

**SCHOOLS OF ANGLO-SAXON STONE SCULPTURE
IN THE NORTH MIDLANDS.**

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Submitted for the degree of Ph.D.

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June, 1994.

SUMMARY

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SUMMARY

This thesis concerns the identification of schools of Anglo-Saxon stone sculpture in the the north Midlands. It also contains a critical examination of the assumptions which have tended to underlie previous studies of this subject. The term 'school' can be interpreted in different ways, but is defined here as groups of sculptured monuments which are associated by common design elements and appear to be a product of some form of localised organisation.

The research produced a large database of information for each sculptured stone monument in the research area. The results of the analysis of this material are as follows:

An analytical method has been devised to identify objectively the schools and their geographical distribution in terms of their design elements. Six different schools of sculpture have been identified in the research area. It is found that architectural sculpture does not appear to be directly related to any of the schools: only free-standing sculpture shows such cohesion.

The geographical distribution of each school was compared with our understanding of land divisions. It was found that the schools do not appear to relate to any ecclesiastical provision, but to secular land units or settlement groups. In most cases these are likely to have been those existing during the period of Viking settlement.

The distribution of the sculpture is compared with our limited historical knowledge and this suggests that most of the monuments can be dated to the first half of the tenth century. They may have been erected as a result of the reconquest of Viking held territory, by the English.

Evidence, mainly from the types of stone used in the manufacture of the monuments, suggests that they were likely to have been crafted at each site and were not the product of centralised 'workshops'.

**To the memory of Charles Arthur Sidebottom.
1913 - 1991**

PREFACE

PREFACE

This research into Anglo-Saxon stone sculpture, follows an undergraduate exercise when I made an attempt to update the corpus of stone sculpture in Derbyshire. During this exercise, it became obvious that more research could be done, especially in this part of the country, even following 'traditional' lines of enquiry. At the same time, one also felt that perhaps the sculpture had more to reveal than previous studies had indicated. Somehow, there seemed to be an enormous neglect of a substantial number of artefacts of which we really knew precious little, yet their study appeared far from integrated with other aspects of Anglo-Saxon studies.

As far as I know, this is the first Ph.D. thesis on the subject of Anglo-Saxon stone sculpture undertaken at Sheffield University. Therefore, it does not follow in any tradition of research for which this institution is noted. In one sense, this was not the drawback it could have been, for it meant that one had to produce a thoroughly convincing analysis to satisfy those also involved in this research. It is, therefore, to the credit of my supervisors, Dr. Paul Buckland and Dr. John Moreland, in that they have ably supervised a subject-matter less than close to their own interests: this exercise has, to a large extent, been a collective learning process, for none of us knew initially, what the eventual outcome would be.

I must also offer my thanks to Prof. Rosemary Cramp of Durham University and now general editor of the *National Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture*. Her encouraging remarks in the early stages of this research helped to brighten what was basically a 'black period'. Most helpful too, were the various and abundantly helpful custodians of county SMRs and those archaeologists and historians who also offered encouragement as well as advice, such as Clive Hart, formerly of Sheffield Museums, Richard Langley of Derby museum, and John Rumsby of the Tolson Museum, Huddersfield. I must also thank my wife, Janice, who has had to endure reading endless written drafts, hearing monologues and putting-up with all the usual disadvantages of being a partner to one writing a major thesis! Lastly I would thank all the incumbents of churches in the region, most of whom were most kind, helpful and sympathetic during the fieldwork attached to this research.

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INTRODUCTION

"Historians and archaeologists, alert to their own interests and armed with specialised knowledge, could undoubtedly use the sculptures more than they have hitherto" (Bailey 1980: 236-7).

Northumbrian Crosses of the Pre-Norman Age, by W. G. Collingwood was published in 1927 (Collingwood 1927) and has arguably been the most influential work on Anglo-Saxon stone sculpture to date. Collingwood was not the first to study this subject but, he is responsible for the development of the art-historical method of dating the sculpture still in use to this day. The perpetuation of this method is at first surprising, since it relies on an evolutionary paradigm, one which is now largely shunned by modern scholars. Unfortunately, there is little alternative evidence for dating the monuments. There is, for example, no history attached to Anglo-Saxon stone sculpture, no datable inscriptions, nor have there been any revolutionary archaeological discoveries so far, to transform our understanding of the monuments. Such 'monumental' discoveries are made especially difficult since it is almost impossible to know whether a free-standing stone monolith when discovered is likely to be *in situ* or not.

Collingwood saw the monuments in a chronological sequence, "ancient styles as phases of a process" (1927: preface), evolving through time and place. As such, Collingwood's work has proved less attractive to archaeologists than it has to art historians. Subsequent preoccupations with the refinement of the stylistic dating method has tended to overshadow any examination of the fundamental philosophy and assumptions on which it heavily relies. An art historian is less than eager to discover that the monuments have no art-history.

Therefore, studies of stone sculpture have stayed rather peripheral to Anglo-Saxon studies in general. For example, unlike the monuments, the development of the early church has received much more critical attention, and we have a more mature understanding of its interaction with secular events (as an excellent example, see Morris 1989). However, Anglo-Saxon sculpture appears to have been largely immune from critical examination, although a hint of scepticism is occasionally heard from outside the main lines of enquiry. Yet this lack of integration of Anglo-Saxon stone sculpture with the rest of the material culture is quite dismal. It is a valuable resource, especially as material evidence for the Viking settlement, but rarely is it seen this way. The relative abundance of Anglo-Saxon sculptured monuments found throughout much of England contrasts strongly with the paucity of many other forms of material evidence. In fairness, some recent attempts have been made to revitalise the study of stone sculpture in the light of

present considerations, and one does not hesitate in commending the work of Richard Bailey (cf. 1980) in particular. Nevertheless, there is still a considerable way to go in relating the provision of the sculpture, into the general scholarship of Anglo-Saxon studies.

All of this sounds like a preamble to a thesis which intends to prove that everything that has been written before is wrong: it is not. Collingwood may indeed be right in his assumptions, but it should be realised they are no more than this. As such, they should not be accepted as 'evidence' for the circumstances for the production of the monuments, their chronology, or even for their true purpose, for this is largely unknown. What this research intends to do, is to remove as many preconceptions which can influence the study of this subject, as possible. By so doing, there is an inevitable vacuum, caused not least by the removal of the stylistic dating structure which has been devised over the years.

One is not however, advocating a complete reappraisal of the monuments: some 'assumptions' are accompanied by an acceptable weight of evidence. For example, it is evident from numerous contextual discoveries, that the monuments were unlikely to have been in production after the Norman Conquest and there is also a strong link between church sites and sculpture, evident from numerous associations. But one should be cautious to go beyond basic 'facts' as conveyed by the balance of evidence, and not be reliant on assumptions that are only supported by a subjective hypothesis where there is no real 'evidence' at all. It will be necessary therefore, to examine critically, the presumptions surrounding past studies of Anglo-Saxon stone sculpture, before proceeding onto the subject-matter of this research.

The aim of this thesis is to identify 'schools' of Anglo-Saxon stone sculpture in the north Midlands. The various definitions of the term 'schools' are given in the following chapter (sect. 1.3), but in this thesis they will be identified as regional groups of monuments sharing common decorative elements and thus suggesting that some form of organisation was behind their production. The mere identity of schools, does not demand a strict chronology for them and therefore one set of subjective assumptions need not be of paramount importance. However, the identification of schools has, in the past, been vague because there has been no truly analytical method devised to identify them, nor has the term 'schools' been accompanied by an entirely rigid definition.

The main objective of this research is, therefore, to devise an analytical method for their identification, one which is precise and unambiguous. Only then may it be possible to apply strict geographical limits to the schools. If then, one can identify a series of well-defined schools,

occupying known geographical limits, it should be feasible to investigate the relationship between schools and possible sources for their organisation. This requires firstly, a suitable area in which to identify schools where several are likely to have existed and, secondly, as much data as can possibly be obtained from the individual monuments themselves.

The chosen area of research is centred on the modern county of Derbyshire. However, to synthesise data from Derbyshire alone, would not provide a large enough sample size and may be too small to produce an adequate picture of the sculptural influences which present themselves. Therefore, it was decided to extend the scope of the research to include all of its surrounding areas. This involved additional sculpture in no less than seven counties, including Greater Manchester. Fig. 0.1 shows the extent of the research in terms of the pre-1974 counties. It was found that if the research area was extended for approximately 25-35 km. outwards from the Derbyshire border, then this would produce a reasonably large sample size, within a manageable area. For example, this would include all of Nottinghamshire's known sculpture sites, and would include most of the known sculpture sites in both Staffordshire and Cheshire.

The area chosen for the research is appropriate in several ways: it was already thought to contain several schools of sculpture, although no objective analytical method has been used in their identification. Recent work has been restricted to the few monuments, described as belonging to the pre-Viking period (Cramp 1977). It is also an area relatively rich in sculptured monuments: a total of 296 separate sculptured stones was recorded. Secondly, the area is believed to have contained important divisions during the Anglo-Saxon period. These include parts of the kingdoms of Northumbria and Mercia, together with several smaller divisions of which reconstructions can be attempted (sects. 2.2 and 2.4). There are also divisions between three dioceses and, also in the research area, are three known major ecclesiastical houses. This has a distinct advantage over studies which have been restricted to one major land unit: Collingwood's work, for instance (cf. 1927), was confined to Northumbria alone. Little work has been done on the relationship between sculpture and polities: for example, it has been apparent for some time that there appears to be a 'Mercian' type of sculpture (cf. Kendrick 1938), but what does this mean in terms of the provision of schools? Perhaps schools were simply the manifestation of a group of masons following a common style. If this was so, how were the masons dispatched, do they simply radiate from a 'centre', or do they strictly follow an ecclesiastical, or even secular, land division?

As Collingwood's dating method endures, so a host of other assumptions survive as well. One such is the notion of centralised production. The idea of a "workshop" still survives as an

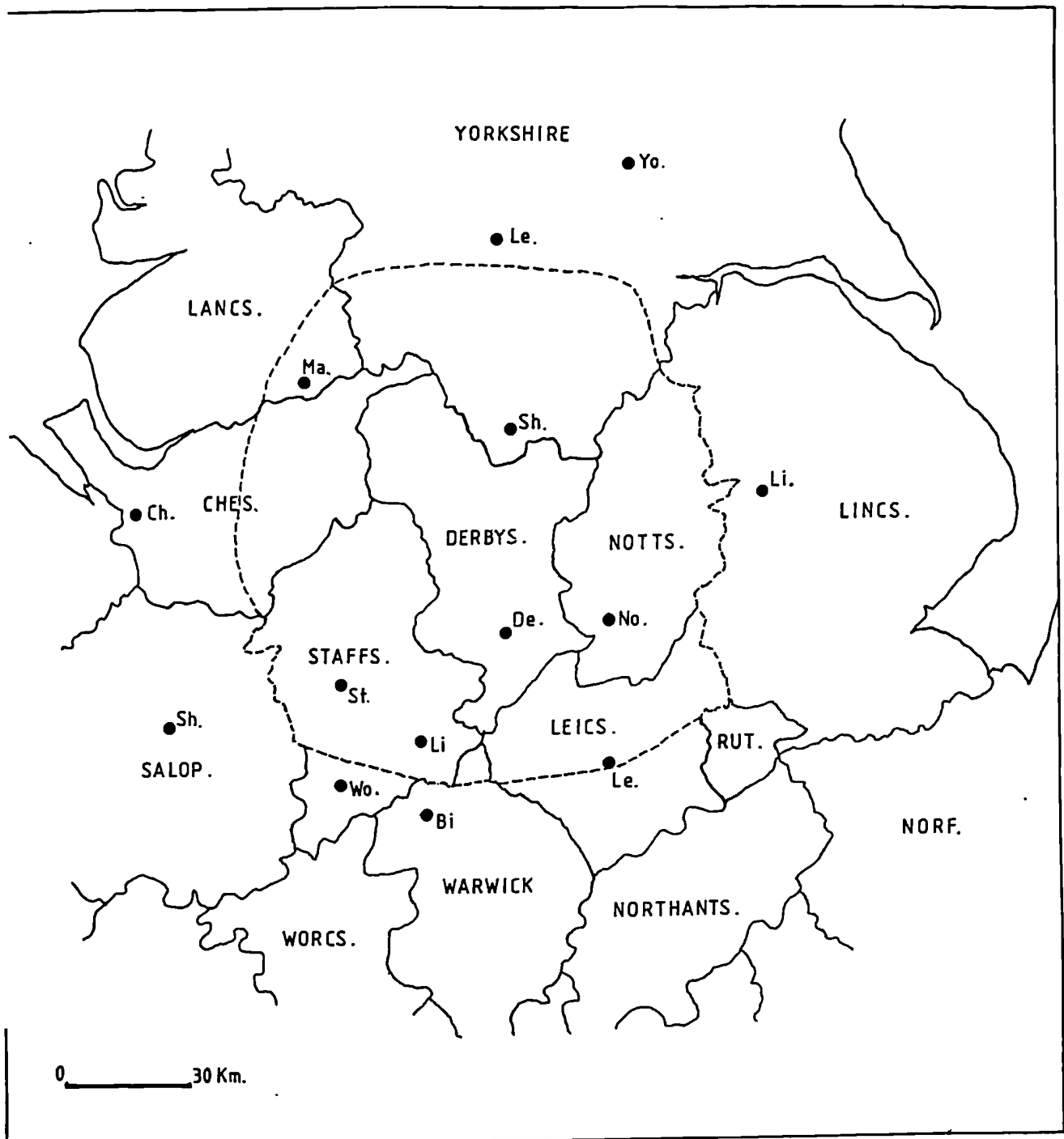


FIG. 0.1.

Map showing the extent of the research area.

KEY:

Bi.	.	Birmingham	Ma.	.	Manchester
Ch.	.	Chester	No.	.	Nottingham
De.	.	Derby	Sh. (Salop)	.	Shrewsbury
Le. (Leics.)	.	Leicester	Sh. (Yorks.)	.	Sheffield
Le. (Yorks.)	.	Leeds	St.	.	Stafford
Li. (Lincs.)	.	Lincoln	Wo.	.	Wolverhampton
Li. (Staffs.)	.	Lichfield	Yo.	.	York

appropriate mode of production. Much of this stems from the assumption that the monuments were part of the monastic 'tradition' of craftsmanship, and therefore, exclusive to the church. The idea of centralised production has been generally accepted without critical examination and only recently have reservations been expressed (cf. Cramp 1975: 184). It is intended that evidence for the method of production will be examined in this research: for example, do the types of stone used for the manufacture of the monuments suggest a centralised production, or does the evidence support local craftsmanship?

Collingwood assumed that the monuments were funereal (1927: 4): others have suggested that some may have functioned as wayside markers (Brown 1937: 93) or as preaching crosses (Kendrick 1938: 126). Although the present consensus is that they were funereal or memorial (Cramp 1978: 2; 1984: 5), the function of the monuments in the research area will be also be examined.

Before proceeding further, it is appropriate to define some of the terms which will be used herein. For example, the term "Viking period" may suggest to some a period when northern England was under a Viking administration: to others, it may suggest a period of raiding and plundering before the actual settlement. Similarly, "Anglo-Scandinavian" may be taken to imply some form of hybridised identity or ethnicity, which may not have always been the case, especially before the English reconquest. The following definitions will therefore be used in this thesis: "Viking period" will apply to that period during which there was a Scandinavian or Hiberno-Scandinavian settlement and administration in all or part of the research area. "Anglo-Scandinavian" is a term reserved for an art-form which is thought to have been under a Scandinavian stylistic influence, but confined to the British Isles. It is not an ideal term, but one which is used extensively, elsewhere. "Anglo-Saxon" refers to the whole of period covered by this research, be it before, during, or after the initial Viking settlement. Thus, "Anglo-Saxon sculpture" refers to all sculpture of the period made before the Norman Conquest: more specifically it may be referred to as "Viking-period" or "pre-Viking". The term "Anglian", which is often used for pre-Viking sculpture, is largely avoided as it can imply notions of ethnicity. Similarly, "British" is essentially an 'ethnic' term, but it is used in this thesis to refer to groups of people who may have held some degree of independence from an administration or settlement under nominal 'Anglo-Saxon' domination.

KEY TO MAP REFERENCE NUMBERS.

- | | |
|---------------------------|------------------------|
| 1. Adlington | 2. Alderley |
| 3. Alstonefield | 4. Asfordby |
| 5. Ashbourne | 6. Astbury |
| 7. Aston-on-Trent | 8. Bakewell |
| 9. Barnburgh | 10. Baslow |
| 11. Birstall (Leic) | 12. Birstall (Yorks) |
| 13. Blackwell (E. Derbys) | 14. Blackwell (Peak) |
| 15. Bradbourne | 16. Bradfield |
| 17. Brailsford | 18. Breedon |
| 19. Cawthorne | 20. Chapel-en-le-Frith |
| 21. Cheadle | 22. Chebsey |
| 23. Checkley | 24. Chesterton |
| 25. Cluelow | 26. Conisborough |
| 27. Costock | 28. Crofton |
| 29. Darfield | 30. Darley Dale |
| 31. Derby | 32. Derwent |
| 33. Dewsbury | 34. East Bridgford |
| 35. Ecclesfield | 36. Eccleshall |
| 37. Eyam | 38. Fernilee |
| 39. Harston | 40. Hartington |
| 41. Hartshead | 42. Hawksworth |
| 43. Hickling | 44. High Hoyland |
| 45. Hope | 46. Ilam |
| 47. Ingleby | 48. Kirkburton |
| 49. Kirkheaton | 50. Kneesall |
| 51. Leek | 52. Lockington |
| 53. Ludworth/Mellor | 54. Lyme Hall |
| 55. Lyme Handley | 56. Macclesfield |
| 57. Mexborough | 58. Mirfield |
| 59. Monyash | 60. Nether Broughton |
| 61. Norbury | 62. Penistone |
| 63. Prestbury | 64. Pym Chair |
| 65. Rastrick | 66. Rawmarsh |
| 67. Redmile | 68. Repton |
| 69. Rolleston | 70. Rothley |
| 71. Rowsley | 72. Sandbach |
| 73. Screveton | 74. Sheffield |
| 75. Shelford | 76. Shelton |
| 77. Spondon | 78. Sprotborough |
| 79. Sproxton | 80. Stapleford |
| 81. Stathern | 82. Stoke-on-Trent |
| 83. Swithamley | 84. Tatenhill |
| 85. Thornhill | 86. Thryburgh |
| 87. Two Dales | 88. Whitwick |
| 89. Wirksworth | |

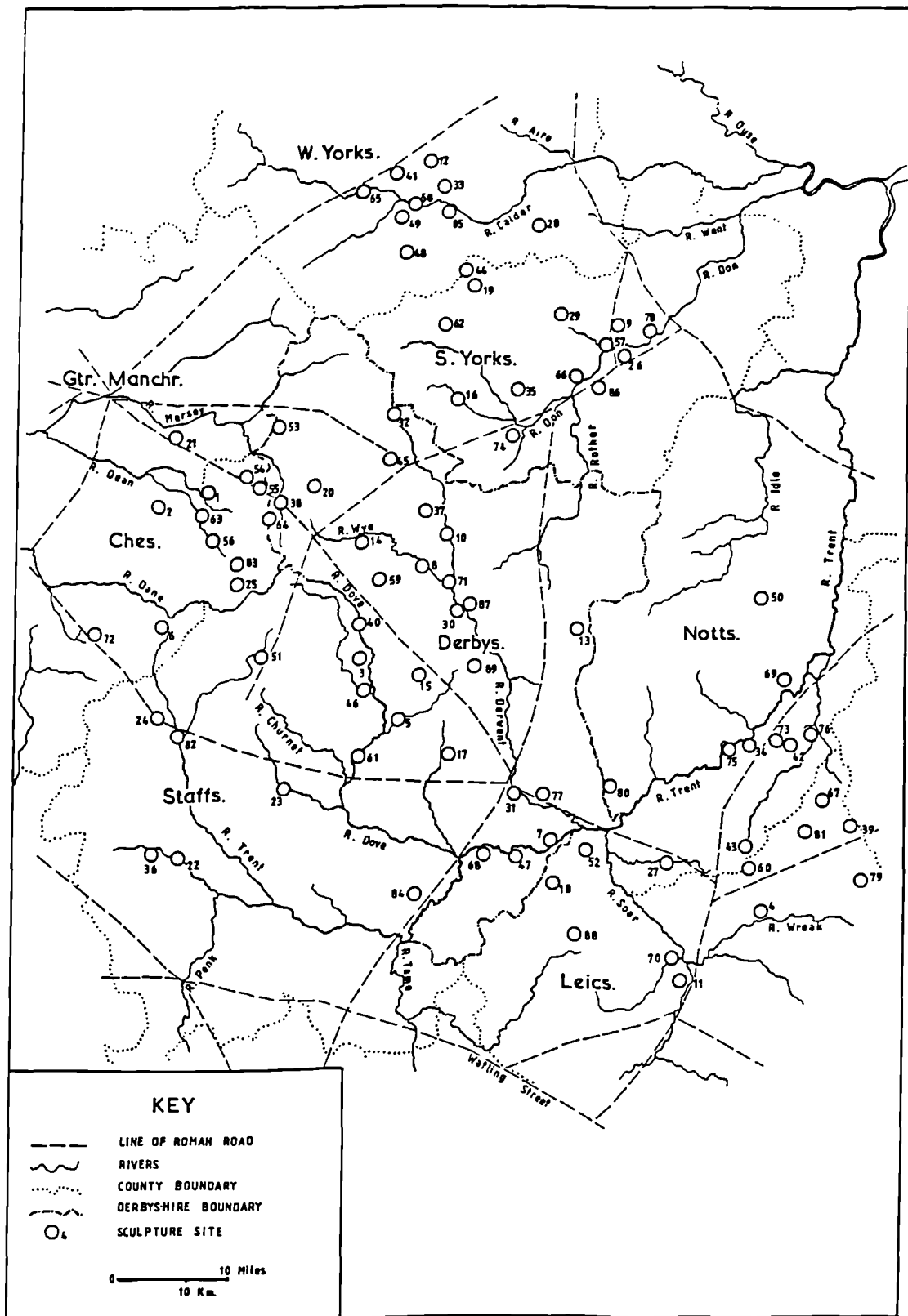


FIG. 0.2.

Map showing all of the Anglo-Saxon sculpture sites included in the reseach.

The key to the site numbers is given opposite.

1: THE HISTORY OF RESEARCH AND THE STATE OF CURRENT KNOWLEDGE.

1.1: EARLY RESEARCH.

Anglo-Saxon stone sculpture was not regarded as a separate field of study until around the turn of the last century. Prior to this there was the occasional mention of these artefacts in various accounts of antiquities such as Lysons' *Magna Britannia* (1817), which essentially listed surviving relics of the British Isles. Its Derbyshire volume, for example, included some of the more complete Anglo-Saxon monuments such as the Eyam and Bakewell crosses. But most references to Saxon stone sculpture appeared in church notes and histories in the later half of the 19th century and these today form a useful (and often the only) source of information concerning their discovery. This proliferation of archive material in the 19th century was due to two almost unrelated factors. The first was that the 'Antiquarian Age' had brought about the realisation that these carved stones were of great antiquity and, since practically every parish had its own local antiquarian, they were more frequently recognised and were usually recovered. Secondly, during this same period there was a major phase of church rebuilding and alteration where many, if not most, of the sculptured fragments which survive today, were revealed, removed and put on display.

Many "quasi-antiquarians" were in fact local clergymen. Since these monuments were essentially Christian artifacts and usually found on church property, the early records of them were often produced by churchmen eager to pronounce the heritage of their churches in terms of their artefacts. One such was the Rev. J. C. Cox who identified Saxon sculpture as he described the history and antiquities of the churches of Derbyshire (Cox 1875-9). But by the turn of the century, Anglo-Saxon sculpture had begun to be discussed as a specific phenomenon. For example, in 1886, the Rev. G. F. Browne, later Bishop Browne, and eventually Professor of Archaeology at Cambridge (Bailey 1980: 28), described the pre-Norman sculptured stones as a separate study (cf. Browne 1886). The history of research into Anglo-Saxon stone sculpture can thus be examined from these beginnings around the turn of this century. Each avenue of research will be discussed separately although they are, of course, inter-related. The most difficult area is that of chronology and the discussion will begin with a synopsis of the main dating methods available so far.

1.2: CHRONOLOGY.

"So far no analytical method has been devised to date carved stone in absolute terms. One therefore depends upon a hierarchy of traditional dating methods" (Cramp 1984: xvii).

In the introduction to the National Corpus of Anglo-Saxon stone sculpture (Cramp 1984) Rosemary Cramp set out a hierarchy of dating methods which may be applied to Pre-Conquest stone sculpture with a descending order of reliability. These are dates derived from:

1. Inscriptions
2. historical reference
3. "associations" - eg. archaeological means
4. stylistic comparisons

The most reliable dating method would be where the date is actually inscribed on the sculpture or where the text describes an historically attributable event which can be reliably dated. Browne's work in 1886 attempted to establish some form of chronology in this way by claiming that several inscriptions pointed to events which could be dated historically. For example, he said that the cross at Bewcastle, Cumbria, had an inscription which began "in the first year of Acgrith...." and thus concluded that this was a seventh-century example erected in honour of an historically identifiable Northumbrian king (1886: 183). However, a recent translation by Page (Bailey and Cramp 1988: 65) suggests his interpretation was incorrect and that no such name (and therefore date) can be identified from the inscription. In fact, no dating by inscription on free-standing crosses is possible elsewhere as none survives which identifies an historic event or named person (Cramp 1984: xvii), despite earlier claims that they could.

Studies of epigraphy and linguistic detail are a little more helpful, but Page considers that no precise chronological framework can be obtained from the study of runic inscriptions nor can linguistic study produce any more satisfactory dating sequence than those of other stylistic studies (Page 1973: 22-25). In the region covered by this research, Page commented on the Leek, Bakewell, Kirkheaton and Thornhill runic inscriptions and concluded that they are too fragmentary and vague to be dated, other than to "post-650" (ibid: 31). Elliot on the other hand, ventured to suggest that the Thornhill inscriptions and that at Kirkheaton, pointed to a Northumbrian dialect of the late eighth or early ninth century (1959: 89). However, the

Identification of linguistic dialects is usually uninformative: Hart remarked that the inscription at Bakewell refers to "Helgi", a name popular in Old Norse although the inscription has no Norse runic characteristics (Hart 1981: 123). Okasha suggests similarly vague and flexible chronologies from the study of non-Runic inscriptions (Okasha 1971: 7) but considers that the Latin inscribed examples at Dewsbury are possibly late ninth century and the Old English inscriptions at Dewsbury and Thornhill eighth or ninth century (ibid: 65-7; 118). Some dates derived from epigraphic study may in fact have been influenced by the stylistic dates already ascribed to them through their decoration. Cramp also remarked that inscriptions "are so laconic or repetitive in their formulae that they do not lead to a precise dating" (Cramp 1984: xvii). The result is that dating by inscription is at least as hazardous as other stylistic methods (see below) and has the added disadvantage that so few examples survive, especially in their complete form.

The second method of dating stone sculpture in order of reliability is by "associations" (Cramp 1984: xvii). Examples of this are where sculpture is found in context with a datable structure, for example where sculpture is found in a building with a known and limited time-span or in a sealed archaeological layer which is datable by context. There are serious pitfalls in regarding pre-Conquest structures as easily datable, and free-standing sculpture by its definition probably had an independent life from these structures anyway. There are few buildings which can be said to have a easily datable life-span in the pre-Conquest period. Even where historical accounts (cf. Garmonsway 1953) claim destruction of churches and monasteries by Vikings, this is by no means any guide to its period of inactivity as an ecclesiastical establishment (cf. Morris 1989: 165).

Except for one isolated exception at Coppergate, York (see below), archaeological excavation has so far failed to provide good dating evidence. Almost no free-standing sculptures can be said to be *in situ*, and in most cases it is clearly not, since it has been recovered from later fabric. At the very best, such examples only provide a broad *terminus ante quem*. For example, Biddle's work at Repton (in the research area of this thesis) has found no datable context for the sculpture recently excavated there (Biddle 1986; Biddle and Kjolbye-Biddle 1986: R. Langley, Derby Museums Service, pers. com.). The excavations at York Minster have only provided a *terminus ante quem* in that the sculpture was produced before the Norman Minster was built (Lang 1991: 7) Other excavations at York have been a little more fruitful: although a cross-slab from Parliament Street can only be said to generally have a pre-Conquest date by its archaeological context (ibid: 43), one small fragment from Coppergate can be dated by the same

method to "pre-960" (ibid: 104). By the very nature of free-standing sculpture the likelihood that reliable dating by archaeological means will be forthcoming, is greatly diminished.

Some attempt has been made to date Anglo-Scandinavian sculpture from the stylistic comparison with artefacts found in excavations in Scandinavia and York. Following from Brondsted's work (cf. 1924), four main Anglo-Scandinavian styles, *Borre*, *Jellinge*, *Ringerike* and *Mammen* can be identified in British Viking period sculpture, albeit with caution (see below). The Borre style can be dated from a Scandinavian archaeological context from 860 and was found on artefacts at York which are said to date from the late ninth century until the early tenth (Wilson 1978: 138). Similarly the introduction of the Jellinge style can be roughly dated from a hoard of metalwork in Sweden to around 940. The Ringerike style cannot be dated earlier than 975 from archaeological contexts and the Mammen style can be found in connection with an inscribed stone at Jellinge dated to c. 980 (ibid: 138-9). However, both the Mammen and Ringerike styles are very rare on stone sculpture which may suggest that the majority of it was produced before c. 975.

All of this is helpful but has inherent drawbacks. First and foremost, these archaeologically derived dates are not *directly* relevant to British sculpture and consequently the argument relies on stylistic comparisons only. Secondly, the date of the use of these styles on stone sculpture may not be contemporary with those on metal and other artefacts. Thirdly, the recorded dates from these archaeological contexts are not necessarily the date of their introduction as styles. Fourthly, since the styles continued in use during much of the Anglo-Scandinavian period (Wilson 1984: 148-209), they could have been used on stone sculpture at any time during the ninth, tenth or even eleventh centuries. If this was not enough of a problem, the appearance of any of the styles mentioned above is also rare in stone sculpture and most have "other less diagnostic patterns" (ibid: 149) to identify them by.

The archaeological evidence suggests that by the 11th century Anglo-Saxon free-standing stone sculpture had become obsolete (Bailey 1980: 45-51) but it is not known exactly when. For instance, there are two examples in the corpus of material used in this thesis where Anglo-Saxon sculpture appears to have been built into the early fabric of churches (Appendix 3A/B: "Bradbourne 3" and "Aston-on-Trent"). There are also numerous other examples of Norman work incorporating Saxon sculpture, for example at York Minster where it was found to be sealed by Norman foundations (Lang 1991: 26). The Anglo-Saxon sculpture removed from Bakewell

church in the 19th century was also found to have been incorporated into Norman fabric (Cox 1877: 14-32). In the research area are isolated examples of *post-Conquest* shafts, for example those at Thrybergh, Barnburgh and Rawmarsh. These have previously been regarded as Saxon shafts, but their decoration appears to be post-Conquest (Ryder 1982: 120-1). It is more likely that these were anomalies than examples of Norman continuity since they have a very limited distribution (see section 4.8).

The third method - dating by historical references - is not directly possible as there is no historical record of the production of free-standing stone monuments. There are a few vague mentions of crosses in historical documents (eg. "Acca's cross" - see below) which do not indicate their form, nor in most cases the material in which they were made. Only circumstantial evidence (which some see as appropriate to the production of stone crosses) can be obtained from written sources and this concerns the likely stylistic development ^{rather} than their production. This method of historical reference producing an "appropriate" dating structure is described by Cramp in the following terms: "where reliably recorded historical events sometimes seem to provide an appropriate element for changes and developments in style, for example reigns of kings, foundations of bishoprics, monasteries, churches; travels of craftsmen or individuals" (Cramp 1984: xvii). Not only is the term "reliable" subjective, but no direct link has been established between any such events and stone sculptural art (Wilson 1984: 50-70). Like Collingwood, Cramp accepted that Northumbrian sculpture may well have had primacy over other regions (Cramp 1978: 4-5), but this assumption has not gone without challenge (Wilson 1984: 84). Stylistic interaction between the Continent and England has also been discussed by Cramp (1978: 6-8), although no more positive evidence for the production of free-standing crosses can be obtained than that suggested by Collingwood or Kendrick (discussed below).

With regard to Mercian sculpture, Cramp endorsed Kendrick's earlier view that the inter-relationship between the Carolingian court and that of Mercia (especially under Offa) may well have been responsible for the development of "Mercian" styles, which, during the ninth century, is said to have also influenced Northumbrian art (Cramp 1978: 8). The "genesis" of Mercian styling is therefore regarded as an "historically datable" influence which Kendrick (1938: 64) and Cramp (1977: 194) suggest was appropriate to the early ninth century. Amongst the earliest of these Mercian sculptures are said to be the friezes at Breedon-on-the-Hill and the "Peak District crosses" (cf. Cramp 1978: 8), although curiously "Peak" sculpture in the ninth century is said to follow Northumbrian styling (Stafford 1985: 105). There is, however, no direct historical evidence

for the genesis of "Mercian" sculptural art and furthermore the interrelationship between Frankish, Northumbrian and Mercian art is difficult to determine since ultimately these sculptural traditions are English and not Continental (Wilson 1984: 53-61; 80-108).

The Anglo-Scandinavian settlement provided another "landmark" in the historical approach to dating pre-Conquest stone sculpture, but only in terms of the stylistic input from a new Viking administration (cf. Lang 1978b). What little historical documentation is available for the Anglo-Scandinavian period is not in the least helpful since there is no historical record which even remotely links the Viking settlement with the production of free-standing stone monuments. By definition, Anglo-Scandinavian styling has, of course, to be after 876 (Wilson 1984: 143), provided it can be recognised correctly (cf. Bailey 1980: 74-5).

The main problem with the historical approach is that it relies on the assumption that events can be connected directly and contemporaneously with changes in style and iconography and it also assumes that they are manifestly obvious, because in the end the "historical" approach to dating Saxon period sculpture is really a stylistic one. The use of "appropriate" historical horizons for stylistic changes is often little more than guesswork and is fraught with pitfalls.

Lastly, the least reliable dating method, in Cramp's view, is the stylistic method. However, since the epigraphic, historical and associative methods are either unreliable or sterile for the majority of sculptures, only the stylistic method can be used and it is still, therefore, regarded as tenable. The problems surrounding the stylistic dating method will be discussed at length since the dating of almost all Saxon period sculpture relies on stylistic judgement as the sole means of building up a chronology (Wilson 1984: 15-16; 70) and therefore almost all dates which have previously been assigned to Saxon sculptures result from the use of this method. Wilson remarks that these dates "have never proved satisfactory" (ibid: 149).

W. G. Collingwood (1854-1932) was arguably the most influential figure in the whole history of research into Anglo-Saxon stone sculpture (cf. Lang 1978a). Drawing on his artistic background (ibid: introduction), Collingwood's main contribution was the development of the "art historical" or stylistic dating method, whereby sculpture could be dated by its stage of *evolution* in design. It is not entirely coincidental that around the same time, the evolutionary theories of Darwin had become the main paradigm behind antiquarian studies. Collingwood's final and most comprehensive work, *Northumbrian Crosses of the Pre-Norman Age* (Collingwood 1927),

contains his stated aim to "attempt to consider ancient styles as phases of a process, and to place the examples (of stone sculpture) in series" (ibid: preface). This process relied not only on the evolution of style but of the Anglo-Saxon race as well:

"This new idea (decorated stone sculpture) travelled in all directions...but it did not travel without changing form in details; as time went on new motives (sic) were introduced and old motives were treated in different ways. This must always be the case in any art movement ... The normal trend of development is from severe design, naturalistic intention, and careful execution to ... a greater show of clever handling. When this has reached its climax, decadence sets in with carelessness in touch and cheapness in design ... And when the worst has come, some new impulse from without transforms the whole art ... This is the history of the Anglian monuments, parallel to the history of the Anglian people. (Collingwood 1921: 20-1).

Collingwood's stylistic dating method is the basis for present-day stylistic dating and works on the principle that patterns such as scrolls and interlaces gradually, but inevitably, change through time. With each generation of sculptures certain attributes are introduced or existing ones modified so that the date of the sculpture can be assessed from its stage of development. Even if his theory of stylistic evolution is accepted, it is conditional on the acceptance of four fundamental reference points. Firstly, it has to have a chronological starting-point where one sculpture or group of sculptures is demonstrably the earliest and is datable. Secondly, it needs a finishing point, where the most recent Anglo-Saxon sculptures can be recognised and again, are datable. Thirdly, it relies on styles of one period being uniform throughout all regions and (therefore) kingdoms of Anglo-Saxon England (although admittedly Collingwood confined himself to Northumbria), and the last proviso is of course that this *evolution* of styles was inevitable and actually occurred. It is therefore appropriate here to critically examine the stylistic dating method which has been developed.

Collingwood dated the earliest decorated free-standing cross in the following manner. Unlike Browne (1886), he considered that the early Christian Anglo-Saxons were incapable of producing decorated stone crosses, needing "a little more time for the evolution" (1927: 20). Since Bede did not mention them, he assumed that free-standing stone sculpture was not produced before 731 but nevertheless considered that their production was appropriate to 8th-century Northumbria: "No time or place could be more favourable for this particular development than the eighth century in Northumbria" (Collingwood 1927: 26). The earliest crosses should be represented at St. Wilfred's church at Hexham since it had a foundation date before their manufacture (678 AD) and the site did contain a variety of carved stone crosses. He referred to

a later copy of an earlier manuscript (*Historia Regnum*), in which two carved stone crosses were said to have accompanied the tomb of bishop Acca after his death in 740 (although they were not further described). The most elaborate and complete cross-shaft, allegedly from Hexham (it was then in Durham cathedral), was pronounced by Collingwood as being one of Acca's crosses, an assumption based on its splendour alone. Thus, the style of decoration of this particular monument became that of his earliest monuments, viz. c. 740 AD (Collingwood 1927: 29-33). On the strength of this argument Collingwood not only set the stylistic elements of the "earliest" free-standing stone sculpture, but also a genesis date in the mid-eighth century.

Conveniently, Collingwood assumed that Scandinavian styles were introduced around 875. The choice of this very early date in the Viking settlement period resulted more from its ability to fit into the notion of continual evolution of style, than with historical judgement. It was also assumed that Anglo Saxon sculpture continued to be produced until stylistically it gave way to an "Anglo-Norman overlap" style in the 11th. and 12th centuries (1927: 174-176). As supporting evidence Collingwood cited fragments of shafts and a crosshead in the Anglo-Scandinavian style found at Kirkby Grindalythe church with a 'foundation' date of 1131 and therefore the sculptures must have represented an Anglo-Norman "overlap" style since there was no *Domesday* record of a church at this site (ibid: 175-6). It is assumed that no further comment will be necessary on the fallacy of this argument.

The third assumption is that the styles were uniform and that one scroll type for example, only changed with *time*, and for no other reason. However, the identification of schools of sculpture tends to contradict this view since it will be seen that stylistic differences appear to be more the result of regional variation rather than of chronological progression. Cramp noted in her discussion on Northumbrian sculpture, that "one does not know, sometimes, whether one has a period or localised motif, or a period or localised style of carving" (Cramp 1978: 5). This assumption by Collingwood has also been challenged in the same way by Wilson, who also suggested that "it is possible that a general chronology is being confused with regional differentiation" (1984: 77).

The fourth assumption made by Collingwood was that there was a *linear* progression of style, that subtle changes were bound to occur gradually and could be fitted into a time-scale. However, there need not have been a steady production of monuments; there could equally have been bursts of activity when numerous monuments were made all at the same time. Therefore it

may be argued that monuments produced during a short time-span had stylistic differences due to variations between regional schools or the competence of individual masons, rather than through gradual evolution. The whole idea of gradually evolving styles is demonstrably *not* inevitable from more recent monumentation: some late 18th and 19th century funerary monuments for example, owe more to ancient Egypt and Greece than those which preceded them.

Nevertheless subsequent writers, such as Baldwin Brown, accepted Collingwood's dating process, referring to it as "the recognised chronology" (Brown 1937: 100). So too, did T. D. Kendrick who published an account of pre-Viking sculpture in 1938 (Kendrick 1938) and later complemented this with a description of sculpture from the Anglo-Scandinavian period (Kendrick 1949). Both Brown and Kendrick considered sculpture beyond the limits of the old kingdom of Northumbria and Kendrick's contribution in particular became influential in the study of Mercian stone sculptural art and will be discussed further.

Unlike Collingwood, Kendrick compared the similarities between sculptural art and "contemporary" manuscripts, including those which demonstrated the "Carolingian" style of art which he said must have been introduced from the Continent at the time of Offa (1938: 143). This new style was "first seen in English manuscripts (and) is illustrated by the Cuthbert Gospels at Vienna". This is "probably York or Mercian work and is known to be no later than 800" (*ibid*: 143). The first problem with comparative dating with other media is that many manuscripts are themselves only stylistically dated and secondly, that parallels drawn between sculptural art and that of manuscripts "are almost useless" as these are often contradictory (Wilson 1984: 84-85).

According to Kendrick, the new Carolingian style greatly influenced Mercian art. Because Mercia appeared to have been the dominant kingdom at the end of the eighth century, and had documented connections with Francia, it seemed appropriate to Kendrick that Mercia would be the recipient of new Continental styles: "it cannot have been until nearly the end of Offa's reign (757-96), or just after it, that the first of the surviving pieces of Mercian sculpture were carved" (1938: 164). However, Wilson has reservations that the Mercian-Carolingian connection had such a profound effect on English art. The view that Carolingian styles were introduced in the late eighth century may owe more to the fascination with Offa than to any good evidence (Wilson 1984: 80). According to Levison, Carolingian manuscript art was still in the process of development in the late eighth and early ninth centuries. It developed as a result of the literary

Input from several nations, including English and Irish sources which was exemplified by the Vienna MS. But it was not until the tenth century that the 'Carolingian minuscule' text became dominant and was introduced into English art during the period of monastic reform, as a "peculiar" English version of Continental art (Levison 1946: 135-152). Therefore, so-called 'Carolingian' art may be a product not of the pre-Viking period of Anglo-Saxon art, but of the nominal Anglo-Scandinavian period of the tenth century.

Kendrick acknowledged Collingwood's expertise on Northumbrian crosses, referring to "known date" examples (1938: 127). Using a similar stylistic dating method, Kendrick filled the vacuum outside Northumbria by producing a Mercian chronology starting from his early ninth century base. Amongst the ornaments attributed to this Carolingian input was the Mercian beast form, "trapped by that uncomfortable Anglian 'lock' of the legs; but he is for all that a new Frankish beast ... derived from ... the lion in Carolingian art" (ibid: 157). He saw the development of Saxon art from the early ninth century, not only as a stylistic chronology, but also one which reflected the "mood" brought about by the "evil forces that then threatened English society with disruption" (1938: 222) and that after the Viking Interlude, "the wilder ornaments of the barbaric world fall into gradual disuse ... (until) ... the saving and impressive dignity of the central civilisation" (ibid: 222) under king Alfred, gave rise to the "Winchester school" in a more traditional English style. It is noteworthy that Kendrick wrote his account on the eve of World War II, the tensions of which no doubt influenced his work. However, the idea of stylistic dating based on a notion of a 'phoenix rising from the ashes' hardly seems a reliable method.

In 1949, Kendrick's complementary work on late Saxon and Viking art (Kendrick 1949) was published in which North Mercian Viking period sculpture was said to be based on previous "Anglian" traditions. These "traditions" appear to be represented specifically by only one of the Sandbach crosses (Appendix 3A/B: "Sandbach 1") and by a fragment at Derby (Kendrick 1949: 77; 80). His dating of this later sculpture appears to be more a product of haphazard guesswork than anything else: for example the shafts at Norbury were regarded to be of "tenth-century form" based on an earlier dating attempt made by Pape in 1937 (ibid: 77), but one of the Checkley crosses, on the other hand, with similar decoration, could not "be dated earlier than the eleventh century" (ibid: 78). Again notions of "barbarity" arise in Kendrick's dating process in the research area; the shaft at Shelford "must be very late", a chronology based it seems, on its "barbaric figure-style" being the product of later decadence (ibid: 78). He called the Shelford

fragment part of an important Midland style, but most likened the figures to the Nunburnholme shaft in East Yorkshire (1949: 78-9), with a confusing result.

Similar difficulties arise with Kendrick's account of the Mercian animal style which he said was adopted and transformed by the Danes: "the pre-Danish St. Alkmund's example at Derby comes first in the series" (ibid: 80) but no reason is given for its pre-Viking date and therefore its primacy. The selection of one piece of sculpture, so fragmentary and badly worn, (Appendix 3B: "Derby 1") from similarly decorated pieces of allegedly Anglo-Scandinavian sculpture appears to be an unreliable basis for such a conclusion. Similarly its supposed survival as a Viking art form through the "tenth and eleventh centuries" (Kendrick 1949: 80) appears to be unsubstantiated. Although Kendrick argued that pre-Viking Mercian art styles survived into the Anglo-Scandinavian period, unlike Collingwood he did not regard this as having any chronological continuity. He considered that Scandinavian styling was not introduced until the tenth century, because "only slowly ... could Scandinavian style make headway ... when the English had regained the upper hand" (Kendrick 1949: 87). In other words the introduction of Scandinavian styles was not until after the reconquest of Danelaw in the tenth century.

More recently Cramp has re-examined stylistic dating in Northumbria (Cramp 1978), but few if any of the problems surrounding this form of dating have been overcome. "In attempting to define any sculptural tradition and to link it with even as wide a bracket as a century one immediately encounters the problem that any dating one assigns to this material is merely an expression of opinion on how to discriminate within a relative sequence. There is no absolute chronological framework for this sculpture." (Cramp 1978: 1). Despite earlier claims that the evolution of style in the Viking period presented little problem, Bailey's more recent remarks are both pessimistic and (one suspects) honest: "with appropriate qualifications, ... it is possible to distinguish between Viking-period and Anglian sculpture. But in most cases it is not possible to give a narrower dating than this." (Bailey 1980: 74-5).

Although some architectural sculpture can be reasonably attributed to the seventh century (eg. by the Monkwearmouth inscription) Cramp agreed with Collingwood that free-standing decorated crosses are more likely to be later (eighth century onwards). More recently Wilson has agreed that the plantscroll, which is found as a popular motif on allegedly early free-standing crosses, is most likely to be of eighth-century origin (Wilson 1984: 64). However, both Cramp and Wilson acknowledge fundamental difficulties in the stylistic development of Northumbrian crosses of the

eighth and ninth centuries because "motifs appear carved in one style in one centre and another elsewhere" (Cramp 1978: 5) and "in reconstructing the history of the ornament of the eighth and ninth centuries we are presented with a chronological morass" (Wilson 1984: 60).

From the early ninth century, Northumbria is said to adopt stylistic attributes from Mercia although apparently piecemeal, and it also becomes notable that "during this phase we find marked regional developments with different styles" (Cramp 1978: 9). Therefore stylistic dating is especially confounded by regionalism. If there is a lingering tradition which survives in one centre and not another (cf. Lang 1978b), how can these be successfully dated by the stylistic method? This is particularly pertinent to the northern part of the research area, i.e. in West and South Yorkshire. Sculpture in this region has rarely been mentioned in recent times and one is left with a rather confusing dating structure from Collingwood. He thought that this region, in the former British kingdom of *Elmet*, showed a strong survival of "Anglian" styling into the Viking period. This he said was due to "a survival of the old population" where the Danes had not yet penetrated (1927: 53). Therefore one is asked to accept a stylistic date in the Anglo-Scandinavian part of the ninth century for work which shows no Viking iconography! Typical are the Crofton pieces (Appendix 3B - Crofton) which are said to be examples of "Anglian survival" erected during the later ninth century (Collingwood 1927: 52). The result is that the date attributed to much of the Yorkshire West Riding sculpture cannot even be said to be derived from stylistic evidence but more from inspired guesswork. There is, however, some corroborative evidence for a c. ninth-century date from the inscriptions at Thornhill and Dewsbury as described above, subject to the usual reservations about this form of evidence.

Since Kendrick's appraisal of Mercian sculpture (1938; 1949), its stylistic dating has been explored in a paper by Cramp (1977). However, she confined her discussion to pre-Viking period sculpture thereby narrowing the range of dating in this area of research to around 80 years from Kendrick's "genesis" for Mercian stone sculpture in the early ninth century. Cramp considers that architectural sculpture had primacy over that of free-standing monuments (1977: 192-4) and therefore the "Peak" crosses are said to be a little later into the ninth century than the Breedon panels and friezes. Breedon's sculpture had previously been stylistically dated to the eighth century by Clapham (1928: 219). However, the Peak crosses cause some confusion since they appear to take their stylistic character from Northumbrian models (Kendrick 1938: 164; Stafford 1985: 105) to the extent that they are "clearly linked with Northumbria" (Cramp 1977: 218). However, Cramp considers that there is a "Mercian" dimension to this group of sculptures

through the frequent use of angel scenes (ibid: 218-9), although this connection rests entirely on vague parallels at Breedon alone, and not with the rest of north Mercian sculpture (see Appendix 3). On balance, Cramp acknowledges that with the exception of the horse-and-rider scene on one of the Bakewell pieces (Appendix 3B - "Bakewell 37"), there are better parallels in Northumbria for the "Peak" crosses than in Mercia. Therefore stylistically there is little basis for attributing the "Peak" crosses to Mercian art at all.

Sculptures with animal forms in northern Mercia have been briefly discussed above, where the Mercian beast "merges into the first Anglo-Viking styles" (Cramp 1977: 230). The latter are said to appear by the early tenth century (ibid: 192). Cramp also repeats Kendrick's view that their prototype is a beast form already seen to be evolving into its Viking successor at Breedon and St Alkmund's, Derby (1977: 230). The St. Alkmund's beast has already been mentioned and it should be added that the Breedon animals to which she specifically refers as representative of 'early' sculpture have little in common with the rest of the Breedon sculpture but relate more to the general plethora of Anglo-Scandinavian sculpture in the surrounding region (see section 4.18).

Although recent work on Anglo-Scandinavian sculpture has broadened into several new areas, its chronology still remains vague (but see below). Bailey's remark that "chronological vagueness is an occupational disease of Viking-Age sculpture" (1980: 75) is telling. The four principal Viking styles of *Jellinge*, *Borre*, *Ringerike* and *Mammen* are still used as criteria for dating (ibid: 54-8), but the date at which they appear in English sculpture is largely unknown and furthermore these styles are rare. For example, Bailey remarks that "we can discuss 102 of the 115 (Viking period) monuments in Cumbria without even mentioning the word "Jellinge", "Mammen" or "Ringerike" (Bailey 1978: 176). The "Borre" style is equally rare and almost non-existent outside Cumbria and the north-western English seaboard (Bailey 1980: 217).

Bailey argues that the dating of much Cumbrian sculpture cannot be earlier than the early tenth century since Viking settlement in this region is historically recorded only after c. 920 (Bailey 1978: 177). Many motifs on Anglo-Scandinavian sculpture in Cumbria and the west of northern England, especially the ring-headed crosses, share stylistic similarities with those of Ireland and the Isle of Man and suggest that they express the same cultural identity. Thus the introduction (or use) of these motifs and accompanying designs would be no earlier than the first-half of the tenth century. Such monuments include the ring-headed crosses east of the Pennines at say,

Middleton, which, because of their "Jellinge" animal motif, have previously been stylistically dated to the ninth century (ibid: 178). The detection of template usage has also shown in several cases that monuments shared a similar date of manufacture although they had previously been allocated different dates by the stylistic method. For example, the same template was used on a ring-headed cross, which Bailey ascribes to the tenth century, as was used on a monument which had been given a much earlier stylistic date (ibid: 179-185). Bailey's work, therefore, confirms that stylistic dates are inaccurate.

Bailey's work suggests that Viking period sculpture was unlikely to have been produced before the settlement by the Hiberno-Norse had occurred and suggests a tenth-century genesis for Viking period sculpture: the York (Coppergate) example found from an archaeological context (see above) also supports this date although it is only one isolated example. Bailey's research must of course be taken within the context of his area of research which was in the former kingdom of Northumbria (Bailey 1980: 29) and, in particular, Cumbria (Bailey and Cramp 1988). Therefore, whilst his research clearly applies to the Viking kingdom of York and the western seaboard (cf. Bailey 1980: 30-44), the sculptural history elsewhere may differ. Mercian animal art of the Viking period may well have had different roots from that of the western seaboard and Northumbria, since it appears to have a distinct "Midlands" identity (cf. Cramp 1977: 192).

In conclusion, stylistic dating is the only method available for almost all Anglo-Saxon sculpture and is demonstrably unreliable. A broad dating horizon has been assumed from the presence, or absence, of certain stylistic elements: firstly some sculptures, especially in Northumbria, indicate no Anglo-Scandinavian styling and are said (with reservations) to be pre-Viking or "Anglian" and thus produced before *c.* 880. Secondly, those with recognisable 'Anglo-Scandinavian' design elements and are, therefore, said to date from sometime after *c.* 880. In Mercia, the pre-Viking period evidence is more problematic. New stylistic traits are said to have been introduced by the Vikings but are sometimes difficult to identify. Some design elements appear to have widespread connections, especially those having stylistic links with the Isle of Man and Ireland. Others appear to be the product of a 'Mercian' origin, said to evolve from pre-Viking art in that kingdom, although 'evidence' for this earlier stone art form is dubious. Archaeological evidence suggests that free-standing Anglo-Saxon monuments were being produced in the early part of the tenth century (from the York example above) but were no longer in production by the later eleventh century.

1.3: THE IDENTIFICATION OF SCHOOLS.

The notion that schools existed in Anglo-Saxon sculpture is not new. Collingwood recognised that groups of monuments had common stylistic traits, especially in their figural scenes, and attributed this to the existence of "workshops" or schools (1927: 69-81). It is not entirely clear how Collingwood regarded the workings of a school but he seemed to assume a workshop where a master mason and apprentices carried out their business for a wider distribution. However, in many instances, this seemed to take no account of the enormous area the school must have covered. For example crosses at Ruthwell (Dumfries.), Bewcastle (Cumberland) and Easby (Yorks.) were linked together as products of the same workshop, being "in the same spirit, inspired by the same teaching" (1927: 70). Collingwood's notion of a central workshop for monument production is shown, for example, by his presumption that Bakewell was the *centre* of the "Peak" school (ibid: 75), although no evidence existed to support this view.

Most of the schools which have been identified in subsequent research are said to belong to the later Viking period. "Anglian" or pre-Viking period schools appear to have been neglected (but see Cramp 1977), especially in Northumbria, where more of the 'earlier' material appears to exist. Cramp has, however, noted that there may have been regional schools operating in Northumbria (eg. around Lowther), but also that "there are certain broad trends which seem to affect the whole of Northumbria" (Bailey and Cramp 1988: 67). This does not appear to have been explored in any detail and, consequently, most schools which said to be from the pre-Viking period may only be identified in the broadest terms, ie. Mercian or Northumbrian.

Research into pre-Viking period schools is made more difficult for two main reasons. Firstly the sample size of pre-Viking sculpture is smaller since 'earlier' sculpture is more sparsely distributed with many regions apparently having little or none. It is therefore more difficult to synthesize into groups. The second reason appears to be that their stylistic repertoire also varies too little to enable an easy comparison. However, it may also be that the appraisal of pre-Viking schools of sculpting is too constricted by the assumption that all free-standing sculpture was produced solely by the great monastic centres - "that stone craftsmen would be most reasonably retained in the big monastic houses" (Cramp 1984: 11). Starting from this premise, it is difficult to find any continuity in production either at, or emanating from, the large monastic houses. For example, sculpture produced by the monks in the 'Lindisfarne tradition' should produce evidence of a monastic school, "where the conservative Cuthbert Community clung doggedly to what

remained of its glorious past" (Bailey 1978: 175); but its sculptural legacy does not appear to give this indication (Cramp 1984: 31). Once removed from Lindisfarne there is a break with this 'tradition' of sculpting where there is evidence of Anglo-Scandinavian styles at their new home of Chester-le-Street. In turn, there is little similarity between sculpture at the latter site and that at the Community's later base at Durham (ibid: 31-2). Cramp argues that this is due to local craftsmen being engaged by the monasteries, some of whom were "affected by Scandinavian taste" (ibid: 32), but this seems unlikely given the rigid and "conservative" disciplines expected of this order.

As previously mentioned, it is only an assumption that free-standing stone monuments were ever produced in a central workshop. However, free-standing stone monuments neither need a central workshop to produce them, nor is there any good evidence to support that this was ever the case. The only link which can be established between monastic traditions and sculptural activity, is through small incised (and often textually inscribed) cross-slabs which are usually found on former monastic sites (from Cramp 1984). However, the relationship between monasteries and free-standing decorated crosses is ambiguous and they may not have been part of the in-house artistic traditions of the monastic orders. For example, Hartlepool has revealed none of the latter but is rich in small incised cross-slabs (Cramp 1984: 11). There is also little relationship between the free-standing sculpture of Monkwearmouth and that of its sister house at Jarrow where "the only sculptural link...is provided by free-standing balusters" (Cramp 1984: 24) and "no major crosses have emerged from the wealth of architectural carvings on these sites (Cramp 1978: 127). There is no evidence, for example, that Lastingham was the centre for a school of "Anglian" free-standing sculpture (Lang 1991: 16).

If the large monastic houses contained central workshops for the production of stone sculpture, then schools should demonstrably be based on a distribution network centred on these sites, but this evidence is not forthcoming. However, as Bailey notes, given the sophisticated level of Christian iconography together with the literate input into the crosses, it is difficult to dismiss that they have some connection with the monasteries (Bailey 1980: 81). However, it is fairly certain that monasteries were not "mass-producers" of monuments and, with regard to the literary input, Higgitt suggests that crosses with inscriptions in Old English were from non-monastic contexts (since monasteries are likely to have used Latin) and therefore made by secular craftspeople (1986b: 134). Similar comments must equally apply to Runic inscriptions and it is notable that the much discussed 'pre-Viking' cross at Bewcastle in Cumbria has such a Runic inscription (Bailey

and Cramp 1988: 61). Until research is done to establish the exact relationship of pre-Viking highly decorated sculpture with the large monastic houses, one has to rely solely on Collingwood's earlier assumption that they were produced in large monastic workshops.

Brown's discussion of schools (1937) was more cautious: he said that by the nature of production (not discussed) the existence of schools was inevitable, but one "must be careful not to assume any considerable importance ... because the variety that exists among works that necessarily possesses a family likeness is a striking proof of independence ... it is individual design and not standardization that is a special feature" (ibid: 96). This is an important observation in that rarely do two or more monuments show the same format of design. Although they have similarities in their composition (and hence the identification of schools), there is no "standardization" in their form, size or format of design. This seems to argue against the notion of a central workshop dominated by a strict discipline of production, where one might expect more repetition than is encountered.

In the period after the Viking settlement, Kendrick's identification of schools also noted similarity of form as well as decoration. The round-shafted crosses, some of which feature in this research, were thought to be one group or school with its "headquarters" in the west Peak District, but covering a wide area from Cumbria to Dorset (1949: 70). This observation only considered their overall shape and not the decoration upon them, unlike Bailey's work on ring-headed crosses (see above). Like Collingwood, no account was taken by Kendrick of the wide geographical distribution that such a school would have had. He observed two forms of localised round-shafts in the Peak region, either decorated or plain, and thus a sub-division in the school (ibid: 70-1). He also suggested that there was a group of "derivatives" from the round-shafts which although rectangular in form had similar patterns of "pendent triangular ornamentation ... unquestionably a survival of the round-shaft decorative system" (1949: 76). The suggestion was that they were in some way linked to the "round-shaft school", but it is more likely that he had identified monuments of a separate school in North Yorkshire sharing a common motif, which Kendrick thought suitable for round-shafts.

Kendrick was also beginning to recognise strong regional variation in "late" Northumbrian art, but suggested it was due to a mixture of decorative elements from their chronological evolution - eruptions of single elements from the original "melting pot" of stylistic traits, or the debasements of earlier styles by seemingly "primitive minds". In other words, where a group of monuments

showed a particular repetition of motif, it was due to 'throw-backs' to the earlier composition of decorative material. For example, he noted a distinctly "Celtic" type of cross in the west of Northumbria as a throw-back to an *original* Irish input into early Northumbrian art (1949: 63). However, these appear to be the ring-headed crosses from the input of the Hiberno-Norse (see above). He also noted an "astonishing persistence of the sculptural tradition of the Golden Age of the Northumbrian Church" in a group he called "belated scrolls" in West Yorkshire (ibid: 65-7) which appears to be an echo of Collingwood's earlier attempt (see section 1.2) to place non-Viking stylistic elements into a post-Viking date. There was also a Cumbrian group of "Primitives" produced by degenerate masons who had "nearly returned to the inexperienced stage of sculpture's most fumbling beginnings" (ibid: 67). Although Kendrick had probably identified different schools, they appear to have been influenced too strongly by the paradigm of 'natural evolution and degeneration' and since the same paradigm had produced the chronology attributed to them, they were again classified into stages of this process.

It is appropriate to define what exactly is meant by a "school", and what the writer intends a school to mean, for they can be seen in different ways. Schools (or groups of sculptures as they were usually termed) had been identified through the similarities of design which existed between certain monuments and which notably were absent in others. These similarities have been explained as either sharing the same temporal division of a chronological process, as the product of a "workshop", or simply left as a vague association. More recently Cramp reviewed the term 'school' and how it could be interpreted in different ways. She said a school may exist where sculptures can be:

1. attributed to an historically known artist.
2. attributed to a central known figure from whom works are directed or copied.
3. seen to operate in a time/place division not necessarily linked to known individuals (folk art).
4. styled according to socio-political divisions.
5. by divisions of time - eg. eighth or ninth century (general stylistic divisions). (Cramp 1977: 191-2).

The first two definitions *per se* can be eliminated since there are no records to support either of these, although it may be possible (see below and section 1.4) to identify the same hand(s) at work. With regard to time divisions as an expression of schools (No. 5) Cramp rightly says that the chronology for the sculpture is too vague to use in this way. Her aim in "Schools of Mercian Sculpture" (Cramp 1977) was to consider them in respect of time/place divisions (No. 3) - i.e. regional groups of sculpture with similarities of ornament which could be considered in "folk-art"

terms. The main drawback with this approach was acknowledged to be that dating can be inaccurate and therefore misleading. Although aspect No. 4 was not considered in her paper, Cramp had this to say with regard to socio-political divisions as a definition of a school:

"The implication of this type of attribution is that political divisions produce stylistic differences. It is assumed that political power creates individual combinations of contacts, patronage and opportunities. I shall largely assume this to be true". (Cramp 1977: 191-2).

The notion of "political" sculpture is important: if there can be seen to be a strictly "Mercian" or "Northumbrian" style, then it follows that secular land-divisions and polities must be important in the production of stone monuments. "Mercian" or "Northumbrian" styles also implies some form of separate identity expressed through sculpture, and of course the same comments apply to that attributed to the Anglo-Scandinavians. There is also a realisation that sculpture during the Viking period was influenced by secular interests, marked by regular occurrences of pagan iconography (Richards 1991: 119). This secular input is said to have produced a tendency to divide sculpture into self-interest groups and hence more localised schools (Cramp 1975: 184).

In this regard, Bailey's work on schools in the Viking period is worthy of note. One form of crosshead (ring-headed) for example, is found widely distributed along the western seaboard of England, but within this wider distribution it is found to have distinct regional differences. He identified *inter alia*, a "Cheshire" and a "Cumbrian" type of crosshead (1980: 177-9) as being the products of more local groups or schools in the wider *genre* of ring-headed monuments. Stylistic evidence also suggests that they were contemporary with one another. The result is that Bailey saw smaller divisions and sub-sets within a larger group of sculpture. The larger group suggested to him that they were part of a 'common culture' on the western side of England based on the western seaboard. Within this larger common entity, more localised groups produced distinct versions of the same type of monument displaying some local integrity (ibid: 180). Similar crossheads in the upper regions of the Yorkshire Dales also suggest that "the settlements in the upper valleys of the rivers of western Yorkshire may look more to the west and the Irish Sea than to the east and the Vale of York" (ibid: 182). This is an interesting area of research in which a socio-political basis is used for the definition of a school.

The "hogback", a coped 'tombcover' with a curved ridge (eg. see Appendix 3: "Derby 2"), is said to have a limited distribution where they "seem to occur in the same regions as the Gaelic-Norse and Norwegian place-names" and thus were coterminous with areas settled by Norwegians and

Gaelic-Norse (Bailey 1980: 91). In this case place-name evidence appears to act as independent evidence to support the connection between settlement by certain groups and identifiable styles of sculpture. In the example of the Yorkshire variety of the circle crossheads above, Bailey again notes that these sculptures coincide with clusters of Gaelic-Norse place-names where "sculptural identities *can* be used as indications of more general ties" (ibid: 183).

Recently, Lang has described sculpture from Coppergate, Newgate and Clifford Street in York as belonging to the same school, identified by the common use of constructional aids. There was also seen to be a connection between this York sculpture and the shaft at Nunburnholme, but only through its decoration and not through a common technique (Lang 1991: 38). A second school was identified in York, the "York Metropolitan School" (ibid: 39), wherein sculptures from the Minster cemetery, St. Mary Bishophill Jnr. and All Saints Pavement suggested work of the same school. However, despite the numerous pieces of sculpture at York (well over 100), many of which share common iconography, only "a small group within the slab series can be identified as work of a single hand" and only six pieces from York can be identified as from the same "workshop" (ibid: 40). Therefore, any notion of large workshops at York 'mass producing' monuments for the area, remains unlikely.

The idea of workshops supplying the hinterland around York can also be discounted. The evidence suggests that it is only at each individual site (or a pair of related sites in the case of Middleton and Kirkbymoorside) that individual hands can be seen to have created the monuments, beyond which the sculptures are related only by style and repertoire of design (Lang 1991: 40-2). Similar comments apply to Gosforth in Cumbria, where six out of seven sculptures there can be attributed to one craftsman but seemingly nowhere beyond that site (Bailey and Cramp 1988: 33). On the other hand, schools in Cumbria can be detected only as a common repertoire of ornamentation extending but over a relatively wide area: the "Spiral Scroll School" operated over 16 sites and the "Beckermest School" was represented at 4 sites, where distinctive, rare or unique designs are in evidence (ibid: 33-8).

From the latter comments, it seems that using the work of individual craftsmen as a definition of a "school" produces evidence of only very localised production. On the other hand, similarities in the *repertoires* of design produce a sense of cohesion over a wider area. There appear to be two definitions of a school in operation here. Firstly, an individual mason or workshop appears to have been identified, although unlike Cramp's definitions 1 and 2 above (1977: 191-2) the actual

Identity of the masons will remain anonymous, but the essence is the same. Secondly, there is also a link between the repertoire of design over a wider geographical area and, since there is no evidence that the same masons were involved in the manufacture of the monuments, some other relationship must have existed to produce them. Therefore it is apparent that not all attempts to identify schools need to be based on the same approach.

In the area of study herein, Cramp identified schools of sculpture in the Midlands (1977) according to stylistic groups. There were eight schools identified in Greater Mercia and six of those are of interest here. They are:

1. Panels and friezes at Breedon, Fletton, Castor and Peterborough.
2. Peak District crosses and sarcophagi centred on Bakewell.
3. An Anglian group with links between Lincolnshire and Derbyshire.
4. A late western group which spreads through Cheshire to the Peak District.
5. A central and eastern group of crosses which spreads from Derbyshire, Leicestershire, Northamptonshire and into Bedfordshire (?Danelaw material).
6. Grave covers in Leicestershire, Lincolnshire, Northamptonshire and Norfolk.

Because of Cramp's specialisation in pre-Viking period sculpture, only groups 1, 2 and 3 were discussed in her paper (Cramp 1977), concentrating especially on group 1. The basis of Cramp's definition of a school, that of "folk art" (ibid: 191), considered the similarities between the sculptures of each group and others elsewhere where the same attributions could be found and how these developed. Inevitably, by this definition of a school, the paper largely concentrated on the art-history of the region, drawing on earlier material largely from Clapham (1928) and Kendrick (1938). In the extreme east of the region under study, Cramp referred to a "dreary assembly of repetitive patterns" covering a wide area in the later Viking period (1975: 186). Elsewhere in Danelaw, the general pattern was for smaller regional workshops with a limited area of distribution and possibly using lay workmanship. It is interesting how the same assumption of "workshop" production persists despite the lack of supporting evidence (ibid; 186).

So far, all five of Cramp's definitions of a "school" have been used. Cramp, Collingwood, Kendrick and others have seen them in terms of stylistic similarity in the process of the historical development of styles. Schools have been viewed in terms of those who physically produced the

monuments (cf. Lang 1991), whilst Bailey has touched upon the socio-political relationship between sculptural display and those who *caused* them to be erected.

The use of stylistically dated material as evidence of contemporary schools - ie. "folk-art" (Cramp 1977: 191) - is untenable, due to the problems attached to this method of dating as discussed at length above. The identification of individuals' work has the difficulty in attaching all but a tiny fraction of any regional array of sculpture to masons, and it is also apparent that, since sculpture is linked by stylistic similarities outside the working of an individual "workshop" (Lang 1991: 40), one can and ought to say more than this. With regard to the socio-political approach, the identification of a school in terms of the socio-political forces which may have determined it needs to take the form of a synthesis of the geographical distribution of stylistic attributes and the knowledge of land divisions and settlements which may have existed during its manufacture. Some form of dating is necessary in this approach which, of course, has its inherent drawbacks, but it does not demand the close chronological attributions to styles which other methods do. Therefore a working hypothesis can be developed, based on the realisation that a). there are discernible stylistic differences between schools, b). there is seen to be some socio-political bias in the selection of design, form etc., and c). that these should respect some geographical divisions (either secular or ecclesiastical) which may determine the nature of the "school". Therefore the following definition of a school will be used in this thesis:

A series of monuments which have a common repertoire of decoration, form and/or technique and are found to have a limited but definite geographical distribution thus suggesting that it emanates from some common agency.

1.4: ASPECTS OF PRODUCTION.

To a large extent, the means of production - the technical skills involved - are bound up with the notion of schools. It has been suggested above that generally there is little correlation between stylistic similarities and the hands which worked the individual pieces of stone. It is therefore worthwhile examining further specific research into the technical production of the sculpture - the techniques of carving, stone types, pattern construction etc. to finalise this part of the discussion and to explore further avenues which may, or may not be used to determine characteristics of a school.

The idea of *centralised production* responding to 'period fashion' has become more or less accepted although the evidence is weak to say the least (section 1.3). Brown for one, did not accept the idea of centralised production. He suggested that stones would be roughed-out at the local quarry and finished on site. "The notion of the central workshop for sculpture must be ruled out - it would have been safer to finish the work at its final destination, than risk it being transported by road" (Brown 1937: 214). He added that unfortunately no unfinished pieces of sculpture had been found on sites in England to prove this point, although such material had been found at Kells in Ireland. However, Pape later identified unfinished work at Alstonefield, Staffs. (Pape 1945-6: 29) and supported Brown's hypothesis that work must have taken place on site. However, Bailey has argued against the notion of "wandering" itinerant sculptors since within one form of crosshead found on the western seaboard of England (which perhaps could have been the creation of an itinerant), there are distinct regional differences which suggest localised craftwork.

Brown referred to sculptors having "their own laws of construction, and if these be not observed the pattern will not come out right" (1937: 95). Adcock's work on Northumbrian sculpture (1974) codified many of the various techniques used in its construction. Examples of these constructional techniques are, the type of carving technique used on the individual strands and pattern, whether square or diagonal grids (or both) were used in constructing the pattern layout and the identification of a "unit measurement" - the measurement of the component lines of the grid. Much of this work is now used to describe material in the National Corpus series (cf. Cramp 1984: Introduction). Although not the general intention of Adcock's thesis, this repertoire of techniques could, as she said, also be significant in determining a school (1974: 60) in the sense that monuments could be linked to a mason (or a team of masons) or even to a group of sculptors, not directly connected with each other, but following a set format of design. In other words, monuments can perhaps be linked together by the technical repertoire of skills engaged upon them. Apart from the repetitive use of a square and diagonal grid for example, the predominant carving technique (eg. incised, grooved, modelled) can be categorised into its various forms (cf. Cramp 1984: xxi-xxii). The use of a single unit measurement (or multiples/divisions of the same) throughout a school is another possibility, although Adcock's results were inconclusive in all but a few isolated cases (1974: 31-3).

Adcock's work also demonstrated that only six basic pattern components were used in constructing any interlace or knotwork which she termed "A-F" loops of which only three (A, C

and F) were popular in Northumbria, the area of her research. Type E was found to be spasmodically popular in some areas, whereas "B" (a variant on A) and "D" (a turned version of C) were comparatively rare (1974: 55). The use of these types of interlaces may again be useful in determining a school through the predominant use of one pattern or loop type as a significant indicator. The process of description may be simplified using coded versions of only six possible interlace component loops (eg. A1, B1, B2 etc.). Other forms of techniques of production could be useful in determining the repertoire of a school: for example, there are four main categories of aris or edge mouldings found on Anglo-Saxon sculpture, flat-banded, rolled, grooved and cable (cf. Cramp 1984: xxiv) which may show themselves to dominate a school.

Adcock also considered the use of templates as constructional aids, again potentially pertinent to the identification of schools. She considered that they may have been used extensively, but this was "unprovable" (1974: 34). On some stones a mixture of copying (from other monuments or media) and templates may have been employed. She was able to identify the possible use of templates at Chester-le-Street (ibid: 39) and Bailey similarly identified their use within several individual sites and also one which was shared between two sites separated by some 30 miles (1980: 242-254). The use of templates is evidence of a connection and therefore, most likely, of a school. Bailey also postulated that a template may have been used between two sites over a greater distance between Lancashire and Cumbria (1978: 179-185) where connections through stylistic similarities have also been established (1980: 176-206). However, like the evidence for the individual work of masons (see above) template usage has suggested that they are more likely to have been used at individual sites rather than throughout a region. This does, however, suggest that an "in-house" template would be more useful if a succession of monuments were made (or were likely to be made) during a short space of time. To justify the manufacture of a template, *several* monuments are likely to have been commissioned by one patron (or group of contemporary patrons) than their production separated in time by succeeding generations. Therefore one should not expect that where many fragments are discovered at one site, they are indicative of a long period of monumental activity.

Geological considerations should provide a means to distinguish, at least, between a large central workshop producing monuments for a wide distribution from its own quarry and local stone chosen because of its close availability to the site of its final display and therefore more likely to have been worked by local craftspeople. This is only feasible where there is a recognisable variety of suitable stone and where the research is conducted over an area where

this variety can be identified. Not all areas which have been researched have this variety and one has to consider that in some areas not all stone types are suitable for carving. For example, Granite and Carboniferous Limestone are especially difficult to work and it is more likely that a more workable limestone (eg. of the Jurassic series) or a suitable sandstone would have been chosen, even if this involved transportation from elsewhere.

Little research has actually been carried out in relating stone types to sculpture, especially schools of sculpture. In Volume 1 of the *National Corpus* (Cramp 1984), although the geology of its area was described (ibid: 13), the descriptions attached to each individual sculpture did not discriminate between the various sandstones used for their production. Therefore no analysis can be made from this record. Volume 2 of the *Corpus* (Cramp and Bailey 1988) included a more detailed description of the stone types used for the production of the monuments and, although no specific analysis was given, inspection of the descriptions suggest that the local sandstone was predominantly used at each site. Volume 3 (Lang 1991) contained a superior analysis by Senior (ibid: 11-15) and a precise description of the stone-type is given for each individual piece. For much of the *Corpus* material, the analysis was complicated by the use of Millstone Grit especially at York, almost certainly the re-use of Roman material where this was, in all probability, freely available close to the site. Beyond the Vale of York however, suitable stone local to the site of display appears to have been predominantly used (ibid: 14-5). The case for the re-use of Roman building stone is considerable: apart from sculptures at York, a recent paper by Stocker (1990) outlined the re-use of Roman material in Lincolnshire during the Saxon period and it appears that, where available, existing Roman material was considered to be a useful resource.

Bailey also supports the view that local stone was used at least for Viking period monuments. "It is not difficult to show that outcrops of the relevant type of stone can be found in the vicinity of the carving. Frequently the distance involved is less than a mile; rarely is it more than ten miles" (Bailey 1980: 238). Cramp, on the other hand, has suggested that there may have been a central workshop in the later Viking period (11th century on stylistic dating) in the East Midlands from which finished monuments were dispatched using a single quarry source, but this is an unsubstantiated claim until research is carried out in this area (1975: 186). There is however, very little knowledge concerning quarrying until the late Saxon period and even then it seems to have been relatively undeveloped (Parsons 1990b: 8-9). For example, in the research area, the north wall of the nave at Bradbourne church in Derbyshire is believed to be 'late Saxon' and is

constructed from a mixture of various stones which suggest they have been gathered from around the locality of the church, rather than quarried (Stanley 1990: 184).

Jope considered that the Saxons continued quarrying, using and transporting stone in the same manner as that used in Britain by the Romans (1964: 91). This conclusion arouses suspicions: given the considerable economic changes which must have occurred after the collapse of the Roman administration it is unlikely that exactly the same structure for stone procurement would have survived intact or have been needed. Although he acknowledged the re-use of Roman material by Saxon builders where this was obvious (eg. Bradwell-on-Sea, Essex) (ibid: 97-100), it is more likely that his conclusions ignored the likelihood of a more widespread re-use of Roman material.

In summary, production methods suggest no evidence to support the idea of a "central workshop" which supplied a wide area, nor that individuals were responsible for monuments at more than one or two sites. Evidence of unfinished sculpture, albeit limited, suggests they were made on the site of display, and evidence from the use of templates, local stone types and "unit measurements" also suggest a very localised production of the material.

1.5: FUNCTION.

This chapter has dealt with chronology, schools and production methods, but one discussion has been neglected so far: that is, what the monuments were erected for. This is by no means unimportant, for the purpose of display may have a direct bearing on the nature of a school. For example, if it can be established that, for example, they were erected as monastic boundary markers then the school may define, by their geographical distribution, the bounds of that monastery. If, on the other hand, they appear to have been erected for some other purpose, then one needs to look elsewhere for an explanation of the meaning of a school as defined above.

From the few inscriptions that survive, Collingwood thought that most crosses were "gravestones", although some were simply memorial with "something other than an interment beneath them" (1927: 4), but did not suggest what this might be. He discounted the view that they could be either preaching or market crosses or boundary markers through lack of evidence (ibid: 4). Some of the memorial crosses he said, could have marked previous events but the "evidence" for this seems doubtful. For example, the "Paulinus cross" at Dewsbury is supposed

to have commemorated the founding of the church by Paulinus, because, legend has, it that his name used to be present on the cross although this was not in evidence to Collingwood (1927: 116). Indeed the fragments to which Collingwood was referring, contain one of the few inscriptions which is instructive rather than memorial (Okasha 1971: 66). Furthermore, the evidence presented in section 4.7, suggests that these were not fragments of a free-standing cross at all, but architectural embellishments.

Brown considered that most crosses were funereal (1937: 93), but made the cardinal mistake of assuming that the present (as in 1937) whereabouts of the monuments was the original provenance and extended his ideas on their function to include some as wayside markers since they were related to roads rather than churches (1937: 109-110). Kendrick apparently favoured the idea of preaching crosses as "part of the missionary apparatus of the church" (1938: 126), despite his acknowledgement of Collingwood's "Acca's cross" (see section 1.2) as a funerary monument. Pape re-introduced the idea of wayside or boundary crosses from "evidence" in Cheshire. He said that unlike their Staffordshire counterparts, the round-shafted crosses of Cheshire were not erected in churchyards, but by roads and boundaries (1945-6: 39). Again, Pape had not considered that they had been removed from their original position. In all but one case these Cheshire round-shafts are to be found in the grounds of large stately residences (eg. Lyme Hall) and the suspicion is that they are the result of past collection of "curios" (see section 6 2-3).

Cramp appears to agree with Collingwood that the carved stone crosses were gravemarkers (1978: 2) and may have a direct relationship with Roman funereal monuments (1984: 5). Lang also agrees with their funerary context and suggests, like Collingwood, that some may have "served as cenotaphs" (1988: 8). He also followed Brown and Pape (see above) in suggesting that some may have functioned as boundary stones or even "had a function within a monastic enclosure, similar to some of their Irish high cross counterparts" (Lang 1988: 8). However, these remarks were not substantiated and appear to be simply echoing earlier ideas. Crosses recorded to have marked ecclesiastical bounds in later Saxon charters, appear to have been small devices, usually nailed to trees or affixed to stones (Hooke 1981: 123). It is notable that where inscriptions survive they are always either votive or memorial and never refer to a boundary or other function (Higgitt 1986b: 146). This is certainly true with respect to this research area where the few inscriptions are either votive (instructive) as at Dewsbury, or memorial as in

all other cases. The Dewsbury 'votive' inscription appears to be from an architectural display and not a free-standing monument (section 4.7).

Whilst it is true that the small incised slabs at Hartlepool have been found in association with graves (Cramp 1984: 7), no burial has been found in association with the *primary* position of decorated stone crosses, although some re-use of them for this function has been found at York (Lang 1991: 26). This more cautious approach has been adopted by others. Bailey agrees that many monuments were funereal but suggests that for instance, hogback "grave-covers" should be viewed with caution, since "no grave has been found in clear association with one of these stones" (1980: 99-100). Richards similarly suggests that since no crosses have been found in a primary funerary context, they are better regarded as memorials to the dead, not necessarily accompanying the actual interment (1991: 119). In the case of some crosses of both the "Anglian" and especially the Viking period, it is quite feasible that the ancestors commemorated by the stones may have been pagan and had funerary arrangements made elsewhere.

Most of the inscriptions, where these survive, express a relationship, between the living (those who caused the cross to be erected) and the dead (those who are thus commemorated), through their adopted formula (Page 1973: 142). Richards suggests that in the Viking period the motives behind the erection of the crosses may have changed so that some, at least, "appear to be a political statement" (1991: 119). This is indicated by the standard memorial inscription which "may have been used to draw attention to inheritance claims" (ibid: 128). He also notes that the high density of Viking period sculpture is coterminous with those areas where fragmentation of the old large estates particularly occurred (Richards 1991: 120). This is also noted in Scandinavia where, according to Randsborg, some inscribed stones appear to be statements of succession and sometimes to the ownership of land (1980: 29). The same relationship between land and monuments appears to be present in Britain, where the dispersed nature of the monuments suggest that they may be "indicating the presence, if not the centres, of new landholdings. As well as reflecting the presence of suitable stone, it also reflects the availability of good agricultural land" (Richards 1991: 120). Lang also attributed free-standing crosses to landholdings, although cautiously: "it is tempting to see the distribution of carvings in relation to possible land-holdings in the tenth century" (1991: 27).

The link between landholdings and sculpture is also demonstrated through the relationship between free-standing crosses and churches (cf. Bailey 1980: 22-5), whether contemporary with

one another or not. It is now generally accepted that most parish churches descended from those erected at the centres of secular estates both during and after the Saxon period (cf. Morris 1989: 161; Blair 1987: 270-2). Therefore, decorated, free-standing stone crosses must inevitably be synthesised into this pattern of landholdings. Morris correlates secular churches with pre-Conquest stone sculpture, even before the Viking period, where such estates were larger and fewer in number accounting for the restricted distribution of pre-Viking sculpture (Morris 1989: 161). Although not necessarily referring to the highly decorated stone variety, crosses are also *documented* on secular estates: Bailey refers to the eighth century "Life" of St. Willibrodus wherein it is said that on the estates of the Saxon nobles they raised "the standard of the Holy Cross", even where churches did not as yet exist (Bailey 1980: 82).

The provision of sculpture at monastic sites can also be related to land ownership. Monasteries were little different from other large landholders of the pre-Viking period (Morris 1989: 100-1) and no doubt most former monastic lands became secular estates after the Viking settlement (see section 3.2). It is feasible that the provision of free-standing stone crosses on monastic lands could have been for the benefit of the secular elite even before the Viking period, as it almost certainly would have been afterwards (section 3.2). Bede's remarks in respect of "monasteries", created for their own benefit by the secular elite in the eighth century (Sherley-Price 1955: 345-8), also provides for a secular provision of decorated stone monuments on monastic lands, even at this relatively 'early' date. There is, therefore, every possibility that the display of freestanding stone monuments always held a strong secular basis and were not necessarily part of a clerical 'tradition'.

SUMMARY

In summary, this chapter is intended to highlight the preconceptions which continue to underlie the study of Anglo-Saxon stone monuments. In particular, it has been found that there is no reliable dating method for them, since their chronology is almost entirely based upon stylistic judgements. This form of dating presupposes that there was a, more or less, continual production of the monuments. Stylistic dating can be misleading and it is now realised that regionalism, rather than chronological separation, can account for the variations in style. One question, therefore, whether such a chronological progression of styles, ever existed.

Although schools have been identified in the past by the similarity of design between monuments, their nature has remained vague. They can be seen in different ways, for example, as the identification of a single mason's work, as art-forms of a chronological period, or as the expression of people-groups. Repetition of design elements over a large area does not appear to be the product of an individual's work, but exists for some other reason. This could be the expression of 'period fashion', but regional variations suggest that there may be an alternative reason for such similarities.

The production of stone monuments has been assumed to have been from monastic workshops with perhaps some secular involvement after the Viking settlement. There is, however, no evidence for a 'central place' form of production. The relationship between stone types and monuments has been explored little so far. The few studies which have been carried out indicate that local stone was preferred, although the re-use of Roman material in some areas may confuse such analyses. The function of the free-standing monuments is not fully understood. Although several functions have been suggested for them, the few inscriptions which survive suggest some form of memorial function. Free-standing crosses and landholdings are inevitably linked.

2: THE POLITICAL AND SOCIAL HISTORY WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO THE AREA OF RESEARCH.

2.1: INTRODUCTION.

The main purpose of this chapter is to examine the political influences which affected the area of this research during the period when the sculptured monuments were likely to have been erected. This is regarded as from the seventh century until after the reconquest of Viking controlled lands in the tenth and eleventh centuries. Collingwood's statement that the production of stone crosses can only have taken place within the Christian history of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms and probably after the *Synod of Whitby* in 664 (1927: 2-4) appears reasonable since the iconography is clearly based on late Roman art and is in an overall Christian context. It will therefore be unnecessary to dwell on events prior to the seventh century.

The area of research should sit astride the nominal boundaries of two large kingdoms - Northumbria in the northern part, and Mercia in the south. These large kingdoms were formed from an amalgamation of smaller ones which appear to have remained as administrative units or "sub-kingdoms" (cf. Bassett 1989a). Each subordinate unit would in turn have been based on the amalgamation of several individual agricultural estates. This research intends to examine the relationship between stone sculpture and social, political and ecclesiastical divisions and it is therefore appropriate to review current knowledge of these structures and especially those pertinent to the research area. Although the secular and ecclesiastical structures are inter-related, the discussion will be in two parts. Firstly, this chapter will deal with the secular political divisions and the following chapter with the ecclesiastical provision. Both can be viewed both at the macro and the micro levels; from the larger units, the kingdoms and their bishoprics, to the smaller estates and their lesser churches.

In the first instance this discussion will examine the political relationships between the kingdoms of Northumbria and Mercia since these are the most pertinent large political units in the research area. This will use archaeological evidence (albeit sparse) and recent syntheses of source material and its diagnosis. On the more local scale, it is fortunate that a surviving document (the *Tribal Hidage*) records smaller land units within the larger kingdoms where this research was undertaken. But the larger land divisions ultimately depended upon the amalgamation of smaller component units, estates, which served as the focus for day-to-day micro-economics. Although many remained unrecorded until the *Domesday* survey of 1086, Anglo-Saxon estates have been

assessed by various means, including the examination of surviving charter evidence, place-names and from the analysis of the *Domesday Book* itself.

2.2: THE KINGDOMS.

Much of the history of the early Christian period of the kingdoms is provided by Bede's *History* (Sherley-Price 1955) written in the early eighth century at his monastery at Jarrow. The reliability of this account for Northumbria is questionable and even more so is that of the history of Mercia, especially since Bede was writing under the direction of a Northumbrian king (D.H.Farmer in Sherley-Price 1955: 19-35). In addition, his information on Mercia was unlikely to have been directly from this kingdom and may have come from the monastery at Lastingham or from the province of Lindsey (Yorke 1990: 100). Very few documents have survived from the pre-Danelaw period which can be seen to originate from Mercia. The reasons for this are unclear, although it is supposed that many documents were *inter alia*, destroyed by the Vikings in the ninth century (ibid: 20) or suppressed by Wessex when it eventually became its controlling power.

No doubt equally biased are the *Annales Cambriae* (the "History of the Britons") which has been accredited to Nennius, a British monk, although Dumville prefers to regard it as a ninth-century anonymous work (1975/6). This gives a further perspective to the relationships between Mercia, Northumbria and the British (Welsh), for Bede often showed his contempt for the native British and "suppressed reference to their activities" (Stafford 1985: 98). However, the incidental comments contained in Bede's *History* allows a tentative reconstruction of the main political units of Anglo-Saxon England (Kirby 1991: 5). The synthesis of this material, together with other documents such as the "Lives" of leading figures and later, the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (Garmonsway 1953), provides useful background information and something can be discerned of the relationships between the two kingdoms.

This discussion need not concern the early Anglo-Saxon settlement since by the time Christianity was nominally introduced into Anglo-Saxon England, the two kingdoms were largely established as major political units. Much of the lands to the west of the Pennines had clearly remained British territory until inroads were made by both Northumbrians and then Mercians especially in the seventh century (Kirby 1977). During this period Northumbria attained greater strength through close dynastic ties between its two largest component kingdoms, *Bernicia* in the north and *Deira* in the south (Higham 1993: 108-139). It had also increased its wealth by the

absorption of former British territory to the west of the Pennines, *Rheged*, and was extracting tribute from several subordinate British kingdoms especially in Scotland (Yorke 1990: 91). At the same time Mercia was expanding its power-base in similar fashion, seemingly with the aid of alliances with the West Britons (Welsh). Gelling suggests that much of Mercia's eventual western territory, formerly under British control, quickly became absorbed into the greater Mercian polity, ostensibly by agreement (1992: 77). By the middle of the seventh century, both Northumbria and Mercia were established "superkingdoms" with either direct control of, or authority over, many smaller kingdoms and it seems that their authority had penetrated across the full breadth of England (Gelling 1992: 76-77).

After the establishment of the two major kingdoms the relationship between them appears to have been one of intense rivalry. Smaller kingships not under direct rule could be brought into submission by agreement, duress or warfare, acknowledged by the payment of tribute (a proportion of 'national' wealth). Thus, the dominant would become wealthier and stronger, whilst the dominated would become weaker and more likely to remain subordinate. Those kingships in a superior position of strength could extend their intimidation over others and thus become "overkings" (cf. Welch 1992: 88). At various times kings of both Northumbria and Mercia occupied this position of "overking" or *Brethwalda* over each other, where periodically one would be dominant demanding *tribute* as an acknowledgement of *its* superiority (cf. Higham 1993).

The emerging kingdom of Mercia appears to have consolidated its position and expanded, especially under Penda, in the earlier part of the seventh century. During these formative years, Mercia appears to have supported the British of Wales against Edwin of Northumbria. Ancestral links were claimed by the kings of Gwynedd with the region of the *Votadini* to the north of Bernicia (Kirby 1991: 69) and it is suggested that ties also existed between Wales and the British kingdom of Elmet, then under Northumbrian control (Kirby 1977: 34). After the defeat of Edwin, the Welsh king Cadwallon succeeded in briefly taking control of Northumbria (Higham 1993: 124). Successively, Penda managed various campaigns against neighbouring kingdoms, building a formidable military power with numerous tributaries. The process was rapid; "the creation of a Midland hegemony was achieved by a remarkable series of expansionist campaigns in a number of directions almost simultaneously" (Dumville 1989: 128-9). It is possible that Mercia in the early seventh century was ruled by more than one king, until opposition to Penda's supremacy from related nobility was removed as a consequence of arduous military campaigns (Kirby 1991: 91).

Northumbria's fortunes were revived under Oswald who defeated Cadwallon in battle and regained control of Northumbria which appears to have then included the lesser kingdom of Lindsey, and possibly the lands of Hatfield and Elmet. Oswald also benefited from a diplomatic alliance with the Scots, marked by accepting baptism into their church (Higham 1993: 127-9). His success was soon curtailed through the powerful position of Penda who was then able to call on the support of several tributary kings and of course, his alliance with the Welsh. Oswald's defeat once more regained the tribute of Northumbria for Mercia. Elmet, Hatfield and Lindsey (and possibly southern Lancashire) probably became detached at this time and may have been under direct Mercian control (ibid: 129). Bede refers to Mercia as having jurisdiction stretching from the Humber to the Thames (Sherley-Price 1955: 324), although this statement appears to concern only the eastern side of England. There is a possibility, however, that the term 'Humber' was perceived to extend further than it does now. York has been referred to as on the northern bank of the Humber (it is now on the river Ouse) by Asser, and one of the tributaries of the river Don became known as the 'Humber Head Dyke' (Kirby 1991: 64).

When Penda was killed in battle in c. 655 by the Northumbrians under Oswiu, the position was reversed and Northumbria, once again, became dominant over Mercia. As a result of his victory, Oswiu regained control of Lindsey and had direct rule of all Mercian land north of the Trent. Peada, son of Penda, had already accepted overlordship by Oswiu even before his father's defeat through his marriage to Oswiu's daughter and accepting baptism into Christianity, whereby "to accept overlordship was to accept the gods of the overlord" (Stafford 1985: 98). As a result of this alliance, Peada remained as a subordinate king to the south of the Trent after Penda's defeat and it has been suggested that the administrative area of "Outer Mercia" may have been created at this time (ibid: 98).

Oswiu's overlordship (and the prior baptism of Peada) led to the introduction of Christianity into Mercia and its subordinate kingdoms (Sherley-Price 1955: 178-184). Succeeding Mercian kings nominally accepted this religion, even though their relationships with Northumbria remained rivalrous. Peada's subordinate kingship was short-lived: he was assassinated in favour of Wulfhere in 658 as part of a rebellion against Northumbrian rule (Higham 1993: 132). As a result of this rebellion, the kingdom of Lindsey and probably other lands south of the Humber were regained by Wulfhere, although he appears to have still accepted Oswiu's dominance, for not only did Christianity remain in Mercia, but conversion was actively pursued (Yorke 1990: 105). This is also discussed in the following chapter.

A subsequent battle by the river Trent in 679 terminated Northumbrian overlordship south of the Humber and cemented the acquisition of Lindsey for the Mercians (Yorke 1990: 105). Northumbrian fortunes were also impeded by Ecgrith's death in battle against the Picts beyond the river Tay, and subsequently Mercia took advantage of Northumbria's weakened position to raid part of that kingdom (Higham 1993: 141). Only a single attack on Mercia by Northumbria is recorded (in 801) for the rest of the pre-Viking period. Mercia, on the other hand, was heavily committed away from the Northumbrian border and was probably generally content that their northern frontier should be quiet, although some unrest continued between the two kingdoms (ibid: 144). Cenwulf of Mercia seems to have had some involvement in Northumbrian politics at the close of the eighth century, but both kingdoms appear to have been regarded as major powers by Charlemagne (Yorke 1990: 95; Kirby 1991: 196). There is notably a shortage of documentation for the ninth century in Northumbria, but it seems that it eventually became subordinate to the emerging dominance of Wessex in 829 under Egbert (Yorke 1990: 96-7). However, this dominance was probably short-lived, partly due to the reviving fortunes of Mercia under Wiglaf, thus separating Northumbria from its former West Saxon overlord (Kirby 1991: 197).

Whether it is valid to describe Northumbria in the eighth and ninth centuries as a prosperous society is a matter of opinion (Higham 1993: 171), but Mercia seems to have prospered reasonably well. Although dynastic claims appeared to threaten its stability in the early eighth century, the relatively long reigns of Aethelbald and Offa appear to have prevented instability, through rivalry to the throne, from becoming a major problem. It appears that Mercian prosperity came from warfare against the Welsh and the acquisition of new territories (with subsequent tribute and booty) in the Thames valley, adding wealth to an already powerful kingdom, especially during the reign of Offa (Stafford 1985: 102). After Offa's death, Mercian supremacy appears to have suffered: Wessex sought its independence in the early ninth century, leaving Mercia dispossessed of its southern tribute. Successful wars with the Welsh possibly compensated for some of this lost prestige and revenue (Gelling 1992: 125-6), but it was a weakened Mercia which faced the Viking threat in the later part of the ninth century.

2.3: THE VIKINGS AND DANELAW.

Northumbria appears to have been subject to an Anglo-Scandinavian administration by 867 (Yorke 1990: 96) and although Mercian resistance held out a little longer, in 874 it had become tributary to the new Viking force in the north (Stafford 1985: 109). In 877 the Viking army returned

to Mercia and annexed land to the north-east of Watling Street which eventually became known as the "Five Boroughs". The remainder of Mercia was nominally left under the Mercian English king, Ceolwulf, but upon his death in 886, Alfred of Wessex assumed control over the English Mercians who submitted to him (Kirby 1991: 217). At roughly the same time, a line of demarcation to the south and east had been agreed (the "Treaty of Danelaw") and it is not until this treaty between the Viking Guthrum and Alfred, that the success of the invasions is properly understood (Sawyer 1971: 151). After the partition, the nature of political authority to the north of this line remains largely unknown (Stafford 1985: 109-112) although there appear to have been three major land divisions under Viking administration - Northumbria (the kingdom of York), Mercia and East Anglia (Richards 1991: 36).

The fortified site of Roman York was most likely to have been the centre of Anglo-Scandinavian military authority in the old kingdom of Northumbria where the "Danes of York were in the 890's, the most dangerous of the Insular Scandinavian lordships" (Higham 1993: 180). The initial Danish seizure of York resulted in the imposition of a client-king on Northumbria to collect taxes, but by 875 the kingdom of York appears to have become established under the Viking Healfdene and estates were handed out to his warrior elite. During this earlier phase of direct Viking rule the new York kingdom was probably sub-divided into three component parts, the *Ridings* (ibid: 179-180) An "Anglian" dynasty seems to have retained some subordinate control north of the river Tyne in the old sub-kingdom of Bernicia but it was temporarily absorbed into the kingdom of York after 918 (Bailey 1980: 32). During the tenth century the Viking kingdom had a succession of Danish or Hiberno-Norse rulers, terminating in 954 with the death of Eric Bloodaxe (ibid: 32).

The kingdom of Danish Mercia came into being after the Great Army split at Repton in Derbyshire in 876, with part (under Healfdene) going northwards to take York. A series of defendable sites, north of Watling Street, may have been created at Derby, Nottingham, Lincoln, Leicester and Stamford. These eventually became known as the "Five Boroughs", although there is also a reference in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* to seven "Boroughs" which also included Manchester and probably Torksey (Richards 1991: 55). The creation of the Five Boroughs as focal points demanded extra resources to sustain the military garrisons stationed in them. As military centres, it is likely that they began to influence the economic structure of the region (Hodges 1988: 6). Stafford suggests that they would have acted as royal courts for Danish Mercia and as such, centres for gift exchange and a focus for traders, merchants and so on, which formed the basis for town growth (1985: 43). Although the Five Boroughs were probably already the centres of large estates (Richards 1991: 55) the growing settlement of these "proto-

towns" demanded a wider economic base to support them (cf. Sawyer 1971: 173). Thus their administrative area would be extended until ultimately the "shire" arrangements were formalised to accommodate this need (Stafford 1985: 137).

The initial Viking settlement was largely the product of invasions directly from North Sea routes in the second half of the ninth century using large navigable rivers such as the Trent (in the case of Mercia) and the Ouse (giving access to York). However, there appears to have been a separate invasion and settlement into western England in the early tenth century from Viking colonies in Ireland and the Irish seaboard, largely as the result of Norwegian colonial activity (Bailey 1980: 34). In 902, a group of Norse Vikings apparently settled around Chester and, according to English and Irish texts, by permission of the English Mercians after they were expelled from Dublin (Gelling 1992: 130). Chester was the administrative centre for a large area, much larger than the present-day county of Cheshire and then included Manchester which was annexed from Northumbria in 919 by the English. Evidence of Hiberno-Norse settlement is mainly derived from place-names, for their settlement has gone largely unrecorded (ibid: 130).

Place-name evidence suggests Hiberno-Norse settlement was greatest in the north-west (Sawyer 1971: 158) especially in Cumbria, Cheshire and Lancashire (Bailey 1980: 34). There is also supporting archaeological evidence of Hiberno-Norse activity through the discovery of a large hoard of bullion bars, of characteristically Irish work, on the banks of the River Ribble in Lancashire (Higham 1993: 184-5). Apart from the recorded evidence of settlement in 902, Bailey also suggests that all of the western seaboard settlement by the Hiberno-Norse was later than that by Healfdene in the kingdom of York. For example, the Cuthbert Community is recorded as fleeing to the west in 875, suggesting that western Northumbria was then free from Viking occupation. English personal names are also recorded up to c. 915, whereafter "pirate" raids are mentioned and it is only in the tenth century that the pattern of English defences took account of a threat from the west (Bailey 1980: 35-6).

By the time that Hiberno-Norse settlement was taking place in the west, the English were beginning to reconquer land from the Vikings in Mercia. Although there is mention of an East Anglian and Northumbrian Viking army there is little mention of a Mercian component. Stafford suggests that this may have been because they were enveloped with the others (1985: 112). In 910, the Northumbrian Vikings were defeated at Tettenhall and Viking refortification took place in the "Five Boroughs". During the second decade of the tenth century, the English began to reclaim former Mercian lands and by c. 920 the Five Borough towns had been taken by the

English (ibid: 114). At this time some form of fortification was also built by Edward, close to Bakewell in Derbyshire (Garmonsway 1953: 104). "Then the king of the Scots and the whole Scottish nation accepted him as 'father and lord': so also did Raegnald and the sons of Eadwulf and all the inhabitants of Northumbria, both English and Danish, Norwegians and others; together with the king of the Strathclyde Welsh and all his subjects (ibid: 104). The inference is that Bakewell was the place chosen for this submission (Stafford 1985: 114). There was an attempt (939-941) to recapture the Five Boroughs by the Viking Olaf, but this was soon reversed in favour of the English. It seems that the Five Boroughs were bounded in the north by Dore (formerly in Derbyshire, now in Sheffield), Whitwell (also in Derbyshire) and the Humber (Stafford 1985: 112-5) although the exact boundary is unclear.

