

CHAPTER IV

ANGLIAN AND ANGLO-SCANDINAVIAN PERIOD FORMS

As an aid to the discussion below, and as a summary of information in the Catalogue, a Form and Motif Table can be found on pp. 293–306.

GRAVE-MARKERS AND GRAVE-COVERS (Cramp 1991, p. xiv, fig. 4a–biii)⁹

There seem to be few identifiable grave-markers, either upright or recumbent, in the area. Bardsey and Ilkley, both with other pre-Conquest pieces, have slabs with plain incised Latin crosses, which may be pre-Conquest and may be grave-markers (Ills. 800, 808). It is impossible to date, or even assign a function, to such plain pieces. It is not even possible to say whether, if grave-markers, they would have been upright or recumbent. Similar slabs have been found elsewhere on sites with undoubtedly pre-Conquest sculpture, as at Lythe in northern Yorkshire (Lang 2001, ill. 1152–3). Other, often round-headed, markers are likely to be upright, but there are none of certainly pre-Conquest date — see the discussion of such stones from Adel, Bardsey, High Melton, Ilkley, South Stainley, Spofforth and Tankersley in Appendix A (p. 271). The South Stainley and Spofforth 2 examples may have been boundary markers rather than grave stones.

This leaves only seven pieces in the whole area to be considered. Four of these are at Otley, one from Weston on the other side of the river Wharfe from Otley, and two are from the south of the region at Mexborough and Mirfield. One of those from Otley, no. 17, is a mere mention of a ‘small rude headstone’ in the tower ‘with a cross on it of the kind we have seen at Lythe and elsewhere’ (Collingwood 1915a, 231; see Appendix C, p. 291), which has not been found. On the other hand, Otley 12 (Ills. 606–7) is clearly one end of a slab, which could be either an upright or a recumbent grave-marker, with ornament in a recognisable Ringerike style, which places it clearly in the eleventh century (see Chap. V, p. 54). Otley 13 (Ill. 617) is certainly a recumbent slab. It conforms to a tenth-century fashion for borders terminating in spiral scroll, otherwise found in the West Riding only at Mexborough. The Mexborough piece

(Ills. 536–7), in dimensions, and in the layout of its principal visible face, ought to be a similar recumbent slab. However, Ryder (1982, 114) has reported that face C, invisible as it now stands, has similar designs to face A. Borders ending in spirals but framing decorated faces are found on a tenth-century shaft from Levisham, east Yorkshire, on all faces (Lang 1991, 175, no. 1, ill. 631–4). A similar border appears on the only visible face of another decorated shaft, Sinnington 6, and in a cruder version on Kirkbymoorside 2, both also east Yorkshire (ibid., 155–6, 209–10, ill. 809, 521). Lang believed these terminal scrolls were confined to these three Ryedale sites and were possibly a local reflex of the erupting scrolls found on the Newgate shaft from York (ibid., 105–7, ill. 342–5). Plain though the examples in the West Riding are, it seems that this is a tenth-century fashion, and indicative of Scandinavian taste. The connections with York and with other areas of Yorkshire, including Ryedale, seem to be evident in looking at the wider connections of all types of West Riding grave monuments, including hogbacks.

The Mirfield monument (Ills. 546–51) has outward-turned end-beasts on the top, but otherwise in form and decoration it is quite clearly not a hogback. It also has York connections, with parallels in the small end-stones from York Minster, nos. 32 and 33, of tenth- to eleventh-century date (Lang 1991, 70–1, ill. 133–7, 138–41, 143). The latter has addorsed beasts on the top of the stone. In York, Lang saw these stones as deriving from the iconography of recumbent slabs such as nos. 35–8 (ibid., ill. 148–64), some of which were broken and reused as vertical stones. At Mirfield, where there is to date no evidence for such slabs, or for hogbacks or other specifically Anglo-Scandinavian monuments in the area, one must suppose remote influence from the important centre of York as more probable than a local innovation with neither predecessors or followers in its immediate area. However, the faces of this monument, crude though they are, are in a very conservative tradition which looks back to the great Anglian cross-shafts, with an ecclesiastical figure carrying a cross on one face, a long animal lacking its plant-scroll on a second, and a very crude appeal to interlace or plait, and a simple twist, on the third and fourth.

9. The descriptive terminology used here is that of the *Grammar of Anglo-Saxon Ornament* (Cramp 1991). A digital version of this is presently available on the Corpus website <<http://www.dur.ac.uk/corpus>>.

Another small slim monument from Otley, no. 6 (Ills. 591–6), is probably a grave-marker rather than a cross-shaft, but may have been cut down from a larger monument which was originally a shaft. This is the sculpture with a memorial warrior figure on one broad face (Ill. 608). The reverse of this face has been dressed smooth, but the absence of borders on the adjacent side of the narrow faces suggests that this could have been cut down, though it would never have been a large monument. The warrior memorial with its accompanying female figure on one face from Weston (Ills. 777–83), across the river from Otley, has certainly undergone such a transformation. It has at some time been shaped as a round-headed grave-marker, but it is possible that this was originally one arm of a large free-armed cross-head of type D9. Headstones cut down from earlier monuments, including taller shafts, are known from Anglo-Scandinavian York (see for example York Minster 30: Lang 1991, 69, ill. 125–8).

HOGBACKS AND SHRINE TOMBS (Cramp 1991, p. xxi, figs. 4e–f, 5–7)

The most striking fact about hogbacks in the West Riding is how very few of them there are, and how limited their distribution, in comparison with the rest of Yorkshire, and indeed with the north-west of England. In York and eastern Yorkshire there are twelve from nine sites (including three sites in York); in northern Yorkshire fifty-three from fifteen sites; in co. Durham just north of the Tees there are thirteen from five sites; and in Cumberland, Westmorland and Lancashire North-of-the-Sands, seventeen from eleven sites. In western Yorkshire, by comparison, we have information about six from three sites, of which the three from Burnsall are all that actually survive while two others are doubtful. The Mirfield monument discussed above, which may be related to the type although it is not itself a hogback, is not closely related to the distribution of that form.

Burnsall is the most significant site for the West Riding, but typologically all three hogbacks there (nos. 11–13, Ills. 127–38) belong to a group which is united only in its simplification to the most basic identifying elements of the form. This is Lang's group VI (Cramp 1991, fig. 6f), which he called the 'vestigial type' (Lang 1984, 99, fig. 8), in which ornament is restricted to tegulation, and the end-beasts are minimal in form, and on two examples from Burnsall, actually reduced to flat masks, although still retaining the muzzles. Lang saw the Burnsall site hogbacks as expressive of a 'shift from the Dragonesque to bold simplification' (ibid.), but the number of examples is so few and so widely scattered that it is difficult to

identify this as part of a trend. In their immediate context, the Burnsall hogbacks seem more expressive of a purely local taste for plainness, found especially in cross-heads from the site. Other shafts at the site have purely Scandinavian-type ornament, such as the ring-chain, also rare in western Yorkshire, and the forms of cross-head and some shafts from this site are also strongly indicative of Scandinavian influence.

