

The Stone Sculpture of Anglo-Scandinavian Yorkshire in its Landscape Context

Robert Halstead

Submitted in accordance with the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

The University of Leeds

School of Fine Art, History of Art and Cultural Studies

August 2016

The candidate confirms that the work submitted is his own and that appropriate credit has been given where reference has been made to the work of others.

This copy has been supplied on the understanding that it is copyright material and that no quotation from the thesis may be published without proper acknowledgement.

© 2016 The University of Leeds and Robert Halstead

The right of Robert Halstead to be identified as Author of this work has been asserted by him in accordance with the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

Acknowledgements

My thanks go to my supervisors, Professors Catherine Karkov and Ian Wood at the University of Leeds. I must also thank the Arts and Humanities Research Council for funding this research, and Dr Derek Craig at Durham University for kindly providing the images from the Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture. Thanks also to my family, especially Rosa.

Abstract

This thesis considers the Anglo-Scandinavian stone sculpture produced in Yorkshire in the ninth to eleventh centuries. Six sculpture-producing sites are examined in detail: York Minster, Nunburnholme, Kirkleavington, Brompton, the related sites at Otley and Weston and Leeds. The landscape setting of each site is considered, looking back to the pre-historic and Roman as well as Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Scandinavian contexts, and the sculpture analysed within this landscape setting. For a number of sites, including Nunburnholme and Leeds, this is the first sustained analysis of the sculpture with reference to its landscape setting.

This methodology leads to a number of conclusions concerning the sculptural material and how it is best studied. The importance of studying the carvings with reference to their landscape settings is demonstrated. Within this context the Anglo-Scandinavian sculpture of Yorkshire is shown to be an innovative and hybrid body of work, not merely an ephemeral and relatively minor variant of the dominant Anglian sculptural tradition. It is also demonstrated from the analysis of a number of the sites that the patrons and carvers of Anglo-Scandinavian stone sculpture were consistently using these monuments to make statements about their power in the landscape, from which the stone itself was derived. The sites and sculpture considered in this thesis also show that the region's stone sculpture was not a static body of work, but one which was repeatedly refashioned and given new meanings by successive waves of settlement and colonisation.

Table of contents

Acknowledgements.....	3
Abstract.....	4
Table of contents	5
List of illustrations.....	8
Thesis introduction	12
Historical introduction	12
The sculptural context	13
Introduction to the sculpture	15
Previous scholarship	17
Geographical scope.....	19
Terms and definitions	21
Landscape	21
Hybridity.....	22
Anglo-Scandinavian.....	23
Other terms.....	24
Methodology.....	25
The sites	25
Chapter 1: The Metropolitan Capital	29
Chapter 1 Introduction	29
Chapter 1, Part 1: York Minster	30
Introduction	30
Landscape	33
Material and Form	42
Reused Roman Stone.....	46
Hybrid Monuments	49
The Hogbacks	68
Conclusion.....	69
Chapter 1, Part 2: Nunburnholme	71
Introduction	71
Landscape	78

Material and Form	86
Face A	87
Face B.....	95
Face C.....	97
Face D	100
Conclusion	104
Chapter 1 Conclusion.....	106
Chapter 2: Northern Yorkshire	108
Chapter 2 Introduction	108
Chapter 2, Part 1: Kirkleavington	109
Introduction.....	109
Landscape	111
Material and Form.....	117
Heroic Imagery	119
Irish Influence	129
The Cross-Heads.....	133
Other Fragments.....	138
Conclusion	139
Chapter 2, Part 2: Brompton	141
Introduction.....	141
Landscape	141
Material and Form.....	146
The Hogbacks.....	146
Irish Influence	155
Anglo-Saxon Precedents.....	161
Anglo-Scandinavian Carvings.....	162
Christianity.....	163
Allertonshire	164
Conclusion	165
Chapter 2 Conclusion.....	167

Chapter 3: Western Yorkshire.....	168
Chapter 3 Introduction	168
Chapter 3, Part 1: Otley and Weston	169
Introduction	169
Landscape	170
Material and Form	176
Figural Carving.....	179
Ornamental Carving.....	186
Conclusion.....	196
Chapter 3, Part 2: The Leeds Cross	203
Introduction	203
Landscape	204
Material and Form	207
Figural Carving.....	209
Ornamental Carving.....	223
Conclusion.....	226
Chapter 3 Conclusion	229
Thesis Conclusion.....	231
Bibliography	235

List of illustrations

Figure 1. Yorkshire and the sites studied.	20
Figure 2: The Hedda stone, Peterborough. Copyright and photographer Dr Jane Hawkes.....	44
Figure 3: York Minster 36A. Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographer T. Middlemass.	48
Figure 4: York Minster 37A. Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographer T. Middlemass.	48
Figure 5: York Minster 2A. Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographer T. Middlemass.	50
Figure 6: York Minster 2C. Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographer T. Middlemass.	52
Figure 7: York Minster 3A. Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographer T. Middlemass.	53
Figure 8: York Minster 4A. Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographer T. Middlemass.	54
Figure 9: York Minster 35A. Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographer T. Middlemass.	56
Figure 10: Oseberg burial ship head. Copyright University of Oslo Museum of Cultural History, photographer O. Holst.....	56
Figure 11: York Minster 39A. Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographer T. Middlemass.....	58
Figure 11: York Minster 30A. Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographer T. Middlemass.....	60
Figure 12: York Minster 38A. Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographer T. Middlemass.....	61
Figure 13: York Minster 32A. Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographer T. Middlemass.....	61
Figure 14: York Minster 33A. Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographer T. Middlemass.....	62
Figure 15: York Minster 34A. Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographer T. Middlemass.....	63
Figure 16: York Minster 34D. Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographer T. Middlemass.....	64
Figure 17: Gosforth 1A. Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographer T. Middlemass.	65
Figure 18: Nunburnholme 1aA and 1bC. Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographer T. Middlemass.	72

Figure 19: Nunburnholme 1aB and 1bD. Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographer T. Middlemass.....	72
Figure 20: Nunburnholme 1aC and 1bA. Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographer T. Middlemass.....	73
Figure 21: Nunburnholme 1aD and 1bB. Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographer T. Middlemass.....	73
Figure 22: New Minster <i>Liber Vitae</i> . British Library, Stowe 944 f. 6.....	88
Figure 23: Sword St Peter penny, York. Copyright Trustees of the British Museum.....	89
Figure 24: St Mary Bishophill Senior 1aA. Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographer T. Middlemass.....	92
Figure 25: Castledermot south cross, west face (detail). Copyright and photographer A. Kohl.	99
Figure 26: Kirkleavington 1A. Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographer D. Craig.....	119
Figure 27: Kirkleavington 2A. Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographer T. Middlemass.....	121
Figure 28: Sockburn 3A. Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographer T. Middlemass.....	122
Figure 29: Kirkleavington 3A. Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographer D. Craig.....	126
Figure 30: Kirkleavington 6A. Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographer D. Craig.....	128
Figure 31: Neston 3A. Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographers K. Jukes and D. Craig.....	128
Figure 32: Kirkleavington 4A. Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographer D. Craig.....	130
Figure 33: Castledermot south cross, west face (detail). Copyright and photographer A. Kohl.	130
Figure 34: Kirkleavington 11. Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographer D. Craig.....	132
Figure 35: Kells market cross. Copyright and photographer Professor Catherine Karkov.....	132
Figure 36: Kirkleavington 15A. Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographer D. Craig.....	133
Figure 37: Kirkleavington 16C. Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographer D. Craig.....	135
Figure 38: Kirkleavington 17. Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographer D. Craig.....	137
Figure 39: Brompton 17A. Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographer T. Middlemass.....	148

Figure 40: Brompton 20A. Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographer T. Middlemass.	149
Figure 41: Brompton 1D/A. Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographer T. Middlemass.	156
Figure 42: Brompton 3C. Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographer T. Middlemass.	157
Figure 43: Brompton 3D. Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographer T. Middlemass.	158
Figure 44: Brompton 3A. Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographer T. Middlemass.	160
Figure 45: Brompton 3B. Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographer T. Middlemass.	160
Figure 46: Otley 6A. Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographers K. Jukes and D. Craig.	178
Figure 47: Drävle U1163 rune-stone. Copyright Swedish National Heritage Board, photographer B. Lundberg.....	180
Figure 48: Otley 8A. Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographers K. Jukes and D. Craig.	182
Figure 49: Weston 1A. Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographers K. Jukes and D. Craig.	183
Figure 50: Weston 1C. Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographers K. Jukes and D. Craig.	185
Figure 51: Otley 4A. Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographers K. Jukes and D. Craig.	187
Figure 52: Otley 4B. Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographers K. Jukes and D. Craig.	187
Figure 53: Otley 4D. Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographers K. Jukes and D. Craig.	188
Figure 54: Otley 4C. Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographers K. Jukes and D. Craig.	188
Figure 55: Otley 3A. Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographers K. Jukes and D. Craig.	189
Figure 56: Otley 3B. Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographers K. Jukes and D. Craig.	190
Figure 57: Otley 3C. Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographers K. Jukes and D. Craig.	190
Figure 58: Otley 3D. Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographers K. Jukes and D. Craig.	191
Figure 59: The St. Paul's slab, London. Copyright and photographer Dr Jane Hawkes.....	192

Figure 60: Otley 12A. Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographers K. Jukes and D. Craig.	193
Figure 61: Otley 1aA. Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographers K. Jukes and D. Craig.	196
Figure 62: Leeds 1A. Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographers K. Jukes and D. Craig.	199
Figure 63: Leeds 1C. Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographers K. Jukes and D. Craig.	200
Figure 64: Leeds 1B. Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographers K. Jukes and D. Craig.	201
Figure 65: Leeds 1D. Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographers K. Jukes and D. Craig.	202
Figure 66: Franks Casket, front panel. Copyright Trustees of the British Museum.	210
Figure 67: Bedale 6A 1D. Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographer A. Wiper.	219
Figure 68: Ardre VIII rune-stone (detail). Swedish National Heritage Board, photographer B. Lundberg.	220
Figure 69: Jellinge rune-stone face C. Copyright National Museum of Denmark, photographer L. Larsen.	221
Figure 70: Mammen axe. Copyright National Museum of Denmark, photographers R. Fortuna and K. Ursem.	224

Thesis introduction

Historical introduction

Before this examination of the Anglo-Scandinavian stone sculpture of Yorkshire can commence, the material must be placed within its historical context. This was a period of great change in the region, one which radically transformed the area from part of an Anglian kingdom into a confident and assertive Anglo-Scandinavian polity. Danish Vikings invaded England in 865, initially landing in East Anglia but moving north in 866-67, conquering the Anglo-Saxon kingdom of Northumbria, and capturing the city of York on 21 March 867.¹ A second phase of conquest began around the year 902, when Hiberno-Norse settlers crossed from Ireland into the Yorkshire region. Apart from a brief period of Anglo-Saxon rule from 926-39 under Edward the Elder, Yorkshire was under the rule of Anglo-Scandinavian kings throughout this period until 954, when the kingdom of York finally fell to West Saxon conquest.² The Anglo-Scandinavian rule over the area was thus long-lasting, persisting for nearly a century. The political importance of the Anglo-Scandinavians in the area seemingly remained strong into the eleventh century, during which Scandinavian rule of the region was reasserted when Cnut took the English throne in 1016.³

As well as being long-lasting, the period of Anglo-Scandinavian rule in Yorkshire had a great impact on the region, and refashioned it very much into an Anglo-Scandinavian place. This can of course be seen in the county's place-names. The proportion of Scandinavian-influenced places names found in Domesday is 48% in the East Riding, 46% in the North Riding and 31% in the West Riding.⁴ The Scandinavian settlement also had a considerable linguistic impact on the region. Matthew Townend describes the north of England in this period as a 'bilingual society in which two vernacular languages were spoken, and two speech communities were in close and persistent contact.'⁵ This led to the development of what John Hines terms 'Scandinavian English,' the variety of English marked by Scandinavian influence, particularly in its vocabulary, which may be described as a creole, a mixed language different from its parents, which had become naturalised as a first language. Creole formation is often linked to the establishment

¹ H. R. Loyn, *The Vikings in Britain* (London: Book Club Associates, 1977), pp. 56-57.

² Elizabeth Coatsworth, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VIII: Western Yorkshire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 2008), p. 17.

³ M. K. Lawson, *Cnut: England's Viking King* (Stroud: The History Press, 2011), p. 17.

⁴ Dawn M. Hadley, *The Vikings in England: Settlement, Society and Culture* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006), p. 99.

⁵ Matthew Townend, 'Viking Age England as a Bilingual Society', in *Cultures in Contact: Scandinavian Settlement in England in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries*, ed. by Dawn M. Hadley and Julian D. Richards (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), pp. 89-105 (pp. 89-90).

of group identity and cohesion.⁶ Creoles, such as Jamaican Creole and Sranan Tongo (Suriname) have usually been identified in the context of modern colonialism and slavery.⁷ However, Scandinavian English seems to fit the definition of a creole, being a mixed language clearly identifiable in distinction from its parent languages, and which also became a first language for at least some speakers.⁸ The Scandinavian settlements also had a radical impact on the landscape of the modern county. At York, for example, the political centre seems to have shifted away from the Minster site, and was probably now located at the edge of the Roman fortress around what is now King's Square.⁹ In the countryside the landscape was also remade; the settlers seem to have both appropriated existing estates, and reorganised and reconstituted these into new units of landholding.¹⁰

The sculptural context

As well as this historical setting, the sculptural context of the Anglo-Scandinavian sculpture of Yorkshire in the ninth to eleventh centuries should also be briefly considered. Elsewhere in the areas of Scandinavian settlement of northern England, this period also saw the production of Scandinavian-influenced monumental stone sculpture. At Halton in Lancashire, for example, a stone cross featuring a depiction of the Sigurd narrative was erected, including an image of the hero sucking his thumb as well as the heart roasting episode and the headless body of Reginn. The Gosforth cross from Cumbria also included representations of scenes drawn from Scandinavian mythology, including Thor's fishing expedition along with Ragnarök, set alongside a carving of the Crucifixion.¹¹ In County Durham, sculptural sites in the Tees valley saw a similar pattern of production as that present in northern Yorkshire, with panels featuring animals or non-religious figures, as at Sockburn and Gainford. Further north, Anglian carvers seem to have continued work into the early tenth century, but the later sculpture from sites such as Chester-le-Street does display some Hiberno-Scandinavian influence.¹²

⁶ John Hines, 'Scandinavian English: A Creole in Context', in *Language Contact in the British Isles: Proceedings of the Eighth International Symposium on Language Contact in Europe, Douglas, Isle of Man, 1988*, ed. by P. Sture Ureland and George Broderick, *Linguistische Arbeiten*, 238 (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1991), pp. 403-427 (pp. 403, 419).

⁷ Pieter C. Muysken, 'The Creole Languages of the Caribbean', in *A History of Literature in the Caribbean*, ed. by A. James Arnold, 3 vols (Amsterdam: Benjamins, 2001), II, pp. 399-414 (p. 399).

⁸ Hines, 'Scandinavian English: A Creole in Context' (p. 419).

⁹ Alfred P. Smyth, *Scandinavian York and Dublin: The History and Archaeology of Two Related Viking Kingdoms*, 2 vols (Dublin: Templekieran Press, 1975-79), I, p. 234.

¹⁰ Hadley, *The Vikings in England: Settlement, Society and Culture*, p. 87.

¹¹ Richard N. Bailey, 'Scandinavian Myth on Viking-Period Stone Sculpture in England', in *11th International Saga Conference*, ed. by Geraldine Barnes and Margaret Clunies Ross (University of Sydney, 2000), pp. 17-18, 20.

¹² Rosemary Cramp, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume I: County Durham and Northumberland* (Oxford: Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 1984), pp. 30-31.

In the southern part of England not extensively settled by the Scandinavian incomers, the production of stone sculpture continued, and came to be influenced by the Benedictine revival which took place from the last quarter of the tenth century. While in Yorkshire and northern England, crosses and slabs remained the preferred forms (although novel forms such as the hogback were introduced), further south such monuments came to make up only around a quarter of the surviving sculpture. Instead, sculptors turned to architectural forms including friezes and wall panels. A typical site is Langford (Oxfordshire) where the sculpture consists of two roods and an elaborate sundial. While in the north of England there was a great variety in figural subjects, including heroes from vernacular mythology and what were probably images of local rulers alongside more traditional Christian figures, south of the Danelaw sculptors concentrated increasingly on depictions of the Crucifixion, as evidenced by examples at sites again including Langford as well as Breamore (Hampshire) and Bitton (Gloucestershire).¹³ Angels were also a prominent feature in the figural carving of southern England in this period, present at sites including Bradford-on-Avon (Wiltshire) and Winterbourne Steepleton (Dorset). The Romanesque style also had an impact, particularly in the southern coastal counties, as with the carved roods at Sompting (West Sussex).¹⁴

In Ireland during the period of Scandinavian settlement stone sculpture remained primarily a monastic and ecclesiastical production, centred on sites such as Armagh, Kells (Co. Meath) and Clonmacnoise (Co. Offaly). There were some changes, however, with monumental crosses generally becoming taller and figural carving becoming much more prominent on such monuments.¹⁵ Such iconography, as would be expected given its monastic patronage, remained firmly Christian. The Crucifixion was an especially prominent subject for figural carving, represented at Moone and Castledermot in County Kildare, Clonmacnoise and many other sites.¹⁶ Other themes frequently employed by Irish sculptors in this period were New Testament scenes such as the Last Judgement, as at Monasterboice (Co. Louth) and Clonmacnoise.¹⁷ Unlike in northern England and Yorkshire, Irish carvings show little sign of Scandinavian influence in this period.¹⁸

In what is now Scotland sculptural production in this period was highly heterogeneous. In some areas, sculpture influenced by Scandinavian settlers was produced. Hogback monuments

¹³ Richard N. Bailey, *England's Earliest Sculptors* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1996), p. 99-101.

¹⁴ James T. Lang, *Anglo-Saxon Sculpture* (Princes Risborough: Shire, 1988), pp. 19, 22.

¹⁵ Françoise Henry, *Irish Art during the Viking Invasions (800-1020 A.D.)* (London: Methuen & Co, 1967), pp. 133-34

¹⁶ Henry, *Irish Art during the Viking Invasions (800-1020 A.D.)*, p. 160

¹⁷ Henry, *Irish Art during the Viking Invasions (800-1020 A.D.)*, p. 172

¹⁸ Henry, *Irish Art during the Viking Invasions (800-1020 A.D.)*, p. 196

are present at a number of sites, and tend to be located on or near maritime trade routes. A large group is present at Govan on the Clyde, there is a further group in the Orkneys which seems to have been relatively late, and there is also a group of sites running along the east coast and the Firth of Forth.¹⁹ At the same time, Pictish symbol stones continued to be produced, probably into the tenth century at least. These late sites included Kirriemuir, Monifieth and Meikle.²⁰ Pictish carved stones have been divided into three classes. Class I stones are undressed and include Pictish symbols, class II are dressed stones usually featuring a Christian cross as well as Pictish symbols, and class III stones include similar carving but lack the distinctive Pictish symbols.²¹ The symbols themselves include both animal and abstract designs. While they are not fully understood, many seem to refer to names while others may have more abstract meanings.²² Elsewhere, at Govan on the Clyde, a considerable amount of sculpture was produced into the tenth and eleventh centuries at what was probably the effective capital of the Brythonic kingdom of Strathclyde.²³ While the five Govan hogbacks do indicate that there was some Scandinavian influence in the area, the rest of the sculpture from the site, including numerous recumbent gravestones, free-standing crosses and a highly unusual sarcophagus suggest no such influence.²⁴

Introduction to the sculpture

It is within this context of a radically changed place that the Anglo-Scandinavian stone sculpture of Yorkshire must be discussed. The sculpture, while exhibiting some continuity with the Anglian tradition of monumental stone carving, also reflected the radical changes taking place in the landscape around it.

The cross form, which was frequently employed by earlier Anglo-Saxon sculptors, was adopted by the new Anglo-Scandinavian carvers; the Leeds cross is perhaps the most notable example which will be examined in this thesis.²⁵ However, the Scandinavian settlement of Yorkshire was also associated with a number of changes in the forms employed by the sculptors there. The ring or wheel-head cross, for example, was imported into the area by the Norse settlers arriving via Ireland, where it originated, in the early tenth century.²⁶ The Scandinavian

¹⁹ James T. Lang, 'Hogback Monuments in Scotland', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 105 (1972), 206-35, (p. 209).

²⁰ Lloyd Laing, 'How Late Were Pictish Symbols Employed?', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 130 (2000), 637-50 (p. 639)

²¹ Jenny Laing and Lloyd Laing, *The Picts and the Scots* (Stroud: Sutton, 2001), p. 90.

²² William A. Cummins, *The Age of the Picts* (Far Thrupp: Sutton, 1995), p. 135.

²³ Meggen Gondek, 'Investing in Sculpture: Power in Early-historic Scotland', *Medieval Archaeology*, 50 (2006), 105-142 (p. 124).

²⁴ Stephen T. Driscoll, *In search of the Northern Britons in the Early Historic Era (AD 400–1100)* (Glasgow: Regional Framework for Local History and Archaeology, 2015), p.10.

²⁵ Bailey, *England's Earliest Sculptors*, p. 83.

²⁶ Lang, *Anglo-Saxon Sculpture*, p. 10.

settlement also led to the development of an entirely new form, the hogback, a house-shaped monument with a bowed roof ridge.²⁷ In individual instances, the forms of existing Anglian monuments were physically changed by Anglo-Scandinavian sculptors, as at Otley, where an Anglian cross-arm was refashioned into what may have been an Anglo-Scandinavian grave-marker.²⁸

The ornamental carvings on these Anglo-Scandinavian monuments also exhibit both a continuity with and a departure from the Anglian tradition of stone sculpture. Common Anglo-Saxon elements, such as vine-scroll, continued to be employed by Anglo-Scandinavian sculptors, although such vine-scroll was often now broken into shorter, variable panels, as on the Leeds cross.²⁹ However, Anglo-Scandinavian sculpture did differ from the Anglian in terms of its ornament. Scandinavian styles, such as the Jellinge and Ringerike,³⁰ are seen on a number of monuments, and there seems to have been a general trend towards a denser, more irregular style of interlace, as exemplified by the work of the York Metropolitan School.³¹

Many of the traditional Anglian subjects of figural carving were adopted by the Anglo-Scandinavian sculptors, including Christian iconographies such as Christ, angels and the evangelists.³² However, in two important areas the Anglo-Scandinavian material differs markedly from its Anglian predecessors in this respect. A number of Anglo-Scandinavian monuments include depictions of armed warriors, presumably members of the local elite, representing a notable departure from the religious subjects of Anglian figural carving.³³ Perhaps an even greater departure occurs in the Anglo-Scandinavian carved representations of figures from vernacular mythology, which include heroic figures such as Sigurd and Weland as well as possible images of pagan gods such as Odin.³⁴

²⁷ James T. Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VI: Northern Yorkshire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 2002), pp. 21, 23.

²⁸ Coatsworth, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VIII: Western Yorkshire*, p. 223.

²⁹ Bailey, *England's Earliest Sculptors*, p. 80; Coatsworth, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VIII: Western Yorkshire*, p. 201.

³⁰ For the Jellinge style, see Barwick in Elmet 1 and Otley 12 from the West Riding: Coatsworth, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VIII: Western Yorkshire*, pp. 94, 226-27.

³¹ James T. Lang, 'Continuity and Innovation in Anglo-Scandinavian Sculpture: A Study of the Metropolitan School at York', in *Anglo-Saxon and Viking Age Sculpture and its Context: papers from the Collingwood Symposium on Insular sculpture from 800 to 1066*, ed. by James T. Lang, British Archaeological Reports, British Series 49 (Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, 1978), pp. 145-72 (p. 149).

³² Bailey, *England's Earliest Sculptors*, p. 80.

³³ Lang, *Anglo-Saxon Sculpture*, pp. 23-24. See, for example, the figure on panel Aiv of the Leeds cross: Coatsworth, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VIII: Western Yorkshire*, pp. 200-202.

³⁴ For Sigurd, see face D of the Nunburnholme cross. Weland is depicted on face C of the Leeds cross and Odin is perhaps represented on face A of Kirkleavington 2. See: Lilla Kopár, *Gods and Settlers: The Iconography of Norse Mythology in Anglo-Scandinavian Sculpture* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012), pp. 37, 12, 115.

The physical material employed by the Anglo-Scandinavian sculptors was in many cases the same as that used by their Anglian predecessors, a continuity probably dictated by the availability of stone suitable for carving in the areas around the sculpture-producing sites. On a number of occasions, however, it seems that the Anglo-Scandinavian carvers were, through their choice of material, establishing a discontinuity from earlier Anglo-Saxon sculpture. The recarving of a cross-arm as what may have been a grave marker at Otley has already been mentioned. At Nunburnholme, the second, Anglo-Scandinavian sculptor of the monument carved over some of the earlier Anglian work, adding a depiction of the Sigurd story below an Anglian mass scene. It is also possible that stone itself had a different and very specific meaning for the Anglo-Scandinavian sculptors. The material may have been associated with victory in Scandinavian culture, as in *Thidreks saga*, the hero Weland was sent to fetch King Nithad's victory stone, without which the king would have been defeated by an invading army.³⁵ In an Anglo-Scandinavian context this significance may have been combined with the Anglo-Saxon association of stone with imperial Rome and the triumph of the Roman church to make the material even more potent in the hybrid Anglo-Scandinavian imagination.³⁶

Previous scholarship

This thesis will focus on the Anglo-Scandinavian stone sculpture from six sites, an approach which will entail examinations both of the local landscape and the sculpture itself. Due to the wide range of this subject matter, a full literature review will not be attempted here. The literature relevant to the individual sites and a number of individual monuments will be considered within the chapters themselves. At this stage, however, it is necessary to consider a number of key works, which have had a particular influence on the direction taken by this study, and a number of issues within the wider scholarship which this thesis hopes to address.

The foundation upon which this study is built is the *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture*, a multi-volume and ongoing project which presents an initial iconographical analysis and excellent photographic illustrations of the stone sculpture of the various English counties.³⁷ The *Corpus* is very much an enabling resource, one which makes the sculpture accessible to the interested researcher, providing a bibliography for every fragment and both descriptions

³⁵ Alec McGuire and Ann Clark, *The Leeds Crosses* (Leeds: Museum of Leeds, 1987), p. 34.

³⁶ Jane Hawkes, 'Iuxta Morem Romanorum: Stone and Sculpture in the Style of Rome', in *Anglo-Saxon Styles*, ed. by Catherine E. Karkov and George H. Brown (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2003), pp. 69-100 (p. 69).

³⁷ The *Corpus* divides Yorkshire into its three traditional ridings. The volumes upon which this thesis primarily relies are Coatsworth, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VIII: Western Yorkshire*; James T. Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume III: York and Eastern Yorkshire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 1991); Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VI: Northern Yorkshire*.

and discussion of the sculptural material. The *Corpus* system of identifying monuments and panels with numbers and letters has been used throughout this study.

There are a number of wider interpretations and assumptions within the previous scholarship which this thesis will seek to modify, and in some cases challenge. The first of these is the tendency to see stone sculpture in this period as an essentially Anglo-Saxon and explicitly Christian tradition, one which was temporarily adopted, with only limited changes, by the Anglo-Scandinavian carvers. Thus Lesley Abrams writes that Anglo-Scandinavian monuments extended the 'Anglian habit of Christian stone sculpture in a style imported from Scandinavia,'³⁸ while James Lang asserts that Anglo-Scandinavian stone sculpture belongs culturally to the Insular tradition with Anglian and Anglo-Saxon monuments.³⁹ Other scholars have commented on the persistence of Anglian motifs and iconographies. Thus Richard Bailey asserts the 'continuity of stone carving in northern England,' pointing to a 'strong native Anglo-Saxon element in the hybrid Anglo-Scandinavian culture.' He notes the strength of Anglian forms and motifs and the persistence of Christian symbolism and iconography.⁴⁰ Similarly, James Graham-Campbell, while describing tenth-century stone sculpture as an 'Anglo-Scandinavian phenomena,' also emphasises the 'real continuity' with the Anglian tradition, pointing to the use of its forms and techniques.⁴¹

Such a reading is partly based on a modern perspective, from which the Anglo-Scandinavian rule of the region was, ultimately, only a temporary phenomenon. The fact that Anglo-Scandinavian rule did not last in England makes it easy to overlook the fact that the Scandinavians did settle in considerable numbers and establish political control in the north for nearly a century. Given the political turmoil of the ninth and early tenth centuries, which included successive waves of conquest and reconquest which at times seemed to threaten the very survival of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, the eventual triumph of the West Saxon monarchy could hardly have been confidently predicted. Indeed, it seems that the settlers expected to remain, as evidenced by their production of stone sculpture – an obvious investment in the landscape and a stamping of it with their own identity - and the importation of Continental moneyers.⁴² As the Scandinavian settlement did not create a persistent ethnic identity, it is

³⁸ Lesley Abrams, 'Conversion and Assimilation', in *Cultures in Contact: Scandinavian Settlement in England in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries*, ed. by Dawn M. Hadley and Julian D. Richards (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), pp. 135-53 (p. 140).

³⁹ Lang, *Anglo-Saxon Sculpture*, p. 7.

⁴⁰ Bailey, *England's Earliest Sculptors*, p. 80.

⁴¹ James Graham-Campbell, 'Pagans and Christians', *History Today*, 36 (1986), 24-28 (p. 26).

⁴² Dawn M. Hadley, 'Conquest, Colonization and the Church: Ecclesiastical Organization in the Danelaw', *Historical Research*, 69 (1996), 109-128 (pp. 119-20).

usually seen as a minor factor in the development of Englishness, often characterised as ‘an ephemeral and localised irritant in the broader sweep’ of English history.⁴³

Another issue with much of the previous scholarship is that it only rarely considers Anglo-Scandinavian stone sculpture in its landscape context, within which it would have been approached, viewed and interacted with in the ninth and tenth centuries. The presentation of the material in the *Corpus* volumes, which says little about the physical context of the material other than the location and the evidence for its discovery, is typical in this respect. While an in-depth consideration of each landscape context is clearly beyond the scope of the *Corpus* project, this omission does leave open space for new interpretations of the monuments based on an examination of how they relate to the landscape features and history around them.

Two works which focus on the landscape setting of monumental stone sculpture suggest ways in which these issues may be addressed, and have been influential in the shaping of this thesis. *Fragments of History*, by Fred Orton and Ian Wood, addresses the earlier Bewcastle and Ruthwell monuments very much within their landscape setting, looking back to pre-historic and Roman patterns to shape a new interpretation of the monuments.⁴⁴ David Stocker’s study of the distribution of Anglo-Scandinavian stone sculpture in Yorkshire and Lincolnshire has also been particularly helpful, showing how an examination of a site’s landscape history might be brought together with the sculptural record to develop a new interpretation of both.⁴⁵

Geographical scope

A number of choices have been made in the development of this thesis which should be explained at this stage. The decision to limit the area of study to the historic county of Yorkshire was taken partly on pragmatic grounds, as a wider area would have been outside the scope of a doctoral project. The county was selected as the area did have, at least at times, a political and cultural unity in the early medieval period. The Anglo-Saxon kingdom of Deira, which was later absorbed into a greater Northumbria, had the river Tees as its northern boundary, as does the traditional county of Yorkshire.⁴⁶ The Anglo-Scandinavian kingdom centred on York also seems to have controlled an area roughly analogous to the modern

⁴³ Simon Trafford, 'Ethnicity, Migration Theory, and the Historiography of the Scandinavian Settlement of England', in *Cultures in Contact: Scandinavian Settlement in England in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries*, ed. by Dawn M. Hadley and Julian D. Richards (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), pp. 17-39 (pp. 29, 17).

⁴⁴ Fred Orton, Ian Wood, and Clare A. Lees, *Fragments of History: Rethinking the Ruthwell and Bewcastle Monuments* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007).

⁴⁵ David Stocker, 'Monuments and Merchants: Irregularities in the Distribution of Stone Sculpture in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire in the Tenth Century', in *Cultures in Contact: Scandinavian Settlement in England in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries*, ed. by Dawn M. Hadley and Julian D. Richards (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), pp. 179-212.

⁴⁶ David W. Rollason, *Northumbria, 500-1100: Creation and Destruction of a Kingdom* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 6.

county, although the actual geographical area controlled from the city and the nature of its boundaries are very uncertain.⁴⁷ A concentration on Yorkshire alone also reflects the organisation of the *Corpus* volumes.

Justification for the exclusive study of Anglo-Scandinavian sculpture, rather than also considering Anglo-Saxon material, is also needed. In part this was again a practical decision to limit the scope of the project, but one which was also intended to provide a degree of unity to the analysis of the six sites, both in terms of chronology but also in terms of the types of monuments, motifs and iconographies to be discussed. It was also hoped that an exclusive concentration on the Anglo-Scandinavian material would better enable the issues already identified in previous scholarship, which relate largely to the Anglo-Scandinavian rather than the Anglo-Saxon sculpture, to be addressed.



Figure 1. Yorkshire and the sites studied.

As it would be impossible to conduct a proper analysis of every site in Yorkshire yielding Anglo-Scandinavian stone sculpture, six sites were selected for consideration: York Minster and

⁴⁷ Coatsworth, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VIII: Western Yorkshire*, p. 17.

Nunburnholme from eastern and central Yorkshire, Brompton and Kirkleavington from the North Riding, and Leeds and the related sites of Otley and Weston from the West Riding (see fig. 1). These sites were selected partly as they enable the study of at least one site from each riding plus the city of York, and also because each produced a substantial body of Anglo-Scandinavian stone sculpture. The sites also provide a good sample of the various possible landscape settings, including an urban site at York, sites both on and distant from navigable rivers, and locations both in the lowlands of the Vale of York and in the surrounding foothills.

This approach has the benefit of allowing for a proper and detailed analysis of the sculpture and landscape setting of a number of sites, and the geographical spread of the locations means that any conclusions made are likely to be extensible to stone sculpture elsewhere in Yorkshire. However, the limited number of sites does mean that any such generalisations must be tentative, while the concentration solely on the Anglo-Scandinavian material means it is possible that longer term patterns within the sculptural record may have been overlooked.

Terms and definitions

Landscape

The use of the term landscape will differ somewhat in this thesis from the way in which it is most commonly employed within the fields of landscape studies and landscape history. Landscape studies have been greatly influenced by W. G. Hoskins' seminal 1955 work *The Making of the English Landscape*.⁴⁸ This and many later studies considered subjects such as settlement patterns, field systems, boundaries and place names. More recent studies of the medieval landscape have also tended to concentrate on such topics. Thus Richard Morris's *Churches in the Landscape*, for example, notes that churches were located in relation to landscape features such as roads, dwellings, cemeteries and fields.⁴⁹

This thesis will consider many of these elements of the landscape, including place names and roads. However, a rather wider view of the local landscape will be taken. Firstly, there will be a greater focus on the geography and geology of the sites and their surrounding areas. The geology of these places of course provided the material for their stone sculpture, and it is in the content of the wider geography of the sites that much can be explained. The prominence of York, for example, was a product of its location at a river confluence and on a glacial moraine crossing the otherwise marshy landscape of the Vale of York. This study will place greater emphasis on the broad history of a landscape, including changes to place and street names across a wider area, linking issues such as this to non-landscape trends such as linguistic

⁴⁸ William G. Hoskins, *The Making of the English Landscape* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1955).

⁴⁹ Richard Morris, *Churches in the Landscape* (London: Dent, 1989), p. 3.

and political changes in the region. The difficulty in reconstructing the landscape of the ninth and tenth centuries, particularly in the absence of historical sources as is the case for many of these sites, also means that this study will focus less on the layout of individual sites and issues such as boundaries, ownership and field systems.

Hybridity

This thesis will employ the idea of hybridity when considering the stone sculpture of ninth and tenth century Yorkshire. This analysis will draw on the use of the term in postcolonial studies. While this is not the place to fully restate the case for the use of such theory in an early medieval context, it should be noted that there is nothing essentially modern about the concerns of such theory, focussing as it does on 'moments or processes that are produced in the articulation of cultural differences.'⁵⁰ Jeffery Jerome Cohen states that the postcolonial emphasises the uneven power structures that arise when cultures meet, entailing conquest, domination, innovation and hybridity.⁵¹ There is nothing essentially modern about difference, disadvantages and social antagonism.⁵² Bruce Holsinger has argued that medieval studies itself had a significant role in the shaping of postcolonial theory through its impact on the Subaltern Studies Group.⁵³ There are also precedents for this study's application of such theory to the material culture of the early medieval period. Fredrik Svanberg took a postcolonial approach in his deconstruction of the 'Viking Age,' analysing it as a structure of knowledge 'based on ethnocentrism, evolutionism, nationalism and essentialism' which should be dismantled.⁵⁴ More recently, Alexander Andreeff has used such theory to study the Gotlandic picture stones, arguing that they can be 'viewed as expressions of ideological hybridity.'⁵⁵

The idea of hybridity itself emerged particularly through the work of Homi K. Bhabha, which argued that all cultures and cultural statements are necessarily hybrid, in that they lack an absolute coherence or firm boundaries. He argued that such statements cannot be seen as original or pure, as they are all produced through the same space of enunciation. Bhabha explained that 'meanings and symbols of culture have no primordial unity or fixity... signs can

⁵⁰ Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London & New York: Routledge, 1994), p. 2.

⁵¹ Jeffrey J. Cohen, *Hybridity, Identity and Monstrosity in Medieval Britain: On Difficult Middles* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), p. 5.

⁵² Jeffrey J. Cohen, 'Introduction: Midcolonial', in *The Postcolonial Middle Ages*, ed. by Jeffrey J. Cohen (New York: Palgrave, 2001), pp. 1-17 (p. 4).

⁵³ Bruce W. Holsinger, 'Medieval Studies, Postcolonial Studies, and the Genealogies of Critique', *Speculum*, 77.3 (2002), 1195-227 (p. 1218).

⁵⁴ Fredrik Svanberg, *Decolonizing the Viking Age*, 2 vols (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 2003), 1, p. 105.

⁵⁵ Alexander Andreeff, 'Gotlandic Picture Stones, Hybridity and Material Culture', in *Encounters, Materialities, Confrontations: Archaeologies of Social Space and Interaction*, ed. by Per Cornell and Fredrik Fahlander (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2008), pp. 242-58 (p. 242).

be appropriated, translated, rehistoricised and read anew.⁵⁶ Hybridity goes beyond simply observing that a particular monument or iconography employs elements from a wide range of sources, or developed from a cultural interchange between two cultures or peoples. Thus for Bhabha, hybridity is not simply a process of mixing, but involves negotiation and the creation of a 'third space'.⁵⁷ Similarly, writing about the medieval period Cohen noted that postcolonial hybridity is a 'fusion *and* a disjunction, a conjoining of differences that cannot simply harmonize.'⁵⁸ Building on these observations, this thesis will examine hybridity as a varied and active process, one which was specific to the particular contexts in which it occurred, and also one that could contain conflicts and antagonisms as well as deliberate attempts to foster assimilation or less conscious mixing of cultural statements.

Anglo-Scandinavian

It is in the context of such ideas about hybridity that this study will employ the term Anglo-Scandinavian when describing and analysing the sculpture of ninth and tenth century Yorkshire. Its use in this thesis does not imply that there was an ethnic grouping which would have identified itself as Anglo-Scandinavian in the period. Using such terms as ethnic labels in the modern sense when thinking about this period is inherently problematic, as such categories mask the much more diverse and fluid reality of early medieval identity. The problematic nature of such categories in this period has been most famously illustrated by Patrick Geary in *The Myth of Nations*, where he argues that ethnic identities were claims rather than descriptions, with elites employing multiple identities for different purposes and circumstances.⁵⁹ It seems unlikely that the Scandinavian settlers of northern England had clear or stable ethnic identities. The Viking war-bands which settled in Yorkshire were 'heterogeneous and often fissiparous groups of individuals of diverse origins held together by inter-personal bonds.' Group identity was probably based on their experiences rather than an ethnic identification with a single homeland.⁶⁰ However, what group identity this may have produced was further complicated by the fact that the Scandinavian settlement of northern England was a process which took place over several decades, with incomers often coming not directly from Scandinavia but via Ireland, the Isle of Man and the Western Isles as well as from continental Europe. Given this, the Anglo-Scandinavian label cannot be read as an ethnic one or

⁵⁶ Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, p. 55.

⁵⁷ Catherine E. Karkov, 'Postcolonial', in *A Handbook of Anglo-Saxon Studies*, ed. by Jacqueline Stodnick and Renée Trilling (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), pp. 149-63 (p. 149).

⁵⁸ Cohen, *Hybridity, Identity and Monstrosity in Medieval Britain: On Difficult Middles*, p. 2.

⁵⁹ Patrick J. Geary, *The Myth of Nations: The Medieval Origins of Europe* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003), pp. 155, 174.

⁶⁰ Matthew Innes, 'Danelaw Identities: Ethnicity, Regionalism and Political Allegiance', in *Cultures in Contact: Scandinavian Settlement in England in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries*, ed. by Dawn M. Hadley and Julian D. Richards (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), pp. 65-88 (p. 78).

even a simpler signifier of non-ethnic identity. Furthermore, sources such as the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* used the term Danes to describe the region of northern England which it described as the Danelaw in this period. On occasions the *Chronicle* distinguished between Danes and Norsemen, further suggesting that there was not a firm and recognised Anglo-Scandinavian identity.⁶¹

The term Anglo-Scandinavian is however useful, if it is used with an awareness of these caveats. Firstly, it acts to distinguish monuments which display Scandinavian influence from Anglo-Saxon or Anglian examples. As will be argued in this thesis, the sculpture of Yorkshire in this period was in many ways radically different from what had come before, and it is appropriate that a new term be used to describe it. In using this term this thesis will not be applying an ethnic label, or implying the presence of a coherent Anglo-Scandinavian identity. The term will firstly identify a monument or an iconography as an example of the complex and ongoing hybridity which was taking place as an active process in this period, between two cultures that were both closely related and themselves essentially hybrid. The term will also be used in a much broader sense, referring to the wider cultural milieu of Yorkshire in this period, in which sculptors were able to reference and draw on both Insular and Scandinavian sources, Insular and Scandinavian languages were spoken, and considerable cultural and mercantile exchange across the North Sea was taking place.

Other terms

A number of other terms will also feature in this thesis and will be briefly discussed and defined at this stage. This study concentrates on six sculpture-producing sites from across the modern county of Yorkshire. For the purpose of this study, site is taken to mean the location and immediate surroundings in which an Anglo-Scandinavian monument or monuments were discovered. At York, for example, this study will focus on the Minster cemetery, where a large number of monuments and sculptural fragments have been excavated. Here, the Minster cemetery itself (and thus the modern Minster, below which the cemetery is located) constitutes the site; the rest of the city, while outside the site proper, will also be considered as the wider geographical and landscape context of the sculpture found at the cemetery site. Geography and geographical are further terms which this thesis will employ. Geography in this study is used in two ways. Firstly, it indicates the landscape and landscape-historical setting of the areas beyond the sites themselves. To take York Minster as another example, the geography of the site would consist of the location of the Minster in relation to the wider city. Geography is also used to refer to a much wider context. At York, for example, this would

⁶¹ Dawn M. Hadley, 'Viking and Native: Rethinking Identity in the Danelaw', *Early Medieval Europe*, 11 (2002), 45-70 (pp. 46-7).

include the city's location within geographical areas such as the Vale of York and political units such as the kingdom of Northumbria. Its geography would also include its communication links, both within northern England and more widely, across the North Sea to the east and the Pennines to the west. Fusion is another term which occurs on a number of occasions in this thesis. While its usefulness is limited, given that it implies a natural process of cultural mixing of the kind hybridity argues against, it is a term which other scholars have employed to describe the creation of Anglo-Scandinavian sculpture through the bringing together of elements or iconographies from Anglian and Scandinavian contexts. Finally, another term which will occur on a number of occasions is revival. The term is usually deployed by other scholars in contexts in which an Anglo-Scandinavian work deploys an iconography, motif or technique which appears to be a reiteration of one used in the Anglo-Saxon past. Again, this terms should be used cautiously, as it tends to privilege the ultimate and formal derivations of motifs and iconographies rather than their contemporary meaning and function.

Methodology

The examination of each site will begin with a discussion of its landscape history, moving from the pre-historic through the Roman and Anglo-Saxon periods to the Anglo-Scandinavian rule of the ninth and tenth centuries. While the pre-historic landscape setting of the sculpture does not at first glance seem relevant to stone sculpture produced in the early medieval period, Sarah Semple has recently shown that there was an acute awareness of the pre-historic in this later period, with, for example, pre-historic barrows reused for later burials, and churches established alongside pre-historic monoliths, and has also pointed to the need for further study of this phenomenon.⁶² This examination of the sculpture's landscape context will include discussion of archaeological and place name evidence, as well as the historical record where it exists. Continuities and changes into the period of the Anglo-Scandinavian sculpture's production will be identified. The next stage at each site will be a consideration of the materials and forms employed by the Anglo-Scandinavian sculptors. Stone, as the material of sculpture, of course links that sculpture directly to the landscape from which it came and in which the carved monuments were erected. The discussion of the stone sculpture itself will then follow, linking back to the issues raised in the examination of the sites' landscape contexts.

The sites

Each of the sites considered is able to tell us something important about Anglo-Scandinavian stone sculpture, and the Anglo-Scandinavian period in general. The sculpture from York

⁶² Sarah Semple, *Perceptions of the Prehistoric in Anglo-Saxon England: Religion, Ritual, and Rulership in the Landscape* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 13, 110.

Minster emphasises the continuing importance of the Roman past, both in terms of the site selected and the reuse of Roman stone. It also indicates that York in this period was a cosmopolitan and very much an Anglo-Scandinavian place, drawing on motifs and iconographies from across the North Sea and Insular worlds. The Nunburnholme cross, a monument very much associated with the sculpture produced at York, shows how monuments, like the landscape itself, can be refashioned over very long periods of time and successive waves of settlement change, suggesting that carvings such as these cannot be ascribed fixed or stable meanings. The cross and its landscape setting also indicate that locations which to the modern eye appear to be isolated and inconsequential rural settlements can, in fact, have histories as important places appropriate for the erection of high-quality and complex carved monuments.

Kirkleavington, on the northern edge of the modern county, suggests the importance of trade and communications links in the production of stone sculpture. Located close to the river Tees and the road west over Stainmore, the sculpture from the site has especially prominent Irish influences. Rather than a peripheral location far from a sculptural centre at York, Kirkleavington was a well-connected and sophisticated sculptural centre in its own right, producing a number of distinctive and highly unusual iconographies. The stone sculpture from Brompton, also in the North Riding, shows that the Anglo-Scandinavian sculptors were not simply unthinking adopters of the Anglian sculptural tradition, but were capable of quite bold innovation, as evidenced by the site's collection of hogback monuments, very much an Anglo-Scandinavian form.

In the West Riding, an analysis of the Leeds cross and its context suggests that attempts to categorise iconographies and monuments in terms of ethnic labels are likely to be hampered by the considerable overlap which existed between the Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian cultural traditions. The landscape setting of the monument will suggest that it may be best seen as a borderland production, one which perhaps deliberately crossed already very blurred cultural dividing lines. The sculpture at the nearby and related Wharfedale sites of Otley and Weston suggests that despite this shared cultural tradition, the accommodation between the Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Scandinavian inhabitants of the region was not always an easy one. In the context of the sites' landscape history, it seems that at Otley and Weston the Anglo-Scandinavian sculptors were, through their work, making deliberate and political points about control over the landscape, perhaps intending to distance themselves from their Anglian predecessors. While this examination of each site in its landscape context does tell us something important about the sculpture there and some wider issues, the sites taken as a

whole also have wider implications for how we should think about the sculpture produced in Anglo-Scandinavian Yorkshire.

We have already touched on the innovative nature of the material, which is especially apparent when taking a view of the six sites as a whole. New forms were introduced into Yorkshire for the first time such as the ring or wheel-head cross, which appeared in the early tenth century.⁶³ Innovation can also be seen in the hogback monuments which are present at a number of these sites, a new, innovative and very much an Anglo-Scandinavian form. As we have noted, new Scandinavian styles, such as the Jellinge and Ringerike were also introduced into the region for the first time. Innovation can also be seen in the iconographies employed by the Anglo-Scandinavian sculptors, which, featuring armed warrior figures and heroes of vernacular mythology, were very different from the religious subjects of Anglian iconography.

Taken as a whole the sites also emphasise how strongly sculpture was tied into its landscape setting, and how important is a consideration of this context when studying the monuments. At Otley, for example, the destructive nature of the Anglo-Scandinavian carvings is explained by a local power struggle between the settlers and the see of York, while at Brompton and Kirkleavington, the large groups of carvings which feature little clearly Christian iconography are explained in the context of what may have been mercantile settlements of the Anglo-Scandinavian elite. While every context and setting is different, the sites taken as a whole clearly show that the monuments themselves cannot properly be analysed without reference to their setting.

The sites taken together also indicate that the stone sculpture of Yorkshire was not merely a continuation of the Anglian tradition of stone carving, with the marginal introduction of some new Scandinavian motifs and iconographies, but was a new, hybrid tradition in its own right, moving beyond both the Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian artistic traditions. However, this was not a hybridity comprised of a simple intermixing of the two cultures, but a complex one which had different manifestations in different contexts. This hybridity was complicated by the fact that the Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian cultural traditions were themselves hybrid ones, which were furthermore closely related. A good example of this type of hybridity are the many instances of bird iconography found on the sculpture from the six sites. Birds were important in Germanic pre-Christian religions, as attributes of Odin, in the Weland story which was present in both the Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian traditions, as beasts of battle in both Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian literature and in terms of Biblical symbolism. They were also associated with the wider elite world through their role in hunting and as symbols of nobility.

⁶³ Lang, *Anglo-Saxon Sculpture*, p. 10.

Some of the monuments, such as the Leeds cross, seem to be aware of this shared cultural ground, exhibiting a hybridity which may have been intended to bring viewers together from across this tenuous cultural divide. However, this is not the only type of hybridity found at the sites. At Otley and Weston, for example, we will see a much more uneasy and confrontational hybridity, which saw the destruction and recarving of Anglian crosses into what were probably grave markers for the new Anglo-Scandinavian elite. While this did create new, hybrid monuments, such a hybridity did not exhibit an easy accommodation intended to soften dividing lines, but was based on conflict. Through this hybridity the Anglo-Scandinavian carvers may have been making strong statements about the new ownership of the land and seeking to distance themselves from the Anglian past by the obliteration of the earlier Anglian carvings on the monuments.

Chapter 1: The Metropolitan Capital

Chapter 1 Introduction

This chapter will consider the Anglo-Scandinavian sculpture produced at two sites in the centre and east of the modern county of Yorkshire. The first part will consider the sculpture found at York Minster, during excavations carried out during the 1960s and 1970s.¹ The second part of this chapter will consider the Nunburnholme cross, a monument which has been described as belonging to the sculptural tradition centred on York.² A number of scholars have also suggested that the monument was in fact carved in the city before being transported to its present location at the village of Nunburnholme, on the edge of the Yorkshire Wolds around fifteen miles south-east of the city.³

The Anglo-Scandinavian sculpture found at York Minster will be shown to be that of a newly confident, cosmopolitan and politically and culturally central city. This was not the sculpture of an occupied Anglian centre, or of a far-flung Scandinavian colonial outpost, but the hybrid production of an important city in its own right, and one which was being transformed by the Scandinavian settlements of the ninth and tenth centuries into a fundamentally Anglo-Scandinavian place.

The Nunburnholme cross is a similarly complex and hybrid object, one which was fashioned by Roman, Anglian, Anglo-Scandinavian and Norman hands during the first thousand years or so of its existence. Its location in what today appears to be a rural backwater far from any cultural or political centre is best explained not by its transportation from the centre at York, but by an examination of the landscape history of the village which will show that during much of its history it was an important place in its own right.

¹ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume III: York and Eastern Yorkshire*, p. 3.

² Ian R. Pattinson, 'The Nunburnholme Cross and Anglo-Danish Sculpture in York', *Archaeologia*, 104 (1973), 209-234 (p. 233).

³ Bailey, *England's Earliest Sculptors*, p. 12.

Chapter 1, Part 1: York Minster

Introduction

This sub-chapter will consider the sculpture found in the Anglo-Scandinavian cemetery below York Minster, in a city which Bailey terms the 'metropolitan capital' of Anglo-Scandinavian England.⁴ The cemetery was uncovered during excavations carried out in the late 1960s and early 1970s, initially by Brian Hope-Taylor and Herman Ramm and subsequently by Derek Phillips.⁵ Excavations at the cemetery revealed sixty-seven burials which could be examined, all dated before c. 1100.⁶ These shallow burials were arranged consistently in rows.⁷ Over 110 sculptural fragments are known from the Minster site, the majority of which were discovered during these excavations;⁸ the discovery of the cemetery almost doubled the size of the corpus of Anglo-Saxon stone sculpture from the city.⁹ The sheer volume of Anglo-Scandinavian sculpture found at the Minster site clearly indicates that it was seen as an important place during the period, and as we shall see, the hybrid nature of much of the material suggests that this was a new cultural centre drawing, on but distinct from, both the Anglian and Scandinavian artistic traditions.

The graves from the Minster cemetery fall roughly into two groups: those with single recumbent slabs, and those with composite markers including head and foot stones.¹⁰ The archaeological context of the cemetery is 'undoubtedly eleventh-century, but many of the monuments have been reused and regrouped.¹¹ The original arrangement of the stones is thus unknown. Lang suggests that the length of the slabs implies that upright end-stones or shafts may have been used with them, an arrangement that may have been determined by the limiting size of the Roman blocks reused by the sculptors.¹² A number of Anglo-Scandinavian cross-shafts were also found incorporated into the cathedral's Norman foundations, which probably also came originally from the cemetery.¹³ Among this assemblage Lang has identified a group which he terms the York Metropolitan School, which also consists of other pieces from

⁴ Bailey, *England's Earliest Sculptors*, p. 95.

⁵ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume III: York and Eastern Yorkshire*, p. 3.

⁶ Richard A. Hall, 'A Historiographical Introduction to Anglo-Scandinavian York', in *Aspects of Anglo-Scandinavian York*, ed. by Richard A. Hall and others, The Archaeology of York, 8/4 (York: Council for British Archaeology, 2004), pp. 293-304 (p. 303).

⁷ D. Phillips, B. Heywood and M. O. H. Carver, *Excavations at York Minster Vol. 1. From Roman Fortress to Norman Cathedral* (London, HMSO, 1995), p. 80.

⁸ Bailey, *England's Earliest Sculptors*, p. 11.

⁹ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume III: York and Eastern Yorkshire*, p. 26.

¹⁰ Phillips, Heywood, and Carver, *Excavations at York Minster Vol. 1.*, p. 84.

¹¹ Lang, 'Continuity and Innovation in Anglo-Scandinavian Sculpture: A Study of the Metropolitan School at York' (p. 151).

¹² Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume III: York and Eastern Yorkshire*, p. 28.

¹³ Pattinson, 'The Nunburnholme Cross and Anglo-Danish Sculpture in York' (p. 211).

the city as well as an outlier at Gainford (Co. Durham).¹⁴ The sculptures which form this school lack inscriptions or surfaces suitable for painted texts, and all but one, York Minster 39, share what Lang terms the 'York winged beast'.¹⁵ The school is characterised by a move towards dense, repeating patterns of alternating animals.¹⁶ The fact that several of the school's pieces are very similar suggests that the same workshops, templates or hands were responsible for at least some of these.¹⁷ Indeed, the York series seems to have been almost mass-produced in the city. The grave-slabs have a generally similar layout, divided by a cross into panels which are filled with animal ornament.¹⁸ The Minster sculptures are generally of a high quality, and according to Lang, 'revealed an expertise which had hitherto never been associated with late pre-Conquest sculptors'.¹⁹

Previous scholarship on the sculpture of Anglo-Scandinavian York has tended to emphasise its dependence on the Anglian sculptural tradition. The taste for stylised animal art has been seen as essentially a revival of earlier Anglo-Saxon art. Thus Thomas Kendrick wrote that in this period 'Anglo-Saxon barbaric animal art was revived', arguing that 'the English had done all this "Danish art" business before'.²⁰ Kendrick, who was writing before the excavation of the cemetery site, but considering similar pieces, wrote that what Jellinge influence there was in Northumbria added a 'Scandinavian wildness' to 'the old English theme of the interlocking Ribbon Style beast'.²¹ Kendrick, writing of sculpture elsewhere in the city, emphasised the Anglian roots of motifs employed by Anglo-Scandinavian sculptors. Thus, he described the St Denys 2 grave-cover as bearing a 'closely packed and disordered design', featuring not true Jellinge animals but 'the English winged biped'.²² Such an approach seems to have been based on a view of the Anglo-Scandinavian period which saw it as a temporary occupation of what remained essentially an English place. Thus according to Kendrick, the Vikings loved barbaric art, and 'welcomed an English revival of it in the provinces that they occupied'.²³ This view, which privileges the ultimate Insular derivation of motifs and forms over their contemporary

¹⁴ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume III: York and Eastern Yorkshire*, p. 26.

¹⁵ Victoria Thompson, *Dying and Death in Later Anglo-Saxon England* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2004), p. 157.

¹⁶ Lang, 'Continuity and Innovation in Anglo-Scandinavian Sculpture: A Study of the Metropolitan School at York' (p. 149).

¹⁷ Thompson, *Dying and Death in Later Anglo-Saxon England*, pp. 157-59.

¹⁸ Lang, 'Continuity and Innovation in Anglo-Scandinavian Sculpture: A Study of the Metropolitan School at York' (p. 150).

¹⁹ James T. Lang, 'Recent Studies in the Pre-Conquest Sculpture of Northumbria', in *Studies in Medieval Sculpture*, ed. by Frederick Hugh Thompson (London: Society of Antiquaries of London, 1983), pp. 177-89 (p. 178).

²⁰ Thomas D. Kendrick, *Late Saxon and Viking Art* (London: Methuen & Co., 1949), p. 94.

²¹ Kendrick, *Late Saxon and Viking Art*, pp. 93-94.

²² Kendrick, *Late Saxon and Viking Art*, p. 94.

²³ Kendrick, *Late Saxon and Viking Art*, p. 96.

context and function, has persisted. Bailey, while acknowledging that Scandinavian forms were produced by the York sculptors, describes the process of cultural transmission in a way that implies that the medium of stone sculpture itself remained essentially unchanged. Thus these Scandinavian forms were 'absorbed into the decorative vocabulary of stone sculpture'.²⁴ While he argues elsewhere that the Minster carvings display the 'sophisticated Jellinge art of the Viking capital',²⁵ and in his view the Sigurd depictions and Jellinge ornament indicate a 'fusion of two traditions', with the medium of stone carving Insular and the motifs 'foreign', the stones ultimately illustrate the 'adjustment which had been the key to the assimilation and successful conversion' of the Scandinavian settlers.²⁶ Again, we see a narrative of Scandinavian assimilation into the Anglian mainstream, a process which would not have seemed apparent, or certainly inevitable, before 954. Lang also emphasises the Anglian ancestry of the sculpture, stating that 'most of the ornamental repertoire of Anglo-Scandinavian sculpture in this region is derived from Anglian, or at least Insular, motifs'.²⁷ For Lang, the cemetery slabs are above all illustrative of the 'continuity of animal styles, their natural evolution and the conservatism of their panel design across the year 900'.²⁸ He also argues that the taste for human figures, interlace and animal ornament was not Scandinavian, but drawn from the Anglian period, with changes only in mode and detail. He argues that new Scandinavian elements in this art are so changed from their original forms that this art should be termed 'Viking colonial' or 'Anglo-Scandinavian'.²⁹ While 'Anglo-Scandinavian' does suggest a genuine hybridity and a new artistic tradition, the term 'Viking colonial' seems to imply an artistic tradition dependent on a Scandinavian centre. The latter term seems to situate York as a kind of far-flung Scandinavian colonial outpost looking to the prevalent art style of the centre, perhaps at the expense of the 'native' tradition. Considering the art of Anglo-Scandinavian York more generally, Dominic Tweddle's observation that few decorated objects are purely Scandinavian, with most objects 'preserving only echoes and resonances of the original' Scandinavian motifs or styles also seems to situate York as a distant colony of Scandinavia proper.³⁰

This sub-chapter, by re-examining the Anglo-Scandinavian sculpture from the Minster site and attempting to resituate it in its historical and geographical context will question these previous

²⁴ Bailey, *England's Earliest Sculptors*, p. 84.

²⁵ Bailey, 'Scandinavian Myth on Viking-Period Stone Sculpture in England' (p. 263).

²⁶ Bailey, 'Scandinavian Myth on Viking-Period Stone Sculpture in England' (p. 209).

²⁷ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume III: York and Eastern Yorkshire*, p. 32.

²⁸ Lang, 'Continuity and Innovation in Anglo-Scandinavian Sculpture: A Study of the Metropolitan School at York' (p. 151).

²⁹ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume III: York and Eastern Yorkshire*, p. 32.

³⁰ Dominic Tweddle, 'Art in Pre-Conquest York', in *Aspects of Anglo-Scandinavian York*, ed. by Richard A. Hall and others, *The Archaeology of York 8/4* (York: Council for British Archaeology, 2004), pp. 446-58 (p. 453).

readings. This analysis will show that York, from pre-history to the Anglo-Scandinavian period, was a site of central geographic, political and symbolic importance. The sculpture from the site should not be read as that of an occupied 'English' province, or a remote colonial outpost. Conversely, York should be considered a centre in its own right, a powerful and flourishing mercantile city recognised as the symbolic heart of the Anglo-Scandinavian kingdom of Northumbria. The sculptors there seem to have recognised the Roman significance of the city and to have drawn on its imperial connotations in their selection of stone. Furthermore, changes to the city's topography, name and street-names had transformed it into an Anglo-Scandinavian place, radically different from the Anglian city of the earlier ninth century. The sculpture produced there should be seen as the confident, hybrid art of a new centre, drawing on both Anglian and Scandinavian models to produce something radically new. This hybridity should not be taken to imply that the Anglian and Scandinavian traditions that met in York were either homogeneous or fully separate entities. Thus Lang notes, when considering Scandinavian and Insular animal ornament of this period, that they were similar enough to 'make ethnic attributions a dubious act of criticism'.³¹ Writing specifically of York, Victoria Thompson notes that the different groups in the city 'shared a huge percentage of their broader cultural and symbolic language and a wide repertoire of animal art was part of that common inheritance.'³² This was the hybrid art produced by the meeting of two related and themselves hybrid traditions.

Landscape

Geography

An examination of the context of the York Minster cemetery and its sculpture will challenge some of the previous readings of the material. Much of the importance of the city as a centre in its own right rests on its strategic location in the Vale of York, the northern section of the Midland plain. The Vale itself is around sixty miles long and varies in width from ten to around thirty miles.³³ Since the pre-Roman period, York was a key crossing point of the Vale. To the north lay the forest of Galtres, which spread, interspersed with heathland, to the north of Northallerton. To the south, another barrier to communication was formed by an area of forest and marsh. At York, however, a glacial moraine and a relatively narrow river crossing provided an east-west route through this difficult landscape.³⁴

³¹ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume III: York and Eastern Yorkshire*, p. 33.

³² Thompson, *Dying and Death in Later Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 159.

³³ Frank Elgee and Harriet Elgee, *The Archaeology of Yorkshire* (London: Methuen, 1933), pp. 4-5.

³⁴ W. A. Fairburn, 'Landforms and the geological evolution of the Vale of York during the Late Devensian', *Proceedings of the Yorkshire Geological Society*, 57 (2009), 145-54 (p. 150).

Romano-British

It was in the Roman period that this strategic location led to the creation of a politically, militarily and symbolically important settlement at York. Such was the impact of the Roman colonisers that even in the ninth and tenth centuries this would have been seen as very much a Roman place, with the Anglo-Scandinavian cemetery looking back to Roman, as well as Anglian usage and tradition, evidenced in a very concrete way by the Anglo-Scandinavian reuse of Roman stone for the Minster carvings. For the Romans, the site had obvious advantages as a military centre. It may have been chosen to allow the army to strike at pockets of Brigantian resistance in both the Pennines and the North York Moors. The site also had good communication links with the Roman province to the south, and there were overland routes to both Lincoln and Chester. The city could be supplied by sea using the Ouse and Humber, and could draw on high quality agricultural land in the Vale of York for provisions. The site was easily defensible as it was located at the confluence of the rivers Ouse and Fosse, and was slightly elevated.³⁵ The city originated as a fortress erected by the ninth legion in 71 AD,³⁶ and was redeveloped in the reign of Trajan (98-117), with stone walls, towers and gates.³⁷ It was also a spiritual centre of some kind in this period. While little remains of Roman Christianity at York, a tile with a Chi-Rho monogram does attest to the presence of the religion in the city,³⁸ and a bishop of York is known to have attended a church council at Arles in the year 314.³⁹ Control of the city in the early post-Roman period may have been in the hands of the British kingdom of Elmet. Later, from the latter part of the fifth century onwards, there is evidence of an incoming Anglian population. This evidence includes cremation cemeteries from the city outskirts at Heworth and the Mount, close to Roman roads leading into the city, perhaps suggesting 'some continuity of sacred associations' with the similarly-situated Roman cemeteries.⁴⁰

What was to become the Anglo-Scandinavian cemetery site was at the spiritual and hierarchical centre of this important Roman settlement. At the centre of the fortress, on the site of the present Minster, stood the headquarters building, or *principia*. This was the administrative centre of the legion and where 'official religious ceremonies were observed'. This would have been an imposing stone structure, perhaps as many as 20 metres high, and would have dominated the landscape from its elevated position.⁴¹ At the back of the basilica,

³⁵ Patrick Ottaway, *English Heritage Book of Roman York* (London: Batsford, 1993), pp. 19-21.

³⁶ Ottaway, *English Heritage Book of Roman York*, p. 11.

³⁷ Richard Muir, *Old Yorkshire: The Story of the Yorkshire Landscape and People* (London: Joseph, 1987), pp. 76-77.

³⁸ Ottaway, *English Heritage Book of Roman York*, p. 108.

³⁹ Muir, *Old Yorkshire: The Story of the Yorkshire Landscape and People*, p. 94.

⁴⁰ Ottaway, *English Heritage Book of Roman York*, p. 117.

⁴¹ Ottaway, *English Heritage Book of Roman York*, p. 28.

where the Anglo-Scandinavian cemetery was later laid out, would have been the *aedes*, the legionary shrine which housed a legion's standard and sacred cult statues. This was the 'physical and emotional focus of the fortress'. The statues within the shrine probably included the Capitoline Triad, Jupiter, Juno and Minerva, along with an image of the reigning emperor.⁴² This symbolic centre was the precise location of the later cemetery. The pre-Norman burials were concentrated in the area defined by the Roman basilica and the rear range of the *principia*, orientated along the short axis of the basilica.⁴³ While it is possible that by the Anglo-Scandinavian period the *principia* had largely disappeared, there was clearly continuing awareness of the Roman structure in the period, as its stub walls were used to define the Minster cemetery.⁴⁴ The city more widely would certainly have been seen as a Roman place; Alfred Smyth argues that the remains of Roman buildings were still standing when the Scandinavian settlement took place, with the walls of the fortress still as high as three metres.⁴⁵

It was largely the Roman past that shaped the city's topography. Indeed, even the 'form of the modern city has been substantially determined' by decisions taken in the Roman period.⁴⁶ Stonegate, leading south-west from the Minster and the Anglo-Scandinavian cemetery, follows the line of the Roman *via praetoria*. Smyth speculates that it may have retained its Roman paving into the tenth century.⁴⁷ The present-day Petergate, again running close to the cemetery, also follows the line of a Roman thoroughfare.⁴⁸ Richard Muir suggests that the Roman gateway near Monk Bar, to the north-east of the Minster site, may have remained in use until the fourteenth century when a new gatehouse was erected.⁴⁹ Roman remains are visible in the city to this day. Roman walling is still in place at the eastern corner of the fortress, and a Roman defensive structure, known as the Multangular Tower, still stands at its western corner. The later medieval walls around the Minster overlie the Roman defences, and significantly for our site the remains of the *principia* can still be seen under the central tower of the present cathedral.⁵⁰ Thus, for those visiting, using and being buried in the Anglo-Scandinavian cemetery, the remains of the Roman past would have been all around. It seems

⁴² Ottaway, *English Heritage Book of Roman York*, pp. 28-30.