Meanwhile, further north, the Norse successfully managed to take control of Cumbria and after a brief period of English control York was also regained by Norse Vikings (Higham 1993: 186). After the collapse of Danish Mercia the English successfully gained the western side of the Pennines as far as the Mersey but were blocked by the Northern army. In 918 Nottingham was also taken by the English, finally routing Scandinavian control (at least until Olaf's later brief resurgence) over Mercia. Although an attempt was made by the Northumbrian Vikings to raise the Mercian Danes against the English it appears that power in Danish Mercia had fragmented and was weakened to the extent that they were reluctant to respond and accepted Edward's supremacy (Stafford 1985: 112). In 920 the Northumbrian Vikings also accepted the overlordship of Edward and it appears that the English king in Bernicia, Ealdred, who had briefly lost his kingdom to the Viking rulers in 918, regained it at this time (Higham 1993: 188).

Athelstan succeeded Edward in 924 and attempted a union with Northumbria through the marriage of his sister to its king, Sihtric. This was a Christian marriage which reflected Athelstan's overlordship and which Sihtric subsequently rejected causing the resumption of hostilities, until Athelstan (presumably through superior threat of arms) resumed control over Northumbria in 927 after the death of Sihtric (ibid: 187-190). The kingdoms of the north had little choice but to accept Athelstan's overlordship: these included York, the Norse settlement west of the Pennines, the English kingdom of Bernicia, Strathclyde and the Scots. A condition of this acceptance was that they "renounced idolatry" (ibid: 190). This was not the end of separatist attempts by the Northumbrians and indeed it kept some integrity as a separate kingdom. But, by and large, the overlordship of the southern English, especially the Wessex kings, had been established and after the death of Eric Bloodaxe in 954, the North came firmly under the control of Wessex (Sawyer 1971: 151). In Mercia, the "Five Boroughs" remained under their own

separate subordinate administration, the *Danelaw*, which appears to have included Yorkshire by the later tenth and eleventh centuries (Stafford 1985: 115). Mercian control now rested on *earldormen* subordinate to Wessex but was still regarded as a separate entity. Edgar's law codes of 973 left much to *Danelaw* local rule (ibid: 123-4).

The above historical summary of the fortunes of the kingdoms does not pretend to be other than a simplification of a complex series of events. But for the purposes of this thesis, only a broad outline is required to illustrate that socio-political control was initially, and continued to be, fluid throughout the pre-Viking period and beyond and this, no doubt, had its repercussions on land control. Up to the mid-ninth century much depended upon the fortunes of the emerging "superkingdoms": territorial control in bordering areas was gained, lost and regained, often within the space of a few years. The research area was largely caught up in this continual struggle for tribute and land control between the two large kingdoms and at several stages some of the area would have found itself like a proverbial 'bone between two fighting dogs'. However, although there are occasional historical references to some of the subordinate territories under contention, much of their history is unrecorded. One cannot therefore be certain of the pre-Viking arrangements of territorial control between the two kingdoms nor can there be any more certainty as to the succeeding Viking period arrangements. Even after the English reconquest, many rearrangements in land divisions which presumably occurred between then and the *Domesday* survey in the eleventh century (eg. shiring), are largely unrecorded.

2.4: THE *TRIBAL HIDAGE* AND THE SUB-REGIONS IN THE RESEARCH AREA.

So far the discussion has focussed on the larger administrative units, the pre-Viking kingdoms but the existence of smaller subordinate units or peoples such as the *Elmetsaete* or *Lindsey* have also been recorded. They are thought to have been separate kingships perhaps only federated by ethnicity or even by force (cf. Yorke 1990; Hart 1977). Sometimes the additional mention of place-names (eg. *Loidis*, *Campodonum*) helps to tie these petty kingdoms into present-day geographical regions.

In some of these smaller kingdoms, control was not always directly by Saxon overlords. Elmet for example remained under a subordinate native administration until the seventh century (Stafford 1985: 87; Yorke 1990: 13). There is little evidence of Elmet ever being subject to much Saxon occupation, since it has revealed no more than "three beads and a handful of graves" from the whole of the Saxon period and therefore is assumed by Yorke to have remained

ethnically British (1990: 86). The west of England also survived under native control (see section 2.2) until its incorporation into the larger units of the seventh century. Similarly in the "Peak" area of Derbyshire - the former lands of the *Pecsaete* - there is little or no evidence of Saxon settlement in this region before rich seventh-century barrow graves such as Benty Grange were constructed or re-used from Bronze Age predecessors (Stafford 1985: 83). They are highly unusual for the Saxon period, being a concentration of mounded burials on hilltops, suggesting some form of separate identity which can be easily equated to the *Pecsaete* (Welsh 1992: 89) and probably British, assuming only the trappings of success from powerful overlords (Yorke 1990: 7). According to Kirby, the leaders of these smaller groups of people were probably still regarded as 'kings', at least to their own people, long after their absorption into the larger polities (1991: 12).

By the time that the *Tribal Hidage* was written (see below) most of these sub-kingdoms are thought to have been absorbed into the larger kingdoms, often with the replacement of their ruling dynasties by royal appointments from the controlling kingdom (cf. Stafford 1985: 81-93). Nevertheless, these smaller kingdoms survived as administrative units for land assessment in the *Hidage*. Although the document merely lists peoples and their obligations, the geographical regions occupied by these peoples can largely be reconstructed. The *Tribal Hidage* does not survive in its original form, but is an eleventh-century transcript of unknown provenance (Higham 1993: 115). Consequently it is an anonymous, undated document, but it clearly deals with territorial land arrangements, principally in Greater Mercia.

The *Tribal Hidage* was probably originally written between the seventh and ninth centuries and appears to have been some form of 'census' for tribute or taxation purposes concerning lands in Greater Mercia. Hart suggests it was written for the Merclan king Offa, c. 750-800 (1977: 44), but Stafford has assigned it to the earlier reign of Wulfhere, 657-674 (1985: 94). Loyn, considers it likely to be a seventh-century document, amended in the eighth (1984: 34). Yorke agrees that the seventh century may be an appropriate date since, she says, it lies within a period after conversion (hence within a literary age), but before the kingdom was wholly one single unit as it appears to be by the time of Offa (1990: 10). Kirby suggests a date between the seventh^{and} the later eighth century, but considers that it is more likely to be later than the mid-seventh, from the amount of hidage afforded to Mercia (1991: 9-11).

It may be argued that it is unlikely that Mercia ever regarded itself as one composite unit. Even by the ninth century the kingdom still appears to be sub-divided into component parts,

presumably for administrative purposes. A reference to "Prince Humbert of the *Tomsaete*" in a charter of 835 (Hart 1975: 102) suggests that the smaller units were still being acknowledged. Similarly, the *Wreocansaete* were named in a charter of 855 and people known as the *Gaini* (unidentified) were mentioned in the 'Life' of king Alfred in the late ninth century (Kirby 1991: 10). "Such units probably survived everywhere in England down to the Viking invasions and beyond" (ibid: 10).

The *Hidage* has been presumed to have been a Mercian document since that kingdom appears to be its focus and (presumably) lists its surrounding tributaries (cf. Hart 1977). Although this may seem reasonable enough, this assumption has recently been challenged by Brooks who considers that the Mercians would not have assessed their own heartlands for tribute if they drew up the *Hidage* themselves. He adds that the *Elmetsaete* are also included but were more likely to have been under Northumbrian, rather than Mercian, control. It might, therefore, be more appropriate to see the *Hidage* as a Northumbrian document, prepared at some time when it expected tribute from Mercia and other subordinate kingdoms (Brooks 1989). More recently Higham, who agrees with a Northumbrian origin for the *Hidage*, has attributed the document to an earlier date than most and boldly suggests that it was written by Paulinus (as Northumbria's sole literate) in 626 as a personal check-list, in the reign of Edwin (Higham 1993: 115-8).

Apart from being a list of subordinate kingdoms or *regiones*, the *Hidage* has been used to reconstruct geographical territories (cf. Hart 1977). However, the document was probably not so much referring to geographical units, as to peoples "who recognised a certain cohesion among themselves" (Gelling 1992: 140). Ultimately, however, this must have had some form of territorial basis (Higham 1993: 81) and certainly to outsiders who wished to record the extent of their operations. It is also uncertain whether some of the petty kingdoms listed in *Hidage* were nominally under Mercian or Northumbrian control when the document was written, especially those at the frontier between the two kingdoms. The lands of the *Elmetsaete*, the *Pecsaete* and the *Wreocansaete* [or *Westerne* - opinion is divided on their relative positions (Gelling 1992: 83-5)], may have equally been directly tributary to Northumbria and not part of the Mercian hegemony. Brooks felt that Elmet particularly was probably under Northumbrian control when the *Hidage* was written (1989: 159), and Kirby suggests its inclusion may reflect its independent status (1991: 12). Higham (1993: 116) and Yorke (1990: 84), on the other hand, suggest that it may have then been paying tribute to Mercia for its protection and hence its inclusion in the list as Mercian land.

The notion that the *Hidage* contained only Mercian lands or its tributaries should not be taken for granted, as some have implied. Bede records that Elmet was undoubtedly under Northumbrian control during the seventh century (Sherley-Price 1955: 132) and was not subordinate to Mercia; nor is there any evidence that Elmet subsequently ever came into the sphere of the Mercian hegemony, as evident for example, by the bounds of the Danelaw in the tenth century (section 2.3). If Higham is right in an early seventh-century date for the *Hidage*, then neighbouring territories such as Lindsey, and its attached province of Hatfield (Higham 1993: 87-9), would also have been under Northumbrian control and therefore the *Hidage* was recording both Mercian and nominally independent provinces (but under Northumbrian dominance) in its assessment. Although the historical record for Elmet is lacking, nothing is known of the controlling authority over the *Pecsaete*: it has always been assumed to be the Mercian "buffer state" which mirrored the Northumbrian equivalent in Elmet. Manchester is recorded in the *Chronicle* as being annexed from Northumbria in 919 (Gelling 1992: 130), which suggests that the lands to the north-west of the Peak may have been under Northumbrian control, even before the Viking settlement. The Northumbrian stylistic influence in the stone sculpture of the Peak at Bakewell, Eyam and Bradbourne, suggests that the political situation of the Peak "was tense, but tantalizingly obscure" (Stafford 1985: 105).

The histories of many small units are less well known except where "prize" agricultural land such as Lindsey (Stafford 1985: 97) is concerned, but it is probable that control over them remained fluid with fluctuating attachments between either Northumbria or Mercia. The continued existence of these small kingdoms between the frontiers of the two large kingdoms may well be due to their role as "buffer" zones. Allegiance may have been demanded by either of their giant neighbours, as each of them periodically expanded their jurisdiction, which was often reversed at a later date. Encroachment into the nominal authority of one "superkingdom" by the other, could be gained at the expense of the smaller buffer zones, whilst the nominal "loser" need not appear to suffer a loss of integrity.

Each of the separate peoples listed in the *Hidage* was given an assessment in *hides*. These were unitary measurements of agricultural land, equivalent to approximately 120 acres (Yorke 1990: 10), a notional "family" unit for a household of free status (Higham 1993: 103). The smaller land units appear to be assessed in multiples of 300 *hides* (for example the *Pecsaete* held 1200 *hides*) and referred more to an arbitrary tax assessment than a geographical area (Hart 1977: 46). This means that any reconstruction of geographical territorial limits has its immediate difficulties and few scholars believe that it is possible to reconstruct *exactly*, boundaries implied

by the *Hidage*, although some consensus exists on their general location (Brooks 1989: 160). Hart also admits that no hard and fast boundaries can be identified, but suggests that an attempt can be made with "a reasonable degree of certainty" (1977: 45) to reconstruct the geographical areas of the groups, save a few of the more minor regions. This has been regarded as a "bold attempt" and is unlikely to be strictly accurate (Brooks 1989: 160; 275). Hart's reconstruction of the territories mentioned in the *Hidage* has been described in detail elsewhere (Hart 1977) and will not be reiterated, but the geographical territories allocated to the peoples listed in the *Hidage* are shown in Fig. 2.1.

Hart's reconstruction (1977) relies much on the use of rivers as appropriate topographical features to act as divisions between land units and is supported by Bede's mention of the rivers Humber and Trent as demarcating territory between the Mercians and Northumbrians (ibid: 47). However, an element of caution must be introduced: both the Trent (at least up to Nottingham) and the Humber are wide and unfordable and were suitable not only as a line of demarcation, but also as neutral transport routes. On the other hand, smaller, shallow rivers such as the Dove, would have been a useful resource to include *inside* an estate where both sides of it could be easily worked. For example, two units of land in Mercia refer to rivers, the *Tomsaete* and the *Arosaete*. These names are said to be derived from the rivers Tame and Arrow respectively (Gelling 1992: 85) and suggest that they were central to the land unit and not peripheral. Furthermore, land granted to Wulfsgie in 942 gave him a holding occupying *both* sides of the *upper* Trent valley (Hart 1975: 91-104) and there is no reason to think that this was unusual for a large estate. Indeed, Everitt concludes that there is good evidence to suppose that many of the 'old' estates of Kent usually regarded watercourses as a central resource and that the same pattern occurred elsewhere in England (1986: 69-75). Much of this is derived from place-name evidence (ibid: 75-87) and similar river-named settlements in the research area, such as Wath-upon-Deerne, Bolton-upon-Deerne and Adwick-upon-Deerne in South Yorkshire, also suggest that the river Deerne was regarded as a central resource (Hey 1979: 22).

Some doubt must therefore exist that rivers would always have been regarded as natural *boundaries* in Anglo-Saxon England, especially those mentioned in Hart's analysis of, for example, the land of the *Pecsaete*. Most of them appear to have been too useful to landholdings to act as arbitrary divisions in the landscape and it is more likely that Roman roads or watersheds *between* valleys (especially in upland areas) would have demarcated estates. The larger land divisions, as an amalgamation of such estates, would also echo this pattern. Roman roads as "a fixed and ancient component in the landscape" (Gelling 1992: 19) and the

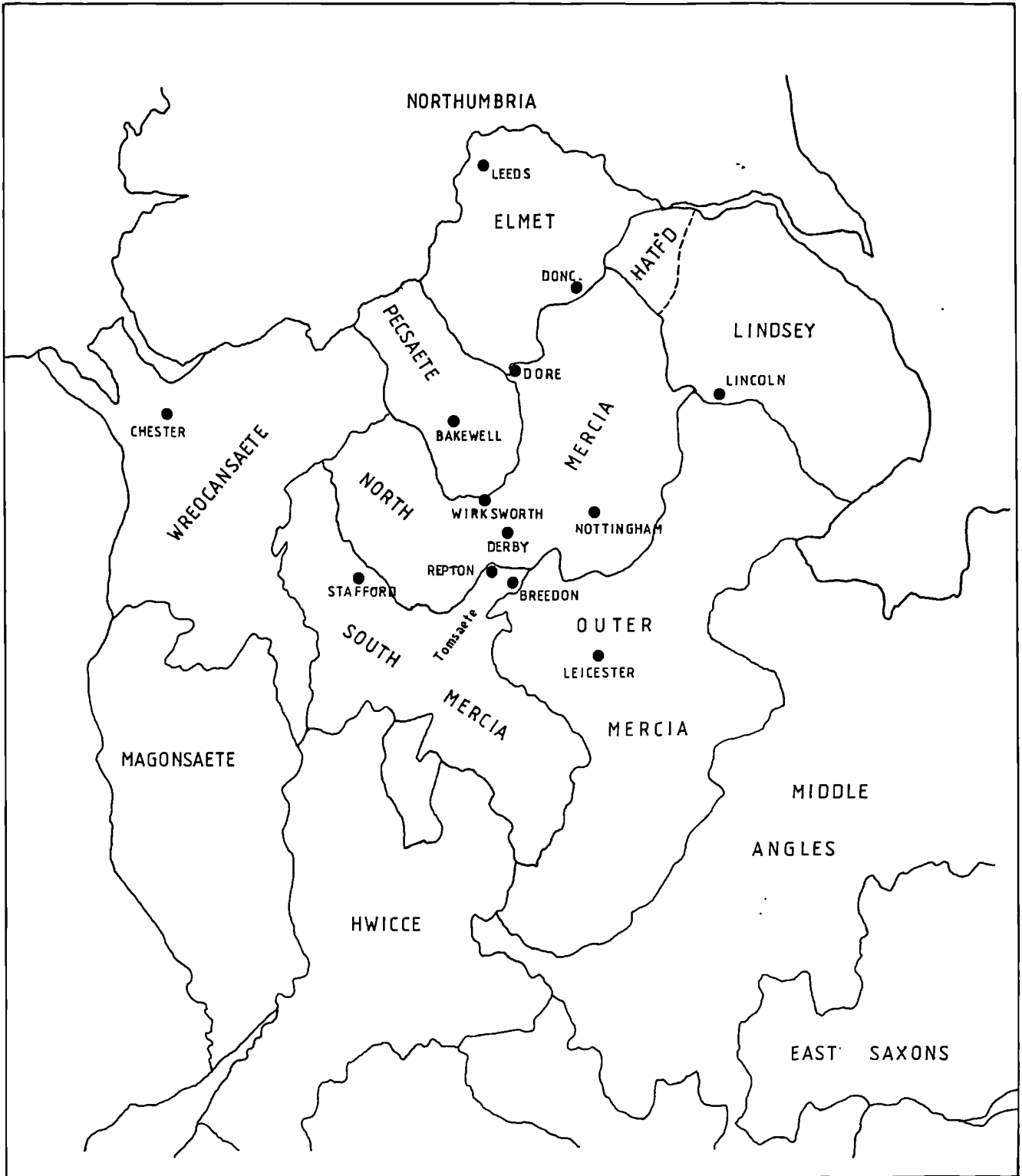


FIG. 2.1.

A reconstruction of the boundaries of the people-divisions mentioned in the *Tribal Hidage* (After Hart 1977).

responsibility of kings at least in the eighth century (Loyn 1984: 33), would have been suitable as arbitrary boundaries, and this much is evident in the numerous medieval parish boundaries which respect them (cf. Jones 1986: 153; Hey 1979: 22). Similarly, Bourne suggests that watershed boundaries were a feature of early multiple estates and that it is only the later divisions (eg. "shiring") which used river boundaries and thereby split estates (Bourne 1986: 13). For example, numerous boundaries in the West Midlands, described in charters, often used rivers as a demarcation. Notably these are later boundaries (mainly tenth century or later) when the process of fragmentation of the estates was well under way (Hooke 1981: 129-30). The earlier surviving charters seem to have assumed that the bounds of estates were common knowledge, but after the ninth century specific boundary clauses were introduced which described the boundaries in detail (Kelly 1990: 46). This coincided with the rapid fragmentation of estates where new landscape features were introduced to implement this reorganisation. Therefore the use of rivers in Hart's reconstruction of the *Tribal Hidage* at a much earlier date, must be treated with caution and the exact areas occupied by the units in the *Hidage* must be seen as rather more fluid.

In much the same way, the archaeological evidence in the form of "Dykes", allegedly constructed for boundary defences especially between the two "superkingdoms" must be treated with caution. Like the *Tribal Hidage* there is only circumstantial dating evidence attached to them. It is only because they appear to be appropriate to the rivalries between Northumbria and Mercia that a post-Roman and pre-Viking date has been assigned to them (Higham 1993: 143). The 'Roman Ridge' was constructed between the Pennine foothills near Sheffield and marshy ground to the east (Hey 1979: 23). If this dyke really is a defensive (or demarcation) arrangement between the two kingdoms, then a measure of the fluidity of this boundary is the "Bar Dyke" with the same orientation, but further to the north-west: it has the same characteristics as its south-eastern counterpart (ibid: 23) but obviously protected a border then in a different place, perhaps built at a different time (Higham 1993: 143). To the north, the "Becca Banks" and another "Roman Rig" near Leeds (Hart 1977: 53) in Elmet effectively moves the "border" further northwards, whereas the "Grey Ditch" lies south of Eyam in Derbyshire (ibid: 53) on a vital route through the Peak (Hart 1981: 118) and this time apparently demarcating a border well within the lands suggested by Hart to be of the *Pecsaete*. Therefore, according to the evidence from the "Dyke" earthworks between the two kingdoms, they appear to cut through lands of both the *Elmetsaete* and the *Pecsaete*. This suggests that both small kingdoms were frequently in zones of competition between Mercia and Northumbria and one can detect no stability in the arrangements which were intended by these defensive measures.

It will be seen that the research area (see Fig 0.1) contained areas of the Mercian heartlands as well as provinces which may have had more fluid allegiances. According to Hart's reconstruction of the *Hidage*, the research area should include lands allocated to the North Mercians, South Mercians (including the *Tomsaete*) and Outer Mercians (1977: 50-1). On the other hand, the balance of evidence suggests that Elmet would have remained under Northumbrian control for much of the period under discussion (see above) and therefore it is highly likely that part of the kingdom of Northumbria would be represented in the north of the research area. The lands of the *Pecsaete* are rather less certain: charter evidence in the first half of the ninth century suggests that Wirksworth (in the southern part of the "Peak District") was under Mercian control (Hart 1975: 102). However, this need not mean that the *Pecsaete* themselves were then under Mercian control, since Hart has excluded Wirksworth from their lands in his reconstruction of the *Hidage*, placing it inside "North Mercian" territory (1977: 50-1). However, this appears to be more of an arbitrary decision than one based on any tangible evidence and the actual border between North Mercia and the *Pecsaete* must, as he says, "remain a matter of doubt" (ibid: 53). Roffe, on the other hand, suggests that the boundary of the *Pecsaete* is coterminous with his reconstruction of the later *Hamenstan* wapentake (see section 2.5) and did include Wirksworth in its bounds (1986a: 27): the evidence is confusing.

Similar comments apply to that part of the research area which Hart has allocated to the *Wreocansaete* to the west of the *Pecsaete*, an area which Gelling feels more comfortably lies within the sphere of the *Westerne* (1992: 83-5). The assumption that it remained under Mercian control again appears to rest upon the combination of its inclusion in the *Hidage* (cf. Hart 1977: 44) - but see above - and its close proximity to the "original Mercia" (Gelling 1992: 85) and therefore was more likely to have been securely attached to its control. However, there is no reason why this area to the west of the *Pecsaete* should not also have been subject to fluctuating political control: lack of historical documentation leaves this open to debate.

The analysis of the *Tribal Hidage* produces no direct evidence for the allegiances of many of the smaller units and, especially now that recent research has suggested that it may have been a Northumbrian document, it is even uncertain that the list contains strictly Mercian lands. But even if the list was of solely Mercian land, there is no reason to suppose that those arrangements were anything more than a "snapshot" of relationships, taken at the time of its preparation: fluidity appears to be more the norm than stability. However, the land units mentioned in the *Hidage* appear to have persisted as units of administration (cf. Roffe 1986a: 27), even though their allegiances may have changed from time to time.

2.5: WAPENTAKES, HUNDREDS AND SHIRES.

The *Tribal Hidage* provides a brief glimpse of the peoples and land divisions of the pre-Viking period in the Midlands, but it is not known how long these land units held their significance as administrative divisions. Certainly there is charter evidence in the research area which suggests that not only were the *Tomsaete* still regarded as a distinct unit in the ninth century but also that it still had its own subordinate administration in the form of "Prince Humbert" (section 2.4). Roffe has also indicated that the smaller sub-kingdoms - *regiones* - were fossilized into later wapentake boundaries (1986a: 27). Therefore, it is likely that those smaller units indicated by the *Tribal Hidage* were still extant as administrative units by the time of the Viking settlement when most, if not all, of the research area (but see section 7.4) eventually became part of their administration.

By the second half of the ninth century the research area chiefly concerned lands within Danish Mercia, but its northern area would presumably have included the southern tip of the administrative region of the kingdom of York, that is, the former kingdom of Deira. It is clear from the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle that, before the reconquest, the land agreements between the English and the Vikings, mainly concerned land in the south and east of England (Garmonsway 1953) and, therefore, relationships especially in the north-west of England are far less clear. The area to the west of the Mercian heartlands was occupied nominally by the former *Westerne* or *Wreocansaete*, and their relationship with both the English and the Vikings remains obscure. The Danelaw Treaty appears to have been primarily an agreement between Alfred and Guthrum in the east of England and the assumption that Watling Street was used as a boundary in the west has been challenged (Gelling 1992: 127-8) since most of Watling Street lay beyond Alfred's jurisdiction when the treaty was agreed (Sawyer 1971: 151). It has been recently suggested that the division in the west between English and Danish Mercia may have meant that the western region of the research area (generally the present-day counties of Staffordshire and Cheshire), fell within English Mercia (Gelling 1992: 128). If this was the case, then there is good reason to suggest that the territory nominally once occupied by the *Westerne/Wreocansaete* was under former Mercian control before the Viking settlement unless this was seized as an opportunist measure in the ninth century.

Virtually nothing is known concerning the administrative arrangements retained or introduced by the new Viking lords until the English reconquests in the tenth century. Sawyer suggests that the new Viking aristocracy simply took over the control of existing estates from their Anglo-Saxon

predecessors (1971: 166) and thus initially kept the *status quo*. Gelling adds that the Viking take-over was unlikely to have interfered with the workings of local government since peace is required for changes in administration (1992: 125). It appears likely, therefore, that pre-existing land divisions were perpetuated through the early Viking period. Unwin's research into the estates of Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire in the later Viking period suggests that there was a multiplicity of manors in each township, not necessarily with a hall. Settlement nucleation here, and in the rest of the Viking north, was relatively late in comparison with those areas to the south under English control. This may have been due to the influence of Scandinavian culture on the lands of the Danelaw (Unwin 1988).

Eventually a new division of land was created for administrative purposes on both sides of the Danelaw divide - "wapentakes" and "hundreds" - which were probably "the fruit of a reorganisation imposed by the southern English kings" in the late tenth century (Stafford 1985: 142). The Danelaw land unit was the "wapentake", an administrative unit which took its name from Old Norse and which held its own court under the jurisdiction of the reeve and twelve leading thanes (Sawyer 1971: 153). Wapentakes were comprised of "ploughlands", principally a new name for the older *hide* of which the warrior elite would reasonably expect to be granted between 8 and 12 for estates (Hart 1975: 14-5). Each wapentake appeared to be coterminous with the landholding of the great estates which preceded them (Richards 1991: 31). The English version was the "hundred" based on a unit of 100 *hides* and was also probably introduced into Mercia from Wessex in the tenth century (Gelling 1992: 142). Again this appears to have been based on the nominal landholding of a large estate which had its own central area, the "vill" (Richards 1991: 31)

Wapentakes and hundreds can be deduced from the *Domesday Book*, for similar units continued in use after the Norman Conquest (Stafford 1985: 142). However, it appears that by 1086 many of them had been drastically altered in their geographical areas and continued to change until the thirteenth century (Gelling 1992: 142). Some, on the other hand, remained relatively unaltered, and in the area of this research, Staffordshire hundreds appear to respect earlier territories (*ibid*: 142), as do wapentakes in the "Peak" (Stafford 1985: 142). These are areas where the fragmentation of estates was retarded in comparison with those on richer arable lands elsewhere (*ibid*: 119) and therefore they are more likely to preserve pre-existing land divisions. In other areas, by the time of *Domesday*, most hundreds and wapentakes do not appear to respect the old royal estates but a new series of estates born out of the fragmentation of older ones, in as much as they appear to either cut across the "sokes" (former royal estate centres) or, in

Lincolnshire for example, divide them (Stafford 1985: 142). In this period where estate fragmentation had already taken place, it may be more appropriate to consider minor rivers as some of the new boundaries dividing the earlier estates.

The difference between the terms "wapentake" and "hundred" is therefore largely due to their geographical position in respect of the Danelaw, although in some areas (eg. North Yorkshire) the term "hundred" is also used in connection with former Viking territory (Sawyer 1971: 153). In the research area, the present-day counties of South and West Yorkshire, Nottinghamshire, Leicestershire and Derbyshire were divided into wapentakes (Stafford 1985: 142), but Staffordshire, Cheshire and Lancashire were organised into hundreds (Gelling 1992: 144). These are, of course, based largely upon their status at *Domesday* and therefore may have been subject to changes since their original designation. However, the use of the term "hundred" in the west of the research area suggests that the Danelaw division of Mercia excluded these areas and therefore they remained under nominal English control (ibid: 127-8).

"Shiring" is also accredited to the West Saxons and appears to have been introduced firstly into the English parts of Mercia where Gelling observes that the shires "show no respect for the traditional divisions between the peoples who made up the composite kingdom of Mercia" (1992: 141). The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* refers to "Cheshire" by 980, although this could have been an anachronism by a chronicler writing in 1046. Some Mercian shires may have been in place by the tenth century (Gelling 1992: 141), although a rival school of thought considers that their modern outlines did not arrive until the eleventh century (cf. Loyn 1984: 133). Loyn considers that the old land divisions were not even altered until the tenth or eleventh centuries (ibid: 133). Stafford considers that the shires of the East Midlands (principally those under Anglo-Scandinavian control) were formed in the tenth and eleventh centuries by the kings of southern England. They were not the creation of a single administrative decision (1985: 141) and were formed from the major political and geographical boundaries which preceded them. Therefore the boundaries of the estates, amalgamated into wapentakes and hundreds, became those of the shire (ibid: 139). However, since shiring ultimately took account of the emerging towns or "burhs" (Loyn 1984: 135) some reorganisation of the old divisions must inevitably have taken place.

The use of the "shire" boundaries in the reconstruction of land divisions, especially in the pre-Viking period, is therefore dangerous since many wapentakes/hundreds are a more recent creation which, in the majority of regions (see above), cut across former multiple estates and

follow new boundaries born out of the reorganisation after the later tenth century. This is especially important in the case of the reconstructions of the *Tribal Hidage* bounds of several hundred years earlier, where many writers have assumed modern shire boundaries to be relevant where no other evidence exists (cf. Higham 1993: 143-4; Stafford 1985: 94-7; Hart 1977). It should be noted that much of the southern boundary of present-day (and Medieval [cf. Higham 1993: 89]) Yorkshire follows minor river courses and as previously discussed, should be treated with caution.

2.6: ESTATES.

The smallest unit of significant landholding was the estate under the control of an individual. It was an amalgamation of these estates which formed the character of the larger land units and eventually the kingdoms. The early Anglo-Saxon estates appear to have been comparatively large in comparison with their later counterparts. They were under royal control based on a central "vill" having subordinate estates within them (cf. Bourne 1986: 13) and were likely to have been ultimately based on previous Roman or even pre-Roman land units (cf. Jones 1986: 153-4). The identification of early estates is mainly by deduction; i.e. their reconstruction from evidence such as that contained in *Domesday* (essentially a list of late Saxon estates), from the "logic of parish boundaries" (Bourne 1986: 13), from charters, and even from church dedications (Everitt 1986: 225-58). Contemporary charter evidence is, of course, an invaluable reference source, but since most were written in the ninth century or later (Jones 1986: 154) in all probability they only record the result of the fragmentation of even larger units.

By the time of *Domesday*, the size of surviving estates in the research area to some extent reflects the topography. For example, the northern part of Derbyshire retained its large royal multiple estates, especially in the Peak District wapentake of *Hamenstan*, whereas the southern and eastern parts had been fragmented into smaller manors especially from the eighth century onwards, until by the tenth century, most of the small estates of lowland Derbyshire had come into being. Typical are the wapentakes of Appletree and Litchurch where their comparably richer arable land could support smaller, yet still viable units (Roffe 1986a: 9-10). Some parish boundaries, especially those of the mother churches, assist in reconstructions of the original estates which they served before fragmentation, closer to *Domesday* (cf. Bourne 1986: 13). The extent of the parochial rights attached to them often indicates the size of the former estate before its later division (Roffe 1986a: 25).

Land charters were the result of the introduction of "bookland" and as such largely an organ of the church as the literary intermediary. Charters record land grants, initially to secular individuals as a return for favours to the king (eg. in warfare) and, even in the seventh century in Northumbria, the secular elite were allowed land to found monasteries, thus holding land in perpetuity. Mercian royalty used their control over monastic houses to curb loss of land to the secular elite (Loyn 1984: 40). After the reconquest by the English, the passage of bookland into lesser aristocratic hands was accelerated, as a commodity to be bought, sold or exchanged. Prior to this, transactions relied on the "folkland" system, whereby land could be transferred by way of ceremonial act probably within an established pattern of kin-based relationships (cf. Hart 1975: 14). From the pre-Viking period only two authentic charters have survived from Mercia. Both were preserved at Peterborough and concern Breedon-on-the-Hill and are dated 675/691 and 848 (Hart 1977: 59). Even after the Viking take-over there are few charters before the tenth century. In Mercia, there is no evidence of landbooks for the early Danelaw period, most likely because land was negotiated by oral transactions (i.e. folkland) during meetings of the Wapentake (Hart 1975: 14-16).

In the research area, most of the evidence for land (estate) ownership and its distribution appears immediately after the final phase of the English reconquest in the form of land charters or 'bookland'. Wulfsgie Maur, for example, was granted extensive lands in Staffordshire in 942 from king Edmund, along with estates in Derbyshire at the same time (Hart 1975: 91-104.). Land granted by the king to an individual, was usually for life tenancy, reverting back to the king (as it was regarded as his kin land), perhaps only to be "loaned" on again at some subsequent date (Stafford 1985: 34). The whole area of hereditary rights, whereby all land was regarded as belonging in perpetuity to the family of its original owner (thus "kin-land") came into question largely as a result of the so-called monastic revival of the tenth century.

Two forms of land ownership came into being with the advent of bookland - that by hereditary succession as before, and that as a commodity to be bought sold or exchanged: the two were regarded as separate categories of wealth (Charles-Edwards 1979: 101). Folkland remained as property subject to hereditary claims by succeeding kin: bookland on the other hand, became a negotiable commodity in which the possession of the charter denoted ownership (Kelly 1990: 46). The church had suffered from the hereditary claims of aristocratic nobles and even churchmen, so that land was regarded as belonging to the benefactors' kin, rather than as separate ecclesiastical property. The "monastic revival" had sought to shift the emphasis away from family or kin property and towards ownership through the possession of charters (Stafford

1989: 188-189). However, many estates remained under royal ownership even though they had been previously granted to individuals; land units ceded from the king by charter were often back in royal hands by *Domesday* (ibid: 103). Even so, the structure of English land-owning society was changing: successively kings were granting land to individuals by charter to which there was full hereditary rights for that individual and his kin. This process was originally confined to the new monastic endowments, but "accelerated with the development of a land market in the period of Viking settlement to become a common form of lay tenure" (Roffe 1986a: 10).

However, surviving charters are disproportionate in their distribution; whereas some areas benefit from the survival of numerous documents, other areas have none at all. For example, the charter evidence for southern Yorkshire is almost non-existent; reconstructions of estates rely on evidence from place-names, wapentake boundaries and parochial jurisdiction (Hey 1979: 24-30). One of the main sources of charter evidence for the research area concern those issued by Burton Abbey, itself a newly founded monastery arising from the proceeds of the will of Wulfric Spot in 1004 (Hart 1975: 159; Roffe 1986a: 10). However, many of the charters pre-date its foundation so it is probable that these were already in the possession of his family. Indeed his mother founded the ecclesiastical house at Wolverhampton and Wulfric was probably a descendant of Wulfsige Maur, (see above) who gained land in this area shortly after the initial reconquest in the mid-tenth century (ibid: 159-160). Contrary to the aims of the church during the period of the 'monastic revival', the lands of both Wolverhampton and Burton Abbey appear to have obeyed traditional kinship property rights. Subsequently the lands of Burton Abbey became linked by kin to the powerful thegn, Morcar, who succeeded in extending this land-base, until he was murdered by the earl of Mercia, whereupon his lands reverted to the king (Hart 1975: 347).

There are two surviving charters, one from Burton Abbey and one of unknown provenance, which are of particular interest to this research. The first concerns the passage of the Hope and Ashford estates, now in north Derbyshire, from the English king to Uhtred in 926. This date is quite early in the English occupation of former Viking Mercia. Nevertheless, it refers to an earlier undated *purchase* of the same estate by king Edward and earldorman Aethelred of the Mercians from its previous Viking owner which would probably have been before 911 (Hart 1975: 103). This raises two rather interesting points: the first is that this reference to a previous Viking owner, unique in the charters for this region, implies that there was no "natural" claim to this land through the process of reconquest of Viking Mercia as seems implicit through the terms of the other documents. Secondly, the estates may therefore have been outside the nominal jurisdiction of the English upon the reconquest of Mercia. In 829, king Egbert of Wessex met his

Northumbrian counterpart at Dore (Yorke 1990: 96) in the border region between the old kingdoms of Elmet, the Peak and North Mercia, therefore close to the boundary between Mercia and Northumbria. Similarly, during the reconquest of Danelaw, Dore again was used in 942 as a meeting place by the rulers of Wessex (cf. Hey 1979: 27) suggesting that the territory of the Five Boroughs also respected a similar boundary (Stafford 1985: 138). This would place Derbyshire's most northerly estates of Hope and Ashford as peripheral to these arrangements and therefore possibly outside their jurisdiction in the kingdom of York. In other words the acquisition of these estates by the English may have been an early strategic measure in the English reconquest and not part of the general settlement.

The second charter of particular interest concerns one discovered as recently as 1983 as a seventeenth-century copy of lost documents from a Staffordshire abbey. It concerns the passage of part of the old Bradbourne estate in Derbyshire, that around Ballidon, from the king to a nobleman in 963 (Hodges 1991a: 96). The most interesting feature is that it illustrates the process of estate fragmentation in Derbyshire in the tenth century resulting in the creation of a new estate almost coterminous with the present-day parish of Ballidon (ibid: 96). The old Bradbourne estate centre appears to have been part of a considerable royal landholding and was a major component of the wapentake of *Hamenstan* which Roffe considers was roughly equivalent to the former division of the *Pecsaete* (1986a: 27). According to his reconstruction of the "early" estates in this wapentake, they appear to have been centred around Hope, Bakewell, Wirksworth and Bradbourne and were in royal hands (ibid: 26-7). Bakewell was also a royal manor in 1086, and had previously incorporated the later estates Hope and Darley, where "the royal interest was clearly ancient" (Roffe 1986a: 27).

SUMMARY

To summarize this chapter, the research area contained parts of two large kingdoms, Mercia and Northumbria. Each became periodically dominant over the other and therefore boundaries between them were likely to have been fluid. Some of the smaller sub-kingdoms may have held a degree of independence as the 'superkingdoms' developed. The Viking settlement created the kingdom of York in the southern part of Northumbria: Mercia was divided between the Vikings and the Mercian English. Centres were established in Danish Mercia which became known as the "Five Boroughs". There was a separate, and later, Viking settlement in the west of northern England, by the Hiberno-Norse. The English began a process of reconquest over the Viking

north and in the first-half of the tenth century, the separate Viking kingdoms were obliged to submit to the Wessex kings.

Some reconstructions of territorial limits can be attempted from various sources, including the *Tribal Hidage*, which is particularly pertinent to the research area. However, re-creation of the exact boundaries, is by no means certain. Viking areas are characterised by the 'wapentake' land-unit, those of the English, by 'hundreds'. Shires were probably introduced by the English after their reconquest of Viking lands, but these did not respect the older land divisions. Old estates were large, but became fragmented especially after the ninth century. Land transactions under Viking administration was by 'folkland', but 'bookland' was introduced into Danish Mercia, after the English reconquest. Documentary evidence for Mercia in particular, is lacking and there is no history for the Viking settlement, except that written by their adversaries in the south. Little, therefore, is known concerning the initial Viking administration; but from the tenth century onwards, evidence of land units after the reconquest, can be obtained from charters.

3: THE ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO THE AREA OF RESEARCH.

3.1: KINGDOMS AND CHRISTIANITY.

The political fortunes and expediencies of the respective kingdoms and regions had a profound effect on the ecclesiastical provision. Conversely, the acceptance and/or imposition of Christianity had its political and social consequences. Since this thesis concerns nominally Christian artefacts, any discussion of the pre-Christian era of the English kingdoms will be omitted except where this seems appropriate. The initial conversion phase can be summed-up by this quotation from Wormald: "The coming of Christianity displaced the old Gods, and diverted traditional values into new pastures, but it did not change those values" (Wormald 1978: 67).

There is one feature of the old religion however, which still had a major effect both on secular politics and on the church: that was the relationship between the old religious beliefs and kin ties. Kinship ties in Germanic society had always been the strongest institution of all. St. Boniface said; "have pity on them, because even they themselves are accustomed to say, we are of one blood and one bone" (Branston 1957: 28). The right of leadership was partially claimed by linking the ancestry of Anglo-Saxon aristocratic dynasties with that of the gods of Germanic myth (ibid: 28), even though their leadership was nominally Christian. The royal line often claimed descendancy from Woden: the Mercian kings of Offa's dynasty also buttressed their ancestry through a series of 'homeland' kings suggesting that dynastic claims from former Mercian lines were untenable (Yorke 1990: 15-16). This buttressing of power by association with older traditions of sacral kingship raised them above their followers and enabled their family to be the one from which subsequent rulers were chosen (ibid: 16). Even as late as 853, the Christian king Aethelwulf of Wessex had his Chronicler describe him as a descendant of Woden, although by this time, as a compromise with biblical texts, Woden was accepted as holding *his* ancestry from the Ark (Garmonsway 1953: 66). The process of kinship inheritance, however, was often at odds with the establishment of a powerful dynasty. Fragmentation of power through the demand for shares in land by descendants led to problems of succession which have been mentioned briefly in the preceding chapter.

But Christianity was attractive to the English rulers: on the Continent Frankish power was growing in tandem with this religion and their leaders were well aware that they were the "heirs of Roman emperors" (Yorke 1990: 19). The process of English conversion was not without its links

with the powerful Frankish neighbour. King Ethelbert's alliance with the Franks, sealed by his marriage to Bertha of the Frankish royal household, resulted in the adoption of Roman Christianity in Kent (Sherley-Price 1955: 75-6) and its acceptance by Ethelbert himself. Conversion was a pre-requisite of this act, where "political allegiances and loyalties were expressed in religious terms" (Stafford 1985: 98).

A similar alliance was forged between Kent and Northumbria by marriage and conversion when Edwin of Northumbria accepted a royal bride and the new religion. Northumbrian leadership became nominally Christian with its first Roman Christian bishop, Paulinus (Sherley-Price 1955: 118-131). Bede held Edwin as a model for leaders of the warrior classes in that his war prowess was "a sign that he would come to the Faith and the heavenly kingdom" (ibid: 117). The political fortunes of Northumbria have been dealt with in the previous chapter, where it was mentioned that Oswald regained Northumbrian power partly through an alliance with the Scots. Again the terms of this alliance were sealed by the acceptance of the Scots' religion - in this case, that of the native British church. Oswald's successful leadership, and that of his successor Oswiu, became tied to a Christian regime allied to western Britain rather than Francia and the southern English kings. Northumbria's Mercian neighbour was still nominally pagan until Penda's defeat in the mid-seventh century when Northumbria (albeit briefly) became the Mercians' overlord and 'imposed' Christianity on them. Bede is silent on the role of conversion by the British church (Stafford 1985: 98) but it seems that through Northumbria's powerful position in the seventh century, the native church gained considerable influence even in Mercia (Yorke 1990: 90).

Mercia was already influenced by Northumbrian Christianity before Penda's death through his son Peada (see section 2.2). After this initial success, four priests were dispatched by Oswiu to Mercia. These were probably subordinate to his bishop in Lindsey (Higham 1993: 130). In 655 after the death of Penda the Mercians received an Irish Bishop, Diuna, based at Lichfield (Sherley-Price 1955: 178-185). When Northumbrian domination over Mercia ended, during the reign of Wulfhere of Mercia, the process of conversion came under Mercian control, although it appears to have retained its former Irish character (Gelling 1992: 94). Wulfhere's replacement bishop, Trumhere, was also ordained by the Irish and it appears that successive appointments were from the north, including Chad of Northumbria (Sherley-Price 1955: 185). Stafford suggests that this was a mark of continuing Northumbrian overlordship, where "the church not only reflected overlordship but, through control of appointments, extended and underpinned it" (1985: 98). But Mercia's revival under Wulfhere was at Northumbria's political expense (section 2.2) and Oswiu's position was weakened. As a result, it appears that he wished to renew former alliances

with the southern kingdoms and in 664 the Synod of Whitby resulted in Northumbria's acceptance of Roman Christianity (Higham 1993: 135).

The Synod of Whitby created new openings for the Roman church and the Deiran bishopric was revived, after Paulinus' initial attempt, at York, the former Roman administrative centre (Higham 1993: 135). Paulinus, as an evangelist of the Roman church, had also based the see of Lindsey on the former Roman centre of Lincoln. However, the re-establishment of Roman centres as ecclesiastical sees was not always compatible with Anglo-Saxon political arrangements, nor with an economy which was no longer centred on cities and towns. To realign the church with secular politics, Theodore, as archbishop of Canterbury in 678, began the introduction of new sees which respected the different groups of peoples which made up the kingdoms (Stafford 1985: 99). In Mercia along with the existing see at Lichfield, the new see of Worcester was created for the people of the *Hwicce* along with Hereford for the *Magonaete*, and one based on *Syddensis civitas* (unidentified) for Lindsey. In Northumbria the bishoprics were realigned on Lindisfarne and Hexham (Loyn 1984: 57).

In 735 a second archbishopric was created at York and by the mid-eighth century, England had been divided into manageable diocesan territories. In the south of England and East Anglia, these were based on Canterbury, Rochester, Selsey, Winchester, Sherborne, London, Dunwich and Elmham. In the north and midlands, the diocesan arrangements were based on Lichfield, Lindsey, Hereford, Worcester, Leicester, York, Hexham, Lindisfarne and Whithorn. Some alterations to the northern part of the Lichfield diocese were made in c. 700-750, but it appears to have still extended to cover the present-day counties of Derbyshire, Staffordshire and Cheshire (Gelling 1992: 99). Tithes were made compulsory in 787 and schools for clergy were established at York and Canterbury (Loyn 1984: 57-9).

In c. 654 the monastery at *Medeshamstede* (most likely Peterborough) was founded by Peada in Mercia (Garmonsway 1953: 29). But the Mercian dynasty's own major ecclesiastical centre appears to have become focussed on Repton, a royal monastery which was established by the end of the seventh century but probably only reached prominence in the mid-ninth century when it became a saint-cult centre (Taylor 1979: 1-2). Repton became a major royal seat along with Tamworth, now in Staffordshire (Yorke 1990: 102-107) and has been described as a microcosm of political and religious changes in early Mercia (Stafford 1985: 106). The earliest cemetery on the site is dated to the seventh century. Pieces of window glass and Continental vessels found in association with these early graves suggest that it was important to the Mercian aristocracy

(ibid: 106). One of the first to have been buried here was the third son of Penda, Merewalh, in c. 686 (Stafford 1985: 107). In the earlier part of the eighth century, there appears to have been a free-standing mausoleum at the site (Biddle 1986: 2), but Aethelbald (died 757) may have been the first to be buried in the crypt of the church, probably built over the mausoleum after 715 (Stafford 1985: 107). The site became a saint cult centre following the murder, in c. 850, of Wystan (Wigstan), the son of king Wiglaf who was also buried here (Taylor 1979: 1). Stafford sees the creation of this saint and his attendant literature as a discouragement from murdering those of royal blood and an attempt to foster hereditary claims to the throne by his family (1985: 107). Thereafter Repton became a centre for the veneration of the royal dead, tended by royal women (Stafford 1985: 107). Part of the site was excavated by Biddle in the 1980's (as yet unpublished) revealing highly crafted funerary sculpture although it cannot be dated by context (R. Langley, Derby Museum, pers.com.).

Surviving charter evidence from Peterborough identifies a monastic foundation at Breedon-on-the-Hill in Leicestershire. Between 675 and 691, land was granted by *princeps* Friduricus to Peterborough for the foundation of a monastery there. At the same time, the same nobleman also appears to have granted land to Peterborough abbey, probably at Repton, although this is not certain (Dornier 1977b: 157-8). The inclusion of the term *princeps* suggests that this monastic foundation was also under royal control (Stafford 1985: 94). Bede's *History*, and the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, record that, in 731, Tatwine of Breedon monastery was appointed archbishop of Canterbury (Dornier 1977b: 158; Williams 1975: 7-8): this may well have been a political appointment.

The dedication of Breedon's church to St. Hardulf is unusual and may also have been politically important although the identity of the saint remains mysterious. He could have been the Northumbrian king who murdered Alkmund in the beginning of the ninth century (Dornier 1977b: 160). Since the relics of Alkmund became the focus of a cult centre at nearby Derby it is entirely possible that the dedication was inspired by a period of Northumbrian overlordship. All this tends to suggest that Breedon was of importance and, if the dedication can be tied to the early ninth century, then it would suggest a continuing importance until the Viking settlement. Afterwards, a church seems to have existed here, but no refoundation of a monastery is recorded (Dornier 1977b: 160). Breedon's rich sculptural heritage, which has been stylistically dated to either the eighth (Clapham 1928) or early ninth centuries (Cramp 1977), appears to be at odds with the results of the excavations of the site by Dornier, where there is no archaeological evidence for a

large monastic house compatible with such an extensive sculptural display (Dornier 1977b: 162-6).

There were other notable figures connected with the Mercian royal family such as St. Guthlac, described by Morris as an 'aristocratic warrior' rather than a holy man (1989: 94), who founded Crowland Abbey in the Fens around the end of the seventh century. His sister Pega, also founded a church at Peakirk a little later (*ibid*: 94). Thus Mercian monastic control was firmly in royal hands with the intention of curbing the power of the lesser elite (Loyn 1984: 40). In the satellite provinces (ie. the buffer territories), the Mercians patronised monasteries and promoted royal saints in them (Yorke 1990: 111) and Stafford suggests that such dedications were a replacement for the cult of the warrior hero (1985: 101). In the research area, for example, two churches at Derby (Alkmund and Werburgh), Repton (Wystan), Spondon and Blackwell (both Werburgh again) have saints connected with royalty. Other dedications such as to Bertelin at Ilam, Stafford and Runcorn in Cheshire and to Barlok at Norbury may also have been political dedications, although their exact identities are unknown: Gelling suggests Bertelin was a Mercian prince and that many of the Mercian dedications may have been due to the deliberate policy of Aethelflaed in the tenth century (1992: 153).

3.2: VIKINGS AND THE CHURCH.

The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (Garmonsway 1953) implies that the Vikings were the destroyers of churches and were generally hostile to Christianity. However, these statements were written in a document made by Wessex chroniclers, essentially for kings at war with the Vikings. The truth of the Vikings' relationship with the church remains obscure, but the leadership in York after Healfdene, fell to Guthfrith in c. 882, who was said to have become a Christian (Bailey 1980: 1-32). This event was early in the initial triumph of the Vikings and indeed Stafford remarks how relatively few pagan Viking burials have been found. In fact the research area contains two of the largest pagan cemeteries. 60 cremations have been found in several burial mounds at Ingleby, near Repton (Stafford 1985: 118) and at Repton, itself, recent excavations unearthed a large mass burial also from the Viking period (Biddle 1986: 22). Both of these probably relate to the early stages of Viking conquests when their army overwintered at Repton (Garmonsway 1953: 72-3). Guthfrith's conversion is said to have concerned the wanderings of the St. Cuthbert Community in Northumbria, escaping from Viking persecution. It appears to have involved some ritual transaction which may have resulted in an agreement between the church and the controlling Scandinavians (Bailey 1980: 1-32). Hall maintains that the York archbishopric

remained operative and that archaeological investigations suggest the church was important to the York Vikings, chiefly through the evidence of 'Christian' funerary practice (1988: 129). However, the only sculptured 'funerary' monuments which can be dated with any degree of certainty, belong to the tenth century (Lang 1988: 38) and there is no established archaeological link between the alleged early 'Christianisation' of the Vikings and sculptured monuments.

There is, however, no suggestion that there was total continuity of ecclesiastical provision or power in the period of Viking administration, but, on the other hand, there appears to have been no absolute hiatus in church founding during the ninth century (Morris 1989: 165). The see of Leicester, and possibly of Lindsey, appear to have collapsed, with the main Mercian bishopric being re-established at Dorchester-on-Thames by the tenth century (Stafford 1985: 111). Although church land and property were seized by the Vikings, the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* makes no mention of the destruction of religious houses after 835, nor even plundering. Documents from York and Peterborough suggest that "the Scandinavians are not seen as the inveterate enemies of the English, but even as their allies in domestic disputes, allies who were indeed not unacceptable to the church" (Bailey 1980: 24-42). However, the 'acceptability' of the Vikings to the church in the north may simply have been a pragmatic reaction on the part of the clergy.

It seems that land was the key issue for the Vikings and the 'destruction' was more probably the appropriation of land in the early settlement than the desire to eradicate Christianity, for, during the ninth century, there are signs that the church remained active in *Danelaw*. For example, York's library became one of the best in Europe and the Lindisfarne (St. Cuthbert) Community appears to have remained reasonably powerful, having been given their own land at Chester-le-Street (Yorke 1990: 97). The pre-existence of some churches is suggested by the Scandinavian 'kirk' place-names of which there are around 50 in the East Midlands, East Anglia, Lincolnshire and Yorkshire (Morris 1989: 160-161). Monastic sites may have been seized or even purchased during the Viking period and Morris suggests that, under the Scandinavians, some monasteries may have been simply relegated to churches of parochial status (ibid: 162). Like the secular history of the the Viking kingdoms, it is not until after the English reconquests of the tenth century that the church provision in the midlands and the north is better understood.

3.3: THE RECONQUEST BY THE ENGLISH AND THE MONASTIC 'REVIVAL'.

More light is shed on the ecclesiastical provision during the tenth century by surviving charters and historical documents. It appears that before this time the church had fallen into a certain degree of disarray, which was not entirely due to the Vikings; Latin was rarely used and the system was open to abuse by the secular elite (Stafford 1989: 180-181). Eighth-century churchmen appear to have been "worldly" figures, often relatives of those commanding secular power (Yorke 1990: 93). The tenth century saw a revival in church patronage and Benedictine reforms were instituted during the reign of Edgar, but gave prominence to the royal family (Loyn 1984: 84). In particular, the Wessex kings were closely allying themselves with the church to formulate the 'one belief, one kingdom' system of government. This appears to have been in response to Continental events where church and state had developed closer ties, modelled on the earlier imperial governments of Peppin and Charlemagne (ibid: 82-89).

The English reconquest of the North allowed the extension of church reforms under the Wessex kings to penetrate into *Danelaw*. However, because of the political divisions caused by the separatism of Northumbria, the 'monastic reform' does not seem to have developed 'north of the Humber' (Stafford 1989: 188). As a condition of the overlordship of the Wessex kings, the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* mentions that the subordinate rulers in the north and west of Britain were required to "establish a covenant of peace with pledges and oaths ... they forbade all idolatrous practices and then separated in concord" (Garmonsway 1953: 107). It is not clear from the *Chronicle* what action this required, but it may have been important in the development of the church in these areas. Higham suggests that this agreement had ecclesiastical significance and that the ceremony may have been at the church of Dacre in Northumbria (1993: 190-2). The acceptance of Christianity which is implied by this entry may have provided an appropriate period for monumental activity - a visual token by the secular elite of its acceptance. The erection of "tenth-century" stone bears at this site, mentioned by Higham, is implied to be related to this event (ibid: 190). Although this animal features strongly on hogback monuments of the Viking period (cf. Lang 1984), free-standing stone bears of the type found at Dacre, are without parallel and therefore no such conclusions are justified. The spiritual component of the acceptance of English overlordship was later reinforced by Edgar through his two 'coronations', one at Bath and the other at Chester (Garmonsway 1953: 119). Again this was modelled on Carolingian lines where the Wessex king received the acceptance of his overlordship from subordinate regions and publicly displayed "divine kingship" (Loyn 1984: 92).

The new monastic establishments of the tenth century were now the holders of lay treasures; above all they were the repositories of secular land charters where before they had only held those for church lands (Hart 1975: 30). In northern Mercia, no great monastic houses are recorded to have been founded or refounded during this period, the nearest being Peterborough, but some more minor establishments appear to have existed, including Burton Abbey in Staffordshire, founded in 1004. Although it is highly probable that tenth and eleventh-century patrons were partly motivated by a sense of piety, their principal motives remain unclear (Morris 1989: 190). The new reformation movement intended that abbeys, such as Burton, should be able to keep their lands separate from the claims of founding kin, but by 1066 Burton appears to have lost most of its original endowment (Stafford 1989: 189). Proprietary attitudes still appear to have persisted throughout the later period, even amongst abbots and bishops (Stafford 1985: 191).

In Mercia, evidence of monastic foundations is rarely found except from charters (Morris 1989: 121-123) and it is conceivable that, along with those minor houses such as Burton which were documented, others may have existed for which there is no surviving documentary evidence. Similarly, ecclesiastical houses, especially in *Danelaw* Mercia which existed before the tenth century, may have disappeared during the Viking period without ever having been recorded at all, given the paucity of surviving Mercian documents. After the reconquest by the English in the tenth century, it is therefore possible that several former monastic houses may then have been downgraded to minsters or even minor churches on secular estates without any trace of their former status. Probable archaeological evidence for such an otherwise unknown monastic site has recently been discovered at Flixborough in the lower Trent Valley (Welch 1992: 123).

There appears to have been an eager and substantial patronage for the new tenth-century monastic foundations and endowments. In the south, most of this was from royalty but, in the Midlands, much of it came from the lesser nobility, as in the case of Burton Abbey (Stafford 1985: 130-131; Hart 1975: 373). Akin to the new monastic foundations, the ninth/tenth century also witnessed a new fervour in lesser church building. Unlike their predecessors, there appears to be a clear distinction between the new monastic order and the provision of churches and chapels which were now principally the property of the lesser nobility, although some monasteries also built churches on their estates (Stafford 1985: 186).

3.4: THE STRUCTURE OF THE CHURCH.

In simple terms, the structure of the later Saxon Church appears to be 'pyramidal' with the diocese and bishop at its pinnacle. Following in descending order of importance, and gaining in number, were the chief minsters or cathedrals, the old minsters/mother churches, and forming the base, small estate churches and their chapels. However, the distinctions between these categories of churches remained rather indistinct until after the Norman Conquest (Morris, R.K. 1983: 64). During the ninth to eleventh centuries, there was almost an 'explosion' in lesser church building, patronised and owned by secular lords, taking over many of the pastoral aspects of the old minsters (Blair 1985: 104). The term 'minster' can be a little confusing: it seems that it was interchangeable with 'monastery', for their roots are the same: *mynster* is merely the vernacular form of *monasterium*. Only by the tenth/eleventh centuries does there appear to be a distinction between the two terms and, even then, minster could apply to any size of church (Blair 1985: 105).

There also appear to have been two types of 'monastery' in the seventh and eighth centuries. Firstly, those great monastic houses such as Jarrow/Wearmouth whose relationships appear to be exclusively with kings, and secondly, those 'private' monasteries in the hands of the secular nobility. After the Synod of Whitby, 'bookland' was introduced for the first time and the size of monastic land endowments was increased. These factors created a proliferation in church building from the seventh century onwards, with secular nobility expecting similar land grants: secular monastic foundations were a way of obtaining such land (Yorke 1990: 91). Bede has previously been noted to have criticised the provision of the latter, which were clearly different in his eyes from his own establishment at Jarrow. Morris suggests that these two forms of 'monastic houses' may be distinguishable by their situations: those in more austere locations (eg. Lindisfarne) belong to the formal orders, whereas those in less isolated positions may have had different ideologies behind their formation and may be forerunners of some of the minster churches (1989: 104).

A minster could have one or several priests, monks or nuns (Stafford 1989: 184). The term 'old minster' does not infer any great antiquity but implies that such were important central churches built at the royal 'tun'. Minsters in this category may have existed in Northumbria as early as the later seventh century, but certainly by the eighth and ninth (Morris 1989: 131). The early minsters were small in number and covered a wide area, but their geographical distribution "reflects (the) political and other motives of their noble and royal founders" (Stafford 1985: 184). By the early

eleventh century there appears to be a third class of minster, one which appears to be fully 'private', in that they were in the hands of thegns on their own bookland and possessed a graveyard. Otherwise, churches without burial provision were called field churches (Morris 1989: 129).

There appears to be a close relationship between the creation of more 'lesser' churches, especially in the tenth century, and the fragmentation of the earlier large estates. Blair remarks how the old minsters (which were compatible with the large royal estates) lost importance to the new private provision which was based on the new manorial holdings from lands awarded by charter (1987: 270). The connection between bookland and church building is significant and is the reason why estates and later parishes coincide (Morris, R.K. 1983: 65). "The creation of rural parishes and parish churches went hand in hand with the fragmentation of great estates; one was the precondition of the other" (Stafford 1985: 184). The idea of 'private' churches was acknowledged as early as the mid-eighth century by the first archbishop of York (Morris, R.K. 1983: 66), but the new land tenure of the tenth century, in particular, gave rise to their rapid growth. The system became more regulated. kings and bishops (the latter had become royal appointments by 899) shared fines, and royal authority enforced moral laws: by 1000, secular priests were being governed tightly by the bishops and they were encouraged to set themselves apart from the community to enforce the church's laws in an arbitrary fashion (ibid: 195-198).

Both Cnut and Aethelred decreed laws governing churches and their jurisdiction and it seems that these were generally classified as chief minsters, old minsters, manorial (private) churches with burial grounds, field churches without burial grounds and outlying chapels (Owen 1979. 35). Owen's studies of the Kesteven (Lincolnshire) "Saxon" churches, suggested that the mother church was situated in the valley bottoms or flat accessible sites. Subsidiary manorial or demesne chapels would have been founded on newly cleared land as evidence of secondary settlement (1979: 35-40). Owen's argument appears to be based on a notion of agricultural 'pioneering', rather than the fragmentation of existing arable landscapes, but the outcome is that the proliferation of churches can be seen to be inextricably linked to that of new land holdings. The minster churches therefore appear to have been sited in the rich arable lands and were probably at the former 'multiple estate' centres or *tuns*. In some instances, lords seem to have collectively owned churches and there are examples of this in Lincolnshire, Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire (Stafford 1985: 186) and throughout *Danelaw* (Blair 1987: 270). In areas which may not have been under the *Danelaw* (section 2.3), it is notable that the Staffordshire *Domesday*

records "half of Stoke (on-Trent) church, with ½ carucate of land" (Morris 1976: 11) which no doubt also refers to a 'shared' church.

Apart from the outward display of status and piety through church building, the ownership of ecclesiastical foundations by the lay nobility had other advantages. Tithes were made compulsory in 787 (Loyn 1984: 59) and by the reign of Alfred, the Wessex Church could also impose fines on law breakers which were shared between Church and king (ibid: 72). The king would support the Church in its tax collection and provide protection, and in return the Church gave the king advice, literacy and legitimacy. All churches, however, were subject to a lord and he was expected to make profit from them (Loyn 1984: 157-160). During the tenth century, thegns' churches were allowed to retain one-third of tithes (destined for the mother church) for their own churches if there was a graveyard attached to them (Stafford 1985: 184-6). Aethelstan's law codes were quite specific in this respect since the *soulscof* (burial fees) was a further source of revenue (Morris, R.K. 1983: 65).

Burial grounds for the poor were often attached to small chapels, but prestigious burials ie. those of the elite, being more lucrative, were naturally reserved for the minster. The origins of churchyard burial is vague; some appear to pre-date the church building, others seem to follow on after the church structure was built (Morris, R.K. 1983: 49). Recent excavations suggest that some of the later stone churches, at least, were preceded by a graveyard. During the period of prolific church building by the secular elite, not only were they erected on their estates, but they were also provided at the same rate in the emerging towns. There is good documentary evidence to suggest that they were also founded by laymen (Morris 1989: 185-95). At St. Mark's in Lincoln it appears that more prestige was placed on its ninth-tenth century graveyard with sculptured monuments (by stylistic dating) than on the contemporary church structure which appears to have been limited to a wooden building (Gilmour and Stocker 1986). Memorial provision therefore appears to have been an important act at some period during the Viking administration. The town church appears to have been used in some instances for purposes other than worship, for example as taverns or even as markets. It seems, therefore, that the urban church was closely tied to the commercial activities, chiefly in secular hands (Morris 1989: 197-207).

Although the *Domesday Book* records many of the churches in the research area which existed by 1068, it is apparent that many are missing and the records are inconsistent between the county divisions (Gelling 1992: 185). The reasons for this have been discussed elsewhere (cf.

Blair 1985: 104). It would therefore be fruitless to make a list of them here. Furthermore, the ecclesiastical provision at *Domesday* is probably not the same as at the time when the sculpture was erected. During the Saxon period, the evidence for the existence of churches depends on the chance survival of charters and other documentary evidence, much of which has been mentioned above. Even then, the status, size and importance of the establishments remains largely unknown and reconstruction rests more on probability, than on documented fact. An example of this is given by a charter of 835 concerning Wirksworth which was granted by the abbot of Repton to the *princeps* of the *Tomsaete* in exchange for a rental of lead (Hart 1975: 102). It seems highly likely from its early inclusion into the estates of Repton, that a monastic daughter church, at least would have stood at Wirksworth. Moreover, its position as a royal estate and later wapentake centre (Roffe 1986a: 27) suggests that its status may have been as a minster with a 'priest and a church' recorded at *Domesday* (Morris 1978: 1). However, the *Domesday* survey is the first documentary evidence of a church at Wirksworth and the reconstruction of its earlier status (and even presence) is the result of a synthesis of evidence from elsewhere.

Similar comments apply to the church at Bakewell which probably stood at the centre of an early estate (Roffe 1986a: 27). Bakewell church has been interpreted as a monastic church (Morris 1989: 154), but Stafford refers to it only as a 'chief minster' based on an important royal estate (1985: 182). The rich and prolific array of Anglo-Saxon sculpture at Bakewell has been seen as evidence for its monastic status (Stafford 1985: 56) but this is based only on the assumption that monastic houses exclusively produced such material in the pre-Viking period and that such craft was centralised: the evidence for both of these assumptions is weak, as discussed earlier. However, some documentary evidence does exist to suggest a high status for the church at Bakewell. In a charter from Burton Abbey for 949, some additional land was granted to Uhtred's existing holding 'so that he could endow a religious community with part of his estate' (Hart 1975: 105). It is not clear whether this refers to an existing monastery or to one which Uhtred intended to found (Sawyer 1979b: 6-7). Hart suggests that it indicates a pre-existing 'monastery' which may have been fortified in 924 by Edgar[?] (1975: 105). Sawyer, on the other hand, ^{? Edward} suggests that Bakewell may have only become a house of secular canons by the eleventh century. Its former high status may be indicated by the *Domesday* record which refers to a church and two priests, a distinction only shared in Derbyshire by Repton (Cox 1877: 5). However virtually nothing is known of the status of Bakewell church prior to the tenth century. Any evidence of a pre-Viking monastic centre at Bakewell remains elusive.

Only two churches in Derbyshire, other than Repton and Bakewell, appear to have retained similar high status by 1086; both of these are in Derby. St. Alkmund's, which has been mentioned earlier in connection with the Mercian 'saint-cults', appears to have been a superior church to the *Northworthig* estate and had seven priests by the eleventh century (Stafford 1985: 182). St. Alkmund's, along with All Saints, appear to have formed the two royal minsters of Derby and surrounding rural land by 1066 (Roffe 1986a: 22-25). Beyond this, the status of other pre-conquest churches and their foundation dates is largely unknown and relies on other forms of reconstruction. The four great estates which appear to have made up the later wapentake of *Hamenstan* in the north of present-day Derbyshire were probably centred on Hope, Bakewell, Ashbourne and Wirksworth (Roffe 1986a: 27). All of these sites possess documented pre-Conquest churches (and contain Anglo-Saxon sculpture) which may have assumed senior status during later fragmentation of the large estates. It is apparent however, through sculptural evidence alone, that many undocumented churches existed in the pre-Conquest period in Derbyshire. Eyam, Baslow and Rowsley, for example, all have sculptural evidence and no *Domesday* mention of a church. * free tending, so not n of church

SUMMARY

To summarize this chapter, most Anglo-Saxon kings were nominally Christian by the later seventh century. Mercia followed Northumbria in submitting to the new religion, when Northumbria became the dominant of the two in the second half of the seventh century. The bishoprics became organised on people-groups, rather than on previous Roman centres, thereby reflecting the divisions of kingdoms and sub-kingdoms. Mercian politics were especially dominant over its church between the seventh and ninth centuries.

The Vikings of York appear to have tolerated Christianity, but church lands were seized and many monasteries lost their status. The relationship between the Vikings and the church remains obscure. After the English conquest of the Vikings, some monasteries were re-established and others created: a phase of prolific church building ensued. The structure of the church appears to have become defined as 'pyramidal', with the bishopric at the head, followed by chief minsters, old minsters and estate churches and chapels at the base. Not all churches had burial rights.

4: SCHOOLS OF SCULPTURE IN THE RESEARCH AREA.

4.1: METHOD OF ANALYSIS.

As outlined in chapter 1, there are various ways in which a 'school' can be defined. However, this research is designed to address two fundamental questions: firstly are the monuments in the research area connected by the use of a common *repertoire* of design elements - patterns, techniques, form and so on - and, secondly, are these restricted to a well defined geographical area. Previous research has suggested that this may well be true, but assessment of the commonality between monuments has often relied on comparisons of just one of their features, whilst all the others are ignored. For example, the form of the round-shafted monuments as mentioned in chapter 1, or the perceived similarity between figures or animal types, have been the sole comparative features. Selectivity has also been shown in other ways: the comparison of monuments has rested upon selected 'showpieces' such as the Ruthwell or Bewcastle crosses, and most 'lesser' fragments have simply been ignored (cf. Wilson 1984: 70). The more 'mundane' motifs, knotwork or scrolls etc. may appear to be *randomly* dispersed, but could in fact have distinctly different regional distributions. Even the technique in which the monument was carved could be distinguished as being part of the repertoire of a school, rather than an arbitrary choice by the individual masons.

If the production of Anglo-Saxon sculpture was governed by a set agenda of symbols and/or techniques, then one should be able to identify this repertoire and use it to define the exact identity and location of that grouping, or as it may be termed, school. To establish whether this can be done, it is necessary to examine *all* pieces of sculpture in the research area and in each case, record the full compliment of attributes and techniques used on each monument.

Therefore, the analysis began by making a comprehensive record for each of the 296 sculptured stones in the research area. The details recorded included decorative patterns, carving techniques, mouldings, frames, figure-types, the type and size (unit measurement) of the outline grids for the patterns, frame and crosshead types and any other feature which may contribute to the expression of commonality between the sculptures (see Appendices 1 and 3A). Each of these features is referred to as an "attribute" of the monument.

The distinctiveness of the different types decoration was variable. At one end of the scale it was found that interlaces and knotwork were the least ambiguous, since the main identifier was the

way in which the pattern was constructed. Adcock's work on interlace types (Adcock 1974) allows these to be simplified into one of six 'bend-types'. For example, the first 'E bend' pattern encountered could be recorded as 'E1'; the next variation on the same 'E' type pattern would be E2 and so on. It was found that the variation of pattern types was limited to a number of identifiable stereotypes, some widespread and popular in their distribution, others not so. Some popular patterns had already been given some form of nomenclature: for example, the 'E1' knotwork is often referred to as the "Stafford knot" (cf. Collingwood 1927: 62). However, the use of this term has been resisted in this thesis since there are various forms of 'Stafford knot' each variety possibly significant in their distribution. The examples of 'bend-type' knotwork are now given in each volume of the National Corpus and it is not proposed to repeat this here, but examples of each pattern recorded are given in Appendix 1.

Scrolls are a little more ambiguous than interlaces, since they all follow the same general characteristics of a spiralling design. However, they are most diagnostic in their treatment and appendages: some for example, are naturalistic and resemble a noded vine-scroll (eg. S2) whilst others are just simple spirals (eg. S6). Generally, scrolls were found to be distinctive enough to be diagnostic.

Plaitwork is almost universal in that there is little variation which can be employed in its construction. Therefore, there was usually little more to record than the number of strands which were woven together. Occasionally some variations were introduced where changes in layout gave the impression of a more elaborate or intricate pattern. Where these were noted they were recorded as separate attributes (eg. looped P4). Some appendages to interlaces, scrolls, figures etc. proved to be distinctive. The 'Trent Curl' is typical and is often found as a stylish addition to other attributes, but nevertheless is easily identifiable as a motif in its own right. Similarly, other minor scroll motifs, twists and curls (eg. 'USL') were found to be repeated over many monuments and could also be recognised as a distinct attribute.

Human figures were generally found to be difficult to identify as characteristic. They are far more ambiguous than say a 'C-bend' pattern which either satisfies a predictable series of bends, or does not. Some figure types appear to be distinctive enough, through their characteristic treatment, to be catalogued with some degree of certainty (eg. 'Peak' figure): others are more ambiguous and difficult to relate to others in the research area. The identification of schools in the manner adopted in this research is not intended to identify the hands of individual masons nor, as discussed in chapter 1, are the monuments likely to be the product of a single individual.

Therefore, it is unlikely that the depiction of a human figure would remain uniform across several or many masons: perhaps only very basic traits, such as stance or dress, may be repeated in any wider sense of a school. It may be that the close similarities between the Peak figures is because the small number of monuments involved (see section 4.2) are the work of one individual or a small number in close liaison. However, figure types in general are regarded as the least diagnostic attributes.

Animal types are only marginally better: they suffer from the same inconsistencies as do human figure types, probably for the same reasons. However, the 'Ribbon beast' was found to be characteristic, chiefly through its interplay with interlaces and knotwork to form a distinctive attribute. Some animal forms, on the other hand, proved to be undiagnostic. The animals shown on Crofton 2 (Appendix 3B - "Crofton 2A") were described by Collingwood as "distinctively Anglian beasts" (1927: 52) but remain without parallel in the research area, despite claims that this type of animal is supposed to be the form adopted in northern Mercia (cf. Kendrick 1938). One therefore needs to be cautious over claims that schools or connections can be identified from figures or animal types alone.

The result of the fieldwork was that a finite number of attributes were recorded and transferred onto a computer database program, which allowed them to be sorted into groups of monuments and sites which had the same attributes in common. For example, every stone with a four-stranded plait was given a standard database term (P04 in this case) and each site or individual monument possessing that attribute could easily be recalled and grouped with others at will. The distribution of each attribute was also plotted onto a map, so that their geographical distribution could be examined (Appendix 1).

Some attributes were found to have a widespread pattern of distribution with no apparent concentration in any part of the research area. Others, however, were restricted to a specific sector; for example, the attribute recorded as "S7" is found to be distributed in the north of the research area, whereas the attribute of "double cable" is only found in the east. The latter attributes can be termed "area-specific", whereas those which have a widespread distribution - eg. "P4" (P04), can be termed "non area-specific". Some attributes are only found at one site and do not repeat themselves elsewhere in the research area. For example the "square collar" and "linked CC1" are only found on the Sproxtun shaft. Attributes such as these are described as "sole". There is also a category of attributes which are concentrated into regions of the research area but are nevertheless strictly non area-specific as they are also found elsewhere.

The attributes are found to fall into four types of geographical distribution:

- 1 Those which are not geographically restricted but are found in all regions of the research area with no apparent concentrations.
2. Those restricted to specific regions and are absent from most or all others.
3. Those found in all or most regions, but are particularly concentrated in some.
4. Those which are unique (in the research area) to one site only.

Attributes in category 1 which are not geographically confined or concentrated, cannot be used to identify a school. They appear to be part of a universal repertoire of decoration with no regional significance.

Since schools can be identified by a regional concentration of similar attributes (see section 1.3), each area specific attribute in category 2, may be a "signature" of a school, forming one of the more diagnostic elements in its repertoire of design. It is tempting to conclude that a single area-specific attribute denotes the existence of a school (eg. ring-headed crosses - section 1.3) as indeed they may, but the distribution of each attribute could simply be the preference of, say, an individual mason or patron, and not of a school itself. Therefore, the identity of a school should not rely on a single attribute unless it is accompanied by others which are common throughout all the sculpture of the school. In most cases there is more than one area-specific attribute which shows itself to be similarly restricted to roughly the same sites of the same region. If it is found that more than one area-specific attributes are present on the same *sculptures* then this may be regarded as the basis of the school's repertoire. For example, the attribute "S7", restricted to the north part of the research area, is found on a group of monuments which in most cases also bear the pattern "A1 (mirrored)", which is similarly restricted in its distribution. Both attributes can therefore be considered to be co-signatory of a school.

The attributes in category 3 are more difficult to justify as those which can *identify* a school. Their semi-restricted distribution may indeed be due to their role as part of the repertoire of the school, not as a unique motif, but as one which is specifically selected to complete the repertoire. Alternatively, the concentration of these attributes may simply be fortuitous. Therefore, as they are not strictly area-specific, as are attributes in category 1, they should not be regarded as primary indicators of a school. However, if it transpires that they are frequently used alongside the area-specific attributes as part of the specific repertoire of a school, then they may be regarded as "associate" attributes.

Attributes in category 4 are only found at one site and do not repeat themselves elsewhere in the research area: they cannot therefore, be identified as part of the repertoire of a regional school.

It was found that the distributions of area-specific attributes fall into a number of distinct regions of the research area and therefore indicate broad areas of influence (see Fig. 4.0). Within these broad areas the distribution of some attributes suggests smaller clusters of sites where there appear to be localised sub-schools within the main regional influence. For example, the attributes of "Ribbon beast", "thick stem", and the patterns of "A1" and "E1" (in their singular form) have a wide and common distribution which sweeps around the southern part of the research area and northwards, west of the Pennines. All four of these attributes share the same broad area of distribution, but the additional attributes of, say, the "plaited body" or the "raised arm" figures are only found to the west of the Pennines and therefore suggest the presence of a sub-group within the main region.

Since the research area appears to contain several broad groups of stylistic influence, one can provisionally recognise the potential existence of regional schools as well as local ones. Consequently, the analysis will firstly consider the *regional* areas, before identifying any local schools within them. The broad regions of sculptural influences are as follows:-

The North region (West and South Yorkshire).

The Peak (north-west Derbyshire).

The South-western region (parts of Leicestershire, Nottinghamshire, Staffordshire and south Derbyshire).

The East region (part of Nottinghamshire and Leicestershire, close to the Lincolnshire border).

The North-western region (East Cheshire and Gtr. Manchester).

Fig. 4.0 shows the distribution of attributes which are concentrated in one or several of the five main regions given above. Many of these attributes are potential signatures of schools in each of the regions. Certain attributes, on the other hand, are more strongly represented in some areas than in others. This may be due to their inclusion as associate attributes in the specific repertoires of schools. The following pages show how area-specific attributes can be grouped together with their associates to identify a repertoire of specific design elements used in a school, occupying a definite geographical region of the research area.

FIG. 4.0. Number of sites in each region with area-concentrated attributes. (Brackets show the number of *monuments* these represent in the same regions).

<u>Attribute:</u>	<u>North.</u>	<u>Peak.</u>	<u>S-west.</u>	<u>East.</u>	<u>N-west.</u>
A1	1(1)	-	15(24)	-	-
A1 (mirrored)	5(6)	-	-	-	-
Archer	-	3(3)	-	-	-
B1	-	-	6(9)	-	-
BB2	1(1)	-	5(9)	-	-
BCC	-	-	6(6)	-	-
BP2	3(3)	-	-	-	-
Bottom Curve	-	1(2)	3(5)	-	7(10)
Bush Scroll	2(2)	-	-	-	-
C3	-	3(3)	-	-	-
CC2	-	1(1)	6(6)	-	-
CC3	-	-	4(4)	-	-
Chamfer	2(3)	-	-	-	-
Clergy	-	-	2(3)	-	-
Collar 1/2	-	1(1)	4(5)	-	6(10)
Cross (frame)	-	-	1(1)	4(5)	-
Incised motif	4(6)	-	-	-	-
D1	-	-	5(5)	-	-
Double Cable	-	-	-	7(8)	-
E1	-	1(1)	11(14)	1(1)	-
E1 (mirrored)	1(3)	1(2)	5(5)	-	1(1)
E1 (circle)	-	-	3(3)	-	-
E1 looped	-	-	-	6(6)	-
E1+1	-	-	5(7)	-	-
E1a	-	-	4(5)	-	-
F1	2(4)	-	5(6)	-	-
F2	-	-	2(3)	-	-
Fleur	3(4)	-	-	-	-
Grooved	11(25)	2(2)	1(1)	-	-
Inner groove	11(27)	-	-	-	-
Lincoln Joint	-	-	-	4(5)	-
P3	3(3)	1(4)	11(16)	7(10)	3(5)
P6	-	-	2(2)	-	-
Peak	-	5(9)	-	-	-
Plain	11(30)	-	1(1)	-	-
Plaited body	-	-	3(3)	-	-
Raised arm	-	-	3(5)	-	-
S.Y. crown	2(2)	-	-	-	-
S1	-	2(5)	-	-	-
S2	-	4(5)	-	-	-
S7	4(11)	-	-	-	-
SP1	3(3)	-	-	-	-
Short arm	-	-	2(2)	-	-
Skirted	-	-	4(5)	-	-
ST1	5(5)	-	-	-	-
Thick Stem	-	-	12(18)	-	-
Trent Curl	-	-	4(7)	-	-
Trent Scroll	-	-	3(5)	1(1)	-
Vert Cable	-	-	-	2(2)	-

4.2: THE PEAK SCHOOL

There are several attributes in the Peak area which are area-specific to this region. Interlace type C3 and scroll types S1 and S2 can be regarded as its principal signatures since they are not found elsewhere. Although figure-types in general are regarded as the least diagnostic attributes, there is a very distinctive "Peak" figure type, characterised by an elongated head, pierced eyes and (in the main) squat body. The figure type is frequently depicted as an angel or archer, characters which are unusual in the research area. In the research area the archer figure is only found in this school and is invariably found at the base of scrollwork S2. It is so distinctive that where this occurs it is also regarded as a signature attribute.

The interlace C1 is not unique to the area, but the pattern in the Peak school is arranged in a simple mirror image form which is only found elsewhere on Sandbach 1. Four of the five sites of this school have this pattern; only Wirksworth (figural only) does not. Therefore it can be considered to be a reliable associate attribute.

In all other schools of the research area the decorative schemes use either a diagonal grid or a combination of diagonal and square grids for marking out the patterns. In the Peak School, however, a square grid is used exclusively so that no patterns are based on diagonal grids. One reason why this should have been so is that plaitwork, which requires a diagonal construction grid, is entirely absent from this school. Therefore the exclusive use of a square grid is also regarded as an associate attribute.

The method of carving is always in the modelled technique and all of the pieces are made from Millstone Grit. However, neither of these attributes are area-specific and will not be regarded as part of the repertoire of the school.

The combination of attributes on the pieces of sculpture bearing the signature attributes of this school, allow the following repertoire of decoration and techniques to be identified:-

The "Peak" figure type

The scroll S1

The scroll S2

Interlace C1

Interlace C3

The use of a square grid only for construction.

The "archer" figure.

The following pieces appear to be members of this school. The number of attributes of the school on each piece is shown below (max. 7), with the total number of *all* attributes on each piece:-

<i>CORPUS No.</i>	<i>ATTRIBUTES OF SCHOOL</i>	<i>ALL ATTRIBUTES</i>
Bakewell 4:	3	3
Bakewell 10:	2	2
Bakewell 26:	2	2
Bakewell 32:	4	4
Bakewell 37:	5	5
Bradbourne 1:	4	5
Bradbourne 2:	4	4
Eyam 1:	3	3
Eyam 2:	4	5
Sheffield:	6	6
Wirksworth:	2	2

Some of the potential members of the school have only a small selection from the repertoire of the school or have additional attributes. It is therefore necessary to evaluate each individual piece to confirm that their individual combinations of attributes make them convincing as members of the school:

Bakewell 4 shows only one face but has a convincing combination of S1 and S2 in a square grid, in the same formation as the Sheffield shaft. Since there are no other attributes present to contradict its inclusion, it will be assigned to the school.

Bakewell 10 is a very small fragment, but it appears to have part of an S2 type of scroll (and a square grid). However, it is too fragmentary to allow any firm identification.

Bakewell 26 has only figural scenes with no other decoration. The figure has characteristics of the "Peak" figure-type and is similar to that depicted on Bakewell 32 (below). The figure is in the form of an angel, but is a different style from those of other members of the group, viz. Bradbourne 2, Bakewell 37, Eyam 1, 2 and Wirksworth. Consequently, it would be difficult to include this piece without serious reservations.

Bakewell 32 has a figure type with a halo unlike its counterparts on say, Eyam 1/2 or Bakewell 37. However, it is found with C1, S2 and a square grid technique, and therefore may be identified as part of this school.

Bakewell 37 has a convincing repertoire, as do Bradbourne 1, 2; Eyam 1, 2 and Sheffield. Eyam 2 has the extra pattern of "C1+1", unique to this monument, but this is simply the more familiar C1 with an extra strand. Bradbourne 1 has the extra pattern of S2a. This is again a unique pattern to this piece and is two S2 type scrolls arranged in mirror form.

The Wirksworth coped tomb is included because its figures are characteristic of the Peak type: it is more convincing, for example, than Bakewell 26. Unfortunately, there is no other decoration which could confirm or deny its association with the school. Perhaps more importantly, the sculpture can only be paralleled in the Peak School and has certainly no affinity with any other school discussed in this chapter. The high Christian content of the display (Cockerton 1962) also supports its inclusion (see below). Therefore this sculpture will be tentatively assigned to the school.

In summary, the following sites can be included as members of the Peak school:

Bakewell
Bradbourne
Eyam
Sheffield*
Wirksworth

**Note. The Sheffield monument has been excluded from Fig. 4.1 since it is unprovenanced (see section 6.2).*

One striking feature of this school is the frequent use of figural scenes such as on the Wirksworth slab or at Eyam (see Appendix 3B - 'Wirksworth' and 'Eyam'). Some of these scenes may be interpreted as either 'pagan' or secular: for example, there is a warrior on Bakewell 37 and a figure with a bird on its shoulder on Bradbourne 1, which could be interpreted as Woden with his raven (Grant 1990: 74) [although Routh saw this as the eagle of St. John (1937: 25)]. On the other hand, many scenes are overtly Christian: for example, there are full crucifixion scenes on the same two shafts (Bakewell 37 and Bradbourne 1) and the use of angels is particularly prevalent in this school, as also noted by Cramp (1977: 219). Most sculpture recorded in the research area is principally decorated with abstract designs, but the Peak School is particularly distinctive in its display of overtly Christian themes.

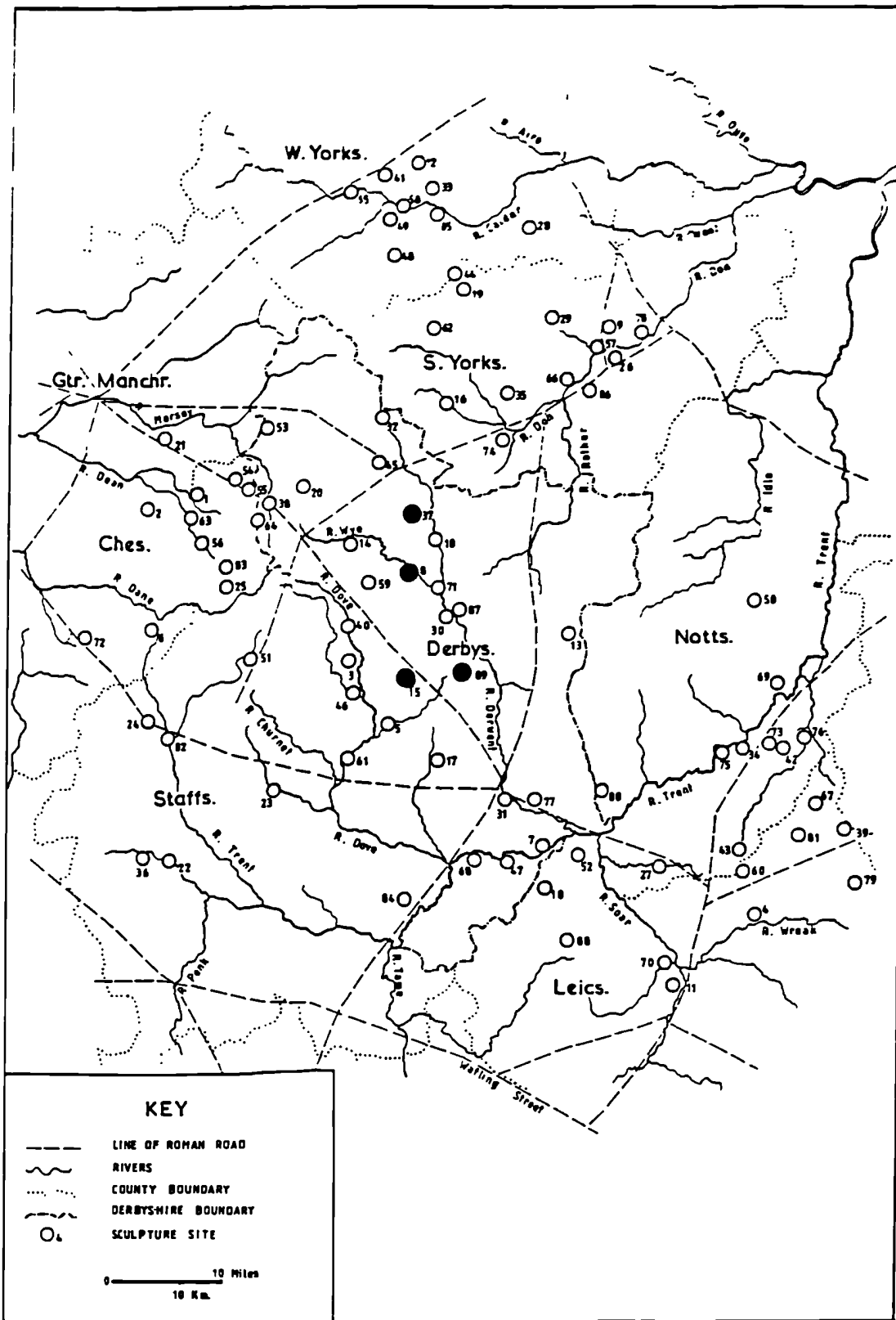


FIG. 4.1.

Sites with sculpture of the Peak School.

4.3: THE NORTH REGION.

The north region of the research area, ie. those areas now in West and South Yorkshire, has three area-specific attributes which span the entire region. Within this broad region are further area-specific attributes which indicate localised sub-groups within a regional repertoire. Firstly, the regional influence will be discussed and identified.

4.4: THE NORTH REGIONAL SCHOOL.

From the distribution of area-specific attributes the following can be identified as signatures of the Regional School. They are found together on the same pieces of sculpture and can be therefore regarded as the basic repertoire of the region. They are:-

The incised or grooved carving technique.

The "plain" areas of decoration.

The use of an "inner groove" framework.

It will be noted that the repertoire of the North Regional School is more a range of techniques than decorative attributes. Nevertheless, they are distinctive features and are no lesser identifiers than knots, interlaces or patterns. The attributes present themselves as a "package" which is easily recognisable. The first is the 'plain' attribute which is a finely dressed area of the monument where there is no iconographic decoration. Around these plain areas there is a grooved line as a border or frame. Sometimes additional lines are repeated on the plain areas so that the 'decoration' is a series of tapered vertical lines on an otherwise undecorated face (eg. Thornhill 2, face D). This attribute is called an "inner groove". The technique used to carve the monuments is "grooved", rather than the "modelled" carving technique which is by far the most common in the research area. This is the only school to use this technique for most of its monuments. This distinctive repertoire of attributes allows even small fragments to be identified as part of the school even if no other decoration is present: typical is Kirkburton 3.

Most of the fragments associated with the regional repertoire are decorated in some other way. Often some form of scroll or knotwork is also found on the sculpture of the Regional School. A typical example is Thornhill 3, which has the addition of a scroll type "S7" on face A with plain

areas on face B, C and D. Again, the decoration is in the grooved technique with an inner groove framework. However, the scroll S7 identifies this piece more specifically with the more localised "Calder Valley School", which is dealt with separately below.

The *individual* pieces of sculpture exhibiting the signatory attributes of the North Regional School are not listed here, since they are either dealt with under the separate local schools below, or as individual pieces in the attached corpus. However, the sites where examples of the signatory repertoire can be found are listed below and include those outside the North region where the database indicates that one or more of them is present. The number of signature attributes identified is also given in brackets (max. 3):-

Bakewell: (1)	Ecclesfield: (3)
Bradfield (2)	High Hoyland: (3)
Cawthorne: (3)	Kirkburton: (3)
Conisbrough: (2)	Kirkheaton: (3)
Darley Dale: (1)	Mexborough (3)
Derby: (1)	Penistone: (3)
Dewsbury: (3)	Thornhill: (3)

It is noteworthy that those sites listed above which are outside of the North region of the research area are those with only one signature attribute present. One must therefore examine these monuments to establish whether the same repertoire which seems to define the North Regional School, extends elsewhere. They are as follows:-

Derby 11: this is a recumbent tomb-slab in Millstone Grit with a modelled single "E1" motif and a long *incised* shaft running from the motif and ending in a square. It has been included in the records for the North Regional School since part of its decoration has been executed in the incised/grooved technique. However, there are no other attributes associated with the North Regional School and the single 'E1' motif suggests a connection with the South-western Regional School, which is discussed below. Therefore this monument can be discarded as part of the North Regional School.

Derby 12 is also a recumbent tomb-slab, but in a Jurassic limestone with an incised double-ended cross as its motif. It has the incised/ grooved attribute in common with the North region, but the motif is not found in the North Regional School. Both this piece and No. 11 were found at St. Alkmund's and were dated to the 11th. century by Radford (1976: 54) and the general consensus is that they are post-Conquest (Langley: pers. com.).

Bakewell 39: this refers to a piece of sculpture with only an incised/grooved inscription and is therefore not assignable to a region or school.

Darley Dale 2 is a slab monument in Millstone Grit, which is recorded as having a "plain" area. However, the condition of the monument suggests that this may be due to subsequent redressing or wear, or that it was the undecorated face of a recumbent monument. It has an unusual square design on one broad face, with what appears to be a stylized crosshead. Only the line or key pattern, L1 (not part of the repertoire of the North region sub-groups - sects. 4.4-4.6) - suggests a pre-Conquest date to an otherwise characteristically post-Conquest piece. There is, therefore, no tangible link with the North Regional School.

All of the pieces discussed above can be eliminated since there is good reason to deny them any connection with the North Regional School. Therefore the sites which now can be said to represent the North Regional School are:-

Bradfield
Cawthorne
Conisbrough
Dewsbury
Ecclesfield
High Hoyland

Kirkburton
Kirkheaton
Mexborough
Penistone
Thornhill

Note: Crofton has also been added to sites of the North Regional School in Fig. 4.2, for reasons discussed in the following section.

As mentioned above, there are often additional decorative patterns found on sculpture which have been identified as part of the Regional School. These additional attributes are also found to be more localised in their distribution and at fewer sites. They are:

The scroll type "S7"
The "A1 (mirrored)" pattern
The "incised motif"

These attributes are found to signify local sub-schools within the main region. They are the "Incised Motif" and "Calder Valley" schools. Their associated attributes may be regarded as those of the region (ie. plain, incised technique and inner groove) as they appear to be variations of the regional theme. They are discussed below.

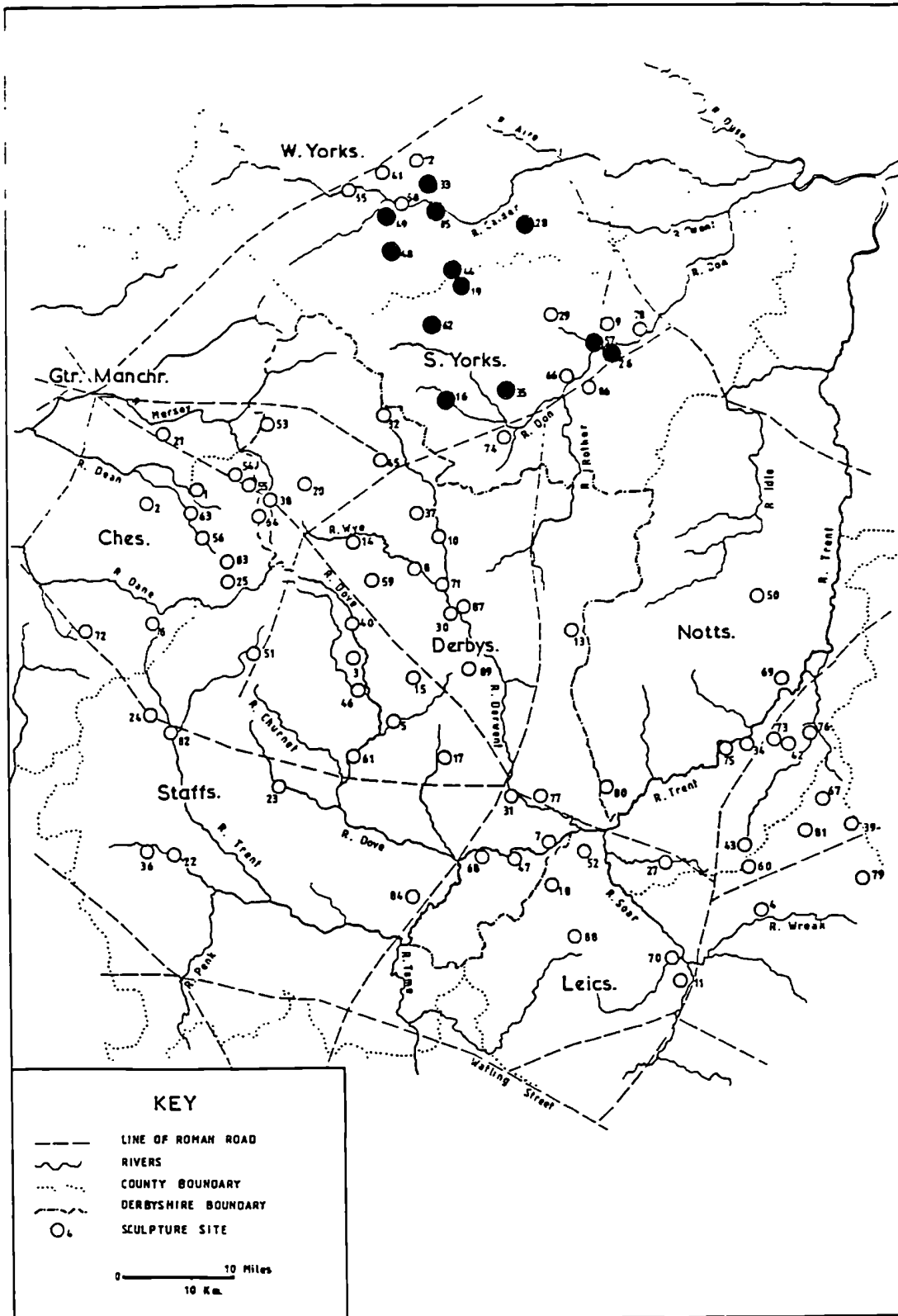


FIG. 4.2.

Sites with sculpture of the North Regional School.

4.5: THE CALDER VALLEY SCHOOL.

In the Calder Valley School, the main regional attributes are found in association with the area-specific attributes of "A1 (mirrored)" knotwork and scroll "S7". Both are found together on several pieces as evidence *that their association was intended*. They appear to be signatory of a discreet school with a limited geographic distribution. The repertoire of the school is therefore:-

The plain areas of "decoration"

The incised or grooved carving technique

The inner groove framework

The A1 (mirrored) pattern

The scroll type S7

The individual sculptures exhibiting one or more of the attributes of the school are (max. 5):

<i>CORPUS No.</i>	<i>ATTRIBUTES OF SCHOOL</i>	<i>ALL ATTRIBUTES</i>
Conisbrough 1:	1	2
Crofton 2:	2	3
Darfield 2:	1	2
Dewsbury 7:	4	5
Dewsbury 8.	5	5
Dewsbury 11:	1	3
Dewsbury 12:	4	4
Dewsbury 13:	4	5
High Hoyland 6:	4?	4?
Kirkburton 4:	4	4
Thornhill 1:	3	6
Thornhill 2:	4	5
Thornhill 3:	4	5
Thornhill 9:	4	4

All of the attributes of this school are found frequently at Dewsbury and Thornhill and it is obvious that this school was much in evidence at these locations. Dewsbury 7, 8, 12 and 13, Kirkburton 4 and Thornhill 2, 3 and 9 are convincing, so need not be discussed further, but note that Dewsbury 13 is based on photographic evidence only (Appendix 3B - 'Dewsbury 13'). There are, however, some pieces of sculpture which have few of the attributes of the school and need closer examination.

Conisbrough 1 appears to have a scroll of type S7, but this stone is now so badly eroded that no firm conclusion can be made. Further doubt is cast by its modelled carving technique. Consequently, Conisbrough cannot be assigned to this school.

Darfield 2 has an A1 (mirrored) pattern, but close examination shows that its arrangement is different from all others in this school. Usually, the patterns are linked by a diagonal (eg. Thornhill 1C), or are in scroll fashion from a central stem (as on Thornhill 8A). Instead at Darfield they are joined at the ends of what appear to be strings of the pattern. The sculpture is also in the modelled technique, has no inner groove framework, nor plain areas. Its inclusion into the school would therefore be unwise. It is also noted that Darfield 1 has no attributes in common with this school.

Dewsbury 11 is a coped tomb and only has the S7 attribute. The carving technique is modelled, although incised lines can be seen on the top of the monument. There are no plain areas. However, as a coped tomb or 'hogback' it is of different form from the other monuments of this group which may account for its deviation and it also displays no other attributes which contradict its inclusion.

Thornhill 1, whilst having the A1 (mirrored) pattern, also has a "CC8" motif and an "E1+1 circle" design. It is in a grooved technique and has an inner groove frame around an inscription on face A but has no plain areas, although the shaft is incomplete. The E1+1 circle is a sole attribute for Thornhill and is also displayed on No. 10, again with the CC8 motif, but this latter piece is more likely to belong to a different school ("Kirklees School" - section 4.9). On balance, Thornhill 1 may belong to the Calder Valley School since it has 3 of the 5 attributes which identify it. However, the presence of the other attributes cast some doubt on its inclusion.

Crofton 2 has both the scroll S7 and the A1 (mirrored) pattern and thus has both signature attributes of the Calder Valley school. However, it is carved in the "modelled" technique, has no "plain" areas of decoration nor an "inner groove". Thus the attributes of the *regional* school are absent. There are, however, no other attributes present to suggest an influence from elsewhere. Although some reservations must remain as to its inclusion, Crofton 2 will be regarded as part of the school. It is notable that Crofton 1 (which only has figural decoration) has a figure type which is recorded as "square chin". This figure type is present on Dewsbury 7 which is also part of the Calder Valley School.