The only other hogback for which we have a surviving photograph (Ill. 429), on which it appears all published drawings are based, is that from Kirkby Malzeard (now destroyed), of Lang's group I, the 'niche type' (Cramp 1991, fig. 5c). This type is found confined to the Tees valley and to Allertonshire, apart from the Kirkby Malzeard example, which Lang (1984, 99) regarded as a rough copy. A fifth hogback was found at Lead, but was left *in situ* by its finders, and no description or photograph of it exists: it is therefore not significant in this discussion. The so-called hogback from Pippin Castle near Harrogate is a natural boulder with no datable features (see Appendices B and C, pp. 288, 290, for these stones).

The two sites with the strongest evidence for the form, Burnsall and Kirkby Malzeard, are both in the north-east of the West Riding, along river valleys with good communication to the north-west; both also have some claim to be considered within the Deiran 'heartland' (Chap. II, pp. 13–14). The concentration of the hogback form in Allertonshire, north Yorkshire, is so marked as to be convincing evidence that this innovative form originated in this area, and its overall distribution is strongly indicative of the period and area of Norse-Irish settlement (Lang 1984, 87–90). Stocker and Everson have noted the hogback as an expression of status — of identity with the Viking trading elite of Yorkshire (Everson and Stocker 1999, 80–4; Stocker 2000, 191, 194–8); a point also recently taken up by Bailey and Whalley (2006, esp. p. 352) with reference to a miniature hogback at Bidston, Cheshire, and its place in a group of Viking-age sites on the Wirral. The paucity of such sites in the West Riding may be a strong indication of the westwards limits of the Viking trading settlements in Yorkshire, and also possibly of the routes between Yorkshire and the north-west.

Collingwood (1915a, 211) suggested that a fragment in Leeds Museum (no. 8, Ills. 523–4) was part of a hogback or a shrine tomb, but this stone seems to have been lost. There are photographs and drawings in Collingwood 1915b (pls. (I) 8, (II) 8A, and figs. a–b on 289), showing both carved faces. In his text (ibid., 291–2) he suggested two explanations for this piece: one was that it is an architectural feature, which he dismissed because there is no evidence of an early church building at the site.

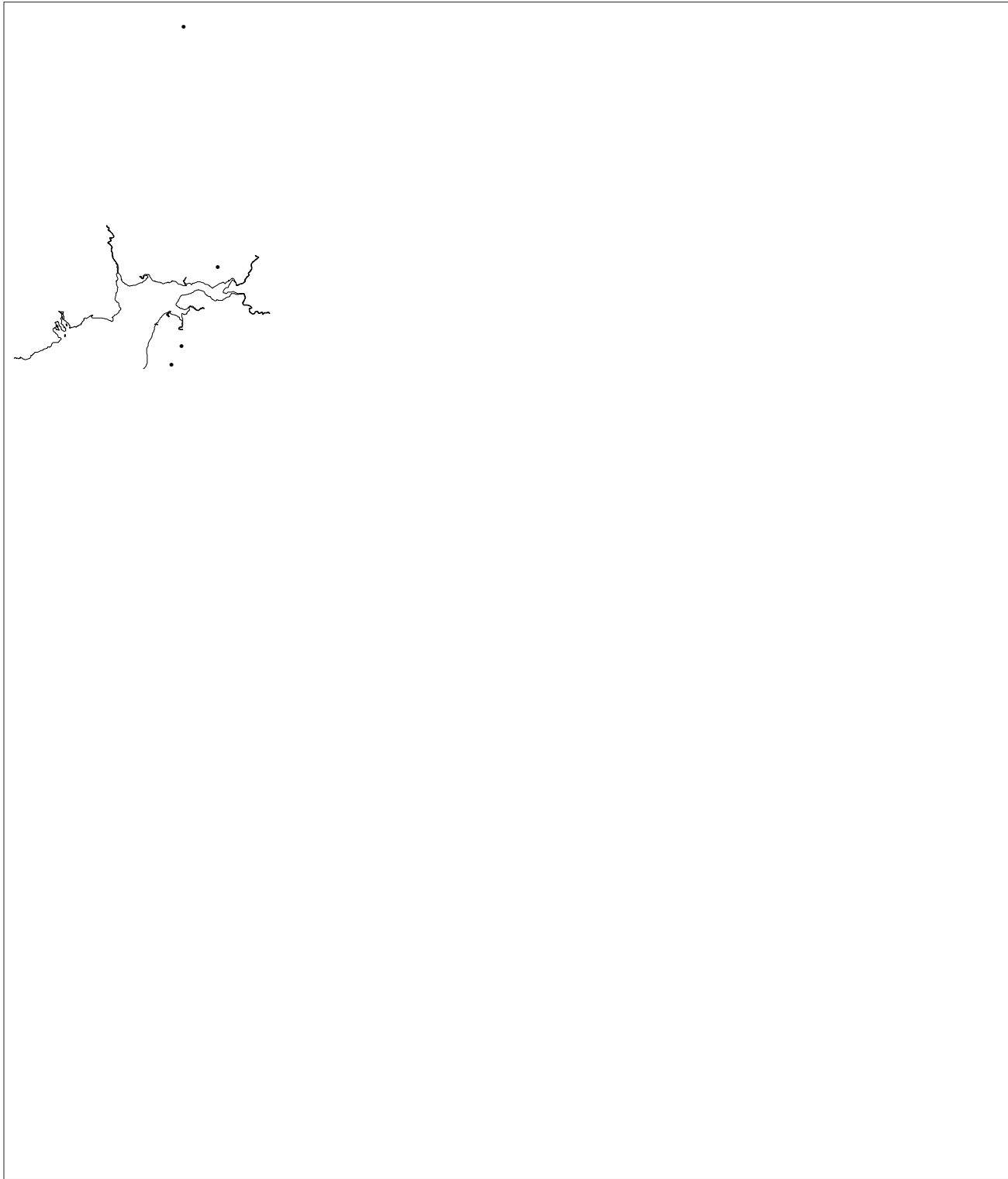


FIGURE 11
Hogback sites in western Yorkshire and the north, and shrine tombs in western Yorkshire

There was however a church and priest there at the time of the Domesday survey (Faull and Stinson 1986, i, 315a, 9W 6). Although this is difficult to assess from photographs, some irregularities in the shape make it difficult to envisage this piece as a string-course with a return, however, or as an impost. His other explanation was that we have two sides of something like a grave-cover of chest-like construction (Fig. 17, see p. 206), like the lower part of the Dewsbury shrine tomb (below), for example. The framed and encircled cross on one side is credible as the end of such a piece (see Cramp 1991, fig. 4e or f).

