus cover at Wirksworth,¹⁰⁵ which can hardly be later than the eighth century, implies that this church also had enshrined relics at an early date.

It is against this background that the church of St. Alkmund at Derby must be seen. The ninth-century sarcophagus, or shrine, not only confirms the traditional association of the saint with the site, but proves that it was an important church at that date, and that it was already a minster before the Danish conquest of north-eastern Mercia. Only a minster would have been chosen to receive the translated relics of a saint; only a minster could have provided the fitting services to celebrate his virtues.

The church was therefore a minster in the earlier part of the ninth century. How much earlier its foundation must be placed is a matter of conjecture. At a much later date there were a number of wealthy churches in the Deanery of Derby,¹⁰⁶ including Mackworth, which lies within the same Hundred of Litchurch, immediately north-west of the medieval borough. Any of these wealthy churches could have a claim to be regarded as a pre-Conquest minster. But Derby lies in a strategic position, commanding the crossing of the Derwent beside the Roman settlement of Derventio (Little Chester).¹⁰⁷ The old Anglian village known as Northworthy is a likely choice for the site of a minster going back to the earliest days of Christianity in this part of Mercia.

The corpus of recorded sculptured stones found on the site carry the story back to c. 800, to a period before the martyrdom and enshrinement of St. Alkmund. There is nothing that can be dated earlier. But this is not decisive. Though the translation and the enshrinement of St. Alkmund did not lead to the foundation of the minster, it would have had a profound effect on its development. The acquisition of the relics and the

consequent attraction of pilgrims and their offerings would have enriched the community and allowed it to adorn the church and the minster. This is the explanation of the great crosses erected in the ninth century. It may even be the result of the success of Breedon-on-the-Hill and the shrine of St. Hardulf at a slightly earlier date. The eighth-century importance of that monastery reflected in the great series of sculptures still preserved in the church must have been due in no small measure to the possession of the enshrined relics.¹⁰⁸

In 871 Aethelwulf, ealdorman of Berkshire, a Mercian by origin, died fighting the Danes. His death is recorded in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.¹⁰⁹ The Latin version of Aethelweard adds: 'the body of the aforesaid ealdorman was stealthily removed and taken to the province of the Mercians, to the place called Northworthy, but Derby in the Danish tongue'.¹¹⁰ There can be no doubt that he was buried in the minster of St. Alkmund and it is possible that one of the graves within the church was his (p. 33).

The excavations have shown that the earliest church was badly damaged within the pre-Conquest period and that the eastern annexe was completely rebuilt. The only architectural clue to the rebuilding is the pair of imposts found in 1844 and now lost (no. 1). They date from the late tenth or 11th century and may well mark the completion of the rebuilding. But this damage and the delay in its repair need not imply the desertion of the site. The survival of the cult of St. Alkmund is strong evidence of the continuity of Christian worship. The nave could have been put into a state of repair sufficient to serve the needs of the Christian community during the 40 years of pagan rule (*cf.* p. 50), leaving a more permanent rebuilding till the age of general ecclesiastical reorganization.

The rebuilt church of the later tenth or 11th century appears to have lacked the porticus flanking the east end of the nave. The door leading to the southern porticus was blocked and the area used for burials, if it had not already been used for this purpose during the period of Danish rule. One of the burials, no. 52, was packed with charcoal; it destroyed the south-east corner of the porticus and there is no trace of further building in this place until the aisle wall of phase 2 was built in the 12th century (p. 33).

This disuse may reflect some change in the status of St. Alkmund in the period after the Saxon reconquest of the tenth century. The Domesday record of 1086¹¹¹ notes two minsters in Derby. It runs: 'in the same borough [that is Derby] there was one church on the King's demesne with seven clerics, who held two carucates of land freely in Chester [that is Little Chester]; there was another church, similarly the King's, belonging to which six clerks held nine bevates of land, likewise freely, in Cornun [Quarndon] and Detton [Little Eaton]' Subsequent records show that the first of these churches was All Saints, now the Cathedral and throughout the Middle Ages the principal church in Derby. Most pre-Conquest boroughs had their own church. Where its status can be determined it seems normally to have been a minster, with a comparatively small parish cut out of that belonging to some older foundation. It can be assumed that the minster of All Saints in Derby originated as the church of the borough after the Saxon reconquest of the tenth century. Its property is assessed at nearly twice the amount of that belonging to the second minster, which is St. Alkmund.¹¹² It is not impossible that some property originally belonging to the older minster was seized to endow the new foundation and that the diminished size of the church is due to this loss of revenue.

