

FORGOTTEN WOLDS:
LATE PREHISTORIC AND EARLY HISTORIC LANDSCAPES
ON
THE YORKSHIRE CHALK

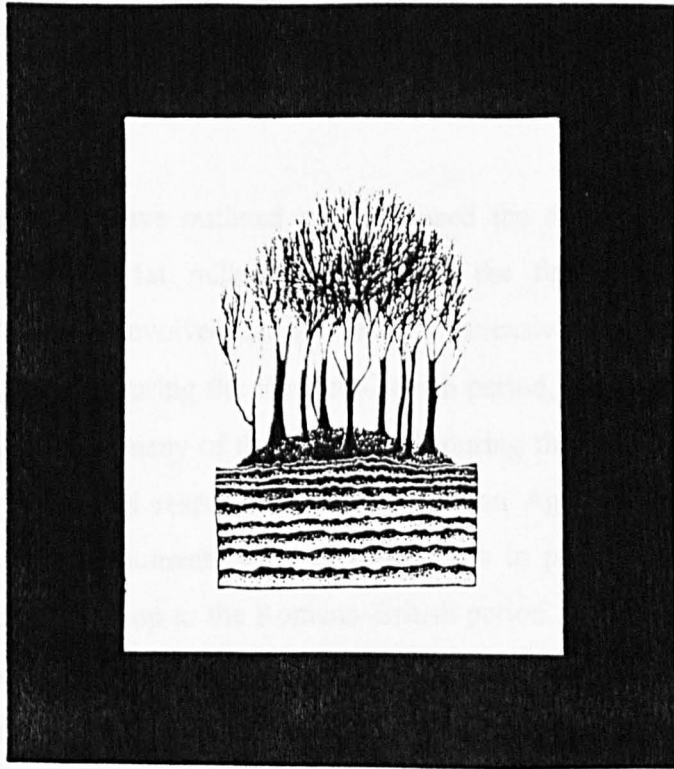
Chris Fenton-Thomas

VOLUME TWO

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CHAPTER FIVE



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THE HISTORICAL LANDSCAPE OF TOWNSHIPS IN THE CENTRAL WOLDS

The preceding 2 chapters have outlined and discussed the developments in this landscape, throughout the 1st millennium BC and the first half of the 1st millennium AD. This has involved an increasingly intensive structure of land division on the Wolds and, during the Romano-British period, a denser settlement pattern. We have seen how many of the linears built during the Late Bronze Age, for the most part, were still respected in the Late Iron Age and beyond. The persistent endurance of monuments such as these, both in physical form and in cultural meaning, does not stop at the Romano-British period. The visible barrows and linear earthworks survive in this landscape and remain important elements that give meaning to the post Roman landscape. So too, the characteristic topography of dry valleys and ridges continues to play a strong role in the meanings that human populations give to this place. In the past, perhaps the end of the Roman period has been over-emphasised as a period of change; an end to the world as we knew it and a blank canvas on which to begin to paint the first impressions of Medieval England. Any echoes back to the Roman centuries were seen as unusual and remarkable. However, as we will see, there are many continuities at work in this landscape rooted in the transmission of folk memory over the long term, equally though we come across change in the same way.

INTRODUCTION

Chapter five is a collection of township profiles. The compilation of information, regarding the layout and character of the Medieval and Post-Medieval landscape of the 20 townships within the study area. Chapter 6 will deal with the Anglian and Anglo-Scandinavian period, and will use the information presented here as a springboard, from which to look back in time, to before the Norman conquest.

Most of the information for this chapter has come from documentary sources, relating to the 18th and 19th centuries, and the main aim has been to reconstruct the pre-enclosure landscape. After all, it was through parliamentary enclosure that the foundations of the modern Wolds landscape were laid, and when most alteration and change occurred (see chapter 2). The prime concerns of these township profiles are topographic, and they are principally concerned with the layout of boundaries, roads and tracks, open fields and pastures. The origins of many of these features may well lie in the early Medieval period, origins with which we will deal in chapter 6. The alterations, during the years of parliamentary enclosure were so radical here, that it is often very difficult to identify the traces of the Medieval landscape (see chapter 2). They are rarely visible on the surface, due to these re-alignments and the arable dominance of the subsequent centuries.

The Enclosure Awards and plans of later 18th and early 19th century, and Tithe maps of the early 19th century, are our main source for the identification of open fields but, in addition, the OS 1st edition 6" maps of 1854 often record their names and general extent. There are a number of large-scale maps of the area from the later 18th century, which give a good, albeit coarse-grained, picture of the pre-enclosure road network and the earliest record of township boundaries can also be found in these maps (i.e. Haynes 1744; Jeffreys 1772; Bowen 1750; Bryant 1828; Teesdale 1828). There is likely to have been some alteration in the layout and position of township boundaries before their earliest detailed record and, in some cases, we can identify the locations at which this may have occurred. Information about the use of the Wolds landscape between 12th and 14th century has been gathered from various land grants and charters recorded, usually, by monastic and other ecclesiastical institutions (e.g. W.Farrer (1914) *Early Yorkshire Charters*, subsequently *EYC*, followed by entry number of charter reference). Earlier sources, such as Domesday Book, will be dealt with in chapter 6.

The quality of the documentary record for each township can be variable, as some do not possess Enclosure Plans, whilst, for others, more detailed estate maps have survived. Likewise, historical studies which deal with the Medieval and Post-Medieval landscape already exist for some areas and places. (The most notable of these are: *Victoria County History, East Riding* volumes 2,3,4 (subsequently

VCH); S.Neave (1990) *Rural Settlement Contraction in the East Riding of Yorkshire 1660-1760* (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Hull); K. Alison (1976) *The East Riding of Yorkshire Landscape*; A.Harris (1961) *The Rural Landscape of East Riding of Yorkshire 1700-1850*; A.Harris (1951) *Pre-Enclosure Agricultural Systems of East Riding of Yorkshire* (MA Thesis, University of Hull).

The intensity of landscape change may also be different between townships. In some, such as Warter and Huggate, a wide range of field names have survived over several centuries, whilst in others, such as Sledmere, only a very few Medieval names remain in use today (see chapter 2).

The purpose of these profiles is to gather information, with which to help in the reconstruction of pre-Norman landscape, and will concentrate on the following areas:

- **Territorial identity** (parish, township, hundred, wapentake)
- **Topographic character of township and village**
- **Topography of boundaries**
- **Lost townships and detached portions of townships**
- **Enclosure, emparkment and village depopulation**
- **Medieval land grants, ecclesiastical holdings and granges**
- **Origin and Development of Tracks and Roads**
- **Medieval Open Fields**
- **Medieval and Post-medieval, pre-Enclosure Pasture** (areas and recorded rights)
- **Place and Field Names**

The use of the same study area as chapter 3 means that the same places and features appear. Many of the linears are reused as boundaries or tracks. Many of

the pivotal places within the linear pattern and in the Iron Age landscape are also focused upon in the Medieval period. For instance, Blealands Nook, Fimber cross-roads, Warren Dale, Huggate Dykes, Garrowby Top all retain their importance, as do the linear features such as the Green Lane and the Towthorpe Ridgeway. This endurance is a response to the topographic peculiarity of these places but also and perhaps most importantly, to the conscious knowledge that they are historically important places already.

The reconstructions of pre-enclosure landscapes of the townships are often conjectural. Because of the late date of the sources used, it is the late Medieval or post Medieval system that is mapped. Change and re-orientation is likely to have taken place since the 12th century.

The area of study is broadly the same as chapter 3 and comprises 20 townships in the eastern and central Wolds (figs 87-89). Figure 87 illustrates the location of the study area within the wider township structure. Fig 88 indicates the names of townships and their boundaries and fig 89 shows the townships and dry valleys. The numbers on this map refer to those found with each township profile (see also figs 2 and 3).

TOWNSHIP PROFILES

WETWANG (1)

Ecclesiastical Parish: Wetwang (contained township and chapelry of Fimber and chapelry of Holm Archiepiscopie)

Civil Parish: Wetwang

Township: Wetwang

Hundred: Warter

Wapentake: Buckrose

Wetwang is very much a Wold township. It is situated in the rolling landscape of the eastern central Wolds and contains part of the broad east-west valley of Wetwang-Garton Slack (fig 24). A 12th century charter mentions *Wetwanghedale*, and is probably referring to this main valley (*EYC* 1264). The village is situated on a low east-west ridge, raising it above the floor of the main valley, to the north, and a tributary dale to the south. These 2 valleys converge just to the east of Wetwang, in Garton township. From Wetwang, the tributary dale extends westwards into Huggate, becoming progressively steeper-sided and narrow, as it splits into 3 and penetrates the interior of the Wolds (fig 89). The main valley, meanwhile, turns north into Fimber township.

The village has a simple regular plan of a single row with back lanes to north and south (Sheppard 1976). The road between Driffield and York runs through its historic core, which is now surrounded by modern housing development. Both pond and church occupy central positions on the edge of the main street.

The township is a square block with a long withered finger of land extending out oddly from its north-west corner. The boundaries, to north and south, are both green lanes, running continuously across the top and bottom of the township (fig 91). The northern one is preserved, for the most part, as a wooded trackway, but its course is interrupted by a defaced section, recorded as such on 1854 OS (see chapter 6 for general discussion of green lanes). The southern green lane is also wooded, but changes its character as it leaves the township, to the west, into Huggate. The eastern boundary is smooth and straight and probably marked the edge of open field here, emphasising the extent of the arable in this township (Allison 1976). The western edge follows Thorndale and then the steep sides of Harper Dale and Holm Dale. For some distance, this boundary follows linear earthworks on the edge of the dale. Boundaries are thus following green lanes, open field boundaries, steep dale-sides and linear earthworks; all common topographic features for this area.

This is an area of distant views across wide sweeps of rolling arable fields, so characteristic of the eastern dip slope and in some contrast to the more varied and

dissected interior of the Wolds, to the west and north. It is a very open township, containing few plantations. This is an aspect of its character which has probably not changed since the Medieval period for it is described thus, in the 18th century, "*The country is open, scarce a bush or tree appears for several miles*". (quoted in Cole 1894).

The township featured in an early discussion of local field names in the late 19th century, by Rev. E.M.Cole (1905), an inclusion testament to their high survival, in this area. The rights of way too appear to have survived enclosure largely intact, notably that footpath which connects the village to Fimber. It gave the inhabitants of Fimber access to the church at Wetwang, before a new one was built in Fimber in 19th century. Fimber was, of course, a chapelry of Wetwang. Another chapelry is known at *Holm Archiepiscopie*, a deserted settlement in the far west of Wetwang parish, the village site marked on the OS 1854 6", at the end of a long spur defined by steep valley sides and now known as Holm Field (Beresford 1951-2). It is not clear whether Holm existed as a separate township at any stage, but if it were the extent of its former territory is not in doubt, as it is clearly defined by steep dale-sides and a green lane to the north (see below).

The place-name Wetwang is commonly accepted as having derived from the Old Scandinavian word *Vettvangr*, meaning "field of summons for the trial of an action" (Smith 1937; Gelling forthcoming). Smith points out that in Scandinavia, such trials were normally held in temporary locations, so here we may be seeing a different practice involving permanent sites for trial. Notably, the moot place of the whole East Riding is only a mile east of the village in Garton township (see below and Ch 6-7). The area, of course, could already have been known by this name before the existence of any actual settlement. Its situation alongside important east-west routes makes it a good place for trial gatherings of this kind.

The field names of the township derive mainly from Medieval agricultural practices and areas, as well as names of dales and hills (Cole 1899). They have survived well, especially in contrast to the paucity of such names in the adjoining township and parish of Sledmere to the north.

The whole parish, including Fimber township was enclosed between 1803 and 1806 (English 1985) and, according to the award, there had already been limited enclosure around the village before this date. Another document, from the early 18th century, was written to the then landowner, Lord Bathurst, in which the agent puts forward detailed suggestions regarding the "*improvement of the lands by enclosure*" and in so doing makes some significant comments on the condition of the pre-enclosure landscape and agricultural practices (Cole 1894). The agent consistently urges the landlord to increase the productivity of the land and, in so doing, to override the hereditary common rights of the villagers. For instance,

"The long custom of the tenants letting this land to the Town has misled them into an opinion that they have a right to it upon the terms now taken"
(ibid:74)

Here, he is referring to an area of common pasture to the south of the township in Thorndale. The agent seeks to introduce new crops into the agricultural system so making the land more productive allowing higher rents to then be charged by the landowner.

Some of the modern roads were in existence before enclosure but many were creations of this time, as maps of the late 18th century, produced before enclosure, indicate (i.e. Jeffreys 1772). Notably, the road to Huggate was re-directed at enclosure and now survives as a right of way along Harper/Middleham Dale. The north-south route across the township in the 18th century has now been lost altogether and this was probably the line of the Roman road to Malton (Margary 1955). Its line appears as a single linear cropmark on the RCHM plots (Stoertz 1997).

At the time of enclosure there were four open fields in the parish. Three around the village (north, west and south) and Holm Field to the west (Allison 1976; Enclosure plan). A reference from 1608 refers to the "*3 fields of Wetwang*", so it seems that the Holm Field was added after this date (Harris 1951). According to Harris there was probably one field lying fallow all the time. Hay would have been collected from balks and verges but still had to be brought in from Driffild to supplement this meagre harvest (Howorth 1980). Some enclosure field divisions

recorded on OS maps recall, in plan, the furlong boundaries of the open fields (see maps i.e. at Long Blealands, Bottlands and West Field)

Pastures and pasture rights are recorded remarkably well for Wetwang mainly because of the Bathurst account. Two areas are mentioned, Thorndale to the south of the township and a detached area of pasture known as 'Wetwang Rakes', located 3 miles to the west in Bishop Wilton parish (fig 92). Harris regards Thorndale as a recent (later 18th century) creation and yet there are still strong ties to be broken between the townsfolk and this area, which must have taken many years to establish (Cole 1894). Gorse was collected here, as a right which the agent regarded as theft, and other rights of pasture were rented from the landowner's tenants. The track out to this pasture survives in part as Thorndale Lane but it is only continued to the pasture itself as a right of way across arable fields. A traditional route, which may be based on the course of the former Roman road. There is unequivocal evidence that a new pasture was created in 17th century, but it is not necessarily that at Thorndale.

If some doubts surround the antiquity of Thorndale as a remnant of old pasture, then a much stronger case can be made for Wetwang Rakes. Here is an example of intercommoning in the Medieval period, one of the very few recorded for the Wolds (Harris 1951; 1969; Cole 1894), between the inhabitants of Bishop Wilton township, on the one hand and the Lord of the Manor of Wetwang, on the other. Therefore, its use by Wetwang was not open to all inhabitants but was controlled by the lord. In addition to the Bathurst account, it is mentioned in 1650 as "*a poell of pasture.... lying within the common fields of Bishop Wilton*" (quoted in Harris 1951). This is clearly an ancient situation, one preserved probably because of the need for pasture in this overwhelmingly arable township. Notably it is situated close to Garrowby top alongside several other important detached portions and pastures (see chapter 6). Furthermore it is the northerly Green Lane which would give access to this pasture from Wetwang. A clear illustration of the usefulness and necessity of a droveway along the boundary, in cases such as this, and of the inextricable link between pasture and the green lanes. A map of Wetwang Rakes survives from 18th century, showing a trackway which is now a right of way as

well as multiple linear earthworks forming the eastern boundary of the unit. This is probably its former extent as in 1760 it is recorded as 108 acres (Harris 1951).

As well as specific pasture areas, there are also recorded rights of pasture in the open fields whilst they are fallow or after harvest. As Harris describes, these rights are complicated and well structured, being organised around significant season-based feast days (1951). The restrictions are also strictly enforced. For instance, there is the example of a villager in 1705 who was fined for folding his sheep into the open field before the allotted post harvest date of Michaelmas Day (ibid).

Water provision, both for animal and human use was also a problem, as again Lord Bathurst's agent remarks that livestock had to be driven 3 miles for water in dry summers when the rain fed pond dried up. The pond has at least been around since the 14th century, as a list of residents from 1303 mentions *Laurentius atte Mar*, translated as Laurentius of the pond (Cole 1894).

In spite of the apparent simplicity of the township boundaries of Wetwang, there is one example requiring investigation and explanation. At the head of Thorndale 3 township boundaries converge in a confusing dog-leg pattern. The triangular piece of land so created is called "Old Wold" on the 1854 OS 6" and it is also at this point that a number of putatively early trackways converge, some following boundaries others not. Two later 18th century maps (Jeffreys 1772; Bowen 1750) record the pre-enclosure configuration which seems to be much simpler, signifying some alterations, since the later 18th century. The primary lines are the east-west Green Lane and the north-south long boundary forming a simple cross-roads at this point. A piece of the woldland was probably given over to Wetwang at enclosure, dating from a time when boundaries here were not properly fixed. (see also Huggate discussion) It was also at this time that the old Roman road running past Old Wold was apparently lost.

The case surrounding *Holme Archiepiscopie* also requires some discussion. It is mentioned by Beresford in his catalogue of lost villages in Yorkshire and by Cole in late 19th century (Beresford 1951-2; Cole 1894). There is no Domesday reference but Cole reckons that lands here were given before the Norman conquest to St. Peter's in York. Archbishop Thomas (died 1100 AD) granted the prebend of

Holme to the Monastery of Hexham. Interestingly he is also the only landlord mentioned for Wetwang in Domesday Book, which suggests that Holme was included in the Wetwang assessment. In 13th century, the prebend was re-acquired by York. A small place, in 1381 it returned 11 poll tax payers, but probably contained a manor house and chapel (Beresford 1951-2). An early 17th century reference records the continued recognition of the prebendy still at this time but acknowledges the inclusion of the 'towne' within the parish of Wetwang (ibid). The 1854 OS 6" records the location of the site of the former village and Beresford refers to cropmarks here.

Field names too in this vicinity acknowledge the former importance of the small township. Holm Field in Wetwang has already been mentioned but there is also Holm Mere and Holm Dale, just outside Wetwang, in modern Huggate. As well, there are 12th century references to *Middleholm* (now Middleham, Huggate); *Oxeholm* (now Oxlands, Huggate); *Kirkholm Nab* (unlocated but probably Wold Nab, Huggate) and *Grenehalm* (unlocated but probably in Huggate) (EYC 1264-5). It is not clear whether these latter four names refer to the village or are merely regular uses of the generic *holmr*, but they do cluster around the Huggate boundary with Wetwang at Holm Field. If *Kirkholm Nab* is a name referring to the old village of Holm it may be giving us its original name of Kirkholm, suggesting an early church at this place. This would in some sense account for its peculiar ecclesiastical importance and long-lasting administrative autonomy.

SLEDMERE (2) AND CROOM (3)

Civil Parish: Sledmere

Ecclesiastical Parish: Sledmere with Croom

Townships: Sledmere, Croom

Wapentake: Buckrose

Hundred: Thorshowe (Turbar?)

(As well as Sledmere in Domesday Book, *Ledemare* is mentioned as an outlier of Fordon and part of Turbar hundred. Smith has attributed this place to Sledmere arguing that the S was often lost in Anglo-Norman. This would split Sledmere between 2 hundreds as is the case with Elmswell. Nearby Garton is also a detached part of Turbar Hundred.)

Croom is sokeland to Weaverthorpe and soke also to Buckton. Thorshowe is here referred to as wapentake not hundred.

Located to the north of Wetwang, Sledmere is now one of the largest parishes in East Yorkshire (fig 88). The modern parish contains the old township of Croom, assessed separately in Domesday Book, and now evident from field names and the remains of a deserted village in the north of the parish (fig 93). In fact, the two Medieval settlements were located fairly close to each other, unusual for this sparsely populated area. The parish is centred on the main Wolds east-west watershed, the southern edge of the Great Wold Valley, at a point where this valley becomes more dissected. At Sledmere, several valley systems meet, some travelling south into Wetwang Slack and others running north down into the valley of the Gypsy Race. It is therefore sitting at an important natural cross-roads, in a commanding position. Most of the territory within the former Sledmere township is south-facing whilst that within Croom belongs, topographically, to the Gypsy Race valley (fig 89).

It is easier to look at the boundaries for the 2 townships separately, as there is much more unity within each township than for the parish as a whole. The boundary between Sledmere and Croom is only retrievable from the late 18th century estate maps (DDSY 106/27-29; DDSY 106/4; DDSY 106/7-12). It follows from the east, a linear earthwork the Great Wold Dyke, the main road, an old back lane to the north of Sledmere village (now gone) and Kirby Lane. The rest of Croom boundary is west to east, an arc following 2 small side valleys. Sledmere is bounded to the east by the sweeping lines of open field edge leading down into the bottom of Greenland Slack. The southern boundary is the Green Lane, the

boundary following the linear earthwork in Warren Dale in the south-east corner. This is where the coach road version of the Green Lane diverted off from its original line. In places, the boundary runs along the linear rather than the road showing the chronological primacy of the former over the latter feature (see chapter 3). The western boundary is more complicated and interesting. The line is not sweeping or smooth but follows a series of adjoining linear earthworks, themselves following the valley of Bessingdale and Broad Dale. A strange kick-back occurs above Fimber cross-roads on the spur overlooking the convergence of 2 main valleys here. The line here follows the former cross roads (pre 19th century), itself lying on complex multiple linear earthworks. From here, the boundary follows the road to Sledmere and then a series of dales and ridges to join the Towthorpe Ridgeway.

The north-west corner of the parish gives the impression of having some independent territorial integrity and may be another small hamlet, as yet unrecorded, but perhaps with the name of Maramatte. The territory also contained a Mill. The original line of the Croom-Sledmere boundary is not clear and a much more natural line would be that joining the Towthorpe ridgeway to the Collingwood linear, possibly the line of the original ridgeway. In this way, the north-west corner would have been part of Croom township originally. Other strange features occur are at Collingwood Plantation where the township boundary follows the linear rather than the High Street; Warren Dale where the coach road and boundary diverge and, of course, Fimber cross-roads. The triangular effect at Canada Cottages is probably created by former roads becoming boundaries. This shape is familiar for converging roads but not for boundaries, unless they have been implanted upon existing roads.

The Medieval open fields are visible in the late 18th century estate maps and to some extent in field names from 1854 OS. At this time, the township of Sledmere seems to have contained 3 open fields: north-west around Maramatte, east around Sledmere Castle and south across Life Hill. The latter two may well originally have been one large open field but the name Sledmere Field on OS 6" only seems to apply to Life Hill. The Maramatte area bears the name West Field on 1854 OS and contains some clear furlongs on 18th century estate maps. Some of these furlong

boundaries seem to have followed the lines of linear earthworks known from Life Hill, suggesting that the earthworks themselves may be of Medieval origin (see chapter 3). In Croom there was one open field seemingly surrounding the village and an area of woldland to north-east, now known as Croom Wold. There are also cultivation terraces by the old village, emphasising the lack of good level arable land in this small township. Sledmere township was large and by no means entirely arable, as in 17th century, it is noted by Henry Best of Elmswell, as one of the few places on the wolds where pasture could be rented by those short of this commodity in other areas (Woodward/Best 1984). Pastures in Sledmere, in the 18th century, probably existed at the margins of the township around Triplescore Dale, Warren Farm and Flint Hill.

There are few land grants available for this parish but a reference for 1649 records that one man Robert Taylor of Sledmere "*...may peaceably have, hold and enjoy..... all lands, meadows, pastures, moors, commons and other hereditaments..... lying and being in Sledmere*" as well as "*lands called Collingwood*" and "*Edgward Mere*". This refers to the former land of Byland Abbey and the Monastery of Swine. (*Descent of lands in Sledmere*). Kirkham Priory and Bridlington Priory are also recorded as landlords here in 14th century (Bulmer 1892). The dominant landowning presence of ecclesiastical institutions and the evident extensive rights of pasture may recall a time when much of this land was in fact, pasture.

The same document records the ecclesiastical dependency between Sledmere and Kirby Grindalythe, in that Sledmere was regarded as a chapelry of the latter parish and with it appropriated to the Priory of Kirkham (Bulmer 1892). Furthermore, the keys of the chapel were taken down to Grindalyth altar every St. Andrew's Day to express the dependency.

The place-name has been interpreted most recently by Gelling as an early Old English topographical name meaning "*pool in the valleys*", referring to the *several "short deep valleys in the area"*(Gelling forthcoming). Croom, she sees as an old English dative plural meaning "*at the nooks*" again referring to the convergence of the valleys at this place. Three ponds are recorded in 18th to 19th century maps:

Church Pond, Ox pond and Skeandale Pond. The importance of the pond(s) for this place in the Middle Ages cannot be overstated and is affirmed by a 1303 reference, for here, to *Martin Attemar* (Cole 1894).

More than any other featured township, the landscape around Sledmere went through enormous change during the late 18th and 19th centuries. Even after the massive alterations imposed by the Enclosure Commissioners, further changes took place here centred on the family seat of the Sykes at Sledmere House. The family had come here in 1748 and by 1880 had become the largest landowners of the East Riding (English 1990). Between them, father and son, Sir Christopher and Sir Tatton Sykes have become landowning legends, being held largely responsible for encouraging the "improvement" of the wolds through Enclosure. The memorial to Sir Tatton Sykes (figs 94-5), in the village church, reads:

" To the memory of Sir Tatton Sykes, 4th Baronet of Sledmere, born 1773, died 1863. He held the Sledmere Estate for forty years and completed the great work of his father Sir Christopher. Together they changed the Wolds of Yorkshire from an uncultivated waste into a model of fruitful husbandry. He was famous as an agriculturalist, as a master of hounds, as a breeder of horses and above all as a landlord whose lifelong care was the welfare of those who lived upon his estate. The Wolds are his memorial."

Another, to Tatton's father, Christopher, is in the same vein,

"whoever now traverses the wolds of Yorkshire and contrasts their present appearance with what they were, cannot but extol the name of Sykes" (Inscription in West Heslerton, quoted in, English 1991)

The legacy of this time is felt strongly in the modern landscape of Sledmere. It revolves around the house and parkland, but also features a model estate village and carefully re-directed roads which take even the casual uninterested passer by

on a scenic drive past monuments to the great Sykes ancestors. This experience has been carefully managed and refined over the last 200 years. Such was the scale of the 18th and 19th century changes at Sledmere that it is difficult today to see even the Medieval landscape, let alone anything earlier. Within the former township of Sledmere there are no rights of way at all, the park remaining a private place and the field name record from most of the parish is meagre, especially on the southern slopes around Life Hill, where the few names are of enclosure period.

The major post-Medieval changes took place during the late 18th and early/mid 19th century. Needless to say the enclosure of a large part of the Wolds was driven and directed from here. The Sykes family owned a great deal of land at this time and took to improving the "uncultivated waste" with a missionary zeal (fig 96). Their own back yard therefore had to reflect the significance of their achievement and their pre-eminence in wealth, influence and land. Accompanying the landscape alterations are a series of estate maps from late 18th and early 19th centuries which illustrate the intended changes, as in new roads, plantations and farms, but also record the existing situation of open field furlong boundaries and the site of the former village. As well, there are general maps from the late 18th century onwards, which record the changing scene and enable each phase to be isolated and broadly dated (see above).

Several different features of the landscape were altered, in several phases. The early-mid 18th century saw the first house and a small landscaped park in front of it; a triangular shape fanning out from the house and framing a wider view to the south. This area was bordered by avenues of trees, recorded in 1910 map and in field names and farm names of today. In 1772, part of the old village was still present alongside this park, along with the old roads, several crossing the emparked area. Later in the 18th century plans were made for a more radical change. The park was then much enlarged, consuming the site of part of the village, so moving inhabitants to its north side and leaving the parish church isolated within the new parkland. The old triangle was naturalised, at this stage and the whole area dotted with elaborate curving plantations, all the way from the House to the southern edge of the parish on the Green Lane, the boundary with Wetwang. New farmhouses were also planned, dotted around amongst these

plantations, as "*eye catchers in the modified Capability Brown landscape.... Castle Farm, a gothic building by John Carr was the most elaborate of these and was placed to be visible from the library of Sykes' new house*" (English 1991:). Their concern was with the aesthetics of their home landscape more than its economic potential, as they sought to create a pleasure ground, abounding with contemporary, elite cultural references.

The road network around the village was radically re-routed at this time so that no public road should run through the park and in order to locate Sledmere village at the centre of the local road system. This was probably when public access to the parkland began to be denied. The new park was fitted within the symmetry of the new road scheme, itself a much larger version of the earlier south-facing triangle centred on the house and garden.

The grand plan of the early 19th century, involving multiple plantations and new farms, seems to have been toned down later on as many, especially on Life Hill, have now gone. This has left only major plantations around the main road, house and Sledmere Castle whilst the Life Hill slopes are now open to the south. The "vision" achieved its most extensive expression in the early 19th century with the view from the House "managed" all the way south to the Green Lane and beyond, into Garton township (see below).

Monuments were built amongst this landscape, an aspect which sets it apart most strikingly from the surrounding area. The castle, pavilion, monument and tower were part of the initial ideal and the larger park of the late 18th century. They were located within the park away from areas of public access, so could only be seen from a distance, creating a sense of mystery for those unable to enter and a feeling of privilege for those allowed to get close. In the 19th century, 3 more monuments were built. Two alongside the road as it passed through the village and the third, the enormous spire-like tribute to Sir Tatton Sykes crowning the ridge to the south of the Parish, mirroring perhaps the broad outlook and influence he held. It is towering and can be seen for miles, sitting as it does on a bleak and windy viewing spot, on the Green Lane and cutting the linear earthwork and Anglo-Saxon Cemetery (Mortimer 1905; C and E Grantham 1965) (fig 94-5). The main point

about these 3 monuments though is that, unlike their romantic-aesthetic and concealed 18th century predecessors, they are accessible and not hidden away for private family amusement. They are public proclamations of Sykes wealth and power and attempt to illustrate the perceived close link between the Sykes and the local inhabitants. One, for instance was set up in memorial of those parishioners who died in WW1 under the banner of the Sykes inspired Waggoners Regiment. The difference between the rather aloof cultured refinement of 18th century gentry and the more solid paternalistic attitude of Victorian elite is clear in the changing fashions of this park.

A highly symbolic landscape was created, reflecting the relationship between landowner and tenant, landscape and history, or at least how this was perceived by the Sykes. Their tendency to re-write History has already been illustrated by the suggestion on Tatton's memorial that the wolds were an uncultivated waste before Enclosure, an exaggeration at best. The landscape too was re-invented in the late 18th century but in so doing it was intended to look natural. Its plantations were laid out with irregular random lines, overriding the geometry of the first park and plantations and fields were re-named to suit the new land-uses. In effecting such a radical change, though, the "artificial" and contrived character of this landscape becomes much more apparent because its roots towards tradition and history are very shallow. It has not developed gradually or organically, through seasonal and annual rhythms but has been designed under agreement and planning by people whose specific world view placed themselves at the top of the social and economic ladder. The grandeur and sublime elegance of Sledmere park reflects this view of themselves as cultured, refined and privileged amongst ruder surroundings. It physically separates the house and family from the mass of the agricultural work force, their hard work and muddy fields and boots. Nonetheless they felt justified in exercising such privilege because of an aristocratic sense of natural hierarchy and because of the dutiful care taken of their tenants and estate workers.

The old 18th century road from York to Bridlington ran along the southern edge of the parish as the Green Lane but had been superseded in status by the Fimber-Sledmere-Bridlington High Street, at least by the late 18th century (Cary 1899). Improvement of the latter road involved the movement of a cross-roads on the

edge of the parish towards Fimber, which probably took place in the early 19th century. Traces of a north-south coach road can be seen on 1854 OS maps which approached the park from the south and which may have originally joined with the road to Kirby Grindalythe. (see Garton township). A Byland Abbey charter records the name *Yorkestret* at Sledmere for the 13th century, which could either be a reference to the Green Lane or the High Street.

The confluence of valleys at Sledmere had acted as a natural cross-roads for many centuries, as here a probable prehistoric ridgeway passed by on its way from the Wold-edge, in the west to the east coast (Hayfield 1987;1988 and chapter 6). The exact line of this ancient route is much more difficult to trace within Sledmere parish than to east or west.

HUGGATE (4)

Civil Parish: Huggate (includes Hawold)

Ecclesiastical Parish: Huggate (includes Hawold)

Township: Huggate (includes Hawold 1854 but Howard marked as separate township adjoining North Dalton in 1779 and Tibthorpe in 1794)

Hundred: Warter

Wapentake: Harthill (Wilton Beacon Division)

Hawold is soke to the manor of Warter in the 12th century

Huggate is another large high Wolds township. It reaches the steep western scarp-edge of the Wolds above Millington and rises to above 200m OD in the most westerly parts, where the landscape is dissected by numerous steep-sided dry valleys. The south-eastern corner of the parish is more sweeping with shallow rolling valley slopes (fig 89). The village lies in a sheltered position in a low pass between the heads of 2 valley networks. One leading north-east to Wetwang and the other south to Warter and the western Wold-edge. The third system of steep dales lies in the north-west corner and, from here, runs down into Millington. The land between the heads of these 3 valleys acts as a natural land bridge and has always been a strategically important route for anyone crossing the wolds from east to west. The place-name Huggate, interpreted as meaning 'pass to the mounds' (Smith 1937) seems to reflect this. The village is fairly large and appears to have originally been made up of 2 settlement foci (OS 1910 25"), separated by a large green, containing the village pond and a well, 339 ft deep. Housing has encroached upon the green in this century, now combining the 2 areas. There are 4 farms within the modern village, all still in operation, which is somewhat unusual for this area where most are outside the villages, and it may preserve vestiges of the pre-enclosure situation.

Its boundaries again follow a combination of dale-sides and bottoms, open field boundaries (always north-south), linear earthworks and long distance east-west trackways. In this case, the Sledmere Green Lane to the north and the Hawold Bridle Track to the south. Western boundaries are steep dale-sides, the multiple earthworks of Huggate Dykes leading to a road /linear in the north west corner. Eastern boundaries are open field edge and dale-side (fig 97).

Although enclosure here was as thorough and radical as any other Wolds parish, it did allow for the survival of many lengths of public right of way and for the memory of many field names recorded on 1854 OS. There is no surviving enclosure plan but an award of 1773 and a bill of 1767 do exist (English 1985).

The significant aspect of the Medieval agricultural landscape of Huggate is the importance of its pasture provision, unusual in other Wolds townships. There are 3 pastures recorded in the Enclosure Bill: *Huggate Tongue*, *Oxpasture* and *Cow Pasture* (Harris 1951). They carry a complex series of rights and obligations which restrict their use to specific seasonal periods (based on old festivals), specific types of livestock (beast, sheep, calf, horse, cow) and particular groups of people (i.e. oxgang holders, cottagers, commoners) . Pasture rights also existed for the open field fallow, the whole system obviously having been worked out over centuries. Similar common rights are mentioned in 12th and 13th century grants, which show that rights of common in the open fields and in specialised pastures were held by owners of carucates, in much the same way as the 18th (*EYC* 1243; 1255). *Huggate Tongue*, in particular carried especially ancient rights based on the old festivals of Lady Day and Michaelmas (Harris 1951). Cattle and sheep were obviously very important in this township and had been for some time before the post-Medieval "return of the flocks" (see. Fox 1989).

The lack of a plan to accompany the Enclosure Award makes the precise location of these pastures somewhat difficult to trace. *Huggate Tongue* is no problem as it is recorded on a map of *Wetwang Rakes* and occupied the township's north-west corner, the highest ground in the parish and well suited for the exclusive use of sheep. Huggate Wold lies to the east of this and Huggate Pasture in the south west corner, both recorded on 1854 OS. These, respectively are probably the sites of

Oxpasture and *Cowpasture*, both high exposed ground on the edge of the township. Incidentally, just to the north of Huggate Wold, over in Fridaythorpe township is the field name, Cowpasture and the name Cowpasture Lane. Not surprisingly, the pastures on Huggate Wold and Huggate Pasture see the biggest concentrations of barrows surviving as earthworks on the 1854 OS.

The western side of the township then, was given over to pasture in the Medieval period, with a probable, smaller, addition on the slopes of Rabbit and Oxlands dale in the centre between the North and South Open Fields. These pastures are close to other specialised pastures, some detached from their associated townships, such as Greenwick and *Wetwang Rakes*, immediately to the west (see chapter 6).

Leading north out of the village are 2 distinctively wide, winding and sunken lanes which probably served as droveways taking livestock past the open field out into the pasture. For some reason they were not turned into straight level and uniform enclosure roads in 1773. Away from the village, their modern line is not physically obvious today but is preserved as a right of way.

There are 2 open fields recorded in the Enclosure Bill of 1773 (North Field and South Field) worked under a then archaic 2 field rotation (Harris 1951). The fact that one of the open fields was constantly lying fallow again reinforces Huggate's pastoral emphasis in the Medieval period. Field names on 1854 OS mention a West Field which probably originally formed part of the South Field, only later becoming separate. Distinctive curving furlong boundaries have been preserved in the enclosure field pattern to the south and north of the village, making it possible to more or less locate the 2 fields with the aid of 1854 field names.

The late 18th century maps by Jeffreys (1772) and Bowen (1750) help to identify the pre-enclosure road pattern and show that there were 2 main alterations made to major routes at enclosure. The road connecting Huggate to Wetwang was moved from its original dale bottom route to cross the high wold land between Aunham and Rabbit Dale. The former line is preserved today as a right of way, parallel to a surviving length of linear earthwork, 40m away, which may be a hollow way from this route. There was another route leading east along Aunham Dale again recorded on Jeffreys but also still a minor road in 1854. This route, now gone but

with a shadow right of way to the south, lines up with the Green Lane along the southern boundary of Wetwang to the east (see above) and would have continued into the village and up out of the township along York Lane to the north-west. The chronological primacy of its line compared to modern roads and other boundaries is clear at Foxcovert Farm. This was an old and long distance trackway passing through the strategic shoulder of land between dale heads once crossed by Huggate Dykes. It is continued up to Garrowby Top and the Sledmere Green Lane by linears and lengths of township boundary. It has the strongest case of any other route here to be the original "road/pass to the mounds" recorded in the place-name and probably pre-dates the village itself. A late 13th century reference mentions a "via regia" in Huggate (Smith 1937), which may refer to this road, underlining its extra-parochial significance. The long thin tapering shape of the North-west corner of the township is caused by the fact that the boundaries follow the lines of 2 converging roads, the Sledmere Green Lane and this route mentioned above. A similar situation exists where the Huggate boundary meets that for Fridaythorpe, where again 2 roads converged.

The southern boundary of Huggate is one of the few marked with boundary stones, apparently set up in 1746 to mark the boundary of Warter township, some of which still survive. The need for 37 stones to establish a fairly short stretch of boundary may have followed a dispute over its course and at least serves to emphasise the late fixedness of the boundary here before it could be plotted on detailed maps.

Hawold was a separate manor at Domesday and is also recorded as a township on the North Dalton and Tibthorpe Enclosure Plans, separate from Huggate. All the later 18th century maps record it as a hamlet within the parish of Huggate and field names on 1854 OS contain the name Hawold. It also notes the presence of earthworks around the 19th century farm which have been seen as remains of a monastic grange (Loughlin and Miller 1979). Although, Loughlin and Miller see it as the site of North Dalton Grange, which is known to have belonged to Meaux Abbey (Alison 1976), it is more likely to be a separate establishment altogether as all surviving grants relate it to Watton Priory (EYC). In fact Kelly's Directory of 1872 declares that, *it was originally a grange under the Abbey of Watton and is*

exempt from tithes". In 1892, Bulmer's Directory mentions Hawold as, ".....an estate of 1050 acres belonging to Sir Charles Anderson Bart and forming a separate manor." There is a strong case for seeing Hawold as a separate township in the Medieval period but one whose links to Huggate were close, gradually becoming part of its jurisdiction, but outside its ecclesiastical patronage. Various 12th century and 13th century grants mention Hawold or *Houwald* as a separate place but others equally treat it as part of Huggate. For instance, in 1154, 3 carucates "*in territorio Houwald*" were granted to the nuns of Watton Priory (EYC 1095); in 1163, a grant of 1 carucate in Howald carried with it the right of common pasture in Huggate (EYC 158), suggesting close tenurial links between the 2 territories. To see Hawold as the site of a grange belonging to Watton Priory would explain its long-held territorial integrity and the large numbers of grants of pasture land in Huggate to Watton. Furthermore, the place name Aunham, found here, is probably derived from Old English *Ofnam*, meaning intake and often associated with the marginal land given to monastic granges (Allison 1976).

The southern boundary of Hawold is no doubt that of the Hawold Bridle Track, another long distance routeway, east-west across the Wolds. Originally, it probably ran through the 19th century farm site, along the track recorded on 1854 OS and still partially preserved as a hollow way today (Jeffreys 1772). The northern and western boundaries are not so clear but seem to have run along the Aunhamdale track/ Green Lane, mentioned above and a continuation of a long open field boundary from the south, which lies on another ancient trackway located on the north-south wolds watershed. This makes for a very small territory.

Like many other parts of the Wolds, the 12th and 13th century charters tend to record the granting of land which is situated away from the village and township core. It was probably open pasture-land being colonised and taken into cultivation. A grant from 1200, talks about land "*in waldo versus Fridatorp*" and other land "*versus Wilton*" (EYC 1264). The use of this term meaning "towards" suggests that there are no permanently fixed boundaries here, but a general open buffer zone between the neighbouring townships. Another reference records the grant of land "*..upon the new improvement of the wald in Huggate*" (EYC 1263), again suggesting the intake of new land from the open wolds.

In the Medieval period the main water provision for Huggate probably came from the village pond and well, as well as the common practice of collecting rainwater in butts (Harris 1969). There are also hints of other lost water sources preserved only by place names. Waterman Hole is probably referred to in a grant of 13th century by the name "*Waterinar*" and would have been a spring, notably located on the boundary with Greenwick, in the heart of the pasture zone and alongside the early road that passed through the village (*EYC* 1264). Close by today there is a small underground reservoir. Likewise, the names Bennidale Holes and *Silfburndale* may refer to springs and a stream respectively, now lost due to the lowering of the water table in the past 150 years.

FRIDAYTHORPE (5)

Civil Parish: Fridaythorpe

Ecclesiastical Parish: Fridaythorpe

(Prebendary of Wetwang in York Cathedral)

Township: Fridaythorpe

Sokelands of 1.5 carucates to Bishop Wilton and 5 carucates to Thixendale

Wapentake: Buckrose

Hundred: Acklam

Fridaythorpe is a small township in the heart of the high western Wolds, surrounded by steep dry valleys. The village is situated between the heads of 2 different dry valley systems, on the watershed at another important land bridge, strategic for crossing the Wolds. A number of mainly local modern roads radiate from the village and it lies on a main road which was probably another early trackway taking advantage of the gap between the steep valleys at this point (fig 89). The boundaries in the south western corner are formed by the convergence of this road with the Sledmere Green Lane, itself forming the southern boundary in its

entirety. Here, the Green lane is marked on the OS 1854 as York Road, signifying the memory of its earlier long distance perspective (fig 98). The 2 roads join/diverge here in order to share the crossing of the land bridge at Fridaythorpe Cow Pasture. On the east the boundary lies along the edge of the old open field. Notably its gradually curving line is not strictly followed by the closest enclosure field boundary which stubbornly adopts a dead straight course. There is also a linear earthwork recorded along the original line of the township boundary here. The northern boundary follows a more intricate course, crossing a dry valley along the massive linear earthworks at Fimber Westfield and then heading west along the ridge at Lady Graves. The western boundary follows the bottom of a dale, subsidiary to the main Thixendale-Fimber valley.

