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Impact and Change:
Assembly Practices in the Northern Danelaw

Alexis Tudor Skinner

Volume 1 of 3
Ph.D. Thesis. Department of Archaeology
Durham University
2014

Impact and Change: Assembly Practices in the Northern Danelaw

Alexis Tudor Skinner

Abstract

This thesis investigates the form, function and development of assembly practices in the Ridings of Yorkshire, a region of significant Scandinavian settlement from the ninth century onwards. It investigates the extent to which these demographic and cultural changes affected existing assembly practices and also the degree to which one can identify the introduction of Nordic conciliar mores. In particular, it focuses on the assembly sites and territories associated with the hundreds and wapentakes outlined in Domesday Book. These are considered in terms of their emergence and context in early medieval law, their relations to earlier accounts of assemblies and their subsequent reception in historical scholarship. The forms and distributions of both documented and assembly-attesting place-names are assessed. These demonstrate significant Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian influence on the nomenclature.

Consideration of the immediate form of the documented and place-name attested assemblies has revealed both variety and patterning, not least in terms of the recurrent cultic elements associated with trees, crosses, and plausibly mounds, each of which often served as the monumental focus of a given assembly. Consideration of the assembly territories demonstrated differing ways of framing the landscape, likely reflecting settlement and agricultural routines but also at times providing evidence for the abrupt imposition of territorial schemata. The most vital finding is the widespread prevalence of assembly in ancillary situations to significant settlements and estate-centres. The use of prominent ridgelines above and apart from settlement in the East Riding shows that there was a clear symbolic role to this separation of activities. Assemblies on estate borders appear to reflect analogous practice. Finally, Scandinavian influence was found at all levels in the surviving evidence for assembly practices in the Northern Danelaw, but this almost certainly reflects active engagement with existing practices rather than the imposition of new customs on a newly settled land.

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Chapter One. Introduction

1.1 Research background

One of the recurrent attributes of the emerging polities of post-Roman Europe was the assembly. These took many forms and operated at different levels. These could comprise national assemblies, exemplified by the Icelandic *alþing*, nationally-significant royal assemblies such as the *witan* of later Anglo-Saxon England (Roach 2013), synodical conventions at a commensurate scale like the Synod of Whitby (Cubitt 1996) and even large scale military musters, as demonstrated by the annual convention of the Carolingian *Placitum Generalis* at the Marchfield (Fouracre 2004: 7). However, there were also popular, local conventions recorded at an early date. These included the courts of the Frankish *mallus*, documented from the early-sixth century (Barnwell 2004: 234), the emergence of the hundred and wapentake in tenth-century Anglo-Saxon law-codes, and the *haerred* and *hundari* of Scandinavia. A consistent relationship can be noted between these assemblies and related, often eponymous territories. This was certainly the case for the hundred and wapentake in England, and the presence of the cognate term *centena* in the Frankish law-codes would imply in turn an analogous territorial aspect (Drew 1991: 158). These early Frankish comparisons also highlight the role of officers, such as the *centenarius (ibid*), likewise a parallel to the *hundredman* of Anglo-Saxon England. These exemplify the four principal aspects of these assemblies: the court itself, the territorial jurisdiction of the court, the corporate body convened at the court, and finally the officers of the court. What however was the role of the assembly?

The short answer to this is that they were nodes for the negotiation, imposition and display of political power, predominantly but not always underwritten by a territorial aspect. As such they were an essential component in the emergence and expansion of the post-Roman kingdoms of Europe. This is not however their first appearance in the historical record. The *Germania* of Tacitus records popular assemblies in northern Europe convened in the first century AD (*Germania* 11). These were convened on

fixed days and the agreement or otherwise with proposals was marked by the use of weapons. This is most reminiscent of the post-Roman outline of assembly, not least in the name 'wapentake' itself. As a result there has been a longstanding current in historical scholarship that has framed the assembly as a tenacious and abiding folk-institution, a manifestation of the innate democratic leanings of the Germanic peoples (Grimm 1828; Kemble 1849; Stubbs 1874; see Section 2.3.1). This perspective has latterly fallen from favour as research has highlighted the manner in which these assemblies served to facilitate top-down control in the localities (Sawyer 1983; Wormald 1986; Keynes 1990; see Section 2.6.1). They formed venues for the imposition of law, theatres for royal display and they facilitated centralised systems of taxation. The assembly was a means for extending both political and territorial control. It was crucial to the development of the post-Roman kingdoms and thus essential to understandings of these developments. Nonetheless one must also recognise that conceptions of top-down control are as equally skewed as the earlier Germanic tradition of scholarship. The business of assemblies like the hundred was predominantly local, and in many ways it was a means to regulate patterns of local, often agricultural, activity (Faith 2009: 29). As such the importance of assemblies extends even beyond understandings of kingdom development. It represented a nexus not just for top-down and bottom-up political initiatives, but in fact for all aspects of society and activities in the lived landscape.

This thesis was undertaken as part of the wider programme of *The Assembly Project - Meeting Places in Northern Europe AD 400-1500*, funded by a grant from Humanities in the European Research Area. This project has sought to identify assembly practices in those parts of north-west Europe that formed the Scandinavian heartlands and also areas witness to subsequent Scandinavian colonisation. It has aimed to characterise their development over the course of the medieval period and better understand their role in the developing territories of kingdoms and other polities in the study area. The Assembly Project has focused in particular upon local and sub-regional assemblies, investigating evidence for their immediate form, landscape location and associated activities, by way of historical, toponymic,

topographic and archaeological materials. This latter category of archaeological material is particularly important as, up to now, archaeological approaches to medieval assemblies have been necessarily limited, due to the absence of a known type-site, or 'fingerprint', of assembly practices in the archaeological record. Instead, understandings of form, not least the prevalence of an emphasis on mound assemblies, has come about through the long-term concretion of tradition with latter insights from place-name studies (Pantos 2001: 7). An archaeological approach can evaluate these conceptions and illuminate further aspects of the form of assemblies.

1.2 Research area

As part of this project the present thesis has investigated the development of assembly practices in the Danelaw (Figure 1). This was a region of northern and eastern England, first documented in the early eleventh century (Hadley 2000: 2), that was subject to conquest and colonisation from Scandinavia in the ninth century. Its southern boundary roughly corresponds to the line of the rivers Thames and Lea, running up along Watling Street towards Chester, as recounted in the Treaty of Alfred and Guthrum (Keynes and Lapidge 1983: 171). This included East Anglia, the territories of the Five Boroughs – Derby, Lincoln, Nottingham, Leicester and Stamford – and the Kingdom of York. It corresponds to variant legal ordinances of the tenth century, such as the *Wihtbordesstan* and Wantage codes (Liebermann 1903: 210-1, 228) and circumscribes an area displaying moderate to high levels of Old Norse influence in the disposition of place-names. Despite the absence of a significant, distinctly Scandinavian component to the archaeological record of the period it is clear that it represented a severe cultural, and potentially demographic, shift in the region (Hadley 2000: 340-1). Whereas in English-controlled areas of the country assemblies and their related territories were known as hundreds, in the Danelaw the prevalent and seemingly analogous territory and judicial institution was known as the wapentake. This was first recorded in the *Wihtbordesstan* code of 962-3 as *waepengetace* (Liebermann 1903: 210). This is thought to mean 'the taking of weapons' and is paralleled by the Old Norse term *vápnatak* (Iversen 2013: 9).

However, whereas in England it occurs as the name of a territory, court and corporate body, in Scandinavia it is found only as a signal of assent and marker of judgement at the *þings* documented in the law-codes and sagas (e.g. Schlegel 1829a: 81, 123, 194; Ásmundarson 1911: 23). Thus one finds oneself with a seemingly Scandinavian institution better paralleled in the juridical practices of Anglo-Saxon England.

The Danelaw presents a fusion of conciliar practices. The objective of this thesis is to characterise the nature and development of these practices and their inter-relations through their form and functioning as manifest in historical, toponymic, topographic and archaeological materials. The thesis focuses upon the three Ridings of Yorkshire within the Danelaw (Figure 1). This represents the core territory of the Viking Kingdom of York and exhibits the most visible demonstration of the *þriðjungr,* a territorial division known in Scandinavia and also found in Lincolnshire (Iversen 2013: 7). It is bounded to the south by the river Humber and Dore Gap, to the north by the river Tees, to the west by the Pennines and to the east by the coast of the North Sea. The central portion of the study area is defined by the Vale of York. To the east one finds the two massive outcrops of the North York Moors and the Yorkshire Wolds, while to the west the ground gradually rises onto the Magnesian limestone belt and then the Pennines.

Diversity also characterises the sub-Riding administrative frameworks that define the Yorkshire of Domesday Book. Whereas the North and West Ridings of Domesday Book were divided into wapentakes, the East Riding was instead disposed towards a larger number of smaller, often disjointed, hundreds (Figure 7; Table 1). A similar scheme is also witnessed in Domesday Lincolnshire as wapentake sub-divisions – by the twelfth century the East Riding of Yorkshire was in turn also assessed by wapentake (Figure 18; Table 2). Yorkshire offers a level of complexity and detail, reinforced by the information from the Domesday 'satellite' known as the Yorkshire Summary (Roffe 1991b), that allows especial attention to be given to the wider relationships between assembly sites and territories, in particular their relationships with respect to landed tenure. The selection of study area also reflects previous and

current work on assemblies. Aliki Pantos' earlier survey (2001) extended only as far north as the Humber, and so the present study has aimed to tackle the districts further to the north. However, only Yorkshire is recorded in Domesday Book beyond this point (see Section 4.1.4), and so offers the only region where detailed territorial analyses of the hundred and wapentake assembly sites can be undertaken without recourse to regression from practices and records recorded a number of centuries after the Norman Conquest. UCL's Leverhulme Trust-funded *Landscapes of Governance* project has also recently re-evaluated O.S. Anderson's earlier nationwide survey of the English hundred and wapentake names – the present thesis aims to contribute material to this for the region of the study area.

1.3 Research questions and thesis outline

The over-arching aims of this thesis can be broken down into a series of questions:

1. How did assembly practices develop in the area of the Northern Danelaw over the early medieval period?
2. To what extent were Scandinavian conciliar norms imposed upon this region and to what extent did Anglo-Saxon assembly practices in the region demonstrate continuity?

The answers to these questions are contingent upon a better understanding of the form of both the assembly sites themselves and their associated territories. As such, the thesis also asks

3. What can be determined of the forms of documented and place-name attested assembly sites, and the practices associated therein, in historical, place-name and archaeological evidence?

To achieve this a GIS database of site and territorial assessments has been produced alongside a gazetteer, based upon archaeological records derived from the National

Monuments Record and regional Historic Environment Records, in conjunction with collated material from varied historic, topographic and toponomastic sources for the study area. The thesis considers and contextualises this evidence within previous work in England, Scandinavia and Iceland on the form, function and development of assembly practices, including the wider distribution of place-name elements and recent archaeological discoveries. Alongside a primary concern with the development of assembly practices in the study area, the study also considers the extent to which the varied aspects of assembly sites and their territories reflected the influence of top-down versus bottom-up political initiatives. These results are presented in Chapter Seven.

In the next chapter (Chapter Two) the origins of the hundred and wapentake are considered, as is their specific context in early medieval legislation and their subsequent historical reception. In particular this charts the rise and decline of the idea that the hundred and the wapentake were manifestations of an abiding Germanic praxis of local democracy. Consideration then turns to corollary developments in toponomastic and archaeologically-driven assembly studies, throughout north-west Europe. In Chapter Three the methodology is expounded. This concerns the identification of assembly sites, the reconstruction of assembly territories, and the construction of a GIS database of the archaeological landscape within which this information is contextualised. Subsequent diachronic analysis has then proceeded at site, unit and regional levels in order to characterise the form, function and development of early medieval assembly in this region of the northern Danelaw. The character of the historical and toponymic material is reviewed in Chapter Four. Early sources, such as Bede, are compared to the later evidence from Domesday Book and the sparse charter material for the north. Attention then turns to the distribution and character of documented and assembly-attesting place-names in the three Ridings of Yorkshire. In Chapter Five the place-name and immediate landscape character of the documented and place-name attested assembly sites is examined. This is structured to consider monumental foci before turning attention to the relationship between assembly sites and lines of

communication. The chapter concludes with extensive consideration of the wider landscape and the topographic aspect of the assembly territories and their boundaries. Chapter Six extends consideration of the wider landscape of assembly to other historical and archaeological features, specifically focusing on the related evidence of estates and minster territories, and the locations of settlements, markets and churches. This concludes with Chapter Seven, where the results are considered consecutively in terms of the historic evidence, the place-name evidence, the immediate form of the sites, the location and wider landscape of the sites, and finally the character of their associated territories. These are reviewed in the conclusion in terms of the implications they have for the functioning and development of assembly practices in the study area and the Northern Danelaw for the early medieval period.

Chapter Two. The origin, and subsequent reception, of the hundred and wapentake in Anglo-Saxon England

The hundred and the wapentake first appeared in Anglo-Saxon lawcodes of the tenth century, though aspects of each related to anterior practice both in the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms and in the wider sphere of north-west Europe. These relationships are considered in depth below, as is their reception in subsequent scholarship. This not only charts changing historic attitudes but also considers the inception of place-name and latterly archaeological studies into assembly practices. It is evident that the differing aspects of the historically constructed hundred must be teased apart if the toponymic and material evidence is to be deployed effectively in this arena.

2.1.1 The hundred and the wapentake in early medieval law

The earliest unequivocal evidence for the existence of the hundred in Anglo-Saxon England comes from the law-code known as the 'Hundred Ordinance'. It has frequently been assigned to the reign of Edgar (c. 959 – 975) though no better indication is given than that the Ordinance was made subsequent to the reign of Edmund (c. 939 – 946) (Wormald 1999: 378). The ascription to Edgar remains a well-disposed possibility, though it is also unclear whether the Ordinance is in fact even a royal proclamation rather than more localised guidance *(ibid*; see the London Peace Guild below). It commences with “This is the ordinance on how the hundred is to be held” (Liebermann 1903: 192-4). It is clear from the outset that no attempt has been made in the Ordinance to differentiate between the territory, the corporate body or the court itself (cf Pollock and Maitland 1898: 547). While the assumption of the unity of these aspects may be an anachronistic one, they are nevertheless all apparent within the selfsame document. After specifying that the hundred should convene every four weeks for the purposes of justice it proceeds with the main matter of the Ordinance and the explicit subject of four of the ten clauses – police action with regard to cattle theft (cf Loyn 1974: 4).

Much detail is provided for more general proceedings. A number of involved parties are specified. A hundredman and tithingmen were obligated to involve themselves (and gather others of the hundred) in the pursuit of thieves and were required to act as witness to any who kept unidentified cattle. The hundredman was further obliged to join the hue and cry when an external hundredal pursuit crossed into their own hundred. If they did not a fine was owed to the king. The resultant compensation from a pursuit was divided in half between the hundred and the *hlaford* (lord – lit. 'loaf-giver'). The hundredman and tithingmen were clearly *of* the hundred. The king evidently was not. The *hlaford*'s claim on compensation owed the hundred indicates a position set apart from the rest of the hundred, reinforced by their ability to countermand the 50 shilling fine for failing to resolve proceedings of a suit. Repeated neglect of the pursuit could lead to the outlawry of reticent individuals, at the mercy of the king. The king does not appear distant, instead another recipient of hundredal fines. The role of the *hlaford* is more problematic. Private or proprietary hundreds, units divorced from the crown by franchise, did proliferate from the tenth century onwards (Cam 1932; 1957a) but many more remained ostensibly in the hands of the king. There is also no doubt that tenure and hundredal jurisdiction were not directly related (Maitland 1897: 136; Cam 1957b). The presence of this position seems highly unusual unless the Ordinance circumscribed an administrative entity that was already in certain cases in private hands whether or not the law-code is marking the inception or formalisation of the hundred.

The hundred of the Ordinance was also evidently involved in judicial procedure beyond cattle theft. It was obligated to hold individuals awaiting justice, presumably either by oath or by more material means. If one was accused of abetting an escape one could clear oneself in the hundred, intriguingly, "by means established in the region" (Liebermann 1903: 194-5). The hundred also exacted fines and compensation while the final clause of the Ordinance, whose inclusion has been much debated, concerns trial by ordeal. Patrick Wormald has taken this to emphasise the role of the hundred in "law enforcement and its rewards" by way of the manuscript context of the Ordinance; collected (but not necessarily contemporary) with the smaller legal

ordinances known as *Forfang* and *Be Blaserum* (1999: 379). Ultimately though the purpose of the hundred is best defined by clause 8, specifying that public law is to be declared with respect to a suit, as is a concomitant timetable for its resolution. It is unclear whether the competencies of the hundred described in the Ordinance extended beyond the criminal sphere but otherwise it is clear that this was a body involved in all stages of the judicial process. It is also explicitly one of several types of court in a province of heterogeneous legal practice, at least at the level of the hundred. It has a character that would appear to stress regional diversity and local agency.

It cannot be stated with certainty that the Hundred Ordinance was promulgated during the reign of Edgar. Nonetheless it is with the law-codes of his reign that the hundred can first be associated with confidence. His Andover decree, known as *II-III Edgar*, evidently sought to consolidate the ecclesiastical and secular legislation of the preceding reigns (Wormald 1999: 316). When it states in clause 5 "*sece man hundredes gemot swa hit aer geset waes"* ('one should seek a hundred court as was previously instituted'; Liebermann 1903: 202), arguably reference is being made to the Ordinance. Clause 7 recapitulated the division of fines between the *hlaford* and the hundred in the case of the seizure of property of a *tyht-bysig* (lit. 'often accused') man (Liebermann 1903: 205). Notably an almost identical clause is found in *II Aethelstan 20* with respect to an unspecified *gemot (ibid*: 160). Clause 5.1 links the schedule of hundredal conventions into a wider system by stating the need for a *scyregemot* ('shire meeting') twice annually and a *burhgemot* ('town meeting') on three occasions each year *(ibid*: 202).

In the subsequent code issued at *Wihtbordesstan* (*IV Edgar*) the analogous connection with the burhs is reinforced. While 36 witnesses under *borh* (lit. 'pledge') are required for witness in each burh, only twelve are required for either a 'small burh' or a hundred (Liebermann 1903: 210-11). This may indicate a degree of equivalence between the two (cf Britnell 1978: 187). The Latin and Old English versions of *IV Edgar* appear to be contemporaneous. Each is found in the *Cambridge*

Corpus Christi MS 265 and the former glosses the 'small burh' as a *civitatulis* in distinction to the *civitate* of the burh (Wormald 1999: 219; Liebermann 1903: 210-11). It also omits all mention of the hundred in this clause despite the occurrence of the term later in the same text *(ibid*). *Civitatulis* is a rare element, though not one of a particularly illuminating bent, found in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* and Seneca's *Apocolocyntosis,* in each case meaning 'small town' (Zimmerman 2000: 57). Britnell has taken this omission to indicate an equivalence of function, especially in the later medieval period (1978: 187). The geographical focus of the *Wihtbordesstan* decrees was clearly upon the Danelaw (Wormald 1999: 317) and one could equally argue that this indicates the concentration of hundredal powers within settlements (rather than designated hundred courts) in the late tenth century. This is overshadowed somewhat by the following clause 6. This demands that witness is required for all commercial transactions that take place in a "*burge oððe on waepengetace"* ('town or in a wapentake'; Liebermann 1903: 210). This is the first known instance of the term 'wapentake' in the corpus of Anglo-Saxon documentation and the only one in a law-code that otherwise makes repeated reference to the hundred. Again the parallel Latin gloss muddies the waters. This instead limits transactions to the "*civitate, rure aut hundrode" (ibid*: 211). It is most significant that the first occurrence of 'wapentake' is contemporaneously glossed as '(country or) hundred'. Secondly, while in the Old English versions the wapentake is distinct from the burh, in the other the hundred is distinct from both town and country. Finally clauses 8 to 11 specify retrospective witness from one's township and hundred if one carries out a transaction without witness [implicitly of cattle] while on a journey. In this one instance there is almost parity between the Old English and Latin versions of *IV Edgar*. Again though the reference to witness in a burh or hundred in the Old English clause 10 is simply rendered as 'hundred' in the related Latin passage. It would seem that the Old English version is stressing both equivalence and division between the pledging of witness in the burh and the hundred. In clauses 5 and 10 of the Latin version it instead conflates the two. There are more grounds to consider the 'burh-hundred' conflation a reflection of realities on the ground than there are to treat the 'country or hundred' of clause 6 as a straightforward rendering of wapentake.

Nonetheless it may be significant that in one the *burh* is conflated with the hundred and in the other, the hundred with the *burh*. It would seem that in some quarters the distinction was an academic one (*cf* Britnell 1978: 187). While the *Wihtbordesstan* code appears to have been directed towards the Danelaw the Latin text likely better reflects ecclesiastical involvement (Wormald 1999: 219). One can possibly draw from this the influence of the potentially varying imposition of a hundredal structure on the country. One cannot however infer that this represents a differing situation specific to the Danelaw.

The law-codes of the subsequent reign of Aethelred II elaborate only slightly on what has gone before. The Woodstock decree (*I Aethelred*) requires the aforementioned *tyht-bysig* man to seek the surety of "two trustworthy thegns" in the hundred (Wormald 1999: 324). If so he must undergo only the single ordeal or else pay the "*pundes wurÞne að innan Þam Þrim hundredan"* ('oath worth a pound within the three hundreds'; *ibid*; Liebermann 1903: 216). Where before the Hundred Ordinance required neighbouring hundreds to provide relevant assistance in the pursuit of thieves, *I Aethelred* would indicate that surety and warranty had acquired an extra-hundredal dimension. One may speculate that the timetable of the *scyregemot* in *II-III Edgar* presupposes this, but one surely finds surer footing for this as an early instance of a tri-hundredal model witnessed profusely in Domesday (Cam 1963: 100). There is little else explicitly concerning the hundred in the law-codes of Aethelred. Note must however be made of the short tract *Hit Becwaeð*, tentatively dated to the reign of Aethelred or Cnut, between the late tenth and early eleventh centuries (Wormald 1999: 385). This concerned purview over landed property. With the crucial phrase "for there is no man alive who ever heard it [the land] claimed or craved in hundred or any other meeting, in market-place or church-congregation" *(ibid*) it reveals the presumed suitability of a property dispute to the jurisdiction of the hundred court. While the presence of the *hlaford* in the Hundred Ordinance implied a relationship between the corporate body of the hundred and a separate land-owner *Hit Becwaeð* affirms that such a relationship extended to jurisprudence. It does not however confirm the presence of the territorial hundred as a unit.

The lawcode known as *II Cnut* (c. 1020x1021) is the latest and most detailed document of early medieval date to expand upon and clarify matters of the hundred. With the exception of reference to counter-charges in the hundred (Liebermann 1903: 330) it is almost in its entirety a synthesis of the decrees of earlier monarchs, in most but not all cases of reigns contemporaneous to or later than the Hundred Ordinance. As *II Edward 8* prefigures the four-weekly timetable of the Ordinance (see Section 2.1.3), so *II Aethelstan 20* preceded later statutes concerning non-attendance (Liebermann 1903: 160). This favours both a model of an earlier 'proto-hundred' in the *folcegemot* (see below) yet also the consolidation of diverse conciliar procedure into a late period administrative construct. In summary it takes Edgar's generalised prohibition of direct pleas to the King (*II-III Edgar 2*) and relates it for the first time to the repeated pursuit of justice in the hundred and shire courts (*II Cnut 19*; Liebermann 1903: 320-2). The timetable of the *burhgemot* and *scyregemot* is re-affirmed, noting the presence of the bishop and ealdorman at the latter (cf *II-III Edgar 5* and *II Cnut 18*) as is *II-III Edgar 7* concerning the apprehension of non-attendees of the hundred and the seizure of their property (*II Cnut 25*). As noted in Section 2.1.3 below, this also appears with reference to an unspecified *gemot* in *II Aethelstan 20*. *II Cnut 20* states that all men over the age of twelve were required to be part of a tithing and hundred (Liebermann 1903: 322). While this directive is ostensibly novel, it also reflects well *II Aethelstan 1*'s concern that only those over the age of twelve could be charged as a thief. Admittedly a more tenuous connection, it at least indicates that the age barrier was not an innovation. Where clarification is needed of Aethelred's laws, these are provided. Where *I Aethelred 1* presented the *hlaford* in an ambiguous position with reference to the free man and the *tyht-bysig* man of the hundred, *II Cnut 31* makes a very specific case for the household ('*hiredmen*') of said *hlaford* to be judged within his own hundred. More intriguingly it says they are to be *on his aganan borge* ('in his own *borh* [pledge]' [Liebermann 1903: 334-5). This would appear to indicate that the *hlaford* was considered integral to the hundred rather than outside of its membership, despite being the recipient of a proportion of the fines from its actions. In turn *II Cnut 30* elaborates upon the list of punishments

relevant to *I Aethelred 1*, citing again the oath of three hundreds before providing a detailed listing of possible mutilations if this oath was not upheld *(ibid*: 1903: 330). There is finally one last clause that appears to be novel. This is *II Cnut 27 (ibid*). By detailing the consequences of failing in an adversarial suit it demonstrates both the presence of adversarial justice in the hundred and the existence of proxies, those who would advocate on another's behalf. Ultimately the hundred of Cnut is the same one found in the Hundred Ordinance. Where one witnesses seeming additions, they do not conflict with what has gone before. Where additions are noted they also tend to represent, as found in *II Aethelstan 20*, a transition from a point of law for an unspecified *gemot* to that of a *hundred-gemot*. This does not however resolve the issue of a proto-hundred versus a consolidated hundred.

Beyond this point hundredal legislation belongs to the later medieval law-codes. In William the Conqueror's *Episcopales Leges* bishops and deacons were first prohibited from holding pleas in the hundred court (Liebermann 1903: 485). In his *Articles* the *murdrum* fine was first espoused *(ibid*: 490). Stubbs made much of this as a way of linking instances of the collective responsibilities of the hundred with the dawn of feudal mores (Stubbs 1906: 52, 83). Liebermann's *Die Gesetze* demonstrates that collective hundredal responsibilities, not least in terms of police actions, date back at least as far as the mid-tenth century, if not before, when analogous constructs like the London Peace Guild are considered (Section 2.1.3), rendering this earlier view untenable (1903; 1906; 1916). These articles also attempt to summarise the types of administrative district in William's new kingdom. They are divided into *civitates*, *burgs* and *castella* alongside hundreds and wapentakes (Liebermann 1903: 490). The first two are of particular interest as this may comprise a later rendering of the earlier *civitate-civitatulis* division of *IV Edgar,* indicating again the contrast between the burh, with complementary legal powers to the hundred, and more prominent urban locales. The Articles also repeat earlier exhortations to exhaust hundredal justice before taking pleas to the crown (Liebermann 1903: 488). These belong to the later eleventh century as does the *Instituta Cnuti* which, despite its name, is strongly connected to the aforesaid *Articles*. It was an attempt to summarise English law prior

to the Conquest though it contains little on the hundred itself. Salient detail includes a concern with breaches of the king's peace in the counties and hundreds (Liebermann 1903: 614) but more usefully it outlines the range of liberties a bishop could enjoy, including *toll*, *team*, weights and measures and serves as a demonstration of the ecclesiastical dimension to private hundreds before the Conquest, as viewed in the dying days of the Conqueror's reign.

There are no definite legal decrees in relation to the hundred in the reign of William Rufus. Despite the title of the *Leges Henrici Primi* the only act that can be securely linked to the reign of Henry I is a writ dated from 1108 that commands that the counties and hundreds met in the same places and to the same timetable as they were accustomed in the reign of Edward the Confessor (Liebermann 1903: 524). Wormald has viewed this as an attempt to protect a "medium designed for communication between throne and people" against the depredations of the aristocracy (1999: 402). This is a view that tallies well with the distinction made by the Chancery between the Honour of Richmondshire (**TAC-0**) and the co-extensive wapentakes of Gilling (**GIL-0**), Hang (**HANG-0**) and Halikeld (**HAL-0**) for instance (Gale 1722: 22-3). It does not follow however that the private hundred was an undesired consequence of the initial hundredal framework in the early medieval period (cf Cam 1932; 1957a).

Subsequently it is difficult to determine what constituted a survival of early medieval law as opposed to a later medieval introduction or innovation. This is compounded by the nature of the early twelfth-century expositions of law, not least the misleadingly titled *Leges Edwardi Confessoris* (O'Brien 1999). Despite this their attempts to explain certain legal mechanics and variant details can be illuminating. The *Leis Willelme* cites an equal fine of 30 shillings whether one avoids the judgement of the hundred court or a court that enjoys a liberty from the hundred (Liebermann 1903: 516-7). It is in the exhaustive *Leges Henrici Primi* that mention is first made of the division of shires into hundreds and 'shipsokes' *(ibid*: 552). Hundreds in turn are divided into tithings and fees. This same document introduces the practice of the

twice annual 'sheriff's tourn' into the workings of the hundred. Clause 8 seeks to differentiate the tithing-man from the hundred-man while in clauses 9.4 and 57.8 *(ibid*: 555, 577) an exhaustive list is given of court types, that apart from the hundred and county include the *halimot* of soke, *certis agendorum locis adiacens* ('established places for court proceedings'), the *divisae* ('boundary courts') and courts of several hundreds. The wapentake is notable by its absence, an omission made more conspicuous still by the repeated mention of the practice of *lah-slit* ('legal fine') in the Danelaw *(ibid*: 565). The mention of the *divisae* is particularly intriguing, not least due to the noted liminal settings of many identified assembly sites (e.g. Bolesford, North Riding [**BOL-1**] and Strafford Sands, West Riding [**STR-1**]). In the *Leges Henrici Primi* they are mandated when a dispute occurs between two lords of equal standing (Liebermann 1903: 576). It is only if this was impossible that the dispute would be directed towards either a lord common to each of them or else the hundred court. This law-code is the first to identify and name such a venue of justice. Despite this Maitland tentatively linked the *divisae* to the practice documented in a charter of 849 that makes mention of boundary tribunals when the member of a household within an immunity (a private territorial franchise) was to be tried for thievery (S1272; Maitland 1897: 325; cf Stubbs 1906: 51-2). It remains speculative and little referenced but may provide a more pragmatic explanation for the known physical phenomena of assembly. Among the more unusual connections to early medieval legislation is the list of venues suitable for the emancipation of slaves in the *Leges Henrici Primi.* This is identical to that found in *Hit Becwaeð,* thus making a potential equation between property in landed tenure and property in slaves (Wormald 1999: 385). As with Cnut a century earlier, the *Leges Henrici Primi* appears to be clarifying certain aspects of an existing institution, while making some allowances for the growing power of feudal jurisdictions. Nonetheless it is clearly evidence of tinkering rather than wholesale change. It is also worth noting the single reference to the *tungrevii* in clause 7.2 of this compendium, the single instance that seems to directly connect the *gerefa* ('reeve') to an unqualified *þing* assembly (Liebermann 1903: 553).

The *Leges Edwardi Confessoris* also dates from the early twelfth century and unlike

the *Leges Henrici Primi* demonstrates an explicit interest in the divergent workings of the Danelaw. As discussed below it provides an early twelfth-century view on what the wapentake was thought to be. While it does not attempt to explain the hundred it does argue the tithing system to be a system for policing good behaviour instituted by *sapientiores* ('wiser men') to guard against "fools who freely committed offences against their neighbours" (O'Brien 1999: 187). It was said to deal with matters at the level of the vill, handing more serious cases on to the hundredmen *(ibid*). Crucially it is not noted as an initiative of the crown. Clauses 22.5 and 24 make clear that the hundred was the default court in the early twelfth century, avoided only by possession of legal privileges, or by fealty to one who held such privileges (Liebermann 1903: 648, 650). Further, clause 9.3 even commands that ordeals must be undertaken in the nearest church of the hundred if no such privilege was held *(ibid*: 633). It gives a strong impression of private encroachments upon a royal tableaux. Conversely while clause 13 reserves the boundaries of shires for the crown, the boundaries of hundreds and wapentakes are instead within the purview of the relevant earls and sheriffs *(ibid*: 640). Attention now turns to the uses of the terms wapentake and *gemot* in the same lawcodes.

2.1.2 The term 'wapentake' in the Anglo-Saxon laws

'Wapentake' first appears in the *Wihtbordesstan* code of Edgar between 962 and 963 (*IV Edgar*; Liebermann 1903: 210). It is cited as one of two places, alongside the burh, that financial transactions could be witnessed. The absence of the hundred from these categories is unusual considering its use elsewhere in the same code. It is very likely that this passage was specifically directed towards the Danelaw. There is likewise evidence that in the tenth century the burh and the hundred were somewhat interchangeable terms in the lawcodes (Britnell 1978: 187). That said, the contemporaneous Latin gloss to *IV Edgar* renders it as *hundrode*, indicating that parity was seen between them from its earliest known appearance in surviving documentation. In the Wantage decree of Aethelred II the fine for breaking the peace of a wapentake was set at a rate six times lower than that of a *burhgaþinðe* ('burh

assembly'). This would imply that the wapentake was not accorded the equivalence to the burh witnessed in respect to the hundred above. Clause 3 of the same law-code would seem an attempt to encapsulate the workings of the wapentake. It begins by citing the types of law relevant to the body – *land-cop ('land purchase')*, *hlaford-gifu* ('lordly gifts'), *lah-cop* ('law purchase'), *wit-word* ('wise words') and witness – before specifying that the wapentake should convene a *gemot* of twelve senior thegns and a reeve *(ibid*: 228). Ordeals are described much as for the hundreds, as is the two-fold division of fines between the wapentake and the *land-rica* (synonymous with *hlaford*) but it instead indicates prices for the purchase of judgement, a significant deviation from the hundredal model. The types of law listed are, with the exception of *lah-cop*, Old English (Liebermann 1903: 228; Vinogradoff 1908: 9; Björkman 1900: 68). However *lah-cop*, the purchase of law, is a distinct distinguishing element that sets the wapentake apart from the hundred at this apparent early stage. While much is made of *lah-slit* in the codes of Edward the Elder and later Cnut (Liebermann 1903: 130, 345-6), it makes no appearance here. The final early medieval ordinance that mentions the wapentake is found in the *Northumbrian Priests' Law*, a largely ecclesiastical text that chimes well with the themes espoused in the lawcodes of Cnut (Wormald 1999: 397). The wapentake is cited on a single occasion, namely that two thegns from each were expected to collect 12 ores in fines from those who broke fasts and did not observe religious festivals (Liebermann 1903: 384). As with the hundred it indicates some ambiguity as regards the role of the *land-rica* (and indeed the king's thegn) who were to be charged a higher fine by the same body if the original fine of 12 ores was withheld *(ibid*). It would seem then that, as with the *hlaford* of the hundred, the lord was beholden to this conciliar body at the same time that they enjoyed special privileges within it. It is surely worthy of note that the wapentake only occurs in documentation concerned with the Danelaw. With the exception of the *Northumbrian Priests Law*, these are certifiably of royal origin. In a final and obvious point, it first appears, as with the hundred, in the lawcodes of Edgar (noting the ambiguity of the Hundred Ordinance).

One must wait until the later eleventh century before, in the *Willelmi Articuli*

Londiniis Retractati, it is reckoned alongside the hundred as a constituent jurisdiction of England (Liebermann 1903: 490). The early twelfth-century *Leges Henrici Primi* and the later *Leges Anglorum Londiniis collectae* (of the reign of John) continue this theme, each specifying an identical timetable of wapentakes to hundreds *(ibid*: 553, 657). It is in the *Leges Edwardi Confessoris* that some of the most valuable information is found, not necessarily on the workings of the wapentake, but rather of the opinions and views of it in the twelfth century. The compiler of this synthesis of current law sought to explain to the reader what the wapentake was:

"Yorkshire, Lincolnshire, Nottinghamshire, Leicestershire, Northamptonshire up to Watling Street and the eight beyond Watling Street are under the law of the English. And what others call a hundred, the counties named above call a wapentake. And this is not without reason; for when someone received the reeveship [*prefecturam*] of the wapentake, all the more substantial men gathered on the established day opposite him in the place where they were accustomed to assemble, and while he dismounted from his horse, all would rise to meet him. And he would lift high his lance and all would touch his spear with their lances, and so they confirmed themselves to him and with respect to weapons, since they call arms *wapa* and to confirm *taccare." Leges Edwardi Confessoris*. Clause 30 (O'Brien 1999: 188-9).

The author then continued:

"There were still other jurisdictions over the wapentakes that they called *trehings*, namely the third part of the district. And those who presided over it were called *trehinghef*, to whom were referred the cases that could not be decided in the wapentakes. And what the English called a hundred, these called a wapentake; and what the former called three hundreds, or four, or many, the latter called *trehing*. And what could not be decided in the *trehings* was reserved for the shire" *Leges Edwardi Confessoris*. Clause 31 (O'Brien 1999: 189-91).

The *Leges Edwardi Confessoris* is known for its greater emphasis on northern legal

matters (Wormald 1999: 411). As such it is unusual that the wapentake is not accorded a Scandinavian origin. However one could equally argue that neither is the hundred accorded an English origin. Indeed one has to turn to the pages of William of Malmesbury's 1127 work, the *Gesta Regum Anglorum* (Mynors *et al* 1998), before any attempt is made to provide for the origin of the latter. More likely the description reflects a wider current whereby many are seen to engage with these jurisdictions, but none claim ownership. The author of the *Leges Edwardi Confessoris* also makes the first substantial attempt to present a hierarchical model of jurisdiction. It is implicit in the prohibition of direct pleas to the king found in *II-III Edgar 2* and later law-codes, but as Maitland pointed out, the competencies of the hundred as opposed to the shire court are distinctly blurred (Pollock and Maitland 1898: 530, 547).

The final passage quoted in the *Leges Edwardi Confessoris* is of relevance to all of the pertinent jurisdictions:

"*Greve*, moreover, is the name for an official; among us there seems to be nothing more useful [to call him] than prefect. The name in fact has many meanings, for one is called a *greve* of the shire, of wapentakes, of hundreds, boroughs, [or] of vills. And it seems to us to be composed of *grit* in English, which is peace in Latin, and *woe* [*ue*] in Latin, that is to say one ought to make *grit*, that is peace, from those who would introduce *woe*, that is misery and pain, into the land (by the highest authority of our Lord, Jesus Christ, who said, "Woe to you Beth-saida, woe to you Chorazin!"). The Frisians and the Flemings call their counts *mere-graves*, because [they are] greater or good, peaceful men. And just as now those who have governing responsibilities over others are called *greves*, so at that time some were called aldermen, not because of their age, but because of their wisdom".
Leges Edwardi Confessoris. Clause 32 (trans. O'Brien 1999: 190-1).

An incautious approach to the etymology nonetheless conceals an assumption that the office of *greve* was primarily an office of justice. Moreover it is a demonstration

of a common theme to the competencies of the various courts. This does not mean that analogous procedure was current at the time of the *Leges Edwardi Confessoris*, but it does indicate a common influence, either as an originator or modifier of early medieval jurisprudence in England. It is finally important for drawing links to practices across the Channel. These are not explored in any depth but do represent an early consciousness of a wider praxis.

2.1.3 The term 'gemot' in the Anglo-Saxon laws

The Old English term *gemot* ('meeting') is common to both the hundred and wapentake in the extant law-codes. While each of these is only documented from the mid-tenth century onwards, the term for the court itself has a far longer history in Anglo-Saxon jurisprudence. It first appears in the laws of Wihtraed of Kent of the late seventh century as *þis gemot*, presumably in reference to the declaration of the said law-code (Liebermann 1903: 12). It is next mentioned in the Laws of Alfred, in particular the prohibition of fighting within the *gemot* of an *ealdorman (ibid*: 70-2). This same clause (No 38) then specifies that a weapon drawn in the *folcgemot* will incur the same penalty. This would seem to be a specific precursor to the more generalised ordinance against breaches of the king's peace found in later law-codes. In Clause 34 of Alfred's code it was the *folcgemote* before which a merchant's household was presented and vetted *(ibid*: 68). In the later *II Aethelstan 2* it is the *folcgemote* at which all lordless men were to be enjoined in *folcrhyte* ('folk-right'). In *II Aethelstan 12* all purchases over 20 shillings needed to be witnessed by this body *(ibid*: 160). The folk-moot then is, at an earlier stage to the hundred, described as a place of witness, surety and peace. While this would accord with the hundred it would equally concur with a shire court and thus one cannot draw a straightforward connection.

That said there are more specific connections to hundredal affairs. *II Aethelstan 20* concerns the seizure of property of those who fail to attend the *gemot* in identical terms to those who eschewed the hundred in *II Cnut 25*. The most frequently cited

connection however is that of *II Edward 8*, a clause that commands that each reeve hold a *gemot* every four weeks. The similarities with the Hundred Ordinance are unmistakeable. Further links have been drawn with the London Peace Guild of Aethelstan's reign. The Ordinance for this body includes folk-right for those over twelve years of age, groupings of ten men, a duty of thief-pursuit and monthly gatherings. It is strongly redolent of the hundred. The resort to aid from adjacent reeves with their *manungs* (a corporate and/or territorial body within the shire) is highly reminiscent of clause 5 of the Hundred Ordinance *(ibid*: 192-4). In turn the payment of twelve pence to the slayer of a thief and the convention of twelve at these monthly gatherings chimes well with what little is known of the early medieval wapentake. The congruences are so striking that it is significant that this body was neither referred to as a hundred or wapentake. Following from this it is clear that the functionality, constitution and oversight of the hundred and wapentake was evidently in place prior to the Hundred Ordinance. Notwithstanding this there is no evidence that it was all drawn together under the rubric of the 'hundred' or 'wapentake' prior to the tenth century.

The *gemot* was deployed as a name for the courts of hundreds, shires, burhs, royal councils and in the case of *II Edward 8*, a hundred court in all but name (Liebermann 1903: 144). In the latter half of his reign in *VIII Aethelred 37* the clause laments that "*gemots* though deliberately held in places of note, after Edgar's lifetime, the laws of Christ waned, and the king's laws were impaired" (Liebermann 1903: 267). No doubt indicative of the tumultuous events at the turn of the millennium, it evidently considered the proper working of the undifferentiated *gemot* to be under the aegis of the crown. A similar distribution of usage is found in II Cnut and it is only following the Conquest that unqualified occurrences of *gemot* diminish sharply. That said, the early thirteenth-century *Leges Anglorum Londiniis* does, in clause 82 B 5, command that all men were to have peace travelling to and from *gemots* (Liebermann 1903: 657). As a compendium of numerous earlier laws this does not necessarily reflect the then current usage. It seems reasonable to assume that *gemot* ceased to be a useful term on its own.

The earlier mentioned *folcgemote*, despite similarities to the hundred and shire, does not disappear as these latter constructs emerge in the law-codes. Instead it is presented in the decrees of Aethelred II and Cnut in one restricted context in that it is, alongside the market and the hunt, forbidden to convene on a Sunday (*V Aethelred 13; VI Aethelred 22, 44; I Cnut 15*; Liebermann 1903: 240, 252, 258, 296). Later, in Henry I's *Charter of London* and the *Libertas Londoniensis* the *folkesmot* is listed alongside the *husting* as one of the constituent courts of the city. As it would appear above that *gemot* has been used to gloss *hundred-gemot* (*II Edward 8*; Liebermann 1903: 144), it is impossible to determine whether the *folcegemot* in these contexts is a generalised gloss or a specific sort of court. This in turn counsels against ascribing specific qualities to the *folcgemot* of Alfred and Aethelstan.

Final mention must be made of other references to courts. The seventh-century laws of Hlothere and Eadric of Kent refer to legal proceedings "*in medle oððe an þinge"* (Pantos 2004: 183) though neither term appears again until the *geþincða* of the Five Boroughs in *III Aethelred 1* (Liebermann 1903: 228). In the corpus of Anglo-Saxon charters there are two references freeing a participant from the burden of *popularium concilium*. One is contained in a charter of Cenwulf of Mercia, dating to around 801 AD, essentially updating a grant of Offa of the 760s (S106; Reynolds 2009: 18). The second, in identical terminology, is found in a 747 charter of Eadberht of Kent, addressed to the abbot of Reculver (S1612: Whitelock 1979: 451). While it is tempting to link these (non-Wessex) charters to the *folcegemot* this assumes that the latter term indicated a low-level assembly of popular attendance. In fact the best link to the *popularium concilium* is found in the *popularibus placitis* of the late twelfth-century *Pseudo Cnuta de Foresta* (Liebermann 1903: 621). The name is certainly reminiscent of the *plataea populi* of the Anonymous Life of Gregory the Great (Colgrave 1985: 96-7; see Section 4.1.1). Crucially the relevant clause states that the *placitis* in question were known to the English as the *hundredlaghe (ibid*). The temporal gap between the eighth and twelfth centuries weakens attempts to equate the two. Conversely this equation was evidently an uncontroversial one in the

context of the twelfth-century forest laws.

2.1.4 Summary

It is surely significant that the hundred receives no mention until the tenth century. Nearly all aspects of the legal entity can be espied in prior legislation. This included aspects of the *folcgemot* of Alfred's reign (Liebermann 1903: 70-2) and later the even more compelling links with the London peace-guild of Aethelstan *(ibid*: 173-83). It is eminently reasonable to treat the hundred as a rubric that consolidated and formalised existing legislation, an entity with strong etymological, juridical and territorial links to the Continent. It is likely of a piece with the strong Carolingian influence on Anglo-Saxon legislation that Wormald has identified as present at least by the reign of Edgar (1999: 320, 379). The presence of the *hlaford* in the hundred is problematic. They appear to be of the hundred while enjoying special privileges – it is unclear whether the *hlaford* represents a position of coincident tenure or evidence of proprietary hundredal control from its inception. The *popularium concilium* of Cenwulf in 801 AD would indicate an earlier obligation on landholders to maintain courts (S106; Reynolds 2009: 18). Conversely the role of the *gerefa* in the four-weekly gemot of *II Edward 8* demands that one query the extent to which this entailed control of the court (Liebermann 1903: 144). Further ambiguity and overlap is found between the respective legal communities of the burh and the hundred, not least in matters of witness. Britnell (1978: 187) in particular has stressed these commonalities and these links have led several to treat the hundred as a rural territorial development of the burghal system (see below, e.g. Roffe 2010: 40-1; Molyneaux 2011: 83-6; Baker and Brookes 2013b). Finally, with the notable exception of the Sheriff's Tourn, the officers, the venues and the attendance of the hundred does not appear to change. While there are demonstrable instances of the wapentake being treated as a functionally identical legal community to the hundred (e.g. *IV Edgar 6*; Liebermann 1903: 211) it is also clear in variant legislation and the restricted scope of the wapentake that the two were not indistinguishable in practice. It is also clear that the *folcgemot*, an earlier recorded popular assembly, recurs in the

post-Ordinance legislation of Aethelred and Cnut, albeit in a restricted context, indicating its continuation. This would strongly suggest that the 'roll-out' of the hundred (and indeed wapentake) was an ongoing process. Ultimately, these inferences can only apply to the hundred and wapentake as idealised constructs.

2.2.1 The origin of the term 'hundred'

The hundred first emerges as an Anglo-Saxon political unit with the promulgation of the Hundred Ordinance in or near the reign of Edgar (Wormald 1999: 378). The term 'hundred' is found only once before the Ordinance, as the numeric hundred in the *Laws of Ine* (Liebermann 1903: 100) and even then in only one of the surviving manuscripts (*Corpus Christi 383*), of twelfth-century date (Wormald 1999: 228-36). However its restricted temporal scope in England is strikingly narrow in comparison to the Continent. The hundred, as the *centena*; and the hundred-man, as the *centenarius*, are present in a number of post-Roman lawcodes. The fines stipulated by the Frankish *Lex Salica* for failing to assist a hundredman in the apprehension of a thief are most familiar (Drew 1991: 158). It also specifies that another official, known as the *thunginus*, could convene a court in analogous fashion to that of the hundredman (Eckhardt 1969: 108). It is unclear whether these two offices were of equal standing (Barnwell 2004: 234). Certainly Brissaud posited the *thunginus* as a level above the *centenarius*, in similar fashion to the *graf* (1915: 91-2). There is also no consensus over the etymology of *thunginus*. While Barnwell takes it as an early iteration of *þing* (2004: 243), Maurizio Lupoi has stressed a divergent proto-Slavic origin of **teng* – 'to weigh' (2007: 209n). At any rate this document purports to originate in the early sixth century (Drew 1991: 53). While the oldest manuscript is of eighth-century date, the decrees of Childebert II of 596 AD also make reference to the *centena* and the *centenarius* (Boretius 1883: 17) – it is beyond doubt that the hundred had a presence as both territory and court by at least the late Merovingian era. It is likewise present in the *Leges Alamannorum* (Lehmann and Eckhardt 1966: 87, 94-6) and in a large number of Carolingian and Ottonian capitularies (see Estey 1947; Boretius 1883; 1897). The mid seventh-century *Leges Visigothorum* (King 1980:

148-9) meanwhile frames the *centenarius* as one of several military officers, alongside the *millenarius* (lit. 'thousand-man') and the *quingenarius* (lit. 'five-hundred-man') who nonetheless appears to possess some judicial powers (Zeumer 1902: 366-9). Wallace-Haddrill suspected that the hundred was at least as old as the early Merovingian period (1962: 193). In this Alexander Murray has demonstrated how the Merovingian hierarchy of military offices – *dux, comes, tribunus* and *centenarius* – was derived directly from the late Roman Empire (1988: 73) – a conspicuously expedient endeavour that legitimised Merovingian rule through evocations of *Romanitas*. Nonetheless this only serves as an explanation for the terminology – it is far more difficult to demonstrate Roman links to the functionality and disposition of these hundreds. The hundred and its cognate iterations also have a far wider distribution in the British Isles outside of England. The *cantref* of Wales – or '100 settlements' – and later the *cantred* of Ireland continues the numeric theme but does not necessarily represent analogous divisions (MacCotter 2008: 109). In Sweden one finds the *hundare*, first recorded in the eleventh century (Sawyer and Sawyer 1993: 85; Brink 2008: 109) and in Denmark and Norway the *herred,* which Brink has proposed is derived from a military rather than numeric root *(ibid*: 95). The cognate *huntari* and *hunderi* are found in what became Germany from the eighth century onwards (Andersson 1999: 5-12; 2000: 233-8) and it seems reasonable to assume that the terminology was used at an earlier point. Indeed Lindquist has proposed their emergence in Scandinavia in the mid-first millennium (1968: 112-20). However, in the Anglo-Saxon domain, characterised by copious vernacular documentation prior to the Hundred Ordinance, this does not seem to be the case, either as '*hundred*', '*centena*' or variants thereof. The earlier law-codes demonstrate that while the hundred's functionality was already present in various forms the likelihood is that the terminology was not. One severe problem with this, especially notions of an early Scandinavian inception, is that the development of the terminology and the development of the related territory are being conflated (see Line 2007: 208-10). It is certain in Anglo-Saxon England (Yorke 1995: 127; Brooks 1998: 268-70) and highly probable elsewhere that an existing district could acquire new terminology.

2.2.2 The origin of the term 'wapentake'

There are several ways in which the early medieval wapentake can be differentiated from the hundred as legal communities beyond reference to *lah-cop* – the buying of law (Björkman 1900: 68). Domesday Book indicates that while, like the hundred, the wapentake comprised sub-shire divisions, it tended to be substantially larger in area and predominant in the northern half of England. However, while the hundred appears to enjoy a wide and early distribution in Western Europe dating back at least to the fifth century AD, the wapentake possesses both a far narrower distribution and range of meanings. The seemingly cognate 'wappenschaw', found from 1425 in Scotland, was a type of meeting that took place "in each sheriffdom…thrice in the year or four times" (Brown 2013: 1425/3/24). Despite the etymological similarities with the more southerly 'wapentake' it is strikingly clear (e.g. *ibid*: 1426/20; 1471/5/6) that the 'wappenschaw' has more in common with the Old Norse *vápnþing*, a weapon-inspection found in the Laws of Magnus the 'Law-mender' (Taranger 1915: 3.12). Much has been made of the fact that, while the term 'wapentake' accounted for an administrative and judicial body and territory in England, further north in Scandinavia and its colonised territories it merely indicated an action at an assembly, presumed to be the taking/clashing/brandishing of weapons at the closing of a *þing*. It was a term that could foster diverse meanings across regions. It is not inconceivable, though difficult to demonstrate, that this divergence was contemporaneous.

The *vápnatak* of the *Grágás*, later thirteenth-century compendiums of older Icelandic law, was an action that signified the closing of a *þing* (1829a). In one passage no execution could take place until the *vápnatak (ibid*: 80). More commonly a fourteen night period following judgement was cited, timed from the *vápnatak (ibid*: 81, 123, 194). This is no better illustrated than in *Hrafnkel's Saga*, wherein the protagonist's outlawry is finalised fourteen days after the *vápnatak* at the previous Althing (Ásmundarson 1911: 23). Schlegel (1829a: lxxxix; 1829b: I93), the nineteenth-century

editor of the *Grágás*, inferred from the prohibition of weaponry at *þings* that *vápnatak* specifically indicated the close of this ban and the taking up of arms. It is also noted in Norwegian contexts. The earliest extant manuscripts for the laws of the Gulathing and Frostathing date from the mid-twelfth and mid-thirteenth centuries respectively though again each undoubtedly reflects far older practices (Larson 1935: 26-7). However the emphasis in each is instead placed on land conveyance, namely its ratification by *vápnatak (ibid*: 174-5, 182, 187). The Frostathing further indicates the wider prevalence of the custom, referring to *vápnataks* beyond the law-court in relation to matters beyond that of land *(ibid*: 292). The near contemporaneous Saga of King Sverri Sigurdsson refers to the *vápnatak* as the confirming action of vows of fealty at regional assemblies including the Eyrarþing and Alpti in Helsingaland (Jónsson and Sephton 1899: 548, 557).

The *vápnatak* evidently had its place in legal procedure in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and it would seem reasonable to treat it as a reflection of earlier practice. One such instance is found in the *Orkneyinga Saga*. Despite the manuscript again being thirteenth century in date it makes reference to a *vápnatak* following a battle with the Normans off Anglesey (Unger and Vigfússon 1862: 429). In this case however it does not refer to legal procedure but instead to a military muster, posing a far stronger semantic link with what is witnessed in the Anglo-Saxon law-codes. This is the sole instance where *vápnatak* names a meeting. Note must also be made of the *vápnþing*. Detailed instructions are provided for the convention of this assembly in the later thirteenth-century laws of King Magnus the 'Law-mender' (Taranger 1915: 3.12). It was an annual assembly of freemen which met after Candlemas and was primarily concerned with the inspection of weaponry under the oversight of the *sysselmanden*. More interestingly the law was declared at such gatherings. A convention of such is also cited in the *Saga of Haakon Haakonarson* (Fornmanna Sögur 1835: 478). Nonetheless its parameters seem too limited to draw substantive lines between this and the wapentake. *Vápnatak*, and by extension wapentake, would appear to signal the judgement rather than comprising the name of a given assembly and/or its members. One may speculate over the descriptive as opposed

to appellative qualities of the name in an English context but more substantially the documented material would guard against any model of the substantial import of administrative practice. It appears to be more a means to distinguish the attendees of these sub-shire meetings.

2.2.3 Summary

Territorial constructs cognate, and in some cases synonymous, with the hundred were present on the Continental shelf from at least the sixth century A.D. They bore sufficient resemblance to late Roman military organisation that there is no doubt a relationship existed between the two. It is however impossible to determine the extent to which this relationship marked the continuation or appropriation of earlier nomenclature and practices. The hundred is conspicuous by its absence in Anglo-Saxon documentation prior to the tenth century though its individual attributes can almost all be located in earlier textual contexts. It seems eminently reasonable to treat this construct as a Carolingian import of the late ninth or early tenth century, in line with the growing Frankish influence on law-making at the time (Wormald 1999: 320, 379). The wapentake is more problematic. First found in Edgar's *Wihtbordesstan code*, it is plausibly contemporaneous with that of the Anglo-Saxon hundred. However it is not encountered on the Continent and as *vápnatak* is present almost solely as a signal of judgement in later documented Norse law-codes and Sagas. This undoubtedly reflects earlier practice but as such also precludes any notion of a Scandinavian territorial and judicial construct adopting the wapentake nomenclature. It is far more likely that the name is indicative of the southerly reception to the judgements of Danelaw assemblies and the consequent slide of this signifier from legal principle to territorial practice. It is likely that the territorial nomenclature encountered in the Yorkshire Domesday was no older than the tenth century. Conversely, the associated territorial and administrative practices could potentially be of far greater antiquity.

2.3.1 Assembly scholarship after the Norman Conquest

One of the earliest chroniclers to engage with the hundred was William of Malmesbury, writing in the early twelfth century. In *De Gesta Regum Anglorum*, completed in 1126 (Thomson 1987: 6), he sought to acknowledge Alfred of Wessex as the instigator of the hundredal system. He described *centurias*, which were called *hundrez*, and *decimas*, known also as *thethingas* (Stubbs 1887: 129). He posed these as a system of collective responsibility. *Omnis Anglus* had to belong to each and fines were paid to the king *(ibid*: 130). More intriguingly he also describes it as a system in tandem of religious worship and military discipline *(ibid*: 129). It may not have been unusual for a monk to stress the ecclesiastical aspect to a hundred, but neither of these aspects feature strongly in the early medieval law-codes. In fact it is only in the presence of the bishop in the shire court that any spiritual hint is given. Malmesbury may be alluding to a time before William the Conqueror's prohibition of ecclesiastical pleas in the hundred court (Liebermann 1903: 485). At any rate it is an unusual view of the institution. The ascription of the hundred to Alfred has drawn doubts from many quarters, although Stubbs (1874: 109) was willing to concede that this king may have had a hand in its development. Scepticism of an Alfredian genesis has in turn intimated a long history to the hundred, or at least hundredal procedure. There is little else novel in the pages of the Anglo-Norman chronicles. Roger of Wendover simply quotes Malmesbury on the hundred (Luard 1890: 357-8) while Roger of Howden incorporates large portions of the *Leges Edwardi Confessoris* into his narrative (e.g. Stubbs 1868b: 233-4). The *Itinerary* of Giraldus Cambrensis does make a point of explaining the Welsh *cantreds*, indicating that they were proportionate to 100 vills, a term derived from the British and Irish languages (Rhys and Llewellyn Williams 1908: 158-9). Otherwise hundreds and wapentakes are marginal within the annals. Nonetheless, certain details can still be espied. The Annals of Burton Abbey for 1255 make a point of dividing the hundreds into those royal and those set to fee farm and that they were the foundation of Inquisitions Post Mortem, estate assessments following the death of a tenant-in-chief (Luard 1864: 330, 338). In the Annals of Winchester, ascribed to Richard of Devizes, Malmesbury's explanation of

Alfred as originator of the institution is followed, adding that they were primarily formed to tackle robberies. This follows a passage where the author explains how this monarch based the laws of Wessex off the translated "laws of Britain" (Luard 1865: 10). It is the sole instance where the hundred is ascribed a British origin.

Instead in this period the most informative account comes from one of the earliest pedagogical legal compendiums, the late twelfth-century *Dialogus de Scaccario* ('Dialogue concerning the Exchequer'; Fitzneal *et al* 1902). The better known work of Glanvill touches upon neither the hundred nor the wapentake (Glanvill and Hall 1965). Bracton's early thirteenth-century *De Legibus et Consuetudinibus Angliae* presents various instances where the hundred and wapentake are treated as functionally interchangeable (Bracton and Woodbine 1915: 329, 487) and indeed one instance where a meeting at Hackthorpe in Cumbria is described as a "hundred and wapentake" (Bracton and Maitland 1887: 202). These do not constitute great insights – Bracton's notebook is of most use in the present study for identifying Cawthorne (**STC-2**) as a wapentake venue of Staincross wapentake (**STC-0**; Bracton and Maitland 1887: 184). But to return to the *Dialogus*…

When the pupil directly asks the teacher in the dialogue, "What is a hundred", the teacher in fact bats away the question before commencing a long digression into the origins of the Danegeld in the tumultuous events of the eighth and ninth centuries (Fitzneal *et al*: 101). The pupil then repeats the question, asking also after the origins of the county and the hide. On this occasion the teacher replies "*ruricole melius hoc norunt*" ('The country people know this better'; ibid: 108). No attempt is made to articulate the structure or functioning of the hundred – it is merely framed as a reckoning of several hundred hides. This approach recognises the variance in size of these territories by saying that counties are comprised of varying numbers of hundreds in like fashion to hundreds with hides *(ibid*: 108-9). It is an interesting insight into how top-level engagement with the hundred by the Chancery was seemingly focused solely upon its outputs, at the expense of hundred and wapentake process. By the late twelfth century there had still been no serious attempt to

evaluate the hundred.

Scholarship in the later medieval and early post-medieval era could be divided between those engaging with the contemporary hundredal structure and those incorporating it into broader historical accounts. For the former, the jurist Edward Coke is most informative, insistent that the suitors were the judges and that it was a devolved assembly of the shire court, decoupled via the valences of the assigned officers (1669: 267). The need to provide information and advice on the hundred in the early modern era was demonstrated by the publication of *Modus Tenendi Unum Hundredum* at the end of the reign of Henry VIII, effectively a manual on the chairing of hundredal sessions in the Motehall (Anon 1525). Historical accounts of the hundred and the wapentake meanwhile were quite evidently beholden to William of Malmesbury and the compiler of the *Leges Edwardi Confessoris* in their understanding of how the hundred and wapentake originated. Furthermore there is a nagging sense that these institutions were in contemporary terms simultaneously familiar and obscure. Leland's *Itineraries* of the early sixteenth century frequently note the hundred as a structuring principle yet one also finds him at one point puzzled, unable to determine whether the Harthill of the East Riding (**HAR-0**) was in his own time a hundred or a wapentake (Leland and Smith 1907: 45). The *Chronicles* of his near contemporary, Raphael Holinshed, in pursuit of a synthesis of nationwide administration, writ large William Lamparde's earlier *Perambulation of Kent* (1576: esp. 18-20), purporting the Kentish lathes to be a nationwide sub-shire unit, set between the county and the hundred (Holinshed 1807: 257). In like manner he uncritically equates the hundred with the wapentake and asserts that Alfred was responsible for England's shiring as a reaction to the Viking threat *(ibid*: 257, 264). However he also stresses the etymological link between the Welsh *cantreds* and the English hundred and here it is evident that inspiration has been drawn instead from the *Annals of Winchester* and Giraldus Cambrensis. Despite these examples the most interesting development is in Camden's *Britannia* (1586), where alongside the usual citations of Malmesbury and the *Leges Edwardi Confessoris*, the author for the first time draws a connection between the supposedly Alfredian reforms (Camden 1701:

61) and the conciliar descriptions in Tacitus' Germania: an idea that would exert a profound influence across the succeeding centuries.

This theme was developed by antiquaries in the seventeenth century. As doubts arose over Alfred's seemingly all-pervasive reforms (Selden and Bacon 1739:40; *contra* Spelman 1664: 302) a far stronger current was developing of a Germanic origin to these assemblies, driven by the work of Tacitus (Selden and Bacon 1739: 36). In large part this must reflect the rediscovery of this manuscript in the mid fifteenth century in Hersfeld Abbey (Robinson 1991: 1-8). Despite this a far wider range of Continental sources were evidently drawn upon. Both Selden (1739: 42) and Spelman (1664: 303) drew links between respectively the Germanic *centgravius* and the hundred-man of the early medieval laws, and the *cantons/centengriecht* with the territorial hundred. Spelman in particular makes much of the Carolingian and Ottonian material for court procedure (1664: 304). Meanwhile Twysden, in his *Glossarium*, connects both '*gemo*t' and 'hundred' to Belgian comparanda (1652). It is also clear that this reflects an early surge in the current so manifest in the later work of Grimm, Kemble and Stubbs, that of an Anglo-Teutonic continuum, otherwise a *Germanitas*, distinct from Rome. Thus Selden segues between the German and Anglo-Saxon material without notice, citing Mosaic influence at the expense of Roman law where Germanic influence could not be so readily demonstrated (1739: 43). Spelman meanwhile cleaved to a similar theme of Germanic tradition but nonetheless also pointed out etymological and procedural similarities with the civil century assemblies of the Roman Republic (1664: 302, 563). Scandinavian influence is largely noted by its absence, possibly subsumed within this poorly defined Germanic world, and no doubt poorly favoured by the consistent equation of the hundred with the wapentake. This was not merely a convenient recasting of the L*eges Edwardi Confessoris*. By doing so one such as Selden could take Aethelred II's Wantage decree of twelve senior thegns for each convention of the wapentake *gemot* to apply equally to the hundred and so assign the much-extolled tradition of the twelve-man jury an antiquity of notably English flavour. This led to a most fertile current in legal thought in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Britain and America

but ultimately it stems from an uncritical reading of the source texts (e.g. Hume 1754: 72; Penn 1782: 213; Hawles 1764: 5; Wilson 1804: 325). Conversely Selden instead frames Danish influence as a vainglorious effort to destroy the ancient liberties of a Saxon commonwealth (1739: 70). It is only really with the prominence of scholars such as Palgrave and Worsaae in the early and mid-nineteenth century that anything approaching a serious view of Scandinavian influence on local administration emerges in English scholarship.

In his *History of the Anglo-Saxons* (1831) Palgrave imagined a figure of the Anglo-Saxon royal court addressing a visiting Norwegian. "We had law before we had prerogative, and Folk-Moots long before he had kings; and in your country, Haco, they exist in great measure unimpaired" *(ibid*: xvi). In this view the Scandinavian incursions into England were a vital act in refreshing ancient Germanic practices. He expanded links previously noted in English scholarship between the hundred and Continental comparanda to include the *haerred* and *hundari*, though scepticism is shown of a specifically numerical link with the *haerred*, which is deemed more likely to denote a host (Palgrave 1832: 92-6). The *laghmen* of the Five Boroughs were indicated as another clear line of Scandinavian influence in governance *(ibid*: 51) but Palgrave pulls away from any firm notions of imposition, instead contrasting a colonising influence on a developed English landscape with a so-called Scandinavian *tabula rasa (ibid*: 103). In his view the question is moot – the specific age of the hundred was of no matter when it represented a general principle surviving amid the emergence of both the state and private land ownership *(ibid*: 134). Even with J.J.A. Worsaae's *Account of the Danes and Norwegians in England, Scotland and Ireland* (1852: 159-63), a crucial influence on notions of divergent Scandinavian incursions (Downham 2009: 158), the Ridings, or *þriðungar*, and the twelve-man jury are claimed as Scandinavian, but not the wapentake and certainly not the hundred. Limited to the Danelaw, the name indicated Scandinavian practice but not necessarily provenance. Much the same line was followed by Alexander Bugge a half-century later who proposed that the wapentakes may originally have been called "Wapentake-Hundreds" (1904: 325) resultant of the interaction between a more

southerly territorial schema and Scandinavian legal mores. Bugge also presented that many of the wapentake appellations referenced personal names, including *Maneshou* in the North Riding of Yorkshire (**MAN-0**), and that this indicated the presence of a chief of the wapentake district analogous to Scandinavian landowners known as Holds *(ibid*: 317-8). In essence these were attempts to promote rather than contrast Scandinavian influence within that longer current of thought stressing so-called Germanic qualities of free assembly. Worsaae was certainly keen to paint Scandinavian settlement as the reinvigoration of this tradition in a land that had become decadent, in contrast to others who viewed "Danish" settlement as a vain attempt to thwart these conventions (Worsaae 1852: 152-3). It is however with John Michel Kemble that Whig History and notions of Germanic tradition became so firmly wedded in English scholarship.

John Kemble, by his own admission, wrote on Anglo-Saxon England at a crucial juncture when many of the primary sources first became available to study (1848: vii). His three volumes of the *Codex Diplomaticus Aevi Saxonici* (1839-1848) brought these new materials to wider attention. Conversely *The Saxons in England* (1848, 1849) is better known for its enthusiastic but incautious propositions. Kemble's main contention was that the political landscape of Anglo-Saxon England, like other parts of the Germanic world, was underpinned by a system of Marks (1848: 36, 53). More precisely Kemble is promoting an earlier thesis of Jacob Grimm's *Die Deutsche Rechtsaltertümer* (1828: 496). These were presented as associations of free households reflecting patterns of the initial post-Roman settlement and disposed territorially to an agricultural core and a liminal 'wild' boundary (Kemble 1849: 47). This is the foundation for an explicitly bottom-up model of state development. The Marks would in time coalesce into *Gaue*, or shires, which would in turn come together to form kingdoms with hierarchical administrative divisions *(ibid*: 36, 66). Both the Mark and the *Gau* would convene meetings. The name-element Mark is arguably exemplified by *mearcmot*, a boundary clause in a 971 grant of Edgar in Barrow-on-Humber (1849: 55-6; Everson 1984: 123-7; S782; but see below). Meanwhile the *Ga* would convene the 'markmen' at a "*þing*, *placitum* or court"

characterised by “the lands necessary for the site and maintenance of a temple, the supply of beasts for sacrifice, and the endowment of a priest or priests: perhaps also for the erection of a stockade or fortress, and some shelter for the assembled freemen in the *þing* (Kemble 1849: 74). It is strikingly similar to elements of the more recent multi-functional Central Place model of southern Scandinavia (Vang Petersen 1994; Hårdh and Larsson 2002; Jørgensen 2003).

The relationship to the hundred is more problematic. Kemble notes that (unspecified) Marks of Germany were rated in tens and hundreds and that this equated to a territorial hundred (1849: 238). Conversely he also frames the initial hundred and tithing organisations as solely corporate bodies within a given Mark that made up “the public units in the state itself” *(ibid*). This corporate primacy is the reason given for the divergent size of the Anglo-Saxon hundreds, as the Mark and the hundred slowly converged *(ibid*: 246). It is important to note that in Kemble’s arguments the hundred diverges from the bottom-up model in this conception, instead appearing as a direct product of the convergence of local and state governance. This again followed Grimm who posed the hundred as a hierarchical administrative intermediary wherein coincidence with the Mark would be a purely expedient affair (1828: 532-3).

The Mark model was highly influential and drew insular scholarship (e.g. Maine 1861; 1883; Seebohm 1890) into a longer standing current of thought in Germany (cf Nasse 1872; Gneist 1886). The crucial link however is with Jacob Grimm, a frequent correspondent with Kemble (Wiley 1971), whose *Die Deutsche Rechtsaltertümer* (1828) and *Weisthümer* (1840-1869) examined ancient legal practices throughout northern Europe. These works comprise the modern well-spring of the school of thought favouring Germanic democracies, strongly influenced by Tacitus’ *Germania* and influential in turn on the works of Kemble, Stubbs and others in England. Without descending into a critique of this model of common northern legal and political practice, there is the more prosaic matter that there is no serious evidence for the Mark in England. The cited *mearcmot* in Lincolnshire could as easily refer to an

undifferentiated boundary meeting place while Kemble's *mearcbeorh* (1849: 55-6) is more convincingly translated by Bosworth and Toller as 'boundary hill' (1882: 674). Instead what one witnesses is a German model inserted wholesale into an Anglo-Saxon context for two reasons: Bede tells us that the Anglo-Saxons had sailed from the Continent (Colgrave and Mynors 1969: 50) and that the tenth-century Hundred Ordinance bears some relation to practice detailed in the Salic Laws and earlier, the *Germania*. It is untenable. The relationship proposed between the hundred and the Mark is largely speculative and it is unclear whether Kemble considers the hundred a dormant, abiding principle that becomes active in the process of state formation, or else a late introduction. The distinction made between the corporate and territorial hundred does reflect the real and continuing problem of contextualising the hundred in relation to landed property, though the link he makes between the northern *Tenmanetales* and southerly tithings does strengthen the case of corporate primacy for at least this construct (Kemble 1849: 243). Overall the hundred is a side-issue in *The Saxons in England* to the main matter of articulating his theory of the Mark.

The *floruit* of the Germanic tradition in English constitutional scholarship is marked by William Stubb's *Constitutional History of England* (1874). Stubbs is avowedly of the opinion that the hundred represented the original folk districts and communities of settlers from the Continent in the fifth and sixth centuries and that they echoed the *pagi* of Tacitus (Stubbs 1874: 77, 103-4). The phrase "*centeni ex singulis pagis*" from the Germania (Mattingly 1970: 6.5) then leads him to draw connections between this and the hundred on the one hand, and the *mallus* of Frankia, *haerred* of Scandinavia and *huntari* of parts of Germany (Stubbs 1874: 103). Etymological links are posited between the *maeðel* of the Laws of Hlothere and Eadric of Kent (Liebermann 1903: 10; Stubbs 1874: 114) and the Frankish *mallus* to strengthen this connection. Other links are drawn between the analogous roles of the *centenarius/thunginus* and *graf* of the Salic *mallus* and the *hundreds-ealdor* and *gerefa* of the hundred and wapentake in the late Anglo-Saxon law-codes *(ibid*: 112; Drew 1991: 158; cf Stubbs 1908: 135). Despite this the origin of the application of the

term hundred is presented in a more confusing way. The *pagi*, or by whatever other name the older districts went, were termed hundreds after the erection of the hundred court in that district, according to Stubbs (1874: 103-5). After a hypothesised period of re-organisation by Wessex prior to the Hundred Ordinance, noted from William of Malmesbury's ascription of the hundredal system to Alfred (Stubbs 1887: 129), the name was then applied to older districts conquered or reconquered by Wessex in southern Mercia and the Danelaw (Stubbs 1874: 108). In variant fashion the hundred is then an ambiguous category, somewhere between an imposed or renamed administrative construct. In corresponding fashion he proposes that it emerged from an idealised warrior band of one hundred, while acknowledging deviations from this. This disparity in practice is deployed to explain, to an extent, the great variation in the size of hundreds, at least in the kingdom of Wessex *(ibid*: 77, 105). The placement of the court in an older district and the northern expansion is taken to explain the rest of the diversity.

Stubbs does make an important point. The hundred was clearly a widespread, ancient and abiding organisational concept in parts of central and north-western Europe (cf MacCotter 2008: 109-24). It does not, however, automatically follow that this was characteristic of Anglo-Saxon England prior to the tenth century. Stubbs presents the hundred as an ancient institution which for puzzling reasons appears to be applied in England only from the tenth century onwards. In order for the argument to persist the Anglo-Saxon territories need to be framed as part of an ancient Germanic continuum. In contrast to Kemble (1849), the *Constitutional History* demurs over the presence of the Mark in England (Stubbs 1874: 89-90). That said, in a later lecture series Stubbs enthusiastically supported the very same theory (1906: 11). He is more wedded to the *pagus* and its roots in military bands of *centeni*. Thus the weaponry referenced in the Old Norse term *vápnatak* is taken to support this view but is also treated ultimately as a gloss, again for an older district. It likewise treats Scandinavian influence in the administration of the north as at best superficial while the potential subdivision of wapentakes into hundreds in Lincolnshire is framed as analogous to the shipsokes of Wessex. Stubbs is in general wary of positioning the

various districts within a hierarchical schema (1874: 112), probably because he perceives the larger part of this political landscape as formalisations of ancient, popular, local and autonomous courts, a view tinged by Teutonic leanings and nationalistic sentiment (Stubbs 1908: 136-7, 150-1).

Frederic Maitland's best known contribution to conceptions of Anglo-Saxon law was in the jointly authored *A History of English Law Before the Time of Edward I*, with Frederick Pollock (1898). It is therefore surprising that in the opening chapter on 'Anglo-Saxon Law' the hundred merits hardly any attention. Maitland glosses the contents of the Hundred Ordinance before stating that it was “the judicial unit, so to speak, for ordinary affairs” (1898: 42). It is expressly linked with archaic, implicitly primitive, conciliar practice as one of several types of assembly when it is stated that “probably the public courts were always held in the open air” *(ibid*: 37-8). More helpfully Maitland points out that Anglo-Saxon law-codes in general were dominated by the themes of cattle-theft and wounding and thus one should not take the Hundred Ordinance at face value in its treatment of the hundred as primarily an anti-rustling device. This chapter also highlights elements of collective responsibility in the hundred from the Laws of Cnut, contrasting with Stubbs’ claim that this was a Norman innovation (Stubbs 1906: 52, 83). Patrick Wormald has subsequently explained that this light treatment was a result of an uneven division of labour between Pollock and Maitland (1999: 16). Even so Maitland appears to have had a chance to redress the balance somewhat in a later chapter on judicial structures. This stresses the great similarities found between the hundred and shire courts, operating in a very similar fashion at a wider geographical scale (Pollock and Maitland 1898: 530). As with the hundred, the shire in law-codes referred to each of the territory, corporate body and court *(ibid*: 547).

One must look elsewhere for a more cogent analysis of this unit. In his lecture series on the *Constitutional History of England* in 1887-8 Maitland proposed that the hundred in England dated to post-Roman settlement in the fifth and sixth centuries by way of the similarities found with synonymous administrative constructs on the

Continent (Maitland 1908: 44; cf MacCotter 2008: 109-24). This theme is not explored further in the lectures but evidently he borrowed heavily from Stubbs' enthusiasm for ancient Germanic popular democracies (1908: 136-7). Much of what Maitland has to say hinges upon the uneasy and shifting relationship between tenure and jurisdiction. On the one hand the private hundred did not necessitate tenure or lordship within its geographical ambit (Pollock and Maitland 1898: 558). However, there was clearly also a link between 'free' hundreds and royal or comital manors on the one hand, and private hundreds and private manors on the other (Maitland 1897: 126). Certainly it is clear that hundredal jurisdiction did not in principle have a tenurial basis. Instead lordship of the hundred developed as the understanding of jurisdiction changed. In short it was progressively acknowledged that all jurisdiction devolved to the crown and so the crown could alienate and apportion this to others of high rank (Maitland 1908: 44). Further Maitland argues that the distinction between the profits of jurisdiction (as outlined in the Hundred Ordinance) and jurisdiction proper became confused (Maitland 1897: 328-9). The two in tandem made the hundred ripe for acquisition.

While there is copious evidence from both Domesday Book and the later medieval period to support Maitland's assertion that "the two courts [manorial and hundredal] arise from different principles" (1897: 124), Maitland's proposal would have it that the hundred was once a reified sphere independent of property rights. He states that "the shire and the hundred…which in times past have been constituted by the free-men of the district…are now constituted by the freeholders of the district" (Maitland 1908: 105). In essence popular folk and ancient assemblies of the type evoked by Stubbs have been aggressively compromised by the twin assaults of tenure and royal power. Yet, the presence of the *hlaford* in the Hundred Ordinance would suggest that this process was already well under way in the early tenth century with no prior evidence to demonstrate the ostensible independence of an analogous *gemot*, *þing* or *maeðel* from proprietary control. Despite positioning the hundred within an ancient Germanic milieu Maitland is more cautious about whether it is a top-down or bottom-up construct. He stresses, controversially, that deliberations continued to

be held at a local level, while royal and/or lordly officials 'merely' presided (Maitland 1897: 133). Conversely he is keen to demonstrate, by way of the Oswaldslaw charter and its relations to the Domesday Worcestershire assessments, that the hundred was a division of the shire rather than an accretion of hundreds, in contrast to the *pagi* of Stubbs and the *marks* of Kemble (Maitland 1897: 519-524; cf Wormald 1995; Brooks 1998). Maitland is most convincing in articulating the position of the hundred with respect to the manor at the turn of the first millennium, less so with regard to its origins.

Before turning to matters of the twentieth century, Lawrence Gomme's *Primitive Folk Moots* (1880) must be considered. Through a panoply of references to Grimm's *Die Deutsche Rechtsaltertümer* (1828) Gomme chiefly saw the ancient character of hundredal and other assemblies in their 'primitive' aspect. Most notably this was by way of outdoor assemblies, such as Aethelwine's hundredal meeting outside of the north door of Ely (e.g. Gomme 1880: 66). Where Liebermann (1913: 40) saw this simply as a practical matter Gomme perceived the outdoor assembly to be a practice steeped in a symbolism ubiquitous to the spread of the so-called Aryan peoples *(ibid*: 11-3). Gomme proceeded to conceive of the hundred as a marriage between the primitive features of an earlier patriarchal society and the supposedly Roman norms of hierarchical territorialisation found in the developing state *(ibid*: 223-5). While the inferences derived have been of little subsequent influence in historical scholarship, Primitive Folk Moots was the first work to seriously attempt a synthesis of assembly form and was much more important in developing toponomastic and archaeological approaches to the subject of assembly practices (e.g. Anderson 1934; Mortimer and Sheppard 1905: 395).

It has been proposed that hundredal scholarship in the later twentieth century made quite the about turn, shifting from the Whiggishness of enduring Germanic commonwealths to the incursions of royal power into the varied iterations of local governance. As ever this, distinction is too simple. Maitland made much of the ambiguity to be found in evidence that could be presented for models either of top-

down or bottom-up governance and even in Stubbs a significant period of re-organisation is cited at a time prior to the production of the Hundred Ordinance. The significant difference in early twentieth-century scholarship is the increasing focus upon specific hundredal aspects – the court, the corporate body, the presiding officers and the territory. In this Gomme was very much a pioneer. William Morris' *The Medieval English Sheriff* (1927: 20) highlighted the overlapping aspects of the role of the *gerefa* in the hundred and the shire respectively in order to argue for an archaic reeveship imperfectly divided between the two spheres. Consideration of territorial qualities also proceeded, with W.J. Corbett linking the centesimal underpinnings of the Tribal Hidage with the later recorded hundred (1900: 198; see also Oman 1910: 374). However Chadwick had already dismissed any formal link between this organisational principle and territorial practice, at least prior to the tenth century (1907: 154-5). He was in fact sceptical of any enduring format of local government prior to the documented emergence of the hundred. Paul Vinogradoff granted the household an analogous primacy in the local sphere in the early part of the period but saw the hundredal territories as enduring reflections of far older household federations (1913: 639). Conversely Jolliffe framed the territorial hundred as a royal creation. In this view it was a rural reaction to the peace-guild and other legislation of Aethelstan, formalised in the Hundred Ordinance (1937: 116-8). Royal power in the localities was both enabled and also contingent upon the territorial manifestation of the hundred *(ibid*: 120). Clarity demands it be said that this was an argument for a kind of bespoke territoriality, whereby the statutes of the Ordinance were deliberately limited to theft in order to effect a complementary imposition north of Wessex upon older territories *(ibid*: 121). It is a strikingly different reaction to the problem of irregular Wessex hundreds and Mercian uniformity. Many have taken the latter to indicate that their disposition reflected new creations, or at least the subdivision of far larger precursors (e.g. Christy 1928; Stenton 1943: 293). Assessment is difficult when there is no clear scheme of a territorial model prior to that displayed in Domesday Book, yet it does demonstrate that the royal dimension to the hundred was gaining a credence it had not previously enjoyed. In this the influence of Helen Cam's 1932 paper '*Manerium Cum Hundredo'*, which exposed the

seemingly routine links between manorial estates and hundredal jurisdiction, cannot be overstated. The occurrence of the private hundred in the early medieval sources indicated that the link was present in or near the time of the Hundred Ordinance and so it yet again could be framed as a tool of elite control. This also meant that the hundred was not necessarily an ancient embodiment of free local government, partially fallen to the depredations of lordship, but rather a deliberate tool in the exchange of administrative competencies between the manor at the local level and the crown at the top. The manorial connection is very real, yet the idea of the hundred as a tool of lordship depends on a ubiquity which cannot be found in any county (Taylor 2012: 110). Ultimately this better serves as evidence of a fragmenting consensus rather than the straightforward continuance of nineteenth-century norms. It is Stenton (1943), in his great synthesis of Anglo-Saxon England, who arguably fails to reflect this properly. He is right to stress that there are no known formal links between the hundred and the *folcgemot* but elsewhere he states that "the Old English court has all the features of an ancient popular assembly" (1943: 299) – the lines of influence are very clear and in turn had a great impact on assembly studies in toponomastics and archaeology developing at that time.

2.3.2 Summary

For much of the last millennium conceptions of the hundred have been as much, if not more, shaped by the words of William of Malmesbury as they have by surviving convention and procedure. Understandings of the hundred slowly developed through a growing awareness of contemporary and past procedure on the Continent, not least with Tacitus' immortal phrase "*centeni ex singulis pagis*" (Mattingly 1970: 6.5). However their influence is largely a consequence of the consistently vague and uneasy fashion in which the actual hundred was treated. While Leland may be forgiven for his confusion over the status of Harthill wapentake (**HAR-0)** the damning phrase of the earlier *Dialogus*, "*ruricole melius hoc norunt*" (Fitzneal *et al*: 101) cannot so easily be excused from an official of the twelfth-century Exchequer. One can only conclude that hundredal procedure was and remained a profoundly local

affair, in some contrast to recently favoured notions of the extent of royal power in the localities. This latter theme itself supplanted the idea that the hundred was but one aspect of an enduring Germanic tradition of local democracy. While this strongly accorded with the developing tradition of so-called 'Whig History' in England (Butterfield 1931) its rise and subsequent fall in the mid twentieth century better reflected the mores of German scholarship. Greater stress was placed on the specific Scandinavian contribution to legal custom in England as part of this current but it does not appear ever to have been pursued with particular vigour. The question of hundredal origins has rather focused on assessing the relative proportions of influence between Francia and insular innovation; of its development, few eyes have been able to avert their gaze from the House of Wessex. One of the main problems with all of this has been the frequent conflation of the varying aspects of the hundred and wapentake – the court, the territory, the officers and the corporate body. Later and contemporary work has begun to reveal the fruits of this process of division. The chapter now turns to parallel work in place-name study and archaeological endeavour before considering the contemporary activities of each.

2.4.1 Place-name study and assembly practices

The obvious starting point for any discussion of place-name evidence is with Olof Anderson (later Arngart). The three volumes of *English Hundred-names* (1934; 1939a; 1939b) remain the only comprehensive study of the names of hundreds and wapentakes in England, representing a point both of culmination and stasis in the interplay of toponomastics and assembly studies. The methodology he employed to identify documented (and to a lesser extent place-name attested) assemblies and fix their location in the landscape has never truly been challenged despite significant problems. Both the survey and its methodology remain current today, for instance forming the basis of UCL's *Landscapes of Governance* project. Indeed it can be argued that Anderson was in fact merely elaborating upon the nineteenth-century work of Isaac Taylor (1864). Many of these issues derive from earlier assumptions as to the character of outdoor assemblies, as exemplified in John Kemble's *The Saxons in*

England (1849) and Lawrence Gomme's later *Primitive Folk Moots* (1880).

This section considers developments prior to the foundation of the English Place-name Society in England and more specifically in the north of the country. In particular this concerns how the methodology Ekwall employed for the *Place-names of Lancashire* (1922) set the template for the subsequent Survey. It then turns to examine how the early medieval themes espoused by the society and its organisational principles have influenced assembly studies before moving to discuss Anderson's *English Hundred-names* (1934) in depth. The section concludes with a brief examination of place-name based assembly studies parallel to Anderson's own work before considering the more recent work of Audrey Meaney and Aliki Pantos.