St. Alkmund continued to serve a large area outside the defences of the borough. The possession of the relics of the saint would alone have been sufficient to ensure its survival and the Domesday record shows that it retained a substantial endowment. The church figures in the 11th-century treatise known as the Resting Place of the Saints and it is this record which establishes beyond doubt the status of the church as a minster (p. 55).

At the beginning of the 12th century Henry II¹¹³ granted the churches of Derby and Wirksworth (*ecclesias de Derbeia et de Werchesorda*) to the newly founded Cathedral Church of Lincoln, in which they were subsequently assigned to the endowment of the Deanery. Subsequent documents confirm this grant, using the same description. But the

papal confirmation by Alexander III in 1163 embodies a significant variation. The list of possessions runs: the churches of Derby, the church of Wirksworth, (ecclesias de Derbeia, ecclesiam de Wirkworth).¹¹⁴ The record of an award made in 1252 between the Dean of Lincoln and the Abbey of Darley makes it clear that the two churches which the Dean held in Derby were All Saints and St. Alkmund.¹¹⁵ It seems likely that the grant of Henry I included both churches, though it is possible that St. Alkmund was the object of a separate grant made some time before 1163. Whatever the exact date, St. Alkmund ceased to be a minster and became a tributary church served by the canons of All Saints, and so the position remained throughout the Middle Ages. Its architectural development followed the normal course of an urban parish church and calls for no special comment.

ABBREVIATIONS

<i>Ant. Journ.</i>	<i>Antiquaries Journal.</i>
<i>Arch.</i>	<i>Archaeologia.</i>
<i>Arch. Journ.</i>	<i>Archaeological Journal.</i>
<i>ASC</i>	<i>Anglo-Saxon Chronicle</i> (ed. Dorothy Whitelock, 1961).
Baldwin Brown	G. Baldwin Brown, <i>The Arts in Early England</i> , vol. v (1921) and vi (1930)
Bede, <i>HE</i>	<i>Bedae historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum</i> (ed. C. Plummer, 1896).
Bede, <i>VSC</i>	<i>Bedae Vita S. Cuthberti</i> (ed. B. Colgrave, 1940).
Clapham	A. W. Clapham, <i>English Romanesque Architecture before the Conquest</i> (1930).
Collingwood	W. G. Collingwood, <i>Northumbrian Crosses of the pre-Norman Age</i> (1927).
Cox	J. C. Cox, <i>Notes on the Churches of Derbyshire</i> , iv (1879).
<i>Derbys. Arch. Journ.</i>	<i>Derbyshire Archaeological Journal.</i>
Henry	Françoise Henry, <i>Irish Art in the Early Christian Period to 800 A.D.</i> (1965).
Kendrick	T. D. Kendrick, <i>Anglo-Saxon Art</i> (1938).
<i>Proc. Soc. Ant. Scotland</i>	<i>Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.</i>
Stenton	F. M. Stenton, <i>Anglo-Saxon England</i> (1943).
<i>Yorks. Arch. Journ.</i>	<i>Yorkshire Archaeological Journal.</i>
Zimmerman	E. H. Zimmerman, <i>Vorkarolingische Miniaturen</i> (1916).

REFERENCES

¹*Derbys. Arch. Journ.*, 13 (1891) 190–3.

²I was told, many years ago, by an old man whose grandfather had been sexton and gravedigger in a country churchyard up to about 1875, that when an earlier, unmarked burial was found in the course of digging a grave, it was trampled down and covered with a thin layer of soil, on to which the new coffin was lowered. This was doubtless the traditional practice up to the 19th century.