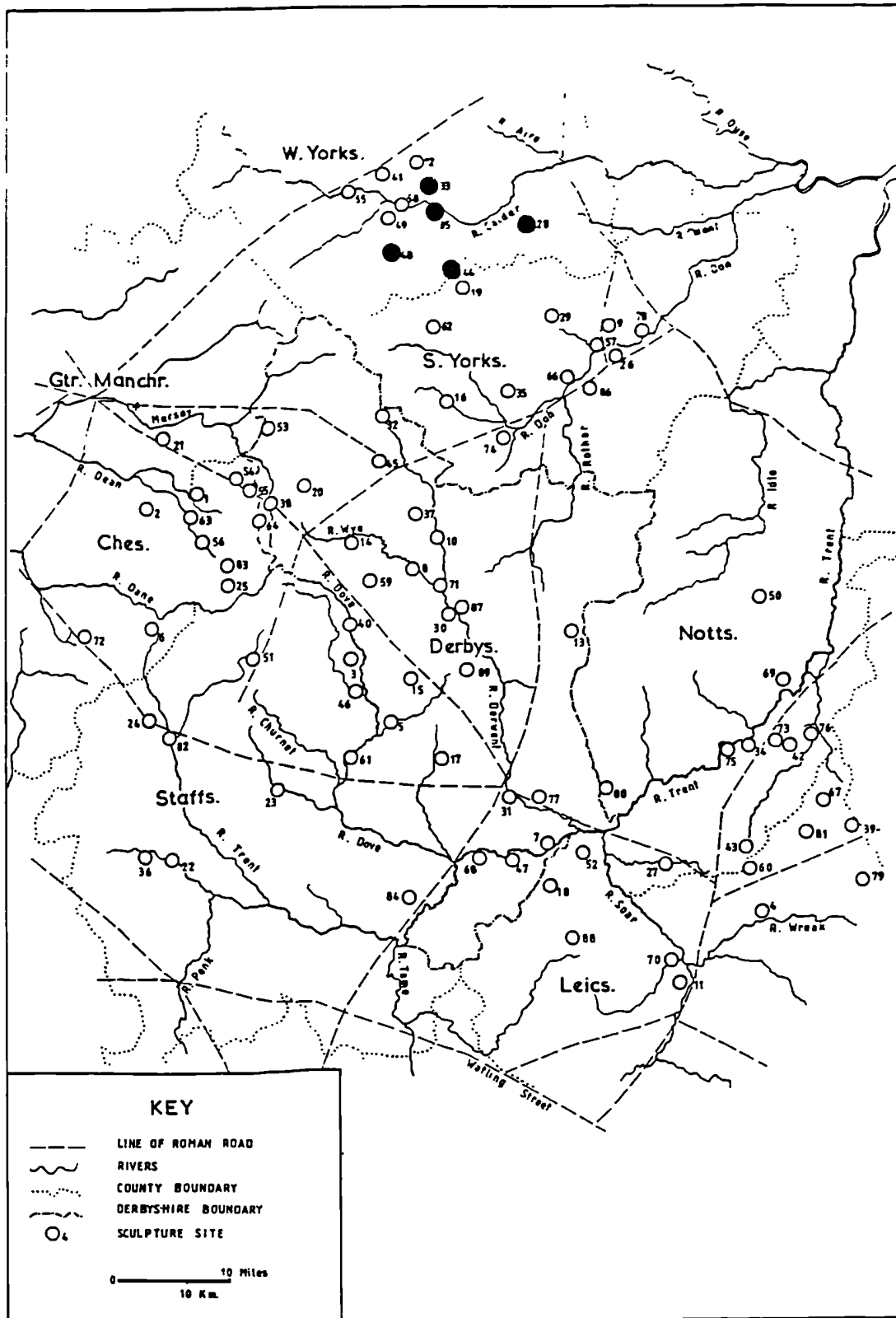


FIG. 4.3.

Sites with sculpture of the Calder Valley sub-school.

High Hoyland 6 is now missing but Collingwood's drawing (Appendix 3B - 'High Hoyland 6') shows the attribute S7. There are no surviving details of the carving technique, but it has been assumed from the illustration to be "grooved" and with an "inner groove" frame. This is also consistent with the technique used on other sculpture at this site. One side of this crosshead is obviously "plain". Therefore it appears reasonable to include this piece.

The following sites can be identified as members of the Calder Valley School. The geographical distribution of the sites is compatible with a local school within the main regional influence.

Crofton
Dewsbury
High Hoyland
Kirkburton
Thornhill

4.6: THE INCISED MOTIF SCHOOL

A rather unusual design on a group of carved stones in South Yorkshire was noted by Collingwood, which he termed the "D" pattern (Collingwood 1927: 178). The "D" pattern itself varies in its form: for example, on Cawthorne 4 it is shown arranged as an incised square and also in a circular form. On the same face as the "D" pattern, Cawthorne 4 also has a diagonal multi-strand design, again contained within an incised square. At Ecclesfield (No. 1) there is a circular "D motif", but there are also inscribed Latin crosses. Therefore, the definitive signature of the school appears to be a discreet, self-contained, incised motif on a background of otherwise plain dressed stone, rather than the "D" pattern itself. The sculptures are also linked by the same simplicity of design and execution.

The associated attributes to the incised motifs are, like the Calder Valley School, those of the North Regional School, viz. plain, inner groove and a grooved carving technique. It can again be regarded as a sub-school of the region. The four distinct attributes used to identify this particular school are as follows:-

The incised motif.

A "plain" attribute.

An inner grooved framework

An incised carving technique

The individual monuments which are identified to this school are as follows.

<i>CORPUS No.</i>	<i>ATTRIBUTES OF SCHOOL</i>	<i>ALL ATTRIBUTES</i>
Cawthorne 1:	1	3
Cawthorne 2:	3	5
Cawthorne 3:	3	3
Cawthorne 4:	4	4
Ecclesfield 1:	4	4
Ecclesfield 2:	3	3
Mexborough:	4	4
Penistone:	4	4

It can be seen from the table above that Cawthorne 3 and 4, Ecclesfield 1, Mexborough and Penistone follow the repertoire of the school and require no further discussion. However, at Cawthorne (1 and 2), it can be seen that there are several attributes which do not fit into this school. Cawthorne 1 has a modelled carving technique, an "inner rim" moulding and a grotesque figure (now badly eroded). Only the "D motif" links this piece with the school. Similar comments apply to Cawthorne 2, where a moulded "inner rim" frame and a raised boss are also present, but most of the carving is grooved and there are plain areas. There is also a raised ovoid shape on one of its faces which may have been another grotesque figure, subsequently dressed-off. Both Cawthorne 1 and 2 are crossheads and, since both of these pieces deviate in form from the other pieces (shafts), it is possible that they were given a different treatment.

Ecclesfield 2 is a double cross-base which does not have a surviving inscribed motif. It has been included here because it is probably an original base since it has two holes cut into it, where only one cross-shaft survives. One presumes that any recent "reproduction" would have had only a single socket. However, the base satisfies the criteria of the three main regional attributes.

The depth of cut of the carved motifs varies little between most of the sites, being quite shallow, between 5 and 6 mm. The piece at Mexborough however, is now only 3mm., although this discrepancy may of course be due to wear.

The school therefore may be identified at the following sites.

Cawthorne
Ecclesfield
Mexborough
Penistone

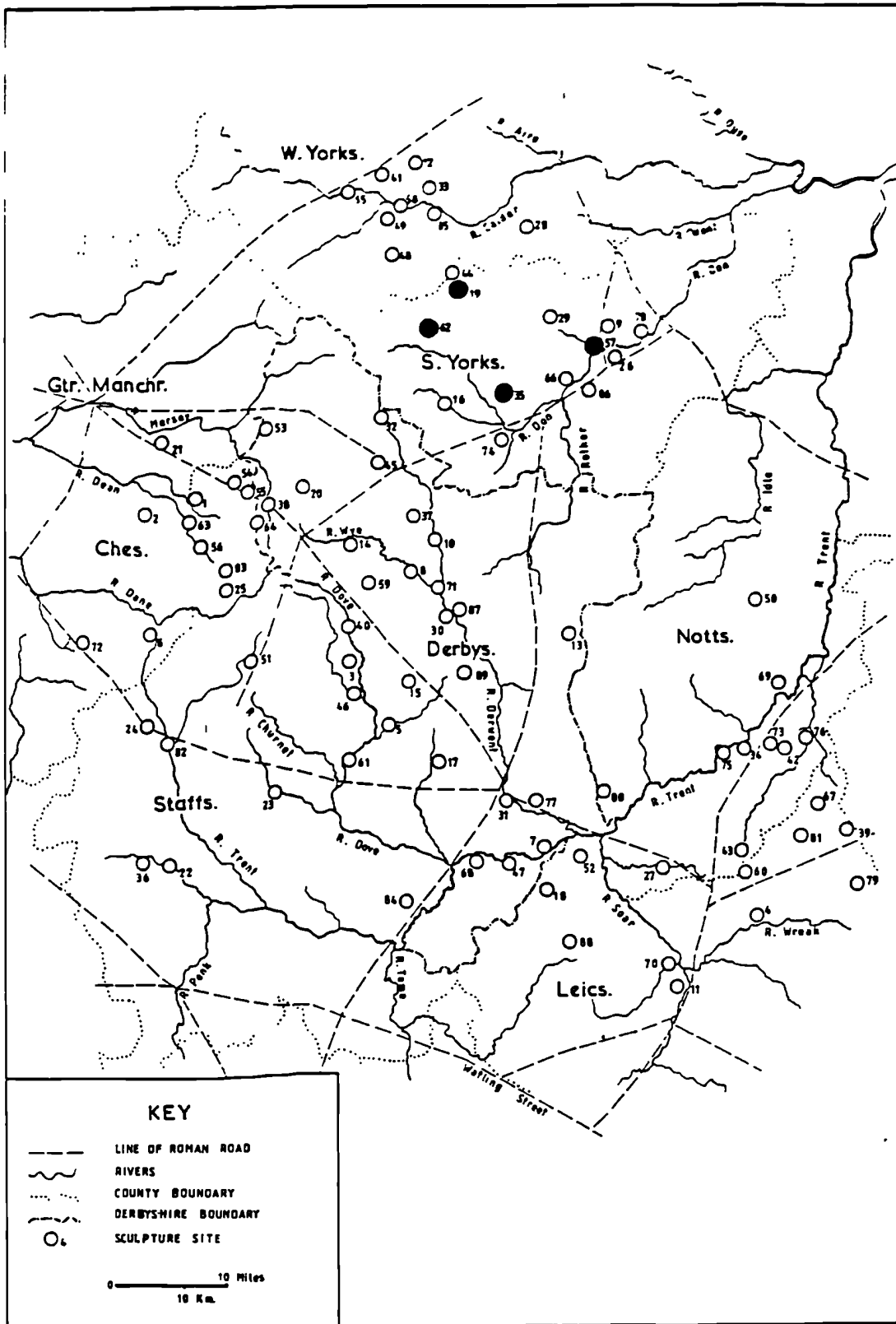


FIG. 4.4.

Sites with sculpture of the Incised Motif sub-school.

The sculpture of the Calder Valley and Incised Motif Schools are obviously related in that they utilise the repertoire of the Regional School. However, there are a number of sculptured stones in the North region which are carved in the "modelled" technique and do not have the attributes of the North Regional School but have their own specific repertoire. It would appear that another school, or schools, operated in this region of the research area independently from that of the North Regional School. The remaining schools which can be identified in the north region of the research area are as follows:

4.7: THE DEWSBURY SCHOOL.

At Dewsbury there is a distinctive figure type which has been recorded as "Round Face" from one of its characteristics. This is a "sole" attribute for this site for it cannot be identified elsewhere and may be a product of "in-house" craftsmanship. Similar comments apply to the scroll on No. 6 (S13) which is also recorded as 'sole' to this site. There are five fragments of sculpture at Dewsbury (Nos. 1-4 and 6), which appear to be related by this distinctive figure type and by a deep modelled carving technique. Otherwise, they are devoid of other attributes which could identify them with any other school in the region. These pieces of sculpture are worthy of note, not least because they have featured in a published reconstruction earlier this century (Collingwood 1921: 24-28; 1927: 6-8) which can now be re-examined.

Collingwood suggested that six pieces of Dewsbury sculpture (1-6) were part of the same monument (1921: 24-28). Five of these pieces have already been mentioned above, but on No. 5 the figure-type is less convincing, and its similarity may be fortuitous: so too, may be the cable moulding on its outer edge (type "cable 3") which is non area-specific, but is of the same type as that on No. 6. Collingwood "reconstructed" the fragments into a large round-shafted type of cross, having a round base with a rectangular-sectioned tapering top portion. Because Nos. 2-4 have curved faces, he suggested that they were part of the round base, with Nos. 1 and 6 as part of the upper shaft, and No. 5 part of its crosshead (1921: 27). It was an ambitious attempt given that there are few surviving fragments and, despite Collingwood's "careful measurements" (1927: 7), it is unlikely that these pieces were from one free-standing monument since the curvature on the three rounded pieces are all different. The rate of curvatures was measured along the undecorated portions of each piece and was as follows:

No. 1	4.0mm. in 10cm.
No. 2:	1.5cm. in 10cm.
No. 3:	2.0cm. in 10cm.
No. 4:	2.3cm. in 10cm.

Whilst Nos. 3 and 4 could conceivably have been part of one curving surface, one cannot say the same for No 2. Indeed, it appears that it may have been intended as a corner piece, since the left-hand side is flattened, not curved. Therefore it is doubtful that Collingwood's reconstruction is correct. Although No. 1 was supposed to be part of the flat-sided upper portion it also has a slight curvature.

Whilst Nos. 5 and 6 were possibly part of free-standing crosses (not necessarily the same one), Nos. 1-4 were unlikely to have been. It is notable that the inscriptions on the latter are in Latin and follow the "descriptive" formula (Okasha 1971: 66-7). That on No. 1 has been roughly translated as "he made wine from water" and "loaves and two fishes" (ibid: 67). Descriptive texts are far less common than memorial ones on Anglo-Saxon sculpture (ibid: 7). This is because memorial inscriptions are more usually found on free-standing crosses, the most frequently encountered type of sculpture. Indeed these are the only descriptive inscriptions in the whole of the research area. For example, Dewsbury 13 (now in the British Museum) is also inscribed, but the text is not only in Old English, but also in the *memorial* formula. Roughly translated, it reads: "...a monument in memory of his child (or lord); pray for the (his) soul" (Okasha 1971: 65). This piece is a crosshead belonging to the Calder Valley School and, as part of a crosshead, it is fairly safe to assume that it was part of a free-standing monument. Therefore, the functions of the pieces of sculpture are not only separated by their different form, but also by the types of inscription upon them.

In summary, the Dewsbury School seems to have been an in-house school of craftsmanship at a site which produced its architectural sculpture (Nos. 1-4). The similarity in the figure-type used on Nos. 5 and 6 suggest a loose connection with the latter but, as previously mentioned, figure-types are too subjective in their interpretation to use successfully in the identification of schools, unless they are accompanied by supporting attributes. In this case the only supporting attribute is S13 on No. 6 which, since it is only recorded on this piece of sculpture, is of no further help. Although other sculpture at Dewsbury relates to the surrounding district through the Calder Valley School, the technique and decoration of the Dewsbury School is not found elsewhere.

4.8: THE SOUTH YORKSHIRE CROWN SCHOOL.

This school appears to have operated in a discreet area of what is now South Yorkshire. Although its monuments are considered to be post-Conquest (see below), they will be discussed here since they have previously been recorded as pre-Conquest.

The signature attributes are the "Fleur" motif, a chamfered edge moulding (or arns) and a distinctive figure type in substantial relief with a headpiece (the South Yorkshire Crown figure). Along with these signatory attributes, the sculptures are associated with the characteristic and almost exclusive use (in the research area) of Lower Magnesian Limestone (Cadeby Formation) and a pellet decoration. Thus, the attributes of this school are:-

- The "fleur" motif
- A chamfered edge moulding
- The "South Yorkshire Crown" figure type
- Lower Magnesian Limestone
- The pellet decoration

The carvings which have one or more of the signature attributes of the school, are as follows:-

<i>CORPUS No.</i>	<i>ATTRIBUTES OF SCHOOL</i>	<i>ALL ATTRIBUTES</i>
Barnburgh	4	5
Rawmarsh	4	4
Thrybergh 1	5	7
Thrybergh 2	3	5

Barnburgh has an additional three-stranded plait as a decoration which does not detract from its identification since this is a non area-specific design.

Rawmarsh is a convincing member of the school, with only the figure missing.

Thrybergh 1 has all of the common attributes of the school with an additional "CC1" motif with diagonals which again, is non area-specific. It also has a rather curious quadrupedal animal, which does not appear to have parallels in the research area.

Thrybergh 2, unlike the others, is made from sandstone (probably Millstone Grit). Additionally it has a plantscroll which has been assigned to the *genre* of "ST1" which is discussed later under the "Treescroll" group. However, similar foliage can also be found on Thrybergh 1 and at Barnburgh. Collingwood (1915: 250), Brown (1937: 146) and Ryder (1982: 120) describe a sword in relief on Thrybergh 2, although this is now so badly eroded that it is difficult to discern. The remaining attributes are the "fleur" and chamfered edge mouldings which are both regarded as signatory, so it is reasonable to link this piece to the South Yorkshire Crown School, with minor reservations.

The following sites contribute to the "South Yorkshire Crown" school:

Barnburgh
Rawmarsh
Thrybergh

Collingwood included Barnburgh and Thrybergh in his corpora as Anglo-Saxon works, although he described them as probably post-Conquest (1915: 135; 1927: 181). Baldwin Brown considered the Barnburgh shaft to be distinctly Anglo-Saxon, and highlights the "pelleted scroll" which he said was typical of the Viking period (1937: 147). Rawmarsh is also assigned by Brown to the Saxon period because of its chamfer bosses or pellets, and especially the tapering shaft which he considered was not stylistically Norman. On the other hand, Brown seems a little confused with Thrybergh 1 since, having discussed it as a pre-Conquest work, he admits that it more resembles the style of post-Conquest art, maybe even thirteenth century (1937: 142-3). Ryder (1982) has more recently evaluated South Yorkshire pre-Conquest sculpture: he considered that Thrybergh 1 and Barnburgh were made by the same sculptor, but in both cases suggested that these were *post-Conquest* monuments, especially indicated by the use of the Acanthus leaf foliage. Similarly, Rawmarsh is said by Ryder to be datable to the late 12th century, on stylistic grounds (1982: 116) and the sword illustrated by Collingwood (1915) and Ryder on Thrybergh 2, is more appropriately found on medieval tomb slabs than on Anglo-Saxon cross-shafts. The chamfered edges of this school also suggest a medieval date to the writer.

In conclusion, none of these pieces should perhaps appear in this thesis, since they are probably not Anglo-Saxon but Medieval

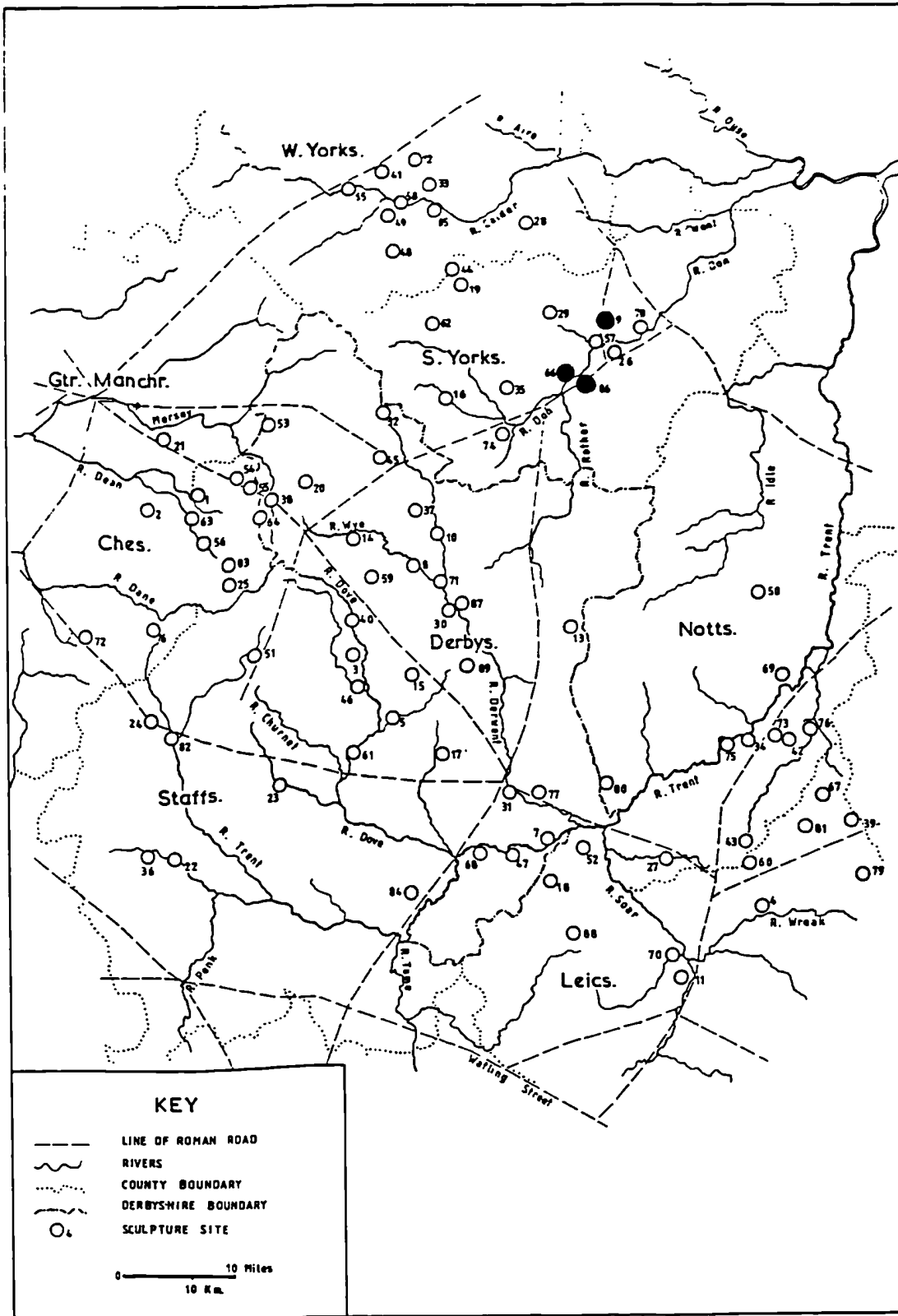


FIG. 4.5.

Sites with sculpture of the South Yorkshire Crown School.

4.9: THE KIRKLEES SCHOOL.

Of the geographically specific attributes of the North region of the research area, two in particular have not previously been mentioned. These are the "bush scroll" and the interlace "F1". The bush scroll is only recorded in the North region, whereas F1 has two distinct areas of concentration - in the north of the research area and in the south-east (see Appendix 1: Distribution Map 20). Although the attribute is not solely found in one area, the concentration in the North region leads one to suspect that it is associated with a local school. The same may be true of the concentration in the south of the research area, but this is dealt with later.

In the case of the North region concentration, these two attributes are *not* associated with the Regional School, since they are without the accompaniment of plain areas of decoration, an incised technique, or an inner groove. Instead, the two attributes are accompanied by a modelled technique of carving, have no plain areas and usually have an inner moulded rim. Consequently, since there are now few pieces of sculpture left in the North region which have not been either assigned by their technical attributes to the Regional School or otherwise to a local school, the relationship between the modelled technique and these attributes appears to be significant. The sculptures appear to form a discreet group around Huddersfield in Kirklees, West Yorkshire: consequently, the "Kirklees School" seems an appropriate term.

Both the bush scroll and F1 are found together on Birstall (W. Yorks.) 1 and on the Hartshead piece. Therefore the two attributes may be taken together as potential signatures of a school. However, two problems occur in the identification of a separate school with these attributes. Firstly, pattern F1 is not strictly specific to this region and consequently its quality as a signature attribute may be questioned. Secondly, there are two distinct forms of monument involved in the analysis of this school, bases and shafts, and because of the morphological differences between the two types of monument, a slightly different repertoire may have been used for each. Only the three cross-bases, (Birstall (1), Hartshead and Rastrick), have the bush scroll, leaving F1 as the only potential signature attribute to link them to the shafts at Thornhill and Kirkheaton. However, the most likely reason why the bush scroll is not portrayed on the shafts, is a practical one. As the name implies, the attribute is a *spreading* motif and would be an inappropriate design for a shaft where lateral space is limited. Consequently one will provisionally allow that *either* the bush scroll or F1 can act as the signature attribute for this school.

One attribute in common *may* identify a school, but the analysis demands that a whole repertoire be established. There is, however, a range of associated attributes which can be used to complete the repertoire of the school. The attribute of BP2 is area-specific to the north region of the research area and is found in connection with F1 and the bush scroll; so does the unclassified knotwork of "u/c". Beyond this, the range of associated attributes is tenuous: for example, CC8 is found on the Hartshead piece and it seems that it *may* be part of the repertoire of the school. It is, however, only found otherwise at Thornhill where it is *not* in association with the signatory attributes of the school. It is therefore difficult to justify as an attribute in the repertoire of this school. Provisionally, the following repertoire is put forward:

- pattern F1
- the bush scroll
- the u/c knotwork
- the BP2 knotwork
- A modelled carving technique

The following pieces of sculpture have one or more of the signature attributes (F1 or bush scroll) and will be examined as part of the Kirklees School. The number of common attributes to the school (as above) are given (max. 5), with the total number of all attributes on each individual piece:-

<i>CORPUS No.</i>	<i>ATTRIBUTES OF SCHOOL</i>	<i>ALL ATTRIBUTES</i>
Birstall 1:	4	4
Hartshead:	4	7
Kirkheaton 2:	4	7
Rastrick:	5	5
Thornhill 4:	2	3
Thornhill 5:	4	5
Thornhill 10:	3	4

The cross-bases of Birstall 1 and Rastrick appear convincing enough, with F1, and/or the bush scroll and the u/c knot. Rastrick also has the addition of BP2 and the closed-circuit design CC1, which is non area-specific.

The Hartshead cross-base has F1, bush scroll and u/c, although no BP2 design. Its other attributes are CC8, C1, P2 which are non area-specific: it also has CC1 which is also found at

Rastrick. It is fairly convincing that all three cross-bases are connected by their repertoire of attributes, not to mention their obvious similarity of form. They are, in fact, the only highly decorated cross-bases in the research area.

Kirkheaton 2 has F1 as its signature, and BP2 and can be included in the school. It also has looped P4, P4 and E1 (mirrored) which are non area-specific, with the exception of E1 (mirrored), which will be dealt with later.

Thornhill 4 has the signatory attribute of F1 but is accompanied by a plain area of decoration, an inner groove and its carving technique is, in part, grooved. This array of attributes suggests a closer link to the North Regional School which is also present on other sculptures at Thornhill (section 4 4), despite the fact that the F1 pattern is not part of the repertoire of either the North Regional or Calder Valley schools. It may be tentatively explained as sculpture made under the influence of the North Regional School, but using an "in-house" design particular to Thornhill masons. However, on balance, it seems inappropriate to include Thornhill 4 in this school

Thornhill 5 has F1 and BP2 and can also be included. It also has the addition of BB2 which is a component of BP2 and therefore not out of place here. It has a shallow cut (3mm.), crude execution, and incised lines on the pattern strands of face D.

Thornhill 10 has an F1 design, but this is found with an E1+1 circle design which is a sole attribute at Thornhill and obviously not part of the repertoire of the school; but the use of "E" patterns at Thornhill and Kirkheaton are discussed further (see below). With the accompanying modelled carving technique, this stone is probably part of the school. It also has the same shallow cut (3.5mm.) and crude execution as No. 5, which appears to be characteristic of the Kirklees School at Kirkheaton and Thornhill.

Kirkheaton (No. 2) may be assigned to the school with four signatory/associate attributes, but one of its other attributes is the E1 (mirrored) pattern.

Kirkheaton 4 is not listed above since it does not have a signature attribute, but is worthy of mention. It is now badly damaged and only the design of one face is now decipherable. It shows the E1 (mirrored) pattern of Kirkheaton 2 and may well be part of this school, since it has the

familiar shallow cut (5mm.), crude execution and has an incised line on its strands like Thornhill 5 which *is* part of the school.

The only "E-bend" patterns found in the north region of the research area are at Kirkheaton and Thornhill. However, they do not appear to be restricted to a particular school, but rather a "specialty" of the sites which may have been related - for example, as 'church and chapel' - since they are adjacent to each other. For example, the E1 (mirrored) pattern is found on Kirkheaton 2, which shows the characteristics of the *Kirklees School* (see above). The same E1 (mirrored) pattern is also found on Kirkheaton 4, which, however, has the attendant repertoire of the North Regional School (plain, inner groove etc.).

Another "E-bend" pattern is the "E1+1 circle" which is only found at Thornhill and is therefore a sole attribute here: it is restricted to Thornhill 1 and 10. Thornhill 1 has the associate attribute of CC8 which, although non area-specific, is found in connection with the Hartshead piece of the *Kirklees* school. However, the carving technique of No. 1 is grooved. There is also an incised inscription panel with an inner groove framework and the A1 (mirrored) pattern which is a signature of the Calder Valley School. It seems fairly clear that Thornhill 1 is *not* part of the *Kirklees* School, even though it has the CC8 motif. However, Thornhill 10 also uses the same E1+1 circle pattern, but it has F1 and the characteristically shallow modelled cut, which links it to the *Kirklees* School.

The relationship between the two schools at Kirkheaton and Thornhill is admittedly confusing. But there are sculptures at these sites which can be identified to either the North Regional School (including the Calder Valley sub-school) or the *Kirklees* School which does, after all, satisfy the main purpose of this analysis. The confusion arises through the use of common motifs between the schools and in some cases the only apparent separation between them at these sites is the carving technique, where one is a shallow modelled technique and the other, the characteristic grooved/incised technique with attendant associations. However, this appears to be evidence of a localised repertoire operating at Thornhill and Kirkheaton alone. For example, sculptures at these sites have P4, CC8, F1 and the "E-bend" patterns, as additional to the attributes of the North Regional School which are found nowhere else. Similarly, many of these attributes are repeated in the *Kirklees* School but again, only at these two sites. It is possible that some copying of design elements existed between the two schools at these sites.

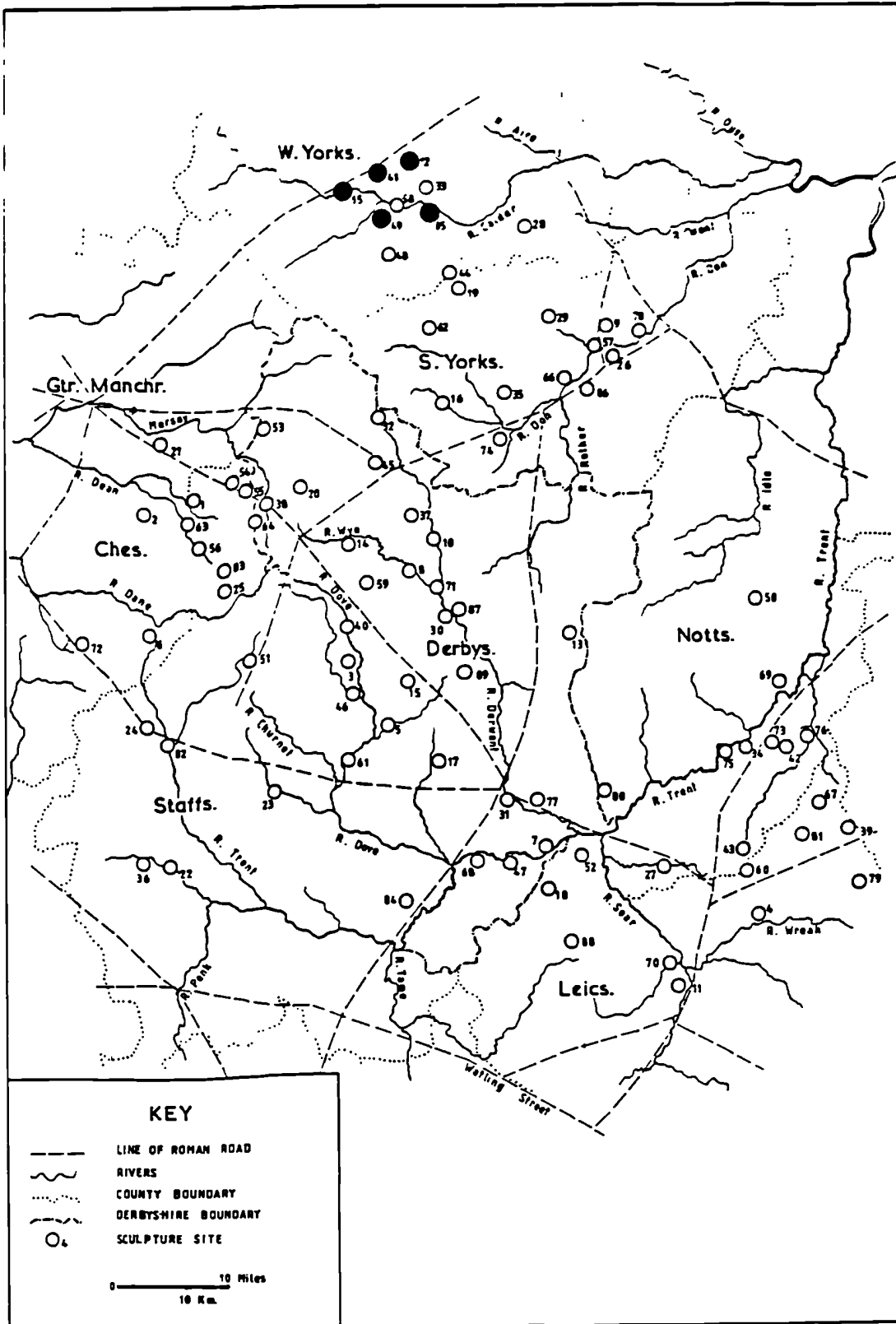


FIG. 4.6.

Sites with sculpture of the Kirklees School.

To summarize, the following sites can be identified to the Kirklees school:-

Birstall (W. Yorks.)
Hartshead
Kirkheaton
Rastrick
Thornhill

The Kirklees School therefore appears to refer to a group of contiguous sites in the extreme north-west of the northern sector of the research area. Of all the schools identified herein, this particular group is perhaps the most problematic and therefore its identification should be regarded as no more than tentative. However, it will be noted that this school appears to have operated in the north-western extremity of the research area and therefore may have been part of a more extensively distributed group to the north-west.

4.10: THE TREESCROLL GROUP.

By way of a *post script* to the Kirklees School, it seems appropriate to mention two foliated motifs, "ST1" and "SP1", since they are not dissimilar to the "bush scroll" of that school and are restricted to the north region of the research area. These attributes are confined to two contiguous sites - Cawthorne and High Hoyland - near the border between the present day counties of West and South Yorkshire, and Thrybergh in South Yorkshire. The sculpture comprises two fonts and a shaft which appear to be made from Millstone Grit, unlike most sculpture in the north of the region (section 5.4).

It is highly doubtful that any of this sculpture is pre-Conquest. Collingwood (1921: 40) said that the "tree-scroll" (ST1 in this analysis) was common between the cross-base at Rastrick (section 4.9) and the font Cawthorne 5, although the former has been given the "bush scroll" attribute in this analysis. However, he considered that the two fonts were both post-Conquest (ibid: 57). Ryder also considered them to be either Saxo-Norman "overlap" or early Norman sculptures and "obviously a product of the same school" (1982: 108). He did not, however, include the Rastrick base in this group. One would tend to agree that the fonts may well be post-Conquest since, *inter alia*, there is no attribute on either piece to associate it with the general repertoire of Anglo-Saxon art. Moreover, neither of the associate attributes found on the bases are found on the fonts, (Cawthorne 5 and High Hoyland 1), and any connection between them must therefore be d'scounted.

The two fonts at Cawthorne and High Hoyland have the attributes ST1 and SP1 in common. In addition, both have single arcaded panels along their sides, in which the attributes are contained, and the grooved carving technique is identical in each case.

The attributes of Thrybergh 2 suggest that this shaft belongs to the South Yorkshire Crown School. Its link with the two fonts is only through the ST1 motif, although this is now very eroded. There are no other attributes in common and the carving technique is different (modelled). Therefore it would seem that the three pieces bearing the "tree-scroll" attributes of ST1 and SP1, are most likely a local motif in use after the Norman Conquest.

4.11: THE EAST SCHOOL.

This school is identified by several attributes unique to the extreme east of the research area. The "cross" frame, double cable framework, vertical cable frame, E1 looped and the "Lincoln joint", are area-specific attributes to this region only and therefore can be taken as signatures of this school. The use of Jurassic limestone is notable; it is the only school to exclusively use this medium (but see remarks concerning Breedon-on-the-Hill in section 4.18) and it can, therefore, be considered as one of its associate attributes. The plaitwork P3 is found in most regions but is particularly concentrated in this area. Similarly, the 'looped P4' plaitwork is commonly found in the repertoire of this school and therefore both may be used as associate attributes, although it is noted that the latter attribute is strictly non area-specific.

The repertoire of attributes for this school can therefore be defined as follows:-

- A large cross providing a framework in which other decoration is organised.
- A double cable type moulding as part of the decorative framework in the monument.
- A vertical cable type framework.
- The "E1 looped" pattern
- The "Lincoln Joint" - a device for joining two lengths of patterning.
- The Looped P4 plaitwork.
- The exclusive use of Jurassic Limestone.
- The P3 plaitwork.

The monuments and their total number of common attributes of the school are as follows (max. 8). The number of all attributes is also shown:-

<i>CORPUS No.</i>	<i>ATTRIBUTES OF SCHOOL</i>	<i>ALL ATTRIBUTES</i>
East Bridgford 1	6	6
East Bridgford 2	5	5
Harston	1	3
Hawksworth	7	7
Kneesall	7	8
Nether Broughton	1	3
Rolleston 1	5	6
Rolleston 2	5	6

Rolleston 3	6	7
Screveton	5	6
Shelton 1	3	6
Shelton 2	3	4
Sproxton	2	6
Stathern	3	3

From the above it can be seen that Kneesall, Rolleston 1-3, East Bridgford 1 and 2, Screveton and Hawksworth, can all be safely assigned to this school, each displaying a convincing sample of its repertoire. At Rolleston, all three pieces have extra attributes: Nos. 1 and 3 have the addition of CC1, and Rolleston 2 appears to have a P4 plait (fragmentary). Both attributes are non area-specific.

Shelton 1 has the signatory "double cable" and also has E1, CC1, T1, looped P4 and is in Jurassic limestone. The three attributes of the school suggest that it may be included since the remaining attributes are non area-specific, except E1. The latter is unusual for this school and is more usually associated with the South-western Region (section 4 13) However, since this is an isolated additional attribute with no other to suggest an affinity with the latter school, it may be dismissed as being significant.

Shelton 2 has no signatories, but has P3, looped P4 and Jurassic limestone of the associate repertoire. The other attribute is non area-specific (P4). This piece may also be tentatively included, although it is noted that no signature attributes are present.

Only three attributes can be seen on the Stathern sculpture, looped P4, E1 looped, and Jurassic limestone. All are part of the East School repertoire and therefore this piece may be included.

Harston and Nether Broughton each have only one attribute, their stone type, in common with the school. One cannot, therefore, assign these pieces to the school. They may however, denote a different school which is "clipped" by the research area, since both monuments are coped tombs and have a central ridge flanked by rows of "P4" plaitwork. In the case of Nether Broughton, there is an additional spiral design (S6) at the end of the plaitwork.

Sproxton has the two attributes of stone type and the P3 design of the general repertoire of the school, although neither is signatory. Additionally, Sproxton has four other attributes which

certainly argue against its inclusion. It is further discussed in connection with the South Western Regional School. Consequently it would be unwise to include Sproxton in this school.

Therefore, the following sites can be regarded as part of the East school:

Kneesall
Rolleston
East Bridgford
Hawksworth
Screveton
Shelton
Stathern

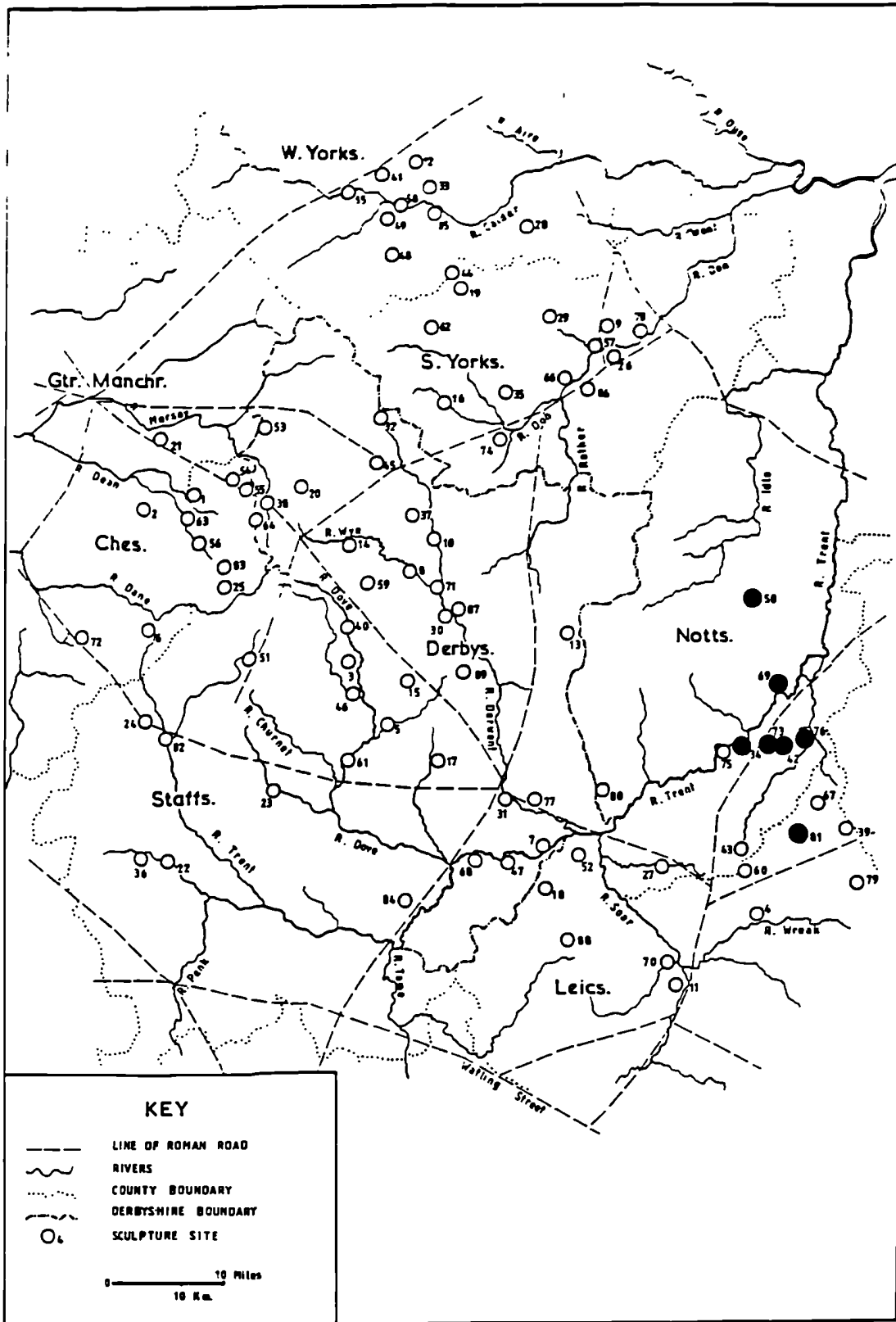


FIG. 4.7.

Sites with sculpture of the East School.

4.12: THE SOUTH-WESTERN REGION.

As in the North region, there appears to have been a large school operating over the south and west of the research area in which two sub-schools or divisions can be identified, in its south-eastern and western parts respectively. These sub schools share the attributes of the regional school, but have their own additional range. The regional school is identified by a range of signatory and associate attributes which allow it to be identified as a distinctive series of monuments occupying a large region of the research area.

4.13: THE SOUTH-WESTERN REGIONAL SCHOOL.

The parameters of the region of influence can be broadly defined as the following. In the east the bounds of the region appear to be curtailed by the monuments of the East School - ie. east of Shelford, Hickling and Asfordby. It also appears to extend northwards along a 'corridor' formed by the Peak and the River Trent, although there is little sculpture in this part of the research area. It is not known how far southwards this influence extends since the school is probably truncated by the limits of the research area. The western limit of the school appears to be reached at Sandbach because it appears that there is almost no sculpture west of here, until a group encountered around the Wirral in Cheshire (Bu'Lock 1959; Cheshire C.C. SMR; Thacker 1987). These latter monuments also have their own separate regional identity (Bailey 1980: 177-9). Therefore the western limits of the school may be defined by the monuments presented here. The school does *not* appear to extend north of the River Dane, nor penetrate the area previously identified as that of the "Peak" school. The only possible exception to this is a doubtful figure-type found at Bakewell: this is briefly discussed below. There is also a small fragment of South western School sculpture found at Bradbourne at the southern end of the Peak, but it is unprovenanced (see section 6.2) and can therefore be dismissed.

There is an outlier shaft at Hope which shows clear attributes of this school. It does not however, fall into the region described above, but appears to be isolated between the North-western and Peak schools. There is little reason to suggest that the Hope shaft was brought from elsewhere (section 6.2). For the time being, its location will not detract from the identification of the geographical area of this school, but will be discussed further in section 7.6.

Four attributes in particular identify this regional school and may be regarded as signatory: they are:-

- The Ribbon beast
- The "thick stem" attribute
- The pattern "A1"
- The pattern "E1"

Whilst the "Ribbon beast" and the "thick stem" motif generally conform to what ^{are} understood to be "Mercian" art forms (cf. Kendrick 1938) and may be expected to follow some sort of regional bias, it is somewhat surprising to find that the two very basic patterns of A1 and E1, also closely follow the same geographical distribution as the other two attributes. Normally, both are found in their mirrored form but in this part of the research area they are characteristically shown in singular form. The four main attributes are not always used together, but it is rare that any one is found in isolation.

One such exception is the shaft at Blackwell near Alfreton, the only monument of this school found to the immediate east of the Peak area. Here the E1 pattern is found in mirrored form, but the area specific attribute of the South-western region, "A1", is also found and in a most distinctive spiralled form. This latter design is identical to that found at Derby (which has monuments solely of this school) and therefore suggests that not only does the Blackwell shaft belong to the South western Regional School, but that there is also a strong connection between the two sites.

As with the North region, only the sites where the signatory attributes of the regional school are found will be listed here, since each individual piece will be discussed in the attached corpus or as members of the sub-schools. One or more of the signature attributes of the South-western regional school are present at the following sites:-

- | | |
|------------------------|------------|
| Alstonefield | Hope |
| Asfordby | Ilam |
| Ashbourne | Ingleby |
| Aston-on-Trent | Leek |
| Birstall (Leics.) | Lockington |
| Blackwell (E. Derbys.) | Norbury |
| Bradbourne | Repton |
| Breedon-on-the-Hill | Rothley |

Checkley
Chesterton
Costock
Derby
Eccleshall
Hickling

Sandbach
Shelford
Spondon
Stapleford
Tatenhill

In addition there are two sites, Chebsey and Sproxton, which show attributes of the Regional School. However, neither survive close scrutiny as members of the school, as discussed below.

Chebsey is included in this list because the shaft appears to have a single "A1" amongst its attributes. However, this knot may be a fortuitous bend in an otherwise unclassified knot. A single, and moreover, doubtful attribute makes it unwise to assign this site to the South-western Regional School, especially as there is also tenuous evidence to suggest that this monument may belong to a different school (see Appendix 3A/B - 'Chebsey' and North-western Regional School).

The Sproxton shaft is ambiguous: it has a beast form recorded as "Ribbon beast" (but see earlier remarks on human and animal figures in section 4.1) which belongs to the South-western Regional School; but it also has attributes of the East school (section 4.11) as well as several 'sole' attributes. This unusual combination creates too much doubt to justify its inclusion into this school, especially as it is peripheral to the research area.

The sub-divisions of the South-western Regional School are not as immediately obvious as those in the North region, in that the additional attributes are not necessarily found at contiguous sites. However, a small range of attributes show themselves to be restricted to either the west, or to the south-east of the region and, therefore, will be termed the West and South sub-schools. The sub-division between the sub-schools appears to be in the region of the Tame valley and/or the Roman road, *Ryknild Street*, from Derby to Lichfield. The sub-divisions each have their own additional, but limited, range of patterns and figure-types which appear to fall on either side of this broad boundary. They are described below.

4 14: THE WEST SUB-SCHOOL.

There are four attributes which are specific to the western part of the South-western Regional School. They are:

- E1a knotwork
- D1 knotwork
- The "side shrouded" figure type
- The "skirted" figure type

"E1a" is a distinctive design based on the E1 knot but has elongated pointed loops. It also uses the characteristic "thick stem" attribute of the South western region in as much as it is found as a 'snaking' strand between the two stylized E1 knots which are in back to-back form, one higher than the other. This distinctive motif is found at only four sites:

Checkley (2)	Leek (1 & 5)
Hope	Norbury (1)

The D1 knotwork is found at five sites:

Alstonefield (10)	Hope
Ashbourne	Sandbach (2)
Chesterton	

One figure-type is distinguished by a pronounced inverted "V"-shape at the bottom of its tunic; it is recorded as the "skirted" figure and is found at:

Alstonefield (16)	Norbury (1)
Chesterton	Sandbach (4)
Eccleshall (4)	

The "side shrouded" figure is characterised by its side-facing stance with a hood, helmet or shroud and is found at:-

Chesterton	Sandbach (1-3)
Hope	

It can be seen that the two forms of knotwork attributes occur on nine sculptures at eight different

sites throughout the western part of the South western region not all of which are contiguous. Only Hope has both of them on the same piece of sculpture. The two figure types are found on eight sculptures at six sites, which again are not all contiguous. Some of them are found with the knotwork D1 or E1a (Chesterton, Hope, Norbury 1, Sandbach 2), but the majority are not (Alstonefield 16, Ashbourne, Eccleshall 4 Leek 1, Leek 5, Sandbach 1, Sandbach 3)

Since these attributes are spasmodic in their appearance and often found in isolation along with those of the regional repertoire, they do not appear to be part of a *specific* repertoire which was used for all fourteen sculptures. Only Alstonefield 16 and Sandbach 3 do not show the regional attributes, but both of these carvings are notably fragmentary with missing faces.

The side shrouded figure type is also recorded at Bakewell There is, however, doubt as to whether this site was ever part of the regional school since the attributes of the South western region are absent from the 'Peak' area. Furthermore, it is significant that the apparent connection is solely through a figure type, the most ambiguous of all identifiers (section 4.1).

The "round stylized" figure, which has not been mentioned before, is only found on Leek 1 This is also noted to be stylistically akin to the figure types on the Sandbach crosses, especially No 1, and therefore suggests that it is related to the side shrouded figure. It is again, an example of the ambiguity of figure types.

In conclusion, sculptures with the attributes of E1a, D1, skirted and side shrouded figures, although specific to the western part of the South-western region, do not signify a separate school. Instead they are an additional range of attributes to those of the main region and identify a sub-school within the main region.

4.15: THE SOUTH SUB-SCHOOL.

The South sub-school is the south-eastern component of the South-western Regional School. Like the West sub school, it has an additional range of attributes to those of the main region:-

The "circle ear" figure type

The "short arm" figure type

E1 circle pattern

F1 knotwork
Trent scroll
Trent curl.

The "E1 circle" design is found at:

Costock
Rothley

Stapleford

The knotwork F1 is found at:

Breedon (10 & 14)
Derby (7)
Repton (6)

Rothley
Sandbach (1)

The "Trent curl", as a specific attribute is sometimes found as an adjunct to other decoration (eg. Repton 2) or as part of the "Trent scroll" (eg. Asfordby 2). Both are area-specific to the South sub-school and the sites where either or both of them can be found are:

Asfordby (1-3)
Birstall (Leics.)
Ingleby
Repton (2, 4 & 9)

Rothley
Sandbach (1)
Sproxtton

The "circle ear" figure is characterised by the ear of the figure having a circular form, as if wearing large earrings. This figure type is also recorded at Cawthorne (1), where it is part of entirely different local ("Incised Motif") and regional schools (section 4.6): the similarity is most likely fortuitous. It is recorded on the following sculptures of the South sub-school.

Repton (10)

Stapleford

The "short arm" figure is characterised by its foreshortened arms and is found merged with the characteristics of the "Circle ear" figure at Stapleford. The sites are:

Shelford

Stapleford

The two knotwork types, E1 circle and F1, are found on eight pieces of sculpture, at seven sites: only the shaft at Rothley has both of them together. The Trent scroll and curl are found at seven sites also, but not always at the same sites as the knotwork. In fact only two sculptures, Rothley and Sandbach 1 have the knotwork *and* the Trent scroll or curl. Similar comments apply to the figure types, where only the shaft at Stapleford has any of the other attributes of the South sub-school. Although the knotwork, Trent scroll and curl and the Circle ear figure are all found at Repton, they are on separate pieces of sculpture.

Some of the attributes of the South sub-school are found on Sandbach 1 in Cheshire, which is in the western area of the regional school and therefore should strictly be in the area of the West sub-school. The position of the Sandbach sculptures is complicated in respect of their sub-regional identity and are dealt with separately below.

In summary like the West sub-school the attributes of the South sub school are demonstrably *not* components of a repertoire of a separate school, but those additional to the main repertoire of the regional school.

4 16: THE SANDBACH SCULPTURES.

The sculptures at Sandbach, comprise two very large cross-shafts (1 & 2), three portions of smaller shafts (3-5) and two slabs, presumably coped tomb covers (6 & 7). Sandbach is situated in an area identified as that of the West sub-school. However, Sandbach 1 has been mentioned in connection with *both* sub-divisions of the Regional School.

Sandbach 1 is notable for its extensive use of figural scenes. They are displayed on the shaft in 'boxes', divided by vertical and horizontal bars. The figures have been recorded as the "side shrouded" type which are also found in the general West sub-school repertoire. Some of the figures have the characteristics of the skirted type, also an attribute of the same sub division. Although badly eroded, this figure can be found on Sandbach 3A, and the side shrouded type, along with the single E1 pattern, are attributes of No. 7. Although figure-types are not regarded as highly diagnostic, since they can vary in form too greatly, they are, in most of their appearances in the West sub-school, quite distinctive. Therefore, the monument so far fits into the decorative scheme of the West sub-division of the Regional School.

However, No. 1 appears to have the Trent curl, knotwork F1, and a scroll type recorded as the sole attribute S9. This scroll has similarities with the Trent scroll and includes the appendage of the Trent curl. All of these attributes are of course, otherwise geographically restricted to the South sub-school. Confusion over the Sandbach sculptures is not new: Kendrick (1938. 197 9) felt that the largest cross (No. 1) was similar to ninth century Northumbrian work, an observation chiefly based on the use of an "inhabited vine-scroll" (S9). He did note, however, 'importations from Mercia', notably the "Anglian Beast" (ie. the Ribbon beast), and thought that the *style* of scrollwork was also 'Mercian'. Indeed, the scroll on Sandbach 1 probably has more in common with the Trent scroll than those of Northumbria, since it tends to characteristically "snake" in some places unlike the more uniform scrolls of Northumbria. There is however, a curious exception: the upper part of the main scroll on Sandbach 1 is in the form of the "C1" interlace which is in the same arrangement as in the Peak school (section 4 2) and is otherwise unique, in the research area to that school. Therefore, Sandbach 1 also exhibits characteristics from outside of the West sub-regional division of the South-western Regional School.

Sandbach 2, on the other hand does not appear to import decoration from the South sub-school. The figure types are similar to No. 1, principally the "side shrouded" type, consistent with the West school. There is no hint, however, of a Trent scroll or Trent curl, but attributes associating it *generally* with the main South-western region are: the Ribbon beast and the D1 knot. Otherwise the attributes include: P3, u/c and E1 (mirrored), which are unusual for this group, and even suggest links with the North-western Regional School which is discussed later: however this is by no means conclusive. The pattern "double 8" is a sole attribute for Sandbach 2 and, as a border decoration, need not be significant.

In summary, the Sandbach sculptures are consistent with the general regional influence of the South-western Regional School, but appear to take attributes from both its sub-divisions. It is possible that the similarities of the scroll and the use of the Trent curl and F1, could be due to masons of the South sub-school being involved in the manufacture of Sandbach 1. After all, the technical abilities and extensive repertoire of the masons of the South sub-school would have been positive factors in being selected to work alongside those of the West sub-school, to complete what became a most elaborate and grandiose cross. Sandbach 2 is similar to 1, but the same hand(s) do not appear to be in evidence. The remaining smaller pieces of sculpture at Sandbach are all badly eroded and damaged mainly due to the use of a less durable stone from the Triassic series, than that used for Nos. 1 and 2. However, what decoration has survived

suggests little to discourage their inclusion into the general influence of the Regional and West sub schools only.

4.17: THE DOVE VALLEY SCHOOL.

The Dove Valley school appears to be a small local school operating within the sphere of the South-western Regional School. It refers to a group of carvings in the western part of the main South-western region which occupy contiguous locations on the river Dove and its tributaries. It was noted by Allen in 1903 who referred to the school as "the Dove Dale sub-group of the larger Mercian group of pre-Norman crosses" (1903: 102) Its use of the regional attributes is limited however, since three of the signatory attributes (Ribbon beast, thick stem and A1) are conspicuously absent in all but one piece of sculpture, which also has the addition of E1a of the West sub-school (Checkley 2). The influence of the Regional School can also be seen through the use of two attributes, CC3 and BCC. These have not been mentioned before as an identifier of a school, since their distribution is limited to so few sites. However they are specific to the South-western Regional School only.

One distinctive pattern of this local school is the pattern E1+1. It is an unusual form of a mirrored E1 pattern and area-specific in the South-western region. The Dove Valley School also includes three distinctive figure types, the 'raised arm', 'clergy' and 'plaited body'. One peculiarity of this school associated with the latter figure types, is the depiction of three figures in a row, with the centre one often taller than the rest to fit neatly into an arcaded frame.

The signature attributes of the Dove Valley school are therefore:-

The E1+1 pattern

The "Raised Arm" figure type

The "Clergy" figure type

Plaited body figures

In addition, frequently associated attributes are the "pellet" motif, the double arcaded frame and six (or more) stranded plaitwork. Unfortunately, all of these associate attributes are non area-specific and therefore cannot be used as totally reliable supporting evidence. All pieces are produced from a Triassic sandstone (except the missing piece, Alstonefield 16, where the stone-

type is unknown). The best example of the school, and one which demonstrates the integration of many of these attributes, is Checkley 1 (Appendix 3A - 'Checkley 1'). The attributes of E1+1, the raised arm, plaited body and clergy figures (with three in a row) are found here, along with the pellet motif, a double arcade and a six-stranded plait

Below are the pieces which contain one or more of the signature attributes of the school. Since many are non area specific and because of the very rich repertoire found in this school, the presence of all, or any, of the associated attributes of pellet, double arcade and the six stranded plait will count as *one* associate attribute only for the purposes of identification. This makes a possible maximum of five attributes in the repertoire. The total number of all attributes is also shown:

<i>CORPUS No.</i>	<i>ATTRIBUTES OF SCHOOL</i>	<i>ALL ATTRIBUTES</i>
Alstonefield 4:	2	2
Alstonefield 16:	2	4
Brailsford:	2	1
Checkley 1:	5	10
Checkley 2:	5	7
Ilam 2:	4	9
Ilam 5:	4	9
Norbury 2:	2	3
Stapleford.	2	12

The *credentials* of some of these sculptures appear less than totally convincing and therefore the individual pieces require examination.

Checkley 1 has all of the signatory attributes and presents the best case for inclusion. This is confirmed by the addition of the pellet, P6, a double arcade and a row of three figures. Along with the addition of P4, are the regional area-specific attributes of CC3 and BCC.

Checkley 2 has three of the signatory attributes, together with the thick stem/E1a and T1 motifs. Additionally there are three figures in a row, the pellet and P6.

Ilam 2 has three signatories, with CC2, CC3, BCC, P4, E1 as either non area-specific or general attributes of the region. It also has a double arcade.

Ilam 5 is very badly eroded and much of its decoration has gone, but three of the signature attributes of the school can be seen together with P4?, P3? and D2? (badly eroded) It also has P6, three figures in a row and a double arcade.

Norbury 2 has only two signatories but is otherwise only accompanied by the non area specific, looped P4.

Alstonefield 16 is doubtful because it only displays the E1+1 attribute of the school. The figure type has been recorded as "skirted", which is general to the local sub-division of the region, but is not one of the three figures specific to this school. It is accompanied by the pellet motif and a rosette, neither of which is area specific. Unfortunately, this stone is now lost and our information comes only from an old photograph (Pape 1946/7: 21), but both surviving decorated faces are illustrated. Its inclusion into this school must be seen as tentative, with only one signature attribute.

Alstonefield 4 has the clergy figure, and although fragmentary appears to also have P6 as its other attribute. Its inclusion again must be tentative and given that the site is only four miles from the contiguous Dove Valley School site of Ilam, Alstonefield's inclusion into the school appears reasonable.

Unlike the other sites listed for this school, Stapleford is not contiguous with this group of sites. It has the E1+1 motif as a signatory of the Dove Valley school, but is accompanied by no less than 11 other attributes. They are the "Circle Eared" or "Short Arm" figure type, C1+CC1, CC1, E1 circle, A1, B1, CC82, S10, a "bottom curve" frame, Collar 2/3 and P6. It is also a round shafted monument. Apart from E1+1, only the plait P6 has any relation with the Dove Valley School and this is of course, non area-specific. Therefore, since only one signatory can be identified from a total of 12 attributes, and especially as several are specific to the South sub-school, it should not be included in the Dove Valley School. The mason(s) has probably used E1+1 in this case, as part of the *regional* repertoire.

Similar comments apply to Brailsford, although it is geographically closer to the rest of the sculpture of the group. Only one attribute (a figure with a plaited body) suggests its inclusion into this school; even then, the plaitwork is only partial, unlike the other figures of the plaited type which are almost entirely covered. It is accompanied by 10 other attributes of which several are

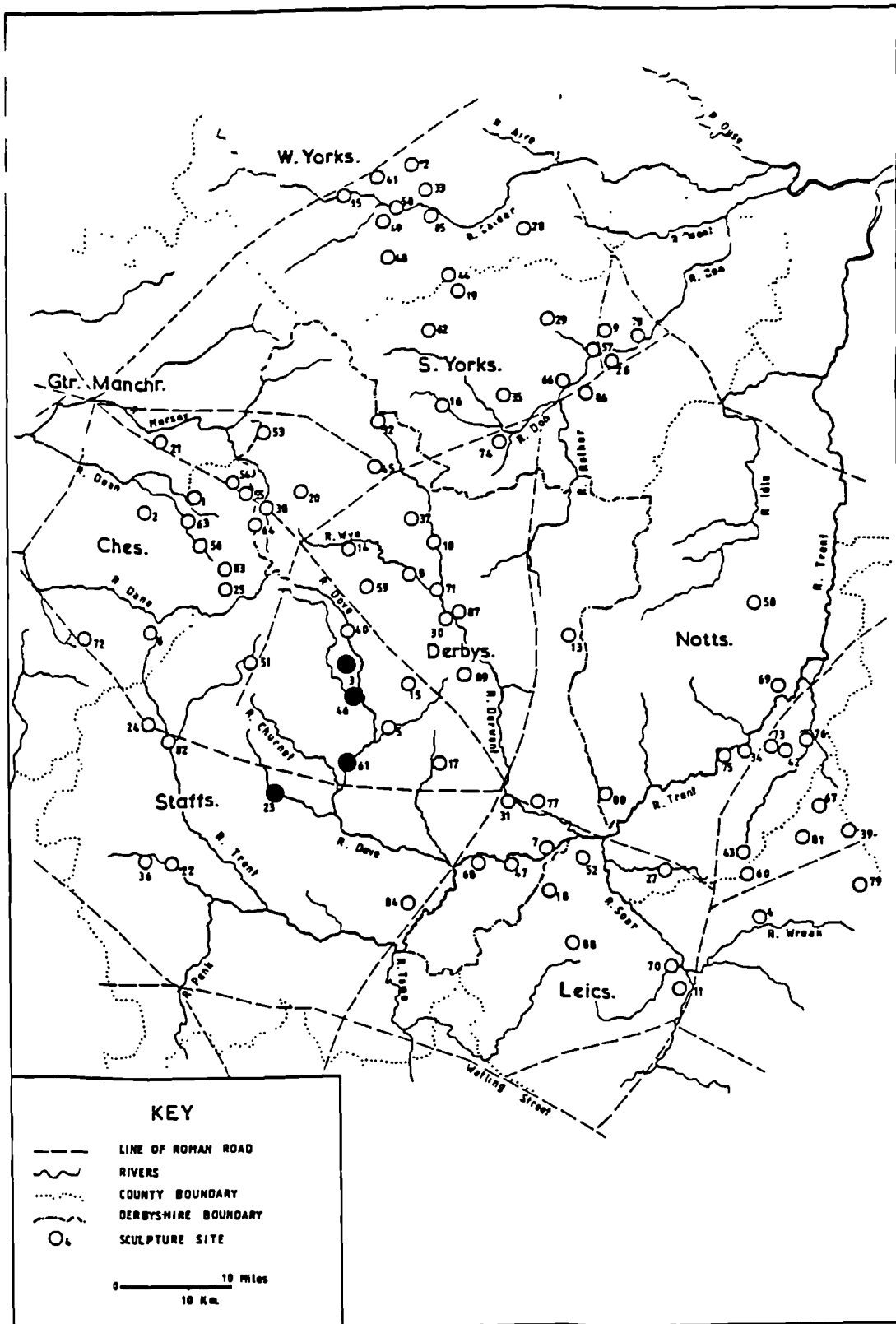


FIG. 4.9.

Sites with sculpture of the Dove Valley School.

specific to the North western region (see section 4.19) Additionally its stylistic type is recorded as "Chisel face", and does not appear to be represented elsewhere. Unlike the other pieces (although this may be insignificant) the stone type is Millstone Grit. Consequently, Brailsford cannot be assigned to this school.

The Dove Valley School can therefore be identified at the following sites:

Checkley
Ilam
Alstonefield
Norbury

4.18 BREEDON-ON-THE-HILL.

The church at Breedon houses a spectacular collection of re-built friezes and architectural panels which has been much discussed since A W. Clapham's appraisal of 1928 (Clapham 1928): not least by Rosemary Cramp in her more recent contribution of 1977 (Cramp 1977) In Cramp's view, architectural sculpture was likely to have been the earliest form of stone art in Mercia and therefore pre-dated most other monuments (Cramp 1977: 194). It may, therefore, be reasonable to expect that the stylistic attributes found at Breedon connect the site with its neighbours as an 'early' producer of sculptural art and thus a model: however, this evidence is not forthcoming. The distinctive attributes of most of the Breedon sculpture have been recorded as "sole" to the site: that is to say, they are not found elsewhere in the area covered by this research. The site is, however, close to the southern limits of the research area and therefore its sphere of influence may have projected to the south. It is nevertheless surprising that much of Breedon's sculpture holds no affinity with the rest of the South-western region of this research. It is therefore appropriate to review the sculpture on display at this site.

Most of the sculptural fragments are portions of friezes or panels rebuilt into the church walls, but there are also three fragments of free-standing shafts inside the church. The attributes at Breedon fall into two categories, a considerable number which are "sole" attributes and those which are recorded elsewhere

The sole attributes to this site are:-

beast scroll
CC5

broken scroll
high relief figure type

S11 shelly limestone varnated scroll	scallop turned halo figure type B1/C1
--	---

Those which are found elsewhere:-

A1 E1 F2 thick stem USL	B1 F1 Ribbon beast S4
-------------------------------------	--------------------------------

All of the 'sole' attributes are found on pieces of frieze and panels and *not* on the three free-standing shafts, 8, 9 and 10. Conversely, the second list of attributes which are not 'sole' to the site, all refer to the shafts and *not* to the friezes and panels. There is only one exception the pattern F1. This is found both on the fragment of frieze No. 14 and on shaft No. 10. This knotwork is also found elsewhere in the research area - in the North region (Kirklees School) and in the South sub-School. Although there is a similarity between the F1 patterning on face B of No. 10 and the frieze No. 14, they are in different arrangements. Therefore, there is only *one* attribute on *one* piece of frieze at Breedon which has any common ground with any other sculpture in the entire research area.

Apart from the obvious difference of form there are, therefore, distinct differences between the free-standing shafts (8-10) and the rest of Breedon sculpture. All three shafts can be shown to have regional identities: Nos. 8 and 10 to the South-western region and No. 9 to the North-western region (section 4.19). These differences go further than decorative attributes; the three shafts are carved in a different technique to the knotwork on the friezes. The cut of the friezes is much deeper than that of the shafts and similar monuments elsewhere. Although it can be reasonably argued that the carving depth of stone sculpture is an unreliable statistic, due to the high possibility of differential erosion, a better comparison can be obtained from the strand widths which suffer less from this problem.

The strand-widths of the shafts, Nos. 9 and 10, are recorded as 26mm. and 20mm. respectively. That for No. 8 is recorded as "too variable" on what little knotwork survives. Outside of Breedon, similar dimensions are found: Rothley, for example, has a strand width of 24mm., Lockington 1, of 27mm. and Birstall of 18mm. However, the strand-widths of patterned friezes at Breedon are much narrower: No. 2 has a maximum of 11mm. and Nos. 7 and 29 are only 6.5mm. and 7.0mm. respectively, which are easily the *narrowest* in the corpus (piece No. 14 which also

has knotwork, is inaccessible). This means that the carving technique on the friezes is different from that of the shafts 8-10. The latter follow the general pattern of the region, but it can be seen that the Breedon frieze carving uses a comparatively deep, narrow cut and therefore does not appear to be linked to the shafts by a common technique.

Similar comments apply to the scrollwork and figures. The scrollwork is cut to a depth of 30mm. on No. 5, 36mm. on No. 22, and 33mm on No. 30. By comparison, the scrollwork on Ingleby 2 Asfordby 3 or Bakewell 37, are 10mm., 14mm. and 16mm. respectively. One figure type on the friezes is designated "high relief" for that very characteristic of technique which is unique in the research area. It has an accentuated "3-D" appearance, created by cutting away at the back of the moulded figures.

The figures on the panels 23-25 are in lesser relief than the frieze figures (except Nos. 27 and 28 which are in deep relief) and conform to the more familiar modelled technique of the corpus. They do not, however, share a recognisable figure-type with elsewhere (but note previous comments on figure types as identifiers)

The scrolls, knotwork and line patterns of the friezes, may be the creation of the same school since they are found to stylistically relate to each other and appear to be in the same technique throughout the range of fragments. This is less convincing for the other panels, especially the arcaded figure panels, Nos. 23-26, which may have a common link between themselves, but not with the rest of the Breedon sculpture. They are in a different stone type, a shelly limestone, and carving technique.

In conclusion, although there is evidence of different groups of attributes between the friezes and panels at Breedon, none can be identified as having any association with the regional influences described above. This is not the case, however, for the shafts 8, 9 and 10. However, it has been noted that the Breedon panel figures have remarkable affinity with sites elsewhere, outside of the research area. Cramp describes associated sites with Breedon at Peterborough, Fletton and Castor, which form a discreet group to the south-east (1977: 192-3). Therefore it seems likely that most of the carvings belong to a school which is otherwise outside the area of research and which would also account for the high number of 'sole' attributes at Breedon.

4.19: THE NORTH-WESTERN REGIONAL SCHOOL.

This school overlaps those geographic regions occupied by the Peak and South-western Regional schools. However, it can be distinguished in the overlapping areas by its specific repertoire which, fortunately, has signature attributes not found in the repertoire of other schools identified herein. Although the distribution of its monuments overlaps with the two schools mentioned above, the influence of the North-western School can also be seen to operate north of the River Dane where there are no sculptures of any other school. The distribution of its monuments appears to be particularly concentrated around the western fringes of the southern Pennine uplands.

The repertoire of the North-western region uses less intricate designs than its South-western counterpart. It includes, with one or two exceptions, all of the round-shafted monuments in the research area, but this is not, as some have thought, the exclusive form of the school (cf. Kendrick 1949: 68-70) since it also includes more conventional rectangular-shafted monuments. There are three signature attributes of this group which are area-specific and unique to the school, with the minor exception at Thornhill which is discussed below:

Scroll type S4

The "key", "fret" or "line" pattern, L1

The irregular line motif, USL

There is a further range of attributes found in association with these signatories, some of which are strictly non area-specific such as the E1 (mirrored) pattern, P4 or P2. P3, on the other hand, is concentrated in the area of this school. The scroll S6 is all but area-specific to this regional influence and so is the pattern BB2. With one or possibly two exceptions (see below and Appendix 1), all of the round-shafted monuments are area-specific and found in association with the repertoire of the school. Therefore, "bottom curve", "wide collar", "collars 1 and 2" and monuments of type 'h' [hh'] (all associated with round-shafts only) are attributes of this group. There is also frequent use of close-circuit designs, especially "CC1", although this is a non area-specific attribute and is not diagnostic on its own. Similar comments apply to the motif "T1", often used with the two-stranded plait (P2) and strongly associated with crossheads of the North-

western region Where such crossheads are more complete they are found with more diagnostic attributes of the region The crossheads are dealt with separately below.

Consequently, the following is a list of associate attributes for the North-western Regional School:

The close circuit pattern, CC1

The motif T1

Monument type "H"

Bottom curve

Collar 1 or 2

Plait P3

Plait P2

Pattern BB2

Scroll S6

This is a wide range of associate attributes and therefore it is likely that since most monuments are now incomplete, only a sample of the full repertoire will be displayed As in the case of the Dove Valley School (above), some discrimination is required to assist in the initial identification of the school Consequently, the following groups of associate attributes will be used, each group counting as one attribute, whether one or all are represented. Attributes which are particular to round shafts can be grouped together as one set: they are the monument type "h", bottom curve and collars '1', '2' or 'wide' The remainder are grouped as "scroll and motif" and "plait and motif" sets and may appear on both round and rectangular shafts.

1. Monument type H, bottom curve, or collars 1, 2 or "wide".
2. S6, CC1, or T1
3. P2, P3 or BB2

The following sculptures are those which have one or more of the signature attributes. They are listed below together with the associated attributes from the repertoire of the school. These are shown (max. 6), together with the total number of all attributes on each individual stone:

<i>CORPUS No.</i>	<i>ATTRIBUTES OF SCHOOL</i>	<i>ALL ATTRIBUTES</i>
Alstonefield 5:	3	4
Alstonefield 6:	3	4
Alstonefield 7:	4	4
Alstonefield 8	3	3
Astbury:	3	5
Bakewell 3:	1	1
Bakewell 18:	2	2
Bakewell 28:	2	4
Brailsford:	6	6
Breedon 9:	3	6
Cheadle:	2	5
Darley Dale 2:	1	3
Ilam 3.	5	9
Leek 3:	2	5
Leek 4:	1	1
Leek 6:	5	8
Lyme Hall 1:	4	6
Lyme Hall 2.	3	4
Lyme Hall 3:	5	7
Macclesfield 2:	6	6
Macclesfield 4:	2	3
Macclesfield 5:	2	3
Prestbury 2:	2	5
Stoke-on-Trent.	3	4
Two Dales:	3	6

In addition to the list above, Thornhill 2 is also recorded as having L1, which is an attribute otherwise exclusive to this school. However, the Thornhill sculpture has L1 as a combined motif with P2, where a rather stylized two-stranded plait merges into a line pattern L1 or L2. The other attributes of this sculpture ("A1 mirrored" and "plain") firmly assign it into the North Regional School (section 4.5) and so it can now be eliminated

Many of the monuments are demonstrably members of this school, but others require further examination. These are examined below:

Alstonefield 5 has L1 and the additional attribute of an undecipherable plait (damaged), and No. 6 has a P4 plait along with L1, presenting no problems. However, it is notable that USL and S4 are missing from sculptures of the North-western region at this site.

Astbury appears to have been a round shafted monument (damaged) and has S6 and USL with the additional S10 type scroll which is recorded otherwise on the unprovenanced stone from Blackwell (Peak).

Bakewell 3 has only an L1 pattern visible, and being a signature attribute of this group can be included. Similar comments apply to Bakewell 18 which has S4 and P3 (but damaged), and Bakewell 28 having L1 and P3, but with the addition of P4 and S1. With regard to the attribute of S1, it is unique to this site for this school and appears to copy the vine scroll of the Pea School but in a more stylized form.

Breedon 9 is the most south easterly of this group of sculptures. It has the two signature attributes of USL and S4. Its associates are: CC1, CC2, C1+CC1 and F2. F2 is only recorded elsewhere at Lockington (2), but this is a tentative assignation since the Lockington pattern is fragmentary. C1+CC1 is a sole attribute on this piece. There are however, no attributes of the South western Regional School and since USL and S4 are present, there is good reason to include this piece in the North-western group.

Cheadle is the most north-westerly piece and at the limit of the research area. It only has one signature attribute (L1) but its associates are S6 pellet and S8. The latter is a curvilinear "scroll" type with no specific pattern and is non area-specific, but a similar design is found on the round shaft Bakewell 25, which is also probably part of this group. The inclusion of S6 strengthens the argument for inclusion into this school and the crosshead central boss is also in keeping with the North western region (section 4 20)

Although Darley Dale 2 has the L1 pattern its associates are unusual and not found elsewhere. It has previously been described under the North region from which it was eliminated. The lack of a supporting repertoire suggests it would be unwise to include this piece, but its location makes it possible.

Ilam 3 is a round-shaft with L1, USL, S6 and with the additional attributes of P4, a boss, a looped P4 and an unclassified (u/c) motif, none of which detract from its inclusion.

Leek 3 has the USL motif, with BB2, S3 and a cross motif. It also has L3, which is only found on this piece and may be regarded as a variation on L1. It is therefore reasonably safe to associate

this piece with the North-western group Leek 4 is badly damaged but the only discernible decoration appears to be S4. Leek 6 has all three signature attributes, with the additionals of u c, looped P4 and an E1 (mirrored) pattern

None of the Lyme Hall pieces (1-3) give rise to doubt about their inclusion. Nos. 2 and 3 are said to be the shaft and crosshead of the same piece, separated in recent times (pers. com. K. Atkinson, National Trust). Certainly the breaks between them appeared to be consistent with this. Therefore 3 is now a collection of fragments of a crosshead but is regarded as a single piece of sculpture. All three pieces are upper portions of round-shafted monuments.

Macclesfield 2 has strong credentials: No. 4 has only L1, but has associates which appear to be P4 and P3. Similarly, No. 5 has L1, P4 and CC1.

Prestbury 2 is an unusual piece: its technique is rough and crude and its only reasonable parallel, in fact, Prestbury 1 which is discussed in the attached corpus. It is now difficult to discern all the decoration on No. 2 (it is worn and protected in a glass case), but L1, CC1 and P4 can be identified. It also has at least two crude figures ('gingerbread') which are 'sole' attributes here and some form of beast in a similar crude and surrealistic style. It also has the attribute FN which is a free knot after the style of the "vegetal" designs found in north west England (Bailey and Cramp 1988: 35). This is a non area specific attribute, as with P4 and CC1. Although the style of the fragments is unusual, there is little to detract from its inclusion into the school

Stoke-on Trent presents good credentials with the addition of E1 (mirrored).

Two Dales has the signatory of USL (in a varied form) Otherwise it has CC1, CC2, looped P4, pellet, P2 and S6. It also has arcaded framework, which is unusual for this group, but there is nothing else to detract from its inclusion into this school.

In conclusion, the following sites can be listed as part of the North western regional school:

Alstonefield:
Astbury
Bakewell
Brailsford
Breedon
Cheadle
Ilam

Leek
Lyme Hall
Macclesfield
Prestbury
Stoke-on-Trent
Two Dales

It was previously stated that almost all of the round shafted monuments in the research area were likely to have been part of the North-western Regional School since many have its signature attributes. However the following two monuments are possible exceptions. Firstly, the shaft at Chebsey does have some common ground with the group: it has the BB2 motif and a (rather unconventional) P3. It also has the attribute FN which was mentioned above in connection with Prestbury. This would suggest a connection with the group but there are no signature attributes present, and one scrawling knot gives the appearance of "A1", although this may be fortuitous (see section 4.13 and Appendix 3B - 'Chebsey'). It would perhaps be wiser to exclude it from the North-western Regional sculptures.

The second round shafted monument is at Stapleford which is more elaborate in its decoration. However, it is only connected to this group by form (ie with the attributes of Monument Type H, bottom curve and collars). It does *not* have any other attributes of the North-western Regional School. Instead it displays attributes both signatory and associate, of the South-western regional influence in an array that is unambiguous. It is therefore certain that Stapleford is not a member of the North-western group.

Having eliminated one, and cast doubt on another round shafted monument, one is left with the problem of several round shafts which have no decorative attributes and are only identifiable by their form. The lack of decoration may be due to the excessive wear of shallow decoration, or may have been intentional. Since most round shafted crosses have the attributes of the North western region, it may be considered excusable to use form type as an argument for their likely inclusion but, as in the case of Stapleford above, similarity of form should not be the sole criterion. However, a more plausible reason to include them within this school is that most of them are found north of the River Dane which is outside of the operational areas of the other schools (but see section 6.2 on provenance). In this case, the following undecorated or fragmentary shafts would almost certainly belong to the North-western region, since they are found north of the River Dane:-

Adlington 1
Fernilee
Lyme Handley 1
Swithamley

Adlington 2
Ludworth 1
Lyme Handley 2

Cluelow
Ludworth 2
Prestbury 3

With regard to Ludworth 1 and 2 ("Robin Hood's Pickling Rods"), it should be noted that neither of these shafts have any decoration and are now simply stone cylinders. Strictly

speaking therefore they should not be included in discussions of this school They are mentioned here because they have been recorded previously as Anglo Saxon (cf Pape 1945/6: 39).

All of the round-shafts mentioned above (except those at Ludworth) can be included in the North western Regional School since they are found north of the River Dane where no other school operated Undecorated round shafts situated south of the Dane would not be so easily included as they are in the "overlap" area. However the only site where this occurs is Alstonefield where there are several fragments of the upper portions of round-shafted crosses (Nos 5-8 which have already been identified as belonging to the North-western group. It is therefore reasonable to expect that the unidentified round-shaft at Alstonefield (No. 15) also belongs to the same group. Nos 11, 12 13 and 14 have also been suggested as Anglo Saxon round shaft fragments (cf. Pape 1945/6: 31) but are, like Ludworth *simply pieces of column with no decoration at all* (Appendix 3A/B - 'Ludworth') and therefore must be eliminated

There are two round shafts recorded at Bakewell which also has monuments of the North-western region. Although none of the signature attributes of the North-western Regional School are present on them, they do have other decoration which is consistent with its associated repertoire No. 25 has P2, P4, bottom curve and S8 and No. 27 has CC1, P4 and P3 *It would appear reasonable to include them in the school.*

In conclusion, it seems likely that all of the round shafted monuments except Stapleford and possibly Chebsey, belong to the North western region. Therefore, the following sites can also be included into the North western Regional School:

Adlington
Cluelow
Fernilee

Lyme Handley
Swithamley

4.20: NORTH-WESTERN REGION CROSSHEADS.

There are several pieces of sculpture in the attached corpus which are fragments of crossheads. In many instances they are difficult to identify in terms of regional or local schools since the restricted space and form of these sculptures meant that the use of many attributes was impracticable. However, the repetition of a small number of attributes allows some of the fragments to be associated with the North western Regional School.

The distribution of "T1" is non area-specific but it can be seen that there is a concentration in the Peak area and in the west of the research area. In many cases, this motif is found on crosshead fragments. At Rowsley for example, the large crosshead fragment shows T1 as the terminal to plaitwork (P2) on each arm. In addition there is a central raised boss. This same combination of these three attributes is repeated at Leek (2) and it may indicate a specific repertoire for crossheads of the North western region.

Neither crosshead mentioned above has signatory attributes of any regional or local school. However they do appear to have stylistic similarities between themselves, and the only school which operated in both of these areas was the North western Regional School. T1 is also found as part of its repertoire at, for example, Lyme Hall or Two Dales.

The crosshead at Lyme Hall (No. 3) also helps to confirm that the combination of these three attributes (boss, T1 and P2/3 plaitwork) was intended to be part of the repertoire of the North western region. Lyme Hall 3 has T1 a central boss and the plaitwork P3. It also has the North western region signature attributes of L1 and USL. This crosshead is also in an area where no other school operated. Similar comments apply to the fragment of crosshead from Pym Chair which has a central boss and plaitwork although the arm terminals (where T1 is usually found) are missing.

Consequently the following crossheads can be added to the North western Regional School. The number of common attributes of the group (T1 P2/3 plaitwork and centre boss - max. 3) is shown, together with the total of all attributes thereon:-

<i>CORPUS No.</i>	<i>ATTRIBUTES OF SCHOOL</i>	<i>ALL ATTRIBUTES</i>
Bakewell 30:	2	2
Leek 2:	3	3
Lyme Hall 3:	3	3
Monyash 1:	2	2
Monyash 2:	1	1
Pym Chair:	2	2
Rowsley:	3	3

All of the above have two or more of the attributes of the school, except Monyash 2 which requires further comment. The only attribute found here is the central boss. This piece is very badly damaged and fragmentary, but was found along with Monyash 1 which can be included

into the school, having two of the three attributes. Since both crossheads are of the same form (arm terminal type "e") and of similar dimensions, it is fairly safe to make a connection between them. However, both of these fragments are strictly unprovenanced (section 6.2)

Therefore the following *sites* can be added to the North western Regional School which have not previously been mentioned in connection with this school:-

Monyash

Pym Chair

Rowsley

4.21: LOCAL SCHOOLS OF THE NORTH-WESTERN REGION.

No local schools can be specifically identified within the North western region. There are no combinations of attributes which identify local groups in the same way that they have been identified in other areas. However, some localisation of design is apparent on an individual site basis.

At Alstonefield, there are four pieces of sculptures (5-8) which not only have the same form (upper portions of round shafted crosses), but also repeat the same very limited repertoire. The attributes used are:

BB2

P3

L1

P4

In addition, all have the bottom curve, a cable moulding (where the arrises are not worn-off) and the L1 design appears to terminate in the scroll S6 (where the bottom part of the design survives). An *identical* repertoire and technique was used in each case, suggesting that Alstonefield may have been a place of production in its own right and following its own distinct selection from the general repertoire of the school. If this repertoire is compared with those of adjacent sites, it is found to be unique. At Ilam 3, USL, looped P4 and u/c designs are found in the repertoire, and BB2 is missing. At Leek the attributes of USL, S4, looped P4, T1, u/c and E1 (mirrored) are used on the round-shaft (No. 6) and BB2 is again missing.

Similar comments apply to Prestbury (Nos. 1 and 2) where the carvings generally conform to the regional repertoire, but are unique in layout and style, except with one another. This again suggests that there is a likelihood that they were manufactured on site, and may even identify the

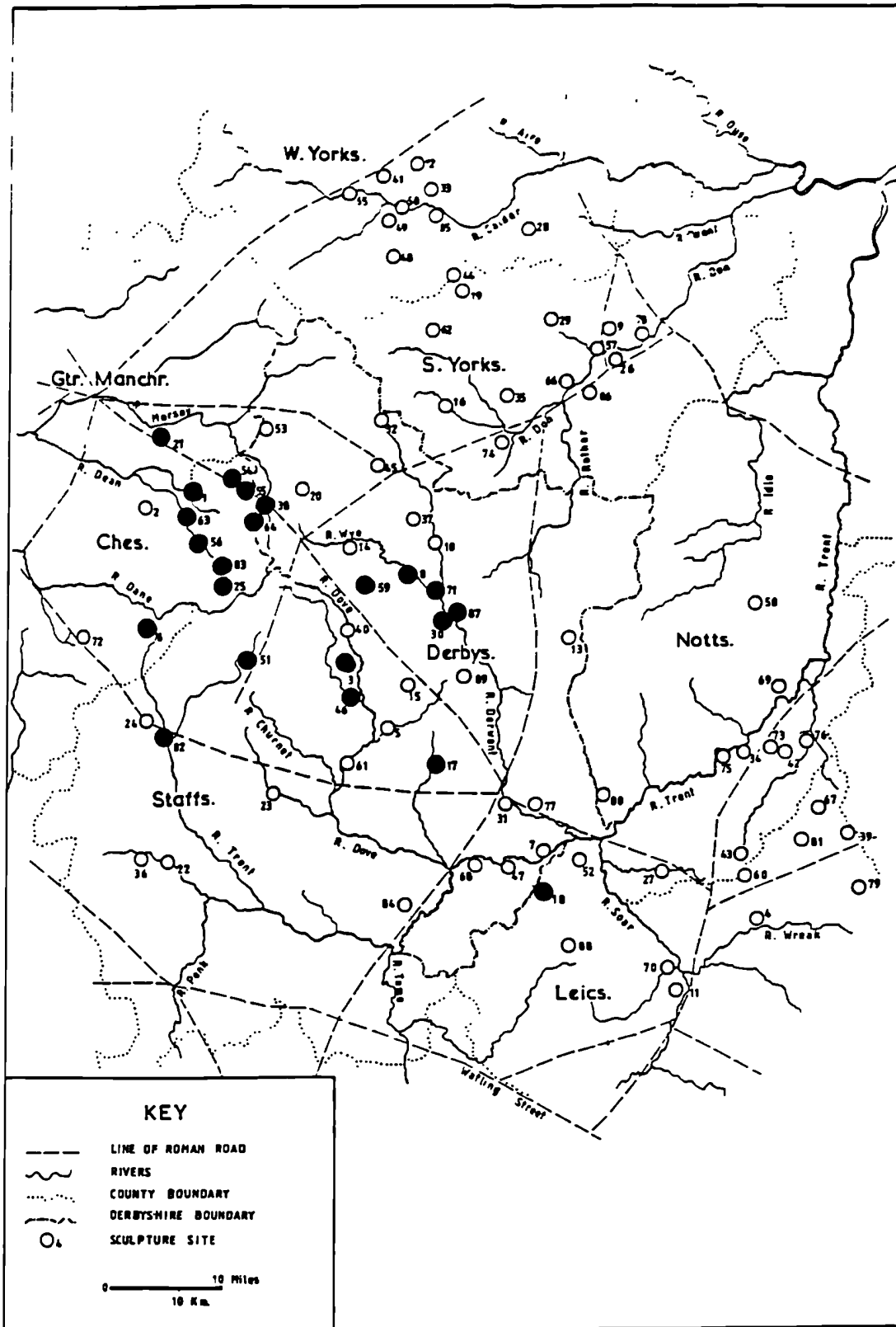


FIG. 4.10

Sites with sculpture of the North-western Regional School.

style invoked by an individual mason. There are, however, no localised combinations of attributes beyond those on an individual site basis from which local sub-schools can be identified, and it is therefore more appropriate that the entire regional group should be regarded as one singular influence or school

SUMMARY

To summarize this chapter, it was noted how certain decorative elements or attributes, are concentrated in some areas of the research and are absent in others. They are almost invariably found alongside others which have a similar distribution pattern. Together with supporting elements, these 'area specific' attributes are found to be part of a specific repertoire of decoration and/or technique which identify a school. The great advantage of this method is that it does not rely on the vagaries of single-attribute analysis which has been used to identify schools in the past.

The result is that six distinctly different groups of sculpture can be identified in the research area, two of which can be divided into major sub schools. There are also sculptures which are restricted to one site only and do not appear to be related to the schools in their respective regions: they appear to be the product of 'in house' sculpting. Since this method of analysis avoids ambiguity each of the schools can be identified to a specific geographical area. Four of the schools, the East, South-western Regional, Peak and North Regional, do not overlap with each other, but appear to obey 'territorial' limits. However two schools, the North-western Regional and Kirklees, do not appear to be bounded by 'territorial limits' and overlap with others

5: STONE USE AND PRODUCTION

5.1: INTRODUCTION.

The schools which have been identified in the research occupy definite geographical areas, and are constituted by a specific repertoire of designs and technique, which together may point towards some form of cohesive unit behind their production. This cohesion could have been because they were made at a central place which dominated the schools, or alternatively, may have been produced on a local scale, but bounded by an overall authority, *not necessarily* centred on one particular place. If the evidence for the use of stone types is considered, it may be possible to decide which of the two alternatives was more likely to have been the case. For example, evidence for a central stone supply is more likely to suggest a centralised place of production from which the monuments were dispatched. If, on the other hand, local stone types were used, then this argues against centralised production, and towards local production. If the latter is found to be the case, then schools were likely to have been either the product of itinerants, or of local craftspeople, working to a 'set agenda' of symbols. Perhaps, if localised production was taking place, schools may be no more than a series of monuments representing federated sites, expressing their individual attachment to some overall dominance or sense of cohesion.

In Chapter 1 (section 1.4), it was discussed how the use of various stone types may help to determine the underlying mode of manufacture. Despite the lack of suitable evidence, there has been an enduring assumption that monuments were produced from a central workshop, where masons and their apprentices would craft sculptures for erection elsewhere. Brown for one, felt that the individuality of the monuments argued against these previous assumptions of centralised production (Brown 1937: 214). Later studies into the stone types used in their manufacture suggested that in most cases only stone locally available to the *site* was used and thus also argued against the idea of a central workshop. Similarly, the restricted use of templates and common 'unit measurements' (see section 1.3 and 1.4) also suggests that production was on a localised scale. It is, therefore, appropriate to examine the stone types used in the production of the monuments in this research area. This will be done by outlining the geology of the region and comparing this to the distribution of stone used in the manufacture of the monuments.

5.2: THE GEOLOGY OF THE RESEARCH AREA

Fig. 5.1 shows a simplified version of the underlying geology of the region under discussion. Broadly, this falls into three main geological regions. The first is the Carboniferous uplands area of the southern end of the Pennine anticline, comprising the Carboniferous Limestone core, over which lie coarse-grained Millstone Grit sandstones and shales to the east, west and north of the limestone 'dome'. The Gritstone is flanked to the east and west by finer-grained Coal Measures sandstones and shales, including productive coal seams, especially to the east. The second region generally consists of more recent Permian-Triassic deposits including limestones, sandstones and marls which cover the southern end of the Pennine uplands where the anticline dips sharply downwards; they also surround the eastern and western flanks of the Pennines. In the south-east of the research region are the sands and gravels of the Trent and lower Derwent valleys. The third main block is the younger Jurassic series which form the extreme south easterly limits of the research area. This includes the Lower Lias clays south of the Trent valley and the limestones of the Middle Jurassic, formerly called the Inferior and Great Oolites (Sylvester-Bradley and Ford 1968)

Within these main blocks are other beds and intrusions: the Carboniferous Limestone 'dome' contains lavas, igneous intrusions and dolomitised limestones in the south. Its western flank of Gritstone contains small outliers of Triassic sandstones at its southern end. To the east of the Coal Measures, is the outcrop of the Permian Magnesian Limestone - the Cadeby Formation. In the south of the region is the 'Swadlincote Hill country' with its Carboniferous and Permian-Triassic rocks (Stanley 1990: 169). In this region are Millstone Grit and Coal Measures sandstones, Sherwood Sandstone of the Trias (formerly Bunter Sandstone), and isolated outcrops of Carboniferous Limestone. To the extreme south west of the area, are further outcrops of Coal Measures sandstones and shales.

Of the available stone types, the sandstones of the Carboniferous (Namurian and Westphalian) and Trias are suitable materials for the production of sculptured monuments. They are relatively easy to work and, in most cases, amenable to fine tooling: in the main, they are regarded as good quality building stones (Stanley 1990: 169-171). At the extreme easterly limits of the research area are the Middle Jurassic limestones, which are also suitable for monument production as good quality freestones, and were used extensively during the Roman period (Blagg 1990). The Cadeby Formation (formerly Lower Magnesian Limestone) is also a suitable freestone for monument manufacture. On the other hand, the Carboniferous Limestone of the southern

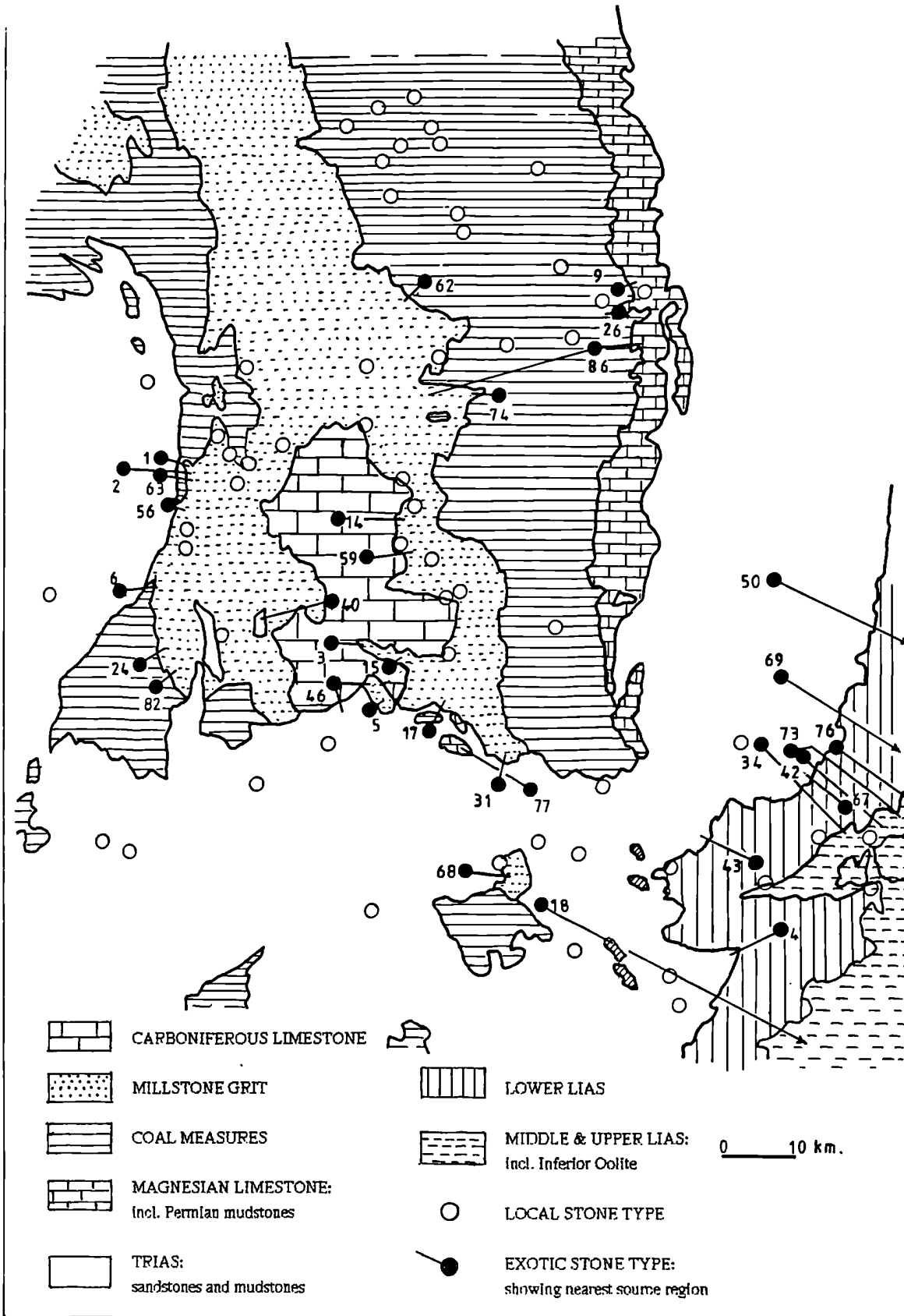


FIG. 5.1.

Map showing the geology of the research area together with the sculpture sites.

For key to map numbers see Fig. 0.2.

Pennines is unsuitable for fine carving since it is difficult to work. Similarly the alluvial deposits and Lower Lias clays around the lower Trent valley have no suitable sources of freestone

The availability of suitable material for monument production during the Saxon period was probably governed by three main factors: firstly, the tendency of the stone to outcrop and thus provide a natural quarry face which could be easily worked; secondly, the existence of a Roman quarry site which would have allowed access to otherwise difficult stone to extract in areas where there are no suitable outcrops; and thirdly, the availability of material to be re-used from Roman buildings.

The nature of the Pennine anticline means that there are numerous accessible outcrops of Millstone Grit in all areas where this stone can be found (see Fig. 5.1). The nearest Millstone Grit outcrop to the individual monuments which are made from this type of stone, is given in Appendix 3A. There are also outcrops of Coal Measure sandstones and of the Cadeby Formation, including natural quarry faces produced by riverine action. There are also some outcrops of Triassic sandstone in the more undulating landscape in the south of the region. For instance, there are bluffs on the edges of the Trent valley (Stanley 1990: 169-173) and generally in the Trias there are small but frequent exposures of sandstone (Taylor 1968: 169-173) where natural faces could have been worked. In the south-east of the research area is the alluvial plain of the lower and middle Trent valley and the Lower Lias, where there are no outcrops of suitable material for the manufacture of monuments. The nearest suitable stone to this area with reasonable availability, is either in the Upper Triassic sandstone areas to the south-west or in the Middle Jurassic to the east, where there are numerous sites of accessible stone (Sylvester-Bradley 1968: 222). The Carboniferous Limestone 'dome' is surrounded by Namurian and Triassic sandstones, which could have provided suitable stone. Therefore, most areas have reasonably available local stone, suitable for the manufacture of the monuments.

Our knowledge of stone quarries in the Saxon period is poor. It is difficult to identify quarries of antiquity since the evidence for this is almost invariably destroyed as soon as the quarry is infilled or re-worked by subsequent generations. As discussed in section 1.4, any quarry operating in the Saxon period would most likely have had a Roman ancestry. As a general rule, local stone was used by the Romans for building purposes when this was suitable, with only certain monumental works attracting more exotic varieties. The known major Roman quarry sites closest to the research area were at Barnack and Ancaster ((Blagg 1990: 33-6) supplying Jurassic limestone. Studies into the sources of Roman building stones are able to identify likely sources of exotic stone, for example, the use of Pennine Millstone Grit for buildings at York or

Ancaster stone, said to have been used in Roman London (ibid 40) However, it is much more difficult to identify quarries, which supplied locally obtained material to sites such as Little Chester (Derby), Buxton, Rocester, Chesterfield, Melandra (Glossop) or Templeborough (Rotherham). All of these quarry sites could have been used by Anglo-Saxon masons or their patrons, should this have been expedient, but, equally, the towns and forts themselves also provided rich sources of stone. For example, stone which may appear to have come from a relatively distant quarry during the Saxon period may in fact have been re-used from Roman buildings nearby. Where it is likely that the Romans used local stone, as in much of the research area, the identification of re-used Roman material is much more difficult and relies solely on the survival of inscriptions, decoration or constructional devices. If Saxon stone sculpture used such re-used material, most of the evidence would no doubt be destroyed once the carving of the Saxon monument was completed: the chance of the survival of previous Roman indicators is therefore slim.

