

LANDSCAPE, MONUMENTS AND THE  
CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIAL POWER IN EARLY  
MEDIEVAL DEIRA

2 Volumes

Volume 1: Text

*Lemont Dobson*

Submitted for the degree of PhD  
Department of Archaeology  
University of York

June 2006

Lemont Dobson

Landscape, monuments, and the construction of social power in early medieval Deira  
Submitted for the degree of PhD  
Department of Archaeology  
University of York

June 2006

### *Abstract*

This thesis is an assessment of the role of monuments in the construction of identity and social power in Anglo-Saxon England. Specifically it focuses on the Anglo-Saxon kingdom of Deira and argues that the choices inherent in elite investment in monuments is a socially recursive act which signals statements of economic, social and political values that tell us about whom they believed themselves to be or how they wished to be perceived. The landscape of Deira provides the stage for these ideologically charged displays. The relationship between the natural landscape and pre-existing manmade monuments of the region, and the social actors of the fifth to the tenth century is assessed. From this it is argued that the Anglo-Saxon elite adopted and adapted the landscape in ways that created artificial links to the real and imagined past which provided validation for emerging social hierarchies.

The material culture from early medieval Deira was reviewed and burial, especially in a secondary context in pre-existing landscape features, and stone sculpture were identified as ideologically laden forms of material culture. These were catalogued and the data mapped to identify areas or 'zones' of concentrated investment. These were used to select three case study areas where the broader observations made about the distribution of monuments across the landscape are assessed on a smaller scale reflecting that which the social actors of the past would have interacted with the monuments.

Through an interdisciplinary approach which combines a study of the archaeology with anthropology, ethnographic and historical sources that gives equal voice to 'text and dirt' this thesis reconstructs the places and themes that were edited out of the documents. Instead of the homogenous, orthodox *Gentis Anglorum* envisioned by Bede, we demonstrate that multiple political communities were actively negotiating their future in early medieval Deira.

## *List of Contents*

List of Figures.....	vi
List of Tables.....	vii
List of Plates.....	vii
Acknowledgments.....	ix
Author's Declaration.....	ix
Chapter 1: Introduction and Theory.....	2
1.1 Introduction.....	2
1.2 Theoretical Parameters.....	6
1.3 Ethnographic Sources and Early Medieval Analogy.....	10
1.4 Landscapes, Memory and the Construction of Group Identity.....	11
1.5 Monuments, Ritual and the Landscape.....	15
1.6 Monuments, Ritual and the Construction of Social Power.....	17
1.7 Early Medieval Identity and Social Status.....	19
1.8 Ideas, Monuments and Territoriality.....	22
1.9 The Documents.....	24
1.10 Methodology.....	25
1.11 Chronology.....	27
1.12 Case Study Area Methodology.....	28
1.13 Summary.....	29
Chapter 2: Natural and Manmade Landscape of Deira.....	30
2.1 The Area of Study: Parameters and Manmade Features.....	30
2.2 A Review of the Geography of Deira.....	31
2.2a The North Yorkshire Moors.....	32
2.2b The Vale of Pickering.....	33
2.2c The Howardian Hills.....	34
2.2d Vale of York.....	34
2.2e The Yorkshire Wolds.....	35
2.2f The Holderness Plain.....	36
2.3 Brief Desktop Study of the Manmade Landscape Features.....	37
2.4 Sources.....	37
2.5 The Mesolithic, Neolithic and Bronze Ages.....	38
2.5a The North Yorkshire Moors.....	38
2.5b The Vale of Pickering.....	39
2.5c The Yorkshire Wolds.....	40
2.5d The Howardian Hills.....	40
2.5e The Vale of York.....	41
2.5f The Holderness Plain.....	41
2.6 The Iron Age Landscape.....	42
2.6a The North Yorkshire Moors.....	42
2.6b The Vale of Pickering.....	42
2.6c The Yorkshire Wolds.....	42
2.6d The Vale of York.....	43
2.6e The Howardian Hills.....	44
2.6f The Holderness Plain.....	45
2.7 Roman period Landscape Features.....	45
2.8 Distribution, Survival and Recovery of Secondary Burials in Deira.....	47
2.8a Recovery.....	49
2.9 Manmade Landscape Summary.....	50

Chapter 3: Review of the Data and Selection of Monuments.....	51
3.1 Background to the Monuments.....	51
3.2 The Burials.....	53
3.2a Fifth and Sixth Century Burials .....	53
3.2b Seventh and Eighth Century Burials.....	55
3.2c Ninth and Tenth Century Burials .....	58
3.3 Architecture .....	58
3.3a Timber Framed Structures .....	59
3.3b Temples or Shrines .....	59
3.3c Churches.....	60
3.4 Sculpture .....	61
3.5 Critique of the Archaeology and Selection of Monuments .....	62
3.5a Critique of the Architecture .....	63
3.5b Burial Critique .....	64
3.6c Burial in Early Medieval Deira.....	68
3.6d Weapons and Jewellery as Grave-Goods.....	69
3.6e Cremation Burial.....	70
3.6f Secondary Burial .....	71
3.6g Crouched Burial.....	72
3.6h Church Yard Burial.....	73
3.7 Sculpted Stone Monuments .....	73
3.7a Anglo-Saxon Sculpted Stone .....	74
3.7b Anglo-Scandinavian Sculpted Stone .....	75
3.8 Chronology .....	76
3.9a Fifth and Sixth Century Data .....	77
3.9b Seventh and Eighth Century .....	79
3.9c Ninth and Tenth Century.....	80
 Chapter 4: Mapping the Monuments .....	 82
4.1 Introduction and Methods.....	82
4.2 Distribution of Prehistoric Barrows.....	83
4.3 Mapping the Monuments .....	85
4.3a Period One Monuments .....	85
4.3b Period Two Mound Burials.....	86
4.3c Mapping Period Two Sculpture .....	88
4.3d Period Three Sculpture .....	90
4.4 Some Preliminary Observations .....	92
4.5 Framing the Questions.....	94
4.6 The Case Study Areas.....	95
 Chapter 5: The Goodmanham Case Study Area.....	 100
5.1 Defining the Area.....	100
5.2 The Manmade Landscape Features.....	100
5.2a The Neolithic and Bronze Age.....	101
5.2b The Iron Age Landscape Features .....	102
5.3 The Roman Period Landscape .....	104
5.4 Landscape Summary.....	107
5.5 Early Medieval Documentary Evidence .....	107
5.6 Places on the Margins: Execution Sites .....	108
5.7 Period One Monuments .....	108
5.8 Period Two Monuments.....	111

5.9 Period Three Monuments.....	114
5.10 Vista Sample Series: Period One.....	116
5.10a Period Two Vista Samples.....	118
5.10b Period Three Vista Samples.....	118
5.10c Vista Sample Interpretation.....	119
5.11 Discussion.....	120
<b>Chapter 6: The Driffield Case Study Area.....</b>	<b>127</b>
6.1 Defining the Area.....	127
6.2 The Manmade Landscape Features.....	128
6.2a The Early Prehistoric Landscape.....	129
6.2b The Iron Age Landscape.....	130
6.2c The Roman Period.....	131
6.3 Landscape Summary.....	132
6.4 Early Medieval Documentary Evidence.....	133
6.5 Places on the Margins: Execution Sites.....	134
6.6 Period One Monuments.....	135
6.7 Period Two Monuments.....	137
6.8 Period Three Monuments.....	140
6.9 Vista Sample: Period One.....	142
6.9a The Driffield Group.....	142
6.9b The Kirkburn Group.....	142
6.9c Period Two Vista Sample Series: Garton.....	143
6.9d Period Two Vista Sample Series Beverley and Leven.....	144
6.9e Period Three Vista Sample Series.....	144
6.10 Summary of Vista Sample Evidence.....	144
6.11 Discussion.....	145
<b>Chapter 7: The Vale of Pickering Case Study Area.....</b>	<b>152</b>
7.1 Defining the Area.....	152
7.2 The Manmade Landscape.....	152
7.2a Mesolithic through Bronze-Age Landscape.....	152
7.2b The Iron Age Landscape.....	154
7.2c Roman Period Landscape.....	155
7.3 Early Medieval Documentary Evidence.....	157
7.4 Places on the Margins: Places of Execution.....	159
7.5 Period One Monuments.....	159
7.6 Period Two Monuments.....	161
7.7 Period Three Monuments.....	164
7.8 Vista Sample Series: Period One.....	165
7.8a Period Two Vista Samples.....	165
7.8b Period Three Vista Samples.....	168
7.9 Discussion.....	170
<b>Chapter 8: Discussion and Interpretation.....</b>	<b>179</b>
8.1 The History of Deira According the Documents.....	179
8.2 Historical Models of Change.....	184
8.3 Review of the Case Studies.....	189
8.3a Period One.....	190
8.3b Period Two.....	191
8.3c Period Three.....	193
8.3d Case Study Summary.....	195

8.4 Anthropological Models of Interpretation .....	196
8.5 Archaeological Model of Change: ideology and monuments in the landscape...	201
8.6 Interpretation.....	204
8.7 What are the Broader Implications? .....	210
8.8 Modifying the History of Deira .....	212
8.9 Reflections and Future Work.....	214
Appendix 1: Gazetteer of Anglo-Saxon Secondary Burials in Deira .....	216
Appendix 2: Gazetteer of Deiran Sculpted Stone Monuments.....	223
Appendix 3: Vista Samples.....	235
Appendix 4: Gazetteer of Prehistoric Barrow Burials in Deira .....	247
Bibliography .....	248

## **List of Figures**

*The following material is contained in volume 2 except where otherwise noted.*

### **Chapter 1**

fig. 1.1	Map of England Highlighting the kingdom of Deira.....	1
----------	---	---

### **Chapter 2**

fig. 2.1	Area of Study: Deira .....	2
fig. 2.2	Geological Formations of Deira.....	2
fig. 2.3	North Yorkshire Moors .....	3
fig. 2.4	Vale of Pickering.....	3
fig. 2.5	Howardian Hills .....	4
fig. 2.6	The Vale of York.....	4
fig. 2.7	Yorkshire Wolds .....	5
fig. 2.8	The Holderness Plain .....	5

### **Chapter 3**

fig. 3.1	Burial Rites in 5 <sup>th</sup> and 6 <sup>th</sup> Century Deira.....	(in text volume 1, 53)
fig. 3.2	All Early Medieval Burials in Deira .....	6
fig. 3.3	Cremation Burials .....	6
fig. 3.4	Secondary Burials .....	7
fig. 3.5	Burial Rites in 7 <sup>th</sup> and 8 <sup>th</sup> Century Deira.....	(in text volume 1, 55)
fig. 3.6	Early Medieval Crouched Burials.....	7
fig. 3.7	Distribution of all Period Two Burials.....	8
fig. 3.8	Distribution of all Period Two Secondary Burials.....	8
fig. 3.9	Distribution of Period Two Sculpture .....	9
fig. 3.10	Period Two Sculpture in Deira.....	(in text volume 1, 61)
fig. 3.11	Distribution of Period Three Sculpture .....	9
fig. 3.12	Period Three Sculpture in Deira.....	(in text volume 1, 62)

### **Chapter 4**

fig. 4.1	Distribution of Bronze Age Barrows in Deira .....	10
fig. 4.2	Calculated Density of Bronze Age Barrows in Deira .....	10
fig. 4.3	Distribution of Iron Age Barrows in Deira .....	11
fig. 4.4	Calculated Density of Iron Age Barrows in Deira .....	11
fig. 4.5	Period One Secondary Burials .....	12
fig. 4.6	Period One Secondary Burials and Calculated Density of Bronze Age Barrows .....	12
fig. 4.7	Distribution of Weapon Burials and Burials with Jewellery.....	13
fig. 4.8	Distribution of Cremation Burials in Mounds.....	13
fig. 4.9	Period Two Secondary Burials and Calculated Density of Iron Age Barrows.....	14
fig. 4.10	Period One Secondary Barrow Altitudes .....	(in text volume 1,87)
fig. 4.11	Period Two Secondary Barrow Altitudes.....	(in text volume 1, 87)
fig. 4.12	Distribution of Period Two Sculpture .....	14
fig. 4.13	Calculated Density of Period Two Sculpture.....	15
fig. 4.14	Distribution of all Period Two Monuments .....	15
fig. 4.15	Distribution of Whitby Stone Monuments .....	16
fig. 4.16	Distribution of Period Three Sculpture .....	16
fig. 4.17	Calculated Density of Period Three Sculpture.....	17

fig. 4-18	Distribution of all Monuments from all Periods .....	17
fig. 4.19	Goodmanham Case Study Area .....	18
fig. 4.20	Driffield Case Study Area.....	18
fig. 4.21	Vale of Pickering Case Study Area.....	19
 <b>Chapter 5</b>		
fig. 5.1	Goodmanham Case Study Area Landscape .....	19
fig. 5.2	Distribution of Bronze Age Barrows in the Goodmanham Case Study Area .....	20
fig. 5.3	Square Barrows near Arras Farm on the 1 <sup>st</sup> edition OS Map.....	20
fig. 5.4	Roman Period Landscape Features .....	21
fig. 5.5	Period One Secondary Burial at Blanche Farm Warter .....	21
fig. 5.6	All Period One Burials in the Goodmanham Area.....	22
fig. 5.7	All Period Two Burials in the Goodmanham Area.....	22
fig. 5.8	Distribution of Period Three Sculpture in the Goodmanham Area.....	23
fig. 5.9	Period One Sites from the Goodmanham Area selected for Vista Samples .....	23
fig. 5.10	Warter Sightline Diagram .....	24
fig. 5.11	1 <sup>st</sup> Edition OS Map of Warter .....	24
fig. 5.12	Sightline Diagram for Period Three Monuments.....	25
 <b>Chapter 6</b>		
fig. 6.1	Map of the Case Study Area .....	26
fig. 6.2	The fall of the River Hull .....	(in text volume 1, 128)
fig. 6.3	Bronze Age Round Barrows in the Driffield Study Area .....	26
fig. 6.4	Iron Age Square Barrows in the Driffield Study Area.....	26
fig. 6.5	Roman Landscape Features.....	27
fig. 6.6	Distribution of Period One Monuments.....	27
fig. 6.7	1 <sup>st</sup> Edition OS Map of Cheesecake Hill Barrow Site .....	28
fig. 6.8	1 <sup>st</sup> Edition OS Map of the Moot Hill Site.....	28
fig. 6.9	All Monuments from Period Two .....	29
Fig. 6.10	Period Three Monuments in the Driffield Area .....	29
fig. 6.11	Period One Sightline Diagram .....	30
fig. 6.12	1 <sup>st</sup> Edition OS Map of the Enthorpe Wood Site.....	30
fig. 6.13	Footpath between Goodmanham and Enthorpe Woods.....	31
fig. 6.14	Least Cost Route between Goodmanham and Driffield.....	31
fig. 6.15	Period Two Sightline Diagram.....	32
fig. 6.16	Period Three Sightline Diagram.....	32
 <b>Chapter 7</b>		
fig. 7.1	Case Study Area Landscape.....	33
fig. 7.2	Distribution of Bronze Age Round Barrows.....	33
fig. 7.3	Distribution of Iron Age Barrows .....	34
fig. 7.4	Roman Landscape Features.....	34
fig. 7.5	Distribution of Period One Secondary Burials.....	35
fig. 7.6	Distribution of Cist Burials .....	35
fig. 7.7	Distribution of Period Two Sculpture .....	36
fig. 7.8	Distribution of Period Three Sculpture .....	36
fig. 7.9	Period One Sightline Diagram .....	37
fig. 7.10	Period Two Sightline Diagram.....	37
fig. 7.11	Period Three Sightline Diagram.....	38
fig. 7.12	Distribution of Anglo-Saxon Sculpture and Roman Villa Sites .....	38



fig. 7.13	Distribution of Period Two Whitby Stone in Deira .....	39
fig. 7.14	Distribution of Period Two Whitby Stone Architectural Features.....	39
fig. 7.15	Distribution of Period Two Whitby Stone Crosses.....	40

***List of Plates***

All plates are in text in volume 1.

plate 2.1	Crop marks of square barrows near Slingsby .....	44
plate 5.2	Goodmanham All Saints Church .....	113

***List of Tables***

All tables are in the text of volume 1.

table 3.1	Cruciform Brooches .....	78
table 3.1	Square Headed Brooches .....	78
table 8.1	Kings of Deira and Bernicia AD 550-685.....	180
table 8.2	Northumbrian Kings AD641-848 .....	182
table 8.3	Monuments and Case Study Areas by Period.....	195

## ***Acknowledgements***

These pages do not usually offer the most inspiring reading material but it is important to express my gratitude to some individuals and institutions that have generously helped and supported me along the way. Above all I would like to thank my wife Jacqueline Dobson without whose support and understanding I would not have finished this project. You deserve more than a few words in the acknowledgement section.

My parents, Robert and Phyllis Dobson taught me to work hard and believe in myself, thank you. To the rest of our family: Thank you all.

I have had a number of discussions over the process of researching and writing this project. At the University of York Kate Giles, Tania Dickinson, Steve Roskams, Julian Richards, Steve Dobson and Ben Gourley have all been most generous with their time. Paul Szarmach and The Institute of Medieval Studies at Western Michigan University very kindly allowed me access to the Rawlinson Research Library during writing of this thesis. My colleagues in the post-graduate programme at The University of York Dan Hull, Mick Atha, Phil Piper, James Gerrard, Rob Collins, Ian Mellor, Brian Rahn, and Jenny Walker have all offered valuable criticism. I would also like to thank Professor Martin Carver who has been my supervisor during this project.

Finally, my colleagues and friends in the G-65 post-Graduate Research Room: Dan Hull, Mick Atha, Brian Rahn, Sven Schroeder, Phil Piper, Jenny Walker, Wendy Romer, Steve and Aleks Ashby, Nicky Watts, Ian Mellor, Rob Collins, Lila Rockozy *et al* have been a constant source of irritation and distraction throughout this project and I am deeply appreciative of their friendship and fellowship.

For Brook and Eric.

## ***Author's Declaration***

I declare that this thesis is entirely my own work, and the responsibility for any errors is my own. A summary of one Case Study and of some of the arguments made in this thesis was presented at a conference at the University of Exeter in 2004, and the project was summarized in a session at the 42<sup>nd</sup> Annual International Congress of Medieval Studies at Western Michigan University, but the majority of the data analysis, discussion and conclusions are presented herein for the first time.

*The post-hole by post-hole expositions of particular excavations, endless pictures of saucer-brooches (all of which to my mind look alike) or mind-boggling excursions into the meaning of a particular phrase in the Latin of Gildas all have their proper place in learned journals, but must be complimented by a wider view (Rahtz 2000, 1).*

## Chapter 1

### Introduction and Theory

---

*The aim of this chapter is to set the thesis in context of archaeological research and propose a research agenda. The physical parameters of the research area for the thesis are outlined based on the archaeologically and historically known Anglo-Saxon kingdom of Deira. Next a theoretical background for the project is presented setting the theoretical parameters for the thesis within a post-modern archaeology of monuments, landscapes and social power. This is followed by developing several broad questions which set the heuristic parameters of the project.*

In his article '*Anglo-Saxon Yorkshire: current research problems*', Phillip Rahtz (2000) addressed the archaeology of early medieval Yorkshire with a call to study the region on the basis of broader, regional research agendas in addition to traditional site specific analysis. Moreover, his observations that the distribution of early minsters in Deira reflects a regional bias provided the impetus for this project. His observations beg the question: was there a regional bias in the distribution of monuments in Deira, and if so, what are the reasons for it? Professor Rahtz' challenge is compelling and, while one has no illusion of matching Professor Rahtz' keen analytical ability, nor his concise, authoritative style, I will endeavor to do it some justice.

This project is a post-modern study of the connections between ideas monuments, landscapes and social power in the early medieval kingdom of Deira. In it we attempt to approach the project from a theoretical perspective which is as inclusive of the diverse voices extant in early medieval Deira as is practicable. We argue later in this chapter that the post-modern paradigm allows the freedom to employ those theoretical models best suited to the project. While we aim to study the various sources in a broadly contextual framework, the project, where appropriate, demands some consideration of, e.g., structuration theory, and social relationships; phenomenology, a discussion of landscapes as well as some political economic theory (i.e., the formation of chiefdoms) in the transformation of socio-political culture in the early medieval period. Therefore within this paradigm we aim to study the data in the context provided by the historical and natural landscape of Deira.

## **1.1 Introduction**

The exact physical limits of the early medieval kingdom of Deira are unknown, but for the purposes of this thesis it will include the pre 1974 county of the East Riding of Yorkshire along with the Howardian Hills and the North Yorkshire Moors {fig. 1.1}. Therefore, the study area extends south from the River Tees to the Humber River. Its eastern boundary is formed by the North Sea and to the west; it will be defined as a line running more or less north/south along the western edge of the Vale of York. Obviously these are approximations, and at any one point in time the boundaries may have extended further or constricted inward (see Higham 1993; 1997a).

Between the fifth and eleventh centuries across Northern Europe the peoples of the former Roman Empire and its hinterland were engaged in a process of renegotiating their socio-political relationships between themselves and others. During the fifth

century Roman Imperial authority in the West disintegrated and a number of successor states emerged (Halsall 2003; see also Heather 2006, especially Chapter 10). In Anglo-Saxon England this process began with the withdrawal of Roman authority in AD410 and by c. AD450 there are recognizably Germanic or Anglo-Saxon communities in Britain, e.g., the cremation cemeteries at Sancton.

The early medieval kingdom of Northumbria is best described as a conglomeration of several earlier British polities which were in turn subsumed by the two principal Anglo-Saxon components: Deira in the south and Bernicia in the north (Rollason 2003). In Bede's *Ecclesiastical History of the English* the history of the kingdom of Deira is presented as part of the history of Northumbria, but is very much a secondary history. Its heroes are the heroes of the Northumbrian royal dynasty and the villains were the heathen, pagan Mercians and the unorthodox British Christian princes who sided with them.

The first recorded Anglo-Saxon king of Deira is Ælle, who ruled sometime after c. AD581 and before the Augustinian mission from Rome in AD 597 (Yorke 1990, 77; *HE*, ii, 1). Upon Ælle's death an otherwise unknown Deiran called Æthelric assumed power and died c. AD604 (Yorke 1990, 78; Swanton 1999, 21). Upon the death of Æthelric the Bernicians gain supremacy. Æthelfrith was king of a united Northumbria, and Ælle's son Edwin was in exile (Yorke 1990, 78; Higham 1997a; Swanton 1999, 21). Æthelfrith ruled in Northumbria until AD617 when he was killed in battle by the East Anglian king Redwald (Swanton 1999, 24; *HE*, ii, 12). For some portion of his period of exile, between the years AD610 and 616, Edwin lived under Redwald's protection, and once Æthelfrith died, Redwald made Edwin a client king of Northumbria (Yorke 1990, 78; Higham 1997a; Swanton 1999; 24). Upon Redwald's

death, c. AD625, Edwin became *bretwalda*, or overking, of most of Anglo-Saxon England (Yorke 1990; Higham 1993; 1997a). In AD 627, Edwin and his retinue converted to Christianity and were baptised at the old Roman see of York (Swanton 1999, 25; *HE*, ii, 14). On Edwin's death in battle with the Mercian king Penda, the kingdom of Northumbria was again divided and Deira was ruled by Osric and Bernicia by Eanfrith (*HE*, iii, 1-2; Swanton 1999, 27). Edwin's death marks the end of the last significant role by a Deiran king in Northumbrian history.

The origins of the Anglo-Saxon kingdom of Bernicia are as opaque as those of Deira. It is likely that one or more smaller successor states in the region emerged from the vacuum left by the retreat of Roman authority (Yorke 1990; Higham 1993; Rollason 2003). These in turn were amalgamated into the territory Bede defined as Bernicia, i.e., the Tees north to the area immediately south of the forth. Ida is the first Anglo-Saxon king of Bernicia about whom we have a firm account (Swanton 1999, 16; *HE*, v, 24). Ida managed to detach and hold the British stronghold at Bamburgh (Yorke 1990, 77), which along with other (likely) coastal centres formed a base of Bernician power in the region (Dobson 2005). Several of Ida's sons succeeded him to the throne of Bernicia, but the next Bernician king about whom we know anything in detail is Æthelfrith (Swanton 1999, 20 & 21; *HE*, ii, 2). Æthelfrith was the first king to unite both Bernicia and Deira and ruled Northumbria until his death at the hands of Redwald of East Anglia in AD616. Upon Æthelfrith's death Edwin of Deira became king of Northumbria and Æthelfrith's sons including Oswald, Oswiu and Eanfrith went into exile in Ireland and Scotland (*HE*, i, 1). Their return after the death of Edwin marks the end of rule in Deira by Deiran kings. We will return to the political and dynastic history of Deira in Chapter 8.

The sequence of change outlined above poses a number of complex questions which might best be viewed as sub-categories of the following: During the earliest phases of Anglo-Saxon period in Deira how did the people living there organize themselves? We argue that rather than seeing early kingdoms, the archaeology suggests a chiefdom political economy. If so, then how did these communities make the transition from small-scale warrior chiefdoms of post-Roman Britain (Bassett 1989; Carver 1989) to medieval kingdoms with a specialized social hierarchy (Higham 1993; 1997; Stenton 1971; Yorke 1990; Rollason 2003)?

Next the conversion from paganism to Christianity represented not just an exchange of ideas about the order of the universe, but had implications for the organization of political communities as well (P. Brown 1997; Carver 1998; 2003, 4; Higham 1997a; Fletcher 1999; Rollason 2003). Were earlier pre-Christian ideas as homogeneously expressed as some have argued (Blair 1995a; 2005), or were there variations in form and practice? In the conversion period were other ideas or models of organization championed, even if the documents attempt to blunt their effectiveness (see Carver 1998)? What were they and where were they? Were alternative strategies of investment pursued in Deira after Bede recorded the success of the Christian project and its attendant monument programme? We know from the documents, primarily Bede and the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, that after first Christian Northumbrian king Edwin died his successors renounced Christianity (Swanton 2000, 26-27; *HE*, iii, 1). Presumably then there were other ideas available to the Deirans. If so, then these ought to be preserved in the archaeological record and we should be able to recognise them.

Later, how did the historically and archaeologically documented arrival of the Vikings fit into the milieu of negotiation and change? Was this the destructive pillaging some

have imagined (Stenton 1971), or did the transition to Viking rule essentially preserve the Anglo-Saxon administrative and social structure with cosmetic alterations as others have argued (Rollason 2003, 224). These questions will be addressed in an interdisciplinary manner combining theoretical tools from the humanities and social sciences. In the spirit of Professor Rahtz' call, this thesis aims to frame a research agenda with which to interpret the use of monuments and ideas by elites in Deira.

## **1.2 Theoretical Parameters**

In one sense this thesis aims to present an archaeology of ideas: an archaeology of ideas about power and power strategies expressed in monuments. In this chapter we need to inventory our theoretical and methodological toolbox and assemble the tools to hand which are appropriate to our aims. We will begin with a review of major trends in the archaeological debate from the past 40 or 50 years. From there we assess some of the recent trends in the disciplines of history, anthropology, ethnography and sociology.

With the development of 'New Archaeology' in North America and Britain during the 1960's, archaeologists sought to move beyond questions of production, consumption, and technology and compilation of endless catalogues and typologies (Hawkes 1954, 161-162) to generate meaningful interpretations of the data (D L Clarke 1968; 1972; Binford 1965; 1968; 1971) that moved beyond the purely functional (e.g., J G D Clark 1952). By adapting theoretical approaches from the natural sciences in order to interpret material culture in much the same way as the social sciences had done in the previous decade the proponents of 'New Archaeology' attempted to interpret the data they had collected within these new paradigms (D L Clarke 1968; 1972; Binford 1968). Topics of inquiry were expanded to include discussion of social systems (Randsborg 1974; 1975) and rank within communities (S E Shennan 1975; Hodson 1977) among



others. The New Archaeologists argued that scientific objectivity and generalized theories would provide the discipline of archaeology with 'testable theories' with which to interpret the past and arrive at the goal of producing explanations via empiricist scientific method (Clarke 1968; 1972; Binford 1968). In short, processualism views the past as a tautology that could be tested and ultimately known, i.e., positivism. The crux of this positivist argument is that while the pattern of material culture may be somewhat distorted by preservation, it was never the less a predictable reflection of human behaviour (see Hodder 1986, 11).

By the 1980's and early 1990's the purveyors of 'new archaeology' were increasingly coming under attack in Britain and America. Archaeologists seeking to move beyond positivist notions of generalized 'scientific' truths drew inspiration from theoretical trends in the social sciences and began to explore human agency and the construction of meaning in the past (see Levi-Straus 1963; Piaget 1970; 1971; Barthes 1972; 1977; Bourdieu 1977; and Giddens 1979). Arguing that material culture, like written documents, was laden with levels of meaning that can be decoded, some questioned the tenants of processual theory by arguing that human agency can never be removed from the study of material culture (Hodder 1986). Ian Hodder (1982a; 1986), among others (Leone 1984; S J Shennan 1989) argued for a new theoretical approach which drew from a wide range of disciplines 'concerned with structure, meaning and social action' (Hodder 1986, 229).

More recently, researchers working within the post-modern paradigm have attempted to address questions of human agency particularly in the interpretation of monuments and their meaning (Shanks and Tilley 1987a; 1987b; Tilley 1991; 1993; 1994; 1996; Shanks and Hodder 1995). The core assertion common to post-processual, and certainly 'post-

modern,' archaeology is the belief that material culture is a form of expression requiring both critique and self critique, that is both deconstructing and reflexive (Fotiadis 1994; C. Gosden 1992; 1994). Drawing on Foucault's arguments about multiplicity of meaning in text, material texts are understood to be invested with multiple meanings that are interpreted in a subjective way according to one's own theoretical perspective (Foucault 1972; Giles 2000; Johnson 1996; Barrett 1988).

Much criticism, principally charges of relativism, has been heaped on postmodern archaeology in general and its application to landscape archaeology in particular (Fleming 1999; 2006). Simply put, a relativist understanding of the past argues that archaeologists and historians construct versions of the past conditioned by their own value systems (Shanks & Tilley 1987b). However, far from a headlong rush into the morass of relativism as some would have it (Fleming 2006), archaeologists who operate within the post modern paradigm are at the least willing to admit to their own agency within the process. For example, all data is selected by subjective means, and the resultant deductions are at least in part interpretive (Tilley 1991). It is argued that an interpretation of any "data" in the human sciences is never conclusive, 'it just stops when we get bored or do not have anything else to say' (Tilley 1991, 172). Indeed, processualist protestations of the purity of the data call to mind visions of the Great Oz and his desperation to remain securely hidden behind the curtain.

Where the post-modern paradigm can be most helpful is in the intellectual freedom to adopt theoretical frameworks based on the demands of the individual project and this emphasis is one of its strengths (Carver 2002). Indeed, this is especially important to a project of this nature which seeks to examine multiple sources in an interdisciplinary context. It is acknowledged that within each theoretical paradigm there are strengths

and weaknesses and no one theory can be said to explain every aspect of human interaction. Indeed, the pursuit of such a theory is akin to gazing at the shadows on Socrates' cave wall.

Nevertheless, our interpretations must be constrained by the limits of the data. However, the worst excesses of post modernism, i.e., a sort of hyper-relativism (Johnson 1996; Fleming 1999; 2005; 2006), should serve as cautionary signposts to all. Within the post modern paradigm discussions of meaning in material culture must always be constrained by its context (contextual archaeology) (Shanks and Hodder 1995, 14; Giles 2000). An emphasis on context within archaeology affirms that the archaeological record reflects past cultural and ideological meanings which can be read by archaeologists through analysing the associations and differences between it and other aspects of material culture produced within the same cultural context (Shanks and Hodder 1995; Giles 2000). This has implications for the methods and theory employed by researchers working within an historical period. If the artefacts, objects and monuments of the past have a socio-cultural context, then material culture and text are simply different media, both invested with cultural and ideological meaning, through which particular levels of discourse were carried out. However, this need not imply that all material culture is laden with the same level of meaning (see discussion later in Chapter 1). The ideas expressed in the material culture can be conveyed via any number of ways including, but not limited to: investment, place, iconography or function (Carver 2001, 1).

Sociologist Anthony Giddens' (1979; 1984; 1985) theory of structuration is a theory that allows for analysis of the role played by both social structures and human agency in the construction of social reality. Structuration theory's emphasis on the historical and

cultural context of time, space, and symbolic resources in discourse, and the ways these can be used to renegotiate social norms, offers archaeologists a way to examine how peoples of the past negotiated change in society (Barrett 1988, 14). That is to say, people both make society and are constrained by it. Giddens argues that 'all human action is carried on by knowledgeable agents who both construct the social world through their action, but yet whose action is also conditioned or constrained by the very world of their creation' (Giddens 1981, 54). In this paradigm archaeological evidence does not merely provide a 'static outcome of past dynamics (a record), instead it represents the surviving fragments of those recursive media through which the practices of social discourse were constructed' (Barrett 1988, 9).

Where Giddens fails to develop the centrality of material space as the setting for these recursive social interactions, Bourdieu argues for the primacy of space, in particular inhabited space, 'for the objectification of generative schemes' (Bourdieu 1977, 89). Barrett has argued convincingly that 'the particular material conditions within which social practices are situated . . . act as a set of complex series of *locales* within which meaningful and authoritative forms of discourse can be sustained' (Barrett 1988, 8).

### **1.3 Ethnographic Sources and Early Medieval Analogy**

Ethnographic sources form an important part of our ability to interpret human behaviour. Ethnographic studies have long been used in archaeological discussion of death and burial (Barrett 1990; Williams 2006, 19). Use of ethnographies, such as that by Parker Pearson and Ramilisonina (1998), and anthropological studies in discussions of landscapes and monuments have demonstrated that material culture has a life beyond the archaeologist's trench. However, nineteenth century Hawaii is not eighth century England and we should not ignore the differences. Despite the very real differences

between early medieval Britain and ethnographically known societies, the strength of ethnographic evidence lies in its ability to incorporate multiple ideas. Howard Williams has argued that in the archaeology of funerary practices ethnographic material allows the researcher to incorporate:

multiple and interweaving strategies of commemoration [i.e., communication] possible before, during and after funerals in non-Western societies in which portable artefacts, bodies, and monuments, as well as the landscape itself, are implicated in remembering and forgetting (Williams 2006, 19).

Williams was of course specifically addressing funerary commemoration, but he is implicitly addressing the utility of ethnographic and anthropological material to inform our interpretations of the data, specifically, by reminding us that the social actors of the early medieval past did not conceptualise their place in the universe as we do in the West.

#### **1.4 Landscapes, Memory and the Construction of Group Identity**

Researchers working in the social sciences have discussed the interaction between the body and the natural and built environment. In his discussions of semiotics, the study of signs, symbols and systems of communication, Roland Barthes noted that landscapes serve as forms of communication which, via a process of acculturation akin to the learning of a language, one learns, over time, to read landscapes according to the memory of the body (Barthes 1977, 20). Archaeologists such as Richard Bradley (1987; 1988; 1991; 1996; 1998; 2002) and James Barrett (1994) have advocated an approach which emphasised the understanding of place in ancient communities was learned through an experiential process wherein the landscape and built environment formed the context.

Within our discussion of manmade landscape features, we turn to the monuments. Extrapolating Carver's (2001) assertions about the hierarchy of material culture, not all manmade sites in the landscape are monuments; e.g., Iron Age square barrows are different from midden heaps. That is not to say that there is no cosmological significance within domestic structures. Parker Pearson and Richards have discussed the cosmological significance of architecture in general (Parker Pearson and Richards 1994), and the significance of monuments (see Trigger 1989) in the landscape has been the topic of considerable research over the last two decades (Shanks and Tilley 1985a; 1985b; Tilley 1991; 1993; 1994; 1996; Bradley 1987; 1988; 1991; 1998; 2002; Barrett 1990; C. Bell 1992; Shanks and Hodder 1995). Essentially this body of work suggests that monuments serve to aid the construction of group cosmology, creation of spatial 'reality,' and exert transformative action on the landscape (see: Tilley 1991; 1993; Gosden & Locke 1998; Turnbull 2002; Whitridge 2004).

Because the representative lines, named places, and marked routes on an aerial-view cartographic maps are a construct of modernity, phenomenological approaches to landscape have emphasised the need to understand the human, experiential element in the development of the concept of place in the physical world of social actors of the past (Tilley 1994, 20-26; 1996; Bender 1998). Post-processual archaeologists (Shanks and Tilley 1982; 1987a; 1987b; 1988; Tilley 1994; 1996; 1999; Bender 1992; 1998) working within a post-modern paradigm (see Foucault 1972; 1977; 1978) have sought to emphasise the qualitative aspects of a landscape over the quantitative. Like Barthes, the phenomenological approach to landscapes stresses that human understanding of socially and culturally encoded meaning in the world around us, whether it be buildings, landscapes, or human relationships, is mediated by the experiences of the body (Tilley 1994, 11; see also Barthes 1977; Foucault 2002). This approach is not without critics.

Fleming (1999; 2005; 2006) has produced the most concise discussion of the arguments against a phenomenological approach and questions its results on the basis of over emphasis of human experience in developing 'archaeologies of habitation.' While phenomenological landscape archaeology may be open to charges of overemphasising experiential aspects of the archaeologist's interaction with the natural and manmade environment, it nonetheless remains a useful tool that allows researchers to move outside Cartesian understandings of the world which social actors of the past inhabited: into a world in which human agency is given voice in the construction of meaningful places and landscapes. It also allows us to conceptualize landscapes of human perception. Be that as it may, we recognize that the phenomenological material needs to be balanced by approaches which provide grounding analogies in place of the purely phenomenological.

A landscape can be interpreted on multiple levels and we would like to emphasise that there is a hierarchy of space in the landscape. Like material culture, all places do not share an equal cosmological potential. Academics concerned with the question of the sacred and the profane have, since Durkheim (1965), understood the separation of the two fundamental concepts. This dualistic nature of space has been a feature of much of the enquiry into pre-historic landscapes (see Bradley 1987; 1988; 1991; 2002; Parker Pearson 1993; 1999). Anthropological studies have shown that among territorial tribal peoples, e.g., the Shoshone Native Americans, clear distinctions were made between ritual places and outside space and these often were reflected in physical boundaries such as rivers and streams (Caroll, Nieves Zedeno & Stolffe 2004, 134). Likewise, Tilley has emphasised that in Bronze Age Britain natural landscape barriers often served as boundaries for sacred spaces (Tilley 1996, 174).

What can be considered a significant place and what purposes can they serve? Significant places can include a whole range of natural 'places,' e.g., springs, special trees, groves, stones, as well as settlements, roads, monuments and other manmade features (Bradley 1987; 1988; 1991; 2002, Tilley 1996, 161; Carroll, Nieves Zedeno & Stolffe 2004). Anthropologists researching North American Inuit populations have acknowledged that a combination of physical and ephemeral realities were present in the construction Inuit perceptions of place. In one example, the structure of Thule Inuit kitchens often included whale a skull (Whitridge 2004, 243). The presence of this skull connected the Thule kitchen to the Thule cosmology via symbolic reference to ephemera such as Thule origin myth, and the community building experience of the summer whaling camp (Whitridge 2004, 243). The presence of the symbolic object transforms the utility of the place and joins it to a cosmology of Thule place. This place in turn forms part of the Thule landscape network through which the Thule understand their world (Whitridge 2004).

In a broader context, significant places serve as mnemonic devices within a larger landscape cosmology ordered by human experience and shared history (Carroll, Nieves Zedeno & Stolffe 2004; Laird 1976). Whitridge notes that:

[p]eople do not move through an abstract biophysical matrix, but through meaningful cultural landscapes, within socially viable envelopes. Envelopes of mobility are moulded by personal and cultural knowledge, skill, technological means, and positions within larger social networks. Landscapes are shaped by ongoing histories of place-making, the hybrid conjoining of heterogeneous semantic fields-imaginaries-with the material world (Whitridge 2004, 243).

Among the Numic peoples of the American Southwest, significant places play an important role as the dwelling places of sacred beings and in the revelation of liturgical knowledge (Kelly 1939; Laird 1976; McGuire 1983; Fowler 1992). For these same peoples, significant places can also promote the reproduction and maintenance of ritual



knowledge through shared knowledge of the rituals and events at those sites (Caroll, Nieves Zedeno & Stolffe 2004, 133).

Often the geographical relationship especially between the ritual and manmade monumental features in the landscape, represent 'essential elements' in the construction of the understanding of place (Sahlqvist 2001, 81). While these significant places in the landscape may originally have gained prominence from association with ritual, they often remain important places long after the ritual activity diminishes or disappears (Laird 1976). For the Numic speaking peoples, places no longer used for their original ritual purpose could later be included as special places along the route of the 'soul's path to heaven (Caroll, Nieves Zedeno & Stolffe 2004, 133).

### **1.5 Monuments, Ritual and the Landscape**

Similarly, studies of pre-historic communities in Britain have noted that monuments have a 'life' beyond their original purpose and the mnemonic nature of monuments and special places in the landscape can survive the people who created them. Archaeologists have emphasised that within the 'landscape' there can be multiple layers of antiquity, embedded in the monuments, and the people of the past were aware of this as well (Bradley 1998, 156; 1987; 1988; 1991; 2002; 1998; Gosden & Lock 1998; Lucy 1998; 1999; 2001; Semple 1998; 2002; Williams 1997; 1998; 2006). The 'meaning' of these ancient monuments, and their place in the landscape, must be reinterpreted by successive generations, particularly in situations where populations were unstable or the monuments ancient (Bradley 1998, 162). For immigrant groups, the adoption and ritualised use of individual features in the landscape are understood to be central to the creation of a meaningful landscape chronology and cosmology (Gosden & Lock 1998,

5; Williams 1998); actions which in turn garnered political legitimacy for these groups (Bradley 1987; 1988; 1991; 2002; C. Bell 1992; Gosden and Lock 1998; Semple 1998; 2002; Williams 1998; 2006).

Archaeologists studying the reuse of monuments in Anglo-Saxon England have reinterpreted earlier work which emphasised continuity of use (Hope-Taylor 1977), arguing that there was a 'deliberate strategy of inventing traditions' (Semple 2002; Williams 2006, 181) rather than actual continuity (Bradley 1987). The monuments selected for reuse in Anglo-Saxon England could encompass a whole range of types and periods including: linear earthworks, megalithic tombs, round and square barrows, henges and stone circles among others (Williams 2006). In addition to the prehistoric monuments, Roman roads, domestic structures and other features were the focus of later ritual, i.e., burial, activity throughout Anglo-Saxon England (Lucy 1998; Meaney 1964; Semple 2002; Williams 1998; 2006). Therefore, we accept the premise that when they are the focus of ritual activity, whether in a primary or secondary context, the natural and manmade features of a landscape can both create and reinforce communal bonds reflexively, create artificial histories, and serve as mnemonic devices among other socially recursive functions.

Contemporary monuments also provide a focus for ritual and serve to divide the landscape and certain structures may have represented bounded spaces in Anglo-Saxon England. Blair (1995a) argues that there may have been a proclivity for square enclosures at certain ritual sites (Blair 1995a; 2006). The Anglo-Saxon vill site at Yeavinger is adjacent to the river and at the foot of the Yeavinger Bell atop which sets an Iron Age hill fort. The D2 cult building was reconstructed while the walls of the previous structure were still intact (Hope-Taylor 1977). This same distinction may also

be reflected in the story of Coifi's defiling of the temple at Goodmanham in Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* (*HE*, ii, 13). Helen Gittos (2002; 2005 pers. comm.) has discussed the liturgical role in the consecration of churchyards in Anglo-Saxon England, emphasising the transformative nature of the process.

### **1.6 Monuments, Ritual and the Construction of Social Power**

The 'choices' involved in creating monuments are driven by combinations of social decisions. Elite investment in material culture be it in architecture, ritual or particularly monuments, is often driven by criteria beyond the purely functional (Earle 1991; 1997; 2003; Carver 2001; Gondek 2006). Carver has emphasised the active choices, the agency if you will, of elites who invested in monuments in early medieval Europe (Carver 2001). In drawing attention to the variety of early medieval monumentality, Carver has suggested that this might constitute a materialised "argument" between protagonists (Carver 1993, 2001). He argues that investment in highly visible, often public, places such as burial mounds, sculpture and churches, and items such as jewellery and the highly decorative illuminated manuscripts, was saturated with layers of political and ideological meaning (Carver 2001, 2). Assuming that recourse to these 'carriers of dialogue' was equally available to all monument makers, then the exclusion or inclusion of one or another implies a choice laden with political meaning (Carver 2001). For example, at Sutton Hoo, the choice to adopt a particular form of burial, i.e., ship burial in a monumental mound, was a creative choice reflective of a particular political agenda (Carver 2001, 4-5). Meggen Gondek has shown that early medieval sculpture in Scotland represents a series of socially significant choices about investment of wealth and the resultant monument records the social relationships inherent to the process of construction and positioning of the monument (Gondek 2006).

Beyond the wish to signal a political argument, there were other benefits to be derived from the choices made regarding investment in monuments and ideologically significant objects and behaviours. Researchers working with Anglo-Saxon burials have demonstrated that burials are both ritually and symbolically powerful events (Geake 1997; Lucy 1998; 2000; Williams 1998; 2003; 2004; 2006). In this context elite investment in monuments can be said to record the efforts by elites to extend control over fundamental, routine practices through which people restructure relationships between themselves (Barrett 1990). That being said, Parker Pearson's observation that 'social systems are not constituted of roles, but by recurrent social practices' (Parker Pearson 1982, 100), should be brought to bear on any attempts to interpret ritual and ideology.

Ian Hodder has noted that power within social relationships can be transformed through the medium of symbolic capital (Hodder 1986, 69). Anthropologist Timothy Earle has argued that it is possible to control an ideology embedded in a material medium, which he refers to as materialized ideology, in much the same way as other more utilitarian and wealth goods may be owned, restricted and transferred through institutions of political economy (DeMarrias, Castillo and Earle 1996, 17). The materialized ideology can take several forms, each of which is socially significant and these include: events such as feasting, which are often used to foster unity among or to assemble groups; symbolic objects, which can be used to reinforce social stratification and promote group cohesion; investment in monuments, which can produce symbols that perpetuate elite control and power (DeMarrias, Castillo and Earle 1996; Earle 1997; 2002). Finally text can be useful symbolically and for propaganda purposes (Earle et al 1996, 31; Earle 1991a; Earle 1991b; Kristiansen 1991; Drennan 1991). In addition, the process of materialization is in itself a significant and useful element of political strategy because

it reinforces the legitimacy of the elites who control the resultant material forms (Earle 1997; 2003; DeMarrias, Castillo and Earle 1996). However, Earle *et al* are referring to little more than the control of wealth and this is discussed in Chapter 8.

### **1.7 Early Medieval Identity and Social Status**

So far we have discussed the role of ritual in the landscape in structuring group identity and elite social power. Before we proceed, a brief discussion of identity, the term elite and what we mean by chiefs and chiefdoms as we use them herein is in order. As is the case with most topics in early medieval England, there is no simple, straight forward answer. Questions of identity in the early medieval period are intrinsically linked to discussions of ethnicity, social status and gender (Härke 1992; 1997; Geake 1997; Lucy 1998; Halsall 2003).

First, what do we mean by identity or ethnic differences and what were the options? In the 9<sup>th</sup> century *Historia Brittonum* there are at least four divisions of people: 'the Scots, the Picts, the Saxons, and the ancient Britons' (*Historia Brittonum* iii, 7). For Bede the basis for division appears to have been linguistic when he states that there were five languages spoken in Britain including Latin (*HE* i, 1). According to Bede, there were four broad categories: English, British, Irish and Pictish with the English referring to those of Germanic extraction (*HE* iii, 6; Rollason 2003, 57). However, ethnicity is not a function of language any more than it is of biology. Rather it is composed of interrelated notions of 'power, politics and loyalty' which can be fluid (Lucy 1998, 18). It may be that the difficulty in assigning ethnicity to early medieval social actors is simply a function of the fact that their understanding of the concept differed both from our own and between themselves.

The concept of ethnicity is also subjective (Pohl, 1997, 8; Geary 1983, 16; Amory 1993, 2; Hedeager 1993, 123) and we have no way of knowing how many 'Native Britons' simply joined up to the 'German' side. It is possible that by joining the Germanic programme one's status could change or one's fortunes could improve. Catherine Hills has noted that in early medieval Britain the status of a member of the warrior elite was tied to that of his leader:

It was important to belong to the local powerful group and to define yourself as a member of it, to be recognised and to see yourself as Anglo-Saxon in lands ruled by kings who traced their ancestry back to the Germanic god Woden (C Hills 2003, 26).

For example, the Northumbrian missionary bishop Cedd and his three brothers: Cynbil, Caelin and Chad were favourites of the Northumbrian king Oswiu (*HE* iii, 23). It is possible that the names of the brothers are of British origin (Rollason 2003). Chad is a British name and Rollason argues that it should remain a possibility that these influential clerics and bishops were Britons (Rollason 2003, 58-59). The plausibility of the assertion is strengthened by the presence of two British bishops when Chad was consecrated bishop of York by bishop Wini (*HE* iii, 28). It must at least remain a possibility that the brothers joined up with the Anglo-Saxon Bernician hierarchy to improve or maintain their social position.

What we are probably looking at in the fifth and sixth centuries in Deira are two very loosely defined groups: Germanic and British who occupied one or more social and hierarchical groups. Rollason argues that based on documentary sources, the British contingent in Anglo-Saxon Northumbria largely occupied servile or low status positions (Rollason 2003, 59). But how does this shift happen and was it homogenous? Are we seeing the effects of mass migration of Germanic peoples into the region displacing the British natives (Stenton 1971) or is this change from the 'top down' instigated by a smaller number of successful warrior elite (Yorke 1990, 7; Higham 1993, 68)?

If one accepts the former, then we must believe that the Germanic invaders carried out some form of early medieval 'ethnic cleansing' and that all of the British who remained packed up and moved to Wales (Rollason 2003, 66).. However, this seems most unlikely. It is more plausible to suggest that what we are seeing in Deira in the fifth to the seventh century, as elsewhere in Anglo-Saxon England, is a realignment of elite socio-political structure with an immigrant Germanic group supplanting the indigenous British elite, some of whom crossed over and adopted the rival ethnicity, while leaving the majority of the population unchanged (Arnold 1984, 121-41; Bassett 1989; Dumville 1989; Higham 1992, 67-68). This has led some to postulate that all or at least the majority of, Deiran elites were of Germanic extraction and that all low-born status were of a suppressed British population including former elites (Härke 1997, 146; Rollason 2003). Again, this position is predicated on a too rigid biological definition of ethnicity. Amory has argued that for 'the lowest classes, social role and geographical location were more important defining traits than ethnic identity' (Amory 1994, 4). It was the people of the lowest social classes whose status and ethnicity was least likely to change. Be that as it may, it is becoming apparent that the nineteenth century definition of 'English' is unsustainable. As Hills argues, 'the English never were and never will be homogenous' (C Hills 2003, 115).

Throughout the migration period, ethnicity was based on socio-political relationships with allegiances to aristocratic and royal families serving as the defining factor (Geary 1983, 22). Across early medieval Europe "ethnic processes were open to political shaping and re-shaping, to constructions and re-constructions of ethnic identities' (Pohl, 1997, 25). In the early medieval period, especially among the elite, language and customs were subject to change (Lucy 1998, 18). Further, bilingualism was not

uncommon among the elites of early medieval Europe (Hines 1994, 57). We contend that it is likely that by adopting Germanic language, customs and material culture, and forging socio-political relationships with the dominant Germanic elites, the British elite could become de facto Anglo-Saxons. It may be that this is what we are seeing in the Northumbrian church hierarchy with Chad, Cedd and their brothers.

### **1.8 Ideas, Monuments and Territoriality**

After the withdrawal of central Roman authority in AD410 the political reality of post-Roman Britain was one of a fragmented Roman province replaced by a number of smaller-scale chiefdoms (Bassett 1989). In contrast to the large political territories on the continent, e.g., Merovingian and Carolingian Frankia, the political map of fifth to tenth century Anglo-Saxon England resembled a badly stitched patchwork quilt. Some have imagined a long period of post-Roman British rule over most, if not all of what is now England and Wales (K Dark 1994; 2000). Ken Dark argues that the 'gaps' in the distribution of Anglo-Saxon cemeteries necessarily represent large scale British political entities from which the Germanic invaders were effectively excluded (Higham 2004, 9). In Dark's mind, the British 'held off' the Anglo-Saxon invaders until well into the seventh century. However, it is more likely that the process was both at once violently sudden and slowly evolving. According to Higham:

[i]f we are to model [early medieval] territoriality, it should be envisaged as socially constructed, and both multi-layered and dynamic, with the assumption that both accumulation and sub-division will have occurred contemporaneously, in bewildering patterns and often at great speed (N J Higham 2004, 8).

Within the milieu of change, the political situation encountered by the earliest Anglo-Saxon 'settlers' was likely one of numerous British territories or kingdoms such as those preserved in the Tribal Hidage, e.g., Pecsætna and Elmet, the first 'Germanic' or Anglo-Saxon territories carved out of British control sometime in the middle decades of



the fifth century, places about which we know little more than that they were territorial units in which power was sometimes usurped by immigrant Germanic peoples (Yorke 1990, 2). Later those dominant families who traced their kinship to a mythical ancestry, often to Hengst, Horsa or Woden were recorded by contemporary chroniclers such as Bede (*HE* i, 15) and the compilers of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (Swanton 1999).

These people were enmeshed in a culture of warfare and violence (Higham 1993; Halsall 2003). Out of competition for resources and prestige among these groups the kingdoms described in contemporary sources emerged (York 1990, 2-3). In his discussion of warfare in early medieval Europe Guy Halsall suggests that the Germanic elite derived their initial prestige out of Late Roman military service. Indeed, the development of 'ethnicity' among certain 'barbarian' groups in may have been linked to such service Roman military service in the Late Antique period (Halsall 2003, 26). On the continent, the origin of a cohesive identity for many of these 'barbarian' elite was initially service in the Roman army (Halsall 2003, 26). They 'took much of their identity and the legitimacy of their power from the fact that they had been in the service of the . . . emperor...' (Halsall 2003, 26). It has been argued that in Britain the absence of a 'strong Roman identity' in the post-Roman period allowed for the introduction of an Anglo-Saxon option (Halsall 1999, 144). Halsall suggests that the 'ethnic identity' of Alaric's Visigoth's originated in the context of 'service within a Roman field army . . .' (Halsall 2003, 26). The exact nature of elite within these early medieval groups was flexible. Even within a single polity there could be variations based on factors such as land control, hereditary right to bear arms, and membership in a ruling kinship among others (Halsall 2003, 21). Whatever the nature of the Anglo-Saxon elite, we must remember that membership could be flexible but implicitly tied to right to participation in warfare and the army. This necessarily implies that the common, uniting factor was a

practical aptitude for the execution of violence and successful prosecution of warfare (Halsall 2003, 21-34).

### 1.9 The Documents

A history of Deira according to the documents is difficult to get at directly. We have some documents from roughly AD600-AD800, but before and after that we have relatively little (Yorke 1990; Higham 1993; Rollason 2003). What sources we do have for the period before AD600 are British; The Gododdin (Jackson 1969[1909]) and Gildas (Winterbottom 1978) represent the primary sources. As a result of Bede's work at Jarrow in Northumbria, the history of the Anglo-Saxon kingdom of Northumbria is one of the best documented from the early medieval period (Halsall 2003; Rollason 2003). In addition to Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum* there are various chronologies that make up the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (Swanton 2000) and a body of hagiographical writings (Whitelock 1955). However, outside the eighth century, when we have Bede, we know little about the history of Northumbria. After Bede, the sources are more fragmentary and consist in the main of sermons, some charters and communications from church leaders (Whitelock 1955). Further, while Northumbria consisted of two primary sub-kingdoms Bernicia and Deira, and we know relatively little of the history of Deira during the entire early medieval period. The documents were written with an agenda and we should be clear about how we use them and understand their contributions and limitations.

Therefore, those who wrote the histories, hagiographies, and chronologies recorded the history of the ideas that won the ideological and political debate (Hollis 1992; Page 1995, 100). In this, the authors of our Anglo-Saxon sources were working within a tradition of history specific to the Late Antique and early medieval world. History was

intended to extol the virtues of, and illustrate the redemptive plan of, God for mankind. The works of St Jerome, St Augustine and their contemporary, the historian Orosius all were known to Anglo-Saxon scholars (Biggs, Hill, Szarmach and Whatley 2001; J R Hall 2001). The writings of St. Jerome and St. Augustine were highly influential in the medieval world (P Brown 1997). For example, we know that Alfred translated a copy of Orosius's *History of the World* into the vernacular (Raymond 1936a). While we cannot know for certain if Bede had read Orosius, he would most likely have been acquainted with this type of work and been influenced by it. Orosius wrote his *History against the Pagan's* at the behest of his mentor St Augustine (Raymond 1936a, 29). In it, Orosius writes of Christianity's place in history:

But now I have discovered that the days of the past were more terribly wretched the further they were removed from the consolation of true religion. My investigation has shown, as was proper it should, that . . . as the new faith dawned the old grew faint; that while the old neared its end, the new was already victorious; that the old beliefs will be dead and gone when the new religion shall reign alone (Raymond 1936b, 31).

Much of what we do know about the history of Deira comes to us from Bede and we must remember that he is writing as a member of the Bernician elite, to the Bernician over-king of Deira and Northumbria. So, like Orosius in his mission to explain history in terms of the Christian belief in God's redemption of man, it is reasonable to suggest that Bede's goal in writing the *Historia Ecclesiastica* was intended to chronicle the rise to prominence of Christianity in Britain. So that what we have is the construction of an orthodox origin myth for an Anglo-Saxon England. Therefore we ought not to expect to find either too much of the 'unorthodox' in his history or too much of the history of his Northumbrian patron's Deiran rivals.

### 1.10 Methodology

This section proposes a research methodology designed to incorporate the diverse sources of evidence needed in a discussion of landscapes, monuments and ideas. The

interdisciplinary nature of the data on which this project depends demands a flexible research methodology: one which maintains the academic integrity of the project and is inclusive of interdisciplinary sources, e.g., historical, anthropological and ethnographic material. Further, it will be argued that strict adherence to cultural historical timelines is unworkable within the parameters of this project and therefore a chronology based on observable changes in the material culture over time is more suitable to the research agenda.

The post-modern, broadly contextual theoretical approach outlined above will form the research framework within which the questions presented in the introduction to this chapter are addressed. This project is rooted in a discussion of monuments and ideas in the landscape of early medieval Deira. It is necessary to decide just what we consider monumental, and where these monuments are located. Towards this the available data of all material culture which might be appropriate including architecture, burials and sculpture, was catalogued. However, it should be noted that the landscape studies aside, the practical constraints of a Ph.D. thesis necessitated the extensive use of secondary sources rather than primary field research.

We began by constructing database of all early medieval material culture that could be considered a monument: burial, sculpture and architecture. Data for each monument type was compiled into a database using Microsoft Access which recorded the type, date, description, bibliographic material and OS grid coordinate. Next, each of these was evaluated for their applicability to aims of the project and feasibility of their inclusion in the dataset. The monuments selected for the project were then projected onto a series of distribution maps and the results analyzed to identify any patterns in the distribution. Next a series of Density Calculations was conducted using ESRI's

ArcView3.1 Calculate Density function in order to identify any clusters of monumental investment in the landscape. The resultant distribution of the monuments in the landscape then forms one of the selection criteria for the case study areas.

The smaller size of the case study area will serve as a representative sample of the monument distribution, geography and topography of Deira. Further criteria for the selection of case study areas includes the following: first, in order to minimize possible distortions created by any variation in topography, the various geological and topographical zones will be taken into account and efforts to sample all of the diverse regions made. Second, any significant places identified by the Density Calculations should be sampled in the case study areas. Third, early medieval Deira is a proto-historical period, i.e., we have documentary sources, but not for all places at all times and we should select areas for which documentary evidence is both available and unavailable. In addition, the case study areas should reflect territory which social actors in the early medieval past would recognize, i.e., a human scale of perception. Therefore, we hope to provide a human scale zone, rooted in the monument distributions as well as the natural and manmade landscape features of Deira within which the assumptions stated in Chapters 3 and 4 about monuments in the Deiran landscape can be tested. To account for the human scale, the study areas should be no larger than a person might be expected to walk in one day and return. This assumes that the average person can travel 18 kilometres and return within a day. So an area of approximately 400-500 sq kilometres is suggested.

### **1.11 Chronology**

Very early on in the preparation of the databases it became apparent that the management and subsequent mapping of the data, in any form that would be

meaningful, would be nearly impossible if traditional dating methods based on cultural historical models were employed. The development of a working chronology in which material culture provides the framework for the dating system is central to our ability to read any arguments being framed. Therefore it is necessary to adopt a streamlined chronology that reflects the general trends in the material culture rather than a rigid adherence to historical timelines. This approach is not without precedent. Indeed, researchers investigating early medieval burial (Geake 1995; 1997; Lucy 1998; 1999), stone sculpture (Collingwood 1907; Bailey 1980; Cramp 1984; Lang 1977; 1991) and Churches (Taylor & Taylor 1978) in Anglo-Saxon England have found that strict adherence to traditional historical dating is both impractical and unmanageable and opted to periodize instead. Therefore, in Chapter 3 we look to the monuments to provide a chronological framework for the rest of the thesis.

### **1.12 Case Study Area Methodology**

In the individual case studies the monumental landscape of Deira will be examined at the smaller human scale argued for above. Earlier we argued that the pre-existing natural and manmade features in the landscape provide the context for the early medieval social actor's interaction with the landscape. Each case study will begin with a discussion of the natural and manmade landscape. Next, a review of all monuments in the case study area will be conducted. Then, the monuments are mapped and their distribution discussed. At the smaller scale of the case study area, the visual theatre for each of the monuments can be examined and the ways in which social actors of the period experienced the monuments on the ground is assessed. Lastly, each case study will conclude with a discussion of the results. The trajectories of development observed in the case studies are used to develop a trajectory of development for Deira.

In Chapter 8 we review the results of the case studies, and place them in the context of fifth to tenth century Deiran history. This is accomplished by contrasting the history of the monuments to that of the documents. The interdisciplinary sources are brought to bear on the questions developed in Chapter 1. Historical, anthropological, and ethnographic and material is revisited in the context of a discussion of monuments, ideas and landscapes in early medieval Deira.

### **1.13 Summary**

In this chapter we have suggested a set of theoretical parameters for the project and argued for a methodology which is appropriate to the discussion of elite investment in monuments in early medieval Deira. We have argued that monuments and their place in the landscape had meaning for those who build and used them and that in the early medieval period monuments were used to communicate ideas about the way power was distributed and this was related to ideology. In this context, monuments signal ideas which can be local, regional and supra-regional and these differ from those recorded in Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*. The monuments and their landscapes can give us access to ideas about social power and its distribution. Therefore within Northumbria we selected an area, the sub-kingdom of Deira, with considerable investment in monuments across the early medieval period. These were mapped and the resultant distributions suggested that the monuments respect different zones in each time period. However, these distributions were not static and changed through time.

## Chapter 2

### Natural and Manmade Landscape of Deira

---

*This chapter begins with a discussion of the topography and geology of Deira. Each of the distinct topographic regions is presented in some detail in order to better understand its potential resources, e.g., rivers, clay, stone, arable farmland, pasture etc. A general discussion of prehistoric and proto-historic, i.e., Roman, landscape features and monuments forms the second half of this chapter. These discussions serve to provide the landscape context for the studies of early medieval monuments undertaken in the individual case studies.*

#### **2.1 The Area of Study: Parameters and Manmade Features**

In Chapter 1 we discussed the reuse of monuments in the landscape as a means of creating artificial links to the past by immigrant groups. In this Chapter we will focus our attention on discussing the character and distribution of monuments in Deira prior to the fifth century in order to provide a background for the more detailed discussions of Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Scandinavian monuments in the landscape presented in later chapters.

The exact boundaries of the early medieval kingdom of Deira are unknown (Yorke 1990; Higham 1993; Rollason 2003). We have a few references to places within Deira in Bede e.g., Catterick, Leeds and an unnamed minster in the former British kingdom of Elmet (*HE* ii, 14) among them. It is likely that Deira as Bede knew it was a conglomeration of former British tribal territories and petty kingdoms whose heartland lay in what is the historic county of the East Riding of Yorkshire (Higham 1993; 1997a; Yorke 1990). It may be that this British connection remains important. Barbara York (1990, 74) notes that in addition to Elmet, the two Northumbrian sub-kingdoms, Deira and Bernicia, have British names. Whatever the origins of its component territories, any discussion of early medieval 'borders' must remain as



provisional as the history of the Germanic 'kings' (or more likely, tribal chiefs) who settled there in the fifth century (see Yorke 1990, 74-77). Therefore for the purposes of this study the borders will be: the area between the Rivers Humber and Tees bounded on the east by the North Sea and on the west by a line roughly down the centre of the vale of York {fig. 2.1}.

Within this area, people had been actively using the land from the Neolithic onward. Given the constraints of the thesis format, a complete survey of the landscape archaeology of Deira, from the Neolithic through the early medieval periods would be impracticable. Other studies, such as those commissioned by English Heritage for the Yorkshire Wolds (Steertz 1997), and the Humber Wetlands (Van de Noort & Ellis 1995), have focused on specific zones or areas. A similar approach has been pursued by ongoing projects including an assessment of the Archaeology of the vale of York undertaken by the York Archaeological Trust (Whyman 2005) and the Yorkshire Wolds project at the University of York, Department of Archaeology. However, our aim is to present a discussion of Deira and arbitrary distinctions such as surveys of landmasses are avoided. Therefore this chapter presents an overview of the natural and manmade landscape of Deira in order to provide a context for the mapping exercise in Chapter 4. A more detailed discussion of the landscape will be undertaken within the smaller scale of the individual case studies.

## **2.2 A Review of the Geography of Deira**

The Landscape of Deira can be divided topographically and geologically into six roughly distinct zones. Beginning in the north and moving south these include: the Jurassic limestone uplands of the North Yorkshire Moors, the dry glacial lake of the Vale of Pickering, the limestone and clay of the Howardian Hills, the chalk uplands of

the Yorkshire Wolds, the alluvium and silts of Vale of York, and the glacial drift of the Holderness Plain {fig. 2.2}. The following is a desktop review of the geography of Deira.

### **2.2a The North Yorkshire Moors**

The sand-and limestone peaks of the North Yorkshire Moors rise sharply to the south of the Tees. The northernmost feature of Deira, the Moors extend southward c. 20km to the Vale of Pickering. To the west the scarps of the Moors fall sharply into the Vale of York and in the east they terminate at the coastline {fig. 2.3}.

The heather covered crags of the Moors are a bleak and windswept range of low sand and limestone mountains c. 430- 450m high, that occupy most of the northern third of Deira. Largely inhospitable except for the few lush green valleys in the south, the Moors were never heavily populated. Therefore, farming has never been intensive due to the poor quality of the soil. The exception is along the Tabular Hills at the southern edge of the Moors where sheltered valleys offer suitable soils for arable and pasture (Elgee & Elgee 1933). One such valley lies on an east west transverse approximately 2km north of the vale of Pickering which runs approximately from Hutton-le-hole in the west to Fall Rigg in the east and encompasses the historically and archaeologically significant hamlet of Lastingham. The southern scarps of the Moors as they descend into the Vale of Pickering are cut by a number of steep valleys whose streams and small rivers drain the interior and feed the Rivers including the Rye and Derwent, and Esk.

Geologically, the Moors consist of an expansive upland area of Jurassic Oolite, Liassic, and Rhaetic formations that make the shallow soils inhospitable to all but the hardiest foliage (Pevsner 1959; Lang 2001). The yellowish brown gritty sandstones, with

occasional brown ironstone, sandy limestone, and dark grey shale provided a ready source of stone to monument makers from the Neolithic forward (Lang 1991).