There may have been up to 4 open fields in this township as there is place name evidence for East, North, West and Fridaythorpe Fields. They each fit neatly between the roads that converge on the village. Some trace of the furlong boundaries has survived in the enclosure land division and this is especially obvious on 1854 OS. Most of the township was under arable in the Medieval period, with small portions of specialised pasture in the north at Lady Graves and in the south at Cowpasture (Allison 1976). Here, there was also a pond, Holm Mere, half within the township and half in Huggate. The 2 dales of Rain Dale and Wan Dale would have also provided pasture as well as a route north to Lady Graves and Fimber. In Rain Dale there was probably a spring as it is recorded on 1854 OS as Ray Hole. The Lady Graves area and the 2 dales contain extant linear earthworks, a function of their use as pasture both before and after enclosure. The farm which occupies this land, at present, was a later, post-enclosure (after 1854) creation and situated on formerly little used land. The pre-enclosure road north is probably recorded on the plan and shows that the modern Church Lane was laid out at enclosure, as was Cowpasture Lane. There was a further road north before enclosure along Rain Dale, a road that joined with a minor sunken road in Fimber and then ran on to Towthorpe and Sledmere. It appears that Warburton records this route as the main route from Fridaythorpe to Sledmere in the early 19th century, as his road passes through *Foulthorp* (Towthorpe).

As well as the spring(s), in Rain Dale, there were 2 large ponds in the village centre, both likely to be natural as they lie in an area of naturally occurring clay (Hayfield and Wagner 1995). They formed an important source of water into the 18th century, as is evident from the story of the battle between Fridaythorpe and Fimber over water, featured in the recollections of Mortimer's boyhood (Hicks 1978).

FIMBER(6) AND TOWTHORPE (7)

Civil Parish: Fimber (includes Towthorpe)

Ecclesiastical Parish: Wetwang (includes Fimber as chapelry)

Wharram Percy (includes Towthorpe)

Township: Fimber, Towthorpe

Wapentake: Buckrose

In a way, it makes sense to treat Fimber and Towthorpe together. They are similar small townships, topographically defined and bounded and today, together form one civil parish. Fimber is centred on the valley from Wetwang to Burdale and particularly where it splits to head up towards Sledmere. It also includes segments of higher wold land to the south and north of this valley, up to the watershed. The boundaries are mainly long and sweeping, but with notable examples of intricate organic stretches where they have probably been altered or fixed at a relatively late date (fig 89). The southern boundary is the Sledmere Green Lane. To the west, it follows the open field boundary with a short length along the Westfield linears, where a small subsidiary valley has to be crossed in order to follow the watershed of the main valley. The northern boundary is more complex and demonstrably late (fig 99). It is marked on Robert Mortimer's map of the area as a sod wall which winds approximately along its present course (R.Mortimer 1886 (YAS library

96B29); Harris 1969). Now it is a straight line, presumably formalised when this marginal area of the township was brought under cultivation, late in the 19th century. The eastern boundary runs for the most part along the B1248 main road, which is a strong candidate for a Roman road (Hayfield 1988). In the south-east corner the township boundary follows linear earthworks along the side of the Wetwang-Fimber valley.

Towthorpe township is based around a subsidiary valley of the main Fimber-Sledmere valley. Its boundaries are therefore normally watershed ones, the whole territory being a natural topographic unit except for the north-east corner which has somehow been carved up and taken into Sledmere. Its boundaries are: the B1248 on the west; the road along York Dale on the south-east; small dales and ridge on the north-east; ridgeway and watershed on the north.

Gelling sees Fimber as one of the few early Anglian topographical names on the Wolds, dating from at least the 7th century AD and meaning "pool by the wood-pile" or "woodpecker pool" (Gelling forthcoming). Smith had it as "pool by the rough grass" deriving from an OScand *mar* for pool rather than an OE version (Smith 1937). Towthorpe is Tovetorp in Domesday Book and derives from Old Danish Tove's village (ibid).

Enclosure took place in Fimber between 1803 and 1806, as part of Wetwang parish and at this time, there were already some closes surrounding the village. Reconstructing the open fields is not straightforward but there seems to have been 2 main open fields, Fimber Field in the south of the township and North Field. Certainly the township was predominantly arable (Allison 1976) with only small areas of pasture, probably at The Pastures, now West Field Farm and at Fimber Ling in the north-west. An annotated OS map in the Mortimer archive marks a Green Lane as having crossed the former pasture zone, before the modern farm, Westfield was built. Likewise, the open pasture character of Fimber Ling is shown by the late formalisation of the boundary here, shown in the 19th century, as a curving sod wall, a line strong enough to have been picked up as a cropmark and shown on the RCHM plots (Stoertz 1997). The edge of the open field here is probably the line that now runs through Fimber Ling Farm as a track. It is adjacent

to these 2 pasture zones that the township boundaries are more intricate, probably as a result of their late formalisation. An acknowledgement of the more informal tenure which seems to have survived late in pasture areas. Linear earthworks have survived well at Westfield on steep dale-sides but elsewhere, in the township, have now been levelled, probably only during the last 100 years (fig 26-7). The very large multiple works to the north of the village may have acted as a balk/track within the North Field (see chapter 3).

The road system within the township has changed a great deal within the last 150 years, since enclosure. Warburton's map does not mention Fimber but records a through route from Fridaythorpe to Sledmere passing through *Foulthorp*, probably Towthorpe. This may be a continuation of the existing Fimber-Towthorpe road, which is clearly pre-enclosure in origin. The main road through the village also has pretensions to be an early route and is a candidate, in early sources for a Roman road (Cole 1899; Margary 1955). However, it clearly post-dates ridge and furrow at one of the few places where it survives extant and, at this point at least, the road cannot be pre-Medieval (see chapter 3). In fact this particular stretch is probably early 19th century, contemporary with the moving of the cross-roads, something which takes place between 1806 and 1823, maybe at or immediately after enclosure (see Sledmere profile) (figs 50, 52, 100, 135). The pre-enclosure line was a coach road which can be clearly seen to have cut across medieval ridge and furrow. This road, now visible only as a soilmark, was probably laid out in the 17th or 18th century. Locating the Medieval road east is, therefore, a problem and it may have actually run along the multiple earthworks to the north of the village.

A right of way survives connecting the village to Wetwang, a path which is recorded in 1854 as Kirkgate. Presumably, it acted as a way of getting to church in Wetwang when the Fimber church was derelict, until it was rebuilt in late 19th century. The original was a Norman construction, as traces of the stonework are mentioned in various sources and a photograph of the ruin can be seen in the existing church. According to Mortimer, there was a wooden predecessor to the Norman church here which is situated on top of a Bronze Age barrow (Mortimer 1888).

The village is located on a low ridge where the main valley splits, so overlooks the lower dale bottoms to either side. This eminence is called Hanging Hill on the 1854 OS. The centre of the village contained 2 large ponds, High and Low Mere, where now only one survives (fig 5,101). They are both probably natural, situated as they are on a clay outcrop (Hayfield and Wagner 1995). These meres were the main source of water for the Medieval village forcing farmers to drive livestock outside the township for water in dry summers. A draw well is marked on the 1854 OS.

Towthorpe is a Deserted Medieval Village, now the site of a farm but the old village earthworks have not been ploughed away. Still containing 30 occupants in the 16th century, there were only 2 farms here by 1821. (Beresford and Hurst 1990). As a result, the former open field arable was converted into pasture in the post-Medieval period forming a warren and sheepwalk in the northern part of the township. The open field lay to the south. As mentioned above, a former road ran through the township linking it to Sledmere and Fridaythorpe respectively.

COTTAM (8) AND COWLAM (9) BURROW (10)

Ecclesiastical Parish: Cowlam; Langtoft (includes Cottam as chapelry)

Civil Parish: Cottam (includes Cowlam)

Townships: Cottam, Cowlam, (Burrow?)

Cowlam

Hundred: Thorshowe

Wapentake: Buckrose

soke to Weavertorpe (0.5 carucates and church)

soke to Buckton (5 carucates)

Cottam

Hundred: Thorshowe

Wapentake: Dickering

Both exposed and open high Wolds townships, Cottam and Cowlam are situated just south of the southern watershed of the Great Wold Valley. Their apparent bleakness is exacerbated by the lack of habitation here in recent centuries and accordingly the area has a deserted feel to it, devoid not just of people but of other obvious signs of a settlement history such as mature trees, old enclosures and sunken worn tracks. More than any, it is Wolds townships such as these, deserted in the Post-Medieval period, that display the radical landscape changes of that age.

Again it seems sensible to treat these two townships together as they share very similar histories and are now part of one parish (fig 89). The two townships form a territory which is topographically based, on a dry valley system. The boundaries on the whole follow the watersheds to this system, on the east and north at least (fig 102). Segments of dale and Wold land on the western side are not included within the township and here the boundaries follow dale bottoms. Boundaries then follow trackways on the northern ridge (High Street), open field boundaries on the east and north west and elsewhere, dale bottom tracks. The boundary separating the 2 townships which was also the boundary between Buckrose and Dickering Wapentakes, is the bottom of the main dale, splitting the system in two and now a right of way. The 2 villages are deserted, their former sites occupied by earthworks and farms, as well as in each case a 19th church with Norman font from its predecessor. The excavations of part of Cowlam DMV, by Brewster, were published in 1988 by Colin Hayfield who argued that the site was depopulated in the late 17th century, its population having gradually dwindled down to nothing (Hayfield 1988; Beresford 1955). Both villages are situated at the heads of small dales and alongside north-south tracks from Driffield to the Gypsy Race valley.

In the north-east corner of the parish there appears to have been another much smaller township/hamlet, called Burrow or Borough. Its boundaries are known from the OS 1854, when its area, as a separate township, was included within Cowlam parish. The name is first recorded in 1285 (Smith 1937) and still survives

today in Borough Nook and Borough House. According to Hayfield, this area, "...probably formed a separate estate at some time in the past,but it is uncertain what, if any, autonomy Burrow held within the Middle Ages." (Hayfield 1988:24). Teesdale's map of 1828 records it as a separate township with distinct boundaries, as does the Enclosure Plan for Cottam of 1848, but it is a small territory with no recognisable village focus. The earliest form of the name, *Burrehou*, recalls other early territorial names as *Houwald* and *Hornhouwald* in its use of the *hou* element, and in that respect it may have been the name for a once larger area, now restricted to one small vestige of its former extent as surrounding townships have encroached onto its common lands (see chapter 6). There is a high degree of preservation of earthworks, old roads and barrows in the Burrow territory of 1854. The *burre* element remains unresolved, as to its etymology, but may derive from *beorg*, OE for hill, an uncommon element in this area. The resulting name, Burrow would, therefore be loosely tautological, as the second element is the Scandinavian, *haugr*, meaning hill or barrow.

There are records of inhabitants at Cowlam until the late 17th century, when only a parson and 2 shepherds remained into the 18th (Neave 1991). Hayfield suggests that the desertion occurred within a short space of time between 1674 and 1680, through agreement amongst the tenants to consolidate the holdings under one individual family. Neave on the other hand, prefers to see the depopulation as having taken place over decades rather than years and for the landlord to have been the prime mover behind any engrossment of holdings here. Whatever the reason, by the 18th century, the township had become depopulated and turned over to sheep pasture and a short-lived rabbit warren. Later, in the early 19th century new farms were built away from the old village site when the township was fully enclosed and reverted back to arable predominance. The tithes were commuted here in 1844.

Cottam was apparently depopulated in the early 18th century, another late desertion and soon turned over to sheepwalk and a rabbit warren which occupied a large part of the south of the Parish, as it is recorded on Teesdale's map of 1828 . The estate was enclosed and new farms built from 1846, an act which must have spelt the end of the warren, but which preserved it in name only as Cottam Warren Farm. Earthworks from both village sites survived intact into the middle of this

century when they were ploughed out, now visible only as soil marks. Their layouts are clear and both look as if they have been planned, in Cowlam's case originally as a 2 row village, with a 3rd added later to form a T shape (Hayfield 1988).

It is more difficult to identify former open fields in depopulated townships because they had been out of use and recognition for some time, before tithe or enclosure records were kept. In Cowlam there may well have been two, east and west field either side of the north-south road, which seem to be preserved in later, 19th century field names. They were still in existence in 17th century, as a disagreement over tithes includes the reference, "*..new sown and growing upon an oxgang of land.....in the Towne fields of Collom*". (quoted in Hayfield 1988). For Cottam, there is mention of Cottam Field on 1854 OS, but the location of other fields is not certain. In both townships some of the long north-south boundaries and tracks preserve the flowing line of the open field furlongs, showing at least that the fields were large and once extended as far as the boundaries of the townships.

The 19th century estate and enclosure maps from Cottam record a north-south trackway running through the old village which is now gone but would have served as route between Driffield and Burrow on the High Street ridgeway, where it bent left along a Green Lane to join the road to Luttons. Likewise, in Cowlam is a major north-south route linking Driffield to Luttons in Gypsey Race Valley and West Heslerton, in the Vale of Pickering. As it leaves Driffield, the feeder road for these two is known as Spellowgate, from the word Spell-how meaning moot or trial mound, common hundredal meeting places. It may have been heading for one of the large barrows on the ridge above Cowlam at Kemp Howe or Willy Howe, or alternatively towards Burrow (but see Elmswell below). There is a record of a beacon in Cowlam, probably on the high ground by Willy Howe and Kemp Howe, into the 19th century, which could be seen as far away as Staxton and Settrington (Nicholson 1888).

Running east-west across Cottam Warren is the continuation of York-Bridlington coach road, which joins to the west, the Sledmere Green Lane. This stretch seems to have been laid out as a coach road along with stretches of the Kilham Woldgate to the east, probably during the 17th century. Clearly it could travel in a direct

unfettered line across the landscape at this time, but nowadays is preserved merely as a very straight field boundary. The other main route is also east-west and runs along the northern boundary of Cowlam, the High Street. This route is a strong candidate as a prehistoric ridgeway, lined as it is by barrows (Cole 1899; Hayfield 1988) (see chapter 7).

In Cowlam, the northern boundary comes off this road and follows a linear earthwork to the north and then west. This is the main Great Wold Dyke. The way that this linear carries on southwards does suggest a small bite size estate in the north-west corner of Cowlam township, which is filled with large barrows from both the Neolithic and Bronze Age, in a very similar way to the small territory known as Burrow, half a mile to the east. Kemp Howe was reused for Anglo-Saxon inhumations and there are also Iron Age square barrows close by (Loughlin and Miller 1979). This phenomenon whereby places such as this are persistently used for barrow building and burial, in different periods separated by centuries, will be looked at in more detail in chapter 7.

GARTON ON THE WOLDS (11)

Ecclesiastical Parish: Garton

Township: Garton

Civil Parish: Garton

Hundred: Turbar

Wapentake: Dickering

Garton is a "blocky" township, on the eastern edge of the Wolds, lying amidst the rolling landscape of the broad valleys found here. Views are distant, trees are scarce, arable land is predominant and the skies are big. It is in this respect very similar to its western neighbour Wetwang. The east-west Wetwang-Garton Slack

runs across the south side of the township, most of the land here being the south facing slopes of the valley side (fig 89).

The northern boundary runs obliquely up the slopes of the valley side along the Sledmere Green Lane and earthwork to the watershed at the Sykes Monument at the head of Warren Dale. From here it follows this dale and a linear earthwork, probably along the original line of the trackway (the later coach road branches off the earthwork here in a more northerly direction). Warren Dale is the only steeply incised dry valley in the township. The southern boundary too follows a Green Lane, again a probable ancient way, but not, as suggested in *Victoria County History*, a coach road (see below). Both boundaries follow linear earthworks which were used as cemeteries in the Anglo-Saxon period (Mortimer 1905; Lucy 1992). The eastern and western boundaries are both apparently the edges of open field: direct and gradually curving lines which strike out across uncluttered landscape. Again we have a township bounded on the south and north by trackways and on the east and west by open field edges, creating a regular square-shaped territory.

The township was enclosed in 1774, after which 4 farms were built outside the village. Despite the lack of a surviving plan to accompany the award it is possible to identify the 3 open fields from the OS 1854 map (fig 103). The township was predominantly arable in the Middle Ages with very few recorded pasture areas. There are, however, 18th century records of an infield-outfield system to allow for this paucity (Harris 1969). The south-western and north-eastern corners of the township were probably considered outfield, and in some centuries, permanent pasture, as is clear from place-names and in the case of Garton Wold, the arrangement of the field boundaries. The furlong boundaries of the North Field have been preserved in modern field boundaries but these do not extend to the edge of the township to include Garton Wold, where blocky more typical enclosure fields occur. The east-west road from the village to Wetwang was diverted at enclosure and now takes a more northerly line (Jeffreys 1772). The main road through the village to Sledmere was already in existence but was probably straightened and widened at enclosure. It is recorded as *Gartongate* in 1336 (Smith 1937).

There is also record of a coach road running along the western boundary on its way from Bainton in the south, to Sledmere (OS 1854). It is now preserved as a right of way, as far as the boundaries of Sledmere at least, where public footpaths are in short supply. The western part of the township was littered with plantations in the late 18th and early 19th century, many laid under the ownership and guidance of Christopher Sykes (Alison 1974; English 1991). This was part of his grand plan to create a great approach along the coach road to the estate and house at Sledmere. It was with the aesthetic experience of this journey from Beverley, that he was concerned when creating the plantations in this area. Most have now gone along with the road. As English writes, "... *(In Garton) his stated aim was not agricultural improvement but to make a 'ride towards Beverley 6 miles through my own grounds' planting the whole way as an approach to Sledmere House.*" (English 1991). By the mid 19th century, under Tatton Sykes, the main approaches had been directed away from the actual parkland and instead skirted its western and eastern sides. Tatton Sykes was also involved in renovating the church at Garton, whose interior was adorned with murals in a bold and garish Victorian palette. In commissioning some of the foremost church architects and artists of the day he was using these cultural and artistic signals to further reinforce the position of his family and Sledmere at the pinnacle of East Yorkshire society.

The place-name in Domesday Book is recorded as *Gartun* and translated by Smith as deriving from *Gara* and *tun* meaning farmstead at the triangular piece of land, probably that caused by the meeting of two roads. A 13th century reference mentions *Garton in waldo* and one of 14C *Garton super waldas* (Smith 1937).

The southern Green Lane boundary is important for a number of reasons. A large number of prehistoric and early Medieval burials are concentrated here, along this line, but in addition there is the East Riding meeting place at Craike Hill (*Crakhou*), just across the boundary in Kirkburn, alongside this track. In this light, the two un-provenanced field names of *Howdale*, *Howdale Hole* and *East and west Crackendale* are significant (*Descent of Lands in Garton*). The importance of the relationship between Anglo-Saxon burials and these 2 boundaries will be discussed in the following chapter and the long term importance of these lines in chapter 7.

WARTER (12)

Ecclesiastical parish: Warter

Township: Warter

Civil Parish: Warter

Hundred: Warter

Wapentake: Harthill (Bainton Beacon division)

Berewicks of Warter: Harswell, Torp, Nunburnholme

Sokelands of Warter: Duggleby, Turodebi?, Hotham, Seaton Ross, Lockington, Kiplincotes, Thoraby, Hawold (12th century)

Warter is a large township on the western edge of the Wolds and contains high and dry Wold land, dry valleys and some wet land on the western Wold escarpment, which acts as a boundary in some places (fig 89). It is one of the few townships under study which has easy access to springs and streams and there is also record of a mill here and a pond in the village centre known as Bucksey. Most of the township, however, does lie on the Wolds, centred as it is on a system of dry valleys. The system has 3 main branches which are contained within the township boundaries. The valley runs south-west off the Wolds and into the flat clay vale at Nunburnholme and Burnby, both named after the stream. Despite this concern with the novelty of water, the place itself does not seem to have been named after its proximity to streams and springs. It is seen by Smith to have come from OE *wearg*, felon and *treow*, tree, meaning a gallows-tree (Smith 1937).

As with Huggate, the western boundaries of Warter, lying off the Wolds, behave differently from those which face north, south-east and east (fig 104). The Wold boundaries here are direct and sweeping, in contrast to the intricate and winding path of those on the western Wold-edge. Northern and eastern edges of the township are defined by the watersheds of the dry valley network, boundaries

following major, probably ancient, ridgeways. The uniformity of the topographic unit is broken in the south west where the boundary winds around streams, early enclosure and lanes to avoid the lands of neighbouring Nunburnholme. The south east piece of boundary follows another east-west trackway across the Wolds. The western boundary begins as a ridge-line in the south, along the top of the escarpment, but then leaves this natural barrier and again drops down into the valley bottom to follow streams, lanes and linear earthworks. Only in the north-east of the township does the landscape share the bleakness and openness of much of the rest of the Wolds. Elsewhere, it is broken and sheltered by numerous large and small dry valleys, giving it a more pastoral, varied and greener feel than the eastern Wolds.

The village has reduced in size since the late 17th century, losing perhaps half its households in the 18th (Neave 1990). A map of 1744 by Haynes shows the village as made up of 2 parts, High and Low Warter. It was replanned as an estate village in the late 19th century, the Hall and park lying to the south-west. The house was demolished in 1972, but its surroundings remain as parkland. To the north of the village, lie the earthwork remains of an Augustinian Priory, established in 1132, very close to the existing parish church. It may be the close involvement of this religious order with the lands here that has led to the remarkable record of pre-enclosure field names, in contrast to many of its eastern and northern neighbours (Smith 1937; Morris 1898). Enclosure seems to have taken place in the 1790's beginning with an agreement to divide the open fields in 1791, followed by an Act of Parliament in 1794 to allot roads and improve lands (Neave 1990; English 1985). The lack of an Enclosure Plan makes it difficult to locate the open fields but some field names do survive on 1854 OS, which presumably belonged to bundles of strips or furlongs within the open field (i.e. Longlands, Huggate Heads, Ringlands, etc.). At the time of enclosure there were also areas of sheepwalk on the higher ground, but most of the township would have been under arable cultivation in common. The road network in the south of the township was re-organised at enclosure, the earlier roads visible on Jeffrey's map of 1771. The main routes out of the village were straightened but retained, on the whole.

The road running north-west out of the village, is generally seen as part of the Roman road to Malton, but this attribution is not unequivocal. Its regularity and straightness may have been interpreted as Roman in origin rather than late 18th century. However the field name Sky Gates occurs close by which was first recorded as *Scaydgat* in 12th century (Smith, 1937). This has been translated as either a road used as a race track or a boundary road, not unusual for Roman roads, but not lying on a boundary of any kind today. Incidentally, there is a place-name *Merebalk* a mile to the south, in Nunburnholme township, which also probably refers to a boundary road and may also lie on the line of the Roman road. The road east to North Dalton was known as *Daltongate* in 12th century (Smith 1937).

There are several 12th to 13th century references in land grants to the Grange belonging to Meaux Abbey at Blanch or *Blanchemarle*, which is now Blanch Farm in the north-east of the township. Here, land was granted to Meaux Abbey in the 12th century at a place which had formerly been known as *Arras* or *Erghes*. A Meaux Abbey Charter of 1156 reads, "*totam terram de Herghes que appellatur Blanch*" (Smith 1937:169) (all the land of Herghes which is called Blanch). This small territory lies on high ground on the edge of the township and later in 18th century was used as sheepwalk. Its liminal status in the early Medieval period is confirmed when it is described as lying, "*..inter Northdaltonam et Wartre*", (Smith 1937), pointing to a period of only loosely fixed boundaries. The translation of the name *erghes* as sheiling also backs up the idea that this area was marginal pasture before the creation of the Grange. A footpath recorded on 1854 OS connects Blanch Farm to Warter village and another passes through the farm along the main north-south wolds watershed. This latter forms part of the long distance ridgeway that runs north-south along the main watershed of the Wolds. As we have seen in chapter 4, it had prehistoric origins.

As mentioned above, there is a very good record of field names in Warter township, known mainly from the 1854 OS but also surviving from land grants from both Warter Priory and Meaux Abbey (see map). Included in this long list are some potentially early names in *howe*: Stonehow from *Staynhou* (12C); Thorny Bush from *Thornhou* (12C) and Keasey from *Kesehou* (12C). Smith attributes

them all to OScand *haugr* (1937). In contrast there is one early reference to wold, in a 12th century *walda*, later becoming Warter Wold (*ibid*). Linghowes and Middleton Howes are not recorded in the Middle Ages and so are more likely to refer to barrows than any other meaning suggested for names in howe (see chapter 6). Morris gives a further list of Warter names and adds High Howe Hill/ Low Howe Hill to our collection of howe names along with some other more remote possibilities (Morris 1898). It is also names in *dun* that catch the eye in Warter. Dearsden, Carden and Yeadon are all recorded in 12th century and derive from *dun*, another form for hill (Smith 1937). Here in Warter, the tendency has survived to give a specific name to each feature or area, along with a close-grained description of its topographic character. A tradition which must have once been more prevalent in other townships and which recalls the pre-Norman situation where, *"people (were) in possession of a vast and subtle topographical vocabulary, using certain items rather than others because of what Stenton called 'their remarkable sensitivity to diversities of ground' "* (Gelling 1984:7). As we will see in the following chapters this sensitivity and awareness of topography has not only influenced the naming of the landscape.

NORTH DALTON (13)

Ecclesiastical parish: North Dalton

Civil Parish: North Dalton

Township: North Dalton

Hundred: Warter

Wapentake: Harthill (Bainton Beacon division)

Here, we have a Wolds township typical of the eastern dip slope, with more in common in post-Medieval period with its easterly than its westerly neighbours. It lies just outside the south-west/ north-east boundary, from Warter to Wetwang, that arbitrarily marks the edge of the "dissected wolds" (fig 89). Its valleys are broad and shallow, all draining eastwards towards Holderness. The boundaries too are regular, forming a very square-shaped township. To the north is the Hawold Bridle Track, a long distance east-west trackway; the southern boundary is probably another, although not as well recorded or complete. On the western edge, the boundary lies on the main wolds north-south watershed, along another probable ancient trackway, and subsequently follows a direct and smoothly curving line. The eastern boundary is straight, north-south and marked the edge of the open field.

The village is based along 2 rows in an L-shape plan, focused on the church and pond, both located at the junction of the 2 streets (fig 105). There was some shrinkage in the late 17th century and shrunken village earthworks are visible to the north and north-west of the present village, amidst old closes and a network of footpaths (Neave 1990). Its church has some Norman features but was largely restored in 19th century, however Domesday Book records a church and priest here in 1086 (Faull and Stinson 1986).

The township was enclosed by Act of Parliament between 1778-9 and from the associated plan it is possible to locate the 3 open fields present at this time (North Field, South Field and Forelands). There had been odd examples of piecemeal enclosure before 1778, scattered throughout the township and around the village itself. Pastureland and sheepwalk made up most of the higher ground in the west at North and South Wold. Both may be very old pasture, the former containing a Grange of Meaux Abbey in 13th century (Smith 1937).

Roads too were re-organised at enclosure, when, according to Jeffreys' map of 1772, two were taken out of circulation only to survive as footpaths into the following century (see map). A footpath is marked on the 1854 OS which is probably the *Dikesgate* mentioned in a grant of late 12th century. It leads out from the village to the western pastures.

There has been some speculation that some of the land assessed at Domesday with North Dalton, was actually part of Hawold, because of an owner overlap and an inconsistent number of carucates within Dalton (*EYC*; Faull and Stinson 1986). Looking at the 13th century charters to Watton there are earlier ones referring to sheep pasture in Howald and later ones referring to sheep pasture in Dalton, for up to 300 animals (*EYC*). These may refer to both Dalton North Wold and Hawold, immediately to the north, where there are 2 likely candidates for the sites of monastic granges (Loughlin and Miller 1979).

TIBTHORPE (14)

Ecclesiastical Parish: Kirkburn

Township: Tibthorpe

Civil Parish: Tibthorpe

Hundred: Driffield

Wapentake: Harthill (Bainton Beacon division)

soke to Driffield

Tibthorpe township lies on the rolling eastern slopes of the Wolds on a spur of land jutting out eastwards towards the wold edge and claylands beyond (fig 89). Again it is a very open and exposed landscape with only a few shelter belts around the post enclosure farms that lie outside the village. The township is situated between two valleys which are followed by the north and south boundaries, both of these lying on east-west trackways; Tibthorpe Green Lane to the north and the Deep Dale/Hawold Bridle Track to the south. The eastern boundary is smoothly curving and must have marked the edge of the open field. Likewise, the western boundary owes its sinuous line to the same past function except for the north-west corner, which has undergone some re-alignment in the fairly recent past.(see Wetwang and Huggate). Similarly, in the south-east corner the regularity of the boundaries is broken by a "kick-back". It is centred precisely on the former line of the trackway here and may have been created by the late apportionment of the neutral corridor of the track. To its east, a triangular piece of land, Pitland Hill, is defined by modern field boundaries and appears to have once been detached.(see Southburn) (fig 106).

Enclosure took place here between 1794 and 1796 and from the associated plan it is possible to locate the open fields and pastures at that time (see map). Unlike many other townships on the Wolds, there is a large area of specialised pasture here on the higher Wold land to the north, significantly bounded by the Green Lane to both north and west. Tibthorpe Wold was clearly a pasture of long-standing, in contrast to the 2 small pockets of out field or ley recorded on 1854 OS which would have been of more recent creation. As we will see in chapter 6, Tibthorpe Wold is one of the few recognisable vestiges of a formerly much more extensive pasture zone. It was reached from the village by a lane variously known as Pasture Lane (1854 OS) or Green Lane, a track which is now used as an access road to the post enclosure farm at Tibthorpe Lodge Farm. It was also originally crossed by the former Roman road south from Wetwang, but the line of this feature can no longer be plotted with any precision, although it is recorded on Jeffreys' 1772 map as a major north-south route. Cropmarks on RCHM plots may well be the only physical traces left of this routeway. A short stretch of right of way on Tibthorpe Wold

probably preserves part of its former line, whilst other north-south public paths may preserve the right of way but not the actual course of the old route. The southern boundary of Tibthorpe Wold has survived through enclosure as a field boundary, its eastern edge having been defined by the north-south road and coach road (OS 1854). The latter is now a right of way.

In the 18th century there were 2 open fields, High and Low Fields, across the southern side of the township, with the eastern side also lying under arable at this time. Eastlands, a furlong name, is recorded as Estelandes in the 13th century.

Throughout the later Medieval period Tibthorpe was part of the Parish of Kirkburn, but in 1544 is said to have had its own chapel for the use of those unable to comfortably and regularly travel to the Parish Church (Neave 1990). There is neither church nor chapel there today. Sheahan and Whelan remarked in 1856 that the village contained both a large pond and a very deep draw well (Sheahan and Whelan 1856).

BAINTON (15) AND NESWICK (16)

Ecclesiastical Parish: Bainton

Township: Bainton, Neswick

Civil Parish: Bainton

Hundred: Driffield

Wapentake: Harthill (Bainton Beacon Division)

Although separate townships these two will be treated together because they form one parish and act as a good example of the contrast between Wold and Wold-edge. Bainton sits on the eastern edge of the Wolds on low ground, the highest lands being in the north west of the township at 85m OD (fig 89). From here the ground slopes gradually away to the south and east. The eastern side of the township is broken by 3 small streams which emerge as springs from the chalk.

Despite the proximity to a plentiful water supply, Bainton's character remains very much of the Wold with the familiar pattern of post enclosure farms and a few plantations, away from the village. There is more old enclosure here than townships to the west, but it is concentrated to the east of the village, where the stream afforded the possibility of enclosed meadow or wet pasture (fig 107). Bainton's boundaries also conform to a familiar pattern bounded as it is by sweeping lines of open field edge to east and west and to north and south by boundaries based on east-west trackways.

The 17th and 18th century landscape here can be reconstructed with the aid of two maps, one from 1629 and the other, the Enclosure Plan from 1774-5 (BJL). Most of the township was under arable at this time with a host of names recording different furlongs within the 3 open fields. By 1774 a Sheepwalk had been carved out of the open field in the north of the township, where both fossilised strips and extant broad ridge and furrow signal its former land-use. Between the dates of these two maps there was some contraction in the number of households in the village (Neave 1990). The road system was also re-organised at enclosure (see map). Notably, the line of the former Roman road northwards is recorded in both 1629 and 1774. Another lost road was known as Burrowgate in 1629 and led to what is now Bainton Burrows.

The township gives its name to this division of Harthill Wapentake because of a beacon "*erected here in ancient times*" (Nicholson 1888), who records that petty session of the wapentake court had also been held here. Sheahan and Whelan refer to the beacon itself having been moved from its old position before 1856 because it was obscured by a wood. The OS 1854 records the location of both new and old beacons (see map).

The place-name is *Bagenton* at Domesday Book and then variously *Baenton*, *Baynton*, etc..(Smith 1937). In 1301 it is referred to as *Baynton super waldas* and in the 17th century as Bainton upon the Wold (ibid). Smith interprets the name as a personal name, *Bega* coupled with the OE *ingtun*, giving it a later Anglian date. A priest is recorded here at Domesday but no church is mentioned. The current

church building is elaborate and contains some Norman features, but it is not clear at what date a church first appeared here.

Neswick is a small township sitting on a low headland which juts out into the main valley draining streams from the chalk Wolds. The name probably reflects this, as it can be translated as 'the dairy farm on the headland', from *naess, ing* and *wic* (Smith 1937). It has long been a chapelry of Bainton and a chapel is recorded here in the 16th century, for the use of the old folk of the village. Between 14th and 17th century, it was a populous place, "*fit to be made a parish*" (quoted in Neave 1990), but by the mid 18th century had been enclosed and largely depopulated to make way for a Park and large house. Neswick Hall has now been demolished and the township today contains three farms. According to 18th century records of the enclosure, there were three open fields in Neswick and a map of 1779 refers to High and Low East Field, but by this time they had already been enclosed. It is a marginal place but with none of the ruler-straight regularity of parliamentary enclosure, despite the severe effect its enclosure had on the population. The southern and western boundaries are based on straight lines of lanes and open field edge but those to the east and north are much more irregular, variously following field boundaries, streams and lanes and adopting a deviating course. As such the 2 townships illustrate the contrast between wolds townships and those amongst the head streams of the Hull Valley.

KIRKBURN (17), EASTBURN (18), SOUTHBURN (19), BATTLEBURN

Here is a tightly packed group of settlements on the edge of the Wolds clustered around two small streams, Eastburn and Southburn Beck. Neswick to the south is also situated on a stream, Wellsprings Drain, as are Elmswell and Kelleythorpe to the north, Elmswell Beck and Gypsey Race. All 5 streams feed into Driffield Beck, to the east, which in turn flows on to form the River Hull. Alongside Elmswell, Kelleythorpe and Neswick this group of townships are smaller, with boundaries less regular, than their cousins on the Wolds. They also form a group of early (pre

8C) topographical names using the OE term, *burna*, for burn or stream (Gelling forthcoming) (fig 89).

"A group of villages or hamlets to the south west of Driffield, picturesquely situated on broken ground and streamlets of running water, whence the affix of burn" (Ross 1898:15).

Ecclesiastical Parish: Kirkburn (includes Tibthorpe, Eastburn, Southburn)

Townships: Kirkburn (including Battleburn), Eastburn, Southburn

Civil Parish: Kirkburn (includes Eastburn, Southburn, Tibthorpe, Kelleythorpe)

Hundred: Driffield (all townships)

Wapentake: Harthill (Bainton Beacon division)

Soke of Driffield: Kirkburn, Eastburn, Southburn

KIRKBURN (AND BATTLEBURN) (17)

Kirkburn is the most Wold-like of all the townships in this group as it has a blocky shape and most of its land is dry and chalky. The village in the extreme south of the township lies at the source of Eastburn Beck and from here the ground slopes upwards leading to Craike Hill on the northern boundary (fig 108). Craike is one of the few British names in East Yorkshire and refers to the northern part of this township. It was probably here at Craike Hill that the meeting place for the whole East Riding was located in the Early Middle Ages, being called *Crakhou* in 13th century (Smith 1937) (see chapter 6-7). For the most part Kirkburn's boundaries are typical of a Wold township as they follow open field edges on the east and west and the Green Lane along the northern side, now a wide grassy track. In the south however the boundary winds around the southern closes of the village and then follows the stream, enclosing a finger of wet land, known as Kirkburn and Battleburn common in the 19th century. This annex also contained the site of the now abandoned village of Battleburn (Beresford 1951-2). The boundary between

Battleburn and Kirkburn is discernible from the Tithe map of 1846 and again follows the balk of an open field, creating two strip townships stretching back from the Eastburn Beck.

Battleburn did probably exist as a separate vill in the Middle Ages, although it is not mentioned in Domesday Book. In 13th century, the vill of *Bordelbrun* was granted to Guisborough Priory and in 1300 there were 24 bovate holders living here (Neave 1990). Little is known about the reasons for desertion or its date but there were only three cottages left in 1740. The three settlements of Kirkburn, Eastburn and Battleburn lay close together along the beck forming an almost continuous strip of settlement before the abandonment of Eastburn and Battleburn. Thomas Holderness has suggested that hereabouts was the site of the Battle of Brunanburh in 937 AD, a theory which has not been taken up by modern historians who describe the battle as still unlocated (Holderness 1888).

From the tithe map it is clear that most of the township was given over to arable with a few meadows and common pastures around the village and beck. Enclosure probably took place during the 18th century, but it is not clear exactly when. By the early 18th century a warren had been created which stretched across the boundary into Eastburn and is clearly marked on Teesdale's map of 1828. The modern land division on the site of the former warren is much more rigid and regular than that to the west which is to a large extent based on boundaries within the open field.

The church of Kirkburn is of Norman origin, although substantially rebuilt, and contains a Norman font. Before the construction of this church the place was known as *Burnous* or *Westburn* (both from Domesday). The *burn* element is still present, it being compounded with *hus* meaning 'house' and 'west', in opposition to Eastburn and Southburn, reinforcing the unity of this group. The first reference to the church comes from 12th century, '*ecclesiam de Burnnus*' and then *Kirkebrunnom* in the 13th century. Battleburn derives from a personal name *Bordel* and again the burn element (Smith 1937). Smith decides not to commit himself to assigning the burn element to an OE or OScand origin but Gelling unequivocally sees the group as OE and accordingly some of the earliest names on the Wolds.

EASTBURN (18)

The landscape of Eastburn, along with its easterly neighbour, Kelleythorpe, was drastically transformed in the 1930's when a large airfield was laid out over much of its lands. Only a small area containing the site of the DMV has been left unscathed. Across the rest of the township fieldwork has little to offer anyone but an Aviation Archaeologist. All we have to help us reconstruct the pre 20th century landscape are the results of excavations carried out at the time of Airfield construction (i.e. Sheppard 1938) and a tithe map of 1846.

It is a small township, the village lying by the Eastburn beck and the lands stretching back up the slope to the Green Lane, its northern boundary. Eastern and western boundaries are probably open field balks, where as the southern boundary bends around the village and then follows the stream. In the Medieval period when the village was populated the lands divided neatly between open field over much of the township and a wet carr, in the south alongside the village. After depopulation which finally took effect in the late 17th century, the warren (mentioned above with Kirkburn) was laid out over much of the former open field. It had been a 'settlement of moderate size' in the Middle Ages, numbering approx. 110-120 people in 14th century (Neave 1990) and is mentioned in Domesday as *Austburne*, deriving from OE *aust* (east) and *burna* (stream) (Gelling forthcoming).

SOUTHBURN (19)

The small Wold-edge township of Southburn lies amidst three streams. Eastburn beck marks the northern boundary; Wellsprings Drain flows along most of the southern and eastern boundaries whilst Southburn beck runs through the centre flanked by a strip of wet pasture, in 18th century. It is a complicated territory with intricate boundaries and probably includes two formerly detached portions of land. Bainton Ings is a triangular piece of land which is described on 1854 OS as

belonging to Bainton. It lies south of Wellsprings Drain which probably formed the original boundary. Pitland Hill is another piece seemingly tacked onto the township, lying on the Deep Dale trackway, which, surviving for several miles as township boundary, is here visible as a cropmark. It is not clear under what circumstances this detached piece became part of Southburn, but it was part of the township in the 18th century when it contained the West Field.

An 18th century map records the layout of open field and pasture in some detail, even recording furlong locations and the allocation of strips. Harvey has used this as an example of a township whose fields were laid out in one go to a pre-determined plan, a system which must have remained incredibly stable for it to have survived into the 18th century (Harvey 1983). Enclosure took place here in 1793-7.

GREAT DRIFFIELD, LITTLE DRIFFIELD AND ELMSWELL

This group of townships formed one parish in the Middle Ages, although the extent of the modern Civil Parish does not reflect that of its predecessor.

Ecclesiastical Parish: Driffield (includes Little Driffield, Great Driffield, Elmswell and Kelleythorpe)

Township: Great Driffield, Little Driffield, Elmswell (with Kelleythorpe)

Civil Parish: Driffield (includes Little and Great Driffield)

Garton (includes Elmswell)

Nafferton (includes part of Great Driffield township)

Kirkburn (includes Kelleythorpe)

Berewick of Great Driffield: Little Driffield, Kelleythorpe, Elmswell, Kilham

GREAT AND LITTLE DRIFFIELD (20)

The market town of Driffield is the largest settlement in the study area today, having expanded rapidly following the construction of the canal in 1770 and the railway in 1846 (Hey 1986). Prior to the 18th century it was a large open village with regular markets and fairs, situated conveniently on the edge of the Wolds (fig 109).

"The character of 18C Driffield was formed by the fact that it lay at a junction of...two contrasting areas.....a fertile plain abounding with water; (and) ..dry airy downs, rising with an easy ascent to the highest wold." (Howorth 1980).

Its importance as a regional centre had already been recognised by 705 AD when Bede records the death and burial of King Aldfrith here. At Domesday it was a major estate centre with several berewicks and extensive sokeland, more or less contiguous with the hundred that bears its name (see chapter 6). Two churches and eight mills are also recorded in 1086 and both 11th and 12th century sources refer to the superior status of its mother church (EYC; Alison 1976; Morris 1986). Smith has suggested that the name derives from OE *drif* and *feld* meaning 'stubble field', but it has also been interpreted as deriving from Deira, the Anglo-Saxon sub-kingdom (Barley 1938). The latter idea would fit well with a centre with royal connections in 8th century, but has little to support it etymologically. There is much evidence for Anglo-Saxon burial in the town and its immediate vicinity, including other townships to the west, many graves having re-used prehistoric barrows (see chapter 6).

The Medieval parish of Driffield was large as is usual for a mother church. Recent changes have greatly reduced its size and we need only note them here (see map). Little Driffield, a separate township and chapelry of the parish of Driffield, lies just outside the modern town and was first recorded in 1290 (Smith 1937). It is today a small village arranged around a pond and Medieval church. In the mid 19th century there was a *"copious spring of water in the village green"* (Sheahan and Whelan 1856). The two townships were enclosed together in 1741-2 and formed a joint manor according to 18th century records (Neave 1990). The relationship between

the two must always have been close as the township of Little Driffield is so small. There is a strong local belief that Little Driffield was the original Anglo-Saxon royal and ecclesiastical centre and that King Aldfrith's grave lies under the church here and not in Great Driffield (Ross 1898), an idea supported by the presence of Anglo-Saxon sculptural fragments in the church (Neave/Pevsner 1995). By 1086 Great Driffield had however superseded its neighbour in status, the latter being known in Domesday as *Drigelinghe* (Faull and Stinson 1986) and described as a berewick of Great Driffield. Sheep and Horse Fairs were held at Little Driffield from at least the 17th century (Neave 1990; Hey 1986). Despite the persistence of its territorial autonomy there is no record of Little Driffield possessing its own open field and in this respect must have belonged with its neighbour. For such a small township to have survived with a separate identity there is likely to be a more ancient foundation and explanation (see chapter 6).