5.3: THE USE OF VARIOUS STONE TYPES IN THE RESEARCH AREA.

All of the sites with pre-Conquest sculpture in this thesis are shown in Fig 0.2. Those sites represented by an open circle are where the sculpture is made from the local stone on which it stands. For example, all of those situated on the Millstone Grit can be seen to use that material. Those sites which are represented by a black circle are where the monuments are in a different stone type from that local to the site. Notable are those on the Carboniferous Limestone which all use a more suitable stone from elsewhere. In Fig. 5.1 a line has been added to indicate the nearest geological region which has the stone type from which the monuments are made: however, this is not necessarily the nearest point of easy access to that material, as there may not be convenient outcrops in the immediate vicinity.

The most unusual site is Spondon (77) which has a shaft of reasonable provenance (see section 6.2) but in Carboniferous Limestone. It is the only monument in the research area which is made from this material. The choice of this stone type is quite extraordinary, since Spondon church sits on a Triassic sandstone outcrop. The monument belongs to the South-Western regional school which is appropriate for this location and which normally uses Triassic stone, where this is locally obtainable (section 5.4). No explanation can be offered for this anomaly: Routh suggested that it may be due to Spondon's position on a 'trade route' transporting lead from Wirksworth to the Trent (1937: 35) along which this type of stone could pass to Spondon since the Carboniferous Limestone outcrops at Wirksworth. However, this seems most unlikely

since, *inter alia*, Wirksworth also has sources of Millstone Grit and has no apparent connection with the South-Western Regional School.

Millstone Grit has been extensively used for the manufacture of monuments, either where it is local to the site or where it is easily accessible from nearby outcrops. Fig 5.1 shows how these outcrops have been exploited. Typical are the monuments at Stoke-on-Trent (82), Macclesfield (56) and Astbury (6). Although Millstone Grit is suitable for the production of monuments and, through numerous natural outcrops, was easily accessible, it was transported over short distances only, of up to 3 or 4 km. For example, the shafts at Sandbach which are approximately 10 km. from the gritstone outcrops use local Triassic stone. The exception appears to be Alderley (site No 2) which is further away from the gritstone than the rest of the monuments in that stone; this fragment of crosshead is, however, unprovenanced (section 6.2). Blackwell and Monyash (sites 14 and 59) are also unprovenanced, but the use of Millstone Grit would be expected in this area of the 'White Peak', since it is the nearest suitable sandstone for carving. Elsewhere on the Carboniferous Limestone, Millstone Grit is used at Bradbourne (15), Alstonefield (3) and Ilam (46), although the latter also uses Triassic sandstones in some of its monuments (section 5.4) which is equally obtainable within a short distance from the site.

The many suitable sandstones from the Coal Measures on the eastern side of the Pennines were used extensively for the manufacture of numerous monuments in the north of the research area. Sites in this region using exotic stone are Penistone (62), Barnburgh (9), Conisbrough (26) and Thrybergh (86). This also applies to Sheffield (site No. 74), although this monument is unprovenanced (section 6.2). The Penistone shaft, made from Millstone Grit, is the nearest of all the sites on the eastern Coal Measures to the gritstone outcrops, where the close proximity of this material appears to have been the determining factor in the choice of this stone type. The sandstone for the Conisbrough pieces (Nos. 1 and 2) is found immediately to the west of the site. The Barnburgh shaft, and one of those at Thrybergh, is made from Cadeby Formation Limestone, which outcrops a short distance to the east of Barnburgh. The other monument at Thrybergh is in Millstone Grit. However, the shafts at Barnburgh and Thrybergh are believed to be post-Conquest and therefore strictly not part of this analysis. Otherwise Coal Measures sandstones appear to have been used exclusively for monuments where this is the local geology.

In areas of Triassic outcrops, local stone types are also used, for example at Chebsey, Checkley and Tatenhill. However, sites close to accessible outcrops of Millstone Grit appear to use this stone in preference. Typical are the west Pennine sites, such as Macclesfield,

mentioned above and also Derby, which chiefly lies on alluvium, but has Millstone Grit outcrops immediately to the north. Repton (site 68) is also shown to use Millstone Grit, which outcrops locally, but this applies only to one monumental slab (No. 6) and to a piece of decorated stone which was subsequently built into church fabric (No. 11). The remaining sculpture at Repton is in Sherwood Sandstone (Hawksmoor Formation), which outcrops very close to the site (Stanley 1990: 173-4). This is the only site to use this distinctive stone type in its monuments and indicates that not only was the immediately local stone chosen at this site but also that it was not supplying stone to sites elsewhere.

However, the situation at nearby Breedon-on-the-Hill (site 18) is different: Fig. 5.1 shows stone types alien to the site and its surrounding environs, but this only applies to certain monuments. Breedon is close to local supplies of Namurian, Westphalian (Coal Measure) and Triassic sandstones, yet the friezes (where these were accessible for inspection) appear to have been made from a Jurassic limestone, probably oolitic, which is only available some distance to the east (see Fig. 5.1). The panel fragments (Nos. 23-26) are in a shelly limestone and are probably from the Jurassic series also, although their composition indicates that they were not from the same beds as the friezes. Nos. 1 and 28, which were probably architectural panels, appear to be in a fine-grained sandstone which is most likely local. The three free-standing shafts (Nos. 8-10) are all of local Triassic sandstone. Therefore, at Breedon, exotic stone types appear to have been used for much of the architectural embellishment, whereas the free-standing monuments were made from local material.

So far, almost all of the monuments, with the exception of some of the Breedon sculptures, can demonstrably be shown to use local materials. However, in the lower Trent valley are a number of sites which show that stone was moved greater distances. The reason is that many stand on alluvium or unsuitable geology for monument manufacture. For example, Rolleston (site 69), or East Bridgford (site 34), stand on a river terrace of the Trent and Hickling (site 43) stands on the Lower Lias clays. This group of sculptures used stone from either the Triassic or Middle Jurassic, but in some cases there is more locally available material than that used for the sculptures. For example, Kneesall (site 50) used a Middle Jurassic limestone but the site is situated on a Triassic sandstone bluff with outcrops of this stone nearby. Redmile (site 67) used Triassic sandstone in preference to the closer sources of Middle Jurassic Limestone to the east.

The position in the south-east of the region must be considered in relation to the availability of transport via the River Trent. This could well have provided the means to transport stone to

many of the sites, especially in the south-east of the research area where the river is easily navigable, unlike other rivers in the research area. It is also possible that the Trent could have been used to move stone from Roman Lincoln, but the proximity of the Foss Way linking Lincoln to many of these sites should also be noted. The use of the river in transporting stone would not, however, fully explain the anomaly of the Kneesall monument, nor that at Redmile, if locally available stone was always sought after, and some other explanation may be called for. Therefore there is a need to examine the relationship between the schools identified and the choice of stone used for their monuments.

However, before the individual schools are reviewed, it is appropriate to mention that the examination of stone types can also help in the provenancing of individual pieces and to confirm their place within each school. The Breedon example which is described below, will demonstrate how the segregation of schools by decoration and/or technique can be reinforced when their stone type is considered. A similar case arises at Bakewell: all of its monuments appear to be made from local Gritstone, with the exception of Nos. 5 and 6 (Appendix 3A - 'Bakewell 5 and 6'). Both of these pieces appear to be made from limestone and, in both cases, neither monument can be attributed to a local school. The sculptures are badly weathered or have been coated with some substance. Although it is difficult to be absolutely certain, the stone type appears to be of a Middle Jurassic limestone. Therefore, both the decoration *and* the stone type argue against these fragments having any local connection. In view of the preceding comments on the provenance of the Bakewell fragments in section 6.2, it seems highly likely that they came from elsewhere, into Bateman's collection, and were eventually returned to the wrong site.

5.4: STONE TYPES AND SCHOOLS.

The North Regional School:

All the member sites of this school, which includes the Calder Valley and Incised Motif sub-schools, use locally available stone, most of which is Coal Measures sandstone. But, at Penistone, a locally outcropping Millstone Grit is used. It is also used at Bradfield where the site is actually situated on the Millstone Grit. The evidence suggests that locally available material was used and there is no evidence for a centralised supply or regional workshop. The Kirklees School uses only Coal Measures stone, but in all cases, this is local stone.

The South Yorkshire Crown School:

These monuments are believed to be post-Conquest (section 4.8) and therefore do not affect the appraisal of Saxon schools of sculpture. However, Thrybergh (site 86), which uses both Millstone Grit and Cadeby Formation limestone for its monuments, provides a demonstration of how, in this region at least, the transportation of stone over relatively longer distances appears to have occurred after the Norman Conquest (see Fig. 5.1).

The Peak School:

All of the sites use Millstone Grit which is either the local stone type, or the nearest source of suitable sandstone. The case of Bradbourne, which is situated on Carboniferous Limestone, is typical. It is therefore not possible to distinguish, within this small school, between a centralised supply of material or monuments, or localised production. Note that the Sheffield monument (No. 74) is unprovenanced (section 6.2).

The North-Western School:

The monuments of this school lie predominantly on the Millstone Grit of the southern Pennines. Exceptions to this are the sites to the west of the Gritstone outcrops at, for example, Stoke on-Trent, Prestbury and Macclesfield (but see section 6.2 on provenance), where the scarp edges of this stone are easily accessible. However, Cheadle (site 21), which is a little further away, appears to have used the more local Triassic sandstone, although its identification was impaired by a screwed glass case. Similarly, the monument attributed to this school at Breedon (No. 9 in corpus) appears to be in the local Triassic sandstone, despite the availability of gritstone nearby, and at Brailsford (site 17), where Triassic sandstone may have been slightly closer to hand, gritstone was seemingly preferred. Despite these minor exceptions, it is evident that this school used only locally available stone.

An interesting phenomenon occurs at Ilam. Sources of Millstone Grit and Triassic stone are roughly equidistant to the site, which stands on Carboniferous Limestone. The monuments of the North-Western School at Ilam are made from Millstone Grit, whereas those ascribed to the South-Western School use only Triassic sandstone. It appears that there was a preference for different stone types between the masons or patrons of the two schools. Although it may be argued that those of the South-Western School were probably more accustomed to working Triassic sandstone, the evidence presented by the other monuments of the school suggests

that they too, often preferred to opt for gritstone in areas of Triassic geology (see below). An alternative explanation may be that the masons of the respective schools only had access to the stone type available on the estates of their patrons.

The monument at Hartington has been included in the analysis because its decoration has similarities with one of the Leek monuments of the North-Western School (S3 - see Appendix 1). However, there is an equal possibility that it may be part of a post-Conquest grave slab (Appendix 3A - 'Hartington'). Triassic sandstone has been used in its manufacture, but the site stands close to Millstone Grit outcrops and the choice of this stone type argues for a post-Conquest date especially as other fragments of medieval grave slabs at this site also use the same stone.

The South-Western Regional School:

The predominant stone used for the monuments of this school is local to the sites. Much of this material is Triassic sandstone except for sites where, as in the North-Western School, Millstone Grit outcrops nearby. For example, the sculptures belonging to this school at Ashbourne (5) and Derby (31) are made from gritstone. The case of Ilam (46), where only Triassic sandstone is used for monuments of this school, has been discussed above. However at Alstonefield (3), also on Carboniferous Limestone, the gritstone outcrops considerably nearer than Triassic stone and was used for the monuments of both schools. At Leek, both gritstone and Triassic sandstone outcrop close to the church but, unlike the sculptures at Ilam, a preference for gritstone was shown. The shaft at Blackwell (13) appears to be in a local Coal Measures stone, but is so corroded that its identification is difficult. The outlying shaft of this school at Hope (45) is made from local Millstone Grit. The Spondon piece is in Carboniferous Limestone and has been discussed above (section 5.3).

At Breedon-on-the-Hill, the friezes and panels do not appear to have any relationship with the monuments of the surrounding area and are not part of the South-Western Regional School (section 4.13 and 4.18): the specific use of the various stone types at this site support this view. However, those monuments which do belong to local schools (8-10) were produced in locally available Triassic sandstone. In most cases, the friezes and panels have been linked with similar sculptures at or near Peterborough (Cramp 1977: 207). The use of Jurassic limestones in most of these monuments (where they are accessible for examination) indicate that not only does their decoration and style have links with monuments to the south-east, but also their stone type echoes this affinity.

So far the South-Western Regional School has been shown to use locally available stone types. In the south-east of the research area, however, the position is slightly different: here all of the monuments are on the Lower Lias or in the middle Trent valley which has little or no suitable stone available nearby. In this region, the sculptures of the school are invariably made from Triassic sandstone, presumably brought from outcrops to the west and, in most cases, possibly the nearest sources of suitable material. However, in the case of the Hickling monument (43) for example, sources of Jurassic limestone were also relatively near and its neighbouring site of Nether Broughton (60) (of the East School - see below), used this alternative stone.

The East School

Most of this group of monuments are situated on the Lower Lias, the Lower Trent valley alluvium or, in the case of that at Kneesall (50), on Triassic sandstone. With the exception of the latter site, and possibly Stathern (81), suitable stone was unlikely to have been readily available close by. However, the choice of stone appears to have been governed by something other than simple expediency. In all cases where this school can be identified, Middle Jurassic limestone has been used for the manufacture of the monuments and is regarded as a minor attribute in its identification (section 4.11). For example, the fragments at Kneesall are well within the Triassic and outcrops of this stone are much closer to the site than the Jurassic limestone from which the fragments are made. Whilst the use of Jurassic limestone is certainly appropriate for Stathern (81), the remaining sites could have equally used Triassic stone, as used at the South-Western School sites of Shelford (75), Hickling (43) or Asfordby (4).

There is, therefore, a clear division in the use of stone types between the South-Western Regional School and the East School, where the two schools interface each other. It has already been shown that the South-Western School used the locally available sandstones and therefore there is no evidence for a centralised supply of stone. In the case of the East School, however, the invariable use of Middle Jurassic limestone suggests that either a), a central supply of stone was used; b), that this particular stone type was preferred by its masons; or c), that some barrier existed which prohibited its masons and/or patrons from obtaining stone from the outcrops of the Trias to the west. A position of 'exclusive rights' has already been suggested between the South-Western and North-Western schools at Ilam. However, the use of Jurassic stone at Kneesall (50) argues against this since, although a suitable local stone - Triassic sandstone - was locally available, Jurassic limestone was used to manufacture its monument, instead. The provenance of the sculptures of the East School is generally good,

especially that of Kneesall (code 2). Therefore, unlike its neighbour, the South-Western School, there appears to be some argument for a central supply of stone, as tentatively suggested by Cramp (1975: 186).

Although the extent of this school is probably truncated by the limits of the research area, the comparison of the attributes of the school with monuments elsewhere, indicate that it has connections with a large group of sculptures in Lincolnshire. The 'Lincoln Joint', for example is so named because it has been noted at Lincoln where it can be seen on the carving at St. Mary le-Wigford in the city and also at Sempringham in Lincolnshire (see Fig. 5.2). At Creeton, also in Lincolnshire, the attribute of 'E1 looped' can be found, as can the 'double cable' framework. All of these attributes are unique, in the research area, to the East School and therefore it is probable that only a very small sample of the monuments of this school is represented in this research.

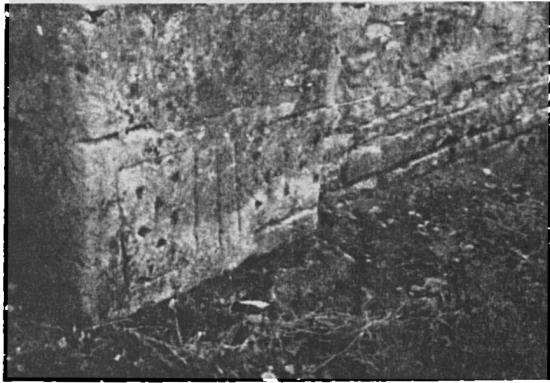
There has been extensive exploitation of Middle Jurassic limestones in Lincolnshire from the Roman period onwards and there are known major Roman quarry sites (cf Blagg 1990). It is possible that one of these sites, perhaps Ancaster, was used to supply stone to the East School. Alternatively, the material could have been transported via the River Trent, or even surviving Roman roads, to many sites from Roman Lincoln. Recent research by Stocker and Everson suggest that Roman stone from Lincoln was extensively re-used during the Saxon period (Stocker 1990: 85-7). It may have been that those using or procuring stone in the region around Lincoln, rather than exploiting new sources, naturally looked towards the former Roman quarry sites or the re-use of Roman material. Similar arguments have been advanced for the widespread re-use of stone from Roman York (cf. Buckland 1988) and this may have been regarded as a more appropriate action in the case of Kneesall. However, the uses of stone types in the Lincolnshire region, and therefore the East School, will be better understood after the publication of the appropriate volume of the National Corpus (Stocker 1990: 83). Before any firm conclusion is made for the East School and its use of stone types, more extensive research is required.

5.5: ASPECTS OF PRODUCTION.

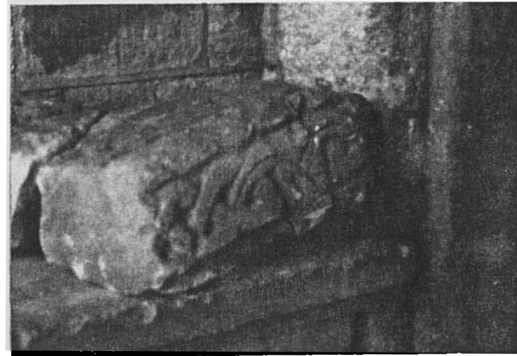
So far this chapter has compared the stone types used for the manufacture of the monuments with the schools identified in the research area. The evidence is that, with the probable exception of the East School, all use locally obtainable stone. It is also possible that limited attempts at quarrying were being made, since there appears to have been a preference for



1.



2.



3.

FIG. 5.2

Three sculptures in Lincolnshire, showing East School attributes:

1. The "Lincoln joint" at St. Mary-le-Wigford, Lincoln.
2. The "E1 looped" and the "double cable" attributes at Creton.
3. The "Lincoln joint" again, this time at Sempringham.

gritstone edges and outcrops, suggesting that it was from these natural faces that either roughs or possibly even finished crosses were made. At Bewcastle in Cumbria, it has been suggested that an unfinished rough-out for a Saxon period cross-shaft can be identified nearby at an outcrop at Long Bar. This is a tapered monolith still at the Gritstone outcrop which appears to have been shaped and then abandoned when it split. Although this shape may have been simply a fortuitous natural configuration, the stone type matches that of the existing Saxon shaft at Bewcastle and it is fairly evident that local stone was used from this outcrop (Cramp and Bailey, 1988, 162).

However, the re-use of Roman material or even Roman quarries may have played a more important role than one can now identify. In the case of the Bewcastle example, it may be significant that there was also a Roman fort there, and the Saxon shafts could have utilised stone either from a pre-existing local quarry, or from Roman buildings. There is no evidence for the re-use of Roman material on the monuments in this research: there are no clamp holes, inscriptions etc. to suggest former use. However, the round shafts of the western Pennines could easily have been re-used Roman columns or even milestones, but since there is no direct evidence of this (but see below) it must remain an open question.

In Chapter 1, it was described how Brown felt that monuments were produced at each individual site of display, on the grounds that they showed enough individuality to suggest that they were not 'mass-produced' in a central workshop. He also reasonably argued that it was far safer to risk the transportation of a roughed-out block than a finished monument, where only road transport was available (Brown 1937: 214), as in most of the research area. Evidence to support this hypothesis existed at Alstonefield in Staffordshire, although he was not aware of this at the time. At least two Anglo-Saxon carved stones at Alstonefield strongly suggest that monuments were being finished at the site rather than brought in their final form from elsewhere, since they appear to have been abandoned on site during manufacture.

Alstonefield stands on the Carboniferous Limestone and, therefore, unless the masons were prepared to tackle this unsuitable material, sandstone would have to be brought to the site from elsewhere, probably from sandstone outcrops. One of the unfinished pieces is No. 10 in the attached corpus, about which Pape remarked that it had unworked stone remaining on its narrower faces where the decoration remained incomplete. He concluded that "it is extremely unlikely that an unfinished cross shaft would be brought from a distance to be set up in Alstonefield churchyard" (Pape 1945/6: 29). Examination of this piece confirmed Pape's conclusion that it did indeed appear to be an unfinished monument which was eventually re-

used in the fabric of the church. However, there also remains the possibility that it could have been brought from elsewhere in a load of building material: exotic stone of this type (Millstone Grit) is also evident in the church fabric.

However, the probability of on-site manufacture is strengthened by the discovery of a second piece of apparently unfinished sculpture (No. 15). This is a round-shaft, also in Millstone Grit, which now supports a broken sundial and stands in the south churchyard. Pape also records that this piece was "probably" part of a Saxon period round shaft (1945 6: 31), although he does not seem to have noticed the remains of a double collar around the shaft which is an attribute of round-shafted monuments of the region. Close examination revealed that it had been roughed out to effect the upper squared section from a prepared cylinder. However, the craftsman appears to have made a mistake, for at least two of the squared-off faces have destroyed part of the collar. It seems that at this stage it was abandoned. Subsequent weathering has smoothed the roughed-out flat faces to the extent that it seems unlikely that it was tooled in recent times, and the cut is not compatible with the precision afforded to the sundial top. Although it is possible that the damage could have been to deface the monument as a deliberate measure (eg. during the Reformation), the overall planned shaping of the upper faces does not suggest vandalism. It does not appear that the shaft has been reused as building material, like most of the other Saxon carved stones, but rather left in the open to weather. Therefore it seems less likely that this piece of carved stone was brought from elsewhere as building material, since there is no evidence that it was ever used as such.

There is a hint that the round-shaft may originally have been re-used Roman material. Although the roughing-out of the upper squared portion of the shaft is crude, as would be expected in its initial stages of manufacture, the cylindrical lower part was already carefully dressed. This suggests that either the stone was fashioned into a cylinder before attempting any other operation, or that an existing cylindrical column, probably of Roman origin, was brought to the site to be re-used as a cross-shaft. The difficulty with this argument is that Alstonefield is some considerable distance from any known Roman buildings which might have provided such columns, although a Roman road did pass within three or four miles of the site to the east.

Alstonefield 14 appears to have been a similar piece of column which has been roughly squared-off on two faces. Pape (1945/6: 29) considered that this was also one of four pieces of round-shafted crosses but there is no surviving diagnostic decoration to support this. The two squared-off sides may be no more than rough dressing for re-use. However, in the light of the

previous examples, there is every possibility that this may also have been part of an unfinished round-shafted cross which, as Pape suggested, was abandoned.

The evidence of unfinished pieces could, of course, suggest that Alstonefield was a production centre from which finished items were dispersed, but there are two factors which may be used to argue against this. Firstly, Alstonefield is situated on the Carboniferous Limestone and therefore does not have a source of suitable stone for carving in its immediate locale. The nearest outcrops of Millstone Grit are approximately three to four miles away, and it is not feasible to expect a regional production centre to be located this far from its basic raw material. Alstonefield is situated on a limestone bluff between the rivers Manifold and Dove (neither is navigable) and approaches to the site from the nearest sandstone outcrops are steep; therefore transporting suitable stone to the site would have been extremely difficult.

Secondly, although the attributes on the round-shafted monuments at Alstonefield are selected from the general repertoire of the North-Western School, their precise combination is not found elsewhere. All of the squared upper portions of round-shafted crosses (Nos. 5-8 in the attached corpus) have exactly the same decoration. However, at neighbouring sites where round-shafted monuments are also found, this strict formula is not repeated. For example Ilam, only a few miles away, has a different scheme of decoration on its surviving round-shafted cross (No. 3) and that of the round-shaft at Brailsford is different from both of the other sites. Therefore, since the "Alstonefield formula" does not extend beyond the site itself, it does not appear to have been 'mass-producing' monuments for a greater area.

Both the North-Western and South-Western schools show that individual sites exploited suitable local stone types. The Alstonefield unfinished pieces of sculpture also suggest that the monuments were finished on site from roughed-out local sandstone. Furthermore, the two unfinished pieces (10 and 15) belonged to different schools: No. 10, although it is worn and damaged, most likely belonged to the South-Western Regional School, identified through the use of "D-loop" knotwork which can be seen on Faces B and D. Piece No. 15, on the other hand, is almost certainly a round-shaft of the North-western Regional school. Therefore it would appear that the same method of on-site production was used by both schools. This is of key importance, since it demonstrates that at least the North-western and South-western Regional Schools not only used local stone, but that the monuments were also made on the individual sites.

If the monuments were made by itinerant craftspeople dispatched from a centre, then each craftsperson may have used a standard set of techniques from one monument to the next. These may be identified through the use of common measurements in the grids to construct the patterns ('unit measurements'), the use of templates, finishing (eg. edge mouldings) and carving techniques (cf. Adcock 1974). Similarities were noted between the angel figures of the Peak school and they appear to be the most likely monuments to show the use of templates in their construction. This was investigated but the figures showed no evidence that templates were used since either the dimensions or depictions are different for each figure. For example, the two similar 'angel' figures on the piece of crosshead at Bradbourne (No. 2) had almost the same height (24 and 25 cm.) but their bases were recorded as 17 and 20 cm. The figures on Eyam 1 (crosshead) had similar dimensions (28.5 x 19 cm. and 28 x 20cm.) but differ too much in their treatment (eg. one has wings and a staff, the other without wings or staff) and the stance is also different. Correspondingly, the figures on the shaft (Eyam 2) do not show the close similarities expected from the use of a template.

In other schools the use of figures is less frequent but again no startling similarities were encountered to suggest that a physical template had been used. Notable are the figures of the Dewsbury School where a distinctive figure type allows the identification of this small 'in-house' group. But in each case the stance and dimensions are all different, and whilst they may indicate the same hand(s) at work, they do not suggest template use. However, the close similarities between the various figure types used in each school do suggest that some original model was used from which most of the figures were copied. This is especially true of the Peak School, where the distinctive figure type, like the Dewsbury figures, was sufficiently diagnostic to be seen as a significant attribute of the school. Elsewhere, the figure types, although roughly following a general format, were less reliable to use as prime indicators or 'signatures' of a school and for this reason no emphasis has been placed on them: they certainly do not suggest that they were produced from the widespread use of templates.

During the course of the research, note was made of the unit measurements of the various patterns and designs encountered on each fragment where this could be successfully measured. The first difficulty encountered was that many of the monuments had patternwork which was less than symmetrical, so that if a grid was used to mark out the stone the unit measurement used was difficult to assess. Therefore, in almost all cases an average or 'guide' measurement was recorded and any significant change, where for example the taper demanded that a smaller pattern be used in higher (and therefore narrower) areas of a panel, was recorded. The second obstacle was that some monuments did not have a geometrically

derived pattern at all: typical are the Trent Scroll and Trent Knot. These forms of abstract design are characterised by their ability to constantly vary in shape. Typical examples are the scrollwork on face B of Sandbach 1 and the knotwork at the base of face A. In such patterns the use of a standard layout grid is improbable.

The recording of unit measurements, therefore, had to be restricted to monuments with relatively complete runs of regular patternwork and the results from these do not suggest that there was anything remotely like a standard unit measurement used in the production of the monuments. It was more likely that the units used reflected the size of the individual pieces of stone, more than anything else. For example, the sculptures of the North Western Regional School at Alstonefield all share a common repertoire and, if a standard unit was used to construct pattern grids, then it should have been in evidence here. However, the units are recorded as 3, 4, 5 and 6 centimetres for Nos. 5-8 which show the same attributes. Sculptures of the South-Western School at Alstonefield also showed similar variations having units of 3, 4, 5.5 and 6 cm. Elsewhere, similar vagaries occur: at Ilam the monuments of the South Western school have units of 3, 4 and 5 cm. and the North-Western School monument of Ilam 3 has units of 4 and 5 cm., whereas that of Ilam No. 1 has a plait too variable in its dimensions to record meaningfully. The Lyme Hall monuments of the North-Western School have various units of 4, 5, 7 and even 8 cm. and the Chesterton and Rothley monuments of the South-Western School for example, again have varying units of 3, 4 and 5 cm. Members of the Dove Valley sub-school, however, seem to show some consistency in their unit measurements. The shafts at Checkley, Norbury and Ilam all use units of either 4 or 5 cm.: this, however, may be fortuitous and reflect a similar stone or panel size rather than a common unit of measurement.

The North Regional School displays a similar variation between the unit measurements used for pattern construction. Monuments of the Calder Valley sub-school at Dewsbury, Kirkburton and Thornhill use units of 3, 6, 7 and 10 cm. The Kirklees School in the same region uses units of 3, 6 and 7 at Kirkheaton, Thornhill and Rastrick, but most of the patterns of this school are too irregular to verify any discernible unit measurement. The Peak School also appears to have had no common unit measurement. Much of the decoration is of heavy scrollwork which varies in size between each monument and with its position on each shaft, due to its taper. In other words, the diameter of the scroll (or the distance between centres) varies continuously throughout each monument and therefore no standard unit measurement was used for them. The patternwork on face A of Eyam 2 has a unit of 9.5 cm. which appears to be based on a square grid layout, but that on faces B and D (which also appear to have been constructed on a square grid) vary between 11 and 13 cm. depending on the taper. An interesting feature in the

construction of the Eyam decoration is that only the left-hand side of the patterns show any regularity of construction. The right-hand side (essentially a mirror-image of the left) appears to be much more irregular as if no construction lines were used, perhaps relying instead on freehand drawing.

The East School, despite its uniform stone type, does not display any common unit of measurement. Instead, similar results were experienced as elsewhere. For example, the Rolleston fragments have units of 4, 5 and 6 cm., Shelton of 5, 6 and 7 cm. and others generally varying between 5 and 7 cm.

It seems that in all cases the selected (or fortuitous) size of the stone rough-out eventually determined the size of the grid used to construct the various patterns and that no common unit existed within any of the schools. However, in the case of the Breedon friezes, the extraordinarily small unit of measurement used in its few knotwork patterns has been seen as an indicator (although only in a supportive role) of a common link between them (section 4.18). Elsewhere the use of unit measurements to indicate either a school or even an individual mason, does not appear viable.

Finally, there are a number of other techniques which may be indicative of a school. During this research, note was taken of ancillary features such the edge mouldings, depth of carving, strand widths (of the patterns) and the type of carving, be this incised, where the pattern is achieved by deep scoring, grooved or modelled. The main problem with recording types of edge mouldings (arrises) was that in most cases they were so badly damaged or worn that it was difficult to distinguish between say, rolled or flat-banded mouldings or if the edges had been cabled or plain. Similar comments apply to the depths of cut, where this depended more on the subsequent wear of the monument than on the mason's original intention. Although depth has been used to demonstrate a particular carving technique at Breedon, this is not normally a reliable guide to a school, nor is the width of the pattern strands which vary not only between the monuments, but also on the individual pieces themselves.

However, the actual technique of carving is illuminating. Where a grooved technique is used, the relief pattern is left as a flat-topped design, as though the mason concentrated on the areas where stone was removed, rather than on the areas which were left proud. An incised technique, although similar, merely produces a series of lines from which a motif can be discerned. Sometimes the two techniques are used together, for example in the case of the Incised Motif School. In the modelled technique, as the name implies, more concentration is

given to the proud areas of the carving, giving a more 'organic' appearance. The latter technique is the most popular and is used by the East, North-Western, Kirklees, Peak and South-Western schools and their sub-groups. In the case of the North Regional School however, the usual modelled technique is absent and instead a grooved technique has been used almost universally. The result is that the decoration appears rather flat and monuments tend to have large areas of plain (but finely dressed) stonework. This is a most distinctive treatment and has been used as an indicator of the school, since it is particular to this group of monuments.

The evidence from the usage of local stone types and from unfinished monuments at Alstonefield, suggests that there was on-site production of the monuments for at least two of the schools identified. Most schools appear to use locally available stone and only the East School appears to transport stone any distance. Even then, the case for centralised *manufacture* is not proven. If, in the majority of cases, monuments were produced on site, how were craft skills employed in these schools? The analysis in chapter 4 has shown that schools were linked by their use of a common repertoire of design and or technique. This suggests that the production of the monuments in each school was governed by an agency which in some way directed their erection. There are several alternatives for how the actual production of the monuments was achieved and these are listed below. The monuments could have been:

1. Produced by local or itinerant craftspeople with no overall direction, therefore following the individual patron's or mason's repertoire of design.
2. Produced by local craftspeople under the direction of a central agency, using locally available materials.
3. Produced by itinerant craftspeople from some central agency, following its directions and using locally available materials.
4. Produced on site by local or itinerant craftspeople, following the directions of some central agency and using stone from a centralised source.
5. Produced in a central workshop and taken in their finished state to their site of display.

Alternative No. 1 can immediately be dismissed since a common repertoire of design was used throughout a relatively large area. Alternatives 4 and 5 can be tentatively dismissed for the majority of schools, since the evidence for the use of a centralised supply for neither stone nor monuments is present. The East School may have been the exception, *if* the supply of stone was centralised, but the data are inadequate. For all of the other schools, alternatives Nos. 2

and 3 - that monuments produced on site were made by either itinerant or local craftspeople - are, on balance, the most feasible explanations given the evidence which presents itself.

There is, however, no conclusive evidence to suggest which of these two alternatives was the more likely: on the one hand, there is a suggestion through the common technique used in the North Regional School, that itinerant craftspeople were engaged from a central agency. On the other hand, although a common repertoire was used for each school, there is no strict repetition of ornament in that each piece produced within a school is relatively unpredictable in its layout and formula; this also largely applies to the North School as well as the others. The exception in this research appears to be those monuments at Alstonefield, but significantly this refers to an individual site and argues more towards the engagement of a specific mason for a specific site and against a wandering itinerant producing the same scheme of decoration 'along the way'.

The competency of masons producing the monuments appears to vary considerably. Some of the sculptures such as Sandbach 1 and 2 or Stapleford appear to have been executed with a high degree of confidence, not to mention skill, but smaller monuments, such as the Brailsford or Ilam (No. 3) crosses, seem to have received relatively less competent treatment. For many monuments, the notion of a team of elite and highly trained masons travelling to various parts of their region does not seem applicable. One wonders in this respect how easily local craftspeople, already competent in carving wood, would have been able to turn their hands to stone if need be.

There is, therefore, no evidence that the monuments were produced from a single dominant centre which radiated into the countryside, nor is there evidence of a strict adherence to a set agenda of constructional techniques. The monuments seem to have been manufactured at the individual sites, possibly by local craftspeople in many cases. There is, however, one overwhelming factor which cannot be ignored. The common repertoire of design within each school, however varied on the individual monument, depended on some form of overall agency which directed the work of the individuals who erected the monuments, since the schools describe cohesive units with definite geographical bounds. This control over the repertoire of design elements may have been ecclesiastical as the monuments are at least by form, if not always in their decoration, nominally Christian. On the other hand, the inscriptions (see chapter 1, section 1.2 and 1.5) and iconography of the monuments, suggest lay patronage (Cramp 1975: 184) and their organisation into schools may be according to secular divisions. It is not possible at this stage to assess which of these alternatives is the more likely, but this will be

discussed in chapter 7, section 7.6, after the provenance and function of the monuments has been examined.

SUMMARY

To summarize this chapter, the research region contains several suitable types of stone for monument carving which can be differentiated from one another. There is little known with regard to stone procurement in the Saxon period and therefore, the usage of stone types may help to determine whether it is likely that sculpture was made on site, or whether monuments were produced from a central supply of stone and possibly, therefore at a 'central place'. The evidence suggests that, in all but one school stone local to the sites of display of the monuments was used. There is also evidence that sculptures of two of the schools were produced on site, probably from roughed out blocks. There is no good evidence that templates were used in the research area, nor that the masons were working to common constructional measurements. However, a common technique of carving can be detected in one of the schools. The monuments appear to have been made by either itinerant craftspeople from a central agency, or by local craftspeople working under a common directive. There is some evidence that an itinerant(s) may have been used at Sandbach but this may have been a 'one-off' exercise, due to the large size of the monument. The exception is the East School, where stone could feasibly have been procured from a central supply, possibly using convenient Roman material from Lincoln. However, the school appears to be truncated by the limits of the research area and it would be unwise to make any firm conclusions in this respect.

6: PROVENANCE AND FUNCTION

6.1: INTRODUCTION.

The geographical integrity of the schools of sculpture relies on the monuments having remained close to their original provenance. This immediately raises the question of whether their 'original location' (according to their function) has been successfully established. As described in chapter 1, it has been assumed that free-standing crosses were originally memorial or funereal monuments in churches or churchyards. There are two main reasons for this assumption: firstly, there is almost overwhelming evidence for a connection between churches and Anglo-Saxon stone crosses and secondly, surviving inscriptions usually express a standard memorial formula. Therefore, sculpture which demonstrates a long standing relationship with church sites may be viewed as having reasonable provenance. Some sculpture, however, is recorded as having been moved in relatively recent times and therefore care must be taken to investigate archive material. In cases such as these the former location of the stone is often recorded and its provenance may be reasonably attributed elsewhere. Occasionally, former locations are unknown and the monuments must be regarded as unprovenanced. Therefore, the evidence for discovery in each case must be examined so that no conclusions rest on unprovenanced material.

Provenance is also linked to function in that some monuments have been said to have acted as wayside or boundary markers because they are not found in an ecclesiastical context. This is the case for a few of the monuments in the research area. It may be that these alternative functions were assumed because the monuments had been moved from their original locations. Therefore, the function of the monuments in this research will be discussed after the provenance of the material has been investigated.

6.2: PROVENANCE.

Very few monuments can demonstrably be shown to be *in situ*: those that can, consist of a handful of stones from more recent archaeological investigations such as those found at York Minster (Lang 1988: 8). In most cases sculptured stones are fragmentary and are found rebuilt into later structures or standing in churchyards, and one can really only surmise that they originate from these sites. Records of almost all sculptures usually apply only to the last 150

years or so and the stones may have been subject to earlier removal or relocation. Therefore, most Anglo-Saxon sculpture is strictly speaking, unprovenanced.

Although this is a pessimistic view, most monuments have an inherent advantage through their weight and size. Until recently they would have been difficult to transport any distance unless they had been broken up into small fragments. Therefore the size of the fragments at their discovery or re-use, especially outside of an ecclesiastical context, is an important factor in the assessment of their original provenance. Bailey refers to their great attraction as artefacts due to their immobility; "we can be certain that where a cross or grave-cover now rests is never far from the site where it was originally carved" (Bailey 1980: 22). This is only relatively true however in the research area a cross-shaft now stands in Bakewell churchyard seemingly part of a large collection of pre-Conquest sculpture from that site. However, investigation of the recent history of the monument shows that it was first recorded in a private garden in another village (Two Dales) some eight miles away (Tudor 1936: 105). At some time between 1936 and the present day it was removed from the garden and placed in Bakewell churchyard. This particular cross-shaft will serve as a useful example of how the provenancing of sculpture chiefly relies on 'probabilities' rather than hard evidence.

The Two Dales shaft was removed to Bakewell due to its value as an antiquity. Had it not been recognised as a Saxon cross shaft it would not have found its way into Bakewell churchyard but would probably have remained at Two Dales since it would neither have been necessary nor expedient to have removed it any distance given its weight and size. This is especially true in this region of Derbyshire, where building stone of the same type (Millstone Grit) can be easily obtained locally from numerous outcrops and quarries. The question which now arises is why was it discovered in a private garden of an eighteenth-century house. Tudor records it having been previously found in a field two feet below ground "sometime in the nineteenth century" approximately one mile away from the house. Upon its discovery the owner of the house took it as a garden ornament (1936: 105). Therefore the former provenance of the shaft has now been traced to a field but there are no records to suggest how it came to be in this location. The most likely reason is that it may have been used (or was intended to be used) as a gatepost (many shafts have shared this fate, eg Bradbourne 1 (Routh 1937: 18), or for walling or building purposes: but this is, of course, guesswork. Therefore its original location is unknown and one can only assess the 'probabilities' as to its original provenance.

One-and-a-half miles to the south-west of Two Dales is the church of Darley Dale: this was mentioned in the *Domesday* survey as having a church (Morris 1978: 111) and it also contained pre-Conquest sculpture built into its fabric (Appendix 3A - 'Darley Dale'). It seems possible, therefore, that this was the original source of the Two Dales shaft, not too far away for transportation, and a known site of Saxon sculpture. Although it is unlikely to have been brought to Two Dales from any distance, the shaft should remain strictly unprovenanced.

There are several likely reasons why sculptured monuments were removed from their original positions. Three of them have been mentioned above: as curios, antiquities or for re-use as building material. However, for much of the research area there are abundant sources of suitable building stone available and the re-use of sculpture for this purpose is only likely to have been on a local scale. The main exceptions are the areas of Carboniferous Limestone or sites on river alluvium such as the middle Trent valley: examples are sites on the south bank of the River Trent in southern Nottinghamshire which contain monuments of the East School. These are described in the last chapter as sites where sources of suitable stone are more distant than in most regions of the research area. In this area, therefore, one should expect that building stone was more likely to be re-used and transported for greater distances than in areas where it is more easily obtained from natural sources. Although the provenancing of the Trent valley sculptures to their present locations does not arouse undue suspicion, this factor should be borne in mind.

From the attached corpus of material and from accounts of sculpture elsewhere (cf. Stocker 1990), it can be seen that the re-use of stone, sculptured or otherwise, especially in ecclesiastical buildings, is commonplace. The presumption that sculpture rebuilt into church fabric came from nearby appears reasonable, especially in areas where there is easily obtained and locally available building stone. It is also suggested that apart from the purely functional re-use of the sculptured stone, there may also have been "iconic re-use" where the stone was re-displayed to promote a sense of antiquity (Stocker 1990: 93). Occasionally sculpture is found in secular buildings close to churches: Bailey refers to this as "modern looting" of material and suggests that in most cases it is indicative of a "local migration" of material only (1980: 22).

It appears that before relatively recent times, sculpture was more likely to have been disregarded and rebuilt into the fabric of the church. However, as mentioned in chapter 1, the nineteenth-century antiquarian movement coincided with a phase of church rebuilding and alteration resulting in the recognition of Anglo-Saxon sculpture and its removal for display. Bailey notes for

example, the large collection of sculpture made by Canon Greenwell at Durham (ibid 28). Similarly, it is described below how one Derbyshire antiquarian also collected sculpture in the research area. Fortunately the identification, removal and collection of sculpture especially in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, was often recorded. Sometimes the records note the 'discovery' of these monuments after they had already been collected as curios and therefore testify that they had some previous and unknown provenance. The Adlington Hall pieces for example, are said to have been collected during the eighteenth century and taken to the Hall (Cheshire C.C. SMR. No 1618), but their original location is unrecorded. Similarly a shaft at Fernilee (Appendix 3A/B - 'Fernilee') was also 'discovered' at Fernilee Hall being used as a garden sundial support.

It is unlikely that most free-standing stone sculpture could have remained *in situ* for a thousand years or more. Many of those now standing in churchyards bear the marks of their former re-use (eg. as door lintel at Hope) or previous destruction (eg. the reassembly of fragments at Leek [5]). There are several reasons why the monuments could have been destroyed or mutilated, from their re-use as building material by the Normans and later generations of builders, to a possible deliberate policy of destruction, especially during the Reformation (Bailey 1980: 24-5). It is recorded that the Sandbach crosses in Cheshire, for instance, were dismantled by Cromwell's men (Thacker 1987: 276) and it is entirely possible that some sculpted stones were hidden, perhaps buried, to avoid such destruction. In these cases, however, it is unlikely that the new resting places of re-used, broken and even buried stones would be far from their original location.

The National Corpus regards sculptures as 'provenanced' where they are found in church fabric, standing in churchyards or even found loose in an ecclesiastical establishment with no previous known history, as at Durham (Cramp 1984: 152 - "Durham 15"). There is also 'provenanced' sculpture found in circumstances similar to that of the Two Dales shaft, discussed above, where for example, a crosshead fragment was found in a ploughed field with no known previous record, but close to a site where Anglo-Saxon sculpture can be found (ibid: 95 - "Hart 7"). Examples of unprovenanced sculpture in the National Corpus are restricted to fragments discovered in museum archives with inadequate or no records of their previous location (Cramp 1984: 233) or where discovered within building material from an unknown or doubtful source (Bailey and Cramp 1988: 158).

Since practically all free-standing sculpture cannot be of guaranteed provenance one has to work to a hierarchy related to the circumstances of its discovery. Obviously those rare stones which were found demonstrably *in situ* can be regarded as the most reliable and at one end of the scale, whereas those truly unprovenanced (eg as in the National Corpus examples above) rest at the other end of the scale. Details of the evidence for discovery for each of the fragments of sculpture considered in this thesis are included in the attached corpus. However, as a basis for discussion each piece will be listed in Fig 6.1 together with a code number corresponding to this evidence. The numbers refer to sculpture found in the following ways:

1. Where the sculpture is found to be *in situ* by reliable archaeological means.
2. Where the sculpture can be seen to be, or is recorded to have been, built into pre Victorian church fabric or where it is found by reliable archaeological means, not *in situ*, but reasonably associated with that establishment.
3. Where a reliable record attests to its long-standing presence in a churchyard with no known previous provenance, or recorded as found in the churchyard.
4. Where the sculpture was found in secular building fabric or in the open close to a church with existing Saxon period sculpture or where loose sculpture is presently inside a church or in a churchyard with no record of its discovery.
5. Where sculpture was found in the ground or in secular buildings close to a church but where no pre-Conquest sculpture is otherwise recorded.
6. Where sculpture is found distant from a church with no record of its former provenance, or where the stone is kept in a museum or private collection having no reliable record of its former location.

Fig. 6.1 *Table of Provenance categories for all sculpture in the research are:*

Adlington 1-2	6	Hope	4
Alderley	6	Ilam 1 & 4	2
Alstonefield 1-14	2	Ilam 2-3	3
Alstonefield 15	3	Ilam 5	4
Asfordby 1-3	2	Ingleby 1-2	5
Ashbourne	4	Kirkburton 1-4	2
Astbury	4	Kirkheaton 1-4	2
Aston-on-Trent	2	Kneesall	2
Bakewell 1-40	2	Leek 1-4	2
Barnburgh	3	Leek 5-6	3
Baslow	2	Lockington 1-2	3
Birstall, Leics.	3	Ludworth 1-2	6
Birstall, Yorks. 1-2	2	Lyme Hall 1-3	6
Blackwell, E. Derbys.	3	Lyme Handley 1-2	6
Blackwell, Peak.	5	Macclesfield 1-3	6

Bradbourne 1-4	2	Macclesfield 4-6	4
Bradbourne 5	6	Mexborough	4
Bradfield	5	Mirfield	4
Brailsford	3	Monyash 1-2	6
Breedon-on-the-Hill	2	Nether Broughton	3
Cawthorne 1	2	Norbury 1-3	2
Cawthorne 2-4	4	Penistone	2
Cawthorne 5	5	Prestbury 1 2	2
Chapel-en-le-Frith	6	Prestbury 3	6
Cheadle	4	Pym Chair	6
Chebsey	3	Rastrick	4
Checkley 1-3	3	Rawmarsh	3
Chesterton	6	Redmile	3
Cluelow	6	Repton 1-8 10-11	2
Conisbrough 1	3	Repton 9	3
Conisbrough 2	2	Rolleston 1-4	2
Costock	2	Rothley	3
Crofton 1-2	4	Rowsley	4
Darfield 1-2	2	Sandbach 1-7	3
Darley Dale 1 2	2	Screveton	4
Derby 1-12	2	Sheffield	6
Derwent	5	Shelford	2
Dewsbury 1-13	2	Shelton 1-2	4
Disley	3	Spondon	3
East Bridgford 1-2	2	Sprotborough	3
Ecclesfield 1 2	3	Sproxtton	4
Eccleshall 1-4	2	Stapleford	3
Eyam 1-2	4	Stathern	2
Femilee	6	Stoke-on-Trent	2
Harston	3	Swithamley	6
Hartington	2	Tatenhill	2
Hartshead	5	Thornhill 1-10	2
Hawksworth	2	Thryburgh 1-2	4
Hickling	3	Two Dales	6
High Hoyland 1	3	Whitwick 1-2	2
High Hoyland 2-7	2	Wirksworth	2

Using the above scale of 1-6, the pieces of sculpture considered in this thesis can be categorised using the evidence for their discovery. It is necessary to form a 'watershed' where sculptures having a reasonable likelihood of being at or near their original location can be separated from those which are less reliable and therefore in need of further examination. Therefore, sculpture in categories 1-3 will not be discussed further since they are regarded as reasonably 'provenanced'.

The provenance of stones in category 4 is less reliable. Although many are first recorded within a church or churchyard in relatively recent times, no further information available. It is agreed that this is not a totally reliable guide to their provenance, but they were probably found at least within the respective parishes if not in the churches. If this category of provenance, which includes a great number of stones, had previously been regarded as unacceptable then there would have been almost no history of research into this material nor would modern works hold any authority. A typical example of a category 4 sculpture is that of the Rastrick cross base. This is a massive stone with no other provenance than it having been in the churchyard since it was first recorded as being there (Collingwood 1921: 40). The church was entirely rebuilt in the eighteenth century, a little too early to expect reasonable records of sculpted stones being discovered in the fabric or nearby (see section 1.1). There is a strong probability therefore, that the base was discovered during this work, but no more than that.

Following the conclusions made in chapter 5 a monument made from locally available stone except those of the East School is a good indicator that it is near to its original provenance. This is particularly important for the stones in provenance category 4, since the use of local stone reinforces the possibility that their likely original provenance was near to the site where they were first 'discovered'. Conversely, where the stone type is different from local sources, then this is equally good evidence that the monument is truly unprovenanced. There are, in fact, no category 4 monuments which do not use locally available stone and therefore it is proposed to allow category 4 stones to remain in the analysis without further discussion.

Categories 5 and 6 are not considered to be reliable enough to include in the analysis without further examination. Although the majority of sculpture included in this thesis falls within the range 1-4, there is still a minority of material which could distort the evidence presented unless reasonable account is taken of their known history and/or likely provenance. These monuments, especially those in category 6, have a stronger possibility of having been moved from their original location. These sculptures will therefore be examined below: full details of the evidence for the discovery of each sculpture is given in the attached corpus.

There are also two sites where the provenance of the sculpture demands some attention, not because they fall into the 'suspect' categories 5 or 6, but because they are important as 'special cases'. The location of the Hope shaft appeared anomalous in the preceding discussion on schools, and, in the last chapter, the appraisal of the Bakewell fragments revealed an 'exotic'

stone type with accompanying unidentified decoration. Therefore it is important to examine the provenance of these monuments

Bakewell 1-40: these sculptures have been recorded as category "2" since they are said to have been taken from the Medieval or Norman fabric of the church (cf. Bateman and Glover 1848: 183-9). However many of them were reported to have been taken to a private museum by Thomas Bateman, a local antiquarian. After his death, the collection of stones was given to the Weston Park museum in Sheffield by his son (Browne 1886: 173-4) and most were subsequently returned to the church (Routh 1937: 7). However, no record of any transactions with the museum has survived (J Parsons, pers com) It is known that the collector had other Saxon sculptures in his possession (eg Darley Dale 1) and it is therefore entirely possible that sculpture from other locations may have been included in the collection which was eventually installed at Bakewell church. This does not apply to the large churchyard cross (No 37 in attached corpus) which has a separate history.

Hope (category 4): this has been included because the provenance of this shaft is important (see section 7.6) Although Hope had a pre-Conquest church (Cox 1877: 257), no other Anglo-Saxon sculpture has yet been found. Cox records that portions of the shaft were released from the fabric of the school building to the rear of the churchyard in 1858, where the larger part had been re-used as a lintel (1877: 267) The stone-type is Millstone Grit which is local to the site and also freely available from outcrops close-by. The shaft is heavy and it is unlikely that it would have been brought from any distance to the site simply for re-use as building material Therefore it is highly probable that it was originally at or near the church

Apart from Bakewell and Hope there are 22 sites where sculpture can be found in category 5 or 6. They fall into distinct groups in terms of their discovery One is found with inadequate museum records, two on open moorland, three buried or discarded in open fields, seven in building material and nine in connection with private residences. These are described below: references to their evidence for discovery appear in Appendix 3A

A crosshead in Buxton museum store is labelled "Alderley", but has no other records and may therefore be regarded as unprovenanced The three stones found in open fields at Hartshead, Two Dales and Bradfield have factors in common. Firstly, they are all sizable and heavy monuments in local stone. Secondly, they were all found relatively close to churches (Two Dales

- see above - is the most distant) The chances are therefore, that all of them originated from sites within their respective parishes.

Of the seven sites where sculpture has been found in unprovenanced building material those found at Blackwell (Peak), Bradbourne (No 5) and Monyash are particularly dubious in their provenance. They are small fragments in sandstone found in a Carboniferous Limestone area. Therefore they could have been brought in building material from any of the surrounding areas and so remain strictly unprovenanced. The piece of crosshead found at Pym Chair, although of local stone, is also small and easily portable.

A shaft found recently built into a nineteenth-century cottage at Derwent is large enough to suggest that it may have been originally found relatively close to the site: it is also in local stone. The relatively late date of the cottage suggests that the stone may have been brought from elsewhere as part of the modern mass-movement of material.

The Sheffield shaft was discovered in the nineteenth century as a grinder's trough in an area of Coal Measures sandstone although stone of the same type as the monument, Millstone Grit, is found close-by. However, the Sheffield cutlery industrial relied upon the import of large quantities of Millstone Grit principally from Derbyshire and therefore this shaft cannot be reasonably provenanced to a local site. Collingwood also says that the shaft was reported to have probably been brought from Derbyshire (1927: 75). Similarly the Chesterton shaft was found as a feedtrough, but its stone type, Millstone Grit, suggests that it may have been made locally, as there are outcrops of this stone close-by.

The remaining monuments at nine sites were found in connection with private residences or on open moorland. Cawthorne 5 was discovered in the grounds of a large private house. It is however, unlikely to be Anglo-Saxon and therefore is not relevant to the schools identified herein. The remainder appear to have been collected as curios, some for their potential as sundial supports if nothing else. For example, the two round-shafted monuments at Adlington Hall were brought there from an unknown source in the eighteenth century. Those now in a public park in Macclesfield (No. 1 3) were previously at Ridge Hall, Sutton and the shaft at Prestbury (No. 3) still stands on the boundary of Upton Hall's grounds. The Swithamley stone has the distinction of having been a curio at two residences firstly at Wincle Grange and now at Swithamley Hall. The shaft now in Chapel en-le-Frith churchyard was originally on land at Ollerenshaw Hall. The

shafts and crossheads found at Higher Disley (now at Lyme Hall) and the "Bowstones" at Lyme Handley, were all on land belonging to the Lyme Hall estate, the latter monuments on the extremities of the former private shooting grounds. The shafts at Ludworth and Cluelow are found on open moorland which would most likely have been part of similar private shooting grounds of the local elite. (see Appendix 3A for references for previous locations/discovery).

The reason for their collection is not altogether clear but, with the exception of the Chapel en le-Frith stone all of the monuments are round shafts many of which are undecorated and were probably not recognised as essentially Christian artifacts. The Chapel shaft is decorated only with almost undecipherable abstract decoration. Suspiciously, all are near-complete examples which would make their collection more attractive - the stumps at Ludworth were apparently only damaged in more recent times (Lysons 1817: ccxxxiv). Less well preserved round shafts do occur elsewhere in the same area at Macclesfield and Astbury, and in ecclesiastical settings where they appear to have been re-used as building material. A base suitable for a pair of round shafts was also found buried in the churchyard at Disley.

It may be significant that all of the displaced round shafts, and that at Chapel are confined to the same geographical area - eastern Cheshire and its borders with Derbyshire. This may have been due to some interaction between the local gentry. Many of the round shafts have initials carved on them in 'modern' script: that at Fernilee Hall also has a date of 1720 (Andrew 905: 201-2) or 1706 (NAR. No. SK07NW1) the writer's own record suggests that 1706 is the more likely but the inscription is now eroded. If most of these monuments were collected around this time, this is a little too early to expect antiquarian records of their original discovery. This tends to suggest that they were part of some local activity, possibly in the late seventeenth early eighteenth century.

Although these monuments are technically unprovenanced they are all made from Millstone Grit which is local to this region. There are also better provenanced round shafts of the same school (see section 4.19) in this area, and elsewhere in Staffordshire and Derbyshire. It is possible, therefore, that they may have been originally at one or more sites in the locality: Macclesfield and Prestbury for example, are central to their present distribution and have existing sculpture of the same school and in the same stone type. One would therefore cautiously suggest that the original location of this group of otherwise unprovenanced monuments lies somewhere in this region.

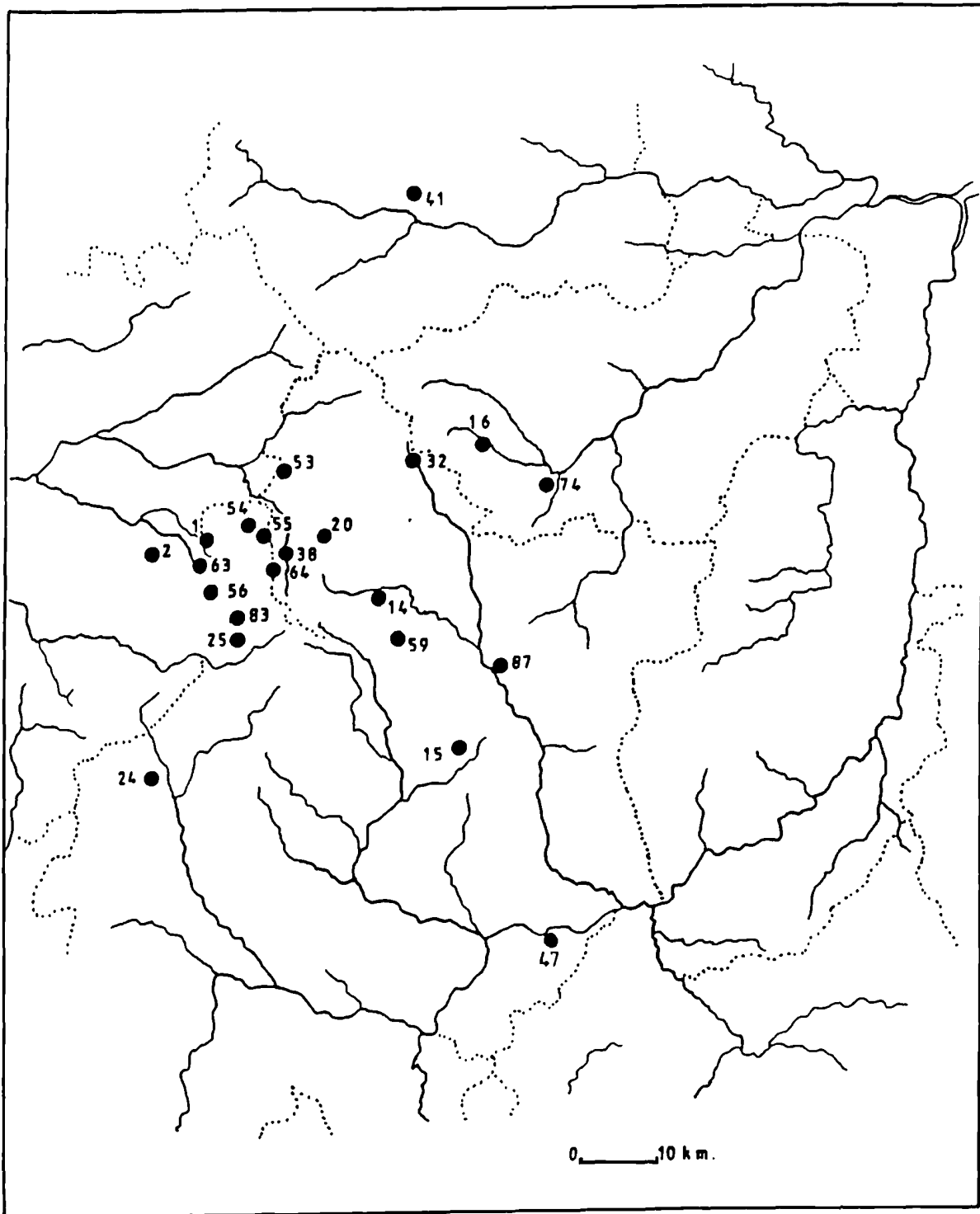


FIG. 6.2.

Sculptures in provenance categories 5 or 6 (excluding Cawthorne No. 5).
Note the cluster of sites around the Cheshire/Derbyshire border.

- | | | |
|-----------------------------|---------------|----------------------------|
| 1. Adlington | 2. Alderley | 14. Blackwell (Peak) |
| 15. Bradbourne (No. 5 only) | 16. Bradfield | 20. Chapel-en-le-Frith |
| 24. Chesterton | 25. Cluelow | 32. Derwent |
| 38. Fernilee | 41. Hartshead | 47. Ingleby |
| 53. Ludworth | 54. Lyme Hall | 55. Lyme Handley |
| 56. Macclesfield (1-3 only) | 59. Monyash | 63. Prestbury (No. 3 only) |
| 64. Pym Chair | 74. Sheffield | 83. Swithamley |
| 87. Two Dales | | |

Finally, it is necessary to decide how to regard the unprovenanced sculpture in the light of the analysis of the schools. The geographical identity of the schools has been established on the present positions of the sculpture, but unless this is modified to take account of unprovenanced pieces, then the exercise would prove valueless. Firstly, those fragments at Alderley Blackwell Chapel en-le Frith, Derwent and Ludworth have not been assigned to any particular school and therefore, may be excluded from further discussion. The round shafts at Adlington Cluelow, Fernilee Lyme Hall, Lyme Handley Macclesfield Prestbury and Swithamley do not significantly jeopardize the integrity of the North western Regional School since there is reasonably provenanced sculpture of the same and only, school in the area. The only difficulty left is that so many unprovenanced monuments in this small area give rise to the impression of more sites with Anglo-Saxon monuments than perhaps there were.

The monuments at Bradfield Chesterton, Hartshead and Two Dales are likely to have been moved little distance, and even if this was not the case, their present locations do not distort the integrity of their respective schools. Similar comments apply to the Cawthorne font (No. 5) but it is not a monument of an Anglo-Saxon school. The crosshead fragments assigned to the North-western region at Monyash (Nos 1 and 2) and Pym Chair are well within the region in which the school appears to have operated.

This leaves only the shaft at Sheffield and the crosshead fragment found near Bradbourne. The Sheffield piece would distort the geographical identity of the Peak School, unless account is taken of its lack of provenance. Therefore, it will be disregarded as having a role in the geographical identity of the school. Similarly, the crosshead fragment found near Bradbourne, may suggest that the South western Regional School was represented at this site, whereas there is no other evidence that this was so. Again, it is better disregarded as having any influence on the geographical identity of its school.

6.3: FUNCTION.

Although the evidence is that most crosses were funerary or memorial, some writers have described them as holding different functions. Brown said that although he thought most were funereal, some acted as wayside crosses (1937: 93). Pape specifically mentioned the round shafts in eastern Cheshire, such as Cluelow, Swithamley, Ludworth and Lyme Handley, where "not one ... seems to have been originally set up in a churchyard" (1945 6: 39) and argues that

their original function was to guide travellers "when roads were almost non-existent". However, he admitted that round-shafted crosses elsewhere had a different function (ibid: 39). This 'evidence' for their alternative function was entirely based on their present position and their provenance was not investigated. This same group of crosses have also been described as boundary stones since one of them was near a *modern* parish boundary (Andrew 1905: 207-9). Of all the shafts mentioned in this account, only those at Ludworth (which may not be Anglo-Saxon at all Appendix 3A - 'Ludworth') appear to have actually been on a boundary. Despite this rather dubious 'evidence', the idea of boundary functions for crosses appears to have become entrenched. For shortly after Andrew's paper (1905), the Fernilee shaft was re-erected on the parish boundary (NAR NO SK07NW1)

Therefore the notion that they were originally funereal or memorial still has merit and it is likely that free standing crosses were part of the furniture of churchyards. The 'church building', however, need not have been anything more than a simple structure, possibly only of wood. For example, the evidence from St. Marks at Lincoln suggests that its carved stone monument coincided with only a simple wooden structure and a graveyard only later was there a substantial stone church (Gilmour and Stocker 1986). A popular notion still exists that crosses were part of the missionary apparatus of the church and may have been erected as preaching crosses in advance of a church (cf Bielby 1978: 15). However, it is difficult to reconcile the iconography of most of the sculptured monuments in the research area with an instrument intended for religious instruction. This function for the crosses remains highly doubtful, especially in view of the surviving personalised inscriptions. What does appear highly probable is that even if the crosses were not erected at established churches, they were likely to have been at the centres of landholdings (section 1.5). The relationship between landholdings and crosses was to some extent inevitable, since estate centres subsequently became the sites for the familiar parish church (cf Morris 1989)

Where there is evidence that several monuments were erected at one site, this might suggest that they were produced over a period of time marking the passage of successive generations in the 'fashion' prevailing at the time of their erection. This indeed fits with the notion that free standing sculpture was almost continually being erected during the Saxon period. However, if this was true, then according to the theory of the evolutionary progression of style (cf Collingwood 1927), one should detect this chronological progression in the monuments themselves. This is not the case, for example, at Alstonefield where there are several

monuments of the North western Regional School (section 4.19: Appendix 3B - 'Alstonefield 58'), which not only bear the usual attributes of the school, but also are *exactly* the same in their design. If these monuments were produced over a relatively long period of time, then they should have been subject to a chronological progression of style and this is clearly not the case. The evidence suggests the contrary, that they are likely to have been erected in a short space of time possibly by the same hand(s). The positive identification of schools themselves argues against a continual 'evolution' of style in the research area.

At Ecclesfield, the surviving cross was found in the churchyard with a base (Ecclesfield 2, Appendix 3A - 33) having two sockets. Whilst one cannot be sure that the base was contemporary with the shaft, it is cut in the same style and its socket holes suggest that it was intended for two shafts of similar dimensions to that surviving. At Disley, a twin socketed base, suitable for two round shafts was also found in the churchyard (Appendix 3A - 32). Bailey has also suggested that more than one sculptured stone may have formed a single composite monument (1980: 99-100) therefore the existence of several shafts need not suggest that monuments were erected over any length of time.

There is another reason why several monuments might have appeared at the same site. During the period that many of the monuments may have been erected, i.e. after the Viking settlement, many of the larger estates became fragmented (section 2.6). Not all of the new, smaller estates are likely to have had their own church or at least their own burial rights (see section 3.4). Those occupying such landholdings may have looked towards the senior church of the old large estate for such facilities. In any case, it appears that the more prestigious burials, i.e. those of the elite (as more lucrative), were naturally reserved for the minster or senior church (Morris 1983: 49). It is therefore possible that monuments to the elite of several land units would all be represented at one site. This could explain why several monuments of the same type, and of the same school are found together.

Although the majority of the monuments are freestanding crosses, there are some monuments which take a different form. Principally these fall into two categories: those which can be identified as architectural decoration, and those which appear to have functioned as recumbent tomb-slabs or covers. Although both tomb-slabs/covers and free-standing crosses probably had similar memorial functions, architectural sculpture was likely to have been decorative or instructive. It is worth investigating whether schools embraced all sculpture, or whether they

were strictly confined to monuments of memorial function. By so doing it may help to establish the relationship between monuments and either the ecclesiastical or secular provision in the Anglo Saxon period.

Those fragments of sculpture which are more likely to have been architectural fragments at Dewsbury demonstrate two significant differences from the freestanding monuments apart from their form. The first is that their inscriptions are 'instructive' rather than memorial (as would be expected) but secondly, their texts are in Latin, rather than the vernacular which is used on the memorial monuments of the same site and elsewhere, (see section 1.2 and 1.5). Moreover the fragments identified as architectural were of the "Dewsbury School", a name given to in-house craft only. No relationship could be identified between these fragments and the schools which operated over several sites in the locality and which also produced memorial monuments at Dewsbury. This suggests that the architectural sculpture was not connected to the schools which produced the free-standing monuments of the region.

Similar conclusions are drawn from the friezes and panels at Breedon-on-the-Hill. They were undoubtedly decorative, unless three of the panels had been part of a sarcophagus as suggested by Cramp (1977: 211). As in the case of Dewsbury, not only was the function of the sculpture different, but so was the relationship between them and the schools established in the locality. Fragments of architectural sculpture which have been described as Anglo-Saxon at Derby (10a/b), Rolleston (4), Eccleshall (2) and probably Norbury (3) do not relate to the schools identified in their regions. Therefore, there appears to be little iconographic relationship between the freestanding funereal/memorial monuments and those of church architecture.

There are, however, common iconographic links between freestanding crosses and 'tomb-slabs'. This is clearly shown in the relevant sections of chapter 4, at Dewsbury (11), Bakewell (32), Repton (6), Hickling, Sandbach (6 and 7), Shelton and Wirksworth. The magnificent sarcophagus from St. Alkmund's in Derby (No. 3) can also be added to this list. All of these monuments can be linked to schools operating in their respective regions. We can therefore suggest that there was a relationship between schools and function. Monuments which are funerary or memorial were produced by the schools identified in this study: those which are architectural do not.

The sites which possess tomb slabs and covers are far fewer in number and may be those where the ecclesiastical provision is likely to have been more prestigious. This is immediately obvious at Derby an established 'cult centre' of St. Alkmund and at Repton, the resting place of St Wigstan (Stafford 1985: 107-8). Other sites, such as Bakewell or Dewsbury, are thought to have been major ecclesiastical centres from an early date. For example, Dewsbury was the mother church to a large area embracing "nine ancient churches", including Thornhill (Belby 1978: 12). Similarly Bakewell was probably the mother church for much of the Peak (cf Cox 1877: 5). Given that such recumbent monuments are often associated with the superior churches, it is entirely possible that these monuments were intended to be displayed inside the buildings where, one suspects, more space might be available than elsewhere.

Although it is likely that 'tomb-slabs' were indeed funereal (but not necessarily over the exact burial), the free standing crosses may not have been. It was discussed in chapter 3 that not all pre-Conquest churches or chapels had burial rights and it is possible that crosses in some locations may have acted as memorials to dead buried elsewhere. Where they survive, inscriptions support a strictly memorial function for free-standing crosses rather than funerary. At Thornhill there is an addendum to the standard formula of 'x caused the erection of this stone in memory of y', on one of the inscribed fragments. It refers to the erection of the cross on a mound (or possibly a hill) (Page 1973: 145). The "mound" may have been simply a convenient feature, or may have been a central focus to the landholding where assemblies were held (cf Adkins and Petchey 1984). In either case it seems that the mound was the significant feature at the site, not a church.

There does not appear to be a greater investment of time or craft in the tomb slabs and covers than in the free-standing crosses, and it should not be assumed that they were in any way 'special' except that their function may have been different. Where tomb slabs or covers are found almost invariably so are free-standing crosses. The reverse of this is not true and it leads one to suspect that crosses may have been expressing more than simply the memory of a loved-one at the place at which they were buried. Richards suggests that the standard 'memorial' inscription may have intended to establish a relationship between the living and their departed kin (Richards 1991: 128). Again, inscribed fragments at Thornhill serve as an example. Page translates the 'memorial' texts here as, "Eadred set up (this stone) after Eadthegn" and "Etheberht set up after Ethelwini" (1973: 144). The use of the term "after" could be interpreted as implying succession as well as expressing a relationship between the living and the dead, which

may have been intentional. Therefore, free standing crosses are best regarded as 'memorial', although the act of erecting them may have held a greater significance than simply the commemoration of the dead

SUMMARY

To summarize this chapter although almost no monuments can be shown to be *in situ*, a hierarchy of 'probabilities' can be devised to assess the likelihood of their original provenance. Unless the original provenance of the sculpture is regarded the analysis of the schools can be misrepresented: so too can the function of the monuments. The evidence from the research area is that free standing monuments were memorial those which have been said to perform other functions are likely to have been removed from their original provenance. Where several monuments were erected at the same site there is no evidence that they were the product of a continual provision. They may in some cases, have been part of a single composite monument or monuments erected by the occupiers of several land units converging on one church with burial rights serving the local district. Architectural sculpture does not appear to relate to the schools: only monuments holding a memorial function appear to be linked by their iconography as schools of sculpting

7: THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SCHOOLS OF SCULPTURE AND POLITICAL AND ECCLESIASTICAL DIVISIONS.

7.1: INTRODUCTION.

This chapter will explore how the schools of sculpture, identified in Chapter 4, relate to both the ecclesiastical and secular divisions in the Anglo-Saxon period. Since each school respects a definite geographical area, and has a repertoire of common design elements, some cohesive organisation must have been involved in its selection and display. As essentially Christian monuments they may have been related to the ecclesiastical provision, perhaps in the form of diocesan authority, or the influence of monasteries. Alternatively, since there is also evidence that they functioned as secular memorials, their symbolic composition may have expressed some form of secular union, of 'ethnicity' perhaps, or membership of one, or another, political unit. It is proposed to explore avenues of possible relationships, by comparing the geographical distribution of the schools with our knowledge of the secular and ecclesiastical divisions which may have existed when the sculpture was made.

Here one immediately confronts three main problems: the first is that 'known' boundaries of both secular and ecclesiastical provinces are, at best, approximate, and only refer to those which existed at the time of specific historically recorded events, such as the compilation of the *Tribal Hidage*, the *Danelaw Treaty*, the process of reconquest in the tenth century, and later 'shiring'. Fortunately, the *Tribal Hidage* is pertinent to the research area and many of the land units, which appear to have survived long after they were assimilated into the larger polities of the 'superkingdoms', can be reasonably identified to geographical areas. In turn, the Viking settlers seem to have perpetuated the boundaries between the kingdoms of East Anglia, Mercia and York (Deira), and many of the lesser divisions also are likely to have survived.

The second problem is a lack of a reliable chronology for the sculptures, which makes it difficult to know *when* to attempt to match schools of sculpture with boundaries or influences. The established methods of dating, which primarily rely on a stylistic approach, have been shown to be unreliable (see section 1.2) and therefore no degree of accuracy is possible. However, it is assumed from the generally accepted stylistic traits found on most monuments, that most are likely date to the Viking period (cf. Cramp 1977; Bailey 1980), and were therefore produced somewhere between c. 880 and 1050.

The third problem is how to discriminate between secular and ecclesiastical influences since the two are not always easily separable. For example, diocesan arrangements are known to have been brought into line with the kingdoms, and the provision of churches and even monasteries often had a purely secular footing. The estates of Burton Abbey, for example, were more an exercise in secular land-holding, than anything else (section 3.3). Therefore, there is always the possibility that one set of arrangements could be mistaken for the other, unless the schools are seen to contradict known ecclesiastical bounds, in favour of those which could only have been secular, or *vice versa*.

7.2: THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE ECCLESIASTICAL PROVISION AND SCHOOLS OF SCULPTURE:

Since there is no reliable method for dating the sculpture, this discussion will have to take into account the known changes in the pattern of influences from the seventh to the eleventh centuries. In many cases this is not too difficult since it is likely that the diocesan boundaries, at least, varied little during this period.

Between the seventh century and the Viking settlement, the diocesan authorities with influence over the region were those of Lichfield, Lindsey, York and Leicester. The reconstructed boundaries of the sees are shown in Fig. 7.1. During the period of Viking settlement, the diocesan arrangements were disrupted and what remained of the see of Leicester was administered from Dorchester-on-Thames. Lichfield remained as a bishopric, but with diminished authority. The bishopric of York, which nominally held authority in the north, appears to have remained intact during much of the Viking period, but its role is obscure (cf. Hall 1988: 129). After the reconquest by the English, the old diocese of Leicester was not reinstated, and its former area of influence remained under the authority of Dorchester. Stafford suggests that the Lindsey bishopric may have survived the Viking invasions and possibly had links with York (1985: 111). However, some reorganisation appears to have taken place as a result of the English reconquest, when Nottinghamshire, as a unit of land, was ceded to the diocese of York, and Lindsey was incorporated into the see of Dorchester (Hill 1981: 147-8).

It seems that most changes to the diocesan arrangements following the Viking settlement and subsequent English reconquest are largely confined to the respective controlling authorities rather than a reorganisation of the boundaries of the sees (cf. Hill 1981: 147). However, to a large extent, our knowledge of the jurisdiction of the dioceses has depended on the interpretation of the spheres of authority of various groups of peoples. As outlined in chapter 2, this is only an

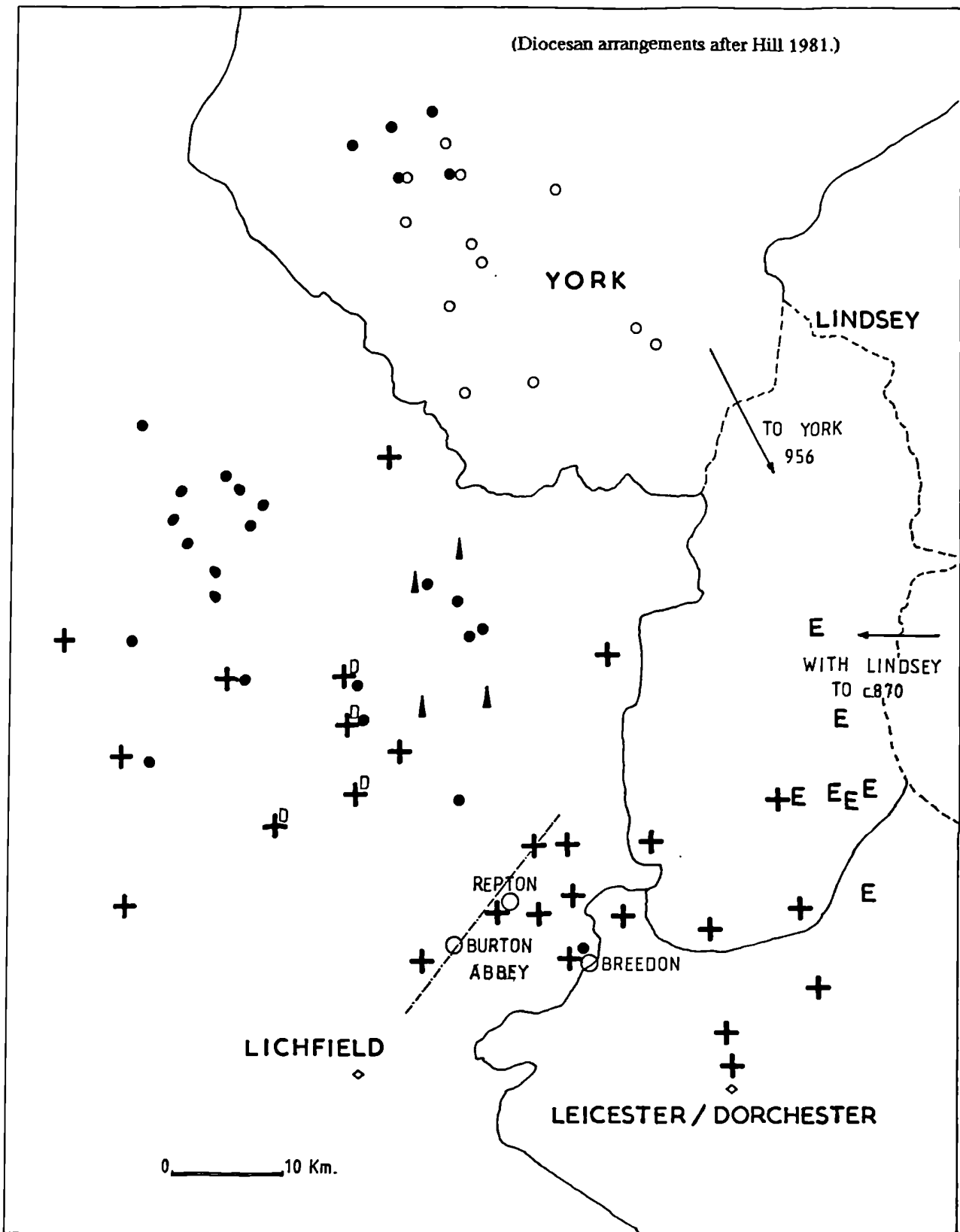


FIG. 7.1.

The schools of sculpture in relation to the diocesan arrangements. The major ecclesiastical houses of Breedon-on-the-Hill, Repton and Burton Abbey are also shown.

KEY

- | | | | |
|-----|--|---|--|
| ○ | North Regional School. | ▲ | Peak School. |
| + | South-western Regional School. | E | East School. |
| □ | Dove Valley sub-school. | ● | North-western Regional and Kirklees Schools. |
| --- | Division between the West and South sub-schools. | | |

approximate guide to physical boundaries and they may have been more fluid than Hill's reconstruction (1981: 147) implies. Therefore, the reconstructed boundaries of diocesan authority given in Fig. 7.1 should not be assumed to be absolutely accurate.

However, it can be seen from the distribution of monuments of the schools that, by and large, they do not relate to the diocesan arrangements. The difficulties in matching most schools to sees go beyond those reasonably expected from inaccuracies arising from the interpretation of the sees. The exception is that the authority of the diocese of York appears synonymous with the extent of the North Regional School; but if the school was displaying a purely secular bias then the same distribution would have occurred, since this is not only the boundary between two dioceses, but also that between kingdoms. This relationship between sees and schools does not manifest itself with other schools. For example, the Peak School appears as an 'island' in the see of Lichfield, but does not behave as a sub-group within a larger array of similar sculpture. The South-western Regional School not only ignores the boundary between the sees of Lichfield and that of Leicester/Dorchester, it also extends into present-day Nottinghamshire, an area which apparently was *never* attached to either of the latter sees (cf. Hill 1981: 147).

The East School is also seen to extend into Nottinghamshire. With its connections to the east (see section 5.4), it appears to be a school operating from within the see of Lindsey, as it existed before the Viking settlement. However, this would not explain how monuments of the South-western Regional School also came to be in this area. From the iconography on the monuments of both schools, they appear to have been erected *after* the initial Viking settlement (Cramp 1977: 192). In this case, both areas would eventually have been under the common authority of Dorchester, and therefore should have been part of the same school if their iconography was influenced by the diocesan arrangements.

The demarcation between the South and West sub-divisions of the South-western Regional School, appears to be similar to that between the dioceses of Lichfield and Leicester. This is shown in Fig. 7.1 and although the two are not synonymous, the discrepancy could be due to either temporally fluctuating diocesan authority, or the misinterpretation of boundaries. However, the main objection to equating the diocesan authorities with the division between the two sub-groups of sculptures, is that they are essentially all monuments of the *same* school. This argues against the characteristics of the schools being determined by the influences of different dioceses. Again, the boundary between the dioceses of Leicester and Lichfield are a reflection of a 'people-division' as well as one between different authorities of the church. Since the see of

Leicester was created for the Middle Angles (Stafford 1985: 182), its jurisdiction also reflected an internal political boundary within Mercia.

The distribution of the North-western Regional School monuments does not relate to the diocesan structure, except that most appear to have fallen under the jurisdiction of Lichfield. Although the evidence from one piece of sculpture should not be relied upon, the school does have an example at Breedon-on-the-Hill which would have been in the see of Leicester/Dorchester. However, the North-western Regional School appears to be related more to topography than to the structure of the dioceses, since most of its monuments are found at the Pennine fringes, rather than distributed throughout the diocese as a whole. Like the Peak School, the North-western Regional School appears in the Lichfield see, as an 'island' of iconographic dissimilarity from the other sculptures. Similar comments apply to the Kirklees School in that it has a different area of distribution from that of the North Regional School, appearing again to be more related to the Pennine fringes, than the diocese of York.

In section 4.16 it was mentioned that the western limits of the South-western Regional School had apparently been reached at Sandbach, now in Cheshire. This geographical limit to its distribution can also be detected in present-day Staffordshire in that all the monuments of the South-western Regional School are contained in the north-east of the county. However, the south-west of the county is almost devoid of free-standing monuments, for, apart from isolated examples of architectural fragments of possible Anglo-Saxon origin, there are no other monuments in this region other than the 'Wolverhampton pillar' (cf. Staffordshire C.C. SMR.; Jeavons 1946). The latter is said to be unique in England (Jeavons 1946: 121) and therefore can be safely assumed to be unrelated to any school identified herein. The lack of sculpture in the south-west of the research area shows that it is unlikely that the diocese of Lichfield was central to any organisation of the schools. It is notable that Lichfield itself seems to stand outside the limits of the schools.

Therefore, it is reasonable to suggest that the diocesan arrangements were not those which determined the distribution of the pre-Conquest schools of sculpture in the research area. If the bishoprics were not involved in their organisation, then maybe the monuments were produced, or organised, by monasteries or other ecclesiastical houses. The difficulties in relating the authority of the major ecclesiastical houses to the provision of free-standing monuments, are twofold. Firstly, much depends on *when* this occurred, since it is likely that the influence of the ecclesiastical houses was greatly diminished, if not extinguished in some cases, when they, and their lands, were seized by the Viking settlers (cf. Morris 1989: 162). Therefore they were less

likely to have been responsible for a major exercise in monumentation (unless this was required by the secular elite) until the 'monastic revival' in the tenth and eleventh centuries. Secondly, the existence of some religious houses before the Viking settlement may have gone unrecorded, with a new and reorganised provision appearing in, and after, the later tenth century.

Fig. 7.1 also shows the location of the three known major houses in the north Midlands - Repton, Breedon-on-the-Hill and Burton Abbey. The foundation dates of Repton and Breedon are well before the Viking settlement (section 3.1) and both are located within the sphere of the South-western Regional School. However, neither of these major ecclesiastical houses, like many others, appears to have retained any of their former prestige and influence during, or after, the Viking invasions (section 3.3).

The relationships between the two sites and the sculptural evidence is also vague: for example, Repton had an historic connection with Wirksworth, described in pre-Viking charter evidence (Hart 1975: 102), but there is no sculptural link between the two. Repton sculpture is identified with the South-western Regional School, whereas that at Wirksworth is ascribed to the Peak School. The Breedon sculpture is found to have no link with the surrounding area, except through three fragments of shaft, belonging to two different schools (see chapter 4). The concentration of monuments of the North-western Regional School suggests that Breedon was the recipient of shaft No. 09, rather than the focus of the school: Repton on the other hand, has no monuments of this school. Sculpture at both Breedon and Repton have attributes of the South sub-division of the South-western Regional School, but none of the West sub-school which did not extend as far as the two monasteries (section 4.14/15). Therefore, the location of neither site is able to explain the organisation of the West sub-division of the school.

The East School clearly has no links with Breedon or Repton, either in its distribution, or in its attributes. The school appears to be connected with the old kingdom of Lindsey (see section 5.4), but it is difficult to link its monuments with any known ecclesiastical house there, especially as it appears to encroach well beyond the nominal territory of the sub-kingdom itself (see Fig. 7.1). One problem in relating schools to ecclesiastical houses in Lindsey, is the sheer lack of knowledge concerning the pre-Viking church in the kingdom. The evidence for any monastic houses which may have survived into the Viking period is lacking (Stocker 1993: 101). The problem is compounded by the unknown extent of the East School (section 4.11 and 5.4) which makes the task of linking the school to a major ecclesiastical establishment all the more difficult on the data presented here. Only Peterborough appears to have survived as a major centre in the east after the English reconquest. It is, therefore, the most likely candidate to have been able

to exert its influence over the region in which the East School operated. It is, however, some considerable distance from the former kingdom of Lindsey and that part of the school in the research area. Furthermore, Peterborough only appears to be sculpturally related to the research area by some of the Breedon friezes and panels (Cramp 1977: 207-18) and therefore is unlikely to have been influential in the production of the monuments of the East School.

The Peak School also appears to have no relationship with any known monastery. It is said to have been based on Bakewell (Collingwood 1927: 75), but the evidence for the latter as a production 'centre' is without foundation (see chapter 1). Bakewell may, however, have served as the chief minster for the district (Stafford 1985: 182), the lands of the former people of the *Pecsaete* (Roffe 1986a: 27). The Peak School may have been coterminous with the jurisdiction of the Bakewell minster and there could, therefore, be a connection between minsters and schools. However, since Bakewell was likely to have been the main church for the *Pecsaete*, this is of course, equally an argument for secular influence.

The possibility that the schools were based on minster sites does seem plausible in the case of the Peak school. However, this explanation appears far less convincing in the case of the larger schools. For example, if individual minsters controlled the iconography of the South-western Regional School, then its comparatively large area of distribution would presumably represent the influence of just two of them, one for each sub-school. Although there is no precise chronology for the schools, the chances are that when most of the monuments were erected - during the Viking period in the case of the South-western regional School - there are likely to have been more minster sites in its region than this. Morris argues that by the tenth century, minsters were probably distinguished from other churches by their senior status, often standing at the centre of a hundredal estate (1989: 128). Therefore, although not all hundredal estates may have had minsters (ibid: 128), the relatively large area influenced by the South-western Regional School, containing many wapentakes and hundreds, is unlikely to have been served by only two. Derbyshire alone, for example, had five wapentakes by 1086, other than that of the Peak, *Hamenstan* (Roffe 1986a: 14). Similar comments also apply to the East School: since its attributes are found over a large area, known at least to embrace Creton, Sempringham and Lincoln (see section 5.4), this suggests that the school is likely to have been far larger than an area compatible with the jurisdiction of one minster.

A further argument against minsters being responsible for the creation of schools of sculpting, is found at Bakewell itself. If not the centre for the Peak school, Bakewell was certainly in its area of distribution (section 4.2). Although the Peak School could have been based on Bakewell minster,

It is unlikely to have been the same *centre* for the North-western School, monuments of which are also found at Bakewell. The distribution of sites of the latter school extend well beyond the bounds of the hundredal minster (section 4.19), and therefore almost certainly into areas served by others. Therefore, it seems unlikely that most of the schools were based on the jurisdiction of minsters.

The North Regional School is possibly truncated by the limits of the research area and is therefore difficult to relate to an ecclesiastical house since its northernmost extent is not known. There is also little knowledge concerning the pre-Conquest ecclesiastical provision in this region. Only "tradition" links Dewsbury with a seventh-century foundation and most reconstructions are from the *Domesday* account of the eleventh century (Bielby 1978: 11-3). Although Dewsbury had an extensive parish before the Norman Conquest (ibid: 12), its relationship with the schools of sculpture in the region is ambiguous (see chapter 4) and no direct relationship can be established.

Burton Abbey is another large ecclesiastical house which may have had a relationship with the production of stone monuments. Burton differs from Repton, Breedon and Flixborough, in its relatively late foundation in 1004 (Hart 1975: 109). Therefore, since most of the monuments in the research area are said to have been made after the Viking settlement of the ninth century (cf. Cramp 1977: 192), Burton may have a relationship with the schools, provided of course, that the monuments were still being produced at this time. Burton's position with regard to the schools is similar to that of Repton, in that it was situated within the area of the South-western Regional School, but no other. Its location with regard to the two sub-divisions of the school is slightly better, in that it may have rested between the two.

The evidence for the foundation of Burton is mainly from charter evidence, notably land bequeathed in the will of Wulfric Spott. As a result, the extent of the Burton estates is relatively well known (cf. Sawyer 1979b). If Burton was linked to the production of stone monuments, then one might expect its estates to coincide with the distribution of monuments of the South-western Regional School. However, this is hardly the case: in the list of lands bequeathed to the Abbey, estates which possess stone monuments are significantly absent. Although the Abbey received much land in Staffordshire, only the estate of Ilam coincides with the provision of sculptured monuments. Significantly, there were also many estates held in Staffordshire which were beyond the limits of the schools identified herein, for example those in and around Tamworth, and estates in present-day Shropshire (Hart 1975: 98-9).

The numerous estates of Burton Abbey in Derbyshire (ibid: 109) are also significant in that none of them contains a sculpture site. So far, no sculpture has been found at Burton itself, although it is acknowledged that this is by no means conclusive evidence that it did not once exist. The distribution of the monuments of the Peak and North-western Regional schools do not appear to be centred on the Abbey, nor of course, are those of the East School. Therefore, there is no evidence to link Burton Abbey with any of the schools.

Evidence to link any form of ecclesiastical provision with schools of sculpture in the research area is not forthcoming. It appears that the location of Repton, Breedon and Burton Abbey in the South-western Regional School was simply fortuitous, since there is no other evidence to connect them together. Less in evidence still, is the likelihood of a relationship between any of the other schools and known ecclesiastical houses. However, the monuments *are* nominally symbols of Christianity by form (in most cases) if not in their iconography, and also have an almost indisputable relationship with ecclesiastical sites. However, the existence of schools, with their common repertoire of design elements, cannot be reconciled with the organisation of the church, and it appears that the monuments, although erected at church sites (but see section 6.3), were influenced in their design by some other cohesive institution which may have been secular.

7.3: THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE SECULAR PROVISION AND SCHOOLS OF SCULPTURE.

Since no evidence is forthcoming to relate the schools of sculpture to the ecclesiastical organisation, it is now appropriate to investigate how the schools relate to secular land units. In section 2.1 it was noted that the synthesis of various historical sources, such as Bede's *History of the English People*, the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, the *Tribal Hidage*, charters and the *Domesday* book, enables some tentative reconstructions to be made of land-divisions during the Saxon period. Typical is Hart's map (1977), based on the *Tribal Hidage*, which attempts to reconstruct nominal land units attributed to various groups of people, as shown in Fig. 2.1. However, there are inherent problems in relating schools of sculpture with any reconstruction of the *Hidage*. The first is that not only is there a lack of reliable chronology for the sculpture, but also for the *Hidage* itself: in any case, it seems unlikely that the two were contemporary. The *Hidage* was likely to have been written before the Viking settlement (section 2.4), whereas most of the monuments are thought to be later (Cramp 1977: 192). The second problem concerns the actual reconstruction of the *Tribal Hidage* itself, which has already been discussed in section 2.4.

Much of the delineation of boundaries reconstructed from the *Tribal Hidage* relies on a series of assumptions which are open to challenge. These were previously discussed in section 2.4. and are outlined below. Since the *Hidage* was not concerned with physical boundaries, but with groups of people (Higham 1993: 115-7; Dumville 1989b), it is not known whether or not those groups regarded themselves as bounded by strict territorial limits (Gelling 1992: 140). Another assumption is that most of the later shire boundaries were created from divisions between the peoples mentioned in the *Hidage*, and therefore, that it is legitimate to use shire boundaries as convenient demarcations where no other information is available. However, the shire boundaries may well have been the product of later reorganisation, and have no such antiquity (cf. Gelling 1992: 141). Some boundaries may also have remained fluid and therefore subject to change: the 'dyke system' of earthworks in Yorkshire and north Derbyshire indeed suggest fluid arrangements, if indeed they are concerned with Anglo-Saxon boundary demarcation (Higham 1993: 142-3; Hey 1979: 23; Hart 1977: 53). Therefore, any interpretation of the *Hidage* in terms of physical boundaries is fraught with difficulties and is likely to contain inaccuracies.

However, despite these difficulties, it is immediately obvious that there is a remarkable similarity between some of the reconstructed bounds of the *Hidage*, as shown in Fig. 2.1, and those of the schools. For example, not only is the North Regional School within bounds of the kingdom of Northumbria, it also appears to be confined to the old sub-kingdom of Elmet. The distribution of the Peak School monuments also compares most favourably with the old sub-kingdom division of the *Pecsaete*. Similarly, the distribution of the monuments of the South-western Regional School appears to be roughly coterminous with the lands of North, South and Outer Mercia, as according to Hart's reconstruction (1977). It is especially notable that the monuments of this school - with the exception of Hope (discussed in section 7.6) - do not extend beyond the northern limits of North Mercia, and appear to avoid the lands of the *Pecsaete*. It would appear therefore, that the schools are likely to compare favourably with our knowledge of secular land-divisions, and this will be pursued further.

There are, however, discrepancies in matching the schools *exactly* with the *Hidage* map, and this is not entirely unexpected. Hart has shown the north-eastern boundary of the North Mercians with Elmet to be the River Don (1977: 53). Although this would not seriously contradict the distribution of the North Regional School monuments, it would mean that Conisbrough, as a member site of the school, would have been outside the kingdom of Northumbria. Hart's choice of the River Don appears to have been arbitrary, as a convenient natural demarcation (ibid: 53). He has also assumed that because Dore, now in South Yorkshire, was presumed to be part of Mercia, part of that present-day county would also have been in Mercia (ibid: 53). However, the

assimilation of Dore into Yorkshire is recent, and occurred because the expanding city of Sheffield extended its southern bounds to include Dore, and other parishes, at the expense of Derbyshire (Hey 1979: 7). Hey has suggested that, at least for some of the time, the boundary between Northumbria and Mercia was a little further to the south, and was that which eventually became the shire boundary between Yorkshire and Derbyshire, and between the dioceses of York and Lichfield (ibid: 28). In any case, it would perhaps be wise to assume that the boundary between the kingdoms was to some degree fluid, as outlined in section 2.2.

Hart has assumed that the north-western extent of inner Mercian lands corresponded to present-day shire boundaries (1977: 53). Although the South-western Regional School appears to be contained largely within the county of Staffordshire, the sculpture at Sandbach extends the School into present-day Cheshire. However, Gelling notes that not only did the shiring of the West Midlands disrupt existing arrangements (1992: 141), the administrative region of Chester ('Cheshire') was likely to have had a different geographical identity in the early tenth century *from* that of the present-day (ibid: 130). It is highly likely therefore, that shire boundaries in this region are not of the antiquity that Hart suggests and may not have demarcated the extent of inner Mercian land units.

The territory, ascribed by Hart to the South Mercians (see Fig. 7.2), is chiefly devoid, not only of sculpture of the South-western Regional School, but also of free-standing sculpture altogether. There are however, two exceptions: the first is that sculpture can be found at Chebsey and Eccleshall, sites which, according to Hart's reconstruction, would have been in South Mercia. Sculpture is also found just over the present-day Cheshire border, at Sandbach, which Hart has suggested would be in the lands of the *Wreocansaete* (1977: 50-1). This suggests that either the school of sculpture did not respect the *Hidage* boundaries in this region, or that the reconstruction is inaccurate. Hart has assumed that the Trent divided the two sub-kingdoms, as indicated by Bede (1977: 52-3), did so almost to its source. However, there is some doubt that this part of the 'young' Trent would have been used as a boundary, since there is evidence that estates in the upper reaches of the Trent used the river as a central resource (see section 2.6) and therefore was not regarded as a land-divider. Hart has also used present-day county boundaries to complete the land units (1977: 52-3).

The second exception is that the schools of sculpture appear to be oblivious to the spur of South Mercian land which Hart suggests was coterminous with the *Tomsaete*, which included both Breedon and Repton (1977: 54). The *Tomsaete*, however, are not listed in the *Hidage* and their location in the Mercian lands relies only on the interpretation of their title, as people dwelling by

the River Tame (Gelling 1992: 140). Gelling suggests that they were a component of "original Mercia" which is why they were not included in the *Hidage* (ibid: 85). Therefore, any such translation of their 'territory' into precise physical bounds should be treated with caution. Whether or not the *Tomsaete* had their own distinct land unit, remains an open question, but if Hart's reconstruction is correct, there would have been a division between North and Outer Mercia in this part of the region (1977: 50-1). It appears more than coincidental that this same area contains the boundary between the West and South sub-divisions of the South-western Regional School, and it therefore appears that there may be a relationship between the sub-division of the school and the division between the two Mercian polities.

The Peak School appears synonymous with the lands of the *Pecsaete* with the exception that Hart has shown its two southernmost sites, Bradbourne and Wirksworth, just inside North Mercia and not part of the *Pecsaete* lands (see Fig. 2.1). However, Hart admits that this boundary is unknown: "just where the border between the two territories lay must remain a matter of doubt" (1977: 53). Hart is almost certainly wrong in his interpretation, because at least the Bradbourne estate was in the lands of the *Pecsaete*, as described by the tenth-century charter for Ballidon (Brooks, Gelling and Johnson 1984). Furthermore, Roffe maintains that the wapentake of *Hamenstan* was created from the lands of the old sub-kingdom (1986a: 27). The wapentake included both Wirksworth and Bradbourne within its bounds, and it is likely that Roffe's interpretation is nearer the mark.

The reconstruction of the *Hidage* map is reproduced in Fig. 7.2, but has been amended to include the alternative interpretations of boundaries, by Hey (1979: 7) and Roffe (1986a: 27), as Hart's interpretation appears to be open to question. The interpretation of the north-western boundaries of the inner Mercian lands has remained as shown by Hart in his reconstruction, although the comments concerning their accuracy, mentioned above, should be noted.

The relationship between sculpture sites and the Peak polity is quite remarkable. Not only are the monuments of the Peak School contained within the old sub-kingdom of the *Pecsaete*, they also show a distinct relationship with 'early' land units which are said to divide the sub-kingdom. According to Roffe, reconstruction of the former Saxon estates from the *Domesday* survey, suggests that four large estates can be traced in the *Hamenstan* wapentake (Roffe 1986a: 26), and therefore in the territory of the *Pecsaete*. Remarkably, these estates coincide with sculpture sites of the Peak School and are shown in Fig. 7.3. One possible objection to this hypothesis, might be that the sample of surviving monuments of the school is unlikely to represent the complete compliment of sites: although this is acknowledged, the relationship between those

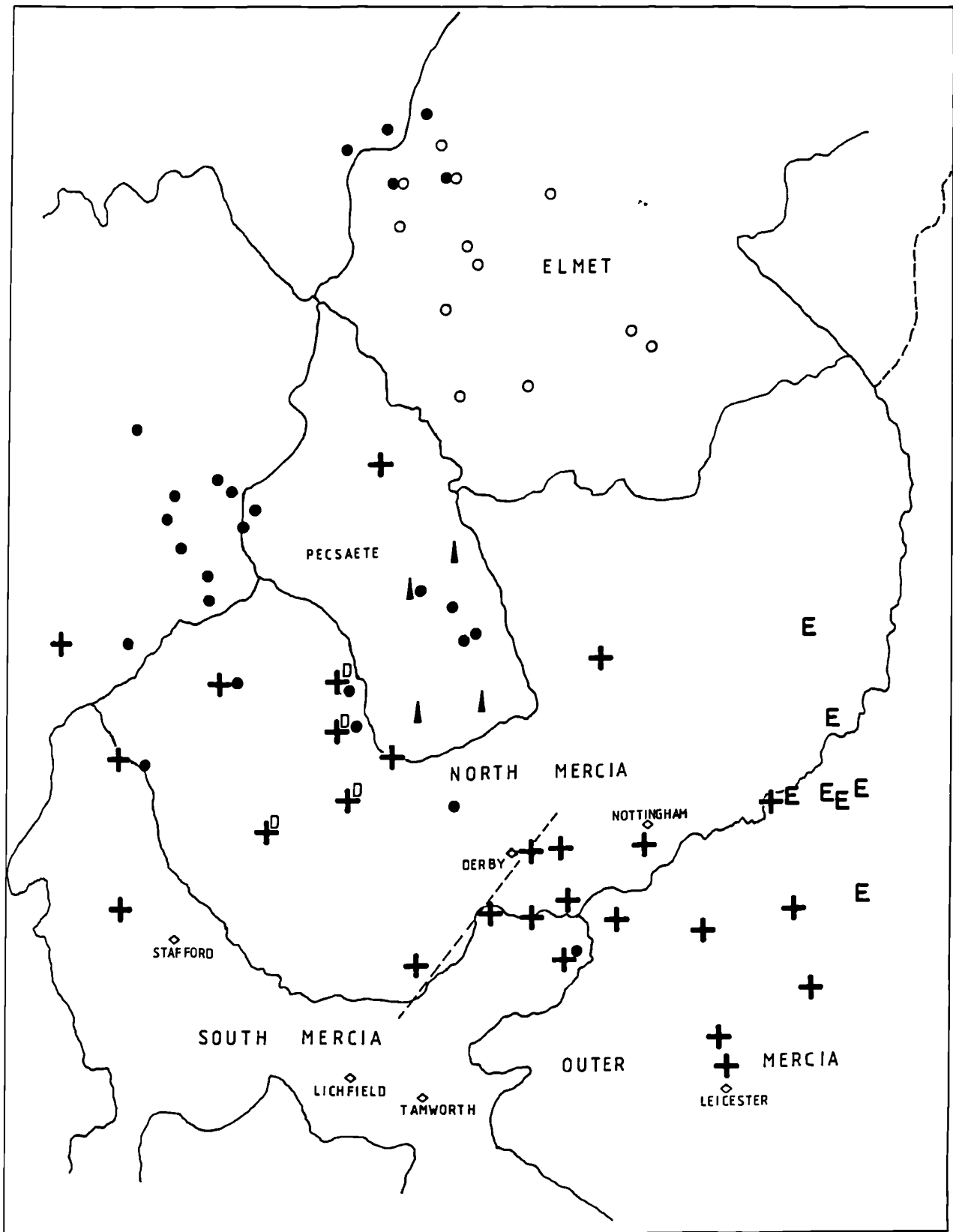


FIG. 7.2.