Lang (1984, 101, 130) identified Dewsbury 15 (Ills. 237–9) as a hogback of his group X, the ‘enriched shrine’ type (Cramp 1991, fig. 6i), but although it has some features in common with others in his group, the inclusion of the Dewsbury piece is not entirely convincing. It is house-shaped and pentagonal in section, but so is the ‘Hedda tomb’ from Peterborough (see p. 148). The long sides at Dewsbury do not have terminal end-panels with interlace or animal ornament, an important feature of others in the group, and while it does have end panels on the roof, at Dewsbury these do not have the characteristic interlace. The edges to the gable ends and roof, *contra* Lang, also seem to be representative of balusters, as indicated in the drawings by Collingwood (1915a, 170, figs. yz&). The scroll is also quite different from the heavy, stylised, vestigial scroll found on hogbacks of Lang’s group XI, the ‘scroll type’ (Cramp 1991, fig. 6h), while none of the others of the ‘enriched shrine’ type (*ibid.*, fig. 6i) has a scroll at all. Dewsbury 15 has instead features in common with Dewsbury 14 (Ills. 235–6): the baluster ornament and some details of the scroll. One could say, if accepting Lang’s classification and features he defined as late, such as the tegulae-types and the contouring of the terminal roof panel on side C, which he defined as Jellinge (1984, 101), that the baluster and plant-scroll are simply imitations of locally available models on an otherwise tenth-century monument: but there is nothing indubitably late or specifically characteristic of the Jellinge style. There is a long-running discussion as to the origin of the hogback, which is only exceptionally found outside England and southern Scotland: it is generally accepted that there is no single exclusive source (Lang 2001, 21) but the Anglian stone shrine-tomb is one possible candidate, as suggested by Bailey (1980, 92–7): the Leeds 8 piece and the re-interpretation of Dewsbury 15 could go some way to solving one of Bailey’s problems with an Anglian origin, that no example of a solid stone shrine survives from the hogback area of northern England. These are not in the main areas of production, but they

are certainly nearer than any other examples, and for Dewsbury in particular, a late ninth-century development of the Anglian form seems more probable than an uncharacteristic example of the fully-developed hogback.

FREE-STANDING CROSSES

(Cramp 1991, p. xiv, fig. 1)

It is difficult to determine which is the earliest free-standing cross-shaft from the West Riding. It could be the shaft built into the wall at Ledsham (no. 2, Ills. 470, 476–7) with its interlocked birds, which link it to eighth-century manuscripts, set in a plant-scroll. As only one face is visible, the overall layout of this shaft is irrecoverable. Another candidate is Ripon 1, with its inscription to the priest Adhyse (Ills. 632–6). This is probably the stone which was seen at its discovery as similar to the inscribed seventh-century grave-markers from Hartlepool, and indeed has been seen as representing a fusion between the recumbent cross-incised slab, as at Hartlepool and Lindisfarne, and the plain free-standing seventh- to eighth-century cross, as at Whitby (see p. 231, and Cramp 1993, 69). It is interesting therefore that its geology confirms that its stone type is different from other Ripon stones, not local, but coming from the vicinity of Whitby: it may of course have been a reused Roman stone from York, though nothing has been found to suggest it was not a new piece of stone. As a transitional form, it could possibly date to the eighth century, although the form of the letters leaves open the possibility of a later date. The ‘spine-and-boss’ or ‘lorgnette’ type of cross which decorates the head went on to be very influential in Northumbrian cross sculpture and is found again at Ripon on the early cross-head fragment, no. 2 (Ill. 639).

Another possibly early cross may be the shaft from Little Ouseburn, no. 1, and the related fragment no. 2 (Ills. 525–6, 527). No. 1 is a well-dressed, very plain shaft with rounded angles and pelleted borders. Although such plain monuments with pelleted borders are also found in tenth-century York, the heavy beaded border around the collar and lower arm of the head of Hexham 1, Northumberland (Cramp 1984, pl. 169.900–3), seems a closer parallel, and this is also seen at Ripon on cross-head no. 6 (Ills. 650, 652), which has a beaded border framing part of a cross-arm. Beading is also found on one of the piers of the arcade on an architectural sculpture, Rothwell 1 (Ill. 682). The Little Ouseburn shaft, like Ripon nos. 1 and 2, has a claim to be another of the transitional forms between the early, very plain crosses, exemplified by Whitby 1 and 2 (Lang 2001, ill. 897–9, 900–2), and the more fully decorated type. This shaft has no obvious followers in the area, however.

The most influential early shaft is Otley 1 (Ills. 552–63), which draws on sources of classical, late antique, inspiration new in the eighth century. This shaft is rectangular in form, with a depth about two-thirds of its width, which gives it a very solid appearance, but it is not large, and might not have been very tall. In layout it offers a programme of panelled busts and half figures on its broader faces, with spaces which look intended for inscriptions below, and continuous plant-scrolls, both very distinctive and in many ways innovative, on its narrower faces. Although smaller in scale, its overall layout links it with the two major Northumbrian sculptures of this period, at Ruthwell and Bewcastle. The cross-arm fragment Otley 7 (Ills. 597–600), with its evangelist symbol, could be part of this cross, and in any case also links sculpture at this site to Ruthwell.

Otley 2 (Ills. 568–71), which is probably not much later than no. 1, represents a different approach to cross-design, in some ways unique. The shaft is of the rectangular shouldered form (Cramp 1991, fig. 1c), which seems to be a development of the ninth century, as at Addingham 2, Cumberland (Bailey and Cramp 1988, 46–7, ill. 5–10). It seems closer to this than to the shaft of similar date from Nunnykirk, Northumberland, where the lower section defined by a stepped plinth and a broad collar is distinguished from an only slightly narrower upper section (Cramp 1984, 214–15, pls. 208.1193–4, 209.1195–6). An interest in the possibilities of the two-part shaft is manifest in the West Riding and its near neighbourhood, however, if we consider other shafts from Collingham, Ilkley and Dewsbury, noted below, and their parallels. On Otley 2 the upper part of the shaft incorporates the transition to a head of cusped form. The non-figural decoration is confined to this upper part, and to interlace and animal ornament, and each face has only a single motif: with the two unusual griffin-like creatures each occupying the whole of the available space on the broad faces, and the sides having continuous interlace or interlacing animal ornament. The figural ornament is confined to the lower part of this shaft, below the step (although of course it is impossible to know how tall the ‘base’ of the stepped shaft was originally). The unusual idea of the fully plantiform frame (found on face C of Otley 1, Ill. 565) is also present on face A of Otley 2 (Ill. 577), while the arched niche on its face C (Ill. 578) has plant elements in the spandrels of the arch, like Otley 1A (Ill. 564). The relative chunkiness of the rectangular shaft and its slight taper is also like Otley 1, and similarly, this was probably not a very tall cross.