The southern boundary of Driffield lies on its beck, as does that of Little Driffield. To the east the boundary follows the open field edge and the northern boundary lies along the line of linear earthworks and a probable early track which is the true extension of the Sledmere Green Lane. The site of Danes Graves, significantly, acts as a junction of two boundaries. The Driffield Spellowgate forms some of the western boundary, the rest following dale bottoms. The boundaries of Little Driffield are much more intricate, suggesting that the size of this township may have been reduced at some point.

As mentioned above the two townships were enclosed together in 1741-5. The basic layout of the open field strips has been preserved in the land divisions of enclosure and can be clearly seen on 1854 OS. There were three open fields running north-south in parallel with several Fall names recording the furlongs within them. In addition this map records five detached portions of Little Driffield scattered about the former open field of what must have been bundles of strips farmed by its inhabitants. The pattern of land division alters radically in the north of the township reflecting what must have been open pasture or out field in 1741. This northern area was known as Driffield Wold with other names such as Clitheroe Wold and Drinkrow wold also recorded for smaller portions in 1854.

Here too lies a detached portion of Little Driffield, providing that township with pasture. An early track, called Garton Balk, ran east -west across these pastures.

Many of the roads running north-south do not appear to have been greatly altered by enclosure and can still be traced on 1854 OS, most retaining their pre-enclosure names. Most of these refer to known destinations such as Garton Balk or Little Driffield Gate. Driffield Spellowgate is believed to refer to a moot or literally speech mound, probably located in the north of Elmswell township where this road meets the Elmswell Spellowgate. At this point there are several other tracks passing by which may also have been heading for this once important meeting place. Another track in the north of the township is known as Ewe Gate or Sheep rake lane in 1854 and reinforces the role of Driffield Wold as a pasture. In 1854 the road north to Langtoft and beyond, formerly known as Duggleby Trod, had presumably been improved as it was administered by a local turnpike trust.

The modern farm of Great Kendale lies amidst the former open field, a name which is also recalled in Kendalgate and Kendal bushes. The status or character of this place is not immediately evident, although it is marked on Jeffreys' 1772 map as a farm. It also is recorded in Domesday Book as a separate vill (Faull and Stinson 1986).

ELMSWELL (21) AND KELLEYTHORPE (22)

These 2 townships were reckoned together for taxation purposes in 17th century (Neave 1990) but before that date we do not know their relationship or degree of dependency (fig 109). By 1828 they together formed one township (S R Clarke 1828) but a tithe commutation map of 1815 treats Elmswell as a separate place. Kelleythorpe was probably only ever a hamlet but both townships were mentioned in Domesday Book and both were berewicks of Driffield. Elmswell is well known because of the Farming books of Henry Best which give detailed accounts of farming practice in this township, of which he was squire in 17th century (Woodward/ Best 1988). The village, which was not fully depopulated until the

mid 19th century lies amongst numerous springs on the Elmswell beck. In 1898 it was described as,

"a hamlet, consisting.....of a few cottages, several of which are mud-built and thatched, scattered in picturesque confusion..... and nestling under the shadow of the Manor House." (Ross 1898:15).

Enclosure by Act of Parliament took place in 1770-1 but it seems that much of the open field had already been apportioned and enclosed by this time, probably in 16th or 17th century (Neave 1990). Accordingly, the 19th century field pattern, visible on 1854 OS recalls the layout of open field strips very closely. The Medieval landscape was almost a miniature parallel of its neighbour, Driffield, containing three open fields and a northerly area of Wold-land, with wet pastures in the south. The quality of the land in 1840 was high in the south in the old enclosures where the soil was a strong clay loam. Further north, however, away from the demesne lands, it became chalky, thin and friable so here would probably have been treated as outfield and only sown every now and again (Woodward/Best 1988).

Pasture provision in the 17th century is well recorded by Best. As well as using the wet meadow land, there were enclosed pastures alongside the hamlet and the fallow arable land or temporary leys (probably on Elmswell Wold). In addition he claimed the right to graze 360 sheep, *"on a sheep rake in Cottam Field"* (ibid.). Several disputes had arisen between Best and Cottam farmers over the right to graze here.

"I claim there no propriety in the soil, but a rake for my own, or my tenants' sheep who farm the demesnes... by prescription or possession time immemorial". (Best, quoted in Woodward 1988).

He goes on to say that the pasture is divided by a highway into two, this highway being the extension of the Sledmere Green Lane.

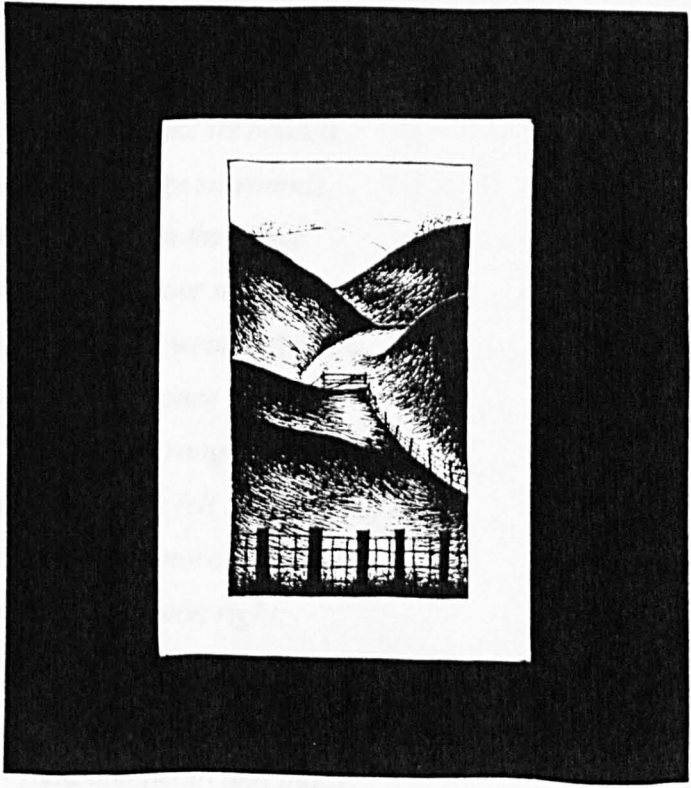
Spellowgate runs north from the village and met with its Driffield namesake on the north-eastern edge of the township, although there is no obvious indication of a barrow here. The road becomes much less marked where it enters the Wold on Tithe map of 1815, a sign that it was used as access to the pasture. Other place-

names that refer to Spellow include Spellow Heads and Spellow Farm. The western boundary runs along Garton Balk, a road that ran from Cottam in the north down to Kirkburn and Neswick (Jeffreys 1772) and was described by Best as "*an ancient trackway, 60-70 ft wide*" (ibid). It has survived intact today and remains as an impressively wide green lane for this part of its course.

The 1828 map of Henry Teesdale marks a detached piece of land situated between Kelleythorpe and Elmswell which is not marked on 1854 OS by which time the two townships had become one. This area is known as Driffield Greets on the Elmswell Tithe map of 1815 and significantly lies at the head of the Tibthorpe Green Lane and contains the head of the Gypsey Race.

Far spread the merry ground, it laid a row
Beset with rush and rose, several green
That never fell the rule of blossoming plough
Though centuries weathered spring blossoms in its bow
Austria met plants that stretched their feet far along
In wretched shadows of green, brown and grey
Unbounded freedom ruled the wandering scene
No fence of ownership drew in between
It hid the prospect from the passing eye
As only toady's into the evening sky

A mighty flat, wide
Spread its form the
And last night, when
In the blue mist the
The more constant
Of labour's rights,
And memory's spirit
It with the distant
The sheep and cow
Where change might
Careless and care
In the wild pasture
And steep, undulating
Heard the swan's
Traced the rail's



Like night's lights of their high beech
The mountain water is hurried to the sea
From distant hills to enter a little stream
Of hollow wood, large as garden stream
In hills a road like mine, as yours
With oak and firs, impeded, blue and
Open (and, for more)

*“Far spread the moory ground, a level scene
 Bespread with rush and one eternal green
 That never felt the rage of blundering plough,
 Though centuries wreathed spring blossoms on its brow.
 Autumn met plains that stretched them far away
 In unchecked shadows of green, brown and grey.
 Unbounded freedom ruled the wandering scene;
 No fence of ownership crept in between
 To hide the prospect from the gazing eye;
 Its only bondage was the circling sky.
 A mighty flat, undwarfed by bush or tree,
 Spread its faint shadow of immensity
 And lost itself, which seemed to eke its bounds,
 In the blue mist the horizon’s edge surrounds.
 Enclosure came, and trampled on the grave
 Of labour’s rights, and left the poor a slave;
 And memory’s pride, ere want to wealth did bow,
 Is both the shadow and the substance now.
 The sheep and cows were free to range as then
 Where change might prompt, nor felt the bonds of men.
 Cows went and came with every morn and night
 To the wild pasture as their common right;
 And sheep, unfolded with the rising sun,
 Heard the swains shout and felt their freedom won,
 Trackd the red fallow field and heath and plain,

 Like mighty giants of their limbs bereft,
 The skybound wastes in mangled garbs are left,
 Fence meeting fence in owner’s little bounds
 Of field and meadow, large as garden-grounds,
 In little parcels little minds to please,
 With men and flocks imprisoned, ill at ease.
 (John Clare, Enclosure)*

CHAPTER SIX

THE WOLDS BEFORE DOMESDAY

INTRODUCTION

The distribution of vills, or townships, in Domesday Book is the earliest and fullest record of settlement patterns in East Yorkshire and the Wolds. It reveals a fairly even distribution, most areas settled to the same intensity as we find today, albeit at a greatly reduced population and without urban centres (fig 4). There are notable concentrations of denser settlement along the edges of the Wolds and in the Gypsy Race Valley and generally, the Wolds are as fully settled by 1086 as at any time during the Middle Ages. The same situation prevails in other areas of 'wold', in Leicestershire and Nottinghamshire so that, *"By the 12th century, the arable field systems of the wolds seem to have been not very different from those of other parts of the Midlands"* (Fox 1989:89). In East Yorkshire too there is little apparent distinction between the central dry Wolds and the wetter edges in the Middle Ages, a landscape characterised by nucleated villages surrounded by extensive common fields. How long had this situation prevailed before 1086 and when were the foundations of this Medieval settlement pattern laid? Is this basically the Romano-British pattern, having survived over seven centuries or was there a period before the Norman conquest when the Wolds of Yorkshire held a distinctive and separate identity?

Hayfield's intensive fieldwork around Wharram Percy has tried to understand the development of settlement during the 1st millennium AD. He has reached the conclusion that here, a continuity of the basic settlement pattern prevailed throughout the Romano-British and Anglo-Saxon periods until the 9th century, when the formerly dispersed settlement pattern became nucleated (Hayfield 1987; Beresford and Hurst 1990). This is a sequence also mirrored elsewhere in the country (Hall 1988). According to Hayfield, prior to 9th century, the same

settlement sites are occupied in the Wharram area and, it is assumed, within the same territorial confines. He has tentatively extended this situation across the rest of the Wolds, where no fieldwork of similar detail has yet been carried out. However, a basic unbroken continuity of settlement is not characteristic of other Wolds areas, where according to Fox, occupation contracts off them in the post Roman period, only to push back again in the few centuries before the Norman Conquest (Fox 1989). For the Yorkshire Wolds, Gelling has come to a conclusion, similar to that of Fox, from a look at the place-names. She has argued that the earliest Old English names concentrate around the Wold edges and well watered valleys, whilst the drier central Wolds contain vills with later, Scandinavian names, in the main (Gelling forthcoming). The place-names suggest that the post Romano-British period may have witnessed a contraction of settlement off the Wolds leading to renewed expansion in the centuries before the Norman Conquest.

In general, the idea of Anglo-Scandinavian colonisation, involving an expansion of settlement, is out of fashion and has not been widely accepted for the Wolds, as this area has always been seen as one with a long and unbroken history of settlement. This is largely because of the richness of its archaeology and, as we have seen for earlier periods, the high visibility of archaeological sites does not always imply a densely occupied landscape. The expansion of settlement in the Anglo-Scandinavian period is accepted for other more marginal areas in East Yorkshire, in parts of the lower vales (Allison 1976). Sawyer suggested that the distribution of Scandinavian names, against earlier ones, should not be taken as evidence of the foundation of new settlements in this period, because many existing sites were probably re-named (Sawyer 1976). However, even a preliminary look at the distribution of the archaeological evidence for Anglo-Saxon settlement, substantially favours the Wold-edge and Great Wold Valley, against the central dry Wolds. As with the Iron Age, the presence of funerary evidence on the Wolds should not be taken as evidence for its permanent occupation (Lucy 1998). There is a marked distinction between whole cemeteries on the Wold-edge and burials in secondary contexts on the Wolds. It is easy to find evidence for the continuity of settlement on the well-watered Wold-edge, as around Wharram and transfer this situation to the interior, but it is important to differentiate between the central dry

Wolds and the Wold-edge. It may be that the two areas have different settlement histories in the post Roman period. Bearing this distinction in mind, this chapter will consider the evidence for settlement and the agrarian pre-Norman landscape, paying special attention to the contrast between Wold and Wold-edge and, latterly, to encroachment and colonisation from the latter to the former area.

Initially, however, we will spend some time considering the archaeological evidence.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL APPROACHES

The body of archaeological information available for the Anglian settlement of the Wolds is small and unrepresentative. It has, at least, improved somewhat since 1979 when Eagles published his *Anglo-Saxon Settlement of Humberside* (1979). This study does not startle the reader with its interpretation or analysis but works as a solid and authoritative summary of all the information available at that time. It focuses on the pottery assemblages derived from burial contexts and also assesses the Anglian settlement pattern against the backdrop of the late Romano-British situation. Since 1979 the excavations and other fieldwork at both Wharram Percy (Beresford and Hurst 1990; Hayfield 1987) and West Heslerton (Powlesland 1986;1997) have added significant local detail to our understanding, even though full published reports are not yet available. Further Anglian discoveries have been made at Thwing (Manby 1981) and Cottam (Haldenby 1990; 1992; Richards 1994) and along the gas pipeline at Caythorpe (Abramson 1996), all of probable settlements. Despite these recent discoveries, there are still very few settlement sites known archaeologically from this period, the large nucleated site at West Heslerton situated alongside its cemetery serving as a remarkable exception. Indeed, most material still derives from burials which are found both in flat cemeteries and as secondary contexts inserted into prehistoric barrows and linear earthworks. (Eagles 1979; Watkin 1983). Sam Lucy's recent analysis of the East Yorkshire burials has added significantly to our understanding (Lucy 1998).

So little archaeological investigation has been carried out under modern conditions, that it is very hard to create a coherent story of settlement pattern and development from the motley collection of stray finds and chance discoveries of 19th century and compare these with the very few sites more recently documented. Watkin's article considered some of the major empirical and interpretative lacunae in depth. He points out that most summary works have dwelt on the early Anglian period with very little discussion existing for the period after 8th century (1983). There are a series of early settlement sites which seem to straddle the late Romano-British/ early Anglian transition but only continue until 7th century, as at Wykeham, Elmswell and Seamer. The burial evidence on the other hand is generally later than 6th century. Most belong to the 6th and 7th centuries, with only a few cemeteries dating to the later 7th and 8th centuries (i.e. Garton Sykes Monument, Uncleby). However the poor standard of record for most of the sites and extensive investigation of only a few such as Sewerby, Heselton and Sancton, means that only a generalised idea of the way in which the Wolds was used for burial and settlement is possible.

Attempts to make sense of this (seemingly) unrepresentative archaeological record and to try and understand the general settlement pattern have tacitly assumed that the discovery of a burial can be taken to indicate the proximal presence of a contemporaneous settlement, (i.e. Faull 1974; Watkin 1983). In this way, the pattern of burials and cemeteries has generally been considered as a reflection of the settlement pattern. Alison for instance remarks, "*The distribution of Anglian burials on the Wolds suggests that settlers were spreading widely into the most favoured areas of Romano-British habitation.*" (Alison 1976). The region's best understood site, at West Heselton, which is found at the base of the northern escarpment, contained an extensive cemetery which lay alongside the settlement. Otherwise, all authors have noted that there are concentrations of cemeteries, containing mainly inhumations, in several key areas: along the western Wolds escarpment, in the eastern Great Wold Valley around Rudston and Kilham and in the area west of Driffield on the eastern dip-slope (Faull 1974; Higham 1993). These three areas, along with the northern escarpment, have always been seen as the main concentrations of population as well as places of burial and in that sense

the cemeteries are taken to reflect settlement. Indeed, it is these areas where evidence also exists for actual settlements, however oblique this evidence inevitably is. On the drier and higher Wolds, however, the burial pattern appears to be quite different as here burial sites are not found in conjunction with any settlement evidence and they invariably derive from secondary contexts. As we have already seen in chapter 4 for the Iron Age, the presence of burials on the Wolds need not imply that people were actually living up here, as has been generally assumed.

The cemeteries that are strung out along the western escarpment of the Wolds have generally been taken to represent the burial grounds of a nearby community, settled on the spring-line, with the remains of these Anglian settlements probably lying beneath or close to the Medieval village (Faull 1974; Eagles 1979). In many cases, there is a good correlation between village, township and cemetery, and most of the Medieval townships situated along the western scarp contain evidence for Anglian burials. Along the Romano-British road between Newbald and Pocklington for instance there are a string of Medieval villages, each with strong suggestions of an Anglian origin at least for that settlement. Such suggestions include cemeteries (Nunburnholme, Londesborough, Sancton, Newbald, North Cave, Elloughton), stray archaeological finds, sometimes very rich (Hayton, Newbald), early place-names (Everingham, Goodmanham, Nunburnholme) and the one case of a reference to the place in early sources (Goodmanham in Bede) (fig 110). At present there has only been one case of structural evidence, from Hayton, but this may indicate that the Anglian settlements lie underneath modern villages. Higham has pointed to this area as the political heartland of Edwin's Northumbria (Higham 1993).

Most of the indications of Anglian cemeteries in this area were first recorded in the 19th century, albeit poorly and have not led to further more extensive investigations. Many were discovered during railway construction, as at North Cave. The Newbald findings were made in a sand pit in 1901 and 1902, furnished with brooches, a knife and scramasax, amongst other things (Eagles 1979:207). The Londesborough and Nunburnholme findings were both made in chalk pits during the 19th century and include several furnished inhumations (Eagles

1979:208). The pair of cemeteries at Sancton are unusual, the earlier situated on the Wolds and its later neighbour found closer to the village, by the churchyard, in that the earlier version contains entirely cremations, some of which are 5th century in date. It is clearly one of the earliest cemeteries in East Yorkshire and may represent the burial focus for a number of local communities at this time in contrast to the others which are usually later, contain mainly inhumations and seem to have served one local community (Faull 1976) (fig 111). The burials known from Bishop Wilton, Kirby Underdale and Uncleby should perhaps not be included in the string of other western scarp sites as they form a separate group higher up on the Wolds and are all found as secondary inhumations in Bronze Age barrows (Lucy 1992; Williams 1998). The other cemeteries, with the exception of Sancton are, in contrast, found half way up the scarp-slope, or at its base, lying a short distance above the Medieval (and modern) village. If the barrow cemeteries did relate to specific settlements then these would no doubt have been found at the foot of the western scarp in the vicinity of modern villages of Kirby Underdale and Bishop Wilton. There are four barrows on the Wold above Kirby Underdale which were reused for burial in this period and a further two to the south on Garrowby Hill. All are found in commanding positions on the Wold top with extensive westerly views and lie very close to either the north-south or the east-west Roman road. It is difficult to say how many inhumations were originally placed in these barrows but certainly Uncleby and Painsthorpe Wold 1 were fairly large cemeteries. Where datable, they appear to have been put here during the 7th century, but Uncleby is later, probably 8th (Eagles 1979; Lucy 1998). Lucy has suggested that similarly late burials may specifically favour locations on the Wolds because of their liminal situation, at a time when the burial rites were dying out (1998). Such a suggestion has obvious implications for concurrent perceptions of the Wolds during the 8th century, possibly seen from a wold-edge perspective as a marginal landscape.

The eastern Great Wold Valley has always attracted permanent settlement and several authors have noted the concentrations of both later Romano-British and Anglian material in the vicinity of Rudston, Caythorpe and Boynton, much of it found together on the same site (Eagles 1979). There seems to have been a series of Anglian cemeteries extending eastwards from Kilham along the slopes above

and to the south of Rudston and Boynton. There is 4th century activity to the south on the clays at Harpham, but no suggestion of a concentrated Anglian presence. The burial evidence from the Rudston area lies close to other indications of settlement, mainly stray finds recorded in 19th century, but including the recent findings of Anglian post-built building above Caythorpe and a grubenhaus structure associated with a late Romano-British settlement by the Gypsey Race, again at Caythorpe (Abramson 1996). All of these findings are concentrated on the southern slopes of the valley between the Gypsey Race itself and the Woldgate ridge. Again this area is one which has always favoured permanent settlement, lying close to the Gypsey Race with ready access to high, dry pasture, wetter valley floor and low-lying clayland of the Hull Valley and Holderness. At present the lack of Anglian material along the Gypsey Race Valley west of Rudston is curious and stands in marked contrast to the undoubted Romano-British and later Iron Age settlement in this area.

Along with the northern escarpment, the concentration of Anglian activity in the eastern Great Wold Valley and along the western escarpment indicate the favourability in this period (6th to 8th century) of settlement along the Wold-edge, in places with easy access to surface water and with a range of land types within reach of the settlement (fig 111). The concentrations in these three places stand in contrast to the lack of settlement evidence from the Wolds interior, where neither surface water nor variety of soil types was available. The paucity of excavated settlements, on the Wold-edge, must strongly suggest that the remains of Anglian settlements lie underneath the modern and Medieval villages.

The area to the west of Driffield is another of concentrated Anglian activity, lying south-west of the Kilham-Rudston-Boynton zone mentioned above. Here, the large number of Anglian burial sites are situated on the low-lying gravels on the floor of the valley that emerges from the chalk wolds into the clays of Holderness. It is here also that are found an important group of springs that form the headwaters of the river Hull, alongside which lie the Medieval villages of Kirkburn, Elmswell, Southburn and Eastburn (see chapter 5 and below). A large number of burial sites cluster around Driffield, the probable royal centre where Bede places the death of

King Aldfrith in 705 AD. Most of these are again known from inadequate 19th century sources and often derive from the investigations of Mortimer (1905; Eagles 1979). More recent barrow diggings by Ian Stead have found significant Anglian reuse of Iron Age cemeteries in this area also (Stead 1991) (see chapter 7) (fig 134). There are few known settlements here apart from the important late Romano-British site at Elmswell, where the late 4th century material included ironworking debris, quernstones and crucibles as well as some associated structural evidence. From the same site came unstratified early Anglian material including pottery, a cruciform brooch and a bone comb, suggesting possible continuity of occupation into 5th century (Eagles 1979; Faull 1974). The site is situated alongside the Elmswell Beck opposite the now deserted Medieval village of Elmswell and is one which would probably benefit from further investigation. All other local Anglian material is funerary, even Driffield lacking direct archaeological evidence for settlement from this period. Only Nafferton, 3km east of Driffield has produced Anglian settlement debris and this significantly came from the midst of the Medieval village. There is also a notable concentration of Romano-British pottery from Southburn, picked up in fieldwalking (see chapter 4).

The burial evidence comes from a concentration of sites in the town of Driffield as well as another group to the west between Kirkburn and Garton. The findings in Driffield were made in the 19th century during development of the town and include at least three fairly large cemeteries. One at the Recreation Ground may have been inserted into a barrow as Bronze Age material was reported with the Anglian burials (Loughlin and Miller 1979). Another seems to have existed in association with a mound known as Moot Hill, commonly held to be a damaged motte (*ibid*). Here Anglian material including spears and a sword as well as skeletons have repeatedly turned up since 19th century (Eagles 1979; Loughlin and Miller 1979) (fig 112). Several skeletons have been unearthed in the vicinity of the old gasworks and another focus existed by the railway line to the south of the modern town. To the 3 or 4 cemeteries in the town we can add a further two which have been placed in large Early Bronze Age barrows at Cheesecake Hill and at Kelleythorpe, outside the town to south-east and south-west respectively.

A remarkable concentration of cemeteries existed here during the Anglian period when Driffield was probably a royal centre of some kind. Some local historians have considered the village of Little Driffield, to the west of the modern town, to have been the site of the Anglian settlement with the focus of the modern town founded some time later but before the compilation of Domesday Book. There are indeed fragments of pre-conquest sculpture from the church at Little Driffield (see chapter 5). The concentration of Anglian material from the modern town does strongly suggest that beneath it lay an extensive settlement but the fact that it is entirely funerary in character might indicate that the site was used uniquely for burial (fig 133).

Another strong concentration of Anglian funerary remains occurs 3km to the west of Driffield alongside the Green Lane which runs east-west at this point, along the bottom of the valley and is followed by township boundaries. Here, at Gatehouse, Mortimer found 2 adjacent cemeteries of 31 and 32 inhumations which had been placed in the ditch of a linear earthwork and then covered with earth. *"..for a distance of 40 yards they mainly occupy the northern fosse of a British double entrenchment, which divides at this spot and encloses the barrow."* (Mortimer 1905:247) (fig 113). According to Mortimer, two feet of deposit had already accumulated in the bottom of the ditch before the burials were placed therein, but he did find a fragmentary vase on the original ditch-bottom accompanied by traces of burning and some animal bone. The burials from the western Anglian cemetery were accompanied by a range of grave-goods including penannular brooches, bone combs, bronze buckles and iron knives, assemblages with a seemingly strong native British rather than Anglian element, although the dating or cultural affinity of these objects has been discussed neither by Eagles nor Faull. One bronze object is remarkably similar to the 'bean can' found with Iron age cart burial in Wetwang Slack. The eastern cemetery was unfurnished and also exhibited differences in the layout of skeletons, prompting the suggestion that there exists here both pagan and christian burial practices (Eagles 1979; Watkin 1983). The 2 cemeteries appear to have been divided by another, Bronze age, barrow. This whole area had seemingly been used for burial over many centuries, in distinctive phases, each separated by a

number of centuries. Repeatedly the communities were responding to the traditional historic or mythic significance of the place (see chapter 7).

Just 100m or so south of the Green Lane cemeteries, another barrow was found to have been used for Anglian inhumations. Here Mortimer found 4 inhumations placed in the upper fill of the barrow ditch, largely unaccompanied but for a few scraps of iron from one grave. More recently Ian Stead has excavated further secondary Anglian inhumations from Iron Age barrows and cemeteries in two sites to the north and south of the Green Lane. It is unfortunate that the British Museum team responsible for the excavation of this site did not give as much priority to the Anglian burials as they obviously did to the Iron Age graves. The reader of Stead's report is given the impression that the Anglian presence here was taken more as a distraction from their pure period-biased agenda than for the highly significant engagement between Anglian community and their past which it must represent. In all there were 37 Anglian burials excavated at Garton Station, although we are still awaiting full publication of the results. 20 or so more were identified and unexcavated (fig 73). Some inhumations were placed within existing Iron Age square barrows and cut the earlier graves, whilst 1 group of 11 were surrounded by a square-plan ditch which may have been constructed in the post Roman period as it did not contain Iron Age burials within its confines. Further groups were found, unenclosed by ditches, but clearly placed deliberately close to the square-barrow cemetery. Stead suggests that the original Iron Age cemetery would have been larger than the 17 or so barrows revealed by his excavations and he doesn't rule out the possibility that some barrows, especially the largest, were built in the Anglian period, although he considers this unlikely. Two further Anglian secondary inhumations were excavated at his Kirkburn site 2, a little south of the Green Lane (see chapter 7) (fig 133).

The importance of this group of Anglian cemeteries is not merely limited to the post Roman period and is only fully apparent when we put back into this landscape the several millennia's worth of monuments which were to be found here. The concentration of Anglian graves is so strong, not out of coincidence, but purely *because* of the pre-existence of the many Neolithic, Bronze Age and Iron Age

monuments that also cluster around the Green Lane. Neither is it coincidental that Craike Hill, the natural focus of the whole monumental complex, later emerges as the meeting place for the East Riding, nor indeed that the Green Lane served as one of the major routes of access between the Hull headsprings and the Wolds, in the post Roman period. In short this area had been acting as a meeting place and burial zone throughout the post Roman centuries and probably for many more centuries prior to the Roman conquest (see chapter 7).

As we look westwards from the eastern dip-slope up into the interior of the Wolds, there are much fewer indications of an Anglian presence. Where burial evidence exists it has invariably come from Mortimer's digging of Bronze Age barrows (fig 111). Very few examples can be found between Kirkburn and Warter apart from one reused barrow at Blanch farm, where the Anglian inhumation was furnished with a sword and a pot (Mortimer 1905). Apart from this one site there are Anglian burials at Fimber, Sykes Monument and Cowlam. The Sykes Monument and Cowlam sites are both found on prominent commanding ridges, locations chosen for this topographic reason as well as the presence at both places of linear earthworks and barrows. The former is an Anglian cemetery excavated initially by Mortimer following its discovery during the construction of the monument to Sir Tatton Sykes. As at Garton Gatehouse, the inhumations were placed along the bottom of the ditch of a linear earthwork; numbering 42, few of the graves were furnished (fig 59). Further burials were found to the west, on the other side of the road by the Granthams in 1959 when some were associated with 8th century coins (Grantham C and E 1965). A bold statement was once again being made by the community(s) that buried their dead here. In doing so they were appropriating the monument, its mythic associations and the past of this place for their ancestors and for themselves (Williams 1998). They probably did not live up here on this exposed but panoramic spot but recognised the significance of the place where the trackway now followed by the Green Lane met the head of Warren Dale. In the same way that, generations and centuries before the builders of the linear earthwork had done and indeed as did the Victorians in choosing this place for the most fitting spot at which to monumentally commemorate Sir Tatton.

A similar site for Anglian period burial seems to have existed at Cowlam, where Mortimer and then Brewster excavated Anglian inhumations secondary in the Bronze Age round barrow of Kemp Howe (Loughlin and Miller 1979) (fig 134). In all, 18 inhumations were found here without grave goods and with some indication of the use of wooden coffins with iron corner plates (Eagles 1979). Brewster is also said to have discovered an Anglian hut nearby with a central hearth. It is only the lack of other similar local Anglian structures that has elevated this find to the status of a settlement, but it should not be forgotten that 3km east lies the recently investigated site at Burrow, very rich in metalwork (Haldenby 1990;1992). The paucity of grave-goods with the Kemp Howe burials may well suggest a late date which would accord well with the 8th to 9th century bracket suggested from the metalwork at Burrow. This little group of Anglian sites lies on an exposed ridge position alongside the High Street, which may well have been in use as a thoroughfare in this period. It is furthermore located within another notable concentration of prehistoric monuments.

The valley known as Wetwang-Garton Slack divides at Fimber Nab to proceed northward to Sledmere and westward towards Fimber and Thixendale. The natural, topographic significance of this place was exaggerated and given a cultural spin when prehistoric linear earthworks were constructed here in monumental scale. So too its potency was recognised in the Anglian period when inhumations were placed in association with some of these multiple earthworks, lying then at the crossing of several cross wold routeways, probably current in the post Roman period (fig 111; 50-1). Two km west of here there were further Anglian inhumations found in Fimber churchyard and reported by Mortimer, who spent his early life in the village. The church was built on top of a Bronze Age barrow (or maybe 2) and so these burials, one of which was accompanied by a penannular brooch, placed into the barrow could have formed the monumental focus for the earliest church building here (fig 101). The importance of this place in an open sparsely settled pastoral Anglian landscape would have been the ponds. The presence of burials here need not imply a nearby Anglian settlement to go with the early name, but it would be inevitable for some kind of community to have settled here in some form, however temporarily. This is an area we know well. It has

provided us with evidence for both Late Bronze Age and Iron Age landscape. It is the same linear earthworks, which responded to and mimicked topography that were venerated during the later Iron Age. Again they are still being drawn upon by Anglian burials. Places like Huggate Dykes, Blealands Nook, Sykes monument, Fimber Nab and Fimber ponds have come up before. It is no accident that they too form a significant part of the post Roman landscape. Again they were being chosen as special, in a direct response to their historical meaning.

The fieldwalking project at Wharram has identified evidence for Anglian settlement, further west up this same valley between Fimber and Thixendale. The project was focused on a group of townships which together make up the parish of Wharram Percy, and within this area fairly intensive fieldwalking has taken place over several years, under the direction of Colin Hayfield (1987). The work has located many sites of Iron Age, Romano-British and Anglian date identifiable as pottery scatters. The settlement pattern of the Romano-British period is by far the most extensive and dense with Anglian pottery being restricted to the main valley at Burdale and Thixendale and to the immediate vicinity of Wharram Percy itself. The post Roman period seems to have witnessed a considerable contraction in the density of settlement but it is difficult to say very much about the size or character of these sites from pottery scatters alone (fig 111; 114). Unlike the area to the east and south, discussed above, there is fairly abundant surface water supply in this area with a group of springs at Wharram Percy and a spring-fed pond at Burdale with a probable intermittent stream running some of the length of the Thixendale to Fimber valley. During excavations of the deserted Medieval village at Wharram Percy some notable Anglian material came up suggesting that by the 8th to 9th century at least, there was settlement activity, judging by the discovery of coins, metal working debris and pottery but without associated structures. Prior to the 8th century, though there is much less evidence with only a couple of grubenhauser from the north of the later village. A number of foci have been recognised and it is thought that here were a collection of farms grouped around the springs and stream, at least by the 8th century AD, some of which are seen as being of 'high status' (Beresford and Hurst 1990: 82). The majority of 8th to 9th century evidence seems to come from the area later occupied by the church and includes a

8th century cross fragment. The date of the earliest church building is in doubt and the suggestion of an original 8th century timber phase appears somewhat dubious. Likewise the dating of the unfurnished burials found in association with the church is insecure. They can hardly be earlier than 8th century and are probably 10th or later, contemporary with the church.

Margaret Faulk remarked in a paper of 1974 that "*Where the people of 5-7C AD actually lived has still to be discovered*". This pertinent question remains largely unanswered but since that time, there has been progress made in finding settlement sites of this period in particular from the important projects at West Heslerton and Wharram Percy. The West Heslerton Project has unearthed over several seasons of excavation a large nucleated Anglian settlement lying on the spring-line at the base of the northern Wolds escarpment. It is situated next to its associated cemetery and contains post-built halls as well as grubenhauser and a range of evidence for a thriving agricultural and semi-industrial economy, covering 20 hectares and with suggestions of internal zoning. Powlesland has described it as a proto-type village and argues that it represents the norm in Anglo-Saxon settlement of England (1997). To the north, on lower lying ground, is a late Roman site, seemingly abandoned in the 4th or 5th century and maybe forming the predecessor for West Heslerton. The whole parish signals very loudly the tendency for settlements to shift between Romano-British and Medieval period along with the much stronger evidence for this phenomenon elsewhere in the country and from northern Europe. Along with several other sites it forms another concentration of Anglian occupation along the spring-line of the northern Wolds escarpment, and there can be no doubt that these remains represent permanent settlements.

Several of the field scatters from Wharram contain pottery from Iron Age, Romano-British and Anglian periods leading to the conclusion that these sites were continually occupied from later prehistory through to the 9th century AD. Hayfield postulates that the settlement pattern was a dispersed one of small regularly spaced farmsteads but with larger "villages" occupying the more favourable locations which later emerge as Medieval settlements. It is at these sites that Anglian material has been found, whilst the other smaller sites are usually restricted in date

to Romano-British period. The dispersed pattern has changed by the 11th or 12th century, when we have the regular pattern of Medieval village and open fields, as evident at Wharram Percy itself. However the Wharram evidence is viewed we clearly do not have any significant concentrations of population here anything like that which existed at West Heslerton and it is difficult not to agree with Hayfield that the pottery scatters represent nothing larger than small farmsteads or hamlets. Some of the pottery could even have derived from the occasional and temporary use of sites which were formerly permanent settlements. Without excavation we cannot assess the size or permanence or economic base of the community/settlement represented nor properly compare this data-set with that derived from several years extensive excavation on archaeological deposits protected by wind-blown sand, as at Heslerton. At Wharram the quantity of pottery is diminished in the Anglian period and there is very little associated evidence of industrial or craft activity, or indeed any structures. Fieldwalking on a scale as intensive as this would be expected to unearth some richer metalwork or craft related artefacts if they were there. Nonetheless if these scatters do represent Anglian settlements they are restricted to the main valleys and springheads.

For this reason we cannot, unquestioningly, transfer the density of pottery scatters found within Wharram Percy parish to the rest of the Wolds to the south and east, despite Hayfield's remarks for the Romano-British period that "*At present there is no reason to think that, in general terms, the Roman landscape at Wharram was any different from that of any other part of the Yorkshire Wolds*" (1987:5). These areas have fewer local sources of water than Wharram and are much less hospitable to permanent settlement. Unlike the Wharram area they do not have ready access to water or to low-lying land off the Wold-edge.

Apart from the Wharram sites, there are very few known Anglian settlements of any kind from the Wolds, the area instead containing mainly burial evidence. Very rich and diverse material has however come from Cottam/ Burrow and from Thwing, including metalwork and craftworking and industrial debris. They are both located on the southern watershed ridge of the Great Wold Valley alongside the Great Wold Dyke and amidst concentrations of major prehistoric monuments. The

Anglian site at Thwing lies within the Late Bronze Age enclosure and the Cottam site amidst a cluster of Bronze Age and Iron Age barrows. Clearly extraordinary settlements, they both date from the 8th and 9th centuries (Haldenby 1992; Manby 1982). They may have been deliberately situated on the high open wold and have more in common with the consumptive, production high status strongholds of the west and north in this period perhaps than they do with lowland settlements like West Heslerton.

The lack of settlement evidence from the Wolds interior, certainly before 8th and 9th century is remarkable and sets this area apart from the Wold-edges where are found concentrations of activity, both burial and settlement (often inferred) from an early post Roman date. The burial sites that do occur up on the dry chalk are also different from those on the edge in that they were almost all placed deliberately in prehistoric monuments. The Wolds burials are special and seem to have been made in these places not because of the proximity of a settlement but because of the existing importance of these places either topographically or through the presence of a barrow or linear earthwork. For this reason they do not need to infer the presence of permanent settlements in their vicinity. So to answer the question of where people are living, it seems most likely that most people are living on the Wold-edges, in areas with ready access to surface water, at springheads and alongside streams where too they have land locally available for a full range of livestock and crop-related agriculture. This does not of course include the wide expanses of dry chalkland that are found between Huggate and Kirkburn and Sledmere and Middleton as this landscape appears to have instead been used by these wold-edge communities sporadically for burial. Wold edge communities based along the western escarpment would have lived in the shelter of the scarp slope, towering above their fields and homes and lives. Its brooding presence, a reminder of the open wide expanse of wold beyond its steep climb. In this sense, it is difficult not to see the scarp-hill as a barrier, especially if communication routes were mainly along the base and the only reason to go up there was to graze sheep or gather timber or whins. Another reason to go up onto the wold with its ancient barrows, replete with stories and magic might of course have been to bury some of the local dead.

Archaeological evidence can be tantalisingly inadequate when using the records of a variety of site-specific discoveries made under widely different conditions, to reconstruct a generalised image of the character of any landscape. For now, we have taken the archaeology as far as it will go and will proceed to consider historical sources, hopelessly lacking in chronological relevance, for this period, but useful none the less to construct a framework of possibilities and a certain image of the later post-Roman Wolds, against which (imagined) landscape we can place the archaeology.

THE HISTORICAL LANDSCAPE

In the previous chapter we looked, in some detail, at the post-medieval and medieval landscape in each study area township. This area will remain the focus of attention, but it is also necessary, given the paucity of information that can be applied to the pre-Norman period, to cast the net wider, throughout the northern Wolds. The fundamental tenet of the approach adopted throughout the thesis has been the attempt to achieve a rounded and complete impression of the development of this landscape, through a close and intimate relationship with it. Therefore, in order to understand the character of the early medieval Wolds, we need to know as much as possible about the medieval and post-medieval landscape. It is this aim that stands behind the existence of the township profiles in chapter 5, and the application of the information they contain in this analysis of these historical sources. We are looking for echoes of an earlier landscape, preserved within its medieval successor and in so doing will obviously have to address the question of the origin of the medieval structure.

This section begins with a consideration of the historical sense of regionality in East Yorkshire at various levels. Ultimately this leads on to a look at the townships and parishes of the historical Wolds, and thoughts about the origins of the landscape of which they are part. Following this, we try and catch some of the vague resonances of the pre-Norman landscape, present in the historical record. This deals with the identification of pastures, long distance trackways and finally, territories or estates. The expansion of settlement onto the Wolds is then considered, especially through the light of place-names. This involves the foundation of open fields, the origins of townships and villages. Ultimately, the findings of the whole chapter are summarised and brought together in an attempt to reconstruct the true spirit of the place, in this period.

THE EAST RIDING OF YORKSHIRE: REGIONAL PERSPECTIVES

DEIRA

The historical emergence of the territory of East Yorkshire in the Early Medieval period can be traced to the *Historia Brittonum*, a compilation of northern British and Welsh sources probably brought together in the 9th century AD at St. David's, west Wales (Dumville 1989). It contains a genealogy of the kingdom of Deira, tracking back from King Edwin (reign: c 616-633), which suggests that the kingdom may have had origins in the 5th or 6th centuries AD. It was under Edwin, that Deira was united with Bernicia, to the north, to bring the Anglo-Saxon kingdom of Northumbria under a single dynasty. Doubtless Deira was located in East Yorkshire and bounded here by that region's natural limits, made up of the North sea, the Humber Estuary and the Vale of York marshes to the east, south and west respectively. The northern boundary is less easy to pinpoint and may lie on the river Tees or the North Yorkshire Moors (Blair 1947; Higham 1993). A more securely datable historical reference is found in Bede who also refers to Deira, locating the monastery at Beverley "*in the wood of the men of Deira*" (Bede *Ecclesiastical History* Book 5, Chapter 2). In fact, many of the references refer to the people of Deira rather than describing the kingdom by its territorial extent (Smith 1937).

Higham maintains that the name Deira shares the same British root as the river name Derwent, derived from *deru* for oak tree, and that the original identity of the Deiran people and kingdom lay in the Derwent Valley (Higham 1993). It is one of the few British names to survive in Anglian East Yorkshire and is therefore likely to be connected to a pre-Anglian people or region. Higham's etymological link is plausible, but his attempt to reinforce it by giving a pivotal place in Deiran geography to all historical Anglian places, situated remotely close to the Derwent, is pushing the case a bit far (Higham 1993:81).

RIDINGS, HUNDREDS AND WAPENTAKES

Yorkshire was probably recognised as a separate county during the 10th or 11th centuries and around that time divided into 3 parts, or Ridings, from the Scandinavian word *thrithing* meaning a third part (Hey 1991). As we have seen, the East Riding had long had its own identity, a function of the topographic character of the territory and its natural boundaries. By Domesday Book the Riding was divided into 18 hundreds, whose location and extent are easily plotted because of the detailed listing of their component vills in the Yorkshire Summary of Domesday Book (Darby and Maxwell 1962; Brooks 1986; Faull and Stinson 1986) (fig 115). However, the earliest record of the layout of boundaries of individual townships dates from the 19th century, and so we do not know if these boundaries remained unchanged over the previous 800 years. Elsewhere in Yorkshire the Ridings were divided into much larger, wapentakes, but similar territories are not recorded in East Yorkshire until 13th century. The East Yorkshire hundreds seem to represent a much more complicated system than the later wapentakes, as they contain many detached, dependent portions often at a distance from the parent hundred.

