

**The organisation of the early church in the East
Riding of Yorkshire, c. 700 – 1100: the churches of
1086 and their origins**

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July 2009

Abstract

This study explores aspects of the organisation of the church in the eleventh century, and where possible its development in earlier centuries. It does this by means of a case study of the East Riding of Yorkshire, as defined by Domesday Book. Selecting a small area enabled the inclusion of all potentially identifiable church sites, and differs from some other local studies in broadening the perspective from a focus on minster sites to a consideration of all discoverable religious institutions. The inevitable predominance of Domesday Book as a source makes a focus on the end of the eleventh century inevitable. However, Anglo-Saxon stone sculpture has also been utilised in compiling an initial database of potential church sites, and allows some churches not recorded in Domesday Book to be identified. This database of potential religious sites, 62 in total within eighteen hundreds, has then been examined in more detail. Other evidence that relates to these sites such as excavation, place-names, other documentary evidence, small find assemblages and local topographical analysis has been incorporated. Models of ecclesiastical organisation and settlement structure are first examined to provide a context for this research. The methodology for this study and the limitations of the available evidence are then considered. Chapter four presents the data for East Riding church sites and begins to analyse it by proposing hypothetical ways the evidence could reveal religious institutions and hypothetical trajectories of development at individual sites. Chapter five is a series of case studies of the three main landholders, the Archbishop, the King and Drogo de la Beuvrière. This study's main conclusions are that a range of religious institutions may be identifiable, that the archbishops may be organising their churches to facilitate their perambulation around the East Riding and that some churches were situated to play a role beyond their own vill within a multiple estate.

Table of Contents

List of Illustrations	vii
Acknowledgements	xv
Chapter 1: Introduction	1
1.1 Geographical area, time period and an overview of the method employed	1
1.2 Topography, geology and communications	3
1.3 Political and cultural context	7
1.4 Ecclesiastical context	9
Chapter 2: Models of Ecclesiastical Organisation and Settlement Structure	13
2.1 Models of ecclesiastical organisation	13
2.1.1 Semantics	14
2.1.2 Local churches	16
2.1.3 The role of bishops	18
2.1.4 Ecclesiastical organisation in the East Riding	19
2.2 Settlement Structure	22
2.2.1 Regular villages	23
2.2.2 Open-field systems	26
2.2.3 The church in the settlement	28
Chapter 3: Research methodology and source critique	30
3.1 Research Methodology	30
3.2 Source critique	32
3.2.1 Documentary evidence	32
3.2.2 Domesday Book	34
3.2.3 Place-names	37
3.2.4 Sculptural evidence	37
3.2.5 Archaeological and architectural evidence	39
3.2.6 Settlement form and topographical evidence	41
Chapter 4: Data and analysis	45
4.1 Hypothetical religious institutions	53
4.1.1 Conversion period churches	53
4.1.2 Monastic communities, clerical communities and mother churches	55
4.1.3 Daughter churches, manorial churches and private chapels	57
4.2 Trajectories of development	58

Chapter 5: Case studies of the three principal landholders in 1086	65
5.1 Archiepiscopal churches	65
5.1.1 Archiepiscopal landholdings	65
5.1.2 Archiepiscopal Domesday Book estates	68
5.1.3 Landholdings of the Bishop of Durham	70
5.1.4 Archiepiscopal churches	71
5.1.5 Episcopal churches	75
5.1.6 Research directions for a topographical analysis of archiepiscopal church sites	77
5.2 Royal churches	81
5.2.1 Royal landholdings	81
5.2.2 Royal churches	82
5.3 Drogo de la Beuvrière's churches	85
5.3.1 Landholdings of Drogo de la Beuvrière	85
5.3.2 Churches of Drogo de la Beuvrière	88
Chapter 6: Conclusions	94
Appendix: Gazetteer	98
Acklam Hundred	99
Acklam	99
Kirby Underdale	102
Kirkham	106
Wharram Percy	109
Burton Hundred	117
Lowthorpe	114
Cave Hundred	122
North Newbald	122
South Cave	126
Driffield Hundred	130
Bainton	130
Great Driffield	133
Little Driffield	136
Hessle Hundred	141
Hessle	142
Kirk Ella	144
North Ferriby	148
Wressle	150
Howden Hundred	153
Howden	154

Hemingbrough	158
Skipwith	162
Hunthow Hundred	166
Bridlington	166
Middle Hundred of Holderness	170
Aldbrough	170
Fostun	174
Garton	174
Preston	177
Swine	180
North Hundred of Holderness	183
Barmston	183
Beeford	187
Catwick	190
Hornsea	193
Leven	197
North Frodingham	200
Sigglesthorne	204
Pocklington Hundred	207
Bishop Wilton	207
Elvington	210
Sutton upon Derwent	212
Pocklington	214
Wheldrake	218
Scard Hundred	222
Buckton Holms	222
Langton	224
Norton	227
Sneculfros Hundred	230
Beverley	230
Middleton on the Wolds	236
Watton	239
South Hundred of Holderness	242
Keyingham	243
Ottringham	245
Patrington	248
Roos	252
Welwick	254
Withernsea	257
Thorshowe Hundred	260

Cowlam	260
Kirby Grindalythe	265
Sherburn	270
Turbar Hundred	278
Folkton	279
Foston on the Wolds	282
Garton on the Wolds	286
Hunmanby	290
Warter Hundred	295
Warter	295
North Dalton	298
Nunburnholme	301
Weighton Hundred	304
Holme upon Spalding Moor	304
Londesborough	307
Sancton	310
Welton Hundred	315
Elloughton	315
North Cave	319
Abbreviations	323
Bibliography	324

List of Illustrations

Fig. 1.	The five topographical regions of the East Riding.	3
Fig. 2.	Domesday Book settlements of the East Riding.	5
Fig. 3.	The topography of Yorkshire including all the major rivers.	6
Fig. 4.	East Riding section of Morris's ' <i>Parochiae</i> of superior churches in pre-Conquest Yorkshire.'	20
Fig. 5.	Table of all potential church sites identified by Domesday Book or Anglo-Saxon stone sculpture.	45
Fig. 6.	Pre-1100 church sites.	48
Fig. 7.	Table of church sites with evidence preceding Domesday Book.	49
Fig. 8.	Domesday Book ownership of settlements with potential pre-1100 churches.	51
Fig. 9.	Places named in the surveys of the Archbishop of York's estates.	67
Fig. 10.	Land of the Archbishop of York from Domesday Book.	69
Fig. 11.	Land of the Canons of St John from Domesday Book.	70
Fig. 12.	Land of the Bishop of Durham from Domesday Book.	71
Fig. 13.	Land of the Archbishop of York with pre-1100 churches.	74
Fig. 14.	Bishop Wilton from the 1854 Ordnance Survey.	78
Fig. 15.	Londesborough from the 1854 Ordnance Survey.	79
Fig. 16.	Land of the King from Domesday Book.	81
Fig. 17.	Land of the King with Pre-Conquest Churches.	83
Fig. 18.	Land of Drogo de la Beuvrière from Domesday Book.	85
Fig. 19.	Estate centres of Drogo de la Beuvrière.	87
Fig. 20.	Land of Drogo de la Beuvrière with Pre-Conquest Churches.	89
Fig. 21.	Modern Ordnance Survey map showing church sites of Acklam Hundred.	99
Fig. 22.	Map of Acklam from the 1854 Ordnance Survey.	99
Fig. 23.	Aerial view of Acklam.	100
Fig. 24.	Map of Kirby Underdale from the 1854 Ordnance Survey.	102
Fig. 25.	Aerial view of Kirby Underdale.	102
Fig. 26.	All Saints, Kirby Underdale from the south.	103
Fig. 27.	1854 Ordnance Survey showing All Saints, Kirby Underdale and an Anglo-Saxon Cemetery.	105
Fig. 28.	Map of Kirkham from the 1854 Ordnance Survey.	106
Fig. 29.	Aerial view of Kirkham.	106
Fig. 30.	Kirkham priory showing position on valley floor.	107
Fig. 31.	Map of Wharram Percy showing earthworks from the 1854 Ordnance Survey.	109
Fig. 32.	Aerial view of Wharram Percy.	109
Fig. 33.	The church of St Martin, Wharram Percy from the south.	110

Fig. 34.	The interior of St Martin's, Wharram Percy with the walls of the Anglo-Saxon church marked out.	111
Fig. 35.	St Martin's, Wharram Percy from the north showing position at valley foot.	111
Fig. 36.	The decorated face of Wharram Percy 1.	112
Fig. 37.	From the left in a clockwise order Wharram Percy 2, 4 & 3.	113
Fig. 38.	Modern Ordnance Survey showing position of Lowthorpe.	117
Fig. 39.	Lowthorpe from the 1854 Ordnance Survey.	117
Fig. 40.	Aerial view of Lowthorpe.	118
Fig. 41.	The church of St. Martin, Lowthorpe from the south-east.	118
Fig. 42.	Lowthorpe 1.	120
Fig. 43.	Lowthorpe 1A, and 1B.	120
Fig. 44.	Lowthorpe 1C and 1D.	121
Fig. 45.	Modern Ordnance Survey showing locations of North Newbald and South Cave.	122
Fig. 46.	North and South Newbald from the 1855 Ordnance Survey map.	122
Fig. 47.	Aerial view of North and South Newbald.	123
Fig. 48.	The Church of St Nicholas, North Newbald from the south-west.	124
Fig. 49.	The Church of St. Nicholas, North Newbald from the north-east.	124
Fig. 50.	South Cave from the 1855 Ordnance Survey map.	126
Fig. 51.	An aerial view of South Cave.	127
Fig. 52.	All Saints, South Cave from the south.	127
Fig. 53.	All Saints, South Cave from the south-west.	128
Fig. 54.	Modern Ordnance Survey map showing the church sites of Driffield Hundred.	130
Fig. 55.	Map of Bainton from the 1854 Ordnance Survey.	130
Fig. 56.	Aerial view of Bainton.	131
Fig. 57.	St Andrew, Bainton from the south-east.	131
Fig. 58.	Map of Great Driffield from the 1854 Ordnance Survey.	133
Fig. 59.	Aerial view of Great Driffield.	133
Fig. 60.	All Saints, Driffield from the south-east.	134
Fig. 61.	Map of Little Driffield from the 1854 Ordnance Survey.	136
Fig. 62.	Aerial view of Little Driffield.	136
Fig. 63.	St Mary, Little Driffield from the north-west.	137
Fig. 64.	St Mary, Little Driffield from the west.	138
Fig. 65.	Little Driffield 1.	139
Fig. 66.	Modern Ordnance Survey map showing the locations of Kirk Ella, Hessle and North Ferriby.	141
Fig. 67.	Modern Ordnance Survey map showing Wressle.	141
Fig. 68.	Map of Hessle from the 1854 Ordnance Survey.	142

Fig. 69.	Aerial view of Hessle.	142
Fig. 70.	All Saints, Hessle from the south-east.	143
Fig. 71.	Map of Kirk Ella from the 1854 Ordnance Survey.	144
Fig. 72.	Aerial view of Kirk Ella.	145
Fig. 73.	St Andrew, Kirk Ella from the south.	145
Fig. 74.	Map of North Ferriby from the 1854 Ordnance Survey.	147
Fig. 75.	Aerial view of North Ferriby.	147
Fig. 76.	All Saints, North Ferriby from the north.	148
Fig. 77.	Map of Wressle from the 1854 Ordnance Survey.	150
Fig. 78.	Aerial view of Wressle.	150
Fig. 79.	St John of Beverley church from the south.	151
Fig. 80.	Modern Ordnance Survey map showing church sites of Howden Hundred.	153
Fig. 81.	Map of Howden from the 1853-55 Ordnance Survey.	154
Fig. 82.	Aerial view of Howden.	154
Fig. 83.	St Peter and St Paul, Howden from the north-west.	155
Fig. 84.	St Peter and St Paul, Howden and marketplace, from the east.	155
Fig. 85.	Hemingbrough from the 1854 Ordnance Survey map.	158
Fig. 86.	Aerial view of Hemingbrough.	158
Fig. 87.	St Mary, Hemingbrough from the west.	159
Fig. 88.	St Mary, Hemingbrough from the south-east.	160
Fig. 89.	Skipwith from the Ordnance Survey map of 1854.	162
Fig. 90.	An aerial view of Skipwith.	162
Fig. 91.	St Helen, Skipwith from the south-east.	163
Fig. 92.	Skipwith church tower from the south.	164
Fig. 93.	Modern Ordnance Survey showing the position of Bridlington.	166
Fig. 94.	Bridlington from the 1851-4 Ordnance Survey.	166
Fig. 95.	Aerial view of Bridlington.	167
Fig. 96.	Groundplans of Bridlington Priory church of St. Mary from 1833 and 1834.	167
Fig. 97.	St. Mary, Bridlington from the south-west.	168
Fig. 98.	Modern Ordnance Survey showing Middle Hundred of Holderness.	170
Fig. 99.	Map of Aldbrough from the 1855 Ordnance Survey.	170
Fig. 100.	Aerial view of Aldbrough.	171
Fig. 101.	St Bartholomew, Aldbrough from the south-east.	171
Fig. 102.	Aldbrough 1, a sundial.	173
Fig. 103.	Garton from the 1855 Ordnance Survey.	174
Fig. 104.	Aerial view of Garton.	175
Fig. 105.	St Michael, Garton from the south-east.	175
Fig. 106.	Preston from the 1855 Ordnance Survey.	177
Fig. 107.	Aerial view of Preston.	177

Fig. 108. All Saints, Preston from the north-east.	178
Fig. 109. Swine from the 1851-55 Ordnance Survey.	180
Fig. 110. Aerial view of Swine.	181
Fig. 111. St. Mary, Swine from the south-east.	181
Fig. 112. Modern Ordnance Survey showing church sites of North Hundred of Holderness.	183
Fig. 113. Map of Barmston from the 1854 Ordnance Survey.	183
Fig. 114. Aerial view of Barmston.	184
Fig. 115. St Leonard, Barmston from the north-west.	184
Fig. 116. Barmston 1.	186
Fig. 117. Barmston 1 from the side.	186
Fig. 118. Barmston 1 from above from both ends.	187
Fig. 119. Map of Beeford from the 1854 Ordnance Survey.	188
Fig. 120. Aerial view of Beeford.	188
Fig. 121. St Leonard, Beeford from the south-east.	189
Fig. 122. Church plan of St Leonard from 1845.	189
Fig. 123. Map of Catwick from the 1854 Ordnance Survey.	190
Fig. 124. Aerial view of Catwick	191
Fig. 125. Church plan of St Michael from 1863 after rebuilding works carried out.	191
Fig. 126. St Michael, Catwick from the south.	192
Fig. 127. Map of Hornsea from the 1854 Ordnance Survey.	193
Fig. 128. Aerial view of Hornsea.	194
Fig. 129. St. Nicholas, Hornsea from the south-west.	194
Fig. 130. A plan of the church of St. Nicholas from 1865-8.	195
Fig. 131. Map of Leven and St Faith's churchyard from the 1854 Ordnance Survey.	197
Fig. 132. Aerial view of Leven and St. Faith's church.	197
Fig. 133. The abandoned churchyard of the medieval church of St Faith.	198
Fig. 134. Leven 1B, 1C and 1D.	199
Fig. 135. Map of North Frodingham from the 1854 Ordnance Survey.	200
Fig. 136. Aerial view of North Frodingham.	200
Fig. 137. St Elgin, North Frodingham from the south-east.	201
Fig. 138. Church plan of St Elgin from 1878.	201
Fig. 139. North Frodingham 1C.	202
Fig. 140. North Frodingham 1B and 1D.	203
Fig. 141. Map of Sigglesthorne from the 1854 Ordnance Survey.	204
Fig. 142. Aerial view of Sigglesthorne.	205
Fig. 143. St Lawrence, Sigglesthorne from the south-west.	205
Fig. 144. Modern Ordnance Survey map showing church sites of Pocklington Hundred.	207
Fig. 145. Map of Bishop Wilton from the 1854 Ordnance Survey.	207

Fig. 146. Aerial view of Bishop Wilton with the top facing south-west.	208
Fig. 147. Saint Edith, Bishop Wilton from the north-west.	208
Fig. 148. Map of Elvington and Sutton upon Derwent from the 1854 Ordnance Survey.	210
Fig. 149. Aerial view of Elvington and Sutton upon Derwent.	210
Fig. 150. Holy Trinity, Elvington from the south.	211
Fig. 151. St Michael, Elvington from the south.	212
Fig. 152. An 1846 plan of St. Michael's church.	213
Fig. 153. Map of Pocklington from the 1854 Ordnance Survey.	215
Fig. 154. Aerial view of Pocklington.	215
Fig. 155. All Saints, Pocklington from the south-east.	216
Fig. 156. Map of Wheldrake from the 1854 Ordnance Survey.	218
Fig. 157. Aerial view of Wheldrake.	218
Fig. 158. St Helen, Wheldrake from the south.	219
Fig. 159. Modern Ordnance Survey showing church sites of Scard hundred.	222
Fig. 160. Buckton Holms from the 1854 Ordnance Survey.	222
Fig. 161. Aerial view of Buckton Holms.	223
Fig. 162. Langton from the 1854-5 Ordnance Survey.	224
Fig. 163. Aerial view of Langton.	225
Fig. 164. St Andrew, Langton from the north-east.	225
Fig. 165. Norton from the 1854 Ordnance Survey.	227
Fig. 166. Aerial view of Norton.	227
Fig. 167. St Peter, Norton from the south-east.	228
Fig. 168. Modern Ordnance Survey map showing church sites of Sneculfros Hundred.	230
Fig. 169. Map of Beverley from the 1854 Ordnance Survey.	230
Fig. 170. Aerial view of Beverley.	231
Fig. 171. St John, Beverley from the north-west.	232
Fig. 172. Stone seat inside Beverley Minster.	233
Fig. 173. Map of Middleton on the Wolds from the 1854 Ordnance Survey.	236
Fig. 174. Aerial view of Middleton on the Wolds.	236
Fig. 175. St Andrew, Middleton on the Wolds from the south-east.	237
Fig. 176. St Andrew, Middleton on the Wolds from the south.	238
Fig. 177. Map of Watton from the 1854 Ordnance Survey.	239
Fig. 178. Aerial view of Watton.	240
Fig. 179. St Mary, Watton from the north-east.	240
Fig. 180. Modern Ordnance Survey showing the church sites of South Hundred of Holderness.	242
Fig. 181. Modern Ordnance Survey showing south-eastern extremity of South Hundred of Holderness.	242

Fig. 182. Keyingham from the 1855 Ordnance Survey.	243
Fig. 183. Aerial view of Keyingham.	243
Fig. 184. St Nicholas, Keyingham from the north-east.	244
Fig. 185. Ottringham from the 1855 Ordnance Survey.	245
Fig. 186. Aerial view of Ottringham.	246
Fig. 187. St Wilfrid, Ottringham from the south-east.	246
Fig. 188. Patrington from the 1855 Ordnance Survey.	248
Fig. 189. Aerial view of Patrington.	248
Fig. 190. Groundplan of St Patricks from 1863.	249
Fig. 191. Perspective of St. Patricks from 1892-4.	249
Fig. 192. St Patrick, Patrington from the north.	250
Fig. 193. The two faces with visible carving of the Patrington 1 cross-shaft.	251
Fig. 194. Roos from the 1855 Ordnance Survey.	252
Fig. 195. Aerial view of Roos.	253
Fig. 196. All Saints, Roos from the west.	253
Fig. 197. Welwick from the 1855 Ordnance Survey.	255
Fig. 198. Aerial view of Welwick.	255
Fig. 199. St Mary, Welwick from the north-west.	256
Fig. 200. Withernsea from the 1855 Ordnance Survey.	257
Fig. 201. Aerial view of Withernsea.	258
Fig. 202. Modern Ordnance Survey showing church sites of Thorshowe Hundred.	260
Fig. 203. Cowlam from the 1854 Ordnance Survey.	260
Fig. 204. Aerial view of Cowlam.	261
Fig. 205. Nineteenth-century St Mary, Cowlam built on the site of the old church, from the south-west.	261
Fig. 206. Kirby Grindalythe from the 1854 Ordnance Survey.	265
Fig. 207. Aerial view of Kirby Grindalythe.	265
Fig. 208. St Andrew, Kirby Grindalythe from the south.	266
Fig. 209. Kirby Grindalythe 1B and 2B.	267
Fig. 210. Kirby Grindalythe 3.	268
Fig. 211. Kirby Grindalythe 4A and 5A.	269
Fig. 212. Sherburn from the 1854 Ordnance Survey.	270
Fig. 213. Aerial view of Sherburn.	271
Fig. 214. St Hilda, from the south-west.	271
Fig. 215. Sherburn 2A and 2B.	273
Fig. 216. Sherburn 2C and 2D.	273
Fig. 217. Sherburn 3A and 3B.	274
Fig. 218. Sherburn 3C and 3D.	275
Fig. 219. Sherburn 4A, 4B and 4D.	275
Fig. 220. Sherburn 9A.	276

Fig. 221. Modern Ordnance Survey showing position of Folkton and Hunmanby.	278
Fig. 222. Modern Ordnance Survey showing detached villis of Foston on the Wolds and Garton on the Wolds.	278
Fig. 223. Map of Folkton from the 1854 Ordnance Survey.	279
Fig. 224. Aerial view of Folkton.	279
Fig. 225. St John the Evangelist, Folkton from the south.	280
Fig. 226. Folkton 1A.	281
Fig. 227. Map of Foston on the Wolds from the 1854 Ordnance Survey.	282
Fig. 228. Aerial view of Foston on the Wolds.	283
Fig. 229. St Andrew, Foston on the Wolds from the north-east.	283
Fig. 230. St Andrew, Foston on the Wolds the church and graveyard separated by a road.	284
Fig. 231. St Andrew, Foston on the Wolds from the east.	284
Fig. 232. Map of Garton on the Wolds from the 1854 Ordnance Survey.	286
Fig. 233. Aerial view of Garton on the Wolds.	286
Fig. 234. St Michael, Garton on the Wolds from the south-east.	287
Fig. 235. St Michael, Garton on the Wolds from the south on the brow of a small Rise	287
Fig. 236. Hunmanby from the 1854 Ordnance Survey.	291
Fig. 237. An aerial view of Hunmanby.	291
Fig. 238. All Saints, Hunmanby from the north-east.	292
Fig. 239. Church plan of All Saints from 1843-4.	292
Fig. 240. Hunmanby 2.	293
Fig. 241. Modern Ordnance Survey showing the church sites of Warter Hundred.	295
Fig. 242. Map of Warter from the 1854 Ordnance Survey.	295
Fig. 243. Aerial view of Warter.	296
Fig. 244. St James, Warter from the south.	296
Fig. 245. Map of North Dalton from the 1854 Ordnance Survey.	298
Fig. 246. Aerial view of North Dalton.	298
Fig. 247. Norman southern door of All Saints, North Dalton.	299
Fig. 248. All Saints, North Dalton from the south.	300
Fig. 249. Map of Nunburnholme from the 1854 Ordnance Survey.	301
Fig. 250. Aerial view of Nunburnholme.	301
Fig. 251. St James, Nunburnholme from the north-east.	302
Fig. 252. Modern Ordnance Survey map showing the church sites of Weighton Hundred.	304
Fig. 253. Map of Holme upon Spalding Moor from the 1854 Ordnance Survey.	304
Fig. 254. Aerial view of Holme upon Spalding Moor.	305
Fig. 255. All Saints, Holme upon Spalding Moor from the north-east.	305
Fig. 256. Map of Londesborough from the 1854 Ordnance Survey.	307

Fig. 257. Aerial view of Londesborough.	308
Fig. 258. All Saints, Londesborough from the north.	308
Fig. 259. Anglo-Saxon crosshead imbedded in the wall above the south door of the church.	310
Fig. 260. Map of Sancton from the 1854 Ordnance Survey.	311
Fig. 261. Aerial view of Sancton.	311
Fig. 262. All Saints church from the south-east.	312
Fig. 263. Modern Ordnance Survey map showing locations of Elloughton and North Cave.	315
Fig. 264. Map of Elloughton from the 1854 Ordnance Survey.	315
Fig. 265. Aerial view of Elloughton.	316
Fig. 266. St Mary, Elloughton from the north-east.	317
Fig. 267. St Mary, Elloughton from the west.	318
Fig. 268. Map of North Cave from the 1854 Ordnance Survey.	319
Fig. 269. Aerial view of North Cave.	319
Fig. 270. All Saints, North Cave from the south.	320

Acknowledgements

Firstly, I would like to register my immense gratitude to my two research supervisors, Professor Julian Richards and Dr Katy Cubitt for their patience, positivity, knowledge and time over the course of this project. I would also like to thank my examiners Professor Barbara Yorke and Dr Aleksandra McClain for their leaned advice and assistance. I would also like to thank Dr Tom Pickles for his advice and Dr Jeremy Goldberg for his persistence in overcoming administrative obstacles. I could not have undertaken this project without the support of my mother and father, Anne and Dave, thank you. Finally, two people feature in the final picture of a church and another has joined my family since. Thank you to Danielle, Annie and Edward for your support and love.

Chapter One

Introduction

This study has attempted to identify church sites within the East Riding of Yorkshire between c. 700 and c. 1100 by a reference within Domesday Book or the presence of Anglo-Saxon stone sculpture. The key questions it addresses are where, when and why the churches were being founded. Its primary focus is on the situation recorded in 1086 because Domesday Book provides such a wealth of information for that period. However, the use of Anglo-Saxon stone sculpture allows the identification of a larger range of churches than Domesday Book alone could. This study uses an interdisciplinary approach to include the evidence of other documents, excavation, place-names, small find assemblages and local topographical analysis to best allow a consideration of whether the motivations for founding churches changed over this 400 year period. This broad evidence base also gives the best opportunity to look before Domesday Book and to attempt to discern the origin of some of these churches first recorded in 1086. It builds upon previous work which has for the most part concentrated on minsters, monasteries or mother churches by considering all church sites that can be identified. While church sites with evidence of superior status are not excluded the lack of evidence for them within the East Riding and the inclusion of all possible church sites will ensure that this thesis's primary focus is on humbler churches.

1.1 Geographical area, time period, and an overview of the method employed

The reasons for selecting the East Riding as a study area are threefold. Firstly, it has an abundance of sculptural evidence to compliment the Domesday Book record. This has been well documented, particularly by James Lang within the *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture*, but has been less widely utilised as a potential indicator of the location of church sites.¹ The merits of sculpture as a source and the methodology employed here are considered in more detail below.² Secondly, it is within the Scandinavian influenced Danelaw and outside of the south and west of England where the majority of the previous studies that have informed our knowledge of the development of minsters have been based. Thus an exploration of the situation within the East Riding can contribute to the debate as to how relevant hypotheses of ecclesiastical organisation are to the Danelaw.³ Thirdly, it is a historically coherent area of a manageable size in which to undertake the task of considering every possible church site, within the scope of this study.

The Domesday record for Yorkshire was organised according to three Ridings: north, west and east, and the East Riding was in turn divided into eighteen hundreds. In the twelfth century these hundreds were reorganised and consolidated into twelve wapentakes.⁴ In spite of this internal restructuring the East Riding itself has proved a powerfully cohesive administrative unit, surviving until it was briefly reconstituted with the creation of Humberside in 1974. This disruption was only short-lived as the ceremonial county and the two administrative units of the East Riding and Hull

¹ J. T. Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, III: York and Eastern Yorkshire* (Oxford, 1991).

² Below, pp 37-39.

³ This is considered in more detail below with references, pp. 13-14.

⁴ *VCH East Riding II*. p. 2.

were re-established in 1996, and now reflect fairly closely, with some minor adjustments between the North and East Ridings, what they were at the time of Domesday Book. It is the Domesday definition of the East Riding that will be employed for this work. If a place was listed within the East Riding in 1086 then it is considered as such here. The 1086 hundreds have also been utilised to provide a contemporary structure and the thesis takes the form of a gazetteer organised alphabetically by Domesday hundred and settlement with introductory commentary and analysis. York itself has been excluded because it was listed separately to the three Ridings in Domesday Book and as a major town is of a fundamentally different nature to the East Riding. This will facilitate a focus on what happened at the smaller, less examined settlements, although York's influence as an archiepiscopal centre on the edge of the region will be considered.

The volume of information that Domesday Book provides makes the late eleventh century appropriate for the primary focus of this study. Domesday Book not only provides evidence for the majority of churches identified but also a huge resource of information about the estates that those churches were situated on. Wherever possible the origins of these churches are investigated and the broader period for this work has been framed approximately by the death of Bede and the provision of archiepiscopal status to York at one end and the making of Domesday Book at the other. Any potential disadvantage of imposing artificial chronological divisions on the past will be avoided by allowing evidence that falls outside them when appropriate.

An overview of the method employed will be provided here, although a full consideration of the methodology, together with the potential and pitfalls of the sources being utilised will be undertaken in chapter three. Examining this region of Yorkshire in detail and including all potential church sites will enable a broad perspective on ecclesiastical organisation to be achieved. A database of all potential individual church sites between the approximate dates of 700 and 1100 has been created, which forms the gazetteer, organised alphabetically by hundred and modern settlement name, that follows this introductory commentary and analysis. Sites have been included within it when the following criteria can be applied.

1. A church or priest is recorded within a Domesday Book vill entry.⁵
2. Anglo-Saxon stone sculpture has been identified by James Lang's *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture* volume for York and Eastern Yorkshire within the East Riding, as defined by Domesday Book.⁶

This provided an initial database of potential vill sites with churches which have then been examined in more detail to establish whether there is any other evidence that may cast light on a potential pre-conquest church. Early documentary evidence was also used when available, but within the East Riding it only identifies Spurn Point as somewhere not already identified by Domesday Book or Anglo-Saxon stone sculpture. All of these sites have been visited in order to get a general idea of their modern topography. Information from Domesday Book data, place-names, excavations, small-find assemblages, other documentary sources and local topographical analysis

⁵ M. L. Faull and M. Stinson, *Domesday Book: Yorkshire: Volume I and Volume II* (Chichester, 1986) was used to locate villas with churches or priests.

⁶ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, III: York and Eastern Yorkshire*.

have then also been incorporated. This evidence has then been used to compile a gazetteer of all of the church sites grouped by the hundreds in which they appear in Domesday Book. It has been included as a substantial appendix, used as a basis for further analysis of aspects of ecclesiastical organisation within the East Riding as described above.

Now that the geographical and temporal boundaries have been set and a brief description of the method employed has been given this introduction will examine the physical nature of the East Riding to explore any influence it may have on the siting of church sites, give a brief overview of political and religious events relevant to ecclesiastical organisation in the East Riding, and finally explain the structure of the remainder of this thesis.

1.2 Topography, geology and communications

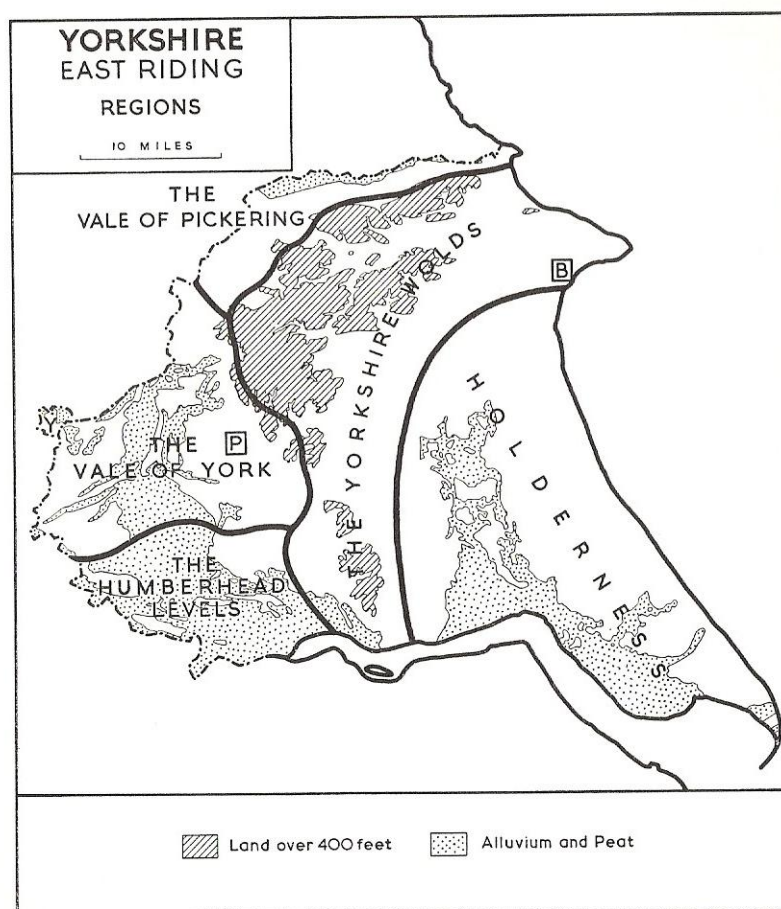


Fig. 57. East Riding: Regional subdivisions.

Fig. 1. The five topographical regions of the East Riding.⁷

The topography of the East Riding is best understood by dividing it into three main areas (see fig. 1 above). Moving from west to east there is the flat, low-lying land of the Vale of York, the chalk uplands of the Yorkshire Wolds and the coastal plain of Holderness. The East Riding also

⁷ H. C. Darby and I. S. Maxwell, *The Domesday Geography of Northern England* (Cambridge, 1962), p. 229 fig. 57. Darby and Maxwell note that the topographical region of Holderness is larger than the three Domesday Book Ridings.

incorporates part of the Humberhead Levels at the southerly end of the Vale of York and part of the Vale of Pickering to the north of the wolds. The wolds rise from the Humber, in a northerly direction and then north-east towards the promontory of Flamborough Head, just to the north of Bridlington (marked with a B on fig. 1 above). On the western and northern edge, the chalk forms a steep scarp rising dramatically out of the flat land below and then gradually sloping towards the plain of Holderness in the west. The Vale of York included extensive areas of marshland in this period. At the southern edge of the Vale of York, towards the River Humber, a part of the low lying Humberhead Levels was within the East Riding.⁸ Holderness would also have had marshlands in the low lying areas at the southern end of the Hull valley and the Sunk Island area at the southernmost tip of Holderness.⁹ Robert Van de Noort and Paul Davies divided Holderness into two distinct topographical sub-regions, separated by the 10m contour, with the Hull valley below it and the rest of Holderness above.¹⁰ Holderness is characterised by flat fertile land and its lengthy coastline. Much of this coastline has been lost over time; eroding at a rate of 1m/year in the north and 2.5m/year in the south.¹¹ Consequently, certain Domesday settlements, such as Kilnsea and Withernsea, have lost the original settlement centre and church to the sea¹².

The significance of the topography of the East Riding and the geology that underlay it is best understood when the distribution of Domesday settlements are considered. Largely unpopulated areas within the East Riding at the time of Domesday Book correlate to the low lying areas of the Humberhead Levels, the southern end of the Hull valley and the Sunk Island area. Henry Darby and Ian Maxwell identified from their distribution map included as fig. 2 below that there are three areas of greater than average settlement density.¹³ They suggest that these are all due to the geology that lay under them and the resultant fertility of the area. The greatest settlement density was in Holderness, apart from the unpopulated Sunk Island area, where settlements were concentrated because of the fertile Boulder Clay that underlay them. There was a second area of concentration on the Wolds between Driffield and Beverley also on Boulder Clay. Finally, there was a third area of greater density around Howden in the south-west of the East Riding which lay on Warp and Lacustrine Clay. Darby and Maxwell have also identified a series of strikingly linear arrangements of settlements which they again relate to the underlying geology which has led to the settlements being sited on spring-lines. There is a line visible along the northern edge of the East Riding, another line about five miles south of these, and a belt of settlements that stretches from Malton (in the north-west corner of the Riding) right down to the Humber. It is important to give these topographical and geological factors due consideration because when patterns of church sites are explored below, then the nature of and reasons for the settlement patterns in general is one

⁸ R. Van de Noort and P. Davis, S. Ellis (ed.), *Wetland Heritage: an archaeological assessment of the Humber Wetlands* (Kingston upon Hull, 1993), pp. 33-34 for a summary of the evidence with regard to historic drainage for the Vale of York.

⁹ Van de Noort and Davis, *Wetland Heritage: an archaeological assessment of the Humber Wetlands*, pp. 18-19 for a summary of the evidence for historic drainage for the Hull valley and Southern Holderness.

¹⁰ Van de Noort and Davis, *Wetland Heritage: an archaeological assessment of the Humber Wetlands*, p. 9 and p. 11 fig. 2.5 for illustration.

¹¹ Van de Noort and Davis, *Wetland Heritage: an archaeological assessment of the Humber Wetlands*, p. 9.

¹² Gazetteer, pp. 257-259 for Withernsea.

¹³ Darby and Maxwell, *The Domesday Geography of Northern England*, pp. 177-179.

factor that needs to be considered. Put simply, if certain areas are more densely settled because of the underlying geology then it is not necessary to look for ecclesiastical factors to explain a greater density of church sites in those areas.

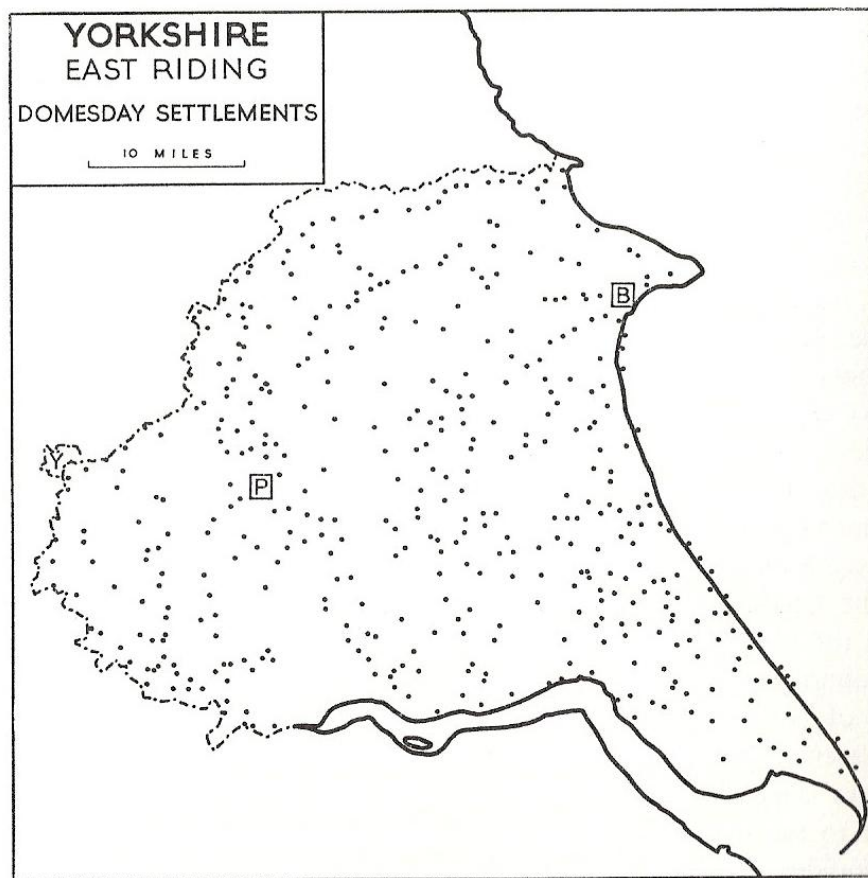


Fig. 45. East Riding: Domesday place-names.

On this, as on the other maps of the East Riding, the modern coast line is shown; some villis therefore appear on the seaward side of it. Domesday boroughs are indicated by initials: B, Bridlington; P, Pocklington; Y, the city of York.

Fig. 2. Domesday Book settlements of the East Riding¹⁴

Like topography and geology, communication routes will have influenced where settlements were situated and may have influenced where churches were built. Moving again from west to east the first major river of the region is the River Ouse, on the westernmost edge of the East Riding it travels south from north of York, before it curves eastwards to join the Humber. On its way it is joined by the river Derwent, which travels from Malton in the North to flow into the Ouse to the west of Howden. The river Hull travels north to south through the middle of the plain of Holderness from Driffield to join the river Humber at Hull. These rivers are illustrated in fig. 3 below. Another form of communication would have been trackways and it is probable that trackways in the Anglo-Saxon period followed similar routes to Roman roads and major roads

¹⁴ Darby and Maxwell, *The Domesday Geography of Northern England*, p. 177 fig. 45. See Faull and Stinson, *Domesday Book: Yorkshire: Volume II*, Appendix Map IV for an alternative map of all Domesday Book settlements within the East Riding.

now. Many modern trunk roads certainly follow the same routes as Roman roads. This is largely dictated by topography. The main roads are situated on higher ground, avoiding the lowest lying areas. Travelling from the south the Roman road system would have brought you across the Humber by ferry to land at Brough (see below chapter four, fig. 6 for a map of the East Riding featuring these roads).¹⁵ From here it would have moved northwards towards Malton, along the edge of the Wolds, following the same route as the A1034 does today, with the main route veering westwards to York. Another road ran from York to the coast at Bridlington, again travelling along the edge of the Wolds.¹⁶ It is likely that the rivers, together with what remained of the Roman road system and the coast, would have been the major transport routes of the region in our period. They all would have been significant landscape features that would have impacted upon where settlements were situated, where churches were built and upon ecclesiastical organisation in general, even if they had not been key aspects of the communication network.

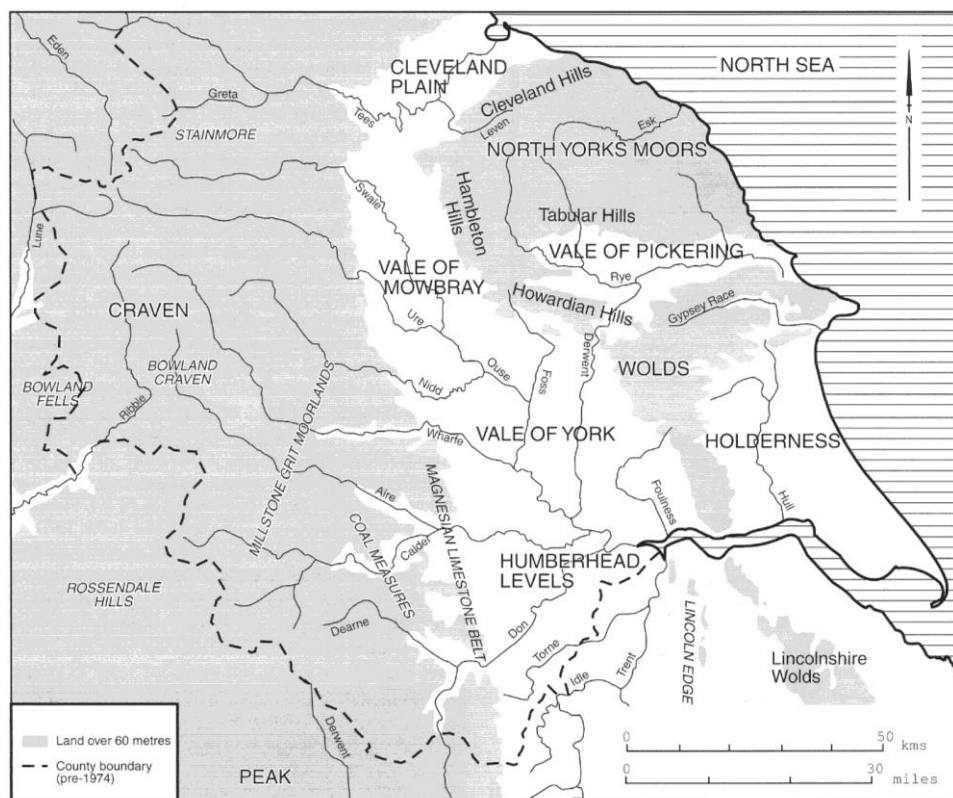


Figure 2: Map showing the principal topographical and geographical regions of Yorkshire (Drawn by Paula White © York Archaeological Trust)

Fig. 3. The topography of Yorkshire including all the major rivers.¹⁷

¹⁵ Below, p. 48 fig. 6.

¹⁶ C. Taylor, *Roads and Tracks of Britain* (London, 1979), p. 40 fig. 18 and D. Rollason, *Northumbria, 500-1100: Creation and Destruction of a Kingdom* (Cambridge, 2003), map 4 p. 46 for a map of the Deiran heartland of Northumbria including Roman roads.

¹⁷ P. Ottaway, S. Moorhouse, and T.G. Manby, 'Introduction: Assessing the Archaeological Resource', in *The Archaeology of Yorkshire: an assessment at the beginning of the 21st century* (Leeds, 2003), pp. 1-9, p. 3 fig. 2 (Drawn by Paula White © York Archaeological Trust).

1.3 Political and cultural context

A brief summary of historical events that provided the background to ecclesiastical organisation in the East Riding will now be given. The meagre documentary record from Northumbria means any account can only be sketchy and sometimes must be supplemented by sources from outside the region or period. The D and E manuscripts of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle draw in part on annals from York and include some information on events in the north.¹⁸ The other significant sources from within Northumbria are the *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* and the work ascribed to Simeon of Durham.¹⁹ Northumbria was divided into two regions, Bernicia to the north and Deira, the southern part equating approximately to modern Yorkshire. In 700 Northumbria was ruled by Aldfrith, a king of Bernicia also ruling over Deira. The date of his death is problematic but he is thought to have reigned from 686 to 705.²⁰ He was succeeded by Eadwulf, Osred, Cenred and Osric in turn, about whom we know very little, before Ceolwulf became king in 729.²¹ He was a descendent of Ida, King of Bernicia, and abdicated to become a monk at Lindisfarne in 737.²² He was succeeded in 738 by Eadberht (the brother of Egbert Archbishop of York discussed below) who ruled for 21 years before he too became a monk.²³ Descendants of the royal house of Ida maintained intermittent and increasingly turbulent control of Northumbria for the remainder of the century.²⁴ It is not possible to construct a reliable chronology of events for the first part of the ninth century until the Great Danish army's capture of York in 866-7.²⁵ Deira thenceforth remained predominantly under Scandinavian rule.²⁶

There has been much debate as to the cultural impact of this Scandinavian rule. One aspect of this is the influence of the Viking kingdom of York between c. 866 and 954 and beyond. In reviewing the documentary evidence for its leadership David Rollason concluded that 'the sequence of kings was broken, complex and marked by violence and instability. It is hard to believe that these were the rulers who made York 'one of the great cities of the Viking world''.²⁷ However, he juxtaposed this with the archaeological and numismatic evidence suggesting that York thrived as a commercial centre in this period.²⁸ Place-name evidence had been used to support the suggestion that only mass settlement could account for the linguistic impact on both place-names and on Old English across Yorkshire and the north.²⁹ More recent work has questioned this correlation and called for a consideration of the linguistic evidence in a more interdisciplinary

¹⁸ P. H. Sawyer, 'Some sources for the history of Viking Northumbria', in R. A. Hall (ed.), *Viking Age York and the North* (CBA Research Report 27, 1978), pp. 3-7.

¹⁹ Sawyer, 'Some sources for the history of Viking Northumbria', pp. 3-7.

²⁰ D. W. Rollason, *Sources for York History to AD 1100*, Archaeology of York (York, 1998), p. 49.

²¹ Rollason, *Sources for York History to AD 1100*, pp. 51-52.

²² ASC D & E, 737, *EHD* i, p. 16.

²³ ASC D & E, 757, *EHD* i, p. 163.

²⁴ Rollason, *Northumbria, 500-1100: Creation and Destruction of a Kingdom*, p. 9.

²⁵ Rollason, *Sources for York History to AD 1100*, p. 71.

²⁶ See Rollason, *Northumbria, 500-1100: Creation and Destruction of a Kingdom*, pp. 43-48, for a , p. consideration of the frontiers of Deira and it's heartlands.

²⁷ Rollason, *Northumbria, 500-1100: Creation and Destruction of a Kingdom*, p. 218.

²⁸ Rollason, *Northumbria, 500-1100: Creation and Destruction of a Kingdom*, pp. 220-223.

²⁹ See G. Fellows Jensen, 'Scandinavian settlement in Yorkshire – through the rear-view mirror', in B. E. Crawford (ed.), *Scandinavian Settlement in Northern Britain* (London, 1995) for a recent consideration of this for our region.

context to better understand the factors behind language change.³⁰ Scandinavian settlement has also been used to explain contrasts between the estate structure of the north and other parts of the country, as revealed by Domesday Book.³¹ The Domesday Book does depict a more complex estate structure in the Danelaw than elsewhere in the country with larger multiple estates and numerous attached sokes. However, other scholarship has questioned whether this can be explained by Scandinavian settlement.³² Advances in the understanding of territorial organisation have revealed early, seventh to ninth century, examples of these multi-vill estates. Therefore, Domesday Book may reveal less change in these areas of Scandinavian control than elsewhere. The principle problem is that we lack the documentary evidence for the period before Domesday Book and it is therefore difficult to argue whether Scandinavian settlement has led to change or continuity. The evidence of the corpus of stone sculpture with the decoration taking on Scandinavian motifs and continuing to be produced in a Scandinavian context supports this notion of integration and continuity. The archaeological evidence, where available, also lends weight to this argument. For example the Yorkshire Wolds is considered an area of Scandinavian settlement because of the Scandinavian place-names but it has been well populated during the Roman and early Anglo-Saxon periods.³³ This is supported by excavation at sites such as Wharram Percy and Cottam where continuity of settlement can be identified but specifically Scandinavian settlement is not determinable.³⁴

Scandinavian hegemony ceased with the death of Eric Bloodaxe in 954 when Deira came under the control of King Eadred of Wessex.³⁵ While it was ostensibly under the political control of Wessex, the East Riding, like the rest of the northern Danelaw, remained predominantly Anglo-Scandinavian in cultural affiliations. From that time forward until the Norman Conquest the primary power in this area lay in the hands of the Earls of Northumbria, although under the authority of the house of Wessex. In 954 the earldom was held by Oswulf, who ruled over the whole of Northumbria and was succeeded by Oslac.³⁶ From about 975 the region fluctuated between having a separate earl ruling Deira and having a single earl ruling all of Northumbria, until 1068 when Deira was ruled for King William by the Sheriff of York, with the earldom of Deira left vacant.³⁷ Thus the political history of the East Riding of Yorkshire for the period to be studied could be divided into four distinct phases: Northumbrian autonomous control, Scandinavian domination, incorporation within the newly emerging state under the ostensible leadership of the house of Wessex, and finally Norman rule.

³⁰ D. M. Hadley, *The Northern Danelaw: its social structure, c.800-1100* (London, 2000), pp. 17-22.

³¹ F. M. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 3rd edn. (Oxford, 1971), pp. 518-519.

³² G. R. J. Jones, 'Early territorial organization in northern England and its bearing on the Scandinavian settlement', in A Small (ed.), *The Fourth Viking Congress*, (York, 1965), pp. 163-207 and G. R. J. Jones, 'Multiple estates and early settlement', P. H. Sawyer (ed.), *English Medieval Settlement* (London, 1979), pp. 9-40.

³³ Hadley, *The Northern Danelaw: Its Social Structure, c.800-1100*, pp. 30-31.

³⁴ *Gazetteer*, pp. 109-116 for Wharram Percy and pp. 260-264 for Cottam under the entry for nearby Cowlam.

³⁵ Rollason, *Sources for York History to AD 1100*, p. 74.

³⁶ Rollason, *Sources for York History to AD 1100*, pp. 74-75.

³⁷ R. Fletcher, *Bloodfeud: Murder and Revenge in Anglo-Saxon England* (London, 2002), pp. 205-7 for a chronological table of the earls of Northumbria.

1.4 Ecclesiastical context

Now a high priest of their religion ... approached the shrine, without any hesitation he profaned it by casting the spear which he held into it ... The place where the idols once stood is still shown, not far from York, to the east, over the river Derwent. Today it is called Goodmanham, the place where the high priest, through the inspiration of the true God, profaned and destroyed the altars which he himself had consecrated.³⁸

The Anglian kingdom of Northumbria first received the Christian faith when King Edwin was converted by his Kentish queen and her bishop Paulinus.³⁹ Immediately after his conversion Edwin asked his high priest who should be the first to profane the altars of their shrines.⁴⁰ The high priest Coifi volunteered, set off on the King's horse to the shrine, cast a spear into it and then had it set on fire and destroyed. This occurred at Goodmanham, a small village nineteen miles to the east of York in the heart of the East Riding. Edwin was later baptized at York on Easter day 627, where the first church of St Peter had been hastily erected in wood. An episcopal see was created at York and work on a large stone church was begun. Bede went on to describe the initial setbacks and then the rise of a monastic inspired church, the conflict between Irish and Roman influence and ultimate Roman triumph at Whitby in 664.⁴¹

Three men who lived at the beginning of or just before the eighth century must have had continued significance for religious life in the East Riding in the subsequent centuries. The first was Cuthbert, who after his death in 687 was quickly and widely venerated as a saint. When his body was transferred to a new tomb at Lindisfarne in 698 it was found to be incorrupt. The community of St. Cuthbert were eventually driven out of Lindisfarne by pressure from Viking raids in 875.⁴² After a peripatetic interlude during which they kept Cuthbert's body close, they finally settled at Chester le Street in 883.⁴³ In 995, in fear of the Danes again, Bishop Ealdhun transported the body of the saint from Chester le Street to Ripon. It was there that the bier became unmovable, and in a vision he saw that the community should move to Durham. It did this and the people of the district came to clear the site and build a new church that was dedicated to, and sanctified by, the body of Cuthbert in 998.⁴⁴ The second influential figure was Wilfrid, bishop of both Hexham and York. He was bishop of York just prior to the period considered here, from 669 to 678, and was succeeded by Bosa who administered the see until 706.⁴⁵ Powerful, controversial and worldly, Wilfrid twice had to clear his name at Rome after being exiled. He was responsible for the re-foundation of the monastery of Ripon that had been previously given to Irish monks. He died in c. 710 and was buried in his monastery at Ripon. The D version of the *Anglo Saxon Chronicle* records the destruction by fire of Ripon by King Eadred in 948.⁴⁶ This monastery was subsequently re-founded in the tenth century by Oswald, Archbishop of York, who discovered and enshrined

³⁸ *HE* ii. 13 (pp. 184-186).

³⁹ *HE* ii. 9-14 (pp. 162-189).

⁴⁰ *HE* ii. 13 (pp. 184-187).

⁴¹ *HE* ii. 20 (pp. 202-207).

⁴² *Historia Sancto Cuthberto* in *Symeon Op.*, Vol. 1, p. 207.

⁴³ *Historia Regum* in *Symeon Op.* Vol. 1, pp. 114-115. See E. Cambridge, 'Why did the community of St Cuthbert settle at Chester-le-Street?', in *St Cuthbert: His Cult and Community to AD 1200*, ed. G. Bonner, C. Stancliffe and D.W. Rollason (Woodbridge, 1989), pp. 367-388.

⁴⁴ *Historia Dunhelmensis Ecclesiae* in *Symeon Op.* Vol. 1, pp. 80-81.

⁴⁵ Rollason, *Sources for York History to AD 1100*, p. 50.

⁴⁶ *ASC* D, 748.

Wilfrid's bones.⁴⁷ The third figure was John, bishop of Hexham and York. He was bishop of York from 706 until sometime before 721, when he was succeeded by Wilfrid II who retained the bishopric until 732.⁴⁸ John's main importance rested on his reputation for saintliness and his consequent impact as abbot of Beverley. His burial there, after his death in 721, was the seed of the success of the community, which can be traced both historically and archaeologically into the eleventh century and beyond.⁴⁹ The cult of these saints must have continued to play a part in the daily religious life of people throughout the north of England.

Egbert, brother of the aforementioned King Eadberht, became bishop of York in c. 732. Shortly before his death Bede wrote a letter of advice to Egbert, in 734.⁵⁰ He was concerned that all servants of God should ensure that they carried out good works, engaged in sound teaching and surrounded themselves with men of God. The latter point applied especially to those in holy orders. He wanted bishops to ensure they were not overstretched and for York to become an archbishopric. He was particularly concerned with poor standards within monasteries and with too many being established where the motivation was primarily secular. In 735 Bede died and Egbert achieved archiepiscopal status for his see. The East Riding is not well served by Bede. Of all the numerous references to religious sites within Bede's work, only Beverley and Watton can be added to Goodmanham for the East Riding.⁵¹ The early chronicles and hagiographical work that can assist with other parts of the north again make scant reference to the East Riding with only Beverley provided for. There is therefore only very limited evidence of minsters or monasteries in the East Riding and it is hard to establish whether Bede's wishes expressed in his letter of 734 were ever achieved beyond the acquisition of archiepiscopal status for York. The charter evidence that has been used to build the minster model in the south simply does not exist for the Danelaw region with none dating to before the eleventh century. However, as discussed, above Domesday Book supplies ample evidence of churches by the end of the eleventh century and Anglo-Saxon stone sculpture can supplement that throughout our period.

Egbert led the church at York until his death in c. 766. Alcuin, a towering figure in the history of the Anglo-Saxon church was educated at Egbert's cathedral church in York, illustrating the cathedral's importance. When in 767 Æthelberht became the Archbishop, Alcuin may have taken over the running of the school.⁵² In 782 he joined Charlemagne's court. The church at York that could produce a man of Alcuin's fame and learning, and maintain a library the like of which he described, cannot have failed to influence religious life in the East Riding.⁵³ A consideration of the importance of Alcuin is beyond the scope of this study; he impacted on a much wider area than the

⁴⁷ *Vita Oswaldi* in J. Raine (ed.), *The Historians of the Church of York and its Archbishops*, Vol. 1 (London, 1879) p. 462.

⁴⁸ Rollason, *Sources for York History to AD 1100*, p. 57.

⁴⁹ Below, pp. 71-73 and gazetteer, pp. 230-235.

⁵⁰ *Ep. E.*

⁵¹ *HE* v. 2 (pp. 456-457) and *HE* v. 3 (pp. 460-461). Below, p. 59 and gazetteer, pp. 239-241 for Watton.

⁵² F. M. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford, 2000), pp. 188-189.

⁵³ P. Godman, *The Bishops, Kings, and Saints of York* (Oxford, 1982), pp. 120-127.

East Riding.⁵⁴ However, his influence is briefly visible in his father's oratory at Spurn Point which is considered below.⁵⁵ It is possible that Alcuin's time at York was the high point for the Northumbrian church. Towards the end of the century in 793, the destruction of Lindisfarne by Danes must have sent out shockwaves that impacted the entire Anglo-Saxon church throughout Northumbria including the East Riding.⁵⁶

The impression created by the chroniclers of a northern church shattered by the impact of Scandinavian raiders is a powerful one, although not all of the evidence points in this direction. Dawn Hadley pointed out that the negative evidence for the condition of the church in the north, the statements of chroniclers, long gaps in episcopal lists and scarcity of wealthy tenth and eleventh-century churches is contradicted by the abundance of Anglo-Scandinavian sculpture, the readiness of the Scandinavians to adopt Christianity, the lack of evidence for pagan practices, and the harmonious relationships between ecclesiastics, native lords and Viking leaders.⁵⁷ Furthermore, while there were gaps in northern episcopates, there do not appear to have been any significant gaps for the archbishopric of York, with five further archbishops following Æthelberht between c. 780 and c. 900.⁵⁸ Throughout this period the Archbishop of York would have remained one of the most powerful men in the region. Hadley cites the examples of Archbishop Wulfhere (c. 854 to c. 900) who managed to reach accommodation with three successive Viking rulers of York, and later Archbishop Wulfstan (who succeeded Wulfhere, after Æthelbald and Hrothweard, and was archbishop from c. 930 to 950), who continued with a similar policy.⁵⁹

Evidence of Wulfstan's successors Oskytel's (c. 954 to c. 971), Oswald's (c. 971 to 992), Wulfstan II's (1002-1023) and Ælfric's (1023 to 1051) involvement in the administration of episcopal estates is discussed below.⁶⁰ From c. 971 with the appointment of Oswald until 1060, with the death of Cynesige, York was held jointly with Worcester; it is probable that this plurality was designed to allow greater influence by the West Saxon kings on the northern archbishopric.⁶¹ For the last four archbishops before the conquest there is evidence of an interest in first legislating for priests and communities of secular canons for Wulfstan II and then patronage of the communities at York and Beverley by Ælfric, Cynsige and Ealdred (1061-1069).⁶² The last Archbishop of York in the period considered here was Thomas of Bayeux, whose archbishopric

⁵⁴ See D. A. Bullough, *Alcuin: achievement and reputation* (Leiden, 2003) for a detailed exploration of the life and ideas of Alcuin.

⁵⁵ Below, pp. 32-33 and pp. 55-56.

⁵⁶ ASC D & E 793, *EHD* i, p.167.

⁵⁷ Hadley, *The Northern Danelaw: its social structure, c.800-1100*, p. 36.

⁵⁸ Rollason, *Sources for York History to AD 1100*, pp. 58-59 for consideration of dates of Wulfhere's archiepiscopacy.

⁵⁹ Hadley, *The Northern Danelaw: its social structure, c.800-1100*, pp. 312-313, D. Whitelock, 'The Dealings of the Kings of England with Northumbria in the tenth and eleventh centuries', in P. Clemoes (ed.), *The Anglo Saxons: Studies in some Aspects of their History and Culture* (London, 1959), pp. 70-88 for further analysis of Wulfstan's dealings and Rollason, *Sources for York History to AD 1100*, p. 70 for the dates of archbishops rules.

⁶⁰ Below, pp. 65-68 for a consideration of the archbishops acquisitions of land and Rollason, *Sources for York History to AD 1100*, pp. 76-78 for the dates of the episcopates of the last eight pre-conquest archbishops of York.

⁶¹ J. Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society* (Oxford, 2005), p. 313.

⁶² Below, pp. 71-73.

lasted from 1070 until 1100. This brief overview of religious context and of the archbishopric of York provide the background for more detailed consideration of its specific impact on the East Riding and for examination of the individual church sites that will follow.

This thesis will proceed by analysing the information included within the gazetteer, which forms a database of evidence concerning potential pre-conquest church sites, and investigating how it can shed light on ecclesiastical organisation within the East Riding. Chapter two will explore general models of ecclesiastical organisation and settlement structure and assess their potential relevance to the situation in the East Riding of Yorkshire. Chapter three will relate these more closely to the evidence available within the East Riding by providing a detailed statement of the methodology of the study and examining the potential of the different source materials. Chapter four will present the data included within the gazetteer and provide initial analysis by considering how different church types may manifest themselves in the sources, and by proposing possible trajectories of church development. Chapter five will proceed with a series of case studies of the three principal landholders in the East Riding at the time of Domesday Book. It will consider the churches on the land of the Archbishop, the King and Drogo de la Beuvrière in turn to establish any similarities or differences. Wherever the evidence allows these case studies will consider the earlier history of these sites and origins of these churches. In conclusion, chapter six will explore what the process of church foundation can tell us about ecclesiastical organisation in a wider sense. It will consider whether different church types are visible in the sources available and what can be known about the origins of these institutions. It will establish where the potential church sites of the East Riding fit within broader theories of ecclesiastical organisation. Finally, a programme of potentially fruitful research for the future will be proposed.

Chapter Two

Models of Ecclesiastical Organisation and Settlement Structure

The purpose of this chapter is to examine theories as to what may have been happening to the church and the village between c. 700 and c. 1100, and to consider how these hypothesized processes are relevant to the East Riding of Yorkshire. The period considered saw a number of significant structural and economic changes to the way society was organised that impacted on the development of the local church and village. At various times between the ninth and twelfth centuries great estates were being broken down into smaller, more localized holdings, nucleated villages were being created across a broad swathe of eastern and central Britain, and a two block open-field system was developed.¹ Where, when and why these developments occurred are key questions. The role of the local church within these processes can potentially contribute to answering these wider questions while considering the church in the context of broader social change can also cast further light on ecclesiastical organisation. This chapter will begin by looking at ecclesiastical organisation. It will give an overview of models for the evolution of ecclesiastical organisation within the period considered, and proceed by exploring these models from the following perspectives. Firstly, the semantic argument over whether different types of churches and monasteries were distinguishable by the words contemporary sources used to describe them will be considered. Secondly, when, why and by whom local churches were first founded will be examined. Thirdly, the impact of bishops on the evolution of the models will be investigated. Finally, the relevance of these models of ecclesiastical organisation to the East Riding will be analysed by examining work carried out on them within and close to this region. This chapter will then consider models of settlement structure and specific local studies of most relevance to the East Riding. It will examine the move to nucleated villages; in particular the phenomenon of regular nucleated villages and two block open-field systems. Throughout, the relationship between these broad phenomena and changes in estate structure and the role of the local church within this will be investigated.

2.1 Models of ecclesiastical organisation

Debate as to the nature of ecclesiastical organisation in recent years has revolved around two different, although not mutually exclusive models. The ‘minster model’, that John Blair would now prefer to be described as an explanatory framework, envisaged the early Anglo-Saxon church exploiting pre-existing secular land units, great estates, to organise its early system of pastoral care.² Communities of monks or clergy were set up at central places in the seventh and eighth centuries, and were almost exclusively responsible for pastoral care of large proto-parishes, roughly

¹ C. Dyer, *Making a Living in the Middle Ages: The People of Britain 850-1520* (London, 2002), pp. 17-42.

² J. Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society* (Oxford, 2005), p. 5.

equivalent to five to fifteen modern parishes.³ They were usually associated with royal estates but could have had episcopal or noble patronage. With the responsibility for pastoral care came control of burial rights, tithes and other tribute which could either be administered by central communities or through their dependant churches. From the tenth and eleventh centuries the breakup of the great estates and the rise of smaller manorial units and local lords facilitated the founding of local churches. This in turn led to the fragmentation of the early large parishes, and the usurping of rights to receive dues and provide pastoral care, by these new local churches. This enabled the formation of a network of smaller parishes that is by and large that which survived into medieval times. A central tenet of this hypothesis is that it is not possible to distinguish semantically between a contemplative community of monks following a clear cut rule in enclosed buildings and a community of priests engaging in public ministry, or any alternative form of religious community, and therefore it is pointless to attempt to do so.⁴

An alternative model features a distinction between monastic communities, primarily concerned with the contemplative life, and episcopally founded churches, which were responsible for pastoral care and also existed from an early period. This model considers changes in the tenth and eleventh century to be the result of an innovation at that time, rather than the disintegration of old minster proto parishes. It is proposed that the new parochial structure and dues were created by the increasingly powerful West Saxon kingship, from the time of Alfred and particularly in the tenth century, and were inspired by a Carolingian model. It argues that to see the new parochial structure as the result of a fragmentation and usurpation by local manorial churches is to fail to do justice to the power of English kings in this period. It is suggested that the sources reveal the imposition of a new tier of churches with greater rights and powers by bishops and kings. Within this model different types of communities are semantically distinguishable.⁵

2.1.1 Semantics

An argument over semantics is a significant area of contention between these models. Semantic distinctions may appear of superficial relevance to a study of the East Riding, where frequently a local church with no documentary evidence other than a brief statement in Domesday Book will be the subject. However, an understanding of the range of institutions that are recorded and can or cannot be categorized will at least provide a concept of the kind of institutions or buildings that we are attempting to discern within the frequently opaque evidence. In an analysis of the terminology used largely before c. 900, Sarah Foot opted for a very broad definition without many nuances. She found that the Latin words *monasteria* and *coenobia* were the main terms used, and she found no

³ J. Blair, 'Secular minster churches in Domesday Book', in P.H. Sawyer (ed.), *Domesday Book: a reassessment* (London, 1985), pp. 104-142, p. 104 and J. Blair, 'Local churches in Domesday Book and before', in J.C. Holt (ed.), *Domesday Studies* (Woodbridge, 1987), pp. 265-278, p. 266.

⁴ S. Foot, 'Anglo-Saxon minsters: a review of terminology', in J. Blair and R. Sharpe (ed.), *Pastoral care before the parish* (Leicester, 1992), pp. 212-225 and J. Blair, 'Debate: Ecclesiastical organisation of pastoral care in Anglo-Saxon England', *Early Medieval Europe* 4 (2) (1995), 193-212, pp. 194-196.

⁵ E. Cambridge and D. W. Rollason, 'Debate: The pastoral organization of the Anglo-Saxon Church: a review of the 'Minster Hypothesis'', *Early Medieval Europe* 4 (1) (1995), 87-104.

distinction between the kinds of communities that they describe.⁶ Foot proposed the word *minster* as an equivalent of the Old English word *mynster*, as the most appropriate word to use to describe religious communities. The Old English word *mynster* is a loan word from the Latin *monasterium*, and is used as a direct equivalent in Anglo-Saxon vernacular texts. Foot also suggested that greater precision may be required after the tenth century reforms and proposed the term ‘mother church’ as the generic term after that point.

In their critique of the ‘minster model’ Eric Cambridge and David Rollason questioned Foot’s standpoint, suggesting that *monasterium* or *mynster* appeared most commonly as a result of the natural bias of the sources.⁷ They argued that the one of the main sources for locating early churches are charters, which naturally record more *monasteria* because it is these that require endowments. The other main source is the work of Bede, who was a monk, and therefore primarily concerned with putting forward monks as exempla of the ideal life. They then proposed other terms that may indicate churches of a non-monastic nature with episcopal associations. They suggested *ecclesiae*, *basilicae*, *ecclesiae et cubiculae* and *oratoria* as possible church sites with episcopal links. All of these examples are drawn from Bede’s *Ecclesiastical History*. This is also supported by Cambridge’s earlier work in County Durham, where he examined the known religious sites and found a correlation between the sites in Bede’s works described as *monasterium* at an early date, and those with extant architectural remains and early sculpture.⁸ On mapping these sites, he suggested that their distribution was not consistent with the provision of pastoral care, as they were frequently clustered and left wide areas uncovered. On these grounds he argued that *monasterium* was being used specifically to refer to a fully monastic community and suggested there would be another class of undetected, episcopally founded churches catering for pastoral care. Blair rejected Cambridge and Rollason’s argument on the basis that trying to distinguish types of communities on semantic grounds is pointless because contemporaries did not make these distinctions in the language they used.⁹ He argued that while it may be preferable to distinguish between types of community from the sources; except in the case of *sedes episcopales*, which does appear as a distinct category, they simply will not allow us to do this.

In an article on the clergy of Anglo-Saxon England Catherine Cubitt disputed whether there was a lack of semantic distinction.¹⁰ She contended that Bede, and his contemporaries, were specific about their use of terminology with regard to institutions. Bede not only differentiated between *ecclesiae* which could mean the universal church, a bishopric or a church building and *monasteria* which meant communities of religious, but understood and employed further more nuanced categories.¹¹ These included *basilica* for a church possessing relics, *oratoria* for a church attached to a monastery or a minor rural church and *mansio* presumed to be a small complex of buildings acting as an episcopal retreat. Cubitt went on to argue that contemporary sources not only

⁶ S. Foot, 'Anglo-Saxon minsters: a review of terminology'.

⁷ Cambridge and Rollason, 'Debate: The pastoral organization of the Anglo-Saxon Church: a review of the 'Minster Hypothesis'.

⁸ E. Cambridge, 'The Early Church in County Durham: a reassessment', 137 (1984), 65-85.

⁹ Blair, 'Debate: Ecclesiastical organisation of pastoral care in Anglo-Saxon England', pp. 194-196.

¹⁰ C. R. E. Cubitt, 'The clergy in Anglo-Saxon England', *Historical Research* 78 (2005), 273-287.

¹¹ Cubitt, 'The clergy in Anglo-Saxon England', pp. 278-281.

distinguished between types of institution, but also between monks and clergy. She provides examples from Bede of a distinction between *monachus* and *frater* for male inhabitants of monasteries and *clericus* and *clerus* to describe clergy.¹² Cubitt contended that these terms did not overlap but were used precisely. This standpoint is supported by work by Donald Bullough, who found evidence of distinction between kinds of communities within Alcuin's letters. He established that Alcuin differentiated between communities of monks, a community of clergy living a communal life and any other community of clergy.¹³ Most recently, Blair has maintained his earlier argument that different types of communities and churches are not distinguishable and proposed the broadest of definitions for his preferred terminology of minster.¹⁴ For the purpose of this study, where hypothetical trajectories of the development of religious institutions at local sites are to be proposed, the broadest possible interpretation of the range of institutions that lie behind the available vocabulary will be utilised, and will be outlined in detail below in chapter four.¹⁵

2.1.2 Local churches

Turning to the question of when, why and by whom local churches were founded, Blair has argued that there were no specific references to small independent churches in pre-Viking England and that the impression given is that all priests lived in communities.¹⁶ He believed that references, where they are not to communities, would have been to dependant institutions within the mother parishes. Cubitt has disputed this point, citing a number of examples where Bede refers to churches as buildings of worship without religious communities attached, including some where Bishop John of Beverley was dedicating churches on the estates of thegns, within the East Riding.¹⁷ This would mean local lords were founding local churches in the early years of the eighth century. Blair does not reject this possibility out of hand, accepting that these may represent rare examples of small local 'thegnly' churches, and going on to suggest that other seemingly unimportant church sites with pre-Viking sculpture fragments could be further examples of this phenomenon.¹⁸ However, he prefers the argument that they would be related in some way to local dominant minster communities. In fact, notwithstanding this example, he has consistently argued that it was not until the tenth and eleventh centuries that these local independent churches began to be created. Blair highlighted the fact that in spite of the increasing number of excavations of English parish churches, no structure has been excavated dated to significantly before c. 900.¹⁹ He cited Raunds, Northamptonshire as a particularly good example of this essentially negative evidence. He also drew on aristocratic wills as evidence, suggesting that in the tenth century old minsters were still the primary recipients of bequests, and that it was not until the late tenth century that non royal

¹² Cubitt, 'The clergy in Anglo-Saxon England', pp. 274-276.

¹³ D. A. Bullough, 'What has Ingeld to do with Lindisfarne?', *Anglo-Saxon England* 22 (1993), 93-125.

¹⁴ Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society*, p. 3.

¹⁵ Below, pp. 53-64.

¹⁶ Blair, 'Debate: Ecclesiastical organisation of pastoral care in Anglo-Saxon England', pp. 195-196.

¹⁷ Cubitt, 'The clergy in Anglo-Saxon England', pp. 279-282.

¹⁸ Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society*, pp. 119-120.

¹⁹ Blair, 'Local churches in Domesday Book and before', p. 268.

wills refer to private priests and churches.²⁰ However he did point out, and it is worth remembering, that nearly all eleventh-century pre-conquest wills come from East Anglia, so it is important to be cautious when using evidence from one region to draw conclusions about wider areas.

Not only were new churches founded in the tenth and eleventh centuries, but it also seems likely that some existing churches were rebuilt in stone, particularly at the very end of the Anglo-Saxon period. Richard Gem argues for a 'Great Rebuilding' of parish churches and cathedrals, in stone from c. 1050 to 1200.²¹ He believes that the major churches were completed in a specific concentrated programme in the two to three generations following the mid-eleventh century. For parochial churches he suggests there was much rebuilding of established churches, and perhaps less founding of new ones. This rebuilding spread out across the eleventh and twelfth centuries, with diffuse chronological, stylistic and technological characteristics. He contends that features of pre-conquest origin may have been used later into the twelfth century in the north than in the south. Richard Morris similarly suggested that the rebuilding may have been begun around the years 1000 to 1050, depending on region, and that it came to an end by the second half of the twelfth century.²² He argued that cultural labels such as late-Saxon and Saxo-Norman should be avoided and date ranges, acknowledging imprecision, would be more helpful. Examining the 'Great Rebuilding' for the area around York he concluded that in this area it took place between 1050 and 1150.

Aleksandra McClain examined the 'Great Rebuilding' for the North Riding of Yorkshire and agreed with Gem and Morris that dating churches by establishing a process of transfer of technology and architectural motif from major churches to parochial churches had been problematic.²³ She argued that this has also led to the disregarding of social motivation for rebuilding. McClain cited the lack of uniformity in intensity and date of rebuilding as evidence to support the significance of local social motivation. She provided the example of clusters of intense church patronage in Ryedale-Bulmer and Wensleydale in the Saxo-Norman period as evidence supporting the significance of local circumstance. She suggested that church builders desire to associate themselves with nearby Anglian minsters could have provoked this high level of church building. Her study also examined commemorative sculpture and she gave the example of a north-south dichotomy between stone sculpture in the north and stone churches in the south of the North Riding, as further evidence of the importance of local motivation, as local lords in different regions appear to have expressed themselves differently in this period. She contended that the rebuilding of local churches was being influenced by local or regional motivation and directed by English and Norman local lords rather than the bishops and abbots who were rebuilding great churches and were motivated by perception on a national or continental scale. This highlights a key issue for this

²⁰ Blair, 'Local churches in Domesday Book and before', pp. 269-271.

²¹ R. Gem, 'The English Parish Church in the eleventh and early twelfth century: A Great Rebuilding?', in J. Blair (ed.), *Ministers and parish churches: the local church in transition, 950-1200* (Oxford, 1988), pp. 21-30.

²² R. K. Morris, 'Churches in York and its Hinterland: building Patterns and Stone Sources in the eleventh and twelfth centuries', in J. Blair (ed.), *Ministers and Parish Churches: the local church in transition 950-1200* (Oxford, 1988), pp. 191-199, p. 191.

²³ A. N. McClain, 'Patronage, power and identity: the social use of local churches and commemorative monuments in tenth to twelfth-century North Yorkshire' (Unpd. Ph. D. Thesis, York, 2005), pp. 219-221.

study, where case studies of churches on the land of the three main landholders in 1086, in an adjacent area, are to be considered. It will be important to consider motivations on a micro scale and the influence of the local lords, holding the manors under these major landholders.

This rebuilding in stone does highlight one of the potential problems of establishing whether local churches existed prior to the tenth century, in that it is currently rarely possible to trace them archaeologically. This is particularly significant; where documentary sources are scant archaeological visibility becomes crucial. The impact of this for the East Riding is considered further when archaeology and architecture are considered as sources in chapter three.²⁴ Blair believes that it is the churches founded in the late Anglo-Saxon period that appear so prolific in the Domesday Book.²⁵ Furthermore, where churches had attained a common level of independence, a larger number would be listed, whereas where the hierarchy of churches was more pronounced then fewer at the lower dependant level would be included. It is hoped that by using all of the evidence available and by considering a wide variety of possible trajectories, not just those favoured by the dominant models, something more of the early life of these potentially lower level local churches can be discerned.

2.1.3 The role of bishops

Cubitt has provided a different perspective on theories of ecclesiastical organisation and pastoral care by examining the available canons of Anglo-Saxon church councils.²⁶ In contrast to the topographical and archaeological basis of the 'minster model', Cubitt examined it from the perspective of the episcopal canons issued for the council of the Southumbrian church. This has the advantage of lacking the extent of regional bias that many of the case studies that have informed theories inevitably have, although the perspective is still that of the church to the south of the region considered here. While these canons are inevitably going to have an episcopal bias, as they describe a world bishops were aspiring to, they did place far greater emphasis on the role of bishops, a significance mirrored in the works of Alcuin and Bede. Cubitt drew attention to a discrepancy between the office-centred view of the canons and the institution-based theory of the topographers. She pointed out that literary sources do not portray monasteries as the primary providers of pastoral care. The emphasis is on priests' responsibility for ministering to the laity, with bishops in charge of this process. She also observed that the literary sources do not mention monastic parochiae, and that apart from *Clofesho* canon nine which refers to the 'places and regions of the laity' assigned to priests by their bishops, the only unit of pastoral care referred to is the diocese. This helps to redress an imbalance in the debate. It encourages an acknowledgement of the significance of episcopally founded churches and of bishops in overseeing ecclesiastical organisation. Blair has accepted the necessity for modification of his earlier position and called for more flexibility to be allowed within what he describes as an explanatory framework rather than a

²⁴ Below, pp. 39-40.

²⁵ Blair, 'Local Churches in Domesday Book and Before', pp. 277-278.

²⁶ C. R. E. Cubitt, 'Pastoral care and conciliar canons: the provisions of the 747 council of Clofesho', in J. Blair and R. Sharpe (eds.), *Pastoral care before the parish* (Leicester, 1992), pp. 193-211 and C. R. E. Cubitt, *Anglo-Saxon church councils c. 650-c. 850* (London, 1995).

model.²⁷ There is still a question of emphasis here as to how significant the role of the bishops was. Were they the driving force behind organising pastoral care or did the minster parochiae evolve organically and take full responsibility for pastoral care? Blair still appears to favour the latter, albeit within an explanatory framework that could include the former.²⁸ These necessitate real questions about what the evidence of the East Riding may reveal. The case studies of churches on the land of different landholders in chapter five will allow an exploration of differences and similarities between these churches. Another key question is when the churches with single priests, which are most commonly recorded by Domesday Book, were being built.²⁹ The gazetteer allows the recording of the evidence of origin for each church site where available. Chapter four proposes some hypothetical answers to this question.³⁰ This may allow some light to be shed on who were the driving forces behind the creation and maintenance of which religious institutions in which periods.

2.1.4 Ecclesiastical organisation in the East Riding

It now remains to assess the relevance of these models of ecclesiastical organisation to the East Riding. The territorial organisation at a manorial level revealed by Domesday Book for the north was more complex than that of southern and midland England. It was characterized by large estates, made up of a central manor with outlying dependencies known as berewicks and sokeland. Dawn Hadley argued that smaller estates with a similar structure were equally a feature of northern territorial organisation.³¹ It is possible that the great estates were breaking down at a later stage in the north than they had done in the south and the midlands.³² The situation for all religious institutions would have been different in the North of England. According to Robin Fleming around one tenth of land in the Danelaw was held by the church, whereas in the south it ranged from one fifth to one third.³³ Furthermore, a series of disruptive events, Viking invasion, conquest by the Kings of Wessex and the 'Harrying of the North' may all have had an impact on ecclesiastical organisation. Were circumstances sufficiently different in the north as to render the models used for the rest of England irrelevant? We now have at least two possible models and a widespread acceptance that diversity within them must have existed. While it can be agreed that building a model from the evidence of the north may not have led to the 'minster model', in its original form, that may largely be because the evidence for the north leaves more gaps, particularly in the written record between the death of Bede and Domesday Book.³⁴ Having the minster model available, together with other possibilities and variations on it, can help our understanding of the situation in the north.

²⁷ Blair, 'Debate: Ecclesiastical organisation of pastoral care in Anglo-Saxon England' and Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society*, pp. 4-5.

²⁸ Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society*, pp. 155-158.

²⁹ Below, pp. 33-36 for a consideration of the Domesday Book evidence.

³⁰ Below, pp. 58-64.

³¹ D. M. Hadley, *The Northern Danelaw: its social structure, c.800-1100* (London, 2000), p. 160.

³² Dyer, *Making a Living in the Middle Ages: The People of Britain 850-1520*, p. 89.

³³ R. Fleming, 'Monastic lands and England's defence in the Viking age', *English Historical Review* 100 (1985), 247-265, p. 249.

³⁴ Blair, 'Debate: Ecclesiastical organisation of pastoral care in Anglo-Saxon England', p. 199.

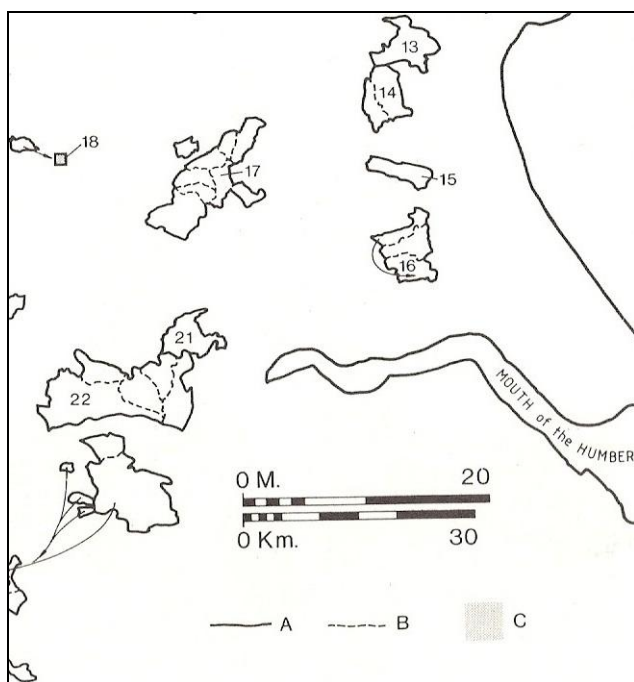


Fig. 4. East Riding section of Morris's 'Parochiae of superior churches in pre-Conquest Yorkshire.' 'The parochial outlines are those of later medieval parishes and do not therefore correspond with the original *parochiae*. They are depicted in this way in order to give an impression of the amount of coverage that might have been achieved before c. 850...

A possible core-territory of superior church; **B** boundary of later parish or chapelry...

13 Kilham (C12, charters); **14** Driffield (royal *tun* 705; C12, charters); **15** Watton (C8, Bede); **16** Beverley (C8, Bede; C12, Northumbrian Annals); **17** Pocklington (C12, charters; C13, *Reg. Gray*);...**21** Howden (C12, Giraldus Cambrensis).³⁵

In his extensive study of English churches, Richard Morris found numerous examples from Yorkshire that appear to fit the 'minster model'. Those from the East Riding are illustrated in a section of his map in fig. 4 above. Morris chose Yorkshire to examine in considering minsters because of the quantity of pre-conquest ecclesiastical sculpture and because of the received thinking that evidence of minsters was destroyed by the Scandinavian invasions.³⁶ Within the East Riding he identified Hunmanby, Kilham, Driffield, Watton, Beverley, Pocklington and Howden. The majority of these are based on twelfth century charters or evidence of superior status at that time, although there were early references for Beverley and Watton in Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* which will be considered further below.³⁷ Morris also suggested that the early sites failed to be documented in the eighth century because of a change in the character of the sources.³⁸ Prior to that time, monasteries were largely recorded in saints' lives and in Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*; after that letters and charters are relied upon. This appearance of discontinuity is increased for Northumbria as Bede's regional bias probably ensured a larger proportion of communities were

³⁵ Morris, *Churches in the Landscape*, pp. 134-135 fig. 27.

³⁶ R. K. Morris, *Churches in the landscape* (London, 1997), pp. 133-138.

³⁷ Below, p. 56.

³⁸ Morris, *Churches in the landscape*, p. 121.

recorded prior to the eighth century. Conversely, when charters and letters are relied upon to identify communities after the eighth century significantly fewer charters and letters have survived from Northumbria than from the south. Morris conceded that many of the references he used to examine this area were from after 1100, but believed they reveal an extensive pattern of early minster communities with extensive parochiae. Without the 'minster model' to compare the situation in Yorkshire with, it may not have been possible to postulate the presence of such early institutions on the basis of such late evidence. One concern is that the 'minster model' could encourage more speculation as to the nature of early institutions than the evidence really allows. Certainly, this sort of evidence cannot really be used to distinguish between the different models proposed. What can definitively be known about ecclesiastical organisation for the East Riding is very limited, therefore hypothetical trajectories of development will be proposed and compared to the local evidence available at each of the possible church sites to try to fill some of these evidential gaps.

