

CHAPTER VI

FIGURAL SCULPTURE

The West Riding has an important array of figural scenes. In the pre-Viking period, as usual, these occur at a relatively small number of sites (although at a larger number than in the other two regions of Yorkshire combined). All are on the shafts or heads of free-standing crosses, all displaying strong ecclesiastical influence in their iconography. There is none, however, associated with the sites most likely — on historical or sculptural evidence — to have been established in the seventh century, such as Ripon or Ledsham. It is clear, however, that figural depictions remained important until the end of the period: there is a surprisingly large number of figural scenes from the early tenth century onwards. The major centres at Otley and Dewsbury have figure sculptures from both the Anglian and Anglo-Scandinavian periods; Ripon, which has none from the early period, has one from the tenth century, and that one showing clear evidence of Scandinavian influence (no. 4, Ill. 662). The majority of these later sculptures are clearly scenes of Christian significance, their presence a strong indication both of the power of the Anglian tradition and of continued ecclesiastical input, whether because they were produced on sites still linked to the monastic culture or on ecclesiastical estates. The Christian figural scenes of this period vary greatly in quality, though the finest, such as the Crucifixion on Kirkburton 1 (Ills. 417, 423), are both very striking sculptures and show that innovation in form and iconography were still possible in Anglian-influenced sculpture of the late period. The Leeds 1 cross, too, is innovative in its particular mixture of earlier Anglian figural themes and Scandinavian mythological scenes (Ills. 482–6); and in its style and layout Leeds 1 is no mere copy of earlier work in the region, even though its sculptor was clearly aware of this. The influence of the earlier monuments is often manifest in the choice of subject matter, but the range of monument types on which figural scenes appear is more varied. Scenes of certain or possible secular significance, however, also make their appearance in the tenth century. The number of sites and monuments from the end of the period shows that the popularisation of stone sculpture in the later phase, and the development of secular patronage, did not imply a loss of figural themes.

Some of the iconographic themes itemised below are more fully discussed in the catalogue entries: many scenes occur only once and are a major feature in the analysis of an important or outstanding monument. Where this is the case, I have noted this in the following text. The relationship between figural subjects at different sites is also considered further in Chapter VII.

OLD TESTAMENT SCENES

There is a little evidence for scenes drawn from the Old Testament. The only example in the pre-Viking period is a scene possibly representing the Fall on an early shaft, Ilkley 2 (Ill. 357). This shaft has been suggested to be the work of the ‘Uredale master’, the sculptor of Cundall/Aldbrough and Masham (Lang 2001, 43; see also Chap. V, p. 56). Unfortunately the panel near the top of face A (Ill. 353) is badly damaged, and whether it is in fact a figural scene (in which case it most probably represents Eve tempting Adam, whom she faces across a serpent-wound tree) or is another version of the paired animal motif cannot now be determined unequivocally (see p. 170). If it is a representation of the Fall, it is probable that the whole cross expressed the message of Redemption, which emerges as a major theme in both the early and late figure sculpture.

Collingwood (1915a, 139–41) proposed three Old Testament subjects in explanation of scenes on two Anglo-Scandinavian period crosses: two on Bilton in Ainsty 2, A and D (Ills. 47–8), and one on Bilton 3A (Ill. 35). The first of these, Bilton 2Aii (Ill. 40), he suggested was the Sacrifice of Isaac: while this remains a possibility it is even more likely a scene of the Mocking of Christ (see below, under *Scenes of the Arrest and Trial of Christ*, p. 61, and catalogue, p. 98). That on the lower panel of Bilton 2D (Ill. 41), which Collingwood believed represented Moses Striking the Rock, is now impossible to identify (p. 98). The figural scene on Bilton 3A (Ill. 39) Collingwood identified as The Three Children in the Fiery Furnace, but this too is uncertain, in the absence of any other identifying features, such as the flames of the furnace, a protecting angel, or servants feeding the flames. Here another possibility is suggested,

that of the Second Mocking of Christ (see below, under *Scenes of the Arrest and Trial of Christ*, and catalogue p. 100). It seems, therefore, that all the scenes on these crosses identified by Collingwood as from the Old Testament are equally or more likely to represent New Testament Scenes.