⁴³ Phillips, Heywood, and Carver, *Excavations at York Minster Vol. 1.*, p. 79.

⁴⁴ Richard A. Hall, 'A Kingdom Too Far: York in the Early Tenth Century', in *Edward the Elder: 899-924*, ed. by N.J. Higham and D.H. Hill (Abingdon: Taylor & Francis Group, 2001), pp. 188-99 (p. 194).

⁴⁵ Smyth, *Scandinavian York and Dublin: The History and Archaeology of Two Related Viking Kingdoms*, I, p. 229.

⁴⁶ Ottaway, *English Heritage Book of Roman York*, p. 11.

⁴⁷ Smyth, *Scandinavian York and Dublin: The History and Archaeology of Two Related Viking Kingdoms*, I, p. 236.

⁴⁸ Ottaway, *English Heritage Book of Roman York*, p. 13.

⁴⁹ Muir, *Old Yorkshire: The Story of the Yorkshire Landscape and People*, p. 193.

⁵⁰ Ottaway, *English Heritage Book of Roman York*, p. 13.

highly likely that there was some symbolic significance to this reuse of a Roman site, an awareness of its past high status and imperial connotations as a symbol of a strong, centralising power.

Anglo-Saxon

York seems to have lost the pre-eminent status it enjoyed in the Roman period in the first few centuries of Anglo-Saxon England. The city may have been slow to develop as a major political centre as in the early Anglian period; Goodmanham, in the East Riding, seems to have been the initial focus of the new kingdom of Deira, and was the site of the conversion of Edwin and his thanes.⁵¹ However, Edwin was baptised at York on Easter day in 627, in a hastily-erected timber church.⁵² In 699 Wilfrid took control of the see of York, and restored its dilapidated church,⁵³ although this was burnt in 741 and replaced by another cathedral.⁵⁴ By the late seventh century, then, the city had 'reasserted its presence as a dominating centre in the Yorkshire landscape'.⁵⁵ An understanding of the Roman significance of York was certainly present into the Anglo-Saxon period. Thus, when Pope Gregory asked Archbishop Augustine of Canterbury to send a bishop to York, he referred to the place as *Eburacam civitatem*, and specified that it should be established as a metropolitan see.⁵⁶ The administrative focus of the city had shifted, however, away from the Minster site. The Anglo-Saxon palace, according to Christopher Norton, was probably located away from the remains of the *principia*, either at King's Square or around the church of Holy Trinity Goodramgate. Similarly, there does not seem to have been continuity with Roman Christian remains on the Minster site, as Norton suggests that any Roman cathedral would have been across the Ouse in the Roman civilian settlement, or *colonia*,⁵⁷ although the power represented by the Roman *principia* may have informed the choice of site for the Anglo-Saxon minster, itself a powerful institution in both political and spiritual terms. Indeed, David Wilson suggests that part of the Roman forum was reused as part of the early Anglo-Saxon church.⁵⁸

The condition and use of the Minster area in the Anglo-Saxon period is somewhat obscure. The period between the fourth and ninth centuries has been described as a 'chronological

⁵¹ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume III: York and Eastern Yorkshire*, p. 7.

⁵² Muir, *Old Yorkshire: The Story of the Yorkshire Landscape and People*, p. 96.

⁵³ Christopher Norton, 'The Anglo-Saxon Cathedral at York and the Topography of the Anglian City', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 151 (1998), 1-42 (p. 1).

⁵⁴ Muir, *Old Yorkshire: The Story of the Yorkshire Landscape and People*, p. 96.

⁵⁵ Muir, *Old Yorkshire: The Story of the Yorkshire Landscape and People*, p. 91.

⁵⁶ Rosemary Cramp, *Anglian and Viking York* (York: St. Anthony's Press, 1971), pp. 3-4.

⁵⁷ Norton, 'The Anglo-Saxon Cathedral at York and the Topography of the Anglian City' (pp. 25-6).

⁵⁸ David M. Wilson, *Anglo-Saxon Art: From the Seventh Century to the Norman Conquest* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1984), p. 53.

quagmire' in terms of the site's stratigraphy.⁵⁹ However, the area around the cemetery seems to have seen at least 'periodic use' in the post-Roman period. Workshops were set up in the *principia's* rear range, and crushed tile flooring seems to have been laid down at the northwest end of the basilica, suggesting 'preparation for periodic special occasions'.⁶⁰ The post-Roman industrial activity in the rear range of the *principia* included the erection of *ad hoc* hearths.⁶¹ However, the archaeological evidence can be used to support other narratives concerning the site. Assemblages of animal bones could be taken to indicate that the basilica had become an agricultural building or a type of market hall in the fourth and fifth centuries.⁶² Conversely, Norton argues that in this period the area of the Roman *principia* was most probably an expanse of rough, raised ground used as a quarry.⁶³ Even the location of the Anglo-Saxon cathedral is unknown. Lang suggests that it stood in the courtyard of the *principia*, to the south of the present minster,⁶⁴ while Norton argues that it lay in the later enclosure of the Archbishops' palace, to the north of the Norman church.⁶⁵ The earliest Anglian carvings found in the city are those from the Minster, at least suggesting that the Anglo-Saxon cathedral was close by. Lang suggests that their relative crispness may indicate they were once displayed inside some kind of structure, presumably a church or a funerary chapel.⁶⁶ The excavations at the Minster also revealed the only known examples of Anglo-Saxon 'truncated obelisks', monuments of the seventh century which drew on Merovingian models.⁶⁷ Beyond this sculpture, there is little evidence for the Anglian period within the area of the Roman fortress. Finds do indicate settlement across the river in Bishophill in the eighth and ninth centuries, an area which may also have been an important ecclesiastical focus.⁶⁸ York thus continued to be a site of considerable significance in this period, with both royal and ecclesiastical importance. It seems that the cemetery site itself would not have been seen as a centrally important Anglo-Saxon place – the Anglian monuments there may have been moved from an ecclesiastical cemetery further north.⁶⁹ Instead, the site may have retained its Roman associations,

⁵⁹ Phillips, Heywood, and Carver, *Excavations at York Minster Vol. 1.*, p. 180.

⁶⁰ Phillips, Heywood, and Carver, *Excavations at York Minster Vol. 1.*, p. 65.

⁶¹ Phillips, Heywood, and Carver, *Excavations at York Minster Vol. 1.*, pp. 66-67.

⁶² Phillips, Heywood, and Carver, *Excavations at York Minster Vol. 1.*, pp. 189-90.

⁶³ Norton, 'The Anglo-Saxon Cathedral at York and the Topography of the Anglian City' (p. 26).

⁶⁴ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume III: York and Eastern Yorkshire*, p. 17.

⁶⁵ Norton, 'The Anglo-Saxon Cathedral at York and the Topography of the Anglian City' (p. 12).

⁶⁶ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume III: York and Eastern Yorkshire*, p. 17.

⁶⁷ Bailey, *England's Earliest Sculptors*, p. 36.

⁶⁸ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume III: York and Eastern Yorkshire*, p. 8.

⁶⁹ Christopher Norton, 'York Minster in the Time of Wulfstan', in *Wulfstan, Archbishop of York: The Proceedings of the Second Alcuin Conference*, ed. by Matthew Townend (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), pp. 207-234 (p. 226).

especially given that at least during the first few centuries of Anglian rule the Roman basilica was probably still standing.⁷⁰

Ninth and Tenth Centuries

In the Anglo-Scandinavian period, the cemetery site and the wider city were transformed. This was not merely an occupied Anglian province, or a weak colony dependent on a distant Scandinavian centre, but a flourishing centre of a powerful new polity, which in both topography and its street-names was being remade into a radically new, Anglo-Scandinavian place. The cemetery site itself saw increased activity after the capture of York by the Viking great army in 866-67.⁷¹ This may have been a very important burial ground; in 880, the Viking leader Guthfrith was chosen as king at York, and after his death in 895 he was buried at his 'head church', presumably York Minster.⁷² The Anglo-Scandinavian cemetery could have been the location of this internment, and thus a quasi-royal site in this period.⁷³ Indeed, the site seems to have become one of the principal burial grounds for the new elite. Within the cemetery, most burial types are fairly evenly distributed across the excavated areas. The more unusual types, however, such as those incorporating grave-slabs, sarcophagi or stone linings tend to be clustered together.⁷⁴ This could indicate that families or other discrete groups, perhaps sharing a preference for an unusual burial type, were interred in the same area, thus affirming group identity. As these burials were of types that would have required greater investment of resources, it can be inferred that these were largely of members of the new, Anglo-Scandinavian, social elite.⁷⁵

Norton suggests that the excavated graves were part of a considerably larger cemetery, extending towards Petergate, and possibly associated with the adjacent church of St Michael le Belfrey.⁷⁶ The cemetery is situated on the southern edge of the cathedral precinct, and was easily accessible from the rest of the city. On this basis, Norton suggests that it may have served as a burial ground both for the clergy and high-status laity. He argues that the reused Anglian monuments found in the Anglo-Scandinavian cemetery were probably sourced from

⁷⁰ Phillips, Heywood, and Carver, *Excavations at York Minster Vol. 1.*, p. 190.

⁷¹ David W. Rollason, 'Anglo-Scandiavian York: The Evidence of Historical Sources', in *Aspects of Anglo-Scandinavian York*, ed. by Richard A. Hall and others, The Archaeology of York, 8/4 (York: Council for British Archaeology, 2004), 305-324 (p. 305).

⁷² Alan L. Binns, *The Viking Century in East Yorkshire* (York: East Yorkshire Local History Society, 1963), p. 11.

⁷³ Thompson, *Dying and Death in Later Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 156.

⁷⁴ Dawn M. Hadley and Jo Buckleberry, 'Caring for the Dead in Late Anglo-Saxon England', in *Pastoral Care in Late Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. by Francesca Tinti (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2005), pp. 121-47 (p. 143).

⁷⁵ Hadley and Buckleberry, 'Caring for the Dead in Late Anglo-Saxon England' (p. 144).

⁷⁶ Norton, 'York Minster in the Time of Wulfstan' (pp. 224-26).

an earlier, primarily ecclesiastical cemetery to the north.⁷⁷ The cemetery is the only evidence for Anglo-Scandinavian occupation or activity within the Roman basilica. Nearby, in the shell of a Roman barracks was a possible Anglo-Scandinavian hearth. The significance of this find is unclear, however, as the scale of activity is difficult to assess and the hearth could conceivably have been operated by or for the cathedral community.⁷⁸ Smyth suggests that the Minster authorities prevented Scandinavian development in the fortress area, where there may have been an archiepiscopal school, mint and library.⁷⁹ However, finds of Anglo-Scandinavian pottery and a number of ninth-century coins at the site may indicate some kind of wider activity there.⁸⁰

Moving beyond the cemetery site, the city itself seems to have been 'radically changed by the Scandinavian' settlement. This was reflected in the names given to both the city, which followed a new Scandinavian pronunciation of the Old English toponym, and to the city's streets.⁸¹ In the post-Roman period, *Eboracum* became *Eburac* or *Evdroc*. Under the Anglo-Saxons, this became *Eofor-wic*, which in turn morphed into the Anglo-Scandinavian *Jórvík*.⁸² The city has more Scandinavian place-names than any other town outside Scandinavia itself, most of which have Danish rather than West Norse origins. Thus both Coney Street and King's Court derive from the Old Danish form of *kunung*.⁸³ Some names have very close parallels in Scandinavian towns. Thus Blake Street, derived from the *bleikja*, to bleach, is echoed by Blegstraede in the Danish town of Holbæk.⁸⁴ Many street-names with the element *gata* were recorded in the eleventh century and are of probable Scandinavian origin, such as Monkgate. Other names of this type may have been drawn from Old English or Scandinavian sources, such as Walmgate and Fishergate.⁸⁵ Similarly, North Street, on the west bank of the Ouse, could be of English or Danish origin.⁸⁶ These ambiguous derivations highlight the fact that this was not a simple Scandinavian takeover, but a process of hybridisation which was taking place between two already related cultural traditions. York's Scandinavian-influenced street-names contain a

⁷⁷ Norton, 'York Minster in the Time of Wulfstan' (p. 226).

⁷⁸ Richard A. Hall, 'The Topography of Anglo-Scandinavian York', in *Aspects of Anglo-Scandinavian York*, ed. by Richard A. Hall and others, The Archaeology of York, 8/4 (York: Council for British Archaeology, 2004), pp. 488-97 (p. 493).

⁷⁹ Smyth, *Scandinavian York and Dublin: The History and Archaeology of Two Related Viking Kingdoms*, I, pp. 232-33.

⁸⁰ Phillips, Heywood, and Carver, *Excavations at York Minster Vol. 1.*, pp. 192-93.

⁸¹ Cramp, *Anglian and Viking York*, p. 17.

⁸² Muir, *Old Yorkshire: The Story of the Yorkshire Landscape and People*, pp. 90-91.

⁸³ Smyth, *Scandinavian York and Dublin: The History and Archaeology of Two Related Viking Kingdoms*, I, pp. 235-36.

⁸⁴ Gillian Fellows-Jensen, 'The Anglo-Scandinavian Street Names of York', in *Aspects of Anglo-Scandinavian York*, ed. by Richard A. Hall and others, The Archaeology of York, 8/4 (York: Council for British Archaeology, 2004), pp. 357-71 (p. 361).

⁸⁵ Fellows-Jensen, 'The Anglo-Scandinavian Street Names of York' (pp. 363-64).

⁸⁶ Fellows-Jensen, 'The Anglo-Scandinavian Street Names of York' (p. 361).

large variety of generics, such as *bogi* (bow), *garðr* (enclosure) and *geil* (narrow alley). Such variety seems to point to a dense and long-lasting pattern of Scandinavian settlement.⁸⁷ The use of Scandinavian occupational terms in York's street-names also suggests that the network of streets was being laid down when the city was home to both Scandinavian languages and craftsmen.⁸⁸ The place-name evidence points to a persistent Scandinavian influence on the city's topography. The Scandinavian element *gata*, for example, did not fall quickly out of favour after the final Anglo-Saxon conquest of the city in 954, but continued to be used for new names, such as Davygate, into the twelfth century.⁸⁹ Thus it seems that the level of Scandinavian influence on York's street-names would have effectively Scandinavianised the city's topography, with a 'close-meshed network of streets with Scandinavian names' in place by the Norman Conquest.⁹⁰ However, the place-names of the city also point to a wide range of connections in what appears to have been a cosmopolitan city. There are Old Norse forms of street-names, such as those incorporating the element *geil*, signifying a narrow passage between houses. Others, such as Patrick's Pool, indicate the close links between the Scandinavian centres at York and Dublin.⁹¹ Other street-names recorded after the end of the Anglo-Scandinavian period attest to even wider cultural origins. Thus Bretgate, recorded in the twelfth century, and the now lost Brettegate, recorded in the thirteenth century, refer to Britons. These may have been survivors from the British kingdom of Elmet, individuals who had travelled from Cumbria with Scandinavian settlers, or possibly Bretons who had settled in the city after the Norman Conquest.⁹²

This Scandinavianisation of York's topography was accompanied by a shift in the pattern of activity within the city. The focus of this activity seems to have been to the south of the present Minster area in this period. Scandinavian finds tend to be found in a 'fortified triangle' protected by the rivers Ouse and Foss. In this context the Ouse crossing moved downstream, affording easier access to the Anglo-Scandinavian centre on the east bank.⁹³ The political centre seems also to have been away from the Minster site in this period, probably located on the edge of the Roman fortress at King's Square.⁹⁴

⁸⁷ Fellows-Jensen, 'The Anglo-Scandinavian Street Names of York' (p. 367).

⁸⁸ Fellows-Jensen, 'The Anglo-Scandinavian Street Names of York' (p. 371).

⁸⁹ Fellows-Jensen, 'The Anglo-Scandinavian Street Names of York' (p. 359).

⁹⁰ Fellows-Jensen, 'The Anglo-Scandinavian Street Names of York' (p. 371).

⁹¹ Smyth, *Scandinavian York and Dublin: The History and Archaeology of Two Related Viking Kingdoms*, I, p. 236.

⁹² Fellows-Jensen, 'The Anglo-Scandinavian Street Names of York' (pp. 365-66).

⁹³ Smyth, *Scandinavian York and Dublin: The History and Archaeology of Two Related Viking Kingdoms*, I, pp. 229-32.

⁹⁴ Smyth, *Scandinavian York and Dublin: The History and Archaeology of Two Related Viking Kingdoms*, I, p. 234.

The city was very much the political and symbolic centre of Anglo-Scandinavian power in the north of England, in much the same way as it had been during the Roman period. Indeed, the Roman past seems to have been of continuing significance. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle refers to the Vikings breaking into the city, implying that it was fortified, presumably reusing the Roman walls.⁹⁵ York had continuing significance as the 'symbolic ancient centre of power' according to Richard Hall.⁹⁶ Of course, York's strategic position was a crucial factor here, and the city in this period was of particular geographic importance. The city has a central position in Britain, looks towards the Continent and Scandinavia via the Humber, and was strategically placed close to the Northumbrian frontier with the Anglo-Saxon territories to the south.⁹⁷ It was the only large mercantile and commercial centre in Northumbria and a 'national node of regional, national and international communications'.⁹⁸ It was also in the centre of the Vale of York, which saw the heaviest concentration of Scandinavian settlement in the region.⁹⁹ The city also seems to have flourished economically and became a settlement of substantial size and wealth. In the Domesday Book, York was a city of 'considerable size', the largest town described in the survey. In 1066, it was recorded as having 1,607 dwellings, indicating a population that has been estimated at over 9,000. This can be compared with Norwich, the second-largest described settlement, which may have had a population of around 6,600. Similarly, in 1066 York paid fifty-three pounds to the crown, the highest amount recorded.¹⁰⁰ The foundation of new churches in this period also attests to this prosperity.¹⁰¹ This flourishing, strategic centre seems to have been seen fundamentally as an Anglo-Scandinavian place – unsurprising given the city's street-names. In literature, York was the city most associated with the Scandinavian presence in England, featuring as the setting of tenth-century episodes in *Egils saga*.¹⁰² York was named on the coins of the Anglo-Scandinavian kingdom of Northumbria, and was the place seized by Regnald to take power in the kingdom in 919.¹⁰³ It seems that contemporary observers saw the Viking conquest as one which constituted a takeover and remaking of both the urban and rural landscape; the eleventh-century *Historia*

⁹⁵ Rollason, 'Anglo-Scandinavian York: The Evidence of Historical Sources' (p. 308).

⁹⁶ Hall, 'A Kingdom Too Far: York in the Early Tenth Century' (p. 194).

⁹⁷ Smyth, *Scandinavian York and Dublin: The History and Archaeology of Two Related Viking Kingdoms*, I, pp. 196-97.

⁹⁸ Hall, 'A Kingdom Too Far: York in the Early Tenth Century' (p. 193).

⁹⁹ Smyth, *Scandinavian York and Dublin: The History and Archaeology of Two Related Viking Kingdoms*, I, p. 281.

¹⁰⁰ Rollason, 'Anglo-Scandinavian York: The Evidence of Historical Sources' (pp. 320-21).

¹⁰¹ Thompson, *Dying and Death in Later Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 159.

¹⁰² Richard A. Hall, 'Anglo-Scandinavian Attitudes: Archaeological Ambiguities in Late Ninth- to Mid-Eleventh-Century York', in *Cultures in Contact: Scandinavian Settlement in England in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries*, ed. by Dawn M. Hadley and Julian D. Richards (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), pp. 295-324 (p. 310).

¹⁰³ Hall, 'A Kingdom Too Far: York in the Early Tenth Century' (p. 193).

de Sancto Cuthberto records that the Viking army ‘rebuilt the city of York, cultivated the land around it, and remained there’.¹⁰⁴ Thus, the history and geography of the city in this period show that it was not merely an occupied Anglian province or a colonial backwater. Instead it was ‘the headquarters of an independent Anglo-Scandinavian statelet’,¹⁰⁵ a ‘fast-growing mercantile centre, with its own kings’.¹⁰⁶ In this context the sculpture from the cemetery site should be seen not as merely derivative of Anglian forms, or a lesser reflection of Scandinavian art styles, but as the art of a confident, expansionist polity, erected on a site with continuing imperial significance, and in a city that was being transformed by the new and hybrid culture of its Anglo-Scandinavian elite.

Material and Form

An examination of the material used by the sculptors of these Anglo-Scandinavian monuments provides further support for the importance of the Roman past. In two instances there is clear evidence for the conscious reuse of Roman materials. York Minster 42 is an adapted Roman tombstone with an inscription, and York Minster 37 clearly a Roman half pillar.¹⁰⁷ More widely, the York sculptors used lower magnesian limestone, much of which was probably reused Roman ashlar; these dolomitic limestones were also employed in the construction of the *principia*. These blocks were probably quarried at Tadcaster – Roman *Calcaria* – or around Huddleston and New Micklefield, an area close to the Roman road linking York and Tadcaster to Doncaster.¹⁰⁸

Other pieces used stone drawn from further afield. A small number of sculptures, such as York Minster 45, utilised a pale brown sandstone which may have been sourced from the Elland Flags sandstones, perhaps quarried at the Chevin outside Otley. York Minster 2, also probably reused Roman ashlar, is of Millstone Grit, probably from Hetchell Crag or Otley again. Looking to the east of York, the York Minster 41 grave cover used a fine-grained white limestone from Hildenley, near Malton, while York Minster 7 is a fine or medium grained sandstone from the Corallin Oolite Formation, possibly sourced from around Stonegrave or Malton. The only stone to have been sourced from outside the modern county is the grave-cover fragment York Minster 40, now built into the Norman foundations and visible in the undercroft, which is of a Lincolnshire limestone. The general use of Tadcaster limestone also followed Anglian practice at the Minster. Thus the Anglo-Scandinavian cross-shaft fragment York Minster 9 has the same stone type as York Minster 1, an Anglian cross-shaft of the eighth or ninth centuries, a fine-

¹⁰⁴ Rollason, 'Anglo-Scandiavian York: The Evidence of Historical Sources' (p. 309).

¹⁰⁵ Thompson, *Dying and Death in Later Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 157.

¹⁰⁶ Thompson, *Dying and Death in Later Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 159.

¹⁰⁷ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume III: York and Eastern Yorkshire*, p. 26.

¹⁰⁸ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume III: York and Eastern Yorkshire*, p. 13.

grained dolomitic limestone, in the form of reused Roman ashlar.¹⁰⁹ On one level, of course, the use of such material for the Anglo-Scandinavian carvings simply reflects the availability of large quantities of Roman stone on and around the site. However, it seems that the sculptors were sensitive to the history of these stones. The fact that they reused pieces such as York Minster 42 and York Minster 37, with their obvious signs of past Roman use, rather than stones without distinguishing features, may suggest that they were selected precisely because of their associations with the Roman past. These associations would have been obvious, given that Tadcaster limestone was incorporated into the Roman fortress wall, and can still be seen in place there.¹¹⁰

The Anglo-Scandinavian sculptors at York drew on a wide range of forms. Perhaps significantly, they did not continue the site's Anglian tradition of unusual stelae type markers, which featured incised crosses and seem to have been without cross-arms.¹¹¹ The Anglo-Scandinavian carvers did produce what Lang terms 'cross-shafts', but these were not as high as the Anglian stelae, and were carved in relief.¹¹² While this move away from the stelae may have been nothing more than a return to the sculptural mainstream, it may also have served to distinguish the carvings and the Anglo-Scandinavian patrons from the site's Anglian past. It should be noted here that while these later stones are referred to as 'cross-shafts', only a single cross-arm has been found at the Minster, beneath what is now the Minster library, some distance from the excavated cemetery site to the north across Dean's Park. As Lang gives this a ninth-century date and suggests that it is late Anglian, there seems little reason to assume that the Anglo-Scandinavian fragments from beneath the south transept were originally part of crosses.¹¹³

The York form of grave-cover seems largely confined to the city, and consists of a cross or ridge dividing the top into panels which are filled with animal ornament.¹¹⁴ The slabs' dividing crosses may be derived from local Anglian examples, such as Kirkdale 7, although Lang notes that the Minster crosses seem 'more like borders than Christian symbols'.¹¹⁵ The Minster grave-covers are all of similar dimensions, which conform to those of some of the larger building-blocks used in the *principia*. It is also possible that the coped grave-covers found in

¹⁰⁹ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume III: York and Eastern Yorkshire*, pp. 13, 53-54, 57, 59, 74-75.

¹¹⁰ Ottaway, *English Heritage Book of Roman York*, p. 40.

¹¹¹ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume III: York and Eastern Yorkshire*, p. 18.

¹¹² Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume III: York and Eastern Yorkshire*, p. 29. See, for example, York Minster 2.

¹¹³ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume III: York and Eastern Yorkshire*, pp. 19, 59-60.

¹¹⁴ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume III: York and Eastern Yorkshire*, p. 28.

¹¹⁵ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume III: York and Eastern Yorkshire*, p. 39.

the cemetery were originally lids from Roman sarcophagi.¹¹⁶ Thus this form seems to owe as much to Roman as to Anglian precedence. The grave-covers of the York school are not confined to the Minster cemetery, but are found elsewhere within the city, at St Mary's Abbey, St Denys and St Mary Bishophill Junior, while there is also an outlier at Gainford.¹¹⁷



Figure 2: The Hedda stone, Peterborough. Copyright and photographer Dr Jane Hawkes.

The hogback, two examples of which have been found at the Minster, is a house-shaped monument with a bowed roof ridge. Many of these, although not the York examples, have inward-facing beasts at each end. The form seems to have been short-lived, produced from around 920 until the final West Saxon conquest of Northumbria in 954.¹¹⁸ Hogbacks are found most commonly in northern England and southern Scotland, with a few in the north Midlands, one each in Cornwall, Wales and Ireland and a relatively late group in the Orkneys.¹¹⁹ The origins of the form are debated, with no clear consensus on the question. Hall argues that the hogback was a novel type which developed from earlier Anglo-Saxon tomb-slabs. He notes that its 'classic version' has an appearance like a long-house with a tegulated roof and schematic wall posts.¹²⁰ Smyth suggests that the York hogback, along with those from Allertonshire represent the form's earliest type. He argues that they were based on contemporary

¹¹⁶ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume III: York and Eastern Yorkshire*, p. 26.

¹¹⁷ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume III: York and Eastern Yorkshire*, p. 26.

¹¹⁸ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VI: Northern Yorkshire*, pp. 21, 23.

¹¹⁹ Richard A. Hall, *Viking Age Archaeology in Britain and Ireland* (Princes Risborough: Shire, 1990), p. 43.

¹²⁰ Hall, *Viking Age Archaeology in Britain and Ireland*, p. 43.

Scandinavian dwellings, not Insular shrines.¹²¹ Bailey similarly argues that the hogbacks drew on vernacular architecture of the period, but also that they developed from Anglian shrine-tombs. He points to the arched motif on the walls of some hogbacks, which may have been derived from openings giving access to the relics within such shrines.¹²² Catherine Karkov points out that the form does have some precedent in Anglian stone sculpture, such as the Hedda stone at Peterborough cathedral (see fig. 2).¹²³ Amidst this debate, Lang's argument that the form has no single origin, and that a number of sources were drawn on, seems the most plausible.¹²⁴ Howard Williams similarly argues that hogbacks referenced a network of buildings, both secular and religious, including monumental examples such as churches and smaller-scale ones like coffins. Their network of references and lithic quality made them monuments that 'bound the dead in place'.¹²⁵ Lang argues that they are not direct skeuomorphs of buildings, but are best seen as a 'secular response to the impressive saints' shrines common in Western Europe'.¹²⁶ This response imitated building types known both in England and Scandinavia.¹²⁷ The possible sources for the form will be discussed in more detail in the later chapter of this thesis which examines the sculpture from Brompton, which includes an exceptional collection of hogbacks. The significance of the hogback form is also contested. Smyth argues that they were essentially intended to signify Valhøll, with the tiles reflecting its descriptions in *Grímnísmál*.¹²⁸ Thus he calls the hogback a 'Scandinavian innovation'.¹²⁹ However, given the form's distribution, with a heavy concentration in Allertonshire, and largely confined to areas of Viking settlement in northern England,¹³⁰ a simple Scandinavian reading does not seem appropriate. Instead, this should be seen very much as a hybrid form, produced in an Anglo-Scandinavian landscape and drawing on both Insular art and vernacular building types which crossed the North Sea divide. Thus Lang describes the form as 'the epitome of provincial Anglo-Scandinavian sculpture'.¹³¹ However, given the role of York as a sculptural,

¹²¹ Smyth, *Scandinavian York and Dublin: The History and Archaeology of Two Related Viking Kingdoms*, I, p. 275.

¹²² Bailey, *England's Earliest Sculptors*, p. 63.

¹²³ Catherine E. Karkov, *The Art of Anglo-Saxon England* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2011), p. 254.

¹²⁴ James T. Lang, 'The Hogback: A Viking Colonial Monument', in *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History* 3, ed. by S. C. Hawkes, J. Campbell and D. Brown (Oxford: Oxford University Committee for Archaeology, 1984), pp. 85-176 (p. 90).

¹²⁵ Howard Williams, 'Hogbacks: the Materiality of Solid Spaces', in *Early Medieval Stone Monuments: Materiality, Biography, Landscape*, ed. by Howard Williams, Joanne Kirton and Meggen Gondek (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2015), pp. 241-63 (p. 242).

¹²⁶ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume III: York and Eastern Yorkshire*, pp. 28-29.

¹²⁷ Wilson, *Anglo-Saxon Art: From the Seventh Century to the Norman Conquest*, p. 149.

¹²⁸ Smyth, *Scandinavian York and Dublin: The History and Archaeology of Two Related Viking Kingdoms*, I, pp. 275-76.

¹²⁹ Smyth, *Scandinavian York and Dublin: The History and Archaeology of Two Related Viking Kingdoms*, I, p. 273.

¹³⁰ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume III: York and Eastern Yorkshire*, pp. 28-29.

¹³¹ Lang, 'The Hogback: A Viking Colonial Monument' (p. 111).

political and cultural centre in its own right, the description of the hogbacks found there as provincial seems inappropriate; the form may better be described as a hybrid one in a new tradition drawing on the cosmopolitan nature of the city and Anglo-Scandinavian England more generally in this period. Indeed, Lang himself notes that hogbacks show that the sculptors were capable of innovation, and underline the independence of Anglo-Scandinavian art 'in relation to that of the Scandinavian homelands'. They are 'indigenous' to northern Britain.¹³² Wilson similarly implies a hybrid reading, calling the form 'Anglo-Scandinavian in inspiration'.¹³³

Reused Roman Stone

Two of the Anglo-Scandinavian burials from the Minster cemetery include instances of the reuse of Roman stone that were probably conscious decisions to draw on the Roman past. These suggest that the Anglo-Scandinavian sculptors were using this past for symbolic purposes, drawing on the imperial connotations of the Roman city in order to make statements about the new Anglo-Scandinavian society. The use of the same stones by Roman builders and Anglo-Scandinavian sculptors reminds us that such monuments do not have fixed meanings or purposes, but are of a changing significance depending on chronology and context, with later carvings adding new layers of meaning.

Burial 57

Burial 57 includes one stone on which the symbolic potential of Roman *spolia* seems to have been very deliberately exploited. This burial was of an adult male, aged twenty-two to thirty, with a blade injury. Above the body was a reused and inscribed Roman memorial stone, York Minster 42. To this had been added an eleventh-century inscription, commemorating an individual by the name of Costan.¹³⁴ The Romano-British inscription is to the memory of Antonius Gargilianus, former prefect of the sixth legion.¹³⁵ The eleventh-century inscription was added at right angles to this text, opening with a cross, and using an alphabet based on Roman capitals but with 'some departures from the canon'.¹³⁶ The eleventh-century name is of 'uncertain origin'.¹³⁷ Elisabeth Okasha notes that *cos-* and *gos-* are recorded elements of first names in Old English, while the inscription is also reminiscent of the Old Norse name *Kost-*

¹³² Lang, 'The Hogback: A Viking Colonial Monument' (p. 87).

¹³³ Wilson, *Anglo-Saxon Art: From the Seventh Century to the Norman Conquest*, p. 149.

¹³⁴ Phillips, Heywood, and Carver, *Excavations at York Minster Vol. 1.*, p. 90.

¹³⁵ Elisabeth Okasha, *Hand-List of Anglo-Saxon Non-Runic Inscriptions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), pp. 134-35.

¹³⁶ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume III: York and Eastern Yorkshire*, p. 75.

¹³⁷ David N. Parsons, 'The Inscriptions of Viking-Age York', in *Aspects of Anglo-Scandinavian York*, ed. by Richard A. Hall and others, *The Archaeology of York*, 8/4 (York: Council for British Archaeology, 2004), pp. 350-56 (p. 352).

bera.¹³⁸ It is also possible that the name is a British development of a Latin name, such as Constans or Constantius.¹³⁹ This pre-carved stone was probably transported from across the Ouse, from a Roman cemetery beyond the limits of the *colonia* on the west bank.¹⁴⁰ There are some parallels for this unusual piece. Lang points to a similar re-use of a Roman inscription at St Mary-le-Wigford (Lincolnshire).¹⁴¹ The previous, presumably pagan Roman significance of the stone does not seem to have been problematic, as there has been no attempt to hide the stone's previous use.¹⁴² Indeed, the choice to add an inscription alongside a Roman one must have been deliberate, given that this is the only inscription from the site which post-dates the Scandinavian settlement. Given its eleventh-century date, it is possible that that this choice to carve an inscription on a Roman monument would have been intended to make a statement about the Anglo-Scandinavian power of the city's elite, in the context of the Romanising agenda of Cnut's rule after his visit to Rome in 1027.¹⁴³ More generally, the carving indicates the continuing importance of the Roman past in the city, and also serves to highlight the ongoing hybridity of the site, as well as the difficulty of drawing clear ethnic dividing lines, given that the name of the commemorated individual could have a Latin, Old English or Old Norse derivation.

¹³⁸ Okasha, *Hand-List of Anglo-Saxon Non-Runic Inscriptions*, pp. 134-35.

¹³⁹ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume III: York and Eastern Yorkshire*, p. 46.

¹⁴⁰ Phillips, Heywood, and Carver, *Excavations at York Minster Vol. 1.*, p. 84.

¹⁴¹ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume III: York and Eastern Yorkshire*, p. 76.

¹⁴² Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume III: York and Eastern Yorkshire*, p. 76.

¹⁴³ Elaine Treharne, *Living through Conquest: The Politics of Early English, 1020-1220* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), p. 34.



Figure 3: York Minster 36A. Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographer T. Middlemass.

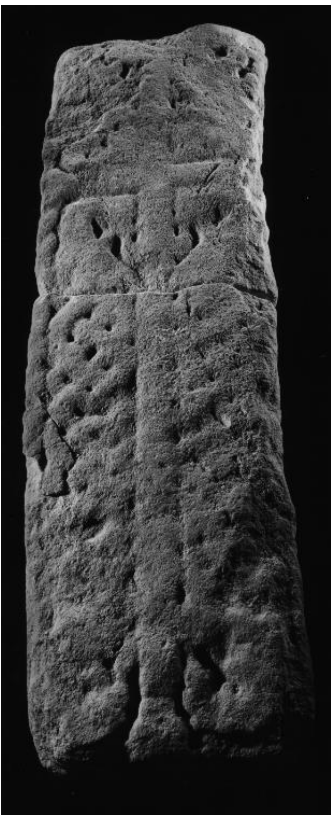


Figure 4: York Minster 37A. Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographer T. Middlemass.

Burial 56

Another burial from the Minster cemetery also suggests deliberate Anglo-Scandinavian reuse of Roman stone. Burial 56 was excavated with two *in situ* markers, consisting of an end-stone, York Minster 36 (see fig. 3) and a grave-cover, York Minster 37 (see fig. 4).¹⁴⁴ York Minster 36 is the fragment of a grave-cover cut from a whole slab, possibly York Minster 38, and seems to have been identical to York Minster 35. Thus the top face A features two panels divided by a cross-stem terminating in an inward-facing animal head. In the panels are mirrored York winged beasts, with the usual manes, scrolled joints, collars and pendants attached to their snouts. The rest of the piece is unornamented except for cable moulding on faces B, C and D.¹⁴⁵ This fragment was placed at the foot of the slab, extending the stone to cover the burial.¹⁴⁶ York Minster 37, the burial's grave-cover, is identical but more complete. Its size is determined by the fact that it is a reused Roman half-column. Unlike York Minster 36, here the York winged beasts below the cross-arms are visible, paired and linked by their entangled bodies.¹⁴⁷ Given the still standing Roman remains in the city it seems highly unlikely that the Anglo-Scandinavian carvers would not have been aware that this was a piece of Roman *spolia*. On a practical level, its selection may have been pragmatic, as this large stone obviously lends itself to reuse as an impressive grave-cover. However, it is possible that this was a symbolic choice, linking the city and its new Anglo-Scandinavian elite back to another period in which York was a powerful military centre, drawing on the obvious solidity and strength of the Roman stone and its imperial connotations.

Hybrid Monuments

Another group of monuments from the Minster site exhibit a different type of hybridity, one which combines motifs and iconographies from the Christian Anglian tradition with those drawn from the Scandinavian cultural milieu.

¹⁴⁴ Phillips, Heywood, and Carver, *Excavations at York Minster Vol. 1.*, p. 90.

¹⁴⁵ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume III: York and Eastern Yorkshire*, p. 73.

¹⁴⁶ Pattinson, 'The Nunburnholme Cross and Anglo-Danish Sculpture in York, (p. 213).

¹⁴⁷ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume III: York and Eastern Yorkshire*, p. 73.



Figure 5: York Minster 2A. Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographer T. Middlemass.

York Minster 2

A number of Anglo-Scandinavian fragments were found not in the cemetery itself, but incorporated into the footings of the Norman cathedral. Thus York Minster 2, part of a cross-shaft now in two pieces, was found in the foundations of the south wall of the eleventh-century nave.¹⁴⁸ Face A (see fig. 5) includes a frontal figure with a scrolled nimbus, rounded shoulders, and fingers placed on the heads of two smaller figures who are sitting in profile. These appear to clutch some kind of handle attached to the larger figure's chest by seven vertical strands. This larger figure has a long skirt and bare feet which rest on a semi-circular border. Lang describes this iconography as 'puzzling', but argues that the haloed central figure is certainly Christian. While this is indeed possible, the condition of the stone means it is not absolutely certain that the scrolls did once form a halo proper. Furthermore, while it has been suggested that the larger figure is blessing the flanking ones, indicating a benediction scene, the fact that blessing is normally performed with the right hand only, and the strange appearance of the smaller figures which suggests they may not be human, renders this less likely. Parallels with the Nunburnholme cross which has a similar scene suggests that the York

¹⁴⁸ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume III: York and Eastern Yorkshire*, p. 54.

carver may have misinterpreted the latter.¹⁴⁹ Bailey agrees that this is a 'muddled copy' of the Nunburnholme cross or a similar monument; differences from the Nunburnholme monument can be explained as exaggerations or misunderstandings of the latter. Thus the small figures below Christ are seated and clinging to some sort of strap on his body.¹⁵⁰ However, the suggestion that this is a bungled copy of some kind seems unsatisfactory given the sophistication of the sculptural production at York. Some unknown or lost iconographical significance is perhaps present in these modifications. The scrolled halo itself derives, via works such as the Leeds cross, from Insular models, such as those at Collingham and in manuscript illustrations.¹⁵¹

Face B consists of a single panel with bird-chain. These creatures have wings and tails and are bound by two interlace strands. This bird-chain is unique to the York school, and occurs on a series of grave-covers from the city.¹⁵² Lang argues that the chain indicates the Mercian origin of the apparently Jellinge-style animal ornament of Anglo-Scandinavian York. He notes that the bird is represented in a Jellinge-style stance, but points to its drooped tail, which he suggests indicates its Mercian origins. This is thus the 'Mercian bird dressed anew with fashionable Scandinavian tricks of detail'.¹⁵³ Again, this emphasis on the formally Anglian derivation of sculptural motifs seems to ignore the carvings' context, in the symbolic and actual centre of Anglo-Scandinavian power. The bird-chain is better seen as a hybrid product of this hybrid place, asserting the sophistication of this Anglo-Scandinavian centre, markedly different from the austere Anglian stelae from the Minster site

¹⁴⁹ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume III: York and Eastern Yorkshire*, pp. 54-55.

¹⁵⁰ Bailey, 'Scandinavian Myth on Viking-Period Stone Sculpture in England' (p. 157).

¹⁵¹ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume III: York and Eastern Yorkshire*, pp. 54-55.

¹⁵² Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume III: York and Eastern Yorkshire*, pp. 54-55.

¹⁵³ Lang, 'Continuity and Innovation in Anglo-Scandinavian Sculpture: A Study of the Metropolitan School at York' (p. 147).



Figure 6: York Minster 2C. Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographer T. Middlemass.

Face C (see fig. 6) includes a panel filled by beast-chain, with profile ribbon animals featuring double outlines, spiral joints and triple nose-folds, and its face D includes a similar beast-chain. Lang argues that while the introduction of such animals may be a result of ‘colonial Viking taste’, their ‘quasi-Jellinge’ features may derive from Insular sources. Their long, bent necks do seem to derive from Mercian beasts, although Lang concedes that their density and close interlacing is an Anglo-Scandinavian modification.¹⁵⁴ Bailey observes that this face features the same ornament as that found on the Søllested (Denmark) horse collar, with a ribbon animal with contoured outlines, spiral joints, and twisted nose and ears which extend to wrap around its body.¹⁵⁵ Again, this seems to be a much more complex piece than the concentration on its reliance on Anglian forms suggests. Here both Anglian and Scandinavian models have been drawn on and transformed by the sculptor, creating a new and hybrid work.

¹⁵⁴ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume III: York and Eastern Yorkshire*, p. 55.

¹⁵⁵ Bailey, *England's Earliest Sculptors*, p. 14.



Figure 7: York Minster 3A. Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographer T. Middlemass.

York Minster 3

York Minster 3 is another example of the hybridity of the Anglo-Scandinavian carvings from the site. This is broken cross-shaft piece, which was also found in the foundations of the Norman cathedral, on the south side of the footings of the south wall.¹⁵⁶ Broad face A (see fig. 7) has a plain edge moulding surrounding a panel featuring interlocked beasts with ribbon bodies. These have spiral joints and extended ears which pass through the torso.¹⁵⁷ These are similar to, although according to Lang less sophisticated than the beasts on York Minster2. There may be links with the Middleton-Sinnington series of sculptures which have panels with single beasts. The penetration of the torso by the ear extensions is rare, but a parallel is found on a Norwegian gilt-bronze figure from Kaupang, suggesting that the sculptors were again drawing on Scandinavian sources.¹⁵⁸ Side B is worn, but also contains the remains of a fettered, ribbon beast. Face C is again worn, but features on its upper visible half a broad fan which radiates from the damaged section above. This fan motif may also be seen at Sherburn (North Yorkshire). Below the fan are the terminals of a four-cord interlace. Face D contains a panel featuring a run of similar interlace, which resembles knitwork and 'becomes disorganised' as

¹⁵⁶ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume III: York and Eastern Yorkshire*, p. 55.

¹⁵⁷ One of the beasts enters the remains on the panel from the top right, with its muzzle terminating on the left of the panel. The second beast is in profile on the right of the panel, with the lower part of its torso enmeshed in interlace. This second beast looks left with its muzzle pointing downwards.

¹⁵⁸ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume III: York and Eastern Yorkshire*, p. 56.

the shaft tapers.¹⁵⁹ According to Lang, this cross-shaft is a ‘poorer example of the York Metropolitan School’ and an example of its taste for the juxtaposition of animal and interlace ornament on adjacent faces. Lang suggests that the animal ornament may illustrate an Anglo-Scandinavian aesthetic, with the interlace referring back to the Anglian past.¹⁶⁰ Again, this is a hybrid piece, with formal links to Anglian prototypes as well as Scandinavian sources.



Figure 8: York Minster 4A. Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographer T. Middlemass.

York Minster 4

A final cross-shaft fragment again illustrates the hybrid nature of the Anglo-Scandinavian Minster sculpture. York Minster 4 is part of a cross-shaft found in the footings of the twelfth-century choir.¹⁶¹ Face A (see fig. 8) includes on its upper half an interlace terminal of a simple, pattern E knot. This is curved around a dished halo which is carved below, above slight traces of a head. This dished halo looks back to the eighth-century tradition found in West Yorkshire at sites including Otley, ninth-century works such as Easby and Collingham, and contemporary Anglo-Scandinavian monuments such as the Leeds cross. Lang suggests that the figure may not be Christ as the halo does not seem to be cruciferous and terms the ancestry of this halo an

¹⁵⁹ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume III: York and Eastern Yorkshire*, p. 55.

¹⁶⁰ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume III: York and Eastern Yorkshire*, p. 55.

¹⁶¹ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume III: York and Eastern Yorkshire*, p. 55.

'unbroken Anglian sequence'.¹⁶² Lang suggests that the haloed figure here indicates continuing ecclesiastical patronage of sculpture at the Minster site and that face A may represent a deliberate revival of the conventions seen at Otley, and may have thus been an assertion of the 'continuation of an authoritative church in a bewildering political era'. Its figural carving seems, according to Lang, 'consciously archaic' and looks back to classical sources.¹⁶³

Face B includes a single panel with a profile animal with spiral joints and a double-outline.¹⁶⁴ This, in contrast with the carving on face A, seems to be firmly Scandinavian in inspiration, 'with all the features of the Jellinge style, in both motifs and layout'.¹⁶⁵ Face C consists of a panel filled with a deeply-cut and irregular interlace of pattern A. Face D features a panel with bird-chain with the creatures in double-outline. Faces B and D, as Lang notes, display the tenth-century fashion for zoomorphic panels at York, which draw on both Jellinge and Insular models, in this new hybrid tradition. Again, the bird-chain seems to look primarily to Insular models, such as St Mary Castlegate 1, Sutton upon Derwent 1 and Mercian examples from Derby and Gloucester.¹⁶⁶ Lang argues that the interlace on this piece demonstrates that Anglo-Scandinavian interlace can be just as complex as Anglian examples. Here it is 'deeply modelled, humped in section, and median-incised', features characteristic of York and the Minster shafts.¹⁶⁷ With its haloed figure, this is one of the few Anglo-Scandinavian sculptures from the site which incorporates clear Christian iconography. However, this does not necessarily indicate ecclesiastical patronage. It is possible that the haloed figure here may have been a heroic figure, seen by a newly converted member of the Anglo-Scandinavian elite as broadly similar to figures such as Sigurd.

¹⁶² Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume III: York and Eastern Yorkshire*, p. 56.

¹⁶³ James T. Lang, 'Survival and Revival in Insular Art: Northumbrian Sculpture of the 8th to 10th Centuries', in *The Age of Migrating Ideas: Early Medieval Art in Northern Britain and Ireland: Proceedings of the Second International Conference on Insular Art Held in the National Museums of Scotland in Edinburgh, 3-6 January 1991*, ed. by R. Michael Spearman and John Higgitt (Edinburgh, Stroud: National Museums of Scotland, Alan Sutton, 1993), pp. 261-67 (p. 267).

¹⁶⁴ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume III: York and Eastern Yorkshire*, pp. 56-57.

¹⁶⁵ James T. Lang, 'The Distinctiveness of Viking Colonial Art', in *Sources of Anglo-Saxon Culture*, ed. by P. E. Szarmach and V. D. Oggins (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, Western Michigan University), 243-60 (p. 244).

¹⁶⁶ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume III: York and Eastern Yorkshire*, pp. 56-57.

¹⁶⁷ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume III: York and Eastern Yorkshire*, p. 32.



Figure 9: York Minster 35A. Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographer T. Middlemass.



Figure 10: Oseberg burial ship head. Copyright University of Oslo Museum of Cultural History, photographer O. Holst.

Burial 41

A number of the burials from the Anglo-Scandinavian cemetery also exhibit a hybridity in keeping with the nature of Anglo-Scandinavian Jórvík. Burial 41 is a charcoal burial without a coffin and was found in the centre of the excavated area under the south transept, discovered under slab York Minster 35 (see fig. 9), another piece of reused Roman stone.¹⁶⁸ This slab is now in two fragments, both of which are broken. The top face of the slab features a large cross which runs for the full length of the monument. On the upper and smaller fragment animal heads interrupt the outer strips of the double edge moulding. These heads face inwards and have incised eyes. In this fragment's facing panels are mirroring bipeds with maned necks, small ears and large gaping jaws. The creatures' front legs follow the edge moulding and have small feet at their terminals. The presence of a wing attached with a spiral joint has led to this type of creature, characteristic of what Lang terms the York Metropolitan School, becoming known as the 'York winged beast'. In this example they may be also sporting chequered collars. Below is an irregular interlace. The lower fragment contains the stem and arms of the cross, which terminate in inward-facing animal heads. In the panels flanking the cross are more York winged beasts, two in each panel, which are joined by interlace strands which run for much of the panels' lengths. Lang argues that the York winged beast developed from Anglian prototypes at Otley and Ilkley. Further afield, Anglian examples are also found in the Mercian Brunswick Casket and the Elstow (Bedfordshire) shaft. Only the scroll-joint of the beasts' wings is 'diagnostically Scandinavian'.¹⁶⁹ This emphasis on the formal Anglian lineage of the beast, however, fails to address the specific context of the York site. Here, at the symbolic and practical centre of Scandinavian power in England, the mind of an observer would surely have travelled to the fashionable Jellinge-style animal art of the new Anglo-Scandinavian elite. The clear distinction between these beasts and the more naturalistic Anglian animal ornament found on fragments such as York Minster 1, and the much plainer incised stela, such as York Minster 19, would have marked the York winged beasts as a new, Anglo-Scandinavian departure, not dependent on, and distinct from the site's Anglian sculpture.¹⁷⁰ Interestingly, Thompson notes that the Otley beast, cited by Lang as an ancestor of the York winged beast, is itself is probably based on an imported textile, again highlighting the problematic nature of ethnic labels.¹⁷¹ Such a view also ignores the possible function of these animals, which may have been apotropaic, as in the Anglo-Saxon tradition dragons were 'powerful creatures who live in burial mounds and guard treasure'. They may have similarly served to protect the burial

¹⁶⁸ Phillips, Heywood, and Carver, *Excavations at York Minster Vol. 1.*, p. 89.

¹⁶⁹ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume III: York and Eastern Yorkshire*, p. 72.

¹⁷⁰ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume III: York and Eastern Yorkshire*, pp. 53-54, 62.

¹⁷¹ Thompson, *Dying and Death in Later Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 160.

and the corpse.¹⁷² The dragon heads found on Viking ships, such as in the Oseberg burial (see fig. 10), may also have had an apotropaic effect, and they were also carved on other furniture from the burial.¹⁷³ Thus, rather than a continuation of Anglian sculptural forms, they may have been seen as powerful defenders of the new Anglo-Scandinavian elite at the symbolic centre of their power. York Minster 35 is thus a complex and hybrid monument, incorporating Anglian and Scandinavian-influenced carvings on a stone of Roman provenance, one which may in the Anglo-Scandinavian period have been intended to protect the body of a member of the new elite.



Figure 11: York Minster 39A. Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographer T. Middlemass.

Burial 50

Another Anglo-Scandinavian burial from the Minster cemetery which exhibits hybrid characteristics is Burial 50, the grave of an adult male over the age of thirty-five, which consisted of the large decorated slab York Minster 39 (see fig. 11), and the head and footstones York Minster 30 (see fig. 12) and York Minster 31. In the top fill above the grave

¹⁷² Thompson, *Dying and Death in Later Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 161.

¹⁷³ Anne-Sofie Gräslund, 'Wolves, Serpents and Birds: Their Symbolic Meaning in Old Norse Belief', in *Old Norse Religion in Long-Term Perspectives: Origins, Changes, and Interactions*, ed. by Anders Andrén, Kristina Jennbert, and Catharina Raudvere (Lund: Nordic Academic Press, 2006), pp. 124-29 (p. 125).

was the shaft fragment York Minster 6.¹⁷⁴ York Minster 39, the grave-slab, is now in two pieces. A central ridge runs along its length, sprouting animal heads.¹⁷⁵ From the central ridge there are offshoots which are similar to the arms of a cross but curve upwards. These offshoots end in animal heads, one profile and one frontal.¹⁷⁶ If the other slabs with four panels are taken to have incorporated crosses into their designs, York Minster 39 seems to have deliberately rejected, or at least modified, this obvious Christian symbol.¹⁷⁷ In the areas above these offshoots are fettered beasts in profile with nose folds, elliptical ears and gaping mouths which swallow or issue the fetters. Below the offshoots are beast-chains which are made up of three creatures on each side of the central ridge. The two uppermost animals have manes and triple nose-folds, and the beast on the left is winged. Below on the right-hand side are two similar beasts which are interlocked with fetters and their tails. The lower beast on the left-hand panel is again winged, like the uppermost animal on this side. These beasts are again characteristic of the York Metropolitan School, with their triple-nose folds. These beasts, suggests Lang, genuinely relate to the Jellinge style, unlike the York winged beast, and indicate a 'leaning towards Scandinavian taste'.¹⁷⁸

Graham-Campbell describes the slab in hybrid terms, arguing that its ornament 'demonstrates the fusion of Anglian and Scandinavian taste characteristic of the York slabs of the early 10th century'. Thus the winged beasts are drawn from late Anglian zoomorphic ornament from Yorkshire, while the ribbon-shaped quadrupeds follow Jellinge conventions. Much here is specific to the York school. The winged beasts were carved using templates, an approach found on many of the York slabs. The beasts' lip-lappets are treated as a triple fold, and they have pendant 'nose-leaves', further diagnostic features of the York group. Interlocked animals on foot stones are another feature typical of York, with a similar overlapping arrangement found on a grave-cover from St Denys. The component stones of this burial were probably carved in the late ninth or tenth centuries, and reused in their excavated configuration at some time between the late tenth and early twelfth centuries.¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁴ Phillips, Heywood, and Carver, *Excavations at York Minster Vol. 1.*, p. 89.

¹⁷⁵ James Graham-Campbell, *Viking Artefacts: A Select Catalogue* (London: British Museum Publications for the Trustees of the British Museum, 1980), p. 159.

¹⁷⁶ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume III: York and Eastern Yorkshire*, p. 74.

¹⁷⁷ Thompson, *Dying and Death in Later Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 160.

¹⁷⁸ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume III: York and Eastern Yorkshire*, p. 74.

¹⁷⁹ Graham-Campbell, *Viking Artefacts: A Select Catalogue*, p. 159.

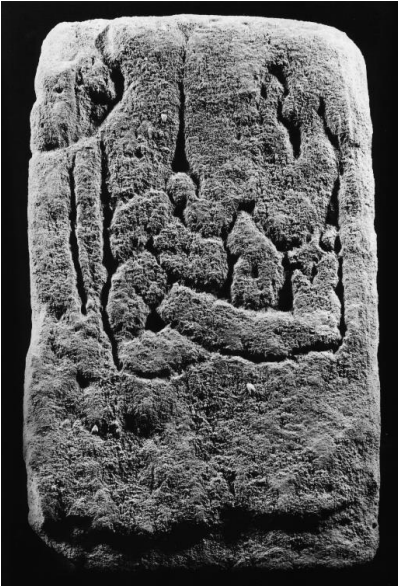


Figure 12: York Minster 30A. Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographer T. Middlemass.

The first of the burial's end-stones, York Minster 30, includes on face A a panel with two closely interlocked animals, the head of one of which is visible, which may be canine. This has a pellet by its snout and a 'bungled' knot in its neck.¹⁸⁰ Face B is too worn for analysis, but face C is ornamented with three vertical and parallel runs of irregular, four-strand interlace. Face D is plain. This piece was probably considerably taller, as indicated by the abrupt break in the ornament. Lang identifies the interlocked beasts as typical of the York Metropolitan School, although he terms these examples 'unambitious and inexpert'.¹⁸¹ York Minster 31, the grave's other end-stone, is a cut-down shaft.¹⁸² It was also originally ornamented on two sides. Face A again features two interlocked beasts, with the one on the left possibly a canine creature with a mane. On the right, the entangled neck of a second beast is visible, along with its head, with a nose-fold and extended tongue. The second carved face, C, consists of a single panel of irregular, broad interlace. Lang notes the similarity between the ornament on these two end-stones, and again points to the interlocking beasts and nose-folds which indicate a production of the York Metropolitan School. These features, according to Lang, were drawn from 'Scandinavian input' to such works.¹⁸³ Given that York Minster 31 was an Anglian shaft, the

¹⁸⁰ On this panel the head of one beast is in the lower right hand corner of the panel, facing upwards with its jaws open. The other creature is not full visible due to the damage to this panel.

¹⁸¹ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume III: York and Eastern Yorkshire*, p. 69.

¹⁸² Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume III: York and Eastern Yorkshire*, p. 30.

¹⁸³ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume III: York and Eastern Yorkshire*, p. 69.

recarving of the stone with Scandinavian-influenced ornament created a hybrid Anglo-Scandinavian monument.

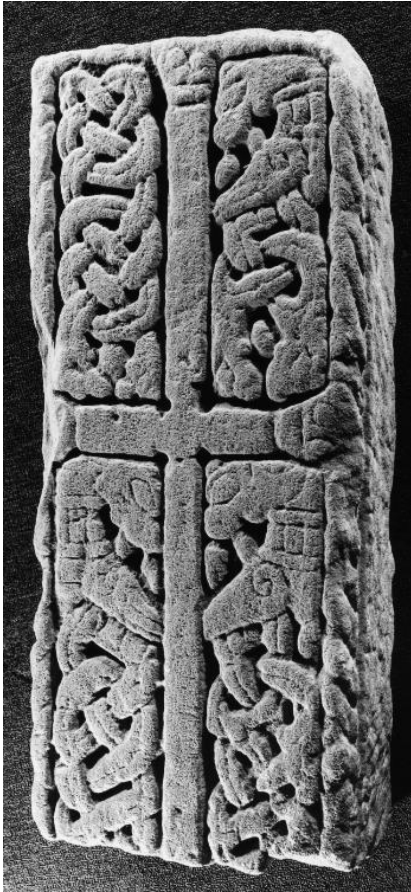


Figure 13: York Minster 38A. Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographer T. Middlemass.



Figure 14: York Minster 32A. Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographer T. Middlemass.



Figure 15: York Minster 33A. Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographer T. Middlemass.

Burial 51

Another burial which includes a hybrid mix of Anglian and Scandinavian motifs and iconographies is burial 51, which consists of the decorated slab York Minster 38 (see fig. 13) and the end-stones York Minster 32 and 33 (see figs. 14 and 15).¹⁸⁴ Only the top of the slab York Minster 38 is carved, and the lower part is missing. Again there is a large superimposed cross on this upper face with inward-facing terminal heads on the arms. The upper right-hand panel has a York winged beast, the body of which terminates in confronting animal heads. On the upper left-hand panel is a run of median-incised interlace, again terminating in confronting animal-heads. Below the cross-arms are mirrored panels, both of which contain a York winged beast. As Lang notes, this piece is identical to York Minster nos. 35-37 (see discussion of burial 41 above); he suggests that it may be part of the same monument as York Minster 36 and dates it to the late ninth to tenth centuries.¹⁸⁵ As we have seen in relation to York Minster 35, the winged beasts of this slab mark it as a distinctly hybrid production, looking both to earlier Anglian monuments and the contemporary Scandinavian tastes of Anglo-Scandinavian York.

The end-stones York Minster 32 and 33 have been given a later date, from the mid tenth to early eleventh centuries.¹⁸⁶ York Minster 32 was found at the head of this burial. Unusually,

¹⁸⁴ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume III: York and Eastern Yorkshire*, p. 70.

¹⁸⁵ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume III: York and Eastern Yorkshire*, pp. 73-74.

¹⁸⁶ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume III: York and Eastern Yorkshire*, pp. 70-71.

this piece is formed from a three-dimensional rendering of two interlocking beasts, carved in low relief on the broad faces A and C. These beasts have large, confronting and possibly canine heads. These are maned, and have small raised fore-legs which originate from a spiral, joint-like feature. A small human figure is positioned between the creatures' jowls. Faces B and D feature the animals' ears and the terminations of their bodies. From above, the heads of the animals and of the two human figures are visible on face E. Lang suggests that the confronting beasts with manes on this piece may have been drawn from the design of the slab-ends in the cemetery, with the human head replacing the terminals of the superimposed crosses.¹⁸⁷

Thompson suggests that this iconography could represent the deceased being protected by guardian creatures.¹⁸⁸ This highly unusual and sophisticated three-dimensional rendering illustrates the extent to which these Anglo-Scandinavian sculptors were moving beyond simple reliance on Anglian precedents, producing a distinct artistic tradition which drew on both Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian prototypes.

The second end-stone, York Minster 33, is similar to York Minster 32, although lacking the human figures. Broad face A includes two outward-facing beasts with downward-facing mouths. They have 'a wave of tendril locks' at their napes, fore-legs which touch their muzzles and originate in spiral joints with scroll extensions. Face C is identical except for its lack of these scroll extensions. Narrow faces B and D have horizontal divisions which extend from the beasts' bodies, with face D featuring additional horizontal and vertical divisions. Lang argues that while similar, these end-stones are not a pair, as they were used in conjunction with a reused earlier stone, and have marked stylistic differences.¹⁸⁹



Figure 16: York Minster 34A. Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographer T. Middlemass.

¹⁸⁷ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume III: York and Eastern Yorkshire*, p. 70.

¹⁸⁸ Thompson, *Dying and Death in Later Anglo-Saxon England*, pp. 161-62.

¹⁸⁹ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume III: York and Eastern Yorkshire*, pp. 70-71.

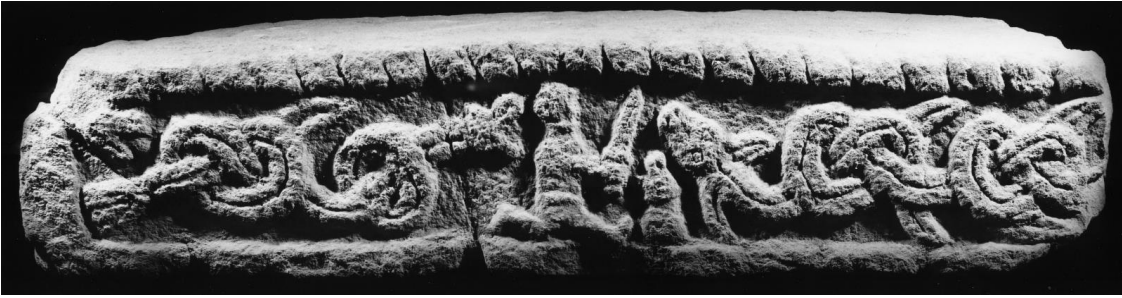


Figure 17: York Minster 34D. Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographer T. Middlemass.

Burial 54

The final burial from the Anglo-Scandinavian cemetery which exhibits strong hybrid elements is burial 54, which was excavated with the grave-cover York Minster 34 *in situ* (see figs. 15 and 16). This may have been carved from a Roman building-block. Its top face A depicts the story of Sigurd, with the dragon Fáfnir at its base, curled in an s-shape with its head in the bottom right corner, and the hero to the right above with his hand to his mouth. He holds a horizontal bar over a triangle, which represents his roasting of the dragon's heart on a spit over a fire. Opposite is the headless torso of Reginn. Above Sigurd is a profile quadruped, probably representing his horse Grani. Other rectangular elements, conceivably representing a forge and its equipment, or the treasure to be loaded onto Grani, are to the left of Sigurd and the horse.¹⁹⁰ Bailey suggests that these are possible traces of a tree and birds.¹⁹¹ Above is a standing, frontal figure, which has not been identified.

The long side B of York Minster 34 has a continuous panel with a run of irregular interlace, including free-rings, pellet fillers and plain plait. This irregular ornament is 'indicative of Anglo-Scandinavian taste'. The end side C contains a depiction of two creatures which appear to be struggling, the lower of which seems to be pinned by the upper. To the left is what Lang identifies as a 'bear-like animal' in profile.¹⁹²

¹⁹⁰ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume III: York and Eastern Yorkshire*, p. 71.

¹⁹¹ Richard N. Bailey, *Viking Age Sculpture in Northern England* (London: Collins, 1980), p. 120.

¹⁹² Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume III: York and Eastern Yorkshire*, p. 71.



Figure 18: Gosforth 1A. Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographer T. Middlemass.

On the long face D of York Minster 34 is a central human figure with legs spread and a large sword held vertically. At the figure's feet is a severed head. To the left and right of this figure are dragons with ribbon bodies and fins, with a fish-like tail terminating the body of the left-hand creature. Lang identifies this as a depiction of the killing of Fáfnir by Sigurd.¹⁹³ Lilla Kopár, while noting that the presence of two beasts in a depiction of the Sigurd story would be unusual, also argues that this carving may depict Sigurd, given that the position of the figure's legs is similar to that seen in representations of Sigurd from Scandinavian contexts, such as at Ramsundsberget and Drävle (both in modern-day Sweden), and that the carving at Ramsundsberget also includes two beasts.¹⁹⁴ Ian Pattinson, however, links the figure confronting two dragons to the Gosforth cross, which features two dragons attacking Heimdal (see fig. 17), who holds a horn and staff, on its west side. He suggests that the figure on York

¹⁹³ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume III: York and Eastern Yorkshire*, p. 71.

¹⁹⁴ Kopár, *Gods and Settlers: The Iconography of Norse Mythology in Anglo-Scandinavian Sculpture*.

Minster 34 is holding a shield, not a sword.¹⁹⁵ These suggestions seem less likely given that the sword seems to have a guard at the base of its blade and that top of the monument is clearly representative of the Sigurd story, indicating that this York scene is best, although tentatively, identified as depicting the Sigurd narrative.

This slab includes a number of elements found on other recognised Sigurd carvings, from both Scandinavian and Anglo-Scandinavian contexts. Thus the profile figure sucking its thumb is found at Halton (Lancashire) and Jäder (Sweden), the headless figure of Reginn at Halton, Kirby Hill (North Yorkshire) and in other Swedish examples, and the 'kebab-like' roasting of the heart at Halton and Kirk Andreas (Isle of Man). This was a 'recognised Sigurd iconography'.¹⁹⁶ The hero's horse is also a 'favourite subject' in carvings of this period, prominent on both Manx and Swedish examples.¹⁹⁷ In the British Isles, scenes featuring Sigurd are clustered on the Isle of Man, at sites such as Kirk Andreas, Malew, Maughold and Jurby.¹⁹⁸ This York slab contains the greatest number of elements of the Sigurd story outside these Manx examples.¹⁹⁹ In northern England, however, the only other 'well-defined scene' featuring the hero is found on the Halton cross. Other possible candidates include a Ripon cross-head, along with the sophisticated Nunburnholme cross, which will be discussed later in this chapter.²⁰⁰

The story of Sigurd was well known in the Viking age, found in a number of literary versions, such as *Völsunga saga*.²⁰¹ Smyth argues that the story was 'alien to Christian sentiment and connected with the cult of Ódinn which features prominently in the legend'.²⁰² However, the story seems to have been 'heroic rather than pagan'; the Sigurd narrative was 'not specifically part of Old Norse religion or mythology', but was drawn from the 'heroic epic tradition of the Norse warrior aristocracy'.²⁰³

While Sigurd is clearly a figure drawn from the world of vernacular mythology, the story could also be read as meaningful in a Christian context. At a very basic level, the struggle between Sigurd and the dragon could be seen as analogous to the Christian struggle between good and

¹⁹⁵ Pattinson, 'The Nunburnholme Cross and Anglo-Danish Sculpture in York' (p. 231).

¹⁹⁶ Bailey, 'Scandinavian Myth on Viking-Period Stone Sculpture in England' (p. 17).

¹⁹⁷ Hilda R. Ellis Davidson, 'Sigurd in the Art of the Viking Age', *Antiquity*, 16 (1942), 216-36 (p. 228).

