CHAPTER II

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND TO THE SCULPTURE

THE AREA

This volume completes the study of the sculpture of the historic county of Yorkshire begun in volumes III (Lang 1991) and VI (Lang 2001) of the series: that is, it covers the pre-1974 West Riding of Yorkshire. The geographical spread of this area is in itself very important to the present study (Fig. 2). The modern county of West Yorkshire is all to the east of Manchester, but the north-west corner of the old West Riding curves round through the Pennine dales to the north and west of Manchester, coming at one point to within a few miles of the west coast of England. At the other end, it stretches a long way to the south, into what is now South Yorkshire. In fact, it touches on five other counties apart from the old North and East Ridings of Yorkshire: Lancashire, Cheshire, Derbyshire, Lincolnshire and Nottinghamshire.

Some of these borders, as will be seen below, have been examined in an ongoing discussion of historical developments which led to the inclusion of this area into the southern Northumbrian kingdom of Deira, in particular the power struggles between Northumbria and Mercia. Inside these sometimes uncertain boundaries the extent and even the existence of subsidiary areas are a matter for debate: for example the British enclaves or kingdoms of Craven and Elmet; and the ecclesiastical estates of Bishop Wilfrid of Ripon, and those of the diocese (later archdiocese) of York. The north-west extension is also important in relation to the limited spread of certain Viking-age monument forms, which also raises interesting questions as to the extent of Viking settlement throughout this area (see Chap. IV, p. 36).

The area is also distinguished by its varied terrain, reflecting its underlying geology (see Chap. III), from the flat lands south of York (the 'Humberhead Levels'), the north–south stretch of the central lowlands of Yorkshire, including the western half of the Vale of York (an important route between England and Scotland), gradually rising to the west, first through gentle hills around Leeds and Ripon, then to the north and west an area of bare fells and moors, cut by the southern Yorkshire dales: Nidderdale, the lower part of Uredale, Wharfedale, Airedale and Calderdale. The rivers in these drain eastwards eventually into the Humber, some via the Ouse,

as do the rivers Don and its tributary the Dearne, further south. However, the county straddles the Pennines, so that the upper reaches of the rivers Lune and Ribble, draining away towards the west coast, are also within its boundaries.

The effect of this topography on settlement is reflected in all phases of its history, as discussed below. Most dramatically and pertinently for our present purposes, it is clear in the distribution of the Roman roads and the pre-Conquest sculpture, that both follow the river valleys yet avoid the low-lying marshy areas while keeping below the 300 metre mark.

POLITICAL SUMMARY

THE ROMAN PERIOD

The division in Yorkshire between east and west was present even before the Romans, when the West Riding of Yorkshire lay within the territory of the Brigantes, while east Yorkshire was the land of the Parisi, with York politically at a convenient frontier location between the two tribes, a factor in its selection as the centre of Roman rule (Ottaway 2003, 125). Aldborough (*Isurium Brigantum*), the *civitas* capital of the Brigantes, lies on the river Ure, just within the borders of the West Riding.[1]

The Roman occupation left its mark on the landscape, its forts and towns and more particularly its roads a continuing influence on patterns of settlement. Nevertheless, a noticeable difference immediately emerges in comparison with eastern and even northern Yorkshire — a difference which remains throughout the period, and which is undoubtedly the result of the upland and sometimes inhospitable terrain of the Pennines. Villa sites are rare and forts too are fewer, both at their most frequent in the central lowlands, and otherwise strung out along the roads which largely follow the river valleys (see Fig. 3). The roads and sites also avoid the undrained flatlands around the head of the Humber. The main north–south route is Dere Street (Margary 1967, nos. 8a and b) which heads north from York via Aldborough

1. Aldborough, 'the old fort(ification)' is documented first only in Domesday Book.
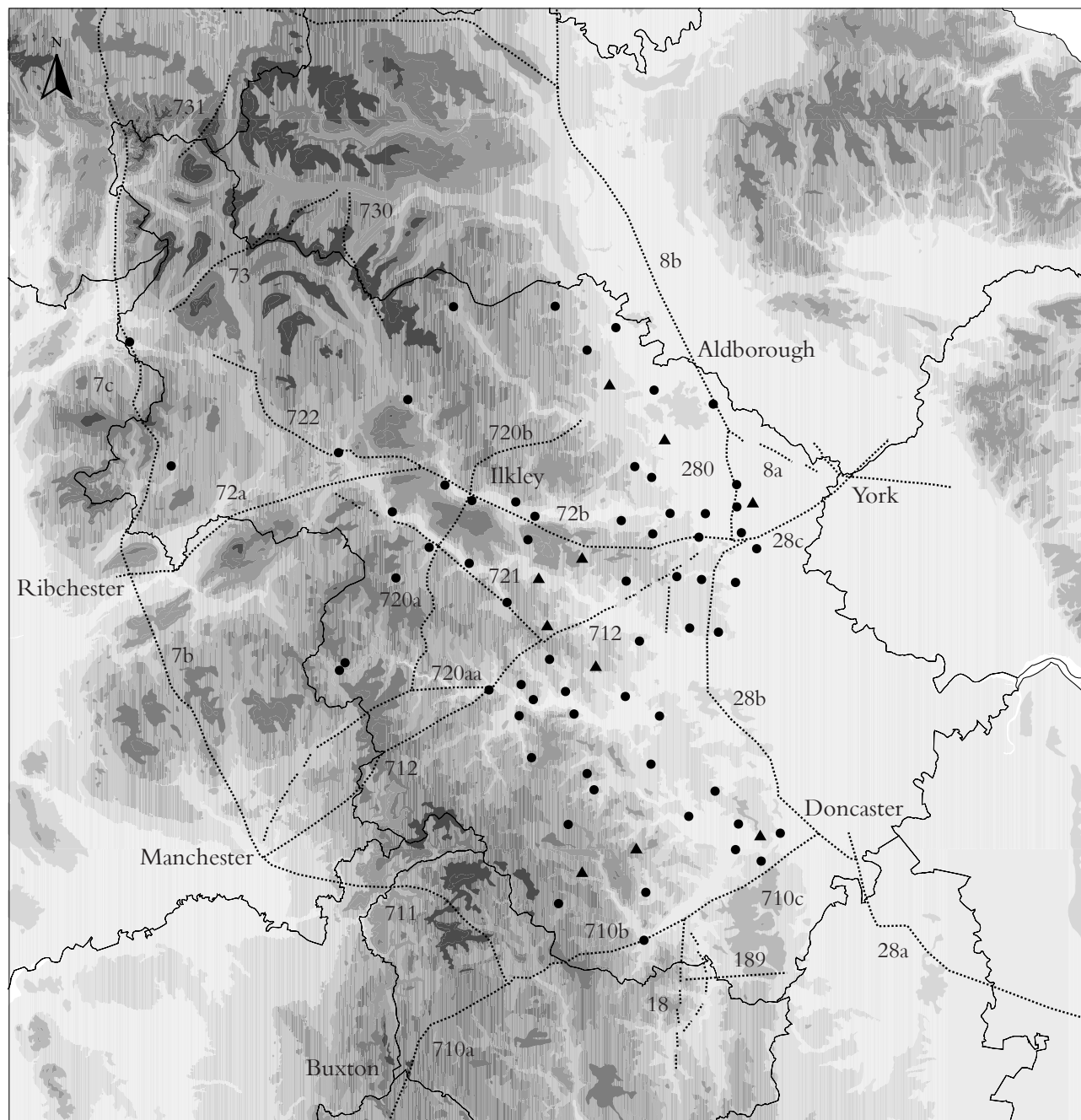
FIGURE 3
Roman roads in western Yorkshire

(*Isurium Brigantum*). South of York, the road continues on to Doncaster (Margary 28b) and Lincoln (Margary 28a). As important, however, to an understanding of the area are the cross-Pennine roads which link this north–south route and York to the north-west of England. The most northerly, Margary 72, runs through Wharfedale to the Roman fort at Ilkley (*Olicanum*) and thence to Ribchester and Preston, linking up with a major north–south route on the west side, Margary 7, which runs through the westernmost extension of the West Riding and comes close to the most westerly sculpture sites at Slaidburn and Low Bentham. Further south, Margary 712 passes close by three sites with rare surviving decorated cross-bases, at Birstall, Hartshead and Rastrick, on its way to Chester via Manchester. Further south again, Margary 710 leaves Margary 28b north of Doncaster, for Buxton in Derbyshire via Sheffield. It is absolutely clear that these roads as routes (though partly as a function of the terrain), and possibly also as boundaries, continued to be important through succeeding centuries, as the distribution of sites with sculpture attests.