On the other hand, he identified the figural scene on Barwick in Elmet 2A (Ills. 26, 30) as the laying-on of hands, conveying the subject of 'Holy Orders' (Collingwood 1915a, 137–9, fig. e): he did not know the very similar scene on Bilton in Ainsty 4A (Ills. 31, 53). This latter shaft, though more battered than Bilton nos. 2 and 3, is in many ways the most interesting of the three, in its close connection with Barwick in Elmet 2, rendered all the more likely as the stone for all the sculpture at Bilton is imported into the site, and comes from the same outcrop as the Barwick pieces (see p. 100). The scene on Barwick in Elmet 2A has been interpreted in recent times as either the creation of Adam and Eve (Lang 1976b, 90) or a scene of Christ blessing (Bailey 1980, 156–7): both have some credibility, but the different interpretations are a measure of the difficulty faced when figural sculpture is both crude and innovative, and when no inscriptions or undeniable conventional symbol appears to pin the scene down. However, this scene can be interpreted as representing Adam and Eve, in a conflation of two scenes: Adam and Eve knowing their nakedness, and God reproving Adam and Eve after their Fall, rather than their Creation (see p. 95). The Bilton 4 scene is a representation of the same theme, and is probably from the same workshop (see pp. 76 and 101).

The scene on Kirkby Wharfe 1A (Ill. 440), also a tenth-century work, certainly represents Sts Mary and John on either side of the flowering cross: the imagery however, encompasses both Fall and Redemption (below, and pp. 186–7).

NEW TESTAMENT SCENES

THE LIFE AND MIRACLES OF CHRIST

Virgin and Child

There are probably two examples of this theme in the pre-Viking sculpture of the region. One long-recognised is that on the Dewsbury cross fragment 4Aii (Ills. 198–200). In this, the figures are arranged with Mother and Child facing each other as on the late seventh-century wood coffin of St Cuthbert (Ill. 861; see Kitzinger 1956, 248–64), and with the Christ Child's head turned to the spectator and holding a scroll in his hand (see pp. 133–5 for a very full discussion of this piece). There is another

possible example on Collingham 1Ai (p. 119, Ill. 166): it is damaged but the remains are very suggestive. As far as can be determined, the figures are disposed in the same manner as on the earlier Dewsbury cross. Here it is also part of a programme which includes apostles and the figure of Christ blessing, as on other fragments from Dewsbury (nos. 1–3, Ills. 192–7), which may not belong, as Collingwood thought (1927, 6–7), to the same shaft as the fragment with the Virgin, but are certainly of the same date. If the Collingham scene is accepted as a Virgin and Child, then Collingwood's comparison of Collingham 1 with Dewsbury 1–3, which he made mainly in relation to the form of the monument (as a 'round-shaft derivative'), begins to look perceptive in the area of iconography too. The type represented on both crosses appears to emphasise Christ's divinity, while the different disposition of the figures on a miniature in the Book of Kells (Alexander 1978, cat. 52, ill. 233), where the Child looks up to his mother and touches her breast, emphasises his humanity (Clayton 1990, 148).

The tenth-century staff crucifix, Dewsbury 6, has a figure on face C which Collingwood (1915a, 169–71) suggested was a manticora or man-eating figure representing death, but the animal head given to this figure by Collingwood (*ibid.*, 170, fig. t) is pure supposition as the head is completely missing above the neck (Ill. 210). It is much more likely to be a Virgin and Child, copying in a completely different style (which might also have been enhanced originally through paint) the iconography just discussed on the shaft fragment Dewsbury 4 (compare Ills. 200 and 210). The programme on this later shaft would then be one showing God's giving of himself in human form through Mary, and also at his Crucifixion (p. 139, Ill. 208); and this would suggest that the religious significance of the earlier crosses was still recognised and still influential, even though represented here in an abbreviated form, and that the site at Dewsbury was still under strong ecclesiastical, probably monastic control.

Miracle Scenes

Two miracle scenes appear on the early shaft fragment Dewsbury 5 (Ills. 202–7): both are discussed further in context in the catalogue, pp. 135–8, together with their identifying inscriptions (see also Chap. VIII). The first, the story of the Wedding at Cana, in which Jesus turned water into wine (John 2, 1–11) is found on Dewsbury 5Ai (Ill. 207), in which Christ, standing behind a row of four water jars, is accompanied by the Virgin and by St John as the witnessing apostle. This type, with these accompanying figures, is known from the sixth century

and was also revived in the Carolingian classical renaissance (compare Schiller 1971, pls. 467 and 470). It is identified by an inscription as well as by its iconography. Like the Feeding of the Five Thousand it was from early times a reading for the Feast of the Epiphany, and like the latter scene was also regarded as prefiguring the Last Supper (Schiller 1971, 162–4).

Below this panel, on Dewsbury 5Aii (Ill. 207), is a scene of the Miracle of the Loaves and Fishes, sometimes called the Feeding of the Five Thousand. This scene is attested in all four gospels (Matthew 14, 13–21; Mark 6, 30–44; Luke 9, 10–17; and John 6, 1–13), although Matthew 15, 32–9 and Mark 8, 1–9 also record a second variant of the same story, of the feeding of four thousand followers with seven loaves and a few fishes. John 6, 1–13, 35, 51 shows that the scene was already seen as prefiguring the Last Supper and the institution of the Eucharist, and as having eschatological significance; and that such layers of meaning were expressed in sculpture has been demonstrated by Bailey (1996a, 59–61) on a cross-shaft of similar date from Hornby in Lancashire. The layout of the scene at Dewsbury is different, however, without the overt reference to the cross as a fruiting tree which is so prominent a part of the complexity of the Hornby cross.