A fragment from Leeds, no. 3 (Ills. 505–8) seems to belong to the eighth- to ninth-century phase. The use of plant-scroll on two, perhaps three, faces; indications of

a panelled layout on face A; the overall layout; and the square section, all suggest that this is a relatively early piece. However, there is no indication of anything other than abstract ornament on the surviving fragment.

Ilkley 2 (Ills. 357–60), probably the earliest shaft at this site, and close in date to Otley 1, has been suggested to be the work of the ‘Uredale master’, the sculptor of Cundall/Aldborough and Masham (Lang 2001, 43; see also Chaps. V and VII below). Unfortunately the one possible figural scene near the top of face A is badly damaged. However, it clearly had panelled animal ornament, some involved in interlace, some in plant-scroll, on both its main faces, and like Otley 1, continuous scroll on its sides. Ilkley 2 shares its cabled angles with other pre-Viking shafts from this site, notably nos. 4, 5, 6 and 10. Ilkley 4a–b (Ills. 345–52) must have been a small slender shaft dominated by its cusped head. Ilkley 5 (Ills. 375–8), actually a cast of a missing shaft, is in the panelled tradition, but there are some unusual features. The one figure is on a narrow face, the other narrow face has a long panel, if not the whole side, devoted to plant-scroll, and one broad face, as far as can be seen, is dominated by a continuous abstract interlace. The arrangement contributes to the experimentalism suggested by some features of the interlace patterns.

Collingham 1 (Ills. 166–9), geographically very close to Otley, is a shaft of roughly the same width as Otley 1, but it is rather thicker, so is much closer to a square shaft. The overall layout is different: unusually here all four faces have panelled figural ornament only, save for the plant-scroll arch which marks off the lower ‘round’ (or actually round-angled and chamfered) base of this ‘round-shaft derivative’. This is another form of the two-part shaft, inspired by shafts which were fully columnar below and rectangular above, as at Masham in north Yorkshire (Lang 2001, 168–71, ill. 597–631), and in the West Riding at Dewsbury, nos. 1–3 (see p. 40). This development is of the eighth century, but once established continues into the ninth century. However, rectangular two-part forms such as the shouldered shaft Otley 2 (above) seem to be equally early, and may also have been influential in the development of the so-called ‘round-shaft derivatives’. Collingham 1, with its rectangular shaft and sub-rectangular base, is probably quite late in the ninth century, however.

Ilkley 3 (Ills. 361–4) and Collingham 2 (Ills. 170–3) continue the panelled style, and both have a vestigial form of the shouldered or lower round-shaft, marked out by a horizontal band of interlace or twist, which is a feature of a number of later West Riding shafts. Collingham 2 retains the continuous ornament of the narrow faces, plant-scroll on one side and interlace on

the other. This shaft is, unusually for its site, carved from Millstone Grit (the rest are limestone more local to the area), which makes its Ilkley connections (see Chap. V, p. 57) all the more important. Ilkley 3 has panels of animal ornament and one figural panel only: there is no plant-scroll or interlace, and the sides which are about two-thirds the width of the broad faces, are not differentiated from them in decoration. Ilkley 1, however, the latest of the three largest shafts at this site (Ills. 335–8), conservatively returns to the format with panelled broad faces, with a mixture of figural themes and animal ornament, and with continuous plant-scroll on its sides, but in a much heavier, flatter style; while Ilkley 7 (Ills. 383–6) returns to the continuous plant-scroll format, heavy-looking versions of which are the sole decoration of the three remaining faces. It seems that at Ilkley, after an initial influx of ideas, based on Otley 1 and those of the ‘Uredale master’ (wherever the actual base of this sculptor, see Chap. VII, p. 71), carvers of the ninth century had fewer new ideas of their own but turned to picking and mixing themes and layouts from the great sculptures of the immediate past.

The area south of Leeds presents a rather different picture even in the Anglian period. It has some very important free-standing sculpture of the eighth to ninth century, but it is very different in style and in overall form — although in iconography and in some pattern types there are some interesting connections, possibly through the use of similar models and new influences in the eighth century. In this area, the predominant site is Dewsbury. The pre-Viking sculpture at Dewsbury is outstanding in its monumentality. Nos. 1–3 (Ills. 192–3, 1194–5, 196–7) are important as clearly parts of a columnar shaft supporting an upper rectangular section, an ‘Apostle pillar’ like the great round-shaft of Masham in north Yorkshire (Lang 2001, ill. 597–637), and a major monument with a liturgical programme, like the great cross at Ruthwell with which its inscription frames also compare.

Collingwood reconstructed both Masham 1 and Dewsbury 1–3 with very tall rectangular shafts above the round column (1927, fig. 13, nos. 5 and 6), but the immense size of such crosses has caused recent writers to dismiss these as improbable (Tweddle *et al.* 1995, 156). In the case of Dewsbury 1–3, Collingwood also suggested (and used in his reconstruction) Dewsbury 4 and 5 (Ills. 199–201, 202–4): but this is not warranted by the cable moulding, which is different from that on no. 2 (Ill. 195). On the other hand, the head fragment Dewsbury 9 (Ills. 218–20) does have the same cable moulding and could be part of the same monument as nos. 1–3. Hawkes (2006a, 110) has suggested that the transition from round to rectangular could have been directly to the cross-head.

This is possible, although I do not see the form with rectangular shaft between round column and cross-head as inherently unstable as she does: this would be a matter of getting the proportions right, since Collingwood’s suggestion is no different in form from the complete cross-shaft Gosforth 1, Cumberland (Bailey and Cramp 1988, ill. 292–5), only different in scale. Against the argument for a transition straight to the head is the existence of the various two-part derivative shafts noted above, which imply the existence of some prestigious monument or monuments with both a round base and a rectangular figured shaft as inspiration.

The round-shaft was clearly important in Deira — at Masham, for example — and as we have seen, derivatives of the round-shaft, and the shouldered rectangular shaft, were also resonant in sites related to Otley. The mixing of panels of figural and plant-scroll ornament on the same face at Dewsbury is also a link with other early Deiran monuments such as Cundall/Aldbrough in north Yorkshire (Lang 2001, ill. 160–3, 180–2, 184), and Ilkley 2 (Ills. 357–60). The fragment Dewsbury 8 (Ills. 215–17) is likely to be part of another such monumental piece, in a more modelled style, standing direct comparison with Otley 1 in quality. Dewsbury 7 (Ills. 212–14) is rather different. It is more slab-like in section, its surviving side is plain, and its broad faces both have bush-scrolls. The plain side links it with Thornhill (see below), as does the organisation of the bush-scroll on face C. In general, pre-Viking sculpture in the West Riding as elsewhere is rectangular in form, sometimes approaching the square. The more slab-like proportions of no. 7 are a pointer to this development in form, already in place at the end of the pre-Viking period, just as its bush-scroll with its ‘stopped’ elements are a pointer to a change in style (Chap. V, p. 54).