¹⁹⁸ Sue Margeson, 'The Volsung Legend in Medieval Art', in *Medieval Iconography and Narrative: A Symposium*, ed. by F. G. Andersen (Odense: Odense University Press, 1980), pp. 183-211 (pp. 186-89).

¹⁹⁹ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume III: York and Eastern Yorkshire*, pp. 71-72.

²⁰⁰ Margeson, 'The Volsung Legend in Medieval Art' (pp. 189-91).

²⁰¹ James T. Lang, 'Sigurd and Weland in Pre-Conquest Carving from Northern England', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, 48 (1976), 83-94 (p. 83).

²⁰² Smyth, *Scandinavian York and Dublin: The History and Archaeology of Two Related Viking Kingdoms*, I, p. 271.

²⁰³ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume III: York and Eastern Yorkshire*, p. 72.

evil, within which the symbol of the serpent figured prominently.²⁰⁴ It seems that this connection was recognised in the medieval period, as Sigurd's struggle with the dragon was depicted above the portal on a number of later Norwegian churches, a position occupied more commonly occupied by a representation of St Michael's triumph over the dragon.²⁰⁵ For the more theologically sophisticated viewer, there may have been further parallels. Both the Bible and the Sigurd narrative use the tree as a symbol of knowledge, and both emphasise strength and perception accessed through a mystical meal.²⁰⁶ The story may also have overlapped with the narrative of Genesis. Both include a serpent, an important act of eating which grants illicit knowledge, and a tree.²⁰⁷ As a powerful heroic figure, Sigurd may even have been identified with Christ, a suggestion strengthened by the fact that the latter was referred to in Old English texts as a *smip* and *smipes sunu*.²⁰⁸ However, the suggestion that the inclusion of heroic figures such as Sigurd on carved monuments may represent a strategy of Christian teaching does not seem appropriate in this case.²⁰⁹ A funerary monument hardly seems a likely medium for religious instruction, while the details of the carving would probably have been agreed on by the family of the deceased rather than the clergy. However, Scandinavian carved representations of the Sigurd story seems to have been acceptable in Christian contexts. Thus a carved boulder from Jäder illustrates the dragon-killing episode and has an inscription recording the erection of a bridge for the salvation of a man's soul. At neighbouring Härad, the same incidents are set around a cross. As we have seen, later Norwegian depictions of the Sigurd story are found on wooden church portals, again with a focus on the dragon-killing episode. One such carving from Hylestad, for example, includes elements from the story including the piercing of the dragon with a sword, the roasting of its heart and a representation of the horse Grani.²¹⁰ In such contexts the image of Sigurd may have been intended to ward off evil.²¹¹ We must however be cautious of overemphasis on the allegorical possibilities of the Sigurd story. Sue Margeson notes that in literature Sigurd is not part of a moral or allegorical scheme, and was neither a 'damned pagan' nor 'Christian hero', and

²⁰⁴ Bailey, *Viking Age Sculpture in Northern England*, p. 124.

²⁰⁵ Bailey, *Viking Age Sculpture in Northern England*, pp. 117-18, 124.

²⁰⁶ Bailey, *Viking Age Sculpture in Northern England*, pp. 124-25.

²⁰⁷ Lang, 'Sigurd and Weland in Pre-Conquest Carving from Northern England' (p. 94).

²⁰⁸ Thompson, *Dying and Death in Later Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 166. References of this kind include that in the gloss to Matthew 13:55, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 140.

²⁰⁹ Hilda R. Ellis Davidson, 'Gods and Heroes in Stone', in *The Early Cultures of North-West Europe (H.M. Chadwick Memorial Studies)*, ed. by Cyril Fox and Bruce Dickens (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1950), pp. 123-29 (p. 123).

²¹⁰ Bailey, *Viking Age Sculpture in Northern England*, pp. 117-19.

²¹¹ Jesse Byock, 'Sigurðr Fáfnisbani: An Eddic Hero Carved on Norwegian Stave Churches', in *Poetry in the Scandinavian Middle Ages: The Seventh International Saga Conference, Spoleto, 4-10 September 1988*, ed. by Theresa Pàroli (Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi Sull'Alto Medioevo, 1990), pp. 619-28 (p. 619).

argues that the story had little broader significance beyond a general symbolism of the conflict between good and evil.²¹²

The inclusion of Sigurd on funerary sculpture could however have been intended to make a statement linking the deceased to a heroic figure. Bailey suggests that the depiction of Sigurd on stone sculpture could have been an extension of the 'martial ideal' exemplified by warrior carvings elsewhere.²¹³ In *Beowulf*, tribute is paid to the hero through comparison to Sigurd; the York slab may have had a similar function.²¹⁴ The possibility that this site was used for royal burials, such as that of Guthfrith, seems to support this case. The Sigurd story could also have served to assert the Anglo-Scandinavian identity of the dead; Margeson argues that the Sigurd scene should be seen as 'reflecting a repertoire of Scandinavian taste'.²¹⁵ However, it would also have been suitable for this hybrid elite. While no English narrative from this period tells the full Sigurd story as represented here,²¹⁶ the narrative would have resonated in the Anglo-Saxon tradition as well as the Scandinavian. A narrative featuring a Volsung dragon-killer is found in *Beowulf*, where the slaying is carried out by Sigurd's father Sigemund.²¹⁷

The Hogbacks

The remains of two hogback monuments were also found at the Minster site. The essentially hybrid nature of this form, very much an Anglo-Scandinavian production, has already been discussed. York Minster 46 is the fragmentary remains of a hogback found in the thirteenth-century foundations of the Minster's south transept, which were destroyed by drilling after they had been photographed. The monument had a shallow-pitched roof with rows of unique circular tegulae. Below the eaves was a run of interlace of uncertain pattern. The gable end of the monument was vertical and featured the upper half of a human figure with outstretched arms. Beneath the arm-pits are what Lang sees as snake heads on ribbon bodies, while other strands seem to loop around the figure's arms. This scene has attracted a number of different interpretations. Lang suggests that this may be Gunnar in the snake pit, appropriate given the Sigurd iconography of York Minster 34, but also points out a possible Crucifixion parallel in the St Mary Castlegate cross-head. Another parallel may be found in the Crucifixion on Brigham 5 (Cumbria). The figure on York Minster 46 has its arms in a similar position, and there is a similar 'entangling of snake-like elements'. This could be deliberately drawing attention to parallels between Christ and the struggle between Sigurd and the dragon.²¹⁸ Pattinson similarly

²¹² Margeson, 'The Volsung Legend in Medieval Art' (pp. 210-11).

²¹³ Bailey, *England's Earliest Sculptors*, p. 92.

²¹⁴ Bailey, *Viking Age Sculpture in Northern England*, p. 123.

²¹⁵ Margeson, 'The Volsung Legend in Medieval Art' (p. 190).

²¹⁶ Thompson, *Dying and Death in Later Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 163.

²¹⁷ Bailey, *Viking Age Sculpture in Northern England*, p. 116.

²¹⁸ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume III: York and Eastern Yorkshire*, pp. 77-78.

sees this scene on the hogback as potentially symbolic of the passion, perhaps indicative of a link with the Crucifixion scene on the mid-eleventh-century Gosforth saint's tomb.²¹⁹ Alternatively, Kopár suggests that the carving may represent the punishment of the soul in hell, as depicted on contemporary carvings from around Masham in Wensleydale.²²⁰

York Minster 47 is the broken and worn remains of part of a hogback, found during restoration work in 1968. Face A has a single long horizontal panel with a run of 'disorganised interlace' which may have included a fettered animal. Face C also seems to have been ornamented but is now too worn for analysis. The proportions of the monument seem to fit with the H scroll-type, although the ornament is different.²²¹ Lang describes these hogbacks as 'idiosyncratic'. He notes that the section of the illustrative one resembles a Bedale example, both of which reflect the profile of the York coped grave-covers.²²² The presence of hogbacks at York is appropriate given that they were quintessentially Anglo-Scandinavian productions, hybrid monuments drawing on Scandinavian, Insular and Continental sources.

Conclusion

This examination of the cemetery sculpture has attempted to recontextualise the carvings in the historical and geographical setting of Anglo-Scandinavian York. The geography and Roman history of the site have shown that York was a central place in earlier periods, and suggests that the Anglo-Scandinavian sculpture produced there should be seen as the art of an artistic and political centre. In this later period the city was a flourishing mercantile centre at the heart of a powerful Anglo-Scandinavian polity, not merely an occupied English 'province' or a Scandinavian colony. The city should be viewed as a political, symbolic and artistic centre in its own right, drawing on the traditions and physical signs of both Roman and Anglo-Saxon power. The cemetery itself was, thanks to its position over the remains of the Roman *principia*, at the very heart of this centre. Furthermore, it may well have been the burial place of Guthfrith, and was certainly a high-status site used by the city's elite. Hall argues that the grave-covers were 'fashionable as symbols of status' in the Anglo-Scandinavian period, and were likely to have been commissioned by 'magnates'.²²³ The topography and street-names of the city had been radically transformed by the Scandinavia settlement; this was now fundamentally a hybrid Anglo-Scandinavian place, not Anglian or simply 'Viking', as symbolised by the new, Anglo-Scandinavian name of *Jórvík* attached to the city. Given this context, the traditional

²¹⁹ Pattinson, 'The Nunburnholme Cross and Anglo-Danish Sculpture in York' (p. 224).

²²⁰ Kopár, *Gods and Settlers: The Iconography of Norse Mythology in Anglo-Scandinavian Sculpture*, p. 42.

²²¹ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume III: York and Eastern Yorkshire*, p. 78.

²²² Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume III: York and Eastern Yorkshire*, p. 29.

²²³ Hall, 'The Topography of Anglo-Scandinavian York' (p. 497).

concentration on the formal Anglian derivation of motifs or the alterations of Scandinavian styles seems to be of little relevance. In such a place, at the symbolic centre of Anglo-Scandinavian power, motifs such as the York winged beast which did draw on Insular models are more likely to have been seen as radically different from later Anglian art, especially in contrast to the rather austere Anglian stela monuments from the Minster site. The similarity to the popular Scandinavian Jellinge-style animal art favoured by the new elite would have been obvious. Some scholars have recognised the hybrid nature of this art. Lang describes the York Metropolitan School as 'truly Anglo-Scandinavian', retaining both the naturalistic portraiture of the Anglian tradition and beast-chains which would have appealed to 'connoisseurs of Viking art', referring to Scandinavian art including the Jellinge style.²²⁴ He sees this as a 'two-fold tradition', not a simple fusion but a retention and an introduction.²²⁵ It is possible that the ambiguous nature of these pieces, which resist easy categorisation along ethnic lines, was intentional.²²⁶ Hall suggests that craftsmen may have had an 'innate affinity with ambiguity', rendering their work resistant to simplistic typological analysis.²²⁷ The cemetery sculpture was thus a complex, hybrid production, the art of a confident and prosperous city, a powerful centre in its own right which could draw on both traditions of imperial grandeur and a vital strategic location.

²²⁴ Lang, 'Survival and Revival in Insular Art: Northumbrian Sculpture of the 8th to 10th Centuries' (pp. 266-67).

²²⁵ Lang, 'Survival and Revival in Insular Art: Northumbrian Sculpture of the 8th to 10th Centuries' (p. 267).

²²⁶ Thompson, *Dying and Death in Later Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 160.

²²⁷ Hall, 'Anglo-Scandinavian Attitudes: Archaeological Ambiguities in Late Ninth- to Mid-Eleventh-Century York' (pp. 320-21).

Chapter 1, Part 2: Nunburnholme

Introduction

A modern visitor approaching the village of Nunburnholme in the East Riding of Yorkshire is struck by the impression that this is a sleepy rural backwater, far removed from the county's political and cultural life. The village, with its modern population of just over 200, lies below the western escarpment of the Yorkshire Wolds, on the edge of the Vale of York.²²⁸ It is clear, however, that this was once a much more important place. Inside the village's church stands a stone monument known as the Nunburnholme cross, discovered during restoration work there in the 1870s, incorporated into an eighteenth-century porch.²²⁹ Its relative lack of weathering suggests that the cross was either erected indoors for a period, or that the two pieces which make up the monument were incorporated into the church fabric before this time, perhaps in the Norman tower which was demolished in the eighteenth century.²³⁰ As the church was built in the late twelfth or early thirteenth centuries, it is possible that the cross was protected from the elements for the majority of the years since its first carving.²³¹ The geology of eastern Yorkshire, with its preponderance of chalk and boulder clay, probably explains the area's relative lack of Anglo-Saxon stone sculpture, and makes the presence of such a monument in the village doubly surprising.²³²

²²⁸ M. C. F. Morris, *Nunburnholme: Its History and Antiquities* (London; York: Henry Frowde; John Sampson, 1907), p. 1.

²²⁹ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume III: York and Eastern Yorkshire*, p. 189.

²³⁰ Pattinson, 'The Nunburnholme Cross and Anglo-Danish Sculpture in York' (pp. 209-210).

²³¹ Martin K. Foys, *Virtually Anglo-Saxon: Old Media, New Media and Early Medieval Studies in the Late Age of Print* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2007), p. 162.

²³² James T. Lang, 'Pre-Conquest Sculpture in Eastern Yorkshire', in *Medieval Art and Architecture in the East Riding of Yorkshire*, ed. by Christopher Wilson (London: British Archaeological Association, 1989), pp. 1-8 (p. 1).



Figure 198: Nunburnholme 1aA and 1bC. Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographer T. Middlemass.



Figure 209: Nunburnholme 1aB and 1bD. Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographer T. Middlemass.



Figure 21: Nunburnholme 1aC and 1bA. Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographer T. Middlemass.



Figure 22: Nunburnholme 1aD and 1bB. Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographer T. Middlemass.

As it currently stands, the monument has been reconstructed incorrectly (see figs. 18-21). This sub-chapter will consider the monument in its original arrangement. Here, following the numbering used by Lang in *The Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture*, face A consists of panel aA, featuring a seated swordsman, and panel bA, with another seated figure and a centaur. Face B consists of panel aB, with an ecclesiastical figure, above bB, which includes beast-chain. Face C is of panel aC, with a Virgin and Child, above bC, which includes what may be a Crucifixion or a blessing scene. The final side D consists of aD, which features a tympanum and a haloed saint, above bD, which features what appears to be a Mass scene above two smaller figures who seem to be sharing a meal. It is also possible that a substantial part of the cross is missing. The taper and section of the two fragments is slightly different, with the upper squarer. Lang argues that this probably indicates that a relatively large central piece is missing.²³³

The work of at least three hands has been identified on the monument, dating from the late Anglian, Anglo-Scandinavian and Norman periods.²³⁴ The first sculptor carved the whole of face D except for the intrusive scene at its base, face B's angel frieze and the first stages of the borders and frieze on face A. His work was identified by Lang on the basis of his modelled figures, his use of a claw-tool chisel, banded drapery folds and the 'subtle inclined planes and angled ridges of his cutting'. His work is 'highly competent, ordered carving'. Lang hesitates in his attribution of the figure at the top of face B however. He notes that its style, with rounded shoulders and a high level of modelling, is closest to the first sculptor's work, but that it differs in the thick ribs of its drapery and the large number of pellets on the possible *rational*, a type of liturgical ornament. Lang even suggests that a fourth sculptor may have been involved.²³⁵ This problem cannot, it seems be solved definitively, although the fact that it is impossible in this case to attribute a panel firmly does indicate the continuity between the work of the first and second sculptors. Lang dates the work of the first sculptor to the very early tenth century. He notes that it must pre-date the Newgate shaft from York, as the latter seems to have miscopied the angel frieze found at Nunburnholme. He notes that the monument's parallels in figural carving, archiepiscopal coins and Carolingian manuscript illumination derive from the ninth century, while details such as the nose lappet and contour of the beast above the saint figure indicate that the first sculptor was working just a little later.²³⁶

²³³ James T. Lang, 'The Sculptors of the Nunburnholme Cross', *Archaeological Journal*, 133 (1977), 75-94 (p. 92).

²³⁴ Karkov, 'Postcolonial' (p. 155).

²³⁵ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume III: York and Eastern Yorkshire*, p. 192.

²³⁶ Lang, 'The Sculptors of the Nunburnholme Cross' (pp. 86-87).

The work of the first sculptor draws on late Anglian and thus Continental and Carolingian models and his work seems to be concerned only with Christian themes. His gripping angels link the monument to heaven, and his two figures, the saint and 'Mass-priest', suggest what Martin Foys terms a 'wholly Christian milieu'.²³⁷ Lang takes a similar view, arguing that the sculptor planned a 'religious scheme of decoration', looking to Anglian and Carolingian models. Lang describes him as an 'extremely skilled craftsman', and identifies in his work both a formalising element and an underlying Classicism.²³⁸ Lang deems the patronage of the first sculptor 'unquestionably ecclesiastical',²³⁹ with his work perpetuating 'a long Yorkshire tradition' in producing frontal depictions of saints and ecclesiastics, with parallels at Otley and Easby (North Yorkshire). Lang also points to a number of Continental parallels for his work. Thus the first sculptor's drapery is likened to that of the evangelists in the ninth-century Gospels of St-Médard-de-Soissons as well as Continental ivories, although Insular models do exist in the folds featured on ninth-century English archiepiscopal coinage.²⁴⁰

Lang suggests that the first two sculptors worked in York itself, citing the Newgate shaft's reliance on the Nunburnholme angel frieze. He points to other examples of the transportation of sculpture in the East Riding such as the Barmston hogback, which on stylistic and geological grounds probably came from the group of monuments at Lythe.²⁴¹ However, as we shall see, the evidence for Roman remains and thus suitable stone in and around Nunburnholme suggests that the carving may have been carried out at or near the site itself.

The monument's second sculptor was responsible for the majority of the surviving carving, and produced the seated figures of face A, all of face C, the intrusive scene at the bottom of face D and face B's beast-chain. Lang identifies his work on the basis of its cruder drapery and proportions and reliance on a series of flat planes.²⁴² Lang dates the work of the second sculptor to the tenth century, noting a link to other warrior carvings of that period. He dismisses the suggestion that the sword pommel is similar to that of Cnut's on the frontispiece of the New Minster *Liber Vitae* from Winchester and thus later, and argues that this sculptor was working in the earlier Anglo-Scandinavian period, shortly after the first, pointing to the beast chain that while having spiral joints had not yet reached the 'contouring or streamlining of full blown Jellinge animals'.²⁴³ The sword's pommel does seem dissimilar from the *Liber*

²³⁷ Foys, *Virtually Anglo-Saxon: Old Media, New Media and Early Medieval Studies in the Late Age of Print*, p. 176.

²³⁸ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume III: York and Eastern Yorkshire*, p. 38.

²³⁹ Lang, 'Pre-Conquest Sculpture in Eastern Yorkshire' (p. 2).

²⁴⁰ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume III: York and Eastern Yorkshire*, p. 192.

²⁴¹ Lang, 'Pre-Conquest Sculpture in Eastern Yorkshire' (p. 2).

²⁴² Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume III: York and Eastern Yorkshire*, p. 192.

²⁴³ Lang, 'The Sculptors of the Nunburnholme Cross' (pp. 87-88).

Vitae weapon, as the latter consists of three curves, while the Nunburnholme pommel has a single curve, although Cnut's royal status may have meant he was depicted with a more elaborate weapon.

This second sculptor broadened the range of iconography included on the monument, introducing Scandinavian, secular and mythological elements.²⁴⁴ Lang describes the patronage of the second sculptor's work as secular and in the 'mainstream of Viking Age colonial fashion'.²⁴⁵ However, the iconography employed by this second sculptor remained predominantly Christian, including a Virgin and Child and a possible Crucifixion scene.²⁴⁶ The work of the second sculptor has often been judged negatively in relation to that of the first. Thus Rosemary Cramp calls the work of the former 'flatter and more crudely linear',²⁴⁷ while according to Lang, the second sculptor's preferences for flat planes and profiles are a 'mark of ineptitude rather than change of style'.²⁴⁸ Lang even argues that the second sculptor recognised his inferiority and that the 'frontal figure was beyond his powers' thus choosing to depict all his figures in profile.²⁴⁹

The third sculptor to work on the Nunburnholme cross altered just one panel. At the bottom of face A, a later Norman hand has carved a centaur, perhaps around the time of the construction of the church.²⁵⁰ The creature is similar to the twelfth-century carvings on the tower arch of the church at Nunburnholme, near which the cross is now on display.²⁵¹ This addition, according to Foys, reshaped the monument as a 'Romanesque practice piece'.²⁵²

Much previous scholarship on the Nunburnholme cross has tended to emphasise the essentially Christian and Anglian nature of the monument as a whole. Thus Muir called the Nunburnholme cross a 'Christian symbol', arguing that figures from 'Viking pagan mythology' were included as these were 'fresh in the public mind'.²⁵³ Similarly, for Lang, the sculpture of eastern Yorkshire, including the Nunburnholme cross, 'speaks of a continuity of Christianity, at

²⁴⁴ Foys, *Virtually Anglo-Saxon: Old Media, New Media and Early Medieval Studies in the Late Age of Print*, p. 177.

²⁴⁵ Lang, 'Pre-Conquest Sculpture in Eastern Yorkshire' (p. 2).

²⁴⁶ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume III: York and Eastern Yorkshire*, pp. 192-93.

²⁴⁷ Rosemary Cramp, 'The Viking Image', in *The Vikings*, ed. by R.T. Farrell (London: Phillimore, 1982), pp. 8-19 (p. 15).

²⁴⁸ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume III: York and Eastern Yorkshire*, p. 37.

²⁴⁹ Lang, 'The Sculptors of the Nunburnholme Cross' (p. 78).

²⁵⁰ Foys, *Virtually Anglo-Saxon: Old Media, New Media and Early Medieval Studies in the Late Age of Print*, pp. 165-66.

²⁵¹ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume III: York and Eastern Yorkshire*, p. 192.

²⁵² Foys, *Virtually Anglo-Saxon: Old Media, New Media and Early Medieval Studies in the Late Age of Print*, p. 177.

²⁵³ Muir, *Old Yorkshire: The Story of the Yorkshire Landscape and People*, p. 98.

least in burial practice, throughout the Viking period'.²⁵⁴ Lang argues that ninety per cent of the monument's features, including the second sculptor's work, rely on a 'Christian, Anglian tradition'.²⁵⁵ He sees the cross as 'primarily an ecclesiastical product with cultural leanings towards Mercia', with Scandinavian influence limited to the sword hilt and possible Sigurd scene.²⁵⁶ Cramp's comment that the monument represents a notable exception to the 'obvious decline in figure carving' in the Anglo-Scandinavian period similarly seems to emphasise its Anglian, rather than Scandinavian or Anglo-Scandinavian credentials.²⁵⁷

Other scholars have placed greater emphasis on the Anglo-Scandinavian contribution to the monument. Thus Alan Binns calls the monument one of the 'triumphs' of the Anglo-Scandinavians of Northumbria,²⁵⁸ while Brown identified a 'distinct Scandinavian element' at Nunburnholme.²⁵⁹ The monument is also seen as representing the absorption of Scandinavian settlers into the Anglo-Saxon cultural mainstream. Thus Binns suggests that the monument represents Danish Vikings, who seem to have converted relatively quickly, arguing that the monument's patron, while 'Viking', was 'trying to be more Christian and English than the English'.²⁶⁰ Binns explicitly argues that this monument represents the assimilation of the Scandinavian settlers into Anglo-Saxon society. Thus, he notes that the Viking 'jarl' is balanced by the Virgin and Child and that the panelled arrangement refers to the Anglian tradition, and argues that the lower panels feature a 'riot of unmistakably Christian symbolism'. He does however concede that the stone was 'clearly set up for a Scandinavian'.²⁶¹

However, these attempts to classify the monument or weigh its cultural content are by their very nature problematic. As Foy's has observed, the cross, which does not correspond to any of its 'original' states, has a complicated history which resists attempts to fix its meanings and chronology.²⁶² Each campaign of carving changed the meaning and function, as well as the appearance, of the monument. Each carver added a new layer of meaning to the stone.²⁶³ Furthermore, attempts to classify motifs and iconographies as Anglian or Scandinavian, Christian or 'pagan' ignore the overlap between these categories and the fact that they have been combined here to create a new and unique monument. As Karkov notes, the

²⁵⁴ Lang, 'Pre-Conquest Sculpture in Eastern Yorkshire' (p. 6).

²⁵⁵ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume III: York and Eastern Yorkshire*, p. 193.

²⁵⁶ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume III: York and Eastern Yorkshire*, p. 193.

²⁵⁷ Cramp, *Anglian and Viking York*, p. 21.

²⁵⁸ Alan L. Binns, *Tenth Century Carvings from Yorkshire and the Jellinge Style*, (Bergen: Grieg, 1956), p. 6.

²⁵⁹ G. Baldwin Brown, *The Arts in Early England*, 6 vols (London: John Murray, 1903-37), VI, p. 180.

²⁶⁰ Binns, *The Viking Century in East Yorkshire*, pp. 38-39.

²⁶¹ Binns, *Tenth Century Carvings from Yorkshire and the Jellinge Style*, p. 18.

²⁶² Foy's, *Virtually Anglo-Saxon: Old Media, New Media and Early Medieval Studies in the Late Age of Print*, p. 170.

²⁶³ Karkov, *The Art of Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 9.

Nunburnholme cross, as a hybrid monument, makes it ultimately impossible to read its Anglian and Scandinavian elements separately.²⁶⁴

The following analysis will have two main aims. Firstly, by examining the landscape history of Nunburnholme and its environs, it shall attempt to explain why such a complex and high-status monument was erected in what appears today to be a rather inconsequential place and one in which there is no obvious source of stone suitable for monumental sculpture. Secondly, by placing the monument in its landscape setting, it will attempt to move beyond traditional ethnic and religious categorisations and develop an understanding of the monument which places it in a more localised context. Such an endeavour is appropriate as the cross is, according to Karkov, a 'cultural map of the use and reuse of the land and its monuments'.²⁶⁵

Landscape

Pre-history

The landscape of the Wolds, on the western edge of which lies the village of Nunburnholme, is cut by dry valleys formed by the action of periodic streams flowing over frozen ground at the end of the last ice age.²⁶⁶ Today this region is sparsely populated and feels remote even from the nearby centre at York. The Wolds and the area around Nunburnholme were, however, places of some significance in pre-history. This was not a sleepy backwater but a well-connected and thriving region. The region is dominated by what have been termed the 'preferred settlement zones', lines of settlements at places such as Nunburnholme, where the upland and lowland zones meet, springs appear and access to varied environments is available.²⁶⁷ In this early period the Wolds were an 'inviting area' between the swamps and forests of the Vale of York to the west and Holderness to the east.²⁶⁸ Furthermore, the Wolds were on the trading route between Ireland and northern Germany and Scandinavia. After passing across the Pennines, this route would have used the York or Escrick glacial moraines to reach Stamford Bridge and Garrowby Hill on the Wolds, to the north of Nunburnholme.²⁶⁹

This was an important area even in the earliest periods. In the Neolithic, eastern Yorkshire seems to have had a 'relatively numerous and affluent population',²⁷⁰ with Neolithic funerary

²⁶⁴ Karkov, 'Postcolonial' (p. 154).

²⁶⁵ Karkov, 'Postcolonial' (p. 156).

²⁶⁶ Catherine Stoertz, *Ancient Landscapes of the Yorkshire Wolds: Aerial Photographic Transcription and Analysis* (Swindon: Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England, 1997), p. 3.

²⁶⁷ Brian K. Roberts and Stuart Wrathmell, *An Atlas of Rural Settlement in England* (London: English Heritage, 2000), p. 47.

²⁶⁸ Elgee and Elgee, *The Archaeology of Yorkshire*, p. 7.

²⁶⁹ Elgee and Elgee, *The Archaeology of Yorkshire*, p. 68.

²⁷⁰ Muir, *Old Yorkshire: The Story of the Yorkshire Landscape and People*, p. 31.

and ceremonial monuments 'widespread' in the Wolds.²⁷¹ Long barrows were constructed in the area in the mid to late fourth millennium BC,²⁷² a phase which was then followed by a period in which round barrows were erected, which in turn came to an end around 1,600 BC. From this date, linear entrenchments began to divide the landscape into large enclosures, indicating that this was a 'fully exploited landscape'.²⁷³

From the early Bronze Age, so called 'beaker barrows' are especially common on the Wolds. The 133 whole or fragmentary beakers found in the region make up around half the total number found in England and Wales. The people using these beakers, or the culture surrounding them, probably reached Britain from the Rhineland and Denmark, and then seem to have pushed into western Yorkshire using the moraines across the Vale of York. Irish influence was particularly strong in this period; food vessels from the area are related to Irish types and cist-burials in the region have Irish features.²⁷⁴

Square barrows, erected in the centuries leading up to the Roman conquest, are also particularly common in the area. Indeed, from the fourth century BC, the region experienced what has been referred to as an 'eruption of ritual monuments'.²⁷⁵ This explosion seems to have been related to the introduction of the La Tène culture by 'Gaulish invaders' in the third century BC. The Wolds seems to have been a central place for this culture, attested by sites such as the Danes' Graves near Driffield, where around 500 barrows seem to have been erected.²⁷⁶ More broadly, aerial photography has recorded over 3,000 thousand examples across the Wolds.²⁷⁷ These again point to the connectedness of the region, as similar square barrows can be found in the Champagne and Marne regions of modern-day France.²⁷⁸ The introducers of La Tène culture may have been identical with the Parisii, the tribe which inhabited the area when the Roman legions invaded in the first century. This people may have been linked with the Parisii people of the Seine basin,²⁷⁹ although it has been suggested that similar tribal names may reflect the generic basis of Roman naming patterns.²⁸⁰ The Wolds

²⁷¹ Stoertz, *Ancient Landscapes of the Yorkshire Wolds: Aerial Photographic Transcription and Analysis*, p. 60.

²⁷² Muir, *Old Yorkshire: The Story of the Yorkshire Landscape and People*, p. 36.

²⁷³ Muir, *Old Yorkshire: The Story of the Yorkshire Landscape and People*, pp. 54-55.

²⁷⁴ Elgee and Elgee, *The Archaeology of Yorkshire*, pp. 51, 59, 62, 67.

²⁷⁵ Muir, *Old Yorkshire: The Story of the Yorkshire Landscape and People*, p. 65.

²⁷⁶ Elgee and Elgee, *The Archaeology of Yorkshire*, pp. 107-108, 112.

²⁷⁷ Stoertz, *Ancient Landscapes of the Yorkshire Wolds: Aerial Photographic Transcription and Analysis*, p. 39.

²⁷⁸ Stoertz, *Ancient Landscapes of the Yorkshire Wolds: Aerial Photographic Transcription and Analysis*, p. 34.

²⁷⁹ Elgee and Elgee, *The Archaeology of Yorkshire*, p. 122.

²⁸⁰ Tom Moore, 'Detribalizing the Later Prehistoric Past: Concepts of Tribes in Iron Age and Roman Studies', *Journal of Social Archaeology*, 11 (2011), 334-60 (p. 347).

region was thus a central place in pre-history. Furthermore, there seems to have been a remarkable continuity of occupation through the period. Evidence from nearby excavations at West Heslerton has revealed a ten kilometre band of Neolithic to late Roman settlement, running along the foot of the chalk scarp, between 150-200m wide. A second band was found higher up the ridge, which developed from the Anglo-Saxon period.²⁸¹

This pre-historic importance can also be found in the landscape around Nunburnholme itself. Round barrows, probably dating from the Bronze Age, are represented today by ring-ditches and are present above Nunburnholme on both sides of the valley at or above the 100m contour line.²⁸² A number of square barrows, erected in the late fourth century BC to the first century AD, are present on a ridge above Nunburnholme to the east of the settlement.²⁸³ While there is no specific evidence that the church site was an important place in pre-history, other examples from the East Riding suggest that places with pre-Roman significance were adopted in the Anglian period. Thus, at Rudston, an Anglian settlement, and later a church, was established alongside a Bronze-Age monolith, and Garton saw Neolithic and Bronze-Age burials followed by an Iron-Age cemetery, Romano-British farmstead and an Anglian cemetery.²⁸⁴ In the Bronze and Iron Ages water cults and holy wells were particularly important in the Yorkshire region,²⁸⁵ and Semple notes that water-related pre-historic cult sites were adopted as sites of importance in the Christian period.²⁸⁶ In this context, it is conceivable that the Nunburnholme site, with its beck and numerous wells, could have been a sacred centre of some kind. This pre-history indicates that there was a very long history of the erection of monuments in the landscape, although with the exception of the Rudston case these were not usually of stone. This should serve as a reminder that there was nothing essentially Christian or Anglian about the erection of monuments in this area. Furthermore, given this context of high monument density in the pre-Roman period, the erection of the cross in such a place begins to look less surprising.

²⁸¹ Roberts and Wrathmell, *An Atlas of Rural Settlement in England*, p. 47.

²⁸² Stoertz, *Ancient Landscapes of the Yorkshire Wolds: Aerial Photographic Transcription and Analysis*, p. 32.

²⁸³ Stoertz, *Ancient Landscapes of the Yorkshire Wolds: Aerial Photographic Transcription and Analysis*, pp. 33, 35.

²⁸⁴ Keith J. Allison, *East Riding of Yorkshire Landscape* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1998), pp. 52-53.

²⁸⁵ Muir, *Old Yorkshire: The Story of the Yorkshire Landscape and People*, p. 64.

²⁸⁶ Semple, *Perceptions of the Prehistoric in Anglo-Saxon England: Religion, Ritual, and Rulership in the Landscape*, p. 224.

Romano-British

The Wolds and the area around Nunburnholme continued to be an important place after the entry of Roman troops into Parisi territory in the early 70s AD.²⁸⁷ In this period a rising water table in the Vale of York rendered many low-lying areas uninhabitable, which seems to have led to the intensification of farming on the Wolds.²⁸⁸ Roman villas were particularly numerous, enjoying the area's good soils and communication links. These villas were both working farmsteads and country houses, constructed either of stone or a timber frame resting on stone footings.²⁸⁹ Examples are known close to Nunburnholme; a winged Roman villa has been discovered to the north of Pocklington, a few miles to the north-west of the site.²⁹⁰ Less than three miles to the south-west of Nunburnholme, at Hayton, a small Roman fort was erected in the Flavian period, although this was only in use for around a decade.²⁹¹ Hayton is now a small village, almost equidistant between York and Brough, and lies on the main Roman road from York to Hull. An Iron Age farmstead was probably located close to the fort site and a later Roman settlement was laid out along the road.²⁹² Three Iron-Age round houses have been excavated at Hayton,²⁹³ which seem to have evolved into a 'well appointed' later Roman building. A number of Roman stone buildings have been identified on the site using fieldwalking, including a bath house.²⁹⁴ Again, Nunburnholme in this period was a well-connected place. As well as the nearby road at Hayton, to the north of Nunburnholme at Garrowby Hill, the Roman road between Malton and Market Weighton would have crossed the pre-historic route linking Ireland with the Continent.²⁹⁵ Lang notes that Roman roads in the East Riding were still used and had an impact on settlement patterns at least into the early Anglo-Saxon period. Such roads may also have served to transport stone for carving, or completed monuments, as the region has little stone suitable for carving.²⁹⁶

²⁸⁷ Bruce N. Eagles, *The Anglo-Saxon Settlement of Humberside*, British Archaeological Reports British Series, 68 (Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, 1979), p. 19.

²⁸⁸ Muir, *Old Yorkshire: The Story of the Yorkshire Landscape and People*, p. 58.

²⁸⁹ Muir, *Old Yorkshire: The Story of the Yorkshire Landscape and People*, p. 81.

²⁹⁰ Patrick Ottaway, 'The Archaeology of the Roman Period in the Yorkshire Region: A Rapid Resource Assessment', in *The Archaeology of Yorkshire: An Assessment at the Beginning of the 21st Century*, ed. by T.G. Manby, Stephen Moorhouse, and Patrick Ottaway (Leeds: Yorkshire Archaeological Society, 2003), pp. 125-49 (p. 138).

²⁹¹ Stoertz, *Ancient Landscapes of the Yorkshire Wolds: Aerial Photographic Transcription and Analysis*, p. 67.

²⁹² Stephen Johnson, 'Excavations at Hayton Roman Fort, 1975', *Britannia*, 9 (1978), 57-114 (pp. 57-58).

²⁹³ Peter Halkon, 'Researching an Ancient Landscape: The Foulness Valley, East Yorkshire', in *The Archaeology of Yorkshire: An Assessment at the Beginning of the 21st Century*, ed. by T. G. Manby, Stephen Moorhouse, and Patrick Ottaway (Leeds: Yorkshire Archaeological Society, 2003), pp. 261-75 (p. 270).

²⁹⁴ Halkon, 'Researching an Ancient Landscape: The Foulness Valley, East Yorkshire' (p. 273).

²⁹⁵ Elgee and Elgee, *The Archaeology of Yorkshire*, p. 68; Ordnance Survey. (2015). Sheet 294, 'Market Weighton & Yorkshire Wolds Central. 1:25,000. OS Explorer map. Southampton: Ordnance Survey.

²⁹⁶ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume III: York and Eastern Yorkshire*, p. 7.

There is evidence for Roman activity very close to Nunburnholme itself. At 'Methall', between Nunburnholme and Warter, more than a thousand Roman coins of the third century were found in the 1840s,²⁹⁷ and Roman pottery, beads and fibulae were also found at the site.²⁹⁸ While Methall is not marked on modern maps, it is probably to be identified with the present location of Methill Hall Farm, which lies just over a mile up the valley from Nunburnholme and just under a mile from Water.²⁹⁹ At nearby Londesborough, Roman burials and coins have also been found.³⁰⁰

It seems that there was also a Roman presence of some kind in Nunburnholme itself. In 1905, excavations at the later medieval nunnery uncovered fragments of Roman pottery along with chalk and stone foundations. Nearby a coin of Caracalla was also discovered.³⁰¹ A Roman presence at Nunburnholme is supported by the fact that on the Wolds, Romano-British and later Anglo-Saxon settlement seems to have been heaviest at locations like Nunburnholme; gravel-floored valleys with water supplies which traversed the chalk escarpment.³⁰² It thus seems likely that the Anglo-Saxon settlers reused a Roman site, especially given the presence of Anglian burials. Early Anglo-Saxon cemeteries often adapted Roman features, such as towns, forts or roads, with over fifty examples of such adaptations known from across England.³⁰³ While further information about the nature of the Roman presence in the village will only be revealed by future excavations, parallels with the situation at West Heslerton, which occupies a similar site to Nunburnholme, on the edge of the Wolds and the Vale of Pickering, suggests that this may have been an important Roman place. At West Heslerton, an Anglo-Saxon settlement was established on the site of a number of Roman structures and pathways which linked a spring to a well-head at the foot of the Wolds. These features may have been related to some sort of rural shrine complex.³⁰⁴ Given the proximity of Roman roads and the abundance of water at Nunburnholme, it is possible that the site also had some kind of sacred significance in the Roman period. Once again, this examination of the site's landscape

²⁹⁷ John Kenrick, 'Remarks on Some Coins Discovered near Warter, and Presented by Lord Londesborough to the Museums of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society, and the Leeds Literary and Philosophical Society', *Proceedings of the Geological and Polytechnic Society of the West Riding of Yorkshire*, 3 (1849), 495-502 (pp. 495-96).

²⁹⁸ Morris, *Nunburnholme: Its History and Antiquities*, p. 15.

²⁹⁹ Ordnance Survey. Sheet 294, 'Market Weighton & Yorkshire Wolds Central'

³⁰⁰ GENUKI, *LONDESBOROUGH: Geographical and Historical information from the year 1892* (London: GENUKI, 2015) <<http://www.genuki.org.uk/big/eng/YKS/ERY/Londesborough/Londesborough92.html>> [accessed 17 March 2016].

³⁰¹ Morris, *Nunburnholme: Its History and Antiquities*, pp. 15-16, 149.

³⁰² Eagles, *The Anglo-Saxon Settlement of Humberside*, p. 209.

³⁰³ Sam Lucy, *The Anglo-Saxon Way of Death: Burial Rites in Early England* (Stroud: Sutton, 2000), p. 124.

³⁰⁴ The Landscape Research Centre, *Heslerton Parish Project: Results* (Malton: The Landscape Research Centre 2015) <<http://www.landscape-research-centre.org/Project%20HPP/results.htm>>. [accessed 17 March 2016].

history illustrates the continuing flourishing of the area, rendering the erection of the cross in this apparently remote location less exceptional. The presence of Roman stone buildings in the area, at Nunburnholme, Hayton and at various villas also begins to explain why a considerable stone monument was erected in an area largely without natural stone. Finally, the Roman settlement also reminds us that there was nothing essentially Anglian about the use of stone in this landscape. Indeed, given the density of the Roman settlement, it seems probable that even after the Roman withdrawal Roman stone was much more prominent in the landscape than that employed by the Anglo-Saxons.

Anglo-Saxon

The Wolds and the area around Nunburnholme continued to be of significance into the early Anglo-Saxon period. Driffield, for example, emerged as a centre of 'great importance', and was probably a royal estate when the Northumbrian king, Aldfrith, died there in 705.³⁰⁵ The area along the western edge of the Wolds may have been especially important in the early Anglian settlement. This may have been the nucleus of the kingdom of Deira, with its royal seat nearby at Goodmanham. Goodmanham seems to have been a site of some symbolic importance, as Bede tells us that the pagan temple there was destroyed in 627 after the conversion of Edwin.³⁰⁶ The present church at Goodmanham probably sits on the site of the temple.³⁰⁷ Some of the earliest Anglo-Saxon settlements in the region are found along the western escarpment of the Wolds. These include Londesborough, just to the south-east of Nunburnholme, which has a sixth-century name and may also have represented Anglian occupation of a Roman site.³⁰⁸ Anglo-Saxon pottery was found within the site of the Roman fort at Hayton, suggesting that this site was occupied in the Anglian period.³⁰⁹ A later Anglo-Saxon cemetery found at Hayton may indicate the presence of an unbroken history of occupation from the Roman period.³¹⁰ Other large 'pagan' cemeteries are known in the area, at North Newbald, Londesborough and Sancton.³¹¹ An Anglian burial has also been found at nearby Warter.³¹²

There is good evidence for Anglo-Saxon activity at Nunburnholme itself. The Anglian settlement has most obviously left its mark in the village's early name, Brunham, which combined the Old English words for stream and a farm or hamlet. The 'Nun' prefix is later, first

³⁰⁵ Eagles, *The Anglo-Saxon Settlement of Humberside*, p. 228.

³⁰⁶ Allison, *East Riding of Yorkshire Landscape*, p. 45.

³⁰⁷ Elgee and Elgee, *The Archaeology of Yorkshire*, p. 189.

³⁰⁸ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume III: York and Eastern Yorkshire*, p. 7.

³⁰⁹ Johnson, 'Excavations at Hayton Roman Fort, 1975' (p. 73).

³¹⁰ Halkon, 'Researching an Ancient Landscape: The Foulness Valley, East Yorkshire' (p. 273).

³¹¹ Allison, *East Riding of Yorkshire Landscape*, p. 45.

³¹² Eagles, *The Anglo-Saxon Settlement of Humberside*, p. 209.

recorded in 1486.³¹³ Villages with Anglian *-ham* names are probably products of a slightly later settlement phase than that represented by the earliest cemeteries.³¹⁴ Bruce Eagles suggests that the naming phase involving *-ham* place-names may have ended in the seventh century. He notes that nearly all such names were near Roman settlements or roads.³¹⁵ Chris Fenton-Thomas argues that the Anglian names on the edge of the Wolds were probably earlier than those of the central areas. The earliest, probably seventh-century group, used Old English terms to refer to topographical features, such as *burn* for stream, as at Nunburnholme. Similarly, nearby Goodmanham, which used the element *ham* to refer to a farm or hamlet, is also likely to have been coined in the earliest phase of Old English naming.³¹⁶

In 1851 three Anglian burials, which contained grave-goods from the fifth and sixth centuries,³¹⁷ were discovered at a chalk quarry near Nunburnholme.³¹⁸ These bodies were buried with grave-goods including a fifth-century bronze buckle.³¹⁹ However, as all other objects in the graves are dated to the sixth-century, this later period is the likely timeframe for the internment.³²⁰ The Anglian cemetery at Nunburnholme was probably located alongside a settlement now buried beneath the modern village.³²¹ The presence of an early ecclesiastical centre in Nunburnholme is of course suggested by the evidence of the cross itself. The fact that Domesday fails to mention a church or priest there may be due to the possible destruction of such a building after the Conquest; in Domesday the manor is described as waste.³²² The church, although now dedicated to Saint James, was recorded in 1536 as the church of All Hallows. This may suggest the presence of an earlier Anglo-Saxon church, as a number of other churches with pre-Conquest sculpture in the area share this dedication, including nearby Londesborough.³²³ It is, however, possible that the cross was erected in a monastic setting. After the Norman Conquest a Benedictine community of nuns was established to the north of the village away from the church, probably sometime in the second

³¹³ Chris Fenton-Thomas, *The Forgotten Landscapes of the Yorkshire Wolds* (Stroud: Tempus, 2005), pp. 88-89; Morris, *Nunburnholme: Its History and Antiquities*, p. 181.

³¹⁴ Allison, *East Riding of Yorkshire Landscape*, p. 47.

³¹⁵ Eagles, *The Anglo-Saxon Settlement of Humberside*, p. 32.

³¹⁶ Fenton-Thomas, *The Forgotten Landscapes of the Yorkshire Wolds*, pp. 88-89.

³¹⁷ William M. Bowman, 'Saxon Antiquities, Discovered at Nunburnholme, near Pocklington', in *Reliquiæ Antiquæ Eboracenses; or, Remains of Antiquity: Relating to the County of York*, ed. by William M. Bowman (Leeds: Cooke and Clark, 1855), pp. 62-63 (p. 62).

³¹⁸ Eagles, *The Anglo-Saxon Settlement of Humberside*, pp. 208, 241.

³¹⁹ Eagles, *The Anglo-Saxon Settlement of Humberside*, p. 208.

³²⁰ Eagles, *The Anglo-Saxon Settlement of Humberside*, p. 241.

³²¹ Fenton-Thomas, *The Forgotten Landscapes of the Yorkshire Wolds*, p. 90.

³²² Morris, *Nunburnholme: Its History and Antiquities*, p. 21.

³²³ Other examples include: Barmston, Helmsley, Holme upon Spalding Moor, Hovingham, Hunmanby, Kirkby Moorside and Nunnington. Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume III: York and Eastern Yorkshire*, pp. 125, 142-44, 148, 154, 193; Morris, *Nunburnholme: Its History and Antiquities*, p. 75.

half of the twelfth century.³²⁴ As the Normans are known to have refounded a number of 'moribund' communities in England, it is possible that there was a pre-Conquest monastic foundation in Nunburnholme.³²⁵ Such a proposition may be supported by the evidence of the cross itself, as the work of the first sculptor has been described by Foys as being at home in the Anglo-Saxon 'realm of the monastic sculptural houses'.³²⁶

Ninth and Tenth Centuries

The region around Nunburnholme was heavily impacted by the Scandinavian settlement of the ninth and tenth centuries. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* records that in 876 'Halfdan shared out the lands of the Northumbrians, and they proceeded to plough and support themselves', suggesting a wholesale takeover of the landscape.³²⁷ The impact of the settlers in the area was so great that Binns has characterised the succeeding period as East Yorkshire's 'Viking century'.³²⁸ The Wolds have a high density of Scandinavian place-names, especially those with the *-thorp* suffix,³²⁹ probably representing the creation of new settlements, not merely the appropriation of Anglian sites.³³⁰ An example of the radical changes that were occurring can be found at West Heselton, where a very substantial Anglo-Saxon settlement was deserted during the Scandinavian incursions of the ninth century. Ashy deposits on the site may even indicate a 'deliberate clearance', and a more defensible settlement was established nearby around the same time.³³¹

At Nunburnholme itself, the persistence of the name Brunham suggests Scandinavian assumption of control over an Anglo-Saxon settlement. However, nearby Burnby, which lies southwest of Nunburnholme, has a Scandinavian name,³³² and Londesborough incorporates the Old Norse personal name Loðinn.³³³ Such names suggest a considerable Scandinavian

³²⁴ David Knowles and R. Neville Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses: England and Wales*, 2nd edn (London: Longman, 1971), p. 254.

³²⁵ Brian Golding, 'Trans-Border Transactions: Patterns of Patronage in Anglo-Norman Wales', *Haskins Society Journal*, 16 (2006), 27-46 (p. 39).

³²⁶ Foys, *Virtually Anglo-Saxon: Old Media, New Media and Early Medieval Studies in the Late Age of Print*, p. 176.

³²⁷ Dawn M. Hadley, *The Northern Danelaw: its Social Structure, c. 800-1100* (London: Leicester University Press, 2000), p. 298.

³²⁸ Binns, *The Viking Century in East Yorkshire*.

³²⁹ H. S. A. Fox, 'The People of the Wolds in English Settlement History', in *The Rural Settlements of Medieval England: Studies Dedicated to Maurice Beresford and John Hurst*, ed. by Michael Aston, David Austin, and Christopher Dyer (Oxford: Blackwell, 1989), pp. 77-101 (p. 90).

³³⁰ Fox, 'The People of the Wolds in English Settlement History' (p. 93).

³³¹ The Landscape Research Centre, *Heselton Parish Project: Results*.

³³² Foys, *Virtually Anglo-Saxon: Old Media, New Media and Early Medieval Studies in the Late Age of Print*, p. 174.

³³³ The University of Nottingham, *Key to English Place Names: Londesborough with Easthorpe* (Nottingham: The University of Nottingham, 2016)

<<http://kepn.nottingham.ac.uk/map/place/Yorkshire%20ER/Londesborough%20with%20Easthorpe>>. [accessed 17 March 2016].

presence in the area. Binns notes that the concentrations of stone sculpture in eastern Yorkshire suggest that the 'great men of the Viking kingdom' were concentrated along the routes from York to the North Sea at Flamborough Head and Scarborough, in long-established villages with Anglo-Saxon names.³³⁴ Nunburnholme, although to the south of these routes, seems to fit this pattern, and could have been close to an alternative route between York and Bridlington Bay, and is close to the Roman road linking York to the Humber at Brough. This phase of the area's landscape history is of course represented by the cross itself. However, the dramatic nature of the change in the landscape perhaps indicates that the work of the second sculpture should not just be read as evidence of continuity with the Anglian period, but also as having dramatically altered the monument just as the Scandinavian settlers altered the landscape and its place-names.

Material and Form

The Nunburnholme stone is similar to that employed by the sculptors working at York. This, combined with the fact that the two sites share several motifs, has led Bailey to suggest that the Nunburnholme monument may have been 'imported ready-made to its present site'.³³⁵ The cross is carved from ashlar, and is of a limestone not typical of the East Riding. It was probably quarried at Tadcaster in the Roman period.³³⁶ According to Lang, this is 'almost certainly' reused stone from York, although given the presence of Roman stone buildings at nearby Hayton and possibly in Nunburnholme itself this seems far from certain.³³⁷ As Karkov has observed, it is possible that the Roman significance of the stone was important for its later carvers, or that its importance stemmed from its provenance in the city of York, although she suggests that it is also possible that the sculptors were unaware of or uninterested in the history of the stone.³³⁸ However, given the evidence for the continuing Roman significance of the site, and the clear evidence for the conscious reuse of Roman stone in York, it is perhaps more likely that the Nunburnholme carvers were again aware of the symbolic significance of the stone's Roman past.

As we have already noted, the fragmentary nature of the monument means it is uncertain what its original form would have been, particularly given that the break in the middle of the shaft 'leaves a considerable amount to be reconstructed'.³³⁹ Lang notes that it is just possible

³³⁴ Binns, *The Viking Century in East Yorkshire*, p. 14.

³³⁵ Bailey, *England's Earliest Sculptors*, p. 12.

³³⁶ Martin K. Foys, 'New Media and the Nunburnholme Cross', in *Cross and Cruciform in the Anglo-Saxon World: Studies to Honor the Memory of Timothy Reuter*, ed. by Sarah L. Keefer, Karen L. Jolly, and Catherine E. Karkov (Morgantown: West Virginia University Press), pp. 340-68 (p. 343).

³³⁷ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume III: York and Eastern Yorkshire*, p. 189.

³³⁸ Karkov, 'Postcolonial' (pp. 154-55).

³³⁹ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume III: York and Eastern Yorkshire*, p. 191.

that the two fragments came originally from two different monuments as the beast-chain panel on face B is unusual in that it does not continue on the fragment above.³⁴⁰ Brown also notes that the shaft is squarer in section than is usual.³⁴¹ However, this follows the pattern for Anglian monuments in the region, as at Hackness and ninth-century shafts from York also have a similar form.³⁴² While the monument does not have a cross-head, a mortice socket on its top side indicates that there may have been one.³⁴³

Face A

Panel aA – The Seated Swordsman

At the top of face A and all but one of the other faces are unusual gripping angels. These, suggests Pattinson, refer not to Scandinavian gripping beasts but to early Christian art where angels frame Christ or his nimbus, although it may of course be that the Nunburnholme carver drew on multiple sources. Continental ivories and Insular manuscript illustrations contain such examples. As Pattinson notes, their use here suggests that the carver was thinking three-dimensionally. He points to analogies in Romanesque architecture, such as the angels in the spandrels of the arches on a lintel at St Genis des Fontaines in what is now southern France and the caryatid angels on the crypt column capitals at Saint Bénigne in Dijon. Pattinson continued to argue that similarities between these figures and those on a capital at Bernay in Normandy mean that the Nunburnholme sculptor must have been at least indirectly in contact with the Bernay examples. He suggests that an imported mason's work on a Yorkshire building, perhaps Beverly minster, may have provided a prototype for the Nunburnholme sculptor.³⁴⁴ Other scholars have not supported Pattinson's argument. Thus Lang dismisses any link between the Nunburnholme frieze and eleventh-century French sculpture as he dates the monument to the tenth. He suggests that Continental ivories may have provided models, and points to a parallel in the ninth-century Easby cross, where figures grip the arches in one of the panels.³⁴⁵ The stiff leaf fan of the Nunburnholme frieze also suggests a link with Carolingian border art and ivories.³⁴⁶ Binns similarly suggests that the arcading over the monument's figures, along with the acanthus leaf ornament, is reminiscent of manuscript illustration.³⁴⁷ Lang also suggests that the first sculptor could have directly copied local Roman monuments for this frieze. The rosette at the root of the wing, and the pelta-like shape of the wing, could both

³⁴⁰ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume III: York and Eastern Yorkshire*, p. 192.

³⁴¹ Brown, *The Arts in Early England*, VI, p. 259.

³⁴² Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume III: York and Eastern Yorkshire*, p. 19.

³⁴³ Foy, *Virtually Anglo-Saxon: Old Media, New Media and Early Medieval Studies in the Late Age of Print*, pp. 161-62.

³⁴⁴ Pattinson, 'The Nunburnholme Cross and Anglo-Danish Sculpture in York' (p. 232).

³⁴⁵ Lang, 'The Sculptors of the Nunburnholme Cross' (p. 90).

³⁴⁶ Lang, 'The Sculptors of the Nunburnholme Cross' (p. 91).

³⁴⁷ Binns, *The Viking Century in East Yorkshire*, p. 39.

have been drawn directly from such sources.³⁴⁸ The figures, while unusual, thus seem more likely to have been inspired by local monuments and portable Carolingian works than by more distant Norman architecture.



Figure 23: New Minster *Liber Vitae*. British Library, Stowe 944 f. 6.

³⁴⁸ Lang, 'The Sculptors of the Nunburnholme Cross' (p. 91).

Below the frieze on this face is an armed, seated figure executed by the second sculptor. Scholars have often identified this figure as a 'Viking' leader of some kind. Thus Brown referred to the figure as a 'Viking chief',³⁴⁹ while Frank and Harriet Elgee termed him a 'bearded Viking', seated on a stool and 'naively gesticulating with one hand'.³⁵⁰ More recently, Foys has suggested that this image of a Viking 'lord' indicates that this was now a personal rather than an institutional monument as it presumably was in its earlier Anglian incarnation. The figure is distinguished from the ecclesiastics elsewhere on the monument as he, like the figure above the centaur, is in three-quarter profile and probably represents a Scandinavian or a person of Scandinavian descent, most likely the 'ranking authority in the community and the patron of the stone'.³⁵¹ While this identification of the figure as a prominent member of the Anglo-Scandinavian elite seems convincing, the image itself is not an aggressive or especially martial one. The figure is seated and his sword points to the ground. Nor must it be read as essentially Scandinavian as opposed to Anglo-Saxon or Anglo-Scandinavian. According to Binns, this figure is a 'Viking assimilated to Christian Anglo-Saxon society', and is thus akin to the New Minster *Liber Vitae* illustration of Canute (see fig. 22). Here the sword is identified as Viking and the posture as Anglo-Saxon.³⁵² Brown similarly argues that this is not an 'actively militant chief' but a leader who has 'been long enough in the country to have settled down as a local lord administering a substantial estate'.³⁵³ Lang in the same way describes this as a 'pacific warrior portrait'.³⁵⁴



Figure 24: Sword St Peter penny, York. Copyright Trustees of the British Museum.

³⁴⁹ Brown, *The Arts in Early England*, VI, p. 194.

³⁵⁰ Elgee and Elgee, *The Archaeology of Yorkshire*, p. 218.

³⁵¹ Foys, *Virtually Anglo-Saxon: Old Media, New Media and Early Medieval Studies in the Late Age of Print*, p. 177.

³⁵² Binns, *Tenth Century Carvings from Yorkshire and the Jellinge Style*, p. 18.

³⁵³ Brown, *The Arts in Early England*, VI, pp. 260-61.

³⁵⁴ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume III: York and Eastern Yorkshire*, p. 193.

The sword suggests that this image may be more concerned with lordship than ethnicity; its type is not limited to the Danelaw. This form, with straight guards and a domed pommel, is characteristic of tenth-century sculpture in England, occurring on other examples such as Middleton 2A. However, there are also links to Pictish carving, as similar swords also occur on sculpture at Kirriemuir and Shadwick.³⁵⁵ Pattinson argues that the sword is similar to the one held by Cnut in the New Minster *Liber Vitae*,³⁵⁶ although we have already observed the dissimilarities in the weapons' pommels. The Nunburnholme sword is in fact more akin to those found on the Sword St Peter pennies produced at York in the 920s and the sword pennies produced in the same city under Eric Bloodaxe in the early 950s (see fig. 23).³⁵⁷ In the latter context the sword has been seen as an explicitly Norse or defiant choice of iconography; Mark Blackburn describes it as 'highly redolent of Norse culture',³⁵⁸ while Allen has suggested that it 'may well have been intended as propaganda' in the context of a last Anglo-Scandinavian effort for independence in the Danelaw.³⁵⁹ Given these numismatic parallels it is possible that the Nunburnholme sword was intended to refer specifically to the Anglo-Scandinavian kingdom of York, or to an Anglo-Scandinavian or Norse identity more generally.

Swords also had a wider significance in the elite culture of this period, with important roles in gift-giving and royal diplomacy. They were valued both for their monetary worth and as 'prized ancestral heirlooms'.³⁶⁰ Swords were also important symbols of masculinity, and were the 'prerogative of adult men' in 'use, display and deposition'. They were of course also markers of high status as the ownership of such weapons was probably 'limited to a secular elite few'.³⁶¹ Dawn Hadley suggests that the presence of armed figures on tenth-century sculpture may be explained by the importance of swords in the construction of lordship, especially as in this 'turbulent' period land may have had to have been held by force of arms rather than legal right alone.³⁶²

The seated position of the figure seems to support a reading of it which sees it as an image of general elite status, rather than specifically Scandinavian and martial authority. Cramp notes

³⁵⁵ Laing, 'How Late Were Pictish Symbols Employed?' (p. 639).

³⁵⁶ Pattinson, 'The Nunburnholme Cross and Anglo-Danish Sculpture in York' (pp. 226-27). New Minster Register BM Stowe 944.

³⁵⁷ Mark Blackburn, 'The Coinage of Scandinavian York', in *Aspects of Anglo-Scandinavian York*, ed. by Richard A. Hall and others, The Archaeology of York, 8/4 (York: Council for British Archaeology, 2004), pp. 325-49 (pp. 335, 338).

³⁵⁸ Blackburn, 'The Coinage of Scandinavian York' (p. 338).

³⁵⁹ D. Allen, 'Northumbrian Pennies of the Tenth Century', *British Numismatic Journal*, 22 (1934-37), 175-86 (p. 185).

³⁶⁰ Dawn M. Hadley, 'Masculinity', in *A Handbook of Anglo-Saxon Studies*, ed. by Jacqueline Stodnick and Renée Trilling (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), pp. 115-32 (pp. 122-23).

³⁶¹ Hadley, 'Masculinity' (p. 130).

³⁶² Hadley, 'Masculinity' (p. 124).

that seated or enthroned figures have a long and ambiguous history. Such a pose is a position of authority or judgement, as exemplified by the enthroned Christ or evangelists. In Germanic contexts, a seated figure could be a god or a man, with a long beard perhaps indicating a divine figure.³⁶³ Thrones and high seats seem to have had cross-cultural significance. Miniature thrones have been found in graves at Birka (Sweden), while the *giftstol* is an object of importance in *Beowulf*. Seated figures are depicted in Scandinavian contexts, such as at Lund (Sweden) and on Anglo-Saxon objects, such as a cremation lid from Spong Hill (Norfolk). Irish and Scottish monuments often feature ecclesiastics seated on chairs, and Irish and English crosses include examples of the seated David with his harp and Pilate seated in judgement. Seated figures were common in Anglo-Saxon carvings of the eighth and ninth centuries, in examples such as those from Masham and Aldborough, although such figures were not armed.³⁶⁴

One detail of this panel serves as a reminder that we are far from a full understanding or its original meaning or meanings. This is the strangely positioned hand which seems to emerge from the figure's neck, interpreted by Lang as his right hand protruding from below the chin.³⁶⁵ Collingwood suggested that the mysterious hand is in a gesture of conversation or oratory.³⁶⁶ However, as Karkov notes, this is an awkward reading of a 'nonsensical detail', and suggests that it may be the hand of another figure reaching for the sword.³⁶⁷ Such a suggestion indicates that the image may have once carried a quite different meaning which is now perhaps beyond recovery.

Despite this cautionary note, the seated figure is perhaps best read as an image of authority produced by or for the local lord. This seems to be supported by Binns' observation that this seated figure is reminiscent of coin types, themselves signifiers of royal authority.³⁶⁸ Brown argues that the shaft is the funerary monument of this figure,³⁶⁹ while Collingwood suggested that the figure represents the 'person to whom the cross was erected'.³⁷⁰ Lang suggests that the figure may be the 'benefactor' of the monument.³⁷¹ In any case, the figure is interpreted as a member of the local, non-ecclesiastical elite. It should be noted, however, that this probable

³⁶³ Cramp, 'The Viking Image' (p. 14).

³⁶⁴ Cramp, 'The Viking Image' (p. 14).

³⁶⁵ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume III: York and Eastern Yorkshire*, p. 190.

³⁶⁶ W. G. Collingwood, 'Anglian and Anglo-Danish Sculpture in the East Riding, with Addenda Relating to the North Riding', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, 21 (1911), 254-302 (p. 266).

³⁶⁷ Karkov, 'Postcolonial' (p. 160).

³⁶⁸ Binns, *The Viking Century in East Yorkshire*, p. 39.

³⁶⁹ Brown, *The Arts in Early England*, VI, pp. 260-61.

³⁷⁰ Collingwood, 'Anglian and Anglo-Danish Sculpture in the East Riding, with Addenda Relating to the North Riding' (p. 266).

³⁷¹ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume III: York and Eastern Yorkshire*, p. 193.

elite function does not necessarily mean that the figure was devoid of Christian significance, especially given that the swordsman seems to have been given a prominence equal to the religious figures on the other faces.³⁷² Nunburnholme is one of a small group of tenth-century sculptures that include armed men. Hadley suggests that, given their Christian settings, these images could have had Christian connotations, perhaps symbolic of 'weapons of faith'. Such imagery, she argues, was 'firmly incorporated into Christian schema'.³⁷³ Foys, while describing the figure as 'secular', concedes that its unusual headgear may conceivably have been intended as a halo.³⁷⁴



Figure 25: St Mary Bishophill Senior 1aA. Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographer T. Middlemass.

³⁷² Karkov, 'Postcolonial' (p. 160).

³⁷³ Dawn M. Hadley, 'Warriors, Heroes and Companions: Negotiating Masculinity in Viking-Age England', *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History*, 15 (2008), 270-84 (pp. 275-76).

³⁷⁴ Foys, *Virtually Anglo-Saxon: Old Media, New Media and Early Medieval Studies in the Late Age of Print*, p. 165.

It seems likely that this figure was not intended to make a statement regarding the specifically Scandinavian nature of the lord's authority, despite the similarity of the sword to those depicted on the York coinage. Cramp observes that the figure's dress does not refer to that found in Scandinavia, where men seem to have worn short tunics over tight or baggy trousers. The Nunburnholme figure is dressed in a sleeveless jacket over a long garment which falls to his feet.³⁷⁵ Parallels for the panel can be found both locally and from elsewhere within the Insular world. Pattinson points to parallels between this figure and the posture of a carving of St Michael from Clonmacnoise.³⁷⁶ There are also parallels further north, for in Pictish sculpture similar hair styles are employed in the carving of three figures with shields and swords from Orkney.³⁷⁷ Saunders linked this figure with the 'warriors' depicted on the Franks Casket,³⁷⁸ while Cramp argues that the Nunburnholme figure is in the 'direct line of tradition from ninth-century work in the Midlands and South Yorkshire'.³⁷⁹ Parallels can also be found much closer to Nunburnholme. The figure's posture finds a parallel in the legs and sword point on a cross-shaft fragment from St Mary Bishophill Senior in York (see fig. 24),³⁸⁰ while the fragmentary cross-shaft York Minster 2 also includes a profile seated figure.³⁸¹ Lang in fact argues that the figure is essentially derived from that on a cross-shaft fragment from nearby Holme upon Spalding Moor.³⁸²

Panel bA – Ecclesiastic and Centaur

Originally below the armed figure was another panel with a seated figure, depicted holding a rectangular object. This seems to have been a religious figure of some kind, although its exact identity is unclear. Brown suggested that this figure represents David and his harp.³⁸³ Collingwood however was sceptical of the identification of the object as a harp, pointing to its lack of strings and its similarity to the object held by the Christ Child elsewhere on the cross.³⁸⁴ Books are indeed prominent on the monument. As Lang notes, however, they are depicted not in the Anglian style, in a draped hand, but following Mercian examples such as the St Alkmund's (Derbyshire) fragment, with enlarged borders.³⁸⁵ Pattinson sees this seated figure

³⁷⁵ Cramp, 'The Viking Image' (p. 15).

³⁷⁶ Pattinson, 'The Nunburnholme Cross and Anglo-Danish Sculpture in York' (p. 226).

³⁷⁷ Pattinson, 'The Nunburnholme Cross and Anglo-Danish Sculpture in York' (p. 226).

³⁷⁸ O. Elfrida Saunders, *A History of English Art in the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1932), p. 19.

³⁷⁹ Cramp, 'The Viking Image' (p. 15).

³⁸⁰ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume III: York and Eastern Yorkshire*, p. 88; Pattinson, 'The Nunburnholme Cross and Anglo-Danish Sculpture in York' (pp. 225-26).

³⁸¹ Pattinson, 'The Nunburnholme Cross and Anglo-Danish Sculpture in York' (p. 226).

³⁸² Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume III: York and Eastern Yorkshire*, p. 37.

³⁸³ Brown, *The Arts in Early England*, VI, p. 263.

³⁸⁴ Collingwood, 'Anglian and Anglo-Danish Sculpture in the East Riding, with Addenda Relating to the North Riding' (p. 268).

³⁸⁵ Lang, 'The Sculptors of the Nunburnholme Cross' (pp. 84-85).

as holding a book and crozier, and suggests that it may represent the archbishop of York.³⁸⁶ Foys similarly identifies a staff in the figure's right hand and also concludes that the rectangular object is a book.³⁸⁷ Pattinson refers to the figure as a 'scholar'.³⁸⁸ The fact that the figure is carved in three-quarter profile, like the armed figure above, and unlike the clearly Christian figures on the other panels, and is depicted wearing a short tunic, perhaps suggests that the figure is a secular one. Given these conflicting readings, and the lack of any definitive iconographical evidence, it now seems impossible to fix the precise identity of the figure with any certainty.