The conjunction of these scenes on the Dewsbury shaft is particularly interesting, since in the Visigothic and Gallican liturgies, though not in the Roman liturgy, the Baptism of Christ, the Wedding at Cana, and in some places the Feeding of the Five Thousand, were all commemorated on the Feast of the Epiphany; and that this practice was known at Lindisfarne in the seventh century is attested in all manuscripts of the *Anonymous Life of St Cuthbert*, bk. II, ch. 4 (Bullough 1998, 114–15). The shaft on which these two scenes occur, Dewsbury 5, is strongly linked to no. 4 (with its scene of the Virgin and Child) in style and in the type of cable moulding (which is different to that on nos. 1–3). The overall theme of this cross seems to be the Epiphany, the revelation of Christ's godhead.

The Feeding of the Five Thousand in a late, flat, unmodelled style is the most likely interpretation of a scene on the top of face A of a cross-shaft from Kildwick, no. 1 (p. 178, Ill. 391).

Scenes from the Arrest and Trial of Christ

Scenes with themes from this period of Christ's earthly life are not found on any pre-Viking cross, but they are the most likely explanation of scenes on two shafts from the same site, both showing Norse-Irish influence. Bilton in Ainsty no. 2A (Ills. 40, 48) has a scene arguably

representing the First Mocking of Christ after his arrest, while no. 3A (Ills. 35, 39) has another version from the story of the arrest, probably the Second Mocking of Christ (*Ecce Rex Iudeorum*). Alternative Old Testament scenes (the Sacrifice of Isaac for Bilton 2 and the Three Children in the Fiery Furnace for no. 3) have also been suggested, as noted above, p. 59. The New Testament possibilities are argued fully in the catalogue, pp. 98 and 100.

A scene with three figures also appears on a shaft at Royston (p. 244, Ill. 684), but with insufficient surviving detail to pin it down.

The Cross and Crucifixion

There are no examples of this theme from the pre-Viking period, but there are two important examples of the staff-crucifix, a late but important development of Anglo-Scandinavian art, on Dewsbury 6 (p. 139, Ill. 208) and Kirkburton 1 (p. 183, Ills. 417, 423), and on other late shafts there is a possible Crucifixion or related scene at Kippax (p. 182, Ill. 426), and just possibly a fragment of another on Guiseley 3 (p. 160, Ill. 303).

A richly allusive scene showing a flowering cross flanked by the figures of John and Mary, which links the Crucifixion with the themes of the Fall and Redemption, also possibly the Veneration of the Cross, is found on Kirkby Wharfe 1A (p. 185, Ill. 440). This is a unique scene: the similarly reduced scene on a late shaft from Halton in Lancashire (Collingwood 1927, fig. 191; see Ill. 869) shows John and Mary flanking a staff cross which is not flowering like that at Kirkby Wharfe, although the Halton cross, with its stylised medallion scroll and scenes drawn from Scandinavian mythology, is very much part of the same Anglo-Scandinavian milieu.

There is another late shaft in which two figures flank a central cross. A scene representing Domesday and/or the Veneration of the Cross is depicted on Addingham 1A (p. 90, Ill. 12). This scene is comparable to, though also different from, one from Lindisfarne, Northumberland, no. 37A (Cramp 1984, pl. 201.1132; see Ill. 864). The Council of Paris, 825, re-stated the importance to Christians of the cross as an object of veneration and adoration: while images were valuable as a teaching aid and aid to meditation, they were not to be adored (Werminghoff 1908, 506, ll. 14–23). It is interesting that scenes in pre-Conquest sculpture which appear to show veneration of the cross are of the late ninth century or later. However, the link with a place associated with fear of Viking attack at both Lindisfarne and Addingham (see Chap. II, p. 19) is at the least an interesting coincidence.

Bilton in Ainsty has four pieces with figural sculpture: the cross-head (no. 1A, p. 95, Ill. 33) possibly represents four men caught in the toils of sin but under the protection of the Cross, although a depiction of the four evangelists is also feasible as an interpretation. There seem very few possible parallels to this head.

The Risen Christ — in Glory, in Judgment, Mission to the Apostles/‘Traditio Legis’

As suggested by the title of this section, it is not always easy to distinguish between the various scenes in which Christ appears, or probably appears, accompanied by figures or symbols representing apostles and/or evangelists, especially as we do not have the complete programme for any cross. The majority of such scenes, however, occur on sculptures of the pre-Viking period.