The Thornhill pieces, although showing links with Dewsbury, have some very distinctive aspects in form and layout. All are tapering rectangular shafts, of which none survives to a great height. Thornhill 2, 3 and 4 (Ills. 728–32, 733–7, 738–42) all have a panelled arrangement on one broad face only, of which the lower panel is in each case an inscription, the upper either interlace, animal interlace or plant-scroll. Thornhill 2 has continuous interlace on its other faces, while the others are plain apart from the edge mouldings. Thornhill nos. 6 and 7 (Ills. 747–50, 751–4) are somewhat different in form, although neither is complete. Both have multiple borders on two of the surviving sides, and pattern elements, whether interlace, meander, or bush-scroll, appear to be continuous. The Wakefield shaft (Ills. 773–6), which is linked to Thornhill, especially Thornhill 2, through its interlace patterns, has only continuous ornament restricted to interlace. This is a distinct change in concept,

as is the use of plain sides and multiple mouldings, and both sites, as far we can see, abjured figural scenes of any kind. It is also interesting that Wakefield and Thornhill 2, though in an area of plentiful sandstone (and most of the Thornhill crosses are carved from the local stone) are both of Millstone Grit, of which the nearest sources must have been at least several miles away. Kirkheaton is also a site within the sphere of influence of Dewsbury/Thornhill, and this is reflected in the forms of its monuments and their layout and decoration. Kirkheaton 1 (Ills. 444–7, 456) has a runic inscription, for example, although the remaining carving on this shaft is of a very crude order. The other pieces show a characteristic concentration on interlace, however, although there was also clearly a figure on one face of Kirkheaton 2, and some almost free-style animals (Ill. 448).

Outside the Dewsbury milieu, however, connections seem different in each case and rather wide-ranging. The Sheffield shaft (Ills. 692–5), for example, has no strong connection to the Dewsbury group, and has the figure of an archer at the base of the plant-scroll on its surviving broad face (see Chap. VI, p. 63), a feature it shares with Peak District crosses at Bakewell, Bradbourne and Eyam in Derbyshire, though also with other crosses from Northumbria, but from Bernicia rather than Deira. However it also shares a tendency to move seamlessly from one pattern motif to another with other West Riding sculptures, from Ilkley 1 to Leeds 1. On Sheffield, face D, the ornament starts at the foot with interlace on which stands a tree-scroll out of which a spiral scroll develops (Ill. 695). It has relationships with Deiran design concepts, therefore, but with sites further north than the Dewsbury area.

The shaft Crofton 2 (Ills. 180–1) has the split-stemmed plant trail also found on the Easby cross in north Yorkshire (Lang 2001, 98–102, ill. 185–6, 192–212). The proportions of the Easby cross are also rather similar, with the narrow faces at just over half the width of the broad faces. Crofton 1 (Ill. 174–7) also has some features in common with the Easby style (see Chap. VI, p. 65). The sculpture at this site could be as early as the eighth century. It is interesting therefore that its relationships do not lie with Dewsbury or sites within its orbit.

The small group of crosses from Frickley (Ills. 260–77) all seem to belong to the late ninth, or ninth to early tenth century. It is tempting to want to join one or more of these pieces into a single shaft, but the patterns of wear, and the lack of some faces do not make it easy to connect any two. Three (nos. 1, 2 and 3) have similar proportions to other pre-Viking crosses discussed above, with the depth at least half or up to almost two thirds of the width. No. 4, on the other hand has more slab-like proportions, suggesting it belongs to the very end of the

pre-Viking period. All are similar in layout, but again points of comparison take us further north, to Leeds and Ilkley and to general developments of Northumbrian sculpture at the turn of the Anglian/Anglo-Scandinavian periods. The fragment from Royston clearly belongs to the same group, but has figural ornament as well (Ills. 683–6). It has a depth of about two thirds of its width.

Most of the cross-shafts of the Anglo-Scandinavian period, from all parts of the area, are rectangular in section: only one is square — Dewsbury 6 (Ills. 208–11), which is in any case in a very conservative tradition apart from the innovative appearance of the staff-crucifix — and a high proportion have a depth about half their width: Aberford 1, Aberford 2, Barwick in Elmet 1, Barwick 2, Bilton in Ainsty 2, Bilton 4, Bingley 1, Burnsall 1, Burnsall 2, Burnsall 3 and 4, Burnsall 5, Cawthorne 4, Conisbrough, East Riddlesden, Ecclesfield, Gargrave 1, Guiseley 1, Guiseley 2, Kildwick 1, Kildwick 2, Kildwick 3, Kildwick 4, Kildwick 5, Kirkburton, Kirkby Wharfe 1, Kirkby Wharfe 2, Leeds 1, Leeds 2, Mexborough (if this is a shaft and not a slab), Otley 5, Penistone, Slaidburn, Spofforth 1, Stansfield, and Staveley. A minority of late crosses are of slab-like form: Addingham, Bilton 3, Bramham (if this is not an architectural panel), Collingham 3 and 4, Gargrave 3, Harewood (which may indeed be an upright slab rather than a cross-shaft), Middlesmoor, Otley 3, and Otley 4. Among these are crosses which relate to each other more closely: pieces from Bilton and Barwick in Elmet, for example, but on the basis of stone type, iconography and decoration rather than overall form. The staff-crucifix from Kirkburton should be mentioned however, as it shows clear signs of influence from the layout of pre-Viking Age crosses at Dewsbury and more particularly Thornhill, with its plain sides and back (Ills. 416–24). There are few identifiable traces of a panelled format on any of these later shafts (Bilton 2 is an exception).

A few shafts appear to be forms of round-shaft derivative, although only one is actually round. Most are shafts which appear to be looking towards the north-west, especially Cumbria: these include Burnsall 6, with its vandyke terminal ornament (Ills. 109–10, 116–17); the plain cross from Todmorden (Ills. 769–72); the equally plain cross from Bradfield (which is actually almost square in section but which has an entasis if viewed from the front: Ills. 57–9); and the only true round-shaft derivative with its triple swag at Follifoot (Ills. 252–5). The lost Gargrave 2 could have been a form of shouldered or collared shaft (Ill. 282), and the shaft represented by Collingham 3 and 4 (Ills. 153–6, 157–60) seems to nod towards the earlier Anglian tradition and was presumably influenced by Collingham 1.