Map of the schools of sculpture compared with the reconstructed territorial limits of people-groups from the *Tribal Hidage*. (Source: Hart 1977: 50-1; Hey 1979: 7; Roffe 1986a: 27).

KEY

- | | | | |
|-------|--|---|--|
| ○ | North Regional School. | ▲ | Peak School. |
| + | South-western Regional School. | E | East School. |
| D | Dove Valley sub-school. | ● | North-western Regional and Kirklees Schools. |
| - - - | Division between the West and South sub-schools. | | |

monuments which survive and the estates is nevertheless striking, and appears to be more than coincidental.

The nature of the Peak School monuments indicates that when the sculpture was erected, this particular land-division may have still held some form of autonomy. The attributes of the school combine to produce a unique repertoire which shows little affinity with its neighbours. Their design is said to be 'Anglian' or pre-Viking (Cramp 1977: 218-9), since there is no trace of Anglo-Scandinavian decoration. There is however, a strong Northumbrian bias in their styling, especially through the dominant use of the vine-scroll (ibid: 224-5). It is tempting to see this stylistic attribute as indicative of Northumbrian overlordship at the time of the erection of the monuments. It seems improbable that a *Mercian* polity would have shown a unique affinity for a rival kingdom. Therefore, at the time when the monuments were erected the province may have held some level of independence from Mercia.

Although the schools mentioned so far coincide with many of the political sub-divisions reconstructed from the *Tribal Hidage*, there are two major anomalies which need to be addressed. Firstly, if the schools followed political land-divisions, then why was the provision of free-standing sculptured monuments curtailed approximately at the South Mercian frontier? Secondly, what circumstances were likely to have divided the North Mercian territory into two main groups of monuments - those of the South-western and East schools? It seems therefore, that the distribution of schools was not entirely due to divisions established at the time of the *Tribal Hidage*. This may be largely due to the disparity between the date of the compilation of the latter document and the date of the sculpture. Although Anglo-Saxon sculpture cannot be dated with any accuracy, some broad stylistic judgement can be made to discriminate between those bearing attributes of Anglo-Scandinavian origin, and those which do not (cf. Bailey 1980: 45-75).

Sculpture identified by Cramp as 'Anglian' or pre-Viking, were ascribed to four schools in the Midlands. Two of them included only the monuments of the Peak School and the sculpture at Breedon. Another concerned sculpture in west Mercia around Hereford and Gloucester and, therefore, outside of the research area. The fourth is a vague group of Midlands sculpture, featuring the so-called 'Anglian Beast' derivative (Cramp 1977: 192; 230) based on Kendrick's idea of earlier 'Anglian' prototypes (see section 1.2). According to Cramp, this latter group seems to have included only two shafts in the research area. They are at Derby St. Alkmund's (Derby 01) and Breedon (No. 10) (Cramp 1977: 230), although Kendrick also included Sandbach 01 (1938: 205-10). All of these monuments are, however, interpreted differently by the writer, and ascribed to the extensive group of monuments of the South-western Regional School. Cramp

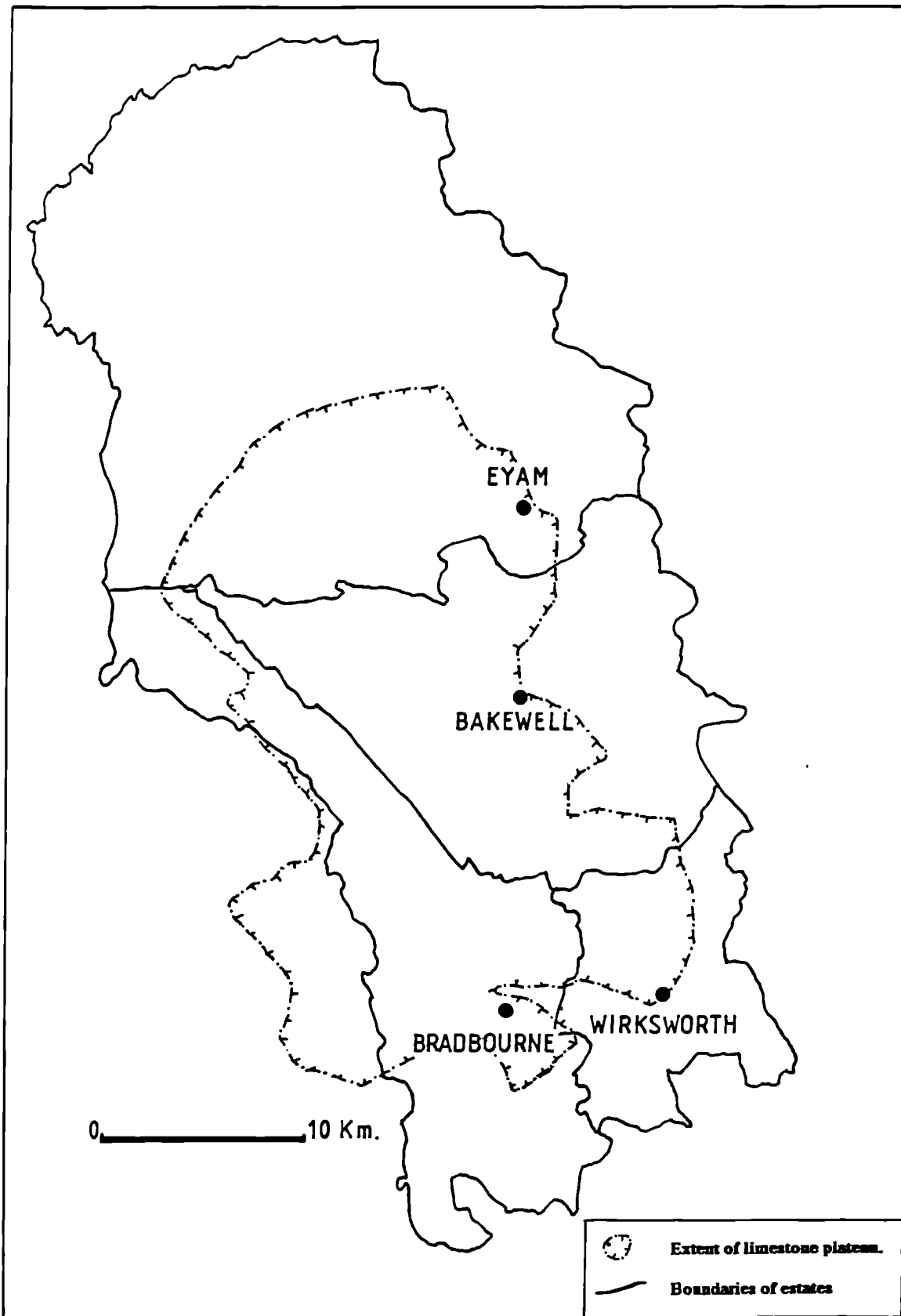


FIG. 7.3.

The wapentake of *Hamenstan*, showing four large Anglo-Saxon estates of the *Pecsæte*, reconstructed from the *Domesday* survey (after Roffe 1986a: 26). The sculpture sites of the Peak School are also shown in relation to these estates, together with the extent of the limestone plateau.

assigned all of the remaining sculptures to the Viking period, including those of the South-western Regional School, the latter said to be "growing out of Danelaw material" and occupying parts of Derbyshire, Leicestershire, Northamptonshire and Bedfordshire (Cramp 1977: 192). Similar comments apply to the East School, described by Cramp as a Viking period group "mainly of Barnack stone" (a Jurassic limestone) in Leicestershire and Lincolnshire (ibid: 192).

Therefore, most of the monuments in the research area can be attributed to the Viking period and schools, such as the South-western Regional School or the East School, would be better compared with our knowledge of secular polities of the Viking period, rather than those which existed when the *Hidage* was likely to have been written.

7.4: VIKING LAND-DIVISIONS AND SCULPTURE.

Almost nothing is known of the administration within *Danelaw* until the English reconquests of the tenth century. It is largely within this latter period that a reorganisation of the political divisions occurred, including the introduction of shires which obliterated many of the former divisions. In the initial phases of Viking settlement, existing land divisions were likely to have been maintained under the new rulers, where these were appropriate to the new demands of the Viking administration. This would account for why many of the *Hidage* boundaries were apparently respected by Viking-period schools of sculpture. However, one significant introduction into the land-divisions of the Viking period was the frontier between the English and the Vikings themselves.

The division of Mercia has long been assumed to have corresponded with almost the entire length of Roman Watling Street and, if this was so, all of the research area should have been within *Danelaw*. However, more recently, this assumption has been challenged and it has since been suggested that the boundary between the English and Danish Mercians travelled northwards from Watling Street along the western boundary of Derbyshire (Stafford 1985: 137). Gelling also accepts a similar line of demarcation; "a line which later became the boundary separating Staffordshire, Cheshire and Lancashire from Derbyshire (Gelling 1992: 128). This line of demarcation, however, relies on the similar assumptions to those used by Hart in his reconstruction of the *Hidage* - that shire divisions in Mercia used pre-existing bounds. Gelling herself admits that the imposition of the shires "show no respect for the traditional divisions between the peoples who made up the composite kingdom of Mercia", and that they were a later imposition by the West Saxons after the reconquest by the English (1992: 141).

Since Staffordshire was assessed in 'hundreds' after the reconquest, it has been assumed that the whole of this county was outside of the *Danelaw* division. However, this would not explain why stylistically Anglo-*Scandinavian* sculpture, is found in the east of this county, let alone part of a composite school which now appears to have had a 'Danish Mercian' identity. The agreement between the Vikings and Ceolwulf in 877 did not include any demarcation in its record (Gelling 1992: 127), but it is probable that it was based on a pre-existing boundary. This line of demarcation is more likely to have been one which respected people-divisions, indicated by the *Tribal Hidage*, rather than the later shires. If this boundary was based on that between the former South Mercians, and the North and Outer Mercians, then most of Staffordshire would have remained under English control, including the principal centres of Tamworth and Stafford. It was therefore likely to have been assessed in *hundreds*, rather than wapentakes, after the reconquest. Most of all, this line of division would have still have allowed Lichfield to remain in English Mercia, and therefore able to continue with limited authority, into the Viking period.

If the agreement between the Vikings and the Mercian English did respect this line of demarcation, then the distribution of the monuments of the South-western Regional School appears to respect a similar frontier. The monuments of the school are absent from most of South Mercia, as reconstructed by Hart (1977), and only occur to the north of Stafford. The distribution of free-standing stone monuments in this region is also coterminous with that of Anglo-*Scandinavian* place-names. Although none of the latter is found between Tamworth and Stafford, they do occur to the north of Stafford (Richards 1991: 34). Therefore, place-names offer supporting evidence that the distribution of the monuments is likely to be linked to Viking settlement and control.

The administration unit of the 'Five Boroughs' is thought to have existed by the late tenth century, but "it is unlikely that their origin is to be traced to the original period of Viking settlement" (Stafford 1985: 139). Much therefore, depends on the date of the sculpture, as to whether any correlation would have been likely between the Five Boroughs and the monuments. The research area contains the Boroughs of Derby, Nottingham and Leicester, and the relationship between them and the schools is less obvious than that between the English and Danish division, or between Northumbria and Mercia. An exception may be the South and West sub-schools of the South-western Regional School, which could have been coterminous with the division of jurisdiction between the Boroughs of Leicester and Derby. Even then, this is likely to have been based on the former division between North and Outer Mercia, and was simply a pre-existing land-division, adopted into the pattern of Viking settlement.

Nottingham, Derby and Leicester appear to have all been contained within the South-western Regional School. Stamford is outside the scope of this research and therefore its relationship with schools of sculpture is unknown. Although Lincoln is also outside of the research area, it was established in section 5.4 that there are sculptural links between the East School and sites in Lincoln and Lincolnshire, and it is therefore reasonable to suggest that the East School is connected with the Vikings of Lincoln.

The origins of the Lincoln Vikings appear to be slightly different from those of the other centres which became the Five Boroughs. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* records that the Vikings overwintered at Torksey in Lindsey, before the army moved on to Repton and subsequently split to assume control elsewhere (Garmonsway 1953: 72-3). This may suggest that the region centred on Lindsey remained as a distinct and separate territory under those left behind for its security, when most of the Great Army moved on to take new territories elsewhere. This was indeed the case when the army later split into different groups at Repton, to assume control over East Anglia, Northumbria and Viking Mercia itself.

In general terms, the extent of the former kingdom of Lindsey is thought to have been bounded by the River Trent to the west and the River Witham to the south, forming an 'island' kingdom (Stafford 1985: 136; Hill 1981: 78-9; Eagles 1989: 202). The relationship between the Vikings based on Lincoln and the former kingdom is obscure, but it is possible that Viking administration projected beyond the bounds of the old kingdom. It seems that the Lincoln Vikings had close ties with the Vikings of York, and were probably under the authority of the latter by 890 (Stafford 1985: 114). In the 920's, it is recorded that Alfred negotiated with the York Vikings over land which is now in the *south* of Lincolnshire (ibid: 114). The suggestion here is that, since the Lincoln Vikings were likely to have then been under the control of York, the negotiations must have concerned land then under the authority of Lincoln.

Lindsey appears to have had claims on lands west of the River Trent in present-day Nottinghamshire. Firstly, the Isle of Axholme is thought to have been part of the old kingdom (Eagles 1989: 202) and secondly, by 850, the diocese of Lindsey is thought to have extended to include much, or all, of present-day Nottinghamshire (Hill 1981: 148). The extent of the Viking polity based on Lincoln may have echoed that of the Roman administration of the Lincoln *civitas*. Although the boundaries of the latter are uncertain, Eagles suggests that Roman authority based on Lincoln may have extended to the river Nene in the south and the river Idle in the north-west (1989: 202-4). During the ninth and tenth centuries, it is likely that the Lincoln Vikings also extended their control west of the Trent. This is suggested by the acquisition of Nottinghamshire

by the diocese of York in c. 956 (Hill 1981: 148). Again, this most likely reflected claims by York over lands formerly under the control of Viking Lincoln.

Both Lincolnshire and Nottinghamshire are not mentioned as distinct units until 1016 (Stafford 1985: 141) and, therefore, their formation as 'shires' may not have occurred before considerable reorganisation of administrative districts had taken place since the initial Viking settlement. In which case, neither county may have been recognisable as a distinct unit of land before such reorganisation. Similarly, Stafford suggests that the creation of the Five Boroughs as a single unit may have been a spontaneous alliance, formed by the southern kings *after* the English reconquest of Mercia, to oppose a threat from the north. As a result, the administrative arrangements of the entire region were likely to have changed to respond to these new circumstances (Stafford 1985: 139). It was, therefore, these new arrangements which were likely to have influenced the later formation of land-divisions and shires, not the former organisation by the Vikings.

It is quite possible, therefore, that the extent of the Viking polity based on Lincoln extended to the south of the River Witham and west of the River Trent. This expansion beyond the nominal limits of the old kingdom of Lindsey appears to be reflected by the monuments of the East School. These are known to range from eastern parts of Nottinghamshire and Leicestershire in the research area (see section 4.11), at least as far as Creeton in Lincolnshire (see section 5.4), to the south of the River Witham. There is also evidence that the Lincoln Vikings thought of themselves differently from those of the other Five Borough centres, through their settlement history and subsequent connections with York. This could explain why that part of the research area, which included Derby, Leicester and Nottingham, have monuments of the same school - the South-western Regional School - and Lincoln had its own separate provision in the form of the East School.

There is an indication that the political ties between the Lincoln and York Vikings may also be manifested through iconographic links between their sculpture. Some of the attributes of the East School appear to be present at York. For example, one tomb-slab at St. Mary Bishophill Senior appears to have an "E1 looped" design and the "cross frame" (Lang 1991: illustration 280). Another piece of sculpture at the same location has a "double cable" framework (ibid: illustration 275), and slabs, rather than shafts, appear to be a more popular form in both areas (cf. Lang 1991; Davies 1926) than they are elsewhere in the research area. However, Lincolnshire and York sculpture are beyond the scope of this thesis and it would be unwise to conclude that this is any more than a tentative link, worthy, perhaps, of future research.

7.5: SCULPTURE AND SETTLEMENT PATTERNS.

So far, a relationship has been established between reconstructed secular divisions and schools of sculpture. Notably absent from the discussion have been the Kirklees and the North-western Regional schools. The reason for this is simply that neither seem to respect any known secular land-divisions, nor any 'frontiers' which can be established either before or after the Viking settlement. A relationship between either of these schools and the ecclesiastical provision has also been discounted. Furthermore, both schools are found in areas where other schools were operative. For example, the North-western Regional School overlaps at several sites with the Peak and South-western schools, yet is also found outside their apparent boundaries. The Kirklees School behaves in similar fashion in its relationship with the North Regional School. Since it appears that neither school respected any known land unit, one needs to look for other factors which may be responsible for such a pattern of distribution.

A relationship can be established between both the North-western and Kirklees schools and a pattern of settlement. The clue to the distribution of the monuments of the North-western Regional School was given in the earlier part of this chapter. It was said that it related more to topography than anything else. This is because in the main, the North-western group of monuments, like those of the Kirklees School, are concentrated around the fringes of the southern Pennines. This is demonstrated particularly well in, and around, the Peak District. Monuments of the Peak School are distributed so that each of the four large estates having sculpture sites of the school (see above), have access to the better drained and relatively more easily worked terrain of the 'White Peak' - the Carboniferous Limestone 'dome' of the southern Pennines. Therefore, the chief estate centres of the *Pecsaete*, which seem to be represented by the Peak School sculpture sites (see Fig. 7.2), are those around the comparatively better quality farming land of the limestone region, even though the full complement of their lands may have extended beyond the limestone 'dome'. Thus, there is good reason why the Peak School sculpture sites are all compressed into the southern part of this sub-kingdom, as reconstructed by Hart (1977) and Roffe (1986a).

This is not to say that the *Pecsaete* only utilised the limestone areas of the Peak, but it is likely that some of the more 'marginal' landscapes, especially those of the poorly drained Gritstone regions were not being exploited to the same degree, if at all. It is notable that monuments of neither the Peak school ^{nor} the North Regional School are found in areas characterised by the boggy Gritstone terrain of north Derbyshire, Southern Yorkshire and eastern Cheshire. This suggests that large tracts of relatively poor agricultural land were not central to the activities of

those identified by the latter monuments. Hodges suggests that the sub-Roman "domestic" mode of farming in the Peak, as opposed to the "cash crop" economy of the Roman period, resulted in the abandonment of landscapes which remained under-exploited until some colonization began in the tenth century and afterwards (1991b: 116). The monuments of the North-western Regional School, however, appear to concentrate more on these 'marginal' areas, than on the richer landscape areas occupied by the surrounding schools. They occupy sites peripheral to the limestone 'dome' in areas typified by steep river valleys, rising to the boggy moorland landscape of the so-called 'Dark Peak' (see Fig. 5.1). Examples are Macclesfield, Darley Dale, Stoke-on-Trent and the group of monuments in eastern Cheshire and north-western Derbyshire. In the case of the solitary monument at Breedon, it is notable that similar terrain may have presented itself in the Carboniferous sandstone region of the 'Swadlincote Hill Country' (see section 5.2)).

The sculpture of the North-western Regional School is also said to be from the Viking period (Cramp 1977: 192), but any group responsible for the erection of these monuments appear to be 'poor relations' of those who secured the more amenable landscapes. This suggests that they were not in a position to negotiate land from a position of strength, nor were they able to declare a pre-existing land-unit as their own.

There is also another group of monuments found elsewhere, whose location is topographically significant. These are the 'hogback' stones of the Viking period. Lang noted that their distribution occurs above the 300 ft. contour, with "rising moor or fell above" (Lang 1984: 89), a description remarkably similar to that of the North-western Regional School sites. A good example of the restricted topography of hogback sites is shown by their relationship to farmland in the Vale of York. They are not found amongst the sculptured monuments in the rich agricultural plain, but at the fringes with the North York Moors (cf. Bailey 1980: 93). The relationship between the monuments and peoples is, however, interesting. Lang notes that, not only are they absent from areas having strong Danish connections, they are also found in areas of Norse settlement, as indicated by place-name analysis (1984: 89-90). Bailey argues that these are likely to be Hiberno-Norse monuments and notes their strong presence in Cumbria, an area which was extensively occupied by the Norse (1980: 91-3). Bailey has also suggested that apart from the hogback, there are other particularly 'Norse' types of monument which can be identified (discussed in section 1.3). Since little is known concerning Hiberno-Norse settlement, its evidence is often derived from place-names and indirect historical references. However, largely as a result of the work by Lang and Bailey, it is now reasonable to include iconographic links between sculptures in the assessment of Hiberno-Norse settlement.

It is therefore possible that there may be a link between the monuments of the North-western Regional School and Hiberno-Norse settlement. In support of the topographical evidence, Gelling's appraisal of place-name evidence for Norse settlement in the west Midlands is illuminating. Generally, Norse place-names are rare in this region (Gelling 1992: 132), but in Staffordshire, there is a small group restricted to the northern part of the county (ibid: 136). This distribution of Norse place-names is similar to that of the North-western Regional School, although the place-names do not always coincide with sculpture sites: one which does is Ilam. Other Norse place-names are Thorpe, near Ilam and Alstonefield, and Hulme near Leek (ibid 137). Gelling suggests that this concentration of Norse place-names may have been the result of "a small colony moving into an upland area (ie. on the Pennine fringes), which, like the northern part of the Wirral, may have been underpopulated at the time" (Gelling 1992: 137). It is notable that Bailey has also identified a 'Norse' group of sculptures in and around the Wirral (see section 1.3) where a similar pattern of Norse place-names occurs (ibid: 132). Similar comments apply to Pennine Derbyshire, where the Scandinavian names are found in areas of poor agricultural land requiring drainage (Fellows-Jensen 1978: 257). Most of these Scandinavian place-names specifically refer to Norse settlement; for example the 'Normanbys' and 'Irtton' derivatives (ibid: 262-3), of which 'Kirk Irtton' near Wirksworth is typical (Hart 1981: 117).

Therefore, place-name evidence for Norse settlement suggests strong similarities with the distribution of monuments of the North-western Regional School and it is notable that its monuments are particularly concentrated on the western side of the Pennines, compatible with a migration from this direction. To link the iconography of the school with sculpture in other areas of Norse settlement is a little more difficult since, as demonstrated by the schools identified in chapter 4, each has its own distinct repertoire of attributes which is not repeated elsewhere. However, some motifs on their own can be seen to relate to Cumbria, an area of extensive Norse settlement and, according to Bailey, of Norse-style monuments (1980: 70; 207-237).

One such attribute is the round-shaft which Bailey notes is concentrated in both Cumbria and around the Peak (1980: 187). Round-shafted monuments are of course, a prominent feature of the North-western regional School. Another is the 'spiral scroll', an attribute which identifies a school or group in Cumbria, and which is also found at sites of the North-western Regional School. This motif is attributed to a non-geometric scroll which has several variations in Cumbria (Bailey and Cramp 1988: 35). The arrangement of the scroll on monuments at Aspatria (ibid: illustration 26-29) is the same as on Bakewell 21 (see attached corpus), whereas that on 'Plumbland 1' (ibid: illustration 532) is more like the 'S8' attribute, ascribed to Cheadle and Bakewell 25. The spiral scroll found at St. Bees in Cumbria (ibid: "St. Bees 2", illustration 551), is

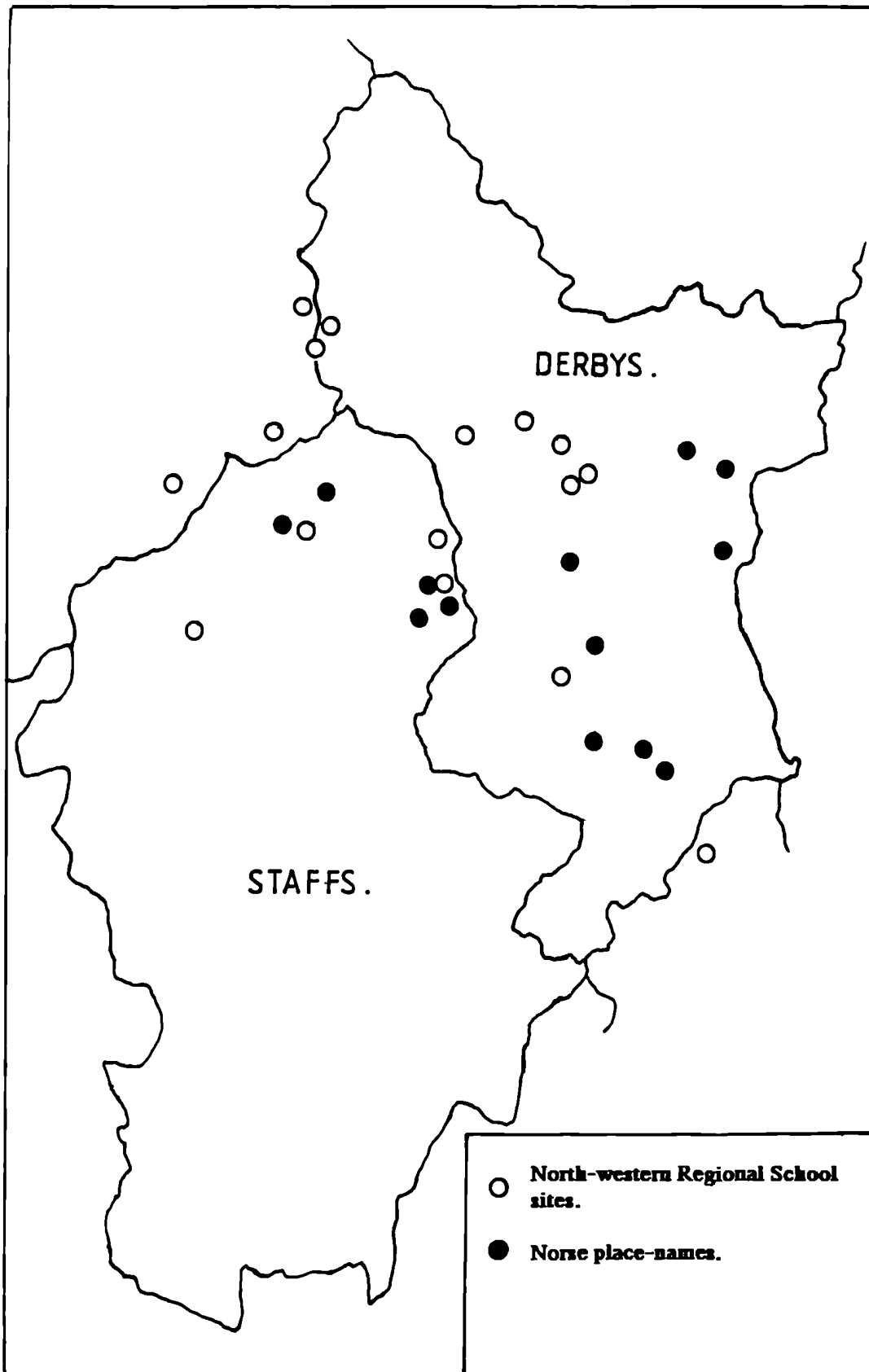


FIG. 7.4.

Map showing Norse place-names in the counties of Derbyshire and Staffordshire in relation to the sculpture sites of the North-western Regional School (Source: Gelling 1992; Fellows-Jensen 1978).

remarkably similar to the patternwork on the fragments at Prestbury (01 and 02), which has been given the attribute of 'FN' (free-knot). Apart from the free-knot and 'S8', different versions of the spiral scroll (cf. Bailey and Cramp 1988) also include the motifs recorded in the research area as 'S6' and 'S4', both of which are part of the repertoire of the North-western regional School.

The 'Borre ring-chain' motif is a distinctive decorative attribute, originally named from objects found in a burial in Norway, and found only in areas of Norse settlement (see section 1.2 and Routh 1937: 9). This same motif is also found at Bakewell (No. 8), in the same style as that on the large Gosforth shaft in Cumbria (Bailey 1980: 54-5), a version which is unambiguous in its origin. The 'lozenge' pattern on the missing piece, Bakewell 40, is also found on a Gosforth hogback in Cumbria (Browne 1886: plate xiv; Bailey and Cramp 1988: illustration 325-6) and the inscription on Bakewell 39, refers to 'Helgi', a popular Norse name (Hart 1981: 123). Unfortunately, all of the latter monuments at Bakewell cannot be directly connected to the North-western School because they are too fragmentary. It is, however, notable that the only other school which can be identified at Bakewell is the Peak School and none of the attributes mentioned so far can be ascribed to the repertoire of the latter. It is, therefore, highly probable that they are fragments of monuments of the North-western Regional School.

There are similarities between the North-western Regional School and the Kirklees School. The monuments of the latter are also distributed in the more marginal areas of the Pennine foothills and place-name evidence suggests that the area was subject to Norse settlement (Redmonds 1988: 3). As with the North-western Regional School, the Kirklees School appears to be more related to topography than land-units, for its monuments are distributed both in, and beyond, the limits of the North Regional School and the reconstructed bounds of the old kingdom of Elmet. Again the Kirklees school is oriented to the north-west of the region, appropriate to settlement from the west. Iconographic links are more tenuous, however; the 'lozenge' motif, otherwise found only at Bakewell in the research area, is also found on Birstall (Yorks.) 02 and the Mirfield monument appears to have a piece of ring-chain of the Borre style (face 'B' - see attached corpus). Unfortunately though, like their counterparts at Bakewell, neither of these monuments can be attributed directly to the Kirklees School, as they do not display its signature attributes. However, it is certain that neither monument is of the North Regional School and Birstall is beyond the limit of operation of the latter school, suggesting that it may be part of the Kirklees group. The attribute 'BP2', which is part of the repertoire of the Kirklees School, has close similarity to that of 'BB2' of the North-western region: it appears to be simply a regional variation of the same close-circuit motif. Therefore, there is some tentative evidence that the Kirklees School is also related to Hiberno-Norse settlement by its iconography.

There are therefore, several types of evidence to link both the North-western Regional and Kirklees schools to Hiberno-Norse settlers. The most likely reason why these two schools, unlike the rest, do not identify with pre-existing land-units, is that the monuments were not erected by those party to the process of conquest, nor for that matter, of reconquest. They appear to have been people-groups which, either by way of opportunism or necessity, accepted less favourable landscapes for their livelihoods than those of their neighbours. Those erecting monuments of the North-western and Kirklees schools express a cohesion by their common interest - that of a particular type of landscape - rather perhaps, than 'Norse' origins. In a sense, this is an argument for the monuments expressing a form of 'ethnicity' and presents a valuable insight into the relationship between the schools of sculpture, and the people responsible for their establishment.

In similar fashion, the North Regional, South-western, Peak and East schools, also identify people-groups, bound perhaps, by common purpose. For example, those occupying the Peak are known to have survived as an identifiable, and possibly independent, unit throughout this period (see section 7.6, below). Perhaps the same is true of the old land unit of Elmet containing the North Regional School of sculpture, in that they may have considered themselves as a separate group from their neighbours. The South-western Regional and East schools also show themselves to reflect a federation of individual sites with common purpose: those of the South-western Regional School were the Vikings of the English frontier, adopting a 'Mercian' identity. Those of the East School on the other hand, probably saw themselves as a separate group, the Lindsey/Lincoln Vikings, and as such, commanders of the lower Trent Valley and the eastern seaboard.

7.6: THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE SCHOOLS OF SCULPTURE.

The establishment of a chronological framework for the schools of sculpture was never considered to be fundamental to this research. Nevertheless, the identification of the schools, their distribution and the groups of people to which they relate, suggests that some form of chronological framework can be put forward; one that is not dependent on a purely art-historical or stylistic analysis which are considered too unreliable to be of any value (as discussed in section 1.2).

The principal feature of each of the schools identified in this research, is that all of the monuments share a common repertoire of design elements which give the schools their individual characteristics and geographical integrity. It is therefore clear, that each was likely to have been the product of a single phase of monumentation, rather than part of a chronological

sequence. If the monuments had been produced over a period of time, and subject to a continuing evolution of style, as previously suggested (cf. Collingwood 1927), then this would have produced an array of loosely defined, differently styled monuments which would have been difficult to attribute to a school, let alone any precise geographical region. Therefore, the interface between the East and South-western Regional schools for example, where the monuments of one are abruptly curtailed by the other, suggests that their stylistic differences are not due to temporal disparity, but to regional variation. They identify the settlement or administration of different groups of people, in stylistically different ways.

A good example of regional variation which has been mistaken for chronological separation, are the monuments of the North Regional School. This school of sculpture is more problematic in its chronology, mainly because there is little decoration to suggest attributes of the Viking period, although they are thought to be of this date (Cramp 1977: 192). Collingwood maintained that many of the monuments of the former West Riding of Yorkshire, especially those of the Calder Valley sub-group, represented a localised "Anglian survival" of pre-Viking culture into the ninth century. The use of non-Scandinavian design elements is assumed to be because the area was largely ignored by the Vikings (1921: 22; 1927: 53). Collingwood was probably right to suggest that they were produced during the Viking period because Dewsbury 11 (see corpus), assigned to the North Regional School (section 4.3), is almost certainly a 'hogback' and characteristic of the Viking period (cf. Lang 1984). In the case of the 'Incised Motif' sub-school, Collingwood interpreted these sculptures as a 'debased' group, much later than those of the Calder Valley sub-school (ibid: 54-6). The identification of schools in this thesis, however, suggests that both groups of monuments are sub-divisions of the North Regional School and therefore likely to have been contemporary with one another.

It is clear that past research is of little help in dating the monuments of the North Regional School and serves to show that a chronology based on stylistic appraisal can be seriously misleading. Fortunately, the difficulty in dating sculptures of the North Regional School is not important in terms of secular land-divisions, since the North Regional School remains consistent with lands assigned to either the pre-Viking Northumbrian polity, or that of Viking York. There is however, no surviving evidence to suggest that the two sub-schools represented different groups of people, but this is, of course, entirely possible.

This is not to say that *all* schools in the research area were contemporary. For example, it is difficult to argue that monuments of the Peak School were produced during the Viking period, since, like the North Regional School, there are no stylistic attributes which can be attributed to

Anglo-Scandinavian art. Furthermore, the use of a 'naturalistic' vine-scroll is assumed to be indicative of 'early' work (Cramp 1984: 15-6), but this does, of course, involve the vagaries of stylistic dating. On the other hand, it is entirely possible that the Peak School did not display Anglo-Scandinavian attributes simply because the *Pecsaete* still retained some form of independence during the Viking settlement, and thus expressed themselves in a purely 'Anglian' style, as Collingwood suggested for the Calder Valley sub-school. It may also be recalled that the charter of 963, concerning the estate at Ballidon (part of the former Bradbourne estate), still acknowledged the existence of the *Pecsaete* as an identifiable group of people (Gelling 1992: 145). However, unlike the Calder Valley group of sculptures, there is no stylistic evidence of a Viking-period date for the Peak School.

With those schools which display iconography of the Viking period, there are no grounds to assume that any one of them is chronologically separated from the others. Their distributions indicates that the different styles are due to regional diversity, rather than chronological phases. Even the North-western and Kirklees schools, which overlap with others at some sites, are not necessarily products of a different chronological phase. The overlap sites are better explained as different groups of people, using different parts of the local landscape. For example, the North Regional and South-western Regional schools are both represented at Ilam and Alstonefield. Both sites are situated on the limestone uplands, but have relatively 'marginal' land of the Gritstone fringes of the southern Pennines, immediately to the west, probably still within the Ilam and Alstonefield estates. It is entirely feasible that two groups, represented by the two schools, co-existed in the same area, each exploiting different parts of the immediate landscape (cf. Hodges 1991b).

Since it is argued that sculpture sites and landed estates are related, it may be thought possible to assign some form of broad dating for the sculpture, according to the size of the estates which they appear to represent. It has been shown that the Peak School sculpture sites correspond to large estates which may be considered to be 'early', since they do not appear to have been fragmented into the smaller units more common in the later Saxon period (section 2.6). Unfortunately, in the Peak at least, it is not that easy. Apart from the possibility that not all of the original sculpture sites are known, it is thought that fragmentation in this region was 'late' in comparison with other areas (Roffe 1986a: 10). Therefore, the identification of relatively large estates in the Peak does not necessarily imply any great antiquity to them. Furthermore, the sculpture may be representing four sub-centres of just one vast estate which eventually became fragmented into the four components in Roffe's reconstruction (Fig. 7.3), in which case they may

represent a single land unit of great antiquity. Therefore, it appears that this avenue of investigation is fraught with too many variables to pursue further.

All sculpture, except possibly that of the Peak, appears to belong to the Viking period. It therefore would have been produced sometime between c. 880 and the Norman Conquest. This relatively wide horizon can be narrowed substantially, if the likely circumstances for the production of the schools are examined further. The monuments have been shown to have a secular basis for their production, but nevertheless, have a Christian form in their overall shape. Although the Vikings may have been, to a degree, tolerant of Christianity, the appropriation of monastic and church lands seems at odds with the erection of large numbers of essentially Christian monuments. There is little doubt that the Vikings were pagan when they first settled in England and it is unlikely that the erection of stone crosses belongs to this period. Bailey has also argued that monuments attributed to the Hiberno-Norse were likely to be contemporary with many of those which have been stylistically dated earlier (1978: 178), and therefore, none of the monuments may have been produced before the early tenth century since the Hiberno-Norse did not settle in the north-west of England until then (Bailey 1980: 35). The only contextually dated piece of decorated sculpture, from Coppergate in York, was also produced before the end of the first half of the tenth century (Lang 1991: 104).

There are reasons to suspect that Anglo-Scandinavian monuments in Danish Mercia were also erected in the tenth century. Kendrick insisted that the so-called 'Anglian beast' was a Mercian development from Carolingian art and introduced into England in the early ninth century. The analysis of sculpture in this research suggests that the 'Anglian' prototypes found in northern Mercia are likely to be monuments of the Viking period (see above and section 1.2). This is entirely supported by Levison's argument (1946) that this style of ornament was introduced into English art during the tenth century, and not the ninth. This particular beast-form was also included in southern English art and, according to Levison, is likely to have coincided with the English conquest of the Vikings and the monastic reform period (Levison 1946: 137). This argues for the monuments of the South-western Regional School, which is characterised by a version of the same 'Merclan beast' form, to be also of tenth-century date and likely to have been contemporary with the English reconquests over Danish Mercia.

Could then, the erection of carved stone monuments by the Vikings of Danish Mercia, be connected to the process of reconquest by the English? The first observation is that all of the groups responsible for the erection of the monuments appear to be demonstrating an acceptance of Christianity. It may be argued that the Vikings had accepted this religion long

before the reconquest, but the evidence for this is ambiguous at best. However, the erection of the monuments may show that, at this particular time, the acceptance of Christianity needed to be publicly displayed.

The Wessex kings are said to have developed their administration on Frankish lines, where 'king and church' in tandem became the dominant power (Loyn 1984: 82; 89). To submit to one, necessitated submission to the other. Therefore the submission of Viking groups to the English, also became inextricably linked to the church. This is clearly seen in Guthrum's submission to Alfred, where the baptism of Guthrum was a condition of his continuing rule of East Anglia, under Wessex overlordship (ibid: 62). Similar conditions appear to have been ^{imposed} on various Viking groups when they submitted to Athelstan in c. 926, since they were required to renounce "idolatrous practices" (Garmonsway 1953: 107). Although the *Chronicle* is silent on the mechanism by which the Vikings were supposed to demonstrate this renunciation to their overlord, the erection of stone crosses would seem appropriate. Therefore, many monuments may have been erected during a relatively short period of time. This is supported by evidence for template use, especially during the Viking period (see section 1.4)). Such an innovation is more likely to be employed where many monuments are required over a short period of time, than if they were erected singularly, and only occasionally.

Submission to the West Saxons would also account for why Viking-period monuments are found to be distributed widely, in regions where no 'earlier' monuments of the 'Anglian' period are found. These regions include those mentioned in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* as submitting to the West Saxons in 920: for example, in Man, Wales, Strathclyde and the Irish seaboard. It was suggested in section 6.3 that the 'memorial' function of the monuments may have implied more than the commemoration of a loved-one, and, as Richards suggests, they "may have been used to draw attention to inheritance claims" (1991: 128). During the process of reconquest by the English, the tenure held on land by the Viking groups would have become fragile. The crosses may have been erected by Viking groups to acknowledge the overlordship of the English, but they were also used to express, publicly, what the Viking groups saw as a legitimate claim to the land.

There is one monument in the research area which can be directly linked to the period of reconquest by the English. This is the shaft at Hope in Derbyshire which is notably out of geographical context with the rest of the monuments of the South-western Regional School, with which it has been identified (section 4.12). There is no evidence to suggest that the shaft had been brought to Hope from elsewhere (section 6.2) and therefore, its location appears to be anomalous. It can, however, be explained by way of a rather interesting acquisition of land

recorded in the early tenth century. Although there are a few other examples of estates being 'bought' by the English from Viking settlers (Davies 1982: 803-4), Hope is the only example in the research area. A charter of 926, concerning the passage of the Hope and Ashford estates, specifically records that it was previously 'purchased' from its Viking owner by king Edward and earldoman Aethelred of Mercia, shortly before Danish Mercia formally submitted to the English (Hart 1975: 103). It is unclear whether Hope would have been nominally in Danish Mercia, or in the kingdom of York, or, perhaps more likely, in the semi-independent lands of the *Pecsæte*, now probably under Viking dominance. It may have been this ambiguous position which enabled the transaction to take place before the formal submission by the Mercian and York Vikings. In any case, the rather unusual record of the transaction implies that the English regarded it as separate from lands in Danish Mercia, shortly to be taken by military campaign.

The value of Hope, as a strategic centre for the English, is apparent from its Roman ancestry. The fort of *Navio* lay in the estate and vital Roman land-routes, not only from Manchester and the north-west, but also from south Yorkshire and the east Midlands, converge at this point. The result of the agreement was that Hope came under English jurisdiction and, by the time of the formal reconquest, it would have been assumed into the regained Danish Mercian polity. This explains why a monument of a school, otherwise confined to the Mercian heartlands, appears in the Peak. The iconography of the shaft at Hope is also telling: the two figures on face 'C' (see corpus) can be interpreted as symbolising an agreement. Two figures, essentially secular in appearance, can be seen holding some form of shaft and appear to be in accord. The Hope estate may have still retained its previous owner, now as a thegn of the English, displaying acceptance of his new overlord.

A tenth-century date for a major phase of monumentation through freestanding sculpture is even supported by its stylistic input. The Scandinavian styles of 'Borre' and 'Jellinge' are found in datable contexts before the early tenth century, and are the most recognisable forms of Scandinavian art on Viking-period stone sculpture (Wilson 1984: 142-6). Two other Scandinavian styles, the 'Ringerike' and 'Mammen' styles, are almost non-existent and chiefly occur in the south of England, outside of Viking settlement areas (Wilson 1984: 147-209). Both of the latter styles are dated to the *late* tenth century onwards (Wilson 1978: 138-9) and Wilson indeed concludes that most Viking-period sculpture must belong to the late ninth or early tenth century (*ibid*: 150). As far as Viking-period sculpture in Mercia is concerned, Wilson sees the development of the Anglo-Scandinavian 'ribbon beast', now linked to the South-western Regional School (section 4.13), as a hybrid between the 'Carolingian'-style beast, and the Scandinavian 'Jellinge' animal (1984: 146). In both cases, there is every reason to suggest that not only were

the two styles appropriate to the early tenth century, but also that the inclusion of the Frankish styles were partly inspired by contact with the south of England, probably through the process of the reconquest itself.

Since it has been established the the North-western Regional and Kirklees schools were most likely the result of Hiberno-Norse settlement, an early tenth-century date is also appropriate for this sculpture. Bailey has demonstrated that monuments in Cumbria and the Pennines, which show Norse characteristics, are likely to have been introduced from c. 920 (1978: 178). It is also recorded that settlement by the Hiberno-Norse occurred around Chester during the process of reconquest with English permission, in 902 (Gelling 1992: 130). The jurisdiction of Chester also extended to include lands around Manchester, when these were annexed from Northumbria in 919 (ibid: 130). Gelling suggests that it was a group of Norse Vikings from the Wirral who were also permitted to settle on the marginal areas of the Pennines, to the east of Manchester (ibid: 130). It is therefore feasible, that their settlement was extended to similar sites in the north-west of Danish Mercia, during the process of reconquest.

The submission of the York Vikings was obtained shortly after that of Danish Mercia and the erection of all Viking-period monuments could have occurred immediately after c. 920. There is also evidence that the monuments were erected before any reorganisation could take place after the reconquest. For example, the schools bear no relationship to the formation of shires, but to pre-existing land units. The removal of Nottinghamshire as a recognisable unit of land in 956, also appears to post-date the erection of the monuments, because none of the schools acknowledges this unit as having any separate identity. Nor do the schools suggest that, when the monuments were erected, the Five Boroughs were considered as a single unit. If they were, in fact, an English creation after ^{the latter} had assumed control (section 7.4), then this suggests that the monuments were erected earlier than these arrangements.

Therefore, the erection of monuments, in the research area at least, appears to have followed very soon after the surrender of Danish Mercia and before any reorganisation by the English had time to take effect. This is also suggested by the implication that they were partly intended to express hereditary claims, and explains why they were decorated in a distinctive Anglo-Scandinavian style of iconography. The monuments therefore, were probably a reaction to the uncertainties of Viking submission; an attempt to consolidate their position in a medium suggesting antiquity and permanence in the face of potential English demands for their land. Whatever motives lay behind the erection of the sculpture, a likely dating horizon for most of its production is between c. 920 and 950. The potential from the study of Viking-period freestanding

stone sculpture, is that much of the undocumented organisation by the Vikings themselves, as opposed to that thrust upon them by the English reconquest, can be better understood.

CONCLUSIONS.

The initial objective of this research was to identify schools of Anglo-Saxon stone sculpture in Derbyshire and its surrounding area. Before so doing, it was necessary to examine the evidence from previous research and it was found that much of this relied on unsupported assumptions. It was appropriate, therefore, to adopt a cautious approach to many aspects of previous studies, especially those based on stylistic dating. The term 'school' can be interpreted in different ways: some scholars have attempted to identify them as the work of individual masons assuming, in many cases, that they were produced at a centralised 'workshop'. However, the identification of the work of an individual craftspeople cannot usually be extended beyond one or two sites (cf. Lang 1991: 39-40) and does not explain the cohesion of decorative schemes which can be identified over comparatively large areas (ibid: 38). This cohesiveness may also be considered as evidence of a 'school' and it was this wider definition which was investigated in this research.

The repetition of many design elements has traditionally been explained as a phenomenon of 'period-fashion': attributes which are used extensively during one period of time, later to be replaced by another, or by an 'evolved' form of the same. Recently, it has become apparent that chronological progression is likely to have been confused with regional diversity and therefore sculptured monuments may be expressing a local cohesiveness rather than phases of a chronological process. If these local motifs and other design elements are indicative of localised groups of sculpture, rather than periods of time, they should be identifiable to distinct geographical areas.

The research began by recording as much information as possible from each individual piece of sculpture in the research area. This formed a database of information which could be processed in order that commonality between monuments could be objectively explored and schools identified. It was found that the distribution of some design elements or 'attributes' appeared to be random and found throughout the entire research area. Others however, were found to be heavily concentrated in some areas and notably absent, or rare, in others. Most of these 'area-specific' attributes were found to be 'signatures' of a school. In turn, these were found to associate with other elements to form a repertoire which was used extensively throughout a localised area. An analytical method had been found, which did not rely on subjective judgements of period design, nor on single elements such as figures or form. Therefore, before any sculpture could be identified to a school, its attributes had to compare favourably with those of the repertoire of the school. This has meant that many pieces of sculpture have been

discarded from the analysis because their range of attributes was too limited to identify positively. These are almost invariably cases where sculptures are too fragmentary to make an objective assessment.

It became clear that the research area contained six distinct schools of Anglo-Saxon stone sculpture, two of which have identifiable sub-divisions. There is also a small, localised group of sculpture in southern Yorkshire which is most likely of post-Conquest date. Each group can be identified to a specific geographical area and their distribution makes it clear that they are more likely the product of a localised selection of attributes, rather than a chronological progression of styles. This suggests that some form of organisation was likely to have determined the cohesiveness of the group.

Consequently, the distribution of the schools was compared with the ecclesiastical and secular divisions which are thought to have existed during the likely dates for the monuments. It is found that there is almost no relationship between the diocesan arrangements and the schools: nor is there any detectable relationship with known major ecclesiastical houses. Attempting to match the distribution of the schools with secular land units proves to be much more successful. In several instances, the schools coincide with land divisions reconstructed from the *Tribal Hidage* and it is clear that the organisation of the schools is more likely to have been secular.

Some anomalies exist between the distribution of the schools and the reconstructed *Hidage* bounds and it seems that the schools cannot be strictly interpreted in terms of the land divisions which existed when this document was likely to have been written. Since most of the monuments were probably erected during the Viking period, the secular basis to the distribution of the schools needs to be revised in the light of Viking settlement. It is found that the distribution of most of the schools appears to respect secular arrangements likely to have been made during this period.

One school - the North Regional School - is found to respect the southern frontier of Northumbria, or Viking York. It also appears to be confined to the former sub-kingdom of Elmet. The South-western Regional School appears to have respected a large land unit, likely to have been the northern part (as far as the limits of the research area allow) of 'Danish Mercia'. This school is curtailed in the east by one, the East School, which appears to have been based on Viking Lindsey or Lincoln, a polity likely to have a different set of relationships from the rest of the 'Mercian' Vikings. The Kirklees and North-western Regional schools respect neither ecclesiastical, nor secular divisions, but are located in the more 'marginal' landscapes of the

research area. These areas are coincident with Norse place-names, and iconographic links can be established with other Hiberno-Norse areas such as Cumbria. It therefore seems highly likely that both of these schools are linked to Hiberno-Norse settlement. The distribution of all of the schools is abruptly curtailed in the west of the research area. Recent reconsideration of the 'Danelaw' boundary suggests that the western limit of the monuments is consistent with that of Viking Mercia itself.

A clear relationship can be established between all but one of the schools of sculpture and secular divisions during the period of Viking settlement. The remaining school, The Peak School, shows no Anglo-Scandinavian iconography and therefore may pre-date the Viking settlement. However, this lack of Anglo-Scandinavian styling may have been due to this small region holding a degree of independence from the major Viking groups. In either case, the school is closely comparable in extent to the small sub-kingdom of the *Pecsæte*, known to be still regarded as a definable land unit well into the tenth century. Schools, therefore, appear to represent groups of people who most likely felt that they shared a common purpose or identity. In summary, they are as follows:

THE PEAK SCHOOL: confined to a unit of land occupied by a group of people known as the *Pecsæte*.

THE SOUTH-WESTERN REGIONAL SCHOOL: coterminous with Viking settlers in the research area who regarded themselves as 'Viking Mercians'. The school is sub-divided into two sub-groups coincident with the division between Outer and North Mercia at the time of the *Tribal Hidage*.

THE EAST SCHOOL: appears to be based on the Viking polity of Lindsey/Lincoln.

THE NORTH REGIONAL SCHOOL: appears to be contained within the former sub-kingdom of Elmet. It also reflects the southern part of the kingdom of Northumbria and, therefore, Viking York. Although the school is sub-divided, we have no knowledge of separate people-groups which may have existed in this area.

THE NORTH-WESTERN REGIONAL SCHOOL: monuments of this school appear to represent a Hiberno-Norse settlement group, chiefly confined to the southern Pennines.

THE KIRKLEES SCHOOL: this school may also represent a settlement group of Hiberno-Norse, confined to the upper valleys of Pennine West Yorkshire.

The main objective of this research, that of the identification of schools of Anglo-Saxon stone sculpture and the form of organisation behind them, has now been successfully completed. However, the data recorded from the individual monuments allow one to examine other aspects of the monuments.

One assumption, which has endured without serious examination, is the notion of a 'workshop' mode of production. This has inevitably implied centralised manufacture and has provided the *rationale* behind the largely unsuccessful attempts to see 'schools' solely in terms of the work of individuals. The evidence for centralised or local production methods was investigated in this research. It was found that in all but one of the schools, stone found locally to the sites of display was invariably used. Together with the examples of unfinished sculpture belonging to two different schools at Alstonefield, the evidence strongly suggests that the monuments were crafted at each site either by itinerant, or local, craftspeople. No evidence was forthcoming that monuments were the product of a central workshop. In the case of the East School, however, a common stone type did appear to have been used although the sample size of monuments was limited. In this school only, there may possibly have been a central supply of stone, perhaps of reused Roman material from Lincoln. It appears, however, that this school is likely to be much more extensive and therefore it would be unwise to draw any firm conclusions from the sample identified. No evidence was forthcoming from the research area for the use of common constructional aids, nor for the use of templates.

The provenance of the sculpture was also considered. In common with free-standing monuments elsewhere, none in the research area can be said to be *in situ* but, in all probability, most sculptures were originally erected at, or near, their present locations. Only a very small number of monuments were found to be strictly 'unprovenanced' and had to be discounted from the geographical distribution of the schools. Previous conclusions on the use of local stone types also help in the provenancing of the sculpture. Some of the monuments in the research area have previously been said to have performed functions other than memorial or funereal. The likelihood is that these are monuments which have been removed from their original location. Therefore, monuments in the research area appear to conform with the accepted function that they were memorial. However, only the free-standing monuments, those likely to have been memorial or funereal, can be identified to the various schools. Sculpture, which appears to have been architectural, does not relate to the schools and therefore no close link between ecclesiastical decoration and free-standing monuments can be made. This also supports the likelihood of a secular basis for their production.

Monuments can be linked to former land-holdings and it has been suggested that free-standing monuments may also have drawn attention to inheritance claims. The fusion of a common Christian form with regional decorative schemes suggests that the monuments were outwardly intended to express the acceptance of Christianity, whereas the decorative scheme was intended to portray a localised secular identity. Since it is unlikely that the monuments were

produced in phases responding to 'period-fashion' some more appropriate reason for their erection needs to be considered. The close relationship between Anglo-Scandinavian schools and Viking land units suggests that they may have been erected as a result of the English reconquest to acknowledge, symbolically, the acceptance of the English king and church as overlords of the Vikings. At the same time, those Viking land-holders were anxious to retain their secular identity (and land tenancy) which was jeopardised by the English reconquest. This identity was portrayed, either consciously or otherwise, by the subtle array of design elements found on the monuments themselves.

Although an assessment of the chronology of the schools was not fundamental to this research, the evidence obtained through this research allows more than speculation to be made on their likely date. The evidence presented by the Hope shaft, removed from the geographical context of its school, suggests that it was erected as a result of an unusual land transaction which is historically datable to the initial stages of the English reconquest over Viking Mercia in the tenth century. Since the monument is part of the South-western Regional School, it is reasonable to suggest that all of its monuments are likely to have similar dates.

The example of the Hope shaft suggests that the earliest date for the monuments of the South-western Regional school is likely to have been in the second decade of the tenth century. The link between the North-western Regional School and Hiberno-Norse settlement suggests that this school may also have been active at the same time. It is known that settlement by the Hiberno-Norse in territory recently reconquered from the Vikings, was sanctioned by the English. The precise geographical interface between the South-western Regional School and the East School, suggests that they too may have been contemporary. Therefore, most of the schools are likely to date from c. 920. There is, however, no suggestion that any reorganisational measures introduced by the English influenced the schools, and the production of the monuments may have shortly followed the initial reconquest. One would, therefore, suggest that a likely date for most or all of the Viking period sculpture is between c. 920 and 950.

As this is the first objective and analytical method for identifying schools of Anglo-Saxon sculpture, the potential for using it elsewhere is considerable. It has already been shown to have been successful in linking the provision of monuments to secular land units of the north Midlands during the Anglo-Saxon period even though the extent of the research area was not guided by ^{AS} this pre-determined objective. If the study was extended to the south and east of the present research area, for example, this should identify the extent of the South-western and East schools. By so doing, this could possibly identify the extent of Viking Mercia and that of Viking

Lincoln/Lindsey. Some of the more 'internal' relationships concerning the rest of Danelaw may be investigated. Was the area around Stamford for example, part of the South-western Regional School, or in an entirely separate group? The answer to this question could indicate whether other of the (presumed) Viking centres, later known as the 'Five Boroughs', were considered as part of a single unit, or a series of federated, but separate, divisions. Perhaps the monument at Sproxtton with its rather ambiguous array of attributes (section 4.13 and Appendix 3A - 'Sproxtton'), or those at Harston and Nether Broughton (Appendix 3A - 'Harston' and 'Nether Broughton'), marked the beginning of a separate school, perhaps a 'Stamford' school, or perhaps a 'Stamford' regional sub-division of one of the schools already identified.

Further afield, could the presumed Viking 'Ridings' of Yorkshire for instance, be identified from their schools of sculpture, or a more exact Danelaw Treaty boundary be identified from the general distribution of Anglo-Scandinavian monuments? Could the nominally 'Saxon' sub-kingdom in Bernicia which survived during the Viking administration, or Viking East Anglia, be identified by their schools of sculpture? The identification of schools using this method could possibly be used in conjunction with the *National Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture* (cf. Cramp 1984) as further volumes are published. One may even be able to attempt 'desk-top' analyses from its volumes, at least as a preliminary exercise.

Above all, I hope that this thesis will help to bring the study of stone sculpture closer to that of other aspects of Anglo-Saxon material culture. Far too long have these useful artefacts remained in isolation, mouldering in churches, churchyards and dark corners. They all have their part to play in our understanding of the dynamics of the Anglo-Saxon period.

"... the carvings give us a hint about these wider relationships when other forms of evidence frequently tell us nothing at all. Nor should we be too sceptical about the value of these wider deductions from the sculpture because, as we will see, when other sources are available their evidence often matches that of the crosses, hogbacks and grave-markers." (Bailey 1980: 177).

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APPENDIX 1.

DISTRIBUTION OF ATTRIBUTES

The following pages show the distribution of the attributes which were recorded from each piece of sculpture in the research area. In most cases, a sketch of each attribute is also included. Some of the elements, in particular the figure types, are difficult to exemplify by drawings, although their main characteristics are indicated. Therefore the reader is also directed to the photographs contained in the corpus, Appendix 3, for further examples of these attributes.

The nomenclature of the attributes listed below follows that devised to record them in the computer database program. Some of the attributes are already known by other names; for example, the knotwork "E1" in the following distribution maps is sometimes known as the "Stafford Knot" (cf. Pape 1945/6). However, the use of pre-existing terms proved too restrictive or unworkable for the analysis and therefore a more manageable form of terminology was devised.

"SOLE" ATTRIBUTES:

"Sole" attributes are those which are found at only one site. These are listed below, together with the sites at which they are found - see also Distribution Map 1, following. Some of the "sole" attributes are not illustrated by drawings where the photographic record given in Appendix 3, serves the purpose of illustration better.

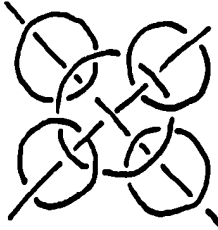
"BEAST SCROLL" - Breedon (Site 18). Illustrations 'Breedon 17-19' etc.

This scroll is characterised by its 'snaking', noded strands and its inhabitation by zoomorphs. It is deeply cut.



"BROKEN SCROLL" - Breedon (Site 18). Illustration 'Breedon 12'.

This attribute resembles more an abstract design than a scroll. It is characterised by a series of disjointed strands clustered together in a frieze panel. This has also been described as a "pelta" design by Cramp (1977: 201).



"CC5" - Breedon (Site 18).
Five closed-circuit rings arranged together in a circle.



"DOUBLE 8" - Sandbach (Site 72).
Two rows of 'figure 8' closed-circuit motifs used as a border decoration only.

"E1+1 circle" - Thornhill (Site 85). Illustration 'Thornhill 10A'.

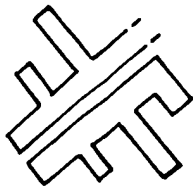
This motif is similar to the "E1 circle" design (see Distribution Map 23), but has extra strands which form a diagonal 'weave' across the pattern.

"HIGH RELIEF" FIGURE - Breedon (Site 18). Illustration 'Breedon 4'.

A human figure, characterised by a very deep cut which extends round the back of the figure, giving a '3-D' effect.



"L4" - Kirkheaton (Site 49).
A line pattern similar to L1, but with some sloping lines in its composition.



"L5" - Breedon (Site 18).
A deeply-cut line pattern which is arranged in a diagonal form and is found on portions of frieze panelling



"LINKED CC1" - Sproxton (Site 79).
A series of closed-circuit rings joined together in series.

"P5" - Sproxton (Site 79).

A five-stranded plait.

"ROUND FACE" FIGURE - Dewsbury (Site 33). Illustrations 'Dewsbury 1-4'.

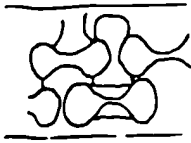
A figure-type characterised by accentuated knee-caps and a circular face with pierced eyes.

"S11" - Breedon (Site 18). Illustration 'Breedon 5' etc.

A scroll-type similar to the "beast scroll (see above), but without inhabitation.

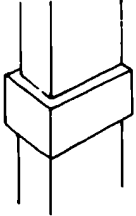
"S13" - Dewsbury (Site 33). Illustration 'Dewsbury 6A'.

"S9" - Sandbach (Site 72). Illustration 'Sandbach 1B'.



"SCALLOP" - Breedon (Site 18). Illustration 'Breedon 13'.

A series of scallop-shaped ornaments in a frieze panel. Otherwise described as a "trumpet scroll" by Cramp (1977: 201).



"SQUARE COLLAR" - Sproxton (Site 79).

A variation of the "wide collar" attribute found on some round shafts (see Distribution Map 12).

"TURNED HALO" figure - Breedon (Site 18). Illustration 'Breedon 23' etc.

A long-robed figure, apparently with a halo, and feet turned to one side.

"VARIATED SCROLL" - Breedon (Site 18). Illustration 'Breedon 22'.

A deeply cut spiral plantscroll with varying centre motifs to each spiral. It is found as part of Breedon's array of frieze panelling.

"VERTICAL BARS" - Ingleby (Site 47). Illustration 'Ingleby 2C'.

This piece of sculpture also has an unidentified figure type and plant foliage (faces A, B and D).

DISTRIBUTION MAPS

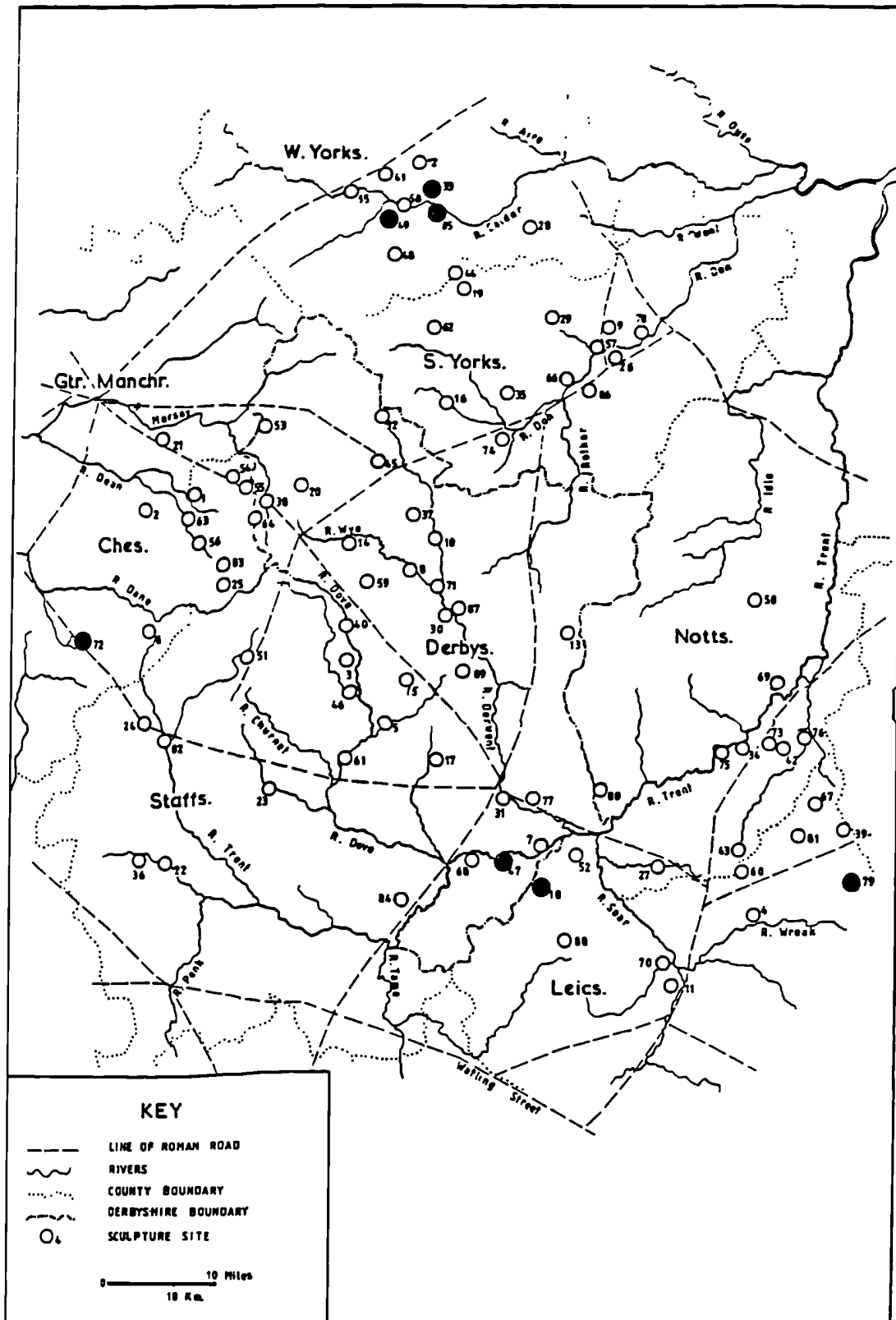
The following pages illustrate the distribution of the attributes throughout the research area. To keep the record concise, more than one attribute has been included on each map where this is feasible. These combinations of attributes are chosen for reasons of expediency and are not necessarily significant as groups, for example, those representing different schools. A list of the total attributes recorded is given on the next page, excluding those regarded as "sole" to one site only which have been dealt with above.

INDEX OF ATTRIBUTES

<u>ATTRIBUTE</u>	<u>DISTRIBUTION MAP No.</u>
A1 (A01)	37
A1 (mirrored)	36
Archer figure	35
B1 (B01)	36
BB2	34
BCC	32
BP2	32
Bottom curve	30
Bush scroll	34
C1 (C01)	33
C3 (C03)	36
CC1	28
CC2	34
CC3	30
CC8	27
Cable 1 moulding	24
Cable 2 moulding	22
Cable 3 moulding	20
Capitalled arcade	26
Chamfer moulding	32
Circle ear figure	26
Clergy figure	35
Collars 1 and 2	25
Cross frame	33
D1 (D01)	27
Double arcade	26
Double cable	27
E1 (E01)	21
E1 (mirrored)	18
E1 circle	23
E1 looped	25
E1+1	20
E1a	24
F1 (F01)	20
F2 (F02)	24
FN	21
Flat banded edge moulding	2
Fleur	29
Grooved technique	23
Incised motif	29
Inner groove frame	28
Inner rim frame	14
Inverted 'V' frame	15
L1	17
Lincoln joint	23
Looped P4	15
Lozenge	37
Monument type 'H'	9

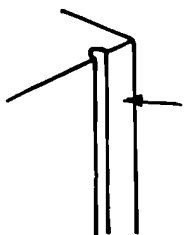
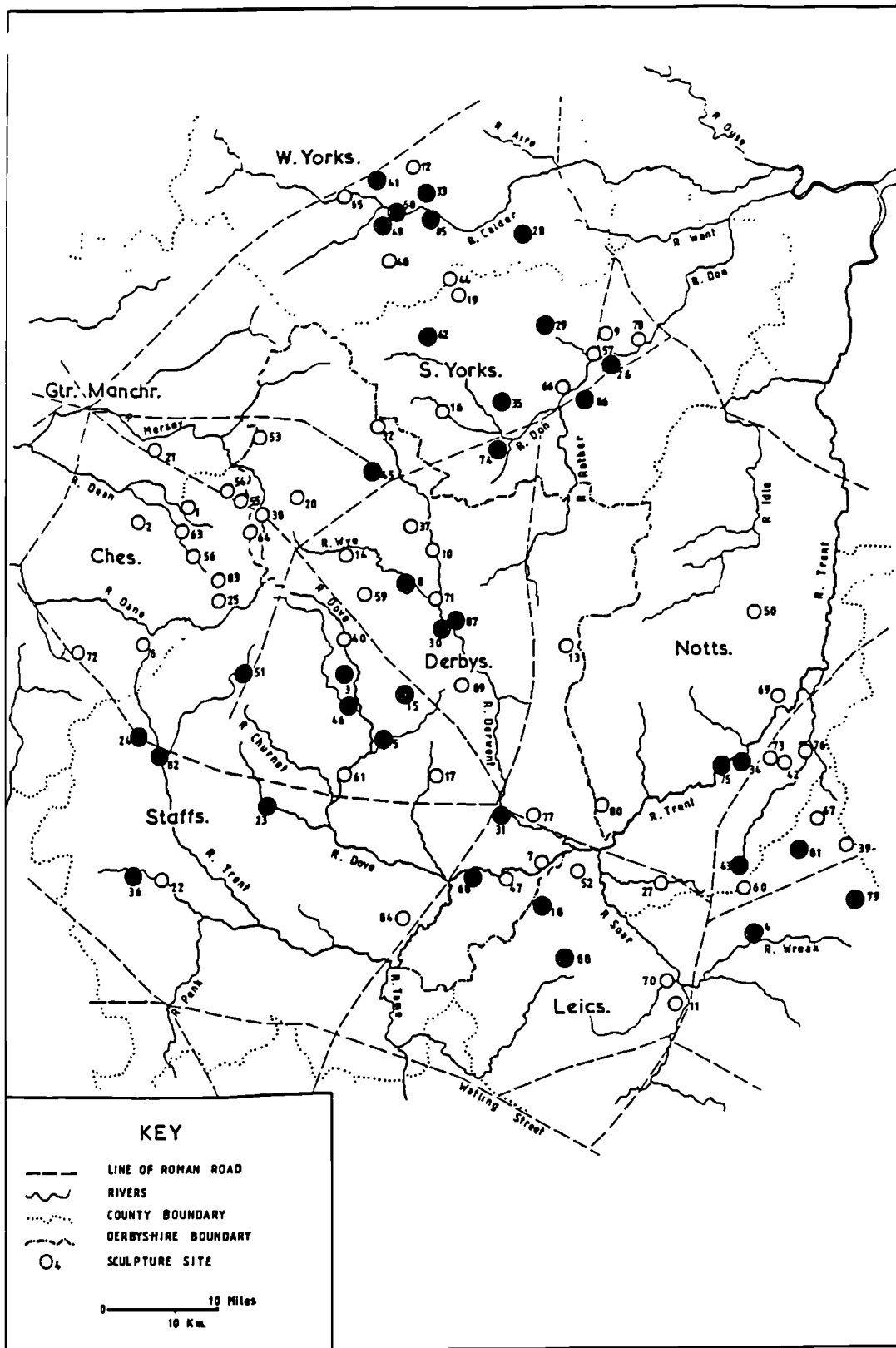
Index of Attributes (Continued).

<u>ATTRIBUTE</u>	<u>DISTRIBUTION MAP No.</u>
P2 (P02)	8
P3	7
P4 (P03)	6
P6	29
P6+	3
Peak figure	19
Pellet	10
Plain	30
Plaited body figure	22
RC1	31
Raised arm figure	12
Ribbon beast	17
Rolled edge moulding	16
Rosette	22
South Yorkshire Crown figure	31
S1 (S01)	5
S2	12
S3	16
S4	13
S6	5
S7	18
S8	4
S10	18
SP1	13
Short arm figure	35
Side shrouded figure	11
Single arcade	3
Skirted figure	19
Square chin figure	19
ST1	33
T1 (T01)	4
Thick stem	31
Trent curl	21
Trent scroll	25
u/c	38
USL	11
Vertical cable	13
Wide collar	12

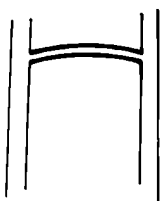
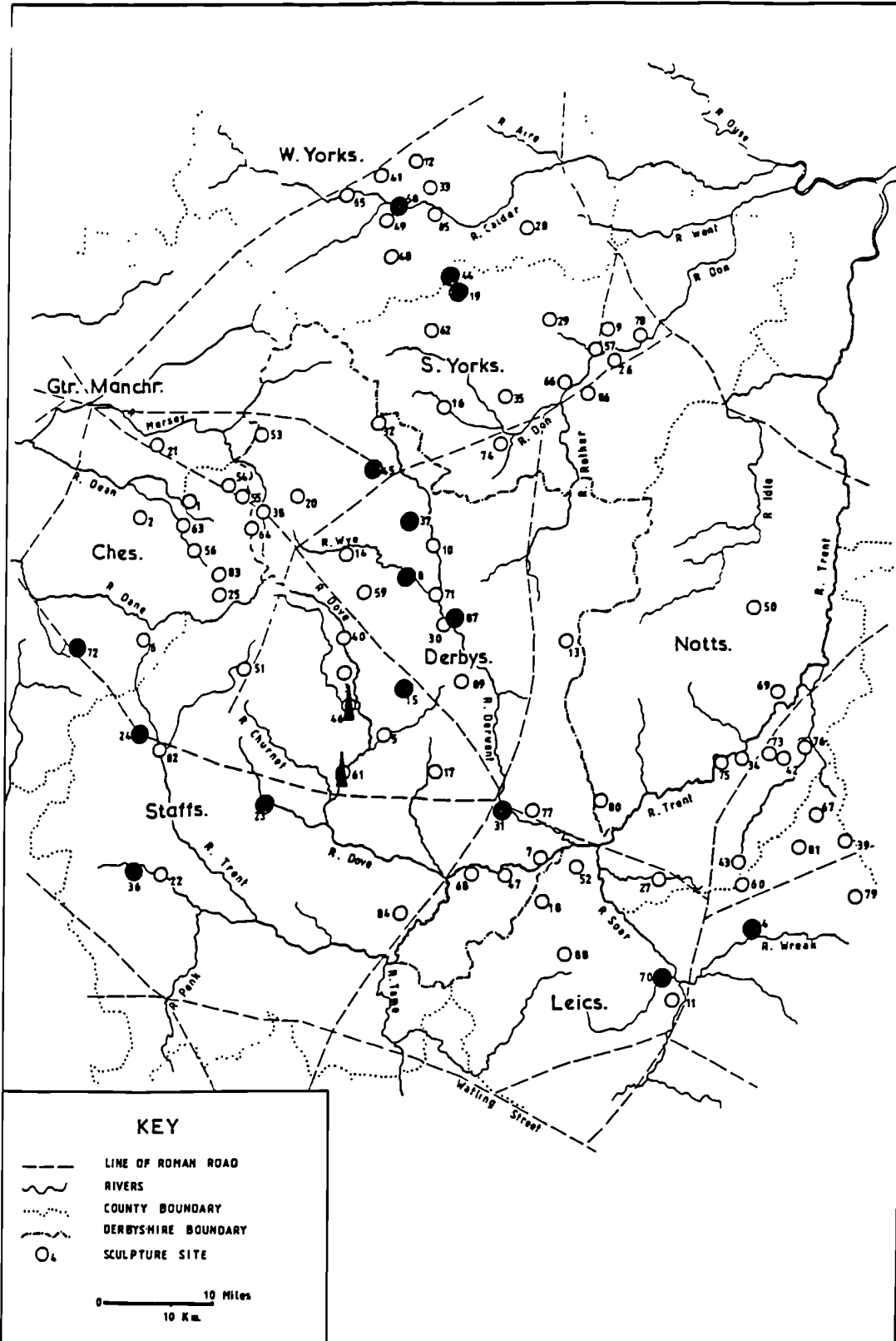


Sites having "Sole" attributes.

- 18 - Breedon-on-the-Hill
- 33 - Dewsbury
- 47 - Ingleby
- 49 - Kirkheaton
- 72 - Sandbach
- 79 - Sproxtton
- 85 - Thornhill

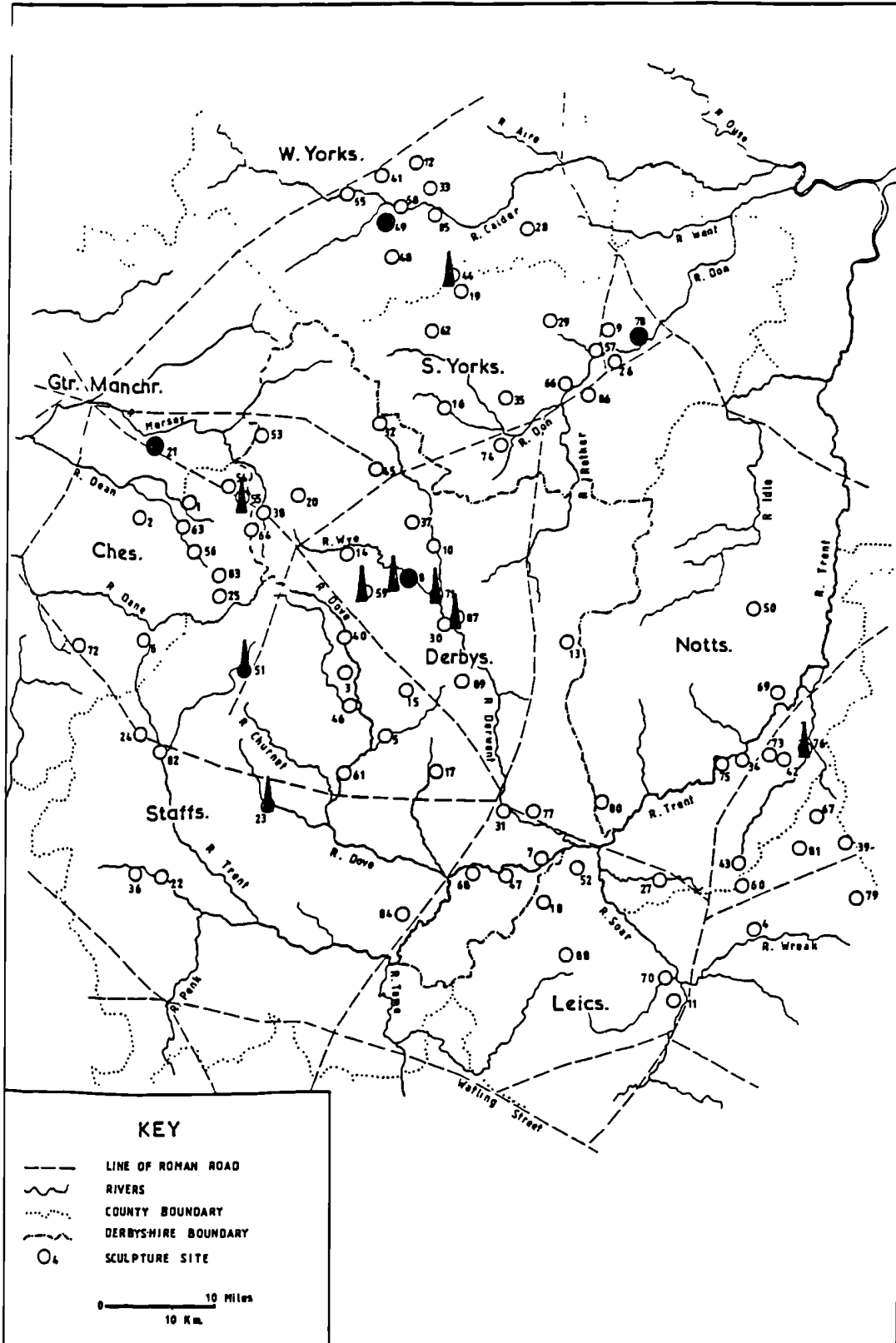


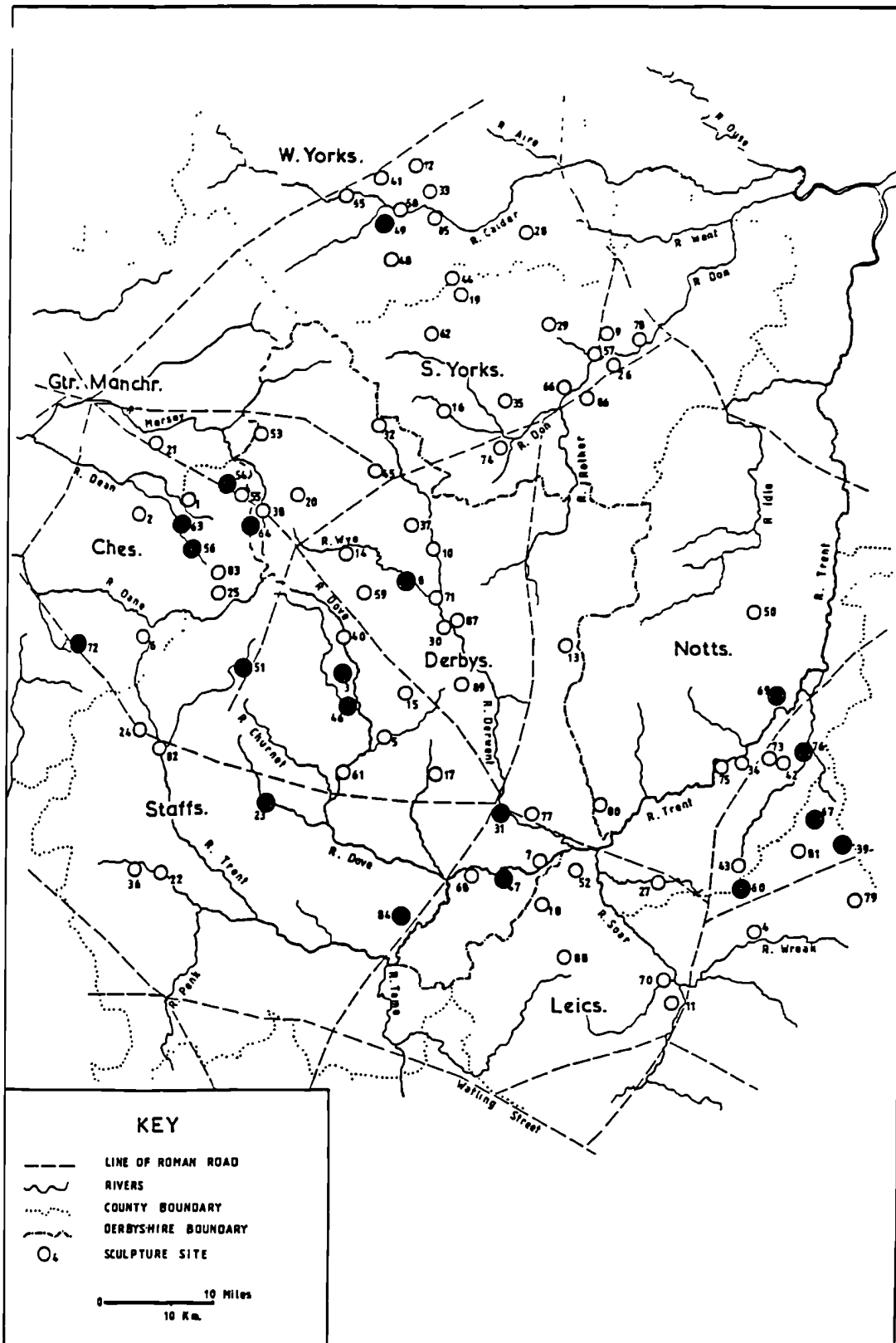
ATTRIBUTE: Flat-banded edge mouldings - ●



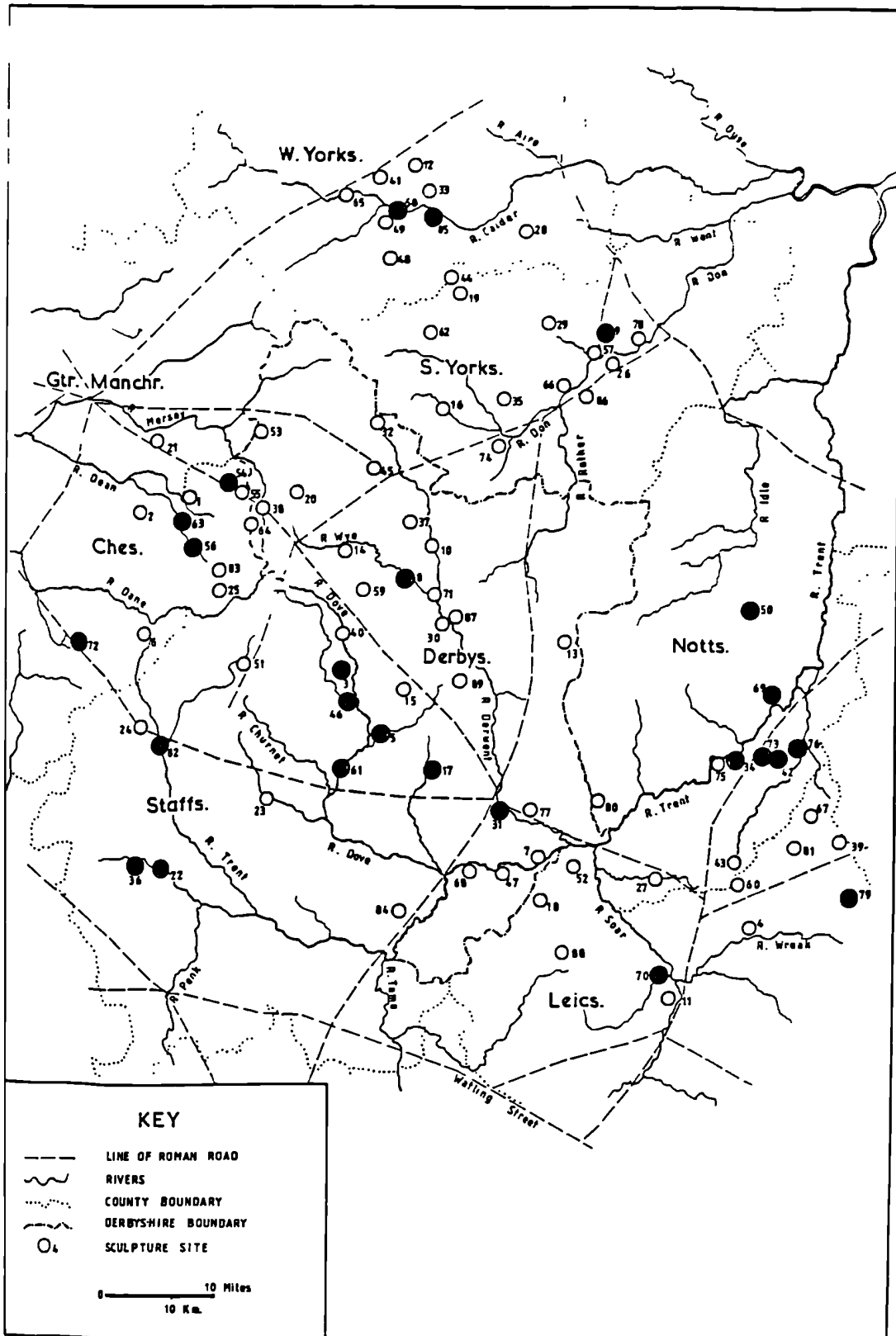
ATTRIBUTE: Single arched frames - ●

ATTRIBUTE: Plait in excess of 6 strands - ▲

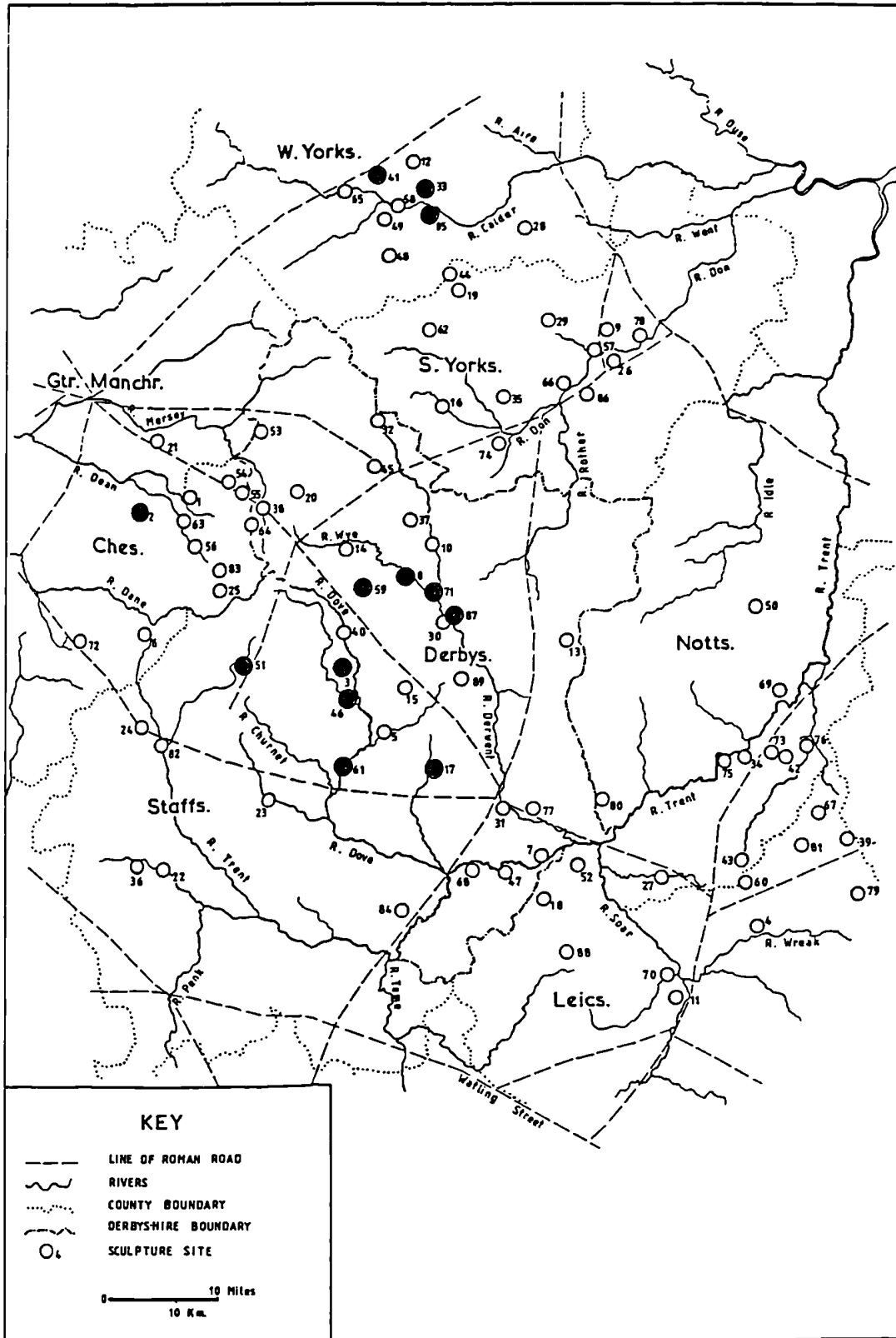




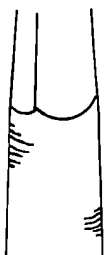
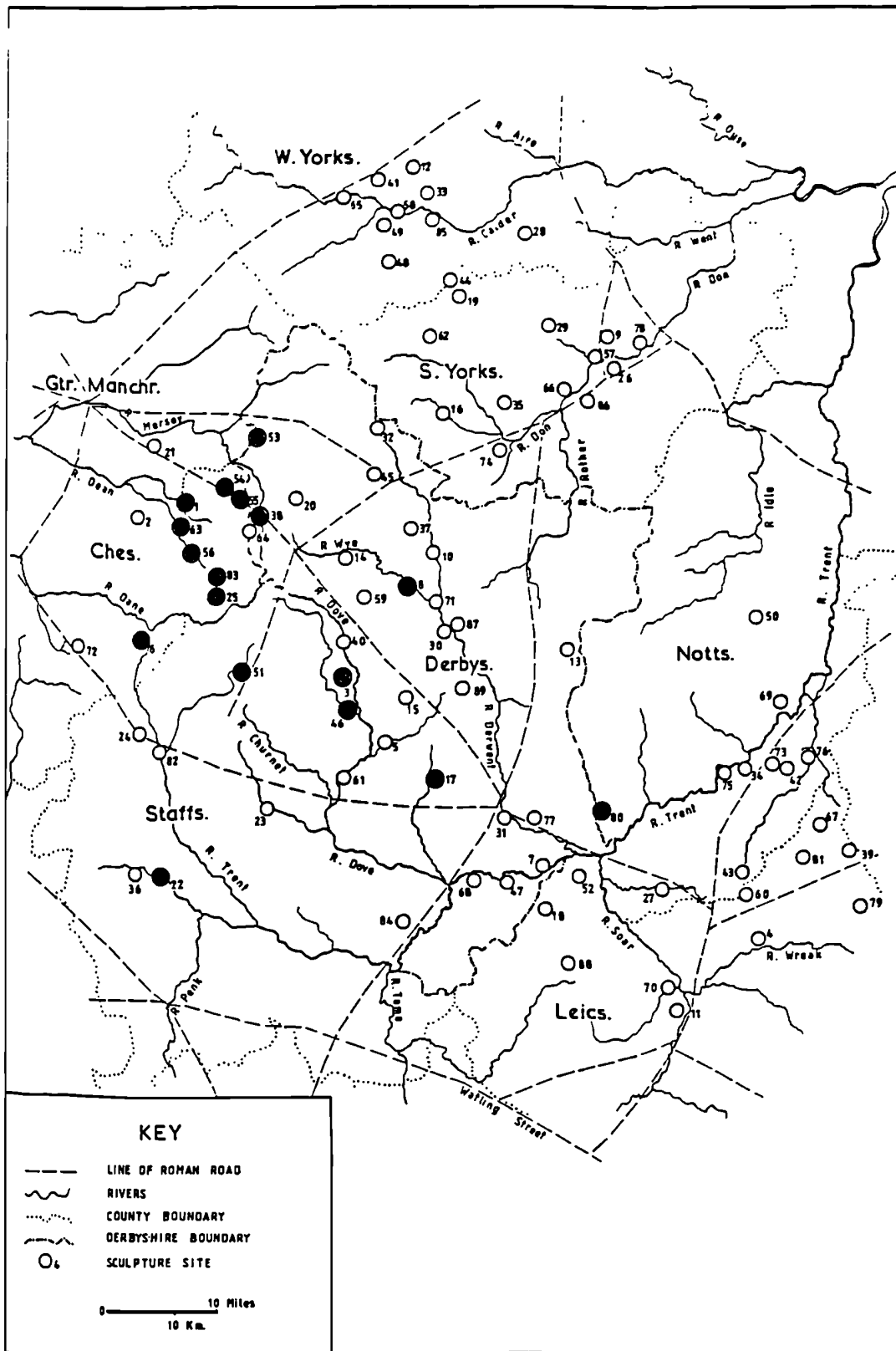
ATTRIBUTE: Plait P04 (P4) - ●