### **2.2b The Vale of Pickering**

The Vale of Pickering is an ovoid shaped depression that lies between the North Yorkshire Moors and the chalk hills of the Yorkshire Wolds {fig. 2.4}. Created by the receding glaciers at the end of the last ice age, the runoff of the glacial melt filled the void to form the paleo-Lake Pickering (Pevsner 1959; Powlesland 2003, 5). Eventually the lake broke its banks between the Howardian Hills and the Yorkshire Wolds sometime between 10,000 and 12,000 years ago (Powlesland 2003, 6). The interference of the receding ice on the paleo-historic route of the River Derwent (which then ran eastward) blocked the drainage of the river at Filey, and resulted in the present south-south west course of the river through the Howardian Hills near Malton and out into the Vale of York where it feeds into the River Ouse (Powlesland 2003, 5). The resultant series of lakes and carr-land defined the landscape of the valley until post-medieval drainage altered the valley floor.

The extent to which the carr land of the Vale of Pickering was altered in the early medieval period is not known. A sampling of place names for the region suggests that as late as the Anglo-Scandinavian period, much of the central portion of the valley was wetland of some description (A D Mills 1991; see also Gelling and Cole 2000). Research undertaken in the eastern end of the vale at West Heslerton has resulted in some understanding of how the land was used from the pre-historic through post-medieval periods. Researchers from the Landscape Research Project have proposed that the landscape around West Heslerton be divided into six zones descending from the chalk upland of the Wolds, the latter four concentrated on the valley rim and floor.

Evidence of human activity in these zones includes the discovery of a Bronze Age burial mound in the sands of zone 4, zone 5, in addition to the early medieval settlement at West Heslerton, has produced evidence of ladder settlements and field systems, and zone 6 centres on the wet vale bottom where a number of track-ways running north-south across the vale have been identified (Powlesland 2003b). The results of these studies will inform our discussion of early medieval settlement in the vale later in Chapters 3, 7 and 8.

### **2.2c The Howardian Hills**

The Howardian Hills occupy a c. 77 square mile area south of the North Yorkshire Moors, east of the Vale of York and west of the Yorkshire Wolds {fig. 2.5}. Essentially part of the same geologic formation as the southern North Yorkshire Moors, the Hills are defined by a shallow, steep walled valley which runs between the vales of York and Pickering known as the Coxwold-Gilling Gap. There the formation slopes under the gap before rising steeply to re-emerge as the Howardian Hills (Miller 1966, 15). The geology of the Howardian Hills consists of a mix of clays and silts over limestone that makes it suitable for a mixed agrarian economy and supplied the raw material for the pottery works, e.g., that near Crambeck (Corder 1928; Evans 1989). Bounded in the north by the Coxwold-Gilling Gap which separates them from the Moors, the Howardian Hills consist of low rolling hills and shallow valleys, the most dramatic feature of which is the descent to the River Derwent at the Kirkham Gorge where it passes between the Hills and the Yorkshire Wolds.

### **2.2d Vale of York**

The Vale of York extends for some eighty kilometres along its north/south axis and separates the Yorkshire Wolds and North Yorkshire Moors to the east and the Pennines

to the west {fig. 2.6}. The vale was formed at the end of the last Ice Age when the forces of glaciation scooped out the softer clays between the Pennines, the Moors and Wolds and left behind the sands and gravels that form the sub-strata of the valley today (Whyman 2005). In the lowland zone of the Vale of York the soils are a mix of brown calcareous alluvial soil that was formed under poor drainage conditions in a seasonal pattern punctuated by flooding (Atha 2003, 30-31). The present agricultural potential of these soils, particularly to the south, is radically improved from the late-Roman and early medieval period. This is primarily as a result of warping; 'the managed accumulation of alluvium over former salt-marsh' which was begun in the eighteenth century and intermittently continued through the early twentieth (Atha 2003, 31; York Archaeological Trust 2005; Whyman 2005).

### **2.2e The Yorkshire Wolds**

The Yorkshire Wolds consist of a roughly boomerang shaped expanse of rolling chalk hills which arches north-northeast from the Humber River towards the triangular prominence of Flamborough Head on the North Sea Coast {fig. 2.7}. At their widest point, on a roughly east/west axis, the Wolds are approximately fifty kilometres across while the north/south axis is about forty-nine kilometres in length. The landscape of Yorkshire Wolds is characterized by hills of moderate height, c. 100m- c. 200m above sea level that are inter-cut by numerous dry valleys (Pevsner 1972; Steortz 1997). The Great Wolds Valley and the Gypsy Race dissect the uplands of the Wolds, running nearly its entire breadth and these represent the only permanent water sources on the Wolds (Steortz 1997). The remainder of the water available is seasonal, except for the limited number of springs, most of which are along the scarps (Hirst 1985; Pitt-Rivers 1882; Steortz 1997; Fenton-Thomas 2005).

The relatively rich brown forest soils of the region were susceptible to erosion forces after the removal of the vegetation which formed their protective covering; a process which was in motion from the Neolithic onward (Mortimer 1905; Evans and Dimbleby 1976; Steertz 1997, 9-10; Manby, King and Vyner 2003, 70). Today the light chalky soils of the Wolds permit a mixed agricultural economy particularly well suited to arable (Hirst 1985). The ancient agricultural potential of the Wolds scarps is characterised by easily workable fertile soils and more numerous water resources. However, the superimposition of post-medieval and modern agricultural practises across the region has altered the landscape (Manby, King and Vyner 2003, 70).

### **2.2f The Holderness Plain**

The Holderness Plain occupies an area in the southeast of Deira that stretches from the gravel shelf south and east of the Yorkshire Wolds, towards the Humber River {fig. 2.8}. The eastern boundary of the Holderness Plain is formed by the North Sea. Approximately twenty-one kilometres wide by thirty-five long, the underlying geology of the Holderness Plain consists of red and other glacial drift as well as alluvium and gravel (Roberts and Wrathmell 2000, 18).

The central Holderness is bisected by the network of smaller rivers which drain from the relatively flat Holderness into the Hull River which forms the central feature of the region. Over its course, the River Hull follows the relatively low slope of the Holderness, falling only c. 2m over a distance of c. 25 km between North Frodingham and the River Humber into which it empties. Prior to the drainage of the carr land and the canalisation of the river, conditions were perfect for regular flooding of the valley (Sheppard 1956; R Middleton 1995), and this coupled with the high tidal range of the

Humber, at c. 5.8 m, meant that the river would have been tidal as far north as North Frodingham, TA080510 (Head *et al* 1995).

### **2.3 Brief Desktop Study of the Manmade Landscape Features**

The prehistoric and Roman period monuments of Deira depict the story of the people who lived there. Within the parameters of Deira, the different topographic and geologic regions of the Deiran landscape were occupied, the resources exploited, the land settled and farmed in ways that were not uniform. From the Neolithic forward (Powlesland 2003a) humans were exploiting the resources of the region and over time their activity altered the landscape in still recognizable ways. The desktop study which follows is in no way intended to be a comprehensive survey of each of the megaliths, long barrows, hengiform monuments, round and square barrows earthworks and other landscape features. Rather it is a brief introduction which is intended to provide a basic context for the more detailed discussions in the case studies.

### **2.4 Sources**

In addition to the research of nineteenth century antiquarians such as J R Mortimer and modern archaeological investigations, more recent landscape studies of the Yorkshire Wolds (Steertz 1997), Holderness Plain (Van de Noort & Ellis 1995), Vale of Pickering (Powlesland 2000; R Morris 2007) and the North Yorkshire Moors (Spratt 1993) continue to contribute to our understanding of the prehistoric and Roman landscape of the region. Other sources include: aerial photographic surveys carried out in the region since the Second World War. First Edition Ordnance Survey maps from the nineteenth century can offer a picture of the landscape before it was both altered for and by the demands of mechanised farming. These are particularly helpful in interpreting

relatively recent changes to the landscape such as the destruction of many of the Bronze and Iron Age barrows in the region (Manby, King and Vyner 2003, 74).

However, questions of survival and recovery of prehistoric and proto-historic landscape features in Deira may have an affect in our knowledge of their distribution and reuse in the medieval period and this has important implications for the arguments made in later chapters. Therefore this chapter will conclude with a desktop review of the prehistoric and Roman period landscape features of the region and a discussion of their recovery and survival.

## **2.5 The Mesolithic, Neolithic and Bronze Ages**

### **2.5a The North Yorkshire Moors**

The uplands of the North Yorkshire Moors are well known for the variety of prehistoric monuments which survive there. Following the receding glaciers of the last ice age, c. 12000 years ago, the flora of the Moors area consisted of mixed broadleaved woodland and heathland on higher, more exposed areas (Morley 1997, 5). During the Mesolithic, hunters frequented the Moors from about 7500 BC, pursuing animals such as wild pig and deer. From about 2100 BC settlements spread from the flatter lowland zones onto the higher ground (B E Vyner 1994). This activity resulted in a major clearance of woodland for crops and grazing. With the clearance of the woodland the degeneration of the thin soils on the Moors uplands began. This in turn resulted in the erosion of soils and led to the collapse of upland farming (Morley 1997, 5).

During the Bronze Age the majority of the burial monuments, and nearly all of the clearance cairns are below the 300m level (B E Vyner 1994) and this may reflect the shift to agriculture in these areas. The function of all of the monuments is not known,



but many were used as boundary features including some of the clearance cairns (B E Vyner 1994). These were often in association with the cross-ridge boundaries that are a feature of Moors promontories (Spratt & Harrison 1989: 40-41) and B E Vyner (1994) suggests that they served to define a ritualized landscape. However, it should be stressed that the round barrows, smaller clearance cairns, field boundaries and the more substantial linear earthworks of the Moors are at present not particularly well understood (B E Vyner 1994).

### **2.5b The Vale of Pickering**

Evidence for human activity in the Vale of Pickering dates to at least the Late Mesolithic, (Powlesland 2003a, 6; see also Clark 1954). The early medieval Vale of Pickering is probably best defined as a resource rich area. This is in terms of the produce of the wetland interior of the vale the agricultural potential of the zones and its use for pasture. During the lake-side hunting camp at Star Carr (Clark 1954), North Yorkshire is one of the best known early Mesolithic sites in Europe. The Star Carr site is c. 9km south and west of Scarborough.

The central Vale of Pickering appears to have been the focus of intense human activity during the later Neolithic period. Indeed, the region has produced abundant evidence for woodland clearance and subsequent agricultural activity from the period as well as considerable numbers of long and round burial mounds (Powlesland 2003a, 10-11). At West Heslerton domestic structures have been identified from the Middle Bronze Age that are among the earliest of this type of structure known in the region (Powlesland 2003a, 20). It has been suggested that the monuments, earthworks and other features of the Bronze Age represent the development of a landscape specifically organized for agricultural use (Manby, King and Vyner 2003).

### **2.5c The Yorkshire Wolds**

Early monumental features of the Yorkshire Wolds include among others Neolithic long barrows, enclosures, and cursus monuments (Manby 1988; Steortz 1997). The middle Bronze Age Human exploitation and habitation of the Wolds was extensive. There are large numbers of Bronze Age round barrows distributed across the expansive chalk uplands of the Wolds from this period (their distribution is discussed later in Chapter 4) (Humberside SMR; Northallerton SMR). The *Ancient Landscapes of the Yorkshire Wolds* project undertaken by Catherine Steortz (1997) for the Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England demonstrates that during the same period the landscape of the Wolds was divided up into large territorial units by a system of linear earthworks (Steortz 1997; J D Richards 2000a, 27). During the middle to late Bronze Age the region was turned over to mixed agriculture (J D Richards 2000a, 27).

### **2.5d The Howardian Hills**

While the landscape of the Howardian Hills has not been studied to the extent of its neighbours the Yorkshire Wolds and North Yorkshire Moors, recent work for the English Heritage National Mapping Programme (NMP) has demonstrated the archaeological potential of the Hills from the Bronze Age forward. The round barrows, cross-ridge dykes, parallel banks and ditches, that are known on the Yorkshire Wolds and North York Moors are also present on the Howardian Hills (English Heritage 2007). In many ways the Hills are an archaeological conglomerate of the Yorkshire Wolds and the North Yorkshire Moors.

### **2.5e The Vale of York**

Our understanding of human activity in the Vale of York is hampered by several factors including: successive phases of alleviation, i.e., the build-up of fine sediment in the valley lowlands, post-medieval drainage and warping (Atha 2003; Whyman 2005). As a result, any evidence of human activity in the landscape, e.g., settlement or monuments, even is likely to be concealed beneath the built up layers of sediment (Whyman 2005; York Archaeological Trust 2007).

While there is a paucity of evidence of human activity in the interior Vale, there is considerable evidence from the later Neolithic and Bronze Age forward in the intertidal zone of the Humber River. Much of the Bronze Age evidence is found along the Humber. From the intertidal wetlands at North Ferriby the three famous Bronze Age Ferriby boats (F1, F2 & F3) along with some associated structures were excavated in the 1930's by the Wright brothers (Wright & Wright 1939; E V Wright 1990; E V Wright, Hedges, Bayliss and Van de Noort 2001). Recently studies by the Wetland Archaeology and Environments Research Centre, Department of Geography, University of Hull identified an additional 17 prehistoric sites in the waterlogged intertidal zone between Brough and North Ferriby. These included: track-ways, fish-traps and platforms (Van de Noort & Ellis 1999). These discoveries illustrate that fishing and water-fowling were being practised at a very early date and imply exploitation of the regions resources. It has been suggested that the track-ways that were constructed indicate the salt marshes were being exploited for pasture (Van de Noort & Ellis 1999).

### **2.5f The Holderness Plain**

In the Holderness there are numerous examples of Bronze Age human activity in the landscape. There are numbers of round barrows on the sand and gravel ridges that dot

the plain. On the Holderness peninsula leading to Spurn Point a possible hengiform monument associated with Bronze Age round barrows is known (Van de Noort & Head 2007).

## **2.6 The Iron Age Landscape**

### **2.6a The North Yorkshire Moors**

A pattern of arable farming in the North Yorkshire Moors developed during the Iron Age, from about 650 BC, with some farming on higher ground (Morley 1997). However, the heather which covers the poor soils of the higher elevations would have predominated. Iron Age monuments include the massive hill fort at Roulston Scar which is one of the largest in northern England. The site covers an estimated area of some 24 hectares (English Heritage 2007).

### **2.6b The Vale of Pickering**

There are no known square barrow cemeteries in the interior of the vale. However, the accumulation of geophysical data from more than twenty years of research in the vale of Pickering by Dominick Powlesland and the team from the Landscape Research Centre has demonstrated that there is an extensive network of ladder settlements which follow the southern rim of the Vale of Pickering (Powlesland 2003a, 11). Elsewhere in the vale the Iron Age settlement may mirror this, particularly to the north, but further studies are needed to confirm this (R Morris 2007).

### **2.6c The Yorkshire Wolds**

During the Iron Age the Yorkshire Wolds first become intensively settled (Steertz 1997; J D Richards 2000a, 27). This is represented by the large numbers of ladder settlements in the uplands. These field systems tend to be clustered along track-ways to

form the characteristic 'ladder' crop mark pattern first revealed by aerial photographic surveys (1<sup>st</sup> edition Ordnance Survey map; Steortz 1997; J D Richards 2000a, 27; York Archaeological Trust Aerial Photographic Archive). The rectilinear fields are defined by a ditch and occasionally boast settlement enclosures (J D Richards 2000a, 27). At Wharram Percy, the most extensively excavated settlement area in the Wolds, these features have their origin in the late Iron Age and produced evidence for continued use well into the Romano-British period (Beresford and Hurst 1990, 87-82; J D Richards 2000a, 27). Elsewhere in the higher elevations of the Wolds to the east of Tibthorpe and between Bainton and Southburn there are extensive ladder settlements and trackways (Steortz 1997). Ladder settlements are not limited to the higher elevations or the western Wolds, aerial photography demonstrates evidence of extensive Iron Age settlement in the area around Kilham, and Langtoft (Steortz 1997; York Archaeological Trust Aerial Photographic Archive; 1<sup>st</sup> edition Ordnance Survey map).

The distribution of Iron Age square barrows in the Wolds is not as extensive as that for the Bronze Age round barrows (see discussion Chapter 4). However, the region is well known as the home of the impressive Iron Age square barrow cemetery at Arras Farm which is a c. 2km east of Market Weighton. The *La Tene* cart, or chariot burials in square barrows, were excavated from the hills overlooking the farm in the early nineteenth century (Mortimer 1905; Greenwell 1906; Loughlin and Miller 1979; Stead 1979; Steortz 1997).

#### **2.6d The Vale of York**

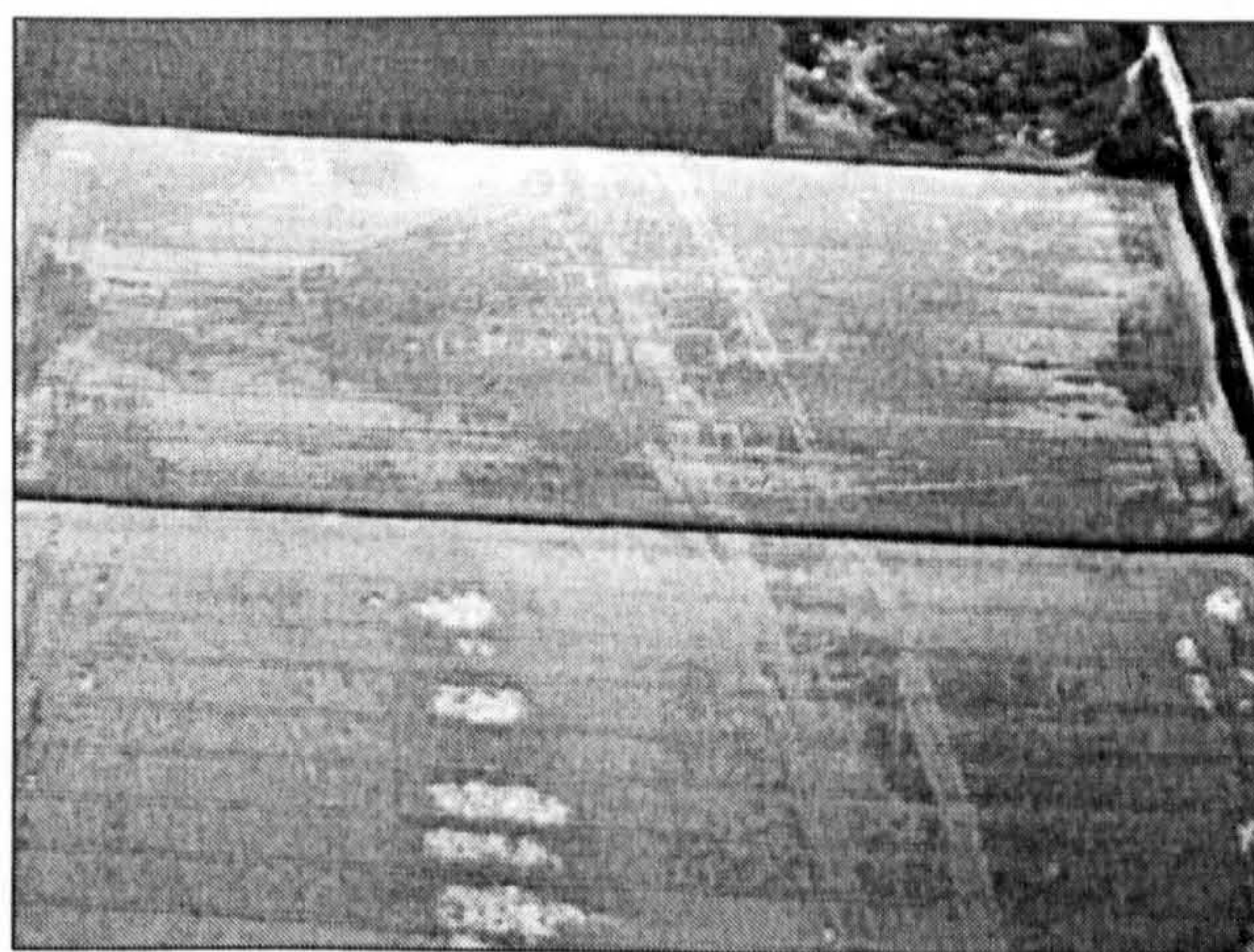
Settlement in the Vale of York was likely begun by the time of the late Iron Age. By the end of the Roman period areas of the Vale of York had undergone a transformation from the seasonal lowland pastures of the Bronze and Iron Ages into an intensively

farmed settlement zone (York Archaeological Trust 2007). There are ladder settlements in the vale but these tend to be near the scarps of the Yorkshire Wolds such as that in the area of the Walling Fen to the south of Market Weighton which extends intermittently for some 9km (Steortz 1997). Square enclosures such as that at Burnsea Grange (S S Frere, M W C Halsall and R S O Tomlin 1986) near Holme-on-Spalding-Moor are not uncommon in the vale and industrial sites such as the large iron working site at Moore's farm are also found in the area (see Chapter 5).

Recent excavations in advance of bridge work have suggested Late Iron Age exploitation of the regions wetland resources. Near the River Foulness an Iron Age timber and wattle track-way has been excavated by the York Archaeological Trust. C14 dates for the wattle track-way indicate it was established in the Iron Age and rebuilt in the Roman period. The recovery of a log-boat, dated to the early Anglo-Saxon period, next to the track-way strongly suggest that the river served as an important transportation route linking the interior vale to the Humber River into the seventh century (Ottaway 2004; York Archaeological Trust 2005; Millett and Halkon 1988, 43; see also Chapter 5). However, this need not imply continuity of use.

### 2.6e The Howardian Hills

The Howardian Hills are home to the largest number of Iron Age square barrows outside the Yorkshire Wolds. Iron Age activity on the Howardian Hills represents a landscape that



reused successive phases of

plate 2.1 Cropmarks of square barrows near Slingsby. Likely of Iron Age date, they are associated with a boundary dyke or trackway feature near Slingsby N. Yorkshire. © Photograph crown copyright.

monumentality. The photograph in plate 2.1 shows one such site near Slingsby, North Yorkshire where a square barrow cemetery is laid out with respect to the earlier double ditch feature (English Heritage 2007).

### **2.6f The Holderness Plain**

We know much less than we would like to about the settlement, industry and farming patterns of the Holderness. However, we do know that The Iron Age activity on the Holderness and Hull River valley includes a number of curvilinear field systems as well as mortuary activity (Steertz 1997; Mackey 2003, 119). There are Iron Age cemeteries in the transitional zone between the Holderness and the Yorkshire Wolds such as that near Nafferton (Loughlin and Miller 1979; Stead 1991).

### **2.7 Roman period Landscape Features**

Roman period landscape features include roads, military sites, including fortresses, camps and forts, villas and sites with evidence of industrial activity. The network of Roman roads in Deira, many of which are at least in part still in use today, have had perhaps the most lasting effect on the landscape. The data for the mapping of the Roman roads in the region used in this thesis is taken from Bartholomew digitised map of the modern roads, from which the modern roads data was removed. While the modern roads may in some cases deviate from the route of their Roman predecessors, these should not be sufficient to negatively impact the results. Where the modern route did not follow that of the Roman road the dataset was altered to correct this.

Our discussion of the Roman roads in Deira begins with the roads in the south and moves north. The road from Brough to Malton extends from the Humber River up the western scarp of the Yorkshire Wolds to Market Weighton where it divides, with one

road veering westward to the former Legionary Fortress at York, and the original road entering the uplands of the Wolds and on to the Roman fortress at Old Malton. The York road divides again just outside what is now Stanford Bridge. One road continues on to York while the other follows the central Vale of York north beyond the Howardian Hills and the North Yorkshire Moors and so out of the region. In addition to these, there is a minor road in the Moors that extends from approximately Malton to just south west of what is now Whitby. Meanwhile, the Roman roads running east to west in the region are fewer in number. These mainly connect York to various points along the coast via a route through the Wolds. The furthest south of these is the York-Bridlington road. The next is the Malton Filey Roman road which follows the southern rim of the Vale of Pickering. It is also possible that there is a parallel route along the northern rim of the Vale following roughly the course of the modern A170 (see: map in Elgee & Elgee 1933; Margary 1957; Ordnance Survey Historical Map and Guide - Roman Britain.).

The major Roman military and administrative sites include the fortress and administrative centre at York (Phillips and Heywood 1995), and the smaller fortress on the southern edge of the Vale of Pickering at Malton (Wenham 1974; J F Robinson 1978). On the coast there was a series of five signal stations along the North Sea coast from Filey, to Huntcliff (Elgee & Elgee 1933; Johnson 1980, 24-25). In addition to these, there are a number of camps across Deira including military training sites around the city of York. In the post-Roman Vale of York, the city walls of the fortresses at York and Malton may have provided strong references to a departed unifying force. Meanwhile, there are Roman forts at Hayton, Cawthorne and near Hovingham. While we have no direct evidence, the presence of a Roman period Christian church cannot be discounted (Carver, Phillips and Heywood 1995).



Non-military Roman period sites in the region include a considerable number of villas, and industrial sites such as those at Crambeck and Holme-on-Spalding-Moor (Elgee & Elgee 1933; Corder 1930; Halkon 2002). So a number of villas are distributed throughout the region and we should note that these served as the basic economic and administrative unit. There are also the civitas at Northallerton (Wacher 1995, 401-407) and Brough (Wacher 1995, 394-401).

### **2.8 Distribution, Survival and Recovery of Secondary Burials in Deira**

Questions of distribution and survival of secondary burials are intertwined with the survival and recovery of the landscape features into which they were inserted. While Deira is home to some of the largest numbers of Bronze Age round barrows (Grinsell 1936; see also English Heritage Monument Protection Programme, Monument Class Description pages for barrows) and the only known region in England with a visible Iron Age burial rite, i.e., square barrows (Lucy 1998, 27), the distribution of these prehistoric landscape features across Deira is not even. Other features such as the large scale earthworks, the parallel ditches of the Howardian Hills are somewhat more evenly distributed and a network of Roman roads stretched throughout most of Deira.

The area of Deira, in particular the upland areas of the East Riding, is well known for the survival of an abundance of prehistoric barrows, earthworks, henges and cursus monuments (Lucy 1998, 27). Studies investigating the survival of Bronze Age barrows in southern England have suggested that underlying geology and soil type can be significant factors in the survival of prehistoric landscape features (Peters 1997; 1999; Benson and Miles 1974) since those areas of gravel and sand are most often exploited for arable farming (Peters 1999; see also Lawson, Martin & Priddy 1981). Arable

farming is particularly devastating to the survival of ancient landscape features (RCHME 1979) and is perhaps the most influential factor (Peters 1999, 25). Survival in the uplands of the Wolds would have been facilitated by the use of the land there primarily for pasture rather than arable (Lucy 1998, 27). During the Roman period we know that many of the smaller first and second century farms in Deira were reorganized and by the end of the third century there is evidence for widespread grain production (Dent, 1983, 42). However, that need not imply wholesale destruction of the earthworks and barrows of previous ages via the demands of ever increasing arable farming. For example, at Elmswell we have an excavated example of a late Roman farm which practiced a mixed arable and pastoral strategy in addition to exploitation of local riverine resources (Loveluck 1996, 28).

Which leaves questions about the survival in other zones of prehistoric features into the early medieval period. It may be that in areas where the Romans intensively settled the landscape was altered to such an extent that these features were destroyed. Or it may be that in places such as the Vale of York the landscape was never 'copiously' supplied with the types of prehistoric monument so prevalent on the Yorkshire Wolds. That being said, we do have examples of secondary burial in monumental barrows outside the Wolds, e.g., on the North Yorkshire Moors (Meaney 1964, Lucy 1999). Further, at Catterick we have the insertion of Anglo-Saxon burials through the floor of a Roman villa (Meaney 1964, 284-85; Cramp 1970, 206; Lucy 1999, 31). Elsewhere in Deira the Anglo-Saxons selected prehistoric earthworks as the foci for burial, e.g., Garton Slack (Mortimer 1905, 264-70; Meaney 1964, 289-90; Geake 1997, 158; Lucy 1999). At Barnby an Anglo-Saxon inhumation was inserted at the base of a prehistoric monolith (Elgee 1930, 106; Meaney 1964, 282; Lucy 1999, 31). We have seen that the Howardian Hills boasted large numbers of earthworks in addition to barrows, so

presumably these would have offered suitable sites. Therefore it seems reasonable to argue that the opportunity for secondary burial existed, whether in barrows, earthworks, villas or roads, in all regions within Deira, whether or not the early medieval people living in those areas chose to do so.

### **2.8a Recovery**

While primary goal of nineteenth century antiquarians was often little more than treasure hunting, it has also produced a valuable record of the character and distribution of Anglo-Saxon secondary burial (Lucy 1998, 26). Performed with little academic rigor, the results of the earliest of these excavations were of dubious quality. Discussing the excavation of Iron Age material from the barrows of east Yorkshire

Cunliffe Notes that:

the pilferings of the early barrow diggers like the Revd E.W. Stilling-fleet, who managed to excavate between 100 and 200 barrows of the Arras culture between 1815 and 1817 [and] barrow-sacking . . . continued to produce Iron Age finds from east Yorkshire throughout the century, but ended with the carefully observed researches of J. R. Mortimer, published between 1895 and 1911 (Cunliffe 2004, 3).

However, despite the 'barrow-sacking' lamented by Cunliffe, by the early twentieth century the work of antiquarians such as Londesborough (1852); Bateman (1861); Greenwell (1865); Rollaston (1877); and Mortimer (1905) resulted in a body of data which represented most of Deira. Modern excavations have continued to add to our body of knowledge, e.g., excavations at Garton (Stead 1991, 17-24) and Garton-on-the-Wolds. Finally, based on the nineteenth century sources and continued modern investigation of the region, it has generally been accepted that the distribution of secondary burials likely represents a real pattern that does not solely reflect the spheres of activity of nineteenth century antiquarians (Lucy 2000, 128).

## **2.9 Manmade Landscape Summary**

From the Mesolithic forward, human activity in the region altered the landscape. This process did not occur at once but over time with successive monuments referencing earlier features. Throughout the region, but especially in areas such as the Yorkshire Wolds, Howardian Hills and the Yorkshire Moors, the distribution of Bronze and Iron Age earthworks served to divide the higher quality arable land, water sources and pasture into territories (Loveluck 1996, 27). That is not to suggest that the function of the earthworks and monuments was static or that we have a clear understanding of how they were used in all cases. It is likely that each group successively reinterpreted the existing monumental landscape to suit its own needs according to factors which included culture, competition for resources and environmental changes (Gosden & Locke 1998; Loveluck 1996). This activity affected the ways later groups used the land especially in the Iron Age, Roman and early medieval periods (Loveluck 1996, 27). For example, we know that the linear earthworks at Garton-Green Lane Crossing referenced the earlier Bronze Age barrows (Mortimer 1905, 265; Loveluck 1996, 27). Elsewhere in Deira in the Yorkshire Moors archaeologists have observed the same dynamic in the alignment of cross-ridge boundaries and later barrows (B E Vyner 1994). This brief overview of the manmade and natural landscape will provide the context for discussion of reuse in the early medieval period. Our next task is to identify the early medieval monuments and this is the subject of Chapter 3.

## Chapter 3

### Review of the Data and Selection of Monuments

---

*In Chapter 3 we review the applicable material culture from Deira and select the monuments to be discussed in the mapping exercise of Chapter 4. First, all early medieval burials are discussed, and Anglo-Saxon secondary burials are reviewed. Next architecture and sculpture are reviewed. This is followed by the selection of monuments to be examined in the remainder of the thesis. With the selection of monuments complete, we next argue for a dating system based on the chronology of observable changes in the monuments.*

#### **3.1 Background to the Monuments**

To begin our discussion of the monuments needs to be framed in the context of the current debate over the nature of the pre-Christian Anglo-Saxon monuments. There are two principal arguments: one holds that certain monuments, especially princely barrow burials, were essentially a statement of opposition to the Christian programme (see Carver 1992; 2001, 5-9). The other view is that there was no entrenched opposition to the Christian programme in Anglo-Saxon England and the non-Christian monuments reflect a culture that ‘valued permanent and conspicuous commemoration . . .’ (Blair 2005, 53) just like the Christian church. The crux of this debate is; were the Anglo-Saxon princely burials expressions of political and ideological importance which signalled an anti-Christian world view or were they primarily the manifestation of a political statement (Semple 2003)? Were these earthen barrows the product of an inventive and capable people as Carver argues (Carver 1992; 2001, 5-9), or were they the product of a ‘less developed’ culture (Blair 2005, 53) and therefore presumably incapable of matching the grandeur of the continent? The argument need not be as polarizing, at least in ideological terms, as my over simplification implies. We suggest that the agenda of the monuments need not be ideologically antagonistic, but rather they could be signalling multiple assertions about identity and socio-political affiliation to

different audiences simultaneously. If so, then we have scope to discuss the development of political structures in Deira. However, in doing so we must take care not to jettison the carefully constructed arguments of Carver and Blair.

Carver has argued persuasively that, monuments 'represent the tangible remains of political investment and expression' (Carver 1999, 37). And Blair acknowledges that the impetus of mound burial was likely 'competition and insecurity' (Blair 2005, note 167 on p. 53). Further, Blair suggests that like other societies at a similar stage of socio-political complexity, Anglo-Saxon 'kings' began a programme of investment c. AD600 in the 'building of monuments and ceremonial sites' which had the effect of 'underpinning the legitimacy of [the] new status groups' (Blair 2005, 51). It is precisely this competition and insecurity among political rivals which the monuments can preserve. In Chapter 1 we discussed the role that monuments and ritual can play in the construction of social power. Viewed in this context, the antipathy between Christian and pagan can represent one layer in an argument composed within the broader struggle for political hegemony in early medieval Britain. However, it need not be the only argument, nor does it have to apply in all places at all times. In short, these complex, multi-vocal arguments signalled in the monuments can involve ideas intended for different audiences simultaneously. This is discussed further in Chapter 8.

Our task now is to identify what among the material culture from Deira was likely monumental and likely to be articulating these arguments. The rituals associated with burial, feasting, prestige gift giving and monument making act reflexively on the participants, i.e., the community. Sometime after c. AD500 the Anglo-Saxon elite in Britain began to invest in large scale, often highly, visible monuments (Blair 2005, 52-53) and this was true of Deira as well. In Deira this included the adoption and reuse as

burial foci of Bronze Age burial mounds and earthworks and the reuse of Roman structures as burial sites (Meaney 1964; Lucy 1998; Blair 2005, 52). Later in the seventh century we have the introduction of architectural features such as fenced or walled shrine enclosures and by AD624 there are roofed temple structures such as the D2 structure at Yeavinger (Hope-Taylor 1977) and that described by Bede at Goodmanham (Blair 2005, 52). Therefore it is investment in rituals, sites, sculpture and structures in Deira that we should like to better understand because these are the most likely to preserve the arguments framed by those who invested in them. Towards this, the known early medieval burials, architecture and stone sculpture of Deira are catalogued and reviewed below.

### 3.2 The Burials

#### 3.2a Fifth and Sixth Century Burials

The archaeological evidence for the earliest phases of Anglo-Saxon activity in Britain,

i.e., the fifth and sixth

centuries, is

predominantly from

cemeteries. The repertoire

of burial rite available to

the early Deirans included

cremation, extended,

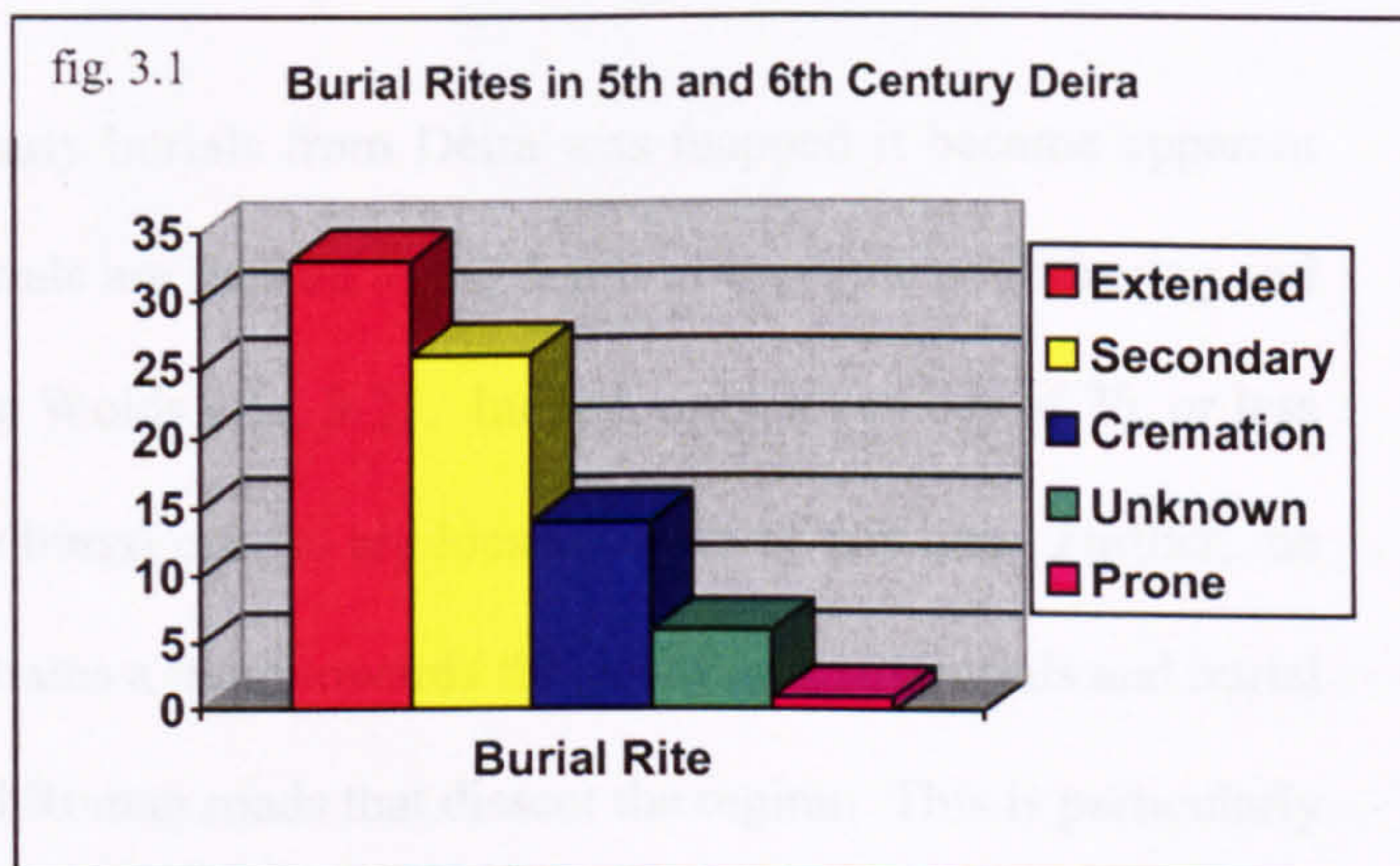
secondary burial, and prone inhumation burial. Within the known dataset of seventy-six

early Deiran burial sites, thirty-three sites contained burials with extended inhumation, a

further twenty-six sites produced examples of secondary burial in 'ancient' monuments.

There were also fourteen cremation burial sites, three prone burial, and six sites at

which an unknown burial rite was practised.



The chart in figure 3.1 demonstrates the numerical distribution of all fifth and sixth century burial rites from Deira. Within the dataset of burial rites, extended inhumation is the most common and is found at c. 41 percent of all fifth and sixth century burial sites. Secondary mound burial, most often in a Bronze Age barrow or earthwork, is the next most numerous rite occurring in c. 31 percent of fifth and sixth century burial centres. The third most common burial rite was cremation burial which has been identified at approximately eighteen percent of fifth and sixth century Deiran burial centres. Cremation cemeteries in Deira range in size from one or two burials to well over a thousand at the Sancton cemeteries (Myres & Southern 1973; Faull 1979; Timby 1993). The least common burial rite in fifth and sixth century Deira is burial in a prone position. Prone burials have been identified at Catterick, Market Weighton, Sewerby and West Heslerton and have been identified at less than 1 percent of burial centres from the early period.

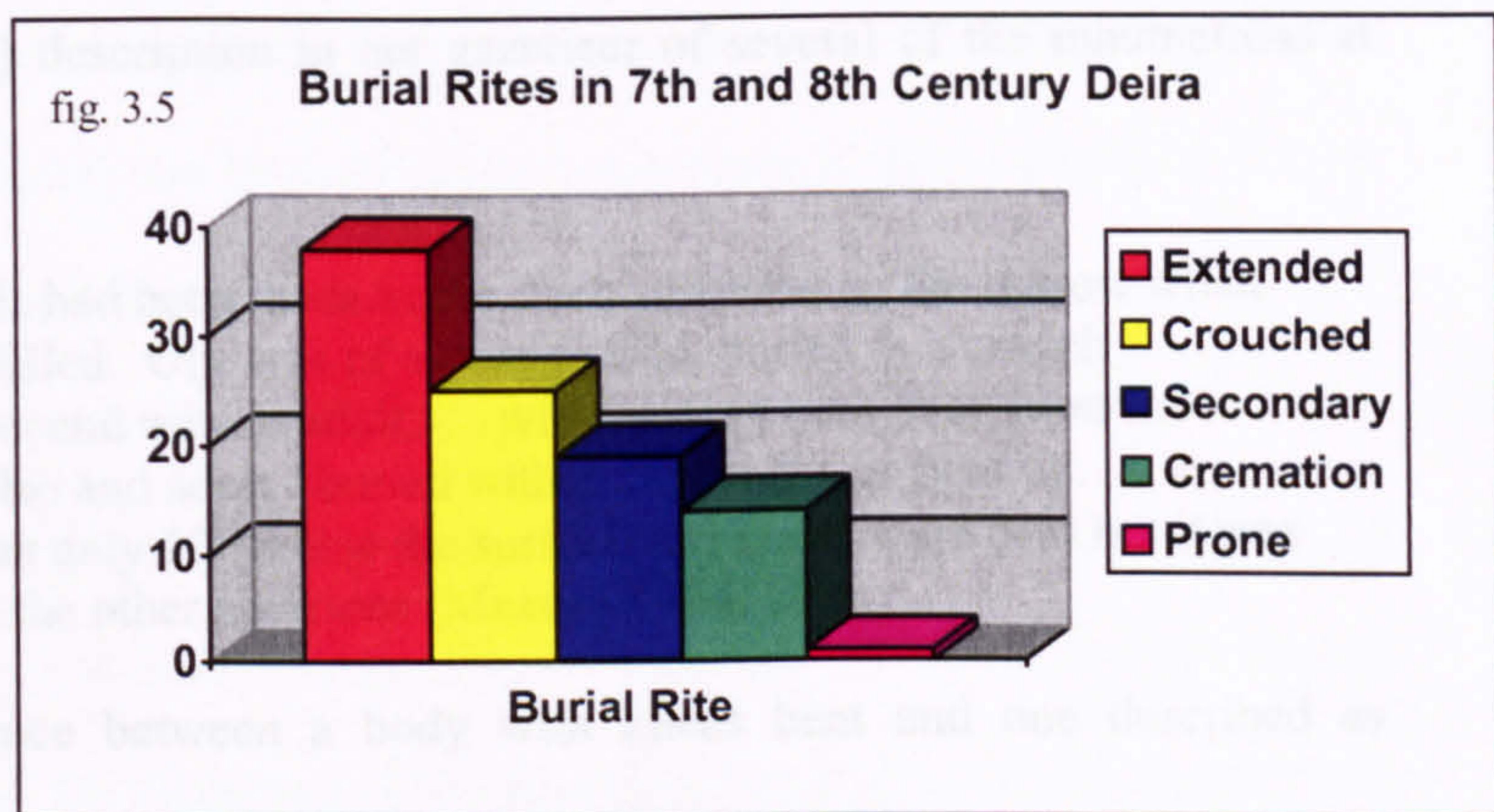
When the distribution of all early burials from Deira was mapped it became apparent that the majority of known burials are located to the south of the Vale of Pickering and in the uplands of the Yorkshire Wolds {fig. 3.2}. Indeed, only seven out of 76, or less than 1 percent, of known early burial centres are located north of this line. Further, the distribution of burials demonstrates a trend towards the positioning of burials and burial centres near the network of old Roman roads that dissect the region. This is particularly notable along the Brough to Malton Roman road along which about 13 percent of all known early burial centres are located less than 2km from the road. In the higher elevations of the Yorkshire Wolds, the distribution of burials appears to bear some relationship with the Roman roads, but this is not to the same extent as that observed for the Brough/Malton road.



The distribution of cremation burial sites demonstrates that 10 of the 14 sites are located on the Yorkshire Wolds {fig. 3.3}. The mapped distribution of secondary burials shows that 20 out of 26 sites with secondary burials are located on the Wolds {fig. 3.4}. However, this is not to say that they were evenly distributed across the Wolds, for example, not one secondary burial has been found on the Yorkshire Wolds south of Warton. In the Wolds, the areas around Drifffield and Uncleby, we can observe clusters of secondary burials. The general absence of secondary burials north of the Yorkshire Wolds suggests that secondary burial was not a preferred burial rite.

### 3.2b Seventh and Eighth Century Burials

During the seventh and eighth century there are sixty-one known burial centres (a few of these may be burials of different type in the



same burial site) {fig. 3.5}. The numbers of individual interments at these sites ranges from one or two at Fimber to more than 177 at Ripon. Within the dataset of seventh century burial sites, there are five distinct burial rites. Extended burial is the prevalent rite, having been found at thirty-seven sites. Second is crouched burial which is found at twenty-three sites, followed by secondary burial which is found at 20 sites in Deira, and one prone inhumation at Sewerby. As noted above, there are a number of burial sites where evidence of multiple burial rites has been discovered.

Crouched burial, the deposition of the human body in a foetal, tightly flexed, flexed or 'crouched' position with the knees drawn towards the chest, is often a feature of Iron Age burial (Lucy 2000a; 2000b), particularly among the Iron Age square barrow 'Arras' cart burials in Deira. However, deposition of the body in the crouched position is a rite which can also be found in some Bronze Age burials (Ottaway 2006). Indeed, Ottaway suggests that the origins of the Iron Age practice of crouched burial may in fact lie in the Bronze Age sites such as Melton, near Brough-on-Humber, in the East Riding of Yorkshire, as well as from continental influences (Ottaway 2006).

There are questions which arise out of the absence of any uniform language used to record these burials. Not all of the sources make clear distinctions. A good example of this is Meaney's (1964) description in her gazetteer of several of the inhumations at Garton Slack II.

4 secondary burials had been made in the ditch surrounding the barrow when it was three parts filled. One was of a young child, buried in a crouch position; . . . the second was an adult . . . with the legs bent back from the knees; the third, also and adult, [buried with] . . . both knees bent up. . . A fourth skeleton was only 10" below the surface; the knees were bent but it was not doubled up as the other skeletons (Meaney 1964, 290).

The degree of difference between a body with knees bent and one described as 'crouched' or doubled up is one which can be difficult to interpret. One source of this confusion may be the variation in terminology employed by many of the nineteenth century antiquarians who recorded the destruction of the mounds or excavated them personally (Bateman 1861[1978]; Greenwell 1865; Londesborough 1852; Mortimer 1905). Therefore, for the purposes of this study, burials which are described as 'flexed' bent, crouched, doubled up or 'contracted' have been included in the database as crouched. Based on this then, there are some twenty-five sites where Anglo-Saxon crouched burials have been recovered. The mapped distribution of crouched burials in Deira demonstrates that of these, fifteen, or 60 percent, are located south of the Vale of

Pickering {fig. 3.6}. Additionally, a significant proportion of these burials are located either along the Roman road running from Brough to Malton, or the Roman road from York to Bridlington.

Twenty-two of the seventh and eighth century burial centres have been dated to the eighth century. Within the eighth century burial dataset, extended inhumation is the most common being found in seventeen of twenty-two cases or just over 77 percent. Just under 23 percent, or five sites, have produced examples of mound burial, 36 percent, or eight sites, were positively identified as having grave-goods.

The mapped distribution of all seventh and eighth century burials suggests that there were centres of burial activity in three, more or less distinctive, areas: the first of these is in the central region, along the York Bridlington road near Kirkby Underdale, Fimber and Cottam. The second centre of burial activity is the area of Driffield. Third, there seems to be little burial activity in the vale of York. The spatial distribution of burial centres during the seventh and eighth centuries suggests that, the burials in the south and western Wolds trend towards being located along the Brough to Malton Roman road {fig. 3.7}. Second, the clustering of burials in the area around Driffield apparently continues, albeit in a less well defined pattern than the earlier burials and it should be noted that 20 percent of all secondary burials dated to the seventh and eighth century are located within 2km of Driffield {fig 3.8}. Primary burial in a mound such as that at Sutton Hoo does not appear to have been a significant component of Deiran burial repertoire.

### 3.2c Ninth and Tenth Century Burials

Furnished burial has ceased to be a part of Deiran repertoire by this time and we find that they are most often associated with churchyards. There are burial centres at Ripon, Crayke, and Thwing which are known. Across England we have a few burial centres which do not conform to this model such as the Viking burials at Heath Wood, Ingleby, Derbyshire (J D Richards 2004). However, these are the exception. Further, the distribution of the centres does not appear to be associated any particular organizing landscape features such as was observed in earlier periods.

### 3.3 Architecture

For the purposes of this thesis, the architecture of early medieval Britain can be said to include four main types. First are the *grubenhauser* of the type excavated at West Heslerton (Powlesland 1999; 2003a), and West Stow (West 1969; 1985). Although their purpose is uncertain they may have served as work-sheds, storage buildings, or occasionally dwellings (Härke 1997, 136; Rahtz 1976, 88; Hamerow 1993, 86). Timber frame 'houses' under 12m long (Hamerow 2004, 302) can be considered separately from the presumably monumental large-scale timber framed structures, i.e., timber halls of the type at Cheddar (Rahtz 1979), Yeavinger (Hope-Taylor 1977) and mentioned in the documents by Bede (*HE*, ii, 13) and *Beowulf*. Timber framed roofed temples such as the D2 structure at Yeavinger (Hope-Taylor 1977). Another Anglo-Saxon timber or wooden structure considered herein is the square shrine of the type at Yeavinger (Hope-Taylor 1977) and suggested by Blair to represent a interim phase between cult sites in open natural places and a temple (Blair 1995a; 2005). Lastly, any stone architecture from the period is likely to be exclusively ecclesiastical (Taylor & Taylor 1965).

These structures were not static and researchers have observed that over time Anglo-Saxon timber framed buildings changed. Broadly speaking in the fifth to mid sixth century the buildings were usually less than 12m in length, of a post-in-hole construction and tended towards alignment on an east-west axis. Meanwhile in the later sixth century we see the development of foundation trenches and by about AD600 we have the large timber halls of the Yeavinger A type (Hamerow 1999, 302).

### **3.3a Timber Framed Structures**

No archaeologically known example of an early medieval timber frame hall structure has yet been identified in Deira. The documentary sources record that by the early seventh century there likely were royal villas of the type excavated by Hope-Taylor at Yeavinger (Hope-Taylor 1977) in Deira. One of these was presumably near enough to Goodmanham for Coifi to ride from Edwin's palace site near the River Derwent (*HE*, ii, 13). The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (Swanton 1999) records the death of a Northumbrian king in AD705 at Driffield and this has been interpreted to indicate the presence of a vill site there (Loveluck 1996). Neither do we have hard evidence for the smaller-scale timber 'houses' of the fifth and sixth century. Beyond this we have the evidence of vernacular structures, i.e., grubenhauser, at settlements like Wharram Percy (Beresford and Hurst 1991; J D Richards 2000b), Cottam (J D Richards 2003a) and West Heslerton (Powlesland 1999; 2003a).

### **3.3b Temples or Shrines**

There are no archaeologically known examples of a shrine or temple of the type argued for by Blair (1995a; 2005) and excavated at Yeavinger by Hope-Taylor (1977). According to Blair, sometime around AD 600 the Anglo-Saxon elite began to produce 'large ritual monuments' (Blair 1995a, 21). These may have initially been square

fenced enclosures which were superseded by a final 'late stage' of roofed pre-Christian or pagan temple such as the D2 structure at Yeavinger (Blair 1995a, 22). Despite the paucity of archaeological evidence, the documents record (*HE* ii, 13) that there was some form of enclosed shrine or cult site at Goodmanham when the Northumbrian king Edwin was Converted by Paulinas in AD624 (Blair 1995a; 2005).

### 3.3c Churches

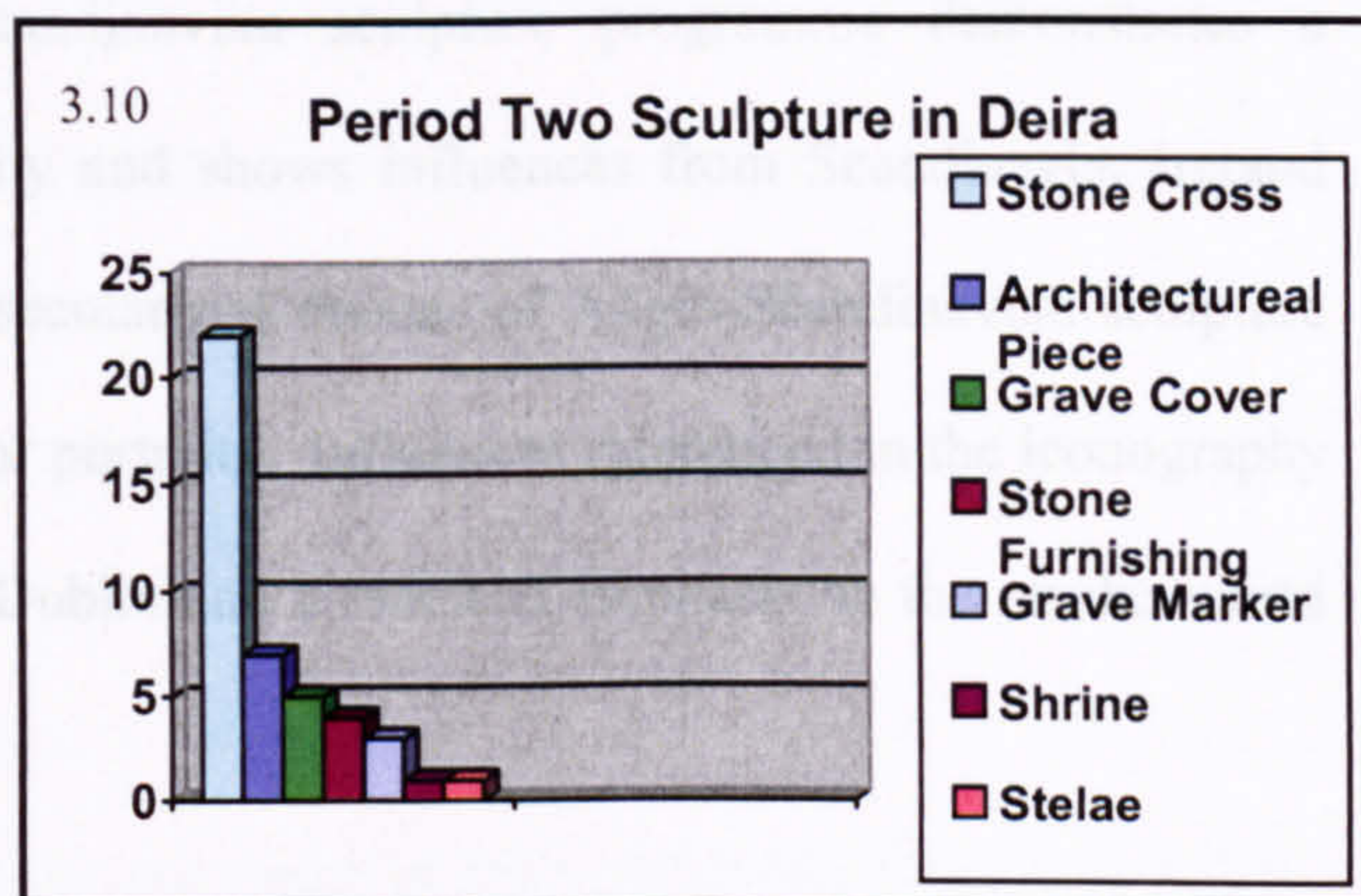
The earliest churches in Deira, like that excavated at Yeavinger (Hope-Taylor 1977), were likely constructed of timber (Rahtz 1976, 53). However, questions of survival are paramount, not least the significant alteration of a structure, as well as the tendency for later churches to demolish or encase the earlier (Taylor & Taylor 1978, 15; Kerr & Kerr 1983, 7-9). At least a few of these either survived to the point where a stone structure was built to replace the earlier wooden structure, and still others were probably abandoned and later rebuilt in stone (Cherry 1976, 181). By the last quarter of the seventh century we have the stone structure associated with St Wilfrid at Ripon (Forster, Robson, and Deadman 1993). By the eighth century we have evidence for the architectural stone, e.g., the Lastingham 9 (Appendix 2) piece (Lang 1991, 172; Cramp 1984, 125)

Elsewhere, there likely were early churches in Deira even if we have no archaeological evidence for some of them. At Ripon there is a crypt associated with St Wilfrid dating to c. 678. Whitby is the most extensively excavated minster site of an early date. Excavations in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century (Peers & Radford 1943) and again in the late 1990's (P Busby pers. comm.) produced no evidence of the early church at Whitby. However, a number of smaller buildings were excavated and these may have been living quarters or workshops of some description (Peers & Radford 1943). Bede

records that there were churches at York by AD 627 (*HE* ii, 14) and also at Watton (*HE*, v, 3). St John of Beverley was consecrated bishop of Hexham in AD 687 in AD 705 he was translated to York so the foundation of the monastery at Watton should have been prior to AD 705. Assigning sites with Anglo-Saxon sculpture (other than architectural features) to the list of architecture is problematic. Doing so presupposes that what Bailey (1980) and Lang (1991) were referring to, when suggesting that nearly all Anglo-Saxon sculpture was ecclesiastical in nature, was the presence of a building or buildings, possibly including a church. Therefore, we will refrain from including these in the dataset.

### 3.4 Sculpture

In his 1991 volume for *The Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Sculpture*, Jim Lang identifies 107 examples of early medieval sculpture in the East Riding (his boundaries mirror those of Deira in this thesis). Excluding the



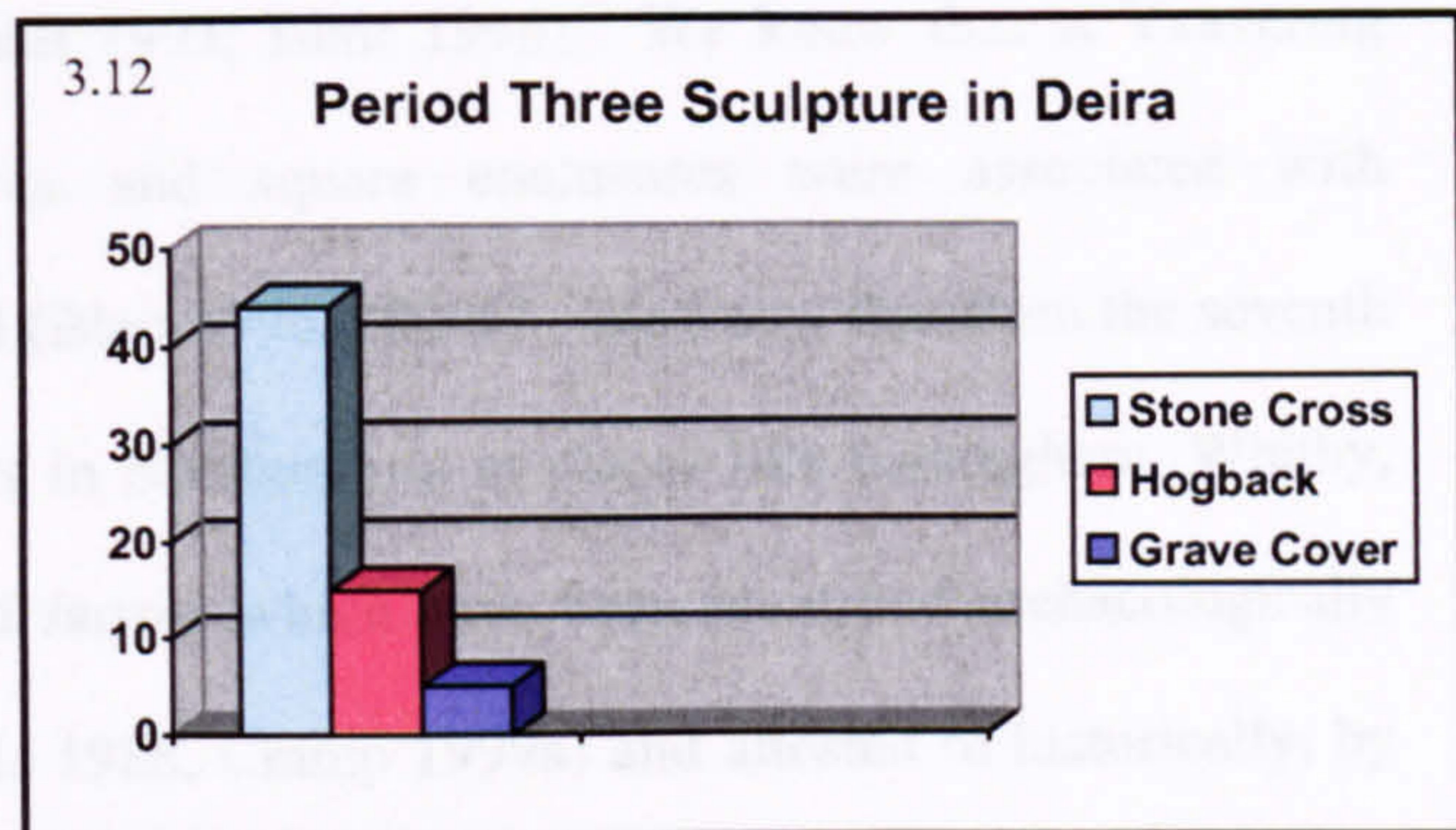
city of York, the sculpture is distributed across the landscape at 59 individual sites {fig. 3.9}. Twenty-six sites have produced examples of Anglo-Saxon sculpture and at 45 sites at least one example of Anglo-Scandinavian sculpture has been identified.

The Anglo-Saxon sculpture can be divided into seven categories including: architectural pieces, crosses, furniture, grave covers and shrines. The chart in figure 3.10 illustrates the numerical distribution for each category. It should be noted that where two or more

examples of any individual category of sculpture are extant at one site, that is counted only once.

In the ninth and tenth centuries, there are more sites in Deira with sculpture {fig. 3.11}, but repertoire of monument types is reduced to three: crosses, hogback monuments and grave covers {fig. 3.12}.

Whereas the iconography of the earlier Anglo-Saxon sculpture reflected Christianity and demonstrated influences from Rome,



Frankia Bernicia, the Anglo-Scandinavian sculpture programme demonstrates a preference for secular iconography and shows influences from Scandinavia, Ireland and the North Sea region. The secularized themes of Anglo-Scandinavian sculpture include hunting scenes and warrior portraits. Influences referenced in the iconography and design include Scandinavia, Dublin and a renewed emphasis on the insular world (Stocker 2000).

### 3.5 Critique of the Archaeology and Selection of Monuments

Are the burials, timber structures, churches and sculpture representative of all Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Scandinavian activity in Deira? Of course they are not, but we have a better understanding of the distribution of some monument types than of others. Section 3.5 is a critical analysis of the material reviewed above.



### **3.5a Critique of the Architecture**

We know from both archaeological and historical sources such as Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* that between the sixth and eighth centuries there was investment in palace sites (Hope-Taylor 1977; Blair 1996) where large monumental timber buildings were erected (James 1984; Marshall & Marshall 1993; Blair 1996). We know that at Yeavinger timber framed temple structures and square enclosures were associated with Northumbrian pre-Christian ritual (Blair 1996a; 2006). We know that from the seventh century there were monastic sites in Northumbria at places like Lastingham, Whitby, Hartlepool, Monkwearmouth and Jarrow which have been identified archaeologically (Peers and Radford 1943, Daniels 1988, Cramp 1999a) and attested to historically, by Bede and other early authors and all of which could have had churches of some description from the seventh or eighth century. We have the remains of some of these at places like Ripon where the seventh century crypt of St Wilfrid has survived the successive phases of reworking that the building has undergone (Taylor & Taylor 1978, 516-518).

Therefore, while we have documentary references to palace sites, temples and churches, we have no secure locations for many of these. This makes the mapping and discussion of their locations with respect to the other monuments impossible. Therefore, while the architecture of Northumbria will inform our discussion in the case studies, the mapping and analysis of the visual theatres for the monuments will focus on burials and sculpted stone monuments. Due to these difficulties the catalogue of architectural sites was abandoned at an early stage.

### 3.5b Burial Critique

Beginning with the activity of nineteenth century antiquarians in Britain the study of early medieval burial centred on questions of dating as well as identification of racial, cultural and religious identities (Williams 2006, 37). The early twentieth century cultural historical model of archaeology pursued much the same agenda (see Leeds 1913; 1936). With the advent of New Archaeology the agenda broadened to include questions of rank and wealth of the individual (Shephard 1979; Alcock 1981; see also Chapman & Randsborg 1980). More recent studies of burial have focused on discussion of questions of age, gender and kinship on a regional (Lucy 1998) or national basis (Härke 1997; O'Brien 1999). Others (Geake 1997) have focused on the patterns of use and distribution of grave-goods on a national basis. Meanwhile, current trends in mortuary archaeology point to discussion of the role of memory and the recursive nature of ritual activity (Williams 1998; 2002; 2004; 2006).

One such publication focuses on questions of the construction of social identity through mortuary practice and commemoration of the dead in early medieval Britain. In *Death and Memory in Early Medieval Britain* Howard Williams (2006) incorporates multiple sources including the study of the body, grave goods, monuments, and landscapes in his study of memory and social identity. The acknowledgement of the connections between the diverse sources listed above is one of the strengths of Williams' work. Williams demonstrates that the theatre of a funeral combined 'the deposition of grave goods, body, structures, monumentality and location' (Williams 2006, 216) to communicate information about the identity of the deceased and the mourners. In addition to the burial of the body, mortuary activity could have long term goals. Williams theorizes that at Sutton Hoo the monuments may have referenced one another

to form a landscape within which artificial genealogies were created (Williams 2006, 218).

Sarah Semple's recent Ph.D. thesis *Anglo-Saxon Attitudes to the Past: a landscape perspective* (Semple 2003), explores how the Anglo-Saxon's perceived the past through a national study of their reuse of ancient monuments. Semple examines an extensive catalogue of data including secondary burial, shrines, temples and churches in order to assess how the Anglo-Saxon's reuse of prehistoric monuments and their attitudes towards those monuments changed over time (Semple 2003, 375). She posits that Anglo-Saxon elite used a variety of prehistoric monuments as the locale for a changing range of activities including elite burial. Later popular perception of these sites was transformed and took on negative associations (Semple 2003, 369). A major contribution of the thesis to the study of monumentality, identity and landscapes is the emphasis on an interdisciplinary approach, which Semple argues 'can be successful and potentially represents the only truly informed way forward for scholars . . .' studying the period (Semple 2003, 375).