CROSS-HEADS (Cramp 1991, p. xiv, figs. 2–3)

There are only a few cross-heads from the pre-Viking period, although a number of shafts in addition show the springing for a head. All those for which the evidence survives have curved armpits and various forms of expanded terminal: wedge-shaped or chamfered on Low Bentham 1 (Ill. 541–5), Ripon 2 (Ill. 637–44) and Thornhill 5 and 9 (Ills. 743–6, 759–63); apparently squared at Crofton 1 (Ill. 174–7), Ilkley 8 and 10 (Ills. 365–8, 369–72, 373–4), Ripon 1 (Ills. 632–6) and possibly Otley 7 (Ills. 597–60); while Dewsbury 9, 10 and 12 (Ills. 218–20, 225–7, 230–4), Ilkley 4a and 9 (Ills. 345–7, 379–82), and again possibly Otley 7, have cusped terminals. In this respect at least there seem to be no differences between the early sculptures from all areas.

The great cross-head at Little Ouseburn (no. 5, Ills. 530–5) would undoubtedly have been a free-armed head with curved armpits but its terminals are completely lost. Ripon 1 and 2 (Ills. 632–6, 637–44) have already been mentioned above, and also in the section on shafts as having ‘spine-and-boss’ ornament on the head (p. 38). Fragments at Ripon bear comparison with major crosses at Hexham, but not enough survives to show the form. Ripon 6 (Ills. 650–4) has already been mentioned in a comparison of its beaded border with those on two shaft fragments at Little Ouseburn; the others are nos. 5 and 11 (Ills. 645–6, 647–9). The recently rediscovered head from High Hoyland (no. 1a–b, Ills. 318–28), which probably belongs to the very end of the pre-Viking period, has the form B9, with wide curved armpits and arms ending in a wedge-shaped terminal with exaggeration.

The majority of the later cross-heads also have curved armpits but the ends of the arms are almost all wedge-shaped, either with the squared end type B or the curved end type E. The heads at Kildwick, nos. 7, 8, probably 2, seem to have preserved the squared expanded arms type A (Ills. 395–8, 414–15). Late versions of the lorgnette (‘spine-and-boss’) motif appear on Aberford 2, and possibly on Addingham 1 (Ills. 5–8, 12–15). The majority of heads are free-armed of types B10/11 or E10/11. Not all have exaggerated terminals — for example the late head Otley 11 (Ills. 601–5). However heads such as those from Kirkby Wharfe (nos. 1 and 3), Saxton 1, and perhaps Gargrave 4 have a much more expanded, fan-shaped terminal (Ills. 285–8, 432–5, 440–3, 687–91). At Burnshall some heads, for example nos. 1, 2 and 5 (Ills. 79–83, 88–92, 101–4), are expanded but not exaggerated, while nos. 7 and 8 have a more pronounced fan-shape (Ills. 105–8, 111–15); see also Staveley (Ills. 712–16)

and High Hoyland 3 (Ill. 316, at a site which also has a less exaggerated and earlier head of type B9: High Hoyland 1). The more exaggerated forms are echoed on the other side of the Pennines at, for example, Whalley and Cheadle in Cheshire (Collingwood 1927, fig. 221). The development from the earlier Anglian free-armed head seems clear, as is the association of the more fan-shaped forms with other elements of Anglo-Scandinavian decoration.

The distribution of cross-heads of types which show direct Scandinavian influence is as limited as that for hogbacks (p. 36). High Hoyland 2a–b (Ill. 315) is an example of an extreme form of expanded terminal in which the arms meet, with rounded armpits sometimes pierced and sometimes not. As Collingwood (1922–3, 220) pointed out, the closest parallels to these, which he called disc heads, are from the Whithorn area in south-west Scotland — again probably transmitted to the Yorkshire area by the Norse-Irish. The hammerhead cross is found in this area only at Middlesmoor and at Fountains Abbey (Ills. 356–9, 538–40), apart from a relief cross on a shaft at Gargrave (no. 1, Ill. 278). This form of head is found in concentration only in the north-west, of which examples are Addingham 1, Cumberland, as a form of ring-head; and on Carlisle 4, free-armed as here (Bailey and Cramp 1984, 31, ill. 1–4, 214–7). Otherwise the only known examples are the three in western Yorkshire and one from Kilmorie, in south-west Scotland (Collingwood 1927, fig. 113). The form appears to be an exaggerated rendering of Anglian arm-ends of an oblong block shape, as in head type 10A (Bailey and Cramp 1988, 31). It is odd that this exaggerated form occurs in such restricted areas. It is probable, however, that the form was carried to Yorkshire through Norse-Irish influence in the early tenth century. Bailey (1978, 178–9) has shown that ring-heads came into Yorkshire post 920 from the same source: examples are found at Bilton 1, Gargrave 6, Gargrave 7, Kirkby Wharfe 4 and Leeds 6 (Ills. 32–4, 292–5, 296–7, 430–1, 517–18). Lang (2001, 26) noted the popularity of the plate-head in Viking-age Yorkshire. There are only three examples in the West Riding: Gargrave 5 (Ills. 289–91) is a plate-head with superimposed ring, Burnshall 10 (Ills. 123–6) a ring-head, but both look westwards; Gargrave 5 specifically to Chester and Cumbria, Burnshall 10 to Ireland and the Isle of Man, but perhaps with some nearer influence from the type represented by Gargrave 5. Todmorden (Ills. 769–72) also has a plate-head, but this has more connections to other Yorkshire examples, at for example Gilling West and Lythe (Lang 2001, ill. 277–9, 499–502).

CROSS-BASES

There is only one certain cross-base in the northern half of the West Riding and it is that from Otley itself, no. 17 (Ills. 618–19, 623–5). This is half-round or rather half-barrel-shaped in form, which could suggest it was meant to stand with its back to a wall, although the fact that it is also decorated on the back rather precludes that idea. Its form seems partly dictated by the fact that it is an opportunistic use of a natural boulder; and the quality of the carving does not suggest that it belongs with any of the early crosses. But Ripon 8 (see p. 44), if it were a cross-base, would be a very early example.

The remainder are all associated with the centre at Dewsbury. A fragment which is possibly one corner of a base is from Dewsbury itself, no. 14 (Ills. 235–6). This is ornamented with a horizontal band of plant-scroll and has baluster moulding on the right. If it is a cross-base, it would be similar to Hexham 12 (Cramp 1984, 181, pl. 176.928–32). Four are all grouped around Dewsbury: all close to the Roman road (Margary 1967, no. 712) on its way from York, via Tadcaster and Leeds, to Chester via Manchester (Fig. 3). Rastrick (Ills. 626–30), Hartshead (Ills. 310–14), Birstall (Ills. 69–73) and Woodkirk (Ills. 841–5) lie on an arc from west of Dewsbury to its north-east: it is difficult not to see these as defining the heart of the ecclesiastical estate of Dewsbury in some way, if not the whole of the larger area thought to be part of Dewsbury parish (see Chap. II, p. 20).¹⁰ Only Woodkirk seems to be plain, though it apparently had cabled edges, and it is very weatherworn. Its plainness means it is not as easily datable as the others (see p. 284), but it is of the same rectangular, tapering form as the other complete examples. All the decorated examples have some feature which links them with sculptures from Dewsbury or Thornhill, and all seem to date from no earlier than the ninth century, to the later pre-Viking period.