The earliest surviving example is probably Otley 1, faces A and C (p. 215, Ills. 552–4, 558–60), which draws on new sources of classical, late antique inspiration in the eighth century. This cross is one of a number identified by Lang (1999) as ‘Apostle pillars’, along with Easby 1 and Masham 1 in north Yorkshire (Lang 2001, ill. 185–6, 193–212, 597–631). This monument type has been seen as emphasising the Roman church and its authority, rather than other themes, such as redemption and salvation (see for example Lang 2001, 101); but while accepting these crosses as a visual expression of that authority, and noting the importance of the apostles in the iconography of baptisteries such as that from Ravenna, and the proximity of the Anglo-Saxon ‘Apostle pillars’ to rivers which might have been used in baptismal rites (see Lang 1994, 15; id. 1999), I think that these and other related crosses, such as Dewsbury 1–3 (Ills. 192–7) and Collingham 1 (Ills. 166–9), are capable of carrying other messages. Whether Otley 1 represents apostles or evangelists on face A (Ills. 558–60, 564), and angels or other saintly or ecclesiastical figures on face C (Ills. 552–4, 565; see p. 217), the didactic and devotional intention of the programme with its panelled busts and half figures, with spaces which look intended for inscriptions below, seems obvious. The possible Matthew figure accompanied by his angel symbol (Ills. 575–6) — or scene symbolic of a generic evangelist, in the sense suggested by M. Brown (1996, 82–114; 2003, 359–63; and see catalogue p. 218) — is one of only six sculptures with figures identifiable as evangelists in the region (p. 63). The similarity of this evangelist/ecclesiastic accompanied by an angel to the scene on Dewsbury 9 (p. 141, Ills. 219–20), suggests that the overall theme of the Otley shaft, like that represented by Dewsbury 1–3 and 9, is faithful adherence to and transmission of the New Law as represented by the Gospels (see also below under *Evangelists, Angels and Ecclesiastics*, pp. 64–5).

The subject matter of Otley 1 — figures of saints or apostles in architectural frames, or in frames formed from plant-scroll — had a considerable effect on the development of figural sculpture in its immediate neighbourhood. On Otley 2, the figural ornament itself is confined to the lower part of a shaft of somewhat different design, below the shoulder (Ills. 569, 571, 577–8). These figures are clearly dependent on the classicising busts of Otley 1, and I cannot see the delicate depiction of the garments as in any way inferior; the unusual idea of a frame formed from plant-scroll, an important feature of Otley 1C (Ills. 565), is even present around the figure on face A (Ill. 577), while the arched niche on face C (Ill. 578) has plant-elements in the spandrels of the arch, as on Otley 1A (Ills. 564). The dished halos are an important element; one of the features by which the long-lasting influence of Otley 1 can be traced.

Possibly the closest to Otley 1 in the region is Collingham 1 (Ills. 166–9), although here all four faces have figural ornament only. Nevertheless there is a plant-scroll arch which marks off the lower ‘round’ base of this ‘round-shaft derivative’. The two broad faces (Ills. 166, 168) have half-figures in arched niches, with some attempt at showing the figures facing alternately left and right, as on Otley 1: these figures also have the Otley dished halo. This shaft is much more worn than Otley but it clearly represents a hardening and simplifying of the Otley classicising style. One figure still has an elaborately curled hairstyle, another probable sign of Otley influence, though this feature is also found on the Easby cross (Lang 2001, ill. 202) — the influence of the Easby carver and his style have been noted on other West Riding sculptures, including Crofton 1 and 2 (see Chap. VII, p. 72). The narrow faces of Collingham 1 (Ills. 167, 169) are rather different, however, from Otley 1 and Easby, having stiffly-posed full-length figures again under arches, some clearly carrying scrolls. These full-length figures have been compared to Cundall/Aldbrough and Masham in north Yorkshire, but also to Dewsbury (Cramp 1970, 60–1), which suggests that this great cross was also influential outside its immediate area of influence. The possible Virgin and Child on face A (see above, p. 60) also provides a link with the Dewsbury type of ‘Apostle pillar’. The hairstyles combined with halos on the narrow faces of Collingham 1 represent, as others have noted, a stage in the stylisation whereby these two elements in later sculpture became entwined and finally indistinguishable.