2.4.2 The background to English place-name study

The foundation of the English Place-name Society represented the formalisation and systematisation of existing currents of place-name analysis in England. The earliest significant example comes from Bede himself who sought, in his *Historia Ecclesiastica*, to provide solutions to a number of toponyms (Colgrave and Mynors 1969). These included Gateshead, rendering it as *ad caprae caput* - “the Goat's Head” - and Hartlepool, interpreting *Hereteu* as “the island of the Hart” *(ibid*: 280, 293). There was a notable resurgence in concern for place-names in the sixteenth century, as demonstrated by such luminaries as Archbishop Matthew Parker (Spittal and Field 1990: 3) and works including John Leland's *Itinerary* (Leland and Smith 1907; Fitzsimons 1944: 455) and William Lamparde's *Perambulation of Kent* (1576; Terrill 1985: 165). However, interest in the field was not matched by a commensurate understanding of linguistic development and it was only in the later nineteenth century that philological advances in European scholarship facilitated incisive toponomastic analyses. That said, the significance of assembly-attesting elements for ‘assembly’ like *þing* and *(ge)mot* had been long known, and was engaged with by John Kemble (1849) and Francis Palgrave (1832) among others, while Old English elements such as *(ge)mot* had survived in the language as 'moot'. This is no better

demonstrated than in Skene's description of 'the mute hill of Scone' (quoted in O'Grady 2008: 11) in Scotland and later in the same country in Hibbert's 'Memoir on the Tings of Orkney and Shetland' (1831) in which he sought to set the 'tings' within a three-fold hierarchy of administration.

The inception of a systematic approach to English place-names is marked in particular by the work of three scholars in the late nineteenth century. Henry Bradley had attempted an early synthesis of the topic in his *English Place-Names* (1882) while Walter Skeat had gone so far as to propose a methodology for further work in *Principles of English Etymology* (1891), developing this with toponomastic county surveys for Cambridgeshire and Bedfordshire respectively (1901; 1906). The third, Canon Isaac Taylor, was the first to specifically gather together hundred and wapentake names and in this sense can be considered Anderson's direct precursor. *Words and Places* (1864) considered not only these but also other assembly-attesting place-names, e.g. *mot (ibid*: 200), and even sought to set these names in categories *(ibid*: 197). This had a notable influence on Gomme's *Primitive Folk-Moots* (1880: 198-259) and Taylor returned to the topic with a dedicated chapter in *Names and their Histories* (1896: 358-365). As such it can be argued that while the studies of Anderson (1934; 1939a; 1939b), and later Meaney (1993; 1997), have benefited from subsequent developments in toponomastic scholarship their assembly methodologies do not significantly differ in quality from that of Taylor.

There had been a number of studies particular to northern England in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century before the foundation of the English Place-name Society. One of the earliest was E. Maule Cole's study *On Scandinavian Place-names of Yorkshire* (1879) – vicar of Wetwang and frequent collaborator with John Mortimer. Further works on Yorkshire were later produced by Moorman for the West Riding (1910) and Goodall for the southern portion of the selfsame district (1913). Meanwhile Charles Jackson had produced one of the earliest surveys for County Durham (1916). Yet, it is the surfeit of activity in the north-west that brought about the society proper.

The *Place-names of Lancashire* (1922) by Eilert Ekwall, a philologist from the University of Lund, set the standard for the proposed county-by-county survey of the English Place-name Society. Ekwall sought to apply a more comprehensive approach, granting commensurate attention to the topographic aspects of toponyms alongside greater cognizance of Scandinavian and Brittonic language-elements. This built upon the parallel eponymous survey of Wyld and Hirst (1911), which itself was shadowed by the Reverend Sephton's own *Handbook of Lancashire Place-Names* (1913). Crucially, he organised the Lancastrian survey according to the division of hundreds, a pattern that continued through subsequent volumes of the English Place-name Society survey. However, while there was an increasing tendency, e.g. in the surveys for Surrey (Gover *et al* 1934) and Worcestershire (Mawer, Stenton and Houghton 1927), to pose meeting place solutions for the district names, Ekwall made no such attempt (1922: 23, 65). In a similar fashion there was little engagement with the few identifiable place-name attestations of assembly in Lancashire, such as Spellow, *Moothaw* and Thingwall (*ibid*: 258).

As mentioned, the *Place-names of Lancashire* (1922) formed the template for the county surveys of the English Place-name Society. This structure was reflected in the earlier-published *Place-names of Northumberland and Durham* (1920) by Allen Mawer. The methodology that was to set the agenda of the society was outlined by Walter Sedgefield in the *Introduction to the Survey of English Place-names* (1924: 2). Sedgefield, the previous author of the *Place-names of Cumberland and Westmorland* (1915), specified the need to trace the earliest known forms of toponyms, divide the names into habitative and topographic terms and subsequently categorise and inspect sub-groups within these, e.g. OE *dun* and ON *Þwait* in light of the physical topography. Mawer's *Place-names and History* (1922) shadows much of this, but also presented the first 'official' view of the society on what were considered the appropriate characteristics of an assembly. In summary this was an outdoor landscape focus such as a tree, mound or stone, in a position both remote and accessible. This increased interest is also reflected in the study area in both Hugh

Smith's *Place-names of the North Riding of Yorkshire* (1928) and Mawer's study of Northumberland and Durham (1920), each of which attempted to fix the associated locations of the place-names. Outside the English Place-name Society survey, Christie proposed topographic solutions for the Essex hundreds, for instance connecting the *ford* name element in Uttlesford hundred with a Mutlow hill just north of a crossing of the river Cam (1928: 188-9). This was followed a year later by Reaney who took a particular interest in the site of Mustow in Essex, proposing the name to be derived from OE *mot-stow* (1929: 63). At any rate where consideration was applied to the meeting places of hundreds, it was either attempted piecemeal or at a local scale. As will be shown below, this particular interest developed strongly in toponymic studies in the first half of the twentieth century, reaching its zenith in Anderson's *English Hundred-names* (1934; 1939a; 1939b). First however, consideration must turn to related foci of study in toponomastics.

2.4.3 Place-name approaches to Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian settlement

The methodological focus on the earliest identifiable name elements echoed analytical concerns that dominated the proceedings and work of the English Place Name Society then and to a certain extent now. Ekwall firmly stated that "the English place-names, with the exception of pre-English ones, cannot be older than the fifth century" (1962: 1). Thus, the earliest period of Anglo-Saxon settlement drew the majority of attention. This stood alongside a concomitant focus upon the potential survival of Brittonic-speaking communities (Cameron 1996: 44; Faull 1980: *passim*; Coates 2007: 51) and the later initial phases of Scandinavian settlement (Fellows-Jensen 1972; 1978a; 1985). Early phases of Anglian settlement were scrutinised through the attempted identification of the earliest name-elements. John Kemble had earlier specified two. The first was the element *gē*, as found in the Kentish toponyms Eastry and Lyminge, which he argued was cognate with the German *Gau* (1849; Copley 1963: 43). The second was the Old English *-ingas* name element, supposedly indicative of the earliest tribal groupings after the *adventus saxonum* in their respective Marks (Kemble 1849). Both these views were espoused by Ekwall

(1936: xxvii-xxviii; 1962: 111) and reiterated in the mid twentieth century by Graham Copley (1963: 34) and Kenneth Cameron (1961: 64). Ekwall went further and sought to demonstrate this conclusively by comparing the distribution of the *-ingas* name element and the sites of early Anglo-Saxon cemeteries (1962: 113; Cameron 1996: 67). Despite the qualms of J.N.L. Myres about this potential correlation (1986: 36) it stood unopposed until John Dodgson presented a systematic re-examination of this supposed pattern (1966). In short, the locations in question either bore traces of *the -ingas* element, or else mortuary activity, but rarely both (Gelling 1978: 109). Further, Joost Kuurman then showed that, in contradiction to earlier conceptions of a chronological development from *-ingas* to *-ingham* and thence to further iterations, e.g. Woking, Wokingham, Wokingfield (Copley 1963: 38), *-ingham* names were in fact likely to be earlier (Kuurman 1975). Despite these critiques, the *-ingas* and *-ingham* elements are still considered early, e.g. Bede's *Ingetlingum*, just not indicative of the earliest phase (Colgrave and Mynors 1969: 256; Cameron 1998: x). Other elements have been argued to enjoy an earlier provenance. Barrie Cox (1973) has proposed that the Old English name element *-ham* as found in the Midlands is liable to be earlier than the *-ing* formation, though some caution is required given its identical pronunciation to the Old English *-hamm*, meaning promontory (Watts 2004: xlv). Likewise Ekwall's other argument for an early date for the *-wic* element has largely stood unopposed (1964: *passim*).

The implications of these inferences for the Yorkshire area are twofold. First of all, Cox's *-ham* pattern simply does not apply for the East Riding of Yorkshire (Faull 1984: 140). Secondly, setting a later estimate for the occurrence of the *-ingas* element in southern and eastern England still means that they would date to the earliest phase of Anglian expansion in the north-east, if these are to be equated with the reign of Aethelfrith (Faull and Moorhouse 1981: 181).

Given the emphases and biases found in the early medieval written record, place-name material also forms the primary source of evidence for Scandinavian settlement in the former Anglo-Saxon kingdoms (Cameron 1965: 4; Ekwall 1936:

xxviii). It also exists in a complex relationship with what is known of the extent of Anglian settlement, masking its distribution to a degree and thus making estimates of settlement disposition difficult to gauge (Fellows-Jensen 1978b: 46). Scandinavian name elements are even more important to the present study in terms of their distribution as regards territorial nomenclature and its relations to the wider distribution of name elements (Cameron 1965: 6; Fellows-Jensen 1972: 229; 1978a: 344; 1985: 381). This also has an effect on the interpretation of other assembly-attestations. For instance, Allen Mawer's dismissal of Dingbell Hill in Northumberland (see Section 2.4.5 below) as an assembly site is based largely on the assumption that it is situated outside the then known regions of Scandinavian settlement (Mawer 1919: 95).

The most significant study in recent years on the intensity of Scandinavian settlement patterns has been that of Gillian Fellows-Jensen, who examined the distribution of the elements *by* and *Þorp* in the Midlands and Yorkshire, considering instead the elements *by* and *tun* in the counties of north-west England (1972; 1978; 1985). This was combined with an examination of the relevant wapentake names, revealing patterning that was unusual to say the least. First of all, Scandinavian-influenced wapentake and hundredal names demonstrated significant clustering. Thus, in the region of the Five Boroughs, the Lincolnshire wapentakes were overwhelmingly Scandinavian in nomenclature, in marked contrast to the Old English forms of many of their analogues in Northamptonshire (Fellows-Jensen 1978a: 344). This is also reflected in the meeting-place names themselves. Fourteen are Old English in origin in Northamptonshire, compared to the thirteen that are Scandinavian in appellation in Lincolnshire *(ibid*). Old English territorial names predominate in the north-west, though the frequent use of the Old English element *-dalr* is suggested by Fellows-Jensen to indicate Anglian co-option of the Brittonic *strath* and thus pre-Anglian territorial arrangements (Fellows-Jensen 1985: 384). In Yorkshire, only one of the North Riding wapentakes is considered to be Scandinavian – *Maneshou* (**MAN-0**; later Ryedale [Faull and Stinson 1986]; Table 13) – though debate continues over the status of Halikeld (**HAL-0**; Fellows-Jensen 1972: 229). The West Riding wapentakes

host two definite Scandinavian names – Staincross (**STC-0**) and Osgoldcross (**OGC-0**) – though there are three candidates – Agbrigg (**AGB-0**), Ainsty (**AIN-0**) and Barkston Ash (**BARK-0**) – that could be hybrids *(*Table 13; Table 14; *ibid*). Finally, at least five of the Domesday East Riding hundreds are argued to bear Scandinavian names – *Scard* (**SCAR-0**), Holderness (**HOL-0**; actually three units), *Turbar* (**TUR-0**), *Toreshou* (**TOR-0**) and *Sneculfcros (***SNE-0**; *ibid*). If this pattern were not unusual enough, the county of Leicestershire predominates in Scandinavian toponyms, while its wapentakes bear a majority of Old English name elements (Fellows-Jensen 1978a: 344). This is evidently a complex picture and one that has yet to be adequately explained. Fellows-Jensen herself readily accepts a significant degree of co-option of existing territorial arrangements by incoming migrants, but its intensity and character remains largely opaque (Fellows-Jensen 1985: 383-384). Considering the difficulties in distinguishing Danish and Hiberno-Norse settlement patterns, alongside recent scepticism over the Scandinavian character of the so-called "Grimston hybrids", the picture becomes yet more trying (Fellows-Jensen 2008: 126). The next theme to be considered is Anderson's work itself.

2.4.4 Anderson and the English hundred names

Anderson outlines no explicit methodology in the introduction to the first volume of *English Hundred Names* (1934), describing it as an "etymological investigation" *(ibid*: xvii) though it is clear that in most respects it follows the pattern of Ekwall's *Place Names of Lancashire* (1922), with the increased topographic focus evident in the work of Mawer and Smith. While a good deal of the introduction is devoted to the form and topography of hundredal meeting places, Anderson is careful to broaden his terms of reference, investigating instead names that could signify "a district, a meeting place or a manor" (Anderson 1934: xxvi). It is explicitly concerned with the names of pre-Conquest hundreds, including those considered analogous, such as the northern wapentakes and Sussex rapes, across the entirety of England. On occasion Anderson considers proximate place-names attesting to assembly practices (what Pantos later referred to as 'Type 2' assemblies; 2001), such as Spellow Clump (**SPC-1)**

near Driffield (**DRI-1**), though there is no attempt at systematisation in this respect.

Anderson's approach is best illustrated by the way he tackles the study area of the present thesis. There are no entries for Northumberland, as its wards are considered a post-Conquest arrangement (1934: xxiv). The wards of County Durham meet a similar fate, with the sole exception of Sadberge wapentake, a unit first documented in the post-Conquest period that receives a cursory entry. There is no accompanying toponym solution, presumably as its inclusion rested entirely upon the wapentake nomenclature. Interestingly, Bamburgh ward in Northumberland was occasionally referred to as Bamburgh wapentake (Bateson 1893: 1) and its absence here serves to demonstrate the inconsistency of the approach.

The Ridings of Yorkshire receive a good deal more attention, not least due to Hugh Smith's then on-going place-name survey, a source of intermittent disagreement over topographic identifications in the text (Anderson 1934: 7n). In the Yorkshire ridings the organisation is fairly standard, indicating the extent of the district, the etymology of the name, the proposed origin and finally the solution of the toponym. That said, it is a flexible system, outlining the etymology of divergent earlier names, e.g. Bulmer and *Bolesford* wapentake in the North Riding *(***BOL-0**; *ibid*: 6) and Claro Hill/Burghshire wapentake (**CLA-0**/**BUR-0**) in the West riding *(ibid*: 21). Full entries are not always given and where they do appear, usually favour the toponymic-topographic relationship of the earlier (read Domesday) entry. The organisation becomes more puzzling still in the East Riding, where the Domesday hundreds are grouped under their coterminous wapentakes and afforded only brief summaries, despite Anderson's explicit rejection of Isaac Taylor's proposition of the East Riding hundred as a sub-wapentake unit (Anderson 1934: 11; Taylor 1888). The identification of the hundredal and wapentake meeting places ideally depended on the acquisition of place-names identical or cognate to the district name. However there are numerous examples of ambiguous identifications in the north-east. In the East Riding of Yorkshire no less than four sites are submitted by Hugh Smith as plausible locations for the meeting place of Buckrose wapentake (**BUC-0)**. Solved as

ON “Bukki's cross” (Smith 1937:119-120), a monument likely to have fallen foul of time, the element *Bukki* was instead sought in two separate “Bugdales” on the 1st edition Ordnance Survey maps as well as the modern settlements of Buckton Wolds and Bugthorpe *(ibid*). This profusion related greatly to the perceived need for a centrally placed wapentake assembly, an ideal that favoured Buckton Wolds *(ibid*). It is these conceptions that concern the next section.

2.4.5 Assembly characteristics in place-name research

Anderson's approach to the identification of meeting places merits the most attention for the purposes of the present study. There is compelling evidence of an underlying conception of the form of the assembly, one that guided both Anderson, and contemporaries such as Mawer and Smith, in the attribution of a location for a given meeting place. In one of Mawer's earlier works, in relation to Dingbell Hill in Whitfield, Northumberland, he writes:

“It is not probable that a Scandinavian thing was ever held in Whitfield. Rather the hill was so-called because it reminded some Scandinavian settler, possibly *Úlfr* of Ouston...of the hill on some far-distant plain of assembly in his own home-land” (Mawer 1920: 63),

This comes with no accompanying explanation, just a firm conviction as to the form of an assembly. Anderson himself writes in relation to Skyrack wapentake in West Yorkshire (**SKY-0**):

“*Burcheleiam* he [Hugh Smith] would take to refer to Burley in Wharfedale, which for several reasons would be a good meeting place” (Anderson 1934: 22-23).

While Anderson is rarely explicit about the process of reasoning in the survey itself, he does attempt to outline myriad aspects of the form of a hundredal meeting place in his introduction to *English Hundred Names* when discussing types of hundredal

names (1934: xxxiii-xxxix). Practical identification has been more difficult. Where there were no clear toponymic connections between a hundred/wapentake name and a focal point in the district, 'appropriate' sites of assembly were sought, based on the perceived aspects of these assemblies. Not all of these aspects deployed by Anderson and his contemporaries were however made explicit. Some, such as the outdoor character of assembly, are applied without any critical explanation or mention of any kind. Below, a number of these aspects are illustrated through their use in *English Hundred Names* and Smith's English Place-name Society volumes for the Yorkshire ridings. This identifies a number of the key features of what was considered a suitable assembly site.

- *Centrality* appears to have been of key importance. “The most normal type of hundred consisted of a more or less circular area surrounding a central meeting place, but there are frequent variations from the type” (Anderson 1934: xli). Peripheral locations are ascribed to shifting territorial arrangements, with centrality acting as the guiding principle. For instance, Shiregreen in the West Riding is dismissed by Hugh Smith as significant due to its peripheral location (Smith 1961a: 213).

- *Neutrality* is also an abiding theme throughout all three of the volumes of *English Hundred Names*. In the many instances of ambiguous locations, common land was treated as a suitable candidate for an otherwise lost location. As Anderson states, “hundreds often met on the boundaries of parishes, or on commons, so as to be on neutral ground” (1934: 159). Sharrow Head, again in the West Riding, is posited as the district meeting place, following the solution of its toponym as ‘share of common land’ (Smith 1961a: 196).

- *Accessibility* is the next concern. “A good meeting place should be easily accessible from different quarters” (Anderson 1934: xxxiv). Communications form another principal component. The location of Wingate Hill (**WEST-1**), the post-Conquest Riding court for West Yorkshire, is reinforced by the presence of a Roman road that crosses over it (Smith 1961d: 76). Further afield, difficulties in the

identification of the meeting place for Plomesgate hundred, Suffolk, are resolved by noting an eighteenth-century "Plomesgate Mill" near a meeting of two roads *(ibid*: 90).

- *Distinctive landscape markers* naturally play a strong part in toponyms, both in general and for meeting places in particular. This component has in fact been crucial to those who have attempted to make the transition from place-name based assemblies to their material correspondences. Of course these approaches all rely overly on both a seamless transition between media that is illusory, and the predominance of the view of the assembly as a single focal point. At any rate certain landscape markers recur frequently in the corpus of place-name evidence. Trees, for example in the name *Gerlestre* (**GERL-0**; OE *eorls-treow*) in the North Riding (Anderson 1934: 7), and mounds, especially prehistoric burial complexes, drew the place-name scholars' attention. Craike Hill (**CRA-1)** in the East Riding has its importance emphasised for just this reason (Smith 1937: 167). Stones, poles and woodland clearings also feature, and the list goes on. This has latterly been developed by Meaney (1993) into a threefold categorical schema, discussed more fully below.

- *Aspect* is an important related feature to the preceding category, in particular the need for broad and open landscape views from the assembly location. Fingay Hill (**FGY-1**) in the North Riding is described as the only prominent hill in the district (Smith 1928: 128), while Landmoth (**LAND-1**), or 'Land-meet', again in the East Riding is accorded significance by Smith in his *Place Names of the North Riding* for overlooking Cod Beck *(ibid*: 206). To an extent this factor can be flagged up as another novel landscape feature with which to focus attention; a mnemonic that contributes towards the *genius loci* of the location. However this is often taken further, particularly by Anderson, with sweeping views argued as a means to ensure meetings were not disturbed by unwanted parties (1939a: 157).

- *Territoriality* also dominates conceptions of assembly in these place-name

studies. When Smith drew up the EPNS volume for Westmorland, in the absence of the standard hundred and wapentake divisions of earlier works, he found a striking drop off in identified district names, with two Moota Hills being nigh the exception to the rule (Smith 1967: 38, 119. The hundredal nature of many sub-shire divisions would appear to have been encouraging hundredal identifications. Further, the districts are generally considered to have been named after their meeting places, allowing for subsequent renaming strategies (Anderson 1934: xxvii), a thesis continued by Gelling (1978: 209). Certainly the presence or otherwise of a boundary directly relates to the perceived centrality discussed above. It is an essentialist assumption of a one-to-one relationship between unit and focal site which, though a sometimes useful device, is dangerous to assume.

Conceptions of rural, open-air, small-scale monumentality have been so powerful it has been difficult to evaluate their actual prevalence, given their influence in latter-day hundredal identification. The varied aspects of this have wielded a powerful influence, albeit one that inserted substantial circularity into the reasoning behind a given location, especially considering the lack of any but circumstantial evidence for the actual form and landscape disposition of an assembly. It seems relatively clear that this model derives largely from nineteenth-century conceptions of the early medieval assembly, as promoted by Kemble (1849), Grimm (1828) and later Gomme (1880), and considered in more detail above in Section 2.3.1. One other line of influence worthy of mention and more specific to those studying toponyms came from the Norwegian historian Alexander Bugge, who proposed that the location of a given assembly was to be found at the residence of a chieftain whose name was taken for the district. Bugge argued this case for East Riding wapentakes such as Buckrose (**BUC-0)**, and his influence is variously evident in Ekwall (1924b: 87-8), Mawer (1913: 143) and Anderson (e.g 1934: 14 for Buckrose, East Riding of Yorkshire). Ultimately this issue illustrates both the limitations of place-name study and the dangers of over-reliance on less-than-firm inferences from another discipline. The topographic qualities of documented assembly sites have overly informed the identification of territorial names (e.g. hundredal) with ‘suitable’ locations of dubious

confidence. It is essential that there is either documented evidence for the location or else longstanding evidence for the position of an assembly-attesting toponym, as practiced in the methodology of the present study (see Section 3.1.2).

2.4.6 Summary

The first apparent problem with Anderson's survey is the nature of the dataset. Given the notable caprice of the wapentake and, especially, the hundred (cf Cam 1932: 353), a survey using this terminology to set the parameters of its focus will inevitably conflate different types of unit over a broad span of time into an illusory patchwork of territories. There is no clear means to establish parity between, say, the twelve-carucate hundreds of parts of the Danelaw and their namesakes subsidiary to the rapes and lathes of Sussex and Kent, let alone the "model" hundreds of later Mercia *(ibid*). The justification of "etymological investigation" (Anderson 1934: xvii) can only go so far, especially in the face of a highly irregular dataset that does not suit this spartan methodology.

Further, it is difficult to offer an objective evaluation of Anderson's conclusions. There is little attempt to calculate the frequency and distribution of various place-name elements in the hundred names, nor does analysis extend solely to place-name attested sites, such as Spellow Clump (**SPC-1)** near Driffield (**DRI-1**; Anderson 1934: 15n). This in fact extends beyond the hundred names themselves to the wider corpus of English place-name data, where again matters of frequency and distribution were poorly understood. Gelling (1981: 40) complains of a lack of quantification with regard to Smith's *English Place-Name Elements* (1956), highlighting for instance the chasm between the stated abundance of the OE *treow* place-name element and its actual scarcity. In the first place then, patterns within the hundred names themselves were not examined with sufficient rigour, presumably because of the influence of the historically-driven model of assembly outlined above. Secondly, there was evidently no clear way to contextualise these results within the wider corpus of English place-names, a process which would have established hundredal toponymic and

topographic properties on a more objective footing.

The clearest signifiers of assembly come from explicit documentation, two obvious examples being charters with assigned locations and meetings recorded in the corpus of annals. The most obvious is Domesday, outlining sub-shire units associated by the Hundred Ordinance and its analogues with OE *gemots*. The ON *Þing* is well attested in both Norse and English literature, ranging from the post-Conquest *Leges Henrici Primi* to the seventh-century Laws of Hlothere in Kent (Downer 1972; Oliver 2002: 126-146). Other common elements associated with assembly include OE *spraec* and *spell*. However, the validity of others is debatable. Gomme (1880: 209-213) enthusiastically vouched for OE *scir* as an element attesting to assemblies, such as at Skyrack (**SKY-0**) in the West Riding of Yorkshire (Smith 1961b: 88). Later however, Smith pointed out that as well as indicating 'shire', it could also be used to mean 'shining' and areas of common and boundary land (Smith: 1956: 109-111).

Anderson was primarily concerned with the names of documented hundreds, though he was keen to point out proximate names that attested to assembly, utilising a wide range of elements, including OE *stow* (1934: xxxiv). It is a thesis that has now been dealt considerable injury by Cederlöf's re-evaluation of the word (1998). Pantos (2001) examined a deliberately limited group of attesting names, including OE *(ge)mot, spell* and the ON *þing* in order to avoid these pitfalls, noting that OE *þing* and *maeðel* in fact predominate in Anglo-Saxon literature rather than place-names. It is a gradual process of re-evaluation, and it is largely impossible to draw a line between direct attestations and attestations of related practice, such as the possible boundary racetracks indicated by ON *skeið* (Atkin 1978). Place-name attestations require a good deal of caution.

There is also the more general issue of chronology in place-name studies. As mentioned above there has been considerable critique for the proposition that the Old English *–ingas* and *–ingham* name elements highlighted the earliest sequence of settlement (Ekwall 1936: xxvii-xxviii; Dodgson 1966). Margaret Gelling (1978) has

identified three other areas where place-name evidence has been used as a temporal marker on an uncritical basis. The first is Ekwall's assumption that pagan names indicated an early date (1935). Gelling points out that the distribution of the known canon of heathen names does not match areas of early Anglo-Saxon settlement (Gelling 1978: 110). Likewise the identification of obscure and archaic words with early origins loses ground as more and more cease to be obscure *(ibid*). This is in part a product of an emphasis on the earliest word forms, espoused by Sedgefield (1924: 2) and one that Victor Watts in the recent *Cambridge Dictionary of English Place-names* (2004) sought to challenge, highlighting instead the toponomastic elements "regardless of their antiquity" *(ibid*: vii). Place-names almost certainly have much to offer in terms of honing and reworking chronologies of the early medieval period, but it has not yet been able to situate toponymic developments within a detailed chronological framework.

2.5.1 Early recognition of assembly within the archaeological record

The excavation of Mutlow Hill in Cambridgeshire by R.C. Neville in the mid nineteenth century is arguably one of the earliest English examples of the incidental investigation of an assembly site (1852). The nomenclature went without mention – Mutlow equating to OE *(ge)mot + hlaw* [assembly mound] – as the excavator outlined the discovery of a number of Bronze Age cinerary urns indicative of a prehistoric barrow. Less attention was given to the circular foundation structure 35ft (c. 10.5 m) in diameter constructed from chalk blocks and contiguous with the base of the mound (Neville 1852: 229). Neither was much time spent on the assemblage of Roman pottery, fibulae and coinage associated with both the mound and the circular structure *(ibid*: 230). The absence of a primary interment and the respective 'halo' distributions of Roman and Bronze Age material found around, rather than in, the mound caused Adkins and Petchey to argue many years later for a post-Roman origin for the complex (1984: 249). The claim is difficult to substantiate given that the evidential base relies upon a poorly recorded antiquarian excavation. However Neville, and later Adkins and Petchey, missed the earlier discovery of Anglo-Saxon

burials on the north side of the hill in 1847 (Meaney 1964: 89).

John Mortimer specifically sought to investigate the large clusters of burial mounds and other monumental structures found across the East Riding of Yorkshire in the nineteenth century (Mortimer and Sheppard 1905). In three specific cases his interpretation led to an assembly attribution, with explicit reference to Gomme's *Primitive Folk Moots* (1880). The first was at the suggestively titled Moot Hill in Driffield (**DRI-1**). The large number of Anglo-Saxon inhumations found in and around this location in the nineteenth century, including some proximate to the mound, encouraged Mortimer to link it with a presumed late seventh to early eighth-century residence associated with Aldfrith of Northumbria (1905; Swanton 2000). Later excavation revealed the mound to be a castle motte, although one with unusual relationships to several Roman buildings and an early medieval ditch (Eddy 1983: 44-45). Mortimer was also keen to suggest that the embankment crosses of North and East Yorkshire – deeply puzzling and understudied cross-shaped earthworks – reflected Christian-influenced places of local assembly (Figure 144; Mortimer and Sheppard 1905: 388-96). Mortimer included in this category the rock-cut chalk crosses found beneath mounds such as the Mill Hill in Kirkburn and Wetwang Cross in Wetwang (**WTW-1)**, both in the East Riding (1905: 261, 396). These rock-cut crosses are now accepted as post-mills (NMR 2013: MON#64518), while the embankment crosses such as at Wheldrake Ings, have been tentatively reinterpreted as artificial rabbit warrens of monastic origin (NMR 2013: MON#1317511).

Harlow Hill, by contrast, represents an instance of a potentially assembly-driven project waylaid by misfortune and shifting academic emphases. Miller Christy's early synthesis of the Essex hundreds included mention of Harlow hundred, and the then recent reports of Roman remains on top of Harlow Hill (1928: 190-1). Christy subsequently undertook to investigate these reports, though regrettably he passed away during the course of the dig. An interim report was published by Mortimer Wheeler in the *Antiquaries Journal*, though this focused solely upon the architecture of the uncovered Roman temple complex, an emphasis later repeated by France and

Gobel in their report of the site (Wheeler 1928; France and Gobel 1985). Likewise, while Jacquetta Hawkes took the time to consider the toponym of Mottistone on the Isle of Wight, OE *motere + stan* (speaker's stone) – her excavation was entirely focussed upon proving the artificial nature of the mound upon which the stone rested (Hawkes 1957: 147, 155). Conversely, an earlier field report by O.G.S. Crawford had at least considered the prospect of assembly, suggesting a nearby bank as a possible amphitheatre (NMR 2013: MON#460354). Assembly aspects in all these works were entirely contingent upon the competencies and cognizance of the investigators.

The results from Yeavering, Northumberland, like those at Cheddar, attest to the completion of excavations at a site which is known through documentary sources to have been a place of royal visitation and gathering (Colgrave and Mynors 1969: 188). Assembly was however, only one of its functions. The excavations conducted by Brian Hope-Taylor at Yeavering in Northumberland in the 1950s sought to demonstrate that the cropmarks earlier photographed by Kenneth St Joseph (Knowles and St Joseph 1952: 270-271) were not that of a monastery but rather the *villam regiam* of *Adgefrin* in Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*, where Paulinus baptised “those who flocked to him from every village and district” (Colgrave and Mynors 1969: 188). Working against an encroaching quarry, the excavation team revealed a striking layout of halls, enclosures, earthworks and ancillary buildings. Hope-Taylor (1977) sought to phase the site in accordance with the successive wars and successions of seventh-century Northumbria as an enduring royal centre, but a number of the structures defied simple categorisation. One such was building E “a structure of quite extraordinary character and size” (Hope-Taylor 1977: 119), consisting of the foundation trenches of what appeared to be a wooden theatre (Figure 2). Hope-Taylor considered it to form a monumental focus for display and assembly. Paul Barnwell has latterly compared it to stone-built examples of theatres in both Roman and post-Roman Britain and France, though it as yet lacks suitable wooden comparanda (Barnwell 2005: *passim*). Like Mortimer, novel archaeological material drove an assembly interpretation – in this case the evidence was more compelling but the emphasis in

the interpretation was to deliver corroborating material evidence for an historic framework for the age of Bede: assembly practices themselves were of little interest in their own right.

The excavations of a royal palace at Cheddar, Somerset, between 1960 and 1962 by Philip Rahtz presents an example that is difficult to categorise but represents deeper engagement with assembly practices than other projects. While interpreted as a *villa regia* its importance and presence in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle was determined by its function as a place for assembly, with meetings recorded in 941, 951 and 956 AD (Rahtz 1979: 6). Its importance to the recognition of assembly as a facet of archaeological research and practice can be found in the contrast drawn by Rahtz between phases I and II of the palace site. The initial ninth-century palace is discussed as a royal residence of the House of Wessex in terms of architectural elaboration (specifically the long hall and chapel), prestige goods, and the inclusion of a drainage system *(ibid*: 373). The archaeological material also indicated that occupation of the site may have been continuous to a degree, in marked contrast to periodic activity in what the excavator refers to as a "clean" Phase II *(ibid*: 374). In this tenth-century phase the site had been fundamentally re-ordered. The old chapel was demolished with a replacement built on the site of the old hall. The hall itself was replaced by an elaborate successor to the south of the previous site (Figure 3). As mentioned, only periodic evidence for occupation could now be found on an otherwise clean site *(ibid*: 374-375). Rahtz argued that this indicated a shift from a 'domestic' to a 'ceremonial' residence *(ibid*: 375). Crucially, phase II represented the re-articulation of the entire palace site in order to fulfil the needs of the *witenagemot*. In short, while Hope-Taylor considered that Building E at Yeavering fulfilled an assembly function, Rahtz presented the entirety of phase II at Cheddar as a still unique morphological exemplar for the tenth-century royal assembly.

The last example is Lowbury Hill, Oxfordshire. Atkinson excavated a rectangular enclosure with a mound abutting its eastern side between 1913 and 1914 (Fulford *et al* 1994). The enclosure was interpreted as a Romano-British farmstead on the basis

of supposedly exiguous structural traces within, while the mound was revealed to contain an early medieval, high-status burial (Rivet 1958: 140). Later Davies (1985) argued that the enclosure formed the *temenos* for a temple, on account of the significant coin-finds, including within the matrix of the barrow. Heinrich Härke (in Fulford *et al* 1994: 203) argued that the barrow was a high-status burial of the seventh or eighth century that sought to appropriate the enduring *genius loci* of this one-time Romano-British site. Howard Williams took this one stage further, indicating the wider position of Lowbury Hill at the southern extent of Blewbury Hundred (from Blewburton Hill) and positing the barrow burial as an act of symbolic control of the landscape (Williams 1999: 77). However there is evidence that there was persistent low-level activity on the site across the Roman and early medieval periods as evidenced by scattered and abraded Anglo-Saxon pottery types throughout and a sub-Roman burial inserted into the wall of the enclosure (Fulford *et al* 1994: 201). A tentative link was also drawn to Lewis' suggestion that the Romano-British temple complexes served as nodes of popular assembly that may have endured beyond the fall of the empire in Britain (Lewis 1966; Fulford *et al* 1994: 198).

2.5.2 Summary

Early archaeological approaches to Anglo-Saxon assembly were largely opportunistic. Assembly was either a means of explaining novelty, or else a tertiary research consideration to the matter of excavating a royal palace. Assembly practice as an *a priori* archaeological research objective is very much a contemporary phenomenon, detailed in Section 2.8.1 below. As such there has not been a large well-spring of specifically archaeological scholarship from which to draw. However, assembly as an explanation for 'novelty' in the archaeological record has continued, as seen with the 'productive' sites, detailed below (see Section 2.8.3).

2.6.1 Assembly in contemporary historical scholarship

In the latter half of the twentieth century there was a distinctive turn in European scholarship over the structure of governance in the developing kingdoms of Europe. Where before royal power was conceived as emerging piecemeal from a widespread tradition of Germanic egalitarianism, instead the active agency of the crown was granted primacy, as control was extended into local government (Harding 1973; Loyn 1962; 1974; Sawyer 1983; Wormald 1986; Keynes 1990). Of course, as pointed out in Section 2.3.1, this could be identified in the earlier work of Cam (1932: 1935; 1957b), Morris (1927) and Sayles (1948) as the differing aspects of the hundred were teased apart, yet a broad sense of consensus took time to develop. This transition, as one hundred and fifty years before with Grimm, was paralleled, if not prompted by, a re-conception of Germanic society as defined by "noble lordship, originating in domestic authority over the household" (Murray 1988: 62; see also Schlesinger 1968; Kristensen 1975)[1].

In the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms it was argued that the hundred as a system was rolled out and northwards in the tenth century as the House of Wessex established its dominance over English Mercia and the wider Danelaw. Henry Loyn in particular (1974: 4) conceived this as a scheme to regularise witness and discourage cattle-rustling, a model that latterly displayed what could only be described as 'mission-creep'. In turn both David Roffe (2007: 195-6) and Peter Sawyer (1998: 138) have argued the emergence of carucate assessment in northern England to be a complementary and near contemporaneous process. In particular Roffe (2007: 194-5) has highlighted the twelve carucate vill/hundred of the Danelaw identified by Round as an analogous framework, at least in Lincolnshire (Roffe 1981) and the Five Boroughs. It is not readily identifiable in the Ridings of Yorkshire. Consideration of the differing aspects of the hundred has largely concentrated upon territorial morphology. There have been no serious claims that the hundred was imposed on a *tabula rasa* though much dispute as to what came before (Campbell 2000: 16). Loyn

[1] An interesting parallel can be drawn with the application of Marx's 'Germanic Mode of Production' in recent Iron Age studies (1964). In essence the concept has been deployed to argue against existing hierarchical models of Iron Age society, instead favouring conceptions of more levelled, segmentary societies. See Hill (2011) for a fuller summary.

took the divisions and taxable assessments of the Tribal Hidage to necessitate a court of sorts as far back as the seventh century (1984: 140). He earlier suggested that the *regiones* recorded in Bede may have served as a partial template (1962: 302). Cam's work on the tenurial connections between manorial estates and hundreds has influenced several who have proposed the *villa regales* as one of the prime lynchpins of the hundredal model (see Harding 1973; Reynolds 1999: 77). However precisely the same evidence has led Loyn (1984: 141) and Roffe (2007: 283-4; 2010: 43-4) to propose that this spatial coincidence in fact does not represent organic emergence but rather the expedient imposition of a recent territorial construct over an older situation. This is an excellent example of the maddening difficulties to be found in the dating of boundaries (cf Bonney 1966; Goodier 1984).

Much recent attention has been given to the hundred as a product of the *burhs* and here one should note the fluidity of functionality between the two evident in the lawcodes (see Britnell 1978: 187; see Section 2.1.1). Both Roffe (2010: 40-1) and Molyneaux (2011: 83-6) perceive a network of burhs commencing in Wessex before spreading northwards. The legal practices associated with these were then formalised and territorialised within the wider countryside as the hundred. Where each frames hundredal development as an initiative of Wessex – the burh writ large on the country - Roffe argues again that this process in Wessex occurred subsequent to that witnessed north of the Thames. This argument is again based on the irregular nature of the southern hundreds – one can as easily argue these to be indicative of great age as later expediency. Conversely the presence of eighth- and ninth-century execution sites on the boundaries of a number of these hundreds has been argued to indicate their greater age (Reynolds 2009: 222). Yet again the controversies of boundary dating prevent an easy resolution.

Comparatively less attention has been paid elsewhere within the strictly historical setting. The consideration of names and places has necessarily been better suited to the domain of the archaeologist and place-name scholar (e.g. Meaney; 1993; 1995; 1997; Turner 2000). Harding conceived the Wessex roll-out of the hundred as borne

upon a “thegnly class of reeves” (1973: 17), in some cases purchasing lands in the north to be consolidated within the crown of Wessex. There has not been the same sort of debate over the roles of the officers of the hundred and this paucity is evidently worthy of future attention. As for the functioning institution, Wormald has conceived it as the formalisation and territorialisation of, in many cases, existing or analogous legislation, tied together under the Carolingian rubric of ‘hundred’ (1999). There is no readily perceivable opposition to this as an ideal of the hundred though recently Levi Roach (2013: 4) and before that Timothy Reuter (1998; 2001: 433) have counselled caution over any straightforward assumption that the matter of the law-codes related in a consistent manner to actual hundredal practice on the ground prior to the Norman Conquest.

2.6.2 Summary

What is clear is that the primacy of royal agency perceptible in these approaches is tied strongly to the notion of the ‘Wessex roll-out’, whatever hue of that the author may have chosen. The limitations of these analyses are also very evident. The dating of the formalised hundred to the tenth century is contingent on the first appearance of the terminology. All other aspects, in various guises, emerge earlier. The age of the territories cannot be readily resolved and where they do show associations, be it with executions, royal manors, and so on, these inevitably form distinct minority patterns. Nothing appears to be ubiquitous - this was the same Achilles Heel that afflicted Cam’s *Manerium Cum Hundredo* model eighty years previously. One may yet firmly assert that hundredal morphology maintained a variety of relationships with historical constructs.

2.7.1 Modern developments in place name study

Anderson's survey has remained the standard source of information for the toponymy and topography of the English hundreds and wapentakes (Gelling 1978; Sandred 1994), as has the methodology so employed. Subsequent English Place-

name Society volumes have maintained much the same organising principle, divided into these sub-shire units, engaging to a greater or lesser extent with their associated toponymic and topographic solutions (e.g. Cox 1998-2011 for Leicester and Mills 2010 for Dorset). That said, one can detect a certain reticence to engage with assembly in the more recent work of some of the luminaries of the English Place-Name Society. Thus, in the chapter 'Boundaries and Meeting Places' in Gelling's *Signposts to the Past* (1978), assemblies themselves are only considered in brief at the end *(ibid*: 211-214). Likewise Victor Watts, in his *Dictionary of County Durham Place-names* (2002), singularly refuses to engage with potential assembly-attesting names such as Sockburn *(ibid*: 115). There have been a number of small-scale investigations, such as Davenport (1948) and Draper's (1948) respective surveys of the Middlesex hundreds and Barrie Cox's consideration of the Leicestershire wapentake names (1971). Unlike Anderson, Cox made a significant effort to integrate consideration of assembly-attesting names alongside those documented as wapentake assemblies. This consolidated a growing awareness of the importance of such locations, as demonstrated by Dorothy Nail's own examination of the Nutshambles (OE *(ge)mot-sceamols*) earthwork at Copthorne hundred in Surrey (1961). This in turn advanced on the earlier work of Harvey (1947) in the selfsame hundred which stuck more rigidly to the line espoused by Anderson. In large part this was a product of the greater emphasis placed on field-names, such as *Ye Spellow Field* (**SPF-1**) found near South Stainley in the West Riding of Yorkshire, a sub-category of place-name studies that has received much attention from John Field (1993: 237).

More recently Nicola Whyte has examined Smethdon hundred in Norfolk (2004) while Gilbert has considered the distribution of place-names in and around *Cresselau* hundred in Worcestershire to argue for disparate multi-functional conciliar activity in its surrounds (2004: 217). Hundredal considerations have been extended further by Cavill, who has used the word *dingesmere* in the poem the Battle of *Brunanburh* to fix the location at Thingwall in the Wirral (2007: 41); and Balkwill (1993: 12), who has proposed that the distribution of *wic* sites in fact indicates Roman and sub-

Roman assembly centres. These studies have been small-scale, and where the form of the hundred has been discussed, Anderson's conclusions largely remain unchallenged, albeit on occasion given differing emphases. See for instance Gelling, in *Signposts to the Past* (1978) who stresses liminal 'nomansland' qualities to the hundredal assembly rather than centrality. At any rate Anderson remained the standard work. Consideration finally turns to the two crucial works on English assembly place-names in the last twenty-five years, that of Audrey Meaney and Aliki Pantos.

In the mid-1990s Audrey Meaney produced a series of papers examining the names of hundred-moots in the Cambridgeshire area (Meaney 1993; Meaney 1997). Following on from the categories of meeting places developed by Anderson, of "a district, a meeting place or a manor" (1934: xxvi), Meaney attempted to review this by placing far greater stress upon the material aspects of hundredal assemblies reflected in the place-name evidence. In so doing the assemblies of Cambridgeshire could be compared to one another. The identified hundredal names were divided into a primary category referring to nodes of communication; a secondary one of natural landscape features; and a tertiary set of artificial landscape structures. In the primary category one finds fords, bridges, road junctions and river mouths. In the second, trees, springs, hills and assorted distinctive topographic features. Finally, the third category comprises both purpose-built assembly structures – platforms, non-sepulchral mounds and buildings and other structures adapted and/or adopted for the purposes of a meeting place.

Quite before considering how these place-names relate to potentially associated archaeological aspects, a number of problems become apparent. The categorical divisions are simply not as clear as they may at first appear. In the arena of communications an artificial road junction and the confluence of two navigable rivers possess differing qualities. Further, as the strong evidence from early medieval secondary barrow burials has shown, natural hillocks and earthworked protuberances could be and were used in similar ways (Williams 1997; Turner 2000).

The final category also places undue emphasis on a place, a hall say, as adapted for meetings, rather than as a potentially multi-focal arena. Pantos has further pointed out that the groupings Meaney sets are not based strictly on the nomenclature. Using the example of conflated ford names and actual fords that do not bear such names, Pantos argues that Meaney's study has "moved almost imperceptibly from a consideration of names to one of sites" (Pantos 2001: 18). Related to this is a failure to engage with the presence of multiple foci at these sites, treating them instead as singular locales *(ibid*: 21)

There is a greater issue however, and one which has re-emerged since Meaney's work. The sheer breadth of features listed in her tripartite formulation captures nearly every single distinctive topographic and artificial feature in a given landscape. It effectively neuters a detailed archaeological perspective and highlights well the dangers inherent in the position of 'handmaiden' as much to toponyms as documentary sources. It also ultimately does not stray very far from Anderson's own approach. Without detailed further consideration of differing signals of assembly, it will be very difficult for the archaeologist to determine what is *not* a meeting place.

A more recent attempt at re-evaluating and comparing the topographic elements of the hundreds and wapentakes was made in the doctoral thesis of Aliki Pantos. Despite the title, *Assembly Practices in the Anglo-Saxon Period: Aspects of Form and Location* (2001), like its predecessor *English Hundred Names* (1934) is primarily a work of place name study. However Pantos was well aware of the issues in both Anderson and Meaney of cross-media inferences – of the slide from the name to the site - and thus generating problematic locational attributions. Pantos' thesis attempted to rectify some of the issues with the frequency and distribution of hundredal names in central and southern England, for instance noting that "though many assembly-places are centrally located within the hundred they belonged to, a substantial number are not" (Pantos 2001: 169). Pantos also mapped the differing name elements, drawing up graphs to indicate their relative proportions *(ibid*: 576-583). It is vitally important that hundredal and other assembly names are

contextualised within the wider body of place-names if the circularity of the aforementioned assembly model is to be ameliorated.

Pantos' thesis also engaged with undocumented place-name attested assemblies that Pantos called 'Type 2 sites', such as Landmoth, North Yorkshire (**LAND-1**) and *Thinghoudale* (Lincolnshire) containing elements like OE *(ge)mot* and ON *þing*. Even more valuable was the extended emphasis, building considerably on Meaney's approach, upon the landscapes of assembly locations. The focus was still primarily upon place names, but it would be the first work on English assembly studies to begin to put into practice the potential to be harnessed in the archaeological record for the characterisation and analysis of landscapes of assembly. A good example of this comes from the in-depth examination of Mangrove Knob, Northamptonshire, in terms of early medieval execution sites in its surrounds (Pantos 2001: 152-166).

Another line of investigation in the thesis looked at the views from a number of assembly sites in order to assess intervisibility with other potentially related features of the landscape. This goes some way towards developing a theme of aspect so prevalent in Hugh Smith's volumes on the West Riding Place-Names (1961a-f). Set within a historic and place-name based research background however, it takes no note of the severe critique found in archaeological visibility studies (see Wheatley and Gillings 2000) and serves better as a line of inquiry than as a methodology. This thesis is still primarily concerned with the assembly as a focal point, but considers it in terms of a wider network of landscape features that ranged considerably in date.

Outside of England, O'Grady has proceeded in an analogous manner in his doctoral survey of Scottish place-names associated with judicial practice (2008). Many of the same elements in play in England are found north of the border, but in Scotland there appears to be a greater diversity of name types, in particular Gaelic names such as *comhdhail* for 'assembly' and *eireachd* for 'court or gathering' *(ibid*: 125, 134). His thesis gathers them together for the first time, expanding on previous work by Barrow on the distribution of *comhdhail* names (Barrow 1981). Like Pantos, the

distribution is examined, but a good deal of attention is also paid to landscape features and structures in the surrounding locale of a given place-name. Given the relative paucity of early sources for Scotland, a sturdy chronological framework cannot be constructed from the material available. However, O'Grady went further than Pantos in conducting topographic and geophysical survey on his sites, and speculated about the possibility of incorporating metal-detected and other wider forms of archaeological data, an approach which was extended considerably in the present thesis.

2.7.2 Summary

There has been no survey subsequent to Anderson at a comparable scale. Where smaller-scale place-name studies have considered assembly practice, they have benefited greatly from the redoubled concern of the English Place Name Society with field names. In turn this has driven a newer focus upon poly-focal assembly characteristics (Gilbert 2004; Whyte 2004) and in tandem more detailed consideration of the landscape context of these toponyms (Pantos 2001; O'Grady 2008). However, as Audrey Meaney had demonstrated in Cambridgeshire it is difficult to draw many substantive points from the patterning of the nomenclature alone.

2.8.1 Recent archaeological research in England

The excavation of Secklow mound in 1977 marked a significant turning point in the archaeology of assembly sites in England (Adkins and Petchey 1984). It represented the first occasion when a modern excavation methodology had been deliberately steered towards the examination of a known assembly site. It also marked the first significant attempt to synthesise previous archaeological interventions on assembly mounds in England. The work was undertaken as part of a general response to urban development in the centre of Milton Keynes, but one aspect was specifically aimed at the identification of a "Selly Hill" on Bradwell Common, depicted on a 1641 map

of Great Linford. Anderson (1939: 15) had previously suggested that the meeting place for the Domesday hundred of *Sigelai* was to be found here, central to the district, following an earlier proposal by the eighteenth-century antiquarian Browne Willis (Adkins and Petchey 1984: 243).

The levelled mound itself was identified through trial-trenching, before being subject to full excavation. Romano-British pottery was found beneath the base of the structure, and thirteenth-century ceramic wares were identified in the surrounding ring-ditch. Further, no evidence of mortuary activity was uncovered and this led the excavators to raise the possibility that the mound was a purpose built non-sepulchral structure erected between the fourth and thirteenth centuries *(ibid*: 246). From this they suggested a tenth-century date, a product of a hundredal system imposed in orderly fashion. Comparative material from other excavated assembly mounds was then gathered to support this proposition. Seven excavated mounds were identified, alongside three possible examples, all from central and southern England. Bledisloe Tump, within Bledisloe hundred, appeared to be a medieval structure that had latterly been converted into a mound (Dornier 1966: 68), while Grimshoe in Norfolk was included as a doubtful prehistoric barrow sharing its name with the hundred of Grimshoe (Adkins and Petchey 1984: 248; Clarke 1963: 27). Romano-British material had also been found in the pre-earthworked ground surfaces of the mounds at Blyth Low Hill and Hawkeslowe, while the unusual nature of the Romano-British midden mound at Catteshill appears to have been the sole justification for its inclusion (Adkins and Petchey 1984: 249; Smedley and Aberg 1957). Also, significant prehistoric activity was argued to be absent in the examples presented, with the exception of the mound associated with Culliford Tree hundred in Dorset, where excavation uncovered prehistoric mortuary activity *(ibid*: 247; Grinsell 1959: 143). It was finally concluded by Adkins and Petchey that the purpose built mound was probably a common feature of the hundredal landscape.

It is an important paper and has set the scene for subsequent archaeological evaluations of assembly practices in England. However, the problems with it are

numerous. First of all, their comparisons are drawn from a small dataset of often poorly recorded excavations. Indeed the re-excavation of Scutchamer Knob revealed the ring-ditch to be of Bronze Age date and reworked in the post-Roman period (Sanmark and Semple 2008: 253). Court Hill in Norfolk, now destroyed, is included purely because no residue of antiquity was recovered (Adkins and Petchey 1984: 248; Anon 1859: 357). Secondly, the validity of some of the hundredal identifications is debateable. Aliki Pantos (2001: 15-16) has highlighted David Crook's suggestion that the wapentake meeting place associated with Blyth Hill, Nottinghamshire, could instead be at a nearby Beacon Hill (1982: 112-4). The same issue applies to Lexden Mount in Essex (Morant 1768: 159). Even if this is the correct meeting-place for Lexden hundred Christopher Hawkes had taken issue with the non-sepulchral post-Roman attribution (Hawkes 1947: 13). The supposed meeting-place of Mursley hundred in Buckinghamshire was considered by the excavator to be a windmill mound (Mawer and Stenton 1925: 69; Griffiths 1969). Thirdly, Adkins and Petchey's stress on a tenth-century date for the establishment of hundredal mounds applies a sort of tunnel vision to the archaeology that adheres uncritically to an historical model of the hundred as a *de novo* creation of the late Anglo-Saxon state on a *tabula rasa* (*contra* Maitland 1908 and Harding 1973). In so doing they push the archaeological evidence beyond its useful limits. Finally, little if any attention was given beyond the earthwork itself and this is reflected in the comparative material brought to bear on assembly mounds. While Adkins and Petchey (1984: 246) offer Tynwald on the Isle of Man as an example of an assembly, there is no consideration of Secklow mound as part of a wider complex of activity. As a result the hand-list of assemblies produced by Adkins and Petchey does not present such a compelling argument for purpose-built assembly mounds as may initially appear to be the case. In fact it may offer a better review of the varied engagement with assembly perspectives in English archaeological practices of the mid nineteenth to mid twentieth century.

Most recently, attention has been called to a cluster of Anglo-Saxon cemeteries discovered at Saltwood in Kent during the course of building work on the Channel

Tunnel Rail Link (Booth *et al* 2011; Brookes and Reynolds 2011). Four separate areas of early medieval inhumations were discovered in the vicinity of the distinctive Summerhouse Hill, with three focused upon prehistoric barrows. Stuart Brookes, Andrew Reynolds and John Baker have pointed out that this cluster of funerary activity is in close association with the meeting place of the Heane hundred of Domesday Book. The four burial clusters are argued to indicate the gathering of separate communities, the "coincidence recording the transition from a pagan-period folk cemetery to a hundred meeting-place" (Brookes *et al* 2011).These results are intriguing and represent a much-needed engagement between the evidence of the historic, archaeological and toponymic landscapes. However it is a re-interpretation and there is no evidence that excavations were undertaken mindful of assembly as an active element. While some attention was given to the relationship between the cemeteries and earlier earthworks, and the cemeteries and wider patterns of settlement, this was a study concerned with funerary character, an objective made clear in McKinley *et al*'s summary publication *The Prehistoric, Roman and Anglo-Saxon funerary landscape at Saltwood Tunnel, Kent* (2006).

2.8.2 Execution cemeteries

The relationship between execution cemeteries and hundredal (and more generally assembly) practices has been mooted for some time. Tanya Dickinson wrote in 1974 that "execution cemeteries, mostly dating from the middle to late Saxon periods onwards, were often associated with isolated hill-tops and particularly with barrows or ditches...finally, the sites are often associated with a hundred meeting-place, a market or a major highway" (1974: 23). The unusual burials found at Bran's Ditch, Cambridgeshire, in the mid-1960s were explicitly presented as a *cwealmstow* – killing place – the excavator even citing a nearby mound as the seat of judgement (Hope-Taylor and Hill 1976: 127). However, there is little evidence for executions and assemblies being juxtaposed. Rather, with the exception of Wandlebury Hillfort in Cambridgeshire and possibly Sutton Hoo in Suffolk, many execution sites appear to be located in the landscape in relation to the concomitant territorial aspects of

hundredal and estate administration. There are numerous examples of deviant burials found on hundredal boundaries (Reynolds 2009). These include Chesterton Lane Corner on the boundary of Cambridge and Chesterton hundreds (Cessford *et al* 2007), Old Dairy Cottage, Hampshire, on the boundary of Falemere and Barton hundreds (Reynolds 2009: 119) and Crosshill, Nottinghamshire on the boundary of Rushcliffe and Bingham hundreds *(ibid*: 123).

The late Anglo-Saxon execution cemetery found in association with the monumental seventh-century mound complex at Sutton Hoo has been tentatively proposed as a venue for assembly activity (Carver 2005: 325; Reynolds 2009: 238) though the only certain and clear intersection of deviant burial and assembly known is to be found at Wandlebury hillfort. Here two assemblies are recorded, one in 990 in the *Liber Benefactorum* of Ramsey (Reynolds 2009: 111-2) and the second in a charter of Edward the Confessor of 1049 (S1123; Harmer 1952; 315-6). Undated burials showing signs of execution were found interred in the side of the hillfort in 1977 (Taylor and Denton 1977: 1) and Reynolds has linked these with the two shire courts hitherto detailed (2009: 111).

The only clear example of an early medieval execution cemetery north of the Humber, and indeed the only one in the study area, is that of Walkington Wold. It consists of two Bronze Age barrows, one of which was excavated by Bartlett and Mackey in the late 1960s (Bartlett and Mackey 1973). It was associated with a number of secondary early medieval inhumations, which were latterly re-evaluated as deviant burials of the seventh century onwards, including several instances of decapitation (Buckberry and Hadley 2007: 310). It was also evidently a site of long-term significance, turning up over 700 Roman coins and suggested variously as an earlier Roman signal station (Barlett and Mackey 1973: 27) or temple (Bailey 1985). It is also significant in early medieval terms due to its position within Harthill wapentake (**HAR-0)** on the boundary between the hundred of Cave (**CAV-0**) and a detached portion of Welton hundred (**WEL-0**; Buckberry and Hadley 2007: 312). Andrew Reynolds has contrasted the seeming peripheral location of these execution cemeteries with the frequent

central location of hundredal focal points, (Reynolds 1999: 75-84). More recently Aliki Pantos has argued that execution sites and meeting-places share many locational properties, such as at Mangrove Knob, Northamptonshire (2001: 161-162). It is posited that similar locational attributes could be harnessed to evoke both themes of community and exclusion, a thesis that requires expansion.

2.8.3 'Productive' sites

The assemblages of so-called 'productive' sites have been tentatively interpreted as a signal of the convention of assemblies since the mid-1990s, though it has not been an insistent school of thought (cf Newman 1995). However the seeming disjuncture between an abundant finds assemblage and a negligible structural repertoire for the early medieval period at Lake End, Dorney, in Oxfordshire, led investigators to re-engage with this hypothesis. The evidence for weaving, iron slag and personal possessions were reminiscent more so of a *wic* than what would be expected of transient activity at an abandoned Roman farmstead (Hiller *et al* 2002: 67). The rural location of Lake End mitigated against Richard Hodges' model of emporia-based trade (1982) while the paucity of coinage made a case for rural market activity even harder to formulate (Hiller *et al* 2002: 69). Thus it was proposed that the early medieval disposition of the excavated remains at Lake End were indicative of an outdoor assembly, a "temporary occupation site" that set the stage for acts of conspicuous consumption and secondary craft activity (Hardy and Petts 2002: 431). It was effectively framed as analogous to the recent emergence of the so-called 'productive' site, a phenomenon that has been linked by several, directly or otherwise, to assembly activity (Ulmschneider 2002; Newman 1995).

The term 'productive' site first emerged in numismatic studies in the early 1980s, in reference to 'bountiful' concentrations of coinage discovered primarily by metal-detectorists in places like Barham, Suffolk (Pestell 2003) and Bidford-on-Avon, Warwickshire (Naylor and Richards 2010). As archaeological attention grew, the definition shifted beyond numismatic material alone to consider also the frequent

commensurate quantities of non-ferrous metalwork, generally copper or copper-alloy personal effects (Ulmschneider 2000: 62). In the late 1990s Julian Richards dismissed the specific character of 'productive' sites, arguing that this was too much a function of their metal-detected means of discovery (1999a: 79). Richards argued instead that the assemblages associated with so-called 'productive' sites were simply a common signal of mid-Saxon settlement, illustrating this with the results of recent excavations at Cottam, East Yorkshire, a settlement which had produced a diagnostic 'productive' site assemblage prior to invasive procedures (1999b). It was deemed preferable to refer to the character of the Cottam assemblage as indicative of an "economic central place" (1999a: 71), a category which, like the 'central places' of southern Scandinavia, serves as much to occlude as include variety in the character of the archaeological record. The illusory homogeneity of the sites was critiqued by Kevin Leahy in his examination of the assemblages from South Newbald (2000), while Naylor (2004) has reiterated the importance of the distinct coin assemblages. In a similar line, Pestell has more recently stressed the divergence between mid-Saxon domestic assemblages and the high-status goods found at 'productive' sites such as Bawsey in Norfolk (2011: 563). These latter approaches have ameliorated Richards' scepticism to an extent and subsequent site-based work has concentrated on teasing out information from the finds themselves and their spatial distribution (Naylor and Richards 2010; Richards *et al* 2009). At this point in time at site level, little more can be said with confidence than that the 'productive' sites represent rural activity with a significant economic component as seen through the specific 'lens' of the metal-detector.

More wide-ranging interpretation of 'productive' sites, and interpretations more relevant to the assembly perspective, have emerged through consideration of the wider landscape context. The implication in such a link is that large and significant conventions of people, such as at an assembly, are potentially reflected in the archaeological record through concentrations of coin-loss and associated detritus. Both Katharina Ulmschneider (2000: 63), Tim Pestell (2011) and John Naylor (2004) have cited the spatial acquiescence of 'productive' sites to major lines of road and

riverine communication. Indeed Naylor has taken this further to show the high incidence of 'productive' sites, like *Sandtun* in Kent and South Newbald, East Yorkshire, found within fifteen kilometres of the coast, within a day's travel (Naylor 2004: 146). Ulmschneider has also argued that the position of the 'productive' site of Barcombe on the Isle of Wight at an ecological faultline indicates an emphasis on the exploitation of local resources (2002: 531). In terms of artificial structures Pestell and Ulmschneider (2003) have highlighted both place-name and archaeological connections between 'productive' sites and churches, such as the high concentrations of coinage found outside the excavated precincts of Whitby (Cramp 1976a; 1976b: 457) and Whithorn (Hill 1997). Richards *et al* have also more recently pointed out that the sheer range of activities that the Church was involved in makes it difficult to determine the nature or intensity of the connection (2009: 4.1.2). Ulmschneider has also posited Bowcombe's likely proximity to the meeting-place of the eponymous hundred – though does not consider the 'productive' site itself to be that meeting-place (1999: 11; 2002: 337). Ultimately though the landscape context and subsequent interpretation of the 'productive' site has been dominated by market activity and settlement patterns.

Katharina Ulmschneider argues for market activity at Bowcombe at two different scales. At one the site is well-connected, exploiting its surrounds, with a large and varied numismatic assemblage enjoying a possible administrative connection to Bowcombe hundred (2002: 535). At the second, it is slightly inland from the river Medina on the Isle of Wight, and so within the sphere of influence, albeit indirectly, of the emporium at *Hamwic (ibid*). In a similar fashion John Naylor and Julian Richards have viewed the concentration of coinage in and around Bidford-on-Avon in Warwickshire as evidence of a dispersed satellite to the saltworks at Droitwich, functioning as a mid-Saxon settlement and centre for secondary market activity, before coalescing later into the fixed settlement (Naylor and Richards 2010: 199). This relationship with settlement patterns reached its apotheosis in Ulmschneider's consideration of mid-Saxon Lincolnshire in which the 'productive' sites handlist was integrated into a hierarchy of settlements, with the excavated evidence from

Flixborough at the top of the pyramid (2000: 71).

All this leads to a growing consensus of the 'productive' site as a settlement type, an inference that extends beyond the abiding relationship with settlement patterns. It is far easier to argue what they are not. Barcombe is not considered a site of mortuary practice due to contrasts with the well-studied assemblages of excavated Anglo-Saxon cemeteries (Ulmschneider 2002: 336). Other dismissals are not quite so convincing. The same site is not considered to be a meeting place for the hundred due to it being insufficiently prominent, with Ulmschneider clearly taking her cue from the uneven syntheses of Anderson (1934: 1939a; 1939b) and Meaney (1993; 1997). The hundred of Barcombe is cited in connection however, to draw the 'productive' site within the model of an economic central place, reminiscent of Richards' appraisal of Cottam (Ulmschneider 2002: 337; Richards 1999a: 71). Given the range of functions ascribed to the hundred, once talk shifts to a model of a central place, discrete categories swiftly wither and die. Thus, the proposed extra-mural activity at Whitby and Whithorn, noting also analogous evidence from Caistor-by-Norwich and Burgh Castle (Ulmschneider 2000: 68), can as easily be linked to executions and assemblies outside monasteries, such as that held by Aethelwine outside the entrance of Ely (Stewart 1848: 131). Proximity to communications has a longstanding association with many proposed assembly sites and market activity itself can arguably be linked within the activities of the pre-twelfth-century system of hundredal administration (Britnell 1978: 187).

Hutcheson's (2006: 102) proposal that the 'productive' sites represent centres of estate administration is arguable more sympathetic to an assembly perspective but ultimately such argumentation rests on grounds as weak as those utilised by Ulmschneider (2000; 2002), Pestell (2003), and Naylor and Richards (2010). There is not enough comparative excavation evidence to say whether these artefact distributions are the corollaries to unexcavated settlements. In the absence of this the basis on which they argue for a settlement attribution could as easily be marshalled for an assembly interpretation. Co-option within a ‘central places’

perspective unhelpfully dodges the ontological issues and occludes variety in the corpus of sites. Thus, until more work is done on the assemblages themselves (widespread excavation being prohibitively expensive) care must be taken to treat these sites simply as signals of activity.

2.8.4 Research further afield

Work outside of England has however often granted assembly practices greater prominence, for instance due to their position in the Irish *dindshenchas* or indeed their presence as national monuments, such as the Moot Hill of Scone. In Scotland, archaeological work led by Stephen Driscoll in Govan in the mid-1990s sought to investigate the site of the Doomster Hill, recorded on a number of maps and illustrations from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Driscoll 2003: 77). The work revealed both a large curving quarry ditch at the base of the putative site of the hill, and also a metalled road of early medieval date connecting it to the south-eastern corner of the present churchyard (Driscoll 2003: 80). It has been argued to represent part of an inauguration complex of the kingdom of Strathclyde, at a crossing of the Clyde and connected to an ancient church, and further that this mound possessed a stepped profile similar to that found at Tynwald on the Isle of Man (Figure 4). Lesley Alcock has argued this latter aspect to be a characteristic of political and administrative monumentality in a Hiberno-Norse "Irish Sea Province" (Driscoll 2003: 83; Alcock 1970). Driscoll later reconsidered the site of the Doomster Hill, using cartographic evidence to place it instead on previously open ground some 60 metres east of its former supposed location (O'Grady 2008: 33-4).

The stepped mound at Tynwald, on the Isle of Man, has loomed large in British assembly scholarship. While no significant excavation has been undertaken here, geophysical, topographic and other forms of survey were carried out by Timothy Darvill in the early 1990s on the stepped mound itself and its wider surrounds specifically to determine a developmental sequence for this monumental complex (2004: *passim*). The present day complex is dominated by the stepped mound of

Tynwald Hill and this is set opposite a chapel, each enclosed within the same dumb-bell shaped enclosure. The resultant geophysical survey of the site appeared to show an earlier rectangular enclosure linking the mound at Tynwald instead with a Bronze Age barrow to the north. Darvill then tentatively assigned a second phase of funerary monumentality within the vicinity of Tynwald Hill, possibly including a chapel *(ibid*: 221). At some point the older enclosure was abandoned and Tynwald Hill was linked instead to the chapel. The linking enclosures have intriguing parallels with paired mounds at Tara and Emain Macha (Warner 2004). Darvill also posits a link to the layout of the Yeavering complex (2004: 221). The application of a battery of archaeological and documentary survey methods at Tynwald has produced exciting results, though the lack of excavation means that the conclusions drawn must remain tentative.

Assembly archaeology in Ireland, as elsewhere, has been heavily influenced by the surviving documentary material. The *Annals*, such as that of *Ulster* and *Tigernach*, recount various assemblies spanning the medieval period, not least the *Óenach Tailten* ('Fair of Teltown'; Swift 2000), the royal early medieval gatherings of the *airecht* (FitzPatrick 2004b: 16) and the numerous inauguration ceremonies of a profusion of Irish kings. The prominence of the medieval assembly in the written record, reflected also in the place-name lore of the *Dindshenchas*, is heavily influenced by the mythical centres of proto-historical Irish kingship, represented by the prehistoric complexes at Tara, Knockaulin and Navan Fort among others. Long-term regal-cultic associations have indeed played a significant part in the interpretation of Irish assembly archaeology and this emphasis can be found in the interpretative schemes deployed in a number of Irish excavations in the early twentieth century (Schot 2011: 87-88). Thus the stepped mound at Cromwell Hill, Co. Limerick, was associated with a documented assembly at 'The Mound of the Fíana' by Westropp, while Macalister considered the stepped mound at Masonbrook Ring, Co. Galway, as an assembly, largely due to the absence of mortuary traces (Westropp 1924; Macalister 1917). The analysis of the large-scale excavations of the prehistoric complex of Uisneach in the 1920s drew heavily upon reference to assemblies in the

Annals, a source that favoured the subsequent interpretation of continuity in use from the prehistoric period (Macalister and Praeger 1929).

The two most striking influences upon understandings of Irish assembly practices in recent years have come respectively from Elizabeth FitzPatrick's work on sites of inauguration and the growing body of excavation data from the so-called 'royal' sites, especially Tara and Navan Fort. The former has deployed an innovative multi-disciplinary survey of the 'cultural landscape' in order to identify and analyse inauguration sites, though as Macdonald has indicated, the diversity of the dataset may work against the establishment of firm conclusions (2008). Work on the 'royal' sites, not least through the Discovery Programme at Tara has reinforced both the importance of the wider topographic and monumental landscape, and also a striking concordance in monumental choreography between sites such as Navan Fort, Tara and Rathcroghan in the later Iron Age (Warner 1988: 52; Lynn 2003: 127; Fenwick *et al* 2006).

Alongside the many *óenach* and *aireacht* assemblies recorded in medieval Irish documents, there are numerous references to the inauguration ceremonies of the kings of the medieval Gaelic polities. Most recently, Elizabeth FitzPatrick has sought to undertake the archaeological, or more properly 'cultural landscape', analysis of the locations of these public acts of theatre (2004a; 2004b). For instance the inauguration site of the territory of *Síol Muireadhaigh* (Co. Roscommon) in 1189 was a mound called *Carn Fraích*, which the *Rennes Dindshenchas* would appear to treat as synonymous with a *Cnoc na Dála*, or 'Hill of the Assembly' (FitzPatrick 2004b: 49-53). FitzPatrick considers its landscape location, with special emphasis on wider archaeological phenomena, including a number of ring-barrows and a possible ringfort *(ibid*: 52). A differing approach is taken for the mound known as 'Coggins' Hill' in Aughris, Co. Sligo. There are no clear historical links between the *óenaige* held at *Carn Inghine Briain* and the aforementioned mound (FitzPatrick and Fenwick 2001: 69; FitzPatrick 2004b). Instead place-name evidence, intervisibility with nearby mounds and twentieth-century associations of horse-racing at Coggins' Hill are

deployed in order to establish the link *(ibid*: 70).

By following this multi-disciplinary methodology FitzPatrick identified the landscape locations of thirty documented inaugurations, of which twenty-three could be tied to specific landscape foci (FitzPatrick 2004a: 34). Another thirty-eight were said to warrant suspicion on the basis of place-name and non-documentary evidence *(ibid*). Crucial archaeological signals included mounds, which made up nine of the thirty identifications, and about half of the thirty-eight suspected ones (FitzPatrick 2004a: 43). This is backed by documented references to mounds at assemblies such as the *Magh Adhair* of the *Dal gCais (ibid*: 45). Later medieval signals included stone chairs and footprint marks, reminiscent of the footprints at Dunadd in Argyll, Scotland (FitzPatrick 2001; 2003; 2004a: 129, 172: Lane and Campbell 2000). Finally visibility is frequently cited as a feature favouring the identification of a given site (FitzPatrick 2004a: 35). In essence FitzPatrick's hand-list demonstrates a predilection towards mounds with good views in the midst of wider complexes of archaeological activity.

The primary conclusion drawn from this is that a key motivation behind the adoption/remodelling/establishment of inauguration mounds was the need to legitimise contemporaneous power relations with reference to the past (FitzPatrick 2004a: 38). A similar line of thought was put forward by Richard Bradley – 'The Creation of Continuity' – in relation to the Yeavering complex in Northumberland (1987). In Ireland Chris Lynn has more recently expressed analogous views in relation to Navan Fort, adding a mythical, ancestral, otherworldly element to this motivation, in line with recent re-evaluations of Anglo-Saxon attitudes to sepulchral monuments (Lynn 2003: 127; Semple 1998; Williams 1997). The issue of vistas is considered by FitzPatrick in terms of the land as the 'king's spouse', the inauguration as a symbolic *banais ríghe*, or 'wedding feast' (FitzPatrick 2004a: 35). The author also expresses doubts about liminal or boundary locations to inaugurations and *óenaige*, citing the dynamism of Irish territorial morphology as a necessary limiting factor *(ibid*: 195).

Very few of the attributions can be considered compelling, not least with Coggins'

Hill, though ambiguity even remains in the documentary references to *Carn Fraích* (FitzPatrick 2004b: 52). One of the most detailed critiques has come from Philip Macdonald who has further stressed the problems inherent in an approach that grants the historical evidence primacy (2008: 86). The tortuous establishment of diverse textual and material associations can, as seen in Adkins and Petchey's handlist (1984), do serious injury to the evidential value of a subsequent archaeological dataset. It is thus difficult to assess how characteristic 'variety' and mounds are to the archaeological comparanda (FitzPatrick 2004a: 35, 43; FitzPatrick 2004b: 44). Macdonald has also re-evaluated Crew Hill in Co. Antrim (Gaelic. *Craobh Tulcha*) which FitzPatrick cited as an assembly of the Ulaid, with place-name evidence reinforced by the presence of a rock called 'The Crew Stone'. This site possessed cist graves, an enclosed mound and good visibility (FitzPatrick 2004a: 38). Macdonald demonstrated that the mound was in fact the result of post-medieval quarrying activity while 'The Crew Stone' had been sufficiently disturbed to occlude its archaeological context (Macdonald 2008: 104). It is an approach that guards against placing undue weight upon non-invasive survey, making it more difficult to argue for the distinct morphology and character of Irish inauguration sites. That said, the excavator did not regard the results as invalidating the inauguration attribution, considering the place-name and historical evidence to remain significant. Rather, the integration of archaeological evidence requires further rigour.

Archaeological approaches to assembly practices in Iceland have been strongly influenced by the surviving Saga material, reminiscent of historical emphases in archaeological assembly studies in the British Isles. The account of the establishment of the Icelandic *alÞing* at Þingvellir in the *Íslendingabók* is arguably the best known (Pálsson and Edwards 1972). This account of the foundation of Icelandic political structures also detailed lower level regional assemblies within the Quarters, districts of Iceland, that were called *vorÞing*, or spring assemblies (Pálsson and Edwards 1972). Many of the *vorÞing* were referenced by name in the Icelandic Sagas and much effort was made by earlier antiquaries to determine their location. Adolf Friðriksson (1994)

has shown how the search for material corollaries for these descriptions by nineteenth-century antiquarians conjured a potentially illusory 'type-site' for the *vorþing*. Thus the Icelandic Royal Commission for the Preservation of Antiquities specified the presence of booths and ‘court-circles’ as recounted in the narrative sources as potent signals of assembly (Friðriksson 1994: 109; Figure 5). The mention of *vébond* demarcating the assembly at the Frostathing in Norway has also been used to strengthen the ‘court-circle’ as a defining structure of the Icelandic *þing* (Larson 1935: 223 [in translation]; Brink 2002: 90). This started a process whereby booths were first surmised on documented sites and later highlighted as an indicator of assembly at otherwise undocumented sites. For instance where Oddar Hjaltalín identified booths south-east of Þingvellir farm (not the Þingvellir that hosted the *alÞing)*, a documented and place-name attested venue for assembly, Kristján Jónsson attempted to establish Hrjótarvatn as a meeting-place purely by their presence (Friðriksson 1994: 112, 120). As Friðriksson argues, the unexcavated traces of such booths are not distinct from other rural structural remains (1994: 143) quite besides the problems inherent in drawing one-to-one relationships with uneven textual descriptions.

Latter excavations of booths have used cultural deposits and artefact assemblages to argue for seasonal or permanent occupation of a given structure. As Friðriksson has argued, this is more difficult for a court-circle, or *dómhringur*. As with assemblies in general, there are no clear material signals for legal praxis *(ibid*: 143). The court circle is evoked as a circular or sub-circular feature in proximity to booths, somewhat energised by documentary reference, as for Hegranes in the Saga of Viga-Glum (Friðriksson 1994: 107). In the instance of Dýrafjörður in western Iceland there was much consternation between the antiquarians Björn Ólsen and Sigurður Vigfússon over whether animal dung was present within the supposed court circle *(ibid*: 118). In essence circular structures were too readily harnessed as august law-courts of the Commonwealth.

These conceptions have however been difficult to shift. The seasonal nature of

occupation found in a supposed booth discovered during the course of rescue excavations at Hegranes on the north coast of Iceland in the 1970s was seen to support its ascription as the Hegranesþing of the Sagas. This was despite evidence it may also have been a sheep-fold of the seventeenth century, or *rétt* (Aldred 2009: 5). Likewise the potential presence of a court-circle at Ólafsson's investigations at Þingnes on the Kjarlarnes peninsula likewise applied the earlier 'type-site' to the remains (1994: 133). The problem is that the interpretative power of this schema depended entirely on its use rather than its quality. In Iceland recent work at the *alþing* site at Þingvellir and a number of other sites has attempted to approach the venue on its own terms. A divergence between zones of temporary occupation, such as the large booth Biskupshólar, in opposition to potential permanent occupation in buildings in the Miðmundatún part of the site, has been mooted (Roberts 2004: 13; Roberts 2005). Aiden Bell has more recently re-evaluated previous fieldwork at the Byrgisbúð structure on the east side of the *alþing* area (2010). This renewed archaeological activity, witnessed also at such locations as Skuldaþingsey in the north-east of Iceland (Vésteinsson *et al* 2004; Semple and Sanmark 2013: 526-7), has led Orri Vésteinsson to surmise that the booths did not represent the coming together of large communities, but rather the convention of *þingmaðr*, the local leaders of smaller farming communities (Vésteinsson 2013: 119-20), one social rung below that of the regional chieftains, or *goðorðsmaðr*. The booths, whether clustered or loosely organised, monumentalised assembly within a previously uninhabited landscape, demonstrating increasing social divisions within the relatively homogeneous language of booth size and layout *(ibid*: 121-2). In common with the predominant pattern of site locations found in the Ridings of Yorkshire (see Section 6.2), these Icelandic assembly sites tended to congregate on the borders of farms and settlements *(ibid*).

In Norway much recent attention has been given to the so-called 'courtyard sites', semi-circular/arcing arrays of rectangular structures (Borg *et al* 1976). They have been interpreted variously as villages, barrows, barracks and chieftain's farms, though they have also been considered to represent the location of regional *þings*

(Storli 2010). Storli has argued for this latter attribution largely through a process of elimination *(ibid*: 136). Storli further makes a diachronic analogy between the development of these physical locales and the shifting power relations of the *goder* of the Icelandic Commonwealth in order to affix an administrative character to the court-sites. In effect the reduction of maintained court-sites in the seventh century reflects the consolidation of smaller territorial units (Storli 2010: 137-8). Stefan Brink has latterly questioned whether this should indicate that the courtyard sites were *þings* per se, seeing seasonal occupation instead as a signal for a more general "multi-purpose assembly" (Brink 2011: 91). In a similar fashion Orri Vésteinsson has queried whether the Icelandic *þing* offers an appropriate analogy for these earlier structures with a potentially wider remit (Vésteinsson 2011: 105-6).

In terms of individual identified sites, Dagfinn Skre's excavations by the church at Tjølling, offers a recent archaeological intervention on a place-name attested Norwegian assembly site (2007). Tjølling is derived from the more suggestively titled *Þjóðalyng*. Trenches inserted to the north and north-east of the church revealed cooking pits, hearths and postholes from the mid first millennium AD, the latter highly suggestive of temporary structures (Skre 2007: 397). This locale has recently been revisited by members of The Assembly Project, who have conducted further investigations into what amount to over one thousand cooking pits (Ødegaard *in press*). It can also be compared to the site of Bommestad, also in Vestfold, Norway, which likewise demonstrates profuse numbers of cooking pits. These have been thought to reflect communal and ritualised feasting arrangements (Skre 2007: 399). Skre also sets it, like Kaupang, within a wider landscape of theophoric names, after Brink's earlier schema (Brink 1997), as another means to fix the enduring importance and potential antiquity of the sites. Most interestingly though, Skre (2007: 391) also considers the history and development of the church on the site as an indicator of the presence of a *Þing*, discussing so-called "thing-churches" as analogous to the presence of minsters at Anglo-Saxon estate centres at the time. It is an intriguing prospect, but one that requires further comparanda.

The site of Aspa Löt in Södermanland, Sweden, is documented as a meeting place in the fourteenth century AD, and is notable for its mound, runestone and standing stones, proximate to a river crossing (Sanmark and Semple 2008: 250). Trial trenching and geophysical prospection in the 2000s revealed that there was little to no activity in the direct vicinity of the mound, with the exception of an adjacent road, argued to be that of the royal Eriksgata *(ibid*). This has been linked to the runic description marking the foundation of a *Þing*-place at Bällsta, Uppland, Sweden (Sanmark and Semple 2008: 250; Brink 2004: 211; Brink 2008: 26) to indicate the initiation of new places of assembly in the late tenth and early eleventh century. The seeming non-sepulchral character of the mound excavated at Signhildskulle in Uppland, Sweden, has also been marshalled to reinforce this explanation (Sanmark and Semple 2008; Allerstav 1991). This is in some contrast to Anundshögen in Västmanland, Sweden (Figure 6). This site is set in a far earlier landscape, with a cemetery dating back to the sixth century AD (Sanmark and Semple 2008: 252). Here excavation following earlier geophysical survey determined the presence of cooking pits and post-settings that might represent the former position of wooden posts or standing stones (Sanmark *et al* 2011; Sanmark and Semple 2008). The cooking pits date from either the Roman Iron Age or the Migration Period, while the subsequent post-settings were identified as being either Viking or Vendel period in date (Sanmark *et al* 2011). The excavators (inc. Sanmark 2009: 234), consider these results to represent two types of assembly. The former, represented by Aspa Löt and Bällsta are what are described as “clean sites” (Sanmark and Semple 2008: 250), established at the end of the first millennium AD. Anundshögen on the other hand is older, representing longer term assembly practice in Sweden alongside others such as Kjula ås in Södermanland (Sanmark 2009: 216). In both types – archaic and *de novo* - there are elements of choreography involved to stress their conciliar function. The ingredients of this choreography have been stressed by Brink as being location along a road, a thing mound, a runestone and an avenue of slabs (2004: 208). This set-up describes all of the above sites, but as Sanmark has argued, is based upon limited data and lacks diachronic elements (Sanmark 2009: 206). Indeed it has been argued that it would be more appropriate to treat proximity to a communications node as the

prime signal, rather than relying overly on the aforementioned constellation of attributes *(ibid*: 231).

The flat-topped mound at Anundshögen was identified with the synonymous *þing* by Sune Lindqvist largely on the basis of its profile (Sanmark and Semple 2011: 13). Likewise the significance of Signhildskulle rests not only on its non-sepulchral character but also upon its place as another exemplar of a flat-topped assembly mound (Allerstav 1991). Much the same case is made for Aspa Löt. Firstly, the link between flat-topped mounds and assembly does not rest upon an evidential base sturdy enough to defray charges of circularity. Secondly, and more damningly, sites like Anundshögen are too big for this 'stage' to be practical for public address. The more pertinent issue, as detailed above, concerns the character of those mounds that are associated with assembly sites, and how prominent are the *de novo* foundations indicated by recent fieldwork (Sanmark and Semple 2008).

Finally, recent work at Gamla Uppsala has approached the complex, with its monumental mounds, churches and two major hall buildings from a long-term perspective, examining how a 'central place', like Jelling in Denmark developed an assembly function (Ljungkvist *et al* 2012). The authors argue that the presence of socially-stratified settlement architecture and the appearance of zones of specialised production following the Roman Iron Age are the significant factors that mark its development into a venue of assembly *(ibid*: 574). This interpretation assumes a juridical – and parliamentary aspect to the 'central place' which is reasonable in the case of Gamla Uppsala. Snorri's citation of assembly at Gamla Uppsala (Ljungkvist *et al* 2012: 579) is joined by reference in the Laws of Uppland to an annual fair at the site called the *disting* (Schlyter 1834: 309). There is certainly a greater willingness in Scandinavia to consider seasonal gatherings and 'central places' as arenas of assembly (Callmer 2002).

The presence of enclosures in assembly structures/complexes has been an element in discussion since antiquarians first sought them in Iceland, not least with the

aforementioned court-circles and the *vébond* of the Gulathing in Egil's Saga. However, this mostly concerned discrete structures. More recent archaeological endeavours have detected the presence of monumental enclosures associated with wider complexes, both those considered to be 'central places' and others with a documented record of assembly practice. Recent excavations at Gamla Uppsala have revealed just this, in the form of stone sockets and burnt pits on two connected alignments north of the royal mounds (Arkeologi Gamla Uppsala 2012). Analogous evidence was found in the form of post-settings identified during excavation at Anundshögen by members of The Assembly Project (Sanmark *et al* 2011). The most striking enclosing feature thus far uncovered has been at Jelling in Denmark. Here an enormous wooden enclosure, set as a parallelogram, was found to encompass the monumental mounds of the aforesaid complex, including a ship-setting far larger than previously envisaged (Randsborg 2008). All three examples have been dated to the Vendel period, between the sixth and eighth centuries, and can be argued to bear resemblance to sites such as Tissø in Denmark, both in date and in terms of the manner of enclosure (Jørgensen 2003). Recent excavations at Lilla Ullevi have revealed what has been argued to represent a *viband* (cognate with *vébond)* surrounding the cult-site discovered there (Bäck *et al* 2008). As at Tissø there appears to be quite a difference in levels of activity insofar as the enclosures tend to delimit an abrupt cessation (or commencement depending on direction) of activity, metalworking or otherwise. As with mounds however, it remains that there are still only a small number of compelling examples, but enough to reconsider traditional views of what an assembly site was meant to look like.