³No trace of the original floor was found. The level is based on the base of the lowest and only surviving course of the masonry, which had been distorted by later pressure from above.

⁴Since many of the measurements have had to be taken from foundations and are only approximate, it has seemed best to give the English equivalents of these to the nearest 3 in.

⁵This is well illustrated in a photograph published elsewhere (*Derbyshire Life* 32 (1967) 41).

⁶The numbering of the graves is arbitrary; it represents the sequence in which the various features were examined and has been retained for ease of reference to the records.

⁷The second piece from which similar decoration had been almost entirely dressed off is not among the pieces now in the Museum.

⁸*Arch. Journ.* 130 (1973) 126–8.

⁹Clapham, 99, fig. 26; *Arch. Journ.* 123 (1966) 199–204.

¹⁰Clapham, fig. 20; H. M. and Joan Taylor, *Anglo-Saxon Architecture* (1965) 105–8.

¹¹*Ant. Journ.* 50 (1970) 314–21.

¹²*Arch. Journ.* 130 (1973) 129–40.

¹³*Ant. Journ.* 48 (1968) 270–2.

¹⁴Bede VSC., cap. xl: (corpus) ad dexteram altaris petrino in sacrofago repositum (of the burial) and cap. xlvi: in levi arca recondita in eodem quidem loco sed supra pavimentum dignae venerationis gratia locarent. (of the translation 11 years later).

¹⁵D. McIntyre, *The Coffin of St. Cuthbert* (1950).

¹⁶The summary in the Seventh Interim Report (*Ant. Journ.* 49 (1969) 321–2) has been modified to take account of the reinterpretation of the building sequence (*Ibid.*, 50 (1970) 314–21).