Another study, focused on the East Riding of Yorkshire, has critically re-evaluated the burial archaeology of the region. In *The Early Anglo-Saxon Cemeteries of East Yorkshire: an analysis and reinterpretation* Sam Lucy (1998) challenges previous assumptions made by archaeologists about the ethnicity and gender of bodies in the cemeteries of East Yorkshire. By rejecting lines of inquiry derived from nineteenth century cultural historical models, e.g., the pre-occupation with 'finding' the 'native British,' Lucy was able to demonstrate that the crouched burials in East Yorkshire were late sixth or seventh century and no earlier and could not therefore be interpreted as evidence of British survival (Lucy 1998, 108). The study also serves to emphasise the

influence of the pre-historic earthworks and monuments of the region on cemetery layout. Indeed, in seven of the eight cemeteries associated with earthworks discussed by Lucy these landscape features were influential organizing features (Lucy 1998, 104). Lucy was also able to demonstrate the association between the old Roman roads and fifth and sixth century cremation cemeteries, noting that all of the cremation cemeteries in the region were located near this road (Lucy 1998, 86). However, Lucy makes no attempt to interpret the cemeteries in the context of later monuments and her preoccupation with identity prevents her from asking questions about how these monuments related to the development of socio-political structures in Deira

In *The Use of Grave-Goods in Conversion Period England c. 600-c. 850* Helen Geake (1997) has studied the conversion period burials across early medieval England. Geake traces the changes in burials during the conversion period and argues that the conversion to Christianity did not cause the cessation of burial with grave-goods. Rather that the question is more nuanced than simple cause and effect. Geake notes that the data shows that furnished burial is on the decline even before the introduction of Christianity in the seventh century (Geake 1997, 134). Instead Geake suggests that the decline in furnished burial is linked to a complex phase of development of elite power and kingship. So in the conversion period we have a period in which elites begin to legitimize their right to rule by 'recreating Romanitas among the property owning-class, as the solution to the problem of how to assert and consolidate their kingship' (Geake 1997, 133). Geake suggests that this is reflective of the adoption of new ways of thinking about themselves by Anglo-Saxon elites (1997, 120-121). In this model, the putative kings and their kin came to see themselves as the 'legitimate successors to the Roman state machinery' with its connotations of centralization and taxation (Geake 1997, 120-121).

However, the ideas presented, i.e., taste for Roman style material culture in their choice of grave goods were not the then contemporary Byzantine/Roman style, but instead were ideas borrowed from the fourth century late Empire (Geake 1997, 120-121). Whatever the ideas referenced, by the late eighth century the burials show a marked uniformity across Anglo-Saxon England and nearly all the known burial centres are in churchyards (Geake 1997, 133).

While Lucy seeks to discuss the internal development of burial centres, and changes in their location in the landscape over time, she makes little attempt to discuss their relation to the development of political communities or indeed to attribute significance to the choice of ritual beyond suggesting that each was merely one of a number of options open to the early medieval social actors of the region. Further, whereas this thesis aims to discuss the impact of elite use of monuments and their associated ritual and ideological significance over time and discuss other monuments selected, Lucy is primarily concerned with tracking specific changes in burial practice.

Much of Howard Williams' recent work (Williams 2003; 2004; 2005; 2006) is highly theoretical and draws on anthropological as well as ethnographic sources to provide a framework within which to discuss mortuary activity. While he is keen to explore the mnemonic significance of burial, and his is open to discussion of the construction of social identity through mortuary activity, the role of monuments and ideas in the construction of social power is not a major theme in his work.

Meanwhile, Helen Geake's discussion of conversion period burials discusses questions of identity and the development of kingship. While the questions about identity and the

role of material culture in the construction of social power are similar to the questions asked herein, Geake is focused solely on conversion period burial.

While Sarah Semple's thesis emphasises the importance of large-scale interdisciplinary studies of early medieval archaeology, her thesis confines the discussion of Deira to the Yorkshire Wolds where Steertz (1997) has completed the volume on prehistoric earthworks. This is understandable given her focus on the reuse of monuments. However, like Lucy's volume, it reflects a bias in geographic scope towards the Yorkshire Wolds and not on Deira as a whole.

These works can inform our study and will contribute much to the discussion herein. However, while all three are keen to point to the agency of mourners in the construction and reconstruction of mortuary theatre and seek to discuss questions of identity and ethnicity, they do not seek to study the development of social power and trace the trajectory of development of political communities across early medieval Deira. Nor do they attempt to discuss investment in monuments as a facet of the construction of social power.

### **3.6c Burial in Early Medieval Deira**

In his discussion of early medieval burials in Britain, Howard Williams (2006) lists a number of qualifying factors facing researchers using burial data to discuss social organization (Williams 2006, 37-39). Williams argues that 'mortuary practices are the results of the intentional actions of mourners and are theatrical, ritual displays [and] . . . were therefore ideological statements' (Williams 2006, 37-39). These include questions of who composed the burial, i.e., the agency of the mourners in the selection of grave goods and burial rite. The symbolism of the objects, i.e., objects in graves

may refer to the identity of the individual in the grave, or it may refer to 'broader cosmological themes.' Each of these factors individually and collectively complicates the 'reading of social structure' (Williams 2006, 39). Lucy cautions that while 'burials represent an element of social discourse . . . they do not necessarily reflect social organization' (Lucy 1998, 25). However, funerals are extremely visual ritual 'events where social roles are publicly renewed, reinforced and reclassified' (Lucy 1998, 25). Moreover, while it may occasionally be difficult to assign a sex to a particular burial (Lucy 1998), there are richly furnished individual female graves with imported goods and wealth items such as gold brooches or male weapons burials. What is more certain is that the disposal and display of the funerary objects was intended to convey status. With this in mind, we proceed with our critique of early medieval burials in Deira.

### **3.6d Weapons and Jewellery as Grave-Goods**

The study of weapons burial in Anglo-Saxon England has been conducted with the context of discussions about social rank, identity, ethnicity and gender. Some have used weapons burials to identify elite male status, and their absence to represent the graves of the native British population (Arnold 1981; 1984; Härke 1990). However, there need be no correlation between the absence of weapons and ethnicity. Weapons were expensive and it may be that wealth differentiation was a factor in the presence or absence of these items as grave goods. While the reconstruction of strict vertical social organizations from the grave goods may be impracticable (Lucy 1998, 48; Williams 2006, 39), we can see cultural information being signalled. Heinrich Härke (1990; 1992) has suggested that the weapons burial rite may have served to signal Germanic lineage. Sam Lucy has commented on the potential of weapons burial to convey social status. According to Lucy '[t]he presence of weapons in a grave may have been an attempt to signify to the observers that the occupant was a member of a elite lineage,

possibly as a way of establishing the authority or status of the deceased's descendants' (Lucy 1998, 49). Guy Halsall has argued that status in Germanic communities was tied to the right to bear arms (Halsall 2003, 32-33). He contends that '[i]dentity was, in the [early medieval] period closely connected with military service' and elite identity was connected to the selective right to participate in warfare (Halsall 2003, 35). Likewise for women, jewellery may have served to signal elite status to mourners (Lucy 1998, 49). In any case, conspicuous display of wealth in the funerary scene may have served to legitimate 'a new, or changing, social order' (Lucy 1998, 49). Further, the inclusion as grave-goods of 'highly visible objects such as jewellery and weapons suggests that the burial was intended to be seen by many people, possibly from a distance' (Lucy 1998, 50).

### **3.6e Cremation Burial**

As we have seen, cremation burial was a minority rite in Deira (Lucy 1998, 98), but in no way is it insignificant. Preparations for cremation ritual must have been extensive including construction of the pyre, the act of cremation, and the recovery of the ashes and finally, interment. Williams has noted that this represents 'a prolonged sequence of ritualized stages of commemoration that extended over days, weeks or potentially years' (Williams 2006, 91). This process of making the deceased dead can have a different impact on the landscape from the rite of inhumation. While inhumation emphasises the importance of the individual (Barrett *et al* 1991, 233) and fixes 'both the place and the moment' of death at the grave site, cremation establishes 'a topographical separation between rites of liminality and the final rites of incorporation' (Barrett 1988b, 32). Therefore, inhumation can be said to emphasize individuals and particular places in the landscape and cremation cemeteries can be interpreted as



boundary making features which diminish or indeed destroy individual distinctions in identity (Lucy 1998, 98; Brush 1983, 83).

The majority of the cremation cemeteries in Deira are located along the western scarps of the Yorkshire Wolds and that these have been interpreted as boundary features (Lucy 1998, 97). While we can assume that the rituals associated with the preparations for and the cremation of the body were highly theatrical and visual (Williams 2006), we do not yet know where these took place (Williams 2004; 2006). However, we do know that chronologically cremation burial is limited to the fifth and sixth centuries (Lucy 1998; 2000).

### **3.6f Secondary Burial**

Secondary Mound burial as it is in Deira then represents the adoption or reuse of an ancient and pre-existing system of landscape feature and as we discussed in Chapter 1, this in itself has advantages for an immigrant population (Bradley 1988; 2002; Gosden and Locke 1998; Semple 1998; Williams 1997; 1998). So the conspicuous display argued for by Lucy (1998, 50) would be heightened by the selection of a mound for reuse. This combined with the recursive potential of ritual (Earle 1987; 2003; Gosden and Lock 1998; Semple 1998; Williams 1998; 2006) suggests that elite burial in mounds was signalling culturally significant information about identity different from that of flat graves or cremations.

The emphasis on highly visible grave-goods and the desire on the part of those who selected them to communicate to a wide audience may be reflected in the selection of some of the Bronze Age barrows for the interment site. Throughout history the peoples who lived in Yorkshire have reused manmade and natural features in the landscape to

suit their needs (Manby, King and Vynner 2003, 74). Across Deira we can see that a large number of Anglo-Saxon burial sites are situated in proximity to ancient monuments, this is particularly so on the Yorkshire Wolds. These "borrowed" monuments were intended to promote an artificial history for those who were buried there (Williams 1997, 1998; Lucy 1998, 1999). Selection and reuse of manmade landscape features such as prehistoric burial mounds and earthworks as well as Roman period features represents a rite which confers an artificial ancestry and associations of permanence in the landscape on the peoples who pursue such a programme (Williams 1998; 2006; Gosden & Locke 1997). They were also attractive because of their prominent positions (Lucy 2000, 126).

As Carver (1998) has demonstrated at Sutton Hoo the meaning of early medieval ritual centres was not static and changed over time (Lucy 1998; Semple 1998; 2003; Williams 1998; 2006). So that at first burial, in either primary or secondary context, in mounds could commemorate a high status individual (Carver 1998) or form the nucleus of a burial centre (Lucy 1998) and later become an execution site on the margins of society (Reynolds 1997; Carver 1998) and a place of supernatural myth, popular loathing and fear (Semple 1998; 2003).

### **3.6g Crouched Burial**

Some have sought evidence for the survival of native British burial rite in the early medieval crouched burials (Faull 1976). However, Sam Lucy has demonstrated that Crouched burial was not a feature of the early medieval burial repertoire, after the 'post-Roman' period and before the seventh century (Lucy 1998; 2000a). Therefore early medieval crouched burials can not be used to track 'native British' survival in the region as had previously been suggested (e.g., Faull 1976).

### **3.6h Church Yard Burial**

Bede informs us that in the late sixth century a new religion is introduced to Anglo-Saxon England (*HE*, i. 23, see also: Stenton 1971; Mayr-Harting 1972, Higham 1997a; Yorke 1990). Beginning in the mid seventh century royal burials begin to be associated with minsters and churches. We know from Bede that the Northumbrian king Oswiu was buried in the church of St Peter at Whitby (*HE*, iii, 24). Oswiu's Deiran predecessor Edwin was first buried in a church at York (*HE*, ii, 20) before being removed to Whitby.

At about the same time furnished burial was becoming less a facet of Anglo-Saxon burial and after the first few decades of the eighth century there are few if any significant furnished burials (Geake 1997, 125; Lucy 2000a). That is not to suggest that the arrival of Christianity forced the abandonment of furnished burial (Geake 1995; 1997), rather that social practices were already in flux when Christianity arrived. Be that as it may, by the late eighth century furnished burials cease to be a major arena for display and communication (Geake 1997).

### **3.7 Sculpted Stone Monuments**

The earliest sculpted stone monuments were introduced into Deira during the seventh century at ecclesiastical centres such as Lastingham and Beverley. The craft of stonework probably developed out of the skills that the earliest masons brought from continental Europe in the seventh century when they were brought in to construct stone churches (Cramp 1977). It is indeed unfortunate that many of the stone buildings and monuments of Deira were broken up and reused as building material from the Norman Conquest onwards (Kerr & Kerr 1983, 8-9). However, during the nineteenth century

the recovery process began when the churches in the region were reworked and remodelled (Lang 1988, 5). During the first half of the twentieth century analysis of sculpted stone monuments largely centred on the development of chronology (Collingwood 1915; 1927; Clapham 1930, Brown 1937; Kendrick 1938; 1949). In the 1960's with the work of Rosemary Cramp (1965) the emphasis shifted to discussion of regional styles and influences (see also Cramp 1977; Bailey 1978; Lang 1978b). More recent research has focused on interpretation of the iconographic symbolism of Anglo-Saxon sculpture (Hawkes 2000) or on the role of Viking sculpture in prestige display (e.g., Stocker 2000; Sidebottom 2000).

While always a high-investment, high-status monument (Gondek 2006), sculpture likely held different meanings 'for those who made it, saw it, and for those who came after' (Carver 2006, 15). Early medieval sculpted stone monuments were created to display 'permanent messages' about status, investment, and political alliances in the landscape (Carver 2006, 15). The repertoire of ideas referenced in the iconography and type of monuments drew from an intellectual menu with references to contemporary and ancient ideas. The resultant monument represents a material record every bit as expressive and actively composed as the grave-goods of furnished burial (Carver 2006, 15).

### **3.7a Anglo-Saxon Sculpted Stone**

The early sculpture is closely associated with the ecclesiastical agenda (see Bailey 1980, 81-82; Cambridge 1984; Cramp 1977; Lang 1988; 1991; Hawkes 2003, 351). Beginning in the late seventh century examples of stone sculpture can be found at newly established high-status ecclesiastical centres such as Whitby (Peers & Radford 1942; see also: Cramp 1977; Lang 1991; Geake 1997), Lastingham (Collingwood

1907; Cramp 1977; Lang 1991) and Kirkdale (Rahtz and Watts 2003). It may be that by mapping the distribution of sculpted stone monuments from the seventh to tenth centuries in Deira we can learn something of the expansion of the Christian programme in Deira which is only partially documented (see Cramp 1977; Bailey 1980: Cambridge 1984; Lang 1988; 1991; see also Collingwood 1927).

### **3.7b Anglo-Scandinavian Sculpted Stone**

With the Viking invasion of Deira and the subsequent establishing of the Viking kingdom of York the function and location of sculpture has shifted to marking individual graves within graveyards of 'secular' churches and this is reflected in the iconography which depicts secular hunting and warrior scenes in place of the earlier ecclesiastical motifs (Lang 1977; Stocker 2000; Sidebottom 2000). The Anglo-Scandinavian sculpture includes grave-covers and markers, and cross shafts. Except now, in place of the royal minsters, the sculpture serves as 'markers of individual burials at the parochial level' (Everson and Stocker 1999, 70). Stocker (2000) has demonstrated that elsewhere in Yorkshire the individual sculpted stone monuments were often used to signal prestige. In areas where there were few contemporary examples, Stocker has suggested that one individual or family was likely dominant, and an area or zone with multiple examples of sculpted stone monuments represented a zone in which elites were actively competing for dominance (Stocker 2000). The clustering of sites with Anglo-Scandinavian sculpture in the western end of the vale of Pickering may be one such zone and this will be discussed in Chapters 7 & 8.

The introduction of the ring-head style in the Ryedale has been linked to the period of Viking dominance in Deira, especially York, between c. AD920 and 950 (Lang 1978; 1991). Elsewhere, in Lincolnshire, Everson and Stocker (1999, 28) have noted the

relationship between Anglo-Scandinavian sculpture and riverine tributaries of the Humber River. They note that this is reflective of Viking York's influence in the 'riverine and costal network of the Humber basin (Everson and Stocker 1999, 28).

### 3.8 Chronology

Very early on in the preparation of the databases it became apparent that the management and subsequent mapping of the data, in any form that would be manageable, would be severely limited if traditional culture historical dating systems were employed. It was decided that a chronology that reflects the changes in the material culture over time, rather than rigid adherence to document based timelines was preferable. The development of a system that allows the material culture to inform the chronology was deemed central to our ability to map changes over time in any arguments being framed. This approach should be familiar to archaeologists working with early medieval burial (Geake 1995; 1997; Lucy 1998; 1999), stone sculpture (Collingwood 1907; Bailey 1980; Cramp 1984; Lang 1977; 1991), and Churches (Taylor & Taylor 1978) in Anglo-Saxon England.

However, there are difficulties associated with dating burials or sculpture. Recent analysis of Anglo-Saxon burials (Geake 1997; Lucy 1998; 1999) has produced a more reliable chronology for Anglo-Saxon England as a whole and the Yorkshire region in particular (including Deira). With the sculpture we can sometimes see discrete time periods of c. 30-50 years. Otherwise we are dependant on a hierarchy of traditional dating methods including: inscriptions, historical context, archaeological associations, typology and style and these are described by Rosemary Cramp in *The Grammar of Anglo-Saxon Ornament* (Cramp 1984). While these methods may not produce and

exact date, they should provide a reliable date range which will enable us to produce a chronological framework appropriate to the aims of this thesis.

Art historically we can see stylistic divisions of about 30-50 years relatively reliably, a point reinforced by Geake (1995; 1997). Historically, the conversion to Christianity is unlikely to have affected any change in the monuments before c. AD600 (*HE* i, 24-33). By the late seventh century we have the introduction of a new monument type, i.e., sculpted stone (Cramp 1977; Lang 1977). Later in the ninth century there is a major change in the form and function of sculpture which accompanies the rise to dominance of Scandinavians in the region (Lang 1977). It is argued that these broad changes should form the chronology of the monuments in Deira. The dating system followed for the remainder of this thesis is reviewed below.

### **3.9a Fifth and Sixth Century Data**

Burial represents the earliest form of identifiably Anglo-Saxon material culture in Deira and cremation burials are among the earliest. We know that cremation burial is a feature of the fifth and sixth century (Leeds, 1913; Faull 1979; Lucy 1998; 2000; Williams 2005; 2006). During the fifth and sixth centuries in Deira we have examples of elaborated individual and group burials at places like Drifffield, Warter and Uncleby (Meaney 1964; Steed 1991; Lucy 1999; O'Brien 1999). There are also examples of elite burials in a secondary context, often within Bronze Age round barrows (Lucy 1998; Meaney 1964).

Art historically, we can reliably reconstruct the chronology of jewellery, e.g., brooches, in discrete time periods of 10-20 years. In Deira, which is generally Anglian, burials

are often accompanied by long and square-headed brooches and we have a relatively good chronology for these which is illustrated in tables 3.1 & 3.2 below.

Table 3.1

<b>Cruciform Brooches</b>	<b>Description</b>	<b>Date Range</b>
Type I	Fully formed rounded knobs at the ends of the head-plate arms Note: Mortimer thought these early 5 <sup>th</sup> century.	5 <sup>th</sup> to early 6 <sup>th</sup> .
Type II	Half-rounded knobs	5 <sup>th</sup> to early 6 <sup>th</sup>
Type III	Same as II but with scrolled nostrils on animal heads	Mid to late 6 <sup>th</sup> century
Type IV	Footplate has lappets attached to end of the animal head	Late 6 <sup>th</sup> century
Type V	Highly ornamented and elaborated florid type	Late 6 <sup>th</sup> to 7 <sup>th</sup>

After D Henson (2006)

Table 3.2

<b>Square-Headed Brooches</b>	<b>Description</b>	<b>Date Range</b>
Phase A	Small brooches, often dissimilar	c.AD500-520
Phase B	Larger and more alike	c.AD510-550
Phase C	More standardised design	c.AD530-570

After J Hines (1994)

Research has demonstrated that certain types of burial rite and grave-goods are associated with the early period of Anglo-Saxon activity in England, i.e., the fifth and sixth centuries. There is a more or less cohesive, though certainly 'polyvalent', phase of elite furnished burial typified by high investment weapons burials and well furnished female graves (Härke 1990; 1992; Lucy 1998, 49-49). Within this, there are demonstrated differences in jewellery decoration and weapons. For the jewellery the transition between Style I and Style II zoomorphic design, that occur around the end of the sixth century (Arnold 1988). Weapons burials too demonstrate changes over time so that weapon burial begins in the mid fifth century and 'spikes' upwards in frequency in the sixth century (Härke 1990, 30). Therefore it is suggested that the fifth and sixth centuries form Period One.



### 3.9b Seventh and Eighth Century

There is a very real difference between the burials and monuments produced by or for the Deiran elite during the seventh and eighth century compared to those of the fifth and sixth centuries. These differences were manifested in the adoption of markedly different mortuary rituals, changes in burial foci and the introduction of a radically new monument type, i.e., sculpted stone.

Art historically, Style II is a feature of Anglo-Saxon metalwork after AD600 (Geake 1997, 8). Sometime during the late sixth or early seventh century changes in burial can be observed in Anglo-Saxon England (Geake 1997; 2000; Lucy 1998; Lucy and Reynolds 2000; *et al*). One of the most striking of these is the advent of high status, high investment primary burial in barrows (Carver 1998). No site comparable to the Sutton Hoo ship burial has been identified in Deira. Be that as it may, there are several significant changes in the mortuary record. Lucy (1998) has noted the reintroduction of crouched burial in Deira is an event that dates no earlier than the seventh century. We know that in Deira, as elsewhere in seventh century England, some Iron Age square barrows and cemeteries are adopted as mortuary centres (Stead 1991). Helen Geake has demonstrated that burials with imported bronze bowls and workboxes belong primarily to the later seventh and eighth centuries (Geake 1997). We also have some evidence for coins as grave-goods at sites in Deira like Garton and Thwing. By the middle of the seventh century there is general decline in the use of grave goods, followed in the later eighth century by the cessation of burial with almost all types of grave goods (Geake 1997, 125).

Concurrent with the decline of furnished burial we have the reintroduction of Christianity into Anglo-Saxon England (Mayr-Harting 1977). In Deira the Christian

programme cannot have begun prior to the mission of Paulinas in AD624 (*HE*, ii, 11-13). Along with Roman Christianity we have the importation of Frankish stone masons. Rosemary Cramp has argued that the reintroduction of masonry technology resulted in the entirely new monument form: sculpted stone monuments (Cramp 1977). The earliest of these monuments were simple, stone grave markers bearing an inscribed cross. However, this later developed into regionally influenced schools of sculptors producing magnificent sculpted stone monuments decorated with zoomorphic vine scroll and other stylistic and iconographic images influenced by the great scriptoria such as those at Lindisfarne (Collingwood 1907; Cramp 1977; 1984; Lang 1991) and possibly Whitby. Therefore, sculpture is more likely to be a feature of the late seventh or eighth century (Cramp 1977; Lang 1991). So then the period from c. AD624-850 belong to a phase of investment in monuments distinct from that outlined for Period One, and will belong to Period Two.

### **3.9c Ninth and Tenth Century**

Furnished burial ceased to be a desired form of burial in the eighth century and from then on nearly elites were buried within ecclesiastical centres (Geake 1997). However, investment in sculpture continued in Deira at an expanded pace, albeit with different forms and functions. Between c. AD850 and c. AD1000, changes in the style of ornament and form of sculpture, as well as innovation in technique have been observed (Collingwood 1907; Lang 1977; 1991; 2001; Bailey 1980; Stocker 2000). During this period influences from elsewhere in the insular and North Sea world, especially Scandinavia became popular. These include the use of secular hunting and warrior scenes and the ante AD920 introduction of ringed-head cross type (Collingwood 1907; Lang 1977; 1991; Bailey 1980; Stocker 2000). That is not to say that the Christian themes are completely removed from the sculpture. However, tastes have changed and

there are real differences evident, e.g., the figure of the crucified Christ is now often depicted with arm spread across the cross-head (Lang 1991). It has been argued that these changes in form and distribution of sculpture reflect a greater emphasis on secular control in Anglo-Scandinavian society (Stocker 2000). In addition, the hogback monument is introduced to Deira (Lang 1977; Bailey 1980). Hogbacks are at present poorly understood, but it has been suggested that their shape is intended to evoke images of the great timber halls (Lang 1991; Bailey 2004).

Whatever the motivation, the changes in the sculpture outlined above are concurrent with the Anglo-Scandinavian period of Deiran history and this in itself is a chronological marker of no small significance (see Stenton 1971; Higham 1993; 1997; Yorke 1992). It is therefore suggested that the material from the c. AD850-1000 form Period Three. In Deira we have datable material culture over most of the period of interest, i.e., from the fifth to the tenth century. In many cases discrete periods of between 25 and 50 years are possible. However, difficulties associated with dating the sculpture make discussion of chronology in the later periods difficult.

Therefore the thesis will use three broad periods: PERIOD 1: c. AD450-600; PERIOD 2: c. AD600-850 and PERIOD 3: c. AD850-1000. This crude chronological division is not without its difficulties, but these are not antithetical to our aim of cataloguing and mapping of the monuments over the spatial-temporal landscape of Deira. The next task is to map the distribution of the monuments and select the case study areas and this is the subject of Chapter 4.

## Chapter 4

### Mapping the Monuments

---

*In Chapter 1 the theoretical paradigms for the thesis were set out. Chapter 2 provided an overview of the natural and manmade landscape of Deira. In Chapter 3 we reviewed the material culture and selected secondary burial and sculpture as monuments for study. In this Chapter the monuments are projected on distribution maps using ESRI's ArcView 3.1. The resultant distribution of monuments is studied to identify any patterns or zones of higher investment. The places where monuments 'cluster' are understood to represent higher than average investment and therefore possibly special places. The places identified as zones of high investment will form on criteria for the selection of case study areas. The remaining criteria are discussed and Chapter 4 concludes with the selection of the case study areas.*

#### **4.1 Introduction and Methods**

The goal of this chapter is to identify areas in the landscape where the elites of the early medieval Deira were investing in monuments. Towards this, we adopt the following methodology for the mapping portion of the project. First, an elevation model for Deira was constructed in ESRI's ArcView 3.1 using Shuttle Radar Terrain Mapping elevation data (at 1m elevation interval). Second, the rivers of the region were plotted using Bartholomew datasets for England. Third, the routes of Roman roads in Deira were reconstructed using Bartholomew datasets of modern road data which was edited to remove purely modern routes and include sections of the Roman roads not now extant. The resultant map of Roman roads was then 'proofed' against the OS map of Roman Britain.

Next the monuments selected in Chapter 3 were catalogued in databases and plotted as grid points on the distribution. The resultant distribution maps for each monument type was then subjected to a series of density calculations conducted using ESRI's ArcView 3.1 Calculate Density function. When projected on the map of Deira, these 'clusters'

represent areas of higher than average instances of monuments, i.e., significant places, in the landscape in Deira.

The Bronze Age and Iron Age barrows selected by Anglo-Saxon elites as suitable for secondary mound burial represent a sub-set of all barrows in Deira. In order to study the relationship between these and the barrows not selected we constructed a dataset of all Bronze Age and Iron Age barrows in Deira using data collected from the Humberside and Northallerton Sites and Monuments Records Offices.

#### **4.2 Distribution of Prehistoric Barrows**

Using this data the known Bronze Age and Iron Age barrows {Appendix 4} were mapped. The resultant distribution map demonstrates that approximately 2000 round barrows are distributed across most zones of Deira, but do appear more numerous on the Yorkshire Wolds, Howardian Hills and along the periphery of the Vale of Pickering {fig. 4.1}.

If the selection of barrows for secondary burial was random, then the pattern of barrows selected for secondary burial should either reflect the overall distribution of all barrows or at least reflect those areas where there are greater concentrations of barrows. To test this hypothesis, the distributions first of Bronze Age round and then Iron Age square barrows was subjected to density calculations in ESRI's ArcView 3.1 using the Calculate Density function to derive the Calculated Density per 2km squared to identify those areas where the barrows cluster in the landscape.

For the Bronze Age round barrows, the mapped density calculations demonstrated that there were at least five areas, or zones, of high density in Deira, all of which were in the

uplands of the Yorkshire Wolds {fig. 4.2}. Three of these areas were located in the northern Wolds and two were in the southern leg of the Wolds. The three areas in the northern Wolds with the highest Density Calculations were at OS Grid TA069741, TA009756, and SE806621. The area of greatest concentration of round barrows is in the southern reaches of the Wolds centred approximately on OS Grid SE95073850 near Newbold Farm, and c. 8.7 km north at OS Grid SE90724555 near Enthorpe Wood. Four other areas of somewhat lower density were identified, two in the Howardian Hills and two along the Tabular Hills near Pickering.

The mapped distribution of Iron Age barrows in Deira demonstrates that they are more numerous on the Yorkshire Wolds and Howardian Hills {fig. 4.3}. However, that is not to say they were not a feature of other zones in Deira. The Calculated Density of the Iron Age barrows once again identified 5 zones of high concentration {fig. 4.4}. Beginning in the north and working southward these include: an area along the northern rim of the Vale of Pickering near Pickering at OS Grid SE795845, an area along a line running between Burton Agnes and the Roman road at Woldgate, OS Grid TA 097 624, with a calculated density of 8 barrows per 3.39km<sup>2</sup>. An area located c. 200m NW of Fimber at OS Grid SE 894608 had a calculated density of 4 barrows per 0.70km<sup>2</sup>. An area located c. 1km NE of Scarborough OS Grid TA 015455 had a calculated density of 7 barrows per 1.11km<sup>2</sup>. The final area has a calculated density of 7 barrows per 0.20km<sup>2</sup> and is located near the Beverley racecourse OS Grid TA 021399. The overall mapped distribution of the barrows suggests a preference for location of the mounds in upland areas. However, there at least c. 30-35 square barrow sites located in the Holderness. Indeed, two of the four sites identified in the Density Calculations are located in the Holderness: SE99874410, Woodhouse Farm near Scarborough, and at TA02764651, Lickham Hall near Scarborough.

### **4.3 Mapping the Monuments**

#### **4.3a Period One Monuments**

During Period One secondary burial in Bronze Age round barrows is the preferred monument type in Deira. However, secondary burials are not evenly distributed across Deira. If the Deiran elite were randomly selecting Bronze Age barrows for burial, then it seems likely that the mapped distribution of the dataset of all known Period One secondary burials would reflect the distribution of the pre-existing barrows. However, this is not the case. When the dataset of all known Period One secondary burials is mapped against the distribution of all known Bronze Age round barrows it is clear that not all barrows were desirable and the distribution pattern of secondary barrows does not reflect that of Bronze Age round barrows. There is a marked association between secondary burial and the uplands of the Yorkshire Wolds {fig. 4.5}. It is reasonable to posit that at least one Period One barrow, randomly selected from the data sub-set of all known round barrows, would be from a zone where Bronze Age round Barrows are clustered. However, when the data set for Period One secondary burials is mapped and the results are superimposed over the distribution map of the Calculated Density map for the Bronze Age barrows, not one is located in a barrow that is also set within a zone with high Calculated Density levels from the Yorkshire Wolds {fig. 4.6}. In addition, of the two secondary burials found in the Yorkshire Moors, no relation can be found between them and the zones with high calculated density.

Further contrasts between Period One secondary burials and the known distribution of Bronze Age barrows in Deira include no secondary burial in the Holderness, and none in the Howardian Hills. Nor are there any located on the southern leg of the Yorkshire

Wolds. This is especially interesting considering that this part of the Wolds is home to the highest Calculated Density levels of Bronze Age barrows in Deira.

The distribution of grave-goods within the secondary burials suggests that are three Period One mound burials with early jewellery at places like Cheesecake Hill, Kirkburn 3, and Ganton all of which are in the eastern area of the Yorkshire Wolds. The remainder of Period One secondary burials in Deira tend to be accompanied by some combination of weapons assemblage. There does not appear to be a major disparity between the distribution of weapons burials and those with high status jewellery {fig. 4.7}. Interestingly, there are only a few secondary burials in Deira with Anglian cremation burials {fig. 4.8}.

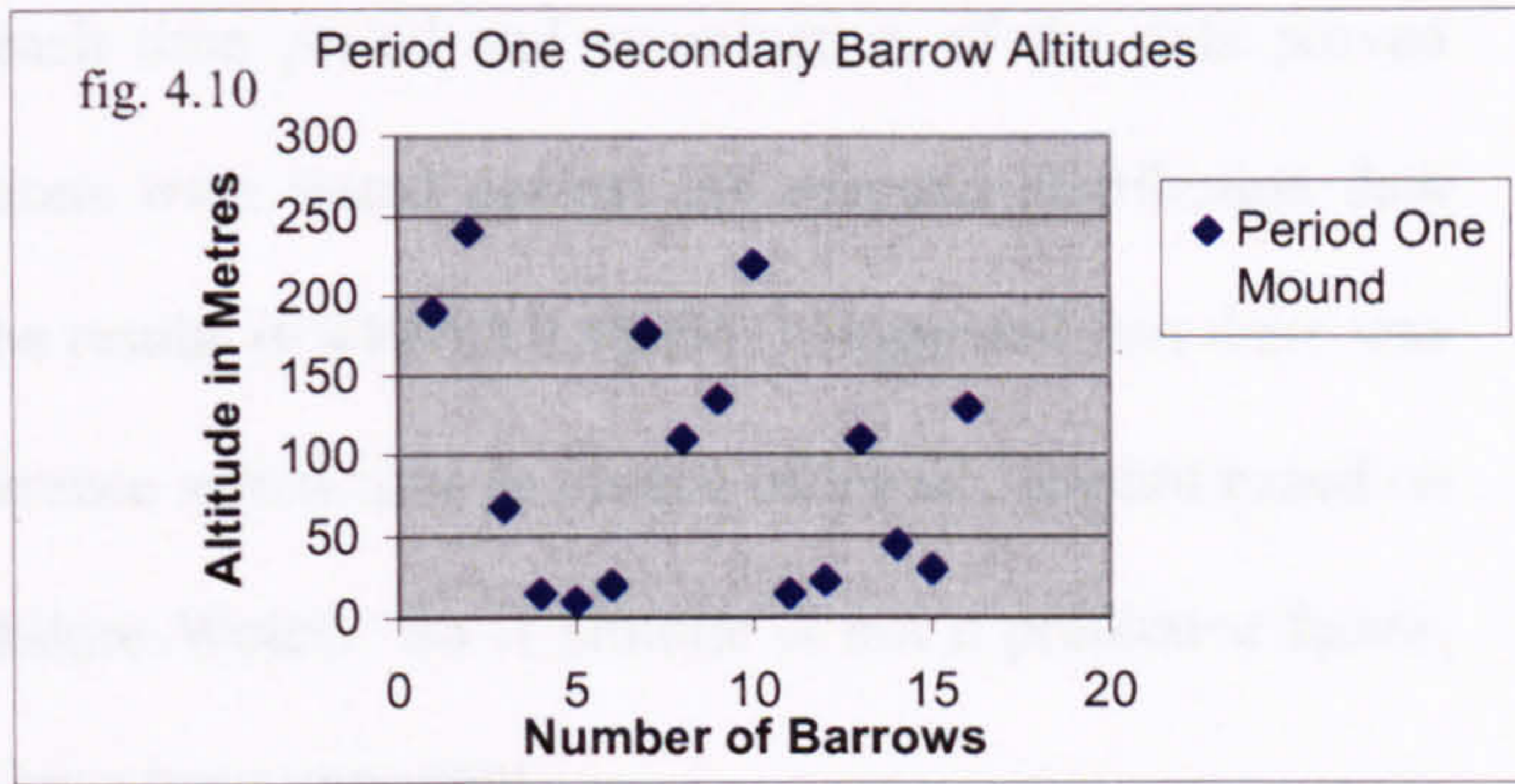
#### **4.3b Period Two Mound Burials**

During Period Two the Anglo-Saxons began to bury their dead in a secondary context in Iron Age square barrows in addition to Bronze Age and other earthworks. Roman period features were also deemed appropriate for secondary burial activity. For example, Roman houses and roads were used as secondary burial sites at Catterick (Williams 1998; Lucy 1999).

The distribution of Period Two secondary burials across Deira was not uniform nor did it directly reflect the distribution of either round or square barrows {fig. 4.9}. Indeed, even across the Yorkshire Wolds and Howardian Hills where the majority of the known Iron Age barrow cemeteries are located, the distribution of Period Two secondary burials was restricted to the northern uplands of the Wolds and the area near Driffield. As in Period One, the uneven distribution across the landscape of known Period Two

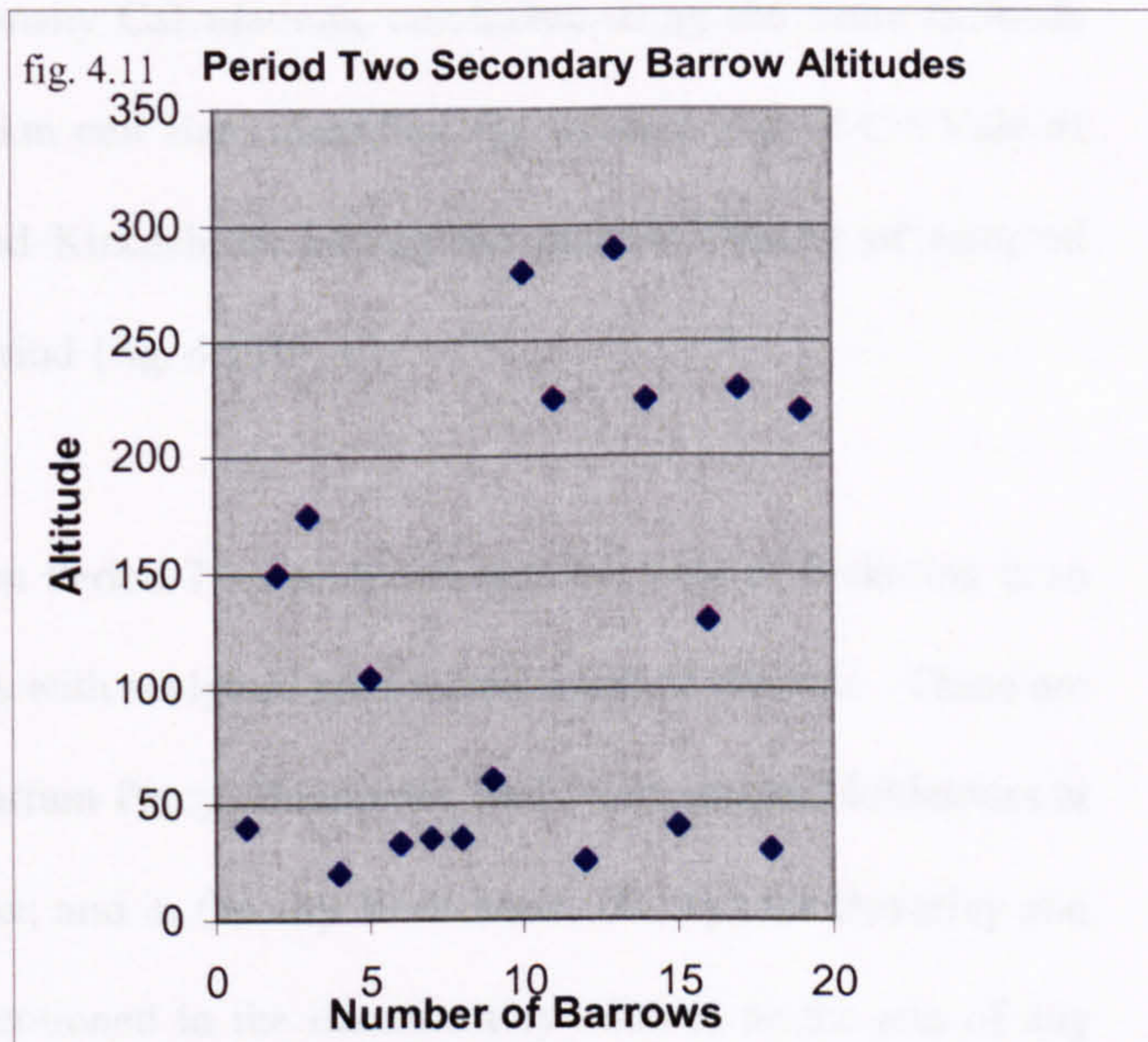


secondary burials versus the distribution of known barrow sites raises questions over why certain places were selected for secondary burial and others were not.



Sam Lucy has proposed that on the Yorkshire Wolds the altitude ranges for barrows selected for secondary burial tended to graduate to lower altitudes over time (Lucy 1998). The mapped data

for Period One and Period Two mound burials offered the opportunity to re-examine those assertions. Therefore, it was decided that comparing the results in 50m increments may not be sufficient to establish



any real variance, so a statistical analysis of the data was undertaken. In order to examine the assertion, each 'barrow' selected for mound burial in Deira was assigned an X, Y, (OS Grid coordinates) and Z, (altitude) coordinate based on information gathered from the Humberside and North Yorkshire SMRs, and Ordnance Survey data. The Z for each barrow was then graphed in 50m increments to identify any possible trends. The charts in figures 4.10 and 4.11 demonstrate the altitude ranges for barrows

selected for mound burial in each time period and examination of the data proved inconclusive. Lucy's observations were tested against the mapped distribution data using a chi-distribution test. The results (0.440985/0.506647) suggested that there was no demonstrable statistical difference across time in choice of burial location based on altitude in the area of the Yorkshire Wolds. So if altitude is not a predictive factor, other criteria for selection must have been important.

But does the data support this on a regional level?

#### **4.3c Mapping Period Two Sculpture**

The mapped distribution of the Period Two sculpture demonstrates an uneven across the region {see fig. 4.12}. Density Calculations, conducted using the same methods employed earlier, but with a 5km cell size, identified the western end of the Vale of Pickering, near Lastingham and Kirkdale as having the greatest density of sculpted stone monuments during the Period {fig. 4.13}.

Indeed, the relationship between Period Two sculpture and the Vale of Pickering is so strong that seven of the 29 sites with sculpture are located south of the vale. These are in the Yorkshire Wolds at Wharram Percy, Hunmanby and Filey, on the Holderness at Beverley, Leven and Patrington; and in the city York itself. Except for Beverley and York none of these sites is mentioned in the documentary sources as the site of any ecclesiastical activity. Indeed, the other site from the region at which Bede records the presence of an ecclesiastical centre, i.e., Watton, has produced no known examples of Anglo-Saxon stone sculpture.

One possibility for the decreased incidence of sculpture south of the Vale of Pickering is geological. The chalk and clays of the Yorkshire Wolds was certainly not suited to

the production of sculpted stone monuments (Lang 1991, 16). However, insufficient supplies of raw materials alone cannot explain the dearth of sculpted stone monuments elsewhere in Deira. We know that at Wharram Percy, Kirby Grindaleath and Hunmanby in the central Wolds sculpted stone was used. Further, difficulties associated with transportation of stone should not preclude the possibility that it was a valuable, transferable commodity. Analysis of the stone from Period Two monuments elsewhere in Deira indicate that raw stone and finished pieces were often shipped from one site to another in the region. In the North Yorkshire Moors at Hackness, a number of examples of stone monuments were found whose raw material had been quarried from near Whitby (Appendix 3). Elsewhere in Deira during Period Two there are examples of monuments whose stone was sourced from quarries near Whitby including: Filey, Hackness, Levisham, Kirkdale, Kirby Misperton, Hovingham, Lastingham, Easby and even York {fig. 4.15}. Indeed, York seems a curious place to find stone quarried at Whitby with so much readily available Roman material close to hand.

None of which satisfactorily addresses questions of why there were so few stone monuments located outside the Vale of Pickering. Difficulties associated with bringing the stone monuments into the interior of the Wolds would no different to those encountered transporting the material across the Moors and yet the data clearly demonstrates that it was moved across the Moors and beyond. While there are a number of navigable rivers in the region, none of them are on the Moors or in the Wolds. Everson and Stocker have argued that pieces in Lincolnshire were transported between six and eight miles overland (Everson and Stocker 1999, 32). Despite this, the transportation of goods and travel by water route would reduce the distance the pieces had to travel overland and increase the speed of transport (Green 1986; see also Dobson

2005). Given the ready availability of suitable stone in the immediate vicinity of the sculpture sites in the Moors, and of Roman material at York, we must look again for suitable answers to the distribution patterns of these monuments. Merely reciting assertions that the geology of the Wolds was unsuitable to the use of stone monuments and therefore we should not expect to find them will not do. However, any discussion of stone provenance and distribution is better suited to the individual Case Studies and will be discussed therein.

The mapped distribution of all Period Two monuments suggests that the Deiran elite usually chose not to invest in stone monuments in the same places that secondary burial was being practised {fig. 4.14}. The exceptions to this are a single example on the central Wolds at Wharram Percy where an example of Period Two sculpture has been excavated from the Wharram Percy Deserted Medieval Village (Beresford and Hurst 1990, 83-84; Lang 1991). Wharram Percy aside, the other two Wolds sites with sculpture are on the coast at Filey and Hunmanby in the northeast uplands of the Wolds. However, this discussion is better suited to the smaller scale of the Case Studies.

#### **4.3d Period Three Sculpture**

The mapped distribution of Period Three sculpted stone monuments offers yet another pattern of distribution. During Period Three 72 percent of all sites in Deira with known examples of stone sculpture are located north of the Yorkshire Wolds. Of the forty-nine sites with Period Three sculpture in the Study Area, fourteen are in the Vale of York. Twenty-five sites are located in the North Yorkshire Moors and the majority of these are in the western end of the Vale of Pickering. Five sites with Period Three sculpture are located in the Yorkshire Wolds while four sites are located in the Holderness, if the hogback at Bramston is included.

The calculated density of the Period Three monuments demonstrates that the western end of the Vale of Pickering is the zone with the highest concentration of stone sculpture {fig. 4.16}. Just over 20 percent of the Period Three sites with sculpture are located there and most are adjacent to the known Roman roads and other route-ways around the Vale of Pickering. Indeed, if all Roman roads in the region are mapped and the distribution of sculpture compared, then at least 35 percent of all sites are located within c. 1.5km of one of the Roman roads. It appears that Period Three is the first period in which the Vale of York, other than the city, can be said to be participating to any extent in the ideological discussion via the monuments.

During Period One, the secondary mound burials appear to be concentrated in the area south of the Vale of Pickering particularly on the Yorkshire Wolds. Despite the presence of the greatest concentration of Bronze Age barrows in the Wolds, the distribution of secondary burials was not correlational. Indeed, not one example of a Period One or Two mound burial has been found south of Watter on the southern leg of the Wolds. Results of the Calculated Density levels for Period One secondary burials indicate that the 8.97km<sup>2</sup> area around the modern town of Driffield is the area of highest concentration. Furthermore, in contrast to the pattern observed for the dataset of all early Anglo-Saxon burial, there does not appear to be a direct correlation between the network of Roman roads and the location of barrows selected for Anglian burial.

When the mapped distribution of all known secondary burials for Periods One and Two are mapped, several trends emerge {fig. 4.18}. First, it appears that exclusive of the presence of the odd secondary burial in the Vale of York or the North Yorkshire Moors, their distribution is largely restricted to the central Yorkshire Wolds. While the mapped distribution of Period One mound burials demonstrated a preference for barrows

located on the gravel soils of Drifffield, during Period Two the foci of mound burial in that area has shifted west onto the slacks of the Yorkshire Wolds near Garton Station.

#### **4.4 Some Preliminary Observations**

Based on the mapped distribution of the monuments, what preliminary conclusions can be made? The mapped data demonstrates that investment in monuments during the early medieval period was static in neither time nor place. Initial observations of the mapped distribution of monuments across the three time periods suggests that there are regional and sub-regional trajectories of development and that for some monument types there were 'favoured zones' for investment. It is possible that the spatial-temporal differences observed in the monuments are purely functional. That is to say, the stone monuments may be located in the north because that was where the stone was. Alternatively, the apparent emphasis on Roman roads and water routes may imply intra-regional competition for control of the transport routes. However, the study of the relative distribution of prehistoric barrows and Anglian secondary burial alerts us to the probability that the distribution of monuments is a reflection of something more than mere convenience. As discussed in Chapter 1, we proceed on the assumption that the type and location of monuments was deliberate and expressive. The differences revealed by the mapping are likely to indicate places where people actively espoused a particular brand of politics or belief (Carver 2001).

From a regional perspective, several possible trajectories emerge from the history of the monuments in Deira. First, it is possible that localized identities were being established in the various sub-regions of Deira via the adoption of an ancient landscape. Certainly during Period Two monuments are influenced by new ideas brought in from outside via the conversion from paganism to Christianity. Sculpture is introduced into the region

as a monument type and, in some places at least, the use of the different types of monuments overlaps.

During Period Three, the distribution of monuments begins to even out across the Deiran landscape, although disparity in the numbers of monuments continues. Indeed, the Moors, Vale of York, and the Holderness all have the highest level of investment in this period; even so, the number of sites with sculpted stone monuments on the Wolds is disproportionately small. Once again the west end of the Vale of Pickering is the focus of considerable activity. Be that as it may, latter stages of Period Two and Period Three represents the first time that there is anything like a unified Deiran monumental repertoire.

The mapped distribution of all monuments from Deira shows that certain areas were favoured for monumentality across time; namely the upper slopes of the Vale of Pickering, and the western and southern scarps of the Yorkshire Wolds {fig. 4.17}. However, although these areas are especially “vocal” in their investment the character of the investment is different across time and space. During Period One the majority of monuments are located on the central uplands of the Yorkshire Wolds and on the gravel soils in the area of the modern town of Driffield. There are a few sites with monuments in the Vale of York near Catterick, as well as northern rim of the Vale of Pickering of the near the hamlet of Kingthorpe. During Period Two, the investment in mound burial continues on the central uplands of the Wolds and near Driffield. Meanwhile the investment in the Vale of York, the North Yorkshire Moors and the Vale of Pickering is in the form of sculpture. Period Three sees uniformity in the monuments concurrent with the arrival of the Vikings into the region.

The distribution maps have documented changes in the distribution of monuments in Deira over time. The uneven rate of change across Deira in Period Two suggests that there were both conservative and less conservative communities in Deira who adopted new ideas at different rates.

#### **4.5 Framing the Questions**

The results of the mapping exercise offer the opportunity to pose a number of questions. First, while the calculated density of 'ancient' barrows in Deira suggests that they are distributed across most regions, why is it that the Period One secondary burials are concentrated on the central Yorkshire Wolds and on the gravel soils around the modern town of Driffield? Second, why is it that there are no known secondary mound burials in the southern leg of the Wolds when this section of the Wolds has a higher concentration of round barrows than any other 'zone' in Deira? Meanwhile near the Vale of Pickering there are Romano-British style cist burials in close proximity to Anglo-Saxon secondary burials on the Wolds and this raises questions about the presence of rival political communities.

In Period Two, what does the presence of Period Two sculpted stone monuments in the Holderness, in close juxtaposition to mound burials on the Garton Slack, mean? The grave-goods, coin dates and workboxes, from several of the burials on the Yorkshire Wolds, date to at least AD725. Near Cottam there is the example of several burials in coffins in a secondary context. Excavated by Brewster (1969), the burials returned C14 dates of between AD725 and 745. We know that the minsters at Beverley and Watton were well established before AD705. Does this mean that there were people in Deira who continued to bury their dead in a manner that signals preference for the previous agenda and was this different from the agenda of the monastic sculpture investors at



Beverley and Watton? In addition during Period Two in the Vale of Pickering we see an explosion of ecclesiastical sites as suggested by the presence of stone sculpture at several sites. By Period Three the monument repertoire appears unified across the region. Are we seeing a unified polity in Deira for the first time? If so, then this is contrary to the history of the documents. What can the distribution of these different monument types tell us about the development of political communities in the period? These questions are better suited to discussion at the smaller human scale since they deal with largely local discussions.

There is a danger that the trends identified in the preliminary analysis of the mapped data may be a product of a distant view or caused by the relative archaeological visibility of different landscape zones. It is therefore necessary to examine the observations made in this Chapter and Chapter 2 and 3 about the historic and natural landscape at a smaller scale of the case study areas. By subjecting several discreet areas to closer examination, we hope to learn something of the way the social actors of the past deployed monuments over time. If we are correct in suggesting that different communities invested differently over time, then the landscape should record these monumental histories.

#### **4.6 The Case Study Areas**

In order to minimize possible distortions created by any variation in topography, the various geological and topographical zones will be taken into account and efforts to sample all of the various sub-regions are made. Therefore the case study areas will include sections of the lowland area of the Holderness plain, the Vale of York and

Pickering, and the upland zones of the Yorkshire Wolds and the North Yorkshire Moors in an effort to come to terms with the way they used and experienced the landscape.

Because cartographic overviews of the landscape are a product of the post-medieval and industrialized world and aerial views of the landscape would have never been a possibility. Archaeologists have long understood that the natural features and manmade monuments of the landscape shaped its inhabitants understanding of their physical environment and knowledge of place which was learned experientially (Bradley 1988; 1991; 2002; Gosden and Locke 1998; Shanks and Tilley 1987a; Tilley 1994). In order to investigate the relationship between early medieval social actors and their contemporary landscapes, the case studies will look closely at a sample of the 'visual theatres' in the landscapes or vistas that the social actors of the past would have known, to sample how those were experienced. Carver has noted that 'a monument has a relationship with the land in its vista, which may be ancestral, proprietorial or ideological, and as such, vista is a key attribute' (Carver 2006, 14) of the monument. Later monuments and landscapes refer and react to the monument and this forms the 'narrative of monumental use' which records 'the sequence of shifting opinion' (Carver 2006, 14).

The distributions observed might be a product of geography. In order to sample the effects of these differences the case study areas will include samples of each geographic zone in Deira. Finally, the various case study areas will be selected to include areas for which historical documentation is both present and absent in order to examine the validity of any real or implied differences in the texts.

With these criteria in mind the following three case study areas have been selected. The first case study area centres on the historically documented Shrunken Medieval Village of Goodmanham (Chapter 5) {fig. 4.19}. Located on the southern leg of the Yorkshire Wolds Goodmanham is unique in Deira in that it provides an important contrast to the rich monument investment levels in the other two case study areas while being by comparison, well documented historically. While the area of Goodmanham has two of the highest Calculated Density levels for Bronze Age barrows in Deira, there are no known secondary burials. At Goodmanham we also have the well documented presence of an Anglo-Saxon pagan shrine associated with the highest levels of the social elite. Meanwhile, c. 2km south the Sancton cremation cemeteries are the largest in Deira. Geographically, the Goodmanham Case Study Area encompasses both the arable upland of the Wolds and the rich wetlands of the Vale of York.

The second Case Study Area was selected based on the Density Calculations of Period One and Two monuments. These identified an area on the gravel soils of the north Holderness, and the chalk around the modern town of Driffield, as a zone of high investment during Period One {fig. 4.20}. Later during Period Two this is also the area where investment in secondary burial continues into the eighth century and where we have two well documented early ecclesiastical centres, at Beverley and Watton. Interestingly, the Period Three investment in the region does not reflect a similar or sustained trend. Instead of the Driffield or Beverley areas the monuments are now on the north central areas of the Holderness Plain. The landscape of the Driffield case study area includes areas of the eastern Yorkshire Wolds and the Holderness. The Driffield case study area will be comprise Chapter 6.

The final Case Study Area centres on the western end of the Vale of Pickering {fig. 4.21}. During Period One there are relatively few monuments and some atypical cist burials, but by Period Two and Three investment in monuments is considerable. The Density Calculation of Period Two and Three sculpted stone monuments identified the western end of the Vale of Pickering as a zone of particularly intense investment. The paucity of Period One activity in the region makes it an excellent contrast to the area of high investment around Driffield, while the absence of Period Two secondary burials is the inverse of Driffield. Finally, the landscape of the case study area includes the lowlands of the Vale of Pickering and the upland zones of the North Yorkshire Moors and Howardian Hills. The Vale of Pickering Case Study Area will be examined in Chapter 7.

In Chapter 2, 3 and 4 early medieval monuments were selected for study and an overview of the natural and manmade landscape of Deira was set against the mapped distribution of those Anglo-Saxon monuments. This was used to select the three case study areas that Chapters 5, 6 and 7 will examine. In each of the case studies the natural and manmade features in the landscape are reviewed at the human scale to provide a context for the Anglian and Anglo-Scandinavian monuments. The monuments are then plotted on distribution maps within the case study area and the results reviewed within the context provided by the above data. Interdisciplinary sources are reviewed to provide critical perspective on how monuments were used in the study areas during the early medieval period.

In order to assess the vistas for each monument site in the case study area, the individual sites were visited on three occasions including summer and winter to assess seasonal variations in visibility. These field recordings were then used to inform desk-

based studies of sightlines and intervisibility between the sites and any known manmade landscape features using both 1<sup>st</sup> edition Ordnance Survey Maps and 1-50,000 scale modern OS editions. This data was then combined with Point to Point Intervisibility calculations conducted using Shuttle Radar Terrain Mapping elevation data in ESRI's ArcView 3.1 to produce a series of vista samples. The results of these vista sample series are then used to discuss how these monumental landscapes were experienced by early medieval social actors. Each of the three case studies ends with a brief discussion and preliminary interpretation of the data.

With the monumental landscape of the case study areas reviewed, we should be in a position to assess each zone and the relationships between them. It will then be possible in Chapter 8 to construct a "monumental narrative" for the early medieval kingdom of Deira and compare and contrast it with the narrative we already have from documentary history.

## Chapter 5

### The Goodmanham Case Study Area

---

#### 5.1 Defining the Area

The c. 500 square kilometres of the Goodmanham case study area is located in the south central area of the kingdom of Deira {fig. 5.1}. The south eastern terminus of the study area is on the River Humber at North Ferriby, from which the boundary runs north-northeast along the spine of the southern Yorkshire Wolds, before terminating near Blanch Farm near Warter. The western boundary begins near the hamlet of Yapham, c. 2km north of Pocklington in the Vale of York. The boundary runs due south past the western extremity of the River Foulness and continues to its terminus at the River Humber. The topography and geology of the study area includes portions of the upland chalk of the Yorkshire Wolds and the lowland silts of the Vale of York. The landscape of the study area can be divided into three roughly distinct zones and these include: the upland zone of the high Wolds, a transitional zone where the scarps of the Wolds descend into the Vale of York and the lowland zone of the Vale of York.

#### 5.2 The Manmade Landscape Features

In Chapter 3 we presented a brief characterization of the prehistoric and Roman landscape features for the various topographic zones in Deira. In order to provide a context for the early medieval monuments in the study area, this section presents a brief review of the prehistoric and Roman period landscape features.

## 5.2a The Neolithic and Bronze Age

The large-scale clearance of tree cover on the Yorkshire Wolds began as early as the Neolithic. The subsequent division of the landscape by earthworks, some of which are in situ while others are recognizable as crop-marks, continued through the Bronze Age and beyond (Steertz 1997). When the distribution of the round barrows is plotted on a map of the study area several areas of high density are revealed {fig. 5.2}. Working from north to south there is a concentration of c. 11+ *tumuli* near Blanch farm, Warter (1<sup>st</sup> edition OS map 1854). There is a further cluster of c. 33+ *tumuli* near Enthorpe Wood and house. The Enthorpe cluster is adjacent to a track-way which may be ancient, but which certainly respects the layout of the Shrunken Medieval Village (SMV) at Goodmanham. The track-way runs from the Market Weighton/Goodmanham area northwest towards Driffield and over this was superimposed the rail line between Market Weighton and Driffield (1<sup>st</sup> edition OS map 1854). During the construction of the railway in the nineteenth century many of the *tumuli* from this group were destroyed. Southeast of the famous Arras farm, at Howe Hill Field, there is the group of 12-14 *tumuli* shown on the 1<sup>st</sup> edition Ordnance Survey map. To the south of Market Weighton lies a group of c. 20+ *tumuli* arranged along the crest of the hill that looks down on the Roman road between Sancton and Market Weighton and the vale of York (1<sup>st</sup> edition OS map 1854). Finally, the 1<sup>st</sup> edition OS map for the region shows a clustering of at least thirty and possibly as many as forty *tumuli* on the hilltops near Newbald Plantation. The earthworks which are a feature of the Late Bronze Age or Iron Age respect earlier features, such as barrows, combine to divide the study area territorially.

### 5.2b The Iron Age Landscape Features

During the Iron Age the people living in the study area were using the landscape in a number of ways. They were actively exploiting the rich resources of the wetland zone, burying their dead in monumental barrow cemeteries in the Yorkshire Wolds and often this included the characteristic *La Tene* chariot burial. The ladder settlements, while from the later Iron Age, suggest that settlement pattern was uneven across the area.

Iron Age material culture includes ladder settlements, funerary monuments and evidence for industrial activity. This region is also home to the Iron Age Parisi people recorded by the Romans and archaeologically by the square barrow cart burials such as those from Arras farm (Ramm 1978). There are also a number of ladder settlements among which is an extensive ladder settlement near Warter that is aligned on a roughly north-south axis (Steortz 1997). While the full extent is not known, the settlement extends northward from Rickland farm, near the present village, for some 2km (Steortz 1997). South of Warter, near the medieval village of Kipling Cotes, there is another group of ladder settlements. Continuing southward through the study area the next site is c. 1km east of the modern village of Goodmanham. Here the ladder settlement extends towards the south from a point near Goodmanham Grange for about 1km. Another ladder settlement nearby is visible c. 1km southeast and extends for c. 1km before bending its course 90 degrees southward toward Arras farm (Steortz 1997). To the south of Market Weighton the settlement activity shifts to the transitional zone. The settlement here is characterized by a more nucleated pattern and extends intermittently for some 9km south almost to the area of the Walling Fen (Steortz 1997).



The region is also home to the impressive Iron Age square barrow cemetery at Arras Farm which is a c. 2km east of Market Weighton {fig. 5.3}. The *La Tene* square barrow cart- or chariot - burials were excavated from the hills overlooking the farm in the early nineteenth century (Mortimer 1905; Greenwell 1906; Loughlin and Miller 1979; Stead 1979; Steortz 1997). While there are relatively few of these chariot burials in England, the majority of them are found in the East Riding.

Recent research reassessing Iron Age economic activity in the Vale of York has begun to reveal the extent of the exploitation of the region's resources (Atha 2003; Whyman 2005). Iron Age exploitation of the wetland areas in the southern Vale of York includes activity along the smaller secondary rivers of the region, e.g., the River Foulness. These water ways likely served as important transport routes linking the interior to the River Humber (Millett and Halkon 1988, 43; Dobson 2005). Details of industrial activity in Vale of York have emerged from excavations at Moore's Farm in the Foulness valley where c. 5 tonnes of iron slag was unearthed. The large quantity of slag makes it one of the largest known Iron Age iron working sites in Britain (Millett 1986; Halkon 1995; 1999). Excavated in 1985 and reassessed in the late 1990's as part of the Holme Project, activity at the site has been C-14 dated to c. 300BC (Halkon 1995, 14). Compositional data for smelting slag from the site suggest the most likely source of the slag at Moore's Farm was bog ore (Paynter 2006), further evidence that the wetlands were being exploited for their natural resources.

The recent discovery of a section of Iron Age track-way made from woven wattles and wooden bars suggests that at least for portions of the Iron Age, the wetland resources around the River Foulness were being used. The track-way, which led to a wharf on the River Foulness, yielded a C14 date of AD350-560 (2 standard deviation – 95

percent confidence limits) likely connected the wharf to a nearby early medieval settlement at Bursea c. 2km to the east (Ottaway 2004, Dobson 2005). Adjacent to the track-way was an early medieval logboat with a C14 date of AD530-690 (2 standard deviation – 95% confidence limits) (Ottaway 2004).

### 5.3 The Roman Period Landscape

During the Roman period the landscape of the study area was again transformed. The principal landscape feature of the Roman period is the extensive network of roads which link the area to important regional centres such as York and Malton. The Roman road from Brough, the Roman period crossing point on the River Humber, to Malton runs directly north from Brough following, more or less, the western scarp of the Wolds. At a point just south of the modern town of Market Weighton, near Sancton, the road divides into two branches. The primary road continues northward past Goodmanham into the high Wolds via Londesborough and Nunburnholme where it jogs sharply west then north once again. From Warter the road continues its northward route beyond the boundaries of the Case Study Area. Meanwhile, the other branch veers sharply west from Market Weighton, past the Roman fort at Hayton and continues in the direction of the Roman legionary fortress at York {fig. 5.4}.

The majority of the Roman period sites from the study area are within an area c. 3km either side of the Brough-Malton Roman road (Ottaway 2003, 129). Beginning in the south at the site of the Roman crossing point on the River Humber, Brough is likely the site of the known Roman *civitas* capitol *Petruria*. Considerable occupation evidence was discovered in the 1930's (Corder 1934; 1935; Corder and Richmond 1938; 1942). This evidence included the *Petruria* inscription (Slack 1951). Other important sites in the south of the study area include the port at Faxfleet (Bartlett 1968). The port was

located at a point near where the Rivers Foulness, Ouse, and Trent empty into the Humber.

During the third and fourth centuries we see a general reorganisation of agricultural production across the region and it is in this phase that most villas appear (Mackey 1999). There are as many as seven villas in the study area and these are at Newbald (Corder 1941), North Cave (Dent 1989; Evans and Steedman 1997), Shiptonthorpe (Frere 1985, 281; 1986, 386; 1987, 320), Hayton (S Johnson, 1978), Pocklington (Keppie; *et al* 1999), Brantingham (Liversidge *et al* 1973), and Welton (Mackey 1999).

The villa at South Newbald was excavated in 1939 with coin dates ranging from the third and fourth century (R P Wright 1940, 166; Corder 1941). At North Cave there is a site which has produced occupation evidence from the late Iron Age at which human activity continued into the second century before being abandoned. The site was then reoccupied in the third or fourth century (Dent 1989; Evans and Steedman 1997, 125). Westward along the York road there is evidence of settlements near Shiptonthorpe and Hayton that were aligned on the road and which are known to have been in use (Frere 1985, 281; 1986, 386; 1987, 320; Taylor 1995; Halkon 2003). Excavations at the Roman fort at Hayton produced evidence of pits which were interpreted as Anglo-Saxon grubenhauser and one feature that may have been a pottery kiln (S Johnson, 1978, 74).

At Pocklington a villa was discovered in 1998 when tile, tesserae, chalk and limestone rubble were discovered. Geophysical surveys of the site indicated a structure, resembling other villas in the region, c. 35m long situated within an Iron Age ladder system (Keppie; *et al* 1999, 343). At Barmby Moor, aerial photography has identified

a possible villa site associated with a track-way and ditched enclosure (English Heritage Monument No. 59491). At Brantingham a villa was discovered in the 1940's when two mosaics were found in a stone quarry. The site of the villa is c. 2km northwest of Brough just to the west of the A63 (Liversidge *et al* 1973). The size of Room 1 of the Brantingham villa is notable, at 7.77m x 11.13m it is easily the largest in the East Riding (Liversidge *et al* 1973, 90). The mosaic from room 1 is also among the largest excavated in Britain (Liversidge *et al* 1973, 91).

Nearby at Welton, researchers studying the villa and its associated landscape use have contributed to our understanding of the economy of these sites in the region. The Welton villa was associated by the excavator with a series of large chalk quarries in the locale (Mackey 1999, 24), which, he argues were used in the construction of military roads nearby. In the later phases of the site there is evidence for "casual burials...some were contorted in tiny graves, one even face-down. Others had been dumped into the backfill of corn dryers" (Mackey 1999, 29). This was interpreted by the excavator as evidence for use of 'the slave mode of production.' By the fourth century, the villa at Welton is a dramatic period of decline in status and conditions, and this was linked by the excavator to increased instability in the region (Mackey 1999, 29-31).