2.8.5 The 'central places' of Scandinavia

The 'central places' of Late Iron Age Scandinavia abide within a similar programme of research to that of the 'productive' sites of Anglo-Saxon England, signalled by the advent of popular metal-detecting in the early 1980s (Pestell and Ulmschneider 2000). The discovery of rich assemblages, including ornate glass beakers and Roman siliquae, in numerous southern Scandinavian settlement contexts initially highlighted

the need to review existing conceptions of urban development and trade (Hårdh and Larsson 2002). This however was too narrow a definition as it became clear that they were enmeshed in an intricate 'central' web of functions, exhibiting evidence for ritual, judicial and aristocratic roles (Jørgensen 2003:204). These latter aspects have offered arguably compelling evidence for late Iron Age assembly practices in southern Scandinavia, one with potential comparanda in such sites as Yeavering and Sutton Courtenay in mid-Anglo-Saxon England (Hope-Taylor 1977; Hamerow *et al* 2007). However, the conception of a type-site as a broad nexus of functionality has necessarily engendered methodological difficulties and assembly has too often been assumed while too little supported by the evidence.

Their variety to an extent inhibits precise definition. Thus, the ‘central place’ identified by Lundqvist at Slöinge, Halland Sweden, ostensibly presents a very different aspect to the imposing complex at Gudme, Denmark, as they both do to the enclosed hall and wider complex at Tissø, also in Denmark (Lundqvist 1997; Vang Petersen 1994; Skre 2007: 455; Jørgensen 2003). Indeed Jørgensen has attempted to specify five separate kinds of ‘central place’ (2003: 175-176). Despite their variance, multi-functionality is the common thread to the current conception of the late Iron Age ‘central place’ of southern Scandinavia and this polyvalence arguably manifests at multiple scales, from the imposing hall-buildings through to the surrounding architectural complex and wider landscape. Their identification as focal points of assembly has resulted from the perceived structured divisions of craft-activity, architectural elaboration and prestige goods. Thus, the 'cult-house' at Uppåkra was suffuse with *guldgubber*, gold-foil plaques that appear to depict mythological and cultic imagery (Larsson 2007: 15), while the halls found at Borg in Lofoten and Valsgårde revealed numerous glass shards from luxury vessels (Herschend 1998: 185; Näsman 2000:37). Evidence for specialised and zoned craft-working has been mustered by Christensen at Lejre, identifying an eastern zone of smithing activity in contrast to the substantial longhouses in the west associated with imported soapstone vessels (Christensen 1991: 178-182; Christensen 2007). Evidence for a dedicated smithy has also recently been uncovered by the ongoing excavations at

Gamla Uppsala (Arkeologi Gamla Uppsala 2012). In a similar fashion the hall enclosure at Tissø is relatively free of craft-working activity in contrast to amulets and jewellery (Jørgensen 2003). Instead metalworking debris is found beyond its perimeter – both examples exemplify Frands Herschend's argument that 'central places' tended towards discrete zones of elite display and craft production (2001: 166). This is reinforced by the place of such 'central places' as notable focal points for the wider distribution of bracteates – decorated golden discs that, like the *guldgubber* often depict cultic imagery in north-west Europe (Axboe 1982; Hupfauf 2003; Gaimster 1992). Sharon Ratke and Rudolf Simek have recently argued that there are compelling parallels between the imagery of the *guldgubber* and later medieval depictions of legal and/or physical incapacitation – they thus propose a legal aspect to these gold plates (2006: 263). Callmer argues that such specialisation demanded the support and protection that would engender late Iron Age chiefly assembly (Callmer 2002: 153) Stefan Brink has gone further and indicated toponomastic links to judicial elements, not least in instances of the place-name element *þing*, a term of some importance (see Section 4.2; Brink 2004). This is exemplified by recent excavations some distance away from the emporium at Kaupang in Norway, identifying a hall at Skiringssal – 'shining hall' and a *þing* site at *Þjóðalyng* - two interconnected nodes in a dispersed 'central area' surrounding the *emporium* of Kaupang in southern Norway (Skre 2007).

One of the more recent contributions to our understanding of the monumental and cultic aspects of 'central places' of Scandinavia has come from a renewed programme of excavation at Jelling, Denmark, famous for its twin mounds and "ship-setting" of stones. Widespread trial trenching in its surrounds has revealed not only the presence of a wooden church next to the north mound, but a ship-setting encompassing the north mound, just over 350 metres in length, encompassed itself within a palisaded enclosure of parallelogram form and a number of Trelleborg houses, although no other settlement evidence (Randsborg 2008). This stresses even further the recurrent relationship between mounds, enclosures and cultic foci.

Many of the 'central places' enjoy no such concomitant documentation and instead their assembly attribution is derived from their perceived multifunctionality. The array of attributes they manifest cannot have come about, it is argued, except by the convergence of large numbers of people engaged in specialised but linked activities. If they are assemblies they offer a compelling material counterpart to the numerous documented accounts of the assembly as a nexus of varied activity. However, the 'central place' model is also dangerous; potentially occluding the particulars of these aspects of assembly behind monumental multifunctional locales. It is also vital to indicate that much the same line of argumentation can be deployed in the identification of early medieval urbanism (Sindbaek 2007) – Dagfinn Skre's integration of the *emporium* of Kaupang within a 'central area' should not go without mention (2007). So, it is crucial to set the characteristics of these complexes within far wider spheres of activity, such as the execution sites. Good understanding of 'central places' requires a proportional cognizance of "Peripheral Places". Assembly archaeology demands a landscape perspective.

2.8.6 Summary

This survey of recent archaeological approaches has been by no means comprehensive but it serves to demonstrate an uneven expansion away from strictly site-based mono-disciplinary analyses. It is Adkins and Petchey's 1984 paper on Secklow hundred-mound that marks a significant turning point in the archaeology of English assemblies, heralding early medieval assembly practices as a valid avenue of research in archaeology. After this point there is a slow but noticeable expansion in the range of methodologies used to tackle assemblies and the spatial parameters within which they are set. Both in Driscoll's work at Govan (2003), the re-evaluation of the excavations at Saltwood (Booth *et al* 2011), and Darvill's surveys at Tynwald (2004), cross-media techniques were employed in order to characterise these sites. Since then, Sanmark and Semple have compared and contrasted a number of assembly sites on an international scale, against an existing grain of insular scholarship (2008). The general trend would appear to be of the expansion of

frameworks, in spatial, temporal and methodological terms, but there are problems.

- The datasets currently involved are too small and as such it is difficult to draw substantial inferences from the results of the archaeological fieldwork. While there is no shortage of documented and place-name attested assemblies, gathering them together in a usable format is troublesome while the identification of locations is fraught with such difficulties. Perversely a bigger dataset could well inform future identifications, though this proposition itself relies upon the assumption of identifiable material patterning shadowing assembly practices. Ways need to be found to encompass larger samples of sites without unduly compromising the integrity of the dataset.

- The dispersed nature of some assembly sites, such as the Icelandic *alÞing*, and the wide range of relationships assemblies have with activities in the wider landscape, is not really reflected in the size of the study areas. Practical considerations certainly weigh heavily, so it is vital to find suitably rigorous ways to compare evidence derived from differing sources.

- Earthwork mounds have been a notable feature at each of the interventions discussed. However the very monumentality of the mound presents numerous biases that skew the data, including visibility and rate of survival, before one considers how monumental aspects might obscure other material elements of a given site. This wider dataset cannot as yet support the proposition that mounds predominate on early medieval assembly sites. More attention needs to be given to assembly sites that are seemingly mound-less.

- Finally a firm interdisciplinary methodology is crucial but difficult to achieve. For instance Pantos (2001: 15-16) has pointed out the disputed hundredal character of Blyth Hill in Adkins and Petchey's list of comparanda (1984) and criticism has been offered above about their use of a debate in constitutional history to set a tenth-century date for the creation of purpose built hundredal mounds. Great care needs

to be taken with the locational certainty of toponymic data and narratives of both primary and secondary historic material.

Ideally, an interdisciplinary methodology is required to tackle a cross-media dataset consisting of historic records, toponyms and material traces. These need to be set within a spatial framework of sufficient size so that more than speculative conclusions can be drawn from the resultant analysis. This needs to take into account not only wider patterns of activity in the landscape, but also the long-term chronology of said landscape.

2.9 Concluding remarks

The hundred of the Anglo-Saxon lawcodes emerged in the tenth century as a consolidating strategy of earlier judicial and territorial practice under probable Carolingian influence. It has clear juridical links to the near if not contemporaneous development of the burghal structure while enjoying a more ambiguous relationship to land tenure and, further north, the wapentake. While this latter construct appears to be treated as functionally identical to the hundred there is good reason to consider this better evidence of indirect southerly engagement with northern conciliar practices. The subsequent reception of each, both by twelfth-century officials of the Exchequer and also later historians, strongly underlines the sense that these institutions were poorly understood at all except a local level and that this had been the situation for time immemorial. It was a manifestation of the interplay between local custom and state formation. As such the seemingly divergent narratives of abiding Germanic custom versus intensifying (and indeed extensifying) royal power are not in fact in conflict. When one considers the hundred and wapentake as multi-faceted constructs operating at varying levels the problems cease.

Place-name studies of assembly nomenclature have served better to indicate the variety of toponymic elements present in the names of hundreds and wapentakes than they have at analysing the form, function and development of related conciliar

practices. However, toponomastic studies have been crucial in indicating the presence of assembly-attesting names both in close proximity to documented examples and in the wider landscape and have thus been vital in re-orientating assembly studies towards a landscape focus. Archaeological approaches to assembly practices have been rather late by comparison. Assembly, being a creature of text without a confident material fingerprint, demands that archaeological investigation follows in the wake of historical and toponomastic identifications and as such is subject to all the same assumptions and vagaries. More recent work urges broad-scale excavation and survey alongside consideration of the total archaeological landscape of the documented and place-name attested assembly sites, a matter discussed below in Chapter Three.

Chapter Three. Methodology

As stated in Chapter One, the main aim of this thesis is (1) to interrogate the development of assembly practices in the Northern Danelaw in the early medieval period. This focuses in particular on the sub-shire units of hundreds and wapentakes, administrative constructs that first emerge in the Anglo-Saxon historical record in the mid-tenth century. Within this theme, the thesis also seeks (2) to investigate the extent to which Scandinavian conciliar practices were imposed and the extent to which they reflect cross-cultural influences on an existing schema of territorial assemblies. Finally it also seeks (3) to determine the extent to which the forms of documented and place-name attested assembly sites, and the practices associated therein, can be identified and analysed through historical, place-name and archaeological evidence.

To achieve these objectives a GIS database and accompanying gazetteer has been compiled. The former synthesises the topographical, territorial and archaeological evidence that characterises both the assembly sites identified in the three historic ridings of Yorkshire and the wapentake and hundredal territories within which they are situated. The gazetteer in turn applies scrutiny to the etymology of the nomenclature of these territories and both the historically and place-name attested assembly sites before compiling and analysing the available historical evidence that relates to both the identified assembly sites and the hundred and wapentake territories of Yorkshire. Chapter Four presents the findings from consideration of the early medieval historical material for Yorkshire and the wider area of Northumbria, while Chapters Five and Six concentrate on synthesising the results of the analyses of the topographical and archaeological contexts of the assembly sites and territories on the GIS database.

The analyses resultant of the GIS database and gazetteer have then served to characterise the form, function and development of assembly practices in the study area. Given that the hundred and wapentake assemblies of Anglo-Saxon England as

yet lack a compelling type-site, this tripartite schema of character has been extended both to the relevant territorial units and the wider surrounds of the identified locations of assembly. This latter concern is crucial in a situation of generally poor survival and scant investigation, while also serving to situate what is known of assembly practices within the wider historic landscape.

3.1 Historical data

Historical data has been utilised in several ways in the compilation of the GIS database. Firstly, the bounds of the study area itself have been determined through the source material available from the eleventh-century returns of the Yorkshire Domesday (Figure 7). The vills have been grouped according to their respective sub-shire units of hundreds, wapentakes and analogues, e.g. Craven (**CRA-0**), and related to township and parish boundaries regressed using the First Edition Ordnance Survey maps and earlier tithe and estate documents (Kain and Oliver 2001; Southall and Burton 2004). This has generated a contiguous lattice of hierarchical administrative units, running down from the shire of York to its three Ridings and thence to their respective sub-shire hundreds and wapentakes. The presence of the Domesday 'satellite' known as the Yorkshire Summary, an eleventh-century listing of the Yorkshire returns by hundred/wapentake rather than by fee (cf Roffe 1991b), has meant that the reconstructed territorial extents have been reconfirmed.

After this, the Domesday hundred and wapentake sites, and other examples of post-Conquest assembly practices, have been incorporated within the database, from Close Rolls, Inquisitions, manorial records and other documents, in order to assist in the identification of assemblies and to interrogate instances of long-term conciliar activity. Assembly related activities, such as the location of post-conquest market charters, have also been mapped. The historically attested early medieval Northumbrian assemblies and related activities considered in Section 4.1.5 have also been identified geographically with varying degrees of success by comparison with existing place-names and supporting geographical evidence in the written source

material. Finally the sections on historical evidence within the gazetteer for each hundred/wapentake unit, historically attested site and place-name attested site have sought early medieval evidence where possible, but have otherwise synthesised later medieval material of relevance to conciliar practices derived from the Inquisitions and other historical sources noted immediately above. The following sections on historical data concern some of the finer points in the process of consolidating this material within the GIS database.

3.1.1 Reconstructing the Domesday units

Reconstructing the bounds of the Domesday hundreds and wapentakes for Yorkshire is not an entirely straightforward process. The Domesday returns are divided into four sections. The first three are of a type with other county returns, indicating the holdings of the principal town(s) – York in this case – then counting holdings by tenure, and then disputed claims. Within this feudal framework the manors and dependent vills of each landholder were then organised by riding and then by hundred or wapentake. This system of organisation is both implicit within the original text, and occasionally explicit with requisite subheadings. It should also be noted that the Claims in the tertiary section of Domesday also make intermittent mention of wapentakes, their juries and instances of jurisdiction. By identifying Domesday vills with modern locations, the general morphology of these eleventh-century records can be reconstructed. In Yorkshire as in other counties there are omissions, duplications and ambiguous entries (Brooks 1966; Finn 1972). Yorkshire is, however, unique in possessing the Domesday Satellite known as the Summary, which organises all the vills of Yorkshire by riding and hundred/wapentake irrespective of the feudal arrangement. Within each unit the vills are frequently listed on a geographical basis redolent of an itinerary (Maxwell 1950; 1962a; 1962b; Figure 8). This has greatly improved the geographical resolution and identification of vills beyond what can be expected elsewhere in the country (Roffe 1991b: 243). It is arguable that this facility has rendered the Yorkshire sub-shire units as among the earliest and most accurate available outside the corpus of Anglo-Saxon charters *(ibid*).

Rather than leaving the hundreds and wapentakes as partially defined point clusters in the GIS, these have instead been extrapolated into polygonal units (e.g. Figure 111). This has been established by linking identified Domesday vills to the extents of later-recorded eponymous townships - in some cases where a township or analogous unit was otherwise juxtaposed with an identified Domesday vill. This follows the lead set by Margaret Faull and Marie Stinson in the Phillimore edition of the Yorkshire Domesday (1986). The Alecto edition of Domesday has likewise endeavoured to map sub-shire boundaries (Williams 1992). This is not without problems. In many cases the township and parish will share the same (or recognisable) name as the Domesday vill, but in many cases this is not clear cut. Secondly it is not possible to comprehensively chart and evaluate the boundary changes that will have taken place over this period of 750 or so years. There is plenty of anecdotal phenomena to mark intervening changes, not least that of interdigitation – interlocking 'fingers' of land indicative of the piecemeal reclamation of waste, woodland and other terrain by bordering townships and parishes (Winchester 1990: 44). In the vast majority of cases the earliest contiguous set of township/parish territorial units comes from the first edition Ordnance Survey maps of the mid nineteenth century. In some cases further map regression is possible, via earlier estate and tithe maps where they are available. This earlier evidence has been reverse-engineered in Kain and Oliver's nationwide dataset of township and parish boundaries – it is the GIS iteration of this dataset that has been used to anchor the Domesday vills (Kain and Oliver 2001; Southall and Burton 2004).

3.1.2 The geographical identification of historically attested sites

In the great majority of cases the only evidence to link an historical attestation of assembly to a known location is through its nomenclature and the methods of toponomastics. There are also a number of occasions where there is supporting spatial evidence. The abortive battle recorded by Bede at *Wilfaresdune* is a case in point, described as taking place “almost ten miles distant from the village called

Cataract towards the north-west" (Colgrave and Mynors 1969: 256-7). That said, its location has been a matter of some debate (Pickles 2009). Others refer to larger zones, such as the Battle of the *Winwaed*, but this leads to problems. In this case site identifications have been predicated upon murkier divinations, an unclear confluence of topographic considerations and later folk traditions in the catchment of the river Went (cf Walker 1948; Breeze 2004). Some locations can arguably be inferred from their connection to others. The ordination of Tilbert as Bishop of Hexham at *Ulfeswelle* in 781 could indeed imply proximity of this place to Hexham. However, one must also note the ordination of Peohtwine as bishop of Lindisfarne at *Aelfet* in 762, argued by Allen Mawer (1920: 75) to coincide with the area around St Oswald's church in the city of Durham. If this attribution is prudent, one cannot assume proximity out of hand. One should also note that *Ulfeswelle* shares its latinised name, *Lupofontana*, with a Roman/Byzantine fort documented by Procopius in the Balkans (Stewart *et al* 1886). While it is not straightforward to suggest it was situated near to Hexham, there is circumstantial evidence in favour of the re-use of a Roman site.

While some assemblies are never named, they may yet be inferred. The wapentake of Buckrose (**BUC-0)** in the East Riding is presumed to have been named after an unknown focal standing cross. In this case a number of place names containing the element **Bukki* have been identified by Hugh Smith as possible candidates, but none are decisive (1937: 119). Likewise Harthill of Harthill wapentake (**HAR-0)**, again in the East Riding, is lost but is considered proximate to modern Market Weighton (**WEI-1**) on account of post-Conquest descriptions (Anderson 1934: 19).

These examples signal the broader issues associated with the topographic identification of both historically and onomastically attested assemblies which afflict all geographically based place-name studies. Namely, names may change, they may shift and they may proliferate. Identifying these issues for a given example can be difficult unless there is copious and long-running background documentation available. When relevant here, such local conditions are recorded in the Appendices.

The mapping of assemblies and assembly-related activity from historical records can be divided into four categories

1. Identified focal points of assembly and related activities in the landscape
2. Identified bounded zones of activity in the landscape
3. Proximate zones of assembly in the landscape
4. Lost locations

Categories one and two can be straightforwardly mapped in accompaniment with qualifiers determining the level of confidence of this attribution. These consist of focal points, such as Osgoldcross, West Riding (**OGC-1**), and focal areas, including settlements (e.g. Howden [**HOW-1**], East Riding) and significant land-forms (e.g. Fingay Hill [**FGY-1**], North Riding). Notably Pantos utilised an ordinal scale from 1 to 5 to indicate the degree of locational confidence (Pantos 2001: 29). In terms of this project this system was considered rather unclear: unit assessments are instead accompanied by descriptive qualifiers. Pantos' arbitrary schema is not diachronic – it does not, for instance, distinguish between toponymic links, early medieval and later medieval historical accounts referring to relevant focal points and areas. Given the widespread usage, by Anderson (1934; 1939a; 1939b) and Smith (1928; 1937; 1961a-f), of historically documented later medieval assemblies to identify the location of their Domesday namesakes, and divergences in the patterning of the toponymic and archaeological records, descriptive qualifiers were deemed more appropriate for the present study. Locations that are less certain (Category 3) are indicated in the GIS by shaded zones of appropriate size to allow for the level of uncertainty present. Descriptive qualifiers are likewise applied to this category – for instance with *Tyngoudale* (**TYNG-1**) south-west of Guisborough, no better defined than the vale immediately south of Hutton Lowcross (Figure 9; Brown 1889: 171-5). Lost locations are inevitably poorly qualified – e.g. the Buckrose of Buckrose wapentake, East Riding (**BUC-0)**. They are noted where relevant in the descriptive text of the unit assessments.

It can be difficult to map these locations diachronically without supporting evidence as to their endurance. The vast majority of sites are mentioned only once, making it difficult to determine whether the location was host to a one-off event or functioned as a more routine arena for a given activity. Catterick is a rare example of the latter within the study area, recorded by the Northern Recension of the Anglo-Saxon chronicle as the scene of two weddings and an eighth-century hall burning (Swanton 2000). The place is also mentioned in Bede and is associated with the battle at *Catraeth* in the late sixth-century Welsh poem *Y Gododdin* (Koch 1997). Longevity for a given site is not assumed, instead the spatial convergence with other events and forms of activity is recorded and used to show its enduring importance as a locale over time.

3.2 Place-name data

Alongside historically attested assemblies there are a number of identifiable assembly-attesting place names in the study area which carry no known historical connection (Figure 10; Table 8). Spellow Clump (**SPC-1)**, north-west of Great Driffield (**DRI-1**) in the East Riding, is a good example. The inclusion of the Old English name element **spell* – meaning speech – suggests an assembly yet no conciliar matters are recorded in relation to this site. Other well-known variants include the Old Norse *Þing* and the Old English *(ge)mot*. The varied problems of topographic identification have been summarised above (Section 3.1.2). This section discusses how these have been integrated into the present mapping scheme.

Aliki Pantos and Oliver O'Grady's recent studies of assembly nomenclature gave particular prominence to assembly-attesting names. Each set out parameters for the name elements that they considered valid within their data-frame of place names. Pantos selected five within central and southern England. These were the Old English *(ge)mot*, *maeðel*, *spell*, *sp(r)aec* and *Þing*, the latter element shared, and more prominent, in Old Norse (Pantos 2001: 31-56). O'Grady meanwhile identified a wider

range of elements in Scotland, including the Gaelic *comhdhail* and *tulach* (2008: 125-6, 144-5), due to the increasing influence of this language and culture over the early medieval period. On both occasions the distribution of name elements was surveyed in their respective areas of study and the resultant identifications subjected to further scrutiny. This was a straightforward process of determining the validity or otherwise of a given site. Both studies drew upon the increasing influence of archaeological landscape perspectives in their own work. Yet both remained site-based with the landscape considered as an aspect of the site. The present study instead takes the territorial unit of the hundred or wapentake rather than assembly site as its prime unit, and therefore a somewhat divergent approach is required in both mapping and qualifying assembly-attesting place-names.

Like historically attested names, assembly-attesting place names can be divided into a number of categories. Map regression of a modern name may confirm the presence of assembly-attesting place-name elements, e.g. Dingledow (**DNG-1**) at Langbaurgh ridge, North Riding (**LAN-1**; Figure 11). Likewise a documented name may be linked by further textual sources to a modern place-name that has undergone minor, major or indeed wholesale change, e.g. Morthen (**MORT-1**), earlier *mor-Þing*, West Riding. With declining confidence, the topographic cues and textual context of a name bearing an attestation may have encouraged a latter identification, such as the occasional link drawn between the early medieval ringed complex at Thwing and the wapentake of Dickering (**DICK-0;** OE *dic-hring* – Dyke Ring) in the East Riding (Emett 1993: 139). Some are merely lost, known only by parish, shire or sub-shire unit. The criteria and confidence qualifiers are applied in much the same fashion as for historically attested assemblies. It remains to briefly consider the potential for chronological differentiation in assembly-attesting place names. The issues of a chronology of *-ing* type names are well rehearsed (Dodgson 1966; Gelling 1978). The suggestion that pagan names signify earlier nomenclature also meets with much scepticism (Gelling 1978: 110; Hines 1997: 386). Clusters of Old Norse names can be used however, to indicate naming and renaming strategies underway in the latter part of the period.

3.3 Archaeological data

In order to set the landscape of the early medieval assembly and assembly unit within a broader temporal framework, a large range of archaeological data has been mapped, stretching from prehistory into the later medieval period. Data derived from the National Monuments Record, more specifically from English Heritage's *Archives and Monuments Information England* dataset, can be divided broadly into monuments and events. The category of monuments concerns all recorded upstanding, buried and destroyed archaeological sites. It also includes findspots and thus can range from a coin to a castle. Events meanwhile refer to all archaeological investigations and interventions, irrespective of a positive 'hit'. It remains to provide a broad outline of what has been included by chronological sequence. Due to uneven coverage between the National Monuments Record and the county Historic Environment Records it is necessary to consult both in order to establish a working picture of the present state of the archaeological record. The following passages detail what archaeological elements have been included and excluded from the resultant maps.

The inclusion of pre-Roman material has been limited to those sites that would still have possessed a monumental character, even if only partially upstanding, in the early medieval period. Among others this includes all upstanding earth- and stone-workings in the present day, such as barrows, hillforts, enclosed settlements and rock carvings. Where there are reasonable grounds to consider a cropmark representative of a ploughed out prehistoric monument, i.e. a circular cropmark in a known barrow cemetery, this has likewise been included (always with reference to the immediate spatial context). Other cropmarks are only considered when they exist in compelling relation with other forms of archaeological data or assembly signifiers. Finally, this includes natural formations that have previously been identified as monumental, such as Jenny Twigg and her Daughter Tib, two natural orthostats near Kirkby Malzeard, North Yorkshire (Palmer and Radley 1961).

The Romano-British and early medieval corpora of material are instead mapped comprehensively, subject to sufficient spatial resolution provided by the NMR or relevant HER. In the introductory chapter it was noted that the relationship between Romano-British archaeology and early medieval assembly practices had been fundamentally under-explored with much of recent assembly research taking place in regions that were not witness to significant Roman infrastructure (Fitzpatrick 2004b; Sanmark 2009). While Ivan Margary's system of Roman roads has been mapped subject to modification from more recent discoveries, it has been very difficult to draw up analogous land communications for the early and later medieval periods (Margary 1967; Hutton 2011: 122-6). As such, connections between assembly locales and land communications have been tackled on a case-by-case basis. Finally there is recurrent circumstantial evidence for a connection, at least in place-name terms, between Romano-British sites and later assemblies, exemplified by Burghshire (**BUR-0**) in the West Riding (named after the Roman town of Aldborough; Smith 1961e: 5) and the structuring influence of the city of York itself.

The inclusion of later medieval material does require some justification. Monuments and events from this period have been selected for a number of reasons. The first of these is the potential to reflect longer (read pre-Conquest) trends in the landscape. The most striking example of this is to be found in Yorkshire's churches. The vast majority boast fabric that dates from the twelfth century at the earliest (Faull and Moorhouse 1981), yet numerous examples incorporate early medieval architectural fragments, indicating previous ecclesiastical activity on or in close proximity to the present church (Lang 1991). Elements of continuity can be found in later medieval settlement archaeology. Wharram Percy, in the East Riding, has become a key site in medieval settlement research (Milne and Richards 1992), revealing underlying late Saxon settlement. Significant communications nodes have also been mapped. They may also reflect long-term nodes in the landscape. The medieval bridges of Yorkshire are also arguably the best source of dateable evidence for nodal points in land communications throughout the medieval era (Harrison 2004). Essentially, assembly

practices comprise an element of continuity between the earlier and later medieval periods and so significant stress is placed in turn upon the later evidence.

3.3.1 Biases in the archaeological record

Individual research agendas form a conspicuous bias in the range of archaeological data recorded in the study area. The best known regional examples come from the barrow excavations of John Mortimer and William Greenwell in the mid to late nineteenth century (Mortimer and Sheppard 1905; Greenwell 1877). At a national level Pevsner's *Buildings of England* series (e.g. Leach and Pevsner 2009) has raised the prominence of churches in the record while the more recent *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture* has granted pre-Conquest sculpture unprecedented exposure (e.g. Lang 1991; 2001; Coatsworth 2008). The focus placed on each of these has greatly increased understanding of these subjects, despite their paucity. The entire corpus of known early medieval archaeology in the wapentake of Staincross, West Riding (**STC-0**), for example, consists of half a dozen sculpture fragments (Coatsworth 2008). It must also be noted that in places these studies generate their own biases. Pevsner's survey is in places treated as a record of English medieval churches when it in fact confines itself to upstanding fabric, and even then, fabric of the latest church to be built on a given site. These studies are also susceptible to environmental and technical biases. Jean Le Patourel's survey of moated sites (1973) has raised the prominence of this type of site, yet the prevalence of moated sites in the Vale of York and Holderness is likely due to the ancient marshy environment in these lowland regions.

Technical biases are of course driven by the pace of technology. In this sense the Portable Antiquities Scheme can be considered to have radically changed current understandings of the English landscape, though data varies in quality and intensity between regions. This is discussed below (Section 3.3.1). Earlier biases are generated by human agency in terms of surveys/inspected sites and object identification. Mortimer and Greenwell's prodigious output was contingent upon the very different

socio-economic regime in place in their Victorian world which led to their intensive programmes of work, targeting highly visible monuments in a period before advances in survey and archaeological databasing (Giles 2006).

Societal and natural environmental factors indubitably have the largest impact. Restricted access to land will necessarily reduce the data output, though in some cases it may lead to better preservation. Urbanism not only limits archaeological inspection but has also hastened destruction and as a consequence instigated an extraordinarily large body of recent archaeological work. Since the inception of Planning Policy Guidance Note 16 in 1989 developer-funded archaeology has dominated new discoveries. The city of York is a special instance with seven Areas of Archaeological Importance where all developments must be subject to archaeological evaluation (Aitchison 2000). In a region where the majority of supporting evidence for Scandinavian influence has come from place-names (Fellows-Jensen 1972), this has been a very useful counterbalance. As the name implies the distribution of this work has been heavily constrained by the pattern of development. In each case the distribution of developer-funded archaeological projects will be outlined for a given unit.

Another major factor is land use. Woodland occludes much and hinders most kinds of survey, with a knock-on down-turn in follow-up archaeological interventions. Arable farming and the deep plough are destroying vast amounts of the as yet undiscovered archaeological resource. Conversely this also acts as the prime resource for metal-detectorists submitting discoveries to the Portable Antiquities Scheme (Naylor and Richards 2010). Recently, Dominic Powlesland *et al* has introduced the Vale of Pickering, within the study area, as an example of a landscape where aggregate-bearing geology, and thus prized locations for industrial extraction, also appear to correlate with some of the most intense and long-term foci of past settlement (2006).

Many of the natural factors that impede access to the archaeological record also

shadow high concentrations of archaeological activity. The fertile alluvial deposits built up in the catchment of rivers like the Swale will swiftly conceal archaeological remains in what would have been a focus of settlement in the early medieval period. The poor upland soils of the Wolds and the Dales have encouraged husbandry and discouraged the plough and have thus resulted in significant preservation in an area of low settlement activity. These are two of several instances where preservation and accessibility have been in inverse proportion to the concentration and amount of activity and settlement. In each report (see Appendices) local conditions are noted.

3.3.2 Geographical accuracy of NMR and HER data

The positional accuracy of National Monument Record and Historic Environment Record data varies for a number of reasons. Poor reporting is the main reason, derived from antiquarian and later local discoveries. Clerical error is another. Some sites are historically or commercially sensitive; liable to attract night hawkers or unwanted attention of other kinds. There are also occasional structural deficiencies in the nature of reports. Grid references for the many and widely spaced discoveries on a pipeline section are often given simply for the bounds of the intervention, which may extend for many kilometres. As a result, wherever possible, eight figure Ordnance Survey National Grid Reference co-ordinates have been sought (ideally ten), extending to alternate lines of inquiry where these have not been readily available.

3.3.3 Other sources of archaeological data

The databases of the National Monuments Record and Historic Environment Records have been reinforced with data from third party sources. Some of these, such as Pevsner's *Buildings of England* series (e.g. Leach and Pevsner 2009) and Audrey Meaney's *Gazetteer of Early Anglo-Saxon Burial Sites* (1964) are fully subsumed. More recent work, such as Jo Buckberry's survey of early medieval mortuary practice in Yorkshire, may not necessarily have been fully incorporated (Buckberry 2004).

There is no effective way to determine whether a given dataset has been linked in to the appropriate databases. As such the existing data from the NMR and HERs has been checked against all accessible sources for early medieval archaeological material. In a similar fashion this material has also been checked against the content of the *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*.

3.3.4 Portable Antiquities Scheme

The value of metal detecting to our understanding of the past, not least the early medieval period, has only been admitted relatively recently in archaeological circles, not least through the attention given to the so-called 'productive' sites (see Section 2.8.3) and the high profile discovery of the Staffordshire Hoard (Leahy and Bland 2009). The rehabilitation of metal detecting as a vital line of early medieval archaeological inquiry, and the utility of the data derived, can be laid largely at the door of the Portable Antiquities Scheme (PAS) and its sister project the Early Medieval Coin corpus (EMC). It is already producing fascinating results through such projects as VASLE (Viking and Anglo-Saxon Landscape and Economy) (Richards *et al* 2009). There remain however striking evidential constraints and as a consequence certain questions need to be asked when viewing this data in terms of an assembly perspective.

The PAS time-frame is wide ranging and early medieval material makes up only a significant minority of its database. It is abundantly clear however that it has added substantially to the amount of material evidence for this period, as Leahy has demonstrated in Lincolnshire (2000; 2004), Ulmschneider in Hampshire (2010) and Margeson in Norfolk (Margeson 1996). This has revealed a far wider spread of activity, economic and otherwise, throughout the mid-Saxon period, effectively refuting Richard Hodges' thesis of monopolising emporia (Ulmschneider 2002: 234; Hodges 1982). In particular it has provided a far stronger material component for Anglo-Scandinavian influence and activity, a notoriously difficult creature to pin down in archaeological terms (Leahy 2004: 463). Aside from the sheer quantity of finds, the

PAS has assisted in identifying sites and focal zones that have hitherto been invisible to other forms of survey and remote sensing (Richards and Naylor 2010: 338-341). At Cottam in the East Riding of Yorkshire, it has enhanced understandings of existing cropmark information (Richards 1999; 2000; 2001). This allowed a finer grained view of chronological differentiation between two metalwork clusters, a consequence of detailed metalwork typologies and numismatic analysis *(ibid*). Follow-up excavation revealed that this 'productive' site was in fact a ninth-century settlement of unexceptional character (Richards 1999b). At a broader scale, data from the PAS and EMC has served to balance out an archaeological bias derived from targeted interventions (Thomas 2000: 238). The veracity and composition of hoards can better be assessed in terms of the wider distributions of finds (Booth 2000: 92; Naylor 2007: 47) – as wider patterns of economic activity can be perceived.

It is the 'productive' site that has drawn the most attention. The functionality of this category has however not been settled convincingly (cf Pestell and Ulmschneider 2003: *passim*). Market and fair attributions are founded on only nascent understandings of the archaeological character of ephemeral activity in the early medieval period (cf Ulmschneider 2000; 2002) and on the type of landscape observation not dissimilar to those deployed by Meaney for the hundred sites of Cambridgeshire, accompanied by the same issues (see Section 3.3.4; 1993; 1995; 1997).

It is clear that, much akin to the NMP, PAS analyses remain at a very early stage. Detected finds exhibit a series of biases quite beyond more universal processes of taphonomy. Detector-equipment itself favours certain grounds, such as sandy soil (Leahy 2000: 51). It can also be set to ignore ferrous materials among others *(ibid*). The activity of detectorists is significantly constrained by the modern landscape and can be seen to cluster to an extent around the modern road network (Blackburn 2003). There is little in built-up areas yet often a corresponding 'halo' of activity around cities and conurbations, reflecting the residential patterns of detectorists over historic distributions (Richards and Naylor 2010: 342). There are wider regional

biases with concentrations such as in East Anglia and the East Riding of Yorkshire counterbalancing a notable dearth in the South West *(ibid*). It can be difficult to discern historic biases from modern issues of land access and local reporting traditions. Richards and Naylor have attempted to tackle this to an extent by noting significant variation in the distribution of early medieval finds against the total PAS and EMC corpora, as they also argue for an historic bias against land more than 100 metres above sea level. These are however only observations in broad brush stroke. It remains that any significant concentration of material needs to be compared both to the wider distribution of early medieval material and the wider distribution of detected artefacts in general. The problematic earlier comparisons between 'productive' sites also guard against straightforward comparisons of metalwork concentrations with other forms of excavated and other archaeological phenomena in the landscape.

Thus, PAS and EMC data present themselves here as ambiguous categories of data. The thesis seeks to look not only at proposed assembly sites, but also at their associated units and the wider context of historic activity in their surrounding landscapes. The more substantive observations of projects such as VASLE are at the regional and national scale - there are difficulties in straightforwardly down-scaling such inferences to the level of the hundred and wapentake. Indeed this very problem was approached by VASLE through 'fingerprints'; assessments of the relative proportions of assemblages at recorded 'productive' sites in order to produce smaller-scale outlines of character. These will be considered in light of those concentrations occurring in the study area of this thesis though this must still be undertaken with caution. Naylor (2007: 52) has observed that, while concentrations of ninth- and tenth-century coinage can represent settlement, as at Cottam B (Richards 1999b), earlier examples when coinage was less diffuse may be regionally significant. In short, mapping will focus on significant concentrations of coinage and metalwork.

3.4 Research methods

The GIS database is founded upon the underlying topographic and environmental character of the study area. Elevation has been derived from the 90 metre Satellite Radar Topography Mission digital elevation model for regional maps. At a closer scale of analysis 30 metre resolution data from the Advanced Spaceborne Thermal Emission and Reflection Radiometer mission has been used. Bedrock and drift geology is represented by 1:625, 000 scale maps from the British Geological Survey (Figures 12 & 13) while the riverine system displayed has been derived from Ordnance Survey Strategy Data. In tandem with changes in the water table resulting from subsequent drainage and relevant studies describing the prior landscape (Wrathmell and Roberts 2000; Van de Noort and Ellis 1997; Van De Noort 2004; Fleming 2010), as much information has been given as is available for the disposition of the landscape in the early medieval period.

The next section describes the internal and external morphology of the hundred or wapentake territorial bounds. This has involved recounting the course of the boundary along rivers, between hilltops, along marker cairns and of course through regions without clear delineation. Boundary character has been used in the past to argue for later manorial as opposed to earlier geographical bounds (Maxwell 1962; Everitt 1986; Kemble 1851). Much like Desmond Bonney (1966) and Ann Goodier's (1984) work on boundary barrows in Wiltshire, this sort of temporal model can be difficult to substantiate. It does however indicate differences in character, which wider comparisons may well be able to expand upon. The nature of internal boundaries has also been considered, with particular attention given to instances of interdigitation and multi-township convergence (Winchester 2000).

The historical development of the unit and any identified assembly sites have been detailed as fully as possible in the gazetteer. For the extents of the hundreds and wapentakes, Domesday Book normally marks the earliest point of reference. Subsequent developments can be traced in later cadastral surveys and other

accounts, such as the *Testa de Nevill* (Eyre and Strahan 1807) and the *Registrum Honoris de Richmond* (Gale 1722). The documented history of purported assembly sites and units has been traced through their appearances in charters and narrative sources from both the early and later medieval period.

Following this, a summary of archaeological activity in the assembly unit or assembly site has been presented in the gazetteer. The disposition of early medieval material has received the most in-depth treatment. Thus, coin finds and sculpture fragments have been related to wider patterns found in the EMC and the *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture* (Blackburn 2003; Lang 1991; 2001; Coatsworth 2008). Likewise find-spot clusters, as in the 'productive' sites, have been compared to the 'fingerprints' developed by the VASLE project (Richards *et al* 2009). This has been accompanied by historically and onomastically attested signifiers of assembly. Possible relationships with prehistoric and Romano-British activity have then been discussed. The range of later medieval material is more restricted, noting settlements, churches and monasteries alongside bridges and other key communication nodes. Relationships with prior elements of the landscape known through archaeological, historical and place-name evidence have again been discussed. The main significance in the later medieval material is to be found in the documentary accounts of post-Conquest meetings. Not only do they indicate instances of continuity and change, in some cases they have provided vital clues as to the location of a wapentake meeting place (for instance the *Wapentach Ferme* (**STC-2**) mentioned in a rental agreement of c.1300 near Barnby Hall in Staincross wapentake (**STC-0**; National Archives 2013: SpSt/4/11/9/9; Figure 15).

Having outlined both the internal and external historical character of the hundreds and wapentakes attention then turns to the sites of assembly and assembly-related activity themselves. Each has received a more detailed description of their surrounding archaeological, toponomastic and historical character.

3.5 Concluding remarks

The results of this survey are collated in the Appendices, which assess the assembly sites and territories of Yorkshire by riding. Material for each wapentake and hundred is divided by category into etymological, historical, topographic and archaeological information. Attention is given to the units as stand-alone constructs, the sites of assembly and also the sites of assembly-attesting place-names not otherwise associated with the hundredal schema. In the North and West Riding these reports are organised by wapentake. This is more problematic in the East Riding where hundreds and wapentakes are not only present but also relate closely yet uneasily to one another. In this instance it has been decided to use the East Riding hundreds as the major organisational principle as these enjoy the earliest record. Accounts of the wapentakes and those sites directly connected to the wapentake are then considered subsequently. Chapter Four will now consider the disposition of assemblies in the study area through historical documentation and toponymic evidence. Chapters Five and Six will then synthesise the topographic and archaeological character of the assembly sites in the study area.

Chapter Four. Historic and toponymic sources for assembly practices in early medieval Northumbria

The surviving evidence for assembly practices in the region of early medieval Northumbria can be divided into three distinct categories:

1. contemporary or later documentary accounts pertaining to assembly.
2. place-name evidence, encompassing toponymic elements derived from documented assemblies and assembly-related activities, in addition to place-name attestations of assembly sites and practices, such as the Old English *mot* and Old English / Old Norse *þing*.
3. the archaeological record

This chapter now reviews categories 1 and 2 above for the study area in question.

4.1 Documentary sources for assembly practices in early medieval Northumbria

The documentary evidence can be divided into narrative sources, charters and surveys. Narrative sources are dominated by the writings of Bede, acknowledging his prime importance to any understanding of events in seventh- and eighth-century Northumbria, and the influence of his writings, most significantly the *Historia Ecclesiastica* (Colgrave and Mynors 1969) on later scholarship (Brown 1997: 164; Bately 1979). Later sources are likewise indebted to the varied recensions of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (Swanton 2000) and in particular the influence of the now lost Northern Annals (Hart 2006: lxxi). The pre-Conquest narrative sources are frustrating but intriguing, presenting a partial picture but one nonetheless that signals the presence of enduring locales of assembly and assembly-related activity. The small body of charters for pre-Conquest Northumbria offer little in the way of attested assembly locations but do provide information on linked landholdings, offering a potential route to reconstruct pre-Domesday territories potentially entangled in administrative systems of assembly. The penultimate section of the discussion on

narrative sources centres on the surviving survey data, primarily from Domesday Book (Section 4.1.3; Faull and Stinson 1986). Unlike the fragmentary and partial nature of the preceding narrative sources, Domesday presents a seemingly systematised hierarchical network of linked territories and assemblies, and thus forms the lynchpin of the present project. However it is not without its problems as we shall see. Section 4.15 concludes with an introduction to a range of documented types of assembly and assembly-related activities for Northumbria

4.1.1 Narrative sources

The *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum,* written by the Venerable Bede at Jarrow in the early eighth century, dominates the historical narrative for the earlier Anglo-Saxon period (Colgrave and Mynors 1969). Divided into five books, it outlines the conversion of the English to an orthodox Christianity in accordance with the doctrines of the Roman church. It recounts events in Britain from Julius Caesar's expedition through to the elevation of Tatwine as archbishop of Canterbury in 731, although relevant detail commences only with the Gregorian mission to England in 596 (Colgrave and Mynors 1969: 73). Its influence is matched by its provenance – over 150 manuscripts are known to exist, including the St Petersburg and Moore manuscripts, thought to have been produced at Wearmouth-Jarrow in the eighth century soon after Bede's death in 734 (Higham 2006: 21). As such, despite minor variation between the *c* and *m* type texts identified by Charles Plummer (1896: xciv), the text as it stands is considered to be much as Bede intended (Colgrave and Mynors 1969: xxxix).

In his introduction Bede writes "should history tell of good men and their good estate, the thoughtful listener is spurred on to imitate the good" (Colgrave and Mynors 1969: 3), presenting a seeming 'mirror to princes' in its narrative of conversion and salvation (Brown 2009: 106). In title it alludes to the *Historia Ecclesiastica* of Eusebius (Williamson 1989), and its contents are arguably structured around the central drama of the Synod of Whitby (Farmer 1978: 27). However, in contrast to Hincmar's

later *De Ordine Palatii* (Gross and Schieffer 1980), the *Historia Ecclesiastica* is notably reticent about courtly behaviour and business, incorporating secular political concerns only as and when they intruded upon the ecclesiastical sphere.

The creation of a nigh-contemporaneous history of the church in eighth-century Northumbria was an innately political act and modern historians have closely scrutinised the political context of Bede's work (Goffart 1988: 325; Wormald 2006: 31). Thacker (2010) points out that the last chapter appears to pave the way for the elevation of the York episcopacy to metropolitan status (as happened in 735). More strikingly, Goffart (1988: 326) considers the *Historia Ecclesiastica* as a carefully planned riposte to the influence of the Wilfridian faction in the Northumbrian church as represented in Eddius Stephanus' *Vita Sancti Wilfrithi* (Colgrave 1927). The support Bede demonstrated for the sub-division of dioceses in his *Letter to Egbert* places him in marked contrast to Wilfrid (Sherley-Price *et al* 1990). His sympathetic portraits of the asceticism of the Irish missionaries likewise stand distinct from the careful, composed and cold outline of Wilfrid's career (Goffart 1988: 326). The *Historia Ecclesiastica* is without question a Northumbrian work, stressing Christian links to Kent at the expense of Western Britain (Thacker 2010) and likewise highlighting Northumbrian missionaries on the Continent like Willibrord while maintaining a deafening silence on the subject of Boniface, his contemporary (Colgrave and Mynors 1969: 253). As such the *Historia Ecclesiastica* should be considered an intrinsically Northumbrian view of the Anglo-Saxon political, and ecclesiastical arena in the seventh and eighth centuries.

There are significant omissions, including the location of the synod or council where Aldfrith rejected Wilfrid, given by the *Vita Sancti Wilfrithi* as '*Ouestraefelda*' (Colgrave 1927: 93). Much of the detail from the Whitby *Life of Gregory the Great* (Colgrave 1985) goes unmentioned, despite evidence that Bede had access to this as well as the *Vita Sancti Wilfrithi* (Goffart 1988: 296). Wormald has stressed the isolating influence of Bede's monastic context, an influence that renders an illusory serenity in contrast to Gregory of Tours' *Historia Francorum* (Wormald 2008: 59;

Thorpe 1974). It also had no small effect on the strength of his conversion narrative. It is difficult to evaluate the extent of the biases at play given the paucity of contemporaneous material, but there is no question that this was a book written from a particular personal viewpoint coloured by specific religious and political contexts.

There is no comparable historical narrative that follows on from the *Historia Ecclesiastica* though both the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* and Symeon of Durham were greatly influenced by it (Higham 2006: 25). The *Continuation of Bede*, running up to 766, is known only through twelfth-century sources and plausibly represents a re-emergence of historical rather than annalistic scholarship (Colgrave and Mynors 1969: 572-577; Whitelock 1979; Mynors *et al* 1999). Contemporaneous if divergent information is largely derived from Saints' Lives and what can be divined of the *Northern Annals*.

Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* thus constitutes the dominant source for the earlier half of the Anglo-Saxon period in Northumbria, as it does for the rest of England, but it was not produced in a vacuum. For material relevant to early medieval Northumbria Bede made use of Gildas' *De Excidio et Conquestu Britanniae* (Winterbottom 2002) and several Saints' Lives produced in and before the early eighth century. What is known of the *De Excidio* comes from a damaged eleventh-century manuscript once in the Cotton collection *(ibid*: 11). With perhaps the exception of the Battle of Badon Hill *(ibid*: 28), it offers little in the way of geographical information, instead acting as a polemic against and prosopography of the post-Roman British polities.

Of the available Saints' Lives, the Whitby *Life of Gregory the Great* may present the earliest example of useful Northumbrian detail for the purposes of the present project. While there is disagreement regarding Bede's usage of the material (cf Colgrave 1985: 59 and Goffart 1988: 296) it does contain unique information that Bede was either not privy to or else chose to omit. Colgrave in particular puzzles over his omission of several miracle stories in light of the profligate use of such tropes in

the *Historia Ecclesiastica* (Colgrave 1985: 58). One omission of particular relevance refers to Edwin's baptism in York. In Chapter 15 of the Whitby *Life* Edwin and his followers are described as "hurrying from a hall where they had been exhorted to put...[heathen]...matters right" to a church whereupon a crow commenced to serenade them mid-journey in the "public square", or more properly, "*plataea populi*" *(ibid*: 96-97). Narrative device this may be; but it nevertheless indicates some conception of how royal centres were structured or at least spatially conceived. It is also reminiscent of the *"plataes"* outside of Oswald's Easter Feast in the *Historia Ecclesiastica* (Colgrave and Mynors 1969: 230). The earliest known reference to the Whitby *Life* itself is found in a *Life of Gregory* of the later ninth century *(ibid*: 59) while the earliest manuscript known dates to the earlier ninth century in the monastery of St Gall *(ibid*: 63).

Aside from the Whitby *Life of Gregory the Great*, three other subjects dominate the earlier hagiographical accounts. The first is that of Cuthbert, bishop of Lindisfarne, the protagonist of three known *Vitae* produced in the early eighth century. The earliest known *Life of Cuthbert* was written by an anonymous monk of Lindisfarne between 699x705 (Stancliffe 1989: 22). This was used by Bede as the basis for his own two Lives of Cuthbert, one in verse and the other in prose, written respectively in 705x716 and in or around 721 (Webb and Farmer 1983: 16). Between them detail emerges of the inter-relationships of ecclesiastical and secular politics in later seventh-century Northumbria, not least in his election as bishop at the synod of *Adtuifyrdi* and later ordination at York (Colgrave 1940: 234). However few other relevant details emerge of assembly-related practice. As Wormald remarks of Bede's monastic-centred scholarship – conciliar activity outside the monastery was not a priority except where royal and ecclesiastical spheres of power converged (2008: 31). A similar trend can be observed in his *Historia Abbatum* (Farmer 1983: 185-208), which refers to a grant by Aldfrith at an unnamed synod of lands to the joint monasteries *(ibid*: 194). While this is of some interest for the toponyms and evidence of assessed landholdings espoused, the synod is unnamed and detailed only insofar as it is relevant to the monastic establishment.

Stephen of Ripon's *Vita Sancti Wilfrithi* conversely is seemingly far more engaged with the ebb and flow of Northumbrian politics during the lifetime of Wilfrid (Colgrave 1927). His career as documented in the *Life* is structured around the numerous synods and councils in which he took part. It commences with Wilfrid's role in advancing the Roman argument in the Paschal controversy in 664 *(ibid: 21*). Wilfrid's authority is rejected first by Ecgfrith at an unnamed synod in 680/681 *(ibid: 71*), and then by Ecgfrith's successor Aldfrith, this time at *Ouestraefelda* (and/or *Aetwinespathe*) in 691 *(ibid*: 93). Finally, he receives a partial settlement by the next king, Osred, "beside the river Nidd" in 706 *(ibid*: 129). Useful as these details are in providing complementary information to that found in the *Historia Ecclesiastica*, this source carries the same problems as other accounts: espousing conciliar activity only when it directly overlapped with ecclesiastical concerns. While the Church most certainly had a deep and abiding interest in the wider currents of regional and national politics, these are not a primary concern of the hagiographical narratives.

Much the same can be said for Alcuin, writing in the later eighth century. Despite producing a voluminous correspondence to some of the key secular and ecclesiastical figures in England and the Continent at the time, little is noted of the actual synods and councils that steered, or at least provided the stage for, the politics of the period (Allott 1974: *passim*). His poem *The Bishops, Kings and Saints of York* does provide one particularly interesting scenario, a miracle story linked to John of Beverley (Godman 1982). In this John heals one of his *familia* injured after riding too fast on a "*planiciem campi*" suitable for horse-racing *(ibid*: 92-93). Its description of the subsequent camp, combined with Atkin's discussion of a potential link between horse-racing terminology and liminal locations (1978) suggest that this may be a description of a place well-suited to assembly.

Second then only to the *Historia Ecclesiastica*, is the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. This stands as one of the most vital sources for the historical events of the early medieval period in England. It survives as seven substantial manuscripts, commonly labelled

alphabetically, varying in chronological scope and source material used. It is almost entirely organised in annalistic fashion, its temporal framework ranging between manuscripts, from 60BC in the *Winchester Chronicle* [A] and the two *Abingdon Chronicles* [B & C], through to 1154 in the case of the *Peterborough Chronicle* [E] (Swanton 2000). It explicitly details a small number of synods and councils, with a considerably greater number of references to what could be considered assembly-related activity such as baptisms, consecrations and battles (see Section 4.1.5.4). As with all such sources there are numerous biases and omissions in its presentation. Consideration of its make-up is thus vital when using it to chart and map assembly practices in the north-east of England.

The modern study of the content and inter-relations between the varied recensions of the *Chronicle* is largely based on the work of Charles Plummer (1892; 1899). He argued that the prevalence of events relevant to Wessex and the striking commonalities between the accounts given before 890 AD in each of the surviving manuscripts reflected an Alfredian Original, now also known as the Common Stock (Plummer 1899; Jorgensen 2010: 11). This source, now lost, is thought to have informed Asser's *De Rebus Gestis Aelfredi* (Keynes and Lapidge 1983), a prose work written in AD 893. These early influences on the Chronicle thus provide a distinct contrast with the Northumbro-centric perspective espoused in Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* (Colgrave and Mynors 1969). In the *Winchester Chronicle* [A] and the two *Abingdon Chronicles* [B & C] information regarding northern England is certainly sparse where it is not derived from the *Historia Ecclesiastica*. However other of the manuscripts, in particular the *Worcester Chronicle* [D] and the *Peterborough Chronicle* [E], appear to have utilised otherwise unknown northern sources in the reproduction and continuation of the Common Stock, providing a wealth of further information for political events in the north of England in the early medieval period (Plummer 1899: lxii). This is reflected not only in extra details and entries, but also in differing perspectives on more widely recorded events.

Omissions in the period before 890 include various regnal successions in

Northumbria such as that of Alhred in 765 and Aelfwald in 778 (Cubbin 1996: 14-15). The 788 synod at *Pincanhalh* is similarly only recorded in recensions D and E as is the slaying of three Northumbrian high-reeves at *Cyningesclife* and *HelaÞirnum* (High Coniscliffe and an unknown location) in 779 (Cubbin 1996: 15). A particularly telling indication of a northern perspective can be found in the glossing of 'Mercians' as *SuÞanhymbre* (literally 'Southumbrians') in the D and E texts of the Chronicle for 697 and 702 (Cubbin 1996: 9). The reasons for this are a matter of continued debate. Plummer argued for the existence of a now lost Northern Chronicle, reproduced to differing extents in the *Worcester* and *Peterborough Chronicles*, and later in the *Historia Regum* attributed to Symeon of Durham (1899; Whitelock *et al* 1961: xiv). The record of *chronica duo anglica* in a twelfth-century library catalogue has been cited in support of this (Irvine 2004: xxxviii). Conversely others, notably Dumville, consider it more likely that variant northern sources were brought south for inclusion, notably to Canterbury in the later eleventh century (1983: 35). Be that as it may, there are further inclusions of material for the north beyond the time-frame of the Common Stock in the tenth century in the *Worcester Chronicle* [D], generally of local interest for the region around the dioceses of Worcester and York (Cubbin 1996: lvi). Whitelock *et al* have further argued that the use of the word *ceaster* in reference to York reflects local vernacular usage at the time, and these two would appear to indicate that certain points of the transmission of D took place in the region of York (1961: xiv). Cubbin in particular is keen to assert that Bishop Aldred of Worcester (1042-1062) and York (1061-1069) was the vital link in securing this perspective in the latter part of the *Peterborough Chronicle* (1996: lxxvii-lxxviii).

Some commentators have referred to the *Peterborough Chronicle* as the 'Northumbrian Chronicle', considering it a more faithful recension of the lost 'Northern Annal' than its *Worcester* counterpart (Irvine 2004). However as Bredehoft has argued, the inclusion of northern material in recensions D and E has served not to shift the regional emphasis away from Wessex but rather to generate a national rather than Wessex Chronicle (Bredehoft 2001: 71). The inclusion of the Mercian Register from 902-924 in the *Abingdon Chronicle* [C] and the *Worcester Chronicle* [D]

may reflect a similar strategy. This would place greater weight again on a southerly agenda, if one is to go with Smith's view that the Chronicle is primarily a documentary 'fifth column' to the dynastic and imperial agenda of the House of Wessex (2010: 168). In a similar fashion Alex Woolf has pointed out a decreasing interest in Western Britain as the recensions of the Chronicle progress, reflective perhaps of increased intent towards the consolidation of England as a sovereign state (2010: 239).

A number of other annals exist, apart from the varied recensions of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. The *Continuation of Bede* outlines much of the turmoil that rocked Northumbrian politics in the eighth century, though it is notably light on the specific detail of where such events took place (Colgrave and Mynors 1969: 527-577). The influence of the Northern Annals in the Chronicles very much takes precedence in this instance. Likewise Asser's *De Rebus Gestis Alfredi* and Aethelweard's later *Chronicle* are both very Wessex-centric, despite Asser's explicit attempts to relate Alfred and the House of Wessex to the Cult of St Cuthbert, presumably reflective of growing national ambitions in the south of the country (Keynes and Lapidge 1983; Campbell 1962). The Northumbrian Chronicle attributed to Byrhtferth of Ramsey (Hart 2006: xxvii) does conversely offer novel insights. Written in the late tenth century, it demonstrates access to a particularly early copy of the Northern Annals and is thought to comprise one of the most faithful transcriptions of this lost document *(ibid*: lxxii).

Before turning to the Post-Conquest sources, the *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* should be considered (South 2002). Written at some time after 945, it purports to recount the history of the Community of St Cuthbert and was a great influence on the subsequent works attributed to Symeon of Durham. However, like the *De Obsessione Dunelmi* discussed below, it acts more vigorously as a record of the landholdings and privileges of the Community, some of which are considered below in the charters. Craster considers the detail from the earlier tenth century to be based off now-lost documentation (1954: 199), though there are several instances of earlier grants, such as Oswiu's grant of Bowmont valley to Cuthbert, that may conflate oral

reminiscences with older territorial frameworks *(ibid*: 180).

Most of the cited documents owe a heavy debt to Bede. Each significant additional northern source offers a considerable boon. The Northern Annals are arguably chief among these, but the extra local detail to be found in the *Worcester Chronicle* for tenth-century York (Cubbin 1996: lx) and the landholdings detailed in the *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto,* fleshes out what remains a very partial outline. In many ways the resurgence in historical scholarship in the twelfth century follows on this pattern, indebted to many of the same sources yet also indicative of the use of other now lost sources in, say, the *Chronicon Ex Chronicis* of John of Worcester and the *Historia Regum* of Symeon of Durham (Darlington *et al* 1995*;* Stephenson 1987). Special mention must also be made of the seemingly first-hand detail recorded by William of Malmesbury, for instance in his description of Carlisle in the *Gesta Pontificum* (Preest 2002: xi). Indeed even in the thirteenth century, Roger of Wendover's *Chronica suie Flores historiarum* demonstrates the use of hitherto unknown sources for early medieval Northumbrian history (Rollason 1998: 32).

For the history of the north, attention must turn to those works associated with the priory at Durham, to one extent or other associated with Symeon of Durham. The *De Obsessione Dunelmi* is the first of these. Despite the siege in the title, its prime concern is with the history of the earldom of Northumbria in the eleventh century, in particular as held by Earl Uhtred (Meehan 1976). Even then, it devotes a considerable amount of detail to the transfer of holdings related to bishop Ealdhun. For the purposes of the present study, it offers helpful indications of assembly-related activity, such as the slaughter at Settrington and Uhtred's own death en route to swear fealty at *Wiheale*. The obsession with landholding sits well within the themes espoused by the *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* and likewise offers the opportunity to observe linked holdings in terms of potentially older territorial traditions.

The second, titled in full the *Libellus De Exordio Atque Procursu Istius Hoc Est*

Dunelmensis Ecclesie (hereafter *Libellus*) purports to chart the history of the Community of St Cuthbert from the seventh-century foundation of the monastery at Lindisfarne in the reign of Oswald through to the installation of monks at Durham in 1083. As it details the opening of Cuthbert's coffin in 1104 but makes no mention of the installation of Turgot as Prior, it is likely to have been produced at some point between 1104 and 1115 (Rollason 2000: xlii). Rollason argues that this has more cause to be associated with Symeon, albeit as a composite work he may have co-ordinated *(ibid*: xliv). In purpose it would appear to stress the links between the founding monks in Lindisfarne and the newly installed monks at Durham, seeking to justify the expulsion of the previous secular clergy. *The Historia Ecclesiastica* provided a good deal of the early source material, as did the *Prose Life of Cuthbert* (Rollason 2000: lxxi). Miracle stories recorded in the *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* are recounted in the *Libellus*, as are details from the lost Northern Annals. Like the *Historia Regum*, there is clearly much material in common with Byrtferth of Ramsey's *Northumbrian Chronicle* (Hart 2006). It is more likely that Byrhtferth was taken as a source (Hart 1982) but the possibility remains that “Symeon” and Byrhtferth were drawing from a common source, as it would appear was John of Worcester (Rollason 2000: lxxi). The influence of Byrhtferth upon the *Historia Regum* is more clear-cut. It covers much the same ground as his *Northumbrian Chronicle*, ranging from the Kentish royal legends through to Asser's account of Alfred. Later sections are derived from at least two lost Northern Annals, William of Malmesbury and John of Worcester. It is only, however, in its account of twelfth-century events that it becomes valuable in its own right.

The resurgence in historical scholarship after the Norman Conquest has been argued to reflect a need to establish or re-establish a sense of narrative consistency in conceptions of the Kingdom of England after the ructions of the Conquest and subsequent upheavals in the later eleventh century. This was a matter that concerned not only a putative 'English' identity, but also a broader acculturated continuum resultant from the new realities of Norman overlordship. Thus, William of Poitier's *Gesta Guillelmi ducis Normannorum et Regis Anglorum* acts primarily to

justify the Norman Conquest, in some contrast to Orderic Vitalis' *Historia Ecclesiastica*, which sought to offer a more even-handed account (Davis and Chibnall 1998; Chibnall 1969-1980). Three twelfth-century chronicles besides Symeon of Durham typify this trend. Each of Henry of Huntingdon's *Historia Anglorum*, John of Worcester's *Chronicon Ex Chronicis* and William of Malmesbury's *Gesta Regum Anglorum* purport to demonstrate continuity, extolling the virtues of Bede and each obtaining access to now-lost Northern Annals, such as in the entries John of Worcester provides post-849 (Darlington *et al* 1995: lxxi).

Finally, mention must be made of the Icelandic saga material. There are numerous references to events in England in Icelandic texts. In particular Fjalldal (2005: 101-107) has pointed out how the courts of kings such as Athelstan and Aethelred were often described favourably as a counterpoint to the Norwegian throne that drew so much approbrium from the Icelandic sources. As regards historic verisimilitude, these descriptions are generally of little use. The collection of Sagas known as *Heimskringla* contains two notable instances of *Þings* in England. The *Saga of Óláfr Tryggvason* details the encounter and resultant courting between the eponymous protagonist and the Irish princess Gyða at an unnamed English assembly (Finlay and Faulkes 2011: 166). Likewise *King Harald's Saga* from the same text records how he held an assembly outside of York to receive the town's submission (Magnusson and Pálsson 1966: 145). The first account is impossible to corroborate - at any rate it is lacking in geographical detail. The second however differs in the account of recension C of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, which instead states that the venue for the anticipated submission of Northumbria was Stamford Bridge itself in 1066 (Swanton 2000: 198). In both cases assemblies are described with what appears to be only a notional connection to historic events. *Egil's Saga* conversely offers a more intriguing account, though not so much of Erik Bloodaxe's court at York, whose details again are difficult to corroborate. Its most relevant detail for the present study is the account of the battle-site of *Vinheiðr*, marked out by hazel rods and discussed more fully below (Skudder and Óskarsdóttir 2004: 91-92; see Section 4.1.5.4).

4.1.2 Charter evidence for assembly practices in the early medieval north-east

The copious body of charter evidence for Anglo-Saxon England appears to offer arguably the greatest insight into early medieval assembly practices. The vast majority concern themselves with the granting and leasing of land between various kings, nobles and the Church, accompanied by witness lists and, in a number of cases, the place of witnessing (e.g. S915 – Sawyer 1983: 298; S549 – Whitelock 1979: 372-3). However there is an evident disjuncture between ideal and reality in the form of these documents, most artfully illuminated by Simon Keynes in his *Diplomas of Aethelred the Unready* (1980). In the region of Northumbria one must deal with a gross paucity of detail. The early catalogues of Anglo-Saxon diplomatic - namely Kemble's *Codex Diplomaticus Aevi Saxonicum* (1839-1848) and Birch's *Cartularium Saxonicum* (1885-1893) - drew heavily upon the available archives from monastic foundations in Wessex. A Southumbrian bias was inevitable not so much due to the choice of source so much as the lack of preservation of pre-Conquest documentation north of the Humber. As a result Farrer's *Early Yorkshire Charters* (1914; 1915; 1916) lists only ten documents of relevance to the present study area. Cyril Hart was able to expand on this in his own *Early Charters of Northern England* (1975: 117-150) but, even then, this necessitated a less discriminate harvest.

Hart's hand-list consists of just over fifty documents drawn from a wide variety of sources. Thirteen of these are found in Sawyer's current annotated hand-list of charters, out of a total of 1928 (1968; Electronic Sawyer 2013). While only two of these have warranted serious suspicion – the 664 foundation charter of Peterborough Abbey in the eponymous *Chronicle* (S68; Irvine 2004: 27-30) and a 685 grant of Crayke and Carlisle to Cuthbert (S66; South 2002: 47) – this still provides only a piecemeal snapshot of ostensibly public transactions between the mid tenth and mid eleventh centuries. This is bolstered by several other sources. The first consists of a number of seventh-century foundational monastic grants as noted in Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* and Eddius Stephanus' *Vita Sancti Wilfrithi* among others, and these are generally not overly informative (Colgrave and Mynors 1969; Colgrave

1927). The second comprise four early eighth-century grants to Beverley with one mid-ninth addition recorded in Dugdale's *Monasticon Anglicanum* (1825). The former category enjoys good provenance but poor detail; the latter a dearth of either. The grants recorded to the then Community of St Cuthbert, make up the majority of the northern corpus. Three of these are found in the Durham *Liber Vitae*; brief records of land transfers in the tenth century (Raine 1841). The larger part however is derived from the works attributed to Symeon of Durham, these themselves argued to have been drawn from a lost *Red Book of Durham* (Craster 1925). There are finally a few oddities. The *Chronicle of Hugh Candidus* attempts to legitimise some Peterborough holdings in Yorkshire while a 757x758 letter from Pope Paul I refers to monastic lands seized in what would become the North Riding of Yorkshire (Mellows 1949: 70; Whitelock 1979: 764-5). This is neither a large, carefully provenanced, nor detailed dataset. It also strays somewhat from what one understands to be a charter. However, as a comparative set of material, this can still be of some use.

These sources are not particularly informative about places of assembly, and there are no definitive identifications of assembly within these documents. Several charters imply the existence of a Yorkshire shire court (e.g. S1493), while the phrase *facta de scirburn* in a 963 grant of Edgar is open to interpretation (S712). Ambiguity likewise surrounds Hart's suggestion that the *Þins housum* in a 963 boundary clause for North and South Newbald means 'house of the thing' (1975: 123 - S716). This corpus is instead far more informative about the form of districts and jurisdictions. A number of grants appear to refer to grouped vills, such as Snaculf's grant in 1003x1016 (Craster 1925: 526). A significant number of others would appear to refer to estate centres with significant appurtenances – *cum saca et soca* – not least in the gifting of Darlington to the Community of St Cuthbert *(ibid*: 526). In a few other cases, indications of jurisdiction come with defined bounds, as in the description of the 959 Howden grant (S681). The possibilities for mendacious and anachronistic meddling do pose risks for the utility of this material but corruptions and forgeries can still be of use when compared to firmer datasets, not least Domesday Book. The forged charter granting Crayke and Carlisle to Cuthbert (S66) does after all reflect historic

detail in Bede (South 2002).

4.1.3 Survey data for assembly practices in early medieval Northumbria

The early medieval source material is generally less than forthcoming with regard to the presence of assessed districts of jurisdiction in the north-east, implicit or otherwise. The so-called *Tribal Hidage* (Maitland 1897: 183) is probably the most illuminating early source for the presence of distinct sub-territories within the kingdoms of Anglo-Saxon England. Yet, the nature of this document is a matter of some dispute (cf Brooks 2000: 62; Featherstone 2001: 28). At any rate it only concerns two districts that fall within the study area, *Elmedsaetna* (Elmet, West Yorkshire) and *Haeð-feldlande* (Hatfield Chase, South Yorkshire; Figure 16). These two are of no little significance to any survey of what is known of the developing administrative and conciliar geography of the region, *but* both pointedly fail to relate to a specific location or locations of assembly, at least through their nomenclature. There are likewise implicit references to districts in Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica,* such as *In-Gyruum* and *InGetlingum* (Colgrave and Mynors 1969: 532, 256). More explicit evidence of defined districts can be found in Athelstan's 930x934 grant of Amounderness and Edgar's 959 grant of Howden (**HOW-1**) and its dependencies (Whitelock 1979: 548-551; Hart 1992: 449-452). The earliest systematic outline of the administrative geography of the early medieval north east is however to be found in the pages of Domesday Book.

4.1.4 *Evidence for assembly practices in Domesday Book*

Domesday Book is a series of returns organised by county and thence by fee indicating who owned what and the value of these self-same particulars. It also endeavours to list who had been in possession of these properties and appurtenances in 1066 (or *TRE* = *Tempore Rex Edwardi* in the text). Its coverage extended across the majority of England and Wales, omitting important towns such as London and Winchester, as it did the northernmost reaches of England. Thus, the

eleventh-century material available for the study area covers only the three ridings of Yorkshire.

The manner in which it outlines a variety of interconnected administrative districts is of vital importance to early medieval assembly studies. It indicates the subdivision of counties into hundreds, wapentakes, ridings and their analogues and, through the nomenclature and organisational structure of the Book, gives some indication of the location or locations of the associated places of assembly. The book as a whole indicates the range of proprietary details sworn on oath at shire-, hundred- and wapentake-moots, while the surviving *Clamores* ('Pleas') for Huntingdonshire, Lincolnshire and Yorkshire consider the character of dispute resolution at these courts (Finn 1963: 66). Carucatal assessment indicates the presence of the 12-carucate 'hundred' as an implicit sub-division of wapentakes in Danelaw counties such as Lincolnshire (Roffe 1991a: 30). Unit subdivisions are also visible in the structure of the Yorkshire Summary as they are in the linked unit sokes present in the returns for the northern counties (Round 1895: 69; Roffe 1991b: 246; Maxwell 1962a: 473). Regardless, consideration of these is contingent upon understanding the inter-related questions of why and how Domesday Book was made.

J. Horace Round's *Feudal England* (1895) was the first comprehensive analysis of Domesday Book and has set the terms of the debate ever since. He argued that Domesday Book was primarily a record of fiscal liability *(ibid*: 83). Maitland took this further and with a characteristic flourish declared it a 'geld book' (1897: 25). This interpretation rested in large part upon the contents of the Domesday Satellite known as the *Inquisitio Comitatus Cantabrigiensis* (hereafter *ICC*). The *ICC*, in contrast to Domesday, organised its returns by hundred rather than by fief and was argued by Round to be at but one remove from the original returns (1895: 20). The fiscal liability imposed upon the hundred, by for example the *murdrum* fine (O'Brien 1996), and its intimate relation to hidage as a whole meant that the hundred was seen primarily as a fiscal unit (cf Harvey 1971 for a more recent discussion of this perspective). This interpretation largely stood unchallenged until Galbraith advanced

the alternative proposition that Domesday was primarily an indication of feudal holdings (1942; 1961). Where Round had taken the *ICC* as his launching point, Galbraith instead outlined the distinctly feudal structure of another Domesday Satellite known as the *Exon Domesday* (1942: 165). Furthermore Galbraith made the seemingly obvious point that the feudal organisation of Domesday Book rendered it greatly impractical as a system of hundredal assessment and taxation (1961: 19). It is certainly unusual that a tax book would take such great pains to engender a picture of continuity in tenure within Domesday Book (Finn 1963: 20-21). While the feudal model of Galbraith has been in the ascendant ever since, both feudal and fiscal primacy retain supporters. Sally Harvey's reassessment of the *Exon Domesday* sought to reassert a fiscal motivation, proposing an interplay between fiscal and hundredal returns (1971: 772-773) while Holt has more recently proposed that Domesday Book was the result of "hard bargaining" at the Oath of Salisbury, a codification of holdings in exchange for fealty to the king (Holt 1987: 64). The most striking departure of contemporary scholarship is found in David Roffe's *Domesday: The Inquest and the Book* (2000a), in which he makes the radical proposition that the Book was an unintended by-product of the 1085 Inquest, publication instigated instead only by the revolt of 1088 early in the reign of William II (Swanton 2000: 222-223).

At any rate, the feudal versus fiscal debate can as easily be termed the feudal versus *hundredal* debate. Harvey's paper assumed that the upper ranks of the aristocracy acted on an entirely feudal basis (1971: 72) while Welldon Finn relegates the hundredal-juries to the role of providing a hundredal skeleton to structure the landholders' feudal returns (Finn 1963: 49). The end result is the same, with the hundred treated as the domain of the peasant. Not only does this clash with the character of the juries described in the Domesday Satellite known as the *Inquisitio Eliensis* (Finn 1963: 10) but it is also in discord with the considerable agreement between sokeland and hundredal jurisdiction found for instance in Driffield hundred (**DRI-0**) in the Domesday East Riding (Anderson 1934: 15). The hundredal relationship to wider territoriality, tenure and governance was not superficial.

It would seem prudent to concentrate on the Yorkshire Domesday itself with regard to the organisation of the text. It is the penultimate county in the sixth identified Domesday circuit (cf Eyton 1878; Ballard 1906), following on from Nottinghamshire and preceding Lincolnshire. Like many of the county returns it begins with the holdings in *Eboracum civitas* itself before considering the 84 carucates appurtenant to the city (Roffe 2000a: 76). There then follows a summary of pre-Conquest customs before a list of the feudal lords relevant to the ridings of Yorkshire, omitting Roger de Poitou (Maxwell 1962a: 456). This is succeeded by a twelfth-century interpolation of the fief of Robert de Bruis. After this the main body of the Yorkshire Domesday commences, listing holdings by landowner, subdivided by riding and thence by wapentake/hundred. This is punctuated by the Lincolnshire returns before the Yorkshire *Clamores*, or 'Pleas' appear, sandwiched between the aforementioned returns and the Lincolnshire *Clamores*. These sections concern disputed holdings – it has been proposed that the existence of discrete sections for Yorkshire, Huntingdonshire and Lincolnshire is due to their unresolved status at the time of the compilation of Domesday Book (Finn 1963: 66). The Yorkshire Summary is found at the very end of Domesday Book, a document unique to the county returns that lists vills primarily by hundred rather than fee (Maxwell 1962a: 458). The structure and nature of the Summary has drawn more ink onto the page than any other factor (Maxwell 1950; Roffe 1991b), though the presence of hundredal districts in the East Riding of Yorkshire comes a close second (Taylor 1888: 72; Brooks 1966: 18). There is finally the implicit evidence for subdivisions of these sub-shire units, found in the Summary, the sokeland and in Round's 12-carucate 'hundred' (cf Round 1895: 69; Roffe 1991a: 30). These three themes are considered immediately below.

The Summary has raised a great many questions. Described variously as "a pre-Domesday tax list to post-scriptal index" (Roffe 1991b: 244) its place within Domesday is still not as yet well understood (Finn 1963: 70 n.3). The detail it offers has however allowed the reconstruction of hundredal and wapentake bounds to an unparalleled level of accuracy as well as assisting the identification of otherwise lost place names (Maxwell 1950). This latter effort deduced that the ordering of the

Yorkshire Summary had a distinct geographical basis. The reasons for this however have never been adequately explained. Welldon Finn was doubtful that the Domesday coroners would have troubled themselves with individual hundred and wapentake moots, let alone the relevant vills, and thus proposed that the order represented the itinerary of the hundredmen from vill to vill (1963: 49). Likewise the geographical ordering between hundreds – indicated by Canon Taylor in relation to the later wapentakes (Taylor 1888: 72) – was proposed as representative of a mental ordering of the region by one or more of the attendees at the assembled shire-moot (Finn 1963: 60). Roffe posits that this order instead reflects the prior existence of the twelfth-century wapentakes (Roffe 2000b: 13). It would further appear that the lands in *Terra Alani Comitis* (**TAC-0**), which appear to be a later interpolation into the Summary, do not follow the geographical basis of the Summary and instead appear to be driven by a feudal pattern (Finn 1972: 26-9). This is reflected intermittently by the linked listing of soke for a given manor which also appears to indicate sub-divisions (Maxwell 1962: 473; see Figure 17). The upshot is that the Summary is clearly something more complex than a mere register of holdings or an index. Maxwell argued from the unique errors in both the Summary and the *Breves* of the main text that they each derived from an earlier source (1962: 460-461). Conversely Welldon Finn considered the Summary to indeed be one of the sources of the main text of the Yorkshire Domesday, suggesting that the Summary was in all likelihood derived from a pre-Conquest geld list for the Ridings of Yorkshire, an explanation that would solve the absence of extra-Yorkshire holdings in the main text from the Summary (1972: 26-29; Maxwell 1962b: 461).

Taylor was the first to engage with the hundreds of the East Riding, suggesting that the wapentakes each comprised the consolidation of three hundreds (1888: 72; Figure 18). This line was followed by Brooks who stressed a pre-Scandinavian origin in line with those, e.g. Loyn (1984: 140), who considered the *Hundred Ordinance* to be a formalisation of existing procedure (Brooks 1966: 18). This has taken a steady knocking from Roffe who argues that the hundreds are sub-divisions of an East Riding wapentake system already in place that had largely gone unnoted in the Yorkshire

Domesday. The absence of hundred-juries from the Yorkshire *Clamores* in contradistinction to two East Riding 'wapentakes' (*Toreshou* [**TOR-0**] and an unidentified other) has been combined with their lack of documentation elsewhere to strengthen this proposition (Roffe 2000b: 13; Roffe 1991b: 243). He further notes the commonalities between the East Riding hundreds and the twelve-carucate 'hundreds' that sub-divide the wapentakes found in the counties of the northern Danelaw (2000a: 76).The argument is intriguing, but there is not as yet the evidence to lend sufficient weight to either school of thought.

There is however evidence for sub-wapentake units in the other ridings of Yorkshire. Seeming blank lines and half-lines in the Yorkshire Summary appear to correspond to more meaningful divisions in the wapentakes of the North and West Ridings (Roffe 1991b: 246). Thus *Agebruge* in the West Riding and *Dic* in the North Riding (**DIC-0**) appear to be divided in half (Maxwell 1962b: 2; Maxwell 1962c: 87), while *Bargescire*, West Riding, and *Langebarge*, North Riding, would seem to espouse a three-fold division (Maxwell 1962c: 2; Maxwell 1962d: 87). These subdivisions are reinforced by the preponderance of discrete manorial sokeland, almost always within ten to twelve miles of the estate centre, such as at Otley and Conisbrough (Maxwell 1962b: 479). It has proved essential to this thesis that these are mapped and compared to both the East Riding hundreds and their better documented analogues in Lincolnshire (Roffe 1991b: 76), and as a consequence they may well proffer the best key to understanding the administrative and conciliar geography of Yorkshire prior to the Norman Conquest.

4.1.5 Types of assembly mentioned in the documentary sources

Attention now turns to the character of recorded assembly activity itself. This initially examines events specifically recorded as councils and synods, before considering several categories of assembly-related activity. Three in particular are emphasised – consecrations/elections, baptismal practice and conflict. Descriptions of the former two are in several cases explicit about an assembly aspect. Thus, Guthred was

presented as king in front of the Vikings at *Oswiedune* (Rollason 2000: 123) while Paulinus is described as baptising people at *Adgefrin* "who flocked to him from every village and district" (Colgrave and Mynors 1969: 189). Battle-sites and assembly events converge on several occasions in the timeframe of the present study, not least with the 633 battle of *Haethfelth* and the 691 synod of *Ouestraefelda* (Austerfield), both on Hatfield Chase (Colgrave and Mynors 1969: 202, 384). Indeed Guy Halsall (2003: 157) has recently pointed out the wider distribution of this phenomenon, such as the Viking challenge recorded in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* [E] at Scutchamer Knob in 1006, otherwise the venue for a shire-moot in 990x992 (Swanton 2000: 137; S1454). This section concludes with final consideration of a wider range of activities that demonstrate conciliar aspects to various extents, including marriages, musters and executions. Each section is considered in terms of the narrative structure of the records, followed by discussion of the location of the event.

4.1.5.1. Councils and Synods (Figure 19; Table 3)

As already mentioned, given the interweaving of royal and ecclesiastical politics in Northumbria, it is near impossible to separate out a category of royal from ecclesiastical conciliar behaviour. Oswiu did not merely attend the Synod of *Streoneshalh* [Whitby] in 664, rather, as far as the kingdom of Northumbria was concerned, he adjudicated authoritatively on the Paschal Controversy (Colgrave and Mynors 1969: 307). Likewise, Aldfrith's rejection of Wilfrid's authority at *Ouestraefelda* in 691, is described in the context of a gathering of both nobles and bishops (Colgrave 1927). In a later record King Aethelwald is described as having "lost the kingdom of Northumbria" at *Wincanheale* in 765, later mentioned as the venue of two explicitly labelled synods in 787/788 and 798 (Irvine 2004). The monastic context of much the surviving documentation has perhaps resulted in the survival of numerous accounts of events where royal and ecclesiastical councils blended, but conversely there is little if anything to indicate that such instances were exceptional. Rather they seem to have been regular events in the political/ ecclesiastical calendars. The disposition of the attached handlist of councils and synods reveals a number of

details. The first is that Bede considered a king's court as a suitable venue for situating the theatre of conversion, although the actual identity or location of the courts in question was of little import. The narrative was clearly more important than the location. As mentioned above in Section 4.1.1 the *Vita Sancti Wilfrithi* by Stephen charts the career of the ecclesiast through a series of councils or synods, though all except the venue for Ecgfrith's rejection of Wilfrid are granted locational attributes (Colgrave 1927). Of other councils and synods where the location is given, there are none save Sherburn-in-Elmet that can be identified with certainty. The identification of *Streoneshalh* with Whitby was first made by Symeon of Durham (Barnwell *et al* 2003: 314). Similarly *Wincanheale* has been associated both with Finchale Priory in County Durham and also a Pinkhill Lane in West Yorkshire (Swanton 2000: 55 n.11; Smith 1961b: 48), while *Acleah* has been associated with Aycliffe in County Durham (Mawer 1920: 8).

The difficulties found in identifying many of these sites means that much of this material is more useful for the toponymic cues linked to these assemblies, e.g. OE *feld* for *Haethfeld* and *Eostrefeld* (*HE* IV, 17; *ASC (E)* 680; *VSW*: 46). There is however evidence for the enduring importance of these locations. Both *Acleah* and *Wincanheale* are venues for recurring events, while *Haethfeld* would appear to have acted as the scene for at least one battle. York unsurprisingly makes its presence felt in each category of assembly activity, while Sherburn-in-Elmet is a recurrent focus, as seen in Edgar's grant of 963 (S712) and its place as an estate-centre in Archbishop Oswald's memorandum of stolen lands (Hart 1975: 123-4). Catherine Cubitt identified rivers, roads and boundaries as significant recurrent topographic attributes of the recorded synods where they could be identified (1995: 34). These were considered to represent the importance of accessibility and neutral ground. Cubitt also sought to establish commonalities between the toponymic elements found in both synodical and later hundredal names *(ibid*: 38) and suggested that these varied assemblies adopted similar rationales when it came to site selection. However, this correspondence cannot be made to extend to the usage of the same sites. In the study area there are no indications of synodical or royal conciliar activity taking place

on the sites of hundred or wapentake courts.

4.1.5.2 Baptisms (Figure 20; Table 4)

Baptism, as a Northumbrian event, can only be found in the record presented in Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*. At *Adgefrin* for example, Bede relates the presence of priests and kings and attests the presence of large gatherings (Colgrave and Mynors 1969: 189). Although specific in purpose, baptism therefore offers itself as a type of assembly-related activity. Bede records seven baptisms taking place during two discrete time-frames – 627/628 and 653 – in parallel to the violence and drama of the Northumbrian succession in this era. It commences with the baptism of Edwin's daughter Eanfled at an unnamed location *(ibid*: 167), followed in a few chapters by Edwin's own baptism in York, both taking place in 627 *(ibid*: 187). There follows soon after three mass-baptisms in 672/628. The first occurs at the *villam regium* of *Adgefrin (ibid*: 189). As Bede recounts "*haec quidem in provincia Berniciorum, sed et in provincia Deirorum*" a similar baptismal assembly was convened in the river Swale near Catterick (Colgrave and Mynors 1969: 188). The third, at *Tiovulfingacestir*, is signposted quite clearly as a corollary for the province of Lindsey *(ibid*: 192). Thus, Bede presents a province-by-province structure to these mass-baptisms, as an analogue for the Conversion of the Kingdom following the administering of the selfsame procedure to its royal house. The final two baptisms, of Peada and Sigbert at *Ad Murum* in 653 are perhaps a better reflection of Oswiu's newfound dominance, acting as godfather to the aristocrats of Mercia and Wessex.

More confidence can be ascribed to these locations than others under discussion elsewhere in this section. The Whitby *Life of Gregory the Great* suggests that the Church of St Peter built by Edwin was proximate to the Roman basilica and thus the present Minster at York. *Ad Murum* exists today as Wall in Northumberland while the *villam regiam* at *Adgefrin* (modern Yeavering) was extensively excavated by Brian Hope-Taylor in the 1950s (1977). Difficulties emerge with the lack of specifics given to the Catterick episode – likewise *Tiovulfingacestir* has alternately been ascribed to

both Littleborough in Nottinghamshire and Torksey in Lincolnshire (Colgrave and Mynors 1969: 16).