In other parts of the country, the terms wapentake and hundred were often used to refer to territories of the same character and extent, and in East Yorkshire there are similarities between the 2 systems. In three cases the later wapentakes appear to be made up of groups of three hundreds (i.e. Buckrose, Dickering and Holderness wapentakes). Ouse and Derwent wapentake more or less constitutes the detached holdings of three former hundreds, whereas the large wapentake of Harthill, divided into 4 divisions based on beacons, contains the territories of 9 former hundreds (Brooks 1986). The sense of the separateness of Holderness is already felt in 1086 when there is a reference to the "*men of Holderness*" in Domesday Book and another from 1166 refers to a wapentake of Holderness already by this date (Anderson 1934; Roffe 1991). Furthermore, the hundred of *Thoreshowe* is already described as a wapentake in Domesday Book (Faull and Stinson 1986). For Roffe, the wapentake structure is already present in East Yorkshire by 1086, the hundreds representing sub-divisions of wapentakes and the difference between East Yorkshire and the North and West Ridings, merely the result of a change in the

form of textual organisation in the Domesday Summary (Roffe 1991). In this way, the most radical administrative re-organisation would have occurred in the 10th century when the system was created and not after the Norman Conquest. Roffe sees the hundredal system as having been imposed on existing townships in 10th century (Roffe 1986).

Before the 10th century, political geography in Anglo-Saxon England was characterised by distinct groups of tribal peoples and larger kingdoms, rather than the patchwork of state-controlled administrative districts which existed by 11th century (Bassett 1989). The hundreds (and wapentakes) are not known before the 10th century and are largely seen as an innovation across Anglo-Saxon England and the Danelaw, for the “.....*adjustment of taxation, the maintenance of peace and order and the settlement of local pleas.*” (Stenton 1971:297). Although the variety that exists suggests they do not derive from a single act of state-imposed re-organisation (ibid) they both, usually, contain a central focal point or meeting place at which the court hearings or trials were held in front of what amounts to a popular council. Many names of both wapentakes and hundreds derive from these moot places, which are very often situated on barrows or beacons (Anderson 1934; Smith 1937; Gelling 1978) and in fact the name wapentake itself is derived from Old Scandinavian terms referring to the symbolic flourishing of weapons at these open air public meetings. Traditionally, the wapentake is associated with the Danelaw and the hundreds with Anglo-Saxon areas, but Stenton regards the terms wapentake and hundred as interchangeable. The changes that take place in East Yorkshire in 12th and 13th centuries when wapentakes emerge are, therefore, largely mirrored in the rest of Anglo-Saxon England. We will consider further in chapter seven how the use of ancient monuments for wapentake meeting places reflects the continuing reuse of the past in this landscape during the Medieval period.

THE WOLDS

THE EARLIEST SENSE OF REGION

The name Wolds itself derives initially from OE *wald* for 'wood'. However, this meaning of the word dates from the pre-Norman centuries. After the 11th century, the wald element is taken to refer rather to high open ground. As the Wolds here are not named until after Domesday Book, are we dealing with an area that had originally and recently been wooded or one named after its open character. The Yorkshire Wolds are not mentioned historically, as a distinct region, until the 13th century (Smith 1937) but the earliest recorded place-name containing the OE *wald* element in East Yorkshire is that of Wauldby from Domesday Book (Gelling 1984). Other early uses of *wald* include Hawold, which is first mentioned in 12th century, but it may occur in Domesday Book as *Holde* (Faull and Stinson 1986). Another early reference to the Wold appears in a charter of Newbald from 963, which records the location of the boundary as heading, "*from the street east right on up a wold*" (Farrer 1914; Long and Pickles 1993). It seems likely, as Gelling suggests (forthcoming), that the area later known as the Wolds did have a distinctive geographical identity and name in the pre-Norman period but that it is not until after the conquest that its sense of separateness becomes historically attested.

In the Middle Ages, the sense of the Wolds as a region, or 'pays', becomes stronger and better documented. Several villages are described as lying "*on the wolds*" from 13th century (Smith 1937), in the same way as settlements on the Wolds of Leicestershire and Nottinghamshire (Fox 1989) (fig 116). For example, we have Garton *in waldo* from 1208, Bainton *super waldas* from 1301 and *Brunbi* (Burnby) *sub walda* from 1160-80 (Burnby lying just off the Wolds, underneath the western escarpment) (Smith 1937). There is a marked concentration of these names on the edge of the eastern dip slope where the Wold-edge is not so clearly marked in topography as on the west and north. Notably, there are very few of these names recorded in the southern Wolds, south of Market Weighton.

"General references to the Wolds are not common" (Smith 1937:13) but they occur from 13th century. For example there is a 14th century reference to

waldas and *waldo* as well as a 16th century *Woolde* and 17th century *the Wolds* and *Yorks Wold* (Smith 1937). A third category of place-name containing the *wald* element appears later and contains names which refer to a share of the wold-land, often associated with a particular township. In their earliest form they are usually found without any qualifying place-name prefix. For instance East Heslerton Wold is known merely as *waldum* in 1180 and likewise, Huggate Wold is *waldo* in 1200-20 (Smith 1937). Only in Potter Brompton and Staxton do we find *waldam de Staxton* and *waldo Brumton* in 13th and 14th centuries (ibid). There are also examples of *Northwold* (Nunburnholme 13C), *Houstwald* (Mowthorpe 12C) and *Caldwald* (Warter 12C, now Cold wold). It would appear from this that the earliest sense of the Wolds was of an extended and unified region and not a collection of smaller township-based pieces. Only later does each piece become synonymous with its township. Indeed, to Gelling the name "*was only considered appropriate to districts*" (1984), so that names which used it as a second element were referring to smaller parts of a larger area of wold land. Therefore, the sense of the Wolds as a unified and separate district seems to pre-date the idea of a patchwork of townships each with its own share of the Wold.

Harold Fox writes, "*although the term is used in early written sources....in contexts which clearly imply woodland, later usage equally clearly indicates that a wold.....was thought of as countryside devoid of wood.*" (Fox 1989:81). After the 12th century, the word is used to refer to 'open high ground' and not the earlier sense of woodland, explained by some by the clearance of these high forested districts of trees (Gelling 1984). Everitt, on the other hand, doesn't accept that areas known as Wolds in the Middle Ages were so called because of their open lofty aspect in the 11th to 12th century, favouring instead that the Kentish situation where the Wolds indeed were forested in the early Middle Ages (Everitt 1977). In East Yorkshire things are different the only Domesday references to woodland come from the eastern edge of the southern Wolds between Scarborough and Ferriby on the Humber foreshore. Here too, presumably, lay the wood of the men of Deira, mentioned by Bede to have existed in the vicinity of Beverley. Elsewhere, on the Wolds there are very few place-names denoting the presence of woodland at the time these settlements were named in the Anglo-Saxon or Anglo-Scandinavian

period and all the evidence points to the fact that the Wolds had been largely cleared of wood for many centuries (Alison 1976; Eagles 1979).

Gelling suggests that the region name originated in the southern Wolds, in the Anglo-Saxon period, because of its extensive woodland and that the name was only later transferred to the northern Wolds to emerge in 12th century, in Hawold and others (1984). However, there are some problems with this suggestion. There are no actual references to the Wolds, as a district, before the 12th century, after which time the sense of the word is one of open high ground rather than woodland. Odd instances of the *wald* element, like for Wauldby, before this time could be referring to small pockets of woodland and need not be describing extensive areas. In addition, the overwhelming majority of Medieval *wald* names of all kinds come from the long cleared northern Wolds.

Settlements in the Great Wold Valley and those lying along the northern escarpment are not described as lying 'on the Wolds' until after 16th century. Before this time, these areas went by different names, which have since died out: *Cranedale* or *Grindalyth* for the southern slopes of the Great Wold Valley and *Hertfordlyth* for the southern slopes of the Upper Derwent Valley, along the northern escarpment of the Wolds (Smith 1937) (fig 116). Several settlements are recorded with the region names, *Grindalyth* and *Hertfordlyth* in 12th-14th century and the former survives in the modern village name, Kirby Grindalythe. The later records (after 16C) locate some of these places, on the Wolds instead and by this time the sense of separateness of these two areas seems to have been lost. The settlements recorded as part of the Wolds in the 12th-14th century lie mainly to the south of here on the high central Wolds between Warter and Hunmanby. Their distribution is commensurate with the zone of townships which lie entirely on the Wolds, and are often distinguished by their large size and 'blocky' shape (see below). At this time, the southern Wolds too, may have been treated as a separate region but if so, its name has been lost.

So, the sense of the Wolds existing as a separate region is slow to emerge from the historical record, but it appears to become stronger as the Middle Ages progress. Notably, the earliest references are of a unified district, which is later apportioned

between townships. It seems unlikely that it was known as Wold before 12th century, as before this date the sense of *wald* was one of woodland.

THE YORKSHIRE DOMESDAY BOOK

There are very few documentary sources for East Yorkshire before 1086 which are useful to the landscape historian. Unlike the south of England there is only one surviving pre-Norman charter, for Newbald and dated 963 (Farrer 1914; Long and Pickles 1993). Around the time of the Norman conquest, there is an explosion of information and with it the introduction of a whole range of new issues and problems. To historians, the age of Domesday Book marks the beginning of a new historical agenda and a new historiographical era, but does the Norman take-over actually mark an equally radical threshold of actual change in the Wolds landscape?

"Notwithstanding its awesome reputation as a full and definitive account of the realm, (Domesday Book) 'is incomplete, selective, often inaccurate, indecisive, inconsistent, even from time to time apparently capricious, in its choice of information' " (Roffe 1990; quoted in Palliser 1993:14). The Yorkshire edition of the "great book" is often more unreliable than for other areas because, according to David Roffe, it was produced first and a lot of the conventions adopted are experimental. A great deal has been written on the Yorkshire Domesday, its quirks and problems, most notably by Palliser (1993) and Roffe (1991;1990), but also for the East Riding by Brooks (1986). When using the information it contains, we must be fully aware of its limitations revealed by these latest studies, but we need not get too involved in the minutiae of textual analysis to which it has been subjected.

It does not record settlements but vills, generally seen as the basic units of land organisation which later emerge as townships in the Medieval landscape (Faull 1984). However it is really a record of landholding, in the form of manors or estates, which may or may not be coterminous with the vill in which they are located. Some vills and sometimes manors are described as sokeland or berewick, dependent on and owing service to a dominant manor. This convention has been widely regarded as the vestiges of an archaic territorial and tenorial structure and

peculiar to the Danelaw (see below) (Kappelle 1979). The inconsistencies of the Yorkshire text make it difficult to evenly reconstruct the 11th century landscape, but for some places mention is also made of woodland, churches and priests, mills and burgesses, with most villis being given a number of plough teams, a value assessment for taxation and an idea of the size of each holding measured in fiscal carucates (Faull and Stinson 1986; Brooks 1986; Darby and Maxwell 1962).

Many villis in Yorkshire are recorded as lying waste and without a specific taxable rate or assessment in 1086. Such a systematic reduction in population and taxable value for the 480 odd villis affected, has traditionally been put down to the devastation carried out by William 1 between 1069-70. The 'Harrying of the North' is recorded by many chroniclers and commentators of the time as being especially harsh in Yorkshire where William sought to seek his revenge and stamp his authority on a rebellious people. If Domesday Book is to be taken at face value, many villages and their fields had not recovered 17 years later. However, recent reassessments by Wightman and Palliser have questioned the extent of the devastation and its long term effects on the Yorkshire landscape (Wightman 1975; Palliser 1991). It would seem that a vill recorded in Domesday as waste need not have been deserted or devastated but could merely have been unsuitable for taxation. Alternatively it may have been assessed along with a different part of its manor. The experimental nature of the compilation of the Yorkshire text is seen as the most important factor in creating these complications (Roffe 1991).

The pattern of villis recorded in Domesday Book for East Yorkshire forms the basis of the Medieval settlement pattern and the vast majority of later Medieval townships are mentioned. References to woodland are restricted to the southern Wolds and the Vale of York, but then it is unclear whether un-managed woodland would have been recorded as it was probably not taxable. Meadowland is concentrated in Holderness for obvious environmental reasons, but there are odd references on the western edge of the Wolds as well as 100 acres at Sledmere, in the heart of the dry Wolds (Darby and Maxwell 1962). Villis recorded as waste or uninhabited have less significance in the light of the above discussion, but their distribution does seem to concentrate on the Wolds, as well as a small group in Howdenshire. This might say something about the way in which these areas were

regarded by the Domesday assessors or the ease with which information was gained here. Pocklington and Bridlington are held to have contained burgesses in 1086, a sign of some commercial importance for these places (fig 118). It is Beverley that, soon after, emerges as the pre-eminent commercial centre, a status it must have already enjoyed in 1086, but one which goes unrecorded (Brooks 1986). Other significant places are denoted by the number of sokelands and berewicks which are dependent upon them as well as slightly later references to mother churches, often situated at these estate centres such as Driffield, Burton Agnes and Hunmanby (see below).

TOWNSHIPS ON THE WOLDS

As noted above, the settlement pattern revealed by Domesday Book for the late 11th century is one of vills, or townships and not necessarily villages. The earliest detailed record of the extent of each township territory is the OS 1st edition 6" map (1854). Very often, the location of the mid 19th century boundaries are the same as much earlier 10th century charters, when these are available. The few surviving pre-Domesday charters for Yorkshire delineate territories which later emerge as townships, both surrounded by the same boundary lines (Faull 1974;1984; Long and Pickles 1993). To Faull, the townships are the basic building block of the Medieval landscape, units of land containing a range of economic resources and environmental niches to allow for a self-contained community territory. Needless to say there were alterations in the precise delineations of some boundaries, but on the whole they are seen as surviving intact. Despite the many examples of these township units in existence in 10th century, it is not at all clear at what time, or under what circumstances, they originated. In the rest of the country, there are as many studies suggesting a prehistoric or Romano-British date for some townships (i.e. Finberg 1955; Fowler 1976; Bonney 1976) as there are others demonstrating a definite post-Roman origin (Williamson 1986; Unwin 1988). This academic battle, between the devil's advocates and the day dreamers, shows that for us to look for generalised models of township origin would be foolish. It also

reveals that everyone has a view on the idea of continuity. Some go looking for it, whilst others do not want to find it. It is inevitable that some features of the landscape survived from the Romano-British period, along with a large proportion of the population, but this does not of course imply that agricultural practice, settlement nor the organisation of field systems and boundaries also remained unchanged. Change is inevitable and continuous and we should not assume it can be pinned down to easily defined thresholds, characterised by accepted historical watersheds. Furthermore, many claims have been made about continuity of territory which have not considered fully the complicated way in which landscape change takes place, with old features like roads, mounds and banks remaining physically present but with their meanings altered. To demonstrate the antiquity of the line of a township boundary, for instance (Bonney 1976), does not also illustrate the antiquity of the township as a territory, as this line could have previously existed as a trackway and only later become a boundary (Bassett 1989).

The claim that "*..most of the parishes of Medieval England and their subdivisions were in use in the Roman period*" (Taylor 1983:104) cannot be supported. However, equally extreme is the position of Tim Unwin who has almost reverted back to the spirit of the invasion hypothesis. He explains early Medieval settlement patterns and field systems with reference to the homelands of invading Anglo-Saxons and Scandinavians (1988), giving the indigenous British communities very little respect.

Townships emerge in the historical record in 11th century as a fairly homogeneous patchwork of territories. Individually, they are likely to originate in a range of different ways and at different times. The key to understanding township origins on the Wolds may well rest in the difference between the Wold-edge and the Wolds interior, an area of continuity and another of sporadic settlement and change. As we will see, those Wolds townships which have the strongest claims for an early post Roman origin, or earlier, are all found on the Wold-edge, whilst those in the drier and higher wolds are different and probably originate later.

The Newbald charter of 963 contains a boundary clause which delineates a 10th century estate, that is remarkably similar to the territory later occupied by the

combined townships of North and South Newbald, despite some textual discrepancies in the charter (Long and Pickles 1993). The result is a classic Wold-edge township, aligned across the grain of the topography, containing a combination of wet low-lying ground to the west and higher, drier Wold land to the east. The estate boundaries follow both natural, artificial and ancient features of the landscape, the intricacy and deviating course of those off the Wolds, to the west, contrasting with the direct and uniform pattern found in the eastern part of the township which lie on Wold land. Up on the Wold, the boundaries are using topographic features as reference points, such as trees, barrows and tracks whilst the eastern boundaries follow field headlands and property boundaries, highlighting the distinction between the open aspect of the Wold and the settled and managed character of the Wold-edge, around the settlement and stream.

How much earlier than the 10th century, this township territory may have originated is not clear but the presence of two Romano-British villa sites and a junction of two Roman roads, as well as concentrations of Anglian metalwork would suggest a long history of settlement alongside the springheads, by which the village lies. The long-standing integrated fieldwork project on the Wharram landscape has also recognised a long history of settlement in the townships that make up the later parish of Wharram Percy (Hayfield 1987). The continuity that Hayfield recognises in settlement sites and indeed in population, he would extend to the township boundaries and the agrarian community-based estates which they surround, giving the townships here at least a Romano-British origin (*ibid*). Herman Ramm too has suggested a Romano-British origin for the township of Langton evolving out of a villa-based estate (Ramm 1978). Another has been suggested for Rudston (Alison 1976) but neither example is based on anything other than the probable early Medieval use of boundaries also recognised as Romano-British. Alison suggests that the evolution of Romano-British estates into Medieval townships is a common feature on the Wolds, but acknowledges it has not yet been properly demonstrated (*ibid*). It is strongly suggested that some areas of the Wold-edge and Great Wold Valley enjoyed continual settlement throughout the first millennium AD, but that is not to say that the rest of the Wolds did too. Nor does it imply that centuries of settlement in the same general area did not bring

with them many changes in agrarian practice, territorial organisation, etc. But it is in certain environmentally favoured areas usually at springheads on the Wold edge (Newbald, Rudston, Wharram Percy, Driffield, etc.) that concentrations of Romano-British and Anglian archaeological material are found (Faull 1974;1984; Alison 1976) and see above.

The pattern of townships, in the study area, and the location of boundaries has been reconstructed but there remain many anomalies and oddities. Several examples of very small townships, of varying status, exist as well as detached portions and late changes to boundaries. The 19th century picture is very much a rationalisation of centuries of change to deal with alterations in rural economy, land tenure, lordship and rural society during the Middle Ages, which affected the division of the landscape into districts. Late (and post) Medieval de-population accounts for several townships which no longer have permanent settlements such as Cottam, Cowlam, Eastburn and Southburn, Holm Archiepiscopie and Croom. Others like Hawold, Burrow and Greenwick have much more obscure histories, their township status only vaguely emerging into historical record. With no evidence of permanent settlement, they may have pre-conquest origins as detached pastures, dependent on Wold edge settlements (see chapter 5).

A cursory glance at the layout of township boundaries is enough to recognise a certain rationality in their arrangement. In the study area, the pattern is governed by a series of long east-west boundaries. One of these, the Sledmere Green Lane, acts as boundary to many townships and was clearly a line in the landscape against which they were organised. Another is the Tibthorpe Green Lane which originally formed the northern boundary also to Hawold and then joined with another major north-south boundary between North Dalton and Warter. Together they form a continuous boundary containing within it a collection of townships and actually separating Hawold from Huggate. This unit is centred on the tight group of small townships around Kirkburn, including Eastburn, Southburn and Battleburn, the latter now seen as a 13th century creation. They are a collection of settlements clustered around springs and with some of the earliest Anglian names in East Yorkshire (Gelling forthcoming) (fig 88-9). They lie close to Driffield and were, in fact, all sokelands or berewicks of that parent manor in Domesday Book (Faull and

Stinson 1986). Considerable and concentrated archaeological evidence for Romano-British and Anglian occupation also exists for this area (Faull 1974;1984; Watkin 1983; Eagles 1979). This includes some very early Anglian activity at a late Romano-British settlement from Elmswell (fig 111; 2). It is tempting to see this area as continually settled from Romano-British period and acting as the settlement core from which the Wold land to the west was organised and farmed. The other place-names in the group, to the west up on the Wolds, are later, most being Anglo-Scandinavian, but there is also a difference in the form of the townships. Boundaries on the Wolds for Tibthorpe, North Dalton and Bainton are sweeping and direct, fitted in between the long distance boundaries, lines which were probably trackways before the formation of the townships (see below). The boundaries around the 'burn' villages, on the other hand, are intricate and deviating taking care to avoid existing field boundaries, lanes, property boundaries. In short, by the time that township boundaries were fixed, the area around Eastburn was occupied, whilst the Wold land to the west seems to have been more open and uncluttered. Settlement had continued on the wet Wold-edge around the springs from Romano-British, but the Wolds were probably more open. The Wolds may have lain largely unoccupied for some centuries, leading to an expansion at a time when new settlements were given Scandinavian names. At this time, the only strong and enduring features of the landscape on the Wolds were long distance tracks which were then used as township boundaries (fig 88-9).

This is a tentative model, derived from a small area and restricted range of evidence, but we will go on to outline other strands which back it up. In doing so, we should expect to see a marked difference between the wet Wold margins and the central Wolds in the pre-Norman period. This difference becomes less marked as the end of the first millennium approaches. We should also expect the pre-Norman Wolds to be largely uninhabited and open and for evidence to exist of encroachment of permanent settlement onto the Wolds from the edges probably during the Anglo-Scandinavian period.

Within the study area, topography plays a large part in the pattern of townships. Some are made up of topographic territories consisting of a self contained network of dry valleys (Warter, Cottam), whilst many more use topographic features as

boundaries. The blocky townships of the eastern wolds share a conformity, particularly in their boundaries (Wetwang, Garton, Tibthorpe, Kirkburn, North Dalton, Bainton). All are bounded on north and south by long distance boundaries, which they share with several other townships (fig 88-9; 119). To the east and west they are bounded by the direct sweeping lines of open field edge. The course of many of these recalls the reverse 'S' profile of lands in the open field, implying that the formation of the boundary was either contemporary with or later than the creation of the open field. Where this kind of township contains a complicated boundary, it is one which borders on the Wold-edge, such as Kirkburn or Bainton, or even Warter. The distinctiveness of the group of townships around the springheads of the river Hull has already been mentioned above and it reinforces the difference that exists between the Wolds and the Wold-edge.

In the dissected Wolds, it is unusual to see block-shaped townships presumably because of the tendency for boundaries to follow the irregular winding lines of the dry valleys. The group of small townships including Fimber, Fridaythorpe, Towthorpe and Burdale are not each bounded on north and south by long distance boundaries but they are as a group, suggesting some division of a once larger unit. The boundaries between Fridaythorpe, Fimber and Burdale are demonstrably different and may be late creations. Huggate and Warter stand out as large and rather anomalous in this context, in a similar way to Sledmere which like Huggate is a predominantly pastoral township in the Middle Ages. It is possible to conjecture that the former territory of Holm Archiepiscopie extended south into Huggate originally creating another block township which conforms to regularity of its easterly neighbours. This territory would then include some the *holm* names referred to in the 12th and 13th century. However, the references to these names describe them as lying in Huggate and do not mention Holm which was still inhabited at this time. Historically its ties are always with Wetwang, to the east.

The character of detachment is also different on the Wold-edge as here we find what has been referred to as "interlaced" holdings, a complicated patchwork of small often arable holdings, intermingled between neighbouring townships (Ecclestone 1993). Interlaced holdings are found where boundaries were pushed through areas, which already had a long history of occupancy and ownership, and

the resulting deviating line of the boundaries stands in contrast to the broad sweeping lines of boundaries on the Wolds. This kind of detachment occurs between Little Driffield and Driffield (see chapter 5) as well as on the south-eastern Wold-edge between Hotham and Newbald. The Newbald charter mentions acres in the arable fields by the village, on the western boundary, some of which are intermingled with the arable holdings of the neighbouring township of Hotham (Long and Pickles 1993). These detached pieces survived intact to be recorded on the 1854 OS 6" maps and their occurrence here has reinforced the antiquity of the western boundary by 10th century. On the Wolds, however, detachments are usually isolated areas, as for instance at Greenwick and in some senses at Wetwang Rakes. Little Driffield too has a small detachment in the pastures of Driffield. This kind of detachment is likely to have arisen in a pastoral context where territories with little dry pasture of their own were given access to outlying portions of Wold land (Ford 1976). To what extent these distant dependencies preserve the rights of formerly more extensive territories, which cut across the Wold and Wold-edge is not yet clear (but see below). However, the different character of land tenure between open field arable and extensive pasture is evidently influencing the extent and layout of township holdings. The same principle may well be evident in the detached portions of hundreds which are recorded in Domesday Book, as in the cases of Turbar, Huntow and Burton which are each based on the Wold-edge or coast, but also contain detached portions of high Wold land (Brooks 1986; VCH 1974;1976) (fig 115).

Away from the study area, the pattern of East Yorkshire townships is not regular, but neither is it entirely random. There are a large number of strip-like townships always arranged in groups and often sharing long distance continuous boundaries which define their common ends. Invariably, these groups lie, as in the case of Newbald, on the Wold-edge and contain a range of land type including dry Wold land and wet meadow and sometimes marsh. The southern Wolds is made up almost entirely of this kind of township and there are other groups along the spring line of the northern Wold escarpment, including West Heselton (Powlesland 1986), as well as the south-facing eastern dip slope between Carnaby and Elmswell. A further group lies just off the eastern dip slope along the western side

of the river Hull and another is spread out along the Great Wold Valley, each township cutting across the topographic grain and centred on the stream. Strip townships like these are in a good position to take maximum advantage of the range of environmental niches locally available and thus, in theory, allow for communities to be as self sufficient as possible. The uniformity of plan within each group also raises the question of planning. It seems apparent that the townships within each group were created at the same time, possibly carved out of a pre-existing, larger territory (fig 87; 120).

Whatever the circumstances of their origin, they present a marked contrast to the patchwork of block townships which characterise the interior of the Wolds and to the much more random pattern, found in the north-west and western Wold-edge.

PARISHES

Obviously not all Domesday vills are today represented as villages and townships. Many became depopulated in the Middle Ages, which either led to the amalgamation of townships or meant that the township retained its territorial identity, but without a nucleation of settlement. Wharram Percy is a good example where the Medieval parish was, by the later Middle Ages, made up of three depopulated townships and one containing an occupied settlement, Thixendale. However, the parish church lay in the deserted settlement at Wharram Percy (Beresford and Hurst 1990).

The relationship between township and parish is complicated, certainly by the time the two institutions are properly recorded they have become confused as similar kinds of territory and are often coterminous. In origin, however they are widely different. The work of Blair and Morris has gone a long way towards making sense of the 7th and 8th century origins for large minster-based parishes which are later rationalised between 10th and 12th centuries through the building of a series of proprietary parish churches, forming the basis for the Medieval parish structure (Blair 1988; Morris 1989; Roffe 1986). Many of the early parochial territories have been related closely to secular estates as minster churches were often founded close to royal vills. Pre-10th century references to minster churches are common in

the south but lacking in the north and Danelaw. For East Yorkshire, significant mother churches only emerge historically by 12th century and so it is not easy to assess their pre-Norman origins (Blair 1988). However, Morris has suggested that the strength of the Norman record here is great enough to outweigh limitations surrounding its late date and the likelihood is that many Anglo-Saxon minster parishes existed in Yorkshire to be recorded later in the 12th century. Some mother churches of 12th century are also centres of extensive sokes reinforcing the point about the relationship between parochiae and early secular estates. (Morris 1989). For East Yorkshire we have 12th century references to churches of superior status, at places like Hunmanby, Burton Agnes, Driffield, Kilham, Weaverthorpe, Beverley, Pocklington, Patrington (fig 118). By this time though any sense of their former superior status is obscure and archaic as they are now part of a patchwork of new parishes, each parish territory acting as a source of revenue for its church. Significantly, the parishes that surround some of the suggested mother churches, such as Pocklington and Bridlington, are much larger than their neighbours, another indirect indication of their former superior status (i.e. Alison 1976). Having established the existence of early pre-Norman minsters here, we will return to this below when it is time to reconstruct the character of pre-Norman territorial organisation.

THE PASTORAL WOLDS: A COMMON TREASURY FOR ALL?

"In the more densely wooded regions of England, traces of use for grazing in pre-conquest times..... are not hard to find. In the wolds, by contrast, which later underwent an arable revolution the traces of a pastoral people are fainter, as we might expect." (Fox 1989: 85). Here, Fox attempted to show that the Wolds of the Midlands had traditionally been occupied by pastoral communities, a feature which gave them their name and, although he used very few examples from East Yorkshire, he considered the Yorkshire Wolds to have enjoyed a similar history (ibid). So, the contraction of permanent settlement off the Wolds in the post Roman period need not be classed as abandonment of lands, but a change in predominant land-use and a shift from permanent to temporary settlement. Many of

the characteristics of the Midland Wolds are shared here and, in particular, the difficulties in recognising the pre-conquest pastoral heritage. This is well concealed beneath the homogeneous Medieval landscape, created by the radical agrarian changes of the Anglo-Scandinavian or immediate post-conquest period. *"Countrysides in which, between the arable lands, there were pastures supporting a scattering of trees with larger stands here and there, made ideal, well sheltered grazing grounds."* (Fox 1989:85)

For the Medieval period, these areas are often overwhelmingly arable and open fields are extensive, ranging from boundary to boundary in very long lands. In East Yorkshire some Wold townships are entirely given over to arable, forcing them to drive livestock long distances for water in dry season, or the maintenance of detached portions of pasture (Harris 1951;1969; Alison 1976). A few, however were still predominantly pastoral and the 12th century charter evidence refers to extensive rights of pasture, in both open field after harvest or during fallow periods, as well as in specialised pasture areas. Presumably within each township the number of animals kept depended a bit on the extent of available specialist pasture. For predominantly arable townships, however, use could also be made of fallow open fields and the rotation system could be altered accordingly. The adoption of a two field rotation, for instance, would allow for more grazing land available in the township than a three or four field rotation. The extent of Medieval pasture in the study area is mapped in fig 121. It is by no means a full record as we are relying often on inadequate and late evidence. You might expect Sledmere and Warter to have contained more extensive pastures, for instance, but these have not been recorded, if they did exist. However, it is clear from the map that each township did not contain a regular amount of pasture, neither in terms of size nor location. We are reliant on late sources for these reconstructions and must be cautious.

Designated pasture areas are contiguous between townships, as if they have been carved out of formerly more extensive areas, which now cut across township boundaries. In the same way as the long distance boundaries, these pastures pre-date the townships as discrete territories. In fact, all four main concentrations are found alongside or on both sides of long distance boundaries. The pasture of

Tibthorpe Wold lies across the boundary from Thorndale, a pasture of Wetwang and adjoins Hawold and Blanch, areas of later intake and probably former open pasture, especially in the light of Blanch's former status as shieling. The townships of Garton, Driffild and Elmswell are fringed on the north by contiguous areas of Medieval pasture, which may once have extended into Cottam also. Here though the southern part of the township was arable in the Middle Ages, but there are still links with the other townships. Best, for instance, claimed in 17th century to enjoy rights of common in Cottam field (Woodward/Best 1985), a claim which possibly recalls the former status of this area as a discrete pasture. Another concentration exists to the west of Huggate, where its own specialist pastures lie alongside those of Greenwick (detached from Bishop Wilton), Wetwang Rakes (intercommoned between Wetwang and Bishop Wilton) and Fridaythorpe Cowpasture (fig 121-2). To the west of here is Millington Lings and a range of very suggestively pastoral place-names like Manna Green and the Green Wold south of Wetwang Rakes. North of the High Street too there are probably also remnant pastures at Pluckham, Wayram, Fordham. A further more tentative remnant is suggested at Cowlam where Croom Wold lies alongside a string of pastures belonging to the Gypsy Race villages. Here too are two small areas enclosed by linear earthworks which may have been carved out of the larger pasture, like others in the west. There is nothing like it on the Wold-edge, except for small areas of wet meadow by the streams.

Away from the study area, the pattern is repeated in an even more obvious way. Groups of strip townships lying straddled across the Wold-edge or slopes of the Great Wold Valley seem to have shared large areas of woldland as pasture in the Medieval period. It is this sharing up of the Wold that leads to the change in sense from one unified region to township sized pieces, that is reflected in the later place-names (fig 120). Again, we get the strong impression that the large Wold pastures came first, strip townships arranged to physically divide the land which previously these communities had shared under an extensive system of intercommoning. If that was the case, the act of township planning would be part of a radical re-design of landscape, agriculture and society. In the Wold edge areas which contain groups of strip townships the relationship between these settlements and their Wold

pastures is a long held one. However, in the study area it is suggested that the pastures pre-date the settlements in the high central Wolds. Encroachment seems to have taken place onto the extensive Wold pasture by settlements, in the same way that cottages encroach onto a common or Green, leaving only a small area of pasture which was then shared out amongst surrounding townships. Such encroachment may have involved the erosion of common rights to an extensive pasture and must take place gradually over time and through a number of stages. It is not a uniform process but random and sporadic so that some townships are left with no designated pasture. According to Fleming there is a common pattern to the loss of commons, involving the informal appropriation of tracts of land by specific communities followed by more formal appropriation involving demarcation and enclosure. Harris refers to the practice of common by vicinage where, "*...the waste ground of two townships lye together, and noother hedge nor pale betweene to kepe their catel asonder, so that the catel of one township goth over his meire or bounde into the waste ground of the other towne (sic)....*" (Fitzherbert 1539, quoted in Harris 1951:32). This would describe well a transitional phase in the process of encroachment and enclosure of the common, before fixed township boundaries are created. Indeed, Harris also refers to the late Medieval practice on the Wolds of shepherds patrolling the un-marked township boundaries, keeping flocks within each township territory (Harris 1969). Many of the pasture zones contain discrete areas of land enclosed by linear earthworks as at Greenwich, Wetwang Rakes, Aldro, Vessey Pasture, Burrow. These enclosures may be early Medieval in origin, even if they do use more ancient earthworks but add to them with new ones.

The remnant pastures that form part of the Medieval agrarian scene, having been divided up into township-portions, are a reflection of the later stages of the encroachment of permanent settlement onto the Wolds. In the earlier stages, they would have been larger in extent, and settlement in this area would perhaps have been represented by small communities, temporarily based in the wolds pastures and probably on a seasonal basis. There are some place-names here in *erg*, which indicate this practice as the *erg* element is the Old English word for shieling (M.Higham 1978). The three remaining examples on the Wolds are all found in the

high central Wolds, in two cases close to the north-south watershed, an area which was one of the latest to be "colonised". Argam lies on the high north-east wolds next to Burton Fleming, to which it is sokeland in Domesday Book. This dependent relationship may have begun with Argam acting as a pastoral shelter for the inhabitants of Burton Fleming. Other examples from East Yorkshire are found, in well known marginal areas, which were also colonised late, as at Holme on Spalding Moor and in the eastern margins of Leconfield township in the wetlands of the river Hull. All forms of the name are plural, either dative or nominative (Arram and Arras) and two are Domesday vills. There are also examples of seasonal settlement names on the Nottinghamshire and Leicestershire Wolds, where Fox regards them as representing, "*.....earlier forms of pastoral organisation when whole territories, later to become townships, within the wolds, were used more exclusively, and perhaps seasonally, as grazing grounds.*" (Fox 1989:87)

HOWES, BARROWS, HILLS AND PASTURES

I started to wonder about 'howe' names when I realised that there were so many on the Wolds but so few actually forming the root of settlement-names. They are a problematic group, despite the ease with which place-name commentators may attribute them to a nearby barrow. First of all, it is very difficult to differentiate between the OE *hoh*, meaning a heel-shaped hill or spur of land and the OScand *haugr*, meaning either a hill or barrow. The distinction between the two depends on the ending of versions of the name, its topographic context or the linkage with OE or OScand compounds, but it remains true that "*ON haugr cannot always be distinguished from OE hoh*" (Gelling forthcoming). With regard to the Yorkshire Wolds, she argues that the balance of probability seems strongly in favour of *haugr* for most of the names with endings in how or howe, etc. *Hoh* is purely a topographic term and not used for barrows, and in the south of England and the Midlands where it is most common, there are two more specialised terms for tumulus, *hlaw* and *beorg* (low and barrow) (Gelling 1984). In the Danelaw it is accepted that the normal term for barrow is the Scandinavian version (*haugr*), with

very few alternatives. It is enough for Smith (1937) that "*there are many tumuli in the area*" to opt for that translation but, on the Wolds, of course you are never far from a prehistoric burial mound. There are many famous monuments on the Wolds which contain the *haugr* element in their name and are clear unequivocal examples of its usage as barrow, i.e. Duggleby Howe, Willy Howe, Kemp Howe, etc. Again, the sensitive and self-conscious relationship between local people, the past and the landscape is evident. But can all the examples of howe names refer also to barrows and if so is this meaning constant? After all, it is undoubted that the place-name element *haugr* could also refer to a natural hill (Gelling 1984). It is in this sense that some howe names should perhaps be taken.

In a land grant of between 1157-70 is the phrase, "*...all Hornhouwald, namely from the land of Matthew and the bounds of Thoraby to the bounds of Sledmere and Towthorpe*" (EYC 1084). The same charter refers also to the "*.. land of Houstwald*" (ibid) and both lie in the township of Mowthorpe in the Great Wold Valley, although they do not carry that township's name. They seem to refer to the higher parts of the southern valley slopes, on the edges of the township and name portions of this pasture land with the word *wald*. If we accept that the *wald* element here is not referring to forest, but to open high pasture, then it must have been coined recently (see above), or else added to an existing name. Only the former contains a 'howe' element as Houstwald is derived from *austr*, meaning east (Smith 1937).

The two hundreds of Huntow and Toreshowe, in the northern wolds, also contain a 'howe' element and like many other hundreds in England, look as if they have been named from their meeting place, centred on a prehistoric barrow, using *haugr* (Anderson 1934; Smith 1937). For Toreshowe (Thor's mound) it would fit perhaps to name a barrow after a major deity, expressing mythology in the landscape at a time before these legends were written down. Another hundred, Turbar is derived from *Thor* and *beorg* and can be translated in the same way. However, there may be a different meaning behind the hundred of Huntow. There are many references, in the adjacent townships of Buckton, Bridlington and Grindale to an area of common pasture known consistently as Huntow and the name has survived in the modern landscape in several examples. "*The hundred gave its name to an area of*

common pasture stretching into several townships and the name still survives.." (VCH 1974:3) (fig 123). The old pasture seems to have cut across the adjoining township boundaries, in the same way as the pastures mentioned above and this area is again one made up of blocky shaped townships. In each of the townships there are common pastures called Huntow, as for Bridlington, "*The common pastures called Huntow and Old Moor in 1771 lay in the extreme north-west, high on the wold, contiguous with pastures known as Huntow in neighbouring townships.*" (VCH 1974:47) It is assumed that the hundred was named after a barrow and then gave its name to the pasture, but equally the pasture could have been named after the hill on which it stood and in turn have given its name to the hundred. Equally feasibly a prominent and named barrow may become synonymous with the high waste ground on which it stands so the name is used both for barrow and pasture. Whatever explanation lies behind the name, however, it is again clear that this area of pasture known as Huntow pre-dates the townships which later divide it up amongst themselves.

There are many other examples of names in 'howe' which appear to have been used at an early stage to describe areas of high pastureland, land which fits the characteristics of what is generally known later as wold. If a barrow name can be extended to describe the territory of a hundred it may also be possible for it to describe a pasture zone. The status of the territory of Burrow, later part of Cowlam, is not clear in the Medieval period as we have seen in chapter 5. It is a small territory, but retained separate township status into the post-Medieval period. Its name is first evident in the 13th century, as *Burrehou* and Smith attributes the 2nd element to *haugr*, clinching the deal with the phrase "*there are several tumuli here*". In fact Willy Howe and Kemp Howe are close by. In Kilham, two miles to the east, there was another area of common pasture also called Burrow or *Bir Howe* and recorded from as early as 1362 as demesne pasture. It is probably the same area that is recorded in 1293 as the 200 acres of pasture belonging to the manor (VCH 1974). It is said to have lain between the fields of Langtoft and Kilham, again in a marginal location straddling the boundaries of 2 townships. Again we have a 'howe' name being used to describe, not a single barrow, but a more extensive area of high ground.

Middleton-on-the-Wolds is referred to in 12th century in another land charter, "*territorio de Midelton super Mardererhau*" (in the territory of Midelton on *Madererhau*) (EYC 1101). It is not until 1303 that a reference describes the village as lying, *super le wald* and it looks as if Mardererhau is being used in the 12th century, as the name for what is later known as the wold. It is another name probably derived from *haugr* and originally meaning barrow, but used in the sense of a fairly extensive territory or area within which lies the township or village of Middleton. The physical sense of Middleton lying *on* the Mardererhau also recalls the later sense of places lying 'on the Wolds'. Smith suggests that it derives from a personal name *Maynard* and *haugr*, referring to two examples of *Maynardhau* in this area in 13th century (1937). On the boundary between Middleton and Londesborough is another, *Lothenhaues*, now lost but named after the same root as Londesborough itself. Two nearby areas then are now lost but were probably hills or extensive areas of woldland and probably named after individuals, Maynard and Lodinn. The connection between these waste pastures, lying away from settlements, and barrows is a strong and recurrent feature strengthening the idea that the barrow name can be translated and extended to describe the wider area on which the barrow stands. The impression gained is that the period before the Norman conquest, on the Wolds, is coloured by a patchwork of named areas of pasture. These are often named with the element *haugr* and later on, the term *wald* is used. By the time they are documentarily recorded these territories are effectively out of use and are only remotely and obliquely described.

We began with a name which combined a 'howe' element with *wald*, *Hornhouwald*. There is another which does the same, *Houwald*, later known as Hawold. From what we have argued the two can be seen as tautologous, the wold element replacing the earlier sense of howe as hill or high open pasture ground. Houwald is seen by Smith as derived from *haugr* and *wald* and again he makes the point that "*there are numerous tumuli about*". Like Burrow, it is a territory of small size, whose status is unclear, but strong enough to be seen as a separate township throughout most of the Middle Ages. There is no evidence of a definite nucleated settlement, here, apart from a monastic grange. Hawold also lies in the zone of marginal land on the main Wolds watershed, argued above to have been

the last area to be colonised and portioned out to specific townships. Like Burrow, we might have here the last vestige of a formerly much more extensive pasture zone which was named, along with several others on the high chalkland, after a barrow or group of barrows, and which was gradually divided up between nascent townships, spreading up from the long settled Wold-edge. In its odd way the Houwald and the Burrow retained some sense of independence and never were completely subsumed. These small vestigial areas of the original extensive commons retaining the names of the once much larger area.

Another may exist in the now depopulated township of Rowley, near Walkington, in the southern Wolds. The township was very small and sat on the high Wolds, alongside extensive common pastures of Little Weighton and Riplingham. The name has been translated as *ruh* and *hlaw* meaning 'rough hill' (Smith 1937), a name also mentioned in the Newbald charter. It has been interpreted, by some of the charters' earlier analysts, as the name for the extensive waste land beyond the boundaries of Newbald, on the top of the Wolds, the same area as Rowley's adjacent commons in the Middle Ages (Long and Pickles 1993). The *hlaw* element is probably here, being used for 'hill', meaning that the rough hill was once the name for extensive waste or pasture lying outside the Wold-edge settlements. This eventually gave its name to the small high Wold township of Rowley, which was carved out of it.