Roman period industry in the study area consists primarily of pottery and some quarrying activity near Welton. The pottery industry in the study area includes c. 40 Roman pottery kilns, the earliest of which was excavated in 1930 by Sheppard and Corder (Corder 1930; Halkon 2002). Indeed, the discovery of Roman pottery at sites across the study area North Newbald, Market Weighton, Holme-on-Spalding Moor and Londesborough (Millett and Halkon 1988; Halkon 1993) speaks to the important ties with the city of York and other Roman sites throughout Deira for which the products

were likely produced. Other possible sites with industrial components include the Roman landing at Faxfleet on the River Humber as well as the crossing point at Brough on Humber (Bayley 2002).

#### **5.4 Landscape Summary**

The agricultural potential of the uplands was not unlimited, and the Wolds were always better suited to pasture. Across the expanse of the Yorkshire Wolds, the Bronze Age (and later?) linear earthworks were a feature of the upland zone. The Bronze Age and Iron Age barrows and prehistoric track-ways were distributed across the study area, but principally on the uplands of the Wolds and the Wolds slacks where they meet the resource rich wetlands of the Vale of York. The discussion of prehistoric and Roman landscape use can inform our discussion of how the early medieval people of Deira were using the landscape and its natural resources.

The resource rich wetland zone and had been exploited from the Bronze Age forward. In the Iron Age iron working was an important part of the regions economy and the wetlands of the vale were likely the source of high quality bog ore. During the Roman period the landscape hosts more villas than any other case study, at least two wealthy villas were located near Brough, in close proximity to both the industrial pottery works at Holme-on-Spalding-Moor and the port at Faxfleet. The study area was divided by the Brough/Malton and York Roman roads.

#### **5.5 Early Medieval Documentary Evidence**

As is the case for all of Deira, Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* is the primary Anglo-Saxon period documentary source for the Goodmanham study area. In it, Bede relates the famous conversion story of Deiran King Edwin in A.D. 627 by the Roman

missionary priest Paulinus. In Bede's version of the events Edwin called a council of his *comitatus* to 'debate' the relative merits of Christianity and their pagan belief system as well as the implications of conversion. Bede does not tell us where this discussion took place, likely one of Edwin's palace sites along the River Derwent, but it must have been a short distance from Goodmanham because at the end of the debate Coifi, Edwin's 'chief' priest and cult leader, made the highly symbolic journey on horseback from there to the site of the Deiran royal shrine at Goodmanham (*HE*, ii, 13-14, 129-132). The text reads "*non longe ab Eburaco ad orientem, ultra amnem Doruentionem, et uocatur Godmunddiungaham*" and later commentators have readily associated the place with Goodmanham (*HE* ii, 13).

#### **5.6 Places on the Margins: Execution Sites**

Archaeological and place-name evidence suggest that there are at least two execution sites in the Goodmanham study area: Walkington Wold in the east and Warter in the north. The Warter place-name combines the Old English elements of *wearg+treow*, which literally can be translated as gallows tree or a place of the gallows (AD Mills 1999). Warter is the nearest village to the only Period One mound burial in the study area at Blanch Farm. Elsewhere in the study area at Walkington Wold (Reynolds 1997; 1998), C14 analysis of skeletal remains of decapitated individuals returned dates between the seventh and tenth century at the 95% confidence level (Buckberry and Hadley 2007, 323).

#### **5.7 Period One Monuments**

There is only one known example of a secondary mound burial in the study area and that is at Blanch Farm, Warter (Mortimer 1905; Eagles 1979; Lucy 1998). Located c. 300m from Blanch Farm the site is c. 2km from the Roman road and c. 4km from the

Roman villa site at Millington {fig. 5.5}. The site is situated in close proximity to a stretch of track-way where the Minster Way and the Wolds Way run together (OS 1:50,000 map).

Mortimer was present at the opening of the majority of the mounds in his 'Blanch Group,' unfortunately the Warter 1 barrow was not among that number (Mortimer 1905, 322). However, Mortimer does record the contents of a letter from one Silburn, who opened the mound, in which the discovery of: an Early British Sword [which Mortimer believed to 'most probably' be Anglo-Saxon] found with a skeleton, and an urn (very rude) that was destroyed by the finders, on a farm at Blanch, June, 1851' (Mortimer 1905, 322). Otherwise there is little to add about the burial beyond pointing out that it does fit into the Anglo-Saxon tradition of early weapons burials (Härke 1992; 1997; Lucy 2000a, 3-4).

Other significant places in the landscape include a number of cemeteries. There are thirteen known Period One burial sites in the Goodmanham study area {fig. 5.6}. These include: the large cremation cemeteries of Sancton I and Sancton II, furnished inhumations at Hayton, Haltemprice, Market Weighton, North Cave, Warter: 2 and Welton. The number of interred individuals in any one site ranges from 1 to possibly more than a thousand.

Beginning in the north, the Warter 2 burial was discovered when a gravedigger found an iron spearhead with a split socket beneath later burials (Eagles 1979; Lucy 1998; 1999). Near the modern village of Londesborough at least six sites have produced examples of well-furnished Period One burials (Mortimer 1905; Meaney 1964; Eagles 1979; Lucy 1999; O'Brien 1999). At Market Weighton, approximately 2km south of

Londesborough, a burial excavated in 1906 was cut into the geology and contained a single, very well furnished, prone female. Grave-goods included: an amber and glass necklace, a pair of massive developed cruciform brooches, a cruciform brooch, a possible belt plate, two pairs of wrist clasps, a horn ring, a pair of girdle hangers and some food vessels (Lucy 1999; Meaney 1964; Hull Museum Publications 33, 1906).

2km to the south along the Roman road to Brough, the cremation cemeteries at Sancton I (predominantly cremations) and II (a mixed cemetery of inhumations and cremations) are among the earliest Anglo-Saxon cemeteries in Yorkshire (Smith 1882; Smith 1912b; Brown 1915; Elgee & Elgee 1933, Meaney 1964; Myres and Southern 1973; Eagles 1979; Faull 1979; Lucy 1999; O'Brien 1999). Sancton I was possibly in use by as early as AD 450 and is the earlier of the two cemeteries. The Sancton II cemetery seems to have come into use sometime after c. AD500 and burial activity there ceased by the beginning of the seventh century (Myres & Southern 1973; Faull 1979; Lucy 1998; 1999).

Continuing south from Sancton there are three burial centres: Haltemprice, Welton and North Cave. Due to the paucity of available data, the cist burial at Haltemprice church, which Lucy (1998) maintains is Anglian is difficult to date and there is no particular reason to include it. However, the other Haltemprice burial has been inferred from the quantity of beads and pottery discovered while workers were cutting a trench for a drain (Elgee & Elgee 1933; Meaney 1964; Lucy 1999; O'Brien 1999). At Welton, a skeleton with a small penannular brooch and a bead was discovered (Smith 1912b; Meaney 1964; Lucy 1999). Finally, the burials at North Cave were discovered in the nineteenth century and a number of Anglo-Saxon shield bosses were recovered (Smith 1891; Meaney 1964; Eagles 1979; Lucy 1999).



## 5.8 Period Two Monuments

There are no archaeologically known examples of Period Two sculpture or secondary burials in the study area. There are, however, other significant places. Burial evidence is fairly abundant with seven sites having produced burials dating to Period Two. These are: Elloughton, Etton, Londesborough, North Cave, Newbald, and Nunburnholme {fig. 5.7}. At Elloughton, an Anglo-Saxon inhumation cemetery was discovered on top of a hill which produced individual male, female and child burials which were all in shallow pits, with a random orientation and no indication of organization within the burial ground. Associated grave-goods included annular brooches, beads, buckles, and iron tools (T Sheppard 1940; Meaney 1964; Eagles 1979; Lucy 1999). Elsewhere near Etton, seventy skeletons were excavated in 1866 while building the rail line between Market Weighton and Beverley. Nearly all of the bodies were in a 'contracted' position. Greenwell thought the cemetery was Anglo-Saxon, Meaney thought not. However, Lucy (1999; 2000a) has argued convincingly that early medieval crouched burials are seventh century at the earliest. Meanwhile, at Everthorpe at least two extended burials were excavated, one of which was accompanied by an iron knife and these have generally been thought to be Anglian (Meaney 1964; White 1988; O'Brien 1999).

Period Two burials excavated at Londesborough include a burial in which the body was positioned on its right the side with the head to the WNW. The grave-goods included a knife and annular brooches (Meaney 1964; Swanton 1964; Eagles 1979; Lucy 1999; O'Brien 1999). At Newbald a number of Anglo-Saxon skeletons were excavated in 1905, these included crouched burials (Lucy 1999; O'Brien 1999). Near North Cave, a large number of skeletons were excavated in the nineteenth century;

associated grave-goods from the cemetery there included a female skeleton buried with a blue glass pendant with a silver mount and beads. In another grave a bronze wire finger ring and iron knife were found (Eagles 1979; Lucy 1999). Finally, three skeletons were unearthed while digging a chalk pit near Nunburnholme. All three were in crouched position, with heads to the east (Lucy 1999).

Of all the significant Period Two sites in Anglo-Saxon England, Goodmanham remains the most intriguing due to the tantalizingly vague description of the pagan shrine there in Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* (HE, ii, 14). Questions about any continuity of use at the site between the 'pagan' period and the establishment of the present All Saints church remain to be answered. We have another example from Deira of a site that was in use in both the pagan and Christian periods. At Fimber, on the Yorkshire Wolds, we have an example of a church built on a massive Bronze Age barrow with 'pre-Christian' Anglian graves (Mortimer 1905; Blair 1995a). Other sites with demonstrated early medieval activity include West Heslerton where we have an example of an excavated Anglo-Saxon settlement site which was established near the site of a Romano-British temple (Powlesland 1999; 2000; 2003). None of which need imply continuity, merely that these sites can see multiple phases of activity across the Post Roman and early medieval period.

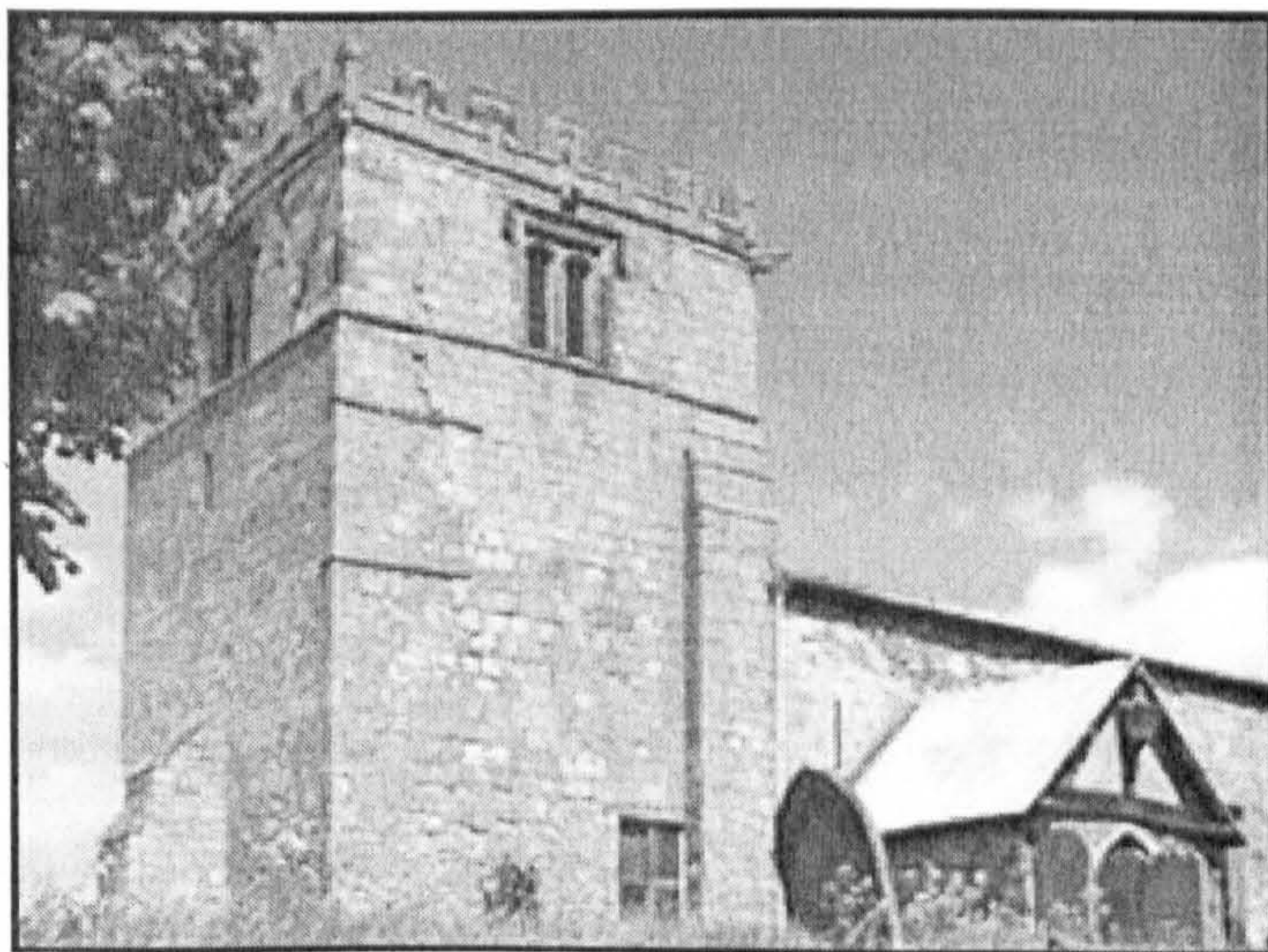
With respect to Goodmanham, we unfortunately know little of the archaeology in the village, and a modern archaeological survey of the fabric of the church remains to be published. However, aerial photography suggests the presence of a Shrunken Medieval Village, visible as earthworks in the snow, to the north of All Saints church (York Archaeological Trust Archival Records).

In June of 2003 a series of resistivity and magnetometry surveys were carried out in the churchyard by the author, fellow University of York PhD student James Gerrard, University of York Buildings MA student Sally Mills and University of York Field MA Ian Millstead. The investigation covered the entirety on the churchyard including the area west of the tower and east of the modern graveyard extension. In addition, an analysis of the building fabric was conducted by Mills which has yet to be published. The geophysical survey indicated the possible presence of pre-historic features in the area of the church including a pathway and a vague, sub-rectangular to ovoid feature c. 20m off the west tower. In the absence of excavations it is impossible to know with any degree of certitude, but it may be that this is an enclosure of the type suggested by Blair (1995a; 2006).

It was hoped that the results of the study would answer the question of whether the church was atop a monumental barrow as some have argued (Blair 1995a). Unfortunately, the magnetometry and resistivity surveys proved inconclusive with respect to the geology

plate 5.2 Goodmanham All Saints Church

of the site and can therefore not be relied upon to confirm or deny the prospective barrow. However, careful examination of the stonework in the tower has revealed that the structure is



experiencing severe stresses at the base of the tower {plate 5.2}. At present, the north

south and west walls of the tower show serious signs of structural compromise in the stonework. Indeed, in several places, notably in the lowest visible course of stonework on the northwest corner, serious stress fractures have begun to show. The insertion of a buttress over the West door is a late-or post-medieval attempt to stem the sagging of the towers West and North walls. In the survey of the structure conducted in June 2003 Mills was able to demonstrate that the tower was a complex, multiphase structure with a number of reconstruction phases (J. Clarke 2000; S Mills pers comm; see also Blair 1995a). These structural failures, and phases of rebuilding, may result from the tower foundations having been built on inadequate substrata, such as might be the case if this were indeed the site of an artificial raising of the ground level to form a barrow. Further to this, the author has been present on two occasions when fresh graves were being dug in the west end of the modern extension of the graveyard. These observations, made during in February and March 2003, found that c. 20m from the west wall of the tower the topsoil extends only c. 45cm below the surface where it meets the natural chalk. This being so, it must at least remain a possibility that the structural failure of the tower is resultant from inadequate foundational support, such as would be the case if the tower were constructed over a raised mound of earth. In the absence of the kind of data only available from excavation in what is still an active burial ground, the question of whether the church at Goodmanham sits atop a natural or manmade mound must remain unanswered.

### **5.9 Period Three Monuments**

All of the Period Three monuments are located in the centre of the study area are within c. 4km of one another. These including sculpture at: Holme-on-Spalding-Moor, Londesborough and Nunburnholme {fig. 5.8}. Two of the sites, Londesborough and Nunburnholme are located in upland valleys along the western scarps of the southern

leg of the Wolds. While the Holme-on-Spalding-Moor site is located in the Vale of York on an isolated area of high ground, c. 45m relative to the surrounding 3-8m ground levels.

The sculpted stone monument at Holme-on-Spalding-Moor All Saints Church is a part of a cross-shaft, decorated with arched panels. The piece shares influences with others elsewhere in Yorkshire including Collingham in the West Riding. The depiction of a seated figure is paralleled in the Anglo-Scandinavian sculpture of the Ryedale (Lang 1991, 144 & 187-193). Other parallels include a number of the Mercian sculptures. However, the closest parallel seems to be the nearby Nunburnholme shaft with which it shares the same parallels of southern Yorkshire and Mercia combined within an Anglo-Scandinavian context (Lang 1991, 143). The fabric of the sculpture is Middle Jurassic sandstone quarried somewhere around Aislaby, near Whitby (Lang 1991, 144).

The next sculpted stone monument in the Goodmanham study area is a cross-head at Londesborough All Saints church. The piece is built into the wall over the south door and therefore only one side is visible. Stylistically, the Londesborough cross-head resembles other Anglo-Scandinavian crosses with known dates in the tenth century. It is unknown whether the cross-head was originally part of a free-standing monument or whether it may have served some sort of architectural function, like the cross panels from Hovingham and Middleton. The fabric of the cross-head is nearly identical to that of the fragment from Holme-on-Spalding-Moor in that it is a Middle Jurassic sandstone quarried from Aislaby, near Whitby (Lang 1991, 179-180).

The sculpted stone monument at St James's church Nunburnholme is a cross-shaft. Largely intact, the cross-shaft is in a good state of preservation. The Nunburnholme

piece is among the most important pieces from Anglo-Scandinavian England. In construction technique the shaft resembles the column at Masham, North Riding, and its motifs closely resemble the cross-head of the York Newgate shaft. Largely secular in its iconography, the monument is by far one of the most complex pieces in Yorkshire and is like the shaft from York Minster (Lang, 1991, see comments on York Minster 9) and that from West Tanfield in the North Riding (Lang 1991, 187-193).

The Nunburnholme cross was completed in two distinct phases. The first, and earliest, phase displays a number of late Anglian influences while the second phase, during which work began on the shaft once again by a new craftsman, was completed in the decidedly secular Anglo-Scandinavian motif. These two phases of carving represent a distinct break of perhaps some considerable time in the sculpting of the shaft. Further, there is no way of knowing either where the shaft was originally constructed in Period Two or for what place it was intended. Therefore the piece is only included in Period Three. Finally, unlike the other monuments from the Case Study Area during the period, the fabric of the Nunburnholme shaft is reused Roman ashlar from York (Lang 1991, 187-193).

#### **5.10 Vista Sample Series: Period One**

The results of the vista samples conducted for the study area are summarized here. The details of the field study and desktop analysis are in Appendix 3. While there is only one secondary burial site during Period one, four vista samples have been conducted. This includes the secondary burial site at Warter and three vista samples taken from points in the landscape around the village of Goodmanham {fig. 5.9}. This was an attempt to account for the possibility that there may also have been a Period One monument near Goodmanham. The first is approximately 1km south of

Goodmanham along the Brough/Malton Roman road. Second, a vista sample was taken from the west end of All Saints church and the third sample site was c. 500m from the church along the Brough/Malton Roman road.

The vista sample for the secondary mound burial at Blanch Farm Warter suggests that the in the barrow was selected to include route-ways in the Yorkshire Wolds (Appendix, 3) {fig. 5.10}. This includes at least one ancient track-way near Howe Hill Close, OS SE855534. In addition the vista included a spring near the modern village of Warter {fig. 5.11}.

The vista sample conducted for the Goodmanham site indicates that the visual focus was the valley itself and also on the Roman road (Appendix, 3). Results of vista sample C, suggest that the focal point was along the Roman roads and the vale of York. Given the altitude, the vantage point and the topography of the vale of York it should have been possible to see as far as the former Roman fortress at York. In addition, the Anglian cemeteries of Sancton I & II would have been clearly visible to the south. The distance one can see facing southwest is considerable, e.g., the modern power plant at Pontefract, c. 40km distant, is plainly visible. The Brough/Malton Roman road would have been in full view as it passed through the valley separating the modern town of Market Weighton from Goodmanham. Along this stretch of the road, the 1<sup>st</sup> edition OS map notes the presence of a *tumuli* on the southwest side of the road as it intersects with the track way on which the rail line was later superimposed (1<sup>st</sup> edition OS map, 1854.)

The results of the vista sample conducted for site B not surprisingly suggest that the vista was more limited, reflecting the enclosed nature of the site while emphasising the

riverine routes and Roman roads. Vista sample A, Goodmanham church, the visual focus is the village and the surrounding landscape. The only significant lines of sight are the south, which extends to the River Humber, the west that extends beyond the River Derwent and the northwest which includes the Roman road.

#### **5.10a Period Two Vista Samples**

Goodmanham, see above.

#### **5.10b Period Three Vista Samples**

The vista samples for Period Three were conducted from each monument site. The results indicate that the important routes and focal points for Period Three were the riverine transport routes and the network of Roman roads in the study area (Appendix 3) {fig. 5.12}. Of the three churches with surviving Period Three monuments, All Saints Church, Holme-on-Spalding Moore is the only one not located on the Brough/Malton road. However, the church occupies a distinctive position in the landscape. It is situated atop church hill some 40m above the surrounding lowlands of the Vale of York. As such its vista included nearly the entire length of the Roman road from Brough to Goodmanham, and the high points from there to Nunburnholme. Indeed, the York road should have been visible for its entire length beyond the Derwent and on to York. The riverine routes of the vale of York form the other significant transportation element of Holme-on-Spalding-Moor's Vista. Significant lengths of both the Humber and Ouse Rivers are visible from the site. The vista also includes the barrows of the Danes Graves site to the west.

All Saints church at Londesborough is situated in an upland valley 1km northwest of Goodmanham. All Saints church occupies a position in the landscape near the Roman



road and the Wolds Way and the vista is dominated by these. Riverine transport routes again form a significant component of the vista and the Rivers Humber, Ouse and Foulness are all visible. The final Period Three significant place is at Nunburnholme. The modern village of Nunburnholme is located not far from a turning in the route of the Roman road and is adjacent to the Wolds Way. The results of the vista sample conducted for the site indicate that the nearby Roman roads and riverine transport routes of the Vale of York were significant features in the landscape. Finally, the site is visually connected to Holme-on-Spalding-Moor.

#### **5.10c Vista Sample Interpretation**

The vista samples suggest that the focus of the visual theatre during Period One was on the Roman roads along the scarps of the Wolds, the Vale of York and the riverine transport routes of the Derwent, Foulness, Ouse and Humber. It should be remembered that these waterways served as important routes into the interior vale and in conjunction with the distribution of burials along the Roman roads suggests the importance of transport routes in the landscape. The vista from the Sancton I and II sites includes the Roman roads the Rivers Derwent, Foulness, Humber and Ouse and the Vale of Pickering.

During Period Three, the sightlines vista for each of the sites includes one or more of the traversable river systems, i.e., the Rivers Derwent, Foulness and Ouse. Holme-on-Spalding-Moor offers a sweeping visual theatre and on a clear day much of the vale of York and nearly the whole of the western Wolds are visible from atop Church Hill. From this point the city of York is clearly visible as are the major rivers and Roman roads which traverse the vale. The visibility of the Roman roads and the rivers Humber, Derwent Foulness and Ouse from the site argues for the continued importance

of those routes, and indirectly of the Holm-on-Spalding-Moor site, during the period. The primacy of the Holme-on-Spalding-Moor site is reinforced by the visibility of both the Londesborough and Nunburnholme are visible from the Church Hill site.

The vistas of the Goodmanham study area during Periods One and Two likely remained the same. During Period Three the important place in the landscape is the Church Hill site. So then in the study area we have a landscape filled with ideologically laden material culture that was meant to be seen and experienced by those nearby and those traversing the rivers and roads of the study area.

### **5.11 Discussion**

The Goodmanham study area is a zone rich in natural resources and from the Neolithic forward humans have exploited those resources and altered the landscape. During the Roman period the study housed as many as seven villas, a regional civitas, a major port and two major Roman roads and its proximity to the fortress at York implies strong ties between the study area and York. These features organized the landscape for Roman commercial exploitation.

The Welton villa was associated by the excavator with a series of large chalk quarries nearby (Mackey 1999, 24). Mackey argues the chalk from these quarries was used in the construction of the roads in the region. He notes that in the third century, there is evidence for "casual burials...some were contorted in tiny graves, one even face-down, others had been dumped into the backfill of corn dryers" (Mackey 1999, 29). This was interpreted as evidence for the slave mode of production. Welton reflects wider patterns in East Yorkshire in that second century occupation seems to respect pre-existing settlement patterns, and in the third and fourth century we see a reorganisation of

agricultural production at which time most villas appear. At Welton there is then a dramatic decline in the status and conditions which was linked by Mackey (1999, 29-31) to intensified raiding by the Anglo-Saxons. Be that as it may, if Welton is representative of the villa system in the study area, then during the third and fourth century, outside of the city of York, it was perhaps the most heavily Romanized landscape in Deira.

Within this landscape the social actors of the early medieval period invested several sites with monumental and ritual significance in places that emphasised visual connections with the regions transit routes. At Sancton, during the earliest part of Period One a community or communities began burying their dead in a decidedly Germanic fashion in large 'centralized' cremation cemeteries. Sancton is in an area of the Wolds copiously supplied with Bronze Age round barrows and these were likely visible to the early medieval people who lived there. That they chose not to bury their dead in them is important because we know that elsewhere on the Wolds others did. So what does this choice of cremation rite tell us?

Howard Williams has argued that the care of the dead in the early medieval period was an act that was at once both personal and communal as well as socially reflexive (Williams 2006). The grave-goods selected for inclusion in cremations tells us something of the personal and communal messages being signalled. Artefacts associated with Anglo-Saxon cremations can include those items particularly associated with the care of the body and may indicate a particularly touching and personal form of remembrance (Williams 2006, 43). Besides these items, food offerings are occasionally included (Williams 2005, 254-55). However, some types of grave goods, e.g., weapons, were deemed appropriate for cremation, but inappropriate

for burial (Williams 2005, 255). They may have formed part of the visual theatre of the body on the pyre, and after the weapon was burned, it was removed and became associated with family lore (Williams 2005, 263 & 265-66). However, we know that in at least one cremation cemetery, that at Spong Hill, fragments of seven swords, five scabbards and two hilts, were recovered (Hills 1977; Hills and Penn 1981; Hines 1989, 37; Williams 2005, 262). So in some instances at least weapons could be interred with cremations. Be that as it may, whether displayed with the body, cremated and interred or removed as a mnemonic device, the weapons could serve to reinforce a Germanic origin myth (Härke 1997; Williams 2005, 256).

The cremation burial ritual has been used to signal identity, and the early medieval cremations are particularly associated with Germanic cultural identity (Hills 1993; Williams 2004). That the early medieval social actors in the study area were doing so within c100m of the Brough to Malton Roman road, in a location within sight of the York road, the Humber River and the Church Hill site must be significant. It may be that visual theatre there was intended to see and be seen by multiple audiences. First would be the local community who were very self-consciously expressing the memory of a loved one, as well as signalling social status and Germanness in an area where there was at least some degree of Romano-British population. It was certainly an area with a Romanized landscape, whose inhabitants were among the first to feel pressure from Germanic immigrant groups. In this context it is reasonable to suggest that the adoption and practice of the cremation ritual was driven by a number of factors including an attempt to differentiate immigrant populations from 'native' groups. It is equally plausible that members of the Romano-British community had joined up with these 'Germans' and were keen to demonstrate their allegiance.

The Holm-on-Spalding Moor place-name evidence contains a reference to the British *Spaldingas*- the tribal name for the people of that place- while the *holmr* element refers to a raised piece of ground in a moor or marsh (A.D. Mills 1991). It may be that we are seeing interaction between the immigrant group and the 'native' population preserved in the place-name. It must remain at least a possibility that the *Spaldingas* remained a viable political entity in the early medieval Vale of York long enough for the name to become associated with the place.

Howard Williams has argued that the adoption of the cremation ritual represented 'close and long-term contacts with the continental regions of Schleswig-Holstein and lower Saxony (Williams 2004, 285; see also Hills 1993; 2003). The Humber was a major transport route and port from the Bronze Age forward. It is possible that traders and or merchants from Germany could have been one of the intended audiences. Possibly the early medieval social actors saw it as commercially advantageous to signal their Germaness. If so, then in addition to the immediate family, mourners and local community, we could have multiple audiences experiencing the visual theatre in the landscape. Therefore the cremation burials could have signalled multiple, simultaneous messages about a loved one, a community, ethnicity, regional and supra-regional cultural and commercial connections.

Further north along the Roman road to Malton near Warter, in the area around the modern Blanch farm a group or communities were selectively burying their elite dead in some but not all Bronze Age mounds. The results of the vista sample for the Warter monument suggests that the monument was situated to emphasise the connections to the northeast and the spring-head in the modern hamlet of Warter. As one of the few reliable sources of water in the area, Warter may have been a sort of no-man's land

open to a number of groups. Based on the place-name evidence, its possible later use as an execution site may have served to reinforce its status liminality.

These barrow burials were intended to be seen; but by whom and what ideas were being signalled? Weapons burials served as part of the theatre of burial and the display of weapons as grave-goods served in a reflexive manner to promote elite hegemony (Härke 1990; 1992; Earle 1991; 2003; DeMarrias, Castillo and Earle 1996). The rite could also signify among other things, Germanic cultural affiliation (Härke 1997; Williams 2006). The vista samples suggested visibility of transport routes may have been important. If so then perhaps the audience could include those in the immediate vicinity who were to interact with the visual theatre of the funerary display, e.g., family, mourners, community and passers-by. It is also possible that the barrows were intended to be seen from a distance, perhaps by outsiders who were familiar with the Warter site. It is also possible that as part of a broader Wolds secondary barrow programme, the Warter barrow was a statement of over-lordship or territorial control.

During Period Two the introduction of Christianity brought changes to the study area. At Warter and Walkington we have the execution sites. Outside the study area on the Yorkshire Wolds there are examples of sculpture at places like Wharram Percy and Hunmanby (Lang 1991). We know from Bede that there was a pagan temple associated with the Deiran royal family at Goodmanham at least as late as AD624 (*HE*, ii, 13). Bede also implies that there was a Deiran royal palace site nearby. What we should like to know is if after Edwin's conversion a church was built at Goodmanham. Two recent assessments of the building, one by Jonathon Clarke and another by University of York Buildings MA student Sally Mills suggest that the stone church may have 8<sup>th</sup> century parallels in Anglo-Saxon England at Bradford-on-Avon and

elsewhere on the continent (S Mills 2003 pers comm; J Clarke 2000). However, any early church would likely have been of wood and any trace of it may have been obscured by the later stone structure.

During Period Three the important sites are marked by sculpture that reflects participation in the Anglo-Scandinavian sculpture programme identified at sites across Deira. The fabric of two of the three examples of sculpture is a Middle Jurassic sandstone quarried somewhere around Aislaby, near Whitby (Lang 1991). The mapped distribution of the monuments from Period Three demonstrated that they were all located within c. 5km of one another in the central portion of the region. Londesborough and Nunburnholme are c. 2km apart and in close proximity to the Brough/Malton road, while Holme-on-Spalding-Moor is c. 1-1.5km south of the Roman road to York. The Holme-on-Spalding-Moor site was in a unique location in the Vale of York on Church Hill one of the few outcroppings of high ground.

The Church Hill site may have had a navigational and way finding function with respect to traversing the River Humber. Ancient navigation techniques often required knowledge of landmarks, particularly in coastal and riverine situations (H P Chapman, P R Chapman 2005, 44-45). Safe navigation required a thorough knowledge of the local landscape along the route and unique land masses were essential to this knowledge. Chapman and Chapman (2005) have argued that knowledge of landscapes and rock formations along the Humber formed part of the essential pilotage kit, i.e., a pilot's ability to safely negotiate their way up the river. So then, the control of the Church Hill site, which is implied by the establishing of a cemetery commemorating an individual (Everson and Stocker 1999), would signal ideas about power and control to those who traversed the rivers, track-ways and roads of the study area.

From Period One to Three the landscape of the Goodmanham study area records the changing monumental narrative. In Period One we have a Wolds based group burying their dead with weapons in Bronze Age round barrows signalling ideas about elite control and real or implied ancestry. Meanwhile on the slacks of the Wolds near Sancton another group is burying their dead in a manner calculated to signal Germanic identity at a site overlooking the Roman roads and riverine routes. During Period Two we have the Deiran king Edwin's palace site and royal temple were near Goodmanham signalling specific ideas about kingship social control and, if we can make the analogy with Yeavinger (Hope-Taylor 1979), taxation. In Period Three the monuments in the landscape are close to the Roman roads and are visible from the Church Hill site near Holme-on-Spalding-Moor. Church Hill was likely a significant navigational and wayfinding marker and control of it signalled ideas about ownership and power.



## Chapter 6

### The Driffield Case Study Area

---

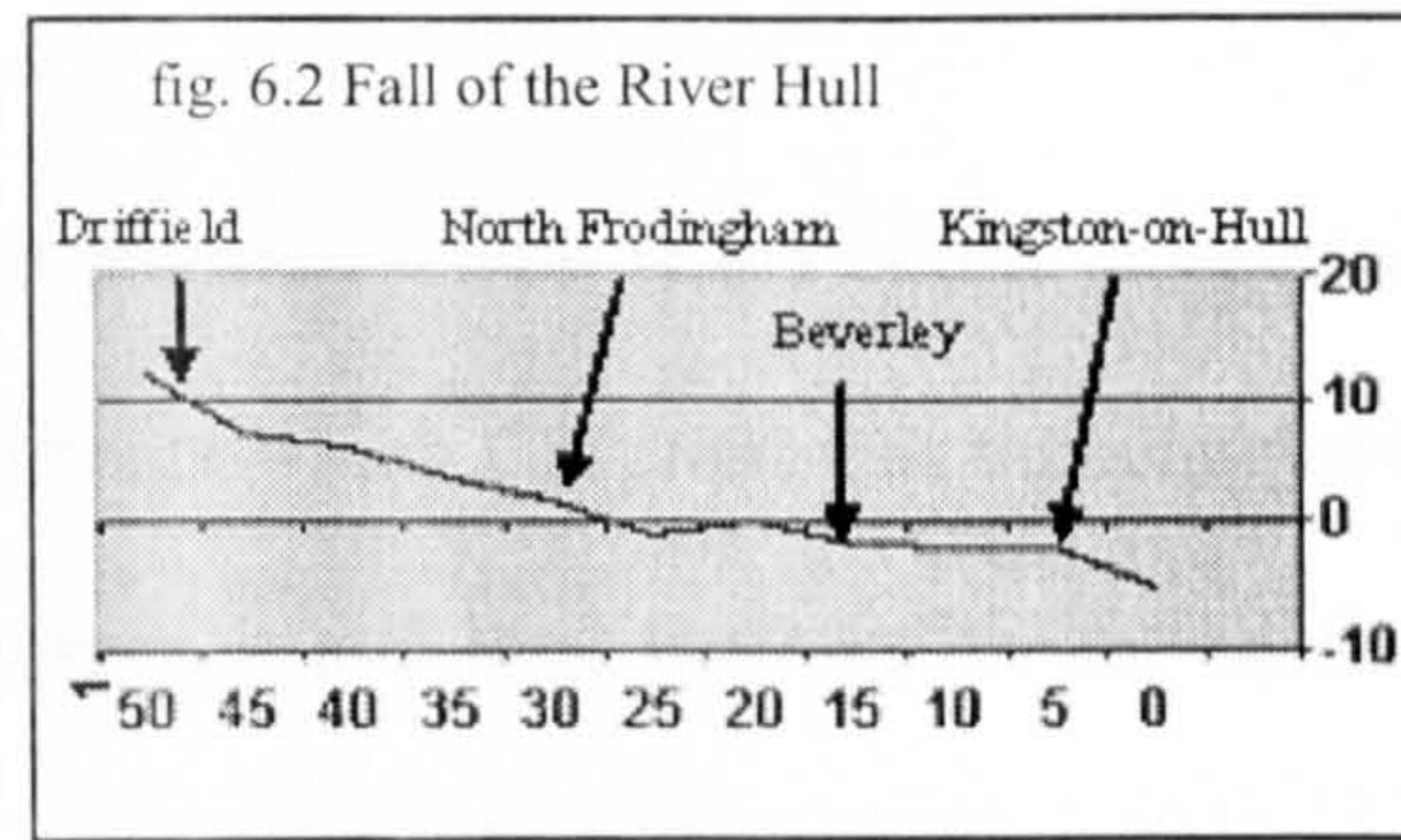
#### 6.1 Defining the Area

The Driffield study area covers approximately 480 square kilometres {fig. 6.1}. The boundary stretches eastward from its north western corner near Sledmere c. 21km to the sea. From Sledmere, the western boundary extends south to Bishop Burton on the eastern scarps of the Wolds. From there the southern boundary extends eastward beyond Beverley to the coast. The study area includes sections of the Yorkshire Wolds including upland areas and the eastern slopes and sections of the Holderness plain and the Hull River valley.

Topographically the study area can be divided into four landscape zones: the Yorkshire Wolds, the Holderness plain, Hull River valley and the Driffield gravels. Immediately south and west of the Wolds lies the area of the Driffield gravels. The geology of the area is comprised of a 'terrace of calcareous and gravel soils' that marks the transition between the chalk hills of the Wolds and the silts of the Holderness (Loveluck 1996, 25). This agriculturally-mixed sub-region of the northern Holderness plain and Wolds scarps has the greatest agricultural potential in the area and has been exploited from a very early date (Mortimer 1905; Dent 1983; 1985; Loveluck 1996, 26).

The central feature of the study area is the River Hull which, along with its tributaries, runs the entire length of the Holderness. The Hull river valley is defined in the west by the rise of the eastern slopes of the Wolds, while to the east its transition into the Holderness is less well defined (Ellis 2000). The River Hull mirrors the slight slope of

the Holderness Plain: the chart in figure 6.2 details the fall of the River Hull from the Driffield beck to the River Humber. Over its course, the River Hull follows the relatively low slope of the Holderness, falling c. 2.5m over a distance of c. 30km between North Frodingham and the River



Humber into which the river flows. Prior to the drainage of the carr land and the canalisation of the river, conditions were perfect for regular flooding of the valley (Sheppard 1956; R. Middleton 1995). Indeed, this coupled with the high tidal range of the Humber, at c. 5.8 m, meant that the river would have been tidal as far north as North Frodingham, TA080510 (Head *et al* 1995).

## 6.2 The Manmade Landscape Features

Humans were actively building monuments and using the natural resources of the study area from the Mesolithic forward. As is the case elsewhere in the Yorkshire Wolds, many of the manmade landscape features there appear to serve as boundary markers. The numerous earthworks in the Driffield study area makes it impractical to catalogue them here. It is sufficient to note that the earthworks are more of a feature of the Wolds than of the Holderness plain (Steortz 1997; Mackey 2003, 120). The Bronze and Iron Age barrows of the study area are more numerous on the Wolds, but they are a feature of the Driffield gravels and Holderness plain as well. Unlike the Goodmanham study area and its connections to the important Roman centre at York, the Driffield study area has no obvious association with a Roman military fortress or large urban centre (Loveluck 1996, 27).

### **6.2a The Early Prehistoric Landscape**

Significant early sites include the monolith at Rudston which is the tallest in Britain. Associated with the site are the cursive monuments which Chapman has demonstrated were designed to maintain visual contact between it and long barrows on its western horizon (Chapman, 2003, 354).

Elsewhere in the study area the earthworks near Green Lane served as boundary features (Loughlin and Miller 1979). However, the primary features in the Bronze Age landscape of the Driffield study area are the round barrows {fig. 6.3}. In the northeast of the Study Area there is a large square barrow cemetery of between 50 and 100 barrows located to the southwest of Carnaby (Steertz 1997). Slightly further south and west there is a smaller cluster near Driffield Wold containing c. 10-20 barrows. In Nafferton parish there is a large Bronze Age barrow cemetery, which is now much eroded, and which Greenwell claims there were at one time many more barrows (Loughlin and Miller 1979).

At Skipsea excavations in the nineteenth century revealed a number of timbers set into the ground. These were interpreted as a lake dwelling associated with palaeo-lakes near Bramston and Skipsea (J A Sheppard 1957, 79). However, as part of the Wetland Heritage of the Holderness project at the Wetland Archaeology and Environments Research Project in the 1990's these were reinterpreted as evidence for a causeway. Indeed, during the functional life of the structure it is likely that the area was carr land rather than a lake. Results of the survey suggest that during the Bronze Age the wetland resources of the Holderness were increasingly exploited, in the case of the

causeway, it was likely used to provide cattle access to grazing (Van de Noort and Davies 1993).

### **6.2b The Iron Age Landscape**

The Iron Age activity in the Case Study Area includes earthworks, settlement and burial sites. Although not as numerous or wide spread as the Bronze Age round barrows, there are a number of Iron Age barrows and barrow cemeteries in the study area {fig. 6.4}. The linear track-ways and drove-ways of the Yorkshire Wolds are the site of large numbers of ladder settlements, while in the Holderness and Hull river valley curvilinear field systems were also a feature of Iron Age settlement (Steortz 1997; Mackey 2003, 119). Among the larger Iron Age cemeteries is one near the village of Scarborough in Leconfield parish with c. one hundred seventy square barrows (Loughlin and Miller 1979). Other large or well-excavated Iron Age cemeteries include Garton and those near Nafferton (Loughlin and Miller 1979; Stead 1991).

Much of the Wolds is dissected by track-ways and ladder settlements and these are found widely dispersed over the Driffield study area. In the higher elevations of the Wolds to the east of Tibthorpe and between Bainton and Southburn there are extensive ladder settlements and track-ways (Steortz 1997). There are large ladder settlements at Bishop Burton, Middleton, Tibthorpe, Crayke, Garton Grange, near the Tatton Sykes Monument, near Driffield Wold, and in the vicinity of the Garton Quarry near Wetwang Grange (Steortz 1997). In addition, aerial photography of the area of the Wolds between Kilham, Nafferton, Langtoft and Driffield demonstrates further evidence of extensive Iron Age settlement (Steortz 1997; York Archaeological Trust Aerial Photographic Archive; 1<sup>st</sup> edition Ordnance Survey map). There is crop-mark evidence for a large Iron Age ladder settlement in the field system immediately south of

the DMV of Elmswell (Steertz 1997). Recent research has identified the area between Wetwang, Garton and Elmswell as the site of intensified settlement in the century leading up to Roman occupation (Ottaway 2003, 142). This intense activity suggests that agricultural potential of the Wolds and Driffield gravels were being exploited.

### 6.2c The Roman Period

Within the Hull River valley and Holderness the Roman period has, until recently, been little understood (Fenwick *et al* 2000). However, urban and rescue archaeology in the city of Kingston Upon Hull has begun to reveal the character of Roman settlement there as well as broaden our understanding of Romano-British exploitation of the resources in the lower Hull valley (Didsbury 1988; 1989; 1990). In general, what is known of Roman sites in the region suggests that the patterns of development and occupation were similar to Iron Age exploitation (Ottaway 2003, 141). We do know that the Roman period landscape features consists of roads, at least two villas, rural settlement and cult sites {fig. 6.5}. However, unlike the Goodmanham study area there are no known forts, towns or other large centres (Ottaway 2003, 133).

The Roman period roads include one that follows the same course as the modern A166 and runs east to west through the north of the study area (Elgee & Elgee 1933). The modern B1245 may also be a Roman road. The road extends from Malton through Wharram-le-Street and continues south east past Driffield towards Beverley (Elgee & Elgee 1933). Indeed, the le-street place-name element usually denotes the presence of a Roman road (A.D. Mills 1991). The 'Haygate' or Green Lane (the old York Kilham road) served as the primary link between the important medieval towns of Kilham and York and was likely in use in the Roman period (Loughlin and Miller 1979).

There is a villa at Rudston from which scattered finds were reported in the nineteenth century. Excavations at the villa site revealed a tessellated pavement, i.e., mosaic, buried about 45cm beneath the surface (Gentleman's Magazine (1839) vol. 11, p 410; IM Stead 1980). About 2km east of the Rudston villa and c. 6km east/northeast of Driffield another villa was first excavated in 1904 at Harpham (The Antiquary: a magazine devoted to the study of the past 1904, 322-323; E Scott 1993, 98).

There are further Roman sites with settlement evidence in the study area and the Elmswell site is the most published (Elgee & Elgee 1933; Corder 1940; Loughlin and Miller 1979; Loveluck 1996; Ottaway 2003, 133). Excavations carried out at Elmswell in the 1930s by Anthony Congreve produced evidence for enclosure ditches, pits, rectangular chalk cobbled floors etc (Congreve 1938). Imported goods from the site included Roman glass, while both Crambeck and Huntliff wares were represented in the pottery assemblage (Loveluck 1996). The evidence suggests that both iron and ceramics were produced at the site in the late Roman period (Congreve 1938, 8-15; Corder 1940, 16-24; Loveluck 1996, 28-29), and it should remain a possibility that a villa was on the site. Nearby, evidence for cult activity has been identified at a site where altars were identified when two structures were excavated near the spring head (Dent 1988a; Ottaway 2003, 133).

### **6.3 Landscape Summary**

The earliest human activity in the study area can be seen in the scattered remains of flint tools. Later, monument building can be identified by the presence of large-scale monuments in places such as Rudston. Later earthworks and track-ways can be seen respecting and incorporating the distribution of earlier features. Often these earthworks served to define territorial boundaries, possibly organizing the landscape for

agricultural exploitation. During the Bronze and Iron Age numbers of round and square barrows were built across the region. Evidence suggests that from at least the Bronze Age the natural resources of the study area were being exploited. During the Roman period there were no large scale military or urban sites, but there were at least two known villas. However, the extent to which the resources of the region were exploited during the post-Roman and early medieval period is poorly understood (Steedman & Tibbles 1994). At Elmswell near the headwaters of the Driffield beck, a tributary of the Hull River, excavations revealed a Roman and post Roman site with evidence of iron working and possible pottery kilns.

#### 6.4 Early Medieval Documentary Evidence

We know from Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* that there was a seventh century ecclesiastical settlement centre at Beverley of which St. John of Beverley was abbot. This same John of Beverley was later bishop of Hexham and of York (*HE*, iv, 23). St. John is also a key figure in what we know of the second historically documented ecclesiastical centre in the Driffield study area, *Wetadun*, near the modern hamlet of Watton (*HE*, v, 3). Unfortunately we know little about either site beyond Bede's recording of the miraculous healing St. John performed at Watton.

The other significant documentary reference from the early Anglo-Saxon period is the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. Both the D and E versions of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* record an entry for 705 which cites the death of the Northumbrian king Aldfrith 'on 14 December in Driffield' (Loveluck 1996, 25; Swanton 1999, 41). Chris Loveluck has argued that the 'vill of Driffield formed part of the patrimonial lands of the Northumbrian crown' (Loveluck 1996, 25). As such he argues it may have survived in the 'large tenorial unit' of the Late Saxon earls of Northumbria (Loveluck 1996, 25).

Loveluck notes that if the Domesday estate reflected the earlier holdings of the Northumbrian kings, then this would have made it 'the largest royal landholding unit in the Yorkshire Wolds' (Loveluck 1996, 25).

If so, this would be the manor at Great Driffield which the Domesday survey records as containing the four Berewicks of Elmswell, Kilham, Little Driffield, and Kellythorpe. The value in the time of Edward the Confessor is given at £40 which was among the richest estates in Deira. However, by 1086 this was waste (Williams and Martin 1992).

### **6.5 Places on the Margins: Execution Sites**

There are no places of execution known from the archaeology or place-name evidence.

### **6.6 Period One Monuments**

There were five sites with monuments in the Case Study Area during Period One and these are: Cheesecake Hill, Moot Hill, King's Mill Road, and two sites (Kirkburn 1 & 3 in Appendix 1) on what is now the Kellythorpe Industrial estate. All of the sites are located on the gravel terrace close to the modern town of Driffield, just off western scarps of the Yorkshire Wolds {fig. 6.6}.

The Cheesecake Hill barrow, Mortimer No. c44, is located c. 1km east of the modern town of Driffield, c. 800m north of a bend in the Hull River in a field immediately south of the rail line {fig. 6.7}. All that now remains of the mound that once was a 'hill,' referred to by Mortimer as Cheesecake Hill, is a slightly raised 'platform' of ground in the corner of a field. All other traces of its former shape and size have been eradicated. However, there is an area of medieval rig and furrow between the site of



the mound and the rail line, c. 8m, and it may be that traces of the early medieval surface levels lie undisturbed beneath this.

Excavations were carried out on the Cheesecake Hill mound during the middle decades of the nineteenth century and approximately 35 Anglo-Saxon secondary inhumations and at least one cremation were recovered. Jewellery and personal ornaments from the Anglo-Saxon burials include annular and cruciform brooches, bead strings, and buckles and what may have been a radiate brooch described as 'a semicircular headed brooch' (Meaney 1964, 285). The weapons recovered included knives, a shield and spear (Mortimer 1905; T Sheppard 1938; Lucy 1998). The weapons burial and the cremation imply a Period One date for the start of Anglian burial at Cheesecake Hill. The crouched burial suggests that burial continued into the seventh century.

The second monument is that at Moot Hill, Mortimer mound Ia [sic] (Mortimer 1905, 295). The Moot Hill mound is located within the modern town of Drifffield on the western ridge of a slight escarpment of chalk {fig 6.8}. Currently surrounded on three sides by modern housing, the mound is obscured from view except on approach from the north via the modern road. Mortimer records that prior to the removal of half its mass in 1856 when the western half was dug as fill for a chalk pit the mound was circular and had a diameter of c. 27.5m (Mortimer 1905, 295). Anglo-Saxon grave-goods recovered from the mound included a sword[s] and spear[s] (Mortimer 1905, 295). Local historian Mr. J. Browne wrote to Mortimer noting that the Hill had variously been known as Mude Hill, Hill of Pleas, and Hill of Faries (Mortimer 1905, 295).

The third monument in the study area is the King's Mill Road mound (Mortimer 1905, 294-295). The site of the barrow is located southwest of the modern town of Driffield on the site of the current Cricket Grounds and recreation fields. As the name of the modern leisure facility implies, the barrows have been flattened and there is now no trace of the mounds which once stood there. Mortimer records the re-opening of the King's Mill Road barrows in the section heading '*Further Anglo-Saxon Remains*' in which a mound with Anglo-Saxon pottery was recovered (Mortimer 1905, 294-95; Meaney 1964, 286-87; Lucy 1999, 24).

The fourth monument site, Mortimer c38, is located near the modern town of Driffield in the south western extremity of the modern Kellythorpe Industrial Estate c. 100m north of the A614. Excavations on the mound were carried out on at least two occasions in the nineteenth century, first by Lord Londesborough sometime before 1851, and later, in 1870 and 1872 by Mortimer. Mortimer notes that the Kellythorpe barrow location was 'near the northern side of the Gypsy Race, a little before it enters the Driffield Trout Stream, at Halliman's Wrath Bridge' (Mortimer 1905, 271).

The earlier excavation produced two possible Anglo-Saxon cremation urns. Mortimer's excavations produced approximately 32 Period One inhumations from the barrow (Mortimer 1905, 271-283; T Sheppard 1938; Meaney 1964, 286; Lucy 1998; 1999). Grave-goods associated with the Period One burials included: c. 17 burials with spears, a number of shield bosses, both iron and bronze buckles, cruciform and flat annular brooches, shears, combs, a possible steal or a small hone, and a flat object of bronze with edge decorations similar to pieces from Cheesecake Hill (Mortimer 1905; Meaney 1964 286). After Mortimer's excavations in 1870 and 1872 workmen dug out more graves while quarrying gravel and found at least two crouched burials which may

have been Period Two. Also unearthed at that time were numerous amber, glass and clay beads, a knife, fragments and a bronze hoop, as well as a very large silver buckle (Mortimer 1905, 278; Meaney 1964, 286).

The final site from the period is also part of the Kellythorpe group (Kirkburn 3 in database). Mortimer mound No. 137 is located in the heart of a modern industrial estate not far from the Rugby Ground and c. 200m north of the A614 road way. Mortimer records that prior to 1870 part of a bronze cruciform brooch was recovered from the top of the mound (Mortimer 1905, 262; Meaney 1964, 292-93; Eagles 1979, 440; Lucy 1999, 27) and this has generally been interpreted as a secondary burial.

### **6.7 Period Two Monuments**

During Period Two in the study area there are seven sites with monuments. These include five secondary burials and two sites with sculptured stone monuments {fig. 6.9}. The sculpture is located in the south of the study area on the Holderness. One of the pieces of sculpture, Beverley, is late seventh or very early eighth century.

Our discussion of the Period Two monuments begins with the secondary burials. The first Period Two secondary burial centre is near the former site of the Garton Station. The cemetery site is located immediately east of Station Road, c. 1.5km south of the modern village of Garton-on-the-Wolds and c. 100m to the north of Green Lane. The Anglian burials here are within a square enclosure that is the central feature of an Iron Age square barrow cemetery. The Anglian cemetery consisted of 35 graves with 43 interred individuals many of which contained conversion period grave-goods including a box, a bronze cauldron, a hanging bowl, an iron ladle (Stead 1991, 17-24; Geake 1997, 82; Lucy 1999, 35). While the hanging bowl could be a late sixth century

deposit, boxes, but with very 'few exceptions . . . are not found in Anglo-Saxon graves before the seventh century . . .' (Speake 1989, 29).

The next secondary burial site is the Mortimer c. 34 mound near Garton Green Lane crossing. The barrow is located c. 1km to the west of the Deserted Medieval Village of Elmswell and immediately north of Green Lane. At least 26 Anglian burials were excavated from a Bronze Age mound and ditch. A number of the burials were richly furnished with goods which included a workbox, food vessels, annular brooches, spindle whorls, a jet and gold pendant, a circular gold pendant, bone combs, iron knives, buckles and bridle bits. Animal bones, such as one might expect to find from joints of meat, were also recovered. According to Geake's workbox theory Anglian burial at the site is likely to have continued into the eighth century (Mortimer 1905, 247-57; Elgee & Elgee 1933, 182; Meaney 1964, 289; Geake 1997, 158; Lucy 1999, 36)

At Garton-on-the-Wolds an Anglian secondary cemetery was excavated in 1866 from an earthwork known as the Double Dyke. Only one of these was furnished. The earthwork was again excavated in 1959 this time c 300ft to the east on the other side of the crossroads. During the excavation seven skeletons oriented E-W were discovered. One had an iron knife, and grave No. 2 contained 8 series G, J, K and R sceatas, which were deposited sometime after c. AD720-725 (Yorkshire Archaeological Journal 41 1963-66; Grierson and Blackburn 1986; Geake 1995, 158).

The third secondary burial from the period is Mortimer No. 112, the Kirkburn II barrow. The mound was located c. 3km north of the modern village of Kirkburn, just to the south of Green Lane, and c. 1km west of the Deserted Medieval Village of

Elmswell. Kirkburn II produced at least four Period Two secondary burials all of which were crouched. Two burials were accompanied by grave-goods; Mortimer's burial No 8 produced an iron knife and what Mortimer thought was a sharpening iron. The second burial with grave-goods was No 9, which was accompanied by some leg bones from a small pig placed near the head (Mortimer 1905, 123; Eagles 1979, 209; Lucy 1999, 27). According to Lucy (1998) the crouched burials cannot be dated before the seventh century.

The next secondary burial is at the Cheesecake Hill mound where burial may have continued into Period Two. The Drifffield King's Mill Road barrow is the final Period Two secondary burial site (Mortimer 1905, 294-95; Meaney 1964, 286-87; Lucy 1999, 24). Twelve skeletons were excavated in the nineteenth century, some of which were crouched (Mortimer 1905, 294-95; Meaney 1964, 286-87; Eagles 1979, 427; Faull 1979, 309; Lucy 1999, 24). These need not have been very late and Geake does not include them in her catalogue of conversion period burials. However, the crouched burials are very likely Period Two, so they are included here on the strength of Lucy's (1998) seventh century date.

Sculpted stone monuments are the next monument type found in the study area during Period Two. The two known examples are located at Beverley and Leven. The stone chair at Beverley Minster is the earlier of the two and is traditionally associated with St. John of Beverley. In his volume on the East Riding for the *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Sculpture* Lang (1991) offers a possible seventh century date for the chair. There are strong seventh century parallels to the piece in other areas of Northumbria. In design the chair resembles the 'frith stool' at Hexham and is similar to Period Two stone

furnishings at Lastingham in the Vale of Pickering Case Study Area (Lang 1991, 224). On the strength of these similarities the Beverley piece is assigned to Period Two.

The Beverley chair is constructed of a fine-grained white limestone that closely resembles much of the Roman material from York. Indeed, the fabric is similar to the building stone of the eleventh century York Minster and suggests quarrying from the same source (Lang 1991, 224). The resemblance to the Minster building fabric and much of the Roman material from York may imply close links between whoever commissioned the Beverley chair, and the city (see Lang 1991).

The second example of Period Two sculpture in the Driffield Case Study Area is part of a cross-shaft located at Holy Trinity church Leven. The shaft is presently at the east end of the south aisle where it is visible from inside the church. This is a ninth century piece and is late. Stylistically the piece is decidedly Anglian in its design and has some minor similarities in the execution of the interlace to the cross shaft St. Leonard's Place 2 at York (Cramp and Lang 1977, no 9; Cramp 1984, 77). The fabric of the sculpture is a yellow sandstone quarried from the North Yorkshire Moors (Collingwood 1927, 131, 134; Lang 1991, 225).

### **6.8 Period Three Monuments**

There are three sites in the Driffield study area with Period Three monuments: Little Driffield St. Peter, North Frodingham St. Elgin, and Lowthorpe St. Martin {fig. 6.10}. In addition there is one example of a hogback at Bramston All Saints. The Bramston piece is part of a Type E hogback. The hogback is presently incorporated into the west wall of the porch and is visible from the inside. Although much degenerated, the hogback is of the dragonesque style reflective of the Allertonshire pieces where the

style began. This piece is the only one of its type found in Deira and was quarried at Lythe which is just north of Whitby (Lang 1991, 125). The fabric is a pale-brown sandstone that was probably quarried from somewhere in North Yorkshire, providing a further link to that region (Collingwood 1927, 167; Pevsner 1972, 167; Lang 1991, 125).

The sculpted stone monument at Little Driffield St. Peter's church is a fragment of cross-shaft and a fragment of a cross-arm that likely are two pieces of the same original. The shaft fragment is presently located in the sill of a window on the inside, while the fragment of cross-arm is located above the south door on the outside. The fabric of the two pieces is a yellow-brown sandstone that was quarried from somewhere in the North Yorkshire Moors (Collingwood 1926, 327; Lang 1991, 179).

The sculpture at Lowthorpe St. Martin's is a cross-head and part of a shaft. The sculpture is presently located at the west end of the nave on the inside. The Lowthorpe piece is a crude replication of more accomplished pieces at Hovingham and like that at North Frodingham. The fabric is a pale yellow sandstone that was probably taken from somewhere in the North Yorkshire Moors (Pevsner 1972, 208; Lang 1991, 180-181).

The sculpture at North Frodingham St. Elgin's is a part of a cross-shaft and head. The present location of the piece is in the west end of the church, on the inside, beside a pier in the north arcade. The fabric of the sculpture is a white millstone grit and is probably reused Roman ashlar from York. The ringed-head design of the cross argues for a date of at least AD 920, when the design was introduced to the Yorkshire region. In addition, the jelling-style interlocked animal motif reinforces both the links to York and the late date of this piece (Collingwood 1927, 134; Elgee & Elgee 1933, 216; Pevsner

1972, 319; Lang 1991, 187-189). It resembles more the Ryedale crosses than any other in the Case Study Area.

### **6.9 Vista Sample: Period One**

The vista samples conducted for the Period One monuments suggest that there are two groups of monuments; the first is centred on the modern town of Driffield and will be referred to as the Driffield Group (Appendix 3). The second group consists of two burials further east on the scarps of the Wolds and will be called the Kirkburn Group {fig. 6.11}.

#### **6.9a The Driffield Group**

The east, southeast and south sightlines suggest that all of the sites in the Driffield group would have been visible from the Hull River Beck. For the southwest sightlines there seems to be a preference for mounds with sightlines that terminate in the area of Enthorpe Woods (SE915460) which was the site of a sizeable barrow cemetery {fig. 6.12}. The west sightlines appear to focus primarily on the higher area of the central Wolds where there are a number of ancient monuments and Roman features. The northwest, north and northeast sightlines appear to focus on the Wolds the Bridlington Roman road just north of Driffield. Intervisibility calculations between each of the mounds demonstrate that all of the Driffield mounds were visible from Moot Hill, although not all were intervisible from each other.

#### **6.9b The Kirkburn Group**

The Kirkburn monuments occupy an area slightly to the south and west of the modern town of Driffield. The east, southeast and south Vista Sample Diagrams demonstrate that the sites were not necessarily focused on the riverine routes in the area but should



have included the Roman roads. Unlike the Driffield Group the Enthorpe Woods area was not a focal point. However, to the west, the vista stretched into the high Wolds where there was a convergence of earthworks and a number of *tumuli*, as well as the Roman road. The northwest through northeast Vistas terminate in the Wolds, where there are a number of *tumuli* as well as Roman roads.

In brief, the Vista Sample Series conducted for the Period One monuments in the study area suggest that there were common focal points in the vistas from each of the sites in the Driffield group which may have been an important factor in their selection. First, the location of all of the monuments in the landscape was such that they were visible from Moot Hill. However, not all sites were intervisible with one another. Second, the Enthorpe Wood site featured prominently in the Vista from the Driffield Group. When the results of the vista samples are compared to the mapped data on the distribution maps, no clear, direct relationship between any known Roman road and the distribution of monuments is apparent. However, all of the monument sites are located within 800m of the Hull River Beck and most vistas seemed to emphasise the river. The Kirkburn Group sites were located within a few hundred metres of the Roman and post-Roman site at Elmswell and seem to emphasise the Wolds and Roman roads more than the riverine routes in the area. In addition the Enthorpe Woods site was not a prominent feature of the vista.

### **6.9c Period Two Vista Sample Series: Garton**

The vista samples conducted for the Period Two monuments in the Garton Group indicate that sites where the visual emphasis was on the local travel routes and the ancient landscape in the uplands of the Wolds were preferred (Appendix 3) {fig. 6.15}. These latter focal points occurred largely between the west, northwest, north, and

northeast lines of sight, and suggest that the visual preferences were for sites that emphasised the York Bridlington Roman road.

#### **6.9d Period Two Vista Sample Series Beverley and Leven**

The vista samples for the sculpted stone monuments at Beverley and Leven emphasise the riverine routes nearby. Reflecting their location in the Holderness, the vistas emphasise the local area and the Yorkshire Wolds. As far as is known, there is no Roman road following the eastern scarp of the Wolds, but Elgee (1933) thought there might be, if so then this too should have been visible.

#### **6.9e Period Three Vista Sample Series**

The vista samples for the Period Three sculpted stone monuments (Appendix 3) emphasise the rivers in the Holderness {6.16}. In general the vistas are highly localized.

#### **6.10 Summary of Vista Sample Evidence**

The Vistas for the monuments sites in the Driffield study area demonstrate a changing emphasis across space and time. During Period One the Vista Samples for the Driffield Group emphasise the importance of the Moot Hill mound in that all of the Period One mounds in the group were visible from Moot Hill. Another focus may have been on a possible route between Driffield and Goodmanham and the sightlines from the Driffield Group focused on this as well. For the Kirkburn Group, the vistas do not appear to have the same focus as that of the Driffield Group, and instead emphasise the Roman roads in the Wolds as well as the local area.

During Period Two the vistas for the Garton Group emphasise the Roman roads and track-ways such as Green Lane. The higher elevations of the Wolds are visible as would the Driffield Beck have been. The Beverley and Leven sites apparently emphasise local riverine routes. In Period Three the visual emphasis was on the riverine routes in the Holderness and Hull River valley.

### **6.11 Discussion**

Investment in monuments in the Driffield study area was not static and there were differences across time and space in the ways people used the landscape for ritual display and in the sites selected for investment. By examining patterns of investment in monuments in the study area we have identified four possible zones, or areas of preferred investment. These are: the area around Driffield itself, the eastern scarps of the Wolds near Garton, the wetland areas around Beverley and Leven, and the northern tributaries of the Hull River valley. The mapped distribution of the monuments demonstrated that these zones were not 'in use' at all times over the course of the early medieval period.

During Period One, the distribution of monuments in the Case Study Area was confined to the immediate area around on the modern town of Driffield, between the eastern scarps of the Wolds and the Hull River headwaters. The vistas from the Driffield study area suggest that there may have been two groups: The Driffield Group defined by those mounds visible from the Moot Hill site and the Kirkburn Group emphasising visual connections with the Wolds. In addition, on the 1<sup>st</sup> edition OS map of the Market Weighton and Goodmanham there is a footpath that runs from Market Weighton, past Goodmanham and Enthorpe Woods towards Driffield {fig. 6.13}. When the rail line was built from Market Weighton to Driffield, it followed this track-way in exactly the

same location from Market Weighton past Goodmanham and Enthorpe. It is possible that the path of the later rail line simply followed an older track-way or track-ways. Indeed, using ESRI's ArcInfo Least Cost analysis the putative route of the track-way follows that identified as the least cost route in the analysis from Goodmanham to Driffield {fig. 6.14}.

The rich agricultural potential of the Yorkshire Wolds could easily support a mixed agrarian economy. Meanwhile the wetland areas south and east of Driffield offered abundant resources. It has been argued that the divergent composition of grave-goods between the secondary burials on the gravels around Driffield and that found on the periphery of the Yorkshire Wolds at Kirkburn represent two rival economies; one focused eastward on the North Sea and expressing a preference for long-distance trade, and the other focused on the agricultural and pastoral economy of the Wolds with possible specialist craft economy fuelled by access to high-quality sources of bog iron (Loveluck 1996). The resources of the region served to attract settlement and competition for those resources.

Citing evidence at the Elmswell site of possible post-Roman and early medieval pottery and iron production (Congreve 1938, 8-15; Corder 1940-16-24), and the distribution of imported grave goods, Loveluck (1996, 28-29) argues that there were two economies in the area: one centred on Driffield and tied to Northumbria, Germany, Denmark and Anglian areas to the south in England, and the other based in the area west of the Hull River beck and possibly linked to a British elite (Loveluck 1996, 38-39). During this period, disparity in the distribution of grave goods especially of imported goods has been interpreted as indicating decreased economic potential of the Wolds based Kellythorpe group. Loveluck has hypothesized that rather than indicating decreased

economic potential, the western burials reflect an economy rooted in the natural resources and agricultural potential of the Wolds scarps which emphasised access to high-quality iron ore, i.e., bog iron, and specialist craft production (Loveluck 1996, 38). So that differential access to resources and controlled access to imports explain the economic differences between the Kellythorpe and Drifffield groups in Period One.

In the Domesday survey of 1086 there were two adjacent hundred sites in the area near Drifffield and these were the Drifffield hundred and the Turbar hundred. The hundred meeting-place for Turbar may have been near Spellow Farm, Elmswell, a name roughly derived from the Old English *spel+how*. The Old English place-name element *spel* refers to a speech or announcement and can be translated as 'speech mound' as in the case of Spellow Hills in Lincolnshire (Pantos 2004b, 172; 2004a, 186). The place-name for Moot Hill has similar connotations of a gathering place. The Old English place-name element *(ge)mōt* can be translated as a place of meeting or gathering (A Pantos 2004, 182). If the Drifffield hundred meeting place is the *(ge)mōt*, or Moot Hill mentioned by Mortimer (Mortimer 1905; see also OS Anderson 1934, 15), then we may be seeing further evidence of separation between the two territories in the early medieval period.