4.1.5.3 Consecrations (Figure 21; Table 5)

Episcopal and royal elections or consecrations detailed in the surviving written record are included here on account of their public nature, e.g. Guthred's elevation at *Oswiedune* (Rollason 2000: 123). The first element that becomes clear in the handlist of Northumbrian consecrations is their limited timeframe, recorded only from 664 to 883 AD, notably concentrated around the late eighth and early ninth centuries. The outliers earlier than this refer, with the exception of Cuthbert's episcopal consecration at York, to the events of Wilfrid's career. The single instance thereafter concerns the election of Guthred as King of Northumbria at *Oswiedune* in 883. The majority of the remaining information for royal and episcopal consecrations comes from the Northern Annals, as communicated in the *Worcester* [D] and *Peterborough* [E] recensions of *the Anglo-Saxon Chronicles* (Hart 2006: lxxi). There are a number of instances in the *Chronicle* where the election of bishops has been noted without reference to a place, e.g. Adulf in 786 and Headred in 797. Locational attributes in these instances have instead been derived from the *Historia Regum* attributed to Symeon of Durham (see Section 4.1.1), an early post-Conquest source with access to either a common or related source of Northern Annals. It is clear that these annals placed great weight upon the lineal succession of Northumbrian bishops and, unlike the southerly recensions of the Chronicle, exhibited a concern with the places where noted ecclesiasts and royalty gathered for the raising of a fellow to episcopal status. The precise significance of this trait is difficult to gauge beyond the regional importance of the text, but this aspect does offer a series of locations associated with events and gathering that can be investigated.

York is the venue on four separate occasions while *Sochasburg* (Sockburn, County

Durham) features twice, in 780 and 796 respectively. A number of others can be identified with relative ease, including *Corabrige* (Corbridge), *Cettingaham* (Whittingham) and Bywell. The consecration of Pehtwine as bishop of Whithorn at *Aelfetee* in 763 would appear to suggest an ecclesiastical presence at Elvet adjacent to the Durham peninsular far earlier than Symeon's *Libellus* would have it (*Libellus* III, 1), while *Wduforda*, the venue for Headred's consecration in 797 seems to refer to a Woodford, a place-name only cited south of the former bounds of Northumbria. There are finally a number of unidentified locations, including *Uulfeswelle* (the Wolf's Well), *Hearrahaleh* ("the place of lords" near Whithorn) and *Oswiedune*. The Wolf's Well's is linked to Hexham, but this is in the context of a handlist in which consecrations could take place at locations seemingly unrelated to the relevant see. In these latter instances there is one interesting and thought-provoking example. In Procopius' *Buildings of Justinian*, he refers to a Roman fort in the Adriatic, known as *Lupofantana*, or the Wolf's Well (Stewart *et al* 1886: 107). This suggests that this unusual name is a reflection of the choice of a Roman fort for this consecration and if so one of several forts on Hadrian's Wall proximate to Hexham might present itself as the likely candidate.

4.1.5.4 Battles (Figure 22; Table 6)

The Old Welsh poem *Y Gododdin* provides evidence for the earliest battle in Northumbria, recorded in the late sixth century (Jackson 1969). This mentions the men of *Deivyr* and *Bryneich* as the opponents of the *Gododdin* at a place called *Catraeth*, commonly associated with Deira, Bernicia, the Votadini and Catterick, North Yorkshire, respectively. The battles of the seventh century described in the sources fall into two categories. The first are Aethelfrith's victories, noted at *Degsastan* (603) and *Carlegion* (606), and his demise, falling to Raedwald beside the river Idle in 616. The second is the strife between Mercia and Northumbria, commencing with Edwin's death on the plain of *Haethfeld,* ending with Penda's own fall beside the *Winwaed* in 654. The latter series of conflicts are the only ones that are given serious mention in the varied annals of Wales and Ireland, although they

go by different names. The entry for 630 in the *Annales Cambriae*, as in the *Historia Brittonum* attributed to Nennius*,* records Edwin's death at *Meigen* rather than *Haethfeld*. Likewise the *Annals of Innisfallen* refer to Oswald's death at *Cogfry* rather than *Maserfelth* in 644. Meigen is likely the result of confusion in the Annales Cambriae with a Welsh battle though less light can be shed on the latter example (Jackson 1969: 43). At any rate all these are recorded in Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* and echoed by the writers who followed. Bede's omission of two Pictish battles, fought by the Ealdorman Beorhtfrith between *Haefe* and *Caere* in 710 (Swanton 2000: 43) and where Osred was slain "south of the border" in 716 *(ibid*) may have more to do with Bede's wish to emphasise Pictish conformation to Roman orthodoxy rather than continuing turmoil.

After Bede's account comes to an end, the frenetic pace and pattern of conflict loses some of its integrity, despite the addition of material from the lost Northern Annals. It is difficult to differentiate a murder from a pitched battle in the sparse mentions that are made, which may account for the diminishing number of documented major battles. The information from the Northern Annals in the *Worceste*r [D] and *Peterborough* [E] recensions of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles* provides two definite battles of the eighth century, Edwin's Cliff (or *Eldunum*) in 761 and *Hweallege* in 797/798. After this, Viking incursions, not least the fall of York in 867, dominate the records of conflict. From the battle of *Brunanburh* (937) onwards the records of Northumbrian conflict are marked by a connection to the expansion and consolidation of the power of the House of Wessex. It is telling that the events of the unsuccessful Scottish battle with Raegnald at *Corebricge* (Corbridge) in 918 are chiefly recorded in the *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* and the *Annals of Ulster* (South 2002; Mac Airt and Mac Niocaill 1983). The final conflicts relate to the renewed Viking incursions in the late tenth and early eleventh century, ending ultimately with the battles of Fulford and Stamford Bridge in 1066.

Some place-names are easily identified, such as York and Corbridge. Many however present significant difficulties. The dizzying number of locations proposed for

Brunanburh are a case in point (Livingston 2011: *passim*). The seventh-century battles between Mercia and Northumbria well illustrate wider difficulties in the identification of battle sites. *Haethfelth* offers a convincing place-name solution of Hatfield, of which there are two, one in Hertfordshire with the other being Hatfield Chase in South Yorkshire. Hatfield Chase would appear to be the more convincing option in terms of the combatants involved in 633, but the surviving name encompasses a wide area hindering the identification of any specific battle locale. This is in fact something of an endemic problem with battlefield archaeology, as seen in the debate over the location of the later battle of Bosworth in 1485 (Foard and Curry 2013). Poor resolution can be found too in descriptions such as "by the *Winwaed*" and "by the Idle", inviting a dangerous level of interpolation into arguments for any geographic attribution. The location assigned by Norman Scarfe (1986: 32) for example, for Aethelfrith's death on the river Idle, is the intersection between Ermine Street and the river, his rationale evidently driven by the presence of a long-standing communication node. The detail Bede presents of the events at *Hefenfelth* in 633/634 allows a better attempt at identification: the vicinity of the church of St Oswald at Heavenfield on Hadrian's Wall near Chollerton is considered to be the likely location. As such the place-name attributions presented in this thesis are tackled on a case-by-case basis, discussed and qualified in the site reports of the Appendices. In this way it determines which of these can be mapped and which can merely be listed.

Certain locations appear to have had a recurrent significance: York appears once more, but much the same can be said for Corbridge and Catterick. The former may have been the site of two battles, if Ethelred's death at *Cobre* in 796 can be interpreted in this fashion. The monastery at Corbridge was also the location for Adulf's consecration as bishop of Lichfield in 786. Catterick by contrast is also recorded as the scene of marriages in 762 and 792, alongside a hall-burning in 769. If one includes the mass-baptism in the Swale near Catterick in 627/628 it would appear that the surrounds of this locale were the focus for a wide variety of conciliar and related activities. One may even include the nearby abortive muster at *Wilfares*-

dun within this, summoned by Oswine of Deira shortly before his murder at *Ingetlingum* (HE *III*, 14). This concept of seminal zones of repeated activity, reminiscent of Everitt's synonymous "seminal places" in Kent (1986), pertaining to royal and ecclesiastical power can be argued as well for the district around Hexham as well, of which *Hefenfelth* is a part, and a third example can be identified at Hatfield Chase, scene of councils and synods, and violent affray (Higham 2006). Sarah Semple has recently argued that the frequent location of battle sites at "major ancient monuments, ancient forts, and significant natural landmarks" not only reflected defensible locations in the landscape, such as Old Sarum, Wiltshire, but also indicated a sense, at least in the eyes of ninth- and tenth-century chroniclers, of the sorts of places that comprised suitable venues for battle (2013: 87). This is exemplified by the Viking challenge to the English at the barrow of *Cwicchelmes hlaewe* in 1006 (*ASC* E). They were strategic from a ritualised as well as a defensive perspective, an observation that chimes with Halsall's earlier proposition that early medieval warfare could largely be divided into ritual and non-ritual battle encounters (1989: 173), with significant and abiding landmarks such as *Cwicchelmes hlaewe* used to co-ordinate engagements *(ibid*: 166).

4.1.5.5 Other assembly-related activities (Figure 23; Table 7)

A number of other hard-to-define events that might reflect an assembly or gathering of some kind can also be identified in the sources. Some, such as acts of submission, clearly fall within the ambit of early medieval assembly but others, such as the numerous royal murders of the eighth century, are more difficult to categorise. This array of random seminal events are thus noted here with caution, ranging from marriages, murders and musters, to hall-burnings, estate memoranda and acts of submission. In line with the miscellaneous and often ambiguous terminology used in these notices of events, many cluster in the eighth century - products of the Northern Annals as communicated through recensions D and E of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles*. Much of what is included in this section for the ninth and tenth centuries concerns cross-regional action, such as the acts of submission to Wessex, at Dore and later at

Dacor. It is only with the murders at *Wiheale* and *Rise*, derived from *De Obsessione Dunelmi*, that specifically Northumbrian events re-appear in the surviving narratives.

4.1.6 Summary

Each category of the surviving documentary evidence presents distinct strengths, alongside evident weaknesses. The records from the narrative sources, both pre- and post-Conquest, are dominated firstly by Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* and secondly by the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. However, considering the geographical focus of the present study it would be more accurate to specify the interpolations of the Northern Annals as the crucial second pillar to the data spread. These present a quantity and variety to the types of activity attested, but are in thrall to the narrative conventions of the author. The charter evidence conversely is sparse and uninformative of assemblies *per se*. It does, however, provide details for a few grouped landholdings, such as Howden (**HOW-1**), offering the potential to trace out the fossils and decaying traces of earlier territorial arrangements, a crucial component of the landscape-based approach to assembly-studies. Domesday Book brings both of these aspects together, specifying for the first time a systematised, hierarchical network of linked assemblies and territories in the late eleventh century. Therefore, in combination this documentary and place-name record does provide an opportunity to map and analyse these systems of administration and assembly in relation to their concomitant territorial appurtenances.

The variety of activities espoused in the texts range widely. These are heavily compromised by both the narrative intentions and regional biases inherent in the production of the original documents. There appear to be regional foci and recurrent venues however, but only a hint of any regularised assembly at the level of the crown. The few convergences with hundred/wapentake assembly sites, such as Tanshelf (for Osgoldcross [**OGC-1**]) and Gilling West (**GIL-1**) are very much the exception. One can at least propose that the sort of conventions documented by Bede and other Chroniclers did not obviously segue into the distribution of hundred and wapentake

sites documented in Domesday Book. However it is impossible to determine the extent to which this marks a lack of continuity, the poor identification of earlier assemblies and/or the possibility that the earlier assemblies operated at a higher spatial and societal scale than the later Domesday assemblies.

4.2 Place-name sources for assembly practices in the Ridings of Yorkshire

The toponyms under consideration can be sub-divided into a number of categories. Primacy is given to the hundreds and wapentakes of the Yorkshire Domesday (Figure 7; Table 1). This extends in turn to the modified wapentake system that was in place by the mid to late twelfth century (Anderson 1934: 14; Figure 18; Table 2). This modified system included three Riding courts – *Gerlestre* (**GERL-0**), *Crakou* and *Windeyates* – implicit to the territorial system espoused in Domesday yet seemingly neglected mention until the survey of the *Placita de Quo Warranto* in the late thirteenth century (Caley 1818: 187, 191). In a number of cases the later medieval wapentake court was convened at alternate venues. With the exception of Harewood Bridge (**CLA-2**) and Wigton Mill (**SKY-2**) these later courts appear exclusively to be habitative names of alternately Old English and Old Norse derivation. The largest category comprises assembly-attesting place-names in the study area, such as those that bear toponymic elements like the Old Norse *þing* or the Old English *(ge)mot*, each indicative of 'assembly' (1956b: 44, 204; Figure 10). In Section 4.1.5 note has also been made of assemblies and assembly-related activities documented in the early medieval period. In the following section consideration begins with the assembly-names documented in Domesday Book. It then turns to scrutinise later documented assemblies before finally applying commensurate attention to the assembly-attesting toponyms.

4.2.1 Documented assembly names in Domesday Book

In Domesday Book the county of York is divided fourfold into the City of York and the three Ridings (Figure 7). The East Riding was divided into eighteen hundreds, a

particularly fragmentary analogue to the hundredal system known from further south in England. The North and West Ridings by contrast comprised fewer and (in most cases) larger sub-districts of wapentakes as found elsewhere in the Danelaw. Eleven are identified by Domesday Book in the West Riding and a further eight are known from the North Riding. This apparently straightforward division is however marked by a number of complicating factors. The Claims of Domesday Book refer to wapentakes in the East Riding on two occasions. At one point *Toreshou* hundred (**TOR-0**) is glossed as a wapentake (Faull and Stinson 1986: 373a) and in another an un-named wapentake is recorded attesting to an East Riding claim in Risby *(ibid*: 373c). A further reference to *Heldrenesse* indicates at least the contemporaneity of a coterminous and identically-named district, whether or not it was then also a wapentake *(ibid*: 382b). In the North Riding the western extent of this division was instead defined as the *Terra Alani Comitis* (**TAC-0**), appearing as a single fee within the Riding but without a defining network of wapentakes. There are likewise two erroneous districts in the West Riding. The first is *Gereburg* (**GER-0**) wapentake. This was synonymous with that part of the berewick of the manor of Otley, Skyrack wapentake (**SKY-0**), on the northern banks of the river Wharfe (Maxwell 1962c: 2n though see also Roffe 2000a: 85n; Figure 24). *Gereburg* is assessed in the Summary as part of Skyrack (**SKY-0**), which confirms the impression of this as an outlier to the district divided by the course of the river. The second is Craven (**CRA-0**), a district at the north-western end of the Riding (Figure 25). Where all other sub-Riding districts are described as hundreds or wapentakes Craven is instead described as *Cravescire* (**CRA-0**) and its dependent vills are instead denoted as *In Crave* (Faull and Stinson 1986: 328d, 380b). This may seem a petty distinction but in tandem with its Brittonic etymology it would seem to indicate that a differing form of territory was making an appearance in the pages of Domesday Book (cf Wood 1996). There are a number of occasions when the borders of the hundreds and wapentakes can seem partially indistinct. These transgressions are generally minor and on the whole limited to the lowlands of the study area. By contrast the limits of the Ridings are largely sacrosanct. The only clear exception to this is Halikeld wapentake (**HAL-0**). Ostensibly in the North Riding it nonetheless strays into the West Riding, not least at Markington and

South Stainley, otherwise positioned in Burghshire (**BUR-0**; see Figure 26). The overriding impression given by Domesday Book is of a developing network formed from a patchwork of earlier territorial entities. Most of the Domesday toponyms have been linked to specific locations or at least corresponding place-names. The four hundreds of *Sneculfcros* (**SNE-0**), *Scard* (**SCAR-0**), *Toreshou* (**TOR-0**) and *Turbar* (**TUR-0**) remain lost in the East Riding, as do *Dic* (**DIC-0**), *Maneshou* (**MAN-0**) and *Gerlestre* (**GERL-0**) in the North. *Gereburg* is the sole offender in the West Riding.

4.2.2 Later documented assembly-names

By the mid twelfth century it is clear that the wapentake model was dominant in all three ridings (Figure 18). The East Riding hundreds disappear in favour of the wapentakes of Harthill (**HAR-0)**, Holderness (**HOL-0**) and Dickering (**DICK-0;** Pipe Roll Society 1888: 48; Figure 27). The wapentake of Buckrose (**BUC-0)** is first mentioned in the Pipe Rolls of 1188 (Anderson 1934: 14) and in the latter half of this century one first encounters reference to the Bishop of Durham's Liberty of Howdenshire (**HOW-0**; Farrer 1915: 302). The wapentake of Ouse and Derwent (**ODW-0)** was a later formation out of the wider jurisdiction of Howden by the mid-fourteenth century though it is surely no coincidence that in its extent it consolidates the detached or westerly extensions of the East Riding hundreds of Warter (**WAR-0**), Pocklington (**POC-0**), *Sneculfcros* (**SNE-0**) and Howden (**HOW-0**; Allison 1976a: 1-2). It has all the appearance of territorial expediency. In the North Riding the *Terra Alani Comitis* (**TAC-0**) had become the Honour of Richmondshire with its three wapentakes of Gilling (**GIL-0**), Hang (**HANG-0**) and Halikeld (**HAL-0**; Figure 25). While the first two comprise straightforward divisions of the Domesday fee Halikeld appears to have been acquired, potentially analogous to the failed acquisition of Bulmer (**BOL-0**) by the Honour in 1252 (Brown 1892: 34). Several districts maintained their integrity but suffered a change of name. Thus *Maneshou* (**MAN-0**), *Dic* (**DIC-0**), *Gerlestre* (**GERL-0**) and *Bolesford* (**BOL-0**) became respectively Ryedale (**MAN-0**), Pickering Lythe (**DIC-0**), Birdforth (**GERL-0**) and Bulmer (**BOL-0**; Figure 28). More stability was witnessed in the West Riding where only Burghshire (**BUR-0**) was renamed, as Claro (**CLA-0**; Figure

25). *Gereburg* (**GER-0**) appears to have been consolidated into Claro Hill and the region of Craven (**CRA-0**) was by the mid twelfth century instead referred to as the wapentake of Staincliffe (**STA-0**). This situation thereafter persisted, with the further subdivision of a number of wapentakes into the post-medieval period. Occasional reference is made to a *Frendles* wapentake though this was a functional rather than territorial term that was at times applied to the wapentakes co-extensive with Richmondshire and Craven (Walbran 1878: 51n; Tillotson 1989: 31). The names of the riding courts are first given in the Placita de Quo Warranto (Caley 1818: 187. 191). Two of these - *Crakou* and *Windeyates* – were not previously linked to known assemblies although the third of these, the North Riding court of *Gerlestre* (**GERL-0**), was the Domesday name of the wapentake that had subsequently been re-named as Birdforth. The corpus of wapentake meetings recorded away from venues eponymous with the unit names is distinctly fragmentary. In the East Riding the courts of Dickering wapentake (**DICK-0)** were recorded at Burton Fleming (**DICK-1)** in the late twelfth century and Rudston (**DICK-2)** in 1320 and 1361 (Lancaster 1912: 102; Martin 1909: 217-8n; Putnam 1939: 33, 49). Several of the courts of Holderness (**HOL-0**) were convened at the newly founded port of Hedon (**HOL-1)** and indeed in one case this was glossed as "*in pleno wapentagio de Hedona*" in 1197x1210 (Burton and Bond 1866: 309). Otherwise these citations in the East Riding are restricted to multi-wapentake meetings, such as that of Buckrose (**BUC-0)**, Harthill (**HAR-0)** and Dickering (**DICK-0)** at a beached whale in Filey in 1278, and of Harthill and Dickering, again at Rudston, in 1449 (Brown 1892: 184; Maxwell-Lyte 1909b: 306). Comparanda can be found in the North Riding with Slingsby (**MAN-1**; for Ryedale [**MAN-0**]; Maxwell-Lyte 1903: 303) and in the West Riding with Flasby (**STA-2**) and Harewood Bridge (**CLA-2**; for Staincliffe (**STA-0**) and Claro wapentakes respectively; Smith 1961f: 1; Farrer and Clay 1947: 136). It is difficult to formulate these as evidence for widespread later medieval practice without comprehensive examination of later medieval records, a clear priority for future research. Nonetheless both in their toponymy and location they provide useful insights into the character of later medieval wapentake assembly.

4.2.3 The meaning of documented place-names

The first point to make is that only one of the Domesday or later names for the hundreds and wapentakes in the study area makes reference to the practice of assembly. This is the Domesday wapentake and later documented North Riding court of *Gerlestre* (**GERL-0**), a toponym of ambiguous Old Norse or Old English derivation meaning 'earl's tree' (Smith 1928: 79; Anderson 1934: 7). Elsewhere, Skyrack (**SKY-0**), from the Old English elements *scīr-ac*, meaning either 'shire oak' or 'shining oak', may well refer to the territorial unit of a shire (Anderson 1934:22-3; Smith 1961d: 88). The name of Holderness (**HOL-0)**, or Old Norse *hǫldr-nes* – 'Hold's headland', indicates the presence of a land-holder of rank (Smith 1937:14-5). None of these names correspond to assembly practice *per se*. Potentially more can be made of the East Riding hundred name of Warter (**WAR-0**), Old English *wearg-treow* or 'felon's/gallows tree', which could denote a judicial link to hundred assembly (Anderson 1934: 15; Smith 1937: 168-9). The term *Frendles*, used to denote a number of wapentake meetings in Richmondshire (**TAC-0**) and Craven (**CRA-0**) in the fourteenth century (Riley and Walsingham 1876: 97), is poorly understood. Through its wider usage it is thought to denote the function rather than form or location of the court (Walbran 1878: 51n; cf Tillotson 1989: 31).

The hundred and wapentake toponyms refer to a number of categories of feature and these are discussed and analysed in Chapter Five. They can broadly be divided into those that indicate a focal point (e.g. a tree), a focal area (e.g. a settlement) or a wider district (such as a river valley). Some ambiguity remains within this schema. For instance the headland cited in the toponym 'Holderness' (**HOL-0)** could as easily be treated as a more immediate topographic landform than as a wider district. The decision in this case is informed by its usage in the Yorkshire Summary as a territory synonymous with the three East Riding hundreds of *Uth*, *Mith* and *Nort* in tandem with consideration of the morphology of the peninsula itself (Faull and Stinson 1986: 382b). This present chapter section restricts consideration to the situation and distribution of the toponyms themselves, rather than associated historical or

archaeological material. This responds to criticism mounted by Aliki Pantos against Audrey Meaney's assessment of hundredal names in Cambridgeshire, notably in the permeability of categories between real and described features on the one hand and Meaney's primary, secondary and tertiary categorisations on the other (Pantos 2001: 19-20).

Landscape focal points referenced in the hundred and wapentake toponyms within the study area consist of trees, standing crosses, mounds, river crossings and wells (Table 9; Figure 29). Focal point names, as opposed to focal areas or districts, comprise a third of the eighteen East Riding hundred names yet only one of the six East Riding wapentake names. Toponyms that refer to focal points likewise make up half of the North Riding wapentake names in Domesday Book and just under half following the instances of re-named wapentakes found in the twelfth century. The same situation is noted for both the Domesday and later situation of the West Riding wapentake names. In each case diversity is the norm and there are no significant clusters. Note can be made of the lack of river crossings in the East Riding names and the relative propensity of the Old Norse element *haugr*, translated as 'mound', in this Riding's hundredal toponyms. By comparison focal areas are far more prominent in the place-names under consideration (Table 10; Figure 30). These comprise immediate landforms and defined zones, such as settlements, field and moorlands where the place-name does not indicate a specific focal point. These differ from districts in terms of scale. Half of the East Riding hundred place-names fall into this category, dividing evenly into either immediate land-forms (hill-slopes, fields) or settlement names as well as one reference to a river (Cave [**CAV-0**] – OE *caf* – trans. 'quick [stream]'; Anderson 1934: 17; Smith 1937: 153). Two landforms and a possible monumental complex – 'dyke-ring' as one of two solutions of Dickering (**DICK-0;** Anderson 1934: 13; Smith 1937: 85) – subsequently comprise half of the East Riding wapentakes. Focal areas make up a significant minority of both the Domesday and later wapentake names of the North Riding and West Riding respectively. District names - place-names that either refer to wider geomorphological features or else utilise more abstract designations (e.g. North, Middle and South Hundreds in the East

Riding [**HOL-0**]) - are far less frequent (Table 11) In the East Riding they comprise the aforesaid hundred names and also the juxtaposed later recorded wapentake name of Holderness (**HOL-0)**, referencing the co-extensive peninsula. Holderness was also referred to as a district in the Domesday Claims and Summary (Faull and Stinson 1986: 374b; 382b). By the fourteenth century the land set between the rivers Ouse and Derwent in the East Riding had been consolidated under the wapentake name of Ouse and Derwent (**ODW-0)**, first mentioned in 1200 (Allison 1976: 1-4). In the North Riding the Domesday wapentake of *Maneshou* (**MAN-0**), the nomenclature of which indicated a focal point in the form of a mound (Smith 1928: 42; Anderson 1934: 5), was re-named Ryedale wapentake, in reference to the river-valley that was partially co-extensive with this territory (Pipe Roll Society 1888: 48). Meanwhile the *Terra Alani Comitis* (**TAC-0**) of Domesday was instead referred to as the wapentakes of Gilling (**GIL-0**) and Hang (**HANG-0**) in Richmondshire (**TAC-0**; Pipe Roll Society 1888: 49). Finally the West Riding Domesday district of Craven (**CRA-0**), a Brittonic word that either means 'garlic' or 'scratched land' (Smith 1961f: 1-2; Wood 1996: 2-3), was reformulated as the later recorded wapentake of Staincliffe (**STA-0**). There is arguably a pattern of reference to natural landforms with the district names, excluding the *Terra Alani Comitis* and the Holderness hundreds, which at any rate comprise explicit sub-divisions. It is however a small dataset and it may be more significant that each of Craven and the *Terra Alani Comitis* divided into a pair of wapentakes in later documentation. Together focal point and focal areas dominate the names. In turn two of the Riding court names, Craike (**CRA-1)** and Wingate (**WEST-1**), refer to immediate landforms while one, *Gerlestre* (**GERL-0**), is deemed indicative of an arboreal focus.

If one plots confidently identified Old English toponyms, their Old Norse counterparts and debatable examples of each against one another in the study area a number of observations can be drawn (Figure 31; Table 12; Table 13; Table 14. Old English nomenclature predominates in the East Riding with eight names – a further five are of Old Norse derivation and five again are hybrids or of debatable provenance. All

but one of the Old Norse names – Acklam (**ACK-0**) – are now lost. It is likely no coincidence that many of the Old English toponyms were linked to settlements in contrast to the Old Norse names, such as *Turbar* (**TUR-0**) and *Toreshou* (**TOR-0**), which instead predominantly referenced lost monumental foci. In the North Riding there are no certain Old Norse names. Instead five debatable toponyms outnumber two Old English counterparts. As with the East Riding the Old English toponyms have survived in disproportion to the rest – only Halikeld (**HAL-0**) and Langbaurgh (**LAN-0**) can still be identified of those names with the equal possibility of Old Norse or Old English derivation. In the West Riding one finds five Old English wapentake names. Three others are Old Norse, a further two are of debatable provenance and one, Craven (**CRA-0**), appears to be of Brittonic character. Unlike the North and East Ridings only one site – *Gereburg* (**GER-0**) – is lost but given the relationship of this wapentake to the Archbishop's Otley estate it may merely invoke the Wharfeside Roman defences at Otley and/or Ilkley (though see Cox 1996 for an alternate emphasis on prehistoric fortifications). If one considers the proportions of purely Old Norse names to purely Old English names there appears to be a consistent Anglian tendency in each of the Ridings. However in each case the proportion of debated toponyms is such that if one were to favour an Old Norse solution the proportions would in fact be relatively even. This is to take an extreme position – an equitable division of the names would instead result in a slight majority of Old English nomenclature in each of the Ridings. At any rate the error margins are too large. The matter is complicated further by the evidence for the 'Scandinavianisation' of Old English toponyms, seen in the wapentake of Skyrack (**SKY-0**) in the West Riding and hybrids such as Barkston (**BARK-0**) - ON *Bǫrkr*-+ OE *tun* – again in the West Riding. It suffices to conclude strong Old English and Old Norse influence on the toponyms of the hundreds and wapentakes. One can also observe the poor survival of Old Norse appellations in the East Riding and debated Old Norse/Old English variants in the North Riding in contrast to the general survival of names in the West Riding. In the North and East Ridings almost all the lost names refer to monumental foci. This pattern is evidently not replicated in the West Riding and thus one is inclined to argue from this the less controversial point that close proximity to areas of later medieval

settlement has enhanced survival. It provides circumstantial evidence for a weaker relationship between Old Norse conciliar nomenclature and the settlement pattern, but this first requires backing evidence from elsewhere.

There are several items that can be concluded from this dataset. First of all district names for the hundreds and wapentakes were relatively uncommon – the nomenclature instead favours the immediate landscape and monumental foci. While toponyms in the East Riding appear to favour focal areas at the expense of monumental foci, the proportions are more even and slightly in favour of monumental foci in the North and West Ridings. Considering the size of the dataset it seems these were significant regional themes in the designation, marking out and naming of assembly places. The types of upstanding monument identified can also be characterised by their diversity. Within the bounds of the study area no particular type of feature appears to dominate. Finally there is good evidence for strong Old English and Old Norse influence on the nomenclature of these names though the data cannot be more specific than this. Old Norse conciliar names also appear to be subject to a poorer survival rate in the North and East Ridings in contrast to the West Riding. This distinction prevents any easy link to, say, the seeming tendency for Old Norse names to reference focal points.

4.2.4 Assembly-attesting names

Almost half of the corpus of toponyms under consideration are assembly-attestations that are not otherwise linked to a documented assembly (Figure 10; Table 8). Half again of these are derived from the West Riding, a product of the systematic scrutiny of field names from tithe and earlier assessments lacking from Hugh Smith's earlier volumes for the North and East Ridings. While all three Ridings have been supplemented by further toponyms encountered during the course of this study the overall corpus is grossly biased in favour of the West Riding. Thus consideration is split with respect to this methodological contrast. Three of the attesting toponyms identified by Pantos predominate in the dataset for the study

area. These are the Old Norse *þing*, or 'assembly', the Old English *(ge)mot*, likewise indicative of 'assembly' and finally the Old English *spell*, meaning 'speech'. Pantos also notes the use of *þing* in Old English, not least in the Laws of Hlothere (2001: 38). Despite this *þing* is here treated as an Old Norse toponym, largely due to its context within the Danelaw region. There are also a small number of instances of the cognate Old English term *spraec* alongside a few singular and rare attestations, e.g. the Old English *costere* or 'trial' near Cottingley in the West Riding.

The element *þing* has a far stronger presence in the North Riding to that of the East (Figure 32). It is encountered on four occasions on the southern watershed of the Tees Estuary, stretching in the east from a lost Thingwall (**THW-1**) in close proximity to Whitby Abbey through to Fingay Hill (**FGY-1**) in Allertonshire (**ALL-0**) to the west (Figure 32). Two names, *Tyngoudale* (**TYNG-1**) and Dingledow (**DNG-1**), congregate in the immediate area of the wapentake name of Langbaurgh ridge (**LAN-1**). The field-name of Dinting Dale (**DINT-1**) is found directly north of Barkston Ash in the West Riding (**BARK-1**). The name, phonologically similar to *þing,* was recorded by Smith without a solution (1961d: 72). Nonetheless it may indicate the presence of a secondary assembly signifier at this wapentake site. There are no certain instances of the element in the East Riding. Farrer argued that the '*þins housum'* boundary clause in Edgar's 963 grant of Newbald was a corruption of the term (Farrer 1914: 15-8). Meanwhile Fraisthorpe (**HUN-2**) either conceals a hypothesised Old Norse personal name Friesting or else derives from the Old Norse elements *friesta- þing* or 'trial-assembly' (Smith 1937: 87). The element *(ge)mot* appears twice in the North Riding, as Landmoth (**LAND-1**) and the lost field-name of *Mothow* in Hovingham (**MTH-1**). The former element is cognate with the lost *Landesmosegile* near Gargrave in the West Riding (**LMG-1**; Smith 1961f: 52; Figure 33). No instances of *(ge)mot* are known from the East Riding. The Old English element *spell* in fact possesses the most striking distribution, not just in the North and East Ridings but in the entire study area. It appears five times in the North Riding, four times in the West Riding and six in the East (Figure 34). In the East one can arguably also include Speeton (**SPE-1)**, derived from the cognate Old English term *sp(r)aec*. This latter element is rare but analogues

within the study area are known from the lost West Riding field-names of *Spech Folds* near Mitton and *Spechcaflade* near Ingleborough. The North and East Riding *spell* elements are widely distributed, tending towards lowland interfaces with the Yorkshire Wolds and North York Moors, akin to the wider pattern of Domesday settlement. In turn it is absent from the west half of the North Riding. In the West Riding, three spell names are found in a cluster around Ripon alongside Spella Garth in Drax (**SPG-1**). In the North Riding one also finds the later documented Weapontake Stone (**WEAP-1**), documented in a boundary dispute between Yearsley and Gilling East, and the respective wapentakes of Birdforth (**GERL-0**) and Ryedale (**MAN-0**; Marwood 1995). This finds an analogue in *Wapentach Ferme* (**STC-2**), a holding recorded in the late thirteenth century in Staincross wapentake, West Riding (**STC-0**). In the East Riding the village name of Wetwang (**WTW-1)** is interpreted as a derivation from the Old Norse '*vaett-vangr*' or 'trial-field' (Smith 1937:128). Whether or not the East Riding *þing* proposals are viable it appears more likely that the term, when it occurs, is linked to a small chain of other *þing* names clustering on the moorland ridgeline in the catchment of the southern Tees estuary (Figure 32). There appear to be no instances of *(ge)mot* in the East Riding.

The corpus of assembly-attesting names for the West Riding is disposed rather differently due to the systematic emphasis placed on field-names, absent in earlier work on the North and East Ridings. The element *þing* appears on seven occasions, as does the related term *hus-þing*, or 'house-assembly' twice. The distribution appears to be limited to that part of the Riding south of the river Wharfe with the exception of the lost *Ding* (**DING-1**) near Slaidburn in the Pennines and Fingerfield (**FING-1**) near Grewelthorpe on the border with the North Riding. Tingley House in the south-west of the Riding may merely represent a later or even post-medieval reflection of Tingley (**TING-1**) in which case one must consider a relatively significant cluster of both *þing* and *hus-þing* names on the Magnesian limestone belt in the wider area around Wakefield (Figure 32). By contrast *(ge)mot* appears to be limited to the Pennine Fringes, to the north-west and south-west of Ilkley Moor (Figure 33). Halmote at North Elmham is a debatable candidate given the proliferation of the

name in reference to manorial courts in the later medieval period (e.g. Larson 2010). Most striking however is the clustering of the Old English element *spell* from the West Riding. These comprise Speltrig (**SPT-1**) and the two Spellows near Ripon (**SPF-1**; **SPH-1**), alongside the lost field name *Spella Garth* in Drax (**SPG-1**), on the border with the East Riding. The two instances of the Old English term *sp(r)aec* have already been noted. There are three other names of note including Costley (**COS-1**; 'trial mound') near Cottingley, *Wapentach Ferme* (**STC-2**) near Silkstone and *Domeland* (**DOME-1**; 'judgement district') in Sheffield.

It would be inappropriate to compare the proportion and distribution of names between the West Riding on the one hand and the North and East Ridings on the other. However as the West Riding was subject to heightened scrutiny one would reasonably assume that if there was a significant degree of parity between the three Ridings this would manifest in both a higher quantity of relevant toponyms, albeit in similar proportions. There are of course such vagaries as place-name survival in relation to regional landforms, subsistence and settlement patterning but one would certainly expect each of the three assembly-attesting elements in the North and East Riding to be present to a significant degree in the West Riding. The uneven nature of the methodologies applied in the study area precludes any direct comparison with respect to the elements *(ge)mot* and *þing*. Conversely the absence of the element *spell* from much of the West Riding (and to an extent Richmondshire [**TAC-0**]) is unmistakeable and surely must indicate a differing quality in some aspect of assembly practice, a divide seemingly best marked by the Vale of York. The cluster of *spell* names around Ripon forms one exception to this. The other is found at *Spella Garth* (**SPG-1**). As noted it was near Drax on the border with the East Riding and further, Drax was paired with Howden (**HOW-1**) in Edgar's grant to Quen in 959 (Hart 1992: 449-52). Given the distribution of the Old English *(ge)mot* and the Old Norse *þing* throughout the study area it does not map well onto a schema of variant Anglian and Scandinavian influence and rather more likely that *spell* was linked to a specific category or character of assembly. When considered in relation to Aliki Pantos' nationwide plot of the element *spell* it becomes clear that the Yorkshire disposition

in fact comprises the northern terminus of a linear distribution that stretches diagonally across the country as far as northern Wiltshire (Figure 35). This is accompanied by an outlying cluster in and around Hertfordshire. It is not present south of the Thames though a few outliers are known from Cumbria, Lancashire and Shropshire. This distribution does not accord directly with any other place-name element. A degree of morphological similarity can however be detected between this and the distribution of the Old Norse habitative elements *bi* and *þorp*. They each concentrate on the north-eastern seaboard, though *bi* is also found in quantity in Cumbria while *þorp* extends into East Anglia. Each is present in the West Riding yet it is clear that *spell* itself is absent. It may seem counter-intuitive to posit a strong link between the distribution of an Old English element with several Old Norse elements but as Matthew Townend's work on Anglo-Scandinavian linguistic culture has shown, much of the country in the later part of the early medieval period should be treated as bi-lingual (2002: 210). Considering the common currency of the term *spell* as late as the sixteenth century (Pantos 2001: 51) the element may indicate in fact a cross-cultural marker. It may also reflect a more ancient pattern, prior to Scandinavian settlement in England.

When consideration turns to the remainder of the assembly-attesting toponyms a number of observations can be made. Throughout they tend to be dithematic with the assembly-attesting element almost always comprising the first part of the toponym (though note such exceptions as Landmoth (**LAND-1**) in the North Riding and Morthen in the West; **MORT-1**). In all three of the Ridings place-names indicating focal points in the landscape predominate though in the East Riding there are almost as many references to focal areas (Figure 29; Table 9; Table 10). Potential references to districts are few as this may comprise an over-extension of the semantic properties of the Old English term *land*. Given the variety of sources from which these names are derived less inferences can be drawn from these varied proportions. However, as with the hundred and wapentake names, variety again characterises the types of toponyms. In the North Riding focal points include mounds, crosses, a stone and a hill-spur. Two observations can be drawn from the North and East Ridings. Firstly

mounds appear to predominate, both as the Old Norse *haugr* and the Old English *hlaw* (Figure 36). Secondly habitative names appear to be limited to the East Riding, though they are scarce even then. In the West Riding the emphasis upon hills and mounds becomes even more striking, with *haugr* and *hlaw* joined by *hyll* and *cnoll*, comprising seven out of the seventeen names. Unlike the North Riding one also finds evidence of assembly-attesting habitative names. The nature of the dataset guards against detailed conclusions. One can however say with reasonable confidence that mound names consistently form the largest group of assembly-attestations in each of the Ridings. This pattern is not witnessed in the hundredal and wapentake nomenclature of the North and West Ridings, though note should be made of *Toreshou* (**TOR-0**), *Turbar* (**TUR-0**) and Huntow (**HUN-0**) in the East Riding, that do bear this toponymic element. Despite this it seems clear that the naming of the wapentakes and hundreds was a rather different affair to the naming of sites that directly presented their conciliar functionality by name. It may be that mounds enjoyed a link to purpose-built assemblies rather than those that had evolved over time.

4.2.5 Summary

The nomenclature of the Domesday hundreds and wapentakes strongly indicates that focal points and focal areas dominated their toponymic content. By contrast district names were more a function of changing practice in the later medieval period. References to focal points are diverse and do not reveal any particular tendency in the hundredal names. Focal areas meanwhile tend to congregate around habitative names and those that signify landforms. This link to the settlement pattern has likely favoured their increased survival compared to toponyms that reference focal points. There is good evidence for strong Old English and Old Norse influence though it is impossible to quantify or otherwise clarify the degree of each. Old Norse and Old Norse-influenced names certainly display a poor survival rate in the North and East Ridings in comparison to the West. This may be linked to a stronger tendency towards names that reference focal points, though this proposal fails to explain the degree of

survival in the West Riding. Links to the settlement pattern offer a likely route out of this impasse. Assembly-attesting names such as *(ge)mot* and *þing* are found in the North and West Ridings but are not clearly present in the East. Conversely the Old English element *spell* is found as part of a wider nationwide linear distribution that stretches from east of the Vale of York and then south as far as northern limits of Wiltshire (Pantos 2004b: 195-7). The enhanced scrutiny placed on the West Riding confirms the absence of this term and in so doing provides the main objection to a straightforward comparison with the distribution of the Old Norse habitative names *bi* and *þorp.* If so this did not translate to the regional administrative pattern of wapentakes, though Spelhoe hundred in Northamptonshire and Spelthorne hundred in Middlesex suggest that a link could exist. Finally the topographical variety present in hundredal topographic referents is also found in the corpus of assembly-attesting place-names in each of the three ridings. However mound and hill names are in each riding the most frequent referent – this would indicate that mounds were a significant theme in non-hundredal assemblies or else their pre-Domesday analogues.

4.3 Concluding remarks

Early medieval documentary accounts offer a very partial picture of assemblies and assembly-related activities, restricted to the highest royal and ecclesiastical levels. There is some evidence for the recurrent use of venues – York and Catterick certainly appear to comprise seminal locales (see Everitt 1986) – but no evidence for substantial links between these and the systematic outline of assemblies and assembly territories presented in the pages of Domesday Book. It is difficult to determine the extent to which this is due to a lack of continuity, the poor identification of the location of these earlier assemblies, or the convention of these assemblies at a differing societal scale to that of the later hundreds and wapentakes. In turn the charter evidence provides only very fragmentary clues to territorial morphology prior to the Domesday Inquest. As a result the hundred and wapentake schema of the 1086 Yorkshire Domesday comprises the pre-eminent source for this thesis.

The nomenclature of assembly sites and territories documented in Domesday Book and beyond demonstrates great variety, not least in the range of natural and artificial landscape foci referenced in the names. There are also a significant number of settlement names in the East Riding hundreds of Domesday. Old English nomenclature consistently outnumbers examples of Old Norse, though when one considers Scandinavian influence on Old English toponyms and the phonological similarities between the two linguistic groups it is safer to conclude that both had a significant and enduring influence in the study area. Examination of the assembly-attesting place-names recorded in the county surveys of the English Place Name Society reveal that the toponymic elements *(ge)mot* and *þing* were restricted to the North and West Ridings while the element *spell* was only found in and to the east of the Vale of York, though it was noted that this was part of a wider, easterly nationwide distribution set on a line running between the Vale and northern Wiltshire. It could indicate a cross-cultural marker of the Anglo-Scandinavian era or else far reflect earlier post-Roman settlement norms, in turn indicative of far older assembly practices. Finally the assembly-attesting toponyms present the same variety in referenced monumental foci found in the documented assembly names. In each category, mounds form a prominent minority of the names and so it seems reasonable to infer that these rises possessed a more than expedient relationship to the principles of early medieval assembly, even if variety is a better reflection of known practice.

Chapter Five. The landscape and setting of assembly sites and their territories in pre-Conquest Yorkshire

In this chapter, attention shifts from the wider character of documented and place-name attested assembly names to the specific foci of assembly, in the toponyms and at the sites themselves. This extends in turn to the immediate archaeological character of these sites. In line with the earlier work of Aliki Pantos', an effort has been made to differentiate the character of the toponyms from the landscape character of the sites themselves (*contra* Meaney 1993; 1995; 1997). Despite the variety present in the types of foci found in the corpus of names for the study area a number of distinguishing patterns can be identified. These reflect variant Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Scandinavian influence but also stress commonalities, not least the prevalence of mounds, widespread cultic associations and the ancillary situation of such foci to settlements and estate centres.

Consideration of the landscape location of these sites also extends to their position with regard to communications. This again follows on from the work of Pantos (2001) and more recently Alex Sanmark (2009), who particularly focused on the wider landscape in terms of accessibility and the terrain types associated with assemblies. This latter category is of especial note in the final section of this chapter which scrutinises the topographic character and boundaries of the hundred and wapentake units of Yorkshire at a regional scale. This reveals patterning based on both topographical and administrative norms, the differing means by which these territories were realised and the importance of agricultural patterns for providing insights into the functioning of assemblies.

5.1 Monumental foci

5.1.1 Artificial mounds

Mounds are identified here as a significant feature in the corpus of assembly-

attesting toponyms for the Yorkshire ridings. This tallies with assembly-scholarship overall, which has long noted a common association between mounds and assemblies in place-names and written sources (Gomme 1880; Mawer 1922; Ellis-Davidson 1943). Due to the nature of the Old English nomenclature, the same toponyms used to reference an artificial mound could on occasion also be applied to hills and other natural eminences. The Old Norse element *haugr* is the most common signifier in this study area *and* the signifying term for mound found in the nomenclature of the Domesday hundreds and wapentakes (with the exception of *Turbar* (**TUR-0**), instead derived from the Old Norse *berg* (Anderson 1934:12; Smith 1937: 86n; Figure 36; Table 13*)*. *Haugr* is also found in the later medieval West Riding wapentake name of Claro (**CLA-0**) and Craike Hill (**CRA-1** ; '*Crakou'*; Caley 1818: 191), the Riding Court for the East Riding (Anderson 1934: 20-1; Smith 1961e: 1). Topographic comparison would suggest that the *haugr* present in Fingay Hill (**FGY-1**) instead refers to the selfsame hill (Smith 1928: 213) but in other instances, e.g. Spell Howe (**SPHW-1)**, the reference to a mound seems clear (Smith 1937: 116).

Old English *hlaw* is the next most frequent. Only two are certain: Spellow Clump (**SPC-1)** and Tingley (**TING-1**; Smith 1937:153; 1961b: 175). Others, such as *Spelhoudayl* and *Mothow* (**MTH-1**) may equally derive from Old Norse *haugr* or Old English *hlaw* (National Archives: E142/49/4-7; Brown 1932:132-3). Old English *hyll* is problematic. Craike Hill (**CRA-1)** appears to signify a re-modelled hill-spur (Smith 1937: 167) while the later-recorded wapentake of Harthill (**HAR-0)** instead likely refers to a feature of the Yorkshire Wolds. 'Mound' appears most often in Yorkshire as the Old Norse *haugr*. In terms of Domesday names, they are largely confined to the East Riding but assembly-attesting mound names are known from all three Ridings. (Figure 36). The varied toponymic elements that refer to mounds and hills are evenly distributed throughout Yorkshire – its absence from Richmondshire (**TAC-0**) could simply represent the interplay of low-level Pennine settlement and Smith's earlier place-name methodology, which took little account of field names until work commenced on the place-names of the West Riding. The Old Norse toponym *haugr* is mostly confined to the Vale of York and eastwards while the Old English *hlaw*, though less

frequent, has a greater presence in the Pennine Fringe south of the river Wharfe.

Far fewer mounds are known from the sites themselves (Figure 37). Three extant and identifiable features can be identified, all in the East Riding. Spell Howe (**SPHW-1)** is a tumulus situated on a natural knoll at the ridge-line of Flotmanby Wold where it overlooks Folkton (Figure 38 & 39). It constitutes the most visually impressive example in the study area. No intrusive excavations are known, though a Royal Observation Corp monitoring post was inserted into the north-western flank of the edifice in the early twentieth century (Subterranea Britannica 2013). A covered reservoir was later positioned at the centre of the barrow. It has been assigned a Bronze Age date on morphological grounds (NMR 2013: MON#79689). A watching brief on ground adjacent to Spell Howe did not reveal any archaeological deposits (MAP Archaeological Consultancy 2003). Of particular interest is the monumental complex with which it is associated, including a rectilinear embankment known as 'Lang Camp' alongside an alignment of elongated barrows and another solitary mound (NMR 2013: MON#79656, MON#79689, MON#79692; Knox 1855: 130). These are discussed below in Section 5.1.7. To the west of the tumulus, where the wold edge directly overlooks Folkton, the Portable Antiquities Scheme has reported a small assemblage of early medieval metalwork. These include a polyhedral coin weight, a decorated stylus and a strap fitting (PAS 2013: NLM687, NLM688, NLM689). They are each dated to the tenth century and, with the exception of the Anglo-Saxon stylus, are considered to be of Anglo-Scandinavian origin. While reasonable to argue for a spatial connection between the settlement of Folkton on the one hand, and the ridge-line position of the barrow and the metalwork assemblage on the other, it is more difficult to confirm a significant relationship between the latter two. However, as argued in Section 6.2, Spell Howe is one in a pattern of ridge-line assemblies found in East Riding, in an analogous position to that of Spellow Clump (**SPC-1)** and Huntow (**HUN-1**). Certainly several have suggested that Spell Howe, in the Domesday hundred of *Turbar* (**TUR-0**), represented the meeting-place for this unit (Anderson 1934: 12; Smith 1937: 116-7; Allison 1974: 3). Spellow Clump in turn is situated 2.5 kilometres north-west of Driffield (**DRI-1**) on Elmswell Wold (Figures 40 & 41). The

name is associated with a small curvilinear feature in a wooded corner of a field containing a rectilinear 'Old Enclosure on the first edition Ordnance Survey mapping. The Ordnance Survey also noted 'Best's Grave' in this Clump, later recorded as a post-medieval sepulchre (Mortimer and Sheppard 1905: 264). No archaeological work is recorded in or around the site of the Clump and thus it is impossible to determine whether it is an example of re-use. The nomenclature would favour this. The distance from Driffield poses some issues for any hypothesised connection but the accompanying two lanes entitled 'Spellowgate', one running northward from Elmswell and the other north-west from Driffield, do signal a spatial connection in the local toponyms between the habitation and the meeting place. The latter road, despite a later turn north, is positioned on a direct vector to the site of the barrow. The last is Craike Hill (**CRA-1)**, identified with the Riding Court of *Crakou* in the *Placita de Quo Warranto* (Caley 1818: 191). It comprises a remodelled hillspur, protruding out of the southern side of a dry-valley in Tibthorpe Wold (Mortimer and Sheppard 1905: 235; Figure 42 & 43). Like Spellow Clump it is positioned on the outskirts of Driffield (**DRI-1**), some 5 kilometres from this settlement. During excavations in the late nineteenth century, John Mortimer found a flexed inhumation inserted into the southern side of the crest of the hill-spur *(ibid*). The presence of worked iron with the burial has encouraged Sam Lucy (1998: 130) and latterly Jo Buckberry (2004: 433-4) to identify this as a secondary Anglo-Saxon inhumation. Craike Hill is also part of a larger monumental complex of barrows to the west of Driffield (**DRI-1**; Stoertz 1997: 32) and also appears to represent a western border to the zone of early medieval mortuary activity in and around the Driffield area (Figure 43).

This is followed by a larger and more disparate grouping of possible mound sites. The most compelling is that of Tingley (**TING-1**) in the West Riding (Smith 1961b: 175). The name is first recorded as *Tynglawe* and *Thingeslawe* – 'assembly hill' in the Yorkshire Feet of Fines of 1208 (Farrer and Clay: 1949: 186). It is a name shared with Tingley Field Plantation in Bedfordshire (Dyer 1959: 15). While now a dense residential outlier to Leeds it was once a sparsely settled moorland crossroad (Figure 44). In his *Ducatus Leodiensis*, Ralph Thoresby referred to Tingley without further

clarification as among the "monuments of the Danish times" (1715: 195). Goodall likewise refers to a visible 'lowe' (1913: 25) while later Smith (1961b: 173-5) cited a mound depicted on the First Edition Ordnance Survey mapping at National Grid Reference SE281261 on the cross-road itself. Conversely the evidence from the West Yorkshire Historic Environment Record is more equivocal, with earlier descriptions of an identified mound at variance to later, more ambivalent observations of bumpy, undulating ground in association with a military depot (AOC Archaeology Group 2009; 2010; WYAAS 2013: PRN#4149). Problematic as this is, the proposed site of the mound has more recently been associated with an unusual assemblage of mid-Saxon metalwork. This consisted of a cluster of pins of likely eighth- to ninth-century date (e.g. PAS 2013: 7D4BF2; 7D3162; 7D9174) alongside a fifth- to sixth-century brooch fragment *(ibid*: 7CF1A2; Figures 44, 45, 46 & 47). The absence of a monetary component suggests deposition prior to Scandinavian colonisation. Although small, this assemblage is one of the most closely identified groupings of archaeological material to an assembly site in England. The mound with its assemblage is situated at a significant road juncture, argued by Haigh *et al* (1982) to be Roman. It is also proximate to the long-standing Lee Gap Fair, a trading event arguably documented in the three fairs *in silva Morelege* of Domesday Book (Faull and Stinson 1986: 373d; Pollard 1897: xi; Jewell 1990: 65n).

The second probable assembly mound is that of Claro Hill (**CLA-1**), a natural occurring gravel moraine that provided the nomenclature for the renamed Domesday wapentake of *Borgescire* (Wood 1972: 186; Faull and Stinson 1986: 379d; Figure 48). With Borough Hill (**BUR-1**), within the Roman walls of Aldborough, the connection begins to become more tenuous. This is in fact a spur protruding out of the sloping ground that defines the settlement but it appears to have been augmented by the collapsed monumental remains of a Roman municipal structure (Turner 1853: 135; Ferraby and Millett 2013: 292-3; Figure 49). It is situated directly adjacent to the market green and formed the venue for parliamentary husts (Ecroyd Smith 1852: 42). The exact site is presently occupied by the former court-house of the manor. The connection is one of nomenclature, partially supported by later

medieval non-wapentake, assembly activity. Thus it should only be considered a possible assembly site, especially when the Burghshire name (**BUR-0**) is also reflected in the settlement of Boroughbridge immediately to the west (though not documented in Domesday Book). Elsewhere, Knowler Hill in Liversedge (**KNOW-1**), or *Hustin Knowll* in 1560 – *hus-þing* or 'house assembly' (Smith 1961c: 29) may be associated with the spur on which sits the early nineteenth-century foundation of Christ Church, Liversedge (Stead 1907: 33). The field-name *Mothow* (**MTH-1**) is linked to Hovingham in Ryedale wapentake (**MAN-0**). Associations have been made with the remodelled, supposedly Roman, barrow at the eastern end of the village, but this remains speculation (Allison 2011: 38-40; Figure 50). The meeting place of Ainsty wapentake (**AIN-0**) meanwhile, has been associated with an ornamental mound in the grounds of Bilbrough manor, despite this being some 270 metres north of Ainsty Cliff itself (**AIN-1**; Speight 1902: 165-6; Smith 1961d: 235; Figure 51). The surviving location of the Ainsty toponym remains a better guide. Similarly Mortimer's proposed 'moot-hill' at Wetwang (**WTW-1)** is far more likely to represent the base of a post-mill (1905: 396; Figure 52). While these do on occasion reflect the re-use of Bronze Age mounds the evidence from the excavation did not reveal any early medieval material *(ibid*).

The name Huntow (**HUN-1**) can be identified at two locations on the Wold slopes 2.1 and 2.5 kilometres north of Bridlington respectively. Another is found in Buckton township 4.3 kilometres north-west of the town alongside a fourth historical reference to a *Hunton* in Fraisthorpe in 1225 (**HUN-2**), 5.6 kilometres south of Bridlington (Lancaster 1912: 205). None of these are closely identified with a particular mound although a number of ploughed-down round barrows are reported immediately south-west of the fields marked 'Huntow' in Bridlington township, some of which have been associated with Romano-British and later medieval pottery (NMR 2013: MON#81336, MON#1260750; Wright 1861: 22; Figure 53). A spatial connection can however be posited between the documented site of the 'Weapontake Stone' (**WEAP-1**), between Yearsley and Gilling East, an assembly-attesting toponym not associated with a specific assembly, and the barrows of the

South Coney Hills (Marwood 1995; Figure 54).

Mounds were a significant characteristic of hundred and wapentake assemblies in the ridings of Yorkshire. The toponymic content of the assembly-attesting place-names suggests mounds were a predominating feature but verification remains difficult given how few of these place-names can be fixed with certainty in the landscape. Mounds are a frequent feature though, whether attested on the ground or referenced in place-names. Where meeting mounds can be identified serving the wapentake or hundred they appear to represent ancillary, somewhat distant structures to the established settlements in the vicinity. There are relationships evident however between meeting-mounds and nearby settlements. Tingley (**TING-1**) may be positioned with respect to Morley (**MOR-1**; Figure 44) in much the same fashion that Spell Howe (**SPHW-1)** is to Folkton and Spellow Clump (**SPC-1)** is to Driffield (**DRI-1**; Figure 39 & 41). This can also be extended to the Huntow sites (**HUN-1**) in relation to Bridlington (Figure 53). This is significant in its suggestion that mounds may have formed a principal component of the phenomenon of ridgeline assembly identified in the East Riding (see Section 6.2) and should prompt the examination of monumental remains in the environs of other hundred and wapentake sites, such as the that of barrow 203 on Acklam Wold (**ACK-1**) where it overlooks the hundredal settlement.

5.1.2 Trees

In the study area tree-names are found exclusively in the hundred and wapentake toponyms. Hessle (**HES-0**) references a hazel in the East Riding (Anderson 1934: 17; Smith 1937: 215-6) while Skyrack (**SKY-0**) in the West Riding refers to an oak tree (Anderson 1934:22-3; Smith 1961d: 88). Warter (**WAR-0**), or 'gallows-tree', is indicative of function while *Gerlestre* (**GERL-0**), or 'Earl's Tree', is instead indicative of office or ownership. Barkston (**BARK-0**) is not recorded as Barkston Ash until 1598 (Smith 1961d: 1). Without recorded assemblies at this site it is impossible to determine whether the Ash name was a reflection of earlier practice or not. The issue

of the survival of trees as assembly markers, given the thousand or so years between the recording of the place-name and this modern-day study means that this strand of the dataset is not directly comparable to the rest. The association with trees cannot be proven through visiting the site. They still represent an interesting and informative category however.

Barkston (**BARK-1**) is the only venue with a standing tree explicitly associated with a wapentake (Figure 55). The toponymic element Ash is a later addition, first recorded in 1598 (Smith 1961d: 1). The current ash was planted at the turn of the millennium to replace an earlier tree (Liptrot 2012). The position is marked on the first edition Ordnance Survey, so one can at least assume the presence of a tree at that location for the last 150 years. While no prior reference to the tree has been located, it may be significant that it is positioned adjacent to a western appendage of a detached portion of the adjacent township of Saxton, where it encompasses part of the village of Barkston (Figure 56). The associated presence of a stump cross at the northern end of the village (NMR 2012: MON#54497), marking the boundary between the parishes of Sherburn-in-Elmet and Saxton, in conjunction with the position of the village at the northern end of the reconstructed mother parish associated with Sherburn, would indicate that the tree itself marked a significant node on the estate boundary and could therefore be of considerable age and have functioned as a boundary marker as well as a meeting-place. Unlike Barkston no tree is recorded for Skyrack (**SKY-1**), though vestiges of a tree are recorded surviving in the centre of Headingley, a suburb of Leeds, as late as the early twentieth-century. An 1830 painting by Joseph Rhodes (Figure 57) depicts the tree, with an accompanying sign, at a cross-roads. The 1846 tithe assessment depicts it in the grounds of Oak Cottage (Tracks in Time 2013) while an early twentieth-century photograph records the gnarled base of an enormous tree adjacent to tram-lines in Headingley (Figure 58). As with Barkston no reference is known of specific activity in relation to a tree – instead an assembly of Skyrack (**SKY-0**) is described by the Kirkstall chartulary as '*apud Burcheleia*' (‘at Burley’; Lancaster and Baildon 1904: 208). Given the position of the tree in the chapelry of Headingley-cum-Burley, the identification seems secure.

Indeed Smith's alternate identification of Oaks Farm in Otley with Skyrack seems at best wishful (Smith 1961d: 206). The Barkston Ash tree is 2.4 kilometres north of Sherburn-in-Elmet, situated on the northern border of the estate. The Skyrack Oak (**SKY-1**), though not obviously situated on an estate boundary, is found 3 kilometres north-west of the location of Bede's *Loidis*, another early medieval estate centre of significant importance (Figure 59). This link is significantly strengthened by the wider prevalence of assembly sites on the borders of estates in the study area (see Section 6.1). As a result it is unlikely that these monument foci related primarily to the settlements within which they are/were found, despite the presence of entries for Barkston and Headingley in Domesday Book (Faull and Stinson 1986: 315a, 315c).

Other arboreal associations are limited. There is no identifiable tree in association with Warter (**WAR-1**), while the North Riding wapentake name (and later Riding court) of *Gerlestre* (**GERL-0**) remains unidentified in its entirety (though there is some suggestion it may have been closely associated with its seeming successor of Birdforth (**GERL-1**), as denoted by reference to the riding rather than wapentake court of *Brodeford* in the *Quo Warranto*; Caley 1818: 437, 441). The presence of later medieval manorial courts at Hipperholme Thorn Tree and the oak at Alderman's Head in the study area add additional evidence for tree-focused assembly as a regionally distinctive and fairly common trait (see also Gomme 1880: 131-3 for more examples).

It is abundantly clear that assemblies at trees occurred throughout medieval England and Europe. Anderson pointed out that the Old English element *trēow* in hundred names was predominant in the west of England (1939b: 185), an observation borne out in Pantos' later survey (2001: 65). Conversely relatively few instance of the cognate Old Norse term *tré* were encountered, though given the phonological similarities with *trēow,* one must not place undue weight on this observation. Of the twenty-three hundred names possessing the element *treow,* seventeen also reference personal names (Hooke 2010: 172). Anderson took this to mean either that the tree marked the border of the named person's estate, that it represented their

grave, or that it referenced the name of a one-time hundred or wapentake official (1939b:158-9).

Thorns comprise the largest group of named trees, followed by ashes and oaks (Hooke 2010: 196). The prevalence of the thorn is directly reflected in its occurrences in boundary clauses in the extant corpus of charters *(ibid*). By contrast the frequency enjoyed by oak trees in the same clauses contrasts strongly with only two known references to oaks found in the hundred and wapentake names – Skyrack, West Riding (**SKY-0**), and Tipnoak, Sussex *(ibid*). This leads one to ask why there are no thorn trees referenced in the hundred and wapentake names of Yorkshire. However, the later medieval assemblies of Staincross wapentake (**STC-0**) at Cawthorne (**STC-2**; Bracton and Maitland 1887: 184) do accede to this wider tendency. Evaluating these proportions is difficult within the bounds of Yorkshire but it is at least apparent that it contrasts with differing fashions on the Continent. Gomme recounts numerous examples collected by Grimm of assemblies held under trees in medieval Germany (1880: 40). In this case the two most common arboreal foci were oaks and limes *(ibid*). Michelet's analogous survey in France presented a wider variety of species within another profusion of documented assemblies at trees *(ibid*: 42). There are also well-documented accounts from the thirteenth century of the Frisian assembly convening at the *Upstalboom*, or 'upper common tree' (Iversen 2013: 12). One can even extend this into the realm of Norse mythology, where it is clear that the assemblies, or *þings*, of Asgard, were convened next to Yggdrasil, the World Tree (Løkka 2013: 20). The association between trees and assemblies is strong, and it can be found widely throughout north-west Europe. What then is the significant of arboreal foci?

Anderson's proposition that trees primarily acted as boundary markers has achieved the most subsequent purchase (1939b: 158-9). Hooke has proposed that trees were utilised in this way as deliberately archaic markers (2010: 172). Sarah Semple has further highlighted the presence of trees as spiritually significant in Anglo-Saxon England throughout the early medieval period, exemplified in the presence of Ash and Oak as runes, and in later various ordinances that attempted to forbid sanctuary

and other activities in relation to trees, wells and stones. (2013: 66-9). One of the best articulations of the significance of the tree as an assembly site comes from the infamous Gisors incident between Henry II of England and Philip Augustus of France in 1188. Near Gisors there was an elm tree considered to mark the border between Normandy and the royal demesne of the French king, This had been the venue for at least fourteen meetings between the two kingdoms since the early twelfth century (Diggelmann 2010: 256). Common to the several surviving accounts, in the summer of 1188 at one such convention Henry and his retinue occupied the entirety of the shade of the tree, forcing Philip to stand under the beating sun for three days of fruitless negotiations. Philip's reaction was to fell the tree and obliterate its fragments. The act was shocking and marked the end of civil negotiations between the two kings. Diggelmann has posed this as an explicit rejection of the neutral status afforded by the tree – removing the prime venue of negotiation between the two kingdoms constituted a territorial claim upon Normandy. Its prime character was its neutrality, an aspect that complements evidence for sanctuary connotations evident in Anglo-Saxon England (Semple 2013: 68). Diggelmann further argues that the tree had an active role in creating and maintaining the boundary (2010: 256) – essentially it comprised the one fixed point between two territories better defined by marcher zones. Neutrality and liminality were not merely functions of a wider tenurial context, otherwise a greater range of venues would abound. The territories, and the relationships between the territories, were being actively defined by a tree, and the neutral, liminal qualities imbued in that tree. There was clearly an abiding sense of neutrality and sanctuary associated with trees bound up with earlier spiritual beliefs in wide-ranging parts of Europe, reflected at a later time by their use in articulating the boundaries of territories. These qualities were evidently sought for hundred and wapentake meeting-places.

5.1.3 Springs, wells and ponds

Three toponyms signify focal water features in the study area (Figure 60). One is the hundred of Welton (**WEL-0**), or 'springside farmstead' (Anderson 1934: 17; Smith

1937: 220). The two others are the Domesday North Riding wapentakes of Halikeld (**HAL-0**) – 'holy well' (Smith 1928: 218; Anderson 1934: 10) - and the renamed Domesday wapentake of Bolesford as Bulmer (**BOL-0**) – 'Bull's mere' (Smith 1928: 8; Anderson 1934: 6). Springs and wells form a comparatively small proportion of the hundred and wapentakes of England (Anderson 1939b: 174-5). With one exception in Sussex, they are found within the Danelaw, though all but two are referenced using the Old English toponym *wiella*, or 'well' *(ibid*). Halikeld (**HAL-0**) marks the only instance of Old Norse nomenclature deployed to describe such a feature in a hundredal setting. In compiling a list of assembly sites associated with water features one must be careful not to include each settlement with a village pond. Further, the prevalence of spring-line settlement in the East Riding, such as at Acklam (**ACK-1**) and Burton Agnes (**BUR-1**; Fenton Thomas 2003: 111-2) means that the association may be of illusory significance. Thus, springs, well and other water features have only been noted where they form a defining feature (Table 9).

The well of Welton hundred (**WEL-0**) has been identified by both Anderson and Smith as that of St Anne's Well, Welton (**WEL-1**), at SE962271 (Anderson 1934: 17; Smith 1937: 220; Figure 61). That said the village is also directly adjacent to Welton springs on the Wold Edge (SE961279). No activity is associated with either though James Rattue notes that the cult of St Anne is thought to be of only twelfth-century date or later (2001: 67). For Halikeld wapentake (**HAL-0**) there are not one but two eponymous springs, situated between Melmerby and Hutton Moor (SE34017556 and SE34277514; Figure 62). The northerly Halikeld spring (**HAL-1**), marking the border between the self-same wapentake and what later became Hang wapentake (**HANG-0**), has now been covered over by an industrial estate. The latter, in Halikeld field (**HAL-1**), remains as a stagnant pool. This area is characterised by a noticeably larger number of monumental barrows than the wider surroundings, though this may be more a factor of Halikeld wapentake's transitional situation between the Vale of York and the Pennine fringe – a location where prehistoric barrows might be expected to be more prominent (Faull and Moorhouse 1981: 109-11; Figure 26). The Halikeld springs are not in close proximity to any significant centres of settlement. The

presence of Athelstan's Cross to the south-west (SE33647364) and the pattern of tenure within the wapentake indicates that they were not involved in marking the border of the Ripon estate, which appears to encroach only partly into the territory of the wapentake (Farrer 1806: 78n). However Halikeld wapentake still possesses much the same appearance of *Gereburg* (**GER-1**) wapentake in the West Riding, of a partially incorporated older territory merged into a newer system of wapentakes (see Section 6.1). It is dominated, like *Gereburg*, by episcopal tenure from both York and Durham and may reflect an older territory impeding the implementation of a system of wapentakes onto the landscape. At any rate these springs are relatively isolated while still reasonably accessible from Dere Street. Another spring is recorded at Ainsty Cliff (**AIN-1**), while adjacent to Langbaurgh ridge (**LAN-1**) one finds the overgrown Chapel Well (Figure 11). This latter example is doubly interesting due to the accounts of well-dressing and the convention of a fair lasting into the early nineteenth century (Grose 1773; Young 1817: 778). Scarthingwell, next to Dinting Dale (**DINT-1**) and just north of Barkston Ash (**BARK-1**), may indicate another well in proximity to Barkston Ash wapentake site (Figure 55). Bulmer (**BOL-2**) has no association with a mere or spring. Halikeld is the only clear identification. This appears to be situated in an ancillary position to the settlement of Melmerby further north – the position of the springs on the wapentake border itself reinforces the sense of peripheral location. In other cases springs and wells are found in association with sites, such as Barkston Ash and Ainsty, that are themselves peripheral to significant estate centres. The Domesday hundreds and wapentakes associated with springs and wells likely reflect a practice largely restricted to the Danelaw, such as Well in Lincolnshire and Rothwell in Northamptonshire, and their limited occurrences may indicate that these were deemed secondary foci to the sites of assembly. There are potentially wider cultic links. The norns of Norse mythology were thought to dwell at Weird's Well, also described as 'the place of judgement' (Riisøy 2013: 34). In Frisia the sacred spring of the god Fosite on Heligoland was used as a venue for judicial decisions while in legend twelve Frisian lawmen learned the law while sat around a spring *(ibid*: 36). Nonetheless, despite the widespread sacral associations of springs throughout the British Isles (Rattue 2001), this does not appear to have been

reflected in the proportion of hundreds and wapentakes that referred to this landscape feature.

5.1.4 Crosses and other orthostats

Crosses, after mounds, are the most frequently cited assembly landmark in the assembly-attesting toponyms in the study area (Figure 63; Table 8). As with other landmarks, surviving and verifiable traces are scant. The most common element is the Old Norse *kross*, an Irish loan word (Smith 1956b: 7). It is found in the Domesday wapentakes of Osgoldcross (**OGC-0**), Staincross (**STC-0**) and the Domesday hundred of *Sneculfcros* (**SNE-0**; Anderson 1934: 16, 24-5; Smith 1937: 153; 1961a: 317; 1961b: 79). It is also found in a renamed wapentake of the twelfth century and later – Buckrose in the East Riding (**BUC-0;** Anderson 1934: 14; Smith 1937: 120). The North Riding court of *Gerlestre* (**GERL-0**) is also at one point glossed as *Yarlescros* (Anderson 1934: 7). It is also found in a lost *Spelcros* in the common fields of Guisborough (Brown 1889: 38) and Stony Cross, formerly *Spelcros* (**STX-1**), at a cross-road between Wombleton and Kirkdale (Atkinson 1889: 41, 285; Allison 2011: 33-4; Figure 64). The Old Norse element *kross* is found only in areas of the Danelaw (Anderson 1939b: 191). In fact half of the known examples of *kross* in hundredal contexts are found in Yorkshire, a proportion even more striking when the assembly-attesting toponyms are also taken into account *(ibid*: Pantos 2001: 67). The majority of such *kross* names reference personal names, and these also tend to be of Norse extraction (Anderson 1939b: 191). By contrast, not only are *kross* names absent south of the Danelaw, but there is as little trace of their Old English equivalents *rōd* and *mǣl* (Pantos 2001: 68). While the Old English term *stān* is found throughout England it does not necessarily represent directly analogous practice (Anderson 1939b: 186-7). The hundred and wapentake toponyms referring to crosses are evidently a Danelaw phenomenon.

Three other sites, not strictly crosses, represent stones or orthostats associated with assembly activity. The foremost is in the village of Rudston (**DICK-2)**. A gigantic orthostat, accepted as a prehistoric monolith, sits in the churchyard (Figure 65). The

name of the village, Rudston, from the Old English *rod-stān* ('rood stone'; Smith 1937: 98; Semple 2002: 233-4; 2013: 112), is believed to refer to this stone, which was documented as a venue for the later medieval assemblies of Dickering wapentake (**DICK-0)** between the early fourteenth and mid fifteenth century (Martin 1909: 217-218n; Putnam 1939: 33, 49; Maxwell-Lyte 1909b: 306). Another Yorkshire example is mentioned in a late eighteenth-century boundary charter: the 'Weapontake Stone' (**WEAP-1**) lay between Yearsley and Gilling East (and on the border of Ryedale [**MAN-0**] and Birdforth wapentakes [**GERL-0**]; Marwood 1995; Figure 54). It is clearly located adjacent to the South Coney Hills barrows (NMR 2013: MON#56957) on the border of the two wapentakes, though the Stone itself has been lost. Finally a 'Mootham Stone' is recorded at Eller Carr, near Bingley (Turner 1897: 312). This has not been located, but implies that stones, like crosses, could both demarcate borders and set the scene for assemblies. This can also be witnessed elsewhere, for instance in Stanes hundred, Buckinghamshire and Wilaveston hundred, Cheshire (Pantos 2001: 227, 250).

No standing or curated early medieval cross can be reliably associated with the hundred and wapentake toponyms in Yorkshire. It is possible that the incised sandstone block at Stony Cross (**STX-1**) comprises a fragment of the attested orthostat (Hayes 1988: 41). Otherwise all one is left with is the Rudston monolith, discussed in detail below (**DICK-2)**. One cross-base, at Wingate Hill (**WEST-1**), appears to be situated at the venue of the West Riding court although there is no toponymic or documented connection with such an edifice (Figure 66). The immediate setting of these sites is valuable however in terms of information on possible assembly locations. Stony Cross, mentioned immediately above, appears today as an undated wayside marker 600 metres north of Wombleton and 1.2 kilometres south-west of Kirkdale (Figure 64). It is associated with a cross-road and, as with many of the other assembly-attesting sites in the study area, it is located on the outskirts of a proximate settlement and a proposed minster site at Kirkdale (Watts, Grenville and Rahtz 1996). At Wingate Hill the base of the cross may be later medieval in date, although the remainder is resolutely modern (NMR 2012: MON#54944). The cross was moved to

the west away from an earlier position at the road junction on the hill-crest, following quarrying activity. Finally a stump cross is recorded at the north end of Barkston Ash village (**BARK-1**; NMR 2013: MON#54497). This marks the border between the parishes of Sherburn-in-Elmet and Saxton and may in fact have no relationship to assembly practice in the immediate village (Figure 55).

Despite its loss, Osgoldcross (**OGC-1**) remains one of the more informative examples. Where the cross once stood one now finds a covered market cross, erected in the early nineteenth century (Figure 67 & 68). There is no description of the cross itself aside from the phrase '*Osgodcross alias Pontefract Market Cross'* in a Parliamentary Survey of 1652 (Smith 1961b: 79). However George Fox preserved a description of its immediate surrounds. "It has a freed way to it, as well as an unpaved portion of ground, of about two yards in breadth surrounding it; within which boundary, as tradition hath it, the corporate body of the town could not seize anyone for debt &tc" (Fox 1827: 355). It appears to be associated with sanctuary and also closely connected to market activity in Pontefract and its antecedents/fellow travellers of Tanshelf, Kirkby and Westcheap (Smith 1961b: 76; Beresford 1967: 525-6). It is likely no coincidence that the town 'Mote Hall' was built in the same market-place. It is also situated in an extra-mural position to what was the walled part of Pontefract. The presence of an extra-mural wapentake focus in conjunction with a market has obvious parallels with Toft Green on the south-west corner of the walled south banks of York. Here, in 1307, there was great controversy over the planned expansion of the Dominican Friary into a plot of land noted for "an assembly of the people to show arms…a common market [and]…the place of duel" (Palmer 1881: 400). The indications of sanctuary in turn are strongly reminiscent of one of the Beverley Sanctuary Crosses, Grith Cross, the lost venue for several Inquisitions in 1290 and 1296 (Brown 1898: 103; 1902: 33; Maxwell-Lyte 1912: 199-200). It is tentatively suggested here that this may have been synonymous with *Sneculfcros* (**SNE-0**), though both are lost and so this must remain open to question. Of the remainder, Mootham Stone is unclearly associated with the caves at Eller Carr (Turner 1897: 312) while Weapontake Stone (**WEAP-1**) is lost, a cross-road now defined by one

remaining barrow of the South Coney Hills (Marwood 1995; NMR 2013: MON#56957; Figure 54).

The final orthostat to be considered is Rudston (**DICK-2)**, co-opted into the data-set by its repeated setting as the wapentake assembly for Dickering (**DICK-0)**. It is a tapering sandstone monolith, over seven metres in height, situated in the churchyard of All Saints (Figure 65). It is also positioned at the apparent convergence of four cursus monuments and the entrenchments of the Argham Dykes upon this monumental focus (Stoertz 1997; Barclay and Bayliss 1999: 30-9; Figure 69). In fact only one of these, cursus B, is actually aligned upon the monolith (Dymond 1966: 33). The name is derived from the Old English '*rod-stān'*, or 'rood stone' (Smith 1937: 98-9), a name that alludes strongly to its treatment as an analogue. Excavations in the later eighteenth century reported that it extended to a depth of over eight metres below the surface of the churchyard (Pegge 1776: 95-6). In the course of this intervention much sepulchral material, appropriate to its churchyard setting, was uncovered but nothing, including the fabric of the church, appears to have indicated early medieval activity (Pevsner and Neave 1995: 664; Rawson 2007). Despite an array of archaeological interventions in the village itself little to no early medieval activity has been recovered and it seems most likely that the present amalgam of village, church and monolith is a post-Conquest creation. The exceptions are two cruciform brooches reported by the Elgees – their provenance remains unclear (1933: 180). The investigation of cropmark complexes directly north and south of the village has revealed Romano-British and later medieval settlement. However the southerly example is also characterised by two clusters of early medieval metalwork (Figure 70). The first comprises a significant quantity of fifth- to sixth-century brooches and other sartorial accoutrements in accompaniment with much cremated bone (e.g. PAS 2013: YORYM-CDD8A4, YORYM-C16164, YORYM-B2B7E1, YORYM-21BA03; Figures 71, 72 & 73). It has all the appearance of an early cremation cemetery. The same area is also characterised by a smaller deposit of bullion, including a number of silver fragments, a ring and a coin of Aethelred II *(ibid*: YORYM-4BA333, YORYM-6B78D4, YORYM-6B67B2. This demonstrates the re-use of a post-Roman cremation cemetery

as a node of trade, hoarding and/or conciliar Anglo-Scandinavian activity a short distance to the south of a recurrent assembly site of Dickering wapentake in the later medieval period. The absence of early medieval settlement in the village and its immediate surrounds further stresses that an unusual, special event is taking place, and in so doing potentially providing a highly distinctive metalwork signature for a type of early medieval assembly.

There are two striking examples of hundredal cross-sites elsewhere that parallel the settings witnessed in Yorkshire. The first is the Wroth Stone, on Knightlow Hill, Warwickshire (Bryant 2012: 348). This comprises a cross base atop a mound, situated south-east of Ryton-on-Dunsmore, on the road from Coventry to London. It represents the meeting point for the shipsoke of Knightlow, comprising three Domesday hundreds. Meetings were recorded at the cross from at least the early eighteenth century, while meetings of Knightlow can be traced to the early thirteenth century *(ibid*). Bryant has however pointed out that the cross-base has no early medieval features *(ibid*). Thus, it does not necessarily represent an assembly of early medieval provenance and could indeed instead represent a post-Conquest foundation. Conversely the Elloe Stone, just north-east of Moulton, Lincolnshire, may well represent a pre-Conquest wapentake cross in *situ* (Everson and Stocker 1999: 162-4). This survives as a weathered cross-head of late tenth- to early eleventh-century date *(ibid*). It shares its name with the Domesday wapentake of Elloe, while the consistent pattern of weathering on the cross would suggest it had long adopted the same position *(ibid*: 164). Interestingly it was said to be situated within a *quadrivium*, in this case thought to indicate a square enclosure *(ibid*). This constitutes a plausible parallel to the sanctuary zone associated with Osgoldcross (**OGC-1**) and plausibly *Sneculfcros* (**SNE-0**; Everson and Stocker 1999: 164). It appears that cross assemblies could be a feature from the late tenth century onwards, and that new foundations could have continued in the centuries following the Conquest. Nonetheless there remains a consistent pattern of these cross-sites positioned outside of settlements.

Crosses and their analogues are found in a significant minority of both hundredal and assembly-attesting toponyms in the study area, though not to the same degree as references to mounds. The gloss of *Gerlestre* (**GERL-0**) as *Yarlescros* may even indicate an assumption of a cross as an assumed component of a 'suitable' assembly site. Despite this, few survive – examples like the Elloe Stone in Lincolnshire are very much the exception (Everson and Stocker 1999: 162-4). From what can be discerned, cross-marked assembly places are in ancillary positions to known settlement areas, and a number of cases are known at crossroads. The example of Osgoldcross (**OGC-1**) suggests instead extra-mural assembly, in conjunction with market and judicial functions. The site at Rudston (**DICK-2)**, due to the degree of archaeological attention received, gives a little more insight. Here an isolated hillspur directly proximate to a long attested locale of mortuary activity, but liminal to the settlement pattern east in the Great Wold Valley, may have emerged as a place of assembly. A similar practice may be at play for the deployment of crosses, which in several cases in the study area, such as Lilla Howe, Old Ralph and Rey Cross, mark wapentake and shire borders (Turton 1895: 5; Vyner 2001; see Section 5.4.5). Osgoldcross (**OGC-1**), plausibly in tandem with *Sneculfcros* (**SNE-0**) and, further afield, the Elloe Stone, indicates a significant pattern of sanctuary status afforded to these monuments. The sacral qualities of crosses in a Christian landscape would seem obvious, and it may be that orthostats with analogous qualities are witnessed in the runestones found in many Swedish assembly sites (Sanmark 2009; Brink 2004). However the absence of hundred assemblies associated with crosses in English-controlled areas is striking by comparison. To an extent this may reflect the overall distribution of early medieval sculpture in the country, but it may also indicate the date at which these assemblies were established. In its essentials, assembly sites in areas like Wessex frequently reference wells, trees and stones, despite proscriptions against these sites in the lawcodes (Wormald 1999: 345). These possessed enduring sacral qualities. However, in parts of the Danelaw, witness to the recent Christianisation of Scandinavian settlers, the establishment of analogous settings with sanctuary qualities was beholden to stricter Christian influence in the tenth century and thus one finds a greater proportion of wapentakes associated with crosses. In turn this implies that

assemblies in English-controlled England demonstrated a degree of continuity of function, as late establishment would presumably be reflected in a greater proportion of hundred assemblies associated with crosses. The analogy between sacred crosses and sacred trees can be extended further by consideration of the often arboreal designs employed in sculptural contexts (Semple 2013: 69). Of course, trees, wells and stones are also frequently referenced in the hundreds and wapentakes of Yorkshire and the wider Danelaw, so the crosses only reflect partial change, a disposition that accords with the significant proportions of both Old English and Old Norse place-name elements in the study area.

5.1.5 High ground

The importance of high points and hill-crests as assembly locations has been repeatedly highlighted by, among others, Gomme (1880: 109, 219), Anderson (1939b: 157) and Smith (1928: 128). This has been explained largely in terms of visual control (Meaney 1993: 69). However in the study area the only name that appears to explicitly reference height is Hedon (**HOL-1)**, the port succeeded by Hull on the river Humber and a later medieval venue for Holderness wapentake (**HOL-0;** Figure 74). The name is solved as Old English '*heah-dun*' or 'high hill (1937: 39). It likely only indicates the small rise upon which the core of Hedon sits, amid a wider landscape liable to flood. Consideration instead now turns to the character of assembly sites at height.

None of the Domesday hundreds or wapentake sites, with the exception of Ainsty (**AIN-1**), are obviously situated on regional high crests. One of the later medieval wapentakes – Bulmer (**BOL-2**) – consists of a village on one of the southern promontories of the Howardian Hills, overlooking the river crossing at Bulmer Beck directly west (Figure 75). The later Riding court of Wingate Hill (**WEST-1**) is in turn situated on a local crest on the eastern margin of the Magnesian limestone belt (Figure 76). In Section 5.2.2, its position in relation to the converging Roman roads at Tadcaster has been brought into debate. It does not enjoy intervisibility with this

route, however the same cannot be said for Ainsty wapentake (**AIN-0**), or rather Ainsty Cliff, set on high ground directly south of Bilbrough and overlooking the Roman road between Tadcaster and York (Figure 77). A number of the assembly-attesting toponyms are also found on high or rising ground. These include the assembly-attesting toponyms of Speeton (**SPE-1)** in the East Riding, Thingwall (**THW-1**) in the North, and the more debatable examples of Knowler Hill (**KNOW-1**) and Costley in the West (**COS-1**). Fingay Hill (**FGY-1**), an isolated rise at the western end of the Cleveland Hills, makes for a more distinct venue (Figure 78), while the nearby ridge on which Landmoth (**LAND-1**) is positioned looms high (Figure 79). One could tentatively posit that a higher proportion of assembly-attesting toponyms within the study area are found on high-ground than in the corresponding hundreds and wapentakes but there is of course a strong likelihood that the names survive better in less cultivated and urbanised zones. Nevertheless height is clearly a factor for assembly placement.