- ¹⁷The level of the large stones set immediately north of the sarcophagus to carry the pavement bore out this deduction. They partly covered grave no. 53, which must have been empty when they were laid. The stones had been removed when pl. 2b was taken.
- ¹⁸*Innes Review* 18, 2 (1967) 88–92.
- ¹⁹*Arch. Journ.* 118 (1961) 241–3.
- ²⁰Quoted in Cox, 119.
- ²¹The most convenient survey of these developments in an urban context is to be found in the Inventory of the Southwest part of the City of York (Royal Commission on Historical Monuments (England): York III (1972)), summary on p. xliv.
- ²²Cox, pl. IV, based on that made by Rawlins in 1821 (Ms. in Derby Libraries).
- ²³Cox, 126.
- ²⁴Cox, 119.
- ²⁵For the most recent authoritative review of this coinage, see C. S. S. Lyon and B. H. I. H. Stewart in *Anglo-Saxon Coins* (ed. R. H. M. Dolley) (London, 1960) 96–121 (Lyon and Stewart).
- ²⁶For a detailed statement of find-spots, see Lyon and Stewart 118.
- ²⁷Lyon and Stewart mention two (p. 118) and the present writer had a coin submitted to him some years ago from an alleged hoard from the Midlands, which proved on investigation to be a hoax.
- ²⁸*A Catalogue of English Coins in the British Museum, Anglo-Saxon. Series*, Vol. 1 (London, 1887) 228–9.
- ²⁹Information kindly supplied by Miss M. M. Archibald, Assistant Keeper in the Department of Coins and Medals, British Museum.
- ³⁰Cox, 121–3, pl. V, A–F (cited as Cox). A reference to this plate is included in the relevant descriptions.
- ³¹*Arch. Journ.* 2 (1846) 87.
- ³²*Arch. Journ.* 94 (1937) 23–7, pl. x–xiii; no separate references are given.
- ³³*Arch.* 77 (1927) 219–40.
- ³⁴*Arch. Journ.* 2 (1846) 87.
- ³⁵Cox, 122.
- ³⁶Clapham, 124–6, fig. 39.
- ³⁷Royal Commission on Historical Monuments (England): *Essex, I* (1916), plate opposite p. xxviii.
- ³⁸*Arch.* 77 (1927) pl. xxxv c.
- ³⁹Bede, HE, iv, 3: Est autem locus idem sepulchri tumba lignea in moden domunculi coopertus.
- ⁴⁰The pillars at Reask and Kilfountain (Henry, pl. 15) and the stelae on the leachets on Inishmurray (W. F. Wakeman, *A Survey of the Antiquities of Inishmurray* (1867)) are examples.
- ⁴¹Vita Willebaldi episcopi Eichstedensis, cap. 1 in *Monumenta Germaniae Historiae: Scriptorum*, xv, 88.
- ⁴²Henry, 135, fig. 17; E. A. Lowe, *Codices Latini Antiquiores*, ii (1935), no. 276.
- ⁴³Baldwin Brown, v, 102–21.
- ⁴⁴Collingwood, fig. 184.
- ⁴⁵Collingwood, figs. 63 and 52.
- ⁴⁶*Yorks. Arch. Journ.* 39 (1955) 453–5.
- ⁴⁷*Associated Architectural Societies, Reports* 19, ii (1888) 416–21.
- ⁴⁸*Cambridge Antiquarian Society Transactions* 23 (1921) 15–45.
- ⁴⁹*Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.* 105 (1972–4) 209–11.
- ⁵⁰Baldwin Brown, v, 103.
- ⁵¹Cox, 122.
- ⁵²Collingwood, fig. 32; Kendrick, 196–9, pl. LXXXVIII.
- ⁵³Cox, 122.
- ⁵⁴*Ant. Journ.* 15 (1935), pl. xv, 2.
- ⁵⁵*Ant. Journ.* 15 (1935), pl. xvii, 1. The ascription of all the crosses at Ramsbury to a date after the foundation of the bishopric in 909 is not historically justified.
- ⁵⁶*Arch.* 77, (1927) 223. For the history of Breedon, see *ibid.*, 219–20. The charter quoted can now be more precisely dated (P. H. Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters* (1968) no. 749).
- ⁵⁷Kendrick, 145.
- ⁵⁸For example on fol. IIb in the upper panel to the left of the figure of St. Matthew (Zimmermann, pl. 313; for date E. A. Lowe, *Codices Latini antiquiores*, i (1934), no. 63).
- ⁵⁹Kendrick, pl. LXI.
- ⁶⁰*Yorks. Arch. Journ.*, 38 (1935) 454–5, pl. IIc.
- ⁶¹ASC., s.a., text C (AB).
- ⁶²*Derbys. Arch. Journ.*, 67 (1947), 96–119.
- ⁶³*Derbys. Arch. Journ.*, 66 (1946), 1–25; H. Shetelig, *Viking Antiquities in Great Britain and Ireland*. iv (1954), 76–7.