Forts were strung out along these Roman roads: Doncaster, Burghwallis, Castleford, Tadcaster, Newton Kyme and Roecliffe (beside Aldborough) on the north–south route; Ilkley and Elslack (near Gargrave on an extension of Margary 72) on the road to Ribchester; Slack and Castleshaw on the Manchester route; and Templeborough on Margary 710 from Doncaster. There are two villa sites on the north–south route: Stancil, south of Doncaster, and Dalton Parlours, west of Tadcaster. There is only one villa site further west, at Gargrave. Faull (1974, 1) noted that the majority even of Romanized British settlements are concentrated in the eastern lowland region.

THE POST–ROMAN PERIOD

British survivals and Mercian connections

How far its pre-Roman and Roman history affected the west of Yorkshire in the post-Roman period is debatable. The most recent maps showing sites of this date in Yorkshire known from documentary and archaeological sources, which do not take account of sculpture and place-names, show how sparse all the evidence is for this region (Loveluck 2003, figs. 40, 42; Hall 2003, fig. 44).

A variety of approaches into the study of this area, however, has been tried, and some have been used with considerable effect. One of these has been the study of the apparent survival into the Anglian period of British kingdoms or enclaves; and in terms of the development

of the region as part of Deira/Northumbria, a second focus has been on evidence for Mercian rule and continued connections — both considered further below.

The division between eastern and western Yorkshire, noted in the Roman period, appears to have continued into the post-Roman period as late as the seventh century. This probably relates to the continuance, in the west, of post-Roman British kingdoms until a comparatively late date (see below), but this is also problematic because of the paucity of evidence on the ground. Certainly there are no fifth- to seventh-century Anglian cemeteries in the area, while in the east these abound, with excavated grave-goods such as dress accessories which can be dated stylistically to provide a general framework for chronological developments, and for some sense of the cultural contacts and development of the pagan incomers (Loveluck 2003, 158–62; see also Lucy 1999). In the west, the lack of evidence for the putative British survival can be accounted for, at least partly, by topography, and indeed the greater prevalence of marginal lands (upland in the west and lowland marshes in the south-east corner in and near what are now called the Humberhead Levels) imply a relatively sparse population: long-term studies of these areas in relation to land use may give a clearer picture in the future (Loveluck 2003, 155–6). This has already been done for the Levels, in the Humber Wetlands Project, which showed a deterioration of the wetlands area in the sub-Roman period, implying its relative abandonment as a place of settlement, making it a natural frontier zone between Deira, Elmet and Mercia in the early period (see also below) (Van der Noort 2004, 127–9; Higham 2006, 407). Christian burial practices without grave goods probably also account for the relative invisibility of the indigenous population (Faull 1977, 6–7), but Loveluck (2003, 152, 155–6) has pointed to the scarcity of datable artefacts from British sites after the collapse of Roman military and civil administration early in the fifth century, which must account at least in part for the lack of identification of British settlements.

Two main areas have been identified as possible British kingdoms. One is Craven, an entirely upland area in the north-west of the pre-1974 county, containing the modern towns of Settle, Skipton and Keighley, and the upper valleys of the Ribble, Wharfe and Aire. P. N. Wood (1996, 2–4) has suggested that the name derives from Welsh words with the prefix *craf*, and implies a topographical name such as 'scraped / scratched land', appropriate for a land with large areas of limestone pavement and limestone scars. Estates in the area are referred to as *In Crave* or summarised under the heading *Cravescire* in Domesday Book (e.g. Faull and Stinson 1985, II, 380b, SW Cr 7), which has the earliest mentions of

the name: these forms acknowledge the area as an administrative unit, but differentiate it from the wapentakes of the North and West Ridings and the hundreds of the East Riding. Wood proposed that those estates summarised under *Cravescire* probably best represent the original area, which by detailed comparison with other areas for which there is documentary history, and from an analysis of some of the early lands donated to St Wilfrid at Ripon, he concluded was a post-Roman British kingdom, which became part of Northumbria only in the seventh century.

The area best known as a British survival is Elmet, attested in both British and Anglo-Saxon sources. It seems to have been in existence by the late fifth century, based on the dating of an inscription from Llanelhairn, Caernarvonshire, with the words *Aliortus Elmetiaco hic iacet:* 'Here lies Aliortus of Elmet' (Knight 1996, 111; Loveluck 2003, 156). A strong case has been made for identifying a late sixth-century king of Elmet with the Gwallog commemorated in the heroic epic *The Gododdin* which is probably of the seventh century (Koch, J. 1997; Breeze 2002). Bede mentions the area twice, though only once by name. He first says that Paulinus built a church *in Campodono* where there was also a royal dwelling. This was burnt down by the heathen who slew King Edwin (i.e. the Mercians under Penda). The stone altar survived and in Bede's day was still preserved in the monastery of abbot Thrythwulf, 'in the forest of Elmet'. Later kings replaced the palace 'in the region known as *Loidis* [the area around Leeds]' (Bede 1969, 188, II.14). *Campodunum* has been variously placed near Dewsbury; in the valley of the Don; and in Leeds itself — all probably in Elmet (Breeze 2002, 157, 161, 163). *Loidis* is itself interesting. The name is British, probably meaning 'the people of the river', and survives in the names Ledston and Ledsham (a site with very early Anglo-Saxon sculpture), as well as Leeds itself, all within a few miles of each other on the river Aire. This seems to have been a district within the kingdom of Elmet. The second reference is to Edwin's great nephew, Hereric (father of St Hild), who was poisoned during the reign of Æthelfrith (593–616) 'while he was living in exile under the British king Cerdic' (Bede 1969, 410, IV.23). This Cerdic is usually identified with Ceretic, the last king of Elmet who was expelled by Edwin in 617, as recorded by Nennius (Morris, J. 1980, 79, §63; Wood, P. N. 1996, 9).