This demarcation between the Yorkshire Wolds (Group A) and Drifffield/Holderness (Group B) continues in Period Two. The mapped distribution of Period Two monuments demonstrates the markedly different trajectories followed. In the north, a group or groups of elites were continuing to invest in high-status secondary burial on the southern and eastern slacks of the Wolds. Meanwhile in the south on the Holderness sculpted stone monuments were being used at Beverley. In this area, the

monument users were engaged in an dialogue which signalled connections to Bernicia and participation in the monastic programme.

**Group A:** Unlike other regions of Deira, secondary burial in ancient monuments such as barrows and earthworks continued to form a significant part of the monumental repertoire for Driffeld Group A. During Period Two, elites of Group A were actively pursuing a monument strategy similar to that of Period One on the Yorkshire Wolds. Near Garton the site of an Iron Age square barrow cemetery adopted as a primary focus of a secondary burial cemetery. Also near Garton the Double Dykes were reused in the period as the focus for a cemetery.

Other burials on the Wolds reflect this trend. Just outside the study area at Thwing, an Period Two settlement with a cemetery at its centre was excavated within a prehistoric ring-work (Geake 1997, 159). The cemetery included twenty-six burials in coffins and grave No. 8 returned a radiocarbon date between the late eighth to tenth centuries (Ibid). Elsewhere on the Wolds at Kemp Howe (SE96166642) near Cowlam a re-excavation of Mortimer's mound No. 209 (Mortimer 1905) produced evidence for three Anglo-Saxon secondary burials in coffins and two graves from the barrow returned a radiocarbon date of AD725 and AD745 (Morris 1983, 55; Geake 1997, 158).

**Group B:** Meanwhile on the Holderness at places like Beverley and Watton according the minster programme was probably well underway by the end of the seventh century. The minster at Beverley was founded by St John of Beverley sometime between the end of the seventh and very early eighth century. The minster at Beverley had had links to other Period Two ecclesiastical sites in the study area. One such site is the historically documented ecclesiastical centre at Watton. Bede records that at Watton St. John of

Beverley healed an inmate called Coenburg, the daughter of the Abbess Heriburg (*HE*, v, 4). While there is no sculptural evidence from Watton, by virtue of its historical attestation it should be considered a significant place.

We know little of the founding of the 'nunnery' at Watton, but it was probably founded at about the same time as Beverley. Bede recorded the ministry of St John to a nun at Watton as being around the time he was elevated to the see at York. 'When the most reverend Wilfrid became Bishop of Hexham after his long exile, and John became Bishop of York . . . he came one day to a convent of nuns at a place called Wetadun . . .' (*HE*, v,3). Bede tells us that it was to Beverley that John retired after giving up his see at York before his death in AD 721 (*HE*, v, 6). John replaced Bosa as Bishop of York after the latter's death in AD703, so the minster at Beverley and the house at Watton were likely in existence sometime before AD 703; possibly as early as the last decade of the seventh century. Here John's close connection to the Bernician royal foundation at Whitby deserves mention. Bede informs us that John was one of five bishops educated at Whitby (*HE*, vi, 23). From this we have a solid connection to Bernicia in the Holderness during Period Two.

The church at Leven has no documentary evidence from which to infer the foundation date. The present church is a typical Victorian 'type' constructed about a mile from the former St. Faith's church when the latter was ripped down in 1844 (Bulmers 1892). Contemporary accounts of the pre-Victorian church describe it as being of the typical English pebbledash style (Bulmer's 1892). The date for the sculpture is very late eighth or ninth century (Lang 1991). The church dedication to St Faith, popular in the Frankish kingdom in the ninth century, may signal close ties between the Northumbrian and Frankish kingdoms in the ninth century.

During Period Three the landscape is reorganized into a network of local monuments along the northern tributaries of the Hull River at Little Driffield, Lowthorpe, and North Frodingham. There are no known examples of monumental investment south of North Frodingham, and none in the Yorkshire Wolds. It may be that the important centres of the Period were not located in these areas and that the control of transport routes by elites was the priority.

Having identified two trajectories of development in both Period One and Two and a single monument programme in Period Three we should now discuss the ideas being signalled. Loveluck has theorized that the people in the Garton and Elmswell area 'between the fifth and seventh centuries, benefited from a Late Roman Economic heritage . . .' (Loveluck 1996, 45-46) which included traditions of iron craftsmanship. Grave-goods reflected different choices as well. The graves of this group included higher percentages of iron and fewer amber, rock crystal and jet beads. The burials in the Elmswell/Garton zone contained larger quantities of precious metals while those in the Driffield area had higher percentages of imported goods (Loveluck 1996, 46). The sightline analysis demonstrates that these two groups had different visual emphasis in the sites chosen for secondary burial, i.e., all of the Driffield sites were visible from Moot Hill and emphasized the Enthorpe Woods area and associated track-way. Meanwhile the sightlines for the Garton/Elmswell group emphasised the Wolds and route-ways associated with the burial sites.

Both groups can be said to be signalling multiple layers of information. The choice of iron goods and its association with local specialist craftsmanship has been interpreted as signalling economic and social competition between the two groups. In Period Two we



see the Wolds group continue a tradition of secondary burial associated with an emphasis on controlling the resources and craftsmanship of the Wolds in Period One well into the eighth century at places like Garton, Thwing and Cowlam to sometime around AD725. Meanwhile a group associated with the Northumbrian minster programme is founding minsters in the Holderness at places like Beverley and Watton at least as early as the last decade of the seventh century.

The choice to continue investing in secondary burial after the monuments on the Holderness signal participation in the minster programme need not be interpreted as animosity between paganism and Christianity. Indeed, at Cowlam we have the three coffin burials and we can be reasonably sure that these were Christian. Similarly at Thwing, a possible church site has been identified within the ring-work and there were at least 26 coffin burials. However, it does appear to represent a real difference in the type of monument programme pursued. The choices of monument type, ritual as well as the inclusion of locally sourced items, e.g., worked iron, or import goods can all signal ideas at multiple levels. By AD705 at least, the Driffield site was closely associated with the Bernician overlords of Deira, i.e., the site of a royal vill.

So then in the Driffield study area during Period One and Two we have two groups investing in monuments in different places and signalling different agendas and allegiances. In Period One the division is Wolds/Driffield gravels and riverine routes. In Period Two it is Wolds/Holderness and this division is not recorded in the documents. By Period Three the investment is all along the riverine transport routes of the Holderness Plain.

## Chapter 7

### The Vale of Pickering Case Study Area

---

#### **7.1 Defining the Area**

The vale of Pickering study area encompasses an area consisting of the western end of the vale of Pickering as well as the southwest quarter of the North Yorkshire Moors, the extreme northwest portion of the Yorkshire Wolds and the northern most edge of the Howardian Hills {fig. 7.1}. The topography of the Study Area is dominated by transitional zones between the North Yorkshire Moors and the Vale of Pickering in the north and west, and the Yorkshire Wolds, Howardian Hills and Vale of Pickering in the south and east.

#### **7.2 The Manmade Landscape**

Early Settlement in the Vale of Pickering Case Study Area is at present poorly understood. However, over the last twenty years the team from the Landscape Research Centre have intensely studied the eastern Vale of Pickering, combining aerial photography and wide-scale use of remote-sensing technology. These methods have resulted in a chronology of settlement which stretches from the Neolithic through the early medieval periods (Powlesland 2003a).

##### **7.2a Mesolithic through Bronze-Age Landscape**

Human activity around the Vale of Pickering dates to the Late Mesolithic, c. 7000 BP (Powlesland 2003a, 6; see also Clark 1954). The periphery of the Vale of Pickering was the focus of settlement activity during the later Neolithic period and at the same time there is evidence for woodland clearance and subsequent agricultural activity.

Therefore, the trajectory of development in the study area is in keeping with chronologies observed elsewhere in Yorkshire in that the landscape is divided up for agriculture and territorial purposes by the manmade earthworks and monuments (Manby, King and Vyner 2003; Powlesland 2003a, 10-11).

Although less numerous than on the Yorkshire Wolds, there are barrows in the vale area. However, most of these are located around the perimeter of the vale. The sand and gravel of the interior of the eastern Vale of Pickering near West Heslerton has also produced evidence of barrows. Here a Bronze Age round barrow was excavated by the Landscape Research Centre as part of the Heslerton Parish project (Powlesland 2003a).

Archaeologists have also begun to understand prehistoric settlement in the area of the Vale of Pickering. At West Heslerton, domestic structures have been identified from the Middle Bronze Age that are among the earliest of this type of structure known in the region (Powlesland 2003a, 20). Whether this is repeated in the northern and western areas of the Vale remains to be seen, but it is likely that the pattern of settlement continues there (R Morris 2007).

During the Late Bronze Age vast tracts of the landscape across the Howardian Hills, Tabular Hills and Yorkshire Wolds was enclosed by a network of linear earthworks (Manby 1980; Dent 1983, 35). The archaeological features of the Howardian Hills landscape include: Bronze Age round and Iron Age square barrows, cross-ridge dykes as well as parallel banks and ditches (M McElvaney 1993; English Heritage 2007). As is the case across Yorkshire the monuments are referenced by later landscape features. For example, the late Iron Age square barrow cemeteries are sometimes associated with track-ways and can be seen to respect other earlier monuments.

The distribution map of Bronze Age barrows demonstrates that they are distributed throughout the study area but primarily in the Tabular Hills, Yorkshire Wolds and Howardian Hills {fig. 7.2}. That is not to suggest that the landscape of the North Yorkshire Moors is devoid of prehistoric monuments. Indeed, the Moors host a number of such features including: ring cairns, cairns, barrows, stone circles, cursus monuments and other earthworks (Spratt 1990).

### **7.2b The Iron Age Landscape**

During the Iron Age people were accessing the resources of the Vale of Pickering study area and the landscape reflects this. The mapped distribution of Iron Age square barrows suggests that while the Howardian Hills, Yorkshire Wolds and the Tabular Hills contained the majority of these features, while the Yorkshire Moors contains fewer of these features {fig. 7.3} (Spratt 1990, 151).

The earthworks, pit alignments and linear dykes of the Late Bronze Age and Iron Age in the Tabular Hills, and other zones of the study area, define and organize the landscape into territorial units combining elements of 'low and high ground, and access to streams, to enable mixed farming to be efficient' (Spratt 1990, 152). Also at Levisham, evidence of Iron Age industrial activity has been identified. An Iron Age bowl furnace, likely used for smelting, was excavated from within a building of simple design (R A Hayes 1983; Spratt 1990, 150). In general, iron working across the area was small-scale and widely dispersed (Spratt 1990, 151). North of the Vale of Pickering near Levisham a complex series of earthwork enclosures formed a field system of Iron Age date (Elgee & Elgee 1933, 233). In the vale itself, an extensive network of ladder settlements along the southern rim of the vale has been identified

(Powlesland 2003a). At present it is not known if these are mirrored to the north, but this is a strong possibility (R Morris 2007).

### **7.2c Roman Period Landscape**

Roman activity in the Vale of Pickering study area includes the fortress at Malton, a network of Roman roads, numbers of military sites, e.g., camps and forts, villas and industrial sites. While the Roman Fort at Malton lies outside the boundaries of the study area, it is mentioned because of its likely influence on the landscape in the Roman period and later {fig. 7.4}.

The Roman roads in the study area include one that skirts the southern rim of the vale of Pickering (OS 1<sup>st</sup> edition; Elgee & Elgee 1933). On the basis of the location of the Roman villa at Bedlam, the distribution of Period Two and Three monuments and the numerous manors listed in the Domesday Book along the northern rim of the Vale of Pickering, it is suggested there was a route-way along the northern rim which mirrored the road. Whether this was Roman in origin, more ancient or recent remains to be seen. However, it is certainly the case that the medieval field systems in the study area are orthogonal to the alignment of the modern A170, a road that follows our putative route (1<sup>st</sup> edition OS Map).

During the Roman period the Vale of Pickering study area was dominated by the Roman fortress at Malton. In addition to the fortress at Malton, Roman military sites in the study area include a temporary camp near Hovingham which is visible as cropmarks and earthwork. The camp is of an irregular but almost square plan and encloses about 4.9ha (Welfare and Swan 1995, 143). The Roman camps at Cawthorn are c. 20km north and 12km to the east of Hovingham and the fort at Malton,

elsewhere in the study area at Cropton a Roman temporary camp and two forts was excavated in the 1920's (I A Richmond 1926). Further excavations in 1999 and 2000 (SE 79 SE 55), produced evidence of multi-phase buildings and street systems. In addition, Roman pottery and melon glass beads were recovered (P Wilson and G Lee 2002). During the 1920's a number of pits were excavated which Richmond interpreted as officer's dugouts. During the 1999-2000 excavations one of these features was re-examined. It has been interpreted by the excavator a probable Grubenhauser (P Wilson and G Lee 2002). If so, then we may have the first known example outside York of the reoccupation of a Roman site in the early medieval period. Alternatively, it may mirror the trajectory proposed at West Heslerton by Dominick Powlesland (D Powlesland 2003a; 2003b).

There were also a number of villas in the study area. At Beadlam a Roman villa was excavated in the late 1960's (A Payne 1993, 2). The villa was probably occupied between the second and fourth centuries. At Hovingham excavations of a villa site in the eighteenth century unearthed baths, a mosaic, hypocaust, coins and vessels (Gough, 1780 467; W Camden, 1789, 85; E Scott 1993, 150). In addition, a Roman coin hoard of was found on the grounds of Hovingham Park and included 44 silver siliquae of Constantine II to Honorius, AD 337-423 the hoard was likely deposited sometime during the second decade of the fifth century (Burnett A.M. 1984, 116-118). Near Spaunton excavations uncovered an aisled building with a hypocaust along with pottery dated from the second to the fourth centuries (Wilson 1967, 179; E Scott 1993, 152-153). The excavation of a Romano-British circular building in the same area revealed a ovoid shaped cobbled floor and fourth century pottery along with burnt stones and slag and the slag has been interpreted as evidence for iron working (RH Hayes 1965, 325). Other Roman period industrial sites in the study area include a

possible Pottery kiln at Welburn Malton (Waterman 1951). Elsewhere, at Oldstead a Romano-British settlement and a pottery kiln producing third to fourth century pottery was uncovered (Swan 1984, 693).

There are also villas from just outside the study area in the Yorkshire Wolds near Norton. In addition, a tessellated pavement was found at Roughborough Farm Huttons Ambo in the early nineteenth century and this has been interpreted as a possible villa (J Walker 1838, 404; A Carter 1994). At Cold Kirby which is c. 4km east of Helmsley, Roman tiles, spindle whorls and pottery vessels were found prior to 1912 marking another possible villa site (E Scott 1993, 149). Other Roman period buildings from the study area include: a site near Amotherby where, during excavations conducted in the nineteenth century paved floors, Roman pottery and some Roman coins were uncovered (Aimanderby- Gentlemans Magazine 1868; A Carter 1994).

The rich resources of the Vale of Pickering study area were exploited from the Mesolithic forward. Large numbers of earthworks and monuments organized the landscape into territories for agriculture and resource exploitation. In the late Iron Age and Roman periods iron working and pottery industry played an important role in the economy. Like the Goodmanham study area the Vale of Pickering landscape was highly Romanized. The fortress at Malton and various military forts and camps speak of the importance of the vale during the Roman period.

### **7.3 Early Medieval Documentary Evidence**

The documents record two sites near the Vale of Pickering: Lastingham and Hackness. However, Hackness lies just outside the eastern boundary of the study area but its close ties with the Northumbrian royal minster at Whitby means we should at least discuss

what little we know of it. According to Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* the minster at Lastingham was founded by the Northumbrian missionary bishop Cedd, c. AD659 (*HE*, iii, 23). Educated at Whitby, the Bernician Royal minster, Cedd was one of five students there who went on to prominence in the church. Bede records the following about the founding of the minster at Lastingham c. AD659:

In accordance with the king's [Æthelwald of Deira] wished, Cedd chose a site for the monastery among some high remote hills, which seemed more suitable for dens of robbers and haunts of wild beasts than for human habitation. . . The man of God wished to purify the site of the monastery from the taint of earlier crimes . . . before laying the foundations (*HE* iii, 23).

Meanwhile, the minster at Hackness, a daughter house of Whitby, was founded by the abbess Hild of Whitby in the same year as her death, AD680 (*HE*, iv, 23). What little is known historically of the 'monastery' there comes to us in the rather touching miracle story of the nun Bergu. Bergu had served under Hild at Whitby for many years when, according to Bede, while 'resting in the sisters' dormitory' she suddenly heard sound of the bell which was used at Whitby to call prayers (*HE*, iv, 23). Immediately upon hearing the bells, Bergu experienced a vision of Hild being drawn up into heaven. While the miracle story of itself appears to be topos, drawing heavily on numerous early Saints' lives, it is touchingly indicative of the close ties between Whitby and the daughter house at Hackness. These references in the early documents reinforce the arguments for strong ties between Bernicia, the royal minster at Whitby, and the historically known sites in and around the Vale of Pickering.

Later documentary evidence from the Domesday survey records the presence of a manor at Pickering with extensive lands belonging to the king, *TRE* it was worth £88. Meanwhile at Hovingham the survey recorded a manor with a church and a priest with a *TRE* value of £12. At Kirkbymoorside, the survey cited the presence of a manor with a value of £12 *TRE* (Williams and Martin 1992). The £88 *TRE* assessed for the manor



at Pickering makes it the most expensive in the north of England and after the Norman Conquest, the lands were in the possession of the king of England.

#### **7.4 Places on the Margins: Places of Execution**

There is no archaeological evidence for an early medieval place of execution in the study area. However, the place-name of the modern village of Wrelton is likely constructed from the OE elements *werg+hyll+tun*. The OE *werg+hyll+tun* indicates a farmstead or village near the hill where the criminals are hanged (A D Mills 1991; V Watts 2004). Wrelton is located along side the A170 where Cawthorne Lane turns north towards the Roman Camp at Cawthorne, c. 3km north.

#### **7.5 Period One Monuments**

Despite the presence of Bronze Age barrows and earthworks in the study area, there are only two Period One secondary mound burials known from the study area {fig. 7.5}. Both of the barrows with Period One secondary burials are in close proximity to the modern town of Pickering. The first of these was excavated on 3 April 1850 when Bateman opened a Bronze Age burial mound at an unspecified location 'two miles north of Pickering' (Bateman 1861). Bateman described the barrow as 'a stony barrow fifty-two yards in circumference' (Bateman 1861). He recorded the presence of an early medieval burial inserted into the mound near the centre. The accompanying grave goods included a small iron knife c. 3 ½ inches long, and a canine tooth or tusk of another small animal as well as a bit of pottery shaped like an egg (Bateman 1861; Meaney 1964; OS 1<sup>st</sup> edition *Dark Age Britain*).

The second Period One secondary mound burial from the study area was also excavated by Bateman. Located near the modern hamlet of Kingthorpe, approximately

4km northwest of Pickering midway along a c. 7km long ridge which rises between the Pickering and Dalby Becks. In his report, Bateman records that the secondary burial had been disturbed prior to his inspection of the mound. Whether the disturbance was due to agricultural processes or earlier excavation is unclear and it may be that Bateman himself did not know. Whatever the cause, at least some of the human skeletal remains were recovered during Bateman's intervention, including a lower maxillary bone. Accompanying grave-goods included a bronze cruciform brooch approximately 3 ½ inches long, a boars tusk, and a piece of the rim of a ceramic vessel (Bateman 1861[1978]; Meaney 1964; Lucy 1999).

Other Period One burial evidence from the study area suggests that mound burial was not the only symbolic and ritually significant rite pursued in the early medieval period. There are a number of cist burials from the period in the study area {fig. 7.6}. At Hebden Bank near Appleton-le-Street an early medieval cist burial was excavated and found to contain an inhumation, with Anglo-Saxon type grave-goods including a pair of gold ear-rings, an amber necklace, a small ceramic vessel and a bone comb (T Whellan 1859, 210; Keene 1979, 171; Meaney 1964, 282; Lucy 1999, 30). Another cist burial at Spaunton contained a small ceramic vessel and beads (Meaney 1964, 301; Lucy 1999). The burials at Yearsley are more contentious. At Yearsley several possible Anglo-Saxon cist burials were excavated in the nineteenth century (Meaney 1964, 303). They were unaccompanied and may have been earlier. However, Meaney dated the burials to the early medieval period and Greenwell (1906) thought them eighth century. Results of the environmental impact assessment for the proposed route of the A64 dualling suggest that the cist burials excavated from near Malbeck, on the route of the proposed Malton by-pass, were post-Roman or early medieval (The Highways Agency 2005, 20).

## 7.6 Period Two Monuments

During Period Two there are no known examples of secondary burial in the study area {fig. 7.7}. However, in contrast to Period One, the Vale of Pickering during Period Two is well supplied with identifiable Anglo-Saxon material culture. There are nine sites in the study area which have produced examples of sculpted stone monuments: Gilling East, Hovingham, Lastingham, Kirby Misperton, Kirkbymoorside, Kirkdale, Middleton, Sinnington and Stonegrave. The sculpture can be divided into five broad categories; architectural pieces; furnishing, e.g., chairs and lecterns; grave covers; standing crosses; and what is best described as a composite shrine. The dates of the Period Two sculpted stone monuments range from early, i.e., late seventh through the eighth century. At some sites, such as Lastingham, examples of sculpture dates from the earliest through the latest phases of Period Two.

The use of sculpture in the study area is by no means widespread in the seventh century but in the eighth century we have at least six sites with sculpture. We have examples of seventh century sculpture at Lastingham and at Hackness. These early pieces are mostly architectural features or furnishings. In the eighth century we have examples crosses, grave covers or slabs, furnishings, architectural pieces and shrines at Gilling East, Lastingham, Hovingham, Kirkdale, Kirkbymoorside, and Middleton. The Anglo-Saxon style pieces continue to be produced in the study area into the early ninth century.

Within the study area sculpted stone monuments from five sites were fashioned from stone quarried from near the Bernician dynastic minster at Whitby and these are: Hovingham, Lastingham, Kirkdale, Kirby Misperton and Middleton. This is despite

the fact that at nearly all the monument sites in the study area there are sources of suitable local stone. The Vale of Pickering is not alone in Deira as a recipient of this 'Whitby stone' (J Hawkes 1999, 412). There are monuments fashioned from Whitby stone at Easby, Filey, Hackness, Levisham and York {fig. 7.13}.

The Whitby-stone pieces can be divided into three broad types: architectural pieces, crosses and grave markers and covers (provided furnishings are included in the first category). The architectural pieces are distributed widely over the northern half of Deira and are found within the study area at Hovingham, Lastingham, Middleton, and Kirby Misperton, and elsewhere in Deira at Hackness, Kirby Hill, Lythe and Whitby {fig. 7.14}. Indeed, with the exception of Middleton all known pieces of Period Two architectural stonework in Deira had their origins in the quarries near the minster at Whitby. The source of the material the Middleton 9 (Appendix 2) piece may have been Whitby, but Lang (1991) was unwilling to go further than placing its source in the North Yorkshire Moors.

Regarding the distribution of Period Two stone crosses, with the exception of Whitby and Easby to the north, all of the crosses fashioned of Whitby stone are located in and around the Vale of Pickering at Hovingham, Lastingham, Levisham and Kirby Misperton {fig. 7.15}. Other Period Two monuments of stone from Whitby include grave markers at Hackness, Whitby, and York, grave covers at Filey, Hackness, Kirkdale, and Whitby and the York Minster stela.

We should like to know what was intended by this. It is possible that worked sculpture may simply have been a commodity traded around the region. Neither is it stretching credibility to suggest that there may have been a brisk trade in pre-fabricated stone

monuments in Period Two Deira. Alternately, the raw material may have been sourced from the quarries near Whitby and transported to the craftsmen who worked the stone locally. However, a purely commercial explanation seems unlikely to account for why the product would have been more valuable than one produced from locally sourced material by the same craftsmen, and so we must look at other options.

There are several possible explanations for why the stone from Whitby was transported over great distances. First, it may be that there was no suitable stone available locally. It is also possible that it may have been too difficult to quarry the available local stone. It is possible that there were no local craftsman available or that the Whitby craftsmen were the most skilled. Whatever the reason, stone monuments from Whitby were transported to sites other than their origin whether or not these areas had sources of suitable raw material locally available.

The first possible explanation for the widespread distribution of Whitby stone is that there may have been no suitable local stone available. This explanation is however, wholly inadequate because there are multiple sites in the study area where the presence of sculpted Whitby stone is found alongside pieces constructed of local material. Indeed, York, which has adequate sources of raw material nearby at Tadcaster, as well as copious quantities of readily available Roman material, has at least one known example of Whitby stone in Period Two. Further, we know that there was an ample supply of stone at sites such as Stonegrave. The practical unavailability of resources locally in no way explains the drive to transport raw or worked material. It must always have been cheaper to let the craftsmen travel to the stone than to transport the worked stone itself. Another possibility is that the stone from the royal minster at

Whitby was in itself a prized commodity. It may be that in seventh and eighth century Deira it became important as a prestige gift.

### **7.7 Period Three Monuments**

In the Period Three we see an expansion of the monument programme begun in Period Two at places like Lastingham. Now there are 11 sites with sculpted stone monuments: Amotherby, Hovingham, Kirkbymoorside, Kirkdale, Lastingham, Middleton, Nunnington, Oswaldkirk, Pickering, Sinnington and Stonegrave {fig. 7.8}. In addition, there are three sites with sculpture that will not be considered here. Both Ellerburn and Hackness are outside the study area and the Helmsley hogback will be treated in the same manner as hogbacks from the previous case studies.

While the number of sites with sculpture is greater, the repertoire of sculpted stone monument types is reduced in number from five to three. There are examples of stone crosses, grave covers and hogbacks. Within the stone crosses, there appears to be a preference for the ring head type which was introduced into the region after AD 920 (Bailey 1984). In addition, the preference for sites located along the roads that circumnavigate the vale show a marked increase, with just over eighty-three percent of all monument sites located near a road.

It appears that there were fewer ninth century pieces than tenth century. At Sinnington there are two grave covers and a cross that are likely ninth century pieces. At Ellerburn there is a cylindrical cross shaft which may be late ninth century. Kirkdale 1 is a cross-shaft that is late ninth to early tenth. Middleton 3 is an early Anglo-Scandinavian piece and is late ninth to early tenth. Ante AD920 when the ring-head style is introduced into the study area we find sculpture at six sites in the study area, if

we include Ellerburn: Amotherby, Ellerburn, Hovingham, Kirkbymoorside, Middleton, Stonegrave. While there are other tenth century pieces, the arrival of the distinctive ring-head style corresponds to a significant increase in both the sites with sculpture and the number of pieces.

### **7.8 Vista Sample Series: Period One**

The results of the Vista Sample for the Kingthorpe secondary burial suggest that the vista emphasised visibility to a local audience {fig. 7.9} (Appendix 3). However, the site is visually linked to the Wolds by the south sightline. The sightline extends c. 23km to SE834635, near Wharram Percy farm and the Wharram Percy DMV, where there is a collection of tumuli, a nearby earthwork, and the Wolds Way.

#### **7.8a Period Two Vista Samples**

The mapped distribution of sculpture demonstrated changes in the locations selected as the period progresses. While the earliest locations for the sculpture were in upland valleys along track or drove-ways in the Tabular Hills, the eighth century sculpture seems to demonstrate a preference for sites near the Roman roads in the study area. Indeed, 67 percent of the monument sites are within a few hundred metres of a road.

Gilling East Holy Cross church occupies a site c. 4.5km west of Stonegrave in a gorge that separates the Howardian Hills from the North Yorkshire Moors and as such it occupies one of the few natural route-ways leading from the Vale of Pickering to the northern reaches of the Vale of York {fig 7.10} (Appendix 3). The utility of this gorge as a route-way between the two otherwise isolated zones is demonstrated by the presence of the now dismantled railway line that ran between the Vale of Pickering and

the Vale of York and which passed just north of the village. Visually the Gilling East sightlines emphasise this route-way.

All Saints church at Hovingham occupies a site on the edge of the Vale of Pickering at the base of the Howardian Hills where the B1257 bends sharply to the north on its way to Stonegrave and Oswaldkirk. The B1257, at least to Hovingham, is generally considered to pre-date the Roman road in origin (Elgee & Elgee 1933; OS Map of Roman Britain 1956). It is suggested that the northern route from Hovingham extended as far north as Wombleton. This is based on an analysis of field boundaries from the 1<sup>st</sup> Edition Ordnance Survey map that showed that the medieval field boundaries continued to respect what must have been at least a track-way which ran as far north as Lund Court farm, c. 0.7km from Kirkdale (1<sup>st</sup> edition OS map). The vista from Hovingham is focused on the western Vale of Pickering. Indeed, it is the site with the most extensive vista from Period Two.

Kirby Misperton is situated on an area of high ground in the middle of the vale c. 33m in elevation. The elevation to the north through south falls away to c. 21m. Meanwhile the southwest through the northwest sightlines are truncated by hills with an elevation between c 35 and c. 50m. In contrast, the vistas to north through south open out to encompass much of the Vale of Pickering as well as the scarps of the Moors and the Yorkshire Wolds.

The Period Two Site at Kirkdale St Gregory is situated in a slight valley at a bend in Hodge Beck. The church lies on the west bank where the elevation is c. 60m while the east bank rises to c. 80m in elevation. To the north and northwest of St Gregory's churchyard, the remains of medieval rig and furrow field system can be seen. The



Vista from the site seems to emphasise the beck, and the 1<sup>st</sup> edition OS map shows a route-way that follows the beck called Brento Road. The only extensive vista from the site is to the southeast, where the sightline terminates at a point near Wharram Percy farm.

Middleton St Andrews church is located just off Middleton Lane. Middleton Lane runs north from the modern A170 which possibly was a Roman road along the north rim of the Vale of Pickering. The route of Middleton Lane leads north towards the Roman 'practice camps' at Cawthorne. Indeed, the medieval field alignments are preserved in the modern boundaries and these respect a linear organization that runs northeast from a northwest bend in Middleton Lane towards the Cawthorne 'camps.' This suggests that at least in the middle ages there may have been a route-way between the two places. The vista from Middleton suggests that the Wolds and Howardian Hills to the south and southeast formed at least part of visual focus.

Lastingham St Mary occupies a place in the landscape where the bleak North Yorkshire Moors sweep down to a fertile upland valley that runs along the southern edge of the Moors from Hutton-le-hole to near the Roman 'camps' at Cawthorne. The valley seems to occupy a marginal or liminal landscape between the inhospitable moorland and the resource rich wetlands of the vale of Pickering. The vista from Lastingham emphasises the immediate locale rather than sweeping vistas.

Kirkbymoorside All Saints occupies a place along the A170 at the northern rim of the Vale of Pickering. The vista from the site offers a commanding view of the Vale of Pickering in most, if not all directions. While the south sightline was obstructed at a short distance, the southeast sightline extends to near Wharram Percy farm. To the

south and southwest it was possible to see for considerable distances and included in these vistas were sites with 'ancient' monuments and long stretches of the Roman road along the southern rim of the Vale of Pickering. The west through northeast sightlines are truncated after short distances.

The church at Stonegrave, Holy Trinity occupies a place in the landscape where the Howardian Hills and the North Yorkshire Moors come together to form a narrow valley called the Coxwald Gilling gap. The site is approximately 3km northwest of Hovingham and 4km northeast of Gilling East. The visual theatre for the site emphasises the immediate locale including the route-way.

The results of the Vista Samples conducted for the Period Two sculpted stone monuments is striking. The visual theatres for many of the sites include sweeping vistas across the Vale of Pickering. For the sites located on the periphery of the vale the Roman road to the south and putative road to the north of the vale would have been visible in almost their entirety. Only with the Gilling East, Lastingham and Stonegrave sites are the sightlines truncated. In these instances, the location of the monument sites within valleys that may have served as a route-way offers one possible visual focus.

#### **7.8b Period Three Vista Samples**

The discussion of sites which also had Period Two monuments was conducted above and need not be repeated here. Therefore, only the vistas for those places which are the site of monuments for the first time in Period Three are reviewed here {fig. 7.11} (Appendix 3). At Sinnington, the results of the Vista Sample Series suggest that the sightlines from that place were not intended to be extensive. Indeed, the east, southeast, and southwest through northeast sightlines extend for very short distances.

Be that as it may, the sightlines that do extend for some distance, the south through the southwest, appear to emphasize the old Roman road along the southern rim of the vale.

Situated along the northern edge of a promontory which extends c. 4.25km into the vale, Nunnington, All Saints and St James church occupies a place in the landscape along the western scarp of the vale. The site's location naturally occludes the sightlines to the east, through the southwest. The northwest through northeast sightlines encompass the majority of the north-western rim of the vale.

Oswaldkirk is situated at a point in the landscape along the northern edge of the Coxwald Gilling gap. The visual theatre for Oswaldkirk reflects the position it occupies in the landscape and encompasses the route through the valley. The east west, northwest, north and northeast sightlines are all blocked by the nature of the surrounding topography. However, the south and southeast sightlines offer considerable views of the south-eastern rim of the vale and would have included the Roman road as well as the rout through the gap.

The vista sample conducted for Pickering indicates that only the east sightline is truncated. The southeast and southwest sightlines include vast stretches of the vale of Pickering and the Wolds including the Roman road to the south as well as the more ancient monuments. Indeed, in addition to the ancient monuments in the landscape, the northwest sightline terminates near the Roman camps at Cawthorne.

The vista sample for the Period Three monument sites is even more compelling than that for Period Two. As was the case with the Period Two vistas, the Roman road[s] along the rim of the vale were visible. In addition, certain of the more 'ancient'

monuments along the scarps of the Moors and Wolds also figure in the vista from some of the sites. The whole visual theatre of the western Vale of Pickering is encompassed by the sightlines from the monuments. Given the distribution of the Period Three sculpted stone monuments, it is difficult to imagine a traveller who was unaware of their presence from any point in the vale. Only the Lastingham, Oswaldkirk and Stonegrave vista sample emphasise local zones. Again, these sites are all within the interiors of valleys along what may have been access or transit routes.

To summarize, it appears that the visual theatre of the monuments changed over time. During Period One the visual theatre of the secondary burial at Kingthorpe emphasised the local landscape. However, during period two we have an increasing number of specifically Anglo-Saxon sites, i.e., minsters, the earliest of these were in fairly isolated places, and may have been associated with important route ways. Increasingly these sites were visually linked to the interior of the Vale of Pickering and the Roman roads there. This emphasis on the Vale of Pickering and the roads around it continued into Period Three.

## **7.9 Discussion**

In Period One at least two groups were active in the western end of the Vale of Pickering. The first group displayed a preference for the Roman landscape and continued to bury their dead in a manner that was decidedly Romano-British while incorporating some elements of Anglo-Saxon material culture and burial practice into their ritual. Further, they were doing so in places associated with a specifically Roman history, i.e., near villas and in close proximity to roads at places like Spaunton, Appleton-le-street, Yearsley- which is not far from Hovingham, and Malbeck. It has been argued that in regions such as North Yorkshire the presence of these burials

reflects a more gradual assimilation of Anglo-Saxon culture than elsewhere (Loveluck 2003, 162). Other Roman sites in the vale continued to be used very late. Roman coins have been recovered from Hovingham dating to no earlier than AD410 and as late as AD423. Elsewhere in the vale, there is some evidence of early medieval occupation, e.g., grubenhauser, on the site of a Roman fort near Cropton and at West Heslerton we have an early medieval settlement was in proximity to a late Roman cult site (Powlesland 2003a; 2003b).

Some of the place-names in the Vale of Pickering study area support the assertion that there were possible Roman period structures standing in the Anglo-Saxon period. The place-name for the villa site at Beadlam is comprised of the combination of the OE *bothl*, meaning special house or building, in a dative plural form *bothum* likely indicates a place at the buildings. The place-name for Spaunton, OE *spon + tun*, may indicate buildings with shingle tiling (V Watts 2004). Similarly, the place-name for Hovingham may refer to buildings as well. It may be that the Roman villa there was known to the Anglo-Saxons and the place-name is referencing that. The OS place-name element *hof* can indicate a 'an enclosure, a dwelling, a house [or] a temple' (V Watts 2004, 320). Not all place-names associated with buildings were likely to have referred to Roman period structures. The place-name of Cote Garth combines the OE element *cote* meaning cottages or huts with the OE personal name *Gara*, or *gara*, meaning triangular plot. So the construction of the name either indicates the cottages belonging to Gara, or the cottages near the triangular plot (A D Mills 1991).

Other place-names from the region contain British elements, e.g., the River Seven. This suggests that the early medieval peoples who used the landscape were aware of both the British place-names and the Roman features in the landscape. In this context

it is not unreasonable to suggest that the Roman landscape features of the area were one component in the organization of the early medieval landscape. The landscape strongly reflects the older Romano-British and Iron Age periods in the distribution of burials near known Romano-British sites at Spaunton, Beadlam and Appleton-le-street. So then, during Period One we have good evidence for a community expressing a taste for things Roman, and burying their dead in a decidedly non-Germanic fashion. However, elements of Anglo-Saxon material culture are being represented in the choice to use the furnished burial rite and in the choice of Anglo-Saxon grave-goods.

That the Romano-British names and places are represented in early medieval use of the landscape suggests that at least some linguistic elements 'survived' long enough to be influential in the formation of the 'Anglo-Saxon' understanding of the landscape. Referencing of Romano-British landmarks may have played a similar role in the place-names for Beadlam, Hovingham, and Spaunton, all sites of Roman villas and all of which contain place-name elements indicative of buildings. In the case of Beadlam it is a reference to a special place of houses, and Spaunton, a possible reference to shingle or tile roofed buildings.

A second group, based in the north eastern corner of the study area near the modern town of Pickering were actively burying their elite dead in pre-existing mounds with grave-goods signalling a taste for things Anglo-Saxon. Further, they were doing so in a manner that has been demonstrated to promote artificial histories and imbed lineage, privilege and ownership in the landscape (Lucy 1998; Williams 1998; 2006). The place-name for Kingthorpe combines the OE *cynin* with the OS *thorp* and possibly denotes an outlying village or farmstead belonging to the king.

Period Two in the Case Study Area stands in sharp contradistinction to the trajectory observed in Period One. During Period Two use of demonstrably Anglo-Saxon material culture was more widespread. The paucity of furnished burial evidence in the study area need not be surprising since furnished burial in general stops sometime around AD720-730 (Geake 1997, 134). Further, in an area such as the Vale of Pickering where we have known early churches, e.g., Kirkdale, Lastingham and Hackness further east, it is probable that burial activity had shifted to the churchyard. That is not to say that there were no furnished burials in the region. Just outside the study area at Hambleton Moor there was at least one furnished female burial (Meaney 1964, 290; Lucy 1999, 38) which, based on the inclusion of a workbox (Geake 1997) was late. To the north and just outside the study area at Sunny Bank Hawnby three barrows contained early medieval burials, one of which was accompanied by a workbox and so should be late (Meaney 1964, 290; Lucy 1999, 38).

Indeed, by the end of the period, Anglo-Saxon monuments are found in the northern, western, and southern reaches of the Vale of Pickering study area. Further, unlike the Yorkshire Wolds there are no known examples of final phase or late burials (Geake 1997). The monuments from the study area are all Anglo-Saxon sculpture. Examples include simple crosses with inscriptions, stone furnishings and pieces whose functions can best be described as architectural.

Based on the distribution of sculpture, we must at least remain open to the possibility that the documented minsters are not the only ones in the vale. Anglo-Saxon sculpture has been interpreted as significant indicators of ecclesiastic activity (see Bailey 1980; Lang 1991; Rahtz 2000). The sculpted stone monuments are in ritually significant

landscapes, e.g., preaching sites, or 'minsters' that resemble those at Jarrow and Whitby to the north and east.

The preference for sites associated with Romano-British period may continue into Period Two. At least two of the sites selected for Period Two sculpted stone monuments, Hovingham and Lastingham, were associated with known Roman villa sites (fig. 7.12). The Roman villa Spaunton is about 1 km south of the present church and village at Lastingham and it may be that Bede's reference to the crimes associated with the site are a reference to an elite British estate. It is possible that the place-name evidence implies that the area around Lastingham was already occupied when Cedd built the monastery there. This idea is further reinforced by Bede's cryptic assertion that Cedd wished to 'purify the site of the monastery from the taint of earlier crimes' (*HE* iii, 23). We should also note that Bede mentions the minster was supposed to be Æthelwalds burial site (*HE* iii, 23). So the Deiran kings were no longer interested in their former power base near Goodmanham, but were now based near Romano-British sites in the Vale of Pickering area.

Another site with sculpture, Middleton, is located less than 2km from the Blansby Park villa. In addition, the Gilling East and Stonegrave sites are only a few kilometres from Yearsley. A little further south and just outside the study area at Crayke there is a villa and sculpture in close proximity. It may be that these sites remained important centres into the early medieval period and as such, were selected for Anglo-Saxon monuments. Without further investigation it is impossible to know whether this represents a real pattern, but it should at least remain a possibility.



The vista samples conducted for the Period Two monument sites suggest that the Roman roads and track-ways that traverse the vale and the Coxwald Gilling gap, were important parts of the visual theatre. But what was the intended audience? The Vista Samples conducted for the Period Two sites suggest that there could be both local and regional audiences in the visual theatre. For the sites like Gilling East in the Coxwald Gilling gap and Lastingham to the north, it may be that they were intended to be seen by those travelling through the area, a visual statement of authority and ownership. However, the extended Sightlines across the Vale of Pickering from many of the Period Two monument sites may indicate that the signalling of ideas to a broader sub-regional audience.

If we look to the monuments we should be able read some of these ideas being signalled. Stylistically, the Period Two monuments reflect various influences. Local tastes may be indicated in the number of shouldered crosses, which are a rarity outside the Ryedale (Lang 1991). Within the decorative elements of the monuments there are a number of references to Bernician influences at places such as Lindisfarne, Monkwearmouth and Whitby. Other Anglo-Saxon stylistic references, e.g., the Midlands, are represented as well. However, the exchange of ideas was not limited to local or regional sources. The connection between the Hovingham shrine and Frankish models suggest Continental influences (Lang 1991, 147). Be that as it may, one of the strongest links is with Bernicia in the Whitby Stone monuments in the region.

Controlled distribution of and access to exotic goods and raw materials was often employed as a means of enhancing socio-political relationships as well as emphasising and reinforcing social hierarchies in the early medieval period (Arnold 1997[1988], 101). This was the case particularly among those who were, or who sought to be,

heads of powerful families. We know that within these redistributive economies the practice of gift giving to subordinates 'fuelled the development of craft specialisation and exchange in an increasingly complex structure' (Arnold 1988, 102). It is possible that the Bernicians were employing similar strategies via the controlled access to the stone sculpture and/or architectural pieces whose fabric was sourced from quarries near the Bernician royal foundation at Whitby. This activity reinforced ties between local elites and the Bernician kings of Northumbria.

In Period Two, then, there is a rapid expansion of the Bernician Christian agenda which is reflected in the monument record. The significant places in this period tended to be located either around the rim of the vale or in valley locations along transit routes into or out of the Vale of Pickering. At least three of the important centres, Hovingham, Lastingham, and Middleton, were in close proximity to Roman and or Romano-British sites, and some of the place-names in the region denote survival of British place-name elements. The monuments signal contacts with the broader Hiberno-Northumbrian and later the Frankish Christian communities. Control of the programme likely came from the Bernician dynastic minster at Whitby, which found favour with the British element in the population who championed the Christian project. While this is speculative, it offers answers to questions about the rapid adoption of Anglo-Saxon monuments and the expression of Anglo-Saxon ideas within the context of what had largely been a British landscape.

Period Three in the Case Study Area marks an expansion of the sculpture programme which began in Period Two. The sites at Hackness, Gilling East and Kirby Misperton cease to serve as foci of investment and a number of new centres come into use. These sites are mainly situated close to the roads or track-ways in the region. The results of

the vista sample conducted for the sites suggest that the vistas of those sites which came into use during Period Three emphasised visibility across the Vale of Pickering.

The repertoire of monument types is restricted in Period Three. During Period Two there were no less than five categories of stone monument: architectural pieces, crosses, grave-covers, furnishings, and shrines. Many of these Period Two pieces served different functions, e.g., furnishing and architecture, but were associated in some way with monastic centres. However, in Period Three the types of sculpted stone monuments are reduced to three, all of which were funerary in function: crosses, grave-covers and hogbacks. Therefore the distinction between the two periods may be that the Period Two monuments were corporate and monastic and the Period Three served a personal individual burial function within graveyards (Everson and Stocker 1999).

This change is also signalled by a shift in the types of figures represented on the monuments, and in place of the saints and religious figures of Period Two we now have depictions of heroic warriors and hunting scenes. That is not to say that the religious element was entirely extinguished. At Stonegrave we have a centre producing demonstrably Christian art (Lang 1977, 4) well into the tenth century. Stonegrave 1 is a Period Three cross which signals the types of ecclesiastical ideas seen in Period Two pieces. However, despite differences in ornament, a date earlier than the second decade of the tenth century is impossible for the piece given that it is ring-head type cross which could not have been constructed earlier than c. AD920, before which the Hiberno-Norse connection between York and Dublin had not been established (Bailey 1978, 177-79; Lang 1991, 218).

The distribution, form, and iconography of the Period Three monuments can also reflect changes that had occurred in the organization of society. That is to say, the change from a centrally controlled programme of monuments, many of which came from the royal centre at Whitby, and which depended on the bestowing of these gifts for its legitimacy, to a system that emphasised the individual elite: a system that divided authority in the study area among individual elites who were competing for prominence via the display of funerary monumentality. Stocker (2000) has demonstrated that elsewhere in Yorkshire sculpted stone monuments could signal areas where one individual was dominant, and a zone with multiple examples of monuments signalled a zone of competition in which elites competed for dominance via display (Stocker 2000). The vista sample conducted for the period suggests that sites with extended Sightlines across the Vale of Pickering were preferred. With the element of visual display inherent in the visibility of these sites it may be that we are looking at just such a zone of competition or interaction in the western Vale of Pickering. So in this we may have a localized audience for the monuments.

Influences from outside the region can be found in the form and decoration of the monuments. The popularity of the ring head crosses in the Ryedale signals influences from Ireland (Lang 1977, 4). The influences of the jelling style in the region also signal stylistic influences from across the North Sea in Scandinavia (Lang 1991). This is found in the dragon motif on Sinnington No. 4, the snakehead design of Hovingham No. 1, as well as the ornament on the Nunnington pieces (Lang 1991). So on one level we have a group of elites keen to signal membership in a North Sea world. In this context the audience may be local, regional and supra-regional at the same time.

## Chapter 8

### Discussion and Interpretation

---

*The lamp, flickering in cool North Sea wind illuminating the bent, aged figure focused on his task. The Venerable Bede writing in the eighth century from his lonely cell at Jarrow has cast a long and lingering shadow over our understanding of the formative period of 'Anglo-Saxon England.' His legacy was a history of the *Gentis Anglorum*, of a divinely ordained conversion, and a world-view tempered by the church fathers; in short, an Orthodox creation myth for the English state.*

This chapter is a discussion of the ideas, monumental landscapes and political communities of Deira. We first look to the documentary history of Deira and conduct a brief overview of the history of Northumbrian political institutions. Next we review historical models of change and how at different points in history the reality of political opinion has influenced historical analysis of early medieval Britain. Having discussed the historical agenda, the results of the case studies are reviewed. Next, anthropological models of interpretation which offer ideas about the construction of social power and the interactions of peoples, ideas, and material culture are reviewed to see if they are helpful. This is followed by a discussion of archaeological theories of monumentality and ideological diversity. Finally, we assess the implications of the trajectories identified in the case studies for documentary history and reflect on the implications of this thesis for future research.

#### **8.1 The History of Deira According the Documents**

What we know of Deiran history comes to us primarily from the Northumbrian monk and scholar Bede and a smaller number of fragmentary or external sources including the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* and the ninth century *Historia Brittonum* (Yorke 1990, 47; Alcock 1971, 32). Bede tells us little of the early history of Deira in his *Ecclesiastical History* (Yorke 1990, 74), but the *Historia Brittonum* records that it was a certain

‘Soemil, who first separated Deur [Deira] from Berneich [Bernicia- presumably meaning they detached

Table 8.1 Kings of Deira and Bernicia

<b>Bernicia: Date</b>	<b>Name</b>	<b>Origin</b>	<b>Status</b>	<b>Other Info</b>
588-593	Æthelric	Bernician	King	
593-616	Æthelfrith	Bernician	King	Father of Oswald, Oswiu, Oslac, Oswudu, Oslaf, Offa
616-633	Edwin	Deiran	Over-king	
632-633	Eanfrith	Bernician	King	Apostate
634-642	Oswald	Bernician	Over-king	Son of Æthelfrith
642-650	Oswald	Bernician	King	Killed rival Oswine of Deira
642-70	Oswiu	Bernician	Over-king	Brother of Oswald
<b>Deira: Date</b>	<b>Name</b>	<b>Origin</b>	<b>Status</b>	<b>Other Info</b>
560-588	Ælle	Deira	King	Mid-6 <sup>th</sup> century
d. 604	Æthelric	Deira	King	N/A
593-616	Æthelfrith	Bernicia	Over-King	Killed by Redwald
616-633	Edwin	Deira	Over-king	Killed by Penda
632-633	Osric	Deira	King	Apostate, killed by Deirans
634-642	Oswald	Bernician	Over-king	Killed by Penda
643-650	Oswine	Deiran	King	Killed by Oswiu
650-655	Æthelwald	Bernician	Sub-king	Son of Oswald. Removed by Oswiu after rebellion and alliance with Penda.
655-c. 665	Alhfrith	Bernician	Sub-king	Son of Oswiu. Not heard of after AD665. Possibly killed by Oswiu.
After 665, d. 679.	Ælfwine	Bernician	Sub-king	Son of Oswiu.
670-685	Egfrith	Bernician	Over-King	Son of Oswiu

it ‘from the British’]’ (*Historia Brittonum* iii, 61). Beyond references to these British sounding territories we are told little of their origins. The *Historia Brittonum* also notes that Ida ruled Deira and Bernicia sometime after AD547 (Alcock 1972, 119-120; *Historia Brittonum* iii, 63). What we do know is that the kingdoms of Deira and Bernicia were more or less permanently combined to form Northumbria sometime

around AD604 by Æthelfrith of Bernicia (Yorke 1990, 74) {table 8.1}. During Æthelfrith's reign Edwin, son of Ælle, the first Deiran king about whom we know anything substantive was in exile with Raedwald king of the East Angles (*HE* ii, 12; Yorke 1990, 76). After Raedwald's defeat of Æthelfrith in AD616, Edwin took the throne of Northumbria, presumably as client king of Raedwald (*HE* ii, 12; Yorke 1990, 77).

By the time of Edwin's conversion in AD624 (*HE* ii, 12) Deira and Bernicia had been united for little more than two decades. After Edwin's death in AD633 (*HE* ii, 20) the two Northumbrian sub-kingdoms were briefly split up and Edwin's successors apostatised, but within a year Northumbria was reunited by Oswald, the son of Æthelfrith and his Deiran wife Acha (Yorke 1990, 78-79). Oswald too was killed in battle by Penda of Mercia in AD642 (*HE* iii, 9). Oswald's brother Oswiu assumed the throne in Bernicia while their cousin Oswine, the son of Osric, reigned as king in Deira. The two kingdoms were ruled jointly by Oswiu and Oswine for seven years until Oswiu had his Deiran rival murdered (*HE* iii, 14).

While Oswiu became ruler of Northumbria by fairly nefarious means, the success of his dynasty cannot be denied. Indeed, the succession of long-lived kings of Northumbria in the seventh and early eighth centuries represents the longest period of dynastic rule in Northumbrian history. However, over the course of the next century the Northumbrians favoured a revolving door policy for the succession of kings as table 8.2 demonstrates.

table 8.2 Northumbrian Kings AD641-848

Dates	Name	Origin	Status	Other Info
642-70	Oswiu	Bernician	Over-king	Northumbria united
670-685	Ecgrith	Oswiu's Dynasty	King	Son of Oswiu
685-705	Aldfrith	Oswiu's Dynasty	King	Ecgrith's brother. Died in Driffield.
705-716	Osred	Oswiu's Dynasty	King	Aldfrith's son. Killed in south.
716-718	Coenred		King	Unknown
718-729	Osrice	Oswiu's Dynasty	King	Died.
729-737	Ceolwulf		King	Abdicated and tonsured
738-758	Eadberht		King	Brother of Archbishop Egbert of York. Abdicated and Tonsured
758	Oswulf		King	Son of Eadberht. Killed by his household.
759-764	Æthelwald Moll		King	Abandoned throne. Possibly Driven from it.
765-774	Alfred		King	Driven out of York
774-778	Æthelred		King	Son of Moll. Driven out.
778-788	Ælfwald		King	Assassinated.
788-792	Osred II		King	Killed or Expelled
792-794	Æthelred		King	Assassinated
795-806	Eardwulf		King	Driven out.
806-808	Ælwulf II		King	Died
808-811	Eardwulf		King	Restored by Continental allies. Deposed
811-840	Eanred		King	Died
840-844	Æthelred II		King	Expelled.
844	Redwulf		King	Killed by Vikings
844-848	Æthelred II		King	Returned from exile. Killed

In an age when general chicanery and outright murder were not uncommon themes in dynastic competition, the regularity with which the Northumbrians resorted to them is notable. Assassination, tonsure, exile; between the death of Osrice, last of Oswiu's dynasty, in AD729 and AD844 there were 17 kings of Northumbria, none of whom died a natural death while on the throne. No fewer than five were driven out of Northumbria, five were assassinated, at least one abandoned the throne and two kings were 'forcibly' tonsured and entered the monastic life. The political situation was so



unstable that at sixteen different points in time the previous king was succeeded by someone from outside that family (Higham 1992, 146). On at least one occasion, in AD808, the intervention of continental, Carolingian and Roman, allies was influential in the restoration of a king, Eardwulf, to his throne (Swanton 1999, 59). Indeed, at one point during the ninth century, no less than four families competed for the throne within one generation (Higham 1992, 145).

The arrival of the Danish army at York in AD867 under Healfdane's command coincided with the nadir in Northumbrian politics during which two kings simultaneously claimed the throne (Higham 1992, 178-180). The Northumbrians were so factionalised that it was several months before the two rivals were able to unite and mount a counter attack. They met the Danish army at York in the spring of AD868 and suffered perhaps the worst defeat of a Northumbrian army in more than two hundred years. Such was their devastation that both claimants to the throne were killed along with countless of their retinue. The survivors sued for peace and accepted the Danish rule (Higham 1992, 178-180).

Here the raiding-army went from East Anglia over the mouth of the Humber to York city and broke into the city, and some of them got inside; and an immense slaughter was made of the Northumbrians there . . . and both the kings were killed, and the survivors made peace with the raiding-army (Swanton 1999, 69).

The Viking king Healfdane's rule was cut short when he was killed in Ireland (Blair, P. H. 1976, 72; Higham 1992, 183). Be that as it may, the fact that Healfdane's successors succeeded in detaching Deira from Bernicia so long after the two were supposedly united is intriguing; Deira subsequently formed the heart of the York kingdom. Bede's epic vision of a united Christian kingdom would remain a dream deferred. More than a hundred years of dynastic competition for the Northumbrian

throne was followed by the 'Viking' invasion and it was not until this point that Deira experienced anything like political unity.

Of course there are other histories besides a history of the relationship between Deira and Bernicia, but the monuments and ideas we are interested in were situated in this context. While the documentary history has provided a broad outline of events, this exercise demonstrates that there are many gaps in what is recorded, especially when it comes to the ideas and opinions of local groups. In the following section we briefly look at how the history of Deira and Bernicia has been addressed by historians from the early modern period forward.

## **8.2 Historical Models of Change**

The use of history to condone and achieve current ends is not solely limited to modern peoples. Interest in Anglo-Saxon history was rekindled in England in the age of the Protestant Reformation (J A Hinton 2006, 12). With the publication of Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* in 1643, the English inherited a powerful origin myth for the belief that they were God's chosen people (J A Hinton 2006, 14). For the eighteenth century historian David Hume, Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* provided a pattern of religious and intellectual purity. In his account of the marriage and conversion of Edwin the true bride arrives from the continent, i.e., Bertha of Kent, bringing with her true religion and freedom from idols: a 'subtle' allusion to the Reformation and iconoclasm. In Hume's work we also see an early presentation of a number of themes which have dominated Anglo-Saxon history to the present including the free Englishman, the Saxon invasion, and the extermination of the Britons.

The government of the Germans, and that of all the northern nations, who established themselves on the ruins of Rome, was always extremely free; and those fierce people, accustomed to independence and enured to arms, were more guided by persuasion than authority, in the submission which they paid to their princes. . . The Saxons, who subdued Britain, as they enjoyed great liberty in their own country, obstinately retained that invaluable possession in their new settlement; and they imported into this island the same principles of independence, which they had inherited from their ancestors. The chieftains (for such they were, more properly than kings or princes) who commanded them in those military expeditions, still possessed a very limited authority; and as the Saxons exterminated, rather than subdued the ancient inhabitants, they were indeed transplanted into a new territory, but preserved unaltered all their civil and military institutions. (D Hume 1983).

Nineteenth century historians such as Edward Augustus Freeman (1974) and Sir Francis Palgrave (1876) looked to the Anglo-Saxons and their 'German' origins for a historical underpinning of their ideal of English freedom. To historians such as Freeman and Palgrave, the Norman Conquest was little more than an unwarranted intrusion on and interruption of all that was noble and desirable in the 'English race.'

During the early decades of the twentieth century England's political alliances shifted and Germany rather than France became the focus of English popular and national antipathy (see: Lucy 1998). Within this context popular and scholarly interest in Arthuriana broadened and the idea of a Celtic past became acceptable or even desirable. With the publication of FM Stenton's *Anglo-Saxon England* in 1943 the post World War II era of Anglo-Saxon history began. Here the major themes were the study of development of institutions and traditions of Anglo-Saxon England. The historiography of twentieth century post-war scholarship on the subject of kings and kingship has received adequate attention elsewhere (see: J T Rosenthal 1985). However, I would draw attention to the major thesis of Wallace-Hadrill's volume of the Ford Lectures (1975): kingship in the early middle ages was not an abstract theoretical construct; it was always about competition for power. In our case we can replace 'kingship' with something like 'elite social relationships' and lose none of the intent.

More recently historians have pursued the discussion of Anglo-Saxon England in the context of the political development of the kingdoms. In *Kings and Kingdoms of Early Anglo-Saxon England*, Barbara Yorke (1990) approaches the history of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms by focusing on the fortunes of powerful dynastic families. However, she avoids all but a very brief discussion of the period between Roman withdrawal and AD600. Nicholas Higham's volume on *The Convert Kings* (1997) analyzed the contributions of Christianity to the institutions of kingship in individual Anglo-Saxon kingdoms. Meanwhile Joseph Lynch has discussed the role of the conversion, particularly baptismal sponsorship in the construction of artificial kinship links, in the structuring of Anglo-Saxon political relationships (Lynch 1998). However, in the main these have focused on discussion of kingship and kingdoms of Anglo-Saxon England as a whole rather than local ideas and opinion.

On a more local scale Steve Bassett has discussed the consolidation of small scale political units into larger kingdoms. Working from charter evidence, parish boundaries, the Domesday survey and other documentary sources Bassett has argued that Anglo-Saxon kingdoms developed in at least two ways. Bassett's first model posits a slower process of acculturation in which elites from the indigenous and immigrant communities settle in a number of smaller scale polities and intermarried local elites until eventually power becomes traditionally associated within a single family with which kingship becomes associated (Bassett 1989, 23-24). In the next model, immigrant groups assumed effective control over existing polities, i.e., post-Roman, British territories, either by consent or war (Bassett 1989, 24). For example Bassett argues that the kingdom of East Anglia represents a 'transmutation of the late Roman *civitas* of the *Trinovates* into an Anglo-Saxon state' (Bassett 1989, 24). David

Dumville has argued that the *civitas* of the Parisi becomes the Anglo-Saxon kingdom of Deira in a similar fashion (Dumville 1989).

David Rollason's *Northumbria, 500-1100 AD: Creation of a Kingdom* proposes a review of the processes of state formation in Northumbria in the context of a discussion of religion and ritual in the construction of identity and the institutions of the Northumbrian state (Rollason 2003, 3). Rollason accomplishes most of his agenda reasonably well. However, his difficulty with the period before the seventh century reinforces the difficulty of reconstructing the history of early Deira from the documents. Questions of identity form a major theme of his book, but Rollason's discussion of ethnicity and identity avoids the recent contributions of researchers who have helped redefine the subject, e.g., Geary (1983), Hines (1994), Lucy (1998), Geake (1997), and (Pohl, 1997) *et al*, and instead relies on traditional biological notions of ethnicity: his major source of evidence being the lack of any 'Native British elite' among the documented Anglo-Saxon or 'English' Northumbrians in *Bede's Ecclesiastical History* (2003, 58-59). Ideas, despite his assertions about the role of Christianity in development of Anglo-Saxon institutions, are largely absent from Rollason's discussion.

For Rollason the Anglo-Saxon church was the most stable political institution by the end of the eighth century (Rollason 2003, 242-243). By contrast, the fractious infighting among Northumbrian ruling elite in the later eighth century was a destabilizing factor (Rollason 2003, 207). From this Rollason argues that the Anglo-Saxon ecclesiastical institutions in York under Viking rule continued to function as before (Rollason 2003, 236-237). That the church underwent considerable changes in the ninth and tenth century, e.g., the transition from corporate minsters to secular

'parish' churches, cannot be denied. However, the proliferation of parish churches in Deira mirrors trends elsewhere in Britain in the ninth and tenth century that were not directly affected by the Vikings and the Danelaw (Blair 1988). Therefore they cannot be wholly attributable to 'Viking interruptions' (Rollason 2003, 239).

A more sophisticated discussion of the archaeology and monuments would have contributed greater detail to Rollason's work. Such an interdisciplinary approach has been estimably pursued by historians such as John Blair (1995a; 2006) and Sarah Semple (1998; 2003), as well as archaeologists including Helen Geake (1997), Sam Lucy (1998), Martin Carver (1998; 2000), and Howard Williams (2004; 2005; 2006) to name but a few. Unfortunately Rollason opts for a traditional cultural historical discussion of the material culture (Rollason 2003, 17).

An important recent historiographic trend is to seek the separation of nineteenth century nationalist ideas of biological ethnicity from the study of history. Medievalist Patrick Geary writes:

[M]odern [ideas about] history . . . [were] born in the nineteenth century, conceived and developed as an instrument of European nationalism. As a tool of nationalist ideology, the history of Europe's nations was a great success, but it has turned our understanding of the past into a toxic waste dump, filled with the poison of ethnic nationalism, and the poison has seeped deep into popular consciousness (Geary 2002, 7).

That historians such as Geary have begun to emphasise identity over biological definitions of ethnicity is undeniably beneficial as it hopefully allows us to avoid the worst excesses of nationalistic history, e.g., ethnic cleansing and genocide. However, it will not get us any closer to the ideas and opinions of local populations or the processes involved in historical change. For this we must look to the archaeological material. The processes of change and the 'viewpoints' of social actors of the past recorded in the

monuments are within the grasp of archaeologists and is an acceptable part of the archaeological agenda (Carver forthcoming). But as we shall see, there is no need to confine archaeology to the pre-literate period, for the agendas of archaeology and history can set nicely alongside one another (Carver forthcoming).

### **8.3 Review of the Case Studies**

The monuments examined in this thesis were defined in terms of their “investment” – the work required to create them – and their social influence as implied, for example by their prominence in the landscape (Chapter 1). Barrows and sculpture proved to be the two main types of monument that both fitted the definition and were sufficiently widespread in their occurrence. Other types of investment, for example, high status settlement, fortifications and churches, although highly significant for the argument, were insufficiently represented to allow a connected trajectory to be traced. In the event the “monumental history” has relied on burials and sculpture (Chapters 2-4). Dated examples allowed these to be mapped in three broad periods (Period One AD450-600; Period Two AD600-800; Period Three AD800-900, Chapter 3). The mapping exercise revealed areas where there was a reasonable continuity of investment from which a narrative could be constructed (Chapter 4). The above permitted three areas to be selected, in each of which there was a chance of a clear narrative emerging (Chapter 4). Having selected the monuments and mapped their distribution (Chapter 4), we selected three case study areas in which to examine the trajectories observed at the broader level (Chapter 4) on a local scale (Chapters 5-7).

Here we present a review the monumental preferences area by area in each of the three time periods. In general the story is one in which a heterogeneous group of communities, living side by side but practising different ideological and monumental

strategies, becomes by the tenth century more homogenous with a regional sense of identity.

### **8.3a Period One**

During Period One in the western half of the Vale of Pickering a community was actively burying their dead in a Romano-British style, i.e., cist burial, at places like Spaunton, Yearsley and Appleton-le-street. That they were aware of the Anglo-Saxons is suggested by the fashion for incorporating material culture from this immigrant community in their burials. However, they continued to pursue a largely local trajectory even though in the opposite end of the Vale of Pickering at West Heslerton another community was burying their dead in an “Anglo-Saxon” fashion.

The early medieval cult site at Goodmanham forms the geographic heart of the second case study area and is located c. 2km north of the cremation cemetery at Sancton. Bede (*HE*, ii, 13) points to the importance of the Goodmanham site in the seventh century and implies that it was there in the sixth as a pagan temple (J Blair 1995a, 21; 2005, 184-185). At Sancton, a community or group living in the south eastern area of the Vale of York and along the scarps of the southern leg of the Yorkshire Wolds were burying their dead in communal cremation cemeteries at Sancton. The visual theatre of the Sancton site emphasised the Roman roads and riverine transport routes in the Vale of York. Because of their importance, both Goodmanham and the Sancton cemetery provided focal points in the landscape.

Despite the presence of considerable numbers of round barrows in the Goodmanham case study area only one Anglian secondary mound burial was identified. Located in the extreme north of the study area near Warter, the location of the mound suggests



links to the community on the high Wolds rather than areas further south. Its location in the higher elevation of the Wolds is more typical of other secondary burials, e.g., the Uncleby barrow cemetery, and it may be that the Warter barrow was a boundary feature.

Meanwhile, in the third case study area near the modern town of Driffield, on the Yorkshire Wolds and on the Driffield gravels a community or communities were burying their elite dead in a secondary context within Bronze Age mounds. The focus for investment during the period was on two groups of round barrows: one of which centred on the area of the modern town of Driffield; and another to the west near Kirkburn which contained proportionally higher quantities of worked iron. The visual theatres of the two sites were also different. The visual theatre of the Driffield group was defined by barrows which were visible from Moot Hill and had visual connections to Enthorpe Woods in the Yorkshire Wolds, the Driffield Beck and local Roman roads. Meanwhile the visual theatre of the Kirkburn group emphasised the higher elevations in the Wolds and associations with route-ways including local Roman roads but not Enthorpe Woods or Moot Hill.

### **8.3b Period Two**

During Period Two in the area of the western Vale of Pickering the monument repertoire is now exclusively sculpted stone. The monuments display a taste for things Bernician, with much of the sculptural style and motif having direct parallels with pieces found in Bernicia. In addition to the Bernician influences, much of stone used in the Period Two monuments was quarried from near the Bernician/Northumbrian royal minster at Whitby, which was itself in Deira. Anglo-Saxon sculpture is found almost exclusively within an ecclesiastical context (Bailey 1980; Cambridge 1984;

Lang 1991). Given the number of sites in the western Vale of Pickering at which we identified the presence of Anglo-Saxon sculpture and the evidence of Bernician influence, the rapid adoption of Christianity in the study area was driven from the north. Visually, the earliest of these sites emphasise the route-ways and valleys nearby, but as the period progressed, the sightlines become associated with the vast expanse of the Vale of Pickering, forming a visually and physically connected network of monument sites on the personal scale of 'as far as the eye can see.'