On the Ilkley crosses, not far from Otley and part of the same estate, we would expect to find reflections of the figural types of Otley 1 and 2, and indeed we do, but all three of the major crosses there show some development in stylisation. Ilkley 2 (Ills. 357–60) is

possibly the earliest of the three, and has been suggested to be the work of the 'Uredale master', the sculptor of Cundall/Aldbrough and Masham in north Yorkshire (Lang 2001, 43; see also Chap. VII, p. 71). Unfortunately the one possible figural scene near the top of face A is badly damaged (Ill. 353), and whether it is in fact a figural scene (in which case it most probably represents Eve tempting Adam, with a serpent-wound tree between them) or is another version of the paired animal motif, cannot now be determined (see above under *Old Testament Scenes*). Ilkley 3 (Ills. 361–4) is more developed again. The position of the one figure is reminiscent of Otley 2 (Ills. 569, 571), although only animal ornament is represented in the corresponding position on the other sides. The figure (Ill. 361) is more stylised again and the hair/halo combination is almost complete. Although the drapery is stylised, the depiction of the dress includes some realistic detail, and an outer and under garment can be distinguished. Ilkley 1 is discussed in the section on *Evangelists* below.

The only other pre-Viking figural pieces north of Leeds are at Little Ouseburn, where there are some defaced fragments of figural sculpture built into the walls of the church (nos. 3 and 4, Ills. 528, 529) and a figure probably representing Christ in the centre of the cross-head, no. 5 (p. 209, Ills. 531, 534). This must have been the head of a major monument, including plant ornament, with very interesting connections both within Deira and also in Mercia, and is possibly, like Ilkley 2, the work of the 'Uredale master' (see above, and Chap. VII, p. 71).

The pre-Viking sculpture at Dewsbury is outstanding in its monumentality. Like Otley 1, Dewsbury 1–3 and 4–5 (parts probably of two separate crosses) are consciously classicising, and on these some at least of the inscriptions are preserved (see Chap. VIII). Nos. 4 and 5, with a depiction of the Virgin and Child (Ill. 198) and scenes representing the Wedding at Cana and the Feeding of the Five Thousand (Ill. 207), discussed earlier in this chapter, indicate that here was another major shaft with a clearly liturgical programme, like the great cross at Ruthwell, Dumfriesshire, with which its inscription frames also compare. Nos. 1–3 (Ills. 190–7) are important as clearly parts of a round shaft or 'round shaft derivative', and also because this is demonstrably an important example of an 'Apostle pillar' of a particular type, a *Traditio Legis* with the seated Christ between a full complement (originally) of standing apostles (see pp. 130–1). The cross-head with a possible evangelist symbol, Dewsbury 9 (Ill. 220), is discussed below.

The archer on Sheffield 1 (Ill. 692) should be mentioned in this section, as a probable explanation for its appearance on one broad face of this shaft is that it

represented the Teaching Mission of the Church, as Raw (1967, 393) suggested (though in that case I think wrongly) for the archer figure on the Ruthwell cross (see p. 246).

One piece, a shaft or incomplete panel of the Anglo-Scandinavian period, from Bramham, possibly represents a late version of the *Traditio Legis* (p. 106, Ill. 74).

Evangelists, Angels and Ecclesiastics

Ilkley 1 is rather different in its iconography to the crosses discussed above as 'Apostle pillars', although in many ways this cross is related to its predecessors in Ilkley and Otley. It has on one broad face a single seated figure, a probable Christ in Majesty, in a panel on the same face as panels of animal ornament (Ill. 335), while on the other are half-figures clearly identifiable as the four evangelists, with heads drawn from the appropriate symbol (Ill. 337). The style here is flatter than at Otley, or Collingham, and the folds of the garments are more stylised. The evangelist figures are all nimbed and all hold books in their veiled hands. The three upper figures all turn to the right (Ills. 339–41), St Matthew at the foot is frontal (Ill. 342). Reading from the top, they are in reverse order to the Gospels, but perhaps that is not how such a shaft would have been read by the viewer, who would have been closer to the foot of the shaft and perhaps therefore read it upwards. Evangelist symbols as human busts with symbolic beast heads are rare in Anglo-Saxon sculpture: these are closest to those on the Wirksworth slab in Derbyshire (Cockerton 1962, fig. 1; Hawkes 1995, fig. 5), where they accompany the Lamb, and to those set round the top of a shaft from Halton, Lancashire (Allen 1886, 335–7, figs. facing 334). On Ilkley 1, they probably relate to the seated Christ in Judgment on the opposite face, and are based on the type represented in the apse of Sant'Apollinare in Classe, where half-figures of the evangelists hold books in their veiled hands towards a Christ in Majesty. On Otley 1, however, there is no distinction between the bodies of the symbols: all are represented as clothed human figures (Ills. 558, 564). They do not seem to be related to Hiberno-Saxon and Irish evangelist figures such as those on a slab from Lancaster (Collingwood 1927, fig. 128), which are related to the armless figure of St Matthew in the Durrow Gospels, fol. 21v (Henderson 1987, pl. 53) and the animal-headed evangelists in the Book of McDurnan (Henry 1967, pl. K). The Otley figures are not grotesque, neither are they winged. Because of the stylisation, it is difficult to know whether this iconography on Ilkley 1 is a reflex of an earlier depiction of this theme, now lost, which came into the repertoire in the eighth- to ninth-century classicising phase represented by Otley 1. There may also

have been some influence from earlier Northumbrian manuscript depictions of the evangelists represented by their symbols: the lolling tongue of the lion, for example, is found in St Chad's Gospel, p. 142, and the Echternach Gospels, fol. 75v (Alexander 1978, ill. 80 and 56).