There is thus considerable evidence for the existence of Elmet, but its extent can only be adumbrated on the basis of place-name evidence, such as names with the affix 'in Elmet', of which ten (not all surviving to the present) are known; '*eccles*' place-names, usually signifying the presence of the British church; and place-names with elements such as '*walh*', '*Brettas*' and '*Cumbra*' indicative of British population (Jones 1975, 17, map 4; Loveluck 2003, 157, fig. 39). These indications suggest the boundaries of the area are the Humberhead Levels on the east and probably on that side also the Magnesian Limestone belt which forms the western boundary of the Vale of York (Fig. 6): the place-names ending 'in Elmet' all range along this ridge, and it has been noted that such names are likely to have been given along the edge of an area where there is some evidence for an Anglo-Saxon presence earlier than further west (Faull 1981, 172–3). The distribution of names ending in '*–hām*', '*–inga–*', and '*–ingahām*' (including Bramham, Ledsham, Collingham and Addingham) also run roughly along the north–south limestone belt — further evidence that the Anglo-Saxons were not able to move beyond this boundary until the conquest of Elmet (ibid., 181). The north would be bounded by other British Pennine enclaves, such as Craven (above, p. 9, but also see the discussion of the Ripon area below, p. 15), and by the river Wharfe, which based on the place-name studies has been seen as a boundary; and the south on the same grounds bounded by the rivers Don and Sheaf (Jones 1975, 14–23). The area seems to have extended westwards through the Pennine valleys, but not further west.

Archaeological evidence for the existence of Elmet is lacking, probably for the reasons discussed above. Recently it has been suggested that three extended inhumation burials at Parlington Hollins, east of Leeds and between Garforth and Aberford, which have been dated using radiocarbon evidence to the fifth to sixth centuries (but which without this would have been classed as later Roman) are possibly British and Elmetian (Roberts 2001, 282–3). One enclosure at the site is tentatively ascribed to the same period. The same site also produced two sunken-featured buildings, dated to the sixth century, and another excavation at Brerlands Lane just south-west produced a third, though there is as yet no trace of a related Anglian cemetery. Roberts (ibid., 285) speculated that there might have been no large-scale displacement and replacement of the native British population even after the annexation of Elmet by Anglo-Saxons, and that therefore 'any influx of the Anglo-Saxon peoples (or their cultural indicators) would be peripheral additions to pre-existing British "Romano-British" communities': these dates, however, are from the period recorded by Bede in which there was clearly some Anglo-Saxon presence in the area (represented historically by the exiled Hereric, above) but tell us nothing about the post-annexation period from the early seventh century.

One other interesting point is that Elmet is also mentioned in the Tribal Hidage, in a reference to a people called the *Elmedsaetna* (Dumville 1989). This might imply that at some stage Elmet was an administrative unit of Mercia, but if it was it is not clear to what part or parts of the development of Mercia, between the mid-seventh to the late ninth centuries, the document refers, though the most likely time is under the ascendancy of the pagan Penda (*c.* 632–55), a king who was able to harry the Northumbrians as far north as Bamburgh (see above, p. 10). Some writers on this subject have even suggested that the Tribal Hidage is not Mercian at all, but instead a Northumbrian tribute list, perhaps even dating from the time of Edwin, and referring to tributes exacted from his victories against Mercia and against British Elmet (Higham 1995, 74–111). It may not be possible to disentangle Mercian and Northumbrian interests here, but there is plenty of evidence, documentary and other, to confirm that the borders between the two kingdoms were hard fought over a long period.

Cox (1994, 53), for example, suggested that the line of fortified sites with names in *burh* along the valleys of the rivers Don and Dearne in the south of the West Riding (Sprotbrough, Mexborough, Barnburgh, Conisbrough, Masbrough, Worsborough, Stainborough and Kexbrough) 'may well once have delineated a royally designed seventh-century frontier between the kingdoms of Mercia and Northumbria'. Rollason (2003, 25–8) proposed that uncertainties about the southern frontier, particularly in the west suggest it was a 'frontier zone rather than a linear frontier'. The south-western part of the West Riding seems always to have had strong connections with Mercia. Faull and Moorhouse (1981, I, 182) explain the one isolated '–*hām*' name in the south-west (Meltham) as a penetration of Elmet from the south by Mercia rather than Deira/Northumbria, and back this with evidence from a dialect study (Kolb 1974), which suggested that an area roughly commensurate with Elmet remained a distinct dialect region unique for its mixture of Northumbrian and Mercian forms, with the latter dominating. The Mercian connection certainly continues into the later part of the period, reflected in landholdings recorded in Domesday Book. Kippax, for example, was held by Edwin, Earl of Mercia, in 1066 (Faull and Stinson 1986, I, 315a, 9W 1). Conisbrough was bequeathed by Wulfric Spot, a Mercian thegn, to Ælfhelm, ealdorman of Northumbria in 1001–4 (Whitelock 1979, 587).

THE ANGLIAN PERIOD

In view of the evidence for post-Romano-British survival, the fact that Anglo-Saxon burials in west Yorkshire date only from the seventh century can be no surprise (Lucy 1999, 18–20, 38). Loveluck (2003, 158) points to the irony of the fact that when the inhabitants of the area become visible, it is when a seventh-century male burial is found with Anglo-Saxon dress accessories in a British-style cist burial at Occaney Beck (Waterman 1950, 440–1). Otherwise, from this period there is a single inhumation burial of a female in the Roman villa at Dalton Parlours, identified and dated by a rather poor annular brooch (Dickinson 1990, 286–7); a male skeleton with a spearhead and an interlace belt from North Elmsall (Wilson and Hurst 1964, 238); a burial with a gold filigree and garnet pendant from Womersley (Evison 1955, 163); and a barrow with secondary inhumations, one possibly a weapon burial, from Ferry Fryston to the north-east of Pontfract (Pacitto 1971). All these burials are on the eastern border of Elmet (Faull 1974, 24). A possible *Grubenhäus* in Garforth (east of Leeds) is unpublished except as a personal communication by the excavator recorded in Loveluck (2003, 164).

The most significant excavated early Anglo-Saxon site, other than Ripon, is at Tanners Row, Pontefract, just to the east of the Roman north–south route (Wilmott 1987, 340–4). This revealed three phases of burials with the earliest radiocarbon-dated to the seventh to eighth centuries, pre-dating the earliest stone building on the site. This however was a small church, originally a single cell, later a two-celled structure. Wilmott also records an unlocated pagan burial probably of the seventh century in a sandpit on this site, and an eighth-century pin found on the Priory site one hundred yards away. The excavator believed this to be Tanshelf, where at a crossing of the river Aire, *c.* 947–50, Archbishop Wulfstan of York and other northern magnates swore fidelity to King Eadred after the defeat of Eric Bloodaxe (Symeon 1885, *s.a.* 950; also Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, MS D: Cubbin 1996, 44, *s.a.* 948). Tanshelf was a royal vill in 1066. Norman Pontefract was on a new site. Excavations therefore confirm that the eastern border of Elmet has the earliest evidence for Anglo-Saxon occupation.

The bald historical facts relative to the area rather bear out the picture painted above. Elmet fell under Anglo-Saxon control only in 617, under Edwin of Deira who also took control of the northern Anglo-Saxon kingdom of Bernicia, the only time Northumbria was ruled from Deira. Edwin's first wife had been a daughter of a king of Mercia, and it appears he had control or overlordship of other British areas to the north of Mercia, including

FIGURE 4
Sites with sculpture earlier than *c.* 925

the islands of Anglesey and Man off the west coast of Britain — which implies that Northumbria extended to the west coast (Rollason 2003, 28). Later he married Æthelburh, a daughter of Æthelberht of Kent, and as part of the marriage settlement he first agreed to let her worship unhindered as a Christian, and then was baptised himself, taking care that all his chief men and potential rivals were baptised at the same time. In 633 he was killed at Hatfield Chase when the British king Cadwallon of Gwynedd invaded Northumbria with the help of Penda king of Mercia. For a time the area that had been Elmet (above, p. 10) may have become part of Mercia, or perhaps rather it fell again under Mercian control. In 634, however, Cadwallon was defeated by Oswald of Bernicia at the battle of Heavenfield, and Deira and Bernicia were again briefly united (Bede 1969, III.1–2, 6). The two parts of Northumbria again fell apart on Oswald's death when he was killed by Penda at the battle of *Maserfelth*, but were re-united by Oswiu of Bernicia from 651. Thereafter, Deira seems to have become part of Northumbria again, controlled from Bernicia until *c.* 705 by sub-kings (all sons of Oswald or Oswiu), until Northumbria was replaced by the Viking kingdom of York, after 867.