Despite these problems two themes can be identified with relation to high ground. The first concerns ridgeline assembly, discussed above in Section 6.2. The second concerns symbolic high-points. Arguably Ainsty Cliff (**AIN-1**), mentioned above, is one of these, a wapentake focus external to York whose documented assemblies, albeit later medieval, all appear to have taken place in the City (Tillott 1961: 318-9). A more striking example can be found around Langbaurgh ridge (**LAN-1**), itself a low rise. It is positioned directly south-west of the imposing sandstone outcrop of Roseberry Topping. There are no known assembly associations with this hill, a name formerly recorded as *Othenesberg*, from the Old Norse 'Odin's hill' (Smith 1928: 164). It is not otherwise associated with early medieval activity. However it is joined not only by Langbaurgh Ridge (**LAN-0**) but also by the adjacent field of Dingledow (**DNG-1**) and the proximate zone of *Tyngoudale* (**TYNG-1**) on the other side of the hill (Figure 9). It may be that Roseberry Topping acted as a general focus for assemblies distributed in its immediate area. There is no obvious comparison to Roseberry Topping in the study area, but it may be analogous to the relationship witnessed between the meeting place of Hearne hundred in Kent and the nearby Summerhouse Hill (Booth

et al 2011; Brookes and Reynolds 2011; see Section 2.8.1). Earlier approaches to high ground assemblies saw them as an attempt to effect "an undisturbed view of the surrounding country and assure their privacy" (Anderson 1939b: 157). More recently Pantos has pointed out the role of height and viewshed in displaying the assembly to the wider landscape, essentially as a display of power (2001: 148). However, given the variable locational confidence found for assembly sites, this factor was found to be difficult to assess *(ibid*: 152). In the study area, display was clearly a significant aspect to the location of the ridgeline assemblies of the East Riding, but this appears to have been an embellishment upon the more widely prevalent practice of ancillary assembly (see Section 6.2).

5.1.6 Other landforms

A variety of different landforms are referenced in the hundredal and assembly-attesting place names in the study area, including valleys, clearings, a ravine, hill-slopes, -spurs and -clefts, cliffs, ridges and headlands (Figure 80). Sometimes this is figurative, e.g. Acklam (**ACK-0**) – 'Ankle' (Smith 1937: 147-8). Hill names predominate but as previously mentioned, the nomenclature is so tangled with those toponymic elements that reference mounds that it is impossible to make any sort of sensible claims about their proportions within the corpus. Nonetheless it is at least clear that hills and mounds were referenced as assembly names far more frequently than any other landmarks or landforms. Two types of name occur frequently. Valleys are referenced on four occasions, once for the Domesday hundred of Howden (**HOW-0**), or 'head valley' (Smith 1937: 250-1) and on one other occasion for an assembly-attesting toponym in each of the three Ridings. Clearings and fields are noted on five occasions, including Driffield (**DRI-0**), and four other attestations distributed throughout the study area.

A comparative list of immediate land-forms at the assembly sites is problematic (Table 10). In many cases one is unsure where the focus is and further they are often several in number, either as an amalgam, say a cleft in a hill-slope, or else there is

multi-scalar complexity, such as the presence of a hill-spur in a wider valley, as proposed for *Tyngoudale* (**TYNG-1;** Figure 9) There is also the aforementioned issue of circularity in some place-name solutions that may place undue attention upon a particular landform. As such it has been deemed better to assess general topographic character at a wider scale, undertaken in Section 5.4 below.

5.1.7 Monumental earthworks

A number of assembly places appear to have been located at old or recent earthworks. One Domesday and one later medieval wapentake, *Dic* (**DIC-0**) and Dickering (**DICK-0)** respectively, explicitly reference monumental earthworks as 'dykes' and 'dyke-ring' (1928: 74; 1937: 84-6). The wapentake of *Gereburg* (**GER-0**) in the West Riding is translated as 'old fortress' (Smith 1961e: 1), cognate with Yarborough wapentake in Lincolnshire (Anderson 1934: 50; Pantos 2001: 352). This latter has been disputed by Barrie Cox (1996: 3-4) who has instead argued that it is specifically indicative of hill-fort morphology. Given its relationship to the Otley estate it is considered here most likely that the name in fact refers to Roman fortifications at either Ilkley or Otley.

Actual sites in significant relation to earthworks also include Gilling West (**GIL-1**), a village situated at the river-crossing intersection of the Scots Dyke, an undated linear earthwork that runs north of Richmond towards the Stanwick fortifications (Figure 81). Attributions of early medieval date to this earthwork are unsubstantiated (Page 1912: 55; NAA 2000; Cooper *et al* 2008) but more usefully one can observe that it runs in tandem to Dere Street and thus likely either had an involvement in communications or else the structuring of borders influenced by said communication lines. The attested name of Costley (**COS-1**) is adjacent to extensive monumental walling, which marks the border between the wapentakes of Morley (**MOR-0**) and Skyrack (**SKY-0**). It too is undated but certainly seems too great an undertaking for a parish boundary. Likewise cropmarks in the proximate zone of *Tyngoudale* (**TYNG-1**) indicate a hill-spur enclosed by a cross-ridge linear (NMR 2013: MON#27691; Figure

9). Better information is available for Craike Hill (**CRA-1)**. Transcription evidence, in conjunction with Mortimer's earlier investigations, has revealed that it is part of a larger barrow cemetery (Stoertz 1997: Mortimer and Sheppard 1905: 226, 235; Figure 43). Finally the mound of Spell Howe (**SPHW-1)** is closely associated with a rectilinear enclosure, called 'Lang Camp', and a row of elongated barrows (Figure 38). None of these have been properly investigated, and the corpus is small but remains significant in attesting to the use of old monuments on occasion as places for meetings of hundred, wapentake and other assemblies.

5.1.8 Summary

Mounds feature significantly in the proportion of documented and assembly-attesting toponyms that refer to focal landmarks. In turn they comprise the largest group of identifiable assembly-linked landmarks in the landscape. To an extent their monumental qualities engender a taphonomic bias, but in light of the wider representation of mounds in assembly literature it seems reasonable to treat this as a significant minority pattern in the Ridings of Yorkshire. Crosses also feature significantly, though no clear survivals can be identified. More general problems of survival mean that one must resort to the corpus of toponyms to assess what sort of landmarks are being utilised. The most certain response is that they vary but that markers – in stone or in earth – were welcome to those locating their meetings in early medieval Yorkshire. The monumental foci found in Yorkshire may also reflect the combined influences of Old Norse and Old English found in the place-names. While mound names were prevalent throughout England, tree names are largely confined to areas outside the Danelaw. Likewise cross and spring names are generally associated with locations within the Danelaw. In Yorkshire one encounters significant proportions of all these categories, and indeed the greatest concentration of cross names in this region of Scandinavian colonisation. This would imply a significant admixture of both Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian influence upon assembly practices in the study area.

There is a clear pattern of monumental foci associated with assembly situated at a short remove from settlements and estate centres in the study area. The most conspicuous example of this is found in the ridge-line assemblies of the East Riding, argued here and below (Section 6.2) to have been utilised to evoke a dramatic separation from the settlements below, an ostentatious performance of liminality that nonetheless cleaved to the needs of ready access. Meanwhile, in the West Riding, Osgoldcross (**OGC-1**), ostensibly in Pontefract market-place, can be demonstrated to be an extra-mural conciliar focus of trade and sanctuary. Notably, trees, crosses and springs have associations with neutrality and sanctuary quite apart from their landscape location, an observation that implies that analogous qualities were associated with mounds. Sarah Semple (2013: 234-5) has argued that barrows had an important role in the creation and maintenance of a sense of ancestry, and plausibly a focus of pre-Christian cultic practice. Later Anglo-Saxon associations of nefarious, supernatural elements with the barrows likely reflected the growing influence of the church *(ibid*). As with trees however, certain associations were likely to have endured, and it is this that seems to drive the prevalence of mound assemblies in Yorkshire, in accord with the provenance of mounds in hundred and wapentake names throughout Anglo-Saxon England (Pantos 2001: 68).

5.2 Assembly sites in relation to Roman roads

Consideration of proximity to Roman land communications has been a recurrent attribute in recent assessments of the immediate landscape of identified assembly sites (Meaney 1997: 218-21; Turner 2000; Pantos 2001; 2003; Brookes *et al* 2011). Assumptions of a correlation between Roman roads and assemblies are visible in the earlier work of Cox (1971: 18-9) and it certainly influenced Olof Anderson's attributions of hundredal status with reference to the accessibility of sites (1934: xxxiv, 24, 46; 1939a: 89; 1939b: 112). Given the evidence for the long term continuity of some assemblies and the need for access, the importance of road proximity seems obvious. However, other routes on land and on water will also have provided access and so in appraising Roman roads, one is examining only part of the early

communications network. The prevalence of river-crossings at Swedish assembly sites underlines this point (Sanmark 2009: 233). The Roman road network is both partly extant on the ground in England and in part recorded in the surviving texts of the Antonine Itinerary and the eighth-century compilation known as the Ravenna Cosmography which note the distances between important Roman civic and military locations in Britain, likely from the late third century AD (Pinder and Parthey 1860). The reconstruction of the road network, largely through the work of Ivan Margary (1967), has used archaeological evidence together with extrapolated field boundaries, topographic cues and cropmark evidence to create a composite and fuller picture. It must be said that this approach has been relatively successful, but the end product is one of variable confidence and certainly some vectors, not least the road crossing Strafford Sands in Yorkshire (**STR-1**), have been shown to consist of post-medieval material alone (Kitson Clark and Whiting 1931: 187). The methodology does not favour the identification of minor roads and so the network is substantially incomplete. Considerably less work has been undertaken on early and later medieval road networks, and there is no reconstructed plan to work off (Stenton 1936; Hindle 1976; Harrison 2004). Thus any examination will inevitably favour ancient routeways over those active and even maintained at the time the assemblies under examination were in use.

5.2.1 Assemblies on the Roman road network

Only three of the named Domesday assembly sites are positioned directly adjacent to the Roman road network. The most obvious of these is Aldborough, associated with the West Riding wapentake of Burghshire (**BUR-0**; Figure 82). The present village rests on the footprint of the walled Roman town of *Isurium Brigantum*. It marks the convergence of Dere Street and the Roman road from Ilkley before the former moves north to cross the river Ure. The focus of assembly is not certain though the most likely spot is Borough Hill (**BUR-1**), a small rise directly south of the north-west – south-east crossing within the walled town (Figure 49). The eponymous locale for Welton hundred (**WEL-1**) in the East Riding is situated at the end of a short Roman

road leading south-west to the Humber crossing at Brough (Figure 83), while Warter (**WAR-1**), situated within the Wolds, is found at a turn of the road between Brough and Malton where it meets the valley floor (Figure 84). There are also a number of plausible connections with the Domesday assemblies. Bolesford (**BOL-1**) was recently identified near Sheriff Hutton Bridge, which in turn is also situated 600 metres north-west of the course of a recently discovered Roman road leading towards Sheriff Hutton (Figure 85). Bolesford may either represent a Roman fording point or a location ancillary to one. In the West Riding the crossing at Agbrigg (**AGB-1**) has been associated with the course of Roman road 712 to Wakefield proposed by Haigh (Haigh and Bradford Grammar School 1982). Conversely Strafford Sands (**STR-1**) is not so clear. Associated with a putative Templeborough to Doncaster road, its name was itself decisive in identifying a road. Not only does its proposed course cover large stretches of marshland (uncharacteristic of the network elsewhere), but when excavations on its northern course took place in the 1930s only post-medieval foundation material was recovered (Kitson Clark and Whiting 1930: 187; Figure 86). The name *Gereburg* (**GER-0**) may reference Ilkley, positioned on the network (Figure 24), while the old market area of South Cave (**CAV-1**) is positioned on the South Newbald Roman road in some contrast to North Cave (**CAV-1**), over 2.2 kilometres west of this course (Figure 87). It has been impossible to conclusively determine which of these bears the hundredal association.

The post-Domesday wapentake centre of Birdforth (**GERL-1**) is found at a river crossing of Roman road 80a from Stamford Bridge (Figure 88). However Bulmer (**BOL-2**), the seeming successor to Domesday Bolesford (**BOL-1**), is unlikely to be positioned on a Roman road. The angle presented on the National Monument Record that connects Roman road 815 from Malton to Bulmer is unusual and the route is entirely hypothetical south of Coneysthorpe, some 3.7 kilometres to the north of Bulmer itself (NMR 2013: MON#1029642; Margary 1967: 424). Three other post-Domesday wapentake centres, Claro Hill (**CLA-1**), Pickering (**DIC-1**) and Barkston (**BARK-1**), seem to be associated with substantial routes outside the known Roman network, though there is little that can be advanced upon this.

The sites of assembly-attesting place-names in fact enjoy the most frequent convergence. These include Tingley (**TING-1**) and the *Tourneberg* of Morthen (**MORT-1**) in the West Riding. The lost *Thinge* (**THIN-1**), associated with Tadcaster, is on the route to York, while *Spechcaflade*, or 'speech staff at the watercourse' (Smith 1961f: 248), is associated with Ingleton at the intersection of the Roman roads from Skipton and Brough. In turn Hovingham, connected by a Roman road to Malton, is associated with a *Mothow* (**MTH-1**; Allison 2011: 38-40). This accounts for a small minority of Domesday and later named sites as well as place-name attestations.

5.2.2 Ancillary position to the Roman road network

This category is far more difficult to describe, without setting arbitrary parameters of distance. Some are straightforward. Ainsty Cliff (**AIN-1**) is positioned on a high point overlooking the Roman road between Tadcaster and York 500 metres to the south-east (Figure 24). Despite acting as a significant communication node in the later medieval period, Market Weighton (**WEI-1**) is positioned 850 metres south-west of the Roman road between Malton and South Newbald that crests the Wold ridgeline to the east of the town (Figure 89). In turn the Brough-York road is over 1.9 kilometres south-west of the town, leaving it comparatively isolated, with respect to its later position. The post-Domesday riding court at Wingate Hill (**WEST-1**) was positioned 850 metres south-east of the Roman road intersections outside of Tadcaster (Figure 24). More ancillary positions are known from place-name attestations. The clearest is Spell Howe (**SPHW-1)**, in the hundred of *Turbar* (**TUR-0**) and wapentake of Dickering (**DICK-0)**, overlooking the Roman road between Malton and Filey running along the base of the Wolds 600 metres to the north (Figure 39).

The position of Osgoldcross (**OGC-1**) in Pontefract is most intriguing. The town, and by extension the assembly site, is positioned 1.8 kilometres north-east of one Roman road, and 1.1 kilometres south-west of a possible other (Figure 90). Much the same disposition is adopted by Market Weighton (**WEI-1**; Figure 89). There are also singular

instances, such as the position of Gilling West (**GIL-1**). This is set on the linear earthwork known as the Scot's Dyke, which among other factors runs parallel, at some distance, to Dere Street for much of its course (Figure 81). Gilling West is over 3.2 kilometres west of Dere Street but nonetheless this may constitute some sort of relationship. Likewise the sparse topography of the Vale of York means that Fingay Hill (**FGY-1**), 1.3 kilometres west of the Stamford Bridge – Durham road, stands out as a significant topographic novelty (Figure 78). In some instances the assembly places, if on hills as in Ainsty Cliff (**AIN-1**), were perhaps visible from the Roman road. Most however are well beyond any visible range and tree cover and topography would have impeded any long distance view. What this corpus does offer however, is corroboration that assembly places were primarily linked into local networks – which in itself points to the local importance and attendance that an assembly would acquire. Similar conclusions were earlier drawn by Pantos for hundred and wapentake meeting-places in central and southern England (2001: 170). These local networks would of course have been linked into the broader network of 'main' Roman routes. This would enhance the accessibility of these sites to those travelling further than the immediate locality but the evidence points relatively firmly to assemblies serving a local catchment

5.2.3 Isolation from the Roman road network

The idea that assemblies were first and foremost serving the locality is underlined all the more by the far greater number of named Domesday hundreds and wapentakes that seem to lie in total isolation from the Roman road network, as presented by Ivan Margary (1967). In the East Riding, Howden (**HOW-1**), Pocklington (**POC-1**) and Driffield (**DRI-1**) are found more than two kilometres away from any identifiable Roman course (Figure 91). A similar pattern is found for Langbaurgh ridge (**LAN-1**), the Halikeld springs (**HAL-1**) and Northallerton (**ALL-1**) in the North Riding (Figure 28) while Staincross (**STC-1**) and Barkston Ash (**BARK-1**) are among the exemplars from the West Riding (Figure 25). They are joined by Craike Hill (**CRA-1)**, court for the East Riding. There are also numerous instances of place-name attestations seemingly

divorced from the Roman network, including Landmoth (**LAND-1**), Thingwall (**THW-1**), Spellow Clump (**SPC-1)** and *Tyngoudale* (**TYNG-1**; Figure 10). While one might be tempted to propose that the assembly network developed separately to any existing Roman road network, the fact remains that all of the located assembly sites in Yorkshire are connected in some way to a path or track, if not to a more significant artery. The sites were accessible, but largely to those locally attendant at the meetings. At the very least they adhered to communication networks that had not been conspicuously affected by infrastructure projects in the Romano-British period.

5.2.4 Summary

There does not appear to be a significant correlation of either documented or place-name attested assemblies with the Roman road network identified in the study area. Only one sub-category of assembly sites – the fording points – appear to demonstrate a consistent association with Roman crossings yet in no case is there firm evidence for Romano-British provenance. Instead it is likely that the character of their nomenclature, not least Strafford Sands (**STR-1**), has at least in part driven attributions of Roman land communications. Nonetheless all of the assembly sites in the study area can be linked to local land communications. It is striking that this same phenomenon holds true for assemblies linked to royal estates, such as Howden (**HOW-1**) and Northallerton (**ALL-1**), and also for the estates of ancient demesne documented in the early twelfth century that were also associated with hundred or wapentake assemblies (cf Farrer 1914: 333-4). Aldborough (**BUR-1**) comprises the only exception within this category, a wapentake venue that at any rate had been superseded by Claro Hill (**CLA-1**), which was not on a Roman road, by the mid twelfth century (Smith 1961e: 1). Assembly sites of all types appear instead to correlate with local communications, a pattern that reflects a concern for access primarily at the level of the locality, a characteristic that accords with the local character of business reflected in the Hundred Ordinance (Reynolds 1999: 75-6).

5.3 River crossings

A number of names in the study area reference river crossings, either as fords or bridges. These include *Bolesford* (**BOL-0**) in the North Riding – Old English 'bull's ford' (Smith 1928: 13; Figure 85) – Strafford Sands in the West Riding (**STR-1**) – Old English 'street ford' (Smith 1961a: 78; Figure 86) – and Agbrigg (**AGB-0**) – from the Old Norse for 'Aggi's bridge' (Smith 1961b: 99, 117; Figure 92) – again in the West Riding. Birdforth (**GERL-1**), the later medieval documented name for the *Gerlestre* (**GERL-0**) wapentake of Domesday, derives from Old English 'bride's ford' (Smith 1928: 190; Anderson 1934: 8). There are as many names again that indicate proximity to rivers. These include the East Riding hundred of Cave (**CAV-0**), from the Old English *caf*, or quick, and thought by both Anderson (1934: 17) and Smith (1937: 223) to refer to the lively character of Cave Beck (Figure 87). Likewise *Spechcaflade*, proximate to Ingleborough, refers to a 'speech staff by the watercourse' (Smith 1961f: 248). Later medieval documented wapentake meetings of Claro (**CLA-0**) and Skyrack (**SKY-0**) are also recorded taking place at Harewood Bridge (**CLA-2**), between the two wapentakes on the river Wharfe (Farrer and Clay 1947: 136).

In contrast to the other types of focus discussed in this chapter, there are many more viable examples of sites at river crossings. One reason for this is that the lowlands of Britain are characterised by a dense network of rivers. With the exception of marshlands and low-ground liable to flood, these river systems are co-extensive with the densest areas of Domesday and modern settlement. Thus, proximity to a river is oft times a given. Further, the order of the Summary at times indicates river valley settlement as a structuring principle in the uplands, as exemplified by the *Terra Alani Comitis* (**TAC-0**; Figure 93). With this in mind, there remain a number of important sites where a relationship between the meeting site and crossing-place is fairly significant.

The West Riding wapentake site of Agbrigg (**AGB-1**) is located 2.2 kilometres south-east of Wakefield and 1.2 kilometres north-east of Sandal Magna, where the first

edition Ordnance Survey mapping indicates a crossing of Oakenshaw Beck (Figure 94). It has since been built over by a combined road and rail bridge – associated archaeological traces are lacking. What is known, alongside its ancillary position to Wakefield, is that it was the site of documented executions in the early fourteenth century, with a libel suit of 1277 implying that this was a longstanding practice (Walker 1945: 40; Baildon 1901: 164). It has also been argued to mark the crossing of Margary Roman road 712, a proposition that would indeed connect it with Tingley (**TING-1**) to the north-west (Haigh and Bradford Grammar School 1982; cf Margary 1967: 365).

Strafford Sands (**STR-1**), of Strafforth wapentake (**STR-0**) in the same Riding, has also been linked to a Roman road crossing the river Don, more so due to the presence of the Old English element *straet* in the toponym, which has been expressly linked with stone-paved, and by implication Roman, remains (Smith 1956b: 161-2; (Figure 86). This was first proposed by Thomas Cox in the early eighteenth century (1738: 515), a proposal followed enthusiastically since. Despite this, excavations performed by Mary Kitson-Clark to the north of the crossing along this route in 1930 only revealed a road surface of post-medieval quarry material (Kitson-Clark and Whiting 1930: 187). One must also consider that the proposed north – south course is characterised by much ground that was or remains boggy. While the position of the toponym is secure and its semantic content unmistakeable, the Roman character of the route remains tentative. The construction of a canal and later slag heap has again destroyed the site but, as with Agbrigg (**AGB-1**), one again notices its ancillary position to Mexborough, 1.9 kilometres to the west and Conisbrough, 1.9 kilometres to the south-east. Excepting one or two outliers the Don also marks the northern border of the larger Honour of Conisbrough (Figure 95) though this boundary position is less clear cut. It is also a crossing central to the wapentake as a whole.

The third Domesday wapentake ford is the recently rediscovered *Bolesford* (**BOL-1**) in the North Riding (Figure 96). Documentary evidence indicated its proximity to a mill near Sheriff Hutton Bridge and this has been linked convincingly by Swan *et al*

(1993: 14-5) to Bulford Tofts on the south bank of the said bridge crossing, with the one-time mill present on the opposite bank. There is no archaeological evidence directly linked to the crossing, but the complementary nature of a transcribed trackway and field boundaries on the northern bank *(ibid*: 21), in conjunction with the recently discovered villa site on the north bank of the crossing, would suggest a Romano-British fording point (Burnham *et al* 2000: 396). This track also appears to connect with the east-west Roman road running through West Lilling to the north (Margary 1967: 431-3). It is 2.3 kilometres south-west of Sheriff Hutton and 3.5 kilometres north of Strensall, linked by the aforementioned cropmarked track. Neither of these are significant estate centres as found in the previous two examples. However, the river Foss, and by extension the Bolesford crossing (**BOL-1**) does mark the interface between the Domesday estates of Bulmer and Easingwold, a division also present in the Summary for this wapentake.

The final wapentake name is Birdforth (**GERL-1**), the later name for *Gerlestre* wapentake (**GERL-0**). The village of Birdforth is indeed positioned at a crossing of Birdforth Beck in the south of the wapentake (Figure 97). It is 1.3 kilometres south-west of the manorial caput of Carlton Husthwaite and also marks the division between the estates of Coxwold and Topcliffe. It marks the crossing of Margary Roman road 80a, between Easingwold and Thirsk (Margary 1967: 431-3). Despite this, archaeological and PAS reports do not indicate it to be accompanied by a particular concentration of Romano-British activity. A sculptural fragment from Birdforth Hall indicates early medieval activity here from at least the tenth century onwards (Lang 2001: 62). In fact the greatest concentration of activity is that of a dense assemblage of detected later medieval coins found on the south bank of the crossing, ranging from the mid-thirteenth to the mid fifteenth century (e.g. PAS 2013: NCL-742A40, NCL-E396B6) and likely representing the market granted in 1253 (Maxwell-Lyte 1903a: 434). It is worth noting that *Bruchewrche scire* first appeared in 1088, making it very unlikely that a wapentake assembly emerged out of a market (Raine 1841: 77).

The main aspect connecting these sites is at least plausible evidence of a Roman

crossing. Each is positioned within 1-3 kilometres of a significant settlement and, in the case of Strafford Sands (**STR-1**), Bolesford (**BOL-1**) and Birdforth (**GERL-1**), marks larger estate divisions in the wapentake. On the other hand it is worth pointing out that in no instances are there reports of these wapentakes convening at the named site. Indeed the documented accounts of a Bulmer jury (**BOL-0**) are all noted in the County Court of York (Brown 1892: 118, 155; Skaife 1867: 378). While there is a certain temptation to argue for these as symbolic assembly sites, later medieval wapentake assemblies are in general poorly documented and the sites have been destroyed or otherwise not subject to investigation.

A documented assembly of Claro wapentake (**CLA-0**) took place at Harewood Bridge at the start of the thirteenth century, on the border of the wapentakes of Skyrack (**SKY-0**) and Burghshire (**BUR-0**; later Claro Hill; Farrer and Clay 1947: 136). Wigton Mill (**SKY-2**) was also a meeting-place for Skyrack wapentake (Lancaster and Baildon 1904: 113-4), while Flasby (**STA-2**) was a repeated venue of Staincliffe wapentake (**STA-0**) in what had been Craven (**CRA-0**; Smith 1961f: 48-9). Given the imperfect integrity of this sub-set of the data it is difficult to infer how frequently a ford was chosen for meetings of the later medieval wapentake. Certainly they feature as venues of the manorial court as well, such as the graveship court of Brighouse in the Honour of Wakefield (Turner 1893: 38). There may be a connection to mill sites, as at Wigton Mill and Bolesford (**BOL-1**), another landscape node that in the later medieval period was owed suit of court in like manner to the hundreds and wapentakes (e.g for Ramsey Abbey; Coulton 1925: 55). Yet these mills in turn were positioned with regard to the river, and there is an even stronger line of evidence for bridge construction and maintenance as an obligation of the local community, both in England and in Scandinavia (Semple and Sanmark 2013: 529). In this case one may be witnessing conciliar events at focal points of related community endeavours.

A far larger body of documented and place-name attested sites potentially signal proximity to river-courses and crossings. Gilling West (**GIL-1**), Northallerton (**ALL-1**) and Howden (**HOW-1**) are positioned at crossings on the respective courses of Gilling

Beck, Brompton Beck and the Howden Dyke, the former course of the river Derwent. Gilling West has been identified, after some controversy, with the *Ingetlingum* of Bede (Pickles 2009), a presumed administrative node (Figure 98). Certainly it was the head of a large pre-Conquest estate immediately prior to the Norman Conquest while sculpture dating back to the ninth century would indicate that this was a long standing focus (Lang 2001: 113-8, 279). The road crossing is paralleled by the linear earthwork of the Scot's Dyke, running roughly between Richmond and the Stanwick fortifications. Gilling West and Gilling Beck also happen to mark the southern border of both the Domesday estate and the reconstructed mother parish (Pickles 2009: 319; Figure 81). Northallerton also possesses sculptural evidence, of the eighth century onwards – it is plausibly the focus of the Allertonshire workshop (Lang 2001: 180-5). Assembly is associated with the former site of the toll-booth in the market place and it may be that the presence of the crossing of the Beck is simply fortuitous, as the core of the settlement is clearly not disposed in relation to a crossing (Figure 145). Northallerton neither borders the wapentake nor its associated manorial soke. Finally Howden is situated on the north bank of Howden Dyke Drain, the former course of the Old Derwent (Figure 99). This was a documented estate centre from the mid tenth century at least (Hart 1975: 119-20) though there is no associated archaeological material of early medieval date. It may indicate a fording point or bridge that led towards the ferry crossing at Booth, thence to the linked tenth-century estate of Drax *(ibid*).

5.3.1 Summary

While many of the settlements associated with hundreds in the East Riding are situated at river-crossings, there are only a few instances where the assembly name can be confidently linked to a river-crossing. As mentioned in Section 5.2.1 above a significant number of this group are linked to Roman road crossings, although in no case have these attributions been confirmed. While fording points are found in an ancillary position to settlements in accord with other categories of assembly foci, they also constitute a significant proportion of the assembly sites in the study area

that mark estate borders, notably in the case of Strafford Sands (**STR-1**) in the West Riding and Bolesford in the North Riding (**BOL-1**).

Fords and bridges comprise categories of assembly name found throughout England (Pantos 2001: 68). They are also a frequent component of *Þing* assemblies in Sweden, often in conjunction with runestones (Sanmark 2009: 231). They also form a conspicuous, recurrent feature of the early medieval assemblies documented in Northumbria (Section 4.1.5), such as the seventh-century synod at *Adtuifyrdi* ('at the two fords'; Colgrave 1940: 234) and implied in Aldfrith's settlement with Wilfrid "beside the river Nidd" in 705 (1927: 129). The importance of assemblies at fords and bridges has been framed in terms of their accessibility. Audrey Meaney considered that assembly was almost inevitable at a natural communications node (1993: 204). Meanwhile Semple and Sanmark (2013: 529) have more recently posed the communication qualities of fords and bridges as resources that required community maintenance, often a legal obligation and certainly a need, that could segue into conciliar activity. As with other categories of assembly focus in the study area, fords and bridges could be associated with numinous qualities. In Sweden, Alex Sanmark has suggested that the consistent links between runestones and bridges could reflect a cultic aspect, a proposition strengthened by this continuity of focus at subsequent *Þing* assemblies in the later medieval period (2009: 233). Certainly in the study area they may reflect an embellishment upon the already liminal qualities of their location in relation to settlements and estates. The documented examples with no hypothesised link to the Roman road network however stress even further the relationship between assemblies and the local road network.

5.4 Disposition of assembly territories in Yorkshire

Excluding the City of York, Domesday Book records eighteen hundreds in the East Riding, seven wapentakes in the North Riding and ten wapentakes in the West Riding, notwithstanding such anomalies as the *Terra Alani Comitis* (**TAC-0**) and *Craveshire* (**CRA-0**; Figure 7; Table 1). By the mid twelfth century the East Riding was instead

rated as five (and later six) wapentakes while in the North Riding the Land of Count Alan (**TAC-0**) had been divided into the wapentakes of Gilling (**GIL-0**) and Hang (**HANG-0**), constituent parts – with Halikeld (**HAL-0**) – of the Honour of Richmondshire (Figure 18; Table 2). In like fashion Craven (**CRA-0**) had been renamed as the wapentake of Staincliffe (**STA-0**). There is much to ponder in their divergent character, in both the context of their Domesday disposition and in light of these later developments. Certainly the transition between hundreds and wapentakes in the East Riding has vexed scholars for over 100 years (Taylor 1888, Brooks 1966; Roffe 1991; 2000b) without definitive resolution.

The present section concerns the morphological characteristics of these hundred and wapentake territories, in particular their size, distribution and bounding rationales. These have profound implications for how these territories are viewed. In many cases parishes have been demonstrated to echo early medieval secular territories (Lyth 1982; Hadley 2000: 96; Hase 1988). Related discussion has therefore concerned the extent to which the hundreds and wapentakes represent later Anglo-Saxon shrieval divisions in the Alfredian tradition (Stubbs 1887: 129) or else older territories that have subsequently been amalgamated into shires in a fashion more akin to Kemble's 'Marks' (1849: 36, 53; see Section 2.3.1). In Hampshire and its immediate environs there is potentially evidence of co-extensive early tenth-century tenure with the later documented hundreds of Farnham and Chilcomb (S382; S376). However, in each case it is likely to be significant that the charters are forgeries (Gover *et al* 1934: 165-6; Hart 1970: 30; Finberg 1964: 230-3). In Yorkshire the mid-tenth-century Howden grant of Edgar circumscribes the soke of the Domesday manor of Howden, which itself reflects all of the later wapentake of Howdenshire (**HOW-0**), and extends partly into that part of the Domesday hundred of Howden (**HOW-0**) to the west of the river Derwent (Hart 1975: 119-120; Hadley 2000: 119). In the absence of further documentation topographic and archaeological scrutiny may shed some light on the matter.

5.4.1 Unit cohesion

Relative incoherence distinguishes the East Riding hundreds from the later recorded wapentakes in this territory and elsewhere in Yorkshire. In many cases the hundreds are detached into as many as three portions (Figure 91). The later wapentakes appear to have consolidated these divisions and several have argued that this represented a deliberate strategy following the Domesday survey (Taylor 1888, Roffe 1991b; Figure 27). The most striking instance of this is found in Ouse and Derwent wapentake (**ODW-0)**, coextensive entirely with the detached portions of hundredal central territories found further east. While coherent Domesday units appear to be the rule elsewhere there are a number of exceptions. These include Adlingfleet, listed as a territory of Staincross in the West Riding (**STC-0**) while Cold Kirby, set between Birdforth (**GERL-0**), Allertonshire (**ALL-0**) and Ryedale (**MAN-0**), is in fact a detached component of Bulmer wapentake (**BOL-0**) to the south. Likewise *Gereburg* (**GER-0**) appears to form two portions of roughly equal size. As mentioned above, it is likely a remnant from the consolidation of the Otley estate and thus one is wary of straightforward comparison.

5.4.2 Unit definition

A number of wapentakes, and one hundred, appear to be defined by river valleys. Driffield (**DRI-0)**, in the East Riding, circumscribes the upper catchment of the river Hull while in the North Riding Ryedale (**MAN-0**) encompasses the converging courses of the Rye, Derwent, Dove and Seven (Figure 100 & 101). However river valley definition is far more a characteristic of those areas west of the Vale of York. Thus, while rivers do not seriously circumscribe their borders, one can identify Osgoldcross (**OGC-0**) with the catchment of the river Went, Strafforth (**STR-0**) with the Don, Agbrigg (**AGB-0**) with the Calder and the Colne, and Burghshire (**BUR-0**) with the rivers Nidd and Laver (Figure 25). Whereas the borders of many of the North and East Riding wapentakes are routinely defined by riverine courses, their West Riding equivalents more neatly encompasses agglomerations of river valleys. The only

obvious comparison east of the Vale of York is the upper Rye appendage to Allertonshire (**ALL-0**) (Figure 17). Arguably the Pennine-situated *Terra Alani Comitis* (**TAC-0**) of the North Riding is set around the course of the Swale but this would be to stray into a degree of confirmation bias (Figure 25). The later wapentakes of Gilling (**GIL-0**) and Hang (**HANG-0**) instead indicate that, while Hang does indeed appear to be set around the associated valley of the river Ure, Gilling is demarcated instead by the riverine bounds of the Tees and Swale.

5.4.3 Upland – lowland divisions

The overwhelming proportion of hundreds and wapentakes in Yorkshire comprise transitional landscapes, straddling areas of lowland and upland. In so doing the territory evidently covers a variety of different resources. There are a small number of exclusively lowland territories, yet none that can be seen to circumscribe a purely upland environment. Of the East Riding hundreds, only Howden (**HOW-0**) and the three hundreds of Holderness (**HOL-0)** occupy lowland positions (Figure 91). Their bounds also enjoy a strong correlation with riverine courses. Several of these hundreds have detached portions in exclusively lowland situations but in each case they relate to eponymous central territories that do encompass both upland and lowland environments. Among these a number of the hundreds on the northern Wolds maintain predominantly upland positions, yet extensions north (and in some cases south) to an alluvial shelf are ubiquitous. The later recorded wapentake divisions favour this with equal vigour. The few exceptions include Holderness and Howdenshire in exclusively lowland environments while the later wapentake of Ouse and Derwent (**ODW-0)** consolidates what were once exclusively lowland detached hundredal portions between the named rivers (Figure 27). Otherwise the 'transitional' positioning of unit divisions is the norm in the North and West Ridings. Each of the easterly Vale of York wapentakes in the North Riding rises to an extent upon the Cleveland and Hambleton Hills (Figure 28). Halikeld (**HAL-0**) to the west, strongly prescribed by riverine divisions, is the only exception. The *Terra Alani*

Comitis (**TAC-0**) and the later wapentakes of Gilling (**GIL-0**) and Hang (**HANG-0**) stretch east from the Pennines into the lowlands of the Vale. This is paralleled to varying extents by the wapentakes of the West Riding. Where the main portion of Staincross (**STC-0**) stretches from high upland to low upland, the detached portion at Adlingfleet accounts for lowland terrain. There are two deviations from this. The Ainsty (**AIN-0**) is lowland and strongly prescribed by rivers in an analogous manner to Howden, while the lowland portions of Craven (**CRA-0**), west of the Pennines, are dwarfed by its predominantly upland character.

This pattern of territories straddling upland and lowland environments reflects a widely recognised phenomenon of the early medieval landscape whereby local communities sought to consolidate access to both lands suitable for arable, such as lowland alluvial plains, and also lands suitable for grazing, such as heathlands, moorlands and wood pasture. It can be demonstrated in numerous examples of parish morphology, for instance in south-east Essex (Rippon 1991: 58) and the Bourne valley in Cambridgeshire (Oosthuizen 2005: 174). Land differentiation in the early medieval period is also well-attested at estate level (e.g Klingelhöfer 1992: 114-7). Consideration has rarely extended to hundred and wapentake morphology, although Rosamond Faith does note that the lathes of Kent each stretch up to cover areas of swine pasture on the Weald (2009: 29). This mixed economy required a system of interweaving community obligations and it is likely that this was administered by assemblies. Susan Oosthuizen has posed the hundredal assembly of Gravesend hundred at Mangrove Knob in Northamptonshire as an example of such a court, positioned on the grazing lands (2011: 161). The choice of Penenden Heath for the shire moots of Kent has likewise been argued to stem from the same rationale (Faith 2009: 29). In the study area Fenton-Thomas has highlighted the association of the Huntow name (**HUN-1**) with common pastures of Bridlington in the later eighteenth century (2003: 106). Conversely Glanville Jones' model of the 'multiple estate' is predicated on the co-ordination of similarly diverse resources by an administrative centre within the territory (1979). These assemblies have obvious relevance as a means to explain the position of the ridgeline assemblies of the East

Riding (see Section 6.2), situated on grazing lands on the Yorkshire Wolds. This pattern of mixed arable-pasture territories also fits into a proposed developmental sequence that has relevance to the wider morphology of the East Riding hundreds.

In the earlier part of the early medieval period the pastoral economy was more prominent, so much so that many territories appear to have been based around a pastoral core. Faith argues that this can be witnessed in the nomenclature of the territories of the Tribal Hidage, not least such names as the 'Chiltern-dwellers' (2009: 28), while Della Hooke has argued that a pattern of developed rivers and woodland pasture can be identified in early charter bounds (1981: 48-51). Towards the end of the period one witnesses the intensification of arable production (Faith 1997: 145). This placed increasing pressure on grazing lands, pressure only worsened by the sub-division of many estates in the tenth and eleventh centuries, a situation that cut many off from common pasture altogether *(ibid*). Faith has proposed that these were concomitant aspects of a shift to wider feudal norms at the expense of economic diversification at local or estate level (2009: 39). While parochial bounds continued to reflect earlier, mixed-agricultural patterns, there was a growing division between upland and lowland economies. The wapentakes of the North and West Ridings, almost by virtue of their size alone, encompass environments suitable for arable and grazing but this diversity is situated primarily at regional level. By comparison the East Riding hundreds look positively archaic, small units seeking to maximise their coverage of high grasslands, moors, woods, marshlands and river-plains. However, the disposition of the detached portions implies this that rationale was implemented in a late context, rather than reflecting the longstanding rhythms of a seminal locale (Everitt 1986). The East Riding hundreds look like an attempt to apply an earlier economic model within a feudal landscape. Given the intimate relations found between the hundreds and wapentakes of the East Riding (see Section 5.4.7-8) it is tempting to propose that they represented an attempt to divide up the wapentake obligations of a unit such as Harthill (**HAR-0)** between its constituent parts. In summary, the way in which the hundreds and wapentakes occupy territories that cover both uplands and lowlands reflects both earlier economic needs and

subsequent developments. The wapentakes of Yorkshire demonstrate that this concern existed primarily at regional level at the time of the Domesday survey. Conversely the East Riding hundreds represent an exception, either the implementation of an earlier economic model and/or the idiosyncratic division of wapentake obligations within its localities.

5.4.4 Riverine divisions

Rivers entirely prescribe the boundaries of the East Riding hundreds on only two distinct occasions (Figure 91). These are also the only hundreds that occupy an exclusively lowland position. Of those hundreds that straddle uplands and lowlands, either as coherent or detached entities, there is little trace of such upland practice and only partial convergence in the lowland portions where they border the lowland units or the edge of the Riding itself. Thus Burton (**BUR-0**) is partially defined by the drains that divide it from North Holderness (**HOL-0)** while the hundreds that later formed Buckrose (**BUC-0)** and Dickering wapentakes (**DICK-0)** are each limited to the north by the courses of the rivers Derwent and Hertford. To the west of the Wolds a few exceptions can be found, where the Foulness and the Derwent partially structure detached lowland portions of Hessle (**HES-0**), Cave (**CAV-0**) and the lowland component of the central Market Weighton hundredal territory (**WEI-0**). There are as many instances where this is not the case in the lowlands. Where Warter (**WAR-0**) is distinct in its predominantly upland position there is little sense of riverine circumscription. However while the hundreds of the East Riding indicate partial convergence the wapentakes instead clearly demonstrate the riverine network as a strong structuring principle (Figure 27). Thus, with the exception of the York to Bridlington Roman Road, Harthill (**HAR-0)** is defined by the Derwent to the west, the Hull to the east and the Humber to the south. The same Roman road provides a southern border to Buckrose and Dickering, otherwise defined by river and coast on their western, northern and eastern extents. Holderness has already been accounted for, Howdenshire (**HOW-0**) comprises the eastern portion of Howden hundred (**HOW-0**) and the later wapentake of Ouse and Derwent is self-explanatory (**ODW-0)**.

Where the riverine divisions of the hundreds seem expedient, in the wapentakes they come across as the dominating converging element.

In the eastern half of the North Riding rivers characterise the majority of the – sparse lowland divisions, including the Holbeck on Ryedale's (**MAN-0**) south-western border, the Costa Beck on its eastern counterpart and for the Langbaurgh-Allertonshire (**LAN-0**/**ALL-0**) border by way of the river Leven and several smaller stells (Figure 28). For those wapentakes in the Vale of York the courses of the Swale, Ure, Ouse and Derwent are also significant, though far less so for the roughly east-west divisions between Allertonshire, Birdforth (**GERL-0**) and Bulmer (**BOL-0**). In particular Halikeld (**HAL-0**) is clearly defined by the rivers Ure and Swale. Before rising into the uplands the eastern boundary of the *Terra Alani Comitis* (**TAC-0**) is marked by the river Wiske. Further, much of the border of the later recorded wapentakes of Hang (**HANG-0**) and Gilling (**GIL-0**) is defined by the upper course of the river Swale. There is a greater emphasis on upland riverine divisions in those wapentakes that border the North York Moors, notably in the upper eastern and western reaches of Ryedale, by the rivers Seven and Derwent respectively. This is not the case for the high moorland that marks its northern border, but where this decreases in height towards the coast, on the Pickering-Langbaurgh border (**DIC-0**/, one can identify partial, possibly expedient convergence with stream courses including Bloody Beck and Rutmoor Beck. Finally the north border of the *Terra Alani Comitis* (**TAC-0**; and later Gilling [**GIL-0**]) follows the lower and upper courses of the Tees (Figure 28).

The West Riding is largely mid-ground to upland (Figure 25). In the relatively small lowland areas to the east, one witnesses the total circumscription of Ainsty (**AIN-0**) and Barkston Ash (**BARK-0**) by the rivers Nidd, Wharfe, Aire and Ouse. Further south, in Osgoldcross (**OGC-0**) and Strafforth (**STR-0**) wapentakes, the situation is partial and unclear, unsurprising for an area that was until recently marshland. Interestingly the definition of Barkston Ash wapentake provided by the rivers Aire and Wharfe continues westward to delimit the more upland territory of Skyrack (**SKY-0**) in an identical fashion. It is here that one witnesses the only clear-cut example of a riverine

boundary schema over-riding an earlier tenurial model. This is exemplified by the two small portions of *Gereburg* (**GER-0**) wapentake on the north banks of the Wharfe opposite Ilkley and Otley. Comparison with the pre-Conquest archiepiscopal estate of Otley in c. 1030 shows that it accords almost entirely with its possessions north of the Wharfe (Farrer 1914: 21-2; Figure 24). The assessment of *Gereburg* with Skyrack (**SKY-0**) in the Yorkshire Summary would also indicate its ambiguous position. It does not appear again, consolidated instead within Burghshire/Claro (**BUR-0**/**CLA-0**). In the wider uplands of the West Riding there appears to be little engagement with riverine boundaries. Exceptions include the Sheaf, the Torne, the Little Don and the Derwent on Trent about the borders of Strafforth (**STR-0**) but otherwise there seems a far clearer pattern of the wapentakes defining one or several river-valleys, discussed in further depth below.

There are several patterns to the riverine convergences of the study area. The upland streams of the eastern North Riding correlate with wapentake borders in a way that they do not with the hundreds of the East Riding. The significance of this can however largely be dismissed considering that this same contrast applies to a northern massif of sand and siltstones and the chalk landscape of the Wolds, with the latter subject to seasonal and unpredictable flow in what are often dry valleys (Figure 12). Of course one must also be careful comparing hundreds in one riding with wapentakes in another. The upland borders of the East Riding wapentakes do not follow any river courses of note. The only clearly significant upland difference is the preference towards river valleys rather than river lines west of the Vale of York. This is certainly the case for the West Riding and the pattern of the Yorkshire Summary for the *Terra Alani Comitis* (**TAC-0**) would likewise indicate both a Domesday division that shadowed the later recorded wapentakes of Gilling (**GIL-0**) and Hang (**HANG-0**) and also assessment arranged around the valley of the river Ure (Figure 93). Skyrack (**SKY-0**), linked by practice with Barkston Ash (**BARK-0**) and the Ainsty (**AIN-0**), is the exception to this. Riverine bounds are ultimately more common in the lowlands, best demonstrated by the East Riding wapentakes. This is not always the case, as found in the east-west borders of those wapentakes situated in the Vale of York, and a

number of the lowland hundred portions to the west of the Wolds in the East Riding. As ever it is difficult to infer much from an absence. Finally *Gereburg* (**GER-0**), as a division of the Otley estate, demonstrates that riverine divisions could function in contrast to previous tenurial arrangements.

5.4.5 Uplands

Ridgelines do not frequently converge with hundredal or wapentake boundaries east of the Vale of York. The most striking exception to this is the southerly border of Langbaurgh wapentake (**LAN-0**), which runs from the Cleveland Hills west over Danby High Moor to the south side of Robin Hood Bay. As mentioned above (see Section 5.4.4) it makes partial convergence with a number of small upland streams but more significant are the large quantity of named barrows, stones and crosses that define this division. The north-western corner, at the convergence of Ryedale (**MAN-0**), Langbaurgh and Allertonshire (**ALL-0**), is marked by Green Howe. This is almost certainly synonymous with the Inquisition of Pickering wapentake (**DIC-0**) at *Grenehowe* in 1323 (Maxwell-Lyte 1916: 171) or indeed the venue for payments of the Forest of Pickering - *Grenehou sur la More de Blakho* – in the same year (Turton 1896: 225; Figure 102). A muster of 1301 recorded on *Blakhou* moor likely references the same site or at least its environs (Maxwell-Lyte 1898a: 1). Moving west one encounters Benky Hill barrow, Esklets Cross and the crosses of Young and Old Ralph. These latter are twelfth- to thirteenth-century boundary crosses mentioned in the Guisborough Chartulary (Brown 1891: 191). As well as marking part of the wapentake boundary between Langbaurgh and Ryedale the Ralphs also mark the north-west corner of the soke, as opposed to the wapentake, of Pickering (Figure 103). By contrast the north-eastern corner of this soke, where it borders Falsgrave soke on the eastern side of Pickering wapentake and also the south-western corner of the soke of Whitby in Langbaurgh, is marked by Lilla Howe, a Bronze Age barrow re-used for burial in the early medieval period, surmounted by another medieval boundary cross (Page 1914: 463; NMR 2013: MON#62758). Meanwhile the barrow of Shunner Howe marks the intersection between Langbaurgh, Pickering and Ryedale

wapentakes. It is clear that the estates of Pickering, Falsgrave and Whitby indicate distinct sub-divisions within their respective wapentakes, indicating a strong, if not co-extensive, relationship. More generally however the wider upland division had required numerous monumental nodes, both for soke and for wapentake borders.

The same cannot be said for the East Riding wapentakes. The borders of these in general avoid upland areas (Figure 27). The two exceptions to this, the northern border of Harthill (**HAR-0)** and the Buckrose-Dickering division, do not follow a similar schema. The former is instead defined by the York to Bridlington Roman Road (Margary 1967: 421-2) while there is no discernible pattern of markers converging with the boundary between the two northerly wapentakes. One may further note the longitudinal division of the southern Wold hundreds by the course of Kipling Cotes Race Course on the high ridge, an ancient track (Fletcher 1902), and how this vector extends far beyond its prescribed course (Figure 104). The southern part of this course proper terminates at the eastern corner of Market Weighton hundred (**WEI-0**), a conjunction of three hundreds and a central point of what became Harthill, at High Scrowdale Hill. This line and that point do appear to relate to the disposition of the hundreds on the Wold but more than that would be mere speculation.

In the Vale of York, uplands define part of the eastern extents of the wapentakes, notably the boundary of Bulmer wapentake (**BOL-0**) which runs along the Hambleton Hills, extending north by Birdforth (**GERL-0**) wapentake along the western edge of the Cleveland Hills (Figure 28). The boundary is arrested by the river valley of the Upper Rye, defining the south-eastern corner of Allertonshire (**ALL-0**). Otherwise, aside from the copious stones and mounds that define the far western borders of Yorkshire in the High Pennines, upland divisions west of the Vale of York are a function of the pattern of river valleys defining wapentake morphology. This may be a natural result of the topography, which consists of a far more gradual transition between wider upland and lowland regions in contrast to the North York Moors and Yorkshire Wolds further east.

5.4.6 Roman and other roads

The influence of the Roman road network on parish boundaries is well demonstrated in various parts of the country (Winchester 1990: 34), and examples of this can be found within Yorkshire. One of the most striking in the study area is that of Scotch Corner in the central North Riding (Figure 105). The courses of the identified Roman roads correlate with wapentake boundaries on a number of occasions. These correlations are not consistent enough to consider the Roman road network a routine factor in hundred or wapentake boundary definition. In the East Riding road 81a between Grimston and Stamford Bridge follows the Ouse and also the northern border of a detached portion of *Sneculfcros* (**SNE-0**), while the western lowland appendage of Warter hundred (**WAR-0**) appears to extend towards road 80a between Barmby and Thirsk (Figure 91). In like fashion Acklam's territory (**ACK-0**) extends east along Margary Road 813 between Malton and Bainton. These are quite minor correlations. More significant is the Roman road between York and Bridlington that defines the northern boundaries of Pocklington (**POC-0**), Warter (**WAR-0**) and part of Huntow (**HUN-0**) and subsequently forms the primary device dividing Harthill wapentake (**HAR-0)** from Buckrose (**BUC-0)** and Dickering (**DICK-0)**. The block of land between the parallel roads of 810 and 812 (dividing off from 810 to Sledmere) appears to define in part the southern appendage of *Scard* (**SCAR-0**). This correlation between hundreds, wapentakes and Roman roads is specific only to the north-west corner of the East Riding and is not readily noticeable elsewhere in this division. As a result it only indicates localised use of the Roman road network as a boundary device.

Only one primary relationship can be identified between the Roman road network and the wapentake borders in the North Riding. This is Hambleton Street, dividing Allertonshire (**ALL-0**) from its south-eastern appendage in the upper Rye river valley though even then this appears to divide zones within Allertonshire wapentake rather than define its limits (Spratt 1982: 49 Figure 17). In the West Riding there is a similar paucity, with one conspicuous exception. The course of the Roman road between Doncaster and Tadcaster, or more precisely its course between Castleford and

Aberford (Figure 24), structures the primary divide between the wapentakes of Skyrack (**SKY-0**) and Barkston Ash (**BARK-0**). These units are also circumscribed by the courses of the rivers Aire and Wharfe. The southerly terminal of this boundary correlation, Castleford, marks the convergence of the wapentakes of Agbrigg (**AGB-0**), Osgoldcross (**OGC-0**) and Morley (**MOR-0**) while Aberford, at the northern end of the correlation between the Roman road and the wapentake boundary, is characterised by the transverse Aberford Dykes, a set of linear earthworks dated by recent excavation to the late Iron Age or Romano-British period (Roberts *et al* 2001: 148). North of this point the line of the boundary is broken by the soke of Bramham manor and the converging Roman road junction directly south-west of Tadcaster. As with the riverine divisions the Roman road serves to distinguish the structuring relationships of the Skyrack and Barkston wapentakes from the rest of the West Riding – the closest comparison is with Harthill wapentake to the east (**HAR-0)**. It is possible that the strict boundary correlations with rivers and Roman roads in Skyrack and Barkston reflect identical practice in the East Riding wapentakes. As with the Roman road correlations in the East Riding, this evidence from the West Riding is only represented in one area of the wider West Riding.

As well as Kipling Cotes Race Course and Hambleton Street there are a number of other roads that correlate with the hundred and wapentake bounds. Hesketh Dyke fulfils a similar function in Allertonshire (**ALL-0**) and its name, from the Old Norse *hestr-skeið* – 'horse racing course' (Smith 1961b: 177) - boasts a semantic parallel to Kipling Cotes (Figure 17). This demonstrates that other roads were being utilised to structure wapentake and hundredal boundaries beyond the major Roman road network. The implications of this are that locally known features were being utilised and so territoriality, at least in parts, had a local character rather than simply being imposed from above.

5.4.7 Summary

One of the most significant patterns found in the hundreds and wapentakes of

Yorkshire reflects a geographical rather than an administrative division. The lowland Vale of York bisects the upland landscapes of the Magnesian limestone belt and the Pennines to the west from the massive discrete outcrops of the North York Moors and the Yorkshire Wolds to the east (Figure 12). The wapentake divisions to the west of the Vale almost all circumscribe the wider catchments of significant rivers while to the east the riverine courses themselves frequently correlate with both hundred and wapentake boundaries. This division is reflected in the pattern of upland divisions. While the southern border of Langbaurgh wapentake (**LAN-0**) on the North York Moors is characterised by significant embellishment from mounds, markers and ancient crosses, for instance Lilla Howe and Old Ralph (Figure 103), this is only significantly present in the shire borders of the Pennine fringes, such as at Rey Cross. The river valleys to the west appear to better reflect longstanding patterns of settlement than the more artificial circumscriptions of hundreds and wapentakes witnessed to the east. There are exceptions to this, notably in the case of *Gereburg* (**GER-0**) wapentake in the West Riding (Figure 24). The extent of this unit directly reflects the holdings of the Otley estate north of the Wharfe as recorded in c. 1030 (Farrer 1914: 21-2). It represents an estate territory unsuccessfully incorporated into a wider wapentake layout as a result of the strict circumscription of the wapentakes of Skyrack (**SKY-0**) and Barkston (**BARK-0**) by the courses of the rivers Wharfe and Aire, an otherwise aberrant practice in the West Riding. Such a strict riverine delineation is only otherwise realised in the later-recorded East Riding wapentakes (Figure 27), and it is no coincidence that these are the only two settings in which Roman roads also significantly correlate with wapentake bounds.

Further patterns can be found in comparisons between the three Ridings. The wapentakes of the North and West Ridings are significantly bigger than both the East Riding hundreds of Domesday and the later-recorded East Riding wapentakes. The North and West Ridings are also characterised by cohesive wapentake territories, in contrast to the many detached portions of the East Riding hundreds. The East Riding wapentakes likewise effect a cohesive disposition distinct from their Domesday precursors. Yet, the inter-relations between the East Riding hundreds and

wapentakes are too neat for the wapentakes to represent a simple process of consolidation. The three hundreds of Holderness (**HOL-0)**, the order of the hundreds in the Yorkshire Summary and the pattern of detached portions in what became the wapentake of Ouse and Derwent (**ODW-0)** all indicate that the hundreds of Domesday operated in combined zones that directly reflected the later-recorded wapentakes. In fact the wapentakes may very well have been present, but for whatever reason were not subject to systematic record. While it is possible to discern sub-divisions within wapentakes of the North Riding, such as Langbaurgh (**LAN-0**; Figure 106) and Burghshire (**BUR-0**; Figure 106) these cannot be consistently identified and at any rate appear to reflect cohesive estates rather than detached holdings (see Section 5.4.2). This would imply that the organisation of the East Riding was qualitatively different, rather than simply an idiosyncrasy of the Domesday coroners. The hundreds likely represent subdivisions of the wapentakes, directly analogous to the situation found in the Lincolnshire of Domesday Book (Hadley 2000: 101-4).

This difference is emphasised by the ways in which the hundred and wapentake territories sought to circumscribe both upland and lowland terrain within their pales. The larger wapentakes of the North and West Ridings effect this at a regional scale – arable and pasture is not divided between local communities but rather organised and administered at regional level. Conversely, the detached portions of the East Riding hundreds conspicuously seek to maximise the range of different terrain-types they encompass. This reflects a local concern with maintaining access to the resources for a mixed arable-pasture economy. In other parts of the country this rationale has been perceived in seminal locales (Everitt 1986) and, earlier, Glanville Jones model of the 'multiple estate' (1979). These however pose settlement districts as long-standing, cohesive entities, optimally positioned for agricultural need. The East Riding hundreds appear instead to demonstrate the attempted implementation of this earlier rationale within a later, feudal landscape of estates. The relationship to the East Riding wapentakes would mean that wapentake obligations had been divided evenly between subsidiary parts of the unit, rather than between differing

resource areas. This implies greater control, or a greater desire for control of agricultural resources at sub-wapentake level and in turn, the greater prominence of sub-wapentake governance in the late eleventh century if not before. The prominence of decentralised power likely explains the high convergence of manorial *caputs* with hundred names, though it cannot be determined whether local governance was based around these manors, or whether these manors were instead encroaching upon pre-existent administrative territories.

5.5 Concluding remarks

This chapter has considered the form and location of monumental foci, both identified in the documented and assembly-attesting toponyms and at the sites themselves. This has extended, where possible, to consideration of associated archaeological material. Attention has then turned to the nature of the relationship these assembly sites had with land and riverine communications in Yorkshire. The chapter concludes by considering the varying boundary and topographic character of the hundred and wapentake units themselves.

Mounds, trees and crosses are among the most frequently referenced features in both the documented and place-name attested assembly sites of Yorkshire. The mound distribution reflects a wider pattern of assembly focus throughout north-west Europe, while the tree names are more unusual – it is a pattern better reflected in English controlled areas of the early medieval period (Pantos 2001: 65). Conversely, crosses and springs tend to be limited to the Danelaw (Anderson 1939b: 174-5, 191). Yorkshire appears to demonstrate a mixture of Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian influence rather than presenting evidence indicative of straightforward continuity of conciliar practice or imposition from without. Nonetheless there are commonalities almost ubiquitous to the data-set. The first concerns the location. Almost all of these sites are positioned in an ancillary situation with respect to settlements and estate centres. This is most conspicuous in the East Riding, where one finds ridge-line assembly-mounds situated on the Wolds above estate centres. The second concerns

the routine cultic associations with these markers. The spiritual connotations of the cross are reinforced by documented reports of sanctuary status associated with them, not least Osgoldcross in the West Riding (**OGC-1**; Fox 1827: 355). The cultic properties of trees and springs, alongside the 'ancestral' properties associated with mounds (Semple 2013: 234-5) likely indicate their deployment in at least a related fashion. This does not explain the predominance of mounds as foci however, and that remains a topic for future research.

The most striking observation about the relations of assembly sites to the Roman road network is the very absence of a consistent relationship. This would seem to clash with previous understandings of assembly location (Anderson 1934: xxxiv; Meaney 1997: 218-21) but accords closely with Pantos' more recent and careful observations (2001: 170). Nonetheless in all cases the assembly sites are connected to some form of pathway or track. As such, the present conclusion also concurs with Pantos, in that these assemblies were organised instead around local communication routes, integrated into the older Roman road system *(ibid*). This poses a contrast to the frequent presence of the *Eriksgata*, or royal road, which passed by and through many such *þing* sites in Sweden (Brink 2004: 209; Sanmark 2009: 207). Despite the prevalence of river-side conciliar activity in the early medieval sources, e.g. the synod at *Adtuifyrdi* (Colgrave 1940: 234), only a few sites in the study area can be identified with river-crossings. Again these appear to be situated at a short remove from settlements. A number also appear to mark assemblies at the borders of estates and it may be that the liminal qualities of a river-crossing made it particular suitable for an ostentatiously peripheral situation. In turn their connections to the road network further emphasise the relationship of assemblies to local communications.

The boundary and topographic character of the hundreds and wapentakes of Yorkshire is a product of the complex interplay between culture and environment. One of the most significant is the prevalence of wapentakes circumscribing the wider surrounds of river valleys to the west of the Vale of York. This would appear to reflect long standing settlement districts in contrast to the more artificial appearance of

territories east of the Vale, whose boundaries instead tend to follow the courses of rivers. It is notable that the same wapentakes with strict riverine boundaries are also the only ones to demonstrate boundary correlations with Roman roads. This would seem to indicate the imposition of the territory from outside the local area. Aberrations in the east-west pattern of river-valleys and river boundaries, such as *Gereburg* (**GER-0**) in the West Riding, also reveal the potential for awkward relationships between estates and wapentakes. In the East Riding there is certainly a relationship between the hundreds and wapentakes, so much so that it is certain that either the wapentakes were in place at the time of the Domesday survey, or else co-extensive precursors were then existent. Finally, there appears to be an almost ubiquitous practice of hundred and wapentake territories encompassing both areas of upland and lowland. This undoubtedly reflects a concern with both arable and pasture but crucially, while this is only reflected at a regional level in the wapentakes, the East Riding hundreds instead effect the contrast locally by way of detached portions. If the hundreds are to be considered sub-divisions of the wapentakes as in Lincolnshire (Hadley 2000: 101-4), their topographic disposition indicates a strong degree of decentralised power and thus a qualitatively different administrative set-up to that found elsewhere in Yorkshire.

Chapter Six. Assembly in its historic landscape context

This chapter moves away from a consideration of topographic and archaeological attributes and considers assemblies in Yorkshire in relation to estate centres, ecclesiastical foundations, settlements and evidence for market activity. It demonstrates the compelling way in which assembly sites relate to territorial morphology, itself the product of long-term developments, and the distinctive identity and ancillary location of assembly sites in the tenth and eleventh century in contrast to the wide-scale convergence of ecclesiastical and market functions in estate centres and other settlement contexts.

6.1 Assembly territories in relation to estates and manors

In the surviving body of Anglo-Saxon law-codes the only direct link between the hundred and landed tenure is found in the figure of the *hlaford*, alongside the later-mentioned and analogous *land-rica* (Danelaw equivalent to the *hlaford;* Maitland 1897: 207), each in relation to both the hundred and the wapentake (*Hundred Ordinance 3,4,8; III Edgar 7, IV Edgar 8-11; II Cnut 25; III Aethelred 3*; Liebermann 1903: 192-4, 205, 210-2, 228, 322). This potent office, set somewhat apart from the hundred, is deemed by Maitland a territorial magnate representative of the proliferation of the proprietary hundred in the tenth century (1897: 287-8). There is plentiful evidence for pre-Conquest estates, but the evidence of interactions with the hundred and the wapentake is generally limited to instances of proprietary hundreds. Conceptions vary between the hundred as a construct emergent from and linked to older estates (e.g. Cam 1932; 1935; 1957a: 428-33), or else a separate and co-extensive schema that presented increasingly strong interaction with tenure in the tenth century, whether as a new system (Loyn 1984: 3-4; Taylor 2012: 110) or as the development of an older one (Loyn 1984: 142: Wormald 1995: 116-20). The hundred unit as a European concept is certainly far older than the tenth century, exemplified by the presence of the *centena* in the Merovingian law-code the *Lex Salica* (Drew 1991: 158; MacCotter 2008: 109-124; Turner 2000). The late inception of hundredal

terminology in tenth-century England is certainly striking by comparison, indicative of new developments, even if some aspects of the hundred, notably the clauses of the Ordinance, drew heavily on earlier legislation (see Section 2.2.1).

There are few records of tenure in Yorkshire prior to the Norman Conquest. However Edgar's grant of Howden in 959 marks a significant exception *(ibid*: 119). This clearly covers what was the eastern side of Howden hundred (**HOW-0**) and enticingly, the core of Howdenshire wapentake (**HOW-0**; Figure 14). In a similar fashion the Archbishop's estates of Ripon and Sherburn-in-Elmet in the West Riding may arguably form the cores respectively of the wapentakes of Burghshire (**BUR-0**) and Barkston Ash (**BARK-0**), but again a degree of speculation is inevitable (Figure 24). The extent of the Otley estate is more informative, largely due to the division between the Domesday wapentakes of Skyrack (**SKY-0**) and *Gereburg* (**GER-0**). While Skyrack encompasses the territory of Otley south of the river Wharfe this same river has been taken as Skyrack's northern boundary. However, Burghshire does not consolidate Otley's northern assets at the time of the Domesday survey, these instead being represented by the two small detached portions of *Gereburg* wapentake. It would seem that the influence of older estates was intermittent, but in a single instance the evidence suggests the older unit in fact acted as an impediment towards the implementation of a wapentake model based on riverine divisions. Before turning to the disposition of the Domesday manors, attention must be paid to the manors of ancient demesne, the churches of which were granted severally as a group by Henry I at the beginning of the twelfth century (Farrer 1914: 333-4). These were from the royal manors of Aldborough, Pocklington, Driffield, Kilham and Pickering (Figure 107). It is striking how all of these with the exception of Kilham provided the name and core territory for hundreds and wapentakes in the North Riding.

These are clearly exceptional however, rather than the norm. In the East Riding it is the tenth-century manor of Howden rather than the Domesday hundred (**HOW-0**) that demonstrates the most striking correlation with the extent of the later-recorded

wapentake (Figure 14). A number of other manors appear to correlate as well with core hundredal territories, if not with the hundred itself. These include Bridlington (for Huntow [**HUN-0**]), Burton Agnes (**BUR-1**; for Burton [**BUR-0**]) and Hunmanby (for *Turbar* [**TUR-0**]) (Figure 108), while Northallerton soke (for Allertonshire wapentake [**ALL-0**]; Figure 17) and the Tanshelf estate (for Staincross wapentake; **STC-0**) perform similarly in the North and West Ridings respectively (Figure 109). The manor of Clifton also appears to be co-extensive with the zone of detached portions north of Howden hundred in what was later recorded as Ouse and Derwent wapentake (**ODW-0;** Figure 108). At a wider level the soke of Beverley dominates all three hundreds of Holderness (**HOL-0)** in a fashion that prefigures the wapentake of Holderness. Conversely other seemingly hundredal manors, such as Welton and Warter (**WAR-1**), are dispersed far from their respective hundreds, and in the latter case there seems to be little convergence whatsoever between the eponymous manorial and hundredal units. Other forms of relationship between the estates and the hundreds and wapentakes of Yorkshire can also be observed. In the North Riding the wapentake of *Dic* (later Pickering; **DIC-0**) is divided neatly between the sokes of the two manors of Falsgrave and Pickering (Figure 110). In Bolesford (later Bulmer) wapentake (**BOL-0**), a rough division can also be discerned between the pales of the manors of Easingwold and Bulmer, divided by the river Foss where one finds the Domesday fording point of Bolesford (Figure 96). Estates, hundreds and wapentakes are clearly linked to one another, but it is equally apparent that the hundreds and wapentakes are not directly derived from landed tenure.

The Yorkshire Summary of Domesday reveals the manorial relationship is indeed compelling. Cited core manors, such as Hunmanby (for *Turbar* hundred, East Riding [**TUR-0**]), Northallerton (**ALL-1**; for Allertonshire wapentake [**ALL-0**], North Riding) and Conisbrough (for Strafforth wapentake, West Riding [**STR-0**]) come first on the list, followed by the remainder of the central territory and then, where applicable, the detached portions. This sometimes extends to detached portions – the detached portion of Hessle (**HES-0**) to the west is in turn dominated by the core of the manor of Wressle. Other listings however maintain a resolutely geographical pattern in

terms of ordered assessments, with little or no reference to manorial norms or the landholders. This is most visible in the case of *Sneculfcros* (**SNE-0**), a distinct arrangement of vills running north to south and Cave (**CAV-0**), which is rated portion by portion again without reference to any aspect of tenure (Figure 111). Two inferences can be drawn. Firstly the structure of the Yorkshire Summary and the disposition of manorial sokeland demonstrates that there was a relationship between hundreds and manors in a significant minority of cases in the Domesday East Riding, though not enough to indicate that it formed a 'standard model' of hundredal development. Secondly the variety would seem to demonstrate that the Domesday coroners were being provided with hundredal ratings by the local administrative apparatus, rather than imposing their own methodology. This would mean that the structure of the East Riding hundreds outlined in the Yorkshire Summary was locally situated and not a construct of Domesday officials imposed over a pre-existing disposition of wapentakes (as proposed by Roffe 1991b: 246). Nonetheless the later recorded wapentake territories do appear to have a presence in the Domesday material (as seen above in Section 5.4.7). This is demonstrated by the way in which the three East Riding hundreds on the Holderness peninsula (**HOL-0)** are precisely co-extensive with the eponymous wapentake (compare Figures 7 & 27). Howden provides further evidence for this. Not only does the tenth-century Howden grant reflect Howdenshire (**HOW-0**) rather than Howden hundred (**HOW-0**), but there is further a division in the method of assessment for Howden hundred in the Yorkshire Summary that accords with the extent of the later recorded wapentake of Howdenshire (Figure 111). While the eastern vills of Howden hundred are largely listed on a north to south geographical outline, once this crosses west of the Derwent the listing of the Summary divides instead into a series of sub-groups of settlements that centre on the vills of Hagthorpe and Brackenholme near the Derwent division. It is clear that a different methodology of vill assessment has been employed either side of the course of the river Derwent in Howden hundred. This division in turn reflects the border between the later-recorded units of Ouse and Derwent wapentake (**ODW-0)** and Howdenshire wapentake. The local arrangements of assessment evident in the Domesday Yorkshire Summary for the East Riding

therefore reflect the wapentake groupings that are otherwise not documented until the twelfth century. As such it appears that the hundreds and wapentakes of the East Riding had a territorial presence in the late eleventh century.

The insights gained from the Yorkshire Summary continue once outside of the East Riding. Ian Maxwell (1950, 1962b) has indicated how the Summary listing of Langbaurgh wapentake (**LAN-0**) was rated using an east-to-west trajectory of vills, divided threefold (Figure 106). Similar discoveries have been made in the West and North Ridings. Skyrack (**SKY-0**), in the West Riding, is dominated by the two manors of Otley and Kippax (Figure 59). The Domesday wapentake of Bolesford (**BOL-0**) in the North Riding is divided in two by the Summary and by the respective sokelands of the manors of Bulmer and Easingwold (Figure 96). In like fashion the Summary follows the division of sokeland in Dic wapentake (**DIC-0**) between the manors of Pickering and Falsgrave (Figure 110). These demonstrate that wapentakes and estates could be found in close relationship. In these instances the wapentakes could represent an agglomeration of estates, the estates could represent sub-divisions of the wapentakes or else appropriations of the territories of earlier wapentake sub-divisions.

The behaviour of the Summary with respect to manorial groupings can be identified on a number of other occasions with resolutely non-manorial clusters, a phenomenon that would favour the notion that the Domesday estates are wholly or partially appropriating earlier territorial sub-divisions or components of the wapentakes. Thus, the Summary for the wapentake of Ryedale (**MAN-0**) in the North Riding exhibits close similarities to the east-west divisions seen in Bulmer (**BOL-0**) and Pickering (**DIC-0**; Figure 101). This division is independent of any corollary estates. Most strikingly the West Riding wapentakes of Agbrigg (**AGB-0**), dominated by the manor of Wakefield, can, by way of the Summary, be divided into geographically discrete groupings that not only divide this manor into specific clusters, but are explicitly denoted in the original text (Maxwell 1962c: 3; Figure 112). Burghshire (**BUR-0**) in turn can be divided threefold *(ibid*; Figure 113). Together these indicate

non-manorial subdivisions within the wapentakes. The most straightforward interpretation of this variation is that each of these sub-divisions in fact relate to earlier administrative units, the consolidation of which resulted in the wapentake schema found in Domesday Book. Previous consideration of this has focused on the notion of the *archaic* or *small shire*, propounded by Jolliffe (1934) and more recently by Geoffrey Barrow (Barrow 2003: 48). This holds that the tapestry of hundreds and wapentakes found throughout England and parts of Scotland masks an earlier scheme of smaller districts, a disposition now largely evidenced in place-names *(ibid*). In Yorkshire, later medieval examples include Coxwoldshire, Riponshire, Sowerbyshire and Mashamshire, and a number of these *–shire* suffixes are also attached to the earlier Domesday districts, not least *Craveshire* (**CRA-0**), Burghshire and of course Yorkshire (Faull and Stinson 1986: 298a, 379d, 380b). It is likely that at least some of the other *–shire* suffixes are glosses for the extent of estates. The distribution of *shire* names in the later medieval nomenclature of the study area is as partial as the distribution of manorial soke in the Domesday survey for the same area. It is at least clear that both the wapentakes and the estates effect partial reflections of the arrangement of earlier territories.

6.1.1 Summary

The hundred in law enjoyed an ambiguous relationship with landed tenure, present in the person of the *hlaford* or *land-rica* (Maitland 1897: 297-8). Nonetheless it can be shown that a significant proportion of the known pre-Conquest estates of Yorkshire, including Sherburn-in-Elmet and Howden (Figures 14 & 24), could reflect the core of Domesday and later wapentakes. In one case the archiepiscopal estate of Otley can be shown to impede the implementation of a wapentake schema based on riverine divisions in the Pennine Fringes, exemplified by the anomalous extent of *Gereburg* wapentake (**GER-0**) in the West Riding. A significant minority of Domesday sokelands, where recorded, also display this relationship. They also reflect sub-divisions within the wapentake, divisions which do not always correspond to co-extensive tenure. In numerous other cases, no relationship is apparent. The

conclusion from this is clear – each of the hundreds, wapentakes and varied examples of landed tenure derived their territorial character from earlier units. The varied methods of assessment implied in the listings of the Yorkshire Summary demonstrate that these territories were manifest at a local level – or to put it another way, they were more than a mere bureaucratic flourish. In turn it is evident that both wapentake and estate territoriality were derived from this earlier source, rather than tenure mediating between the two. What one cannot determine however is when this took place and the extent to which it represents the continuity or appropriation of earlier administrative function.

6.2 Assembly sites and settlements

The vast majority of both the documented and place-name attested assemblies found in Yorkshire are identified with, or in very close proximity to, vills and other settlements recorded at or before the time of Domesday Book. Nonetheless little work has been conducted on this correlation. Anderson argued that many settlement names were derived from the same landscape markers that guided the hundredal nomenclature or that otherwise the hundredal focus was in the vicinity of the settlement (1934: xxvii-xxviii). The only exceptions noted were when the hundredal manor fulfilled the function of the administrative centre *(ibid*: xxix). In this view the settlement was not considered a suitable hundredal venue nor was the wider pattern of settlement considered influential, instead dismissed as a later medieval feature of assembly practices. These emphases betray the deep current in past scholarship which was heavily concerned with the concept of a free, rural assembly (discussed in Section 2.3.1). More recently greater scepticism has been applied to earlier notions of a bottom-up commonwealth of freemen, and greater stress placed on active royal engagement (Wormald 1986; Keynes 1990). Despite this change in focus the unsuitability of the settlement as an assembly venue has remained a standing notion in scholarship. Notably in Gelling's *Signposts to the Past* (1978: 210) the suitable

assembly site was described as a "no-man's-land". Both Loyn (1984: 142) and Wormald (1995: 162-3) have framed estate-centre location as a tenth- to eleventh-century development from rural courts, emerging as the private hundred appeared and as elite control was consolidated over a previously 'fuzzy' and rural institution. The settlement context of these estate centres remains entirely circumstantial. In their defence there is uncertainty as to when settlement modules first proliferated (Reynolds 2003). Further, it is difficult to determine the extent to which a given vill reflects a focus of settlement rather than a central zone within a landscape of dispersed dwellings. The next section reviews the evidence in terms of Domesday, post-Domesday and place-name attested locations in, or related to, settlement contexts.

In the East Riding all but one of the hundreds coterminous with the later recorded wapentake of Harthill (**HAR-0)** can be identified with Domesday settlements (Figure 27). The exception to this is *Sneculfcros* (**SNE-0**), an unidentified location whose central territory encompassed the ecclesiastical centre of Beverley. Of the remaining seven, four – Driffield (**DRI-1**), Market Weighton (**WEI-1**), Pocklington (**POC-1**) and Warter (**WAR-1**) – also comprised the centres of royal manors. Welton (**WEL-1**) was a manor in the possession of the Bishop of Durham while each of North Cave (**CAV-1**) and South Cave (**CAV-1**) comprised non-royal manorial settings. Hessle (**HES-1**) was the only non-manorial hundredal centre, instead found as a berewick of the manor of North Ferriby. The settlements and manors of Burton Agnes (**BUR-1**) and Acklam (**ACK-1**; the former a royal manor) are the only identified locations in the triple hundredal groupings co-extensive respectively with the wapentakes of Dickering (**DICK-0)** and Buckrose (**BUC-0;** compare with Figure 91). Howden (**HOW-0**) is the remaining East Riding hundred whose name is shared with an associated settlement. Ten of the eighteen East Riding hundreds are linked to settlements and four of these – Weighton (**WEI-0**), Pocklington (**POC-0**), Welton and Burton (**BUR-0**) – bear habitative toponyms. With the exception of Huntow (**HUN-1**) the other hundredal foci have not been identified. Not only do settlements comprise the majority of hundredal nodes in the East Riding, but their endurance has also evidently played a

substantial role in the survival and latter identification of such places. In the North Riding the one Domesday wapentake that bears a habitative toponym and is associated with a settlement is Northallerton (**ALL-1**), the hundredal focus of Allertonshire wapentake (**ALL-0**). This was a royal manor at the time of Domesday that was subsequently gifted to the Bishop of Durham by William Rufus (Raine 1841: 76-7 Figure 17). In the West Riding Barkston Ash (**BARK-0**) is the only certain habitative toponym (Smith 1961d: 1, 53) though the fortifications implied in the names *Gereburg* (**GER-0**) and Aldborough (**BUR-1**) may imply settlement (Smith 1961e: 1, 80). Both Aldborough and Barkston (**BARK-1**) are in turn associated with Domesday settlements. While *Gereburg* is lost, the settlement of Morley (**MOR-1**) represents another presumed wapentake focus. Meanwhile Skyrack (**SKY-1**) and Osgoldcross (**OGC-1**) are positioned in the Domesday settlements of Headingley and Tanshelf (now Pontefract) respectively.

The East Riding wapentakes mark a major break with the nomenclature of the Domesday hundreds. Howdenshire (**HOW-0**) is the only habitative toponym, associated with the hundredal settlement of Howden (**HOW-1**). None of the other wapentake names can be linked with specific locations, let alone settlements. With the changes of the twelfth-century Northallerton (**ALL-1**) remains the only North Riding wapentake that references settlement. However the seeming division of the *Terra Alani Comitis* (**TAC-0**) and a slew of changed names elsewhere in the Riding means that there are far more wapentake names associated with settlement: Pickering (**DIC-0**), Birdforth (**GERL-0**), Bulmer (**BOL-0**) and Gilling (**GIL-0**). Less dramatic changes can be noted in the West Riding subsequent to the Domesday survey. Craven (**CRA-0**) is subdivided into two wapentakes that are neither associated with nor reference settlement while the new name for Burghshire (**BUR-0**) – Claro (**CLA-0**) – refers to a roadside gravel mound (**CLA-1**) one kilometre to the north-east of the nearest Domesday settlement, Clareton. Claro Hill wapentake also subsumes *Gereburg* (**GER-0**) and so the West Riding has one fewer settlement associated with a wapentake and one, possible two, fewer toponyms that could plausible reference habitation.

Speeton (**SPE-1)** is one of only two assembly-attesting toponyms in the East Riding that references and is directly associated with a settlement. The other is the *Þins-housum* from Edgar's Newbald charter of 963 (Hart 1975: 121-3) which according to the boundary clause should be positioned where South Cave (**CAV-1**) intersects with the Roman road running between York and Brough-on-Humber (Margary 1967: 418-9). One may also include Wetwang (**WTW-1)** and Fraisthorpe (**HUN-2**) as assembly-attesting toponyms associated with settlement but neither of these should be considered secure attestations. In the North Riding Landmoth (**LAND-1**) – or 'district meeting-place' (Smith 1928: 206) is also a Domesday vill. Meanwhile *Mothow* (**MTH-1**) is listed in the bounds of Hovingham (Brown 1932: 132-3) and *Spelcros* is described as situated in the fields of Guisborough in the early fourteenth century (Brown 1889: 38). None of the North Riding names refer specifically to settlement. Despite the systematic examination of field names in the West Riding there is not a significant increase in the number of assembly-attesting names referencing or associated with settlement. The Mootham Stone recorded by Turner near Bingley (1897: 312) refers to a farmstead but is not positioned in a settlement. Meanwhile *Wapentach Ferme* (**STC-2**) in Barnby Hall outside of Cawthorne, Staincross wapentake (**STC-0**), fulfils both criteria (National Archives 2013: Sp/St/71/1).

Between Domesday and the twelfth centuries there were evidently major changes in both the East and North Ridings. In the East Riding a hundredal system that focused upon settlement shifted to a wapentake system that resolutely did not do so while in the North Riding a contrasting transition can be observed, with Domesday wapentake names that did not refer to habitative nodes shifting to those of manorial centres within the respective wapentakes. It should also be noted that subsequent to Domesday, several wapentake courts are recorded in explicit settlement settings, including Burton Fleming (**DICK-1)**, Rudston (**DICK-2)** and Hedon (**HOL-1)** in the East Riding, and Slingsby in the North Riding (**MAN-1**; Martin 1909: 217-218n; Putnam 1939: 33, 49; Smith 1937: 15; Maxwell-Lyte 1903: 303). Nonetheless, as shall be shown, the evidence for the type of assembly location is remarkably consistent

across all three Ridings – a pattern of ancillary positioning away from but in relation to settlements.

In each Riding of Yorkshire only a minority of the settlements associated with the hundreds and wapentakes displays any indication of a focal point or area that reflects conciliar arrangements related to the aforesaid hundreds and wapentakes. The name of the East Riding hundred of Welton (**WEL-0**) may allude to assembly at St Anne's Well within the village (Anderson 1934: 17; Smith 1937: 220; Figure 61). The Skyrack oak tree (**SKY-1**) was situated at the centre of the settlement of Headingley, west of Leeds, in Skyrack wapentake (**SKY-0**; Figure 114) while the later medieval assemblies of Dickering wapentake (**DICK-0)** at Rudston (**DICK-2)** in the East Riding were explicitly associated with the Rudston monolith (Martin 1909: 217-218n; Putnam 1939: 33, 49; Maxwell-Lyte 1909b: 306; Figure 65). None of these foci have early medieval archaeological material in close association – indeed at Rudston there is better evidence for multi-phase post-Roman and Anglo-Scandinavian activity at a probable cremation cemetery immediately south of the present-day village (e.g. PAS 2013: YORYM-CDD8A4, YORYM-B2B7E1, YORYM-6B78D4; Figure 70; see Section 5.1.4). The Barkston Ash tree (**BARK-1**) would initially seem comparable to Skyrack. However it lacks associated early medieval archaeological material and it is also significant that the tree is only noted from 1598 (Smith 1961d: 1). Borough Hill (**BUR-1**) is associated with Aldborough (and thus Burghshire; **BUR-0**) on the basis of its name and use for later-medieval parliamentary husts (Smith 1852: 42; Turner 1853: 135; Figure 49) while the *Mothow* (**MTH-1**), listed in Hovingham in the early fourteenth century (Brown 1932: 132-3), most likely refers to the conical barrow on the roadside 500 metres east of the village (NMR 2013: MON#58449). In neither case are there clear signs for early medieval activity in close association. Excavations at the tantalisingly named mound of Moot Hill towards the north end of modern Great Driffield (**DRI-1**) have revealed it to be in fact a Norman motte atop a Romano-British building associated with fourth-century pottery (Eddy 1983: 40-51; cf Mortimer and Sheppard 1905: 295; Figure 115). Mortimer *(ibid*: 294) reported early medieval inhumations and a sword at Moot Hill in the later nineteenth century, but these are almost

certainly representative of a wider spread of mortuary activity in the area in the early medieval period (e.g. Buckberry 2004: 419). For Howden (**HOW-1**) and Northallerton (**ALL-1**), the administrative centres for the two major jurisdictional peculiars of the Bishop of Durham in Yorkshire (Howdenshire [**HOW-0**] and Allertonshire [**ALL-0**]; Barlow 1950), there are no conciliar details pertinent to the eleventh century though it has been suggested in each case that the Bishop's Palace may have served as a conciliar focus. Certainly by 1333 however the "men of the town" in Northallerton held pleas at the toll-booth at the north end of the market (Page 1914: 418-33). These were however not wapentake but town meetings. The evidence for hundred and wapentake assemblies within settlements is meagre, even considering the possible examples, until the fourteenth century and the emergence of the Moot-Hall (e.g. Howden [**HOW-1**]; Sheahan and Whelan 1856: 598). Rather than pose this as a minor pattern of the data-set it is more significant in light of the greater prevalence of ancillary assembly demonstrated immediately below that a number of these settlement assemblies can likewise be shown to adopt ancillary settings. This is plausible when one considers the situation of Skyrack to the major river crossing at Leeds 3.3 kilometres to the south-east but is certain in the case of Barkston Ash, situated on the northern border of the Sherburn-in-Elmet estate (see Section 6.4.2). Two final examples of assemblies in ostensible settlement contexts demonstrate a greater emphasis on ancillary/extra-mural positioning.

The first is South Cave (**CAV-1**). This is one of two manorial centres associated with the East Riding hundred of Cave (**CAV-0**; Figure 87). The settlement is divided between a planned western street and an eastern portion – Market Street – aligned instead along the Roman road running between York and Brough-on-Humber (Margary 1967: 418-9). It is this eastern portion that correlates with the *þing-housum* of the pre-Conquest Newbald grant (Hart 1975: 121-3). One is arguably viewing an only partially successful attempt at re-planning an existing settlement, a scheme that has been interfered with by an abiding node of assembly and trade. The second is Osgoldcross (**OGC-1**), another location with market associations. Osgoldcross references a standing cross in Pontefract market place, replaced in the eighteenth

century by a covered market cross (Figure 67). The surviving descriptions indicate that it possessed sanctuary status (Fox 1827: 355) but also state that it was situated outside of Pontefract proper in a place called Westcheap, adjacent to the Domesday manorial *caput* of Tanshelf, also the scene of the 947 capitulation of Northumbria to Wessex (Swanton 2000). More precisely it is situated in a market-place, adjacent to the later Moot-Hall, in an extra-mural position to the outer bailey of Pontefract (Figure 68). This division is reinforced by the 1255x1258 grant to Westcheap of equivalent liberties to those enjoyed by the residents of Pontefract (Beresford 1967: 525-6). Osgoldcross thus emerges from its seemingly safe settlement context and instead can be suggested to follow the pattern of an extra-mural commercial setting. A close parallel is found with Toft Green on the south-western edge of York, reported in an *Inquisition ad Quod Damnum* of 1307 to be a site of markets, duels and musters (Palmer 1881: 400). Thus, a significant proportion of secure instances of assemblies focused upon settlement zones can be shown to possess an ancillary character to settlement.