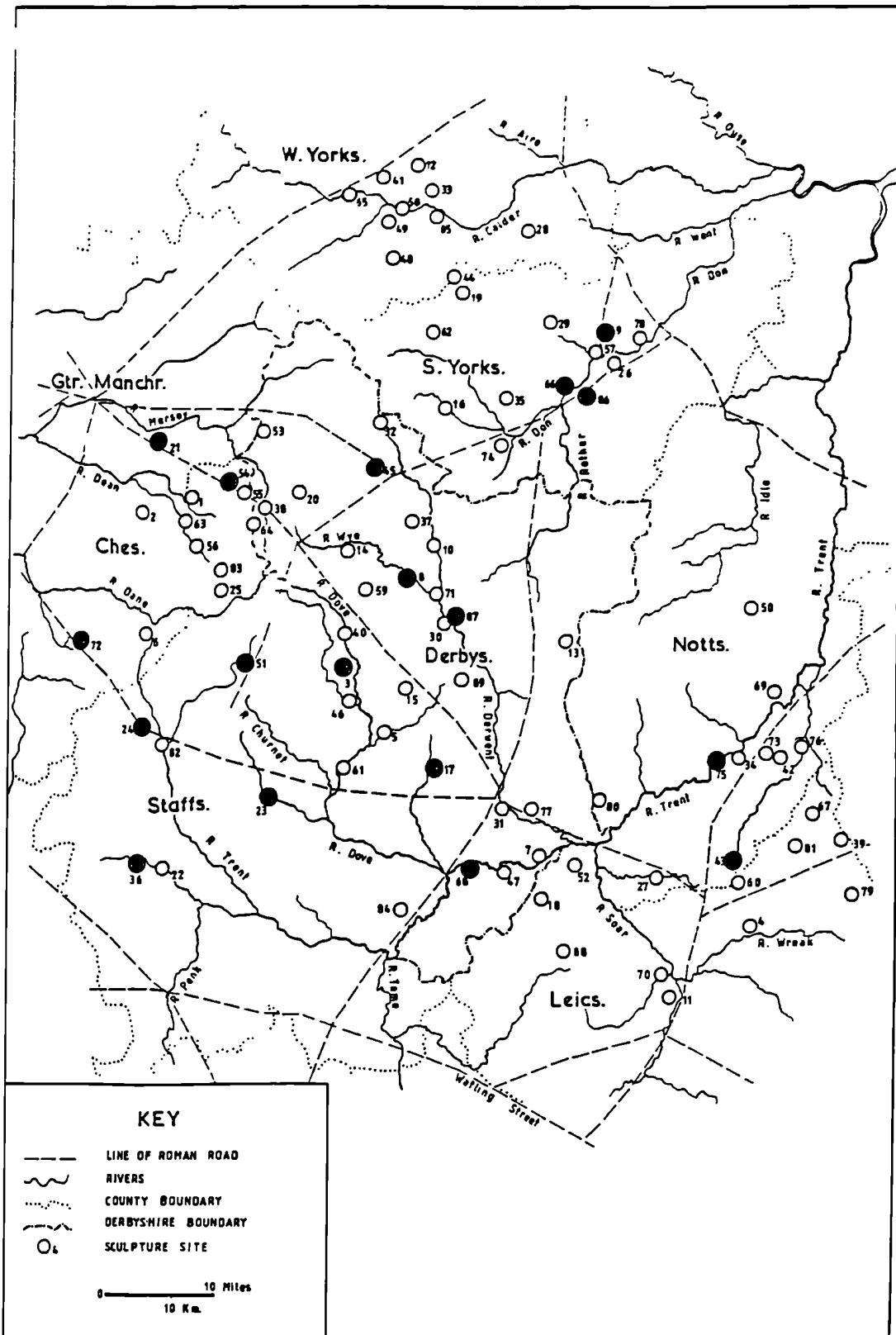
ATTRIBUTE: Plait P3 - ●



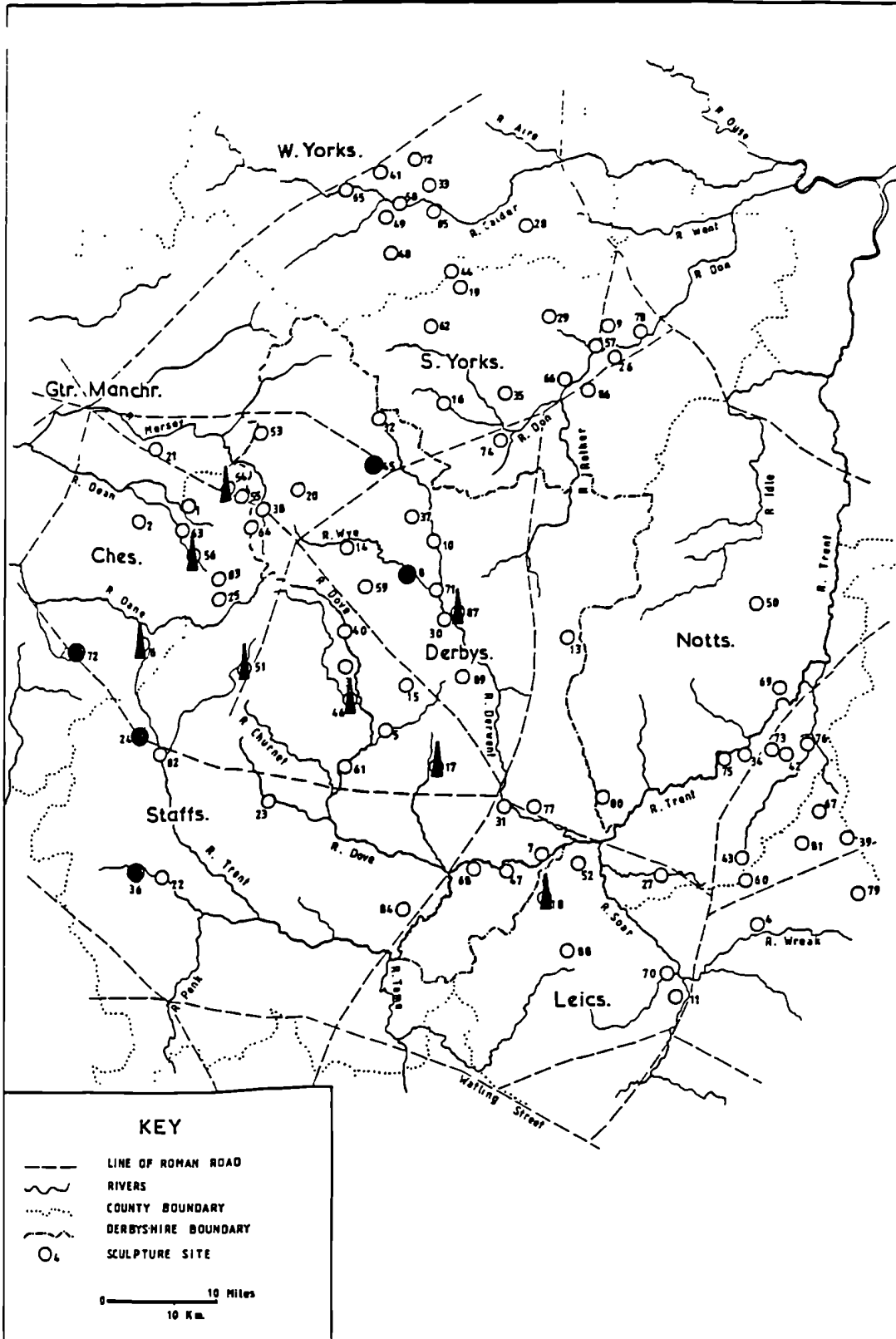
ATTRIBUTE: Plait P02 (P2) - ●



ATTRIBUTE: Round-shafts (Monument type "H") - ●



○ ● **ATTRIBUTE: Pellet motif - ●**

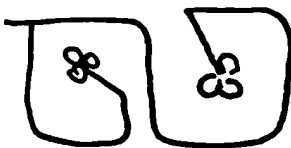
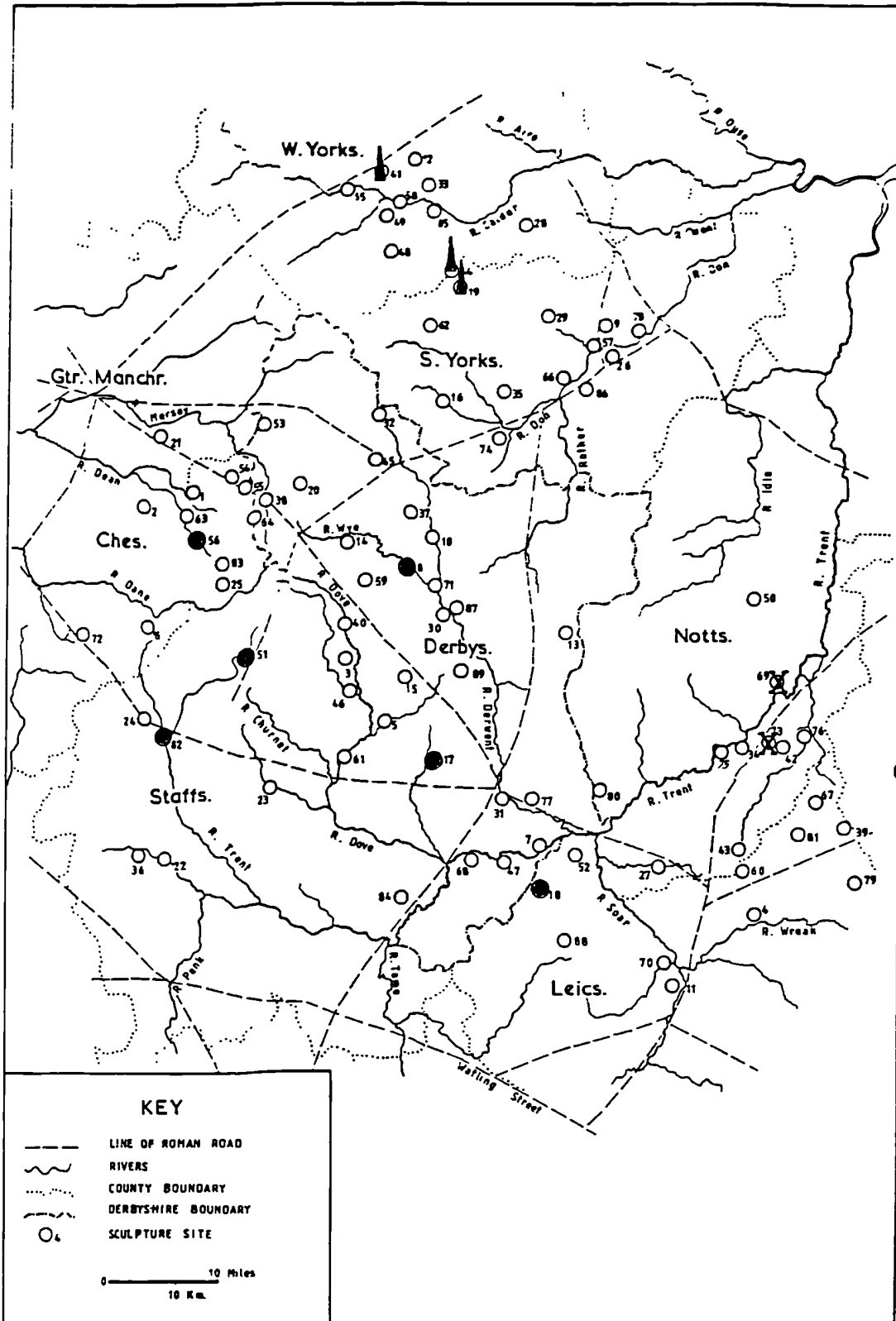


ATTRIBUTE: Side-shrouded figure type - ●



ATTRIBUTE: Line motif USL - ▲





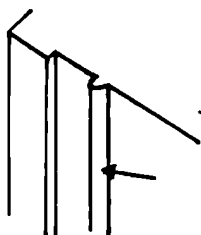
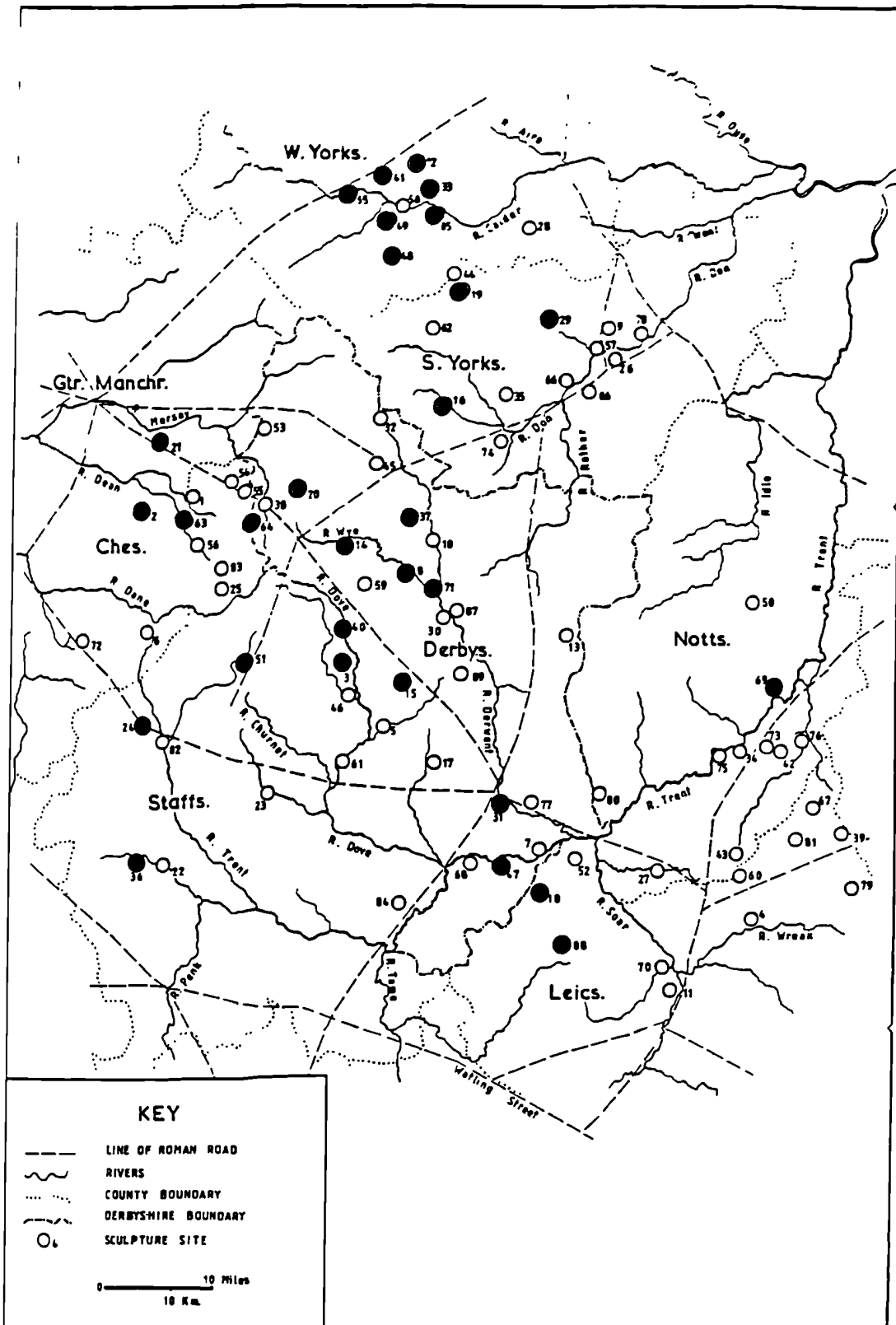
ATTRIBUTE: Scroll S4 - ●



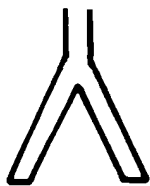
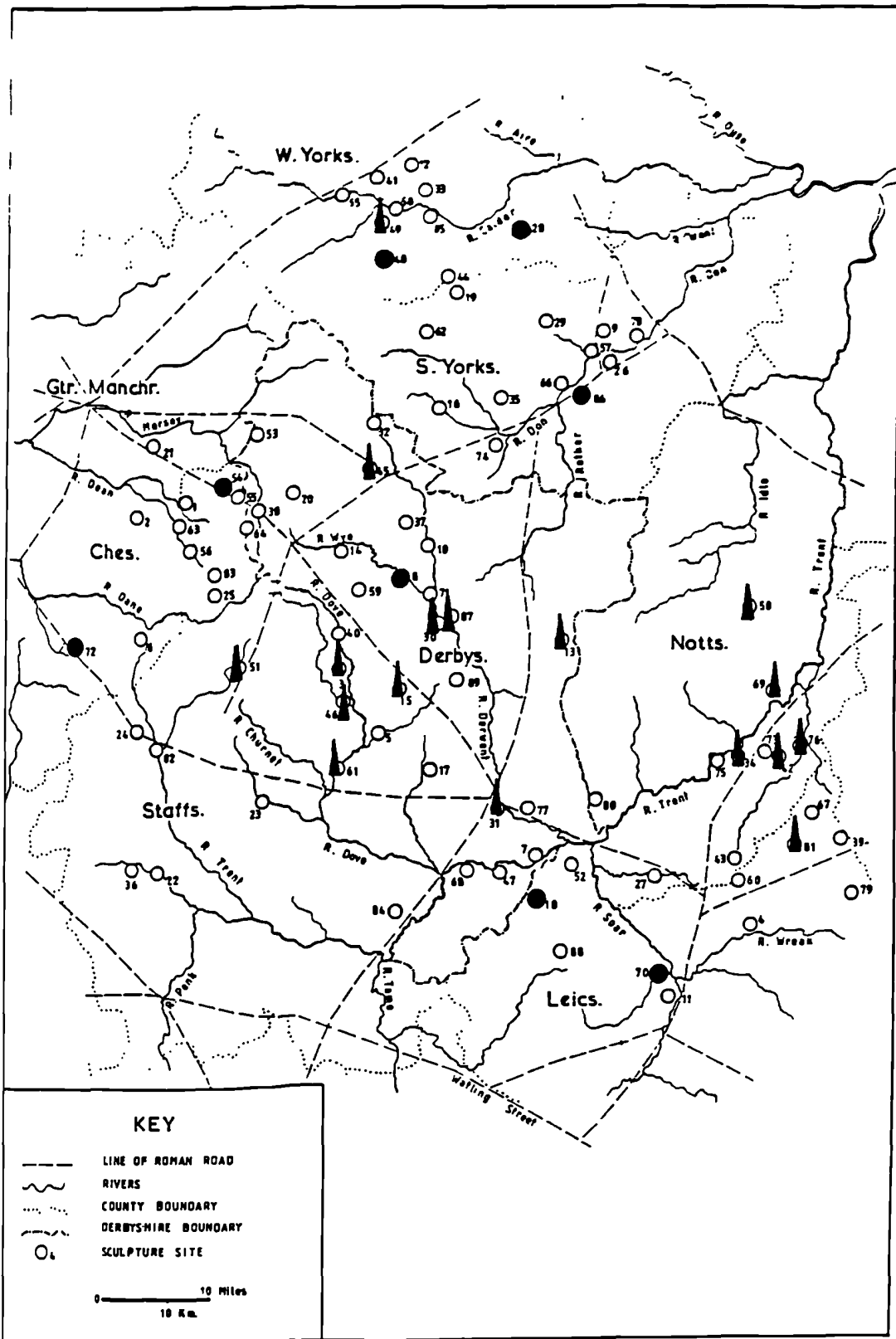
ATTRIBUTE: Motif SP1 - ▲



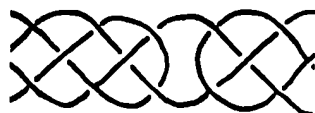
ATTRIBUTE: Vertical cable - X



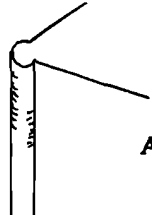
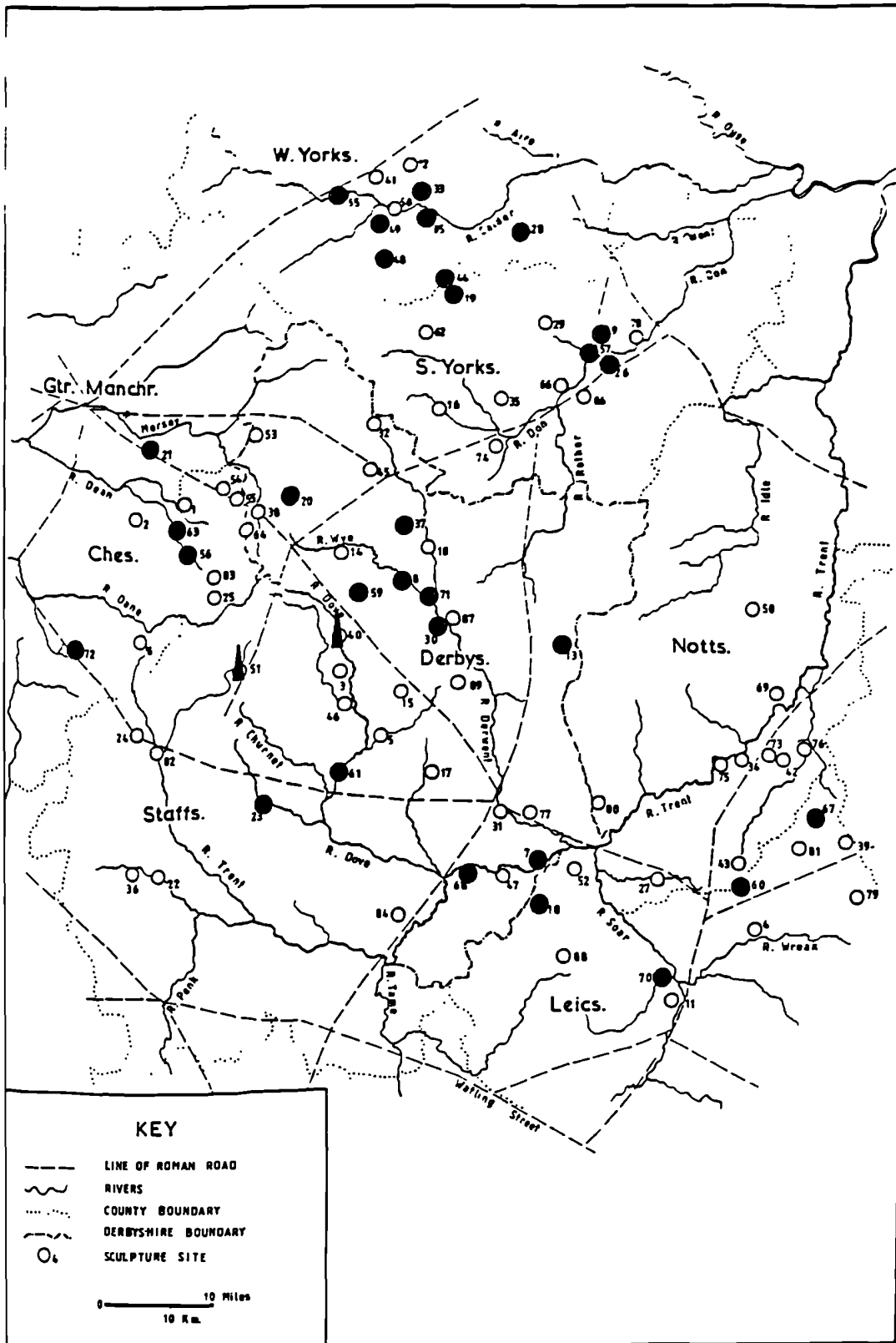
ATTRIBUTE: Inner rim frame - ●



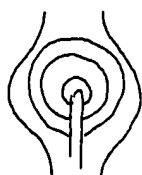
ATTRIBUTE: Inverted 'V' frame - ●



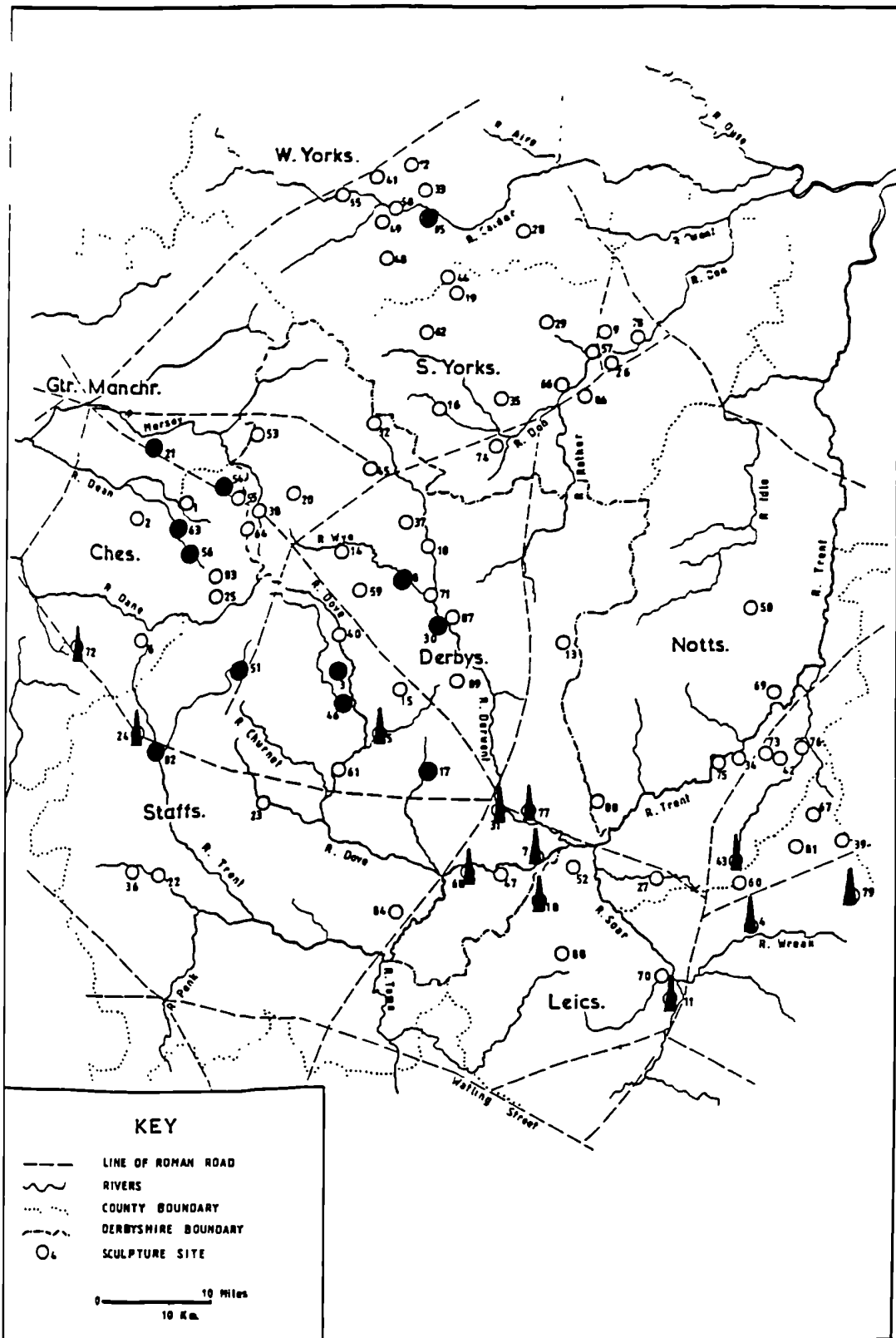
ATTRIBUTE: Looped P4 - ▲



ATTRIBUTE: Rolled edge moulding - ●



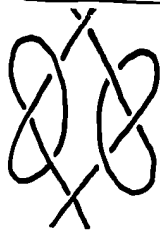
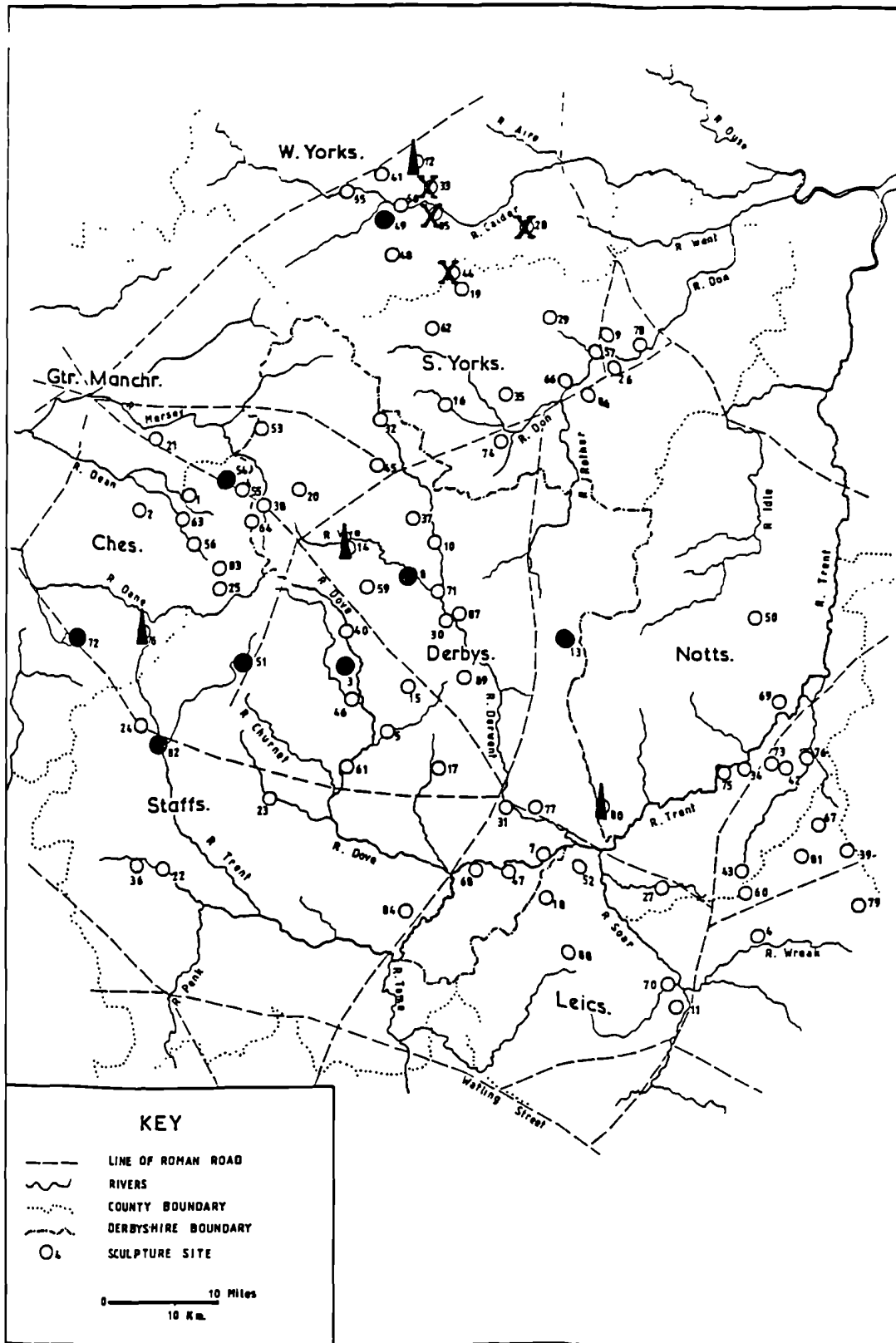
ATTRIBUTE: Scroll S3 - ▲



ATTRIBUTE: Line pattern L1 - ●



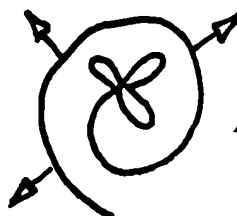
ATTRIBUTE: Ribbon beast - ▲



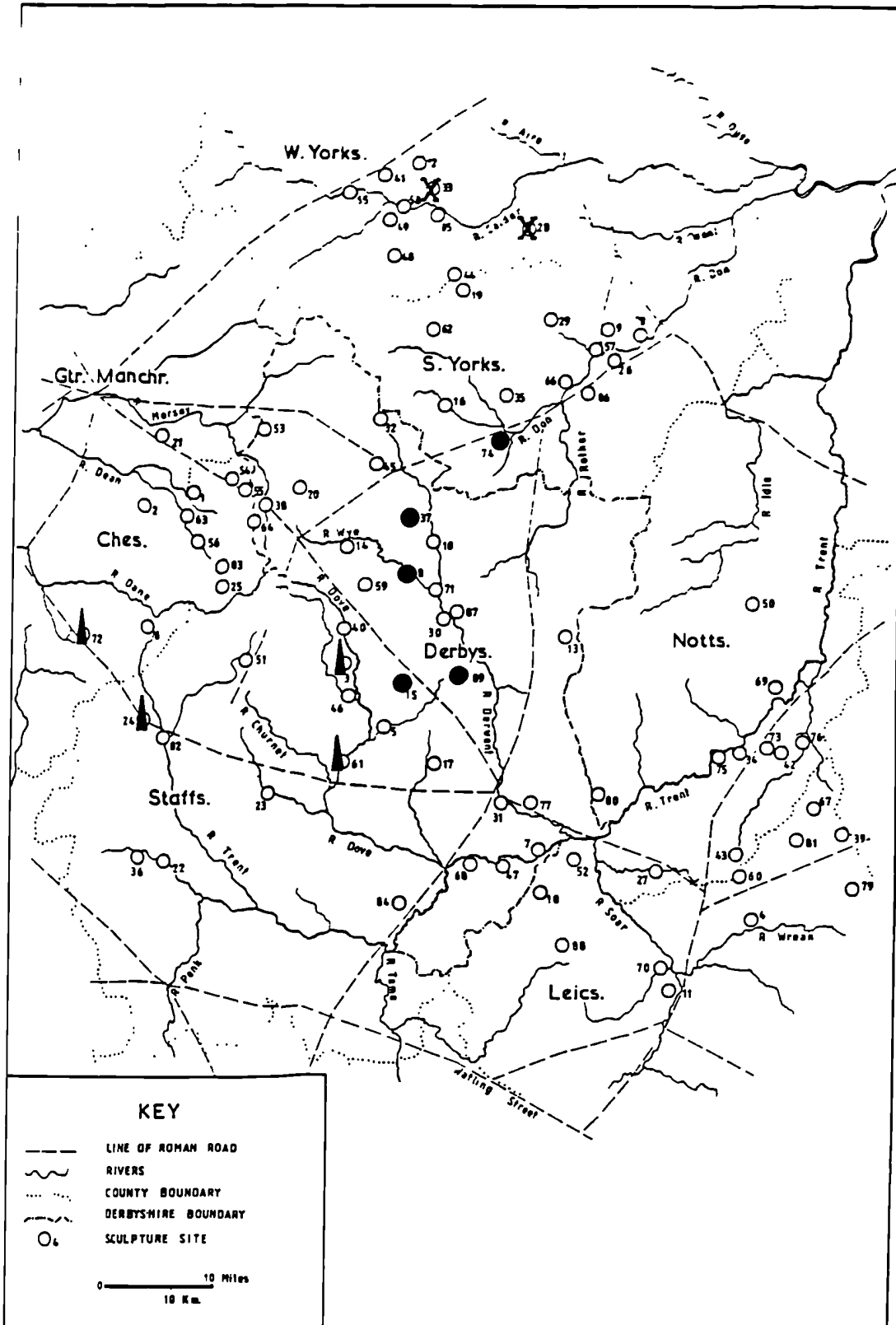
ATTRIBUTE: E1 (mirrored) - ●



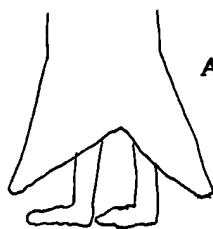
ATTRIBUTE: Scroll S10 - ▲



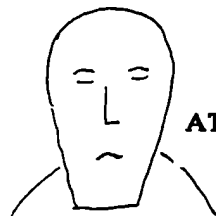
ATTRIBUTE: Scroll S7 - X



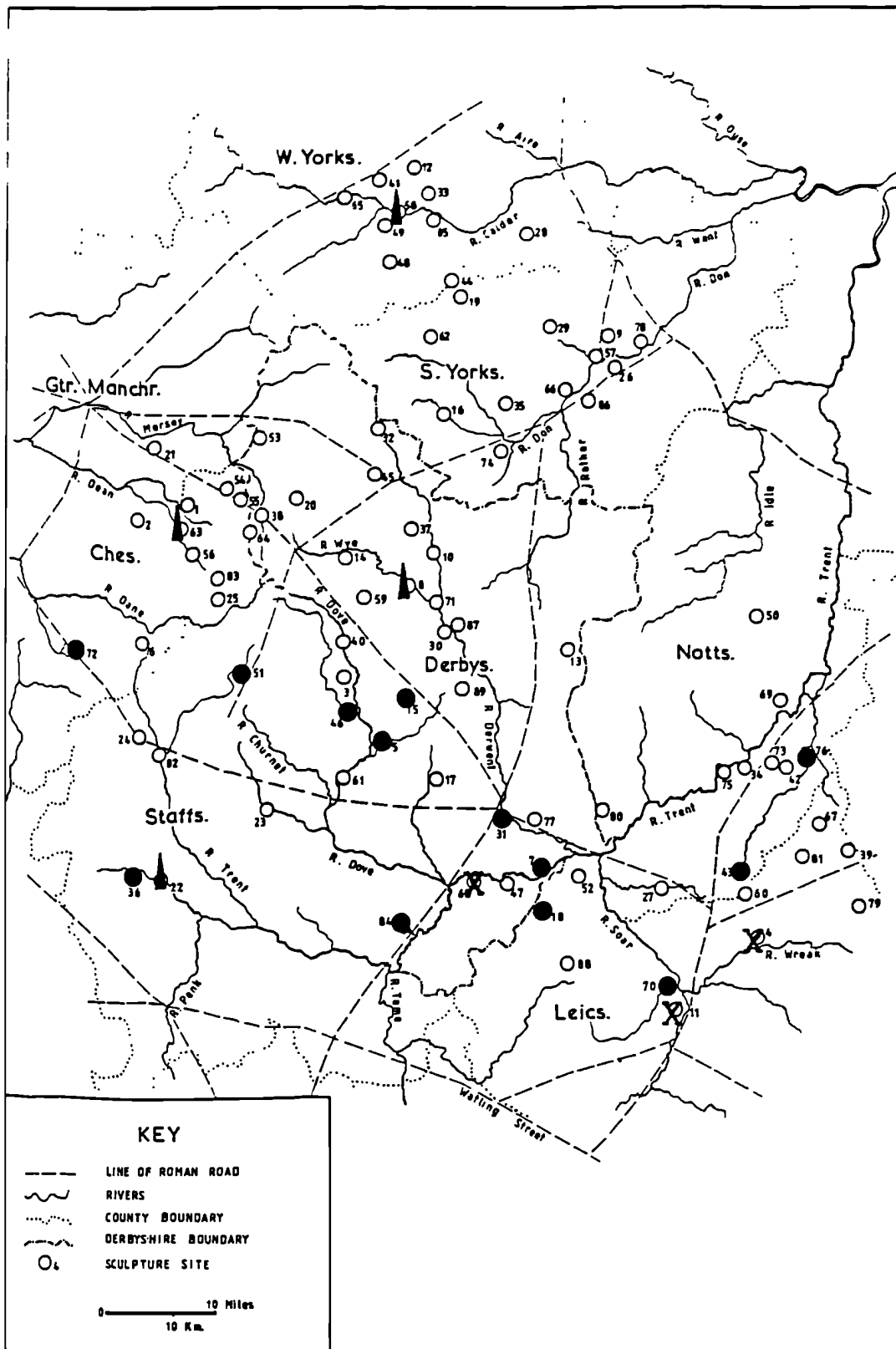
ATTRIBUTE: Peak figure type - ●

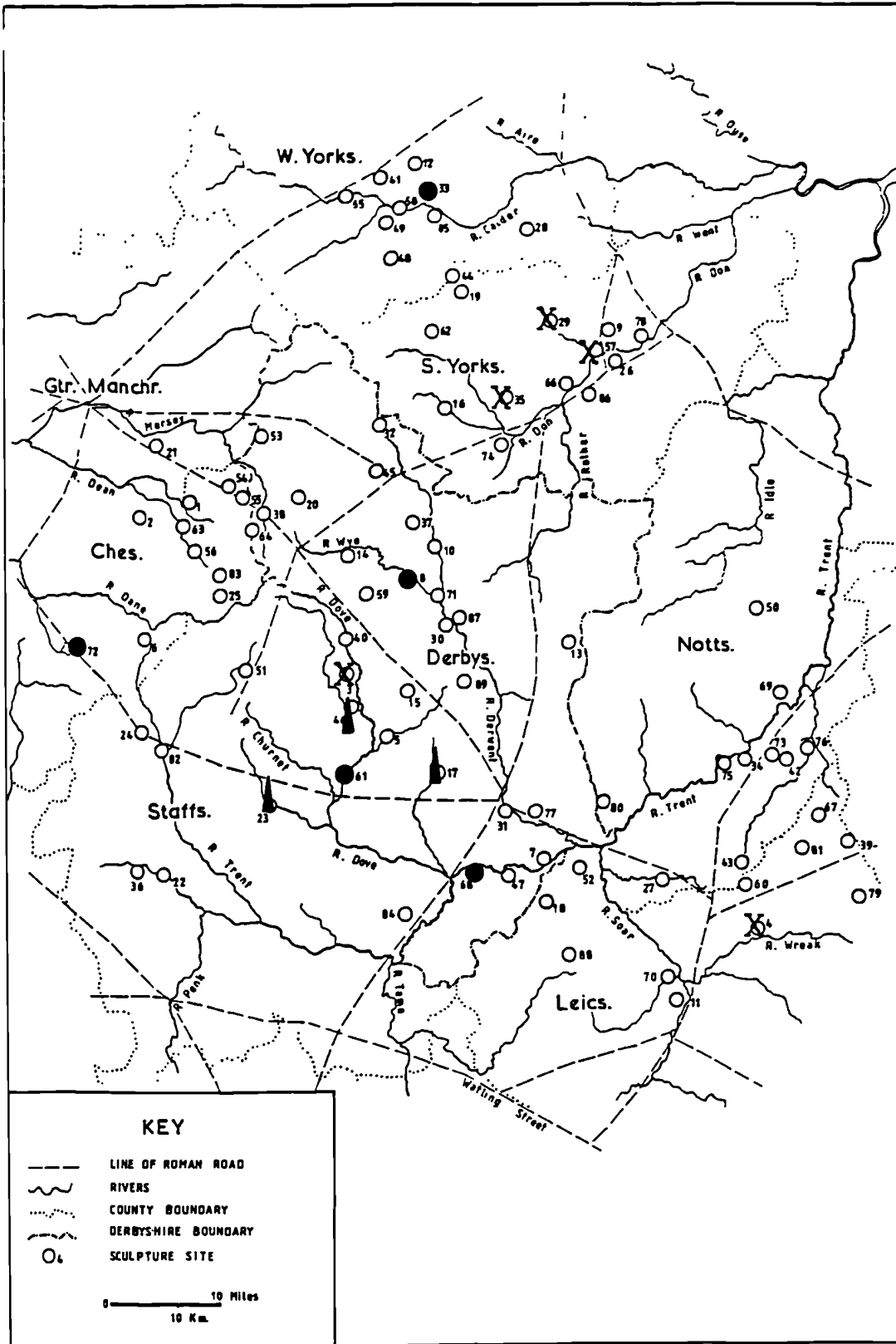


ATTRIBUTE: Skirted figure type - ▲



ATTRIBUTE: Square-chin figure type - X

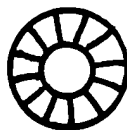




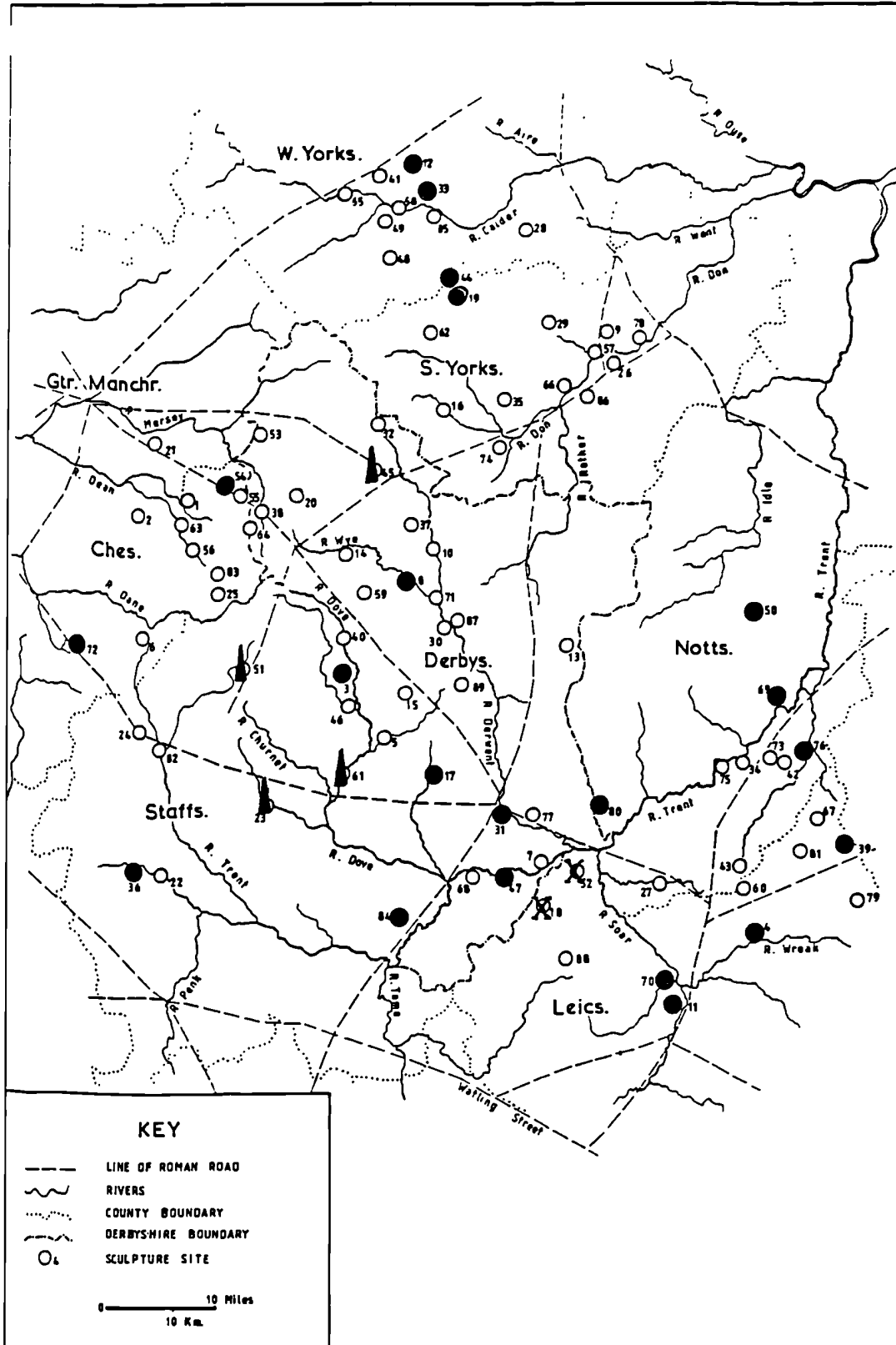
ATTRIBUTE: Cable 2 edge moulding - ●



ATTRIBUTE: Plaited body figure type - ▲



ATTRIBUTE: Rosette - X



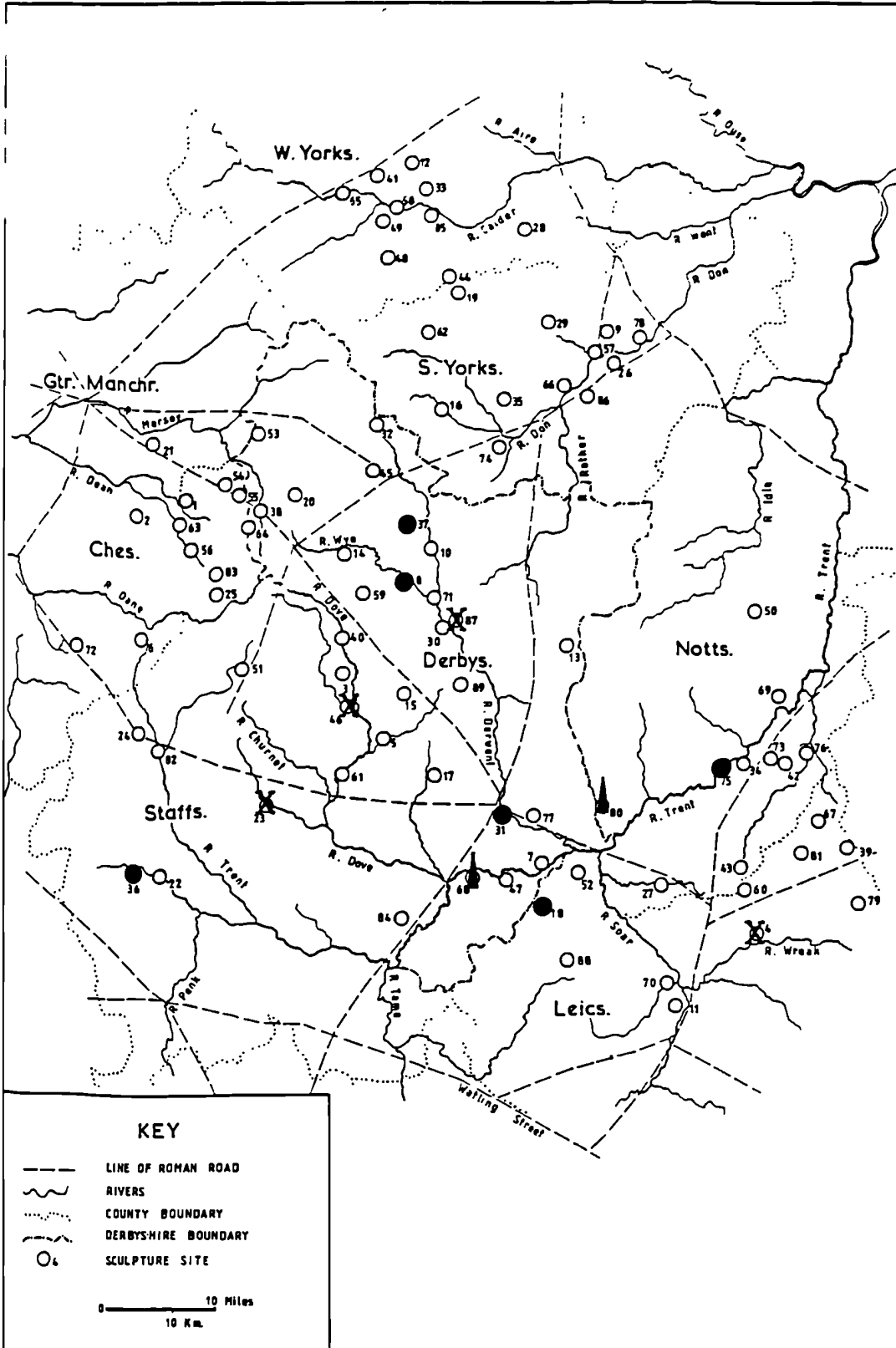
ATTRIBUTE: Cable 1 edge moulding - ●



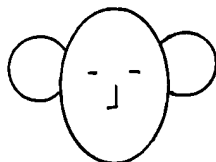
ATTRIBUTE: Knot E1a - ▲



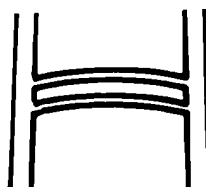
ATTRIBUTE: Pattern F02 (F2) - X



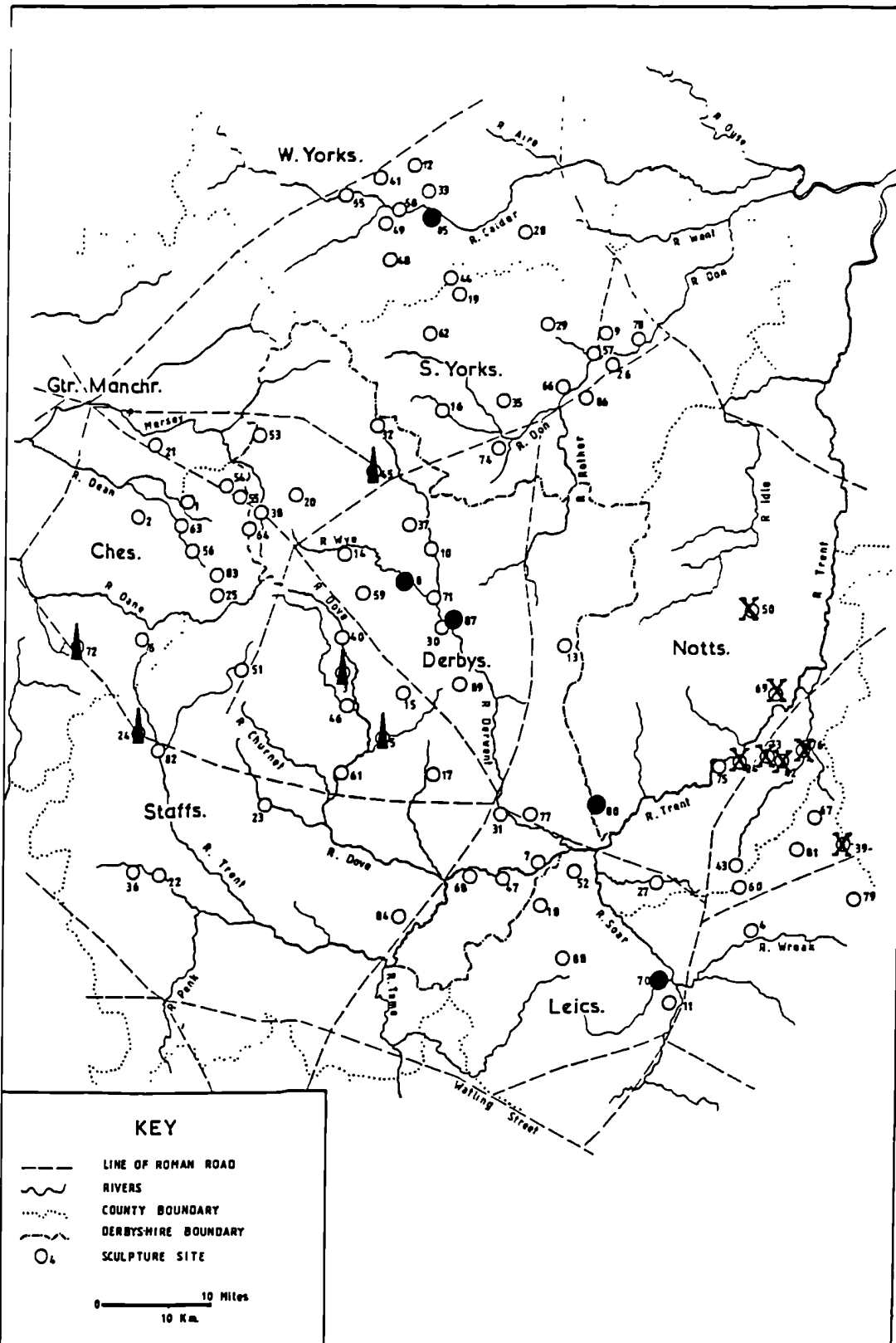
ATTRIBUTE: Capitallled arcade - ●



ATTRIBUTE: Circle-ear figure type - ▲



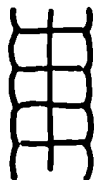
ATTRIBUTE: Double arcade - X



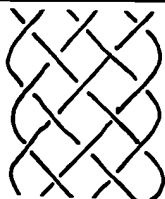
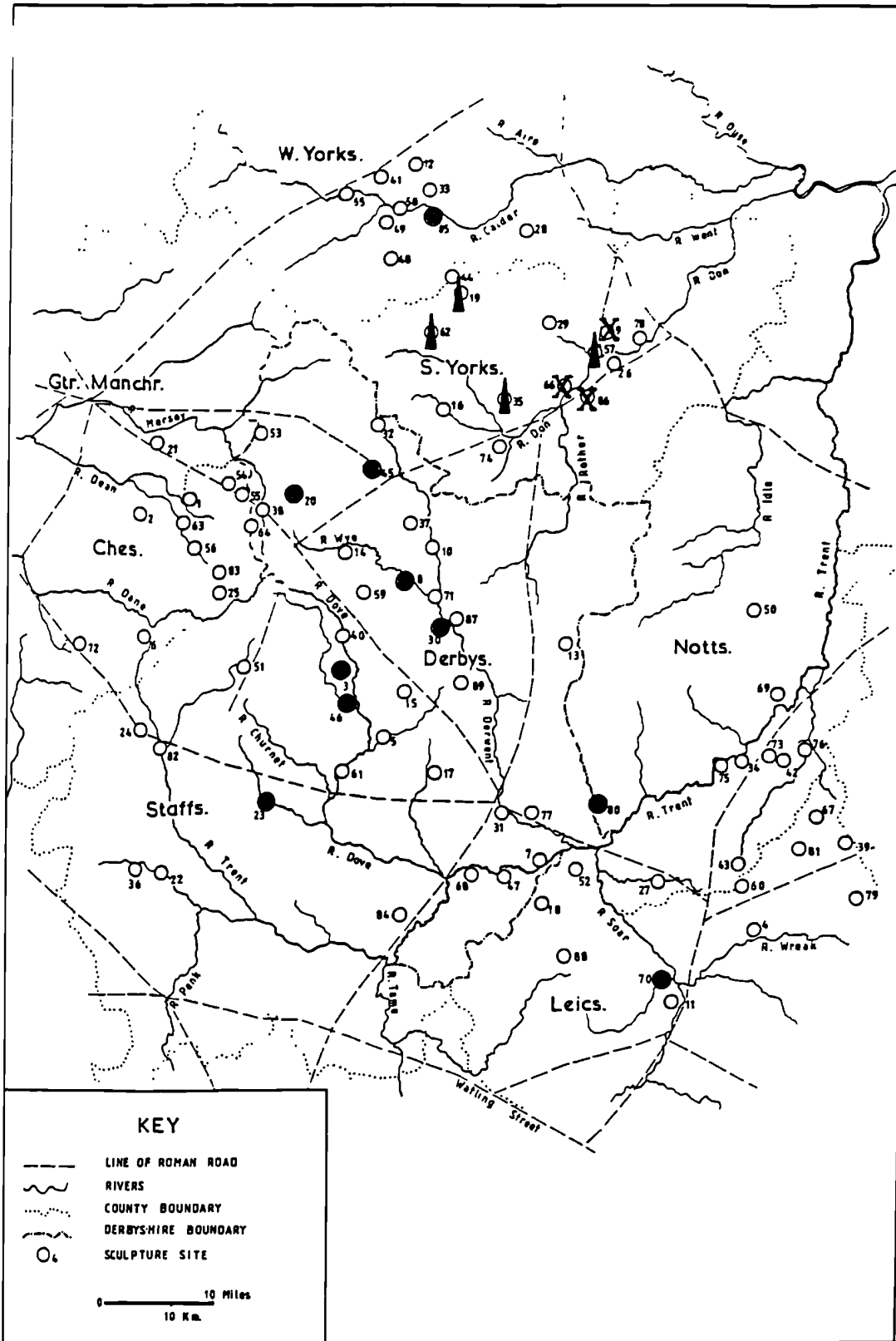
ATTRIBUTE: Pattern CC8 - ●



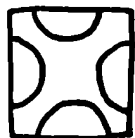
ATTRIBUTE: Knot D01 (D1) - ▲



ATTRIBUTE: Double cable design - X



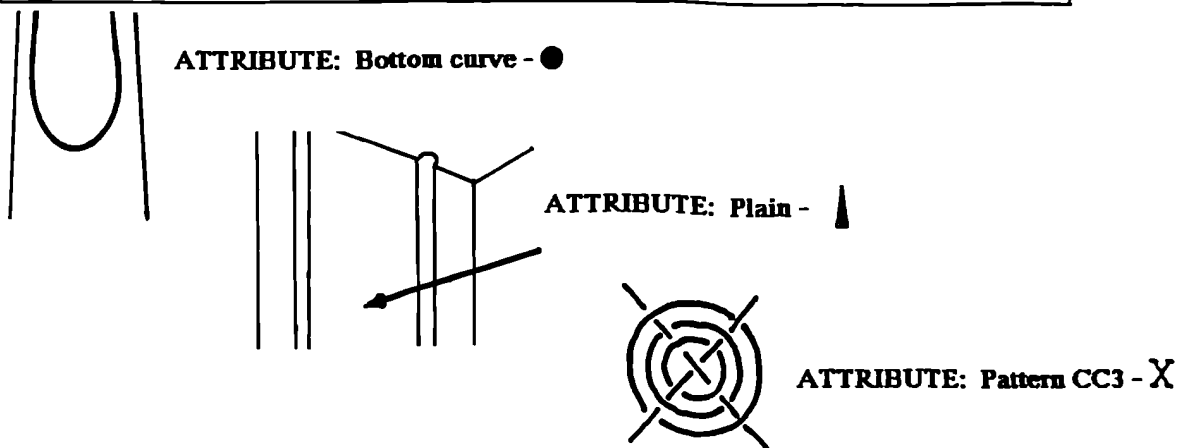
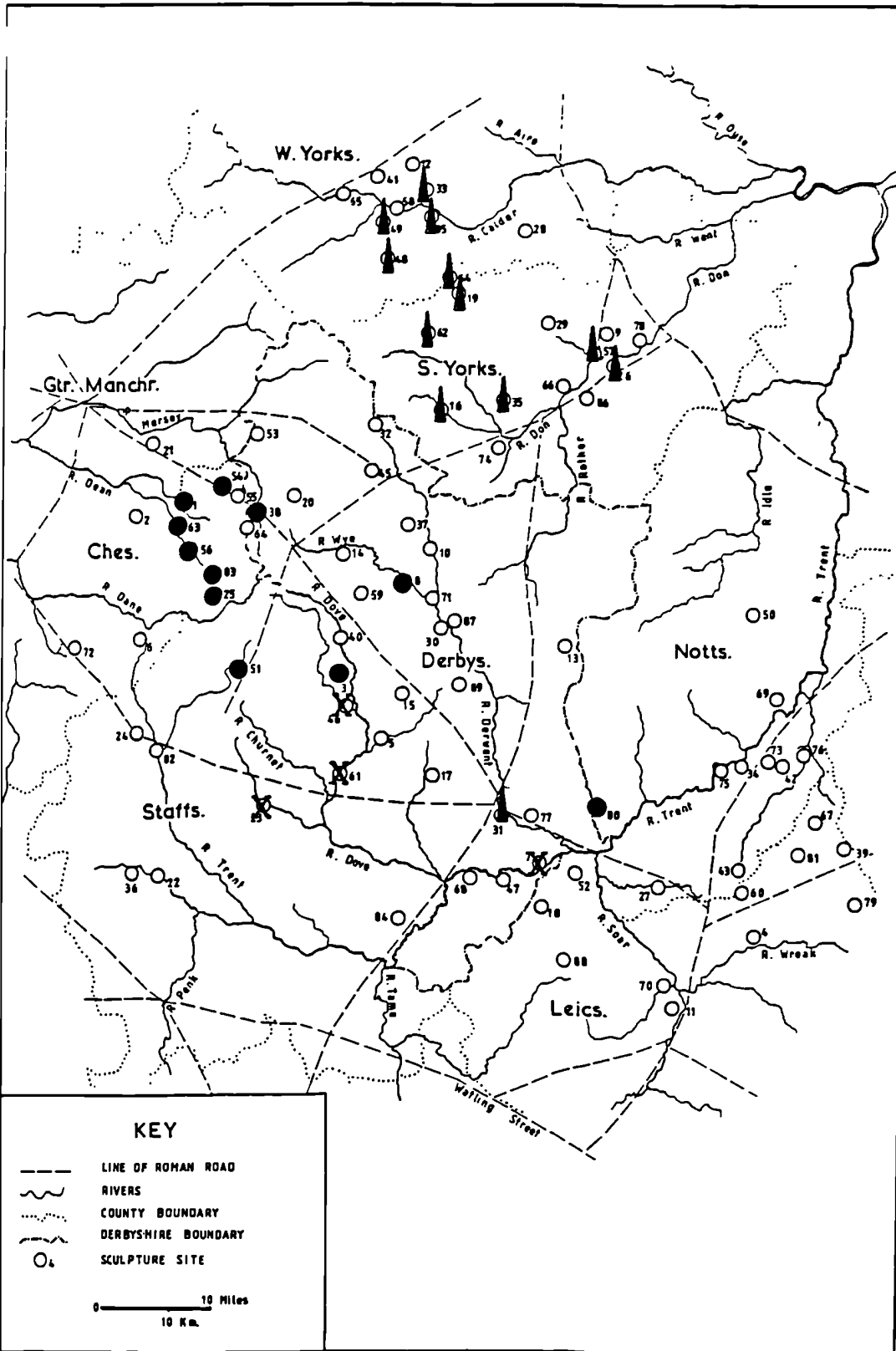
ATTRIBUTE: Plait P6 - ●

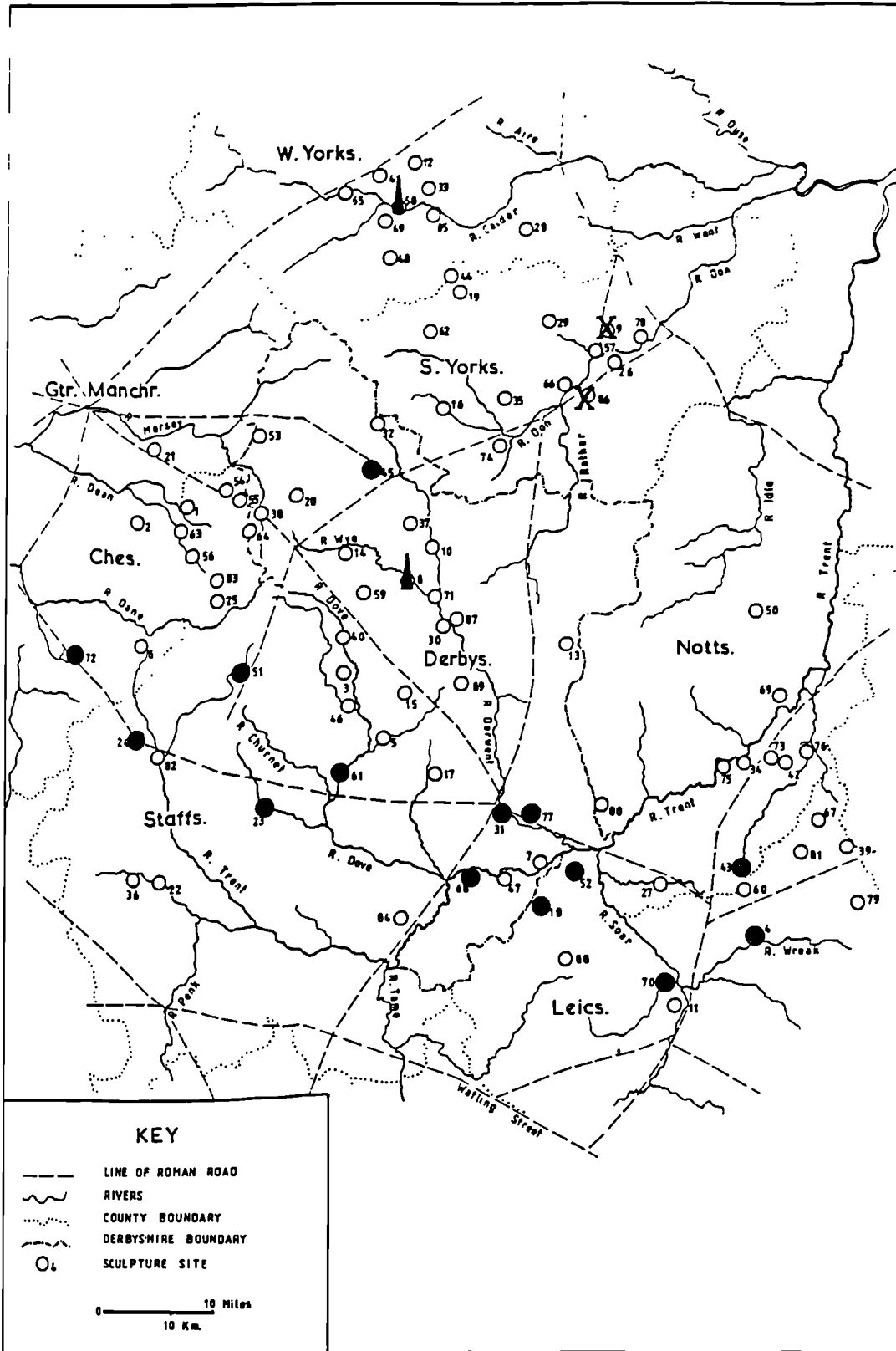


ATTRIBUTE: Incised Motif - ▲



ATTRIBUTE: Fleur design - X





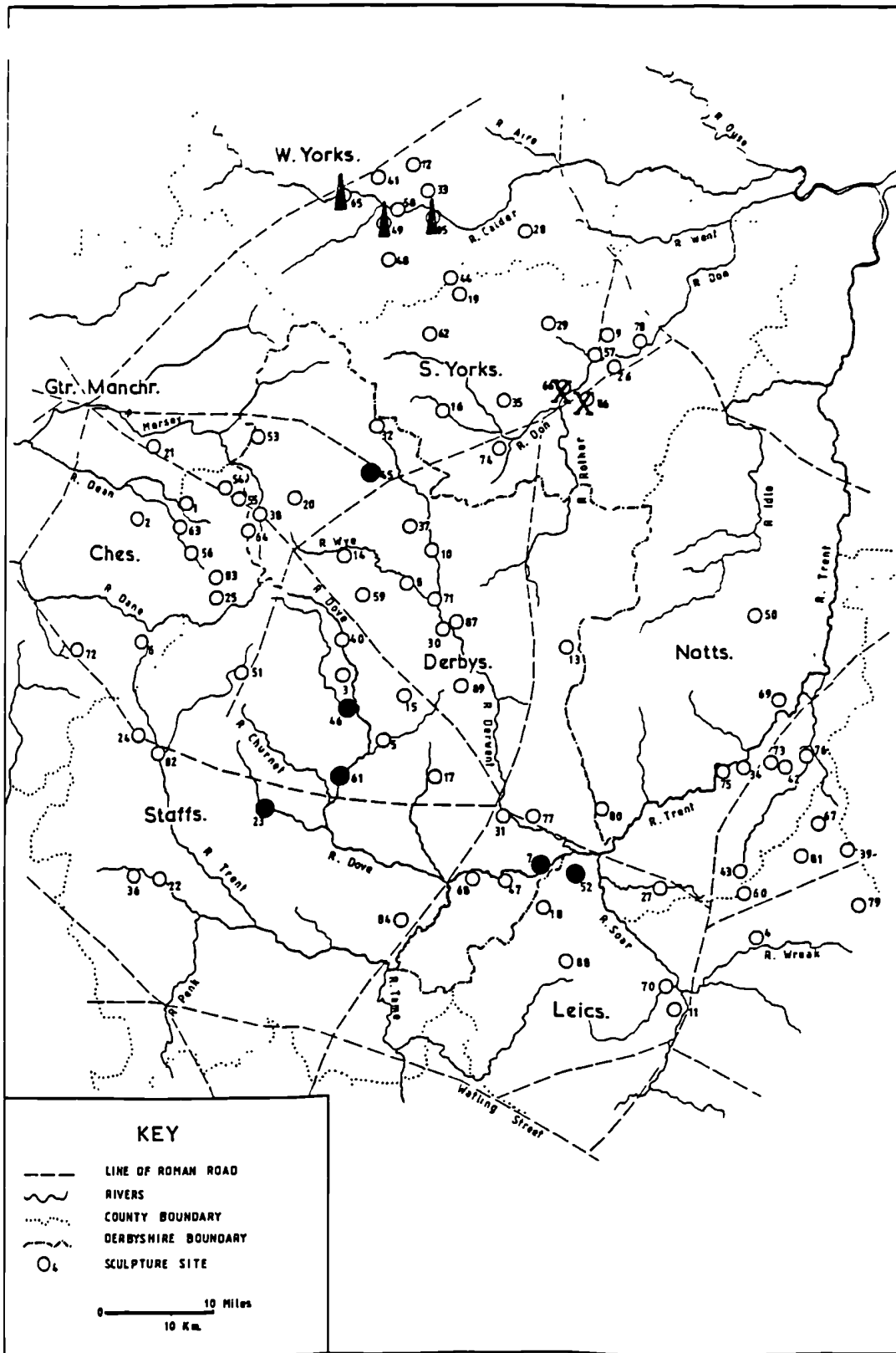
ATTRIBUTE: Thick stem - ●



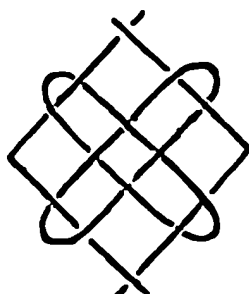
ATTRIBUTE: Pattern RC1 - ▲



ATTRIBUTE: South Yorkshire Crown figure type - X



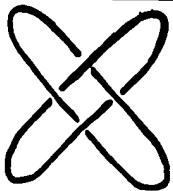
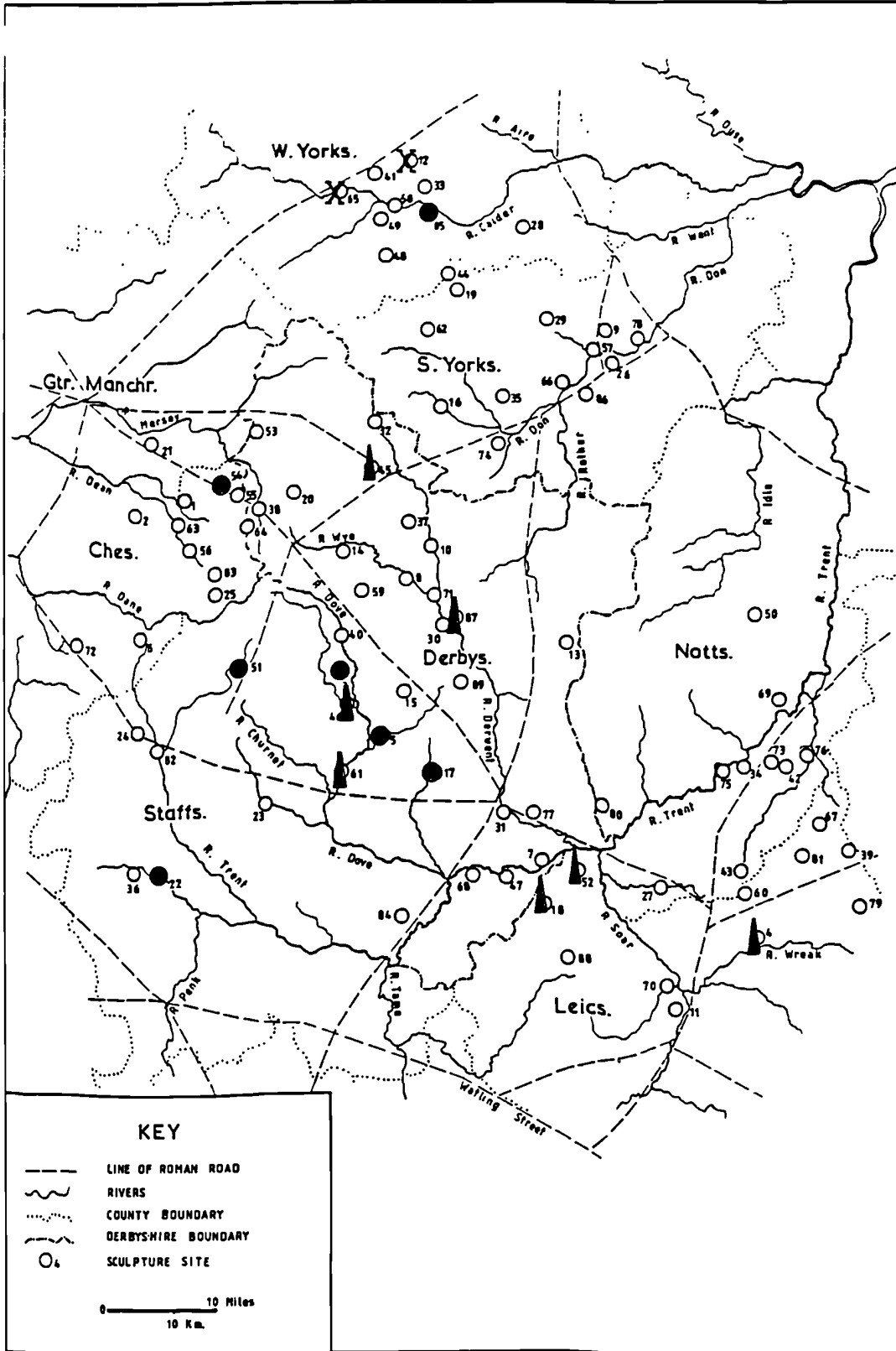
ATTRIBUTE: Pattern BCC - ●



ATTRIBUTE: Pattern BP2 - ▲



ATTRIBUTE: Chamfer edge moulding - X



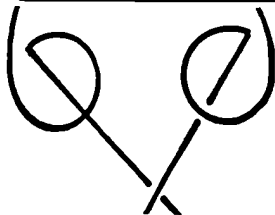
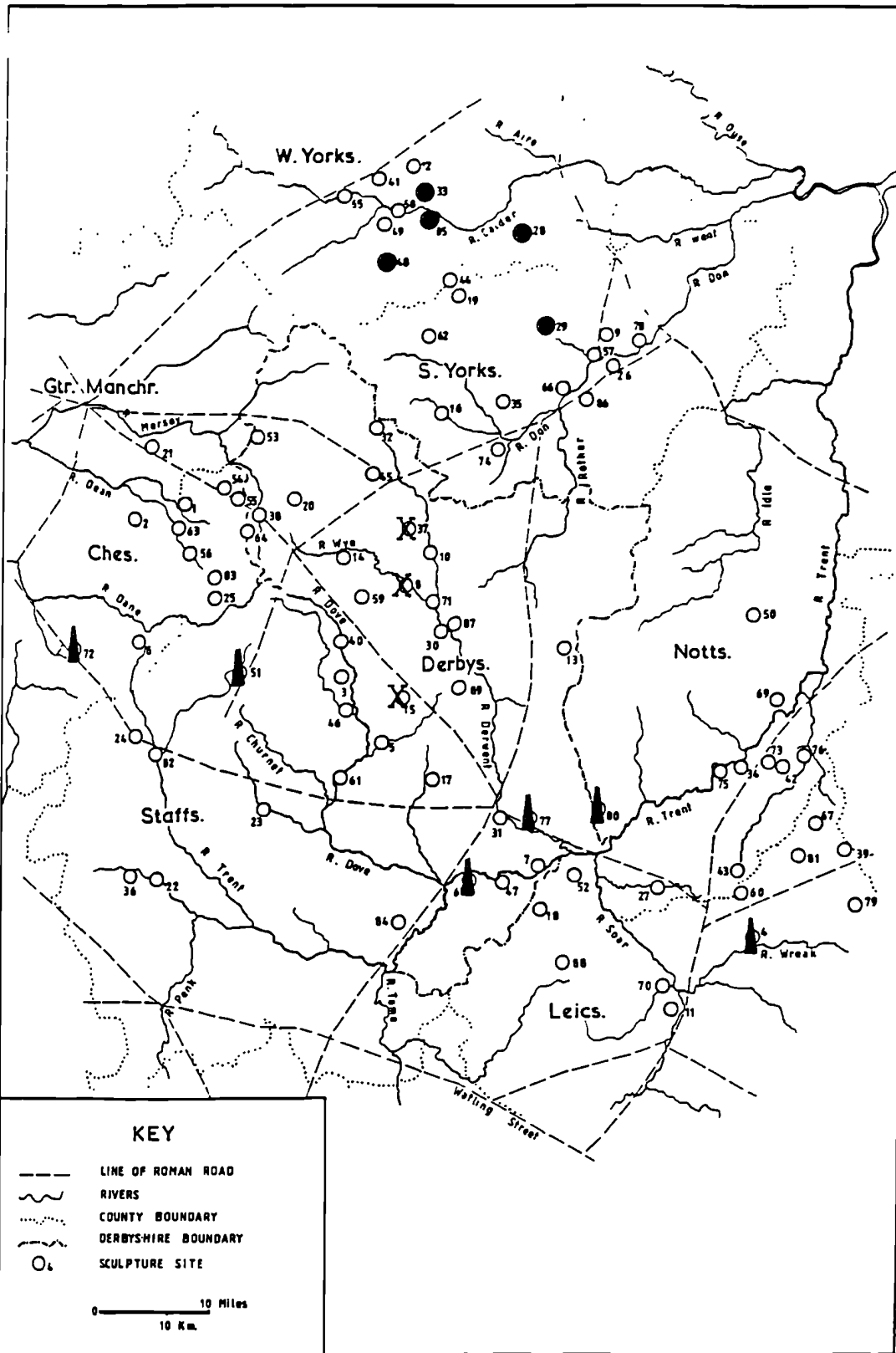
ATTRIBUTE: Pattern BB2 - ●



ATTRIBUTE: Pattern CC2 - ▲



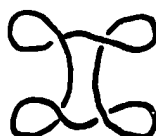
ATTRIBUTE: Bush scroll - X



ATTRIBUTE: A1 (mirrored) - ●



ATTRIBUTE: Knot B01 (B1) - ▲



ATTRIBUTE: Pattern C03 (C3) - X

APPENDIX 2A

SAMPLE OF SITE RECORDING SHEET

The following is an example of the record sheet compiled on site from each sculptured stone examined in the research area. Recorded information from the sheet was later transferred into the computer database program (see Appendix 2B). Some of the spacings have been reduced for brevity.

(Page 1)

SITE AND CORPUS No.: **SAMPLE**

Date:

Church Dedication.....

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY
AND PRESENT LOCATION:

STONE TYPE AND LOCAL
GEOLOGY:

OVERALL DIMENSIONS:

A/C)

Wth.Top:

Wth.Base:

Overall Height:=

B/D)

Wth.Top:

Wth.Base:

PHOTOGRAPHY:

MONUMENT TYPE:

OBVIOUS PARALLELS WITH OTHER PIECES ON SITE OR ELSEWHERE?:

CARVING TECHNIQUE:

Modelled

Humped

Grooved

Incised

Depth of carving:

Wth. of strands:

EDGE MOULDING TYPE (if any):

CROSSHEADS:

Central ornmt.

Radius.

Terminal & "Armpit".

Depth.

FIGURES and OTHER ICONOGRAPHY.

(Description of, and/or sketch)

Face.....

Sample of Site recording sheet (continued).

Face.....

Face.....

Accompanying Sketch?.....YES/NO

RECORDING DIFFICULTIES AND NOTES:

(Page 2)

FACE _____
Description:.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
Cond. code. Pattern type(s).....
Grid..... ..
Strand type..... Frame(s).....
Unit (s)..... Other Detail.....

This section was repeated on the sheet so that each of the four faces (if applicable) could be described. Additional space was provided so that notes could be made of any other features (eg. top or base).

APPENDIX 2B

SAMPLE OF COMPUTER DATABASE RECORD

CORPUS No.	: Brailsford
Stone	: millstone
Mon. type	: hh
Carving Tech.	: mod
Edge Moulding	: cable 1
Crosshead type	: ---
Figure 1	: ??
Figure 2	: plaited
Pattern 1	: bb2
Pattern 2	: p02
Pattern 3	: p3
Pattern 4	: 11
Pattern 5	: us1
Pattern 6	: s4
Pattern 7	: s6
Pattern 8	: pellet
Unit 1	: 5.50
Unit 2	: 4.50
Unit 3	: 5.00
Frame 1	: collar 2
Frame 2	: ---
Scene 1	: warrior
Scene 2	: ---
Strand	: 1.00
Grid	: diag
Addl.	: sq
Addl.	: irreg
CORPUS No.	: Hickling
Stone	: triassic
Mon. type	: coped slab
Carving Tech.	: mod
Edge Moulding	: flat banded
Crosshead type	: ---
Figure 1	: ribbon beast
Figure 2	: ---
Pattern 1	: u/c
Pattern 2	: pellet
Pattern 3	: a01
Pattern 4	: ccl
Pattern 5	: e01
Pattern 6	: cross
Pattern 7	: thick stem
Pattern 8	: ---
Unit 1	: 4.00
Unit 2	: 0.00
Unit 3	: ---
Frame 1	: cross
Frame 2	: pelleted band
Scene 1	: ribbon beasts with interlace
Scene 2	: ---
Strand	: 2.00
Grid	: diag
Addl.	: irreg
Addl.	: ---

The above are two actual examples of the information recorded in the computer database program for analysis. The complete listing of computer data records has been omitted from this Appendix since additional information, such as the 'Evidence For Discovery', also needs to be presented. The information from the computer records will be listed in the descriptions of the sculptured stones in Appendix 3A.

Many of the categories in the computer database records are self-explanatory. In some cases, some further explanation is warranted of how the information was recorded and used. These categories are described below:

'MON TYPE'

This refers to the overall form of the monument, be it a tapered monolith, a slab, coped tomb, round shaft etc. It is expressed as a code letter, as used in the National Corpus. For example, 'A' (aa) is a rectangular-sectioned shaft, 'B' a slab type form, and 'H' a round shaft (cf. Cramp 1984: xv; xviii-xix). This attribute has been used selectively in the analysis since the original form of the monument is often not always apparent. For example, through subsequent damage or reuse it is not always possible to differentiate between a stone which was intended as an upright shaft and one intended as a recumbent slab monument. Therefore, the distribution of such an attribute would depend too heavily on the survival of the more complete or undamaged monuments and could be misleading. Only those recorded as round-shafts (shown as type "hh" in the database records) can be used with confidence in the analysis as their form is easily detected, even from small fragments.

'CROSSHEAD TYPE'

This attribute is expressed as a combination of letters and numbers, as used in the National Corpus (cf. Cramp 1984: xvi-xvii). The letter refers to the arm terminal shape, whereas the number refers to its "ampit" (ibid xvi). This attribute was not used in the final analysis for two reasons. Firstly, it was found that the variety which could be expressed by this method of creating typologies was too limited to use objectively. Secondly, since most pieces of crosshead were fragmentary, it is not always possible to discern the intended shape of the complete head. Therefore, like the monument forms above, any distribution of crosshead types would be distorted by the chance survival of the more complete pieces. Since this attribute does not form a crucial part of the analysis, it is considered unnecessary to list the various typologies, but to refer the reader to the introduction to any volume of the National Corpus (cf. Cramp 1984).

'PATTERN'

This term applies to all decorative attributes, such as knots, scrolls, motifs etc., which are not more specifically recorded elsewhere.

'UNIT'

This refers to the "unit measurement" recorded from the pattern construction. Its use as an attribute for analysis in the research area was not found to be of value, as discussed in section 5.5.

'SCENE'

This records various depictions such as 'heroic warriors', crucifixions etc. In some cases, this attribute was useful in the detection of repetitive scenes (eg. crucifixion or biblical depictions) which support the identity of a school (see section 4.2). However, this record was only of limited value in that many depictions were too ambiguous in their content to be used objectively.

'STRAND'

A record of the widths of the pattern strands, the limited value of which, has been discussed in section 5.5.

'GRID'

A record of the use of either a square or diagonal grid for the construction of the various patterns. This record again proved to be of limited value since most schools used a combination of both, depending on the attribute chosen for inclusion (but see section 4.2).

APPENDIX 3A.

CORPUS OF DESCRIPTIONS

The following pages contain descriptions of the individual pieces of sculptured stone in the research area. They are ordered alphabetically by site, and then numerically. Occasionally, more than one piece of sculpture is included under each descriptive text where it is appropriate to do so. No association between the fragments is implied by including them together.

CORPUS NAME: Adlington (Cheshire) 1 & 2.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: Moved to Adlington Hall in the mid-18th. century from unknown provenance. No. 1 was reused as a sundial support. No. 2 was moved to a mound in the Hall grounds in 1950's (Cheshire C.C. SMR. Nos. 1618 [No. 1] and 1581 [No. 2]; Harris 1987: 290).

STONE TYPE: Both of Millstone Grit. Local outcrops of Chatsworth Grit.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Two incomplete fragments of separate round-shafted monuments of unknown original provenance. No.1 with collar 1 or 2. No.2 with collar 2 and bottom curve. Both in a modelled carving technique. No other decoration visible.

SCHOOL: Both of the North-western Regional School.

CORPUS NAME: Alderley (Cheshire).

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: Found in Buxton Museum store marked "Alderley", but with no other records (Halliwell, Buxton Museum, pers. com.). This appears to be the same "unprovenanced" piece of crosshead mentioned by Myers and Barnatt (1984).

STONE TYPE: Millstone Grit: heavily blackened. Nearest outcrops of Chatsworth and Roaches Grits, c. 10 km. to east.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Fragment of crosshead type ?e, modelled carving technique, cable or roll edge moulding, P2, inner rim frame, single strand. Unprovenanced.

SCHOOL: Probably of the North-western Regional School

CORPUS NAME: Alstonefield (Staffordshire) 1.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: Found built into the church fabric in 1875 (Pape 1945/6: 27; Jeavons 1946: 112-3). Presently in the churchyard in a medieval stone base.

STONE TYPE: Probably Millstone Grit, but decayed. Outcrop of Roaches Grit c. 3 km. to north-west.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Modelled carving technique, rectangular-sectioned shaft, flat banded edge moulding, P6, A1, P4, inner rim frame, double-stranded pattern and diag. grid. Part dressed-off.

SCHOOL: South-western Regional School.

CORPUS NAME: Alstonefield 2.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See Alstonefield 1. Now loose inside church.

STONE TYPE: Millstone Grit.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Modelled carving technique, E1 (mirrored), CC1, single-stranded pattern, diag. grid. Presumed to be part of a cross-shaft, but part has been re-worked for reuse as a window component.

SCHOOL: Uncertain.

CORPUS NAME: Alstonefield 3.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See Alstonefield 1.

STONE TYPE: Unknown - built into interior wall of church, having a light cement rendering.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Of unknown form, but possibly a shaft. Modelled carving technique, cable 1 moulding, P4, ?inner rim frame, P2 frame, 'dragon heads' to strands, double-stranded pattern, diag. grid.

SCHOOL: Unknown, but the P2 frame suggests it may belong to the South-western regional School.

CORPUS NAME: Alstonefield 4.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See Alstonefield 1. Presently loose inside church.

STONE TYPE: Millstone Grit.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: ?Part of rectangular-sectioned shaft. Modelled carving technique, flat banded edge moulding, clergy figure holding book, P6, inner rim frame, diag. grid.

SCHOOL: Dove Valley local school of South-western regional group.

CORPUS NAME: Alstonefield 5.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See Alstonefield 1. Presently loose inside church.

STONE TYPE: Millstone Grit.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Part of the upper portion of a round-shaft. Modelled carving technique, flat banded or cable 1 edge moulding, BB2, P3, L1, unidentified plait, bottom curve, single-stranded pattern, diag. and square grid.

SCHOOL: North-western Regional School.

CORPUS NAME: Alstonefield 6.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See Alstonefield 1. Presently loose inside church.

STONE TYPE: Millstone Grit.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Upper part of round-shaft. Modelled carving technique, cable 1 edge moulding, P4, P3, L1, BB2, bottom curve, single-stranded pattern, diag. and square grid.

SCHOOL: North-western Regional School.

CORPUS NAME: Alstonefield 7.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See Alstonefield 1. Presently loose inside church.

STONE TYPE: Millstone Grit.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Part of upper portion of round-shaft. Modelled carving technique, cable 1 edge moulding, ?BB2, L1, S6, P3, bottom curve, ?collar 1, single-stranded pattern, diag. and square grid.

SCHOOL: North-western Regional School.

CORPUS NAME: Alstonefield 8.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See Alstonefield 1. presently loose inside church.

STONE TYPE: Millstone Grit.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Part of upper portion of round-shaft. Modelled carving technique, BB2, P3, S6, single-stranded pattern, diag. grid

SCHOOL: North-western Regional School.

CORPUS NAME: Alstonefield 9.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See Alstonefield 1. Presently built into outside wall of church tower.

STONE TYPE: Millstone Grit.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Possibly part of a rectangular-sectioned shaft. Modelled carving technique, looped P4, single-stranded pattern, diag. grid.

SCHOOL: Unknown.

CORPUS NAME: Alstonefield 10.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See Alstonefield 1. Presently loose inside church.

STONE TYPE: Millstone Grit.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Part of rectangular-sectioned shaft. Modelled carving technique, D1, ?P4, single-stranded pattern, diag. grid. Unfinished piece of sculpture.

SCHOOL: West sub-division of the South-western Regional School.

CORPUS NAME: Alstonefield 11 - 14.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See Alstonefield 1. Presently loose inside church.

STONE TYPE: All in Millstone Grit.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: All of these pieces are undecorated cylinders which Pape has suggested are parts of round-shafted monuments (1945/6: 31). However, there are no attributes present to confirm this view and therefore the fragments may not be Anglo-Saxon.

SCHOOL: Unknown. See comments above.

CORPUS NAME: Alstonefield 15.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: First mentioned as standing in churchyard by Pape in c. 1945 (Pape 1945/6: 31). No record of a former provenance.

STONE TYPE: Millstone Grit.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Round-shaft, collar 2, modelled carving technique. Unfinished.

SCHOOL: North-western Regional School.

CORPUS NAME: Alstonefield 16.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See Alstonefield 1. Recorded as present inside church in c. 1946 (Jeavons 1946: 112-3) but now missing. A photograph by Pape (1945/6) survives which shows its attributes.

STONE TYPE: Unknown.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: A rectangular-sectioned shaft with two faces missing. Modelled carving technique, E1+1, flat banded edge moulding, skirted figure, pellet, rosette, diag. grid.

SCHOOL: Dove Valley sub-group of the South-western Regional School.

CORPUS NAME: Asfordby (Leicestershire) 1.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: Found built into external wall of church: now loose inside church (Fevsner 1960: 50).

STONE TYPE: Triassic sandstone. There are no suitable sources of stone in the immediate vicinity of the site, but outcrops of Triassic sandstones occur to the south and west, for example, at Ratcliffe (formerly Keuper Sandstone) c. 5km. to south-west.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Rectangular-sectioned shaft with part dressed-off. Modelled carving technique, flat banded edge moulding, A1, Thick stem, Trent scroll, double-stranded pattern, irregular grid.

SCHOOL: South sub-division of the South-western Regional School.

CORPUS NAME: Asfordby 2.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See Asfordby 1.

STONE TYPE: As above.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Rectangular-sectioned shaft with part dressed-off. Modelled carving technique, flat banded edge moulding, cable 1 edge moulding, ?circle-eared figure, A1, Trent scroll, rosette, Trent curl, ?CC2, single arcade, double arcade, single-stranded pattern, diag. and irregular grid.

SCHOOL: South sub-division of the South-western Regional School.

CORPUS NAME: Asfordby 3.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: As above.

STONE TYPE: As above.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Rectangular-sectioned shaft. Modelled carving technique, ?cable 1, Ribbon beast, Trent scroll, B01, Trent curl, A1, single-stranded pattern, diag. and irregular grid.

SCHOOL: South sub-division of the South-western Regional School.

CORPUS NAME: Ashbourne (Derbyshire).

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: Two carved stones found in church fabric in 1839 (Bateman and Glover 1848: 182). Two Anglo-Saxon stones inside church by 1886, but the present Ashbourne piece only found in 1885 (Browne 1886: 181-2). Routh records that one was missing by 1937 (1937: 4).

STONE TYPE: Triassic sandstone, probably Sherwood Sandstone which outcrops immediately to the north of the church.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Rectangular-sectioned shaft. Modelled carving technique, flat banded edge moulding, lower part of crosshead visible, Ribbon beast, BB2, P3, E1, D1, triple-stranded pattern, diag. grid.

SCHOOL: South-western Regional School.

CORPUS NAME: Astbury (Cheshire).

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: Two fragments recorded as being in the church by 1937 (Routh 1937: 32). One stone, found reused as building material recorded extant by 1987 (Harris 1987: 279).

STONE TYPE: Millstone Grit. Outcrops of Chatsworth and Roaches Grits, c. 4 km. to east.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Part of a round-shaft, damaged. Modelled carving technique, S6, USL, S10, wide collar, cable 1 frame, 'dragon head', single-stranded pattern, irregular grid.

SCHOOL: North-western Regional School.

CORPUS NAME: Aston-on-Trent (Derbyshire).

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: Built into nave corner, reused as a quoin.

STONE TYPE: Triassic sandstone. Sherwood Sandstones (formerly Bunter) outcrop less than 2 km. to south-east at Quarry Hill.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: ?Rectangular-sectioned shaft. Modelled carving technique, ?roll edge moulding, Ribbon beast, BCC, CC3, E1, single-stranded pattern, diag. grid.

SCHOOL: South-western Regional School.

CORPUS NAME: Bakewell (Derbyshire) 1.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: Many pieces of medieval and Anglo-Saxon carved stones removed from the church fabric in 1826-41 and some put on display in the porch (Bateman and Glover 1848: 183-9). Some pieces were apparently taken into Bateman's private collection, and eventually given to Sheffield museum by his son (Browne 1886: 173-4). By 1937, most had been returned by the museum, to Bakewell parish church (Routh 1937: 7-8). This apparently included all Bakewell pieces of Saxon sculpture now on display, except No. 37. Nos. 1-27 are in the south porch, with Nos. 28-36 in the west end of the church.

STONE TYPE: Millstone Grit. Local outcrops of Ashover Grit: Kinderscout Grit also outcrops 2 km. to the north-east.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: ?Rectangular-sectioned shaft. Modelled carving technique, flat banded edge moulding, S1, single-stranded pattern, ?square or irregular grid.

SCHOOL: Unknown, but has one attribute (S1) of the Peak School.

CORPUS NAME: Bakewell 2.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See Bakewell 1.

STONE TYPE: Millstone Grit.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: ?Rectangular-sectioned shaft. Modelled carving technique, flat banded edge moulding, S1, single-stranded pattern, square or irregular grid.

SCHOOL: See comments for Bakewell 1. This may also be part of the same monument as 1.

CORPUS NAME: Bakewell 3.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See Bakewell 1.

STONE TYPE: Millstone Grit.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: ?Rectangular-sectioned shaft. Modelled carving technique, flat banded edge moulding, L1, single-stranded pattern, square grid.

SCHOOL: Probably North-western Regional School.

CORPUS NAME: Bakewell 4.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See Bakewell 1.

STONE TYPE: Millstone Grit.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: ?Rectangular-sectioned shaft, Modelled carving technique, ?flat banded edge moulding, C1, S2, single-stranded pattern, square grid.

SCHOOL: Peak School.

CORPUS NAME: Bakewell 5.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See Bakewell 1.

STONE TYPE: Appears to be a Jurassic limestone which is not found locally. The nearest sources are some 70 km. to the east.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: ?Rectangular-sectioned shaft. Modelled carving technique, flat banded edge moulding, unidentified pattern, single-stranded pattern, ?square or irregular grid.

SCHOOL: Unknown.

CORPUS NAME: Bakewell 6.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See Bakewell 1.

STONE TYPE: As Bakewell 5.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: ?Rectangular-sectioned shaft. Modelled carving technique, Unidentified 'C-type' pattern, single-stranded pattern, ?irregular grid.

SCHOOL: Unknown.

CORPUS NAME: Bakewell 7.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See Bakewell 1.

STONE TYPE: Unknown.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Piece now missing. Said to be similar in design to Nos. 5 and 6 (Routh 1937: 8).

SCHOOL: Unknown.

CORPUS NAME: Bakewell 8.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See Bakewell 1.

STONE TYPE: Millstone Grit.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Rectangular-sectioned shaft. Modelled carving technique, cable 3 edge moulding, P2, RC1, multi-stranded pattern, inner rim frame, diag. grid. This piece has the distinctive 'Borre' ring-chain.

SCHOOL: Unknown.

CORPUS NAME: Bakewell 9.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See Bakewell 1.

STONE TYPE: ?Millstone Grit.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Rectangular-sectioned shaft or slab. Modelled carving technique, CC8, single-stranded pattern, diag. grid.

SCHOOL: Unknown.

CORPUS NAME: Bakewell 10.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See Bakewell 1.

STONE TYPE: Millstone Grit.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: ?Rectangular-sectioned shaft. Modelled carving technique, flat banded edge moulding, ?S2, single-stranded pattern, very fragmentary.

SCHOOL: Possibly Peak School, but too fragmentary to fully assess.

CORPUS NAME: Bakewell 11.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See Bakewell 1.

STONE TYPE: Millstone Grit.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Modelled carving technique, flat banded edge moulding, figure with ?book - possibly side-shrouded type. Single-stranded pattern.

SCHOOL: Unknown.

CORPUS NAME: Bakewell 12.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See Bakewell 1.

STONE TYPE: Millstone Grit.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: ?Rectangular-sectioned shaft. Modelled carving technique, unidentified figure-type holding shaft.

SCHOOL: Unknown.

CORPUS NAME: Bakewell 13.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See Bakewell 1.

STONE TYPE: Millstone Grit.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Rectangular-sectioned shaft. Modelled carving technique, Cable 2 edge moulding, single arcade, inner rim frame, unidentified figure-type similar to side-shrouded, beasts with interlace. May possibly be post-Conquest.

SCHOOL: Unknown.

CORPUS NAME: Bakewell 14.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See Bakewell 1.

STONE TYPE: Millstone Grit.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Rectangular-sectioned shaft. Modelled carving technique, cable 2 edge moulding, pellet, side-shrouded figure, single vertical frame.

SCHOOL: Unknown.

CORPUS NAME: Bakewell 15.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See Bakewell 1.

STONE TYPE: Millstone Grit.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Rectangular-sectioned shaft. Modelled carving technique, cable 2 edge moulding, unidentified figure type, inner rim frame, angular frame fragment. Similar in style to 14.

SCHOOL: Unknown.

CORPUS NAME: Bakewell 17.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See Bakewell 1.

STONE TYPE: Millstone Grit.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Modelled carving technique, unidentified multi-strand plait. Spherical, similar in style to 8.

SCHOOL: Unknown.

CORPUS NAME: Bakewell 18.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See Bakewell 1.

STONE TYPE: Millstone Grit.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Rectangular-sectioned shaft. Modelled carving technique, flat banded edge moulding, S4, ?P3, single-stranded pattern, diag. and square grid.

SCHOOL: North-western Regional School.

CORPUS NAME: Bakewell 19.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See Bakewell 1.

STONE TYPE: Millstone Grit.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: ?Rectangular-sectioned shaft. Modelled carving technique, flat banded edge moulding, P4, ?S6, single-stranded pattern, diag. and ?square grid.

SCHOOL: Possibly North-western Regional School.

CORPUS NAME: Bakewell 20.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See Bakewell 1.

STONE TYPE: Millstone Grit.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: ?Rectangular-sectioned shaft. Modelled carving technique, flat banded edge moulding, ?USL, ?u/c, pellet, ?single arcade, possibly square grid.

SCHOOL: Possibly North-western Regional School.

CORPUS NAME: Bakewell 21.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See Bakewell 1.

STONE TYPE: Millstone Grit.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Modelled carving technique, ?flat banded edge moulding, FN, single-stranded pattern, irregular grid.

SCHOOL: Unknown.

CORPUS NAME: Bakewell 22.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See Bakewell 1.

STONE TYPE: Millstone Grit.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: ?Rectangular-sectioned shaft. Modelled carving technique, flat banded edge moulding, P4, unidentified multi-strand plait, double-stranded pattern, diag. grid.

SCHOOL: Unknown.

CORPUS NAME: Bakewell 23.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See Bakewell 1.

STONE TYPE: Millstone Grit.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Rectangular-sectioned shaft. Modelled carving technique, flat banded edge moulding, unidentified figure type, P4, pellet, single arcade, inner rim frame, single-stranded pattern, diag. grid.

SCHOOL: Unknown.

CORPUS NAME: Bakewell 24.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See Bakewell 1.

STONE TYPE: Millstone Grit.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Modelled carving technique, flat banded edge moulding, P6, single-stranded pattern, diag grid.

SCHOOL: Unknown.

CORPUS NAME: Bakewell 25.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See Bakewell 1.

STONE TYPE: Millstone Grit.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Appears to be round-shaft, but with ?some dressing-off. Modelled carving technique, flat banded edge moulding, P2, P4, S8, bottom curve, collar 2, double-stranded pattern, diag. grid.

SCHOOL: North-western Regional School.

CORPUS NAME: Bakewell 26.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See Bakewell 1.

STONE TYPE: ?Millstone Grit.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Rectangular-sectioned shaft. Modelled carving technique, roll edge moulding, ?Peak figure type.

SCHOOL: Uncertain: some doubt on figure-type.

CORPUS NAME: Bakewell 27.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See Bakewell 1.

STONE TYPE: Millstone Grit.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Probably part of a round-shaft. Modelled carving technique, flat banded edge moulding, P4, CC1, P3, bottom curve, double-stranded pattern, diag. grid.

SCHOOL: Probably North-western Regional School.

CORPUS NAME: Bakewell 28.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See Bakewell 1.

STONE TYPE: Millstone Grit.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Rectangular-sectioned shaft. Modelled carving technique, ?flat banded edge moulding, L1, P3, S1, P4, inverted 'V' frame, single-stranded pattern, diag. and square grid.

SCHOOL: North-western Regional School.

CORPUS NAME: Bakewell 29.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See Bakewell 1.

STONE TYPE: Millstone Grit.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Rectangular-sectioned shaft. Modelled carving technique, flat banded edge moulding, E1 (mirrored), S6, P6, single-stranded pattern, diag. grid.

SCHOOL: Probably North-western Regional School.

CORPUS NAME: Bakewell 30.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See Bakewell 1.

STONE TYPE: Millstone Grit.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Modelled carving technique, crosshead type ?10b, roll edge moulding, T1, boss, single-stranded pattern, ?diag. grid.

SCHOOL: North-western Regional School.

CORPUS NAME: Bakewell 31.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See Bakewell 1.

STONE TYPE: Millstone Grit.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Rectangular-sectioned shaft. Modelled carving technique, flat banded edge moulding, unidentified fragmentary figure, P3, inner rim frame, diag. grid.

SCHOOL: Uncertain, but possibly North-western Regional School.

CORPUS NAME: Bakewell 32.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See Bakewell 1.

STONE TYPE: Millstone Grit.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Coped tomb cover. Modelled carving technique, ?Peak figure type, C1, S1, single-stranded pattern, square grid.

SCHOOL: Peak School.

CORPUS NAME: Bakewell 33.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See Bakewell 1.

STONE TYPE: Millstone Grit.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Modelled carving technique, row of feet only.

SCHOOL: Probably not Anglo-Saxon.

CORPUS NAME: Bakewell 34.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See Bakewell 1.

STONE TYPE: Millstone Grit.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Part of a crosshead of unknown type. Modelled carving technique, ?inner rim frame, unidentified pattern.

SCHOOL: Unknown.

CORPUS NAME: Bakewell 35.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See Bakewell 1.

STONE TYPE: Unidentified sandstone

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Modelled carving technique; pattern too fragmentary.

SCHOOL: Unknown, may not be Anglo-Saxon.

CORPUS NAME: Bakewell 36.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See Bakewell 1.

STONE TYPE: Millstone Grit.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: ?Rectangular-sectioned shaft. Modelled carving technique, roll edge moulding, E1 (mirrored), double-stranded pattern, diag. grid.

SCHOOL: Unknown.

CORPUS NAME: Bakewell 37.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: Recorded as having been in churchyard for some time by Lysons in 1817, and much weathered by then (1817: ccxxxiv). Bateman and Glover record a tradition that it was brought from elsewhere (1848: 189) but this is unsubstantiated.

STONE TYPE: Millstone Grit.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Rectangular-sectioned shaft. Modelled carving technique, flat banded edge moulding, crosshead type 71a, Peak figure, S2, C3, archer figure, capitalised arcade, single-stranded pattern, square grid.

SCHOOL: Peak School.