- ⁶⁴*English Place Name Society*, 27 (1959), xxxiv–xxxvii.
- ⁶⁵W. de Grey Birch, *Cartularium Saxonicum*, no. 658 (Sawyer, no. 397).
- ⁶⁶*Saga Book of the Viking Society* xii, iii (1945) 159–76.
- ⁶⁷Stenton, 445–6.
- ⁶⁸The Story of Thorfinn Carlsemne II, 3 in G. Vigfusson and F. York Powell, *Origines Islandicae*. ii, 614–5.
- ⁶⁹Kendrick, 209.
- ⁷⁰J. Brøndsted, *Early English Ornament* (1924) 191–240.
- ⁷¹Collingwood, 126–35.
- ⁷²Baldwin Brown, vi, pl. xv 1.
- ⁷³Zimmermann, pl. 161–2.
- ⁷⁴*Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.* 74 (1939–40) pl. xxiv a.
- ⁷⁵But cf. David M. Wilson and Ole Klindt-Jensen, *Viking Art* (1966) 103–6.
- ⁷⁶Zimmermann, pl. 243.
- ⁷⁷Kendrick, 135–6; Clapham, pl. xiii.
- ⁷⁸Kendrick, pl. xci; Collingwood, 47–8, fig. 60.
- ⁷⁹*Arch.*, 77 (1927) pl. xxxv.
- ⁸⁰*Arch. Journ.*, 94 (1937) 18–20.
- ⁸¹Cf. fol. 25b of Lindisfarne Gospels (Zimmermann, pl. 223).
- ⁸²Collingwood, fig. 54; cf. Kendrick, 194–5.
- ⁸³T. D. Kendrick, *Late Saxon and Viking Art* (1949), 59–60.
- ⁸⁴Collingwood, fig. 97.
- ⁸⁵For example on the South Cross at Castle Dermot (F. Henry, *La Sculpture Irlandaise* (1933), 143, fig. 183).
- ⁸⁶*Cambridge Antiquarian Society Transactions* 23 (1921) 15–45.
- ⁸⁷*Proc. Soc. Ant.*, Series II, xxvi (1914) 111–4.
- ⁸⁸*Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.* 105 (1972–4) 206–35.
- ⁸⁹Collingwood, 168–9.
- ⁹⁰*Arch. Journ.*, 86 (1929) 258–60.
- ⁹¹F. G. Haverfield and W. Greenwell, *A Catalogue of the Sculptured and Inscribed Stones in the Cathedral Library, Durham* (1899), 97–110, xlvi.
- ⁹²*Proc. Soc. Ant. Lon.*, Series II, 28 (1916) 175, fig. 2.
- ⁹³Symeonis Dunelmensis monachi Historia Regum (Rolls Series, lxxv, ii, 43–63). Cf. Stenton, 90–5.
- ⁹⁴Symeonis, op. cit., 63: Anno 800. Eodem anno Alchmund, filius Aluredi regis, ut dicunt quidem, a tutoribus Eardulfi regis est apprehensus ejusque jussione cum suis profugis occisus est.
- ⁹⁵Ranulphi Higden Polychronicon (Rolls Series, xli, vi, 290): His diebus (that is the time of accession of Egbert of Wessex) Ethelmundus subregulus Merciorum sub fines suos ad vadum Chymerefort egressus pugnavit contra ducem Wyltoniensium Weostanum. In quo bello ducibus hinc inde corruentibus Wyltoniensius victoria potantur. Sed et sanctus Alkmundus martyr filius Aluredi regis Northumbrorum qui in parte Ethelmundis venerat occubuit. Cujus corpus apud Album Monasterium (Lilleshall, Staffordshire) deinde apud Derbeiam urbem in ecclesia aquilonali suo nomine constructa reconditur ubi signis variis durescens a Northambriensibus peregre venientibus sedule veneratur.
- ⁹⁶ASC., s.a. 802: . . . Egbert succeeded to the kingdom of the West Saxons. And that same day Ealdorman Aethelmund rode from the province of the Hwiccians across the border at Kempsford. And Ealdorman Weohstan with the people of Wiltshire met him, and a great battle took place. and both ealdorman were killed and the people of Wiltshire had the victory.
- ⁹⁷F. Liebermann, *Die Heiligen Englands* (1889): Donne rested sancte Eahlmund on (tham mynstre) Nordworthish neah thare ea Deorwentaen. (P. 11/2 section II, II). Sanctusque Aelhmundus in monasterio quod dicitur Nordworthish iuxta amnem Deorwentaen.
- ⁹⁸Stenton, 120.
- ⁹⁹*Ibid.*, 132–4.
- ¹⁰⁰*Ibid.*, 148–56.
- ¹⁰¹W. de G. Birch, *Cartularium Saxonicum*, no. 841 (= P. H. Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters* (1968), no. 1803).
- ¹⁰²Cf. *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Series iv, 23 (1941), 25–69.
- ¹⁰³Vita sancti Guthlaci confessoris, cap. xv in *Memorials of St. Guthlac* (ed. W. de G. Birch (1881), 14–5).
- ¹⁰⁴J. Tait, *Cartulary of Chester Abbey*, I, viii–xiv.
- ¹⁰⁵*Arch. Journ.*, 118 (1961) 209 and 230–1.
- ¹⁰⁶*Taxatio ecclesiastica Papae Nicolai IV* (Record Commission), 246.