Below this conventional image is a much more unusual and intrusive one, a centaur carved by a later, presumably Norman hand. Centaurs are rare in Anglo-Saxon art but are common in Norman work, such as on the Bayeux Tapestry and on architectural church sculpture as at Kencot in Oxfordshire.³⁸⁹ This centaur, described by Foys as 'decidedly Romanesque', was probably carved over a century after the work of the second sculptor, perhaps during the construction of the church.³⁹⁰ Centaurs are mythological creatures with the head and torso of a human above the body and legs of a horse. They ultimately derive from Greek mythology, where they are described by Homer and Ovid as brutish, aggressive and lustful creatures. In European manuscript illustration, they were often represented as archers, identified with the constellation Sagittarius and were frequently employed in Romanesque portal sculpture.³⁹¹ The centaur scene is, according to Pattinson, 'the only obviously intrusive pagan scene on an otherwise Christian monument'. He points to a possible analogy at Sinnington (North Yorkshire).³⁹² However, the creatures were not without Christian significance. Collingwood suggested that the centaur was intended to be linked allegorically to the Virgin and Child scene, as both depict the union of two natures in one body,³⁹³ while a centaur in Jerome's life of Paul helps the saint find his way in the desert.³⁹⁴

³⁸⁶ Pattinson, 'The Nunburnholme Cross and Anglo-Danish Sculpture in York' (p. 226).

³⁸⁷ Foys, *Virtually Anglo-Saxon: Old Media, New Media and Early Medieval Studies in the Late Age of Print*, p. 165.

³⁸⁸ Pattinson, 'The Nunburnholme Cross and Anglo-Danish Sculpture in York' (p. 226).

³⁸⁹ Karkov, 'Postcolonial' (p. 161).

³⁹⁰ Foys, *Virtually Anglo-Saxon: Old Media, New Media and Early Medieval Studies in the Late Age of Print*, pp. 165-66.

³⁹¹ Mario Pereira, 'Centaur', in *The Classical Tradition*, ed. by Anthony Grafton, Glenn W. Most, and Salvatore Settis (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2010), pp. 187-89 (p. 187).

³⁹² Pattinson, 'The Nunburnholme Cross and Anglo-Danish Sculpture in York' (p. 227).

³⁹³ Collingwood, 'Anglian and Anglo-Danish Sculpture in the East Riding, with Addenda Relating to the North Riding' (p. 268).

³⁹⁴ Stefan Rebenich, 'Inventing an Ascetic Hero: Jerome's Life of Paul the First Hermit' in *Jerome of Stridon: his life, writings and legacy*, ed. by Andrew Cain and Josef Lössl (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), pp. 13-28, p. 17.

The small figure represented by a head to the right of the centaur's has been primarily seen by scholars as that of a human. Brown identified it as a baby on the centaur's back,³⁹⁵ as does Pattinson.³⁹⁶ Foy's also concludes that this strange figure is human.³⁹⁷ The origin of the figure may be explained by Lucian's description of a scene by the Greek painter Zeuxis, where a centaur suckles two babies, one of which she holds in her arms.³⁹⁸ The centaur also seems to be gripping something with both hands; this may be a bow and arrow. If this is the case, the second head may be that of one of the centaur's victims. Certainly, during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the centaur was a 'mark of Norman presence', and thus marks the Nunburnholme cross as an 'Anglo-Norman monument'.³⁹⁹ The centaur seems, as Karkov observes, 'doubly intrusive', both in terms of subject matter and because it is inserted into an irregular and spacious cavity. Its active pose also marks it out from the other figures on the monument.⁴⁰⁰ This highly disruptive element may be seen as symptomatic of the Norman impact on the landscape itself; Nunburnholme and almost every township in the area were described as 'waste' in Domesday. The degree of devastation may be further gauged by the survey's failure to record a single *villein* or farm animal in the manor of Nunburnholme in 1086, or to give the manor a value.⁴⁰¹

Face B

Panel aB – The Possible Abbess

At the top of face B is another figure which has primarily been interpreted as an ecclesiastic of some kind. Foy's identifies this as such a figure, wearing a double cowl, which forms a stole grasped in the figure's hands, with a book satchel or *rational* below.⁴⁰² The *rational* was an enamelled wooden brooch worn at the breast of the chasuble by bishops in the early middle ages.⁴⁰³ The curved features at the figure's wrists are probably a pouch or purse.⁴⁰⁴ Foy's notes that it is unclear whether this is the work of the first or second sculptor.⁴⁰⁵

³⁹⁵ Brown, *The Arts in Early England*, VI, p. 263.

³⁹⁶ Pattinson, 'The Nunburnholme Cross and Anglo-Danish Sculpture in York' (p. 227).

³⁹⁷ Foy's, *Virtually Anglo-Saxon: Old Media, New Media and Early Medieval Studies in the Late Age of Print*, p. 165.

³⁹⁸ Pattinson, 'The Nunburnholme Cross and Anglo-Danish Sculpture in York' (p. 227).

³⁹⁹ Karkov, 'Postcolonial' (p. 161).

⁴⁰⁰ Karkov, 'Postcolonial' (p. 160).

⁴⁰¹ Morris, *Nunburnholme: Its History and Antiquities*, pp. 24-25.

⁴⁰² Foy's, *Virtually Anglo-Saxon: Old Media, New Media and Early Medieval Studies in the Late Age of Print*, p. 165.

⁴⁰³ Lang, 'The Sculptors of the Nunburnholme Cross' (p. 85).

⁴⁰⁴ Brown, *The Arts in Early England*, VI, p. 262.

⁴⁰⁵ Foy's, *Virtually Anglo-Saxon: Old Media, New Media and Early Medieval Studies in the Late Age of Print*, p. 165.

Pattinson suggests that this figure may represent an abbess of a pre-Conquest nunnery in the area. A Benedictine community of nuns was established in the later middle ages, on a site away from the church at the upper end of the village, and was first recorded in 1206. As has been observed, the Normans refounded a number of 'moribund' communities in England,⁴⁰⁶ meaning that it is possible that there was a community in Nunburnholme in the tenth and eleventh centuries. Brown also argued that this is a high-ranking female figure, perhaps a prioress. He suggests that the rectangular frame to her front is either a container for jewels or a book satchel, which is often depicted in Irish ecclesiastical contexts.⁴⁰⁷ A parallel for this possible commemoration of an abbess through stone sculpture can be found in the Hackness cross which commemorates the abbess Oedilburga.⁴⁰⁸ It should be noted, however, that the gender of the figure is far from certain, especially given that its elongated chin may have been intended as a beard. The specific imagery of this panel links it to works further west. Lang notes that the figure is similar to a seated figure on a Roman monument in the museum at Ilkley.⁴⁰⁹ The pelleted satchel and curled sleeve purses, along with the diagonal strips on the figure's arms, link it to the priest on a Bishophill Senior cross-shaft from York.⁴¹⁰ This panel once again ties the cross into its landscape context, one in which control over the area and its resources may have rested in the hands of a female ecclesiastic, with a symbolic image of this control perhaps deliberately included on the cross, just as the image of the armed figure, probably the local Anglo-Scandinavian lord, was carved later.

Panel bB – Interlocked Beasts

Below is a panel featuring what Lang refers to as 'Anglo-Scandinavian' beast-chain.⁴¹¹ Two almost complete animals are featured, with hooves and spiral leg-joints.⁴¹² Brown described these as 'crudely designed convoluted beasts, the complete ring striking a Scandinavian note'.⁴¹³ This beast-chain, Foys notes, disrupts the monument's overall scheme as figural carving is present on all corresponding panels. This is 'overtly Scandinavian ornament'.⁴¹⁴ However, while these beasts are best viewed in the context of Scandinavian animal ornament, they should not be ascribed a purely Scandinavian meaning. Bailey argues that these standing beasts with long, arching backs and necks are similar to earlier Mercian work, such as the St

⁴⁰⁶ Golding, 'Trans-Border Transactions: Patterns of Patronage in Anglo-Norman Wales' (p. 16); Pattinson, 'The Nunburnholme Cross and Anglo-Danish Sculpture in York' (p. 227).

⁴⁰⁷ Brown, *The Arts in Early England*, VI, p. 262.

⁴⁰⁸ Coatsworth, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VIII: Western Yorkshire*, p. 269.

⁴⁰⁹ Lang, 'The Sculptors of the Nunburnholme Cross' (p. 91).

⁴¹⁰ Pattinson, 'The Nunburnholme Cross and Anglo-Danish Sculpture in York' (p. 227).

⁴¹¹ Lang, 'Pre-Conquest Sculpture in Eastern Yorkshire' (p. 2).

⁴¹² Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume III: York and Eastern Yorkshire*, p. 190.

⁴¹³ Brown, *The Arts in Early England*, VI, p. 264.

⁴¹⁴ Foys, *Virtually Anglo-Saxon: Old Media, New Media and Early Medieval Studies in the Late Age of Print*, p. 177.

Alkmund shaft, preserving a hint of its diagonal arrangement.⁴¹⁵ Lang also points to Anglian examples from the Midlands, such as those at Breedon, which are also arranged diagonally and entangled. Lang notes, however, that at Nunburnholme the animals' fettering and layout give the impression of a density which is more typical of beast-chain from Yorkshire than its Mercian prototypes. This layout, according to Lang, is based on an Insular system, with a diagonal grid and fixed points in the scrolls, as in the Irish Macregol Gospels. The scroll-bar on the hip, however, indicates a 'Jellinge-style milieu'. Within East Yorkshire, these animals have a close parallel in those on two cross-shaft fragments from Folkton.⁴¹⁶ While these may appropriate parallels to draw, as Foy's notes, the panel still 'reflects an affinity for iconography strongly reminiscent of Scandinavian art', similar to Jellinge-style beast-chain.⁴¹⁷ This panel also seems to be illustrative of the trend in Anglo-Scandinavian sculpture towards long single panels filled with animal ornament.⁴¹⁸ Why the beast-chain was included on this face is unclear. As Karkov notes, the presence of these beasts below the abbess figure seems awkward, heralding a shift from human, frontal, and architecturally-enclosed representation to profile animal figures in a less naturalistic field.⁴¹⁹ This disruptive element chimes with the Scandinavian impact on the landscape itself, which led to the foundation of new settlements and the establishment of new, Scandinavian-influenced place-names.

Face C

Panel aC – Virgin and Child

At the top of face C is a pair of confronting animals in place of the angel frieze found on the other faces of the monuments. Lang describes these animals as a 'pair of confronting wyverns'.⁴²⁰ He links the creatures to the St Denys grave-cover at York, which also features confronting, paired animals in 'meagre fetters', with the same pendant tails, curved bills and cocked wings.⁴²¹ The use of such animal ornament by the second sculptor again illustrates that his work was not simply or primarily 'Scandinavian'. While Lang states that these creatures

⁴¹⁵ Lang, 'Continuity and Innovation in Anglo-Scandinavian Sculpture: A Study of the Metropolitan School at York' (p. 149).

⁴¹⁶ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume III: York and Eastern Yorkshire*, pp. 34-35.

⁴¹⁷ Foy's, *Virtually Anglo-Saxon: Old Media, New Media and Early Medieval Studies in the Late Age of Print*, p. 178.

⁴¹⁸ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume III: York and Eastern Yorkshire*, p. 33.

⁴¹⁹ Karkov, 'Postcolonial' (pp. 159-60).

⁴²⁰ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume III: York and Eastern Yorkshire*, p. 190.

⁴²¹ Lang, 'The Sculptors of the Nunburnholme Cross' (p. 82).

belong to the 'local Anglo-Scandinavian milieu',⁴²² he also points out their Mercian ancestry, deriving from carvings such as the Gloucester fragment.⁴²³

Below these creatures, and filling the rest of the panel, is a depiction of the Virgin and Child executed by the second sculptor, with Christ seated on the Virgin's lap and apparently holding a book.⁴²⁴ Parallels for this image can be found both locally and further afield in Britain. The representation of a saint with a deeply dish-shaped and curling halo is itself a local tradition, with examples at York and Old Malton.⁴²⁵ Another local parallel is to be found at nearby Sutton-on-Derwent where the Virgin holds the Christ Child in the same manner, with the latter also holding a book. Further afield, Pattinson points to a carving from Shelford (Nottinghamshire) as a parallel for these figures, which mirrors the Nunburnholme arrangement.⁴²⁶ Lang, however, notes that Virgin and Child groups are unusual in the north of England in this period and suggests that this scene may look back to earlier Insular examples. He notes that the Christ Child here sits and looks outwards as it does on St Cuthbert's coffin.⁴²⁷ Saunders even likened the cross's figural carving to that of the Franks Casket, referring to this panel as an 'equally crude representation of the Madonna sitting under an arch'.⁴²⁸ The derivation of this image is thus to be placed firmly in the Insular and ecclesiastical world. It seems likely that in this panel the second sculptor drew on inspiration from the work of the first, looking to the frontal figures on faces B and D. Such imitation suggests that the second sculptor saw himself as working within the same artistic and cultural tradition as the first, or at least that the same forms and iconography continued to be appropriate. This imitation has been viewed negatively by some scholars. Thus Lang sees this panel as an example of the second sculptor's attempts to 'ape his predecessor', with 'unhappy' results.⁴²⁹ Karkov, however, describes this as 'straightforward emulation'.⁴³⁰

Panel bC – Crucifixion

Below this image of the Virgin and Child is another figural panel, which depicts the lower two thirds of a large, frontal figure, whose hands seem to be laid on the heads of two smaller figures each side of him, whose arms in turn extend towards the legs of the larger figure.

⁴²² Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume III: York and Eastern Yorkshire*, p. 192.

⁴²³ Lang, 'Continuity and Innovation in Anglo-Scandinavian Sculpture: A Study of the Metropolitan School at York' (p. 147).

⁴²⁴ Foys, *Virtually Anglo-Saxon: Old Media, New Media and Early Medieval Studies in the Late Age of Print*, p. 165.

⁴²⁵ Bailey, *Viking Age Sculpture in Northern England*, p. 191.

⁴²⁶ Pattinson, 'The Nunburnholme Cross and Anglo-Danish Sculpture in York' (pp. 227-28).

⁴²⁷ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume III: York and Eastern Yorkshire*, p. 193.

⁴²⁸ Saunders, *A History of English Art in the Middle Ages*, p. 19.

⁴²⁹ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume III: York and Eastern Yorkshire*, p. 37.

⁴³⁰ Karkov, 'Postcolonial' (p. 159).

Brown described this as a 'curious representation', suggesting that it may represent two votaries adoring a saint who blesses them. He identifies two birds on the larger figure's shoulders.⁴³¹ Bailey argues that this panel represents Christ in the act of blessing, similar to Continental ivories which also feature Christ as a larger figure. It is possible that the figure once had a globe at his feet, as on the Continental ivories. Bailey suggests that the birds represent divine inspiration.⁴³² Collingwood also saw the birds as symbols of inspiration, pointing to similar creatures on the shoulders of the figure at Kirkleavington as a parallel. In this case the birds are perhaps best seen as doves.⁴³³



Figure 26: Castledermot south cross, west face (detail). Copyright and photographer A. Kohl.

More recent scholarship has tended to identify the scene as a Crucifixion. This is the argument put forward by Lang, who notes that the Nunburnholme carving is similar to Irish examples in which Christ rests his large hands on Longinus and Stephaton while angels rest on his shoulders, such as the Castledermot south cross (see fig. 25).⁴³⁴ In this reading the smaller figures are seen as holding the cross.⁴³⁵ Pattinson agrees with this interpretation, pointing to a parallel in the York Minster 2 shaft fragment,⁴³⁶ which may have imitated this Nunburnholme

⁴³¹ Brown, *The Arts in Early England*, VI, pp. 262-63.

⁴³² Bailey, *Viking Age Sculpture in Northern England*, pp. 156-57.

⁴³³ Collingwood, 'Anglian and Anglo-Danish Sculpture in the East Riding, with Addenda Relating to the North Riding' (p. 266, 268).

⁴³⁴ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume III: York and Eastern Yorkshire*, p. 193.

⁴³⁵ Lang, 'The Sculptors of the Nunburnholme Cross' (p. 90).

⁴³⁶ Pattinson, 'The Nunburnholme Cross and Anglo-Danish Sculpture in York' (p. 228).

panel.⁴³⁷ The identification of the scene is supported by the fact that the two smaller figures seem to grasp long objects which may be the spear and pole with sponge, although these may also be palms held by saints as symbols of their martyrdom if the panel is a benediction scene. Further support for the Crucifixion hypothesis is to be found in the fact that the birds at the shoulders of the large figure are in the place often taken by lamenting angels in such scenes.⁴³⁸ Foys in his recent analysis also argues that this is probably a Crucifixion.⁴³⁹ However, this is not a certain or indeed a fully satisfactory identification, especially given the unusual grasping of the lower heads.⁴⁴⁰ It is of course possible that this is a confused rendering of the scene, but the possibility that it is a depiction of other figures entirely should not be ruled out. If the scene is a Crucifixion, it does provide further support for the continuing importance of the Insular and ecclesiastical tradition for the second sculptor, while indicating that the relationship between the first and second sculptors was more complex than the suggested by the seemingly simple imitation found in the latter's *Virgin and Child*, as this is a far from conventional representation of the Crucifixion scene; indeed it is possible that the carving was intended to have multiple possible readings, depending on the cultural background of the viewer.

Face D

Panel aD – Beast and Saint

At the top of face D, in a field supported by the gripping angels, is a beast with a turned-back head executed by the first sculptor.⁴⁴¹ The beast's stance and place in a cramped panel, as well as the 'frondy foot' of its lower leg, are identified by Lang as features which link it to the Trewhiddle mounts,⁴⁴² and the Trewhiddle style which was popular in southern England during the eighth and ninth centuries.⁴⁴³ Lang does not identify any local sculptural parallels, but notes that the animal's nose-fold presages the Anglo-Scandinavian carvings of York, where such a fold constituted a 'hall-mark'.⁴⁴⁴ The animal has also been likened to the motifs found on the early Anglo-Saxon sceatta coinage. The motif is thus a mark of Anglian work but also, through the presence of the nose-fold, illustrates that there is no simple dividing line between Anglian and Anglo-Scandinavian ornament.

⁴³⁷ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume III: York and Eastern Yorkshire*, pp. 54-55.

⁴³⁸ Pattinson, 'The Nunburnholme Cross and Anglo-Danish Sculpture in York' (p. 228).

⁴³⁹ Foys, *Virtually Anglo-Saxon: Old Media, New Media and Early Medieval Studies in the Late Age of Print*, p. 165.

⁴⁴⁰ Karkov, 'Postcolonial' (p. 159).

⁴⁴¹ Brown, *The Arts in Early England*, VI, p. 264.

⁴⁴² Lang, 'The Sculptors of the Nunburnholme Cross' (p. 82).

⁴⁴³ Karkov, *The Art of Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 189.

⁴⁴⁴ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume III: York and Eastern Yorkshire*, p. 24.

Below is the top half of a haloed frontal figure also carved by the first sculptor which, like the possible abbess and priest figure below has a rectangular object of some kind on its chest. While it has been argued that this figure is an ecclesiastic,⁴⁴⁵ the presence of a halo surely points to a saintly individual. Indeed, this is the interpretation favoured by recent scholars.⁴⁴⁶ Lang likens it to the figure with a dished halo on York Minster 4, although he notes that the Nunburnholme figure is more stylised, with schematic drapery which looks to Carolingian models.⁴⁴⁷ The pelleted border seen here is also found on the York carvings, including fragments from Parliament Street and St Mary Bishophill Junior,⁴⁴⁸ and is a common feature of Northumbrian sculpture of the ninth century, with other examples at Halton and Whitby.⁴⁴⁹ The dished halo derives from West Yorkshire sources such as Otley and Collingham.⁴⁵⁰ The Nunburnholme figure could also look to Roman art near to Nunburnholme, such as the pavement with a haloed and draped bust set under an arch at Brantingham, north of the Humber at Brough.⁴⁵¹ The ninth-century date for this work of the first sculptor is supported by Lang's observation of the similarity between the figure's drapery and that of the ninth-century archbishops Ceolnoth of Canterbury and Wigmund of York found on their coinage.⁴⁵²

Panel bD – Mass and Sigurd

Below this scene we find the top half of another frontal figure, which in this case has a badly damaged head. The lower part of the figure has been destroyed by the carving of another scene. Lang identifies the upper figure as part of a Mass scene carved by the first sculptor, which, like the figure on the panel above is stylised and has a stiff and unrelaxed posture and a curved profile.⁴⁵³ Collingwood noted that the figure, presumably a priest, holds a cup with a circle within, which may represent both the chalice and the host,⁴⁵⁴ although the rectangular feature on the priest's chest could also be interpreted as the host.⁴⁵⁵ Foy's however suggests that this object may also be a book satchel or *rational*.⁴⁵⁶ The priest is similar to that on the Bishophill Senior shaft, which also wears a satchel and holds what is probably a chalice, while

⁴⁴⁵ Brown, *The Arts in Early England*, VI, p. 264.

⁴⁴⁶ Foy's, *Virtually Anglo-Saxon: Old Media, New Media and Early Medieval Studies in the Late Age of Print*, p. 162; Pattinson, 'The Nunburnholme Cross and Anglo-Danish Sculpture in York' (p. 229); Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume III: York and Eastern Yorkshire*, p. 191.

⁴⁴⁷ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume III: York and Eastern Yorkshire*, pp. 36-37.

⁴⁴⁸ Pattinson, 'The Nunburnholme Cross and Anglo-Danish Sculpture in York' (p. 218).

⁴⁴⁹ Lang, 'The Sculptors of the Nunburnholme Cross' (p. 91).

⁴⁵⁰ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume III: York and Eastern Yorkshire*, p. 192.

⁴⁵¹ Lang, 'The Sculptors of the Nunburnholme Cross' (p. 91).

⁴⁵² Lang, 'The Sculptors of the Nunburnholme Cross' (p. 84).

⁴⁵³ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume III: York and Eastern Yorkshire*, pp. 36-37.

⁴⁵⁴ Collingwood, 'Anglian and Anglo-Danish Sculpture in the East Riding, with Addenda Relating to the North Riding' (p. 267).

⁴⁵⁵ Pattinson, 'The Nunburnholme Cross and Anglo-Danish Sculpture in York' (p. 229).

⁴⁵⁶ Foy's, *Virtually Anglo-Saxon: Old Media, New Media and Early Medieval Studies in the Late Age of Print*, p. 162.

Pattinson suggests that this Mass scene may draw on Continental ivories, examples of which include profile figures in front of the altar.⁴⁵⁷

The scene below, while difficult to interpret, clearly features two figures sitting or at least placed opposite each other, with a number of somewhat confused objects between them. The figure on the left holds a ring in its right hand and its left hand is held before its face.⁴⁵⁸ The figure on the right is not obviously human, and has a misshapen head. Pattinson identifies the scene as part of the Sigurd story, in which Reginn and Sigurd share a meal, but set in the smithy with an anvil and bellows.⁴⁵⁹ The strange features of the figure on the right may reflect Reginn's ability to change into an otter or dragon. The ring being held may be a slice of Fáfnir's heart or a treasure ring, like that carved on the Dräfle (Sweden) stone.⁴⁶⁰ Lang also identifies this as the heart-roasting scene, with the figure on the left holding his burnt thumb to his mouth.⁴⁶¹ Kopár also identifies the scene as the Sigurd-Reginn meal and notes that the depiction of Sigurd with his thumb to his mouth suggests Sigurd's ingestion of juices from the dragon's heart which led him to acquire the ability to understand birdsong.⁴⁶²

While this identification seems convincing, especially in the context of the popularity of the Sigurd story in tenth-century Anglo-Scandinavian carving, it is a far from certain reading, especially given the condition of the stone. Bailey, for example, is also wary about the identification of this scene, noting that it is similar to depictions of the hermit Saints Paul and Anthony.⁴⁶³ Margeson is also cautious, noting that this scene lacks some of the usual features of Sigurd representations, such as Sigurd's horse Grani. She also suggests that this may instead represent Paul and Anthony, referring to a tradition of depicting them breaking bread, an iconography clearly appropriate for inclusion below a Mass scene.⁴⁶⁴ Ellis Davidson was also cautious about identifying these figures, arguing that while the sharing of a meal is reminiscent of the roasting of Fáfnir's heart, this is not definite enough to firmly identify the scene.⁴⁶⁵

On the assumption that this is a depiction of the Sigurd story, some scholars have viewed it as a negative or even aggressive addition to the monument. Thus Pattinson terms it an 'intrusive pagan scene',⁴⁶⁶ while according to Lang the scene 'succeeded in defacing' this side of the

⁴⁵⁷ Pattinson, 'The Nunburnholme Cross and Anglo-Danish Sculpture in York' (p. 229-30).

⁴⁵⁸ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume III: York and Eastern Yorkshire*, p. 191.

⁴⁵⁹ Pattinson, 'The Nunburnholme Cross and Anglo-Danish Sculpture in York' (p. 230).

⁴⁶⁰ Bailey, *Viking Age Sculpture in Northern England*, p. 122.

⁴⁶¹ Lang, 'The Sculptors of the Nunburnholme Cross' (p. 88).

⁴⁶² Kopár, *Gods and Settlers: The Iconography of Norse Mythology in Anglo-Scandinavian Sculpture*, p. 37.

⁴⁶³ Bailey, *Viking Age Sculpture in Northern England*, p. 122.

⁴⁶⁴ Margeson, 'The Volsung Legend in Medieval Art' (p. 191).

⁴⁶⁵ Ellis Davidson, 'Gods and Heroes in Stone' (p. 129).

⁴⁶⁶ Pattinson, 'The Nunburnholme Cross and Anglo-Danish Sculpture in York' (p. 230).

monument.⁴⁶⁷ However, Sigurd was not a pagan god, but a heroic figure also present in the Anglo-Saxon tradition, and could contain both vernacular and Christian significances. During the Norwegian conversion, for example, Sigurd became a 'transition figure who crossed intact the line between pagan hero and Christian protector'.⁴⁶⁸ It is possible that the second sculptor was attempting to comment on the similarities between the Mass and the Sigurd stories, both of which feature transformative meals. Thus Lang argues that the second sculptor recognised the significance of the Mass scene above and introduced the Sigurd and Reginn meal in deliberate juxtaposition,⁴⁶⁹ while Bailey suggests that this could be a 'pagan illustration of Christian ideas', or alternatively a 'visual reinterpretation and commentary' on the Mass scene above.⁴⁷⁰ Kopár similarly suggests that the sculptor may have been making deliberate links between the Mass and Sigurd's meal, both of which involve the acquisition of knowledge through blood.⁴⁷¹

The scene also brings into question the normal narrative of progression over time from paganism to Christian belief, as here a figure from vernacular mythology has been carved after firmly Christian scenes.⁴⁷² While this scene may have been an example of Christian teaching, it may also have been illustrative of a new Anglo-Scandinavian worldview in which a story from vernacular mythology may have stood alongside, rather than being subsumed into, Christian narratives. The scene may also have had significance beyond these mythological and religious considerations. Bailey's suggestion that Sigurd scenes in this period could have been an extension of the Anglo-Scandinavian 'martial ideal' may suggest that there is some relationship between the swordsman and the hero on the Nunburnholme cross.⁴⁷³ The precise nature of the link between the Mass scene and the possible Sigurd carving is of course unclear. It seems unlikely, however, that the second sculptor was attempting to simply replace a Christian scene with an assertively 'pagan' one, given that much of the priest was left intact and that the second sculptor produced Christian iconography elsewhere on the cross. However, the inclusion of a figure from vernacular mythology does mark the second sculptor as radically different from the first, who concentrated purely on Christian themes. The second sculptor

⁴⁶⁷ Lang, 'The Sculptors of the Nunburnholme Cross' (p. 79).

⁴⁶⁸ Byock, 'Sigurðr Fáfnisbani: An Eddic Hero Carved on Norwegian Stave Churches' (p. 620).

⁴⁶⁹ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume III: York and Eastern Yorkshire*, p. 193.

⁴⁷⁰ Bailey, *Viking Age Sculpture in Northern England*, p. 125.

⁴⁷¹ Kopár, *Gods and Settlers: The Iconography of Norse Mythology in Anglo-Scandinavian Sculpture*, p. 38.

⁴⁷² Foy, *Virtually Anglo-Saxon: Old Media, New Media and Early Medieval Studies in the Late Age of Print*, p. 178.

⁴⁷³ Bailey, *England's Earliest Sculptors*, p. 92.

thus transformed the cross from a purely Christian monument into one which straddled a much broader cultural range.

Conclusion

The preceding examination of the Nunburnholme cross has attempted to situate it in the landscape setting within which it would have been viewed and interacted with during its various phases of development. In this context, the erection of a high-status monumental cross in what appears today to be a sleepy provincial backwater, and one which lacks a natural source of stone suitable for carving, is more readily explicable. The area, from the Neolithic to Anglo-Scandinavian periods, was relatively densely settled and at times, such as the late Bronze Age and early Anglo-Saxon period, represented a political or cultural centre. The examination of the Roman phase of the area's landscape history indicates that the stone employed for the monument may well have been sourced locally, given the evidence for Roman stone structures at Nunburnholme itself, at nearby Hayton and at the numerous villa sites in the region. The landscape history of the area also indicates that there was nothing essentially Anglian about the erection of monuments in the region, given the vast quantity erected in the pre-Roman period, a conclusion which begins to question whether the usual account of the Nunburnholme cross as a fundamentally Anglian monument is appropriate.

Given its complex history, context and repeated reworkings, we have seen that descriptions of the cross as basically Anglian or Christian are overly simplistic. Instead, the monument contains shifting significances which embody the changes seen in the landscape itself, from Roman building material, an Anglian ecclesiastical monument to a hybrid Anglo-Scandinavian one which included a much broader range of iconography. The traditional view of the second sculptor as technically deficient to and essentially reliant on the Anglian tradition obscures the fact that this sculptor was responsible for the majority of the monument's carving and transformed it from an ecclesiastical object into a much more pluralistic one, capable of addressing elite, mythological as well as Christian concerns. Of course, this radical transformation mirrored what was happening in the local landscape, which was also transformed by the Scandinavian settlement. The work of the final, Norman sculptor continued this mapping of the landscape, and serves as a further reminder of the difficulty in attempting to fix an essential or fundamental meaning to such a monument. The monument also indicates the heterogeneous nature of the hybridity of Anglo-Scandinavian stone monuments, containing as it does elements which suggest mimicry, deliberate juxtaposition and even aggressive destruction. The cross itself also contributed to the landscape around it. Foys suggests that monuments such as the Nunburnholme cross were part of an attempt to 'impose permanence on the settlement' of the area, and worked to 'turn the space of

northern England into the *place* of the Danelaw'.⁴⁷⁴ Thus the cross, as a hybrid Anglo-Scandinavian and later an Anglo-Norman production, contributed to the cultural identity of the landscape in which it was set.

⁴⁷⁴ Foy, *Virtually Anglo-Saxon: Old Media, New Media and Early Medieval Studies in the Late Age of Print*, p. 175.

Chapter 1 Conclusion

Both the Anglo-Scandinavian sculpture from York Minster and the Nunburnholme cross attest to the complex hybridity of the carvings produced in central and eastern Yorkshire in the ninth and tenth centuries. As the landscape, both of the city of York and the East Riding, was transformed by the Scandinavian settlements, so too was the region's stone sculpture. At York, new forms, such as the hogbacks emerged, while Anglian precedent was broken with in the introduction of scenes from vernacular mythology. Stylised animal ornament, which had some Anglian precursors, but which appealed to the new Scandinavian tastes of the city, was introduced. At Nunburnholme, the monument was literally recarved by an Anglo-Scandinavian hand, one which also introduced iconographies from vernacular mythology and other novel elements to create a new, hybridised object.

While both sites saw the production of hybrid monuments, the nature and function of that hybridity were different. At York Minster there seems to have been a deliberate as well as complex hybridity. On one level, the Anglo-Scandinavian carvers, through their reuse of Roman stone and monuments, seem to have been drawing on the imperial history of the city, potentially both to legitimise the new Anglo-Scandinavian polity and elite, but also to commemorate members of that elite in death. There was also a perhaps less conscious level of hybridity unfolding at the Minster site. This was one in which Anglo-Scandinavian sculptors drew on motifs, iconographies and ornament from across the Insular and North Sea worlds, bringing together elements from the Anglo-Saxon, Irish and Scandinavian artistic traditions. The result was a body of sculpture that was internationalist in character, in keeping with the multicultural and outward looking city in which it was produced. While it is possible that the sculptors deliberately set out to create this hybrid art, it seems more likely that this was simply the result of the wide range of sources from which they were able to draw, and perhaps the multi-ethnic nature of the elite group offering patronage in the city.

At Nunburnholme, the creation of a hybrid monument was certainly also a deliberate act, with the recarving of both Roman stone and an Anglian monument. Here, however, the hybridity may have been less of an easy accommodation and assimilation between two related artistic traditions. The work of the second Anglo-Scandinavian sculptor was destructive as well as creative, with Anglian work obliterated in the process of over-carving. There may also have been some deliberate juxtaposition of iconographies and motifs by the second sculptor, with an armed figure and a scene from the Sigurd narrative perhaps placed in conscious opposition to the ecclesiastical figures and biblical imagery of the first, Anglian sculptor. This suggests that this was a hybridity in which a certain degree of conflict or at least tension between the two traditions was ongoing. The Nunburnholme monument also exhibits a more complex hybridity

than that seen at York Minster, in that the work of a third, Norman sculpture can also be seen, attesting to a later stage of settlement and conflict in the landscape.

At both sites, a consideration of the historical context and geographical settings of the monuments erected there has prompted a reassessment of the significance of the Anglo-Scandinavian sculpture. At York, the imperial Roman past of which the sculptors appear to have been conscious, and the strategic location of the settlement, suggest a view of the Minster site which situates it as an important political and artistic centre. Anglo-Scandinavian York has often been seen either as an occupied English city awaiting the final reconquest of 954, or an ephemeral and far-flung Scandinavian cultural outpost. In fact, it was the centre of a confident, cosmopolitan and hybrid Anglo-Scandinavian polity, one in which an innovative and complex body of sculpture was being produced. Similarly, Nunburnholme, while a place of little apparent consequence today, was in an area of some importance in the pre-historic, Roman, Anglian and Anglo-Scandinavian periods. The presence of an impressive and complex monument there is readily explicable given the probable nearby sources of Roman stone, and the density of Scandinavian settlement in the area. The numerous pre-historic monuments in the area around the village also underlines that there was nothing essentially Anglian about the erection of a monument in this landscape.

Chapter 2: Northern Yorkshire

Chapter 2 Introduction

This chapter will consider two sites in the north of the modern county, beginning with Kirkleavington, located on the very edge of Yorkshire overlooking the river Tees. The second part of this chapter will consider Brompton, a sculptural centre famous for its hogbacks, also in the north of the county. The two sites are linked by the Anglo-Scandinavian stone sculpture produced there, as the Brompton School of carving was responsible for a number of pieces at Kirkleavington as well as much of the material at Brompton itself.¹

The two sites are also linked by a shared geography. Both were well-connected places which may have been mercantile centres in the ninth and tenth centuries. Kirkleavington occupies a strategic position overlooking the river Tees. The river has traditionally been viewed as a boundary, between the Anglo-Scandinavian kingdom of York and the lands controlled by the community of St Cuthbert to the north. However, the river is best seen not as a dividing line, but an important communications corridor, linking Kirkleavington to the rest of the Tees valley and beyond. Stocker suggests that in this context Kirkleavington may have been home to a large number of elite traders, probably utilising a beach-market on the Tees.² Brompton, while not on a navigable river, may also have been a mercantile centre of some kind, located as it is close to the north-south overland routes through the Vale of York, which is at its narrowest in the area.³

As a result of this shared context, there is much to link the two sites in terms of the sculpture itself. At both sites the sculptors drew on a particularly wide range of sources, including Anglo-Saxon stone sculpture, Scandinavian metalwork and mythology, vernacular architecture, coinage, and Anglo-Scandinavian carvings from across and beyond the kingdom of York. Both sites drew particularly heavily on sources in the monumental stone sculpture of Ireland, indicating both the Hiberno-Norse origins of the Scandinavian settlers in this part of Yorkshire, and the ease of communications between Ireland and this area, across the Pennines via the Stainmore road.

¹ James T. Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VI: Northern Yorkshire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 2001), pp. 71-73.

² Stocker, 'Monuments and Merchants: Irregularities in the Distribution of Stone Sculpture in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire in the Tenth Century' (p. 203).

³ Stocker, 'Monuments and Merchants: Irregularities in the Distribution of Stone Sculpture in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire in the Tenth Century' (pp. 205-206).

Chapter 2, Part 1: Kirkleavington

Introduction

Kirkleavington, a village just to the south of the river Tees in the historical district of Cleveland in North Yorkshire, is a site 'specially rich in fragments' of Anglo-Scandinavian stone sculpture.⁴ 24 sculpted fragments were found in the walls of the nave when this was rebuilt around 1882,⁵ probably representing between ten and fifteen original monuments.⁶ The church as it is seen today is primarily a late Victorian structure, although Norman elements remain, such as the south doorway and the chancel arch.⁷ Kirkleavington is one of around 37 sites with pre-conquest stone sculpture in the Tees valley, representing around 300 fragments in total. Kirkleavington is one of the small number of locations in the area which yielded over 20 fragments, along with Gainford, Sockburn, Aycliffe and Stanwick. Morris argues that such sites were 'clearly important centres in the period'.⁸ Kirkleavington, close to the river Tees, is a fairly typically-located site, as sculptural sites in the valley are densest close to the river and its immediate tributaries, although some, as at Rey Cross, Legs Cross and Great Stainton, seem to have been sited along the course of Roman roads.⁹

Previous scholarship on the Kirkleavington collection has tended to stress the isolated and peripheral nature of the grouping. Thus Lang describes the Allertonshire material, of which Kirkleavington forms a part, as 'distinctive and isolated'.¹⁰ He identifies Kirkleavington and the Tees valley as part of Yorkshire's 'hinterlands', areas in which warrior carvings tend to be particularly prominent.¹¹ Scholars have viewed the Tees as the northern boundary of the Anglo-Scandinavian kingdom centred on York, and have thus located Kirkleavington, just south of the river, as a peripheral site. This is the view taken by Lang, who argues that in this period the Tees seems to have been the boundary between the 'Viking colonies' to the south and the lands controlled by the community of St Cuthbert to the north.¹² Thompson takes a similar approach, arguing that in this period the old kingdom of Northumbria was again split by the Tees valley, echoing the earlier division between Bernicia in the north and Deira in the south.¹³

⁴ Nikolaus Pevsner, *Yorkshire: The North Riding* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1966), p. 26; Samuel Lewis, *A Topographical Dictionary of England* (London: S. Lewis & Company, 1831), p. 43.

⁵ Joseph E. Morris, *The North Riding of Yorkshire*, 3rd edn (London: Methuen, 1931), pp. 228-29.

⁶ Stocker, 'Monuments and Merchants: Irregularities in the Distribution of Stone Sculpture in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire in the Tenth Century' (pp. 201-202).

⁷ Pevsner, *Yorkshire: The North Riding*, p. 221.

⁸ C. D. Morris, 'Pre-Conquest Sculpture of the Tees Valley', *Medieval Archaeology*, XX (1976), 140-46 (p. 145).

⁹ Morris, 'Pre-Conquest Sculpture of the Tees Valley' (p. 141).

¹⁰ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume III: York and Eastern Yorkshire*, p. 42.

¹¹ Lang, 'Survival and Revival in Insular Art: Northumbrian Sculpture of the 8th to 10th Centuries' (p. 267).

¹² Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VI: Northern Yorkshire*, p. 5.

¹³ Thompson, *Dying and Death in Later Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 147.

Stocker's description of the Kirkleavington material as an 'outstanding Deiran sculpture collection' also emphasises the place of the sculpture in the tradition of the York kingdom.¹⁴ Scholars have also emphasised the specifically local nature of the carving at Kirkleavington. The sculpture there forms part of the material produced by the Allertonshire workshop, which seems to have covered an area just twenty miles across; Lang suggests it was active in the first half of the tenth century.¹⁵ The workshop served a group of local sites which included Kirkleavington, Brompton, Northallerton and Sockburn.¹⁶ This has been seen as a distinctive local grouping, encompassing sites which 'invented their own novel ornament' and produced 'well-modelled figure sculpture'.¹⁷

In the following analysis, an examination of the landscape history of Kirkleavington and the surrounding area will be used to reassess some of these earlier interpretations of the site's sculpture. Firstly, the idea that the place was an isolated one, located on the periphery of a political unit to its south, will be challenged. It will be argued that from the pre-historic to the Anglo-Scandinavian periods the site had excellent communication links in all directions, a point further evidenced by the materials and forms employed by the Kirkleavington sculptors as well as the range of iconographies and motifs they carved. The idea that the sculpture was produced on a boundary which somehow separated the kingdom of York and the lands to the north will also be challenged. The Tees, while a boundary of some sort for short periods in the early medieval period, was not always so, and for long periods seems to have been of little significance in demarcating territorial divisions. In fact, it seems more to have served as a transport link uniting the lands of the Tees valley rather than dividing them. In this light, the sculpture ceases to be a peripheral collection and is rather one which looks far beyond the Tees as well as to local and Deiran sources. Finally, the emphasis on the place of the Kirkleavington material in the grouping produced by the Allertonshire workshop will be questioned. While many of the pieces certainly look to sources and models from the region, the sculptors also had much broader horizons, utilising motifs and iconographies from the rest

¹⁴ Stocker, 'Monuments and Merchants: Irregularities in the Distribution of Stone Sculpture in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire in the Tenth Century' (pp. 201-202).

¹⁵ Lang, 'Survival and Revival in Insular Art: Northumbrian Sculpture of the 8th to 10th Centuries' (p. 261).

¹⁶ Richard N. Bailey, 'The Chronology of Viking-Age Sculpture in Northumbria', in *Anglo-Saxon and Viking age sculpture and its context: papers from the Collingwood Symposium on Insular sculpture from 800 to 1066*, ed. by James T. Lang, British Archaeological Reports British Series, 49 (Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, 1978), pp. 173-203 (p. 184).

¹⁷ Richard N. Bailey, 'The Hammer and the Cross', in *The Vikings in England and in Their Danish Homeland*, ed. by Else Roesdahl and others (London: Anglo-Danish Viking Project, 1981), pp. 83-94 (pp. 85-86).

of Yorkshire, Co. Durham, and across the Pennines into the North West and particularly from Ireland.

Landscape

A consideration of the sculpture's landscape setting and history will show that the work had links far beyond the Allertonshire workshop and the boundary of the river Tees and was not produced in an isolated, fringe area. The modern village of Kirkleavington is located in the Tees valley section of Cleveland, an area bounded by Dere Street to the west and the Cleveland hills to the east,¹⁸ the village lying on gently undulating land which consists of boulder clay left behind after the melting of the ice sheet which covered northern Britain around 15,000 years ago.¹⁹ This was fertile and thus valuable land; an early nineteenth-century description of the parish of Kirkleavington describes the soil as 'strong, but fertile clay' and highlights the deep, rich loam along the rivers Tees and Leven,²⁰ and the area in the late Middle Ages has been described as the most fertile part of the entire bishopric of Durham.²¹ The site itself stands on a hill which dominates a loop of the river Tees to the north at Yarm, a planned town laid out in the twelfth century.²² This gently rising ridge runs from east to west and thus affords views down to the site of Yarm and the Tees beyond.²³ The site was essentially at the northern habitable limit of modern Yorkshire, for while Kirkleavington is just less than two miles south of the Tees at Yarm, settlement at the latter site would have been rendered very difficult by periodic flooding of the tidal river, a particular problem given the flatness of the terrain.²⁴ In Kirkleavington the church itself stands on the highest ground at the centre of the village, and was described in the early nineteenth century as commanding an 'extensive and pleasing prospect into the county of Durham on the north'.²⁵ The combination of this elevation and northwards prospect seems to have made Kirkleavington a strategic site, a fact recognised, for example, by the Normans, who erected a castle to the north east of the church after the conquest, overlooking the river Leven.²⁶

¹⁸ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VI: Northern Yorkshire*, p. 44.

¹⁹ D.A. Spratt, 'The Archaeology of Cleveland', in *The Archaeology of Cleveland*, ed. by D.A. Spratt (Middlesborough: Middlesborough Borough Council, 1979), pp. 5-6 (p. 5).

²⁰ John Graves, *The History of Cleveland, in the North Riding of the County of York: Comprehending an Historical and Descriptive View of the Ancient and Present State of Each Parish within the Wapontake of Langbargh; the Soil, Produce, and Natural Curiosities; with the Origin and Genealogy of the Principal Families within the District* (Carlisle: F. Jollie and Sons, 1808), p. 100.

²¹ Christian D. Liddy, *The Bishopric of Durham in the Late Middle Ages: Lordship, Community and the Cult of St Cuthbert* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2008) p.34.

²² Stocker, 'Monuments and Merchants: Irregularities in the Distribution of Stone Sculpture in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire in the Tenth Century' (pp. 202-203).

²³ Graves, *The History of Cleveland*, p. 85.

²⁴ Morris, *The North Riding of Yorkshire*, p. 413.

²⁵ Graves, *The History of Cleveland*, pp. 88-89.

²⁶ Pevsner, *Yorkshire: The North Riding*, p. 221.

Pre-history

The pre-history of the site sets the pattern for the sculpture's landscape setting, one of a prosperous and busy place with strong links north of the Tees. The first known human activity in the region was around 9,500 BC when hunting groups began to be active.²⁷ In the earliest period, our assessment is hampered by a lack of evidence which probably stems from the nature of the riverine landscape. Thus it has been suggested that the paucity of Mesolithic finds in the lowland areas such as that around Kirkleavington may be because these are now buried under a considerable layer of accumulated soil. An indication that there was human activity in the area in this period is to be found at Seamer Carr, to the east of Kirkleavington across the river Leven, which has yielded a small number of Mesolithic flints, although these are more commonly found in the uplands to the south east. Similarly, little evidence remains of the first Neolithic lowland farmers who arrived from the Continent around 3,700 BC. However, the distribution of stone axes of this period, which are found on the lowlands around the Tees, Leven and Esk, indicate activity, possibly forest clearance, in the area.²⁸ Such clearances imply an investment in the landscape, while the distribution of the finds in the area suggests that even at this early stage the Tees was not a barrier for the human population.

Cereal production in the area probably began around 2,500 BC, from which time onward clearance of the lowland woodland intensified, although this was patchy and not fully completed until the Anglo-Saxon period.²⁹ The Bronze Age, beginning around 2,300 BC, saw a considerable increase in the population of the area, although this is largely evidenced by the mounds and barrows which are found on the moors to the south east of Kirkleavington and the lowlands. There are some indications of lowland activity in the Bronze Age however, such as a bronze sword which was found in the Tees in 1887, a perforated stone axe and a spearhead also from the Tees, and more axes from Boosbeck nearer the coast. Iron Age activity in the lowland area is evidenced by Eston Nab hill fort, just outside Middlesbrough, where Iron Age pottery and a massive rampart were excavated in the 1960s. A number of Iron Age settlements have been identified in the Tees valley, including at Ingleby Barwick, which lies a few miles to the north of Kirkleavington across the river Leven.³⁰ Excavations at Yarm in 1804 discovered a rubbish pit and canoe-like boat, which although now lost have been dated tentatively to the Iron Age. On the current site of the cemetery in Yarm there may have been a pre-historic fortification of some kind, as this site was given the name Maiden Castle Hill,

²⁷ D.A. Spratt, 'The Prehistoric Era', in *The Archaeology of Cleveland*, ed. by D.A. Spratt (Middlesborough: Middlesborough Borough Council, 1979), pp. 7-16 (p. 7).

²⁸ Spratt, 'The Prehistoric Era' (pp. 7-8).

²⁹ Spratt, 'The Archaeology of Cleveland' (p. 6).

³⁰ Spratt, 'The Prehistoric Era' (pp. 9-12).

which may indicate a hill fort which could have existed into the early modern period.³¹ Indeed, in the Iron Age agricultural activity seems to have shifted to the lowlands. The Tees valley saw a proliferation of enclosures on its gravel soils.³² The spread of these enclosures suggests both that the area by this time was able to support a considerable population, and that the river was not a dividing line, but rather an important communications artery. The persistence of patterns from this very early time is supported by the fact that the names of the Tees and Leven date from the pre-Roman period.³³ On the eve of the Roman conquest Kirkleavington was in the area controlled by the Brigantian tribal group, which stretched from the Tyne-Solway gap to the Humber, again indicating that in this early period the Tees was not a barrier or dividing line, and that Kirkleavington had the potential for wider-ranging connections.³⁴

Romano-British

The area around Kirkleavington was under Roman control by AD 78 at the latest, following a final stand by Brigantian forces at the Iron Age fortifications at Stanwick. It seems likely that Iron-Age settlements and farming on the lowlands continued relatively unchanged after this conquest.³⁵ In the Roman period the area was probably one of 'prosperous lowland farming activity stimulated by the needs of the Roman army.'³⁶ As North Yorkshire lay within the Roman military province, Roman impact on the countryside seems to have been lesser than in areas further south.³⁷ With the exception of Catterick, there seem to have been few Roman civil settlements between Boroughbridge, to the north of York, and the Tees.³⁸ However, at Parish Crayke, near Stokesley to the east of Kirkleavington, observations in the 1880s suggested the presence of Roman hypocaust and thus a villa site, although later excavations have revealed no such structures. The site's proximity to the river Leven may mean that any remains had been destroyed by the 'sudden surging floods' to which this stretch was until recently prone. Further south, there was an important Roman site at Whorlton, which, like Kirkleavington, commands a view northward across the Tees.³⁹ A villa has been excavated at

³¹ John Wilford Wardell, *A History of Yarm: An Ancient North Riding Town* (Yarm: J. W. Wardell, 1957), p. 7.

³² Blaise Vyner, 'The Iron Age', in *Historical Atlas of North Yorkshire*, ed. by Robin A. Butler (Otley: Westbury, 2003), pp. 42-47 (p. 45).

³³ Spratt, 'The Prehistoric Era' (p. 13).

³⁴ Thomas M. Charles-Edwards, *Wales and the Britons, 350-1064* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), p. 384.

³⁵ R. Inman, 'Roman Cleveland', in *The Archaeology of Cleveland*, ed. by D.A. Spratt (Middlesborough: Middlesborough Borough Council, 1979), pp. 17-26 (p. 17).

³⁶ Spratt, 'The Archaeology of Cleveland' (p. 6).

³⁷ Pevsner, *Yorkshire: The North Riding*, p. 20.

³⁸ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VI: Northern Yorkshire*, p. 5.

³⁹ D.A. Spratt and B. R. Hartley, 'The Roman Period (AD 70-410)', in *Prehistoric and Roman Archaeology of North-East Yorkshire*, ed. by D.A. Spratt and M. A. Atherden (London: Council for British Archaeology, 1993), pp. 155-66 (p. 159).

Piercebridge, upstream from Kirkleavington on the north bank of the Tees, which was occupied in the first and second centuries.⁴⁰ The Tees may have been an important communications route in the Roman period, linking the garrison at Catterick to the sea. Downstream from Kirkleavington, Roman hoards have been discovered at Guisborough, Eston, Wilton and Stockton.⁴¹

Kirkleavington was located close to the Roman road network, which included a route running north from Stamford Bridge, via Thirsk and Durham, to Newcastle. This crossed the Tees around five miles to the west of Kirkleavington, at Middleton St George.⁴² The absence of forts on this road may indicate that it was later and more civilian in nature than others in the region.⁴³ Kirkleavington was also fairly close to the Roman road which crossed the Pennines to the west over Stainmore and on into Cumbria near Penrith.⁴⁴ Thus in the Roman period the site was not an isolated one at the northern edge of a polity but located in a prosperous agricultural area with good communication links in all directions. No documentary evidence exists for Cleveland between the departure of the Roman legions and the Anglo-Saxon settlement, and only one find of this period has been made, a bronze brooch found in isolation, close to Kirkleavington at Yarm.⁴⁵ One other hint at activity in the area in this late period is to be found in the place-name of Egglecliffe, which is situated on the north bank of the Tees opposite Yarm, and indicates that this may have been the site of a British church.⁴⁶

Anglo-Saxon

It is in the Anglo-Saxon period that evidence for Kirkleavington as a peripheral place, bound to the lands to its south, emerges, although as we have seen this was a new situation in this period. Anglo-Saxon control over the area was secure after the battle of Catterick which took place in the late 580s, when the Anglo-Saxon armies of Deira and Bernicia defeated forces from the kingdoms of the North West. Little is known of the early Saxon settlement of the area; it is unclear whether settlements were taken over or established anew, and no fields systems remain. Proven Anglo-Saxon settlements are very rare,⁴⁷ but the area in this period seems to have been divided into large estates. Only a very small number of settlements have

⁴⁰ Inman, 'Roman Cleveland' (p. 18).

⁴¹ Frederic R. Pearson, *Roman Yorkshire* (London: A. Brown & Sons, 1936), p. 99.

⁴² Ivan D. Margary, *Roman Roads in Britain*, rev. edn (London: Baker, 1967), pp. 431-32.

⁴³ Peter Wilson, 'The First and Second Centuries', in *Historical Atlas of North Yorkshire*, ed. by Robin A. Butler (Otley: Westbury, 2003), pp. 48-52 (p. 49).

⁴⁴ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VI: Northern Yorkshire*, p. 5.

⁴⁵ M.M. Brown, 'Saxon and Viking Cleveland', in *The Archaeology of Cleveland*, ed. by D.A. Spratt (Middlesborough: Middlesborough Borough Council, 1979), pp. 31-44 (p. 31).

⁴⁶ Brown, 'Saxon and Viking Cleveland' (p. 32).

⁴⁷ Brown, 'Saxon and Viking Cleveland' (p. 32-3).

the combination of a personal name and the element *tun*, meaning settlement, which probably indicates personal ownership of land.⁴⁸

By the beginning of the seventh century, the kingdom of Deira had probably reached its northern boundary at the Tees, thus including Kirkleavington.⁴⁹ There is some evidence for Anglo-Saxon activity around Kirkleavington in this period; the name of the village in Domesday was *Lentune*, which combines the pre-Roman name of the river Leven with the Anglo-Saxon element *tun*, meaning an enclosure, farmstead or village.⁵⁰ In the late nineteenth century a seventh-century grave-stone was found near the church at Yarm, although the first documentation of the church dates from the twelfth century, and the earliest phase of the structure is Norman.⁵¹ Yarm, however, is an Old English name meaning 'fish pools'.⁵² Other place-names also point to the impact of the Anglo-Saxon settlement on the landscape. Thus Picton, to the south west of Kirkleavington, draws on the Old English personal name Pica, while Low Worsall, to the west, also draws on an Old English personal name and means 'Weorc's nook of land'.⁵³ To the east of Kirkleavington at Great Ayton we find a cross-head featuring a Crucifixion which may predate the Scandinavian settlement of the area.⁵⁴ While in the Anglo-Saxon period the Tees does seem to have been a boundary between the kingdoms of Deira and Bernicia,⁵⁵ this division was not a permanent one as Deira and Bernicia were united in the kingdom of Northumbria, although not always fully or equitably, from the 630s.⁵⁶

Ninth and Tenth Centuries

In the period of Anglo-Scandinavian dominance, Kirkleavington seems to have been once again a centre of some importance with strong links beyond the Tees. The initial wave of Scandinavian settlement from what is now Denmark may have been less marked in this northern part of Yorkshire, as there are fewer old East Scandinavian place-names here than in areas such as the East Riding. West Scandinavian settlement, via Ireland, began in the tenth

⁴⁸ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VI: Northern Yorkshire*, p. 8.

⁴⁹ P. H. Sawyer, *From Roman Britain to Norman England* (London: Routledge, 1998), p. 22.

⁵⁰ Graves, *The History of Cleveland*, p. 85; The University of Nottingham, *Key to English Place Names: Kirk Leavington* (Nottingham: The University of Nottingham, 2016) <<http://kepn.nottingham.ac.uk/map/place/Yorkshire%20NR/Kirk%20Leavington>>. [accessed 17 March 2016].

⁵¹ D.H. Heslop, 'The Church of St Mary Magdalene, Yarm, Cleveland', *Durham Archaeological Journal*, 6 (1990), 35-43 (pp. 35-37).

⁵² Albert H. Smith, *The Place-Names of the North Riding of Yorkshire*, English Place-Name Society (Series), V (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1928), p. 172.

⁵³ Smith, *The Place-Names of the North Riding of Yorkshire*, pp. 173-74; The University of Nottingham, *Key to English Place Names: Low Worsall* (Nottingham: The University of Nottingham, 2016) <<http://kepn.nottingham.ac.uk/map/place/Yorkshire%20NR/Low%20Worsall>>. [accessed 18 March 2016].

⁵⁴ Brown, 'Saxon and Viking Cleveland' (p. 36).

⁵⁵ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VI: Northern Yorkshire*, p. 5.

⁵⁶ Rollason, *Northumbria, 500-1100: Creation and Destruction of a Kingdom*, p. 6.

century; thus we see place-names such as Commondale in Cleveland, which combines the Irish personal name Colman with the Scandinavian element *dale*.⁵⁷ These Hiberno-Norse settlers had 'extensive shipping interests around the coast and into Ireland',⁵⁸ and their settlement of northern Yorkshire has been described as 'intense yet peaceful.'⁵⁹ The Tees may have been a very rough boundary in this period as it is unclear if the Hiberno-Norse settlers of the early tenth century conquered Bernicia,⁶⁰ and to the north of the river there seems to have been 'very little' Scandinavian settlement.⁶¹ However, it is hardly to be imagined that this boundary was as firmly-drawn as a modern border, and we shall see from our examination of the sculptural material from Kirkleavington that it was highly permeable.

Place-name evidence points to a strong Scandinavian presence in the area. The name of the settlement of course includes the Old Norse element *kirk*, meaning church, which was combined with the Old English *tun* and the pre-Roman name of the river Leven, although the first record of the name *Kirklevingtona* dates from the thirteenth century.⁶² Crathorne, which lies on the river Leven around two miles to the south of Kirkleavington has a firmly Scandinavian name, deriving from the Old Norse elements *krá* and *þorn*, meaning 'nook of land' and 'hawthorn tree' respectively.⁶³ Some place-names indicate an influx of settlers who originated in modern Norway and had reached the area via Ireland. Thus Guisborough contains the West Scandinavian name *Gigr*, and Aireyhill and Aireyholme contain the Old Norse element *erg* which was itself taken from the Middle Irish term for hill pasture.⁶⁴ Roseberry Topping, on the western edge of the North York Moors, draws on the name of the Norse god Odin,⁶⁵ while the Cleveland Hills, from which the district around Kirkleavington takes its name, is derived from the Old Norse *clifa-land*, meaning 'district of cliffs'.⁶⁶ This was not a total toponymical takeover however, as in Domesday Anglo-Saxon names still make up around half of the place-names recorded in Cleveland.⁶⁷

⁵⁷ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VI: Northern Yorkshire*, p. 9.

⁵⁸ Stocker, 'Monuments and Merchants: Irregularities in the Distribution of Stone Sculpture in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire in the Tenth Century' (p. 207).

⁵⁹ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VI: Northern Yorkshire*, p. 9.

⁶⁰ Stocker, 'Monuments and Merchants: Irregularities in the Distribution of Stone Sculpture in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire in the Tenth Century' (p. 192).

⁶¹ Bailey, 'The Chronology of Viking-Age Sculpture in Northumbria' (p. 175).

⁶² Smith, *The Place-Names of the North Riding of Yorkshire*, p. 173; The University of Nottingham, *Key to English Place-Names: Kirk Leavington*.

⁶³ The University of Nottingham, *Key to English Place Names: Crathorne* (Nottingham: The University of Nottingham, 2016) <<http://kep.n.nottingham.ac.uk/map/place/Yorkshire%20NR/Crathorne>>. [accessed 18 March 2016].

⁶⁴ Brown, 'Saxon and Viking Cleveland' (p. 37).

⁶⁵ Brown, 'Saxon and Viking Cleveland' (p. 39).

⁶⁶ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VI: Northern Yorkshire*, p. 13.

⁶⁷ Brown, 'Saxon and Viking Cleveland' (p. 37).

Stocker's analysis of this period of Kirkleavington's history, based on parallels with sites in Lincolnshire, supports the argument that this was an important and well-connected place rather than an obscure and peripheral outpost. He has suggested that Kirkleavington in this period was home to a large number of elite traders, probably utilising a beach-market on a strand where Yarm stands today. While no remains of such a market have been excavated, a small number of ceramics of the tenth and eleventh century have been found.⁶⁸ A strong link between Kirkleavington and Yarm is suggested by the fact that both, along with Castle Levington, were part of a single large estate.⁶⁹ At nearby Sockburn, Stocker has suggested that there was a similar pattern of activity, with a church with a large number of Hiberno-Norse sculptural fragments situated above a strand on the river Tees. Stocker suggests that such sites were probably 'gateway markets' which 'owed their existence to topography rather than politics'.⁷⁰ The ninth and tenth centuries, in which the sculpture at Kirkleavington was produced, thus saw considerable activity at the site, which seems to have been a thriving market centre with links to the north and to Ireland, with the river a crucial highway for trade rather than a firm or permanent boundary.

Material and Form

An examination of the materials and forms employed in the Anglo-Scandinavian sculpture at Kirkleavington will further strengthen the argument that this was not an obscure site located on a periphery, but an important centre with links across the Tees. Much of the material used does of course originate locally from south of the river. Many of the Kirkleavington fragments are of specifically local stone, a softer formation 'peculiar to the Cleveland district',⁷¹ a coarse-grained red sandstone,⁷² described by Lang as a 'medium-grained, well sorted sandstone... yellowish brown'.⁷³ This material was sourced from the escarpment of the Cleveland Hills to the south-east of Kirkleavington. The material may have been transported from there along a pre-Roman path which links the source to Kirkleavington via Crathorne.⁷⁴ In the use of this

⁶⁸ Stocker, 'Monuments and Merchants: Irregularities in the Distribution of Stone Sculpture in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire in the Tenth Century' (p. 203).

⁶⁹ Heslop, 'The Church of St Mary Magdalene, Yarm, Cleveland' (p. 35).

⁷⁰ Stocker, 'Monuments and Merchants: Irregularities in the Distribution of Stone Sculpture in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire in the Tenth Century' (pp. 203-7).

⁷¹ George Frank, *Ryedale and North Yorkshire Antiquities* (York and London: Sampson Brothers and Elliot Stock, 1888), p. 44.

⁷² C. Young, 'Discovery of Saxon Monumental Stones at Kirkleavington Church, Yorkshire', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, VII (1882), 458-59 (p. 458).

⁷³ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VI: Northern Yorkshire*, p. 141.

⁷⁴ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VI: Northern Yorkshire*, pp. 141, 143, 145, 147, 148, 149, 150.

material Kirkleavington follows the practice at other sites of the Allertonshire workshop, which also employed local and easily workable fine-grained sandstone.⁷⁵

However, the sculptors of the Kirkleavington sculpture did look further afield for their material. Thus Kirkleavington 4, 6 and 18 were carved from 'coarse feldspathic gritstone' from the Pennines, a type commonly employed by sculptors in Teesdale, Swaledale and Wensleydale.⁷⁶ Kirkleavington 5 is also carved from Pennine stone, again a variety of gritstone,⁷⁷ while Kirkleavington 22 is of micaceous sandstone, again probably from the Pennines.⁷⁸ A number of pieces are also carved from stone found to the north, utilising a deltaic sandstone, probably from a source from across the Tees in Co. Durham.⁷⁹ The evidence of the sculpture's material thus indicates both that the settlement at Kirkleavington was important and wealthy enough to import stone over some distance and that it had links across the river Tees. Indeed, large sections of the Tees may have been navigable in this period, possibly in boats big enough to transport quite large pieces of stone.⁸⁰

In its forms the Kirkleavington sculpture also has links which reach out beyond the confines of the Tees and Deira. Four wheel or ring-heads are present at Kirkleavington,⁸¹ a form which is a clear indicator of the Anglo-Scandinavian nature of a monument.⁸² The ring-head cross seems to be an Anglo-Scandinavian importation, as it is not seen in England alongside 'clearly pre-Viking' ornament, but is found, as at Kirkleavington, alongside Scandinavian-influenced figural and ornamental carving. The fact that the form appears in Ireland and western Scotland before the Scandinavian settlement suggests that it was brought to areas such as Cleveland from the west by Scandinavians who had encountered the form in Ireland.⁸³ Other forms also point to links with sculpture beyond the borders of Allertonshire. Thus the cross-head with a cylindrical feature in the armpit links Kirkleavington with the sculpture of Ryedale, where it is also found at Middleton and Sinnington.⁸⁴ Some forms, of course, do indicate a strong local tradition. Kirkleavington 2, according to Bailey, is an example of an unusual form which features a knot at the point where the vertical edge mouldings of the shaft meet the cross head. This seems to

⁷⁵ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VI: Northern Yorkshire*, p. 44.

⁷⁶ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VI: Northern Yorkshire*, pp. 143-44, 150.

⁷⁷ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VI: Northern Yorkshire*, p. 144.

⁷⁸ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VI: Northern Yorkshire*, p. 151.

⁷⁹ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VI: Northern Yorkshire*, pp. 142, 146, 147, 149, 150.

⁸⁰ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VI: Northern Yorkshire*, p. 19.

⁸¹ Elgee and Elgee, *The Archaeology of Yorkshire*, p. 217.

⁸² Paul Everson and David Stocker, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume V: Lincolnshire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 1999), p. 133.

⁸³ Bailey, 'The Chronology of Viking-Age Sculpture in Northumbria' (p. 178).

⁸⁴ Bailey, *Viking Age Sculpture in Northern England*, pp. 184-85.

be a local feature, appearing at nearby Sockburn as well as at Northallerton and Wycliffe, which lies upstream on the Tees.⁸⁵ The shafts produced by the Allertonshire workshop, including those at Kirkleavington, also tend to share the same general form, with shafts probably not more than 1.5m high which exhibit a very slight taper and a small, 'squarish' section.⁸⁶

Heroic Imagery

The Anglo-Scandinavian sculpture from Kirkleavington includes a number of carvings which feature heroic imagery. Such imagery suggests that rather than an isolated, inward-looking collection, the Kirkleavington sculpture addressed the wider elite culture of the period and looked to iconographical parallels across a wide geographical area.



Figure 27: Kirkleavington 1A. Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographer D. Craig.

⁸⁵ Bailey, *Viking Age Sculpture in Northern England*, p. 185.

⁸⁶ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VI: Northern Yorkshire*, pp. 24, 44.

Kirkleavington 1

Kirkleavington 1 is part of a cross-shaft, featuring on its face A a pair of what Brown described as 'warriors armed with swords' (see fig. 26).⁸⁷ Lang describes them as 'crudely-cut frontal figures with pear-shaped heads', arguing that this shaft copies the 'more competent crosses of the Allertonshire workshop'.⁸⁸ Collingwood suggested that these figures have their hands bound to their waists,⁸⁹ although this is hard to discern given the state of the stone and would be highly unusual, especially given that both figures do seem to be armed with swords worn on their left. Young suggested that these figures represent a male and female couple, both wearing 'short dresses',⁹⁰ although nothing here seems to indicate femininity and the skirts are probably better seen as kirtles, suggesting that they are male.⁹¹ As we noted in our consideration of the Nunburnholme sword, the depiction of such armed figures on the sculpture of this period may be partly explained by the importance of swords in the construction of lordship, especially in a period in which legal rights over land were not enough in themselves to guarantee the security of ownership.⁹² This iconography thus addresses the wider elite culture of the period; there is nothing parochial about it. The fact that these figures are similar to those on the north bank of the Tees at Gainford ties in with our reading of the site's landscape history, which suggested that the river was not a firm boundary in this period.⁹³ Face B of this fragment also looks beyond Allertonshire, with a twist pattern which should be seen as 'expressive of Scandinavian taste', and is also found on Anglo-Scandinavian monuments at Hawsker in North Yorkshire, Leeds, and at Sockburn.⁹⁴ Face C is largely worn away and D features a closed circuit interlace which derives from the Allertonshire grouping.⁹⁵

⁸⁷ Brown, 'Saxon and Viking Cleveland' (p. 39).