Hawold now lies in the township of Huggate, a name whose etymology is difficult but which is generally held to be related to *haugr* and *gata* meaning 'road or pass to the tumuli' (Smith 1937; Gelling 1984). If the sense for *haugr* could equally be 'hill' or 'upland pasture', it would fit with a Wold-edge centred settlement pattern which treated the higher ground as pasture, distant from permanent settlement. There is even a road here that would fit the bill as the ancient link between Wold and Wold-edge (see below) and under this scheme, the road would have existed before the settlement to which it gave the name.

The names in 'howe', so far discussed, have either become townships or else, were recorded early, are now lost and seem to refer to areas of high ground used as pasture, rather than merely as barrows. There are other minor names which do the

same, although some are recorded late and often their first mention is on OS 6" 1854. Drinkroe Wold and Clitheroe Wold are part of the pasture that belonged to Drifffield in the Middle Ages, within a pasture zone shared between the neighbouring townships. With endings in -oe, both could well be derived from *hoh*, but without any earlier forms it is difficult. Another lies in the strongly pastoral area by Wetwang Rakes and Greenwick. It is called Mannow Green on an 18th century map and later known as Manna Green. The Green Wold lies close by on OS 6" and this area is seemingly the destination of the Green Lane.

There is a good record of minor names for the townships of Warter and Hunmanby and many of these we know to contain howe elements because their early forms are recorded in 12th and 13th century. In Warter, there are some names probably referring to barrows as Linghowes and Middleton Howes but equally there are those which could refer to 'hill' or 'piece of wold between valleys'. Modern Keasey was originally *Kesehou*, Thorny Bush was *Thornehou* and there is also Stonehow, as well as other names for hill in *dun* and *wald* (Smith 1937). Hunmanby is mentioned in a 13th century grant and names like *Stainhou*, *Grethou*, *Linghou* and *Spelhou* occur, all probably barrows (EYC 434). There is also the name *Caldhouberw*, made up of 'Cold/exposed', *haugr* and *beorg* and is thus a tautology using two forms of hill. Another name, mentioned in this charter for Hunmanby, is *Caldhouscore* which seems to suggest that the root for both, *Caldhou* should stand alone and is early: another high pasture, perhaps. Incidentally, the element *cald* is also used in conjunction with wold in other parts of the Wolds (i.e. Cold Wold, Huggate).

Another frequent example of the hill tautology is the name Howe Hill, seen to refer to barrows in Eastburn and Sunderlandwick. At Kirby Underdale, Uncleby and Warter it may be describing the steep scarp slope of the western Wolds, a feature which is otherwise known as cliff or the Hill (VCH 1974). On the northern edge, the scarp is usually called the brow. Another common group are names in Spell howe, meaning a 'speech mound' or 'meeting place' often forming the central focus of a hundred. Examples occur at Speeton, Folkton, Hunmanby and as Spellowgate in Elmswell and Drifffield. Craike Hill or *Crakhou* should also be seen in the same sense (see chapter 5), but actually as the meeting place of the whole

Riding. Finally, there are a few settlement names containing the howe element as at Holme on the Wolds (eastern wolds) and Houghton (western edge).

So we have a wide range of examples of place-names in *haugr*, which seem to have been used consistently to describe high pastures, scattered throughout the Wolds. They are only recorded by names which have survived after their demise, once these pastures have become swallowed up by expanding townships. They come from a period when the word wold is not being used but, later on, it is added to some to create the tautologous Houwald. It is likely therefore that these pastures belong to a period before the Norman conquest.

GREEN LANES AND DROVEWAYS

Many Wolds archaeologists and topographers have discussed the antiquity of some roads and trackways and have all suggested that the long primary township boundaries preserve the line of pre-Norman roads (Phillips 1855; Cole 1888; 1899; Mortimer 1905; Alison 1976; VCH 1974; 1976; Hayfield 1987). As we have seen, Margary considered these long stretches of boundary as Roman roads but some are now accepted as prehistoric in origin, a claim originally made by Cole and Mortimer in the late 19th century. Hayfield has given some attention to the important east-west ridgeway that passes through Wharram parish and then heads for Sledmere and beyond, eastwards to the coast. It has long been seen as a prehistoric way (i.e. Mortimer 1905; Hayfield 1987), giving long distance access to the coastal flint sources on the east coast near Filey and crossing the wetlands of the Vale of York over the gravel of the Escrick moraine. Parts of its length are lined with barrows and recent fieldwork at Vessey Pasture has revealed early prehistoric flintwork around a dried up pond, alongside the ridgeway (Hayfield and Wagner 1995) (fig 122; 124-5). The course of this road across the parish of Sledmere is obscure, probably due to the adaptation of boundaries between Sledmere and Croom, but it can be traced to the east again, as High Street, lying on the ridge, followed by township boundaries and shadowed by the major linear earthwork, Great Wold Dyke (see chapter 3 and 7). East of Sledmere, High Street has been a major road for some centuries, appearing on 18th century maps as such,

but this status has not been bestowed on the ridgeway to the west which carries a right of way and the township boundary for much of its course.

To the south of Sledmere runs the Green Lane, another long distance primary township boundary followed intermittently by stretches of track/right of way but no longer a major road. Maps of the 18th century mark its course as an important route and it was probably a coach road then, as in places it is still referred to as York Lane or York Road. Like the High Street, it has also been seen as prehistoric in origin and for much of its course is aligned on a linear earthwork (Cole 1888; Pickles 1993). In several places, the 18th century road diverges from the township boundary as the latter might follow linear earthwork or the side of a steep dry valley. The boundary is more likely to follow the original line whilst the divergences were probably made in 17th to 18th century, when the trackway was made into a coach road (fig 55-6). It is the straight regularity of the Kilham Woldgate and Cottam Warren coach road that makes them appear Roman, when in fact this stretch was probably an 18th century creation. The Green Lane between Sledmere and Wetwang was also a 17th -18th century rationalisation, but following more or less the original course. Here, the boundary and linear earthwork take a slightly different line from the straighter road which is now Green Lane (fig 126-7). In the modern landscape these 2 long distance trackways are often the most ancient visible physical features, as broad grassy tracks, winding, sometimes wooded and lined by linear earthworks and barrows. Even though long stretches are no longer roads of any significance they still carry rights of way, rights which have a very long history in many cases. However, because of the radical changes to the Wolds landscape at enclosure it is very difficult to identify a track as ancient from an examination on the ground. Very rarely do these tracks appear today as sunken ways and most are preserved only by a right of way along the edge of a field, marked now by a hawthorn hedge, 150 years old (see chapter 7).

We have seen above that the pattern of township boundaries in this area is based very much on these two east-west tracks but there are others here too. The Hawold Bridle Track is now a right of way, followed by township boundaries and running east-west across the Wolds from Millington to Kirkburn, both villages located on spring concentrations on the Wold-edge. It does not follow a classic

ridgeway position but the bottom of a broad valley, Deep Dale which cuts into the Wolds from the east. Having crossed the high ground of the Wolds watershed, at the head of this valley it takes an easy course down the head of a steep dry valley on the Wold-edge and heads down into the well watered lands around Millington. It is probably this road which is marked on Haynes map of 1744. Today it is merely a strip of grass at the side of an arable field but its long and direct course and persistent right of way and township boundary line single it out as ancient (fig 122; 124).

The Green Lane at Tibthorpe is not a straightforward east-west track but is preserved as township boundary and right of way for some distance nonetheless. It runs from Eastburn on the Wold-edge to Hawold and Huggate, where it probably joined the York Lane to proceed north-west to Garrowby Hill. As we saw in chapter 5, this is the road known as *via regia* in 13th century, and probably the road that gave the village of Huggate its name. This road too is lined by prehistoric and Anglian burials as well as linear earthworks and has grounds for some antiquity. The Riding moot place at Craike Hill lies alongside it, on the boundary between Garton and Kirkburn (see chapter 7).

South of Huggate, the pattern of township boundaries changes and instead of blocky shapes there are strip townships running east-west. Some east-west boundaries seem to have carried pre-township trackways, as they remain as rights of way. Most of these do not continue right across the Wolds, but run only as far as the main north-south ridge following boundary. This line itself is an ancient way along the north-south Wolds watershed (see chapter 4) and continues from that known from the 10th century Newbald charter (Long and Pickles 1993).

Many of these trackways had become permanent fixtures of this landscape by the early Medieval period and are suitably venerated. They had already been used by generations of Wolds communities before the Middle Ages and it is this ancestral link that has led to their endurance and use as both boundary and road, not the unique juxtaposition of geology and topography as Pickles would have it for boundary roads (Pickles 1993). The fact that they form the basis for the pattern of townships, in this central Wolds area, is highly significant when we are trying to

understand the character of this landscape in the pre-Norman era, before the townships were laid out. It is undoubted that township boundaries were laid out along existing tracks, not only because of their long distance continuity but also because in several places, two boundaries come together that resemble the narrow v-shape of a road junction (i.e. Fridaythorpe, Greenwick and Canada Cottages, Towthorpe: see chapter 5). In addition, there are some cases where boundaries turn back on themselves as if defining the extent of a piece of track by outlining its two opposite edges (i.e. Fimber cross-roads, Pitland Hill, Southburn). All of these examples occur on the line of suggested early trackways.

The Sledmere Green Lane in particular is very closely related to the concentration of detached and enclosed pastures around Greenwick and must have been used as a means of access to them in the Middle Ages, certainly between Wetwang and Wetwang Rakes. Likewise the same Green Lane is linked also to a cluster of pastures around Garton, Elmswell and Driffield Wold. The High Street forms the boundary of pastures along the south side of the Great Wold Valley and the Tibthorpe Green Lane is linked to the cluster of pastures around Hawold. Detached portions of townships whose allegiance is obscure lie at the east end of both the Hawold Bridle Track and the Tibthorpe Green Lane, at Pitland Hill, Southburn and Driffield Greets, Kelleythorpe. At the former there is cropmark evidence for the continuation of the trackway as a double ditch. This relationship between the tracks and what we have seen as vestiges of a formerly more open Wolds, seems to suggest that the tracks were also very much part of that landscape. In fact, the strength of the tracks supports the idea that the Anglo-Saxon Wolds was a landscape with few boundaries. It was instead crossed by a network of tracks crossing the Wolds and giving access to dry pastures for communities living on the Wold-edge, a landscape of extensive pasture managed and grazed from outside. In this way, when the boundaries of townships were created they primarily followed these tracks because they were the major reference points for people experiencing the Wolds landscape at this time. As settlement expanded onto the Wolds, new communities were founded and the Wolds itself was no longer an open expanse managed and grazed from the outside, but was now the home territory. Therefore, what was previously common became

appropriated and enclosed, trackways giving free and open access became appropriated too and began to serve a boundary function. Significantly, the tracks are not visible in the same way in the pattern of boundaries on the Wold-edges and surrounding vales where a variety of features were followed by boundaries and where similarly long direct trackways did not exist. Again, a similar pattern is visible in the Wolds of the Midlands where, in Leicestershire, *"The pattern of lanes..... is strikingly dominated by eastward running tracks which lead up from the Soar valley, some of them followed by parish boundaries.....it is tempting to regard them as droveways connecting vale and wold."* (Fox 1989:87).

It is the trackways, which were used as boundaries, that we have been most concerned with so far, but there are also a few others which were probably part of the Early Medieval Wolds, many which remain as major roads. The road between Fridaythorpe and Sledmere is one such route, providing a link between the Sledmere Green Lane at Garrowby and the High Street leading east from Sledmere. It has always been seen as a Roman road but as we have seen this claim can be challenged for a stretch east of Fimber and it has probably altered its course here.

The trackways have long distance outlook as they strike out across the landscape limited only by the steep dale sides and so adopting a course which takes great respect of the networks of dry valley system, in the same way as their prehistoric precursors (fig 124). They converge on the strategic land bridges between heads of neighbouring valley networks, as at Huggate Dykes and Garrowby Top. In this way, the Anglo-Saxon landscape here has much in common with the Bronze Age and Iron Age Wolds.

Their place in the Anglo-Saxon landscape is also shown by the way in which Anglian burials tend to be distributed in this area not on boundaries but on these trackways. It would be possible to demonstrate a relationship between Anglian burials and township boundaries but such an exercise would have failed to appreciate that the lines in the landscape that later become township boundaries were probably being used as trackways when the burials were placed there (cf Bonney 1976) (fig 128)

'FOLK TERRITORIES'

Beneath the pattern of Domesday hundreds lies another territorial structure which by 1086 still retained some of its economic significance, but whose origins are obscure. The record of settlements as 'sokeland' or 'berewick' in Domesday Book is a frequent feature of the Danelaw and has been seen to preserve ancient tenurial dependencies between settlements, as part of a territorial structure which was already in decay by 1086 (Stenton 1910; Kapelle 1979; Jones 1976). Much has been written about the territorial soke and even more about the implications for pre-Norman territorial organisation in the form of the multiple estate. The idea of archaic territorial structures preserved in later sources as they decay has been discussed by historians since the seminal work of Jolliffe in 1920's who considered the most ancient systems to be preserved in Northumbrian records such as the Boldon Book (Jolliffe 1926). More recently Jolliffe's Northumbrian shires have been studied further by Geoffrey Barrow (1973) whilst Kapelle and Glanville Jones have equated them with the sokes of the Domesday Danelaw (Jones 1976; Kapelle 1979). According to this thesis, by the Anglo-Scandinavian period, as historical documentation emerges in the north, an ancient territorial system based on discrete estates was in an advanced state of decay through fragmentation. These records which include Domesday Book and even 12th and 13th century sources in Northumbria, preserve certain linkages and dependencies between settlements which were no longer recognised in contemporary reality as the estates they had once constituted had begun to be broken up into smaller more dispersed and fragmented units, forming the basis for full-blown Medieval feudal manors. Archaic labour services and tributes survive into 12th and 13th centuries, which have parallels from Northumbria to Wales and which Jones and Jolliffe used as evidence for a once homogeneous structure across Britain. The sokelands and berewicks of Domesday are seen as another vestige of this system whereby a number of dependent settlements are grouped around a central caput and owe services and tribute to it. Parallels exist in the lathes and rapes of Sussex and Kent (i.e. Everitt

1986) and the early shires of Scotland (Barrow 1973) where, originally, territorial identity was bound up with community and people rather than with a prescribed area of land. The earliest sense of tribal territory in Anglo-Saxon England is one of a people who were associated with an area, rather than a territory which belonged to a people and certainly from Jolliffe's work this sense of a tribal community link between lord/king and people was stronger than any sense of land ownership (Jolliffe 1926; Bassett 1989). Fleming has also emphasised the strength of community over territory, in these pre-Norman structures and used the term 'folk territories' to describe the system in Swaledale (1998).

The main characteristics of Jones' multiple estate were drawn from parallels with a well preserved system in 13th century Wales and comprise a number of vills grouped around a central settlement or caput (1976). The inhabitants of the constituent vills owed labour services and renders, often of food, to support the upkeep of the main settlement inhabited by the lord and his retinue. Jones' view of the multiple estate has been criticised because of both the use of such late historical evidence and the cross-cultural parallels he adopted (Hadley 1996; Gregson 1985). Nonetheless, it is generally accepted that the sokes of Domesday do in some cases reflect former territorial arrangements. Hadley has more recently and rightly pointed out that we should not assume that, "*the landscape was uniformly divided into neatly segmented territories*" (1996:11) in this period and we should also be aware of the possibility that some of the Domesday sokes were recent creations. She does not deny that some sokes did represent large multi-vill estates but adds a welcome note of caution by introducing a problematic into the relentless search for ancient origins and unbroken continuity in these territorial structures. Jones' study of the wapentake of Burghshire in West Yorkshire for instance, identifies a former unity in the complicated tenurial linkages and dependencies recorded in 1086 and convincingly argues that these complexities were recent creations caused by the fragmentation of formerly discrete estate territories. However he then went on to give this territory a much earlier date of origin, based on very meagre local archaeological and historical associations, but driven by his belief, following Jolliffe, that the institution of the multiple estate/shire was in fact a British phenomenon and earlier than the influence of Anglo-Saxon culture (Jones 1976).

The Domesday record of sokelands and berewicks in East Yorkshire is complicated, revealing anything but a simple pattern of "neatly segmented territories". Is this a reflection of the early Medieval territorial complexity, the recent pre-Domesday fragmentation of estates or even a combination of the two involving the recent creation of some soke relationships? (fig 118). Many vills have only one or two sokelands attached to them and these are invariably close by their "parent" settlement. Whereas there is a fair degree of overlap between the dependencies of smaller sokes there is much less with the larger ones which tend to create, on the whole, groups of vills which are spatially distinct from each other. Most attention has been given to the larger sokes and, of these, Driffield, Pocklington and Howden and attendant dependencies represent compact clusters of townships, usually a combination of berewick and sokeland. Others such as Beverley and Weaverthorpe comprise a clustered core of dependencies surrounding the parent with detached scattered dependent vills elsewhere. Perhaps the sokes of Warter and Welton provide examples of the most scattered distribution of linked settlements. The sokes of Bridlington and Burton Agnes lie next to each other and are distinct because they are both made up of a core and another, detached, grouping. Both spatially separate but tenurially linked groups lie alongside their counterparts in the neighbouring soke, with both detached groups found on the high wolds in contrast to the wetter and more coastal location of the core and the soke centre. The system of detachment and Domesday dependency in the north-eastern wolds is also very closely linked to the hundredal arrangements here as all three hundreds are made up of two detached groups of townships, related closely to the sokes of Bridlington and Burton Agnes (Anderson 1934). The VCH has also made this connection stating that, "*The hundreds of Huntow, Turbar and Burton were probably grouped around the large manors of Bridlington, Hunmanby and Burton Agnes*" and that "*it seems likely that the detached portions of the hundreds originated in the connection of certain detached lands with these manors in the pre-conquest period.*" (VCH 1974:4). The Driffield hundred is more or less equal to its soke, as is Weighton, but in other cases, such as Pocklington and Warter, the hundreds do not compare closely with the soke of the same name. The overlap that exists between neighbouring sokes is a

common and widespread feature and symptomatic of the break-up of estates as holdings within townships are granted out to different emerging feudal lords. In East Yorkshire this phenomenon is visible in the west and north west Wolds but less so in the north-east wolds between Bridlington and Driffield, where sokes appear to be both larger and more discrete.

It was held by Jolliffe that the institution of the territorial soke was introduced by the Danes into much of Yorkshire at the same time that the more ancient shire system was abandoned. Kapelle has argued that the soke and the Northumbrian shire are actually the same institution in origin and therefore basically pre-Danish. There is much less evidence in East Yorkshire for archaic food renders or labour services but some do survive of a type very similar to the better preserved Northumbrian examples. These are often connected with soke centres as at Burton Agnes and Thixendale (Kapelle 1979). There is by no means a direct relationship between sokes and pre-Norman discrete estates as there had been so much alteration in the centuries leading up to Domesday Book, in some cases for instance, a soke in Domesday is made up of only one dependent settlement. However, there are also examples of large groups of berewicks and sokelands such as at Driffield, Pocklington, Bridlington, Burton Agnes and Beverley. In fact the case for the pre-Danish antiquity of the territories represented by the sokes is reinforced by the fact that many soke centres were also significant central places in the Anglo-Saxon period. Driffield was a probable royal tun, Beverley contained an early monastery and Market Weighton lies very close to Goodmanham, itself associated with the Northumbrian royal house in the 7th century. Furthermore, Bridlington and Pocklington are recorded as probable boroughs in Domesday Book (Brooks 1986).

Several studies have pointed out the relationship between secular estates often under royal control and the territories of minsters in the 7th and 8th century. Many examples exist where the mother church occurs alongside the estate centre and whose ecclesiastical parish is commensurate with the extent of the estate (Barrow 1973; Blair 1988). The Monastic estates of Durham preserve many of the features of the multiple estate into the 13th and 14th century because these holdings have not become broken up by grants. The soke of Howden might also act as a similar

example in East Yorkshire as this territory emerges as the hundred of Howden and is also later known as Howdenshire, its integrity and late preservation probably a result of its strong links with the church. In East Yorkshire, it is at the soke centres where the 12th and 13th century charters record churches of superior status, often with attendant large parishes. Morris points to a 12th century record wherein Henry 1 was keen to safeguard the rights belonging to the parishes of Pocklington, Pickering, Aldborough, Kilham and Driffield. The first three parishes survived as large territories with many dependent churches and all were significant soke centres at Domesday. Similar 12th and 13th century records suggest that mother church status should also be conferred on Bridlington, again a large Medieval parish with many chapels, Hunmanby and possibly also Market Weighton and Weaverthorpe (EYC; VCH 1974;1976).

Perhaps one the strongest features of the multiple estate model is the idea of an economically self sufficient estate containing within its many settlements, a range of land types giving access to resources like woodland, upland pasture, meadow, arable, marsh, etc. for the estate community as a whole (Jones 1976; Fleming 1998; Bassett 1989). In some of the better preserved Northumbrian shires the territory was provided with a large common pasture shared by the shire's component settlements. At Coldingham in the Borders and at Tynemouth in Northumberland, shire moors are recorded giving evidence of a system of pasture provision well beyond the scope of the individual settlement and symptomatic of a more extensive economic organisational coherence (Barrow 1973). The common pasture of Huntow whose early credentials are argued above could well have offered a similar provision for an early Medieval estate which is later identified with the soke of Bridlington, as the pasture cut across the boundaries of Grindale, Buckton and Speeton, all berewicks of Bridlington. Furthermore, the hundred that existed in this area has been closely compared with the soke of Bridlington and was given the name of Huntow (Anderson 1934). Many other reconstructed examples of shires such as Hallamshire and Wakefield were made up of naturally defined topographic units and contain a range of different land types from the high Pennines to the low-lying valleys (Barrow 1973).

Although we are not in a position to trace the precise boundaries of any discrete estate on the Wolds, if that were ever possible, we can observe that the Domesday soke centres are all distributed around the edges of the Wolds in an ideal central location for an economic estate covering dry wold pasture, strong well watered arable and meadow on the Wold-edge and further low-lying marsh, by the surrounding rivers. The group of sokelands and berewicks for Driffeld straddles the Wold-edge, including land both on and off the Wolds as does the Pocklington soke and those for Burton Agnes and Bridlington. Weaverthorpe soke more or less equates with the group of strip townships in the Great Wold Valley, the region later known as Grindalythe. The Domesday Book estate of Burton Agnes is in fact split between a group of townships on the edge of the Wolds and a detached group to the north on the high wolds around Thwing. Even though this holding does not form an integral territory it does represent an economic unit including dry pasture on the Wolds and good arable lands close to Burton Agnes itself. There is also record of a further pasture lying in the south of Burton Agnes township where inhabitants of neighbouring townships of Harpham and Thornholme enjoyed rights of common in the Middle Ages (VCH 1974).

We have already suggested that, in the Anglo-Saxon period, settlement was concentrated on the Wold-edges. This model of territorial organisation would fit with a Wolds landscape that was largely unoccupied, but was used as open pasture, grazed possibly under transhumance from settlements based around the Wold-edge. A similar early system has been suggested for some areas of Kent by Everitt, where the relationship between a settled river valley and a dependent pastoral wold is mirrored in East Yorkshire by the early connection between the springheads on the Wold-edge and the high Wold land (Everitt 1976). It may have been the encroachment of settlement onto the Wolds and the establishment of permanent communities here that went hand in hand with the dislocation of these linkages and detached dependencies. But also it is the stubborn resistance to change in the face of this encroachment that provides the means for the survival of detached dependencies attached to both hundreds and townships. Ford has discussed a similar situation in the West Midlands, where, "*....it seems that the vast belt of interspersed wooded and heathy lands in the north of the Avon region...formed an*

area in which intercommoning was practised by settlements of the open territories to the south..." (Ford 1976:280) and that, "...by a process of limitation, the erstwhile open woodlands and pastures were gradually appropriated to regions, then to particular individual settlements, and in the course of time, new habitation sites were established on these common lands." (ibid: 279).

We have identified a series of probable early centres around the edge of the Wolds, which seem to have played a focal role in co-ordinating the economic management of the Wolds in pre-conquest times (fig 118). This is not to say that they were the centres of territories which together neatly divided the Wolds up into discrete spatially separate units. Hadley has shown that the territorial structure in the northern Danelaw was not necessarily a simple one and maybe the biggest problem with "reconstruction essays" is that they seek to impose a territorial and tenurial neatness to the early Medieval landscape which never actually existed.

‘THIS EARTH DIVIDED’:

ENCROACHMENT AND EXPANSION OF SETTLEMENT ONTO THE WOLDS

We know that the settlement names of the Wolds were virtually all in place by the 11th century, both because they are recorded in Domesday Book and because they contain predominantly Old English and Scandinavian forms. Gelling, in an as yet unpublished paper dealing with the northern and central Wolds, drew some general conclusions about settlement history in the pre-conquest period from a look at the place-names and their chronology (Gelling forthcoming). The earliest examples are Old English topographical names and are largely found in the well watered Wold-edge with a concentration to the west of Driffield (Kirkburn, Eastburn, Southburn, Elmswell, Driffield). Other early English names in *-ham* are also found in similar Wold-edge locations (Goodmanham, Yedingham, Everingham, Brantingham, Wintringham, Harpham). These situations are also favoured by archaeological evidence for Anglian settlement in concentrations around Market Weighton, Newbald, Driffield, Rudston and the northern escarpment (see above) and are places likely to have been continually permanently settled from an early date

(Alison 1976; Faull 1984) (fig 129). Alison regards the proliferation of Anglian burials on the Wolds as an indication of permanent settlement here in this period but fails to appreciate the possibility of the use of this area primarily for pasture and burial remote from the home settlement (see below). The fact that most Anglian burials on the Wolds are not cemeteries but are found in secondary contexts in barrows or linear earthworks is significant in this regard. He does acknowledge, however, that, "*Certain districts nevertheless appear to have been relatively lightly settled by the Angles, including some of the higher parts of the Wolds...*" (1976;47). In a more recent and detailed investigation of the Anglian burials in East Yorkshire, Sam Lucy clearly appreciates that many of the cemeteries of this period, especially those on the Wolds, are not usually found alongside permanent settlements (1998).

Indeed, it is these areas on the Wolds where the bulk of Scandinavian names, in -by and -thorp and later English names (post 8th century) in -tun are found. (Gelling forthcoming; Alison 1976; Fellows-Jensen 1976;1993) (fig 130-1) (although, a significant proportion lie in wold-edge zones). The question of whether Scandinavian names in the Danelaw represent newly found settlements or the re-naming of existing sites has been debated for a long time (i.e. Sawyer 1976). However, here on the Wolds these names are generally seen as recent creations because of the lack of Grimston hybrids, names formed out of the amalgamation of a Scandinavian personal name with the OE -tun (Fellows-Jensen 1993). Names in -thorp and -by are taken by Fellows-Jensen to reflect either new settlements or the splitting up of large estates into smaller independent portions in the years following the beginning of Scandinavian influence in the late 9th century. We can no longer talk about an expansion of settlement like this as having been caused by a sudden influx of immigrants, but instead it should be seen as the result of a rising population coupled with changing social and agrarian conditions, giving rise to new permanent settlements, named by local people whose language had been recently influenced by the Scandinavian political take-over. Gelling has interpreted the place-names in a similar way suggesting, "*...a falling off of numbers of people living in the northern part of the wolds (in the post Roman period) and an increase starting in the 8C and continuing into 10C..*" However she does not

favour a complete de-population followed by a total re-colonisation. Something more akin perhaps to the change in the way the Wolds is exploited, reverting, in the post Roman period, predominantly to pasture but interspersed by temporary settlements in certain favoured locations. These pastures and shielings would have been dependent upon and organised from settlements on the Wold-edge or Great Wold Valley. They gradually became more independent as the extensive ties between Wold and Wold-edge were broken and settlement expanded onto the Wolds, resulting eventually in the foundation of villages, which were then given Scandinavian names.

It seems obvious that the pre-conquest open pastoral Wolds landscape was named to some extent and some of these topographic names emerge later as settlements. For instance, the ponds of *Finmere* and *Sledmere* are very early English names but not necessarily very early English settlements. Later on they emerge as townships but with parochial ties to parish centres at *Wetwang* and *Kirby Grindalythe* respectively, suggesting an early subordinate status. *Huggate* (road to the mounds), *Warter* (gallows? gnarled tree?) and *Wetwang* (trial or summons place) are all names which could also have originally belonged in an open largely unoccupied landscape but one which was known and experienced by those who used it for grazing (fig 129; 132). Therefore, names would obviously have been given to ponds, tracks, trees, hills, and special places for gatherings. Any settlement which grew up close by would be likely to take the topographic name for itself. Likewise many of Gelling's 'dative plural' names seem also to be referring to features of the open temporarily settled landscape. In other words, like *Arras* and *Arram*, the names were coined at a time before they existed as permanent settlements: i.e. *Gardham*: 'at the enclosures'; *Cottam*: 'at the cottages'; *Croom*: 'at the nooks'; *Hotham*: 'at the shelters'; *Cowlam*: 'at the hills' etc. Many of the dative plurals are found on the central Wolds and are probably coined in the Anglo-Scandinavian period by people whose language had become an amalgam of English and Danish (Gelling forthcoming).

The predominance of Scandinavian and later English names on the Wolds suggested to Gelling that there was a great deal of re-colonisation here shortly after 900 AD. This is an episode which she related to drastic change in agrarian practice

manifested in the planning of open fields and laying out of villages. Even after 40 years of excavation and survey the precise dating of the planning of the village at Wharram Percy and its fields has not been resolved. It certainly took place between the end of the Anglo-Saxon dispersed settlement pattern in 9th century and the earliest archaeological remains of the planned village which date from the 12th century (Beresford and Hurst 1990). However, whether it was part of Scandinavian estate re-organisation or, like its neighbour Wharram-le-Street a product of the 12th century is not clear (ibid). In Hurst's Medieval Archaeology article he tends to favour the idea that the dispersed settlement pattern of the Anglo-Saxon period gradually becomes nucleated by the 8th or 9th century and that it is the Scandinavian era that witnesses large scale replanning of fields and some villages (Hurst 1984). June Sheppard's early suggestions that village planning in this area was likely to be connected to 11th or 12th century reorganisation, following the devastation of the 'Harrying of the North', have been undermined by those who have downplayed the seriousness of that episode to local Yorkshire communities and have offered alternative explanations for the entries of waste in Domesday Book (see above and Palliser 1991; Kapelle 1979; Hey 1991; Wightman 1975). Harvey has shown very clearly that the open field systems of the Wolds and Holderness possessed a remarkable simplicity and regularity in almost every respect and one which is likely to be early in date (Harvey 1983). She further suggested that *"..arrangements such as these must be the result of a massive laying out of the landscape, a deliberate act of planning"* (ibid: 38). Although she does not unequivocally opt for a specific episode when such change took place because the evidence is just not there, she does favour the Anglo-Scandinavian centuries and equates this act of planning with the planning of villages, another phenomenon encountered in Yorkshire and other parts of the north (Sheppard 1976). Beresford and Hurst have pointed out that there is sometimes found a connection between the regular arrangement of holdings in the open fields and the equally regular lay-out of crofts in villages suggesting a contemporaneous point of origin for both (Beresford and Hurst 1990).

From a reading of all these discussions of village and open field origins, it seems likely that a fairly radical reorganisation of the landscape took place, probably in

the 10th century. Given that planning of open fields and maybe also in some cases villages did take place, then the Scandinavian political take-over of the north and subsequent changes in landholding through the introduction of many new landlords, provides an ideal context. This is also probably coincident with pressures relating to rising populations and the need for radical reorganisation of agrarian practice caused by the break up of large estates. Over perhaps a century of change, which also involved the imposition of extensive administrative and fiscal changes, the arable fields of existing settlements were reorganised, however, we do not know what form they had previously taken. New settlements were created perhaps based on existing temporary sites inhabited by pastoralists on the Wolds, and now provided with arable fields carved out of the former pasture expanse. These new permanent settlements were often located next to ponds which had been important features of the pastoral landscape and some retained their old names. In these areas, township territories were also created surrounding the new settlements, boundaries following the existing trackways and the edges of the new open field. Similar territories on the long settled Wold-edge had probably been in existence for several centuries already.

Sheppard's study of the fiscal carucates of Yorkshire Domesday suggests that the Wolds by this time was one of the most intensive arable areas of the county (Sheppard 1974). If that was the case, the central Wolds had apparently undergone an arable revolution. It seems that, what had been an open landscape, with free access and common rights of pasture was gradually settled, cultivated and appropriated by encroaching settlements expanding out of former isolated temporary collections of shepherd's shelters and cottages. The process of encroachment onto the Wolds was probably much more gradual than the evidence for planning suggests, involving the slow erosion of common rights by people moving up onto the dry chalk and carving out their own farmland. Perhaps several centuries of gradual encroachment lay behind the radical reorganisation of the 10th century, so that only vestiges of the former rights and dependencies and only small reduced areas of pasture survived into the Middle Ages, as part of the new landscape of townships, villages and open fields. Furthermore, despite the arable predominance, the final division of these pastures, amongst neighbouring

townships, probably didn't take place until after the 12th or 13th century until which time, "...in many cases there must have been a zone of jointly exploited waste land between 2 vills rather than a clearly defined boundary." (Sheppard 1974:69).

GRANGES AND THE FINAL INTAKE OF 12TH AND 13TH CENTURY

The fact that the arable fields often extended from one boundary of the township to the other could imply that the township territory was in existence once the fields were planned out, with its boundaries fixed. Evidence from 12th and 13th century charters, however, seems to suggest that not all parts of the wolds were yet fully cultivated, by this time. Nor do they suggest that the township boundaries in some areas had been fully formalised and fixed even then, so the process of encroachment was still ongoing. Two examples come from the high Wold land on the margins of the townships of Huggate and Warter and have already been mentioned in chapter 5. A charter from the early 13th century refers to land lying upon the "*new improvement of the wald in Huggate*" (EYC 1263), suggesting that arable lands here had only recently been laid out, in an area which was previously probably open pasture. The creation of the grange at *Blanchemarle* in 1150's also hints that this land was formerly uncultivated and used primarily for grazing. Blanch is previously known as *Arras* or *Erghes*, a name given to shielings in the north of England with several other examples on the Wolds (see chapter 5) (fig 121). It is also referred to as lying "*inter Daltonam et Wartre*" as if there existed here a neutral zone between the 2 territories and that the boundary had not yet become fixed. The boundary itself is now marked by an 18th or 19th century hawthorn hedge, typical of enclosure re-organisation and so exists as an artefact, only in its two dimensional line. This line cannot be physically dated by any archaeological means other than those of horizontal stratigraphy, which suggest it was a primary element in the pattern of lines preserved by township boundaries. It was clearly a trackway or ridgeway before it became a boundary (Pickles 1993). This same line is followed by the ancient trackway that follows the north-south watershed. Both the above examples come from high Wold land alongside the main

watershed, land likely to be the last affected and allotted as the Wolds gradually was brought into cultivation. The use of *versus* meaning 'towards' in some land charters may also imply the late fixedness of boundaries (i.e. *versus Wilton, versus Fridatorp*) see chapter 5.

The foundation of granges appears also to be an indication of this late intake and two others lie very close to Blanch in similar positions at the edge of townships. Many 12th and 13th century charters refer to the granting of pasture land and pasture rights to the Priors of Watton, Bridlington, Malton and the Abbeys of Meaux, St.Mary's York, etc. and most of this is on the high Wolds, carved out of the remnants of the extensive early Medieval pastures. Granges too were founded on the Wolds and served their parent monastery as both arable and pastoral farms. Some of these grange holdings were mixed in with strips in the common fields of such villages as Burton Fleming and Warter (Blanch), but equally land was taken in out of former waste and common pasture for subsequent use either as new cultivation as Mowthorpe and Linton or pasture at Speeton (Waites 1968). "*As well as land within the open fields Bridlington canons took in land outside the fields....Nonetheless it was now being cultivated....Such land was known as 'ovenham',(OE Ofnam) land taken out of the common or elsewhere enclosed or cultivated.*" (Waites 1968:138). Bishop also states "*Granges were created from aquisitions of waste land, of newly cleared land outside the open field system, and of strips and cultures in the open field.*" (Bishop 1936:200). It remains a generally accepted assumption that granges were carved out of waste land in this period (Barbara English pers comm).

Hawold was probably largely uncultivated before it became a grange of Watton Priory, the nearby dale, Aunham, derived from the root of Ovenham, the OE *Ofnam* meaning 'intake'. North Dalton Grange of Meaux Abbey lies close by again in the margins of North Dalton township (chapter 5). Other granges on the Wolds were probably granted from waste or open pasture as Belagh, Octon, Burton Fleming, Wharram and Mowthorpe and, unlike many Cistercian foundations, did not involve depopulation of existing settlements. The aquisition of uncultivated waste or common by large ecclesiastical landowners in 12th and 13th centuries could then be seen as the last great encroachment of cultivation and

settlement into the open pastoral wolds, the high point of the Medieval arable revolution.

SUMMARY:

THE MYTHIC LANDSCAPE OF THE OPEN WOLDS

Lucy's investigations placed great emphasis on the location of cemeteries within the landscape. "*Given the attention paid to the construction and maintenance of burial rites, it seems safe to assume that the location in which those rites took place was also important.*" (1998:76). Her conclusions concur with the suggestion that the siting of cemeteries on the Wolds was probably in response to the significance of certain locations here through the visible presence of the past or other important topographic features. She appreciates, therefore that the distribution of burials in this period need not reflect the distribution of settlement. In other words the placing of burials in the landscape is not just about the veneration of topographic features but is also influenced by the presence of historical significance at certain places. She acknowledges that, "*A community may have buried (some of) their dead in a place at some distance from their settlement*" (1998:100), and adds, "*....cemeteries cannot be used to infer settlement patterns, as has usually been the case in Anglo-Saxon archaeology. It may even have been that large areas ...were reserved for burial alone (and possibly pasture)*" (Lucy 1998:101). Her suggestions are based entirely on an understanding of the burial evidence and she is tentative about isolating specific areas which were devoid of settlement and reserved for pasture and burial. However, as we saw for the Iron Age period on the Wolds the presence of burials here without settlements suggests that it is being used in a special way. It is only through a rounded study of a variety of sources that the character of the landscape can be reconstructed and therefore it was necessary to look also at the historical sources that were available. The reconstruction of the character of the Wolds landscape before the Norman conquest is only fully possible when all available sources are used. Such an approach is able to set each site and feature within its

landscape context, but, in addition, the long term perspective enables us to place these aspects equally in their temporal context. As such we can assess the important role played by the past in structuring change and continuity in the landscape. This study has been able to provide a more concrete interpretative context for the idea of the Wolds having been used as a special place for burial and pasture, in this period. Something that was not possible if the investigation is restricted to a certain class of evidence.

REVIEW

It is difficult to attempt a reconstruction of the character of the Anglian or Anglo-Scandinavian Wolds landscape from the poor quality archaeological evidence that is available. For that reason, we have also looked in some detail at the historical sources as well. The conclusions drawn from the archaeology were tentative. However, it was clear that very little evidence for actual settlements was forthcoming from the Wolds. Any indications of settlements in the period leading up to 9th century, however indirect, came from the long settled lands on the Wold-edge. Notably those areas around Rudston in the eastern Great Wold Valley, and the spring-lines along the bottom of the western and northern escarpments. Although the origins of the villages on the Wolds are obscure, there is little evidence of any activity prior to their foundation, probably after the 10th century. There are of course a series of pre 9th century sites in the Wharram area, but it is not clear whether this pattern can be extended across the much drier parts of the Wolds.

There was also patterning in the burial record which seemed to distinguish the Wolds from the Wold-edge and main valleys. Most of the larger cemeteries are found in the settled zones mentioned above. However, the pattern of burial on the dry Wolds, away from the spring-line western escarpment is radically different. Here, most burials are in small groups, or individual and they are invariably found in secondary contexts, either inserted into prehistoric barrows or linear earthworks. Undoubtedly, there were more barrows and other prehistoric monuments available

on the chalk, but even so the contrast between the two distributions is remarkable enough to warrant a cultural rather than a taphonomic explanation. Faull points out that despite the presence of barrows in the southern Wolds, secondary Anglian inhumations in barrows are entirely absent from this area. A few small cemeteries occur in these secondary contexts as for instance the two groups of inhumations found in the ditch of two linear earthworks which now form the southern and northern boundaries of the township of Garton. Another exists from a large Bronze Age barrow at Cheesecake Hill, Driffield, but most of the Wolds examples are groups of only a few inhumations. Unlike the Wold-edge to north, west and east, the villages of the dry Wolds do not have associated extensive cemeteries. Any burials that do occur here are in secondary contexts, at a distance from the Medieval village (with the exception of Fimber). In fact, many are situated in close proximity to township boundaries. However, we have seen that this does not necessarily confer an Anglian date onto these territories, for the later boundaries are situated along tracks and it is the tracks with which the burials are related. Nor do these Wold villages have any other indication of origins earlier than the Anglo-Scandinavian period. Only Fimber and Sledmere have early names and these are likely to have referred initially to the ponds and not necessarily to a settled community of any significant permanence.

Furthermore, the burials on the Wolds are often found in close association with the long distance cross Wold trackways that form such a strong structural component of the pre-Norman landscape. They are also often found, not only in individual barrows, but in places where concentrations of prehistoric barrows and earthworks are found. Lucy has recognised that barrows from the Bronze Age were chosen as vessels for graves because of their visibility and through their recognition as special places in local myth. She suggested that, "*By associating their dead with these places, the mourners may have been either manipulating or drawing upon associations with the distant past.*" (Lucy 1998:99). It is of course not only barrows that become used as cemeteries as, so too do linear earthworks, in some cases. Furthermore, the relics from the past in this Wolds landscape are also respected by boundaries, laid out for townships in the late Anglian or Anglo-Scandinavian centuries. We will come back to this general issue of reusing the past,

but for now it remains to emphasise that such practices are most clearly visible on the Wolds and not so much in the surrounding lands. As such, it is another example of the different way in which the local communities, settled on the Wold-edges, engaged with and perceived this, rather liminal, landscape, in this period.

The above discussion of the historical sources further emphasises this impression gained from the archaeological evidence. None of the documentary references, of course, actually derive from the period in question as all are later than the Norman conquest. It seems likely though that some of the sense of the character of the pre-Norman landscape has been preserved, mainly through place-names and as patterns in the historic landscape itself. Through a range of sources a number of conclusions have been reached. The place-name chronology suggests that the oldest settlements are those surrounding the Wolds and in the major valleys. Those names from the Wold interior which are early probably derive from well known features of the topography which only later gave their names to permanent settlement. The landscape appears to have been crossed by long distance trackways like the Sledmere Green Lane and the Hawold Bridle Track. These later form the basis for the pattern of township boundaries. It is argued that the period before the townships is characterised by an open Wolds landscape without permanent settlements or fixed boundaries. Instead it was probably used mainly for pasture, and of course, occasionally for burial. There are hints from the mentions of sokeland in Domesday Book that this area was apportioned between a series of loosely fixed estates based mostly around the Wold edge. This idea of a series of named areas of pasture is also preserved in some place-names still current in the land grants of 12th and 13th centuries. Many of these are names which use the Old Scandinavian term *haugr*, referring in these cases to either barrows or hills.