¹⁰⁷The name appears in the Ravenna Cosmography (*Arch.*, 93 (1949) 31).

¹⁰⁸*Arch.*, 77 (1927) 219–38. I have suggested (*Arch. Journ.*, 112 (1955), 171) that the three slabs illustrated on pl. xxxix belonged to the shrine of St. Hardulf.

¹⁰⁹ASC., s.a. For Aethelwulf see Stenton, 232.

¹¹⁰Aethelweard, *Chronicon* (ed. Savile, 1596), 479b.

¹¹¹*Victoria County History: Derbyshire*, i (1905), 327.

¹¹²One carucate is equal to eight bovates.

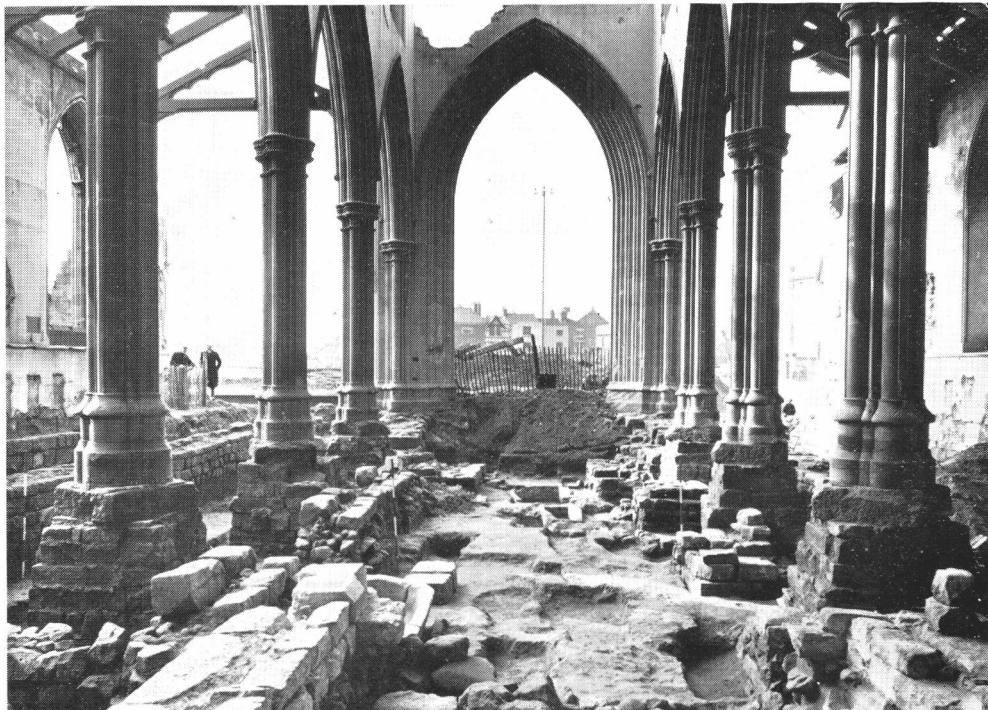
¹¹³*Registrum Antiquissimum* (Lincoln Record Society, vol. 27), no. 38 of 1100–9.

¹¹⁴*Ibid.*, no. 255.