⁸⁸ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VI: Northern Yorkshire*, p. 141-42.

⁸⁹ W. G. Collingwood, 'Anglian and Anglo-Danish Sculpture in the North Riding of Yorkshire', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, XIX (1907), 266-413 (p. 351).

⁹⁰ Young, 'Discovery of Saxon Monumental Stones at Kirkleavington Church, Yorkshire' (p. 459).

⁹¹ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VI: Northern Yorkshire*, p. 142.

⁹² Hadley, 'Masculinity' (p. 124).

⁹³ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VI: Northern Yorkshire*, p. 142.

⁹⁴ Coatsworth, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VIII: Western Yorkshire*, p. 201.

⁹⁵ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VI: Northern Yorkshire*, p. 142.



Figure 287: Kirkleavington 2A. Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographer T. Middlemass.

Kirkleavington 2

Kirkleavington 2, the remains of the upper part of a cross-shaft, is perhaps the best known of the site's fragments (see fig. 27). While face B is badly damaged, and faces C and D exhibit only badly damaged interlace, face A is carved with an enigmatic figure flanked by birds, positioned below a panel of interlace. The figure wears a 'conical cap' and what looks like a 'flared smock'. Lang describes this as a 'very accomplished carving, of a standard superior to most Anglo-Scandinavian pieces in Yorkshire.'⁹⁶ As Hadley observes, there has been considerable debate regarding the identification of this figure, which has been seen both as a 'secular portrait' of a commemorative nature and as an image of Odin.⁹⁷

⁹⁶ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VI: Northern Yorkshire*, p. 142.

⁹⁷ Hadley, *The Vikings in England: Settlement, Society and Culture*, p. 219.



Figure 29. Sockburn 3A. Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographer T. Middlemass.

As Bailey notes, the figure can indeed be seen as a reference to vernacular mythology, representing Odin, flanked by his 'attendant spirits Huginn and Muninn'.⁹⁸ There are some parallels for such an interpretation, which seems to be supported by the presence of Odin iconography across the Tees at Sockburn in Co. Durham (see fig. 28).⁹⁹ There is also some evidence for depictions of Odin in Yorkshire, as at Skipwith in the East Riding an incised slab has been interpreted as a depiction of Ragnarok with Odin being consumed by the wolf Fenrir. Some of the squatting figures on the Skipwith slab have pointed caps or helmets which Lang has linked to those at Kirkleavington.¹⁰⁰ Further afield, a cross at Kirk Andreas on the Isle of Man depicts Odin 'in the process of being devoured by the wolf Fenrir.'¹⁰¹ However, while a possible reading of the Kirkleavington figure, this interpretation is perhaps unlikely. As John McKinnell notes, there is nothing other than the presence of the birds in this panel to suggest that the figure may be Odin.¹⁰² He argues that the Kirkleavington sculpture is probably 'not

⁹⁸ Bailey, *England's Earliest Sculptors*, p. 91.

⁹⁹ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VI: Northern Yorkshire*, p. 143.

¹⁰⁰ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume III: York and Eastern Yorkshire*, p. 214.

¹⁰¹ Lesley Abrams, 'Diaspora and Identity in the Viking Age', *Early Medieval Europe*, 20 (2012), 17-38 (p. 36).

¹⁰² John McKinnell, 'Norse Mythology and Northumbria: A Response', *Scandinavian Studies*, 59 (1987), 325-37 (p. 333).

concerned with heathen myth at all'.¹⁰³ Such a depiction would also be highly unusual as only four or five Northumbrian carvings feature possible depictions of the god.¹⁰⁴

The figure has also been interpreted in a Christian context. Judith Jesch notes that while ravens and eagles are associated with Odin in Old Icelandic texts, such imagery continued to be used in poetry praising Christian kings of the eleventh century, suggesting that by this stage at least they were not pagan symbols in a religious sense, but perhaps more associated with Odin's role as the god of war, with the Christian rulers perhaps also being seen as war leaders.¹⁰⁵ However, even more firmly Christian readings have been proposed. Young, for example, in his description of the fragments' discovery in the Victorian period identified the figure as a 'bishop in full canonicals', with a crow on each shoulder.¹⁰⁶ Such an iconography would be highly unusual and this reading can probably thus be discounted. More persuasively, Hadley notes the existence of sculptural depictions of saints and Christ with birds.¹⁰⁷ An identification of the figure as Christ would also be reasonable, given that winged creatures are to be found above Christ's shoulders on a Crucifixion on a Durham cross-head.¹⁰⁸ McKinnell points to Christian parallels from further afield, including images in Continental manuscripts miniatures of Christ and late antique tomb mosaics.¹⁰⁹ However, the presence of a pointy cap or helmet rather than a halo suggests that the figure, if given a Christian reading, cannot be identified as Christ or a saint. Given these parallels and the long history of the inclusion of Christian imagery on stone sculpture, it seems at least possible that the figure was intended as a Christian one, and highly probable that it would have been seen by at least some observers in a Christian light.

It is also possible that the image was intended as a commemorative depiction of a member of the local elite. Lang points to the figure's naturalism and 'secular civilian dress' in support of this thesis.¹¹⁰ Bailey similarly argues that the figure's 'wide-sleeved smock or tunic' may well represent clothing that was in contemporary use, as it does not seem to have any iconographical precursors.¹¹¹ He describes the figure as 'well-dressed'.¹¹² The figure has been

¹⁰³ McKinnell, 'Norse Mythology and Northumbria: A Response' (p. 336).

¹⁰⁴ McKinnell, 'Norse Mythology and Northumbria: A Response' (p. 332).

¹⁰⁵ Judith Jesch, 'Eagles, Ravens and Wolves: Beasts of Battle, Symbols of Victory and Death', in *The Scandinavians from the Vendel Period to the Tenth Century: An Ethnographic Perspective*, ed. by Judith Jesch (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2002), pp. 251-71 (p. 267).

¹⁰⁶ Young, 'Discovery of Saxon Monumental Stones at Kirklevington Church, Yorkshire' (p. 459).

¹⁰⁷ Dawn M. Hadley, 'Hamlet and the Princes of Denmark': Lordship in the Danelaw, c. 860-954', in *Cultures in Contact: Scandinavian Settlement in England in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries*, ed. by Dawn M. Hadley and Julian D. Richards (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), pp. 107-132 (p. 118).

¹⁰⁸ Cramp, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume I: County Durham and Northumberland*, p. 72.

¹⁰⁹ McKinnell, 'Norse Mythology and Northumbria: A Response' (p. 333).

¹¹⁰ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VI: Northern Yorkshire*, pp. 142-43.

¹¹¹ Bailey, *Viking Age Sculpture in Northern England*, p. 234.

¹¹² Bailey, *Viking Age Sculpture in Northern England*, p. 185.

described as 'inactive and doll-like', and likened to figural carving on a grave-cover from Lincoln which may also be a secular portrait.¹¹³ It is far from clear however that this was intended as a 'civilian' figure. Gale Owen-Crocker notes that the figure's garment is 'unusual', and suggests that it may have been intended to represent a coat of mail. If this is the case, his conical headgear is probably a helmet.¹¹⁴ She notes that short-sleeved coats of mail, with scalloped lower edges like this garment appear in late Anglo-Saxon manuscript illustrations, although the scallops on the Kirkleavington image may have been intended as fingers.¹¹⁵ Collingwood also argued that this figure could be read as a commemorative portrait of a martial figure, identifying the two birds as doves and the figure's headgear as a helmet.¹¹⁶ Kopár, however, identifies the figure as 'Odin or a warrior associated with him', reminding us that the image could have both been intended to represent a contemporary warrior and to refer to Odin.¹¹⁷ Lang does note that the parallels for the figure in Allertonshire seem to be military, judging by their dress and 'accoutrements'.¹¹⁸ Bailey also points to local parallels to support a martial reading, arguing that this standing, helmeted figure is an expression of the martial ideals of the Scandinavian settlers. He describes the figure as in 'full regalia' and notes that this example is one of a closely related group in Allertonshire, alongside others at nearby Sockburn and Brompton.¹¹⁹ Given these close parallels the reading of the figure as a martial and commemorative carving is perhaps most persuasive, although, as Lang concludes, the identification and significance of the bird iconography 'must remain a matter of debate.'¹²⁰ The distinction between a civilian and martial figure may have been less firm in the early medieval period, and given the unusual garments of this panel it seems impossible to fully resolve this question. This tentative identification of the figure as a commemorative image is not necessarily an exclusive reading however. Bailey suggests that this panel may have always been capable of different interpretations, seen as 'Odin with his ravens' or 'a warrior saint inspired by Divine Wisdom' depending on the viewer.¹²¹ Resonances with Christian figures or vernacular mythology could have been intentional devices to both contextualise and praise the person commemorated.

¹¹³ Everson and Stocker, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume V: Lincolnshire*, p. 202.

¹¹⁴ Gale R. Owen-Crocker, *Dress in Anglo-Saxon England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1986), pp. 116-17, 169.

¹¹⁵ Owen-Crocker, *Dress in Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 219, fn. 51.

¹¹⁶ Collingwood, 'Anglian and Anglo-Danish Sculpture in the North Riding of Yorkshire' (pp. 351-52).

¹¹⁷ Kopár, *Gods and Settlers: The Iconography of Norse Mythology in Anglo-Scandinavian Sculpture*, p. 118.

¹¹⁸ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VI: Northern Yorkshire*, p. 143.

¹¹⁹ Bailey, *England's Earliest Sculptors*, p. 84.

¹²⁰ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VI: Northern Yorkshire*, p. 142.

¹²¹ Bailey, 'The Hammer and the Cross' (p. 87).

This figure also indicates that the Kirkleavington sculptors were working with ideas and parallels from a wide geographical range, certainly beyond the confines of the Tees and Allertonshire. Some parallels are of course local, however. Bailey notes that this figure has been carved with the aid of a template, suggesting that the same one was used for warrior figures at nearby Brompton and Sockburn.¹²² More generally, isolated human or animal figures within panels are a feature of the Allertonshire workshop, and were a 'fresh model', distinct from the Anglo-Scandinavian work in Ryedale and at York where long uninterrupted panels were the norm.¹²³

Parallels for the figure are also to be found to the north of the Tees. As we have seen, a similar figure accompanied by two birds is present across the river at Billingham in Co. Durham, where he is depicted with two birds at his wrists.¹²⁴ We have already noted that the interpretation of the figure as Odin is supported by the presence of Odin iconography across the Tees at Sockburn in Co. Durham,¹²⁵ while a Christian interpretation is supported by the winged creatures at Christ's shoulders on the Durham cross-head.¹²⁶ The Kirkleavington figure also seems to hint at Irish influence; the modelling of the figure is almost in the half-round, similar to contemporary Irish figural carving.¹²⁷ Elsewhere on the damaged faces of this fragment, the hole points of the closed-circuit interlace pattern are aligned on a grid using a one-inch unit, the same unit used by sculptors in Co. Kildare, as at Castledermot.¹²⁸

While it is not now possible to firmly identify the figure, the other examples of 'warrior' iconography in the region suggest that such a reading is most plausible, although the presence of two birds does mean that it may have been intended to depict Odin. It is also possible that this ambiguity was to some extent intentional, with an image of a martial heroic figure also intended to lead some viewers to make connections with Odin. The ambiguous nature of this carving, which even now resists attempts to assign it a set reading, further underlines the shifting nature of the significances attached to stone carving, in this way similar to the Nunburnholme monument, which had a number of different possible readings over the course of several centuries. The Kirkleavington figure also ties in with our examination of the site's landscape history. Its sophistication and quality supports our argument that Kirkleavington was an important centre in the Anglo-Scandinavian period, and perhaps capable of innovation and

¹²² Bailey, 'The Chronology of Viking-Age Sculpture in Northumbria' (p. 181).

¹²³ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VI: Northern Yorkshire*, p. 45.

¹²⁴ Cramp, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume I: County Durham and Northumberland*, p. 48.

¹²⁵ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VI: Northern Yorkshire*, p. 143.

¹²⁶ Cramp, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume I: County Durham and Northumberland*, p. 72.

¹²⁷ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VI: Northern Yorkshire*, p. 36.

¹²⁸ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VI: Northern Yorkshire*, p. 46.

originality; there are no exact parallels for this panel anywhere in Insular sculpture. The wide-ranging parallels for the iconography also indicate that this was not a backwater located on the periphery of the Anglo-Scandinavian territories, but one with connections north of the Tees and across the Irish Sea as well as with the rest of the Allertonshire grouping.



Figure 30: Kirkleavington 3A. Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographer D. Craig.

Kirkleavington 3

Kirkleavington 3 also includes warrior imagery (see fig. 29). This piece consists of two fragments which together make up part of a cross-shaft. No carving can be discerned on the damaged face D, while faces B and C include only damaged runs of interlace.¹²⁹ At the top of face A however is a bird carved in profile. Collingwood describes the creature as a fowl, noting that it is 'fairly naturalistic'.¹³⁰ Below and to the left of this animal is the vertical end of a spear, which a rubbing of the panel reveals to be part of a carving of a warrior, from a template also used at Sockburn and Brompton, although this is not easily visible given that the rest of this face is badly damaged.¹³¹ Scholars have seen this as most probably being a depiction, probably

¹²⁹ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VI: Northern Yorkshire*, p. 143.

¹³⁰ Collingwood, 'Anglian and Anglo-Danish Sculpture in the North Riding of Yorkshire' (p. 282).

¹³¹ Bailey, *Viking Age Sculpture in Northern England*, p. 252.

commemorative, of a real person. Thus Lang notes that this 'lost warrior' underlines the 'lay patronage of the monuments' at Kirkleavington and was probably identical to those on Brompton 3 and Sockburn 5. The bird was carved with the same template as that used at Brompton, while the spear links it to Sockburn and to Brompton once again.¹³² More generally, an isolated animal within a square panel is a typical feature of the Allertonshire workshop, although this may have ultimately derived from Irish examples in Co. Kildare.¹³³ The depiction of such figures armed and in military dress indicates, as Hadley notes, that martial identity was 'particularly important to the status of the patrons and those depicted'. At Kirkleavington, far from the centre of Anglo-Scandinavian power at York, such images may have been especially important, 'less confident images of an established regime than the mechanism by which a new social order was reinforced.'¹³⁴ Such images of armed secular figures were almost unprecedented in Anglo-Saxon sculpture, and according to Hadley 'reflect a new generation of patrons who were inspired to find original ways of monumentalizing their new identities.'¹³⁵ There is no reason, however, why such a figure should be read as either assertively 'Scandinavian' or 'secular'. It may have had a primarily commemorative function, or had significances which appealed to both Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Scandinavian observers. As Hadley notes, it is possible that warrior iconography sometimes had Christian connotations, while there is 'no necessary contradiction between Christianity and the aristocratic, martial ideal'.¹³⁶ Again, this piece, with its innovative and assertive portraiture suggests that Kirkleavington was not just an obscure backwater in terms of sculpture, but a centre wealthy and sophisticated enough to sustain lay patronage of rather innovative work. While the bird and armed figure do place the piece firmly in the Allertonshire grouping, the probable Irish derivation of the isolated animal and figure, given the evidence for Irish models at Kirkleavington more generally, again points to a wider frame of reference for the site.

¹³² Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VI: Northern Yorkshire*, p. 143.

¹³³ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VI: Northern Yorkshire*, p. 34.

¹³⁴ Hadley, 'Warriors, Heroes and Companions: Negotiating Masculinity in Viking-Age England' (pp. 277-78).

¹³⁵ Abrams, 'Diaspora and Identity in the Viking Age' (p. 36).

¹³⁶ Hadley, 'Warriors, Heroes and Companions: Negotiating Masculinity in Viking-Age England' (pp. 275-76).



Figure 31: Kirkleavington 6A. Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographer D. Craig.



Figure 32: Neston 3A. Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographers K. Jukes and D. Craig.

Kirkleavington 6

The final example of possible warrior iconography from the site comes from Kirkleavington 6 (see fig. 30), a small and worn shaft fragment, with one face, D, too badly damaged for analysis. Face A of the fragment features an unusual couple, with a presumably female figure on the left with a long flared skirt and a male figure to the right holding her wrist.¹³⁷ This couple, which could present the woman with raised arms being hoisted aloft by an armed man, may have depicted a narrative episode, possibly from heroic mythology, although given the carving's damaged and partial nature a more precise identification cannot be made.¹³⁸ A possible parallel for the figures are the couple featured on the Weston fragment from West Yorkshire. A similar parallel can also be found in an Insular context at Neston in Cheshire, where a cross-shaft fragment features the lower half of a female figure seemingly holding a male, perhaps suggesting that this was a memorial to a couple or that the woman was the work's commissioner (see fig. 31).¹³⁹ Face B of Kirkleavington 6 features a short run of interlace with pellet-like fillers, and face C a twin-link with triquetra fillers in its spandrels. Below is what may be a backwards looking animal with a canine head.¹⁴⁰ Collingwood described this beast as an example of the 'dragons' found in manuscript illustrations and metalwork, noting that its backwards-facing eye is paralleled at nearby Crathorne, as well as at Ellerburn and Pickhill.¹⁴¹ Thus, while this fragment does look to local sources, in its depiction of a human couple it is highly unusual, with parallels only from beyond Allertonshire at Weston and Neston.

Irish Influence

A number of instances of Irish influence on the Kirkleavington sculpture have already been observed, highlighting the outward-looking nature of the sculptural collection and arguing against the interpretation of the monuments as a peripheral group located on the edge of the sculptural mainstream. A number of other fragments from the site also display Irish features

¹³⁷ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VI: Northern Yorkshire*, pp. 144-45.

¹³⁸ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VI: Northern Yorkshire*, p. 36.

¹³⁹ Coatsworth, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VIII: Western Yorkshire*, p. 269.

¹⁴⁰ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VI: Northern Yorkshire*, pp. 144-45.

¹⁴¹ Collingwood, 'Anglian and Anglo-Danish Sculpture in the North Riding of Yorkshire' (p. 282).



Figure 33: Kirkleavington 4A. Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographer D. Craig.



Figure 34: Castledermot south cross, west face (detail). Copyright and photographer A. Kohl.

Kirkleavington 4

Kirkleavington 4 is a fragment of the base of a shaft (see fig. 32); its face B contains a three cord twist, face C a panel containing a ring-knot, a typically Anglo-Scandinavian feature, and face D a run of worn closed-circuit interlace. Face A, however, features much more unusual carving, with two confronting full-length figures holding a staff in the middle of the panel, both of whom have misshapen, animal-like heads.¹⁴² Lang describes these heads as of a goat and a cockerel, and observes that the figures are wearing knee-length kirtles and holding a staff between them,¹⁴³ although Kopár suggests that this might be a weapon.¹⁴⁴ Lang notes that these animal-headed figures are unique in Yorkshire with the sole exception of an example from Baldersby. He identifies them as an Irish feature, probably associated with the *incubi* of Saint Anthony and thus Irish monasticism. Clear Irish parallels are to be found on both the north and south crosses at Castledermot (see fig. 33), which feature goat and cockerel heads, as well as at Moone.¹⁴⁵ Bailey notes the existence of a possible parallel at Lancaster, where two figures with animal or bird heads flank an empty cross.¹⁴⁶ As Helen Roe notes, such creatures were found widely in the early medieval world, on works from Ireland, Scandinavia, the Continent and elsewhere in Britain.¹⁴⁷ She suggests that these may have been related to traditions of magic worked by sorcerers wearing animal disguises that appear in Scandinavian and North Germanic mythology, and may also have had significance in pre-Christian Irish religion. She suggests that on Christian monuments these would have served as signifiers of evil.¹⁴⁸ Kopár conversely suggests that these figures may represent berserkers, shape-shifting warriors associated with Odin.¹⁴⁹ While a firm identification is not possible, given the many Irish influences at Kirkleavington an Irish source for this carving seems likely, although a link with Odin should not be ruled out, especially if the figure on Kirkleavington 2 also represents the Norse god.

¹⁴² Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VI: Northern Yorkshire*, pp. 143-44.

¹⁴³ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VI: Northern Yorkshire*, p. 143.

¹⁴⁴ Kopár, *Gods and Settlers: The Iconography of Norse Mythology in Anglo-Scandinavian Sculpture*, p. 118.

¹⁴⁵ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VI: Northern Yorkshire*, p. 144.

¹⁴⁶ Richard N. Bailey, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture: Volume IX: Cheshire and Lancashire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 2010), p. 224.

¹⁴⁷ Helen M. Roe, 'Interpretations of Certain Symbolic Sculptures of Early Christian Ireland', *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, LXXV (1945), 1-23 (pp. 15-16).

¹⁴⁸ Roe, 'Interpretations of Certain Symbolic Sculptures of Early Christian Ireland' (p. 23).

¹⁴⁹ Kopár, *Gods and Settlers: The Iconography of Norse Mythology in Anglo-Scandinavian Sculpture*, p. 113.



Figure 35: Kirkleavington 11. Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographer D. Craig.



Figure 36: Kells market cross. Copyright and photographer Professor Catherine Karkov.

Kirkleavington 11

Kirkleavington 11 (see fig. 34), a possible shaft-fragment now built into the wall of the church's vestry, also has features drawn from Irish sculpture. The fragment has on its one visible face an example of the hart and hound motif, with a large profile stag apparently being pursued or leapt upon by a hound above it. The motif is always carved in freestyle, which is usually reserved for narrative or symbolic scenes, and probably derives from the hunt scenes on the sockets of Irish high crosses. This hart and hound motif also occurs in North Yorkshire at Gilling West, south of Richmond, but seems to have been especially popular in East Yorkshire, where it is found at Ellerburn, Middleton and Stonegrave, although parallels also exist at Gosforth and Lancaster and on the Isle of Man. Further afield, the motif occurs in Irish and Pictish sculpture. On the market cross from Kells, what appears to be a hunt scene with horsemen and a chariot provides a parallel for the Kirkleavington scene (see fig. 35).¹⁵⁰ The Yorkshire examples of this iconography seem to belong to what Lang terms a 'secular milieu' and the tenth-century Hiberno-Norse settlements, as seems to have been the case at Kirkleavington, where the iconography forms further evidence of the site's links to Ireland.¹⁵¹

The Cross-Heads

A number of cross-heads were also found at Kirkleavington. These fragments again illustrate the wide-ranging nature of the sources drawn on by the sculptors working at the site, who looked to Irish models as well as monuments found elsewhere in Yorkshire.

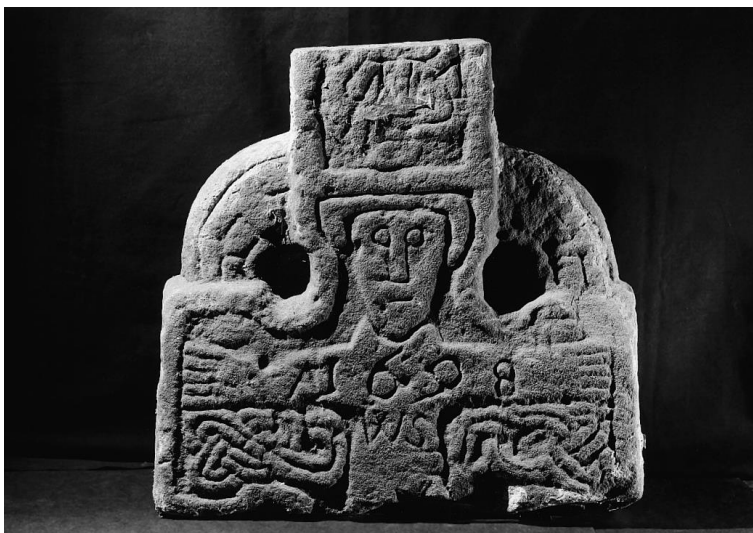


Figure 37: Kirkleavington 15A. Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographer D. Craig.

¹⁵⁰ Nancy Edwards, 'An Early Group of Crosses from the Kingdom of Ossory', *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, 113 (1983), 5-46 (p. 25).

¹⁵¹ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VI: Northern Yorkshire*, pp. 146-47.

Kirkleavington 15

Kirkleavington 15 is the remains of a wheel head cross (see fig. 36), missing only its lower limb. On its broad face A is the crucified Christ, whose arms extend into the lateral limbs with his head extending upwards to the beginning of a run of interlace on the upper limb. His halo is rather flat and cap-like. Below Christ's arms are closed twists. A later date of 1698 and the initials 'W.S.' inscribed on Christ's body probably represent its seventeenth-century reuse as a grave-marker. On the other faces closed circuit interlace is carved on the ends of the arms and the second broad face features a flattened boss and free-hand interlace.¹⁵² Elizabeth Coatsworth has identified this Crucifixion as an example of the 'robed Christ' iconography, suggesting that it is related to Irish examples of the imagery.¹⁵³ Coatsworth suggests that the Yorkshire examples of this iconography should be considered somewhat less sophisticated than their models, referring to the 'crudity of some of the northern examples, and the simplification of the iconography', which she suggest indicates 'simple copying rather than a new inspiration'.¹⁵⁴

The closest parallel for this image is to be found at Brompton, which has very similar iconography, as does an example from further afield at Sinnington in Ryedale. Pieces at nearby Thornton Steward and Conisholme in Lincolnshire also have a similar layout.¹⁵⁵ Crucifixions generally seem to be fairly common on stone sculpture in the North Riding in this period,¹⁵⁶ and most are combined with Anglo-Scandinavian ornament and are found in areas of Scandinavian settlement.¹⁵⁷ The unusual interlace below the arms of Christ is a feature seen on late pre-Conquest sculpture, although there may be some Scandinavian influence at work here, given the examples of Crucifixions with interlace or knotwork from the Scandinavian world such as the Jelling stone.¹⁵⁸ Other examples are to be found at sites such as nearby Finghall. Such forms can, writes Coatsworth, have 'no known symbolic interpretation in this context'.¹⁵⁹ The extension of the upper arm of the cross is a feature also found at Sinnington,

¹⁵² Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VI: Northern Yorkshire*, p. 148.

¹⁵³ Elizabeth Coatsworth, 'The "Robed Christ" in Pre-Conquest Sculptures of the Crucifixion', *Anglo-Saxon England*, XXIX (2000), 153-76 (p. 167).

¹⁵⁴ Coatsworth, 'The "Robed Christ" in Pre-Conquest Sculptures of the Crucifixion' (p. 176).

¹⁵⁵ Coatsworth, 'The "Robed Christ" in Pre-Conquest Sculptures of the Crucifixion' (p. 168).

¹⁵⁶ Pevsner, *Yorkshire: The North Riding*, p. 25.

¹⁵⁷ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VI: Northern Yorkshire*, pp. 36-37.

¹⁵⁸ Rita Wood, 'The Pictures on the Greater Jelling Stone', *Danish Journal of Archaeology*, 3 (2014), 19-32 (p. 25).

¹⁵⁹ Elizabeth Coatsworth, in *St Mary Bishophill Junior and St Mary Castlegate*, ed. by L.P. Wenham and others, *The Archaeology of York*, 8/2 (London: Council for British Archaeology for the York Archaeology Trust, 1987), pp. 161-63 (p. 163).

and may also have characterised a fragmentary ring-head from St Mary Castlegate in York.¹⁶⁰ Kirkleavington follows the Irish examples of this cross-head and Christ combination, with its extended upper arm, similar decoration of the ring, flat hair or halo, heavy rounded shoulders and a distinct panel above Christ's head.¹⁶¹ Indeed, this cross head has 'many Irish characteristics'. For example, the tall upper limb, the ring, and the large spread hand are present on the Castledermot south cross. The tight cap or halo is seen on the north cross from that site.¹⁶² Regardless of Coatsworth's judgement of the quality of this work, the clear Irish parallels of this cross-head indicate that once again the Kirkleavington sculptors were looking beyond the confines of Allertonshire for their sources, although not uniquely in this case. Links to Ryedale, Lincolnshire and York are also suggested by this piece, illustrating the wide connections of these sculptors.



Figure 38: Kirkleavington 16C. Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographer D. Craig.

¹⁶⁰ Dominic Tweddle, 'Sculptured Fragments', in *St Mary Bishophill Junior and St Mary Castlegate*, ed. by L. P. Wenham and others, *The Archaeology of York*, 8/2 (London: Council for British Archaeology for the York Archaeology Trust, 1987), pp. 155-60, 163-65 (p. 157).

¹⁶¹ Coatsworth, 'The "Robed Christ" in Pre-Conquest Sculptures of the Crucifixion' (p. 168).

¹⁶² Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VI: Northern Yorkshire*, p. 148.

Kirkleavington 16

Kirkleavington 16 is another cross-head fragment, which is badly worn and represented only by the surviving neck and left arm (see fig. 37). This is an example of the billet-head form, which includes a recessed cylindrical segment in the armpits. On its broad face A is a damaged Crucifixion with an enlarged hand filling the left arm. On the two narrow sides are a three-cord interlace, a possible ring-knot and the beginnings of a run of 'bungled interlace'. On the second broad face is an inscribed cross above the upper halves of two confronting beasts. The left-hand creature has 'pricked ears and grinning jaws', the right 'beak-like jaws and a globular brow'.¹⁶³

The significance of the beasts is unclear. Lang suggests that the animals are again 'reflexes of the iconography associated with the Temptation of St Antony'.¹⁶⁴ Bailey suggests that the attendant figure with beasts' heads are representations of Christ's enemies which draws on Psalm XXII.¹⁶⁵ It is also possible that the beasts on this cross-head relate in some way to the beast-headed figure on Kirkleavington 4, which may have looked to Irish sources, but have also been linked to sorcery and pre-Christian mythologies. However, given the damage to the cross and lack of further diagnostic features a firm conclusion seems impossible.

This billet-head form itself is 'quite rare'. Parallels are to be found in East Yorkshire at Middleton and Kirkdale, and also in Ireland.¹⁶⁶ However, local parallels are also available at Brompton, Northallerton and probably also at Sockburn. This disc was probably the result of the use of a compass or a curved object to guide the sculpting of the stone.¹⁶⁷ These features strengthen the cross-head at its weakest point. In the case of Kirkleavington the form may have been derived from the plate-wheel found on cross-heads at Brompton, or taken directly from tenth-century Irish crosses which also have cylinders in their armpits.¹⁶⁸ There are many Irish examples at sites such as Kells, Monasterboice and Castlekeeran (Co. Meath). The fact that the Crucifixion on the Kirkleavington piece is also of the 'Irish type' suggests that an Irish source is likely.¹⁶⁹ Collingwood describes this 'shrinkage of the wheel to four cylinders' as a 'sign of decadence', although it is unclear why this should be the case.¹⁷⁰ Again, Irish influence is prominent on this piece, pointing to the broad horizons of the Kirkleavington sculptors,

¹⁶³ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VI: Northern Yorkshire*, pp. 148-49.

¹⁶⁴ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VI: Northern Yorkshire*, p. 149.

¹⁶⁵ Bailey, *Viking Age Sculpture in Northern England*.

¹⁶⁶ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume III: York and Eastern Yorkshire*, p. 184.

¹⁶⁷ Bailey, 'The Chronology of Viking-Age Sculpture in Northumbria' (p. 183).

¹⁶⁸ James T. Lang, 'Some Late Pre-Conquest Crosses in Ryedale: A Reappraisal', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 3rd ser., XXXVI (1973), 16-25 (p. 24).

¹⁶⁹ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VI: Northern Yorkshire*, p. 149.

¹⁷⁰ W. G. Collingwood, 'Anglo-Saxon Sculptured Stone', in *The Victoria County History of the County of York*, ed. by W. Page (London: Victoria County History, 1912), II, pp. 109-131 (p. 119).

although there are clearly strong links to more local sources. Nevertheless, the use of this unusual form does point to sculptural innovation at Kirkleavington and in Allertonshire more generally.



Figure 39: Kirkleavington 17. Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographer D. Craig.

Kirkleavington 17

The final fragment to consider in detail is Kirkleavington 17, a possible cross-head fragment now built into the wall of the church's vestry (see fig. 38). This features the rather damaged remains of a figure who holds two staves across his shoulders.¹⁷¹ Collingwood identifies the figure as a 'saint bearing palms or wands of victory over death'.¹⁷² The identification of the figure as a saint is not certain however, as Lang points to similar figures on the cross-heads of Irish monuments, such as the Christ in Judgment at Durrow who holds a cross and sceptre in a similar position. Lang notes that such images have a long pedigree in the Insular world, pointing to examples such as the Lichfield Gospels. Such images seem to go back ultimately to

¹⁷¹ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VI: Northern Yorkshire*, p. 149.

¹⁷² Collingwood, 'Anglian and Anglo-Danish Sculpture in the North Riding of Yorkshire' (p. 351).

early Christian monasticism in Egypt, derived from the 'Osiris-judge; iconography of that region, and in Kirkleavington's case probably came via Irish monasticism.¹⁷³

Other Fragments

A number of other fragments feature some ornamental carving and can give us some further indication of the parallels and wide range of sources being used by the Kirkleavington sculptors. In this category is Kirkleavington 5, which features ring-chain derived from the Scandinavian Borre style found in the Scandinavian-ruled areas in Cumbria and the Isle of Man. Similar ornament is found at Gosforth and Burnsall in West Yorkshire.¹⁷⁴ Lang suggests that the ring-chain speaks of 'Scandinavian taste'.¹⁷⁵ The fragment Kirkleavington 9, now built into the exterior wall of the chancel, includes a 'primitive ring-chain' which seems to be without Scandinavian or Manx parallels, although Lang points out a possible link with Osmotherley, to the south of Kirkleavington in the Hambleton Hills.¹⁷⁶ Kirkleavington 10 is another shaft fragment which features a ring knot, again a distinctive Anglo-Scandinavian feature. Lang points to possible parallels for this particularly open example at Lancaster and on the Gosforth 4 hogback.¹⁷⁷ Another fragment built into the vestry wall is the worn Kirkleavington 14, with only the remains of some interlace visible along with a 'damaged animal'. This was probably a 'round-shaft derivative' cross-shaft, of the same type as seen at Gilling West as well as in Cumbria and Ryedale.¹⁷⁸ Kirkleavington 19, the fragmentary remains of a cross-head, has been linked by Lang to the sequences at Brompton and Northallerton which seem to have used the same templates. This example was either a billet or plate type.¹⁷⁹ Finally, Kirkleavington 20 is a badly damaged plate-head type cross-head, which Lang identifies as a 'slightly more decorative version' of Osmotherley 3.¹⁸⁰ This cross-head draws on a 'long-lived Anglian tradition', with similar examples at Bath and Shrewsbury Manor (Shropshire).¹⁸¹ The number of fragments from this site, not all of which have been discussed here, in itself points to a considerable level of sculptural activity, supporting Stocker's argument that Kirkleavington was an important mercantile centre in this period, with members of the lay elite commissioning carvings.¹⁸² The firmly Anglo-Scandinavian character of the fragments strongly suggests that this was an Anglo-

¹⁷³ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VI: Northern Yorkshire*, pp. 149-50.

¹⁷⁴ Coatsworth, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VIII: Western Yorkshire*, p. 108.

¹⁷⁵ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VI: Northern Yorkshire*, p. 144.

¹⁷⁶ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VI: Northern Yorkshire*, p. 146.

¹⁷⁷ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VI: Northern Yorkshire*, p. 146.

¹⁷⁸ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VI: Northern Yorkshire*, p. 147.

¹⁷⁹ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VI: Northern Yorkshire*, p. 150.

¹⁸⁰ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VI: Northern Yorkshire*, p. 151.

¹⁸¹ Richard Bryant, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume X: The Western Midlands* (Oxford: Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 2012), p. 310.

¹⁸² Stocker, 'Monuments and Merchants: Irregularities in the Distribution of Stone Sculpture in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire in the Tenth Century' (p. 203).

Scandinavian elite. The wide range of sources employed by the Kirkleavington sculptors is also illustrated by these fragments, which look to parallels in Ireland, the Isle of Man, Cumbria, Ryedale, and West Yorkshire as well as examples in the rest of Allertonshire. The impression given is of a sophisticated, outward-looking and busy sculptural centre.

Conclusion

This examination of the landscape setting of the Kirkleavington sculpture, along with our reassessment of the sculpture itself, prompts a number of conclusions that may serve to revise some of the views of the grouping found in previous scholarship. We have seen that far from being an isolated and obscure collection, the Kirkleavington sculpture was erected in a fertile landscape which had very long-standing communication links beyond the Tees valley, and itself looks to sources from wide-ranging and occasionally far-flung locations, including Co. Durham, Cumbria, Lancashire, Ireland as well as the rest of Yorkshire. This was a particularly eclectic hybridity, different from that found at York and Nunburnholme in the heavy influence of Irish stone sculpture and motifs. As at York, this was the hybridity of a mercantile elite, but one orientated primarily it seems towards the Irish rather than North Sea.

The view of the Kirkleavington material as peripheral to the sculptural tradition centred on York has also been tempered by the preceding analysis. We have seen that the Tees, viewed by many as the border of the York kingdom, was not a firm or permanent line of demarcation, and was not a barrier to the importation of motifs, iconographies or stone itself. The emphasis placed by many on the coherence of the Allertonshire workshop's products should also be tempered by the wide-ranging nature of the source material employed by the Kirkleavington sculptors. The Allertonshire workshop itself was an outward-looking one, drawing particularly on Irish material. The shafts at Kirkleavington, for example, use the same units and principles of layout as those found on the depiction of Daniel of the north cross at Castledermot.¹⁸³ Indeed, there seems to have been a strong link between the Allertonshire carvings and the high crosses of Co. Kildare more widely, both in terms of form and ornamental repertoire.¹⁸⁴ The Irish influence seen in the workshop's carvings may in part derive from the area's proximity to the road west over Stainmore. Lang even suggests that the patrons and carvers may have seen themselves as a 'branch of the north-western settlement' rather than a province of the centre at York.¹⁸⁵ Given these conclusions, the Kirkleavington material should be seen not as an isolated, peripheral and parochial one, remote from the cultural centre at

¹⁸³ Lang, 'The Distinctiveness of Viking Colonial Art' (p. 252).

¹⁸⁴ Lang, 'Survival and Revival in Insular Art: Northumbrian Sculpture of the 8th to 10th Centuries' (p. 261).

¹⁸⁵ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VI: Northern Yorkshire*, p. 9.

York, but instead as the product of a well-connected, busy and sophisticated centre which looked beyond the confines of the local area and the kingdom of York for its source material.

Chapter 2, Part 2: Brompton

Introduction

This sub-chapter will consider the Anglo-Scandinavian sculpture from the village of Brompton, just to the north-east of Northallerton, located around thirty miles north of York in the Vale of Mowbray. As a sculptural centre Brompton is of course most notable for being home to ‘one of England’s finest collections’ of hogbacks, a form of recumbent stone monument associated with the Anglo-Scandinavian settlement of the British Isles, which has already been briefly considered in relation to the sculpture at York Minster.¹⁸⁶ The Brompton carvings were discovered during the restoration of the church there which took place in 1867, re-used in the chancel’s foundations. The material uncovered included eleven hogbacks, described by Bailey as ‘easily the most impressive items from the site’.¹⁸⁷ Collingwood described the Brompton hogbacks as ‘among the finest works’ of the Anglo-Scandinavian period.¹⁸⁸ The carvings from Brompton, including the hogbacks, feature a particularly wide range of iconographies, and look to a very wide range of sources, including Irish monumental stone sculpture, Scandinavian building types, Anglo-Scandinavian coinage and Anglian sculpture. To understand why such a unique assemblage was produced at Brompton, which is far from the sculptural centre at York and not located next to a major waterway, as was the case at Kirkleavington, an examination of the landscape history of the site is required. This will suggest that Brompton, like Kirkleavington, may have been home to an Anglo-Scandinavian mercantile community, an outward-looking heterogeneous group which was able to draw on a wide range of sources for what was probably its commemorative sculpture.

Landscape

Pre-history

Brompton is located in the Vale of Mowbray, which forms part of northern Yorkshire’s central lowlands, which have ‘always provided an important corridor for communications between England and Scotland’.¹⁸⁹ The Vale, comprising the ‘undulating flood plains’ of the rivers Swale, Wiske and Cod Beck, is a corridor of relatively flat and easy terrain between the uplands of the Pennines to the west and the North York Moors to the east,¹⁹⁰ and was an important transport corridor even prior to the Roman period.¹⁹¹ The geology of the area may have also made

¹⁸⁶ Muir, *Old Yorkshire: The Story of the Yorkshire Landscape and People*, p. 114.

¹⁸⁷ Bailey, *Viking Age Sculpture in Northern England*, p. 85.

¹⁸⁸ Collingwood, ‘Anglian and Anglo-Danish Sculpture in the North Riding of Yorkshire’ (p. 293).

¹⁸⁹ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VI: Northern Yorkshire*, p. 5.

¹⁹⁰ Natural England, *Natural Character Area Profile: 24 Vale of Mowbray (NE 442)* (York: Natural England, 2013), p. 3.

¹⁹¹ Natural England, *Natural Character Area Profile: 24 Vale of Mowbray (NE 442)*, p. 10.

Brompton and Northallerton important points on a route for those attempting to cross the Vale of York from east to west or vice versa. The area north from York to and beyond Northallerton was once covered by the forest of Galtres and a mixture of heathland and bog. At Northallerton there seems to have been a ridge formed by a glacial moraine which, like the one at York, would have served to facilitate travel across the otherwise difficult terrain. The importance of this corridor was probably heightened by the fact that the Vale of York is at its narrowest at Northallerton, at just ten miles across, making it an even more attractive crossing point.¹⁹²

The strategic importance of the area around Brompton seems to have been recognised even in pre-history; human activity has 'influenced the Vale's landscape for at least 10,000 years'. In the Mesolithic and Neolithic periods stone tools and flints were deposited in the area.¹⁹³ In the late Neolithic period the Vale of Mowbray seems to have been a ceremonial centre, with a number of large henges being erected.¹⁹⁴ Indeed, the area between the rivers Ure and Swale, just to the west of Northallerton, has the densest concentration of henge monuments in Britain.¹⁹⁵ This was a 'strategic lowland' area in this period. Other examples of Neolithic and Bronze Age monuments present in the area include the Neolithic cairn at Catterick and cursus ditch at Thornborough.¹⁹⁶ The sculpture at Brompton may thus be seen as continuing a long-standing tradition of the erection of stone monuments in the landscape. Other types of material culture also indicate that this was an important area in pre-history. A Bronze-Age sword, with a short, broad bronze blade has been unearthed at Brompton,¹⁹⁷ while a Bronze-Age spear-head has been found at nearby Northallerton.¹⁹⁸ Other Bronze-Age material has also been uncovered in the Vale, including a series of short flanged axes, and the Thirsk hoard of spearheads and metalwork.¹⁹⁹ Later Bronze-Age material from the Vale includes swords from Brompton on Swale and further south at Ripon, a metalwork hoard at Ainderby Steeple and a series of enclosures at Catterick.²⁰⁰ Iron-Age activity is evidenced by cropmarks with the outlines of farmsteads, round houses and field systems visible from the air.²⁰¹ The geography

¹⁹² Elgee and Elgee, *The Archaeology of Yorkshire*, p. 5.

¹⁹³ Natural England, *Natural Character Area Profile: 24 Vale of Mowbray (NE 442)*, p. 10.

¹⁹⁴ T. G. Manby, A. King, and B. Vyner, 'The Neolithic and Bronze Ages: A Time of Early Agriculture', in *The Archaeology of Yorkshire: An Assessment at the Beginning of the 21st Century*, ed. by T. G. Manby, Stephen Moorhouse, and Patrick Ottaway (Leeds: Yorkshire Archaeological Society, 2003), pp. 36-116 (p. 57).

¹⁹⁵ Manby, King, and Vyner, 'The Neolithic and Bronze Ages: A Time of Early Agriculture' (p. 93).

¹⁹⁶ Manby, King, and Vyner, 'The Neolithic and Bronze Ages: A Time of Early Agriculture' (p. 92).

¹⁹⁷ Elgee and Elgee, *The Archaeology of Yorkshire*, p. 96.

¹⁹⁸ Elgee and Elgee, *The Archaeology of Yorkshire*, p. 97.

¹⁹⁹ Manby, King, and Vyner, 'The Neolithic and Bronze Ages: A Time of Early Agriculture' (p. 93).

²⁰⁰ Manby, King, and Vyner, 'The Neolithic and Bronze Ages: A Time of Early Agriculture' (p. 94).

²⁰¹ Natural England, *Natural Character Area Profile: 24 Vale of Mowbray (NE 442)*, p. 10.

and underlying geology of the Brompton area thus gave it a long-standing strategic importance.

Romano-British

Brompton and the surrounding area continued to have excellent communications links into the Roman period. One of the two Roman roads running north-south through the Vale of York passed nearby Northallerton and Brompton itself on its course from Stamford Bridge in the East Riding to Newcastle. The ridge of the road could be seen in the 1930s at Hallikeld Bridge, just to the east of Brompton. The Roman fort at Northallerton seems to have stood on a branch road westward to Catterick,²⁰² while a Roman road also linked Thirsk and Northallerton.²⁰³ At Northallerton the road from York was guarded by a station now known as Castle Hills. In 1838 an inscription was discovered at the site which recorded building operations there carried out by the sixth legion. Coins of the second to fourth centuries were also discovered there.²⁰⁴ At Catterick, also in the Vale of Mowbray, a Roman fort to the south of the river Swale was succeeded by an urban settlement.²⁰⁵ Excavations there in the 1950s uncovered fourth-century metalwork, a bath house and ditches which are thought to represent a second-century store depot.²⁰⁶ Roman occupation at Catterick continued until the late fourth or early fifth century and the site may also have been occupied into the Anglian period.²⁰⁷ Two Christograms found at Catterick provide very rare evidence of Roman-period Christianity in Yorkshire.²⁰⁸ Catterick has been described as a Roman civil settlement of 'some sophistication', which became a 'centre of some importance in the post-Roman period'.²⁰⁹ There is also some evidence for Roman rural settlement in the Vale of Mowbray, with enclosures and hut circles at Scotch Corner and Melsonby and a probable villa site at Snape.²¹⁰ The area was thus one of some considerable importance in the Roman period, in terms of communications, and also one which had a history of supporting sophisticated population centres.

²⁰² Elgee and Elgee, *The Archaeology of Yorkshire*, p. 134.

²⁰³ Thomas Codrington, *Roman Roads in Britain* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1903), p. 172.

²⁰⁴ Pearson, *Roman Yorkshire*, pp. 98-99.

²⁰⁵ Ottaway, 'The Archaeology of the Roman Period in the Yorkshire Region: A Rapid Resource Assessment' (p. 129).

²⁰⁶ Ottaway, 'The Archaeology of the Roman Period in the Yorkshire Region: A Rapid Resource Assessment' (p. 132).

²⁰⁷ Ottaway, 'The Archaeology of the Roman Period in the Yorkshire Region: A Rapid Resource Assessment' (p. 137).

²⁰⁸ Ottaway, 'The Archaeology of the Roman Period in the Yorkshire Region: A Rapid Resource Assessment' (p. 148).

²⁰⁹ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VI: Northern Yorkshire*, p. 5.

²¹⁰ Ottaway, 'The Archaeology of the Roman Period in the Yorkshire Region: A Rapid Resource Assessment' (p. 139).

Anglo-Saxon

The area around Brompton was strongly impacted by the Anglo-Saxon settlement, and continued to have political and strategic importance in the Anglian period. Brompton itself is an Anglo-Saxon name indicating a farm or settlement in a place 'where the shrub broom grow'.²¹¹ While the Anglo-Saxon history of Brompton is fairly obscure, the fact that the late medieval parish of Northallerton included the chapel at Brompton may indicate that the two were linked in this earlier period.²¹² Control of Brompton by the church at Northallerton is also suggested by the fact that in some places continuing ecclesiastical control of an estate impeded the formation of new names, perhaps explaining the persistence of Brompton's Anglo-Saxon place-name.²¹³

Beyond Brompton itself, the Anglo-Saxon carvings at Northallerton suggests the presence there of a 'well-endowed patron church'.²¹⁴ Northallerton is an Anglo-Saxon name meaning Aelfhere's farm or settlement.²¹⁵ While little is known of the town's early history, it has been suggested that it served as a staging-post for members of the community of St Cuthbert making the journey between York and Lindisfarne.²¹⁶ The town became a possession of the see of Durham after the Norman Conquest, and seems to have been one of a number of examples of the annexations of valuable churches which took place in this period.²¹⁷ Richard Morris describes Northallerton as one of a number of 'ancient parishes of large size and ancient importance'.²¹⁸

Further afield within the Vale, two early Anglo-Saxon cemeteries were created close to Catterick, where there is evidence for Anglo-Saxon settlement.²¹⁹ Catterick was later a regal *vill*

²¹¹ The University of Nottingham, *Key to English Place Names: Brompton* (Nottingham: The University of Nottingham, 2016) <<http://kepn.nottingham.ac.uk/map/place/Yorkshire%20NR/Brompton>>. [accessed 19 March 2016].

²¹² Hadley, *The Northern Danelaw: its Social Structure, c. 800-1100*, p. 245.

²¹³ Lesley Abrams and David N. Parsons, 'Place-Names and the History of Scandinavian Settlement in England', in *Land, Sea and Home: Settlement in the Viking Period: Proceedings of a Conference on Viking-Period Settlement, at Cardiff, July 2001*, ed. by John Hines, Alan Lane, and Mark Redknap (Leeds: Maney, 2004), pp. 379-431 (p. 413).

²¹⁴ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VI: Northern Yorkshire*, p. 8.

²¹⁵ The University of Nottingham, *Key to English Place Names: Northallerton* (Nottingham: The University of Nottingham, 2016) <<http://kepn.nottingham.ac.uk/map/place/Yorkshire%20NR/Northallerton>>. [accessed 19 March 2016].

²¹⁶ Hadley, *The Northern Danelaw: its Social Structure, c. 800-1100*, pp. 244-45.

²¹⁷ Morris, *Churches in the Landscape*, p. 138.

²¹⁸ Morris, *Churches in the Landscape*, p. 135.

²¹⁹ Christopher Loveluck, 'The Archaeology of Post-Roman Yorkshire, AD 400 to 700: Overview and Future Directions for Research', in *The Archaeology of Yorkshire: An Assessment at the Beginning of the 21st Century*, ed. by T. G. Manby, Stephen Moorhouse, and Patrick Ottaway (Leeds: Yorkshire Archaeological Society, 2003), pp. 151-70 (p. 159).

and the site of the baptism of the Deirans in the river Swale by Paulinus around 627, functioning as a regional royal and ecclesiastical centre in the early seventh century.²²⁰

Ninth and Tenth Centuries

Brompton, given the amount of sculptural remains found there, clearly became a centre of some importance in the Anglo-Scandinavian period. The Anglo-Scandinavian settlement of northern Yorkshire did not, however, impact the place-names of either Brompton or nearby Northallerton. This is not unusual, as Anglo-Scandinavian sculpture does occur most frequently in settlements with English place-names, presumably because the settlements on land wealthy enough to support sculptural production had already been settled by the Anglo-Saxon period and thus already had long-standing English names and perhaps a stable and relatively large population.²²¹ Brompton seems fairly typical of sites with Anglo-Scandinavian stone sculpture in that it is an older settlement on the periphery of the upland areas from which stone tended to be sourced, in this case the North York Moors a few miles to the east.²²²

There is however some toponymical evidence for Anglo-Scandinavian activity in the area, as Romanby, a village just to the south-west of Northallerton, probably has a fully Norse place-name, meaning Rothmund's farm or settlement.²²³ It seems that the initial wave of Scandinavian settlement from what is now Denmark may have been less marked in this northern part of Yorkshire, as there are fewer old East Scandinavian place-names here than in areas such as the East Riding.²²⁴

It is probable that the production of hogbacks at Brompton was a direct result of its excellent communication links. Based on comparisons with known mercantile sites in Lincolnshire and elsewhere in Yorkshire, Stocker has suggested that the 'exceptional' sculptural collection at Brompton may have been produced alongside an Anglo-Scandinavian trading centre. He suggests that a Hiberno-Norse mercantile elite may have erected the monuments. Given the proximity of Brompton and Northallerton to one of the two north-south roads, he suggests that there was an inland market centre at Northallerton in this period, as there certainly was in the later medieval period. However, Stocker accepts that this is not a fully secure hypothesis, given the lack of evidence for an early market in the area and the presence of the monuments

²²⁰ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VI: Northern Yorkshire*, p. 7.

²²¹ Abrams and Parsons, 'Place-Names and the History of Scandinavian Settlement in England' (p. 414).

²²² Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VI: Northern Yorkshire*, p. 18.

²²³ The University of Nottingham, *Key to English Place Names: Romanby* (Nottingham: The University of Nottingham, 2016) <<http://kepn.nottingham.ac.uk/map/place/Yorkshire%20NR/Romanby>>. [accessed 19 March 2016].

²²⁴ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VI: Northern Yorkshire*, p. 9.

not at Northallerton itself, but a mile distant at Brompton.²²⁵ Brompton is one of a small number of sites producing 'significant numbers' of hogbacks, along with Lythe, Sockburn, and Govan. If these were not market sites, as Stocker's analysis suggests, Abrams suggests that they may have been the sites of workshops, or of important lay cemeteries,²²⁶ both of which also suggest that Brompton was the site of a settlement of some size and significance.

Material and Form

The area around Brompton, like much of the wider Vale of York, has little stone suitable for carving, being largely comprised of glacial tillate.²²⁷ Stone was however available a few miles away to the east. This was the Middle Jurassic sandstones derived from the peripheral slopes of the North York Moors, which have been 'exploited from the Iron Age period to the present day'. They were laid down in the Jurassic period on what was then a river basin. The deposits formed on the beds of ancient rivers and thus occur on long, meandering bodies, with individual channels providing stones of varying characteristics.²²⁸ This process of deposition can still be seen in the sculpture at Brompton; Brompton 16 has visible bedding planes which developed when sediments were deposited.²²⁹ All the Brompton pieces are of a deltaic sandstone probably quarried to the east of Brompton at the Harlsey-Knayton ridge or the lower escarpment of the Hambleton Hills,²³⁰ although they vary in terms of colour and density of granulation.²³¹ The Anglo-Scandinavians at Brompton were not alone in exploiting this source; the Anglo-Saxon sculptors at Northallerton used identical stone for some of their work.²³² The most distinctive form present at Brompton is of course the hogback which has already been considered in relation to the carvings at York Minster and will be discussed in further detail below.

The Hogbacks

Distribution

Examples of hogbacks are found across northern Yorkshire, Cumbria and western Scotland; the examples from the York Minster site and Kirkleavington have already been noted. Leslie Webster suggests that this distribution indicates a link between the monument type and the

²²⁵ Stocker, 'Monuments and Merchants: Irregularities in the Distribution of Stone Sculpture in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire in the Tenth Century' (pp. 205-206).

²²⁶ Lesley Abrams, *The Problem of the Hogback*, (Nottingham: The University of Nottingham, 2006) <http://www.nottingham.ac.uk/shared/shared_viking/documents/Abrams.doc>. [accessed 19 March 2016], p. 9.

²²⁷ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VI: Northern Yorkshire*, p. 14.

²²⁸ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VI: Northern Yorkshire*, p. 17.

²²⁹ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VI: Northern Yorkshire*, p. 74.

²³⁰ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VI: Northern Yorkshire*, p. 65.

²³¹ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VI: Northern Yorkshire*, pp. 65-78.

²³² Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VI: Northern Yorkshire*, p. 66.

influx of Norse-Irish settlers into these regions during the early tenth century.²³³ Much of the distribution of hogbacks can best be explained by the importance of the coast and sea routes to the Anglo-Scandinavian culture. Thus the examples in Scotland are largely coastal, as are those in Cumbria.²³⁴ While Brompton is obviously not close to the sea, it does have the same easy access to the communications network that would have been present at coastal sites. Bailey has also looked to geographical factors in considering the distribution of hogbacks, suggesting that the concentration of the form in northern England may have a partly geological explanation. The Isle of Man, for example, lacks suitable stone for such monuments. Their absence in Ireland may be due to the more limited Scandinavian settlements and the continuing strength of monasticism in directing the production of stone sculpture.²³⁵ It seems that Brompton was a central site in the distribution of hogbacks, which is at its densest in northern Yorkshire. Plotted on a map, Brompton appears to be at the centre of the form's presence on the region, with clusters to the east along the coast including those at Lythe and Easington, to the south at sites including Bedale and Pickhill and to the north-west at Wycliffe and Gilling West.²³⁶

The Brompton Hogbacks

An analysis of the hogbacks themselves seems to support Stocker's hypothesis of Brompton as a mercantile and sculptural centre, given the variety and quality of the carvings, characteristics which would seem to be the natural products of a heterogeneous and wealthy mercantile community engaging in competitive social display. The fact that the form is not explicitly Christian would also seem to fit well within the context of a mercantile community, rather than a Christian community producing monumental crosses with explicitly religious iconography, for example.

²³³ Leslie Webster, *Anglo-Saxon Art* (London: The British Museum Press, 2012), p. 217.

²³⁴ Julian D. Richards, *English Heritage Book of Viking Age England* (London: Batsford, 1991), pp. 124-25.

²³⁵ Bailey, *Viking Age Sculpture in Northern England*, p. 96.

²³⁶ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VI: Northern Yorkshire*, p. 21.



Figure 40: Brompton 17A. Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographer T. Middlemass.

More than one distinct type of the monument is found at Brompton. There is the panel type, of which Brompton 17 is an example (see fig. 39). This monument has the typical interlace panels on the lower half of its long side below a long panel of tegulae, which Lang compares to actual shingles of the period from both Denmark and York. The end-beasts seem bear-like and have a 'fur' produced by hatching. Brompton 18 is another example which, while much less complete, is 'almost identical' to Brompton 17. Brompton 19 is also a panel type, although this example includes triangular panels containing triquetra, a unique feature. Brompton 23, while largely lost, does seem to be another example of the type, probably identical to 17 and 18. Brompton 25 seems to have been derived from the panel type, although it lacks the shingles and features only a single large ring-knot in place of the normal panels.²³⁷

²³⁷ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VI: Northern Yorkshire*, pp. 74-78.



Figure 41: Brompton 20A. Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographer T. Middlemass.

The niche type hogback is also seen at Brompton. Thus Brompton 20 (see fig. 40), which has four-legged reclining end-beasts, features an arched niche below a central run of four-strand interlace on its long sides. The damaged Brompton 22 is another example of this type, although with single-legged end-beasts and the niche positioned below three panels of closed circuit interlace. Lang suggests this is a copy of either Ingleby Arncliffe 4 or Sockburn 17.²³⁸ Also among the hogbacks at Brompton are a number of the extended niche type. These include Brompton 16, which has substantial end-beasts with four-toed paws, and a niche below a panel of twist ornament on its long sides. Brompton 21, with smaller end-beasts, is a more complete example of this type and is identical to Sockburn 16. Brompton 24 is another extended niche type, with more stylised end-beasts. While its sides are badly damaged, the interlace on the heads of the beasts is likened by Lang to the animal-headed posts of the Oseberg ship and the Søllested horse-yokes.²³⁹

Other examples of the form from Brompton are harder to categorise. The fragment Brompton 26 is unusual for a Brompton hogback in having no end-beast and the single remaining panel

²³⁸ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VI: Northern Yorkshire*, pp. 76-77.

²³⁹ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VI: Northern Yorkshire*, pp. 73-78.

on its long sides is filled with a ribbon-beast with some double-outlining. As Lang notes, this hogback is unique and does not fit into any of the established categories. The ribbon-beast seems to look to the Ryedale carvings rather than the rest of the Allertonshire workshop.²⁴⁰

The hogbacks at Brompton thus form a very distinctive yet varied group. They have been described as 'probably the earliest and certainly the most expertly carved' examples of the form.²⁴¹ Given that it seems that the majority of hogbacks more widely were produced in 'a thirty-year period leading up to c. 950,' the Brompton examples were probably produced in the middle of the first half of the tenth century.²⁴² While the Brompton hogbacks seem to be united in their preference for pronounced end-beasts, there is variety both in the quality of carving and their typology.²⁴³ Such a variety suggests perhaps that the form was still being developed, in a period before a clear idea of what a hogback should be had coalesced. It also seems to suggest a variety of patrons and sculptors, perhaps using the monuments to make statements about individual or family identity in a settlement of some size and importance. Some of the monuments may be expressive of local affiliations. Thus the niche and extended-niche hogback types are confined to Allertonshire. Lang suggests that they took inspiration from large ecclesiastical shrines which had niches through which relics could be seen. The panel type is only found at Brompton, although there are similar fragments at Stainton and Wycliffe.²⁴⁴ Other aspects of the carving seem to lack a proper explanation; the specific meaning of the bears, if there is one, has 'never been identified satisfactorily'. The way in which the creatures grip the stone may indicate a protective function, while the fact that they are muzzled may suggest a 'threat kept in check'.²⁴⁵

Antecedents

The possibility that Brompton was home to a mixed, competitive and mercantile community, perhaps using sculpture in competitive display or to express aspects of identity, seems to be reflected in the varied sources proposed for the hogback form as well as evidenced by the quantity of Christian sculpture from the site.

The wide variety of hogback types itself seems to argue against a single source for their development.²⁴⁶ A number of possible precursors for the form have been discussed in relation to the York Minster examples, but the exceptional collection at Brompton requires a more

²⁴⁰ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VI: Northern Yorkshire*, pp. 78-80.

²⁴¹ Lang, *Anglo-Saxon Sculpture*, p. 46.

²⁴² Bailey, 'Scandinavian Myth on Viking-Period Stone Sculpture in England' (p. 19).

²⁴³ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VI: Northern Yorkshire*, p. 47.

²⁴⁴ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VI: Northern Yorkshire*, p. 23.

²⁴⁵ Karkov, *The Art of Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 254.

²⁴⁶ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VI: Northern Yorkshire*, p. 21.

detailed examination of this question. It is possible that for some the form looked definitely to the community's Scandinavian heritage. As we have noted, Smyth argues that hogbacks were essentially intended to signify Valhøll, with the tiles reflecting its descriptions in *Grimnismal*.²⁴⁷ Perhaps more persuasively, it has been suggested by a number of scholars that the form looked to the vernacular architecture of northern Europe. The Trelleborg house-type, which represented the standardisation of the house forms found in the Viking fortresses in Denmark, is an 'elongate bow-sided form', with a 'distinctively curved roof ridge' very similar to the hogback. Scandinavian coins, such as those produced at Hedeby, feature buildings with curved roofs and large animals carved on the gable ends.²⁴⁸ Several Viking period depictions of houses include the curved ridge found on hogbacks, such as the tenth-century model of a house from Klinta (Sweden) as well as on stylised carvings from Norway and Gotland.²⁴⁹ Hogback roofs are clearly covered with shingles, similar to an example from Trelleborg. The hogbacks' panelled sides, with sections separated by plain strips, also suggest the construction methods used in such houses, which consisted of wattle-work panels with timber frames. Such bow-sided houses are known from throughout Denmark and southern Sweden.²⁵⁰ This architectural influence may also partly explain the end-beasts so prominent at Brompton, as it seems clear that the heads of animals did feature on many actual buildings of the time. Depictions in the *Book of Kells* and on Irish crosses show such creatures on the ends of gable crossing timbers, while twelfth-century Scandinavian churches are 'covered with beast heads'.²⁵¹ The building type drawn on by the hogbacks was not a specifically Scandinavian or Viking one, but was widespread throughout Scandinavia and the Germanic areas long before the Viking period. While they do seem to have been introduced to northern Britain during this period, they also seem to have been present further south some centuries previously.²⁵² It is possible that for some members of the community at Brompton, the house type drawn on by the hogback sculptors was linked to memories of their Scandinavian homelands. The hogbacks may thus have served to express this aspect of their identity and perhaps, through the erection of such symbolic houses, to make the landscape more familiar or even 'Scandinavian'.

It also seems likely that the development of the hogback form drew on the portable shrines common in the Insular and Continental worlds. Lang notes that one of the Gosforth hogbacks shares a very similar shape and decorative layout to an Irish reliquary shrine from Lough Erne,

²⁴⁷ Smyth, *Scandinavian York and Dublin: The History and Archaeology of Two Related Viking Kingdoms*, I, pp. 275-76.

²⁴⁸ James Graham-Campbell, *The Viking World* (London: Frances Lincoln, 2001), p. 206.

²⁴⁹ Bailey, *Viking Age Sculpture in Northern England*, pp. 86-91.

²⁵⁰ Graham-Campbell, *The Viking World*, p. 207.

²⁵¹ Bailey, *Viking Age Sculpture in Northern England*, p. 97.

²⁵² Bailey, *Viking Age Sculpture in Northern England*, p. 86.

including the roof ridge and a representation of the metal strips used to bind the edging of the reliquary.²⁵³ Portable shrines from both Britain and the Continent feature animal or beast-heads on their ridges, providing another link with the hogbacks at Brompton.²⁵⁴ While such shrines were usually relatively small objects of metal, ivory or wood, Bailey suggests that examples closer to the size of hogbacks also existed.²⁵⁵ These objects ultimately look back to the stone sarcophagi of the late antique Christian milieu. Indeed, some Anglo-Saxon shrines or sarcophagi were carved from stone. Examples include a fragmentary monument from Jedburgh and a stone from Bakewell as well as Hedda's Tomb at Peterborough, which has already been noted. Bailey describes such objects as 'the best explanation for the hogback'. While no certain examples of such earlier monuments occur in northern England, Bailey suggests that this is due to their fragmentary survival and points to possible examples at Oswaldkirk and Sinnington.²⁵⁶ Bailey also points to Saint Chad's shrine, which Bede describes as being 'in the shape of a little house'.²⁵⁷

Some other sources have been suggested. Bailey suggests that there is an indirect link between the hogback form and the 'church-shaped cappings' found on a number of Irish crosses,²⁵⁸ while Julian Richards suggests that the end-beasts may have been an adaptation of the animals carved on separate end-stones as at York Minster.²⁵⁹ Collingwood emphasised the hogbacks' relationship with Roman sarcophagi, describing them as 'rough imitations of the sarcophagus of Italy... they have the external appearance of the Ravenna sarcophagi'. He argues that the Vikings regarded them as houses perhaps to be inhabited by the spirits of the dead.²⁶⁰ While the latter point may be insightful, it seems probable that the link with the Roman sarcophagi was indirect. The form thus looked to a number of sources, from Scandinavian, Insular, Christian and late antique contexts, and would thus have been an appropriate monument to commemorate the lay dead of a possible heterogeneous Anglo-Scandinavian mercantile community at Brompton in the ninth and tenth centuries. Hogbacks, which could contain both Christian and non-Christian meanings, would have been more appropriate for such a community than monumental crosses which would have tended to exclude non-Christian readings and identities.

²⁵³ Lang, 'The Distinctiveness of Viking Colonial Art' (p. 248).

²⁵⁴ Bailey, *Viking Age Sculpture in Northern England*, p. 97.

²⁵⁵ Bailey, *Viking Age Sculpture in Northern England*, p. 94.

²⁵⁶ Bailey, *Viking Age Sculpture in Northern England*, p. 95.

²⁵⁷ Richard N. Bailey, 'Hogbacks', in *The Wiley Blackwell Encyclopedia of Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. by M. Lapidge and others, 2nd edn (Chichester: John Wiley & Sons, 2013), pp. 246-47 (p. 246).

²⁵⁸ Bailey, *Viking Age Sculpture in Northern England*, p. 92.

²⁵⁹ Richards, *English Heritage Book of Viking Age England*, pp. 124-26.

²⁶⁰ Collingwood, 'Anglo-Saxon Sculptured Stone' (p. 115).