Instead, the dominant characteristic of the assemblies in the study area is their situation outside but in close relation to elements of the wider settlement pattern in Yorkshire. Osgoldcross (**OGC-1**) and South Cave (**CAV-1**) demonstrate this at a very close scale but in the majority of cases sites will be between 500 and 3000 metres away from the settlements in question. The aforementioned village of Barkston Ash (**BARK-1**) is found on the northern edge of the parish of Sherburn-in-Elmet, the dominant wapentake manor for Barkston Ash (**BARK-0**; Dalton 2002: 170-1; Figure 56). This position, 2.7 kilometres north of Sherburn-in-Elmet, also marks the northern border of its pre-Conquest estate (Figure 24). The actual site of the tree, at least as far back as the mid nineteenth century, comprised a very small detached portion of the parish of Sherburn, lending greater significance to its peripheral parochial and estate position. This same pattern can be seen elsewhere in the West Riding with the position of Ainsty Cliff (**AIN-1**) in relation to Bilbrough Manor (Figure 51) and Claro Hill (**CLA-1**) in relation to Clareton (Figure 48), while the documented assembly of Staincross wapentake (**STC-0**) in Cawthorne in 1235/6 (**STC-2**) is accompanied by a

field name - *Wapentach Ferme* - recorded in the Domesday hamlet of Barnby Hall, 800 metres to the east of the site of Cawthorne (Bracton and Maitland 1887: 184; Figure 15). In a similar way the assemblies of Morley wapentake (**MOR-0**) likely took place at the Tingley mound and cross-roads (**TING-1**) 2.1 kilometres to the south-east (Figure 44). This connection is strengthened by its links to the fair *in silva Morlege* found in Domesday Book (Faull and Stinson 1986: 373d), connected to Woodkirk church just south of Tingley and the ancient Lee Gap Fair (Pollard 1897: xi; Jewell 1990: 65n). Further ancillary wapentake assemblies in the West Riding were found at Agbrigg (**AGB-1**), a crossing set apart from both Wakefield and Sandal Magna (Figure 92), and Strafford Sands (**STR-1**), situated a short distance away from both Conisbrough and Mexborough (Figure 86). An identical pattern can be identified in the North Riding. Here, Langbaurgh ridge (**LAN-1**) is found 1.3 kilometres north of the manorial centre at Ayton (Figure 116), the river crossing at Bolesford (**BOL-1**) is situated south-west of Sheriff Hutton (Figure 85), while the later documented crossing at Birdforth (**GERL-1**) is set a short distance from the three settlements of Carlton Husthwaite, Thormanby and Hutton Sessay (Figure 88). This is replicated in a number of the assembly-attesting toponyms, for instance Stony Cross (**STX-1**; a.k.a. *Spelcros*; Allison 2011: 33) in relation to Wombleton (Figure 64), Spell Close Farm (**SCF-1**) in relation to Yarm (Figure 117), Fingerfield Farm (**FING-1**) - Old Norse *þing-haugr* (Smith 1961e: 207) - in relation to Grewelthorpe (Figure 118), and plausibly *Mothow* (**MTH-1**) in relation to Hovingham if it does indeed refer to the conical barrow 500 metres to the east of the village (Brown 1932: 132; NMR 2013: MON#58449; Figure 50). The evidence for ancillary wapentake assembly in the North and West Ridings far outweighs the evidence for these assemblies taking place within settlements. It is also clear that it was preferable that they were more than one kilometre away, distance was evidently as much a desirable feature as the absence of settlement at the venue.

The East Riding presents a variation on the theme. While again there is little to no evidence for hundredal assemblies taking place in settlement contexts one can instead identify a distinct category of ridgeline assemblies, both ancillary to and

above the related settlements. Driffield hundred (**DRI-0**) is significantly connected to the extant assembly-attesting mound of Spellow Clump (**SPC-1)**. This is an undated mound (also known as 'Best's Grave') 2.5 kilometres north-west of Driffield on Elmswell Wold, accompanied by a now-levelled rectilinear enclosure (NMR 2013: MON#79346; Mortimer and Sheppard 1905: 264; Figure 40 & 41). Mortimer considered it post-medieval and did not investigate, but the connection of the site to Driffield is signalled by the existence of Spellowgate, latterly diverted at the township boundary with Elmswell, some 750 metres south-east of the Clump. This pattern is found once more at Spell Howe barrow (**SPHW-1)** on the ridge-line edge of Flotmanby Wold, where the site overlooks the settlements of Folkton and Flixton below (Figures 38 & 39). If it relates in a similar fashion to Hunmanby, 3.2 kilometres to the east, it is possible that Spell Howe and *Turbar* (**TUR-0**) may be referring to the same monument (Allison 1974: 165). The named Domesday hundred of Huntow (**HUN-0**), whether identified with a location in Buckton or Bridlington township, is in turn situated on the Wolds overlooking Bridlington to the south in directly analogous fashion (Figure 53). These three examples may be reflected in the ridgeline position of early medieval archaeological assemblages overlooking some of the East Riding hundreds. Acklam Wold (**ACK-1**), above the eponymous settlement and manor, is characterised by a series of barrows, determined by Mortimer (1905: 85-94) to be of Bronze Age date. One however, Mortimer number 203, had been substantially damaged earlier in the nineteenth century when re-used as a bovine mass grave following a severe murrain *(ibid*: 85-6; Figure 119). This intervention likely squares with Whellan's 1856 report that a "Saxon sword was discovered in a barrow…along with other sepulchral remains" on Acklam Wold (1859: 209n). In the context of Mortimer's work here this would arguably render 203 the sole node of early medieval activity on the ridgeline above the manor. In similar fashion a number of beads and pottery fragments of possible early medieval date were recovered on the high ground at Tranby on the Wold ridgeline 1.3 kilometres west of the hundredal settlement of Hessle (**HES-1**; Meaney 1964: 291; Lucy 1998: 128; NMR 2013: MON#78956; Figure 120). These provided circumstantial indications of a relationship between settlements associated with assembly and possible early medieval burial

and other activity on high ground ancillary to these settlements. One should also note that Goodmanham, site of an Anglo-Saxon pagan temple in Bede (*HE* II, 3) is identically positioned with regard to the hundredal settlement of Market Weighton (**WEI-1**; Figure 89). Alongside Spellow Clump there appear to be great similarities in the high ridgeline ancillary position of the archaeological attested assemblages linked to hundredal settlements on the one hand and the documented and place-name attested assembly sites on the other. It is clear that this is partly a function of the Wold landscape though similar features can be noted where such stark upland-lowland divisions are also found. At Pickering (**DIC-1**), on the southern edge of the North York Moors, an early Anglo-Saxon palisaded enclosure was discovered on the moorland slopes overlooking the town (Signorelli and Roberts 2006; Richardson 2012; Figure 121) while *Tyngoudale* (**TYNG-1**), an approximately identified zone immediately south-west of Guisborough, demarcates a valley on the northern edge of the same Moor (Figure 9). The East Riding demonstrates further examples of ancillary assembly, making use of the local topography in a way that demonstrates a theatrical aspect to their liminal position. It was not enough that they were situated outside of settlements – they had to be *seen* to be situated outside of settlements.

The East Riding, as in the West and North, does possess instances of lost assembly-attesting toponyms that may nevertheless indicate further instances of ancillary assembly. The hundred names of *Sneculfcros* (**SNE-0**) may possibly be connected to the Grith Cross, a now lost sanctuary cross situated north of Beverley, the setting to an Inquisition in 1296 (Brown 1902: 35). In Holderness (**HOL-0)** it is clear that the manor of Burstwick was the dominant holding of the Earls of Albemarle, a manor that enjoyed a largely symbiotic relationship with the new port of Hedon, site of the later medieval conventions of Holderness wapentake (**HOL-1;** Smith 1937: 15; Figure 27). In the pale of this manor two significant lost place-names are recorded, *Spellay* and *Spelhoudayl* (National Archives: E142/49/4-7, DDCC/14/68). In the North Riding Thingwall (**THW-1**) was evidently positioned directly east of Whitby and the Abbey, possibly at Haggitt Howe (Atkinson 1881: 428, 727; Figure 122) while a *Spelcros* is listed in 'the fields of Guisborough' (Brown 1889: 38). Finally, in the West Riding there

is a lost Thinge (**THIN-1**) recorded immediately east of Tadcaster (Smith 1961d: 240; Figure 123) while Spella Garth (**SPG-1**) is a lost field-name outside of Drax *(ibid*: 11). In documentation, surviving toponyms and, arguably, archaeological assemblages, all the evidence points to assemblies convened at a distance, albeit an accessible distance, from significant settlement nodes. This distance, and the use of the ridgeline in the East Riding, further demonstrates that there was a theatrical aspect to these liminal settings. It was a performance of separation from settlement as much as a pragmatic initiative to avoid interruptions.

6.2.1 Summary

The East Riding hundred names both reflect and are associated with settlements in contrast to the wapentakes of the North and West Ridings. This had changed radically by the twelfth century – the East Riding wapentakes no longer presented a compelling association with settlement while the North Riding wapentake nomenclature had adopted a new emphasis on key manorial centres within their respective wapentake territories. However this has little relation to the consistent pattern of ancillary assemblies witnessed throughout all three of the Ridings. The two most striking exceptions to this, Osgoldcross (**OGC-1**) and South Cave (**CAV-1**), can convincingly be shown to comprise extra-mural market venues. These examples aside, the assembly sites tend to effect a greater distance from the settlements in question, demonstrating that it was not enough that conciliar business avoided settlements, but that it was seen to avoid settlement locations. The phenomenon of the ridgeline assemblies in the East Riding emphasises the performative qualities of this liminal characteristic, sometimes visually dominant or overlooking the associated settlement. These patterns fly in the face of earlier models that argue for a transition of procedural activity to manorial settings in the tenth and eleventh centuries (Loyn 1984: 129, 196-7; Wormald 1995: 116-20; Turner 2000). It is true that elements of hundredal business were transferred to the manorial courts in the later medieval period, but this does not appear to be reflected in the early medieval or immediately post-Conquest material explored here for Yorkshire.

6.3 Assembly sites and market activity

Edgar's *Wihtbordesstan* code makes clear that commercial transactions were permitted in both burhs and wapentakes under the appropriate witness (*IV Edgar 6*; Liebermann 1903: 210-11). The Latin gloss that accompanies this text (Wormald 1999: 219) reframes these venues of permitted trade as: towns, the countryside and hundreds *(ibid*). The impression given is that trade is ubiquitous. Specific references to markets first occur in the legislation of Aethelred and Cnut in one restrictive context – that, like the *folcgemot* – they were forbidden from convening on a Sunday (*V Aethelred 13; VI Aethelred 22, 44; I Cnut 15*; Liebermann 1903: 240, 252, 258, 296). The contemporaneous document on land-holding, *Hit Becwaeð*, draws together the market-place, the church-congregation and the hundred as analogous categories of witness (Wormald 1999: 385). It is unlikely that this schema was idle, as the same categories, including the County Court, are found with regard to the emancipation of slaves in the twelfth-century compilation known as the *Leges Henrici Primi* (Liebermann 1903: 594). It is clear that trade could take place in a hundredal setting – it is less clear whether this fulfilled a formal or semi-formal function. It would be unwise to argue for the late emergence of a specific category of market from these scant sources alone. Likewise *Hit Becwaeð* could be deploying a well-worn gloss for common types of gathering as much as it could be stressing divisions between the categories listed. It suffices that trade in hundredal settings is more than plausible. This is of course backed up by the better-known evidence from the Icelandic *Alþing*. Indeed the *Grágas* make reference to the booths of tanners and cobblers at this gathering (Schleger 1829b: 84; Thorláksson 2000). Similarly trading is known from Tynwald on the Isle of Man (Pantos 2001: 87) and together these have been seen to indicate the widespread convergence of trade and assembly (Arthur and Sindbaek 2007: 308).

Richard Britnell has identified at least 22 hundredal manors in Domesday Book that are said to have possessed markets, alongside instances of boroughs where this

function is assumed (1978: 183). In the study area Pocklington (**POC-1**) and Tanshelf (for Osgoldcross [**OGC-1**]) fulfil this latter criterion. These are not conceived as a routine adjunct of hundredal function but rather as an expedient solution to the matter of hundred fines and payments in landscapes of weak economic specialisation *(ibid*: 190). Sawyer has advanced on this that the convergences of markets and hundredal settings are often also accompanied by an early church or monastery, a pattern with parallels in southern Scandinavia, which would seem to suggest the exploitation of an existing congregation (1981: 161; Britnell 1996: 10, 20). Anderson records only one hundred name attesting to market activity, Longport ('long market-place') in Shepway Lathe, Kent (1939b: 135-6). Pantos has noted the absence of coin and metalwork finds from the regional Sites and Monuments Records in the immediate vicinity of hundredal sites in central England while associated documented markets, as at Scutchamer Knob, tend to be of relatively recent date (2001: 87-8, 207). As such Pantos is sceptical of a significant connection between the two *(ibid*: 88). Tingley (**TING-1**) and the Lee Gap Fair comprises an exception to this in the study area (Figure 44). A number of 'productive' sites have been argued to represent assemblies. The presence of one with numerous coin finds at the focus of Bowcombe hundred, Isle of Wight, has been taken to indicate a market function to the hundred (Ulmschneider 2002: 35). Conversely the absence of coins from the dense assemblage of personal accoutrements recovered from Lake End, Dorney, is thought to indicate rural assembly (Hiller *et al* 2002: 69). Interpretation of the 'productive' sites has been problematic (Richards 1999a: 79) and in terms of this study, they continue to defy a common explanation – there is certainly no consistent pattern of convergence between documented hundred and wapentake meeting-place sites and identified productive-sites. References to market activity have also been argued to be slight in relation to the Cambridgeshire hundreds (1997: 232n). In Yorkshire, a key facet of the political biography of the region is the take-over by Scandinavian authority and the creation of the Danelaw. The superimposition or rolling out of new arrangements in newly conquered regions brought some exceptional administrative arrangements in other colonised areas. In Iceland, as part of The Assembly Project, Natascha Mehler is investigating the extent of mercantile

activity at *Þing* assemblies away from the better-documented accounts of trade and trade-legislation at the alÞing (*in press*). The laws collected in the Grágás declare standard values for a wide range of goods (Dennis *et al* 2000: 92-3, 207-10, 349-50), and one section even specifies that these values were to apply in Árnes assembly district *(ibid*: 357). While it is clear that assemblies were involved in the administration of trade there are few documented accounts of trade at assemblies themselves. Alongside the Icelandic alÞing, trade is also recorded at the annual *disting* held at Gamla Uppsala in Sweden (Schlyter 1834: 309). Another assembly of documented trade, at Folklandstingstad, again in Sweden, has been corroborated with archaeological activity (Sanmark 2010: 183). It is unclear however whether these examples represent wider practice or regionally important exceptions. Gardiner and Mehler (2007) have indicated the wide prevalence of booths at seasonally occupied trading sites. The presence of booths at both trading and *Þing* sites in turn makes it difficult to confidently establish assembly function at sites further afield, not least in Greenland (Sanmark 2010: 188). Although the evidence reviewed above for trade and assembly seems unpromising it remains important to consider this in terms of the Yorkshire material, given the strong associations between trade and assembly in other colonised regions in the tenth and eleventh centuries.

One of the best ways to study this relationship in Yorkshire is to compare the disposition of assembly sites with Britnell's listing of markets and fairs (Letters 2013). Before 1200 market grants are almost exclusively confined east of the Vale of York. After this point, and particularly in the reign of Henry III, a more equitable distribution develops, though the greater concentration of grants is consistently found on the Eastern seaboard. There is no sense that the developing pattern of grants is informed in any way by the position of hundred and wapentake sites. Market grants coincide with all of the East Riding hundredal settlements with the exceptions of Welton (**WEL-1**) and Acklam (**ACK-1**). Pocklington (**POC-1**), Driffield (**DRI-1**), South Cave (**CAV-1**) and Howden (**HOW-1**) appear to have possessed functioning markets by 1200 if not at the time of the Domesday survey. The remainder possess grants from the third

quarter of the thirteenth century, at a time when a profusion of such grants were being made.

Of the Domesday North Riding wapentake sites, a fair is recorded in Northallerton (**ALL-1**) in 1200, while Langbaurgh ridge (**LAN-1**) is found 1.2 kilometres north of Great Ayton, where a market was granted in 1253 (Figure 116). Further markets are known from the post-Domesday wapentake centres of Pickering (**DIC-1**) and Birdforth (**GERL-1**) while Hang Bank (**HANG-1**) is found a short distance south of Constable Burton. There is no documented sign of similar activity at Gilling West (**GIL-1**). Three place-name attestions, *Mothow* (**MTH-1**), *Spelcros* and Thingwall (**THW-1**), are outside of the market-granted settlements of, respectively, Hovingham, Guisborough and Whitby. A Domesday market connection is difficult to assess but the majority of the twelfth-century documented sites are served by markets in close proximity to or indeed at the named venue.

In the West Riding there are far more instances of place-name attestations in close proximity to markets – e.g. Thinge and Tadcaster (**THIN-1**), Spella Garth (**SPG-1**) and Drax – than elsewhere although field names in this Riding received far more attention from Hugh Smith (1961a-g). There is also a stronger pattern of assembly venues situated immediately outside of market-zones. Thus Strafford Sands (**STR-1**) is just north-west of Conisbrough (market granted in 1200), Tingley is just north of the Woodkirk/Lee Gap Fair (**TING-1**), while Barkston (**BARK-1**) is outside of Sherburn and Skyrack (**SKY-1**) outside of Leeds. The wapentake centres of Ainsty Cliff (**AIN-1**) and Staincross (**STC-1**) provide isolated exceptions to this while Aldborough (**BUR-1**) appears to be the only juxtaposed example, even when one includes the place-name attestations. The market grant for Aldborough was as late as 1332 and it may be significant that the equivalent for Boroughbridge was far earlier (in 1209). It seems more reasonable to argue that these markets were characteristic of settlements, and indeed have influenced their plan, while the assemblies largely consisted of external adjuncts. The divided layout of South Cave (**CAV-1**), between a planned settlement to the west, and a roadside market to the east, exemplifies this.

The site of Osgoldcross (**OGC-1**) poses problems. The cross-site is found in an extra-mural setting, a market-place adjacent to the walled old town of Pontefract, earlier location of the borough and manor of Tanshelf (Figure 68). This location represents a convergence of conciliar, commercial and later ecclesiastical activity, albeit in what was described as the separate settlement of Westcheap, a name that itself denotes the presence of trade (Muir 1997: 228). It may be that this discrepancy can be solved by unpicking the relationship of Pontefract and Westcheap from that of the earlier juxtaposed settlements of Tanshelf and Kirkby. In the absence of this, Osgoldcross remains an unusual exception, though mention must also be made of Toft Green, a site of markets, duels and musters on the south-east corner of York which bore many of the same functions (Palmer 1881: 400). Tingley (**TING-1**), in Morley wapentake (**MOR-0**), may articulate the ancillary status of these assemblies a little better. Located outside of Morley (**MOR-1**), it has been tempting to link it with the Woodkirk/Lee Gap Fair as an external multi-focal locale (Figure 44). However Pantos has quite rightly critiqued this (2001: 88) – the Tingley mound and crossroad is 1.5 kilometres north-east of Woodkirk church, the presumed earlier focus of the fair (Pollard 1897: xi; Jewell 1990: 65n). This renders the assembly distant from both the settlement and the market, albeit with no evidence for how this may have developed. It does favour a dispersed model of landscape function, and in conjunction with the evidence for division elsewhere in the Ridings would indicate that settlements and markets could coincide with one another while assemblies remained separate. This separation would indicate that assemblies should be considered ancillary not only to the settlement but also the marketing pattern.

There are very few concentrated scatters of early medieval metalwork on the Portable Antiquities Scheme database that could indicate market activity in or at close proximity to one of the hundred or wapentake identifications. In the East Riding a significant cluster of eighth- to ninth-century metalwork has been recovered 500 metres north of Pocklington (**POC-1**) at Mile Farm. These included pins and a number of stycas dating to the first half of the ninth century, accompanied by a small sub-

group of early eighth-century coins (PAS 2013: YORYM1682, YORYM1683, YORYM1719, YORYM1718, YORYM1722; YORYM-F33FC7, YORYM-E4C041; Figure 124). YORYM-F33FC7, YORYM-E4C041) the assemblage is too distinct merely to represent an extension or shift of settlement. Further, a similar metalwork 'fingerprint' is located in the fields to the north of the village of Barmby Moor, 2.8 kilometres west of Pocklington (e.g. PAS 2013: YORYM-4E5EB1, SWYOR-ECB295. Either they represent analogous nodes of activity, or the shifting focus of one. In North Cave (**CAV-1**), a dense metalwork assemblage directly south of the village attests to early mortuary activity *(ibid*: PAS 2013: SWYOR-500E27, SWYOR-485B34, SWYOR-484A51; Figure 125, 126 & 127) superimposed by Anglo-Scandinavian material, including bullion weights *(ibid*: SWYOR-E16C55, SWYOR-A1D945; cf Biggs 1995: 9). A cluster directly west of the village likely represents formerly occupied settlement space. The juxtaposed bullion deposit is repeated at the later documented wapentake venue of Rudston (**DICK-2)**. Directly south of this village are the metalwork traces of an early Anglo-Saxon cremation cemetery (PAS 2013: YORYM-CDD8A4, YORYM-C16164, YORYM-C0DED4, YORYM-3C7E56, YORYM-B2B7E1, YORYM-21BA03) accompanied by what appears to be a tenth- or eleventh-century bullion deposit (PAS 2013: YORYM-4BA333, YORYM-6B78D4, YORYM-6B67B2; Figures 70, 71, 72 & 73). The parallels with North Cave (**CAV-1**) are striking. There are no clusters of early medieval metalwork in association with any of the documented or place-name attested sites in the North Riding. At Barkston Ash (**BARK-1**) in the West Riding, metal-detecting in the immediate area of the Battle of Towton has provided unparalleled coverage. This demonstrates no more than that Barkston Ash itself is a 'clean' site, in comparison to the village of Saxton to the west. The main point of interest in the West Riding is the site of Tingley (**TING-1**). The reported site of a mound at a major cross-road, targeted metal-detecting prior to housing development in 2010 uncovered a cluster of pins of eighth- to ninth-century date (e.g. PAS 2013: 7D4BF2; 7D3162; 7D9174) accompanied by a fifth- to sixth-century brooch fragment *(ibid*: 7CF1A2; Figures 45, 46 & 47).

6.3.1 Summary

There is no compelling correlation between any documented/attested assembly locations and metalwork assemblages reminiscent of the 'productive' sites. This tallies with the evidence rehearsed in Sections 2.8.3 and 3.3.4 – this type-site appears more suggestive of settlement activity, although the debate is by no means settled. A small proportion of multi-period metalwork assemblages have however been located in the vicinity of several known assembly sites, and these provide some interesting and potentially important evidence for activity at meetings or close to meetings in the eighth to tenth centuries. There are no striking coin-loss clusters however, and it would seem that, if the accidental loss of personal accoutrements might be expected as an inevitable signature of busy, large-scale gatherings, as in the market activity postulated by Ulmschneider (2002: 535) for the Bowcombe site, Isle of Wight, then the hundred and wapentake meetings of Yorkshire did not possess this kind of character. There is plentiful evidence for briefly and poorly attended hundreds and wapentakes in the later medieval period and it may be that this in fact reflects continuity rather than the gradual degradation of an institution. A distinct correlation between marketing and conciliar activity rarely coincided in Yorkshire, although they were on occasion associated with the same focal settlement.

6.4 Assembly practices and ecclesiastical foundations

Churches appear to enjoy only a minor presence in early hundredal legislation. The twelfth-century *Leges Henrici Primi* commands that ordeals must be undertaken in the nearest church of the hundred if the lord does not possess that privilege (Liebermann 1903: 633). For further reference one must resort to *Hit Becwaeð*, a document from the turn of the first millennium (Wormald 1999: 384-5) that lists hundredal witness to land ownership alongside the witness of "any other meeting, in market-place or church-congregation" *(ibid*). Circumstantial indications of an

ecclesiastical relationship can be demonstrated from the private ecclesiastical possession of hundreds, e.g. Oswaldslow (Wormald 1995; Tinti 2010: 157), William the Conqueror's proscription in the *Episcopales Leges* on the pleas of bishops and archdeacons in the hundred courts (Liebermann 1903: 485) and the court convened by Ealdorman Aethelwine in the churchyard outside the north door of the monastery at Ely (Fairweather 2005: 115). Regardless, this is a meagre haul for such a significant node in society and the wider landscape.

In neither the surveys of Anderson, nor latterly Pantos, have churches been prominent. The majority of the small number of hundred names referencing churches are in the south – these include Exminster and Axminster in Devon, and Whitchurch Canonicorum and Beaminster in Dorset (Anderson 1939a: 99-107). Kirton in Lincolnshire and Litchurch in Derbyshire are the only known examples between the Trent and the Tees (Anderson 1934: 36, 62; Pantos 2001: 270, 332). In each the name could be derived from the settlement rather than the church itself. There are even fewer sites identified in close proximity to churches. There are only three clear links in Anderson's survey – the Thriplow mound adjacent to the church in the eponymous village in Cambridgeshire and Dudston in Gloucestershire (Anderson 1934: 103; 1939b: 13). To this Pantos has added the Moot Hill adjacent to St Lawrence's Church, Lighthorne in *Tremelau* hundred, Warwickshire (2001: 450). This paucity is not reflected in assembly studies further afield. Both Govan and Scone in Scotland are strongly associated with ecclesiastical architecture (and indeed sculpture) while the layout of the Tynwald site on the Isle of Man is partially determined by the presence of St John's chapel (Driscoll 2003: 77; O'Grady 2008: 11; Darvill 2004). In Sweden churches are found adjacent to assembly sites at Vadsbro among others (Sanmark 2009: 211) while the Tingshögen at Gamla Uppsala is adjacent to a church (Persson and Olofsson 2004). In each of these Scandinavian examples, the argument has been made that by the eleventh and twelfth centuries assembly activity had moved in some instances to the area around the church – the conversion forcing a changing regime for administrative and judicial activity.

6.4.1 Assembly sites and churches

In Yorkshire none of the documented or place-name attesting assembly names refer to churches. The strongest link between churches and assembly practices in this part of the Danelaw is found in the documented settlements. Churches are found in all ten of the East Riding settlements linked to hundredal assembly. There are no substantial indications of assembly directly linked to the churches or indeed in the settlements themselves. It must also be noted that, with the exception of the tenth-century cross fragments at St Mary's (formerly St Peter's) Church, Little (as opposed to Great) Driffield (**DRI-1**), there are no substantial traces of early medieval churches in any of these settlements (Lang 1991: 179). The twelfth-century fabric of St Peter's church, Howden (**HOW-1**), is adjacent to the site of the Bishop's Palace, itself associated with pottery of ninth to eleventh-century date (Figure 99). Also, a chalk-lined burial in Hessle churchyard (**HES-1**; Sheppard 1907: 64) has been cited by Meaney (1964: 291) as indicative of early medieval mortuary practice. Considering that several, including Pocklington (**POC-1**), are listed possessing churches in Domesday Book (Faull and Stinson 1986: 299c), it is difficult to determine whether this indicates a lack of early medieval activity or in fact a vigorous schedule of re-foundations shortly after the Conquest. In a few cases – Hessle, Howden, Pocklington and Warter (**WAR-1**) – the settlement appears to have developed around the site of the church (or priory; Figures 84, 99, 124 & 128). In the majority however there is clear evidence of planning, either as part of a manorial complex as in Burton Agnes (**BUR-1**; Figure 129) or positioned at the east end of a single street, as in Acklam (**ACK-1**), North Cave (**CAV-1**) and Welton (**WEL-1**; Figures 61, 125 & 130). A mid-way position along a single main street is noted for the churches of Market Weighton (**WEI-1**) and Great Driffield (Figures 115 & 131). Little Driffield is unusual, located in a small hamlet outside of the main settlement but the majority impression is one of planned manorial hubs. Churches are also located in the later documented wapentake venues of Burton Fleming (**DICK-1)**, Rudston (**DICK-2)** and Hedon (**HOL-1)**. The first two were Domesday manors while Hedon was a post-Conquest foundation, appurtenant of Burstwick. The divided layout of Rudston reflects its

multi-manorial status. The churchyard and orthostat where assemblies were held is found in the northern portion of the village (Figure 70), but there is every reason to suspect that the church and settlement are post-Conquest in date. Rudston is unusual in the sheer number of evaluations and watching briefs to have taken place within its limits (e.g. Bradley 2001; Harrison 2000; East Yorkshire HER 2013: MHU18090) and the absence of early medieval material within the footprint of the settlement and churchyard is for once significant. Metal-detecting activity has determined an immediately post-Roman cremation cemetery immediately south of the village, juxtaposed with a ninth-century bullion deposit of likely Scandinavian origin. These are the only examples of early medieval activity for some kilometres in any direction (Figure 69). It is likely that the monument was treated as a focal point for settlement in the eleventh century and became a recurrent venue of the later recorded Dickering wapentake (**DICK-0)**, primarily as a manorial hub. Churches are also found in the assembly-attesting settlements of Speeton (**SPE-1)**, Wetwang (**WTW-1)** and Fraisthorpe (**HUN-2**) in the East Riding. Again the first two represent manorial centres, though no further connections have been espied in this more ambiguous category of site.

In Northallerton (**ALL-1**) in the North Riding the church of All Saints is found at the northern end of the main street (Figure 145). This once again appears to be a planned arrangement. It is also 170 metres north-west of the site of the toll-booth, scene of town assemblies from at least the fourteenth century onwards (Page 1914: 418-33). Unlike many of the hundredal centres of the North Riding, the twelfth-century fabric of All Saints is accompanied by a significant corpus of sculpture, ranging from the eighth to tenth centuries (Lang 2001: 180-5). It has further been proposed that this represents the centre, if not a significant node, in the distribution of the sculpture classed within the Allertonshire workshop *(ibid*). It certainly demonstrates Northallerton's prominence as an early medieval focal point, even if this is not reflected in the surviving documentary sources. Conversely the isolated locale of Langbaurgh ridge (**LAN-1**) is associated with a Chapel Well, a now dilapidated spring and the sole indication of a tertiary ecclesiastical building in close proximity to an

assembly site (Young 1817: 882; Figure 11). With the name-changes of the twelfth century, a series of settlements in the North Riding became synonymous with their respective wapentakes. These were Birdforth (**GERL-1**), Bulmer (**BOL-2**), Gilling West (**GIL-1**) and Pickering (**DIC-1**). In another contrast to the East Riding all but one, Bulmer, are strongly associated with early medieval ecclesiastical activity. Both St Mary's, Birdforth and SS Peter and Paul, Pickering bear twelfth-century fabric in villages associated with tenth- and eleventh-century sculpture (Pevsner 1966: 81, 282-3; Lang 2001). The fabric of St Agatha's church, Gilling West, is even later but the village itself is associated with a wide range of sculptural material from the ninth to eleventh centuries (Lang 2001: 113-8, 279). It is only Bulmer, a Conquest era church positioned at a planned street, which is of a type with the East Riding hundredal settlements. As such the renamed schema of the North Riding in the twelfth century reflects older estate centres, supplemented by the more recent planned manorial node at Bulmer.

The documented assembly of Ryedale wapentake (**MAN-0**) at Slingsby (**MAN-1**) in 1318 records the plaintiff fleeing to the church after a threat of violence (Maxwell-Lyte 1903: 303. It is a late entry but is not significant beyond indicating a venue in or close to the eponymous settlement. There is one last assembly-attesting name relevant to church siting in the North Riding. This is Thingwall (**THW-1**), or *Tingwala*, in Whitby. The exact site is not known, but it is at least clear from estate assessments that it was located on the cliffs immediately to the east of the mouth of the Esk, and thus in close proximity to Whitby Abbey (Atkinson 1881: 428, 727; Farrer 1915: 200, 202, 212; Figure 122). It has been proposed severally over the last two hundred years to be synonymous with Haggitt Howe, a small rise two kilometres south-east of the Abbey (Charlton 1779: 69; Young 1817: 912). It should also be noted that the nearby moated site of Whitby Lathes was a site of the itinerant manorial court of Whitby in 1394 (Page 1923: 514, 522). This is located 450 metres south of Haggitt Howe, within a defined pale bisected by an avenue itself marked by the twin stones known as Robin Hood and Little John *(ibid*: 506; Figure 132). It is a highly unusual site that begs further study.

Four of the Domesday wapentake locations for the West Riding are associated with churches. Norman masonry on Troy Hill on the northern side of Morley (**MOR-1**) has been associated with a church though it is likely the establishment referenced in Domesday Book is that of St Mary's, Woodkirk (Baildon 1901: i; Sanderson and Wrathmell 2005: 4). This lends further support to Tingley (**TING-1**) as the assembly site, linked alongside the twelfth-century fabric of Woodkirk St Mary's with the ancient Lee Gap Fair (Pollard 1897: xi; Jewell 1990: 65n; Figure 44). Outside St Mary's there is a possible pre-Conquest cross-base but further details have been impossible to gauge (Coatsworth 2008: 284). The church of St Andrew, Aldborough (**BUR-1**), comprises fourteenth-century fabric and is found central to the eponymous walled village and manor (Pevsner 1967: 75; Figure 49). Work in the churchyard has identified the late Roman layers close to the surface and it is unlikely to represent a site of long term early medieval mortuary practice (Butler 1992). In Pontefract market place Osgoldcross (**OGC-1**) was joined by the twelfth-century church of St Giles (Pevsner 1967: 393-4) and, in the thirteenth century, a Dominican Friary (Knowles and Hadcock 1971: 74). As mentioned earlier, it has much in common with the multi-focal venue of Toft Green on the south-east edge of York (Palmer 1881: 400). Barkston Ash (**BARK-1**) is the odd one out, a settlement without a church until recently, perched instead on the edge of the Sherburn estate. That said, it was listed as a possession of Ilbert de Lacy rather than the Archbishop of York at the time of Domesday so the absence of a church cannot necessarily be laid at its subordination to the southerly estate centre at Sherburn. No early church is known either from the later medieval wapentake meetings of Staincliffe (**STA-0**) at Flasby (**STA-2**). Finally the church on Knowler Hill (**KNOW-1**), or *Hustin Knowll* (Smith 1961c: 29), was only erected in the early nineteenth century (Stead 1907)

6.4.1.1 Summary

It does not appear that churches were positioned significantly with regard to assembly sites. The one possible exception to this of any note is Chapel Well at the

eastern end of Langbaurgh ridge (**LAN-1**). Given the lack of available information this is an uneasy example. Churches instead appear to offer some insight into the nature of estate centres, where they coincide with hundred and wapentake nomenclature. Thus the hundredal settlements of the East Riding clearly demonstrate eleventh- and twelfth-century planning, plausibly the establishment of nucleated settlement in a zone of previously dispersed settlement. In the North Riding however, churches reveal that the renamed wapentake centres enjoyed very long histories indeed. The shift in appellation also tends to be from landscape foci to habitative toponyms. It is plausible that this refers to a shift in nomenclature from features that were already adjuncts to the later named settlements. In support of this one finds *Gerlestre* (**GERL-0**), the court of the North Riding, at one point glossed as *Brodeford*, an obvious reference to Birdforth (**GERL-1**), the subsequent name of the Domesday wapentake of *Gerlestre* (Caley 1818: 437, 441). This does strengthen the proposition that assemblies were based on earlier tenurial norms. The West Riding is different again. Aldborough (**BUR-1**) may have commonalities with the East Riding hundreds but it is also a less secure identification. The absence of a church from the Barkston settlement (**BARK-1**) reinforces its liminal position while Tingley (**TING-1**) and Osgoldcross (**OGC-1**) appear to be multi-focal zones ancillary to settlement without a direct ecclesiastical relation. The poor correlation between churches and assembly sites in Yorkshire is arguably demonstrated further south in England. Only a small number of hundred names and an even smaller number of hundred sites can be identified at or near churches (Pantos 2001: *passim*). Meanwhile Baker and Brookes (2013b: 81-2) have pointed out that several supposed 'moot-stones' in church-yards had been subsequently moved there from locations some distance away. Conversely there is more evidence for assemblies sited next to churches in Scotland (O'Grady 2008: 365) alongside a potential correlation between the Shetland *ting* sites and chapel sites (Sanmark 2013: 104). The presence of *fylkir*-churches in the Law of the Borgarthing indicates that churches were implicated in the territoriality of assembly districts in parts of medieval Norway (Ødegaard 2013: 55), a degree of convergence quite at odds to what is witnessed in Yorkshire. However these *fylkir*-churches were often connected with royal estates and this latter construct does enjoy a relationship

with assembly territoriality in Yorkshire, as demonstrated in Section 6.1. Sanmark (2009: 230) has indicated the manner in which many later medieval *þings* in Sweden shifted location towards church sites. This certainly marks a contrast in practice with the manorial and settlement settings recorded in England at the same time, but it also implies that at an earlier date assemblies were by some degree separate from the church in Sweden as well. The implication is that, while church location shadowed the settlement pattern to a significant extent, assembly sites instead were positioned at a conspicuous remove from this framework. Crucially, this is not just a phenomenon of Yorkshire, or England, but a spatial pattern that may well be discerned further afield.

6.4.2 Assembly sites and territories in relation to ecclesiastical territories

So far, discussion has largely turned on the physical presence (or at least the location of churches) in relation to documented and attested sites of assembly. By contrast no mention has been made of the minsters – early significant ecclesiastical hubs linked with (not necessarily monastic) communities. They were frequently associated with royal and aristocratic grants and where their territories can be reconstructed they often reflect the morphology of older estates and territories. In Hampshire, Hase has presented links between the hundredal system and the extents of reconstructed minster territories in order to postulate the existence of 'proto-hundreds' as far back as the seventh century (1988). Teresa Hall has noted a more complex relationship at play in Dorset (2000) while Thomas Pickles has recently postulated a link between the proposed minster territory of Gilling and the later recorded like-named wapentake (**GIL-0**) in Richmondshire (**TAC-0**; 2009: 315, 320; Figure 81).

In Yorkshire, Pickles lists Gilling West (**GIL-1**) as one of several minsters documented in the seventh and eighth centuries (2006). The only other minster that coincides with documented and attested assemblies, aside from York, is that of Whitby. It is evidently not a common feature of the Domesday assemblies, let alone the other

categories in question. However, much more can be gleaned from the reconstructed territories of minsters and mother parishes. This latter category, also known as *parochiae*, represent earlier, larger parishes based around a head church and its subordinate satellites. These often, but not always, represent minsters and have been shown in some cases to enjoy a similar relationship with earlier secular territories (Hase 1988). Further south, reconstruction of these territories has often proceeded through the examination of the sort of early medieval documentation unavailable in useful quantities for the study area. It has likewise been found difficult to reconstruct these territories from the distribution of sculpture, despite the presence of distinct 'workshops' (Pickles 2006: 90; cf Lang 2001). Thus much of what follows has been reconstructed from later medieval records of obligation between churches. First however, attention will turn to the later medieval diocesan and sub-diocesan bounds in the study area.

The system of archdeaconries and rural deaneries is first articulated in full in the 1291 Taxation of Pope Nicholas IV though it reflects a system whose officers are recorded from the late eleventh century onwards (Ayscough *et al* 1802). The four archdeaconries of Richmond, East Riding, York and Cleveland strongly reflect the Ridings (Figure 133). However manorial influence is clear in the extension of the East Riding archdeaconry across the river Hertford to encompass the territory associated with the manor of Falsgrave. In turn the otherwise North Riding archdeaconry of Richmond encroaches upon the wapentake of Ewecross in Amounderness and the area around Ripon. The rural deaneries that comprise the archdeaconries in turn show a clear relationship with the twelfth-century wapentake system in the East Riding (Figure 134). In the North and West Ridings the deaneries comprise larger units that seem to transgress as much as amalgamate parts of the wapentake model. The only clear correlation with the East Riding hundredal schema is found between Howden hundred (**HOW-0**) and the co-extensive jurisdictional peculiar of the Prior and Convent of Durham in the south-western limit of the Riding. These ecclesiastical jurisdictions clearly refer to the wapentakes rather than the hundredal disposition of the East Riding. In tandem with the relationship between the archdeaconry of

Richmond and the post-Conquest Honour of Richmondshire (**TAC-0**), these jurisdictions can reasonably be assumed to be established subsequent to the Conquest and reflective of post-Domesday norms.

A quite different situation arises when the same landscape is compared to the reconstructed mother parishes identified by Tom Pickles (2006). In the East Riding the *parochia* for Howden shadows the wapentake rather than the hundred while the equivalent for Hemingbrough covers much of the remainder of the Domesday extent (Figure 135). The mother parishes of Hunmanby and Bridlington in turn largely account for the hundreds of *Turbar* (**TUR-0**) and Huntow (**HUN-0**; Figure 136). In the North Riding, *parochiae* follow, with varying success, the extents of Pickering and Whitby, earlier shown to structure their respective wapentakes (Figure 137). In the West Riding it is evident that Hallamshire is strongly reflected in the mother-parish of Ecclesfield (Figure 109). It is no coincidence that where these *parochiae* seem to effect a relationship with the East Riding hundreds, this is also found to be true of a co-extensive estate. In tandem with the evidence for Pickering and Whitby it is clear that these *parochiae* are shadowing the estates rather than the hundred or wapentake territories, an observation that demonstrates the compelling ties between ecclesiastical and aristocratic jurisdiction. Hallamshire, first documented in 1161 (Smith 1961a: 101), represented the area of the pre-Conquest manor of Hallam, only partially documented in Domesday Book (Faull and Stinson 1986: 320a). This in turn shows that the ties between church territories and landed tenure displayed in post-Conquest sources were quite capable of reflecting the pre-Conquest disposition.

As with estates (see Section 6.2) the extent of the parochiae can indicate the border position of a number of assembly sites. This both correlates with existing identifications and presents new examples. Given the estate relationship of the *parochiae* demonstrated above it can be assumed that these represent further instances of assemblies on estate boundaries. Barkston Ash (**BARK-1**) is found on the edge of both the present parish and reconstructed mother parish of Sherburn-in-Elmet (Figure 138) while Strafford Sands (**STR-1**) marks the northern boundary of

both the estate and *parochia* of Conisbrough (Figure 95). Also, the approximate site of Staincliffe (**STA-1**) is in a border position to the mother parish of Barnoldswick (Figure 139). In the North Riding in Bulmer wapentake (**BOL-0**), Bolesford (**BOL-1**) and its successor site mark the opposite bounds of the mother parish of Sheriff Hutton (Figure 140). It would seem that Bolesford was also positioned, at a local scale, ancillary to the settlement of Sheriff Hutton itself. This may have implications for the division of function with the manor of Bulmer, or indeed merely straightforward sub-division, though it must be noted that the parochia of Sheriff Hutton and the manor of Bulmer are only broadly co-extensive. Border positioning is intermittent but undoubtedly distinctive. It is also apparent that the site of Birdforth (**GERL-1**) forms of border of both the soke of Coxwold and Coxwold mother-parish (Figure 141). The implementation of the mother-parish display also reveals that the western half of the wapentake as perceived in the Yorkshire Summary itself divides between the manors of Topcliffe and Thirsk. The assembly site of Staincross (**STC-1**), an otherwise undistinguished location in the Pennine Fringes, suddenly becomes a good deal more significant when compared to the mother parish of Silkstone (Figure 109). This effectively bisects the wapentake of Staincross (**STC-0**) in such a fashion as situates Staincross itself directly on that border. There are of course several instances where assemblies are found well within the bounds of the *parochiae*. These include Pocklington (**POC-1**) and Huntow (**HUN-1**; Figures 136 & 142), joined in the North Riding by Langbaurgh ridge (**LAN-1**; Great Ayton) and Pickering (**DIC-1**; Pickering) (Figures 116 & 137), and in the West Riding by Osgoldcross (**OGC-1**; Pontefract; Figure 143). Huntow and Langbaurgh ridge can be shown to possess ancillary assemblies while Osgoldcross comprises an extra-mural conciliar focus to Pontefract. Notwithstanding this it is still abundantly clear that the vast majority of assembly sites can be shown to be ancillary to estate centres or situated on estate borders, indicated either by descriptions of soke, or from the secondary evidence of reconstructed mother parishes.

6.4.2.1 Summary

Early medieval minsters were frequently positioned with respect to estate centres (Blair 2005).There is little indication for the position of these or the extent of their territories in Yorkshire but reconstruction of the mother-parishes, as undertaken by Pickles (2006), can shed light on the extents of possible minster territories and their analogues. While it would seem that the deaneries and archdeaconries of the 1291 Taxation reflect post-Conquest administrative norms, the reconstructed mother parishes enjoy a far closer relationship with the manorial sokeland outlined in Domesday. In such examples as Hallamshire it can be shown that these *parochiae* could also reflect the extent of poorly documented pre-Conquest estates. In short the reconstructed mother parishes confirm the observation that a significant number of assembly sites are positioned on estate boundaries. This implies that significant, mother churches correlated with pre-Conquest estates in Yorkshire and that the division of land into estates was a primary influence on both the position of assemblies and their associated territories. It follows then that the mother parishes and the assembly perspective are an excellent means with which to interrogate tenure towards the end of the early medieval period and indeed in the years following the Conquest.

6.5 Concluding remarks

By comparing the extents of hundreds, wapentakes and estates in the study area it is clear that each was primarily informed by the morphology of earlier territorial units. The assembly sites in the study area are clearly disposed towards a model of assemblies situated outside of significant settlement nodes, though in some cases this has been achieved through the adoption of a directly extra-mural position, noted at Osgoldcross (**OGC-1**). The distances involved in ancillary positioning, generally between 1 to 2.5 kilometres, and the use of the ridgelines for assembly venues in the East Riding, demonstrates that there was a performative as well as pragmatic character to the situation of the assembly sites. Conversely, markets and churches did appear to converge on settlements. In turn, assembly sites are likewise found at a distance from each of these. However, the mother parishes associated with earlier

churches of senior rank reflect the extent of the estates that they were founded upon. This provides evidence for the related ancillary phenomenon of assembly where sites, like Bolesford (**BOL-1**) and Strafford Sands (**STR-1**), were positioned on estate borders while revealing other, undocumented examples, as seen in the relationship between Silkstone mother parish and the Staincross assembly site (**STC-1**). What is not so easy to determine is whether this model of assembly location reflects the norms associated with late-period early medieval estates or else long-term practices inherited from their territorial precursors. Certainly though, the ancillary position of assembly demonstrates a continuing resistance to the estate-centre as a node of universal function into the late eleventh century and beyond.

Chapter Seven. Discussion

In Section 1.3 the research aims of this thesis were laid out as follows:

1. How did assembly practices develop in the area of the Northern Danelaw over the early medieval period?
2. To what extent were Scandinavian conciliar norms imposed upon this region and to what extent did Anglo-Saxon assembly practices in the region demonstrate continuity?
3. What can be determined of the forms of documented and place-name attested assembly sites, and the practices associated therein, in historical, place-name and archaeological evidence?

In this final chapter, (3) is tackled first, considering the evidence for the form, function and development of assembly sites in terms of the historic and place-name evidence, the immediate and wider form and aspect of the archaeological sites themselves, and the inter-relations between assembly sites, assembly territories and other nodes and forms of territory in the landscape. This enables us to answer research aims (1) and (2). Finally, this will also consider how applicable the methodology applied in this study would be to other case-studies and areas.

7.1 Early historical accounts of assembly in Yorkshire

As Chapter Four has shown, early medieval accounts of assembly practice in Northumbria, most notably from Bede and the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (especially so its Northern Annals), only record meetings of regional or island-wide significance and usually only where these impinge upon royal and/or ecclesiastical authority. There is some evidence for recurrent, possibly regularised assembly at this level, such as at *Wincanhealh/Pincanhalh* and of course York (Cubitt 1996: 317-8; Colgrave 1940: 234; 1985: 96-7; Colgrave and Mynors 1969: 187). However, as rehearsed in Chapter Four, there are few substantive connections between the constellation of hundred and wapentake sites arrayed in the pages of the Yorkshire Domesday and the spatial

distribution of these early documented meeting places. The two exceptions to this, Oswine's murder at *Ingetlingum* (Gilling West, North Riding) and the submission of the north at *Taddenes-clif* (Tanshelf, adjacent/co-extensive with the site of Osgoldcross, West Riding [**OGC-1**]) do however offer some tantalizing indications that some places of assembly were returned to over time for major events, and that these could emerge within the later administrative framework as meeting places for the hundred and wapentake units *(ibid*: 256; Swanton 2000: 112). The absence of significant correlation between the locations of the assembly sites of Domesday hundreds and wapentakes and these earlier documented assemblies: of councils, synods, baptisms, consecrations and so on, indicates, however, a divergence between the landscape of authority described by these early written accounts and the local, judicial character of the hundreds and wapentakes depicted in the early medieval law-codes. The contrast between the aristocratic attendees of the assemblies documented in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* and the local character of attendance demanded at the hundred and wapentake, also points to the differing functions of these assemblies, stemming from the different levels of society they served.

The evidence in the historical accounts for the shape and presence of early territorial units is frustratingly scarce. The Tribal Hidage rates *Elmedsaetna* (Elmet, West Riding) and *Haeð-feldlande* (Hatfield Chase, West Riding) within the study area but as has been shown in Section 4.1.3, neither corresponds well to the later schema of wapentakes (Featherstone 2001). Elmet would appear to have been partly situated within the wapentakes of Skyrack (**SKY-0**) and Barkston Ash (**BARK-0**) while Hatfield Chase comprises part of the western half of Strafforth wapentake (**STR-0**). However neither can be shown to have had a specific influence on later wapentake morphology (though see Faull and Moorhouse 1981: 158-9). Conversely, in Edgar's grant of estates at Howden and Drax in 959 *(ibid*: 119-20), the dependencies of the tenth-century estate tallied with the Domesday soke of the manor of Howden, which formed the core of the hundred of Howden (**HOW-0**) and defined most of the later wapentake of Howdenshire (**HOW-0**; Hadley 2000: 119; Figure 14). The

archiepiscopal estates of Sherburn-in-Elmet, Ripon and Otley, recorded in the late tenth and early eleventh centuries (Hart 1975: 123-4; Farrer 1914: 21-3), do indeed appear to relate to the West Riding wapentakes of Domesday Book. Sherburn-in-Elmet and Ripon form the respective cores of the wapentakes of Barkston Ash and Burghshire (**BUR-0**; Figure 24), while the holdings of the Otley estate north of the river Wharfe define the anomalous Domesday wapentake of *Gereburg* (**GER-0**). It is clear that earlier estates could both complement and impede the pattern of administrative territories outlined in Domesday Book. The strong correlation between the centres of ancient royal demesne recorded in 1100x1108 (see Section 6.1), such as Pickering, Aldborough and Driffield, with the hundred and wapentake centres of Yorkshire, strengthens this observation (Farrer 1914: 333-7). The evidence from *Gereburg* points to wapentakes as a development strongly influenced by the disposition of existing estates, and therefore a late phenomenon that can be placed perhaps in the eleventh century in Yorkshire. The evidence from Howden demonstrates the continuing importance of the core of administrative territories, persisting here as the later documented wapentake of Howdenshire. It is also notable that only when the estate impeded the implementation of a wapentake schema were the two forms of territory directly co-extensive, as in *Gereburg* (Figure 24). These estates are argued to comprise core zones within wider administrative territories. Further south in Anglo-Saxon England, there is better evidence for earlier units and territories influencing hundredal constructs, not least the correspondences found between an earlier Micheldever *regio* and the later hundred of New Minster (Brooks 2003: 172). It has also been argued that in some cases hundreds were derived from early estates or *villa regales* (Harding 1973: Reynolds 1999: 77). In the study area, despite clear influence from royal and archiepiscopal estates, the hundred and wapentake territories circumscribe wider areas than individual estates, indicating that their function was intended to extend beyond reflections of tenure.

No records survive of hundred or wapentake procedure in the Ridings of Yorkshire prior to the Domesday inquest. When accounts of such gatherings do appear in the twelfth- and thirteenth-century sources they are sparse (e.g. Skaife 1867: 126, Brown

1902: 67). It is also notable that these later accounts make no mention of hundredal procedure and concern only wapentake business in the East Riding (Roffe 1991b: 243). This poor level of documentation reflects the impoverished level of understanding of the hundred and wapentake displayed in later medieval historical sources (see Section 2.3.1). It is argued that this poor grasp of hundredal affairs is indicative of only partial engagement by post-Conquest lords and officials with the hundred and wapentake. In the Hundred Ordinance the *hlaford* (land-lord') is only mentioned in relation to fines and the fulfilment of court obligations (Liebermann 1903: 192-5) while later, the un-named Magister of the *Dialogus de Scaccario,* when asked of the hundred, replies *ruricole melius hoc norunt* ('the country people know this better') while he is nonetheless comfortable discussing its financial assessment and obligations (Fitzneal 1902: 108). The implication is that officials and lords had little if anything to do with hundredal process and were concerned instead almost entirely with its financial outputs.

The first account of the hundreds and wapentakes in the context of the Ridings of Yorkshire is found in Domesday Book. Historical evidence for their inception must therefore be derived by analogy from legislation produced in southern England. The Hundred Ordinance itself cannot be fixed chronologically any better than that it was issued subsequent to the reign of Edmund (post-946; Wormald 1999: 378; see Section 2.1.1) The first dateable references to the hundred and the wapentake are respectively found in Edgar's Andover and *Wihtbordesstan* decrees, together issued between 959 and 963, with each referring to the hundred and the wapentake as existing institutions (Whitelock 1979: 431-7). It is probable that the Hundred Ordinance signalled the inception of the hundred as an Anglo-Saxon institution, though all of its characteristics: courts, territories of jurisdiction, officials and legislative clauses, can be identified in disparate legislation of earlier date (see Section 2.1.3). The wapentake was evidently present in the Danelaw when the *Wihtbordesstan* law-code was issued. However one could also argue that the Danelaw focus of the *Wihtbordesstan* law-code enjoys parallels with the Wantage decree of Aethelred II (Liebermann 1903: 228). This latter law-code makes specific

mention of the Five Boroughs and raises the possibility that the Wantage and earlier *Wihtbordesstan* law-codes were not necessarily concerned with the entirety of the Danelaw. The absence of the twelve-carucate hundreds identified in Lincolnshire and the Five Boroughs from Yorkshire reinforces this sense of division (Roffe 1981: 2007: 194-5). In fact the *Northumbrian Priest's Law*, issued after 1023, marks the first mention of the wapentake that, through evidence of Wulfstan of York's influence, can be reliably connected with the Yorkshire region (Wormald 1999: 396). Conversely the fine of twelve *ores* mentioned in the *Northumbrian Priest's Law* is an identical figure to the price of law in the wapentake in Aethelred II's earlier Wantage decree, c. 997 (Liebermann 1903: 228; Whitelock 1979: 444; see Section 2.1.2). Any argument for the emergence of the Yorkshire wapentakes after the *Wihtbordesstan* code, complementary to the hypothesis of a progressive hundredal roll-out from Wessex (cf Loyn 1974: 4; Roffe 2007: 195-6; Molyneaux 2011: 83-6), is an argument based on an absence of evidence. It is argued below that the Domesday hundreds of the East Riding reflect the later-recorded wapentake divisions, implying that the hundreds constituted sub-divisions of these wapentakes. There is no reason to suspect that these are of a different genesis to the wapentakes situated in the North and West Ridings.

Old Norse influence is present in the nomenclature of the wapentakes, while the system of three Ridings – or *þriðungar* – clearly indicates Scandinavian territorial re-organisation paralleled in the Ridings of Lincolnshire (Roffe 1991a). The presence of terms such as *lah-cop* in relation to the wapentake in Aethelred II's Wantage Decree would imply that Scandinavian-influenced practice accompanied the nomenclature in Yorkshire (Liebermann 1903: 228). One may also point out the presence of *byelawmen*, four for each vill of the Honour of Pickering, North Riding (Turton 1895: 8), terminology also found in the similarly named *Birefeld* at Brighouse, Morley Wapentake (**MOR-0**; Walker 1945: 169), and such place-names as Brampton Bierlow, Strafforth wapentake (**STR-0**). This name comes from the Old Norse *byjar-lǫg* or, 'law of the village' (Smith 1961a: 106) and stresses the presence of Scandinavian legal practice at the level of the township, concomitant to manifestations at wapentake

and riding level. The very name of the wapentake – *vápnatak* – is of Old Norse derivation (Loyn 1984: 142). As such we can argue that Scandinavian influence was present at all levels of governance. However, the hundred's co-option of local *folcriht* in the *Ordinance* (Liebermann 1903: 194) and the presence of Anglo-Saxon terminology in the legal parameters of the wapentake of the Wantage decree *(ibid*: 228) guard against any notion of assigning straightforward Norse provenance to the wapentake as an initiative and schema. The name 'wapentake' only occurs as the nomenclature for a territory, a court and a corporate body in Anglo-Saxon documentation, with the exception of one assembly referred to as a *vápnatak* in the *Orkneyinga Saga* (Unger and Vigfússon 1862: 429). In Scandinavian sources it instead denoted the taking up and/or clashing of weapons at the close of business, or the making of vows, at *þing* assemblies recorded in Iceland and Scandinavia (e.g. Schleger 1829a: 81, 123, 194; Ásmundarson 1911: 23; Jónsson and Sephton 1899: 548, 557). There is a serious divergence in meaning between the *vápnatak* of England and the *vápnatak* of Scandinavia. This may be best resolved by adopting Jolliffe's proposal of a hundred of sparse definition, unlikely to clash with local legal practice and thus equally applicable for imposition in regions beyond Wessex (1937: 121). In this conception the wapentake is a hundredal analogue, in line with its treatment in the Anglo-Saxon lawcodes, reflecting in its terminology and some its practices the Scandinavian legal customs found in the localities of the Danelaw.

7.2 Naming and identity

In the East Riding five of the eighteen hundredal toponyms refer to what have been termed focal points, in contrast to nine names which instead reference focal areas, predominantly settlement nodes (see Section 4.2.3 for discussion). Conversely, in the North and West Ridings, focal points are slightly more numerous than focal areas in the Domesday assembly names. While the West Riding had subsequently experienced little reorganisation by the mid-twelfth century, name changes in the North Riding and wholesale district re-organisation in the East Riding resulted in a greater proportion of settlement (or rather manorial names) in the North Riding and

a relative absence of settlement names in the East Riding wapentakes.

It is probable that Old English names were favoured over Old Norse names for the hundreds and wapentakes in each of the Yorkshire ridings. In the East Riding hundreds of Domesday, eight are of Old English provenance as opposed to five of Old Norse extraction. In the Domesday West Riding five wapentakes have Old English names compared to three which bear Old Norse toponyms while in the Domesday North Riding no certain Old Norse names have been identified, alongside two Old English examples. Old Norse toponyms were thus less frequently encountered as Domesday hundred and wapentake names. By contrast three of the later recorded East Riding wapentakes have Old English names as opposed to two Old Norse names. In turn the name-changes of the North Riding and the division of the *Terra Alani Comitis* (**TAC-0**) simply increases the number of Old English names to six. Conversely the division of Craven in the West Riding (**CRA-0**) means that by the twelfth century there were six Old Norse names as opposed to four definite Old English names. There are of course also a number of 'Scandinavianised' Old English names, such as Skyrack (**SKY-0**), West Riding (Smith 1961d: 88). Both linguistic influences it seems were significant – the Old English component was either simply more so, or else more resilient. This proposition is complicated, however, when one considers the significant extent to which Old English nomenclature is tied in general to surviving early medieval habitative names, especially so in the East Riding. An increasing shift towards settlement-based assembly would undoubtedly result in the survival of a greater preponderance of surviving Old English names for administrative units and meeting places – this could account for the larger proportion of 'English' nomenclature. Conversely there is an interesting correlation between Old Norse names and focal points, not least in the ON *kross* examples of the West Riding, e.g. Osgoldcross (**OGC-0**) and Staincross (**STC-0**; Smith 1961a: 317; 1961b: 79).

Only one of the Domesday assembly names – Old Norse/Old English *Gerlestre* (**GERL-0**), or 'Earl's Tree', North Riding – may refer specifically to assembly practice (Smith 1928: 79; Anderson 1934: 7). On the other hand the undocumented assembly-

attesting toponyms in the study area are defined by this characteristic. These predominate as focal point referents in each of the three ridings and of these focal points the majority refer to mounds (Table 9; see Section 4.24). Again, where focal areas are concerned settlements, e.g. Speeton (**SPE-1)**, East Riding (Smith 1937: 104-5) and *Wapentach Ferme*, West Riding (**STC-2**; National Archives 2013: SpSt/71/1), predominate. Assessment of their relative distribution is both hampered and aided by the detailed field-name methodology applied in West Riding by Hugh Smith in contrast to the less comprehensive earlier accounts of the place-names of the North and East Ridings (Smith 1928; 1937; 1961a-g). Despite this a few observations can be made. There is a cluster of *þing* names along the Tees estuary, stretching from Thingwall at Whitby (**THW-1**) through to Fingay Hill (**FGY-1**) in Allertonshire (**ALL-0**; Figure 32). There is arguably a further cluster in the area around Wakefield, exemplified by Tingley (**TING-1**), south-east of Morley (**MOR-1**; Smith 1961b: 175), and Hostingley (**HOST-1**) near Dewsbury *(ibid*: 214; see Section 4.2.4). There are very few instances of Old English *(ge)mot* and none identified in the East Riding. This serves to emphasise the striking disposition of the Old English element *spell*, or 'speech' (Smith 1956b), in the area around Ripon in the West Riding, throughout the East Riding and in the eastern North Riding (Figure 34; see Section 4.2.4). There is a contrasting absence of the element *spell* west of the Vale of York in the West Riding and the western North Riding. This does not accord with the Riding pattern so much as the wider distribution of *spell* names identified by Pantos, which extends diagonally north-east to south-west across the country from the Tees to the Severn estuaries (2004b: 196; Figure 35). It is a Mercian and Northumbrian phenomenon; absent in Wessex and difficult to interpret. Pantos has suggested it may be a dialectical feature *(ibid*: 196-7). It is plausible that these names represent instances of earlier, local assembly prior to the systematisation and territorialisation of the hundreds and wapentakes. It also correlates well with the 'Central Settlement Province', a region of primarily nucleated settlement and open fields stretching across England in the tenth and eleventh centuries (Roberts and Wrathmell 2000). This would instead favour the proposition that the ancillary links identified between Spellow Clump (**SPC-1)** and Spell Howe (**SPHW-1)** in the East Riding with the

respective estate centres of Driffield and Hunmanby (see Section 6.2) are in fact indicative of a wider, later pattern of relationships between estates and assemblies

Specific features selected for assembly at a local level in all three Ridings demonstrate exceptional variety, including mounds, fords, crosses and trees. While mounds and hills constitute the most frequently referenced toponymic elements associated with a focal point they do not predominate. Nearly all of the lost names refer to monumental foci, which might imply that at some point a shift had taken place away from more isolated locations for assembly and towards meeting places at or in the immediate vicinity of major settlements. Of relevance to this proposition, John Baker and Stuart Brookes (2013b: 78) have proposed that the differences in England in the distribution of assembly-attesting toponyms in comparison to sites associated with the Domesday and later hundreds and wapentakes indicates a substantial re-organisation of assembly practices at the end of the early medieval period. Problems in developing a chronology of place-names (Gelling 1978: 110) mean that it is difficult to confidently discern changes over time in the distribution of assembly-attesting toponyms, such as would prove or disprove the notion of assembly sites shifting towards settlements. Nonetheless several strands of circumstantial evidence do favour this proposition. It is also a notable feature of *þing* sites in later medieval Sweden and likely reflects the increasing power of estates amid the emergence and consolidation of feudal norms.

7.3 The form and archaeology of assembly sites in Yorkshire

7.3.1 Monumental foci

The identification of the physical form of assembly sites in the study area is driven by historical and place-name identifications. Survival has been distinctly uneven and some, such as trees, are understandably absent, though an ancient oak at Skyrack (**SKY-1**) appears to have persisted in part into the early twentieth century (Leodis 2013). Mounds comprise the most prominent identifiable type of focal point in the

study area. Four are securely attested as upstanding or once-upstanding features marking the place of assembly: Craike Hill (**CRA-1)**, Tingley (**TING-1**), Spellow Clump (**SPC-1)** and Spell Howe (**SPHW-1;** Figures 38, 40, 42 & 44). Two of these, Craike Hill, the later-recorded Riding Court of the East Riding, and Tingley, assembly-attesting toponym and presumed meeting-place of Morley wapentake (**MOR-0**) in the West Riding, have been subject to archaeological interventions (see Section 5.1.1). In each case evidence from the mounds implied a funerary function, with the former re-using a Bronze Age barrow. A further six mounds/rises can be added to the corpus, however these instances—Borough Hill in Aldborough (**BUR-1**), Haggitt Howe (for Thingwall [**THW-1**]), Knowler Hill (**KNOW-1**), *Mothow* (**MTH-1**; in Hovingham), Huntow (**HUN-1**) and Claro Hill (**CLA-1**)—cannot be firmly attested or dated, although in the cases of *Mothow*, Huntow and Haggitt Howe, the place-names themselves suggest these were recognised features of some antiquity (Figures 50, 53 & 132).

Orthostats comprise another significant category of assembly focus in the corpus of assembly names in the study area, though only one has definitely survived. The present remains of Stony Cross (**STX-1**; formerly *Spelcros*; Allison 2011: 33), north of Wombleton, are of dubious antiquity, consisting of a sandstone block incised with a cross. Nonetheless the location is at least of great age (Figure 64). The cross that formed the focus for Osgoldcross wapentake (**OGC-1**), in Pontefract market-place, was replaced with a covered market cross in the early eighteenth century (Fox 1827: 355), a cross-site possessing sanctuary status in an extra-mural venue of both assembly and trade (Figure 68). This leaves Rudston (**DICK-2)**, an imposing monolith in the churchyard of the eponymous East Riding village. Folk custom aside (Gutch 1912: 3-5), this orthostat has been dated to the late Neolithic or early Bronze Age and appears to be associated with the convergence of a series of cursus monuments at a return of the Great Wold Valley (Dymond 1966: Manby 1988; Barclay and Bayliss 1999). Excavations in and around Rudston have shown that the immediate area south of the monolith, but not the monolith itself, marked a zone of periodic mortuary and trade activity across the early medieval period (see Section 5.1.4). Together, Osgoldcross (**OGC-1**) and Rudston indicate that crosses could constitute nodes of

multi-functional activity. As demonstrated by Osgoldcross and plausibly *Sneculfcros* (**SNE-0**), one of these functions was sanctuary, a characteristic likely present with the *quadrivium* of the Elloe Stone in Lincolnshire (Everson and Stocker 1999: 164). Evidence further afield indicates that cross-sites were set up in locations peripheral to settlement either side of the Conquest. They appear to be limited to the area of the Danelaw, and are especially concentrated in Yorkshire. It is argued in Section 5.1.4 that they represent late period re-organisation of assembly within the setting of the recent Christianisation of Scandinavian colonists. Nonetheless the cross was imbued with qualities analogous to those found in trees, and it was this that likely underwrote the associated sanctuary status of the monuments.

As mentioned above, no trees have survived. Place-names such as *Gerlestre* (**GERL-0**) wapentake in the North Riding, or 'earl's tree' (Smith 1928: 79; Anderson 1934: 7) and Warter hundred (**WAR-0**) in the East Riding, or 'gallows tree' (Anderson 1934: 15; Smith 1937: 15), indicate that they could represent judicial and administrative nodes. Otherwise their position where known reflects ancillary locations to estate centres, e.g. Barkston Ash (**BARK-1**) and Skyrack (**SKY-1**), West Riding, marking them as assembly nodes of a piece with other types of assembly focus ancillary to estate centres in the study area. Trees were evidently widely used as assembly venues throughout north-west Europe (see Section 5.1.2). Their frequent presence in hundredal settings (Anderson 1939b: 158-9; Pantos 2001: 65), in boundary clauses (Hooke 2010: 196) and as boundary meeting-places between estates and even kingdoms (Diggelmann 2010: 256) stresses the values of neutrality and liminality imbued in these arboreal foci. This was inextricably bound up in their spiritual significance, still manifest towards the end of the medieval period in the sanctuary qualities with which they were associated (Semple 2013: 66-9). These sacral qualities, or at least their latter reflections, were involved in actively defining zones in the landscape. This was evidently a role shared by, or at least complementary to the aspects of location sought by hundred and wapentake assembly settings.

There are few springs identifiable in the study area, though where alluded to in the

place-names, e.g. Welton (**WEL-1**) and Halikeld (**HAL-0**), a proximate water source can be identified. The former, traditionally associated with St Anne's Well in the village of Welton is only one of several possible identifications at this position on the spring-line of the Yorkshire Wolds (Anderson 1934: 17; Smith 1937: 220; Rattue 2001: 67; Figure 83). Halikeld is more secure, represented by two eponymous springs immediately south of the Domesday settlement of Melmerby (**HAL-1**; Figure 62). Halikeld, like the trees mentioned above, also seems to represent an ancillary position to settlement. In other cases, such as Ainsty Cliff (**AIN-1**) and Langbaurgh ridge (**LAN-1**), springs appear to represent secondary foci to the assembly venue. In turn they comprise a relatively small group of hundred and wapentake names, limited to the Danelaw, and even then are significantly underrepresented in relation both to other types of wapentake focus and also to the wider prevalence of holy wells in general (Rattue 2001). Cultic associations can be demonstrated in Frisia and Scandinavia (e.g. Riisøy 2013: 34-6) but they nonetheless appear ill-favoured in comparison to mounds, trees, crosses and other assembly foci.

A number of other sites possess a broader monumental character. Gilling West (**GIL-1**) marks the intersection of the Scot's Dyke, running between Richmond and Stanwick, with Gilling Beck. Formerly considered to be early medieval date, recent ^{14}C dates indicate that the Scot's Dyke was in fact Iron Age in date, not least its age, that the relationship is difficult to assess (Page 1912: 55: NMR 2013: MON#625308; NAA 2000; Cooper *et al* 2008; T. Moore *pers. comm*). In the zone identified with *Tyngoudale* (**TYNG-1**) south-west of Guisborough, one of the hill-spurs is divided by the cropmark of a cross-ridge dyke. This, and Pickering Brow (a potential alternate location for *Mothow* [**MTH-1**]) directly west of Hovingham, comprise speculative comparanda to the 'hanging promontory' sites propounded by Baker and Brookes (2013a). A few also comprise natural landmarks. Fingay Hill (**FGY-1**) and Langbaurgh ridge (**LAN-1**), each in the North Riding, comprise larger, easily identifiable topographic foci, neither in direct association with material traces of past activity. Fingay Hill (**FGY-1**) is an isolated rise while the latter constitutes a ridge situated towards the western base of Roseberry Topping. Chapel Well, adjacent to

Langbaurgh ridge, is accompanied by the tradition of a chapel, well-dressing and an associated fair, though no traces are known (Young 1817: 882). Craike Hill (**CRA-1)**, mentioned above as a mound site, is also the westernmost example of a re-used prehistoric barrow within a wider barrow complex of the Garton Wolds (Mortimer and Sheppard 1905: 243-6; Buckberry 2004: 434). The majority of these are Bronze Age and Iron Age in date but within this it is clear that Craike Hill (**CRA-1;** and Mortimer's unrecorded barrow C46a) are positioned at the western limit of early medieval mortuary deposits within the barrow complex, such as at barrow C67 850 metres east of Craike Hill (Mortimer and Sheppard 1905: 243-4). This complex in turn reflects the western limit of early medieval burials in the area around the ancient demesne manor of Driffield (**DRI-1**; see Section 5.1.1). The mound at Spell Howe (**SPHW-1)** is also part of a wider monumental complex. Now ploughed down, the first edition Ordnance Survey mapping indicates the Spell Howe tumulus as part of a cluster of earthworks, including a rectilinear embankment, an alignment of elongated barrows and another solitary mound (Figure 38). The earthwork known as 'Lang Camp' had survived only as a rectilinear depression by 1968 and it remains a mystery (NMR 2013: MON#79656). The name was recent, applied by Robert Knox (1855: 130) in apparent confusion with a *Grangia de Kamp* appurtenant to Rievaulx Abbey (Farrer 1915: 472n) and latterly identified a short distance to the south at TA0648676627. There is no evidence for past excavation on either the four elongated mounds or the solitary barrow. The barrow has been assigned a Bronze Age date on morphological grounds (NMR 2013: MON#79689). The elongated mounds are more puzzling, first depicted on the 1893 1st Revision maps and omitted from the monumental array present on the 1st Edition Ordnance Survey. Either they are later medieval pillow mounds, or perhaps artificial looking but natural rises.

It appears that both singular monuments and wider monumental complexes could be associated with assembly sites in the study area. There is variety present in the physical corpus of remains, an observation only strengthened when considered in relation to the assembly place-names in Yorkshire (see Section 4.2).

7.3.2 Summarising the archaeological evidence associated with monumental foci

Two mounds have been subject to targeted archaeological interventions. Craike Hill (**CRA-1)**, the East Riding court, much reduced by gravel quarrying, is a hill-spur extending into the Wold valley of Garton Slack (Figure 42). Mortimer excavated mound C46, on the western slope of the spur crest in 1872 (Mortimer and Sheppard 1905: 235). This remodelled natural mound contained a single flexed inhumation on its southern flank. The association of this burial with a thin piece of iron led Mortimer and later scholars to posit an early medieval date *(ibid*; Lucy 1998: 130; Buckberry 2004: 433-4). Tingley (**TING-1**) on the other hand has never been excavated (Figure 44), but targeted metal-detecting has produced a series of pins of mid-Saxon date alongside a fragment of a fifth- to sixth-century brooch from an adjacent curvilinear complex (PAS 2013: 7D4BF2; 7D3162, 7D9174, 7CF1A2; Figures 45, 46 & 47). The high proportion of pins fits the arguments made by Julian Richards *et al* for an early medieval metalwork 'fingerprint' north of the Humber, though the absence of coinage is striking (2009: 3.3.1.2). It is clear that there has been recurrent early Anglo-Saxon and mid Anglo-Saxon activity at this mound, plausibly mid-Saxon re-use of a barrow earlier used for a secondary mortuary deposit. The lack of coinage in a period when coins were proliferating in the region (Pirie 1987) however guards against straightforward assumptions of trading activity. This assemblage of pins plausibly represents non-mortuary activity, and may result from assemblies and meetings rather than trade or production. As discussed in Section 6.3, similar assemblages have been located in positions at a small remove to Pocklington (**POC-1**) in the East Riding. It is finally worth noting a small cluster of early medieval material 1.3 kilometres to the west of the Spell Howe complex (**SPHW-1)**, directly overlooking the settlement of Folkton (Figure 39). These include a polyhedral coin weight, a decorated stylus and a strap fitting (PAS 2013: NLM687, NLM688, NLM689. They are each dated to the tenth century and, with the exception of the Anglo-Saxon stylus, are considered to be of Scandinavian origin. It seems possible that these small groups of finds represent some of the first recognised material 'signatures' of assembly for the Danelaw. Given the consistent relationship found with activity earlier in the early

medieval period, it is difficult to discern Scandinavian period sites from Scandinavian activity at existing locations of assembly.

The investigated mound sites each represent a long continuum of activity – the re-use of prehistoric barrows that had already witnessed pre-Christian and Conversion period mortuary activity. Mound-based assembly names are evenly distributed throughout the study area and so this would seem to indicate a strong and broad practice of assembly (see immediately below). There is good evidence in other regions for the use of prehistoric mounds as places of assembly (Sanmark and Semple 2008; 2011). The data in this study area implies that this was a cross-cultural practice, not specifically Anglo-Saxon or Anglo-Scandinavian but an aspect strongly tied to the common situation of assemblies as ancillary to estate centres (Section 6.2).

Most sites are not associated with early medieval material. In most cases this is due to development and/or lack of investigation but it is likely that this also reflects the ephemeral character of activity that took place at the assembly. Intensive detector activity at the Towton battlefield has inadvertently revealed and underlined an absence of material in the immediate vicinity of the Barkston Ash assembly site (**BARK-1**), especially in contrast to the adjacent village of Saxton. At Rudston (**DICK-2)**, excavations by Strickland around the monolith revealed only charnel – to be expected in a graveyard (Pegge 1776: 95-6). Even more striking, repeated recent developer-funded interventions in the village have failed to identify any trace of early medieval activity. It is only immediately south of the village that multi-period early medieval activity has been found, of Anglo-Scandinavian bullion deposits, indicative of trade and/or hoarding situated within the zone of an early Anglo-Saxon cremation cemetery. This is discussed in further detail in Section 5.1.4 below as an example of secondary archaeological activity to an assembly focus. Where archaeological material has been found at assembly locations, it can be characterised as small, concentrations of activity only. This may well suggest that large concentrations of early medieval metalwork or finds should not be expected as a signature of assembly – assemblies perhaps were not the busy and popular events that the sources would

have us believe, or large and regular assemblies were not activities that produced intense material traces comprising large numbers of metal finds. The latter seems most likely – the short time frame of assemblies, their impermanence, the regulations on activity including trade at a meeting, are all highly suggestive of activity unlikely to leave striking and large material traces. The material evidence presented here is interesting however, especially the date range and types of find, which both hint at these material signatures being Anglo-Scandinavian in date. It is possible that this signals changing activities and attendance at the assembly. In each case these small finds clusters also mark zones of previous early medieval activity – a juxtaposition that favours the re-use and/or continuity of previous seminal locales.

The immediate, on-site archaeological evidence is as sparse as one might expect but never-the-less provides important insights. Mounds – purpose built, reused and natural – were a consistent feature and orthostats – old and contemporary – are also likely foci. This tallies well with the sheer variety of markers identified in recent work as types of assembly foci in the tenth and eleventh centuries. On the one hand this implies little difference with the regions outside of the zones colonised by the Norse, however, there are important synergies with what would have been contemporary practices in the Scandinavian homelands. Brink has proposed that mounds, such as at Anundshögen and Kjula Ås in Sweden, were a core component of a *þing* type-site (2004: 207-9). The symbolic properties of mounds are further highlighted by the evidence for both re-use of earlier mounds, e.g. Anundshögen, and the latter creation of new edifices at the end of the first millennium AD, as witnessed instead at Aspa Löt and Bällsta (Sanmark and Semple 2008: 250-2). Their prevalence surely reflect a strong degree of symbolism. In England Sarah Semple has convincingly demonstrated that barrows had an abiding and symbolic link with notions of ancestry, an association later discouraged by the Church (2013: 234-5). These symbolic, cultic aspects are of a type with what is witnessed in relation to trees and crosses, and it is likely no coincidence that they join with mounds in comprising a symbolic vocabulary of assembly in England.

The specifically archaeological component of these sites is also sparse. This is certainly in part a product of the lack of investigation but, in relation to the spread of metal-detector finds and what is observed at Barkston Ash (**BARK-1**), this also reflects perhaps the realities of the early medieval assembly – many meetings may not have comprised large, busy, well attended gatherings, but also, the types of activity at these temporary meeting-places may have been restricted and the material culture portable and largely organic. Where evidence is found, it consistently demonstrates the re-use of early sites of mortuary activity in ancillary situations to assembly sites. This same observation holds true for Anglo-Scandinavian deposits/activity, and thus underlines that venues of long-term significance were still being appropriated for this purpose in the tenth century, despite the overarching changes in law and governance.

7.4 Topography of assembly sites

The archaeological and topographic character of the areas immediately surrounding identified assembly sites is more informative. In general it is clear that the topographic position of assembly sites in the study area primarily relates to the settlement pattern. They congregated in areas of dense settlement and generally avoided the stark high ground of the Pennines and the marshy lowlands in the centre of the Vale of York (Figure 7). However there is also good evidence that rising ground separate from the related settlement was a favoured position. This is evident with Ainsty Cliff (**AIN-1**), away from Bilbrough manor and also overlooking the Roman road between Tadcaster and York (Figure 77) and notable in the relationship between the approximate position of the Thingwall mound (**THW-1**) to Whitby (Figure 122). It is perhaps most strikingly demonstrated, however, by the phenomenon of ridgeline assemblies identified with respect to the East Riding hundreds. As discussed below in Section 6.2 these are not only positioned a short distance away from the related settlement but are also highly visible and at some height from the settlement. They may have been employing the local topography in such a way as to effect a theatrical separation from the settlement and yet at the same time underwriting a connection between the two. Faith (2009: 29) and Oosthuizen (2011: 161) have also indicated

that peripheral assemblies on high pasture could reflect the communal nature of the seasonal movements of livestock. High points were cited by Gomme (1880: 109, 219), Anderson (1939b: 157) and Smith (1928: 128) as frequent assembly locations. The Yorkshire landscape suggests such positioning was a secondary concern to settlement proximity. Both Meaney (1993: 69) and Pantos (2001) have reviewed hilltop positioning elsewhere in terms of visual control – the East Riding ridgelines suggest in particular that visual performance was important; perhaps through visual control of the territory or for effecting a conspicuous division from the administrative centres of landed tenure.

Further insights into this idea of territorial control can also be gleaned from the relationship between assembly sites and communication networks. In Chapter 5, a number of sites were recognised to lie in the immediate vicinity of fords, bridges and roads. This is a phenomenon widely acknowledged in assembly studies. Gomme highlighted the presence of several early Northumbrian councils and synods on the banks of rivers (1880: 58-60). Anderson indicated both the prevalence of ford names in the hundreds of East Anglia (1939b: 175) and also the way in which fords and settlements at some distance could give their names to one another, not least Lackford hundred in Suffolk, noting also the one-time gloss of Strafforth (**STR-0**) in the study area as 'Mexborough wapentake' (1934: xxviii). Meaney considered the natural quality of fords as suggestive of a first tier of primary locations of early assembly at natural gathering places (1993: 204). There are however, considerable problems to be found in how Meaney categorised ford names and sites in relation to other assembly characteristics and toponyms, alongside the equation of natural sites with old sites (Pantos 2001: 16-9). Strong evidence does exist however, for *þing* sites positioned at fording points in Sweden (Sanmark 2009: 231-2). Sanmark proposes that the frequency of these fording points in Sweden is an indication of a ritual aspect to the *þing* sites, alongside their tendency to appear frequently in tandem with rune-stones and burials as well, as at Folklandstingstad and Anundshögen *(ibid:* 210; Sanmark and Semple 2008; 2011).

A number of estate centres associated with hundreds and wapentakes, including Northallerton (**ALL-1**) and Gilling West (**GIL-1**) are situated at river crossings. It is difficult to determine how the assembly might fit in terms of an existing relationship between settlements and river-crossings – the river crossing may remain a driving factor in location but the association with a settlement makes distinguishing the primary locational factor difficult. In no case can an assembly site be identified within these settlements until the end of the later medieval period – and thus whether the primary driver was the settlement or crossing-place remains uncertain. The most significant convergence of assemblies and river-crossings is found where they mark the borders between large estates that appear in turn to have influenced the wider morphology of the wapentakes they were found within. Examples include Birdforth (**GERL-1**), marking a river-crossing that divides the sokelands of Coxwold and Topcliffe (Figure 97), and Bolesford (**BOL-1**), marking a divide between the sokes of Easingwold and Bulmer on the river Foss (Figure 96). These are viewed as a variant on ancillary assembly, discussed in greater detail in Section 5.3.

It is undoubtedly significant that many of the fording points are located at certain or probable Roman roads. The majority of locatable assembly sites in the study region are not, however, positioned on the Roman road network. Only three assembly sites recorded in Domesday Book are plausibly positioned on Roman roads. A slightly greater number of documented and place-name attested assembly sites are situated in close relation to Roman roads. Given the large number of assembly foci that had no obvious link to the Roman road network, such as Howden (**HOW-1**) and Langbaurgh ridge (**LAN-1**), the Roman road-network cannot be considered a primary driver in the location and form of assembly sites in the study area. However all of these assembly sites were undoubtedly at least connected by local tracks and routes. Assembly sites are argued here to have been firmly linked into local road networks which in turn were connected in turn to the major and arterial Roman road network. Here it seems the local concerns of hundred and wapentake business and of course the local character of their attendance are reflected in the patterns of access which link these sites into an immediate locality rather than any long distance major

communication network.

River access is not a major concern in Yorkshire. This presents interesting contrasts with assembly patterns in Scandinavia and in other colonised areas, where access by water was a major driving factor. Indeed the frequent presence of fording points at *þing* assemblies in Sweden has led to proposals that this constituted a component of an assembly 'type site', evoking cultic aspects (Brink 2004, but see Sanmark 2009: 231-2). Instead, in Yorkshire, fords appear to function as liminal embellishments of the boundaries of estates. This aspect appears to constitute the prime characteristic of fords at assemblies in Yorkshire. In order to pursue questions of date and function further, attention now turns to these habitative nodes.

7.4.1 Assembly sites and settlement

Despite the significant number of hundred and wapentake names that refer to settlements, there is very little evidence for the assemblies convened in such settings until well into the later medieval period, when one witnesses the emergence of Moot-Halls (Turton 1896: 240; Sheahan and Whelan 1856: 598) and town-assemblies at the Northallerton toll-booth (**ALL-1**; Langdale 1791: 16). There are three Domesday sites that do appear to represent assembly within a settlement. The first is Osgoldcross (**OGC-1**), a now-destroyed cross in Pontefract market place on the western side of the town. However, consideration of the market charter and earlier maps of Pontefract reveals that Osgoldcross was in fact positioned in the distinct settlement of Westcheap, a market-node extra-mural to the walls of Pontefract (Beresford 1967: 525-6; Figure 68). The second is South Cave (**CAV-1**) in the East Riding. The assembly-toponym *þins housum*, or 'assembly house' (Farrer 1914: 15-8; Hart 1975: 123), encountered in Edgar's 963 Newbald charter accords with the eastern, detached portion of South Cave (**CAV-1**; Figure 87). Like Osgoldcross it presents an extra-mural character to assembly ostensibly within a settlement context. The final example, Borough Hill in Aldborough (**BUR-1**), constitutes only a possible attribution, related more securely to later parliamentary hustings (Smith 1852: 42;

Turner 1853: 135; Figure 49). While it is possible that subsequent urban development has occluded the evidence for intra-settlement assembly venues, the prevalence of identifiable ancillary assembly sites (discussed in Section 6.2) and the extra-mural character of those few hundred and wapentake venues known from settlement contexts, would argue instead that the assembly and the settlement comprised divergent nodes in the landscape. Given the absence of evidence for assembly situated within the settlement, one must ask why so many assembly sites possess habitative names. The most likely answer is that they nonetheless enjoyed a strong relationship with the settlement, a relationship articulated through carefully peripheral siting.