St Wilfrid (c. 634–709) and Ripon

Wilfrid's career in Deira, as a son of a Bernician nobleman, was made possible by a Northumbria united under Bernician rule though still subject to factions under sub-kings vying for power, and by Northumbria's relationships with other Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, particularly its close neighbour, Mercia. Our knowledge of his career is unusually detailed because he was the subject of 'the first commemorative biography in Anglo-Saxon England' (Farmer 1974, 38), the *Life of Bishop Wilfrid* by Eddius Stephanus (Colgrave 1927). This biography has been subject to considerable analysis (Farmer 1974; Roper 1958; id. 1974; Kirby 1983; Goffart 1988, esp. pp. 285–91; Cubitt 1989; id. 2002, esp. pp. 430–2; Thacker 2002, esp. pp. 61–3). What is important to note here are those facts which show his broad range of influences and cultural contacts. From the beginning of his career, Wilfrid moved in the highest courtly and ecclesiastical circles in Northumbria, and over the course of it he spent considerable periods of time in the same circles in Kent, Mercia, Rome, and Francia. He took the tonsure in Lyon (where he stayed three years, from 655–8) and was ordained priest in Ripon, *c.* 663, but by the Frankish bishop Agilbert, formerly bishop of the West Saxons. He obtained the abbacy of Ripon through the patronage of Alhfrith, sub-king of Deira, over the head of its existing

abbot Eata, and in 664 he was made bishop of Northumbria, choosing to retain its seat in York, where he rebuilt Paulinus' cathedral. His power and success, his prominence in debate and his association with particular patrons ensured he had equally powerful enemies, and his holdings as abbot and bishop were not secure: he was forced to spend considerable periods in exile in Mercia, Kent and Sussex. Favour and endowments of land followed him wherever he went, however. He was said to have founded six monasteries in Mercia, for example. There is no definitive list of these, but Farmer (1974, 52) speculated that Peterborough (*Medeshamstede*), Oundle (where he died), Evesham, Brixworth and even Wing all have some claim to connection with Wilfrid, either through documentary or archaeological evidence. Breedon, in Leicestershire, was founded in his lifetime by monks from Peterborough (Dornier 1977b). He still had substantial landholdings in both Mercia and Northumbria at his death, and in spite of the ups and downs of his career was able to appoint his successors, Tatberht and Acca, at Ripon and his other great foundation of Hexham, Northumberland. Stephanus also noted that other abbots subordinated themselves and their monasteries to him (Colgrave 1927, 44, ch. XXI). These links are illuminated by the parallels noted here to some of the earliest West Riding sculptures (p. 42).

Ripon itself holds an important place in the early history of the region. Jones (2000, 20–2) suggested that in the likely reuse of Roman material in the construction of Wilfrid's church, there would have been an awareness of Roman antecedents in the area. Building stone was probably brought from the ruined Roman defences of Aldborough six miles to the south-east, but Jones also offered the suggestion that some came from nearer to hand, based mainly on eighteenth- and nineteenth-century records of finds suggesting a possible Roman villa in Ripon and another in nearby South Stainley. He pointed to evidence for Christian British occupation in the location of a St Helen's well in the vicinity, and used the place-name, probably derived from *Hrypum*, the dative plural of an Old English folk name, to suggest that an Anglian people had arrived in the area as early as the fifth century and certainly no later than the latter half of the sixth. Other names in the area suggest that this too was a boundary zone, presumably between this early Anglian group and a British area (see the discussion of 'in Elmet' names above, p. 10). This suggestion of its early antecedents fits well with the hypothesis of Rollason (2003, 48), who in his discussion of frontier and heartland regions of early Northumbria proposed that the vale of York and its western fringes, including Ripon, formed one such heartland of Deira. His evidence for this

is the foundation, before Wilfrid, of a monastery at Ripon under Eata the abbot of Melrose, who included among his monks Cuthbert, future bishop of Lindisfarne and saint; as well as the existence of other early monasteries in the area, including Gilling and Crayke in the North Riding, and Tadcaster in the West (from which one late fragment of sculpture survives); and a royal vill at Catterick, North Riding.

The Christian archaeology of this period and for this area has in fact centred on Ripon, where the crypt of Wilfrid's church still survives (Bailey 1991). Hall and Whyman (1996, 136–44, fig. 36) used cartographical, documentary and archaeological evidence for their study of the monastic settlement at Ripon, and proposed a tentative reconstruction of the original monastic enclosure on the basis of all the available evidence. For example, they were able to propose that 'Scott's Monument Yard', 200 metres north-east of Ripon Minster, to the east of Marygate, was the probable site for the British ecclesiastical establishment which preceded Wilfrid's foundation and which he displaced. Ailcy Hill, a mound *c.* 200 metres east of the Minster, provided evidence for three phases of burial between the sixth to seventh centuries and the ninth to tenth centuries. The earliest phase, of clustered burials including men, women and children, some possibly as early as the sixth century, seems to have been the burial place of the local community. Its layout changed in the seventh century to a more regular arrangement in rows aligned east to west. Later eighth- to ninth-century interments, apparently all male, were buried in iron-bound wooden chests or coffins, without regard to the earlier phases which they disturbed. The excavators concluded that this phase was associated in some way with the documented monastic community nearby (ibid., 124). There appears to have been a period of abandonment, succeeded by a small number of ninth- to tenth-century burials on a divergent alignment and said to be of a distinctive character, which the authors speculated were possibly of outsiders excluded from churchyard burial.

Two separate excavations, in 1955 and 1974 respectively, were carried out in the Ladykirk/St Marygate area to the north of the east end of the cathedral and revealed a small, two-celled church with burials inside and outside, identifiable with a Lady Chapel mentioned by John Leland in the sixteenth century and subsequently demolished. Leland noted '3. crossis standing in row at the est ende of the chapelle garth. They were thinges *antiquissimi operis*, and monumentes of sum notable men buried there: so that of al the old monasterie of Ripon and the toun I saw no likely tokens left after the

depopulation of the Danes in that place, but only the waulles of owr Lady chapelle and the crosses' (Smith 1907, 81). At least three fragments of cross-heads were found, two (Ripon 5 and 6) in the south half of the chancel. These digs were not published by the excavators and no demographic or palaeopathological data is available, but the excavations are recorded in Hall and Whyman (1996, 124–30). Only one grave contained a datable object, a comb in a case, but four combs and two cases were found altogether, all Anglo-Scandinavian in type and broadly ninth to eleventh century in date (MacGregor 1996b, 127). According to Hall and Whyman (1996, 130), burials accompanied by combs are unusual in England and the only other certain instance was ascribed to 'wavering pagans'. They suggest, very tentatively, that such burials unaccompanied by other finds might instead be of priests accompanied by liturgical equipment; and more certainly that burials inside a chancel are likely to have been contemporary with it. The excavator in 1955, A. Paget-Bagges, suggested that the chancel was an extension of an earlier, single-celled church (ibid.), which possibly accounts for the fragments of crosses, representing in that case earlier grave-markers, disturbed by the extension. The style of the fragments certainly suggests an association with an early phase of the monastery (p. 42, Ills. 647–54). The 1974 excavation, at Deanery Gardens, between the cathedral and the Ladykirk, produced some aceramic, possibly pre-Conquest, deposits sealed by layers containing twelfth- to thirteenth-century pottery. The only datable object from these sealed layers is very important however: a seventh-century gold, garnet and amber cloisonné roundel, the 'Ripon Jewel' (Ill. 860), a mount of some kind, quite possibly from an ecclesiastical item such as a book, reliquary or cross (Hall, Paterson and Mortimer 1996, 134–6, fig. 34).