At Goodmanham we have only the only documented example of a pagan shrine or temple at a specific site in Anglo-Saxon England (Blair 1995a, 2). Nearby at Market Weighton and Londesborough there are a number of richly furnished burials. However, the excavated burials from the case study area neither reflect the trajectories observed on the Wolds or elsewhere in Deira. The large (+77 graves) Period Two burial ground at Etton reflects innovation in Deira, i.e., most of the burials were crouched (Lucy 1998; 1999). These have been variously seen as British or Christian rather than Saxon or Pagan, but we argue (Chapter 8) that it would be wiser to reserve judgement on these specific ethnic and religious issues. Sam Lucy (2000, 15) has argued that crouched burials reflect low status, as compared with elite furnished burial, and claims they represent a localized statement of identity by non-elites. But this interpretation too must be held in abeyance since the burial rite may spring from factors unrelated to status, for example family tradition and preference. I will return to these matters at the end of the chapter. Place-name evidence suggests that Warter was associated with a later Anglo-Saxon execution site. Andrew Reynolds has demonstrated that elsewhere in England execution sites were associated with boundaries (Reynolds 1998, 155). Indeed there is another execution cemetery at Walkington Wold near the eastern boundary of the case study area.

Meanwhile on the other side of the Wolds in the Drifffield study area the trajectory of investment in monuments diverges and two trajectories were identified. A community, or communities, on the Holderness and along the Hull river valley were investing in sculpted stone monuments at Beverley, an ecclesiastical site for which we have a reasonably secure documented foundation date at least as early as the last decade of the seventh century (*HE* v, 2-6). Meanwhile, another community based on the slacks of the Wolds near Garton continued to invest in secondary burial through much of the eighth century. Here we have a zone of interaction between two groups, one focused on the earlier traditions in the Wolds and the other looking to Bernicia and the continent. Visually these groups are making references to different agendas in their programme of monumentality. While in the north near Garton the community retained its emphasis on the reused monumental landscape, to the south the vistas emphasized local, riverine and transit routes.

### **8.3c Period Three**

Unlike what we observed in the two previous periods, in Period Three the repertoire of monuments is now uniform in type, i.e., sculpture, and distribution across most of Deira. However, both the form and function of the Period Three monuments were different from the essentially ecclesiastical function of Period Two sculpted stone monuments. That is not to suggest that the monuments were homogenous in all aspects. There were certainly regional variations in design and motif, e.g., a preference for ring-head crosses in the Ryedale.

In the Vale of Pickering study area we see an expansion of the local programme already established in Period Two. However, the iconography has changed and we

now have carving with secular Scandinavian warriors and elite hunting scenes in place of the earlier Christian, Bernician and Frankish iconography. The function too has changed. The sculpture is no longer confined solely to the royal monasteries of Period Two but is more widely dispersed in smaller 'secular' churches (Cramp 1977; 1984). The places in the landscape with sculpture are predominately along the rim of the vale. The visual theatre of the monuments emphasises the visually connected network of sites around the Vale of Pickering.

In the Driffield study area the Yorkshire Wolds and central Holderness are deemed unsuitable for investment and the monuments are now located along the tributaries of the River Hull and not in the south or on the Yorkshire Wolds. The only significant piece in the region, the ring-head cross with domed bosses at North Frodingham, signals influences similar to those found on sculpted stone monuments elsewhere in Deira, i.e., Dublin, York and Scandinavia. The Little Driffield and Lowthorpe pieces are both fairly rough copies of other more accomplished pieces elsewhere in Deira. The visual theatre of these pieces emphasise the riverine routes nearby. In this case we are seeing relatively uncontested control.

In the Goodmanham area there are monuments at Holme-on-Spalding-Moor, Londesborough and Nunburnholme. The most significant of these is the Nunburnholme piece and its iconography demonstrates influences from Dublin, York and Scandinavia. The visual theatre of Holm-on-Spalding-Moor encompasses most of the southern Vale of York including the Roman roads and major rivers. While Nunburnholme and Londesborough are visually separate, they are both visible from atop church hill Holm-on-Spalding-Moor. We should also note that the execution

cemetery at Walkington Wolds continued to be used, implying the continuation of judicial authority on some level (Buckberry and Hadley 2007, 325).

### 8.3d Case Study Summary

So what are we seeing in the monuments of fifth to tenth century Deira? The chart in table 8.3 illustrates the sequence of monuments in each of the case studies by time period.

Table 8.3 Monuments and Case Study Areas by Period

Case Study Area	Period One	Period Two	Period Three
<b>Goodmanham</b>	Mound burial near Warter. Also cremation site at Sancton.	Goodmanham Temple and Conversion of Coifi & Edwin c. AD624.	Sculpted stone monuments with links to York, Dublin and Scandinavia
<b>Driffield</b>	Mound burial w/ weapons, imported goods and wealth items	On the Yorkshire Wolds secondary burial continues through the first half of the 8 <sup>th</sup> century. Holderness has sculpted stone monuments with links to Bernicia and the continent.	Sculpted stone monuments with links to York and Scandinavia
<b>Vale of Pickering</b>	Three sites with cist burials near older Roman/Romano-British sites, grave-goods reflect some Anglo-Saxon influences. Otherwise little demonstrably Anglo-Saxon material culture. One known Mound burial at Kingthorpe and one other from nearby.	Sculpted Stone monuments at numerous sites. Some sites with both sculpted stone monuments and stone architecture. Strongly Anglo-Saxon with links to Bernicia and continent.	Sculpted stone monuments with links to Dublin, York and Scandinavia

The results of the case studies demonstrate that investment in monuments was neither static nor uniform in time or place. In the mapped distribution and the visual theatres we can identify a number of smaller ‘micro-regions’ within Deira. These micro-regions were defined by both the choices in type of monument and their place in the landscape. In Periods One and Two we identified multiple local communities. It is

not until Period Three that the monuments are all sculpture that there is anything like a unified monumental repertoire in Deira. So that we noted: there were spatial differences in practice between one contemporary region and its neighbour; and changes in practice within a region between one period and the next. We interpreted these differences as representing multiple trajectories of development within Deira followed in the ninth and tenth century by a uniform monument repertoire.

Within Deira we can read the exchange of ideas at varying levels and the audience may include family, kin, folk, ethnic group, language group, imaginary ancestral home, trade partners or local, regional and supra-regional political allies. While we are not yet equipped to deconstruct every community in these terms, we can at least detect the level at which monumentality is exercised, i.e., local agendas, and observe that that is what is mainly changing. Whatever the message, the mapped distribution and vista samples demonstrate that the differences are less chronological than geographical.

#### **8.4 Anthropological Models of Interpretation**

In the discussion that follows, we want to know how and why elites- those who paid for the monuments - made the choices we can observe in the spatio-temporal distribution of monuments. We begin with three anthropological models which might explain the changes we can see taking place: chiefdoms and social power networks, Core Periphery theory, and Peer Polity Interaction (PPI).

Were the changes observed in the monuments the result of chiefs extending their power in an evolutionary change from chiefdom to state? Timothy Earle's research on social power has primarily focused on the development of pre-state societies in Bronze Age Denmark, nineteenth century Hawaii and pre-Columbian South America (Earle 1988;

1987; 1991; 1997; 2002). Essentially, Earle posits that social power within a society is not a monolithic entity, but as a system of interrelated and overlapping social networks (Earle 1987; 1991; 1997; 2002; DeMarrias, Castillo and Earle 1996; Mann 1986, 520). In this model there are a limited number of sources by which social power can be established and maintained and the availability of these is dependant on idiosyncratic cultural and environmental factors (Mann 1986, 520). Earle argues that the sources of social power include economic, ideological and political power networks (Earle 1991; 1997; 2002; DeMarrias, Castillo and Earle 1996). These sources of social power can be manipulated to form a strategy of social power, i.e., the specific combinations of the sources of social power which elites employ to promote their hegemony (Mann 1986; Wolf 1999; Earle 2002).

In this model each of the sources of social power has inherent costs and benefits and the potential value of each is dependant on the resources available (Earle 1991; 1997). For example, economic control is often untenable except in cases where control of vital infrastructure, e.g., irrigation systems, facilitates its success, or in insular situations where control of seaways by elites limits the access to goods and resources (DeMarrias, Castillo and Earle 1996, 16; Earle 1997; 2002). While a power strategy that depends heavily on coercion can, in the short term, be effective it is more often than not an economically unfeasible and certainly unstable long-term strategy (Carneiro 1967, 1981; and Webster 1975; DeMarrias, Castillo and Earle 1996). Earle *et al* argue that the most successful and stable strategies are those in which ideology has become rooted in a material medium, a process known as materialization (Earle 1991; DeMarrias, Castillo and Earle 1996; Earle 1997; 2003).

Materialized ideology creates and reinforces social power in two basic ways: first, it is possible to control an ideology embedded in a material medium in much the same way other more utilitarian and wealth goods may be owned, restricted and transferred through institutions of political economy (DeMarrias, Castillo and Earle 1996, 17). Second, the process of materialization is in itself a significant and useful element of political strategy because it reinforces the legitimacy of the elites who control the resultant material forms (Earle 1997).

While the discussion of power in social relationships is needed, the argument presented by Earle *et al* unfortunately focuses on the ability or inability of elites to assert control over labour, raw materials and exchange mechanisms (Kristiansen 1991; DeMarrias, Castillo and Earle 1996; Earle 1997) and this, rather than creative and expressive use of ideas and monuments, is what is really meant as sources of power. While there is talk of controlling and manipulating ideology by dominant elites, their assumption that control of the material equates to control of ideology is insufficient to account for the types of changes in meaning over time (Hodder 1996, 52) assigned to monuments observed by archaeologists such as Barrett (1984); Williams (1996); Semple (1998; 2002); Carver (1998; 2005); and Tilley (1995) to name but a few. Further, while much ink is devoted to discussion of neoevolutionary models of social stratification, e.g., chiefdoms, pre-state entities and states, there is no discussion of fundamental questions of ideas and politics other than as commodities. Therefore while terms such as chiefs, chiefdoms and warrior chiefs may be useful descriptive terms as employed for example by Bassett (1989), the anthropological model of chiefs and social power is largely unhelpful.



Were the changes observed a result of imposition from above as in core periphery theory (Wallerstein 1974; for excellent discussions of application of world systems theory and core periphery see: M Rowlands, M Larsen, and K Kristiansen 1987; J G Cusick 1998) in a process where the centre advances and all others in the periphery follow suit (Wallerstein 1974a)? Wallerstein's core periphery theory drew on the ideas of A G Frank (1967) who espoused a theory of dependency which sought to explain the correlation between growth in the Western World and decline in the third world. Wallerstein was also influenced by the work of economist Raúl Prebisch from whom, among others, he adapted the idea of a powerful economic core and a reactionary periphery. Prebisch's work in the 1950s on economics in Latin America posited that the wealth of less developed nations (the periphery) reacted in an inverse proportion to the increase of wealth in more developed countries (the core) (Prebisch 1959, 259). Wallerstein's core-periphery theory held that the core is characterised by a strong state and the periphery by the absence of a strong state (Wallerstein 1979, 38-39). While Wallerstein argued that his theory was inapplicable to 'ancient' economies (Wallerstein 1974, 15-16), archaeologists embraced its ability to connect geography, trade and material culture (M Rowlands *et al* 1987). Thus the inequality between core and periphery has been used to explain archaeological change especially in areas where clear imbalances of power and influence exist.

A world systems model such as core periphery theory could be adopted since in some respects we are examining issues of trade, e.g., imported grave-goods such as bronze bowls from the Mediterranean. The evidence suggests that the Deirans participated in trade networks that spanned most of northern Europe (see: Loveluck 1996, 38-39) and that they were at least tangentially connected to the Mediterranean. For example, we know that Deirans were in contact with Germany and the Frankish kingdoms through

trade (Loveluck 1996; Dobson 2005). We have evidence for this in the presence of Frankish pottery in Anglian graves (Meaney 1964; Lucy 1998; Geake 1997) and quern stones from Germany. Imported ideologies such as Christianity also suggest strong communications networks with both the continent and Ireland (Yorke 1990; Higham 1993; 1997; Fletcher 1999). However, core periphery theory is not appropriate because apart from Christianity, which is a Mediterranean import, there is virtually no sign of a core and periphery relationship of the type suggested for example by the massive amounts of pottery and imposition of infrastructure such as the road system found in the Roman period. Rather we see “references” made to Roman material culture by people who are not dependant on it because the references are to a “remembered” Roman past (Geake 1997).

Another anthropological model which might be useful is peer polity interaction or PPI (Renfrew & Cherry 1986). PPI is a model which describes interactions between equal communities. In contrast to the dominance of the centre presupposed by core periphery theory, peer polities are understood to be homologous, autonomous polities of similar size which are interconnected by overlapping networks of concrete and symbolic interaction. In this paradigm, change is understood to happen laterally rather than from the top down (J Ma 2003, 23). In the PPI model, the emphasis on interrelated networks allows for nuanced discussion of change at multiple levels between and within groups. Change results from a number of factors, including material and symbolic contact and communication. Material contact can be in the form of trade, represented by the types of contact between the Driffield and Kellythorpe groups and the continent.

However, in the case of Deira, there several problems with the PPI model which make it unsuitable. First, while early medieval Deira has connections across the North Sea

(Carver 1989; 1998) and on the Continent (Fletcher 1997), there is not much evidence that PPI works at the local level where change was observed in the case studies. Second, what are the polities: Goodmanham; Driffield; and if so in which sense are they equal? In any event, the references made in the material culture, especially the burials, are not to contemporary communities, but to prehistoric and to Roman cultural ideas, i.e., to peoples who were no longer alive so they can hardly be viewed as interactive.

### **8.5 Archaeological Model of Change: ideology and monuments in the landscape**

The anthropological models discussed were either inappropriate or unable to account for the interaction between individuals, monuments and ideas and changes observed in the monuments over time. What is needed is an archaeological model of interpretation which can account for ideological diversity and human agency in the monuments. A monument, be it carefully composed mortuary theatre (Carver 1989, 151-152; Williams 2006, 77) or sculpture (Gondek 2006, 107), is the result of a series of decisions about investment of resources. Monuments like high status secondary mound burial and sculpture are statements of power (Carver 1989; M Gondek 2006). Writing about sculpture in early medieval Scotland, Meggen Gondek has argued that as a monument, sculpture 'is a statement of power not only because of the immediate visual messages . . . , but also because it represents the culmination of a series of socially loaded processes' (Gondek 2006, 107). So that the process of constructing the monument records the inequalities in the social relationships, i.e., the conspicuous disposal of wealth, the provision of a gift, the recreation of elite social dependence, which were played out in the commissioning, provisioning and execution of the monument (Gondek 2006, 108). In short the monuments preserve the record of political relationships and ideas in a visual form in the landscape.

It is important to note that both the meaning and level of investment in monuments could change over time. Martin Carver's excavations at Sutton Hoo have produced an example of a highly symbolic ritual landscape within which the ideas, monuments and meaning changed (Carver 1998; 2005). By the sixth century investment at Sutton Hoo in elite burials such as the ship burial of mound 1 signal increasing territoriality and social stratification with ideological links to the North Sea world (Carver 1989, 152; 1998; 2005). Between the fifth and tenth centuries ideas about death, memory and material culture, i.e., grave-goods, changed dramatically (Geake 1997; Semple 1998; 2002; Williams 2006, 78). By the later eighth century Sutton Hoo was no longer signalling elite ideology but had transformed into a place of execution (Carver 1998; 2005; Semple 1998; 2002).

If we can identify changes in attitude to monumental investment over time then we should be able to read changes in ideas about social rank. For example, Helen Geake has argued persuasively that changes in conversion period burials were associated with ideas about intensifying social stratification (Geake 1997). Heinrich Härke (1992), Helen Geake (1997), Sam Lucy (1998) and Martin Carver (1989; 2005), among others, have convincingly argued that we can decipher social distinctions from burial by examining factors including the type of burial, e.g., mound or secondary, and the quality and quantity of grave-goods so that while all burials can be significant, only some are signalling monumentality. Similarly by accounting for social, economic and technological changes over time we can read different levels of investment in the sculpture. Gondek argues that 'social, stylistic and technological variables' affect our ability to interpret monumental significance over time (Gondek 2006, 114), so that with sculpture a piece with simple seventh century inscription can have the same level of monumental significance as an elaborately decorated tenth century cross, despite

inequalities in the level of investment. Richard Bailey (1984), Rosemary Cramp (1977; 1984), James Lang (1977; 1991; 2001), Meggen Gondek (2006) *et al*, have shown that investment in early medieval sculpture was the purview of the elite.

Monuments can communicate ideas about identity, social relationships and dependence. Sam Lucy (1998; 2000a) has argued that burial is one medium through which people signal information about identity and rank. Meanwhile Helene Geake (1997) has demonstrated that in the Conversion period Anglo-Saxon elites used a recycled Roman symbolic agenda to construct a rationale for kingship. Carver has noted in the composition of the mound burial at Sutton Hoo that elites were engaged in a process of signalling ideological and social relationships that spoke of membership in a North Sea community (Carver 1998; 2005). In this sense we are discussing the archaeology of political relationships.

Changes in monumental investment can record economic changes tied to political changes. Discussing East Anglia, Martin Carver has argued that the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms recorded in the documents were formed out of a number of smaller polities in the fifth and early sixth century (Carver 1989). Carver (1989, 158) hypothesized that in the fifth and sixth centuries East Anglian political power rested in smaller scale, less centralized polities. According to Helen Geake, Anglo-Saxon elite created an artificial Roman origin myth in support of their claims of kingship via the use of Roman style grave-goods. The results of this process justified their right to rule, tax and later this was bolstered by the Church (Geake 1997, 135-136). So that as furnished burial declined in the sixth century there was a parallel rise in the authority of kings, represented by the assertion of the right to levy (Carver 1989, 157). In this context

changes in monumental investment is one way we can read the economic impact of the power of kingship.

Monuments also have a landscape context and this forms an essential part of their meaning (Chapter 1). In addition to the pre-existing manmade elements of a landscape (Chapter 1) the visual links between places is another factor which makes a particular site attractive for investment. For the early medieval period, Meggen Gondek has argued that in Scotland the location of early medieval sculpture signalled areas of symbolic power and authority in the landscape (Gondek 2006). In this context the location selected for the monument is imbued with meaning by the previous landscape elements to which the contemporary monuments either refer or refute and this discourse contributes to the overall message of the monument (Gondek 2006, 108; Carver 1998).

## **8.6 Interpretation**

We now return to our mapped distribution of monuments and the results of the case studies. If the differences observed in the case studies are real and dynamic then we can read the presence of several different zones in the distribution of monuments across Deira. These zones do not necessarily reflect the territories described in the documents. The mapped distribution of monuments argues for at least three trajectories. If we read these different trajectories as the distribution maps suggest, i.e., as spatially discrete zones expressing different agendas, then we can read in the monuments at least three political communities in Deira that were communicating and competing with one another and with outside groups via the monuments. These include a community on the Yorkshire Wolds burying their elite dead in a secondary context; another on the southern leg of the Wolds near Goodmanham burying their dead in cremation cemeteries at Sancton; and a community in the western end of the Vale of Pickering

who continue to bury their dead in cists and display a preference for things 'British' but who have adopted some Anglo-Saxon material culture as grave-goods. Indeed, variety appears to be the norm and even within these communities diversity is the rule. For example, at Kingthorpe in the Vale of Pickering we have a secondary burial, in Goodmanham we have a secondary burial at Warter, and in Driffield we have groups burying their elite dead in a secondary context but using different assemblages and expressing different allegiances. From the point of view of the monuments in the fifth and sixth century we have diverse political communities living side by side and geographically there is diversity but with a strong native tradition. Therefore it is very unlikely that the Anglo-Saxon cultural groups were not intrusive and some groups soon acculturated (Pickering), while others were much slower (Driffield).

During Period Two there is a gradual change in monumentality from secondary burial to sculpture, but sculpture is adopted at different rates. In the north, i.e., the Vale of Pickering, we have communities investing in sculpture influenced by Bernicia, Ireland, Iona and the Frankish kingdoms. Further south in Deira, on the Yorkshire Wolds we have the continuation of investment in the secondary burial tradition on the Wolds at places like Garton and Thwing which is contemporary with the establishment of minsters at Beverley and Watton.

It may be that what we are seeing in Deira during Period Two is a reaction against the incursion of Christianity in a fashion similar to that suggested for the mound burials at Sutton Hoo (Carver 1998). However, we should not suppose that furnished burial in mounds or in a secondary context is inherently anti-Christian, and elsewhere on the Yorkshire Wolds near Cowlam we have an example of Anglo-Saxon burials in coffins associated with a Bronze Age burial mound (Appendix 1). At Thwing there is an

example of an entire Anglo-Saxon village including a church constructed within a hengiform monument. Another possibility is that we are reading an agenda in the secondary burials that emphasised place and antiquity in the landscape and had a more local intent. What is important is that we can read ideological diversity in the monuments which is not discussed in documentary sources.

In this context we are reading political and intellectual territories in the landscape and our Wolds community is signalling an agenda separate from that of the sculpture users in the Vale of Pickering and the Holderness where the power of kingship is being exercised, e.g., taxation, and deposition of wealth is restricted to royally controlled investment in monastic centres (Carver 1989; Geake 1997). The secondary burials signal a preference for political communities already established on the Wolds and the polities identified in Period One near Driffield- our putative Native Britton community. Additionally, they are continuing to invest in secondary burial. What is being signalled is social, organizational and political rather than religious or ideological. The possibility, tied to social, political and geographic realities, is that we may be reading in the distribution patterns the physical representation of the political power of Deiran kings or rather the limits of such power. In this context it may be that no one ruler in Deira was powerful enough to demand orthodoxy. Alternately it could be that this was not yet important and alternate agendas and ideas were possible and this is what we are reading.

Whatever, the reason, we have both progressive and conservative communities in Deira. So that in the seventh and eighth century we have a progressive community who were quick to adopt the sculpture programme in Vale of Pickering with links to the north and the continent. However, the community on the Yorkshire Wolds is more



conservative and are 'dragging their feet'. What is clear is that there is no united Christian community at this stage. Some in the Vale of Pickering were investing in sculpture while others on the Yorkshire Wolds were buried in Iron Age square barrows while others are being buried in coffins inserted into prehistoric earthworks. The progressive Vale of Pickering community looks both Christian and "British" in the old sense. Even the sculpture group use different kinds of symbols and crosses, although there are signs of overall religious control (Whitby stone) orchestrated from the north. Despite this control, we still have no archaeological signs of a "kingdom" as in East Anglia or Mercia. So the archaeology suggests a Christian led unification of Northumbria, but not until the eighth century.

By the ninth century we have an expansion of the monument programme identified in Period Two into all areas of Deira so that now we have more places with sculpture. Only now there are changes in form, iconography and function. The repertoire of monument type is reduced and the monuments are generally smaller. Rather than the continental influences seen in the previous sculpture programme, the ideas come from the North Sea region, e.g., Dublin and Scandinavia, rather than Bernicia and Rome. Now the iconography is Scandinavian and largely secular, emphasising warrior and hunting scenes rather than the sacred images of the earlier pieces. These changes reflect both the Viking influence in Deira and the change in investment strategy so that in place of the royal minsters, which were rather like elite estates, we now have a secularisation of land holding (Cramp 1977; 1984) less taxation and presumably more opportunity for competitive display. The distribution of crosses now suggests numerous small lordships so that we have no central place, but a widespread secular aristocracy. However, this need not imply a destruction of institutions since we have evidence of some

continuation of judicial authority in the use of the execution cemetery at Walkington Wold.

The patterns observed reflect the development of political communities or 'micro-regions' which the history of the monuments has brought to the fore allow us to reconstruct the ways people organized themselves and the. The use of a Romanized landscape in the Vale of Pickering versus reuse of ancient landscape features on the Yorkshire Wolds suggests a diverse social mix. We can read diversity in the attitude to foreign alliance in both the type of monument selected, e.g., secondary burial versus cist burial in the sixth century; sculpted stone monuments versus secondary burial in the seventh and eighth century; and Hiberno-Norse influences in the sculpture of the ninth and tenth century. Likewise we can see different rates of change across Deira in the attitudes of local communities to the changing monument agenda, so that, while in general, there was a change in monumentality from secondary burials to sculpture in the seventh and eighth century, it happened at different rates in different places, and this was not necessarily associated with the spread of Christianity. The iconographic references are important too and the ideological links signalled indicate that Bernicia, continental Europe or Scandinavia and the North Sea world were variously preferred.

I have demonstrated that in addition to the prehistoric and Roman landscape features, the visual theatre, i.e., what can be seen from the site and from where a site is visible, were major factors in selection of a site for monumental investment. In the visual theatre we can recognize different local power centres. For example, at Driffield in the fifth and sixth century elites selected a group of barrows as the site for monumental investment based on their visibility from the Moot Hill mound and common visual linkages to the Enthorpe Woods site on the Wolds. Elsewhere at Sancton the

cemeteries were adjacent to the Roman road and had vistas which included it and the navigable rivers in the Vale of York. Likewise, visual linkages across the Vale of Pickering were a feature of the sites with sculpture, particularly at those sites along the rim of the vale. In the ninth and tenth century elites competed with one another by investing in monuments in highly visible locations such as Church Hill Holme-on-Spalding-Moor.

Changes in power relationships can be seen in the monumental landscape. For example the conscious changes in the monumental landscape of the Vale of Pickering from cist burials to sculpted stone in the seventh century. The new monument type and Christian iconography promoted and reinforced connections to Bernicia. This was reinforced by the fact that most of the stone was quarried from near Whitby. Elsewhere in Deira on the Holderness and Yorkshire Wolds the monuments record the changing power relationships between communities there. In the fifth and sixth centuries two groups were actively burying their dead in two sets of barrow groups which had different vistas. In the seventh and eighth centuries in the same study area a group using secondary burial and one investing in sculpture pursued separate political agendas by investing in different monument types. The community on the Yorkshire Wolds were actively investing in a political system that made references to a monument programme that emphasised local elites and a real or imagined Deiran past. Meanwhile the Holderness sculpture users were committed to the Bernician led minster programme. By the end of the eighth century the sculpture users had won the debate. Control rested in the network of powerful monastic institutions where the monuments were housed and the new monumental landscape legitimated and proclaimed Bernician royal power as people moved through it and interacted with the monuments (Driscoll, 2004, 79; Gondek 2006, 141).

I have demonstrated that the region we know as Deira was divided into multiple communities with different loyalties and agendas and which reacted at different rates to the events of the fifth to tenth centuries. But the degree of change is different in each region so we can read 'conservative' and 'progressive' communities. These communities also demonstrate different levels of interaction with the broader North Sea world and Continental Europe. In the seventh and eighth centuries the imported ideas and levels of investment in monasteries suggest the Vale of Pickering folk are leading the way towards conversion and are connected to the Bernicians. Meanwhile the communities on the Yorkshire Wolds are getting left behind and their monuments reflect this. By the end of the eighth century the competition, signalled by variety in the monuments, has ceased and we have a homogenous monumental repertoire in Deira where the focus of investment was now on the monastic centres. So we read fragmented political control within the framework of the powerful ecclesiastical institutions of Deira. In the ninth and tenth centuries we have a continuation of the sculpture programme. However, there is also a return to investment and competition in the monumental landscape.

### **8.7 What are the Broader Implications?**

So what are the implications of this thesis? This work has dealt with a wide ranging body of evidence from across Deira in a discussion of investment in ideas and monuments and their place in the landscape during the fifth through tenth centuries. I contend that the choices made concerning what type of monument to invest in, where to invest and the ideas incorporated in the monument were part of an active ideological strategy and we should expect to find competition and meaningful, rather than random,

diversity in the monuments. Following this argument, I identified political differences on a local scale and interpreted these as representing different political communities.

By examining not only the active choices being made in one type of monument, i.e., burials (Lucy 1998, 107), but monumental burials and the other monument choices contemporaneously available, i.e., sculpture, I have demonstrated that there were meaningful patterns of investment in the landscape of Deira. Therefore, in contrast to Lucy's assertions that identity is the important factor being signalled in monuments (Lucy 1998, 105-108), I contend that it is ideology and its active form politics that are important (Carver forthcoming). Therefore, since the distribution patterns observed herein are a result of active investment in different ideas they reflect political opinions of the day.

To return to the broader scale at which we began our discussion, what of Bernicia, Deira and Northumbria and what did they mean to the social actors of the past? While it has become terribly unfashionable to impart any importance to immigration when discussing differences in early medieval Britain, it would be silly to ignore the fact that people moved about in the early Middle Ages. Identity may be constructed and exchanged (Lucy 1998, 106) as often or in as many combinations as you like, but there is no reason it could not promote division between groups or communities. As Martin Carver points out, 'someone with a constructed identity is just as likely, perhaps more likely to despise you or assault you on racial grounds' (Carver forthcoming). So if we allow ourselves to admit that early medieval Deira was a mix of people, ideas and agendas, then we can note that just as the monumental trajectories followed on the Wolds and in the Vale of Pickering differed, these places belonged to different Iron Age tribes: the Parisi and Briganti (Bassett 1989; Higham 1997; Carver forthcoming).

## **8.8 Modifying The History of Deira**

What are the implications for the history of Deira? I have demonstrated that in the fifth and sixth century the existing 'Celto-Saxon' society consisted of a number of local polities, each of which was engaged in a process of consolidating their political position and these were invisible to the documents. During the seventh and eighth centuries we can read a political discussion about control of land and resources in the different rate of adoption of the new sculpture monument programme. It appears that this programme was heavily influenced by the Bernicians to the north, which Bede tells us was the primary power centre in Northumbria. However, the change is not homogenous and secondary burial continues into the mid eighth century on the Wolds. This we read as continued political fragmentation which emphasises the local expression of ideas at a sub-regional level and this does not reflect the documented version of events. In the ninth and tenth century a different monument agenda is evident in the sculpture. However, now in place of Bernicia, the Continent and Rome, we have ideas which are Scandinavian in origin and refer to a North Sea community.

Therefore the history of the monuments in Deira stands in contrast to the history of the documents and can be used to produce a narrative that brings to the fore the political trajectories that had either been edited out or left out of the documents. The narrative of the monuments has revealed multiple communities in Deira which were engaged in a process of negotiating their identity and future. Within this alternative narrative there was a robust debate between positions that can be seen as political and ideological. Far from the homogenous Deira suggested by the documents, discussion of conversion and membership in the broader Western European community continued well into the eighth century. However, the debate did not end there. There were moves in the ninth

and tenth century, particularly under the Viking kingdom of York, to oppose continental influences and instead participate in the community of the broader insular and North Sea world. What did not occur was the wholesale destruction of Deiran cultural traditions and political institutions, which this thesis has argued continued to exist, and, based on the increase in the number of sites with monuments, even flourished, under the successive Anglo-Scandinavian regimes of the ninth and tenth centuries.

We propose a trajectory of political development based on the history of the monuments in which immigrants signalling a Germanic identity assume the leadership of a number of smaller scale Celtic/Britton polities represented in the monuments by the secondary burials and cremation cemeteries. In some instances, such as at Driffield and Goodmanham we have immigrant groups taking over a territory. In the Vale of Pickering we have a British community slow to acculturate. By the late sixth century we begin to have dominant elites who are able to subjugate smaller, less powerful elites and they begin adopting the trappings of kingship. In the seventh century we have 'kings' who claim descent from mythological ancestors and for whom the documents claim dominant kingship and who adopt Christianity. However, the move to Christianity and monasticism is uneven and alternate traditions persist on the Yorkshire Wolds into the eighth century. By the late eighth century the ecclesiastical institutions are the most stable. In the ninth century we have the arrival of the Vikings who adopt and adapt the sculpture programme and its attendant Christianity, but only to a degree. Rollason has argued persuasively that the Vikings were aided in no small part by the stability of the Deiran ecclesiastical structure (Rollason 2003). The Archbishops of York during this period, while subject to the fluctuations in fortune to their military and political benefactors, continued to add territory under their control

(Whitelock 1996[1955], 565; Barrow 2000, 161; Rollason 2003). Rollason concludes that:

in political, ethnic and cultural terms Northumbria between the River Tees and the Humber in the Viking Period can be seen a continuation of what had come before, with the emergence of the Viking Kingdom of York as nothing more than the splitting of the former kingdom of Northumbria along the ancient divide between Bernicia and Deira . . . (Rollason 2003, 244).

If Carver's (1989) assertions about the inverse reactions of furnished burial and taxation in East Anglia are analogous, the monuments demonstrate that it is not until the eighth century that the Northumbrian kings are powerful enough to enforce taxation rights over all of Deira. However, this period of puissance is short-lived: it arrives briefly with Christianity and exits speedily with the arrival of the Vikings.

### **8.9 Reflections and Future Work**

The comparison of history according to the monuments with the documentary history demonstrates the potential of the archaeology to identify local and regional trajectories of development. These are areas for which the documents are not particularly useful. So what are the implications for the study of early medieval Britain? If we are right in defining the differences observed as regions of ideological allegiance, then it implies that we should think less in terms of generalizations about 'conversion' and 'kingship' and focus instead on discussing local and regional problems of security and alliances. These areas offer rich possibilities for future studies not just in Deira, but across early medieval Britain. However, this requires a self-critical rethink of theoretical models currently in use in history and archaeology and openness to a more interdisciplinary approach. In light of this, future archaeological investigations should go ahead in a number of known regions. These should then lead to periodic discussions between



archaeologists, historians and researchers from other disciplines to study divergences  
from the 'norm.'

# Appendix 1

## Gazetteer of Anglo-Saxon Secondary Burials in Deira

---

*The gazetteers compiled by Meaney (1964), Geake (1995), Lucy (1998; 1999) and O'Brien (1999) along with the work of antiquarians such as Mortimer (1905), Londesborough (1852), Bateman (1861) and Greenwell (1865) have proven invaluable in constructing the database of the secondary burials in this appendix.*

### **Primary Mound Burials:**

#### **Period Two**

##### **Hawnby, Sunny Bank: SE526893 (7<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> Century)**

Excavated prior to 1865, the Sunny Bank site contains three inhumations in what may have been a primary barrow associated with smaller barrows but this is doubtful. While both Geake (1997) and Lucy (1999) think these are secondary burials Meaney (1964) thinks they were primary. While this is an unusual site for Deira and technically may not be inside Deira it is included here because of the richness of the grave-goods. The main barrow was c. 120' in radius and approximately 4' high at the time of excavation. The large barrow contained a well furnished female burial accompanied by a leather girdle with a cross pattern garnet decoration, gold and silver hairpins, four silver and one annular brooch, blue glass beads, a bronze hanging bowl, a knife and other items. Ref: Elgee and Elgee 1933, 184-85; Meaney 1964, 290-91; Geake 1997, 189-90; Lucy 1999, 38; O'Brien 1999.

##### **Sewerby: TA205691 (7<sup>th</sup> and possibly 8<sup>th</sup> Century)**

Excavated in 1959 and 1972 it is doubtful that this is a mound burial but one grave was covered with a layer of chalk rubble and earth to form a small mound. Hirst suggests that G41 was a prone female buried alive. G49 was a female buried in a coffin beneath G41, and one other burial was in a coffin. Grave-goods from the cemetery included: bead necklaces, amber, bronze wire, glass, rock crystal and shale pendants, annular, cruciform and square headed brooches. There were also knives, a shield umbo, wrist clasps, silver plated buckle and other items of bronze foil and wood. However, the richest grave is that of the female buried in a chalk carin, G49. Goods included a bronze cauldron, two heavily beaded amber and glass necklaces, a large bronze gilt square headed brooch (divided foot), two smaller square headed brooches, gilt wrist clasps, girdle hangers, iron knife and an iron ring, two triangular pendants and a wood and shale box (Meaney 1964, 300-301). Ref: Meaney 1964, 300-301; Loughlin and Miller 1979; Hirst 1985.

### **Secondary Mound Burials:**

#### **Period One**

##### **Bishop Wilton, Kitty Hill: SE81235635 (5<sup>th</sup> to 6<sup>th</sup> Century)**

Mortimer mound 199 was excavated in 1876. Numerous pieces of the umbo from an Anglo-Saxon shield were found on the mound. Ref: Mortimer 1905, 149; Eagles 1979, 423; Lucy 1999, 24.

##### **Driffield, Cheesecake Hill: TA042578 (5<sup>th</sup> to 7<sup>th</sup> Century)**

Mortimer No. c.44 was excavated in 1845, 1847, 1854 and 1871. Approximately 45 secondary inhumations and at least one cremation. Grave-goods included: knives, buckles, a shield and spear, annular and cruciform brooches, and amber and rock crystal beads. The European cowrie shell necklace suggests that wealthy female burial is solidly Period One. Ref: Mortimer 1905; Loughlin and Miller 1979; Lucy 1999.

**Driffield, Moot Hill: TA02355830 (5<sup>th</sup> to 6<sup>th</sup> Century)**

Partly destroyed in 1858 when half of the mound was levelled to fill an old chalk pit, Mortimer Ia produced sword[s] and spear[s]. Local historian Mr. J Browne wrote to Mortimer that the Hill had been known as Mude Hill, Hill of Pleas, and Hill of Faries Ref: Mortimer 1905, 294; Meaney 1964, 287; Eagles 1979, 427; Lucy 1999, 25.

**Driffield, King's Mill Road: TA01995749 (5<sup>th</sup> to 7<sup>th</sup> Century)**

Excavated in 1893. 12 skeletons excavated from a Bronze Age barrow. The site is on a slight rise and had what appeared to be a Bronze Age inhumation at centre suggestive of a mound. Burials included male, female, and child burials with heads to various points, some of which were buried in a crouched position. The crouched burials suggest burial continued into the 7<sup>th</sup> century. Grave-goods included some early Frankish pottery. Ref: Mortimer 1905, 294-95; Meaney 1964, 286-87; Lucy 1999, 24.

**Ganton Wold: TA003762 (5<sup>th</sup> to 6<sup>th</sup> Century)**

Excavated sometime before 1877. Greenwell (Barrow 29) found a secondary Anglo-Saxon burial in a Bronze Age barrow. Not much remained of the Anglo-Saxon interment except a single tooth. Grave-goods included three cruciform brooches, a buckle, a necklace of amber and glass, vessels and woollen cloth. Ref: Greenwell and Rollaston 1877, 178; Meaney 1964; Eagles 1979, 432; Lucy 1999, 25.

**Howe Hill, Duggleby: SE880668 (5<sup>th</sup> to 6<sup>th</sup> Century)**

Excavated in 1798 and again in 1890 by Mortimer the top of the mound was levelled in the Middle Ages and used as the site of a mill. The mound is Mortimer No. 273. Mortimer identified at least two Anglo-Saxon female burials in this large Bronze Age mound. Numerous potsherds were identified, some of which Mortimer thought to be Anglo-Saxon. One grave contained an iron knife. In addition, many animal bones were found including ox, sheep, red deer and horse. Ref: Mortimer 1906, 23-23; Meaney 1964, 291; Eagles 1979, 439; Lucy 1999, 27.

**Kingthorpe: SE834857 (5<sup>th</sup> to 6<sup>th</sup> Century)**

A mound c. two miles northeast of Pickering was excavated in 1853 by Thomas Bateman. When Bateman excavated the mound he found a secondary burial. The Anglo-Saxon burial was much disturbed but the jawbone was present. Grave-goods included a bronze cruciform brooch, a boars tusk and a vessel rim. Ref: Bateman 1861, 235; Meaney 1964, 292; Lucy 1999, 32; O'Brien 1999.

**Kirby Underdale 1: SE827585 (5<sup>th</sup> to 6<sup>th</sup> Century)**

The barrow, Mortimer No. 200, was excavated in 1877. At least one Anglo-Saxon burial was recovered; grave-goods included a bronze cup and the spike of a spear. Ref: Mortimer 1905, 120; Meaney 1964, 296; Eagles 1979, 439; Lucy 1999, 27.

**Kirkburn: 1(Kellythorpe): TA017567 (5<sup>th</sup> to 6<sup>th</sup> Century)**

Lord Londesborough opened a Bronze Age barrow, Mortimer C38, in 1851 to examine a Bronze Age cist and ten other skeletons. Meaney (1964, 286) records this as Driffield I in her gazetteer. When Mortimer assessed the excavation, he thought that three to five

of them were 'British' and the rest Anglo-Saxon. Mortimer reopened and excavated a further twenty-seven Anglo-Saxon burials all of which were buried with heads to centre of the barrow. The grave-goods included: at least three shields, a number of spears, annular and cruciform brooches, beads, purse-rings, knives, and buckles. In 1887 workmen found thirteen more burials with similar goods. Ref: *Archaeologia* 34, (1852), 251-56; Mortimer 1905, 271-83; *Trans Hull Scientific and Field Naturalists Club* 4 (1918), 313-14; Elgee and Elgee 1933, 183; Lucy 1999, 27.

**Kirkburn 3: TA002562 (5<sup>th</sup> to 6<sup>th</sup> Century)**

Excavated prior to 1870 this is Mortimer No. 137. Part of a bronze cruciform brooch was recovered from the site and may possibly indicate a secondary burial. Ref: Mortimer 1905, 262; Meaney 1964, 292-93; Eagles 1979, 440; Lucy 1999, 27.

**Kirkburn 4: SE97175752 (5<sup>th</sup> to 6<sup>th</sup> Century)**

The mound, Mortimer 146, was excavated in 1868. During the excavation an Anglo-Saxon burial was found accompanied by a fragment of ironwork. Ref: Mortimer 1905, 235; Lucy 1999, 27.

**Knipe Howe: NZ934086 (5<sup>th</sup> to 6<sup>th</sup> Century)**

The archive in the Whitby museum records that a glass bead was found atop Knipe Howe which may indicate presence of an Anglo-Saxon grave in a secondary context. Ref: Meaney 1964, 293; O'Brien 1999.

**Langton: SE80326837 (5<sup>th</sup> to 6<sup>th</sup> Century)**

Excavated prior to 1877, the barrow was located, c. 50 yards northwest of what was described as a 'great entrenchment' which ran north-south across the racecourse. When it was levelled numerous fragments of Anglo-Saxon pottery and the possible remains of cremated interments were discovered just below the surface. Ref: Greenwell and Rollaston 1877, 136; Meaney 1964, 293; Eagles 1979, 440; Lucy 1999, 27.

**Pickering: SE7985 (Site Unknown) (likely 5<sup>th</sup> to 6<sup>th</sup> Century)**

Bateman excavated what was likely a secondary burial in 1850. During his investigation of the mound he discovered a skeleton 'a little north of the centre'. Grave-goods included a small iron knife c. 3.5 inches long, a small animal canine tooth, and an egg shaped clay object c. 2 in long. Ref: *OS Britain in the Dark Ages Map*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed.; Meaney 1964, 296; Keene 1979.

**Sowerby, Pudding Pie Hill: SE436810 (5<sup>th</sup> to 6<sup>th</sup> Century)**

A barrow was excavated prior to 1891 from which one large shield boss, a shield handle and a spearhead were recovered. Ref: *York Museum Handbook* 1891, p. 210; Elgee and Elgee 1933, 183; Meaney 1964, 296; Lucy 1999, 32; O'Brien 1999.

**Upper Dunsforth, Branton Green: SE426633 (5<sup>th</sup> to 6<sup>th</sup> Century)**

Excavated before 1787. The site is located c. 3 miles northeast of Aldborough at a place known as 'Devils Hill.' A number of burials, inhumations and cremations, were recovered from the barrow. Meaney (1964, 287) thought the illustration of one of the pots looked very like an Anglo-Saxon funerary urn. O'Brien (1999) records the presence of at least twenty burials. Ref: Hargrove 1789, 256-57; Meaney 1964; O'Brien 1999.

**Warter: Blanch Farm: SE865505 (5<sup>th</sup> to 6<sup>th</sup> Century)**

A round barrow at was excavated Blanch farm in 1851. The barrow contained a secondary inhumation with a sword and pot. The barrow was part of Mortimer's Blanch Group. Ref: Mortimer 1905, 322; Eagles 1979, 451; Lucy 1999, 30.

**Wharram: SE835627 (5<sup>th</sup> to 6<sup>th</sup> Century)**

Mortimer found two inhumations when he excavated the barrow in 1868. One inhumation was unearthed from below the upcast of a ditch which cut Bronze Age round barrow, while only the leg and hip remained from another burial. These were close to the surface and Mortimer thought them Anglo-Saxon. The burials were extended with the heads to southwest, no goods were found. Ref: Mortimer 1905, 50-52; Meaney 1964, 303; Eagles 1979, 422; Lucy 1999, 30.

**Period Two**

**Bishop Wilton, Beacon Hill 2: SE78055648 (7<sup>th</sup> Century)**

The mound, Mortimer 69, was partly destroyed in 1588 when the beacon was constructed. Excavated in 1876 the remainder of the mound contained a skull and parts of arm bone which were clearly secondary burials. Grave goods included an iron spearhead and portions of two blades of iron shears. Based on the presence of shears which are, according to Lucy (2000a, 61) predominately 7<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> century, this burial is included in Period Two. Ref: Brown 1915; Eagles 1979; Lucy 1999.

**Carthorpe, Howe Hill: SE309838 (7<sup>th</sup> Century)**

While quarrying gravel in 1865 Anglo-Saxon graves were uncovered in Howe Hill, a natural gravel hill. While quarrying a natural mound workmen found graves including: four E-W oriented secondary inhumation burials. One grave was possibly a female accompanied by some small monochrome beads. Another possible female accompanied by a knife, a small bronze buckle and a small strap end, another was accompanied by a buckle and a knife. At least two of the interments were crouched. Ref: *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* I (1870) 171-81; Meaney 1964, 284; OS Britain in the Dark Ages Map, 2nd ed; Lucy 1999, 37.

**Cottam, Kemp Howe: SE96166628 (7<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> Century)**

Mortimer 209. The barrow was excavated in 1878 by Mortimer when he found a number of 'flexed' or crouched burials. Re-excavated in 1969, Brewster found seven unaccompanied burials in coffins. C14 testing returned a date range of AD725-745. Ref: Meaney 1964, 292; Eagles 1979, 427; Faull 1979, 303; Lucy 1999, 40.

**Driffield, Cheesecake Hill: TA042578 (7<sup>th</sup> Century)**

Excavated in 1845, 1847, 1854, 1871, this is Mortimer No. c.44. Approximately 45 secondary Anglian inhumations and at least one cremation were excavated. Grave-goods were primarily 5<sup>th</sup> to 6<sup>th</sup> century. However, the crouched burial suggests that burial may have continued into the 7<sup>th</sup> century. Ref: Mortimer 1905; Loughlin and Miller 1979; Lucy 1999.

**Driffield, King's Mill Road: TA01995749 (5<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> Century)**

A few of the burials were crouched and may have been 7<sup>th</sup> century. Ref: Mortimer 1905, 294-95; Meaney 1964, 286-87; Eagles 1979, 427; Faull 1979, 309; Lucy 1999, 24.

**Fimber: SE894606 (7<sup>th</sup> possibly 8<sup>th</sup> Century)**

Excavated c. 1870 and again in 1884. Two bodies were found near south side of the church one was accompanied by a small [late] penannular brooch. In 1884 an Anglo-

Saxon spear was also recovered when cleaning out the mere below the church. The church itself appears to have been constructed over a large Bronze Age barrow. Ref: Mortimer 1905, 190; Meaney 1964, 288; Blair 1996; Lucy 1999, 35.

**Garton I: SE980577**

Anglo-Saxon inhumation cemetery was excavated in the mid 1980's. At least 35 graves with forty-three interred individuals were excavated from within an Iron Age square barrow cemetery. The Anglian burials were located within a square ditched enclosure of as yet unknown date which formed the centre of the site. Grave-goods included annular brooches, beads, dress pins, knives, buckles, spears and swords, a set of tools, silver rings a bronze cauldron, a hanging bowl, and an iron ladle. Ref: Stead 1991, 17-24; Lucy 1999, 35.

**Garton II, Green Lane Crossing: SE988577 (7<sup>th</sup> and likely 8<sup>th</sup> Century)**

This was Mortimer's mound c. 34. Twenty-six graves were excavated from a Bronze Age mound in 1870. A number of the burials were richly furnished with goods including a workbox, food vessels, annular brooches, spindle whorls, a jet and gold pendant, a circular gold pendant, bone combs, iron knives, buckles and bridle bits. Animal bones, such as one might expect to find from joints of meat, were also recovered. According to Geake's workbox theory burial in the mound continued into the 8th century. Ref: Mortimer 1905, 247-57; Elgee and Elgee 1933, 182; Meaney 1964, 289; Geake 1997, 158; Lucy 1999, 36.

**Hawnby, Sunny Bank: SE526893 (7<sup>th</sup> to 8<sup>th</sup> Century)**

Meaney (1964, 290) thought this was a primary early medieval mound. However, neither Geake (1997) nor Lucy (1999) record it as a primary inhumation. The barrow was c. 120' radius and approximately 4' high at the time of excavation. The large barrow contained a well furnished female burial accompanied by a leather girdle with a cross pattern garnet decoration, gold and silver hairpins, four silver and one annular brooch, blue glass beads, a bronze hanging bowl, a knife and other items. Another, smaller, mound contained an extended burial with a bronze workbox, an annular brooch and knife. Ref: Elgee and Elgee 1933, 184-85; Meaney 1964, 290-91; Geake 1997:189-90; Lucy 1999, 38; O'Brien 1999.

**Kirby Underdale 2: (SE 82465826) (7<sup>th</sup> Century)**

A crouched burial was recovered from Mortimer 102 which may have had a knife. Ref: Mortimer 1905, 123; Eagles 1979, 209; Lucy 1999, 27.

**Kirby Underdale, Pudsey Plantation: SE823582 (7<sup>th</sup> and likely 8<sup>th</sup> Century)**

Mortimer barrow 4 was excavated in 1862, 1870 and 1876 after quarrying encroached on the barrow. In 1862 an Anglo-Saxon skeleton and some pottery was exposed. In 1870 further skeletons and pottery were recovered. In 1876 Mortimer excavated the remainder of the mound and recovered two skeletons: one extended and one crouched. Grave-goods included a bronze workbox, chatelaine, annular brooch, a spindle whorl, eleven beads, two of which were amethyst. Lucy thinks these were primarily 7<sup>th</sup> century, but according to Geake's (1997) workbox date, activity may have continued into the 8<sup>th</sup>. Ref: Mortimer 1905, 114; Meaney 1964, 295-96; Eagles 1979, 439; Lucy 1999, 36.

**Kirkburn 2: SE98665752 (7<sup>th</sup> Century)**

Four crouched secondary burials were excavated in 1868 from the mound ditch of Mortimer No. 112. One of the burials had an iron knife. Ref: See Period Two.

**Lilla Howe, Goathland: SE889987 (7<sup>th</sup> Century)**

A barrow was excavated prior to 1871 which contained a furnished Anglo-Saxon secondary burial. Goods included four ornate silver strap ends, a gold brooch with a white stone, and plain gold rings. Ref: Elgee and Elgee 1933, 184-85; Meaney 1964, 294; Lucy 1999, 38.

**Uncleby (Kirkby Underdale): SE82195941 (7<sup>th</sup> and likely 8<sup>th</sup> Century)**

Excavated prior to 1892 this is Mortimer No. X. Greenwell excavated the mound and discovered more than 70 secondary burials, Meaney (1964, 302) says seventy-one. Grave-goods included a sword, seven iron knives, sharpening steels for knives, glass and clay beads, gold pendants, one silver pendant, one ivory and silver pendant, a total of 50 buckles, 20 bronze, and 30 were iron, as well as workboxes. One large hone stone, 18.5' long, was excavated. A tripod-ring bowl and workboxes were also found. According to Geake's (1997) arguments burial here should have continued into the 8<sup>th</sup> century. Ref: Mortimer 1905, 118; Elgee and Elgee 1933, 184; Meaney 1964, 303; Lucy 1999, 36.

**Secondary Burials not in Mounds**

**Period One**

**Barnby: NZ830130 (5<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> Century)**

Excavated prior to 1930 the Barnby burial was an inhumation inserted at the base of a prehistoric monolith which stands c. 6' tall. The Anglo-Saxon burial was found with the remains of an iron spearhead. Ref: Elgee 1930, 106; Meaney 1964, 282; Lucy 1999, 31.

**Catterick 1: SE225988 (likely 6<sup>th</sup> Century)**

Excavations began sometime before 1939 and continued intermittently until 1981-82. While working on the foundations of an ammunition store, workmen discovered the foundations of a Roman building. Within it a number of Anglo-Saxon burials were inserted through the floor. Grave-goods included a large cruciform brooch, a large buckle 'in chip carving,' and a spearhead. In 1959 excavations by Wilmott produced burials that may have been in cists and were accompanied by grave-goods such as six spearheads, an iron knife and shield boss, on burial was accompanied by a great square headed brooch. Ref: Meaney 1964, 284-85; Cramp 1970, 206; Lucy 1999, 31.

**Catterick 2, Catterick Race Course: SE232976 (mid 5<sup>th</sup> to mid 6<sup>th</sup> Century)**

When the site was excavated in 1995 at least 44 inhumations, some extended, some crouched, some prone were recovered. The burials were associated with a prehistoric monument and grave-goods included brooches, beads and weapons. Ref: Current Archaeology 148 June 1996; Med. Arch 40 1996; O'Brien 1999.

**Period Two**

**Garton-on-the-Wolds: SE957618**

During the excavation in 1959 seven skeletons oriented east-west were discovered. One had an iron knife, and grave No. 2 contained eight series G, J, K and R sceatas, which

were deposited sometime after c. AD720-725. Ref: Yorkshire Archaeological Journal 41 1963-66; Greirson and Blackburn 1986; Geake 1995.

**Sledmere, Garton Slack: SE95666181 (Likely late 7<sup>th</sup> to 8<sup>th</sup> Century)**

The site was excavated in 1866. Mortimer noted that 42 graves were discovered in the Double Dyke earthwork. The graves were those of men, women and children. Twenty-eight were fully extended, and ten skeletons were crouched. Grave-goods included fragments of Anglo-Saxon pottery, two knives, a spear, an arrowhead, and a bone comb. Ref: Mortimer 1905, 264-70; Meaney 1964, 289-90; Geake 1997, 158; Lucy 1999.

### **Period Three**

**Thwing: TA0370 (8<sup>th</sup> to 10<sup>th</sup> Century)**

Geake cites radiocarbon dates that suggest secondary burial at Thwing, which is within the pre-historic earthworks, may have continued into the 10<sup>th</sup> century. Ref: Geake 1997, 159; Lucy 1999, 41; Manby Forthcoming.



## Appendix 2

### Gazetteer of Deiran Sculpted Stone Monuments

---

*Appendix 2 is a gazetteer of all the sculpted stone monuments discussed in the Thesis. The pieces are organized according to time period and type of sculpture, e.g., cross, grave cover, or furnishing. We relied heavily on James Lang's (1991) volume of the Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Sculpture, as well as the work of Rosemary Cramp (1977; 1984), R. G. Collingwood (1907; 1927) and J. Baliey (1980). Unlike the Gazetteer for the Mound Burials, which included all possible primary and secondary mound burials in Deira, only those sculpted stone monuments discussed in the three case studies are listed in this gazetteer. This is because there is little reason to duplicate the work already done in Lang's (1991) Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume III.*

#### Notes:

1. For the purpose of clarity, the numbering system adopted in this thesis follows that used by Lang (1991).
2. Where the original location of the piece is uncertain, those pieces have been omitted.

#### Period Two Sculpture

##### Architectural Pieces:

##### Hovingham All Saints 4: SE666757

The piece is a possible architectural feature decorated with a free-armed cross of typical late Anglian design and may be 9<sup>th</sup> century. It is similar in decoration Middleton 9, though less accomplished. The fabric is a course-grained brownish-yellow sandstone that was likely quarried from Aislaby near Whitby (Lang 1991, 146).

##### Kirby Misperton St Lawrence 2 and 3: SE778795

It is likely that the Kirby Misperton 2 and 3 pieces are two halves of the same decorated impost (Lang 1991, 153). Collingwood (1907, 343) thought them pieces of a cross-shaft, but their size argues against this. Additionally, the interlace is an early pattern (Lang 1991, 153-154; Adcock 1972, 126-8). The date for the pieces is possibly early 9<sup>th</sup> century based on the pattern. The fabric is a fine-to-medium-grained, very pale brown sandstone quarried perhaps from Lythe, which is just northwest of Whitby. Kirby Misperton 3 is of the same description.

##### Lastingham St Mary's 7, 8, 9 and 12: SE727905

Lastingham Nos. 7, 8, 9, and 12 are all architectural pieces. Number 7 is a lintel or jamb from a doorway with a 9<sup>th</sup> century date. Number 8 is part of a doorjamb with a rebate and plant-scroll design which reflects influences from further north in Northumbria at Nunykirk and Simonburn with an 8<sup>th</sup> century date (Lang 1991, 171, Cramp 1984, 214-15). Both Collingwood (1907, 359) and Lang (1991, 171) agree that these are architectural pieces. Lastingham 9 is likely a gable finial of a type usually associated with Ireland but examples have been found near Whitby at Lythe (Lang 1991, 172). The motif is late 7<sup>th</sup> or early 8<sup>th</sup> century Northumbrian and similar to the zigzag and pellets design found on a fragmentary piece at Monkwearmouth (Lang 1991, 172; Cramp 1984, 125). Number 12 is likely associated with the No.9 gable finial as

they share the same zigzag pattern but it could date from the 7<sup>th</sup> to the 9<sup>th</sup> century. The fabric of the pieces is a deltaic channel sandstone, Saltwick Formation, Aalenian, Middle Jurassic; likely from the Aislaby quarry near Whitby.

**Middleton St Andrews 9: SE783855**

The Middleton No. 9 piece is likely an architectural feature. Collingwood was unsure of the original use of the piece and thought it a slab (Collingwood 1907, 372). The fragment is a rectangular block with an equal-armed cross that is decorated with a marigold motif. The marigold and recess for a setting are closely paralleled on the small cross-head at Lastingham (4), and while the marigold motif occurs at Hexham (22), and York Minster stela (19), it is more closely related to continental pieces. The date of the piece is 8<sup>th</sup> to early 9<sup>th</sup> century. The fabric of the piece is a medium-grained yellowish sandstone from the North Yorkshire Moors (Lang 1991, 187).

**Stone Furnishings:**

The second category of Period Two stonework is stone furnishing. While not as numerous as the other types of free-standing monuments, i.e., crosses, the stone furnishings make up an important part of the monument repertoire in Deira, particularly near the Vale of Pickering and on the Holderness.

**Beverley Minster: TA037392**

The stone chair at Beverley Minster is traditionally associated with St John of Beverley and Lang offers a possible 7<sup>th</sup> century date for the chair. There are strong seventh century parallels to the piece in other areas of Northumbria. In design the chair resembles the 'frith stool' at Hexham and is similar to Period Two stone furnishings at Lastingham in the Vale of Pickering case study area (Lang 1991, 224). The Beverley chair is constructed of a fine-grained white limestone that closely resembles much of the Roman material from York. Indeed, the fabric is similar to the building stone of the 11<sup>th</sup> century York Minster and suggests quarrying from the same source (Lang 1991, 224). The resemblance to the Minster building fabric and much of the Roman material from York, suggests close links between whoever commissioned the chair and the city of York.

**Lastingham 10a-b:**

Lastingham 10a-b, are 2 pieces of an incomplete stone chair. Lang (1991, 172-173) suggests that the animal-head terminal is like manuscript depictions from the throne of David in the *Durham Cassiodorus*, *MS B II 30, fol. 81v (III.917)*. The chair was likely an 8<sup>th</sup> century piece. The fabric of the piece is sandstone and was very likely quarried from Aislaby, which is near Whitby.

**Kirkbymoorside All Saints: SE697866**

Adcock thinks this piece is a lectern or other type of stone furniture while Collingwood assigned the piece to architectural remains of a previously unknown Anglo-Saxon stone church on the site (Adcock 1974, 120-4; Collingwood 1907, 343). The ornament of interlace with broad, flat strands is very much like that found on all the Kirby Misperton pieces while there are also parallels to be found at Filey (Lang 1991, 158). Further parallels can be found elsewhere in Northumbria at Monkwearmouth where many of the stylistic elements are common (Adcock, 1974, 124-5). At any rate the piece is likely a late 8<sup>th</sup> to early 9<sup>th</sup> century work. The fabric of the piece is a medium-grained, very pale brown sandstone that closely resembles material used at Middleton, Pickering and Sinnington (Lang 1991, 157-158).

### **Grave Covers:**

#### **Kirkdale St Gregory 7: SE676857**

In the past the piece has been rather fancifully interpreted as belonging to King Ethelwald (Collingwood 1907, 344), although Frank (1888, 135-137) asserts that he read an inscription in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, illegible by 1907 when Collingwood recorded the piece, that ascribed it to that king. However, it must be said that even then it was a fragmentary inscription and Frank's assertions may represent a hoped for attribution rather than an actual one. Within the carving of the piece, there are parallels at Lastingham and on Middleton 9 where the recessed circles at the intersections of the cross were likely the settings for metal appliqué or jewels (Collingwood 1907, 344; Lang 1991, 162). The design of the decorative elements bears a strong relationship to decorations in Hiberno-Northumbrian manuscripts, particularly the Lindisfarne gospels and cross type is closely paralleled at both Monkwearmouth and Jarrow (Lang 1991, 162; Cramp 1984, 505, 600, 610). The piece is likely 9<sup>th</sup> century. The fabric is a medium-grained, very pale brown sandstone possibly sourced from a quarry near Whitby (Lang 1991, 162).

#### **Kirkdale 8:**

The Kirkdale 8 piece is a grave cover broken in two pieces. Again the layout of the design in this piece has strong parallels in manuscript decoration (Adcock 1974, 248). Cramp as noted the strong similarities to the cross base at Lindisfarne (Lang 1991, 163; Cramp 1984, 201). The piece is likely very late 8<sup>th</sup> to early 9<sup>th</sup> century work. The fabric is a medium-grained, very pale brown sandstone which was also from near Whitby (Lang 1991, 163).

#### **Sinnington All Saints 15: SE746861**

Sinnington 15 is a coped grave cover. The piece has variously been identified as 9<sup>th</sup> or 10<sup>th</sup> century based on the parallels at Durham and late Anglian parallels to the St Mary Castlegate 5 piece at York (Collingwood 1907, 316; Lang 1991, 213). It is included here based on the strong parallel of the late Anglian piece at St Mary Castlegate 5 at York which is solidly Anglo-Saxon in date. The fabric of Sinnington 15 is a medium-grained, very pale brown sandstone quarried from nearby (Lang 1991, 212).

### **Stone Crosses:**

#### **Hovingham All Saints 3: SE883902**

For many reasons the Hovingham 3 is unusual and difficult to date. Its shouldered type cross-shaft is not unlike like Kirby Misperton 1 which is clearly Anglian, and there are parallels in the fragmentary Levisham 3 piece (Lang 1991, 146), so I have placed it in Period Two. Based on the parallels elsewhere in Deira the piece is a 9<sup>th</sup> century Anglian example. The fabric of the piece is a medium-grained reddish-yellow sandstone quarried from Aislaby near Whitby (Lang 1991, 145).

#### **Kirby Misperton St Lawrence 1:**

Kirby Misperton 1 is another rare example of a shouldered cross-shaft in Yorkshire. However, in Deira there are two other examples: Hovingham 3 and Levisham 3 (Lang 1991, 153). The animal ornament on the shaft is very much like that found in the Lindisfarne Gospels (Adcock 1974, 133-135). But this is a long lived pattern and not necessarily indicative of an early date and Adcock notes that the interlace must have

been designed by someone with little knowledge of the form (Adcock 1974, 135). This piece neither fits neatly into the Anglian or Anglo-Scandinavian period of sculpture in the region. There are parallels in the beasts of the Lindisfarne Gospels (Lang 1991, 153) and this argues for a late Anglian rather than Anglo-Scandinavian date and so it is assigned to the 9<sup>th</sup> century. The fabric of the piece is a fine-to-medium-grained, very pale brown sandstone sourced from a quarry near Lythe, which is just northwest of Whitby (Lang 1991, 153).

**Lastingham 3:**

Measuring nearly 150cm (or nearly 5 feet) across, Collingwood reckons that to be proportional, the Lastingham 3 cross must have stood c. 24 feet high when complete (Collingwood 1907, 359). It is likely that like Lastingham 4 this too would have been decorated with some form of metal embossing near the centre of the ring (Lang 1991, 169). The piece is an 8<sup>th</sup> or early 9<sup>th</sup> century work. The fabric is a reddish-yellow sandstone quarried from Aislaby near Whitby (Lang 1991, 168-169).

**Lastingham 4:**

Lastingham 4 is part of a cross-head in two adjacent pieces. The Marigold motif is also found on the York stele and on the Middleton 9 piece but the piece is closer in style to continental, rather than to Hiberno-Northumbrian art (Lang 1991, 169). The piece is likely 8<sup>th</sup> century (Hawkes 1999a, 413). The fabric is a reddish yellow sandstone quarried from Aislaby near Whitby (Lang 1991, 169).

**Lastingham 5:**

Lastingham 5 a cross-arm is decorated with pattern D interlace which is common to Bernician sculpture and indeed, the piece has parallels at Monkwearmouth and also at Norham (Adcock 1974, 131). The piece is likely late 8<sup>th</sup> to 9<sup>th</sup> century. The fabric is a reddish yellow-sandstone which was likely quarried at Aislaby near Whitby (Lang 1991, 169-170).

**Leven, Holy Trinity [St Faith]: TA106453**

This is a cross-shaft and it is presently located at the east end of the south aisle where it is visible from inside the church. Stylistically the shaft has some minor similarities in the execution of the interlace to the cross shaft St Leonard's Place 2 at York (Cramp and Lang 1977, no 9; Cramp 1984, 77) and is decidedly Anglian in its design. This is yet another example of the burgeoning taste for things Scandinavian expressed in late Anglian works and is likely from the 9<sup>th</sup> century. The fabric of the sculpture is a yellow sandstone quarried from the North Yorkshire Moors (Collingwood 1927, 131, 134; Lang 1991, 225).

**Sinnington All Saints 1: SE746861**

Sinnington No 1 is a partial cross-shaft. The decorated panel on the lower half of Sinning No. 1 depicts two figures clutching a staff. This type of scene is reminiscent of Irish manuscripts depicting the founding of a monastery (Lang 1991, 207). While there are no close parallels of such a scene in Anglian works, according to Lang the large hole points in the plain plait suggest an Anglian date (Lang 1991, 207). Based on this the piece is likely a 9<sup>th</sup> or very early 10<sup>th</sup> century work. The fabric of the piece is a course-grained very-pale brown sandstone quarried from the North Yorkshire Moors (Lang 1991, 207).

**Sinnington 16:**

Sinnington 16 is either part of a cross-shaft or a grave cover and is a 9<sup>th</sup> century work. The piece is certainly Anglian but the workmanship is of a very poor quality (Collingwood 1907, 368; Lang 1991, 213). The fabric of the piece was quarried locally (Lang 1991, 213).

**Stonegrave 2 Holy Trinity: SE565778**

Stonegrave 2 is part of a cross-shaft which has strong Anglian stylistic elements, particularly the closed patterns of interlace which have parallels elsewhere in the architectural fragment of Kirkbymoorside 6 (Lang 1991, 217). Lang (1991, 217) notes that the incised carving on face b is paralleled by pieces from Levisham, Wharram Percy and at Lindisfarne which are solidly Anglian (Lang 1991, 217; Cramp 1984, 198-199). Based on these associations the work is likely 9<sup>th</sup> century. The fabric of the sculpture is a fine-grained, very pale brown sandstone and was likely quarried from the North Yorkshire Moors (Lang 1991, 217).