David Palliser similarly chose Yorkshire as the subject for a case study of the 'Minster Hypothesis'.³⁹ In a work largely examining Beverley minster he finds evidence for the '...survival of early provision for pastoral care based on head minsters before the full development of a parochial system.' He is similarly using later evidence but the case is fairly persuasive. He cites Beverley and Ripon as minsters where some of the old functions survived. More speculatively because there is no definitive evidence of early communities he cites Pocklington and Pickering as ones where the superiority of the mother church remained. This evidence is convincing evidence of the persistence of early functions into the twelfth century but it provides no clues as to when these early functions date from. Once again it is difficult to use this late evidence to support specific aspects of models of ecclesiastical organisation. Beverley and Ripon both had royal and episcopal support at some stage and possibly started as contemplative communities of monks and then became communities of clergy. In 1086 they were owned by the archbishop. It is difficult to know anything of the early nature of Pocklington and Pickering, but by 1086 they were large royal estates. Beverley and Pocklington will be considered in more detail in chapter five and in the gazetteer.⁴⁰

The 'minster model' and associated debate is certainly of great relevance to ecclesiastical organisation in the north in the period considered. This is especially true if we accept the variety of models and chronological and regional variations. It is also important that the debate remains precisely that and does not harden into orthodoxy. The explanatory framework that has been developed over the years is a useful tool to compare the local evidence against. However, it does not seem satisfactory to simply categorize religious institutions as minsters or local churches. This conflates a wide range of church types, and for the East Riding would place a church with two priests of only local significance alongside the large community of Beverley rather than the church

³⁹ D. M. Palliser, 'Review article: the 'minster hypothesis': a case study', *Early Medieval Europe* 5 (1996), 207-214, p. 214.

⁴⁰ Below, pp. 71-73 and gazetteer, pp. 230-235 for Beverley and below, pp. 82-84 and gazetteer, pp. 214-217 for Pocklington.

in the next village with just one priest, with which it has far more in common. Questions applicable to the East Riding that arise from the 'Minster Debate' could include the following. Were the archbishops of York exercising central control over churches and if so which ones and when? Are the influences of other authorities, such as kings, overlords or local lords, discernible and when? When were the churches with single priests visible in Domesday Book founded? These will be addressed below. Even when the available evidence does not allow a more nuanced picture it must be remembered that the reality would have been more complicated. Furthermore, emphasis on minsters, on the more significant churches, may have discouraged concentration on the less significant local churches. It is hoped that attempting to identify what was occurring at these lesser sites within the East Riding, while attempting to place these within the wider context, may go some way towards redressing this imbalance.

2.2 Settlement Structure

This chapter will now move from examining models of ecclesiastical organisation to an exploration of what settlement structure may reveal about those models within the East Riding. The purpose of this is twofold. Firstly, to provide a social context for life in the villages which have been identified as potential church sites. Secondly, the founding of churches is likely to be linked to broader social processes and an understanding of settlement structure can assist in understanding the role of a church within its community. This section will provide a broad overview and then look specifically at regular villages, open fields and the topographical relationships within a settlement.

A significant development in the period considered here was the creation of a broad band of nucleated villages, usually with adjoining open fields, across central Britain between the tenth and the twelfth centuries.⁴¹ In Scandinavian-influenced eastern England planned field systems may have been created after c. 900.⁴² These processes were the product of a number of forces. A growing population may have required more intensive exploitation of land, and the new nucleated villages and associated field systems would have had an economic logic in this context.⁴³ The break up of the great estates and the rise of local lords enabled reorganisation at an individual vill level.⁴⁴ The changes will have occurred at different times in different areas. The East Riding was at the heart of this region of nucleated settlements. A particular aspect of this process was the creation of regular villages, which can be defined as containing rows of equal sized near-rectangular house plots, facing a street or green of similarly near-rectangular shape.⁴⁵ In our study area they are common in the Vale of York and occur progressively less frequently as you move eastwards through the Wolds into the plain of Holderness.⁴⁶ The fields attached to these nucleated settlements were frequently divided into strips so that individual landholders would possess uniform strips of

⁴¹ Dyer, *Making a Living in the Middle Ages: The People of Britain 850-1520*, p. 19.

⁴² P. Fowler, *Farming in the First Millennium AD: British agriculture between Julius Caesar and William the Conqueror* (Cambridge, 2002), pp. 154-155.

⁴³ Dyer, *Making a Living in the Middle Ages: The People of Britain 850-1520*, pp. 22-23 and p. 26.

⁴⁴ Dyer, *Making a Living in the Middle Ages: The People of Britain 850-1520*, pp. 29-35.

⁴⁵ J. A. Sheppard, 'Medieval village planning in northern England: some evidence from Yorkshire', *Journal of Historical Geography* 2 (1976), 3-20, p. 3.

⁴⁶ Sheppard, 'Medieval village planning in northern England: some evidence from Yorkshire', p. 6.

land throughout the township, ensuring they always had plots available for cultivation when part of the township was dedicated to fallow grazing. The archaeological discovery of deserted middle Saxon settlements beneath the new strip divided fields helps date the beginning of this process to no earlier than the eighth or ninth centuries.⁴⁷ Within the East Riding, fields of the 'Midland System' type, that involved a checkerboard effect of reasonably small strip divided fields, dominated the plain around York.⁴⁸ To the east, in the Yorkshire Wolds and Holderness, they give way to a simpler pattern with larger strips of up to a mile long.

2.2.1 Regular villages

The creation of regular villages was a significant aspect of these social and economic changes. Brian Roberts contends that a clear contrast can be made between highly regular village plans and less regular, irregular and part-regular ones.⁴⁹ He argues that the ordered geometry that is repeated with slight modifications so many times, can also be taken as an indicator of more or less deliberate planning. He does however accept that these settlements are similar rather than identical, that subtle variations do exist, and these settlements can 'be generated by processes which are widely separated in both time and space.' They could suggest a consolidation of land ownership at the level of the individual vill and where they are a regional phenomenon, may suggest coherent and strong overlordship. Christopher Dyer has questioned the significance of lordship in this process, suggesting that the transformation into a regular village could occur in two phases, a gradual nucleation followed by a subsequent reorganisation into a regular plan.⁵⁰ He suggests that these changes were likely to have been the work of villagers rather than lords.

Bearing these reservations in mind, regular villages do offer the potential to consider a church's topographical relationship to a settlement that may have been carefully planned at a specific point in time. June Sheppard selected Yorkshire as the location for a detailed analysis of regular village plans.⁵¹ She used late nineteenth-century ordnance survey maps and examined the measurements of green or street breadth and row depth for a sample of 100 regular villages in Yorkshire. This sample was 48% of all villages of regular layout and 14% of villages with regular elements. Sheppard established that the eighteen-foot perch was the most common unit, although the twenty-foot perch was occasionally used. The approximate village frontage in multiples of eighteen-foot perches was then compared to the fiscal assessments provided by Domesday Book for the 182 regular villages where an assessment was available. Sheppard established that there was a likely relationship between perches and fiscal assessment, a ratio of two perches per bovaté or

⁴⁷ D. Hall, 'Field Systems and Township Structure', in M. Aston, D. Austin, and C. Dyer (eds.), *The Rural Settlements of Medieval England: Studies dedicated to Maurice Beresford and John Hurst* (Oxford, 1989), pp. 191-205, p. 193.

⁴⁸ D. Hall, 'Field Systems and Township Structure', p. 194.

⁴⁹ B. K. Roberts, 'Back Lanes and Tofts, Distribution Maps and Time: Medieval Nucleated Settlement in the North of England', in B. E. Vynner (ed.), *Medieval Rural Settlement in North-East England*, Architectural and Archaeological Society of Durham and Northumberland Research Report (Durham, 1990), pp. 107-125, p. 110 and B. K. Roberts, *The Making of the English Village: a study in historical geography* (Harlow, 1987), pp. 196-205.

⁵⁰ Dyer, *Making a Living in the Middle Ages: The People of Britain 850-1520*, pp. 21-22.

⁵¹ J. A. Sheppard, 'Metrological Analysis of Regular Village Plans in Yorkshire', *Agricultural History Review* 22 (1974), 118-135.

one perch per bovate, in 89 of the 182 regular villages, or 48%. Therefore, she concluded that in regular planned villages the assessment normally determined the length of frontage. On the basis that the assessment reflected in Domesday Book was eleventh century in date, assuming that Domesday Book recorded a recently established system of taxation, and that this form of assessment was largely superfluous by c. 1220 because it was devalued by the granting of exemptions, this provides a date range for the construction of these planned villages. Sheppard proposed the period immediately subsequent to the 'Harrying of the North' as a possible time in which this could have occurred. If this apparent link between the toft frontage and Domesday Book fiscal data is accepted then we have a powerful illustration of the stability of these village forms through eight centuries and a real opportunity to date their origin. However, this hypothesis requires the acceptance of too many unproven assumptions to be considered as anything more concrete than a fascinating possibility. Particular reservations with regard to the nature of Domesday Book's recording of waste and the extent of the 'Harrying of North' are considered below. Further reservations need to be explored in this context. The possibility of dating the planning of a regular village must give us some insight into a church that is likely to have existed by that date and therefore has a topographical relationship to that planned village. However, Sheppard points out that the churchyard and Hall Garth rarely appear to form part of the row (from which she was taking her measurements). While she considered dimensions including and excluding the churchyard and Hall Garth in her statistical analysis, where she provided examples the churchyard is on most occasions excluded from the early plan. However, if a churchyard is not part of the fiscally inspired planning of a village this does not preclude the investigation of its topographical relationship to that plan.

In another study of regular planned villages in Yorkshire, Sheppard used the Ordnance Survey first edition 1:2,500 of 1888-1892 as a starting point.⁵² From these, villages were categorized without applying any rigid rules as regular, irregular or partly regular, and then tested using the chi-square test for statistical correlation with other evidence derived from Domesday Book. This test means that 'the frequency with which the variable being considered occurs in association with each plan-type is compared with the frequency that would be expected if this variable was completely unrelated to plan-types.'⁵³ The results can be broadly summarised as follows. While regular plans, which were located around York and stretched in bands north into the Vale of Pickering and northwest into Cleveland, appear similar to the distribution of wasteland in Domesday Book, this correlation did not hold true statistically at an individual vill level. When the settlement form was compared to who owned the land in 1086 and tested statistically it returned a 99.9% probability that the relationship was not coincidental. Other statistically significant correlations with plan-type were found. It was discovered that regular villages were most likely to be established under honorial administration and less likely to be established where demesne farms were present. Sheppard tentatively concludes that the patterns revealed might reflect the impact of William I's 'Harrying of the North' in 1069-1070 and that the regular villages may represent

⁵² Sheppard, 'Medieval village planning in northern England: some evidence from Yorkshire'.

⁵³ Sheppard, 'Medieval village planning in northern England: some evidence from Yorkshire', p. 12.

attempts to resettle tenants on the more productive land that had been devastated. This would require the inclusion within the tenant-in-chief's honour of land which was unaffected by the 'Harrying of the North'. By establishing a statistical link between settlements under honorial administration and planned villages, Sheppard provides some support to back up the theory that village planning would require a greater degree of centralised authority. Bishop's study, examining manorial demesne in the Vale of Yorkshire, makes similar links between the nature of landholding and waste. Bishop tried to identify the demesne manor primarily by seeking out landholdings with significantly higher tax responsibility than the norm.⁵⁴ He concluded that over half the villas in the region considered have no trace of manorial demesne. In attempting to explain this, he found that there is a correlation between wasteland and manorial demesne, in that those villas that were wholly depopulated did not tend to develop a manorial institution, whereas those that were only partially depopulated did. On balance the link between regular villages and honorial administration and non demesne manors is more effectively established than any link between regular villages and the 'Harrying of the North' or manors recorded as waste in Domesday Book.

While Sheppard and Bishop have independently made links between the 'Harrying of the North' and Domesday Book waste, more recent scholarship makes this interpretation extremely questionable. In considering the possible meanings of waste in Domesday Book, Wightman raised numerous different and plausible explanations as to what it meant in different circumstances.⁵⁵ These included a lack of arable land, an administrative use to account for variety in the number of manors between 1066 and 1086, a manor that had failed to find a tenant and afforested land. Clearly if waste could refer to this variety of circumstances, then it cannot be assumed to be simply the result of the 'Harrying of the North' and therefore the equation of waste villas with planned villages is not satisfactory. David Palliser has questioned the severity of the impact of the 'Harrying of the North' and particularly the extent to which Domesday Book recording of waste may reflect it.⁵⁶ He cited the fact that the most concentrated areas of waste did not match the routes that the chronicles and topographical common sense would suggest William's armies would have taken.⁵⁷ Palliser concludes that Domesday Book's recording of waste for Yorkshire is not an adequate record of land still lying waste after being devastated seventeen years earlier and the text is too 'disorganised, incomplete and inconsistent' to be used in that way.⁵⁸ This may partly be a result of disruption caused by warfare in the north, but may also reflect the fact that the Norman lords were still organising and gaining understanding of their possessions. It seems far more realistic to look for the opportunity to create planned regular villages in a circumstance or a series of circumstances, any time up to the twelfth century, when there was powerful centralised authority and the opportunity for local consolidation of land units and replanning. It is not unreasonable to expect

⁵⁴ T. A. M. Bishop, 'The Distribution of Manorial Demesne in the Vale of Yorkshire', *English Historical Review* 49 (1934), 386-406.

⁵⁵ W. E. Wightman, 'The Significance of 'Waste' in the Yorkshire Domesday', *Northern History* 10 (1975), 55-71.

⁵⁶ D. M. Palliser, 'Domesday Book and the 'Harrying of the North'', *Northern History* 29 (1993), 1-23.

⁵⁷ Palliser, 'Domesday Book and the 'Harrying of the North'', p. 10.

⁵⁸ Palliser, 'Domesday Book and the 'Harrying of the North'', pp. 21-22.

new seigneurial churches to be founded in this context. However, it is vital that settlements are examined individually and the imposition of broad theories on individual villages is avoided.

2.2.2 Open-field systems

Examining field systems attached to the settlements is relevant if an attempt to understand local ecclesiastical organisation is to be made by exploring the topographical relationship of churches and villages. Therefore, work carried out on settlement morphology and the related field systems within the East Riding of Yorkshire is important. Works that have focused on field systems within the East Riding can provide a context in which to place the settlements with pre-conquest churches identified by this study.

In examining Holderness in East Yorkshire, Mary Harvey identified that an irregular linear village dominated settlement morphology and a two-field system dominated field layout.⁵⁹ She also established that these had a distinctive layout with long lands, often with a single alignment through the majority of the field, and a limited number of clearly defined furlongs. In addition to this, the land was held in a distinctive form with regularly positioned strips, and oxgangs that were strictly ordered so that they retained the same relative position throughout the field. In some instances these strips appear to be ordered on the principle of *solskifte*, as implemented in southern and eastern Sweden. This meant the regular ordering of holdings through fields with reference to the course of the sun across the sky. In Scandinavia this was thought to also involve equal shares measured out across the ground, and Harvey proposed Preston and Barmston amongst her examples of settlements where this could have been the case. Furthermore, she identified Roos and Ottringham among her examples of villages with characteristics of these planned field systems. It is worth highlighting that all four of these examples have been identified by this study as containing pre-1100 churches in Domesday Book, and they will be considered in detail below in chapter five and in the gazetteer.⁶⁰

Harvey proceeded to examine two separate elements, field morphology and landholding, and looked for possible origins for them. On field morphology she argued that the consensus of opinion is that open-field systems would not have been fully developed until at least the ninth century, and that the population and central control necessary to instigate this system would not have been in place before the late ninth century. The immediate post-conquest period is proposed as a possible time when the necessary prerequisites would have been in place; there was an economic depression, but not total devastation, and land ownership was changing. Drogo de la Beuvrière had overall lordship of Holderness, and at individual vill level tenurial units were being united so that whole settlements were owned by single local lords. With regard to landholding, Harvey argued that the oxgang names were likely to be the names of the owners or occupiers of holdings at the inception of the system. She found a similarity to names on the manorial-court roles

⁵⁹ M. Harvey, 'Regular field and tenurial arrangements in Holderness, Yorkshire', *Journal of Historical Geography* 6 (1980), 3-16.

⁶⁰ Below, p. 92 and gazetteer, pp. 177-180 for Preston, pp. 183-187 for Barmston, pp. 245-247 for Ottringham and pp. 252-254 for Roos.

of the mid-fourteenth century, suggesting an origin of the mid-fourteenth century or before. Also, the number of oxgangs can be linked to the number of taxpayers living in the village, which suggests the thirteenth century as the latest time the system may have been instigated. Harvey argued that in the early-eleventh century, the possible time of the fiscal reassessment represented by the figures in Domesday Book, the fiscal reality may have been the same as that represented by the oxgangs. Harvey therefore postulated the early- to late-eleventh century as a time that the two elements considered could have been created. An earlier date is also considered. Viking settlement could have provided a single overlord and the opportunity for the imposition of a regular field layout.

In a later work this study is extended to the Wolds as well as Holderness.⁶¹ The Wolds villages showed a different morphology, with houses nucleated around an open space or a road junction, or in two rows across a street. However, they demonstrated a very similar field system. Harvey placed even greater emphasis on the regularity of this structure and on the likelihood that they would have been laid out at one point in time. She believed that they were most likely to represent decisions taken above the level of the individual community and probably resulted from strong lordship, with one or two overlords controlling this area of East Yorkshire, and would also have required unified control at the level of the individual vill. The immediate post-conquest period is again considered as having many of the necessary prerequisites. However, there was a lack of a single overlord over the whole area and of unified lordship at the level of the individual vill. Also, the waste revealed by Domesday Book would probably have made a planning of villages on this sort of regional scale unlikely, as there would not have been the population to justify it. Therefore, the period following the Scandinavian invasion of the late ninth century is proposed as the most probable one during which such a system might have been imposed. Understanding why different settlement morphology and field systems prevailed in different parts of the region provides useful contextual information when considering the development of individual villages. Attempts to define when these developments occurred are extremely speculative. As Harvey conceded, the shortage of contemporary evidence means the origins of the features she considered are a matter for conjecture, which only detailed archaeological survey can confirm.⁶²

The work on settlement and field layout considered shows a bias towards planned elements of settlement structure, those that are thought to relate to a specific act of leadership at a specific point in time. Many of the conclusions are really just hypotheses and it is important to bear in mind that other possible explanations are harder to find because they are not so well documented as the 'Harrying of the North'. If the role of the church in the life of a community is to be understood then an examination of it and the related community's physical evolution seems like a promising starting point. However, if it is to prove successful then every available item of evidence will be required. A genuine interdisciplinary approach to local studies seems to be the best way to proceed. It is vital that a dialogue between the evidence of the individual church's relationship to the local topography and other available evidence is not lost beneath broader models.

⁶¹ Harvey, 'Planned Field Systems in Eastern Yorkshire: Some Thoughts on Their Origin'.

⁶² Harvey, 'Regular field and tenurial arrangements in Holderness, Yorkshire', p. 16.

2.2.3 The church in the settlement

The foundation of manorial churches links the creation of nucleated villages and open-field systems with the models of ecclesiastical organisation. It would be logical to infer that seigneurial churches would have been built at the same time as the new villages and field systems, when local leadership was strong. This study considers whether exploring the topographical relationships of churches with manorial sites and with water supplies can cast any light on the people behind church foundations and their motivations.⁶³

Stocker and Everson have worked extensively on Lincolnshire church towers and have used plan form analysis of Ordnance Survey maps to attempt to identify the relationship between the churchyards of these churches with Lincolnshire towers and manorial curias or village greens.⁶⁴ They used this to suggest whether the impetus for the original construction of churches with Lincolnshire towers added in the late eleventh century came from the local lord or the local sokemen. They concluded that for the majority (42%), the church towers were likely to have been sponsored by minor lords below the level of tenants in chief.⁶⁵ For these churches, plan form analysis had indicated that the church was within the manor, adjacent to the manor or formed part of a lordly planning or replanning of the settlement. A slightly smaller percentage (31%) of churches were built on public open space. For these, a correlation was found with Domesday Book recording a high percentage of sokemen, and for this reason it was concluded they may represent cooperative action between the sokemen and a non resident lord.

For the remaining (27%), where the church's location could not be linked to anything in the late Anglo-Saxon settlement, it was suggested they may relate to something that preceded that and therefore be earlier churches. Interestingly, Stocker and Everson found a link with springs for some of these churches. They identified twelve cases where the church was sited adjacent to a spring rather than a manor or public open space. They speculated that this could indicate early foundation, before an organised settlement had developed, or that the spring could have been used to facilitate the baptismal function of the church. If the most significant topographical relationship of churchyards at their inception can be established for the East Riding it may tell us something about the context within which people were establishing local churches. Were the churches to provide for the lord's family, the wider settlement under the lord's auspices, or were they positioned to provide for the settlement with no obvious topographical relationship to the manor house? Alternatively, were they founded next to other topographical features such as springs? An exploration of the topographical relationship between a church, and a village, and a field system may occasionally allow a local insight into when, why and by whom the church was built. Planned regular villages offer a unique opportunity because it is reasonable, although not proven, to assume that they were the result of a deliberate act at a specific point or period of time, and therefore offer the possibility of relating a church to a more coherent plan than with any other village type.

⁶³ Below, pp. 77-80.

⁶⁴ P. Everson and D. Stocker, 'The Common Steeple? Church, Liturgy, and Settlement in Early Medieval Lincolnshire', *Anglo-Norman Studies* XXVII (2006), pp. 103-123 and D. Stocker and P. Everson, *Summoning St Michael: Early Romanesque Towers in Lincolnshire* (Oxford, 2006).

⁶⁵ Stocker and Everson, *Summoning St Michael: Early Romanesque Towers in Lincolnshire*, pp. 60-76.

This chapter has explored models of ecclesiastical organisation and settlement structure and considered how they may relate to each other. It has particularly focussed on work in these areas that has been carried out within the East Riding of Yorkshire, to provide a backdrop for the exploration of potential church sites that will follow. The following chapter will develop some of these themes further by considering how the evidence may be used to address some of the theories about ecclesiastical organisation and settlement structure considered here.

Chapter Three

Research methodology and source critique

This chapter will begin with a description and justification of the research methodology employed. It will then consider the strengths and weaknesses of the evidence used to distinguish between potential types of religious institutions and to hypothesize about changes over the 400 year period considered. It will examine the evidence for the East Riding under the categories of documentary evidence, Domesday Book, sculpture, archaeology and architecture, and topography.

3.1 Research Methodology

The research methodology was designed to enable the inclusion of as many sites of churches or other religious activity as possible and to make the approach as interdisciplinary as achievable given constraints of time and expertise. The purpose of this was to try and understand more about the lesser studied minor church sites. As stated above, a database of all potential individual church sites between the approximate dates of 700 and 1100 has been created. This forms the gazetteer, organised alphabetically by hundred and modern settlement name, that forms a substantial appendix to this study. Sites were initially selected by the following criteria.

1. A church or priest is recorded within a Domesday Book vill entry.¹
2. Anglo-Saxon stone sculpture has been identified by James Lang's *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture* volume for York and Eastern Yorkshire within the East Riding, as defined by Domesday Book.²

This provided a database of potential vill sites with churches, 62 in total within eighteen hundreds, which is tabulated in fig. 5 in chapter four below, with page references to the gazetteer.³ The scant pre-Conquest textual evidence was then incorporated where available and is included in fig. 7 in chapter four below.⁴ However, this only added one additional site at Spurn Head which has not been included within the gazetteer but is considered below.⁵ The Archaeology Data Service digital archive, which records sites, monuments and archaeological interventions within the United Kingdom, was then utilised.⁶ Where possible the coordinates of the church site were provided and then a five kilometre search around the vicinity was undertaken. This has helped identify other evidence that relates to these sites. Modern Ordnance Survey roadmaps have been provided to give an overview of these hundreds.⁷ Copies of the 1854-5 Ordnance Survey maps showing the

¹ M. L. Faull and M. Stinson, *Domesday Book: Yorkshire: Volume I and Volume II* (Chichester, 1986) was used to locate villas with churches or priests.

² J. T. Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, III: York and Eastern Yorkshire* (Oxford, 1991).

³ Below, p. 45 fig. 5.

⁴ Below, p. 49 fig. 7.

⁵ Below, p. 55-56.

⁶ <http://ads.ahds.ac.uk/catalogue/index.cfm>, copyright is retained by The University of York on behalf of the Archaeology Data Service (ADS). See <http://ads.ahds.ac.uk/collections.cfm> for a comprehensive list of the collections available within the ADS Catalogue.

⁷ Images produced from the Ordnance Survey <http://www.ordnancesurvey.co.uk/getamap> Get-a-map service. Image reproduced with kind permission of <http://www.ordnancesurvey.co.uk> Ordnance Survey and <http://www.osni.gov.uk> Ordnance Survey of Northern Ireland.

settlements in the vicinity of any church have been given.⁸ Modern aerial views of the same areas have also been included.⁹ All of these sites, with the exception of Spurn Head, have been visited in order to get a general idea of their modern topography and photographs of all of the church sites, and occasionally the sculpture, have been taken. Where relevant, illustrations of stone sculpture have been downloaded from the Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture website; these are all of the black and white images of sculpture that follow.¹⁰ Occasionally church plans have been included; where these are included they have been downloaded from the Incorporated Church Building Society archive provided online by Lambeth Palace Library.¹¹ Information from Domesday Book data, place-names, excavations, small-find assemblages, other documentary sources and local topographical analysis have then also been incorporated. The gazetteer that covers all these church sites includes the additional information listed above in a standard format, with discussion of the evidence at the end of most church site entries. It has been used as a basis for further analysis of aspects of ecclesiastical organisation within the East Riding. Focussing on all potential church sites of any description should enable a greater insight into more minor religious sites than has generally been the case for local studies of ecclesiastical organisation. The similarities or differences of these places from proposed minster or more prominent church sites can then be explored.

There are some potential pitfalls to this method that are inevitable consequences of the balance of the evidence. The forthcoming discussion is referring only to the establishment of the initial database using the evidence of Domesday Book, Anglo-Saxon stone sculpture and early textual evidence. Other evidence has subsequently been incorporated. Domesday Book provides by far the majority of potential church sites. 52 of the 62 identified are from it and 46 from it alone. In the majority of instances this provides fairly secure evidence of the existence of a church in 1086. In some cases the presence of a church is less certain as villas have been included within the database when Domesday Book only records a priest. There is also occasionally ambiguity as to which of the villas of a multiple estate the church is in. Kirby Underdale is unique in that it is only the place-name first recorded in Domesday Book that demonstrates the presence of a church. Of the additional ten sites that are not found by Domesday Book, they can all be identified by the presence of Anglo-Saxon sculpture. With these sites it is not certain that they contained Anglo-Saxon churches but if it is believed that the sculpture remains in situ at its original location, it is reasonable to assume that some form of religious commemoration was occurring at them. It is worth noting that for every example the sculpture has been found at a church site. This could be a

⁸ Images produced from the www.old-maps.co.uk service with permission of Landmark Information Group Ltd. and Ordnance Survey where www.old-maps.co.uk is hyperlinked to <http://www.old-maps.co.uk>, Landmark Information Group Ltd. is hyperlinked to <http://www.landmark-information.co.uk> and Ordnance Survey is hyperlinked to <http://www.ordnancesurvey.co.uk>.

⁹ The aerial views have been downloaded via a link from the above-named www.old-maps.co.uk website and are subject to © Getmapping plc.

¹⁰ These images have been downloaded from the CASSS website. The copyright of the images remains at all times the property of the stated owner. <http://www.dur.ac.uk/corpus>.

¹¹ These church plans and drawings have been downloaded from the Incorporated Church Building Society database provided online by Lambeth Palace Library and accessed at <http://www.churchplansonline.org> subject to (c) Lambeth Palace Library 1990.

result of better preservation at these sites, but it certainly does support the contention that the presence of the sculpture indicates the presence of a church. In the majority of cases the sculpture dates from the Anglo-Scandinavian period. David Stocker and Paul Everson have considered the Anglo-Scandinavian sculpture of Lincolnshire, Stamfordshire and Nottinghamshire and their contention that with few exceptions it came from funerary monuments, and therefore represents the presence of graveyards, supports this presumed link between sculpture and church sites in the East Riding.¹² It is also noteworthy that of the nineteen sites that have Anglo-Saxon stone sculpture only eight also have a church recorded in Domesday Book. The question of why these sites with sculpture are not being recorded as churches in Domesday Book will be considered further below when Domesday Book is considered as a source.¹³ At these eight sites the Domesday Book reference can be combined with earlier Anglo-Saxon stone sculpture, to provide an earlier date for religious activity at the site. This evidence can be used in conjunction with Anglo-Saxon architecture, with place-name evidence, with documentary evidence other than Domesday Book, and occasionally with excavation to provide relatively secure information about where churches would have been. After this, it is necessary to turn to more circumstantial techniques. Late maps and modern observation can be used to hypothesise as to the nature of topographical relationships in the period here considered, which will be discussed in more detail in the section on evidence below. What this amalgamation of all the available evidence can provide is as exhaustive a list of where pre-1100 religious sites existed as is possible. What it does not do is provide us with details of all the pre-1100 church sites. Domesday Book is clearly not precise in documenting churches, as is evidenced by the twelve potential sites identified within the East Riding that are not included within it. Archaeological visibility is another significant problem in attempting to locate churches in this period. It is likely that they were frequently built in wood and it may be that it is only when they begin to be built in stone that they can be found without excavation.¹⁴ The fact that the evidence available has such a strong bias towards the end of our period makes the adoption of an interdisciplinary approach all the more important. Using all the evidence possible provides the best opportunity for a nuanced analysis of what was happening at a local level between the early eighth century and the late eleventh. The greatest difficulty lies in ascertaining when different religious institutions were being founded within this 400 year period.

3.2 Source critique

3.2.1 Documentary evidence

Excluding Domesday Book, contemporary documentary evidence only explicitly identifies three religious communities and no other superior churches within the East Riding. Bede's references to Beverley and Watton have been discussed above, and these sites will be considered in more detail

¹² D. Stocker and P. Everson, 'Five town funerals: decoding diversity in Danelaw stone sculpture' in J. Graham-Campbell, R. Hall, J. Jesch, and D. N. Parsons (eds.), *Vikings and the Danelaw: Select Papers from the Proceedings of the Thirteenth Viking Congress* (Oxford, 2001), pp. 223-243, p. 224.

¹³ Below, pp. 34-36.

¹⁴ Above, pp. 17-18 and below, p. 40.

below.¹⁵ His description of Bishop John of Beverley dedicating churches on the estates of thegns is considered above.¹⁶ Alcuin described the hermitage of Wilgil, the father of Willibrord, in his *Vita Willibrordi*. It received various bequests of land in the local area and became a minster that Alcuin inherited. It is generally agreed to have been located at Spurn Head.¹⁷ Turning from contemporary evidence to later evidence, some extra light on the ecclesiastical history of the East Riding is cast by the *Chronica Pontificum Ecclesiae Eboracensis*, which was probably written in the first half of the twelfth century and provides some information on the last two pre-conquest archbishops Cynesige and Ealdred, and their patronage of Beverley.¹⁸ In his study of superior churches in Yorkshire, discussed above, Richard Morris relied predominantly on later documentary evidence of status.¹⁹ Hunmanby, Kilham, Driffield and Pocklington were identified by twelfth century charters. Howden was identified by a twelfth century reference in Gerald of Wales's *Journey through Wales*.²⁰ This method of identifying superior churches by late evidence is not unproblematic. It is outside of the scope of this thesis as the identification of church sites by contemporary evidence, Domesday Book, Anglo-Saxon sculpture or occasionally other documentary references was the first requirement for inclusion within this study. Therefore, churches identified by later evidence have only been included when others have worked on the primary sources and it can therefore be referenced by secondary sources. All of these sites identified by Morris, with the exception of Kilham, were independently identified by this study as potential pre-1100 church sites. Tom Pickles has identified different potential minsters to Morris using twelfth-century charters and foundation narratives. Within the East Riding he found that Garton on the Wolds and Kirby Grindalythe were identified as monasteries when granted to Kirkham at its foundation in the early twelfth century.²¹ Both of these were independently identified as pre-1100 church sites by this study, and do have some, albeit limited, evidence of status. Kirby Grindalythe is considered further below with reference to its place-name.²² Garton on the Wolds church site was in the vicinity of three early Anglo-Saxon burial sites from the seventh or first half of the eighth century.²³ An early church could have exploited the ritual significance of this area but this can only be speculative. Finally for documentary evidence, there are a small number of charters and lists of estates belonging to the Archbishop of York, which are considered in detail within the examination of episcopal churches below.²⁴

¹⁵ For Beverley below, pp. 58-59, pp. 71-73 and gazetteer, pp. 230-235. For Watton below, p. 59 and gazetteer, pp. 239-241.

¹⁶ Above, p. 16.

¹⁷ R. K. Morris, *Churches in the landscape* (London, 1989), p. 342 and J. Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society* (Oxford, 2005), p. 218.

¹⁸ J. S. Raine, *Historians of the Church of York and its Archbishops* (London, 1886), vol. 2, pp. xx-xxii, pp. 343-344 and pp. 353-354.

¹⁹ Above pp. 20-21.

²⁰ Morris, *Churches in the landscape*, pp. 134-135 and L. Thorpe, *Gerald of Wales: The Journey through Wales and The Description of Wales* (Harmondsworth, 1978), pp. 84-85.

²¹ T. Pickles, 'The Church in Anglo-Saxon Yorkshire: "Minsters" and the Danelaw, c.600-1200' (Unpd. Ph.D. Thesis, Oxford, 2006), p. 53.

²² Below, p. 37.

²³ Gazetteer, pp. 286-290.

²⁴ Below, pp. 65-68 for archiepiscopal landholdings.

3.2.2 Domesday Book

Domesday Book is the dominant source for identifying pre-1100 churches within the East Riding. It is a problematic source in this regard as its recording of churches is not consistent, especially for the north and west of the country.²⁵ The vast majority of entries detailing the presence of churches or priests in the East Riding follow the formula ‘there is a church and a priest’ (36 of 51 in total). Seven more simply record that there is a church. Two just record the presence of a priest.²⁶ Three more state that there are two churches (two of which also record two priests and one where there is no priest recorded).²⁷ There is one reference for Withernsea to two priests without the mention of a church considered below. Finally, there are references to the church of Cowlam and the canons of Beverley which are explored further below. It is not known whether these various formulas reflect real differences or whether they represent a variety of recording techniques. David Roffe has argued that the wide range of diplomatic formula used in Yorkshire and Lincolnshire, where a format was gradually established that was then used more consistently through the record of Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire and Huntingdonshire, were indicative of the work of a novice learning his trade.²⁸ This in itself could account for some inconsistency in the recording of churches. At a micro level it may be worth examining whether the formula used can provide any distinction between churches. However, it would be foolhardy to draw any general rules or to apply these distinctions across wide areas. Domesday Book can be used to ascertain where there were churches in 1086, but it is not exhaustive and a failure to record a church in Domesday Book does not mean there was not one. The consensus of opinion is that Domesday Book was compiled for fiscal purposes and therefore churches were predominantly recorded when they were a taxable asset.²⁹ These difficulties are evidenced by the twelve potential church sites within the East Riding that are not recorded in Domesday Book.

Domesday Book has been used to identify minsters or superior churches. In 1985, John Blair identified six criteria of superior status from his study of Domesday Book. These included references to resident clergy (these could be *clerici*, *presbyteri* or *canonici*, the key was that there was more than one); an endowment on the church of at least one hide or carucate; separate tenure for the church or land separate from the manor; separate valuation of a church; and named dedications, geld exemptions, references to church scot or rights over neighbouring churches or chapels. Finally, he used royal or episcopal ownership as an indicator of superiority in doubtful cases. This produced 311 entries, but the numbers decreased progressively northwards and

²⁵ Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society*, pp. 418-419 fig. 50.

²⁶ These were at Bainton and Swine, gazetteer, pp. 130-132 and pp.180-182 respectively. The standard entries are not referenced here but are all separately considered within the gazetteer below.

²⁷ Langton, Great Driffield and Ottringham, gazetteer, pp. 224-226, pp. 133-135 and pp. 245-247 respectively.

²⁸ D. Roffe, ‘Domesday Book and Northern Society: a Reassessment’, *English Historical Review*, 105 (1990), 310-336 and S. Baxter, ‘The Representation of Lordship and Land Tenure in Domesday Book’, in E. Hallam and D. Bates (eds.), *Domesday Book* (Stroud, 2001), pp. 73-102. T. Pickles, pers. comm.

²⁹ W. Page, ‘Some Remarks on the Churches of the Domesday Survey’, *Archaeologia* 66 (1914), 61-102, p. 1. See also J. Blair, ‘Local churches in Domesday Book and before’, in J.C. Holt (ed.), *Domesday Studies* (Woodbridge, 1987), pp. 265-278. T. Pickles, pers. comm.

eastwards.³⁰ In East Yorkshire he identified two sites of superior status, Beverley and Withernsea. The Domesday Book reference to Withernsea refers to two priests and no church and will be considered in more detail below.³¹ Beverley was clearly a major episcopal community, of unique importance within the East Riding, and will be discussed in detail below. One other entry is worthy of note here. It is a reference to the church of Cowlam, belonging to Archbishop Thomas with half a carucate of land.³² This entry is so anomalous, as the only reference to a church within the East Riding with any additional information, that it may be worthy of further consideration and could indicate a higher status church, even though it does not meet Blair's criteria of an endowment of at least one carucate. Unfortunately, most of Blair's categories are not relevant to East Yorkshire as Domesday Book does not record the information necessary to use them. Either there were not many significant church sites within the East Riding, or Domesday Book is not a very helpful source for identifying them.

In his thesis on Yorkshire minsters Tom Pickles identified another category evident within Domesday Book that may indicate a connection to a minster community. He considered that land under the lordship of the archbishop that is recorded as either held by the canons of St Peter (for example North and South Newbald), or was held by two clerics (for example Patrington and Everingham), may indicate either functioning minsters or former minsters.³³ He conceded that this is not in itself decisive evidence, as they could simply indicate land in archiepiscopal ownership given to members of the York community. It is interesting that these three East Riding examples are also all manors where this study has independently identified potentially significant churches. For North and South Newbald and Patrington there are respectively tenth and eleventh century charters showing royal interest in their ownership.³⁴ Pickles has also identified them as possible mother churches in light of the architectural grandeur of their twelfth century cruciform churches.³⁵ For Patrington there is also pre-c. 900 sculpture. For Everingham, one of its berewicks at Londesborough has evidence of a pre-1100 church with sculpture of the ninth to eleventh century as well as a sixth century Anglo-Saxon inhumation cemetery.³⁶ This does seem to strengthen the suggestion that archiepiscopal land held by canons or clerics has some ecclesiastical significance. However, this method could equally highlight other villas such as Walkington or Ricall which were also held by the canons of St Peter under the lordship of the archbishop.³⁷ Here, there is no evidence that they were anything other than land owned by members of the York community; therefore, it may be more effective to look for a combination of land under the lordship of the archbishop with a canonical or multiple clerical presence and other evidence of a church. If this is to be accepted as a possible indication of a minster connection then perhaps ownership by the

³⁰ J. Blair, 'Secular minster churches in Domesday Book', in P.H. Sawyer (ed.), *Domesday Book: a reassessment* (London, 1985), pp. 104-142, p. 106.

³¹ Below, pp. 91-92 and gazetteer, pp. 257-259.

³² DB 303, below, pp. 75-76 and gazetteer pp. 260-264.

³³ Pickles, 'The Church in Anglo-Saxon Yorkshire: "Minsters" and the Danelaw, c.600-1200', p. 50.

³⁴ Below, p. 68 and pp. 75-76. Gazetteer, pp. 122-125 for North Newbald and pp. 248-251 for Patrington.

³⁵ Below, p. 40.

³⁶ Gazetteer, pp. 307-309.

³⁷ DB 302V.

community of St John under the archbishop should also be included. This is explored further below.³⁸ Like many of the other categories it is most useful when combined with other evidence.

It may be worth adding further to Blair's list, as Domesday Book records three vill, at Ottringham, Drifffield and Langton, that each appear to contain two churches. Blair has elsewhere suggested that a minster community of any importance would have had at least two churches.³⁹ These churches would have had separate liturgical functions, which are not now fully recoverable because the original form of the churches has largely been obliterated by Romanesque rebuildings. Domesday Book could hint at this when two churches are recorded within the same settlement. Ottringham may have had two churches because there are two entries for separate manors under the lordship of the canons of St John and Drogo de la Beuvrière respectively, each recording a church and a priest.⁴⁰ It is possible that these represent confusion as to which manor the church and priest belonged, but it seems more likely that they represent two separate manorial churches within the same vill. Ownership of one by the community of St John does link it to the idea that two churches may be indicative of a minster connection, but cannot be considered decisive. Of the two other entries that refer to two churches there is ambiguity as to whether Domesday Book is recording two churches within one settlement or whether one of them may be in an associated settlement. Drifffield, which was considered an early royal tun and was a major Domesday Book estate centre, and will be discussed further below, had a berewick at Little Drifffield where Anglo-Saxon stone sculpture has been found.⁴¹ Langton similarly had a berewick at Sherburn (East Riding) where fourteen separate pieces of Anglo-Saxon stone sculpture have been found.⁴² It does seem more likely, on all of these occasions, that Domesday Book is recording two churches within a manor and its associated settlements, than two churches of one religious community.

Within the context of this study, where all possible church sites have been first identified, it may be possible to use Domesday Book to compare religious institutions in a different way. The likely role of a church can be considered in the light of what can be learnt about the community it served. A spectrum of religious activity could be hypothesized by drawing conclusions about the importance of a church by the nature of the settlement it serves. For example, a vill of over twenty carucates, or an estate centre may be more likely to have contained an important church. This is not to suggest this as evidence of minsters, just of more significant churches. Domesday Book can be used to compare the type of places that had churches. Were they estate centres or outlying settlements? What size were they? Who were they owned by? Domesday Book can thus provide us with more information about the locations of churches. The problem with this is that there is nothing comparable to supply equivalent information for an earlier period, and we cannot therefore know whether we are examining the nature of the settlement at the time its church was founded.

³⁸ Below, pp. 76-77.

³⁹ J. Blair, 'Anglo-Saxon minsters: a topographical review', in J. Blair and R. Sharpe (ed.), *Pastoral Care before the Parish* (Leicester, 1992), pp. 226-266, pp. 246-258.

⁴⁰ Below, pp. 76-77, p. 92 and gazetteer, pp. 245-247.

⁴¹ Below, pp. 82-84 and gazetteer, pp. 133-135.

⁴² Gazetteer, pp. 224-226 for Langton and pp. 270-277 for Sherburn.

3.2.3 Place-names

Place-names also have the potential to provide a little more information. Place-names with specific relevance to ecclesiastical organisation within the East Riding are few. However, Kirby Grindalythe, Kirby Underdale and Kirkham all include the Old Norse *kirkja* which could replace an Old English *cirice*, both meaning church.⁴³ It is possible that these all represent Scandinavianization of earlier Old English names. Kirkham certainly supports this as a hybrid of Old Norse *kirkja* and Old English *ham*.⁴⁴ Margaret Gelling has suggested that this may represent villages and churches that were already present when Scandinavians renamed them, or adapted their names, in the late ninth or tenth centuries.⁴⁵ She also went on to conclude that it must have effectively distinguished some villages from others and therefore villages with churches must have been comparatively rare. This is supported by the examples of Kirby Grindalythe and Kirby Underdale which both gained the second part of their names later than Domesday Book where they were recorded as various derivations of *Chirchebi*. Morris develops this argument further, suggesting that *kirkjuby* may have been used to denote a particular type of church.⁴⁶ He suggests a number of alternative interpretations. He cites examples of these place-names coinciding with pre-Viking age sculpture in North Yorkshire, to suggest that Scandinavians were using them to refer to ecclesiastical settlements. He goes on to consider the possibility that they represent minsters of the aristocracy, rather than either village churches or strict monastic communities. It is particularly interesting that Kirby Grindalythe and Kirkham have names that could identify them as early churches and are linked because Kirby Grindalythe was granted to Kirkham at its foundation in the early twelfth century, as highlighted by Pickles.⁴⁷ Furthermore, Pickles noted that in the early twelfth century Kirby Grindalythe was described as a *monasterium*. Gelling and Morris's theories may be best tested by analyzing where these settlements fitted within a continuum of those containing religious institutions in the East Riding. Finally, three other place-names have the potential to cast light on ecclesiastical organisation and will be considered in their local context below. These are Preston, Monkwith and Patrington.⁴⁸

3.2.4 Sculptural evidence

Anglo-Saxon stone sculpture pre-dating c. 900 is generally considered to be diagnostic of the presence of a minster.⁴⁹ It is assumed that it was produced in a minster context because of the knowledge and skill required to make it and the wealth required to fund it. This is supported by the fact that sites where it has been discovered frequently coincide with known minster sites. For example, Pickles has identified that of eighteen named minster sites in Yorkshire, ten have also

⁴³ A. H. Smith, *English Place-Name Elements: Part II* (Cambridge, 1956), p. 4.

⁴⁴ Morris, *Churches in the landscape*, p. 160.

⁴⁵ M. Gelling, 'The word church in English place-names', *Bulletin CBA Churches Committee* 15 (1981) 4-9, p. 8.

⁴⁶ Morris, *Churches in the landscape*, p. 161.

⁴⁷ Above p. 33 and gazetteer, pp. 265-269 for Kirby Grindalythe and pp. 106-108 for Kirkham.

⁴⁸ For Preston below, p. 82 and gazetteer, pp. 177-179, for Monkwith below, p. 77, and for Patrington below, pp. 75-76 and gazetteer, pp. 248-251.

⁴⁹ E. Cambridge, 'The early church in County Durham: a reassessment', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 137 (1984), 65-85, pp. 68-69.

preserved this pre-Viking sculpture.⁵⁰ This method has to be followed with some caution because there can be no certainty that the site at which sculpture was found is where it was made. If an institution has purchased or been given one item of pre c. 900 stone sculpture this does not offer the same level of evidence of a minster as a site at which sculpture is being produced or one wealthy enough to have large quantities. Also, dating of sculptures' production is far from secure. If however, we are not just looking to identify minster communities but are considering all potential church sites, then it may be possible to tentatively reconstruct something of the range of importance of these sites from the sculptural evidence. When identifying religious communities from northern England before c. 875, Morris only found sculptural evidence of a religious community for Patrington, whereas Pickles only identified Beverley using sculpture.⁵¹ There are certainly other sites within the East Riding where sculpture pre-dating c. 900 has been discovered. James Lang mapped Hunmanby, Wharram Percy and Leven as other sites with early sculpture.⁵² These may indicate connections to minster communities. Other sites could meet this criterion, although the dating may not be precise enough for confidence; these include Nunburnholme and Londesborough.⁵³ Morris used some of this other sculptural evidence when trying to reconstruct the parochiae of superior churches of pre-conquest Yorkshire.⁵⁴ Building on the work that had tentatively reconstructed some of these parochiae from late sources, discussed above, he used pre-Viking age sculpture to potentially expand the area of influence of some proposed superior churches.⁵⁵ Examples from the East Riding included pre-Viking age sculpture at Nunburnholme and Wharram Percy used to suggest they may have been linked to the parochiae of Pocklington, and pre-Viking-age sculpture at Leven used to link Leven and Watton to the parochiae of Beverley. This is an interesting way that the pre-Viking age sculpture can be used, but as Morris states 'the inclusion of sculptural evidence... increases the possible extent of provision but does not help define its character.'

For the East Riding it may be possible to go further. If we are not simply trying to identify minster communities but are attempting to reconstruct a range of church sites, then it may be worth considering in more detail what Viking age sculpture can tell us about the church site it is found at. As noted above there does seem to be a category of potential church sites where sculpture is present but Domesday Book does not record a church.⁵⁶ These will be considered in more detail in chapter four below. It may be worth investigating what was occurring at sites with above average quantities of Viking age sculpture. In a study of Viking age stone monuments in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire, David Stocker argued that what remains often represents individual lords and their

⁵⁰ Pickles, 'The Church in Anglo-Saxon Yorkshire: "Minsters" and the Danelaw, c.600-1200', p. 59.

⁵¹ Morris, *Churches in the landscape*, p. 114 and above, p.13 and Pickles, 'The Church in Anglo-Saxon Yorkshire: "Minsters" and the Danelaw, c.600-1200', p. 59.

⁵² J. T. Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, III: York and Eastern Yorkshire* (Oxford, 1991), p. 4, fig. 3.

⁵³ Gazetteer, pp. 301-303 and 307-309 respectively.

⁵⁴ Morris, *Churches in the landscape*, pp. 133-139 and p. 137 fig. 29.

⁵⁵ Above, pp. 20-21.

⁵⁶ Above, pp. 31-32.

families burying their dead in new proto-parish churches.⁵⁷ He linked these to the political authority of the local bishop and the resultant parochialization, suggesting that this was occurring predominantly in the first half of the tenth century in Yorkshire, and in the second half in Lincolnshire. He goes on to explore exceptions to this model where more pieces of sculpture, representing a larger number of original monuments, have been uncovered. He identifies St Mary's Stow and Creton, in Lincolnshire, as sites where the presence of a minster may account for an abnormal quantity of sculpture. He explains exceptional quantities of sculpture by the presence of large Hiberno-Norse elites, or at least elites illustrating their Hiberno-Norse affiliations. These were frequently located in areas ideally suited to trading settlements. Within this study of Lincolnshire and Yorkshire, Stocker did not identify any sites that he considered exceptional within the East Riding. However, what he has created is a very interesting model of what the sculpture could signify; his interpretation is plausible but not proven. It may be worth investigating how sites producing more than one monument, such as Folkton, Kirby Grindalythe and Sherburn, may relate to this model. How do they compare to the sites with exceptional quantities of sculpture and with those producing only one monument?⁵⁸

3.2.5 Archaeological and architectural evidence

Any archaeological evidence relating to the Anglo-Saxon church is of great value because it is so rarely possible to excavate sites that retain their religious function. However, the East Riding is blessed with a number of interesting examples. The deserted medieval village of Wharram Percy has offered an opportunity to excavate a church and the settlement around it.⁵⁹ A church site at Cowlam, although not excavated itself, can be related to excavation carried out at the productive Anglo-Saxon sites of Cottam and Cowlam.⁶⁰ Similarly, the church at North Newbald is relatively close (less than a mile) to the productive site at South Newbald.⁶¹ While these particular examples of productive sites may not be indicative of minster communities, as has sometimes been suggested, their relationships to the Anglo-Saxon churches nearby may be worth exploring further.⁶² Excavation is also ongoing at Skipwith church.⁶³ Another archaeological feature that is sometimes considered diagnostic of a minster site is the presence of a large Christian cemetery. While there are no examples of this within the East Riding, it may be worth exploring the relationship between some local church sites and large pre-Christian or smaller Christian cemeteries. There are potential examples of these at Sancton and Londesborough.⁶⁴ Other

⁵⁷ D. Stocker, 'Monuments and Merchants: Irregularities in the Distribution of Stone Sculpture in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire in the Tenth Century', in D.M. Hadley and J.D. Richards (eds.), *Culture in Contact: Scandinavian Settlement in England in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries* (Turnhout, 2000), pp. 179-212.

⁵⁸ Gazetteer, pp. 279-281 for Folkton, pp. 265-269 for Kirby Grindalythe and pp. 270-277 for Sherburn.

⁵⁹ Below, pp. 61-62 and gazetteer, pp. 109-116.

⁶⁰ J. D. Richards, pers. comm.. Gazetteer, pp. 260-264.

⁶¹ Below, p. 60 and gazetteer, pp. 122-125.

⁶² T. Pestell, *Landscapes of Monastic Foundation* (Woodbridge, 2004), pp. 33-34 for a discussion of why productive sites are sometimes associated with minsters.

⁶³ Below, p. 60-61 and gazetteer, pp. 162-165.

⁶⁴ Below, pp. 62-63 and gazetteer pp. 310-314 for further consideration of Sancton. Below, pp. 73-75 and pp. 79-80 fig. 15 and gazetteer, pp. 307-309 for further consideration of Londesborough.

archaeological evidence of minsters or mother churches that may be worth considering but have not been utilised here because none have been uncovered within the East Riding include evidence of a refectory, dormitory or enclosing wall; evidence of glassmaking; and evidence of literacy (such as inscriptions or styli).

Blair has recently summarised the evidence for a ‘Great Rebuilding’ of local churches after c. 1000 and this is considered in more detail above.⁶⁵ He argues that it is from the eleventh century that local churches were becoming more permanent; both in their physical structure and in the endowments they possessed to fund the church and a priest into the future. It is likely that before this period local churches would have been less substantial and impermanent, and may often have been built in wood.⁶⁶ Particularly good examples of these earlier, less substantial structures are provided by Wharram Percy and Raunds, Northamptonshire. Earlier churches have been excavated underneath the successor churches and the rebuilding can be dated to this post c. 1000 period, although Raunds was apparently abandoned in the twelfth century when it moved to a different site.⁶⁷ For these reasons, where stone architecture survives from before that date, it is usually considered likely to have been built in a minster context. This does not assist significantly in identifying the nature of churches within the East Riding as there are few examples of Anglo-Saxon architecture and most of what there is can be dated to the eleventh century, or the Saxo-Norman crossover period. Skipwith is the only exception with potentially earlier architecture. However, the shortage of early stone churches (which could indicate the presence of minsters) does not preclude examination of sites with evidence of eleventh century or Saxo-Norman crossover architecture, such as Aldbrough, Kirby Underdale, Weaverthorpe or Wharram le Street.⁶⁸

Retrospective architectural evidence has also been used to suggest early significant churches. Pickles identified Beverley, North Newbald and Patrington as examples from the East Riding where late architectural evidence may hint at early mother churches.⁶⁹ These settlements have grand cruciform Romanesque churches in the twelfth or thirteenth century, suggesting a scale of significance beyond that of a single priest, and therefore the presence of a community. Whether more complex buildings, constructed after the period considered here can shed any light on earlier arrangement is questionable, and has only been used here in the context of individual sites rather than as a wider indicator.

⁶⁵ Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society*, pp. 407-417, the phrase is Richard Gem’s from R. Gem, ‘The English Parish Church in the eleventh and early twelfth century: A Great Rebuilding?’, in J. Blair (ed.), *Ministers and parish churches: the local church in transition, 950-1200* (Oxford, 1988), pp. 21-30. Above, pp. 17-18.

⁶⁶ Morris, *Churches in the landscape*, pp. 148-149.

⁶⁷ For Wharram Percy, below, pp. 61-62 and gazetteer, pp. 109-116. For Raunds, below, pp. 43-44 and A. Boddington, *Raunds Furnells: the Anglo-Saxon church and churchyard* (London, 1996).

⁶⁸ Below, pp. 90-91 and gazetteer, pp. 170-173 for Aldbrough and pp. 102-105 for Kirby Underdale.

⁶⁹ Pickles, ‘The Church in Anglo-Saxon Yorkshire: “Minsters” and the Danelaw, c.600-1200’, pp. 58-59.

3.2.6 Settlement form and topographical evidence

In his article on the topography of Anglo-Saxon minsters, Blair identified a number of locations and topographical characteristics that could be expected for Anglo-Saxon minsters.⁷⁰ These included prominent locations such as ‘the summits or shoulders of low hills and promontories, islands in marshy floodplains and headlands in the bends of rivers or on the sea-coast...’.⁷¹ He also considered curvilinear enclosures which could be preserved in subsequent churchyards as likely to be found in a minster context.⁷² Finally, he suggested the reuse of Roman structures as indicative of the presence of a minster.⁷³ Local topography can be used not just to suggest whether a church site may or may not have been an early minster, but also to consider what else it can tell us about a church.

Much of what can be known about the settlements of the East Riding for our period relies on the use of late sources combined with circumstantial evidence from before 1066 and consequently, conclusions are frequently based largely on supposition. The pre-conquest documentary evidence relating specifically to settlement structure is extremely limited. The only source that can be used to provide detailed and extensive information about landholding before c. 1100 is Domesday Book. Subsequent to that there are Kirkby’s Inquest of 1284-1285, early fourteenth-century surveys of knights’ fees, and inquisitions post mortem which survive from the reign of Henry III and enable the tracking of intervening changes of lordship.⁷⁴ Air reconnaissance and photography of crop marks may provide general information but is probably most useful as an indicator of where to excavate.⁷⁵ Occasionally archaeology can supply a more detailed understanding of the development of individual sites.

Much of the work on medieval settlement form has been undertaken by historical geographers and relies on the examination of late nineteenth-century ordnance survey maps, on attempting to discern evidence of earlier settlement forms from them, and then relating this evidence back to the limited early documentary sources that are available. In order to draw viable conclusions about the Anglo-Saxon period it is necessary to either assume some degree of stability in the settlements, or to reconstruct developments over many centuries. To include churches in this sort of analysis it is not just necessary to assume that the village has preserved an early structure, but also that the church site has not changed. While the continued use of a church site may be a reasonable assumption on most occasions, there are enough examples of movement of sites, such as St Faith’s in Leven from our study area and Raunds in Northamptonshire, to proceed cautiously.⁷⁶

When analysing the difficulties in dating village plans, Brian Roberts put forward the hypothesis that where churches form an integral part of the early plan, when they accord exactly

⁷⁰ J. Blair, 'Anglo-Saxon minsters: a topographical review', pp. 226-266.

⁷¹ J. Blair, 'Anglo-Saxon minsters: a topographical review', p. 227.

⁷² J. Blair, 'Anglo-Saxon minsters: a topographical review', pp. 231-235.

⁷³ J. Blair, 'Anglo-Saxon minsters: a topographical review', pp. 235-241.

⁷⁴ M. Harvey, 'Planned Field Systems in Eastern Yorkshire: Some Thoughts on Their Origin', *Agricultural History Review* 31 (1985), 91-103, p. 95.

⁷⁵ D. N. Riley, 'Air Reconnaissance in Central and Southern Yorkshire in 1976', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* 49 (1977), 19-33.

⁷⁶ For Leven gazetteer, pp. 197-199 and for Raunds below, pp. 43-44 and p. 58.

with one of the early regular house plots, this can give a period by which the plan was complete.⁷⁷ This is only possible if the church is dateable and if the first visible phase of the church and the village plan is assumed to be the first actual phase. In this rare scenario the study of the church might not just tell us when it, and therefore the village, were dated to, but will also tell us something about the role of the church in the planning of the village. There are a number of difficulties with this in practice, in addition to the two reservations already outlined about longevity of village plans and immobility of church sites. It is rarely possible to date a church precisely and many have been radically restored or replaced, particularly by the Victorians. Furthermore, churches are fairly frequently situated in a peripheral position to the village. The village could be laid out without close reference to the position of the church. This highlights a further problem; a topographical relationship does not necessarily indicate contemporaneous founding. A village could be built around an old church site. If we are to relate settlement structure to ecclesiastical organisation then it is important to be extremely cautious. It would be easy to fall victim to a circular argument, whereby a regular planned village is identified with a church as an integral part of its plan. It is then assumed this was the result of the increased predominance of a local lord and the church was thus a new seigneurial foundation of the tenth or eleventh centuries. Without more concrete proof the church could, alternatively, be an older foundation, whose authority was being exploited to legitimise a new planned settlement. It is important to remember that the balance of the evidence is significant. It is extremely difficult to speculate on settlement structure before the late Anglo-Saxon period and there is a danger that explanation for processes that may have occurred earlier are found in that period because that is when the evidence is first available. Similarly, much of the work carried out has been on regular villages and the fact that they may be a village type that is easier to explain and understand should not overshadow the significance of all other settlement types.

A method that may begin to distinguish between different circumstances of church foundation is suggested by Stocker and Everson's exploration of the topographical relationship between churches with Lincolnshire church towers and manorial *curiae* or village greens discussed above.⁷⁸ Their plan form analysis of the settlements with these Lincolnshire church towers identified a large number of churches that were adjacent to a spring rather than a manorial *curia* or a village green.⁷⁹ They proposed that this could either be an indication of early foundations that were attracted to the spring before the settlement was created, or that proximity to the spring could have been a higher priority than association with the manor house or the village green because the spring was used to facilitate the church's baptismal function. Stocker and Everson are thus able to assess whether the sites for their churches with Lincolnshire towers were chosen because of association with a manorial plot indicating local lordly influence, a village green suggestive of the

⁷⁷ B. K. Roberts, 'Nucleation and Dispersion: Distribution Maps as a Research Tool', in M. Aston, D. Austin, and C. Dyer (eds.), *The Rural Settlements of Medieval England: Studies dedicated to Maurice Beresford and John Hurst* (Oxford, 1989), pp. 59-75.

⁷⁸ Above, p. 28.

⁷⁹ D. Stocker and P. Everson, *Summoning St Michael: Early Romanesque Towers in Lincolnshire* (Oxford, 2006), pp. 64-65.

significance of sokemen in the choice, or a spring which could then indicate a baptismal function or a foundation before the creation of the village. This method has the disadvantages outlined above of requiring an assumption of longevity of settlement form and church position that cannot be definite. Stocker and Everson's work has the advantage that they are examining a specific type of church with a tower that they have dated to the late eleventh century. This enables a comparison with the evidence supplied by Domesday Book for that period. However, while the towers were being built then, the churches to which they are attached may well have been sited at an earlier time so the comparison with sokemen at the time of Domesday Book may not be valid. This problem of not knowing when a church site was chosen and therefore what would have been topographically significant at the time is a recurring one. The topographical relationship of churches and water supplies is considered below for episcopal churches within the East Riding.⁸⁰

Exploring the topographical relationship between the church and the village may reveal more about local churches. The potential relationship of a church to a regular planned village has been considered in general above.⁸¹ An example of one form this can take is provided by Wheldrake.⁸² A church is first recorded with a priest by Domesday Book. The 1854 Ordnance Survey reveals a classically regular village, with the church adjacent to the site of the old hall. Most significant is Sheppard's work, which works back from seventeenth and eighteenth-century evidence to establish earlier field and settlement patterns, and suggests Wheldrake's settlement structure and field layout may have been laid out as a regular planned village in the early eleventh century, and that the church formed an integral part of that structure within the easternmost toft.⁸³ Thus we may have evidence of a new local church being established, at a specific point in time, as an integral part of a planned settlement. Another example of the form this relationship may take is provided by Hemingbrough.⁸⁴ A church is again first recorded with a priest in Domesday Book. The layout of the village in the 1854 Ordnance Survey looks very regular and as such is likely to have been planned. The church was adjacent to a field called Hall Garth and occupied a central position within the westerly row of tofts. However, Sheppard had examined this village and concluded that the original row of tofts was the easterly one, with the remainder being later additions.⁸⁵ Here the church and churchyard clearly has a relationship to a regular planned settlement. However, it may be that the church was founded before or after the planning as it is not an integral part of that plan.

Excavation of the church at Raunds in Northamptonshire provides an excellent example of the type of information that this sort of analysis could reveal. Here, excavation has revealed that the church was 'an integral part of the late Saxon manorial complex' but 'outside the 'inner court'.'⁸⁶ It

⁸⁰ Below, p. 80.

⁸¹ Above, pp. 23-26.

⁸² Gazetteer, pp. 218-221.

⁸³ J. A. Sheppard, 'Pre-Enclosure Field and Settlement Patterns in an English Township: Wheldrake, near York', *Geografisker Annaler* 48B (1966), 59-77.

⁸⁴ Gazetteer, pp. 158-161.

⁸⁵ J. A. Sheppard, 'Metrological Analysis of Regular Village Plans in Yorkshire', *Agricultural History Review* 22 (1974), 118-135, p. 129.

⁸⁶ Boddington, *Raunds Furnells: the Anglo-Saxon church and churchyard*, p. 5 and p. 6, fig. 4.

was a private church of the manor but was set in a position on the edge of the manorial complex and south of an access route that ran from the manor house to the west and allowed public access from the east.⁸⁷ Thus Raunds is an example of a privately founded church situated to provide for the lord's family but also for the wider community. Raunds highlights the difficulty of basing this sort of topographical analysis on late mapping, rather than excavation, as it requires an assumption that neither church nor manor house has moved position. At Raunds, excavation has revealed two successive churches in a similar position, with the second apparently being converted to secular use in the early twelfth century. The whole settlement was subsequently abandoned and it is situated to the north-west of the modern village. While this is an important reminder of the pitfalls of assuming that later topography may reflect early topography, Raunds is such a unique site partly because it is relatively rare that an early church is abandoned and consequently undisturbed. Therefore, assuming continuous usage of churches and churchyard, while it must be undertaken circumspectly, may not be altogether unreasonable. Examples of close proximity of the manor house to the churchyard in the East Riding include South Cave (where the church was adjacent to Cave Castle), North Cave, North Ferriby and North Dalton, and they will be considered further in the gazetteer below.⁸⁸

This chapter has set out the research methodology and reviewed the source material of the East Riding. Some of the ways the evidence, within the six categories, can be used to suggest and investigate a spectrum of religious institutions, has been considered. The next chapter will present the data and begin an analysis using some of these techniques. It will provide a hypothetical list of religious institutions with ways that they may be visible within the source material. It will then propose some possible trajectories of development to engage with the most difficult problem of establishing when different religious institutions were present and how they developed from one to another. More of the methods outlined above will be used in chapter five when the case studies of the three principal landholders are undertaken.

⁸⁷ Boddington, *Raunds Furnells: the Anglo-Saxon church and churchyard*, p. 68.

⁸⁸ Gazetteer pp. 126-129 for South Cave, pp. 319-322 for North Cave, pp. 148-149 for North Ferriby and pp. 298-300 for North Dalton.

Chapter Four

Data and Analysis

This chapter will begin by presenting the data that this study has found for churches of the East Riding. It will proceed to analyse this data by proposing some hypothetical religious institutions. This section will consider ways that different religious institutions could have been revealed by the available evidence and which of the sites could be examples of which hypothetical institution type. The chapter will proceed with a further hypothetical consideration of trajectories of development. This will examine how the nature of religious usage may have varied at individual sites, and how it may be possible to discern this variation.

Place	Hundred	Church in Domesday Book	Priest in Domesday Book	A-S Stone Sculpture	Gazetteer page ref.	Number of site on fig. 6
Acklam	Acklam	1			p. 99	12
Aldbrough	Middle Hundred of Holderness			1	p. 170	49
Bainton	Driffield		1		p. 130	26
Barmston	North Hundred of Holderness			1	p. 183	20
Beeford	North Hundred of Holderness	1	1		p. 187	32
Beverley	Sneculfros			1	p. 230	45
Bishop Wilton	Pocklington	1	1		p. 207	17
Bridlington	Hunthow	1			p. 166	9
Buckton Holms	Scard	1	1		p. 222	5
Catwick	North Hundred of Holderness	1			p. 190	39
Cowlam	Thorshowe	1			p. 260	11
Elloughton	Welton	1	1		p. 315	51
Elvington	Pocklington	1			p. 210	21
Folkton	Turbar			2	p. 279	1
Foston on the Wolds	Turbar	1			p. 282	27
Fostune (lost vill in Humbleton township)	Middle Hundred of Holderness	1	1		p. 174	53
Garton	Middle Hundred of Holderness	1	1		p. 174	54
Garton on the Wolds	Turbar	1	1		p. 286	15
Great Driffield	Driffield	2			p. 133	19
Hemingbrough	Howden	1	1		p. 158	42
Hessle	Hessle	1	1		p. 142	56
Holme upon Spalding Moor	Weighton	1	1	1	p. 304	36
Hornsea	North Hundred of Holderness	1	1		p. 193	41
Howden	Howden	1	1		p. 154	46
Hunmanby	Turbar	1	1	3	p. 290	3
Keyingham	South Hundred of Holderness	1	1		p. 243	59

Kirby Grindalythe	Thorshowe	Placename		5	p. 265	8
Kirby Underdale	Acklam	Placename			p. 102	14
Kirk Ella	Hessle	1	1		p. 144	52
Kirkham	Acklam	1	1		p. 106	6
Langton	Scard	2	2		p. 224	7
Leven	North Hundred of Holderness	1	1	1	p. 197	38
Little Drifffield	Drifffield			2	p. 136	18
Londesborough	Weighton			1	p. 307	34
Lowthorpe	Burton	1		1	p. 114	16
Middleton on the Wolds	Sneculfros	1	1		p. 236	30
North Newbald	Cave	1	1		p. 122	44
North Cave	Welton	1	1		p. 319	47
North Dalton	Warter	1	1		p. 298	25
North Ferriby	Hessle	1	1		p. 148	55
North Frodingham	North Hundred of Holderness	1	1	1	p. 200	31
Norton	Scard	1	1		p. 227	4
Nunburnholme	Warter			1	p. 301	29
Ottringham	South Hundred of Holderness	2	2		p. 245	61
Patrinton	South Hundred of Holderness			1	p. 248	62
Pocklington	Pocklington	1	1		p. 214	23
Preston	Middle Hundred of Holderness	1	1		p. 177	57
Roos	South Hundred of Holderness	1	1		p. 252	58
Sancton	Weighton	1	1		p. 310	37
Sherburn	Thorshowe	2	2	14	p. 270	2
Sigglesthorpe	North Hundred of Holderness	1	1		p. 204	40
Skipwith	Howden	1	1	1	p. 162	33
South Cave	Cave	1	1		p. 126	50
Sutton upon Derwent	Pocklington			1	p. 212	22
Swine	Middle Hundred of Holderness		1		p. 180	48
Warter	Warter	1	1		p. 295	24
Watton	Sneculfros	1	1		p. 236	35
Welwick	South Hundred of Holderness	1	1		p. 254	63
Wharram Percy	Acklam			5	p. 109	13
Wheldrake	Pocklington	1			p. 218	28
Withernsea	South Hundred of Holderness		2		p. 257	60
Wressle	Hessle	1	1		p. 150	43

Fig. 5. Table of all potential church sites identified by Domesday Book or Anglo-Saxon stone sculpture

Fig. 5 above tabulates all of the potential church sites of the East Riding revealed by Domesday Book and Anglo-Saxon Stone sculpture. It also provides their numbered position on the

map in fig. 6 below and reference to the detailed consideration of each one in the gazetteer below. Domesday Book and Anglo-Saxon stone sculpture identified potential churches within 62 different vills throughout the eighteen hundreds of the East Riding. There is one further potential church site at Spurn Head, which is only revealed by documentary evidence, and is included in fig. 7 below. The distribution of potential church sites across the hundreds ranges from one in each of Burton and Hunthow hundreds to seven in the North Hundred of Holderness and six in the South Hundred of Holderness. The significance of this greater concentration in the North and South Hundreds of Holderness will be considered further in the case study Drogo de la Beuvrière's churches below.¹

Fig. 6 (below) illustrates the positions of all possible pre-conquest church sites, together with Roman roads and rivers, as a starting point to compare and contrast with the locations of any subcategories of church sites. It shows that the majority of possible pre-conquest church sites appear to be situated along communication routes. Many of them are situated on or near to the known Roman roads. It would not be unreasonable to suggest that other Roman roads, or at least pre-conquest tracks, may have linked more of the church sites if their locations were known. Two of the short Roman roads coming out of Malton (near church site at Norton), would probably take in more church sites if their routes were continued in their south easterly direction. The possible choosing of more strategically significant sites (the closest estate to a Roman road for example) among multiple estates is considered below within the case study of episcopal church sites.² It is also noteworthy that a significant proportion of these churches may have been situated at strategic points within the river system. The final topographical pattern that emerges from the mapping of these sites are coastal churches; the sea could be considered a communication route like Roman roads and rivers. The line of coastal sites along the east coast, where churches appear to be being located at estate centres and coastal sites within multiple estates, is considered in more detail in the analysis of churches on the land of Drogo de la Beuvrière below.³ North Ferriby and Hessle could be included as coastal as well as they are situated on the mouth of the Humber. Finally, Morris has identified that Keyingham and Patrington could have been on the coast before Sunk Island to their south was reclaimed from the sea.⁴ Ottringham and Welwick could be included here as previously coastal churches as well. The patterns will reveal more once churches on the land of different owners and different types of church are looked at in isolation, but it is useful to consider the whole before breaking it down into its constituent parts. The pattern is relatively uniform and evenly distributed across the East Riding. This could suggest some sort of centralised planning in the positioning of churches across the region above the level of the individual landowner. However, if it is compared to the distribution of settlement (see fig. 2 above) then it seems more likely that the distribution of churches simply reflects the overall pattern of settlement.⁵

¹ Below, pp. 88-89.

² Below, p. 74.

³ Below, pp. 87-88 and pp. 89-92,

⁴ Morris, *Churches in the landscape*, p. 342.

⁵ Above, p. 5 fig. 2.

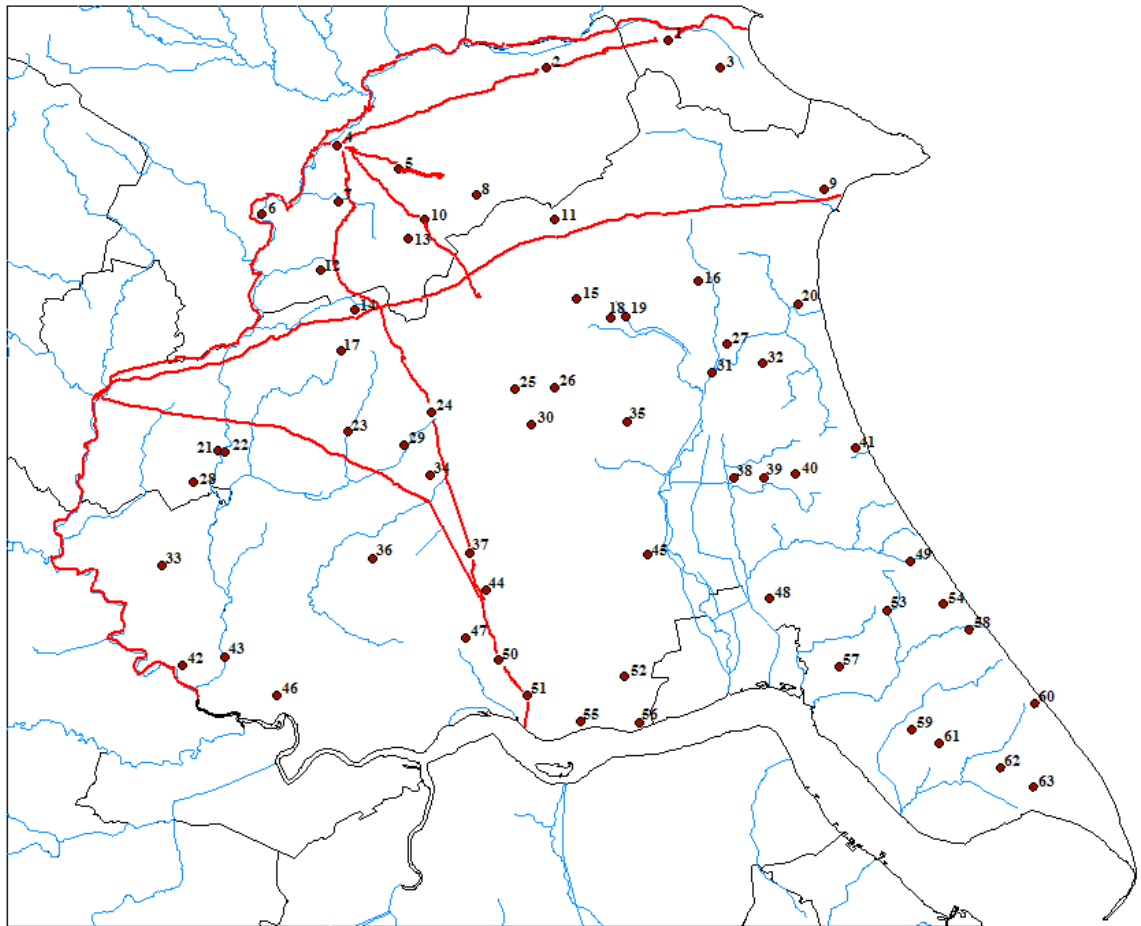


Fig. 6. Pre-1100 church sites with Roman roads and the outline of the East Riding highlighted in red.⁶

1 Folkton	22 Sutton upon. Derwent	43 Wressle
2 Sherburn	23 Pocklington	44 North Newbald
3 Hunmanby	24 Warter	45 Beverley
4 Norton	25 North Dalton	46 Howden
5 Buckton Holms	26 Bainton	47 North Cave
6 Kirkham	27 Foston on the Wolds	48 Swine
7 Langton	28 Wheldrake	49 Aldborough
8 Kirby Grindalythe	29 Nunburnholme	50 South Cave
9 Bridlington	30 Middleton on the Wolds	51 Elloughton
10 Wharram le Street ⁷	31 North Frodingham	52 Kirk Ella
11 Cowlam	32 Beeford	53 Fostun (lost vill in Humbleton township)
12 Acklam	33 Skipwith	54 Garton
13 Wharram Percy	34 Londesborough	55 North Ferriby
14 Kirby Underdale	35 Watton	56 Hessle
15 Garton on the Wolds	36 Holme on Spalding Moor	57 Preston
16 Lowthorpe	37 Sancton	58 Roos
17 Bishop Wilton	38 Leven	59 Keyingham
18 Little Drifffield	39 Catwick	60 Withernsea
19 Drifffield	40 Sigglesthorne	61 Ottringham
20 Barmston	41 Hornsea	62 Patrington
21 Elvington	42 Hemingborough	63 Welwick

⁶ Roman road locations identified from C. Taylor, *Roads and Tracks of Britain* (London, 1979), fig. 18, p. 40 and R. K. Morris, *Churches in the landscape* (London, 1989), fig. 25, p. 114 and modern ordnance survey maps.

⁷ Wharram le Street has since been removed from the list of churches and the gazetteer because of the questionable nature of the evidence provided by Saxo-Norman period architecture.

What the information presented so far does not provide is detail of temporal variation in the potential church sites of the East Riding, because their identification is so dependent on Domesday Book. Fig. 7 (below) tabulates the evidence that can provide dates before Domesday Book by listing sculpture and other evidence about these churches before 1086. In total there were 28 sites of the 63 in total (or 44%), including Spurn Head not included in the database, where it is possible to know something of their history in the Anglo-Saxon period before 1086. Often the additional evidence only provides an additional snapshot of what was happening at the site at one further point in time. Detailed consideration of all of these, with the exception of Spurn Head is included in the gazetteer.

Place	Date range of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture	Nos. of pieces	Links to other sculpture	Other evidence from before Domesday Book
Aldbrough	11th century	1		
Barmston	10th century	1	Lythe, N. Riding	
Beverley	Uncertain, possibly late 7th century	1	Frith stool' at Hexham	Bede records a monastery where Bishop John was buried in 721.
Folkton	1 - late 9th - 10th century / 2 - 10th century	2	1 - Sutton upon Derwent 1 / 2 - Nunburnholme 1, York Minster 2	
Great Driffield				Royal tun when King Aldfrith died there in 705. Proposed as pre-Conquest superior church by Morris.
Holme upon Spalding Moor	9th - 11th century	1	Nunburnholme 1	
Howden				Giraldus Cambrensis reference. 1267 - college of 5 prebendaries. Proposed as pre-Conquest superior church by Morris and minster by Palliser.
Hunmanby	2 - 8th - 9th century / 1 - early 9th century / 3 - 10th century	3	3 - York Minster slab series	
Kirby Grindalythe	1 - 3 - 9th - 10th century / 4 & 5 - 10th-11th century	5	1 - Folkton 2 / 3 - mainstream York styles / 4 - St Mary Castlegate 2, group at eastern end of Wensleydale, N. Frodingham	Place-name is evidence of a church before it was first written down in Domesday Book.
Kirby Underdale		1		Fabric of the church contains pagan Roman religious sculpture. Place-name suggests church was present before it was recorded in Domesday Book.
Kirkham				Possible village church excavated near Augustinian Priory Gatehouse. Place-name is evidence of church before being recorded in Domesday Book.
Leven	9th century	1	St Leonards Place 2	
Little Driffield	1 & 2 - late 9 th to late 10 th cent.	2		

Londesborough	2 nd ½ 9 th century – 2 nd ½ 10 th century	1	Western part of North Riding	
Lowthorpe	10th - 11th century	1	Helmsley 1, Hovingham 2, North Frodingham 1	
North Newbald				A 963 charter shows that Edgar gave an estate at Newbald to Earl Gunner and Oswald's memorandum shows that it was later purchased by Archbishop Oscytel.
North Frodingham	10th century, post 920	1	St Mary Bishophill Junior 3	
Nunburnholme	Late 9th - early 10th century	1	Leeds Parish Church shaft	
Patrington	8th century	1	Hackness 1, Gilling East 1	A charter of 1033 records the grant of an estate by King Cnut to Archbishop Aelfric. The place-name could record an earlier association with St Patrick and his church.
Pocklington				Morris proposed as a pre-Conquest superior church.
Preston				Place-name meaning 'priest's farm' suggests the presence of a priest and presumably a church before it was recorded in Domesday Book.
Sancton				Cremation cemetery beginning late 4th or early 5th century, predominantly inhumation cemetery 5th or 6th century, possible Christian final phase.
Sherburn	2-4 - late 9th- late 10th century / 8 - 9th-11th century / 5-7, 9 10th century / 1, 10 - 10th-11th century / 11-14 Uncertain	14	1 - Gilling West, Leeds Parish Church / 2 - Leeds Parish Church, North Frodingham / 3 - Leeds, Bedale / 4 - Lastingham 1 / 8 - St Mary Castlegate / 9 - York Metropolitan, Kirdale 4 & 5, Pickering 3 / 10 - York Minster 45	
Skipwith	9th - 11th century	1	Middleton & Kirklevington	Anglo Saxon Architecture - lower tower 600-950, upper chamber 1000-1050.
Spurn Head				Spurn Head has been identified by Alcuin when recording the hermitage of Wilgil.
Sutton upon Derwent	Late 10th - mid 11th century	1	Nunburnholme 1, Folkton 1, York Minster 2B	
Watton				Monastery of nuns between c. 706 and c. 714.
Wharram Percy	5 - 8th century / 1 - late 8th century / 2-4 - early 11th century	5	1 - Lastingham 10, Stonegrave 2 / 2 - York, Parliament Street 2-3, Whitby 10 & 11	First excavated church was a timber construction of mid to late tenth century. Second phase was a two-celled stone church of the eleventh century.

Fig. 7. Table of church sites with evidence preceding Domesday Book.

Domesday Book provides detailed information about ownership in 1066 and 1086. Fig. 8 below details this and forms the basis for the case studies of the churches on the land of the three main overlords that is chapter five below. Where possible only the part of the vill in which the church is thought to have been situated is recorded. Where that is not possible all sections of the vill's ownership are detailed.

Place	Lord	Owner 1066	Subtenant 1086
Acklam	King's Thegns	Siward	2 men
Aldbrough	Drogo de la Beuvrière	Ulf	Drogo
Bainton	Count of Mortain	Northmann & Gamall	Nigel
Barmston	Drogo de la Beuvrière	Thorkil, Siward & Alfkil	waste
Beeford	Drogo de la Beuvrière	Ulf	Drogo
Beverley	ABY		canons
Bishop Wilton	ABY	AB Eldraed	AB Thomas
Bridlington	King	Morcar	King
Buckton Holms	Berengar de Tosny	Thorbrandr	Berengar
Catwick	Drogo de la Beuvrière	Swein & Murdac	2 of Drogo's knights
Cowlam	ABY	AB Ealdraed	AB Thomas
Elloughton	ABY	AB Ealdraed	Godwine from AB Thomas
Elvington	William de Percy	Ulfkil	Aethelwulf of William
Folkton	King		Karli & Ottar
Foston on the Wolds	William de Percy	Karli	Hugh of William
Fostun (lost vill in Humbleton township)	Drogo de la Beuvrière	Morcar	Drogo
Garton	Drogo de la Beuvrière	Morcar	Baldwin of Drogo
Garton on the Wolds	Count of Mortain	Asulf	Count Robert
Great Driffield	King	Morcar	King
Hemingbrough	King	Tosti	King
Hessle	Gilbert de Ghent	Alwine & Ketill	Gilbert
Holme upon Spalding Moor	Gilbert de Ghent	Alwine	Geoffrey, Gilberts man
Hornsea	William de Percy	Morcar	Drogo
Howden	ABY	King	Bp of Durham
Hunmanby	Gilbert de Ghent	Karli	Gilbert de Ghent
Keyingham	Drogo de la Beuvrière	Thorfridh	Drogo
Kirby Grindalythe	King / Count of Mortain / Count of Mortain	? / Ketilbert / Thorfinnr	Uglu-Barthr / Nigel / The count
Kirby Underdale	King / King's Thegns	? / Arngrim & Siward	3 thegns / Arngrim & Siward
Kirk Ella	Gilbert de Ghent	Alwine, Ketill & Cnut	Gilbert Tison
Kirkham	Count of Mortain	Waltheof	Count Robert
Langton	Hugh Fitzbaldric	Orm	Hugh and Geoffrey his man

Leven	ABY		ABY
Little Driffield	King	Morcar	King
Londesborough	ABY	AB Ealdraed	2 clerks, 1 knight under AB Thomas
Lowthorpe	King's Thegns	Northmann & Asa	Gamal
Middleton on the Wolds	ABY	AB Ealdraed	St John
North Newbald	ABY	AB Ealdraed	Canons of St. Peter under AB Thomas
North Cave	Hugh Fitzbaldric	Gamall	Hugh
North Dalton	Robert de Tosny	Thorgot	Berengar (his son) of Robert de Tosny
North Ferriby	Drogo de la Beuvrière	Eadgifu	Ralph
North Frodingham	Drogo de la Beuvrière	Ulf	Drogo
Norton	Hugh Fitzbaldric	Gamal	Hugh
Nunburnholme	King	Morcar	King
Ottringham	ABY / Drogo de la Beuvrière	? / Thor & Thorkil	A certain knight of St John / Henry of Drogo
Patrington	ABY	ABY	ABY
Pocklington	King	Morcar	King
Preston	Drogo de la Beuvrière	Frani & the other Frani, Basinc, Maccus, Thor, Gamal, Thorbiorn & Thorfridh	Baldwin, Drogo's man
Roos	Drogo de la Beuvrière	Murdac & Svartgeirr	Fulk, Drogo's man
Sancton	Gilbert de Ghent	Northmann	3 soldiers from Gilbert
Sherburn	Hugh Fitzbaldric	Orm	Hugh and Geoffey his man
Sigglesthorpe	ABY		ABY
Skipwith	Hugh Fitzbaldric	Gamall	Hugh
South Cave	Roger de Bully	Gamall	Robert Malet
Sutton upon Derwent	Count of Mortain / William de Percy	Orm, Kolgimr, Ulf & Gamal / Beornwulf & Northmann, Sigrith	Nigel / Picot of William
Swine	ABY	ABY	ABY
Warter	King	Morcar	King
Watton	Count of Mortain	Thorkil & Mula-Grimr, Orm & Gamal	Nigel
Welwick	ABY	St John	St John
Wharram Percy	King / King's Thegns		Lagman & Karli / Ketilbert
Wheldrake	William de Percy	Northmann	William de Colleville of William
Withernsea	William de Percy	Morcar	Drogo
Wressle	Gilbert de Ghent	Alwine	Gilbert

Fig. 8. Domesday Book ownership of settlements with potential pre-1100 churches.

If we are to discern much more than fig. 8 above illustrates of the range of institutions and how they changed over time then a hypothetical approach is going to be required. What follows is an attempt to consider what type of religious institutions could have been present and how they

might have appeared in the evidence available to us today. It is not an assertion that these institutions were all present or that the evidence considered for them proves their existence.