In addition to Wilfrid's career, Eddius Stephanus provides evidence for his landholdings in Yorkshire, which may also have some bearing on sculptural connections, though practically all the places named by him have been disputed. Historians have assigned considerable importance to these landholdings, though their extent and their exact significance as pointers to the later archiepiscopal estates of York have also been disputed. Eddius Stephanus (Colgrave 1927, 16–18, ch. VIII) tells us how some of these holdings came about through royal patronage, such as that of Alhfrith, sub-king of Deira, for the endowment of Ripon: 'As love grew between them from day to day, Alhfrith first gave St Wilfrid the confessor an estate of ten hides at *Stanforda*, and shortly afterwards, for the good of his own soul, he granted him the

monastery at Ripon together with thirty hides of land, and he was ordained abbot'.[2] Later he records the occasion of the dedication of Ripon, when Wilfrid took the opportunity to make a public declaration of some of these gifts: 'Wilfrid the holy bishop, standing before the altar, turning to the people, before the kings, lucidly set out the *regiones* which previously, and again on that day, kings had given him for their souls, with the consent and subscription of the bishops and all the princes, and also the *loca sancta in diversis regionibus* which the British clergy had deserted, fleeing from the point of the hostile sword in the hand of our people. This was indeed a gift pleasing to God, that religious kings assigned in writing so many lands to our bishop for God's service. *Et haec sunt nomina regionum: iuxta Rippel et Ingaedyne et in regione Dunutinga et Incaetlaevum in caeterisque locis*'.[3]

Stanforda has sometimes been identified with Stamford in Lincolnshire, but this was in Mercia and so is perhaps unlikely as a gift from a sub-king in Northumbria. Jones (1995, 28) suggested that the most plausible place is Stamford in Yorkshire at a ford on the river Derwent, where a number of Roman roads converged. The area appears to have formed part of a royal estate centred on Catton, and later became part of the Prebend of Osbaldwick in the Liberty of St Peter's York.

The four *regiones* given to Wilfrid were identified by Colgrave (1927, 37, 164) as Ribble, Dent and Catlow, west of the Pennines, and Yeadon to the east, near Leeds. Dent seems the most secure of these identifications, although Jones (1995, 29–30) took this to mean 'the territory of Dunawd', i.e. of a north British king who died in the 590s, rather than a reference to a group of dwellers around Dent. The designated area could have been of considerable size. Ribble has been interpreted as referring to the Amounderness district around the river Ribble with its centre at Preston in Lancashire; but Ribbleton, now a suburb of Preston, or Ribchester, have also been suggested as perhaps even stronger possibilities (ibid., 30, fn. 35). Sims-Williams (1988, 180–3), pointed out that King Æthelstan granted Amounderness, the district in which all these places stand, to Archbishop Wulfstan I of York,[4] and that the identification of *Rippel* as Ribble may possibly date from after this time. He points to the oddity of the anticlimactic list of named *regiones*

after Wilfrid's impressive introduction, suggesting that part of a longer list may have been lost, perhaps through scribal error, and suggests the possibility that *Rippel* might be Ripple in Worcestershire, the subject of a possibly genuine early charter, rather than Ribble. *Incaetlaevum* is now unidentified and is not regarded as signifying Catlow — 'wild cat hill' — of which there are several examples in the Pennines (Cox 1975–6, 18). I. N. Wood (1987, 23–4) also doubted Colgrave's identification of *Ingaedyne*, 'steep hill' as Yeadon near Leeds, on the grounds that the remainder were to the west of the Pennines and 'steep hill' could have identified a place in the same area, and also because he believed that the implication of Stephanus' description was that all the named places had only recently been vacated by the British clergy. Sims-Williams (1988, 180–3) pointed out (and all the translations make plain) that the *regiones* and the *loca sancta* were not necessarily coterminous and that the latter, like *Rippel*, need not all have been in west Yorkshire. Jones (1995, 30–6) noted that in any case other stories related by Stephanus show enclaves of Britons surviving even further east in Wilfrid's day (see for example Colgrave 1927, 40, ch. XVIII), and argued strongly for Colgrave's identification of Yeadon as indeed the forerunner of the later archiepiscopal estate north-west of Leeds and including the later parishes of Otley, Weston and Guiseley, with its centre at Otley itself. Wood (1987) did not deny that Otley was an archiepiscopal estate, on the evidence of the sculpture from the site alone: rather he was concerned to show that it was not necessarily a monastic one. However, it is clear that Wilfrid did not distinguish his monastic from his episcopal possessions (Roper 1974, 63), and he himself of course comfortably combined the roles of abbot and bishop. In the last phase of his life he was bishop of Hexham, which like Ripon, remained a monastery under his supervision. We also know that he richly endowed the see of York after becoming bishop, and that Otley was certainly an estate of the archbishop of York in the later pre-Conquest centuries. Bullough (1998, 119) has shown, using the *Vita S. Cuthberti*, that there is evidence for administrative *regiones* in pre-Viking Northumbria, based on royal estate centres, often at former Roman sites. The Otley estate seems to fit well into this pattern, and would have qualified as a *regio* in the gift of a Northumbrian sub-king.

2. Deinde postquam de die in diem inter eos augebatur amor, Alchfrithus dedit primum sancto Wilfritho confessori terram decem tributariorum Aetstanforda et post paululum coenobium Inhrypis cum terra xxx mansionum pro animae suae remedio concessit ei, et abbas ordinatus est.

3. Stans itaque sanctus Wilfrithus episcopus ante altare conversus ad populum, coram regibus enumerans regiones, quas ante reges pro animabus suis et tunc in illa die cum consensu et subscriptione episcoporum et omnium principum illi dederunt, lucide enuntiavit necnon et ea loca sancta in diversis regionibus

quae clerus Bryttannus, aciem gladii hostilis manu gentis nostrae fugiens, deseruit. Erat quippe Deo placabile donum, quod religiosi reges tam multas terras Deo ad serviendum pontifici nostro conscripserunt, et haec sunt nomina regionum: iuxta Rippel et Ingaedyne et in regione Dunutinga et Incaetlaevum in caeterisque locis (Colgrave 1927, 36, ch. XVII). The translation above, including the untranslated italicised sections, is from Sims-Williams 1988, 180).

4. Sawyer 1968, no. 407.

FIGURE 5
Sites with sculpture of the tenth to eleventh centuries

THE VIKING PERIOD

Viking attacks on Northumbria had been happening since the end of the eighth century, but in 866 a campaign under Ivar the Boneless and Hálfdan, which started in East Anglia, achieved the prize of the capture of the city of York. Local resistance appears to have been divided, because, not for the first time, there were rival claimants to the kingship of Northumbria. These, Ælle and Osberht, joined forces against the Vikings, but both were killed in 867, in an attempt to recapture York. Sporadic attempts to reject the Vikings, which were even occasionally briefly successful while the main Danish army concentrated their attacks on Mercia and Wessex, continued until 873, when Hálfdan re-took York, and 875–6, when he moved north again and ravaged Northumbria to such an effect that resistance was over for some considerable time, although Bernicia north of the Tyne was still ruled by an Anglian dynasty based at Bamburgh, Northumberland. According to the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, 'Hálfdan shared out the land of the Northumbrians and they were engaged in ploughing and making a livelihood for themselves' (Cubbin 1996, *s.a.* 876). The Danes who arrived were pagans, but Hálfdan appears to have had the support of Wulfhere, archbishop of York, reinstating him in 875, and was succeeded by Guthfrith, a Christian Viking king, elected, according to the *Historia de sancto Cuthberto*, at the command of St Cuthbert in a vision to Abbot Eadred (Symeon 1882, 68–9, ch. XIII; Johnson South 2002, 48, 52, 58, §§9, 13, 20).