FONT(?)

Bingley 2 (Ills. 64–8) is made from the same stone as no. 1, with the decoration of which it has some similarities, and both have parallels within the north-east of the West Riding. Although the runic script of Bingley 2 cannot be read (p. 102), the style of the letters and their layout are consonant with inscriptions in Anglian runes, while the decoration seems to be of the tenth to the eleventh centuries. This is odd, but there is no element in its surface decoration which suggests a post-Conquest date.

10. S. J. Chadwick (1902, 319, fn. 3) speculated that the 'Wagestan' referred to in the thirteenth century as a boundary marker for the post-Conquest Kirklees Priory is now represented by the base at Hartshead (Ills. 310–14).

There has been considerable disagreement as to what the function of this piece is. If it is a cross-base, as Haigh (1869–70) and others have thought, its socket is unusually large: 42 x 43 cm at the bottom, widening to 53 x 52 cm at the top (this widening also an improbable feature of a socket intended for a shaft), especially in relation to its depth: 22 cm. Rice (1952, 147–8) thought it might be an earlier cross reused as a font, but the decoration does not show any sign of continuing above or below. Some of the tenth-century shafts from Barwick in Elmet, for example, would have been large enough to fit this socket, although none is quite as square. With rare exceptions, square shafts in this area are early, and none of these is as large as this implies. Decorated cross-bases are also fairly rare: the West Riding is unusual in having four complete examples and possibly fragments of two more (see above), none of which has any features of form or decoration in common with Bingley 2. It is at least interesting that Bingley lies just outside one of the northern boundaries of the parish of Dewsbury as defined by Faull and Moorhouse (1981, iv, map 15: see Chap. II, p. 20), with which five of these bases are associated.

Speight (1898) offered another explanation, based on its internal shape and the rebate round the top — that it was a relic chest. This is based on his rejection both of the piece as a cross-base and as a font, in the latter case because the pattern on face B has been interrupted by the drain hole. There would be no precedent for such a chest, however.

Bingley 2 has sometimes been described as a font, and if it is, some would doubt its pre-Conquest provenance, since so few fonts which can be ascribed to this early period have survived, while they survive in large numbers from the Romanesque period. Recently, however, strong arguments for both the prevalence of child baptism within the period and for lead, wooden and more permanent Anglo-Saxon fonts have been put forward in relation to datable examples from the south west of England and from Gloucestershire (Cramp 2006a, 38–40; Bailey 2005). Collingwood, who dated it to the late eleventh century (1915a, 144), believed it was a font and that the internal rebate around the top would have served to hold a font-cover. He also believed that the drain hole might be original; as he says quite correctly, *contra* Speight, it does not interrupt the pattern on face B (Ills. 65–6). As the pattern is so large, however, and so little related to the shape of the side, this latter argument is not very strong. Its internal form, as suggested above, makes its use as a base the least likely of the options, the presence of the drain that it was a font the most likely: but in the end this piece is somewhat of a puzzle.

ARCHITECTURAL SCULPTURE AND CHURCH FURNISHINGS

There is only one surviving piece of church furniture, Ripon 8 (Ills. 665–9), which could actually be the earliest surviving Anglo-Saxon sculpture from this site, and indeed the earliest piece from the region. It has been argued to be Roman rather than Anglo-Saxon (Hall 1995, 24), as has also been suggested for some of the earliest pieces from Wilfrid's other major foundation in Northumbria, at Hexham. Its decoration links it with early Christian sculpture from Visigothic Spain, and the pellet-and-leaf ornament in particular link it with other early architectural work in the region, at Ledsham and Darfield (see below). What it is, is less certain. Cramp (1976, 266) thought it a possible altar pillar, and dated it by reference to a seventh-century altar from the Visigothic church of San Vicente in Cordoba, Spain, with which its form and ornament do indeed have many points in comparison (Palol and Hirmer 1967, pl. 17; see Ill. 866). With its imitation of a 'post-and-rail' construction, however, it could be a (corner) closure slab; or it could be part of a cross-base. It is unlikely to be later than the seventh century in date.

There are only a few surviving architectural pieces from the West Riding, almost all from the earliest phases of Anglian sculpture, up to the ninth century. The largest surviving collection is that from Ledsham, where the earliest ornament appears to be the pellet-and-leaf design on the impost of the chancel arch and its connecting frieze (Ledsham 5, Ills. 471–5; see Chap. V, p. 50), with its parallels in Visigothic Spain, of the late seventh to early eighth century. The imposts of the south door (Ledsham 4a–b, Ills. 463–6) have interlace relating them to an early phase of Anglian decoration in which sculpture and manuscript art imitate fine filigree work in metal (Chap. V, p. 46): these seem to belong to the same early period as the chancel arch imposts and friezes. The hood-mould of the same south door, I have argued, in support of other scholars, is a nineteenth-century restoration of a seventh- to eighth-century doorway, decorated with a plant trail and 'marigold' motif (Ill. 462), of which there are probable traces of the original decoration in the lowest blocks at ground level (Ledsham 3a–b, p. 194, Ills. 467–8). Of the two fragments now both built horizontally into the inside of the north wall of the north aisle, Ledsham 2 is most probably an eighth- to early ninth-century cross-shaft (Ill. 470), but Ledsham 1 has no obvious taper, and could be part of a string-course rather than a cross-shaft (Ill. 469). Its most probable date is the eighth century. This piece again has connections with fine filigree work and bears comparison with some of

the string-courses from Breedon-on-the-Hill, Leicestershire. The string-courses or imposts at Ripon (no. 9a–b, Ills. 671–5) date to the late eighth or early ninth century. Ripon also has a capital/impost block (no. 10, Ill. 676) which has parallels both in York and Reculver, Kent: it would appear to date from the late seventh to early eighth century, and therefore to be part of the Wilfridian church with its '*variis columnis*' (see p. 241).