CORPUS NAME: Bakewell 38.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See Bakewell 1. This sculpture is now in Sheffield Museum.

STONE TYPE: Millstone Grit.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Coped tomb cover. Modelled carving technique, cable 1 edge moulding, T1, w/c, P2, P4, vertical frame, unidentified beast type, single-stranded pattern, irregular grid.

SCHOOL: Probably North-western Regional School.

CORPUS NAME: Bakewell 39.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See Bakewell 1. This sculpture is now in Sheffield Museum.

STONE TYPE: Millstone Grit (or possibly Coal Measures sandstone).

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Inscribed stone only, in Runic text.

SCHOOL: Unknown.

CORPUS NAME: Bakewell 40.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See Bakewell 1.

STONE TYPE: Unknown.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Piece now lost. Illustrated by Browne (1886: plates) as having a 'lozenge' design.

SCHOOL: Unknown.

CORPUS NAME: Barnburgh (S. Yorkshire).

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: Found in churchyard in 19th. century, in two pieces (Ryder 1982: 103).

STONE TYPE: Lower Magnesian Limestone. The site stands on Dalton Rock of the Lower Coal Measures. However, Lower Magnesian Limestone of the Cadeby Formation outcrops less than 2 km. to the north-east.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Rectangular-sectioned shaft. Modelled carving technique, roll edge moulding, South Yorkshire Crown figure, pellet, fleur, single-stranded pattern, diag. grid.

SCHOOL: South Yorkshire Crown School - probably post-Conquest.

CORPUS NAME: Baslow (Derbyshire).

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: Found built into chancel wall in 19th. century (Fisher and Williamson 1954: 157-8).

STONE TYPE: Millstone Grit. Local outcrops of Ashover Grit.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Modelled carving technique, unidentified pattern.

SCHOOL: Unknown.

CORPUS NAME: Birstall (W. Yorkshire) 1.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: Found in 1870 in church fabric, during alterations (pers. com. Vicar of St. Peter's). Now inside church.

STONE TYPE: Coal Measures sandstone. Outcrops of Birstall Rock of the Middle Coal Measures are found close by the site.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Part of cross base. Modelled carving technique, cable 1 edge moulding, bush scroll, u/c, ST1, ?S10, inner rim frame, single-stranded pattern, square and diag. grid.

SCHOOL: Kirklees School.

CORPUS NAME: Birstall (W. Yorkshire) 2.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See Birstall (Yorks.) 1.

STONE TYPE: Coal Measures sandstone (see above).

ATTRIBUTES LIST: ?Slab monument. Modelled carving technique, lozenge.

SCHOOL: Unknown.

CORPUS NAME: Birstall (Leicestershire).

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: Found built into arch to vestry in 1930 (Pevsner 1960: 66).

STONE TYPE: Triassic sandstone. Local stone, with outcrops of sandstone, for example, at Ratcliffe, c. 7 km. to the north, or to the west of Leicester, c. 3-4 km. to the south (both formerly Keuper Sandstone).

ATTRIBUTES LIST: ?Slab monument. Modelled carving technique, Ribbon beast, cable 1 edge moulding, Trent curl, single-stranded pattern, irregular grid.

SCHOOL: South sub-division of the South-western Regional School.

CORPUS NAME: Blackwell (E. Derbyshire).

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: Recorded in churchyard in 1817, by Lysons (1817: ccxxxiv). Now in church porch.

STONE TYPE: Decayed surface, but appears to be of a local Coal Measures sandstone. This stone outcrops close to the church.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Rectangular-sectioned shaft. Modelled carving technique, ?roll edge moulding, E1 (mirrored) A1 (spiralled), looped P4, single-stranded pattern, diag. grid.

SCHOOL: South-western Regional School.

CORPUS NAME: Blackwell (Derbyshire Peak).

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: Found in the foundations of a building, thought to be a manor house. No evidence of a church nearby and of exotic stone type. Considered unprovenanced (Jones 1993: 66).

STONE TYPE: Millstone Grit. Nearest outcrops of Ashover, Chatsworth or Roaches Grits, c. 9 km.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Possibly part of a rectangular-sectioned shaft, but very fragmentary. Modelled carving technique, ?S10, ?inner rim frame.

SCHOOL: Unknown.

CORPUS NAME: Bradbourne (Derbyshire) 1.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: At least part of the shaft was found under the foundations of the south porch c. 1788 (Anon. 1788). Several fragments recorded in 1817, lying in the churchyard (Lysons 1817: ccxxxiv). Reconstructed into its present form in 1947 (Anon. 1947: 120).

STONE TYPE: Millstone Grit. Outcrops of Ashover Grit, c. 2 km. to north-west.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Rectangular-sectioned shaft. Modelled carving technique, flat banded edge moulding, Peak figure, archer figure, S2, single arcade, single-stranded pattern, square grid.

SCHOOL: Peak School.

CORPUS NAME: Bradbourne 2.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: Presumed to be one of the fragments lying in the churchyard (see Bradbourne 1), but was inside the church by 1937 (Routh 1937: 19).

STONE TYPE: Millstone Grit.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Fragment of crosshead, possibly of type 12c. Modelled carving technique, Peak figure, C3, C1, inner rim frame, square grid.

SCHOOL: Peak School.

CORPUS NAME: Bradbourne 3.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: Built into base of nave wall.

STONE TYPE: Millstone Grit.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Unidentified. Could be part of shaft No. 1.

SCHOOL: Unknown.

CORPUS NAME: Bradbourne 4.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: Built into south wall of chancel.

STONE TYPE: ?Millstone Grit, but could be a Triassic sandstone.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Possibly a rectangular-sectioned shaft. Modelled carving technique, ?looped P4, diag. grid.

SCHOOL: Unknown.

CORPUS NAME: Bradbourne 5.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: Found in building material at Clipshead Farm, Brassington, near Bradbourne in 1966 (Derby Museum Accession No. 1966-L188). Unprovenanced. Now in Derby Museum.

STONE TYPE: Millstone Grit.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Part of a crosshead of type 9a. Modelled carving technique, flat banded edge moulding, E1, inner rim frame, single-stranded pattern, diag. grid.

SCHOOL: Probably South-western Regional School.

CORPUS NAME: Bradfield (S. Yorkshire).

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: Found in field known as "The Cross" about 1-1½ miles from church, in 1870. Placed inside church in 1883 (Ryder 1982: 104).

STONE TYPE: Millstone Grit. Local outcrops of Rivelin Grit

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Rectangular-sectioned shaft with crosshead of type 6b. Modelled carving technique, boss, plain, inner rim and ?inner groove frame, 5 bosses, ?square grid.

SCHOOL: Probably North Regional School.

CORPUS NAME: Brailsford (Derbyshire).

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: Found in 1919 when digging a grave in churchyard (Routh 1937: 20-1) under a medieval flight of steps (Collingwood 1923: 1).

STONE TYPE: Millstone Grit. Outcrops of Ashover Grit, c. 3 km. to north-west.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Round shaft. Modelled carving technique, unidentified figure with partially plaited body, cable 1 edge moulding, BB2, P2, P3, L1, USL, S4, S6, pellet, collar 2, single-stranded pattern, diag., square and irregular grids.

SCHOOL: North-western Regional School.

CORPUS NAME: Breedon (Leicestershire) 1.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: Clapham implies that all of the Breedon pieces were found in the building fabric of the church. Some pieces had obviously been rebuilt for display in the porch by 1928 (Clapham 1928: 221-4). All fragments, except Nos. 8-10, have been rebuilt into the walls of the church. No. 1 is now in the tower.

STONE TYPE: ?Triassic sandstone. Although Breedon stands on an "island" of Carboniferous Limestone, several outcrops of Triassic sandstone (formerly Keuper Sandstone) occur close to the site.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Unidentified figure type in a ?panel. Modelled carving technique, capitalised arcade.

SCHOOL: Unknown.

CORPUS NAME: Breedon 2.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See Breedon 1. Now in the base of the tower.

STONE TYPE: Jurassic Limestone. This is not a local stone and the nearest source is found nearly 50 km. to the east.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Frieze panel. Deep modelled carving technique, L5, double-stranded pattern, diag. grid.

SCHOOL: Breedon "in-house".

CORPUS NAME: Breedon 3.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See Breedon 1. Now in the base of the tower.

STONE TYPE: Jurassic Limestone

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Frieze panel. Deep modelled carving technique, beast scroll, single-stranded pattern.

SCHOOL: Breedon "in-house".

CORPUS NAME: Breedon 4.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See Breedon 1. Now in base of tower

STONE TYPE: ?Jurassic Limestone.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Frieze panel. Deep modelled carving technique, high relief figure.

SCHOOL: Breedon "in-house".

CORPUS NAME: Breedon 5.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See Breedon 1. Now in base of tower.

STONE TYPE: Jurassic Limestone

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Frieze panel. Deep modelled carving technique, ?roll edge moulding, S11, double-stranded pattern, ?diag. grid.

SCHOOL: Breedon "in-house".

CORPUS NAME: Breedon 6.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See Breedon 1. Now in base of tower.

STONE TYPE: ?Jurassic Limestone, but decayed

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Frieze panel. Deep modelled carving technique, roll edge moulding, CC5, double-stranded pattern, diag. grid.

SCHOOL: Breedon "in-house".

CORPUS NAME: Breedon 7.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See Breedon 1. Now in base of tower.

STONE TYPE: ?Jurassic Limestone

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Frieze panel. Deep modelled carving technique, L5, beast scroll, diag. grid.

SCHOOL: Breedon "in-house".

CORPUS NAME: Breedon 8.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See Breedon 1. Clapham says this piece was formerly built into the wall (1928: 223). Now inside church.

STONE TYPE: Triassic sandstone (see Breedon 1).

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Rectangular-sectioned shaft. Modelled carving technique, unidentified figure type, E1, Ribbon beast, A1, Thick stem, double-stranded pattern, irregular grid.

SCHOOL: South-western Regional School.

CORPUS NAME: Breedon 9.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: Said to have been reused as a lintel in the church fabric (Clapham 1928: 223-4). Now inside church.

STONE TYPE: Triassic sandstone.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Rectangular-sectioned shaft. Modelled carving technique, roll edge moulding, S4, CC1, USL, CC2, F2, inverted 'V' frame, ?C1+CC1, double-stranded pattern, diag. and square grid.

SCHOOL: North-western Regional School.

CORPUS NAME: Breedon 10.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See Breedon 1. Now inside church.

STONE TYPE: Triassic sandstone.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Rectangular-sectioned shaft. Modelled carving technique, flat banded edge moulding, Ribbon beast, Thick stem, F1, A1, inner rim frame, single-stranded pattern, diag. grid.

SCHOOL: South sub-division of the South-western Regional School.

CORPUS NAME: Breedon 11.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See Breedon 1. Now in wall of main body of church.

STONE TYPE: Unknown - inaccessible, but appears to be ?Jurassic Limestone.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Frieze panel. Deep modelled carving technique, high relief figure, beast scroll.

SCHOOL: Breedon "in-house".

CORPUS NAME: Breedon 12.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See Breedon 1 and 11.

STONE TYPE: Unknown - inaccessible.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Frieze panel. Deep modelled carving technique, high relief figure, beast scroll, broken scroll, ?square grid.

SCHOOL: Breedon "in-house".

CORPUS NAME: Breedon 13.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See Breedon 1 and 11.

STONE TYPE: Unknown - inaccessible, but possibly Jurassic Limestone.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Frieze panel. Deep modelled carving technique, scallop, ?beast scroll.

SCHOOL: Breedon "in-house".

CORPUS NAME: Breedon 14.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See Breedon 1 and 11.

STONE TYPE: Unknown - inaccessible.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Frieze panel. Deep modelled carving technique, F1, beast scroll, diag. grid.

SCHOOL: Breedon "in-house".

CORPUS NAME: Breedon 15 and 16.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See Breedon 1 and 11.

STONE TYPE: Unknown - inaccessible, but appears to be Jurassic Limestone.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Frieze panel. Deep modelled carving technique, beast scroll.

SCHOOL: Breedon "in-house".

CORPUS NAME: Breedon 17.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See Breedon 1 and 11.

STONE TYPE: Unknown - inaccessible, but possibly Jurassic Limestone.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Frieze panel. Deep modelled carving technique, high relief figure, beast scroll.

SCHOOL: Breedon "in-house".

CORPUS NAME: Breedon 18 - 21.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See Breedon 1 and 11.

STONE TYPE: Unknown - inaccessible, but appear to be Jurassic Limestone.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Frieze panel. Deep modelled carving technique, beast scroll.

SCHOOL: Breedon "in-house".

CORPUS NAME: Breedon 22.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See Breedon 1 and 11.

STONE TYPE: Appears to be Jurassic Limestone.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Frieze panel. Deep modelled carving technique, S11, variated scroll, double-stranded pattern.

SCHOOL: Breedon "in-house".

CORPUS NAME: Breedon 23-25.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See Breedon 1 and 11.

STONE TYPE: Shelly limestone, probably Jurassic, but not from the same beds as the frieze panels. Again, as described under Breedon 2, this is not a local stone and nearest sources are some considerable distance away.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: ?Architectural panel. Modelled carving technique, turned halo figure, capitalled arcade.

SCHOOL: Unknown.

CORPUS NAME: Breedon 26.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See Breedon 1 and 11.

STONE TYPE: Shelly limestone, probably Jurassic (see above).

ATTRIBUTES LIST: ?Architectural panel. Modelled carving technique, unidentified figure type in arcade.

SCHOOL: Unknown.

CORPUS NAME: Breedon 27.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See Breedon 1 and 11.

STONE TYPE: Jurassic Limestone.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: ?Architectural panel. Deep modelled carving technique, roll edge moulding, ?high relief figure.

SCHOOL: Possibly Breedon "in-house".

CORPUS NAME: Breedon 28.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See Breedon 1 and 11.

STONE TYPE: Difficult to assess, but appears to be a sandstone.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: ?Architectural panel. Deep modelled carving technique, beast in panel.

SCHOOL: Unknown.

CORPUS NAME: Breedon 29.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See Breedon 1 and 11.

STONE TYPE: Jurassic Limestone.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Frieze panel. Deep modelled carving technique, ?beast scroll (eroded).

SCHOOL: Breedon "in-house".

CORPUS NAME: Breedon 30.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See Breedon 1 and 11.

STONE TYPE: Jurassic Limestone.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Frieze panel. Deep modelled carving technique, beast scroll, L5, single-stranded pattern, diag. grid.

SCHOOL: Breedon "in-house".

CORPUS NAME: Breedon 31-32.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See Breedon 1 and 11.

STONE TYPE: Jurassic Limestone.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Frieze panels. Deep modelled carving technique, beast scroll (No. 32 mainly tooled away).

SCHOOL: Breedon "in-house".

CORPUS NAME: Breedon 33.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See Breedon 1 and 11.

STONE TYPE: ?Jurassic Limestone.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: ?Architectural panel. Modelled carving technique, unidentified figure (partial) with ?jars and a box/seat.

SCHOOL: Unknown, may not be Anglo-Saxon.

CORPUS NAME: Breedon 34.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See Breedon 1 and 11.

STONE TYPE: ?Jurassic Limestone.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Frieze panel. Deep modelled carving technique, S11, double-stranded pattern.

SCHOOL: Breedon "in-house".

CORPUS NAME: Breedon 35.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See Breedon 1 and 11.

STONE TYPE: ?Jurassic Limestone.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: ?Architectural panel. Modelled carving technique, unidentified figure type.

SCHOOL: Unknown.

CORPUS NAME: Cawthorne (S. Yorkshire) 1.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: Built into church north wall.

STONE TYPE: Probably a Coal Measures sandstone. The site stands close to sources of both Lower and Middle Coal Measures sandstones, for example, Penistone Flags which outcrop immediately to the west of the site.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Crosshead of type 10b/e. Modelled carving technique, circle-eared figure type, incised motif, inner rim frame, single-stranded pattern.

SCHOOL: Incised Motif sub-division of North Regional School.

CORPUS NAME: Cawthorne 2.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: Little known, except that this fragment, along with Nos. 3 and 4, have been re-erected in the churchyard for some time (Ryder 1982: 105-8).

STONE TYPE: Coal Measures sandstone.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Crosshead of type 10b. Modelled carving technique, with part grooved. Incised motif, plain, inner rim frame, single-stranded pattern, ?dressed-off figure.

SCHOOL: Incised Motif sub-school.

CORPUS NAME: Cawthorne 3.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See Cawthorne 2.

STONE TYPE: Coal Measures sandstone.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Rectangular-sectioned shaft. Grooved carving technique, ? roll edge moulding, plain, inner groove, single-stranded pattern.

SCHOOL: Incised Motif/North Regional School.

CORPUS NAME: Cawthorne 4.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See Cawthorne 2.

STONE TYPE: Coal Measures sandstone.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Rectangular-sectioned shaft. Grooved carving technique, roll edge moulding, unidentified figure type, multi-strand plait, Incised motif, inner groove, single-stranded pattern, square or irregular grid.

SCHOOL: Incised motif sub-school.

CORPUS NAME: Cawthorne 5.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: Found in the grounds of Cannon Hall, near Cawthorne, "some years ago (Ryder 1982: 108). Unprovenanced, but very similar to "High Hoyland 1".

STONE TYPE: Millstone Grit. Not local to the site: nearest outcrops are of Rough Rock Grit, c. 13 km. to the west.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Font. Grooved carving technique, cable 1 edge mouldings, SP1, ST1, cross, beast, single arcade.

SCHOOL: Unknown - thought to be post-Conquest.

CORPUS NAME: Chapel-en-le-Frith (Derbyshire).

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: Previously stood near Ollerenshaw Hall, Eccles Pike, near Chapel (NAR. No. SK08SW6). It was in Chapel churchyard before 1937 (Routh 1937: 22), but not mentioned by Cox in 1877 (1877: 139-45).

STONE TYPE: Millstone Grit. Local outcrops of Shale and Kinderscout Grits.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Rectangular-sectioned shaft. Modelled carving technique, roll edge moulding, P6, CC1, inner rim frame, single-stranded pattern, diag. grid.

SCHOOL: Unknown.

CORPUS NAME: Cheadle (Cheshire/Gtr. Manchester).

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: Found by workmen nearby the church in 1875: there may have been other fragments (Morris 1983: 9). Cross now stands inside the church.

STONE TYPE: Contained in glass case, but appears to be a local Triassic stone.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Rectangular-sectioned shaft with crosshead of type 11e. Modelled carving technique, roll edge mouldings, pellet, boss, L1, S8, S6, inner rim frame, irregular grid.

SCHOOL: North-western Regional School.

CORPUS NAME: Chebsey (Staffordshire).

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: Pape says that it is known that "the cross has been here some time" (1945/6: 31-2). The SMR. suggests that the shaft has "obviously been re-erected" (Staffs. C.C. SMR. No. PRN:00097)

STONE TYPE: Triassic sandstone: Although the site stands on gravel, there are local outcrops of sandstone (formerly Keuper Sandstone) in the immediate area.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Round shaft. Modelled carving technique, BB2, FN, P3, ?A1, wide collar, single-stranded pattern, irregular grid.

SCHOOL: Difficult to assess, but possibly North-western Regional School.

CORPUS NAME: Checkley (Staffordshire) 1.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: All three shafts at Checkley are said to have been in their present position in the churchyard, at least since the 17th. century (Pape 1946/7: 25).

STONE TYPE: Triassic sandstone. Outcrops of Sherwood Sandstone of the Hawksmoor Formation lie c. 3 km. to the north.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Rectangular-sectioned shaft. Modelled carving technique, roll edge moulding, raised arm figure, plaited body figure, pellet, E1+1, P6, P4, CC3, BCC, single arcade, double arcade, single-stranded pattern, clergy figure, diag. grid.

SCHOOL: Dove Valley local school of the South-western Regional School.

CORPUS NAME: Checkley 2.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See Checkley 1.

STONE TYPE: Triassic sandstone.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Rectangular-sectioned shaft. Modelled carving technique, ?roll edge moulding, ?clergy figure, ?raised arm figure, Thick stem, T1, E1+1, P6, pellet, ?E1a, single-stranded pattern, diag. and square grid.

SCHOOL: Dove Valley local school of the South-western Regional School.

CORPUS NAME: Checkley 3.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See Checkley 1.

STONE TYPE: Triassic sandstone.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Rectangular-sectioned shaft. Decoration now worn away.

SCHOOL: Unknown.

CORPUS NAME: Chesterton (Staffordshire).

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: Found in use as a feedtrough at a farm in Chesterton parish in 1958. No other provenance known (Staffs. C.C. SMR. No. PRN:01782).

STONE TYPE: Millstone Grit. Outcrops of Chatsworth and Roaches Grit, c. 2½ km. to north-east.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Rectangular-sectioned shaft. Modelled carving technique, flat banded edge moulding, skirted figure, pellet, ?side-shrouded figure, Ribbon beast, D1, ?S6, Thick stem, single arcade, inner rim frame, single-stranded pattern, diag. and irregular grid.

SCHOOL: West sub-division of the South-western Regional School.

CORPUS NAME: Cluelow (Cheshire).

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: First recorded in its present position on a mound in open countryside, on a 17th. century map. No other provenance known (Staffs. C.C. SMR. No. 1528: Earwalker 1880: 435).

STONE TYPE: Millstone Grit. Local outcrops of Roaches and Chatsworth Grits.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Round shaft. Modelled carving technique, bottom curve, collar 2.

SCHOOL: North-western Regional School.

CORPUS NAME: Conisbrough (S. Yorkshire) 1.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: Unknown, but thought to have been taken from the church fabric (unrecorded) (Ryder 1982: 109).

STONE TYPE: Coal Measures sandstone. The site stands on Lower Magnesian Limestone, but Mexborough Rock of the Middle Coal Measures outcrops c. 2½ km. to the north-west.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Possibly a fragment of a rectangular-sectioned shaft. Modelled carving technique, ?S7, unidentified (fragmentary) pattern.

SCHOOL: Too fragmentary and worn to fully assess, but could be of the Calder Valley sub-group of the North Regional School.

CORPUS NAME: Conisbrough 2.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: Built into south porch external wall.

STONE TYPE: Coal Measures sandstone.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: ?part of a rectangular-sectioned shaft. Grooved carving technique, plain, inner groove.

SCHOOL: North Regional School.

CORPUS NAME: Costock (Nottinghamshire).

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: Built into buttress of church.

STONE TYPE: Triassic sandstone. The site stands on the edge of the Trias, but outcrops of (formerly) Keuper Sandstone occur within a few km. to the west.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Possibly part of a shaft, or even architectural. Incised carving technique, E1 circle, single-stranded pattern, diag. grid.

SCHOOL: Possibly South-western Regional School.

CORPUS NAME: Crofton (W. Yorkshire) 1.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: Presently in church. Recorded as such by Collingwood (1927: 52). May have been removed from fabric of church during alterations of 1875.

STONE TYPE: Appears to be of Coal Measures sandstone. Local sources of Ackworth Rock of the Upper Coal Measures.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Crosshead, possibly of type 1b, Modelled carving technique, square chin figure.

SCHOOL: Unknown, but possibly of the North Regional School.

CORPUS NAME: Crofton 2.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See Crofton 1.

STONE TYPE: Coal measures sandstone.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Possibly a slab monument, or a narrow shaft. Modelled carving technique, flat banded edge moulding, unidentified interlinked beast type, S7, A1 (mirrored), double-stranded pattern, diag. grid.

SCHOOL: Probably North Regional School.

CORPUS NAME: Darfield (S. Yorkshire) 1.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: Both pieces at Darfield are built into the medieval church fabric.

STONE TYPE: Coal Measures sandstone. Sources of both Mexborough or Roystone Rock are found near the site.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Modelled carving technique, ?flat banded edge moulding, rosette, merged E1 pattern, single-stranded pattern.

SCHOOL: Unknown.

CORPUS NAME: Darfield 2.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See Darfield 1.

STONE TYPE: Coal Measures sandstone.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Modelled carving technique, ?flat banded edge moulding, A1 (mirrored) inner rim frame, diag. grid.

SCHOOL: Difficult to assess.

CORPUS NAME: Darley Dale (Derbyshire) 1.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: Both Darley Dale fragments were found in the church fabric in 1854 and taken into the private collection of Thos. Bateman (Cox 1877: 167) and eventually given to Sheffield Museum (Hanbury 1951: 84).

STONE TYPE: Millstone Grit. Local outcrops of Ashover Grit.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Rectangular-sectioned shaft. Modelled carving technique, ?roll edge moulding, CC1, looped P4, ?P6, double-stranded pattern, diag. grid.

SCHOOL: Unknown.

CORPUS NAME: Darley Dale 2.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See Darley Dale 1.

STONE TYPE: Millstone Grit.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Probably a slab monument. Grooved carving technique, part modelled. Flat banded edge moulding, L1, square, cross.

SCHOOL: Uncertain, could be of the North-western Regional School, or even post-Conquest.

CORPUS NAME: Derby (Derbyshire) 1.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: Found at St. Alkmund's church in 1841, built into fabric (Cox 1879: 114-8). The piece stood in the churchyard, until it was taken to Derby Museum (Routh 1937: 23).

STONE TYPE: Millstone Grit. Nearest outcrops of Ashover Grit, c. 4½ km. to north.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Rectangular-sectioned shaft. Modelled carving technique, ?flat banded edge moulding, Ribbon beast, single arcade, single-stranded pattern.

SCHOOL: South-western Regional School.

CORPUS NAME: Derby 2.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See Derby 1.

STONE TYPE: Millstone Grit.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Coped tomb cover (hogback). Modelled carving technique, Ribbon beast, A1, E1, Thick stem, double-stranded pattern, diag. grid.

SCHOOL: South-western Regional School.

CORPUS NAME: Derby 3.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: Found during excavations of St. Alkmund's in 1968 (Radford 1976)

STONE TYPE: Millstone Grit.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Sarcophagus, with small part of lid present. Modelled carving technique, flat banded edge moulding, A1, E1, C1, P4, P3, looped P4, inner rim frame, single-stranded pattern, ?square and diag. grid.

SCHOOL: South-western Regional School.

CORPUS NAME: Derby 4.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See Derby 1.

STONE TYPE: Millstone Grit.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Modelled carving technique, cable 1 edge moulding, unidentified figure type, arcade.

SCHOOL: Unknown.

CORPUS NAME: Derby 5.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See Derby 3.

STONE TYPE: Millstone Grit.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Possibly shaft or slab. Modelled carving technique, flat banded edge moulding, A1, inner rim frame, single-stranded pattern, diag. grid.

SCHOOL: Probably South-western Regional School.

CORPUS NAME: Derby 6.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See Derby 1.

STONE TYPE: Millstone Grit.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Rectangular-sectioned shaft. Modelled carving technique, flat banded edge moulding, capitalised arcade, unidentified figure type (damaged), but may be similar to Shelford figures (see "Shelford").

SCHOOL: Unknown.

CORPUS NAME: Derby 7.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See Derby 1.

STONE TYPE: Millstone Grit.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Rectangular-sectioned shaft. Modelled carving technique, flat banded edge moulding, Ribbon beast, F1, Thick stem, ?A1, double-stranded pattern, irregular grid.

SCHOOL: South-western Regional School.

CORPUS NAME: Derby 8.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See Derby 3.

STONE TYPE: Probably Millstone Grit, but possibly Triassic sandstone.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Crosshead fragment, possibly type 9a. Modelled carving technique, E1, A1, inner rim frame, single-stranded pattern.

SCHOOL: South-western Regional School.

CORPUS NAME: Derby 9.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See Derby 1.

STONE TYPE: Unknown.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Piece now lost. Information from drawings (Radford 1976) only (see Appendix 3B). Unidentified design.

SCHOOL: Unknown.

CORPUS NAME: Derby 10a/b.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See Derby 1.

STONE TYPE: Unknown

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Piece now lost. Information from drawings only (Radford 1976). Unidentified design.

SCHOOL: Unknown, possibly post-Conquest.

CORPUS NAME: Derby 11.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See Derby 3.

STONE TYPE: Millstone Grit.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Slab, ?grave cover. Modelled and incised carving technique, E1, central ridge.

SCHOOL: Possibly post-Conquest.

CORPUS NAME: Derby 12.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See Derby 3.

STONE TYPE: Appears to be Jurassic Limestone. This is not a local stone and the nearest source of Jurassic Limestone is from the Inferior Oolite, some 50 km. to the east.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Slab or grave cover. Incised carving technique, plain, double-ended cross.

SCHOOL: Probably post-Conquest.

CORPUS NAME: Derwent (Derbyshire).

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: Found in 1991, reused as a fireplace surround in a disused ?19th. century cottage, about 200 metres from an old chapel. However, the piece is strictly unprovenanced (Sidebottom 1993: 14).

STONE TYPE: Millstone Grit. Local outcrops of Kinderscout Grit.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Now destroyed, but appears to have had CC1.

SCHOOL: Unknown.

CORPUS NAME: Dewsbury (W. Yorkshire) 1 and 4.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: Collingwood states that the fragments were "collected" by Chadwick, probably during the latter 19th. century (1921: 23). This appears to be a collection from masonry removed from the church fabric during 19th. century alterations (W. Yorks. SMR. Nos. PRN 2407 and PRN 898). All pieces, except No. 13, are now kept inside the church.

STONE TYPE: Coal Measures sandstone. There are local sources of Thornhill Rock or Birstall Rock of the Lower Coal Measures, c. 1 km. to the west and north respectively.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: ?Architectural. Modelled carving technique, round face figure, inscription.

SCHOOL: Dewsbury "in-house".

CORPUS NAME: Dewsbury 2.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See Dewsbury 1.

STONE TYPE: Coal Measures sandstone.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: ?Architectural. Modelled carving technique, round face figure, inscription, capitalised arcade.

SCHOOL: Dewsbury "in-house".

CORPUS NAME: Dewsbury 3.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See Dewsbury 1.

STONE TYPE: Coal Measures sandstone.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: ?Architectural. Modelled carving technique, round face figure, ?cable 1 frame.

SCHOOL: Dewsbury "in-house".

CORPUS NAME: Dewsbury 5.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See Dewsbury 1.

STONE TYPE: Coal Measures sandstone.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Crosshead, possibly type 9c. Modelled carving technique, ?round face figure, cable 3 edge moulding.

SCHOOL: Uncertain, possibly Dewsbury "in-house".

CORPUS NAME: Dewsbury 6.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See Dewsbury 1.

STONE TYPE: Coal Measures sandstone.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Possibly part of rectangular-sectioned shaft. Modelled carving technique, ?round face figure, S13, capitalised arcade, single-stranded pattern.

SCHOOL: Uncertain, possibly Dewsbury "in-house".

CORPUS NAME: Dewsbury 7.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See Dewsbury 1.

STONE TYPE: Coal Measures sandstone.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Rectangular-sectioned shaft. Grooved carving technique, S7, A1, inner rim frame, double-stranded pattern, ?square chin figure, cable 1 edge moulding, square grid.

SCHOOL: Calder Valley sub-school.

CORPUS NAME: Dewsbury 8.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See Dewsbury 1.

STONE TYPE: Coal Measures sandstone.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Slab monument. Modelled carving technique, flat banded edge moulding, S7, A1 (mirrored), plain, inner rim frame, single-stranded pattern, ?square grid.

SCHOOL: Calder Valley sub-school.

CORPUS NAME: Dewsbury 9.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See Dewsbury 1.

STONE TYPE: Coal Measures sandstone.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Crosshead of type 9d. Grooved carving technique, cable 2 edge moulding, plain, inner groove, single-stranded pattern.

SCHOOL: Calder Valley sub-school.

CORPUS NAME: Dewsbury 10.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See Dewsbury 1.

STONE TYPE: Coal Measures sandstone.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Crosshead, possibly type 10? Modelled carving technique, boss, ovoid, single-stranded pattern.

SCHOOL: Unknown.

CORPUS NAME: Dewsbury 11.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See Dewsbury 1.

STONE TYPE: Coal Measures sandstone.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Coped tomb (?hogback). Modelled carving technique with part incised, tegulations, cross, S7, inner rim frame, central ridge, single-stranded pattern.

SCHOOL: Probably Calder Valley sub-school.

CORPUS NAME: Dewsbury 12.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See Dewsbury 1.

STONE TYPE: Coal Measures sandstone.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Slab monument. Grooved carving technique, plain, inner groove, S7, inner rim frame, single-stranded pattern, ?square grid.

SCHOOL: Calder Valley sub-school.

CORPUS NAME: Dewsbury 13.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: As for Dewsbury 1, but this piece is now in the British Museum.

STONE TYPE: Unknown.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Crosshead fragment of type 9c? Appears to be in a grooved carving technique, inscription, P2, S7. (Information from photograph - see Appendix 3B).

SCHOOL: Calder Valley sub-school.

CORPUS NAME: Disley (Cheshire).

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: Dug-up in churchyard in 1958 (Cheshire C.C. SMR. No. 1636).

STONE TYPE: Millstone Grit. Local outcrops of Roaches and Chatsworth Grits.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Strictly not a carved stone, but an undecorated cross base, thought to be to support a pair of round shafts.

SCHOOL: Possibly North-western Regional School.

CORPUS NAME: East Bridgford (Nottinghamshire) 1.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: Found built into church fabric (Du Boulay Hill 1916: 200). Now inside church.

STONE TYPE: Jurassic Limestone. There are no local sources of suitable stone, but sources of Triassic sandstone are available from bluffs overlooking the Trent within 3 or 4 km. However, the nearest source for Jurassic Limestone is from the Inferior Oolite, c. 17 km. to the east.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Rectangular-sectioned shaft. Modelled carving technique, flat banded edge moulding, P3, unidentified figure fragment, ?looped P4, cross, Lincoln joint, double cable frame, double-stranded pattern, diag. grid.

SCHOOL: East School.

CORPUS NAME: East Bridgford 2.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See East Bridgford 1.

STONE TYPE: Jurassic Limestone.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Rectangular-sectioned shaft. Modelled carving technique, flat banded edge moulding, looped P4, P3, E1 looped, double cable frame, double-stranded pattern, diag. grid.

SCHOOL: East School.

CORPUS NAME: Ecclesfield (S. Yorkshire) 1.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: Found (with No. 2) in churchyard in 1892 (Ryder 1982: 110). Now inside church.

STONE TYPE: Millstone Grit. Local outcrops of Rough Rock Grit.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Rectangular-sectioned shaft. Grooved carving technique, plain, Incised motif, flat banded edge moulding, rosette, inner groove, single-stranded pattern, ?square or irregular grid.

SCHOOL: Incised Motif sub-division of the North Regional School.

CORPUS NAME: Ecclesfield 2.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See Ecclesfield 1.

STONE TYPE: Millstone Grit.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Cross base with two sockets, plain, inner groove.

SCHOOL: Incised Motif sub-division of the North Regional School.

CORPUS NAME: Eccleshall (Staffordshire) 1.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: Found during recent archaeological survey (pers. com. Staffs. C.C.).

STONE TYPE: Appears to be Triassic sandstone. The site stands on river gravel, but local sources of sandstone (formerly Keuper Sandstone) are available close by.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Modelled carving technique. Could be architectural. Too fragmentary.

SCHOOL: Unknown.

CORPUS NAME: Eccleshall 2.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See Eccleshall 1.

STONE TYPE: Probably Triassic sandstone.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Architectural. Unidentified beast, P3.

SCHOOL: Unknown, may not be Anglo-Saxon.

CORPUS NAME: Eccleshall 3.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: Built into church wall, before the 19th. century (Pape 1946/7: 32).

STONE TYPE: Triassic sandstone.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Modelled carving technique, ?flat banded edge moulding, unidentified figures, capitalled arcade.

SCHOOL: Unknown.

CORPUS NAME: Eccleshall 4.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See Eccleshall 3.

STONE TYPE: Triassic sandstone.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Modelled carving technique, cable 1 edge moulding, ?skirted figure, E1, pellet, inner rim frame, single-stranded pattern, diag. grid.

SCHOOL: Probably South-western Regional School.

CORPUS NAME: Eyam (Derbyshire) 1.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: Recorded that the shaft and head were standing in churchyard in 1817 (Lysons 1817: ccxxiv). Cox says it was broken-up in the churchyard before 1790, but local tradition says it was originally distant from the church (1877: 195-6).

STONE TYPE: Millstone Grit. Local outcrops of Shale and Kinderscout Grits.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Crosshead of type 12c. Modelled carving technique, Peak figure, C3, single-stranded pattern, inner rim frame, square grid.

SCHOOL: Peak School.

CORPUS NAME: Eyam 2.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See Eyam 1.

STONE TYPE: Millstone Grit.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Rectangular-sectioned shaft. Modelled carving technique, roll edge moulding, Peak figure, C1, single arcade, capitalled arcade, single-stranded pattern, square grid.

SCHOOL: Peak School.

CORPUS NAME: Fernilee (Derbyshire).

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: 'Discovered' in the grounds of Fernilee Hall, early this century. Its original location is unknown. It now stands at a road junction in the same parish (Andrew 1905: 201-2).

STONE TYPE: Millstone Grit. Local outcrops of Chatsworth and Roaches Grits.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Round shaft. Modelled carving technique, bottom curve, collar 2.

SCHOOL: North-western Regional School.

CORPUS NAME: Harston (Leicestershire).

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: Built into chancel wall, probably in the 19th. century. No other details known.

STONE TYPE: Jurassic Limestone. The site stands on Lias clays, but sources of Jurassic Limestone from the Inferior Oolite are available within 4 km. to the east.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Possibly a slab monument. Modelled carving technique, cable 1 edge moulding, P4, double cable frame, single-stranded pattern, diag. grid.

SCHOOL: Uncertain.

CORPUS NAME: Hartington (Derbyshire).

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: Built into church wall. Found in church fabric when it was restored in 1858 (Cox 1877: 480-1).

STONE TYPE: Triassic sandstone. This is not local to the site and the nearest source is of Sherwood Sandstone in the lower Dove valley, near Ashbourne, c. 17 km. distant.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Modelled carving technique, ?S3, ?inner rim frame.

SCHOOL: Uncertain. It appears to have an attribute similar to S3 which suggests an association with Leek (3C). It could however, be the corner of a medieval grave slab. The choice of a non-local stone type suggests the latter.

CORPUS NAME: Hartshead (W. Yorkshire).

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: First said to be in its present position, standing in a field less than ½ mile from the church, in the 18th. century (Collingwood 1921: 38). Previous position unknown.

STONE TYPE: Coal Measures sandstone. Local outcrops of Clifton Rock of the Lower Coal Measures.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Cross base. Shallow modelled carving technique, ?flat banded edge moulding, ?C1, u/c, CC1, P2, SP1, inner rim frame, single-stranded pattern, irregular and ?diag. grid. This sculpture is now very worn: Collingwood shows an unidentified animal type in his drawing (1921: 37) which is now indistinguishable.

SCHOOL: Kirklees School.

CORPUS NAME: Hawsworth (Nottinghamshire).

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: Found reused as a lintel in Norman church fabric (Du Boulay Hill 1916: 200-1).

STONE TYPE: Jurassic Limestone. There are no local stone sources, but Triassic sandstones (formerly Keuper) are available within c. 7 km. to the west. The nearest Jurassic Limestone (from the Inferior Oolite) is found c. 10 km. to the east.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Possibly a shaft or recumbent tomb cover. Modelled carving technique, cable edge moulding, cross frame, P3, E1 looped, Lincoln joint, looped P4, double cable, double-stranded pattern, diag. grid.

SCHOOL: East School.

CORPUS NAME: Hickling (Nottinghamshire).

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: Dug-up in churchyard in 19th. century (Du Boulay Hill 1916: 204). Now inside church.

STONE TYPE: Triassic sandstone. There are no local sources, but sandstone outcrops (formerly Keuper Sandstone) can be found within 5 or 6 km. to the west.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Coped slab. Modelled carving technique, flat banded edge moulding, Ribbon beast, w/c, pellet, A1, CC1, E1, cross, Thick stem, double-stranded pattern, diag. and irregular grid.

SCHOOL: South-western Regional School.

CORPUS NAME: High Hoyland (S. Yorkshire) 1.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: Removed from High Hoyland church in 19th. century and now at Skelmanthorpe (Ryder 1982: 111-2).

STONE TYPE: Probably Millstone Grit, but possibly a Coal Measures sandstone. There are sources of Wharcliffe Grit c. 12 km. to the west. There are local sources Grenoside Rock of the Coal Measures.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Font. Grooved carving technique, cable 1 edge moulding, St1, SP1, plain, T1, single arcade, human head treescroll, single-stranded pattern.

SCHOOL: Uncertain, probably post-Conquest.

CORPUS NAME: High Hoyland 2 and 3.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: Found built into church fabric in 19th. century. Now built into nave wall (Ryder 1982: 111-2).

STONE TYPE: Coal Measures sandstone.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Two half crossheads of type 11e: they are not from the same monument. Grooved carving technique, plain, inner groove.

SCHOOL: North Regional School.

CORPUS NAME: High Hoyland 4.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See High Hoyland 2 & 3.

STONE TYPE: Coal Measures sandstone.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Crosshead fragment of type 10e or 11e. Grooved carving technique, plain, inner groove.

SCHOOL: North Regional School.

CORPUS NAME: High Hoyland 5.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See High Hoyland 2 & 3.

STONE TYPE: Coal Measures sandstone.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Probably architectural. Modelled carving technique, roll edge moulding, unidentified animal type.

SCHOOL: Unknown. May not be Anglo-Saxon.

CORPUS NAME: High Hoyland 6.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See High Hoyland 2 & 3.

STONE TYPE: Unknown.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: This piece was stolen in 1979 (Ryder 1982: 112). Drawing suggests this was part of a crosshead of type 10b, possibly of a grooved carving technique, S7, plain, rosette, ?inner groove, single-stranded pattern.

SCHOOL: Calder Valley sub-division of North Regional School.

CORPUS NAME: High Hoyland 7.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See High Hoyland 2 & 3.

STONE TYPE: Unknown.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: This piece is also missing. Drawing (Ryder 1982: 112) suggests a cross head fragment of unknown type, ?inner groove, ?plain.

SCHOOL: North Regional School.

CORPUS NAME: Hope (Derbyshire).

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: Found reused in the school building adjacent to church in 1858 (Cox 1877: 267).

STONE TYPE: Millstone Grit. Local outcrops of Shale Grit, c. 1 km. to the north-east.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Rectangular-sectioned shaft. Modelled carving technique, flat banded edge moulding, side-shrouded figure, CC2, BCC, looped P4, P6, D1, A1, Thick stem, pellet, single arcade, single-stranded pattern, E1a, unidentified leaf pattern type, diag. grid.

SCHOOL: West sub-division of the South-western Regional School.

CORPUS NAME: Ilam (Staffordshire) 1.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: Built into church fabric

STONE TYPE: Millstone Grit. Outcrop of Ashover Grit, c. 3 km. to the east.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Possibly part of rectangular-sectioned shaft, or upper portion of round shaft. Modelled carving technique, P2, diag. grid.

SCHOOL: Uncertain.

CORPUS NAME: Ilam 2.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: Reported to be in the churchyard by 1686 (Pape 1946/7: 25).

STONE TYPE: Triassic sandstone. The nearest source is in the lower Dove valley, c. 3-4 km. distant, of Sherwood Sandstone (Hawksmoor Formation).

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Rectangular-sectioned shaft. Modelled carving technique, roll edge moulding, raised arm figure, plaited body figure, E1+1, CC2, CC3, BCC, P4, E1, double arcade, single-stranded pattern, diag. and square grid.

SCHOOL: Dove Valley local group of the South-western Regional School.

CORPUS NAME: Ilam 3.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See Ilam 2.

STONE TYPE: Millstone Grit.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Round shaft. Modelled carving technique, possibly crosshead type 10, L1, S6, USL, P3, P4, boss, looped P4, u/c, collar 1, single-stranded pattern, diag. and square grid.

SCHOOL: North-western Regional School.

CORPUS NAME: Ilam 4.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: Built into church wall.

STONE TYPE: Triassic sandstone (see Ilam 2, above)

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Possibly part of a rectangular-sectioned shaft. Modelled carving technique, ?P6+, double arcade, single-stranded pattern, diag. grid.

SCHOOL: Uncertain, but probably South-western Regional School.

CORPUS NAME: Ilam 5.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: Said to have been found built into a cottage near the church, around 1840. Now in the grounds of Ilam Hall (Pape 1946/7: 33).

STONE TYPE: Triassic sandstone.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Rectangular-sectioned shaft. Modelled carving technique, raised arm figure, plaited body figure, E1+1, ?P4, ?P3, ?D1, double arcade, three figures in a row, single-stranded pattern, diag. grid.

SCHOOL: Dove Valley local school of the South-western Regional School.

CORPUS NAME: Ingleby (Derbyshire) 1.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: Found in a garden near the old chapel. Subsequently reused as a step and as a flagstone: now in Repton church (Routh 1937: 31-2).

STONE TYPE: Appears to be either Millstone Grit or a Coal Measures sandstone. Although the site stands on Sherwood Sandstone, Carboniferous sandstones (including Millstone Grit of the Ashover equivalent) outcrop within 2 km. to the east, near Stanton-by-Bridge.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Possibly part of a shaft, or of a cross base. Unidentified plait (worn), ?Trent scroll, double-stranded pattern.

SCHOOL: Possibly South-western Regional School.

CORPUS NAME: Ingleby 2.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: Found in a farmer's garden in 1905. Subsequently built into a field wall, but now in Repton church (Routh 1937: 29).

STONE TYPE: Either Millstone Grit or Coal Measures sandstone.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Rectangular-sectioned shaft. Modelled carving technique, cable 1 edge moulding. Unidentified figure type, P4, plant, vertical bars, single-stranded pattern.

SCHOOL: Unknown. Some doubt that this piece is Anglo-Saxon (Routh 1937: 29).

CORPUS NAME: Kirkburton (W. Yorkshire) 1.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: The Kirkburton pieces were found rebuilt into the fabric of the church in 1850-70 (Bielby 1978: 15). There was also a fifth piece which was not the same as the others (Collingwood 1921: 40) and now appears to be lost.

STONE TYPE: Coal Measures sandstone. Local outcrops of Grenoside Rock of the Lower Coal Measures.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Crosshead of type 10b. Grooved carving technique, roll edge moulding, unidentified long-limbed figure, plain, boss, inner groove.

SCHOOL: North Regional School.

CORPUS NAME: Kirkburton 2.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See Kirkburton 1.

STONE TYPE: Coal Measures sandstone.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Fragment of crosshead possibly type 10b. Grooved carving technique, roll edge moulding, plain, inner groove. Possibly bears part of a long-limbed figure.

SCHOOL: North Regional School.

CORPUS NAME: Kirkburton 3.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See Kirkburton 1.

STONE TYPE: Coal Measures sandstone.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Rectangular-sectioned shaft. Grooved carving technique, roll edge moulding, possibly part of a figure, plain, inner groove, inverted 'V' frame.

SCHOOL: North Regional School.

CORPUS NAME: Kirkburton 4.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See Kirkburton 1.

STONE TYPE: Coal Measures sandstone.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Rectangular-sectioned shaft. Grooved carving technique, ?flat banded edge moulding, A1 (mirrored), double-stranded pattern, diag. grid.

SCHOOL: Calder Valley sub-division of the North Regional School.

CORPUS NAME: Kirkheaton (W. Yorkshire) 1.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: Found rebuilt into church fabric in 1886 (West Yorkshire Archaeology Service 1991). Now in Tolson Museum, Huddersfield.

STONE TYPE: Coal Measures sandstone. Local outcrops of several Lower Coal Measures sandstones.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Rectangular-sectioned shaft. Grooved/incised carving technique, inscription, L4, S8, plain, inner groove, single-stranded pattern.

SCHOOL: Possibly North Regional School.

CORPUS NAME: Kirkheaton 2.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See Kirkheaton 1.

STONE TYPE: Coal Measures sandstone.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Rectangular-sectioned shaft. Modelled carving technique, roll edge moulding, unidentified beast type, E1 (mirrored), BP2, P4, F1, looped P4, single-stranded pattern, diag. grid.

SCHOOL: Kirklees School.

CORPUS NAME: Kirkheaton 3.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See Kirkheaton 1.

STONE TYPE: Coal Measures sandstone.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Possibly a rectangular-sectioned shaft. Shallow modelled carving technique, ?roll edge moulding, E1 (mirrored), double-stranded pattern, diag. grid.

SCHOOL: Uncertain, but possibly Kirklees School.

CORPUS NAME: Kirkheaton 4.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See Kirkheaton 1.

STONE TYPE: Coal Measures sandstone.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Rectangular-sectioned shaft. Modelled carving technique, with part grooved, flat banded edge moulding, E1 (mirrored), P4, plain, inner groove, inner rim frame, single-stranded pattern, diag. grid.

SCHOOL: Probably North Regional School.

CORPUS NAME: Kneesall (Nottinghamshire).

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: Found rebuilt into church fabric in 1893 (Notts. C.C. SMR. No. 04239a). Now inside church.

STONE TYPE: Jurassic Limestone. The local stone type is of Triassic sandstone (formerly Keuper Sandstone, for example, from outcrops c. 2-3 km. to the west. The nearest source of Jurassic Limestone is, however, from the Inferior Oolite, c. 26 km. to the east.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Possibly part of a shaft or slab. Modelled carving technique, cable 1 edge moulding, CC1, Lincoln joint, E1 looped, P3, ?looped P4, cross frame, double-stranded pattern, diag. grid.

SCHOOL: East School.

CORPUS NAME: Leek (Staffordshire) 1.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: Found built into the church fabric in 1896 (Pape 1946/7: 40). Now inside church.

STONE TYPE: Millstone Grit. Outcrops of Kniveden Sandstone c. 1 km. to the east and also local outcrops of Roaches and Chatsworth Grit.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Rectangular-sectioned shaft. Modelled carving technique, flat banded edge moulding, unidentified figure, but similar to those at Sandbach. A1, E1, P4, E1a, Thick stem, pellet, single-stranded pattern, diag. grid.

SCHOOL: South-western Regional School.

CORPUS NAME: Leek 2.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See Leek 1.

STONE TYPE: Millstone Grit.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Crosshead of type 11e. Modelled carving technique, flat banded edge moulding, T1, P2, boss, single-stranded pattern, diag. grid.

SCHOOL: North-western Regional School.

CORPUS NAME: Leek 3.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See Leek 1.

STONE TYPE: Millstone Grit.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Rectangular-sectioned shaft. Modelled carving technique, flat banded edge moulding, BB2, cross, L1, S3, ?USL, single-stranded pattern, diag. and square grid.

SCHOOL: North-western Regional School.

CORPUS NAME: Leek 4.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See Leek 1.

STONE TYPE: Millstone Grit.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Rectangular-sectioned shaft. Modelled carving technique, ?flat banded edge moulding, S4, single-stranded pattern, ?square grid.

SCHOOL: North-western Regional School.

CORPUS NAME: Leek 5.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See Leek 1. In several fragments which have been rebuilt into one shaft. Now in churchyard.

STONE TYPE: Millstone Grit.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Rectangular-sectioned shaft. Modelled carving technique, flat banded edge moulding, E1a, CC1, looped P4, inscription, B1, inner rim frame, single-stranded pattern, diag. grid.

SCHOOL: West sub-division of the South-western Regional School.

CORPUS NAME: Leek 6.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: Said to have been in the churchyard for some time (Jeavons 1946: 119; Pape 1946/7: 35).

STONE TYPE: Millstone Grit.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Round shaft. Modelled carving technique, USL, S4, L1, looped P4, u/c, E1 (mirrored), T1, S6, wide collar, single-stranded pattern, diag. and square grid.

SCHOOL: North-western Regional School.

CORPUS NAME: Lockington (Leicestershire) 1.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: Found in or near the church in 1946 and rebuilt into porch (McK. Clough et. al. 1975: gazetter; Pevsner 1960: 173-4).

STONE TYPE: Appears to be Triassic sandstone. Local outcrops of sandstone (formerly Keuper Sandstone) occur immediately to the west and south of the site.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Modelled carving technique, ?F2, Thick stem, ?diag. grid.

SCHOOL: Uncertain, but may be South-western Regional School.

CORPUS NAME: Lockington 2.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See Lockington 1.

STONE TYPE: Triassic sandstone.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Modelled carving technique, ?CC2, ?BCC, ?F2, single-stranded pattern.

SCHOOL: Unknown.

CORPUS NAME: Ludworth (Derbyshire) 1 and 2.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: Noted by Bateman and Glover as "obelisks", probably in present position (1848: 215-6). One stone only mentioned by Lysons in 1817 (1817: ccxxxiv). In their present position by 1905 (Andrew 1905: 207-14).

STONE TYPE: Millstone Grit. Local outcrops of Chatsworth and Roaches Grits.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: These are pieces of cylindrical column only and therefore may not be Anglo-Saxon.

SCHOOL: Unknown.

CORPUS NAME: Lyme Hall (Cheshire) 1.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: Found near Lyme Hall in c. 1845, buried in the ground (Earwalker 1880: 101; Page 1945/6: 39).

STONE TYPE: Millstone Grit. Local outcrops of Chatsworth and Roaches Grits.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Upper portions of round shaft with crosshead type 10e. Modelled carving technique, cable 1 edge moulding, L1, S6, E1 (mirrored), P4, CC1, USL, T1, bottom curve, inverted 'V' frame, double-stranded pattern, boss, square and diag. grid.

SCHOOL: North-western Regional School.

CORPUS NAME: Lyme Hall 2.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See Lyme Hall 1.

STONE TYPE: Millstone Grit.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Upper portion of round shaft. Modelled carving technique, cable 1 edge moulding, BB2, P4, L1, P3, bottom curve, single-stranded pattern, diag. grid.

SCHOOL: North-western Regional School.

CORPUS NAME: Lyme Hall 3.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See Lyme Hall 1. Broken recently into three fragments (pers. com. Atkinson, Nat. Trust).

STONE TYPE: Millstone Grit.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Crosshead fragments, possibly of type 10e. Modelled carving technique, cable 1 edge moulding, L1, P3, T1, USL, pellet, boss, single-stranded pattern, diag. and square grid.

SCHOOL: North-western Regional School.

CORPUS NAME: Lyme Handley (Cheshire) 1 and 2.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: Always known to be at their present position on the edge of the Lyme Hall grounds (Earwalker 1880: 313-4; Pape 1945/6: 39).

STONE TYPE: Millstone Grit. Local outcrops of Roaches Grit.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Round shafts in base with two sockets. Modelled carving technique, although decoration now unidentifiable. Wide collar.

SCHOOL: Probably North-western Regional School.

CORPUS NAME: Macclesfield (Staffordshire) 1 and 3.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: First known to be reused as gateposts and similar, at Sutton Hall from unknown provenance. (Cheshire C.C. SMR. No. 1560; Earwalker 1880: 486). They were moved to West Park, Macclesfield, before 1880 (Earwalker 1880: 486)

STONE TYPE: Millstone Grit. Outcrops of Chatsworth and Roaches Grits, immediately to the east.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Round shafts. Modelled carving technique, bottom curve, collar 2.

SCHOOL: North-western Regional School.

CORPUS NAME: Macclesfield 2.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See Macclesfield 1 and 3.

STONE TYPE: Millstone Grit.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Round shaft. Modelled carving technique, S4, L1, USL, CC1, P3, collar 2, single-stranded pattern, diag. and square grid.

SCHOOL: North-western Regional School.

CORPUS NAME: Macclesfield 4.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: Always known to have been loose inside church, but appear to have been reused as building material (Harris, 1987: 276-7; Cheshire C.C. SMR. No. 1563/1/4).

STONE TYPE: Millstone Grit.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Rectangular-sectioned shaft. Modelled carving technique, ?roll edge moulding, L1, ?P4, P3, single-stranded pattern, diag. and square grid.

SCHOOL: North-western Regional School.

CORPUS NAME: Macclesfield 5.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See Macclesfield 4

STONE TYPE: Millstone Grit.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Rectangular-sectioned shaft. Modelled carving technique, ? roll edge moulding, CC1, L1, P4, double-stranded pattern, diag. and square grid.

SCHOOL: Probably North-western Regional School.

CORPUS NAME: Macclesfield 6.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See Macclesfield 4.

STONE TYPE: Millstone Grit.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Round shaft. ?C2, ?wide collar, single-stranded pattern, diag. grid.

SCHOOL: North-western Regional School.

CORPUS NAME: Macclesfield 7.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See Macclesfield 4.

STONE TYPE: Millstone Grit.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Round shaft. Modelled carving technique, ?roll edge moulding, bottom curve, collar 2, single-stranded pattern.

SCHOOL: North-western Regional School.

CORPUS NAME: Mexborough (S. Yorkshire).

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: Found built into chancel wall and removed around 1920. Now inside church (Ryder 1982: 114).

STONE TYPE: Coal Measures sandstone. Local outcrops of Mexborough Rock of the Middle Coal Measures.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Rectangular-sectioned shaft. Grooved carving technique, ?roll edge moulding, plain, inner groove, incised motif, rosette, single-stranded pattern, square grid.

SCHOOL: North Regional School.

CORPUS NAME: Mirfield (W. Yorkshire).

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: Recorded as being inside the church by the early 1900's (Collingwood 1921: 53-4).

STONE TYPE: Coal Measures sandstone. Local outcrops of Falhouse or Clifton Rock of the Lower Coal Measures within 1-2 km.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Rectangular-sectioned shaft, but was not intended to have a crosshead. Modelled carving technique, flat banded edge moulding, unidentified figure type and elongated beast, P3, FN, single arcade, single-stranded pattern, diag. and square grid.

SCHOOL: Unknown.

CORPUS NAME: Monyash (Derbyshire) 1 and 2.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: Two fragments of crosshead found in rubble in a field: otherwise unprovenanced (Myers and Barnatt 1984: 5).

STONE TYPE: Millstone Grit. Nearest outcrops of Ashover Grit, c. 8km. to the east.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Possibly type 10e. Modelled carving technique, T1, ?P2, boss.

SCHOOL: Probably North-western Regional School.

CORPUS NAME: Nether Broughton (Leicestershire).

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: Built into interior church wall. Appears to have been in this position for some time (McK. Clough et. al. 1975: gazetteer; Pevsner 1960: 197).

STONE TYPE: Jurassic Limestone. The site has no local stone source, but Triassic sandstone sources (formerly Keuper Sandstone) occur close by, to the west and south-east (see comments under 'Hickling' above). However the nearest source of Jurassic Limestone is from the Inferior Oolite, c. 19 km. to the east.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: ?Slab monument. Modelled carving technique, ?roll edge moulding, P4, S6, central ridge, single-stranded pattern, diag. grid.

SCHOOL: Unknown.

CORPUS NAME: Norbury (Derbyshire) 1.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: Shafts were found in the church fabric in 1899 (Routh 1837: 33).

STONE TYPE: Triassic sandstone. There are outcrops of Sherwood Sandstone near the church.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Rectangular-sectioned shaft. Modelled carving technique, roll edge moulding, skirted figure, CC2, CC3, P3, P2 frame, looped P4, E1a, Thick stem, P6+, double-stranded pattern, BCC, diag. grid.

SCHOOL: West sub-division of the South-western Regional School.

CORPUS NAME: Norbury 2.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See Norbury 1.

STONE TYPE: Triassic sandstone.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Rectangular-sectioned shaft. Modelled carving technique, cable 2 edge moulding, raised arm figure, E1+1, looped P4, double-stranded pattern, diag. grid.

SCHOOL: Dove Valley local school of the South-western Regional School.

CORPUS NAME: Norbury 3.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: Built into steps to tower: noted by E. Cambridge (pers. com.).

STONE TYPE: ?Triassic sandstone.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Possibly architectural. Modelled carving technique, unidentified beast type, P3, double-stranded pattern.

SCHOOL: Unknown. May be post-Conquest.

CORPUS NAME: Penistone (S. Yorkshire).

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: Built into corner quoins of nave.

STONE TYPE: Millstone Grit. Outcrop of Rough Rock Grit, c. 2½ km. to the west.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Rectangular-sectioned shaft. Grooved carving technique, flat banded edge moulding, plain, inner groove, incised motif, single-stranded pattern.

SCHOOL: Incised motif sub-division of the North Regional School.

CORPUS NAME: Prestbury (Cheshire) 1 and 2.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: Found built into church fabric in 1841. Now in glass case in churchyard (Cheshire C.C. SMR. No. 1434/2/2).

STONE TYPE: Inaccessible, but may be Millstone Grit. Outcrops of Chatsworth and Roaches Grits, c. 3½ km. to the east.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Rectangular-sectioned shafts. Modelled carving technique, ?roll edge mouldings, P4, FN, CC1, P3, L1, inner rim frame, single-stranded pattern, irregular grid.

SCHOOL: Probably North-western Regional School.

CORPUS NAME: Prestbury 3.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: Noted as in the grounds of Upton Hall, Prestbury, before 1880. Previous provenance unknown (Earwalker 1880: 345; Cheshire C.C. SMR. No.1438). Now by the roadside near the Hall.

STONE TYPE: Millstone Grit.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Round shaft. Bottom curve, badly weathered remains of unidentified plait.

SCHOOL: North-western Regional School.

CORPUS NAME: Pym Chair (Derbyshire).

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: Recently found in a drystone wall by a rambler (C. Hart, pers. com.).

STONE TYPE: Millstone Grit. Local outcrops of Chatsworth and Roaches Grits.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Part of a crosshead of unknown type. Modelled carving technique, ?P4, boss, inner rim frame, single-stranded pattern, diag. grid.

SCHOOL: Uncertain, but possibly North-western Regional School.

CORPUS NAME: Rastrick (W. Yorkshire).

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: Stands in churchyard of 18th. century church. Collingwood records it to be in its present position in 1921 (1921: 40).

STONE TYPE: Coal Measures sandstone. Local outcrops of Elland Flags of the Lower Coal measures.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Cross base. Shallow modelled carving technique, roll edge moulding, BP2, CC1, u/c, bush scroll, ?ST1, inner rim frame, single-stranded pattern, diag. and irregular grid.

SCHOOL: Kirklees School.

CORPUS NAME: Rawmarsh (S. Yorkshire).

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: Standing in the churchyard when first mentioned in late 19th. century. Now inside church (Ryder 1982: 116).

STONE TYPE: Lower Magnesian Limestone. This is not local stone and the nearest source of Lower Magnesian Limestone of the Cadeby Formation is c. 5 km. to the north-east.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Rectangular-sectioned shaft. Modelled carving technique, chamfer edge moulding, fleur, pellet, chamfer bosses.

SCHOOL: South Yorkshire Crown School: probably post-Conquest.

CORPUS NAME: Redmile (Leicestershire).

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: Has been built into a window recess inside the church for some time (Pevsner 1960: 218).

STONE TYPE: Triassic sandstone. This site stands on Lias clays with no local stone. The nearest sources of Triassic sandstone (formerly Keuper Sandstone) occur c. 10 km. to the west.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Slab monument. Modelled carving technique, roll edge moulding, stylized P4, central ridge.

SCHOOL: Unknown.

CORPUS NAME: Repton (Derbyshire) 1.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: Found during recent excavations close to church (M. Biddle, pers. com.; Derby Museum Records DBYMU 1989-58/3201-59/99180).

STONE TYPE: Triassic sandstone. Local sources of sandstones of both (formerly) Keuper Sandstone and Bunter Sandstone (of the Hawksmoor Formation), are found close to the site (see chapter 5).

ATTRIBUTES LIST: A plain crosshead of type ?9e.

SCHOOL: Unknown. Could be post-Conquest.

CORPUS NAME: Repton 2.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See Repton 1.

STONE TYPE: Triassic sandstone.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Modelled carving technique, flat banded edge moulding, Trent curl, ?A1, ?B1, inner rim frame, single-stranded pattern.

SCHOOL: South-western Regional School.

CORPUS NAME: Repton 3.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See Repton 1.

STONE TYPE: Triassic sandstone.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Modelled carving technique, unidentified pattern (damaged), single-stranded pattern.

SCHOOL: Unknown.

CORPUS NAME: Repton 4 and 5.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See Repton 1.

STONE TYPE: Triassic sandstone.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Slab monuments. Modelled carving technique, flat banded edge moulding, ?Trent curl, ?Ribbon beast, single-stranded pattern, ?Thick stem irregular grid.

SCHOOL: Probably South-western Regional School.

CORPUS NAME: Repton 6.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See Repton 1.

STONE TYPE: Millstone Grit. Although the site stands on Triassic measures, Carboniferous sandstones outcrop near Ingleby, c. 4 km. to the east.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Slab monument. Modelled carving technique, possibly cable edge moulding (worn), Ribbon beast, A1, ?F1, Thick stem, B1, inner rim frame, single-stranded pattern, irregular grid.

SCHOOL: South-western Regional School.

CORPUS NAME: Repton 7.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See Repton 1.

STONE TYPE: Triassic sandstone.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Modelled carving technique, cable 2 edge moulding.

SCHOOL: Unknown.

CORPUS NAME: Repton 8.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See Repton 1.

STONE TYPE: Triassic sandstone.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Crosshead fragment of unknown type. Modelled carving technique, inner rim frame.

SCHOOL: Unknown.

CORPUS NAME: Repton 9.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: Found in 1801 near the church. Subsequently reused as a doorstep, and now lost (Cox 1877: 437). Only a drawing by Lysons (1817) survives.

STONE TYPE: Unknown.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: *Tegulations, ?S6, ?Trent curl, ?pellet.*

SCHOOL: Unwise to draw conclusions from sketch only.

CORPUS NAME: Repton 10.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See Repton 1.

STONE TYPE: Triassic sandstone.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: ?Rectangular-sectioned shaft. Modelled carving technique, circle-ear figure.

SCHOOL: Possibly South-western Regional School.

CORPUS NAME: Repton 11.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: Found in fabric of church reused as a window component, c. 1950. Now in church porch (Fletcher 1951: 82).

STONE TYPE: Either Millstone Grit or possibly Coal Measures sandstone.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Possibly a shaft. Modelled carving technique, u/c, ?A1, ?Thick stem.

SCHOOL: Probably South-western Regional School.

CORPUS NAME: Rolleston (Nottinghamshire) 1 - 3.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: Found reused in the church fabric as a door frame in 1897 (Du Boulay Hill 1916: 202).

STONE TYPE: Jurassic Limestone. The site stands on river terrace gravels, but Triassic sandstone (formerly Keuper) outcrops on the north side of the Trent, within c. 8 km. However, the nearest source of Jurassic Limestone is from the Inferior Oolite, c. 23 km. to the east.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Probably portions of rectangular-sectioned shaft(s). Modelled carving technique, cable 1 edge moulding, P3, looped P4, cross, Lincoln joint, CC1, ?vertical cable, E1 looped, P4, double cable, double-stranded pattern, diag. grid, with part square.

SCHOOL: East School.

CORPUS NAME: Rolleston 4.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See Rolleston 1-3.

STONE TYPE: Jurassic Limestone.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Probably an architectural panel. Modelled carving technique, unidentified animal type, inner rim frame.

SCHOOL: Unknown. May not be Anglo-Saxon.

CORPUS NAME: Rothley (Leicestershire).

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: Has been in churchyard since first recorded (McK. Clough et. al. 1975: gazetter; Pevsner 1960: 219).

STONE TYPE: Triassic sandstone. Local sources, possibly from outcrops near Ratcliffe, c. 5 km. to the north-east.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Rectangular-sectioned shaft. Modelled carving technique, Cable 1 or roll edge moulding, Thick stem, F1, A1, P6, CC1, E1, Trent scroll, E1 circle, inverted 'V' frame, P3, single arcade, CC8, diag. grid.

SCHOOL: South sub-division of the South-western Regional School.

CORPUS NAME: Rowsley (Derbyshire).

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: Found in a river not far from the church (Routh 1937: 35). Now inside the church.

STONE TYPE: Millstone Grit. Local outcrops of Ashover Grit.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Crosshead of type 9e. Modelled carving technique, P2, boss, T1, inner rim frame, single-stranded pattern, diag. grid.

SCHOOL: North-western Regional School.

CORPUS NAME: Sandbach (Cheshire) 1.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: Said to have been in the market place near the church, as early as 1649. The crosses were broken up on the orders of Cromwell and reused as building material. They were restored in 1816 (Thacker 1987: 276).

STONE TYPE: Triassic sandstone. Although the underlying geology is of the Trias, the site stands on the Cheshire plain and on glacial sand and gravel. However, sources of Sherwood Sandstone are found, c. 8-9 km. to the east and it is possible that the stone for the large crosses (Nos. 1 and 2) came from here.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Rectangular-sectioned shaft. Modelled carving technique, cable 1 edge moulding, side shrouded figure, skirted figure, Ribbon beast, Trent curl, B1, C1, Thick stem, S9, pellet, F1, single arcade, single-stranded pattern, square and irregular grid.

SCHOOL: South-western Regional School.

CORPUS NAME: Sandbach 2.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See Sandbach 1

STONE TYPE: Triassic sandstone.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Rectangular-sectioned shaft. Modelled carving technique, roll edge moulding, crosshead type 97, side-shrouded figure, P3, E1 (mirrored), u/c, P4, double 8, Ribbon beast, D1, single arcade, inverted 'V' frame. Square and irregular grid.

SCHOOL: Probably South-western Regional School.

CORPUS NAME: Sandbach 3 - 5.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See Sandbach 1.

STONE TYPE: Triassic sandstone. The stone for Nos. 3-7 are likely to be from the Mercia Mudstones group and may have been obtained from relatively local sources, perhaps where exposed through riverine action. They do not appear, however, to be from the same beds as Nos. 1 and 2.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Rectangular-sectioned shafts. ?Modelled carving technique. These monuments are now badly eroded. Skirted figure, cable edge moulding, ?side shrouded figure.

SCHOOL: Probably South-western Regional School.

CORPUS NAME: Sandbach 6 and 7.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See Sandbach 1.

STONE TYPE: Triassic sandstone.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Slab monuments. Modelled carving technique, ?cable edge moulding, single arcade, central ridge, side shrouded figure, E1, single-stranded pattern, diag. grid.

SCHOOL: South-western Regional School.

CORPUS NAME: Screveton (Nottinghamshire).

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: Recorded as being in church by 1912, but no record of its discovery (Du Boulay Hill 1916: 203).

STONE TYPE: Jurassic Limestone. The site has no local stone sources, but Triassic sandstone (formerly Keuper Sandstone) is available within c. 9 km. to the west. However, the nearest source of Jurassic Limestone is from the Inferior Oolite, c. 13 km. to the east.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Possibly a slab or rectangular-sectioned shaft. Modelled carving technique, ?E1 looped, CC1, P3, double cable, vertical cable, double-stranded pattern, diag. grid.

SCHOOL: East School.

CORPUS NAME: Sheffield (S. Yorkshire).

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: Found in use in 19th. century as a grinders' trough in Sheffield, but of unknown provenance (Ryder 1982: 118), although Collingwood (1927: 75) suspects it came from Derbyshire. It is now in the British Museum, although a cast is kept in Sheffield Museum.

STONE TYPE: Millstone Grit. Nearest outcrop is of Rivelin Grit, c. 4½ km. distant, but see section 6.2 on 'Provenance'.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Rectangular-sectioned shaft. Modelled carving technique, flat banded edge moulding, archer figure, Peak figure, C1, S1, S2, single-stranded pattern, square grid.

SCHOOL: Peak School.

CORPUS NAME: Shelford (Nottinghamshire).

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: Either found under the church floor in 1877-8, or was discovered to be built into one of the buttresses (Notts. C.C. SMR. No.01898a).

STONE TYPE: Triassic sandstone. There is no immediately local stone source, but sandstone (formerly Keuper Sandstone) outcrops on bluffs overlooking the Trent, within c. 3-4 km.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Rectangular-sectioned shaft. Modelled carving technique, flat banded edge moulding, short arm figure, A1, capitalled arcade, double-stranded pattern, diag. grid.

SCHOOL: South-western Regional School.

CORPUS NAME: Shelton (Nottinghamshire) 1.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: Little is known concerning the discovery of these pieces, except that they were found "in Shelton" (Notts. C.C. SMR. No. 01593a). They were inside the church by 1916 (Du Boulay Hill 1916: 204).

STONE TYPE: Jurassic Limestone. The site stands on the Trias and local sandstone can be obtained to the west, within 3-4 km. (see Shelford above). However, the nearest source of Jurassic Limestone is of the Inferior Oolite, c. 18 km. to the east.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Coped tomb cover (hogback). Modelled carving technique, cable 1 edge moulding, E1, CC1, T1, looped P4, double cable, double-stranded pattern, diag. grid.

SCHOOL: East School.

CORPUS NAME: Shelton 2.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See Shelton 1.

STONE TYPE: Jurassic Limestone.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Coped tomb cover (hogback). Modelled carving technique, ?cable 1 edge moulding, P4, P3, looped P4, double-stranded pattern, diag. grid.

SCHOOL: Uncertain, but possibly East School.

CORPUS NAME: Spondon (Derbyshire).

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: Stood in the churchyard before 1817, but has subsequently been moved (Cox 1877: 302-3). It is now back in the churchyard.

STONE TYPE: Carboniferous Limestone. This is the only sculptured stone in the research area in this material. Although there are local outcrops of Triassic sandstone, the nearest source of Carboniferous Limestone is c. 11 km. to the north-west.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Rectangular-sectioned shaft. ?Modelled carving technique, Ribbon beast, B1, cross, Thick stem, ?A1. This piece is now almost eroded away; much information is from a drawing of a rubbing (Browne 1886).

SCHOOL: South-western Regional School.

CORPUS NAME: Sprotborough (S. Yorkshire).

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: Built into church wall.

STONE TYPE: Lower Magnesian Limestone. Local outcrops of Lower Magnesian Limestone of the Cadeby Formation.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Grooved carving technique, S8, inner groove, irregular grid.

SCHOOL: Possibly North Regional School, but the pattern variation is unique in the corpus.

CORPUS NAME: Sproxton (Leicestershire).

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: Recorded as being in the churchyard by 1937. No other information available (McK. Clough. et al.: gazetter; Pevsner 1960: 233).

STONE TYPE: Jurassic Limestone. Outcrops of Inferior Oolite immediately to the east of the site.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Rectangular-sectioned shaft. Modelled carving technique, flat banded edge moulding, crosshead of type 8e, Ribbon beast, P5, ?Trent scroll, linked CC1, P3, square collar, single-stranded pattern, diag. grid.

SCHOOL: Uncertain.

CORPUS NAME: Stapleford (Nottinghamshire).

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: Relocated ?in its present position in the churchyard in 1760, after being found in the churchyard (Notts. C.C. SMR. No. 00380).

STONE TYPE: Triassic sandstone. Outcrops of Sherwood Sandstone immediately to the west of the site.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Round shaft. Modelled carving technique, cable edge moulding in part, C1+CC1, circle ear figure, short arm figure, E1+1, CC1, E1 circle, A1, B1, CC8, S10, bottom curve, collar 2, collar 3, P6, single-stranded pattern, diag. grid.

SCHOOL: South division of the South-western Regional School.

CORPUS NAME: Stathern (Leicestershire).

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: Built into corner quoins of church.

STONE TYPE: Jurassic Limestone. Sources from the Inferior Oolite are found c. 4 km. to the east.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Modelled carving technique, ?flat banded edge moulding, ?looped P4, ?E1 looped, double-stranded pattern, diag. grid.

SCHOOL: East School.

CORPUS NAME: Stoke-on-Trent (Staffordshire).

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: Reused in the building fabric of the church. Removed and set up in the churchyard, in its present position, in 19th. century (Pape 1946/7: 37).

STONE TYPE: Millstone Grit. Outcrops of Chatsworth and Roaches Grits, c. 2 km. to north-east.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Rectangular-sectioned shaft. Modelled carving technique, flat banded edge moulding, S4, L1, E1 (mirrored), P3, single-stranded pattern, diag. grid.

SCHOOL: North-western Regional School.

CORPUS NAME: Swithamley (Cheshire).

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: Previously at Wincle Grange from an unknown provenance. Now at Swithamley Hall (Pape 1945/6: 37-8).

STONE TYPE: Millstone Grit. Local outcrops of Chatsworth and Roaches Grits.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Round shaft. Modelled carving technique, bottom curve, unidentified plait (worn), collar 2.

SCHOOL: North-western Regional School.

CORPUS NAME: Tatenhill (Staffordshire).

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: Found reused as part of the floor of the church, before 1888. Removed to Rolleston, Staffs. in 1897 (Pape 1946/7: 43).

STONE TYPE: Triassic sandstone. Sandstone (formerly Keuper Sandstone) outcrops close to the site.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Rectangular-sectioned shaft and crosshead of type 9e. Modelled carving technique, cable 1 edge moulding, boss, ?P4, E1, A1, chevron, single-stranded pattern, diag. grid.

SCHOOL: South-western Regional School.

CORPUS NAME: Thornhill (W. Yorkshire) 1.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: The pieces of sculpture at Thornhill were found in the church fabric during restoration in 1876 (West Yorks. SMR. No. PRN 2433).

STONE TYPE: Coal Measures sandstone. Local outcrops of Thornhill Rock of the Middle Coal Measures.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Rectangular-sectioned shaft. Modelled and grooved carving technique, flat banded edge moulding, E1+1 circle, A1 (mirrored), CC8, inscription, single-stranded pattern, diag. and ?square grid.

SCHOOL: Probably Calder Valley division of the North Regional School.

CORPUS NAME: Thornhill 2.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See *Thornhill 1*.

STONE TYPE: Coal Measures sandstone.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Rectangular-sectioned shaft. Modelled and grooved carving technique, roll edge moulding, A1 (mirrored), L1/2, plain, P2, inner rim frame, double-stranded pattern, ?square grid.

SCHOOL: Probably Calder Valley sub-division of the North Regional School.

CORPUS NAME: Thornhill 3.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See *Thornhill 1*.

STONE TYPE: Coal Measures sandstone.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Rectangular-sectioned shaft. Grooved carving technique, flat banded edge moulding, inscription, plain, S7, inner groove, single-stranded pattern, square grid.

SCHOOL: Calder Valley sub-division of the North Regional School.

CORPUS NAME: Thornhill 4.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See *Thornhill 1*.

STONE TYPE: Coal Measures sandstone.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Grooved carving technique, flat banded edge moulding, plain, F1, inner groove, single-stranded pattern, diag. grid.

SCHOOL: Probably North Regional School.

CORPUS NAME: Thornhill 5.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See Thornhill 1.

STONE TYPE: Coal Measures sandstone.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Rectangular-sectioned shaft with fragment of crosshead. Shallow modelled carving technique, BB2, F1, BP2, single-stranded pattern, diag. grid.

SCHOOL: Kirklees School.

CORPUS NAME: Thornhill 6.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See Thornhill 1.

STONE TYPE: Coal Measures sandstone.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: ?Slab monument or shaft. Grooved carving technique, dragon heads, flat banded edge moulding, P3, plain, inscription, inner groove, single-stranded pattern, square and ?diag. grid.

SCHOOL: North Regional School.

CORPUS NAME: Thornhill 7 and 8.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See Thornhill 1.

STONE TYPE: Coal Measures sandstone.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: ?Slab. Grooved carving technique, inscription.

SCHOOL: Unknown.

CORPUS NAME: Thornhill 9.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See Thornhill 1.

STONE TYPE: Coal Measures sandstone.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Rectangular-sectioned shaft. Grooved carving technique, flat banded edge moulding, ?S7, plain, inner groove, single-stranded pattern.

SCHOOL: Probably Calder Valley sub-division of the North Regional School.

CORPUS NAME: Thornhill 10.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: See Thornhill 1.

STONE TYPE: Coal Measures sandstone.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Part of crosshead of type ?b. Shallow modelled carving technique, flat banded edge moulding, E1+1 circle, F1, single-stranded pattern, irregular grid.

SCHOOL: Probably Kirklees School.

CORPUS NAME: Thrybergh (S. Yorkshire) 1.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: Used to stand in the village cemetery, but now in churchyard (Ryder 1982: 120).

STONE TYPE: Lower Magnesian Limestone. Although the site stands on Coal Measures sandstone, Lower Magnesian Limestone of the Cadeby Formation is found c. 6-7 km. to the north-east.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Rectangular-sectioned shaft. Modelled carving technique, flat banded and chamfer edge moulding. South Yorkshire Crown figure, CC1, pellet, fleur, inverted 'V' frame, single-stranded pattern, diag. grid.

SCHOOL: South Yorkshire Crown School, probably post-Conquest.

CORPUS NAME: Thrybergh 2.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: Used to stand on village green (Ryder 1982: 120) but now stands by private housing estate.

STONE TYPE: Either Coal Measures sandstone of local origin, or of Millstone Grit from c. 20 km. to the west.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Rectangular-sectioned shaft. Modelled carving technique, very worn. Chamfer edge moulding, fleur, chamfer bosses, St1.

SCHOOL: South Yorkshire Crown School, probably post-Conquest.

CORPUS NAME: Two Dales (Derbyshire).

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: Found originally in a field at Two Dales, near Darley Dale. Transferred to private garden, and then to Bakewell church where it now stands (see sect. 6.1/2).

STONE TYPE: Millstone Grit. Local outcrops of Ashover Grit.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Rectangular-sectioned shaft. Modelled carving technique, flat banded edge moulding, looped P4, pellet, S6, CC1, CC2, P2, USL, single arcade, double arcade, CC8, T1, single-stranded pattern, diag. and irregular grid.

SCHOOL: North-western Regional School.

CORPUS NAME: Whitwick (Leicestershire) 1 and 2.

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: Built into exterior church walls.

STONE TYPE: Unknown, inaccessible, but appears local.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Two small fragments of sculptured stone. Modelled carving technique. No. 1 appears to have part of a figure, No. 2 a multi-stranded unidentified plait. Inner rim frame.

SCHOOL: Unknown.

CORPUS NAME: Wirksworth (Derbyshire).

EVIDENCE FOR DISCOVERY: Discovered buried under church floor in 1820-1 (Cox 1877: 552-4).

STONE TYPE: Millstone Grit. Local outcrops of Ashover Grit.

ATTRIBUTES LIST: Coped tomb cover. Modelled carving technique, Peak figure, central ridge, probably a square grid.

SCHOOL: Peak School.

APPENDIX 3B.

CORPUS OF ILLUSTRATIONS

The following pages contain the photographic illustrations of the individual pieces of sculptured stone in the research area. They are ordered alphabetically by site, and then numerically. Where possible, each face of every piece is shown so that the attributes are displayed. Exceptions are where severe difficulties arose in photographing the sculpture without special equipment: for example, due to the inaccessibility of some of the pieces of frieze at Breedon-on-the-Hill. Illustrations of faces are not included where the decoration has been obliterated through damage or wear, or where no decoration was apparently intended. Occasionally, drawings are included where the piece is now missing or removed from the research area, or, in some exceptional cases, where the photographic record proved to be wholly inadequate.

The nomenclature of the faces broadly follows the convention set by the National Corpus (cf. Cramp 1984: xiii). Face A is selected from one of the two broad faces, usually on its better state of preservation. Faces B, C and D follow as if the stone was rotated clockwise, as viewed from the top, or alternatively, as the viewer rotates anticlockwise around the stone. Thus, the next face in sequence is to the right of that being viewed. Although the National Corpus uses a code letter for the top and bottom of the monuments (ibid: xiii), they will not be used here, but will simply be described as 'top' or 'base' for simplicity.

ADLINGTON



1.



2.

ALDERLEY



A.



C.



1A.

ALSTONEFIELD



1B.



1C.



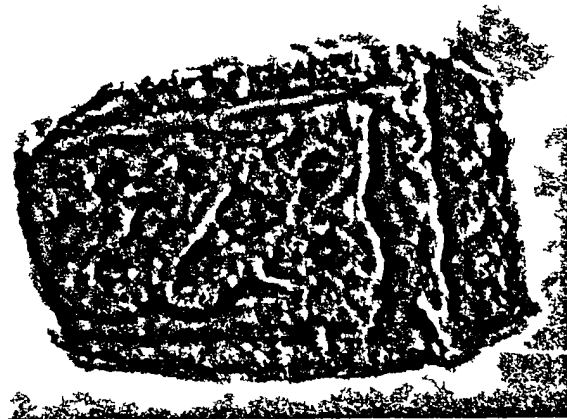
1D.



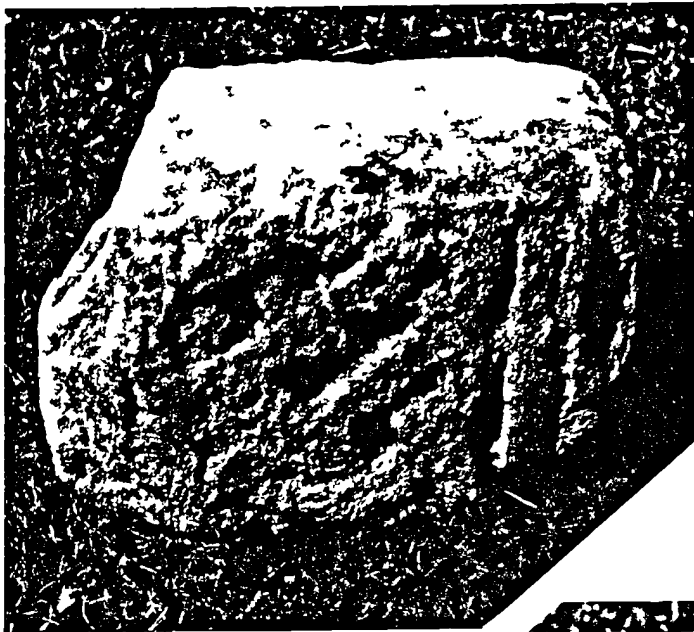
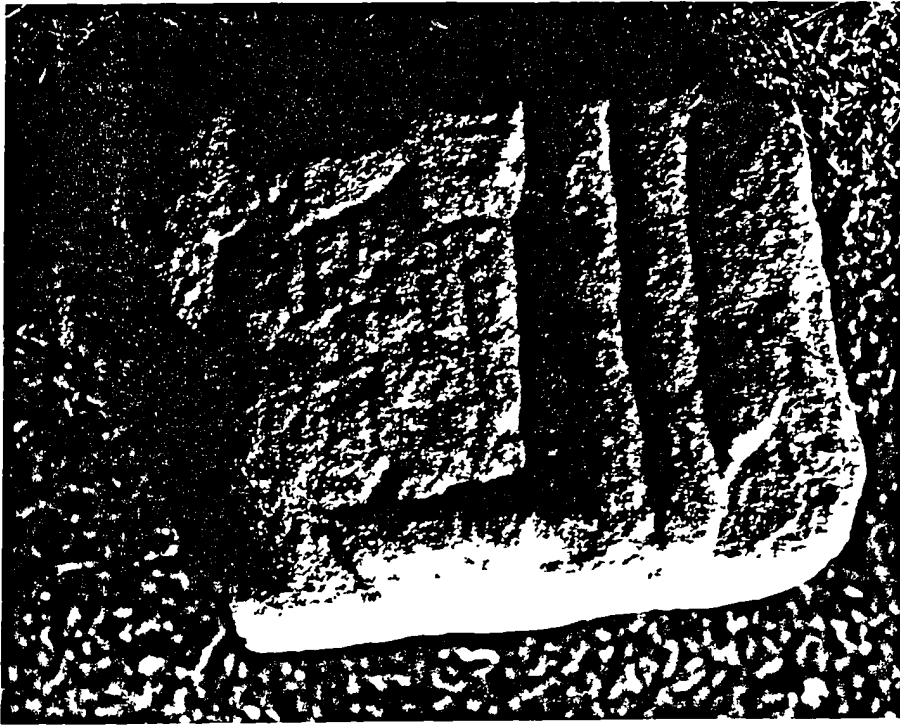
2A.



2B.



3.

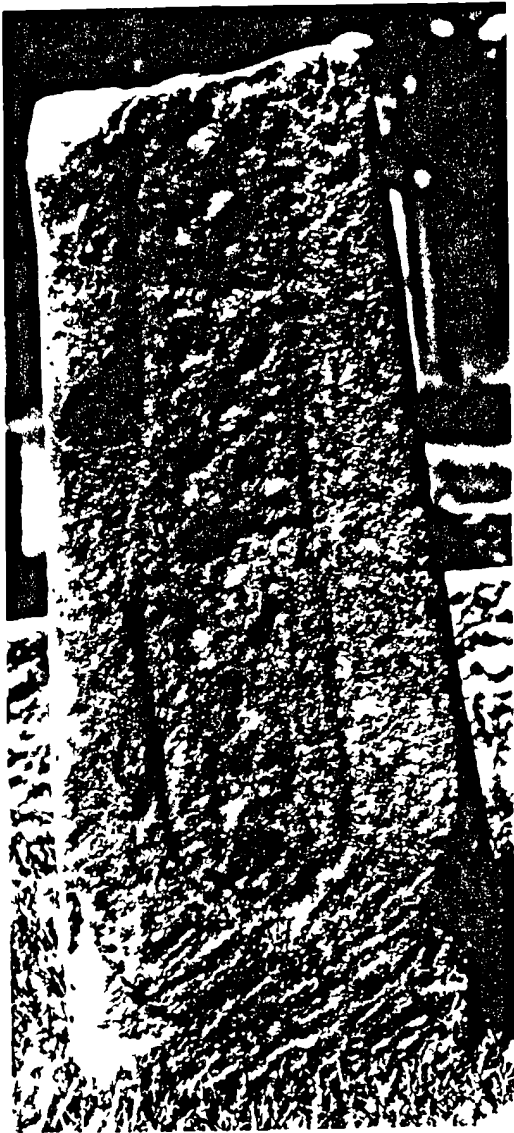


4A.

4C.



4D.



5A



5B



5



5C



6A.



6B.



6C.



6D.



7A.



7B.



7C.



7D.



8A.



8B.



8C



9





11.



14A-B.



12 (left) and 13 (right).



15A.



15D.



16.

(Source: Pape 1946/7.)





3A.



3B.



3C.

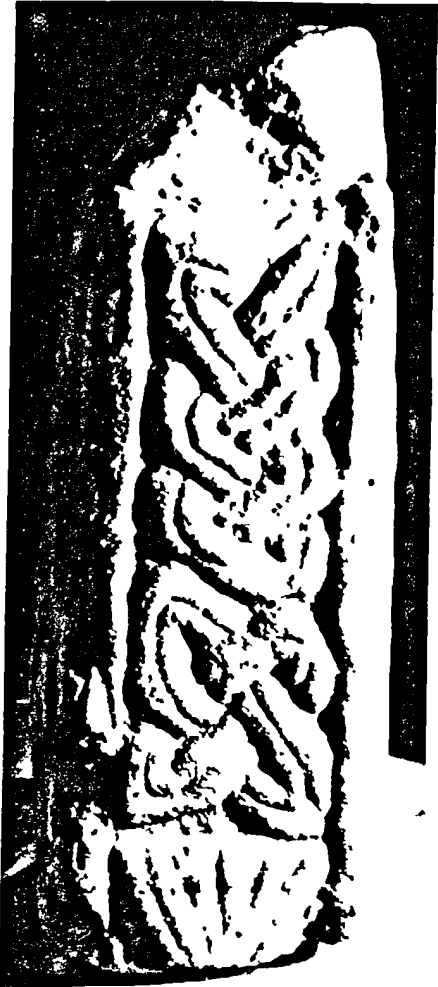


3D.

ASHBOURNE



A.



B.



C.



D.

ASTBURY

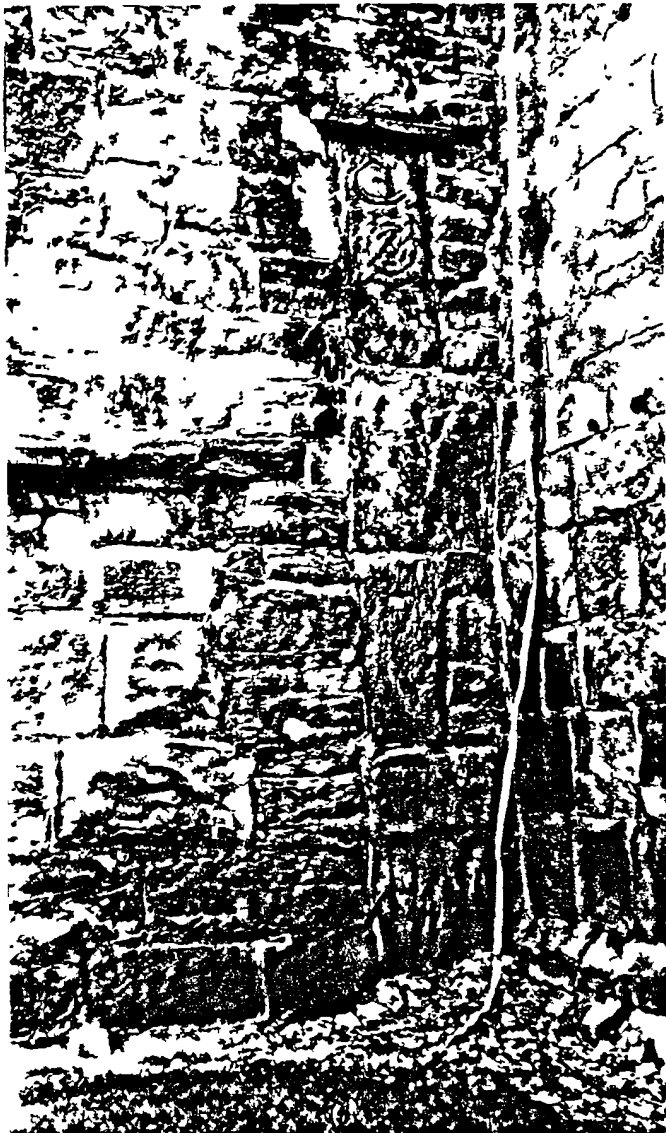


A/B.



A/D.

ASTON-ON-TRENT



Showing sculpture rebuilt into north-west corner of nave (right).

BAKEWELL



4.



5.

LEFT: 1.
BOTTOM RIGHT: 2.
TOP RIGHT: 3.



6.

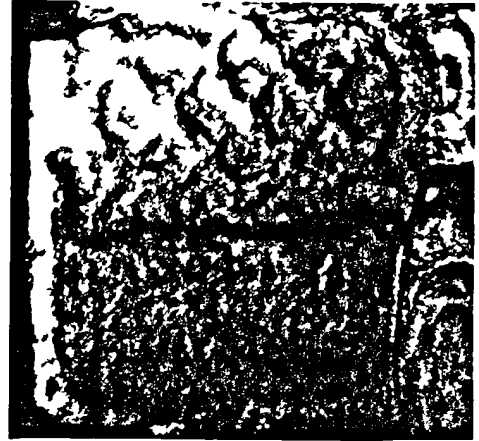
(Bakewell 7 in now lost).



8A.



8B.



9.



10.



11.



12.



13A.



13B.



TOP: 14. BOTTOM: 15.



17.



16.



19.



18.



20.



21.



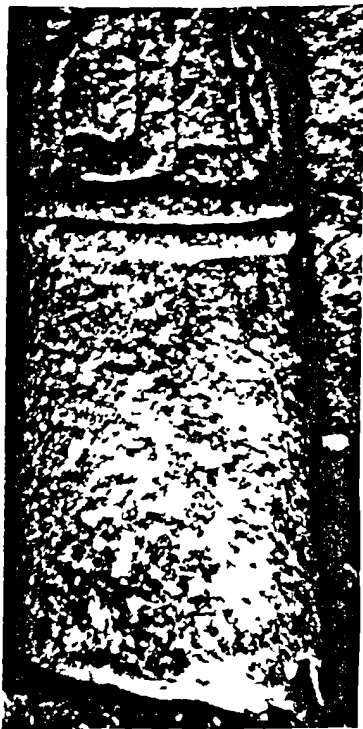
22.



23A/B.



24.



25.



26A.



26C.



26B.



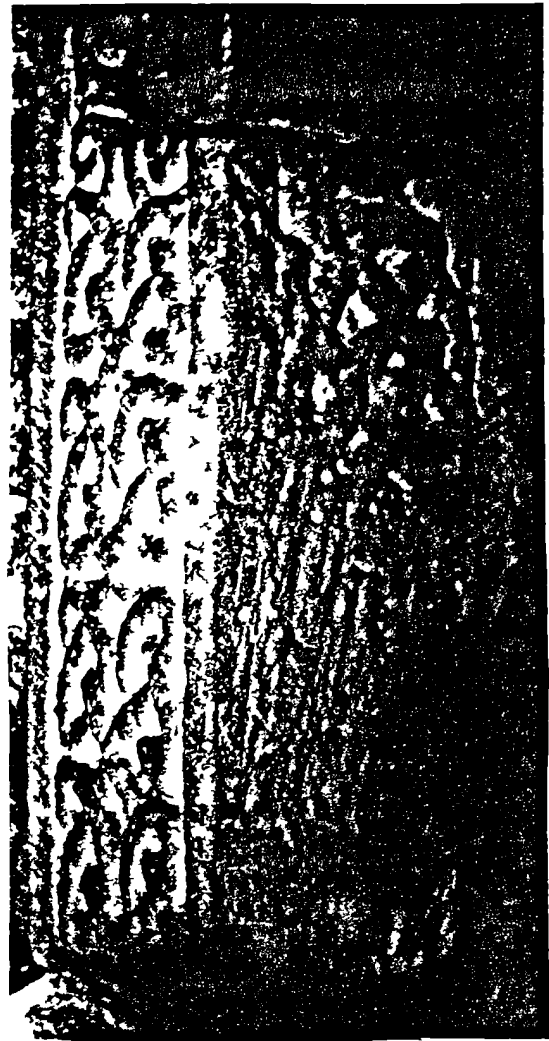
27.



28A/B.



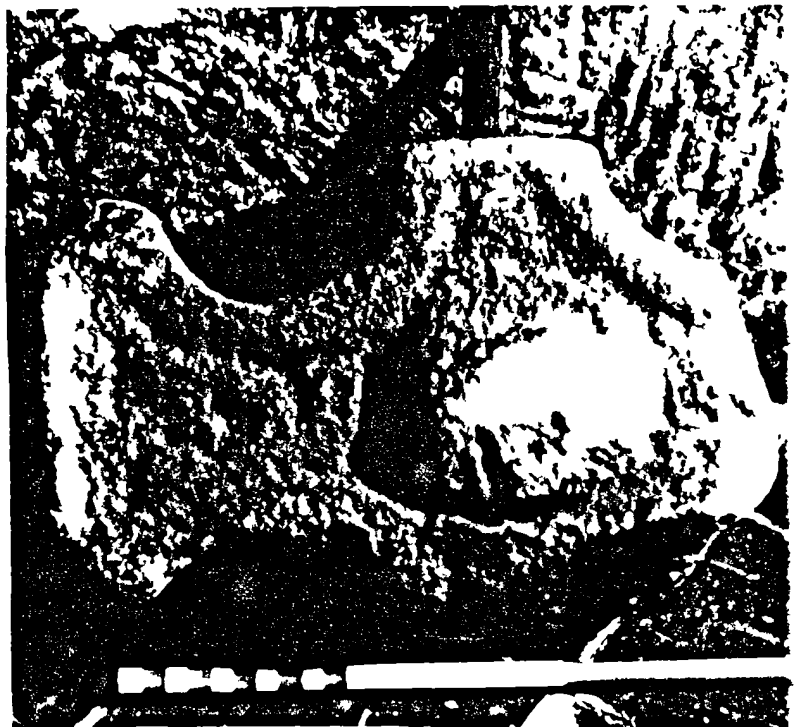
28D/A.



29D/A.



29A/B.



30A.



30C.



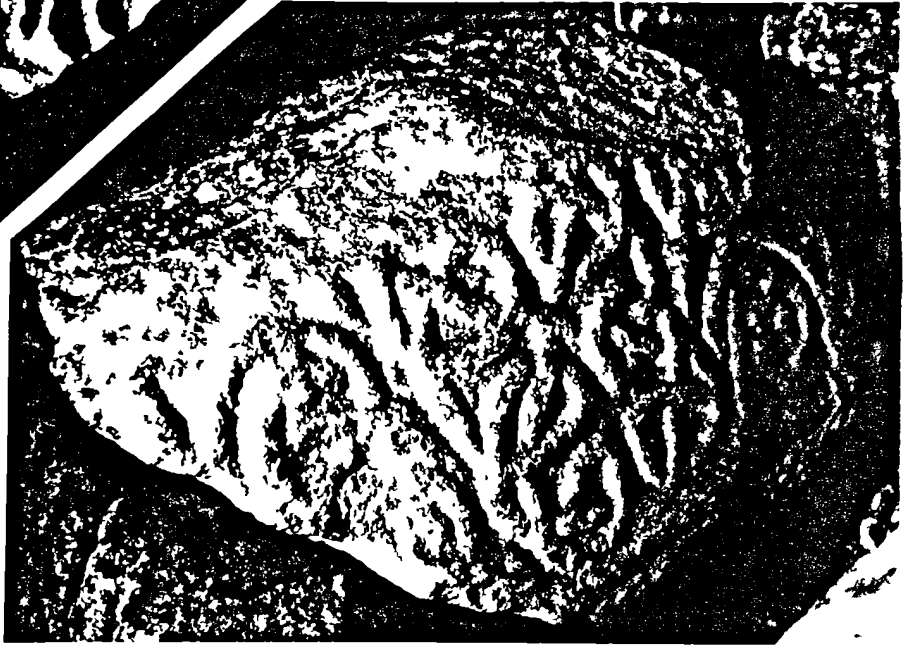
31A.



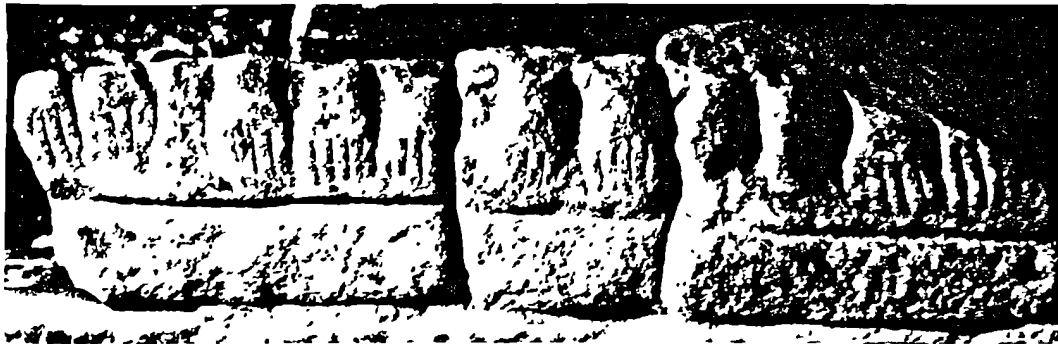
31C.



32A.



32C.



33.



34A.



34C.



35.



36.



37A.



37B.