**Gilling East Holy Cross: SE616768**

The piece is a fragment of a cross with one face visible and while there is no compelling argument that this piece was part of a standing cross, there is also no reason to discount that possibility. The form and design of the piece has more in common with Acca's cross at Hexham than with any monument in Deira (Lang 1991, 133). Further, the Northumbrian connection has been established by Cramp who noted a fairly strong parallel in the scrollwork other pieces from the school at Wearmouth and Jarrow (1978, 8). Lang (1991, 133) thought that it might be associated with an early group of monastic centres in the region and assigns the piece to the 8<sup>th</sup> century though it may be earlier. The fabric of the piece is a fine-grained very pale-brown sandstone from the Howardian Hills (Lang 1991, 133).

**Shrine:**

The final identifiable type of stone monument is a box, or composite shrine.

**Hovingham 5:**

Hovingham 5 is a slab from a composite shrine, a type which is unknown elsewhere in Deira. Indeed, the closest parallel for it is in the East Midlands box shrine, Hedda's Tomb shrine in Peterborough cathedral and the fragmentary piece at Castor Northamptonshire, as well as decorative and iconographic parallels in the North Riding at Marsham (Cramp 1977, 213; Lang 1991, 147). Indeed, the influence of contemporary Carolingian design is evident as well (Lang 1991, 147). The piece is likely 8<sup>th</sup> century but may be 9<sup>th</sup>. The fabric of the piece is a fine-grained, yellow-to-light grey sandstone that was likely quarried from near Whitby.

**Unidentifiable Fragment:**

**Sinnington 17:**

Sinnington 17 is a fragment of unknown type but is likely a late Anglian piece (Lang 1991, 213). It has a decorative element of interlace with flat strands which is typical of late Anglian pieces and has parallels elsewhere in the region on Kirby Misperton 1 & 3 (Lang 1991, 213). Nothing more is known of the form of the piece due to its fragmentary preservation. The fabric of the piece is a coarse-grained, very pale brown sandstone from the North Yorkshire Moors (Lang 1991, 213).

**Period Three Monuments:**

**Cross Heads and Shafts:**

During Period Three in Deira there are a number of sites with free-standing stone crosses and these will be catalogued alphabetically.

**Amotherby St Helen's 1: SE751735**

While the piece is broken Amotherby No. 1, a cross-head, is of a solidly Anglo-Scandinavian design and dated to the 10<sup>th</sup> century. The ringed-head cross type is common in the region, reflecting possibly a local school or a local preference for that cross-type. Amotherby 1 is a poorly executed piece reminiscent of other local pieces of better quality (Lang 1991, 124). The fabric of the piece is local sandstone (Lang 1991, 124).

**Amotherby 2:**

Amotherby No. 2, is a piece of a cross-head and is arguably earlier than Amotherby No. 1 with elements of both free-arm and ring-head crosses combined, but I would hesitate to assign it to the earlier period because of the strong association of ring-headed crosses with the Anglo-Scandinavian period making a date earlier than AD920 unlikely. It is possible that this is an inexpertly executed Anglo-Scandinavian copy of the much larger Anglian cross-head at Lastingham. The fabric of both pieces is a very pale brown biosparite limestone that was quarried locally (Lang 1991, 124).

**Ellerburn St Hilda 1-7: SE842843**

There are eight examples of free-standing crosses at the church. Ellerburn No. 1 belongs to the Ryedale tradition of ring-headed crosses, No. 2 is a crude example with roughly executed portraiture, while No. 3 is likely a fragment of No.7 (Lang 1991, 127; Collingwood 1907, 316). Only No. 4 is atypical of the Period and region being a fragment of a cylindrical shaft whose closest parallels lie to the west of the Pennines (Lang 1991, 127-28). Further, the atypical cylindrical shaft makes dating difficult and it could be either late Period Two or early Period Three. Be that as it may, as there are no diagnostically Period Two stylistic elements on the piece, it is assigned to the late 9<sup>th</sup> or 10<sup>th</sup> century. Ellerburn No. 5 is a piece of cross-shaft. The hunting scene on the piece is similar to others in Cumbria (Bailey and Cramp 1988, 100-104) as well as Middleton and Stonegrave in the Study Area (Lang 1991, 128). Ellerburn No 6 is a piece of a cross-shaft with little remaining of the decorative work. None the less, what remains is Anglo-Scandinavian (Lang 1991, 128). No. 7 is Part of a cross-head. The cross was of the free armed type with none of the zoomorphic or figure carvings associated with later Anglo-Scandinavian pieces. Indeed, it is similar to the late Anglian pieces found elsewhere in the Case Study Area at Stonegrave. Be that as it may, 'upper limb as convex hammer' (Lang 1991, 129) is paralleled at Middleton 3 and Hovingham 1 which are both solidly Period Three pieces so the dating of this, while early, seems secure. No. 8 is a slightly unusual ring-head cross in that while it conforms to the type, the ring is further out than is the norm and the crucifixion scene has parallels elsewhere in the Case Study Area at Sinnington and Kirkdale (Lang 1991, 129). All fabric of eight of the pieces are of a fine grained sandstone quarried locally Lang 1991, 126-129).

**Holme-on-Spalding Moor All Saints: SE822389**

The sculpture at All Saints church is a part of a cross-shaft, decorated with arched panels. The piece shares commonalities with sculpture at Collingham in the West Riding as well as with some of the Mercian examples. However, the closest parallel seems to be the nearby Nunburnholme shaft which shares the same late Anglian traditions of southern Yorkshire and Mercia combined within an Anglo-Scandinavian context (Lang 1991, 143). The depiction of a seated figure is paralleled in the Anglo-

Scandinavian sculpture of the Ryedale (Lang 1991, 144). The fabric of the sculpture is Middle Jurassic sandstone quarried somewhere around Aislaby, near Whitby.

#### **Hovingham All Saints:**

Hovingham No. 1 is a free armed cross-head with part of the shaft still intact. The cross has parallels elsewhere in the Case Study Area at Middleton No. 3 in that both are free-armed crosses. The detailing in the animal-head terminals and the slightly rounded shaft are also similar (Lang 1991, 145). Dating of the shaft is complicated by the fact that the Anglian tradition is referenced in the broad flat interlace, similar to that on the late Anglian piece at Filey, however, the serpent motif is strongly Anglo-Scandinavian so a Period Three date is secure. Further, the snake-head 'seen from above' is also present in the Thames bone toggle and also the Jelling stone's serpent. The fabric of the piece is a course-grained brownish-yellow sandstone and was most likely quarried from the North Yorkshire Moors at Aislaby, near Whitby (Lang 1991, 144-145).

#### **Hovingham 2:**

Hovingham No. 2 is a ring-head type cross the head of which is complete while the shaft is extremely truncated. The ring-head design is strongly Hiberno-Norse and dates the piece to post AD 920 and the 'establishment of [a] York-Dublin axis' (Bailey 1978, 177-79). The way that the ornament flows more or less seamlessly across the head and shaft of Hovingham No. 2 is similar to the design elements found on North Frodingham No. 1 as is the bird motif (Lang 1991, 145). The fabric of the piece is a course-grained brownish-yellow sandstone and was most likely quarried from the North Yorkshire Moors at Aislaby, near Whitby (Lang 1991, 145).

#### **Kirkbymoorside 1 All Saints:**

Kirkbymoorside No. 1 is likely a piece of a ring-head cross. Indeed, Lang noted its similarity to the ring-headed crosses at Middleton (Lang 1991, 155; see also Collingwood 1907, 343). The inclusion of the bound dragon motif reflects the taste for that element in Ryedale and the interlace is paralleled at Middleton, another Ryedale site (Lang 1991, 155). The fabric is a medium-grained pale brown sandstone from the Pickering Middleton area (Lang 1991, 154).

#### **Kirkbymoorside 2:**

The piece is part of a crudely executed 10<sup>th</sup> century work. The design elements include a roughly executed warrior of a type often seen in Anglo-Scandinavian pieces from Yorkshire and there are parallels in this and other design elements at Middleton and Kirkdale (Lang 1991, 155-156; Collingwood 1907, 343). The fabric of the piece is the same as that for Kirkbymoorside No. 1 (Lang 1991, 156).

#### **Kirkbymoorside 3:**

This is a very crudely carved piece of a cross-shaft from the 10<sup>th</sup> century. There are elements linking the piece to the Ryedale, the bound dragon, and narrow interlaced sides, however, these are very roughly executed (Lang 1991, 156; see also Bailey 1980, 134). Be that as it may, the design is paralleled in the crosses at Middleton and possibly Pickering as well. The fabric of the piece is a medium-grained, very pale brown sandstone that was possibly quarried from nearby (Lang 1991, 156).

#### **Kirkbymoorside 4:**

This piece is a ring-head cross of the 10<sup>th</sup> century. This is a much more accomplished work than the other Kirkbymoorside pieces. It is typical of ring-headed crosses from

Ryedale and Lang reckons that it was produced by the same craftsman as the Middleton 2 and 5 crosses (Lang 1991, 156-157). The fabric of the piece is the same as the others in the Kirkbymoorside group.

**Kirkbymoorside 5:**

This is another crudely executed ring-head cross. The piece is very close in execution and style to Middleton No. 1 and may have been by the same craftsman (Lang 1991, 157). The fabric of the piece is the same as the others in the group.

**Kirkdale St Gregory's 1:**

Kirkdale 1 is a cross-shaft with part of the head still intact. The treatment of the Christ figure in the cross, with the body extending down the shaft from the head, is more akin to Anglian tradition where Christ is on the shaft. However, the forked beard noted by Collingwood (1907, 343) and the Christ figure bound are both solidly Anglo-Scandinavian (Lang 1991, 159). Therefore, it is likely that this is an early example of Anglo-Scandinavian sculpture and may be a late 9<sup>th</sup> or 10<sup>th</sup> century transitional piece. The fabric of the piece is a medium-to-course grained, pale brown to reddish yellow sandstone, likely quarried from near Whitby (Lang 1991, 158-159).

**Kirkdale 2:**

Kirkdale No. 2 is a cross-shaft with part of the head still intact. There is little beyond the form of the piece to provide a possible date, but based on its similarity to Middleton 3 it can reliably be dated to the 10<sup>th</sup> century (Lang 1991, 159). The fabric of the piece is the same source as Kirkdale No. 1, i.e., from near Whitby.

**Kirkdale 3:**

Kirkdale No. 3 is a more or less complete 10<sup>th</sup> century cross-shaft with a part of the head remaining. The stopped-plait design on the piece is paralleled elsewhere in the Vale of Pickering on the Helmsley hogback and elsewhere in Cumbria (Lang 1991, 160; Collingwood 1907, 344). The fabric of the piece is the same as Kirkdale Nos. 1 & 2 (Lang 1991, 160).

**Kirkdale 4:**

The Kirkdale No. 4 piece is part of a cross-shaft. Likely 10<sup>th</sup> century. Collingwood (1911, 286) thought he detected a 'hart and hound' depiction, but Lang is sceptical (Lang 1991, 160). Be that as it may, the piece is not of particular quality in either ornament or execution. There are parallels in the stopped-plait at nearby Helmsley (Lang 1991, 160). The fabric is the same as Kirkdale Nos. 1-3 (Lang 1991, 160).

**Kirkdale 5:**

The Kirkdale No. 5 piece is a part of a 10<sup>th</sup> century cross-shaft and a partial head of the free-armed type. The piece is not particularly well executed nor is the ornament expertly cut, but there are other examples of 'buckle-knot' design at Pickering (Lang 1991, 161). The fabric of the piece was quarried from a source very close to the church (Lang 1991, 161; see also Collingwood 1911, 285).

**Lastingham St Mary's 1:**

Lastingham 1 is a piece from the upper part of a 10<sup>th</sup> century cross-shaft. Collingwood noted that the ornament on face b reflected influences from Cumberland, Lancashire, Wales and Ireland (Collingwood 1907, 359). The piece can be safely dated to the Anglo-Scandinavian period. The fabric is a medium-grained, reddish-yellow sandstone which was most likely quarried from Aislaby, near Whitby (Lang 1991, 167).



**Lastingham 2:**

Lastingham 2 is a mid-10<sup>th</sup> century cross-shaft with part of the head. The cross when whole would have fitted into a socket and stood no more than about 1.3m. The rustic nature of the carving is curious and makes dating difficult, but the ornament is solidly Period Three (Lang 1991, 168; Colingwood 1907, 359). The fabric of the piece is the same as Lastingham 1 (Lang 1991, 167).

**Londesborough All Saints: SE868455**

The Londesborough All Saints church piece is a cross-head which is built into the wall above the door. The piece is likely from the 10<sup>th</sup> century. Stylistically, the Londesborough cross-head resembles other Anglo-Scandinavian crosses with known dates in the tenth century. It is unknown whether the cross-head was originally part of a free-standing monument or whether it may have served some sort of architectural function, like the cross panels from Hovingham and Middleton. The fabric of the cross-head is nearly identical to that of the fragment from Holme-on-Spalding-Moor in that it is a Middle Jurassic sandstone quarried from Aislaby, near Whitby (Lang 1991, 179-180).

**Middleton St Andrews 1: SE783855**

The Middleton No. 1 piece is a complete ring-head cross and is post AD920 (Lang 1991, 182; Hawkes 2002; Pevsner 1966[2001], 254). Decorated with a hunt scene, the piece is typical of Reydale ring-head crosses and is practically identical to the No.4 cross from Kirkbymoorside (Lang 1991, 182). The fabric of the material is a medium grained pale-yellow sandstone from the North Yorkshire Moors (Lang 1991, 181).

**Middleton 2:**

Middleton No. 2 is a nearly complete ring-headed cross and is solidly Anglo-Scandinavian in its influences (Lang 1991, 183; Hawkes 2002; Pevsner 1966[2001], 254). The cross is a 10<sup>th</sup> century work. It is more accomplished than is Middleton No. 1, and seems to fit into a local tradition epitomized by the Sinnington 4 piece (Lang 1991, 183). The fabric of the piece is a medium-grained very pale brown sandstone that was likely sourced from a quarry within 2km of the church (Lang 1991, 181-87).

**Middleton 3:**

Middleton No. 3 is a complete cross-head and shaft of the billet head type which is more common in Ireland, but there are other local examples at Kirkdale, No.1, and Kirkelvington (Lang 1991, 184; Collingwood 1907, 351). It is 10<sup>th</sup> century. Collingwood (1907, 371) noted that the hammer-like shape of the top arm of the cross-head is similar to those found in Cumbria. The decorative elements of the cross draw from a number of sources including Anglian influences, but based on the interlace the pieces solidly Period Three, is early (Lang 1991, 184; Collingwood 1907, 371). The fabric of the material is a medium grained pale-yellow sandstone from the North Yorkshire Moors (Lang 1991, 184).

**Middleton 3-8:**

The Middleton 4-8 pieces are all parts of crosses and are unremarkable except that they continue to reflect the stylistic elements already discussed with the exception of No. 5 which depicts the same type of forked beard as did Kirkdale No. 1 (Lang 1991, 186). The pieces are all 10<sup>th</sup> century in date. The fabric for Middleton pieces Nos. 4-8 are all

medium-grained yellowish-white sandstone quarried from the North Yorkshire Moors (Lang 1991, 181-187).

**Nunburnholme St James's: SE847478**

The Period Three monument at St James's church is a largely intact century cross-shaft. The piece dates to the late 9<sup>th</sup> but more likely 10<sup>th</sup> century. The remarkable preservation of the cross-shaft, which is on display inside the tower, makes it one of the most important pieces from the period. In construction technique the shaft resembles the column at Masham, North Riding, and its motifs closely resemble the cross-head of the York Newgate shaft (Lang 1991, 187-193). Largely secular in its iconography, the monument is by far one of the most stylistically and iconographically complex pieces in Yorkshire. The shaft was composite with mortise and tenon joints in the shaft and between shaft and head. In this respect the piece is like the shaft from York Minster (Lang, 1991, see comments on York Minster 9) and that from West Tanfield in the North Riding (Lang 1991, 187-193).

The shaft appears to have been completed in two distinct phases. The first, and earliest, phase displays a number of late Anglian influences and the second phase, during which work began on the shaft once again by a new craftsman, was completed in the decidedly secular Anglo-Scandinavian motif. Because there is a distinct break of perhaps some considerable time in the sculpting of the shaft, and also because there is no way of knowing where the shaft was constructed and for what place it was intended originally, the piece is included in Period Three. Finally, unlike the other monuments from the Case Study Area during the period, the fabric of the Nunburnholme shaft is reused Roman ashlar from York (Lang 1991, 187-193).

**Nunnington All Saints and St James 1-2: SE666792**

Nunnington All Saints and St James No. 1 is part of a cross-shaft and head and No. 2 is a fragment of cross-shaft and it is likely that the two are from the same original 10<sup>th</sup> century cross (Lang 1991, 193-194). The ornament of the piece suggests links to the Jelling-style, possibly via York and the beast ornament has parallels elsewhere in the region at Pickering and Ellerburn (Lang 1991, 193-194). The fabric of the pieces is a fine-grained, very pale brown sandstone which may have been quarried from nearby at Stonegrave (Lang 1991, 193-194).

**Sinnington All Saint's 2:**

Sinnington No. 2 is decorated with Anglo-Scandinavian ring-twist motif (Lang 1991, 208; Collingwood 1907, 386). Nos. 3 through 9 are all parts of various cross-shafts while Nos. 11, 12, and 13 are parts of cross-heads. The dragon motif on No. 4 is of particular interest in that it is one of the least stylised of the beasts in the region and may have formed the basis for the Middleton and Levisham crosses. Referencing the Jelling style, via York, the cross also references the entangling tails motif common in Hiberno-Northumbrian art (Lang 1991, 209). All of the pieces can be securely dated to the period (Lang 1991, 211-212). All of the pieces are 10<sup>th</sup> century. The stone type for Nos. 11 & 12 is a very pale-brown sandstone quarried from the north Yorkshire Moors (Lang 1991, 211-212).

**Sinnington 10:**

Sinnington No. 10 is possibly a fragment of cross-shaft, but it is unlike any other piece in the region and there is little visible to date the piece closer than between the ninth and tenth century (Lang 1991, 211). The fabric of the pieces is primarily a medium grained very pale brown sandstone from the quarries nearby (Lang 1991, 211).

**Stonegrave Holy Trinity 1: SE565778**

The Stonegrave No.1 piece is a 10<sup>th</sup> century ring-head cross with a complete shaft and nearly complete head. The piece is a ring head cross unlike most in the region, it is closer to the cross-heads from Gargrave, West Riding than to any others in the Study Area and Collingwood has remarked on the Celtic influences evident in the piece (Collingwood 1907, 401; Bailey 1978, 178-179; Lang 1991, 216). The fabric of the piece is a fine-grained, calcareous, very pale brown sandstone that was likely from the quarry to the north-east of the church.

**Stonegrave 3, 4 and 5:**

Stonegrave Nos. 3, 4, and 5 are parts of 10<sup>th</sup> century cross-shafts. Stonegrave No. 4 is the most accomplished of these, with the interlace being more expertly executed than most other Period Three examples in the region (Lang 1991, 218; see also Collingwood 1907, 401). The fabric of the pieces is the same as No. 1 (Lang 1991, 218-219).

**Stonegrave 6:**

Stonegrave No. 6 is a cross base in four parts dating to the 10<sup>th</sup> century. Collingwood mistakenly believed the piece to be a hogback. Indeed, it is more likely that the base was once part of Stonegrave No. 1 (Lang 1991, 215-20). The fabric of the pieces are all from the same fine-grained, calcareous, very pale brown sandstone source and the material was likely taken from the quarry to the north-east of the church (Lang 1991, 215-218).

**Grave Cover:****Oswaldkirk, St Oswald's 2: SE622788**

Oswaldkirk No. 2 is a small fragment of either a grave-cover or shrine tomb, Collingwood supposes the latter (Collingwood 1907, 380). The only discernable decoration is of a female figure holding a child. It is 10<sup>th</sup> century at the earliest, but may be later. The fabric of the two pieces is a deltaic channel sandstone quarried from somewhere in the region of the North Yorkshire Moors (Lang 1991, 198).

**Sinnington All Saints 15:**

Sinnington No. 15 is part of coped grave-cover. The expertly executed interlace is a fine example (Lang 1991, 213). The piece could be very late Anglian but is more likely Anglo-Scandinavian so it could be 9<sup>th</sup> to 10<sup>th</sup> century. The fabric of the piece is a pale brown sandstone from the North Yorkshire Moors (Lang 1991, 213).

**Sinnington 16:**

Sinnington No. 16 is also likely part of a grave-cover. Again it is another very late 9<sup>th</sup> or 10<sup>th</sup> century work (Lang 1991, 213). The fabric of the piece is the same as Sinnington 15 (Lang 1991, 213).

**Stonegrave Holy Trinity 7 & 8:**

Stonegrave No. 7 is perhaps most notable for its depiction of a hunt scene in which the hunter holds a bow and arrow and is solidly 10<sup>th</sup> century in date (Lang 1991, 219; see also Collingwood 1907, 401). The fabric of the piece is a pale brown sandstone from the North Yorkshire Moors. Stonegrave No. 8 may also be a part of a grave-cover. However, it may also be a part of Stonegrave No. 6 (Lang 1991, 220). The fabric of the piece was likely quarried in the North Yorkshire Moors (Lang 1991, 220).

**Hogbacks:**

Hogbacks are not part of the Period Three monuments discussed in the Thesis. However, they will be catalogued here according to their location:

**Ellerburn 9:**

Ellerburn 9 is two pieces of the same hogback paralleled by Lythe and Bramston (Lang 1991, 130).

**Helmsley:**

Helmsley is an unusual piece which was poorly executed (Lang 1991, 143).

**Lastingham 6:**

Lastingham 6 is a type E dragonesque hogback of very poor quality (Lang 1991, 170).

**Oswaldkirk 1:**

Oswaldkirk 1 is part of a type H scroll type hogback (Lang 1991, 197-198).

**Pickering 4:**

Pickering 4 is a type E dragonesque hogback (Lang 1991, 200-201).

**Sinnington 14:**

Sinnington 14 is a fragment of a hogback (Lang 1991,212).

**Unidentifiable Fragment:**

There are unidentifiable fragments of stonework at several sites in Deira. As these are of little value to our discussion they are not included.

## Appendix 3

### Vista Samples

---

*The vista samples in this appendix represent the data from the desktop and field observations. It is intended to compliment the Point to Point intervisibility calculations performed in ESRI's ArcView 3.1 by providing 'ground proof' of the results. The data as discussed in the text represents observations made using combinations of the intervisibility calculations, desktop studies and the field observations.*

#### **Notes:**

Assessment of vista data combines multiple field recordings and map based desktop analysis. In stage one, each monument site within the case study area was visited and field recordings of sightlines, sightlines between monument sites, and sightlines between monument sites and any known significant manmade or natural landscape features was noted. Each site received at least three visits at different times of the year to assess variations in visibility based on foliage cover and the differences were noted. Stage two of the visual analysis included desk based referencing of the field notes to both 1<sup>st</sup> edition and 1:50,000 OS Map data. This was used to identify possible landscape features which may have been destroyed by modern mechanized farming. The results of the vista samples are summarized by time period within each case study.

The vista sample data in this appendix is categorised according to study area, time period and location. The compass points referred to in the text are abbreviated as follows: East (E), South East (SE), South (S), South West (SW), West (W), North West (NW), North (N), and North East (NE). The vista in any one direction is referred to as the sightline.

#### **Part I: The Goodmanham Study Area Vista Samples Period One**

##### **Blanche Farm Warter:**

Facing E, the sightline is truncated c. 4km distant. Looking SE, the sightline terminates c. 2m out. Turning S, the sightline terminus point is c. 4km distant at a height of 140m at Farberry Garth Farm, SE898492, where the 1<sup>st</sup> edition OS map shows a number of Tumuli.

Looking SW Holme-on-Spalding Moor should have been visible. Turning W, c. 3km distant the crest of Howe Hill Close, OS SE855534, c. 245m dominates the vista. At this point, a track-way, tumuli and earthwork are nearby (1<sup>st</sup> edition OS map). Facing the NW, the sightline extends for only a short distance.

Turning to the N, the sightline extends less than 1km. Facing the NE, the sightline is truncated a short distance out. Therefore, the re-used Water barrow looks predominately SW towards the Roman road

##### **Goodmanham:**

The vista samples from Goodmanham have been sampled from three separate locations in and around the modern village and these are labelled Series A, B, and C. The village of Goodmanham is situated in a small valley c. 1 mile N and E of Market Weighton.

**Goodmanham Vista Sample Series A:**

Vista sample A was taken from a point southwest of Goodmanham where the Roman road approaches via the valley from the S. Looking E, the sightline extends for approximately 2km along the York road as it continues to rise along the crest of Weighton Wold. Turning to the SE the sightline is truncated a short distance out.

Facing S, the sightline extends c. 5km to a point where the scarps of the Wolds jut out into the Vale of York. Turning to the SW, the sightline extends to church hill Holme-on-Spalding Moor.

Looking W the sightline is truncated less than 1km out. The NW and N sightlines are both truncated less than 1km out. Facing NE, the sightline extends c. 2km out.

**Goodmanham Vista Sample Series B:**

From Goodmanham vista sample B, the sightline to the E is entirely obstructed by modern housing and associated trees. However, with the removal of these, the vista would have only be a matter of c. 150-200m as the hill on which the church is located is just below the crest. Facing SE, the sightline is again obstructed by modern housing and a tree line, but were they removed, the crest of the hill above from which the Wolds Way descends into the valley would be visible as would the site known as Howe Hills.

The S and SW sightlines are entirely obstructed. The W vista is c. 15-20km across the vale towards the River Derwent. Facing NW, a distance of c1.5-2km can be seen in the direction of Londesborough and the A614. In this direction, the point where the old Roman road crosses the modern Towthorpe Lane is easily visible as a line of traffic along the crest of the hill.

The sightlines for the N and NE are both truncated at distance of between 1.5 and 2km.

**Goodmanham Vista Sample Series C:**

Goodmanham vista sample C was taken from a point along the Roman road c. 1.5km NW of Goodmanham. Facing E the sightline from this point is truncated by the rise of the hill from c.70m to c. 112m. Turning SE the sightline extends for more than 6km along the Roman road towards Brough and includes the Anglo-Saxon cremation burial sites of Sancton I & II.

Looking S the sightline extends all the way to the river Humber. Turning SW the sightline extends for more than 20km across the Vale of York and includes the River Foulness and Church Hill, Holme-on-Spalding Moor. Facing W, the sightline extends all the way to York.

Turning NW, the sightline extends for more than 20km across the Vale of York and includes the river Derwent. Looking N, the sightline is truncated at little more than 3km. Looking NE, the sightline is severely truncated.

**Period Three**

**Holme-on-Spalding-Moor:**

Facing E, the sightline terminus point is c. 11km distant at an elevation of c. 140m at a point along the Wolds Way. In addition, the Roman road from Brough to Malton would have been visible. Looking SE, the Roman road is again visible. Turning S, the Humber River is visible c. 15km distant.

Looking SW, the Ouse River can be seen c. 15km distant. Facing W, the sightline extends for a considerable distance. However, at c. 17km is a sight known as Danes Graves on the 1<sup>st</sup> edition OS map. At this point +36 *tumuli* are shown near a track-way. Turning NW, the city of York was visible at a distance of c. 26km. Facing N, the sightline extends for a distance of c. 12.5km to a point c. 204m in elevation. Here, the 1<sup>st</sup> edition OS map shows earthworks near two *tumuli*. Turning NE, the sightline terminates in the Yorkshire Wolds c. 11km distant.

#### **Londesborough:**

The modern village of Londesborough is much altered from its medieval form. Thus the sightline from the church are therefore difficult to reconstruct 'on the ground.' However, the desktop portion of the exercise is unaffected. Beginning from the W end of All Saints Church and looking E, the sightline extends c. 2km and terminates at SE890455, c. 120m in elevation and the site of the Middlethorpe and Enthorpe 'clumps' listed on the 1<sup>st</sup> edition OS map. Turning SE, the sightline extends for c. 11km terminates at a point along the Brough Malton roman road. Facing S, the line-of-sight calculation suggests that it should be possible to see the Humber.

Turning to the SW, the Rivers Ouse and Derwent should be visible. Looking W, the line-of-sight is truncated at a few hundred metres by a rise in elevation. Facing NW, the Sight Line terminates c. 1km at an elevation of c. 90m.

Looking N, the Sight Line terminus point is truncated by a rise in elevation c. 200m out. Turning to the NE, the Sight Line extends c. 4km to the site of the DMV of Kipling Cotes, SE895475. Here, the 1<sup>st</sup> edition OS map shows several *tumuli* near the DMV.

#### **Nunburnholme:**

Facing E, the sightline extends for c. 1.5km and terminates at a steep rise in elevation. Looking SE, the sightline extends for a distance of c. 2km where it terminates at an elevation of c. 120m. Turning S, the sightline extends for c. 2km where it terminates at an elevation of c. 50m.

Looking SW, the sightline extends into the vale of York and the Holm-on-Spalding-Moor site. Turning W, the sight Line extends only a short distance. Facing NW and N the sightline is truncated a short distance by a steep rise in elevation.

Turning NE, the sightline extends for a short distance before truncating at a steep rise in elevation.

## **Part II: The Driffield Study Area Vista Samples**

### **Period One**

Because of their proximity to one another, only one vista sample was conducted for the two barrows from Kellythorpe.

#### **Moot Hill:**

The Moot Hill mound, Driffield 3, is surrounded on three sides by modern housing and on the fourth, the NW, by a line of trees abutting the roadway. The field portion of the vista sample was therefore reconstructed entirely from cartographic sources. Facing E, the topography falls from c. 25m at 0m to c. 19m at 1km. Beyond this point the topography falls away to c. 10m at 3km from which point it undulates between c. 7m and c. 10m to the coast. However, it should be possible in the absence of tree-cover to see as to the coast. Facing SE, the topography slopes slowly away to c. 3m at the 7km point where it remains until c. 12km where it begins a rise to a level of 10m at c. 13.5km. The elevation remains consistent to c. 19km where it rises to c. 20m, a height sufficient to block the sightline beyond.

Turning to the S, the topography falls away to c. 14m at 3km near where the Beverly to Driffield railway crosses the river S of Driffield. From this point, the topography rises to a level of c. 29m at Hutton. This rise in the landscape is sufficient to block the sightline beyond this point.

Looking to the SW, the sightline sweeps away towards the DMV of Kipling Cotes and the *tumuli* listed on the 1<sup>st</sup> edition OS maps at Londesborough Wold Farm which is at a height of c. 135m. Turning W, the sightline rises dramatically to a height of c. 220m at Pluckham Farm where there are earthworks and *tumuli* (1<sup>st</sup> edition OS). In addition to this point, there is point along a ridge between Plainthorpe Wold Farm and South Wold Plantation at an elevation of c. 235m which should be visible and which boasts: the confluence of two Roman roads, a complex of earthworks, in addition to a number of *tumuli*. Facing the NW, the sightline sweeps away to a point c. 8km away at an elevation of c. 140m. Alternatively the sightline may terminate at the barrow near Cowlam Grange c. 10km away at an elevation of c. 175m.

Turning to the N, the sightline stretches past the Dane's Graves *tumuli* c. 5km out, beyond the York Bridlington Roman road to a height of c. 100m at c. 5km out. Turning to the NE, the sightline stretches away for c. 10km where the sight line terminates at the Rudston Beacon *tumulus* at an elevation of c. 90m.

#### **Cheesecake Hill:**

The first vista sample conducted from Period One monument was from the Cheesecake Hill site. The vista sample for the site was taken from a point at the centre of what remains of the mound. The sample begins facing E towards the N/S Wansford road and Spittlefields c. 2km away. Beyond this point the topography dips to c. 5m and then back up to c. 10m and continues to the coast. Facing to the SE, the sightline meets the Wansford road to the S and W at c. 10m. Beyond this point the topography falls away to c. 5m and undulates between c. 2m and c. 10m towards the mouth of the Humber River.

Looking S from Cheesecake Hill, the sightline stretches away towards Watton and Beverly as the topography undulates between c. 10m at a distance of c. 1km, and between c. 5-2m. For all directions SW through NW the sightline is interrupted by the modern developments surrounding Driffield. Be that as it may, in the absence of the modern structures the following sightlines should be possible. Facing towards the SW, in the direction of the deserted medieval village (DMV) of Sunderlandwick, the topography gently rises away to a height of c. 100m at Enthorpe Farm.

Facing W the vista stretches away c. 22km to a height of c. 245m at the confluence of the A166 (the old York Bridlington Roman road), a roman road running north/south,



and the crest of a hill which has a number of *tumuli* and a nearby earthwork. Turning NW, the topography rises to a height of c. 150m near the site of the DMV of Cottam.

Looking N, it should be possible to see as far as the Nafferton Wold, c. 4km away and which lies just beyond the DMV of Pockthorpe. There the sightline intersects the Green Dykes earthworks. Facing to the NE, the sightline stretches away towards the Rudston Beacon Tumuli.

#### **King's Mill Road:**

The King's Mill Road vista sample has been reconstructed from desktop because the site is surrounded by modern construction. Looking E, the elevation undulates between c. 5 and c. 10m for a distance of c. 15km to the Seacoast. Turning SW, the elevation gently sweeps away towards the Humber River as the elevation ranges from c. 5m at c. 5km to c. 10 at 13km.

Facing S, the vista sample demonstrates that it should have been possible to see c. 4km in the direction of Hutton Farm where the elevation rises to c. 25m before falling away. Looking towards the SW, the elevation slowly rises from c. 35m at a distance of 4km to c. 100m at 16km, near Enthorpe Wood. At this point the 1<sup>st</sup> edition OS map shows a sizable cluster of *tumuli*.

Turning to the W, the landscape rises over c. 17km to a height of 241m at High Callis. At this point the 1<sup>st</sup> edition OS map shows there is a confluence of the Roman road, a network of earthworks and a number of *tumuli*. Looking NW, the sightline rises steadily in the direction of Cowlam Manor where it reaches an elevation of c. 179m at a distance of c. 11km. This is the site of Willie Howe Close and the site of Willie owe on the 1<sup>st</sup> edition OS map.

Facing N, the vista reaches a distance of c. 11.5km to an elevation of c. 160m at the Crematorium. At this point the OS map lists a *tumuli*. Turning NE, the vista sample demonstrates that the crest of the hill near Sands Wood should be visible. The 1<sup>st</sup> edition OS map suggests that this hill top, running from the old Fish Ponds to Sands Wood was the site of a substantial number of *tumuli* as late as 1854.

#### **Kellythorpe:**

The vista sample for the two sites at the Kellythorpe Industrial Estate was taken from the Kirkburn 1 barrow site located near the south-eastern extremity of the present industrial estate.

The vista sample begins facing E, where the Driffield sewage works is c. 1km away. A little beyond this the modern structures obstruct the Vista. However, the ArcView 3.1 Intervisibility Calculations indicate that a distance of c. 5km should have been visible. Turning SW, much of the view is obscured by modern construction and tree cover. However, the vista sample suggests that the modern villages of Skerne and Wansford, c. 3km distant, should be visible. Indeed, the sightline stretches away some 30km and never rises above 15m at the 3.5km point.

Looking S, the DMV of Sunderlandwick should peripherally be visible at c. 2km before the topography rises to an elevation of c. 30m obscuring the sightline beyond. Turning towards the SW a tree line along the modern roadway obscures the sightline. Be that as it may, the vista sample suggests that the *tumuli* at Enthorpe woods should have been visible.

Turning to the W, the vista sample suggests that the sightline reaches away to High Callis Wold c. 15.5km distant. At this point there exists a complex convergence of earthworks, numerous tumuli, and the old Roman road. Facing the NW, the sightline suggests that a distance of c. 8km should be visible. At this point is a hill top with a number of tumuli which is bounded on the S by the parallel Green Lane and earthwork which it follows E W.

Looking northward, the sightline suggests that a distance of c. 8.3km is visible. This is to a point on the crest, c. 150m, of the hill which lies just S of the DMV of Cottam. Turning towards the NE, the sightline suggests that Nafferton Grange should be visible c. 8km away.

### **Period Two Vista Samples**

Prior to conducting an analysis of the vista samples from Period Two the following provisos are made. First, due to the Proximity of the two Period Two sites at Garton only one vista sample was conducted for the site and this is hereafter referred to as the Garton Group. This vista sample was taken from the centre point of the Ordnance Survey Grid SE 986578.

#### **Garton Group:**

Beginning facing the E, the modern town of Drifffield, c. 3km E of the site, obstructs the Vista. However, the vista sample suggests that the coastline, at a distance of c. 19km and an elevation of c. 10m, should have been visible. Turning to the SE, a modern tree line obstructs the sightline. The sightline suggests that it should be possible to see for a considerable distance into the Hull River valley and the Holderness plain beyond. Certainly the modern village of Hutton Cranswick would be visible.

Facing S the vista sample suggests that it should have been possible to see for some 15km to the village of Cherry Burton. Looking SW from the Garton Group, tree cover obscures the visibility beyond a couple of kilometres. It should have been possible to see as far as the *tumuli* at Blanch Farm, Warter, c. 9.25km at c. 135m elevation.

Turning to face the W, the landscape rises over a distance of c. 16km to an elevation of c. +240m at South Wold. At that point there is a complex of earthworks, a nearby crossing of two Roman roads, and a number of large *tumuli*. Facing NW, the landscape rises over a distance of c. 12km where the elevation rises to c. 209m near Towthorpe High Barn. Here the Wolds Way follows the ridge line between the B1248 (a Roman road) and Stonepit Balk, a line which is dotted with *tumuli*.

Looking N, the sightline stretches a distance of c. 9.5km to the DMV of Cottam where Burrow House Farm is located. The 1<sup>st</sup> edition OS map clearly shows two groups of three *tumuli* c. 200m apart in the field immediately E of the house. Turning NE, the sightline passes directly through Elmswell and continues on for a distance of c. 6.5km where it reaches Nafferton Wold at an elevation of c. 90m. There is nothing of significance on this hilltop on the 1<sup>st</sup> edition OS map.

#### **Beverley:**

The vista sample for the Period Two monument from Beverley was recreated from the desktop since the church at St John's, where the sculpture is housed, is surrounded by modern construction. Facing E, the sightline is truncated a short distance out. Turning

SE, the sightline is truncated a short distance out. Looking S, the sightline extends for only a short distance.

Turning SW, the sightline extends c. 8km where it terminates at a point, TA010348, where there is a tumuli (1<sup>st</sup> edition OS Map; Humberside SMR). Facing W the sightline terminates c. 1.7km out at a point where there are a number of *tumuli* (1<sup>st</sup> edition OS Map; Humberside SMR). Looking NW, the sightline extends c. 14km into the Wolds.

Turning N, the sightline extends for less than 2km. Facing NE, the sightline extends some distance towards the Yorkshire Wolds.

**Leven:**

Facing E the sightline is truncated a short distance out by a rise in the elevation. Looking SE, the sightline is truncated a short distance. Turning S, the sightline extends c. 2km to a point in the landscape where an Iron Age square barrow sits on a low rise.

Looking SW, the sightline extends for c. 16.25km to a point in the Wolds near the Newbold Farm *tumuli* on the 1<sup>st</sup> edition OS map. Facing W, the sightline extends c. 18km into the uplands of the Wolds to a point near the Enthorpe Woods tumuli. Turning NW, the sightline extends c. 25km into the Wolds.

Facing N, the Rudston Beacon tumuli are visible. Turning NE, the hills above Flamborough Head are visible.

**Period Three Vista Sample Series**

There are three sites in the case study area known to have sculpture dated to the ninth and tenth century. The hogback at Bramston is not included in the analysis because it does not meet the visibility criteria. Therefore the three sites are Little Driffield, (St Peter), Lowthorpe, (St Martin), and North Frodingham, (St Elgin).

**North Frodingham:**

Beginning with the North Frodingham site, the E sightline extends c. 1km from the church where a slight rise in the topography from 5m to 10m blocks it. Looking SE, the sightline extends c. 3- 5km and includes the Bramble Hill tumulus site c. .5km away. Turning S, the sightline terminates at Wawne c. 16km distant.

Looking SW, the sightline extends to the Wolds c. 18.25km to Money Hill which is near Enthorpe Woods. Facing W, the sightline terminates in the High Wolds near Summit House. Turning NW, the sightline extends into the Wolds and includes Cottam House near the DMV of Cottam.

Facing N, the sightline includes the Rudston Beacon and the Roman road which passes just S of the summit. Looking NE, the sightline is blocked by a rise in topography c. 1km distant.

**Lowthorpe:**

The vista sample for Lowthorpe was conducted from St Martin's church. Facing E, the sightline extends c. 5.5km where it terminates at Burton House. Turning SE, the sightline extends only for a kilometre or two. Looking S, the sightline extends little beyond 4km.

Turning SW, the sightline extends into the Wolds where it terminates at Enthorpe Wood c. 22.5km away. Facing W, the sightline is limited by the hills 500m- 700m out. Turning NW, the sightline extends into the Wolds a short distance away.

Looking N, the sightline extends into the Wolds. Turning NE, the sightline extends into the lower elevations of the Wolds before being blocked.

#### **Little Driffield:**

The vista sample for the Little Driffield monument site was conducted from the churchyard. Despite the surrounding trees and modern houses of the village much of the vista could still be discerned. However, in addition, the vista sample was reconstructed using cartographic and GIS sources. Facing E, the sightline is limited by the rise in elevation just beyond the Little Driffield Beck, but the church tower in Driffield is clearly discernable as is much of the modern town. Looking SE and S, the sightline is again limited by the topography, but you can see for 1 or 2km.

Turning SW, the sightline extends to the Elmswell Beck c. 600m distant. Facing W, the sightline extends into the higher elevations of the Wolds. Looking NW, the sightline is limited to 2- 3km.

Turning N the sightline extends c. 4.25km to Wold House Farm. Looking NE, the sightline is limited to 1km to a point near Manor Farm which is just outside the modern town of Driffield.

### **Part III: Vale of Pickering Case Study Area**

#### **Period One**

##### **Kingthorpe:**

The Kingthorpe vista sample was taken from a point just to the SE of Kingthorpe farm as nothing now remains of the barrow. Facing E, the sightline extends only for c. 1km where it is interrupted by a steep rise in the topography. Looking SE the sightline extends for c. 5km where it rests on a point at SE885865 where Given Dale Dyke, an earthwork and a number of tumuli are listed on the OS 1:50,000 map. Facing S the sightline extends c. 23km to a point at SE887635 where a tumulus is listed.

Turning to the SW, the sightline extends c. 18.25km to a point at SE715728 where an earthwork, and tumuli are listed. Looking W, the sightline extends for c. 20km, where a rise in the topography to blocks the sightline. Facing NW, the sightline extends for c. 6km to Rawcliffe Howe, SE800912, where a tumuli is listed on the 1<sup>st</sup> edition Ordnance Survey maps and the 1:50,000 edition.

Looking N, the sightline extends for c. 2km to a point at SE836876 where a tumuli lies just S of the Wern edge of Cross Dyke. Turning NE, the sightline continues c. 2.09km where it terminates at a point where the 1<sup>st</sup> edition OS map shows a tumulus.

The vista sample for the Pickering secondary burial was impossible to conduct due to uncertainty over the exact location of the mound.

#### **Period Two Vista Sample Series**

##### **Gilling East:**

The vista sample for the Period Two Anglo-Saxon site at Gilling East, NR (Holy Cross) begins looking to the E. The sightline extends for c. 18.23km. Facing the SE, the

sightline extends for less than 1km as it is blocked by a sharp rise in the topography. The sightline is also limited for the S, and W.

Turning to the NW, the sightline extends for c. 4km where it terminates at a point, 228m in elevation where there are *tumuli* near a double dyke at SE585795. Looking N, the sightline is limited to less than 1km due to a sharp rise in the elevation. Facing NE, the sightline extends c. 20km to a point at SE789884 where the 1<sup>st</sup> edition OS map and the Northallerton SMR note the presence of multiple tumuli.

#### **Hovingham:**

The vista sample for Hovingham was taken from the churchyard of All Saints church. Facing E, the sightline extends c. 22km to a point, SE887757, where the Northallerton SMR lists a round barrow. The OS 1:25000 map shows Staple Howe c. 5km from this point. Turning SE, the sightline extends into the high Wolds to SE865700, where the Wolds Way runs near a number of tumuli and several earthworks. Looking S, the sightline is truncated by the sweeping rise in elevation c. .5 km out. Turning SW, the sightline extends for c. 2.25km to SE645753, where the 1:25,000 OS map shows a number of tumuli and at least one earthwork. Facing W, the sightline is truncated less than 1km out.

Looking NW, the sightline terminates c. 5.7km away very near the modern village of Oswaldkirk. Facing N, the sightline extends for c. 17.5km where it terminates at SE667932 at an elevation of c 250. At this point, the OS 1:50,000 map shows the presence of cairns. Turning NE, the sightline extends for c. 17km where it terminates near Cawthorne, at SE778890, where the 1<sup>st</sup> edition OS map shows a number of tumuli. Cawthorne is also the site of the three Roman camps dug by Richmond in the 1930s.

#### **Lastingham:**

The vista sample for Lastingham was conducted from the churchyard of St Mary's church. Facing E, the sightline continues c. 5.25km where it terminates at a point, SE778905, overlooking the Roman 'practice fields' near Cawthorne. Turning SE the sightline is severely limited. Looking S the sightline is blocked by the steep rise in elevation. The S sightline extends for less than 1km.

Looking SW, the sightline terminates c. .25km at an elevation of 160m. Facing W, the sightline is again truncated within a short distance. Looking NW, the sightline extends for less than 1km. The N and NE sightlines extend for less than 1km.

#### **Kirby Misperton:**

The vista sample for Kirby Misperton was taken from St Lawrence churchyard. Beginning facing E the sightline extends for more than 20km across the vale of Pickering. Looking SE, the sightline extends c. 17km where it terminates at an elevation of 226m. On the 1<sup>st</sup> edition OS map for the area, the sight is close to Wharram Percy farm and has a number of tumulus and is near the Wolds Way. Turning S, the sightline is blocked by a rise in the elevation.

Facing SW, the sightline extends for c. 8.2km to a point, SE741719, at which the 1<sup>st</sup> edition OS map shows a line of tumuli. Looking W, the sightline extends for a short distance where it is blocked by a rise in the elevation. Turning NW, the sightline terminates c. 18.5km distant at a point, SE633907, with an elevation of 288m where there is a stone carin.

Looking N, the sightline terminates at a point, SE783889, c. 9.7km distant where the 1<sup>st</sup> edition OS map show a tumuli. Facing NE, the sightline extends for c. 9.5, SE820880, where the OS map shows a number of tumulus.

**Kirkbymoorside:**

The vista sample for Kirkbymoorside was conducted from All Saints churchyard. Looking E, the sightline is severely truncated by a rise in elevation of the landscape. Turning SE, the sightline extends for c. 27km to a point, SE835635, near Wharram Percy farm where the 1<sup>st</sup> edition OS shows a number of tumuli. (Wolds Way) Facing S, the sightline c. 13.5km to a point, SE697733, where the OS map shows the presence of earthworks, and tumuli.

Turning SW, the sightline extends for c. 15km at a point, SE612742, where the 1<sup>st</sup> edition OS map shows a number of tumuli. Looking W, the sightline extends for a short distance, c. .5km, where it is interrupted by a rise in the topography. Facing NW, the sightline is blocked by a rise in elevation. Turning NE, the sightline is again interrupted after a very short distance.

**Kirkdale:**

The vista sample for Kirkdale was taken from the churchyard of St Gregory's. Looking E, the sightline extends for c. 19.4km where it terminates at SE870856. Turning to the SE, the sightline extends to a point, SE838635, near Wharram Percy farm where the 1<sup>st</sup> edition OS map shows the presence of tumuli and a nearby earthwork(?). Facing S, the sightline extends for c. 8km to a point, SE669783, where the Northallerton SMR cites the presence of a round barrow.

Turning to the SW, the sightline extends for c. 13km to a point, SE614741, where the Northallerton SMR, and the 1<sup>st</sup> edition OS map note the presence of a number of round barrows. Facing W, the sightline is truncated by the sweeping rise in the elevation. Looking NW, the sightline extends for c. 1-1.5km. Turning N, the sightline is truncated at less than 2km. Facing NE, the sightline extends for only .5km before being truncated by the hill that sweeps steeply up from the stream that forms a semicircle around the site.

**Middleton:**

The vista sample for Middleton was conducted from the St Andrews churchyard. Facing E, the sightline extends for only c. 1km where it is obstructed by a steep rise in the elevation. Looking SE, the sightline extends for c. 16.5km to SE858709 where the 1:25,000 OS map shows the Wolds Way, a number of tumuli, and at least one earthwork. Turning S, the sightline extends for less than 2km before it is interrupted by a slight rise in the elevation.

Facing SW the sightline extends c. 15km to SE696737, near Slingsby Bank where the 1:25, 000 OS map shows a number of tumuli and an earthwork. Looking W, the sightline extends for c. 2.5km where it is truncated by a sharpish rise in the elevation. Turning NW, the sightline extends for just over 1km.

Looking N and NE, the sightline is severely limited by a rise in elevation.

**Sinnington:**

The Sinnington vista sample was conducted from the All Saints churchyard. Looking E sightline is truncated at c. .75km where it is interrupted by a sharp rise in the landscape.

Facing SE the sightline is again interrupted within 1km. Turning S, the sightline extends for 14km and terminates at SE741718 where the 1:25,000 OS map shows a number of tumuli. The sightline also includes the village of Amotherby and a section of the Roman road that runs along the Sern rim of the vale of Pickering.

Facing SW, the sightline extends for c. 14km where it terminates at a point, SE678735, where the 1:25,000 OS map shows a number of tumuli, earthworks, and track-ways. Looking W the sightline is truncated c. 1.5km due to a sharp rise in the elevation. Turning NW, the sightline is severely limited. Facing N, the sightline is again limited to less than 1.5km. Turning NE the sightline is again truncated.

#### **Stonegrave:**

The Stonegrave vista sample was conducted from the Holy Trinity churchyard. Facing E, the sightline is truncated less than 1km. Turning SE, the sightline extends c. 4.65km where it terminates, SE599750, at a point where the 1<sup>st</sup> edition OS map shows a number of tumuli. Looking S, the sightline extends c. 3km to a point, SE563747, where the 1<sup>st</sup> edition OS maps show a number of tumuli.

Turning SW, the sightline extends for c. 4km. Facing W, the sightline is truncated a short distance out. Looking NW, the sightline terminates at a point, SE545800, where the 1:25,000 OS map shows the presence of cairns and *tumuli*. Facing N, the sightline extends for c. 2.7km where it terminates. Turning NE, the sightline terminates at c. 1.5km.

#### **Period Three Vista Sample Series**

The vista sample for Period Three in the Vale of Pickering Case Study Area will be for only those sites that were not discussed during Period Two.

#### **Amotherby:**

Looking E it is possible to see c. 10km in the direction of Norton. Turning SE, the sightline is truncated a short distance out by a rise in the land. S, the line of sight is again truncated as is that for the SW.

Facing W, the Roman road and surrounding landscape would be visible for c. 2km. Turning NW, a distance of c. 20km across the vale and into the Moors can be seen. Looking N, the line of sight continues c. 20km across the vale into the moors. Facing NE, the line of sight continues beyond Ellerburn across the vale.

#### **Ellerburn:**

Looking E, the sightline is truncated after less than 1km. Facing SE, the Roman road south of the vale and the Wolds beyond were visible. Turning S, the line of sight continues across the vale and truncates at a group of barrows c. 17km out. Looking SW, the Howardian Hills, the Roman road there and a number of barrows along the ridge just above that should have been visible.

Facing W, the sightline continues towards Pickering and c. 2km beyond. Looking NW, the Moors rise up and any barrows or cairns here would have been visible. The N and NE lines of sight are truncated.

#### **Nunnington:**

The vista sample for Nunnington was conducted from the churchyard of All Saints and St James church. Looking E, the sightline extends c. 35km to a point along the northern scarps of the Wolds near Willerby Wold. Facing SE, the sightline is truncated less than 1km. Turning S, the sightline is again truncated.

Looking SW, the sightline is truncated less than 2km. Turning W the sightline extends for c. 6.5km. Facing NW, the sightline extends to SE634826 where the 1:25,000 OS map shows tumuli.

Turning N the sightline extends c. 8.5km to a point, SE666877, where the Northallerton SMR lists a round barrow. Looking NE, the sightline extends c. 9km to a point, SE698876, where the Northallerton SMR lists a round barrow.

#### **Oswaldkirk:**

The Vista Sample Series for Oswaldkirk was taken from the St Oswald churchyard. Looking E, the sightline extends for c. 2km where it is blocked by a sharp rise in the elevation. Turning SE, the sightline extends for c. 14.25km to a point, SE743718, where the 1<sup>st</sup> edition OS map lists the presence of a number of tumuli. In addition the sightline encompasses large stretches of the Roman road. Facing S, the sightline extends c. 4.5km to a point, SE615742, where the 1:25,000 OS map shows the presence of tumuli.

Looking SW, the sightline is truncated at c. 1.25km. Facing W, the sightline extends c. 1.75km along Oswaldkirk Hag, where it is interrupted. Turning NW, the sightline is truncated less than 1km. While the N, and NE sightlines are limited to less than 1km.

#### **Pickering:**

The vista sample for Pickering was conducted from the churchyard of St Peter & St Paul. Facing E, the sightline is limited by the sharp rise in elevation. Turning SE, the sightline extends to, SE902746, where the 1:25,000 OS map shows a number of earthworks, the Wolds Way, and a number of tumuli. This is also near West Heslerton. Turning S, the sightline extends c. 15.25km to a point, SE802690, where the 1<sup>st</sup> edition OS map shows a number of earthworks and tumuli.

Looking SW, the sightline is truncated c. 3.4km out by a rise in the topography. Facing W, the sightline extends c. 28km to a point, SE511836, where the 1<sup>st</sup> edition OS map shows a number of track-ways and tumuli. Turning NW, the sightline extends c. 5.6km to a point, SE774891, near Cawthorne farm and the Roman practise fields. The 1<sup>st</sup> edition OS map shows a number of tumuli.

Turning N, the sightline extends for c. 3.5km. Looking NE, the sightline is limited to less than .75km.



## Appendix 4

### Prehistoric Barrow Burials in Deira

---

Because the early medieval secondary mound burials from Deira represent a sub-set of all barrow burials, this database of all Bronze Age and Iron Age round and Square barrows is included in this thesis. The data was obtained from the Sites and Monuments Records (SMR) offices at Kingston-upon Hull and Northallerton. The database is Microsoft Access and is on the CD marked Appendix 4 located in the back cover.

## Bibliography

---

### Primary Sources:

*Bede's Letter to Egbert*: Sherley-Price, L (1990) *Bede: Ecclesiastical History of the English People*. London: The Penguin Group.

*Bernardus The Book of Sainte Foy*: Sheingorn P, Clark R L A, & Bernardus (1995) *The Book of Sainte Foy*. Middle Ages series. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

*Einhard The Life of Charlemagne*: Thorpe L (1969) *Two lives of Charlemagne by Einhard and Notker the Stammerer*. London: Penguin Classics.

*Gregory of Tours: The History of the Franks*. Thorpe, L (1974) *The History of the Franks*. London: Penguin.

*The Gododdin*: Jackson, K H (1969) *The Gododdin: The Oldest Scottish Poem*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

*Gildas: The ruin of Britain and other works*: Winterbottom, M (1978) *The ruin of Britain and other works*. London: Philimore.

*Nennius: Historia Brittonum*: Giles, J A, Asser J, Gunn W & BERTRAM, C (1848) *Six old English chronicles*. London: H G Bohn.

*Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*: Shirley-Price, L (1990). *Bede Ecclesiastical History of the English People*. London: Penguin.

*The seven books of history against the pagans; the apology of Paulus Orosius*: Raymond, I W (1936a) *The seven books of history against the pagans; the apology of Paulus Orosius*. Records of civilization, sources and studies, no. XXVI. New York: Columbia University Press.

### Secondary Sources:

Abels, R (1983) 'The Council of Whitby: A Study in Early Anglo-Saxon Politics', *The Journal of British Studies*, 23 (1), 1-25.

\_\_\_\_\_. (1988) *Lordship and Military Obligation in Anglo-Saxon England*. Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Åberg, N (1926) *The Anglo-Saxons in England during the Early Centuries after the Invasion*. Uppsala

Albano, R A (1994) 'The role of women in Anglo-Saxon culture: Hildeburh in Beowulf and a curious counterpart in the Volsunga saga', *English Language Notes*, 32 (September), 1-10.

Albertson, C (ed) (1967) *Anglo-Saxon Saints and Heroes*. New York: Fordham University Press.

Amory, P (1993) 'The meaning and purpose of ethnic terminology in the Burgundian laws', *Early Medieval Europe*, 1, 1-28.

\_\_\_\_\_. (1994) 'Names, ethnic identity and community in Fifth - and Sixth - century Burgundy', *Viator*, 25, 1-30.

Anderson, O S (1934) *The English Hundred-Names*. Lund: Lunds Universitets Arsskrift.

Anon. nd. (1839) *Gentleman's Magazine*, 11, 410.

\_\_\_\_\_. (1852) *Archaeologia*, 34, 251-56.

\_\_\_\_\_. (1868) *Aimanderby Gentlemans Magazine*, I, 83.

\_\_\_\_\_. (1870) *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, I, 171-181.

\_\_\_\_\_. (1887) G M Library Roman Remains, Vol.II, 362.

\_\_\_\_\_. (1891) *York Museum Handbook*, 210.

\_\_\_\_\_. (1892) *Bulmer's Topography, History and Directory (Private & Commercial) of East Yorkshire*. London: Bulmer.

\_\_\_\_\_. (1904) *The Antiquary: a magazine devoted to the study of the past*, 40, 322-323.

\_\_\_\_\_. (1906) *Hull Museum Publications* 33.

\_\_\_\_\_. (1918) *Trans Hull Scientific and Field Naturalists Club*, 4, 313-14.

\_\_\_\_\_. (1939) *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, 34, 44-47.

anon. nd. (1988) 'Bowl Barrows', English Heritage Monument Protection Programme, Monument Class Description, <http://www.eng-h.gov.uk/mpp/mcd/bb.htm>. Page consulted 27 June 2007.

anon. nd. (1989) 'Bell Barrows', English Heritage Monument Protection Programme, Monument Class Description, <http://www.eng-h.gov.uk/mpp/mcd/bell.htm>. Page consulted 27 June 2007.

anon. nd. (1989) 'Round Barrow Cemeteries', English Heritage Monument Protection Programme, Monument Class Description, <http://www.eng-h.gov.uk/mpp/mcd/rbc.htm>. Page consulted 27 June 2007.

anon. nd. (1989) 'Square Barrows', English Heritage Monument Protection Programme, Monument Class Description, <http://www.eng-h.gov.uk/mpp/mcd/sb.htm>. Page consulted 27 June 2007.

\_\_\_\_\_. *The Driffield Times* (21 September 2005) Digging up Roman Driffield on a housing site.

\_\_\_\_\_. (2007) 'A64 York to Scarborough – Dualling: Stage 1 Environmental Impact Assessment' The Highways Agency  
<http://www.highways.gov.uk/roads/projects/7500.aspx>. Page consulted 18 May 2007).

\_\_\_\_\_. (2007) 'Howardian Hills National Mapping Programme, English Heritage'  
<http://www.english-heritage.org.uk/server/show/nav.001002003004002001003>. Page consulted 15 July 2007.

\_\_\_\_\_. (2007) Howardian Hills, English Heritage National Mapping Programme  
<http://www.english-heritage.org.uk/server/show/nav.8779>. Page consulted 15 May 2007.

\_\_\_\_\_. (2007) 'Landscape Research Centre, Landscape Zones'  
[http://www.landscape-research-centre.org/Project%20HPP/HPP\\_zones.htm](http://www.landscape-research-centre.org/Project%20HPP/HPP_zones.htm). Page consulted 16 May 2007.

\_\_\_\_\_. (2007) 'Sutton Bank Hill Fort' <http://www.english-heritage.org.uk/server/show/conWebDoc.3986>. Page consulted 14 July 2007.

\_\_\_\_\_. (2007) 'York Archaeological Trust, Alluvial Archaeology in the Vale of York, Archaeology in the Vale of York' <http://www.iadb.co.uk/valeofyork/archaeology.htm>. Page consulted 19 May 2007.

Arnold, C J (1979) 'Wealth and Social Structure: A Matter of Life and Death', in P Rahtz (ed), *Anglo-Saxon Cemeteries 1979*, 81-142. British Archaeological Reports British Series 82. Oxford: British Archaeological Reports.

\_\_\_\_\_. (1988[1997]) *An Archaeology of the Early Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition. London: Routledge.

Bailey, R. (1978) 'The Chronology of Viking-Age Sculpture in Northumbria', in J Lang (ed) *Anglo-Saxon and Viking Age Sculpture and its Context*, 173-203. British Archaeological Reports British Series 49. Oxford: British Archaeological Reports.

\_\_\_\_\_. (1980) *Viking Age Sculpture in Northern England*. London: Collins.

Bailey, R N (1984) 'Irish Sea contacts in the Viking period – the sculptural evidence', in G F Jensen and N Lund (eds), *Tredie Tvaerfaglige Vikingesymposium*, 6-36. Højbjerg: Forlaget hikuin og Afdeling for middelalder-arkaeologi.

Bailey, R N and Cramp, R J (1988) *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, II, Cumberland, Westmoreland and Lancashire North-of-the-Sands*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Baldwin Brown, G (1915) *The Arts in Early England, Volume IV: Saxon decorative art of the pagan period*. London: John Murray.

Balter, M (2005) 'Deviant' Burials Reveal Death on the Fringe in Ancient Societies', *Science*, 310, (5748) 613.

Barrett, J.C. (1988) 'Fields of Discourse: Reconstituting a Social Archaeology', *Critique of Anthropology*, 7, (3) 5-16.

Barrett, J. C. (1990), 'The Monumentality of Death: The Character of Early Bronze Age Mortuary Mounds in Southern Britain', *World Archaeology*, 22, (2) 179-89.

Barrow, J S (2000) 'Survival and mutation: ecclesiastical institutions in the Danelaw in the ninth and tenth centuries', in D M Hadley and J D Richards (eds), *Cultures in Contact: Scandinavian Settlement in England in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries*, 155-176. Turnhout: Brepols.

Barthes, R (1972) *Mythologies*. London: Cape.

Barthes, R (1977) *Image-Music-Text*. London: Fontana.

Bartlett, J E (1968) *A pig of lead and some other finds from Broomfleet, East Yorks*, Kingston-upon-Hull: Hull Museum Bulletin.

Bartlett, J E and Mackey, R W (1972) 'Excavations at Walkington Wold: 1967-1969', *East Riding Archaeologist*, 1, (2) 1-93.

Bateman, T (1861 [1978]) *Ten Year's Diggings in the Celtic and Saxon Grave Hills*. Hartington, Buxton, Derbys,: Moorlad Publishing Company.

Bayley, J (1992) *The small finds: Anglo-Scandinavian non-ferrous metalworking from 16-22 Coppergate*. Archaeology of York, vol. 17 fasc. 7. London: Published for the York Archaeological Trust by the Council for British Archaeology.

\_\_\_\_\_. (2002) 'Non-Ferrous Metalworking in Roman Yorkshire', in P Wilson and J Price (eds), *Aspects of industry in Roman Yorkshire and the North*, 101-108. Oxford: Oxbow Books.

Bell, C (1992) *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practise*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bender, B (1992a) 'Theorising landscapes, and the prehistoric landscapes of Stonehenge', in *Man*, 27, 735-55.

\_\_\_\_\_. (1998) *Stonehenge: Making Space*. London: Berg.

Benson D and Miles D (1974) *The Upper Thames Valley, An Archaeological Survey of the River Gravels*. Oxford Archaeological Unit Survey 2. Oxford: Oxford Archaeological Unit.

Beresford, M, and Hurst, J (1991) *Wharram Percy -- Deserted Medieval Village*. New York: Yale University Press.

Biggs F M, Hill T D and Szarmach P E (2001) *Sources of Anglo-Saxon Literary Culture: Volume 1*. Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications.

Binford, L (1965) 'Archaeological systematics and the study of culture process', *American Antiquity*, 31, 203-210.

\_\_\_\_\_. (1968) 'Some comments on historical versus processual archaeology', *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*, 24, 267-275.

\_\_\_\_\_. (1971) 'Mortuary practices: their study and potential', in J Brown (ed), *Approaches to the Social Dimensions of Mortuary Practices, Memoirs of the Society for American Archaeology*, 25, 6-29. Washington: Society for American Archaeology.

Blair, J (1987) 'Local Churches in the Domesday Book and Before', in JC Holt (ed), *Domesday Studies: papers read at the NOVO-centenary conference of the Royal Historical Society and the Institute of British Geographers, Westminster, 1986*, 265-278. Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell & Brewer.

\_\_\_\_\_. (1988) 'Minster Churches in the Landscape' in D Hooke (ed), *Anglo-Saxon Settlements*, 35-58. Oxford: Blackwell.

\_\_\_\_\_. (1995a) 'Anglo-Saxon Pagan Shrines and Their Prototypes' in D Griffiths (ed), *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History No. 8*, 1-28. Oxford: Oxbow Books.

\_\_\_\_\_. (1995b) 'Debate: Ecclesiastical organization and pastoral care in Anglo-Saxon England', *Early Medieval Europe*, 2 (4).

\_\_\_\_\_. (1996) 'Palaces or Minsters: Northampton and Cheddar Reconsidered', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 25, 97-121.

\_\_\_\_\_. (2005) *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hunter-Blair, P (1970) *The World of Bede*. New York: St. Martin's Press.

\_\_\_\_\_. (1976) *Northumbria in the days of Bede*. New York: St. Martin's Press.

Blanton R, Feinman G, Kowalski S, and Peregrine P (1996) 'A dual-processual theory for the evolution of Mesoamerican civilization', *Current Anthropology*, 37, 1-14.

Bond, J M and O'Connor, T P (1999) *Bones from medieval deposits at 16-22 Coppergate and other sites in York*. The archaeology of York, v. 15, fasc. 5. London: Published for the York Archaeological Trust by the Council for British Archaeology.

Bourdieu P (1977) *Outline of a Theory of Practice*. London: Cambridge University Press.

Bradley, R (1987) 'Time Regained: The Creation of Continuity', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, cxl, 1-17.

\_\_\_\_\_. (1991) 'Ritual, time and history', *World Archaeology*, 23(2), 209-219.

\_\_\_\_\_. (1998) *The Significance of Monuments*. London: Routledge.

\_\_\_\_\_. (2002) *The Past in Prehistoric Societies*. London and New York: Routledge.

Brewster, T C M (1969) 'Cowlam, Kemp Howe', *Medieval Archaeology*, 13, 241.

Brown, G B (1915) *The Arts in Early England - Saxon Art and Industry in the Pagan Period*. Vol. III. London.

\_\_\_\_\_. (1937) *Anglo-Saxon Sculpture. The Arts in Early England, VI, ii*. London: John Murray

Brown, P (1997) *The Rise of Western Christendom*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Brown, R H (1998) *Toward a Democratic Science: Scientific Narration and Civic Communication*. New York: Yale University Press.

Brush, K (1988) 'Gender and mortuary analysis in pagan Anglo-Saxon archaeology', *Archaeological Review From Cambridge*, 7(1), 76-89.