The relationship between assemblies and settlements can be contrasted with the relationships displayed between settlements, churches and markets. The pattern of market grants in later medieval Yorkshire correlates entirely with the distribution of settlements (see Section 6.3). The only instances when assemblies and markets converge is on the rare occasion that the market itself is located outside of a settlement context, as in Osgoldcross (**OGC-1**) and, possibly, Tingley (**TING-1**). While it has been proposed that the assembly-attesting site of Tingley enjoyed a correspondence both with the assemblies of Morley wapentake (**MOR-0**) and trading at the Woodkirk Fair (Goodall 1913: 25) it must, as Pantos has previously pointed out (2001: 88), be noted that Tingley is itself 1.5 kilometres north of the old site of the fair adjacent to Woodkirk church. Comparison is difficult with the 22+ hundredal manors of Domesday Book that Britnell has indicated were replete with markets (1978: 183) for, as with the study area, it is often unclear whether a given hundredal manor comprised the hundredal setting. The near-total absence of artefactual assemblages from identified assembly sites in the study area not only attests to an absence of market activity at assemblies away from settlement locales, but also of a general absence of gatherings of a large and boisterous character at the assembly sites themselves. In similar fashion, churches only correlated with assemblies in settlement contexts, as seen with the church of St Giles in Pontefract market-place and that of St Andrew's with the less securely identified site of Borough Hill in

Aldborough (Fox 1827: 278; Pevsner 1967: 75). In fact the very late presence of a church in Barkston Ash (**BARK-1**), which post-dates the first edition Ordnance Survey (Figure 55), simply attests further to the ancillary character of this wapentake site. On the other hand, the aforementioned Woodkirk Fair does demonstrate that fairs and churches could converge away from significant settlements. This lack of correspondence between churches, hundred and wapentake sites is replicated across much of England (Pantos 2001: 64; Baker and Brookes 2013b: 81-2). The biggest contrast to this is found in Scotland, where there is a far higher correspondence between churches and assembly sites (O'Grady 2008: 365). Where closer correspondence between assemblies and churches is noted in Sweden this appears to be a phenomenon of the end of the later medieval period (Sanmark 2009: 230). The strong impression gained is that settlements, markets and churches were complementary to one another, while hundred and wapentake assemblies, at least until some point into the later medieval period, had qualities that figuratively and literally set them apart from the rest. The presence of Osgoldcross in an extra-mural setting of trade is either an early reflection of the progressive convergence of assemblies with settlements in the later medieval period or else represents the subsequent encroachment of the settlement of Pontefract upon the assembly site.

7.4.2 Assembly sites outside of settlements and estate centres

Few assembly sites can be identified within the bounds of settlements and those that do, such as Osgoldcross (**OGC-1**) in the West Riding (Figure 68) and South Cave (**CAV-1**) in the East Riding (Figure 87), also boast a compelling extra-mural character (see Section 6.2). In the West Riding Barkston Ash (**BARK-1**) is situated 2.7 kilometres north of Sherburn-in-Elmet (Figure 56), Agbrigg (**AGB-1**) is located at a river-crossing equidistant from both Wakefield and Sandal Magna (Figure 94) while Ainsty Cliff (**AIN-1**) is found 450 metres south of the manor of Bilbrough. In fact, excluding the debatable attribution of Aldborough (**BUR-1**) in Domesday and the lost site of the twelfth-century wapentake of Staincliffe (**STA-1**), all of the West Riding wapentake sites can be shown to adopt analogous positions to settlements that also comprised

estate centres. An identical pattern can be noted for the Domesday wapentake sites of the North Riding, where they can be identified, for instance Langbaurgh ridge (**LAN-1**), situated 1.2 kilometres north of Ayton (Figure 116), the Halikeld springs (**HAL-1**), 1.2 kilometres south of Melmerby and Bolesford (**BOL-1**), found at a crossing of the river Foss 2.5 kilometres south of Sheriff Hutton (Figure 85). As noted in Section 4.2.2 the re-named North Riding wapentakes of the twelfth century tended to reference manorial centres, not least Gilling West (**GIL-1**) and Pickering (**DIC-1**). Nonetheless, in these instances there is not an obvious venue of assembly within these habitative nodes and in one instance, Birdforth (**GERL-1**; Figure 88), the later name for *Gerlestre* wapentake (**GERL-0**), one is yet again presented with a river-crossing focus ancillary to three settlements: Hutton Sessay (1.1 km), Thormanby (1.1 kilometres and Carlton Husthwaite (1.5 kilometres). At first glance the East Riding hundreds present a different picture. The nomenclature of the hundreds is dominated by settlement names.

When however, one considers the evidence from assembly-attesting toponyms it becomes apparent that ancillary assemblies are equally prominent as a feature of the East Riding hundreds. The pattern of ancillary assembly fits with Huntow hundred (**HUN-1**), one of two possible mound sites located on the Wolds immediately north of the Domesday manor and ecclesiastical centre of Bridlington (Figure 53), and it is argued in the unit reports that the lost site *of Sneculfcros* (**SNE-0**) was synonymous with a landscape focus called the *Grith Cross*, a venue for numerous Inquisitions immediately north of Beverley in the thirteenth century (Brown 1902: 35). The extra-mural setting at the eastern end of South Cave (**CAV-1**), synonymous with the location of a *þins housum* – or 'assembly house' – in a boundary clause of Edgar's 963 grant at North Newbald, constitutes another excellent example (Farrer 1914: 15-8; Hart 1975: 123; Figure 87). Further, the assembly-attesting toponyms of *Spellay* and *Spelhoudayl*, located in the pale of the manor of Burstwick, reveal peripheral conciliar activity to a manor that formed the administrative head of the East Riding wapentake of Holderness (**HOL-0**). A number of other assembly-attesting examples adopt an identical, ridgeline situation to major estate centres as found between Huntow and

Bridlington (**HUN-1**). This is exhibited by the connection between the ancient estate and hundredal centre of Driffield (**DRI-1**) with regard to Spellow Clump (**SPC-1)**, a barrow 2.5 kilometres to the north-west on the Wolds overlooking the town (Figure 41). Even more significantly, the two are connected by the course of an old road known as Spellowgate. In identical fashion the barrow of Spell Howe (**SPHW-1)** crests the Wold ridge overlooking Folkton immediately north, while also situated 3.1 kilometres to the west of the manorial centre of Hunmanby (Figures 38 & 39). As outlined in Section 6.2, the East Riding not only presents evidence for ancillary assembly, but does so in a fashion that often utilised the local topography, favouring sites that are both outside of *and overlook* the settlements in question. As discussed below this adds a performative quality to the liminal character of the assembly locations – it is a theatrical separation from the settlement and/or the estate centre.

Assembly-attesting place-names lying in positions ancillary to settlements are likewise found in the North and West Ridings. Stony Cross (**STX-1**), known in the twelfth century as *Spelcros* (Atkinson 1889: 41, 285; Allison 2011: 33), is found directly north of Wombleton (Figure 64) while another was recorded in 'the fields of Guisborough' in the fourteenth century (Brown 1889: 174). Guisborough also formed the central node to the ancillary location of *Tyngoudale* (**TYNG-1**), approximately situated in a valley c. 2.8 kilometres south-west of the town *(ibid*: 171-5; Figure 9). In the West Riding, the mound and cross-roads at Tingley (**TING-1**), 2.1 kilometres south-east of Morley (**MOR-1**), almost certainly represented the assembly point for Morley wapentake (**MOR-0**; Figure 44). *Wapentach Ferme* (**STC-2**) was situated in Barnby Hall, 800 metres east of Cawthorne, the settlement focus for a later medieval assembly of Staincross wapentake (**STC-0**; Bracton and Maitland 1887: 184). Tadcaster is associated with a lost *Thinge* (**THIN-1**) on the eastern bank of the river Wharfe (Smith 1961d: 240) while a Hostingley (**HOST-1**), from the Old English or Old Norse '*hus-þing*' – 'assembly house' (Smith 1961b: 214), is situated a short distance from Thornhill (Figure 123).

Although difficult to prove, in a number of cases, archaeological evidence offers

some possible suggestion of assembly sites again in ancillary locations to the settlements that carry the unit name. The reported discovery of an early medieval sword from Acklam Wold in the mid-nineteenth century (**ACK-1**), above the eponymous hundred settlement/manor, likely accords with the re-use of a barrow overlooking the village, used as a mass cattle grave in the Victorian era (Mortimer and Sheppard 1905: 83-4). This demonstrates early medieval activity in a situation that directly parallels the ridge-line assemblies witnessed at Spellow Clump (**SPC-1)** and Spell Howe (**SPHW-1)**. A small quantity of undated early medieval metalwork has also been recovered from Tranby on the southern Wold edge overlooking the hundredal settlement of Hessle (**HES-1**; NMR 2013: MON#78956; Meaney 1964: 291). In the North Riding, a palisaded enclosure and a number of post-Roman inhumations were found on the moorland edge, 1.5 kilometres north of Pickering at Newbridge Quarry (Signorelli and Roberts 2006; Richardson 2012; Figure 121). All of these sites attest to potentially early Anglo-Saxon activity. They signal nodes of early medieval activity on the edge of uplands, and are plausibly mortuary in character.

There are also several striking clusters of early medieval metalwork situated outside a small number of hundredal settlements in the East Riding. In particular they provide the one unambiguously Anglo-Scandinavian facet of what may be assembly-related activity in the archaeological record of early medieval Yorkshire. The village of North Cave (**CAV-1**), associated alongside South Cave (**CAV-1**) with the East Riding hundred of Cave (**CAV-0**), is characterised by two rich early medieval metalwork assemblages immediately west and south of the village (Figure 125), in some contrast to the exiguous early medieval traces found at South Cave (**CAV-1**). The western cluster is represented by personal accoutrements of mid to late Saxon date (e.g. PAS 2013: PUBLIC-E396C8, PUBLIC-E21495; YORYM-488741, SWYOR-4F8AB4). This almost certainly represents part of the 'footprint' of the earlier settlement. However the assemblage to the south, separated from the main street by 500 metres of fields, possesses a more unusual character. Here one finds fifth- to seventh-century jewellery and dress accessories *(ibid*: PAS 2013: SWYOR-500E27; SWYOR-213050) juxtaposed with far later Anglo-Scandinavian bullion weights, alongside a Borre-style

Scandinavian mount *(ibid*: SWYOR-4A8A16, SWYOR-E16C55, SWYOR-A1D945; cf Biggs 1995: 9; SWYOR-46AD01). While the earlier component looks to represent early Anglo-Saxon mortuary activity, the later Scandinavian-influenced milieu seems to indicate the re-use of this venue for a differing purpose – plausibly trade and/or the hoarding of bullion. This would be interesting quite on its own yet it is also directly paralleled at Rudston (**DICK-2)**, a recurrent meeting site of the East Riding wapentake of Dickering (**DICK-0)**. While the village and church only appear to represent later medieval developments around a prehistoric obelisk (see Bradley 2001; Harrison 2000), immediately south of the present settlement there is another early Anglo-Saxon metalwork assemblage, in turn positioned on the southern limit of a cropmark complex representative of Roman settlement set apart to the south of the Rudston obelisk (Figure 65). The PAS assemblage indicates an early cremation cemetery, with cremated bone (PAS 2013: YORYM-CDD8A4, YORYM-C16164, YORYM-C0F9B7), molten metal *(ibid*: YORYM-C0DED4, YORYM-3C7E56, YORYM-864713) and a vast quantity of fragmented personal accoutrements *(ibid*: YORYM-148C07, YORYM-C223F0). There is again a later phase, consonant with the North Cave (**CAV-1**) sequence. This included a coin of Aethelred II *(ibid*: YORYM-4BA333) accompanied by a number of items of silver, including a plate fragment and a ring *(ibid*: YORYM-6B78D4, YORYM-6B67B2). There seem to be at least two early examples of early medieval cemeteries adjacent to hundred and wapentake meeting sites that have been subject to further activity that resulted in the deposition of bullion towards the end of the first millennium AD.

This pattern of activity is found at one other location in Yorkshire, at the west end of the village of Kilham, only 5.5 kilometres south-west of Rudston. This location however is not associated with hundred or wapentake assemblies. Again finds of fifth- to sixth-century dress accessories *(ibid*: FAKL-CF41F6, FAKL-CF1D91) are juxtaposed in the assemblage with later Viking lead weights *(ibid*: FAKL-CEFD68, FAKL-CEE182). A considerable quantity of eighth- to ninth-century coinage is also present *(ibid*: FAKL-37C614, FAKL-37AAF1). A series of burials uncovered in 1956 (Buckberry 2004: 430-1) are suggested by Lucy (1998: 129) to be of later date but

the PAS data alludes more strongly to early medieval mortuary activity. Kilham comprises yet another example of an early Anglo-Saxon cemetery juxtaposed with evidence that could imply trading and/or hoarding in the Anglo-Scandinavian era. It must be noted that lead weights are also known from mortuary contexts at a number of different sites in Iceland (Pétursdóttir 2007). However, the consistently small nature of the Yorkshire Anglo-Scandinavian deposits, their limited distribution and association with significant estate centres leads one to question a late period mortuary attribution. These sites demonstrate activity of Anglo-Scandinavian date in locations that can be characterised as ancient and inactive mortuary settings, specifically settings that were closely related to settlements, all of which were estate centres, associated in the eleventh and twelfth centuries with hundred and wapentake assemblies, excluding Kilham.

The varied types of activity and the lapse in time between mortuary rituals and later hoarding or deposition, indicates that these were long standing sites of significance in the landscape. It is unlikely to be a coincidence that the one setting without an obvious hundred or wapentake aspect, Kilham, was one of the royal manors of ancient demesne and therefore likely an estate centre of significant age (Farrer 1914: 333). The implication seems to be that assembly-related activities in the Anglo-Scandinavian era converged upon the periphery of estate centres, or at least proto-estate centres, in parts of the tenth- and eleventh-century East Riding of Yorkshire.

7.4.3 Estate border assemblies

The ridgeline assemblies of the East Riding are not the only 'liminal' type of site location encountered in the study area. A number of assemblies can be identified on estate borders. The most striking example of this is at the wapentake ford of Bolesford (**BOL-1**) in the North Riding (Figure 96). It is positioned central to the wapentake, upon the river Foss that divides it in two. This division is not only represented in the order of the Domesday Summary for this wapentake (**BOL-0**), but the river (and Bolesford) also marks the division between the manors of Easingwold

and Bulmer. This Summary and manorial division is also present for the later recorded wapentake site of Birdforth (**GERL-1**), this time set between the manors of Coxwold and Topcliffe, albeit without such a severe accompanying riverine division (Figure 97). In the West Riding, Barkston Ash (**BARK-1**), ancillary to Sherburn-in-Elmet itself, can also be demonstrated to have marked the northern border of its pre-Conquest estate (Farrer 1914: 21-2; Figure 56). That the Barkston Ash tree site is juxtaposed with a miniscule detached portion of Saxton parish would indicate that ancillary character could be negotiated, rather than dictated from a single hub. Strafford Sands (**STR-1**), positioned on a ford equidistant to Mexborough and Conisbrough, also denoted the northern border of Conisbrough soke (Figure 95), directly paralleling the scenario witnessed at Barkston. While not so clear in the East Riding, it does appear that Spellow Clump (**SPC-1)** reflects the western extent of the soke of Driffield, while Spell Howe (**SPHW-1)** plausibly does likewise with respect to the manor of Hunmanby. These examples are striking, reminiscent of the *divisae* of the *Leges Henrici Primi* (Liebermann 1903: 565; see Section 2.1.1). Maitland (1897: 275) also noted an early medieval border assembly cited in a charter of 849 in the Worcester area (The Electronic Sawyer 2013: S1272). This specified that if a tribunal was convened for a lord to make compensation for a theft committed by his retainer, this would be held on the boundary of his land and would constitute a mixture of his men and outsiders. The boundary assembly of the *Leges Henrici Primi* is a product of the interface between equal, landed, private jurisdictions. The boundary assembly of the earlier charter is framed instead as a countermeasure to the lord's own power on his own land. The common thread running through each is that the location of these assemblies comprises an external reaction to private jurisdiction. As discussed in Section 6.1 and in such examples as Bolesford wapentake above, estate morphology was a clear influence on the wapentakes within which they were situated. The border assembly quality of the wapentake site reflects the degree of independence and separation from the jurisdiction of the individual estates, an initiative perhaps demonstrated more widely in the phenomenon of ancillary assembly in the Northern Danelaw. This judicial association with boundaries may also be reflected further south in the prevalence of judicial execution sites on estate

borders (Reynolds 2009).

Assemblies did not it seems convene regularly or frequently within settlements. There is a more extensive pattern of hundred and wapentake assemblies convened outside of significant settlements, of which the vast majority were also estate centres. This situational geography was achieved in various ways; in a few cases by adopting immediately extra-mural settings, but particularly in the case of the East Riding ridgeline assemblies, through the careful use of local topography in order to effect a visible division from the settlement, both away from and above these habitative settings. Ancillary assembly aspects are also present in the phenomenon of estate border assemblies in the North and West Ridings. These assemblies obviously related to estates. In their position though it is clear that they are as much a reaction to, as a function of, these centres of power. There are of course pragmatic reasons for preventing large groups of people from congregating in settlements. But there is also likely a symbolic aspect at play. The ridge-line assemblies of the East Riding demonstrate through their landscape position that the presumed functional attributes of ancillary assembly – space, accessibility and the potential for unmediated counsel and witness – also possessed a performative quality, their legitimacy underwritten by the liminal character of the venue (Pantos 2001; Semple 1998; 2013). This could even be interpreted as a demonstration of independence from tenurial oversight. The same observation holds true for the estate border assemblies, although these may reflect regional rather than merely local concerns at limiting tenurial power, a consequence instead of the morphological relations between the estates and wapentakes in the Ridings of Yorkshire.

7.5 Assembly territories

The major topographical divide in the assembly territories of Domesday Yorkshire is that of the Vale of York, dividing wapentakes defined by watersheds to the west and wapentakes defined by riverine divisions to the east (Figure 7). There are exceptions to this. Skyrack (**SKY-0**) and Barkston (**BARK-0**) are delimited between the Wharfe

and the Aire west of the Vale but likely this refers to a former regional border, probably guided by the line of the Humber estuary further east, and possibly linked to the former British kingdom of Elmet (Faull and Moorhouse 1981). The other major exception are the East Riding hundreds, that pay little attention to either pattern, characterised instead by a smaller territorial schema in which concomitant upland and lowland coverage predominates. This upland-lowland disposition is in fact found throughout the three Ridings – a small number cover exclusively lowland environments but none are restricted to the uplands. This likely reflects a concern with mixed agricultural regimes.

Domesday Book and pre-Conquest records indicate only partial estate coverage in Yorkshire. It is unknown how well this reflects the true picture in the eleventh century, or indeed the extent to which earlier, more comprehensive tenure had been disrupted by the Scandinavian incursions. At any rate no manorial soke is entirely co-extensive with any of the hundreds or wapentakes (Hadley 2000: 105). Nonetheless many Domesday manors comprise core areas of the hundreds and wapentakes, including Bridlington (for Huntow), Driffield (**DRI-1**; for Driffield [**DRI-0**]), North Ferriby for Hessle (Figure 108), Northallerton (**ALL-1**; for Allertonshire [**ALL-0**]; Figure 17) and Tanshelf (for Staincross [**STC-0**]; Figure 109). Many of these, including North Ferriby and Northallerton are prominent at the start of the Yorkshire Summary entries for the relevant hundreds and wapentakes. On top of this, reconstructed *parochiae* (see Pickles 2006) not only shadow the known soke, but also act in analogous fashion to hundred and wapentake territories in the absence of reported soke, in a manner that strongly suggests the one-time presence of estates. The reconstructed parochia of Ecclesfield in the West Riding directly shadows what is also known as Hallamshire while the Silkstone mother parish directly bisects Staincross wapentake (**STC-0**) in a way that leaves the Staincross wapentake site positioned on its eastern border.

The most striking example of manorial and wapentake relations is to be found in *Dic* wapentake (**DIC-0**). This territory is divided precisely in two between the soke of the

manors of Falsgrave and Pickering, the latter of course being the name later adopted by the wapentake as a whole. The other North Riding wapentakes of Bolesford (**BOL-0**) and *Gerlestre* (**GERL-0**) also demonstrate twin-manorial hegemony. Either the manor is a conspicuous presence in the territory or comprises one of several units that define the totality of the territory. This influence varies strongly across the ridings and at no point does manorial soke totally define a hundred or wapentake. It is an obvious point but no manorial estate appears to be larger than any associated wapentake. The impression is that wapentake territoriality was a level above that of the estate, a concern paralleled in the mixed regime transitional topography found in the broader territorial morphology of the Yorkshire hundreds and wapentakes. The reticence with which reconstructed parochiae (and indeed soke) cross these bounds only serves to emphasise what appears to be a clear territorial hierarchy.

What then do the wapentakes consist of? Examples like *Dic* (**DIC-0**), Bolesford (**BOL-0**) and *Gerlestre* (**GERL-0**) would suggest they were formed from smaller estates, not least in the way that the Domesday sokelands of Pickering and Falsgrave exactly circumscribe the North Riding wapentake of *Dic*. The sub-divisions identified by Maxwell in the Yorkshire Summary present further examples, possibly akin to the small shires promoted by Jolliffe (1934) and latterly Barrow (2003). It may however be too much to assume comprehensive tenure. The lack of further analogues to *Dic* could instead indicate that estates were one of several expedient guides taken, along with settlement, topography and agricultural concerns, in the process of defining these boundaries. It is certainly clear that manorial influence on the hundred and wapentake territories is indirect, intermittent and mediated, either deliberately or inadvertently.

Yet, the arguments proposed do not fully explain the solid but uneven convergence of units like Northallerton soke and Allertonshire (**ALL-0**). Tanshelf manor formed the core of Staincross wapentake (**STC-0**) and was the channel through which the Honour of Pontefract controlled the wapentake for much of the later medieval period. The disjuncture between the manorial territory and that of the wapentake, being the

upper river valleys of the Don and Dearne, may simply reflect differing landscape perspectives (Figure 109). Essentially while the lord conceived the manor in terms of holdings and their relative positions, others would have glossed this as the river valley within which they fell, a view that determined the wapentake as we understand it via the surviving layout of townships and parishes. In similar fashion the uneven nature of Allertonshire may partly result from the interplay between the Wiske and the Swale as western borders, and the rise of the Cleveland hills to the east.

Topographic scrutiny reaffirms the relationship between conciliar practice and land tenure in Yorkshire, though it is not a direct one. In particular a contrast can be drawn between the management of arable and pasture at a regional level in the wapentakes and the local concern with the maintenance of mixed economies witnessed in the detached portions of the East Riding hundreds. In the rest of Yorkshire the rural economy is being managed from at least the level of the wapentake, if not at the level of the region. The local agricultural concerns displayed in the morphology of the East Riding hundreds indicates a greater degree of decentralised power, in what were likely sub-divisions of the East Riding wapentakes.

The divergence between Edgar's Howden grant and Howden hundred (**HOW-0**) would imply that Howden hundred was relatively recent, based out of a core that persisted as Howdenshire wapentake (**HOW-0**). There are numerous lines of evidence that imply that the East Riding wapentakes were already present as zones of distinct character at the time of Domesday Book. It may be possible then to link the East Riding chronologically with the system of hundreds and wapentakes encountered in Lincolnshire (Roffe 1991a) which suggests an earlier geography, but one on which it is very difficult to place a date.

7.5 Conclusion

The methodology employed in this thesis can be positioned within a sequence of developments following on from Olof Anderson's first comprehensive survey of

English Hundred-names (1934; 1939a; 1939b). As the title implies this primarily concerned the etymology of the toponyms in question, though in line with the procedures set out in the *Introduction to the Survey of English Place-names* (Mawer and Stenton 1924) many of the solutions were informed by consideration of the associated historic landscape. At times it is uneven and carries many assumptions as to the form of the 'suitable assembly site' (see Section 2.4.5) but nonetheless remains an invaluable reference tool. Serious reappraisal of this only recommenced in the 1990s. Audrey Meaney sought to characterise the types and relative proportions of the features associated with assembly sites in the Cambridge region (1993; 1995; 1997) while Aliki Pantos took especial pains to avoid the conflation of place-name attested and physical features, applying greater concern to the visual aspect of sites and stressing the presence of poly-focal assembly venues (2001; 2004). This concern with topography and field investigation was further developed in Oliver O'Grady's survey of assembly sites in Scotland (2008). The present thesis has taken this landscape focus further, compiling all available information from the National Monuments Record, local Historic Environment Records and other databases (e.g. the Portable Antiquities Scheme) in order to construct a GIS database that can interrogate both identified sites of assembly and their wider hinterlands. This level of engagement with the associated topography and archaeology is broadly paralleled in the assembly survey of UCL's *Landscapes of Governance* project (Brookes *et al* 2011). This both acknowledges that sites of assembly were enmeshed within a complex network of nodes in the lived historic landscapes of Yorkshire, and also reflects the difficulties to be found in conducting this survey and analyses in an often heavily developed post-industrial region, with few early medieval records for assembly practices. Sparse historical material, especially in comparison to Wessex, has also compelled a greater emphasis upon later medieval documentation, a theme also found in the concurrent Norwegian studies as part of The Assembly Project (Ødegaard 2013: 43; Hobaek 2013: 65).

Most of the hundred and wapentake sites in the study area could be identified, though later development, a lack of targeted archaeological interventions and a

general paucity of archaeological work in many parts of this region meant that only the partial form of many of the immediate sites could be articulated. Instead, many of the more compelling findings of this thesis were drawn from the wider situation of these locations in the historic landscape, querying the relevance of the Roman road network and, most conspicuously, revealing the ubiquity of assembly sites situated at a short remove from often long-standing settlements and estate centres. The other great advance was surprisingly in the later medieval documentation, concerning the hundred and wapentake assemblies. This strongly reinforced the sense that a given wapentake could meet in multiple places and elucidated the complex relationship enjoyed between the hundreds, wapentakes and the proprietary Honours and Liberties of later medieval England. It is abundantly clear that the assemblies documented for these latter categories in many cases reflect continuity from previous hundredal arrangements. They absolutely must be a primary target of interrogation in future studies of assembly practice.

More broadly this methodology presents a means to tackle otherwise poorly defined historic sites, as ultimately it does not rely upon a focus of necessarily archaeological activity. By surveying broader landscapes there is no need to take leaps of faith, hence Haggitt Howe on the Whitby headland can be tentatively posed as the possible location of *Tingwala* (**THW-1**) without this hypothesis compromising the remainder of the assessment. Conversely, as this methodology has been developed in a region of meagre resources, its application amid otherwise richer historic and archaeological materials could reveal otherwise overlooked evidence for assembly, especially in the later medieval historical record. Despite this it requires some improvement. It should be accompanied by targeted archaeological interventions, be that field-walking, geophysical survey or indeed excavation. It has at least shown that there is no broad correlation between clusters of metal-detected finds and locations of assembly, though Viking bullion deposits do require closer scrutiny. Further, examination of the later medieval material must not be restricted to accessible edited manuscripts. These alone have demonstrated the potential for this approach but yet only comprise a partial record of surviving conciliar accounts. It is

likely that a comprehensive approach to the documentation of a wapentake or wider region will yield significant returns. Finally, the scale of analysis applied sits uneasily between the large-scale survey of the *Landscapes of Governance* project and the detailed small-scale analyses of a given territory. On the one hand the findings concerning the types of assembly that characterise this region need to be compared and contrasted with broader comparable data-sets and on the other there is the strong sense that a narrower focus would have revealed yet more assembly activity in the localities. The answer to this is to situate the methodology within nested scales of analysis, from the individual wapentake up through regional case-studies and beyond.

7.5.1. *The form of assembly sites and territories in Yorkshire*

The strongest monumental pattern is found in the use of barrows and mounds, though fords are most common to the estate border assemblies. It is clear that the over-riding pattern for documented and place-name attested assemblies in the study area was ancillary positioning in relation to estate centres, devolved estate nodes and the use of borders between estates. In contrast to the assembly sites, ecclesiastical establishments and market venues cluster within settlements. Assemblies clearly performed a function in relation to the estate that diverged significantly from the judicial witness cited in the 'market-place or church congregation' in the law-code known as *Hit Becwaeð* (Wormald 1999: 385). These assemblies were closely related, but not integral components of estate centre and settlement activities.

It seems reasonable to believe that well-attended, regular assemblies in the early medieval period would be reflected by *something* in identified metalwork assemblages, from general losses or other sorts of boisterous behaviour. This is not the case. A few bullion deposits of Scandinavian flavour have been found outside of identified hundred and wapentake nodes in the East Riding. As distinctive indications of trade and/or hoarding in the tenth and eleventh centuries, it appears that

Domesday and later medieval hundred and wapentake assemblies were to an extent making use of earlier nodes of assembly and assembly-related activity. The lack of archaeological material implies that the amount of goods and types of activity taking place were perhaps more limited than we have imagined. The scale of meetings too may have been significantly smaller than a large populous outdoor assembly.

Wapentakes (and perhaps hundreds) clearly operated at a scale above that of the individual estate. The only clear coincidence of estate territories with wapentake is found in the paired arrangement of Pickering and Falsgrave sokes in the North Riding wapentake of Dic. Otherwise they appear untidily co-extensive or indeed do not relate to the morphology at all. It is evidence of a hierarchical and yet indirect relationship which is suggested here to argue against the prevalence of the private hundred in later eleventh-century Yorkshire. This territorial evidence further guards against treating these assemblies as straightforward functions of the estate. Why then is there an awkward relationship between assembly territories and estates? The idea that they may represent differing ways to circumscribe the same territory, as in Northallerton (**ALL-1**) and Allertonshire (**ALL-0**), and indeed Tanshelf and Staincross (**STC-0**), does not explain the neat estate divisions of *Dic* (**DIC-0**), Bolesford (**BOL-0**) and *Gerlestre* (**GERL-0**). Instead the evidence points to an expedient regional-level schema that made use of the bounds of estates and other undocumented territories in order to effect state-wide governance structures. Ancillary assembly sought to evoke a degree of autonomy, or else the theatrics of autonomy at least, from landed tenure, whilst being structured by the selfsame extent of this tenure. It is a situation that demonstrates well why the hundred was so easily diverted into private hands and towards private interests in the eleventh century and beyond.

7.5.2 The development of assembly practices in Yorkshire

The archaeological evidence provides few clues to the development of assembly in early medieval Yorkshire. It is difficult to discern any continuity of practice in the dataset. The bullion deposits indicate tenth- and eleventh-century Anglo-

Scandinavian activity, but not necessarily clear evidence of assembly. In turn it is far easier to chart the later transfer of assembly venues to manorial courts, as in Morley (**MOR-0**) and the Honour of Wakefield (Walker 1945), and the emergence of Moot Halls in related settlements in the fourteenth century, than it is to discern the inception of assemblies, their analogues and precursors. One cannot cite the rural character of these assemblies as archaic (Gomme 1880: *passim*), not least due to the continuing presence of outdoor assembly towards the end of the later medieval period, e.g. the 1536 Pilgrimage of Grace (Bush 1996; 2009), and beyond. The nomenclature of some of the very early documented assemblies in Bede and the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle could imply outdoor assemblies but in most cases these lack viable identifications. One can however note that the significant number of East Riding hundreds bearing manorial names in Domesday Book, and the increase in the number of North Riding wapentake names referencing manors in the twelfth century, suggests that assemblies were shifting towards settlements at the time of the Domesday Inquest. By contrast the later-recorded East Riding wapentakes, and their strict division using roads and rivers, seem to reflect the severe delineation of territories present in Skyrack (**SKY-0**) and Barkston Ash (**BARK-0**) wapentakes in the West Riding, a rationale that led to the division of the Otley estate and the brief emergence of *Gereburg* wapentake (**GER-0**).

The wider pattern of assembly-attesting names indicates a palimpsest of previous conciliar arrangements (Baker and Brookes 2013b: 78). From these a number of wapentake border assemblies can be discerned – presumably evidence for multi-wapentake assemblies. Others, such as Spellow Clump (**SPC-1)** and Spell Howe (**SPHW-1)**, are tied into the array of assembly sites ancillary to estates. Given the early note of the estate centre of Driffield (**DRI-1**), this may imply that this form of ancillary assembly was a feature of early eighth-century Northumbria. However only a few can be closely tied to ancient estates. Other assembly-attesting toponyms might represent earlier, lost estates or else simply a wider variety of assembly practices.

More can be said for the arrangement of hundreds and wapentakes. *Gereburg* (**GER-0**) represents a division of the Otley estate as detailed in 1030 (Farrer 1914: 15-8) while Edgar's Howden grant bears more similarity to the later-recorded wapentake than the eponymous Domesday hundred (Hart 1975: 119-20). It is entirely possible that the Domesday divisions were formulated as late as the eleventh century. The fragmented morphological rationales of the East Riding hundreds, in tandem with the post-Conquest appearance of many of the hundred settlements, would serve to confirm this impression. It has all the appearance of recent widespread landscape re-organisation with a specific focus on straddling upland and lowland environments, presumably with the aim of intensifying a mixed agricultural regime in each territory. In turn the hundredal pattern strongly reflects the disposition of the later-recorded East Riding wapentakes and it is entirely plausible that the hundreds represent an ultimately unsuccessful attempt to subdivide pre-existent wapentakes. This could have been in a manner akin to the hundred and wapentake divisions of Lincolnshire directly to the south (Roffe 1991a) as it could also have been an attempt to propagate the disposition of the more ancient soke of Driffield throughout the Riding, a notion dependent on the presence of only fragmentary landed tenure at the end of the early medieval period in Yorkshire.

While the link between burghal and hundredal legislation is clear enough in the lawcodes the evidence for the hundred as a territorial manifestation of the *burh* in Yorkshire, as proposed further south in the tenth century, is debatable (see Molyneaux 2011: Baker and Brooker 2013b). Domesday records burgesses at five locations; York, Bridlington, Pocklington (**POC-1**), Tanshelf and Dadsley. York was limited to 84 carucates of land at the time of Domesday – its links to Ainsty wapentake (**AIN-0**) were a later medieval development. Bridlington, Pocklington (**POC-1**) and Tanshelf (**OGC-1**) are all found in close association to hundred and wapentake sites while Dadsley was adjacent to what became the Honour of Tickhill. Their burghal aspect likely reflects their administrative importance but there is no evidence that they formed regionally significant hubs. While the Ridings are indeed arranged around York, the hundred and wapentake sub-divisions display little

evidence of this and it seems unlikely it was following the pattern identified in, among others. Huntingdonshire and Nottinghamshire (Baker and Brookes 2013b: 81-2). The disposition of the wapentakes looks instead to be a recent expedient measure encompassing a palimpsest of differing territorial rationales of differing ages.

Despite this, it is clear that elite assemblies, amid an admixture of the royal and the ecclesiastical, are known from this region from at least the seventh century. The documentary record fails entirely to provide any substantive evidence of a connection between these and the later hundreds and wapentakes prior to the submission of the north at *Taddenes–clif* in the mid-tenth century, which was also the setting for Osgoldcross (**OGC-1**) within the eponymous wapentake (**OGC-0**; Swanton 2000: 112). In like manner, the earliest records of those estates in close relation to juxtaposed wapentakes, such as Howden, also date from this time (Hart 1975: 119-20). The phenomenon of separate ancillary assembly sites does not explain this, as spatial proximity to estate centres is very much a feature of these sites. In essence, if long-term seminal locales were the common focus of assembly throughout the early medieval period, one could reasonably have expected to have identified historic or place-name attestations of assembly to some degree at least on the outskirts of a place like Catterick (although *Speltrig* [**SPT-1**] directly south of Ripon may indeed prove to be a lone exception to this). Archaeological evidence prior to the tenth century is associated with Tingley (**TING-1**) and Craike Hill (**CRA-1)**, while some of the bullion recovered from Rudston (**DICK-2)** and North Cave (**CAV-1**) may date as far back as the ninth century, but then one is left with the alternate problem that these can only demonstrate the presence of activity, without recourse to wider comparanda of this assemblage-type, and by no means comprise a signal of pre-tenth-century assembly. Further to the south, connections between hundredal venues and earlier cemeteries have been established at Loveden Hill (Williams 2004) and Saltwood (Brookes *et al* 2011), but this is by no means a common phenomenon and at any rate only presents evidence for venues that could have hosted assemblies, rather than presenting *prima facie* evidence for analogous conciliar practices, let alone continuity of use. There does not seem to be a compelling connection between

the hundreds and wapentakes recorded from the tenth century and the earlier high status assemblies found in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicles and other sources. Whether the hundred and wapentake reflect innovative foundations, appropriations of older foci of activity, or else represent long-term local activity emerging late into the historical record is, it now seems, a matter to be resolved by excavation.

7.5.3 Scandinavian influence over assembly practices in Yorkshire

Scandinavian influence is present at all levels of conciliar activity, most strikingly in the system of ridings found in Yorkshire and Lincolnshire. Yet, beyond these two shires, the riding makes no further appearance in the Danelaw. This has been argued as evidence for heterogeneous and decentralised administration within the Danelaw (Baker and Brookes 2013b: 89) and cautions against essentialist conceptions of Scandinavian administration and/or administrative influence. The wapentake, despite Old Norse nomenclature, appears instead to be a hundredal analogue shaped by its position within an Anglo-Scandinavian cultural milieu rather than being an administrative construct imported from across the North Sea. It was certainly characterised by cultural practices that would have been understood as Scandinavian, such as the *vápnatak* itself, in whatever form that took, and the principle of *lah-cop* (see Section 2.1.2). Yet *lah-cop* is encountered as one divergent principle among several others which appear, from the corpus of law-codes at least, to be of Anglo-Saxon derivation (Vinogradoff 1908: 9; Björkman 1900: 68). In like fashion, the corpus of place-names for hundred and wapentake assemblies exhibits strong influence from Old Norse, and yet remains a predominantly Old English affair. Despite this, Scandinavian influence, while uneven, also appears to be ubiquitous, found at the most local of levels of administration in the form of the *byjar-lǫg* or, 'law of the village' (Smith 1961a: 106), and its associated byelawmen, encountered in the areas around Sheffield, Wakefield and Pickering but, like the Ridings at a larger scale, not ubiquitous to Yorkshire as a whole. The impression is of broad influence at all levels over existing practices, rather than the imposition of schemata from without. This is further exhibited in the toponyms through examples of Scandinavianised Old English

assembly names, such as Skyrack (**SKY-0**) in the West Riding (Smith 1961d: 88), demonstrating the engagement with existing monumental foci by incomers. While archaeological traces are notoriously sparse (Leahy 2004: 463), where they have been found in relation to assembly sites, such as at Rudston (**DICK-2**) and Spell Howe (**SPHW-1)**, there is evidence for earlier Anglo-Saxon activity at the site. The one exception to this pattern is found in the assembly names that refer to crosses, a Hiberno-Norse loan word and monumental focus considered unique to the Danelaw, e.g. Staincross (**STC-0**) and Buckrose (**BUC-0;** Smith 1956b: 7; Anderson 1939b: 191). Whether this indicates the appropriation of Christian symbolism, the activities of a Christian population, or as argued above (Section 5.1.4 and Semple 2013: 69) a pious alternative to the tree-names of assemblies further south, it nonetheless demonstrates the adoption or absorption of insular administrative and cultural mores by incoming settlers. The unavoidable conclusion is that the immigrants from Scandinavia engaged with and had influence upon an existing schema of conciliar, administrative and territorial practices rather than imposing a new system from on high. The Riding division itself may be an exception to this. Crucially, this permeated all levels, demonstrating that this influence did not come by way of an elite takeover, but was very much present in the localities, presumably by way of significant population movement.

One may be forgiven for assuming from this that the territorial wapentake had much the appearance of the hundred further to the south. In fact the wapentake is a routinely larger unit, and this effects a division that appears to echo the traditional Danelaw boundary espoused in the *Treaty of Alfred and Guthrum* (Keynes and Lapidge 1983: 171). This would seem to demonstrate regional territorial and conciliar traditions, a theme recently espoused by Dawn Hadley (2002: 48). In this paper, Hadley sought to move away from longstanding questions concerning the level of Scandinavian settlement. Aside from queries concerning the intensity of population movement, older views perceived a distinct and abiding population that identified themselves as primarily Scandinavian far beyond the late ninth century (e.g. Stenton 1927). More recently an alternate view has put it that Danish settlers were absorbed

within a generation into a wider tableau of Anglo-Saxon cultural traditions (Stafford 1985: 118; Richards 2004: 108). Hadley instead concluded that, after a century, Danishness had become a culturally constructed ethnicity that could be deployed at will to maintain a regional separation from the centres of power of Wessex, while in everyday life the descendants of earlier settlers had largely adapted and acculturated to the patterns of everyday life. The results of the present study stress that these assembly practices were indivisible from wider conceptions of regionality, and the practice of assembly is at heart no less than a performance. This may be exemplified by the assembly crosses of Yorkshire and the wider Danelaw, utilising an otherwise Anglo-Saxon Christian tradition to develop a means of assembly seemingly unique to the wapentakes of the Danelaw. There is little sense of imposition from without and rather the use, by people who had acculturated to existing practices in what became the Danelaw, of a diverse cultural palette in order to express difference.

Impact and Change:
Assembly Practices in the Northern Danelaw

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GAZETTEER

North Riding of Yorkshire – Domesday and Later Wapentakes

Langbaurgh Wapentake (LAN-0)

Etymology

Langbaurgh, also Langbargh Wapentake, first appears in Domesday Book as a district within the North Riding of Yorkshire. It appears in two forms in Domesday, *Langeberg* and *Langeberge*, while later iterations include *Langebrigg* and *Langbarffe* (Faull and Stinson 1986: 300a, 320a, 322d, 373a; Smith 1928: 128). This district name has been solved as the toponym 'long hill/ridge' by both Smith and Anderson (Smith 1928: 165; Anderson 1934: 2). Where Smith assigns the Old English elements *lang* and *beorg*, Anderson has more prudently identified the equally plausible cognate Old Norse elements *langr* and *berg* (*ibid*). There is thus no clear linguistic association solely with Anglo-Saxon or Scandinavian influence. The name is associated with the hamlet of Langbaurgh, 900 metres north of the village of Great Ayton. This settlement is not mentioned in Domesday. Smith has proposed that it was later recorded in the thirteenth century in the Chartulary of Guisborough Priory as *terrae in Magnus Eton subtus Langberg* (Brown 1889: 191). However, Langbaurgh also denotes a prominent ridge at the north-western edge of the North York Moors and would seem a far more suitable candidate for the preposition '*subtus*'. The first clear reference to the settlement is in fact to the manor of *Langbarge* in the Yorkshire Feet of Fines for 1572 (Smith 1928: 165; Collins 1888: 17). It would seem that this was a late development, named from the long ridge south-west of Roseberry Topping. In this the village may be of a type with Staincross in the West Riding, which also first emerges clearly in the later sixteenth century. The ridge itself is detailed further below, defined to the east by Langbaurgh Quarry and to the west by Round Hill.

Historical Evidence

The Domesday wapentake of Langbaurgh extends from Fylingdales Moor to Ingleby Barwick, along the coast of the North Sea and the southern bank of the Tees Estuary. The western edge is partly defined by the river Leven before the border crosses over

the western bank to follow part of the courses of Picton Stell and the river Wiske south to the moorland edge. The south-western corner of the wapentake is defined by Scugdale and the parish of Whorlton from whence the southern border with Pickering continues eastwards over the high moorland of the North York Moors. The Domesday Summary accounts for the constituent vills, following a roughly geographical order, working along the coast from east to west (Figure 106). The order of the Summary also groups a number of vills by manor indicating that the survey in Langbaurgh allowed for factors both topographical, manorial and, to an extent, tenurial. Thus, it commences with the manor of Whitby held by Earl Hugh of Chester from the pre-Conquest Earl Siward and then an unnamed group of holdings inherited by the Count of Mortain from one Swein. Part of this grouping is headed under the manor of Borrowby but there this no evidence to suggest that this applied across the board. This pattern then breaks down to an extent, concentrating on smaller groupings of vills for the manors of South Loftus and Crunkly Gill before it continues westward to tackle another contiguous block of Mortain's holdings. These were acquired from an Uhtred in contrast to the aforementioned Swein. After Hutton Lowcross there is no clear manorial and tenurial pattern - one instead witnesses a survey that is ordered westerly by way of the lowlands at the estuary head before turning inland. At this point a cluster of crown lands are detailed, acquired from a wide selection of pre-Conquest tenants. The listing of crown lands ceases with Acklam, the caput of the selfsame manor held by Earl Hugh of Chester from the pre-Conquest Earl Siward. The remainder of this manor is listed as a group. This is followed by the Count of Mortain's manor at Seamer (formerly held by Gospatric), the manor of Stokesley and the manor of Hutton Rudby. Uhtred held Stokesley of the King, a former possession of Hawarth while Hutton Rudby was again a possession of Gospatric that had descended to Mortain. It should be stressed that this is a gross simplification – there are other discrete clusters of manorial holdings, not least South Loftus, but where these occur, they are as part of more diverse groupings. In the case of South Loftus, it is largely found in the first heterogeneous zone subsequent to the first grouping of Mortain's un-named holdings. Notwithstanding this, it is clear that Langbaurgh wapentake can be broken down into a series of smaller estates and

analogous districts from Domesday without recourse to the geographical aspects of the summary order (*passim* Maxwell 1950; 1962: 473-494) or the numerical analysis of carucate assessments (cf Round 1895; Roffe 2000a). This can be taken further, setting these smaller units within three broad sub-divisions of the wapentake indicated by page breaks in the Summary (Maxwell 1962: 459). These divisions are almost entirely complementary, though note must be made of the extension of crown lands into what is ostensibly the westerly division prior to Acklam. Thus, the wapentake of Langbaurgh is seen to comprise a series of smaller districts organised into two hierarchical levels of subdivision, the smaller of which can be linked to patterns of pre-Conquest landholding. These are of some relevance to the position of Langbaurgh ridge itself and a number of assembly-attesting place-names in the wapentake.

Following Domesday, the next mention of the wapentake was in the Pipe Rolls of 1166 alongside the first accounts of the East Riding wapentakes of Harthill and Dickering. It was granted by King John to Peter de Brus in 1207/1208 at an annual rent of £40 (Ord 1846: 599; Page 1923: 217). This exchange evidently precipitated what has become known as the Langbaurgh Charter, drawn up by 1209 and argued by some as a forerunner to Magna Carta (Holt 1955: 21-3; Thomas 1993: 204-6). It correspondingly offers a rare insight into the workings of the wapentake in the early thirteenth century. In essence de Brus promised to safeguard the liberties of landholders and freemen in the wapentake and in return they would contribute to the annual rent due to the crown where needed (Brown 1889: 92). The strong implication is that these liberties were not in place, though it is unclear whether this was characteristic of the tenure of de Brus or merely that of the situation he had inherited. The charter promised to ensure that each case in the wapentake court was adjudged by a jury of peers, and that securities and fines were in proportion to the cases under consideration. It also placed limits on the number of servants and horses kept at the expense of the wapentake, specifically limiting them in number to three. If these servants breached the terms of the charter they were to be replaced (*ibid*). This very much frames the wapentake in fiscal and judicial terms. It also strongly

echoes the demands of the barons answered in the Great Charter of 1215 (Holt 1955: 21-3). Thomas has further pointed out that the witness list notes a preponderance of those who later rebelled against the crown, including Eustace de Vescy and indeed Peter de Brus, the tenant-in-chief (1993: 204-6). Further, few if any had significant holdings in Langbaurgh (*ibid*). Thus the charter has been framed instead by subsequent scholarship as more a manifesto of regional magnates than merely an example of the working out of local grievances.

For Langbaurgh itself one should note the absence of a specified court site and the strong fiscal element evoked in the descriptions. The charter is also notable for a subdivision within Langbaurgh - the district of Cleveland was to meet the expenses for two of the wapentake officials while *Wytebistrand* was to cover the third (Brown 1889: 93). Cleveland is first mentioned in 1104x1114 in a writ of Henry I, supposedly restoring lordship to Bishop Ranulf Flambard of Durham (Farrer 1915: 272-3)[2]. *Wytebistrand* meanwhile makes its first appearance in this charter. It was described as a *Libertate* in 1231 and then as a wapentake in 1316 (Page 1923: 502; Maxwell-Lyte 1898b: 544). Despite the relatively late first account of the district, its bounds strongly shadow both that of lands confirmed to Whitby before 1135 and further the manor of Whitby outlined in Domesday Book (Atkinson 1881: 683n). The exception to this is that part of Whitby Strand in Pickering wapentake, in the parish of Hackness. However while Whitby Strand accords with a pattern of landholding reflective of pre-Conquest mores, Cleveland is more enigmatic, seemingly a catch-all term for whatever in Langbaurgh wapentake lay outside the district of Whitby. It may well have been a synonym for Langbaurgh as a whole, a toponym referencing the cliff-sides in this district. Conversely it may have indicated one of the two levels of sub-districts apparent in the Domesday Summary. While there is a temptation to link de Brus's three servants with Maxwell's three-fold Domesday division of the wapentake there is no strong link between Whitby Strand and the wider eastern extent of Langbaurgh (Maxwell 1962: 459).

[2] There is no further record that corroborates any association between Langbaurgh and the Durham See.

The wapentake was held by the de Brus line (through the manor of Danby; Page 1923: 217) until the end of the thirteenth century, at which point possession was transferred to the four sisters of the last Peter de Brus (Page 1923: 217). This demised in turn to Walter de Fauconberg and Marmaduke de Thweng, resulting in the two-fold division of the wapentake that persisted into the twentieth century (Ord 1846: 601, 605; Brown 1889: 99). Interestingly the York Inquisition into the de Brus estate of 1274 failed to provide an extent "because there is no suit due or accustomed from any free tenants, according to custom of the whole barony" (Brown 1892: 143). Evidently the situation outlined in the earlier Langbaurgh charter persisted during the tenure of the de Brus family. As a result, one must query whether there was a functioning wapentake court in the first few centuries following the Norman Conquest.

There is certainly no clear evidence for a consistent venue. The earliest mention of the wapentake court is found in the reign of Edward I and in fact pertains to one Nicholas de Meynell's refusal to host proceedings at Hilton (Skaife 1867: 126; Page 1923: 220). Kirkby's Inquest records an inquisition for Langbaurgh wapentake at Ormesby in 1285/86 (Skaife 1867: 124) while another Inquisition of the wapentake as a whole took place at Upsall in 1288 (Brown 1898: 75). In 1306/7, at the end of the reign of Edward I, another inquisition of the wapentake was convened at Guisborough (Skaife 1867: 234). This reflects a wide series of venues active within a relatively short space of time. De Meynell's reticence reinforces the picture of roving assemblies yet it remains difficult to say whether this reflects expedient conciliar behaviour or an itinerant approach to long-term sub-wapentake centres with tenurial and/or administrative associations. By the end of the medieval era this had been consolidated into quarter sessions that alternated between Stokesley and Guisborough (Atkinson 1884: 130, 169; Ord 1846: 229). Whitby Strand is presumed to have met in Whitby, although Page notes that the coroner was accustomed to sit at Aislaby (1923: 502). Interestingly Aislaby was unusual in continuing to owe suit of court to Langbaurgh after the explicit establishment of the Liberty of Whitby Strand

and suit remained in dispute to an extent until the early nineteenth century (*ibid*). There are no specific documented assemblies at Langbaurgh. However George Young reported in 1817 that the steward of the wapentake was still accustomed to convene courts adjacent to Langbaurgh quarry (1817: 778).

The absence of a single seminal locale in the later medieval documentation may be a cause of concern when one is attempting to discern early medieval conciliar patterns from this material. However there are a number of promising lines of inquiry. The first of these is Langbaurgh ridge (**LAN-1**), which was of course recorded as a wapentake name in 1086. Secondly, one of the constituent vills of Whitby listed in 1145x1148 is the unequivocally assembly-attesting toponym of *Tingwal/Tingwala* (**THIN-1**; Farrer 1915: 218). This attesting element is matched by the deer park of *Tyngoudale* recorded on the moorland ridge above Guisborough (**TYNG-1**; Brown 1889: 174). A *Spelcros* is also recorded in Guisborough in the early fourteenth century (*ibid*: 38). It was evidently within common pasture of the settlement and one could suggest that Stump Cross at the western end of the old town may represent this (*ibid*: 156). In the absence of further corroborative information however this must remain a note of gentle speculation.

Langbaurgh Ridge (LAN-1)

Location: SE56141207 (centred on the midpoint of the ridge)
Reason: Named venue of the wapentake

Etymology

See above

Historical Evidence

As mentioned no specific conciliar proceedings were recorded at or in the vicinity of Langbaurgh ridge. A partial exception to this is George Young's note of then contemporaneous meetings adjacent to Langbaurgh quarry, convened by the steward of the wapentake (1817: 778). In the absence of further evidence attention turns to proximate folk traditions and place-names. The same author remarked disapprovingly of activity at Chapel Well, adjacent to the same quarry. It was thought that if one cast in items of clothing belonging to a sick individual and invoked the name of St Oswald, one could predict whether they would die or recover (*ibid*: 882; see also Grose 1773). John Graves had earlier reported that local youths were wont to gather and bathe at the well, in seemingly bacchanalian revels (1808: 221). This practice had ceased with the recent clearance of various building remains and what was described as a bath-house (*ibid*). Interestingly Young also reports the demise of a fair at the turn of the nineteenth century that may correspond to the same building works, though no further details are available (1817: 882). Graves also published a representation of what he described as the seal of the wapentake of Langbaurgh, though its provenance is unclear. It appears to indicate a fortified stone structure though none is known in the vicinity of Langbaurgh ridge. As noted below no recorded archaeological remains accord with the above descriptions.

Finally, note must be made of the toponym Dingledow (**DNG-1**). This is encountered as the name of the quarry adjacent to Langbaurgh quarry and indeed a series of fields

directly to the north-east of Chapel Well on the First Edition Ordnance Survey mapping. It has not been traced to anterior documentation but its location remains nevertheless intriguing.

Topography

The ridge itself is thin and shallow, orientated west-north-west to east-south-east. It is just under a kilometre in length. At its western end the river Tame cuts the ridge off from a smaller continuation of the rise at Nunthorpe quarry. This continuation is marked by a 'Round Hill' on the First Edition Ordnance Survey mapping. While heavily mutilated, partial evidence of this eminence still survives. The eastern end is marked by a brief dip (now occupied by the railway) before the ground rises more considerably up to Cliff Ridge Wood and the western edge of the Cleveland Hills. To the north it is defined by the gentle rise of ground to the east and on its southern side by slightly undulating terrain and the hamlet of Langbaurgh. The most striking aspect to the entire site is the dominating presence of Roseberry Topping 1.6 kilometres to the north-east (Figure 116).

Langbaurgh ridge is set at the western extreme of the Cleveland Hills. The ridge, a shallow one, marks a distinct topographical feature at the lowland side of the transition, rising to 126 metres OD in comparison to the adjacent bed of the Tame at 84 metres. Low undulating terrain continues to the west and the south in the Vale of York while the Cleveland Hills to the east make for a striking horizon. The ridge and the surrounding terrain are set upon glacial tills. The ridge is also adjacent to river terrace deposits that suggest the Leven (flowing through Great Ayton to the south) at one point intersected with the Tame at 'Round Hill'. At the wider scale Langbaurgh and Roseberry Topping mark the end of the Lias Limestone formation while further east the peaks of the Cleveland Hills are instead defined by the silt and sandstones of the Ravenscar group. The sole communication route appears to be the road running between Newton and Ayton though note must be made of Dingledow Road, a minor track that runs north-south at the eastern end of the ridge.

Langbaurgh ridge marks the border between the township of Great Ayton in Ayton parish and the single township parish of Newton. The parish of Ayton surrounds the latter on all sides except the north. It is located on the western side of the central area of the wapentake and likewise in the rural deanery of Cleveland, a unit that largely shadows the extent of the wapentake.

Archaeological Evidence

Langbaurgh ridge was punctuated by whinstone quarries for much of the post-medieval period and it is evidently much mutilated from this practice (NMR 2013: MON#1122864). It is unclear when this began and it has evidently eradicated the upstanding traces of any earlier activity on the ridge. There is further no trace of any structures around the site of Chapel Well, despite the reports of Ord and Graves. To the south the hamlet of Langbaurgh is found in association with traces of ridge and furrow, accompanied by a number of hollow-ways (*ibid*: MON#1434015). This would suggest the presence of medieval settlement in the immediate area but it by no means clarifies whether the thirteenth-century reference to Langbaurgh in the Guisborough Chartulary refers to part of Great Ayton or a separate vill of Langbaurgh (Brown 1889: 191). Potential evidence of earlier antiquity in the hamlet has been uncovered in the form of a beehive quern from the garden of Langbaurgh Hall, though the dating is uncertain (NMR 2013: MON#27729). This is certainly a poor harvest. It remains to note the cropmark of a seeming return in the field immediately west of Chapel Well. There is likely a curvilinear feature at the southern end of Dingledow road that would warrant further attention. As well, a small cluster of interconnected enclosures can be espied in the Dingledow fields north-east of the ridge. In each case little more can be said for the time being.

Early medieval activity further afield is confined to sculpture in the proximate villages of Great Ayton and Newton, and a silver arm ring recently found 1.7 kilometres to the south-west of Langbaurgh ridge. No further information is attached to the report

of the ring beyond a suggested date (North Yorkshire HER 2013: MNY32487). Meanwhile the earliest fabric in the church is Norman in date (Pevsner 1966: 172-3). To the north at Newton, a decorated pre-Conquest corner stone has been incorporated into a buttress of the Norman tower (Pevsner 1966: 268).

In the wider area there is a distinct contrast between the relatively dense concentration of Bronze Age cairns and barrows on the high ground at Great Ayton Moor and a decreased level of activity on the lowlands to the west (cf Hayes 1967). A possible exception to this is a proposed standing stone at Newton (White 1987: 43). The suggestion that it was part of a wider monumental complex is difficult to evaluate. More readily diagnostic evidence for Romano-British activity can be located in these lowlands. At Newton another beehive quern has been recovered as has an early third century Roman coin (NMR 2013: MON#27730; PAS 2013: DUR-381338). The evidence from Great Ayton is more difficult to deal with, essentially amounting to second-hand reports of antiquarian discoveries in the late nineteenth century (Elgee 1923: 11). There seems to be plausible low-level Romano-British activity in the immediate area, but little more can be inferred. The peak of Roseberry Topping is firstly associated with a Bronze Age hoard and secondly with twelfth- to thirteenth-century jet workings, resulting in large number of pits and an encircling bank (NMR 2013: MON#27650). There is no material that can link it with early medieval activity, despite the elements present in its name (Roseberry Topping – *Othenesberg* – ON 'Othin's berg' – Odin's hill/mountain; Smith 1928: 164)

Dic/Pickering Wapentake (DIC-0)

Etymology

The administrative region of *Dic Wapentac* is mentioned twice in Domesday Book, once in the main entries and once in the Summary (Faull and Stinson 1986: 323a, 380c). This district name does not occur in subsequent documentation and this necessarily weakens any toponymic solution. Both Smith and Anderson have interpreted it to mean dyke or dykes, either from the Old English *dic* or cognate Old Norse *dik* (Smith 1928: 74; Anderson 1934: 3). In all subsequent appearances the territory was known as Pickering and, from 1135x1155 at least, Pickering Lythe (Farrer 1914: 314). This wapentake of *Pikeringis* or *Pikiringelit* shares its name with the manor of Pickering, an ancient demesne in the hands of the crown at the time of Domesday Book. The name is also associated with the Vale of Pickering and the like-named Beck flowing through the present town. This appears as *Picheringe* and *Picheringa* in Domesday Book (Faull and Stinson 1986: 299b, 380d) and subsequently as *Picrinch* and *Picaringes* (Farrer 1914: 310, Savage 1926: 5d). This has been solved as the Old English personal name *Picer* and collective element *ingas* to mean 'settlement of the people of *Picer*' (Smith 1928: 85; Anderson 1934: 4). Meanwhile the element *Lythe* is derived from the Old English *hlið* for 'slope'. Smith has taken this to indicate that wapentake meetings were held on an unidentified slope (1928: 74). Anderson meanwhile has proposed instead that Pickering Lythe was a synonym for the Vale of Pickering, a term first recorded in the mid-thirteenth century (Anderson 1934: 4-5; Smith 1928: 87). This hypothesis would be in line with the presence of the lythe element in the related district names of *Holdlythe* and *Hertfordlythe*. There are no obvious etymological objections and strong historical evidence for Pickering as the site of the later medieval wapentake court.

Despite this, there is some cause to reconsider the older name *Dic*. The adjacent and later documented East Riding wapentake of Dickering enjoys phonological similarities with both. Further, the rural deanery of Dickering, first mentioned in the

late twelfth century, covered the extent of the selfsame wapentake and the majority of the soke of the manor of Falsgrave, which in turn comprised the coastal portion of the wapentake of Pickering. These are grounds enough to propose a stronger relation between *Dic,* Pickering and Dickering, but the nature of this relationship is unclear. Page (1923: 418) was among the first to note this.

Historical Evidence

The wapentake of *Dic* makes its first and only appearance in Domesday Book. In almost its entirety it comprises one compact block on the western coast of England. Roughly defined, this covers the coast around Scarborough, inland to Pickering, set between the river Hertford to the south and the high moorland of Egton and Goathland to the north. As can be seen from the order of the Yorkshire Summary, this also includes an outlying portion shared with Ryedale wapentake at Barton-le-Street and Easthorpe, while further jurisdiction appears to be shared with Kettlethorpe further south in the East Riding hundred of Cave. This latter outlier is genuinely anomalous and may reflect a closer and as yet unlocated place-name within *Dic* (Faull and Stinson 1986: 1N51n). The earlier examples however would seem to indicate a named outlying district called *Holdelithe*. This territory was first mentioned in 1160x1185 in a greeting from the Chapter of St Peter's, York, to the wapentakes of Ryedale, Pickering Lythe and *Holdelithe* (Farrer 1914: 162-163). It was used as a territorial suffix for Appleton-le-Street - adjacent to Barton-le-Street and Easthorpe – in a fine roll of 1270x1271 (Henry III Fine Rolls Project 2013: C 60/68 1415). Smith assumed it merely to refer to the southern part of Ryedale (1928: 42). More recently Carr has proposed, without clarification, that this district was based around Hovingham (2001: 143-4). However the two vills listed in the Summary also constituted two of the berewicks of the royal manor of Pickering and thus it would seem reasonable, though by no means conclusive, to propose that this detached portion is that of *Holdlithe*. This, complemented by the further district of *Hertfordlythe* based around the river defining the south of Pickering, goes to strengthen the notion that the later name of Pickering Lythe is that of a district, likely

equating to the Vale of Pickering.

It is clear from Domesday that the wapentake effectively constituted the two royal manors of Pickering and Falsgrave. This close relationship is reinforced by the listing of vills for *Dic* in the Summary that clearly indicates a break in the order between Hackness and Brompton, directly paralleled by the intersection of the respective sokes of Pickering and Falsgrave. To the north this is denoted by the standing early medieval cross of Lilla Howe, on the border with Langbaurgh wapentake, and to the south by Brompton Bridge. By 1135x1155 at the latest this same wapentake was instead known as Pickering Lythe (Farrer 1914: 295-296). Despite the change in name the listing of vills for Pickering in Kirkby's Inquest indicates that its broad territorial integrity had remained intact (Skaife 1867: 138-147, 239, 326). Nonetheless it would seem that the change of name did accompany possible structural changes as wapentake procedure at *Dic*/Pickering was incorporated within the ambit of the Forest of Pickering, discussed immediately below).

Where the specific business of the wapentake of Pickering (Lythe) has been detailed, there is little if any mention of the venue itself. The grant of waste in the south of the wapentake by Henry II to Rievaulx Abbey in 1158 was witnessed by a jury of Pickering Lythe wapentake and, quite explicitly, a later sitting of the County Court in York (Farrer 1914: 314). The Pipe Rolls reference a *wap de Picheringa* a decade later in 1165x1166 while a later wapentake court in the reign of King John directed the Sheriff to seize property in the vill of Pickering (Pipe Roll Society 1888: 49; Clay 1911: 2). The wapentake of Pickering is referred to further at an assize of 1260x1261 in Malton in terms of disputed suit of court in the easterly manor of Falsgrave, again without reference to the venue (*ibid*: 126-7). This latter instance is doubly interesting as it sheds light on an early attempt to alienate the manor of Falsgrave from the wapentake of Pickering to the borough of Scarborough. More suggestive evidence for the venue comes from an assize of Pickering Lythe in the reign of John which ends "The vill of *Pikering* says nothing else than the wapentake says" (Clay 1911: 38). If the assize of the wapentake had met outside Pickering, it is likely that representatives

from the vill would have been in attendance. However, the singling out of jurisdiction at vill level without prior focus in the assize proceedings would indicate Pickering to be the venue. This concern with the location may seem strange considering the (later) name of the wapentake but it remains that straightforward acceptance of the manorial connection would assume too much of the functioning and development of the wapentake.

Further supporting evidence for the siting of the wapentake comes instead from the Forest Courts of the Forest of Pickering. In 1157 Henry II sent greetings to "the men of the wapentake and forest of Pickering" in relation to the grant of waste in the south of the said wapentake to Rievaulx Abbey (Farrer 1914: 313). An inquisition at Pickering was noted in 1251 in relation to the customs of the forest (Brown 1892: 28) but it was only in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries that detailed records emerge, not least in the unusually long-running Eyre of the Forest held at Pickering between 1334 and 1336 (Turton 1894, 1895, 1896, 1897 *passim*). A strong relationship was enjoyed between the Honour and Forest of Pickering, with the Constable of the Castle also holding the position of Keeper of the Forest (Turton 1894: 107). This relationship can be articulated in deeper terms still when one considers the Ministers' Accounts for the Honour of Pickering in 1322 and 1325, which list in consistent order profits of the wapentake courts, bailiffs tourns and Halmote court, amid fines and amercements within the purview of the Forest court (Turton 1897: 197, 215). It is abundantly clear that the administration of these courts and jurisdictions constituted a continuum focused upon the Castle of Pickering itself.

The relationship between wapentake, manor and forest was also visible, to an extent, in the manner that the Forest was divided into an East and West Ward. These, first mentioned in 1334, were found in unusual relation to the manorial divisions of Pickering and Falsgrave witnessed in Domesday (Turton 1896: 14-5). The division of Wards is partially unclear. The Customs of the Forest recorded in 1622 mark the division as that between Lilla Howe to the north and Yedingham Bridge to the south (Turton 1895: 5). More pragmatically the author, one Gawine Bebington, remarked

that the border between the wards was in practice marked by whatever defined the present run of the respective populations of red and fallow deer in the Forest (*ibid*). This ambiguity likely explains the divergence of this outline with the extent of the two Wards found in contemporaneous records of the Duchy of Lancaster (Turton 1894: 33; see fig X). What remains clear throughout is that a binary division abided with Lilla Howe as an enduring marker of the northern border, in contrast to the ambiguity that accompanied the marshy karrs and ings of the southerly part of the intersection. Lilla Howe of course marked the division of Domesday sokes as it also did the manor of Whitby and the Eastern division of the Domesday wapentake of Langbaurgh to the north (Maxwell 1950).

There is further evidence of continuity of the territorial structures witnessed in Domesday Book. To begin with, the fine rolls for 1225x1226 list three relevant payments; that of the wapentake of *Pikering*, the vill of *Pikering* and the soke of *Walesgrave* [Falsgrave] (National Archives 2013: E 372/70). These are the three for which the sheriff of York answered payment while remuneration for the vill of Falsgrave itself was instead answered by the *homines* of Scarborough. This both represents the continuation of the Domesday division into the thirteenth century, and highlights the beginning of the process of alienating Falsgrave to the borough of Scarborough and away from the wapentake and forest jurisdiction of Pickering. The above dispute over the suit of court of Pickering wapentake at Falsgrave in 1260x1261 represents a further and failed instance of this attempt (Clay 1911: 126-7). The borough of Scarborough eventually succeeded in this aim, and the manor of Scalby instead supplanted Falsgrave in prominence in the Eastern Ward of the Forest. The crucial point to draw from this is that this manorial shift happened far too late to be connected to the shift in nomenclature from *Dic* to Pickering Lythe. Pickering had achieved prominence in the wapentake far earlier.

Ecclesiastical jurisdiction may offer some clue to this prominence. Pickering was one of the ancient royal demesnes, alongside for instance Aldborough and Kilham, whose church was granted by Henry I to the Dean of York in order to enhance his station

and maintenance. This grant no doubt reflects the disposition of ecclesiastical jurisdictions visible in the 1291 Taxation of Pope Nicholas IV. Firstly, it is clear that the morphology of the wapentake of Pickering has had precisely no influence upon the division of deaneries. In fact, the coast of Pickering has been included as part of the otherwise East Riding deanery of Dickering, while the majority of the rest of the area of the wapentake has been included in the Cleveland deanery of Ryedale. The exception is the area around Pickering, which instead constitutes a peculiar of the Dean of York that extends up towards Goathland in Langbaurgh Wapentake. These admittedly may reflect purely post-Domesday developments, but it is still of use as a circumstantial indicator of predominance in the wapentake.

Despite all the preceding discussion, there remains no definitive reason why *Dic* became known as Pickering. All evidence that suggests its predominance, such as the workings of the forest courts and the royal visits detailed below, carry only the weight of hindsight, as does any suggestion of an early link between Falsgrave and Scarborough. In essence one cannot say whether Forest jurisdiction gravitated towards the wapentake court or whether the wapentake court was relocated to the seat of the Honour and Forest of Pickering. There remains a case that the varied complexes of dykes and other linear earthworks found on the central east-west axis of the wapentake could indicate a former venue or venues for Dic wapentake: at Ebberston Low Moor, Seamridge, Hutton Buscel Moor and East Ayton Moor. The only way to examine this claim further, and indeed that of early medieval assembly in the wapentake further, is to examine trends in the wider archaeological record for the region.

Nonetheless the historical evidence provides evidence both of assemblies at Pickering, and at other locations in the wapentake. The records of the Forest of Pickering also offer vital information as to the working of the institution of the byelawmen, a low-level, plausibly Scandinavian-influenced or imported administrative function, with strong parallels to evidence from Hallamshire and Morley wapentake in the West Riding. Finally, Pickering itself will receive detailed

topographic and archaeological examination below.

Aside from the link between the wapentake and forest court of Pickering, numerous other assemblies have been recorded there in the later medieval period. The earliest dates to the reign of Henry I, a grant of venison to the Abbot of St Mary's Abbey, York (Farrer 1914: 269). A charter ratified by Henry II at Pickering in 1163 to the weavers of York was in turn reconfirmed by Edward III in the same location in 1346 (Maxwell-Lyte 1903: 199-200). A further royal charter confirmed at Pickering is dated 1199x1216 (Hardy 1837: 85). After this point one encounters the issuing of royal writs from Pickering, such as the profuse output of Edward II (e.g. Maxwell-Lyte 1904: 331-6), courts of the forest and assorted inquisitions. The eyres of the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century are mentioned above. While these do appear to represent the commencement of semi-regular documentation for the forest courts, the first is in fact that of an Inquisition at Pickering in 1251 inquiring into the Customs of the Forest (Brown 1892: 28). Prior to the 1334 Forest Eyre a significant number of inquisitions had been recorded (cf Brown 1892: 20, 30, Maxwell-Lyte 1916: 119, 168; Turton 1896: 221, 233, 247, 255, 256, 264) and a further concentration is noted in 1334 and the years following (Turton 1896: 1, 67, 74-76, 271, 273; Turton 1895: 45, 49). This shows that the royal connection to Pickering was frequent and enduring, at least from the time of Henry I and certainly in comparison to the other manors of ancient demesne, such as Aldborough.

The obvious venue for assemblies in Pickering was the castle as head of both the Honour and Forest of Pickering, with both an implicit and explicit connection to the wapentake detailed above. A Mote Hall was detailed in the Inner Ward of the Castle in the sixteenth century, then reportedly in a ruinous state (Turton 1894: 27). The varied courts of Pickering were held here until a transfer of function to the adjacent chantry chapel by the mid-seventeenth century (*ibid*: 65). This Moot Hall was itself a fourteenth-century build, initially a residence for the Earls of Lancaster, and with one exception there is no anterior documentation specific to meetings within or near Pickering. This one instance dates from 1321, possibly contemporaneous with the

Moot Hall as a residence. In it one Nicholas petitioned "the King and Council at the Bridge of Pickering", seeking redress for false imprisonment and extortion by a former bailiff of Pickering (Turton 1896: 240). There is no way of telling if this was a recurrent venue, and indeed another court of Pickering is referred to later in the petition that could conceivably refer to a separate venue.

While it is clear that the town of Pickering itself marked the central focus of legal proceedings for the forest of Pickering, appurtenant courts did meet in other locations. Notably the first recorded Eyre of the Forest was in 1285 at Hackness in Whitby Strand, in essentially an attempt to adjudicate on the Forests of Pickering and Whitby Strand simultaneously (Turton 1895: xxxiii). When the next eyre for the Forest of Pickering commenced in 1334 it intermittently met at Hackness during the two years of these proceedings, in order to achieve much the same effect (Turton 1897: 6, 111). There is no particular reason to consider this a reflection of the two Forest Wards. One of the earliest inquisitions to take place outside Pickering was held at Levisham in 1251-2 and concerned land extents (Brown 1892: 31). Another inquisition was recorded at Snainton in 1265 (Turton 1896: 182).

Brompton formed a frequent venue for inquisitions appertaining to the Forest of Pickering during and after the period of the great Forest Eyre of 1334-1336. In this it was joined by Thornton and Ayton (Turton 1895: 28-32, 262, 277-279). Thornton meanwhile had also hosted an earlier inquisition in 1322 (Maxwell-Lyte 1916: 116). They are of a pattern with the recorded inquisitions dated at Pickering. Annual fairs were also held at Brompton and Seamer by the early fourteenth century (Turton 1894: 37, 93). In terms of market activity, the earliest grant of charter was to Pickering in 1201. In 1253 two further grants were recorded, to Brompton and Scarborough. Their disposition in relation to Pickering would suggest an attempt to effect an even distribution of market activity within the area of the wapentake (notwithstanding Scarborough's privilege as free of all dues).

Other forms of court may indicate older venues of assembly. Courts of Attachment

were specified for each of the wards, though it is unclear both where they met, and indeed whether they did even meet outside of Pickering. Accounts of the Forest record separate meetings by Ward in 1322 but these accounts were subsequently combined in 1325 (Turton 1897: 200-1). In the absence of a named location, there is little more to pursue in this instance. Bebingtons' Customs of the Forest of 1622 lists a court for the giving of oaths at the unlocated *Owdon* (Turton 1895: 3) while a Court of Presentment for the East Ward is not listed by location, but that it met on St Cecily's Day (*ibid*).

There is a more unusual form of assembly recorded in Pickering, though further details are hard to come by. A royal writ of 1323, confirming the proceedings of an inquisition at Pickering, was dated at a place called *Grenehowe* (Maxwell-Lyte 1916: 171). In the same year the Accounts for Pickering record payments made at "*Grenehou sur la More de Blakho*" (Turton 1896: 225). This itself would not be deemed sufficient to flag the location as an assembly site were it not for the 1301 muster of Pickering (not specifically the wapentake) at the Moor of Blakhou (Maxwell-Lyte 1898a: 1). There are several Blakey Moors in North Yorkshire. One candidate was recorded in the Forest of Spaunton, at the north-western edge of Pickering wapentake (Turton 1895: 266). There is a Blakey Moor some distance to the north-west of this region in Ryedale wapentake, and the cognate Black Hills immediate north of Spaunton, but a Green Howe cannot easily be identified.

Finally, there are two more decisive place-name attestations for assembly that could plausibly point to conciliar activity of a distinctly pre-Conquest flavour. Alas, in each case the location remains unidentified. One of the main items of business for the Eyre of the Forest of 1334 were reports of poaching. One instance describes a number of poachers dividing game from the Forest of Pickering at a place called *Motbridge* (Turton 1895: 279). This place lacks identification but is noted in relation to poaching in two places, *Frudbriscedale* and *Newtondale*. Newtondale can be identified, some 500 metres north-east of the village of Newton, though of course one can only presume that *Motbridge* was relatively nearby. Of *Frudbriscedale* there is no trace.

The Reverend J.C. Atkinson, in his preface to Turton's first volume of *The Honor and Forest of Pickering*, mentioned encountering a place-name, variously transcribed as *Markemode, Markmode, Markemot* and *Markmot*, in the vicinity of Wykeham (Atkinson 1894: xlix). He identified this with a field called Markhams on the border of the townships of Wykeham and Brompton. This field is itself unidentified, though may correspond to Blackhams (SE9549082397), that is indeed found between Wykeham and Brompton. Atkinson was in fact skeptical of this as an assembly site, instead following Pollock's assertion that it indicated only a meeting of boundaries (Pollock 1890: xlix). The place-name *Markemo*t itself has been identified in one instance, described as situated in the common fields of Wykeham and Ruston, adjacent to the land of the Prioress [of Wykeham Abbey] (Brown 1914: 202). This narrows it down no further than the immediate region of Wykeham and Ruston and thus all one can really indicate is that a *Markemot* was situated on or near the vale road running between Scarborough and Pickering, at the interface of the respective sokes of Pickering and Falsgrave. This is examined in further depth.

This leaves one in a position where there is relatively good circumstantial evidence for wide and plausibly early medieval assembly practices in *Dic*/Pickering wapentake, but in almost every case too poor a resolution of data to target any subsequent investigation. Thus, site based analysis is limited to the immediate area of the modern town of Pickering.

Pickering (DIC-1)

Location: SE79678414 (centred on Pickering)
Reason: Named venue of the wapentake

Etymology

See above

Historical Evidence

See above

Topography

The town of Pickering is found on the northern edge of the Vale of Pickering, at the interface with the North York Moors. From here the ground climbs up the Tabular Hills and thence to the medieval deer park at Blansby (Page 1912: 196). Pickering itself is situated at the mouth of a river valley incised in these uplands, through which runs Pickering Beck, before continuing southwards to Costa Beck and the river Derwent. The layout of Pickering at the time of the First Edition Ordnance Survey mapping strongly reflects the local topography, effecting a T-shape. The majority of the old town is aligned east-west, appropriately enough on the roads of Eastgate, Hungate and Westgate. Where the ground starts to rise, this is paralleled by Fosters Hill, Market Place and Smiddy Hill, just to the south of the church of St Peter and Paul. From here, Park Street and Burgate run north, following settlement on the eastern side of the valley to Pickering Castle. The western side was and is undeveloped by comparison, characterised by the remodelled rise and possible motte of Beacon Hill (see below).

This interface between the lowlands of the Vale and the North York Moors is

reflected in the underlying bedrock, comprising the Corallian limestones to the north and the West Walton clay formations to the south. As in the Yorkshire Wolds, this interface is marked by a number of springs. The town of Pickering is itself situated on the lacustrine clays in the Vale that also snake up through the valley of Pickering Beck. The western end of the town is further marked by glacial gravels. The dendritic character of the valley of Pickering Beck is reflected throughout the northern side of Pickering wapentake and up through the moors into Langbaurgh wapentake. The town of Pickering is situated at a fording point on a major communications line through the Vale of Pickering between Scarborough and Helmsley. It also marks the beginning of the north-easterly moorland road to Whitby and the low-lying old turnpike road south to Malton.

The town of Pickering is set within the township and parish of Pickering, which extends to include the other townships of Goathland, Kingthorpe, Newton and Marishes. This comprises a long and thin parish extending to both the northern and southern extents of the wapentake. This places Pickering in the southern half of the parish, and the south-eastern end of the wapentake as a whole. Despite this, one should note that is more centrally positioned with regard to the distribution of Domesday vills in the vale, not least due to the near absence of settlement recorded on the Moors in 1086. Considered in light of the Peculiar of the Dean of York recorded in 1291, this parish appears to comprise the western half of this territory, divided from Allerston, Ellerburn and Ebberston by the likewise thin and narrow parish of Thornton Dale.

Archaeological Evidence

The oldest standing fabric in Pickering is as ever the parish church. This building, dedicated to Saints Peter and Paul, boasts twelfth-century fabric, though there is strong evidence that it marks an earlier foundation (Pevsner 1966: 282-3). This includes a tenth- to eleventh century-cross fragment of Anglo-Scandinavian influence and the remains of a hogback of similar date (Lang 2001). More recently building

foundations were observed underneath the present church in the course of groundworks that may indicate the presence of an earlier building (Dennison 2007). Despite the presence of this church the most striking feature of Pickering remains the Castle, on the northern edge of the town. The visible stonework dates to the later twelfth century, exemplified by the wall of the Inner Ward (Cathcart King 1983: 522). It is thought to represent the rebuilding of an earlier motte with a timber palisade, though no physical traces of earlier architecture remain. As noted above the castle did play host to courts of the forest, though the only documentation specific about the venue is seventeenth century in date. This indicated that the ruined moot hall and, later, the adjacent chapel, had been used as court settings towards the end of the later medieval period (Turton 1894: 27, 65). The Moot Hall at least was not built until the fourteenth century, and even then acted initially as residential quarters.

A manor house is reported on the western edge of the town, adjacent to Keld Head, though no further details of this site are forthcoming. Further east towards Pickering Beck one finds Beacon Hill, remodelled to comprise a mound, bank and ditch. It has been proposed that this was once a siegework in relation to the better known castle of Pickering (Cathcart King 1983: 523). No siege is however recorded and this site desperately requires further investigation (NMR 2013: MON#60320). Brief note should be made of a partially cropmarked and earthworked sub-circular enclosure just east of Pickering Castle at SE80428416. Its function remains anomalous (NMR 2013: MON#1370351).

Aside from the sculptural fragments found in the church, further evidence of Anglo-Saxon sculpture has been found built into the wall of Low Hall within the settlement of Pickering itself (Lang 2001: 200). This faced upon Smiddy Hall, which itself lies adjacent to the south side of the churchyard. Further note should be made of a mid-Saxon long-brooch found at Keld Head on the ern extreme of the village in 1995 (PAS 2013: YORYM-A3F6F2). The PAS suggests this may have come from a disturbed grave, though no supporting evidence has yet been forthcoming. The NMR has further reported a “Viking brooch” from “the Pickering area” though again no details are

available (NMR 2013: MON#60316).

In the wider area, the transition between the Vale and the Moors is marked by a noticeable concentration of barrows and other associated prehistoric monumentality, though the nearest examples remain over one kilometre to the north of the present town. It is certainly worth noting that Romano-British material is almost entirely absent from the modern settlement of Pickering, with the exception of a late third-century coin, a strap end and a barbarous radiate (PAS 2013: LVPL-AB8811, NCL-754797, NCL-E58FA0). Rather than reflecting activity in Pickering itself, this metalwork would seem more likely to be an outlier to the greater concentration of Romano-British finds found in and around Middleton and Aislaby to the west. If one proceeds even further in this westerly direction one meets Wade's Causeway, the possible Roman road that crosses Riseborough Hill, thought to run between Amotherby and Whitby (Hayes and Rutter 1964). It has more recently been proposed as a collapsed prehistoric dyke (English Heritage 2013). If so, the connection with Cawthorn Camps shows that it was evidently still an important structuring influence in the Romano-British period (Wilson 2002: 859-66). At any rate, Pickering does not seem to be a prominent communications node in the Romano-British period. It is however found in close relation to Iron Age and Romano-British settlement on the moorland edge.

One site is of particular interest. This not only links Pickering to Iron Age and Romano-British settlement, but also to early Anglo-Saxon/post-Roman activity in the immediate region. The evidence for this comes from Newbridge Quarries, 1.5 kilometres north along Pickering Beck. Here suffuse evidence was found for a transitional late Iron Age to early Romano-British settlement aligned on a trackway (Signorelli and Roberts 2006; Richardson 2012). This was then supplanted in the immediate post-Roman period by a palisaded enclosure. Contemporary to this structure, a series of cremation deposits were inserted into the trackway ditches. These were accompanied by a small number of inhumations, though it is not clear whether they were contemporaneous. This would seem to create a slight impression

that Pickering area, prior the Conquest, was focused on the transitional moorland landscape. One must however note the comparative absence of archaeological interventions to the south of Pickering and the concomitant build-up of alluvial deposits in the Vale. Essentially, the spread of PAS material does indeed show Romano-British and early medieval metalwork concentrating on the northern spring-line communications route through the Vale. At Pickering, in contrast to the adjacent settlement of Middleton, what activity there is prior to the Conquest is instead focused within the moorland valley, rather than on the road. The earliest evidence for early medieval activity at the fording point of Pickering Beck comes instead from the tenth-century sculpture at Pickering church and Smiddy Hill. As such, one can in fact make a tentative argument for long-term early medieval settlement at Pickering, albeit one that witnessed a transfer in focus into the Vale towards the end of the period.

Maneshou/Ryedale Wapentake (MAN-0)

Etymology

The wapentake that became known as Ryedale was listed by a differing name in the pages of Domesday Book. Instead it is found once in each of the Main Entries, Claims and Summary as *Maneshou* (Faull and Stinson 1986: 320d, 373a, 380d). Both Smith and Anderson consider this to bear the Old Norse toponym *haugr*, or 'mound', attached to the personal name Man (Smith 1928: 42; Anderson 1934: 5). However while Smith considers both Anglian and Scandinavian derivations Anderson specified only Old Swedish and Danish derivations. There are no further occurrences of the term. The vills associated with *Maneshou* in the Domesday Summary are in almost all cases likewise linked in Kirkby's inquest with the wapentake of *Ridale* (Skaife 1867: 110). This name first appears as a wapentake in the Pipe Rolls of 1166, a debut it shares with the East Riding wapentakes of Harthill and Dickering (Maxwell-Lyte 1888: 48). Despite this it is found earlier as a territorial affix for Barton in c. 1125 (Hull History Centre 2013: U DDCA2/47/1). This has in turn been interpreted as meaning 'valley of the river Rye', utilising the Old Norse element *dalr* (Smith 1928: 42; Anderson 1934: 5; Mills 2003). It is of particular interest that the abbey of Rievaulx, first recorded in 1157, carries an Anglo-Norman synonym of the Rye Valley (Smith 1928: 73).