This phase lasted until a second phase of Viking conquest and rule began after the Dublin Norsemen were expelled from Ireland in 902. They colonised north-west England and, under Ragnald, son of the king of Dublin, took York in 911. Ousted not long afterwards, they re-took York more decisively in 918, after ravaging the area governed by the Bernicians. From this period, the threat from the north really was over, and all further effective opposition came from the southern English rulers of Wessex. Æthelstan of Wessex, son of Edward the Elder, even managed to rule all England between 926 and 939. After his death, however, York reverted to Hiberno-Norse control, though subject to further campaigns from the south, until the defeat of Eric Bloodaxe on Stainmore in 954. After this, Northumbria reverted to English control, but under earls of Bernicia who were subject to kings based in southern England, whether English or Danish, and so it remained until 1066.[5]

5. For a more detailed and still useful attempt at a chronology, and a discussion of the sources, see Smyth 1978 and Sawyer 1978; see also Hadley 2000a.

The history described above is well known, and is the same as that for the north and east of Yorkshire, but the differences in the sculptural record between the west and the rest of Yorkshire raise some interesting questions about the nature of the Viking 'kingdom of York' and its sphere of influence. Rollason (2003, 211–55) has pointed out that the geographical scope of the area ruled by the Viking kings is in fact very uncertain. On the one hand there are clear indications of a re-established northern boundary of Mercia in the tenth century (after the liberation of Mercia from the Vikings by Edmund), described in a poem in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, MS D as 'Dore [near Sheffield], Whitwell Gap and Humber river' (Cubbin 1996, *s.a.* 942; Rollason 2003, 26, 219–20), underlining yet again that this border was a frontier zone. In a study of the original extent of the 'province' of Hatfield, an area which crosses the boundaries of Yorkshire, Nottinghamshire and Lincolnshire, Parker (1992, 42) has suggested that 'the medieval boundary between Yorkshire and the north-east Midland counties was not an ancient and stable boundary line between the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms of Mercia and Northumbria, but the accidental product of political re-organizations in the tenth century'. This view has recently been supported by Higham (2006), suggesting that pre-Viking Northumbria and west Mercia met on the Mersey, and that the Ribble became the diocesan boundary between the sees of Lichfield and York under Edward the Elder and Æthelstan. This could suggest a rather different picture from the early defensive line proposed by Cox (1994; above, p. 11). The two suggestions could support each other, though, in implying yet again a hard-fought and highly permeable frontier, and less centralised control (if indeed there was any such thing) over the south of western Yorkshire at least.

Higham (2004) presented a more nuanced picture of Viking settlement in northern England, taking issue with 'the notion of a mass migration of Vikings into the north-west of England' implicit in the history outlined above, and particularly that this migration was mainly Norse in character: he pointed to the contradictions in varying interpretations of the 'Norse space' of the north-west as proposed by different writers. He argued for the arrival of incomers, but did not see those of Scandinavian origin amongst them as homogeneous groups, but rather as a mixture of Norse and Danish; suggesting that the makeup of the population would have included other incomers (Irish, for example), as well as a pre-Viking population which would have remained *in situ*. His analysis must be considered in assessing the apparent origins of monument and pattern types in the present area of study.

Personal and place-name evidence have also been adduced in west Yorkshire as elsewhere to indicate the spread of a Scandinavian population or influence. Faull and Moorhouse (1981, I, 203–9) note that the percentage of Scandinavian names in Domesday Book for the West Riding is a third, or less, of that for either the East or the North Riding, suggesting that the Scandinavian population was relatively sparse and that the incomers preferred the Vale of York and the Yorkshire wolds. Their study covered only the modern county of West Yorkshire, but showed that Scandinavian names tend to occur in clusters: small clusters in the river valleys of the western part of the county, the major clusters down the east side; while place-names of English origin have a fairly even spread across the whole area, including that between the rivers Calder and Aire, where they report 'virtually no Scandinavian names at all'. A simple correlation between English and Scandinavian names and the make-up of the local population would not be accepted now, but the distribution has some points of interest which can be explored in relation to the spread of Scandinavian-influenced forms of monument and iconography.

Archaeology has proved rather unhelpful in identifying Scandinavian settlement in the area, so far (but see the note on Spofforth in the catalogue, p. 250). A ninth-century farmhouse at Ribblehead has proved as enigmatic about the later development of west Yorkshire as any other discovery: the excavators were able to date it, but not to prove whether it was Norse Viking or Northumbrian Anglo-Saxon (King 1978; see also King 2004).[6] The discovery of a probably pagan Viking woman's grave on the south-eastern edge of the area demonstrates the penetration of the Danish Vikings in the ninth century, into the lowlands of the Humberhead Levels but not really into the better land beyond (Speed and Walton Rogers 2004). It is interesting that the earliest evidence is on the east, as it was in an earlier phase for the Anglo-Saxons. Hall (2003, 175–6) analysed the dramatic increase in unstratified metalwork finds from Yorkshire since the institution of the Portable Antiquities Scheme. To date, 90% of recorded early medieval, including 'Viking', finds come from the modern counties of North Yorkshire and the East Riding. It is impossible to estimate whether this is a true reflection of the relative sparsity of population in the old West Riding, but it seems to continue the pattern shown by earlier surveys of the distribution of sites and objects from the Roman

period onwards. In one respect, however, the west and south are as rich as any other part of Yorkshire, and this is in the number and distribution of the surviving pre-Conquest sculptures. These show where there were established communities with a church able to afford such monuments. One of the questions to ask of these sculptures is whether they are able to demonstrate the nature of those communities. I. N. Wood (1987) has argued for Otley as a centre of ecclesiastical lordship, partly on the basis of the sculpture, and, for the later period, Stocker (2000, 203–5) has claimed sites in Lincolnshire, Yorkshire (such as Lythe in the North Riding), and in York itself, as centres for Anglo-Scandinavian mercantile entrepreneurs.

Rollason (2003, 228–30) pointed to the continuation of the Northumbrian aristocracy and its political role in the era of Viking ascendancy; and also, most interestingly, to something that at first seems startling, namely, the role played by the archbishops of York, several of whom took on an important political role as allies of the Viking kings. In view of their large land holdings in the west of Yorkshire (see below), the archbishops are clearly a force that needs to be reckoned with in the development of Christian sculpture in that area.