4.1 Hypothetical religious institutions

This section will provide a list of possible institutions together with ways that they may be expected to manifest themselves within the sources. It is an attempt to consider a range of possible religious institutions even when the sources only allow the most opaque view of any hypothetical differences. Greater weight will be given to evidence that may be useful for the East Riding's churches. It is a combination of evidence that can best be used to hypothesize as to the different institution types. Meeting one criterion alone cannot define the nature of an institution. The majority of the evidence is from the eleventh century and it is then that it is more realistic to try and distinguish between institutions. It must be conceded that this method combines evidence over a 400 year period to try and establish the nature of a religious institution at any given point in time. Further consideration will be made below as to how institutions may have evolved and changed during this period.

4.1.1 Conversion period churches

The earliest church type that the evidence may allow us to discern could be very early Anglo-Saxon churches of the conversion period. One potential example of these is at Sancton where there is a topographical link between pre-Christian cemeteries and a later Christian cemetery and church.⁸ A large predominantly cremation cemetery of the late fourth or early fifth century to the sixth century was about half a mile to the north of the church. A second predominantly inhumation cemetery, used alongside this from the fifth or sixth century, was immediately to the north of the church. Domesday Book recorded a church and a priest. More speculatively, Margaret Faull has suggested that an early Christian phase of this latter inhumation cemetery could have continued at the southern end of the cemetery.⁹ Faull argued that this Christian burial ground could have developed as an extension of a pagan cemetery at an early date. Her reasoning was that this could have occurred before the church had prohibited the conversion of pagan cemeteries, because of its proximity to Goodmanham (2½ miles to the south), where the pagan shrine was destroyed after Paulinus' conversion of Edwin. If this is what happened at Sancton then it could be evidence of the adaptation of a pagan cemetery into a Christian cemetery to help in the process of conversion, to turn the ritual significance of a pagan burial ground to the services of the new religion. However, this interpretation can only be accepted with some fairly major reservations. It is unclear what Faull's evidence for the early Christian phase of the cemetery is, and there is no further evidence of the church before its recording in Domesday Book. Faull's assumption that an early Christian phase of the cemetery means there was a church there at that time is questionable in the light of archaeological evidence. For example, Dawn Hadley highlights the archaeological evidence for

⁸ Gazetteer, pp. 310-314.

⁹ M. L. Faull, 'The Location and Relationship of the Sancton Anglo-Saxon Cemeteries', *Antiquaries Journal* 56 (1976), 227-33.

elite burial in the seventh and eighth century at sites seemingly unassociated with churches, such as barrows on the Yorkshire Wolds.¹⁰ Furthermore, Bede does not actually state that Edwin's conversion occurred at Goodmanham, although it is a reasonable assumption that it was nearby as Bede recorded Coifu riding immediately afterwards to the pagan shrine at Goodmanham. It is speculative to move from that event to an assumption that the conversion of pagan cemeteries into Christian cemeteries could have occurred in this region because it was the earliest place converted. It would stretch credibility to claim Sancton as an early conversion period church on this basis, but it is a possible theory as to what may have occurred at the site before Domesday Book first recorded a church there.

Some further, albeit circumstantial, support for this may be provided by the fact that the church site at Londesborough (2 miles to the northwest of Goodmanham) is also adjacent to a major Anglian inhumation cemetery of the middle to late sixth century.¹¹ Here no church is recorded by Domesday Book but an earlier church is suggested by the presence of a piece of Anglo-Saxon stone sculpture dated to between the second half of the ninth century and the second half of the tenth century, within the fabric of the extant church. These examples are not proposed as evidence of conversion period churches but they do provide one possible theory as to the prehistory of these sites. It is possible, if Faull is correct, that this proximity to a pre-Christian cemetery may be an indicator of an early church, exclusive to the area in the immediate vicinity of Goodmanham. However, as with almost all of these potential church sites there are gaps of so many years in the evidence that definite links cannot be established.

Richard Morris considered the question of pagan antecedents to Christian churches and identified a series of categories of places of significance to rural paganism. The first of these was sanctuaries, enclosures and temples.¹² The example of Goodmanham has already been considered. This is one of very few sites with firm documentary evidence of a heathen temple. Rudston presents another possibility within the East Riding and is considered immediately below. However, these two sites have not been included within this study because although they both have Norman churches on presumed sites of pagan worship there is no evidence of pre-Conquest churches. This is not to say that there may not have been churches at these sites but the research methodology employed here has restricted the subject matter to sites with at least some firm evidence. Morris himself identifies a third site, Kirby Underdale, because of the presence of a Roman sculpture of Mercury in the fabric, as a former Romano Celtic temple. Interestingly, Kirby Underdale is also situated less than a mile from an Anglo-Saxon burial ground, albeit one on a smaller scale than Sancton or Londesborough. The final example of a church with some evidence of pagan significance is at Elloughton. Here the evidence is in the form of the place-name which could be interpreted as meaning heathen temple.

¹⁰ D. M. Hadley, 'Burial Practices in Northern England in the Later Anglo-Saxon Period', in S. Lucy and A. Reynolds (eds.), *Burial in Early Medieval England and Wales*, (London, 2002), 209-28.

¹¹ Gazetteer, pp. 307-309.

¹² Morris, *Churches in the landscape*, pp. 63-76.

Morris goes on to consider possible objects of pre-Christian devotion such as oak, yew or nut trees, stones or springs.¹³ Morris identified Rudston as a particularly good example of a site where a later church was topographically associated with a pre-Christian object of worship. The standing stone (at nearly eight metres high is the tallest in England), is thought to have been erected in the prehistoric period, and is associated with other prehistoric religious monuments in the vicinity.¹⁴ There is also evidence of its reinterpretation into a Christian context when the place-name was devised at some point before Domesday Book first recorded it, as it means ‘Rood-stone’. Morris also suggested that certain trees were of great importance to natural religion and cites an example of walnuts, hazel nuts and entire hazel boughs found in a well close to the high altar in Beverley Minster. Morris argues that trees that were worshiped could have been used to build churches or occasionally incorporated in churchyards. The place-name of Hessle, which means hazel tree, could record the presence of hazel trees, which in turn could have had a ritual significance at a site where Domesday Book recorded a church. The final one of Morris’s categories to be considered here is springs. Wells may have had various associations for pagan religion such as divination and healing. Morris also noted the tendency for wells to be named after a saint, which is considered below within the consideration of archiepiscopal church sites topographical relationship to water supplies.¹⁵ Finally, churches were often situated next to wells for practical liturgical reasons such as baptism and the cleaning of vessels for the eucharist. Stocker and Everson have considered this topographical relationship in their analysis of eleventh century Lincolnshire church towers considered above. There are three interesting church sites within Acklam Hundred at Acklam, Kirby Underdale and Wharram Percy where the churches appear to be sited specifically next to springs.¹⁶

4.1.2 Monastic communities, clerical communities and mother churches

The debate over the practicality or worth of trying to distinguish between types of religious community has been considered above.¹⁷ The only firm way of distinguishing between a fully monastic community and a community of clergy is a specific documentary reference. Clarity as to the nature of the community is rare for the East Riding. One possible example is provided by Alcuin’s description of Wilgil’s oratory in the Life of Willibrord, which is reasonably assumed to be at Spurn Head given Alcuin’s location of it as between the Humber and the Ocean.¹⁸ Wilgil became famous for his austere life and attracted gifts of land to build a church, where he established a small community. This continued in existence into the period considered here because it was inherited by Alcuin but nothing of its subsequent history is recoverable. Blair regards this as

¹³ Morris, *Churches in the landscape*, pp. 76-92.

¹⁴ N. Pevsner and D. Neave, *Yorkshire: York and the East Riding*, The Buildings of England (London, 1995), pp. 663-664.

¹⁵ Below, p. 80.

¹⁶ For Acklam Hundred gazetteer, pp. 99-109.

¹⁷ Above, pp. 14-16.

¹⁸ Alcuin, ‘Vita Willibrordi’, I (p. 38), in C. Veyrard-Cosme (ed.) *L’oeuvre hagiographique en prose d’Alcuin: Vitae Willibrordi, Vedasti, Richari* (Florence, 2003). J. Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society* (Oxford, 2005), p. 218, Morris, *Churches in the landscape*, p. 342.

a hermitage that became a minster and suggests that although independently financed it may have come under the auspices of Ripon. Cubitt suggests that the description of an oratory is not quite the same as a hermitage and might suggest a more permanent structure, but one which didn't function fully as a church.¹⁹ The documents describe a small community that grew out of an eremitic beginning with arguably a specifically monastic rather than secular function. Spurn Head does display another criterion that may be indicative of one type of monasticism as it is clearly situated in an isolated topographical situation. This does not obviously apply to any other sites within the East Riding. The other community for which a case could be made to consider it as specifically monastic in character is at Watton. Identified by Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, when he recounted the miracles of St John, Watton is described as a *monasterium virginum*, a 'monastery of nuns'.²⁰ There is no indication here that it was a double house and it may be reasonable to tentatively suggest that the function was more likely to be contemplative than pastoral, therefore a specifically monastic status could be proposed.

In Eric Cambridge's study of the early church in County Durham he found that Anglian sculpture and an early stone church were 'characteristic material correlates of monastic communities, though it need not necessarily follow that either is exclusively confined to such sites'. It is therefore worth including Anglo-Saxon stone sculpture of before c. 900 and Anglo-Saxon architecture of before c. 1000 as possible indicators of monastic status.²¹ It is worth highlighting that they cannot alone indicate a monastic community, but are worthwhile signposts if combined with other evidence. As discussed above for the East Riding architecture is not particularly helpful as there is only Skipwith that has architecture from before c.1000. Sculpture is discussed above and is listed in fig. 7 above.²² The final characteristic that could be suggestive of a specifically monastic community is evidence of a shrine, holy relics or pilgrimage. This could be applied to Beverley where it is known St John was buried and later enshrined.

When it comes to clerical communities and mother churches it is even harder to distinguish them from other lesser churches. It is possible to speculate as to whether they were royal, episcopal or aristocratic as this could be suggested by the ownership of the land they are on as revealed by Domesday Book. Clearly this provides ownership detail for a twenty year snapshot of time but it can occasionally be supplemented by other documentary evidence. On occasions, as suggested by John Blair, royal or episcopal ownership could be used to determine whether a church may be a secular minster church in doubtful cases, although this cannot be decisive.²³ Occasionally contemporary documentary evidence identifies a secular community, although for the East Riding this only applies to Beverley which is considered in detail below.²⁴ Later documentary evidence has been fairly extensively used to speculate about earlier communities or mother churches. Its merits

¹⁹ C. R. E. Cubitt, pers.comm.

²⁰ *HE* v. 3 (pp. 458-463).

²¹ Cambridge, 'The early church in County Durham: a reassessment', p. 69.

²² Above, p. 49 fig. 7.

²³ J. Blair, 'Secular minster churches in Domesday Book', in P. H. Sawyer (ed.), *Domesday Book: a reassessment* (London, 1985), pp. 104-142, p. 106.

²⁴ Below, pp. 71-73.

are considered above but it has not been used within this study except where available through secondary reference.²⁵ Other circumstantial evidence which may in combination be used to suggest a community or mother church include more than one priest or church in a Domesday Book entry, larger villas as evidenced by a high number of carucates (ie. over twenty), estate centres, prominent topographical sites and evidence of a refectory and dormitory. All of these types of evidence could equally indicate a monastic community. Some examples of sites where the combination of evidence could indicate clerical communities, mother churches or possibly just more important churches are considered in the section on trajectories of development below.²⁶

4.1.3 Daughter churches, manorial churches and private chapels

These would need to be linked to one of the communities considered above by either sculptural affinities, ownership revealed by Domesday Book, earlier documents, or later (post c. 1100) evidence of a link. They could reveal themselves as more minor churches by a Domesday Book reference to a church without a priest or Anglo-Saxon stone sculpture at sites where no church or priest is recorded by Domesday Book, but this may be placing too much reliance on the accuracy or consistency of Domesday Book. These examples could represent churches without either an individual priest or a community of priests and thus attached to communities elsewhere. This is only one of various possible explanations and is not presented as evidence of a daughter church but rather as one way a daughter church could appear within the evidence available. Some examples are considered in the section on trajectories of development below.²⁷

The ownership of the land on which manorial churches were found can be ascertained for the end of the eleventh century by Domesday Book and occasionally by earlier documentary evidence. Two manorial churches are revealed in the sources by Bede's description of Bishop John of Beverley's dedicating of churches on the estates of thegns.²⁸ As considered above these are remarkably early references to manorial churches. On one of these occasions Bede is recording direct speech of the Abbot of Beverley who says that the dwelling of the man for whom he was dedicating a church was less than two miles away from Beverley. This church has not been identified and its location does not fit any of the potential church sites identified in this study. More circumstantially manorial churches can be revealed by a Domesday Book reference to a church with a priest or occasionally a priest, by post c. 900 Anglo-Saxon stone sculpture, and by excavation. Once identified further nuances may be possible. A topographical relationship to a manor house or a regular nucleated settlement may suggest foundation by a local lord; as might evidence of a single Anglo-Scandinavian sculptural monument. Larger numbers of Anglo-Scandinavian monuments or location at a wic or market site may suggest foundation by a group of

²⁵ Above, p. 33.

²⁶ Below, pp. 58-61.

²⁷ Below, pp. 60-61.

²⁸ Above, p. 16 and *HE* v. 4-5 (pp. 462-465)

lords. A local topographical relationship to a village green could suggest influence over the foundation by a group of freemen, as suggested by Stocker and Everson.²⁹

A private chapel may be the hardest type of church to detect with the evidence available. They may only be preserved if they later took on a wider communal function and as such would appear as manorial churches. The tiny early church excavated at Raunds, Northamptonshire could have been interpreted as a private chapel initially before it acquired a churchyard although its very distinctive topography linking it to the community outside the lord's family, may mean it always played a wider role.³⁰ Excavation is certainly the most likely way that such a minor church could be identified. Excavations of the settlement related to the church at Cowlam could reveal this sort of topographical relationship.³¹ Occasionally, it may be possible to establish this by an analysis of late maps, if churches can be identified as inside the manorial holding. Private chapels were probably not recorded by Domesday Book if it was recording churches only in as much as they were taxable assets for their owners. If they were distinguishable Domesday Book could record a church without a priest. The contemporary documentary references to the Bishop John's dedication of churches discussed above could be private chapels, although this is improbable. There is no other documentary evidence of private chapels in the East Riding for the period considered here.

4.2 Trajectories of development

The final area to be considered within this chapter is how these individual sites developed over the period here considered. This is the hardest area to reconstruct as the evidence often provides snapshots of what may have been happening at religious sites at specific points in time, frequently when the Domesday survey was carried out, but it is hard to link these snapshots together into any sort of coherent sequence, and impossible to recover everything that happened anywhere. Therefore, it must be acknowledged that what follows is a series of hypotheses as to how institutions could have developed at individual sites when the evidence allows us to speculate. These hypothetical sequences do not preclude the existence of intervening developments that remain unknowable, or claim to be secure established facts. Some possible trajectories will now be outlined.

Monastic community → community of clergy

Beverley was one of only three religious communities in the East Riding of Yorkshire that have any contemporary or near contemporary written reference to them in the period 700 to 1100. It is unique in this context, both in its extensive documentary evidence and in the archaeological work that has been carried out, which make it possible to suggest dates for changes in its status, and is the only site that may fit this trajectory. That said, there is no definitive evidence that Beverley was ever a fully monastic community. Bede records the existence of a *monasterium* by the time that

²⁹ Above, p. 28 and pp. 42-43.

³⁰ Above, pp. 43-44 and Boddington, *Raunds Furnells: the Anglo-Saxon church and churchyard*, pp. 67-68.

³¹ *Gazetteer*, pp. 260-264.

Bishop John retired from the archbishopric of York to his monastery at Beverley.³² Bede also tells us that he died and was buried there in the chapel of St Peter in 721. The burial of a major figure and later saint at Beverley does point to it being an important community but there is no explicit evidence that it was ever strictly monastic. Late documentary evidence of its destruction in 866 is reinforced by archaeological evidence suggesting that occupation may have ended (a coin hoard of c. 851); with the next phase of excavated activity beginning in the early tenth century. There is then further documentary and archaeological evidence of a continuing secular community for the remainder of the Anglo-Saxon period. Beverley may be better considered in isolation from the rest of the East Riding of Yorkshire. The land owned by St John's at the time of Domesday Book will be considered below. It is a religious site on a different scale to others within the East Riding, and should perhaps be examined in terms of its influence over surrounding rural churches, as well as a manifestation of ecclesiastical organisation in its own right. Beverley is examined in detail in the section on case studies of archiepiscopal churches below and in the gazetteer.³³

Monastic community → manorial church

Another community confirmed as monastic by near contemporary written evidence is at Watton. The early connection of Bishop John (later St John of Beverley) with the site that is recorded in Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, is considered by Morris as evidence of a superior church.³⁴ It is reasonable to presume that there was a monastic community of nuns there at the time of the reference but there is no subsequent evidence other than the later Gilbertine priory founded in 1150. Domesday Book simply reveals a fairly minor settlement of thirteen carucates with a priest and a church, within four manors held by four different people in 1066 and by Nigel Fossard under Count Robert of Mortain in 1086. It may ultimately transpire that something about the early history of a site can be surmised from its choice as the site of a religious community in the early twelfth century, although it is more likely to be an example of the deliberate selection of places mentioned by Bede for the refounding of religious communities. It must serve as a cautionary reminder that what we know to have been a religious community from Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* may appear the same as any other manorial church in Domesday Book. Unfortunately, we cannot know how long the monastic community survived for and whether it was linked to the later manorial church or had been dissolved before the manorial church was founded.

Unknown → superior church

Investigating Morris's superior churches that were also identified as pre-1100 churches reveals that they appear to have certain common characteristics. They include Howden, Pocklington, Hunmanby and Great Driffield.³⁵ They are all at large estate centres, defined as twenty carucates or more for the combined estate including the central manor, attached berewicks, and sokelands.

³² *HE* v. 6 (p. 468).

³³ Below, pp.71-73 and gazetteer, pp. 230-235.

³⁴ *HE* v. 3 (pp. 458-463), Morris, *Churches in the landscape*, pp. 134-135 and gazetteer pp. 239-241.

³⁵ Gazetteer, pp. 154-157 for Howden, pp. 214-217 for Pocklington, pp. 290-294 for Hunmanby and pp.133-135 for Great Driffield.

Many of them later have a large medieval church, a college of prebendaries and a large parish. In the late eleventh century they are owned by earls, kings or bishops (sometimes passing between all three). They were simply recorded in Domesday Book as containing a church and priest. North Newbald could be added as it also has many of these characteristics; as an estate centre of 28 carucates and 2 bovates, owned by archbishops in both 1066 and 1086, it has an exceptional cruciform church of c. 1140 and a later college of prebendaries.³⁶ Interestingly, with the exception of North Newbald and Hunmanby all of these places are now sizable market towns. Taking Howden as an example, Domesday Book records a church and priest, a central manor of fifteen carucates, with eighteen berewicks totalling 51 carucates, 6 bovates and a further twelve sokelands.³⁷ Howden was owned by King Edward in 1066 and the Bishop of Durham in 1086. It was a very sizable estate with royal and then episcopal ownership. It subsequently had a very large medieval church with extant architecture dating back to the Norman period and was later a college of five prebendaries with a large parish. It was identified by both Morris and Palliser as a possible minster.³⁸ Some of these sites may have been settlements of earlier importance. North Newbald church is within a mile of an Anglo-Saxon productive site and is well positioned, close to the main north-south Roman road in the area. Hunmanby has three pieces of sculpture dating from possibly the eighth century through the ninth and tenth centuries. Driffield has early Anglo-Saxon burials and may have been a royal tun by 705, it is considered in more detail as a royal church site below.³⁹

Early or superior church → daughter church of religious community

This trajectory could prove to be interchangeable with that described immediately above. The sites are characterised by Anglo-Saxon stone sculpture of the ninth to eleventh century. They may have later passed into episcopal ownership and evidenced a subsequent link to a minster. Domesday Book recorded a church and priest. Possible examples include Skipwith and Holme upon Spalding Moor.

Barrows around Skipwith contain Iron Age and Roman finds.⁴⁰ The church has Anglo-Saxon architecture and Anglo-Scandinavian sculpture of the ninth to tenth century that suggests there was a church there before c. 950.⁴¹ Recent excavation has revealed the possibility of a structure preceding the Anglo-Saxon west tower.⁴² It was later granted to the Bishop of Durham in 1084. The unique presence, within the East Riding, of a surviving early stone church together with later links to a superior church could suggest that it was a significant early church. This possibility is somewhat undermined by the insignificance of the settlement at the time of Domesday. However, the larger settlement of North Duffield was included in the later parish. Finally, a late

³⁶ Gazetteer, pp. 122-125.

³⁷ DB 304V, 306V, 373 and 381V.

³⁸ Morris, *Churches in the landscape*, pp. 133-138 and D. M. Palliser, 'Review article: The 'minster hypothesis': a case study', *Early Medieval Europe* 5 (2) (1996), 207-214, p. 2.

³⁹ Below, pp. 82-84.

⁴⁰ Gazetteer, pp. 162-165.

⁴¹ H. M. Taylor and J. Taylor, *Anglo-Saxon architecture: Volume II* (Cambridge, 1980), pp. 550-554 and Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, III: York and Eastern Yorkshire*, pp. 214-215.

⁴² T. Kendall, 'St Helen's Church, Skipwith: Update', *Yorkshire Archaeology Today* 7 (2004), pp. 6-7.

link as a prebendary of Howden church in 1280 may provide further evidence.⁴³ Skipwith could be an early Christian site linked to a minster community at Howden when these estates were being reorganised under the Bishop of Durham in the 1080's.

Holme upon Spalding Moor has less firm evidence to reinforce the tentative suggestion of early significance, raised by the conjunction of sculptural evidence, of ninth to eleventh century date, with a Domesday Book reference to a church and priest.⁴⁴ Both Faull and Stinson, and Morris consider that the original settlement would have been where the church is now, which is outside the modern settlement.⁴⁵ It certainly meets very well one of the locational criteria 'The summits or shoulders of low hills and promontories, ...' of Blair in his analysis of where minsters were sited.⁴⁶ The sculpture reveals stylistic links to Nunburnholme 1, also dated to the ninth to eleventh century, which may link it to a minster there or link both of them to a minster elsewhere.

Manorial church / religious community → manorial church

Wharram Percy is unique in the amount of excavation and archaeological analysis that has been carried out. Domesday Book does not record a church or a priest, just three manors held by Lagman, Karli and Ketilbert of the King.⁴⁷ The sparseness of the Domesday Book entry in contrast to the amount that has been discovered by archaeological analysis is indicative of how little we can know of other sites where we only have Domesday Book. Excavation has revealed two phases of Saxon church underneath the Norman one.⁴⁸ The first a mid to late tenth-century timber church and the second an eleventh-century two-celled stone church with rectangular nave and chancel. Three grave-covers were unearthed in association with this later church and originally dated to the early eleventh century, and were thought to have furnished the burials of the late Saxon Lords.⁴⁹ More recently Stocker has re-examined the stonework of the early graveyard and argued that these three grave-covers were in fact reused Romano-British grave furniture.⁵⁰ He suggests they would have marked the three graves of the Anglo-Scandinavian founder of the parochial church and their family in the tenth century. Elsewhere in the manor other finds may be significant. Another find of sculpture is noteworthy; a late eighth-century fragment of cross-arm was unearthed on a separate site, on a hillside above and to the west of the church, where a styca and ninth century strap-end

⁴³ VCH East Riding III. p. 99.

⁴⁴ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, III: York and Eastern Yorkshire*, p143-4, Ill. 483 and DB 326V and 381V. Gazetteer, pp. 304-306.

⁴⁵ M. L. Faull and M. Stinson *Domesday Book: Yorkshire: Volume II* (Chichester, 1986), 21E9, note and Morris, *Churches in the landscape*, p. 267.

⁴⁶ J. Blair, 'Anglo-Saxon minsters: a topographical review', p. 227.

⁴⁷ DB 301, 331 and 382. Gazetteer, pp. 109-116.

⁴⁸ R. D. Bell and M. W. Beresford, *Wharram Percy: The Church of St Martin Wharram: A Study of Settlement on the Yorkshire Wolds*, Society Medieval Archaeology Monograph Series II (Oxford, 1987), pp. 55-61.

⁴⁹ M. Beresford and J. Hurst, *Wharram Percy: Deserted Medieval Village* (London, 1990), p. 64, for all the sculpture see Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, III: York and Eastern Yorkshire*, pp. 222-223 and Ills. 872-8 and 882-4.

⁵⁰ D. Stocker in S. Mays, C. Harding and C. Heighway, *Wharram: A Study of Settlement on the Yorkshire Wolds: The Churchyard* (York, 2007), pp. 271-287.

were also discovered.⁵¹ It is possible that these may represent a further graveyard and may indicate an earlier position for the church, although a more likely explanation would be that they were cross fragments from the church site and indeed it is not now thought that there was a second church. The overall assemblage of finds from this area is considered high status and it has even been suggested that it could have been a Middle-Saxon monastic settlement.⁵² Finally, Bell has speculatively suggested that it is possible that a second church could have existed in association with the North manor but this is now thought unlikely. There is additional evidence provided by Wharram Percy of the planning of a regular settlement in the late Saxon period, and if this was the case the late church may have formed an integral part of this plan, albeit at the southeasterly extreme.⁵³ This could suggest affinities with settlements such as Wheldrake and Hemingbrough considered above, where a topographical relationship with the church and a planned regular village can be observed.⁵⁴ It would not however be immediately adjacent to either of the proposed manor houses. This must beg the question what may earlier developments at sites such as Wheldrake and Hemingbrough have looked like if we had more than Domesday Book to go on? Wharram Percy may be representative of a group of churches not listed in Domesday Book. Alternatively, a regional pattern may be discoverable, whereby churches are not recorded by Domesday commissioners in certain areas.

Pre-Christian Anglo-Saxon cemetery → Christian cemetery → manorial church

These sites are characterised by a large Anglo-Saxon cemetery superseded by a smaller one and recorded in Domesday Book as a priest and church. It is possible that a mortuary chapel could have been developed on the site of a cemetery, which subsequently acquired parochial rights. Examples include Sancton and Londesborough discussed above in the context of possible conversion period churches, and possibly Hornsea. Looking at the example of Sancton, it had a large cremation cemetery dating from the late fourth or early fifth century and possibly serving the local communities of Goodmanham, Londesborough, Market Weighton, North Newbald and Nunburnholme.⁵⁵ A smaller cemetery containing more inhumation burials serving just Sancton and dating to the fifth or sixth century superseded it. Two manors are described in Domesday Book totalling 19½ carucates. A priest and church are recorded and are within the larger manor of fifteen carucates held by Northmann in 1066 and three soldiers from Gilbert Tison in 1086.⁵⁶ While Faull

⁵¹ G. Milne and J. D. Richards, *Two Anglo-Saxon Buildings and Associated Finds*, York University Archaeological Publications (Leeds, 1992), p. 93.

⁵² Beresford and Hurst, *Wharram Percy: Deserted Medieval Village*, p84, J. D. Richards, *Wharram: a study of settlement on the Yorkshire Wolds*, York University archaeological publications (York, 1992), pp. 93-94 and P. A. Stamper and R. A. Croft, *The South Manor Area*, York University Archaeological Publications (Oxford, 2000), p. 198.

⁵³ Beresford and Hurst, *Wharram Percy: Deserted Medieval Village*, fig. 34 p. 49 and p. 80.

⁵⁴ Above, p. 43

⁵⁵ Above, pp. 51-52, J. N. L. Myres and W. H. Southern, *The Anglo-Saxon cremation cemetery at Sancton, East Yorkshire*, Hull Museum Publications 218 (Hull, 1973), M. L. Faull, 'The Location and Relationship of the Sancton Anglo-Saxon Cemeteries', *Antiquaries Journal* 56 (1976), 227-33 and N. Reynolds, *Investigations in the Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Sancton, East Yorkshire: 1976-8* (Edinburgh, 1979). Gazetteer, pp. 310-314.

⁵⁶ DB 320V, 326V, 373 and 381V.

has speculated about the possibility of an early Christian extension to a pre-Christian cemetery in light of its proximity to Goodmanham, this is the only evidence which fills the gap between the sixth century and the late eleventh century. These gaps in knowledge must be recognized.

Unknown → manorial church

At the majority of vills the Domesday Book entry simply records a church and a priest and this is the only real evidence we have for a pre-conquest church. Vills of this type include Kirkham where the place-name has been considered above. Other examples are Wressle, Folkton, Foston on the Wolds, Beeford, Catwick and North Frodingham. In this situation, stylistic affinities of sculpture or links between owners may enable us to go further than the simple statement of whether there was a church with a priest in 1086 and whether they were owned by a king, bishop, earl or lesser lord. The table of Domesday Book ownership (fig. 8, above) could assist with this process. It may be worth ascertaining whether there is anything distinctive about churches on land possessed by each of these respective owners. Further work on the significance of what is and is not recorded in Domesday Book may illuminate these sites further. Whether there are any similarities between sites where there is evidence of a church but that church is not recorded in Domesday Book, to try and establish whether a specific type of church is recorded, would be worthy of further investigation. Alternatively, is the variation in what is recorded geographical, or a function of who the overlord was, and therefore a reflection more of recording technique than of the actual situation in a vill?

Unknown → private chapel

The most minor religious sites are unsurprisingly found at relatively insignificant settlements. Anglo-Saxon sculpture may be the only evidence of a pre-conquest religious monument. Either not recorded in Domesday Book at all, or recorded as a church but no priest. Examples include Londesborough, Acklam and Kirby Underdale. Of a similar type but possibly more major sites, at least worthy of recording in Domesday Book, were Elloughton, Garton on the Wolds and Hessle. At Elloughton the place-name may derive from an Old Scandinavian word meaning ‘heathen temple’.⁵⁷ The vill was owned by the Archbishop of York in 1066 and 1086.⁵⁸ At Hessle the place-name is Old Scandinavian and means ‘the hazel tree’.⁵⁹ Morris suggests these were objects that would have been found at sites of pre-Christian religious significance.⁶⁰

This chapter has presented the evidence for pre-1100 church sites in the East Riding. It includes tables of the Domesday Book and sculptural evidence that identified the potential church sites, of earlier evidence where available and of Domesday Book ownership of the potential church sites. It has shown where these sites were positioned and begun to consider why. It has begun to analyse this evidence to suggest some of the types of religious institutions that might be revealed over this

⁵⁷ A. H. Smith, *The Place-Names of the East Riding of Yorkshire and York*, English Place-Name Society (Cambridge, 1937), p. 220. Gazetteer, pp. 315-318.

⁵⁸ DB 302V and 381V.

⁵⁹ Smith, *The Place-Names of the East Riding of Yorkshire and York*, pp. 215-216. Gazetteer, pp. 142-143.

⁶⁰ Morris, *Churches in the landscape*, pp. 80-81.

400 year period. Most problematically, it has tried to consider how religious activity could have developed and changed at some sites. It has done so in dialogue with the evidence of the East Riding, so some examples from within the study area have been drawn out. As such, the hypothetical religious institutions and trajectories of development proposed are not meant to be universal but are specific to this study; although it is hoped that more can be learned about ecclesiastical organisation at this humbler local level by amalgamating the results of similarly interdisciplinary local studies.

Chapter Five

Case studies of the three principal landholders in 1086

Chapter four has explored the totality of the evidence for pre-1100 churches. This chapter takes a different approach and proceeds by way of case studies of the three principal landholders in 1086. The three major landholders within the East Riding at the time of Domesday Book were the King, the Archbishop, and Drogo de la Beuvrière. This study has identified thirteen pre-1100 church sites on the land of the Archbishop, eleven on the land owned by the King, and thirteen on land owned by Drogo de la Beuvrière. The churches of the individual landholders are defined by the identification of a pre-conquest church combined with ownership of the land in 1086. This chapter considers the church sites within the context of the estates of these landholders as recorded in 1086. Wherever possible it looks at earlier ownership and any other evidence as to the origins of these churches. It considers all churches on the estates of each landholder so as not to draw a distinction between proposed minsters and other churches. This chapter considers the churches of these three landholders separately to identify whether there were any clear distinctions between churches on the estates of different landholders. The case study of each landholder begins with a consideration of the landholder's estates in general, before exploring the location of churches and methods of categorising them. Archiepiscopal churches are first examined, to establish whether there is any evidence that the archbishops were using their churches to provide pastoral care and exercise authority across the region. The section on archiepiscopal churches is concluded with an exploration of the potential of localised topographical analysis. An examination of royal churches follows to explore whether similar patterns and themes can be observed on the royal sites. Finally, the churches on the land of Drogo de la Beuvrière, which were contained entirely within the topographically distinct region of Holderness, are considered. It is acknowledged that the method utilised here is starting by defining churches by overlord ownership at one point in time. It is not known when these churches were founded. Wherever possible their origins, the impact of local lords and earlier ownership are considered. What is clear is that 1086 is the date at which most is known about where churches were and who owned the land that they were on. It is therefore a reasonable starting point.

5.1 Archiepiscopal churches

5.1.1 Archiepiscopal landholdings

This case study of archiepiscopal churches begins with a consideration of the landholdings of the Archbishopric in general. Then the spatial distribution of archiepiscopal landholdings in the East Riding as revealed by Domesday Book is examined. Finally, the perspective is narrowed to pre-conquest churches on archiepiscopal land. Is there evidence of the archbishops using these churches to ensure pastoral care was provided and their authority exercised throughout the East Riding? The questions of when the Archbishop acquired the land and when the church was built are also borne in mind.

In an examination of the surveys of the archiepiscopal estates inserted into the York Gospels, Simon Keynes outlined what is known about the see of York's acquisition of land, between the establishment of an episcopal see for Paulinus in 627, and the Domesday survey of 1086.¹ There is some useful documentary evidence before Domesday Book, but not until the tenth century. In 934 King Athelstan granted the whole of Amounderness (part of what is now central western Lancashire, north of the River Ribble, and included with the Yorkshire Domesday record) to Archbishop Wulfstan and the see of York.² This had fallen out of archiepiscopal control and was held by Earl Tostig by the reign of Edward the Confessor.³ In 956 King Eadwig granted twenty hides at Southwell in Nottinghamshire to Archbishop Oscytel and in 958 King Edgar granted ten hides at Sutton, also in Nottinghamshire, to the same Archbishop.⁴ These remained in the Archbishopric's possession until the time of the Domesday Survey. In addition to these charters there is Archbishop Oswald's memorandum on the estates of the see of York, set down between 975 and 992, preserved in an early eleventh century copy, and annotated in the hand of the second Archbishop Wulfstan.⁵ This details various vills which had been lost to the archiepiscopal estates of Otley, Ripon and Sherburn-in-Elmet. It then lists twelve vills in Northumbria that had been acquired by Archbishop Oscytel during his episcopacy (between about 954 and 971) and held until the time of Archbishop Oswald, when they were lost to the see of York after Thored became Earl of Northumbria (between 975 and 979). Domesday Book demonstrates that many of these estates were recovered by the See of York. The final significant documentary evidence of archiepiscopal landholding are the additions in Old English to the York Gospels.⁶ This contained surveys of the estates of Otley, Ripon and Sherburn-in-Elmet which were drawn up and entered into the Gospels around about 1020 and before the death of Archbishop Wulfstan II in 1023. Keynes suggests that this is connected to the process of recovery of these estates. It certainly shows that much of what was listed as lost in Oswald's memorandum had been recovered and for Sherburn-in-Elmet shows enlarged holdings from those described in a charter of 963, when King Edgar had given it to a certain Æslac.⁷ Simon Keynes map of these estates is included below as fig. 9.

Stephen Baxter has considered the two lists of property of the See of York described above and the *Liber Wigorniensis*, an early eleventh-century Worcester cartulary, in the context of Archbishop Wulfstan II's administration of episcopal estates.⁸ He concluded that the *Liber Wigorniensis* shows Wulfstan taking estate administration very seriously, to the extent that he was

¹ S. Keynes, 'The Additions in Old English', in *The York Gospels: A Facsimile with Introductory essays by Jonathan Alexander et al.* (London, 1986), pp. 81-99.

² S 407.

³ DB 301-302.

⁴ S 659 and S 679.

⁵ S 1453.

⁶ S. Keynes, 'The Additions in Old English', pp. 86-91.

⁷ S 712.

⁸ S. Baxter, 'Archbishop Wulfstan and the Administration of God's Property', in M. Townend (ed.), *Wulfstan, Archbishop of York: the proceedings of the second Alcuin Conference* (Turnhout, 2004), pp. 161-191, pp. 161-190.

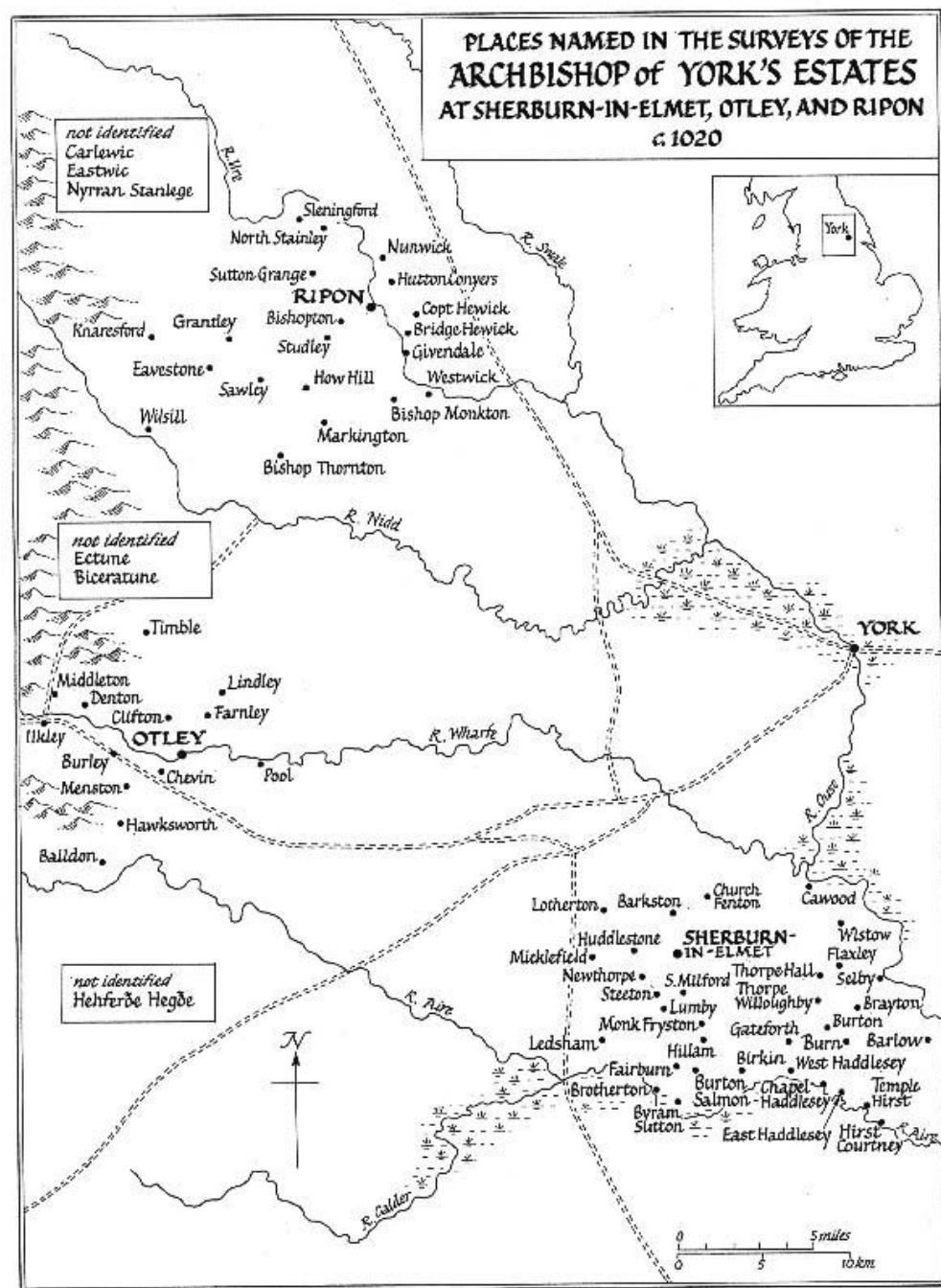


Fig. 9 Places named in the surveys of the Archbishop of York's estates.⁹

personally involved in keeping a working register of tenants of the land loaned out by the see of Worcester. Furthermore, the York evidence shows that he had some success as the surveys illustrate that much of the land of the See of York, that had been lost was recovered. Baxter goes further, suggesting that these efforts fit well within the general thrust of Wulfstan's programme for the moral rejuvenation of a people of God, and that the protection of church property was an important part of that. In fact, Wulfstan may have deliberately placed these York documents about the administration of his estates alongside documents that assert that society should protect and augment the property and rights of the church.

⁹ Map by Simon Keynes from <http://www.trin.cam.ac.uk/sdk13/RPMaps/MapYork.jpg>

There are two charters that refer to estates within the East Riding, that later appear as archiepiscopal landholdings with Domesday Book churches on them. A charter of 963 records that Edgar gave an estate at Newbald to Earl Gunner, whereas Oswald's memorandum shows that it was purchased by Archbishop Oscytel.¹⁰ Keynes, following Stenton, suggested that this is an example of the king allowing the earl to be associated with the transaction that was always intended to transfer the land to the church, and drew a parallel with the estate of Sherburn-in-Elmet being granted to Æslac, also in 963, which was later demonstrated to be an episcopal holding by the survey of estates contained within the York Gospels. The final relevant charter recorded the grant of the estate of Patrington by King Cnut to Archbishop Ælfric in 1033.¹¹ There is therefore substantial evidence of kings and archbishops involving themselves in protecting and building up the landholdings of the see of York through the tenth and eleventh centuries. It is also possible that these transactions could reflect fluctuations, rather than improvements, in the holdings of the Archbishops. It is not until Domesday Book that detailed information on archiepiscopal land becomes available.

5.1.2 Archiepiscopal Domesday Book estates

Before examining archiepiscopal land holdings as recorded by Domesday Book, a brief exploration of the nature of Domesday Book estates within the East Riding is necessary. Archiepiscopal landholdings are specifically relevant to a study of ecclesiastical organisation; but this will also provide a context for the ongoing consideration of why churches were situated where they were within estates. Dawn Hadley has considered the manorial structure as revealed by Domesday Book for the northern Danelaw and described it as characterized by large and complex estates, whereas southern and Midland England is characterized by the consolidated manorial village, where a lord owned a single village as one manor.¹² Southern and Midland England do have these large estates and the northern Danelaw does have consolidated manors; it is the number and extent of these large estates that is distinctive. These large estates were made up of central manors with outlying berewicks and sokelands. Frank Stenton distinguished between berewicks and sokelands by ownership; the land of a berewick was owned by the lord of the manor, whereas sokeland was owned by those who lived upon them, but dues and services were owed to the manorial centre.¹³ Hadley concluded her examination of territorial organisation in the northern Danelaw by suggesting that the evidence was too complex to 'be fitted into the frameworks of the 'multiple estate' model, and indeed of related models'.¹⁴ She considered that while it may be generally true that the manorial structure revealed by Domesday Book has more in common with earlier patterns

¹⁰ S 716 and S. Keynes, 'The Additions in Old English', pp. 87-88.

¹¹ S 968 and S. Keynes, 'The Additions in Old English', p. 86.

¹² D. M. Hadley, *The Northern Danelaw: its social structure, c.800-1100* (London, 2000), pp. 108-110.

¹³ F. M. Stenton, *Types of Manorial Structure in the Northern Danelaw* (Oxford, 1910), pp. 57-58.

¹⁴ Hadley, *The Northern Danelaw: its social structure, c.800-1100*, pp. 162-164. See G. R. J. Jones, 'Early territorial organisation in Northern England and its bearing on the Scandinavian settlement', in A. Small (ed.), *The Fourth Viking Congress* (London, 1965), pp. 67-84 and G. R. J. Jones, 'Multiple Estates and Early Settlement', in P. H. Sawyer (ed.), *Medieval Settlement* (London, 1976), pp. 15-40 for detailed considerations of the 'multiple estate' model.

than elsewhere in the country, that is not to say that it records an early pattern. The large estates that can now be seen were sometimes the result of fragmentation of earlier great estates, sometimes of amalgamation of smaller estates.

The manorial structure of the East Riding as recorded by Domesday Book is characterized by a wide variety of estates ranging from the consolidated manor to large estates, where a number of outlying estates in different villis were connected to a central manor. The largest soke estates are on the land of the archbishop and on the land of the Bishop of Durham respectively, with the community of St John of Beverley under the archbishop having land within 42 different villis and the estate centre of Howden under the Bishop of Durham having land in 21 different villis. In between these two extremes of consolidated manors and large estates there is a continuum ranging from manors with single berewicks and single sokelands to the largest of estates, already described. For reasons of practicality multiple estates with three or less villis, including the central manor, have been excluded when these have been mapped below. This is not to claim this as a definition of a multiple estate for the East Riding, and therefore other estates with berewicks or sokelands will be borne in mind in the analysis that follows.

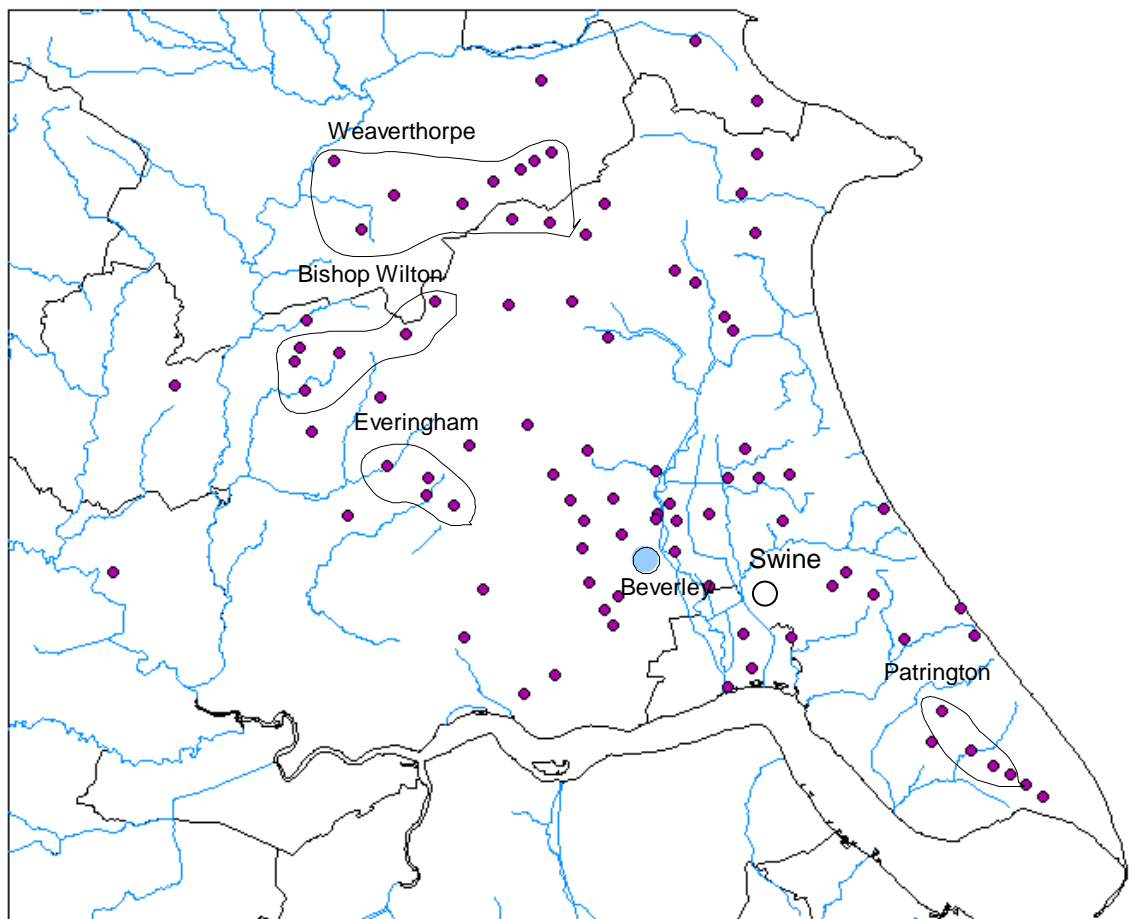


Fig. 10. Land of the Archbishop of York from Domesday Book.

Fig. 10 above shows the location of all of the individual villis that made up the 94 archiepiscopal vill sites in Domesday Book. The multiple estates centred on Weaverthorpe, Bishop

Wilton, Everingham and Patrington have been circled. Beverley has been identified by a blue circle and its extensive estates are mapped in fig. 11 below. Swine has been identified by a white circle but its four berwicks have not been identified because Domesday Book does not specify their locations. It is interesting that the six archiepiscopal multiple estates within the East Riding all contain possible pre-conquest churches within them, and this will be discussed below.¹⁵ The landholdings of the Canons of St John account for the clustering of sites around Beverley. However, their estates do spread beyond the immediate vicinity of Beverley, covering a significant amount of the eastern part of the East Riding and accounting for the vast majority of archiepiscopal estates in the south-east part of the county. The church of Beverley is considered separately below.

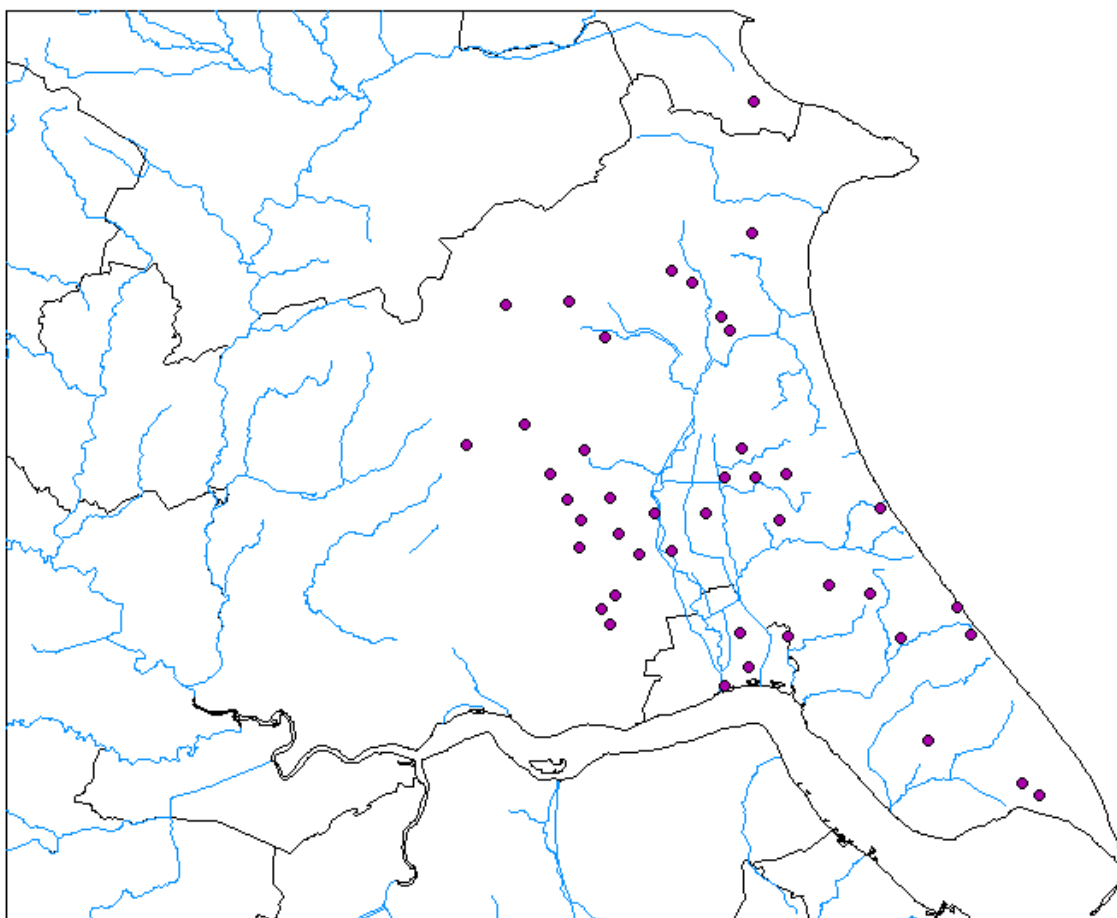


Fig. 11. Land of the Canons of St John from Domesday Book.

5.1.3 Landholdings of the Bishop of Durham

Although archiepiscopal landholdings and churches are the primary foci here, it is worth including the estates of the Bishop of Durham to establish whether the ecclesiastical hierarchy were holding land in a complimentary way. This will also enable an overview of all episcopal landholdings and churches. Fig. 12 below illustrates the Bishop of Durham's East Riding estates in 1086. They were dominated by two large multiple estates centred on Howden and Welton. Howden is the western estate with Howden itself highlighted in blue, and Welton is to the east. Welton itself is the

¹⁵ Below, pp. 73-75.

southernmost vill. If these estates are included they provide the episcopacy in general with a significantly more even coverage of landholdings across the East Riding, as they are located in the south-west corner, where the Archbishop's estates were thinnest. They also potentially provide the episcopacy with one more superior or mother church, as Morris and Palliser have claimed this status for Howden. This will be considered further below.¹⁶ Examining episcopal estates in Domesday Book has demonstrated that they were relatively evenly distributed across the East Riding and that they included some of the larger multiple estates within the East Riding. Consideration of the episcopal churches that follows, together with an exploration of where they were situated within these estates, should cast more light on the episcopal role in ecclesiastical organisation.

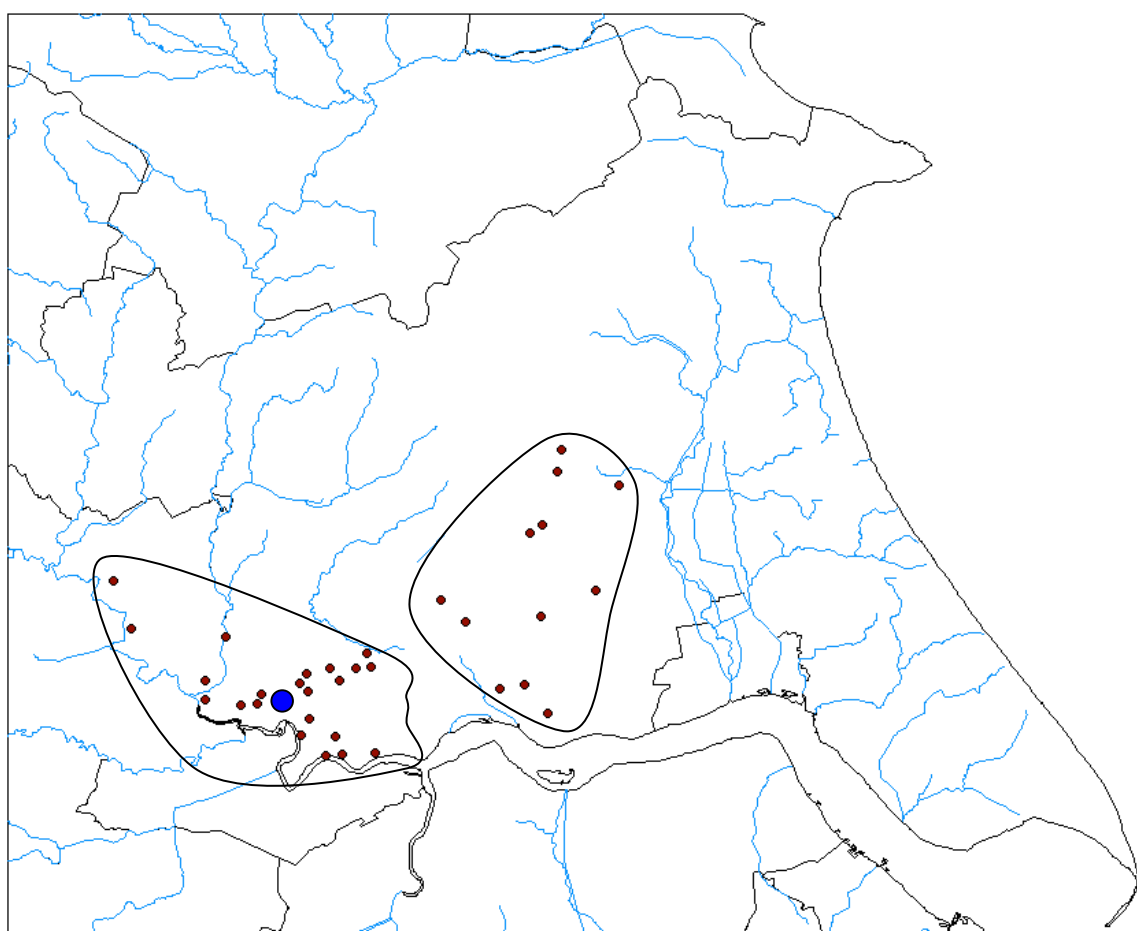


Fig. 12. Land of the Bishop of Durham from Domesday Book.

5.1.4 Archiepiscopal churches

Beverley is a logical starting point for a consideration of the churches on these archiepiscopal estates.¹⁷ It is believed to be the site of the monastery of *Inderauuda* where Bede describes Bishop John of York retiring in c. 714 and dying and being buried in 721.¹⁸ This has been contested but has now been convincingly defended by David Rollason, Richard Morris, Eric Cambridge and John

¹⁶ Below, pp. 75-76.

¹⁷ Gazetteer, pp. 230-235.

¹⁸ *HE* v. 2 and 6 (pp. 456 and 468).

Blair.¹⁹ Twelfth-century writers describe its destruction by Vikings and refoundation as a secular college in the 930s by King Athelstan, although Richard Morris has questioned these traditions and argued for the likelihood of institutional continuity during the Viking period.²⁰ By the early eleventh century, with the accession of Archbishop Ælfric in 1023, there is evidence of archiepiscopal patronage, recorded in the anonymous *Chronica Pontificum Ecclesiae Eboracensis*, in the mid twelfth century.²¹ Archbishop Ælfric secured the canonization of John of Beverley, translated his remains and enlarged the church buildings. His successors, Cynesige and Ealdred continued enlarging and improving the church buildings. Edward the Confessor issued a writ confirming Ealdred's grant of privileges.²² Janet Cooper placed this patronage in a wider context in her work on the last four Anglo-Saxon Archbishops of York.²³ The interests of the archbishops of York in the administration of the estates of the see have been discussed above.²⁴ Cooper observed that Wulfstan II had translated a rule for canons from the work of Amalarius of Metz which illustrates a concern for canonical communities. She identified that in addition to the patronage of Beverley described immediately above, there is wider evidence of patronage of canonical communities by the archbishops of York. Ælfric also endowed York and Southwell, Nottinghamshire; Cynsige provided bells for Stow, Lincolnshire and Southwell and according to an anonymous chronicler Ealdred outdid his predecessors in his work at the houses of secular canons.²⁵ Taken together this amounts to a sustained attempt by the archbishops of York to support canonical communities from at least the start of the archbishopric of Ælfric in 1023. Beverley appears to have been one of the chief benefactors from this patronage. Archaeological investigation that potentially supports the impression provided by documentary evidence is considered in the gazetteer below.²⁶

In a defence of the 'minster hypothesis', David Palliser has argued that the later history of Beverley Minster can shed some light on its early role.²⁷ Seven canons were likely to have resided at Beverley before the conquest. Palliser suggested that these canons continued to live a communal life with communal property until the second half of the twelfth century. Until then they did not have a territorial base and were named by their altar rather than the manors they had acquired.

¹⁹ D. W. Rollason, 'List of Saints' resting-places in Anglo-Saxon England', *Anglo-Saxon England* 7 (1978), 61-93, R. K. Morris and E. Cambridge, 'Beverley Minster Before the Early Thirteenth Century', in C. Wilson (ed.), *Medieval Art and Architecture in the East Riding of Yorkshire*, BAACT 1983), pp. 9-32 and J. Blair, 'Beverley, Inderauuda and St John: a neglected reference', *Northern History* 38 (2001), 315-316. For a recent summary of this debate and a translation and discussion of available evidence for the life and subsequent history of St. John see S. E. Wilson, *The Life and After-Life of St John of Beverley: The Evolution of the Cult of an Anglo-Saxon Saint* (Aldershot, 2006).

²⁰ R. K. Morris and E. Cambridge, 'Beverley Minster Before the Early Thirteenth Century', pp. 9-12.

²¹ *Chronica Pontificum Ecclesiae Eboracensis* in J. S. Raine, *Historians of the Church of York and its Archbishops* (London, 1886), pp. 343-344 and see Gazetteer, pp. 231-232 for more detail on this patronage.

²² D. M. Palliser, 'Review article: The 'minster hypothesis': a case study', *Early Medieval Europe* 5 (2) (1996), 207-214, p. 210 and S 1067.

²³ J. M. Cooper, *The last four Anglo-Saxon Archbishops of York*, Borthwick papers ; no.38 (York, 1970).

²⁴ Above, pp. 44-46.

²⁵ *Chronica Pontificum Ecclesiae Eboracensis* in Raine, *Historians of the Church of York and its Archbishops*, Vol. 2, pp. 343-344 and pp. 353-354 and Cooper, *The last four Anglo-Saxon Archbishops of York*.

²⁶ Gazetteer, pp. 234-235.

²⁷ Palliser, 'Review article: The 'minster hypothesis': a case study', pp. 65-85.

These canons eventually became non-resident and appointed vicars to deputize for them. Palliser observed that ‘...the prime duty of at least the seven vicars attached to the ancient prebends was to exercise cure of souls on behalf of the canons.’²⁸ Therefore, in the later medieval period Beverley functioned as a multi parish college. Palliser considered that this preserves something of the early provisions for pastoral care based on head minsters, before the full development of a parochial system. Therefore, at Beverley there was an early monastery, the likelihood of continuity through the Viking period, possible tenth-century royal patronage, significant archiepiscopal and royal patronage in the eleventh century, extensive Domesday Book landholdings and late evidence of its early role as a head minster. This is probably the only example in the East Riding of a major community, able to rival or even surpass in size the estates of Otley, Ripon and Sherburn-in-Elmet in the West Riding, and possibly having a significant responsibility for archiepiscopal control and pastoral care in the East Riding.

Having considered archiepiscopal holdings in general and the special case of Beverley, the remainder of the churches identified on those holdings will now be examined. The total archiepiscopal land was held within 62 different, multiple estates or individual vills, so the archbishopric had a possible church, of which we can find some evidence, within approximately 21% of the estates it owned. A comparison of the three major East Riding landholders, the Archbishop, the King and Drogo de a Beuvrière, has the Archbishop with a slightly lower percentage than the King who had a church on 22% of estates, and surprisingly Drogo was highest with a church on 26% of estates. It may have been reasonable to expect a higher percentage on archiepiscopal land but this does not appear to be the case.²⁹ Seven of these 62 estates came into archiepiscopal ownership between 1066 and 1086, only one with a church recorded, at Garton on the Wolds, and the church was not in the archiepiscopally owned portion of the vill. All of these were single manors without associated lands. Therefore, the majority of archiepiscopal land did not change ownership between 1066 and 1086.

Fig. 13 (below) illustrates the thirteen archiepiscopal church sites, with the towns of York, Malton and Bridlington highlighted, because of their key positions within the Roman Road network. A figurative illustration of the routes of two Roman Roads closest to these church sites has been added to help illustrate a pattern. Roman roads are illustrated more comprehensively in fig. 6 above.³⁰ Four of the sites are along the route of the Roman road from Brough to Malton, which must have been one of the main arterial transport routes in the region. Moving from north to south these are Bishop Wilton, Londesborough, North Newbald and Elloughton. Cowlam was very close to another Roman road running from Bridlington to York. It is interesting to relate these sites back to fig. 10, the map of the land of the Archbishop of York with multiple estates highlighted.³¹

²⁸ Palliser, 'Review article: The 'minster hypothesis': a case study', p. 212.

²⁹ This is considered further below, pp. 88-89.

³⁰ Above, p. 48 fig. 6.

³¹ Above, p. 69 fig. 10.

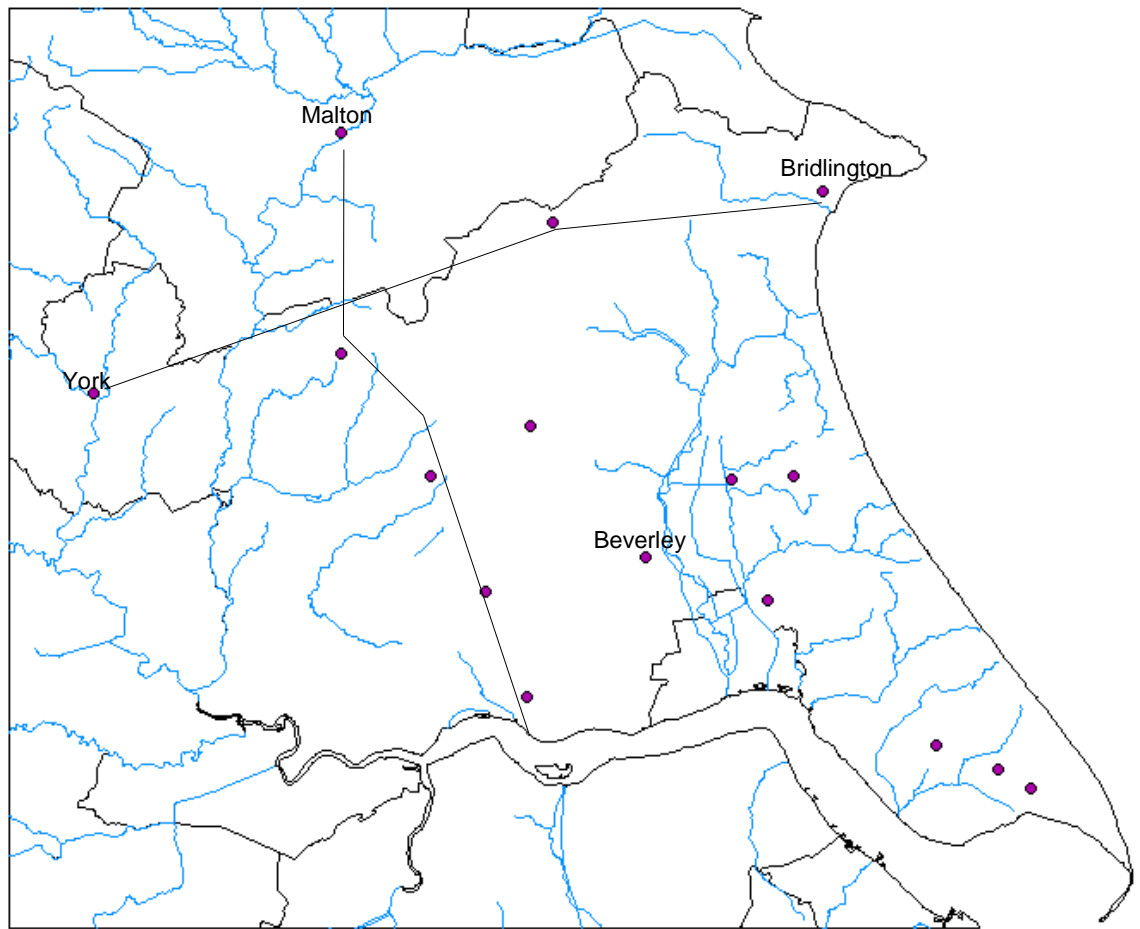


Fig. 13. Land of the Archbishop of York with pre-1100 churches.

This research has demonstrated that within three of these multiple estates the church was sited at the vill closest to the Roman road. Thus, in Weaverthorpe estate the church is at Cowlam, in Bishop Wilton it is at Bishop Wilton, which is adjacent to the junction of the two Roman Roads and in Everingham it is at Londesborough. It may be speculative, but not unreasonable, to suggest that another Roman road, the start of which is known running in a south-easterly direction out of Malton (see fig. 6 above), could have continued through Middleton on the Wolds towards Beverley. It could even have continued beyond Beverley into the south-eastern extremity of the East Riding, thereby linking more of the illustrated archiepiscopal church sites. If these church sites were not on Roman roads, that does not preclude them being situated on important contemporary routeways at the time that they were founded. Another phenomenon observed by Morris is relevant here.³² The reclaiming of land from the sea in the Sunk Island area at the southern edge of Holderness has meant that sites which would once have been coastal such as Patrington and Ottringham have become inland sites. These could have been accessible sites because of their coastal location at the time they were founded. It does appear significant that these churches on archiepiscopal land were fairly evenly spaced across the East Riding, arguably positioned at the most accessible points. Many of these churches would not be

³² Morris, *Churches in the landscape*, pp. 342-343.

identified as significant by anything more than their being on archiepiscopal land. Either the building of less important churches was being coordinated centrally to provide good coverage across the region, or it was churches of above ordinary importance that were being recorded by Domesday Book or are identifiable by Anglo-Saxon stone sculpture. This hypothesis can be further tested by comparison with church sites on other land.

5.1.5 Episcopal churches

Another interesting aspect of the distribution of these church sites can be observed if the East Riding is divided up into three distinct geographical entities, moving from west to east these are the Vale of York, the Wolds, and the plain of Holderness. Half of these church sites are on the Wolds, half in Holderness and none in the Vale of York. To some extent this can be explained by the overall distribution of landholdings, as the archbishop did own less in the Vale of York. However, there are still six separate landholdings in this area and no putative church sites, which is worthy of note. A possible explanation could be that archiepiscopal landholdings and churches were being used to ensure that either archiepiscopal authority, or pastoral care, or both, could be exercised over the diocese. If this was the case, then proximity to York, and also the large estate of Sherburn-in-Elmet, may have meant there was less need for archiepiscopal estates or churches in this area. Furthermore, if the estates of the Bishop of Durham and the church of Howden are included, as illustrated in fig. 5 above, then this supports the idea that there was a deliberate situating of episcopal churches in accessible and well spaced positions across the East Riding. It is for this reason that the church and estates of the Bishop of Durham have been included in the ongoing discussion of episcopal churches. It is possible that this spatial distribution may tell us something about how the bishops positioned churches on their estates to be accessible centrally and well distributed across the region, and that this was one tool they used to administer to the needs of their diocese.

When combined with the other evidence, the Domesday Book episcopal landholdings may reveal a second tier of church sites. These were not major episcopal centres like Beverley; but sites with some evidence that they may have had a wider role than a local manorial church. These include Howden, Patrington, North Newbald, Cowlam and Bishop Wilton.³³ These are all situated within large or multiple estates. Howden, Patrington and North Newbald all became market towns and are discussed briefly above in the section on trajectories of development as sites that at some point may have become superior churches.³⁴ Howden is typical of the sort of evidential problems encountered at these sites. It is first recorded in a 959 charter of Edgar.³⁵ Writing in the twelfth century Gerald of Wales mentions Howden in his *Journey through Wales*.³⁶ He recorded a miracle at the tomb of St Osana, a sister of the Northumbrian King Osred, who ruled from 705 to 716,

³³ Gazetteer pp. 154-57 for Howden, pp.248-251 for Patrington, pp. 122-125 for North Newbald, pp. 260-264 for Cowlam and pp. 207-209 for Bishop Wilton.

³⁴ Above, p. 59-60.

³⁵ S 681.

³⁶ L. Thorpe, (ed.), *Gerald of Wales: The Journey through Wales and The Description of Wales* (Harmondsworth, 1978), pp. 84-85.

which, although late evidence, could suggest the presence of an early church. By the time of Domesday Book it was a major estate with eighteen berewicks totalling 51 carucates 6 bovates and twelve sokelands. Its ownership passed from King Edward before the conquest to the Bishop of Durham by 1086. Morris and Palliser have identified it as a possible minster, but this is again largely based on late evidence.³⁷ There is therefore good evidence that Howden was an important church. The question that is harder to answer is when it became one. Was it very early as suggested by the Gerald of Wales's reference, when it became a possession of the church of Durham, or later, after the conquest?

Patrington provides another cautionary example. Sculpture thought to date to the eighth century has been discovered. Charter evidence shows it being granted to the Archbishop by Cnut in 1033. No church was recorded In Domesday Book. It was a large estate with four berewicks totalling about 35½ carucates. As discussed above, Pickles had identified it as a potential minster because it was held by two clerics and also because it later had a large cruciform church.³⁸ It was later handed to the care of the canons of St John. North Newbald and Cowlam are located close to Anglo-Saxon productive sites which have on occasion been associated with minster communities³⁹. In the case of Bishop Wilton, any suggestion that it may have been a church of more than local significance rests on the archbishop's later presence (he had a manor house there from at least the twelfth century), its topographically accessible position (close to two Roman roads on the westerly edge of the Wolds escarpment) and its status as an estate centre with five berewicks and one sokeland.

It is possible that these episcopal church sites were fulfilling a similar role to that described by Blair for minsters, as central places.⁴⁰ The combination of topographical centrality, estate centrality, proximity to productive sites and later status as market towns does suggest a link between the pastoral and economic role of these places. This is not to argue that they were minsters. There is no conclusive evidence of this; with the exception of Cowlam and Patrington they all appear in Domesday Book as churches staffed by individual priests. It may be that at a level below the minster, episcopal churches were adding prestige to central places and markets, in a similar way to minsters. When these churches were founded becomes a key question. Here, the evidence is opaque at best. Howden and Patrington both have possible evidence of their existence in the eighth century (a late reference and sculpture respectively). Interestingly, they both have charter evidence of non episcopal ownership in 959 for Howden and 1033 for Patrington. These could be examples where early important churches were being acquired by the episcopacy in the tenth and eleventh centuries, in a parallel process to the general acquisition of estates and patronage of canonical communities described above.⁴¹

³⁷ Above, p. 58.

³⁸ Above, p. 35 and p. 40.

³⁹ T. Pestell, *Landscapes of Monastic Foundation* (Woodbridge, 2004), pp. 33-34 for a discussion of why productive sites are sometimes associated with minsters.

⁴⁰ See J. Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society* (Oxford, 2005), pp. 251-261 for a recent summary of these arguments.

⁴¹ Above, pp. 63-66.

The final possible category of episcopal church to be considered are daughter churches of the Beverley community. It may be possible to develop Pickles's suggestion that land under the lordship of the archbishop and recorded as held by canons of St Peter or held by two clerics, could indicate functioning or former minsters.⁴² As he acknowledged, it may simply record archiepiscopally owned land given to members of a community. However, there are some examples within the East Riding where the combination of a Domesday Book church together with ownership by the canons of St John could suggest another category of church. These occur at Middleton on the Wolds (eight miles north-west of Beverley), Leven and Siggleshorpe (six and eight and a half miles respectively north-east of Beverley) and Ottringham and Welwick (seventeen and 22½ miles respectively south-east of Beverley).⁴³ They are less significant sites than those considered immediately above, with no evidence of high status, and a potentially plausible interpretation of their role is daughter churches of the Beverley community.

A final settlement owned by the archbishop is worthy of note. Monkwith was a berewick of St. John's, situated on the coast between the church sites of Garton and Roos. It is interpreted by Smith as meaning 'Monks' dairy-farm,' from the Old English *munuc* and *wic*.⁴⁴ It is tempting to suggest it could have been another religious settlement but the most economical interpretation is that this is an earlier recording of its status as an outlying possession of St John. It is significant however because it takes us further back than Domesday Book to the time the place was named, illustrating a longevity of ownership of at least this estate of St John, and arguably to some of the others recorded in Domesday Book.

This consideration of episcopal church sites has suggested that the siting of churches across the East Riding, manifested by both their regional spread and their prominent topographical locations, could indicate deliberate planning. The archbishop in particular, along with the church of the Bishop of Durham at Howden, may have been organising either the construction of churches, or the acquisition of land with churches, to assist in the provision of pastoral care and episcopal control across the region. It may be ultimately possible to construct a continuum of the importance of these churches with communities such as Beverley at the top. Churches at estate centres with a more than immediately local role, such as Howden and Patrington, could occupy a middle tier. Smaller churches, such as Leven and Siggleshorpe, some of which may be linked to communities such as Beverley, could be placed at the bottom of this continuum. It must be conceded that at this point in time this is a speculative hypothesis but further investigation of the role a church played within the Domesday Book estates of the East Riding may bear fruit.

5.1.6 Research directions for a topographical analysis of archiepiscopal church sites

Having undertaken a broad spatial analysis and explored possible subcategories of episcopal churches, a more localized topographical analysis will now be undertaken suggesting some

⁴² Above, p. 35.

⁴³ Gazetteer, pp. 236-238 for Middleton on the Wolds, pp. 197-199 for Leven, pp. 204-206 for Siggleshorpe, pp. 245-247 for Ottringham and pp. 254-256 for Welwick.

⁴⁴ A. H. Smith, *The Place-Names of the East Riding of Yorkshire and York*, English Place-Name Society (Cambridge, 1937), p. 57.

possible research directions for a study of the local topography of these sites. It is important to bear in mind the potential pitfalls of this type of analysis. In most instances informed speculation based on later evidence is all that can be achieved. Some hypotheses as to which questions local topography may answer will be proposed. The church's spatial relationship with a regular village, with a possible manorial plot and with water supplies, will be briefly considered.

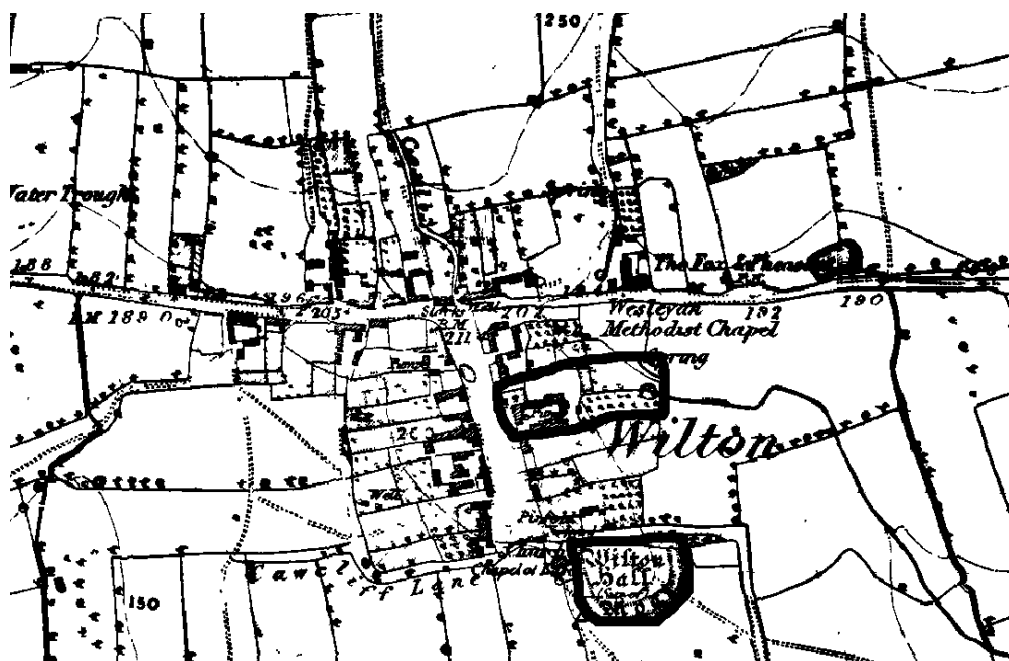


Fig. 14. Bishop Wilton from the 1854 Ordnance Survey with the churchyard and archbishops medieval manor house outlined.

Focussing on archiepiscopal church sites as a distinct category, six of the thirteen archiepiscopal church sites may at some time have had settlement structures best described as regular or partly-regular. This presents the possibility of learning something of the church's role within the planning and construction of these villages. An important question must be when the village assumed its morphology. The church's position within the settlement layout may provide some clues here. If we assume the churches' positions today are the same as the pre-1100 churches, then their location within or without any planned settlement structure may give us a potential insight into chronology.⁴⁵ Where a church appears to be incorporated within a planned settlement, within one of its regular plots, then the settlement could have been laid out at the same time that the church was built. This is not certain, the settlement could have been planned around a pre-existing church, or a church could have taken over an existing plot, but it could be argued that it is the most likely scenario. A possible example of an archiepiscopal church positioned within the plan of a regular village is Bishop Wilton.⁴⁶ Fig. 14, above, shows the churchyard outlined within what looks

⁴⁵ Above, pp. 41-44 for a consideration of how churches could relate topographically to planned villages and manorial plots.

⁴⁶ Gazetteer, pp. 207-209.

east, and it may be that the significant topographical relationship is between the church and the old hall rather than the possibly later regular village. This could reflect lordly influence on the building and siting of churches and in this situation the overlord at the time the church was built could have been the Archbishop. It is possible that this could indicate a church established by the Archbishop next to his manorial plot. Other possible examples where the churchyard is located next to something that may represent a former manorial plot could include Leven, Ottringham and Swine.⁵¹

The third area considered is the frequency of churches being situated in close proximity to a water supply. This could simply reflect the siting of villages next to a natural water supply, however a significant number of churches do appear to be sited immediately adjacent to water supplies. Four of the thirteen archiepiscopal church sites were immediately adjacent to springs. These were at Leven, Bishop Wilton, Beverley and Londesborough.⁵² The springs are in close proximity to the church, not just the village in general. Furthermore, at two sites the wells or springs are specifically dedicated to the same patron saint as the church. St Faith's church outside Leven has 'St Faith's Well', a spring located just outside its churchyard. Interestingly, in Sigglesthorpe where the well is not adjacent to the church of St Lawrence it is known as 'St Lawrence's Well'.⁵³ If these wells are included and a beck next to North Newbald church, then six of the thirteen church sites would have had a water supply in close proximity.⁵⁴ Morris and Stocker and Everson discussions of links between springs and possible baptismal responsibilities of churches are considered above, and it is particularly interesting that this phenomenon can be observed in archiepiscopal churches.⁵⁵ This could indicate an early foundation date for these churches before other topographical settlement features were present or could indicate something about the baptismal function of these archiepiscopal churches.

This section on topographical analysis has been included to offer research directions for the future. The extensive database represented by the gazetteer offers potential for this form of analysis. Its dependence on late maps mean it is essentially speculative, but Stocker and Eversen have demonstrated its potential. If conducted over a wide area and supplemented by all the other evidence available it could offer some new insight into the relationship between churches, their founders and the settlements they were in.

Focussing on episcopal churches has provided evidence that on occasions through the tenth and eleventh centuries the archbishops of York took an active interest in building up the estates of the See. By the time of the Domesday survey the archbishopric had a good spread of land across the East Riding. The ancient minster church of Beverley could have continued through the Viking period and received archiepiscopal and royal patronage in the tenth and eleventh centuries, enabling it to have extensive estates by 1086. It seems probable that it will have maintained a

⁵¹ Gazetteer, pp. 197-199 for Leven, pp. 245-247 for Ottringham and pp. 180-182 for Swine.

⁵² Gazetteer, pp. 207-209 for Bishop Wilton, pp. 230-235 for Beverley and pp. 307-309 for Londesborough.

⁵³ Gazetteer, pp. 204-206.

⁵⁴ Gazetteer, pp. 122-125.

⁵⁵ Above, p. 28, pp. 42-43 and p. 53.

significant responsibility for pastoral care throughout this period, as is certainly suggested by its subsequent role. Beneath Beverley, a lesser but still significant type of church may have been sited on episcopal multiple estates. A further category of daughter churches of the community of St John has been tentatively proposed. Episcopal churches and pre-conquest churches in general may have been sited widely across the East Riding, in easily accessible positions, to help assert archiepiscopal control. Finally, further research directions with regard to the local topography of these church sites have been proposed.

5.2 Royal churches

5.2.1 Royal landholdings

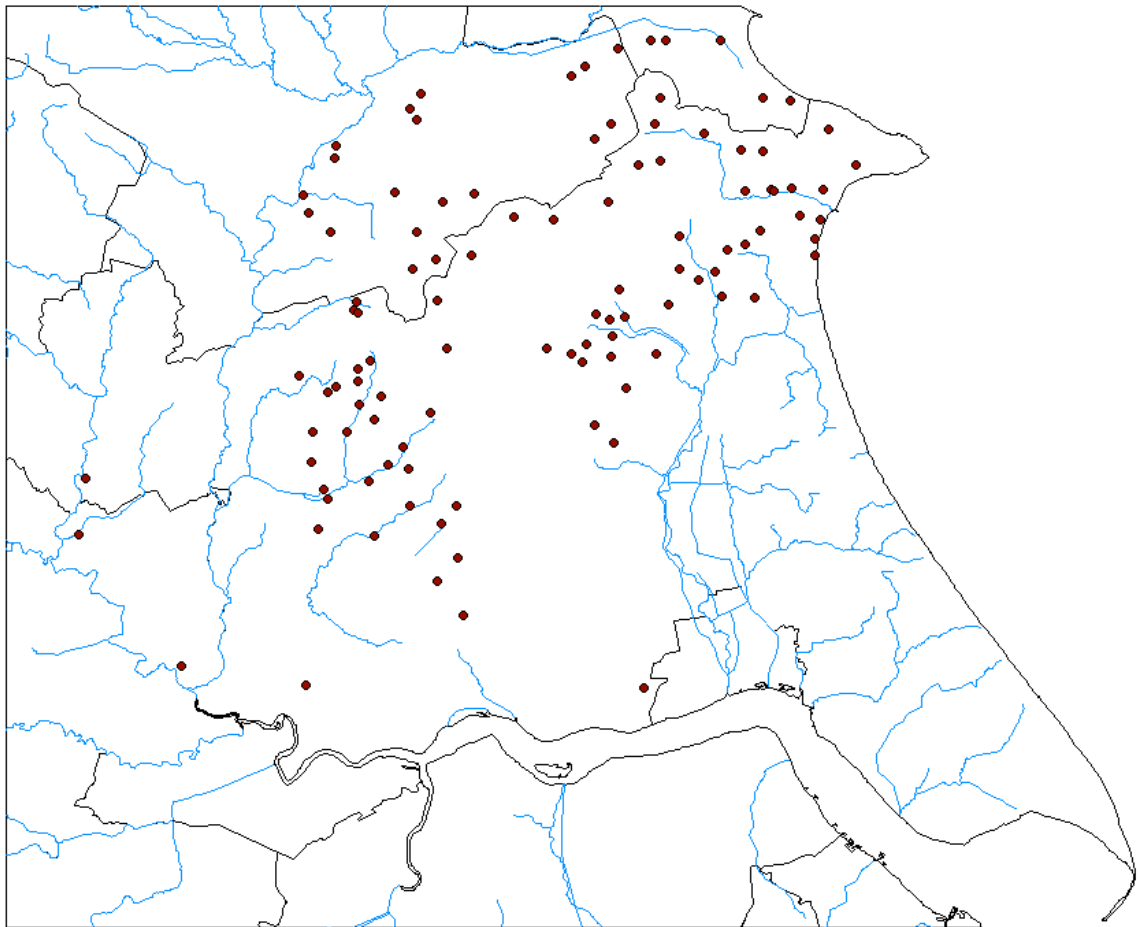


Fig. 16. Land of the King from Domesday Book.