The foundation of townships and villages on the Wolds, appears to take place in the centuries immediately preceding the Norman conquest, although the precise character of this process is not at all clear. Several historians however have suggested a degree of deliberate planning in both the layout of villages and the configurations of open fields, something which is particularly visible on the Wolds, in contrast to the surrounding vales. In spite of this, there are signs that the process of encroachment and apportionment of the open Wolds continues into the 12th and

13th century. At this time certain areas of the higher more remote Wolds are incorporated into the extensive lands of monastic foundations as granges. The arrangement of townships reveals a distinctive pattern whereby those founded in the central Wolds are of a distinctively different character to those on the Wold-edge. This may relate to their later date of origin.

A combination of the archaeological and historical sources, therefore, has created a sense of the Wolds landscape, very different from the settled and divided heavily arable Wolds of the Middle Ages. It is after all, only after 15th century that many villages were de-populated. A process which creates the sense of emptiness here that is picked up on by travellers and topographers of the 17th century and after. Prior to the 15th century the place was packed and heavily cultivated. The pre-Norman Wolds, however was seemingly neither cultivated nor inhabited, at least to the same permanent scale as the Wold-edges, close to reliable water sources. The glimpses we have achieved reveal an open special place, full of visible relics of the past. A landscape whose distinctive topography and visible mystery must have added to the sense of difference, engendered by its remove from areas of permanent occupation. Therefore, by engaging with these relics through acts like secondary burial, the communities settled on the Wold-edges, were probably attempting to make connections with this otherness. The physical features of this landscape which become provided with cultural importance are those which are named, or with which archaeological features, such as burials are associated. These features are characteristically topographic such as ponds and valleys, trees and viewpoints. Fitted into this natural backdrop were the aforementioned visible relics of the past, such as barrows and earthworks. Equally, the landscape seems to have been crossed by trackways, many of which had been in existence for many centuries. Needless to say, these features are suited closely to a mobile land used principally for pasture. These natural and ancient physical features would have set the area apart from the Wold-edges, where more tangible cultural features structured the landscape, such as field boundaries, settlements and cultivated land.

The significance of archaeological monuments in the Anglo-Saxon and Medieval landscape is great. Many charter bounds from the rest of England, and the one

local example from Newbald, respect prehistoric barrows and lengths of ditch, using them as reference points. In some cases such as Fimber and Rudston, early churches were probably situated close to a barrow and a standing stone respectively. The relics of the prehistoric past meant something to the Anglian inhabitants of the Wolds, in a way that must have been expressed in myth passed down from generation to generation. Inserting the dead into these monuments is a way of reinforcing the potency of this mythologised landscape and connecting the stories and the ancestors with the recent dead and the living. Perhaps such practice was more likely to take place in an open landscape distant from permanent settlement. In a landscape which was experienced by travellers or shepherds or occasionally for gatherings and festivals, but not the familiar territory of home farm, chickens and family.

The final chapter will consider the significance of these relationships with the past in the Wolds landscape, across the whole period under study. We will also be in a position to step back from the confines of chronological specificity and trace some long term patterns of change. It will become clear that the reuse and manipulation of the past is a constant feature of the history of this landscape and perhaps one of the most important aspects that structure its changing character.



CHAPTER SEVEN

THE WOLDS KEEP REVOLVING

“Jose Arcadio Segundo was still reading the parchments. The only thing visible in the intricate tangle of hair was the teeth striped with green slime and his motionless eyes. When he recognised his great-grandmother’s voice he turned his head towards the door, tried to smile, and without knowing it repeated an old phrase of Ursula’s.

‘What did you expect?’ he murmured. ‘Time passes.’

‘That’s how it goes,’ Ursula said, ‘but not so much.’

When she said it she realised that she was giving the same reply that Colonel Aureliano Buendia had given in his death cell, and once again she shuddered with the evidence that time was not passing, as she had just admitted, but that it was turning in a circle.”

(Gabriel Garcia Marquez, One Hundred Years of Solitude)

INTRODUCTION

This final chapter has four main functions. It serves to give general meaning to the preceding discussions and to justify the approach taken in chapter 1. Firstly, a summary of the findings of chapters 3-6 is required, as it is this information, this sequence, that we are seeking to explain. Our main concern in each chapter has been to identify and illustrate the character of the Wolds landscape. This is a general aim and one which takes different forms in each period, often dependent on the nature of the evidence available. However, the common landscape focus for each period has allowed a consistent sequence of development to be produced, which is the landscape history of the Wolds.

The long term perspective has allowed us to draw back from the limited focus of historical periods and look at the significance of longer term processes and patterns. In this chapter, we can do this in a number of ways. Firstly we will review the sequence of change through which this landscape passed (and which passed through it) across the 2000 years of study, highlighting the main periods of transformation. Secondly we will consider and illustrate the many different levels of continuity and change that operated in this landscape throughout this period. In particular here we pay attention to the endurance of certain special persistent places, repeatedly venerated and respected, by communities separated by many centuries of time. Thirdly, and leading on from this, we will investigate the important influence that the perception and presence of the past had on this developing landscape. Finally, we will consider the character of change itself and some of the structures which may underlie this sequence.

THE LONG TERM VIEW

This study has been a regional investigation of the Yorkshire Wolds. As outlined in chapter 1, the aim was to gain an intimate insight into the developing landscape here over the long term. By crossing boundaries between disciplines, sources and periods a more locally based understanding of this development has been achieved. Behind this lies the acknowledgement that the prehistoric and early historic communities of this area were closely connected to, and aware of, their past and made sense of it through acts of engagement with features of the landscape. This was not, however, a wholesale process of reproduction or continuity, but a series of re-interpretations involving the selective re-telling of those pasts. The period sees a changing relationship with the past which involves phases of remembrance and others of forgetting. Within these phases certain aspects of that past are deliberately evoked whilst others are, equally deliberately, ignored or even destroyed. The presence of the past is important in the reconstruction of the developing landscape but it must be appreciated that its relics and traces are worked into the present, changing their original meaning and significance. The landscape contains features from the past that are continually respected, those that

are occasionally or intermittently respected and those that are completely forgotten.

The long time scale has allowed us to view a specific region throughout 2000 years of change and transformation. It has also allowed us to identify some significant continuities and connections between different periods. Such long term connections are visible in the landscape and usually revolve around places or landscape features such as monuments, tracks or boundaries. Their endurance has, in the past, been interpreted as a kind of continuity, which implies an unchanging conservative society, economy and population, set in opposition to the traditional history punctuated by a series of invasions and influxes of immigrant outsiders. Here we have also considered the way that deliberate engagement, in the past, with a past represented by these monuments and places might give a false impression of such unbroken continuity. Engagements such as these reveal the existence of long term traditions in the landscape but also illustrate that, in many cases, these pasts were manipulated or re-invented. This acknowledgement has exposed the traditional emphasis on continuity as over-simplistic.

The long term perspective has also made it possible to dismantle aspects of the artificial diachronic barriers which order our compartmentalised history into specific periods. It is argued that these barriers prevent us from seeing real historical processes at the level of the local community. They are derived from histories of the development of Britain as a whole and need not have had such a large effect on this one local landscape. Whilst there are, clearly, wider changes in material culture, ethnicity, language, political organisation, social formation which affected the communities of the Wolds, it is argued here that these communities retained a form of allegiance to a mythic or ancestral past throughout it all. Although, in many cases this connection with the past may have been invented. The physical remains of monuments in the landscape as well as the topography itself existed as a relic of this past and, repeatedly, the communities of the Wolds respond to these memories, either respecting them or incorporating them into a new scheme. The *repeated* persistence of this respect to certain features and places has only been visible through this long term lens. As such it has reinforced the groundedness of local people to their landscape and to their past. It has also

suggested the strength of oral folk tradition surrounding these places and pasts which must have operated over very long time scales. However, the transmission of myth surrounding places and monuments must have been a process of change and alteration. If the places that people remembered were often constant, the role or meaning of these places does not seem to have been.

As well as continuities, however, the preceding chapters have stressed changes in the Wolds landscape. We have seen how a series of episodes of fundamental transformation and re-orientation took place. These are visible in the configurations of land division and settlement but clearly were bound up with changes in social and economic organisation. Their timing is significant as it does not generally coincide with the horizons of change at the beginning and end of traditional cultural periods. As we have seen the deliberate engagement with the past is a strong element of these periods of change, perhaps as the local past is manipulated and re-invented to legitimate novel developments or ideas. So the relationship with the past is a complex one. It involves the endurance of ancient rumbling traditions on the one hand whilst on the other are specific acts which subvert these traditions to legitimate change. Furthermore, the practice of deliberate evocation of the past in the landscape arises intermittently throughout this period. Certain special places are venerated repeatedly but not continuously so that their historical or mythic significance can be forgotten as well as remembered. For instance, as we will see below, the sequence of activity at the complex of multi-period monuments and burials at Craike Hill-Garton Station has long gaps in it when apparently no respect was being given to the place.

The changes are not just about the intensity of settlement or the exploitation of the landscape, nor simply about its location or density. They reflect the changing *character* of the Wolds landscape and the nature of social and cultural formations. The very media for architectural expression change along with the relationship between people and the land and people and the past, for these are all seamlessly intertwined. In some periods for instance burial rites are important and used as media for the reproduction of social identity and relationships. At other times this is done through the demarcation of land with ditches and the enclosure of settlements, or through the construction of buildings. Importantly these different

modes of social expression are mutually exclusive. The close connections between social structure, land-use and settlement, identity and the past and the landscape means that its changing character has wide implications for the social life of the communities living here.

The long term perspective allows for the changes to be set within a wider chronological framework. The distinctive horizons of change are different as they are driven by different historically specific conditions. However when viewed together as part of a 2000 year period they seem to conform to a semi-predictable rhythmic pattern in many aspects. It will be argued below that these changes are part of a cyclical process of change which is more visible on the Wolds than the surrounding vales. Many characteristics of adjacent phases in the cycle are shared by periods separated by several centuries. They are not identical as they exist in different historical epochs but their similarities are striking enough to require some scrutiny.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE WOLDS LANDSCAPE

The preceding chapters dealt with the development of the Wolds landscape from the Late Bronze Age through to the era of the Norman Conquest, a period of approximately 2000 years. During this time span we have identified certain periods when the landscape of the Wolds was significantly transformed. These transformations have involved the increasing scale of land division and normally an expansion of settlement from the wold-edge into the wold interior. It has been suggested that the changes visible in the landscape were associated with alterations in both land-use practice and social formation and that they were associated with a re-evaluation of the relationship between these communities and their past.

As we saw in chapter 3, during the later Bronze Age, the Wolds were crossed by long distance monumental linear earthworks. They divided the open landscape into large swathes, often related to enclosed settlements situated in commanding locations and at the junctions of these linears. The location of dykes responded sensitively to special places and features of the ceremonial landscape of the Early Bronze Age. They may have formalised an existing, organic, sense of territorial

organisation represented by features of the landscape and by barrows. In some cases, the linears seem to have followed existing trackways which may have already begun to take on the role of boundaries. The direct association between these new land divisions and the past is seen to have strengthened their legitimacy. It has been argued elsewhere that this Late Bronze Age horizon of land division represented a fundamental break with the past and indicates a shift in the dominant world view of prehistoric communities (i.e. Barrett 1994). We have seen that, on the Wolds, the radical character of the changes is tempered somewhat by the links that the new land divisions have to the past ceremonial landscape. Nonetheless, they represent an important transformation in the relationship between people and the land. The appearance of enclosed settlements in association with many of the linears affirms the significance of the changes at this time.

The construction of linears is restricted to the chalk Wolds and seems to represent a fairly sudden and large scale transformation in the organisation of land in this area. It is an area which previously had been used for ceremonial activities, as well as hunting and pasture but was probably situated away from the more settled lands on the Wold-edge (cf Barrett and Bradley 1991). We may be able to see here the beginning of the fluctuating symbiotic relationship that exists between the Wolds and the wold-edges throughout the later prehistoric and the early historic period. However, the clarity of this distinction is blurred by the change in archaeological evidence across time whereby settlements of the Neolithic and Bronze Age are largely invisible.

The settlement record of the Iron Age is notoriously difficult to reconstruct for this area, as we have already seen in chapter 4. The enclosures of Staple Howe and Devil's Hill are the latest examples of the kind of settlement sites, which originated in the Late Bronze Age, but they appear to have been abandoned by the 6-7C BC. The subsequent period is characterised archaeologically by the square barrow burial rite, which begins during the 5th century BC. It has been argued that the landscape associated with these burials was largely open and unenclosed. Although the Late Bronze Age linears were still respected, many were probably treated equally as both trackway and boundary and no new ditches for land division were constructed until the 2C BC. The interior of the Wolds, at this time, was probably

not settled on a permanent basis but instead used for extensive grazing grounds, probably for large flocks of sheep. It has been suggested that the animals were seasonally driven up onto the Wolds from the settled areas on the wold-edge and along the major valleys of the eastern dip-slope. A practice which seems likely to have been active since at least the Late Bronze Age. The Iron Age barrows and cemeteries, often situated alongside the tracks that lay between the wold and the wold-edge, may have been used by these communities as a means of affirming their communal rights to these areas of pasture. The cemeteries also probably served as regular gathering places for dispersed communities, meetings organised alongside the seasonal rhythms of transhumance.

The later Iron Age witnessed another significant episode of change in the landscape here which was equally bound up with changes in social and economic organisation. From as early as the 2nd century BC, the open spaces of land between the Late Bronze Age linears began to be divided up with further ditched boundaries. So too were settlements surrounded by ditches as they spread up onto the Wolds from the wold-edge. Areas which had hitherto been used for pasture became permanently settled and gradually the cemeteries were abandoned. A landscape of wide open spaces, probably dominated by tracks, gave way to one which was increasingly divided by ditched boundaries. The scale of social organisation seems to have altered; intensified demarcation of land and of settlements suggest that the local household became more important than before. The organisation of agriculture too appears to have shifted to a more localised scale. Where-as previously the herding of sheep on the Wolds had been organised on a community level, these socio-economic links seem to have been gradually broken. It is more likely that by the 1st century AD, agricultural practice was integrated and practised closer to the home settlement. It seems that the relationship between these communities and the past also changes at this time. As the cemeteries fall out of use they cease to exist as locales of ancestral presence. Instead, perhaps, the linears become much more important as relics of a more distant mythical past. In this way, their incorporation into the new schemes of land division should be seen as a deliberate manipulation of a past which had been

largely forgotten, or at least existed in a subsidiary position to the genealogical histories of the cemeteries.

These changes pre-date the Roman conquest by a couple of centuries although they seem to lay the foundations for the character of the Romano-British landscape here. In this way the expansion of settlement on to the Wolds, and differences in the Wolds landscape between the Romano-British and early/mid Iron Age should not be seen as a function of the Roman presence. Compared to the radical nature of changes during the later Iron Age the centuries of Roman occupation present a fairly conservative picture. Whilst there is a good deal more permanent settlement on the Wolds, the most significant concentrations of settlement continue to be found around the Wold-edge. Significantly, many of the open spaces defined during the Late Bronze Age are respected by Romano-British farmers. The appearance of many villas by the 3rd century has given rise to suggestions that this period saw a marked intensification of agriculture. This may well have been the period when Romanisation of these communities really began to take effect alongside an increasingly intensive and larger scale of agricultural production. Therefore, the 3rd century represents the culmination of a gradual ongoing process of increasing intensification rather than a significant break with the past. All in all, the Wolds of the Romano-British period appears to have been a very different place to the open mobile landscapes of the Iron Age, here. Instead of trackways, there were boundaries; instead of pasture, arable; instead of communal rights, division and enclosure.

The post Roman period witnessed considerable changes in the character of the Wolds landscape, although the quality of the archaeological evidence leaves a lot to be desired (see chapter 6). There are several sites with traces of both late Romano-British and early Anglian activity but there are no cases where continuity of settlement can be demonstrated on one site. Significant transformations in the settlement and landscape of the Wolds seems to have taken place around the 5th century AD at the end of effective Roman control, but may have begun earlier (see Reece 1980). There seems to have been a gradual re-orientation of settlement patterns with the wold-edge containing the post Roman concentrations of population. Although the evidence for Anglian settlement is very poor, there are

signs that during these centuries the Wolds was again an open landscape (chapter 6). Anglian presence on the Wolds appears only in the form of burials and these are often placed within early Bronze Age barrows or other monumental relics of the past. It is argued that these burials did not lie adjacent to settlements but acted as a different form of burial related to claims being made on the open Wolds through linkages to the local past. These references are clearly working very old monuments into the contemporary landscape and perhaps inventing a place for them in the pseudo-historical/genealogical claims to land here (i.e. Lucy 1992; Williams 1998). There is ample evidence of contemporary cemeteries lying off the wolds and close by permanent settlements (Powlesland 1986; Lucy 1998). Many of the Wolds burials lie alongside the long distance trackways which crossed the Wolds at this time and which later form the basis for the township boundaries. They are also found in certain special places which had for centuries acted as foci for monumental activity. Many of these places had not been apparently venerated since the Iron Age, but may have endured as meeting places or the focus for festivals throughout the Romano-British centuries. The Anglian communities are responding to a mythic memory of the significance of these places but may be manipulating it to suit contemporary needs (Gosden and Lock 1998; Bradley 1987).

From about the 9th century AD, there begin a series of changes which again see the transformation of the Wolds landscape. Archaeological evidence for this period is not very helpful and most insight has come from either documentary sources or the pattern of the landscape itself. The glimpses of the pre-Norman landscape through documents are only very vague however, testament to the pervasive dominance of the Medieval system compounded by the radical changes of parliamentary enclosure. Although the evidence is sparse and, crucially, late, there are consistent suggestions that at this time the communities settled around the Wold-edge began to manage the wolds more closely. This probably involved the increased definition and formalisation of land units and territorial claims to pasture. Some areas may have been physically divided by linear earthworks, others may already have been claimed through the insertion of burials into age-old linear boundaries. The long distance trackways also began to act as boundaries between

the rival claims of neighbouring communities. Settlements were established amidst the formerly open common pastures. These may have begun as temporary shielings or satellite settlements linked to communities based on the Wold-edge. Their territorial ties to the Wold-edge remained to some extent in the parochial linkages of the Medieval period. The township territories allotted to the newly found permanent settlements were fitted in between the long distance tracks which retained a great deal of tenurial significance. Again, the once extensive common pastures were gradually appropriated by incoming encroaching settlements, something which also contributed to the fragmentation of wider community links. The changes in the landscape reflect the re-drawing of the social and political map at this time. At some point between the 9th and 12th centuries AD, there are signs that certain changes were imposed upon the landscape which reflected the transformations in the character of communities. The layout of many villages was planned as, it seems, were the open fields that surrounded them. Again, therefore, there was a period of fundamental alteration in the Wolds landscape involving intensified land division, the transformation of tracks into boundaries, the encroachment of settlement onto the Wolds and the localisation of social groupings and organisation of agriculture. These changes laid the basis for the Medieval landscape but we have seen that encroachment and final fixing of boundaries continued into the 13th and 14th centuries.

It is clear from this summary of the findings of chapters 3-6 that significant episodes of settlement expansion and intensified land division can be identified during the Late Bronze Age the later Iron Age and during the Anglo-Scandinavian period. Likewise, the 5th century seems to witness a process of retraction of settlement, involving the reversion from a busy, managed Wolds to a more open and mobile landscape that is no longer an exclusive preserve. The changes have many things in common and a number of relationships continually emerge. The dynamic between the Wold-edge and Wold interior; that between trackway and boundary; between open and enclosed Wolds; between burial rites and the landscape; between community and pasturage; and between the present and the past. We will return to these common elements in the process of change below and outline the suggestion of their place within a cyclical diachronic pattern.

THE AFTERLIFE OF MONUMENTS AND THE REUSE OF THE PAST

In chapter one, we acknowledged the fact that the visible traces of the past, in past landscapes, should not be ignored for the influence and meaning they have for later periods of activity in that landscape. We also considered that these features were likely to become mythologised elements, along with other natural features, giving physical form to the subject matter of stories and songs which help to define the social identity of local communities. Here, we will review some of the recent attempts to make sense of the engagement between communities, in the past, with their past. An engagement which is most often visible through physical respect and reference given to features of the landscape. We will then consider the ways in which this has taken place on the Wolds, drawing information from the preceding 4 chapters.

"We would begin to improve communication in a subject which is disastrously over-specialised if we paid more critical attention to the afterlife of monuments." (Bradley 1987:15). The recognition that prehistoric monuments remained important features of the landscape, long after their initial meaning and role had been forgotten, has led to a plethora of discussion about the reuse of the past in the prehistoric and early historic landscape (Bradley 1987;1993; Barrett 1990;1994; Lucy 1992; Hingley 1996; Gosden and Lock 1998; Williams 1998). Bradley has concerned himself with monumentality, in its broadest sense, tracing the history of places chosen for monumental construction, focusing on their significance prior to and following the building of the initial monument (1993). The long term history of these special places is perhaps the real story, of which the construction of a barrow or henge is but one part. As with his case studies in 'Time regained' (1987), there are, on the Wolds, very many places which contain a multi-period complex of monuments, indicating their persistent importance in this landscape. The question, of course, remains of the character of this continuity. Is the development of these places a sign of unbroken ritual continuity or is it

punctuated by distinct phases of re-invention of a past to suit contemporary needs. If so, does this new meaning represent the reworking of longheld folk tradition or a completely new interpretation of the upstanding monuments whose significance had been forgotten? (see Gosden and Lock 1998; Bradley 1987; Roymans 1995).

Bradley's long term perspective on monuments extended to their persistence in the landscape and their continuing role in the cultural geographies of place. This obviously related to the way in which monuments from the distant past were incorporated into the present, their original meanings subverted to suit current political requirements (1987;1993). Several others have used this theme of the re-invention of tradition and recognised it particularly in the architecture of burial. Barrett saw that the construction of barrows in the Early Bronze Age and their relationship to existing examples "*might have been employed to evoke specific references to the past, indicating distinct lines of mythical ancestors amongst whom the dead were to be placed*" (Barrett 1990:185). The important aspect of this kind of study is the idea that the past is being evoked to legitimate political and social relationships in the present, in an active manner. The original meanings of these relics therefore are being subverted.

Hingley's study of the afterlife of Neolithic cairns in Atlantic Scotland demonstrates that their later reuse was neither accidental nor simply borne of convenience, but a meaningful engagement with a constructed past (Hingley 1996). This involved the actual physical manipulation of the Neolithic remains and modification of the structure of the monument itself, centuries later during the Iron Age. This relationship with the past is further illustrated by the apparent copying of Neolithic pottery decoration during the same period. Here, people are not only engaging with the traces of the past that are visible in the landscape, but are also trying to draw in the portable material relics of the past uncovered from the ground, or from inside these tombs. Similarly, when Parker-Pearson discussed the changing significance played by the dead in prehistoric and proto-historic southern Jutland, he pointed out the meaning behind the relationship between the dead, and the meanings attached to the ancient barrows into which they were inserted during the Early Iron Age. "*This association of the dead with monuments distant in space*

and time suggests an active reworking or invocation of values linked to an ancient past.” (Parker-Pearson 1993:214).

Engagement with the past can be demonstrated through the reuse of a barrow for secondary burial (i.e. Lucy 1992; Williams 1998; Hingley 1996). But there are other forms of engagement which may contain more significance for the overall development of the landscape. Repeated use of certain places, over long periods of time, may imply the long term sanctity of certain places or areas, not just the invention of history surrounding a particular monument, restricted to a single separate act of interpretation. The repeated character of these periods of reuse of places might lead to the suggestion that there exists an unbroken tradition of ceremonial activity at these places. A form of ‘ritual continuity’ was proposed by Hope-Taylor for Yeavinger but challenged by Bradley (1987). Bradley, instead, preferred the idea that the post-Roman use of the site was a means of appropriating the past associated with the monuments here and reinventing their meaning. The past was drawn upon to serve a political role, *“through the strategic use of monuments surviving from the distant past and their incorporation in a different cultural landscape. This... provides a better explanation for some of the patterns recognised in the archaeological record than the problematical notion of ritual continuity.”* (1987:5).

In a similar way, it will be clear from the following summary that there is little consistency to the character of the ‘persistent places’ on the Wolds. Some places are respected continually throughout prehistory and early history, whilst others feature more intermittently, and in different ways. The intermittent but repeated nature of this respect over many centuries raises the possibility of very long term continuities of tradition and myth. However, it would appear that each different phase of reuse and reference to the past involves no small degree of selectivity and re-invention. There are long periods of time when these places are not apparently respected, but these gaps are not as great as those at Yeavinger which spanned the entire first millennium BC. We should not discount the possibility of the survival of long term folk tradition, in such cases, but it is one which was consistently reworked, coming in and out of focus throughout the centuries as the importance of these places fluctuated.

As we have seen, there is much to be gained from taking a long term perspective on the development of a regional landscape. Bradley's work on monuments emphasised that a full understanding was not possible without a knowledge of the long term significance of the places where monuments were built (Bradley 1993). The earliest monuments were, rarely, new impositions. The choices surrounding their location responded to a long held sense of place, bound up with its special topographic character (see also Tilley 1994; Bradley 1998). The building of the earliest monument in the Neolithic therefore represented a new way of indicating this significance, but one which was rooted in the history of the place. "*..instead of creating an intellectual structure around the features of the natural topography, monument building is a way of establishing or enhancing the significance of particular locations.*" (Bradley 1993:5). This dynamic, between long term continuity and the reworking of traditions, through their appropriation into the present is one which never really goes away.

The move from natural places to monuments is emphasised by Bradley as the main distinction between Neolithic and Hunter-Gatherer communities and one which perhaps has more significance than their economic distinctions. He acknowledges that this represents an ideological distinction that might be recognised to exist between settled and mobile landscapes in general. Therefore, it may be something that exists between different parts of the landscape but at the same time (i.e. Bradley 1993b). We have already seen how the topographic character of a place is respected by the communities of the Wolds right throughout prehistory and early history. These places are sometimes embellished with multiple ditches where as in other times they are used for burial or followed by boundaries. It seems clear that, at times when the landscape of the Wolds is more mobile and open, the importance of tracks and topographic nodes is greater than the construction of domineering physical monuments, or indeed the digging of ditches (see below). In this way, differences in spatial logic and material attitudes to space, not only change with time but can, in some periods, be expressed in the distinction between the landscapes of the Wold-edge and those of the Wold interior.

A great deal of recent attention has been paid to the reuse of ancient monuments in Anglo-Saxon England, a trend perhaps begun by Bradley in 'Time regained'

(1987). In this article, he talks about the past being a *“resource in the hands of the living”* and there are many examples of the precise and deliberate engagement with the past in the post Roman, pre-Norman centuries. Most attention has been paid to the phenomenon of secondary inhumation in ancient monuments, mainly Early Bronze Age barrows. Williams has recently reviewed the evidence for monument reuse in Anglo-Saxon England and suggests that, *“Mortuary practices at ancient monuments would have involved the congregation of people from afar and would have provided an important arena for re-enacting links with the past, with the ancestors and with the supernatural, through the burial of the dead.”* (Williams 1998:103). He draws on *Beowulf* and other Anglo-Saxon literary sources to illustrate that, *“Ancient monuments were probably envisaged as powerful, liminal places, that may have been regarded as the dwellings of supernatural beings or ancestral peoples.”* (ibid: 103). The many examples that Williams discusses include several from East Yorkshire, where the phenomenon of reuse is widespread, as we have seen. He argues that this engagement with the past was a deliberate appropriation and subversion of the mythical and supernatural character of these monuments. *“.. it involved the appropriation of existing attitudes to ancient monuments: elites were not inventing these traditions de novo....they were associating themselves with powerful forces and with a distant past that may have served to legitimise political strategies in the present.”* (Williams 1998:103). The political manipulative role of this reuse is also emphasised by Bradley for Yeavinger and Newgrange (1987) and by Lucy again for Anglian East Yorkshire (1992;1998).

Bradley's paper discussed the post Roman appropriation of places and monuments which held sacred potency in prehistory, at Yeavinger and the centres of Newgrange and Knowth. Here he talks about the elite manipulation of the past to strengthen claims for political legitimacy. *“.... a local elite was making a considered effort to strengthen its position through reference to the past. The selective reconstruction of important monuments was really equivalent to the composition of prestigious but fictitious genealogies. We know that this process was taking place during a period of conflict and change, and this may provide a particular reason why the local rulers should have taken such trouble to legitimise*

their own position." (1987:10). Here he emphasises the need for the invention of tradition at a time when the retention of power was problematical, rather than explaining the need for legitimisation through the fact that the ruling authority may not have been of indigenous descent. For this invention to have had any strength, the post-Roman rulers here must have been drawing on, and subverting, the existing mythic associations that surrounded the monuments at Yeavinger, as opposed to interpreting the upstanding relics anew, from outside.

In such cases, Bradley is assuming that these places and the monuments they contain are still imbued with power, several centuries after any clear or direct memory of their original meaning had lapsed. In other words, they had become part of the mythology of the local people, and it is through the regular telling of stories about past events and people, associated with these places that they retained some power. The continuing importance of the place, though, had nothing to do with cultural or ritual continuity, as its meaning had been reworked and changed to fit the current socio-political agenda. The former significance of the hill-fort at Yeavinger and its monuments was '*half remembered and half forgotten*' and therefore easily manipulated and forced to fit an invented mythical ancestry in the present. The perceived power that surrounded the place was strong enough to give political and social reality to the claims to power made by those who now sought to control and manipulate these monuments and this place.

Sam Lucy has argued for similar views on the political significance of the reuse of barrows and other monuments for both Anglian and Iron Age burial on the Yorkshire Wolds (1992). Lucy acknowledges the persistence of a folk memory evoked by Anglian reuse of such monuments but asserts that it is deliberately done to legitimate power structures and land claims which were without ancestral credentials (ibid). The use of prehistoric monuments for burial at this time is "*an attempt to legitimate and naturalise ... power relations*", which had broken down following the end of imperial Roman authority, which had caused a "*crisis of legitimisation*" (1992:4). She goes on to argue that, "*Perhaps some of the legitimisation is felt to come from this link with the past-as well as making one's dead a highly visible feature of the landscape, one is also associating them with ancient ancestors, creating an even stronger justification for power. The use of*

monuments in this way may be a way of "staking a claim", of establishing rights to control of the landscape." (1992:4). The strong similarities between the burial rites of the Anglian period and those of the Iron Age, in this area, are seen as further evidence of the usurpation and subversion of local tradition and not, as Faulkner has suggested, as a sign of an element of 'British' ethno-cultural continuity (Lucy 1992)

The tendency to suspect a political manipulative role for the reference made by Anglian communities to prehistoric monuments may stem from Bradley's paper, which clearly dealt with the reuse of the past on the part of a political elite. He does not directly attribute the need for the subversion of the past to the presence of an incoming aristocracy, without local ancestral credentials, but instead points to the endemic conflict and political unrest of the post Roman centuries. Anglian communities are forced to cynically exploit the local past and invent a link between it and them, or their dead. This invention of a connection with the mythical past need have nothing at all to do with the ethnic origins of the people or communities involved. Williams, on the other hand, stresses the association made between the reuse of ancient monuments and the creation of specifically Germanic origin myths, that become more prevalent during the 7th century. The reuse and manipulation of the past was certainly taking place but perhaps it was not forced on Anglian communities because of their alien origins. The repeated nature of reuse and respect given to certain places in the Wolds landscape indicates this sympathetic reworking of long term folk traditions, but incorporating them into an historically specific cultural landscape.

PERSISTENT PLACES ON THE WOLDS

When discussing the monumental complexes at Yeavinger, Bradley briefly refers to the site of Thwing, "*..which (having) already done service as a Neolithic Henge and Late Bronze Age ringwork, was reused in the 8C AD as a high status site and cemetery.*" (Bradley 1987:15). Here, Manby found an Anglian cemetery and hall structure, within the ringwork, as well as a number of palisaded enclosures attached to outside of the circular prehistoric enclosure, all of which are late

Anglian in date (i.e. Manby 1990). Clearly it stands as another example of the deliberate evocation of the past by post Roman communities. But it is by no means alone on the Wolds as the presence of the past is all around and especially so in the post Roman period.

The Wolds is a multi-period landscape, not only because traces of the past are visible today in the configuration of lanes and fields and boundaries. Throughout the 2000 years, under study, the past was a prominent feature of the landscape and was incorporated into current systems of land division and settlement in a direct and deliberate manner. The problem is how to make sense of the many different forms in which reference to the past was made; how to explain the many degrees of continuity so represented, and different interlinked forms of history and myth they may reflect. The past was important to people, in the past, and its traces were visible on the Wolds. The multi-period character of the landscape therefore reflects this awareness. It does not imply an unchanging continuity of social or cultural formation.

The most obvious examples represent the direct reference to a visible monument of the past in particular the insertion of a burial into a barrow or earthwork. Such acts of reference and engagement are often concentrated into certain specific areas which repeatedly contain concentrations of monuments from many different periods. Here, we are not only dealing with the deliberate reference to individual monuments, but also a veneration of the place, the locality surrounding this monument or the group to which it belongs. These areas are often situated at special topographic places, which might be close to water sources, or lie up on the wold top in commanding situations. The consistent reference to them is responding to the presence of history here, but also to the continuing recognition of the special topographic character of the place. Very often these places are situated close to long distance tracks which seem to have existed as features of the Wolds landscape for very long periods of time.

Here, we will outline some of the long term persistent places and features of this landscape. Many of them have already featured in earlier chapters but only through

the part they play within a chronologically limited slice of time. Here we can trace their development over a much longer time scale.

CRAIKE HILL---GARTON STATION (fig 133)

Craike Hill today is a low eminence, probably about 200m across from north to south. It is a natural hill of fine chalk which "*was (once) a prominent landmark, but gravel digging since 1938 has reduced it to a crater.*" (Manby 1958:224). It is one of the few prominent natural features in the vicinity and is now covered by young pines and surrounded by the low degraded mounds of former barrows. The small hillock lies in the bottom of the broad valley of Garton-Wetwang Slack, 1 km or so before it meets the clays of the Hull Valley and Holderness. It is a significant and prominent feature because the surrounding landscape is so flat and rolling, with distant views from it available in all directions. Today the hill lies alongside the Craike-Tibthorpe Green Lane, part of the route which originally extended westwards as a pre-Norman long distance trackway. It is now a short stretch of wide road at this point and is also followed by the parish boundary between Kirkburn and Garton. The hill itself has been greatly reduced in size over the recent decades, as it has provided a quarry for the extraction of flint and gravel. Manby's excavations on the hill were carried out in front of this extraction work, in which he uncovered traces of Neolithic activity. He interpreted this material as domestic in character because of the large amount of pottery and flint debris in association with hearth deposits (Manby 1958). Since Manby's work, here, excavation by Ian Stead has identified both Anglian and Iron Age burials in the close vicinity (Stead 1991), to add to the Neolithic and Bronze Age barrows already investigated by Mortimer (1905).

To the north, is the former course of the (Driffield) Gypsy Race which now rises in the springs at Elmswell, to the east. It is assumed that, in prehistory, the stream ran along the valley floor at least on a seasonal basis. This area between Craike Hill and Garton Gatehouse provides the focus for a phenomenal concentration of burial monuments and linears from the Neolithic through to the Anglo-Saxon period. In many cases this involves the direct and deliberate relationship between burials and

monuments of the past. Many of these monuments appear to be concentrated around and along a trackway, which ran along the bottom of the valley westwards towards Wetwang, where it forms the valley based trackway respected by the Iron Age cemetery here. It is marked by a linear earthwork probably in origin dug during the later Bronze Age. East of Garton Station, the track forks to form the historically known Green Lane, which is at least as old as the 9-10th century AD, and probably much older. In keeping with other long distance cross-wold tracks, such as the Sledmere Green Lane and the Towthorpe ridgeway, it may well originate in the Neolithic or Bronze Age. Many monuments from this period are found alongside it, including the Kirkburn Neolithic enclosure as well as several Early Bronze Age round barrows.

The Neolithic barrows are scattered around the floor of the Garton-Wetwang Slack, but here at Craike, they are especially closely concentrated. As far as the Wolds in general is concerned, the small area around Craike Hill represents a significant concentration of Neolithic activity, of both a ceremonial and a domestic nature (Dent 1983). Stead's excavations investigated an enclosure here which, he suggested, was Neolithic (1991). It lies alongside the Green Lane and close to the more securely dated Neolithic activity at Craike Hill. The whole valley acts as a focus for the concentrations of Early Bronze Age barrows, which lie along the valley floor routeway all the way up to Wetwang Slack. During the Late Bronze Age the valley bottom linear was probably constructed, although there is no direct dating evidence for this. Dent considers that the track, upon which the early Wetwang cemetery is aligned, was already ditched by the 4th century BC and this same track/linear passes through the complex at Garton Station, from the north. It is now visible only as a cropmark and is later respected by Iron Age square barrows. This linear demonstrates a deliberate respect to many of the existing monuments of the area and incorporates some of them into its line (Mortimer 1905), including a Neolithic long barrow further west up the valley (fig 133; 85).

During the Iron Age, as we have seen in chapter 4, the whole valley is again used as a concentration for a series of square barrow cemeteries, that are strung out along the valley bottom track/linear. The AP plots show a linear cemetery at Garton Station arranged to the north of this line. Here too, at Garton Station, was

found a cluster of barrows and other rectilinear enclosures, which often contain graves of a special character (Stead 1991) (chapter 4). These are sometimes seen as having been placed away from the regular and larger cemeteries, in liminal locations, because of their unusual nature (see chapter 4). Some of the enclosures found with these square barrows do not contain inhumations and, as such, have few parallels elsewhere in East Yorkshire. Others, that do contain inhumations are sometimes circular rather than square in plan. The area to the south also contains some strange Iron Age burial activity, including a further cart burial at Stead's site Kirkburn 1. His site Kirkburn 2, located between Garton Station and Craike Hill, consisted of a large square plan enclosure which overlay a larger probably Neolithic enclosure. Here, also, were 2 smaller circular enclosures containing horse burials but no human remains. Again, the consistently unusual character of the Iron Age graves in this area is emphasised.

If this area was seen as liminal in the Iron Age and, thus, a sensible place for graves of unusual character, then it was probably a recent interpretation of the place. The existing presence of relics from the past was not lost on the users of square barrows but the most important feature in the location of cemeteries here would appear to have been the valley bottom trackway/linear or indeed the stream (see Bean 1999). The scattered isolated square barrows here are more readily identified with the round barrows, than the nucleated cemeteries; they are also located amongst them.

A crucial part of the history of this place is the significance placed on it during the Anglian centuries. At this time, at least four cemeteries were placed within former monuments. Two separate groups of inhumations were inserted into the linear earthwork at Garton Gatehouse (Mortimer 1905), another group was placed within the Iron Age barrows and enclosures of the Garton Station site (Stead 1991) (fig 113; 73) and other smaller groups or individual burials were placed into the round barrows around the Green Lane (Mortimer's 112 and C46). There were also Anglian inhumations in Stead's 'Neolithic' enclosure at Kirkburn 2 (Stead 1991). Mortimer's excavations of round barrows in this area consistently uncovered unprovenanced Anglian pottery and, therefore, there may have been further secondary inhumations in some of the other round barrows as well. Further east

around Driffield, several round barrows were used in this way, some of which contained whole inhumation cemeteries (see chapter 6). Most of the burials from this area seem to date from the 7th century although the eastern cemetery at Gatehouse and that from barrow 112 were unfurnished. The grave goods from Gatehouse westerly cemetery were part of 'indigenous' material culture containing many penannular brooches and even a piece of metalwork, or work-box, very similar to the Iron Age "bean can" from Wetwang Slack.

Significantly, there are very few similar concentrations of Anglian burial further up the valley, although another (unfurnished) cemetery may exist at Blealands Nook. It was the area around Craike Hill and Garton Station, in particular, that was chosen, in this period, for special attention and specific engagement with relics of the past (fig 111). This may well be because it was here that barrows and earthworks remained upstanding and visible. Further up the valley towards Wetwang Slack there were no upstanding barrows recorded in the 19th century, compared to many around Garton Station and they may have already been obliterated by the end of the Roman period. The concentration of secondary Anglian inhumations here may also have been respecting the routeway along the valley floor, at a point that marked the transition from 'settled' wold-edge to more open and less managed Wold interior. They are located on either side of the Green Lane, which has been put forward as a pre-Norman long distance trackway which is later followed by a township boundary. The emerging sense of this feature as a boundary is possibly what these Anglian burials are reflecting (see chapter 6), in an area away from permanent settlement but at a time when claims to these open lands required negotiation, through the association of the recent dead with traces of the distant past.

The emergence of Craike Hill into the Middle Ages is shadowy but a number of 12-13C references suggest that here was the site of *Crakou*, the meeting place for the entire East Riding (Smith 1937 and chapters 5-6). It is well located for such a role, as it lies alongside a long distance track and boundary. Its significance in local myth and folk lore may be reflected by this usage and perhaps a memory of the role of the place, that had led to the concentration of cemeteries during the 7C. There may even have been a tradition of meetings and festivals here from that time. It is

not clear exactly what kind of power structures would have used this place before the Norman conquest. No doubt the legitimacy of any meetings and decisions made here, or of the justice enforced, would be helped by the weight of ancient tradition that resided here. The pervasive presence of many upstanding monuments each with names or specific myths, the topographic specialness of the seasonal stream and oddity of Craike Hill itself would have added to the potency of the place. Notably, it was during the phases of open un-ditched Wolds that Craike is venerated with burials and traces of Romano-British activity are minimal. At times like this, during the Iron Age or Anglian period, the placement of the dead in landscape and their juxtaposition with the visible past was an important part of the negotiation of social relationships and identities, which may have also been connected to claims on land. During the Late Iron Age/Romano-British and indeed the Middle Ages, such claims were made by means of the physical definition of boundaries which did not involve the dead of the community.

KEMP HOWE AND BURROW (fig 134)

In chapter six, we discussed the phenomenon of small discrete territories, within the patchwork of the township structure, that existed throughout the Middle Ages, and were recorded in the 18th and 19th centuries. Burrow is one such area which was recognised as a township in 19th century but, apparently did not contain any centre of population, nor its own agricultural structure. We suggested that it was a remnant of ancient pasture, created at a time of the fragmentation and re-negotiation of land holding, during the Anglo-Scandinavian period. Here lies another area which was persistently treated as special by local communities over many centuries before this time. Again the multi-period concentration of monuments is remarkable and there are several cases of reference and respect to relics from the past. Furthermore, the continued importance of this place for monumentality and burial seems to have responded both to the presence of the past and to the topographic character of the place. Here lies another long-lasting and very ancient trackway that follows the ridge on the southern watershed of the Great Wold Valley. Its course is now more or less followed by an 18th century

coach road, the High Street. As such, the concentration of monuments occupies one of the most commanding locations on the Wolds, with unbroken views extending out in all directions. Again the sequence begins here with Neolithic monuments, in this case a pair of long barrows, both investigated by Mortimer (Mortimer 1905; Manby 1988). The pair now sit at an important cross-roads and remained prominent landmarks until recent times. The southerly barrow became known as Kemp Howe and provided the vessel for an Anglian cemetery of secondary inhumations, excavated by Mortimer (1905) and then Brewster (Manby 1988). Much later, it was probably the site of Cowlam beacon, which in the 16C was seen to be "*taking light from Staxton and Bridlington and geveth light to Settrington*" (quoted in Nicholson 1887:33).