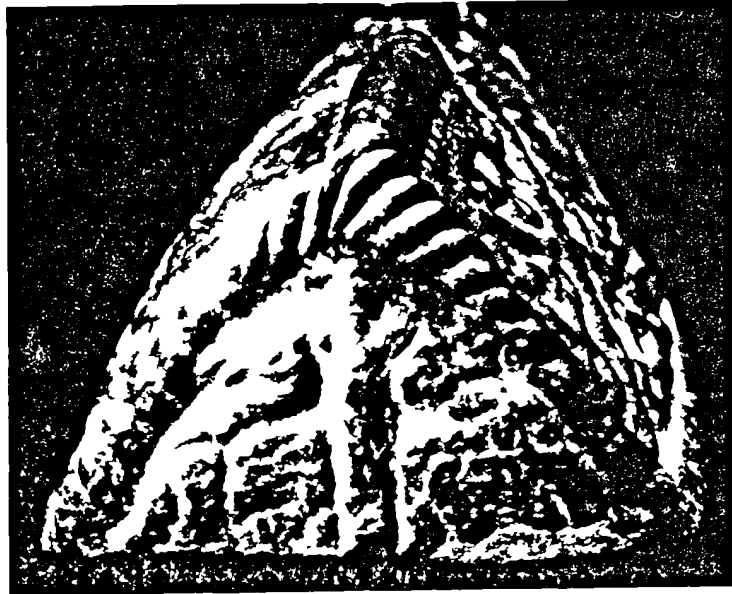
37C.



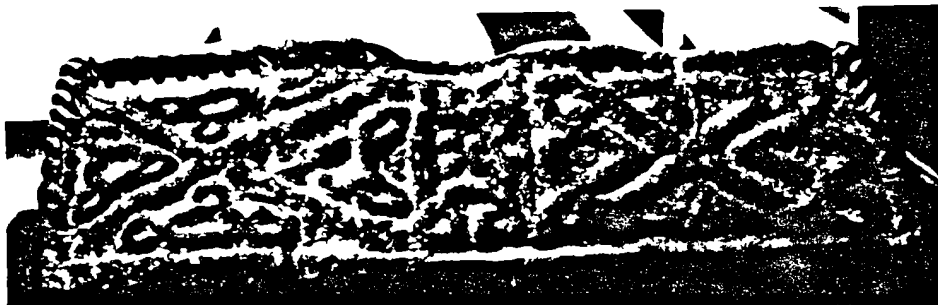
37D.



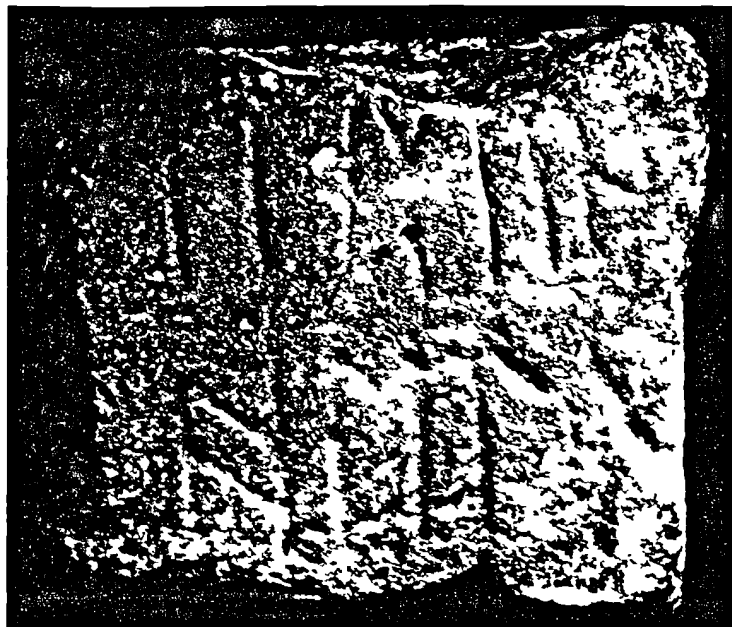
38A.



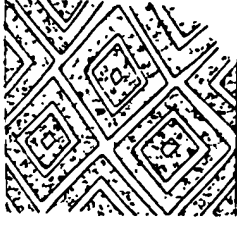
38B.



38C.



39.



40 Now missing
(Source, Browne 1886: 186).

BARNBURGH



A.



B.

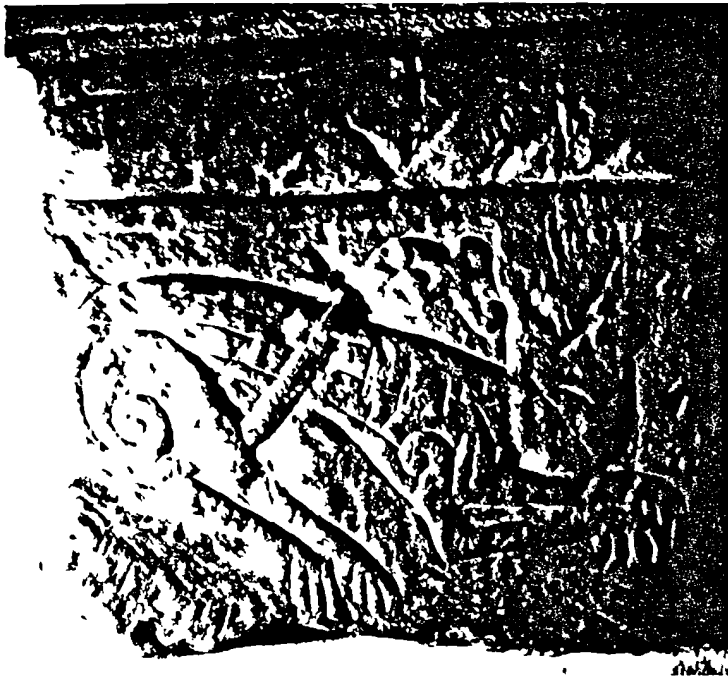


D.

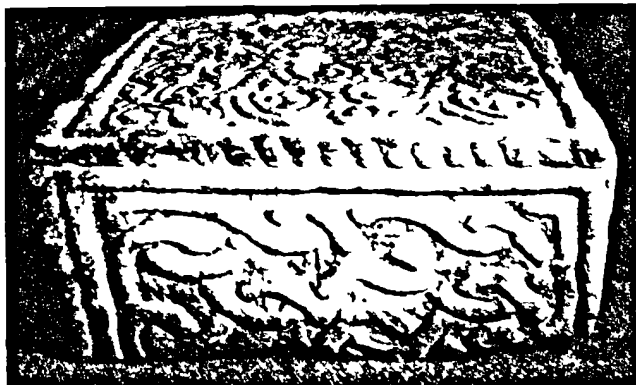
BASLOW

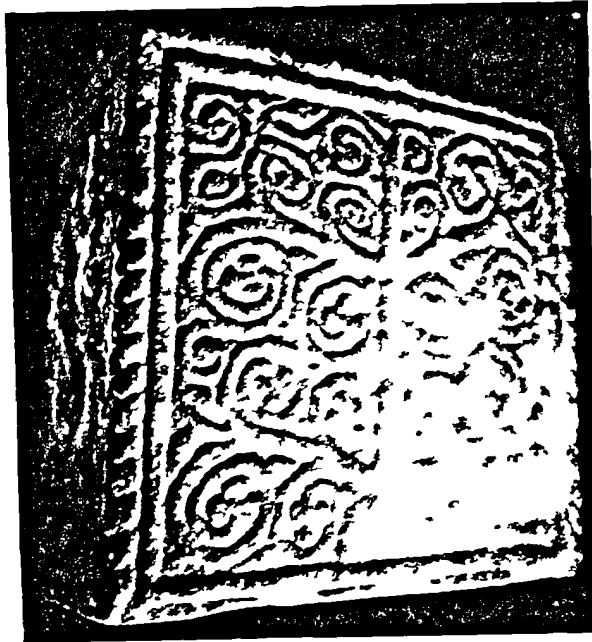


BIRSTALL (Leics.)

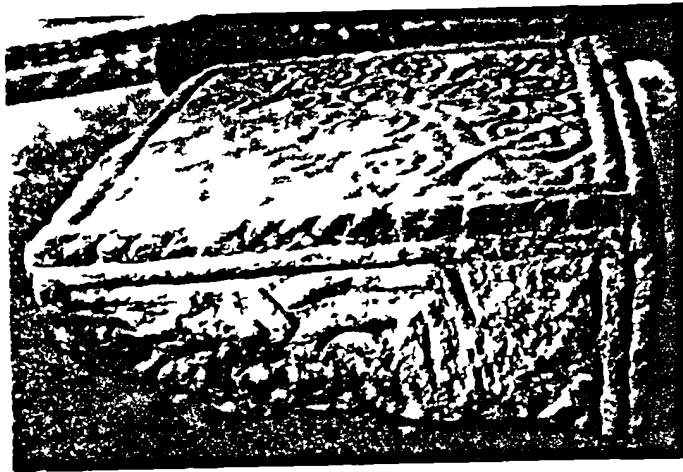


BIRSTALL (W. Yorks)

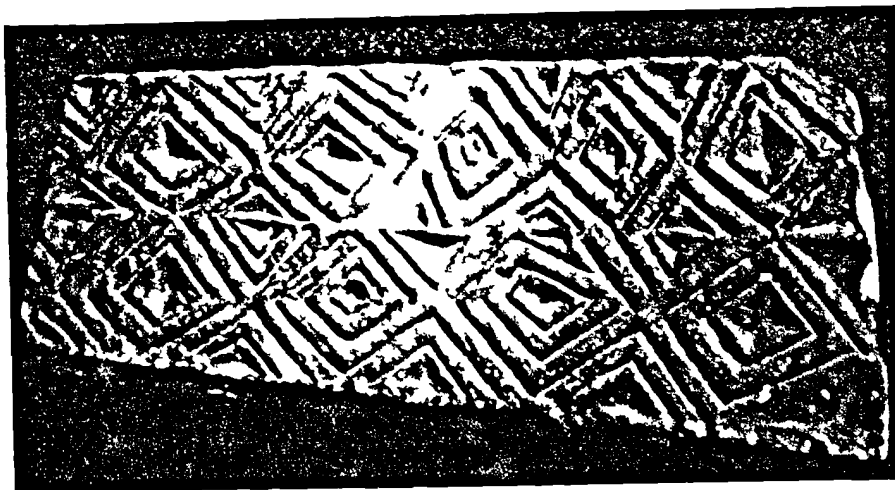




1 Top.



1C.



2.

BLACKWELL (E. Derby)



A.

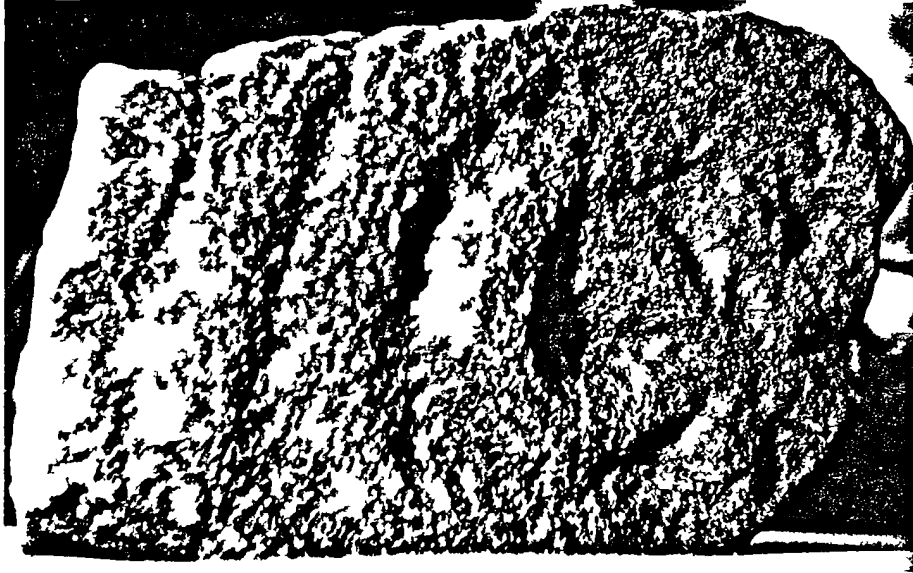


B.

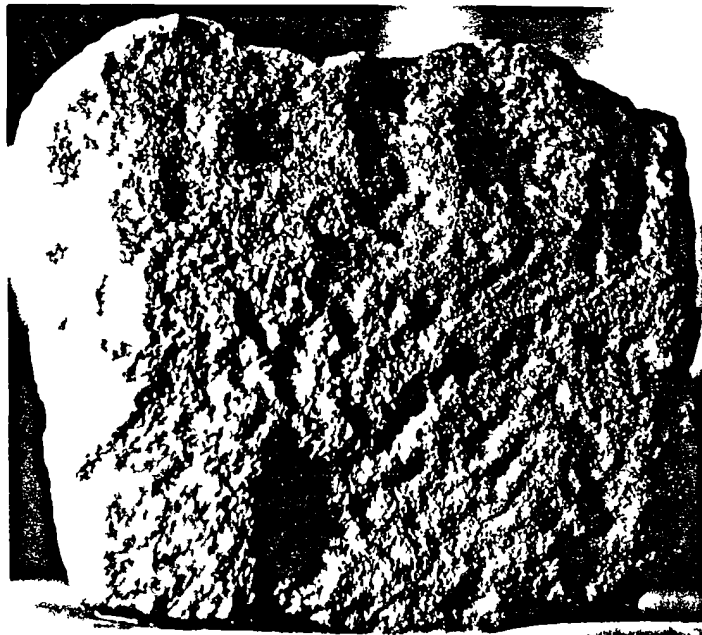


D.

BLACKWELL (Peak)



A.



D.

BRADBOURNE



1A.



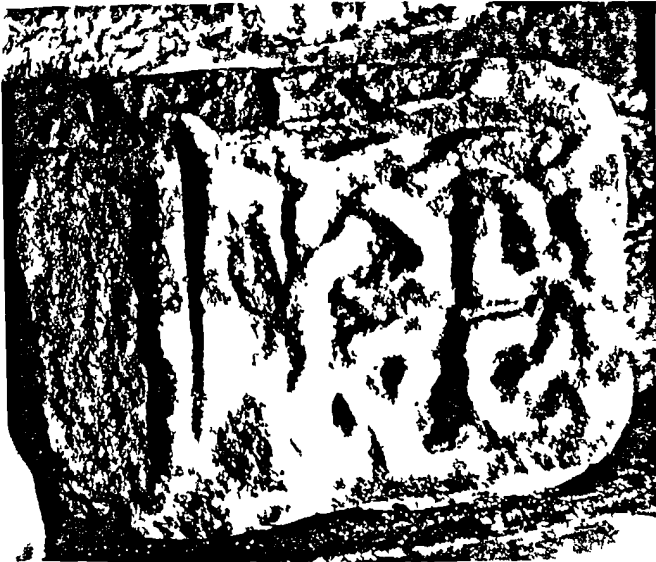
1B.



1C.



1D.



2 (base).



2 (top).



2A.



2B.



3.



4.



5A.



5C.

BRADFIELD



A.



A/B.

BRAILSFORD



A.



B.



C.



D.

BREEDON-ON-THE-HILL



1.



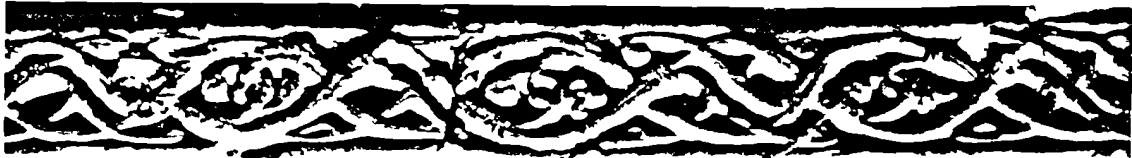
2.



3 (left) and 4.



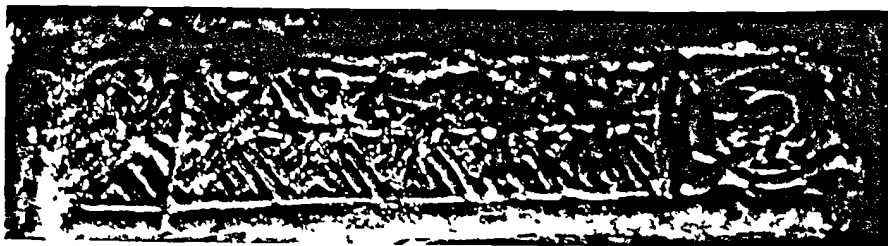
4.



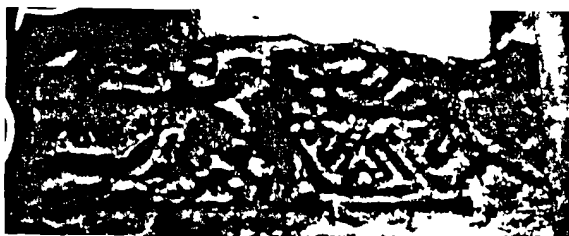
5.



6.



7 (right-hand section)



7 (left-hand section)



8A.



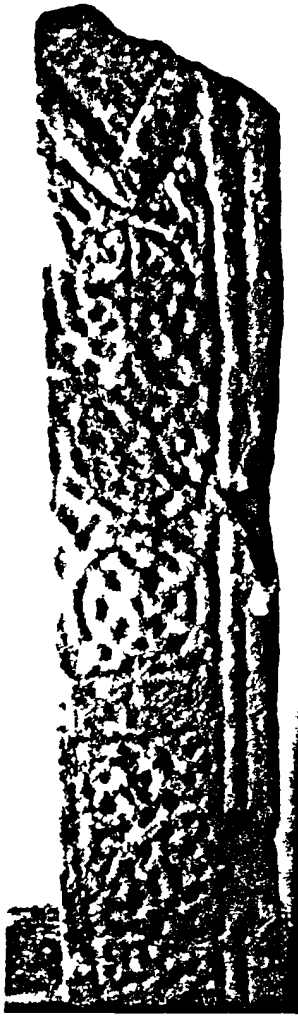
8B.



8C.



8D.



9A.



9B.



10B.



10A.



10C.



10D.



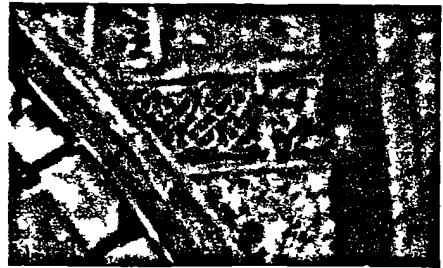
11.



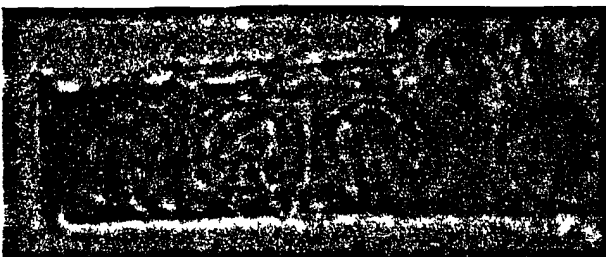
12.



13.



14.



15.

(16 - not illustrated)



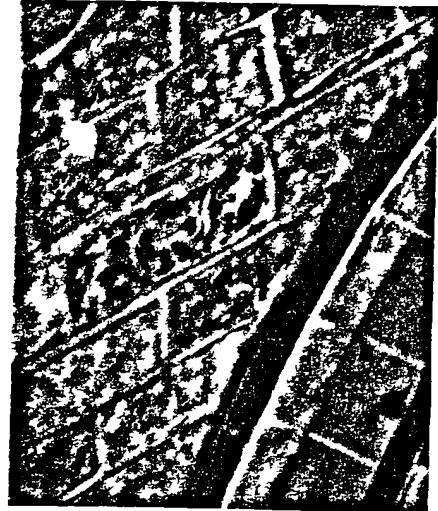
17.



18.



19.



20.

(21 - not illustrated)



22 (right-hand section).



22 (left-hand section).



23.



24.



25.



26.



27.



28.



29.



30.



31.



32.



33.

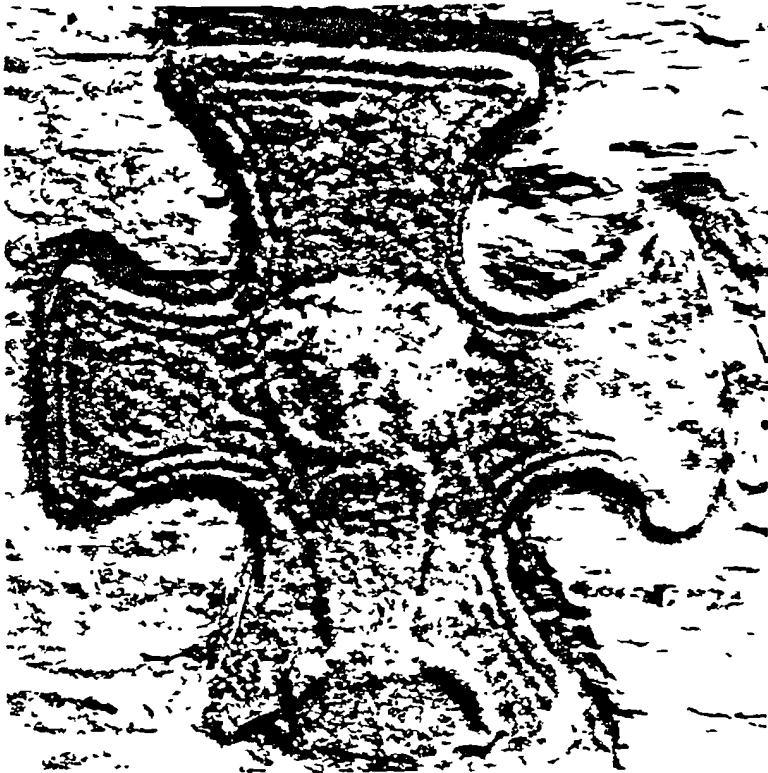


34.

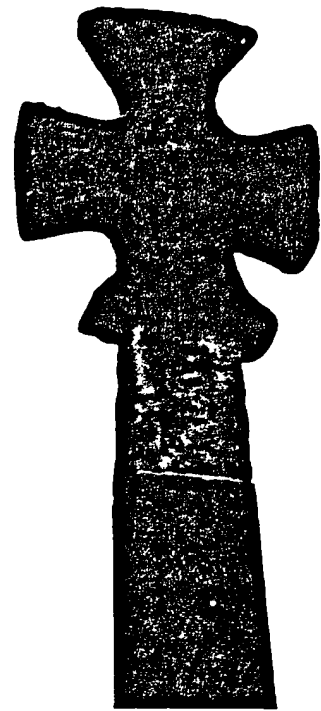


35.

CAWTHORNE



1.



2 (crosshead) &
3 (directly below crosshead).



4A.



4B.



4C.



4D.



5B.



5A.



5C.



5D.

CHAPEL-EN-LE-FRITH

CHAPEL & CHEADLE



D/A.



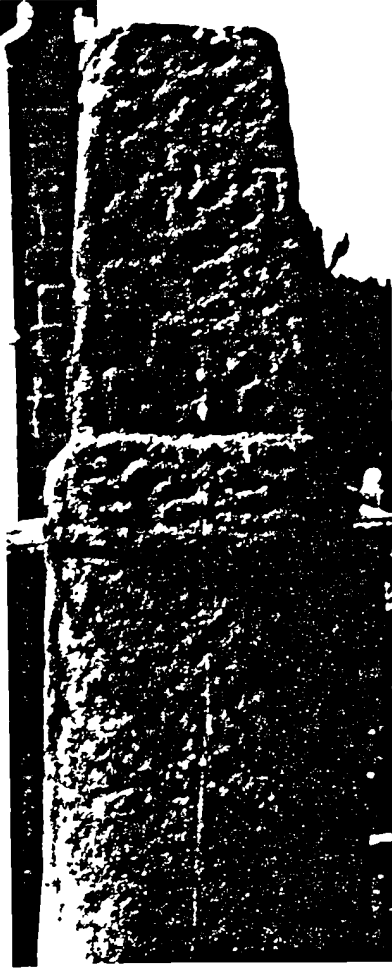
B/C.

CHEADLE

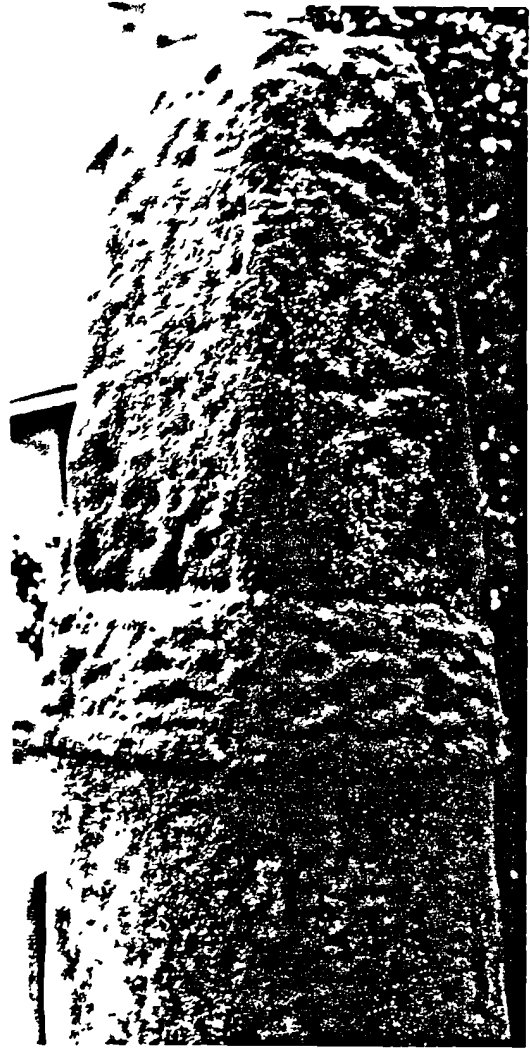


A.

CHEBSEY



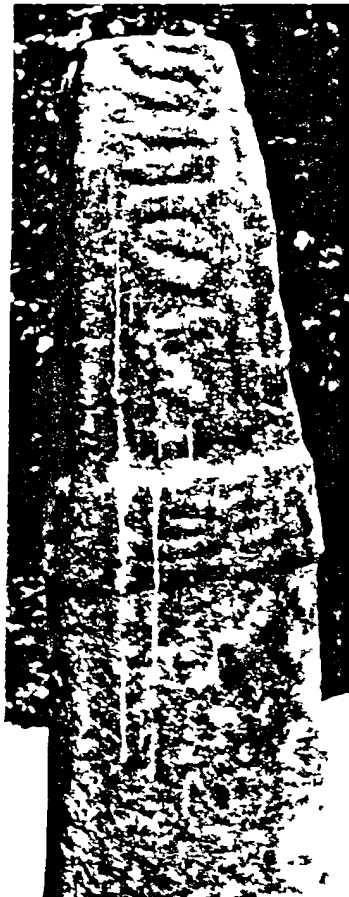
A.



B.



C.



D.

CHECKLEY



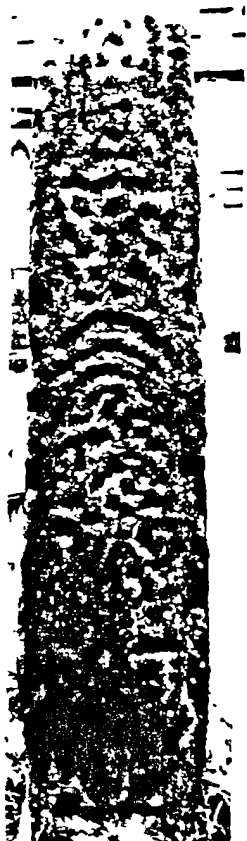
1A.



1B.



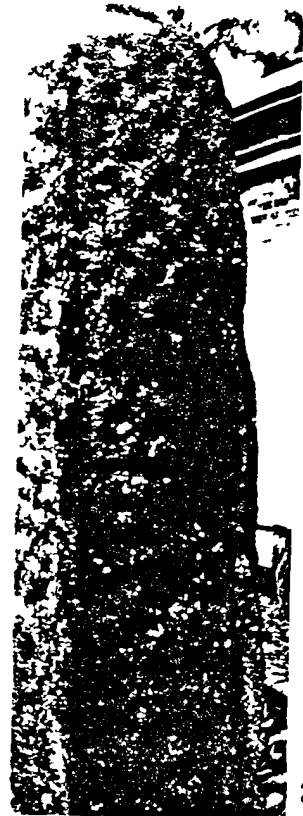
1C.



1D.



2A.



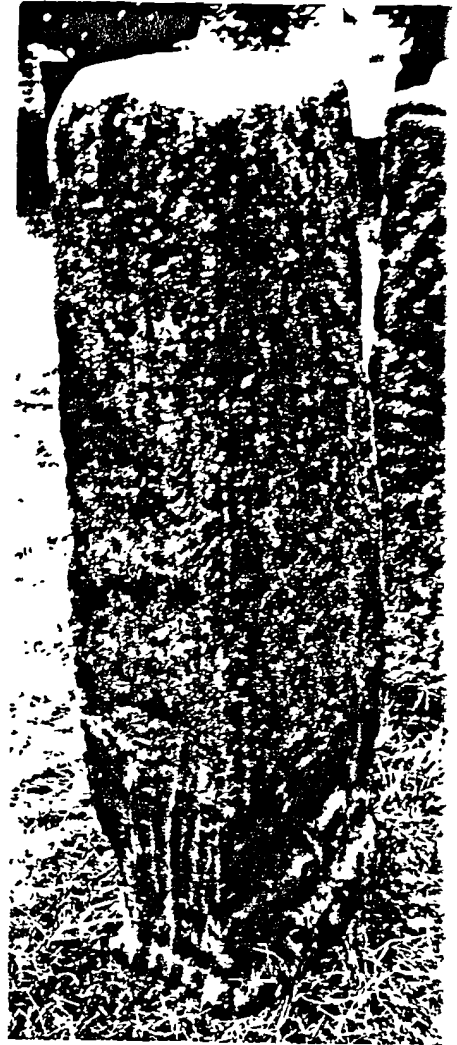
2B.



2C.



2D.



CHESTERTON



A.



B.



D.

3.



CLUELOW

CONISBROUGH



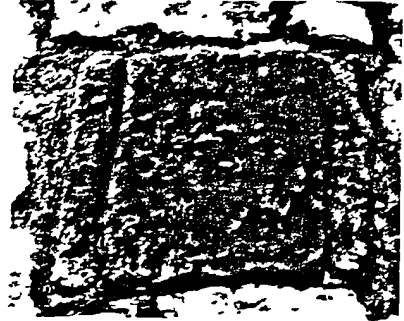
1A.



1B.



1C.



2.

COSTOCK



A/B.

CROFTON



1A.



1C.



1D.



2C.



2B.



2A.



2D.

DARFIELD



1.



2.

DARLEY DALE



1A.



1B.



1C.



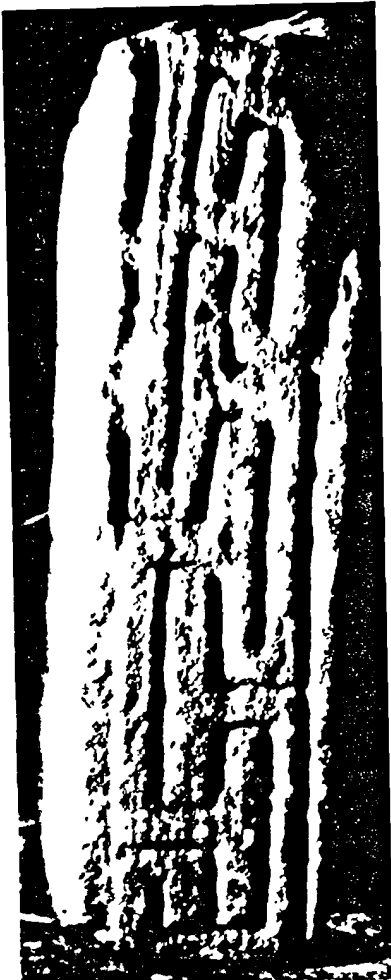
1D.



2A.



2C.



2B.

DERBY



1A.



1B.



1C.



1D.



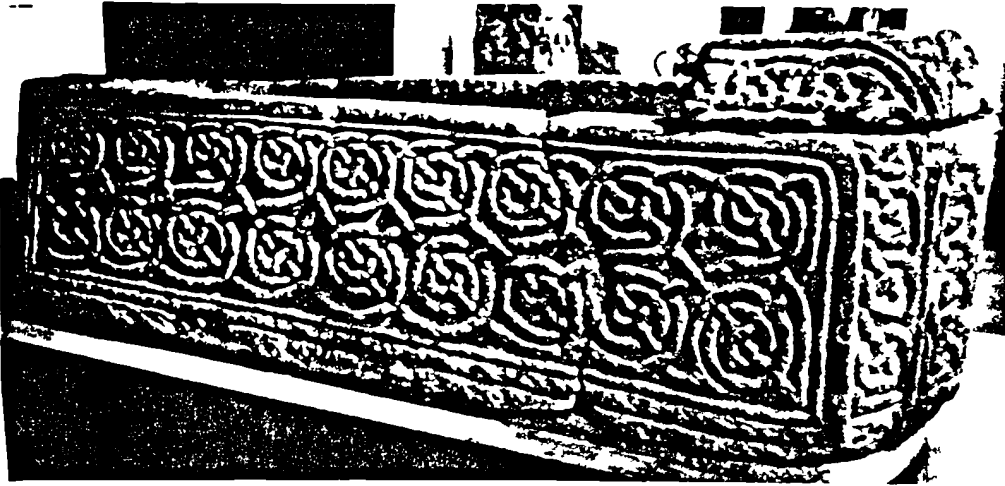
2A.



2C.



2 (top).



3A.



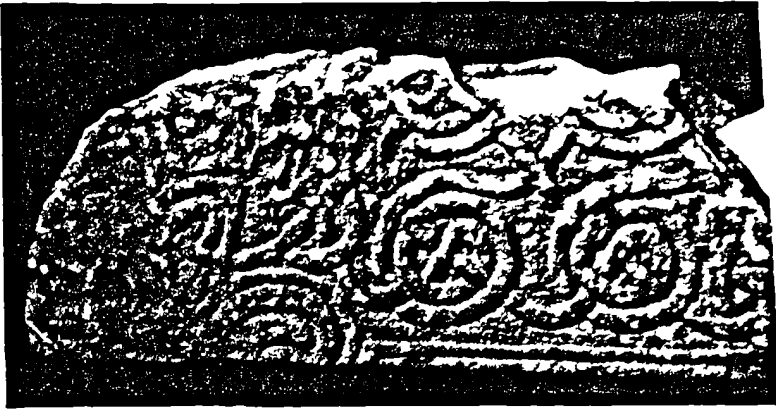
3C.



3B.



4A.



5A.



6A.



6B.



6D.



7A.



7B.



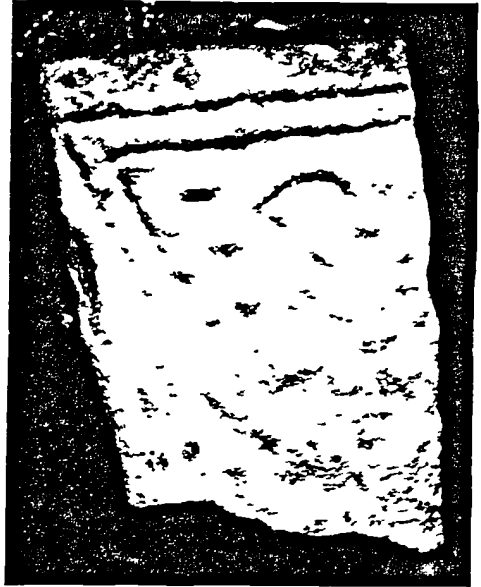
7D.



7C.



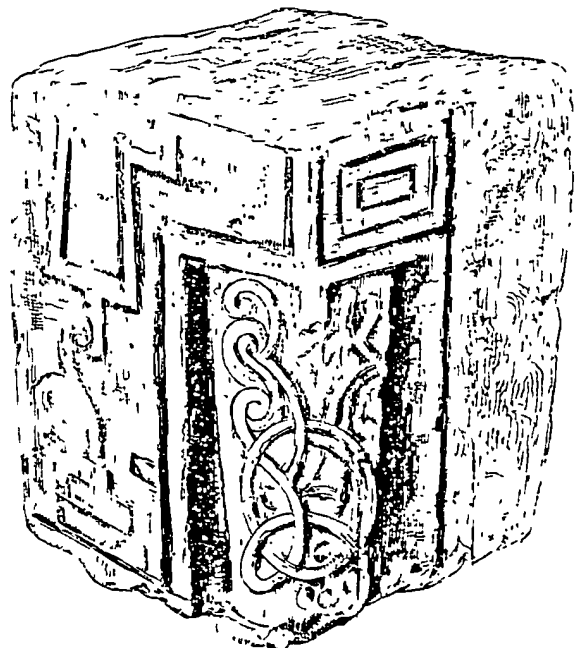
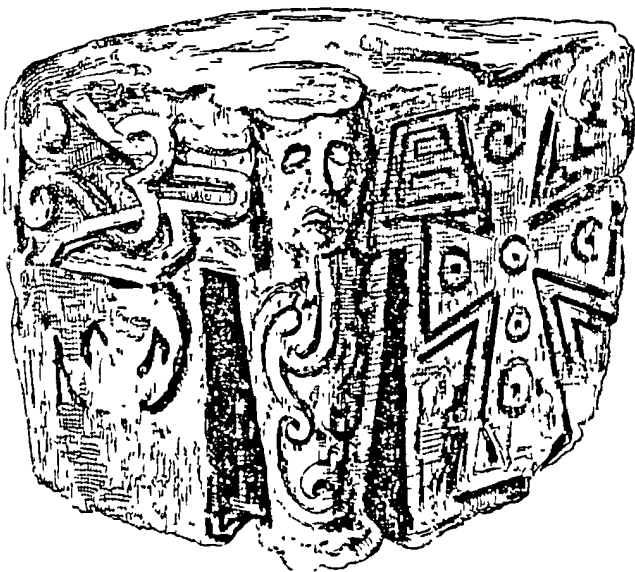
8A.



8C.



9. now lost. (Source, Radford 1976: 48)



10a. (left) & 10b. now lost. (Source, Radford 1976: 38/9).

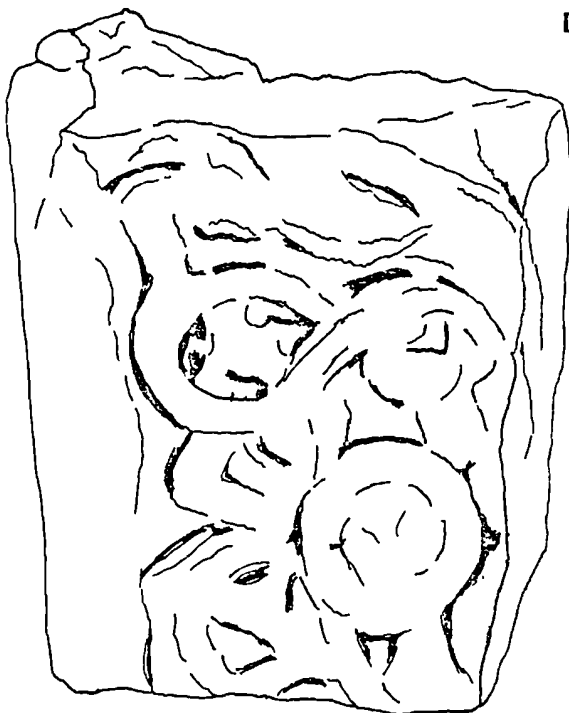


11A.



12A.

DERWENT



(Piece now destroyed).



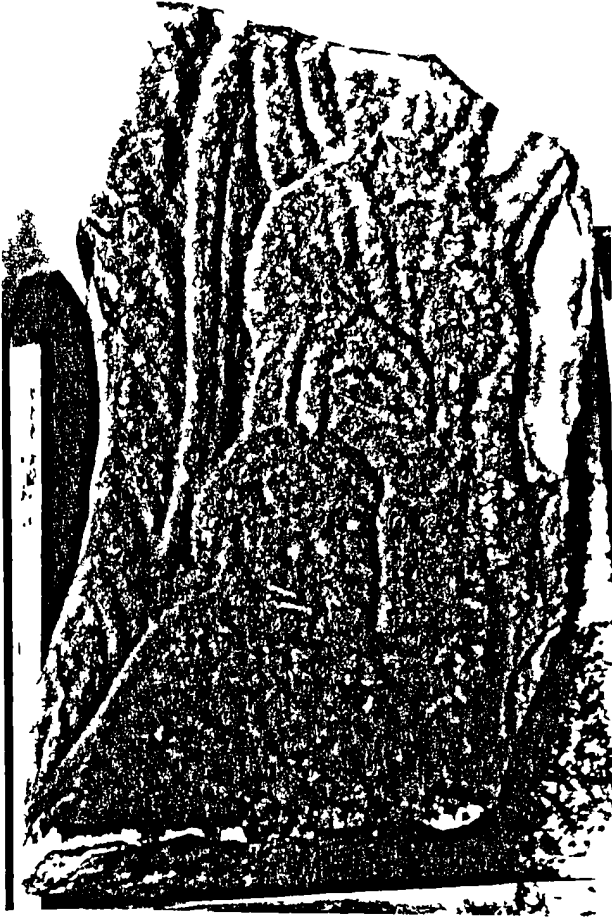
1.

2.



3.

4.



5A.



5D.



6A.



6D.



7A.



7B.



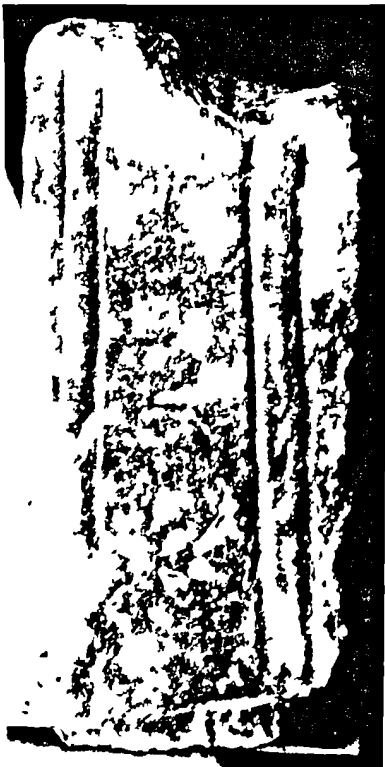
7C.



7D.



8A.



8B.



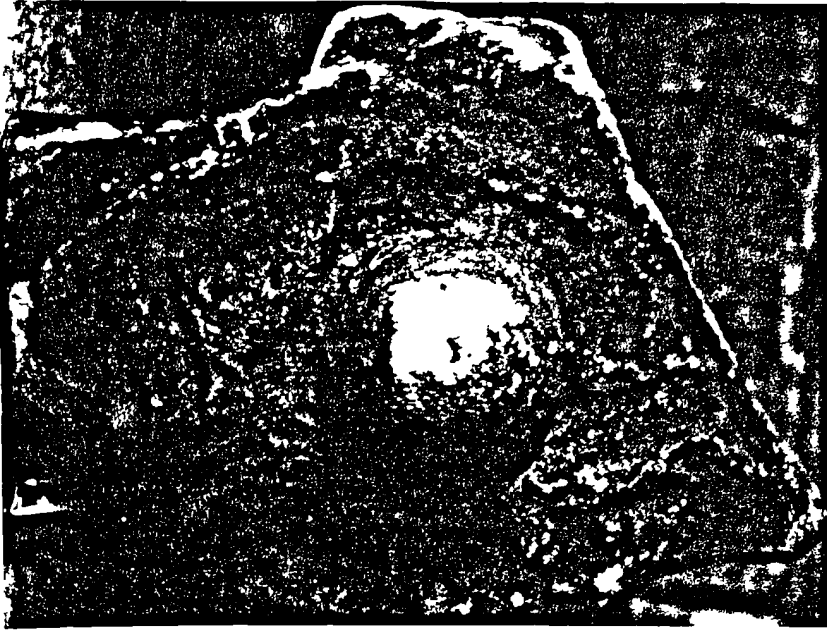
8C.



9A. (Face C. is identical)



10A.



10C.



11A.



11C..



11D.



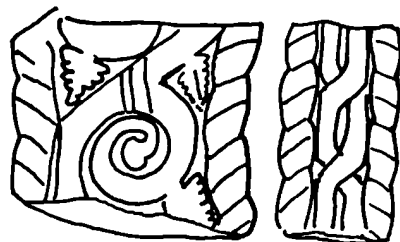
12A.



12B.



13A. (Source, Okasha 1971: plates).



13C. (left) & 13D. (after Collingwood 1921: 28).

DISLEY



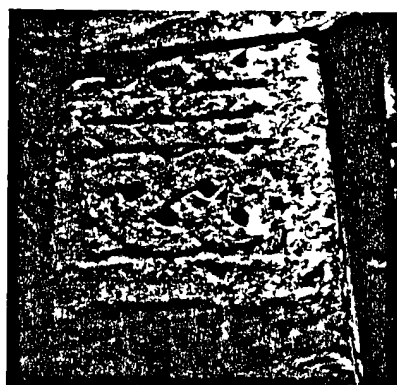
EAST BRIDGFORD



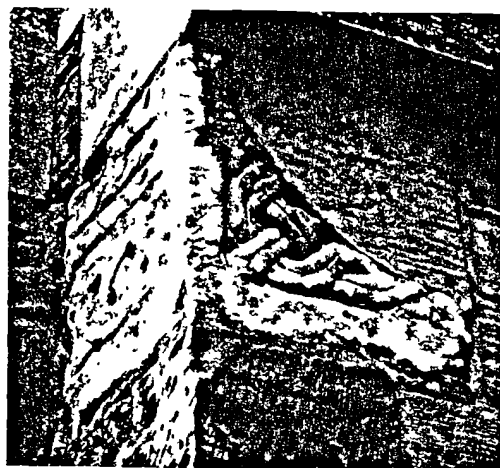
1A.



1B.

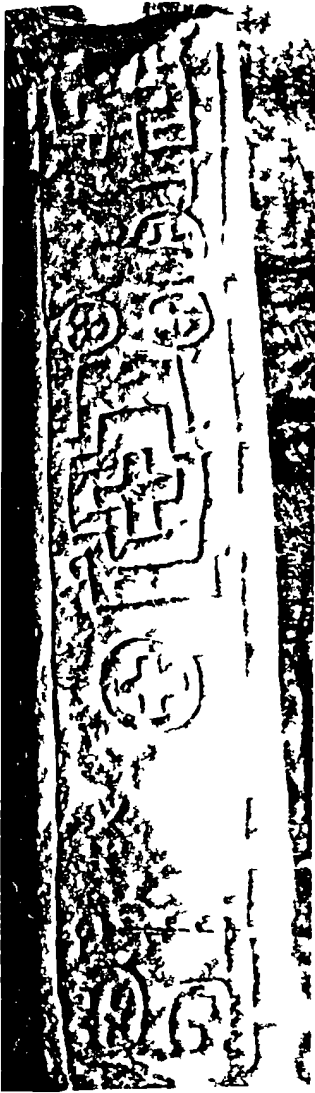


2A.



2B.

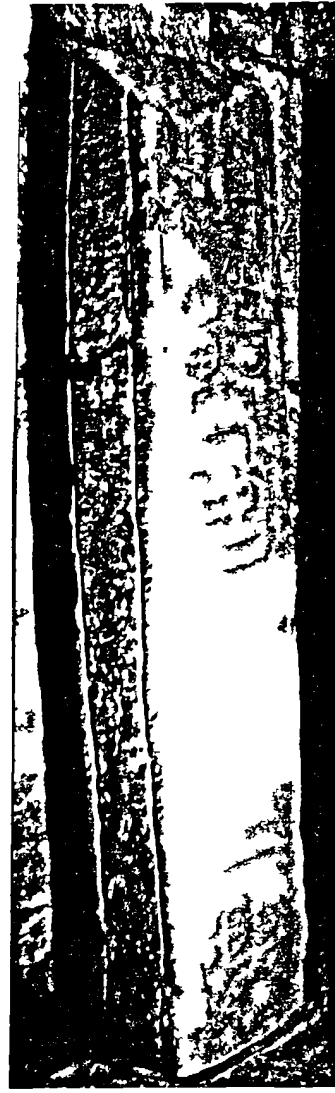
ECCLESFIELD



1A.



1B.



1C.

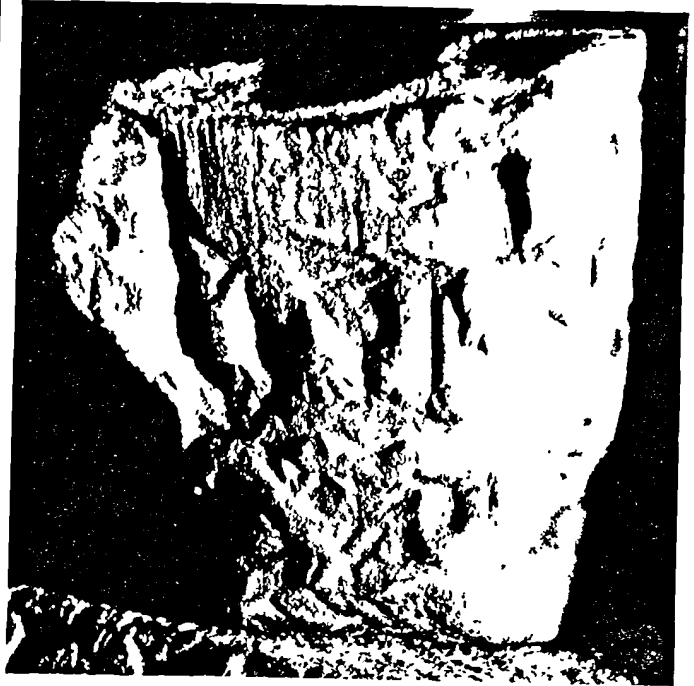


2A.

ECCLESHALL



1.



2A.



2B.



3.



4.

EYAM



1A.



1B.

2A.

2B.



1C.



1D.

2C.

2D.

FERNILEE



HARSTON



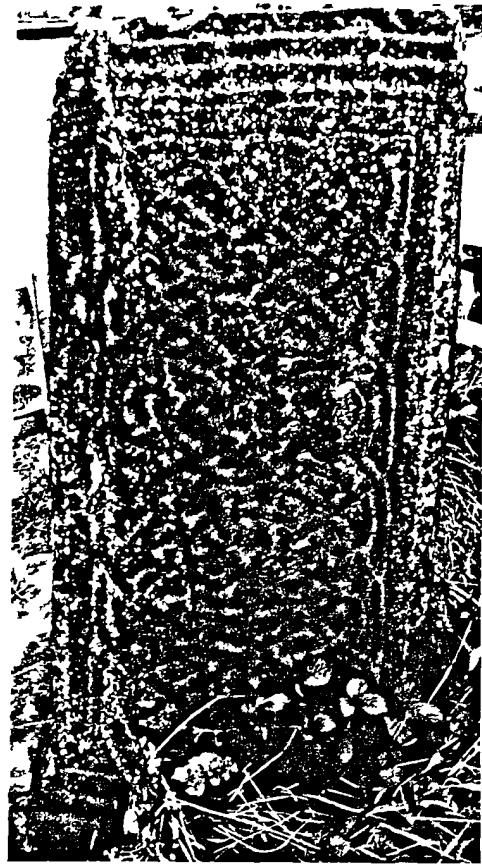
HARTINGTON



HARTSHEAD



A.



B.



C.



D.

HAWKSWORTH



A.



B.



D.

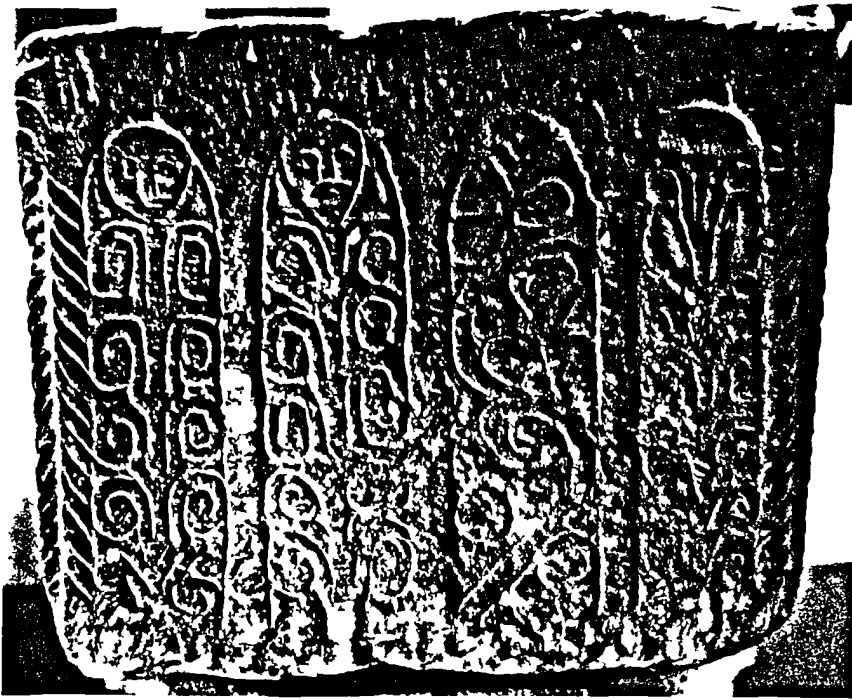
HICKLING



A (RHS.).

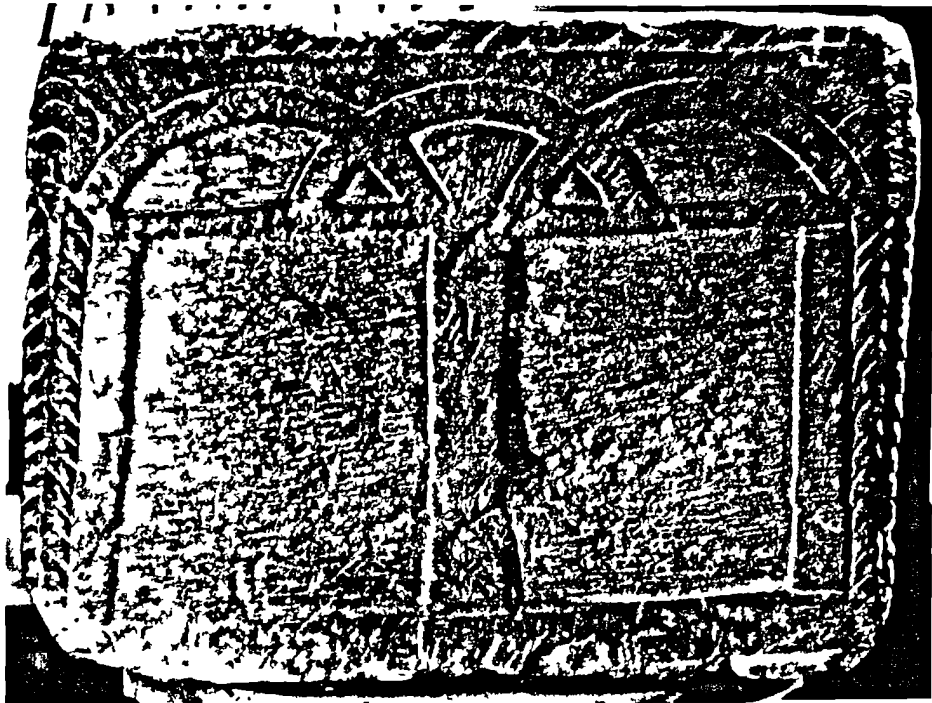


A (LHS.).



HIGH HOYLAND

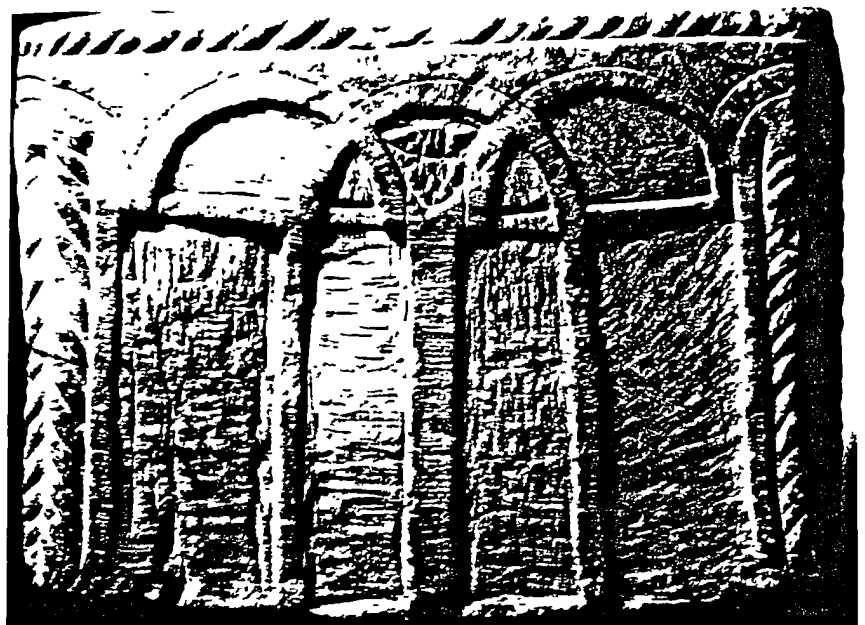
1A.



1B.



1C.



1D.



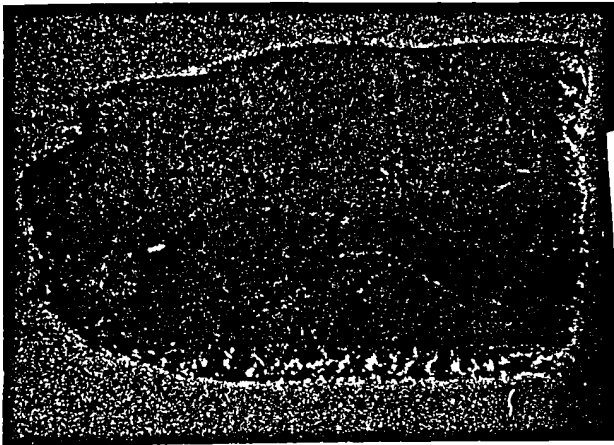
2.



4.



3.



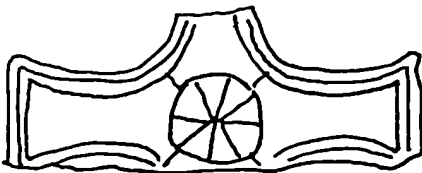
5.



6A.

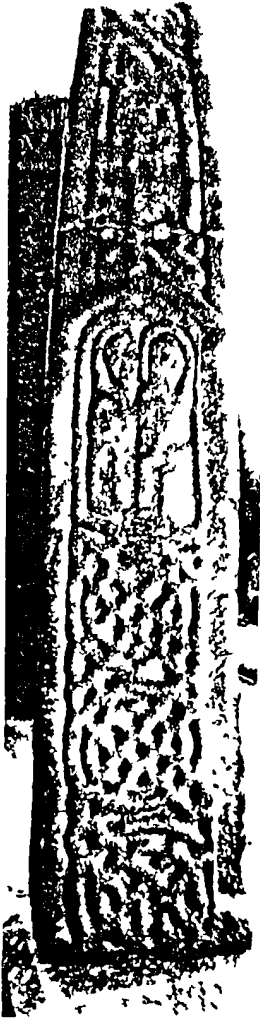


7.



6C.

(All drawings after Collingwood 1921: 45. No. 5 is drawn for clarification).



A.



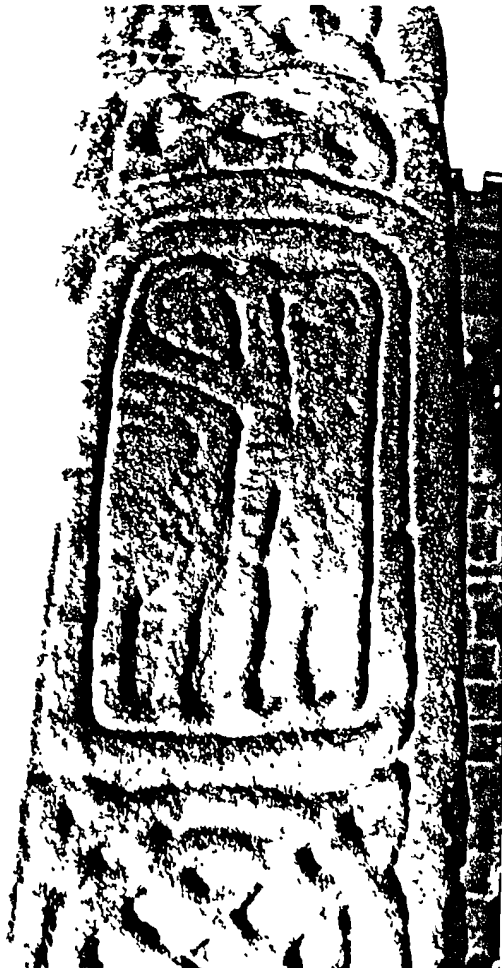
B.



D.

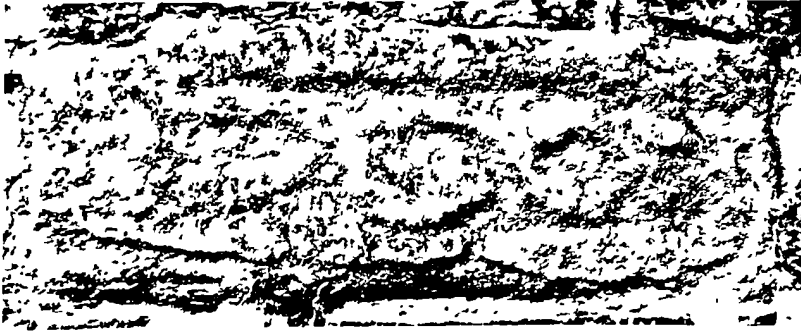


C.



C (Figure detail).

ILAM



1.



2A.



2B.



2C.



2D.



3A.



3B.



3C.



3D.



4.



5A.



5B.



5C.

INGLEBY



1A/B.



1D.



2A.



2B.

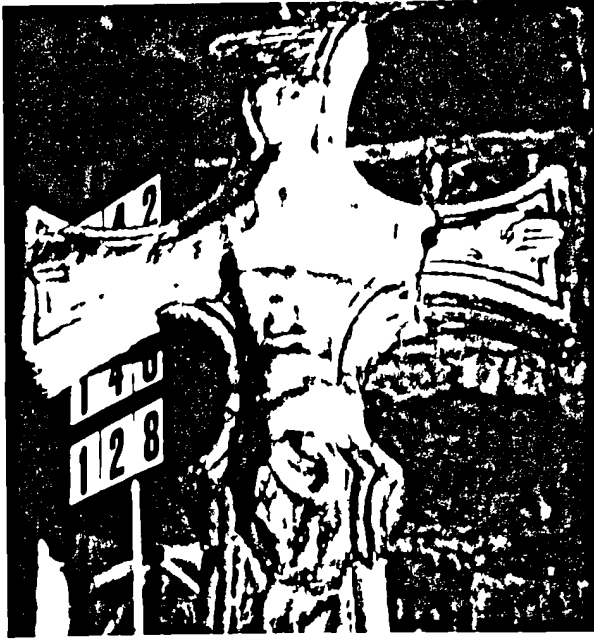


2C.



2D.

KIRKBURTON



1A (top).



1A/B-3A/B.

2A.



3A.



1C/D-3C/D.



4A.



4C/D.

KIRKHEATON



1A.



1B.



2B.



2A.



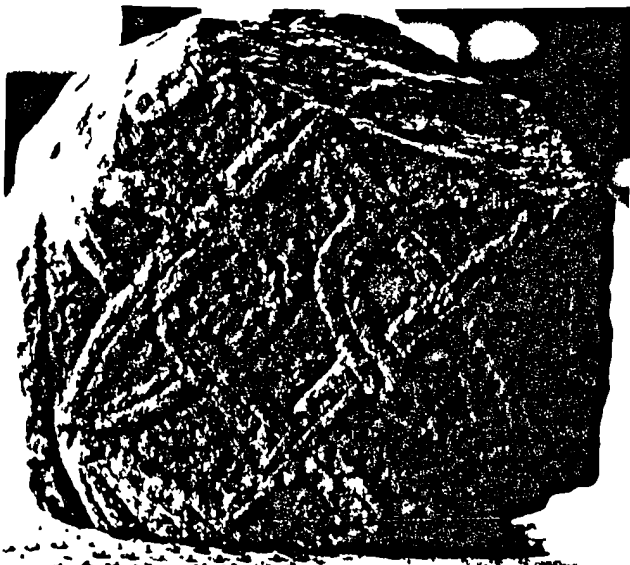
2C.



2D.



3B.



3A.



4A.



4B.



4D.

KNEESALL



A.



B.



1A.



1B.



1D.



2A.



2C.



3A.



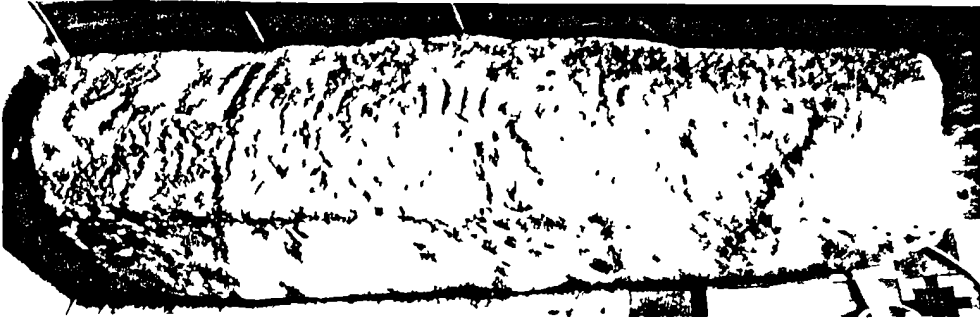
3B.



3C.



3D.



4.



5A.



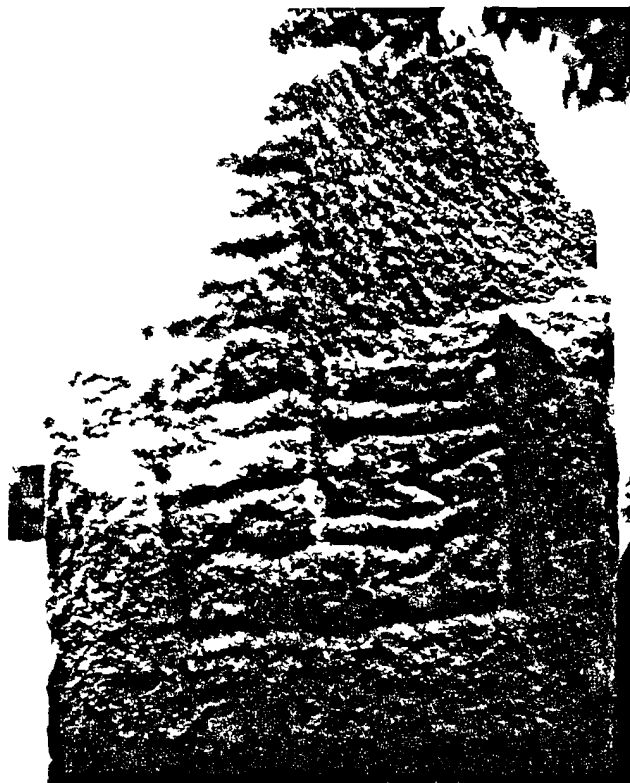
5B.



5C.



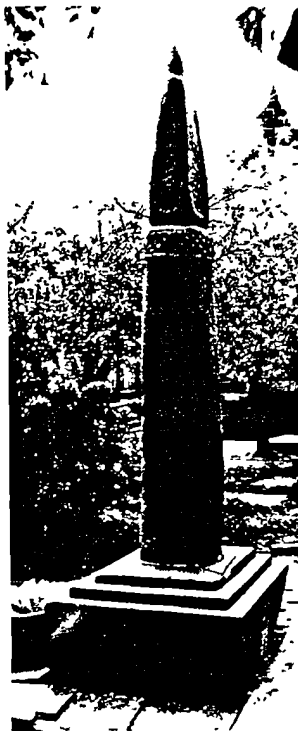
5D.



5B (inscription)



6A.



6B.



6

LOCKINGTON

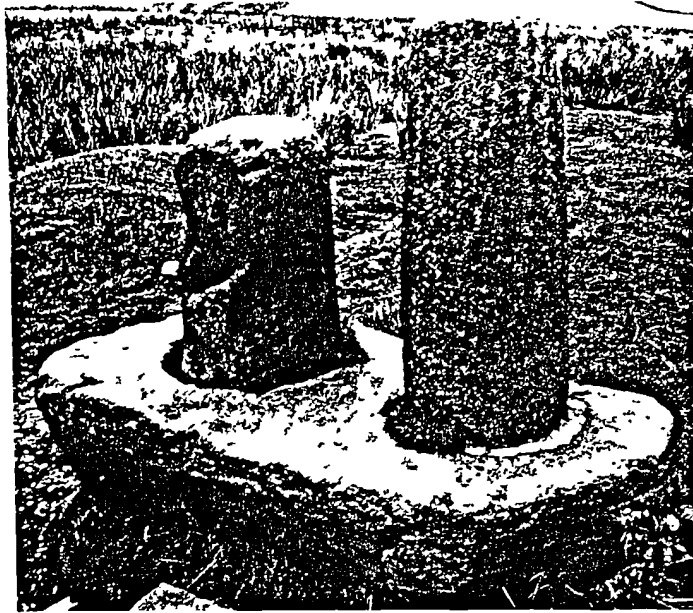


1.



2.

LUDWORTH



1 (left) & 2.

LYME HALL



1A.



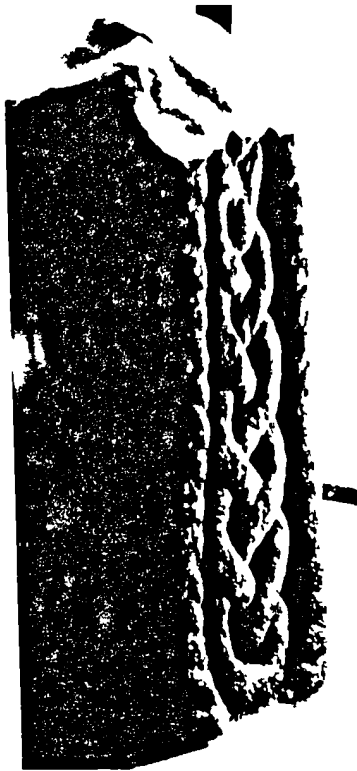
1B.



1D.



2A.



2B.



2C.



2D.



3A (top row) & 3C.

LYME HANDLEY

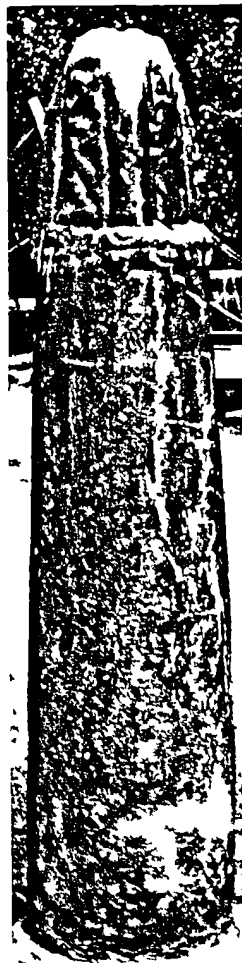


1 (left) & 2.

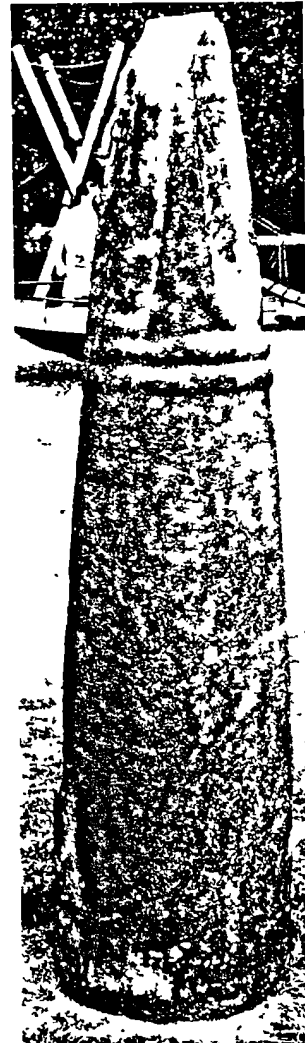
MACCLESFIELD



1.



2 D/A.



3.



4A.



4B.



4D.



5A.



5B.



5C.



5D.



6A.



6D.



7A.



7B.

MEXBOROUGH

MEXBOROUGH & MIRFIELD



A.



B.



D.

MIRFIELD



A.



B.



C.



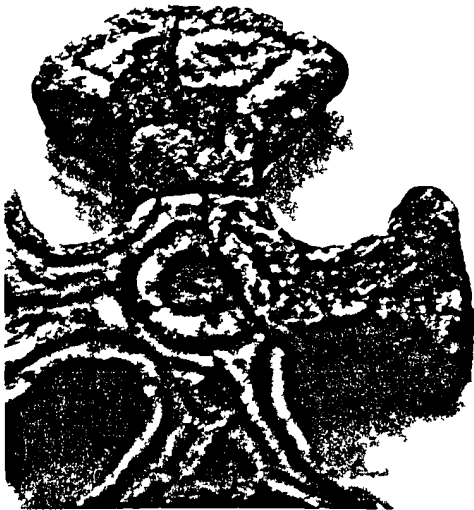
D.



Top.

NETHER BROUGHTON

MONYASH



1 (top) & 2 (right).



NORBURY



1A.



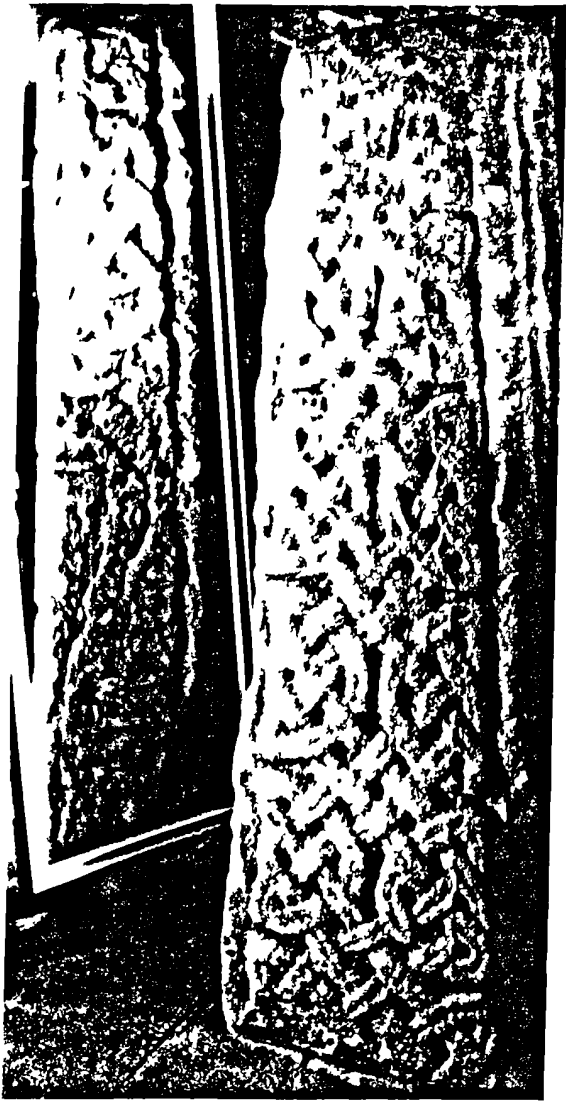
1B.



1C.



1D.



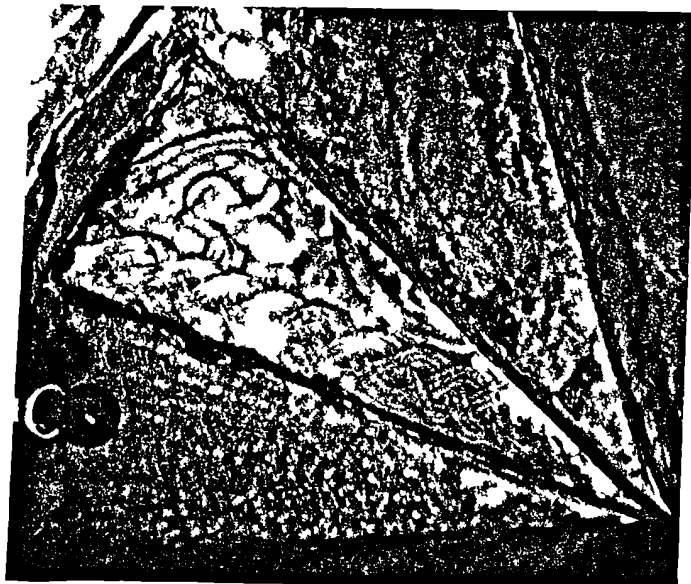
2D (left) & 2A.



2B.

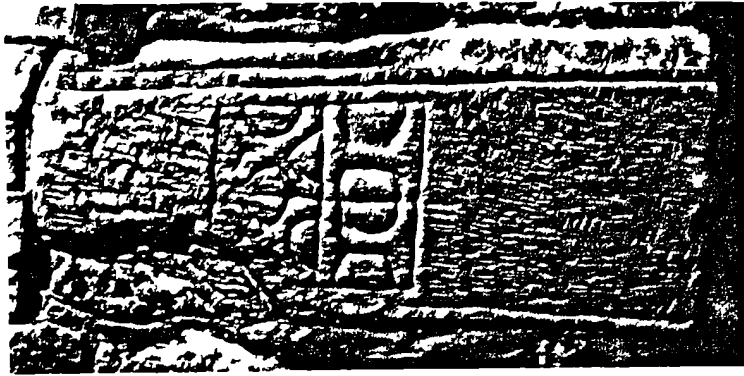


2C.

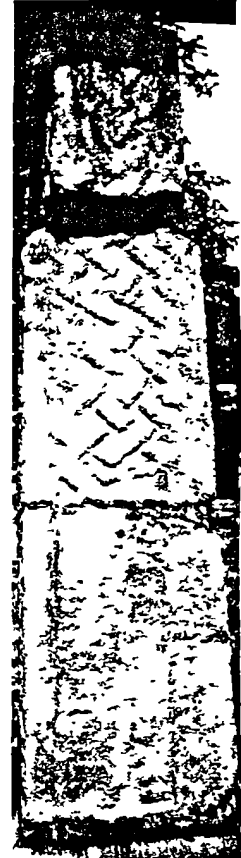
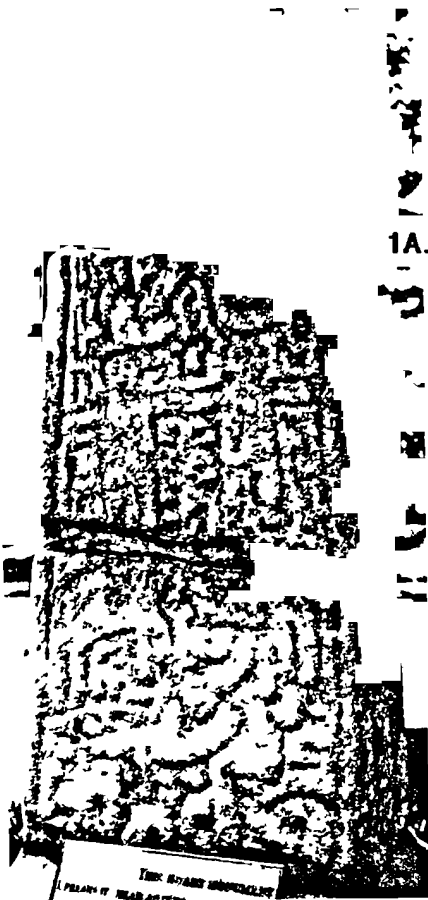


3.

PENISTONE



PRESTBURY



1D.

2D.

2C.

2A.

1C.

3.

PYM CHAIR



A.



C.

RASTRICK

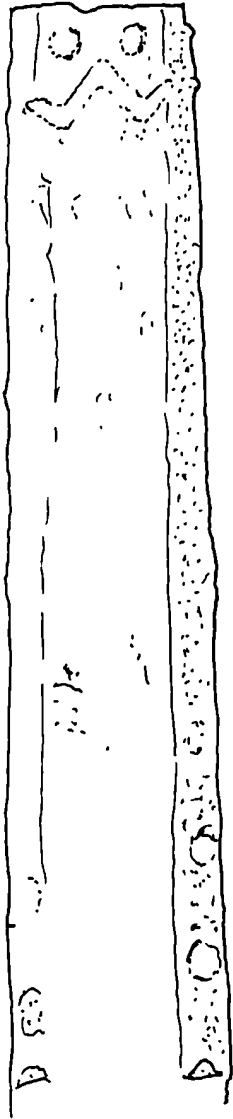


A.



B/C

RAWMARSH



A.



B.



D.

Drawings after Ryder 1982.

REDMILE



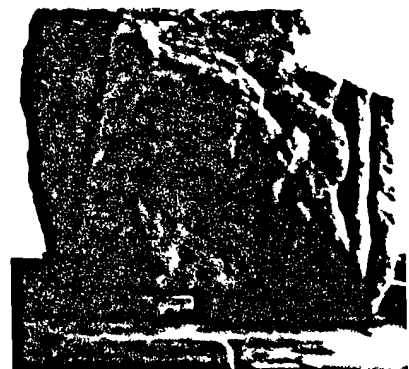
REPTON



1.



2A.



2D.



3.



4.



5.



6 (left-hand).



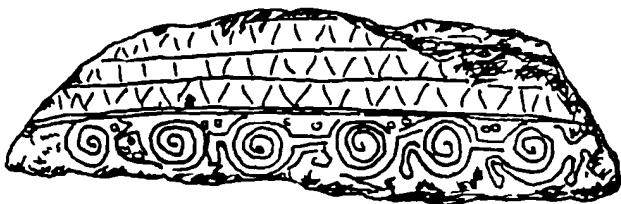
6 (right-hand).



7.



8.



Drawing after Lysons 1817.

9.



10A.



10B.

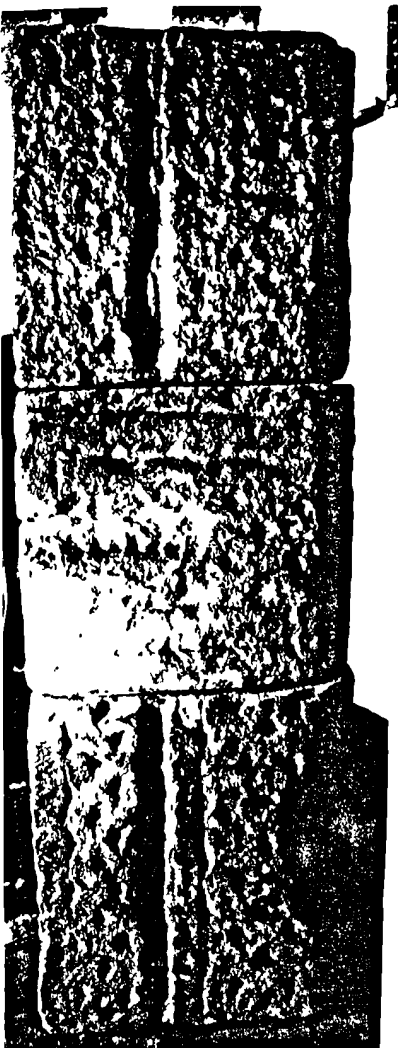


11A.



11D.

ROLLASTON



1A (top), 2A
& 3A (bottom)



4.



1D-3D.

ROTHLEY



A.



B.



C.



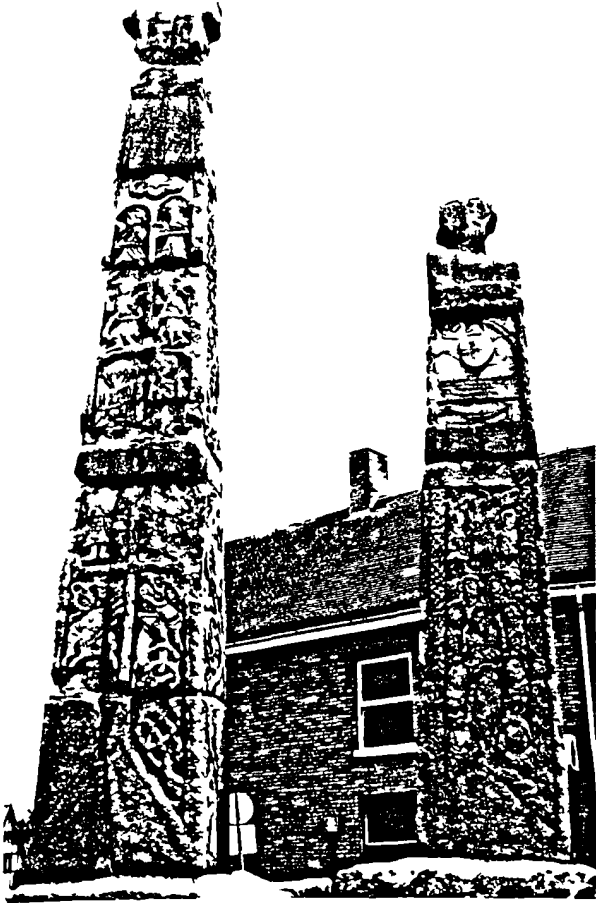
C/D.

ROWSLEY



A (face C similar).

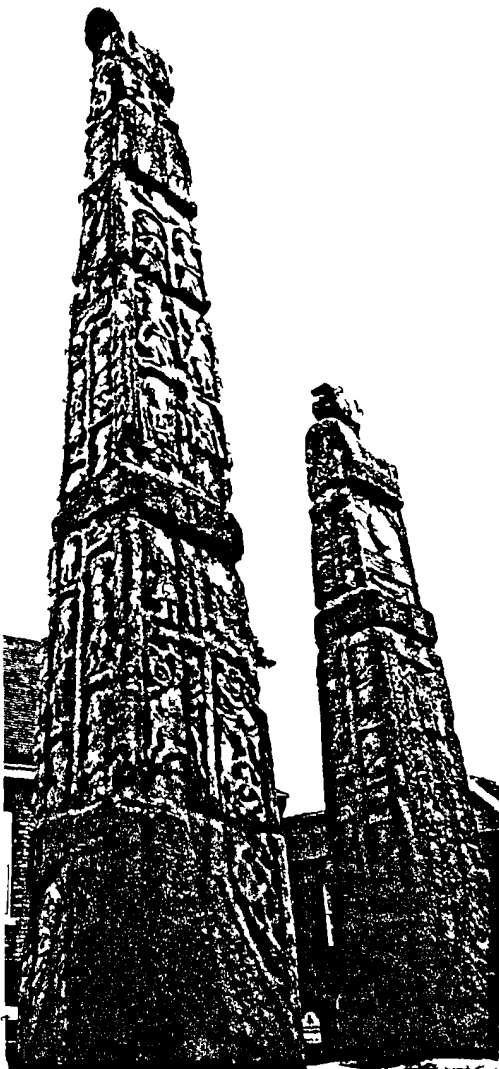
SANDBACH



1A. (left) & 2A.



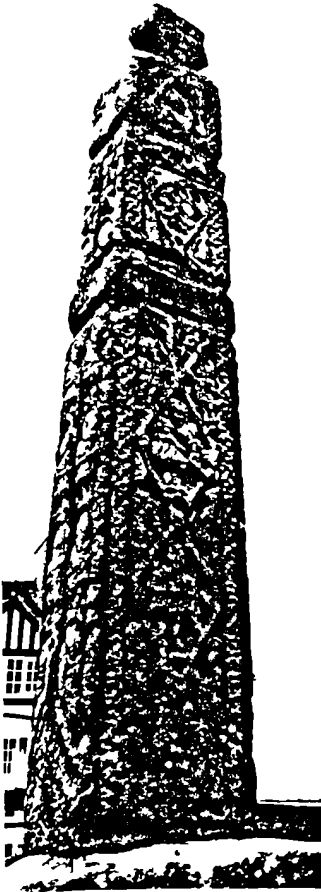
1B/C.



1D/A (left) & 2D/A.



2B.



2C.



3A (left)-7A.



3D.



4A.



5D/A (top right) & 7.



3B (top) & 6.



6A.

4A.

7A.

SCREVETON



SHEFFIELD



A/B.



D.

(Drawing after Ryder 1982)

SHELFORD



A.



C.



B.



D.

SHELTON



1A.



1D.



2A.



2B.

SPONDON



D/A.



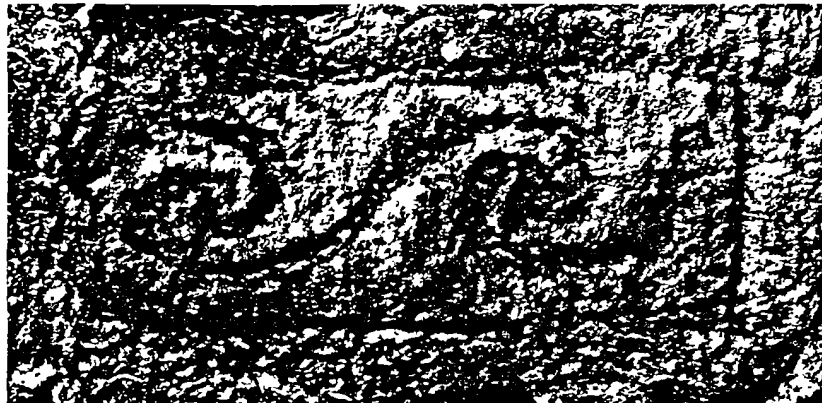
B/C.



A.

Drawing from a C19th. rubbing. (Source: Browne 1886).

SPROTBOROUGH



SPROXTON



A.



D.

STAPLEFORD



B.



C.



A.



D/A.

STATHERN



STOKE



A.



B.

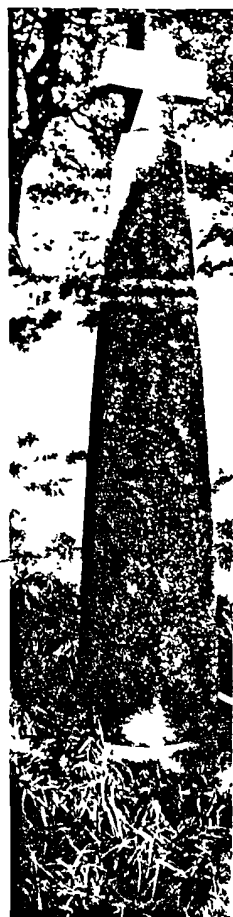


C.



D.

SWITHAMLEY



TATENHILL



A.



B.



D.

THORNHILL



1A.



1B.



1C.



1D.



2A.



2B.



2D.



3A.



3B.



3C.



3 D.



4A.



4D.



5A.



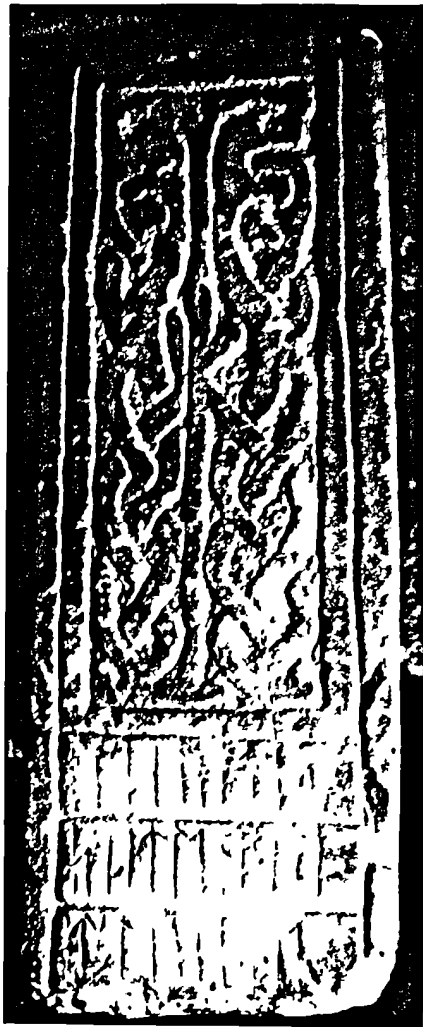
5B.



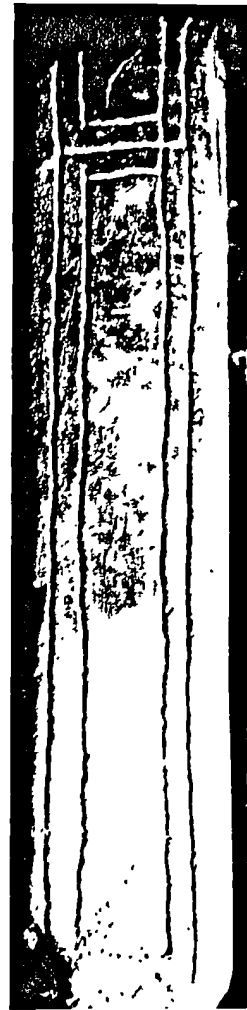
5C.



5D.



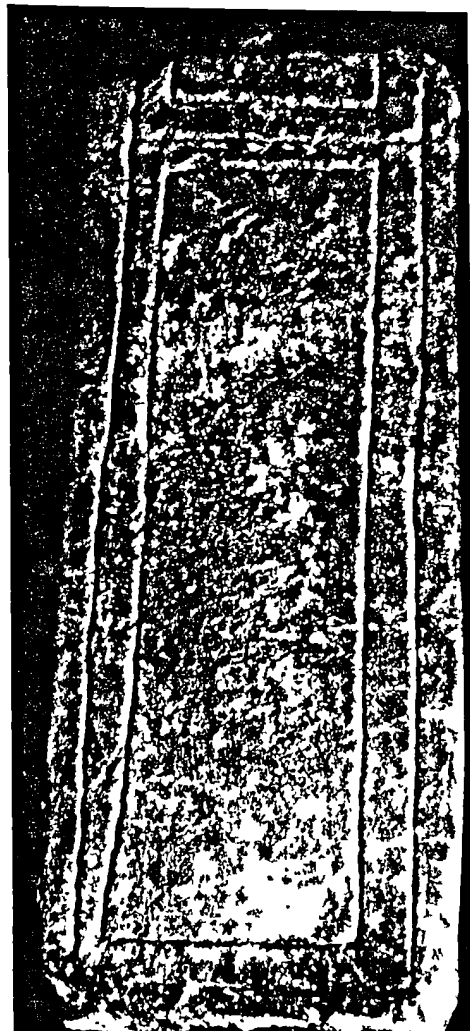
6A.



6B.



6C.



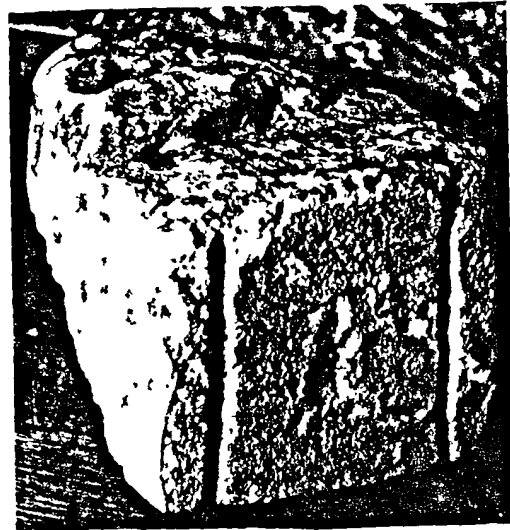
6D.



7 (left) & 8.



9A.



9B.



9C.



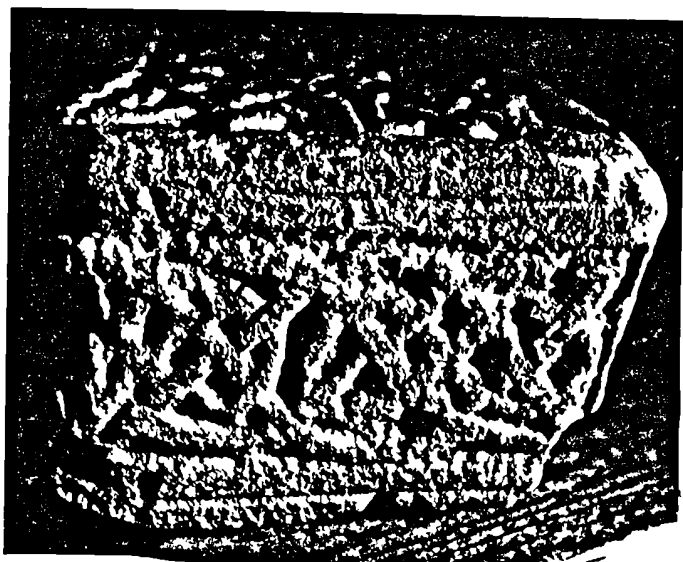
9D.



10A.



10C.



10 (base).

THRYBERGH



1D/A.



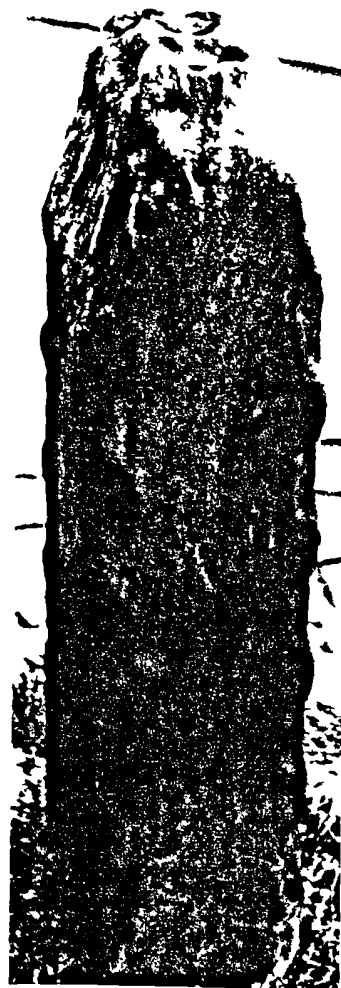
1B.



1C/D.

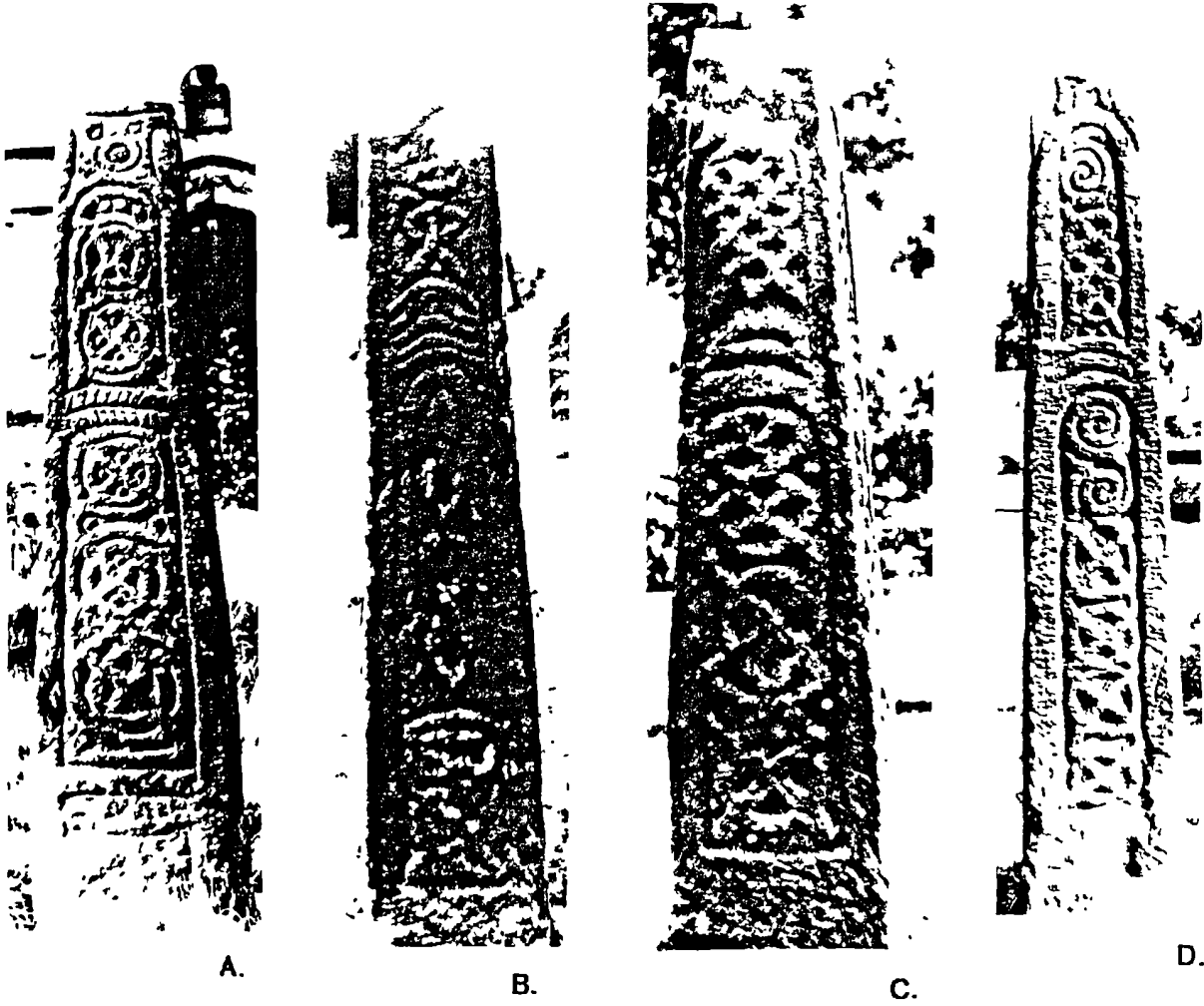


2A.

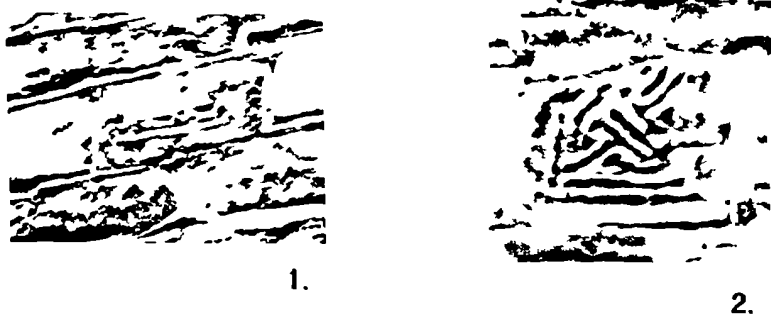


2D.

TWO DALES



WHITWICK



WIRKSWORTH