Fig. 16 above shows the location of all of the 114 individual villas that make up the 51 estates directly owned by the King, as recorded by Domesday Book in 1086. The most immediately striking pattern about this distribution is the predominance of land in the northern part of the East Riding. However, this is simply a reflection of the fact that the Archbishop and Drogo de la Beuvrière together were tenants of all of Holderness and the Archbishop dominated land ownership around Beverley.⁵⁶ It is possible that the estates spread out along communication routes travelling in a north-easterly direction from York. Superficial comparison with the routes of the Roman roads,

⁵⁶ Above, pp. 68-70 fig. 10 and fig. 11 and below, pp. 85-88 fig. 18.

illustrated in fig. 6 above, could support this notion for the most northerly of Roman roads illustrated.⁵⁷ However, a clearer topographical relationship with rivers is apparent. Comparison with all of the Domesday settlements of the East Riding, illustrated in fig. 2 above, indicates that the royal estates simply follow general settlement distribution and there is nothing particularly distinctive about them.⁵⁸ It may be more useful to look for patterns in the situation of royal estates with churches rather than for royal estates in general. Among these royal estates there were six multiple estates. The most substantial of these were Bridlington with land in seventeen different vills, Pocklington with land in fifteen different vills and Driffield with land in fourteen different vills. On a smaller scale were Burton Agnes with land in nine different vills, Warter with land in eight different vills and Market Weighton with land in five different vills.

The death of the Bernician King Aldfrith at Driffield in 705, recorded in the D and E versions of the *Anglo Saxon Chronicle*, has meant Driffield has long been considered a royal estate.⁵⁹ David Rollason has proposed the East Riding as one of three Deiran heartlands, concentrated areas of royal interest and power.⁶⁰ He highlights the death of Aldfrith at Driffield, and the group of burial mounds containing Anglo-Saxon inhumations around Driffield, as evidence to support this suggestion. Christopher Loveluck has examined the area around Driffield in more detail.⁶¹ He highlights the economic advantages of this region by the mid-sixth century; its easily cultivable land with high arable potential and the native population's experience of exploiting the local iron ore resources. He also cites the discovery of large quantities of silver sceattas near Driffield, used earlier in East Yorkshire than in the rest of Northumbria, coupled with the evidence of a series of sceattas with Aldfrith inscribed on them, discovered distributed across East Yorkshire and thought to be issued by the king who died at Driffield, as evidence of the regional importance of the royal vill in the early eighth century. Loveluck concludes that Driffield's development must have been interrupted because Domesday Book recorded the estate as waste. However, recent questions over the nature of Domesday Book waste, and the fact that Domesday Book still recorded a major royal estate could suggest otherwise.⁶² It is also worthy of note that all of the six multiple estates listed above were held by Morcar, Earl of Northumbria, in 1066. This could indicate that the earldom had acquired estates of the royal heartland, of which these six Domesday multiple estates could be key examples, and they had therefore maintained their integrity until King William took them over after the conquest.

5.2.2 Royal Churches

Turning now from the royal landholdings to the churches on those estates, it is hoped that something of the role of churches within these estates can be discerned, and any common themes to

⁵⁷ Above, p. 48 fig. 6.

⁵⁸ Above, p. 5 fig. 2.

⁵⁹ ASC D & E, 705.

⁶⁰ D. Rollason, *Northumbria, 500-1100: Creation and Destruction of a Kingdom* (Cambridge, 2003), pp. 45-47.

⁶¹ C. P. Loveluck, 'The Development of the Anglo-Saxon Landscape, Economy and Society 'On Driffield'', 9, D. Griffiths (ed.), in *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History* (Oxford, 1996), pp. 25-48.

⁶² See above, p. 25 for discussion of the possible meaning of Domesday Book waste.

those observed on episcopal sites can be identified. On the land directly owned by the King as recorded by Domesday Book in 1086 there were eleven potential churches identified. They were at Bridlington, Folkton, Great Driffield, Hemingbrough, Kirby Grindalythe, Kirby Underdale, Little Driffield, Nunburnholme, Pocklington, Warter and Wharram Percy. Their ownership as recorded by Domesday Book is detailed in fig. 9 above. Where it is not clear who owned the part of the vill the potential church was situated in, they are included if the King owned any part of it. The eleven church sites were on a total of 51 different multiple vill or single vill estates. Therefore, the King had a possible church on approximately 22% of royally owned estates. A very similar figure to the 21% noted for the archbishop above.⁶³ The mapping of these possible church sites reveal that three of the eleven (Bridlington, Kirby Underdale and Nunburnholme) or 27% were situated close to a known Roman Road. This is slightly lower than the five of thirteen or 38% of church sites on episcopal land. However, the distribution of church sites is most likely to be simply a reflection of where royal estates were, which can be seen if fig. 17 is compared with fig. 16.

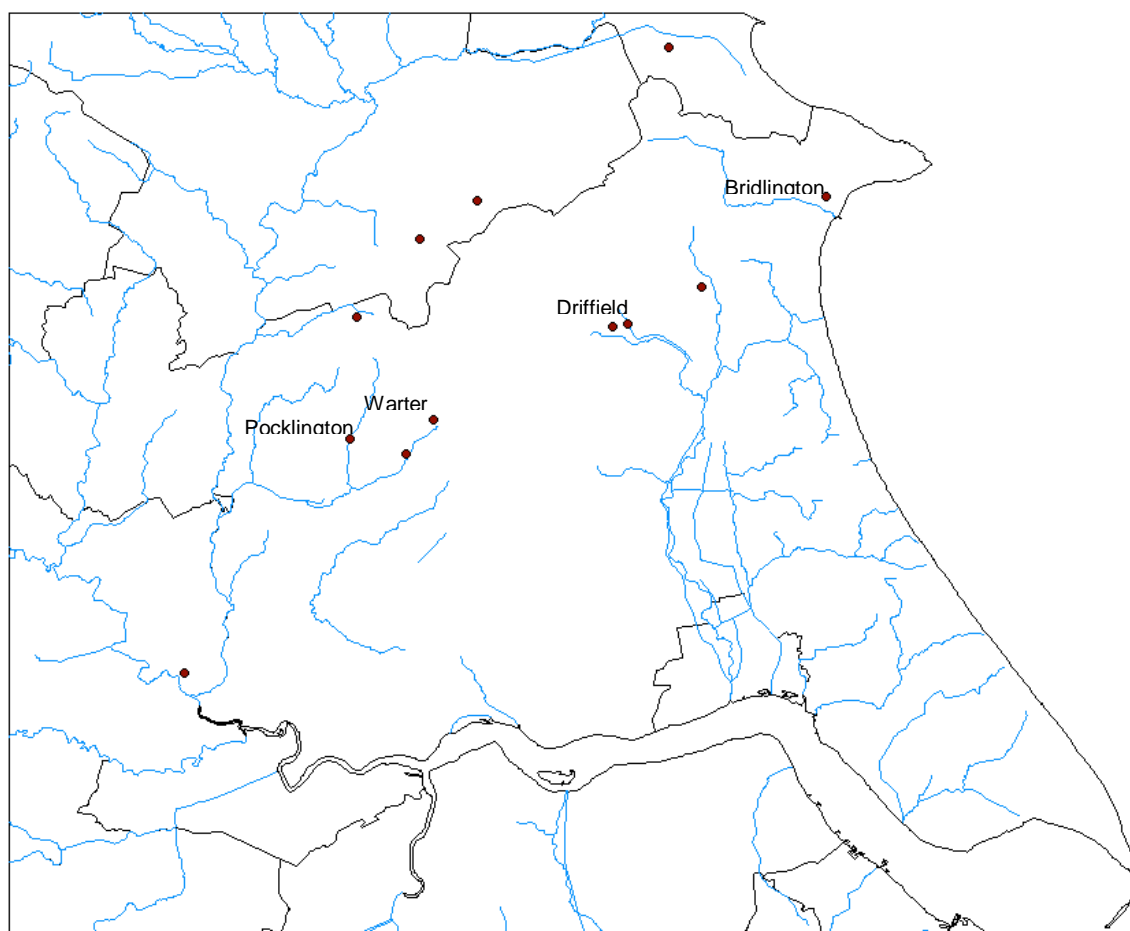


Fig. 17. Land of the King with Pre-Conquest Churches and multiple estate centres with churches labelled.

Of the eleven possible church sites illustrated in fig. 17 above, four which are on the central villas of some of the multiple estates discussed above, have been labelled. Working from west to east these are at Pocklington, Warter, Driffield and Bridlington. Warter may be slightly

⁶³ Above, p. 73.

different from the others as the multiple estate is more dispersed than the others, and has significantly fewer attached villas than the other three. The presence of these churches at the centre of royal multiple estates could add further weight to the suggestion above that the multiple estates could have been strategic royal holdings within a royal heartland that dates back to before the beginning of the eighth century. It is reasonable to claim these churches played a role beyond that of the villa in which they were situated, at least across the multiple estate, as few of the berewicks or sokelands have any evidence of additional churches. Only Nunburnholme, containing a berewick of Warter and sokeland of Pocklington and Little Driffield, containing a berewick and sokeland of Driffield and a separate manor, have any other evidence of pre-1100 churches. The evidence assembled here cannot take us much further in distinguishing different roles for the churches identified on royal estates. Pocklington and Driffield have been separately identified as superior churches on the basis of later evidence by Morris. This could add some further support to the suggestion that two tiers of church type may be identified here. The four churches on estate centres could have played a wider role beyond that of the settlement they were in. If the idea of an ancient royal heartland is accepted it is intriguing that these churches lie in a band across it, between York and the coast and are all at estate centres that were owned by the earls of Northumbria and then the King. Could the churches and related settlements have facilitated royal perambulation between York and Bridlington? The evidence does beg a further question. Were there pre-conquest churches at Market Weighton and Burton Agnes, the other large multiple estates owned by the King, where no evidence of a pre-conquest church has been identified? It must be remembered that the Domesday record of churches is by no means comprehensive, even when supplemented with Anglo-Saxon stone sculpture; no evidence is not negative evidence.

One final point is noteworthy. The six churches recorded in Domesday Book were all on land that King William had taken from Earl Tosti or Earl Morcar. These were the four churches on estate centres already discussed and Acklam and Hemingbrough. It is possible that a distinction between churches recorded by Domesday Book and those revealed by sculpture may be emerging. Certainly the potential churches revealed by sculpture appeared to be on less significant estates owned by less powerful men than those revealed by Domesday Book for the land of the King within the East Riding.

The main findings in this section on royal churches have proved similar to the preceding section on episcopal churches. There was no royal estate or church on the scale of Beverley for the archbishops. Indeed, there is not the same level of documentary record available to identify whether the kings were making similar efforts to manage their estates as the archbishops were. However, for the proposed next tier of churches on multiple estates, they appear similar on royal land. It is possible that for churches on the land of archbishops and kings they were taking on responsibility within the wider estate as there is very rarely any evidence of more than one church within linked estates. This chapter will now proceed to consider similar themes for the churches on the land of Drogo de la Beuvrière.

5.3 Drogo de la Beuvrière's churches

Holderness forms as distinct a topographical region as it is possible to do, framed as it is by the sea to the east, the mouth of the Humber to the south and the wolds to the north-west.⁶⁴ It is also distinctive because after the conquest, all of its land that was not held by the church was consolidated into the ownership of one lord.⁶⁵ This makes Drogo de la Beuvrière's churches a good subject for a case study as they offer the potential for a small regional case study. There were thirteen pre-1100 churches on Drogo's land, the same as the number on the land of the Archbishop and similar to that on the land of the King.⁶⁶ This section will first appraise the landholdings of Drogo de la Beuvrière as recorded by Domesday Book. It will then consider the churches on those landholdings as identified by this study. Finally, it will explore some alternative methods of identifying pre-conquest churches.

5.3.1 Landholdings of Drogo de la Beuvrière

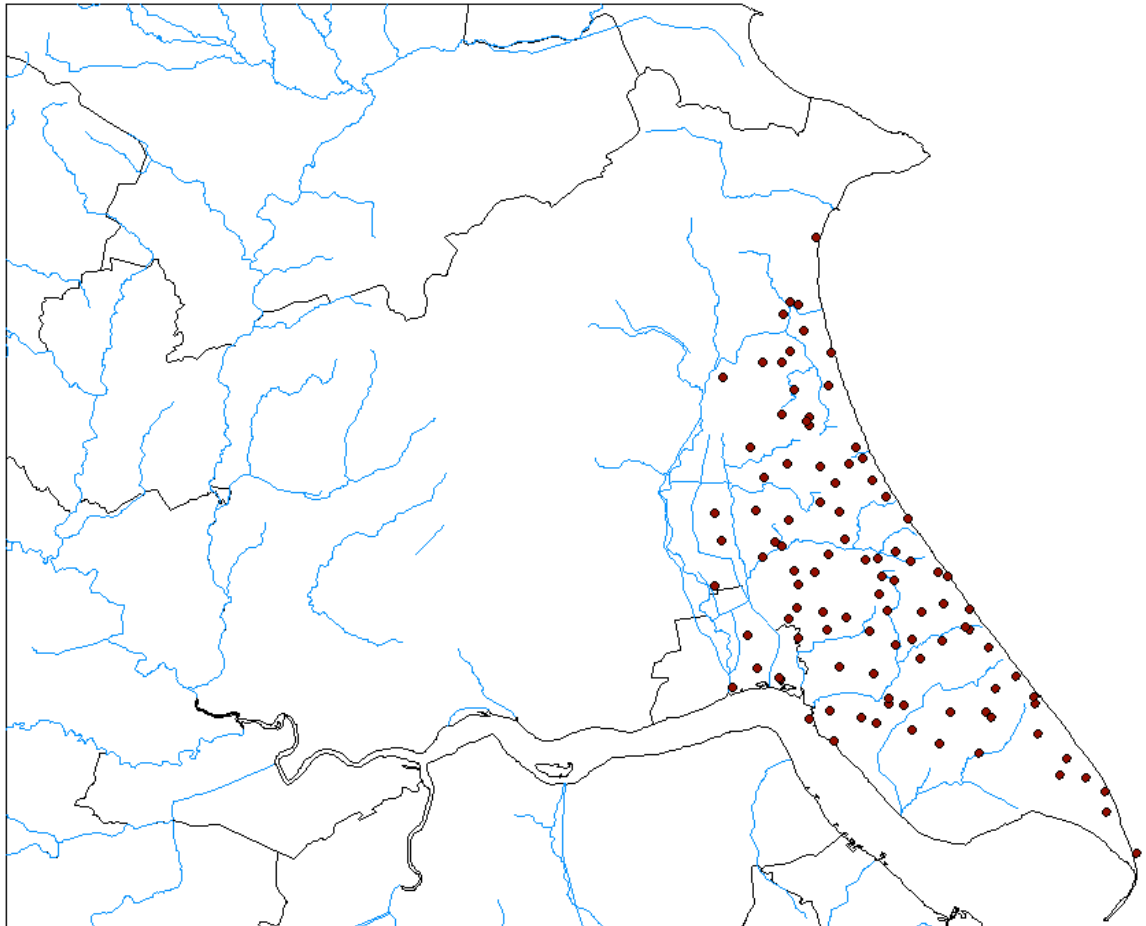


Fig. 18. Land of Drogo de la Beuvrière from Domesday Book

⁶⁴ Above, pp. 3-4 and fig. 1 for a more detailed description of the topography of Holderness.

⁶⁵ R. Fleming, *Kings and Lords in Conquest England* (Cambridge, 1991), pp. 150-151.

⁶⁶ Above, pp. 73 and 82.

The 120 individual places in which Drogo de la Beuvrière held land in Yorkshire in 1086 were contained entirely within the three hundreds of Holderness. Mapping the land of Drogo de la Beuvrière (see above fig. 18) highlights the regional concentration of his landholdings within the comparatively densely settled area of Holderness. Henry Darby and Ian Maxwell estimated that for the majority of the Holderness region population density was at the highest level for the East Riding, at 3.6 people per square mile.⁶⁷ Although Domesday Book summarises the structure of landholdings at the very end of the period considered here, it is worth analysing these holdings to investigate why the churches were situated where they were within their estates. Robin Fleming has examined the tenurial revolution recorded by Domesday Book and concluded that the changeover from Anglo-Saxon to Norman ownership had been accompanied by greater consolidation of demesne holding, greater distribution of baronial resources, and a restructured and more productive *terra regis*.⁶⁸ Peter Sawyer has argued for a less revolutionary restructuring with a degree of continuity, with some landholdings retaining their pre-conquest structure and some estates transferred wholesale from Anglo-Saxon antecessors to Norman lords.⁶⁹ This issue is relevant to the land of Drogo because it impacts upon whether the estate structure that can be observed reflects an earlier one, or whether it is an entirely restructured landholding. Fleming has analysed the antecessors of Drogo, across England, in constructing her argument. She has established that the primary antecessor of Drogo, across England, was Ulf son of Tope, but that Drogo had also received the land of at least 43 other pre-conquest lords.⁷⁰ This comprehensive acquisition of land across an entire region enabled the combination of divided villis into single holdings; this occurred in twenty of the 52 villis in which Drogo acquired land in Holderness. For our purposes, Domesday Book may not provide as complete a record of the pre-conquest structure of landholdings as for 1086, but it does give some insight into it by recording the pre-conquest situation. Furthermore, it seems reasonable to presume, and there is occasionally evidence, that not all of the churches recorded had been constructed in the twenty years between 1066 and 1086.

Of these aforementioned 120 places, only 39 did not have some part of them attached to a multiple estate of some kind; therefore, the majority of Drogo de la Beuvrière's land was contained within places in some way linked to an estate centre. In most cases these estates were multiple estates before the conquest as well. Drogo acquired land from many different landholders but by and large the estates he acquired seem to have remained intact and reflected pre-Conquest landholdings. Moving from north to south, Holderness had nine multiple estates centred on Beeford, Cleeton, Hornsea, Mappleton, Aldbrough, Burstwick, Withernsea, Easington and Kilnsea. They ranged in size from Beeford with three sokelands and about 26 carucates in total, to Mappleton with eleven sokelands and about 54 carucates in total, and Aldbrough with three berewicks and fourteen sokelands and also about 54 carucates in total. The percentage of villis

⁶⁷ Above, p. 4-5 for a consideration of settlement density and H. C. Darby and I. S. Maxwell, *The Domesday Geography of Northern England* (Cambridge, 1962), p 196 fig. 49 for population density.

⁶⁸ Fleming, *Kings and Lords in Conquest England*, pp. 228-231.

⁶⁹ P.H. Sawyer, '1066-1086: A Tenurial Revolution?', in P.H. Sawyer (ed.), *Domesday Book: A Reassessment* (London, 1985), pp. 71-85.

⁷⁰ Fleming, *Kings and Lords in Conquest England*, pp. 149-150.

containing land attached to multiple estates and the structure of these estates is not significantly different from that of episcopal land or royal land. When these estate centres are mapped (see below fig. 19) they reveal an interesting pattern. Seven of them are situated very close to the coast and are relatively evenly spaced along the coastline. Dawn Hadley has previously observed this phenomenon of important East Riding soke centres being located along the coast.⁷¹ She also identified Bridlington as an important soke centre which highlights that this is a characteristic of coastal estates, rather than something particular to the land of Drogo de la Beuvrière. However within Drogo's land in the East Riding, which is all in this coastal plain, there is evidence of a deliberate organising of these multiple estates with their centres close to the sea. It is possible that these estate centres' coastal positions were to allow for ease of travel between estate centres and their regional distribution was to facilitate the control of Drogo's Holderness land from these estate centres.

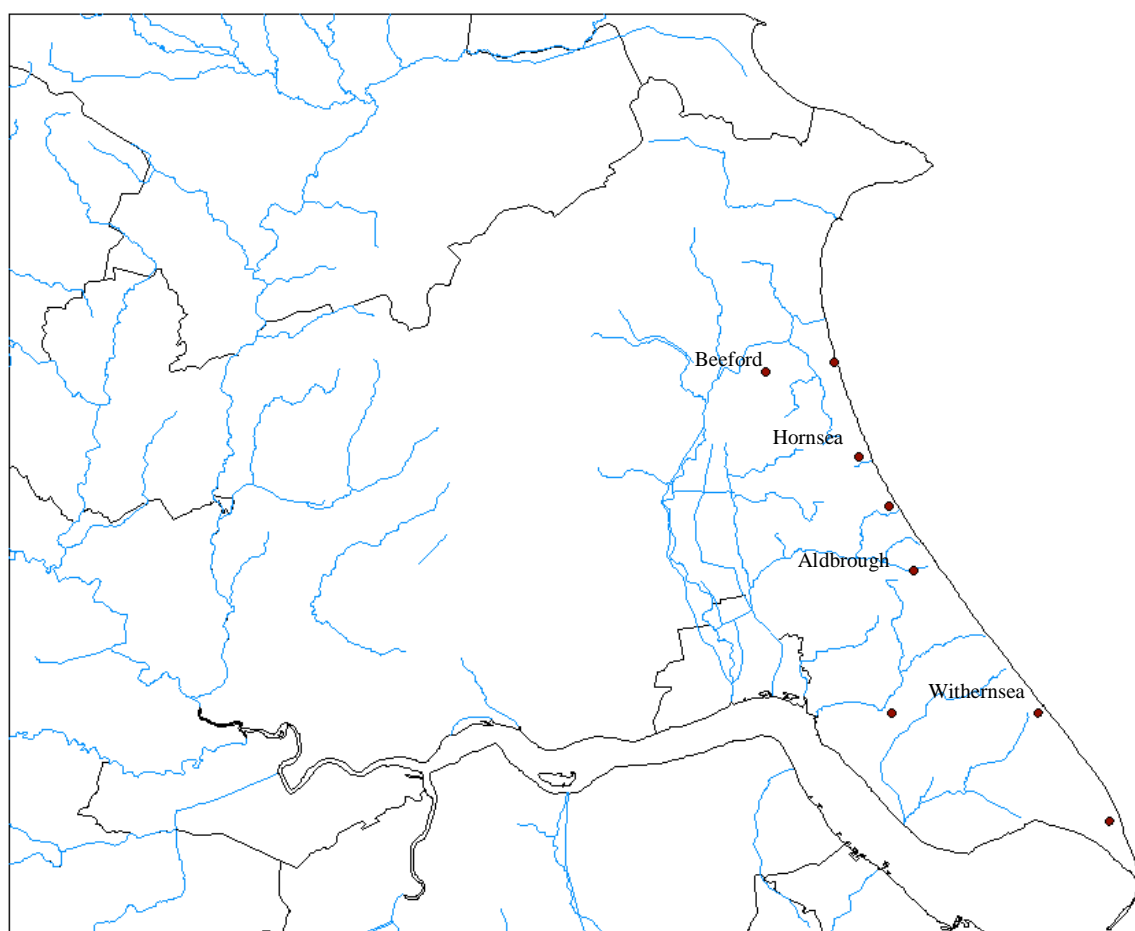


Fig. 19. Estate centres of Drogo de la Beuvrière with estate centres with churches marked.

The two sites that did not meet this criterion were Beeford and Burstwick. Beeford could reasonably be excluded as it is the smallest of these multiple estates with only three sokelands; however, it is worth noting that Domesday Book recorded a church and a priest. Burstwick could

⁷¹ D. M. Hadley, *The Northern Danelaw: its social structure, c.800-1100* (London, 2000), pp. 124-125.

have been linked to one of its berewicks at Paull, situated on the mouth of the Humber, by the watercourses that are now named Hedon Haven and Burstwick drain. This could have given Burstwick the same sort of topographical advantages as the other estate centres. However, it is not clear whether these waterways would have been navigable in the period considered so it cannot be more than a tentative suggestion. It is also worth considering whether ‘topographically striking’ locations for estate centres in the rest of the East Riding, which Hadley observed as a characteristic of estate centres across the northern Danelaw, may be harder to identify where the coastal positioning does not create such a clear pattern.⁷² When the patterns of territorial organisation revealed by these Domesday Book estates were created is an important question. Hadley, who has examined territorial organisation within the northern Danelaw extensively, argued that ‘...we cannot safely use the spatial distribution of sokes to reconstruct earlier pattern’.⁷³ However, she does go on to say that ‘It may, broadly speaking, be true that the manorial structure of the northern Danelaw in the eleventh century had more in common with much earlier patterns of territorial organization and socio-economic exploitation than is the case in other parts of the country...’. It is a far from perfect way to try and reconstruct what was happening before 1086, but for large parts of the East Riding it is all that we have and it is worth trying to glean as much as possible from it. It cannot be known when these multiple estate recorded in Domesday Book came into being, but some could reflect aspects of earlier patterns. Why churches were situated where they were within the multiple estates is the key question in the context of this study and this will be considered further below.

5.3.2 Churches of Drogo de la Beuvrière

Thirteen potential church sites have been identified on this land (see fig. 20 below). Moving from north to south these were at Barmston, Beeford, North Frodingham, Hornsea and Catwick, in the North Hundred of Holderness; Aldbrough, Garton, Fostun (a lost vill in the Humbleton township) and Preston in the Middle Hundred of Holderness, and Roos, Withernsea, Keyingham and Ottringham in the South Hundred of Holderness. Barmston and Aldbrough were identified by sculpture, North Frodingham by sculpture and Domesday Book, and the remainder by Domesday Book alone.

There were a total of 50 different multiple or single estates within the land of Drogo de la Beuvrière as recorded by Domesday Book for 1086. The thirteen churches meant that there was a church on 26% of estates, more than on the lands of the King (at 22%) and the Archbishop (at 21%).⁷⁴ Interestingly, if the numbers of churches are compared to the total number of individual vills rather than the number of estates then it returns different results. The Archbishop would then have thirteen churches within 94 settlements, or a church in 14% of settlements. The King would have eleven churches within 114 settlements, or a church in 10% of settlements. Finally, the figures for Drogo would be thirteen churches on 120 individual settlements, or a church in 11% of

⁷² Hadley, *The Northern Danelaw: its social structure, c.800-1100*, p. 124.

⁷³ Hadley, *The Northern Danelaw: its social structure, c.800-1100*, p. 164.

⁷⁴ Above, p. 73 and 80.

settlements. This probably illustrates that differences in these figures are more to do with the nature of the estates of the three landholders than the quantity of churches that they possessed. It is possible that the transference of land to Drogo throughout all of Holderness had enabled the creation of more multiple estates in this area and this is what these figures reveal, rather than a proportionately larger quantity of churches.

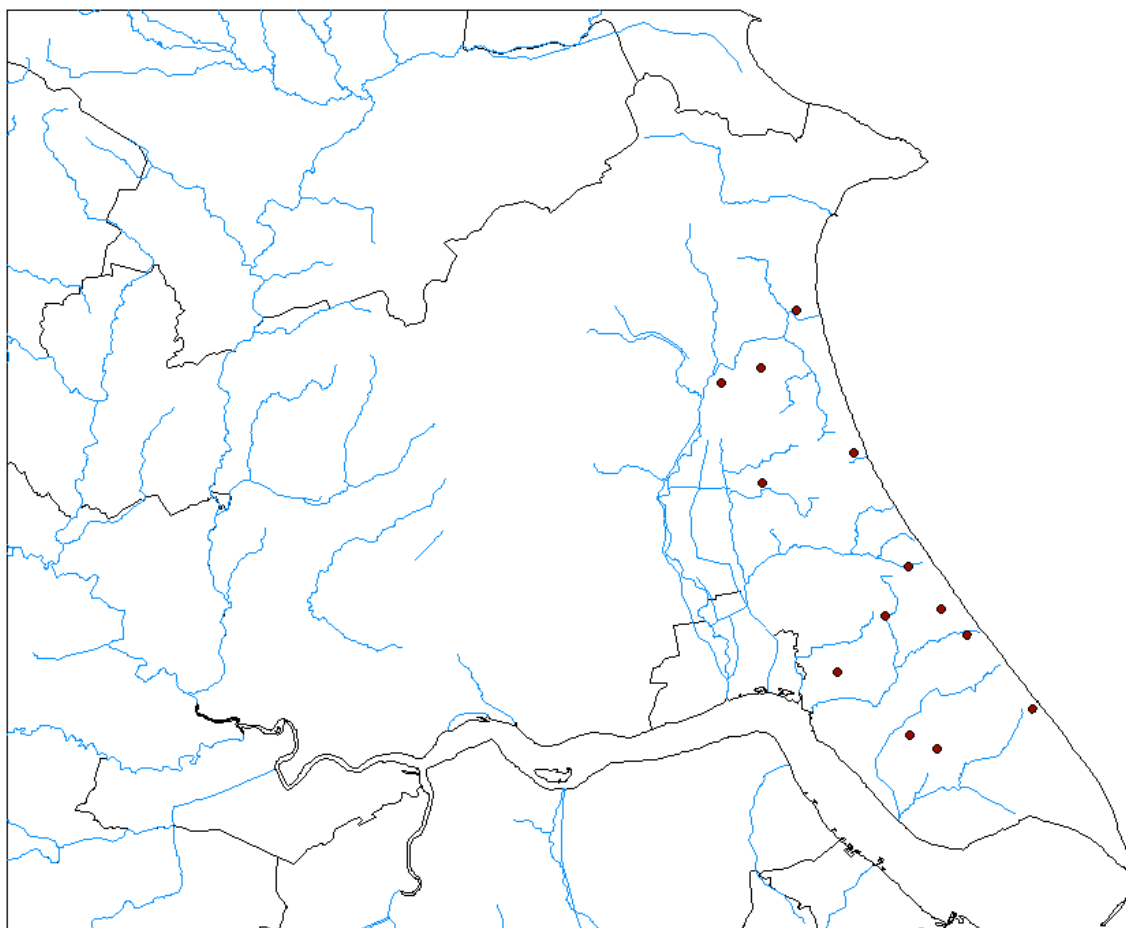


Fig. 20. Land of Drogo de la Beuvrière with Pre-Conquest Churches.

Six of the nine multiple estates had evidence of a church within them. None of them had evidence of more than one. The fact that the available evidence shows that the majority of these estates had only one church could indicate that churches situated within multiple estates were serving all of the linked communities, not just the individual vill they were situated in. However, this impression may be created by the fragmentary nature of the evidence. If the evidence provided a more complete record of pre-1100 churches then it could disprove this impression by revealing more churches within these multiple estates. It is also noteworthy that for three of the four estates where the church is located on the central vill (the fourth one being away from the coast at Beeford), other evidence of the importance of those settlements is available. The geographical location of these three estate centres, Hornsea, Aldbrough and Withernsea, at key strategic coastal positions within each of the three hundreds of Holderness raises intriguing possibilities about the

role a pre-conquest church could have played within the control a central estate exercised over its linked estates, and the wider role these multiple estates may have played within the hundred.

John Blair has written extensively about minsters as central places.⁷⁵ His central contention is that minsters were ideally positioned to become central places within their regions and to organize their estates effectively. Consequently, to paraphrase Blair, the combination of authority provided by their physical expression of the sacred ideal and their economic centrality enabled them to frequently become locally important market towns.⁷⁶ There is insufficient evidence to argue that these sites within Holderness were minsters. There is however, sufficient evidence to argue they may have been churches serving more than the vill in which they were situated. It may be worth placing them in a continuum between minster and local church, where they could have embodied the minster characteristics that Blair describes of sacred importance and economic centrality, on a smaller scale than a minster without a community of priests.⁷⁷ In this context any clues as to when and why these churches were built become increasingly significant. These three churches at estate centres will be considered in greater detail to see whether any more light can be cast onto these areas.

Moving from north to south the first site is **Hornsea**. It is situated in a central position on the coast of the North Hundred of Holderness. It had a port before coastal erosion destroyed this in the sixteenth century and could have possessed one before the conquest.⁷⁸ It is difficult to discern much before Domesday Book when its central manor of 27 carucates was the second highest rated for taxation within Drogo's land.⁷⁹ It also had five sokelands. That a church was built on the central manor of a multiple estate by 1086 is all that can be stated with any certainty. However, the church was situated within one kilometre of an Anglo-Saxon inhumation cemetery predominately of the mid to late sixth century, but possibly continuing in use into the late seventh century, which also had evidence of Roman and Iron Age burials.⁸⁰ This at least provides an indication of the sort of activity occurring in this area before the period considered here and the church may have been situated to exploit or redirect the ritual significance of an ancient burial place. A more detailed analysis of the evidence available for Hornsea is provided in the gazetteer below.⁸¹

The second of these central estates is **Aldbrough**, which had three berewicks and fourteen sokelands in 1086. It was situated at a central point of the Middle Hundred of Holderness on the coast. Domesday Book does not record a church or a priest, but a sundial discovered within the fabric of the church makes it likely that the church did exist before Domesday.⁸² The inscription on

⁷⁵ See J. Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society* (Oxford, 2005), pp. 246-290 for a detailed summary of his position.

⁷⁶ Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society*, p. 262.

⁷⁷ Above, pp. 75-77 for a consideration of a similar church type on episcopal land.

⁷⁸ N. Pevsner and D. Neave, *Yorkshire: York and the East Riding*, *The Buildings of England* (London, 1995), p. 477.

⁷⁹ Behind only Cleeton rated at 28 carucates and 1½ bovates.

⁸⁰ R. Head, 'An Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Hornsea, East Riding of Yorkshire', *East Riding Archaeologist* 9 (1997), 10-65.

⁸¹ Gazetteer, pp. 193-196.

⁸² J. T. Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, III: York and Eastern Yorkshire* (Oxford, 1991), pp. 123-124, Ill. 418.

the sundial provides an insight into when and why the church was built. A translation reads ‘Ulf ordered the church to be built for himself and for Gunwaru’s soul.’ Higgitt interpreted this as eleventh-century work on the premise that Ulf could be the Ulf listed as landowner in the time of King Edward in Domesday Book. He argued that Gunwaru was probably his wife. He also suggested that the language and letter forms would support the eleventh-century dating. Therefore, this provides a date range for the construction of a church in the lifetime of Ulf in the years before 1066. However, there is a potential difficulty with this. Fleming has argued that Drogo’s principle antecessor was Ulf, son of Tope who would therefore be the Ulf listed as owner in the time of King Edward in these Holderness estates. His wife was Eadgifu not Gunwaru.⁸³ This could mean it was an earlier Ulf, a predecessor of Ulf, son of Tope who ordered the church to be built. Unfortunately, none of this can be decisive, it could be a different Ulf altogether who owned this particular estate; or Ulf, son of Tope could have remarried. Arguably more important is the fact that the sundial provides a reason for building, the salvation of Ulf’s and his presumed wife Gunwaru’s souls. This is significant, as a clear statement of why a church was built is so rare. However, it does not preclude other unstated motivations. It is important to remain conscious of what is not known. The sundial is clearly not in its original position, being preserved in an interior wall of the church. Therefore, it is unclear where it originally came from; although not unreasonable to presume it came from a church close by. While there was probably a church built in the years before 1066, we do not know that it was the first church built on the site. The sundial would merit further consideration in its own right. John Wall has considered nine sundials from the Ryedale district of the fourteen Yorkshire Anglo-Saxon sundials that have been found.⁸⁴ Indeed there are two others within the East Riding, at Weaverthorpe and Wharram le Street. It is possible that the oval churchyard suggests an ancient church, as has been argued elsewhere.⁸⁵ There are alternative explanations for the curvilinear churchyard, such as the way the village has developed around the church. The final evidence that supports the contention that Aldbrough was an important settlement is the burh place-name which is Anglian in origin and means ‘old stronghold’.⁸⁶ The range of evidence from this site is considered further in the gazetteer below.⁸⁷

Withernsea is the third site, situated in a central position in the South Hundred of Holderness on the coast. Withernsea is the only one of these sites where the church was situated right on the sea front, causing it to be destroyed by the sea in the fifteenth century. Domesday Book records a large multiple estate with eleven sokelands. Blair’s identification of Withernsea as a potential minster, because of the two priests recorded in Domesday Book, has been referred to above.⁸⁸ Tom Pickles explored this further, suggesting that because these groups of two or more

⁸³ Fleming, *Kings and Lords in Conquest England*, fig 4.7, pp. 139-141 for a family tree and consideration of Ulf’s kinsmen.

⁸⁴ J. Wall, ‘Anglo-Saxon sundials in Ryedale’, *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* 69 (1997), 93-117.

⁸⁵ J. Blair, ‘Anglo-Saxon minsters: a topographical review’, in J. Blair and R. Sharpe (ed.), *Pastoral Care before the Parish* (Leicester, 1992), pp. 226-266, pp. 231-235 and R. K. Morris, *Churches in the landscape* (London, 1989), p. 455.

⁸⁶ VCH East Riding VII p5.

⁸⁷ Gazetteer, pp. 170-173.

⁸⁸ Above, pp. 34-35

clergy were found on groups of individual manors or manorial centres then it is unclear whether they were attached to a single church or served in separate churches.⁸⁹ While this casts doubt over whether it is a useful indicator of minster or superior status in this context, it does not preclude considering them as a distinct category of church. Later charter evidence of c. 1100 recorded two churches at Withernsea, although it is possible that the second one could have been at one of the sokelands of Owthorne or Hollym.⁹⁰

Considering the position of possible churches within the multiple estates has allowed the formation of two hypotheses. The first is that churches were being built to serve wider communities than the individual vills they were built in. This is supported by the fact that none of the nine multiple estates had evidence of more than one church, and by the presence of churches on smaller settlements within multiple estates such as Fostun and Garton.⁹¹ Unfortunately, none of these lesser sites allow us any insight into when these churches were being built or when the multiple estates were being created before the information contained in Domesday Book. The second hypothesis is that where churches were situated at estate centres they were more important churches than the others and would have served a role in increasing the prestige of these key settlements. This hypothesis does highlight three churches in central positions within each of the three hundreds of Holderness. Other evidence at these sites does allow us to go earlier than Domesday Book, but only the Aldbrough sundial allows any degree of certainty. It remains to be seen whether examining the church sites that are not part of multiple estates can cast any more light.

Moving from north to south the church sites not part of multiple estates were Barmston, North Frodingham, Catwick, Preston, Roos, and Keyingham. Ottringham has been excluded for two reasons. Firstly, it could be considered as a multiple estate as it had a berewick at Halsham. Secondly, it is a unique vill within the East Riding, as Domesday Book records it as having two separate churches with priests within a fairly minor settlement.⁹² It is not possible to know much more about three of the sites, Catwick, Roos and Keyingham, as the only evidence for the churches is from Domesday Book. Preston offers the most enigmatic evidence of a church before 1086 in the form of its place-name, which derives from the Old English words *preost* and *tun* and means 'priest's farm'.⁹³ If it was a priest's farm when it was named then it is not unreasonable to assume there may have been a church. For Barmston there is sculpture; part of a tenth century hogback. However, it is not incorporated into the fabric of the church and may have been brought here from another church on the Holderness coast, possibly one lost to the sea.⁹⁴ For North Frodingham there is also sculpture in the form of a post c. 920 tenth-century Anglo-Scandinavian crosshead.⁹⁵ James Lang has described it as 'the most decorative and stylish crosshead in the East Riding' and suggested it was made in a York workshop on account of the decoration, the millstone grit it was

⁸⁹ Pickles, 'The Church in Anglo-Saxon Yorkshire: "Minsters" and the Danelaw, c.600-1200', pp. 50-51.

⁹⁰ *VCH East Riding V* p45 and *Gazetteer* pp. 257-249 for further consideration of Withernsea.

⁹¹ See *Gazetteer*, p. 174 and pp. 174-176 respectively for further information on these sites.

⁹² This is explored further above as the other manor was on a berewick of the community of St. John, see above p. 77.

⁹³ *Gazetteer*, pp. 177-179.

⁹⁴ *Gazetteer*, pp. 183-186.

⁹⁵ For further details and references see *Gazetteer*, pp. 200-203.

carved from and affinities with a cross-head from St Mary Bishophill Junior in York. If this was the original location for the crosshead, and there is no reason not to believe this, as it was found in the churchyard, then this certainly has the potential to take the foundation of the church back into the tenth century. It is a fairly high status piece of sculpture. It is worth remarking that it was taxed at twelve carucates, which is at the upper end of Holderness assessments, and its pre-conquest owner was Ulf, presumably the son of Tope discussed above, who was Drogo's primary antecessor and as such an important lord.⁹⁶ This may provide a context where one of Ulf's predecessors could have built a local church with an associated Anglo-Scandinavian cross-head of above ordinary quality. The existence of a tenth century church is not proven by the presence of tenth century sculpture, but there was a church and a priest recorded in 1086, so it is not an unreasonable assumption.

This chapter has considered the church sites of the three principle landholders in 1086. The most significant hypothesis proposed has been that relating churches to the Domesday Book estates in which they were situated may allow the identification of church sites of different levels of significance. Beverley stands out as an important episcopal community that can be evidenced separately. Howden may be approaching this level of regional importance. Below that a series of churches situated at estate centres in 1086, but where the multiple estate usually preserves a pre-Conquest structure, and where there is occasionally earlier evidence, either from archiepiscopal documentation or theories about royal heartlands, have been identified. Here, a role above the pastoral care of the individual village, but below the regional role of communities such as Beverley is proposed. Finally, for the humbler churches the milieu is thought to be the local manor, occasional links can be made through ownership, topographical relationships or sculpture but more proposals for future research directions will be made in the conclusion that follows.

⁹⁶ Above, p. 86.

Chapter Six

Conclusions

This thesis has begun with the premise that in order to understand the organisation of the early church between c. 700 and c. 1100 it is essential to utilise all of the evidence possible. For this reason it has proceeded by identifying as many potential church sites for the East Riding for this period as the evidence allows and then assembled as broad and interdisciplinary a range of source material about these church sites as is feasible. This substantial gazetteer is one of the key strengths of this study. It has enabled the consideration of all of the potential church sites of the East Riding, and therefore makes this work different from the majority of local case studies that have concentrated on minster or mother churches. It is acknowledged that Domesday Book is the pre-eminent source and for this reason 1086 has been taken as the primary focus with attempts made to illuminate what occurred before this when possible. The answering of the fundamental questions of where, when and why churches were being founded is assisted by four subsidiary questions.

1. Is it possible to identify a range of religious institutions from the available evidence?
2. Can the origins of some of the churches of 1086 be identified?
3. Is the Archbishop of York using his land and his churches to organise pastoral care?
4. What role were churches playing within the estate structure recorded by Domesday Book?

The first objective of identifying a range of religious institutions is addressed in chapter three, where the impact that the evidence available has on what can be known has been analysed, and ways that the available evidence can be used to try and discern the types of religious institutions at particular sites has been explored. Chapter four has gone further and because the evidence does not easily identify different religious institutions, some hypothetical models of what it might reveal at individual sites within the East Riding have been proposed. These have been presented in three categories, conversion period churches, communities, and churches without communities. In most cases the evidence does not allow concrete assertions to be made, but tentative hypotheses are proposed. Finally, some putative trajectories of development are considered to help establish what can be known of the origins of these churches. This is the most difficult question to answer. The evidence is massively biased to 1086 and therefore identifying the origins of churches is not always possible. Occasional snapshots of evidence, separated by centuries, have to be linked together. This is what the trajectories of development do and it is unnecessary to repeat them here.

The combination of evidence of churches and estate structure, as recorded in Domesday Book, has enabled a hint of a continuum of church roles to emerge. It may be possible to combine the limited evidence, with regard to the nature of individual churches, with the evidence of the nature of individual settlements and linked estates, and thereby discern a range of churches. Beverley was undoubtedly the community with the widest role within the East Riding, as is

evidenced by the documentary record and the extent of its estates recorded in Domesday Book. Below that, Howden may have fulfilled a similar function, although on a smaller scale. Below that a series of churches on estate centres, or at topographically favourable locations within multiple estates, have been proposed. It is thought they may have played a role beyond the settlements in which they were situated; probably across the multiple estate in which they were in, and possibly wider, enhancing the authority of their overlords across their localities. Finally, for the rest of the churches of the East Riding a more local function is postulated. It is occasionally possible to suggest that churches may have been from the conversion period, or may have been manorial churches, private chapels, or daughter churches of communities. It is acknowledged that this can be speculative and hypotheses are proposed rather than proven.

When the church sites identified were mapped, in chapter four, it was tentatively proposed that they may be organised in some regional way. The geographical spread of churches may not be entirely synonymous with churches being randomly built at the behest of individual local lords. They are distributed relatively evenly across the region and organised along communication routes. While this should not be overstated, as settlements in general follow this broad pattern too, there is a more uniform appearance to the spread of church sites than the spread of settlements. This could suggest that churches, or at least churches revealed by our chief sources, Domesday Book and Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, were being located at topographically prominent positions, usually easily accessible within the communication network. The question of whether this is indicative of deliberate planning of the positioning of churches across the region was then tested further by individual case studies of the churches on each of the three main landholders of the region. As one of these landholders was the Archbishop of York this also facilitated the investigation of whether there was anything distinctive about the episcopacy's use of its landholding and churches.

There is documentary evidence of the Archbishops of York attempting to consolidate the estates they held through the tenth and eleventh centuries.¹ When this is combined with their known interest in canonical reform evidenced by Wulfstan's translation of the canonical rule of Amalarius of Metz and Ealdred's patronage of the community of Beverley it is suggestive of an archiepiscopal interest in strengthening episcopal power and improving community provision, and possibly pastoral care.² The positioning of episcopal churches is also indicative of an attempt to provide coverage across the region and to ensure the churches were linked by communication routes. This idea is supported by the fact that in two multiple estates the church is thought not to have been situated at the estate centre but rather at the vill closest to a Roman road, these are at Cowlam and Londesborough. This could indicate that archbishops were organising their churches to facilitate perambulation around the region to exercise control of their archdiocese.

An area of clear distinction between churches on the estates of different landholders is that only two archiepiscopal and episcopal communities or churches have evidence of early foundation combined with multiple estates of a different scale to the rest of the East Riding. These are at Beverley and to a lesser extent Howden. This could be significant. It could indicate that the

¹ Above, pp. 65-68.

² Above, p. 72.

episcopacy was retaining or taking control over the most major communities or churches. When taken together these observations could support some of the ideas presented by Cubitt about the nature of pastoral care in this period. Cubitt argued that the episcopal canons emphasized the centrality of the bishop's role and that the priests under their control had primary responsibility for pastoral care.³ Episcopal ownership of the two main churches and the possible organisation of churches across the Riding could support this, particularly when coupled with the evidence of consolidating estates and canonical reform already discussed. However, it would need a wider study to confirm this was not more than coincidental to the East Riding.

This work has not identified any other significant contrasts in the nature of churches on royal or other land to those on archiepiscopal or episcopal land. The examination of churches on royal land found a similar phenomena to archiepiscopal land with a band of churches at the centre of royal multiple estates across the centre of the East Riding, in an area which may have been an ancient royal heartland. This could support one aspect of the argument presented by Cambridge and Rollason.⁴ They argued that the tenth century, in particular, saw a restructuring of church organisation by late Saxon kings. It is possible that that this band of churches at estate centres may have been one facet of this, from either the mid-tenth century onwards under southern kingship or earlier under Northumbrian, Viking or archiepiscopal influence. Archiepiscopal consolidation of estates and patronage of communities could be another facet. A similar phenomenon is observable on the land of Drogo de la Beuvrière where there were three key estate centres identified that were all on the coast, all at the centre of their respective North, Middle and South Hundreds of Holderness, and all with pre-1100 churches.

Where these churches at estate centres may fit within the broader theories of ecclesiastical organisation is uncertain. However, all of these multiple estate churches may have had the potential to fulfil a role broadly similar to Blair's description of a minster's role considered above; a combination of the physical expression of the sacred ideal and an economic centrality that frequently enabled them to become locally important market towns.⁵ This is not to suggest that these churches were minsters. It is possible that they were but there is no real evidence to support that assertion. Frequently, they are first described by Domesday Book as churches with priests. They may always have been churches with priest that served a community beyond that of their own settlement or they may have evolved into that from earlier minster communities. The evidence simply does not allow us to know when or whether they were minsters.

This thesis has explored ways that previous work on ecclesiastical organisation and settlement structure can be linked together at the level of the individual settlement. The interrelatedness of the building of manorial churches and changes in estate organisation and settlement structure is an area that holds real potential for better understanding of the role of a local

³ C. R. E. Cubitt, 'Pastoral care and conciliar canons: the provisions of the 747 council of Clofesho', in J. Blair and R. Sharpe (eds.), *Pastoral care before the parish* (Leicester, 1992), pp. 193-211 and C. R. E. Cubitt, *Anglo-Saxon church councils c. 650-c. 850* (London, 1995). Above, pp. 18-19.

⁴ E. Cambridge and D. W. Rollason, 'Debate: The pastoral organization of the Anglo-Saxon Church: a review of the 'Minster Hypothesis'', *Early Medieval Europe* 4 (1) (1995), 87-104. Above, pp. 14.

⁵ Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society*, p. 262 and above, p. 90.

church within its local community. The potential of topographical analysis as a method of investigating some aspects of a village's relationship with its church has been tested within the case study of archiepiscopal churches. The substantial database in the form of the gazetteer offers the potential for this sort of analysis over the region considered here. The inclusion of late-nineteenth century maps, and the visiting and consideration of local topography for each church site could facilitate this sort of analysis. The probability of churchyards having moved is small, examples of this are rare, so this form of analysis could hold potential for a better understanding of the motivations of the founders of churches. Confidence in the longevity of other settlement features is less and should be borne in mind. Pivotal to this form of analysis would be undertaking it over a wide area and remaining open to alternative explanations. Brief consideration of churches topographical relationships with regular villages and manorial plots, and with water supplies has been made. Other areas that could be explored are topographical relationships with village greens or occasionally the possible pagan antecedents of Christian churches such as sanctuaries, enclosures or temples, as may be suggested for Kirby Underdale or stones as could be proposed for Rudston.⁶

The substantial gazetteer that follows and the tables of Domesday Book ownership and sculptural links above offer further potential for future research on these pre-1100 church sites. It should be possible to consider links between owner of churches and links between sculpture to ascertain more about the founders and owners of these churches. The database of evidence that has been assembled has been used to hypothesize about the origins and trajectories of development of these church sites. The key findings of this study have been that archiepiscopal reform in the tenth and eleventh century may be visible in the organisation of episcopal estates and churches and that churches appear to be being used at estate centres and topographically prominent positions to cater for the needs of multiple estates, and possibly the wider community.

⁶ Above, pp. 54-55.

Appendix: Gazetteer

Acklam Hundred

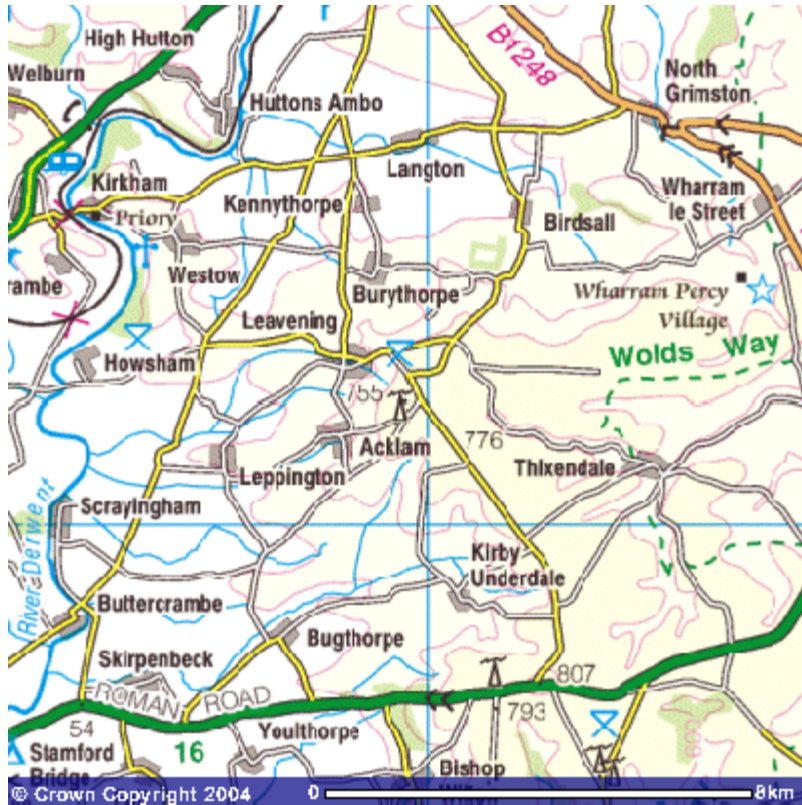


Fig. 21. Modern Ordnance Survey map showing church sites of Acklam Hundred.

Acklam

Acklam is situated approximately thirteen miles north-east of York on the western escarpment near the top of the Wolds.

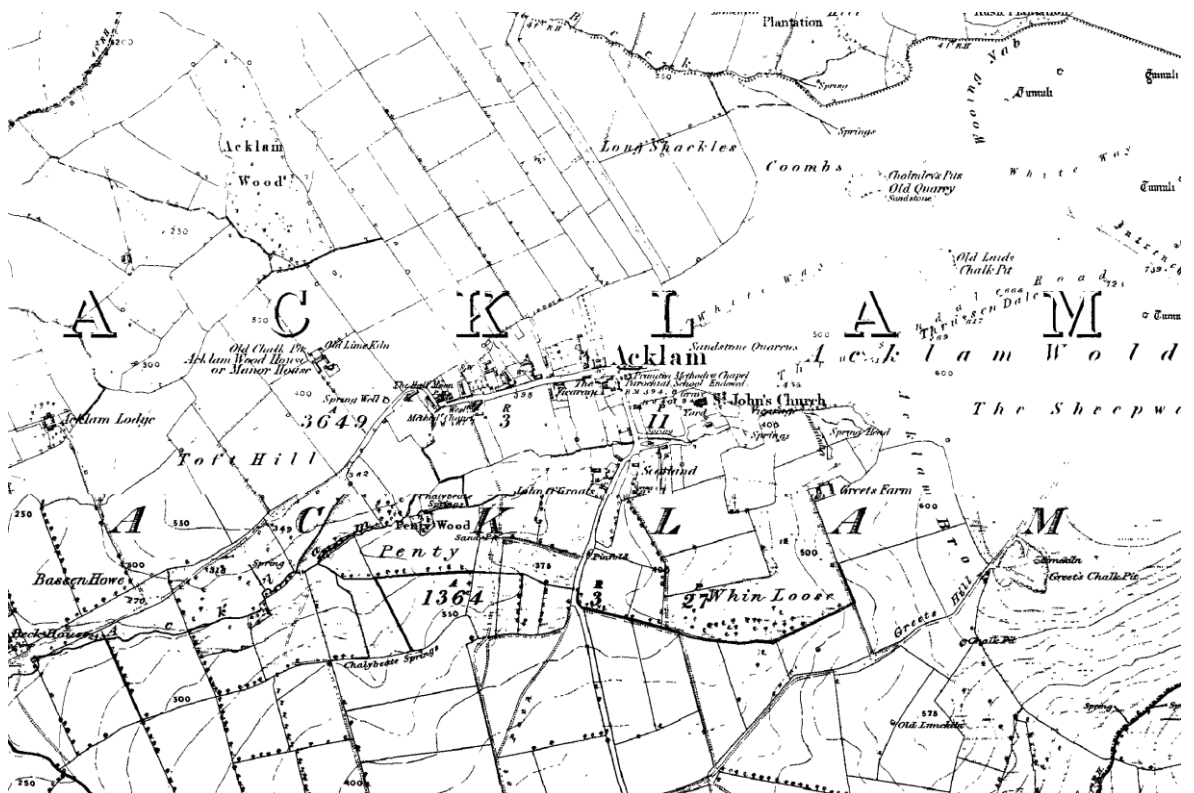


Fig. 22. Map of Acklam from the 1854 Ordnance Survey.



Fig. 23. Aerial view of Acklam.

The Church

The modern church of St John Baptist was built in 1794 as a Wesleyan Methodist Chapel. It superseded an Anglican church of 1868 demolished in 1972.¹ The churchyard is on a hillside to the east of the village.

Domesday Book

From the land of the Counting of Mortain

In ACKLAM [near Leavening], Orm had 2½ carucates to the geld. The soke belongs to Howsham. The count has it, and it is waste.²

From the land of the King's Thegns

In ACKLAM [near Leavening], Siward had 10½ carucates of land. [There is] land for 4 ploughs. Now 2 men have it of the king. They themselves [have] 2 ploughs there, and a church. It is worth 10s."³

From the summary

In Acklam [near Leavening], the king 6 ½ carucates. In the same place, the Count of Mortain 2½ carucates."⁴

Place-Name

Smith suggests the name derives from Old Scandinavian *oklum*, the dative plural of *okull*, meaning 'ankle' and used in Norwegian place-names to mean 'slope'.⁵

¹ N. Pevsner and D. Neave, *Yorkshire: York and the East Riding*, The Buildings of England (London, 1995), p. 263.

² DB 307.

³ DB 331V.

⁴ DB 382.

⁵ *PN ERY* pp.147-148.

Archaeology

To the east of the modern village of Acklam, Mortimer discovered and excavated a series of fourteen Bronze-Age barrows.⁶ Possibly of greater significance in this context was an Anglo-Saxon cemetery to the west of these and not far south-west of the original church of St John, at the site marked as a chalk pit, to the south of Greet's Hill road (see fig. 15 above).⁷ When Mortimer excavated here he found six skeletons in very shallow graves with heads to the north-west. He also discovered a variety of finds, including three iron knives, a large iron ladle, a buckle and several unidentified pieces of iron. Prior to his excavation at least two bodies had been found and previous finds included amber and glass beads, a gold bulla, a knife, a sword, an iron ferrule, part of a sharpening iron and a variety of other pieces of iron. 102 years after Mortimer's original excavation, in November 1980, workmen uncovered another shallow inhumation burial accompanied by a sword and a plain handmade pot.⁸ The sword has been considered by Ager and Gilmour, and they concluded that 'Comparative technical, typological and analytical evidence has shown that the date of manufacture of the Acklam sword lies within the late sixth or, more likely, the seventh century, while the style of inlay suggests that the pommel (if not therefore the whole sword) could have been made in England south of the Humber or else, if a local product, was made under the influence of a southern workshop.' The sword is considered to be of extremely high quality, both the fittings and the elaborately pattern-welded blade, and it is tentatively connected with the period of Northumbrian supremacy over kingdoms to the south of it.

Discussion

At Acklam there appear to have been two manors. Orm held 2½ carucates, with the soke in Howsham, which passed to the Count of Mortain and was waste in 1086. Siward held an amount of land which is variously translated as 10½ or 9½ carucates, but which was unclear in the original, so perhaps the 6½ carucates listed in the summary may be a more accurate figure. By 1086 it was owned by the king with two men holding it under him, and was worth 10s. It was this manor which contained the church.

The position of the church is mentioned by Bell when considering the church at Wharram Percy. He highlights that the churches of both Acklam and Kirby Underdale were in unusual positions, inconveniently built on steep valley sides, and suggests that all three churches may be located for their proximity to springs and running water.⁹ There are certainly several springs in the vicinity visible on the 1854 Ordnance Survey. The proximity to an Anglo-Saxon cemetery and to Bronze-Age barrows may also be of relevance in this context, if it is a church sited to divert previously pagan religious traditions. It is listed in Domesday Book as a church but no priest is

⁶ J. R. Mortimer, *Forty Years' Researches in British and Saxon Burial Mounds of East Yorkshire* (London, 1905), pp. 83-94.

⁷ Mortimer, *Forty Years' Researches in British and Saxon Burial Mounds of East Yorkshire*, pp. 94-95.

⁸ B. Ager and B. Gilmour, 'A Pattern-Welded Anglo-Saxon Sword from Acklam Wold, North Yorkshire', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* 60 (1988): pp. 13-23.

⁹ R. D. Bell and M. W. Beresford, *Wharram: A Study of Settlement on the Yorkshire Wolds, 3: Wharram Percy: The Church of St Martin* (London, 1987), p. 199.

recorded. Thus on this site there were Bronze-Age Barrows, early Anglo-Saxon Burials, and a church recorded by Domesday Book.

Kirby Underdale

Kirby Underdale is situated about 14½ miles east-north-east of York on top of the Wolds.

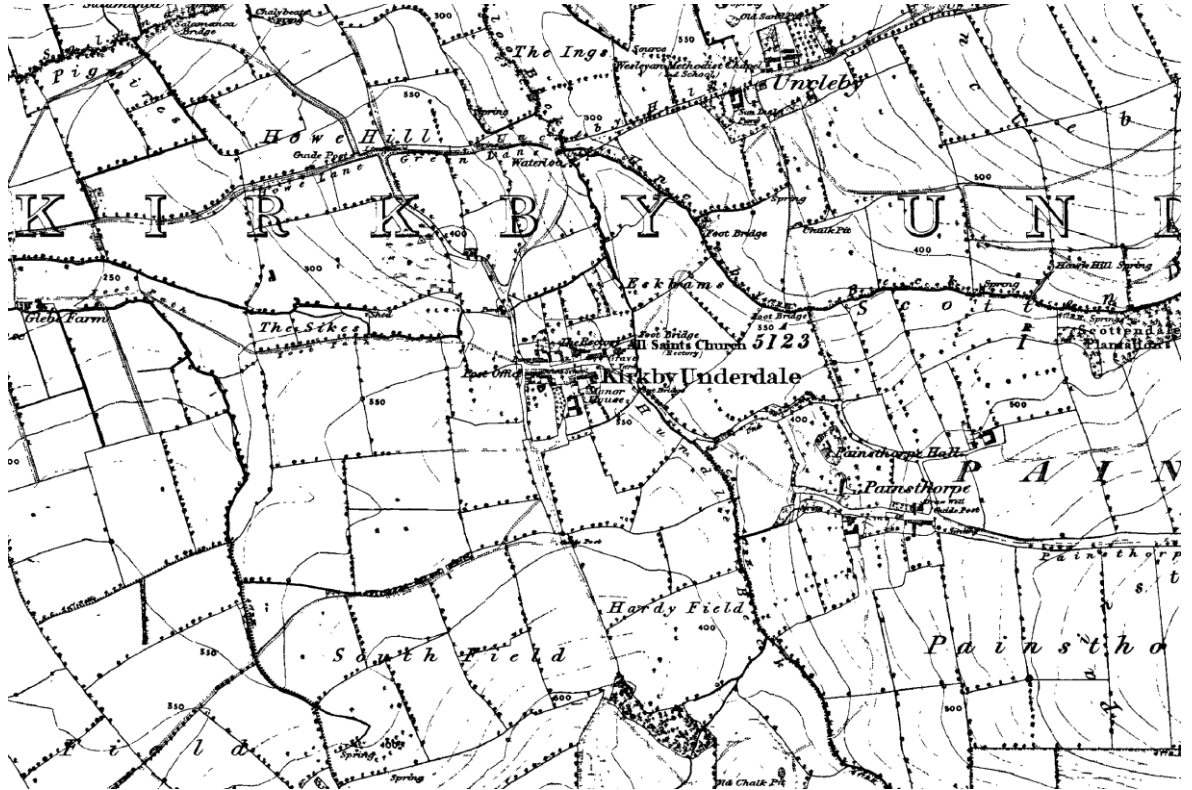


Fig. 24. Map of Kirby Underdale from the 1854 Ordnance Survey.



Fig. 25. Aerial view of Kirby Underdale.

The Church

Pevsner dates the church of All Saints to c. 1100 when it would have been an aisleless building with a west tower.¹⁰ Aisles were added in the mid twelfth century and the south doorway in the thirteenth. The vestry was built to the south of the tower in 1828. The whole church was restored in 1870-1 by G E Street; the chancel being rebuilt from its foundations. Taylor and Taylor classify the church as originating in the Saxo-Norman or early Norman period.¹¹ This dating is achieved because the Norman tower was added to a pre-existing nave. The nave contains four original windows of simple, round-headed type with single-splayed openings. These could be Norman or Anglo-Saxon but Taylor and Taylor cite the thinness of the walls as further support for a Saxo-Norman date.

Dimensions The nave is 27' by 18' 6'' internally with sidewalls of 2' 6'' and about 18' tall. The north aisle contains a piece of Roman sculpture, a figure in low relief said to be Mercury, dated to the second or third century.¹²



Fig. 26. All Saints, Kirby Underdale from the south showing position below village on edge of wold valley.

Domesday Book

From the land of the King

In Kirby Underdale, 3 thegns, 4 carucates and 2 bovates to the geld. Land for 2 ploughs. 30s.¹³

¹⁰ Pevsner and Neave, *Yorkshire: York and the East Riding*, pp. 581-582.

¹¹ H. M. Taylor and J. Taylor, *Anglo-Saxon architecture: Volume II* (Cambridge, 1980), pp. 356-357.

¹² Pevsner and Neave, *Yorkshire: York and the East Riding*, p. 582.

¹³ DB 301.

From the land of the King's Thegns

In KIRBY UNDERDALE, Arngrim [had] 6 bovates, and Siward 1 carucate, of land to the geld.[There is] land for 1 plough. The same men themselves still have it, and it is worth 2s.”¹⁴

From the summary

In Kirby Underdale, the king 6 carucates.¹⁵

Place-Name

The earliest forms are *Cherche* and *Chirchebi* in Domesday Book.¹⁶ It is translated as ‘village with a church’ from Old Norse *kirkja* and Old Norse or Old West Scandinavian *by*, *byr* or *bær*. It is significant as it may be the earliest evidence of a church here because Domesday Book does not refer to a church and the earliest fabric may date to around 1100. Smith does also suggest that this place-name could replace an earlier Old English *ciric-tun*.¹⁷

Archaeology

Mortimer has examined a series of 21 Bronze-Age barrows in the approximate vicinity of Kirby Underdale, predominantly to the east and above the village.¹⁸ He has named these the Painsthorpe Wold group. Of possible significance here are two of these barrows situated just less than a mile to the north-east of Kirby Underdale church. Mortimer describes them thus. ‘Two of the mounds were unusually rich in secondary (Anglo-Saxon) interments, having been utilised as cemeteries by a neighbouring settlement of Angles.’¹⁹ The position of this site in relation to Kirby Underdale church can be seen from fig. 27 below. The nearest barrow is marked on the map as a tumulus just above Pudsey's plantation to the north-east of the church. The other one is just to the north of it. While it is by no means adjacent, the proximity of an early church and an Anglo-Saxon cemetery is worth noting.

¹⁴ DB 331.

¹⁵ DB 382.

¹⁶ *PNERY* p. 129.

¹⁷ A. H. Smith, *English Place-Name Elements: Part II* (Cambridge, 1956), p. 4.

¹⁸ Mortimer, *Forty Years' Researches in British and Saxon Burial Mounds of East Yorkshire*, pp. 113-133.

¹⁹ Mortimer, *Forty Years' Researches in British and Saxon Burial Mounds of East Yorkshire*, pp. 113-118.

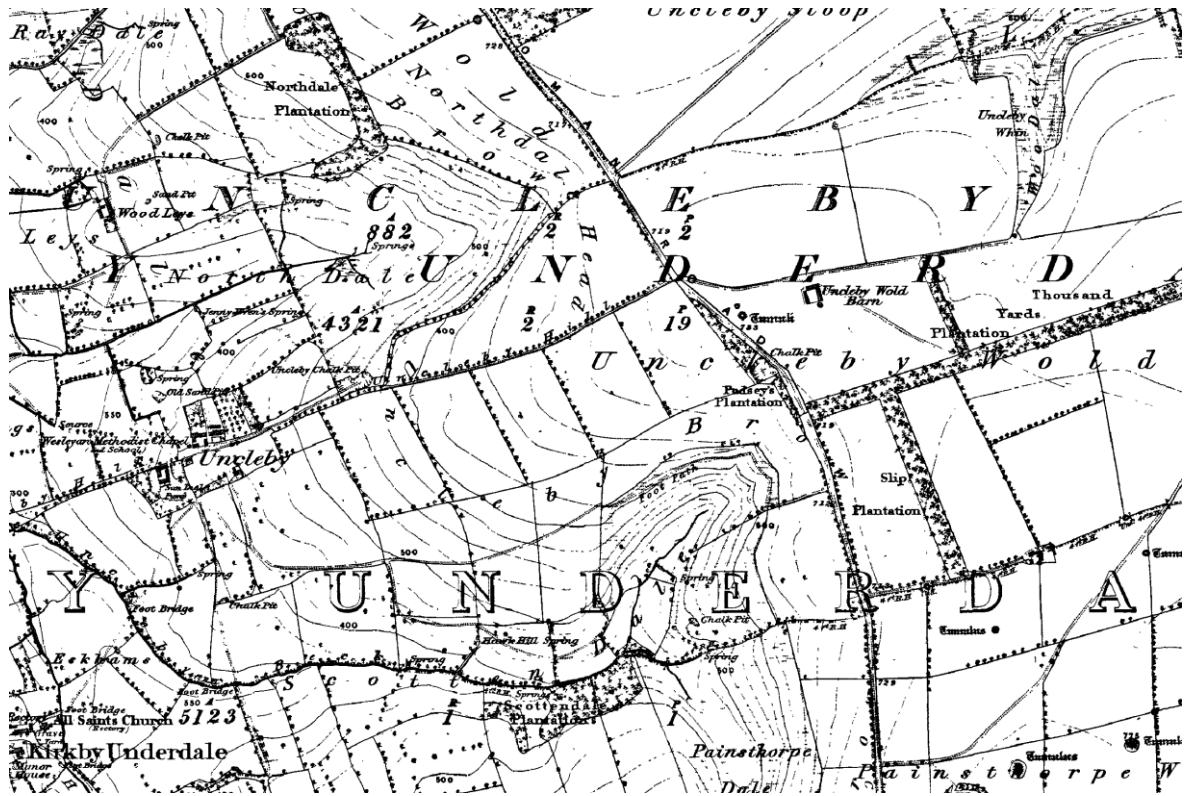


Fig. 27. 1854 Ordnance Survey showing relative position of All Saints, Kirby Underdale and Anglo-Saxon cemetery to the north-east of the church above Pudsey's Plantation.

Discussion

From Domesday Book it would appear that the King retained overall ownership of Kirby Underdale in 1086. It is worth recording that a Siward, possibly the same one who held the manor with the church in, at Acklam before 1066, held a manor both before 1066 and in 1086, at Kirby Underdale. While the extant church can only be traced back to an approximate Saxo-Norman or early Norman period, the presence of church within the place-name at an earlier date may evidence an earlier church than this. Morris sites Kirby Underdale as an example of a church standing on or close to a Roman(o-Celtic) temple and the presence of Roman religious sculpture within the fabric has been noted.²⁰ It is recorded above that Bell regards the unusual location of the church as possibly connected its situation, near a spring. The 1854 Ordnance Survey also shows the church fairly close to a manor house. Finally, the relative proximity of an Anglo-Saxon cemetery has been noted at a number of previous sites and may yet prove significant.

The nature of this church site is remarkably similar to that of Acklam. Near to the site there were Bronze-Age Barrows and early Anglo-Saxon Burials. The church was also built on the side of a steep valley, near to a spring. Whereas for Acklam, Domesday Book did not record a priest, for Kirby Underdale it did not record the church at all. There is additional evidence of a Roman(o-Celtic) temple. The possible presence of a pre-Christian religious site could provide a context for the siting of the first Christian church.

²⁰ R. K. Morris, *Churches in the landscape* (London, 1989), p. 72.

Kirkham

Kirkham is thirteen miles north-east of York.

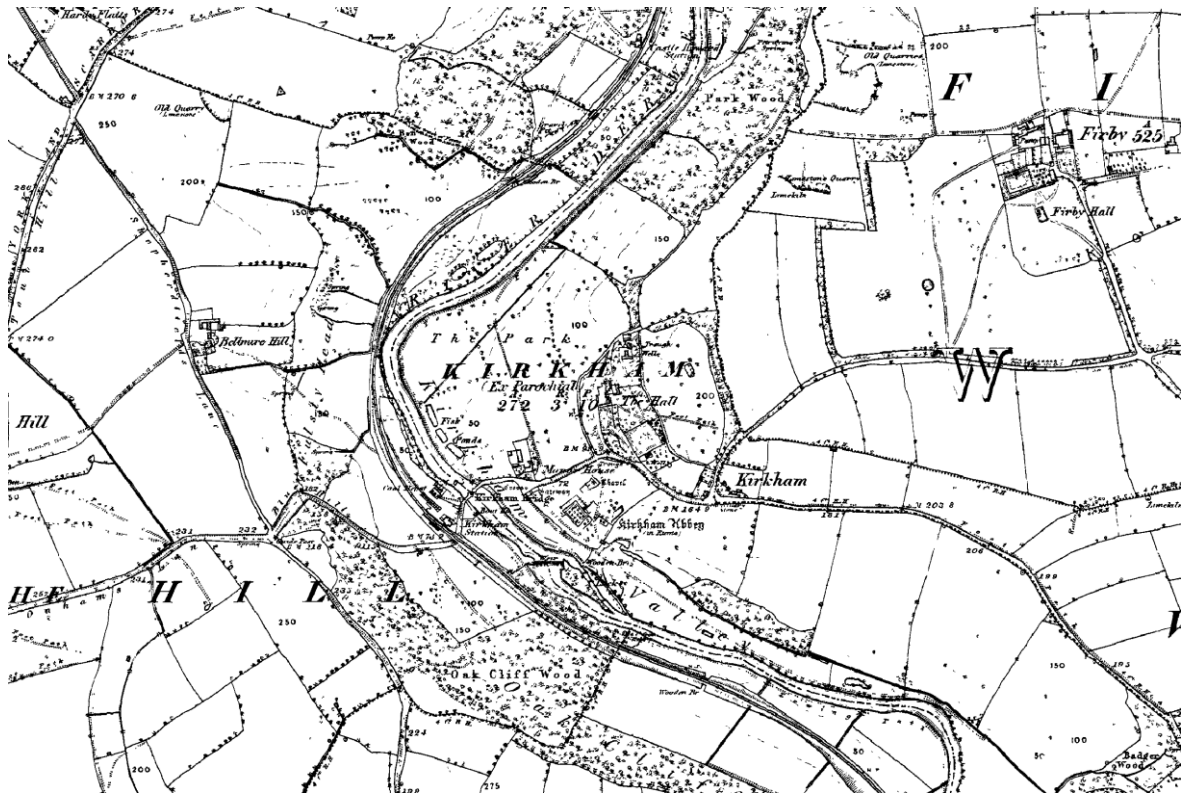


Fig. 28. Map of Kirkham from the 1854 Ordnance Survey.



Fig. 29. Aerial view of Kirkham.

The Church



Fig. 30. Kirkham priory showing position on valley floor.

Kirkham Priory was founded c. 1125 for Augustinian Canons by Walter Espec, Lord of Helmsley.²¹ It is unlikely that the monastic remains relate to the Anglo-Saxon church. A small amount of an early-twelfth century church remain, as masonry in the south wall of the nave, the west wall of the south transept, in the north-east and south-west crossing piers and the south-east and south-west doorways into the cloister.

Domesday Book

From the land of the Count of Mortain

In RILLINGTON are 2 carucates and 2 bovates to the geld. The soke belongs to Kirkham. The count has it, and it is waste.²²

In KIRKHAM [are] 8 carucates to the geld, and there could be 4 ploughs. Waltheof had 1 manor there. Now Count Robert has in demesne 2 ploughs; and 12 villans with 4 ploughs, and 1 mill [rendering] 8s. There is a church and a priest. [There is] woodland pasture 1 league long and 10 perches broad. The whole manor [is] 1 league long and a half broad. TRE worth £3; now 40s.²³

From the summary

In Kirkham, the Count of Mortain 8 carucates.²⁴

²¹ Pevsner and Neave, *Yorkshire: York and the East Riding*, pp. 587-590.

²² DB 307.

²³ DB 307.

²⁴ DB 382.

Place-Name

The first reference is in Domesday Book and is most likely to be a combination of Old Norse *kirkja* meaning ‘church’ and Old English *ham*, meaning ‘homestead’²⁵ Morris interprets the use of the Old Scandinavian *kirkja* and the Old English *ham* as possibly the Scandinavianization of an early *cirice*. The place-name is therefore potentially the earliest evidence of a church here that we have.²⁶

Archaeology

Excavation and architectural analysis at Kirkham Priory between 1978 and 1984 have shed some, albeit dim, light on pre-monastic occupation.²⁷ Excavations at the gatehouse, situated 61m to the north-west of the priory church have revealed some evidence of the pre-monastic settlement. Nineteen graves have been excavated; of which two have been radiocarbon dated giving a date range of AD 1020-1225 when calibrated to one sigma.²⁸ There was also a small quantity of Late-Saxon pottery recovered in this vicinity as well as Bronze-Age, Iron Age and Roman sherds demonstrating long continuity of settlement of some description.²⁹ The authors surmise that ‘All the available evidence points to the cemetery belonging to the pre-monastic village church which presumably lay in the vicinity of the priory gatehouse and whose priest was recorded in 1086.’ It is worth quoting the conclusion in full.

The pre-monastic cemetery that lay beneath the gatehouse provides confirmation of what is often suspected, that few monasteries were established on entirely new sites. The initial grant provided the church of Kirkham, its glebe of one carucate and its tithes, twenty-four acres of land between the wood and the river, which was perhaps the area of the precinct, Espec’s new garden there, and the priest’s house. This was increased to the whole of the manor of Kirkham in c. 1139. It is clear that the church was parochial, and presumably had its own cemetery. As the nave of the priory church was not parochial, the village church must have been retained in some form, perhaps becoming the *capella extra-portas* of the house. A similar relationship between great gate and pre-existing parish church can still be seen at Easby Abbey. It would appear that the priory was established close to an existing settlement but largely on a green-field site.³⁰

Discussion

The earliest evidence of a church here is provided by the place-name. Kirkham was a demesne manor of eight carucates in 1066 and 1086, it had passed from Waltheof to Count Robert and had further sokeland, which was waste at Rillington. It had a priest and a church in 1086 and became an Augustinian Priory some forty years later. There is some evidence that the priory church was not built on the site of the previous church and that in fact that may have been incorporated into the gatehouse on the edge of the monastic range. The most likely interpretation would appear to be that a manorial church was founded at some point in the Anglo-Saxon or Anglo-Scandinavian period in an area having some form of occupation back into the Bronze-Age period. It is possible that the

²⁵ *PN ERY* pp. 143-144.

²⁶ Morris, *Churches in the landscape*, p. 160.

²⁷ G. Coppack, S. Harrison, and C. Hayfield, 'Kirkham Priory: The Architecture and Archaeology of an Augustinian House', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* CXLVIII (1995): pp. 55-136.

²⁸ Coppack, Harrison, and Hayfield, 'Kirkham Priory: The Architecture and Archaeology of an Augustinian House', pp. 111-115.

²⁹ Coppack, Harrison, and Hayfield, 'Kirkham Priory: The Architecture and Archaeology of an Augustinian House', pp. 118-125.

³⁰ Coppack, Harrison, and Hayfield, 'Kirkham Priory: The Architecture and Archaeology of an Augustinian House', p. 134.

church was of some significance as it influenced the place-name and later attracted an Augustinian Priory.

Wharram Percy

Wharram Percy is eighteen miles east-north-east of York.

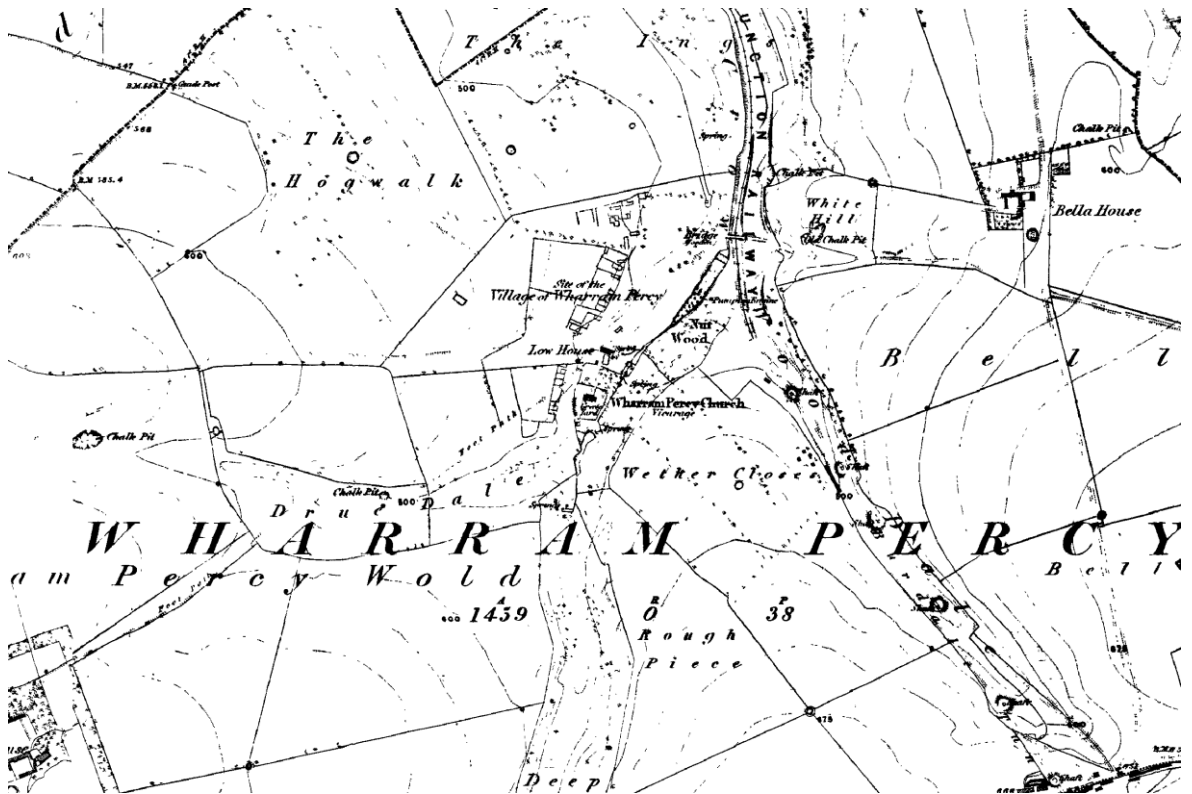


Fig. 31. Map of Wharram Percy showing earthworks from the 1854 Ordnance Survey.



Fig. 32. Aerial view of Wharram Percy.

The Churches

Wharram Percy is of primary importance in this context for the East Riding, having had an excavation carried out underneath the extant church. The church is positioned on a terrace at the southernmost and lowest part of the village. Two of the phases of the church are of particular relevance. In the first phase it is thought that a series of post holes may have been the foundations of a mid to late tenth century timber church.³¹ In the second phase the foundations of an eleventh century two-celled stone church with a rectangular nave and chancel have been revealed.³²

Dimensions Nave, externally 8.7 by 6.5m, internally, 6.55 by 4.3m; chancel, externally 4.4 by 4.4m, internally 3.2 by 2.45m

Excavations within the church have also revealed the burials of what are presumed to be some of the late-Saxon lords (see Wharram Percy 2 – 4 below).³³ David Stocker has recently suggested that these could represent the three graves of the Anglo-Scandinavian founder of the church and his family.³⁴ This church was superseded by a much larger structure in the early twelfth century. (See fig. 34 below showing the foundations of the Anglo-Saxon church within the fabric of the subsequent Norman one.)



Fig. 33. The church of St Martin, Wharram Percy from the south.

³¹ Bell and Beresford, *Wharram Percy: The Church of St Martin*, pp. 55-57 and pp. 59-60.

³² Bell and Beresford, *Wharram Percy: The Church of St Martin*, pp. 57-61.

³³ M. Beresford and J. Hurst, *Wharram Percy: Deserted Medieval Village* (London, 1990), p. 64.

³⁴ D. Stocker in S. Mays, C. Harding and C. Heighway, *Wharram: A Study of Settlement on the Yorkshire Wolds, 11: The Churchyard* (York, 2007), pp. 271-287.



Fig. 34. The interior of St Martin's, Wharram Percy with the walls of the Anglo-Saxon church marked out.



Fig. 35. St Martin's, Wharram Percy from the north showing position at valley foot.

Domesday Book

From the land of the King

In Wharram Percy, Lagman and Karli, 8 carucates to the geld. Land for 4 ploughs. 60s.³⁵

From the land of the King's Thegns

In WHARRAM PERCY, Ketilbert has 1 carucate of land of the king which renders 10s. [There is] land for half a plough.³⁶

From the summary

In Wharram Percy, the king 9 carucates.³⁷

Place-Name

Smith believes the most likely interpretation is from Old Scandinavian *hvarfum*, the dative plural of *hvarf* meaning 'bend, nook, corner'.³⁸ It could refer to the valley in which Wharram Percy and Wharram le Street stand, which has a series of pronounced S-bends.

Sculpture



Fig. 36. The decorated face of Wharram Percy 1.

Wharram Percy 1 A fragment of cross-arm, in two joining pieces, excavated in a boundary ditch in area 6 excavations (see below), above and to the west of the church.³⁹ It is made of sandstone,

³⁵ DB 301.

³⁶ DB 331.

³⁷ DB 382.

³⁸ *PN ERY* pp. 134-135.

³⁹ J. T. Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, III: York and Eastern Yorkshire* (Oxford, 1991), p. 222 Ills. 872-7.

possibly from Stonegrave. There is only one decorated face and Cramp likens it to the incised plait on Lindisfarne 10A. More locally Lang likens it to the Lastingham chair, 10, and Stonegrave 2. It is dated to the late eighth century.

Dimensions H. 9.6cm, W. 12.6cm, D. 6.6cm

Wharram Percy 2, 3 & 4 All Grave-covers, found together at the east end of the vestry south of the chancel of St Martin's church.⁴⁰ Numbers 2 and 3 covered adults' graves and number 4 a child's. All are considered to be of a type of limestone, the nearest source of which would have been North Grimston. They all lack clearly diagnostic decoration, although 2 is analogous to very late pre-Conquest slabs in York. 3 and 4 are primarily dated by context, flush with the foundation of the south-east chapel of late eleventh century church. Lang dates all three to the early eleventh century. Stocker has recently re-examined these and suggested they may be reused Romano-British grave furniture.⁴¹

Dimensions 2. L.162.5cm W. 48.4>42cm D. 15cm 3. L. 147.5cm W. 52>37cm D. 18.5cm
4. L. 90.5cm W. 34>27cm D. 17.5>14cm



Fig. 37. From the left in a clockwise order Wharram Percy 2, 4 & 3.

Wharram Percy 5 Part of a cross-head found in 1990 during excavation in the backfill of an Anglo-Saxon building on Site 94, to the north of the South Manor area.⁴² It is made of sandstone and may be linked to a quarry near Aislaby, possibly connected with Whitby Abbey. It is from the arm-pit of a Type 10 cross-head with broad curve. Lang draws parallels with Whitby 10 and 11 and dates it to the eighth century.

Dimensions H. 10.9cm W. 12.3cm D. 5.0cm

⁴⁰ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, III: York and Eastern Yorkshire*, pp. 222-223 Ills. 882-4.

⁴¹ Stocker in Mays, Harding and Heighway, *The Churchyard*, pp. 271-287.

⁴² G. Milne and J. D. Richards, *Wharram: A Study of Settlement on the Yorkshire Wolds, 7: Two Anglo-Saxon Buildings and Associated Finds* (York, 1992), p. 43.