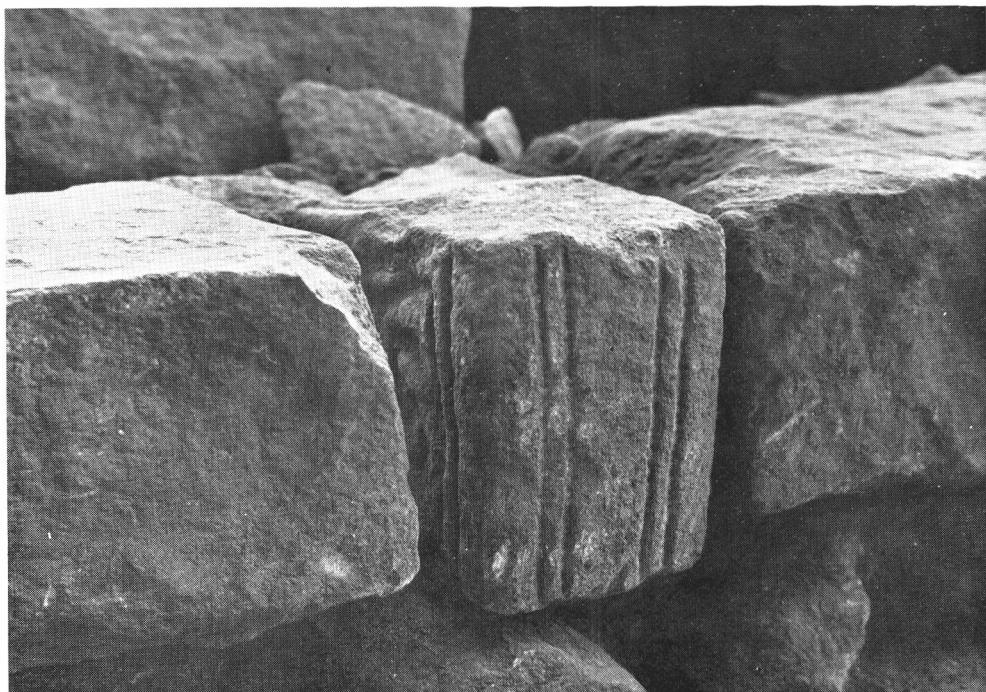
¹¹⁵*Victoria County History: Derbyshire*, ii (1907), 88, quoting the Cartulary of Darley Abbey.

September 1976

THE CHURCH OF SAINT ALKMUND, DERBY



Pl. 1 (a) St. Alkmund's Church, Derby: general view looking west.



Pl. 1 (b) Cross arm (no. 3a) as found in south wall of nave.



Pl. 2 (a) Grave nos. 55 and 56, in angle between chancel and south aisle; pre-Conquest wall at back.



Pl. 2 (b) North-east corner of the nave, with sarcophagus (no. 2) as found.

THE CHURCH OF SAINT ALKMUND, DERBY



Pl. 3 (a) St. Alkmund's Church: pre-Conquest silver penny, scale ½.



Pl. 3 (b) St. Alkmund's Church: cross shaft (no. 3b).



Pl. 4 St. Alkmund's Church: sarcophagus (no. 2).

THE CHURCH OF SAINT ALKMUND, DERBY



Pl. 5 St. Alkmund's Church: sarcophagus (no. 2).



Pl. 6 (a) St. Alkmund's Church: cross shaft (no. 5, face A).



Pl. 6 (b) St. Alkmund's Church: cross shaft (no. 5, face B)

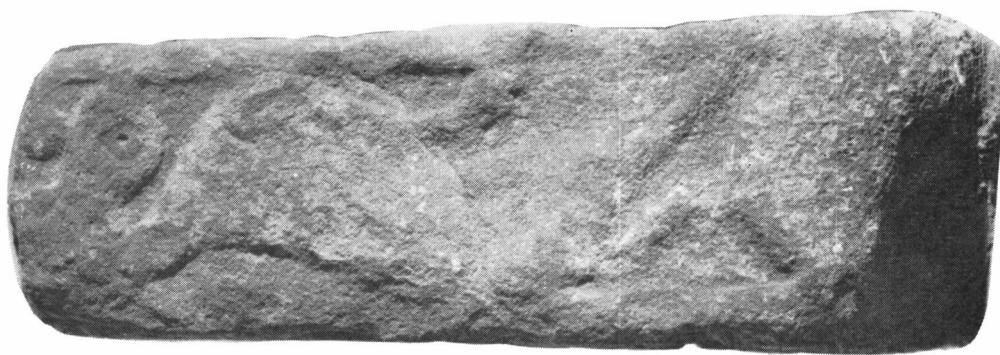
THE CHURCH OF SAINT ALKMUND, DERBY



Pl. 7 (b) St. Alkmund's Church: cross shaft (no. 5, face D).