Estates of the archbishops of York in west Yorkshire in the late pre-Conquest period

Ripon does not quite disappear from history between *c.* 700 and the eleventh century. The archaeology outlined above provides some illumination of the intervening centuries, but the change of use at Ailcy Hill (p. 14) suggests a very considerable change in the ninth to tenth centuries. The monastery is known to have been destroyed by the West Saxons under Eadred, after the northern magnates re-invited Eric Bloodaxe to return as their king (Cubbin 1996, *s.a.* 948; and see above, p. 17). Eadmer, writing at Canterbury in the late eleventh to early twelfth century, recorded in his *Vita Sancti Wilfridi* that Oda, Archbishop of Canterbury from 941–58 found Ripon in ruins, and translated Wilfrid's remains to Canterbury, though leaving a small portion of them to be reburied in a suitable spot in Ripon (Muir and Turner 1998, 142–7, ch. LXIII). On the other hand, Byrhtferth of Ramsey (d. *ca.* 1020) recorded in his *Vita Oswaldi* that Oswald, Archbishop of York (971–92), who was clearly concerned at losses to the archiepiscopal estates (below, p. 19), restored the church and re-established monks there, and that when he did so he found the bones of Wilfrid, and those of Tatberht and others, and placed then in a shrine (Raine 1879, 462). The stories are not necessarily

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6. Two other settlements/farmsteads on Malham Moor, excavated by Dr Arthur Raistrick in the 1950s, have been dated to the eighth to ninth centuries and the ninth century respectively on coin evidence, but there seems similar difficulty in firmly assigning them to Anglo-Saxon or Scandinavian dwellers (King 2004).

incompatible since Archbishop Oda had apparently left some remains. There was clearly something functioning there in 995, when the Community of St Cuthbert fled Chester-le-Street fearing renewed danger of Viking attack and took the body of St Cuthbert with them to Ripon, where they remained for three to four months, returning not to Chester-le-Street but to Durham (Symeon 2000, 144–5, III.1). In 1086 at the time of Domesday Book, however, although called St Wilfrid's territory and held by the archbishop of York, Ripon was recorded as a house of canons, not a monastery as in the past (Faull and Stinson 1985, I, 303d, 2W 7–9; and Morris, R. 1989, 131). St Cuthbert had, of course, been at Ripon before it was given to Wilfrid (Bede 1969, 298, III.25; Colgrave 1927, 16, ch. VIII), but the reason for seeking refuge there in 995 is not known; nor is it known from any historical record just when the above change of function took place. Nevertheless, the burning of the site by Eadred and the consequent at least partial removal of the monastery's most important relics could have been the moment of change, and this is not contradicted by the archaeological evidence.

There are, however, two documents which attest to the extent of the archiepiscopal estates in west Yorkshire, including Ripon, without providing a complete picture. These show that Wulfstan, Archbishop of York 1002–23, was able to recover some estates which had been lost to the archbishopric before his time (Baxter 2004, 162). The first of these, the 'Oswald Memorandum' (London, BL, Harley 55, fol. 4v) has a heading written in the 'Wulfstan hand' and lists, *inter alia*, a number of vills which had been stolen from the estates of Otley, Ripon, and Sherburn in Elmet, all in the West Riding (ibid., 177). The document states that Archbishop Oswald (971–92) had held all these estates until 'Þorað' succeeded, after which St Peter was robbed of them. Baxter accepts the identification of 'Þorað' as Thored, earl of southern Northumbria between *c.* 975 and 992 (Whitelock 1959, 79–80). This can be compared with a later group of surveys appended to the York Gospels (York, Minster Library, Additional 1, fols. 156v–157r) which list the tributary vills that pertained to Otley, Ripon and Sherburn. These were all 'multiple estates' of a type characteristic of the northern Danelaw in the later Anglo-Saxon period. Baxter (2004, 179) suggested that the lists must have been entered in the York Gospels *c.* 1020 and were almost certainly commissioned by Wulfstan. It seems, following Baxter, a reasonable suggestion that vills listed in the 'Oswald Memorandum' and also in the York Gospels surveys had been recovered during Wulfstan's time, and recorded there to ensure against further depredations, although it may be that some were hoped-for rather than actually recovered.

Keynes (1986, 84, 86–91) believed Otley and Ripon were ancient possessions of the archbishop, going back to the donations to Wilfrid discussed above, but that Sherburn, the largest and most valuable of the estates, was a more recent acquisition, probably in the possession of the archbishops by 975. It had been a royal estate, granted by King Edgar to one Æslac, *c.* 963.[7] Keynes thought the surveys important because they offered a rare view of the northern Danelaw in the period before the Norman Conquest, with their mix of English and Scandinavian place-names, and their use, at the same time and in the same place, of the English unit of assessment (the hide) and its Scandinavian equivalent (the ploughland): a glimpse of a world which could truly be called Anglo-Danish.

One interesting aspect of the estates is the extent of their spread — all are large, all are also in areas which are bounded by rivers and Roman roads. The Ripon estates lie mainly in Uredale and are bounded to the east by the main north–south Roman road (Margary 1967, no. 8; see Fig. 3, p. 8), but on the west they extend to the east bank of the river Nidd. The Otley estate spreads along the river Wharfe, on either side of the Roman road, Margary 72. The Sherburn estate is south of Ripon and lies between the rivers Ouse and Aire to the east and south, and the Roman roads Margary 28b and 28c to the west and north (Keynes 1986, fig. on 85; Baxter 2004, fig. 7.8).

Sites mentioned in the 'Oswald Memorandum' but not recovered include Addingham and Guiseley from the Otley estate. For the first of these there is independent evidence of its early attachment to the Otley estate, for it was to Addingham that Archbishop Wulfhere fled in 867, when York fell to the Danes, according to Symeon of Durham in *Epistola ad Hugonem Decanum Eboracensem de archiepiscopis Eboraci* (Symeon 1868, 132–7, at p. 134). Excavations at the site carried out by the West Yorkshire Archaeology Service in 1989 and 1990 found part of a cemetery dated by radiocarbon analysis to between the eighth and tenth centuries AD (Adams 1996). A decorative bone plate, which was found in the sealing level of the Iron Age ditch which surrounds the church site on the south bank of the Wharfe, was probably a bone mount from a wooden box and can be dated only broadly to the eighth to eleventh centuries (MacGregor 1996a, 158–60). No evidence of a residential complex was found, but Stuart Wrathmell (1996, 184–8) speculated on the

7. Sawyer 1968, no. 712.

evidence, and by analogy with other sites (including Ripon and Pontefract, Tanners Row), suggested that a small monastic community associated with the archbishop's residence was in place by the mid-ninth century. He used the sculpture from the site as evidence that archiepiscopal control continued until the tenth century, based on its links with Otley itself, Ilkley, and Guiseley, as suggested by Bailey (1980, 189–90). Slight evidence of the pre-Conquest archbishops' palace at Otley, underlying the later medieval one, was also found in excavation there (le Patourel and Wood 1973, 122–5, 132).

Dewsbury, Thornhill and the manor of Wakefield

Dewsbury has been associated with the seventh-century missionary Paulinus only in a sixteenth-century report, itself hearsay. Camden (1607, 565; also Gibson 1695, col. 709), writing in 1586, reported:

> *Accepimus enim crucem hic extitisse in qua inscriptum fuit PAVLINVS HIC PRÆDICAVIT ET CELEBRAVIT.*

> For I have heard there was a cross here on which was inscribed: Paulinus here preached and celebrated mass.