Archaeology & Discussion

It would be unproductive, as well as impractical, to attempt to provide a comprehensive summary of work carried out in and conclusions drawn from Wharram Percy; so instead I will attempt to draw out some themes of particular relevance to the church and how it relates to the rest of the village. In addition to the late Saxon church described above there is some evidence pointing to a possible earlier Anglo-Saxon church on the southern plateau, above and to the west of the extant church. An eighth-century cross fragment was found here (see above Wharram Percy 1) as well as a styca and a ninth-century strap-end which could be from disturbed burials.⁴³ Furthermore, radiocarbon analysis of human bone found in a charnel pit here points to remains of at least five individuals of eighth to eleventh century date.⁴⁴ When combined with the fact that neither early nor middle Saxon structures have been located on the terrace, and that finds of that period, including a small number of Anglo-Saxon pottery sherds and eighth to ninth century coins, were limited, this does make a movement of the church possible.⁴⁵ Bell also raises the possibility of a second church associated with the North Manor. As Bell states, this is pure speculation, but the discovery of a further cross-head fragment in 1990, to the north of the South Manor in site 94 may lend some support to this. The final aspect of Wharram Percy, of specifically religious significance, that needs to be considered is the hypothesis that it could have been home to a Middle Saxon monastic estate.⁴⁶ The cross fragments Wharram 1 and Wharram 5 (detailed above) certainly support this with links to the communities at Stonegrave and Whitby respectively. So do various of the pottery and small finds from the South Manor excavations. For example, the type 10 Northern French imported pottery sherds, which may represent around ten vessels, are normally associated with wic sites, and where not at a wic the site is usually assumed to be high status or monastic.⁴⁷ Middle Saxon dress or hair pins can be paralleled to finds from Whitby Monastery.⁴⁸ While none of these are in any way conclusive evidence of a monastic presence, they are probably indicative of a high status settlement and a monastic link cannot at this stage be ruled out.

The other area where Wharram Percy may be of specific relevance here is in the relationship of the church to any settlement planning. The tenth century and later church probably did have a position within the regular planned medieval village when it was laid out, albeit in the bottom south-east corner.⁴⁹ The question of when the village was planned may be critical here. While it cannot be answered conclusively the consensus of opinion appears to lean towards the late Saxon period. The earthwork bank apparently separating the tofts from their crofts within the western row may offer the best possibility of a solution here. Beresford and Hurst conclude, following the excavation of it in tofts 9 and 10, that it was post Saxon, as the middle Saxon features

⁴³ Milne and Richards, *Two Anglo-Saxon Buildings and Associated Finds*, p. 93.

⁴⁴ Bell and Beresford, *Wharram Percy: The Church of St Martin*, p. 200.

⁴⁵ Bell and Beresford, *Wharram Percy: The Church of St Martin*, pp. 197-200.

⁴⁶ Beresford and Hurst, *Wharram Percy: Deserted Medieval Village*, p84, Milne and Richards, *Two Anglo-Saxon Buildings and Associated Finds*, pp. 93-94 and P. A. Stamper and R. A. Croft, *Wharram: A Study of Settlement on the Yorkshire Wolds, 8: The South Manor Area* (York, 2000), p. 198.

⁴⁷ Stamper and Croft, *The South Manor Area*, pp. 67-69.

⁴⁸ Stamper and Croft, *The South Manor Area*, p. 126.

⁴⁹ Beresford and Hurst, *Wharram Percy: Deserted Medieval Village*, see fig. 34 p. 49.

continued underneath it and reappeared at its west, although there was a Saxon ditch on the same line.⁵⁰ They date the bank, on the basis of pottery found, to the twelfth century and potentially therefore the planning of the village to that period also. Richards argues that the first earth or turf built phase of the bank may be broadly contemporary with, or slightly post date, the black loam, which may be Late Saxon occupation material. Thus a primary element of the bank could be Late Saxon.⁵¹ While it cannot be decisively proved, the general consensus for the period of the planning of these regular nucleated settlements appears to be either the period immediately following Scandinavian settlement, or after the Harrying of the North in the late eleventh or early twelfth century. Fieldwalking in the area around Wharram Percy has provided further support to the Late Saxon theory as Middle Saxon pottery appears scattered, while Late Saxon pottery is only found at nucleated village sites.⁵² There is the possibility that the South Manor site, with its evidence of high status settlement in the eighth century, and the presence of at least Scandinavian influence (see the Borre style strap-end and belt-slide) in the Late Saxon period may illustrate a settler establishing his residence on the site of Middle Saxon focus, building a church and replanning the settlement.⁵³ A parallel with work by Sheppard on Wheldrake may be relevant here.⁵⁴ Information about the early village at Wheldrake is gleaned by working backwards from late documents. However, the conclusion is very similar in that a regular planned village is thought to date back to the early eleventh century. One of the factors used to support this theory is the presence of a church of that date within the structure of tofts, in the easternmost toft in fact. Thus if the same principle is applied to Wharram Percy, then the presence of a tenth or eleventh century church within the southernmost toft could further support the proposed Late Saxon date for the planning of the regular village. It has to be admitted that this is by no means conclusive as the planning could simply have incorporated a pre-existing church.

It is important to use Wharram Percy as a comparison with other church sites. Without the excavation there it is possible that we would not have known that there was an Anglo-Saxon church at all. Domesday Book does not record one and the sculpture and physical remains of a church have only been unearthed by excavation. Analogies with Acklam and Kirby Underdale can be drawn. Wharram Percy too is not recorded in Domesday Book and it too is sited near a spring. There is also a possible topographical similarity in that the church at Wharram Percy is at the lowest point within the settlement and the churches at Acklam and Kirby Underdale are on valley sides below settlements. This could simply be related to them being deliberately near to springs, or could be an indicator of a particular church type. However, the excavation carried out puts Wharram Percy in a different category. There may have been as many as two middle Saxon churches, one of which was possibly monastic. Both of these were abandoned and replaced by a probably manorial church in the late Saxon period, which fitted within the southernmost toft of a regular planned village. This

⁵⁰ Beresford and Hurst, *Wharram Percy: Deserted Medieval Village*, p. 78.

⁵¹ Stamper and Croft, *The South Manor Area*, p. 197.

⁵² Stamper and Croft, *The South Manor Area*, p. 198. and Beresford and Hurst, *Wharram Percy: Deserted Medieval Village*, p. 94.

⁵³ Stamper and Croft, *The South Manor Area*, pp. 128-131 and p. 198.

⁵⁴ J. A. Sheppard, 'Pre-Enclosure Field and Settlement Patterns in an English Township: Wheldrake, near York', *Geografisker Annaler* 48B (1966): pp. 59-77.

would not have been located adjacent to either of the manor houses. It is important to remember that without excavation Wharram Percy may have appeared very similar to Acklam and Kirby Underdale, or may not have been visible as an Anglo-Saxon church at all.

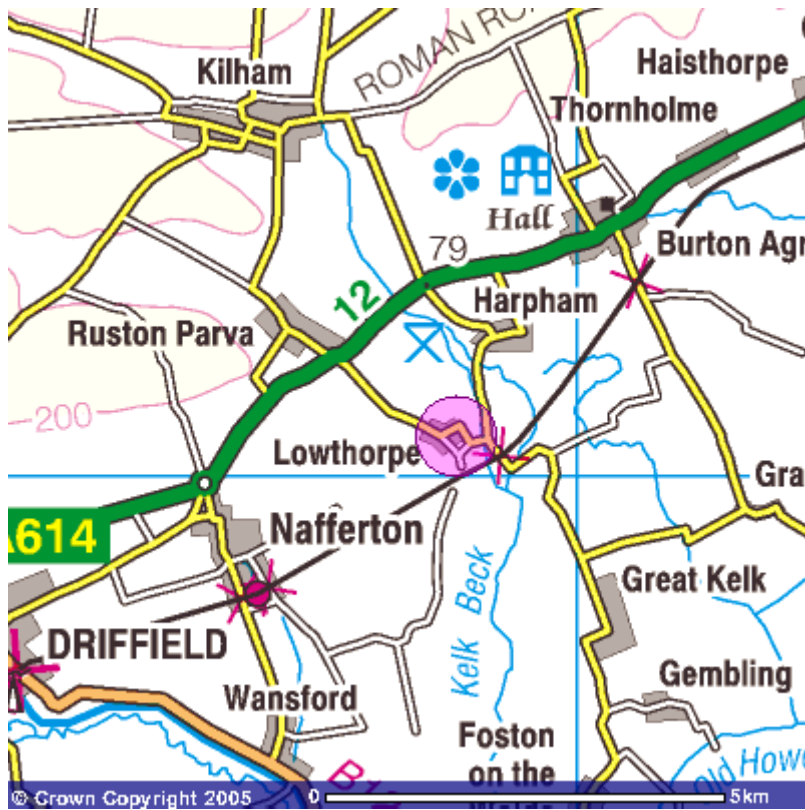
Burton Hundred

Fig. 38. Modern Ordnance Survey showing position of Lowthorpe.

Lowthorpe

Lowthorpe is situated about 12½ miles north-north-east of Beverley and approximately five miles from the coast.



Fig. 39. Lowthorpe from the 1854 Ordnance Survey.



Fig. 40. Aerial view of Lowthorpe.

The Church



Fig. 41. The church of St. Martin, Lowthorpe from the south-east.

The earliest extant parts of the church of St Martin are the ruined chancel and the lower parts of the west tower which date to the fourteenth century.¹ In addition it has a nave and south porch. It seems likely that the church was rebuilt shortly after it was made collegiate in 1333.

Domesday Book

From the land of the King

In Lowthorpe, Ecgrith, 1½ carucates to the geld. Land for 1 plough. 10s.²

From the land of the Archbishop of York

In LOWTHORPE, with the Berewicks Ruston Parva [and] Haisthorpe, there are 12½ carucates to the geld, and there could be 7 ploughs. St John held this as 1 manor, and [holds it] now. It is waste, except that a rent-paying tenant pays 8s.³

From the land of the Kings' Thegns

In LOWTHORPE, Northmann and Asa [had] 4 carucates of land to the geld. [There is] land for 2 ploughs. Gamal has there 6 villans with 1 plough, and a church. It is worth 8s.⁴

From the claims section

In Lowthorpe, Richard de Sourdeval claims the land of Northmann and Asa, but the jurors say it ought to belong to the king.⁵

From the summary

In Lowthorpe, the archbishop 1½ carucates. In the same place, the king 5½ carucates.⁶

Place-Name

There are three spellings of Lowthorpe in the first recording of it in Domesday Book, *Lauge-*, *Loghe-* and *Logetorp*.⁷ The first part is likely to be the old Scandinavian name *Lagi* and the second part is also of old Scandinavian derivation, *Porp*, therefore it is likely to mean 'outlying settlement of Lagi'.

Sculpture

Lowthorpe 1 This is a cross-head with part of a shaft which was dug up in 1934 or 1935 and is now located inside the church at the west end of the nave.⁸ Lang described it as a rustic piece and sees a similarity to the bold interlace of Helmsley 1. He found a similar although more accomplished continuity of shaft and cross on Hovingham 2 and North Frodingham 1. It is dated to the tenth or eleventh century.

Dimensions H. 67.5cm W. (shaft) 31cm (head) 42.5cm D. 14.5cm

¹ N. Pevsner and D. Neave, *Yorkshire: York and the East Riding*, The Buildings of England (London, 1995), p. 606 and VCH East Riding II, pp. 276-277.

² DB 301.

³ DB 304.

⁴ DB 331.

⁵ DB 373V.

⁶ DB 382.

⁷ *PNERY* p. 93.

⁸ J. T. Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, III: York and Eastern Yorkshire* (Oxford, 1991), pp. 180-181, Ills. 666-9.



Fig. 42. Lowthorpe 1.



Fig. 43. Lowthorpe 1A, and 1B.



Fig. 44. Lowthorpe 1C and 1D.

Discussion

At the time of Domesday Book there were three estates at Lowthorpe. A small 1½ carucate estate was held by Egfrith from the King in 1086, with no mention of a previous owner. A larger manor of 12½ carucates with two berewicks was held by St John's from the archbishop both in 1066 and 1086 and was largely waste. Lastly, the unsuccessfully disputed four carucate estate of the Kings Thegns was held by Northmann and Asa before 1066 and by Gamal in 1086. It is this latter one that contained the church. Other information about this settlement can be derived from the place-name. This may reveal that it was an outlying settlement belonging to Lagi. At some point in the tenth or eleventh century a stone cross could have been erected there. The area of the parish was a relatively small 1,969 acres.⁹

⁹ VCH East Riding II, p. 272.

Cave Hundred



Fig. 45. Modern Ordnance Survey roadmap showing locations of North Newbald and South Cave.

North Newbald



Fig. 46. North and South Newbald from the 1855 Ordnance Survey map.



Fig. 47. Aerial view of North and South Newbald.

North and South Newbald are situated on the eastern edge of a wold escarpment about 7½ miles west-south-west of Beverley.¹ They are just to the east of a Roman Road (running from Brough to Malton), and to the south of the settlements there is a further Roman Road branching off the former towards York. North Newbald is a nucleated settlement arranged around a rectangular green, as illustrated on the 1855 Ordnance Survey map, and the modern aerial photograph above. South Newbald has a very similar structure with more dispersed settlement.

The Church

The extant Church of St Nicholas is of exceptional quality for a parish church and is dated by Pevsner and Neave to c. 1140.² It was built in limestone from quarries to the west of the village. It has a chancel with a north vestry, a crossing tower with transepts and a nave.³ Pevsner and Neave describe it as cruciform and aisleless and as the most complete Norman church in the Riding. It is situated on a slight rise on the southernmost point of North Newbald on the road leading to the smaller settlement of South Newbald.

¹ VCH East Riding IV. pp. 131-133.

² N. Pevsner and D. Neave, *Yorkshire: York and the East Riding*, The Buildings of England (London, 1995), pp. 621-622.

³ VCH East Riding IV. pp. 138-139.



Fig. 48. The Church of St Nicholas, North Newbald from the south-west.



Fig. 49. The Church of St. Nicholas, North Newbald from the north-east.

Domesday Book

From the land of the Archbishop of York

In (North and South) NEWBALD, 28 carucates and 2 bovates taxable, where 16 ploughs are possible. Archbishop Aldred held this as 1 manor. Now, under Archbishop Thomas, the Canons of St. Peter's have in lordship 2 ploughs; and

7 villagers with 2½ ploughs.

4 mills pay 30s.

1 church is there and a priest.

The whole manor, 3 leagues long and 2 leagues wide.

Value before 1066 £24; now £10.⁴

From the summary

The Archbishop in (North and South) Newbald, 28 carucates and 2 bovates.⁵

Place-Name

The name derives from the Old English for 'the new building'.⁶

Archaeology

There have been a number of archaeological discoveries in and around North and South Newbald. These include a Bronze Age barrow and at least two sites with nearly a mile between them with evidence of Roman occupation, one of which is thought to be a substantial villa with a possible date of c. 220-370. Of later date and possibly of more relevance is an early medieval burial and various evidence of later medieval settlement. Most significantly an Anglo-Saxon productive site has been discovered within a mile of the church site to the west.⁷

Discussion

The first reference to North and South Newbald, then known simply as Newbald, is in a charter of 963, when King Edgar granted 30 casati of land there to ealdorman Gunner that was presumably subsequently bestowed upon the Archbishop and canons of York.⁸ In fact there is no real evidence to suggest there was more than one settlement in our period, the only possible intimation of this might be the situation of the church on the southern periphery of North Newbald, which may have been so it could be seen and easily used by both communities, but at this stage this is simply speculation. Newbald was still held as one manor in 1066 under the Archbishop and canons of York. The quality of the limestone built church highlighted by Pevsner and Neave may provide some illustration of the impact of the archbishop, at least by the time of the twelfth century.⁹ Morris also highlights the significance of this connection, considering the cruciformity to be 'as if they were erected in the image of their cathedral mother' when discussing North Newbald and other

⁴ M. L. Faull and M. Stinson *Domesday Book: Yorkshire: Volume I* (Chichester, 1986), 2B6.

⁵ M. L. Faull and M. Stinson *Domesday Book: Yorkshire: Volume II* (Chichester, 1986), SE, C4.

⁶ *PNERY* pp. 226-227.

⁷ K. Leahy, 'Middle Anglo-Saxon Metalwork from South Newbald and the Productive Site Phenomenon in Yorkshire.' in H. Geake and J. Kenny (eds.), *Early Deira: Archaeological Studies of the East Riding in the Fourth to Ninth Centuries AD*. (Oxford, 2000), pp. 51-82.

⁸ VCH East Riding IV. p.134 and S 716.

⁹ Pevsner and Neave, *Yorkshire: York and the East Riding*, p. 621.

churches.¹⁰ He even goes so far as to consider North Newbald as a possible former minster. The subsequent history of North and South Newbald continues to be influenced by the early ownership as it was subsequently divided into six prebendal estates.¹¹ If ownership by the Archbishop and canons could have a significant impact on both the church building and the structure of estates within North and South Newbald, in the twelfth century and beyond, and we have evidence of both an earlier church (in Domesday Book) and similar earlier ownership (in both Domesday Book and a grant of 963), then it does not seem unreasonable to explore the possible significance of this in an earlier period. The significance of churches of this type, exceptional quality early Norman churches with evidence of a pre-conquest church and ownership by an Archbishop or a canonical community, is considered above.¹²

South Cave

South Cave is situated on the eastern edge of the same wold escarpment as North Newbald. It is approximately eight miles south-west of Beverley, about three miles south of North Newbald on the same Roman road between Brough and Malton. It is about 2½ miles north of the River Humber. The settlement is divided into two distinct parts. The West End is a basically linear settlement and the larger market area to the east is also linear, primarily along the Roman road itself with a further spread along Church Street in a T-shape to the west.

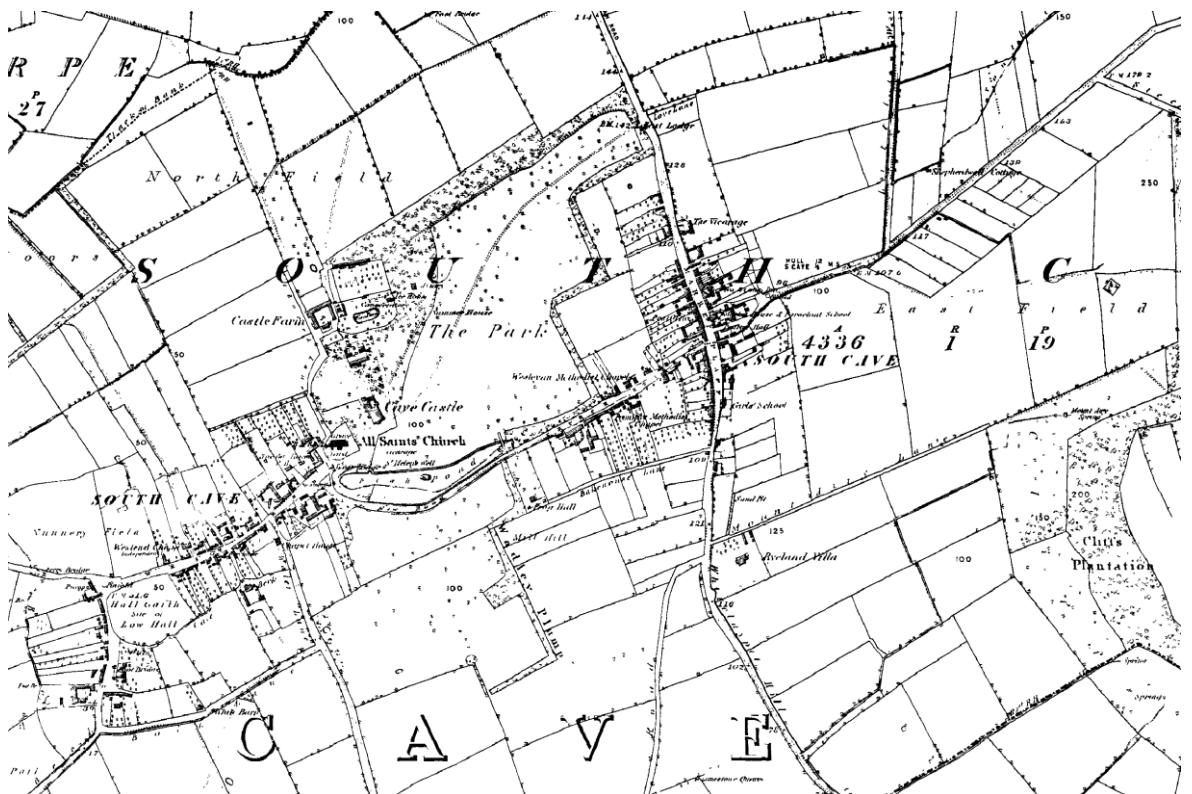


Fig. 50. South Cave from the 1855 Ordnance Survey map.

¹⁰ R. K. Morris, *Churches in the landscape* (London, 1989), pp. 282-283.

¹¹ VCH East Riding IV, pp. 134-136.

¹² Above, p. 40.



Fig. 51. An aerial view of South Cave.

The Church



Fig. 52. All Saints, South Cave from the south.



Fig. 53. All Saints, South Cave from the south-west showing position in relation to village.

The church of All Saints is built of local limestone, as is the church of St Nicholas at North Newbald. It has a chancel with a south transept, a nave with a north aisle and clerestory and a west tower.¹³ It can be dated to the twelfth century by the responds of the chancel arch, which have probably been reset. It is situated at the north-east edge of the West End of South Cave on a slight rise.

Domesday Book

From the land of Robert Malet

In (South) CAVE Gamall had 24 carucates of land taxable, where 12 ploughs are possible. Now Robert Malet has there in lordship 4 ploughs; and 30 villagers who had 8 ploughs. There, a church and a priest. 2 mill sites; woodland pasture and underwood, 1 league long and 1 wide. The whole manor, 7 leagues long and 1 wide. Value before 1066 £12; now 100s.¹⁴

From the summary

Robert Malet, in (South) CAVE, 24 carucates;...¹⁵

¹³ Pevsner and Neave, *Yorkshire: York and the East Riding*, p. 700 and VCH East Riding IV. p. 56.

¹⁴ *Domesday Book: Yorkshire: Volume I*, 11E1.

¹⁵ *Domesday Book: Yorkshire: Volume II*, SE, C1.

Place-Name

Smith argues, following Professor Ekwall, that it derives from Old English *caf* 'swift, quick', which is commonly used as a stream name. This may refer to the stream now known as Mires Beck, which flows through the Wolds through North Cave and is joined by Cave Beck less than a mile from South Cave village.¹⁶ Place-names also provide the earliest available date for the market settlement with South Cave being known as *Marched-* from the Middle English for market or marked from the twelfth century.

Discussion

The similarity between the two settlements in Cave hundred, in that they both have dual foci and that the church in both instances is situated on a slight rise, on the edge of one focus nearest to the second focus, is worth recording and may be significant. Equally, it may simply be coincidental. It may be that the West End of South Cave was the original settlement and that the easterly section grew up around the market dated to the twelfth century at the latest, although we cannot be certain that it did not exist prior to that. The two sites are linked by an important Roman road. Both sites are situated slightly set back from this road, if we assume the West End is the original part of South Cave. South Cave is situated just to the north of the river Humber and a linked settlement, Faxfleet, may have existed from early times (there is evidence of a Romano-British settlement north-east of the village) and was certainly a port in medieval times.¹⁷ Its topographical position in relation to the river as well as the Roman Road may have been a factor in the siting of South Cave's pre-Conquest church.

¹⁶ *PN ERY* pp. 222-223.

¹⁷ *VCH East Riding IV*. p. 39.

Driffield Hundred

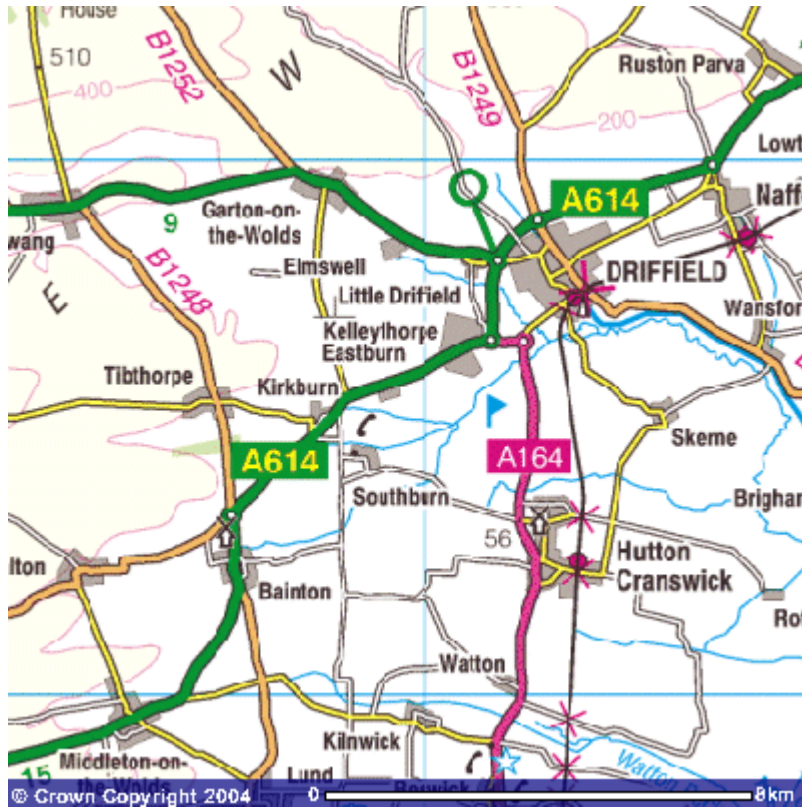


Fig. 54. Modern Ordnance Survey map showing the church sites of Driffield Hundred.

Bainton

Bainton is situated about nine miles north-north-east of Beverley and nearly seven miles south-west of Great Driffield. It is just to the east of the Yorkshire Wolds near the source of the river Hull.



Fig. 55. Map of Bainton from the 1854 Ordnance Survey.



Fig. 56. Aerial view of Bainton.

The Church



Fig. 57. St Andrew, Bainton from the south-east.

The vast majority of the extant fabric of St Andrew's can be dated to the 1330's to 1340's.¹ It was mostly built in one period and can be dated because of the unfortunate accident of Hugh, a clerk of Bainton, being killed by the fall of a pulley while it was being built. The only parts that are older are the south-west corner of the chancel with a priest's door, which dates to around 1300, and on the east wall of the south aisle there is a reused twelfth century capital.

Domesday Book

From the land of the Count of Mortain

In BAINTON [are] 13 carucates to the geld, and there could be 7 ploughs. Northmann, 7 carucates, and Gamal, 6 carucates, had 3 manors there. Nigel has 2 ploughs there; [and] a priest and 10 villans with 3 ploughs. TRE worth £7; now 40s.²

From the land of Hugh Fitzbaldric

In BAINTON, Gamal and Thorkil had 11 carucates of land to the geld. There is land for 6 ploughs. William, Hugh's man, has 1 plough there; and 9 villans with 2 ploughs. TRE worth 45s; now 5s.³

From the summary

In Bainton, the Count of Mortain 13 carucates. In the same place, Hugh fitzBaldric 11 carucates.⁴

Place-Name

The first reference is in Domesday Book to *Bagenton(e)* which is probably Old English meaning 'Bega's farmstead'.⁵

Discussion

The evidence of a pre-conquest church at Bainton is extremely tenuous. It rests wholly on a Domesday Book reference to a priest, not to a church. The earliest extant fabric of the church dates to the twelfth century. An alternative explanation may be that the priest lived in Bainton but was attached to the possibly superior church of Great Driffield.

¹ N. Pevsner and D. Neave, *Yorkshire: York and the East Riding*, The Buildings of England (London, 1995), pp. 269-270.

² DB 307.

³ DB 328.

⁴ DB 381V.

⁵ *PNERY* p. 165.

Great Driffield

Great Driffield is situated about eleven miles north of Beverley to the east of the wolds and on the river Hull.



Fig. 58. Map of Great Driffield from the 1854 Ordnance Survey.



Fig. 59. Aerial view of Great Driffield.

The Church

All Saints has two very large stones in the inner wall of its tower which have mouldings considered to be pre-conquest.⁶ The majority of the extant church dates to the early twelfth century and is built of ashlar. It has a mid fifteenth century west tower which is **110' (34m) high**. The churchyard appears to have been built up above the level of the surrounding town before the construction of the current church. It is situated in the centre of the town.



Fig. 60. All Saints, Driffield from the south-east.

Domesday Book

From the land of the King

IN GREAT DRIFFIELD, with 4 Berewicks, Kilham, Elmswell, Little Driffield [and] Kelleythorpe, are 23 carucates of land to the geld, which 12 ploughs could plough. Morcar held this as 1 manor TRE, and it was worth £40. Now the king has it, and it is waste.

To this manor belongs the soke of these lands: Great Kendale, 6 carucates; Kelleythorpe, 3 carucates; Eastburn [in Kirkburn], 6 carucates; Kirkburn, 5 carucates; Southburn, 7 carucates; Kilnwick, 5 carucates; Tibthorpe, 8½ [carucates]; Skerne, 1½ carucates; Cranswick, 1 carucate; Kilham, 6 carucates. In all, there are 50 carucates to the geld, and there could be 25 ploughs. It is waste.

In BESWICK are 2½ carucates to the geld and another half [carucate] which belonged to Iuli, which 2 ploughs could plough. The soke of this land belongs to Great Driffield, and yet Morcar had a manor there TRE, and it was worth 20s. Now it is waste. In the above-mentioned manor of Great Driffield there were 8 mills and 2 churches. The whole manor [is] 3 leagues long and 2 leagues broad.⁷

⁶ Pevsner and Neave, *Yorkshire: York and the East Riding*, pp. 440-441.

⁷ DB 299V.

From the land of the Count of Mortain

In the same vill [is] half a carucate and the third part of 1 bovate to the geld; the soke is in Great Driffield, the king's manor. Nigel has there 2 villans with 3 oxen.⁸

In MIDDLETON-ON-THE-WOLDS, Edith had 1 manor of 3 carucates and 5 bovates to the geld, and there could be 2 ploughs. Richard has it of the count, but the predecessor of the count did not have it. In demesne is 1 plough. TRE worth 20s; now 20s. In the same vill is sokeland of Great Driffield, the king's manor, of 6 bovates. Richard has the land, but the king does not have the soke.⁹

In BESWICK, Gamal had [1 manor] of 3 carucates to the geld, and there could be 2 ploughs. The soke is in Great Driffield. Nigel has 1 plough in demesne; and 7 villans with 2 ploughs, and 1 mill [rendering] 10s. TRE worth 20s; now the same.¹⁰

From the claims

The same Nigel has retained by force until now the soke of half a carucate of land and of the third part of 1 bovate in the same vill, and it belongs to the king's manor of Great Driffield.

In like manner, Hamelin has detained by force until now 2 carucates of land and 5 bovates in the same vill with soke belonging to Great Driffield.

In the same vill, Richard de Sourdeval holds 3 carucates of land and 5 bovates which belonged to Ealdgyth, whose land was not delivered to Count Robert.

Also in the same vill, the same Richard holds 6 bovates of land, the soke of which belongs to Great Driffield, but as yet it has not been returned.¹¹

From the summary

In GREAT DRIFFIELD, the king 32½ carucates.¹²

In Great Driffield, the Count of Mortain 6 bovates.¹³

Place-Name

The earliest recordings of the place-name Driffield are *Driffelda* in the D and E recensions of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle which Smith dates to c. 1100 and c. 1121 respectively, and as *Drifelt*, *-feld* in Domesday Book.¹⁴ Smith interprets this as meaning ‘stubble field’ from the Old English words *drif* and *feld*.

Archaeology

Mortimer has identified nine barrows in the vicinity of Great Driffield.¹⁵ Two of these he has identified as having large quantities of Anglo-Saxon burials cut into the original barrow. In Mortimer's barrow C38 to the south of All Saints church he finds that ‘...there have been recorded in all fifty-one inhumed and two cremated interments from this barrow. Of those found by Lord Londesborough three to five seem to have been British; all the other were Anglo-Saxon.’¹⁶ A

⁸ DB 306V.

⁹ DB 306V.

¹⁰ DB 306V.

¹¹ DB 373.

¹² DB 381V.

¹³ DB 381V.

¹⁴ *PN ERY* pp. 152-153.

¹⁵ J. R. Mortimer, *Forty Years' Researches in British and Saxon Burial Mounds of East Yorkshire* (London, 1905), pp. 271-297.

¹⁶ Mortimer, *Forty Years' Researches in British and Saxon Burial Mounds of East Yorkshire*, p. 283.

similar phenomenon was observed in barrow C44 to the east of All Saints church where of a total of 35 inhumations and one or more cremations Mortimer had discovered twelve inhumations and identified eleven of those as Anglo-Saxon.¹⁷ Mortimer also identified other potential Anglo-Saxon interments in the vicinity at Driffield Cake Mill, at the gas-works, and suggests a possible Anglo-Saxon cemetery extending from the east end of Bridge Street to Moot Hill (just to the north-east of the church of All Saints). Finally he proposes another possible Barrow containing Anglo-Saxon burials at the recreation ground adjoining the King's Mill Road.¹⁸

Discussion

Morris identifies Driffield as a possible candidate for one of his superior pre-Conquest churches.¹⁹ He considers it as likely to have been a royal tun by the time King Aldfrid died there in 705, and also highlights the fact that it was a focus for burials in the pre-Christian period. Further evidence is supplied by twelfth-century charters. It is apparent from Domesday Book that in 1086 it was a sizeable royal manor. Its dedication to All Saints could be a further indication of superior status.

Little Driffield

Little Driffield is situated about a mile to the west of Great Driffield also close to the river Hull.



Fig. 61. Map of Little Driffield from the 1854 Ordnance Survey.

¹⁷ Mortimer, *Forty Years' Researches in British and Saxon Burial Mounds of East Yorkshire*, p. 293.

¹⁸ These possibilities would justify further work that time has not allowed for this study. More precise location of these sites in relation to the church, closer consideration of the evidence and the examining of subsequent excavation in Driffield identified in the following English Heritage National Monuments Records Excavation Index for England entries may prove fruitful. EHNMR 658003, 106392 & 1063694.

¹⁹ R. K. Morris, *Churches in the landscape* (London, 1989), pp. 134-138.



Fig. 62. Aerial view of Little Driffield.

The Church



Fig. 63. St Mary, Little Driffield from the north-west.

St Mary, which was formerly dedicated to St Peter has Norman fabric in the lower part of its west tower with the top dating to the early fourteenth century.²⁰ Most of the existing church was rebuilt in 1889-90 by Temple Moore but he preserved any older fabric of significance, so for example, a complete Norman tower arch has survived.



Fig. 64. St Mary, Little Driffield from the west.

Domesday Book

From the land of the King

IN GREAT DRIFFIELD, with 4 Berewicks, Kilham, Elmswell, Little Driffield [and] Kelleythorpe, are 23 carucates of land to the geld, which 12 ploughs could plough. Morcar held this as 1 manor TRE, and it was worth £40. Now the king has it, and it is waste.²¹

²⁰ Pevsner and Neave, *Yorkshire: York and the East Riding*, pp. 597-598.

²¹ DB 299V.

Place-Name

The same interpretation as for Great Drifffield applies to Little Drifffield to. It is first distinguishable as little or *Parva* in the Yorkshire Inquisitions for 1290.²²

Sculpture

A fragment of cross-shaft (**Little Drifffield 1**) and cross-arm (**Little Drifffield 2**) have been found outside as a quoin in the north end of the east wall of the nave, and the inside of the sill of the west window, respectively.²³ Lang and Collingwood have both concluded that they are likely to be two pieces of the same monument. They are made of sandstone, probably from the North York Moors. They are dated to the late ninth to late tenth century

Dimensions 1. H. 52cm, W. 34.2cm, D. 28.5>27cm 2. H. 20cm, W. 21.7cm, D. 12.7cm

Lang notes the broad, median-incised strands of interlace on both fragments and places this in the Anglo-Scandinavian period.



Fig. 65. Little Drifffield 1.

Discussion

There is no explicit reference in Domesday Book to a church at Little Drifffield but after the entry for Beswick it does refer to 2 churches within the manor of Great Drifffield. If one of these is assumed to be at Great Drifffield, it does not seem unreasonable to assume that the other one may

²² *PN ERY* pp. 154-155.

²³ J. T. Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, III: York and Eastern Yorkshire* (Oxford, 1991), p. 179 Ills. 659-60.

have been at Little Driffield, in light of the Anglo-Scandinavian sculpture. It is possible that it was a daughter establishment of All Saints.

Hessle Hundred



Fig. 66. Modern Ordnance Survey map showing the locations of Kirk Ella, Hesse and North Ferriby.

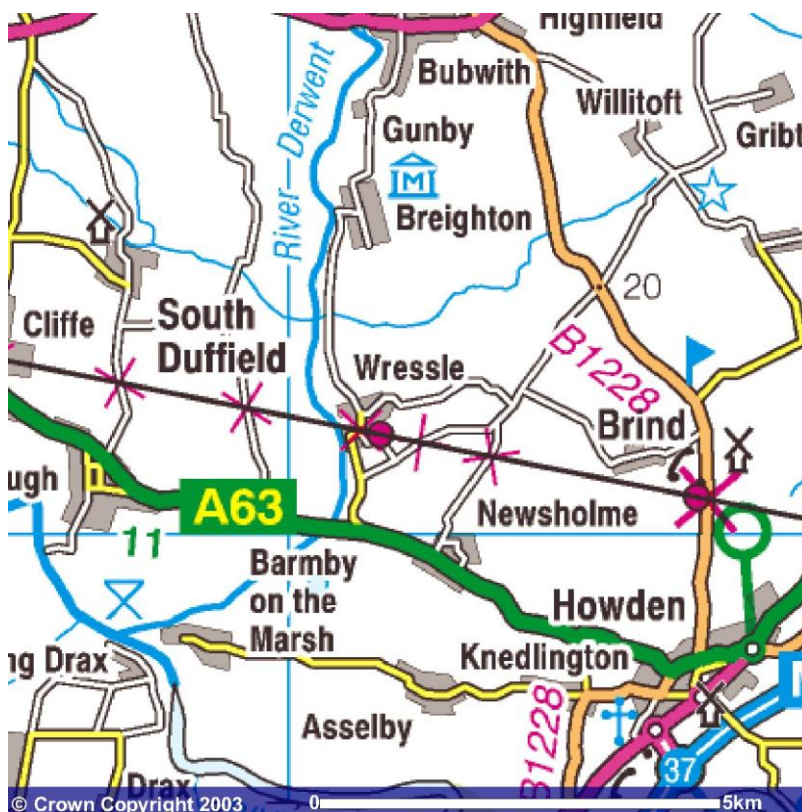


Fig. 67. Modern Ordnance Survey map showing Wressle, within a detached part of Hesse hundred.

Hessle

Hessle is situated on the banks of the river Humber about eight miles south of Beverley.

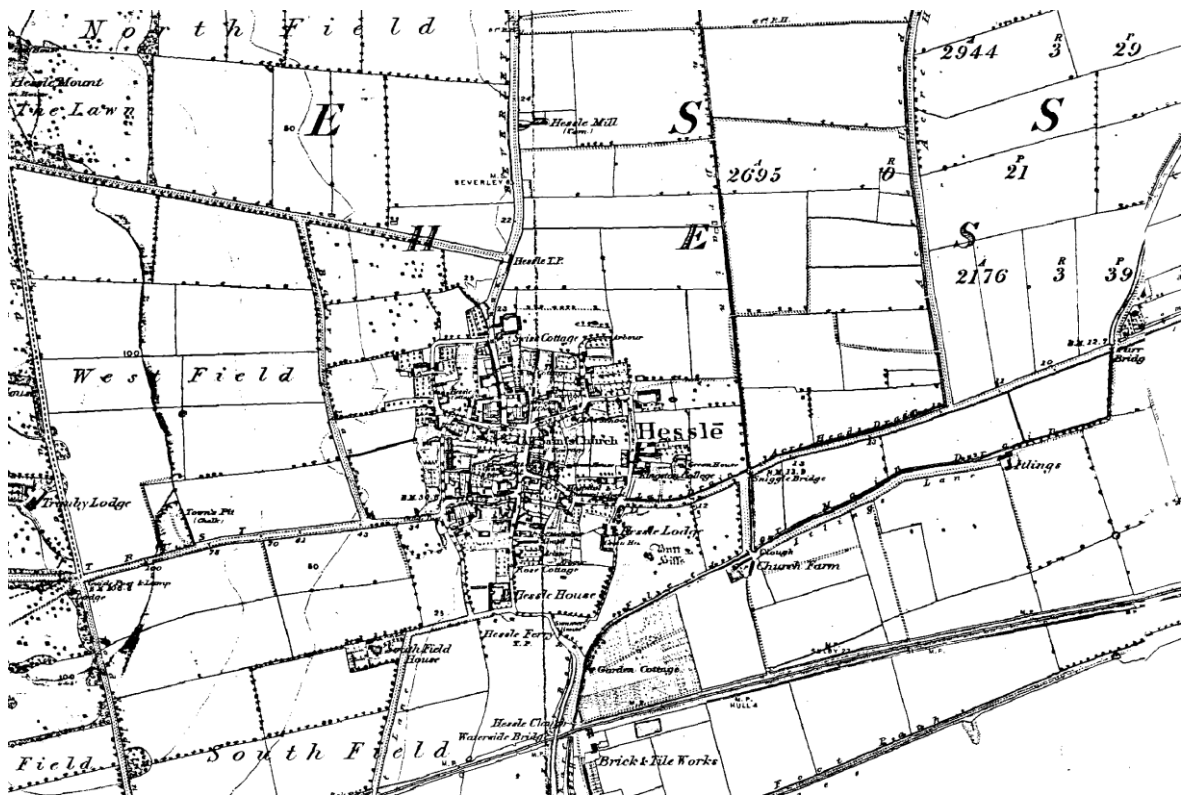


Fig. 68. Map of Hessle from the 1854 Ordnance Survey.



Fig. 69. Aerial view of Hessle.

The Church

The church of All Saints is large and impressive, situated right in the centre of the town. The earliest evidence in the building is of a Norman church, reused masonry is built into the north wall of the chapel south of the chancel.¹ The church is predominately Early English and would probably have consisted of just a simple nave and chancel without aisles, and possibly a western tower (although what can be seen now is perpendicular) in the twelfth century. Various enhancements and renovations have been carried out, some in the thirteenth century, some in the perpendicular period and a major enlargement and renovation was undertaken in the second half of the nineteenth century.



Fig. 70. All Saints, Hesse from the south-east.

Domesday Book

From the land of Gilbert de Ghent

In HESSLE Alwine and Ketill had 7 carucates of land taxable. There is land for 4 plough. Now Gilbert has there 1 plough; and

17 villagers and 2 smallholders with 3 ploughs.

There, a church and a priest.

1 league long and ½ wide.

Value before 1066, 60s; now 50s.²

¹ N. Pevsner and D. Neave, *Yorkshire: York and the East Riding*, 2nd edn., The Buildings of England (London, 1995), pp. 467-468.

² M. L. Faull and M. Stinson (eds.), *Domesday Book: Yorkshire: Volume I*, (Chichester, 1986), 21E2.

There is also an outlier of North Ferriby manor at Hessle of one carucate with four villagers and one plough.³

From the summary

Gilbert Tison, in HESSLE, 7 carucates of land. Ralph of Mortemer in the same place, 1 carucate.⁴

Place-Name

The earliest reference is to *Hase* in Domesday Book.⁵ Smith interprets this as meaning ‘the hazel tree’ from *hæsel*, influenced by the Old Scandinavian *hesli*.

Discussion

There is no real suggestion of a significant early church at Hessle other than the size and nature of the later church. The settlement described in Domesday Book appears fairly modest, with ownership divided among three people.

Kirk Ella

Kirk Ella is a little over 1½ miles north of Hessle and about 6½ miles south of Beverley.



Fig. 71. Map of Kirk Ella from the 1854 Ordnance Survey.

³ Faull and Stinson (eds.), *Domesday Book: Yorkshire: Volume I*, 15E2.

⁴ M. L. Faull, and M. Stinson (eds.), *Domesday Book: Yorkshire: Volume II*, (Chichester, 1986), SE,He1.

⁵ *PN ERY* pp.215-216.



Fig. 72. Aerial view of Kirk Ella.

The Church



Fig. 73. St Andrew, Kirk Ella from the south.

St Andrew's church is predominately Early English with a Perpendicular West tower.⁶ In the Early English period it would have had a simple nave and chancel which have been added to in subsequent enlargements and restorations. Within the church carved stones of the twelfth and thirteenth century have been discovered and within the churchyard the majority of a Norman doorway is laid out.

Domesday Book

From the land of the Count of Mortain

In (Kirk) ELLA, Siward and Thorketill had 2 manors of 4 carucates taxable; 2 ploughs possible. Nigel has there 5 villagers with 1 plough and 10s rent.⁷

From the land of Ralph de Mortimer

In (Kirk) ELLA Eadgifu had 10 carucates of land taxable. Land for 5 plough. Now Ralph of Mortimer has there 3 ploughs; and 20 villagers with 3 ploughs. Value before 1066, 100s; now £4.⁸

From the land of Gilbert Tison

In KIRK ELLA, Alwine, Ketil [and] Knut had 23 carucates of land to the geld. There is land for 12 ploughs. Now Gilbert Tison has 3 ploughs there; and 29 villans and 16 bordars having 6 ploughs. There is a church and a priest. TRE worth £8; now £6.⁹

From the land of Hugh FitzBaldric

In KIRK ELLA, Ketil had 2 carucates of land to the geld. [There is] land for half a plough. Hugh has there 1 villan with 2 oxen.¹⁰

From the summary

In Kirk Ella, Gilbert Tison 22½ carucates. In the same place, Ralph de Mortimer 10 carucates.¹¹

Place-Name

The first reference is to *Aluengi* in Domesday Book.¹² Smith interprets this as meaning 'Ælf(a)'s clearing. He also points out the possibility that this may relate to one of the tenants recorded before the conquest in Domesday book, Alwine's clearing. There is the possibility that with *Aluengi* from 1086 and *Heluiglei* from an 1156-7 Charter there may have been an original *ing* form (ie. the clearing of Ælfa and his people).

Discussion

In 1066 there was 67½ carucates owned by six people. The possibility that the place-name may refer to one of the owners in 1066 is worthy of note, especially when it is noted that he also owned land at Hessele.

⁶ Pevsner and Neave, *Yorkshire: York and the East Riding*, pp. 584-585.

⁷ Faull and Stinson (eds.), *Domesday Book: Yorkshire: Volume I*, 5E23.

⁸ Faull and Stinson (eds.), *Domesday Book: Yorkshire: Volume I*, 15E1.

⁹ DB 326V.

¹⁰ DB 328.

¹¹ DB 381V.

¹² *PN ERY* pp. 217-218.

North Ferriby

North Ferriby is situated about 2½ miles west of Hessle and about 8½ miles south-south-west of Beverley on the edge of the river Humber.

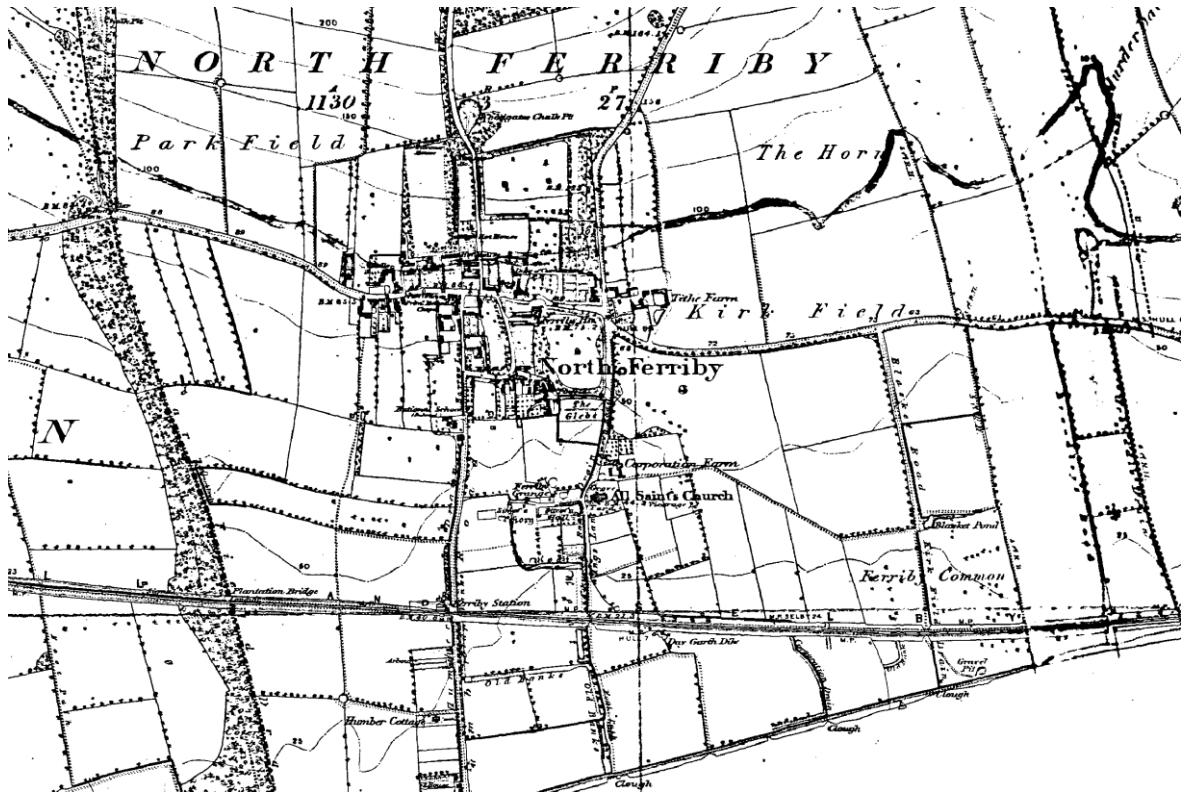


Fig. 74. Map of North Ferriby from the 1854 Ordnance Survey.



Fig. 75. Aerial view of North Ferriby.

The Church

All Saints Church was built in 1846-8. It replaced a medieval church on the same site. It is situated to the south of the modern settlement towards the river.



Fig. 76. All Saints, North Ferriby from the north.

Domesday Book

From the land of the Count of Mortain

In NORTH FERRIBY, Siward had half a carucate to the geld, and there could be 1 plough. In these, Nigel has 3 villans having half a plough.¹³

From the land of Ralph de Mortimer

In NORTH FERRIBY, Eadgifu had 10 carucates of land to the geld. There is land for 5 ploughs. Ralph has there now 14 villans with 3 ploughs. There is a priest and a church. TRE worth 100s; now 60s. To this manor belong these Berewicks: Anlaby, 2 bovates; Wauldby, 1 carucate; Riplingham, 10 bovates; "Totfled" [in Hull], 1 carucate; 'Myton', 1 ½ carucates; 'Wolfreton' [in Kirk Ella], half a carucate; Hessle [near Hull], 1 carucate. Together, [there are] 6 ½ carucates of land to the geld. There is land for 4 ploughs. These are waste, except that in Hessle [near Hull] are 4 villans with 1 plough.¹⁴

From the summary

In North Ferriby, Ralph de Mortimer 10 carucates. In the same place, the Count of Mortain half a carucate.¹⁵

¹³ DB 306.

¹⁴ DB 325.

¹⁵ DB 381V.

Place-Name

The first reference is in Domesday Book to *Ferebi* and there are further early references to *Ferebi* and *Fereby* in a charter of 1088-93.¹⁶ This is translated as 'Village near the ferry' from *ferja* and *by*.

Archaeology

Nearby, to the north-east, at Welton (SE 974279) excavations have revealed an Iron Age settlement, superseded by a Roman villa c. 100 and demolished by c. 340 with a possible post villa phase and occupation continuing until at least c. 400.¹⁷ There is further evidence of late Iron Age settlement on the banks of the Humber near North Ferriby at Redcliff. Excavation has revealed Romano-Gallic pottery, a boat and a variety of other finds of the first century.¹⁸ The middle of the first century is described as the boom period when it was thought to be on the border between the Coritani to the south and the Parisi to the north, and was likely to be a trading settlement for prestige goods.¹⁹ It seems likely it was subsequently overshadowed by the settlement of Petuaria, at Brough, once the Romans had pushed north beyond the Humber in c. 71.

Discussion

North Ferriby is located in an area of historic strategic importance. In the vicinity there was Iron Age and Roman settlement and presumably this was linked to the crossing point over the Humber from which the village took its name. Although this was possibly superseded in Roman times by the crossing at Brough that is only four miles upstream from North Ferriby. This strategic importance may have significance if there does prove to be an early church there. The modern church which replaces a medieval church on the same site, is situated to the south of the village towards the river. This may give some indication as to where the Anglo-Saxon settlement was located and the importance of its proximity to the river Humber.

¹⁶ *PN ERY* p, 218.

¹⁷ R. W. Mackey, 'The Yorkshire Archaeological Register: 1971', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* 44 (1972): 218, R. W. Mackey, 'The Yorkshire Archaeological Register: 1973', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* 46 (1974): 145 and R. W. Mackey, 'The Yorkshire Archaeological Register: 1974', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* 47 (1975): 4.

¹⁸ Roman Yorkshire, 1938: East Riding', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* 34 (1939): 234-5 and D. R. Crowther, 'Excavation and Survey at Redcliff, Welton, Humberside, 1987', *Archaeological Journal* 145 (1988): 386-7.

¹⁹ D. R. Crowther, 'Redcliff', *Current Archaeology* 104 (1987): 284-5.

Wressle

Wressle is about eighteen miles west-north-west of North Ferriby, the closest of the other settlements with a possible church in Hesse hundred, and about 20½ miles west-south-west of Beverley. It is situated in a detached part of Hesse hundred, only 5½ miles east of Selby.

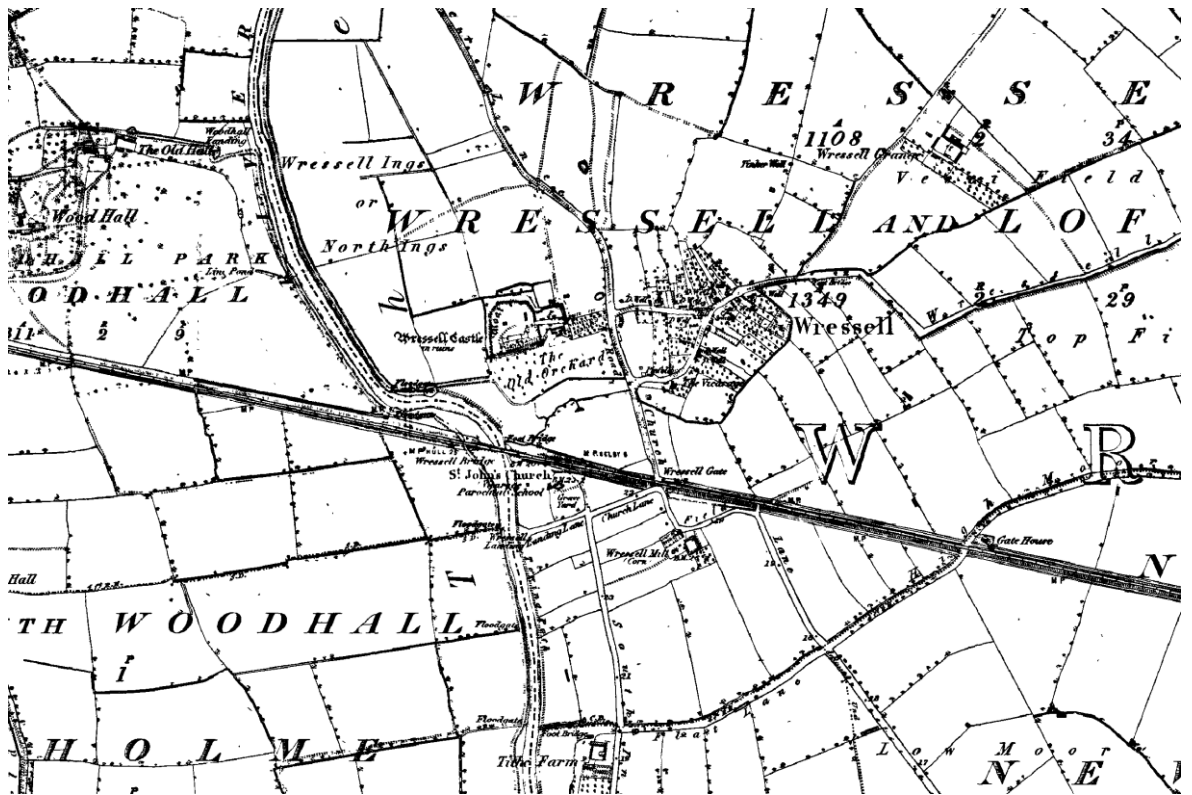


Fig. 77. Map of Wressle from the 1854 Ordnance Survey.



Fig. 78. Aerial view of Wressle.

The Church

St John of Beverley was built in 1799. The site is however potentially significant. It was built to replace a chapel in the castle, which was being used as a parish church, when it was burned down in 1796. It is thought to be on the site of the medieval church which was destroyed during the Civil Wars.²⁰



Fig. 79. St John of Beverley church from the south.

Domesday Book

From the land of Ralph de Mortimer

In NEWSHOLME [in Wressle], Eadgifu had 6 carucates of land and 1 bovate to the geld. There is land for 4 ploughs. 6 bovates of this land are in the soke of Spaldington. Ralph has there now half a plough; and 1 villan with 2 oxen. TRE worth 20s; now 10s. To this manor belongs sokeland in Wressle, 1 carucate and 6 bovates, and Gribthorpe, 2 carucates; this is 3 carucates and 6 bovates to the geld. There is land for 3 ploughs. Ralph has 1 plough there, and it is worth 6s 8d.²¹

From the land of Gilbert Tison

In WRESSLE and "Siuuarbi" [in Wressle], Alwine had 8 carucates of land to the geld. There is land for 4 ploughs. Now Gilbert has 1 plough there; and 16 villans and 5 bordars with 5 ploughs. There is a priest and a church, [and] woodland pasture 1 league long and 1½ furlongs broad. The whole manor [is] 2 leagues long and 1 broad. TRE worth 40s; now 60s.

To this manor belongs [this] sokeland: in Spaldington, 6 carucates of land, and in 'Lund' [in Brighton], 1½ carucates of land. There is land for 4 ploughs. Now there are 2 sokemen with half a plough.

²⁰ Pevsner and Neave, *Yorkshire: York and the East Riding*, p. 766.

²¹ DB 325.

To the same manor belongs other [sokeland]: in Willitoft, 7 bovates; and Gribthorpe, 2 carucates; and Laytham, 11 bovates. Together, to the geld, [there are] 4 carucates of land and 2 bovates to the geld. There is land for 3 ploughs. Gilbert has there 4 villans and 1 bordar with 1½ ploughs. In NORTH DUFFIELD [is] 1 carucate of land which belongs to Wressle.²²

From the summary

In Wressle, Gilbert Tison 14 carucates.

In the same place, Ralph de Mortimer 1 carucate and 6 bovates. In Newsholme [in Wressle], Ralph de Mortimer 6 carucates and 1 bovat.²³

Place-Name

The first mention of Wressle is as *Weresa* in Domesday Book.²⁴ Smith believes it is an unrecorded Old English word *wræsel* which derives from the Old English *wrāse* meaning ‘knot’ or ‘lump’. In this context he believes it may refer to the distinctive bend in the river by Wressle church.

Discussion

It may be worth considering the owners, Alwine in particular in 1066. It is noted above under Kirk Ella that he may have owned land there and may have his name incorporated within the place-name.²⁵ Someone of that name also owned land at Hessle and the church at Wressle was within the manor owned by Alwine. The impact if any can be discerned of being detached from the rest of the hundred may be worthy of further consideration, if beyond the scope of this study. A dedication to St John of Beverley is interesting; although it may be late it could suggest a connection to the community of St John although this research has not identified one.

²² DB 326V.

²³ DB 381V.

²⁴ *PN ERY* pp. 242-243.

²⁵ Above, p. 146.

Howden Hundred

The three proposed Anglo-Saxon churches situated within Howden Hundred were located at Howden, Hemingbrough and Skipwith. Churches are all suggested by Domesday Book references whereas Skipwith has the additional evidence of extant architecture and sculpture.

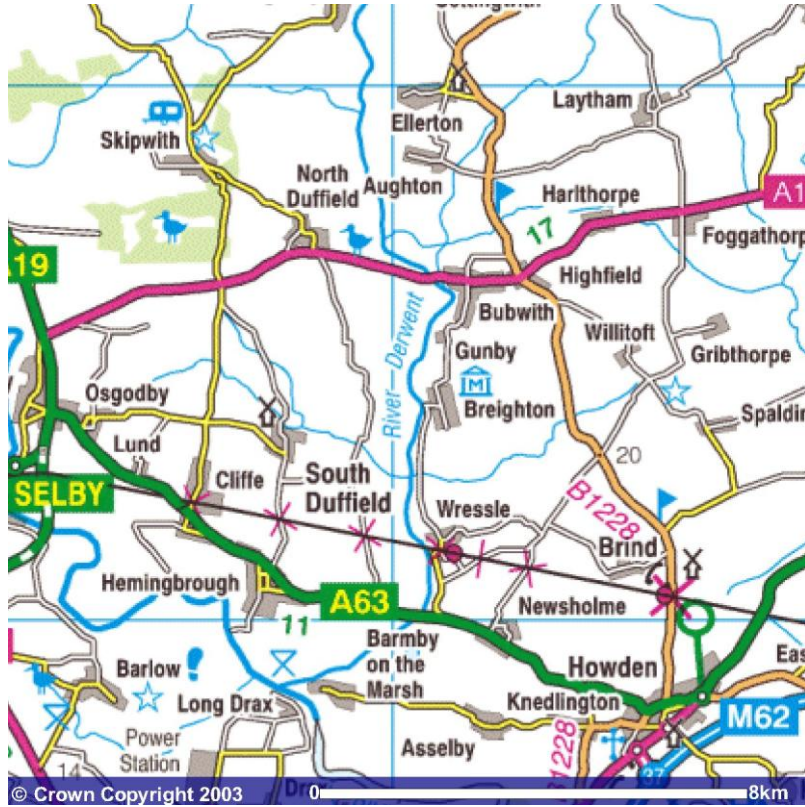


Fig. 80. Modern Ordnance Survey map showing church sites of Howden Hundred on the south-western edge of the East Riding.

The Church

Fig. 83. St Peter and St Paul, Howden from the north-west, showing nave to the west and tower.



Fig. 84. St Peter and St Paul, Howden and marketplace, from the east, showing ruined choir.

The extant church of St Peter and St Paul that remains at Howden was predominately built between c. 1267 and c. 1320.¹ It consists of the nave, crossing tower and north and south transepts and the choir and chapter house, which are in ruins.

Dimensions The church is one of the largest in the Riding, being 255 ft (78metres in length), with the crossing tower standing 135 ft (41 metres high).

It is of a size and position that dominates the town of Howden, being in the heart of the modern town, just to the west of the market place. The only remaining earlier feature is the Norman corbel table on the east wall of the north transept.

Domesday Book

From the land of the Bishop of Durham

IN HOWDEN, 15 carucates, with the Berewicks: Hive, 1 carucate; Owsthorpe, 1 ½ carucates; Portington, 2 carucates and 3 bovates; Cakil, 2 carucates and 2 bovates; Eastrington, 1 carucate; Kilpin, 3 carucates and 2 bovates; Belby, 3 carucates and 2 bovates; Yokefleet [near Blacktoft], half a carucate; Cotness, half a carucate; Saltmarshe, 6 carucates; Laxton, 1 carucate; Skelton [in Howden], 3 carucates and 2 bovates; Barnhill, 1 carucate; Thorpe Lidget, 1 ½ carucates; Knedlington, 6 carucates; Asselby, 1 carucate; Barmby on the Marsh, 1 carucate; Babthorpe, 2 bovates. In all, there are 51 carucates and 6 bovates to the geld, and there could be 30 ploughs. King Edward had this manor. Now the Bishop of Durham has it. In demesne [is] 1 plough; and [he has] 65 villans and 23 bordars having 16 ploughs, and 3 sokemen with 2 ploughs. In the manor there is a priest and a church. [There is] woodland pasture 3 leagues long and 1 league broad. The whole manor [is] 6 leagues long and 2 broad. TRE worth £40; now £12. All the Berewicks [are] waste. To this manor belongs this sokeland: Eastrington, 5 carucates; Belby, half a carucate; Knedlington, 1 carucate; Asselby, 4 carucates; Barmby on the Marsh, 5 carucates; Babthorpe, 3 carucates and 2 bovates; Barlby, 1 carucate. In all, [there are] 19 carucates and 6 bovates to the geld, and there could be 10 ploughs. Now there are 4 sokemen and 3 bordars with 2 ploughs. The rest [is] waste.

In RICCALL [is] 1 carucate to the geld. The soke belongs to Howden. The king had it. Now the bishop has there 2 sokemen and 3 villans and 2 bordars with 2 ploughs.²

From the land of the Count of Mortain

In SOUTH DUFFIELD were 2 manors [belonging] to 5 brothers, of 7 carucates and 5 bovates to the geld, and there could be 4 ploughs. Now Nigel has it of the count. In demesne [is] 1 plough, and woodland pasture 2 leagues long and a half broad. TRE worth £4; now 40s. In the same vill [are] 1½ carucates to the geld. Soke in Howden.

In Osgodby [in Hemingbrough] [are] 2 ½ carucates and half a bovat to the geld, and there could be 2 ploughs. The soke of these lands belongs to Howden, the Bishop of Durham's manor. Now Nigel has in demesne 1 plough; and 9 villans with 2 ploughs, and 6 sokemen and 4 villans and 2 bordars with 2 ploughs. TRE worth 40s; now 20s. In Hotham [are] 7 bovates to the geld. The soke [is] in Welton.

In ASSELBY, Thorkil had 1 manor of 1 carucate to the geld. Its soke [is] in Howden. Nigel has there 1 man with 2 oxen, and 5 fisheries rendering 2,400 eels.

In North Duffield and South Duffield [are] 14 bovates to the geld. The soke [is] in Howden.³

From the claims

They say that the soke which Gilbert Tison claims in Burland ought to belong to the Bishop of Durham in Howden.⁴

From the summary

¹ N. Pevsner and D. Neave, *Yorkshire: York and the East Riding*, The Buildings of England (London, 1995), pp. 485-490 and B. Keeton, 'The Minster Church of St Peter and Paul, Howden', *Archaeological Journal* 141 (1984), 55.

² DB 304V.

³ DB 306V.

⁴ DB 373.

In Howden, the Bishop of Durham 15 carucates. In Hive, 1 carucate. In Owsthorpe, 1½ carucates. In Portington, 1½ carucates.

In Cotness, half a carucate. In Saltmarshe, 6 carucates. In Laxton, 1 carucate. In Skelton [in Howden], 3 carucates and 2 bovates. In Barnhill, 1 carucate.

In Barlby, 1 carucate. In Ricall, 1 carucate. All these the Bishop of Durham [has] in Howden.⁵

In summary, Domesday Book informs us that the manor of Howden had fifteen carucates and seventeen outliers totalling 51 carucates and 6 bovates, with the possibility of 30 ploughs. In total there were 65 villagers, 23 small holders, three freemen, with a total of eighteen ploughs. In addition the soke of twelve further vills belong to this manor. Before 1066 it was assessed at £40 in 1086 it was assessed at £12. It had a priest and a church.

Place-Name

Howden is of Old English derivation, being a compound of *heaford* 'head' and *denu* 'valley'.⁶ Smith interprets this as referring to the 'Valley by the spit of land' where a stream ran from the Derwent into the Ouse, known as the Old Derwent.

Archaeology

A number of medieval features have been identified in watching briefs in and around Howden. However nothing of specific relevance in this context has yet been found. The only excavation has been carried out at the Bishop of Durham's Manor House and nothing relating to our period has been discovered.⁷

Discussion

Palliser has proposed the church at Howden as a possible minster church and it has certainly long been known as Howden Minster.⁸ His argument is based on late evidence and a comparison principally with Beverley and Ripon. He states that in 1267, because the parish was large and revenues sufficient, Archbishop Giffard made the church a college of five prebendaries, each administering cure of souls through its own vicar. Originally this excluded Howden prebendary but that was changed in 1319. Palliser concedes that it is a late example but argues that 'it may have formalized or reorganized an earlier structure of pastoral care in a major head minster parish'. We can see from Domesday Book that Howden manor was in 1066 owned by the King and by 1086 had passed to the Bishop of Durham. It is possible that this royal and subsequent episcopal ownership may prove to be an indicator or at least provide a suggestion of minster status. Richard Morris also considers Howden as a possible superior church as a result of a later large parish and a twelfth century reference in Giraldus Cambrensis, informing us that the Saxon church contained a

⁵ DB 381V.

⁶ *PNERY*, pp. 250-251.

⁷ J. B. Whitwell, 'The Bishop of Durham's Manor at Howden', *Archaeological Journal* 141 (1984), 56-58.

⁸ D. M. Palliser, 'Review article: The 'minster hypothesis': a case study', *Early Medieval Europe* 5 (2) (1996), 207-214, pp. 213-214.

shrine of St Osara.⁹ He also considers the later ownership by the Bishop of Durham to be significant.¹⁰

Hemingbrough



Fig. 85. Hemingbrough from the 1854 Ordnance Survey map.



Fig. 86. Aerial view of Hemingbrough.

⁹ R. K. Morris, *Churches in the landscape* (London, 1989), pp. 134-135.

¹⁰ Morris, *Churches in the landscape*, p. 138.

Hemingbrough is situated approximately thirteen miles southeast of York, very close but not immediately adjacent to the river Ouse. It would originally have stood on an area of higher ground near the riverbank but the river has subsequently adjusted its course slightly.¹¹ Romano-British remains have also been discovered at the site, and the attractiveness of firm ground overlooking the river may have accounted for both settlements.

The Church



Fig. 87. St Mary, Hemingbrough from the west.

Allison described ‘The church of St Mary, mostly of limestone, has a chancel with north vestry and north and south chapels, a central tower with spire and transepts, and an aisled and clerestoried nave with south porch.’¹²

Dimensions The tower is 63 ft (19m) with a spire on top of 126 ft (38m) giving a total height of 189 ft (57m). The length of the church is 148 ft (45m).¹³

While St Mary’s is not listed in Taylor and Taylor’s *Anglo-Saxon Architecture* as of Anglo-Saxon date, Allison does identify eleventh century remains.¹⁴ The two eastern bays of the nave arcades cut through the walls of an earlier building of which all four corners can still be seen. If this is accurate

¹¹ VCH East Riding III. pp. 37-47.

¹² VCH East Riding III. p. 45.

¹³ Pevsner and Neave, *Yorkshire: York and the East Riding*, p. 36.

¹⁴ VCH East Riding III. p. 45.

it is significant as firm evidence for the continuity of site for this church within the settlement of Hemingbrough.



Fig. 88. St Mary, Hemingbrough from the south-east.

Domesday Book

From the land of the King

In HEMINGBROUGH there are 3 carucates taxable which 2 ploughs can plough. Tosti held this as one manor. Now the King has there

5 villagers and 3 smallholders with 2 ploughs.

A priest is there and a church.

Meadow, 7 acres: woodland pasture, ½ league long and as wide.

In all, 1 league long and ½ wide.

Value before 1066, 40s; now 16s.¹⁵

From the summary

The Bishop of Durham, in Hemingbrough, 3 carucates.¹⁶

¹⁵ M. L. Faull and M. Stinson (eds.), *Domesday Book: Yorkshire: Volume I* (Chichester, 1986), 1Y5.

¹⁶ M. L. Faull and M. Stinson (eds.), *Domesday Book: Yorkshire: Volume II* (Chichester, 1986), SE, How10.

In summary there was a total of three carucates, land for two ploughs, five villagers, three smallholders, a priest and a church. Before 1066 it was worth 40s and in 1086 16s.

Place-Name

There are two possible interpretations of the derivation of Hemingbrough.¹⁷ The first uses the old Scandinavian personal name of *Heming* and *burh* and simply means ‘*Heming*’s fortification’. Smith has tentatively linked this to the Jomsborg Viking, Jarl Hemingr. Alternatively the place-name could derive from the Old English *Hem(m)ingaburh*, ‘stronghold of *Hemma* and his people.’

Archaeology

Evidence of Romano British settlement and medieval settlement and inhumation may well prove worth further examination.

Discussion

The ownership of the manor and consequently church seems to have passed from Tosti in 1066 to the King by 1086 and to the Bishop of Durham at or soon after 1086. This could justify categorizing it as a church of more than local importance, particularly as it also had an extensive ancient parish with dimensions of up to five miles by four miles and covering 10,847 acres.¹⁸ However the lack of evidence for royal or episcopal ownership in 1066 or before and the modesty of the Domesday settlement must count against this possibility. The church is situated at a central point on the west end of the settlement although it does not appear to command a particularly prominent position in relation to Hemingbrough. It appears more impressive when seen from the fields to the rear of the church and village.

¹⁷ *PN ERY* pp. 260-261.

¹⁸ *VCH East Riding III*. p. 37.

Skipwith

Skipwith is a small village nine miles to the southeast of York, about 1½ miles west of the river Derwent. Extensive pastures seem to have been a feature of the original settlement and the village still has 800 acres of common heath and woodland attached to it.¹⁹

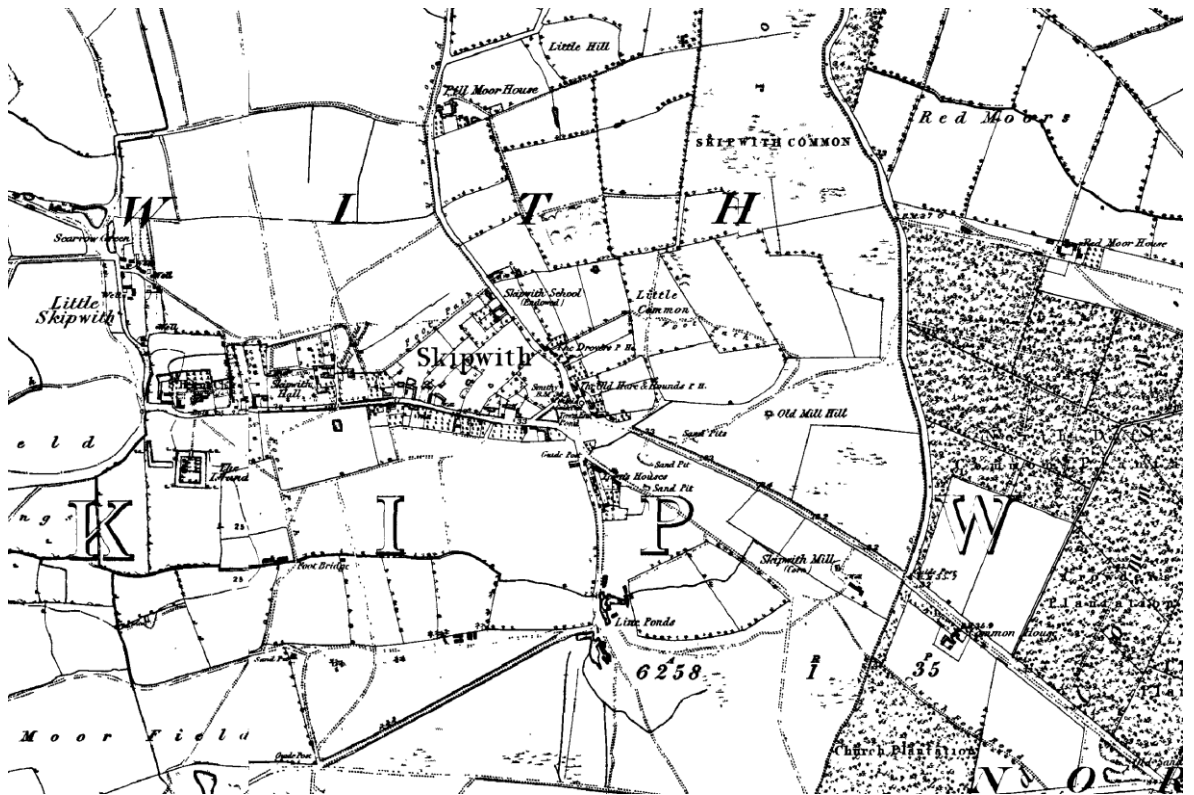


Fig. 89. Skipwith from the Ordnance Survey map of 1854.



Fig. 90. An aerial view of Skipwith.

¹⁹ VCH East Riding III. pp. 89-101.

The Church

Allison observed that ‘The church of St Helen is built of coursed rubble and ashlar and has a chancel, aisled and clerestoried nave with south porch, and west tower.’²⁰ Within the church of St Helen, Taylor and Taylor have identified the lower part of the tower and the western part of the nave as of period 600-950 and the upper chamber of the tower as of period 1000-1050.²¹ One item of particular interest is partially illustrated by the picture below. This is the arrangement of windows on the upper floor of the tower. The main windows are in the west and south faces (Taylor and Taylor propose these as the most northerly double splay windows apart from Jarrow) and the third is higher and further east in the south face. This suggests that the main windows would have lit the upper chamber while the third provided light to a shallow rectangular recess centrally placed in the east wall. Taylor and Taylor suggest this may have supported an enriched back for an altar placed against the east wall. Morris proposes the same explanation.²² The north aisle dates to c. 1190, and the chancel is dated to c. 1300.²³ The church is situated at the western edge of Skipwith on the road towards the outlying buildings of Little Skipwith.

Anglo-Saxon Dimensions Inside Nave 25’ by 16’, walls 2’10”, Tower 15’10” square, walls 2’11”, 44’ high to the top of the Anglo-Saxon phase.



Fig. 91. St Helen, Skipwith from the south-east.

²⁰ VCH East Riding III. p. 100.

²¹ H. M. Taylor and J. Taylor, *Anglo-Saxon architecture: Volume II* (Cambridge, 1980), pp. 550-554.

²² R. K. Morris, *Churches in the landscape* (London, 1997), p. 297.

²³ Pevsner and Neave, *Yorkshire: York and the East Riding*, p. 687.



Fig. 92. Skipwith church tower from the south.

Domesday Book

From the land of Hugh Fitz Baldric

In SKIPWITH Gamall had 3 carucates of land taxable. There is land for 2 ploughs. Hugh has there 1 plough; and

12 villagers with 3 ploughs.

There, a church and a priest.

Woodland pasture, 2 leagues long and 1 wide.

The whole manor, 2 leagues long and 1 1/2 leagues wide.

Value before 1066, 40s; now 20s.²⁴

From the summary

Hugh son of Baldric, in SKIPWITH, 5 carucates²⁵

In summary there were either three or five carucates, land for six ploughs, there were twelve villagers, a church and a priest. Before 1066 it was worth 40s and in 1086 it was worth 20s.

²⁴ *Domesday Book: Yorkshire: Volume I*, 23 E 5.

²⁵ *Domesday Book: Yorkshire: Volume II*, Se, How9.

Place-Name

Smith considers Skipwith to be an Old English place-name in origin, *Scip(a)wic*, ‘sheep farm,’ from *scip* and Old Northumbrian version of *sceap*, and Old English *wic*.²⁶

Sculpture

Lang considers the sculpture, **Skipwith 1**, which is built into the lower courses of the north wall of the tower to have been graffiti style carving, cut in situ. It is a slab, 35.7 cm (14.1 in) in height and 62.5 cm (24.6 in) in width. Both the subject and the positioning (it was in the part of the church thought to pre date 950) suggest an Anglo-Scandinavian context. It is date to the ninth to tenth century. Lang considers the carving to represent the destruction of the gods at Ragnarok, where Thor fights with the world serpent and Oðinn is eaten by the wolf Fenrir. Lang suggests that the technique and iconography tend to link it to the northwest. The stone itself is thought to be reused Roman ashlar from York, originally from the Tadcaster area.²⁷

Discussion

Skipwith appears a small settlement to have such an early church but the parish includes the larger settlement of North Duffield. The significance of the kings granting of the church to the Bishop of Durham in 1084 may be worthy of further examination.²⁸ The connection with Howden may be worth exploring in light of the 1280 establishment of a Skipwith prebend at Howden endowed with Skipwith church. Finally, the affinities that can be revealed by similarities between the sculpture and others from other ecclesiastical sites, or indeed non-ecclesiastical sites, may prove worthy of further investigation.

²⁶ *PN ERY* pp. 262-263.

²⁷ J. T. Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, III: York and Eastern Yorkshire* (Oxford, 1991), pp 214-215 Ill. 823.

²⁸ *VCH East Riding III*. p. 99.

Hunthow Hundred



Fig. 93. Modern Ordnance Survey showing the position of Bridlington.

Bridlington

Bridlington is situated on the coast about twenty miles north-north-east of Beverley.



Fig. 94. Bridlington from the 1851-4 Ordnance Survey.



Fig. 95. Aerial view of Bridlington.

The Church

While Bridlington has numerous churches, the Priory church of St Mary is most likely to be on the site of any earlier church as it is the only church in the old town and none of the other churches date from before the nineteenth century.¹ It was given to the priory at its foundation as a house for Augustinian Canons, probably in c. 1113.² The church was rebuilt between the thirteenth and the fifteenth centuries, and the north-west tower and the majority of the nave date to the early thirteenth century. Two sections of the cloister of 1150-1175 were re-erected in 1913, inside the church, at the west end of the north aisle. The nave of the priory church was used for parochial purposes before the dissolution and, with the gatehouse, is all that survives of the priory.

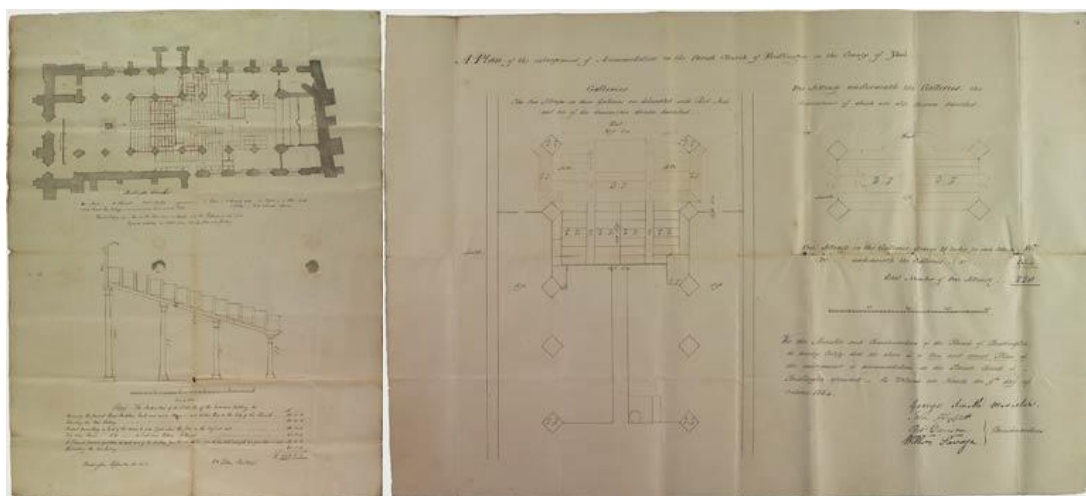


Fig. 96. Groundplans of Bridlington Priory church of St. Mary from 1833 and 1834.

¹ N. Pevsner and D. Neave, *Yorkshire: York and the East Riding*, The Buildings of England (London, 1995), pp. 340-348.

² VCH East Riding II. pp. 70-74.



Fig. 97. St. Mary, Bridlington from the south-west.

Domesday Book

From the land of the King

In BRIDLINGTON, with 2 Berewicks, Hilderthorpe and Wilsthorpe, are 13 carucates to the geld, which 7 ploughs could plough. Morcar held this as 1 manor. Now it is in the king's hand, and there are 4 burgesses paying rent. [There are] 8 acres of meadow, [and] 1 church. The whole manor [is] 2 leagues long and half a league broad. TRE worth £32; now 8s.

To this manor belongs the soke of these lands: Marton [in Sewerby], 6 carucates; Bessingby, 8 carucates; Easton, 5 [carucates]; Boynton, 2 [carucates]; and another Boynton [Boynton Hall], half a carucate; Grindale, 8 [carucates]; Speeton, 4 [carucates]; Buckton, 5 [carucates]; Flixton, 4 [carucates]; Staxton, 1 [carucate]; Foxholes, 2 [carucates]; "Elestolf" [in Brigham], 1 [carucates]; Ganton, 7 [carucates]; Willerby [near Staxton], 5 [carucates]. In all, there are 58 ½ carucates to the geld, which 30 ploughs could plough. Now there are 3 villans and 1 sokeman with 1 ½ ploughs. The rest [is] waste.³

In Bridlington, Karli, 4 carucates to the geld. Land for 2 ploughs. 20s.⁴

From the land of the Count of Mortain

In BRIDLINGTON, Thorkil had 1 manor of 5 carucates to the geld.⁵

³ DB 299V.

⁴ DB 301.

⁵ DB 307.

From the summary

In Bridlington, the king 13 carucates.

In the same place, the Count of Mortain 5 carucates.”⁶

Place-Name

Bridlington is first recorded in Domesday Book and Smith speculates as to the possible derivation of the first part.⁷ He puts forward a series of possible, primarily Old English, personal names and on the balance of probability selects ‘*Berhtel*’s farmstead’ from the Old English personal name *Berhtel* and the Old English suffix *-ingtun*, probably meaning ‘farmstead associated with’.⁸

Discussion

The Domesday Book church was within the largest of the three estates in Bridlington, which had passed from Morcar to the King. It was a major estate centre with two berewicks and fourteen sokelands. Dawn Hadley has noted the characteristic of major estate centres with ‘topographically striking locations’ and in particular a group of them along the coast of the East Riding.⁹ The King’s estates passed to the Gants and the Mortain estates to the Paynels and at the foundation of the priory in 1113, St Mary’s received the thirteen carucates of the Gant estate and a further carucate from the Paynel estate.¹⁰ The ancient parish extended approximately four miles north of the town and three miles south and occupied 12,432 acres.¹¹

⁶ DB 381V.

⁷ *PN ERY* pp.100-102.

⁸ A. H. Smith, *English Place-Name Elements: Part I* (Cambridge, 1956), pp. 291-293.

⁹ D. M. Hadley, *The Northern Danelaw: its social structure, c.800-1100* (London, 2000), pp. 124-125 fig. 16.

¹⁰ VCH East Riding II p. 44.

¹¹ VCH East Riding II p. 30.

Middle Hundred of Holderness



Fig. 98. Modern Ordnance Survey showing Middle Hundred of Holderness.

Aldbrough

Aldbrough is situated about thirteen miles east of Beverley and about a mile from the coast.



Fig. 99. Map of Aldbrough from the 1855 Ordnance Survey.



Fig. 100. Aerial view of Aldbrough.

The Church



Fig. 101. St Bartholomew, Aldbrough from the south-east.

The church of St. Bartholomew is elevated by its position on a circular mound within the village of Aldbrough which is already positioned on a ridge of high ground.¹ It was rebuilt in 1870-1.² Taylor and Taylor note a monolithic window head of late-Saxon character in the south wall of the chancel, above a later window. The outer face shows an animal in relief.³ The chancel has Norman features and Pevsner and Neave suggest that a stone to the right of the priest's doorway with 'two affronted beasts and some wild geometrical decoration' may be pre-conquest. The north chancel wall also has 'two blocked round-arched window slits with heads with eleventh century spiral ornaments'. Kent suggests the long and narrow nave may preserve the plan of the eleventh-century church.⁴ The lower part of the west tower dates to the thirteenth century. The first recording of the church with the exception of the inscription discussed below was when it was given with other churches in Holderness to Aumale priory in 1115.⁵

Domesday Book

From the land of Drogo de la Beuvrière a manor and a berewick,

In ALDBROUGH, Ulf had 9 carucates of land to the geld, where there could be 10 ploughs. In East Newton [in Aldbrough] and South Skirlaugh and Toteleys are 2 carucates of land and 6 bovates to the geld, where there could be 3 ploughs. Now Drogo has 1 plough there; and a certain knight of his 1 plough, and 14 villans with 2 ploughs. There are 100 acres of meadow, [and] woodland pasture 4 furlongs long and 3 broad.