Function

The function of the hogback monuments is, like their ancestry, hard to fix firmly. Some scholars, such as Dawn Hadley, have suggested that they were grave-markers,²⁶¹ following the early interpretation of them as 'grave stones of the leading men of the time'.²⁶² Collingwood similarly described them as 'shrine-tombs',²⁶³ while Lang terms them 'Norse colonial tombstones'.²⁶⁴ Kopár argues that hogbacks probably had a 'secular commemorative function', given the presence of 'pagan' iconography on some examples.²⁶⁵ However, as Lang notes, the evidence for the use of hogbacks as grave-covers is 'scanty in the extreme'. He suggests that they may have been intended as larger versions of the end-stones seen at York Minster, perhaps placed across the head of a grave.²⁶⁶ We have observed that such composite monuments have been uncovered at York Minster. Evidence that hogbacks could have formed part of such arrangements comes from the collection at Lythe, where a number of small crosses have outlines which fit exactly with the ends of the site's hogbacks.²⁶⁷ At Brompton, numbers 1 and 2, which have plain lower portions, may have been left that way to accommodate the placement of a hogback. Similar uncarved lower shafts are also seen at Sockburn.²⁶⁸ Thus, while there is no clear evidence that these were grave-stones in the strict sense, it does seem probable that hogbacks had a commemorative or memorial function, perhaps as part of composite monuments. It seems quite possible that they may have memorialised families or households rather than individuals; hogbacks, as house-shaped shrines, may have symbolised and have been 'created within the family'.²⁶⁹

Scholars have also debated whether the monuments had a religious function. As Abrams notes, the presence of hogbacks at church sites has led to them being 'almost universally seen as Christian funerary monuments', an interpretation seemingly supported by their links to Insular and Continental shrine-tombs and their association with crosses.²⁷⁰ However, some examples include scenes from Norse mythology, which suggests that at least some examples of the form were not seen solely as vehicles of Christian messages. Examples include the Weland imagery on a Bedale hogback and the Gosforth iconography of armed men who may also

²⁶¹ Hadley, *The Vikings in England: Settlement, Society and Culture*, p. 222.

²⁶² William Edwards, *The Early History of the North Riding* (London: A. Brown and Sons, 1924), p. 59.

²⁶³ Collingwood, 'Anglian and Anglo-Danish Sculpture in the North Riding of Yorkshire' (p. 276).

²⁶⁴ Lang, 'The Distinctiveness of Viking Colonial Art' (p. 246).

²⁶⁵ Kopár, *Gods and Settlers: The Iconography of Norse Mythology in Anglo-Scandinavian Sculpture*, p. 198.

²⁶⁶ Lang, 'Continuity and Innovation in Anglo-Scandinavian Sculpture: A Study of the Metropolitan School at York' (p. 153).

²⁶⁷ Bailey, *Viking Age Sculpture in Northern England*, p. 99.

²⁶⁸ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VI: Northern Yorkshire*, p. 66.

²⁶⁹ Hadley, 'Warriors, Heroes and Companions: Negotiating Masculinity in Viking-Age England' (p. 280).

²⁷⁰ Abrams, *The Problem of the Hogback*, pp. 5-6.

represent mythological characters. Thus in some cases, it seems possible that hogbacks could have acted as signifiers of a Scandinavian heritage. In other examples, however, there is clear Christian content; several examples carry Christian iconography, such as the Crucifixions at Gosforth and at York.²⁷¹ Abrams suggests that the form began as a 'pagan imitation' of Christian objects before being re-Christianised in many cases. It is also possible that the monuments had a political function. Their erection in the landscape could clearly be read as a statement of control over it. Furthermore, a number of symbols and motifs found on the hogbacks, including the triquetra and the triangular banner, are found on the Anglo-Scandinavian coinage produced at York in this period.²⁷² The presence of such symbols on monumental carvings may have served as a sign of allegiance to the ruler at York. Thus the hogbacks seem to have had a wide range of functions, from simple commemoration of the dead to complex signifiers of identity, heritage or political affiliation. Again, this variety is what one would expect from a heterogeneous, mercantile community as may have been present in this period at Brompton.

An Anglo-Scandinavian Innovation

As we have seen, the process which produced the hogback form was one very specific to the conditions of Scandinavian settlement in the British Isles. The hogback is 'essentially restricted to the north of England', with concentrations in northern Yorkshire and Cumbria. The examples seem to fall within the areas of Norse and Hiberno-Norse settlement and place-names.²⁷³ Scholars have long recognised the unique and hybrid nature of the form. Thus Bailey refers to hogbacks as a 'Viking-period innovation in the sculptural repertoire of northern England',²⁷⁴ while Smyth terms them a 'Scandinavian innovation'.²⁷⁵ The form thus argues against the normal view of Anglo-Scandinavian sculpture, which focuses on an essentially unaltered and continuing Anglian tradition of carving adopted by Scandinavian settlers who did little except expand the ornamental repertoire. The hogbacks show that the settlers were in fact highly innovative and accomplished sculptors, capable of drawing on a wide range of sources to create an entirely new form. Thus Lang writes that the production of hogbacks shows that the Scandinavian settlers did 'innovate'.²⁷⁶ The three-dimensional end-beasts of some hogbacks are, for example, the 'only plastic stone sculpture of the period: they are true statuary'.²⁷⁷ Hadley suggests that the hogbacks are properly seen as a 'new and distinctive'

²⁷¹ Bailey, 'Hogbacks' (p. 246).

²⁷² Abrams, *The Problem of the Hogback*, p. 6.

²⁷³ Bailey, *Viking Age Sculpture in Northern England*, p. 91.

²⁷⁴ Bailey, 'Hogbacks' (p. 246).

²⁷⁵ Smyth, *Scandinavian York and Dublin: The History and Archaeology of Two Related Viking Kingdoms*, I, p. 273.

²⁷⁶ Lang, *Anglo-Saxon Sculpture*, p. 45.

²⁷⁷ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VI: Northern Yorkshire*, pp. 21-23.

form of material culture, produced by their 'colonial context'.²⁷⁸ Hadley's comment is part of one current in scholarship which sees the hogbacks as colonial products. Thus Lang argues that the form shows that 'provincial' sculptors were capable of innovation, and underlines the independence of the 'English colony's art in relation to that of the Scandinavian homelands'. Lang notably termed the hogback a 'colonial monument'.²⁷⁹

This description is perhaps however somewhat simplistic. There was not a clear colonial political structure in the Anglo-Scandinavian period, nor an agreed and clear metropolitan identity or culture. The hogback was not a form imported from the colonial centre to this outlying province, but one which developed in a mixed, Anglo-Scandinavian environment. Signe Fuglesang's description of the form is more nuanced. She argues that the hogbacks were a new type of monument resulting from the assimilation of 'strong Scandinavian influence' into the 'indigenous traditions in what became an innovative and vigorous hybrid'.²⁸⁰ This was not a simple colonial importation, but a form which, in Karkov's description, was 'negotiating between the languages of three separate traditions', the Scandinavian, Anglo-Saxon and early Christian.²⁸¹

Irish Influence

The geographical setting and excellent communication links of the Brompton site are also the context in which the sculpture's Irish features must be viewed. As well as affording easy access to the north and south, the site's location on the Roman road network also allowed for easy communication west over the Pennines to Ireland, crossing the hills via the Stainmore road and on into Cumbria near Penrith.²⁸² This Irish connection can be seen in the cross ring-heads found at Brompton, a form which also occurs on the high crosses of Co. Kildare.²⁸³ As has been noted, the introduction of the form was a 'new development in England' in the Anglo-Scandinavian period, associated with the influx of Hiberno-Norse settlers who would have taken routes such as the Stainmore Road.²⁸⁴ Brompton 1 (see fig. 41), for example, is a plate-head variant of the form, in which the ring is not separate from the head but placed in the arm-pits. This example also features a Brompton loop on the cross-arms, with a panel of four-strand interlace below on the shaft. Below this are shield-shaped 'vandykes' divided into three

²⁷⁸ Hadley, 'Viking and Native: Rethinking Identity in the Danelaw' (p. 62).

²⁷⁹ Lang, 'The Hogback: A Viking Colonial Monument' (p. 85).

²⁸⁰ Signe H. Fuglesang, 'The Relationship between Scandinavian and English Art from the Late Eighth to the Mid-Twelfth Century', in *Sources of Anglo-Saxon Culture*, ed. by P. E. Szarmach and V. D. Oggins (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, Western Michigan University, 1986), pp. 203-241 (p. 227).

²⁸¹ Karkov, *The Art of Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 254.

²⁸² Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VI: Northern Yorkshire*, p. 5.

²⁸³ Lang, 'Survival and Revival in Insular Art: Northumbrian Sculpture of the 8th to 10th Centuries' (p. 261).

²⁸⁴ Graham-Campbell, 'Pagans and Christians' (p. 28).

sections filled by triquetras. On the narrow face of the cross arms there are panels of interlace including triquetras, and on the cross shaft is another panel of four-cord interlace.²⁸⁵ Another, badly damaged example of the plate-head form is Brompton 14, which is unique among the Brompton cross-heads in including a depiction of the Crucifixion. Christ is clothed and in the position seen on Irish cross-heads. Other examples are to be found in Yorkshire, such as Ellerburn in Ryedale.²⁸⁶ There are also four other partial plate-head type cross-heads. These vary in type, with numbers 11, 12 and 15 of the B10 type with central bosses and Brompton loops. Brompton 13 is of the E10 type, with its horizontal arms extended into convex tips. Again the arms are filled with Brompton loops. Other plate-heads occur elsewhere as products of the Brompton School, as at Kirkleavington, Sockburn and close by at Northallerton. A number of these share templates. While there are Irish examples of the form, Allertonshire sees the densest concentration.²⁸⁷



Figure 42: Brompton 1D/A. Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographer T. Middlemass.

²⁸⁵ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VI: Northern Yorkshire*, p. 65.

²⁸⁶ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VI: Northern Yorkshire*, p. 73.

²⁸⁷ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VI: Northern Yorkshire*, pp. 71-73.

Other features derived from Ireland also made their way across the Stainmore road to be incorporated into the sculpture produced at Brompton. The shafts of the Allertonshire workshop are typically divided into panels featuring either dense interlace or isolated animals or human figures. Lang describes this layout as ‘something of an innovation in the county’, contrasting it to the York Metropolitan School which favoured long, uninterrupted panels and ‘fashionable beast-chains’ which are also absent in Allertonshire. This depiction of figures, and especially animals, isolated within panels seems to have been derived from Ireland. Examples again come from Castledermot where the north cross includes panelled faces as well as a run of ring-twist, which is very common in Allertonshire, while Castledermot also produced the only known Irish hogback, another link to Allertonshire and perhaps Brompton in particular. Single animals in square frames are also seen at Moone, close to Castledermot.²⁸⁸



Figure 43: Brompton 3C. Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographer T. Middlemass.

²⁸⁸ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VI: Northern Yorkshire*, p. 46.



Figure 44: Brompton 3D. Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographer T. Middlemass.

The Brompton collection includes a number of examples of isolated animals carved within panels. Most notable in this group is Brompton 3, often referred to as the bird shaft. Face C (see fig. 42) of this piece was originally divided into at least three panels, the upper two of which contain 'pear-shaped' birds in profile. Below, another panel contains 'two monstrous creatures' with long snouts, thick bodies and 'hoof-like feet'. Lang argues that the birds are probably peacocks, symbolising eternity, or doves. He describes the monstrous creatures as 'joined dragons' which probably copy the Anglian beasts at nearby Melsonby.²⁸⁹ Face D of Brompton 3 (see fig. 43) is topped by the remains of another bird, although this one faces right and has a fan-like tail. Below is a cleric depicted frontally under an arch with what may be a halo. He holds books and is wearing a long robe. Below is another frontal figure under an arch, again identified by Lang as a cleric although this carving is lost below the level of his shoulders. Oddly, two 'triangular wing-like objects' seem to cross his shoulders, which perhaps indicates that the figure was intended as an angel. Lang argues that these frontal clerics set under

²⁸⁹ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VI: Northern Yorkshire*, p. 67.

arches look back to Anglian examples as at Melsonby and Collingham, suggesting that the upper figure may be a local saint such as Cuthbert or a symbol of the priesthood in general.²⁹⁰ Early views that the bird shaft was an eighth-century Anglo-Saxon production have been convincingly refuted by Bailey who has shown that it is linked through templates, ring-shaped corner mouldings and its inclusion of portrait animals and birds to local works of the Anglo-Scandinavian period.²⁹¹ Lang has also noted that the bird panels are constructed on a one-inch grid, with the vine-scroll also made up of regular registers using the inch as its base unit of measurement. This system of a one-inch gridded layout is also to be found in Ireland, such as at Castledermot where the north cross employs the same technique.²⁹²

Other Brompton pieces also include isolated animals. Brompton 4, for example, has two panels on face A containing a stag with branched antlers and below another 'standing quadruped' with a long neck and bent tail. Face C depicts a frontal figure in its lower panel, which stands and holds what may be a staff. Above are the remains of a panel of interlace apparently similar to that on face B. As Lang notes, the irregular edge moulding suggests that the figure on this fragment was carved after the other panels as a secondary addition. Brompton 5 also has isolated figures, both human and animal. On face A is depicted the remaining upper half of a frontal figure under an arch, a feature of the Brompton School. Above are the remains of two interlace panels. Face B has a bird in profile with a 'crow-like' head. Above is a panel with a register of ring-knot. At the bottom of face C is a backward-facing animal with a dog-like muzzle and two fangs. Above are two more panels of interlace, including a ring-knot and linked oval rings.²⁹³

²⁹⁰ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VI: Northern Yorkshire*, pp. 67-68.

²⁹¹ Bailey, 'The Chronology of Viking-Age Sculpture in Northumbria' (p. 184).

²⁹² Lang, 'The Distinctiveness of Viking Colonial Art' (p. 252).

²⁹³ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VI: Northern Yorkshire*, p. 68-69.



Figure 45: Brompton 3A. Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographer T. Middlemass.



Figure 46: Brompton 3B. Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographer T. Middlemass.

Anglo-Saxon Precedents

Much of the sculpture at Brompton also draws on the Anglo-Saxon past. This includes the bird shaft, which, as we have noted, includes on face C monstrous creatures which probably copy the Anglian beasts at nearby Melsonby. Elsewhere on the same monument we see frontal clerical or angelic figures set under arches which look to the Anglian tradition exemplified at Melsonby and Collingham (see fig. 44). Lang as we have noted even suggests that one of the figures may represent a local Anglo-Saxon saint such as Cuthbert.²⁹⁴ On face B (see fig. 45) is carved a panel of growing plant-scroll described as a 'convincing Anglian plant-scroll',²⁹⁵ and an 'Anglian survival'.²⁹⁶ Bailey similarly describes it as a 'sad relic' of earlier Anglian examples such as those found on the Bewcastle and Ruthwell monuments.²⁹⁷ As we have noted, at the bottom of face C is what Collingwood described as 'a very strange pair of composite animals', made up of legs like a horse's and a bird's head, with a 'queer crustacean body'. He describes these as 'in the spirit of Anglo-Saxon art', pointing to similar examples in manuscript illustration and metalwork.²⁹⁸ Cramp similarly argues that the 'horrible crossed and writhing beasts' are drawn from ninth-century Anglo-Saxon work.²⁹⁹ The one-inch layout used on this monument, as well as being found on a number of Irish monuments, was also used on the eighth-century vine-scroll at Otley, a link used by Lang as evidence for the 'surprising survival of native artistic tradition'. He argues that its 'manner of execution' reaches back to Insular roots.³⁰⁰ Here there is a contradiction in Lang's argument as it seems that the grid could point to either Irish or Anglian antecedents. Given the pronounced Irish influence elsewhere at Brompton, it seems probable, although far from certain, that the grid system in this case was drawn from an Irish source. Certainly, the use of the grid does indicate that the Brompton sculptors were looking to models and techniques from beyond the immediate area.

Other Brompton pieces clearly look to Anglian precedents. The decorative pendant triangles found on Brompton 1 and 2 are skeuomorphs of metalwork used to strengthen wooden poles, as on crozier-shrines from Ireland. These are also found on other round-shaft derivative examples nearby at Gilling West and Stanwick. Others are found in the Tees valley and in eastern Yorkshire. Lang argues that the presence of such a feature on the great cross at Leek in Staffordshire indicates that the Brompton pendants were derived from Anglian carvings.³⁰¹

²⁹⁴ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VI: Northern Yorkshire*, pp. 67-68.

²⁹⁵ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VI: Northern Yorkshire*, pp. 67-68.

²⁹⁶ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VI: Northern Yorkshire*, p. 31.

²⁹⁷ Bailey, *Viking Age Sculpture in Northern England*, p. 77.

²⁹⁸ Collingwood, 'Anglian and Anglo-Danish Sculpture in the North Riding of Yorkshire' (p. 283).

²⁹⁹ Cramp, 'The Viking Image' (p. 13).

³⁰⁰ Lang, 'The Distinctiveness of Viking Colonial Art' (p. 252).

³⁰¹ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VI: Northern Yorkshire*, p. 25.

The forms employed by the sculptors at Brompton also look to the Anglian past. We have already seen that the hogback may have drawn on Anglian stone monuments and portable shrines, while the cross-shaft form itself was of course common in earlier Anglo-Saxon England.³⁰² One notable variant of the Anglian cross-shaft is present at Brompton, that which Kendrick termed the 'round-shaft derivative'. This form is found elsewhere in North Yorkshire, at Stanwick, Middleton, Lastingham and Kirby Misperton. It also occurs wider afield, in the Peak District and at Gosforth in the form of the 'Giant's Thumb'. Kendrick argues that this form represents the 'survival of a very impressive Anglian type of cross'.³⁰³

Anglo-Scandinavian Carvings

There is of course much Scandinavian influence on the Brompton sculpture, beyond the Scandinavian antecedents of the hogbacks that have already been considered. Some monuments include typically Anglo-Scandinavian features or motifs. Thus Brompton 1's triquetras may reference those found on the Anglo-Scandinavian coinage of York, which also included seemingly assertive Scandinavian symbols such as hammers, ravens and swords.³⁰⁴ Similarly, the pellets and ring knots of Brompton 9 and 10 mark them as typically Anglo-Scandinavian products.³⁰⁵ We have already noted that the Brompton 24 hogback features interlace on the heads of the beasts that is similar to that on the animal-headed posts of the Oseberg ship and the Søllested horse-yokes, described by Lang as 'undiluted Scandinavian influence' without Insular parallels.³⁰⁶

The armed figure or figures at Brompton also mark the carvings as Anglo-Scandinavian products. Lang interprets the figure below on 3B as a 'warrior' with a spear head. It is also possible that the staff Lang identifies in the hand of the figure on Brompton 4C is the shaft of a spear.³⁰⁷ Burials in England which can be identified as of 'Scandinavian-type' tend to have an emphasis on masculine display which often includes weapons, among them spears. Yorkshire burials with spears include those at Kildale and Wensley.³⁰⁸ While Lang points out that the juxtaposition of a warrior with clerical figures indicates that such martial figures cannot be given a simple pagan reading,³⁰⁹ it seems likely that the figure is associated with the martial ideals of the Scandinavian and Anglo-Scandinavian worlds.³¹⁰

³⁰² Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VI: Northern Yorkshire*, p. 24.

³⁰³ Kendrick, *Late Saxon and Viking Art*, pp. 75-76.

³⁰⁴ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VI: Northern Yorkshire*, p. 65.

³⁰⁵ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VI: Northern Yorkshire*, pp. 70-71.

³⁰⁶ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VI: Northern Yorkshire*, pp. 73-78.

³⁰⁷ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VI: Northern Yorkshire*, pp. 67-68.

³⁰⁸ Hadley, 'Warriors, Heroes and Companions: Negotiating Masculinity in Viking-Age England' (p. 271).

³⁰⁹ Lang, *Anglo-Saxon Sculpture*, p. 24.

³¹⁰ Bailey, *England's Earliest Sculptors*, p. 84.

The birds which feature prominently at Brompton may also have Scandinavian and Anglo-Scandinavian resonances. Birds are certainly common on the Anglo-Scandinavian sculpture of Yorkshire, featuring at sites considered elsewhere in this thesis such as at Nunburnholme and nearby Kirkleavington.³¹¹ Birds were also associated with powerful figures in the Norse tradition, evidenced by the Migration Period bracteates which have been interpreted as depicting Odin and his two ravens.³¹² Ravens feature as beasts of battle in both Old Norse and Old English poetry.³¹³ While the birds at Brompton appear to be fowl rather than birds of prey, they may still have referred more generally to the importance of birds in Scandinavian culture, and the single remaining bird on Brompton 5 does look more raptor-like.³¹⁴ However, such creatures also had obvious Christian meanings, as has already been discussed in relation to the birds featured on Kirkleavington 2.

Christianity

The importance of Christianity in the area is also reflected in the site's sculpture. Most obviously, the free-standing cross shaft form seen at Brompton, of which Brompton 1 and 2 are examples, has strong Christian significance. The cross-heads seen at Brompton also have clear Christian content, as evidenced by the presence of a carved Crucifixion on Brompton 14.³¹⁵

The bird shaft also clearly indicates the continuing importance of this Christian heritage. The figure at the top of face A is framed by what may be curtains, and holds a rectangular object. He has what looks like wings attached by a strap across his chest. This figure may be an angel, with the wings attached in the same way as on the Weland carvings of Yorkshire.³¹⁶ Bailey argued that the figure is best seen as a priest 'in full liturgical vestments', and an overt sign of Christianity,³¹⁷ although there is little evidence for this reading which seems doubtful given the apparent presence of wings.³¹⁸ On face D is a cleric depicted frontally under an arch with what may be a halo. He holds books and is wearing a long robe. Below is another frontal figure under an arch, again identified by Lang as a cleric although this carving is partially lost. Oddly, two 'triangular wing-like objects' seem to cross his shoulders, which perhaps indicate that the figure was intended as an angel, although the condition of the stone makes a firm

³¹¹ Janina S. Ramirez, 'The Symbolic Life of Birds in Anglo-Saxon England' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of York, 2006), pp. 80, 126, 190.

³¹² John Lindow, *Handbook of Norse Mythology* (Santa Barbara, : ABC-CLIO, 2001), pp. 186-88.

³¹³ Jesch, 'Eagles, Ravens and Wolves: Beasts of Battle, Symbols of Victory and Death' (p. 253).

³¹⁴ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VI: Northern Yorkshire*, p. 69.

³¹⁵ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VI: Northern Yorkshire*, pp. 24-26.

³¹⁶ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VI: Northern Yorkshire*, pp. 67-68.

³¹⁷ Bailey, 'The Hammer and the Cross' (p. 86).

³¹⁸ Bailey, *Viking Age Sculpture in Northern England*, pp. 231-32.

identification of these features impossible.³¹⁹ The birds on this shaft and elsewhere may also have had Christian connotations. A bird may be read as a signifier of the Holy Spirit, which descended on Christ in the form of a dove at his baptism.³²⁰ Collingwood describes the Brompton birds as 'fowls', noting that they are 'fairly naturalistic', and given this suggests that they may also be cocks, 'symbols of watchfulness' taken from the episode of Saint Peter's denial of Christ.³²¹ Lang argues that the combination of beasts and birds on face C of Brompton 3 looks to a tradition which identified birds as good, symbolising Saint John and the risen Christ, and reptiles as symbols of evil and hell, as on the Rothbury cross (Northumberland).³²² Bailey suggests that the vine scroll on face B, along with those on other tenth-century monuments including Penrith and Leeds continued to have a firmly Christian meaning, referring to the church of Christ made green by the cross.³²³ Given the inclusion of Christian figures alongside martial imagery on this monument, it is even possible that such warrior iconography itself had Christian connotations.³²⁴

Allertonshire

While the Christian centre at Northallerton seems to have had continuing influence over Brompton and its sculpture, the carvings produced at that site were also part of a distinctive grouping centred in Allertonshire more widely. Brompton, Sockburn and Kirkleavington drew on the services of the same sculptural workshop which worked in a limited geographical area.³²⁵ This Allertonshire group of sites is, according to Lang, 'the most convincing in terms of providing evidence of a workshop', united by templates, lay out and the stone selected for carving.³²⁶ The Allertonshire sites seem to be linked by proximity to the Roman road that ran just to the east of Brompton. The workshop's production is unified by its use of fine sandstone, deep chiselling and modelled relief and shafts with slight tapers and a 'small squarish section'.³²⁷ Furthermore, the plate-head crosses at Brompton form part of a group of such objects which also includes examples at Northallerton and Kirkleavington. At least ten examples of such cross-heads from these sites were carved using the same template.³²⁸

³¹⁹ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VI: Northern Yorkshire*, pp. 67-68.

³²⁰ Luke 3. 22.

³²¹ Collingwood, 'Anglian and Anglo-Danish Sculpture in the North Riding of Yorkshire' (pp. 282, 300).

³²² Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VI: Northern Yorkshire*, p. 68.

³²³ Bailey, *Viking Age Sculpture in Northern England*, p. 148.

³²⁴ Hadley, 'Warriors, Heroes and Companions: Negotiating Masculinity in Viking-Age England' (p. 275).

³²⁵ Anne L. Klinick, 'Stone Sculpture', in *The Wiley Blackwell Encyclopedia of Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. by M. Lapidge and others, 2nd edn (Chichester: John Wiley & Sons, 2013), pp. 424-26 (p. 425).

³²⁶ Lang, 'Recent Studies in the Pre-Conquest Sculpture of Northumbria' (p. 185).

³²⁷ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VI: Northern Yorkshire*, p. 44.

³²⁸ Bailey, *Viking Age Sculpture in Northern England*, p. 240.

Beyond the sculptural forms present at Brompton, a number of motifs, iconographies and ornamental features also link Brompton strongly to this local group. This again includes the bird shaft, as the fragmentary warrior below the scroll on face B shares its templates with the carving of a spearman found at Sockburn as well as the worn panel from Kirkleavington.³²⁹ Bailey observes that the edge moulding on the bird shaft seems to be knotted at the point where the main section of the shaft meets the cross head. Such a feature is also to be found on shafts at Kirkleavington, Northallerton, Sockburn and Wycliffe.³³⁰

Other carvings also look to this local grouping. Brompton 2 and 3, as we have noted, feature an angular scallop filled with triquetras, a motif also found on a Sockburn cross.³³¹ Similarly, the stag on Brompton 4A has a 'twin' at Sockburn, both of which presumably derive from the same template pattern.³³² At the top of Brompton 4B is what may be a Como-braid, another distinctive feature of the Allertonshire workshop.³³³ Another diagnostic feature of this local grouping is the 'Brompton loop', a continuous looped strand found on cross-heads such as Brompton 10 and 12. Examples are also found at Kirkleavington, Northallerton and Kirby Sigston.³³⁴

Conclusion

The Anglo-Scandinavian carvings at Brompton are thus a unique collection in a number of senses. Firstly, the number, quality and variety of the hogback monuments mark it as an exceptional assemblage; this may be especially the case if the suggestions that the form first developed at Brompton are correct. The hogback, very much an Anglo-Scandinavian monument, indicates the depth of the impact of the Scandinavian settlement on the stone sculpture of the region. This was a hybridity capable of innovation and the development of entirely new forms which drew on a range of sources from within and beyond the confines of Yorkshire. As at Kirkleavington, the sculptural hybridity which took place at Brompton looked particularly to Irish sources and appears to have been that of an outward-looking mercantile centre.

The sculpture is, however, also unique in the sense of being a very particular product of the local landscape and the area's history. The area's geology shaped the choice of stone and influenced the choice of site for the earliest inhabitants of Brompton. The area's geography gave it a strategic importance and excellent communication links, drawing on the Roman road

³²⁹ Bailey, *Viking Age Sculpture in Northern England*, p. 252.

³³⁰ Bailey, *Viking Age Sculpture in Northern England*, p. 185.

³³¹ Bailey, *Viking Age Sculpture in Northern England*, pp. 187-88.

³³² Bailey, *Viking Age Sculpture in Northern England*, pp. 247-48.

³³³ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VI: Northern Yorkshire*, p. 68.

³³⁴ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VI: Northern Yorkshire*, p. 47.

network and glacial moraine across the Vale of York which is narrow at this point, leading led to a situation in which Anglo-Scandinavian Brompton may well have been a mercantile centre with wide-ranging connections, as evidenced by the stone sculpture produced there. This presumably heterogeneous Anglo-Scandinavian community drew on a very wide range of sources for what was probably its commemorative sculpture, a body of material which, while including references to Christianity and the Anglian past, had a much wider frame of references, looking to Irish and Scandinavian sources as well as vernacular mythology and the more general and shared concerns of the social elite in this period.

Chapter 2 Conclusion

This chapter has considered two sites in the north of the county, which were linked in the ninth and tenth centuries by a shared geography and a shared set of cultural references. Rather than peripheral places far from the Anglo-Scandinavian centre at York and close to a border demarcated by the river Tees, we have seen that both Brompton and Kirkleavington were confident and innovative sculptural centres in this period. The preceding analysis of the sites' landscape setting, which show they both possessed excellent communication links going back to the pre-Roman period, suggests a reading of the sculpture which looks to situate it as an outward-looking body of work with links not just locally or to the distant centre at York. Indeed, both sites drew on a remarkably wide range of sources, from across the Insular world and beyond, with a particular emphasis on Irish sources for ornament, forms and iconographies. Both places, as possible mercantile centres, did not rely wholly on Christian iconography in their sculptural repertoire, but drew on episodes and figures from vernacular mythology, as well as seeking to represent the martial values of the new Scandinavian settlers. This was a mercantile, marital and outward looking-hybridity, subtly different from that found at York and Nunburnholme, where sculptors drew less on Irish sources and seemed to be more aware of the Roman traditions of that part of the county.

The hogbacks of Brompton are of course the most notable feature of the sculpture from the two sites. This was an innovative form which may have been developed at Brompton itself, one which looked again to a wide range of sources, including vernacular architecture, Insular tomb shrines and portable metalwork. Furthermore, this was very much a hybrid, Anglo-Scandinavian form, one which developed alongside the Anglo-Scandinavian settlements of England. This remarkable form, and its probable development at Brompton, show that this part of northern Yorkshire was a centre of sculptural and artistic innovation, not a peripheral area but a confident and well-connected one in which new, Anglo-Scandinavian forms were being developed.

Chapter 3: Western Yorkshire

Chapter 3 Introduction

This chapter will consider the Anglo-Scandinavian sculpture produced at two sites in the West Riding of Yorkshire. This part of the county has a very particular history; it formed the heart of the Brythonic kingdom of Elmet, which was at the height of its power in the second quarter of the sixth century before its annexation by King Edwin of Northumbria in 617.¹ In the Anglo-Scandinavian period, the area seems to have been less densely settled by the newcomers than the rest of Yorkshire. Only 31% of place-names in the area are Scandinavian, compared with 40% for the East Riding and 38% for the North. However, the West Riding has a relatively high number of hybridised names, suggesting that the Scandinavian influence continued for a considerable period.² The area is similarly lacking in eleventh-century stone sculpture, which Collingwood suggested is perhaps indicative of its status as a borderland at that time, open to incursions across the Pennines from Cumbria.³

Two sculptural groupings from the region will be considered. The first consists of a number of largely fragmentary carvings from the town of Otley along with one from the nearby village of Weston in Wharfedale. Particularly good documentary sources exist for the early history of Otley, which suggest that what was an estate of the archbishops of York was partly taken over in the tenth century by Scandinavian settlers, who proceeded to erect hybrid sculptural monuments which included the recarving of Anglian sculpture with images of what are probably members of the Anglo-Scandinavian landholding elite. At Leeds, the Anglo-Scandinavian sculpture consists of the Leeds cross and a number of associated fragments, some of which have been reconstructed as the monument Leeds 2. While the early history of Leeds is much more obscure than that of Otley, we shall see from a number of possible analogies that this site may also have seen the Scandinavian takeover of an important Anglo-Saxon ecclesiastical estate. Here, the sculpture is once more highly complex, exhibiting a cultural and artistic hybridity which seems to have been emblematic of the status of the Leeds area in particular as a borderland.

¹ Margaret L. Faull and Stephen A. Moorhouse, *West Yorkshire: An Archaeological Survey to A.D. 1500*, 4 vols (Wakefield: West Yorkshire Metropolitan County Council, 1981), I, p. 171.

² Faull and Moorhouse, *West Yorkshire: An Archaeological Survey to A.D. 1500*, I, p. 203.

³ W. G. Collingwood, 'Anglian and Anglo-Danish Sculpture in the West Riding, with Addenda to the North and East Ridings and York, and a General Review of the Early Christian Monuments of Yorkshire', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, XXIII (1915), 129-299 (pp. 298-99).

Chapter 3, Part 1: Otley and Weston

Introduction

The Anglo-Scandinavian stone sculpture produced at Otley and Weston, which stand close together on opposite sides of the river Wharfe around ten miles north-west of Leeds, has previously been described as essentially imitative of Anglian precedents, and judged to be cruder than and symptomatic of a decline from these earlier works. Thus Collingwood observed of the 'Anglian' scroll on the Anglo-Scandinavian Otley 4 that it was done 'cheaply' and 'without feeling'. He deemed the interlace on the same fragment to be 'degenerate' and 'associated with the decadence of Anglian art under Danish influence'.⁴ In the *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture* volume dealing with both Otley and Weston, Coatsworth follows a similar approach, albeit in more restrained language. Thus, the half-pattern on face B of Otley 3 is 'garbled', while the carving on face A of Otley 5 is a 'crude rendering of a single run of interlace'.⁵ The Anglo-Scandinavian carving is thus judged, negatively, in relation to the early Anglian sculpture from the site and not evaluated on its own terms. This approach is stated most explicitly in Paul Wood's examination of the landscape of Otley, which notes of the Anglo-Scandinavian period that 'with the high point of Otley's classical [Anglo-Saxon] cross carvers long gone, secular successors were chipping away at their memorials for their own ends'.⁶

Scholars have also tended to emphasise the Anglo-Scandinavian sculpture's reliance on the Anglian tradition at the expense of possible Scandinavian influences. Thus Kendrick stressed the possible Insular ancestry of the Ringerike style, an example of which can be found on Otley 12,⁷ at the expense of its contemporary significance, terming it 'Winchester acanthus decoration re-drawn in the ragged and irregular Scandinavian manner'.⁸ Similarly, Cramp stated that the Otley and Weston warriors were 'derived in conception from an Anglian original, but are formally treated in a Scandinavian way'.⁹ Such judgments tend to privilege style and quality over contemporary function and meaning.

The following analysis of the Anglo-Scandinavian material from Otley and Weston will attempt to address some of these issues. An examination of the landscape context of the monuments will show that there was a long history of the symbolic use of stone in the area which goes

⁴ Harry Speight, *Upper Wharfedale: Being a Complete Account of the History, Antiquities and Scenery of the Picturesque Valley of the Wharfe, from Otley to Langstrothdale* (London: Elliot Stock, 1900), p. 35.

⁵ Coatsworth, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VIII: Western Yorkshire*, pp. 221, 222.

⁶ Paul Wood, *A Guide to the Landscape of Otley: Seventh to Seventeenth Century* (Otley: C. Dean & P. Wood, 1999), p. 7.

⁷ Coatsworth, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VIII: Western Yorkshire*, pp. 226-27.

⁸ Kendrick, *Late Saxon and Viking Art*, p. 98.

⁹ Cramp, 'The Viking Image' (p. 13).

back well before the Anglo-Saxon period, a conclusion that questions the appropriateness of holding up Anglian sculpture as a standard by which to judge the Anglo-Scandinavian. Furthermore, an understanding of the local landscape history of the Otley area, which seems to have seen a dispute between the archbishops of York and incoming Scandinavian settlers over landholding, leads to the conclusion that the Anglo-Scandinavian carvers may have been deliberately using sculpture to distance themselves from and indeed possibly reject the Anglian past. An examination of the forms and materials used by the sculptors will also lead us to the conclusion that these were highly charged works, asserting a claim to the landscape and moving beyond a simplistic reliance on Anglian precedents. Finally, an analysis of the figural and ornamental carving at these two sites will suggest that the sculptors drew considerably on Scandinavian examples as well as Anglian sources, and further support the argument that much of the material from Otley and Weston was both politically and culturally highly charged.

Landscape

Pre-history

A proper understanding of the Anglo-Scandinavian sculptures at Otley and Weston cannot be attained without consideration of the landscape in which they were erected, and within which they would have been interacted with and understood. Such an examination will show that the area was one of continuing strategic importance and cultural significance, and will further indicate that the Anglo-Scandinavian sculpture in the area was part of a long tradition of the employment of stone as a sculptural and building material for political and cultural ends.

Otley lies on an underlying geology of carboniferous rocks, formed from sea, swamp and river deposits laid down between 250 and 330 million years ago. The modern town stands on boulder clay, adjacent to the sand and gravel of the flood plain.¹⁰ At the height of the last Ice Age, the furthest advance of the ice-sheet, which receded around 12,000 years ago, lay across the Yorkshire area, covering Otley and reaching down the Aire valley as far as present-day Headingley.¹¹ This glaciation gave rise to the presence of stone boulders in the area, one of which was adapted, most probably during the Anglo-Scandinavian period, as a cross-base with a rectangular pattern forming simple Latin crosses.¹² Substantial evidence exists for Neolithic activity in the Wharfe valley, during which period the Otley area was probably occupied.¹³ During the Mesolithic, to the east and west of the river crossing at Otley were post-glacial lakes, now marked by alluvial plains. The lake to the east of the modern town was around four

¹⁰ Wood, *A Guide to the Landscape of Otley: Seventh to Seventeenth Century*, p. 2.

¹¹ Faull and Moorhouse, *West Yorkshire: An Archaeological Survey to A.D. 1500*, p. 36.

¹² Coatsworth, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VIII: Western Yorkshire*, p. 227.

¹³ Faull and Moorhouse, *West Yorkshire: An Archaeological Survey to A.D. 1500*, I, p. 90.

miles long; on what was the northern terrace above this lake have been found over 5,000 flints from the period.¹⁴ This flint collection is one of the largest of its kind found in northern England, and may represent a series of winter settlements of Mesolithic communities, with the south-facing slopes giving some protection from the weather.¹⁵ Mesolithic flints have also been recorded at the western end of the Chevin, the prominent ridge immediately to the south of Otley, and there was some kind of Mesolithic occupation near Caley Deer Park to the southeast of the town.¹⁶ While it is now difficult for us to assess the social and cultural significance of these finds, they indicate that the later Anglo-Scandinavian sculpture can be seen as the latest manifestation of a very long tradition of human working of geological material in the region. The place of the Anglo-Scandinavian sculpture in a long tradition stretching back well before Anglo-Saxon work is further illustrated by the Knotties Stone, a cup-and-ring rock found at Otley. This is a carved and pecked gritstone boulder of a type which is usually dated to the Bronze Age. The function of these objects is obscure, but uses as boundary markers or in ritual contexts have been suggested.¹⁷ Further evidence for Bronze Age activity includes the bones and flints found just to the southeast of the church at Otley in 1943, perhaps indicating that the site which later saw the erection of the Anglo-Scandinavian sculpture was of significance in this earlier period. There are also extensive Bronze Age sites and surface finds to the west of Otley on Rombalds Moor.¹⁸ As Semple notes, pre-historic features in the landscape were seen as meaningful in the early medieval period, and such sites were frequently reused for purposes such as burial, the delineation of boundaries or as physical landmarks of important events, so it seems likely that the carvers of the Otley and Weston monuments and those viewing them would have been aware of this pre-historic context.¹⁹

Romano-British

An examination of the later landscape history of the area further supports this argument for the long-standing significance of stone in the area, and also reminds us that the Scandinavian conquest of the area was not an aberration from the progress of Anglo-Saxon history, but the latest in a series of conquests and colonisations, all of which led to the hybridisation of material culture.

¹⁴ E. T. Cowling, 'A Mesolithic Flintsite: The Sandbeds, Otley, Yorkshire', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, 43 (1973), 1-12 (pp. 1, 8).

¹⁵ Paul Mellars, 'The Affinities of the Sandbeds Mesolithic Site', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, 45 (1973), 13-18 (pp. 13, 16).

¹⁶ Faull and Moorhouse, *West Yorkshire: An Archaeological Survey to A.D. 1500*, p. 79.

¹⁷ Faull and Moorhouse, *West Yorkshire: An Archaeological Survey to A.D. 1500*, pp. 98-99, 102.

¹⁸ Faull and Moorhouse, *West Yorkshire: An Archaeological Survey to A.D. 1500*, p. 102.

¹⁹ Semple, *Perceptions of the Prehistoric in Anglo-Saxon England: Religion, Ritual, and Rulership in the Landscape*, pp. 224-25.

Pre-Roman remains in the present-day parish of Otley include ancient roadways, stone circles and sculptured rocks.²⁰ These include three Iron Age sites centred on the Holbeck stream, represented by the walls, banks and the possible remains of hut circles and hearths. These are in and close to the Danefield wood, which also contains earthworks and beehive querns from the period.²¹ Iron Age querns have also been found on Addingham High Moor near Ilkley, where a gritstone quarry seems to have operated in this period.²² The later Anglo-Scandinavian carvers were also to use this source of material.²³

Otley and the surrounding area were of some importance in the Roman period. In 1888, Roman coins of Hadrian and Decius were found in the churchyard at Otley, along with bones, charcoal and broken pottery, possibly indicating that the site was already being used for funerary purposes.²⁴ A Roman settlement or activity at Otley, while unproven, would not be surprising given the town's strategic position controlling a crossing of the Wharfe and the route along its valley. Furthermore, Otley lay between the Roman stations at Ilkley and Adel, with the Roman road between them passing over the Chevin to the south of the Yorkgate plantation.²⁵ At Burley-in-Wharfedale, two miles to the west of Otley and within its parish, there may also have been a Roman outpost.²⁶ The continuing significance of the Roman use of stone in the area is illustrated in nearby Ilkley, where the walls of the Roman fort were still standing well into the medieval period. The walls of the late medieval manor house there rest on the Roman wall below, while the church is sited over what was the *principia*.²⁷

The site of the modern town of Otley seems to have been significant in the immediate post-Roman period, and may have been the site of a British church. Such churches were often erected within oval or circular enclosures, which may have been the case at Otley, where the church has a partly circular boundary on its south-eastern side.²⁸ Furthermore, dedications to Saint Helen in the area suggest there may have been a British church with that dedication in Otley. Helen, as the mother of the emperor Constantine who allowed Christian worship in the

²⁰ Speight, *Upper Wharfedale*, p. 27.

²¹ Faull and Moorhouse, *West Yorkshire: An Archaeological Survey to A.D. 1500*, I, p. 121.

²² West Yorkshire Geology Trust, *Addingham Edge Millstone Quarry (Huddersfield: West Yorkshire Geology Trust)*
<<http://www.wyorksgeologytrust.org/lgssheets/bradford/Addingham%20Edge%20Millstone%20Quarry.pdf>>. [accessed 19 March 2016]

²³ Coatsworth, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VIII: Western Yorkshire*, pp. 224-26.

²⁴ Speight, *Upper Wharfedale*, p. 32.

²⁵ Speight, *Upper Wharfedale*, p. 27.

²⁶ Speight, *Upper Wharfedale*, pp. 27-28.

²⁷ Jean Le Patourel and Paul Wood, 'Excavation at the Archbishop of York's Manor House at Otley', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, 45 (1973), 115-41 (p. 119).

²⁸ G. R. J. Jones, 'Some Donations to Bishop Wilfrid in Northern England', *Northern History*, 31 (1995), 22-38 (p. 37, fn. 72).

Roman Empire, and was proclaimed emperor at York in 306, was a prominent figure in the Anglo-Saxon period, with a number of churches dedicated to her apparently in order to establish continuity with Roman Britain, especially on sites with Roman significance. A number of such sites may also have previously had pre-Anglo-Saxon churches with the same dedication.²⁹ Later records mention wells named after the saint nearby at Farnley and Bramhope, along with a similarly named field next to St Helen's Gill in eastern Denton.³⁰ Further afield but still within the later Otley estate, Ilkley was possibly an important early church in its own right. It has pre-Viking sculpture and the church was built within the walls of the Roman fort, and includes two Anglo-Saxon window heads cut from a Roman altar.³¹ The estate's large grouping of dependant *vills* suggests it may have been a Pre-Roman survival.³² This is supported by an early tenth-century reference to Otley and Chevin as distinct administrative units, which may be seen as evidence for earlier subdivisions.³³ Toponymical evidence also suggests that the area was important in this period. The place-name Chevin, first mentioned in the eleventh century, is derived from the primitive Welsh name *Is-cefn*, meaning 'below the ridge',³⁴ which was probably first attached to Otley's southern, religious centre around the present-day church. The pre-Roman past is also indicated by the place-name Dibendale, which is attached to a property on the western part of the Chevin.³⁵ Indeed, Western Yorkshire more generally has a much heavier concentration of pre-Roman place-names than the rest of the county.³⁶

Anglo-Saxon

Another cultural shift and wave of settlement took place with the arrival of Anglo-Saxon incomers from the east in the seventh century, which determined the site's place-name; Otley is an Old English name meaning 'Otta's clearing'. The Anglo-Saxon settlement was possibly near or on the site of the Archbishop's manor house, supported by arable lands to the east. The church site to the south could have been the early religious focus of the area, and a centre for missionary priests.³⁷ The Anglian sculpture found at this site may indicate 'a religious and administrative centre of a well-established nucleus by the late Anglo-Saxon period'.³⁸ To the north, evidence for Anglo-Saxon activity in the area is also to be found at the site of a later

²⁹ Antonina Harbus, *Helena of Britain in Medieval Legend* (Cambridge: Brewer, 2002), pp. 91-92.

³⁰ Jones, 'Some Donations to Bishop Wilfrid in Northern England' (pp. 35-36).

³¹ Hadley, *The Northern Danelaw: its Social Structure, c. 800-1100*, pp. 238-39.

³² Le Patourel and Wood, 'Excavation at the Archbishop of York's Manor House at Otley' (p. 120).

³³ Wood, *A Guide to the Landscape of Otley: Seventh to Seventeenth Century*, p. 2.

³⁴ Wood, *A Guide to the Landscape of Otley: Seventh to Seventeenth Century*, p. 5.

³⁵ Speight, *Upper Wharfedale*, p. 28.

³⁶ Faulk and Moorhouse, *West Yorkshire: An Archaeological Survey to A.D. 1500*, I, p. 184.

³⁷ Wood, *A Guide to the Landscape of Otley: Seventh to Seventeenth Century*, p. 4.

³⁸ Paul Wood, *A Guide to the Landscape of Anglo-Saxon and Medieval Otley* (Otley: Otley Museum, 1984), p. 1.

apsidal chapel (which may also be of Norman construction), where shards broadly dated from the seventh to ninth centuries suggest activity in the period.³⁹ It has even been suggested that this personal chapel of the Archbishops, on the basis of its unusually large nave, could represent a Norman remodelling of an Anglo-Saxon minster church.⁴⁰ While there was clearly an ecclesiastical centre of some kind at Otley in this period, its precise nature is unclear. While it may have been monastic, Ian Wood has warned against the assumption that the presence of pre-Viking stone sculpture in a Northumbrian context necessarily indicates the presence of a monastic foundation.⁴¹ The iconography of the Anglo-Saxon sculpture at Otley does not necessitate a monastic setting; the angel cross, featuring angels and evangelists, would also have been iconographically appropriate for a preaching centre.⁴²

Given the known possession of the Otley estate by the archbishops of York in the tenth century, it has been suggested that the settlement was one of those mentioned in Eddius Stephanus' *Vita Sancti Wilfrithi*, where the grant of land at *Ingaedyne* to the saint by King Ecgfrith in 678 is recorded. It has been suggested that this may refer to nearby Yeadon.⁴³ The identification of Yeadon with the donation to Wilfrid seems to be supported by the fact that this area, like all the places named as donations to the bishop in northern England, was on a strategic route and a Roman road, in this case commanding 'the very important route between the plain of York and the west coast'.⁴⁴ However, it is far from clear when the estate became a possession of the archbishops of York - Wood even suggests that this may not have happened until after the Viking settlement. *Ingaedyne's* identification as Yeadon is also far from certain, especially given that the other places mentioned in Stephanus's account of Wilfrid are to the west of the Pennines. Furthermore, this account may represent a list of estates donated to the monastery at Ripon, not the see of York.⁴⁵ Regardless of the precise nature of the ecclesiastical settlement at Otley and the date at which it came into the possession of the archbishops of York, it is clear that this was a significant centre in which stone sculpture was prominent. Thomas Pickles' reading of the Anglian monuments of Otley suggests that they were intended

³⁹ Le Patourel and Wood, 'Excavation at the Archbishop of York's Manor House at Otley' (pp. 132-34).

⁴⁰ Wood, *A Guide to the Landscape of Otley: Seventh to Seventeenth Century*, pp. 13-14.

⁴¹ Ian Wood, 'Anglo-Saxon Otley: An Archiepiscopal Estate and Its Crosses in a Northumbrian Context', *Northern History*, 23 (1987), 20-38 (p. 30).

⁴² Wood, 'Anglo-Saxon Otley: An Archiepiscopal Estate and Its Crosses in a Northumbrian Context' (p. 34).

⁴³ Faull and Moorhouse, *West Yorkshire: An Archaeological Survey to A.D. 1500*, I, p. 183.

⁴⁴ Jones, 'Some Donations to Bishop Wilfrid in Northern England' (pp. 37-38).

⁴⁵ Wood, 'Anglo-Saxon Otley: An Archiepiscopal Estate and Its Crosses in a Northumbrian Context' (p. 24).

to promote the Roman and Christian authority of the church and its mission.⁴⁶ Given that Otley may have been the site of an important British church, such sculpture would also have served to emphasise that this was now an Anglo-Saxon place, controlled by the Anglo-Saxon church with its close links to Rome. Such an interpretation, viewing the stone sculpture as indicative of possession, recalls the possible function of the nearby cup-and-ball stone as a boundary marker, and foreshadows the probable function of the Anglo-Scandinavian warrior carvings.

Ninth and Tenth Centuries

In the ninth and tenth centuries Otley and the surrounding area saw another wave of conquest, colonisation and cultural change, again illustrated and expressed by the erection of stone sculpture. The first written record of the impact of Scandinavian conquest on the area is the account of the flight of Archbishop Wulfhere to Addingham in 867, a settlement further up the Wharfe valley which may have formed part of the archiepiscopal estate. Around 972, a memorandum of Archbishop Oswald of York complained of the *tunas* lost to the *Ottanlege* estate, presumably seized by Scandinavian settlers.⁴⁷ Weston's location between units of the Otley estate strongly suggests it was part of the grouping before the eleventh century, a link supported by the sculptural evidence.⁴⁸ It is highly likely that Otley was in secular hands for much of the tenth century, as evidenced by the production of monuments with warrior iconography. This is not certain, especially given the depiction of a horseman and shield carved at Chester-le-Street, where the community of St Cuthbert is known to have resided from c. 883 – c. 995,⁴⁹ but seems highly probable given the loss of parts of the Otley estate from archiepiscopal control. Otley next appears in the written record in a description of the estates of Archbishop Ælfric, written around 1030 and covering Sherburn and Ripon as well as Otley. This shows that all the lost Otley *vills* had been recovered by the church by this date with the exception of Addingham and Guiseley.⁵⁰ Much of the estate was now described as sokeland – land held with a measure of freedom – which may have been the result of Scandinavian colonisation of the estate.⁵¹

Later in the eleventh century, Domesday recorded the presence of a church at Otley, which may perhaps suggest that the Scandinavian settlers allowed an ecclesiastical community to remain, although the church may have been re-established after the final West Saxon

⁴⁶ Thomas Pickles, 'Angel Veneration on Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture from Dewsbury (West Yorkshire), Otley (West Yorkshire) and Halton (Lancashire): Contemplative Preachers and Pastoral Care', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 162 (2009), 1-28 (pp. 21-22).

⁴⁷ Wood, *A Guide to the Landscape of Anglo-Saxon and Medieval Otley*, p. 1.

⁴⁸ Jones, 'Some Donations to Bishop Wilfrid in Northern England' (pp. 32-33).

⁴⁹ Hadley, *The Northern Danelaw: its Social Structure, c. 800-1100*, p. 238.

⁵⁰ Faull and Moorhouse, *West Yorkshire: An Archaeological Survey to A.D. 1500*, I, p. 189.

⁵¹ Wood, *A Guide to the Landscape of Otley: Seventh to Seventeenth Century*, p. 7.

conquest of the Danelaw in 954.⁵² The description of most of the manor of Otley as waste at this time, reduced in value from ten to three pounds, probably points to the impact of another wave of conquest and colonisation which followed the Norman victory in 1066.⁵³

Material and Form

Before discussing the iconography and ornament of the Anglo-Scandinavian sculpture at Otley and Weston, attention must be given to the material used and the forms employed for the monuments. As one would expect, the material employed by these sculptors was sourced primarily from the local landscape. We have already observed the probable Anglo-Scandinavian adaptation of a glacial boulder for use as a cross-base in Otley 14. Many of the other Anglo-Scandinavian carvings employed a variety of Millstone Grit probably sourced from nearby Guiseley. These include the Otley 3, 4 and 5 cross-shaft fragments and the Otley 13 grave-cover. The stone employed for these monuments thus has the same provenance as that used by the earlier Anglian sculptor of Otley 2. A similarly local stone, probably of the Addingham Edge Grit group, was used for the Otley 8 cross-arm fragment, the Otley 10 cross-head fragment and possibly also the Otley 11 cross-arm fragment. Otley 12, an incomplete grave-slab, seems to be unique among the Anglo-Scandinavian works in employing the fine-grained sandstone found nearby on the Chevin, a provenance shared by the stone of the late eighth-century Otley 1.⁵⁴

A more precise identification of the sources of the stone is frustrated by the fact that the identification of the specific sources of sandstones and gritstones in western Yorkshire is very difficult, particularly if the stones have been moved some way from their source, as the material was deposited in deltaic conditions and is thus made up of many lenticular strata.⁵⁵ Nevertheless, it is clear that the Anglo-Scandinavian sculptors were employing the same local material as the previous Anglian carvers. In part, this must simply be a reflection of the availability and quality of the material. However, in using the same local stone as their Anglian predecessors, the carvers of the Anglo-Scandinavian monuments may have been making a statement about their new-found control over the landscape and its resources, perhaps presenting themselves as the rightful continuators of Anglo-Saxon rule and sculptural practice. Such an intent is supported by the fact that the Anglo-Scandinavian carvers chose to recarve an Anglian monument at the site. Even if this was not intentional, the visual similarities of the material would have given an impression of continuity in the minds of observers. Anglo-

⁵² Faull and Moorhouse, *West Yorkshire: An Archaeological Survey to A.D. 1500*, I, p. 216.

⁵³ Wood, *A Guide to the Landscape of Anglo-Saxon and Medieval Otley*, p. 3.

⁵⁴ Coatsworth, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VIII: Western Yorkshire*, pp. 221-23, 226-27.

⁵⁵ Faull and Moorhouse, *West Yorkshire: An Archaeological Survey to A.D. 1500*, I, p. 39.

Scandinavian recarving of Anglian pieces may have had similar symbolic intent. The Otley 6 grave-marker, which may be an Anglian monument, was recarved with the image of what appears to be a Scandinavian warrior.⁵⁶ At Weston the Scandinavian carver clearly reused an Anglian cross, preserving the knotwork from the original lower arm, but recutting the upper part of the shaft for a figural scene.⁵⁷ In these cases, the sculptors may have been asserting the power of the new elite through its ability to refashion an Anglian monument with an image of its own martial prowess. Given that the monument being reused was a specifically ecclesiastical one, this may also have been a statement of Anglo-Scandinavian power over the church.

Otley 3, 4 and 5 are fragments of cross-shafts, which, like the vast majority of Anglo-Scandinavian shafts, are rectangular in section.⁵⁸ Otley 3 and 4 are part of a small group of Anglo-Scandinavian shafts which are of a slab-like form, along with other examples from the northern part of the West Riding, most of which are found in the Wharfe valley at sites such as Addingham, Bramham, Collingham, Gargrave and Harewood.⁵⁹ These may thus be seen as a local Anglo-Scandinavian adaptation and variant of the Anglian tradition of the free-standing cross-shaft.

The Otley and Weston group of Anglo-Scandinavian monuments is highly unusual in that it includes a number of grave-slabs or markers. The only other certain West Riding examples of this form from the pre-Conquest period are two from the southern part of the riding at Mirfield and Mexborough. The Wharfedale examples include Otley 12, with Ringerike style ornament placing it in the eleventh century and Otley 13, which displays spiral-scroll ornament, again indicating an eleventh-century date. As has already been mentioned, Otley 6 and the Weston monument appear to be grave-markers cut down from earlier Anglian sculptures. The form of these monuments thus again points to a highly localised tradition. They may also be indicative of links with the Anglo-Scandinavian centre at York, where a number of headstones were also cut down from earlier monuments.⁶⁰

The Otley 17 cross-base is the only certain example of a cross-base from the northern half of the West Riding, which may reflect the chance discovery of a glacial boulder suitable for the purpose. Other examples are to be found in the Dewsbury area and are thought to be pre-Viking monuments of the ninth-century. Given the probably serendipitous nature of the

⁵⁶ Coatsworth, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VIII: Western Yorkshire*, p. 223.

⁵⁷ Bailey, 'The Hammer and the Cross' (p. 92).

⁵⁸ Coatsworth, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VIII: Western Yorkshire*, pp. 221-23, 41.

⁵⁹ Coatsworth, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VIII: Western Yorkshire*, p. 41.

⁶⁰ Coatsworth, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VIII: Western Yorkshire*, pp. 35-36.

discovery of the boulder, the use of the form at Otley may have little wider significance, although it does illustrate that the Anglo-Scandinavian sculptors in the area may not have been constrained by the local examples of Anglian forms, and were willing to introduce new ones to the area when the opportunity arose.⁶¹

The final Anglo-Scandinavian form to be considered from Otley is the cross-head. Otley 8 is too fragmentary for its form to be analysed in detail, but is clearly part of a cross-head with an armpit and edge moulding. Otley 10 is similarly fragmentary, but had narrow curved armpits. There is no evidence for Collingwood's argument that this was of a ring-head form. Otley 11 is also incomplete, representing only the end of one arm of a cross-head terminating in a curve or wedge.⁶² Few firm conclusions can be drawn from these pieces given their fragmentary nature. However, they do not seem to differ greatly from pre-Viking examples, which also had curved armpit terminals. Otley 11's curve or wedge terminal places it alongside the majority of the later cross-heads. Certainly, going on this most unsatisfactory body of evidence, there is nothing to suggest Scandinavian or Irish influence in these fragments.⁶³



Figure 47: Otley 6A. Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographers K. Jukes and D. Craig.

⁶¹ Coatsworth, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VIII: Western Yorkshire*, p. 43.

⁶² Coatsworth, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VIII: Western Yorkshire*, pp. 224-26.

⁶³ Coatsworth, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VIII: Western Yorkshire*, p. 42.

Figural Carving

Otley 6

The famous 'Otley warrior' is carved on the Otley 6 fragment (see fig. 46), which appears to have been part of an older cross-head, later cut down and recarved. On face A is a frontal figure in a short tunic, with a round head and curving shoulders. The remains of the figure's nose and eyes can just be discerned. It holds a large sword with a rounded pommel in its right hand, which points downwards towards what was the outer corner of the cross-arm. As the figure is holding the sword across the blade it must be supposed that the sword is sheathed. The area around the figure's left hand is badly worn, but what seems to be a curved feature across its skirt could represent the remains of another weapon held by this hand. The figure seems to be flanked on both sides by the shafts of other weapons, with what may be a spear on its right, although the fact that this appears to continue into another raised area above renders this identification uncertain. Cramp's suggestion that these features are part of an arch with floral spandrels, not spears, seems unlikely as the feature on the figure's right appears to have a triangular spearhead.⁶⁴ The similar vertical linear feature to the figure's left could be another weapon, or as Coatsworth suggests, part of a chair on which the figure may be sitting, although the figure's upright pose would seem to argue against this. The carving above the figure is very difficult to identify as only a worn part of what was probably a larger whole remains. Coatsworth suggests that this carving may have been of a dragon or bird.⁶⁵ Collingwood similarly argued that the remains represent a dragon's foot and tail,⁶⁶ while Cramp also identifies it as an animal of some kind.⁶⁷ Certainly the weapon or chair back on the figure's left could be seen as being gripped by three toes or claws at the top of the panel. Given the association of birds and warriors in Anglo-Scandinavian carving generally, including the figure at nearby Leeds, the presence of a bird above the Otley warrior would be unsurprising.

The weaponry accompanying the figure has led previous scholars to agree in identifying the figure as a male warrior. Thus Cramp wrote that the figure's sword identifies him as a warrior in the same way a scroll or book would identify a saint.⁶⁸ Collingwood similarly referred to the

⁶⁴ Cramp, 'The Viking Image' (p. 13).

⁶⁵ Coatsworth, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VIII: Western Yorkshire*, p. 223.

⁶⁶ Collingwood, 'Anglian and Anglo-Danish Sculpture in the West Riding, with Addenda to the North and East Ridings and York, and a General Review of the Early Christian Monuments of Yorkshire' (p. 229).

⁶⁷ Cramp, 'The Viking Image' (p. 13).

⁶⁸ Cramp, 'The Viking Image' (p. 13).

fragment as the Otley ‘warrior stone’,⁶⁹ while Bailey describes both this and the Weston figure as a ‘manifestation of martial display’.⁷⁰ While the identification of this figure as a warrior, presumably a member of the local elite, is convincing, especially given the other warrior carvings found on tenth-century sculpture from elsewhere in Yorkshire, it is also possible that the figure was intended to represent or at least refer to a legendary warrior. The position of the warrior below the animal, which may be being impaled by the spear on his left, recalls the description of the killing of the dragon Fáfnir by Sigurd in *Fáfnismál*. In this account the hero stabs the dragon with a sword from below while hiding in a pit. This echoes the placement of the Otley warrior below the possible dragon and his possession of a sword.⁷¹ A nearby parallel for a depiction of an episode from Norse mythology can be found in the Weland carving at Leeds. However, an interpretation of the Otley carving as a scene from the Sigurd narrative is not unproblematic, as on the fragment the dragon, if stabbed at all, is done so by a spear, not a sword, which is not being held by the figure below. Nevertheless, it is possible that by placing the warrior underneath a dragon or animal of some sort the sculptor was at least alluding to the Sigurd story, perhaps thereby comparing a commemorative image of a real Anglo-Scandinavian lord to a heroic mythological figure.

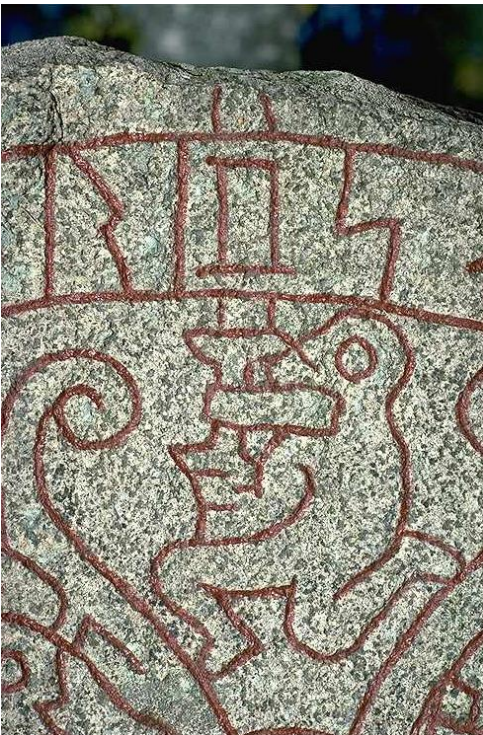


Figure 48: Drävle U1163 rune-stone. Copyright Swedish National Heritage Board, photographer B. Lundberg.

⁶⁹ Collingwood, 'Anglian and Anglo-Danish Sculpture in the West Riding, with Addenda to the North and East Ridings and York, and a General Review of the Early Christian Monuments of Yorkshire' (p. 229).

⁷⁰ Bailey, *England's Earliest Sculptors*, p. 84.

⁷¹ *The Poetic Edda*, ed. and trans. by Carolyne Larrington (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), p. 157.

Whatever the precise identity of this figure, he is certainly part of the general Anglo-Scandinavian sculptural trend to depict warriors and martial subjects. In both this subject matter, and the execution of the carving, the Otley warrior stands apart from local Anglian precedents. Thus Collingwood pointed out the dissimilarity of the figure's angular garments to Anglian flowing drapery, linking it instead to other Scandinavian carvings in Westmorland and Teesdale.⁷² Indeed, the Otley warrior is carved in the same style found at Gosforth, with a frontal, rounded head, pointed chin, square and wide shoulders and a sword and short tunic.⁷³ Cramp has similarly argued that this figure, along with those at Weston, are 'derived in conception from an Anglian original, but are formally treated in a Scandinavian way.' She draws a link between the warriors and the earlier Anglo-Saxon sculpture at Otley which also has frontal and half-turned busts under arches, perhaps with large-scale animals above.⁷⁴ While this is a possible basis for the Otley warrior figure, it should be noted that such depictions were not unknown in the Scandinavian tradition of stone sculpture. The admittedly later Drävle rune-stone from early eleventh-century Sweden, for example, depicts Sigurd, stabbing the dragon above him under an arch formed by a band of runes (see fig. 47).⁷⁵ In contrast, the Anglian figural carving from Otley was 'carved in remarkable detail in a style derived apparently from Late Antiquity'.⁷⁶ Thus it is possible that Scandinavian as well as local images suggested the treatment of the Otley warrior. In any case, as Cramp states, the warrior was part of the mid tenth-century production of 'smaller-scale dramatic carvings' by 'Norse Vikings', along with sculpture at Halton, Gosforth and Ilkley.⁷⁷

⁷² Speight, *Upper Wharfedale*, p. 35.

⁷³ Cramp, 'The Viking Image' (p. 13).

⁷⁴ Cramp, 'The Viking Image' (p. 13).

⁷⁵ Kopár, *Gods and Settlers: The Iconography of Norse Mythology in Anglo-Scandinavian Sculpture*, p. 27.

⁷⁶ Wood, 'Anglo-Saxon Otley: An Archbishopal Estate and Its Crosses in a Northumbrian Context' (p. 31).

⁷⁷ Cramp, 'The Viking Image' (p. 17).



Figure 49: Otley 8A. Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographers K. Jukes and D. Craig.

Otley 8

The second Anglo-Scandinavian figural fragment from Otley, now known as Otley 8, is the worn remains of a cross-head, which features on one face the remaining lower half of a frontal figure (see fig. 48). Like the Otley warrior, this figure also has feet turned to one side, although in this case to the figure's left instead of its right, and a skirt-like garment which ends at around knee height. This garment has incised vertical stripes, unlike that of the Otley warrior's, which seems to be plain, although the fragment's wear means that this may not be its original state. Below the Otley 8 figure are two confronting animal heads at the terminals of an interlace pattern of some kind. Coatsworth notes the similarity between this figure and those on Otley 6 and at Weston, but argues that its position, possibly on the roundel of a cross-head, means that it may have had Christian significance, even though in this context its short dress would be unusual. Coatsworth's identification of this fragment as the remains of a cross-head is not entirely convincing however. She points to the figure's position in a roundel to support this interpretation. However, this is called into doubt by the fact that the roundel, only a part of which remains, is far from circular. She also points to the supposed edge moulding for an armpit on the lower left, which, however, does not seem to be echoed on the opposite face of the fragment.⁷⁸ In any case, the fragmentary nature of the figure makes it very hard to identify. While Coatsworth's suggestion that the figure may have some Christian significance should not

⁷⁸ Coatsworth, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VIII: Western Yorkshire*, p. 224.

be entirely dismissed, the context of the Otley 6 and Weston warrior figures, along with the figure's dress, indicates that this was most likely another image of an Anglo-Scandinavian warrior, perhaps with a further reference to the warrior-hero Sigurd.



Figure 50: Weston 1A. Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographers K. Jukes and D. Craig.