Buckberry, J L and Hadley, D M (2007) 'An Anglo-Saxon Execution Cemetery at Walkington Wold, Yorkshire', *Oxford Journal of Archaeology*, 26 (3), 309-329.

Burnett A M (1984) *Coin Hoards from Roman Britain Volume 5*. British Museum Occasional Paper 54, 116-118. London: British Museum Publications.

Cambridge, E. (1984) 'The early church in county Durham: a reassessment', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 137, 65-85.

Camden, W (1789) *Britannia* (Gough Edition), vol III, 85.

Campana, S and Forte, M (2001) 'Remote Sensing in Archaeology', *XI International School in Archaeology* (Certosa di Pontignano, 6-11 December 1999), Firenze.

Carneiro, R (1967) *The Evolution of Society*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

\_\_\_\_\_. (1970) 'A theory of the origin of the state', *Science*, 169, 733-738.

\_\_\_\_\_. (1981) 'The chiefdom as precursor of the state' in G Jones and R Kautz (eds), *The transition to statehood in the new world*, 37-79. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Carroll A K, Zedeno M N, and Stolffe R W (2004) 'Landscapes of the Ghost Dance: A Cartography of Numic Ritual', *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory*, 11 (2), 127-156.

Carver, Martin (1989) 'Kingship and material culture in early Anglo-Saxon East Anglia', in S Bassett (ed), *The Origins of Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms*, 141-158. Leicester: Leicester University Press.

\_\_\_\_\_. (1992) 'Preface', in M Carver (ed), *The Age of Sutton Hoo: the seventh century in North-Western Europe*. Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell & Brewer.

\_\_\_\_\_. (1993) *Arguments in Stone: archaeological research and the European town in the first millennium AD*. Oxbow Monograph 29, Oxford: Oxbow.

\_\_\_\_\_. (1995) 'From Roman Fortress to Norman Cathedral: Excavations at York Minster I' in A D Phillips, B Heywood and M O H Carver (eds), *From Roman Fortress to Norman Cathedral: Excavations at York Minster I*, 177-195. London: RCHME.

\_\_\_\_\_. (1998) *Sutton Hoo: Burial Ground of Kings?*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

\_\_\_\_\_. (1999) 'Exploring, Explaining, Imagining' in C Karkov (ed), *The Archaeology of Anglo-Saxon England: basic readings*, 25-52. London: Garland.

\_\_\_\_\_. (2001) 'Why That? Why There? Why Then? The Politics of Early Medieval Monumentality' in H Hamerow and A Macgregor (eds), *Image and Power in the Archaeology of Early Medieval Britain: Essays in honour of Rosemary Cramp*, 1-22. Oxford: Oxbow Books.

\_\_\_\_\_. (2002) 'Reflections on the meaning of Anglo-Saxon barrows' in S Lucy and A Reynolds (eds), *Burial in Early Medieval England and Wales*, 132-143. Leeds: The Society for Medieval Archaeology.

\_\_\_\_\_. (2003) 'Introduction: Northern Europeans Negotiate their Future', in M Carver (ed), *The Cross Goes North: Processes of Conversion in Northern Europe, AD 300-1300*, 3-13. York: York Medieval Press.

\_\_\_\_\_. (2005) 'Sculpture in action : contexts for stone carving on the Tarbat peninsula, Easter Ross'. In Foster, Sally M.; Cross, Morag (eds), *Able minds and practised hands: Scotland's early medieval sculpture in the 21st century*, 13-36. The Society for Medieval Archaeology Monograph, 23. Leeds: Society for Medieval Archaeology.

\_\_\_\_\_. (forthcoming) 'Intellectual Communities in Northumbria', in S Turner (ed), *Early Northumbria*.

Carter A (1994) *Howardian Hills Project*. London: RCHME.

Catholic University of America (1967) *New Catholic encyclopaedia*. New York, McGraw-Hill.

Chapman, H P (2003) 'Rudston 'Cursus A' – Engaging with a Neolithic Monument in its Landscape Setting Using GIS', *Oxford Journal of Archaeology*, 22, (4) 345-356

Chapman, HP and Chapman P R (2005) 'Seascapes and Landscapes—the Siting of the Ferriby Boat Finds in the Context of Prehistoric Pilotage', *International Journal of Nautical Archaeology*, 34, (1) 43–50

Chapman R and Randsborg, K (1980) 'Approaches to the Archaeology of Death' in R Chapman, I Kinnes and K Randsborg (eds), *The Archaeology of Death*, 1-24. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Cherry, B (1976) 'Ecclesiastical Architecture', in D Wilson (ed), *The Archaeology of Anglo-Saxon England*, 151-200. Cambridge: Methuen.

Cherry, J F (1986) 'Polities and Palaces: Some Problems in Minoan State Formation', in C Renfrew and J F Cherry (eds.), *Peer Polity Interaction and Socio-Political Change*, 19-45. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Clapham A W (1930) *English Romanesque Architecture before the Conquest*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.



- Clark, C J D (1954) *Excavations at Starr Carr*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Clarke, D L (1968) *Analytical archaeology*. Methuen: London.
- Clarke, D L (1972) 'A provisional model of an Iron Age society and its settlement system', in D L Clarke (ed), *Models in archaeology*, 801-869. London: Methuen.
- Clark, G. (1990) *Beowulf*. Boston: Twayne Publishers.
- Coates, J (2005) 'The Bronze Age Ferriby Boats: Seagoing Ships or Estuary Ferry Boats?', *The International Journal of Nautical Archaeology* 34 (1), 38-42
- Collingwood, W G (1907) 'Anglian and Anglo-Danish sculpture in the North Riding of Yorkshire', *Yorkshire Archaeology Journal*, XIX, 266-413
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1911) 'Anglian and Anglo-Danish sculpture in the East Riding, with addenda to the North Riding', *Yorkshire Archaeology Journal*, XIX, 254-302
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1927) *Northumbrian Crosses of the Pre-Norman Age*. London: Faber.
- Congreve AL (1937) *A Roman and Saxon site at Elmswell, East Yorkshire*. Hull: Hull Museum Publications.
- Congreve, A. L. (1938) *A Roman and Saxon Site at Elmswell, East Yorkshire*. Hull Museums Publications No. 193. Kingston upon Hull: Hull Museum Publications.
- Corder, P (1928) *The Roman Pottery at Crambeck, Castle Howard*. Leeds: The Roman Antiquaries Committee of the Yorkshire Archaeological Society.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1930) 'The Roman Pottery at Throlam, Holm-on-Spalding Moor, East Yorkshire', *Hull: Roman Malton and District Report* 3. Hull
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1934) 'Excavations at Brough-on-Humber - Second Interim Report', *East Riding Archaeological Journal*.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1940) *Excavations at Elmswell, East Yorkshire, 1938. (Roman)*. Hull Museum Publication No. 207. Kingston upon Hull: Hull Museum Publications.
- Corder, P. and I. A. Richmond (1938) *Excavations at Brough-Petruria*. Kingston upon Hull: 5th Interim Report.
- Corder, P. and I. A. Richmond (1942) 'Petruria', *Journal of British Archaeological Association*, 3rd series (7), 1-30.
- Cramp, R (1965) *Durham Cathedral: a short guide to the Pre-Conquest sculptured stones in the Dormitory*. privately printed, Durham.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1970) *Early Northumbrian sculpture*. Jarrow lecture, 1965. Jarrow on Tyne (Co. Durham): Rev. H. Saxby.

\_\_\_\_\_. (1977) 'Northumbrian Sculpture', in R Cramp and J Lang (eds), *A Century Of Anglo-Saxon Sculpture*. Newcastle upon Tyne: Frank Graham.

\_\_\_\_\_. (1982) 'The Viking Image', in R T Ferrell (ed), *The Vikings*, 8-19. Chichester: Phillimore.

\_\_\_\_\_. (1983) 'Anglo-Saxon Settlement', in G Jobey, J C Chapman and H Mytum (eds), *Settlement in North Britain 1000BC – AD1000 papers presented to George Jobey, Newcastle upon Tyne, December 1982*, 263-297. British Archaeological Reports British Series 118. Oxford: British Archaeological Reports

\_\_\_\_\_. (1984) *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, I: County Durham and Northumberland*. Oxford: Published for the British Academy by the Oxford University Press.

\_\_\_\_\_. (1999) 'Monkwearmouth and Jarrow in their Continental Context', in C Karkov (ed), *The Archaeology of Anglo-Saxon England: Basic Readings*, 137-154. New York: Garland Publishing.

Cramp, R. J., and J. T. Lang (1977) *A Century of Anglo-Saxon Sculpture (A Catalogue of an Exhibition held in the Durham Light Infantry Museum and Arts Centre, Durham, and at the Moot Hall Gallery, Hexham)*. Newcastle upon Tyne: Frank Graham.

Cunliffe B (2004) *Iron Age Communities in Britain: An Account of England, Scotland and Wales from the Seventh Century BC until the Roman Conquest*. New York: Routledge

Cusick, J G (1998) *Studies in Culture Contact: Interaction, Culture Change, and Archaeology*. Carbondale: Center for Archaeological Investigations, Southern Illinois University.

Daniels, R (1988) 'The Anglo-Saxon Monastery at Church Close, Hartlepool, Cleveland', *The Archaeological Journal*, 145, 158-210.

Dark, K (1994) *Civitas to Kingdom: British Political Continuity 300-80*. London: Leicester University Press.

\_\_\_\_\_. (2004) *Britain and the end of the Roman Empire*. Stroud: Tempus.

Deetz, James (1996) *In Small Things Forgotten: an Archaeology of Early American Life*. New York: Bantam Doubleday Dell Publishing Group Inc.

DeMarrias E, Castillo L J, and Earle T (1996) 'Ideology, Materialization, and Power Strategies', *Current Anthropology*, 37 (1), 15-31.

Dent, J. S. (1983) 'The impact of Roman rule on native society in the territory of the Parisi', *Britannia*, 14, 35-44

\_\_\_\_\_. (1984) 'Skerne', *Current Archaeology*, 91, 251-253.

\_\_\_\_\_. (1985) 'Three cart burials from Wetwang, East Yorkshire', *Antiquity*, 59, 85-92.

\_\_\_\_\_. (1988) 'Roman Religious Remains from Elmswell' in J Price, P R Wilson C S Briggs and S J Hardman (eds), *Recent Research in Roman Yorkshire: Studies in Honour of Mary Kitson Clark*, 89-97. British Archaeological Reports British Series 193. Oxford: British Archaeological Reports.

\_\_\_\_\_. (1989) 'Settlements at North Cave and Brantingham' in P Halkon (ed), *New Light on the Parisi: Recent discoveries in Iron Age and Roman East Yorkshire*, 26-32. Hull: University of Hull.

Didsbury, P (1988) 'Evidence for Romano-British settlement in the Lower Hull Valley' in J Price, P R Wilson with C S Briggs and S J Hardman (eds), *Recent Research in Roman Yorkshire: Studies in Honour of Mary Kitson Clark*, 21-35. British Archaeological Reports British Series 193. Oxford: British Archaeological Reports.

\_\_\_\_\_. (1989) 'Exploitation of the Lower Hull Valley in the Roman Period' in S Ellis and D R Crowther (eds), *Humber perspectives: a region through the ages*, 199-210. Hull: Hull University Press.

Dobbs, E. V. K. (1942) *The Anglo-Saxon minor poems*. The Anglo-Saxon poetic records, a collective edition. VI. New York: Columbia University Press.

Dobson, L (2005) 'Time, Space and Political Communities: transportation and travel routes in early medieval Northeast England', *Heroic Age*, 8 (June 2005) <http://www.heroicage.org/issues/8/dobson.html>. Page consulted 1 July 2005.

Drennan, R (1991) 'Pre-Hispanic chiefdom trajectories in Meso-America, Central America, and northern South America', in T Earle (ed), *Chiefdoms: power, economy, and ideology*, 263-287. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Duffy, E (1992) *The Stripping of the Altars : Traditional Religion in England, 1400-1580*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Dumville, D (1989) 'The Origins of Northumbria: Some Aspects of the British Background', in S Bassett (ed), *The Origins of Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms*, 213-221. Leicester: Leicester University Press

Durkheim, E (1965) *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*. New York: The Free Press.

Eagles, B.N. (1979) *The Anglo-Saxon settlements of Humberside*. British Archaeological Reports British Series 68. Oxford: British Archaeological Reports.

Earle, T (ed) (1991) *Chiefdoms: power, economy, and ideology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

\_\_\_\_\_. (1997) *How Chiefs Came to Power: The Political Economy in Prehistory*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

\_\_\_\_\_. (2002) *Bronze Age Economics: The Beginnings of Political Economies*. Cambridge USA: Westview Press.

- Eddy, M R (1983) 'A Roman settlement and early medieval motte at Moot Hill, Great Driffield, North Humberside' *East Riding Archaeologist*, 17, 40-51
- Elgee, F (1930) *Early Man in NE Yorkshire*. Gloucester.
- Elgee, F and Elgee, H W (1933) *The Archaeology of Yorkshire*. London: Methuen.
- Ellis, Stephen (2000) 'Physical Background to the Hull Valley', in R Van de Noort and S Ellis (eds), *Wetland Heritage of the Hull Valley*. Hull: Humber Wetlands Project, Centre for Wetland Archaeology, The University of Hull.
- Elton, G R (1953) *Tudor Revolution in Government*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Evans, D H and Steedman, K (1997) 'Recent archaeological work in the East Riding', *East Riding Archaeology*, 9, 116-171
- Evans, J G (1989) 'Crambeck; The Development of a Major Northern Pottery Industry', in P R Wilson (ed), *Crambeck Roman Pottery Industry*, 43-90. Leeds: Roman Antiquities Section, Yorkshire Archaeological Society.
- Evans, J G and Dimbleby, G W (1976) 'Appendix 1: The pre-barrow environment', in T G Manby (ed), *The excavation of the Kilham Long Barrow, East Riding of Yorkshire*, 150-156. London: Proc. Prehistory Society.
- Everson, P and Stocker, D A (1999) *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Sculpture, Volume V Lincolnshire*. Oxford: Published for the British Academy by the Oxford University Press.
- Faull, M L (1974) 'Roman and Anglian settlement patterns in Yorkshire', *Northern History*, IX, 1-25
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1976) 'The location and relationship of the Sancton Anglo-Saxon cemeteries', *Antiq Journ*, 56, 227-233
- Fenton-Thomas, C (2005) *The Forgotten Landscapes of the Yorkshire Wolds*. Stroud, Gloucestershire: Tempus Publishing Ltd
- Fenwick H, Thomas G, and Van de Noort R, with a contribution by Neave S, and Miller K (2000) 'Introduction to the Archaeological Survey', in R Van de Noort and S Ellis (eds), *Wetland Heritage of the Hull Valley*, 1-8. Hull: Humber Wetlands Project, Centre for Wetland Archaeology, The University of Hull.
- Filmer-Sankey, W (1992) 'Snape Anglo-Saxon Cemetery: The Current State of Knowledge', in M Carver (ed), *The Age of Sutton Hoo: the seventh century in North-Western Europe*, 39-51. Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell & Brewer.
- Fleming A (1999) 'Phenomenology and the megaliths of Wales: a dreaming too far?', *Oxford Journal of Archaeology*, 18 (2), 119-126
- \_\_\_\_\_. (2005) 'Megaliths and post-modernism: the case of Wales', *Antiquity* 79, 921-932

- \_\_\_\_\_. (2006) 'Post-processual Landscape Archaeology: a Critique', *Cambridge Archaeological Journal*, 16, 267-280
- Fletcher, R (1999) *The Barbarian Conversion: From Paganism to Christianity*. Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Forster B, Robson B and Deadman J (1993) *Ripon Cathedral: its history and architecture*. York: W. Sessions
- Fotidas, M (1994) 'What Is Archaeology's "Mitigated Objectivism" Mitigated by? Comments on Wylie Journal article by Michael Fotiadis', *American Antiquity*, 59(3), 545-555.
- Foucault, M (1972) *The Archaeology of Knowledge*. London: Routledge.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1977). *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. London: Penguin.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1978) 'Politics and the study of discourse', *Ideology and Consciousness*, 3, 7-26.
- Frank, G (1888) *Ryedale and North Yorkshire Antiquities*. York.
- Freeman, E A (1974) *The history of the Norman conquest of England*. Chicago, University of Chicago Press.
- Frere, S S (1985) 'Roman Britain in 1984: sites explored', *Britannia*, 16, 252-316.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1986) 'Roman Britain in 1985: sites explored', *Britannia*, 17, 364-427.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1987) 'Roman Britain in 1986: sites explored', *Britannia*, 18, 302-359.
- Frere S S, Hassall M W C and Tomlin R S O (1987) 'Roman Britain in 1986: sites explored', *Britannia*, 18, 322.
- Garside-Neville, S (1994) *Howardian Hills Project*. RCHME and the North Yorkshire County Council.
- Geake, H (1997) *The Use of Grave-Goods in Conversion Period England c. 600-c. 850*. British Archaeological Reports British Series 261. Oxford: British Archaeological Reports.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (2002) 'Persistent problems in the study of Conversion-period burials in England', in S Lucy and A Reynolds (eds), *Burial in Early Medieval England and Wales*, 144-155. Leeds: Society for Medieval Archaeology.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (2003) 'The Control of Burial Practice in middle Anglo-Saxon England', in M Carver (ed), *The Cross Goes North: Processes of Conversion in Northern Europe, AD 300-1300*, 259-270. York: York Medieval Press.
- Geary, P (1983) 'Ethnic identity as a situational construct in the early middle ages', *Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien*, 113, 15-26.

\_\_\_\_\_. (2002) *The Myth of Nations: The Medieval Origins of Europe*. Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press.

Gelling, M (1984) *Place-Names in the Landscape: the geographical roots of Britain's place-names*. London: Dent.

Gelling, M and Cole, A (2000[2003]) *The Landscape of Place-Names*. Donnington, Lincolnshire: Shaun Tyas.

Giddens, A (1979) *Central Problems in Social Theory: Action, Structure and Contradiction in Social Analysis*. London: Macmillan

\_\_\_\_\_. (1984) *The Constitution of Society*. Cambridge: Polity Press

\_\_\_\_\_. (1985) *A Contemporary Critique of Historical Materialism*. London: Macmillan.

Gittos, H. (2002) 'Creating the Sacred: Anglo-Saxon Rites for Consecrating Cemeteries', in S Lucy and A Reynolds (eds) *Burial in Early Medieval England and Wales*, 195-208. Leeds: Maney.

Glassie, H (1975) *Folk Housing in Middle Virginia*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press.

Gondek, M (2006) 'Investing in Sculpture: Power in early historic Scotland' *Medieval Archaeology* 50, 105-142.

Gosden, C (1992) 'Production Systems and the Colonization of the Western Pacific', *World Archaeology*, 24 (1), 55-69

\_\_\_\_\_. (1994) *Social being and time*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Gosden, C and Locke, G (1998) 'Prehistoric Histories', *World Archaeology*, 30 (1), 2-12

Gough (1780) *British topography*, vol II, 467

Green, K (1986) *The Archaeology of the Roman Economy*. London: B. T. Batsford Ltd.  
Greenwell, W (1865) 'Notices of examination of ancient grave-hills in the North Riding of Yorkshire', *Archaeology Journal*, xxii, 97-117 and 241-164.

Greenwell, W (1906) 'Early Iron Age burials in Yorkshire', *Archaeologia*, 60, 251-324.

Greenwell, W and Rollaston G (1877) *British Barrows*. Oxford.

Grierson, P and Blackburn M (1986) *Medieval European Coinage 1. The Early Middle Ages (5th-10th centuries)*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Griffiths, D (1996) 'The maritime economy of the Chester region in the Anglo-Saxon Period', in P Carrington (ed), *Where Deve Spreads her Wizard Stream*, 49-60. *Thard and the Port of Chester*. Chester: Chester City Council.

Hadley, D M (2000) 'Burial Practices in the Northern Danelaw, c. 650-1100', *Northern Archaeology*, 36 (2), 199-212

\_\_\_\_\_. (2002) 'Burial Practices in Northern England in the Later Anglo-Saxon Period' in S Lucy and A Reynolds (eds), *Burial in Early Medieval England and Wales*, 209-228. London: The Society for Medieval Archaeology.

Halkon, P (1992) 'Fieldwork in southern Vale of York and southern Yorkshire Wolds', *Yorkshire Archaeological Society Roman Antiques Section Bulletin* 9. Leeds: Yorkshire Archaeological Society.

\_\_\_\_\_. (1997) 'Fieldwork on early iron working sites in East Yorkshire', *Historical Metallurgy*, 31 (1), 12-16

\_\_\_\_\_. (1999) 'The Foulness Valley in the Iron Age and Roman Period', in P Halkon (ed), *Further Light on the Parisi- Recent research in Iron Age and Roman East Yorkshire*. Hull: East Riding Archaeological Society.

\_\_\_\_\_. (2003a) 'Researching an Ancient Landscape: The Foulness Valley, East Yorkshire' in T Manby, S Moorhouse and P Ottaway (eds), *The Archaeology of Yorkshire An Assessment at the Beginning of the 21st Century*, 261-274. Leeds: Yorkshire Archaeological Society.

\_\_\_\_\_. (2003b) 'The Roman pottery Industry at Holme-on-Spalding Moor, East Yorkshire', in J Price and P Wilson (eds), *Craft and Industry in Roman Yorkshire and the North*, 21-33. Oxford: Oxbow Books.

\_\_\_\_\_. (2004) 'Valley of the First Iron Masters – a case study in inclusion and interpretation', in P Frodsham (ed), *Integrating the ambiguous: archaeology and interpretation in the 21st century*, 75-83. British Archaeological Reports British Series 362. Oxford: British Archaeological Reports.

Halkon, P and Millett, M (1996) 'Fieldwork and Excavation at Hayton, East Yorkshire, 1995', *Universities of Durham and Newcastle-upon-Tyne Archaeological Reports* 19, 62-68

\_\_\_\_\_. (1999) *Rural Settlement and Industry: Studies in Iron Age and Roman Archaeology of Lowland East Yorkshire*, Vol. 4, Yorkshire Archaeological Reports. Leeds: Yorkshire Archaeological Society

Halkon P & M Millett (2000) 'The Landscape Archaeology of the Foulness Valley East Yorkshire', in J Harding and R Johnson (eds), *Northern Parts: Interpretations of the Later Prehistory of Northern England and Southern Scotland*, 81-93. British Archaeological Reports 302. Oxford: British Archaeological Reports.

Hall J R (2001) 'Josephus, Hegesippus/Pseudo-Hegesippus, and Alcimus Ecdicius Avitus' in F M Biggs, T D Hill and P E Szarmach (eds), *Sources of Anglo-Saxon Literary Culture: Volume 1*. Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications.

Hall, R A (2005) *Aspects of Anglo-Scandinavian York*. Archaeology of York, vol. AY 8/4. London: Council for British Archaeology

Halsall, G (1999) 'Reflections on early medieval violence: the example of the Blood Feud', *Memoria y Civilización*, 2, 7-29.

\_\_\_\_\_. (2003) *Warfare and Society in the Barbarian West, 450-900*. London: Routledge.

Hammerow, H (1999) *Excavations at Mucking. Vol 2: The Anglo-Saxon Settlement*. Archaeological Report 21. London: English Heritage.

\_\_\_\_\_. (2002) *Early Medieval Settlements: the Archaeology of Rural Communities in North-West Europe, 400-900*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hargrove, E. (1789) *History of Knaresborough*. London.

Härke, H. (1992) 'Changing Symbols in a Changing Society: the Anglo-Saxon weapon burial rite in the seventh century', in M Carver (ed), *The Age of Sutton Hoo: the Seventh Century in North-western Europe*, 149-166. Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell & Brewer.

\_\_\_\_\_. (1997a) 'Material Culture as Myth: Weapons in Anglo-Saxon Graves', in C Kjeld and K Hóilund Nielsen (eds), *Rituals of Power from Late Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages*, 119-127. Leiden: Brill

\_\_\_\_\_. (1997b) 'Early Anglo-Saxon Social Structure', in J Hines (ed), *The Anglo-Saxons: From the Migration Period to the Eighth Century*, 125-159. Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell & Brewer.

Harman M, Molleson T, and J L Price (1981) 'Burials, Bodies and Beheadings in Roman Britain', *Bulletin of the British Museum Department of Natural History (Geology)*, 35 (3), 145-188.

Hawkes C (1954) Archaeological Theory and Method: some suggestions from the Old World, *American Anthropologist* 56, 155-168.

Hawkes, J (1999) 'Statements in Stone: Anglo-Saxon Sculpture, Whitby and the Christianization of the North', in C Karkov (ed), *The Archaeology of Anglo-Saxon England: Basic Readings*, 403-421. London: Garland Publishing.

\_\_\_\_\_. (2003) *The Sandbach Crosses: Sign and Symbolism in Anglo-Saxon Sculpture*. London: Four Courts Press.

Hawkes J and Mills S (1999b) *Northumbria's Golden Age*. Thrupp, Stroud, Gloucester: Alan Sutton Publishing, Ltd.

Hayes, R H (1965) *The Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, 41, 325.

Hayes, R A (1983) Levisham Moor archaeological investigations 1957-1978, North York Moors National Park Committee and Scarborough Archaeological Society.

Head R, Fenwick H, Van de Noort R, Dinnan M and Lillie M, (1995) 'The meres and coastal survey', in R Van de Noort and S Ellis (eds), *Wetland Heritage of the*



*Holderness: an Archaeological Survey*, 163-240. Kingston-upon Hull: The University of Hull.

Head, R (1997) 'Flint typology', in R Van de Noort and S Ellis (eds), *Wetland heritage of the Ancholme and lower Trent valleys*, 309-314. Kingston-upon Hull: University of Hull.

Heckenberger, M J (2005) *The Ecology of Power: Culture, Place, and Personhood in the Southern Amazon, A.D. 1000-2000*. London: Routledge.

Hedeager, L (1993) 'The Creation of Germanic Identity – a European origin myth', in P Brun, S van der Leeuw and C R Whittaker (eds), *Frontières d' Empire – Nature et signification des frontières romaines*, 121-131. Nemours: Actes de la Table Ronde Internationale de Nemours 1992 – Mémoires du Musée de Préhistoire d' Île-de-France No. 5.

Heather P J (2006) *The fall of the Roman Empire: a new history of Rome and the Barbarians*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Henson, D (2006) *The origins of the Anglo-Saxons*. Hockwold-cum-Wilton, Norfolk: Anglo-Saxon Books.

Herman, R D K (1999) 'The Aloha State: Place Names and the Anti-Conquest of Hawai'i', *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 89(1), 76-102.

Higham, N J (1992) *Rome, Britain and the Anglo-Saxons*. London: Seaby.

\_\_\_\_\_. (1993) *The Kingdom of Northumbria AD 350-1100*. Dover, New Hampshire: Alan Sutton Publishing Inc.

\_\_\_\_\_. (1997a) *The Convert Kings: power and religious affiliation in early Anglo-Saxon England*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

\_\_\_\_\_. (1997b) *The Death of Anglo-Saxon England*. Stroud, Gloucestershire: Sutton Publishing.

\_\_\_\_\_. (2004) 'From sub-Roman Britain to Anglo-Saxon England: Debating the Insular Dark Ages', *History Compass*, 2, 1-29.

Hills, C (1977) *The Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Spong Hill, North Elmham Part I: Catalogue of Cremations*, East Anglian Archaeology 6. Dereham, Norfolk: Norfolk Museums Service.

Hills C (1993) *Who were the East Anglians?*, in J Gardiner and M. Atkin (eds), *Flatlands and Wetlands: Current Themes in East Anglian Archaeology*, 14-23. East Anglian Archaeology 50. Norwich: Scole Archaeological Committee for East Anglia.

Hills C (2003) *Origins of the English*. London: Duckworth

Hills, C and K Penn (1981) *The Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Spong Hill, North Elmham Part II: Catalogue of Cremations*. Dereham: East Anglian Archaeology 34

- Hines, J (1984) *The Scandinavian Character of Anglian England in the pre- Viking Period*. British Series 124. Oxford: British Archaeological Reports,
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1989) 'The Military Contexts of the Adventus Saxonum: Some Continental Evidence', in S C Hawkes (ed), *Weapons and Warfare in Anglo-Saxon England*, 25-48. Oxford: Oxford: Oxford University Committee for Archaeology.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1992) 'The Scandinavian character of Anglian England: an update', in M Carver (ed), *The Age of Sutton Hoo*, 315-330. Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell & Brewer.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1994) 'The becoming of the English: identity, material culture and language in early Anglo-Saxon England', *Anglo-Saxon Studies in History and Archaeology* 7, 49-59.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1997) *The Anglo-Saxons from the Migration Period to the Eighth Century: an ethnographic perspective*. Studies in Historical Archaeoethnography; v.2. Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell & Brewer.
- Hirst, S (1985) *An Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Sewerby, East Yorkshire*, York University Archaeological Publications No. 4. York: Department of Archaeology, The University of York.
- Hodder, I (1986) *Reading the Past*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hodder, I. (1982a) *Symbols in action*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hodson, F. R. 1977 Quantifying Hallstatt: Some Initial Results. *American Antiquity* 42:394-412.
- Hollis, S (1992) 'A beautiful friendship ruined: Bede's revisionist writing of Aelfled in the 'Life of Cuthbert'', in S Hollis (ed), *Anglo-Saxon Women and the Church Sharing a Common Fate*, . Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell & Brewer.
- Hooke, D (1998a) *Anglo-Saxon Settlements*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1998b) *The Landscape of Anglo-Saxon England*. London: Leicester University Press.
- Hope-Taylor, B (1977) *Yeaving: An Anglo-British centre of early Northumbria*. London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office.
- Hume, D (1983) *The History of England from the Invasion of Julius Caesar to the Revolution in 1688*, Foreword by William B. Todd, 6 vols. Indianapolis: Liberty Fund Accessed from <http://oll.libertyfund.org/title/695> on 2007-10-19.
- Hyams, P (2001) 'Feud and the State in Late Anglo-Saxon England', *The Journal of British Studies*, 40(1), 1-43.
- Ingold, T (2000) *The Perception of the Environment: essays on Livelihood, Perception and the Environment*. London: Routledge

\_\_\_\_\_. (2001) 'From the transmission of representations to the education of attention', in H Whitehouse (ed), *The Debated Mind: Evolutionary Psychology versus Ethnography*, 113-153. Oxford: Berg.

James, E (1989) 'The origins of barbarian kingdoms: the continental evidence' in S Bassett (ed), *The Origins of Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms*, 40-52. Leicester: Leicester University Press.

James S, Marshall A, and Millett, M (1984) 'An Early Medieval Building Tradition', *The Archaeological Journal*, 141, 182-215.

Johnson, M. (1996) *An Archaeology of Capitalism. Social Archaeology*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Johnson S, Curnow P, Charlesworth D, Pengelly H, Bayley J, Monk J and Cook A (1978) 'Excavations at Hayton Roman Fort, 1975', *Britania*, 9, 57-114.

Johnson, S (1980) *Later Roman Britain*. London: Paladian.

Kelly, I T (1939) 'Southern Paiute Shamanism', *University of California Archaeological Reports*, 2(4), 51-167.

Kendrick, T D (1938) *Anglo-Saxon Art to AD 900*. London: Methuen.

\_\_\_\_\_. (1949) *Late Saxon and Viking Art*. London: Methuen.

Keppie L J F, Cleary ASE, Hassall MWC, Tomlin RSO and Burnham BC (1999) 'Roman Britain in 1998', *Britannia*, 30, 319-386.

Kerr M, and Kerr N (1983) *Anglo-Saxon Architecture*. Aylesbury, Bucks, England: Shire Publications LTD.

Kristiansen, K (1991) 'Chieftdoms, states, and systems of social evolution', in T Earle (ed), *Chieftdoms: power, economy, and ideology*, 16-43 . Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

\_\_\_\_\_. (1998) 'Chieftdoms states and systems of social evolution', in M Rowlands and K Kristiansen (eds), *Social Transformations in Archaeology*, 243-267. London: Routledge

Laird, C (1976) *The Chemehuevis*. Banning California: Malki Museum Press.

Lang, J (1977) 'Viking Age Sculpture' in R Cramp and J Lang (eds), *A Century of Anglo-Saxon Sculpture*. Newcastle upon Tyne: Frank Graham.

\_\_\_\_\_. (1978) *Anglo-Saxon and Viking Age Sculpture and its Context*. British Archaeological Reports British Series 49. Oxford: British Archaeological Reports

\_\_\_\_\_. (1988) *Anglo-Saxon Sculpture*. London: Shire Publications Ltd.

\_\_\_\_\_. (1991) *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume III the East Riding of Yorkshire*. Oxford: Published for the British Academy by the Oxford University Press.

\_\_\_\_\_. (2001) *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VI North Yorkshire*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, for the British Academy.

Lawson A, Martin E and Priddy D (1981) *The Barrows of East Anglia*. East Anglian Archaeology Report 12. Norwich: Norfolk Museums Service.

Leahy, K (1999) 'Middle Anglo-Saxon metalwork from South Newbald and the 'productive site' phenomenon in Yorkshire' in H Geake and J Kenny (eds), *Early Deira: Archaeological Studies of the East Riding in the Fourth to Ninth Centuries*, 51-82. Oxford: Oxbow Books.

Leeds, E T (1913) *The Archaeology of Anglo-Saxon Settlements*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Leone, M (1984) 'Interpreting Ideology in Historical Archaeology: Using the rules of perspective in the William Paca Garden in Annapolis, Maryland', in D Miller and C Tilley (eds), *Ideology, Power and pre-history*, 22-35. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

\_\_\_\_\_. (1936) *Early Anglo-Saxon Art and Archaeology*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Levi-Straus, C (1963) 'Structural Analysis in Linguistics and Anthropology', in C Jacobson and B Grundfest Schoepf (eds), *Structural Anthropology*, 31-54. New York: Anchor.

Levison, W (1946) *England and the Continent in the Eighth Century*. Oxford: Oxford University Press

Liversidge J, Smith D J, Stead I M and Rigby V (1973) 'Brantingham Roman Villa: Discoveries in 1962', *Britannia*, 4, 84-106.

Llobera, M (2007) Reconstructing Visual Landscapes. *World Archaeology*, 31 (1), 51-69.

Londesborough (1852) 'An account of the opening of some tumuli in the East Riding of Yorkshire', *Archaeologia*, 34, 251-255.

Loveluck, C P (1996) 'The Development of the Anglo-Saxon Landscape, Economy and Society 'On Driffield', East Yorkshire, 450-750AD', in D Griffiths (ed), *Anglo-Saxon Studies in History and Archaeology* 9, 25-48. Oxford: Oxford University Committee for Archaeology.

\_\_\_\_\_. (1998) 'A High-Status Anglo-Saxon Settlement at Flixborough, Lincolnshire', *Antiquity*, 72, 146-161.

\_\_\_\_\_. (1999) 'Wealth, Waste and Conspicuous Consumption: Flixborough and its importance for Middle and Late Saxon rural settlement studies', in H Hamerow and A MacGregor (eds), *Image and Power in the Archaeology of Early Medieval Britain: Essays in honour of Rosemary Cramp*, 79-130. Oxford: Oxbow Books.

\_\_\_\_\_. (2003) 'The Archaeology of post-Roman Yorkshire' in S Moorhouse, P Ottaway and T Manby (eds), *The Archaeology of Yorkshire: An assessment at the beginning of the 21st century*, . Yorkshire Archaeological Society Occasional Paper No. 3. Leeds: Yorkshire Archaeological Society.

Loughlin N and Miller K (1979) *A Survey of Archaeological Sites in Humberside*. Hull: Humberside Libraries and Amenities on behalf of Humberside Joint Archaeological Committee.

Lucy, S (1998) *The Early Anglo-Saxon Cemeteries of East Yorkshire: an analysis and reinterpretation*. British Archaeological Reports British Series 272. Oxford: British Archaeological Reports.

\_\_\_\_\_. (1999) 'Changing Burial Rites in Northumbria AD 500-750', in J Hawkes and S Mills (eds), *Northumbria's Golden Age*, 12-43. Thrupp, Stroud, Gloucestershire: Sutton Publishing Limited.

\_\_\_\_\_. (2000a) *The Anglo-Saxon Way of Death*. Thrupp, Stroud, Gloucestershire: Sutton Publishing Limited.

\_\_\_\_\_. (2000b) 'Early Medieval Burials in East Yorkshire: reconsidering the evidence', in H Geake and J Kenney (eds), *Early Deira: Archaeological studies of the East Riding in the fourth to ninth centuries AD*, 11-18. Oxford: Oxbow Books.

Lucy S and Reynolds A (2002) 'Burial in Early Medieval England and Wales: Past, Present and Future', in S Lucy and A Reynolds (eds), *Burial in Early Medieval England and Wales*, 1-23. London: The Society for Medieval Archaeology.

Mackey, R (1999) 'The Welton Villa - a view of social and economic change during the Roman period in East Yorkshire', in P Halkon (ed), *Further light on the Parisi*, 21-32. Hull: East Riding Archaeological Research Trust.

\_\_\_\_\_. (2003) 'The Iron Age in the Yorkshire Region', in T G Manby, A King and B Vyner (eds), *The Archaeology of Yorkshire: An assessment at the beginning of the 21st century*. Occasional Paper No. 3. Leeds: Yorkshire Archaeological Society.

Ma, J (2003) 'Peer Polity Interaction in the Hellenistic Age', *Past and Present*, 180, 9-40.

Macnab, N (2006) 'Anglo-Scandinavian, Medieval and Post-Medieval Urban Occupation at 41-49 Walmgate, York, York Archaeological Trust: York. Page consulted 17 April 2006.  
<http://www.iadb.co.uk/wgate/main/index.htm>

Manby, T G, King A and Vyner B (2003) 'The Neolithic and Bronze Ages: a time of early agriculture', in S Moorhouse P Ottaway and T G Manby (eds), *The Archaeology of Yorkshire: An assessment at the beginning of the 21st century*, 35-114. Occasional Paper No. 3. Leeds: Yorkshire Archaeological Society.

Mann, M (1986) *Sources of Social Power*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Margary, I D (1957) *Roman Roads in Britain - Volume II*. London: Phoenix House.

- Marshall, A and Marshal G (1993) 'Differentiation, Change and Continuity in Anglo-Saxon Buildings', *Archaeological Journal*, 150, 366-402.
- Mayr-Harting, H (1972) *The Coming of Christianity to Anglo-Saxon England*. London: B. T. Batsford.
- McElvaney M (1993) Howardian Hills Area of Outstanding Natural Beauty. Historic Environment Study, North Yorkshire. Northallerton: North Yorkshire County Council.
- McGuire, T R (1983) 'Walapi', in A Ortiz (ed) *Southwest, Handbook of North American Indians 10*, 25-37. Washington DC: Smithsonian Institution Press.
- Meaney, A (1964) *Gazetteer of Early Anglo-Saxon Burial Sites*. London: Allen & Unwin.
- Meyres J N L and Southern W H (1973) *The Anglo-Saxon Cremation Cemetery at Sancton, East Yorkshire*. Hull: Hull Museum Publications.
- Middleton, R (1995) 'Landuse in Holderness', in R Van de Noort and S Ellis (eds), *Wetland Heritage of the Holderness: an Archaeological Survey*. Hull: The University of Hull.
- Miller, T (1966) 'Introduction: Geology' in B Cherry and J Narin (eds), *Yorkshire: The North Riding*. The Buildings of England. London: Penguin.
- Millett M (1979) The Dating of Farnham (Alice Holt) Pottery' *Britannia*, 10, 121-37.
- Millett M and Halkon P (1988) 'Landscape and economy: recent fieldwork and excavation around Holme-on-Spalding Moor', in J Price, P R Wilson with C S Briggs and S J Hardman (eds), *Recent Research in Roman Yorkshire: Studies in Honour of Mary Kitson Clark*, 37-47. British Archaeological Reports British Series 193. Oxford: British Archaeological Reports.
- Mills, AD (1991) *Dictionary of English Place-Names*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Morden, J (1722) *Map of Yorkshire*. London.
- Morley, S (1997) *North York Moors and Hills Natural Area Profile*. English Nature Natural Areas Report. London.
- Mortimer, J (1905) *Forty Years Researches in British and Saxon Burial Mounds of East Yorkshire*. York and Hull: A. Brown and Sons.
- Morris, R (1983) *The Church in British Archaeology*. Council for British Archaeology Research Report 47. London: Council for British Archaeology.
- Neal, D S (1996) *Excavations on the Roman villa at Beadlam, Yorkshire*. Yorkshire archaeological report, No. 2. Leeds: Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Prehistory Research Section.
- Noël Hume, I (1969) *Historical Archaeology*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.

O'Brien, E (1999) *Post-Roman to Anglo-Saxon England: Burial Practices Reviewed*. British Archaeological Reports British Series 289. Oxford: British Archaeological Reports.

Ottaway, P (1992) 'Anglo-Scandinavian Ironwork from 16-22 Coppergate', in P Ottaway (ed), *The Archaeology of York The Small Finds AY 17/06*. London: Council for British Archaeology.

\_\_\_\_\_. (2003) 'The Archaeology of the Roman Period in the Yorkshire Region: a Rapid Resource Assessment', in S Moorhouse P Ottaway and T Manby (eds), *The Archaeology of Yorkshire: An assessment at the beginning of the 21st century*. Yorkshire Archaeological Society Occasional Paper No. 3. Leeds: Yorkshire Archaeological Society.

\_\_\_\_\_. York Archaeological Trust (2004) 'Welham Bridge Logboat', [www.yorkarchaeology.co.uk/welham.htm](http://www.yorkarchaeology.co.uk/welham.htm). Page consulted 12 December 2005.

\_\_\_\_\_. York Archaeological Trust (2006) 'Melton', <http://www.yorkarchaeology.co.uk/melton.htm>. Page consulted 19 January 2006.

Page, R I (1995) 'Anglo-Saxon Paganism: the Evidence of Bede', in T Hofstra, L A J R Houwen, and A A MacDonald, (eds), *Pagans and Christians: the interplay between Christian Latin and traditional Germanic cultures in early medieval Europe : proceedings of the Second Germania Latina Conference held at the University of Groningen, May 1992*, 99-129. Groningen, E: Forsten.

Palgrave, F (1876) *History of the Anglo-Saxons*. London: W. Tegg.

Pantos, A (2004a) "'*In medle oððe an þinge*": the Old English vocabulary of assembly', in A Pantos and S Semple (eds), *Assembly Places and Practices in Medieval Europe*, 181-204. Dublin: Four Courts Press.

\_\_\_\_\_. (2004b) 'The Location and form of Anglo-Saxon assembly-places: some 'moot points'', in A Pantos and S Semple (eds), *Assembly Places and Practices in Medieval Europe*, 155-180. Dublin: Four Courts Press.

Pantos A and Semple S (2004) *Assembly Places and Practices in Medieval Europe*. Dublin: Four Courts Press.

Parker Pearson, M. (1993) *Bronze Age Britain*. Batsford and English Heritage.

\_\_\_\_\_. (1999) *The Archaeology of Death and Burial*. Sutton.

Parker Pearson M and Richards C (1994). 'Architecture and Order: Spatial Representations and Archaeology', in M Parker Pearson and C Richards (eds), *Architecture and Order: Approaches to Social Space*, 38-72. Routledge: London.

Parker Pearson M and Ramilisonina (1998) 'Stonehenge for the ancestors: the stones pass on the message', *Antiquity* 72, 308-26.

- Payne, A (1993) *Roman Villa, near Helmsley, North Yorkshire*. English Heritage Ancient Monuments Laboratory reports 2. London: English Heritage.
- Paynter S (2006) 'Regional Variations in Bloomery Smelting Slag of the Iron Age and Romano-British Periods', *Archaeometry*, 48 (2), 271–292.
- Peers, C R and Radford C A R (1943) 'The Saxon monastery at Whitby', *Archaeologia*, lxxxix, 27-88.
- Peters, F C (1999) 'Bronze Age Barrows: Factors Influencing Their Survival', *Oxford Journal of Archaeology*, 18(3), 255-264.
- Pevsner, N (1958) *Yorkshire: The North Riding*. New York: Yale University Press.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1972) *Yorkshire: York and the East Riding*. London: Penguin.
- Phillips D, Heywood B and Carver M O H (1995) *Excavations at York Minster, Vol. 1 From Roman fortress to Norman cathedral*. London: Royal Commission on Historical Monuments of England.
- Piaget, J (1970) *Structuralism*. New York: Harper & Row.
- Piaget, J (1971) *Biology and Knowledge*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Pitt-Rivers, A H L F (1880) 'Excavations of the earthwork called Danes Dyke at Flamborough in October 1879', *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, 11, 455-468.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1882) 'On Excavations in the Earthwork Called Dane's Dyke at Flamborough in October, 1879; and on the Earthworks of the Yorkshire Wolds', *The Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, 11, 455-471.
- Pohl, W (1997) 'Ethnic Names and Identities in the British Isles: A Comparative Perspective', in J Hines (ed), *The Anglo-Saxons from the Migration Period to the Eighth Century: An Ethnographic Perspective*, 7-40. Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell & Brewer.
- Powlesland, D (1987) *The Heselton Anglo-Saxon Settlement— A Guide to the Excavation of an Early Anglo-Saxon Settlement and its Cemetery*. Northallerton: North Yorkshire County Planning Department.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1997) 'Early Anglo-Saxon settlements, structures, form and layout', in J Hines (ed), *The Anglo-Saxons from the Migration Period to the Eighth Century: An Ethnographic Perspective*, 101-124. Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell & Brewer.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1999) 'The Anglo-Saxon Settlement at West Heselton, North Yorkshire', in J Hawkes & S Mills (ed), *Northumbria's Golden Age*, 55-65. Thrupp, Stroud, Gloucester: Sutton.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (2000) 'West Heselton Settlement Mobility: a case of static development' in H Geake and J Kenny (eds), *Early Deira: Archaeological studies of the East Riding in the fourth to ninth centuries AD*, 19-26. Oxford: Oxbow Books.



\_\_\_\_\_. (2001). *The Heslerton Parish Project. An Integrated multi-sensor approach to the archaeological study of Eastern Yorkshire, England*, in *Remote Sensing in Archaeology*, in S. Campana, M. Forte (eds) *Remote Sensing in Archaeology. XI International School in Archaeology* (Certosa di Pontignano, 6-11 December 1999), 233-255.

\_\_\_\_\_. (2003a) *25 Years of Archaeological Research on the Sands and Gravels of Heslerton*. London: English Heritage.

\_\_\_\_\_. (2003b) 'The Heslerton Parish Project: 20 Years of Archaeological Research in the Vale of Pickering', in S Moorhouse, P Ottaway and T Manby (eds), *The Archaeology of Yorkshire: An assessment at the beginning of the 21st century*, 275-292. Yorkshire Archaeological Society Occasional Paper No. 3. Leeds: Yorkshire Archaeological Society.

Prebisch, R (1959) 'Commercial Policy in the Underdeveloped Countries', *The American Economic Review*, 49 (2), 251-273.

Rahtz, P A (1976) 'Buildings and Rural Settlement', in D M Wilson (ed), *The Archaeology of Anglo-Saxon England*, 49-98. London: Methuen.

\_\_\_\_\_. (2000) 'Anglo-Saxon Yorkshire: current research problems' in Helen Geake and Jonathan Kenney (ed), *Early Deira: Archaeological studies in the East Riding in the fourth to ninth centuries AD*, 1-9. Oxford: Oxbow.

Rahtz P A, Anderson F W, and Hirst S M (1979) *The Saxon and medieval palaces at Cheddar: excavations, 1960-62*. British Archaeological Reports British series 65. Oxford: British Archaeological Reports.

Rahtz, PA and Watts L (2003) 'Three Ages of Conversion at Kirkdale, North Yorkshire', in M Carver (ed), *The Cross Goes North: Processes of Conversion in Northern Europe, AD 300-1300*, 289-309. York, England: York Medieval Press.

Ramm, H G (1978) *The Parisi*. London: Duckworth.

Randsborg, K (1974) 'Social stratification in Early Bronze Age Denmark: a study in the regulation of cultural systems', *Praehist Zeit*, 49, 38-61.

Randsborg, K (1975) 'Social Dimensions of Early Neolithic Denmark', *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society*, 41, 105-118.

Raymond, I W (1936b) 'Introduction and notes', *Seven Books of History Against the Pagans*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Renfrew C, and Cherry J F (1986) *Peer Polity Interaction and Socio-Political Change*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Reynolds, A J (1997) 'The Definition and Ideology of Anglo-Saxon Execution Sites and Cemeteries', in G. De Boe and F. Verhaeghe (eds), *Death and Burial in Medieval Europe*, 33-41. Papers of the Medieval Europe Brugge 1997 Conference: Volume 2. Zellik [Belgium], Instituut voor het Archeologisch Patrimonium.

\_\_\_\_\_. (1999) *Later Anglo-Saxon England: Life & Landscape*. Stroud, Gloucestershire: Tempus Publishing Ltd.

\_\_\_\_\_. (2002) 'Burials, Boundaries and Charters in Anglo-Saxon England: a reassessment', in S Lucy and A Reynolds (eds), *Burial in Early Medieval England and Wales*, 171-194. London: Society for Medieval Archaeology.

Richards, J D (1999) 'Anglo-Saxon Settlements of the Golden Age', in J Hawkes and S Mills (eds), *Northumbria's Golden Age*, 44-54. Thrupp, Stroud, Gloucestershire: Sutton Publishing Limited.

\_\_\_\_\_. (2000a) 'Anglo-Saxon Settlement and Archaeological Visibility in the Yorkshire Wolds', in H Geake and J Kenny (eds), *Early Deira: Archaeological studies of the East Riding in the fourth to ninth centuries AD*, 27-40. Oxford: Oxbow Books.

\_\_\_\_\_. (2000b) 'The Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Scandinavian evidence', in P A Stamper and R A Croft (eds), *Wharram: A Study of Settlement in the Yorkshire Wolds VIII: The South Manor Area*, vol. 10, 195-200. York: York University Archaeological Publications.

\_\_\_\_\_. (2003a) 'When does the term 'Productive' Site become Unproductive? When It's Excavated. Investigations at the Anglian and Anglo-Scandinavian Sites at Cottam, East Yorkshire', in T Pestell and K Ulmschneider (eds), *Markets in Early Medieval Europe*, 155-166. London: Windgather Press.

Richmond, I A (1926) 'The Roman Camps at Cawthorn, near Pickering', *The Yorkshire archaeological journal*, 28, 421-426.

Roberts B K and Wrathmell S (2000) *An Atlas of Rural Settlement in England*. London: English Heritage.

Robinson, J F (1978) *The Archaeology of Malton and Norton*. Leeds: Yorkshire Archaeological Society

Rollason, D (2003) *Northumbria 500-1100: Creation and Destruction of a Kingdom*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Rosenthal, J T (1985) 'A Historiographical Survey: Anglo-Saxon Kings and Kingship since World War II', *The Journal of British Studies*, 24(1), 72-93.

Rowlands M, Larsen M and Kristiansen K (1987) *Centre and Periphery in the Ancient World*. Cambridge University Press, New York.

Rowlands M and Geldhill J (1998) 'Materialism and Multilinear Evolution', in K Kristiansen and M Rowlands (eds), *Social Transformations in Archaeology: Global and Local Perspectives*. London: Routledge.

Sahlqvist, Leif (2001) 'Territorial Behaviour and Communications in a Ritual Landscape', *Geografiska Annaler*, 83 (2), 79-102.

Schortman E and Urban P (1987) 'Modeling Interregional Interaction in Prehistory', in M B Schiffer (ed), *Advances in Archaeological Method and Theory*, 37-95. New York: Academic Press.

Scott, E (1993) *A gazetteer of Roman villas in Britain*. Leicester archaeology monographs, no. 1. Leicester: Leicester University Archaeological Research Centre, School of Archaeological Studies, University of Leicester.

Semple, S (1998) 'A Fear of the Past: the Place of the Prehistoric Burial Mound in the Ideology of Middle and Later Anglo- Saxon England', *World Archaeology*, 30 (June), 109-126.

\_\_\_\_\_. (2004) 'Locations of Assembly in Early Anglo-Saxon England', in A Pantos and S Semple (eds), *Assembly Places and Practices in Medieval Europe*, 135-154. Dublin: Four Courts Press.

Shanks, M and Tilley C (1987a) *Social theory and archaeology*. Cambridge: Basil Blackwell Ltd.

\_\_\_\_\_. (1987b) *Re-constructing archaeology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

\_\_\_\_\_. (1987c) *Social theory and archaeology*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Shanks M and Hodder I (1995) 'Processual, postprocessual and interpretive archaeologies', in: I Hodder, M Shanks, A Alexandri, V Buchli, J Carman, J Last and G Lucas (eds), *Interpreting Archaeology. Finding meaning in the past*, 3-29. London: Routledge.

Shennan, S E (1975) 'The social organisation at Branc', *Antiquity*, 49, 279-288.

Shennan S J (1989) *Archaeological Approaches to Cultural Identity*. Routledge: London

Shepherd, J (1979) 'The Social Identity of the Individual in Isolated Barrow Cemeteries in Anglo-Saxon England', in B C Burnham and J Kingsbury (eds), *Space, Hierarchy and Society. Interdisciplinary Studies in Social Area Analysis*, 47-79. British Archaeological Reports International Series 59. Oxford: British Archaeological Reports.

Sheppard J A (1957) 'The Medieval Meres of Holderness', *Transactions and Papers (Institute of British Geographers)*, 23, 75-86.

Sheppard, T (1938) *Anglo-Saxon Cemeteries in East Yorkshire*. Hull Museum Publications, 195. Hull: Hull Museum Publications.

\_\_\_\_\_. (1940) 'Excavations at Eastburn, East Yorkshire', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, 39, 35-47.

Sherlock S J, and Welch, M G (1992) *An Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Norton, Cleveland*. Council for British Archaeology research report no.82. London: Council for British Archaeology.

Sidebottom, P (2000) 'Viking Age Stone Monuments and Social Identity in Derbyshire', in D Hadley and J D Richards (eds), *Cultures in Contact: Scandinavian Settlement in England in the 9th and 10th Centuries*, 213-236. London: Tumahout.

Slack, P E (1951) 'Report on a Roman villa at Brantingham, East Yorkshire', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, 37, 514-519.

Smith, R A (1912a) 'The excavation by Canon Greenwell FSA., in 1908 of an Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Uncleby, East Riding Yorkshire', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries* 24, 146-158.

Smith, R A (1912b) 'Anglo-Saxon Remains', in W Page (ed), *Victoria History of the County of Yorkshire*, vol. III, 73-109. London: Archibald Constable & Co.

Smith, W. (ed) (1881-91) *Old Yorkshire*. London.

Speake, G (1989) *A Saxon Bed Burial on Swallocliffe Down*. English Heritage Archaeological Report No. 10. London: English Heritage.

Spratt, D A (1981) 'Prehistoric boundaries on the North Yorkshire Moors', in G Barker (ed), *Prehistoric communities in northern England*, 87-103. Sheffield: University of Sheffield.

\_\_\_\_\_. (1982) *Prehistoric and Roman archaeology of northeast Yorkshire*. British Archaeological Reports British series 104. Oxford: British Archaeological Reports.

\_\_\_\_\_. (1989) *Linear earthworks of the tabular hills, northeast Yorkshire*. Sheffield: University of Sheffield.

\_\_\_\_\_. (1993) *Prehistoric and Roman Archaeology of North East Yorkshire*. CBA Research Report No. 87. York: Council for British Archaeology.

Spratt DA and Harrison B J D (1989) *The North York Moors: landscape heritage*. Newton Abbot: David & Charles.

Stead, I M (1971) 'Beadlam Roman villa: an interim report', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, 43, 178-186.

\_\_\_\_\_. (1980) *Rudston Roman Villa*. Leeds: Yorkshire Archaeology Society Monograph.

\_\_\_\_\_. (1991) *Iron Age Cemeteries in East Yorkshire*. London: English Heritage.

Stenton, F M (1971) *Anglo-Saxon England*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Steertz, C (1997) *Ancient Landscapes of the Yorkshire Wolds*. Swindon: Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England, National Monuments Record Centre.

Stocker, D (2000) 'Monuments and Merchants: Irregularities in the Distribution of Stone Sculpture in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire in the Tenth Century', in D M Hadley

and J D Richards (eds), *Cultures in Contact: Scandinavian Settlement in England in the 9th and 10th Centuries*, 179-212. Belgium: Tumhout.

Swan, V G (1984) *The pottery kilns of Roman Britain. Supplementary series 1 – 10*. London: Royal Commission on Historical Monuments of England

Swanton, M (2000[1996]) *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. New York: Phoenix Press.

Swanton, M J (1963-66) 'An Anglian cemetery at Londesborough, East Yorkshire', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, XLI, 262-286.

Swanton, M J (1974) *A Corpus of Pagan Anglo-Saxon Spear Types*. British Archaeological Reports British Series 7. Oxford: British Archaeological Reports.

Taylor H M and Taylor J S (1978) *Anglo-Saxon Architecture*. vol. I-III. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Taylor, J (1995) 'Surveying small towns: the Romano-British roadside settlement at Shiptonthorpe', in A E Brown (ed), *Roman Small Towns in Eastern England and Beyond*, 39-52. Oxbow Monograph 52. Oxford: Oxbow.

Tilley, C (1991) *Material Culture and text. The art of Ambiguity*. London: Routledge.

\_\_\_\_\_. (1993). *Interpretative Archaeology*. Oxford: Berg.

\_\_\_\_\_. (1994) (1994) *A Phenomenology of Landscape Places, Paths and Monuments*. Oxford: Berg Publishers.

\_\_\_\_\_. (1996) The powers of rocks: topography and monument construction on Bodmin Moor. *World Archaeology* 28 (2), 161-76.

\_\_\_\_\_. (2004) 'Round Barrows and dykes as landscape metaphors', *Cambridge Archaeological Journal*, 14 (2), 185-203.

Timby, J (1993) 'Sancton I: Anglo-Saxon Cemetery Excavations Carried out Between 1976 and 1980', *The Archaeological Journal*, 150, 243-265.

Trigger, B (1989) *A History of Archaeological Thought*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Tuan, Y (1975) 'Place: an Experiential Perspective', *Geographical Review*, 65(2), 151-165.

Turnbull, D (2002) 'Performance and Narrative, Bodies and Movement in the Construction of Places and Objects, Spaces and Knowledges: The Case of Maltese Megaliths', *Theory, Culture, & Society*, 19(5/6), 125-143.

Tweddle D, Moulden J and Logan E (1999) *Anglian York: A Survey of the Evidence*. AY 7/2. York: York Archaeological Trust.

Van de Noort, R and Davies P (1993) *Wetland Heritage: an archaeological assessment of the Humber Wetlands*. Hull: Humber Wetlands Project University of Hull.

Van de Noort R & S Ellis (1995) *Wetland heritage of Holderness. An archaeological survey*. Hull: Humber Wetlands Project

Van de Noort R and Ellis, S (1999) *Wetland Heritage of the Vale of York*. London: English Heritage.

Van de Noort R and Head R (2007) 'An assessment of a possible hengi-form enclosure at Easington Beach, Holderness, East Yorkshire', [http://www.english.gov.uk/archcom/projects/summaries/html98\\_9/cc2496.htm](http://www.english.gov.uk/archcom/projects/summaries/html98_9/cc2496.htm). Page consulted 19 May 2007.

Vernon R W, McDonnell G and Schmidt A (1999) 'The geophysical evaluation of an iron-working complex: Rievaulx and environs, North Yorkshire', *Archaeological Prospection*, 5 (4), 181-201.

Vyner, B E (1994) 'The territory of ritual: cross-ridge boundaries and the prehistoric landscape of the Cleveland Hills, northeast England', *Antiquity*, (68) (258), 27-39.

Wacher J (1995) *The Towns of Roman Britain*. London: BCA.

Walker, J (1838) *Society of Antiquaries of London Archaeologia: or miscellaneous tracts relating to antiquity* 27, 404

Wallace-Hadrill, J M (1975) *Early Germanic Kingship in England and on the Continent. The Ford Lectures Delivered in the University of Oxford in Hilary Term 1970*. Oxford: Clarendon

Wallerstein, I (1974a) *The Modern World System*. New York: Academic Press.

\_\_\_\_\_. (1974b) 'Dependence in an Interdependent World: The Limited Possibilities of Transformation within the Capitalist World Economy', *African Studies Review*, 17 (1), 1-26.

\_\_\_\_\_. (1979) *The Capitalist World Economy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Waterman D M (1951) 'Welburn Malton', *The Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, 37, 523.

Watts, V (2004) *The Cambridge dictionary of English place-names: based on the collections of the English Place-Name Society*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Webb, J F (1965) *Lives of the Saints*. London: Penguin.

Webster, D (1975) 'Warfare and the Evolution of the State', *American Antiquity*, 40, 464-470.

Welfare H and Swan V (1995) Roman camps in England: the field archaeology. *Roman Camps in England. The Field Archaeology*, RCHME. London: HMSO.

Webster L E and Cherry J (1976) 'Medieval Britain in 1975', *Medieval Archaeology* 20, 184.

Wenham, L P (1974) *Derventio [Malton]: Roman fort and civilian settlement*. Huddersfield: Cameo Books.

West, S E (1969) 'The Anglo-Saxon village of West Stow: an interim report on the excavations, 1965-8', *Medieval Archaeology*, 13, 1-20

West S E and Cooper V (1985) *West Stow, the Anglo-Saxon village*. Ipswich: Suffolk County Planning Dept.

Whellan T (1859) *History and Topography of the City of York & The North Riding*, 2. Beverley.

White, R H (1988) *Roman and Celtic Objects from Anglo-Saxon Graves: a catalogue of interpretation and their use*. British Archaeological Reports British Series 191. Oxford: British Archaeological Reports.

Whitelock, D (1955) *English Historical Documents I c. 500-1402*. Oxford.

Whyman, M (2005) *Archaeology and Landscape in the Vale of York*. York: York Archaeological Trust.

Whitridge, P (2004) 'Landscapes, Houses, Bodies, Things: 'Place' and the Archaeology of Inuit Imaginaries', *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory* 11(2), 213-250.

Williams, A and Martin G H (1992) *Domesday Book: A Complete Translation*. London: Penguin.

Williams, H (1997) 'Ancient Landscapes and the Dead: The Reuse of Prehistoric and Roman Monuments as Early Anglo-Saxon Burial Sites', *Medieval Archaeology*, 41, 1-32.

\_\_\_\_\_. (1998) 'Monuments and the Past in Early Anglo-Saxon England', *World Archaeology*, 30 (June), 90-108.

\_\_\_\_\_. (2005) 'Keeping the Dead at Arms Length: Memory, weaponry and early medieval mortuary technologies', *Journal of World Archaeology*, 5, 253-275.

\_\_\_\_\_. (2004) 'Death Warmed up: The Agency of Bodies and Bones in Early Anglo-Saxon Cremation Rites', *Journal of Material Culture*, 9(3), 263-291.

\_\_\_\_\_. (2006) *Death and Memory in Early Medieval Britain*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

\_\_\_\_\_. (2007) 'Depicting the Dead: Commemoration Through Cists, Cairns and Symbols in Early Medieval Britain', *Cambridge Archaeological Journal*, 17, 145-164.

Wilson, D M (1967) 'The Vikings' relationship with Christianity in northern England', *J. Brit. Archaeol. Ass.*, ser. 3 (XXX), 37-46.

Wilson, D M (1976) *The Archaeology of Anglo-Saxon England*. London: Methuen.

Wilson P and Lee G (2002). 'Cawthorn Camps 2000 An Interim Report', Helmsley Archaeological Society Ryedale Historian, 21, 30-33.

Wolf, E (1999) *Envisioning Power: Ideologies of Dominance and Crisis*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Wright, C W and Wright E V (1939) 'Submerged boat at North Ferriby', *Antiquity*, 13, 349-354.

Wright, E V (1990) *The Ferriby Boats: Sea-craft of the Bronze Age*. London: London, Routledge

Wright E V, Hedges R E M, Bayliss A and Van de Noort R (2001) 'New AMS Radiocarbon Dates for the North Ferriby Boats', *Antiquity* 75, 726-734.

Wright, R P (1940) Roman Britain in 1939: I. Sites Explored: II. Inscriptions. *The Journal of Roman Studies*, Vol. 30, 2. 155-190.

Yorke, B (1990) *Kings and Kingdoms of Early Anglo-Saxon England*. New York: Routledge.

#### Unpublished Sources:

Cambridge, E (1982) 'Carved stones in the care of the dean and chapter of Durham: the medieval and later fragments. A provisional hand-list'.

Clarke, J (2000) 'A Report on the Fabric of All Saints Church, Goodmanham East Riding', York: Field Archaeology Specialists.

Kitson-Clark, M (1935) 'A Gazetteer of Roman Remains in East Yorkshire'. Roman Malton and District Reports, No. 5. Malton.

Corder, P (1933) 'Excavations at Brough-on-Humber - First Interim Report'.

\_\_\_\_\_. (1935) *Excavations at Brough, East Yorkshire, 1934. 2<sup>nd</sup> Interim Report*. Kingston upon Hull.

Fowler, C (1992) 'In the Shadow of Fox Peak: An Ethnography of the Cattail-Eater Paiute People of Stillwater Marsh, Cultural Resource Series No. 5'. U.S. Department of Interior, Fish and wildlife Service Region 1, Stillwater National Wildlife Refuge, Fallon NE

Johnson, M. (2000) '41-49 Walmgate, York: a summary report on investigative archaeological works'. Unpublished Field Report. York: York Archaeological Trust.

Steedman J and Tibbles K (1997) *Trial Excavations at Plot 105A, Malmo Road, Kingston upon Hull*. Hull: Humber Archaeology.

#### Conference Papers:

Bailey, R (2004) 'A New Viking Age Sculpture from Wirral - and the York Connection', paper given for the University of York Jim Lang Memorial Lecture 2004.



Stoodley, N (2004) 'New Perspectives on Cemetery Relocation in the Seventh Century AD'. Paper presented at the Early Medieval Mortuary Practices: New Perspectives Conference. Exeter: University of Exeter.

**Theses and Dissertations:**

Adcock, G (1974) A study of the types of interlace on Northumbrian sculpture. Unpublished M.Phil. Thesis, University of Durham.

Atha, M (2003) Iron Age Romano-British Ladder Settlements in East Yorkshire: A review of the previous research and a reassessment of the character and distribution of such features relative to the physical environment of the region. Unpublished MA Dissertation, The University of York.

Didsbury, P (1990) Aspects of Iron Age and Romano-British settlement in the Lower Hull Valley. Unpublished M.Phil Thesis, University of Durham.

Faull, M L (1979) British Survival in Anglo-Saxon Yorkshire. Unpublished PhD Dissertation, University of Leeds.

Geake, H (1995) The Use of Grave-Goods in Conversion Period England c. 600-c. 850. Unpublished D.Phil. Thesis, The University of York.

Gittos, H (2001) Sacred space in Anglo-Saxon England liturgy, architecture and place. Unpublished Doctoral Thesis, University of Oxford.

McClain, A (2005) Power, patronage and identity: the social use of local churches and commemoration in 10th to 13th century North Yorkshire. Unpublished PhD Thesis, The University of York.

Peters, F C (1997) Barrows in the Landscape: the Relationship between Bronze Age Round Barrows and the landscape in the Stonehenge Environs, the Upper Thames Valley and Central Dorset. Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Reading.

Reynolds, A J (1998) Anglo-Saxon Laws in the Landscape: an archaeological study of the Old English judicial system. Unpublished PhD Thesis, University College London.

Sheppard, J A (1956) The Draining of the Marshlands of East Yorkshire. Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Hull.

Singer, M A (2006) Holding the Border: Power, Identity, and the conversion of Mercia. Unpublished MA Dissertation. The Graduate School, University of Missouri: Columbia