Gibson in his second edition of *Britannia* (1722, 855–6) added that nothing at that time was known of this cross. A cross said to have been blown down in 1820 is sometimes illustrated and said to be this cross or a copy of it (for example Whitaker 1816, pl. between 300/1; Robinson, J. 1872, 7) — though no one reported an inscription on its remains. This cross is also described as a wheel-head. It is a Latin cross encircled by a ring with an odd serrated edge. It has a straight shaft and surmounts a base which clearly appears to represent a gable end. It thus seems to have been a gable cross of much later date than the putative inscription.[8]

   Dewsbury is documented for the first time only in Domesday Book, but it is possible that this was a minster, and therefore likely to have been a relatively early foundation. Minsters were monastic in origin, usually the base for missionary activity over a large area, and their foundation was associated with kings

8. The upper part of a head of this form survives in the church's collection: it is illustrated in Ryder 1991, 22, fig. 8.

and with the higher ranks of society. The establishment of village churches, to serve the needs of the people of a specific locality, were a later development: that these newer (and often smaller) churches were in a relationship of dependency on the 'old minsters', or 'mother churches' as they became known from the twelfth century, is indicated by the payment of tithes or sometimes a smaller amount to the minster. Only where these payments were made to a parish church from other 'old, established churches of parochial status', can it be assumed that the parish church in question has a very early origin (Faull and Moorhouse 1981, I, 216–17). The evidence for such payments to Dewsbury is all fourteenth century or later, but its dependent churches include sites which, like Dewsbury, have pre-Conquest sculpture: Bradford, Kirkburton, Kirkheaton, Thornhill and Wakefield. Tithes from townships and hamlets within these parishes are also recorded, as well as from townships within the parish of Dewsbury itself, including the chapelry of Hartshead, and the township of Rastrick in the parish of Halifax, though the parish of Halifax itself is not recorded as paying tithes to Dewsbury (ibid., 217–18).

   Faull and Moorhouse (1981, I, 218, IV, map 15) reconstruct from this the probable extent of the original *parochia* of Dewsbury, pointing out that it has a strong resemblance to the manor of Wakefield, although the two are not perfectly coterminous. They also suggest that Dewsbury and Wakefield were both *villae regiae* in the late post-Conquest period (ibid., 226). Their evidence for this is the administrative importance of Wakefield in the post-Conquest period; that in 1066 it was held by the king; and that its name suggests it was an important gathering-place before the Norman Conquest (from OE *wacu*, 'watch, wake' and *feld*, 'tract of open country'). A major festival held annually at Corpus Christi in Wakefield, at which the Towenly cycle of mystery plays may have been performed, perhaps therefore had its origins in the pre-Conquest period. Similarly the name of Dewsbury recorded in 1086 as *Deusberia* ('Dewi's burh') suggests a pre-Conquest fortification. Domesday Book says of three carucates of land in Dewsbury: 'This land belongs to Wakefield. However, King Edward had a manor in it. Now it is in the King's hands' (Faull and Stinson 1985, I, 299d, 1Y 17), so it is possible that there was a *villa regia* there too. The strong connection between the manor of Wakefield and the parish of Dewsbury seems supported, and the royal connection with the foundation of old minsters also receives some support

from this source. However, the only contemporarily recorded *villa regia* in west Yorkshire seems to be Tanshelf (p. 11 above). Links between sculptures acquire added significance if they can be seen to relate to large administrative or manorial units, as at Dewsbury or in the ecclesiastical estates discussed above. It is also interesting to note that a large part of the central area associated with Dewsbury is in the area between Calder and Aire with very few Scandinavian names.

Legend for the map:

TRIASSIC
- MERCIA MUDSTONE GROUP
- SHERWOOD SANDSTONE GROUP

PERMIAN
- UPPER PERMIAN (CADEBY/BROTHERTON FMS)
- LOWER PERMIAN (Sst)

CARBONIFEROUS
- PENNINE UPPER COAL MEASURES GROUP
- PENNINE MIDDLE COAL MEASURES GROUP
- PENNINE LOWER COAL MEASURES GROUP
- MILLSTONE GRIT GROUP
- CARBONIFEROUS LIMESTONE GROUP

- LOWER PALAEOZOIC

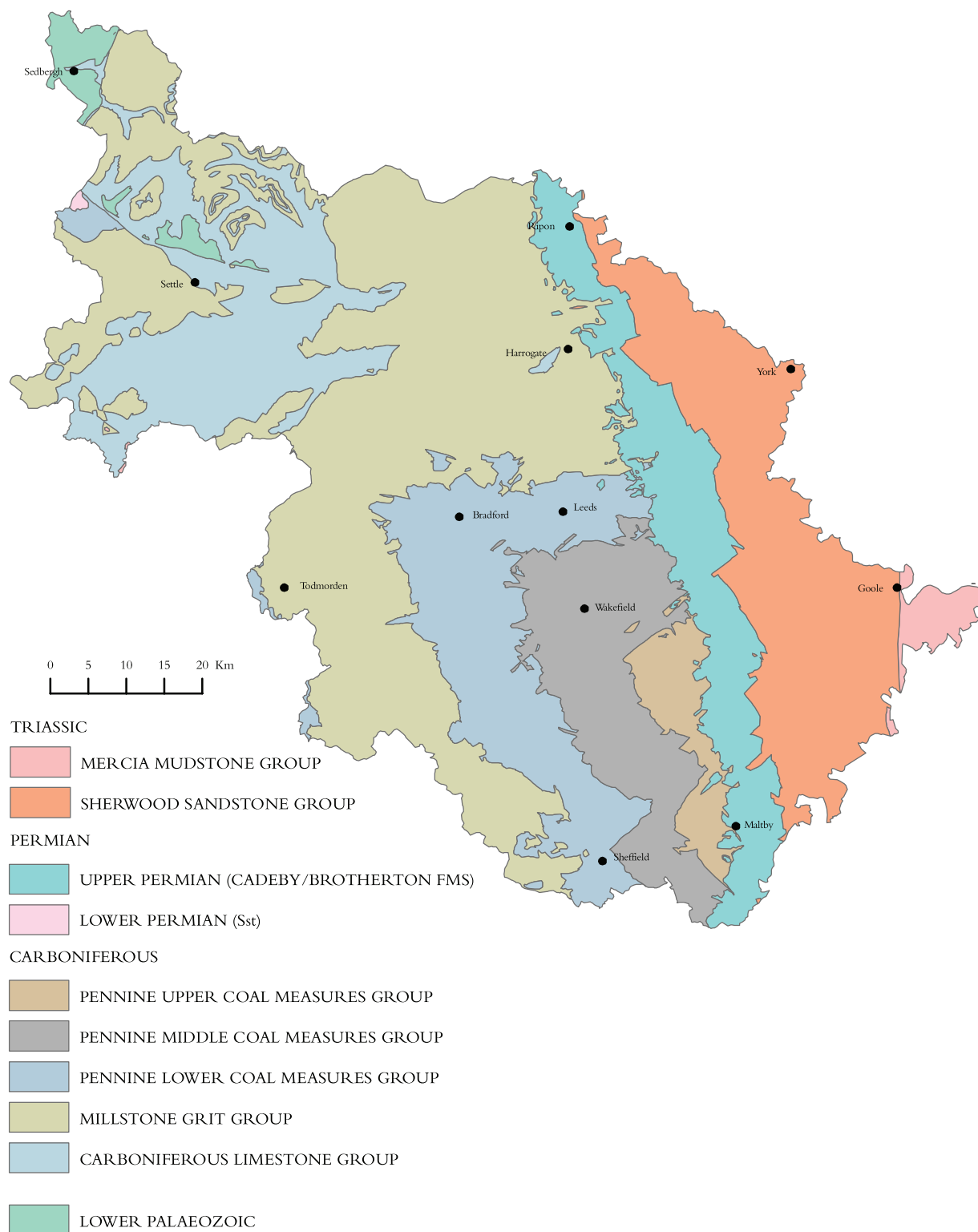Map locations: Sedbergh, Settle, Ripon, Harrogate, York, Bradford, Leeds, Todmorden, Wakefield, Goole, Maltby, Sheffield

Scale: 0 5 10 15 20 Km

FIGURE 6
The solid geology of western Yorkshire

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