Weston

The Weston monument, like Otley 6, seems to be a recarved cross-arm. On face A is a large figure with rounded head, eyes and shoulders, reminiscent of the Otley warrior (see fig. 49). The Weston figure is also wearing a skirt which ends around or just above knee height, and has feet facing to its left, as on Otley 8. Here the skirt has incised diagonal stripes, and to its left the figure holds a large sword with a handguard and rounded pommel, reminiscent of that on Otley 6. As Coatsworth notes, the sword's rounded pommel links it to contemporary weaponry and suggests this may be a commemorative image of a local Anglo-Scandinavian ruler. The

symbolic use of weapons as images of status and power on Anglo-Scandinavian monuments has already been observed and seems to be a recurrent theme in the sculpture of this period. Unusually, however, the Weston warrior is accompanied on its right by a smaller, presumably female figure, with a longer skirt and the same rounded head and left-facing feet as the male. While the sword indicates that the central figure is male and most likely a warrior, the identity of the apparently female figure is far from certain. If the curved object at the waist of the smaller figure is a drinking horn, she may be identified as a valkyrie. Scandinavian images of females with cups are often interpreted as valkyries welcoming dead warriors to Valhøll.⁷⁹ A scene on the Alskog Tjånvide I picture-stone, for example, has been interpreted as a valkyrie greeting Odin, raising the possibility that the male figure on face A of the Weston monument represents Odin himself, although it includes none of Odin's usual attributes such as the two birds. The valkyrie motif is indeed a common one on the Gotland picture-stones, and valkyries have also been identified on the Anglo-Scandinavian carvings at Gosforth and Sockburn. Valkyries, while certainly associated with Scandinavian culture, were not however exclusively Scandinavian figures. They were drawn from a shared early Germanic tradition, and were well-known in Anglo-Saxon England before the Viking period, with the Old English word *wælcyrge* attested in word lists from the eighth century.⁸⁰ It should also be noted that the smaller figure on the Weston fragment is not necessarily female. While its reduced size does suggest it is in a different category from the male figure, this may mean that the figure is ecclesiastical rather than female. If this is the case the image as a whole may be read as one emphasising the Anglo-Scandinavian elite's control of or supremacy over the church, a particularly potent image at Otley given the probable dispute over landholdings there between the church and the new Anglo-Scandinavian elite.

There are however a number of other possible readings of this face. Coatsworth argues that this monument may also commemorate the female figure, pointing to the Anglo-Saxon Hackness cross, on which an inscription commemorating the Abbess Oedilburga is carved, and to Scandinavian and Manx evidence for inscriptions on memorials to women. Alternatively, Coatsworth suggests that the woman may have been the commissioner of the monument, again pointing to Scandinavian examples, with the motive for the commission perhaps relating to the establishment of inheritance rights. A similar parallel can be found in an Insular context at Neston in Cheshire, where a cross-shaft fragment features a female figure seemingly holding a male, perhaps suggesting that this was a memorial to a couple or that the woman was the

⁷⁹ Kopár, *Gods and Settlers: The Iconography of Norse Mythology in Anglo-Scandinavian Sculpture*, p. 98.

⁸⁰ Kopár, *Gods and Settlers: The Iconography of Norse Mythology in Anglo-Scandinavian Sculpture*, pp. 128-30.

work's commissioner.⁸¹ Given that the erection of a commemorative stone monument makes an obvious statement about ownership of the landscape, and the fact that the Weston carver represented the couple as physically linked, with the woman at the man's right hand, an interpretation of the monument as establishing the inheritance of a local landholding is perhaps most convincing. Bailey's description of the image as depicting 'female protection' seems to have little basis in evidence.⁸² In fact, by placing the female figure opposite the male's sword, the carving perhaps emphasises the importance of the female's role in the man's life, given equal weight as his martial prowess. The image of Cnut in the *Liber Vitae* suggests that swords did not always have an exclusively martial significance, as the king holds a sword in his left hand (as does the Weston figure) in a clearly ecclesiastical setting, with his right hand supporting an altar cross, although it is possible that this juxtaposition was itself a critique of Cnut's perceived cruelty.⁸³



Figure 51: Weston 1C. Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographers K. Jukes and D. Craig.

⁸¹ Coatsworth, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VIII: Western Yorkshire*, p. 269.

⁸² Bailey, *England's Earliest Sculptors*, pp. 93-94.

⁸³ Thompson, *Dying and Death in Later Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 150.

Face C, on the other side of the Weston fragment, features another armed figure, with the same rounded head, left-facing feet, and skirt-like garment, which in this case is without ornament (see fig. 50). The figure again holds a long sword with rounded pommel at his left, and grips a large axe with his other hand.⁸⁴ Again, the figure's dress and weaponry suggest that this was a warrior and perhaps a commemorative carving. Thus Richards describes the figure as a 'Viking lord',⁸⁵ while Hall suggests that figures such as this one may represent the 'new Viking landlords who were enjoying the material rewards of their conquest and proclaiming the fact on their tombstones'.⁸⁶ Bailey terms the Weston monument a 'gravemarker', probably representing a story of heroism or admirable behaviour 'thought to be appropriate to the man being commemorated by this carving'.⁸⁷ While it does seem clear that this figure represents a heroic warrior, his precise identification, and relationship to the couple on the opposite face, remain obscure. It is possible that the two armed figures on the fragment represent the same person, perhaps the object of the stone's commemoration. Thus Kopár suggests that warrior images including the Weston example were used to commemorate ancestors or outstanding warriors. However, her observation that such images were used to promote 'heroic lineage and values' points to the possibility that the two figures are members of the same family or kinship group, perhaps with one as the heir to the other.⁸⁸ Finally, if face A does depict Odin and a valkyrie, the figure on face C may conceivably be another mythological figure.

Ornamental Carving

Hybrid Fragments

The ornamental carving found at Otley and Weston should be interpreted in the light of what has been said about the figural sculpture. Thus, while much of the ornament does seem to be based on Anglian precedents, an interpretation which sees this as a falling-off from a more sophisticated and higher-quality Anglian sculptural tradition tends to ignore its context. This context, of a probable dispute between the new Anglo-Scandinavian elite and the archbishops of York over control of the area suggests that the Anglo-Scandinavian use of Anglian ornament was not just a bungling imitation of earlier examples, but an assertion of the legitimacy of Anglo-Scandinavian lordship, perhaps portraying the new rulers as the heirs to the previous Anglo-Saxon elite. However, the fact that the character of this lordship had changed is also

⁸⁴ Coatsworth, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VIII: Western Yorkshire*, pp. 268-69.

⁸⁵ Richards, *English Heritage Book of Viking Age England*, pp. 119-20.

⁸⁶ Hall, *Viking Age Archaeology in Britain and Ireland*, p. 39.

⁸⁷ Bailey, *England's Earliest Sculptors*, pp. 93-94.

⁸⁸ Kopár, *Gods and Settlers: The Iconography of Norse Mythology in Anglo-Scandinavian Sculpture*, pp. 200-201.

reflected in the ornamental sculpture, which introduced motifs from Hiberno-Norse contexts. These conflicts and tensions produced a body of hybrid ornament, in which the different but related traditions of the Scandinavians and Anglo-Saxons were brought together in an uneasy combination.



Figure 52: Otley 4A. Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographers K. Jukes and D. Craig.



Figure 53: Otley 4B. Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographers K. Jukes and D. Craig.

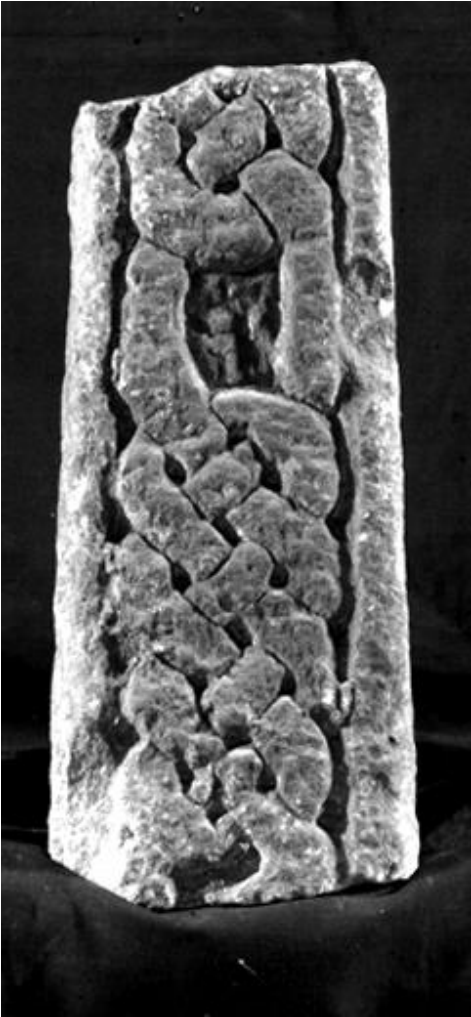


Figure 54: Otley 4D. Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographers K. Jukes and D. Craig.



Figure 55: Otley 4C. Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographers K. Jukes and D. Craig.

Otley 4, another cross-shaft fragment, is a good example of this hybridity. Face A (see fig. 51) has what remains of two panels, the upper with an irregular interlace or twist, and the lower with a bar terminal at the top above a Carrick Bend. Face B (see fig. 52) features a simple plant-scroll with leaves in its spandrels and face C features a twist pattern laced through loose rings, while face D has two linked runs of interlace. The use of a panelled arrangement and plant-scroll are obviously derived from Anglian examples, such as Otley 1.⁸⁹ The run of pattern F interlace on face D (see fig. 53), with its interlocking figures of eight, also draws on Anglian precedents; earlier examples of such patterns come from securely Anglo-Saxon sites such as Shaftesbury Abbey in Dorset.⁹⁰ However, other ornamental elements seem to be departures from the Anglian tradition. Thus the loose twist with rings on face C (see fig. 54) has some similarities with tenth or eleventh-century fragments from Thorp Arch and Wighill and the Giant's Grave crosses from Penrith. The Penrith examples may have links further north to the tenth-century Whithorn School.⁹¹ The interlace on the two panels of face A, although incomplete, seems to reflect the trend in Anglo-Scandinavian period sculpture for more angular ornament and the use of closed-circuit elements.⁹²



Figure 56: Otley 3A. Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographers K. Jukes and D. Craig.

⁸⁹ Coatsworth, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VIII: Western Yorkshire*, pp. 221-22.

⁹⁰ Rosemary Cramp, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture: Volume VII: South-West England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 2006), p. 41.

⁹¹ Coatsworth, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VIII: Western Yorkshire*, pp. 221-22.

⁹² Coatsworth, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VIII: Western Yorkshire*, p. 48.



Figure 57: Otley 3B. Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographers K. Jukes and D. Craig.



Figure 58: Otley 3C. Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographers K. Jukes and D. Craig.



Figure 59: Otley 3D. Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographers K. Jukes and D. Craig.

A further example of the ornamental hybridity found in the Otley carvings is Otley 3 (see figs. 55-58). Some scholars have seen this cross-shaft fragment as exhibiting a distinctive combination of a Scandinavian-derived Jellinge style and debased Anglian ornament. Kendrick described the fragment as an ‘example of the maximum Jellinge influence on an English monument in Yorkshire’.⁹³ This was based on the identification of the beast chain on faces A and C as Jellinge style ornament.⁹⁴ Collingwood similarly referred to the beast of face C as a ‘Viking age dragon’.⁹⁵ However, as Coatsworth has observed, the double-outlining or spiral joints which would firmly identify these panels as Jellinge style are absent, suggesting that they may rely on early Hiberno-Saxon or English precedents. While this does seem likely, in the

⁹³ Kendrick, *Late Saxon and Viking Art*, pp. 91-92.

⁹⁴ On panel 3A, there is a canine head in the upper left, facing upwards with its muzzle pointing to the corner. Its legs are folded at the bottom left of the panel. On panel 3C, a beast can be seen in the same position, but with a more visible foreleg which runs vertically along the upper right hand edge of the panel.

⁹⁵ Collingwood, ‘Anglian and Anglo-Danish Sculpture in the West Riding, with Addenda to the North and East Ridings and York, and a General Review of the Early Christian Monuments of Yorkshire’ (p. 229).

context of the tenth century the Otley beast-chain may have appealed to the taste of the new Scandinavian elite rather than earlier Anglian usage. The difference between these stylised beasts and the more naturalistic representations on the Anglo-Saxon Otley 1 suggest that Otley 3's animals may have been intended to emphasise a break from, not continuity with, the Anglian past. The similarity between the Otley 3 beasts and other examples from York suggests that such ornament would no longer have been perceived as referring to Anglo-Saxon precedents but to sculpture produced at the very centre of Anglo-Scandinavian power in the north of England. Again, however, the fragment does feature ornament which probably had firmer Anglian connotations, such as the half-pattern on face B and the more regular four-strand plait on face D.⁹⁶



Figure 60: The St. Paul's slab, London. Copyright and photographer Dr Jane Hawkes.

The Ringerike Style at Otley

Other fragments from Otley have been identified as examples of the Ringerike style of Scandinavian art, which dates from the eleventh century and commonly features beasts, tendrils and plant motifs with foliate patterns.⁹⁷ These seem to be the only examples of the style from northern England. More southerly examples include a slab from St Paul's in London

⁹⁶ Coatsworth, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VIII: Western Yorkshire*, p. 221.

⁹⁷ William R. Short, *Icelanders in the Viking Age: The People of the Sagas* (Jefferson,; McFarland & Co., 2010), p. 176.

(see fig. 59) and a fragment from Great Canfield in Essex.⁹⁸ The Ringerike style seems to be a rather later phenomenon than the other Anglo-Scandinavian fragments at Otley, probably dating from the early eleventh century, and well after the final English conquest of the Danelaw.⁹⁹



Figure 61: Otley 12A. Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographers K. Jukes and D. Craig.

The most notable Otley example of this style is the incomplete grave-slab Otley 12 (see fig. 60), which has been described as a ‘very fine and typical piece of Ringerike ornament’.¹⁰⁰ Its only carved face features a border at the top with blunted chevrons, while the remainder features what Coatsworth terms a ‘debased’ Ringerike style with its characteristic curling tendrils, linked together and to the frame by incised lines. Coatsworth argues that these lines, unusual in Scandinavian Ringerike work, highlight the ‘provincial nature’ of this carving.¹⁰¹

Otley 11, part of a cross-arm, is also probably an eleventh-century production. Its broad face A features an interlace plait terminating at the outer edge of the fragment in unusual loose

⁹⁸ Kendrick, *Late Saxon and Viking Art*, p. 100.

⁹⁹ W. G. Collingwood, *Northumbrian Crosses of the Pre-Norman Age* (London: Faber & Gwyer, 1927), p. 18.

¹⁰⁰ Ole Klindt-Jensen and David M. Wilson, *Viking Art* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1966), p. 142.

¹⁰¹ Coatsworth, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VIII: Western Yorkshire*, pp. 226-27.

fronds. Opposite on broad face C is a flat strap interlace. Coatsworth suggests that the fronds on face A may be the termination of Ringerike-style plant ornament, which seems likely given the more certain presence of the style on Otley 12. The curling, tendril-like features on Otley 16 could also represent the Ringerike style, although the highly fragmentary nature of this piece makes this rather uncertain.¹⁰²

The significance and origin of the Ringerike style are matters of debate. At one level, this was a Scandinavian style, prominent in Scandinavian art from the time of its introduction after the erection of the Jellinge stones in the 980s, probably lasting into the third quarter of the eleventh century.¹⁰³ However, it is possible that the origins of the style lay in an Insular context. Kendrick argued that the Ringerike was derived from English illustration, describing it as 'Winchester acanthus decoration re-drawn in the ragged and irregular Scandinavian manner'.¹⁰⁴ However, while Wilson and Klindt-Jensen note the 'undoubted affinity' between the Ringerike and Winchester styles, they also point out the fact that the 'fleshy Ringerike scroll' is not necessarily dependant on southern English material, as both may have been derived from Continental sources.¹⁰⁵ They argue that the Ringerike scroll found on Otley 12, one of the three basic elements of the style along with the lion and snake, was most immediately derived from the acanthus elements of the Scandinavian Mammen style, but had its ultimate origins in Anglo-Saxon or Ottonian works.¹⁰⁶

The significance of the presence of the style at Otley in the eleventh century is also open to interpretation. Coatsworth argues against the continuing appeal of motifs with Scandinavian connotations, suggesting that the style in northern contexts was an example of 'fashionable taste and the influence of southern English art'.¹⁰⁷ This, however, seems to ignore the political and cultural contexts of the early eleventh century. This was a time of renewed Scandinavian dominance in England, which saw the successful invasions of Svein and the rule of the Danish king Cnut. Most of the examples of the style in England are found in Wessex and London, from where Cnut ruled and where he was buried. In this context it seems likely that the Ringerike style, rather than simply a fashionable taste, pointed very definitely to the renewed Scandinavian rule centred in the south-east of England. Indeed, Kendrick describes the style as 'obviously foreign'.¹⁰⁸ It is thus possible that its employment at Otley may reflect some

¹⁰² Coatsworth, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VIII: Western Yorkshire*, pp. 225-26, 228.

¹⁰³ Klindt-Jensen and Wilson, *Viking Art*, pp. 145-46.

¹⁰⁴ Kendrick, *Late Saxon and Viking Art*, p. 98.

¹⁰⁵ Klindt-Jensen and Wilson, *Viking Art*, p. 142.

¹⁰⁶ Klindt-Jensen and Wilson, *Viking Art*, pp. 137-38.

¹⁰⁷ Coatsworth, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VIII: Western Yorkshire*, p. 226.

¹⁰⁸ Kendrick, *Late Saxon and Viking Art*, p. 100.

continuing sense of Anglo-Scandinavian identity in the area. The possibility of such a continuing identity, or one based more on regional than ethnic factors, seems to be supported by the fact that Svein based himself in the old Danelaw after his invasion of 1013, as well as by the 1065 rebellion of the Northumbrian elite against Earl Tostig, which aimed to protect the region's customary privileges.¹⁰⁹ The possibility that such an identity persisted seems to be further supported by the 'continued vitality of Old Norse into the eleventh century', a language that was also spoken at the court of Cnut.¹¹⁰ Whatever the precise significance of the Ringerike style in the mind of the eleventh-century sculptor, its presence at Otley does demonstrate that it was not always the Anglo-Saxon sculptural tradition that was imitated and emulated in the Anglo-Scandinavian period. How the style came to be employed at Otley is another question, perhaps best answered by reference to the site's landscape history. Otley's longstanding links to York are the most obvious route by which the Ringerike style could have been transmitted, either in the repertoire of individual sculptors or in perishable media. It is through such a mechanism that the simple spiral-scroll decoration of the tenth-century Otley 13 grave-cover may have come to be employed, as these may be related to the ornament of the Newgate shaft from York. Again this ornament can be seen as indicative of 'Scandinavian taste'.¹¹¹ Similarly, we have already noted that the Otley 3 beasts may be based on examples from York.

¹⁰⁹ Innes, 'Danelaw Identities: Ethnicity, Regionalism and Political Allegiance' (pp. 68-69, 74).

¹¹⁰ Townend, 'Viking Age England as a Bilingual Society' (p. 95).

¹¹¹ Coatsworth, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VIII: Western Yorkshire*, pp. 212, 227.



Figure 62: Otley 1aA. Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographers K. Jukes and D. Craig.

Conclusion

The Anglo-Scandinavian sculpture at Otley and Weston is far more complex than its traditional portrayal as a group of fragmentary and somewhat barbarous imitations of the glories of Anglian carving as exemplified by Otley 1 (see fig. 61). The Anglo-Scandinavian carvings form part of a long local tradition of the employment of stone for political and social symbolism which stretches back to well before the Anglian period. Roman, Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Scandinavian rulers employed stone to symbolically assert their control over the landscape. In the Anglo-Scandinavian case, the recarving of Anglian cross-heads with mythological heroes or the images of local lords had obvious symbolic significance in a period in which parts of the Otley estate had probably been seized from archiepiscopal control by members of the new elite. A similar significance can be read into the Anglo-Scandinavian use of stone with the same provenance as that employed by the earlier Anglian sculptors. Another function of these works

may have been to assert specific inheritance claims and the ownership of local lands. The figures of a couple on the Weston monument may be seen in this light, possibly following the pattern of Scandinavian rune-stones in this regard. If this carving acted as a commemoration, such a function is a clear departure from the Anglian practice at Otley, where stone sculpture seems primarily to have been concerned with theological issues or the assertion of the identity and importance of the institutional church.¹¹² If the female figure is indeed a valkyrie, the departure from the Anglian tradition of stone sculpture would have been even more obvious to those viewing the monument in the Anglo-Scandinavian period.

A consideration of the form of the monuments also emphasises that these sculptors did not simply imitate Anglian examples. While the cross-shaft form is derived from such examples, this had been adapted by the Anglo-Scandinavian carvers who had created a new local tradition of shafts with a slab-like form. This development may have drawn on Scandinavian examples, where rune-stones and inscribed boulders are much more slab-like than the traditional Anglian cross. The presence of carved grave-markers and grave-slabs at Otley and Weston was also a departure from the Anglian mainstream, and may indicate that the sculptors were looking to Anglo-Scandinavian prototypes from York or rune-stone examples once again. The highly unusually cross-base Otley 14 may indicate that the Anglo-Scandinavian carvers were not bound by the possibilities of local Anglian forms, and were able to innovate when faced with the promising find of a glacial boulder. The employment of a boulder and the retention of much of its natural shape are reminiscent of Scandinavian practice, where monuments such as the Jelling stones also represent large inscribed and adapted boulders.¹¹³

The ornamental carving produced in Anglo-Scandinavian Otley presents a similarly complex picture. Here fragments such as Otley 3 and 4 must be seen as hybrids of Anglian and Scandinavian-derived ornament. Otley 3 is a particularly complex example of this, exhibiting a beast-chain which seems to have been derived from Insular precedents, but which in this context probably refer to similar examples from the Anglo-Scandinavian capital at York and were perhaps employed to make a distinction between these monuments and the earlier Anglian works at Otley, which employed more naturalistic animal ornament. Later, in the eleventh century, sculptors at Otley employed the Ringerike style, which may have been closely associated with the renewed Scandinavian rule of Cnut and may have appealed to regional or lingering Anglo-Scandinavian sentiment in the area, or even have represented a renewed assertion of Anglo-Scandinavian identity. In this case, the Scandinavian and not the

¹¹² Pickles, 'Angel Veneration on Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture from Dewsbury (West Yorkshire), Otley (West Yorkshire) and Halton (Lancashire): Contemplative Preachers and Pastoral Care' (pp. 21-22).

¹¹³ Kendrick, *Late Saxon and Viking Art*, pp. 88-89, pl. lviii.

Anglo-Saxon tradition stood as the prestige example to be emulated. Again, however, this was not a straightforward artistic statement as the Ringerike style itself may have originated in Insular art. Thus, taken as a whole, the Anglo-Scandinavian stone sculpture of Otley and Weston was a complex and conflicted hybrid, drawing on both Scandinavian and Anglian precedents for iconographies, forms and ornament. In the period of Anglo-Scandinavian rule it is best interpreted in the light of a conflict between Anglo-Scandinavian landholders and the Archbishopric of York over the control of the area. In this context, the sculpture at Otley and Weston may have been employed to make a statement regarding the new elite's ownership of the land and the distinctiveness of this rule from that of their Anglo-Saxon predecessors. Kopár's suggestion that Anglo-Scandinavian sculpture featuring mythological, heroic or secular iconography could have served as markers of significant events such as settlement and the taking of land may apply at Otley and Weston.¹¹⁴ These monuments were thus not merely debased imitations of previous Anglian works, but were making more complex statements about land, identity and power, tied into the local landscape and a history of conquest and conflict. This history and context, crucial to the understanding of the sculpture at Otley, produced a body of material which exhibited a hybridity very different from that present at the other sites so far considered, one based on conflict rather than easy assimilation, and which manifested itself in the destruction of the Anglian past. This destruction through recarving is reminiscent of that which occurred at Nunburnholme, although at Otley this involved wholesale obliteration of Anglian work rather than the seemingly deliberate and complex contrasting of iconographies which took place at Nunburnholme.

¹¹⁴ Kopár, *Gods and Settlers: The Iconography of Norse Mythology in Anglo-Scandinavian Sculpture*, p. 200.



Figure 63: Leeds 1A. Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographers K. Jukes and D. Craig.



Figure 64: Leeds 1C. Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographers K. Jukes and D. Craig.



Figure 65: Leeds 1B. Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographers K. Jukes and D. Craig.



Figure 66: Leeds 1D. Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographers K. Jukes and D. Craig.

Chapter 3, Part 2: The Leeds Cross

Introduction

Previous scholarship on the Leeds sculptures, like that on the material from Otley and Weston, has tended to emphasise its reliance on Anglian precedents while also viewing it as a falling away from more refined Anglo-Saxon works. Thus Kendrick referred to the Leeds cross (see figs. 62-65) as illustrating the ‘amazing potency of the original Northumbrian tradition.’¹¹⁵ Similarly, the *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture* entry for the monument states that it illustrates the ‘strength of the Anglian tradition’. Coatsworth argues that it should be seen as part of the local tradition of cross-design, ultimately going back to Otley 1.¹¹⁶ Lang takes a similar view while conceding that it is a ‘very complex’ monument, writing that there is ‘enough debased plant-scroll to demonstrate its Anglian ancestry.’¹¹⁷ Any deviation the cross does show from Anglian precedents has been characterised in negative terms. Thus, Kendrick wrote of the cross’s relatively stylised figures that they are ‘completely barbaric... no longer gently humane and easily recognisable declarations of the Christian faith, but stylised incomprehensibles into whose company pagan personages may without incongruity force their way’. Of the monument’s interlace he wrote that it is ‘heavier and clumsier and it includes the ugly horizontal twist’.¹¹⁸

The following examination of the Leeds sculptures and their context will reach rather different conclusions. A consideration of the geographical and landscape setting of the sculpture will show that the area had a long history as a borderland, and was probably one again during the tenth century. In this context, it will be argued that the sculpture exhibits a cultural and artistic hybridity going beyond a simplistic reliance on Anglian precedents. An analogy with the situation at Otley will also suggest that the Leeds sculpture was making very definite statements about cultural identity and the new elite’s control of the landscape. Moving away from the traditional focus on iconography to consider the sculpture’s material and form will further support this hybrid reading. The Anglian cross-shaft is here combined with the Irish ring-head, while the material employed looks both to Anglian precedent and the Anglo-Scandinavian carvers working at Otley.

The hybridity and complexity of the Leeds sculpture will be further underlined by an examination of its figural and ornamental carvings, which again drew on Anglian, Scandinavian and Irish sources. The figural carving in particular suggests that the sculpture may have drawn

¹¹⁵ Kendrick, *Late Saxon and Viking Art*, p. 57.

¹¹⁶ Coatsworth, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VIII: Western Yorkshire*, pp. 75, 201.

¹¹⁷ Lang, ‘Survival and Revival in Insular Art: Northumbrian Sculpture of the 8th to 10th Centuries’ (p. 266).

¹¹⁸ Kendrick, *Late Saxon and Viking Art*, pp. 57-58.

on Scandinavian practice in terms of its function, and will thus help to illustrate the broad overlap between the Scandinavian and Anglo-Saxon cultures in this period. The presence of a stone carving of the hero Weland at Leeds may be particularly significant; we have already noted that in *Thidreks saga*, the hero was sent to fetch King Nithad's victory stone, without which the king would have been defeated by an invading army.¹¹⁹ A monumental stone referring to Weland may thus have been associated with a military victory in the context of the Scandinavian settlement of West Yorkshire.

Landscape

Pre-history

An examination of the landscape setting and history of the Leeds carvings will address some of the issues we have identified in the earlier scholarship on the monument. While the early history of Leeds is much more obscure than that of Otley, the evidence we do have, along with possible parallels with the situation in the Wharfe valley, point to a much more complex picture than that of a semi-barbaric imitation of an essentially Anglian sculptural form. Leeds Minster, formerly Leeds parish church, is situated on a low rise which ends in a spur running out from the higher ground now occupied by the modern city. The ridge rises between the river Aire and Meanwood Beck, just above their confluence, where there may once have been a ford.¹²⁰ While archaeological investigations into the pre-history of the area have been hampered by modern urban development, major Bronze Age settlement in the Aire valley seems likely.¹²¹ Some metal Bronze Age finds and funerary remains are known from the Leeds area, which may have included a collared urn and axe-hammer reported to have been found in the central Briggate area of the city in 1745, but which have since been lost.¹²² The site of the modern city may have acted as part of an important pre-historic routeway, as a glacial moraine running southwest from Tadcaster towards Leeds would have provided a natural way to avoid traversing the wetter ground in the Vale of York. Leeds would also have afforded access to the Aire Gap over the Pennines, which may have been a major communication link since the pre-historic period.¹²³

Romano-British

Finds of Roman material near the site indicate that the area may previously have seen Roman colonial settlement or activity,¹²⁴ presumably associated with a possible Roman road across

¹¹⁹ McGuire and Clark, *The Leeds Crosses*, p. 34.

¹²⁰ Edwin K. Clark, *Leeds Parish Church* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1931), p. 3.

¹²¹ Faull and Moorhouse, *West Yorkshire: An Archaeological Survey to A.D. 1500*, I, p. 93.

¹²² Faull and Moorhouse, *West Yorkshire: An Archaeological Survey to A.D. 1500*, I, p. 107.

¹²³ Faull and Moorhouse, *West Yorkshire: An Archaeological Survey to A.D. 1500*, I, p. 39.

¹²⁴ Faull and Moorhouse, *West Yorkshire: An Archaeological Survey to A.D. 1500*, I, p. 163.

the ford, which may have linked York, via Tadcaster and Slack, to the north-west.¹²⁵ The post-Roman period is also obscure, but the toponym Leeds, a place which seems to have been within the British kingdom of Elmet, is derived from *Loidis*, probably a British name possibly meaning 'people of the river'.¹²⁶ The location of Leeds on the eastern border of Elmet has some archaeological basis. To the east of the city, Grim's ditch is formed of a bank to the west and ditch to the east, and probably once terminated on the river Aire. While it is difficult to date, it may have formed part of a seventh-century defensive system along with the nearby Rudgate dyke, which faces east across a Roman road running west from Tadcaster.¹²⁷

Anglo-Saxon

The area around Leeds seems to have been an important Anglo-Saxon place in the seventh century. Bede refers to events in the *regio* of *Loidis*, including the building there of a *villa* by the successors of King Edwin, although the presence of considerable sculptural remains from the seventh to ninth centuries at Ledsham, around ten miles from Leeds, suggest this may have been the location of the *villa*.¹²⁸ While there is no firm historical evidence regarding Leeds from this period, the sculptural record does offer some clues. A number of fragments from the site which have been dated to the Anglian period suggest that there was an Anglo-Saxon ecclesiastical centre of some sort at the minster. These include the cross-shaft fragment Leeds 3, which features Anglian plant-scroll and has been dated to the eighth or ninth centuries and the cross-arm fragment Leeds 7, which has been tentatively dated to the late eighth or early ninth centuries. Leeds 5, a worn fragment dated tentatively to the ninth century, features what appears to be part of a vine-scroll and a robed figure holding a book, while Leeds 4, another cross-shaft fragment from the ninth century, apparently includes a stylised bust of a saint holding a book along with an inhabited scroll. The presence of vine-scroll, inhabited scroll and possible saints with books prompts a comparison with the similar Anglian carvings at Otley, and may suggest that Leeds, like Otley, was an important Anglo-Saxon religious centre, perhaps of a similar type.¹²⁹ That this was an important Anglo-Saxon place also seems to be supported by the discovery in the early nineteenth century of a possible Anglo-Saxon burial at Meadow Lane, around half a kilometre to the south-west of the parish church, close to the river.¹³⁰

¹²⁵ G. R. J. Jones, 'To the Building of Kirkstall Abbey', in *Leeds and Its Region*, ed. by G. R. J. Jones and M. W. Beresford (Leeds: Leeds Local Executive Committee, British Association for the Advancement of Science, 1967), pp. 119-30 (p. 119).

¹²⁶ Coatsworth, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VIII: Western Yorkshire*, p. 10.

¹²⁷ Faull and Moorhouse, *West Yorkshire: An Archaeological Survey to A.D. 1500*, I, pp. 173-74.

¹²⁸ Hadley, *The Northern Danelaw: its Social Structure, c. 800-1100*, p. 257; Coatsworth, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VIII: Western Yorkshire*, pp. 192-98.

¹²⁹ Coatsworth, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VIII: Western Yorkshire*, pp. 203-206.

¹³⁰ Faull and Moorhouse, *West Yorkshire: An Archaeological Survey to A.D. 1500*, I, p. 180.

Ninth and Tenth Centuries

Royal power and the name *Loidis* may have become more firmly associated with Leeds itself in the Anglo-Scandinavian period, as a now lost fragment from the site was recorded as bearing the runic inscription 'CUNU ONLAF.' This may have read 'CYNUNG', a late form of 'king',¹³¹ although Coatsworth argues that 'CUNI' may be a better reading and may represent the word *becun*, meaning 'beacon, monument'.¹³² In any case, the quantity of Anglo-Scandinavian sculpture found at Leeds clearly suggests this was an important centre in the tenth century.¹³³ Again a parallel may be made with Otley, where a site that produced Anglian sculpture seems to have been taken over by the new Anglo-Scandinavian elite. It seems likely that a very similar process was occurring at Leeds. Richards' observation that in the Anglo-Scandinavian period high densities of stone sculpture tend to coincide with the breaking up of large estates, such as at Otley, perhaps suggests that a large Anglo-Saxon ecclesiastical estate was also being broken up at Leeds and divided among a number of immigrant, Anglo-Scandinavian families.¹³⁴ While Leeds in this period is again poorly documented, there is one slender hint in the written record it may have been located in some kind of borderland in the tenth century. Thus the eleventh-century life of Saint Cadroe relates that the saint was conducted by King Domnall of Strathclyde to *Loidam civitatem*, 'which is the border between the Norsemen and the Cumbrians.' If this reference is taken to indicate Leeds, the text suggests that the British kingdom of Strathclyde, which is known to have expanded south into Cumbria in the tenth century, may for a time have reached as far south as this part of West Yorkshire.¹³⁵ Even if this is not the case, the reference could suggest that Leeds was recognised more generally as a geographically and politically liminal area.

Toponymical and sculptural evidence seems to support the idea that Leeds was in a liminal zone in the tenth century. The geographical area ruled by the Anglo-Scandinavian rulers of York is unclear; the difference in the sculptural record between the West Riding and the rest of the county may suggest they had less influence in the Leeds area. Furthermore, western Yorkshire has less than a third of the proportion of Scandinavian place-names found in the rest of the modern county, which may suggest a relatively sparse Scandinavian population.¹³⁶ Immediately to the south of Leeds, between the Aire and the Calder, there are virtually no Scandinavian place-names, although it should be noted that an absence of Scandinavian place-

¹³¹ McGuire and Clark, *The Leeds Crosses*, pp. 30-31.

¹³² Coatsworth, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VIII: Western Yorkshire*, p. 207.

¹³³ McGuire and Clark, *The Leeds Crosses*, p. 38.

¹³⁴ Richards, *English Heritage Book of Viking Age England*, p. 120.

¹³⁵ Faull and Moorhouse, *West Yorkshire: An Archaeological Survey to A.D. 1500*, I, pp. 190-91; *Chronicles of the Picts, Chronicles of the Scots: And Other Early Memorials of Scottish History*, ed. by William Forbes Skene (Edinburgh: H.M. General Register House, 1867), p. 116.

¹³⁶ Coatsworth, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VIII: Western Yorkshire*, pp. 17-18.

names does not necessarily mean an absence of Scandinavian settlers.¹³⁷ However, there is also very little Scandinavian-influenced sculpture south of the city. Thus western Yorkshire may have been outside the main area of Scandinavian settlement in the region, with Leeds perhaps in a border area between the sparsely settled area to the south-west and the denser area around York to the north-east.¹³⁸

Given the hybridity exhibited by the Leeds sculpture, which will be discussed in detail below, it is appropriate that such carving may have been physically located in a borderland. Such a borderland has been described as 'a zone of cultural hybridity or mingling in which diverse populations and their related but not identical languages came into mutual play.'¹³⁹ The location of Leeds in such a borderland suggests that the Anglo-Scandinavian carvings there should be read as complex hybrid products and not merely as blundered imitations of an essentially Anglo-Saxon tradition. This area may have had a long history as such a borderland, located as it is on the boundary of the low-lying Vale of York and the Pennine hills to the west. We have seen that Leeds was probably on the boundary of the kingdom of Elmet in the earlier Anglo-Saxon period. Later, Anglo-Scandinavian sculpture was produced, presumably for Anglo-Scandinavian patrons, in a settlement with a British name, which stood next to a river, the Aire, with an English one.¹⁴⁰ The position of Leeds at the head of the Aire Gap, linking the heartland of the kingdom of York to the Hiberno-Norse settlements in the north-west, would have made it a natural location for cultural and artistic exchange.¹⁴¹ In this cultural hybridity, exemplified by the Leeds sculpture, the area seems to fit Jeffery Jerome Cohen's characterisation of the Welsh March around 1200 as a 'border society fully allied with neither of its parents, a linguistic and ethnic *métissage*.'¹⁴² This borderland landscape suggests that the Anglo-Scandinavian sculpture from Leeds, far from being merely a lesser reflection of Anglian glories, was actually deeply emblematic of the landscape itself which exhibited a similar hybridity.

Material and Form

A similarly complex picture is produced by an examination of the material and form of the Anglo-Scandinavian sculpture from Leeds. The material employed for the creation of the Leeds

¹³⁷ Coatsworth, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VIII: Western Yorkshire*, p. 18; Abrams and Parsons, 'Place-Names and the History of Scandinavian Settlement in England' (p. 411).

¹³⁸ Coatsworth, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VIII: Western Yorkshire*, pp. 75-76.

¹³⁹ Catherine E. Karkov and Nicholas Howe, 'Introduction', in *Conversion and Colonization in Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. by Catherine E. Karkov and Nicholas Howe (Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2006), pp. xi-xx (p. xiii).

¹⁴⁰ Faull and Moorhouse, *West Yorkshire: An Archaeological Survey to A.D. 1500*, I, p. 158.

¹⁴¹ Faull and Moorhouse, *West Yorkshire: An Archaeological Survey to A.D. 1500*, I, p. 39.

¹⁴² Jeffrey J. Cohen, 'Hybrids, Monsters, Borderlands: The Bodies of Gerald of Wales', in *The Postcolonial Middle Ages*, ed. by Jeffrey J. Cohen (New York: Palgrave, 2001), pp. 85-104 (p. 87).

cross and the cross-head fragment Leeds 6 has been identified as a coarse Millstone Grit sandstone, perhaps of the Addingham Edge Grit Group. If this identification is correct, the material would have been moved a considerable distance from its place of quarrying. Such a provenance would also strengthen the parallel we have made between the tenth-century contexts of Leeds and Otley, where the Addingham Edge Grit Group was also used for a number of Anglo-Scandinavian carvings.¹⁴³

The fragments now interpreted as making up the Leeds 2 cross-shaft are also of sandstone, but in this case are probably of the Pennine Coal Measures Group. This seems to have been the same material employed for Leeds 3, an Anglian fragment dated to the eighth or ninth centuries.¹⁴⁴ As at Otley, the use of the same material as earlier Anglian works may have had symbolic significance, legitimating Anglo-Scandinavian control of the landscape by drawing on Anglian precedents. The fact that this stone was available in the immediate Leeds area, and had 'been exploited for cultural and commercial reasons since prehistoric times' may support this interpretation, although it is also possible that the Anglo-Scandinavian use of this material was simply a reflection of the local availability of the stone.¹⁴⁵

The monument now referred to as the Leeds cross, which stands in the sanctuary of the nineteenth-century Leeds Minster, was reassembled from fragments found during the dismantling of the old church tower in 1838.¹⁴⁶ The fate of the fragments before this time is unclear. While the tower itself was built or rebuilt in the fourteenth century, there is no way of ascertaining whether the cross was broken up for use as building material at this time or had been demolished at an earlier date.¹⁴⁷ While probable, the current reconstruction of the monument as a cross is not entirely certain. The cross-head which currently tops the monument may have come from a different setting. R. D. Chantrell, the Victorian architect of the new parish church, initially referred to 'fragments of sculptured Pillars'.¹⁴⁸ Furthermore, while remnants from a number of 'crosses' from the site are known, only one cross-head survives. The identification of the monument as a cross is thus a very likely conjecture, not an established fact. There are similar difficulties with the other Anglo-Scandinavian fragments from the site. It seems likely that the fragments making up Leeds 2 formed parts of the same cross-shaft, but once again this is merely probable conjecture. Leeds 8, a now lost fragment,

¹⁴³ Coatsworth, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VIII: Western Yorkshire*, pp. 200, 205, 224-26.

¹⁴⁴ Coatsworth, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VIII: Western Yorkshire*, pp. 202-204.

¹⁴⁵ Coatsworth, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VIII: Western Yorkshire*, p. 24.

¹⁴⁶ McGuire and Clark, *The Leeds Crosses*, p. 6.

¹⁴⁷ Clark, *Leeds Parish Church*, p. 4.

¹⁴⁸ McGuire and Clark, *The Leeds Crosses*, p. 6.

may have been part of a hogback, the significance of which form has already been discussed.¹⁴⁹

The Leeds cross itself is of rectangular section, tapers upwards, and has three panelled faces. Such a form obviously draws on Anglian precedents such as Otley 1, which was also rectangular and featured panelled busts. The fact that the vast majority of Anglo-Scandinavian shafts are rectangular in section, as at Leeds, may however suggest that this would have come to have been seen as a quintessentially Anglo-Scandinavian form.¹⁵⁰ Leeds 6, the cross-head fragment currently atop the Leeds cross, exhibits a form which looked further afield for its prototypes. This is a ring-head type, featuring a simple interlace terminating in a Stafford knot on the arms and a prominent central boss. While Coatsworth points to Yorkshire parallels at Stonegrave in Ryedale and at Gargrave, this form, as has already been noted, originated in Ireland.¹⁵¹ This combination of a form derived from a local, Anglian context with one drawn from Ireland and the experience of the Hiberno-Norse settlers suggest that the Leeds sculpture was not merely imitating Anglian precedents, but producing hybrid forms which referred both to their immediate history and new-found place in the Yorkshire landscape.

Figural Carving

Christian

Panel Aii

The figural carving at Leeds exhibits a similar hybridity. A number of the figures featured on the Leeds cross seem to have Christian significance, or at least to have had possible Christian readings. Panel Aii features the remaining right half of a frontal figure with clearly discernible hair curling away from the head, stylised drapery which flares outwards, and claw-like crossed hands, the lower of which may be holding an object of some kind. Alec McGuire and Ann Clark's interpretation of the figure's garments as ending in a wing and tail is possible although this is unclear on closer examination.¹⁵² Lang interprets the figure's drapery as feathers and on this basis suggests that it is a cherub, possibly contrasted with the Weland iconography elsewhere on the monument.¹⁵³ Indeed, the folds of the drapery do seem to be executed differently from other panels on the monument, while the figure's lack of a halo indicates that it is unlikely to be an evangelist.¹⁵⁴ McGuire and Clark argue that the combination of bird and

¹⁴⁹ Coatsworth, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VIII: Western Yorkshire*, pp. 202-203, 205-207.

¹⁵⁰ Coatsworth, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VIII: Western Yorkshire*, pp. 39, 41.

¹⁵¹ Coatsworth, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VIII: Western Yorkshire*, pp. 42, 158, 202.

¹⁵² McGuire and Clark, *The Leeds Crosses*, p. 15.

¹⁵³ Lang, 'Sigurd and Weland in Pre-Conquest Carving from Northern England' (p. 92).

¹⁵⁴ McGuire and Clark, *The Leeds Crosses*, p. 15.

man in this figure suggests it should be interpreted as an angel.¹⁵⁵ If the figure is indeed holding a scroll the image would be redolent of the small scroll held by the angel in Revelation 10. A clear local parallel in terms of subject matter would be available in the angels featured on the Anglian sculpture at Otley and Dewsbury.¹⁵⁶ While this seems a possible identification of the image, it is far from certain given the fragmentary nature of the panel and the uncertainty surrounding the figure's 'feathers' and 'tail.' Indeed, without this interpretation of the drapery as a wing, there is no reason why this figure should have a Christian significance. The outwardly-curving drapery on this panel is similar to that on the right of panel Aiv, which may feature a representation of the patron of or person commemorated by the monument. It is thus conceivable that the figure on panel Aii portrays a similar category of person. The identification of the figure as an angel is also rendered less likely by the relative paucity of depictions of angels in Anglo-Scandinavian sculpture more generally.¹⁵⁷



Figure 676: Franks Casket, front panel. Copyright Trustees of the British Museum.

¹⁵⁵ McGuire and Clark, *The Leeds Crosses*, p. 15.

¹⁵⁶ Pickles, 'Angel Veneration on Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture from Dewsbury (West Yorkshire), Otley (West Yorkshire) and Halton (Lancashire): Contemplative Preachers and Pastoral Care' (pp. 1, 4).

¹⁵⁷ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume III: York and Eastern Yorkshire*, pp. 59.

Panel Ci

Panel Ci, at the top of the broad south face of the monument, has more certain Christian significance. This features a frontal figure with what appears to be a dished halo pierced by curling hair. The drapery of the figure's robes is stylised, and above the head are remains which have been interpreted as a bird's claws and wing tip.¹⁵⁸ Lang suggests that the figure is best identified as Saint John the Evangelist, on the basis of the possible bird above.¹⁵⁹ Evangelist symbols do occur elsewhere in the region, such as in earlier examples at Otley and Ilkley, and also in this later period, as evidenced by the eagle at East Riddlesden Hall (West Yorkshire).¹⁶⁰ Figures of the evangelists are frequently shown holding books, and one may have been present in the now defaced area of this Leeds panel.¹⁶¹ The identification of the figure as an evangelist is further supported by the parallel, identified by Lang, between the stylised drapery folds and an Irish manuscript picture of Saint Luke.¹⁶² However, while the halo indicates that this is a Christian figure, the identification of it as Saint John is far from certain. The fact that there are at most only two figures on the monument which can be interpreted as evangelists is highly problematic. Furthermore, while the figure could be holding a book, the missing area could have contained other images such as a lamb or the Christ Child. The presence of a bird next to the Magi and in front of the Virgin and Child on the eighth-century Franks Casket, possibly representing the Holy Spirit in the form of a dove (see fig. 66), provides an example of the combination of bird and Virgin and Child iconography. This identification of the Leeds figure as the Virgin may be supported by the fact that the Virgin and Child and Weland iconographies are placed next to each other on the front panel of the Franks Casket, although the two depictions are chronologically far removed. The possible bird on the Leeds panel, which is indeed strongly suggested by the remains above the figure, is however, capable of other readings, such as a general symbol of nobility or as a signifier of the Holy Spirit, which descended on Christ in the form of a dove at his baptism.¹⁶³ The latter meaning, together with the presence of a halo on this panel, could also suggest that the figure represents Saint John the Baptist.

Whatever the original significance of this figure, the panel certainly seems to exhibit Irish influence, looking for example to Irish manuscript art, particularly in the stylised and formal

¹⁵⁸ Coatsworth, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VIII: Western Yorkshire*, p. 201.

¹⁵⁹ Lang, 'Sigurd and Weland in Pre-Conquest Carving from Northern England' (p. 92).

¹⁶⁰ Coatsworth, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VIII: Western Yorkshire*, p. 64.

¹⁶¹ McGuire and Clark, *The Leeds Crosses*, p. 13.

¹⁶² Lang, 'Survival and Revival in Insular Art: Northumbrian Sculpture of the 8th to 10th Centuries' (p. 266); Françoise Henry, *Irish Art in the Early Christian Period (to 800 A.D.)* (London: Methuen & Co, 1965), pp. 201, pl. k.

¹⁶³ Luke 3. 22.

treatment of the drapery.¹⁶⁴ Given these links, it may be possible to interpret the remains of the bird in terms of Irish sculpture, which emphasised the role of the raven in bringing food to Saints Paul and Antony in the desert, although the presence of only one possible saint on this panel seems to argue against this.¹⁶⁵ The dished halo and the outward curling hairstyle, however, have been identified as Anglian elements, with the former first seen at Otley and also present at Ilkley and Nunburnholme.¹⁶⁶

Panel Cii

The final figure on the Leeds cross with probable Christian significance is that on panel Cii, which shows another damaged frontal figure, possibly with a halo, and holding a small book. This is the most prominent figure on the monument, occupying the whole of the middle of what McGuire and Clark call its 'true front'. If this figure is interpreted as lacking a halo, McGuire and Clark suggest that it may represent the patron of or person commemorated by the cross. The presence of a halo is however suggested by the fact that what is presumably the curling strand of the hair clearly crosses another linear feature in the same position as the halo on panel Ci. The presence of the book and previous identifications of the figure in panel Ci above as Saint John the Evangelist have led to this figure also being interpreted as an evangelist. However, McGuire and Clark note the important point that the presence of only two evangelists on the monument needs to be explained, and suggest that this monument was one of a pair with another which featured the other two.¹⁶⁷ While other fragments from Leeds do include figures with books,¹⁶⁸ such an arrangement would be a unique occurrence, making the reading of this figure as an evangelist highly questionable. Furthermore, the possible halo on this panel does differ from that on panel Ci, as it seems to flare away from the head after crossing the hair. This different treatment may indicate that the figures in the two panels fall into different categories. The centrality of the figure could support a reading of it as Christ; the fact that the figure's arm is raised at the same angle as Weland's in the panel below could be intended to emphasise a link between Weland and Christ as heroic figures.¹⁶⁹

Figures with scrolls or books are usually interpreted as being associated with witnessing or teaching.¹⁷⁰ Thus, McGuire and Clark's suggestion that the figure may be a secular priest also

¹⁶⁴ Lang, 'Continuity and Innovation in Anglo-Scandinavian Sculpture: A Study of the Metropolitan School at York' (p. 146).

¹⁶⁵ Ramirez, 'The Symbolic Life of Birds in Anglo-Saxon England', p. 83.

¹⁶⁶ Lang, 'Survival and Revival in Insular Art: Northumbrian Sculpture of the 8th to 10th Centuries' (p. 266).

¹⁶⁷ McGuire and Clark, *The Leeds Crosses*, p. 10-13.

¹⁶⁸ McGuire and Clark, *The Leeds Crosses*, pp. 23-27.

¹⁶⁹ McGuire and Clark, *The Leeds Crosses*, p. 12.

¹⁷⁰ Coatsworth, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VIII: Western Yorkshire*, p. 119.

seems plausible if there is assumed to be no halo.¹⁷¹ Again a possible local parallel is to be found at Otley, where a figure on an Anglian fragment has been interpreted as a priest.¹⁷² Another particularly interesting parallel in this regard is to be found at Brompton, where an Anglo-Scandinavian shaft also includes figures holding what may be books, which Lang interprets as representing clerics. Lang also suggests that two of the figures there may be angels, pointing to the wings which are attached to their bodies in a similar way to those on the Leeds Weland's flying machine. As the Brompton monument, like the Leeds cross, features plant-scroll it seems likely that there may have been some connection between Brompton and the Leeds cross.¹⁷³

More generally, this panel, featuring a probably haloed frontal figure with a book is closely associated with Anglian precedents. Coatsworth argues that the saint holding a book on this panel is descended from crosses such as those at Otley and Collingham.¹⁷⁴ However, there also seems to be some Irish influence once again, as Lang likens the figure, with its discrete hair and halo with wild curls with the depiction of Saint Luke in the MacDurnan Gospels.¹⁷⁵

Other Fragments

A number of other fragments from Leeds provide possible candidates for figural sculpture with Christian significance. The first of these, Leeds 2a, features on its face A the torso of a figure with curved arms which seem to be holding a rectangular object at its front, which has been interpreted as a book.¹⁷⁶ If this is the case it seems likely that the figure is intended to represent a saint, although the damage to the fragment makes it difficult to assert this with any certainty. The fragment Leeds 2b also features figural carving on its face A, again showing the torso of a figure, which in this case holds a rectangular object, presumably a book, in its right hand. The beginning of a left arm seems to be present, with the remains of what Collingwood saw as part of a bird projecting slightly below. The damage to this side of the fragment makes it impossible to ascertain whether a bird was originally featured, rendering Collingwood's suggestion on this basis that the figure represents Saint John the Evangelist highly conjectural.¹⁷⁷ This figure is similar to that on panel Cii of the Leeds cross, which also holds up a book in its right hand. While the idea that these figures have more general Christian

¹⁷¹ McGuire and Clark, *The Leeds Crosses*, p. 12.

¹⁷² Pickles, 'Angel Veneration on Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture from Dewsbury (West Yorkshire), Otley (West Yorkshire) and Halton (Lancashire): Contemplative Preachers and Pastoral Care' (p. 4).

¹⁷³ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VI: Northern Yorkshire*, pp. 67-68.

¹⁷⁴ Coatsworth, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VIII: Western Yorkshire*, p. 65.

¹⁷⁵ Lang, 'Survival and Revival in Insular Art: Northumbrian Sculpture of the 8th to 10th Centuries' (p. 266).

¹⁷⁶ Coatsworth, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VIII: Western Yorkshire*, pp. 202-203.

¹⁷⁷ Collingwood, *Northumbrian Crosses of the Pre-Norman Age*, p. 163; Coatsworth, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VIII: Western Yorkshire*, pp. 202-203.

significance is suggested by the likely presence of books, even this is far from certain given their fragmentary nature.

Secular

Alongside these probable Christian iconographies, The Leeds cross also features an example of figural carving which, while difficult to definitely identify, is perhaps best seen as an image of a secular ruler. At the bottom of face A, panel Aiv contains an oval-faced figure facing left, with a garment draped over his left shoulder, on which a bird is perched, and a sword in his hand. A fragmentary knot of interlace seems to be hovering below the sword-holding hand. McGuire and Clark argue that this figure is most likely Sigurd, another mythic smith who would complement the Weland iconography on panel Ciii. Sigurd's killing of the dragon Fáfnir and his understanding of birdsong would explain the sword and bird of this panel.¹⁷⁸ We have already considered a number of Anglo-Scandinavian carvings which feature birds. The birds flanking the figure on Kirkleavington 2, for example, may have been intended as signifiers of Odin, markers of nobility or as Christian symbols. Given the multiplicity of possible meanings for carvings of birds the presence of one on this panel cannot simply be taken to indicate that the figure is Sigurd. McGuire and Clark suggest that the floating interlace on the Leeds panel is best explained simply as a knot, although they observe that if the figure is Sigurd, a dragon's head and tail could fit into the missing piece of the interlace.¹⁷⁹ However, this identification seems unlikely. As has already been noted, by the early tenth century there was a recognised Sigurd iconography, elements of which included a figure sucking his thumb, a heart-roasting scene and an accompanying figure of the headless Reginn, another of Sigurd's victims.¹⁸⁰ Recognised Sigurd scenes tend to focus on the dragon-killing episode and its consequences, neither of which are depicted on this Leeds panel.¹⁸¹ Furthermore, Sigurd and Weland are not known to have been represented together elsewhere and are from different mythological cycles.¹⁸² Kopár suggests that the floating interlace may be interpreted as the Odinic *valknut* symbol, although this is unclear due to damage to the panel, and she states that the figure is likely to represent a patron or warrior rather than Odin himself.¹⁸³

Lang suggests that this figure on this panel may in fact also depict Weland. The panel includes a bird and a sword, the attributes of Weland, and is placed opposite the recognised scene of

¹⁷⁸ McGuire and Clark, *The Leeds Crosses*, p. 14.

¹⁷⁹ McGuire and Clark, *The Leeds Crosses*, p. 14.

¹⁸⁰ Bailey, 'Scandinavian Myth on Viking-Period Stone Sculpture in England' (p. 17).

¹⁸¹ Lang, 'Sigurd and Weland in Pre-Conquest Carving from Northern England' (p. 94).

¹⁸² McGuire and Clark, *The Leeds Crosses*, p. 14.

¹⁸³ Kopár, *Gods and Settlers: The Iconography of Norse Mythology in Anglo-Scandinavian Sculpture*, p. 113.

the hero and his flying machine.¹⁸⁴ However, the identification of this figure as Weland is rendered less likely by the lack of other examples of flying machine imagery coupled with similar figures. Furthermore, as panel Ciii seems to conflate much of the Weland story into one image, it is unclear why another representation of the hero would have been included on the monument. Indeed, there seems no compelling reason to view this figure as representing a hero from Scandinavian mythology as the sword and bird have clear significance both in Christian contexts and the wider aristocratic culture of the period.

Suggestions have been made which would place the figure in a biblical context. McGuire and Clark suggest that it may represent Elijah, who was fed by ravens and wielded a sword. They also suggest that there may have been an attempt to link Weland's flight with Elijah's being taken up by the whirlwind.¹⁸⁵ However, such a reading seems unlikely given the lack of evidence for Old Testament scenes on stone sculpture from the West Riding.¹⁸⁶ The possibility that the figure may be Saint John with his eagle is contradicted by the presence of the sword.¹⁸⁷ Coatsworth suggests that the figure, while 'enigmatic,' may be interpreted in the context of the increased use of portraiture on Anglo-Scandinavian monuments, as at Otley and Weston as well as Nunburnholme.¹⁸⁸ Lang's suggestion that the figure with two birds at his shoulders on the shaft from Kirkleavington may be a portrait of the deceased seems to support the identification of the figure on this panel as a similar person.¹⁸⁹ At Leeds, the bird's hooked beak suggests that it was intended to represent a bird of prey. The associations of eagles in particular with heroism and nobility, a significance which can be traced back to the bird's role as a symbol of Roman imperial power, provide an appropriate context for the inclusion of such an animal on a commemorative panel.¹⁹⁰ We have already noted that birds were also associated with powerful figures in the Norse tradition.¹⁹¹ The role of ravens as beasts of battle in both Old Norse and Old English poetry also suggests that the bird may be a raven, especially given that the figure is armed.¹⁹² More generally, the inclusion of a bird, which as a flying creature could signify a passage between heaven and earth and thus life and death, would be appropriate alongside a representation of a recently deceased person who would have made a similar passage after his own death.¹⁹³ The identification of the figure as the person being

¹⁸⁴ Lang, 'Sigurd and Weland in Pre-Conquest Carving from Northern England' (p. 92).

¹⁸⁵ McGuire and Clark, *The Leeds Crosses*, pp. 15, 42.

¹⁸⁶ Coatsworth, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VIII: Western Yorkshire*, p. 58.

¹⁸⁷ Kopár, *Gods and Settlers: The Iconography of Norse Mythology in Anglo-Scandinavian Sculpture*, p. 12.

¹⁸⁸ Coatsworth, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VIII: Western Yorkshire*, pp. 65, 202.

¹⁸⁹ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VI: Northern Yorkshire*, pp. 142-43.

¹⁹⁰ Ramirez, 'The Symbolic Life of Birds in Anglo-Saxon England', pp. 80, 126, 190.

¹⁹¹ Lindow, *Handbook of Norse Mythology*, pp. 186-88.

¹⁹² Jesch, 'Eagles, Ravens and Wolves: Beasts of Battle, Symbols of Victory and Death' (p. 253).

¹⁹³ Ramirez, 'The Symbolic Life of Birds in Anglo-Saxon England', p. 195.

commemorated is further supported by the panel's position opposite the Weland scene, a placement which could be paralleling the real person and the mythological hero and thus paying tribute to the deceased by comparison. The location of the figure at the foot of the monument, echoing the placement of the figure on the Bewcastle Cross interpreted as a 'secular aristocrat', supports this reading.¹⁹⁴ The Bewcastle figure is also accompanied by a bird, which has been interpreted as signifying hawking and thus aristocratic status.¹⁹⁵ Thus, while the interpretation of this Leeds panel is far from certain, it is perhaps best interpreted as the monument's patron or the person commemorated by it.

This interpretation of the figure on panel Aiv as representing the person commemorated by the monument is appropriate given other evidence that crosses in this period may have marked a grave or commemorated an individual or family. Thus an inscription on a cross-shaft from Crowle (Lincolnshire) identifies it as a monument or memorial stone.¹⁹⁶ The fact that the Leeds monument is one of a group of fragments - representing at least five 'crosses' and one or more hogback sculptures – suggests that they were originally erected as grave-markers or memorial stones for a number of individuals.¹⁹⁷ As we have noted, the lost inscription on the fragment Leeds 9 may support this view of the Leeds cross as a memorial to a real individual. In Coatsworth's reading, the first three runes of this inscription may have formed part of the word *becun*, meaning beacon or monument. The second line seems to have read *onlaf* which may represent Onlaf, the English form of the later Old Norse Óláfr. Such an inscription may imply the erection of an 'Old English vernacular stone' in a period in which interaction with Scandinavian settlers was occurring.¹⁹⁸ The possible commemoration of an Anglo-Scandinavian lord by a monument or monuments bearing Old English inscriptions points to the cultural hybridity of the Leeds sculpture. Given that in Anglian contexts stone sculpture seems to have been largely confined to senior churches and served as liturgical stations or as markers of burial grounds, the use of such monuments to commemorate individuals also represents a clear break with the Anglian usage.¹⁹⁹

This new commemorative function may have been derived from the use of stone sculpture in Scandinavia itself; the later Gotlandic picture-stones, produced in the eighth to tenth

¹⁹⁴ See, for example: Fred Orton, 'Rethinking the Ruthwell and Bewcastle Monuments: Some Strictures on Similarity; Some Questions of History', in *Theorizing Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture*, ed. by Catherine E. Karkov and George Hardin Brown (New York: State University of New York Press, 2003), pp. 31-68 (p. 49).

¹⁹⁵ Bailey, *England's Earliest Sculptors*, p. 68.

¹⁹⁶ Hadley and Buckleberry, 'Caring for the Dead in Late Anglo-Saxon England' (p. 141).

¹⁹⁷ McGuire and Clark, *The Leeds Crosses*, p. 1.

¹⁹⁸ Coatsworth, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VIII: Western Yorkshire*, p. 207.

¹⁹⁹ Stocker, 'Monuments and Merchants: Irregularities in the Distribution of Stone Sculpture in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire in the Tenth Century' (p. 193).

centuries, have primarily been interpreted as memorials, and importantly also feature weapons and warriors.²⁰⁰ The Scandinavian rune-stones more generally, mostly erected in the tenth and eleventh centuries, around 3,000 of which are known, commemorate the dead but also pay tribute to the monuments' sponsors and may also provide a model for the function of the Leeds Cross.²⁰¹ Again, tribute may have been paid to the dead by association. Bailey has suggested that sculptural depictions of the hero Sigurd may function in this way, honouring the dead through comparison with a powerful mythological figure. Similarly, in *Beowulf*, the hero Sigemund is invoked in a comparison with Beowulf's deeds. It seems likely that the Leeds image of Weland may have acted in this way, especially as in *Beowulf* the protagonist is said to possess a mail coat made by Weland.²⁰² Similarly, in *Eiríksmál*, a skaldic poem commissioned by the Christian wife of Eric Bloodaxe, the last Anglo-Scandinavian king of York, after the latter's death, Odin honours Eric by dispatching two of the Volsungs, members of the clan of Sigurd, to bring the king to Valhøll.²⁰³ The patron or person commemorated by the Leeds monument may have been being compared to the hero Weland as well as to the Christian figures, especially if we consider that to a non-Christian, Christ and the saints may well have been seen as powerful mythological figures in the same category as heroes such as Weland.

The shift in function indicated by the secular figure of panel Aiv also points to the changes that were occurring in terms of patronage. For the Anglo-Scandinavians sculpture was a medium embraced by the new aristocracy, reflected by the replacement of seated saints under arcades by warriors like those at Leeds, Otley and Weston.²⁰⁴ The growth in production which accompanied this change in patronage – in northern England, eighty per cent of surviving sculpture was produced in the Viking period – suggests that it may have come to have been seen as an essentially Anglo-Scandinavian form.²⁰⁵ Traditional emphasis on the continuation of Anglian forms and motifs thus tends to mask a much more profound change in the patronage and sheer quantity of these monuments.

The Weland Carvings

The final panel featuring figural carving on the Leeds cross is at the bottom of face C. Panel Ciii depicts a frontal figure entangled in interlace, which attaches him to wings on either side. Above he holds a female figure and at the bottom right of the panel are a number of smith's

²⁰⁰ Alexander Andreeff, 'Gotlandic Picture Stones, Hybridity and Material Culture' (p. 253).

²⁰¹ Birgit Sawyer, *The Viking Age Rune-Stones: Customs and Commemoration in Early Medieval Scandinavia* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 1-2.

²⁰² Hilda R. Ellis Davidson, 'Weland the Smith', *Folklore*, 69 (1958), 145-59 (p. 157).

²⁰³ Bailey, *Viking Age Sculpture in Northern England*, pp. 123-24.

²⁰⁴ Lang, *Anglo-Saxon Sculpture*, pp. 23-24.

²⁰⁵ Lang, *Anglo-Saxon Sculpture*, p. 16.

tools. This depicts Weland the smith, a heroic figure 'appearing in a range of myths or stories that were common to folk traditions over much of northern Europe.'²⁰⁶ This panel has long been recognised as depicting the escape of Weland from captivity in a flying machine.²⁰⁷ The lower half of a very similar scene is featured on face A of the fragments Leeds 2c, which shows more clearly the tail of the flying machine.²⁰⁸

The identification of the female figure held aloft above Weland on panel Ciii is more uncertain. She has usually been identified either as Weland's swan-maiden wife or Beadohilde, the daughter of the king who held Weland captive. Others have suggested that she may be a valkyrie, leading the dead Weland upwards, or from a lost part of the Weland story.²⁰⁹ All these suggestions are to some extent problematic. Weland did not escape from captivity with his wife or Beadohilde, or with the aid of a valkyrie, although valkyries do appear in the Eddic version of the Weland story.²¹⁰ His swan-maiden wife is not featured in this part of the narrative, and postulating a lost part of the story, although a possibility, does not lead to a positive identification. However, the female figure may be identified as Beadohilde if the flight and seduction episodes have been conflated.²¹¹ This suggestion of conflation is supported by the Gotlandic picture-stone Ardre VIII, which includes all the important elements of the narrative in a composition centred on the smithy.²¹² The Leeds woman seems to be holding a curved object; McGuire and Clark note that figures of women with pigtailed dresses holding cups were a common Viking type but argue that this figure, with her arms apart and flexed, may be holding a bow.²¹³ While this is possible, the object could also be a curved drinking horn held at the rim.

²⁰⁶ McGuire and Clark, *The Leeds Crosses*, p. 11.

²⁰⁷ Coatsworth, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VIII: Western Yorkshire*, pp. 201-202. In the Scandinavian literary tradition the story of Weland is recorded in *Volundarkvida*, one of the mythological poems of the *Poetic Edda*. In the poem we are told that Volund (Weland), after living with a swan-maiden for seven winters, is captured, hamstrung and imprisoned on an island by Nidud, 'lord of the Niarar' for whom he produces treasures. After killing the king's two sons and seducing his daughter Bodvild (Beadohilde), Weland escapes by flying from the island. In a later prose account in *Thidreks saga*, Weland escapes using wings fashioned from feathers obtained by his brother Egil. See *The Poetic Edda*, ed. by Larrington, pp. 102-108.

²⁰⁸ Coatsworth, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VIII: Western Yorkshire*, p. 203.

²⁰⁹ McGuire and Clark, *The Leeds Crosses*, p. 11.

²¹⁰ Kopár, *Gods and Settlers: The Iconography of Norse Mythology in Anglo-Scandinavian Sculpture*, p. 132.

²¹¹ Coatsworth, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VIII: Western Yorkshire*, p. 202.

²¹² Bailey, *Viking Age Sculpture in Northern England*, p. 106.

²¹³ McGuire and Clark, *The Leeds Crosses*, p. 11.

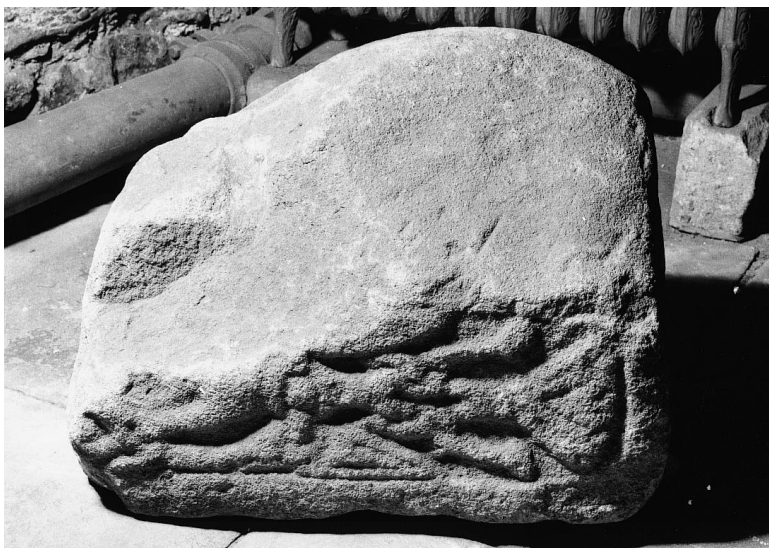


Figure 68: Bedale 6A 1D. Copyright Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, photographer A. Wiper.