The prominence of the location, as well as the presence of Neolithic barrows and the ridgeway, probably prompted the concentration of Early Bronze Age barrows here. Many remained upstanding into the early 20th century and were investigated by Greenwell and Mortimer, but most have now been levelled by the plough. The RCHM plots have identified many more examples, in particular a cluster of small ring ditches which seem to congregate around two much larger barrows, to the north of Burrow (Stoertz 1997). Several barrows lie alongside the High Street supporting the antiquity of its line. The ridge following Late Bronze Age linear, the Great Wold Dyke, runs to the north of the ridgeway and it is not clear whether this line was in fact the original course of the track. The linear was upstanding well into the present century and remains, in places, as a line of triple bank and ditch. In several instances, it has incorporated round barrows into its line, a phenomenon repeated in many other cases on the Wolds (see chapter 3).

Some of the earliest square barrows are found here and were excavated by Stead in the late 1960's (Stead 1986). Five of the six barrows had already been excavated by Greenwell (Greenwell and Rolleston 1877), and the southerly three were apparently upstanding in the 19th century, as they appear on the OS 6' map. That the earliest of the square barrows tend to occupy such locations, whilst later ones form close clusters, in low-lying sites, is significant and early groups of square barrows, such as these, may perhaps belong to a transitional phase between different traditions of monument building. An important feature of Stead's

excavation was the identification of a linear double ditch which cuts one of the square barrows, indicating, unquestionably, a date of construction after or during the middle Iron Age. Equally significant is the way the linear cuts the barrow and bisects the overall group, suggesting a deliberate engagement with these visible relics. It is possible that this linear helped to define, physically, the territory of Burrow, recorded later by township boundaries. (fig 134). Such a territory may well be related to the late Anglian site here which has yielded so much metalwork (Haldenby 1990;1992;1994; Richards 1994).

The secondary Anglian inhumations at Kemp Howe have already been mentioned. They are largely unfurnished and are seen as 7th or 8th century AD in date. They lie alongside the High Street, another pre-Norman long distance trackway also followed by a township boundary. A little to the south-east lies the site of recently discovered 8-9C AD settlement which, judging from the metalwork, may have high status associations. The character of this settlement is not fully yet established as excavation has so far been minimal (Richards 1993). However comparisons with the late Anglian activity at Thwing have been made in the date and quality of the metalwork. These two sites may also share a common relationship with the past as they both were situated close to if not within prehistoric monuments. So, again, the presence of upstanding monuments in a special topographic location provides the arena for many centuries of persistent, albeit intermittent, monument building and burial. In choosing this location these communities were drawing on the potency of the place lent by the concentrated presence of the past.

There are several other places on the Wolds where monuments from many different periods are found together in one place. Most of the Anglian burials on the Wolds, for instance, are found in places which had already been recognised as special and had been enhanced with either a burial monument or a multiple linear earthwork in prehistory (fig 111). Many of them are situated in commanding topographic locations or else in low-lying positions close to streams, springs or ponds. Furthermore they are often found close to long distance trackways which have been an unchanging feature of this landscape for many centuries (fig 128). At Fimber, the natural knoll, situated alongside 2 ponds has formed a focus for monuments and burial since the Early Bronze Age, at least when a barrow was

built here. Here, the linears seem to enclose the barrow and ponds rather than incorporate them (fig 88). No Iron Age burials have been found, but there is evidence of an Anglian cemetery around the barrow (Eagles 1979; Lucy 1998). The barrow was later used for the site of the village church which may have pre-Norman origins (Mortimer 1888) (fig 101).

The group of inhumations from Blealands Nook were originally interpreted by Mortimer as Romano-British in date, as they were found within the series of enclosures belonging to the Romano-British ladder site here (fig 111; 81). Lucy and Eagles have both considered them to be Anglian (Lucy 1998; Eagles 1979). They are found at the crossing of 2 already ancient long distance trackways, one of which is subsequently followed by a township boundary. Their position here is no accident and was clearly responding to the historical significance of the place as well as the cultural character of the cross-roads as a liminal location in the post Roman landscape.

The Iron Age cemetery at Arras occupies a commanding location on the main Wolds watershed. It probably lay alongside, or close to, the ridgeway running north-south along the spine of the Wolds. Here too, are found a series of converging linear earthworks and later township boundaries, but no proximal round barrows or secondary Anglian inhumations, despite the survival of many of the Iron Age barrows into the 19th century.

At Aldro, there are many Early Bronze Age barrows scattered along the ridge which overlooks the northern Wold escarpment and carries another ridgeway of probable prehistoric origin. In several cases here the linears incorporate these barrows into their line and there are some examples of secondary Anglian inhumations within the linears. None of the round barrows carry such secondaries however, nor are there any Iron Age burials.

It is easy to emphasise the long term continuities and connections across very long periods of time implied by the recurrent use made of these sites and areas. It will be clear from the above that there is no pattern to the persistent use of these places over long periods of time. Some groups of prominent barrows for instance, crucially significant during the Early Bronze Age were never again respected or

referred to by later monuments, despite their having remained intact and visible. The Iron Age cemeteries at Wetwang Slack were never used for Anglian secondary burial which instead focused further down the valley on a prominent and visible group of monuments. The gap in occupation of Thwing is so long that its original Late Bronze Age meaning must have lapsed by the 8-9C. In this way, the past was being selectively drawn upon and re-interpreted during the Anglian period. It could be argued for Thwing that the former significance of this place had nothing to do with the Anglian reuse which was only reacting to what was visible above ground. However, the repetitive character of the history of reuse at places like Burrow and Craike would suggest that a strong and enduring mythic tradition had built up around these monumental complexes and one that grew in stature with every regular gathering or new story that was told about it. There were links to the distant past, as the same places were repeatedly and persistently respected. However, the role of these places in the present and the meaning they held for communities was consistently re-interpreted.

FOLK LORE AND REINVENTION:

PREHISTORIC BARROWS IN THE HISTORIC LANDSCAPE

Roymans long term study of the 'cultural biography' of the landscapes of the Meuse-Demer-Scheldt region, has also considered the afterlife of monuments and places; in this case the urnfield barrow cemeteries (1995). In doing so, he has outlined their continuing significant role as locales, laden with mythic associations for many centuries after the Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age period, when the cemeteries were first constructed and used. *"In popular culture, the cemeteries were probably interpreted as liminal places which took up an important position in the mythical geography of the landscape, and which may have been associated with the former inhabitants of the land. They housed ghosts and demons, towards whom one had to behave in a correct way."* (1995:10). These cemeteries were respected and referenced in the landscape throughout the Roman Iron Age and continued to form part of its mythological fabric into the Middle Ages. His study revolves around the survival of folk loric references to these places, recorded in the

19th century. He argues that because these folk tales preserve some mythic elements of the pre-Christian sagas, the urnfields had existed as the abode of mythical figures since this time. The original stories have been Christianised to some degree and altered to fit the ideological agenda of the political Christianity of the Medieval period. Changes in the landscape, during the 12-13C, involved the destruction of many urnfields, which had been hitherto respected, and this he equates with the increasing dominance of a Christian ideology. The only cemeteries that survive throughout the Middle Ages exist in the marginal zones of the heathlands away from churches and villages. It is these liminal areas which are now equated, along with the monuments, with the supernatural 'evil' of the Christian devil and other 'dark forces'. The folk tales reveal that the barrows were seen as dwellings of goblins and spirits, and not as tombs, suggesting a large degree of re-interpretation of their original meaning for people. Furthermore there are signs that these places were once associated with meeting places and festivals, again possibly during the pre-Christian period.

His combination of recent folkloric evidence with archaeological data is important and is only hampered by the recent date of the recording of the folk evidence. If we are to talk about the existence of a mythic landscape in the past we have to address the cultural vehicles through which these myths are traditionally recorded and transmitted. This is done through naming, song and storytelling, as Gosden and Lock indicate when they quote Rumsey, as follows, "*Stories, songs, dance and paintings are all means of retrieving memories and meanings from the country, working together as social memory and showing the paradoxical combination of extreme long term continuity and considerable negotiability.*" (Rumsey 1994:127-8, quoted in Gosden and Lock 1998). We could add to this, the naming of prominent landscape features and ancient monuments. The earliest survivals of folk tales, local to the archaeological sites in which we are interested, are the closest we can get to the oral, and aural, meanings originally attached to them. As we discuss the phenomenon of the perpetual reuse and gradual reworking of meanings attached to features from the past, we have to acknowledge that people, in the past, were, themselves, responding to existing folkloric and mythic associations. The transmission of these names, stories, songs and rituals is lost to us, apart from

the way in which activity at these sites is reflected and visible, materially, in the archaeological record. Deliberate material engagement with the traces of the past, and in some cases their manipulation, however, may only have taken place at times when longheld meanings were in the process of subversion. Otherwise, the long continuing process of mythical gossip, about a place or monument remains archaeologically invisible.

Roymans study is also useful because it illustrates a 'grassroots' attitude towards the past that surrounds a community within the local landscape. This is very different from the ideas of direct political manipulation of the past, on the part of an elite group, discussed by Bradley and, to some extent, Lucy. Bradley's case studies were deliberately chosen for their elite political spin. It could be argued that, in the Medieval Low Countries, the church were cynically manipulating the meaningful understanding of the urnfields, by local people, in order to underwrite the 'truth' of their ideological propaganda. In a way, this is most definitely the case. However, the impression gained from Roymans case study, is that the urnfields were consistently venerated by local people, in a sensitive manner, and often in a way that directly opposed the dominant spiritual world view, reinforced every Sunday in Church. The urnfields and their myths were vehicles of subversion and the only real honest connection between these communities and their pre-Christian heritage. Amidst the continuities in the features of the Wolds landscape and the generalised sequence of political changes, peoples' connection to a perceived past remains and is manifest through engagement with the relics of that past. The situation on the Wolds, in the persistent reuse of the same special places, has, perhaps, more in common with the MDS region and Roymans' approach than it does with Bradley's ideas of elite political manipulation at Yeavinger. The Wolds examples we have so far described are rarely the result of the manipulation of the past on behalf of a political elite group. We have instead interpreted them as involved with claims being made to areas of pasture, away from the settlements, on the part of individual communities. The case of Thwing may be an exception to this rule, as here we do seem to be dealing with a high status settlement deliberately placed within the remains of an ancient monument. Echoes of the mythic open

landscape of the post Roman centuries, are heard quietly into the Medieval period, but here too the occasional reference to the past is made in this landscape.

We have already discussed the reuse of prehistoric barrows and earthworks for Anglian burial, as a deliberate engagement and re-invention of the past. In many cases, these secondary burials were found in certain favoured locations amongst multi-period monumental complexes. Others were placed within monuments that lay alongside long distance trackways. The barrows of the Wolds were also used as markers in the landscape, when it came to the delineation of boundaries. This was first apparent when the long distance linears of the Late Bronze Age were constructed, incorporating many Early Bronze Age barrows into their line. The formation of township boundaries in the Anglo-Scandinavian period also seems to have involved the incorporation of Early Bronze Age barrows into the boundary line. Anglian burials too are often found to have been situated along or close to township boundaries. The only surviving charter for this area comes from Newbald and it describes the boundaries of the 10C estate, as having followed at least 2 barrows up on the Wolds. These are later also followed by the township boundary (Long and Pickles 1993)(see chapter 6). The Kirby Underdale examples, and many others, also lay alongside features later to become township boundaries.

As we saw in chapter 6, there is a difference in the character of boundaries on the Wolds than on the Wold-edge. The land unit traced by the charter at Newbald straddles the Wold-edge, including within it the fields and settlement(s) of the Wold-edge as well as the open Wold land. The Newbald example clearly shows that away from the settlements and fields, the boundary markers are natural features such as valleys or trees, trackways or, indeed relics of the past such as barrows. These kinds of features (tracks, natural topography and ancient monuments) were the structuring elements of the open Wolds landscape, and were deliberately drawn into the creation of boundaries, during the phase when the openness is giving way to enclosure. Their mythic associations were harnessed into the new scheme, in a way that tamed the, once remote, other world of the open Wolds, by drawing it closer to the settled and cultivated lands of the wold-edge.

After the Norman conquest, and the universal adoption of Christianity, mythic resonances persist in this landscape, especially with regard to the continued veneration and respect of particular monuments and areas. For instance, there are several cases of barrows, having been used as meeting places, specifically connected to hundreds and wapentakes, many of which were named after these barrows. That these monuments were already used in this way, before the creation of these administrative institutions, must be taken seriously. In fact, the use of local existing meeting places would have sweetened the authoritarian pill administered by the creation of the hundred-wapentake structure. Most of the known examples are found up on the Wolds, a place well suited to such gatherings. The best example is one that we have discussed above, the East Riding meeting place and court at Craike Hill, Kirkburn. It must have been the strength of the mythic properties and associations of this place that warranted such a status. It may also have been used as a meeting place for many centuries already, and even if this practice had died out in 8-9C, some folk memory may have remained.

FOLK MOOTS AND FOLK MEMORY

The meeting place of the hundred or wapentake was an integral part of the institution and one which survived into the later Middle Ages, here and throughout England (Smith 1937; Stenton 1971; Sawyer 1978). More than anything it was the regular open air meetings of the hundreds that lent their existence a contemporary reality and so the places chosen for such gatherings must have held a particularly strong resonance. Here, were held the court hearings of the hundred presided over by "*peasants learned in the law*" (Stenton 1971:270) Meetings which, according to Stenton, "*..had all the features of an ancient popular assembly*" (ibid). The law administered and considered here represented a common stratum of rights, a check against the manorial land-locked feudal system, and so what better place for it to be heard than away from the settlements and fields that symbolised these social bonds (Stenton 1971). Instead, we find most of these meeting places "*..in a sort of no-man's-land as far away from the settlements of the community it served and on the boundary between two or more estates, but often near a road or river*

crossing." (Gelling 1978:209). Likewise, Anderson pointed out in 1934 that meeting places were often found close to roads or fords and regularly found on commons or heaths (Anderson 1934). The strength of the connection between the hundred/wapentake and these gatherings is shown by the fact that many were named after their meeting places. As Gelling says, "*..hundred names preserve rich evidence for the siting of the outdoor assemblies which met to settle matters of local administration and justice.*" (Gelling 1978:209). Even those which are seemingly named after settlements are likely to have had their original (meeting place) name changed.

The places chosen for hundred courts were topographic features, undoubtedly, already potent mythic elements of an old landscape. In the main these are barrows, trees, prominent stones and sometimes crosses, although the latter are likely to represent a deliberate attempt to christianise an existing site. These places came to symbolise the hundredal institution and the commonality of its law. They are highly likely to have already held similar significance because of regular gatherings and festivals, or because of particular mythical association. In fact, the ancestral resonance of a place would have lent the proceedings and the institution itself a legitimacy rooted in folk lore and folk landscape. Something not as potent for grassroots popular culture had it been based in the manorial centre. In this sense, the meeting places are tapping into the former logic of the open mythic landscape, on the Wolds in the post Roman period, and so the record of their importance in the 11C is likely to testify to centuries of existing veneration at these places. In these 12-13C records of wapentake courts and meetings, are preserved glimpses of the former character of the Wolds, in general, something which had otherwise been obliterated by the thick crust that formed over the old Wolds after the foundation of township, village and open field.

Detailed work carried out by Swan et al put forward the case that, in Bulmer wapentake, (North Yorks), the centre was originally located at Bolesford, a site chosen for very practical considerations of access and visibility (Swan et al 1990). It was also conceived that here there could easily have been a long-standing tradition of popular assembly at this place, because of its Romano-British credentials. In this example, the centre of the wapentake was placed in the heart of

the inhabited landscape, close to an existing settlement or estate centre. Very different considerations for meeting place selection appear to have been current on the Wolds, however.

It is not possible to identify all the meeting places of the East Yorkshire hundreds and wapentakes, but there are strong indications for many, all of which lie on the open high wolds. The three Wolds wapentakes are all certainly named after their meeting places. In the case of Buckrose, a cross, possibly by the former Romano-British road between Wharram le Street and Wetwang, whilst Harthill is probably named after a now lost topographic feature by the road between Market Weighton and Pocklington (Anderson 1934; Smith 1937; VCH 1974;1976). The name, Dickering may be derived from OE for 'dike circle' or 'ring of dykes', a reference no doubt to the re-use of a prehistoric earthwork for the meeting place (Smith 1937). There are records of the hundred meetings taking place at both Rudston and Burton Fleming in 12th and 13th century and even one at the Rudston monolith in 15th century (ibid). Notably the meeting here is recorded as having taken place at the monolith rather than by the church, even though the standing stone lay in the churchyard. The location of the original 'dyke-ring' has been suggested at Rudston Beacon as well as at Maiden's Grave to south and north of Rudston village, respectively, both places with heavy concentrations of prehistoric monuments in commanding locations. The selection of Rudston for the wapentake court can have, in no small way, been down to continuing mythic significance of the place. The site of Rudston Beacon is also likely to have been the meeting place of the hundred of Burton, probably focused on one of the barrows found here, alongside the ridgeway, Woldgate (Smith 1937; VCH 1974;1976).

Unlike Burton, several other local hundreds were indeed named after their meeting places, indicating that a range of topographic features were used for this purpose. Warter probably denotes a 'gnarled tree' or possibly a 'gallows tree'; Acklam is referring to a 'group of oaks' and Scard is likely to be making reference to a 'ravine' or maybe a dry valley. The hundred of Sneculfcros was no doubt identified with a free standing cross of some kind. Three others seem to have been named after barrows, two of which are associated with the Norse god, Thor: Turbar and Thoreshowe. The hundred of Huntow has been mentioned before and was certainly

later the name of a common pasture. In origin though it may well have been the name of a barrow. The name still survives in minor names which may help to locate the meeting place which probably lay within the common, high up on the Wold (chapter 6). The closest village, Speeton, was probably named after the site, deriving from OE for 'speech enclosure'. Two other probable hundred meeting places are identifiable through names using this same element. Spell Howe on the top of the northern escarpment, in Folkton is a barrow which is likely to have been the focus of Turbar hundred. Likewise, several names in Spellow including Spellowgate have survived in Driffield and Elmswell, providing an approximate location for the meeting place of the Driffield hundred, again high up on the Wold land of these townships. An earlier meeting place for this hundred may have existed in the centre of what is now Driffield town, where a large mound is known as Moot Hill.

We can see, in the vague documentary references to Medieval meeting places here, that they are often associated with ancient monuments, or else prominent features of the Wolds landscape, such as trees or standing crosses. Some of the names of hundreds or wapentakes preserve the names given to the barrows which associate them with deities from the Scandinavian pantheon. The attachment to such places seems to be drawing on their existing mythic significance and suggests that they had acted as gathering places for some time before the 12-13C. The power of the ancient places was being harnessed by the creators of the administrative system, represented by the wapentake. As we mentioned above, these documentary references belong to a time when the open Wolds of the Anglian period were being colonised, appropriated and cultivated. However, some sense of its former character is preserved in popular mythic culture represented by the use of certain ancient places for congregation and justice.

TRACKS AND BOUNDARIES: SURVIVAL AND REWORKING

Gosden and Lock have made an important recent contribution to this debate, taking the discussion on to consider the existence of different kinds of histories and perceptions of the past, in the past. They emphasise how history, in a prehistoric

context, was inscribed into the landscape, so that *“creating marks on the landscape, or reusing old marks, was an important set of actions which may have been highly formalised and ritualised”* (Gosden and Lock 1998:11). As a result, the significance and meaning of these marks and monuments remained in the landscape, often being respected for many centuries. Furthermore they reinforce the important presence of the past, in the past, *“People structured their contemporary world not just with regard to the exigencies of the present, but also through a complex consciousness of the past.”*(Gosden and Lock 1998:3). Crucially, they make the distinction between two kinds of past reference and reuse in the landscape. *“The first comes from repeated use and maintenance of features with known antecedents, to which a group (or parts of it) return on a regular basis to carry out actions of a prescribed type. The second aspect of reuse derives from actions at ancient features of the landscape, given new values within the contemporary setting.”* (Gosden and Lock 1998:4). They relate these two different forms of engagement to the creation of different histories. *“Sites and features of the landscape can be seen as engines for the creation of time, through the repetition at them of ritualised acts. These acts may have been aimed at the maintenance and reworking of elements in the landscape with known antecedents, these falling within the scope of genealogical history. More ancient features could allow for more latitude in evoking the past in the present. This we call mythical history.”* (ibid: 6).

So far, we have dealt with the very obvious archaeological examples, involving the direct engagement with an often distant past, most clearly evident in the insertion of a secondary burial into an already very ancient barrow. Here, though, the authors are acknowledging that, throughout prehistory, the past was consistently being engaged with, in less spectacular ways, through repeated, often ritualised, action at certain features and sites. The regular maintenance or cleaning out of ditches, for instance, would keep the ditch in a *“socially active state”* and, at the same time, reinforce the historical character of the ditch (ibid: 6). In this kind of way, features of the landscape, such as tracks and boundaries, would continue to play a part in the present but also enjoy strong and clearly understood historical credentials. It is with this in mind that we now move on to consider some of the

persistent tracks and boundaries of the Wolds, many of which endure in this landscape for many centuries.

PERSISTENT TRACKS

Many of the places, where Anglian secondary inhumations are found, are also those which were elaborated in the Late Bronze Age with multiple linear ditches. It was argued in chapter 3, that this monumentalization is an indication of the existing cultural significance of the place, linked to its topographic character, as most of them lie at the heads of valleys or across shoulders of land between valley heads (see also Bradley 1993). The convergence of routeways at these strategic locations had given them a cultural importance by the Late Bronze Age. It has also been argued that these same long distance trackways were in use throughout prehistory, and that they became crucial structuring features of the Iron Age and Anglian Wolds (fig 121). By this time, these tracks, often marked by massive linear earthworks, had become part of the mythic landscape. They were in fact relics of the past themselves and this antiquity may have been drawn upon through the placement of burials along their line (fig 111; 124; 128). We have also seen, however, that the location of burials alongside the tracks was an engagement, not only with the past that the track may have represented, but also with the contemporary world. It expressed the claims to pasture land, areas identified by the tracks which led to them. The Anglian cemeteries at Sykes monument are a good example, but there is a further Anglian inhumation at Huggate Dykes on the western end of this track and in a similar topographic location.

The use of these same tracks, as long stretches of township boundary, probably originating during the Anglo-Scandinavian period, can be seen as another engagement with the past, where again the ancient traditions surrounding these lines were drawn upon to enhance the legitimacy of the boundaries and the land units they defined. This would be a good example of the re-interpretation of the

past to forcibly fit it into a new and changing contemporary setting. We saw the same thing taking place during the later Iron Age when the Green Lane earthwork and the Great Wold Dyke were respected and connected to newly dug ditches, representing the increasing division and enclosure of land at this time. The tracks were drawn into new schemes of land division and gradually treated as boundaries. They were already recognised as structuring elements within the territorial system, as burials had been deliberately placed along their line. Their power in this role is being drawn upon by those who choose to use them now as boundaries. The developments of the late Anglian period and indeed the Late Iron Age are analogous to the Late Bronze Age when the tracks that already dominated the territorial landscape were re-defined as boundaries.

The long distance trackways have survived over many centuries. They have acted as major long term structures in this landscape and have been treated as physical representations of the ancient rumbling traditions that existed in the relationship between community, landscape and history. They have however also significantly changed their role and have been fitted and incorporated into social and cultural schemes which were historically specific. Over the whole of the period under study these changing roles tend to oscillate between trackway and boundary. This is continuity of a kind, but not as we know it.

PERSISTENT LINEARS

The fact that we have traced the development of the changes, summarised above, within a circumscribed area has meant that the processes of change can sometimes be recognised in individual features of the landscape. Many of these survive throughout this period but are used in different ways. The survival of a linear earthwork signifies that it has remained a permanent physical fixture for many centuries. This does not mean that its role or function remained the same, however. An illustration of the ubiquitous presence and influence of the past in this landscape is the survival of many of the prehistoric linear earthworks. Although most of them have been obliterated, physically, their influence lives on as they have often formed

the basis for the line of boundaries and tracks in the later prehistoric, Romano-British and historic landscape.

The linears of the Fimber area were all still prominent physical features of the landscape in the 19th century, as they are recorded clearly on the 1854 OS 6" map and also by Mortimer (1905) (fig 135 and see appendix one). Some of them survived until recently as triple arrangements of ditch and bank, standing up to 1.5m high (Wiltshire 1862) and short stretches still remain upstanding today. In other areas, the Late Bronze Age system of linears was, originally, as complex as around Fimber, but they are now only known through aerial photography, as they have long since been destroyed. In such cases, the prehistoric linears do not seem to have had any influence over later schemes of land division. In the Fimber area, and others on the Wolds, however, they are consistently followed by features of the later prehistoric and historic landscape. The Green Lane linear has been seen already to form a significant boundary within the Late Iron Age and Romano-British landscape, marking the distinction between the enclosed and managed slopes of Wetwang Slack and the open area on Life Hill, to the north (chapter 4). Many of the linears around Fimber were found by Mortimer to contain Romano-British pottery, in their upper silts, and this may suggest that they too were respected, and used as boundaries, at this time. This is difficult to demonstrate without knowledge of the Romano-British system of land division, here.

Several in this area, including the Green Lane, are followed by township boundaries, often over long stretches. Those that do not carry township boundaries, to the north and south of Fimber village, respectively, are likely to have formed the edge of open field, although the exact location of Fimber's open fields is not known (see chapter 5) (fig 88). The northern multiple linear seems to have been used as the line for a trackway, at least in the early modern period and probably also throughout the Middle Ages. This road was superseded by a coach road in the 18th century and then by the enclosure road that now approaches the village from the east. The field boundaries associated with parliamentary enclosure followed the linears that lie north and south of the village and obviously also those which carry township boundaries.

The sceptic would interpret the endurance of these features in purely rational, practical terms. It is of course far more 'convenient' to reuse a substantial bank and ditch than to erase it and create a boundary somewhere else. Therefore, these massive monuments were respected and reused, until recently, when ploughing technology was sufficiently advanced to disregard them. However, it is perfectly clear that in many other parts of the Wolds, linears of similar proportions were eradicated and erased at an early date. For instance, the multiple earthworks south-east of Fridaythorpe were not selected for reuse as boundaries and instead were ploughed out. We have seen, equally, how many linears were not ignored or destroyed but retained as features of the landscape. The Late Iron Age communities, for instance, drew upon the power of the boundary represented by the Green Lane linear and incorporated it into the system of land division here. So too, during the Anglian period, burials were placed into the banks of these earthworks in a deliberate engagement with the past it represented. Likewise, the preservation of these linears in this landscape for such long periods of time reflects the continual and growing significance they enjoyed within the cultural perception of history within the local landscape. The township boundaries that followed the linears were drawing upon their acknowledged antiquity. North of Fimber cross-roads, for instance, the boundary traces a vicious dog-leg in order to incorporate a short stretch of double ditch and bank (fig 135). In this case, it would have been much more 'convenient' if the boundary had carried on in a straight line. The symbolic properties of this stretch of earthwork (which had also been used for secondary Anglian inhumation) were such that it was important to subsume it within the boundary.

These linears have survived as structural (and symbolic) elements in this landscape for nearly 2000 years, in spite of the considerable changes and transformations. This did not apparently involve the continuity of permanent population, in this area, but the intermittent use as extensive pasture or perhaps, during the Romano-British, as a more intensively managed mixed arable landscape. They meant something to the people who used this landscape and so were deliberately incorporated into new schemes of land division for their cultural significance, not because of their physical presence. As with the barrows and other relics of the past,

they may have been associated with mythic properties, particularly in the phases of open Wolds when the area was not permanently settled. At times when permanent settlements existed close by, they are more likely to be understood, in different ways, with reference to a more recent genealogical history (see Gosden and Lock 1998). The linears were not all reused and incorporated into the new schemes. Some retained their historical significance, whilst others lapsed and were grubbed into the ground. It is the selective process of reuse and re-interpretation that we have seen applied to so many other elements in this landscape. It is this acknowledgement of the selectivity of reuse that underlines the cultural significance of those features that do survive, as well as the importance of the historically specific decisions which meant that some were forgotten and ignored. Those that survive probably never lost their cultural importance, although the specific character of this role must have been consistently altered and re-worked.

The long term survival of a linear earthwork in the Wolds landscape, either as a boundary or a routeway, could be classed, in the terms of Gosden and Lock, as genealogical history. Through the repeated (perhaps ritualised) action, involving cleaning the ditch or maintaining the track, it was consistently incorporated into the contemporary world, whilst its history and tradition was also acknowledged. It is difficult to explain how these physical features remained structural parts of the Wolds landscape, for so long, without such repeated maintenance. The placement of burials along or close to these linears or tracks may have been an unusual aspect to this ritual activity, but one which served the same purpose and drew them into the genealogical histories of the recent dead.

The reuse of prehistoric barrows, on the other hand, during the Anglian period, is more likely to have fallen within the scope of their mythical history, whereby monuments associated with mythic properties and the more distant past were drawn into this scheme. Anglian cemeteries alongside settlements may not have had much connection to a mythic past, except one traced through the genealogy of the dead. It is likely that during the Anglian period, both kinds of history were in play, at the same time, but there may have been a distinction between the Wolds, which contained more mythic properties and the settled Wold-edge, where the recent genealogical past was situated. Both mythic and genealogical histories may have

sometimes been present, even, at the same sites, as many multi-period concentrations of monuments lay alongside tracks and boundaries of very long standing. In some cases, the trackways seem to have actually been as ancient as some of the barrows. Their consistent habitual use over this period brought them into the present. Even so, their associations with visible traces of the very distant past may too have given a mythic spin to the trackway itself, again illustrating the juxtaposition of different perceptions of history within the same feature. Crucially, however the trackways had probably never fallen out of use and so were treated primarily as old elements within the contemporary world. The number of years that had elapsed since their first usage was irrelevant and, even though they were probably older than the barrows that lay around them, they were likely to have been perceived as part of the recent/genealogical as well as the distant mythic past.

The mythic and supernatural associations of tracks and routes of movement, so well known from the Australian aboriginal experience, may be of use here in appreciating the special character of the trackway in the symbolic landscape (Chatwin 1988; Tilley 1994; Devereux 1991). Here, on the Wolds, the history of trackways reflects many juxtapositions: very long term continuities against short term change; the remote past and the present; the symbolic and mythical alongside the practical and everyday. This also shows that the attitudes towards the landscape, traditionally associated with the mobile hunter-gatherer landscape, may not be restricted to the period prior to the Neolithic. The mobile landscapes of the Wolds during the Anglian period, for instance, may have contained many of the same kind of physical and metaphorical elements, centred around trackways and places, as opposed to the dividing boundaries and areas of land, traditionally associated with agricultural communities in prehistory (Ingold 1990; Bradley 1993; Barrett 1994).

Gosden and Lock raise the possibility of changing perceptions of history and the past over this period. We can be sure that the way in which the past is inscribed and respected in the landscape did change, and we will see below in what manner this occurred. Most importantly, there are certain periods when the deliberate reuse of the past is a widespread phenomenon, whilst, in others, the landscape does not seem to have been used for the 'inscription of history', in the same way. The

intermittent but recurrent pattern of reuse, visible at many of the persistent places, is an illustration of this. When seeking to explain these changes, the distinction between genealogical history and mythical history is of enormous use. But it must be appreciated that these two perceptions of the past are not mutually exclusive and often seem to have co-existed. Alongside the changing manner in which the past is reused and referenced are other processes of fluctuation in the social and cultural character of the landscape. In considering the reasons behind these fluctuations, the parallel trajectories of many seemingly un-related aspects are important, and we will return to this below.

GREEN SPACES

We have described the sequence of development of the Wolds landscape as a whole, as well as the specific histories of individual monuments, places and features. Within all these sequences lies the dynamic between long term survival and the persistent re-working of tradition. One further example remains to be discussed which, again, underlines the danger of assuming continuity of social practice from a feature of the landscape which apparently survives over long periods of time.

The RCHM plots revealed certain zones which were free of cropmarks (fig 81-3). In an area as conducive to cropmark formation as this, and one where the density of archaeological sites is so high, this emptiness is likely to be significant. Stoertz acknowledges that there is no geological/pedological reason why these areas should show up cropmarks less well than others (1997) (see chapter 4). Furthermore, in two cases, these areas are actually bounded by linear earthworks (i.e. the area known as Life Hill and that north of the Great Wold Dyke). In these two cases, the linears which are probably of Late Bronze Age origin, neatly define the edges of the empty zone (see chapters 3-6). We have suggested that these bounded open spaces are respected throughout the Romano-British period as open areas of pasture, alongside adjacent zones of settlement and localised land division. They exist as remnants of the formerly more extensive pastures of the Iron Age and were originally defined by linears of the Late Bronze Age. The strength of the

boundaries that define them was consistently respected and they remained empty zones, apparently free of permanent settlement for a very long time. Their use as pastures would have provided the mechanism for this long term continuity, through the habitual and regular use by a number of local communities. The antiquity of the visible monumental boundaries would have added immovability to the pastures usage and blunted any attempt to encroach onto them with habitation.

It is highly significant that it is, precisely, these areas, empty of cropmarks, that appear to have also been used as specialist pastures in the Middle Ages. As we have seen, not all townships were provided with extensive common pastures as many allowed for pasturage within the rotation system of the open fields. In some cases, however, extensive areas of pasture are recorded, for certain townships, and they appear to have been originally carved out of much larger pasture zones, that characterised the open Wolds of the Anglian period. This is an example of the apportionment of once large common areas amongst separate township communities (see also Fleming 1998).

The extensive zone, along the upper slopes of the Great Wold valley, is defined by linears on the southern side and free of all cropmarks, except a few isolated barrows. It forms the area of pasture divided up amongst the strip townships of the valley in the Middle Ages, an area once probably known as *Hornhouwald* (chapter 6). Similarly, the cropmark void north of Tibthorpe is recorded on the 19th century tithe map of Tibthorpe, as Tibthorpe Wold, an area of specialist pasture, entirely within Tibthorpe township. It is crossed by the old Roman road from Malton and the traces of this feature are the only cropmarks visible here (chapter 5 and 6).

The persistent endurance of these areas of pasture should not be taken to suggest the unchanging character of land-use practice and organisation over the period involved. On the contrary, we have seen how the social and economic fabric of these communities went through a number of significant changes during this period. Nonetheless, these areas of pasture have remained apparently unoccupied and their boundaries respected. Within these changes, therefore, there may well lie, locally based, structures of continuity and traditional respect to certain areas and features. By continually respecting these areas, the local communities are engaging

consciously with their past, especially as the social and economic conditions of the present may well have been under stress, at these times. Most of the areas of Iron Age pasture do become occupied in later centuries and equally most of the designated zones of early Medieval pasture have not been empty of settlement over the previous centuries. These kind of continuities are the exception rather than the rule, reinforcing the selectivity of past reuse and emphasising the reworking of the landscape over timeless stability, or what Sam Lucy refers to as 'slavish repetition' (Lucy 1998, after JD Hill).

The location of pasture on Life Hill, during the Middle Ages, for Sledmere township, is more difficult to demonstrate than the other empty zones, as much of the area appears to have formed part of an open field, at least by the 18th century (chapter 5). There is an unusually high provision of meadow land, in Sledmere, recorded in Domesday Book and this may have been located on Life Hill. On the other hand, it seems more likely that the Life Hill area is an example of a pasture that survived until the post Roman period, but was then converted into arable land for the nascent community of Sledmere, a settlement which had grown up around the pond. Similarly, there are many other areas which did, apparently, form part of extensive early Medieval pastures, which had already been occupied and enclosed in earlier times. The cropmark plots reveal them to be crossed by ditches and scattered with settlements, dating presumably from the Late Iron Age and Romano-British periods. The long term survival of the two empty zones, therefore, is exceptional in this fluctuating landscape and probably created by highly specific local considerations.

TRADITIONS OF CONTINUITY

We have already seen how long term studies of cultural practice and landscape have recognised continuity in the archaeological similarities between periods (i.e. Faull 1977) and in the juxtaposition of multi-period monuments at certain favoured places (i.e. Hope-Taylor 1977). Bradley and Lucy have both shown that an understanding of the reuse of the past, in the past, has led to a re-evaluation of the

operation of these continuities. It has, instead emphasised the re-working of features and the re-invention of the tradition that surrounds them.

The importance of this concluding section is that we can stand back from the chronologically limited studies of individual chapters and consider some very long term continuities in this landscape. The full significance of these persistent places, areas and features has already been partially appreciated for the role they play in specific periods. Traditionally, such long term connections between different periods have been interpreted as evidence of social and economic continuity. What is often implied by this term is a timeless stasis, whereby the survival of one aspect of the landscape often implies the associated continuity of other spheres of life as well. Hayfield has recognised continuities of settlement location, in the Wharram area and has interpreted them as the essential agrarian stability of the landscape, inhabited by these communities (see chapters 4 and 6). "*...the overall picture of these settlements is one of continuity of location from the Iron Age to the Saxon period. Neither Roman nor Saxon invasions would at first appear to have had any major impact on settlement patterns in this part of the Yorkshire Wolds.*" (Hayfield 1987:181). The survival of settlement location, and the identification of some historical boundaries which follow earlier linears, has led Hayfield to reconstruct an unchanging agrarian landscape, throughout this period, in the Wharram area. The position of settlements may not have changed, but we have seen that the social and economic system, of which they were part, certainly did. To talk about continuity, in this sense, is to over simplify a complex situation and is ultimately meaningless.

Alison (1976), Ramm (1978) and Watkin (1983) have also observed the continued use of linear earthworks into the Romano-British and early Medieval period, and have extended this to the continuity of the land unit and the character of its component settlement and population. The use of linears for parish boundaries in the Rudston area, for instance, has led to suggestions that this survival represents the continuity of territories, originally based around Romano-British villa estates (Alison 1976). We have already shown how such simplistic views are unhelpful and may understate the complexity of the actual situation. A much fuller understanding of the development of the cultural landscape is necessary before such

interpretations are made. Especially as they rest on the identification of superficial 2 dimensional relationships between features, which are, anyway, poorly understood archaeologically. It is the reuse of features from the past, and their re-working into new cultural schemes, that may lie behind the endurance of features, such as these linears. Their long term survival may suggest continuity but it conceals a process of change.

The persistence of a track or boundary cannot be extended to interpretations of continuity of social life and the cultural character of the landscape, without detailed qualification. The many examples of the re-working of these features into new schemes and the deliberate reuse of the past, in this way, highlights the flaw in this seemingly logical argument. The physical survival of the linear earthwork, for instance, does not imply the unbroken continuity of the land unit, it may once have bounded, nor the land-use practices with which it was once associated. Similarly, we have seen that the Wolds landscapes go through a very different sequence of development, than those on the Wold-edge. To put it simply, one is a landscape of continuity, whilst the other undergoes a series of clear transformations (see also Everitt 1986). However, there remains a mutual dependence between the two areas, in both economic and social life, and it is the character of this interdependent system which alters.

THE PAST IN THE WOLDS LANDSCAPE:

REVIEW AND CHANGING RELATIONSHIPS

The Wolds has always been laden with its own historical baggage. We have illustrated how the landscape here has been used for the 'inscription of history' and has acted as the arena for engagement between local communities and their past, in many different ways over a long period of time. This relationship with the past has involved the deliberate reinvention of tradition at certain places, containing monumental relics of the distant past. Such places seem to have been repeatedly and consistently venerated but with significant gaps in the sequence. The origins of these places are ancient, but their use does not seem to have been continuous. Other features of the Wolds landscape have endured an unbroken continuity for

many centuries. Some of the long distance trackways, in particular, seem to have remained in use since the Neolithic or Bronze Age. They have acted as both tracks and boundaries, over this period, and existed as strong structural elements of the cultural landscape, rooting habitual/seasonal action with the remote past. Linear earthworks, too, have remained as permanent fixtures, their physical presence and their historical or mythic associations being drawn upon and incorporated into successive schemes of land division and territorial organisation. We have also discussed the long term endurance of certain 'green spaces'. These are areas of archaeological emptiness, which have persisted as un-occupied zones throughout prehistory and into the Middle Ages, when they emerge as zones of pasture.

The sequences of continuity and change, associated with each of these features is different and exposes the complexity of the changing landscape. Traditional landscape studies have tended towards a model of timeless stability at least from the later Iron Age, in the countryside. The manipulation of the traces of the past, in the past, has, however, emphasised the reworking of tradition. Nonetheless, studies of past reuse, which restrict themselves to one specific period, perhaps across a wide area (i.e. Williams 1998), may end up at a disadvantage. If they do not appreciate the sequence of development that leads up to this reuse, within local landscapes and features, a full understanding of the character of the reuse is not possible. It is something which involves reinvention but which remains closely connected to local history and the local ancestral past. A good understanding of the specific local circumstance and characteristics of this past is, therefore, essential. In other words what is required is the detailed, long term, intimate regional understanding which we introduced in chapter one.

We are dealing here with the gradual reworking of tradition but with continual reference to the same persistent places and features. Mythic traditions, surrounding the features of this landscape, are continually drawn upon and manoeuvred. Some places of mythic significance survive for very long periods of time, whilst others were presumably erased or forgotten. It is the long term character of the study that has allowed for this recognition. Alongside re-interpretations are very long term continuities and, it may be precisely because of the process of re-interpretation that features such as the long distance tracks are able to endure for so long.

The important aspect about the history of the relationship with the past here is that, in terms of its archaeological visibility, it is an intermittent phenomenon. The character of the respect to past monuments and the use of the landscape to inscribe history, in other ways, changes throughout prehistory, but never really disappears. There is a significant gap during the Romano-British period, when no overt signs of this reference are evident. This is obviously in stark contrast to the explosion of references to the past in the landscape of the Anglian period. Again, though, this overt spatial modelling of history and its physical incorporation into cultural and topographic architecture, does not continue as such into the Middle Ages. Here, there are vague traces of an awareness of the past in the landscape but this seems to operate at a grassroots level. It is part of the vernacular version of history rather than the official political, literate doctrine.

RHYTHMIC CYCLES OF LIFE AND LANDSCAPE

Looking at the period from 500 BC to 1000 AD, the Wolds was used as an arena for mythic association and engagement with the past, most clearly, during the early and middle Iron Age and during the Anglian period. These are both periods when we have archaeological evidence for a burial rite, which involved the deliberate and meaningful placement of burials in the landscape, often accompanied by grave-goods. It is through the location of these burials, their associated monuments and funerary rituals, that social relationships were expressed and identities affirmed. It has been argued above that the funerary rites and the physical presence of visible barrow cemeteries in the Iron Age served to articulate relationships between the living community, their ancestral dead and the landscape. This was linked to the community organisation of sheep pasturage on the Wolds, as the cemeteries lay alongside the tracks that carried people and stock from the settled areas to the extensive pastures. The cemeteries, therefore, acted as a reminder of the integrity of the living community through its common ancestral heritage, as well as a mechanism for displaying claims to communal pasture grounds. Crucially, for most of the period of currency of this burial rite, land was not physically enclosed with

ditches, as the negotiation of claims to the use of land was instead articulated through the location of burial mounds.

The burial record of the Anglian period is largely a tradition of furnished inhumation. Lucy has, in fact, pointed out several distinctively local features which she argues have been inherited from traditional 'East Yorkshire' folk tradition (1992). That this is seen as a deliberate manipulation and subversion of the tradition does not take anything away from the accuracy of the transmission of folk memory involved. In this period we have argued that burial, on the Wolds, serves a different role to the more usual rites and graves found in cemeteries close to the settlements of the Wold-edge. On the Wolds, the burials are almost all in secondary contexts in prehistoric barrows or earthworks. Furthermore, their locations are often found alongside long distance trackways and/or at places of special topographic character which have been elaborated and venerated for many centuries. These burials are making a link between the recent dead and the mythic properties of this landscape and it has been argued above that these mythic echoes of the distant past are particularly potent on the Wolds, in this period. It is an area which again is not permanently occupied but used probably for extensive pasture, traces of which are visible in the documentary record of the 12-14C. The burials may well be marking the ground and laying claim to pasture zones on behalf of the communities settled on the Wold-edge. Many of the secondary burials are found in commanding locations and may have sought to stake a claim to land through intervisible domination.