On Otley 7, a cross-head which may be associated with one of the major shafts, is exactly the form of evangelist symbol which I have suggested might have been the inspiration for those on Ilkley 1: the winged beast with no human attributes although accompanied by a book (Ills. 597, 600). It is not clear whether this is the bull of St Luke or the lion of St Mark, however. The closest analogy to this half-length figure are the two evangelist symbols surviving on the ninth-century cross-head from Hart, co. Durham, no. 7 (Cramp 1984, 95, pl. 82.417–8), where these symbols surround the central depiction of the Lamb, and the opposite face also has plant ornament. Isolated fragments from Auckland St Andrew 1, Aycliffe 9, and Durham 5 and 8 (*ibid.*, pls. 3.7, 6.23, 43.205, 47.219) suggest that this arrangement was not unusual and also long-lasting (since the Durham versions represent an eleventh-century revival of earlier Anglian forms). The centre of the Otley head is uncertain, of course.

Evangelist symbols have already been mentioned above in connection with figures accompanying Christ and apostle groups on Otley 1 and 7, Ilkley 1, and in the late period also as a possible interpretation for the cross-head Bilton in Ainsty 1 (p. 95, Ill. 33). There is another example of an evangelist symbol from the Anglo-Scandinavian period: a fine example of an eagle, the symbol of the evangelist John, is on East Riddlesden Hall 1 (p. 148, Ills. 240, 244), with northern Northumbrian links.

There are two scenes with figures accompanied by angels: that already mentioned on Otley 1 (p. 216, Ills. 560, 575–6), and another on the one surviving arm of a cross-head, Dewsbury 9 (p. 141, Ills. 219–20), that deserve further consideration, however. The latter is more likely to be part of the head of the cross represented by Dewsbury 1–3 than that represented by nos. 4–5: that is, it may belong to the cross with the *Traditio Legis* on the columnar part of the shaft (Ills. 190–7). The disposition of the figures and their representation also links this scene very closely with that low on Otley 1A. Henderson (1999, 155) suggested the possibility that both these scenes and one from Halton, Lancashire (Collingwood 1927, fig. 92; see Ill. 870) represent the appearance of the Archangel Michael to St Wilfrid, unconscious while ill, sparing him from death at that time. The story is recounted in Eddius' Life of Wilfrid (Colgrave 1927, 120–3, ch. LVI). However, as Henderson says, such a depiction of a scene from the

life of an English ecclesiastic, albeit a saint, would be unique, and he himself suggests (1999, 173–4) an alternative interpretation, at least for Halton, in the life of St Pachomius, a fourth-century monk, who had a vision of an angel who presented him with a tablet with a list of rules by which members of the monastery he founded might live. There are no parallels for this scene either, however.

The obvious explanation for the Dewsbury 9 scene (Ill. 220), especially given its position on the cross-head, is that it is a representation of St Matthew accompanied by his man/angel symbol, as on the Ruthwell cross (Cramp 1978b, 118, pl. VIII). At Dewsbury, the figure is shown with a scroll and probably a tonsure, as in the mid-eighth-century Stockholm Codex Aureus, fol. 9v (Wilson 1984, ill. 102).¹¹ The position, directly behind the apostle, however, is as in the Lindisfarne Gospels (Kendrick *et al.* 1959–60, 142–73, pl. 22c). There has been much discussion about this arrangement and its origins, but the suggestion by M. Brown (2003, 359) that 'accompanied' evangelist portraits in the Lindisfarne Gospels and in the Book of Cerne 'simultaneously symbolise Christ, the Gospel writers, the scribe who faithfully transmits the Scriptures and the aspirations of the faithful' (see Brown, M. 1996, 82–114; *id.* 2003, 359–63) could equally apply to similar pairings on crosses from a period in which considerable research supports their liturgical and didactic function. However, in a Psalter of *c.* 800 from Corbie in northern France, the initial historiated B in psalm 1, fol. 1, which begins with the word 'Beatus', has an interesting scene (Dodwell 1993, 76, pl. 64; see Ill. 862).¹² In the upper part is seated a scribe with pen and book with bird on his shoulder, which if an eagle would imply St John, but if a dove, this could represent the Holy Spirit inspiring the psalmist. In the lower part is an angel with a staff cross who hovers over, and lays his hand on the head of, a kneeling figure, without scroll or book, who looks up to him. The first two verses of the psalm are: 'Blessed is the man who walks not in the counsel of the wicked, nor stands in the way of sinners, nor sits in the seat of scoffers: but his delight is in the law of the Lord, and on his law he meditates day and night'. Faithful transmission of and adherence to the New Law are implied by either interpretation. Otley 1 also has angels on face C (Ills. 552–4, 565), which in the absence of complete figures and inscriptions are difficult to interpret, though I have tentatively suggested that if these were archangels, something like the litany of invocations suggested by