To this manor belongs this sokeland: Wawne, 7 carucates; Meaux, 2 carucates; Benningholme, 2 carucates and 5 bovates; Rowton, 2 carucates; South Skirlaugh, 4 carucates; Dowthorpe, 3 carucates; Marton [in South Skirlaugh], 2 carucates; Low Fosham, 3 carucates; Bewick, 6 carucates; East Newton [in Aldbrough], 1 ½ Carucates; Ringbrough, 1 carucate; Waxholme, 2 carucates and 2 bovates; Toteleys, 5 carucates and 6 bovates; Ottringham, half a carucate. [...] Together, [there are] 41 carucates of land to the geld, where there could be 40 ploughs.

Now Drogo has 2 ploughs there; and 6 sokemen and 13 villans and 3 bordars having 7 ploughs. 3 of Drogo's knights have there 2 ploughs, and 2 villans and 3 bordars.

To these belong 174 acres of meadow. The whole manor with appurtenances [is] 9 leagues long and 6 ½ leagues broad. TRE worth £40; now £6."⁶

From the summary

In Aldbrough, 9 carucates.⁷

Place-Name

Aldbrough is Anglian in origin and means 'old stronghold'.⁸

¹ VCH East Riding VII. p7.

² N. Pevsner and D. Neave, *Yorkshire: York and the East Riding*, The Buildings of England (London, 1995), pp. 263-264.

³ H. M. Taylor and J. Taylor, *Anglo-Saxon Architecture* (Cambridge, 1980), p. 21.

⁴ VCH York East Riding VII. p. 24.

⁵ EYC iii. pp. 30-31 and 35-37.

⁶ DB 324.

⁷ DB 382.

⁸ VCH East Riding VII. p5.

Sculpture

Aldbrough 1 This is a sundial positioned high up above the south face of the southern nave arcade.⁹ It is made of sandstone, possibly of local origin or from the North Yorkshire Moors. The sundial has an inscription around the edge which is translated ‘Ulf ordered the church to be built for himself and for Gunwaru’s soul.’ As the sundial lacks decorative carving it must be dated from the inscription. Higgit dated it to the eleventh century principally from the language and the probability that the Ulf mentioned is the same as the Ulf recorded in Domesday Book as owning the land in the time of King Edward. The letter forms do not contradict this date.

Dimensions Diameter 43cm D. 5.1cm



Fig. 102. Aldbrough 1, a sundial.

Discussion

Aldbrough's place-name is evidence that it was probably an important site by the early Anglo-Saxon period and Domesday Book reveals an estate centre with three berewicks and fourteen sokelands. There is no Domesday reference to a church but the coincidence of the name on the inscription on the sundial with the owner in the time of King Edward is noteworthy. The church too shows some evidence of pre-conquest fabric. Aldbrough had a large ancient parish, which in 1852 was 6,398 acres in size.¹⁰

⁹ J. T. Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, III: York and Eastern Yorkshire* (Oxford, 1991), pp. 123-124 Ill. 418.

¹⁰ VCH East Riding VII. p. 5.

Fostun

Domesday Book

From the land of Drogo de la Beuvrière there was a manor

In KILNSEA, Morcar had 13 carucates of land to the and a half geld, +where+ there could be 12 ploughs. Now Drogo has 1 plough there; and 25 villans and 2 bordars with 7 ploughs, and 12 acres of meadow.

To this manor belongs this sokeland: Tunstall, 7 carucates; Roos, 3 carucates and 3, and $\frac{3}{4}$ carucates; Owstwick, 3 carucates; Elstronwick, 4 carucates; Tansterne, 1 carucate; Etherdwick, 2 carucates; Ringbrough, 1 carucate; Humbleton, 1 carucate; "Fostun" [in Humbleton], 3 carucates; Flinton, $3\frac{1}{2}$ carucates; Winestead, half a carucate. [...] Together, [there are] 29 carucates of land to the geld, where there could be 32 ploughs. Now Drogo has there $2\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs; and 20 villans having 6 ploughs, and 6 sokemen and 1 bordar. In "Fostune" [in Humbleton] there is a church and a priest. TRE worth £56; now £10.¹¹

From the summary

In Kilnsea, $13\frac{1}{2}$ carucates.¹²

Discussion

The church and priest listed were in Fostun one of the sokelands of Kilnsea manor, which is a lost vill but was in the township of Humbleton. It was in the Middle Hundred of Holderness and its location can be seen on the map of church sites above.¹³

Garton

Garton is about fifteen miles east-north-east from Beverley and about $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles south-east of Aldbrough. It is less than half a mile from the sea.

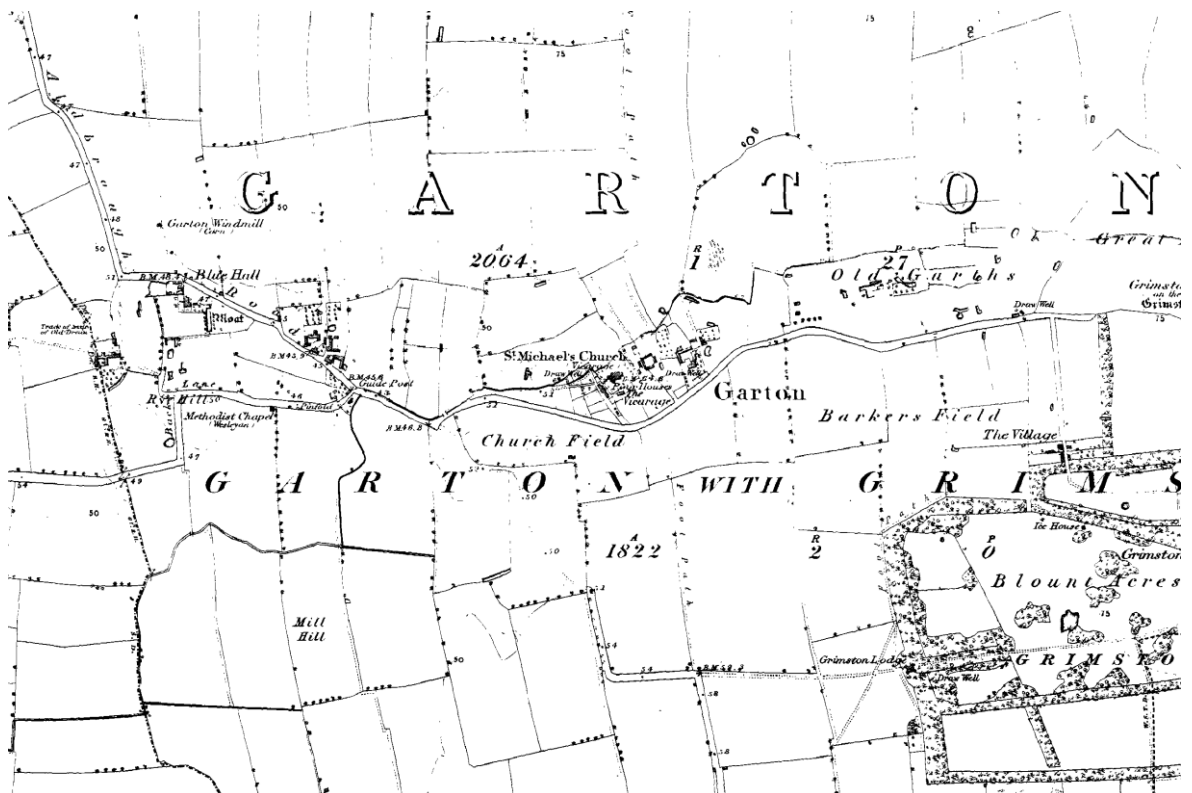


Fig. 103. Garton from the 1855 Ordnance Survey.

¹¹ DB 323V.

¹² DB 382.

¹³ Above, p. 48 fig. 6 site 53.



Fig. 104. Aerial view of Garton.

The Church

The earliest fabric of the church of St Michael is the west tower, which is dated to the thirteenth century by Pevsner and Neave by the lancets and arch to the nave.¹⁴ Kent suggests that the north wall of the nave and possibly chancel may survive from a twelfth century church.¹⁵



Fig. 105. St Michael, Garton from the south-east.

¹⁴ Pevsner and Neave, *Yorkshire: York and the East Riding*, p. 433.

¹⁵ VCH East Riding VII. p. 48.

Domesday Book

From the land of Drogo de la Beuvriere

In EASINGTON [near Kilnsea], Morcar had 15 carucates of land to the geld, and there could be as many ploughs. Now Drogo has there 1 plough; and 13 villans and 4 bordars having 3 ploughs, and 100 acres of meadow. To this manor belongs this sokeland: Garton and Ringbrough, 8 carucates of land to the geld, and there could be as many ploughs. Now Baldwin has it of Drogo. He himself [has] there 1 plough. There is a priest and a church, and [he has] 60 acres of meadow.¹⁶

In DIMLINGTON are 5 carucates of land to the geld, and as many [ploughs] to plough them. It belongs to Easington [near Kilnsea]. TRE worth £32; now £8.

From the summary

In Easington [near Kilnsea], 15 carucates. In Garton, 6 carucates. In Ringbrough, 2 carucates.¹⁷

Place-Name

This is Old English meaning 'Farmstead in or near the triangular piece of land'.¹⁸

Discussion

There is some ambiguity in the Domesday Book entry as to where the priest and church referred to were located. From the original layout it does seem probable that they were in the sokeland of Garton and Ringbrough rather than the central manor of Easington. As Garton has evidence of a twelfth century church, was the larger settlement of the two sokelands and later was the centre of a parish, this seems the most likely interpretation. However, it should be noted that there was by 1309 a chapel at Ringbrough, a dependency of the church at Aldborough.¹⁹ If this interpretation is accepted then the priest and church were located at Garton, a sokeland of Easington of six carucates. Easington was held by Morcar in the time of King Edward and Drogo in 1086. Garton was held by Baldwin from Drogo. In 1852 the parish of Garton was 2,064 acres in size.

¹⁶ DB 324.

¹⁷ DB 382.

¹⁸ *PN ERY* p. 58.

¹⁹ VCH East Riding VII. p. 22.

Preston

Preston is situated eleven miles south-east of Beverley and 5½ miles south-west of Aldbrough.



Fig. 106. Preston from the 1855 Ordnance Survey.



Fig. 107. Aerial view of Preston.

The Church



Fig. 108. All Saints, Preston from the north-east.

The oldest extant fabric of the church of All Saints is the thirteenth century chancel.²⁰ The church has a chancel with west chapel, an aisled and clerestoried nave, and a west tower.

Domesday Book

There was 11 bovates of sokeland of the manor of Burstwick at Preston.²¹

From the land of Drogo de la Beuvriere there were 8 manors

In PRESTON [near Hedon], Frani and the other Frani, Basinc, Maccus, Thor, Gamal, Thorbiorn and Thorfridh had 10 carucates of land to the geld and 2 bovates. There could be 10 ploughs. Now Baldwin, Drogo's man, has 1 plough there; and 45 villans and 3 bordars having 9 ploughs. There is a priest and a church. 3 of Drogo's knights have there 11 villans and 4 bordars with 3 ploughs, and 200 acres of meadow. [It is] 2 leagues long and 2 broad. TRE worth £12; now £6.²²

From the claims section

The jurors of Holderness have testified that these lands noted below [are] for William Malet's use, because they saw them seised in the hand of the same William, and saw him having and holding them until the Danes took him; but they have not seen the king's writ or seal for this.

In Preston [near Hedon], 16 carucates of land which belonged to Frani and his brother.²³

²⁰ Pevsner and Neave, *Yorkshire: York and the East Riding*, p. 652.

²¹ DB 323V.

²² DB 325.

²³ DB 374.

From the summary

In Preston [near Hedon], 1 carucate and 3 bovates.

In Preston [near Hedon], 12 carucates and 1 bovat.²⁴

Place-Name

The place-name derives from the Old English words *preost* and *tun* and means 'priests farm'. This is of obvious significance as the naming of the settlement clearly pre-dates the Domesday Book reference so it is our first indication of the presence of a priest and presumably also a church.²⁵

Discussion

Domesday Book reveals a fairly small settlement, divided amongst eight men at the time of King Edward and owned by Baldwin under Drogo by 1086 and containing a priest and a church. In 1852 the parish of Preston was 5,804 acres in size, although it is known that it was reduced in the twelfth century with the creation of the town of Hedon.²⁶

It is interesting to note that the orientation of the village of Preston was changed in the eighteenth century when the north-south Kirkeholme Street became the new focus of the settlement as a result of the turnpiking of the north-south road in 1745 and enclosure in 1777.²⁷ This is an important reminder to be extremely cautious when using nineteenth century Ordnance Survey maps as evidence. Previously the village was linear with settlement stretching almost the entire length of the township and dividing the North from the South field. Harvey has examined settlement morphology and field layout in Holderness and discovered that, by the nineteenth century, 60% of settlements of sufficient size to have a distinct structure, were of this linear type, usually incorporating a few irregular clusters of tofts.²⁸ Harvey has looked specifically at Preston and suggested that it is an example of regular field arrangements with *solskifte* division similar to a practice in south and east Sweden in the middle ages.²⁹ This involves the dividing of the fields into regular strips with ownership being allocated in a set order according to the progress of the sun through the sky, so that an individual landowner has strips located next to the same two other landholders. In a series of studies of settlement morphology and field layout in Holderness Harvey has explored a variety of different timeframes for the emergence of these two phenomena, aggregate linear villages and very regular field layout.³⁰ The conclusions she draws vary but it seems likely that the two events occurred at the same time and that they were likely to require

²⁴ DB 382.

²⁵ *PN ERY* pp. 40-41.

²⁶ VCH East Riding V. p. 186.

²⁷ VCH East Riding V. p. 189.

²⁸ M. Harvey, 'Regular field and tenurial arrangements in Holderness, Yorkshire', *Journal of Historical Geography* 6 (1980), 3-16, p. 4.

²⁹ Harvey, 'Regular field and tenurial arrangements in Holderness, Yorkshire', pp. 10-11.

³⁰ Harvey, 'Regular field and tenurial arrangements in Holderness, Yorkshire' M. Harvey, 'Irregular Villages in Holderness, Yorkshire: Some Thoughts on Their Origin', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* 54 (1982), 63-71, M. Harvey, 'Planned Field Systems in Eastern Yorkshire: Some Thoughts on Their Origin', *Agricultural History Review* 31 (1985), 91-103 and M. Harvey, *Morphological and Tenurial Structure of a Yorkshire Township: Preston in Holderness, 1066-1750* (London, 1978).

unified lordship over Holderness. Furthermore, the consensus is that open fields evolved during the Anglo-Saxon period and were unlikely to have been developed to the level observed at Preston until the ninth or tenth centuries. Additionally, population was probably not sufficient to require the cultivation of the entire township until this period. Finally, a relationship between the field structure observed at Preston and the tax assessment recorded in Domesday Book is observed which may suggest early eleventh century, although it could go back further or forward to the immediately post-Conquest period. All of these observations lead to the conclusion that the replanning of settlements and fields in Holderness could have taken place either in the Anglo-Scandinavian period, the start of the eleventh century or in the aftermath of the Norman invasion. These are the times when the necessary prerequisites would have been in place. This is an interesting way of establishing a series of possible dates for the establishment of the settlement in its pre-eighteenth century form. However, it could be very significant if the settlement is also named 'priests farm' and incorporates a church as part of this process of settlement replanning. Domesday Book offers a possible occasion for the creation of an aggregate linear village with regular field layout as it illustrates the settlement moving from eight manors into one consolidated one between 1066 and 1086.

Swine

Swine is about 6½ miles south-east of Beverley and about seven miles to the west of Aldbrough.



Fig. 109. Swine from the 1851-55 Ordnance Survey.



Fig. 110. Aerial view of Swine.

The Church

The original nunnery church of St Mary was a cruciform building with the part to the east of the crossing tower a parish church and the part to the west a priory church.³¹ Most of this has disappeared and the aisled choir, north chapel and west tower remain. A late twelfth century date is suggested by what remains.



Fig. 111. St Mary, Swine from the south-east.

³¹ VCH East Riding VII. pp. 116-117 and Pevsner and Neave, *Yorkshire: York and the East Riding*, p. 719.

Domesday Book

In the Land of the Archbishop

In SWINE, with 4 Berewicks, are 10 carucates of land and 2 bovates to the geld. [There is] land for 8 ploughs. This manor belonged and belongs to the Archbishop of York. Now he has in demesne there 1 plough; and 8 villans and 6 bordars having 3 ½ ploughs. There is a priest with half a plough. There are 30 acres of meadow. [It is] 3 leagues long and 1 broad. TRE worth 100s; now 40s.³²

From the summary

In Swine, 7 carucates and 7 bovates.³³

Place-Name

Smith believes the place-name derives from the Old English word *swin* meaning ‘creek, channel’ and possibly referring to the watercourse Church Drain which runs by the village and may once have been a navigable channel to the Humber.³⁴

Discussion

The Domesday Book entry records a priest on a central manor of seven carucates and seven bovates with four berwicks making the total size ten carucates and two bovates. The manor was owned before and after the conquest by the Archbishop of York. The combination of a priest present in Domesday Book, a later major parish and the fact that by c. 1150 a church was given to Swine priory at its foundation make the presence of a pre-conquest church very probable. The ancient parish was the largest in Holderness and by 1852-3 it was 14,695 acres, greater than five miles in length and width at its largest extent.³⁵

³² DB 302.

³³ DB 382.

³⁴ *PN ERY* p. 51.

³⁵ *VCH East Riding VII*. p. 107.

North Hundred of Holderness



Fig. 112. Modern Ordnance Survey showing church sites of North Hundred of Holderness.

Barmston

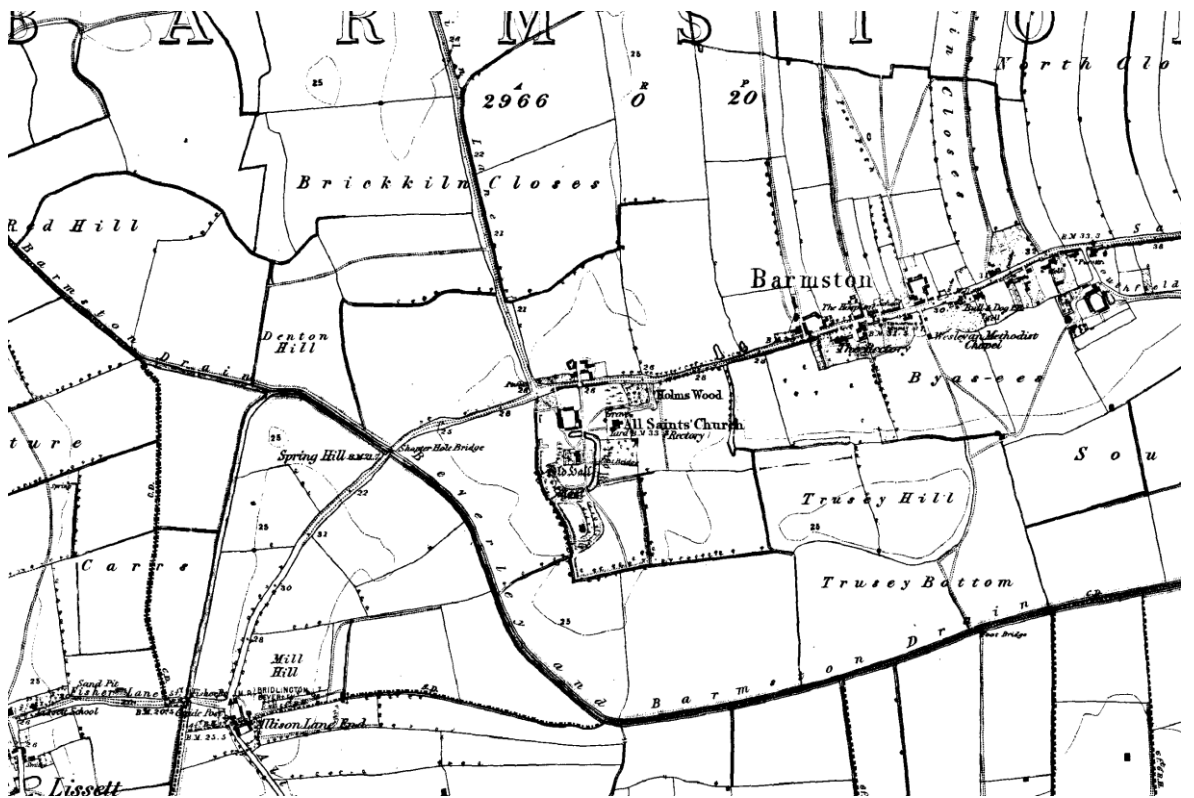


Fig. 113. Map of Barmston from the 1854 Ordnance Survey.



Fig. 114. Aerial view of Barmston.

Barmston is situated 14½ miles north-east of Beverley on the coast. The 1851 ecclesiastical parish was 2,966 acres in size.¹

The Church



Fig. 115. St Leonard, Barmston from the north-west.

¹ *VCH East Riding VII*, p. 213.

The church of All Saints is built of rubble and boulders and finished in ashlar, it has a chancel and nave, with south aisle and porch and a south-west tower. The earliest extant architecture is the thick north wall of the nave, which dates to the twelfth century. The east end of the aisle arcade may also date to this period, as does the cylindrical font.² It is situated in a detached position to the west of the village, with the old moated hall adjacent to its south-west. This hall is first recorded in 1297, and can be seen on a map of 1756.³

Domesday Book

From the land of Drogo de la Beuvriere there were four manors before 1066

In BARMSTON, Thorkil, Siward, Bondi and Alfkil had 8 carucates of land to the geld, and there could be as many ploughs. It is waste.⁴

From the summary

In Barmston, 8 carucates.⁵

Place-Name

This could either mean ‘*Beorn*’s farmstead’ from the Old English or it could use an Old Scandinavian personal name *Bjorn*.⁶

Sculpture

Barmston 1 A part of a hogback, inside the west wall of the porch. There is a possibility that the antiquary William Wade, who was rector in the 1770’s brought the monument from another church on the Holderness coast. It is made of sandstone, probably from the North Yorkshire Moors. Lang describes it as a type E hogback, of a dragonesque type, which had evolved from the earliest Allertonshire forms. The closest parallel for this one is at Lythe, in the North Riding of Yorkshire and Lang goes so far as to suggest it may have been made there and imported by sea, which fits its geological nature as well as its stylistic links. It is dated to the tenth century.

Dimensions L. 70cm, W. 33>24cm, D 43.2>41.3cm⁷

² *VCH* East Riding VII. p. 221.

³ *VCH* East Riding VII. p. 216-217.

⁴ DB 324.

⁵ DB 382.

⁶ *PN ERY* p. 83.

⁷ J. T. Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, III: York and Eastern Yorkshire* (Oxford, 1991), p. 125 Ills. 423-6.



Fig. 116. Barmston 1.



Fig. 117. Barmston 1 from the side.



Fig. 118. Barmston 1 from above from both ends.

Discussion

Domesday Book reveals a small settlement of just eight carucates divided between four manors before 1066 and waste in 1086. There is no mention of a church or priest. The only evidence for an early church is the tenth century hogback stone, which could have been transferred there from another church in the eighteenth century, thus the likelihood of a pre-conquest church here has to be regarded as slim. The fact that the sculpture is not built into the fabric of the church, as is normally the case, adds further to the probability that it was transported there at a later date. From the aerial photograph and 1854 Ordnance Survey the churchyard appears to be part of a large square shaped, tree lined enclosure incorporating the old hall immediately to the south-west of the church. This enclosure is slightly detached at the west end of a linear village.

Beeford

Beeford is eleven miles north-east of Beverley and $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles south-west of Barmston. It is $2\frac{1}{2}$ to three miles west of the coast. Its large and irregularly shaped parish was 5,747 acres in 1851.⁸

⁸ *VCH East Riding VII*, p. 223.

earliest fabric dates to the thirteenth century and is a pair of windows and a single-seat sedile in the south side of the chancel.⁹



Fig. 121. St Leonard, Beeford from the south-east.

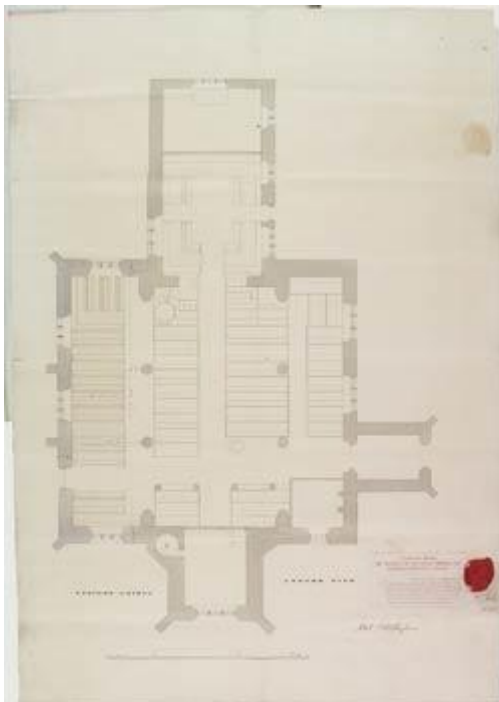


Fig. 122. Church plan of St Leonard from 1845.

⁹ *VCH East Riding VII*, p. 240.

Domesday Book

From the land of Drogo de la Beuvriere there was 1 manor.

In BEEFORD, Ulf had 12½ carucates of land to the geld, and there could be 12 ploughs. Now Drogo has 1 plough there. There is a priest and a church, [and] 30 acres of meadow. [It is] 1 league long and 1 broad. To this manor belongs this sokeland: Dunnington [in Beeford], 6 carucates; 'Winkton' [in Barmston], 5 carucates and 2 bovates; Nunkeeling, 2 carucates. Together, [there are] 13 carucates of land and 2 bovates to the geld, and there could be as many ploughs. Now the priest of Drogo has 1 plough there. [There are] 52 acres of meadow. TRE worth £20; now 10s.¹⁰

From the summary

In Beeford, 12½ carucates.¹¹

Discussion

The Domesday Book entry for Beeford is slightly out of the ordinary. Drogo de la Beuvrière appears to hold it as a fairly small demesne manor in 1086, having acquired it from Ulf who possessed it before 1066. It is recorded as having a priest and a church and three sokelands. Somewhere on these three sokelands Drogo's priest kept a plough. This gives us slightly more information about a priest than is normally provided. All in all there were only two ploughs in operation on land thought capable of supporting 25.

Catwick

Catwick is situated nearly seven miles east-north-east of Beverley and five miles west-south-west of the coast at Hornsea. In 1851 the ancient parish contained 1,570 acres.¹²

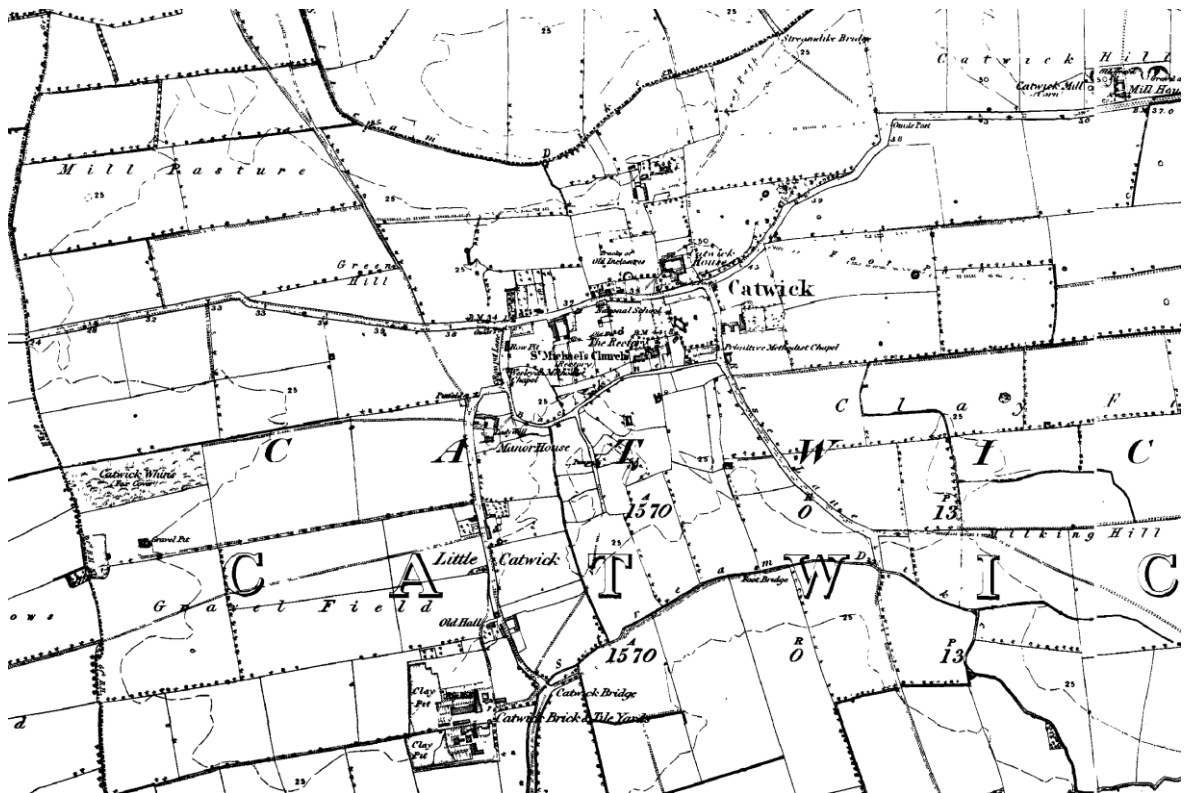


Fig. 123. Map of Catwick from the 1854 Ordnance Survey.

¹⁰ DB 324.

¹¹ DB 382.

¹² VCH East Riding VII. p.255.

of the chancel. The church is positioned in the very centre of the village and its location on slightly elevated ground is interesting in light of its dedication to St Michael.¹³



Fig. 126. St Michael, Catwick from the south showing position adjacent to the old rectory.

Domesday Book

From the land of the Archbishop of York a berewick

In Catwick [is] 1 carucate of land to the geld. There 1 knight has 1 plough, and 3 villans and 4 bordars.¹⁴

From the land of Drogo de la Beuvrière before 1066 there were 2 manors

In CATWICK, Swein and Murdac had 5 carucates of land to the geld, and there could be 5 ploughs. Now 2 of Drogo's knights have 2 ploughs there; and 2 villans and 2 bordars with 1 plough. There is a church, and 1 mill, and 40 acres of meadow. [It is] 1 league long and 1 broad. TRE worth 60s; now 30s.¹⁵

From the claims

The jurors of Holderness have testified that these lands noted below [are] for William Malet's use, because they saw having and holding them until the Danes took him; but they have not seen the king's writ or seal for this....a berewick In Catwick, 4 carucates of land which belonged to Ealdwif.¹⁶

From the summary

In Catwick, 1 carucate.

In Catwick, 5 carucates.¹⁷

¹³ VCH East Riding VII. p. 259.

¹⁴ DB 304.

¹⁵ DB 324V.

¹⁶ DB 374.

¹⁷ DB 382.

Place-Name

The variety of forms for Catwick within Domesday Book leads Smith to argue for two Old English forms, *Cattanwic* and *Catting(a)wic* meaning respectively ‘the dairy-farm of Catta or of Catta and his people.’¹⁸

Discussion

The Domesday Book entry reveals a fairly small manor to have had its own church. The existence of a church dedicated to St Michael on slightly elevated land is worthy of note but the location is not a spectacular one.

Hornsea

Hornsea is on the coast about 11½ miles east-north-east of Beverley.



Fig. 127. Map of Hornsea from the 1854 Ordnance Survey.

¹⁸ *PNERY* p. 73.



Fig. 128. Aerial view of Hornsea.

The Church



Fig. 129. St. Nicholas, Hornsea from the south-west.

The church of St Nicholas consists of an aisled and clerestoried chancel with crypt and north vestry, and an aisled and clerestoried nave with south porch and a west tower. Allison suggests that

the narrow nave and clasped tower may indicate an early origin for the plan. However, the earliest extant fabric is the arcades and tower of the thirteenth century. It is built mainly of rubble with ashlar dressings and is situated on raised ground at the junction of Market Place and Newbegin.¹⁹ It is possible that the churchyard has been artificially raised above the level of the town around it. The church's guide records a tradition that its crypt, now closed, dates back to the original pre-conquest church. It is described as unusual because it had entrances both inside and outside the church. Pevsner and Neave describe it as beneath the chancel's east bay but narrower and consisting of two panelled, tunnel-vaults of brick.²⁰

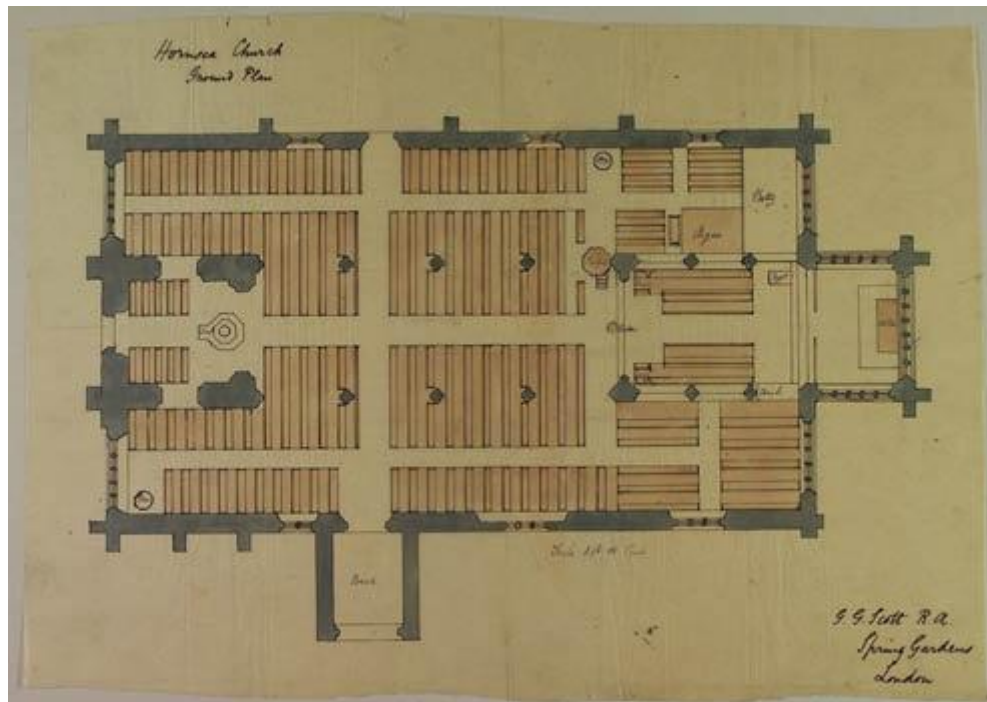


Fig. 130. A plan of the church of St Nicholas from 1865-8.

Domesday Book

From the land of Drogo de la Beuvrière

In HORNSEA, Morcar had 27 carucates of land to the geld, and there could be as many ploughs. Now Drogo has 1 plough there, and Wizo, his man, 1 plough, and 9 villans and 3 bordars with 1½ ploughs. There is a church and a priest, and [he has] 60 acres of meadow.

To this manor belongs this sokeland: Hornsea Burton, 2 carucates; Southorpe, 1½ carucates; Long Riston, 2 carucates and 6 bovates; North Skirlaugh, 6 bovates; High Skirlington, 5 carucates.

Together, [there are] 11½ carucates of land to the geld, where there could be 12 ploughs. Now Drogo has there 2 sokemen and 3 villans with 2 ploughs. TRE worth £56; now £6.²¹

From the summary

In Hornsea, 27 carucates.²²

¹⁹ VCH East Riding VII. p. 291.

²⁰ N. Pevsner and D. Neave, *Yorkshire: York and the East Riding*, The Buildings of England (London, 1995), p. 477.

²¹ DB 323V.

²² DB 382.

Place-Name

Hornsea is variously referred to in Domesday Book as *Hornesse* and *Hornessei*. Smith interprets the second element as referring to the lake known now as Hornsea Mere. This derives from either the Old English *sæ* or the Old Scandinavian *sær* both meaning pool or lake. The first element may be an Old East Scandinavian personal name *Horn(i)* or it could derive from the Old English or Old Scandinavian word horn. In this context it could refer to the narrow peninsular that projects into Hornsea Mere beside the village, thus it would be translated as 'lake in which lies a projecting piece of land'.²³

Archaeology

An Anglo-Saxon cemetery has been discovered in the vicinity of a gravel ridge one kilometre to the north-east of St Nicholas's church. It was partially excavated in 1913 and 1982 and the findings were subsequently re-examined by Head.²⁴ The eighteen burials have been recorded and their positions suggest that the full cemetery has not been excavated and its total extent is not known. Grave goods suggest that the burials may all have been female, although it is impossible to be categorical here, they also provide a possible date of late fifth to late seventh century, with the majority indicating mid to late sixth century date. Furthermore, the grave goods suggest a lower social status of the occupants than other cemeteries from the same period in the vicinity, such as Driffield and Sewerby. In addition to the Anglo-Saxon cemetery there is evidence of Iron Age and Roman activity and it is possible that the gravel ridge in which the burials were cut could have been used for burial through the Iron Age, Roman and early Anglo-Saxon periods.

Discussion

In 1086 Hornsea was a large manor with 27 carucates of land, it was partially held in demesne by Drogo de la Beuvriere and partially by his man Wizo. It had sokeland in five further villis totalling 11½ carucates. The presence of an early Anglo-Saxon cemetery, predominantly of mid to late sixth century date, within one kilometre of the site of the church may have significance in the positioning of the later church, particularly if it had been a burial site throughout the Iron Age and Roman periods.

²³ *PN ERY* pp. 63-64.

²⁴ R. Head, 'An Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Hornsea, East Riding of Yorkshire', *East Riding Archaeologist* 9 (1997), 10-65.

Leven

Leven is situated about six miles north-east of Beverley, about half way between Beverley and the coast at Hornsea on the east bank of the river Hull.



Fig. 131. Map of Leven and St Faith's churchyard from the 1854 Ordnance Survey.



Fig. 132. Aerial view of Leven and St Faith's church.

The Church



Fig. 133. The abandoned churchyard of the medieval church of St Faith.

This church was built in 1843-4 on land in the centre of the village. It contains part of a ninth century cross shaft, has a late thirteenth century font and the head of a fifteenth century cross from St Faith's churchyard. The medieval church was two kilometres to the west of the centre of the modern village, next to Hall Garth, and consequently fell out of use and was eventually demolished in 1883. It was made of brick and boulders and comprised a chancel, nave with south aisle, porch, vestry and west tower.²⁵

Domesday Book

From the land of the Archbishop of York a berewick

In Leven [are] 6 carucates of land to the geld. [There is] land for 4 ploughs. There is 1 plough in demesne; and 15 villans and 1 bordar with 3 ploughs. There is a priest and a church.²⁶

From the summary under the Archbishop of York

In Leven, 6 carucates.²⁷

²⁵ VCH East Riding VII. p. 304.

²⁶ DB 304.

²⁷ DB 382.

Sculpture

Leven 1 is part of a cross shaft and is situated at the east end of the south aisle inside the modern church, having been moved there from the site of St Faith's church 1½ miles to the west. It is made of sandstone from the North Yorkshire Moors. The four sides contain a variety of interlace patterns. Lang finds a similarity to face B at St Leonard's Place 2 at York, and notes that the lack of an attempt to divide faces into smaller panels is an influence on later carvings of York and Ryedale. It is dated to the ninth century.

Dimensions H. 62.4cm, W.31>26.5cm, D. 21cm²⁸



Fig. 134. Leven 1B, 1C and 1D.

Discussion

It is somewhat surprising to find a priest and church on such a small outlying settlement, of just six carucates. However, the explanation for this may lie in the fact that it contained demesne land of the Archbishop of York. Possibly most interesting about this vill is the fact that the church site had been relocated from a position a mile and a half to the west of the modern village to its centre in the mid nineteenth century. This is an important reminder to be cautious about assuming continuity of site for churches at all times. Furthermore the ninth century sculpture has also been moved to the site of the new church and we cannot assume that this has not happened in other places.

²⁸ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, III: York and Eastern Yorkshire*, p. 174 Ills. 627-30.

North Frodingham

North Frodingham is 9½ miles north-north-east of Beverley. In 1850-1 the ancient parish was 3,147 acres.²⁹

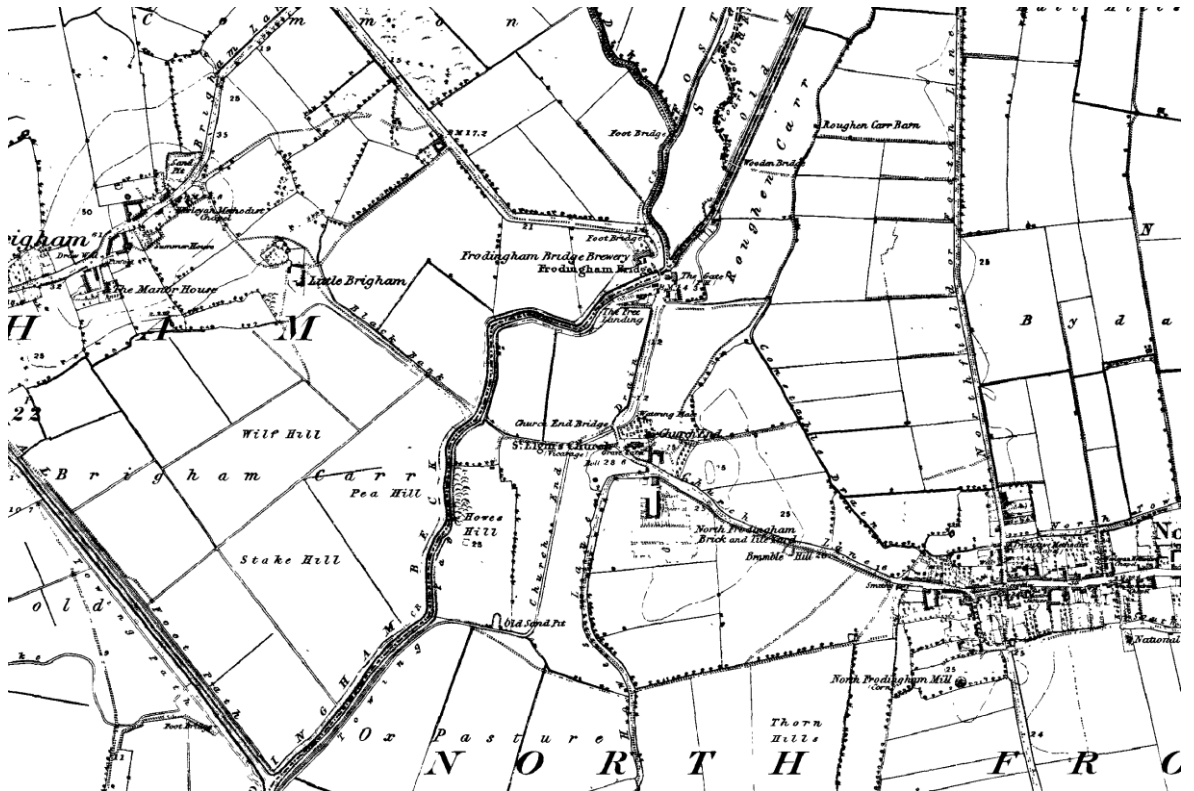


Fig. 135. Map of North Frodingham from the 1854 Ordnance Survey.



Fig. 136. Aerial view of North Frodingham.

²⁹ VCH East Riding VII. p. 261.

The Church



Fig. 137. St Elgin, North Frodingham from the south-east.

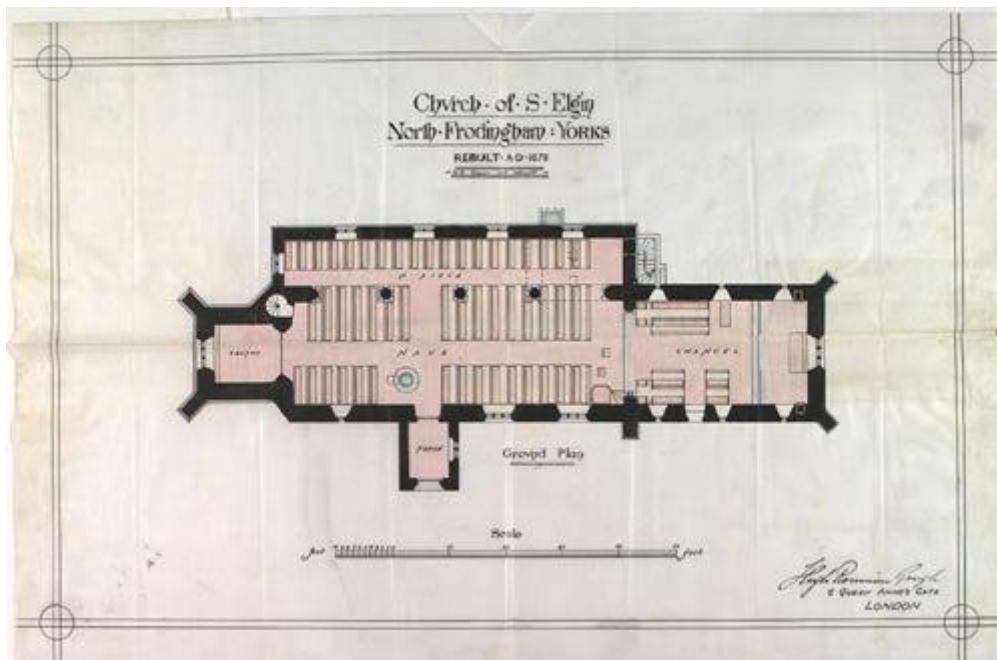


Fig. 138. Church plan of St Elgin from 1878.

Walker puts the dedication to St Elgin down to an incorrect transcription in c. 1700 from the original St Helen. It consists of a chancel, nave with north aisle and south porch and a west tower. It was built of boulders and rubble with stone dressing. The earliest section was probably the

chancel and nave, which may date back to the twelfth century. It fell into disrepair on several occasions and was ultimately restored in 1877-8 with the tower heightened in 1891-2.³⁰ Its position about half a mile west of the village and on raised land next to a seventeenth century rectory house is noteworthy.³¹ It is in fact about midway between the modern villages of North Frodingham and Bringham.

Domesday Book

From the land of Drogo de la Beuvrière there was a manor

In NORTH FRODINGHAM, Ulf had 12 carucates of land to the geld, and there could be 12 ploughs. Now Drogo has 1 plough there; and 5 villans with 4 ploughs. There is a church and a priest, and 3 fisheries, and 30 acres of meadow. [It is] 1 ½ leagues long and 1 broad. TRE worth £14; now 10s.³²

From the summary

In North Frodingham, 12 carucates.³³

Sculpture



Fig. 139. North Frodingham 1C.

North Frodingham 1 is part of a cross-shaft and cross-head and is located inside the church at the west end by the pier of the north arcade. It is made of Millstone Grit, thought to be reused Roman ashlar, possibly from York and perhaps originally from Hetchell Crag (Thorner) or the Otley area. Lang describes it as a cross-head of type A11, with a ring of type 1(a), which is only decorated on the front and back. Lang considers it ‘the most decorated and stylish cross-head in the East Riding.’ He suggests comparison, in light of the Jellinge-style interlocked animals, with York Minster shafts

³⁰ VCH East Riding VII. pp. 267-268.

³¹ Pevsner and Neave, *Yorkshire: York and the East Riding*, p. 632.

³² DB 324.

³³ DB 382.

such as no. 2. Lang also suggests an Irish inspiration for the domed boss. Finally, he suggests that the sculpture may have been imported from York, both because the stone does not occur geologically locally and because of a close parallel with a cross-head from St. Mary Bishophill Junior in York. It is dated to the tenth century, post c. 920.

Dimensions H. 39.5cm, W. 48.9cm, D. 16.8cm³⁴



Fig. 140. North Frodingham 1B and 1D.

Discussion

The possible link to a cross-head produced in York and discovered at St Mary Bishophill Junior is worthy of note, particularly when Lang goes so far as to suggest they may have been made by the same hand. The position of three of the churches within this hundred, detached and to the west of the modern village, at Barmston and Leven above and here at North Frodingham is intriguing. It is possible that these detached churches represent early churches built at manorial centres before the villages were later nucleated? Three within one hundred does suggest a specific local phenomenon. Could it be linked to the consolidation of estates taking place when Drogo de la Beuvrière inherited so much of the land in Holderness? This possibility of an early manorial church detached by later village nucleation is strengthened by two further factors. Firstly, all three sites have Anglo-Saxon stone sculpture of the ninth or tenth century, albeit with questions over the origin of the piece at Barmston. Secondly, the churches at Barmston and Leven appear to be adjacent to manorial plots

³⁴ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, III: York and Eastern Yorkshire*, pp. 187-189 Ills. 695-8.

as recorded on the mid nineteenth century ordnance survey maps. Barmston is next to Old Hall and Leven beside Hall Garth. While it is far from conclusive the combination of evidence could reveal manorial churches built in the ninth and tenth centuries associated with manorial plots, that were later superseded when the villages were nucleated.

Sigglesthorne

Sigglesthorne is situated about 8½ miles east-north-east of Beverley and the coast near Hornsea is about a further 3½ miles to the east-north-east. In 1852 the parish was 5,807 acres in size.³⁵



Fig. 141. Map of Sigglesthorne from the 1854 Ordnance Survey.

³⁵ VCH East Riding VII. p. 360.



Fig. 142. Aerial view of Sigglesthorne.

The Church



Fig. 143. St Lawrence, Sigglesthorne from the south-west.

The church of St Lawrence consists of a chancel with north vestry, an aisled and clerestoried nave with a south porch and transept, and a west tower. It is built of boulders with ashlar dressing and

has been repaired in brick. Much of what remains still dates from the thirteenth century, with the exception of the later porch.³⁶ It is situated in the very centre of the village.

Domesday Book

From the land of the Archbishop of York there was a berewick

In Sigglesthorne [are] 8 carucates of land to the geld. [There is] land for 5 ploughs. There is 1 plough in demesne; and 14 villans and 5 bordars having 6 ploughs. There is a priest and a church, and 16 acres of meadow.³⁷

From the summary the Archbishop has

In Sigglesthorne, 8 carucates.³⁸

Discussion

The Domesday Book entry is very similar to that for Leven, a small manor with demesne land of the Archbishop of York.

³⁶ *VCH East Riding VII*. p. 371.

³⁷ DB 304.

³⁸ DB 382.

Pocklington Hundred

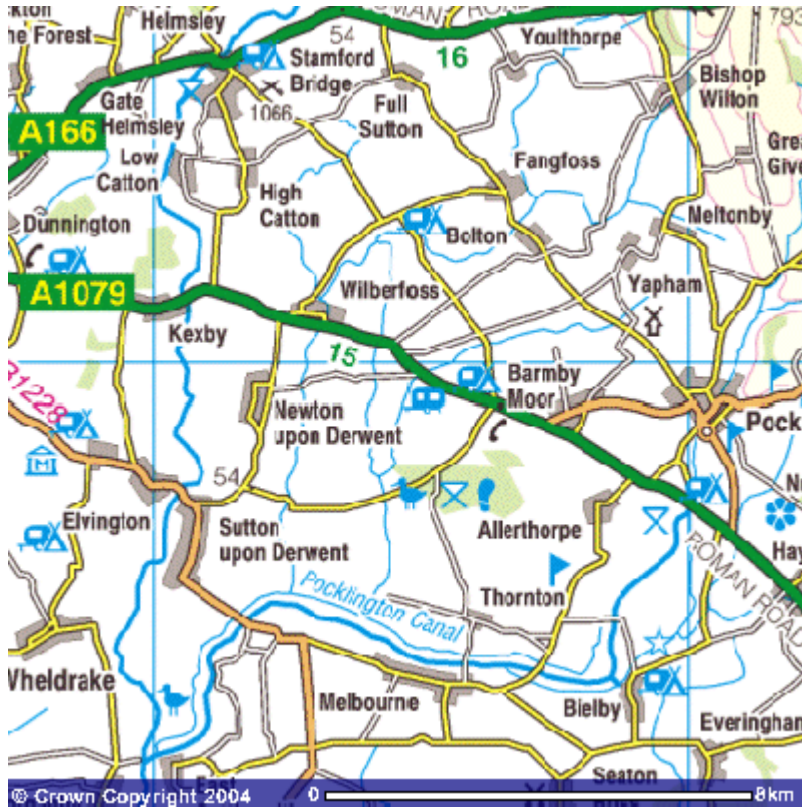


Fig. 144. Modern Ordnance Survey roadmap showing church sites of Pocklington Hundred.

Bishop Wilton



Fig. 145. Map of Bishop Wilton from the 1854 Ordnance Survey with the top facing south-west.



Fig. 146. Aerial view of Bishop Wilton with the top facing south-west.

Bishop Wilton is about thirteen miles east of York and about $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles north of Pocklington. It is situated on a valley on the western slopes of the Wolds. The primary street runs from the north-east to the south-west either side of a street-green with a stream running through its centre.

The Church



Fig. 147. St Edith, Bishop Wilton from the north-west.

Domesday Book

From the land of the Archbishop of York

IN BISHOP WILTON, with these Berewicks, Bolton [in Bishop Wilton], Gowthorpe, Youlthorpe, Greenwick [and] Fridaythorpe, there are 30 carucates and 7 bovates to the geld, and there could be 18 ploughs. Archbishop Eldræd held this as 1 manor. Now Archbishop Thomas has there 15 rent-paying tenants having 7 ploughs. There is a church and a priest, [and] meadow half a league long and 3 furlongs broad. The whole manor [is] 3 leagues long and 1 league broad. TRE worth £14; now £4.

In Fridaythorpe are 1½ carucates to the geld, of which the soke belongs to Bishop Wilton. It is waste.¹

From the summary

In Bishop Wilton, the archbishop 15 carucates.²

Place-Name

The earliest reference is in Domesday Book to *Widton* and *Wiltone*.³ This probably meant ‘wild, uncultivated enclosure or farmstead’ from the Old English wild and tun.

Archaeology

Pevsner and Neave refer to ‘the prominent earthworks of the Archbishop of York’s medieval manor house or palace’ at the east end of the village.⁴ Farmer excavated this moated manor house site and found evidence of occupation as early as the twelfth century or possibly earlier.⁵ Pevsner and Neave also make reference to sixteen round barrows on Callas wold, covering a square mile. Nineteenth century excavations revealed inhumations with food vessels and cremations in collared urns. Finally, Kitty Hill, a round barrow at the foot of Garrowby Hill, 1.36 miles from the church, which was excavated in 1876, contained a central burial and cremations, beaker fragments and part of an Anglo-Saxon shield boss.⁶

Discussion

Bishop Wilton may ultimately have something to reveal about ecclesiastical organisation for a number of reasons. There was clearly an archiepiscopal influence with the manor being owned by the Archbishop of York, both before 1066 and in 1086. Furthermore, the archbishop’s manor house has evidence of occupation at least as early as the twelfth century and may go back earlier. There does seem to have been earlier, possibly Anglo-Saxon, burial mounds in the vicinity. Superficially, the village appears to have a regular street-green structure and the early church (a significant proportion of which is of Norman date), does appear to be a part of that plan.

¹ DB 302V.

² DB 381V.

³ *PN ERY* p. 175.

⁴ N. Pevsner and D. Neave, *Yorkshire: York and the East Riding*, The Buildings of England (London, 1995), pp. 331-332.

⁵ P. G. Farmer, ‘Medieval Britain in 1975’, *Medieval Archaeology* 20 (1976), 197 and P. G. Farmer, ‘The Yorkshire Archaeological Register: 1975’, *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* 48 (1976), 10.

⁶ A fuller description of this excavation can be found in J. R. Mortimer, *Forty Years’ Researches in British and Saxon Burial Mounds of East Yorkshire* (London, 1905), pp. 149-152.

The Church

The church of Holy Trinity was built in 1876-7 and replaced a brick church of 1803 a little to its north.⁷ All that remains of the earlier church is a Norman font with scalloped base.⁸



Fig. 150. Holy Trinity, Elvington from the south.

Domesday Book

From the land of William de Percy

In ELVINGTON, Ulfkil had 6 carucates of land to the geld, where there could be 3 ploughs. Now Æthelwulf has it of William. He himself [has] 1 plough there; and 3 villans with 1 plough. There is a church, and 2 fisheries rendering 1,000 eels, and [he has] 10 acres of meadow. [There is] woodland pasture 1 league long and a half broad. The whole [is] 1 league long and 1 broad. TRE. worth 40s; now 10s.⁹

From the claims

They testify that 6 carucates of land of Ulfkil in Elvington, which William de Percy has, [ought to be] for Robert Malet's use, because his father had them like the above lands.¹⁰

From the summary

In Elvington, William de Percy 6 carucates.¹¹

⁷ Pevsner and Neave, *Yorkshire: York and the East Riding*, p. 404.

⁸ *VCH East Riding III*. p.16.

⁹ DB 322V.

¹⁰ DB 373V.

¹¹ DB 381V.

Place-Name

The earliest reference is to *Aluinton(e)* in Domesday Book meaning *Ælfwine's* or *Ælfwynn's* farmstead from *ingtun*.¹²

Sutton upon Derwent

Sutton upon Derwent is approximately eight miles east-north-east of York and 5½ miles west of Pocklington. It is on the east bank of the river Derwent about a mile to the south-east of Elvington.

The Church



Fig. 151. St Michael, Elvington from the south.

The earliest part of the church of St Michael appears to be an aisleless chancel and nave of the early Norman period.¹³ The church was given aisles in the later twelfth century and further added to in the fourteenth century when the tower was also built. Various other additions have included the rebuilding of the tower, re-roofing and addition of a clerestory to the nave in the fifteenth century. The first reference to it is in a charter of 1161 to 1170 in which St Michael's was given by Robert de Percy to Whitby abbey.¹⁴

¹² *PN ERY* p. 272.

¹³ Pevsner and Neave, *Yorkshire: York and the East Riding*, p. 716.

¹⁴ *VCH East Riding III*. p. 178.

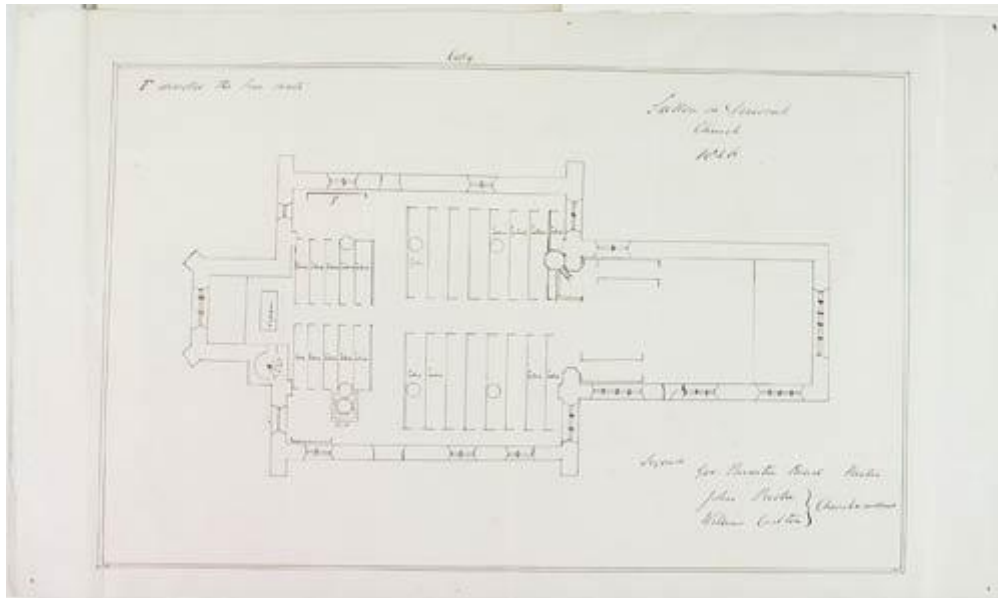


Fig. 152. An 1846 plan of St. Michael's church.

Domesday Book

From the land of the Count of Mortain

POCKLINGTON Hundred In SUTTON UPON DERWENT [are] 7 carucates to the geld, and there could be 3 ploughs. Orm, 1 carucate, Kolgrimr, 3 carucates, Ulf, 1 carucate, [and] Gamal, 1 carucate, had 2 manors there. Nigel has 1 plough there; and 6 villans and 4 bordars with 3 ploughs. TRE worth 20s; now the same.¹⁵

From the land of William de Percy there were two manors before 1066

In SUTTON UPON DERWENT, Beornwulf and Northmann had 5 carucates of land to the geld, and there could be 3 ploughs. Now Picot has it of William. He himself [has] 1 plough there; and 11 villans with 3 ploughs. TRE worth 36s; now 20s. In the same vill Sigrith had 1 carucate of land to the geld, which half a plough could plough. There William has now 3 fisheries rendering 4s. TRE it was worth 20s.¹⁶

From the summary

In Sutton upon Derwent, the Count of Mortain 6 carucates.¹⁷

Place-Name

Referred to in Domesday Book as *Sudton(e)* from the Old English words *suð* and *tun* meaning south village or farmstead.¹⁸

Sculpture

Sutton upon Derwent 1 is the lower part of a cross shaft that was found in 1927, when the Norman arch on the north side of the chancel was opened out, and is now set in the floor to the west of the font.¹⁹ It is made in Lower Magnesian Limestone, thought to be reused Roman ashlar from York and probably originally from Tadcaster. It is dated to the late tenth to mid eleventh century.

¹⁵ DB 307

¹⁶ DB 322V

¹⁷ DB 381V

¹⁸ *PNERY* p.189.

¹⁹ J. T. Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, III: York and Eastern Yorkshire* (Oxford, 1991), pp. 220-221 Ills. 868-71.

Dimensions H. 60cm, W. 41.5>39.5cm, D. 34.5>32cm

The main panel is a carving of the Virgin and Child with the reverse filled with loose plant-scroll in flat relief. One side panel contains a fettered bird chain and the other has the remains of two animals from a beast-chain. Lang finds parallels for these from a wide variety of monuments. The Virgin and Child he links to Shelford, Nottinghamshire and Nunburnholme 1, the beast chain to Folkton 1, the bird-chain to York Minster 2B and the plant scroll to Britford and elsewhere in Wiltshire. He observes that the ecclesiastical iconography is a rarity in Anglo-Scandinavian Yorkshire figure carving, and tentatively links this to a return to church patronage after the English take-over of York in the mid tenth century. He goes on to suggest that the building work of the archbishops of York in the first half of the eleventh century in Yorkshire and Nottinghamshire, as well as the plurality of the sees of York and Worcester may go some way towards explaining both the iconography and the parallels he has drawn.

Discussion

The only real evidence of an Anglo-Saxon church at Sutton upon Derwent is the piece of Anglo-Scandinavian sculpture. This is dated to the late tenth to mid-eleventh century. Its ecclesiastical iconography seems likely to link it to a church, although the proximity to Elvington must be considered, particularly as Domesday Book refers to a church there but not at Sutton upon Derwent. The likelihood is that there would have been a crossing point over the river in Anglo-Saxon times as later.²⁰ The fact that the extant church is early Norman in origin is worthy of note.

Pocklington

Pocklington is situated approximately 13½ miles east-south-east of York on the edge of the Vale of York with the southern escarpment of the wolds rising to the west. The Pocklington canal terminates a mile to the south but the beck that preceded it continues through Pocklington. It joins the river Derwent just south of Wheldrake.

²⁰ *VCH East Riding III*, p. 173.



Fig. 153. Map of Pocklington from the 1854 Ordnance Survey.



Fig. 154. Aerial view of Pocklington.

The Church

The church of All Saints is predominantly of the late twelfth to late thirteenth century.²¹ It has north and south transepts, a north chapel, nave, chancel and tower. The tower and the clerestory are Perpendicular. Within the porch there are some reused carved Norman stone.

²¹ Pevsner and Neave, *Yorkshire: York and the East Riding*, pp. 648-649.

Dimensions Tower height – 120' (37m)
 Length – 147', Width – 71'²²



Fig. 155. All Saints, Pocklington from the south-east.

Domesday Book

From the land of the King

IN POCKLINGTON, with 3 Berewicks, Hayton, Millington [and] Bielby, are 25 carucates to the geld, and there could be 15 ploughs. Morcar held this as 1 manor. Now the king has there 13 villans and 5 bordars having 5 ploughs, and 4 rent-paying tenants who pay 30s. There is a church and a priest, and 2 mills rendering 5s. The whole manor [is] 4 leagues long and 3 broad. TRE worth £56; now £8.

To this manor belongs the soke of these lands: Nunburnholme, 1 carucate; Meltonby, 8 carucates; Grimthorpe, 4 carucates; Millington, 13 carucates; Burnby, 1½ carucates; Allerthorpe [near Pocklington], 6 carucates; Waplington, 2 carucates; Fangfoss, 8 carucates; Barmby Moor, 6 bovates; Great Givendale [near Pocklington], 8 carucates; Ousethorpe, 3 carucates. In all, there are 55½ carucates of land to the geld, and there could be 30 ploughs. Now, in the king's hand, there are 15 burgesses having 7 ploughs, and a mill rendering 2s. Moreover, in Kilnwick Percy there are 16 carucates of land to the geld, where there could be 8 ploughs. Of these carucates, 6 belong to the hall, and 10 are in the soke of Pocklington. [There is] woodland pasture 4 furlongs long and as much broad. The whole of Kilnwick Percy [is] 1 league long and half a league broad.²³

In BURNBY, 2 carucates of land. [Soke] in Pocklington.²⁴

In THORPE LE STREET, Alwine had 6 bovates of land to the geld. There is land for half a plough. And, in the same vill, [are] 2 carucates and 2 bovates to the geld. [There is] land for 1½ ploughs. The soke [is] in Pocklington. Now Gilbert has it, and it is waste. TRE it was worth 20s.²⁵

²² A. D. H. Leadman, *Pocklington Church and Pocklington School* (London, 1896), p. 5.

²³ DB 299V.

²⁴ DB 320V.

²⁵ DB 326V.

In YOULTHORPE, sokeland of Pocklington, [are] 4 carucates of land to the geld. [There is] land for as many ploughs. Odo has it, and it is waste.²⁶

In NUNBURNHOLME, Morcar, Thorfridh and Thorkil had 11 carucates of land to the geld. [There is] land for 6 ploughs. 1 carucate is sokeland of Pocklington. Forne has it of the king, and it is waste.²⁷

They say that 2 carucates of land which Nigel has in South Driffield belong to the king's demesne in Pocklington. But William Malet had the remaining 6 carucates in the same place, so long as he held the castle of York, and the men rendered service to him.²⁸

In POCKLINGTON, the king 13 carucates.²⁹

Place-Name

First referred to as *Poclinton* in Domesday Book.³⁰ This uses the Old English personal name *Pocela* and means ‘*Pocela*’s farm’

Discussion

Morris argues that Pocklington may have been a superior church in pre-conquest times.³¹ He identifies Pocklington (among others) as an important crown demesne manor and as later having an extensive parochiae with numerous dependencies. A 1252 entry in the register of Walter de Gray, Archbishop of York, lists Fangfoss, Yapham, Great Givendale, Millington, Burnby, Hayton, Thornton, Allerthorpe and Barmby Moor within the parochia of Pocklington and all with subordinate churches. Most of these churches have architecture demonstrating existence in the twelfth century. Their dedications may shed further light, two have none suggesting a close link to another church and four have saints who came to prominence in the late eleventh to twelfth centuries. Morris also highlights the fact that two adjacent parishes to Pocklington have produced pre-Viking sculpture, which may indicate the presence of a religious community. Finally, he considers the potential significance of the church’s subsequent history. Pocklington was given to the deanery of York by Henry I, and it is common that superior churches subsequently became prebendaries or royal free chapels.

The evidence Morris is using is almost entirely late. The contemporary evidence does little to highlight Pocklington as significant although Domesday book does show it as the centre of a large royal estate featuring three berewicks and having sokelands in sixteen different villis. The existing church is certainly large but only dates to the late twelfth century. The list of subordinate churches from the mid thirteenth century certainly bore some relationship to the Domesday manor, with only Yapham and Thornton, two out of the seven, not being linked in 1086.

²⁶ DB 329V.

²⁷ DB 330V.

²⁸ DB 373.

²⁹ DB 381V.

³⁰ *PN ERY* p. 182.

³¹ R. K. Morris, *Churches in the landscape* (London, 1989), pp. 134-138.

Wheldrake

Wheldrake is nearly seven miles south-east of York and about eight miles west-south-west of Pocklington. It is just to the west of the river Derwent. It is situated on a small ridge (about 50 m above sea level) that crosses the Vale of York, on which Escrick, Wilberfoss and Stamford Bridge are also situated.³²

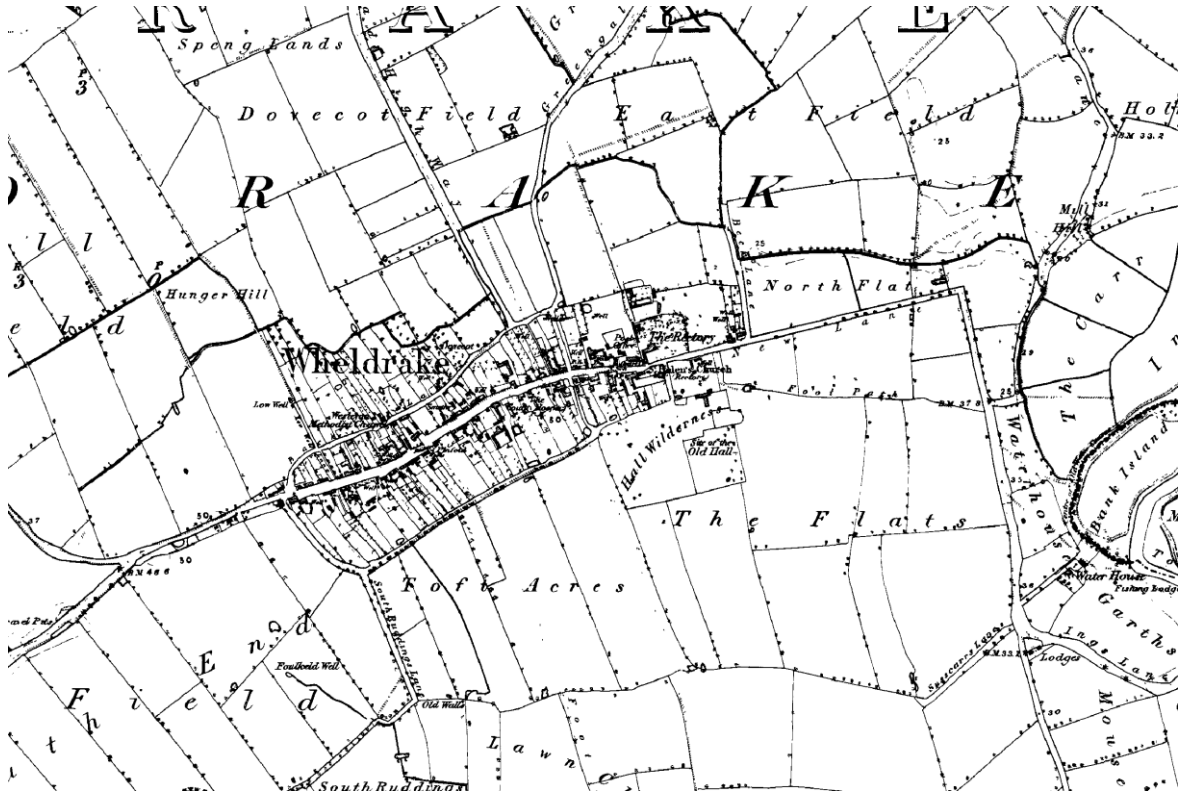


Fig. 156. Map of Wheldrake from the 1854 Ordnance Survey.



Fig. 157. Aerial view of Wheldrake.

³² D. R. Brown, T. K. Halstead, J. N. T. Howat and A. G. Ruffhead, *Wheldrake: Aspects of a Yorkshire Village* (York, 1995), p. 5.

The Church

The majority of the extant church of St Helen was built in 1778-9.³³ It has a stone west tower with a brick nave and an apsidal chancel. The earliest fabric is the lower stage of the tower of the early fourteenth century with an upper stage of a hundred years or more later.³⁴



Fig. 158. St Helen, Wheldrake from the south.

Domesday Book

From the land of William de Percy

In WHELDRAKE, Northmann had 6 carucates of land and 6 bovates to the geld, where there could be 4 ploughs. Now William de Colleville has it of William. He himself [has] 1 plough there; and 3 villans and 3 bordars with 1 plough, and 3 fisheries rendering 2,000 eels. There is a church, and 20 acres of meadow, [and] woodland pasture 1 leagues long and 1 broad. The whole manor [is] 2½ leagues long and 1 broad. TRE worth 20s; now the same.³⁵

From the claims

[Concerning] land for 4 ploughs in Wheldrake, which William de Percy holds, of which the soke belongs to Clifton [near York], the jurors testify that William Malet held in demesne not only those 4 carucates but also the whole vill of Wheldrake, and was seised of it.³⁶

From the summary

In Wheldrake, William de Percy 6 carucates and 6 bovates.³⁷

³³ Pevsner and Neave, *Yorkshire: York and the East Riding*, pp. 752-753.

³⁴ *VCH East Riding III*. pp. 126-127.

³⁵ DB 322V.

³⁶ DB 373V.

³⁷ DB 381V .

Place-Name

The earliest reference is to Coldrid in Domesday Book.³⁸ Smith puts forward two possible interpretations for this. “Strip of land (road, stream) where a death took place’ or ‘strip of land (etc.) near a spring or well.” The second element ric is an Old English word meaning narrow strip of land or road. The first element could either derive from the Old English cwild meaning death or destruction or from Old Scandinavian kveld or kveldr which may mean well or spring.

Discussion

There is very little that can be gleaned about Anglo-Saxon ecclesiastical organisation in Wheldrake from contemporary or even near contemporary evidence. However, it may be worth considering work carried out by June Sheppard, in which she works back from seventeenth and eighteenth century evidence to try and establish field and settlement patterns in earlier times.³⁹ Sheppard identifies a continuous series of furlong boundaries, some of which furlongs have names referring to a Dike or walls, encircling the core arable land. She attempts to date this arrangement by estimating it was land which would have supported fifteen to twenty households and a demesne farm. When compared to the six tenants and a demesne farm described in 1086 it is either necessary to look later or earlier than that. Sheppard looks to the early eleventh century, prior to the depopulation caused by William I’s wasting of the north in 1069-70.

Sheppard then goes on to examine the village structure. The village had two distinct nuclei before the late fourteenth century, the modern village, and a settlement known as Waterhouses beside the river Derwent. It is possible that this may have grown out of the three fisheries recorded in Domesday Book. In the main village Sheppard identifies from the 1854 and 1872 Ordnance Surveys the possible outline of sixteen original tofts on either side of the main village street. This is strongly indicative of a regular planned village and the most likely period for this is again given as the early eleventh century. Sheppard presents two theories to support this contention. Firstly, the layout in rows of eight tofts may relate to the fiscal system relying on bovates and oxgangs, whereby eight bovates equate to one carucate. It is considered that this system may have been introduced to northern England by the Scandinavians. Secondly, that this settlement structure would equate to the amount of core arable land enclosed by the hypothesised dyke.

One further reason for suggesting a pre-conquest date for the laying out of the regular village is the most relevant to this context. The position of the church, in the most easterly of the northern tofts, is further supporting evidence. Although the church is largely of the late eighteenth century it does have a medieval tower and there is no real grounds to suppose it has moved site since the one mentioned in Domesday Book. Therefore, this is not just evidence that the planning of the village occurred before 1086, but also provides a possible insight into the building of the church. We have a possible early eleventh century creation of a regular planned village with sixteen tofts and core arable fields with the new church forming an integral part of that on the easternmost

³⁸ *PN ERY* pp. 269-270.

³⁹ J. A. Sheppard, 'Pre-Enclosure Field and Settlement Patterns in an English Township: Wheldrake, near York', *Geografisker Annaler* 48B (1966), 59-77.

toft of the village. Further research as to who was responsible for the creation of planned villages and what period they occurred in may make it possible to say more in the future.

Scard Hundred



Fig. 159. Modern Ordnance Survey showing church sites of Scard hundred.

Buckton Holms

The settlement of Buckton Holms no longer exists but the nearby settlement of Settrington is situated on the north-west edge of the wolds about nineteen miles north-east of York.

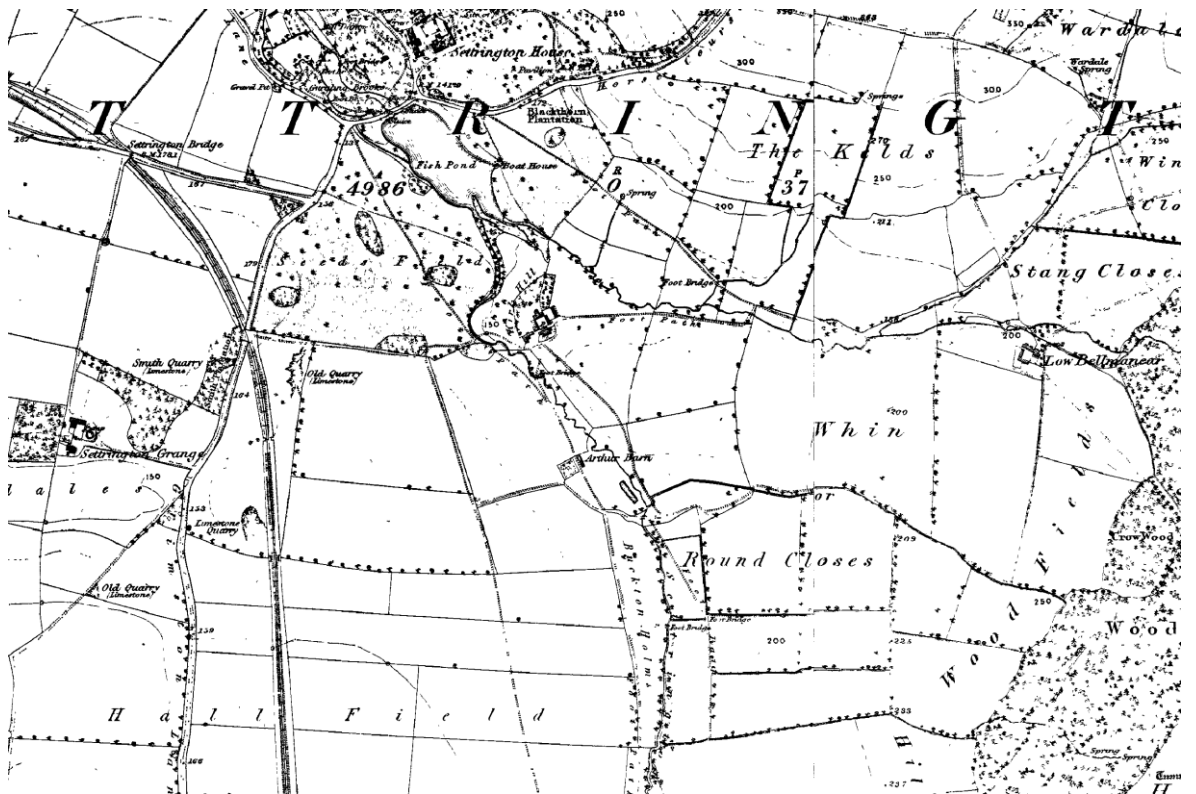


Fig. 160. Buckton Holms from the 1854 Ordnance Survey.



Fig. 161. Aerial view of Buckton Holms.

The Church

Buckton Holms no longer exists and with it any trace of the church recorded in Domesday Book has disappeared. There is a church dedicated to All Saints nearby at Settrington that does date to at least the early thirteenth century.

Domesday Book

From the land of Berengar de Tosny

In 'BUCKTON HOLMS' [in Settrington], Thorbrandr had 10 carucates of land to the geld. [There is] land for 10 ploughs. Now Berengar has there in demesne 4 ploughs, and 1 mill [rendering] 6s. [He has] a church and a priest. In this vill is sokeland of 12 carucates and 6 bovates to the geld. There are now 7 sokemen having 12 villans and 6 bordars with 9 ploughs, and 1 mill [rendering] 2s. TRE the manor was worth 4; now 8 To the same manor belongs also this sokeland: Uncleby, 4 carucates; East Heselerton, 1½ carucates; Croome, 1 carucate; Cowlam, 6 carucates. All these are waste. Together, [there are] 12½ carucates to the geld. [There is] land for as many ploughs.¹

From the land of Hugh Fitzbaldric

In 'BUCKTON HOLMS' [in Settrington], Gamal had 3 carucates of land to the geld. There is land for 1½ ploughs. Hugh has it. It is waste.²

From the Summary,

In 'Buckton Holms' [in Settrington], Berengar de Tosny 22 carucates and 6 bovates. In the same place, Hugh FitzBaldric 3 carucates. In North Grimston, the king 4 carucates and 2 bovates.³

Place-Name

It was first recorded in Domesday book as *Bocheton(e)* and Smith interprets the meaning as 'Buck

¹ DB 314V.

² DB 328.

³ DB 382.



Fig. 163. Aerial view of Langton.

The Church

The church of St. Andrew lies at the west end of the village and consists of a tower, nave and chancel. It was largely rebuilt in 1821-2 but retains elements of the thirteenth-century chancel arch and a thirteenth-century font.



Fig. 164. St Andrew, Langton from the north-east.

Domesday Book

From the land of Hugh Fitzbaldric a manor and a berewick

In LANGTON and Kennythorpe and Burdale, Raisthorpe, Sherburn [and] East Heselton, Orm had 39 carucates of land to the geld. There is land for 20 ploughs. Hugh has now 3 ploughs there, and Geoffrey his man 3 ploughs. There are 43 villans and 4 bordars and 1 sokeman having 15 ploughs. There are 2 churches and 2 priests, and 1 mill [rendering] 5s, and 30 acres of meadow. [It is] 2 leagues long and 2 broad. TRE worth £12; now £6.⁶

From the summary

In Langton, Hugh fitzBaldric 18 carucates. In Kennythorpe, the same Hugh 2 carucates and 5 bovates.⁷

Place-Name

Langton is first recorded in the Domesday Book as *Lanton* and derives from the Old English lang and tun meaning 'Long enclosure or farmstead'.⁸

Discussion

The Langton entry in Domesday Book is very interesting in that it is an extremely rare example for the East Riding of the recording of two churches and two priests. However, this may not be as significant as it first appears, as it is a multiple vill manor and it may simply refer to two churches in separate vills. Indeed the marginalia indicates that the multiple vills comprise one manor and one berewick and it seems plausible that the manor was centred on Langton where one of the churches was. The most likely candidate for the second church is Sherburn where there was pre-conquest sculpture. This is considered elsewhere under Thorshowe Hundred. It was a large manor, at 39 carucates, and was owned by Orm before the conquest and Hugh Fitzbaldric in 1086.

There is a possibility that Anglo-Saxon pottery fragments, found before 1877 by Greenwell, indicate the presence of an Anglo-Saxon burial.⁹ They were unearthed in the south side of a barrow 50 yards north-west of the entrenchment that runs north-south over Langton race course. It is however, impossible to be certain of this.

⁶ DB 328.

⁷ DB 382.

⁸ *PN ERY* p. 141.

⁹ A. Meaney, *A Gazetteer of Early Anglo-Saxon Burial Sites* (London, 1964), p293.

Norton

Norton is 17½ miles to the north-east of York.

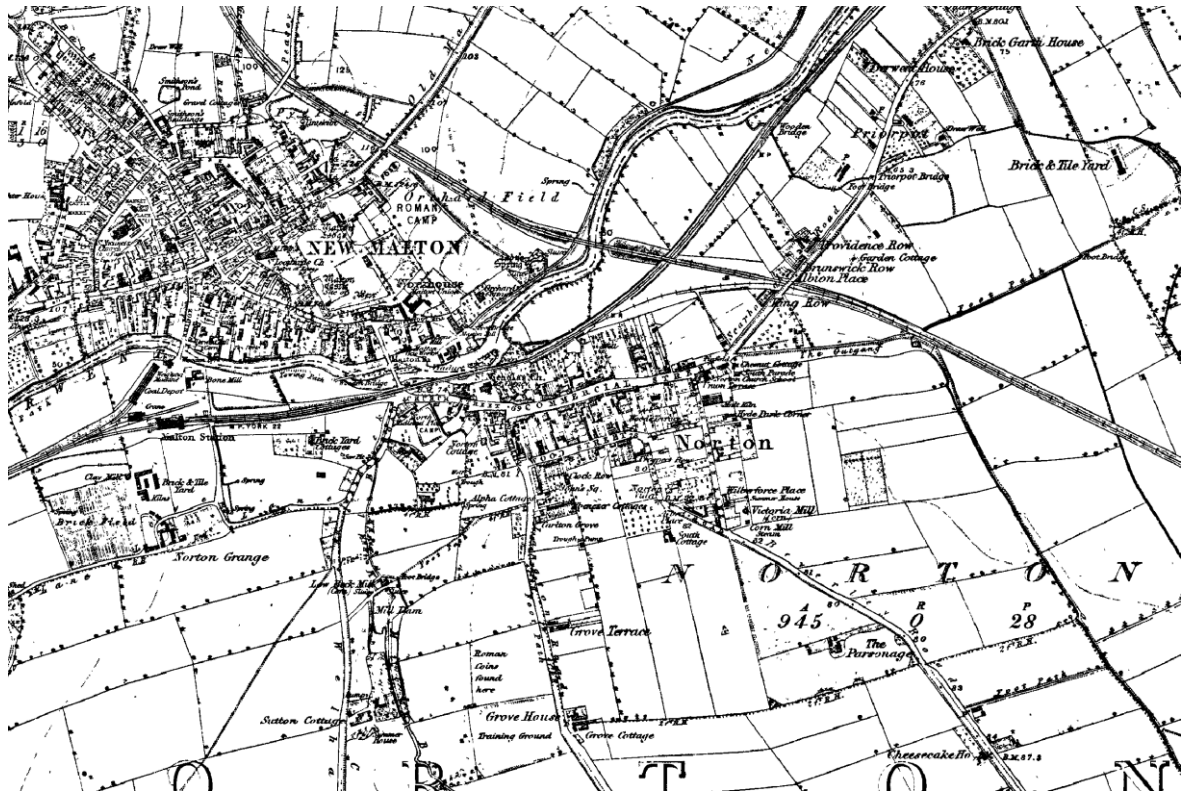


Fig. 165. Norton from the 1854 Ordnance Survey.



Fig. 166. Aerial view of Norton.

The Church



Fig. 167. St Peter, Norton which replaced the church of St Nicholas, which was built on the site of the medieval church, from the south-east

The late Victorian church of St Peter was built on a separate site, on Langton Road, to the church of St Nicholas, that had been built on the site of the medieval church, on Church Street.¹⁰ Furthermore there is a separate cemetery with a chapel adjoining the church of St Peter on Beverley Road.