A church otherwise unknown to history, Darfield on the river Dearne, also has a claim to an early date on the strength of its architectural sculpture, although the earliest date suggested for parts of the present building is Norman (Pevsner 1967, 173–4). Darfield 1 (Ills. 186–7) has early types of compass-drawn geometric patterns associated with sixth- to seventh-century Visigothic architecture and furnishings, and in this country with Anglo-Saxon architecture of the seventh to eighth centuries (see Chap. V, p. 50). Ryder (1982, 109) has suggested this may be part of either a grave slab, or a closure slab from a screen around an altar or sanctuary. It is perhaps more likely to be part of a string-course and at 15 cm in height this does not seem unreasonable. The interlace on Darfield 2 (Ill. 188), however, is closer to that on the Ripon imposts (no. 9a–b) of the eighth to early ninth centuries than to Ledsham. There is no sign of a taper, and the width of the piece is also much the same as the height of the Ripon string-courses, and this too can therefore be dated to the eighth to ninth century. If the Darfield piece is part of a string-course, it reinforces the idea of an early church there. The fragment built high in an external wall, Darfield 3 (Ill. 189), could also be an architectural piece, a frieze or string-course with a horizontally disposed spiral scroll, as at St Martin-cum-Gregory, York (Lang 1991, 83, ill. 214–5): its style and this parallel again suggests an eighth- to ninth-century date.

The two friezes from Rothwell (Ills. 678–9, 680) are certainly part of an architectural programme. Their connections are rather different from those already discussed, looking strongly towards Mercian sculptures such as those from Breedon, and other works with a Mercian connection such as the embroideries at Maaseik in Belgium. However, they are also of the eighth to ninth centuries, which seems an important period for church building or for the architectural enrichment of earlier churches.

The only later architectural piece is a fragment of baluster from the base of an opening (window, door or arch) from Bardsey (no. 1, Ills. 16–21) between Collingham and Leeds. The church has an Anglo-Saxon nave and tower, which may have been raised on an earlier west porch as at Ledsham, and it is possible that the west ends of both aisles may incorporate masonry from Anglo-

Saxon *porticus* (Taylor, H. M. and Taylor, J. 1965, I, 39–40; Ryder 1993, 139). There is evidence of blocked Anglo-Saxon windows in the nave; two of the tower openings are original and both of these have turned mid-wall shafts. A late Anglo-Saxon west doorway with angle-shafts can be seen at Kirk Hammerton, also in the West Riding and not far from Bardsey. The date is late tenth to eleventh century.

It is not certain that the Bramham sculpture (Ills. 74–8) is an architectural piece, although in its present form it suggests a panel. If it is, it implies a programme of the life and resurrection of Christ. If the sculpture was really from Bramham, it is one of the relatively few sites, of those with sculpture, recorded as having a church and a priest in Domesday Book (Faull and Stinson 1986, I, 307c, 5W 7).

CHAPTER V

ANGLIAN AND ANGLO-SCANDINAVIAN PERIOD ORNAMENT

INTERLACE (Cramp 1991, p. xxviii–xlvi, figs. 14–26)

The major work on interlace of the pre-Viking period is Adcock (1974) and the discussion of most of the individual pieces in the catalogue and the following summary are greatly indebted to her work.

The earliest interlaces to survive are on two seventh- to eighth-century impostes at Ledsham, no. 4a–b (Ills. 463–6). Both have rare five-cord patterns with an uneven number of strands, and both have a unit measure of 3.5 cm. These pieces and their closest parallels all exhibit a style of carving very clearly imitating fine filigree work (and most with strong connections to the monasteries of Ripon and Hexham), and are also linked by the use of other patterns, including the ‘marigold’ motif (see *plant ornament*, p. 50 below). The sculpture parallels have been variously dated: from the late seventh to early eighth century on Carlisle 1 (Bailey and Cramp 1988, 84–5, ill. 196, 198–201) and Hexham 30 (Cramp 1984, 188–9, pl. 184.1000); eighth century on Northallerton 5 (Lang 2001, 182–3, ill. 672–6); the late eighth to ninth century on Hexham 9 and 12 (Cramp 1984, 180–1, pls. 176.932, 178.945); and the ninth century on Ingleby Arncliffe 1 (Lang 2001, 125, ill. 325) and York, St Leonard’s Place (Lang 1991, 109–10, ill. 369–72). The stylistic relationship is important, however, and is indicative of a phase in which metalwork models were pre-eminent. The filigree-like line can be likened to the ‘knitting stitch’ on the loop of the great gold buckle from Sutton Hoo (Webster and Backhouse 1991, ill. 15), and to the metal inlay pattern in a glass mount from Whitby (ibid., ill. 107n). The fine wiry interlace in the Lindisfarne Gospels, much of which relies for its effect on alternate facing knots, and which is clearly looking towards metalwork models, also seems a relevant comparison (Bruce-Mitford 1960, fig. 48). In the case of Ledsham, it seems clear that the doorway is part of the earliest church at the site, and that the inner faces of the impostes are original (p. 196).

A cross-head fragment from Ripon itself, no. 2 (Ill. 637), seems closely related to these early interlaces: it uses the same unit measure, though with a heavier strand.

Its closest parallels are from Yorkshire: in the West Riding on Ilkley 4a–b (Ills. 345, 347, 349, 351), and at nearby Masham in the North Riding (Lang 2001, 173–4, no. 5, ill. 635, 637): although the last has been dated late eighth to early ninth century, these near-followers to the earliest work in the West Riding are reasonably placed in the early eighth century.

Collingwood (1915a, 233–5) placed the impostes, Ripon 9a–b (Ills. 671–5), firmly in the ninth century and therefore late in his Anglian series, but Adcock rightly connected them to Ilkley 4 and Otley 2 (Ill. 568), and to a larger group of examples from nearby north Yorkshire: Croft 1, Cundall/Aldbrough, Easby, Kirby Hill 12, Masham 5, Melsonby 1, and Wycliffe 3, 8 and 9 (Lang 2001, ill. 151, 160–82, 204–6, 210–12, 369–70, 635–7, 654–61, 1109, 1116, 1120). She called these, which are connected by their unit measure (3.5 cm or 4 cm) as well as by the use of particular patterns and pattern ideas, ‘the mature sculptured interlace of the Ripon area’ (Adcock 1974, 92). Ilkley 10 (Ills. 369, 371), an arm of a cross-head (possibly the head for no. 4), also seems to belong to this group. J. Taylor and H. M. Taylor (1966, 47) rightly said of the Ripon 9 impostes that ‘they appear to be of same high quality and early type as those at Breedon [Leicestershire]’. They should also be considered in the same breath as carvings from the other Wilfridian foundation at Hexham, Northumberland, especially nos. 36–8, two fragments of string-course and one of an impost, also decorated with interlace/twists though in a different, Bernician style (Cramp 1984, 191, pls. 185.1016–21). The group as a whole seems to spread from the eighth to the early ninth century.

One oddity at Ilkley is the cast of a lost stone, no. 5, (Ills. 375–8). Apart from the possibility that this is the work of more than one hand and period, the interlace pattern links are with a group of eighth-century sculptures connected with the monastic sites of Monkwearmouth/Jarrow, co. Durham, and Lastingham, east Yorkshire: see for example Lastingham 5 (Lang 1991, ill. 592–5). The patterns in this group as a whole relate to designs in early Hiberno-Saxon manuscripts,