11. Stockholm, Kungl. Biblioteket MS A. 135.

12. Amiens, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 18.

Kitzinger (1956, 279–80) for the Cuthbert coffin might hold here: the whole cross then becomes a meditation on prayer and the Christian's response to the Gospel message.

From sites possibly associated with Dewsbury, in the south of the region, only Kirkheaton 2, very late in the pre-Viking period if not of the early Anglo-Scandinavian period, has what Collingwood (1917, 214) believed to be a frontal nimbed figure on one broad face, though many of the details shown by him are now not clear (Ill. 448). Other sites in the region which might have been expected to show Dewsbury influence seem to look elsewhere, but demonstrate the interconnectedness of pre-Viking monastic culture. A fragment of the lower arm of a cross-head at Crofton, no. 1 (p. 125, Ills. 174–7, 183–4), has an ecclesiastic on face A, but on face C an upside-down head which was thought by Collingwood (1915a, 161–2, figs. a–d) to be a horned figure representing a devil fallen beneath the cross. However, the horns are not certain and a falling figure could represent a crucifixion of St Peter or an angel tending a figure below it in the shaft. The style has some similarities with an angel carrying a book (St Matthew?) on the side of an architectural piece from Rothwell, no. 2 (p. 243, Ills. 677, 679): this has Mercian connections. However, the long, rather rectangular faces at Crofton are reminiscent of the style of the carver of the Easby cross, while the shaft Crofton 2 (Ills. 180–1) has the split-stemmed plant trail also found at Easby (Lang 2001, 98–102, ill. 185–6, 192–212). The Easby cross had its classicism filtered through Carolingian art, and in its modelling and in the long, even elongated, necks and legs of its quadrupeds it is clearly in a milieu which included the monastic art of eighth- to early ninth-century Deira and Mercia. Crofton 1 (and 2) surely belong to the same milieu.

Low Bentham has a late Anglian cross-head with a face at the centre (p. 211, Ill. 542); and crosses with deliberately damaged or incomplete centres which may have had central figures or faces in this position (and are therefore remote followers of early monumental cross-heads such as that from Little Ouseburn, no. 5, Ills. 531, 534) occur on Cawthorne 1 and 2 (pp. 114, 115 and Ills. 139, 150) and possibly on Dewsbury 13 (p. 146, Ill. 229) and Otley 8 (p. 224, Ill. 615). An ecclesiastic carrying a cross appears on one face of the small, enigmatic, probable grave-marker at Mirfield (p. 214, Ill. 548), and there is an angel on a shaft from Slaidburn (p. 249, Ill. 696). The former is late, possibly as late as the eleventh century, but nevertheless represents a mixing of Anglian and Anglo-Scandinavian features; the latter, more obviously in touch with the Anglian panelled shaft, is from the end of the Anglian period, suggesting a continuing interest in the

iconography of the angel. Leeds 1 and 2 (pp. 198, 202 and Ills. 478, 480, 482–4, 499–500) have empanelled, full-length and half-figures of saints holding books, interlace and plant-scroll very clearly descended from crosses of the Otley/Collingham 1 types, and in fact showing the last stage of stylisation of the interlocking hair/halo motif.

SECULAR SCENES

SCANDINAVIAN MYTHOLOGY

Some sculptures have entirely new content appropriate to the Scandinavian settlers, although they usually appear on monuments which have overtly Christian forms or motifs. For example, a figure probably representing Sigurd appears on a cross-head from Ripon, no. 4 (p. 236, Ill. 662), and this is stylistically related to another cross-head from the same site, no. 3, which has not only a Christian form but a Christian theme — a pair of peacocks from a *Fons Vitae* representation (p. 235, Ill. 655). Other scenes representing Weland and Sigurd appear on the two Leeds crosses, nos. 1Ciii and 2cA (pp. 201, 203 and Ills. 480, 485, 487, 501), where they appear in conjunction with half-figures of saints and ecclesiastics, as noted in the section above.