There are clearly differences between the way in which burial is used to articulate social, cultural and ideological relationships in the Wolds landscape between the Iron Age and the Anglian period. They are separated by a millennium of transformation in every imaginable sphere of human existence and experience. However the landscape of the Iron Age and Anglian Wolds hold very many similarities; perhaps too many to ignore. We have argued above that, in both periods, the Wolds is largely un-occupied by permanent settlement, as most concentrations of population occur on the Wold-edges and in the major valleys. Likewise the area is used mainly for extensive pasturage variously claimed and grazed by these Wold-edge communities. In both periods the trackways that cross

the Wolds from west to east and north-south provide access to these pastures. In most cases they are the same tracks that have survived over the intervening centuries. These ancient features must also have taken on tenorial attributes in the absence of any obvious concern with boundaries up here, at this time. The tracks probably articulated the claims to large pasture areas through their relationship with burials and linear earthworks which sometimes bounded these zones. In both chronological cases the tracks become more fixed boundaries once the land begins to be more physically and intensively demarcated and appropriated. In that sense the tenorial logic that resided in the open Wolds was more akin to the track and place tenure of earlier prehistory than to the spatial logic of land division and enclosure, first evident during the Late Bronze Age.

As well as basic similarities in the configuration of the landscape and in ideological constructs surrounding it, there are also possibly similarities in the scale of social organisation. For both periods we suggested a dispersed Wold-edge based settlement pattern which was part of fairly extensive communities which shared communal pastures on the Wolds. The Iron Age groups may also have shared a common cemetery and that may also be the case for the very earliest Anglian cemeteries. Later on, the Anglian cemeteries seem to become more locally centralised along the corridors of settlement. Differences obviously existed but a common characteristic of social formation has been put forward which, crucially, differs from the period which ensues. The important common aspect here, between both periods is the way that the integrity of the communities based on the Wold-edges was primarily expressed through the common appropriation of areas of extensive pasture on the Wolds. The fact that this belonging is expressed through relationships between the dead and the landscape, in both periods, is also significant. It would seem that the burial rites of the Romano-British and Medieval periods were not performing the same social role. Land was, at these times, claimed and appropriated through the definition of boundaries, often fixed in the landscape. The burials, on the other hand, when it is identifiable was found within the settlement. Burials were not being placed within the landscape as a direct and active means of affirming claims to land, nor were they used to articulate relationships between the present and the past in the landscape.

A further similarity is the manner in which the landscape changes, both during the later Iron Age and the centuries surrounding the Norman Conquest. In both transitional periods the open communally grazed landscape gradually becomes increasingly enclosed and appropriated. At the same time, the old media of articulation with the past and the landscape become superseded by other forms of negotiation. Alongside this, the community bonds expressed by land-use are fragmented. The land is crucial to the changes at both periods, as it is apportioned and claimed specifically for well defined groups, where as before it was probably held more in common. The process is linked to the encroachment of permanent settlement onto the Wolds from the Wold-edge, in both periods. This appropriation was marked, physically, in the later Iron Age, by the digging of ditches and their association with more ancient linears. In the early Medieval period these claims were made by encroacher settlements onto the Wolds. Their boundaries were laid out along existing features like trackways and barrows and sometimes linear earthworks too. In some cases these new land claims may have been recorded in legal documentary form but only one has survived for this area. Changes in land division and tenure were mirrored, in both cases, by an expansion of arable cultivation. The evidence for this is stronger from the early Medieval period, where each township territory was furnished with newly laid out open fields. The integration of arable and pastoral strategies was now committed within the confines of the township territory, where as previously, some aspects had been much more connected to the wider community. A similar situation has been suggested for the later Iron Age.

The encroachment of permanent settlement onto the formerly common pasture grounds of the Wolds occurs both during the Late Iron Age and the Anglo-Scandinavian period. This process involves the gradual erosion of the traditional common rights to these lands and takes place a part of an interlinked changing social structure and land-use practice. A model for the typology of the commons has been alluded to by Fleming (1998) and involves a three-fold process of the management of commons in the face of threats, eventually leading to their break-up. In this case, the process is one which is apparently repeated.

We can see that it is on the Wolds, that change has taken place in the landscape over this period, rather than on the Wold-edge. A rhythmic fluctuation of a whole series of economic, social and cultural structures took place and was etched into the landscape. The very spirit or character of the Wolds landscape went through considerable transformation, often during fairly sudden periods of change. On the Wold-edge however we might have the likely possibility of a continuing settled landscape throughout. It is on the Wolds that change occurs, a landscape which is both slow to evolve and quick to change.

We are not simply dealing with the ebb and flow of settlement and agricultural exploitation, nor even the more fundamental alterations in the scale of social organisation of land-use and its link with the landscape. We are dealing with periods, in which there is a fundamental difference in the character of territorial organisation and the media used for expressing claims to land. The distinction between the mobile, ceremonial landscapes of the Neolithic and Bronze Age and the agricultural, bounded landscapes of later prehistory is here present across space, between the Wold and Wold-edge. This kind of territorial organisation based on trackways and places, rather than boundaries and enclosed areas has echoes in the character of the Iron Age landscape on the Wolds and that of the Anglian period. Here too, the dominant structuring elements in the understanding of claims to land are the trackways that cross the Wolds and the places to which they lead. This exists alongside the logic of boundary and enclosed area which probably still exists to some extent on the Wolds but is more obvious in the settled zone of the Wold-edge. The mobile landscape, therefore, exists away from the settled heartland. Here, claims to land are made through the location of the dead alongside trackways and within monuments from the past, rather than through the use of boundaries and enclosure.

The oscillating character of the Wolds landscape is manifest in many different parallel ways but not least in the 'spirit 'character' of the place, or how it was perceived. The periods of intensive settled use are perhaps more familiar and fairly easy to imagine and reconstruct. Those when it is extensively managed and becomes more of a mythic place away from home settlement it is more difficult and requires more imagination.

THE OPEN WOLDS

The Anglian period, as we have seen, witnessed a phenomenal awareness of the relics of the past on the Wolds and this is something that is seen far more acutely on the Wolds than elsewhere. We have argued that this is not only down to the predominance of those visible relics on the Wolds, but reflects the different way in which the Wolds was perceived at this time, compared to the surrounding Wold-edge. That this practice is most regularly present on the Wolds is of course partly testament to the large number of prehistoric monuments found here. However, their use by the Anglian communities in this way offers inroads into the way in which they perceived and used this landscape and how perhaps it differed from the more inhabited stretches of Wold-edge and valley. The previous chapter set out the archaeological and historical evidence for the sense that the Wolds in this period was largely unenclosed, free of permanent settlements and used mainly for grazing. The strongest features of this landscape are the trackways which cross it giving access from the settled edges to the dry interior. Such a landscape of wide open views, expansive scrub wastes, stands of woodland, would stand in marked contrast to the managed, farmed and peopled countryside of the Wold-edge. Up on the Wolds away from everyday familiarity the imagination could conjure other worlds and spirits from the past allowed to exist in the freedom of the semi-wilderness. The ubiquitous presence of mounds, banks and relics of an unknown past added to the scene providing rich arena for local myth, especially as they regularly lay beside the tracks which crossed the Wolds, used by travellers and shepherds alike. Adopting these mounds as places for burial was a means of appropriating these mythic places and linking those long dead, who may have played a part in the stories, with the recent dead and the living. In this way, both mythic and genealogical histories were being juxtaposed. It is the landscape which unites the present with the past and here up on the Wolds the past was more present than anywhere else. The open Wolds landscape was the arena for these myths to become more real as here the stories are set, the otherness of the contemporary agrarian landscape providing a way in to the other world of the mythic past.

As we have repeatedly seen, the topographic character of the Wolds has always been recognised as different from the surrounding vales. The drama of the dry valley slopes and the openness of the Wold top and dip slope; the lack of surface water but occasional and inexplicable bursting forth of water from the ground; the sheer definition of the western and northern scarp; the stark whiteness of the chalk. All these aspects combine to create a variety of features that are, at the same time, predictable and unexpected. We have also seen how the history of the cultural landscape of the Wolds has differed consistently from the surrounding flatlands. In some periods these distinctions are less marked but in others they are stark (Iron Age and Anglian). The Wolds at these times exists as an open un-claimed and un-occupied expanse, a place for pasture and burial, crossed by trackways and scattered with relics of the ancient past. It seems clear that the landscape of the Wolds was mythologised from an early date. A mythic lexicon which wrapped legendary association around features of the natural landscape and especially those of dramatic or unique character. Here this would apply to the heads of valleys where concealment met with panorama. It would also apply to springs and streams and to the steep scarp slope. The tracks too that ran across the Wolds may have possessed mythic potency as they served to connect these places and their antiquity was plain to see. We can perhaps assume that these mythic properties were also applied to visible relics of the distant past whose original meaning had been long lost. It is not clear whether any objective distinction would have clearly been made between ancient monuments, ancient tracks and topography and they all may have been part of the same distant past. For these periods of openness (Anglian and Iron Age) the Wolds was an arena for the engagement with mythic history whilst the settled Wold-edge provided a grounding in traces of the more recent past. The drawing in of ancient places and features on the Wolds in the Middle Ages to be used as meeting places may be harking back to the memory of a time when the Wolds was differently perceived. The open pastoral Wolds may here be glimpsed through the thick crust formed by the transformations of the 9-12C. Clearly, against the backdrop of a series of dramatic transformations in the cultural landscape here the visible traces of the past remained and were continually re-incorporated into these new schemes. At times when the Wolds was an open

landscape of extensive pasture, the distinction between it and the settled Wold-edge were clear and starkly obvious. However, during the Romano-British and throughout the Middle Ages the distinction between the 2 landscapes was less obvious. At these times the Wolds was itself settled and intensively farmed, divided up by boundaries.

THE SLEDMERE GREEN LANE

Alongside the long term structures of change and re-orientation however are echoes of long term continuity. Certain features of the landscape are ever present throughout this whole period and act as indices of change and transformation. Their antiquity was not always acknowledged by these communities but sometimes was appreciated and drawn upon through physical engagement with these features. The complex pattern of long term continuities, short term change and intermittent re-orientation is a feature of this landscape generally but will here be illustrated by the history of one specific feature/monument, the Sledmere Green Lane. This monument has appeared in every chapter often fulfilling a different role. The sequence of changes through which it passes are a microcosm of the wider pattern of landscape development. At any given time in this 2000 year period, the particular role it is playing, may act as an index to the character of the surrounding landscape.

THE GREEN LANE (fig 136-7; 126-7)

The origins of this trackway lie in prehistory, as it is defined for much of its course by a multiple linear earthwork dated in one location to the Late Bronze Age. It seems as though this linear followed an existing track. Traces of the linear survive in the modern landscape but most of its physical presence has now been lost to the naked eye as its course is only visible on aerial photographs. However it has had no small influence on the local landscape remaining as a significant permanent fixture for centuries. During this time the exact course of the original feature has been re-aligned but the main length between Sledmere Monument and Blealands Nook has

remained in place. The role of the Green Lane has fluctuated between trackway and boundary, something which mirrors the wider rhythmic fluctuation of the surrounding landscape between open and enclosed.

In the modern landscape, between Blealands and Sykes Monument, the Green Lane is a wider than average un-metalled track which carries a right of way for much of its original course. It presents itself as an anomaly lying between intensively managed arable fields, its neutral tenure and rights of access give rise to shrubs and wild grasses. Clearly the rights attached to this lane were strong enough to avoid its obliteration by parliamentary enclosure, but its practical use as a road had been superseded by this time so it remained an un-metalled oddity; a relic of former times from a different landscape. The width and wooded nature of this bridleway is paralleled to the south in another ancient trackway, the Craike Hill/Tibthorpe Green Lane. Most other rights of way in this landscape are now merely narrow strips of grass along the edge of an arable field. The stretch of preserved trackway around Holm Field is another wooded linear oasis and when seen on a map the sinuous line of its course contrasts markedly with the adjacent regularity of enclosure fields. Some stretches however were not treated so reverentially and they have been ploughed into the surrounding arable. In the 19th century the spot where it meets the Garton-Sledmere road was chosen as the location for the massive architectural folly which is the memorial to Sir Tatton Sykes.

Several 18th century maps mark its line as the course of a major long distance coach road running between Bridlington and York. For this reason it is known in some places as the York Road. In this manifestation it followed the existing line of tracks but in some places adopted a new straight course to avoid detours around steep sided winding dale bottoms. For this reason the 18th century line leaves the original course of linear and township boundary at Warren Dale and continues directly across Cottam Warren. Further east it again lines up with the township boundary to join Woldgate south of Rudston. Additionally to the south of Fridaythorpe, a short stretch of track called Cowpasture Lane was added to divert the coach road away from the original winding course. Here it connects with the existing main road across Garrowby Hill.

Throughout the Middle Ages the Green Lane performed the role of township boundary for many adjacent territories, a line still traceable through the 19th century records of these features and their place in the modern landscape. It has been suggested in chapters 5-6 that this line followed an existing trackway giving access across the Wolds during the post Roman period. That this line remained as a track throughout the Middle Ages is likely with alterations to the line taking place in the post-Med. The provision of a track along the township boundary was important for these heavily arable townships to channel travellers away from the open fields. In many cases these would have abutted the edges of the track.

The importance of this pre-Norman track is emphasised by the presence of several Anglian burials along its course. As well as the cemetery inserted into the linear at Sykes monument there are other inhumations at Blealands Nook (cross-roads) and a cremation urn inserted into the bank of Huggate Dykes, at the western end of the route.

As the RCHM plots show the linear between Blealands and Monument served as a boundary during the later Iron Age and Romano-British between the settled and divided slopes of the valley and the open unenclosed land to the north on Life Hill. The earliest course of the feature is defined by the linear which seems to have run in a more southerly course west of Blealands than is later taken by the township boundary and coach road. We have suggested that this linear itself followed an earlier track which gave access from the western Wolds and Millington to the Rudston area and beyond. In most areas east of Blealands the township boundary follows the linear. We have also suggested that the feature performs the dual role of boundary and trackway during the Iron Age and significantly the large cemetery at Danes Graves lies alongside its course, east of Cottam Warren.

Every distinctive phase in the summarised history of the Wolds landscape is represented in the development of this monument. As such it can act as a reflection of the changes taking place in the wider landscape as well as the endurance of certain ancient traditions which provide the basic framework for action. Now and again its antiquity is deliberately drawn upon as an act of physical engagement with the past. Such instances reinforce the legitimacy of this feature by drawing its

ancient line into the present day as well as rooting present day alterations and changes in a past to which they do not necessarily belong.

CONCLUSIONS: ABOUT TIME

“In Britain today the idea that the land surface should be regarded as the private property of those who happen to ‘own’ it comes so naturally that alternative arrangements are hard to conceive. But it need not be so and it was not always. The present disposition of our land is the outcome of a struggle between those who have sought to own and those they have thereby dispossessed.”

(Marion Shoard, *This Land is Our Land*)

In chapter one we considered some of the main approaches to landscape studies adopted by historians, archaeologists, anthropologists and geographers over the last couple of decades in Britain. There is a multitude of agendas, theoretical stances and discipline based approaches, creating a wide variety of reconstructed landscapes in the past. Traditional and deep seated barriers between disciplines have made it difficult for truly inter-disciplinary studies to exist. Such compartmentalisation has been felt even more between chronological periods, where prehistoric landscapes have been reconstructed in very different ways to those from historical periods. The long held emphasis on change between cultural periods (especially Roman and Anglo-Saxon) and crucially between prehistoric and historic ages has hampered any attempt to draw out a long term sequence that straddles this crucial threshold. A multi-disciplinary landscape based approach was championed, which was set within a well defined region. In this way, the balance between continuity and change could be more clearly defined. The traditional picture had been one of unbroken continuity on the one hand set against a sequence punctuated by radical and deep rooted change on the other. The only way that these two opposites have so far been married was through a sense of a changing political and cultural scheme operating alongside an essential rural stability of agrarian practice and settlement.

What we have presented is a series of period-based reconstructions which crucially apply a consistent agenda to the same area throughout this period. The character of the evidence may differ as does the major period-based agendas but we have tried to adopt a consistently similar approach. The scales of analysis have allowed this investigation to move freely between the very local and specific features of the landscape and the more generalised structures of settlement and land division, as well as monumentality and burial over the whole of the Wolds. To this end, the reconstructions are set within the same study area located on the eastern Wolds. Here, we have become intimately familiar with the intricacies of the local topography. The winding steep valleys, the open and broad valleys, the ponds and springs. All these natural features were not ignored by these past communities but each drew them into their mental world making their own sense of them. Alongside these topographic meanders were traces of the past, visible as barrows, ditches, banks and woven into consciousness through memory, storytelling and ancestral presence. These too, which themselves enhanced the significance of the topography, became part of each community's use of the landscape to make sense of the world around them. At times the visible relics were engaged with, at others they were largely ignored. Alongside such gradual changes in the character of the past certain landscape features remained consistently used and respected. At times, tracks and at others boundaries, the same lines were drawn into each different historically specific landscape. Many persisted for over 2000 years. Faced with such a bewildering and overlapping series of sequences it becomes fatuous to talk simply of a toss up between continuity or change. Both are here interwoven into sequences of different duration and gravity. Much of this development is more about a local sense of past which is rooted in the landscape than it is to do with pan national cultural schemes or power tripping invasions and conquests, introduced from outside. Time does not pass by this landscape, nor does it pass through time. For the communities of the Wolds the landscape *was* time.

The chalk Wolds have been used as the focus for study and the landscapes of the Wolds have shown a different character to those of the surrounding vales. This is not about the Wolds acting as the focus for prehistoric and early historic settlement, as the quality of the archaeology might suggest. Archaeological sites

are prominently visible but people were not always living here, instead concentrating more permanent settlement long the wold-edges. At times, the character of the Wolds landscape is highly distinctive from the edges and vales, whilst at others the comparisons are more striking. This cyclical sequence between open mobile Wolds and a settled divided Wolds is one we have already recognised for the late prehistoric and early historic period, up to the 12th century. It may even be possible to continue the trend into the late Medieval and post Medieval period. After the high water mark of settlement, population and cultivation in 13th and 14th centuries, there are a series of economic developments which contribute towards the desertion of some villages and contraction of others. Large areas of the Wolds become unpopulated open pasture, although this is not operating under common right of access and use. Following this in the 18th and 19th century is the period of parliamentary enclosure, when large areas of the Wolds become enclosed into fields, reflecting the loss of any common right in the land that once existed. Another distinct and radical threshold of change had been reached and again it was one that involved the wholesale partition of the landscape and increased commodification of land. This is not to say of course that the same processes were involved in the 11-12th century as in the 19th. The important similarity is not the historically specific economic, political and social pressures involved but the fact that these changes were felt most acutely and suddenly on the Wolds, in contrast to the surrounding vales and wold-edges. In this sense the characteristic 'pays' that is the Wolds in the post-Medieval period, equally exists as a separate and distinctive cultural region right back into later prehistory.

An understanding of the development of landscape allows us to examine its present day character in the light of its history. The sequence has been about change and reworking but one which has retained a strong connection with its past and woven perceived pasts into contemporary world views, themselves set in the local landscape. The landscape itself has been venerated and respected, mythologised and interpreted and brought into people's everyday lives. The creeping commodification of the land, in modern times, has contributed towards the loss of this sense of landscape as mystical arena and place of identity.

The Wolds today is more empty than ever before. It is a cultural wilderness. It is farmed more intensively, but owned and controlled by probably fewer individuals than ever before in its history. The villages are occupied but the landscape surrounding them is hardly inhabited. Most traces of the past are invisible now and with this loss has gone the spirit of the place that once existed and which had endured for many centuries. The mysterious textures of history have been physically and intellectually erased, so it has lost its heart, body and soul. It is for this reason that we can never forget its history.

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APPENDIX ONE: LOCAL DESCRIPTIONS OF WOLDS LINEARS

There is a great deal of information about the character, form, context and condition of linears which is essential to compile but difficult to do so in the main body of the text. Here the approach taken will be similar to that in chapters 5 and 6. Chapter 5 stands as the descriptive account of the historic landscape in the study area where as chapter 6 builds on these foundations and endeavours to draw interpretation and explanation from them. The study area is again here the spatial unit of investigation, but it will not be ordered by township as is the case with chapter 5. Instead the area will be divided into parts dictated by the density and distribution of linears found within. The purpose of this section is to provide a compilation of information regarding the following:

- **Character of monuments: form (size, no. ditches/banks) condition (current and 19C), visibility (earthwork, crop/soil mark).**
- **Past investigation and interpretation (antiquarian or modern)**
- **Context: relationship with other archaeological features, local topographic context**
- **‘After-life’/ influence on later landscape: respect by later features, secondary function as boundary, road, cemetery, etc.**

Sources used, include the relatively recent discussions of post war archaeologists but also feature the many antiquarian descriptions. These are principally by Cole and the Mortimer brothers but with other notable additions such as Thomas Wiltshire and Robert Knox. Mapped sources are also an invaluable source for reconstructing now lost stretches of linear and include the first edition OS 1854 6” and 1910 25” series. In addition to these several unpublished maps in the Mortimer archive of Hull Museum have been consulted as well as many 19C enclosure and tithe maps. These latter however rarely make explicit whether a field boundary is marked by a ditch and bank and there are very few cases of earthworks and other archaeological sites marked on these maps. In some cases it is possible to equate the lines of pre-enclosure field boundaries with linears and in these instances the Medieval origin of these

earthworks is possible but not proven (i.e. Life Hill and Wetwang Rakes). As well as these historical documentary records the value of the RCHM plots has been inestimable.

AREAS FOR DESCRIPTION (see fig 35)

- Huggate Dykes and Greenwick
- Harper Dale, Horse Dale, Middleham Dale
- Fimber Westfield and Burdale
- Fimber Nab, Cross-roads and Triplescore Dale
- Sledmere Green Lane, Sykes Monument and Life Hill
- The Great Wold Dyke and Cowlam

HUGGATE DYKES AND GREENWICK (fig 36-38)

“ It may be confidently affirmed that they are, with the exception of the so-called Danes Dike, the most remarkable entrenchments on the Wolds” (Cole 1888:48)

So remarked Rev.E.Maule-Cole in one of several articles which touched on the series of dykes between the villages of Huggate and Fridaythorpe, known as Huggate Dykes. A stretch of 200 m still survives in grassland at the head of Tun Dale, which leads westward, draining towards Millington and the Wold-edge, fortuitously preserved because it lay in glebe land, under the jurisdiction of the Rector of Huggate (Cole 1888) (fig 37-8 and fig 29). A further 400m however had been levelled by Cole's day but were described by Drake in the 18th century (ibid.). These are now visible only as cropmarks, save for a single ditch and bank on the north side now followed by a made-up farm track. The monument originally comprised a series of 6 ditches and 5 banks stretching about 6-700 m across the water parting between 2 major valley systems, connecting the head of Tun Dale to that of Horse Dale. Both dry valleys here are very steep and deeply incised and the ditches would have effectively continued this incision artificially across the watershed. Varley's excavated section has not been published in

its own right but is referred to by Challis and Harding, including a drawn section (1975). His findings revealed that this ditch had a shallow profile but was 2 metres below the level of the top of the adjacent bank. There is still 1.5m today from bank top to ditch bottom, in those that survive. A gap in the course of the parallel ditches occurs and was seen by Cole as an original entrance. It is perhaps more likely to be a later trackway forced through the earthworks. Early records (including 1854 OS) and the AP plot show that the southernmost ditch/bank bulges out slightly which may well have been to incorporate an existing barrow into the line, although no trace of any barrow survives.

Challis and Harding refer also to the RCHM survey carried out by Herman Ramm and suggest it revealed 5 phases of construction at Huggate Dykes, beginning with a 'hollow-way' and followed by the U-shape ditch and chalk bank sectioned by Varley. A single later Bronze Age sherd was found in the primary silts and an intrusive Anglian cremation urn had been inserted into the bank (Challis and Harding 1975). Based on this work and the unusually multiple arrangement of ditches here both Dent and Halkon see the monument as having undergone several periods of enhancement, beginning as "*a simple earthwork across the watershed*" (Dent 1995:35) and becoming more complex with time. Halkon places the final monumentalising modifications in the early Iron Age (1991), but there remains very little dating evidence to which this suspected chronology can be anchored.

Just as the local topography seems to focus attention on this neck of land, so other linear ditches converge on the multiple parallel dykes here, from all sides. On the west there are three single ditches and banks which connect with the main concentration of dykes. One runs south along the upper slopes of Frenal Dale and extends for 3km defining the ridge that here marks the western edge of the Wolds. A second heads down the dale-side and then north along the dale bottom to define the western side of a large enclosure, known as Greenwick (see below). A third single ditch runs down the slopes westwards and is generally taken to represent the earliest phase of ditch building here, one of Mortimer's 'hollow-ways'. It may well have originally connected with another similar ditch to the east in Horse Dale.

To the north of Huggate Dykes, a spur of wold-land, defined on three sides by steep dry valleys, is enclosed by dykes on four sides. They are single ditches and banks and run along the dale bottoms on the east side, but cross ridges on the south and west. The western boundary survives as a bank along the side of the modern road north to Fridaythorpe. This enclosure

forms the southern part of a discrete territory known historically as Greenwick and recorded in 19th century as a detached portion of Bishop Wilton parish (see chapter 5). Its boundaries follow the linears in most cases and there is a possibility that these earthworks were constructed in the early Medieval period, along with others to the west around Millington Lings which also serve to enclose historically attested units of detached pasture (see chapter 5-6). At the north-east corner of the enclosure was probably a spring as the name Waterman Hole appears here on 1854 OS.

HOLM DALE, HORSE DALE, HARPER DALE AND MIDDLEHAM DALE

(fig 39-40; 42-44)

About 2 km east of Huggate Dykes, the steep dry valley of Horse Dale connects with 2 others, Harper and Holm Dales. The nomenclature underlines the perception of the existence of 3 separate valleys here when strictly speaking there are only two. At the junction of dales is a complex series of earthworks described and investigated by Mortimer (1905) and recorded on early OS maps. Several linears still survive here on the steep unploughed dale-sides. The top of the dale slopes were defined by large ditch and bank linears which in places are recorded as double-ditched. One runs continuously along the southern side of the valleys extending westward to join Huggate Dykes and east to emerge as the surviving double ditch earthwork along the south of Middleham Dale. Likewise the eastern slopes of Holm Dale are defined by another double-ditch which form the south-western side of an enclosure, lying to the east of Fridaythorpe. In contrast, the dale-sides are criss-crossed by smaller single ditches, described by Mortimer as 'hollow-ways' and seen by him as forming the earliest phases of ditches here. He sectioned the 3 main examples and found them all to be V-shaped ditches from 2 to 2.5 feet in depth (Mortimer 1905). Two of these single ditches extend along the slopes of Horse Dale and Holm Dale, respectively, and, in both cases, were seen to have been overlain by the larger dykes which follow similar courses (ibid.). At the junction of valleys the web of interlocking ditches is complex and confused by fairly recent tracks and hedge-lines.

The double ditch along Middleham Dale lies parallel to another similarly multiple earthwork along Cow Dale to the south. The two are joined, across the contour, by a cross ridge dyke again of double ditch and bank. The Middleham linear seems to have continued north-east to join the Green Lane dyke at Blealands Nook as its line is extended by a series of cropmarks

(Stoertz 1997). Its southern counterpart also continues north-east towards the ditches along the bottom of Wetwang Slack, although its line is lost in the vicinity of Wetwang village.

At the head of Holm Dale a further series of multiple ditches have been recorded on the AP plots connecting the raised land between the heads of valleys, at this strategic location. Mortimer records these linears as ephemeral, but continuous, yet they only appear on AP plots as short disconnected stretches, albeit of up to 6 ditches (fig 44). As this series of linears connects northwards with the dyke along Rain Dale (below) together they form the western side of a large enclosure, defined by dales on south, east and north. The eastern side of this enclosure is a cross-ridge dyke recorded by Mortimer but not plotted by RCHM because it is followed by township boundaries and trackways. Township boundaries also follow the dale-top linear along Holm Dale.

FIMBER WESTFIELD (fig 45-46)

The two dales called Rain Dale and Wan Dale run north-east from Fridaythorpe towards the village of Fimber. They feed into the larger Burdale, north of the village, which then extends eastward where it joins York Dale (from the north) and turns southwards as Bessingdale to become the main Wetwang Slack. Increasingly along this short journey the valleys become broader and more shallow, opening out towards the eastern Wolds. The convergence of dales found in the vicinity of Fimber has been elaborated with a complex network of linears, mostly following the steep dale-sides. Significantly, however the most massive example cuts across several of these dales in an arc which dominates the area to the south focusing attention down the valley towards Wetwang and enhancing special nodal points with more complex arrangements. This main linear is found in both the Westfield complex and that called Fimber Nab and serves to unite the two.

Today this earthwork survives on both steep sides of Rain Dale, as three large banks running down the slopes. It appears again further north-east on the side of Big Dale as three degraded banks. Elsewhere it was extant during the 19th century, to be recorded by Mortimer and the OS 1854, but now can only be seen as a series of soil marks and hedge-lines. Mortimer sectioned it where it meets the road from Fimber to Burdale, a gap which he saw as an original entrance through the dykes. Here the outer ditch was found to be 7 feet in depth "*measured from the natural surface of the land*" (1905:374) and of this stretch he remarks that "*When I*

was a boy these ramparts were unmolested and of a considerable height" (ibid.). At Westfield, Mortimer's excavations discovered a pit dug into the most easterly bank containing what turned out to be later Bronze Age moulds (Mortimer 1905; Manby 1980) (fig 26). Following this up, Caple and Ehrenberg carried out 2 seasons of excavations here in 1982 and 1983 with the main purpose of retrieving further material related to Late Bronze Age metalworking (Caple and Ehrenberg 1983;1985). Their excavations were restricted to the northern dale-side where the banks are less well preserved and showed that the monument here consisted of 3 ditches and four intervening banks. The profile of some of the ditches was suggestive of re-cutting and the central ditch had seemingly begun life as a series of pits. The outer ditches measured 1.30 m below the old land surface whilst the central ditch was narrower and more shallow in profile. A section cut along the dale bottom found the monument to have originally continued across here but was severely degraded and buried under 1-2 metres of hillwash (Caple and Ehrenberg 1983;1985). There appears to be at least two phases of construction, represented by the earthworks visible on the southern dale-side, as two of the banks begin half way down the slope, the larger one further up.

Incorporated into this stretch of massive multiple linear are other ditches which tend to follow the dale-sides. A single ditch for instance is clearly overlain by the longest bank on the southern side of the dale. This was sectioned by Mortimer and found to be another single V-cut ditch just over a metre deep with very little upcast banking on the downslope side. This ditch runs along the slope of the dale to the south until it is incorporated into a larger double ditch and bank running along the top of the dale-side here. It is this linear that continues southwards down Rain Dale to join with the Fridaythorpe multiples at the head of this dale. This same linear continues east and then south as the cross ridge dyke mentioned above, followed by township boundary and track which eventually connects with the Middleham Dale linear (fig 27). To the west of the Westfield complex runs Wan Dale which is followed by a single ditch extending along the upper dale-side. Mortimer's section here reveals a larger ditch with more rounded profile than the usual single ditches. The compacted small grit in the lower fills may suggest it was used as a trackway. Extending northward from this line is a double ditch which crosses the ridge here at Lady Graves and lies parallel to the multiple linear, 200m to the east. It is now visible only as cropmark and seems to have formed the basis for two later chalk pits located along its line.

Mortimer records a further single V-shape ditch or 'hollow-way' that ran along the slopes of Burdale connecting this area with the spring-fed pond at Burdale. He observed that it too had been cut by the larger multiple dykes here as was also the case at Big Dale where another single ditch was crossed by the multiple enclosing linear (1905).

The major linear that connects this zone with Fimber cross-roads to the east may have been used as a road-line during the Middle Ages. The modern road into Fimber village from the east appears to date from the post-Medieval period, as does the coach road from Sledmere, so it may be that this earthwork formed the basic line for a road. (see chapter 5). Given that it survived into the 19th century suggests it escaped plough damage throughout the Middle Ages and thus probably did function as a balk or furlong boundary within the open field east of Fimber village. Its line fits in well with the road running west to Burdale and it is followed by hedge-line along both its north and south sides (see also fig 135).

FIMBER NAB, TRIPLESCORE DALE, BESSINGDALE (fig 45;47-52)

At the eastern end of the above mentioned linear is found the convergence of the 2 major valleys which continue southwards as Bessingdale to become Wetwang and Garton Slack. Here a series of spurs have been created by the steeply sloping sides of the interlocking valleys, spurs of land known locally as 'nabs'. It is these steep sided noses of land that jut out into the flat valley bottom that are furnished with linear ditches and banks. In some cases, as with Fimber Nab, the linears follow the sides of the valleys but others are sites where linears come together, as with the spur overlooking Fimber cross-roads, facing southwards down the valley towards Wetwang. This lump of land contained a multiplicity of parallel ditches and banks into the 19th century but they are now flattened and only visible as cropmarks (Stoertz 1997). Resistivity survey carried out here in 1991 failed to identify the ditches. In 1854 the ground was covered by a plantation known as Old Dike Plantation, which had been planted a century previously, according to Mortimer. The trees had already been cut down by 1861 when Thomas Wiltshire investigated the upstanding banks, producing a profile drawing depicting two large ditches flanked by two banks. One of these was much flattened and appeared to Wiltshire to contain a 'made way' along its length (Wiltshire 1862). This same feature was recognised by Mortimer who described it as a berm, deliberately placed inside the outer bank as a defensive measure. The later modification of the bank as a road would fit the

historical evidence which suggests that this line was used both during the 18th century as a coach road and possibly as the Medieval road along the linears to the west. Across this spur ran three banks and 2 ditches, probably about 7 feet (c. 2 metres) deep, according to Mortimer's section (1905). According to both Mortimer and Wiltshire, the size of these earthworks in the 19th century was considerable, the southern bank measuring 5 feet (1.5m) in height, the width of the whole arrangement being recorded by Wiltshire as about 40 yards. They are followed by township boundaries which double-back to define a thin strip of land occupied by the linears and may indicate their later usage as a road, its borders influencing the later definition of township boundaries (see chapter 5-6). These short but massive stretches of dyke extended down onto the bottom of the adjacent Triplescore Dale where they have been degraded by ploughing activity and buried under hillwash (fig 135). This whole complex served to connect the major linear to the west with further ditches running north, east, south-west and south from this point. However, due to a combination of road modification and centuries of hillwash there is very little left of the earthworks down in the bottom of the valleys.

To the north runs a double ditch and bank along the upper slopes of York Dale, which is still visible in the plantation on York Bank. It extends for a distance of 4km to Sledmere where it connects with the Great Wold Dyke (see below). The southern slopes of Triplescore Dale are furnished with a single ditch and small upcast bank in the same way as other single ditches elsewhere. Sectioned in 1991, this proved to be a V-shape ditch of 1.5m in depth (Buckland et al 1993). It extends northwards and defines an ovoid enclosure whose built boundaries augment and follow the steep slopes of York Dale and Triplescore Dale. Bessingdale too is marked by the construction of a linear along its upper slopes, comprising at least a single bank and ditch and surviving in places as a broad infilled ditch and low bank. It connects with the Green Lane earthwork at Blealands Nook to the south, at the point where the valley begins to turn eastwards.

A further linear feature is recorded on OS 1854 and by Mortimer lying to the south of Fimber village. It seems to complete the enclosure of the low hill on which the village stands and occupies a commanding position above the village to the south. Known historically as Croom Dikes it is now largely destroyed and in part followed by hedge-lines. It was a single ditch and bank which cut across the contours. Sectioned by Wiltshire in the mid 19th century its ditch was broad and shallow (1862).

SLEDMERE GREEN LANE, SYKES MONUMENT AND LIFE HILL (fig 53-61)

The Middleham Dale linear (see above) is today preserved as triple bank earthwork in Middleham Plantation 1.5 km south-west of Wetwang village. A cropmark continues its course from here north-west across the long cultivated lands of the broad valley bottom. At Blealands Nook this cropmark connects to the Green Lane which extends from here the 4km to the Sykes monument. The linear that is followed by this stretch of the Green Lane had, until recently, been well preserved and it is recorded on the 1854 OS. It was a monumental construction and in the 19th century existed as a series of three banks and ditches alongside the Green Lane. At High Bitings, the later lane adopted a more direct course than the original earthwork and here both township boundary and triple bank/ditch curve slightly to the north away from the road. The OS 25" (1910) map records this stretch clearly but it has since been ploughed out and is now only visible as a cropmark (Stoertz 1997). Further along the Green Lane, at Black Wood, the linear is still preserved as double ditch and bank within the modern plantation (fig 55-56).

A substantial stretch of the central bank of this earthwork was excavated by Mortimer in 1866 (1905). The construction of the memorial monument to Sir Tatton Sykes had recently levelled a portion of the earthwork and in so doing had uncovered skeletons, part of the Anglian cemetery which reused this part of the linear. Mortimer describes a monument here made up of 3 banks with 2 central ditches. The central bank was between 30 and 42 feet (10-13m) wide and its flanking ditches between 6.5 and 7.5 feet (c.2m) deep (1905). He recognised that the make-up of the bank was carried out in 2 separate operations with the up-cast from either ditch recognisably different. The Anglian burials had been inserted mostly into the bank (ibid.) (fig 57-59).

Further excavations on this earthwork took place in 1959, when ploughing activity began to threaten the survival of the monument, 200m to the east of Mortimer's initial excavations. Here, on the other side of the north-south road between Garton and Sledmere, the Granthams carried out excavations along the southerly bank of the linear (Grantham C and E 1965). They discovered the continuation of the Anglian cemetery here which could be dated to the 8th century AD. They also recovered a complete, yet broken early Iron Age pot, of the type later identified as later Bronze Age by Manby (1980). This was contained within the make-up of the

bank along with several more fragmentary sherds of collared urn and food vessel, assumed to have derived from a nearby barrow. The skeleton of a child lay on the old ground surface, below the bank.

The central bank of the monument remains upstanding here and continues eastwards for about 300m. At a distance of 500m east of Sykes monument, the original linear arrived at the head of Warren Dale, here a sharply defined dry valley. At this point there is a series of elaborated triple earthworks which form a significant dog-leg and sharply deviate from the long sweeping line of the earthwork so far traced. The short existing gap, between these 2 short stretches of bank and ditch, may be original. There are linear cropmarks which make for it from both north and south, seen by Dent as existing pre-linear tracks (1984). These are perhaps more likely to be later than the linear but still belong to a period, when the linear provided a barrier to movement, as they undoubtedly take advantage of the gap.

East of here, the side of Warren Dale is furnished with a much less substantial single ditch earthwork, reminiscent of Mortimer's so called 'hollow-ways'. It lies 2/3 of the way up the slope and follows the contour, until the valley becomes much broader and shallower at Garton Bottom. Here it becomes a triple bank and ditch earthwork once more (fig 41; 60-61).

Overall, the triple bank and ditch monument ran, until the last century, from Warren Dale to Blealands Nook. Originally this linear continued south-west as a similarly multiple earthwork along Middleham Dale, Harper Dale and Horse Dale until it reached the neck of land at Huggate Dykes. This represents an overall distance of about 18km, of a monument which appears to have been originally made up of continuous triple bank and ditch.

To the north of the Green Lane is Life Hill, a broadly sloping flat topped hill overlooking the Wetwang-Garton Slack, to the south. It is crossed by a series of earthworks which are often today preserved in the plantations and hedge-lines. These lead off the Green Lane earthwork at right angles and often connect up with the head of dry valleys which border Life Hill. The Triplescore earthwork, mentioned above, connects with one of these, for instance. Another, which survives today as a double bank and single ditch, extends from the Green Lane and connects with the head of School House Dale, to the north. They serve to divide up the land of Life Hill into blocks and would appear to belong to a later phase of infill land division than that suggested by the long distance broad swathes cut by the Green Lane and Great Wold Dyke, to south and north of here respectively.

These Life Hill linears are some of the very few which appear on 18th century estate maps. They do so, not as ancient monuments, but as contemporary field boundaries, probably marking the furlong boundaries within the open field, here, at this time which was about to be enclosed. Therefore, these are either prehistoric earthworks which have been successfully reused, or else they were later constructions, possibly contemporary with the creation of open fields.

Life Hill is a good example of a naturally defined block of high ground (fig 51). The western margins are marked by steep dale sides of Bessingdale, Broad Dale and York Dale. Along all of these valleys runs a series of linear earthworks usually along the upper slopes. Their position is augmenting the natural topography and enhancing physically the natural margins of the upland block. The southern edge of Life Hill is not marked by a natural prominent feature as the slopes are gradual. The Green Lane earthwork provides such a boundary which loosely follows the contours about half way down the slope. The eastern boundary is less well defined but could be marked by a combination of linear earthwork and the dry valleys of Cow Dale and Wood Dale, along which linears run (see below).

GREAT WOLD DYKE AND COWLAM (fig 62-63)

Leaving the village of Sledmere along the Bridlington road, heading north-east, a once massive triple bank and ditch earthwork follows the road for several hundred metres. It is part of the Great Wold Dyke that ran originally from the complex of earthworks at Fimber roundabout for over 20km to the later Bronze Age enclosure at Thwing. Between Sledmere and Fimber much of its course has been lost in the emparkment alterations of the 18th and 19th centuries (see chapter 5). However, it does appear as multiple bank and ditch running along the upper slopes of York Dale, south-west of Sledmere Park. Two kilometres north-east of Sledmere, the modern road (and 18th century turnpike) diverts off the line of the linear, at Collingwood Plantation. It is the High Street that adopts the true course of the ridgeway here, the linear running parallel to the north, a little downslope. The fact that this situation is only visible from the north, lower down in the Great Wold Valley, might suggest that this monument is deliberately dominating the land of the valley to the north. In places, today along this direct course, its triple banks are preserved in plantations or pasture land. Its dimensions were similarly monumental to the Green Lane linear and that which borders Fimber village on

the north. It was further up its course to the north-east that Manby obtained several sections across its ditches and banks. Here, he found several later Bronze Age sherds in the primary silts (1980; 1993)

Like the other main axial long distance linear, to the south, the Green Lane, there are several earthworks which abut this line. Most of these approach the Great Wold Dyke from the south and divide up blocks of land, here augmenting the natural divisions provided by the steep valley systems here (in the vicinity of Cottam and Cowlam) (fig 63). One such linear is followed by township boundary and comes off the main line just north of Cowlam village. It crosses the now deserted site of Cowlam village, where the tofts and crofts were visible on the surface until recent ploughing turned them into soilmarks (Riley 1987:25). These habitation boundaries appear to have been aligned along the original linear, which here turns to the west to meet the head of the dry valley of Wood Dale. From here, it travels along the dale-side to Cow Dale, where it survives as a single ditch along the upper slopes of the dry valley. From here it emerges from the dale head and joins with one of the linears on Life Hill at Pry Wood (fig 30; 134). In this way, this continuous but changing feature succeeds in articulating the division of land between Green Lane to the south and Great Wold Dyke to the north. It further illustrates the probable chronological primacy of the long distance axial linears such as Great Wold Dyke and the Green Lane. They adopt direct un-fettered courses along the broad topographic lines of the landscape, are extremely long and are made up of multiple arrangements of ditches and banks.