Domesday Book

From the land of the King a manor

In Norton [near Malton], Ulfkil, 1 carucate and 1 bovate to the geld. 10s.¹¹

From the land of Ralph de Mortimer

In SUTTON [near Malton] and NORTON [near Malton] [are] 5 carucates of land to the geld. There is land for 3 ploughs. It belongs to WELHAM.¹²

From the land of Hugh fitzBaldric a manor and a berewick

In NORTON [near Malton] and WELHAM, Gamal had 4 carucates of land and 3 bovates to the geld. There is land for 2 ploughs. Hugh has 2 ploughs there; and 12 villans with 4 ploughs. There is a church and a priest, and a mill [rendering] 10s. TRE worth 60s; now the same.¹³

¹⁰ N. Pevsner and D. Neave, *Yorkshire: York and the East Riding*, The Buildings of England (London, 1995), pp. 634-635.

¹¹ DB 301.

¹² DB 325.

From the summary

In Welham, Ralph de Mortimer 5 carucates and 5 bovates. In the same place, Hugh fitzBaldric 1 carucate and 3 bovates.¹⁴

In Norton [near Malton], the king 1 carucate and 1 bovate.

In the same place, Ralph de Mortimer 1 carucate. In the same place, Hugh fitzBaldric 3 carucates.¹⁵

Place-Name

Norton is first recorded in Domesday Book as *Norton(e)* and *Nortun(a)*, and is Old English meaning 'North farm'.¹⁶

Discussion

It is not entirely clear from Domesday Book whether the church and priest are in the vill of Norton or nearby Welham. However, Norton does seem to be the most likely site. Using the evidence of the summary as well as the main text it would appear that of the manor and berewick of Hugh Fitzbaldric, the manor was probably Norton, three carucates in size, and the berewick was Welham, one carucate and three bovates in size. This is further supported by the fact that Norton had a subsequent medieval church.

¹³ DB 328.

¹⁴ DB 382.

¹⁵ DB 382.

¹⁶ *PN ERY* p. 140.

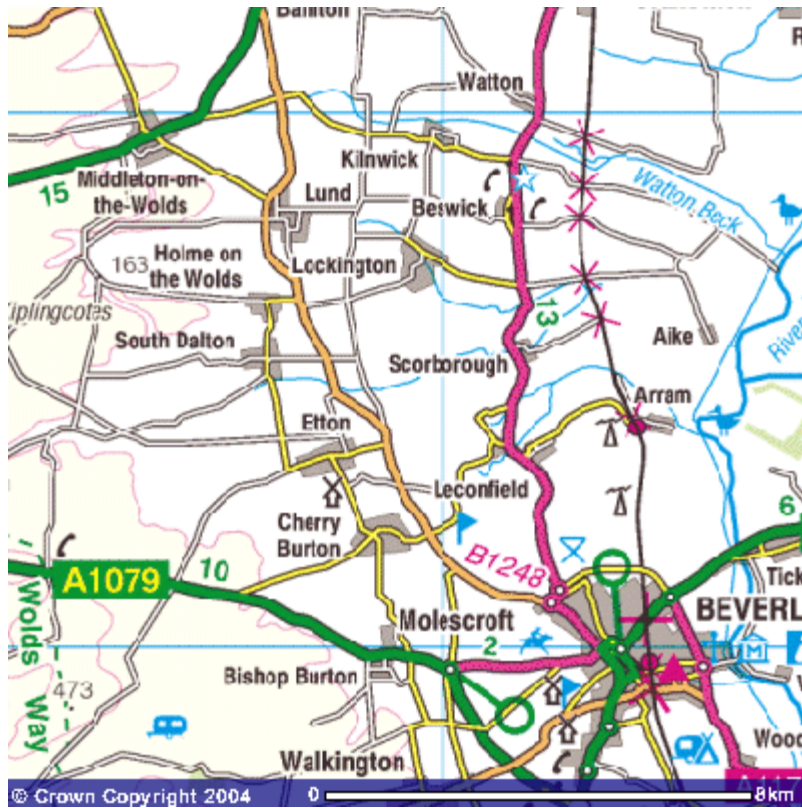
Sneculfros Hundred

Fig. 168. Modern Ordnance Survey map showing the church sites of Sneculfros Hundred.

Beverley

Beverley is 8½ miles north of the Humber estuary, 28 miles east-south-east of York, to the west of the river Hull.

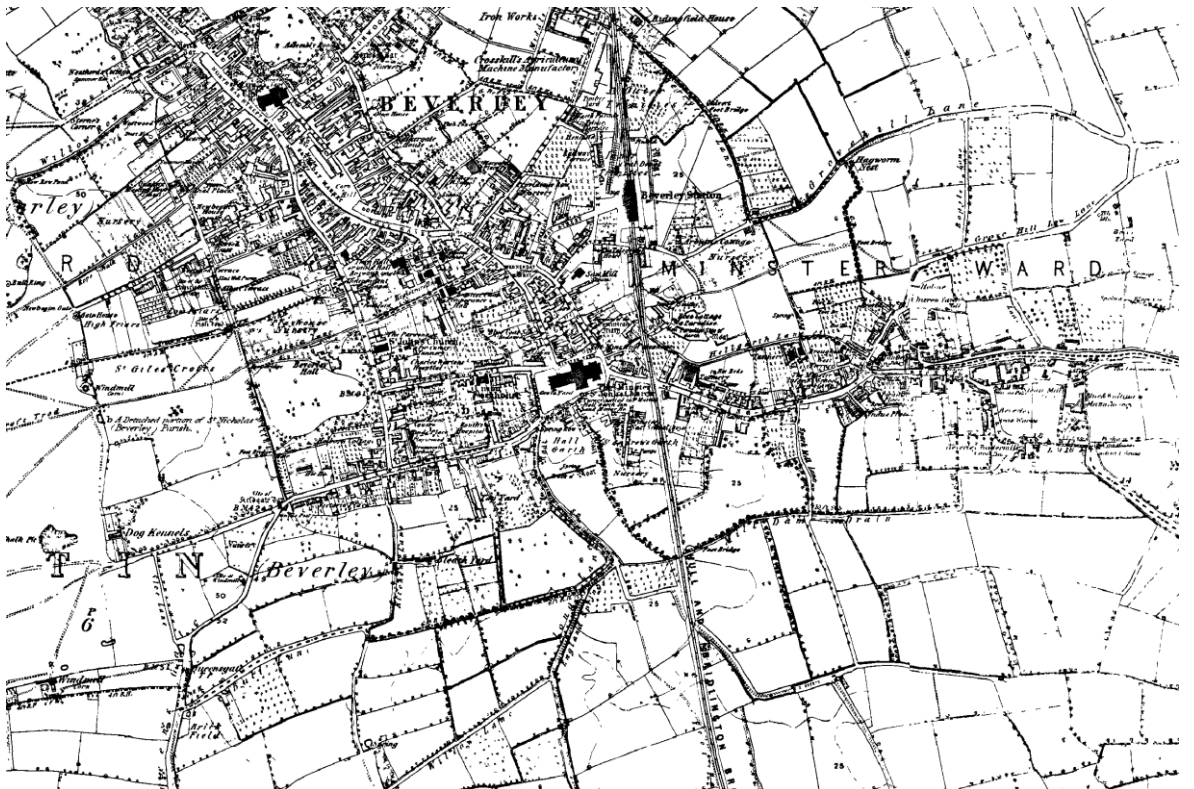


Fig. 169. Map of Beverley from the 1854 Ordnance Survey.



Fig. 170. Aerial view of Beverley.

The Anglo-Saxon Church from Documents

The first reference to a church, or rather monastery, at Beverley is thought to be from Bede. He is not explicit but the monastery at *Inderauuda*, ‘in the wood of the men of Deira’, to which Bishop John of York retired in c. 714 and was buried in 721, is generally accepted to have been Beverley.¹ The next event to be recorded for Beverley Minster is its destruction by Danes in 866, along with all its books and ornaments. However after it had lain desolate for only three years the surviving priests and clerks returned and repaired it.² In 937 Beverley received royal patronage. It is believed that when Athelstan visited he gave the church the right of sanctuary and reformed it as a community of secular canons.³ Nothing more is known of Beverley until Ælfric was made archbishop of York in 1023. He and subsequent Anglo-Saxon archbishops appeared to take a special interest in Beverley. He translated the remains of St John at Beverley and began work on enlarging the church buildings there. His successor Cynesige in 1055, continued the work begun by Ælfric and added a stone tower and bells, also providing books and ornaments. Ealdred, the last Anglo-Saxon archbishop of York, consecrated in 1061, completed the refectory and dormitory, added a new presbytery dedicated to St John the evangelist and redecorated the church with

¹ *VCH East Riding VI*. pp. 2-3 and *HE* v. 6 (pp. 468-469).

² W. Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum* (London, 1846), Vol. 2, p. 127.

³ *Miracula Sancti Johannis Episcopi Eboracensis* in J. S. Raine, *Historians of the Church of York and its Archbishops, Vol 2* (London, 1886), pp. 263-264, *Alia Miracula Sancti Johannis Episcopi* in Raine, *Historians of the Church of York and its Archbishops, Vol 2*, pp. 294-298, Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, Vol. 6, Pt 1, pp. 608-609. There seems to be some degree of confusion as to when exactly these events occurred, with the Register of St Leonard's Hospital at York, placing them in 925. These traditions are disputed, see above p. 72.

marvellous paintings and a new pulpit in the choir. This last renovation probably occurred after the conquest.⁴



Fig. 171. St John, Beverley from the north-west.

The Church

The extant church of St John the Evangelist dates principally to three phases of building. In 1220-60 the east end was built including the double transepts and the chancel.⁵ In 1308-49 the bulk of the nave and the chapter house were constructed and in 1390-1420 the west end of the nave was completed. Beverley minster is described by Pevsner and Neave as of cathedral size (**Dimensions c.330', 100m in length**).⁶ The earliest stonework is of oolitic limestone, possibly from quarries at Newbald, and the majority of the remainder is of magnesian limestone from the Tadcaster area.

Domesday Book

From the land of the Archbishop of York

IN BEVERLEY, St John's carucate was always free from the king's geld. The canons have there in demesne 1 plough; and 18 villans and 15 bordars having 6 ploughs, and 3 mills [rendering] 13s, and a fishery [rendering] 7,000 eels. [There is] woodland pasture 3 leagues long and 1½ leagues broad. The whole [is] 4 leagues long and 2 leagues broad. TRE it was worth £24 to the archbishop; now £14. Then it was worth to

⁴ J. M. Cooper, *The last four Anglo-Saxon Archbishops of York*, Borthwick papers, 38 (York, 1970), pp. 17-28, *Chronica Pontificum Ecclesiae Eboracensis* in Raine, *Historians of the Church of York and its Archbishops*, Vol 2, pp. 343-344 and 353-4. This is considered in a broader context above pp. 71-73.

⁵ P. Rogerson, *Beverley Minster* (Andover, 1990), p. 2.

⁶ N. Pevsner and D. Neave, *Yorkshire: York and the East Riding*, The Buildings of England (London, 1995), pp. 283-294.

the canons £20; now the same. To this manor belong these Berewicks; Skidby [and] Bishop Burton. In these there are 31 carucates to the geld, and there could be 18 ploughs. The canons have in demesne there 4 ploughs; and 20 villans with 6 ploughs, and 3 knights [with] 3 ploughs.⁷

Sculpture

Lang has classed the stone seat at Beverley minster as one of his stones of uncertain date from the Saxo-Norman period.⁸ The seat is positioned beside the high altar in the minster. The stone is similar to both Roman material from York and the late eleventh-century material from York Minster and is from Thevesdale, west of Tadcaster. The closest similar object is thought to be a ‘frith stool’ at Hexham and Lang’s preferred date is late seventh century.



Fig. 172. Stone seat inside Beverley Minster.

⁷ DB 304.

⁸ J. T. Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, III: York and Eastern Yorkshire* (Oxford, 1991), p. 224 III. 885-7.

Archaeology

Excavations at Lurk Lane, Beverley (immediately to the south of the eastern half of the minster) between 1979 and 1982 have provided convincing support to the impression of Beverley created by the documents. The occupation of the first monastery on the site appears to have ended c. 851 as dated by a coin hoard, or 866 as suggested by documentary evidence.⁹ The next phase began in the early tenth century. This is suggested by a St Peters penny of c. 910-930, radiocarbon dates of c. 885-985 and a disc brooch of that period. This phase is described as having the characteristics of workshop activity. It contained a simple hearth believed to have been used for low temperature lead smelting, and in a subsequent phase the hearth was extended and a triangular window pane in brown glass was associated. This is taken as evidence of sacred as opposed to secular use and is one of very few diagnostic articles recovered. Armstrong suggests the industrial activity associated with the area excavated was clearly building related and possibly was linked to the construction of the first stone church on the site. Other evidence included offcuts of lead sheeting which was likely to have been used for roofing. This phase ended with the wholesale replanning of part of the Minster precinct in the mid or late eleventh century.

Armstrong sees the deposits as insufficient in quantity to represent two centuries of continuous activity, even with a possible eighty year abandonment. He puts forward two explanations. The first is that it may represent two separate construction events, thus not indicating the continued presence of the actual workshop, or the deposits may have been reduced by the earth movements that occurred with the Norman buildings. He even goes as far as to equate the second construction event with the building program of Archbishops Cynesige and Ealdred in 1051-1069. There are other associated finds connected to this phase of occupation which suggest an expansion of domestic and craft activities, including evidence for wool or flax preparation and weaving, leather working or hide preparation and antler working. Furthermore, the assemblage is the largest of stratified Anglo-Scandinavian material in the north-east, behind York, and some of the finds illustrate trade with the south-eastern Danelaw centres, as well as York and Lincoln. The evidence points to a prosperous community based around a royal and episcopally supported minster.¹⁰

Discussion

The most significant aspect of the documentary references is the building of a refectory and dormitory, begun under Ælfric but not completed until after the conquest under Ealdred. If these were in use early rather than later in the period over which their construction is mentioned then it would have important ramifications as to the kind of life that was being practised at Beverley. It would suggest that they were living according to some form of rule possibly that of Amalarius of Metz translated by archbishop Wulfstan, this does not seem an unreasonable supposition when the priority apparently given to Beverley over other religious institutions by the archbishops of York is considered.

⁹ P. Armstrong, D. Tomlinson and D. H. Evans, *Excavations at Lurk Lane Beverley, 1979-1982* (Sheffield, 1991), pp. 14-22.

¹⁰ Armstrong, Tomlinson and Evans, *Excavations at Lurk Lane Beverley, 1979-1982*, p. 244.

In spite of the diagnostic significance of window glass in particular, it is only really possible to equate the finds of the Lurk Lane excavation to a religious community and its buildings because of the knowledge derived from documents considered above. The community could appear almost entirely non religious. It is important to bear this in mind when examining other possible monastic sites. The similarity of some of its functions to the site excavated at York minster is very interesting. The secular and domestic appearance of both the occupation at York and at Beverley may be significant.

In a work largely examining Beverley minster David Palliser finds evidence for the 'survival of early provision for pastoral care based on head minsters before the full development of a parochial system.'¹¹ He is using later evidence but the case is persuasive. He cites Beverley and Ripon as minsters where some of the old functions survived and Pocklington and Pickering as ones where the superiority of the mother church remained. This is considered further above.¹²

Beverley stands out as different to all the other church sites of the East Riding of Yorkshire. The land owned by St John's at the time of Domesday Book is too extensive to list here. There seems a possibility that there may have been up to three early churches in Beverley responsible for pastoral care. St John's was essentially, in spite of its cathedral like appearance, a parish church. St Mary's was founded in the second quarter of the twelfth century and St Nicholas's came into existence before 1160.¹³ The possibility of more than one church existing before the conquest must be considered and Beverley certainly would justify greater attention than here given. It should perhaps be considered in terms of its influence over surrounding rural churches as well as a manifestation of ecclesiastical organisation in its own right.

¹¹ D. Palliser, 'Review article: the 'minster hypothesis': a case study', 5 (1996), 207-214.

¹² Above, pp. 50-51.

¹³ *VCH East Riding VI*. pp. 236-241.

Middleton on the Wolds

Middleton on the Wolds is situated about eight miles north-west of Beverley on the eastern edge of the wolds.



Fig. 173. Map of Middleton on the Wolds from the 1854 Ordnance Survey.



Fig. 174. Aerial view of Middleton on the Wolds.

The Church

The earliest parts of the church of St Andrew are a Norman font and representation of c.1180 waterleaf within the largely Victorian south door.¹⁴ The chancel is predominantly of the early thirteenth century with interior chalk walls. The remainder of the church, tower and nave, are mainly of the 1873-4 rebuilt by J M Teale of Doncaster. The church is situated at the eastern edge of the village on the highest ground.



Fig. 175. St Andrew, Middleton on the Wolds from the south-east.

¹⁴ Pevsner and Neave, *Yorkshire: York and the East Riding*, pp. 614-615.



Fig. 176. St Andrew, Middleton on the Wolds from the south showing its position within the village.

Domesday Book

From the land of the Archbishop of York

In MIDDLETON-ON-THE-WOLDS [are] 5 carucates and 6 bovates to the geld, and there could be 3 ploughs. Archbishop Ealdæd held this as 1 manor. Now St John has it. In demesne [is] 1 plough; and 8 villans [with] 2½ ploughs. There is a church and a priest. TRE worth 40s; now 20s.¹⁵

From the land of the Count of Mortain

In MIDDLETON-ON-THE-WOLDS, Gamal had 1 manor of 3 carucates to the geld, and there could be 2 ploughs. Nigel has it, and it is waste, except for 1 man having 3 oxen. TRE worth 30s; now 5s.

In the same vill [is] half a carucate and the third part of 1 bovate to the geld; the soke is in Great Driffield, the king's manor. Nigel has there 2 villans with 3 oxen.¹⁶

In MIDDLETON-ON-THE-WOLDS, Edith had 1 manor of 3 carucates and 5 bovates to the geld, and there could be 2 ploughs. Richard has it of the count, but the predecessor of the count did not have it. In demesne is 1 plough. TRE worth 20s; now 20s. In the same vill is sokeland of Great Driffield, the king's manor, of 6 bovates. Richard has the land, but the king does not have the soke.¹⁷

From the claims

In Middleton-on-the-Wolds the same Nigel held 1 carucate of land which belonged to Mula-Grimr, but now he has given it up.

The same Nigel has retained by force until now the soke of half a carucate of land and of the third part of 1 bovate in the same vill, and it belongs to the king's manor of Great Driffield.

¹⁵ DB 304.

¹⁶ DB 306V.

¹⁷ DB 306V.

In like manner, Hamelin has detained by force until now 2 carucates of land and 5 bovates in the same vill with soke belonging to Great Driffield.

In the same vill, Richard de Sourdeval holds 3 carucates of land and 5 bovates which belonged to Ealdgyth, whose land was not delivered to Count Robert.

Also in the same vill, the same Richard holds 6 bovates of land, the soke of which belongs to Great Driffield, but as yet it has not been returned¹⁸

From the summary

In Middleton-on-the-Wolds, the archbishop 5 carucates and 6 bovates. In the same place, the Count of Mortain and his men 12 carucates and 1 bovates and the third part of 1 bovat.¹⁹

Watton

Watton is situated about 6½ miles to the north of Beverley. It is at the bottom of a gentle hill above marshland. The possible church sites are situated to the west, below the modern village.

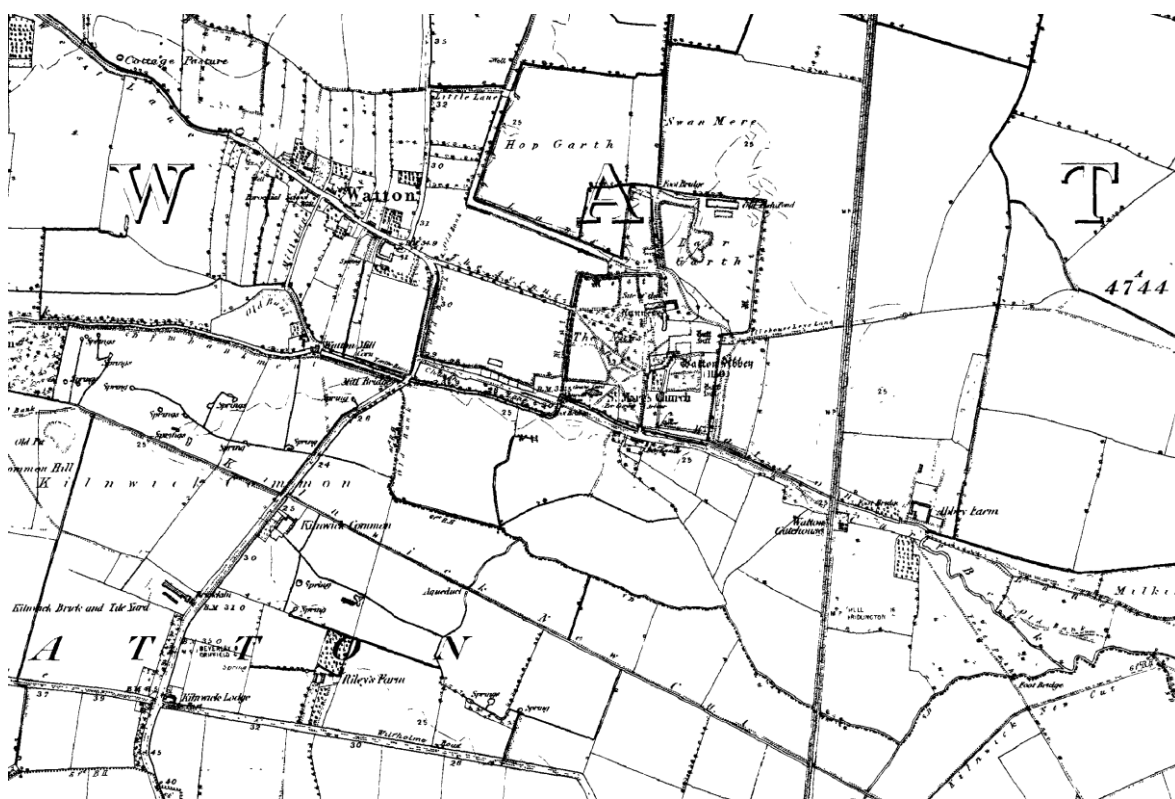


Fig. 177. Map of Watton from the 1854 Ordnance Survey.

¹⁸ DB 373.

¹⁹ DB 381V.



Fig. 178. Aerial view of Watton.

The Church



Fig. 179. St Mary, Watton from the north-east.

The situation at Watton is complicated with potentially four different churches. The first is a nunnery recorded in an account of the miracles of St John in Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*

considered below. The second is the Domesday Book church. The third is the church of the Gilbertine priory founded in 1150. This priory church of the later twelfth century was of the standard Cistercian plan with a straight ended chancel and pairs of straight ended chapels to the east of the transepts.²⁰ Only earthworks now survive. Finally, the later parish church of St. Mary is still extant. Pevsner and Neave do not decide definitively whether the church of St Mary, brick built with chancel nave and west tower, is late fifteenth century or late sixteenth to early seventeenth century.²¹ It seems plausible that the original churches would have been somewhere in the vicinity of these two churches that are visible today.

Domesday Book

From the land of the Count of Mortain

In WATTON, Thorkil and Mula-Grimr, Orm and Gamal, had 4 manors of 13 carucates to the geld, and there could be 7 ploughs. Nigel has 3 villans with 2 ploughs there. [There is] a priest and a church, [and] meadow half a league long and as much broad. The whole [is] 2 leagues long and 1 broad. TRE worth £6; now 6s.²²

From the land of the King's Thegns a manor

In WATTON, Thorth [had] 3 carucates to the geld. The same man himself has it. [There is] land for 2 ploughs.²³

From the summary

In Watton, the king 3 carucates. In the same place, the Count of Mortain 13 carucates.²⁴

Discussion

Morris cites Watton as a possible superior church in pre-Conquest Yorkshire.²⁵ This assertion relies on the Bede reference mentioned above.²⁶ This recounted a miracle of Bishop John of York, later St John of Beverley, who went to a monastery of nuns at Watton. There he was enjoined by the Abbess, Hereburh to visit one of the nuns, her daughter Cwenburh, who had a wounded arm and was near death. Bishop John visited her, prayed by her side and blessed her and she was subsequently completely cured. This is clear evidence of a monastery at Watton while John was Bishop of York between c. 706 and c. 714. However, it casts no light on Watton's subsequent history. It could have remained a monastery or developed into something else. It also suggests some connection with the bishopric of York and possibly to the community of Beverley, to which John was closely affiliated. This is not supported by the Domesday references, which do not indicate either episcopal ownership or links to the canons of St John. However, geographical proximity may be another important indicator of influence. The 1150 foundation of a Gilbertine priory is likely to owe more to a desire to found religious houses at places recorded by Bede than any continuation of monastic activity.

²⁰ Pevsner and Neave, *Yorkshire: York and the East Riding*, pp. 735-736.

²¹ Pevsner and Neave, *Yorkshire: York and the East Riding*, pp. 733-735.

²² DB 306V.

²³ DB 331.

²⁴ DB 381V.

²⁵ R. K. Morris, *Churches in the landscape* (London, 1989), pp.134-135.

²⁶ *HE* v. 3 (pp. 458-463).

South Hundred of Holderness



Fig. 180. Modern Ordnance Survey showing northern church sites of South Hundred of Holderness.

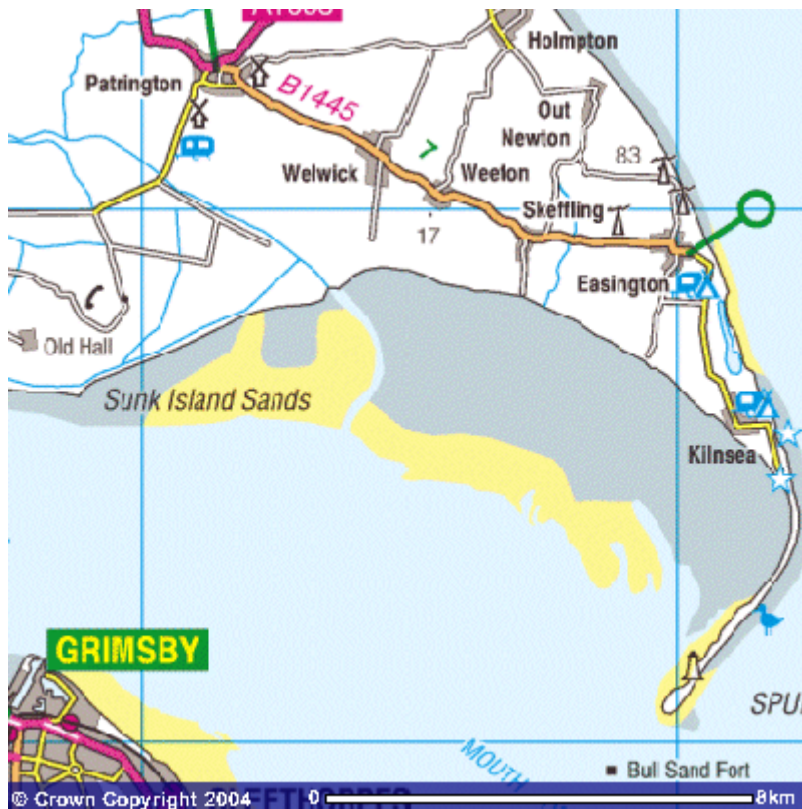


Fig. 181. Modern Ordnance Survey showing south-eastern extremity of South Hundred of Holderness.

Keyingham

Keyingham is about sixteen miles south-east of Beverley.



Fig. 182. Keyingham from the 1855 Ordnance Survey.



Fig. 183. Aerial view of Keyingham.

The Church

The oldest extant fabric of the church of St Nicholas are fragments of the east wall of the twelfth

century nave, which is aisled and clerestoried and has a south porch.¹ In addition it has a chancel with south chapel and a west tower.



Fig. 184. St Nicholas, Keyingham from the north-east.

Domesday Book

From the land of Drogo de la Beuvrière there was a manor

In KEYINGHAM, Thorfridh had 8 carucates of land to the geld, where there could be 8 ploughs. Now Drogo has there 30 villans +having+ 3 ploughs. There is a priest and a church, and 24 acres of meadow. [It is] 2 leagues long and 1 broad. TRE worth £8; now 30s.²

From the claims

The jurors of Holderness have testified that these lands noted below [are] for William Malet's use, because they saw them seised in the hand of the same William, and saw him having and holding them until the Danes took him; but they have not seen the king's writ or seal for this.

In Keyingham, 8 carucates of land which belonged to Thorfridh.³

From the summary

In Keyingham, 8 carucates.⁴

¹ *VCH East Riding V.* p. 64.

² DB 324.

³ DB 374.

⁴ DB 382.

Place-Name

Originally recorded in Domesday Book as *Chaingeha'* and *Caingeha'*, it is interpreted by Smith as 'Homestead of *Cæga* and his people'.⁵ It is a folk name in the genitive plural and probably derives from the earliest Anglo-Saxon period.

Discussion

In the time of King Edward it was held by Thorfridh and by 1086 had passed to Drogo de la Beuvrière. It contained a priest and a church. Keyingham had the linear layout typical of Holderness villages. The north-south orientated street separated the two main open fields to the east and west.⁶ The church occupied a fairly central position within this earlier layout. In 1855 the parish was 3,549 acres in size.⁷

Ottringham

Ottringham is about seventeen miles south-east of Beverley and about one mile to the east-south-east of Keyingham.

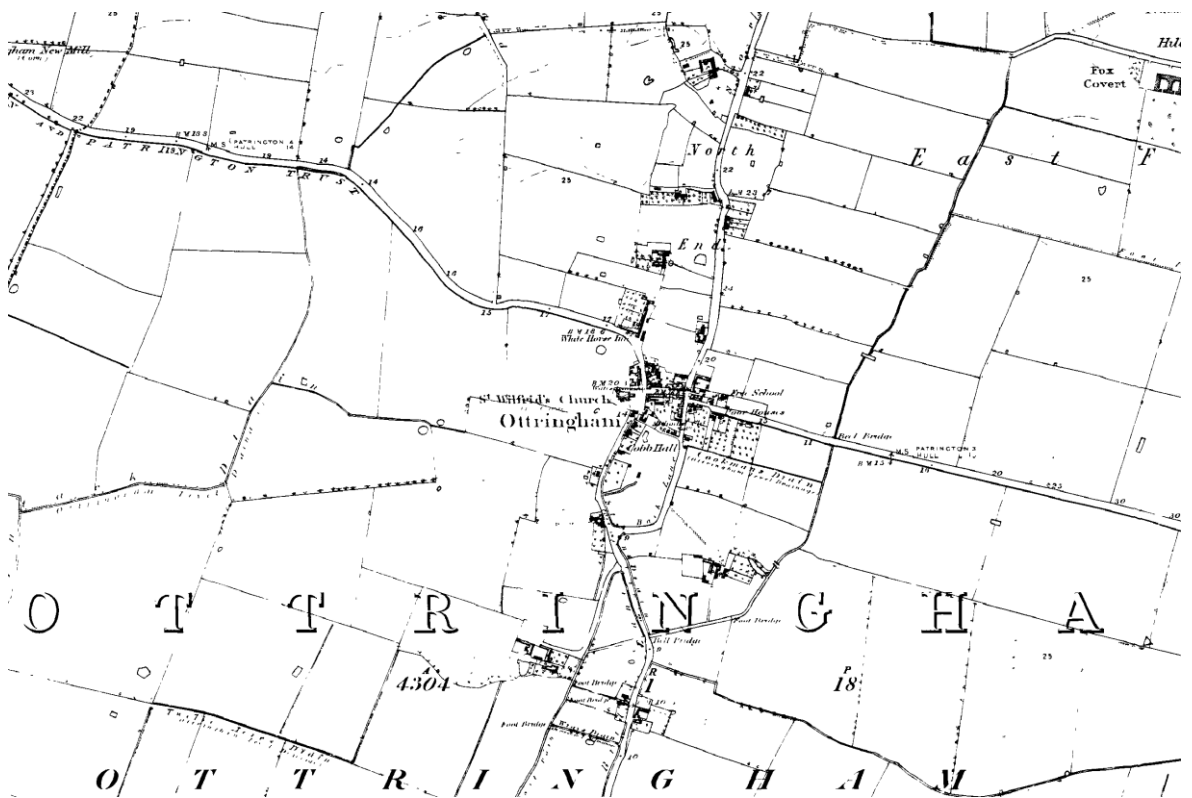


Fig. 185. Ottringham from the 1855 Ordnance Survey.

⁵ *PNERY* p. 32.

⁶ *VCH East Riding V.* p. 57.

⁷ *VCH East Riding V.* p. 55.



Fig. 186. Aerial view of Ottringham.

The Church



Fig. 187. St Wilfrid, Ottringham from the south-east.

The oldest extant parts of the church of St Wilfrid are from the twelfth century.⁸ The first reference to the dedication is in a charter of 1135.⁹ Part of the south wall of the chancel dates from the twelfth century. The aisled and clerestoried nave has thick walling in the south-east dating from the twelfth century, and reset above the north arcade there are twelfth century corbels. It has a west tower with spire and the tower arch has capitals of c. 1125 and zig zag ornament.

Domesday Book

From the land of the Archbishop of York, in a list of berewicks belonging to St John in Holderness In Ottringham [are] 6½ carucates of land to the geld. There is a church and a priest. A certain knight rents it, and pays 10s.¹⁰

From the land of Drogo de la Beuvrière there was half a carucate of sokeland of Aldbrough at Ottringham and 2 manors

In OTTRINGHAM, Thor and Thorkil had 4 carucates of land, and there could be 4 ploughs. Now Henry has there, of Drogo, 1 plough; and 6 villans and 6 bordars with 1½ ploughs. There is a priest and a church, and 1 mill, and 20 acres of meadow. [It is] 2 leagues long and a half broad. TRE worth 100s; now 20s.¹¹

From the summary

In Ottringham, 6 ½ carucates...In Ottringham, half a carucate...In Ottringham, 4 carucates.¹²

Place-Name

Recorded in Domesday Book variously as *Otringha*, *Otrengha* and *Otrege*, it is interpreted by Smith as 'Home of *Oter* and his people'.¹³ It is a folk name in the genitive plural, which Smith suggests derives from the earliest Anglo-Saxon period, combined with an Anglo-Saxon personal name.

Discussion

Ottringham has a linear plan with houses and garths separating the open fields to the east and west.¹⁴ Kent suggests that the main street and back lane have reversed function at some point with the church situated on what is now Back Lane. In 1855 the parish was about 2½ miles long, of rectangular shape, and had an area of 4,305 acres.¹⁵ The dedication of the church to St Wilfrid is interesting in a manner held by the archbishop. The recording of two churches within one settlement is also worthy of note and is considered further above.¹⁶

⁸ N. Pevsner and D. Neave, *Yorkshire: York and the East Riding*, The Buildings of England (London, 1995), pp. 639-640.

⁹ *VCH East Riding V*. p. 84.

¹⁰ DB 304.

¹¹ DB 324.

¹² DB 382.

¹³ *PNERY* p. 31.

¹⁴ *VCH East Riding V*. p. 75.

¹⁵ *VCH East Riding V*. p. 74.

¹⁶ Above, pp. 36.

Patrington

Patrington is approximately twenty miles south-east of Beverley and about three miles east-south-east of Ottringham.



Fig. 188. Patrington from the 1855 Ordnance Survey.



Fig. 189. Aerial view of Patrington.

The Church

The extant church of St Patrick dates largely from c. 1300 to c. 1350.¹⁷ It has an aisled nave and north and south aisled transepts with an aisleless chancel. It is 46m in length externally with a spire stretching to 55m. Some elements of a preceding Norman church survive as stonework built into the walls of the nave. Other remains of the thirteenth century church also survive in the nave and the south transept.

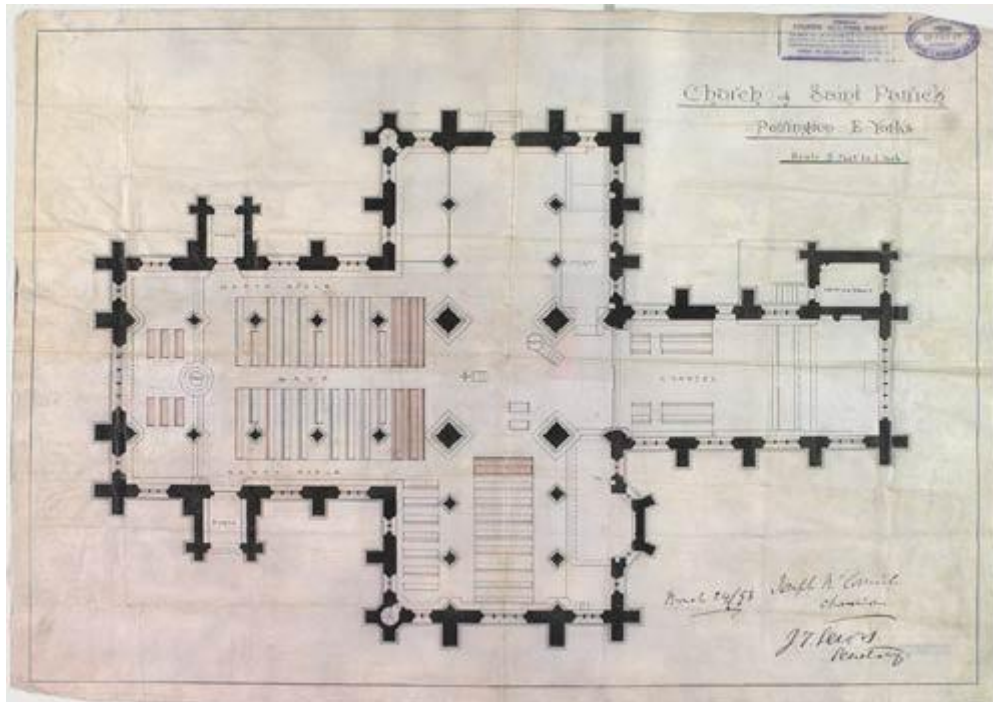


Fig. 190. Groundplan of St Patrick's from 1863.

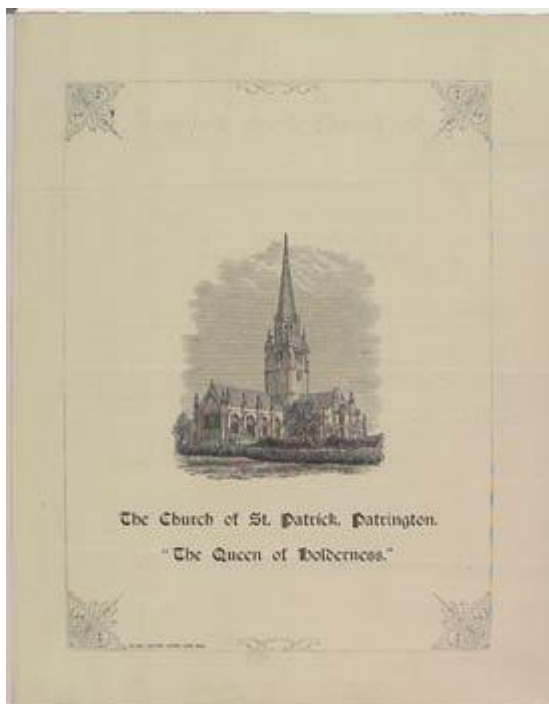


Fig. 191. Perspective of St Patrick's from 1892-4.

¹⁷ Pevsner and Neave, *Yorkshire: York and the East Riding*, pp. 641-643.



Fig. 192. St Patrick, Patrington from the north.

Domesday Book

From the land of the Archbishop of York

In PATRINGTON, with 4 Berewicks, Winestead, Halsham, Thorpe [in Welwick] [and] 'Thurlesthorp' [in [partly in margin] Patrington], are 35½ carucates and 2 bovates and 2 parts of 1 bovate to the geld. There is land for 35 ploughs. This manor belonged and belongs to the Archbishop of York.

Now there are in demesne 2 ploughs; and 8 villans and 63 bordars having 13 ploughs. There 6 sokemen with 2 villans and 20 bordars have 5 ½ ploughs. There are 32 acres of meadow.

Of the land of this manor 2 knights have 6 carucates, and 2 clerks [have] 2 carucates and 3 bovates and the third part of 1 bovate. They have there 4 sokemen and 5 villans and 3 bordars with 5 ploughs. TRE it was worth £30; now £10 5s. The arable land [is] 3 leagues long and 1½ leagues broad.¹⁸

From the summary

In Patrington, the archbishop 15 carucates and 2 bovates.¹⁹

¹⁸ DB 302.

¹⁹ DB 382.

Place-Name

First recorded in Domesday Book as *Patricitone* the first element is obscure but there is a possible association with St Patrick.²⁰ The second element could be interpreted as ‘farmstead associated with’. The place-name is Anglo-Saxon in origin.

Sculpture



Fig. 193. The two faces with visible carving of the Patricitone 1 cross-shaft.

Patricitone 1 This is a part of a cross shaft which was discovered at the beginning of the twentieth century in a wall near the church and is thought to have been destroyed in an air raid on Hull Museum during the Second World War.²¹ It is made of sandstone, which shows that it was imported into Holderness. The monument contains Classical simple plant-scroll, which is rare in the East Riding. Lang finds the closest parallels at Hackness 1 and Gilling East 1. Lang dates it to the eighth century.

Dimensions Not known.

Discussion

King Cnut granted an estate of 43 *casati* at Patricitone to the Archbishop of York in 1033.²² This was still held by the Archbishop before 1066 and in 1086 as recorded by Domesday Book. Domesday Book does not record a church but it does detail two clerks and this, together with the earlier sculpture, may suggest the church was founded in the Anglo-Saxon period. The possible

²⁰ *PNERY* p. 25.

²¹ J. T. Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, III: York and Eastern Yorkshire* (Oxford, 1991), pp. 198-199 Ills. 749-50.

²² *VCH East Riding V*. p. 101, *EYC I*. 8 and pp. 25-27 and S 968.

connection of the church and the vill with St Patrick indicated by the dedication of the church and possibly by the place-name could warrant further consideration. The archbishop's close connection appears to have been maintained with occasional visits in the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries and the construction of a manor house in 1340.²³ The archbishop appears to have assigned the manor to the canons of St John, Beverley, under whose jurisdiction it remained.²⁴ The parish was 2,741 acres in size in 1851.²⁵

Roos

Roos is situated approximately seventeen miles east-south-east of Beverley, about four miles north-north-east of Ottringham and just over 1½ miles from the coast.

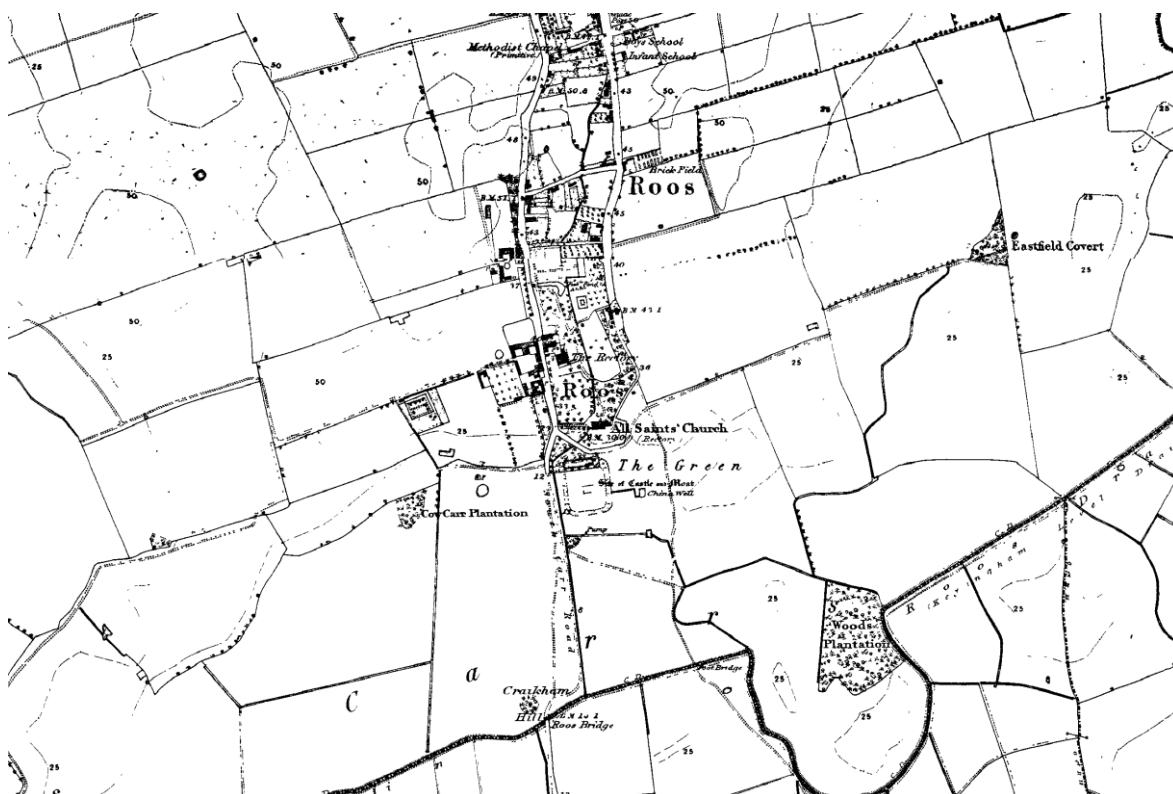


Fig. 194. Roos from the 1855 Ordnance Survey.

²³ *VCH East Riding* V. p. 102.

²⁴ *VCH East Riding* V. p. 106.

²⁵ *VCH East Riding* V. p. 97.



Fig. 195. Aerial view of Roos.

The Church



Fig. 196. All Saints, Roos from the west.

The church was dedicated to All Saints by 1347.²⁶ It has a chancel, an aisled and clerestoried nave and a west tower. The plan suggests an origin of the eleventh century or earlier. The earliest extant features are of the thirteenth century, three bays of nave arcades and the tower arch.

Domesday Book

From the land of Drogo de la Beuvrière there were 3 carucates of sokeland of the manor of Kilnsea at Roos.²⁷

From the land of Drogo de la Beuvrière there were 2 manors

In ROOS, Murdac and Svartgeirr had 3 carucates of land and 5 bovates to the geld. There is land for 4 ploughs. Now Fulk, Drogo's man, has 1 plough there; and 1 villan with 1 plough. There is a priest and a church, and [he has] 30 acres of meadow. [It is] half a league long and a half broad. TRE worth 60s; now 20s.²⁸

From the summary

In Roos, 3 carucates and the third part of 1 carucate...In Roos, 3 carucates and 5 bovates.”²⁹

Place-Name

First recorded in Domesday Book as *Rosse*, Smith interprets it as a Celtic name deriving from the British *rosta* and probably meaning ‘moor, heath or marsh’.³⁰ It is possible that the word was taken from the British into Anglo-Saxon usage.

Discussion

Faull and Stinson appear to provide the wrong coordinates for Roos, placing the vill church at the site of the church of St Margaret at nearby Hilston.³¹ The advowson of the church belonged to Kirkham priory until the dissolution.³² The village had a linear plan with two settlement nuclei at the north and south ends.³³ The church and manor house are at the southern end. In 1852 the parish was 3,623 acres in total, comprising, 2,528 in Roos, 886 in Ostwick and 209 detached in Garton with Grimston.

Welwick

Welwick is situated 22½ miles south-east of Beverley and about one mile north of the Humber estuary.

²⁶ *VCH East Riding VII*. p. 92.

²⁷ DB 323V.

²⁸ DB 325.

²⁹ DB 382.

³⁰ *PNERY* p. 56.

³¹ M. L. Faull and M. Stinson *Domesday Book: Yorkshire: Volume II* (Chichester, 1986), II Index of Places.

³² *VCH East Riding VII*. p. 91.

³³ *VCH East Riding VII*. p. 83.



Fig. 197. Welwick from the 1855 Ordnance Survey.



Fig. 198. Aerial view of Welwick.

The Church

The church of St Mary consists of a chancel, aisled and clerestoried nave, a south porch and a west tower.³⁴ The earliest features date to the thirteenth century and include the tower arch, the eastern corners of the nave and the west part of the chancel.

³⁴ Pevsner and Neave, *Yorkshire: York and the East Riding*, p. 743.



Fig. 199. St Mary, Welwick from the north-west.

Domesday Book

From the land of the Archbishop of York, in a list of berewicks belonging to St John in Holderness there was a berewick

In Welwick [are] 4 carucates of land to the geld, and in Weeton [in Welwick], 2 carucates of land and 5 bovates to the geld. [There is] land for 6 ploughs. There are in demesne 1½ ploughs; and 32 villans and 13 bordars having 9 ploughs. There is a church and a priest, and 20 acres of meadow.³⁵

From the summary

In Welwick, 4 carucates. In Weeton [in Welwick], 2 carucates and 5 bovates.³⁶

Place-Name

Smith interprets the place-name, the earliest form being *Weluic* in Domesday Book, as derived from the Anglo-Saxon words *w(i)ella* and *wic* and meaning ‘Dairy-farm near the spring.’³⁷

Discussion

The Domesday Book berewick at Welwick was listed under the holdings of St John from the land of the Archbishop of York and this may provide the explanation for the presence of a church at such an otherwise apparently insignificant settlement. This link certainly continued with the church

³⁵ DB 304.

³⁶ DB 382.

³⁷ *PN ERY* p. 22.

at Welwick falling within the peculiar jurisdiction of the provost of Beverley.³⁸ The modern village clusters around Main Street and Humber Lane to form an L-shape. However, the line of old enclosures suggests that in the middle ages it was a more typical linear Holderness village on a north-south axis.³⁹ From the 1855 Ordnance Survey it is apparent that in 1852 the parish was 3,515 acres and roughly square in shape.⁴⁰

Withernsea

Withernsea is situated about 20½ miles south-east of Beverley on the coast to the north of the Humber estuary.



Fig. 200. Withernsea from the 1855 Ordnance Survey.

³⁸ VCH East Riding V. p. 146.

³⁹ VCH East Riding V. p. 141.

⁴⁰ VCH East Riding V. p. 141.



Fig. 201. Aerial view of Withernsea.

The Church

The early medieval church of St Mary was destroyed by the sea in the fifteenth century and replaced by St Nicholas, which was also abandoned after 1609.⁴¹

Domesday Book

From the land of Drogo de la Beuvrière there was 1 manor

In WITHERNSEA, Morcar had 18 carucates of land and 6 bovates to the geld, where there could be 15 ploughs. Now Drogo has there 1 plough; and 4 villans and 5 bordars and 2 priests. All these together [have] 2 ploughs, and 100 acres of meadow.

To this manor belongs this sokeland: "Andrebi" [in Roos], 2 carucates; Burton Pidsea, 7 carucates; Danthorpe, 2 carucates and 6 bovates; Fitling, 6 carucates; Sproatley, 5 bovates; Grimston [in Garton], 4 carucates; Waxholme, 6 bovates; Tunstall [near Withernsea], 1 carucate; Owthorne, 5 bovates; Hollym, 1 carucate; 'Redmere' [in Owthorne], 3 bovates. Together, [there are] 32 carucates of land to the geld, where there could be 25 ploughs. Now Drogo has there 10 sokemen and 10 villans and 2 bordars having 7 ploughs. TRE worth £56; now £6.⁴²

From the summary

In Withernsea, 18 carucates and 6 bovates.⁴³

Place-Name

Smith considers the most likely interpretation for the first element of the place-name first recorded as *Witfornes* and *Widfornessei* in Domesday Book as a prepositional or adverbial compound of the

⁴¹ Pevsner and Neave, *Yorkshire: York and the East Riding*, p. 761.

⁴² DB 323V.

⁴³ DB 382.

Anglo-Saxon *wīþ* or Old Norse *wið* and the similarly Anglo-Saxon or Old Norse *þorn* meaning 'near the thorn tree'.⁴⁴ The final element is the Anglo-Saxon *sæ* meaning 'pool'.

Discussion

Domesday Book does not record a church at Withernsea but it does record two priests in a sizeable manor with substantial sokeland, which had passed from Morcar to Drogo. The potential significance of these two priests is discussed further above.⁴⁵ A charter records two churches as Withernsea c. 1100 and there is a suggestion that this may have included a church at Owthorne.⁴⁶ In 1115 the church was among those given to Aumale abbey. The parish was that of Hollym although it seems that Withernsea was the senior church with a chapel of ease at Hollym. The ancient parish of Hollym was 4,229 acres in 1852 as recorded in the 1855 Ordnance Survey.⁴⁷

⁴⁴ *PNERY* p. 27.

⁴⁵ Above, pp. 67-68.

⁴⁶ *VCH East Riding V.* p. 45.

⁴⁷ *VCH East Riding V.* p. 40.

Thorshowe Hundred

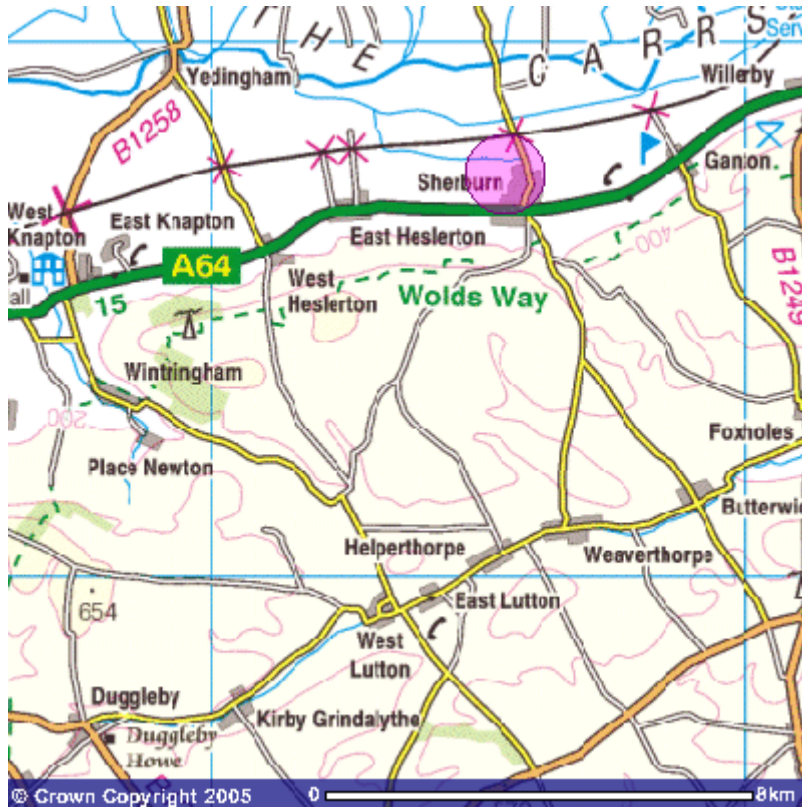


Fig. 202. Modern Ordnance Survey showing church sites of Thorshowe Hundred.

Cowlam

Cowlam is on the wolds sixteen miles to the north of Beverley.

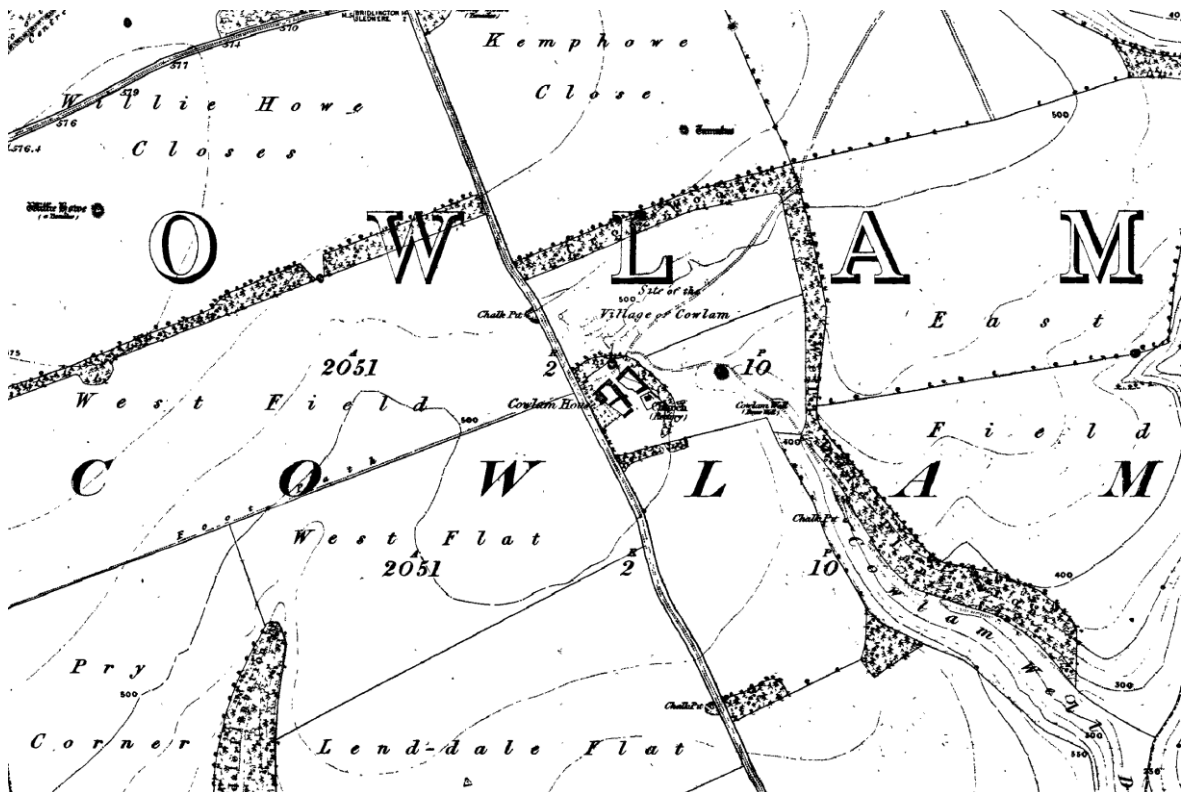


Fig. 203. Cowlam from the 1854 Ordnance Survey.



Fig. 204. Aerial view of Cowlam.

The Church



Fig. 205. Nineteenth-century St Mary, Cowlam built on the site of the old church, from the south-west.

The church of St Mary is now situated within a farmyard at the west end of the earthworks of the former village.¹ The extant church was rebuilt in 1852 and is on the site of the old church. It does retain evidence of its earlier incarnation in the form of a Norman font.

Domesday Book

Two manors from the land of the King

In Cowlam, Ketilbert and his brother, 6 carucates to the geld. Land for 3 ploughs. 40s.²

From the land of the Archbishop of York

IN WEAVERTHORPE, 18 carucates, with these Berewicks: Low Mowthorpe [in Kirby Grindalythe], 5 carucates, [and] Sherburn, 3 carucates, there are 26 carucates to the geld, and there could be 15 ploughs. Archbishop Ealdræd held this as 1 manor. Now Archbishop Thomas has it, and it is waste. TRE it was worth £14.

To this manor belongs Helperthorpe, where there are 12 carucates to the geld: 6 under soke, and 6 with sake and soke. It is waste.

To the same manor belongs the soke of these lands: North Grimston, 3½ carucates; Sutton [near Malton], half a carucate; Birdsall, 2 ½ carucates; Croome, 4 carucates; Thirkleby [in Kirby Grindalythe], 1 carucate; [East and West] Lutton, 8 carucates; "Ulchiltorp" [in West Lutton], 1 carucate. In these there are 2 sokemen and 3 bordars having 1 plough, and paying 10s. Walkelin the knight has North Grimston under the archbishop. The Church of Cowlam belongs to Archbishop Thomas, with half a carucate of land.³

From the land of Berengar de Tosny

In 'BUCKTON HOLMS' [in Settrington], Thorbrandr had 10 carucates of land to the geld. [There is] land for 10 ploughs. Now Berengar has there in demesne 4 ploughs, and 1 mill [rendering] 6s. [He has] a church and a priest. In this vill is sokeland of 12 carucates and 6 bovates to the geld. There are now 7 sokemen having 12 villans and 6 bordars with 9 ploughs, and 1 mill [rendering] 2s. TRE the manor was worth 4; now 8 To the same manor belongs also this sokeland: Uncleby, 4 carucates; East Heselton, 1½ carucates; Croome, 1 carucate; Cowlam, 6 carucates. All these are waste. Together, [there are] 12½ carucates to the geld. [There is] land for as many ploughs.⁴

From the summary

In Cowlam, the archbishop half a carucate.

In Croome, the king 4 carucates. In the same place, Berengar de Tosny 1 carucate. In the same place, Hugh fitzBaldric 3 carucates. In Cottam, the archbishop 9 carucates.

In Cowlam, the king 6 carucates. In the same place, Berengar de Tosny 6 carucates.⁵

Place-Name

Smith suggests rejecting the four Domesday Book spellings *Colnun* and follows the other Domesday Book spelling of *Coletun* and subsequent spelling to interpret it, on topographical grounds, as the Old Scandinavian *kollum* 'at the hill-tops', the dative plural of the Old Scandinavian *kollr*.⁶

¹ N. Pevsner and D. Neave, *Yorkshire: York and the East Riding*, The Buildings of England (London, 1995), p. 392.

² DB 301.

³ DB 303.

⁴ DB 314V.

⁵ DB 382.

⁶ *PN ERY* p, 126.

Discussion

Cowlam appears to be an anomalous entry in Domesday Book. With two manors totalling six carucates and a further six carucates of sokeland before the conquest, and one manor of six carucates with six carucates of waste sokeland at the time of Domesday Book, it does not appear a particularly significant settlement. However, the reference to the Church of Cowlam belonging to Archbishop Thomas and having half a carucate of its own is unique in the East Riding. The potential significance of this is discussed above.⁷

It is possible that the precursors to the Deserted Medieval Village of Cowlam have been discovered approximately one km to the north-east of Cowlam.⁸ The cropmark enclosure known as Cottam B is situated just to the west of Burrow House Farm.⁹ Julian Richards has proposed the following hypothesis after fieldwork undertaken between 1993 and 1995.¹⁰ The inception of the first Anglian settlement at the Cottam B site is dated by association with metalwork to between the sixth and seventh centuries. This metalwork includes a Northumbrian styca of Eadberht of 737.¹¹ The second phase of this settlement probably began in the early ninth century and it is to the middle ninth century that the majority of datable finds belong. Richards suggests that it was probably a single homestead and that 'the artefactual evidence suggests a low level of trade, just as the dietary evidence suggests quite a low level of subsistence.'¹² The abandonment of this area of settlement is dated to the end of the ninth century by a silver penny of Aethelberht of Wessex, found in the upper fill of a pit containing a skull.¹³ Occupation then moved 100m to the north where a possibly Anglo-Scandinavian farmstead was constructed with a significant gatehouse. Here, occupation lasted from the late ninth century to the early tenth century, with an absence of late tenth century coins illustrating this. Richards then advocates the theory that settlement then moved to either the deserted medieval village of Cowlam or that of Cottam, favouring the former.¹⁴ He bases this partly on the possibility, while acknowledging other proposed dates, that a number of the planned villages of the Wolds may be associated with planned open field systems and thus date to the Scandinavian period in the ninth or tenth centuries. Also, Colin Hayfield's report on T. C. M. Brewster's excavations of Cowlam deserted medieval village during 1971-2, although it focuses on the late desertion, does suggest occupation from the eleventh century or earlier by merit of some of the pottery finds.¹⁵ Furthermore, Richards refers to personal communications from Haldenby and Hirst revealing that metal-detecting over Cowlam deserted medieval village over six days in late 1998 and early 1999, revealed four probable tenth century artefacts as well as an absence of artefacts for

⁷ Above, p. 35.

⁸ J. D. Richards, 'The Anglian and Anglo-Scandinavian Sites at Cottam, East Yorkshire', in T. Pestell and K. Ulmschneider (eds.), *Markets in Early Medieval Europe: Trading and 'Productive' Sites, 650-850* (Oxford, 2003), p. 164.

⁹ J. D. Richards, 'Cottam: An Anglian and Anglo-Scandinavian Settlement on the Yorkshire Wolds', *Archaeological Journal* 156 (1999), p. 4.

¹⁰ Richards, 'Cottam: An Anglian and Anglo-Scandinavian Settlement on the Yorkshire Wolds', pp. 86-100.

¹¹ Richards, 'Cottam: An Anglian and Anglo-Scandinavian Settlement on the Yorkshire Wolds', p. 89.

¹² Richards, 'Cottam: An Anglian and Anglo-Scandinavian Settlement on the Yorkshire Wolds', pp. 90-91.

¹³ Richards, 'Cottam: An Anglian and Anglo-Scandinavian Settlement on the Yorkshire Wolds', pp. 92-94.

¹⁴ Richards, 'Cottam: An Anglian and Anglo-Scandinavian Settlement on the Yorkshire Wolds', pp. 97-99.

¹⁵ C. Hayfield, 'Cowlam deserted village: a case study of post-medieval village desertion', *Post-Medieval Archaeology* 22 (1988), p. 86 and pp. 93-94.

the period c. 400-900. Finally, Richards concludes that the original Anglian settlement is best understood as an outlying part of a royal vill centred in the Drifffield area, specializing in upland farming and hunting.¹⁶ By the end of the ninth century this vill had fragmented and the settlement at Cottam moved and changed character, showing a Scandinavian cultural allegiance, asserting Lordly authority by the presence of a gatehouse, opening up trade and exchange and switching from a tributary to exchange economy. Within the century a further growth in status had led to the laying out of a planned village.

If this proposed settlement evolution can be proved correct it must be extremely significant to this study. In discussing the significance of the gateway structure of the tenth-century farmstead Richards cites the work of Ann Williams who draws attention to a passage of Archbishop Wulfstan of York where he defines the requirements for a ceorl to achieve thegnly status as five hides of his own land, a church, a gate-house (*burh-geat*) and royal service.¹⁷ Richards is referring to this as an analogy for the excavated gateway structure. With the rest of the enclosure's defences appearing far less imposing, it may have had symbolic rather than practical significance. However, in this context it is tempting to ask the question whether we can reasonably assume that the other key facets of thegnly status, particularly the church, would have been present at this time? At this stage this can only be a question, no answers are readily forthcoming.

If the theory that the new planned village dates to the tenth century is accepted, then the fact that there was a church there by the time of Domesday and that we know the site of the later church in relation to this village must have real relevance to this study. Air photographs taken after the earthworks had been ploughed out reveal what looks to be a planned three-row, 'T'-shaped village. 'There were at least twelve crofts to the northern row, ten to the southern row, and at least twelve to the eastern header row.'¹⁸ Hayfield suggests that the original regular croft alignment may have been subsequently amalgamated and subdivided and that the eastern header row, with a slightly different alignment, greater regularity and shorter crofts may have been a later addition to a planned two-row village. If this interpretation is accurate then it seems likely that the church, if the modern church is on the original site, may have occupied one of the croft sites at the south-west edge of the planned village. If all this proves to be correct and we can accept a tenth century date for this event, as opposed to the post-conquest 'Harrying of the North' or twelfth century alternatives, then we begin to have an insight into the context of the building of at least some of the proposed pre-conquest churches. Similar theories have been propounded for Wharram Percy and for Wheldrake, and Hayfield also mentions Wharram le Street and Kirby Grindalythe, two more possible pre-conquest church sites, as examples of these simple two-row village plans.

¹⁶ Richards, 'Cottam: An Anglian and Anglo-Scandinavian Settlement on the Yorkshire Wolds', pp. 99-100.

¹⁷ Richards, 'Cottam: An Anglian and Anglo-Scandinavian Settlement on the Yorkshire Wolds', pp. 94-96, A. Williams, 'A bell-house and a Burh-geat: Lordly Residences in England before the Norman Conquest', in C. Harper Bill and R. Harvey (eds.), *Medieval Knighthood IV: Papers from the fifth Strawberry Hill Conference 1990* (Woodbridge, 1992), pp. 225-227 and EHD I, p. 468.

¹⁸ Hayfield, 'Cowlam deserted village: a case study of post-medieval village desertion', pp. 32-33.

Kirby Grindalythe

Kirby Grindalythe is nineteen miles north-north-east of Beverley, in the middle of the wolds and 4½ miles to the north-east of Cowlam.

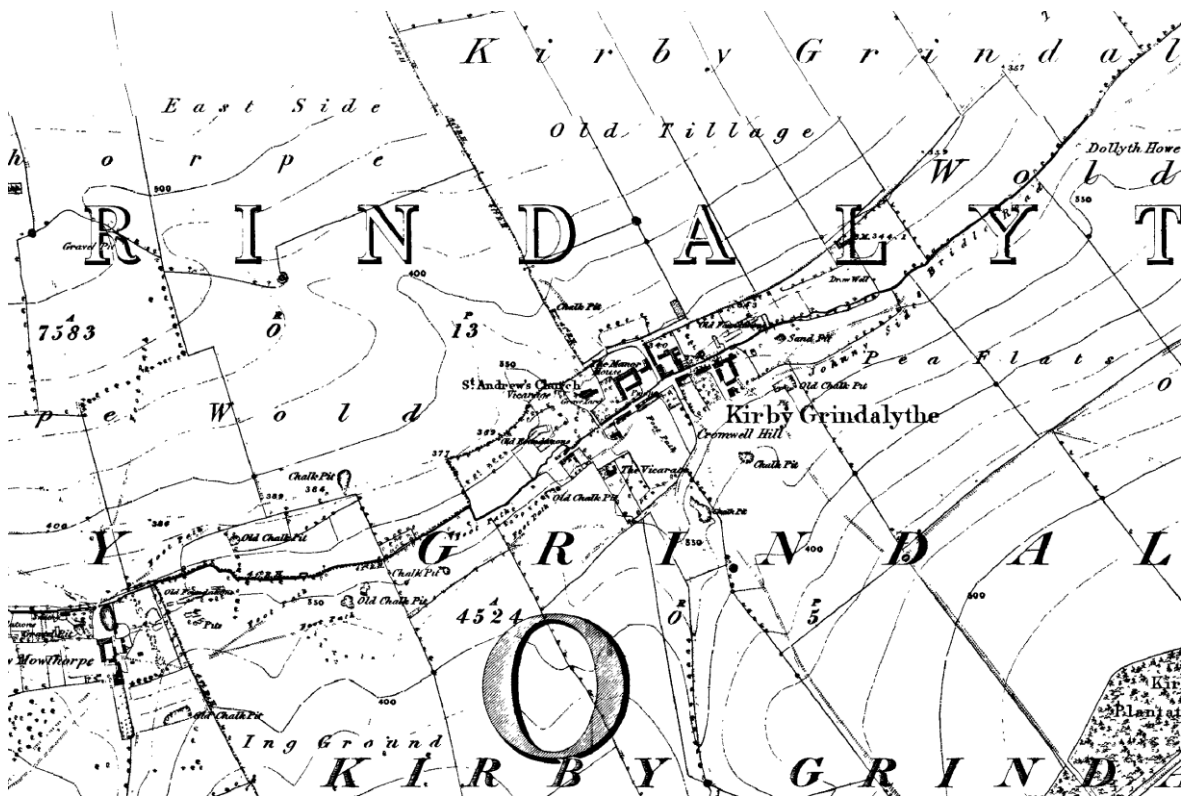


Fig. 206. Kirby Grindalythe from the 1854 Ordnance Survey.



Fig. 207. Aerial view of Kirby Grindalythe.

The Church

The church of St Andrew was largely restored in 1872-5 by G. E. Street for Sir Tatton Sykes II.¹⁹ The oldest extant part is the Norman tower with a west doorway with a single-step arch on columns with steep bases and primitive capitals.



Fig. 208. St Andrew, Kirby Grindalythe from the south.

Domesday Book

From the land of the King a manor

In Kirby Grindalythe, Uglu-Barthr, half a carucate to the geld. Land for 1 plough. 10s.²⁰

From the land of the Count of Mortain

In KIRBY GRINDALYTHE, Ketilbert had 1 manor of 4½ carucates. Nigel has it, and it is waste.

In the same vill, Thorfinnr had 1 manor of 12 carucates to the geld. The count has it, and it is waste.²¹

¹⁹ Pevsner and Neave, *Yorkshire: York and the East Riding*, p. 580.

²⁰ DB 301.

²¹ DB 307.

From the summary

In Kirby Grindalythe, the Count of Mortain 16½ carucates. In the same place, the king 1½ carucates.²²

Place-Name

Smith notes the earliest recorded version of the place-name is *Chirchebi* in Domesday book.²³ It probably derives from Old Norse *kirkja* and the Old Norse *byr* or Old Danish *by*, meaning ‘village with a church’.²⁴ It could have replaced an earlier Old English place-name, *ciric-tun*. Smith notes that the first reference to Grindalythe is in 1123-8 and is recorded as *in Crandala*. He thinks it derives from the Old English words *cran* and *dæl* and means ‘crane valley’.²⁵

Sculpture

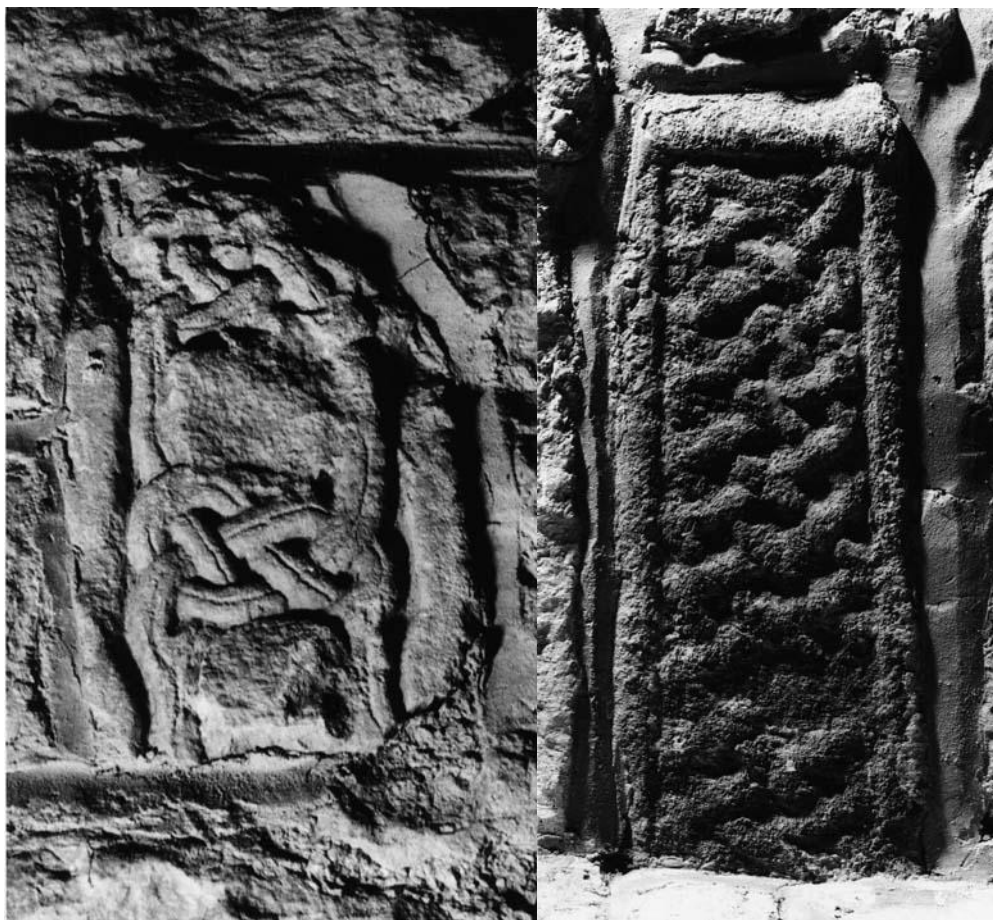


Fig. 209. Kirby Grindalythe 1B and 2B.

Kirby Grindalythe 1 This is probably the narrow side of a cross-shaft with only one face visible as it was incorporated into the north wall of the tower when reconstructed in 1878.²⁶ Lang describes the carving as confident, and the bifurcating strand as a rare feature, usually associated with the

²² DB 382.

²³ *PN ERY* pp. 124-125.

²⁴ A. H. Smith, *English Place-Name Elements: Part I* (Cambridge, 1956), p. 66 and A. H. Smith, *English Place-Name Elements: Part II* (Cambridge, 1956), pp. 3-4.

²⁵ *PN ERY* pp. 12-13.

²⁶ J. T. Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, III: York and Eastern Yorkshire* (Oxford, 1991), p. 150 Ill. 505.

later Anglo-Scandinavian period, drawing analogy with Folkton 2. He also points out that the knot was bungled resulting in a loose end. It is dated to the ninth to tenth century.

Dimensions H. 26.5cm W. 15.5cm D. Built in

Kirby Grindalythe 2 Again, only a single face of a cross-shaft is visible as it was built into the south wall of the tower at the same time as 1.²⁷ It has a plain, flat edge moulding along the sides and top with the panel containing a long run of six-strand plain plait. Lang describes its pattern as common in Anglo-Scandinavian monuments in the North Riding. It is dated to the late ninth to tenth century.

Dimensions H. 48cm W. 18.2 > 15cm D. Built in

Kirby Grindalythe 3 This fragment may be a half of the upper section of a shaft and like 2 was built into the south wall of the tower, presumably at the same time as 1 and 2.²⁸ Lang highlights similarities of the profile beast with ribbon body, spiral joint and possible fetter with the bound dragons of the Ryedale series, especially those of the Sinnington tradition. However, the cutting technique is much deeper so it is not from a Ryedale workshop. He asserts that the mane derives from the York Metropolitan School's slab series and thus places it overall in the main stream of the York styles. It is dated to the ninth to tenth century.

Dimensions H. 32.5cm W. 19.5cm D. Built in



Fig. 210. Kirby Grindalythe 3.

Kirby Grindalythe 4 This fragment consists of the lower and lateral arm of a cross-head and was found within the north wall of the tower, it was presumably placed there at the same time as the others.²⁹ A pointed foot and arm dipped at the elbow is all that remains of the figure of the Christ at Crucifixion. Lang considers that these ring-headed crosses did not appear in Yorkshire until after c.

²⁷ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, III: York and Eastern Yorkshire*, p. 150 Ill. 507.

²⁸ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, III: York and Eastern Yorkshire*, p. 150-151 Ill. 501.

²⁹ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, III: York and Eastern Yorkshire*, p 151 Ill. 503.

920, introduced by Norse-Irish colonists. He draws analogies with St Mary Castlegate, York 2 and a group at the eastern end of Wensleydale, West Riding. He considers the cutting to be cruder and less ambitious than number 1-3. He refers to a similar, though superior, ring-headed cross at North Frodingham which may have inspired local copies. It is dated to tenth to eleventh century.

Dimensions H. 25cm W. 21cm



Fig. 211. Kirby Grindalythe 4A and 5A.

Kirby Grindalythe 5 This complete cross arm is built into the north wall of the tower and was, like the other sculpture fragments, placed there during the 1878 reconstruction.³⁰ It is a free-armed cross-head of type C12, with circular arm-pits and chamfered sides. Its central panel contains a symmetrical, leafless tree-scroll with tight spiral tendrills. It is considered Anglo-Scandinavian and is dated to the tenth to eleventh century.

Dimensions H. 23cm W. 16.6 > 12.5cm D. Built in

Discussion

There is nothing remarkable about the Domesday Book entry for Kirby Grindalythe. It reveals a fairly small vill divided into three separate manors, all but that of Uglu-Barthr, held of the king, being waste. However, there are a number of other factors that reveal more. The place-name certainly suggests the presence of a church by the period of Scandinavian influence, although it does not preclude an earlier church as the place-name could be a substitution of an earlier Old English one. The coincidence of ninth to eleventh century Anglo-Scandinavian sculpture with a

³⁰ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, III: York and Eastern Yorkshire*, pp151-2, Ill. 506.

simple planned two row village plan could suggest a date for the foundation of the church.³¹ From the 1854 Ordnance Survey the plan does appear to be a simple two row village. In which case the church would have been situated in the most north-westerly of crofts, with the manor house to its east. Mary Harvey proposed two possible periods for the creation of planned field systems and settlements in Eastern Yorkshire; the late eleventh century and the late ninth century onwards.³² If the earlier of these is correct then this would fit in with some of the evidence from Kirkby Grindalythe.

Sherburn

Sherburn is 24 miles to the north of Beverley, on the northern edge of the wolds, and at the northern extreme of the East Riding, in what is now North Yorkshire.



Fig. 212. Sherburn from the 1854 Ordnance Survey.

³¹ Colin Hayfield cites Kirkby Grindalythe as an example of a simple two-row village plan, Hayfield, 'Cowlam deserted village: a case study of post-medieval village desertion', p. 33.

³² M. Harvey, 'Planned Field Systems in Eastern Yorkshire: Some Thoughts on Their Origin', *Agricultural History Review* 31 (1985), p. 103.



Fig. 213. Aerial view of Sherburn.

The Church



Fig. 214. St Hilda, from the south-west.

The extant exterior of the church of St Hilda dates largely to the restoration of 1909-1912 begun by C. Hodgson Fowler and completed by W. H. Brierley.³³ The earliest sections are the chancel arch with moldings dating to pre-1150, a twelfth century window in the south of the tower, and a doorway of c. 1300 above the arch to the nave.

Domesday Book

See the entry for the manor of Weaverthorpe under Cowlam above, containing a berewick at Sherburn.³⁴

From the land of Hugh fitzBaldric a berewick and a manor and a berewick

In FRAISTHORPE, Gamal had 1 carucate of land to the geld. [There is] land for half a plough. It belongs to Sherburn. It is waste.³⁵

In LANGTON and Kennythorpe and Burdale, Raisthorpe, Sherburn [and] East Heselton, Orm had 39 carucates of land to the geld. There is land for 20 ploughs. Hugh has now 3 ploughs there, and Geoffrey his man 3 ploughs. There are 43 villans and 4 bordars and 1 sokeman having 15 ploughs. There are 2 churches and 2 priests, and 1 mill [rendering] 5s, and 30 acres of meadow. [It is] 2 leagues long and 2 broad. TRE worth £12; now £6.³⁶

From the summary,

In Sherburn, the archbishop 3 carucates. In the same place, the Count of Mortain 6 carucates. In the same place, Hugh fitzBaldric 9 carucates. In place Newton, Ralph Paynel 18 carucates.³⁷

Place-Name

Variouly referred to within Domesday Book as *Scirebur'*, *Scire-* and *Schiresburne*, these are the first references to the place-name Sherburn.³⁸ Smith interprets it as meaning 'the bright, clear stream' from the Old English words *scir* and *burna* although it could be influenced by the Old Scandinavian equivalent to *scir*, *skirr*.

Sculpture

Sherburn 1 This part of a cross-shaft is now located in the south external wall of the chancel.³⁹ Lang describes the shaft as of the round-shaft derivative type. He notes that the interlace panel within the swag is similar to a shaft at Gilling West in the North Riding. In light of a number of shafts at Sherburn showing iconographic links with the Leeds Parish Church shaft, Lang considers that the model for the upper of the two figures, touching a bird, is the standing figure with a single bird on his shoulder in one of these lowest panels of the Leeds shaft. It is dated to tenth to eleventh century.

Dimensions H. 104 cm W. 33 > 26 cm D. Built in

³³ Pevsner and Neave, *Yorkshire: York and the East Riding*, pp. 679-680.

³⁴ DB 303.

³⁵ DB 328.

³⁶ DB 382.

³⁷ DB 303.

³⁸ *PN ERY* pp. 120-121.

³⁹ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, III: York and Eastern Yorkshire*, pp. 201-2, III. 762.



Fig. 215. Sherburn 2A and 2B.



Fig. 216. Sherburn 2C and 2D.

Sherburn 2 Part of a cross-shaft located inside the church tower.⁴⁰ The panel on the broad side A contains a semi circular human head surmounted by a halo with a winged motif above. Again, Lang

⁴⁰ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, III: York and Eastern Yorkshire*, pp. 202-203 Ills. 764-7.

finds an analogy with the Leeds Parish Church shaft. He considers that this sort of ecclesiastical portrait is a consistent feature of Yorkshire sculpture from the Anglian period, continuing through the Scandinavian phase into the eleventh century. He argues that the presence of a Jellinge-style profile animal on the other broad side 2C suggests a tenth century context. He finds a resemblance to this in the North Frodingham cross-head and argues that this shows more of a connection with the York Minster shafts than the bound dragons of Ryedale, showing more of a westward inspiration and not the use of the local Middleton workshops. Finally, the presence of a tenon joint suggests the shaft was a composite of several blocks, a technique employed in the ninth century sculpture of the North Riding north of Ripon and at West Tanfield. It was dated to the late ninth to late tenth century.

Dimensions H. 35 cm W. 21 > 18.5 cm D. 12.3 > 12 cm

Sherburn 3 A fragment of cross shaft located inside the church tower.⁴¹ The broad face A shows an image of Weland locked into his 'flying machine' with a bird-head. The bird holds a seized woman in its beak who is also held by the extended arm of the man below. This same image occurs twice at Leeds and on a hogback at Bedale in the North Riding again suggesting links with Yorkshire sites to the west rather than with Ryedale. It is dated to the late ninth to late tenth century.

Dimensions H. 27.6 cm W. 22.6 cm D. 18.5 > 17.5 cm

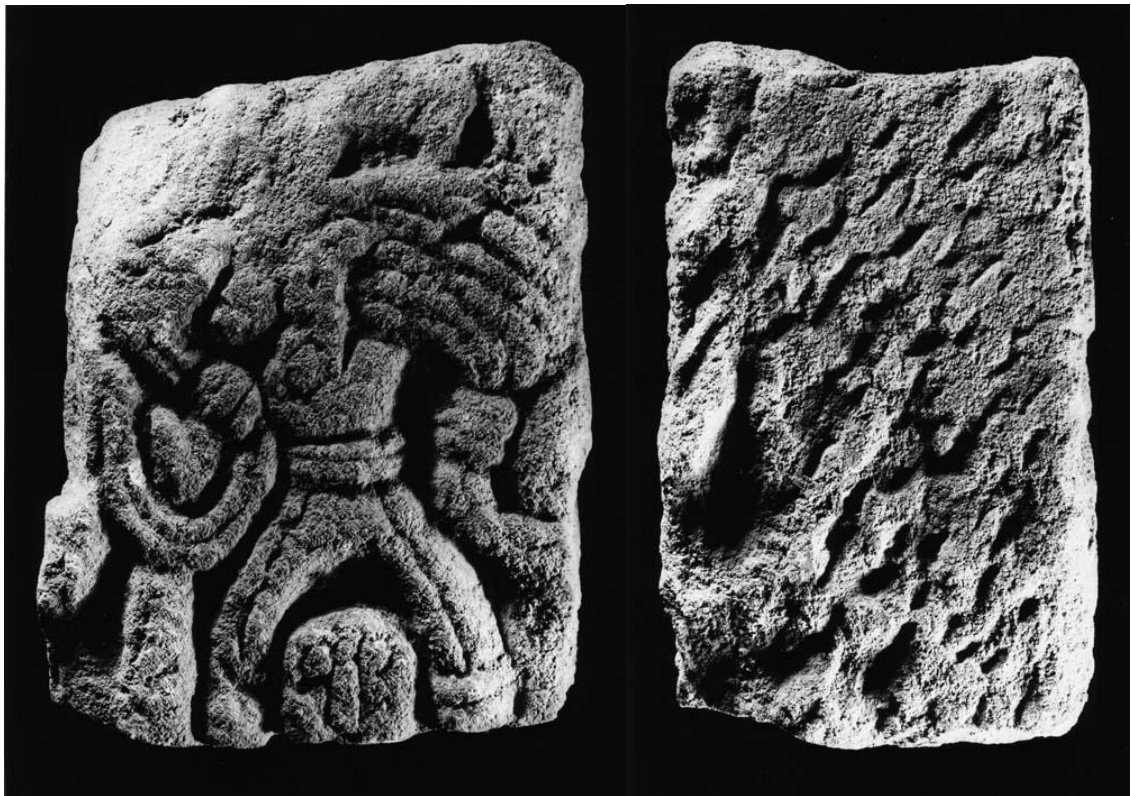


Fig. 217. Sherburn 3A and 3B.