The Leeds depictions of Weland are part of a distinctive Yorkshire group of carvings of the hero which have a clear iconographical identity and cohesion. His escape is the subject of similar depictions at Sherburn and Bedale (see fig. 67). This was a distinctive ‘winged flight’ iconography of Weland, which, as we shall see, echoed the Scandinavian organisation of the narrative’s elements.²¹⁴ The link between the Leeds depictions of Weland and the other Yorkshire examples is further supported by details such as his unusual grip, with a facing palm and erect thumb, which is also present at Sherburn, and the fact that Weland’s stance is the same in all the examples.²¹⁵

There are however also a number of other Insular parallels for this panel. As we have noted, Weland is depicted on the Franks Casket, which also features a smithy and the casket, like the Leeds cross, features birds. It seems unlikely however that there is any direct link between the Franks Casket and the Leeds carving, as the former omits the flying machine but includes the corpse of one of the king’s sons, two women who have been identified as Beadohilde and a maid, and Weland’s brother Egil gathering feathers for the flying machine.²¹⁶

²¹⁴ Bailey, ‘Scandinavian Myth on Viking-Period Stone Sculpture in England’ (p. 16).

²¹⁵ McGuire and Clark, *The Leeds Crosses*, pp. 11, 36-37.

²¹⁶ McGuire and Clark, *The Leeds Crosses*, pp. 38-39.



Figure 69: Ardre VIII rune-stone (detail). Swedish National Heritage Board, photographer B. Lundberg.

The best parallel for this Yorkshire iconography of Weland is to be found on the Gotland picture-stone Ardre VIII (see fig. 68). The Ardre stone, dated to around 800, includes many different iconographies, but includes below a ship an enclosure, presumably a smithy, with the two princes as headless figures outside to its right. To the left a bird-like figure emerges with its head against a woman in profile. The woman has a trained dress and bunned and plaited hair.²¹⁷ The arrangement of the winged creature and the woman on the Gotland stone are clearly related to that on the Leeds monument, with the image simply rotated 90 degrees. We can identify the Yorkshire group of Weland scenes as a variant form of the left part of the Gotland image, on which the two headless bodies clearly identify the scene as part of the Weland narrative. This close relationship between geographically and temporally distant images further indicates that there was a recognised iconography of the Weland scene.²¹⁸ There are however some differences from the Gotland image. At Leeds the woman carries an object, while at Ardre she appears to be attached to the machine rather than held aloft. The Weland figure is also much more bird-like at Ardre.²¹⁹ However, these are minor divergences which are to be expected given the distance between the objects and the different monument types on which they are found, and do not alter their structural similarity. Other depictions of Weland in Scandinavian material include a sword chape from Birka and a metal fitting from Uppåkra, both in modern Sweden and a number of other picture-stones from Gotland including Ardre II and possibly Lärbro St Hammars III as well as the cist panel at Alskog kyrka, also on Gotland.²²⁰ These parallels do not imply a direct link between Leeds and any of the Scandinavian sites as the iconography could have been carried to Yorkshire through images on

²¹⁷ McGuire and Clark, *The Leeds Crosses*, p. 37.

²¹⁸ Bailey, *Viking Age Sculpture in Northern England*, pp. 105-106.

²¹⁹ McGuire and Clark, *The Leeds Crosses*, pp. 37-38.

²²⁰ Kopár, *Gods and Settlers: The Iconography of Norse Mythology in Anglo-Scandinavian Sculpture*, pp. 16-18.

perishable media such as wood or textiles. The ninth-century ship-burial at Oseberg included figural scenes on wood and tapestries and Scandinavian and Icelandic literature mentions various mythological illustrations, including shield paintings and carved wall panels.²²¹



Figure 70: Jellinge rune-stone face C. Copyright National Museum of Denmark, photographer L. Larsen.

The Leeds depictions of Weland also have connections with Scandinavian carvings which are not thought to represent the hero. The bound Weland at Leeds is similar to the depiction of Christ on face C of the Jellinge rune-stone erected by Harald Bluetooth, which proclaimed his Christianisation of the Danes (see fig. 69).²²² This similarity seems to support a link between Weland and Christ as heroic mythological figures. The Leeds panel is also similar to a scene on a Gotlandic picture-stone from Lärbro, which features a winged figure seemingly supporting a woman, with an armed figure to the right. This has been interpreted as a dead hero

²²¹ Bailey, *Viking Age Sculpture in Northern England*, p. 106.

²²² National Museum of Denmark, *The Jelling Stone* (Copenhagen: National Museum of Denmark) <http://en.natmus.dk/historical-knowledge/denmark/prehistoric-period-until-1050-ad/the-viking-age/the-monuments-at-jelling/the-jelling-stone/>. [accessed 19 March 2016].

progressing to Valhöll.²²³ The Weland scene here thus ultimately draws on Scandinavian antecedents but may have been understood as one of a local group of such depictions. On the Leeds monument, Weland may be part of a broader theme of heroism, linking him to Christ – if the figure on panel Cii is read as such – and possibly the person commemorated by the monument on panel Aiv.

Literary evidence also highlights the overlap between the Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian traditions. John McKinnell has argued that *Völundarkviða*, the Eddic poem which contains the story of Weland, was, on the basis of parallels in Old English poetry and possible misunderstandings of Old English vocabulary in the text, most probably produced in the Norse-influenced area of England in the tenth or early eleventh centuries.²²⁴ Thus the Weland scene, which has been seen as a distinctively ‘Scandinavian’ iconography may actually refer to a hybrid, Anglo-Scandinavian text which addressed both the local Anglo-Saxon traditions and drew on sources from Scandinavia. Weland also features as a metalworker and smith in Anglo-Saxon literature and art. The Franks Casket shows that Weland was known in pre-Viking England, while the poem *Deor*, written down in the Exeter Book around the year 1000, alludes to his captivity, the death of the princes, and the suffering of the princess; he is also mentioned in the fragmentary *Waldere*.²²⁵ Weland seems to have been a persistent figure in the Anglo-Saxon world. Alfred, in his edition of Boethius, refers to Weland when remarking on the passage of time, writing ‘where now are the bones of Weland?’ Such a laconic reference seems to imply that the Weland story was well known to Alfred’s audience.²²⁶ A 955 charter, which records a gift of land by King Eadred to his kinsman Ælfheah, mentions Wayland’s Smithy, a Neolithic long barrow in north Berkshire which still retains the name, while the twelfth-century *Vita Merlini* by Geoffrey of Monmouth similarly refers to a goblet made by Weland.²²⁷ While Weland was thus a well-known figure in Anglo-Saxon England, the Anglo-Scandinavian carvings seem to have changed the emphasis of the Weland narrative, which had focussed on Weland as an archetypal smith and divinely-inspired (but human) hero. The later carvings, including the one at Leeds, place more emphasis on the flight episode, probably as a result of the influence of the Scandinavian depictions of the narrative.²²⁸

²²³ McGuire and Clark, *The Leeds Crosses*, p. 38.

²²⁴ John McKinnell, ‘The Context of *Völundarkviða*’, *Saga-Book*, XXIII. (1990), 1-27 (pp. 11-12).

²²⁵ Ellis Davidson, ‘Weland the Smith’ (p. 146).

²²⁶ Bailey, *Viking Age Sculpture in Northern England*, p. 103.

²²⁷ Maria Sachiko Cecire, ‘Ban Welondes: Wayland Smith in Popular Culture’, in *Anglo-Saxon Culture and the Modern Imagination*, ed. by Clark David and Nicholas Perkin (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2010), pp. 201-217 (pp. 203-204).

²²⁸ Kopár, *Gods and Settlers: The Iconography of Norse Mythology in Anglo-Scandinavian Sculpture*, pp. 21-22.

Ornamental Carving

Anglian Ornament

The ornamental carving at Leeds, like the figural, is indicative of cultural hybridity and overlap. Much does refer to local and Anglian precedents. One example of this is to be found on panel Aiii, which features a slightly distorted interlace pattern with paired joining.²²⁹ This has been identified as an Anglian element, an example of a pattern shared with sculpture at Collingham and Ilkley.²³⁰ Further afield, the same pattern occurs on the eighth or ninth-century Aldborough (North Yorkshire) cross-shaft and perhaps on a ninth-century fragment from Kirkbymoorside (East Yorkshire).²³¹ While the pattern is thus certainly of Anglian ancestry, there is no reason to assume that it had significance primarily as a symbol of Anglian identity in the tenth century. Indeed, given its regional distribution it seems more likely that it may have appealed to regional sentiment, either to memories of the Anglian kingdom of Northumbria, or given the political situation in the tenth century, to a new identity tied to the Anglo-Scandinavian kingdom centred on York.

Face B of the Leeds cross, which also draws primarily on Anglian models, again illustrates the hybridity of the sculpture from the site. Panel Bi, at the top of this narrow west face, features four volutes of a simple plant-scroll above a run of interlace terminating in a Stafford Knot. This scroll includes leaves in its spandrel and nodes which produce buds and fruit or berry bunches within the volutes. A local, Anglian parallel may be found at Otley, where a bird-inhabited plant-scroll also includes fruit of some kind.²³² Also within Yorkshire, the plant-scroll at Easby may provide a model for this panel, with its broadly circular volutes, berries and leaves in its spandrels.²³³ More generally, the vine-scroll was a basic element in Anglo-Saxon stone carving from the eighth century, and had clear Christian significance, merging with the concept of the cross as a tree, echoing Christ's words 'I am the true vine.'²³⁴ The plant-scroll may also have signified the church. Thus a vine-scroll featured on the apse mosaic in the church of San Clemente in Rome was accompanied by an inscription which states 'the Church of Christ is for us like a vine which the Old Law made whither and which the cross made green once more.'²³⁵ While the vine-scroll thus refers to the Christian and Anglian past, elements of this panel show that it has been altered and adapted by the Anglo-Scandinavian carver. Scandinavian taste may be reflected in the fact that the scroll is 'rather angular' and in the run

²²⁹ Coatsworth, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VIII: Western Yorkshire*, p. 200.

²³⁰ Bailey, *Viking Age Sculpture in Northern England*, p. 195.

²³¹ Coatsworth, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VIII: Western Yorkshire*, p. 201.

²³² Coatsworth, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VIII: Western Yorkshire*, p. 217.

²³³ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VI: Northern Yorkshire*, p. 101.

²³⁴ Bailey, *Viking Age Sculpture in Northern England*, p. 148; John 15. 1.

²³⁵ Bailey, *Viking Age Sculpture in Northern England*, p. 149.

of interlace below. This seems to be an example of the ‘tangled interlace’ which Coatsworth describes as characteristic of the Anglo-Scandinavian period.²³⁶

Face D of the Leeds cross also seems to draw primarily on Anglian precedents. The face may have originally consisted of two panels as the upper fragments feature a simple scroll represented by a curving line, while the lower have a more complex spiral scroll pattern with frond-like split leaves.²³⁷ The scroll on this face is not entirely naturalistic, representing the elaboration of a geometrical pattern, which is, according to McGuire and Clark, representative of local late Anglian styles.²³⁸ However, the presence of spiral-type plant-scroll on firmly Anglo-Scandinavian monuments such as those from St Mary Bishophill Junior in York and Kirkdale (East Yorkshire) suggest that such ornament cannot be read as purely Anglian.²³⁹ Why the face should feature different plant-scroll from that on panel Bi is unclear. Again, plant-scroll ornament more generally points to an Anglian and Christian ancestry.



Figure 71: Mammen axe. Copyright National Museum of Denmark, photographers R. Fortuna and K. Ursem.

Anglo-Scandinavian Ornament

A number of ornamental carvings from the cross seem to draw from Scandinavian or Anglo-Scandinavian sources. These include the lower panel on face B, Bii, which includes a widening twist pattern above two inward-turning scrolls.²⁴⁰ According to McGuire and Clark, this tight,

²³⁶ Coatsworth, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VIII: Western Yorkshire*, pp. 48, 200.

²³⁷ Coatsworth, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VIII: Western Yorkshire*, p. 201.

²³⁸ McGuire and Clark, *The Leeds Crosses*, p. 13.

²³⁹ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume III: York and Eastern Yorkshire*, p. 33.

²⁴⁰ Coatsworth, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VIII: Western Yorkshire*, p. 200.

closed circuit geometric interlace shows 'unmistakable Anglo-Scandinavian influence',²⁴¹ and is similar to those found on other Scandinavian-influenced monuments such as Kirkleavington 1.²⁴²

Links with Scandinavia itself are illustrated on panel Ai, at the top of what is now the north face of the cross, which features two ring-knots arranged vertically, the upper of which is fragmentary. These are made up of six strands, two of which connect the knots. The pattern is almost identical to the continuous ring-knot found on other fragments from Leeds.²⁴³ A distinctive feature on this panel is the curling tendril offshoots at the end of the loose strands, which are identified as Scandinavian elements, related to the Mammen phase of Scandinavian art.²⁴⁴ This identification seems convincing given the similarity of the tendril feature to that found on the Mammen (Denmark) axe, dated to around 970 (see fig. 70).²⁴⁵ Similar plaits with curling tendril offshoots also occur on more than a dozen Manx cross-slabs, as well as at other sites in England, such as Lowther (Cumbria), Barwick in Elmet (West Yorkshire) and Spofforth (again in West Yorkshire).²⁴⁶ Thus the pattern may have reached Leeds via Cumbria and the Isle of Man, possibly from Ireland or the Western Isles. However, Coatsworth's suggestion that the Mammen style may itself have been influenced by plant-scrolls of the Northumbrian tradition suggests that this panel should not be ascribed an uncomplicatedly Scandinavian ancestry, and illustrates the problematic nature of any attempt to securely fix a single ethnic category to any motif or iconography. In this regard the Mammen style at Leeds can be compared to the Ringerike at Otley in its complex derivation that confuses simplistic ethnic readings.²⁴⁷

Other fragments from Leeds also seem to look to Scandinavian and Anglo-Scandinavian sources. The fragmentary cross-shaft Leeds 2 includes, on its reconstructed face B, short runs of a three-cord plait, possibly terminating in a Stafford knot. Coatsworth has identified this type of simplified twist interlace as a typically Anglo-Scandinavian feature.²⁴⁸ Faces D and B of the fragment Leeds 2b have the same three-cord plait, the continuation of which appears to terminate at the base of face D of Leeds 2c in animal heads. Again, this is an example of an ornament type, the plain plait, which Coatsworth identifies as characteristically Anglo-

²⁴¹ McGuire and Clark, *The Leeds Crosses*, p. 16.

²⁴² Coatsworth, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VIII: Western Yorkshire*, p. 201.

²⁴³ McGuire and Clark, *The Leeds Crosses*, p. 15.

²⁴⁴ Coatsworth, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VIII: Western Yorkshire*, p. 49.

²⁴⁵ Graham-Campbell, *The Viking World*, p. 145.

²⁴⁶ Bailey, *Viking Age Sculpture in Northern England*, p. 218.

²⁴⁷ Coatsworth, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VIII: Western Yorkshire*, p. 49.

²⁴⁸ Coatsworth, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VIII: Western Yorkshire*, pp. 48, 203.

Scandinavian.²⁴⁹ The animal head terminal also seems to be most directly related to nearby Anglo-Scandinavian examples, including Otley 3 and 8, which have similarly simple animal heads emerging from interlace, although at Otley the heads are much less rounded. In any case, this highly simplified animal motif stands in sharp contrast to Anglian examples, such as that on the fragment Leeds 4, which exhibits deeper carving, has an ear and what appears to be a snout, and inhabits rather than forms part of the interlace.²⁵⁰ Finally, the reconstructed face C of Leeds 2 includes ring-knots, which probably formed part of a run. These appear to be similar to those on panel Ai of the Leeds cross, which sprout Mammen style tendril offshoots.²⁵¹ Ring-chain itself seems to be a typically Anglo-Scandinavian ornament type, found on other examples such as Burnsall 1 and Kirkleavington 5. Coatsworth argues that this ring-chain was derived from the Borre style of ornament present in Cumbria and the Isle of Man and that it represents a 'local version of Scandinavian taste'.²⁵²

Conclusion

The preceding examination of the Anglo-Scandinavian stone sculpture produced at Leeds indicates that the previously dominant view of it as illustrating the strength of the Anglian artistic tradition does not properly take into account the diverse sources drawn on by the sculptors, or the historical and landscape contexts of the site. Analogies with the situation at Otley suggest that Leeds may have seen the Anglo-Scandinavian takeover of a large Anglo-Saxon church estate. In such a context, the erection of stone sculpture, with motifs, ornament and iconographies drawn from Scandinavian as well as Anglian traditions, would have sent a powerful message about the new Anglo-Scandinavian control of the landscape, and would not have been seen by a viewer in the tenth century as emblematic of Anglian persistence. An examination of the geographical setting of the sculpture also suggests that it may better be seen as an example of borderland material culture. Leeds has a long history as such a borderland, possibly back into prehistory, and seems to have been such a place in the tenth century. A productive parallel may perhaps be made between early medieval Leeds and the area of the southern United States described by Gloria Anzaldúa in her book *Borderlands/La Frontera*. For Anzaldúa a borderland is a place 'in a constant state of transition'.²⁵³ The area of which she wrote, southern Texas, has seen the rule of Spain, Mexico, the Republic of Texas, the United States, the Confederacy and the United States again. Early medieval Yorkshire has a similarly varied history, as the area saw the successive rule of the Romans, sub-Roman Britons,

²⁴⁹ Coatsworth, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VIII: Western Yorkshire*, pp. 48, 203.

²⁵⁰ Coatsworth, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VIII: Western Yorkshire*, pp. 203-204.

²⁵¹ Coatsworth, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VIII: Western Yorkshire*, p. 203.

²⁵² Coatsworth, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VIII: Western Yorkshire*, p. 108.

²⁵³ Gloria Anzaldúa, *Borderlands / La Frontera*, 2nd edn (San Francisco: Aunt Lute Books, 1999), p. 25.

Northumbrians, Danes, Hiberno-Norse, West Saxons and Normans. Leeds more particularly seems to have seen Roman activity, has a British name, may have been the site of a high-status Anglo-Saxon settlement, and saw the erection of sophisticated Scandinavian-influenced monumental sculpture.

Anzaldúa also identified a hybrid language as a distinctive feature of her borderland, in this case Chicano Spanish.²⁵⁴ Similarly, we have already observed that John Hines has argued for the existence of Scandinavian English in the ninth and tenth centuries, a variant of English marked by Scandinavian influence, particularly in its vocabulary.²⁵⁵ Finally, Anzaldúa's identification of a 'folk Catholicism',²⁵⁶ incorporating elements of pre-Columbian religion may also be mirrored in the Danelaw, as David Stocker has argued for the existence of a hybrid Christianity there, which included elements from the Scandinavian tradition.²⁵⁷ The Leeds cross, with its possible conflation of Christ and Weland, both powerful heroic figures, may provide further support of Stocker's thesis. This idea of Anglo-Scandinavian England, and the Leeds region more particularly, as a borderland may be a productive one, in that if we come to see the geography of early medieval Yorkshire as being without a fixed ethnic or cultural identity it may be easier to read the stone sculpture produced there without the projection of overly rigid ethnic categories. The tendency would no longer be to see it as essentially an Anglian body of work because it was produced in an Anglian place.

The preceding examination of the material and form of the sculpture also supports this view of the material as emblematic of a hybrid, borderland culture. While the monumental cross is clearly an Anglian form, its rectangular shape seems to be typical of the Anglo-Scandinavian period, while the fragmentary cross-head Leeds 6 provides a formal link to the settlers' Hiberno-Norse heritage. The probable Anglo-Scandinavian use of stone quarried at Addingham Edge provides evidence of a possible link with the Anglo-Scandinavian sculptors at Otley, while the fact that Leeds 2 is made of a local stone previously employed by earlier carvers on the site suggests that Anglian precedent may have also been seen as important.

The Anglo-Scandinavian sculpture produced at Leeds may be seen as a highly innovative hybrid body of material, representing a clear break from the Anglian past; the entry for the Leeds cross in the *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture* itself admits that it is an innovative monument, 'no mere copy of earlier work in the region.'²⁵⁸ Lang similarly describes it as

²⁵⁴ Anzaldúa, *Borderlands / La Frontera*, p. 77.

²⁵⁵ Hines, 'Scandinavian English: A Creole in Context' (pp. 406-408).

²⁵⁶ Anzaldúa, *Borderlands / La Frontera*, p. 49.

²⁵⁷ Stocker, 'Monuments and Merchants: Irregularities in the Distribution of Stone Sculpture in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire in the Tenth Century' (p. 194).

²⁵⁸ Coatsworth, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VIII: Western Yorkshire*, p. 58.

exhibiting a very strong combination of English and ‘Viking’ elements and thus ‘thoroughly Anglo-Scandinavian in spirit.’²⁵⁹ The figural carving from Leeds, while often difficult to firmly identify, further supports this argument. The figures which are probably best seen as Christian, including saints with haloes, are obviously indebted to Anglian prototypes, but are treated in a stylised manner which seems to be drawn from Irish contexts. The figure on panel Aiv of the Leeds cross, which seems most likely to represent the patron of or person commemorated by the monument, draws on Scandinavian traditions of the commemorative use of stone monuments. The representations of Weland provide perhaps the best illustration of the hybrid nature of this sculpture. The depiction of the hero is clearly drawn from a Scandinavian tradition of representation, but refers to a heroic figure current in both Scandinavian and Anglo-Saxon culture. More generally, the monument’s apparent concern with birds and flight also illustrates the shared cultural ground. Birds were important in Germanic pre-Christian religions, as attributes of Odin, in the shared Weland story, as beasts of battle in both Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian literature and in terms of Biblical symbolism. They were also associated with the wider elite world through their role in hunting and as symbols of nobility. As at Otley, the hybridity exhibited at Leeds is one specific to the site and its context. While at the Wharfedale site, the context of a local dispute over landholding led to a hybridity based on conflict and one which involved the destruction of earlier Anglian work, at Leeds a borderland hybridity was at work, one which drew on motifs and iconographies from across an already blurred and tenuous cultural divide to create a distinctive body of work.

The ornamental carvings from the site present a similar picture. Much is linked to other Anglo-Scandinavian sculpture from the region, such as the general preponderance of plain plaits, ring-chain and angular interlace. The Mammen style tendrils of panel Ai of the Leeds cross provide a more direct link to Scandinavian art. Some ornament seems to refer to regional groupings or identities, such as the local knot pattern on panel Aiii of the same monument. However, Anglian precedents are also drawn upon, such as the plant-scroll on faces B and D of the cross. More generally, the composition of the cross follows an Anglian panelled arrangement.²⁶⁰ The stone-sculpture produced at Leeds thus seems closely comparable to that of Otley and Weston. The Leeds carvings are hybrid and borderland products tied to the landscape, and are best seen not as imitative continuations of the Anglian tradition, but as complex and symbolically charged statements about changing and fluid identities as well as assertions of status and power in the landscape.

²⁵⁹ Lang, *Anglo-Saxon Sculpture*, p. 44.

²⁶⁰ Coatsworth, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VIII: Western Yorkshire*, p. 201.

Chapter 3 Conclusion

The Anglo-Scandinavian sculpture produced both in Wharfedale and at Leeds thus presents a highly complex picture of cultural hybridity, drawing on a very wide range of sources, from local Anglian sculpture to Irish carvings and Scandinavian rune-stones. Iconographies are of remarkably varied types. These include Christian images drawn from Anglo-Saxon stone sculpture, representations of Scandinavian warriors and local lords, and in the case of the Leeds cross a mythological hero, Weland, who appealed to both Scandinavian and Anglo-Saxon sensibilities. While these carvings have traditionally been seen as largely imitative of Anglian work and of a lesser quality, the recontextualisation of the sculpture in the landscape and history of the ninth and tenth centuries has shown that they were in many important ways deliberately marking a change from Anglian practice as well as asserting Anglo-Scandinavian claims over the landscape and the legitimacy of the Anglian tradition.

While both Leeds and Otley saw the production of hybrid sculpture, there are once again important differences between the nature and function of the hybridities at the two locations, suggested very definitely by the differing landscape contexts and histories of the sites. At Leeds, a borderland setting led to the production of a complex Anglo-Scandinavian monument, which drew on elements of the Anglian, Irish and Scandinavian artistic traditions. It is possible that the monument was deliberately designed to bring together these traditions. The choice of Weland, for example, a figure who existed both in Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian mythology, may well have been deliberately intended to have an appeal across the cultural divide between these two different but related traditions. A theme of heroism may also have been used to bring together the two traditions, with the hero Weland set alongside the Christian saints and an image of a contemporary warrior. In the case of the Leeds cross, hybridity seems to have served a commemorative function, creating what was probably an appropriate commemorative monument for a member of the new Anglo-Scandinavian elite. To this end, the carver drew on comparable heroic figures from Christian and vernacular settings.

At Otley and Weston there was a very different type of hybridity. The carvings at the site were probably produced in the context of a struggle for control of the surrounding lands, between the new Anglo-Scandinavian settlers of the region and the archbishopric of York. As at Nunburnholme, the hybridity in this part of Wharfedale was one that required destruction, with the over-carving of an Anglian monument with armed, apparently secular figures. As has been noted, this would have made a very clear point about the new Anglo-Scandinavian control of the landscape. It is also significant that unlike at Leeds, there were a number of very sophisticated, classicising Anglian monuments at Otley. In this context, it seems possible that the Anglo-Scandinavian carvings produced there, including armed frontal figures and dense,

jumbled interlace, were produced in deliberate opposition to the earlier Anglian work and designed to have a distinctive visual identity

Thesis Conclusion

This consideration of the stone-sculpture of Anglo-Scandinavian Yorkshire in its landscape setting has revealed much about the six individual sites examined and the sculpture which was erected at each. However, the preceding analysis also has some wider lessons about how such material might best be approached, the sorts of statements Anglo-Scandinavian sculptors were making through their work, and the nature of the material taken as a whole.

It has become clear that a proper understanding of the stone sculpture requires at least an awareness of the landscape context within which it was erected and interacted with in the ninth and tenth centuries. This context consisted not just of the traditional concerns of landscape studies, but also geology, geography, and the wider political, social and linguistic history of a site and its surrounding area. At York Minster, for example, an awareness that this was a period in which the topography and place-names of the city were being transformed suggests that the Anglo-Scandinavian stone sculpture found there is best viewed as something different from the Anglian monuments which had been erected there in the preceding centuries. In an urban landscape that was becoming very much an Anglo-Scandinavian one, transformed by the Scandinavian settlements, the stone sculpture produced is most naturally read as equally transformative and hybridising. Other sites considered in this thesis also emphasise the importance of locating the sculptural material within its landscape context. At Kirkleavington, for example, the possible existence of a market or trading centre on the banks of the Tees, along with the exceptional and diverse sculptural collection from the site, suggests the presence of a mercantile Anglo-Scandinavian community, engaged in social display and the manufacturing of identity through the patronage and erection of monumental stone sculpture. Finally, at Otley and Weston, a picture emerges of a contested landscape, one in which the ownership of land was a matter of conflict between the new settlers and the powerful see of York. In such a context, the recarving of Anglian cross-arms with martial images for probable reuse as gravemarkers becomes not a mindless act of cultural vandalism, but a very deliberate one which sought to distance the new Anglo-Scandinavian landholders from the Anglian past.

It is also clear from a number of sites, including Otley and Weston, that the patrons and carvers of Anglo-Scandinavian stone sculpture were consistently using these monuments to make statements about their power in the landscape, from which the stone itself was derived. The recarving of Anglian cross-arms at Otley and Weston can clearly be seen as a statement of the new, Anglo-Scandinavian control over the landscape. At York Minster, the conscious and deliberate recarving of Roman stones, one of which featured a Latin inscription, may well have been a deliberate attempt to draw on Roman and imperial traditions of power, at a site which

was practically and symbolically the centre of Roman power in the north of England. A similar pattern emerges at Nunburnholme, where the Anglian cross, again probably a reused Roman stone, was also recarved by an Anglo-Scandinavian sculptor. Again, the recarving was not an act of easy assimilation; here Anglian carving was once more obliterated and in this case replaced by a depiction of the Sigurd mythology, a subject situated far outside the Anglo-Saxon norm in terms of its inclusion on monumental stone sculpture. This distinctive break from the Anglian past, literally carved onto the fabric of the landscape itself, may have been intended to send a very strong message about the new, Anglo-Scandinavian control over the area.

The six sites taken as a whole also indicate that the Anglo-Scandinavian stone sculpture was very much a hybrid body of material, not merely a continuation of Anglian artistic norms with a few minor Scandinavian embellishments. The idea of hybridity, drawn from postcolonial studies, suggests not just a simple assimilation or mixing of cultures in an early medieval melting pot, but a complex and at times antagonistic state in which two different but related traditions were brought together in different ways in different contexts. At Leeds, for example, this hybridity seems to have been one designed to break down the already tenuous cultural dividing line between the Scandinavian settlers and the Anglo-Saxon inhabitants of the region. Thus the Leeds cross may have deliberately juxtaposed traditional Anglo-Saxon iconographies such as angels with those drawn from the Scandinavian tradition, such as the winged depiction of Weland, himself a figure found in both the Scandinavian and Anglo-Saxon mythological traditions. Similarly, the monument may have been seeking to invite comparisons between the hero Weland, the heroic figure of Christ and a martial image of a man who may have been the person commemorated by the monument. Elsewhere, however, the hybridity of Anglo-Scandinavian sculpture was much more uneasy and indeed destructive. The recarving of the Anglian cross arms at Otley and Weston did create hybrid monuments, with both Anglian and Anglo-Scandinavian significances, but this was a hybridity based on the deliberate destruction of the Anglian past in the context of a local conflict over landholding, and was thus quite different from the more assimilative hybridity seemingly present at nearby Leeds. The depth and power of this hybridity is best evidenced by the development in this period of hybrid forms. The hogback, present at a number of our six sites, developed alongside the Scandinavian settlement, drawing on a wide variety of sources including Scandinavian vernacular architecture and Insular and Continental portable shrines. That the hybridity of the Anglo-Scandinavian stone sculpture extended to the very forms employed by the sculptors indicates that this was not a case of merely minor Scandinavian alterations to an essentially Anglian artistic tradition.

Finally, the sites and sculpture considered in this thesis show that the region's stone sculpture was not a static body of work, but rather one which was repeatedly refashioned and given new meanings by repeated waves of settlement and colonisation. In this context, the idea that the sculpture was essentially an Anglian body of work, with a short interruption during which the Anglo-Scandinavian sculptors made some minor alterations to this tradition, is especially tenuous. As we have seen, the region's stone sculpture far pre-dates the Anglian settlement, as evidenced by the Bronze Age cup-and-ball carved stone found at Otley. In the early Anglian period itself, stone may have been seen as very much a Roman material rather than an Anglo-Saxon one.¹ The stone remains of the Roman presence in the region would have been all around, especially in important centres such as York. The Anglo-Scandinavian recarving of a Roman stone with a Latin inscription at York clearly suggests that the Roman significance of stone may have continued to be recognised into the Anglo-Scandinavian period. The Anglian settlement led to a new transformation, with Roman stones being used for the carving of monuments such as the Nunburnholme cross. The Anglo-Scandinavian sculpture with which this thesis has been concerned was the result of another period of transformation linked to a new wave of settlement in the landscape. In this period Anglian monuments were recarved, as at Otley and Weston and Nunburnholme, creating new and distinctive Anglo-Scandinavian monuments. The Nunburnholme cross even indicates that this remaking and refashioning of stone sculpture did not end in the Anglo-Scandinavian period; the Norman recarving of one part of that monument with the image of a centaur was associated with yet another wave of colonisation and settlement. The diverse nature of stone sculpture across the Insular world in this period, and the increasing concentration on architectural sculpture in southern England in contrast to the monumental sculpture of Yorkshire, further suggests the medium cannot be viewed as an essentially Anglian one, and was not static but in the process of constant transformation.

This thesis has of course only attempted an overview of the landscape context and stone sculpture of a relatively small number of sites from one part of early medieval England. There is much scope for future research considering early Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Scandinavian stone sculpture in its landscape context. Clearly, other sites could be selected for a similar analysis, and perhaps given more in-depth consideration than has been possible in this survey. It would also be desirable to broaden the chronological and geographical scope of such studies, to take in stone sculpture erected across the Insular world in the early medieval period. Finally, further archaeological investigations into the sites examined in this thesis could further illuminate the relationship between the stone sculpture and its landscape setting. Such work could

¹ Hawkes, 'Iuxta Morem Romanorum: Stone and Sculpture in the Style of Rome' (p. 87).

concentrate on sites which have received no recent archaeological attention, such as Leeds and Nunburnholme, or sites such as York Minster which, while they have been excavated, may reward future investigators.

Bibliography

Abrams, Lesley, 'Conversion and Assimilation', in *Cultures in Contact: Scandinavian Settlement in England in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries*, ed. by Dawn M. Hadley and Julian D. Richards (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), pp. 135-53

—, 'Diaspora and Identity in the Viking Age', *Early Medieval Europe*, 20 (2012), 17-38

—, *The Problem of the Hogback* (Nottingham: The University of Nottingham, 2006)
<http://www.nottingham.ac.uk/shared/shared_viking/documents/Abrams.doc>. [accessed 19 March 2016]

Abrams, Lesley and David N. Parsons, 'Place-Names and the History of Scandinavian Settlement in England', in *Land, Sea and Home: Settlement in the Viking Period: Proceedings of a Conference on Viking-Period Settlement, at Cardiff, July 2001*, ed. by John Hines, Alan Lane and Mark Redknap (Leeds: Maney, 2004), pp. 379-431

Allen, D., 'Northumbrian Pennies of the Tenth Century', *British Numismatic Journal*, 22 (1934-37), 175-86

Allison, Keith J., *East Riding of Yorkshire Landscape* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1998)

Andreeff, Alexander, 'Gotlandic Picture Stones, Hybridity and Material Culture', in *Encounters, Materialities, Confrontations: Archaeologies of Social Space and Interaction*, ed. by Per Cornell and Fredrik Fahlander (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2008), pp. 242-58

Anzaldúa, Gloria, *Borderlands / La Frontera*, 2nd edn (San Francisco: Aunt Lute Books, 1999)

Bailey, Richard N., 'The Chronology of Viking-Age Sculpture in Northumbria', in *Anglo-Saxon and Viking age sculpture and its context: papers from the Collingwood Symposium on Insular sculpture from 800 to 1066*, ed. by James T. Lang, British Archaeological Reports British Series 49 (Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, 1978), pp. 173-203

—, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture: Volume IX: Cheshire and Lancashire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 2010)

—, *England's Earliest Sculptors* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1996)

—, 'The Hammer and the Cross', in *The Vikings in England and in Their Danish Homeland*, ed. by Else Roesdahl and others (London: Anglo-Danish Viking Project, 1981), pp. 83-94

—, 'Hogbacks', in *The Wiley Blackwell Encyclopedia of Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. by M. Lapidge and others, 2nd edn (Chichester: John Wiley & Sons, 2013), pp. 246-47

—, 'Scandinavian Myth on Viking-Period Stone Sculpture in England', in *11th International Saga Conference*, ed. by Geraldine Barnes and Margaret Clunies Ross (University of Sydney, 2000), pp. 15-23

—, *Viking Age Sculpture in Northern England* (London: Collins, 1980)

Bhabha, Homi K., *The Location of Culture* (London & New York: Routledge, 1994)

Binns, Alan L., *Tenth Century Carvings from Yorkshire and the Jellinge Style*, (Bergen: Grieg, 1956)

—, *The Viking Century in East Yorkshire* (York: East Yorkshire Local History Society, 1963)

Blackburn, Mark, 'The Coinage of Scandinavian York', in *Aspects of Anglo-Scandinavian York*, ed. by Richard A. Hall and others, *The Archaeology of York*, 8/4 (York: Council for British Archaeology, 2004), pp. 325-49

Bowman, William M., 'Saxon Antiquities, Discovered at Nunburnholme, near Pocklington', in *Reliquiæ Antiquæ Eboracenses; or, Remains of Antiquity: Relating to the County of York*, ed. by William M. Bowman (Leeds: Cooke and Clark, 1855), pp. 62-63

Brown, G. Baldwin, *The Arts in Early England*, 6 vols (London: John Murray, 1903-37)

Brown, M.M., 'Saxon and Viking Cleveland', in *The Archaeology of Cleveland*, ed. by D. A. Spratt (Middlesborough: Middlesborough Borough Council, 1979), pp. 31-44

Bryant, Richard, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume X: The Western Midlands* (Oxford: Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 2012)

Byock, Jesse, 'Sigurðr Fáfnisbani: An Eddic Hero Carved on Norwegian Stave Churches', in *Poetry in the Scandinavian Middle Ages: The Seventh International Saga Conference, Spoleto, 4-10 September 1988*, ed. by Theresa Pàroli (Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi Sull'Alto Medioevo, 1990), pp. 619-28

Cecire, Maria Sachiko, 'Ban Welondes: Wayland Smith in Popular Culture', in *Anglo-Saxon Culture and the Modern Imagination*, ed. by Clark David and Nicholas Perkin (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2010), pp. 201-217

Charles-Edwards, Thomas M., *Wales and the Britons, 350-1064* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013)

Chronicles of the Picts, Chronicles of the Scots: And Other Early Memorials of Scottish History, ed. by William Forbes Skene (Edinburgh: H.M. General Register House, 1867)

Clark, Edwin K., *Leeds Parish Church* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1931)

Coatsworth, Elizabeth, in *St Mary Bishophill Junior and St Mary Castlegate*, ed. by L.P. Wenham and others, *The Archaeology of York*, 8/2 (London: Council for British Archaeology for the York Archaeology Trust, 1987), pp. 161-63

—, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VIII: Western Yorkshire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 2008)

—, 'The "Robed Christ" in Pre-Conquest Sculptures of the Crucifixion', *Anglo-Saxon England*, XXIX (2000), 153-76

Codrington, Thomas, *Roman Roads in Britain* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1903)

Cohen, Jeffrey J., *Hybridity, Identity and Monstrosity in Medieval Britain: On Difficult Middles* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006)

—, 'Hybrids, Monsters, Borderlands: The Bodies of Gerald of Wales', in *The Postcolonial Middle Ages*, ed. by Jeffrey J. Cohen (New York: Palgrave, 2001), pp. 85-104

—, 'Introduction: Midcolonial', in *The Postcolonial Middle Ages*, ed. by Jeffrey J. Cohen (New York: Palgrave, 2001), pp. 1-17

Collingwood, W. G., 'Anglian and Anglo-Danish Sculpture in the East Riding, with Addenda Relating to the North Riding', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, 21 (1911), 254-302

—, 'Anglian and Anglo-Danish Sculpture in the North Riding of Yorkshire', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, XIX (1907), 266-413

—, 'Anglian and Anglo-Danish Sculpture in the West Riding, with Addenda to the North and East Ridings and York, and a General Review of the Early Christian Monuments of Yorkshire', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, XXIII (1915), 129-299

—, 'Anglo-Saxon Sculptured Stone', in *The Victoria County History of the County of York*, ed. by W. Page (London: Victoria County History, 1912), II, pp. 109-131

—, *Northumbrian Crosses of the Pre-Norman Age* (London: Faber & Gwyer, 1927)

Cowling, E. T., 'A Mesolithic Flintsite: The Sandbeds, Otley, Yorkshire', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, 43 (1973), 1-12

Cramp, Rosemary, *Anglian and Viking York* (York: St. Anthony's Press, 1971)

—, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume I: County Durham and Northumberland* (Oxford: Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 1984)

—, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture: Volume VII: South-West England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 2006)

—, 'The Viking Image', in *The Vikings*, ed. by R.T. Farrell (London: Phillimore, 1982), pp. 8-19

Cummins, William A., *The Age of the Picts* (Far Thrupp: Sutton, 1995)

Driscoll, Stephen T., *In search of the Northern Britons in the Early Historic Era (AD 400–1100)* (Glasgow: Regional Framework for Local History and Archaeology, 2015),

Eagles, Bruce N., *The Anglo-Saxon Settlement of Humberside*, British Archaeological Reports British Series, 68 (Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, 1979)

Edwards, Nancy, 'An Early Group of Crosses from the Kingdom of Ossory', *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, 113 (1983), 5-46

Edwards, William, *The Early History of the North Riding* (London: A. Brown and Sons, 1924)

Elgee, Frank and Harriet Elgee, *The Archaeology of Yorkshire* (London: Methuen, 1933)

Ellis Davidson, Hilda R., 'Gods and Heroes in Stone', in *The Early Cultures of North-West Europe (H.M. Chadwick Memorial Studies)*, ed. by Cyril Fox and Bruce Dickens (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1950), pp. 123-29

—, 'Sigurd in the Art of the Viking Age', *Antiquity*, 16 (1942), 216-36

—, 'Weland the Smith', *Folklore*, 69 (1958), 145-59

Everson, Paul and David Stocker, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume V: Lincolnshire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 1999)

Fairburn, W. A., 'Landforms and the geological evolution of the Vale of York during the Late Devensian', *Proceedings of the Yorkshire Geological Society*, 57 (2009), 145-54

Faull, Margaret L. and Stephen A. Moorhouse, *West Yorkshire: An Archaeological Survey to A.D. 1500*, 4 vols (Wakefield: West Yorkshire Metropolitan County Council, 1981)

Fellows-Jensen, Gillian, 'The Anglo-Scandinavian Street Names of York', in *Aspects of Anglo-Scandinavian York*, ed. by Richard A. Hall and others, *The Archaeology of York*, 8/4 (York: Council for British Archaeology, 2004), pp. 357-71

Fenton-Thomas, Chris, *The Forgotten Landscapes of the Yorkshire Wolds* (Stroud: Tempus, 2005)

Fox, H. S. A., 'The People of the Wolds in English Settlement History', in *The Rural Settlements of Medieval England: Studies Dedicated to Maurice Beresford and John Hurst*, ed. by Michael Aston, David Austin, and Christopher Dyer (Oxford: Blackwell, 1989), pp. 77-101

Foys, Martin K., 'New Media and the Nunburnholme Cross', in *Cross and Cruciform in the Anglo-Saxon World: Studies to Honor the Memory of Timothy Reuter*, ed. by Sarah L. Keefer, Karen L. Jolly, and Catherine E. Karkov (Morgantown: West Virginia University Press), pp. 340-68

—, *Virtually Anglo-Saxon: Old Media, New Media and Early Medieval Studies in the Late Age of Print* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2007)

Frank, George, *Ryedale and North Yorkshire Antiquities* (York and London: Sampson Brothers and Elliot Stock, 1888)

Fuglesand, Signe H., 'The Relationship between Scandinavian and English Art from the Late Eighth to the Mid-Twelfth Century', in *Sources of Anglo-Saxon Culture*, ed. by P. E. Szarmach and V. D. Oggins (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, Western Michigan University, 1986), pp. 203-241

Geary, Patrick J., *The Myth of Nations: The Medieval Origins of Europe* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003)

GENUKI, *LONDESBOROUGH: Geographical and Historical information from the year 1892* (London: GENUKI, 2015)
<<http://www.genuki.org.uk/big/eng/YKS/ERY/Londesborough/Londesborough92.html>>
[accessed 17 March 2016].

Golding, Brian, 'Trans-Border Transactions: Patterns of Patronage in Anglo-Norman Wales', *Haskins Society Journal*, 16 (2006), 27-46

Gondek, Meggen, 'Investing in Sculpture: Power in Early-historic Scotland', *Medieval Archaeology*, 50 (2006), 105-142

Graham-Campbell, James, 'Pagans and Christians', *History Today*, 36 (1986), 24-28

—, *Viking Artefacts: A Select Catalogue* (London: British Museum Publications for the Trustees of the British Museum, 1980)

—, *The Viking World* (London: Frances Lincoln, 2001)

Gräslund, Anne-Sofie, 'Wolves, Serpents and Birds: Their Symbolic Meaning in Old Norse Belief', in *Old Norse Religion in Long-Term Perspectives: Origins, Changes, and Interactions*, ed. by Anders Andrén, Kristina Jennbert and Catharina Raudvere (Lund: Nordic Academic Press, 2006), pp. 124-29

Graves, John, *The History of Cleveland, in the North Riding of the County of York: Comprehending an Historical and Descriptive View of the Ancient and Present State of Each Parish within the Wapontake of Langbargh; the Soil, Produce, and Natural Curiosities; with the Origin and Genealogy of the Principal Families within the District*, (Carlisle: F. Jollie and Sons, 1808)

Hadley, Dawn M., 'Conquest, Colonization and the Church: Ecclesiastical Organization in the Danelaw', *Historical Research*, 69 (1996), 109-128

—, 'Hamlet and the Princes of Denmark': Lordship in the Danelaw, c. 860-954', in *Cultures in Contact: Scandinavian Settlement in England in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries*, ed. by Dawn M. Hadley and Julian D. Richards (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), pp. 107-132

—, 'Masculinity', in *A Handbook of Anglo-Saxon Studies*, ed. by Jacqueline Stodnick and Renée Trilling (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), pp. 115-32

—, *The Northern Danelaw: its Social Structure, c. 800-1100* (London: Leicester University Press, 2000)

—, 'Viking and Native: Rethinking Identity in the Danelaw', *Early Medieval Europe*, 11 (2002), 45-70

—, *The Vikings in England: Settlement, Society and Culture* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006)

—, 'Warriors, Heroes and Companions: Negotiating Masculinity in Viking-Age England', *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History*, 15 (2008), 270-84

Hadley, Dawn M. and Jo Buckleberry, 'Caring for the Dead in Late Anglo-Saxon England', in *Pastoral Care in Late Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. by Francesca Tinti (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2005), pp. 121-47

Halkon, Peter, 'Researching an Ancient Landscape: The Foulness Valley, East Yorkshire', in *The Archaeology of Yorkshire: An Assessment at the Beginning of the 21st Century*, ed. by T. G. Manby, Stephen Moorhouse and Patrick Ottaway (Leeds: Yorkshire Archaeological Society, 2003), pp. 261-75

Hall, Richard A., 'Anglo-Scandinavian Attitudes: Archaeological Ambiguities in Late Ninth- to Mid-Eleventh-Century York', in *Cultures in Contact: Scandinavian Settlement in England in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries*, ed. by Dawn M. Hadley and Julian D. Richards (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), pp. 295-324

—, 'A Historiographical Introduction to Anglo-Scandinavian York', in *Aspects of Anglo-Scandinavian York*, ed. by Richard A. Hall and others, *The Archaeology of York*, 8/4 (York: Council for British Archaeology, 2004), pp. 293-304

—, 'A Kingdom Too Far: York in the Early Tenth Century', in *Edward the Elder: 899-924*, ed. by N.J. Higham and D.H. Hill (Abingdon: Taylor & Francis Group, 2001), pp. 188-99

—, 'The Topography of Anglo-Scandinavian York', in *Aspects of Anglo-Scandinavian York*, ed. by Richard A. Hall and others, *The Archaeology of York*, 8/4 (York: Council for British Archaeology, 2004), pp. 488-97

—, *Viking Age Archaeology in Britain and Ireland* (Princes Risborough: Shire, 1990)

Harbus, Antonina, *Helena of Britain in Medieval Legend* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2002)

Hawkes, Jane, 'Iuxta Morem Romanorum: Stone and Sculpture in the Style of Rome', in *Anglo-Saxon Styles*, ed. by Catherine E. Karkov and George H. Brown (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2003), pp. 69-100

Henry, Françoise, *Irish Art during the Viking Invasions (800-1020 A.D.)* (London: Methuen & Co, 1967)

Henry, Françoise, *Irish Art in the Early Christian Period (to 800 A.D.)* (London: Methuen & Co, 1965)

Heslop, D.H., 'The Church of St Mary Magdalene, Yarm, Cleveland', *Durham Archaeological Journal*, 6 (1990), 35-43

Hines, John, 'Scandinavian English: A Creole in Context', in *Language Contact in the British Isles: Proceedings of the Eighth International Symposium on Language Contact in Europe, Douglas, Isle of Man, 1988*, ed. by P. Sture Ureland and George Broderick, *Linguistische Arbeiten*, 238 (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1991), pp. 403-427

Holsinger, Bruce W., 'Medieval Studies, Postcolonial Studies, and the Genealogies of Critique', *Speculum*, 77.3 (2002), 1195-227

Hoskins, William G., *The Making of the English Landscape* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1955)

Inman, R., 'Roman Cleveland', in *The Archaeology of Cleveland*, ed. by D .A. Spratt (Middlesborough: Middlesborough Borough Council, 1979), pp. 17-26

Innes, Matthew, 'Danelaw Identities: Ethnicity, Regionalism and Political Allegiance', in *Cultures in Contact: Scandinavian Settlement in England in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries*, ed. by Dawn M. Hadley and Julian D. Richards (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), pp. 65-88

Jesch, Judith, 'Eagles, Ravens and Wolves: Beasts of Battle, Symbols of Victory and Death', in *The Scandinavians from the Vendel Period to the Tenth Century: An Ethnographic Perspective*, ed. by Judith Jesch (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2002), pp. 251-71

Johnson, Stephen, 'Excavations at Hayton Roman Fort, 1975', *Britannia*, 9 (1978), 57-114

Jones, G. R .J., 'Some Donations to Bishop Wilfrid in Northern England', *Northern History*, 31 (1995), 22-38

—, 'To the Building of Kirkstall Abbey', in *Leeds and Its Region*, ed. by G. R. J. Jones and M. W. Beresford (Leeds: Leeds Local Executive Committee, British Association for the Advancement of Science, 1967), pp. 119-30

- Karkov, Catherine E., *The Art of Anglo-Saxon England* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2011)
- , 'Postcolonial', in *A Handbook of Anglo-Saxon Studies*, ed. by Jacqueline Stodnick and Renée Trilling (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), pp. 149-63
- Karkov, Catherine E. and Nicholas Howe, 'Introduction', in *Conversion and Colonization in Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. by Catherine E. Karkov and Nicholas Howe (Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2006), pp. xi-xx
- Kendrick, Thomas D., *Late Saxon and Viking Art* (London: Methuen & Co., 1949)
- Kenrick, John, 'Remarks on Some Coins Discovered near Warter, and Presented by Lord Londesborough to the Museums of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society, and the Leeds Literary and Philosophical Society', *Proceedings of the Geological and Polytechnic Society of the West Riding of Yorkshire*, 3 (1849), 495-502
- Klindt-Jensen, Ole and David M. Wilson, *Viking Art* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1966)
- Klinick, Anne L., 'Stone Sculpture', in *The Wiley Blackwell Encyclopedia of Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. by M. Lapidge and others, 2nd edn (Chichester: John Wiley & Sons, 2013), pp. 424-26
- Knowles, David and R. Neville Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses: England and Wales*, 2nd edn (London: Longman, 1971)
- Kopár, Lilla, *Gods and Settlers: The Iconography of Norse Mythology in Anglo-Scandinavian Sculpture*, (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012)
- Laing, Lloyd, 'How Late Were Pictish Symbols Employed?', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 130 (2000), 637-50
- Laing, Jenny and Lloyd Laing, *The Picts and the Scots* (Stroud: Sutton, 2001)

The Landscape Research Centre, *Heslerton Parish Project: Results* (Malton: The Landscape Research Centre 2015)

<<http://www.landscaperesearchcentre.org/Project%20HPP/results.htm>>. [accessed 17 March 2016]

Lang, James T., *Anglo-Saxon Sculpture* (Princes Risborough: Shire, 1988)

—, 'Continuity and Innovation in Anglo-Scandinavian Sculpture: A Study of the Metropolitan School at York', in *Anglo-Saxon and Viking Age Sculpture and its Context: papers from the Collingwood Symposium on Insular sculpture from 800 to 1066*, ed. by James T. Lang, British Archaeological Reports, British Series 49 (Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, 1978), pp. 145-72

—, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume III: York and Eastern Yorkshire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 1991)

—, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VI: Northern Yorkshire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 2002)

—, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VI: Northern Yorkshire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 2001)

—, 'The Distinctiveness of Viking Colonial Art', in *Sources of Anglo-Saxon Culture*, ed. by P. E. Szarmach and V. D. Oggins (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, Western Michigan University), 243-60

—, 'The Hogback: A Viking Colonial Monument', in *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History 3*, ed. by S. C. Hawkes, J. Campbell and D. Brown (Oxford: Oxford University Committee for Archaeology, 1984), pp. 85-176

—, 'Hogback Monuments in Scotland', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 105 (1972), 206-235

—, 'Pre-Conquest Sculpture in Eastern Yorkshire', in *Medieval Art and Architecture in the East Riding of Yorkshire*, ed. by Christopher Wilson (London: British Archaeological Association, 1989), pp. 1-8

—, 'Recent Studies in the Pre-Conquest Sculpture of Northumbria', in *Studies in Medieval Sculpture*, ed. by Frederick Hugh Thompson (London: Society of Antiquaries of London, 1983), pp. 177-89

—, 'The Sculptors of the Nunburnholme Cross', *Archaeological Journal*, 133 (1977), 75-94

—, 'Sigurd and Weland in Pre-Conquest Carving from Northern England', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, 48 (1976), 83-94

—, 'Some Late Pre-Conquest Crosses in Ryedale: A Reappraisal', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 3rd ser., XXXVI (1973), 16-25

—, 'Survival and Revival in Insular Art: Northumbrian Sculpture of the 8th to 10th Centuries', in *The Age of Migrating Ideas: Early Medieval Art in Northern Britain and Ireland: Proceedings of the Second International Conference on Insular Art Held in the National Museums of Scotland in Edinburgh, 3-6 January 1991*, ed. by R. Michael Spearman and John Higgitt (Edinburgh, Stroud: National Museums of Scotland, Alan Sutton, 1993), pp. 261-67

Lawson, M.K., *Cnut: England's Viking King* (Stroud: The History Press, 2011)

Le Patourel, Jean and Paul Wood, 'Excavation at the Archbishop of York's Manor House at Otley', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, 45 (1973), 115-41

Lewis, Samuel, *A Topographical Dictionary of England* (London: S. Lewis & Company, 1831)

Liddy, Christian D., *The Bishopric of Durham in the Late Middle Ages: Lordship, Community and the Cult of St Cuthbert* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2008)

Lindow, John, *Handbook of Norse Mythology* (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2001)

Loveluck, Christopher, 'The Archaeology of Post-Roman Yorkshire, AD 400 to 700: Overview and Future Directions for Research', in *The Archaeology of Yorkshire: An Assessment at the Beginning of the 21st Century*, ed. by T. G. Manby, Stephen Moorhouse and Patrick Ottaway (Leeds: Yorkshire Archaeological Society, 2003) pp. 151-70

Loyn, H. R., *The Vikings in Britain* (London: Book Club Associates, 1977)

Lucy, Sam, *The Anglo-Saxon Way of Death: Burial Rites in Early England* (Stroud: Sutton, 2000)

Manby, T. G., .A. King and B. Vyner, 'The Neolithic and Bronze Ages: A Time of Early Agriculture', in *The Archaeology of Yorkshire: An Assessment at the Beginning of the 21st Century*, ed. by T.G. Manby, Stephen Moorhouse and Patrick Ottaway (Leeds: Yorkshire Archaeological Society, 2003), pp. 36-116

Margary, Ivan D., *Roman Roads in Britain*, rev. edn (London: Baker, 1967)

Margeson, Sue, 'The Volsung Legend in Medieval Art', in *Medieval Iconography and Narrative: A Symposium*, ed. by F.G. Andersen (Odense: Odense University Press, 1980), pp. 183-211

McGuire, Alec and Ann Clark, *The Leeds Crosses* (Leeds: Museum of Leeds, 1987)

McKinnell, John, 'The Context of Völundarkviða', *Saga-Book*, XXIII (1990), 1-27

—, 'Norse Mythology and Northumbria: A Response', *Scandinavian Studies*, 59 (1987), 325-37

Mellars, Paul, 'The Affinities of the Sandbeds Mesolithic Site', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, 45 (1973), 13-18

Moore, Tom, 'Detribalizing the Later Prehistoric Past: Concepts of Tribes in Iron Age and Roman Studies', *Journal of Social Archaeology*, 11 (2011), 334-60

Morris, C. D., 'Pre-Conquest Sculpture of the Tees Valley', *Medieval Archaeology*, XX (1976), 140-46

Morris, Joseph E., *The North Riding of Yorkshire*, 3rd edn (London: Methuen, 1931)

Morris, M. C. F., *Nunburnholme: Its History and Antiquities* (London; York: Henry Frowde; John Sampson, 1907)

Morris, Richard, *Churches in the Landscape* (London: Dent, 1989)

Muir, Richard, *Old Yorkshire: The Story of the Yorkshire Landscape and People* (London: Joseph, 1987)

Muysken, Pieter C., 'The Creole Languages of the Caribbean', in *A History of Literature in the Caribbean*, ed. by A. James Arnold, 3 vols (Amsterdam: Benjamins, 2001), II, pp. 399-414

National Museum of Denmark, *The Jelling Stone* (Copenhagen: National Museum of Denmark) <http://en.natmus.dk/historical-knowledge/denmark/prehistoric-period-until-1050-ad/the-viking-age/the-monuments-at-jelling/the-jelling-stone/>. [accessed 19 March 2016].

Natural England, *Natural Character Area Profile: 24 Vale of Mowbray (NE 442)* (York: Natural England, 2013)

Norton, Christopher, 'The Anglo-Saxon Cathedral at York and the Topography of the Anglian City', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 151 (1998), 1-42

—, 'York Minster in the Time of Wulfstan', in *Wulfstan, Archbishop of York: The Proceedings of the Second Alcuin Conference*, ed. by Matthew Townend (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), pp. 207-234

The University of Nottingham, *Key to English Place Names: Brompton* (Nottingham: The University of Nottingham, 2016)
 <<http://kepn.nottingham.ac.uk/map/place/Yorkshire%20NR/Brompton>>. [accessed 19 March 2016].

—, *Key to English Place Names: Crathorne* (Nottingham: The University of Nottingham, 2016)
 <<http://kepn.nottingham.ac.uk/map/place/Yorkshire%20NR/Crathorne>>. [accessed 18 March 2016].

—, *Key to English Place Names: Kirk Leavington* (Nottingham: The University of Nottingham, 2016) <<http://kepn.nottingham.ac.uk/map/place/Yorkshire%20NR/Kirk%20Leavington>>. [accessed 18 March 2016].

—, *Key to English Place Names: Londesborough with Easthorpe* (Nottingham: The University of Nottingham, 2016)
 <<http://kepn.nottingham.ac.uk/map/place/Yorkshire%20ER/Londesborough%20with%20Easthorpe>>. [accessed 17 March 2016].

—, *Key to English Place Names: Low Worsall* (Nottingham: The University of Nottingham, 2016) <<http://kepn.nottingham.ac.uk/map/place/Yorkshire%20NR/Low%20Worsall>>. [accessed 18 March 2016].

—, *Key to English Place Names: Northallerton* (Nottingham: The University of Nottingham, 2016) <<http://kepn.nottingham.ac.uk/map/place/Yorkshire%20NR/Northallerton>>. [accessed 19 March 2016].

—, *Key to English Place Names: Romanby* (Nottingham: The University of Nottingham, 2016)
 <<http://kepn.nottingham.ac.uk/map/place/Yorkshire%20NR/Romanby>>. [accessed 19 March 2016].

Okasha, Elisabeth, *Hand-List of Anglo-Saxon Non-Runic Inscriptions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971)

Ordnance Survey. (2015). Sheet 294, 'Market Weighton & Yorkshire Wolds Central'. 1:25,000. OS Explorer map. Southampton: Ordnance Survey.

Orton, Fred, 'Rethinking the Ruthwell and Bewcastle Monuments: Some Strictures on Similarity; Some Questions of History', in *Theorizing Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture*, ed. by Catherine E. Karkov and George Hardin Brown (New York: State University of New York Press, 2003), pp. 31-68

Orton, Fred, Ian Wood and Clare A. Lees, *Fragments of History: Rethinking the Ruthwell and Bewcastle Monuments* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007)

Ottaway, Patrick, 'The Archaeology of the Roman Period in the Yorkshire Region: A Rapid Resource Assessment', in *The Archaeology of Yorkshire: An Assessment at the Beginning of the 21st Century*, ed. by T. G. Manby, Stephen Moorhouse and Patrick Ottaway (Leeds: Yorkshire Archaeological Society, 2003), pp. 125-49

—, *English Heritage Book of Roman York* (London: Batsford, 1993)

Owen-Crocker, Gale R., *Dress in Anglo-Saxon England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1986)

Parsons, David N., 'The Inscriptions of Viking-Age York', in *Aspects of Anglo-Scandinavian York*, ed. by Richard A. Hall and others, *The Archaeology of York*, 8/4 (York: Council for British Archaeology, 2004), pp. 350-56

Pattinson, Ian R., 'The Nunburnholme Cross and Anglo-Danish Sculpture in York', *Archaeologia*, 104 (1973), 209-234

Pearson, Frederic R., *Roman Yorkshire* (London: A. Brown & Sons, 1936)

Pereira, Mario, 'Centaur', in *The Classical Tradition*, ed. by Anthony Grafton, Glenn W. Most and Salvatore Settis (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2010), pp. 187-89

Pevsner, Nikolaus, *Yorkshire: The North Riding* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1966)

Phillips, D., B. Heywood and M. O. H. Carver, *Excavations at York Minster Vol. 1. From Roman Fortress to Norman Cathedral* (London, HMSO, 1995)

Pickles, Thomas, 'Angel Veneration on Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture from Dewsbury (West Yorkshire), Otley (West Yorkshire) and Halton (Lancashire): Contemplative Preachers and Pastoral Care', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 162 (2009), 1-28

The Poetic Edda, ed. and trans. by Carolyne Larrington (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996)

Ramirez, Janina S., 'The Symbolic Life of Birds in Anglo-Saxon England' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of York, 2006)

Rebenich, Stefan, 'Inventing an Ascetic Hero: Jerome's Life of Paul the First Hermit' in *Jerome of Stridon: his life, writings and legacy*, ed. by Andrew Cain and Josef Lössl (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), pp. 13-28

Richards, Julian D., *English Heritage Book of Viking Age England* (London: Batsford, 1991)

Roberts, Brian K. and Stuart Wrathmell, *An Atlas of Rural Settlement in England* (London: English Heritage, 2000)

Roe, Helen M., 'Interpretations of Certain Symbolic Sculptures of Early Christian Ireland', *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, LXXV (1945), 1-23

Rollason, David W., 'Anglo-Scandiavian York: The Evidence of Historical Sources', in *Aspects of Anglo-Scandinavian York*, ed. by Richard A. Hall and others, *The Archaeology of York*, 8/4 (York: Council for British Archaeology, 2004), 305-24

—, *Northumbria, 500-1100: Creation and Destruction of a Kingdom* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003)

Saunders, O. Elfrida, *A History of English Art in the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1932)

Sawyer, Birgit, *The Viking Age Rune-Stones: Customs and Commemoration in Early Medieval Scandinavia* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000)

Sawyer, P. H., *From Roman Britain to Norman England* (London: Routledge, 1998)

Semple, Sarah, *Perceptions of the Prehistoric in Anglo-Saxon England: Religion, Ritual, and Rulership in the Landscape* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013)

Short, William R., *Icelanders in the Viking Age: The People of the Sagas* (Jefferson: McFarland & Co., 2010)

Smith, Albert H., *The Place-Names of the North Riding of Yorkshire*, English Place-Name Society (Series), V (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1928)

Smyth, Alfred P., *Scandinavian York and Dublin: The History and Archaeology of Two Related Viking Kingdoms*, 2 vols (Dublin: Templekieran Press, 1975-79)

Speight, Harry, *Upper Wharfedale: Being a Complete Account of the History, Antiquities and Scenery of the Picturesque Valley of the Wharfe, from Otley to Langstrothdale* (London: Elliot Stock, 1900)

Spratt, D. A., 'The Archaeology of Cleveland', in *The Archaeology of Cleveland*, ed. by D. A. Spratt (Middlesborough: Middlesborough Borough Council, 1979), pp. 5-6

—, 'The Prehistoric Era', in *The Archaeology of Cleveland*, ed. by D. A. Spratt (Middlesborough: Middlesborough Borough Council, 1979), pp. 7-16

Spratt, D. A. and B. R. Hartley, 'The Roman Period (AD 70-410)', in *Prehistoric and Roman Archaeology of North-East Yorkshire*, ed. by D. A. Spratt and M. A. Atherden (London: Council for British Archaeology, 1993), pp. 155-66

Stocker, David, 'Monuments and Merchants: Irregularities in the Distribution of Stone Sculpture in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire in the Tenth Century', in *Cultures in Contact: Scandinavian Settlement in England in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries*, ed. by Dawn M. Hadley and Julian D. Richards (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), pp. 179-212

Stoertz, Catherine, *Ancient Landscapes of the Yorkshire Wolds: Aerial Photographic Transcription and Analysis* (Swindon: Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England, 1997)

Svanberg, Fredrik, *Decolonizing the Viking Age*, 2 vols (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 2003)

Thompson, Victoria, *Dying and Death in Later Anglo-Saxon England* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2004)

Townend, Matthew, 'Viking Age England as a Bilingual Society', in *Cultures in Contact: Scandinavian Settlement in England in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries*, ed. by Dawn M. Hadley and Julian D. Richards (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), pp. 89-105

Trafford, Simon, 'Ethnicity, Migration Theory, and the Historiography of the Scandinavian Settlement of England', in *Cultures in Contact: Scandinavian Settlement in England in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries*, ed. by Dawn M. Hadley and Julian D. Richards (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), pp. 17-39

Treharne, Elaine, *Living through Conquest: The Politics of Early English, 1020-1220* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012)

Tweddle, Dominic, 'Art in Pre-Conquest York', in *Aspects of Anglo-Scandinavian York*, ed. by Richard A. Hall and others, *The Archaeology of York*, 8/4 (York: Council for British Archaeology, 2004), pp. 446-58

—, 'Sculptured Fragments', in *St Mary Bishophill Junior and St Mary Castlegate*, ed. by L. P. Wenham and others, *The Archaeology of York*, 8/2 (London: Council for British Archaeology for the York Archaeology Trust, 1987), pp. 155-60, 163-65

Vyner, Blaise, 'The Iron Age', in *Historical Atlas of North Yorkshire*, ed. by Robin A. Butler (Otley: Westbury, 2003), pp. 42-47

Wardell, John Wilford, *A History of Yarm: An Ancient North Riding Town* (Yarm: J. W. Wardell, 1957),

Webster, Leslie, *Anglo-Saxon Art* (London: The British Museum Press, 2012)

West Yorkshire Geology Trust, *Addingham Edge Millstone Quarry* (Huddersfield: West Yorkshire Geology Trust)
<<http://www.wyorksgeologytrust.org/lgsheets/bradford/Addingham%20Edge%20Millstone%20Quarry.pdf>>. [accessed 19 March 2016]

Williams, Howard, 'Hogbacks: the Materiality of Solid Spaces', in *Early Medieval Stone Monuments: Materiality, Biography, Landscape*, ed. by Howard Williams, Joanne Kirton and Meggen Gondek (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2015), pp. 241-63

Wilson, David M., *Anglo-Saxon Art: From the Seventh Century to the Norman Conquest* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1984)

Wilson, Peter, 'The First and Second Centuries', in *Historical Atlas of North Yorkshire*, ed. by Robin A. Butler (Otley: Westbury, 2003), pp. 48-52

Wood, Ian, 'Anglo-Saxon Otley: An Archiepiscopal Estate and Its Crosses in a Northumbrian Context', *Northern History*, 23 (1987), 20-38

Wood, Paul, *A Guide to the Landscape of Anglo-Saxon and Medieval Otley* (Otley: Otley Museum, 1984)

—, *A Guide to the Landscape of Otley: Seventh to Seventeenth Century* (Otley: C. Dean & P. Wood, 1999)

Wood, Rita, 'The Pictures on the Greater Jelling Stone', *Danish Journal of Archaeology*, 3 (2014), 19-32

Young, C., 'Discovery of Saxon Monumental Stones at Kirklevington Church, Yorkshire', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, VII (1882), 458-59