HUNT SCENES

Hunt scenes including figures, which may have Christian significance but which certainly appear in pre-Conquest sculpture after the arrival of Scandinavian settlers, are found at Harewood (p. 161, Ills. 330, 332), Kildwick 2 (p. 179, Ill. 395), and Staveley (p. 254, Ills. 714–15). Such scenes, and others with single animals, are also known from Ireland, for which Harbison sees a north Italian origin mediated through the Frankish empire at the time of Louis the Pious, in the first half of the ninth century (1992, 312–19, figs. 967–78). Hunt scenes could have come to England directly or by the same route, but the examples in the West Riding show Viking influence in style, and probably came via Ireland.

SECULAR MEMORIALS

Two pieces appear to be explicitly secular grave-markers with portraits of the deceased represented as warriors, on Otley 6 (p. 223, Ills. 591, 608) and Weston 1: that at Weston has figures on both faces (p. 268, Ills. 777–8, 781–2) and on one the warrior is accompanied by a female, possibly one of those commemorated or a donor figure. As noted in the discussion of this piece, this is particularly interesting in the light of the rarity of named female donors or commissioners of objects (though see the inscription on Thornhill 2, p. 258). There are a few other, less easily identifiable figures, like that on face D of Ilkley 5 (Ills. 344, 378).

CHAPTER VII

THE SCULPTURES — DISTRIBUTION AND DATING

Some features of the spread of sculptures in the West Riding are clearly related to the topography of the region (Fig. 2, p. 6), and some to its history (Chap. II above). Obvious limitations in distribution are the uplands to the west of the region, and the wetlands where several rivers flow into the Ouse. The settlements with sculptures, like the Roman roads before them (Fig. 3, p. 8), spread along the river valleys, but it is notable that even here the scatter of sites with sculpture becomes markedly thinner in the higher reaches of the valleys to both north and west. There is so far a complete blank in the area of the Humberhead Levels, which seems reasonably to testify to its relative inhospitableness in the period. Other limitations may relate, as was tentatively suggested in Chap. II (pp. 11, 17), to the vagueness and disputability of its borders with other regions, such as Mercia, throughout the period.

In addition, there are a number of historical developments, some specific to sites or groups of sites, which must be considered in relation to the distribution. One is the evidence for large ecclesiastical estates in the area (see Chap. II, pp. 14–15, 18–21). Even if it is impossible to pin down all of St Wilfrid's possessions, he was certainly at Ripon, and the site remained one of the estates of the bishops, later archbishops of York. Otley may reasonably, though with less certainty, be identified with another of his estates, and was certainly also later in the possession of the archbishops of York. This estate is of particular interest in that other sites with sculpture, such as Ilkley and Addingham, are certainly associated with it. A third estate of the archdiocese, Sherburn, probably came into its possession later in the period, and has so far produced no site with sculpture. Nevertheless, to have such knowledge of important ecclesiastical estates with known connections over such a long period is both remarkable and fortunate in itself: there is no such evidence for the rest of Yorkshire.

On the other hand, as in other areas, there are sites which were clearly of some ecclesiastical significance, judging by the quantity and/or quality of the remains, of which there seems to be no contemporary historical record. The most notable is Dewsbury and the sites related

to it (see Chap. II, pp. 20–1). What is interesting about this, however, is that there is post-Conquest evidence that Dewsbury was a minster, and the connection between royal estates and minsters noted in other areas (see for example Cramp 2006a, 70) is also confirmed by *Domesday Book* evidence. The evidence for cultural connections between sites in this area, however, comes only from the sculptural remains themselves.

Other historical factors which may be of significance include the relatively late dates for Anglo-Saxon conquest of some parts of the West Riding, occasioned by the continued presence into the seventh century of the British kingdom of Elmet, if not that of Craven. However one must be careful about this, since the actual extent of Elmet is unknown, even if we can assume the area '*in Loidis*', which must include Leeds and Ledsham, was within it, and that sites such as Barwick in Elmet lay inside its eastern edge (see Chap. II, p. 10).

The most important later evidence for cultural change comes from the era of the Viking-age conquest of York and the subsequent Viking settlement. The sculpture certainly provides some evidence for this, especially for settlers with Irish connections via the north-west of England: the Norse-Irish, then, rather than the Danes, even if the homogeneity of Scandinavian communities is disputed (see Chap. II, p. 17, and also Higham 2004). On the other hand the distribution of typical Viking-age forms such as the hogback (see Chap. IV, p. 36, and Fig. 11) and some typical ornament (Chap. V, pp. 48–9, 58) is markedly more limited than in other areas of the north, while at the same time there are important examples of Scandinavian mythological scenes, particularly in Leeds, and of other figural scenes whose parallels are in Ireland rather than in Anglian England (Chap. VI, p. 65). In attempting to explain these phenomena, we have to consider that both topography and the existence of large royal and ecclesiastical estates may have played their part, and that in connection with the latter, the alliance at times between archbishops and the Scandinavian invaders may be presumed to be significant. In and around Otley, for example, there is evidence both for the development