⁴¹ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, III: York and Eastern Yorkshire*, p. 203 Ills. 768-71.



Fig. 218. Sherburn 3C and 3D.



Fig. 219. Sherburn 4A, 4B and 4D.

Sherburn 4 Part of a cross-shaft located inside the church tower.⁴² Lang states that the shaft belongs to the 'round-shaft derivative' type and that the swag and encircling banks are present on many Anglian and Anglo-Scandinavian shafts in Northern England and the North Midlands. The

⁴² Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, III: York and Eastern Yorkshire*, pp. 203-4 Ills. 772-5.

forms and pellet fillers are typical of the Anglo-Scandinavian period. Lang records a close parallel to Lastingham 1, suggesting they were probably made by the same person. It is dated to the late ninth to tenth century.

Dimensions H. 60.3 cm W. 29 > 27 cm D. 21 > 19.5 cm

Sherburn 5 A part of cross-shaft built into the south wall on the inside of the chancel.⁴³ Lang describes the interlace on the one visible face as typical of Anglo-Scandinavian taste in Yorkshire. It is dated to the tenth century.

Dimensions H. 38 cm W. c. 16.5 cm D. Built in

Sherburn 6 A fragment of cross shaft located inside the church tower.⁴⁴ Lang finds no parallels for the ring and fan motif used on this stone unless it can be considered a formalized version of the bound bird of the Weland iconography present on 3. It is dated to the tenth century.

Dimensions H. 24.3 cm W. 24.5 cm D. 13.2 cm

Sherburn 7 The end of a cross-arm located inside the church tower.⁴⁵ It is dated to the tenth century.

Dimensions H. 25.5 cm W. 17.5 cm D. 17.8 cm

Sherburn 8 Part of a lateral arm of a free-armed cross of type E10, it is located inside the church tower.⁴⁶ The main surviving face contains Christ's extended right arm and hand with two bunches of leaves, like acanthus fans but more stiff, above and below it. Lang notes that the position of Christ is typical of late monuments and draws comparison with the Crucifix from St Mary Castlegate, York and distinction from the customarily clothed and less accomplished Ryedale version. It is dated to the ninth to eleventh century.

Dimensions H. (max) 18.9 cm W. 30 cm D. 14.8 cm



Fig. 220. Sherburn 9A.

⁴³ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, III: York and Eastern Yorkshire*, p. 204 Ill. 776.

⁴⁴ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, III: York and Eastern Yorkshire*, pp. 204-5 Ills. 777-80.

⁴⁵ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, III: York and Eastern Yorkshire*, p. 205 Ills. 784-4.

⁴⁶ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, III: York and Eastern Yorkshire*, p. 205-6 Ills. 785-90

Sherburn 9 Part of a grave-cover it is located within the church tower.⁴⁷ Lang believes the zoomorphic decoration is copied from the York Metropolitan School slabs and that the buckle knot is repeated on Kirkdale 4 and 5 and Pickering 3. The latter would normally be considered an eleventh century feature but its juxtaposition with Jellinge-style ribbon beasts makes that questionable. It is dated to the tenth century.

Dimensions L. 57.2 cm W. (max) 33.5 cm D. 11 cm

Sherburn 10 Part of a grave-cover located within the church tower.⁴⁸ A ridge, semicircular in section runs down the centre of the slab. Lang compares it to the York slab series and specifically Minster 45 which was found in an eleventh century context. It is dated to the tenth to mid eleventh century.

Dimensions L. 26 cm W. 31 cm D. 20.8cm

Sherburn 11 – 14 These are also from Sherburn and placed in Lang's appendix as of Saxo-Norman overlap or uncertain date. All parts of cross-shafts, apart from number 14 which may be a fragment of cross-shaft or grave cover, they are all considered by Lang as probably pre-conquest.⁴⁹

Discussion

Domesday Book reveals a divided vill with land owned by the Archbishop of York, the Count of Mortain and Hugh fitzBaldric. The Count of Mortain's six carucates of land is not recorded anywhere other than the summary. It would be speculative to conclude that Sherburn was the site of a pre-conquest church on the evidence of Domesday Book alone, but the quantity of pre-Conquest sculpture would seem to support that assertion. This is further enhanced by the fact that two of the items of sculpture are grave covers, making the probability of a cemetery and therefore a church higher than other sculpture producing sites. Sherburn and Kirby Grindalythe are the two richest sites for sculpture in the East Riding with fourteen and five items respectively. It seems unlikely that it is entirely coincidental that two adjacent sites within the same hundred have the most sculpture. Lang has highlighted a number of sculptural affinities, particularly with a number of York pieces and with the Leeds Parish Church shaft. It is hoped that further analysis of these sculptural affinities in the context of the other information used here could reveal more about the patrons of these sculptures and possibly the builders of the churches. For the time being it seems probable that Sherburn would have had a church and cemetery in use at some point between the late ninth and eleventh centuries.

⁴⁷ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, III: York and Eastern Yorkshire*, p. 206 Ills. 791-5.

⁴⁸ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, III: York and Eastern Yorkshire*, p. 206 Ills. 796-9.

⁴⁹ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, III: York and Eastern Yorkshire*, pp. 227-8 Ills. 902-9 and 910.

Turbar Hundred



Fig. 221. Modern Ordnance Survey showing position of Folkton and Hunmanby.



Fig. 222. Modern Ordnance Survey showing detached villis of Foston on the Wolds and Garton on the Wolds.

Folkton

Folkton is situated about 22 miles south-south-east of Whitby, 25 miles north of Beverley and just over three miles from the coast, on the northern edge of the wolds. It is situated within the modern county of North Yorkshire but at the time of Domesday Book was at the northern extremity of the East Riding.



Fig. 223. Map of Folkton from the 1854 Ordnance Survey.



Fig. 224. Aerial view of Folkton.

The Church

The earliest fabric of the extant church of St John the Evangelist is the Norman nave and chancel, retaining the chancel arch, responds and steep scalloped capitals, leading to a date by Pevsner and Neave of before 1150.¹



Fig. 225. St John the Evangelist, Folkton from the south.

Domesday Book

From the land of the King

In Folkton, Karli and Ottar, 9 carucates to the geld. Land for 4 ploughs. 30s.²

From the summary

In Folkton, the king 9 carucates.³

Place-Name

The first reference is to *Fulchetun* in Domesday Book, meaning ‘*Folki’s* farmstead,’ and deriving from Old Scandinavian *Folki*, or Old Danish *Fulke* (influenced by the Norman name *Fulk*) and the Anglo-Saxon *tun*.⁴

¹ N. Pevsner and D. Neave, *Yorkshire: York and the East Riding*, The Buildings of England (London, 1995), p. 423.

² DB 301.

³ DB 382.

⁴ *PNERY* p. 115.

Sculpture

Folkton 1 A part of a cross-shaft, in the sill of the west window inside the church.⁵ It is made of sandstone, possibly from Stonegrave. There is only one face where the majority of decoration survives. Lang describes the decoration as ‘a provincial copy of competent beast-chains such as the Newgate shaft from York.’ He considers the ribbon treatment as Anglo-Scandinavian rendering of animals of Mercian and Anglian origin. Local parallels for the extended ear and s-shaped disposition, as well as the zoned hatching on the body are made to Sutton upon Derwent 1. It is dated to the late ninth to late tenth century.

Dimensions H. 41cm, W. 28>26.3cm, D. 13.5>12cm

Folkton 2 A part of a cross-shaft presently in the Yorkshire Museum, York and donated to them by Colonel Mitford from his garden at Hunmanby.⁶ It is probably made from reused Roman ashlar, possibly from York and originally from Hetchell Crag or Otley. Lang identifies the beast-chains of faces C and D as characteristic of Anglo-Scandinavian taste in the region, and proposes Anglian ancestry for the long-necked quadruped on face C. Lang believes that the majority of the animals have links with pre-Viking age work at Breedon, Leicestershire and Derby. He sees this sculpture as providing a link between Nunburnholme 1 and York Minster 2. It is dated to the tenth century.

Dimensions H. 53.2cm W. 35>33cm D. 30.5>27.8cm

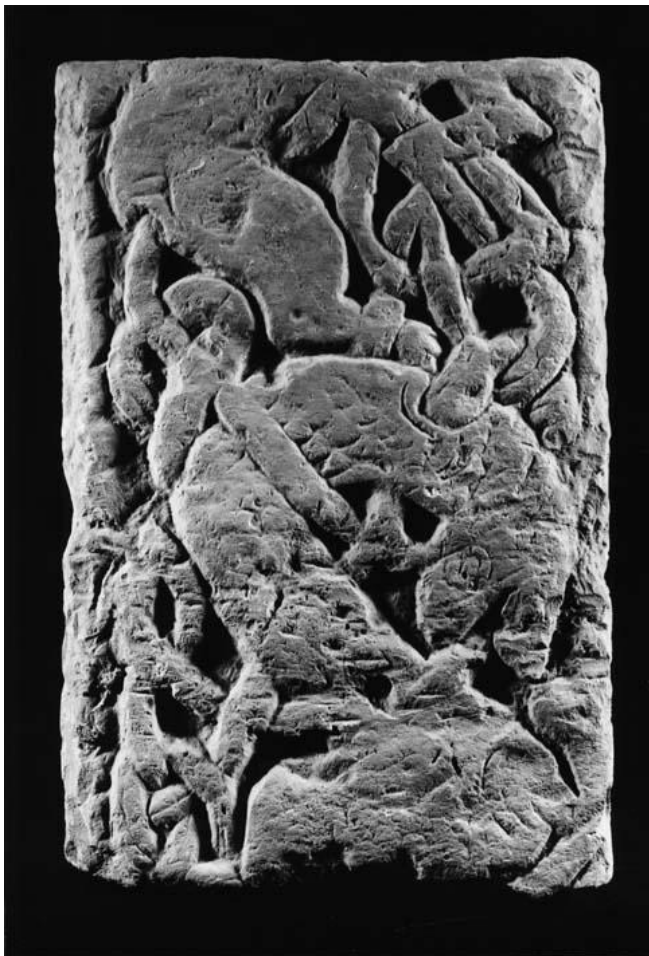


Fig. 226. Folkton 1A.

⁵ J. T. Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, III: York and Eastern Yorkshire* (Oxford, 1991), p. 131 Ills. 442-5.

⁶ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, III: York and Eastern Yorkshire*, p. 131-132 Ills. 446-9.

Discussion

The modern parish of Folkton incorporates the townships of Flixton and Flotmanby.⁷ There were numerous prehistoric embankments and barrows in the vicinity, the most prominent of which, Spell Howe, may have been the meeting place of the Turbar hundred.⁸ Nearby on the lower ground below Folkton there is much evidence of early settlement and Flixton ings has yielded Romano-British and Anglian pottery.⁹

Folkton does not appear from Domesday Book to have been a significant settlement. However, the combination of an early Norman church, late ninth to tenth century sculpture and suggestion of Scandinavian settlement in the place name, may indicate a religious monument founded in the late ninth or tenth centuries by incoming Scandinavian lords.

Foston on the Wolds

Foston on the Wolds is about eleven miles north-north-east of Beverley and about three miles south of the wolds. It is approximately four miles from the coast in the upper Hull valley.

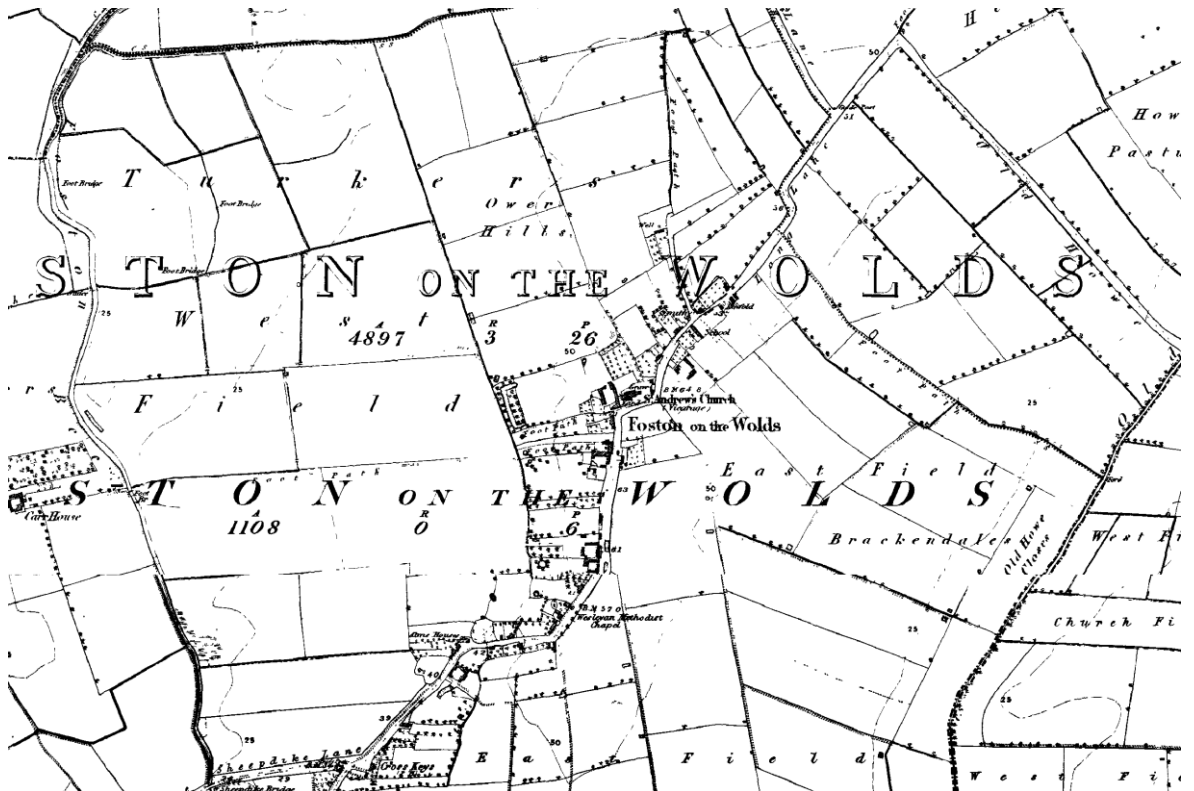


Fig. 227. Map of Foston on the Wolds from the 1854 Ordnance Survey.

⁷ VCH East Riding II. p. 164.

⁸ VCH East Riding II. p. 165.

⁹ VCH East Riding II. p. 165.



Fig. 228. Aerial view of Foston on the Wolds.

The Church



Fig. 229. St Andrew, Foston on the Wolds showing its position within the village from the north-east.



Fig. 230. St Andrew, Foston on the Wolds the church and graveyard separated by a road.



Fig. 231. St Andrew, Foston on the Wolds from the east.

The church of St Andrew is built of stone and brick and the nave and chancel are pebble-dashed.¹⁰ Pevsner and Neave have identified the nave and chancel as Norman by the two small round-headed south windows in the nave, and the round headed priests doorway with single chamfers, into the chancel.

Domesday Book

From the land of William de Percy

In FOSTON ON THE WOLDS, Karli had 5 carucates of land to the geld, where there could be 3 ploughs. Now Hugh holds it of William. He himself [has] 1 plough here; and 2 villans with 1 plough. There is a church, and 1 mill [rendering] 5s. The whole [is] half a league long and a half broad. TRE worth 40s; now 15s.¹¹

From the summary

In Foston on the Wolds, William de Percy 5 carucates.¹²

Place-Name

The first reference is in Domesday Book to *Fodstone* meaning 'Fot's farmstead' derived from the Old Scandinavian name *Fotr* and the Anglo-Saxon word *tun*.¹³

Discussion

The ancient parish of Foston extends to nearly five miles from north to south incorporating the townships of Great Kelk, Gembling and Brigham, covering a total area of 4,898 a.¹⁴ It appears to have been a fairly minor settlement at the time of Domesday Book. The division of church from graveyard by the main street may have significance and is certainly worth noting.

¹⁰ Pevsner and Neave, *Yorkshire: York and the East Riding*, p. 424.

¹¹ DB 322V.

¹² DB 382.

¹³ *PNERY* p. 91.

¹⁴ *VCH East Riding II*, p176. Also see J. A. Sheppard, 'A Danish River-diversion', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal XXXIX* (1956), 58-66 for suggested details of a diversion of the river to provide a strong head of water for the mill.

The Church

Fig. 234. St Michael, Garton on the Wolds from the south-east showing the Norman west tower and the nave.



Fig. 235. St Michael, Garton on the Wolds from the south on the brow of a small rise.

The extant church of St Michael consists of a chancel, west tower and aisleless nave and originates from the late Norman period with the west tower and south wall of the nave dating from the twelfth century. Much of its current form can be traced to nineteenth-century restorations.¹⁶ It is situated on a slight rise on the southern edge of the village.

Domesday Book

From the land of the Archbishop of York

In GARTON-ON-THE-WOLDS [are] 9 carucates to the geld, and there could be 5 ploughs. St John had 1 manor there, and Wulfgeat another manor. Now St John has both, and they are waste. TRE it was worth 45s.¹⁷

From the land of the Count of Mortain

Of Garton-on-the-Wolds the count has 6 carucates...¹⁸

In GARTON-ON-THE-WOLDS, Asulf had 1 manor of 4 carucates to the geld, and there could be 2 ploughs. Count Robert has 1 plough there; and 4 sokemen and 2 villans with 3 ploughs. There is a priest and a church.

In the same vill, Muli, Orm, Sunulf [and] Thorkil had 7 carucates to the geld, and there could be 10 ploughs. Now the count has it, but it is waste.¹⁹

From the summary

In Garton-on-the-Wolds, the archbishop 9 carucates. In the same place, the Count of Mortain 25 carucates.²⁰

Place-Name

From the Old English *gara* and *ton* meaning 'Farmstead in or near the triangular piece of land.'²¹

Archaeology

There is a great deal of evidence of prehistoric settlement in the vicinity of Garton on the Wolds. Mortimer has identified thirty-five prehistoric barrows in the area and he describes them as the Garton Slack Group.²² Excavations at Garton Slack, approximately one mile to the west of Garton on the Wolds, between 1965 and 1975, have revealed a multitude of finds from the Neolithic through to the Roman period.²³ From the Neolithic period they have revealed a long barrow, a cremation furnace and some pits with late Neolithic pottery; from the Bronze age numerous barrows and burials; from the Iron Age round houses, burials, two rectangular ritual enclosures and a chariot burial with an associated mortuary house.²⁴

More significantly in this context a further site known as Garton Station was excavated in 1985 a couple of miles downstream and to the south-east of the Garton Slack site and about one

¹⁶ *VCH East Riding II*, p. 221.

¹⁷ DB 304.

¹⁸ DB 305.

¹⁹ DB 307.

²⁰ DB 382.

²¹ *PN ERY* pp. 58 and 96.

²² J. R. Mortimer, *Forty Years' Researches in British and Saxon Burial Mounds of East Yorkshire* (London, 1905), pp. 208-70.

²³ T. C. M. Brewster, 'Garton Slack', *Current Archaeology* 5 (1976), 104-16.

²⁴ For additional reference to the chariot burial see T. C. M. Brewster, 'The Garton Slack chariot burial, East Yorkshire', *Antiquity* XLV (1971), 289-92.

mile south of Garton on the Wolds.²⁵ This unearthed Anglo-Saxon burials, Iron Age burials and an Iron Age chariot burial. The excavation of a large enclosure revealed eleven exceptionally rich Anglo-Saxon graves in the centre of the enclosure. The cemetery is described by the excavator as one of the richest in Yorkshire, and is considered likely to have been reusing an Iron Age structure. Further Anglian burials were discovered, 35 in total, mainly in rows, with a variety of grave goods. The finds adjoined the double dyke that runs the length of Garton Slack.

This more recently excavated site is nearby to the site where Mortimer found what he described as Anglo-Saxon remains, including a human skeleton and seven iron spearheads.²⁶ Meaney categorizes this as Garton I and casts some doubt over whether this was actually an Anglo-Saxon burial.²⁷ However, Anglo-Saxon burials within Iron Age Barrows do appear to run along this double-dyke with further ones found to the east, Meaney's Garton Slack II.²⁸ Further to the east of that, near the Green Lane crossing of the railway, Mortimer excavated an extensive Anglo-Saxon cemetery including 60 burials.²⁹ This was divided into two sections of 30 graves to the west and the east of a barrow and Mortimer speculated as to whether they either relate to two distinct periods, that to the west being pre Christian, that to the east, with fewer grave-goods being at the dawn of Christianity; or were separate cemeteries in a transitional age where pagan and Christians were buried separately. This is categorized by Meaney as Garton II and probably dated to the seventh or early eighth centuries.³⁰

A second Anglo-Saxon site two miles to the north-west of Garton on the Wolds, to the east of the Sykes monument on top of Garton hill, was first excavated by Mortimer and then re-excavated after ploughing revealed human bones in the spring of 1959.³¹ Meaney classified this as Garton Slack I.³² Mortimer's examination revealed 42 burials with heads to the west within the centre rampart and ditch of a line of British entrenchments. The more recent excavation supported Mortimer's conclusions, revealing a double dyke, built in the Iron Age at the earliest, as evidenced by Iron Age 'A' pottery within it. By the mid eighth century a local community of Angles used this as a burial ground,. The excavation revealed seven skeletons laid at full length with heads to the west, with finds of the Anglian period including an iron knife and a group of 8 silver sceats, which give a probable date of deposition of between c. 740 and c. 750.

²⁵ I. Stead, 'Garton Station', *Current Archaeology* 9 (1987), 234-7.

²⁶ Mortimer, *Forty Years' Researches in British and Saxon Burial Mounds of East Yorkshire*, p. 237.

²⁷ A. Meaney, *A Gazetteer of Early Anglo-Saxon Burial Sites* (London, 1964), p. 289.

²⁸ Mortimer, *Forty Years' Researches in British and Saxon Burial Mounds of East Yorkshire*, pp. 245-246 and Meaney, *A Gazetteer of Early Anglo-Saxon Burial Sites*, p. 290.

²⁹ Mortimer, *Forty Years' Researches in British and Saxon Burial Mounds of East Yorkshire*, pp. 247-257.

³⁰ Meaney, *A Gazetteer of Early Anglo-Saxon Burial Sites* p. 289 and for dating see S. J. Lucy, 'Early Medieval Burials in East Yorkshire: reconsidering the evidence', in H. Geake and J. Kenny (ed.), *Early Deira: Archaeological studies of the East Riding in the fourth to ninth centuries AD* (Oxford, 2000), pp. 11-18, p14 and D. M. Hadley, 'Burial Practices in Northern England in the Later Anglo-Saxon Period', in S. Lucy and A. Reynolds (ed.), *Burial in Early Medieval England and Wales* (London, 2002), pp. 209-28. p. 212.

³¹ Mortimer, *Forty Years' Researches in British and Saxon Burial Mounds of East Yorkshire*, pp. 264-270 and C. Grantham and E. Grantham, 'An Earthwork and Anglian Cemetery at Garton-on-the-Wolds, East Riding, Yorkshire', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* 41 (1965), 355-360.

³² Meaney, *A Gazetteer of Early Anglo-Saxon Burial Sites*, pp. 289-290.

Discussion

Garton on the Wolds is an interesting possible site for an early church. Domesday Book reveals a fair sized vill consisting of four manors in 1086, two owned by the Archbishop and two by the Count of Mortain. The church appears to be within the only manor that was not waste in 1086, one held by the Count in demesne. It is interesting that the church was within that manor rather than the one held before 1066 by the canons of St John. It is possible that this could indicate the construction of the church after the other three manors had become waste, however it is equally possible that it is coincidence.

The other interesting thing about Garton on the Wolds is the Anglo-Saxon burial sites that surround it. There are at least two large cemeteries, and one smaller high status cemetery built into the prehistoric monuments that surround the modern village. These are situated in a ring around the church from the south to the north-west, between one and two miles away. They are primarily in two distinct areas one mile to the south and two miles to the north-west of the church. They are all thought to date to the seventh or first half of the eighth century. The relationship between the prehistoric monuments, the Anglo-Saxon burial sites and then the positioning of the church, if we can reasonably assume that the present church is on the same site as its Anglo-Saxon predecessor, is fascinating. It may be best explored by plotting the exact positions of the burial sites and the church. In fact, this may prove a useful exercise for the whole of East Yorkshire.

Hunmanby

Hunmanby is situated about 24½ miles south-south-east of Whitby, about 24 miles north-north-east of Beverley and nearly two miles from the coast. It is on the northern extremity of the Wolds. The parish is large and irregularly shaped, stretching over six miles inland and including the chapelry of Fordon. The ancient parish was 8,452 acres.³³

³³ *VCH East Riding II*. p. 228, Fordon does also contain a chapel probably of Norman origin which is worth noting in passing, see p. 243.

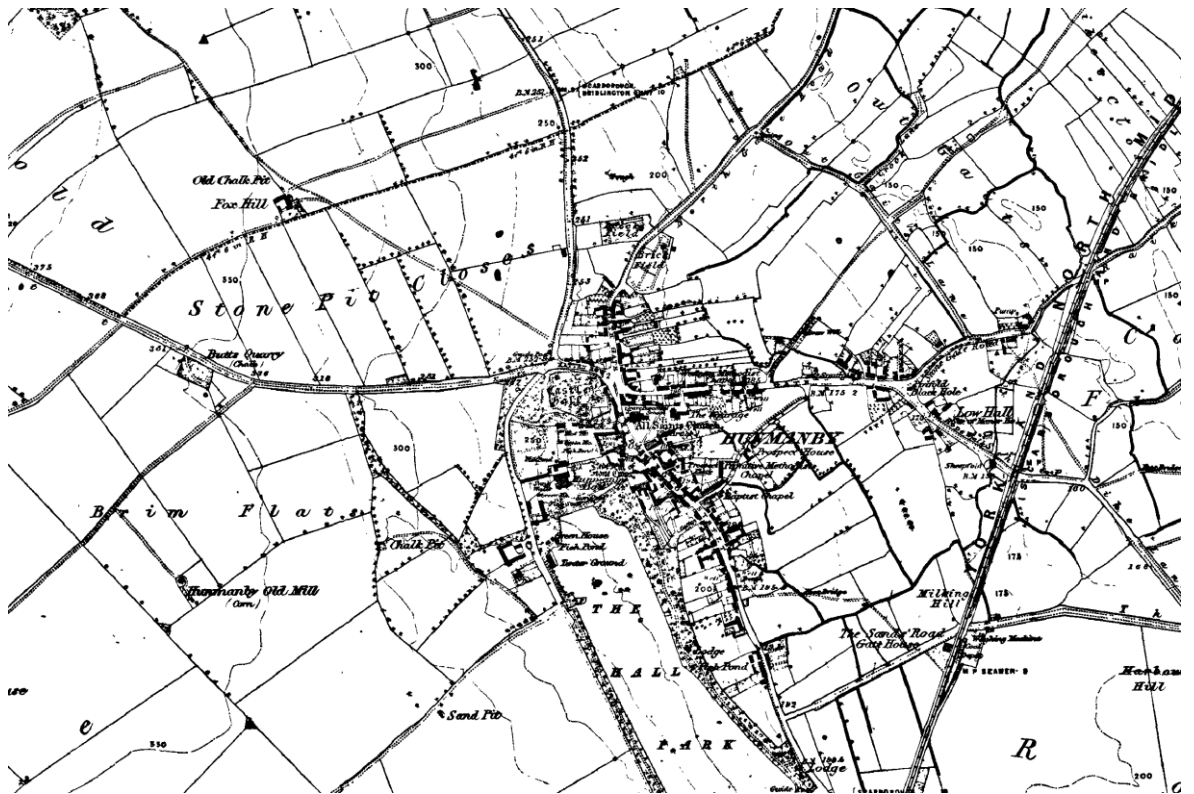


Fig. 236. Hunmanby from the 1854 Ordnance Survey.



Fig. 237. An aerial view of Hunmanby.

The Church

The church of All Saints is built of sandstone and cobble and dates back to the Norman period.³⁴ The lower part of the west tower, parts of the nave and chancel are from the Norman period. Pevsner and Neave date it to c.1130 by the Norman buttresses at the east end of the chancel and the

³⁴ Pevsner and Neave, *Yorkshire: York and the East Riding*, p. 569.

semicircular chancel arch with scalloped capitals and single shafts. Allison dates it to late eleventh or early twelfth century.³⁵



Fig. 238. All Saints, Hunmanby from the north-east.

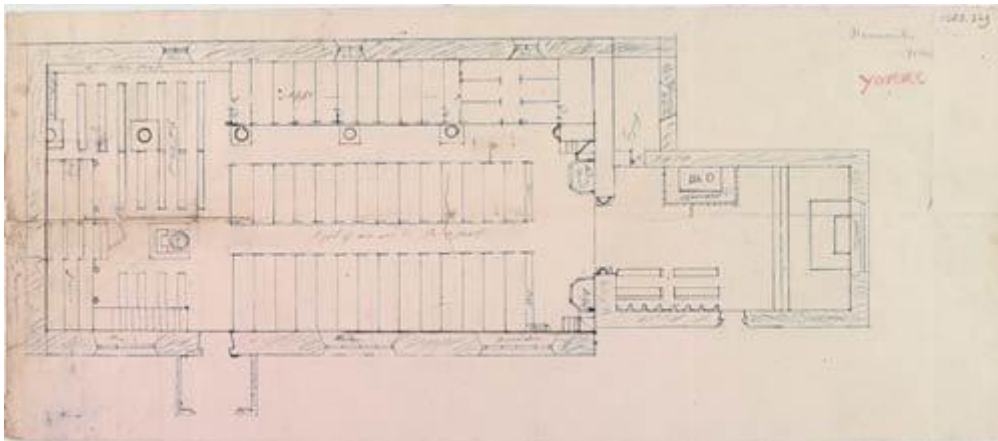


Fig. 239. Church plan of All Saints from 1843-4.

Domesday Book

From the land of Gilbert de Ghent

In HUNMANBY, Karli had 23 carucates of land to the geld. There is land for 13 ploughs. Now Gilbert de Ghent has 3 ploughs there; and 8 villans and 6 bordars having 4 ploughs. There is a priest and a church, and meadow 1 league long and a half broad.

³⁵ *VCH East Riding II*, p. 242.

In the same vill Ketilbert had 1 carucate of land to the geld. [There is] land for half a plough. Gilbert has it, and it is waste. TRE it was worth 4s.

In "RICSTORP" [in Muston] is a Berewick of this manor, 4 carucates of land to the geld. [There is] land for 3 ploughs. Gilbert has there 5 villans and 2 bordars with 2 ploughs. To this manor belongs this sokeland: Muston, 4 carucates; "Scolfstona" [in Muston], 3 carucates; [East and West] Flotmanby, 6 carucates. Together, [there are] 14 carucates of land to the geld. [There is] land for 7 ploughs. Gilbert has there 16 villans and 4 bordars having 4 ploughs.

In WOLD NEWTON, a Berewick of this manor, [are] 7 carucates of land to the geld. There is land for 4 ploughs. The whole of Hunmanby [is] 3 leagues long and 2 road. TRE worth £12; now 60s.³⁶

From the summary

In Hunmanby, Gilbert de Ghent 24 carucates."³⁷

Place-Name

First recorded in Domesday Book as *Hundemanebi* Smith interprets it as a combination of Old Scandinavian *hunda-maðr* and Anglo-Saxon by, meaning 'Farmstead of the houndsmen'.³⁸

Sculpture



Fig. 240. Hunmanby 2.

³⁶ DB 326.

³⁷ DB 382.

³⁸ *PN ERY* pp. 108-109.

Hunmanby 1 A part of a cross-shaft, on the outside of the north wall of the nave.³⁹ It is made of sandstone, probably from Filey Brig. The only visible face contains very worn plant scroll, and is significant as one of only a small selection of Anglian sculpture. Lang dates it to the early ninth century.

Dimensions H. 37cm, W. 28cm, D. Built in

Hunmanby 2 A cross head situated above no. 1 described above, of the same stone type as no. 1.⁴⁰ It is a type 10 free-armed cross, it could be from York but it is difficult to trace origin or date because of lack of complexity. Lang dates it to the eighth or ninth centuries.

Dimensions H. 24.6cm, W.31cm, D. (incomplete) 7.6cm

Hunmanby 3 A fragment of grave cover built into the same wall, five feet above ground level, beside the easternmost drain pipe.⁴¹ Lang describes the cutting as very rough but the design, long panels of interlace on either side of a cross-stem, derives from the York Minster slab series. It is dated to the early to late tenth century.

Discussion

Hunmanby was a demesne manor and estate centre of Gilbert de Ghent in 1086, with two manors within it. The larger one, of 23 carucates contained the church and priest and the smaller one, of just one carucate was waste by 1086. Before 1066 they had been owned by Karli and Ketilbert respectively. Two berewicks and three sokelands are also listed. Morris has identified Hunmanby as a possible superior church on the basis of its status in the twelfth century.⁴² The combination of a late eleventh or early twelfth century church, sculpture going back as far as the eighth or early ninth century, further sculpture of the tenth century and superior status in the twelfth century is intriguing.

³⁹ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, III: York and Eastern Yorkshire*, pp. 148-149 Ill. 500.

⁴⁰ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, III: York and Eastern Yorkshire*, p. 149 Ill. 502.

⁴¹ Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, III: York and Eastern Yorkshire*, p. 149 Ill. 504.

⁴² R. K. Morris, *Churches in the landscape* (London, 1989), p. 136.

Warter Hundred

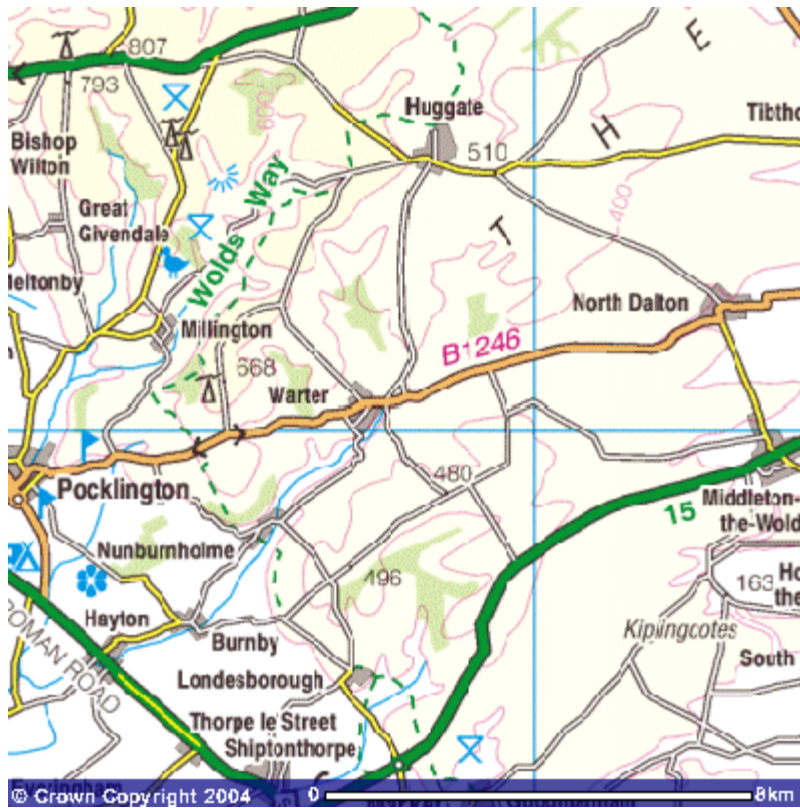


Fig. 241. Modern Ordnance Survey showing the church sites of Warter Hundred.

Warter

Warter is situated on the southerly north-south ridge of the Yorkshire Wolds about twelve miles north-east of Beverley.

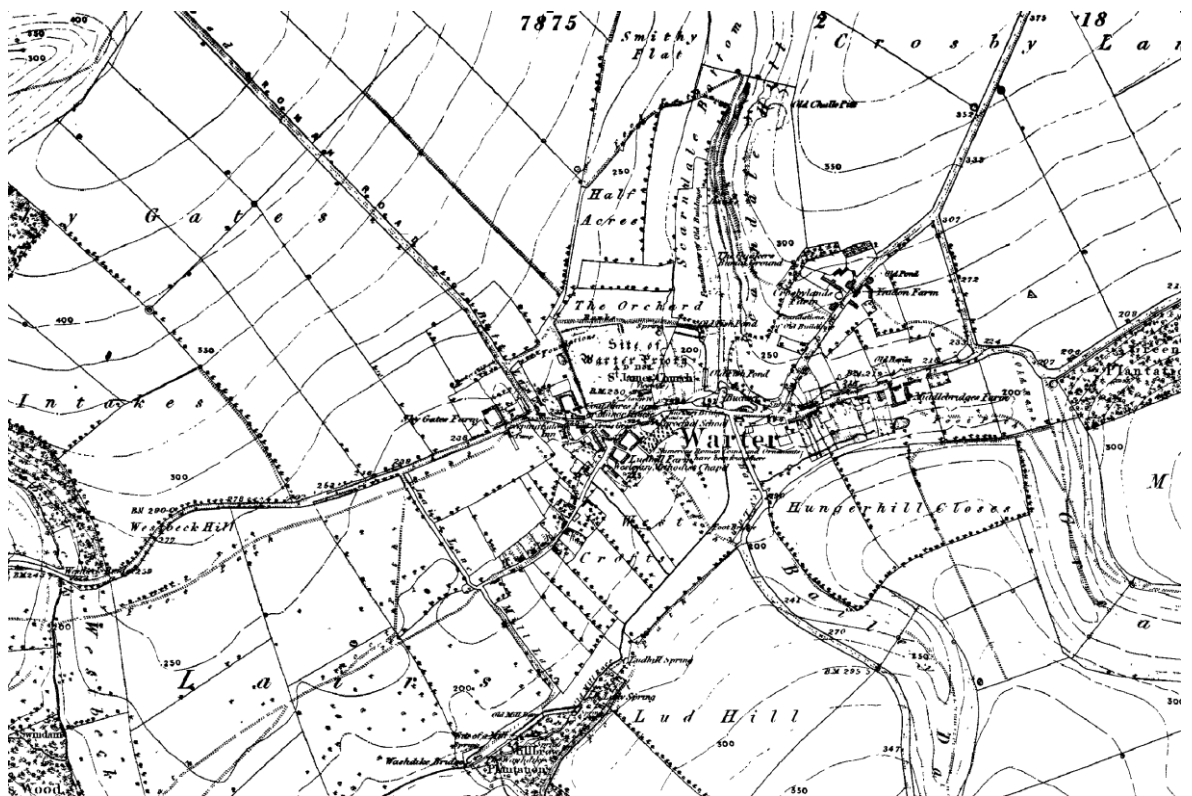


Fig. 242. Map of Warter from the 1854 Ordnance Survey.



Fig. 243. Aerial view of Warter.

The Church



Fig. 244. St James, Warter from the south.

The church of St James was built in 1862-3 on the site of the former Priory church. Earthworks of the Augustinian priory, established in 1132, are to the north and east of the modern parish church.¹

Domesday Book

From the land of the King

In WARTER, with 3 Berewicks, Harswell, 'Thorp' [in Thorpe le Street] [and] Nunburnholme, are 29 carucates to the geld, which 15 ploughs could plough. Morcar held this as 1 manor. Now the king has there 10 villans with 2 ploughs. There is a priest and a church, a mill rendering 2s, [and] 20 acres of meadow. The whole [is] 2 leagues long, and as much broad. TRE worth £40; now 30s. In Hotham 1 carucate of land. In Seaton Ross 4 carucates of land.

To this manor belongs the soke of 8 carucates in Duggleby and "Turodebi" [in Kirby Grindalythe], where there could be 4 ploughs. They are waste.²

From the land of the Count of Mortain

In LOCKINGTON, Gamal, Orm, Uhtræd, Wulfstan, Thorkil [and] Sprot had each 1 manor of 9 ½ carucates to the geld, and there could be 5 ploughs. Now Nigel has 1 plough in demesne; and 9 villans with 3 ploughs, and 1 mill [rendering] 13s. This is worth 30s. TRE it was worth £6. Of 1 carucate of this land, the soke is in Welton, and of another the soke is in Warter.³

From the land of William de Percy

In KIPLING is 1 carucate of land to the geld; the soke [is] in Warter. Beornwulf had it. William has it now, and it is waste. There could be 1 plough.⁴

From the summary

In Warter, the king 20 carucates. In the same place, William de Prcy 4 carucates. In Naburn, Robert de Tosny 4 carucates. In the same place, the king 2 carucates.⁵

Place-Name

The first reference to Warter is to *Warte* and *Wartre* in Domesday Book.⁶ The possible interpretations are a latinisation of a compound of the Old English words *wearg* 'felon' and *treow* 'tree' meaning either the Holy Cross or gallows. It may alternatively mean 'the gnarled tree' from the old English *wearr* 'callosity'.

Discussion

Domesday Book is ambiguous as to whether the church recorded is in Warter itself or one of its berewicks. The fact that it is clearly the manorial centre counts in favour of the church being sited there, as does the establishment of a priory in the early twelfth century. Finally, if the place name does mean Holy Cross then this is certainly suggestive of some religious significance at the time of naming. On the other hand the discovery of a cross-shaft with clear ecclesiastical imagery at Nunburnholme, which is one of the above named berewicks, must make Nunburnholme a candidate for the site of the church recorded in Domesday Book.

¹ N. Pevsner and D. Neave, *Yorkshire: York and the East Riding*, The Buildings of England (London, 1995), pp. 731-732.

² DB 299.

³ DB 306V.

⁴ DB 322V.

⁵ DB 381V.

⁶ *PN ERY* pp. 168-169.

The Church

The church of All Saints has a chancel, aisleless nave and west tower.⁷ The oldest extant fabric is the chancel arch and a south doorway which are Norman. The chancel was originally Early English but is now mostly Victorian, the result of an 1872-4 restoration. It has a Perpendicular west tower with the remainder dating to the aforementioned restoration. It is positioned on raised ground above the village pond to the north of the manor house.



Fig. 247. Norman southern door of All Saints, North Dalton.

⁷ Pevsner and Neave, *Yorkshire: York and the East Riding*, pp. 627-628.



Fig. 248. All Saints, North Dalton from the south.

Domesday Book

From the land of the Count of Mortain

In NORTH DALTON, Northmann and Orm and Arnketil had 3 manors of 8 carucates to the geld, and there could be 4 ploughs. Nigel has there 3 men [paying] 8s. TRE it was worth 50s.⁸

From the land of Count Robert de Tosny

In NORTH DALTON [are] 15 carucates and 2 bovates to the geld. Thorgot had 1 manor there. There could be 15 ploughs. Now Robert de Tosny has it, and Berengar, his son, [holds] of him. In demesne [are] 4 ploughs; and 22 villans and 3 bordars having 5 ploughs. There is a priest and a church.⁹

From the land of the King's Thegns

In NORTH DALTON, Odbert [had] 1 carucate of land to the geld. [There is] land for half a plough. He himself has 1 plough there, and 1 villan. It is worth 10s.¹⁰

From the claims

In North Dalton the same Nigel held 2 carucates of land and 1 bovate, which land belonged to Northmann. This he is also now giving up.¹¹

From the summary

In North Dalton, the Count of Mortain 6 carucates. In the same place, the king 3 carucates and 5 bovates. In the same place, Robert de Tosny 22 carucates and 1 bovate. In Nunburnholme, the king 11 carucates.¹²

⁸ DB 307.

⁹ DB 314.

¹⁰ DB 330V.

¹¹ DB 373.

¹² DB 381V.

Place-Name

North Dalton is first recorded as *Dalton(a)* in Domesday Book.¹³ It means ‘valley-farm’ from the Old English words *dæl* and *tun*. The prefix north refers to its relationship to South Dalton.

Nunburnholme

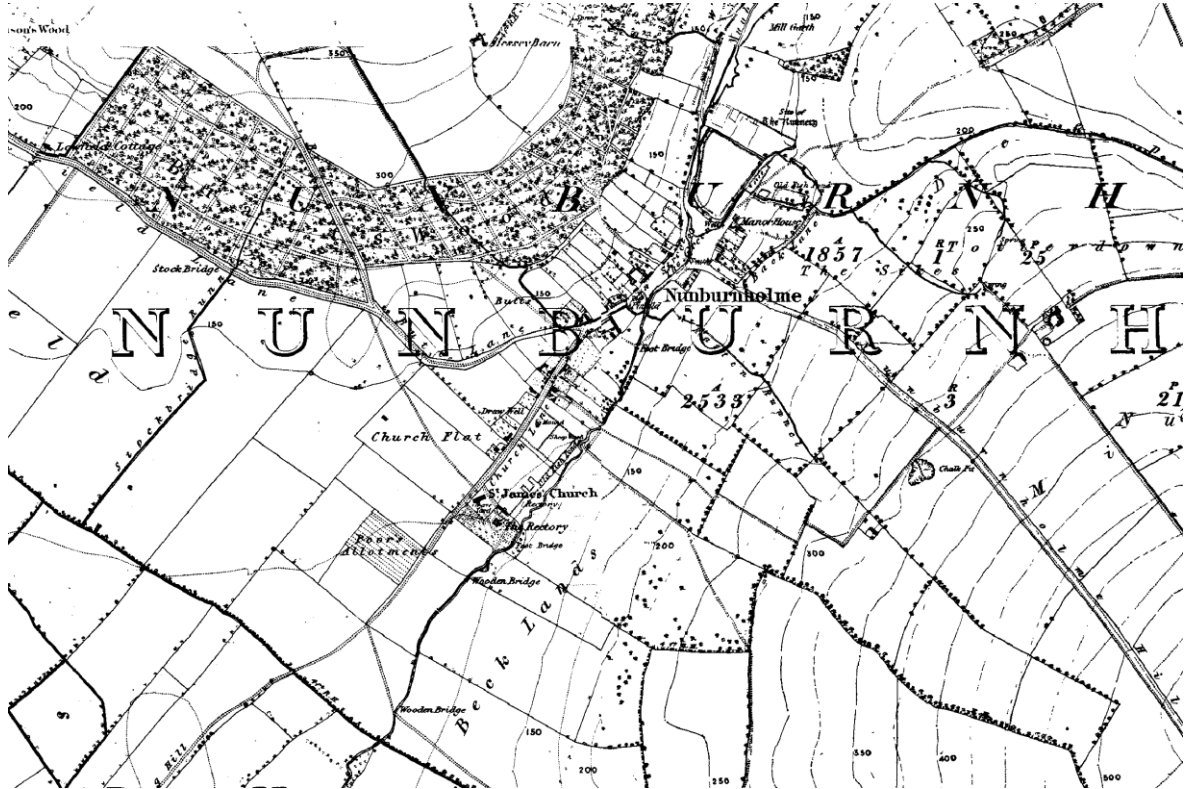


Fig. 249. Map of Nunburnholme from the 1854 Ordnance Survey.



Fig. 250. Aerial view of Nunburnholme.

¹³ *PNERY* p. 168.

Nunburnholme is about 1½ miles south-west of Warter on the western edge of the same wolds escarpment and about 12½ miles north-east of Beverley.

The Church

The church of St James has a Norman nave and an early English chancel with a modern west tower.¹⁴ It is situated at the south-west end of the village, the opposite end to the Benedictine priory of nuns founded c. 1150.



Fig. 251. St James, Nunburnholme from the north-east.

Domesday Book

See above under Warter, where Nunburnholme is named as a berewick of Warter¹⁵ It is here that the reference to a priest and a church is found so there is some ambiguity over precisely which vill it is within.

See above under Pocklington, where one carucate in Nunburnholme with the soke belonging to Pocklington is named¹⁶

From the land of the King's Thegns

¹⁴ Pevsner and Neave, *Yorkshire: York and the East Riding*, pp. 637-638.

¹⁵ Above, p. 279 and DB 299.

¹⁶ Above, p. 194 and DB 299V.

In NUNBURNHOLME, Morcar, Thorfridh and Thorkil had 11 carucates of land to the geld. [There is] land for 6 ploughs. 1 carucate is sokeland of Pocklington. Forne has it of the king, and it is waste.¹⁷

From the summary

In Nunburnholme, the king 11 carucates.¹⁸

Place-Name

Nunburnholme is first recorded as *Brunha* in Domesday Book.¹⁹ Smith interprets it as meaning 'at the streams' from *brunnum* the dative plural of the Old Scandinavian word *brunnr*. Nun was a later prefix first written down in 1530 and referring to the Benedictine Nunnery.

Sculpture

Nunburnholme 1 is a cross shaft currently displayed inside the church tower. The two sections were discovered within a porch on the south side of the church. The stone is reused Roman ashlar from York, and possibly originally from the Tadcaster area.²⁰ It is dated to the late ninth to early tenth century.

Dimensions Upper H. 76.4cm, W. 28.2<31.6cm, D. 17<29.5cm; Lower H. 84.5cm, W. 34.7cm, D.30<30.5cm

The sculpture has eight panels, with sections of the sculpture lost where it has been split. The sculpture may originally have been in as many as three sections with the two parts of the cross shaft and a cross head joined by mortice and tenon joints. Lang identifies at least three different sculptors at work and possibly four. Lang concludes as follows.

Ninety per cent of the features of the Nunburnholme shaft can be attributed to a Christian, Anglian tradition, and this includes the Second Sculptor's work. Despite the warrior panel, the monument does seem primarily an ecclesiastical product with cultural leanings towards Mercia. Scandinavian input is minimal: a sword hilt and a Germanic myth. The Leeds Parish Church shaft is of the same genus and both testify to the unbroken tradition of ecclesiastical monuments extending through the Viking Age. The 'warrior' might be the benefactor, like many a Northumbrian king, but the style and iconography need not have been of his choosing.

Discussion

Nunburnholme is particularly difficult to interpret. The vill at the time of Domesday Book was apparently a fairly insignificant settlement. It is certainly not clear whether any church was then there although it is possible that the church was sited there rather than Warter. However the land was owned by the king, a nunnery was founded in the mid twelfth century and most significantly there is a substantial religious monument with obvious ecclesiastical import. Much more may be gleaned by a closer study of the Nunburnholme cross-shaft and its stylistic links, especially if compared to other trends observed in the course of this work.

¹⁷ DB 330V.

¹⁸ DB 381V.

¹⁹ *PNERY* p. 180.

²⁰ J. T. Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, III: York and Eastern Yorkshire* (Oxford, 1991), pp. 189-193, Fig. 7b, Ills. 709-28.

Weighton Hundred

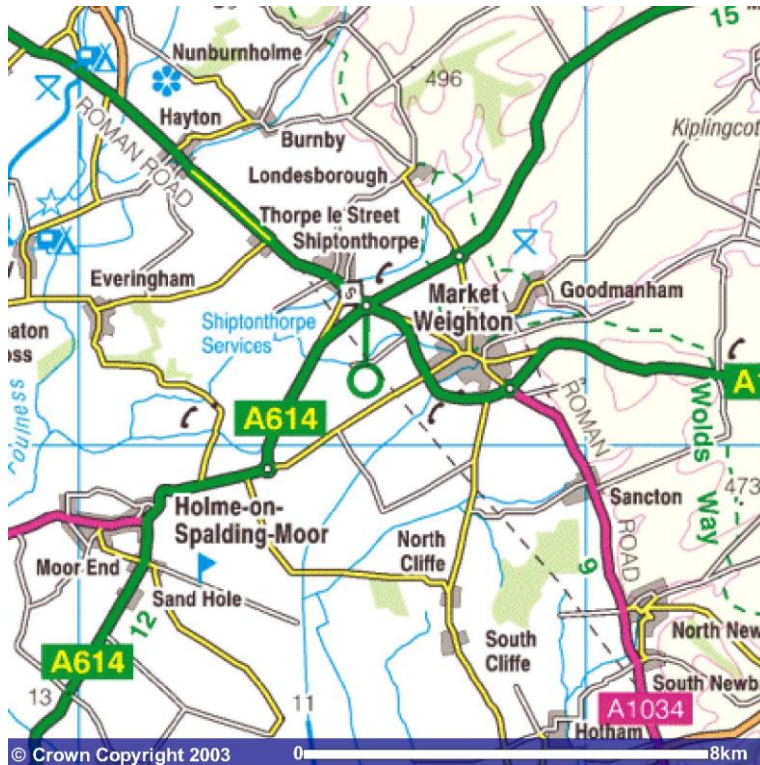


Fig. 252. Modern Ordnance Survey map showing the church sites of Weighton Hundred.

Holme upon Spalding Moor

Holme upon Spalding Moor is situated approximately fourteen miles east of Beverley. The village is arranged in an irregular fashion along the roads to Howden, Selby and Market Weighton, and appeared to be similar although more dispersed at the time of the 1854 ordnance survey.



Fig. 253. Map of Holme upon Spalding Moor from the 1854 Ordnance Survey.



Fig. 254. Aerial view of Holme upon Spalding Moor.

The Church



Fig. 255. All Saints, Holme upon Spalding Moor from the north-east.

The church of All Saints is situated on a hill separate, and to the north-east of the modern village. It has an impressive Perpendicular west tower, a three bay thirteenth century nave, a thirteenth century north aisle, and a northern chapel.¹

Domesday Book

From the land of Gilbert Tison

In HOLME (upon Spalding Moor) Alwine had 8 carucates of land taxable. There is land for 4 ploughs. Now Geoffrey, Gilbert's man, has there ½ plough; and

12 villagers and 8 smallholders with 3 ploughs.

There, a priest and a church.

Woodland pasture, 2 leagues long and 3 furlongs wide

The whole manor, 3 leagues long and 3 leagues wide.

Value before 1066 £10; now 60s.²

From the summary

Gilbert Tison, in Holme (upon Spalding Moor), 8 carucates;...³

Place-Name

The earliest reference to Holme is in Domesday Book. Smith states that it derives from the Old East Scandinavian word *hulm*.⁴ Faull and Stinson add that this refers to the island formed by the hill on which the church stood among the surrounding marshland.⁵

Sculpture

Holme upon Spalding Moor 1 is set in a window jamb in the south wall at the bottom of the fifteenth-century tower of the church of All Saints.⁶ Lang raises the possibility that the stone type may be from Aislaby, near Whitby.

Dimensions H. 50.9cm, W. 36.4>32.3cm, D. 37.3cm

The sculpture depicts a seated human figure in profile. Lang considered it to be the top of a cross-shaft and identifies a close relationship with Nunburnholme 1, both in the style of the cross shaft and in the figure depicted on it. He dated it to the ninth to eleventh century.

Discussion

Faull and Stinson speculate that the original settlement site would have been where the church now stands on church hill, as this would have provided a well-drained site amongst marshland. If this is the case it is not necessary to explain the position of the church outside of the current village. The modern village may not be in the same position as that at the time of the church referred to in Domesday Book. The church is indeed in a very prominent position, visible from some distance on

¹ N. Pevsner and D. Neave, *Yorkshire: York and the East Riding*, The Buildings of England (London, 1995), p. 474.

² M. L. Faull and M. Stinson *Domesday Book: Yorkshire: Volume I* (Chichester, 1986), 21E9.

³ M. L. Faull and M. Stinson *Domesday Book: Yorkshire: Volume II* (Chichester, 1986). SE, Wei2

⁴ *PNERY* p. 234.

⁵ *Domesday Book: Yorkshire: Volume II*, 21E9 n

⁶ J. T. Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, III: York and Eastern Yorkshire* (Oxford, 1991), pp. 143-144 Ill. 483.

the top of church hill surrounded by very flat land. The sculpture suggests a couple of connections that may be worthy of further consideration. Stylistically there appears to be a strong link with a cross-head from Nunburnholme and if the stone was quarried near Whitby closer examination of any possible connection there may be of benefit.

Londesborough

Londesborough is approximately eleven miles north-west of Beverley and 5½ miles north-east of Holme upon Spalding Moor. It is situated on the western edge of the East Yorkshire wolds just off the Roman road running from Brough to Malton. The village as it exists today and in 1854 is laid out along two streets with a back lane in between. These run from the south-west to the north-east and form a regular rectangular grid shape.

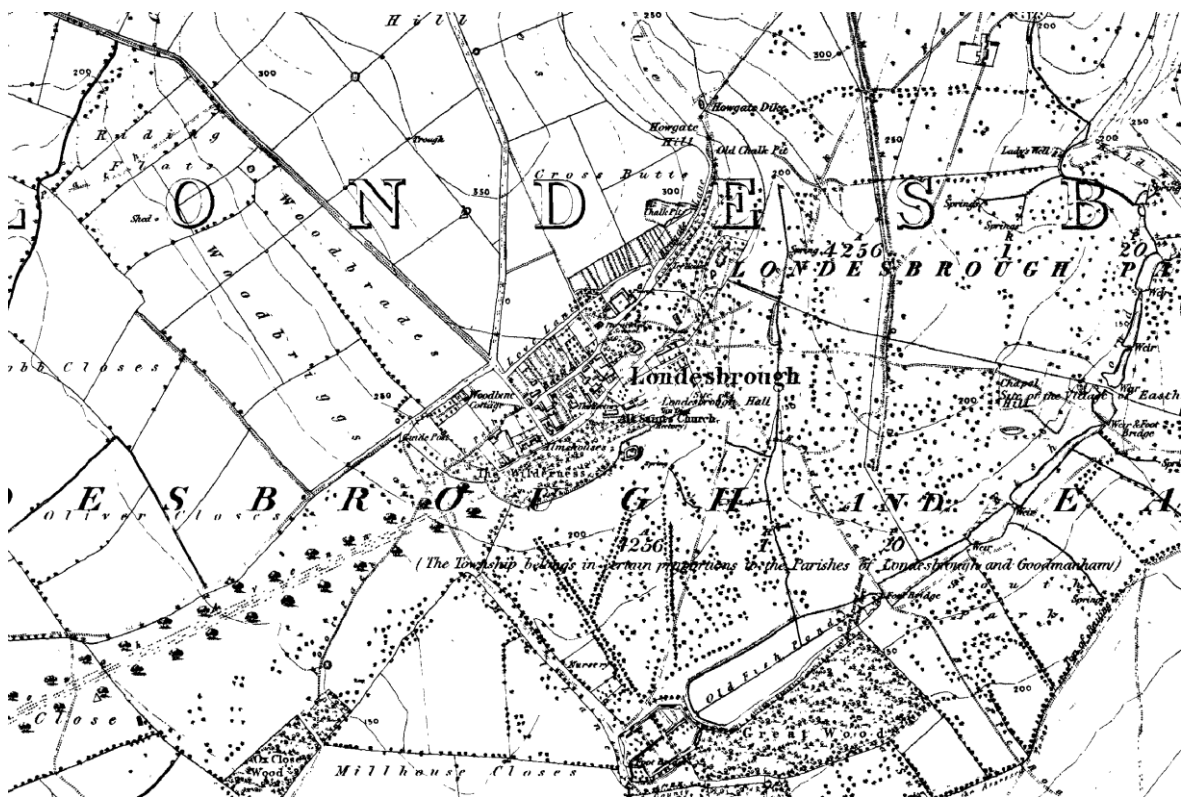


Fig. 256. Map of Londesborough from the 1854 Ordnance Survey.



Fig. 257. Aerial view of Londesborough.

The Church



Fig. 258. All Saints, Londesborough from the north.

The church of all Saints is situated on the south-east side of the village. It is dated by Pevsner and Neave almost entirely to their early English period of c.1190-1250 and comprises a north arcade of four bays, a north chapel and a west tower.⁷

Domesday Book

Londesborough along with Towthorpe and Goodmanham is described in Domesday Book as a berewick of Everingham.⁸ It was owned both before 1066 and after 1086 by the presiding Archbishop of York and under him in 1086 by two clerics and one soldier. There is no reference in Domesday Book to either churches or priests at any of these sites, although ownership by a cleric may have some significance.⁹

Place-Name

The first reference is in the Domesday Book to *Lodenesburg* meaning 'Lothen's fortification', using the Old Norse personal name *Lodinn*, which also appears in a lost site, *Lothenhaues*, on the boundaries of Londesborough and Middleton.¹⁰ The Old Norse personal name may date the naming of the settlement to no earlier than the ninth century.¹¹

Sculpture

Londesborough 1 is positioned in the wall above the south door of the church, see fig. 265 below.¹² **Dimensions H 58.5, W 56.5.** It is described as a type E10 free-armed cross-head, with all four arms intact and filled by a continuous plain plait with widely meshed strands. Lang dates it to the second half of the ninth to the second half of the tenth century. Like Holme upon Spalding Moor 1 the stone may have been quarried from Aislaby, near Whitby.

Archaeology

The evidence for an Anglian inhumation cemetery at Londesborough has been gathered in a series of excavations between 1736 and 1905. In analysing the various finds from these, Swanton has identified that the cemetery covered a large area from the top of Londesborough Wold, down across the Roman Road towards the park and village and contained a large number of inhumation graves.¹³ Having studied the finds he concludes that we have a small part of what may be one of the larger cemeteries within Deira.¹⁴ He identifies a time frame for deposition of the middle to late sixth century, and sees stylistic influence on the finds as primarily from East and Middle Anglia.

⁷ Pevsner and Neave, *Yorkshire: York and the East Riding*, pp. 601-602.

⁸ *Domesday Book: Yorkshire: Volume I 2B9, Domesday Book: Yorkshire: Volume II, SE, Wei5.*

⁹ Above, p. 27.

¹⁰ *PN ERY* pp. 231-232.

¹¹ M. Swanton, 'An Anglian Cemetery at Londesborough in East Yorkshire', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* 41 (1966), 262-86, p. 264.

¹² Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, III: York and Eastern Yorkshire*, pp.179-180 Ill. 665.

¹³ Swanton, 'An Anglian Cemetery at Londesborough in East Yorkshire', p. 267.

¹⁴ Swanton, 'An Anglian Cemetery at Londesborough in East Yorkshire', p. 286.



Fig. 259. Anglo-Saxon crosshead imbedded in the wall above the south door of the church.

Discussion

A few things appear worthy of particular note about Londesborough. Position on or near a Roman road seems to be a frequently recurring factor. The location next to an early (sixth century) Anglo-Saxon cemetery may be important. The church is dated to the late twelfth century but it contains sculpture of ninth or tenth century date. The significance of the possibility that the stone for the sculpture originated near Whitby may be worth further consideration. Archiepiscopal ownership of the estate, and indeed possible ownership by two clerics, may prove significant, although the fact that it was a berewick of Everingham and that Domesday Book makes no mention of a priest or a church must be counted as evidence against the presence of a significant church at that time. All in all the evidence for the existence of a pre-conquest church is weak and rests very heavily on the fact that an Anglo-Saxon cross-head is embedded in the church wall. However, proximity to a sixth century Anglo-Saxon inhumation cemetery may prove significant, as this could have later been used for Christian burials and thus been the site chosen for the church, as suggested by Faull for Sancton below.¹⁵

Sancton

Sancton is situated approximately eight miles west of Beverley and about four miles south-south-east of Londesborough on the same Roman road and to the west of the same wold escarpment. The

¹⁵ Below, p. 314.

village is laid out along two streets either side of a rectangular green. These are to the east of what was the Roman road between Brough and Malton and the village also spreads along that road.



Fig. 260. Map of Sancton from the 1854 Ordnance Survey.



Fig. 261. Aerial view of Sancton.

The Church

The church of All Saints is situated on a hill, just to the north of the modern village. Faull suggests that, in light of the position of the springs, the topography and on the advice of local farmers regarding this, the Anglo-Saxon settlement was likely to have occupied the same area as it does now.¹⁶ It has a fifteenth century tower that is unique in the East Riding in its octagonal shape.¹⁷ Pevsner and Neave indicate that the church was rebuilt in Early English style in 1869-1871 but they do identify genuine Early English work in the low side lancet of the chancel. Faull has also identified 'diagonally axed ashlar from a twelfth century building which was probably the successor to the church mentioned in Domesday Book.'¹⁸ The church is of simple plan with a west tower, nave and chancel.



Fig. 262. All Saints church from the south-east.

Domesday Book

From the land of Robert Malet

In SANCTON, 4½ carucates of land. [The jurisdiction is] in (Market) WEIGHTON.¹⁹

From the land of Gilbert Tison

In SANCTON Northmann had 15 carucates of land taxable. There is land for 8 ploughs. Now 3 soldiers have (it) from Gilbert. They (have) there 1½ ploughs; and

¹⁶ M. L. Faull, 'The Location and Relationship of the Sancton Anglo-Saxon Cemeteries', *Antiquaries Journal* 56 (1976), 227-33, p. 232.

¹⁷ Pevsner and Neave, *Yorkshire: York and the East Riding*, p. 667.

¹⁸ Faull, 'The Location and Relationship of the Sancton Anglo-Saxon Cemeteries', p. 232.

¹⁹ *Domesday Book: Yorkshire: Volume I*, 11E8.

6 villagers and 5 smallholders who have 2½ ploughs.

There, a priest and a church.

Meadow, 6 acres.

3 leagues long and 1 wide.

Value before 1066 £8; now 50s.²⁰

From the claims

In SANCTON they testify that William Malet had in lordship and was in possession of 7½ carucates of land, that is half of the vill.²¹

From the summary

Gilbert Tison, in Sancton, 15 carucates.²²

Place-Name

The first reference is in 1086 to *Santun(e), -ton(a)*. Smith interprets this as meaning 'Sand farm,' from the Old English sand and tun.²³

Archaeology

In examining the various excavations that had occurred at Sancton, Myres identified two possible Anglo-Saxon cemeteries.²⁴ The principle one (Sancton I) is at Grange Farm, approximately half a mile north-north-east of the church of All Saints. The second site (Sancton II) is around Sandhill cottage just to the north of the church.²⁵ The first mention of Sancton I is on the 1854 Ordnance Survey map which refers to 69 urns. Various excavations unearthed urns in the intervening century, until the first scientifically conducted excavation was carried out by Southern in 1954-8.²⁶ These excavations defined an area of 24 yards (N-S) by 36 yards (E-W). An earlier discovery of urns may come from an area to the south of this, thus increasing that dimension by twenty yards. However, the edge was not located on the eastern or northern boundaries and indeed in correspondence in 1882 Matthew Foster describes the full extent as 150 yards long and 50 yards wide. In locating the known urns from this cemetery Myres identifies nearly 250 urns, which he asserts makes the cemetery one of the most important in the country for the study of Anglo-Saxon pottery of the pagan period.²⁷ In his conclusion to his examination of these urns Myres uses stylistic parallels to suggest that the cemetery contained people of Angle and Saxon origin and they may have been present from the early years of the fifth century, although he concedes it may not evidence more than familiarity with ceramic fashions of the Anglian homelands of Schleswig and Funen, and Saxon areas between the Elbe and the Weser in the fourth century.²⁸ He considers evidence of cultural links with tribes of central and southern Germany to be a particular quality of the Sancton community. Myres highlights the continuing use of cremation at Sancton, after the communities that had evidence of cultural contact had switched to inhumation. He also finds pottery from a

²⁰ *Domesday Book: Yorkshire: Volume I*, 21E10.

²¹ *Domesday Book: Yorkshire: Volume II*, CE22.

²² *Domesday Book: Yorkshire: Volume II*, Wei3.

²³ *PN ERY* p. 227.

²⁴ J. N. L. Myres and W. H. Southern, *The Anglo-Saxon cremation cemetery at Sancton, East Yorkshire*, Hull Museum Publications; no. 218 (Hull, 1973), pp. 5-8.

²⁵ Faull, 'The Location and Relationship of the Sancton Anglo-Saxon Cemeteries', p. 231.

²⁶ Myres and Southern, *The Anglo-Saxon cremation cemetery at Sancton, East Yorkshire*, pp. 8-11.

²⁷ Myres and Southern, *The Anglo-Saxon cremation cemetery at Sancton, East Yorkshire*, p. 12.

²⁸ Myres and Southern, *The Anglo-Saxon cremation cemetery at Sancton, East Yorkshire*, pp. 29-30.

Sancton workshop on the north Lincolnshire wolds by the end of the fifth century, and by the end of the sixth century another potter's work was found in South Lincolnshire and was influencing ceramic fashion up the Trent valley and in East Anglia. Myres assumes that the cemeteries use would have come to an end shortly after the conversion of Edwin in the early seventh century.

Further excavations in 1976-1978 covered an area of 420 square metres, although it was not possible to relate this precisely to the 1954-1958 excavations because the boundaries that were used to identify the previous site had subsequently been removed.²⁹ These excavations identified parts of possibly 500 urns and their positions were noted. Eighty complete or near complete cremations were found and the cremated bone that survived should provide useful information to analyse the population. The excavation did not reveal the edge of the cemetery in any direction.

In re-examining the available evidence Faull concludes that the smaller cemetery of Sancton II, was most likely a separate cemetery containing a higher proportion of inhumations, at least sixteen of which have been unearthed.³⁰ In consideration of the site of Sancton in totality Faull suggests that Sancton I, predominantly a cremation cemetery, beginning in the late fourth or early fifth century, may have served the local communities of Goodmanham, Londesborough, Market Weighton, North Newbald and Nunburnholme. She suggests that the smaller Sancton II, containing a higher proportion of inhumation burials, dates to the fifth or sixth centuries and may represent a local cemetery for the community at Sancton coming into use alongside the larger cemetery once inhumation became popular in the region. The final phase may have been the Christian burial ground growing as an extension of the pagan Sancton II. Faull suggests that this may have occurred at such an early date, before the church had prohibited the conversion of pagan cemeteries, because of the proximity to Paulinus' conversion of Edwin, and the subsequent destruction of the pagan shrine at Goodmanham.³¹

Discussion

There do appear to be a number of potentially significant correlations between the three sites here considered. Two of them (Londesborough and Sancton) are situated on the same Roman Road and close to apparently significant early Anglo-Saxon cemeteries. Their positions in relation to the inhumation cemeteries, both fairly close and to the south, may support Faull's theory in this regard. The impact of the close proximity of Goodmanham, where the first northern conversion occurred, may prove worthy of further consideration. Particularly if there does prove to be something distinct about the possible church sites examined in this area. Another two sites (Holme upon Spalding Moor and Londesborough) both contain Anglo-Saxon sculpture, possibly both quarried from Aislaby near Whitby, in their fabric. The remaining couple (Holme upon Spalding Moor and Sancton) are both owned, in some part by Gilbert Tison in 1086. All three churches within this hundred are dedicated to All Saints.

²⁹ N. Reynolds, *Investigations in the Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Sancton, East Yorkshire: 1976-8* (Edinburgh, 1979), p. 8.

³⁰ Faull, 'The Location and Relationship of the Sancton Anglo-Saxon Cemeteries', pp. 231-232.

³¹ *HE* ii. 13 (pp. 184-187).

Welton Hundred



Fig. 263. Modern Ordnance Survey map showing locations of Elloughton and North Cave.

Elloughton

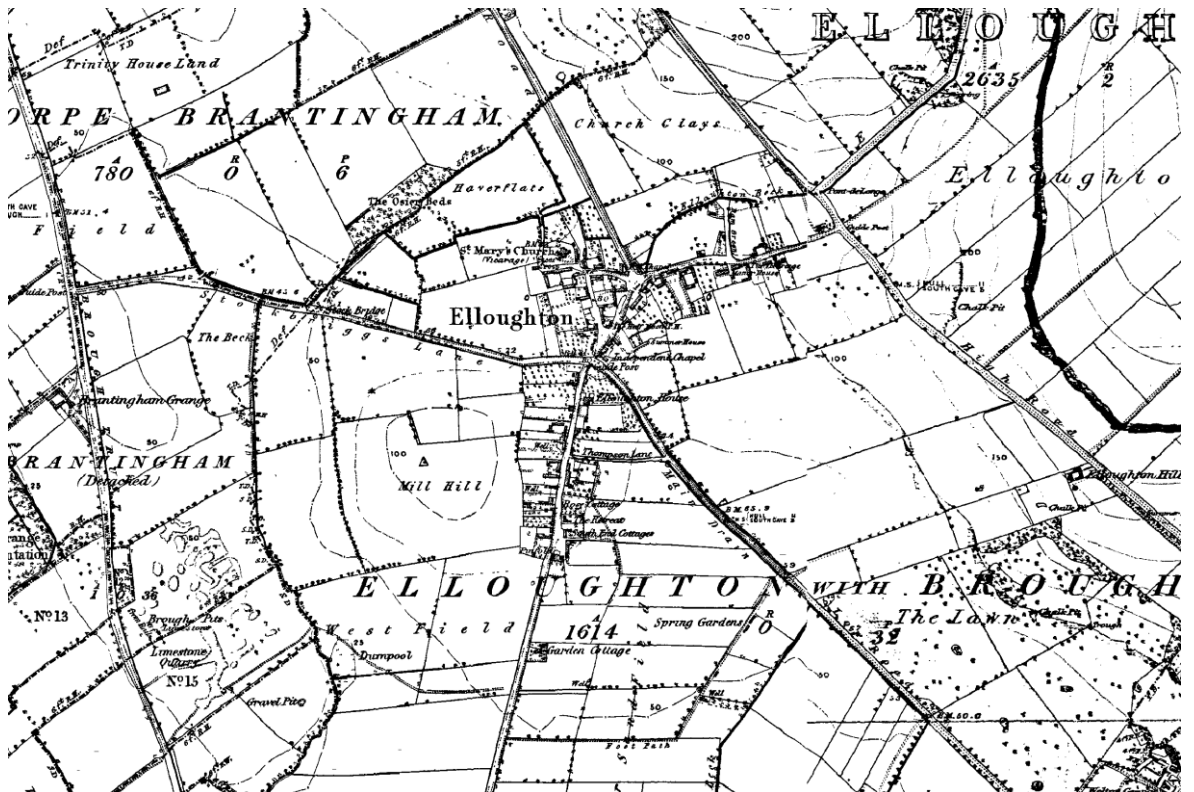


Fig. 264. Map of Elloughton from the 1854 Ordnance Survey.



Fig. 265. Aerial view of Elloughton.

Elloughton is situated about a mile north-east of the river Humber and about nine miles south-west of Beverley on the western edge of the wolds escarpment that runs north south through the East Riding. It is not clear from Domesday Book whether the church referred to is at Elloughton or Wauldby, although educated guesswork suggests Elloughton. This was the primary settlement at the time of Domesday Book and Wauldby is now no more than a farm with no evidence of an early church. Nevertheless, the outside possibility that the Domesday church was actually at the adjacent settlement of Wauldby must be borne in mind. In the mid-nineteenth century the village lay around a triangular space, probably originally a green, and spread down the road towards Brough to the south.

The Church

The oldest remaining fabric of the church of St Mary is the Early English doorway.¹ The west tower was built following a bequest of 1523. The remainder of the church comprising a nave and chancel was mostly rebuilt in the nineteenth century.

¹ N. Pevsner and D. Neave, *Yorkshire: York and the East Riding*, The Buildings of England (London, 1995), p. 402.



Fig. 266. St Mary, Elloughton from the north-east.

Domesday Book

From the land of the Archbishop of York

In ELLOUGHTON and WAULDBY there are 17 carucates of land taxable, where 9 ploughs are possible. Archbishop Aldred held this as 1 manor; now Archbishop Thomas has it and Godwine from him. He has there 1 plough; and

36 villagers and 3 smallholders who have 11 ploughs.

Of that same land 1 soldier has 2 carucates and 1 plough there.

A priest is there and a church.

Meadow, 5 furlongs long and 1 furlong wide.

The whole manor, 2 leagues long and 1 wide.

Value before 1066, 40s; now 30s.²

From the summary

The Archbishop... In ELLOUGHTON, 10 carucates. In WAULDBY, 7 carucates.³

Place-Name

The earliest recording of Elloughton is in Domesday Book where it is written *Elgendon*.⁴ Smith considers it could either derive from an Old Swedish or Danish personal name or the Old Scandinavian word *elgr* meaning 'heathen temple'. The second part could either be tun 'farm' or dun 'hill'.

² M. L. Faull and M. Stinson *Domesday Book: Yorkshire: Volume I* (Chichester, 1986), 2B3.

³ M. L. Faull and M. Stinson *Domesday Book: Yorkshire: Volume II* (Chichester, 1986), SE, Wel4.

⁴ *PNERY* p, 220.

Archaeology

The presence of the Romano-British town of *Petuaria* in the vicinity of Elloughton at Brough must have had an impact on the Anglo-Saxon settlement. Excavation there has discovered evidence of native occupation before the Roman invasions.⁵ A temporary camp was then established c. 70, superseded by an auxiliary fort of approximately 4½ acres. This was abandoned and reoccupied and eventually, c. 125-200, a town was established. Various stages of expansion of both the town and the fortification occurred until eventually in c. 370 it appears to have been abandoned.



Fig. 267. St Mary, Elloughton from the west.

Discussion

It seems likely that the important strategic position of Elloughton just to the north of the Roman fort and port at *Petuaria* and on the Roman road heading north to Malton must have had some impact on the later settlement. Archiepiscopal ownership in 1066 and 1086 and the fact that the place-name may indicate the presence of a heathen temple, are worth noting.

⁵ J. S. Wachter, *Excavations at Brough-on-Humber*, Reports of the Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries of London (Leeds, 1969), pp. 3-4.

North Cave

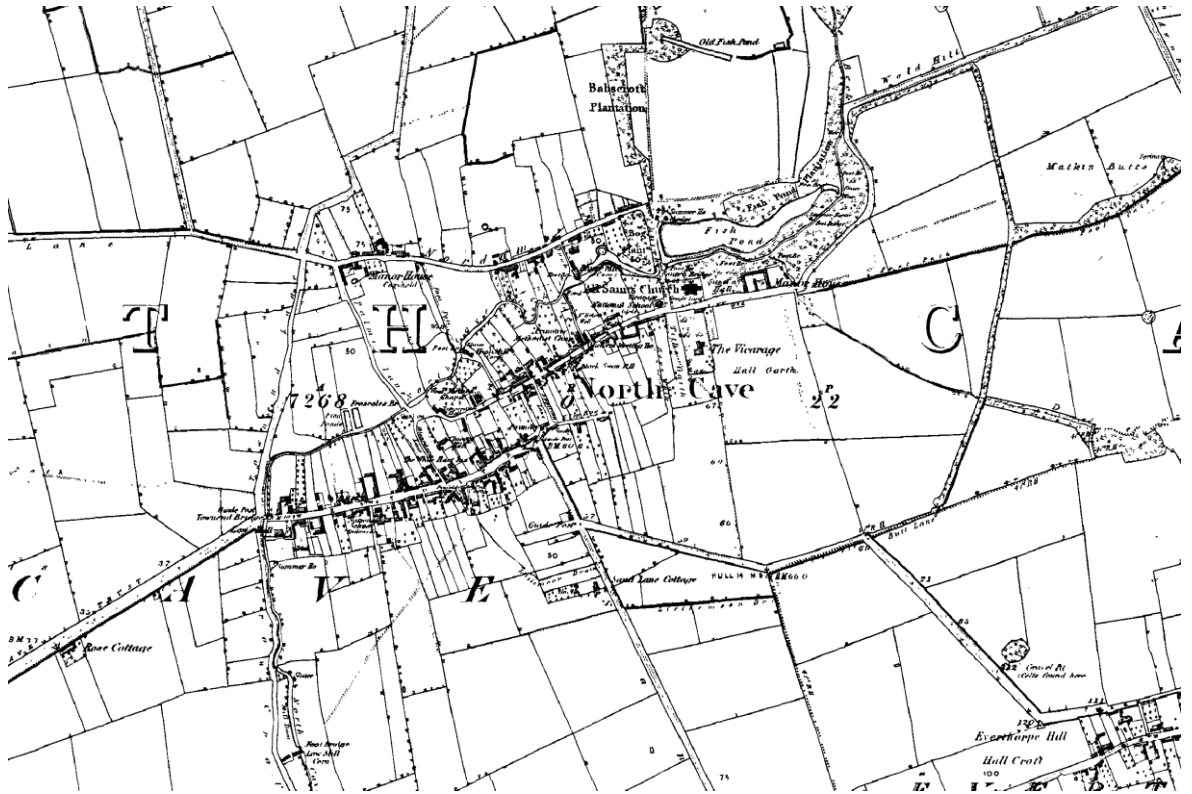


Fig. 268. Map of North Cave from the 1854 Ordnance Survey.



Fig. 269. Aerial view of North Cave.

North Cave is approximately nine miles west-south-west from Beverley with the Wolds escarpment dividing them. It is approximately four miles north-west of Elloughton. The modern and mid-

nineteenth century village consist of three parallel streets running east to west with dwellings spread apparently irregularly along them.

The Church

The church of All Saints is situated on the eastern edge of the village, with the trees and parkland of Hotham Hall behind it to the north. It is a large church built in the local limestone.⁶ The earliest extant part of the church is thought to be some Norman work in the lower part of the west tower. The remainder of this is thirteenth century with the top having been built in the fifteenth or sixteenth century. Pevsner and Neave state that on dedication in 1318 the church was described as new-built. The nave, with its wide bayed arcades, is thought to be predominately thirteenth century, as are the north and south transepts. The south porch is of 1753 and the chancel probably early nineteenth century.



Fig. 270. All Saints, North Cave from the south.

Domesday Book

From the land of the Archbishop of York

In (North) CAVE there are 1 carucate and 6 bovates taxable, where 1 plough is possible. Archbishop Aldred held this as 1 manor. Now the Canons of St. Peter's have it under Archbishop Thomas. Waste, except for 1 tributary who pays 10s 8d.⁷

From the land of the Count of Mortain

⁶ Pevsner and Neave, *Yorkshire: York and the East Riding*, pp. 624-625.

⁷ *Domesday Book: Yorkshire: Volume I*. 2B5.

In (North) CAVE, Basing, Ulfr and Thorketill had 2 manors of 6 carucates and 2 bovates taxable; 4 ploughs possible. Now Nigel has (them) from the Count. In lordship 1 plough; and

5 villagers with 2 ploughs.

Value before 1066, 40s; now the same.⁸

From the land of Robert Malet

In another (North) CAVE, Thorthr, 2 c.; Basing, 2 c.; Muli, 10 bovates; Aldred 4 bovates; Thorsteinn, 1 c.; Wulfgeat, ½ c. They had 7 carucates and 2 bovates of land taxable, where 4 ploughs are possible. Now Robert has there 2 ploughs; and

6 villagers and 4 smallholders who have 1½ ploughs.

Value before 1066, 70s; now 13s. It is mostly waste.⁹

From the land of Hugh fitzBaldric

In (Little) WEIGHTON and (North) CAVE Gamall had 5 carucates and 2 bovates of land taxable. There is land for 3 ploughs. Now Hugh has there 2 ploughs; and

16 villagers with 4 ploughs.

There a church and a priest.

2 mill, 16s.

1 league long and 1 wide.

Value before 1066, 40s; now 50s.¹⁰

From the land of Robert of Brus

In BRANTINGHAM, (North) CAVE and HOTHAM, 9 carucates and 1 bovat.¹¹

From the claims

...Likewise, concerning the land of Ulfr the Deacon which he had in (North) CAVE, they say that Nigel has it, but William Malet had it.¹²

From the summary

...Robert Malet, in another (North) CAVE, 7 carucates and 2 bovates.

The Archbishop, in the same place. 1 carucate and 6 bovates. The Count of Mortain, in the same place, 6 carucates and 2 bovates. Hugh son of Baldric, in the same place, 2 bovates.¹³

Place-Name

The earliest reference is in Domesday Book to *Cave*, Caua. The interpretation is the same as that for South Cave. Smith argues with Professor Ekwall that it derives from Old English *caf* 'swift, quick', which is commonly used as a stream name. This may refer to the stream now known as Mires Beck, which flows through the Wolds through North Cave.¹⁴

Archaeology

Iron-Age hut circles overlain by a Romano-British aisled building, with associated drove road and field system have been excavated in North Cave. Roman influence can be detected from the second

⁸ *Domesday Book: Yorkshire: Volume I*, 5E1.

⁹ *Domesday Book: Yorkshire: Volume I*, 11E2.

¹⁰ *Domesday Book: Yorkshire: Volume I*, 23E3.

¹¹ *Domesday Book: Yorkshire: Volume II*, 31E4, see also note 31E4.

¹² *Domesday Book: Yorkshire: Volume II*, CE13.

¹³ *Domesday Book: Yorkshire: Volume II*, SE C1-2.

¹⁴ *PN ERY* pp. 222-224.

century until c. 300.¹⁵ The relevance to this study of Iron-Age and Roman settlement in the vicinity is questionable, but worth noting in passing.

Discussion

North Cave appears to have particularly divided ownership with apparently seven different people owning land there in 1086 and more in 1066. The nature of ownership may be a factor worthy of further consideration; where churches were located within landholdings is considered above.¹⁶ Domesday Book is not explicit as to where the church and priest were. They could have been in Little Weighton. However Little Weighton does not appear to have any early church whereas North Cave has evidence of a Norman predecessor.

¹⁵ R. W. Mackey, 'The Yorkshire Archaeological Register: 1974', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* 47 (1975), p. 4 and R. W. Mackey, 'The Yorkshire Archaeological Register: 1976', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* 49 (1977), pp. 3 and 7.

¹⁶ Above, pp. 68-69 and 86-87.

Abbreviations

<i>ASC</i>	<i>EHD</i> I. Cited by letter indicating version and corrected year.
<i>DB</i>	Domesday Book. Citations are by folio in Great Domesday (Yorkshire). They are cited from D. Bates, (ed.), <i>The Digital Domesday Book</i> (Hartley Wintney, 2003)
<i>EHD i</i>	D. Whitelock (ed.), <i>English Historical Documents, i, c. 500-1042</i> , 2 nd edn. (London, 1979)
<i>Ep. E.</i>	Bede, ‘Epistola ad Ecgbertum Episcopum’, ed. C. Plummer, <i>Venerabilis Baedae Opera Historica</i> (i-ii, Oxford, 1896), i. pp. 405-423
<i>EYC</i>	W. Farrer (ed.), <i>Early Yorkshire Charters</i> (12 volumes, Leeds 1914-1965)
<i>HE</i>	Bede, <i>Bede’s Ecclesiastical History of the English People</i> ed. B. Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford, 1969)
<i>PN ERY</i>	A. H. Smith, <i>The Place-Names of the East Riding of Yorkshire</i> , EPNS, 14 (London, 1937)
<i>S</i>	P. H. Sawyer, <i>Anglo-Saxon Charters: An Annotated List and Bibliography</i> (London, 1968)
<i>Symeon Op.</i>	<i>Symeonis Monarchi Opera Omnia</i> , ed. T. Arnold, Rolls Series (2 vols., London, 1882-1885)
<i>VCH</i>	<i>Victoria Histories of the Counties of England</i> . They are cited by county and volume

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