Pl. 7 (a) St. Alkmund's Church: cross shaft (no. 5, face C).

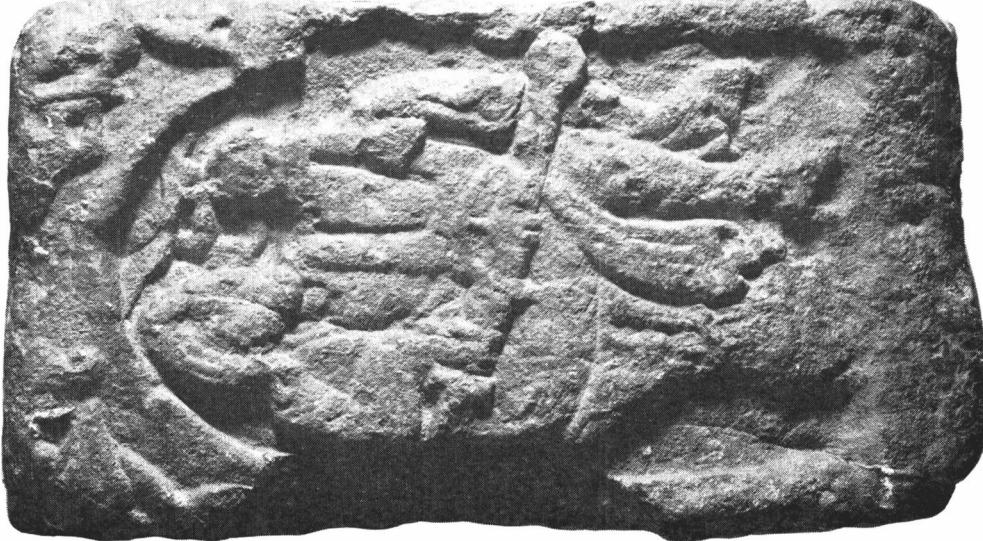


Pl. 8 (b) St. Alkmund's Church: cross shaft (no. 6, face B).



Pl. 8 (a) St. Alkmund's Church: cross shaft (no. 6, face A).

THE CHURCH OF SAINT ALKMUND, DERBY



Pl. 9 (a) St. Alkmund's Church: cross shaft (no. 7).



Pl. 9 (b) St. Alkmund's Church: cross shaft (no. 8).

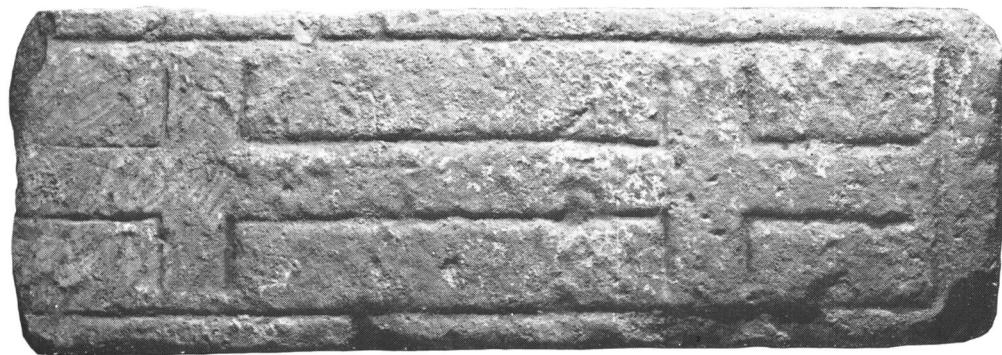


Pl. 10 (*a*) St. Alkmund's Church: hogback (no. 9), sinister side and gable.

THE CHURCH OF SAINT ALKMUND, DERBY



Pl. 10 (b) St. Alkmund's Church: hogback (no. 9), dexter side and gable.



Pl. 11 (a) St. Alkmund's Church: grave cover (no. 10).



Pl. 11 (b) St. Alkmund's Church: grave cover (no. 11).