Historical Evidence

The wapentake of *Maneshou* appears as a brief subheading in the Main Entries of Domesday Book and as a jury in the Claims. This jury is seen to pontificate on the matter of tenure at Stonegrave within the wapentake. However the phrasing of the next two lines would appear to indicate that considerations of the same body extended to Sand Hutton further south in Bulmer and also to the lands of Hawarth of Stokesley in Allertonshire and Langbaurgh. It is less clear whether the subsequent entry for Sheriff Hutton, also in Bulmer, is likewise attached to this jury, but it is

certainly found under the same *Maneshou* sub-heading. This would suggest a number of possibilities. Firstly the *Maneshou* wapentake jury may have adjudicated on matters beyond the vills of the district. Secondly these claims could have been considered by a more diffuse body convened at York. Finally the ambiguity may merely by an illusory product of an imprecise Claims listing in Domesday Book. While imprecise headings are indeed a feature of the Yorkshire Domesday the unqualified phrasing of the verbs *testant* and *dicunt* are far less common and do suggest a link to the Stonegrave inquiry (*ibid*: 373a). Thus, a territorially integrated *Maneshou* jury must be treated with a degree of skepticism.

The Domesday wapentake of *Maneshou* (later Ryedale) is divided fairly evenly between the valley of the river Rye in the south and the southerly expanses of the Cleveland Hills and North York Moors to the north. The Rye valley effectively marks the western extent of the wider Vale of Pickering, divided from the so-named wapentake by the courses of the Costa Beck and river Derwent. The eastern border in the upper moors is instead marked for most of its course by the river Seven. The northern extent is defined by the crest of the moors. The upper part of the western perimeter instead follows the river Seph while respecting the perimeter of the valley basin of the upper Rye, which instead forms a discrete appendage to Allertonshire. The two rivers coincide west of Rievaulx Moor before the border extends westward again to cover Scawton Moor. It extends southward once more to the Howardian Hills, the crest of which defines the remainder of the southern border of the wapentake. It maintained most of its structural integrity in the later medieval period, though in the area bordering the Vale of Pickering, places such as Lastingham and Kirkby Misperton did changes hands.

The Domesday Summary for Ryedale Wapentake has two overbearing characteristics. The first is a general recapitulation running (roughly) east to west and the second is a division marked in the text between Nawton and Welburn. The Summary commences with holdings of the King, the Archbishop of York and Berenger of Tosny respectively. The first group comprises a discrete cluster of vills in the south-eastern

corner of the wapentake, the latter a similar grouping in the mid-western portion, with the Archbishop's lands sandwiched between. The Archbishop had evidently inherited lands from the pre-Conquest Ulf of Carlton; Tosny from varied sons of Karli, while the crown appears as a seeming landholder of default. It is notable that the aforementioned text-break occurs within Berenger's grouping and does not obviously seem to correspond to any change in tenure or geographical grouping. In fact a more compelling division between the eastern and western sides of the wapentake can be espied in the southern salient of the Summary between Spaunton and Barton-le-Street, that appears to abide by a solely geographical impulse. Subsequently there are no clear groupings of landholders but a definite tendency to deal with pairs of vills under identical tenure. The mid-western side of the wapentake is summarised, followed by the south-western corner. It is abundantly clear that no heed has been paid to pre or post-Conquest manorial groupings in the wapentake. This can be most clearly demonstrated by the manner in which the respective sokes of Hovingham and Kirby Moorside were dealt with in the Summary. Each was held prior to 1066 by Orm son of Gamal and subsequently by Hugh son of Baldric. Hovingham occupies the south of the wapentake and Kirby Moorside occupies the central belt. Many of the lands of each are not covered and those that are received piecemeal treatment. Instead it would appear that the wapentake has been divided into quarters. However, while tenure of the eastern sections has been consolidated, the same is certainly not true for the west. The Nawton-Welburn text break may, by its position, genuflect towards an east-west division. The two directly straddle the assembly-attesting site of *Spelcros* (**STX-1**) in Kirkdale and thus raise some very interesting possibilities for the information from the Summary. However for the time being one can only state that the Ryedale Summary was not produced in direct reference to the disposition of pre-Conquest estates.

Ryedale makes comparatively few appearances in available documentation before the end of the later medieval period. Most references encountered are those of territorial suffixes, e.g. *Appultone Rydale* and *Bertona in Riddala* (Hull History Centre 2013: U DDCA2/47/1; Riley and Walsingham 1869: 375). Each of these names later

switched to the –le-Street suffix while Appleton was also associated at an early point with the anomalous district of *Holdlythe* (**DIC-0**). It at least demonstrates that Ryedale was conceived as a territory of sorts prior to both the foundation of Rievaulx and the 1166 Pipe Roll accounts. Page considers the wapentake to have remained unalienated from the crown (1914: 460). Two inquisitions, at Kirby Moorside in 1288 and Hovingham in 1297, uphold this view, stating that Gilbert de Luda and subsequently Roger de Mowbray held the wapentake of the king (Brown 1898: 75; 1902: 76). In 1314 Nicholas de Meynell was described as the *custos* of Cleveland, Blackhowe Moore, Ryedale, Bulmer and Birdforth (De Walden and Evelyn Scott-Ellis 1904: 176). In combination with the grouping of Ryedale with Bulmer and Birdforth in the earlier Kirkby's Inquest of 1284-5 this would appear to emphasise its position within a group of royal, as opposed to proprietary administrative districts (Skaife 1867: 110). This grouping may be reflected in the intermingling of vills appurtenant to the abbey in Ryedale and Birdforth found in the Rievaulx Chartulary (Atkinson 1889: 7). Ryedale was also manifest as a deanery. In 1160x1185 St Peter's, York, demanded tithes off the parishioners of the said deanery, with defaulters ordered to present themselves before the door of the church in York (Farrer 1914: 162).

The earliest record of the venue of the wapentake court is comparatively late. In 1318 the Patent Rolls describe how one John de Berdesdene was assaulted "in the full wapentake [of *Ridale*] at *Slengesby* [Slingsby]" by the Lord of Slingsby while he was prosecuting his suit (Maxwell-Lyte 1903: 303). His greyhound was stolen and the court adjourned while John sought shelter in the church until his rescue by "men of the country" (*ibid*). Perversely, the only earlier entry is of the bailiff of Helmsley preventing a wapentake court from being convened at Harome at an unspecified date (Page 1914: 460). By the end of the later medieval period it is evident that quarter sessions were accustomed to take place in Helmsley and Malton (Atkinson 1884: passim). Earlier, inquisitions are dated at Kirby Moorside [1288], Hovingham [1298] and Nunnington [1324] while the combined deanery chapter of Ryedale and Pickering met at Helmsley in 1160x1174 (Brown 1898: 75; 1902: 76; 1897: 55n; Clay 1952: 217). The Inquisition at Hovingham is of particular interest for it outlines the

range of conciliar obligations attached to the manor. Thus one learns that the lord of the manor was expected to attend the County Court at York every six weeks and only once a year at each of the courts of the North Riding and the Ryedale wapentake. It is difficult to estimate how applicable this template is to the wider study area. While attendance at Harthill wapentake was likewise paced annually, suit of court for the wapentake of Holderness was expected every three weeks (Brown 1902: vii). Page reports that further court leets were held for liberties at Barton-le-Street, Helmsley, Hovingham, Malton, Stonesgrave, St Mary's York, Byland Abbey and St Peter's York (1914: 460). The court for Hovingham was specifically listed as a 'Hallemote' court (Brown 1902: 76).

A number of toponyms relate to plausible sites of assembly in Ryedale. The mound to which *Maneshou* presumably referred in Domesday remains a mystery. The succeeding toponym of Ryedale very clearly refers to a district rather than a particular location. That the territorial suffix pre-dates the foundation of Rievaulx removes the abbey site as a tentative possibility. Malton was proposed by Smith as a formulation of the Old English elements *maeðel-tun* for 'speech/discussion village', a compound that would certainly demand further investigation (1928: 43). This was stated in preference to the Old Norse *meðel* for 'middle', though following the intervention of Ekwall, Smith recanted in favour of the Scandinavian approach (cf Ekwall 1929: 28-9). 'Middle town' is thus beyond the scope of the present inquiry. This leaves two assembly-attesting elements located in Ryedale. The first is *Spelcros* (**STX-1**), a location documented in the Rievaulx chartulary that has been identified with Stony Cross, the base of which survives some 600 metres north of Wombleton at the very centre of the wapentake (Atkinson 1889: 41,285; Cooper 1887: 19; Hayes 1988: 54; Allison 2011: 33-4). The second and final one is that of a *Mothow*, recorded in Hovingham in the early fourteenth century (Allison 2011: 38). The over-riding impression is of a loose conciliar organisation in the later medieval period that was ultimately beholden to York. As the market towns of Helmsley and Malton grew in importance so functionality was drawn towards them. In the present study Slingsby, Stony Cross and Hovingham will receive enhanced attention.

Slingsby (MAN-1)

Location: SE69677497 (centred on church in Slingsby)
Reason: Historically documented venue of the wapentake

Etymology

The settlement of Slingsby appears in Domesday Book in two forms – *Selungesbi* and *Eslingesbi* (Faull and Stinson 1986: 305d, 327d, 380d). Smith has solved the name as 'Sleng's farm' from the Old Norse personal name *Slengr* (1928: 48-9).

Historical Evidence

The Yorkshire Summary records Slingsby as a possession of the Count of Mortain (Faull and Stinson 1986: 380d). This accords in the Main Entries with a holding of 14 carucates acquired from two un-named thegns who held the land in separate manors (*ibid*: 305d). However, Slingsby is also separately described as a berewick of the manor of Hovingham, a possession of Hugh son of Baldric derived from the pre-Conquest Orm son of Gamal (*ibid*: 327d). In contrast, Hovingham and its holdings are absent from the Summary in a similar fashion to the treatment meted out to the manor of Kirby Moorside in the central belt of the wapentake.

Subsequently Slingsby makes but rare appearances in later medieval administrative affairs. The church itself was granted to the Abbey of Whitby in 1164x1172 (Farrer 1914: 229; Atkinson 1879: 81-2). The *Placita de Quo Warranto* reports that William Wyvill claimed i*nfangetheof* at Slingsby in 1276 though more interestingly it was found necessary to forbid his court from overseeing cases without its jurisdiction (Page 1914: Caley 1818: 219). In 1301, twenty five years after the findings of the *Quo Warranto*, an inquisition was made at Slingsby into the extent of the manor (Brown 1902: 151-2). Crucially no mention was made of a court or its profits. Instead it was described as a capital messuage worth twenty shillings (*ibid*). This was perceived as

a low amount due to the money required for the upkeep of buildings at the manor. This is certainly an unusual phrase (and justification therein) but its significance remains opaque. After this comes the better known mention of the attack on John de Berdesdene at the wapentake court in Slingsby and his subsequent flight into the church. No further courts or evidence of conciliar practices are recorded.

Topography

The settlement of Slingsby is found to the east of Hovingham in a very similar topographic situation, overshadowed by the rising slopes of Slingsby Heights on the Howardian Hills, before the ground drops again in the south to Slingsby Moor. The layout of the town in the mid-nineteenth century shows two main streets oriented north-south some distance askew from one another. Between the two there is a substantial village green. The lower of the two is bookended to the north by the church of All Saints and to the south by the Roman road running between Hovingham and Malton (Margary 1973: 423-4). The upper street is demarcated to the south by the moated site of Wyvill Hall, and extended north to the railway line. Page (1914: 557) indicates that this northerly appendage was a relatively late development. The Wath Beck flows in a north-easterly direction just north of the churchyard and eventually into the main channel of the river Rye. As elsewhere in Ryedale the underlying geology effects a transition between the lowland West Walton Formation and the slopes defined by the Corallian limestones. Slingsby, as previously mentioned, is found on the Roman road connecting Hovingham and Malton. The main southerly track continues through the discontinuous linear dyke on the south side of Slingsby Back Wood before continuing across Slingsby Moor to Coneysthorpe. To the north, paths extend across the floodplain to Slingsby Carr and East Ness. Slingsby is situated centrally in the single township parish of the same name. It is on the central southern border of Ryedale wapentake and effectively straddles lowland and hill-slope in equal measure.

Archaeological Evidence

The archaeological evidence from the immediate surrounds of Slingsby would appear to show occupation and other activity stretching back at least into the Bronze Age. Ultimately this disposition is likely a product of both topography and taphonomy. Cropmark evidence from the Howardian hill-slopes will have been exposed to less plough activity and less sedimentation than the floodplain to the north. Slingsby is also on a natural communication route (and Roman road) running along the interface between the hillside and the Rye valley. There is indeed a concomitant increase in the density of monument records along this strip. There is also reason to believe Slingsby itself to be a long-term focus of occupation, joining Hovingham and Malton in the further reaches of antiquity.

Little of the later medieval period remains in the present village. Slingsby Castle is a seventeenth-century ruin, though it appears to rest upon a plausibly earlier moat (Emery 1996: 421-2). The site of Wyville Hall, positioned on the opposite side of the village green, lacks any visible traces (Eastmead 1824: 239-240). Page (1914: 558) reported the earthworks of a moat at this location, though Le Patourel (1973: 120-1) was unable to find any trace. The church of All Saints is likewise problematic having been rebuilt in the later nineteenth century. Incorporated fabric from the earlier structure appears to date to the thirteenth century (Pevsner 1966: 346). As a result later medieval Slingsby is best viewed from above, a layout strongly suggestive of a planned roadside settlement.

Better evidence actually exists for the early medieval period at Slingsby. An evaluation at Green Dyke Lane, 700 metres to the east of the present village, uncovered early medieval settlement traces in the early 1990s (Stephens 1991). It was also 250 metres east of a complex of prehistoric barrows. These are interesting not only because they appear to demonstrate the clustering of a square barrow cemetery around a smaller group of seemingly earlier round barrows (*ibid*: 156-7; NMR 2013: MON#1028278, MON#59948), but also because they seem to demonstrate the congregation of smaller east-west aligned grave-pits on the

selfsame round barrows (*ibid*: MON#1028279). It was noted that the grave-pits were often too close together to represent the central graves of destroyed barrows. This may be a site of very long term mortuary practice, dividing an early medieval settlement site to the east from the later medieval and present day location of Slingsby that may have succeeded it. The one early medieval PAS report for Slingsby is of a sixth- to seventh-century sleeve-clasp – better locational information is unavailable (PAS 2013: YORYM-CF6CA6).

Further cropmarks of potential round barrows are known from the west side of Slingsby and a linear dyke has been identified running through both the modern settlement and the eastern barrow cemetery (NMR 2013: MON#932461, MON#932496; MON#932446). As mentioned earlier, cropmark evidence of possible Roman or Iron Age date is spread along the base of the hills. Attention is nonetheless worth giving to a massive penannular enclosure or trackway that dominates Barton-le-Street 1.5 kilometres to the east. It consists of double, triple, and in some cases quadruple ditches. At each end it terminates at the Roman road, curving up to encompass the hillside directly above Barton-le-Street. Dating such a unique structure is obviously problematic. Barton-le-Street is associated with a Bronze Age palstave (Elgee and Elgee 1933: 244), cropmarks of round barrows (Riley 1974: 156-7), Iron Age/Romano-British enclosures (NMR 2013: MON#1028267, MON#1031419), Romano-British pottery (*ibid*: MON#59902), Anglo-Saxon sculpture (Lang 2001), an eighth- to ninth-century pin (PAS 2013: SWYOR-6C9765) and copious earthworks of the shrunken medieval village, which extend almost exclusively to the north of the Roman road. Nothing is in intimate or profound association aside from perhaps the position of the road. Interpreting the functionality of a poorly defensible massive enclosure also has many problems. It is noted here as a highly unusual novelty within the immediate ambit of a documented site of a later medieval wapentake assembly. As to the assembly itself, the account of the early fourteenth century would suggest close proximity to the church at Slingsby. There is no obvious venue to point to. The settlement is in very close proximity to cropmark evidence for the possible early medieval re-use of a barrow cemetery. Slingsby is also relatively near a highly unusual

enclosure to the east. Analysis must restrict itself in this case to a wider regional view.

Bulmer/*Bolesford* Wapentake (BOL-0)

Etymology

The Domesday wapentake name appears consistently as *Bolesforde* in the main entries and the Summary (Faull and Stinson 1986: 320d, 380d). It receives no further mention as a wapentake but the name does persist, described as *molendinum de ponte de Buleforda* in a confirmation of Pope Eugenius III to the hospital of St Peter in York in 1148 (Farrer 1914: 150). The name *Buleforda* appears again in 1156/7 (*ibid*: 271) and has latterly been traced as *Buleford*, *Bulford* and Bulford Tofts, 1.4 kilometres south-west of West Lilling (Swan *et al* 1993: 14-7). Both Smith and Anderson identify the elements as the Old English *bula-ford* or 'bull ford' (1928: 13; Anderson 1934: 6). Meanwhile Bulmer is found in Domesday Book in the forms *Bolemere* and *Boleber* with later forms stabilising into variants on Bulmer and *Bulemer* (Faull and Stinson 1986: 306a, 380d; Smith 1928: 8). Smith and Anderson again concur, interpreting it as *bula-mere* or 'bull pond' (*ibid*: Anderson 1934: 6). It is certainly noteworthy that the former and subsequent wapentake names share the same first element. Swan *et al* (1993: 19) have in fact proposed that the *bula* element may instead reference a personal name and thus indicate a substantial link between the former and subsequent wapentake site. This idea has much in common with Alexander Bugge's notion of a clustering personal name (1904: 289), indicative of an important person in the antiquity of a given area. Anderson gives as an example Buckrose and Bugthorpe in the East Riding (1934: xxxix) but in all these cases there is no clear way to test the proposition.

Historical Evidence

The wapentake of Bolesford (hereafter Bulmer) is relatively well-defined considering its position in a lowland environment. Its western flank is delimited by the course of the rivers Ouse between York and Myton-upon-Swale. It then matches the course of the river Swale upstream as far as Thornton Bridge. The northerly border with

Birdforth wapentake is relatively poorly defined but the border with Ryedale in the north-east is marked by the Howardian Hills. This ceases at the interface with the Derwent south-west of Malton. This river then structures the eastern boundary of the wapentake as far as Stamford Bridge. After this point the Roman road between York and Malton marks the remainder of the perimeter.

The wapentake of *Bolesforde* appears in Domesday Book as a district and sub-heading – there is no indication of a specific location with the same name (Faull and Stinson 1986: 320d, 380d). This however is its last mention as a wapentake. In the 1166 Pipe Rolls a false claim was noted in the wapentake of *Bulem' sur* (Pipe Roll Society 1988: 49). This name is associated in Kirkby's Inquest with almost all the vills listed under Bolesford in Domesday Book (Skaife 1867: 107-9). While *Bulmershire* is an archaic variant, Bulmer wapentake persisted until the mid-nineteenth century. Bulmer also appears prior to this in Domesday Book, as the head of a manor on the eastern side of Bolesford wapentake. In the first case it is linked with Stittenham and assessed at 15 carucates. The tenure (and two manors) of Ligulf and Northmann had been acquired by the Count of Mortain and subinfeudated to Nigel Fossard (*ibid*: 306a). It possessed a priest and a church and while it had witnessed a drop in value it was by no means waste. In the next line of text four vills are described as situated within the soke of this manor (*ibid*). It is not clear whether this was meant to single out one of Bulmer or Stittenham. It is more likely the former as later on in the same page a further group of five vills are listed as sokeland of Bulmer (*ibid*). As such it evidently comprised a manor of significant extent at the time of the Domesday Survey.

The first part of the Summary for Bulmer wapentake reflects the tensions between pre-Conquest and post-Conquest tenure in the wapentake. Between Low Hutton and Thornton-le-Clay there is a perceptible attempt to list holdings by their present lords, thus entries one to four ostensibly concern the possessions of Berenger of Tosny and five to twenty those of the Count of Mortain. However in each case the order is beholden to pre-Conquest norms. The fourth entry, Scackleton, was not in the hand

of Tosny but is positioned as such due to its former ownership by Gamal as part of the manor of Dalby, a possession that Berenger de Tosny did hold. Likewise Hildenley appears in the initial Mortain listing due to a link with Mortain's possession of Wiganthorpe, each of which was in the prior control of one Cnut. The geographical disposition of the Summary up to Thornton-le-Clay is one of numerous vacillations without a clear pattern. With Crambe this changes and a distinct southerly trajectory is witnessed, without reference to a river or other structuring topographical element. This transition also marks a change to possessions of the King from a number of pre-Conquest lords. Essentially it appears that there has been a shift in the rationale from a tenurial to a geographical order. After Holtby the Summary again reorganises into smaller tenurial groupings between the Archbishop and the Count of Mortain before recapitulating a highly dispersed group (Huntington to Foston) seemingly connected to the pre-Conquest lord Earl Morcar. At Stillington the Summary crosses to the western side of the wapentake more decisively before listing the sokelands of Easingwold and then the manor itself. Between Raskelf and Inglethwaite it concerns a small group before commencing with a list of the Archbishop's holdings on the western side of Bulmer wapentake. The Bulmer Summary finishes with the dispersed holdings of the Count of Mortain and Count Alan, which are scattered throughout the wapentake as a whole. The Summary for Bulmer wapentake is complex and it would be dangerous to infer too much from a geographical comparison of the Summary and Main Entries. Two points however are reasonably uncontroversial. The first is that there is a division in the Summary between the western and eastern halves of the wapentake. Interestingly, the division that Maxwell indicated in the Bulmer Summary text – between Cold Kirby and Easingwold – does not reflect this (1960: 87). Instead it appears to mark the division between the sokeland and the manorial caput of Easingwold. The second point is that this division is reflected in the dominant manors; these being Bulmer and Easingwold. Dalton has elsewhere described Easingwold as a wapentake manor of Bulmer (2002: 67). It may that, at the time of the Domesday Survey, there were two.

The wapentake appears to have been a possession of the crown though tenure does

not appear to have been entirely straightforward (Page 1923: 84). In 1252 an inquisition at the County Court of York ruled illegal Peter de Savoy's recent appropriation of Bulmer wapentake into his liberty of Richmondshire (Brown 1892: 34). Certainly by 1293 it was described as a crown possession (Brown 1897: 70 n1). Between these two dates however a complicating factor had arisen with regard to the manor of Easingwold. The Hundred Rolls of 1276 report that this had been granted to the Duchy of Lancaster, though it is unclear how this related to the working of the wapentake (Caley 1812: 117). In the *Nomina Villarum* of 1316 Easingwold is rated alongside the wapentake and forest of Pickering, also in the hands of the aforesaid Duchy (Skaife 1867: 327). William Page records that this controversy continued into the seventeenth century (1923: 83/4) but the status of the manor was evidently also an issue at the time. Thus in 1293 the Yorkshire Assizes bore witness to a jury of the wapentake of Bulmer who attested that the manor and its possessions were crown lands of ancient demesne (Brown 1897: 70-78 16n). Furthermore the lay subsidy of 1301 does list Easingwold under the heading of Bulmer wapentake (*ibid*). This at least demonstrates ambiguity in categories of holding to the late thirteenth- and early fourteenth-century coroners, if not a reflection of day to day administrative activity. One should also note that the wapentake was characterised by a significant number of smaller ecclesiastical liberties, no doubt a function of its proximity to the city of York (Caley 1812: 117). In 1314 Nicholas de Meynell was listed as *custos* of a group of wapentakes, including Ryedale, Birdforth and Bulmer and this would seem to affirm crown overlordship into the fourteenth century (De Walden and Evelyn Scott-Ellis 1904: 176). The link between Easingwold and Pickering is likely a link between the Forest of Galtres and the Forest of Pickering, of which the former defined the western half of Bulmer wapentake. If there is a link between the establishment of forest law and the shift in wapentake site the manorial centre at Bulmer would constitute a relatively central and accessible assembly point in the eastern part of the wapentake, outside of the bounds of forest law (cf Swan *et al* 1993: 25). It would also mean that one is looking at an assembly site whose location has been dictated by post-Conquest realities.

The wapentake boasts a relative wealth of references to the business of its jury. However none of these are located in the wapentake itself and almost all are set in the County Court of York. In 1271 in York a jury of Bulmer wapentake agreed that the manor of Holtby was quit of wapentake suit (Brown 1892: 118). A few years later in 1275 another jury of Bulmer was called to adjudicate on the matter of a meadow abutting the walls of the city of York and whether it was or was not a possession of the Crown (*ibid*: 155). At various times at York it was called to consider a number of inquisitions post-mortem and was one of four wapentakes in 1344/5 to attest as to whether the manor of Helmsley owed suit to the riding court of *Yarlescros*, a synonym for *Gerlestre* (Maxwell-Lyte 1908b: 103; 1912: 16; 1913: 333). Indeed Kirkby's Inquest states that Knights' Fees in Bulmer were determined in a court at York (Skaife 1867: 378). The sole mention of a jury of Bulmer outside York is found in relation to a court of pleas at Thirsk in 1362 (Puttnam 1939: 133). While John de Bulmer did claim the assize of beer and *infangetheof* in Bulmer, this merely pertained to the local court for Bulmer and Welburn (Caley 1818: 208).

It is entirely plausible that proximity to the County Court had radically diminished the importance of attendance at a wapentake court in or near the village of Bulmer. There is also the possibility that much of the business transacted found itself or was placed under the aegis of forest law in Galtres and by extension to the ancient demesne manor of Easingwold. However this does not explain the shift in name (and presumably venue) from Bolesford to Bulmer. In 1086 Bolesford (by way of Bulford Tofts) seems not only to be central to the wapentake but also on the border of the two halves, defined respectively by the estates of Easingwold and Bulmer. Once Easingwold had been co-opted into the forest of Galtres Bulmer was well-positioned and dominant within the remaining jurisdiction of the wapentake. This would seem the most likely answer to the question of a shift. Paul Dalton has referred to Easingwold as a wapentake manor of Bolesford wapentake (2002: 100) but it would seem more likely that there were for a time two manors in tension, with the river crossing at Bolesford set in the middle. The deanery that encompassed Bulmer, Birdforth and part of Ryedale was known as *Bulmerschire* by at least 1238 (Atkinson

1889: 136). There is a related question as to whether Bulmer was an active or a symbolic wapentake focus but consideration of this requires the somewhat perverse weighing up of differing absences of evidence.

Bolesford (BOL-1)

Location: SE63026489 (centred on field-name)
Reason: Named venue of the wapentake

Etymology

See above

Historical Evidence

Bolesforde receives no further mention as a wapentake after Domesday. The *molendinum de ponte de Buleforda* is mentioned in an 1148 confirmation of Pope Eugenius III (Farrer 1914: 150) and the same place is mentioned again in a grant of three carucates to the Abbey of St Mary in York in 1156/7 (*ibid*: 271). It is mentioned again as *Buleford* in 1300 and 1316 in boundary perambulations of the Forest of Galtres (Swan *et al* 1993: 14). These would indicate that the site was situated alongside the river Fosse. Smith has suggested that it was in Strensall parish (1928: 8) while Anderson had suggested that it was roughly a mile east of the Sutton-Farlington road (1934: 6). More recently an intense study of the area by Vivien Swan, Bridgett Jones and Damian Grady (1993) has placed especial attention on a parcel of land by the river Fosse called Bulford Tofts. This was first mentioned in Forest proceedings of 1285/6 (*ibid*: 15) and can be traced through survey maps of the mid-seventh and mid-eighteenth centuries as well as the First Edition Ordnance Survey mapping. It accords with Anderson's hypothesis and also with an earlier description in the 1540s of *Bowfurthe Mill*, located 60 roods upstream of Sheriff Hutton Bridge (*ibid*: 14). The mid eighteenth-century pre-enclosure survey indicates a Mill Holm and a Mill Race west of this bridge and this evidence has been used to suggest that *Buleforda Mill* and its accompanying bridge were located at SE63116483 (NMR 2013: MON#919090). There are no recorded assemblies or assembly-related activities associated with this site. Archaeological analysis has proceeded with consideration

to the larger area of Bulford Tofts.

Topography

The proposed site of *Buleforda* mill and bridge is situated on the north bank of the river Foss 360 metres upstream of Sheriff Hutton Bridge. Bulford Tofts meanwhile pertains to an area circa 0.4km^2 directly south of this bridge, bounded to the west by the Sheriff Hutton-Strensall road and the north by the Foss. The fording point is situated on transitional ground between the Vale of York and the most southerly of the crests of the Howardian Hills (represented by Mount Pleasant). It is overlooked by Sheriff Hutton situated on the eastern side of the Mount Pleasant ridge. Upstream of the mill site the Foss follows the base of the slope along before climbing into the hills. Bulford Tofts is situated on slightly raised ground adjacent to the river. Furthermore the shape of this parcel of land appears to have been determined by the raised ground. Each of the Bulford toponyms are found atop lacustrine deposits in line with elsewhere in the Vale of York. The Howardian slopes to the north are defined by the Lias group limestones. The mill site is not connected to any extant communication routes in the First Edition Ordnance Survey mapping or later. The Tofts site is adjacent to the Sheriff-Hutton-Strensall road.

The administrative geography would indicate an unusual relationship between the townships of West Lilling, Lilling Green and Sheriff Hutton, all within the parish of Sheriff Hutton. The mill site is in an intermixed township of Lilling Green and Sheriff Hutton, yet the Tofts site is encompassed by an appendage of commensurate extent that protrudes from West Lilling township on the north side of the bank into the aforementioned intermixed township, found largely on the southern side of the Foss. This is highly unusual and bespeaks a certain significance to the Tofts. In the late thirteenth century it was described as an assart of Sutton-in-the-Forest – it is therefore likely that the present morphology was derived after this date (Swan *et al* 1993: 15). Despite this each are still found on the border with the parish of Sutton-on-the-Forest. The Bolesford sites are located in the northern central part of the

wapentake within the rural deanery of Bulmer and archdeaconry of Cleveland.

Archaeological Evidence

There is no archaeological material directly related to the proposed site of the mill. There are however two cropmarks of tracks, one at SE634632 and another at SE637641 that appear to lead to an interface with the Foss at SE636644 (Swan *et al* 1993: 21). Swan *et al* have pointed out that this accords with a hedge-line and parish boundary directly north of this interface and may represent an earlier crossing (*ibid*: 22). After crossing the river this course would presumably meet the York to Thirsk Roman road that runs through West Lilling (Margary 1973: 431-3). The NMR also points out that the southern course of the cropmark track appears to lead to Strensall (NMR 2013: MON#918528).

There is further excavated and cropmark material either side of the Foss to indicate activity at this point. Swan *et al* placed some stress upon a complex series of cropmarked enclosures to the south-east of Bulford Tofts. Morphologically of Iron Age/Romano-British date, the associated finds of fourth-century Romano-British pottery would suggest that occupation coincided with this time (Swan *et al* 1993: 20). At the time of Swan *et al*'s study, this was the only proximate focus of activity in relation to Bulford Tofts and a hypothesis was formed of this as a Romano-British estate centre that had engendered an unobserved corollary in the early medieval period. A 'multiple estate' was suggested, from which a Bolesford assembly had emerged (*ibid*: 22). Arguably more caution should be applied to the notion of long-term continuity with regard to hundredal and wapentake foci. Also, with the publication of Catherine Stoertz's survey of cropmarks in the Yorkshire Wolds (1997), this form of cropmark complex should not be considered novel enough to be treated as an estate centre. Subsequently, features were identified in Bulford Tofts that indicated a number of small field boundaries, enclosures and pits (NMR 2013: MON#1183073). They are undated, of unknown function and in keeping with the wider cropmark corpus of agricultural activity in this part of Yorkshire. North of

Bulford Tofts there is a more definite concentration of activity. Cropmarks of a ring ditch and a square enclosure have been noted directly east of the road adjacent to Sheriff Hutton Bridge. Some 750 metres east of the bridge, an evaluation by On-Site Archaeology has uncovered masonry walls, hypocaust tiles and painted plaster that would appear to indicate a villa complex (Burnham *et al* 2000: 396). One of the few PAS reports in the area comes from this site and notes the recovery of a third-century Roman coin (PAS 2013: YORYM-7079E5).

This evidence would tentatively favour a focus on the crossing in the Romano-British period. As for subsequent eras there is nothing of any character prior to the aforementioned historical documentation. The PAS reports a worn and undated styca from Sheriff Hutton but this comprises the sum of the early medieval material in the area (PAS 2013: YORYM571). It would appear that Bolesford is yet another early medieval assembly site without any clear archaeological association with the early medieval period. It remains to rehearse Swan *et al*'s proposal with regard to the transition from Bolesford to Bulmer. It seems unlikely that the two are linked in terms of the element *bula* as they appear in Domesday Book (cf *ibid*: 19). Swan *et al* also frame the transition in terms of long-term agricultural shrinkage in the post-Roman era. This links the potency of the assembly site to the viability of the hypothesised estate centre. This assumes too much about the functioning of the assembly site and does so in relation to what is now a more dubious attribution of function to a cropmark complex. However the prominence of the manors of Easingwold and Bulmer in Domesday Book would lend Bulmer pre-eminence in the selfsame wapentake if the western half and Easingwold had been encompassed within the jurisdiction of the Forest of Galtres (Swan *et al* 1993: 25). While Bolesford does appear to fulfil several of the tropes – a communications node central to the district, Bulmer is none of these things. This would seem to favour a post-Conquest date for the transition rather than a shift to one of several already viable early medieval wapentake sites.

Bulmer (BOL-2)

Location: SE69936760 (centred on the settlement)
Reason: Named venue of the later medieval wapentake

Etymology

See above

Historical Evidence

At the time of the Domesday Inquest, Bulmer was the head of a manor with ten outliers, occupying a large portion of the north-eastern part of the wapentake. No courts or markets are recorded at Bulmer. In 1293 John de Bulmer claimed the assize of bread and ale and *infangetheof* in Bulmer and Welburn (Caley 1818: 208). Neither of these necessarily indicate the presence of a regular court. Any further consideration of Bulmer must proceed from an archaeological perspective.

Topography

The village of Bulmer is found on one of the southerly crests of the Howardian Hills, on an amorphous promontory bounded to the west by Bulmer Beck and to the east by the river Derwent. The promontory is L-shaped, and curves around Bulmer Haggs on its central-southern flank. To the north it is defined by the relative lowlands of Bulmer and Welburn Moors. It is very clearly not situated in significant proximity to a mere, though a small pond is found to the south of the church. The village is organised around a single street, orientated north-east – south-west. It stops some 300 metres to the north-east of the end of the promontory, a minor crest known as The Riggs on the First Edition Ordnance Survey mapping. The church is situated centrally within the village, leading one to suspect that the north-eastern part of the village represents a later extension. The course of the main street deviates with

respect to the boundary of the church, indicating that the continuance of the street at least post-dates the churchyard boundary. It is just over 600 metres to the east of Bulmer Bridge where it crosses Bulmer Beck.

The promontory is defined by an outcrop of the Ravenscar sandstones of the Howardian Hills, overlying the Lias formation lime and sandstones that define much of the lower slopes in the transitional area adjacent to the Vale of York. Bulmer is connected to the east with Welburn and across the bridge to the west with Stittenham and beyond that Sheriff Hutton. The course of Wandales Lane to the south would suggest that the footpath to Foston is of some age. Bulmer is situated in the township and parish of the same name that extends to Welburn and Henderskelfe. It is located in the central north-eastern part of the wapentake within the deanery of Bulmer and archdeaconry of Cleveland.

Archaeological Evidence

The manor house, which does not survive, was described by Page as adjacent to the church (1923: 107). This latter, dedicated to St Martin, boasts fabric in its nave of eleventh-century date, around the time of the Conquest (Pevsner 1966: 92). Taylor and Taylor adjudge it to be transitional (1965: 116-7). Pevsner had earlier suggested that a fragment of a wheel cross above the blocked north door was Anglo-Saxon in date (1966: 92). However Lang's recent survey of the early medieval sculpture of North Yorkshire firmly places it in the twelfth century (2001: 291). Romano-British pottery was reported during building work in Bulmer though no specific details survive (NMR 2013: MON#58379). More intriguing are two Anglo-Saxon long brooches found in Bulmer at some point before 1912 (Page 1912: 100). Meaney considers these to derive from a mortuary context in the mid-sixth century (1964: 283). There are no further traces of early medieval activity in Bulmer or the surrounding area. The NMR depicts a Roman road connecting Bulmer and Malton. This, Margary number 815, has largely been inferred from a raised agger at Brandreth Farm to the north and further traces at Easthorpe House on the road west of Malton

(Margary 1969: 424). It is somewhat problematic, for the agger at Brandreth Farm is in fact orientated north-east – south-west on a trajectory that would instead meet with Bulmer Bridge. While the road could certainly change course the Romano-British pottery in Bulmer does not make a compelling case for a node on the Roman road network. It should be noted that five bronze libation dishes were recovered from Stittenham Hill on the opposite side of the Beck in the mid-nineteenth century. This may warrant a more plausible focus of Romano-British activity (Oldfield 1868: 325-332). In fact the greatest density of Romano-British activity is 1.5 kilometres to the south-east in the vicinity of the pottery kilns near Welburn (e.g. NMR 2013: MON#59663).

The settlement of Bulmer is not situated at a vital communications node or a distinct landmark, nor is it characterised by a distinct early medieval assemblage. The historical evidence would suggest that this was purely an assembly of post-Conquest date. Despite that, Domesday Book would strongly indicate that this was an estate centre in the latter days of the Anglo-Saxon period and the churchyard would appear to pre-date at least part of the town plan.

Gerlestre/Birdforth Wapentake (GERL-0)

Etymology

The wapentake of *Gerlestre* is mentioned on three occasions in Domesday Book (Faull and Stinson 1986: 323a, 327b, 381c). It receives no further mention as a wapentake although the variant *Yarlestre* (also *Yarnestre*) appears as the name of the Riding Court for the North Riding in the later thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries (Farrer 1915: 147; Maxwell-Lyte 1913a: 609; Rose and Illingworth 1811: 338). Anderson has also cited an instance of *Yarlescros* (1934: 7). Smith suggests that this name is derived from the Old English *eorles-treow* or 'earl's tree', under influence from the cognate Old Norse term *jarl* (1928: 79). Anderson has indicated that the toponym could also be entirely of Scandinavian construction – instead *jarl-tre* (1934: 7). The toponym is lost though it has been speculated, with little evident support, that the Forest of Galtres may preserve the name (Turner 1901: 85).

The wapentake is better known by its subsequent and present name, Birdforth. This name it shares with a village in the parish of Coxwold in the central southern part of the wapentake. Birdforth appears neither as the name of a district nor as a settlement in the pages of Domesday Book. The earliest reference is likely to a *Bruchewrche scire* mentioned in the pages of the *Liber Vitae* of Durham (Raine 1841: 77). This may date to 1088, if not to the first years of the twelfth century. It is described as the wapentake of *Brudeford* in the Pipe Rolls of 1166 and after this point all references are to variants including *Birdford* and, of course, Birdforth (Pipe Roll Society 1988: 49; Gill 1852: 325). While the second element undoubtedly indicated a ford the first element posed problems for Smith. He considered that it may have been a personal name, e.g. Old English *brudda* or the Old Norse *bruðr*, or that it was derived from the Old English *bryd*, or 'bride' (Smith 1928: 190). It may have been a fording point associated with a particular person or else within the purview of an undocumented marital custom. The latter option was certainly favoured by Anderson (1934: 8).

Historical Evidence

While the boundaries of the Domesday wapentake do not accord neatly with the topographic character of the immediate region certain patterns can be espied. It is clear that the north-eastern perimeter is defined by the Hambleton Hills while much of the western boundary follows the course of the river Swale. These are however exceptions to the rule and even then, imprecise ones at that. Thus Rainton on the western border extends beyond the Swale to meet Dere Street, while the eastern perimeter extends over the more southerly Howardian Hills to a degree. The northerly and southerly perimeters are less distinct. This is at least a product of topography – the wapentake is situated in the low-lying lands of the Vale of York. The divisions that are apparent are structured around the parishes which are in turn in strong relation with the former manorial holdings found in Domesday Book. It must also be added that there is an abiding conciliar connection between Birdforth and Allertonshire that may be partly manifest in the indistinct border between the two wapentakes.

The Yorkshire Summary for the wapentake of Birdforth largely reflects the disposition of the appurtenant pre-Conquest estates. However the way in which it accounts of these varies after a fashion that can be mapped. After accounting for Thormanby and Crayke at the head of the listing the next eight, from Baxby to the lost *Horenhodebi*, represent a straightforward transition of holdings, often in manors of paired vills, from a 1066 to a 1086 lord. While the distance between Eskil's vills of Old Byland and *Bernebi* would indicate that tenure rather than the manor was the key structuring principle it is also evident that discernible pairs are significantly proximate to one another. However, at the entry to Topcliffe the character of the Summary changes. Henceforth it deals with vills on the western extreme of the wapentake, running south to north. It also displays signs of what appear to be the post-Conquest consolidation of varied pre-Conquest holdings. Thus, William of Percy's holdings include the manor and berewick of Topcliffe alongside other vills in the former

possession of no less than eight individuals. The remainder of the Summary accounts for the manor of Thirsk, part of the manor of Northallerton, and finally the manor of North Kilvington. The extent of Northallerton manor has much in common with the Allertonshire of Domesday and it is unusual that it would encroach upon the listed vills of another. It may be that, in the process of surveying the possessions of North Kilvington the outliers to Northallerton that enjoyed a degree of tenurial overlap with North Kilvington, were by convenience included. At any rate there is a methodological and geographical divide between *Horenhodebi* and Topcliffe, essentially between eastern and western Birdforth. There are also a large number of vills in Birdforth that are neglected mention in the Yorkshire Summary. They divide neatly into two categories. The first are the berewicks of the manor of Topcliffe. These are presumably included in the manorial carucate assessment. The second, as also found in Ryedale wapentake, are the holdings of Hugh son of Baldric. In Birdforth these include the manors of Kilburn, Coxwold and Bagby. The remaining unattached vills, including Boltby and Marderby Hall, were also in the hand of Hugh son of Baldric. This appears to leave a large central gap in the wapentake that is not accounted for by the Summary. A large part of this grouping is within the berewick of Bagby manor. Likewise, the extent of Coxwold manor appears to accord with the distribution of vills in the western part of the Birdforth Summary. Interestingly the possessions of Coxwold were referred to as *Cuckwaldshire* though the term is not found elsewhere (Page 1923). One can also argue that the first part of the Birdforth Summary effectively shadows the extent of the manor of Coxwold while simultaneously omitting all mention of it. One can however only speculate over a manorial connection to the differing parts of the wapentake.

Gerlestre receives its first and last mentions as a wapentake in the pages of Domesday Book (Faull and Stinson 1986: 323a, 327b, 381c). It is apparent that Birdforth, in the form *Bruchewrche*, was already linked to the wapentake in the closing years of the eleventh century (Raine 1841: 77). The 1166 Pipe Rolls lists a *Wap' de Brudeford* and in varying forms the name has continued until the present day (Pipe Roll Society 1988: 49). The *Placita de Quo Warranto* refers to the king's bailiff of the

wapentake of Birdforth and it would seem that the district was in royal hands throughout the later medieval period (Caley 1818: 200; cf Skaife 1867: 93, 322). In 1334 the bailiwick of the wapentake was granted away on a lifelong lease and this ultimately reverted to the crown (Maxwell-Lyte 1893b: 520).

The 1166 Pipe Roll also adds that the *soca de alvertun* was assessed as part of the wapentake (*ibid*; Page 1914: 397). There are certainly parallels to be found with the relationship between Staincross (**STC-0**) and Osgoldcross (**OGC-0**) in the West Riding but this is doubly unusual considering that tenure and jurisdiction of Allertonshire was in the hands of Durham in the mid-twelfth century. The nearest parallel would be Howdenshire. There is no evidence for a jury of Howdenshire meeting elsewhere but then again nor is there any recorded convention of a Howdenshire jury in Howdenshire. The Hundred Rolls would indicate that this overlap extended to more than mere fiscal oversight. In 1276 they state that the jury of Birdforth wapentake did in fact include four representatives from Allertonshire in combination with eight from Birdforth (Illingworth and Caley 1812: 123). This arrangement was said to have persisted until the time of John of Oketon, sheriff of York in the later thirteenth century (Clay 1911: 130).

Aside from these there are in fact relatively few references to the wapentake of Birdforth and none which state the venue. In the *Registrum Honoris de Richmond* Roger de Lascelles stated that the manor of Kirkby Knowle owed suit to the County Court at York, the Riding Court of *Yarlestre* and the wapentake of Birdforth (Gale 1722: 92). In the *Placita de Quo Warranto*, William de Lascelles affirmed that Sowerby owes suit to both the riding court and wapentake court of *Brodeford* (Caley 1818: 437, 441). This last statement would appear to conflict with references in the same volume to a Riding Court at *Yarlestre*. Finally, a jury of Birdforth wapentake is recorded as summoned to an assize at Thirsk in 1362, convened by a justice of the peace (Putnam 1939: 121-122). This does not represent a wapentake court – the assize possessed a far larger remit - but it does provide evidence for the continued existence of the corporate body.

As hinted earlier the name *Gerlestre* did persist in the form of the riding court for the North Riding, *Yarlestre*. Smith has referred to this as an instance of post-Conquest administrative re-organisation, implying that the transition of *Gerlestre/Yarlestre* from a wapentake court to a riding court demanded the establishment of a separate wapentake court at Birdforth (1928: 79). However this proposition remains underexplored. In 1294 William son of William de Mowbray acquit the Prior of Hexham of suit at the county court of York, the riding court of *Yarlestre* and the wapentake court of Langbaurgh (Farrer 1915: 147; Rose and Illingworth 1811: 338). Elsewhere it is clear that holdings in Bulmer wapentake entailed suit to *Yarlestre* riding court. Roger de Lascelles' aforementioned obligations of the manor of Kirby Knowle show that this was likewise the case for Birdforth wapentake (Caley 1818: 191; Gale 1722: 92). However, in an inquisition of the manor of Thirsk in 1297/8 Roger de Mowbray was seen to owe suit to the county court at York and the three riding courts – the absence of mention of wapentake obligations is startling by contrast (Brown 1902: 78). There is also the matter of Sowerby owing suit to the riding and wapentake court of *Brodeford* (Caley 1818: 437, 441). *Gerlestre* as a toponym remains unidentified and it is commonly assumed to be separate from Birdforth. However the obligations of suit at Sowerby may suggest closer proximity than hitherto expected.

The settlement of Birdforth will be the first place examined, after which attention will turn to Spellar House (**SPLF-1**) in Marton-in-the-Forest and then finally a boundary stone between Yearsley and Gilling referred to in a 1796 land dispute as "weapontake stone" (**WEAP-1**; Marwood 1995).

Birdforth (GERL-1)

Location: SE48627572 (centred on Birdforth)
Reason: Named venue of the later medieval wapentake

Etymology

As above

Historical Evidence

No wapentake courts have been recorded at Birdforth. The first instance of assembly related activity is found in the form a market charter of 1253 granting a weekly market on Thursday and a fair in September (Maxwell-Lyte 1903: 434; Page 1923: 18). After this two inquisitions are recorded in Birdforth. The first, in 1290, debated the merits of the grant of a mill at Oulston to Newburgh Priory (Brown 1898: 111). The second, in 1308, reported that one John Fransais owed suit of court every three weeks to Birdforth. That the pleas of this court raised 40 pence per annum would suggest that one is dealing with a manorial court (Page 1914: 12n). It would appear that Birdforth had witnessed courts but otherwise enjoyed no special connection with the wider wapentake beyond its name.

Topography

The modern hamlet of Birdforth is found at the intersection of Margary Roman Road 80a (between Stamford Bridge and Newcastle) and Birdforth Beck. It is found in low-lying ground in the Vale of York, surrounded by small hillocks – products of glacial deposition at the mouth of the valley to the north-east that divides the Hambleton Hills from the Howardian Hills. The crossroads 750 metres to the north are characterised by rises to either side; the westerly one being known as Windmere Hill. The hamlet consists of a few buildings facing on to the road, all on the northern side

of the Beck. Birdforth is positioned on the interface of the glacial tills of the Vale of York and the later alluvial deposits associated with Birdforth Beck. It has one clear line of communication which, at a local scale, connects it to Thormanby in the south and Thirsk to the north. The hamlet is located in the eponymous township within the wider parish of Coxwold. This is the westernmost township of what remains an extensive parish and what was an extensive manor. Birdforth is located on the central southern border of the wapentake.

Archaeological Evidence

The present settlement at Birdforth exists as a depopulated hamlet, consisting of a few houses along the Roman road directly to the north of Birdforth Bridge. Two instances of standing fabric demonstrate the antiquity of the settlement. The first is the church of St Mary's which, although partially rebuilt in the sixteenth century, boasts fabric dating back to the twelfth (Pevsner 1966: 81). The second is a fragment of a cross-shaft, dated to the tenth century, that has been incorporated into the fabric of Birdforth Hall 120 metres south-west of the church (Lang 2001: 62). In the early nineteenth century a hoard of silver coins was reported immediately south of the bridge during the widening of Birdforth Beck (1821: 98). However no-one had seen these coins, leaving Jefferson to speculate that they were Roman purely by way of proximity to the road (*ibid*). There is little more to consider in the NMR or the North Yorkshire HER with regard to Birdforth. Earthworks of a pond and field boundaries near Quarry Banks, 900 metres north of the village are more likely to indicate later medieval settlement or a manorial complex (Northern Archaeological Associates 2001). In fact it may indicate the location of the lost *Bernebi*, which Faull and Stinson consider to have been located in Birdforth township[3] (1986: 11N18n).

There is little more to say from this evidence other than that the crossing was a likely focus of activity by the tenth century at the earliest. PAS reports do however evoke

[3] Conversely, it may have been a synonym for Birdforth itself, though that remains an unlikely possibility.

a more intriguing picture. The two medieval records in the vicinity remain dubious identifications. Romano-British material clusters around Hutton Sessay rather than the river crossing and the later medieval spread of reports accords largely with the nineteenth-century distribution of settlement in the area. There are two significant deviations from this pattern. The first is a small assemblage of Romano-British personal accoutrements and coinage about one kilometre south of Birdforth on the north bank of the Beck. The coins date from the early second to mid-fourth century and are accompanied by a brooch and finger ring (PAS 2013: DUR-8F7953, DUR-9FF805, DUR-A09E82). The significance is difficult to adduce but it does represent the only concentration of activity adjacent to the river. The second is a far larger grouping of later medieval coins, this time on the south bank and 400 metres directly south of Birdforth Bridge. These range from the mid thirteenth to the late fifteenth century and, given its proximity to the certified location of settlements at this time, are far more likely to represent some form of later medieval market activity, over a considerable length of time (*ibid*: NCL-742A40, NCL-E396B6, NCL-740D81).

The evidence suggests that Birdforth was a settlement – or at least a crossing – associated with activity from at least the tenth century onwards. The site of the crossing does not appear to have been a focus of Romano-British activity and there is no evidence to suggest a timeframe for the inception of settlement. The PAS would indicate that there was a focus of activity directly south of the bridge for much of the later medieval period. This may represent the market granted to Birdforth by charter in 1253, conveniently set apart from the area of occupation. Of early medieval assembly or assembly-related activity there is however no note.

Allerton Wapentake (ALL-0)

Etymology

This district is named twice in the pages of the Yorkshire Domesday, as both *Aluretone* and *Aluretun Wapentac* (Faull and Stinson 1986: 320d, 381a). This name it evidently shared with the caput of the manor of *Aluertune/Aluerton/Aluretune* found within (*ibid*: 299a, 309b, 381a). It is recorded in 1088 in the *Liber Vitae* of Durham as *Aluertone scire* (Raine 1841: 77) whereas the first reference to it as a *Libertatem* appears in 1233. After this point it is found to be the more commonplace appellation (Smith 1928: 204). Smith has interpreted the toponym as the Old English *Aelferes-tun* or 'Aelfere's farm' (*ibid*: 210). Anderson has latterly pointed out that the first element could equally derive from the Old Norse personal name *Alfarr* (1934: 10). This applies equally to the settlement of Northallerton, whose cardinal prefix is first recorded in 1292 (*ibid*), presumably to distinguish it from Allerton Mauleverer to the south.

Historical Evidence

Allertonshire is situated in the Vale of Mowbray to the north of the Vale of York, extending to the north into the Tees Valley. This terrain is gently undulating and much of the northern, western and southern parts of the wapentake are indeed situated on relatively low-lying ground. Conversely the south-eastern and central southern parts of the district are characterised by the westerly limits of the Cleveland Hills and Hambleton Hills, including the upper valleys of the river Rye, constituting a distinct south-easterly appendage to the wapentake. Much of the westerly border is defined by the river Wiske, which turns inland at Hutton Bonville. The western border continues along the Stell for a time but the remainder, including the townships of East Cowton and Great Smeaton, appears to be poorly defined. The northerly extent of the wapentake is defined by the river Tees before the eastern border begins along the river Leven and Picton Stell. It then climbs up to moorland at the edge of the

Cleveland Hills before following the river Seph (and thus encompassing the upper valleys of the Rye) down to the southerly interface with Ryedale and Birdforth just north of Rievaulx Abbey. It then follows the Race of Old Byland and the moorland crests west until the interface with the Vale of Mowbray. After this point it is again defined by the course of rivers, including Spital Beck and Dow Dike Stell, until it reaches the south-western corner of the wapentake.

The Yorkshire Summary account for the wapentake of *Aluretun* is dominated by the holdings of the manor of Northallerton, a possession that had passed from the pre-Conquest Earl Edwin to the King. This manorial centre and its appurtenant vills were reckoned in two groups, of 42 and 75 carucates respectively. There does not appear to be any geographical rationale to the order. Instead the list vacillate wildly across the extent of Allertonshire, though it does reflect the concentration of Domesday vills in the south-western part of the wapentake. After the recapitulation of this manor further holdings of the King are listed. Aside from a short group of vills appurtenant to the pre-Conquest Hawarth of Stokesley there is no clear pattern of ownership prior to 1066. Instead one observes a geographical pattern, comprising a distinct clockwise circuit of the perimeter of the wapentake, from South Otterington through to East and West Harlsey. The Summary briefly lists a small group of vills appurtenant to the Bishop of Durham both before and after the Conquest. Another group of royal vills are listed and these again demonstrate a geographical aspect, this time moving roughly north to south in a geographical cluster in the central eastern part of the wapentake. This extends along part of the southern perimeter before moving over to Hawnby parish in the far east of the district. The final entry consists of a northerly jump to Hornby. It is quite clear that the Allertonshire Summary is tripartite in practice if not in principle. Part one is the manor of Northallerton. Part two is a clockwise circuit of royal holdings in Allertonshire outside of the core area of this manor. Finally, special attention is given to the Bishop of Durham's small central holdings, the central eastern vills and Hawnby parish in the east. It is only this latter that hints (and gently at that) at the possibility of territorial sub-division within the wapentake. What is clear however is that this is an inconsistent recapitulation, a

possible compilation of either separate accounts or the results of separate inquests. A certain level of ambiguity has accrued as regards the status of this district in the later medieval period (cf Anderson 1934: 8-9). It appears to be one of the 'shired' regions of Yorkshire (Barrow 2003: 22) but has also been described as both a liberty and a wapentake, with the evidence for each underdetermining a more definitive category. While the appellation of Liberty appears to have been more common in the later medieval period, its first known mention is as the wapentake of *Aluretone/Aluretun* in the hands of Earl Edwin prior to the Conquest (Faull and Stinson 1986: 320d, 381a). At the time of the Domesday survey the Bishop and Canons of Durham had and continued to hold a small number of vills within the wapentake. These, distributed throughout the district, included Girsby, Brompton and Deighton. However the *Liber Vitae* of Durham records a far larger group of holdings within the wapentake, said to have been granted to St Cuthbert by 'kings and princes of old' (Raine 1841: 76). This list included most but not all of the Domesday holdings ascribed to the Bishop and Canons of Durham. It also specifies a further eight carucates of land in *Aluertunescire* with another two in *Bruchewrche scire* (Birdforth), alongside a number of other locations in Yorkshire (*ibid*: 76-7). The subsequent passage in the *Liber Vitae* then expressly states that William II granted the manor of Allerton, with all appurtenances, to the Bishop of Durham (*ibid*). This would accord with Simeon of Durham's account of events in 1088 just prior to Bishop William St Calais' exile in Normandy (Stevenson 1855: 706). The phrasing in the *Liber Vitae* would strongly guard against a discrepancy with Domesday Book as a product of the partial alienation of the manor between 1086 and 1088. There is no pattern of tenure within Domesday Book to imply an appropriate subdivision. Either it is a fraudulent and risky attempt to engender a sense of antiquity and so strengthen Durham's claim or more likely it is evidence of the significant reorganisation of landholding in the area in the later Anglo-Saxon period.

What is clear is that the close proximity of Allertonshire and the manor of Allerton in the text of the *Liber Vitae* indicates that the two were considered distinct at the end of the eleventh century. A geographical relationship between the two is evident from

an early stage. The 1091 grant by the Bishop of Durham to the Canons of Durham of the churches of Northallerton, Brompton and Sigston indicates that these were all found within *Alvertone scire* (Farrer 1915: 266). When the later Bishop Hugh de Puiset of Durham granted East Cowton to the abbey of Rievaulx in 1154x1167 the annual rent was *ad terminus Alvertonescire constitutos* ('by the terms set by Allertonshire') demonstrating that there was a fiscal element to the relationship between the two districts (Farrer 1915: 292). East Cowton appears in the 1291 Taxation as a church in both the rural deanery and archdeaconry of Richmond (Eyre and Strahan 1802: 327). This would discourage the possibility that 'Allertonshire' referred to a rural deanery or jurisdictional peculiar. This link to Allertonshire does not seem to have extended to matters judicial. The 1166 Pipe Roll states that the Soke of Allerton in the wapentake of Birdforth was amerced ten marks for putting a man to ordeal of water without the knowledge or presence of the king's servant (Pipe Roll Society 1888: 96). The hypothesised mid twelfth-century wapentake of Allerton evidently had no judicial oversight in the matter and if it had attempted to, this had clearly been overruled. A change in situation is indicated by the Hundred Rolls. These state that in the later thirteenth century the Bishop of Durham enjoyed certain rights in 'Allerton and Allertonshire' including free warren, the return of writs and the assize of bread and ale (Page 1914: 397; Caley 1812: 123). It further states that until the later thirteenth century, the free tenants of Allertonshire answered at Birdforth, namely that four men from Allertonshire joined eight from Birdforth in a combined jury. It is clear from this that as a corporate body Allertonshire was no different from Birdforth or any other of the wapentakes in Yorkshire. Conversely, as a political entity, it had not been imbued until recently with anything like the judicial powers associated with the others. This change in position is reflected in the *Nomina Villarum* in which it is described as the *Libertatis de Alverton* (Skaife 1867: 340). It continued as a liberty into the nineteenth century (Page 1914: 398). It is worth stressing that the wapentake of Allerton in Domesday does not look in any way unusual, certainly not in any way that would suggest diminished functionality. It may be that control by Durham arrested or limited existing and/or developing judicial powers, thus implying that the district as a political entity was a nascent one at the time of Domesday Book.

There are no accounts of a specific court of the wapentake/liberty but there are references to its existence. In 1279 the Archbishop of York asked the Earl of Lincoln to respite suit of court to the wapentake of Allerton (Brown 1907: 254). A further indication of the venue comes from a 1315 commission by the Bishop of Durham to Thomas Coleville, bailiff of Allertonshire and Crayke, granting permission to hold courts in Northallerton (Hardy 1873: 1270). After this point it becomes more difficult to trace the court. An inquisition of the Liberty of Allertonshire in 1346 in fact took place in Bedale in Richmondshire and instead scrutinised fees throughout the North Riding (Maxwell-Lyte 1920: 248-9). The appointment of a later bailiff of *Northalverton* and *Northalvertonshire* is not accompanied by permission to hold a specific court (Maxwell-Lyte 1911: 354), while the next inquisition of the Liberty – which did take place in Northallerton – was not until 1428 (Maxwell-Lyte 1920: 289-90). As such Northallerton is the only known venue of courts of the wapentake/liberty. The others listed; Landmoth (**LAND-1**), Fingay Hill (**FGY-1**) and Spell Close (**SCF-1**) are included purely with reference to assembly-attesting place-name elements in their respective toponyms.

Northallerton (ALL-1)

Location: SE36869400 (centred on Northallerton)
Reason: Named venue of the wapentake

Etymology

See above

Historical Evidence

The settlement and manorial centre of Northallerton first receives mention in the Domesday Book of 1086. The Chronicle of Peter de Langtoft, written in the later thirteenth century, had referred to a battle between Elfride/Elfrith of Wessex and the Danes at *Aluertone* (Hearne 1725: 21) but this is almost certainly confused with Scandinavian incursions into Wessex in 870/1. Northallerton is listed as the head of a manor whose appurtenant vills were largely coterminous with those of the wapentake of Allerton (Faull and Stinson 1986: 299a, 381a). This convergence has been cited before, not least by Helen Cam (1963: 90). As such, one must also clarify a consistent overlap with the Land of Count Alan on the western perimeter of the wapentake and its relative absence on the eastern salient of the wapentake, not least in the parish of Hawnby and the upper valleys of the river Rye. Its possessions seems to concentrate in the respective river valleys of the Wiske, Brompton Beck and Cod Beck. This manor was held by Earl Edwin before the Conquest and at the time of Domesday Book was in the possession of the Crown. The vills appurtenant are divided in two in the main entries into the berewick and the sokeland of the manor. While the berewick appears itself to divide into a northerly and southerly group the sokeland is distributed throughout the wapentake. In the main entries the berewick of the wapentake was listed as 44 carucates whereas in the Summary this figure is somewhat smaller, at 42 carucates (Faull and Stinson 1986: 299a, 381a). The lack of individual assessments renders analysis of this discrepancy difficult. At the time of

the Domesday Inquest the entire manor was listed as waste. As mentioned above the manor of Northallerton was taken into the hands of the Bishop of Durham, probably in 1088, and there it remained, with a few temporary deviations, until the nineteenth century.

There is only one – and at that implied – reference to a court of Allertonshire meeting at Allerton (Hardy 1873: 1270). Despite this Northallerton has been the venue for a disproportionate number of conciliar events in the later medieval period. These range from numerous Inquisitions (cf Maxwell-Lyte 1913b: 87; 1916: 62, 363), royal writs (*ibid*: 159; Prynne 1672: 1000), musters (Ingledew 1858: 40) and ordinations (*ibid*: 39; Brown 1907: 216). There was a market recorded from 1333 and a fair granted to the Bishop of Durham by King John in 1200 (Maxwell-Lyte 1916: 332-3). The jurisdiction of the manorial court extended over its soke and inquisitions from Lazenby in 1289 and West Harlsey in 1309 specify this suit of court (Maxwell-Lyte 1908a: 43; Brown 1898: 90). There was clearly an unusual division in jurisdiction between the manorial court of Northallerton and that of Allertonshire. Another inquisition of 1333 sought to lay out these details, specifying that the men of Northallerton held the town on a yearly rent from the Bishop. If they were to hear causes this needed to be assigned to them by the bishop's bailiff (Page 1914: 418-33). If permission was granted this was held on the third day at the town toll-booth (*ibid;* Figure 145). Until the eighteenth century both Sessions of the Peace and Quarter Sessions were held at the Northallerton tollbooth (Langdale 1791: 16). There was further a *Libera Curia* of the Bishop (*ibid*). It is presumed that this was kept by the bailiff and formed the setting for courts of the liberty/wapentake. Brown states that this met every three weeks though it is unclear when this timetable was in effect (1898: viii). Finally there is also reference to the election of four byelawmen at the Easter court of the town (Page 1914: 418-33). This is a recurrent theme in the judicial matters of Yorkshire, seen also in the Forest of Pickering and the Wakefield Court rolls. The name is of Old Norse derivation – *byjar-lǫgr* – meaning 'law of the township' and comprises one of the better attested surviving elements of Scandinavian derived jurisprudence in the region.

Topography

The town of Northallerton is situated on the eastern bank of Brompton Beck, two kilometres north-east of where it joins the river Wiske. The town is found in the gently undulating lowlands of the Vale of Mowbray just over one kilometre to the west of the final scarps of the Cleveland Hills, represented by Bulla Moor and Crosby Moor. The layout of the town comprises a single broad curving street that extends south-east from North Bridge where it crosses Brompton Beck. Given the presence of the church 500 metres south-east of the bridge this may represent a later extension which would in turn leave an earlier, straighter street that may instead have been aligned with the northerly road to Brompton. The remains of the Bishop's Palace (and plausible location of his court) are found 250 metres directly west of the main street while the toll booth and market cross were located at the northern end of the main street, 150 metres south-east of the church (Figure 145).

As elsewhere in the lowlands of central Yorkshire the town is set on a bedrock of Triassic sandstones. The settlement is more precisely situated on a spur of glacial sands and gravels extending from the south amid a wider area of tills. The footprint of the town represents a narrow area of well-draining soil amid a larger region liable to flood. The course of the main street in the nineteenth century would favour northerly and southerly routes to Great Smeaton and Thornton-le-Street respectively. As mentioned this may be a later phenomenon with earlier travel instead tending towards the western bank of Brompton Beck, at least as far as Brompton. The mid-nineteenth century map indicates that Northallerton was a significant communications node with further lines of communication running out in all directions. Given its prominence it is particularly interesting that the town is set so far from the Roman road. This is Margary Road 80a, leading from Stamford Bridge, through Thirsk and in the direction of Durham (1973: 431-3). Northallerton is set 2.7 kilometres to the west of this at its nearest point. Instead, the main Northallerton road connects to this in the south at Thornton-le-Street. This distance may in

particular be a result of the moorland terrain that the Roman road crests in this part of Allertonshire but it seems odd that such an important administrative centre was set so far off from what was a highly important line of communication. By the mid-nineteenth century the Northallerton road was the more important. It would be interesting to know if Northallerton was acting as an administrative centre at the time the Roman road was still in significant use or whether one is witnessing a change in the lines of communication.

The settlement is situated in the selfsame township and parish, which extends a small degree to the south and a more significant degree to the north along a corridor defined by the western extent of Allertonshire and the line of the Roman road from Thirsk to "Durham". The town is situated on the central western border of the wapentake and was found in 1291 within a jurisdictional peculiar of the Prior and Convent of Durham (Eyre and Strahan 1802: 302).

Archaeological Evidence

Despite being situated away from the main Roman road running north-south through the wapentake/liberty of Allerton there is reasonably compelling evidence that occupation on the site of town goes back to the Romano-British period. This has mainly derived from finds in the area of Castle Hills to the west of the main street, the site of significant railway works in the mid-nineteenth century. These finds have included glass, a silver buckle and a coin hoard tentatively dated to the fourth century AD (North Yorkshire HER 2013: MNY20337, MNY20353, MNY20354. Interestingly this does not include any traces of early medieval activity.

The most significant evidence for early medieval activity at Northallerton comes from the sculpture found in the church of All Saints. While the earliest fabric in the church appears to be twelfth century in date (Pevsner 1966: 270-1), sculptural fragments within the church date back to the eighth century (Lang 2001: 180-5). They are accompanied by a number of pieces from the Allertonshire workshop, which would

seem to indicate activity on the site into the tenth century (*ibid*). This heightened level of activity may be supported by PAS reports to the north of town. These include a late seventh- to early eighth-century coin 700 metres to the north, alongside a brooch of comparable date (PAS 2013: LANCUM-E6D1F3; YORYM-D56B17). A later strap end of tenth- to eleventh-century date has also been recovered from this location (*ibid*: YORYM-91CCC4). There are also earlier reports of an early medieval spur from Castle Hills (North Yorkshire HER 2013: MNY20328) and a later dated strap-end may accord in time-span with the find of a tenth-century grave south of Castle Hill in the 1950s (Shetelig 1954: 105-6). This was thought to be a Viking inhumation on account of a tortoise-shell brooch (*ibid*). This is a reasonable enough portfolio of evidence to propose that Northallerton had been the site of a settlement since the mid-Saxon period. Aside from John de Langtoft's erroneous entry there is no written trace of such a settlement, which is all the more puzzling considering its later prominence.

As to the later medieval period there are two sites of particular interest. The first is that of the Bishop's palace and presumed court. This was located 200 metres west of the main street in Northallerton. Unfortunately the site is now levelled, though traces of the moat remain (Cathcart King 1983: 522). The site of Castle Hills, once thought to be Roman but latterly considered to be a Norman eminence, has also been levelled by the railway. This was positioned slightly further to the west, 500 metres away from the main street (Fraser 2007). The now-destroyed toll-booth was situated in the market place.

Two points come to mind with regard to assembly at Northallerton. The first is a clear division between the town and the bishop, both in terms of judicial procedure and in terms of layout. While this must partially reflect the presence of a robust street-plan prior to the intrusion of the Bishop of Durham it would have been relatively straightforward and not at all uncommon to re-plan the town around the bishop's palace. Instead the market and the main street have endured and were evidently of value. This longevity may also explain the distance from the Roman road insofar as a

market of long standing may not have been so dependent upon this line of communication. These propositions are still largely argued from an absence, so it remains to reiterate the less controversial one, that is that Northallerton was likely a significant settlement for much of the early medieval period.

Terra Alani Comitis/Richmondshire (TAC-0)

Etymology

The district is named after the eponymous castle and borough, imposed upon the Domesday vill of *Hindrelag* in the late eleventh century (Faull and Stinson 1986: 309c, 311a, 381b). This location was mentioned once more as *Hindeslak* in 1183/4 but was otherwise subsumed within Richmond (Gale 1722: 24-5). Smith was wary of solving the toponym given a paucity of iterations (1928: 287) though latterly Watts (2004: 499) has proffered 'hind's woodland glade' as a solution. Richmond itself meanwhile is derived from the Old French *riche-mont* or 'strong hill' (Smith 1928: 287).

Historical Evidence

Richmondshire consists of land between the Magnesian Limestone belt and the river Wiske to the east, and the crest of the Pennines to the west. To the north it is bounded by the Tees, to the south by the high ground of the Yorkshire Dales and through the middle, dividing the wapentakes of Hang and Gilling, runs the river Swale. The district that became known as Richmondshire is listed in Domesday Book as the *Terra Alani Comitis* or 'land of Count Alan' (Faull and Stinson 1986: 309a). This deviates from the structure of districts seen elsewhere in the Yorkshire Domesday, omitting a wapentake structure in favour of a purely tenurial survey under the overlordship of Alan Rufus of Brittany. It is notable that the only possessions listed outside of his lordship are few and partial, consisting of the westerly limit of the adjacent manor of Northallerton (in the possession of the King) and partial tenure held by the Count of Mortain at East Tanfield (*ibid*: 299a, 308c). It is also unusual in the extent to which pre-Conquest lords have maintained their positions, albeit as under-tenants of Alan Rufus. In large part it comprised the pre-Conquest possessions of Earl Edwin, dominated by the northerly and southerly manors of Gilling and Catterick respectively. In Domesday it is described as a castlery of 199 manors (Faull and Stinson 1986: 381b). The term castlery is used elsewhere to describe a district,

for instance in reference to Ilbert de Lacy's holdings in Skyrack wapentake, West Riding (*ibid*: 373c). However this latter wapentake was clearly set within the jurisdiction of the County of York. There is a strong case to be made that the heterodox organising principles found in the survey of Alan's lands indicate the alienation, in principle and/or in practice, of what became Richmondshire from the rest of the County of York by the later eleventh century.

The *Register of Richmond* indicates that Alan Rufus took possession of this land very soon after Earl Edwin's rebellion of 1068, possibly during the siege of York in 1069 (Gale 1722: Page 1914: 1). At any rate by 1086 it was a significant part of Alan's estates in England. It was some time before it came to be referred to as Richmondshire. In 1178/9 it was still referred to by the analogous name of the *Honor Comitis Conani* (Pipe Roll Society 1907: 24-5). The earliest reference to an Earl of Richmond is found in a mid to late twelfth-century passage by John of Hexham (Raine 1864: 124) while *Richemundesire* is first noted in 1176 in a list of justices for the northern counties (Stubbs 1867: 108). The name Richmond is of course derived from the castle and borough imposed by Alan Rufus upon the older settlement of *Hindrelag* on the banks of the Swale central to the Honour. The contemporaneity of the names Richmondshire and *Honor Comitis Conani* make it problematic to argue for a discrete transfer of name. Likewise *Hindrelag* appears in a manorial extent of 1183/4 that omits the castle of Richmond (Gale 1722: 24-5). The presence of competing names is strongly reminiscent of the situation at Pontefract with Tanshelf, Kirkby and "Westcheap" and likely indicates only the partial success of the imposition of an elite focus on the wider community.

Richmondshire is described as synonymous, or at least symbiotic, with the three wapentakes of Gilling, Hang and Halikeld. This conjunction is first noted in the late twelfth century in relation to subdivisions of *Temanetale* (groupings of ten men) within these three wapentakes (Gale 1722: 22-3) and continues through the later Hundred Rolls and beyond (Caley 1812: 118; Skaife 1867: 383). While Halikeld is listed as a separate wapentake in Domesday Book, no such mention is made of Hang or

Gilling until 1166 (though see below for a dubious earlier reference to Hang [**HANG-0**]). There is no evidence to suggest the point at which Halikeld was drawn within the pale of this wider district. Intriguingly Kirkby's Inquest maintains a three-fold wapentake division, though grouped as per the disposition of Richmondshire (Skaife 1867: 148). The *Nomina Villarum* however assesses the entirety as the Liberty of Richmond (*ibid*: 383. The *Placita de Quo Warranto* likewise focuses on the Honour of Richmond at the expense of the wapentakes (Caley 1818: 100, 198).

It does not seem that Richmondshire ever functioned as a wapentake. It is referred to by this appellation once in the Patent Rolls of 1341 (Maxwell-Lyte 1900b: 197). In consideration of its loose application elsewhere this can readily be ascribed to a late error. Instead the Honour was being governed as a separate county replete with its own wapentake divisions. In 1257 Peter of Savoy, lord of Richmondshire, stated that his Honour and household were quit 'from all manner of custom throughout the realm' (Maxwell-Lyte 1908a: 543). The *Register of Richmond* records that his successor John of Brittany more precisely claimed that all his tenants of Richmondshire were quit of suit to the County Court of York (Gale 1722: 89). He claimed all shrieval powers which were in turn granted to the bailiff of the Honour. An earlier inquisition of 1252 during the tenure of Savoy revealed that the King's bailiffs were even prevented from entering the territory (Brown 1892: 34). The Lord of the Honour denied any authority from York and instead answered directly to the King. This would accord neatly with the early descriptions of Richmondshire as a county (Stubbs 1867: 108; 1880: 47). Extending further back in time it would also explain the discrepancies of the Domesday account. If the wapentakes were primarily a function of the shire court and by way of the shire, the crown, it would be prudent to avoid such an organising principle in a comprehensive cadastral survey if one sought to govern an autonomous province.

There is good evidence that a wapentake structure was in place by 1086. Firstly the Summary divides neatly between the extents of the later documented wapentakes of Hang and Gilling (Figure 93). These are in turn divided by the river Swale and one

could argue that the Summary merely reflects a natural division in the *Terra Alani Comitis*. However this would demand a radical deviation from the behaviour of the Summary elsewhere in Yorkshire which in many cases abides strictly by tenure and moves along rather than either side of the river valleys. Essentially the division of the Summary along the Swale is too strict (as evidenced by the easterly land between the rivers Swale and Wiske) merely to be the result of a natural division of movement. Note also that continued tenure in 1086 was entirely restricted to Hang wapentake. The Swale also divides the two manors of Gilling and Catterick. Butler sees the early castle-building programme of the Honour as organised in relation to the wapentakes. In this scheme Gilling wapentake was under the aegis of the castle of Richmond while the castle built at Catterick covered the wapentake of Hang and that at Pickhill for Halikeld (2003: 101). This latter proposal is problematic. Richmond is positioned on the Swale at the border of the two wapentakes while one could as easily argue that this was a product of manorial tenure. Sarah Speight has argued that the entire Honour in fact represents a late Saxon district of Gillingshire in the hands of Earl Edwin prior to the Conquest (1993: 28). By this model the caput at Gilling was switched to Richmond by Alan Rufus whereas the pre-Conquest 'sub-capita' of Catterick remained largely in its present position. It is worth noting that the later administrative structure was largely confined to Gilling – alongside the distribution of continuing landholders there may be scope to espy a qualitative difference between the later documented wapentakes. For now it will suffice to state that the later medieval wapentake divisions of Gilling and Hang are nested implicitly within the Domesday structure of the *Terra Alani Comitis*.

No wapentake courts are recorded at Richmond. Instead it was the venue for a borough court and the court of the earl, analogous to the county court at York. Page records that the borough of Richmond held pleas of court in 1280 and 1341 (1914: 17-35). A number of land releases taking place in Richmond in 1297 were witnessed by reeves of Richmond (Clay 1940: 92-3). In 1329 the Patent Rolls record that the burgesses of Richmond were granted the right to hold courts and tolls in return for an annual sum of £40 (Maxwell-Lyte 1891: 402). This differed greatly from those

courts specific to the honour. As mentioned the lord claimed manorial and shrieval powers (Caley 1818: 11, 198) alongside a Court Leet that was meant to convene every three weeks (Whitaker 1823: 55). An earl's court is mentioned in the late twelfth century (Clay 1936: 59-60, 160) while Richmond also set the scene for the issue of royal writs from visiting monarchs alongside a number of inquisitions (Farrer 1916: 179; Brown 1892: 231; Hardy 1835: 352). There is also an intriguing reference in 1368 to a wapentake court of the Honour of Richmond called *Frendles* (Riley and Walsingham 1876: 97). However Walbran has pointed out that the term has variously been applied to wapentake courts at Staincliffe, Ewcross, Hang, Gilling and Halikeld (Walbran 1878: 51n; cf Tillotson 1989: 31 for Hang wapentake). It appears to date no earlier than the fourteenth century and instead would seem more to denote the character, however mysterious, than the venue of the court.

Finally attention must be given to a highly unusual series of Inquests that took place in 1289-1290 at *Manneslaghtre*, a lost place now within the township of Grewelthorpe just over the border from Richmondshire in the West Riding wapentake of Claro Hill (Brown 1898: 99). In the first the bailiff of Richmondshire was accused of holding courts of the wapentake of Hang at *Manneslaghtre*, described as bounded between Nutwith Hill and Kirby Malzeard. No one knew by what warrant this had been undertaken and it had resulted in the enforced taxation to Hang wapentake of those living in this part of Claro wapentake. In the second inquest the bailiff denied the charge and was cleared by a jury that is implied to be one of Hang (*ibid*: 100-102). This did not mark the end of the case however as a further 24 knights without a prior connection to the Honour were summoned to adjudicate further on whether this infraction had taken place (Maxwell-Lyte 1893a: 512-3). The result is unknown. It is utterly bizarre why this would have taken place. One could potentially attempt to draw a link with Allertonshire. Like Richmond it is referred to in the Hundred Rolls as Allerton and Allertonshire (compare Caley 1812: 123 with Hardy 1835: 51) but the convention of an Allerton jury at Birdforth appears to have been uncontroversial. The accusation of a Hang wapentake court at *Manneslaghtre* instead looks like a rapacious incursion for taxes and tolls, though far more detail is

required on the background to know quite what was going on here.

To all intents and purposes Richmondshire appears to have acted as a separate county from Domesday onwards. There does not seem to be any evidence that it reflected an arrangement prior to the Norman Conquest. However the existence of Gilling and Hang as wapentakes at the time of the Domesday survey seems perfectly plausible. The presence of so many pre-Conquest lords as under-tenants inclines one towards propositions of continuity in elements of the governance of Richmondshire – assessing or quantifying that proposal is however substantially more difficult. Crown involvement with the wapentakes appears to have been restricted to the confirmation of bailiffs. The wapentakes also appear to have formed the link between the Fee of the Honour and the Crown, thus strengthening the notion that they were primarily considered a device of taxation. The use of wapentakes by the Chancery indicates that the Crown continued to maintain the appearance of the territory as a component of the realm in contrast to the autonomy exercised by the Honour locally. The *Manneslaghtre* court-case only serves to strengthen this hypothesis. In the proceeding section consideration will turn to the specific wapentakes of Gilling and Hang.

Gilling Wapentake (GIL-0)

Etymology

Gilling appears in Domesday Book as *Ghellinghes, Ghellinges* and *Gellinges*, the capital messuage of an extensive pre-Conquest manor in the *Terra Alani Comitis* (Faull and Stinson 1986: 309a, 309b, 310b, 381b). It appears as the *Wap de Gillinge* in the Pipe Rolls of 1166 and as *Gillyngschire* in a late twelfth-century extent of the Honour of Richmond (Pipe Roll Society 1888: 49; Gale 1722: 22, 24). Smith believes that this name is identical to that of the Gilling in Ryedale Wapentake, also in the North Riding. Both Smith and Anderson believe it is an *–ingas* toponym, linked to either of the Old English personal names Getla or Guða (Smith 1928: 53; Anderson 1934: 9). While the connection with the *In-Getlingum* of Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* is by no means decisive (see below) the above solution nonetheless accords with this earlier name (Colgrave and Mynors 1969).

Historical evidence

Gilling does not appear as a wapentake in the pages of the Domesday Survey. Instead the capital messuage of Gilling heads the *Terra Alani Comitis* in the Yorkshire Summary (Faull and Stinson 1986: 381b). This was the head of an extensive estate, formerly in the hands of Earl Edwin of Mercia and latterly acquired by Alan Rufus of Brittany. Jurisdiction extended to varying extents over at least 35 vills that stretched throughout the eastern part of the *Comitis* north of the Swale. The manor was rated at £56 in 1066, a figure Maitland had identified as a recurrent legal fiction, one that signified what he called a 'first class manor' (1897: 473). The 1086 assessment instead rated it at £4, indicating the extent of devastation that had followed the Conquest. As mentioned above it appears as a wapentake in 1166 and this wapentake is described as a shire in an inquisition of 1183/4 (Pipe Roll Society 1888: 49; Gale 1722: 22, 24). This extent, as with Halikeld and Hang, is the first to group the three together as the appurtenant wapentakes of the Honour of Richmond and one witnesses that

it is likewise subdivided into *Temanetales* and a remainder of carucates (*ibid*). This arrangement continued throughout the later medieval period.

As with the other two wapentakes, pertinent details specific to Gilling have been hard to come by. A number of people are recorded owing suit to the wapentake. The *Quo Warranto* records Roger de Lascelles and Hugh son of Henry each owing suit to the courts of Hang and Gilling in the later thirteenth century (Caley 1818: 196, 200). A writ of 1327 asks the bailiffs of Richmond to refrain from putting the Abbot of Rievaulx in default for non-attendance of a wapentake court of Gilling at an un-named venue (Maxwell-Lyte 1896: 177). In 1298/9 the manor of Cowton owed an annual fine for the wapentake of Gilling (Maxwell-Lyte 1912: 199). Interestingly this obligation was accompanied by three-weekly suit to the Earl's court at Richmond and an annual fee to the castle guard. Suit to Gilling is conspicuous by its absence. The most informative statement of all however comes from a release of 1261/2. In this Peter de Savoy, then Earl of Richmond, freed John of Englefield from suit "at the first '*wapentac*' of *Grilling* (sic) after Michaelmas, wherever held, commonly called '*Frendleswapentac*'" on account of his young age (Maxwell-Lyte 1900a: D326). This suit was attached to land at Ellerton-on-Swale. This indicates not only that the name *Frendles*, discussed above, was indicative of character rather than venue, it also stresses that by the mid-thirteenth century the venue of the wapentake was not a fixed point. The seeming lack of importance accorded to the venue tallies well with the paucity of wapentake venues recorded, both in the Honour of Richmond and throughout the Ridings of York as a whole.

One must ask whether the court at Richmond had appropriated conventions of the wapentake. This seems unlikely. During the 1280 inquisition of the Honour a jury of Gilling wapentake was convened on the 12th April at an un-named location to outline holdings throughout the Honour (and so including those in Hang wapentake; Brown 1892: 222). On the previous day a separate Inquisition was conducted of the borough of and at Richmond and crucially it is made up of an entirely separate body of jurors (*ibid*: 229). It would seem that wapentake and burghal jurisdiction operated

separately, at least in practice. This would fit with the division in Richmond between the Earl's court and the borough court and could well indicate that the wapentake met separately from the town limits of Richmond. The same 1280 inquisition states that the Earl received the profit of various courts in the Honour, including at Gilling, but the sum in question, at 20 shillings per annum, makes abundantly clear that this was a manorial, rather than a wapentake court. In fact the inconspicuous Gilling is one of six places in the Honour described in 1280 as a capital messuage and one of eight locations that collected fines for the pleas and perquisites of courts in the Honour. By comparison with Gilling the Court of Richmond brought in £10 per annum (Brown 1892: 225). With one or two deviations they match up but there is a gross bias in the situation with regard to the wapentakes of Gilling and Hang. With the exception of Bainbridge in the south-west of Hang the capital messuages cluster on the eastern side of Gilling wapentake. Catterick, while in Hang, is but 2.5 kilometres south of Moulton and is geographically speaking not an outlier to the aforesaid grouping. The eight manors with the pleas of court are all found in Gilling with one exception, again that of Catterick. It strongly appears that the administrative machinery of the Honour was almost entirely focused upon the area of Gilling wapentake in the later thirteenth century. The £10 recorded at the Earl's Court would also seem to indicate that the majority of the pleas in the Honour were dealt with here as opposed to the wapentake courts. There is no evidence that Hang wapentake had been given over to Forest Law and even then that would provide only a partial explanation for the absence. Domesday Book does not record a higher proportion of waste in Hang than in Gilling and in fact the only vills in the entire Honour that witnessed an increase in value between 1066 and 1086 are all in the wapentake of Hang, clustered significantly within the zone that became the shire and prebendary of Masham (Darby and Maxwell 1960: 149). It is worth returning to the nature of the jury which was stated as one of Gilling. It seems unlikely that it would omit mention of corollaries of Hang at a royal inquisition and so it would seem that the two wapentakes are considerably more different in character than previously assumed. It would also suggest that the Honour of Richmond was a district and jurisdiction that grew out of what was the pre-Conquest estate of Gilling rather than a consolidation

of several existing wapentakes. In an un-dated inquisition from the reign of Henry III, twelve knights of Gilling were called to state the persons who held various roles within the Honour, including the Constable of the Castle and the Sheriff (*vicecomes*) of Richmond. If Gilling were but one half of the Honour this would seem somewhat outside their sphere of competence. Instead it would appear that the three-fold division in the Honour between Gilling, Hang and Halikeld was something of a legal fiction. The Honour certainly held the wapentakes of Hang and Halikeld but functioned more precisely as Gillingshire writ large (cf Speight, S. 1993: 28 and earlier Page 1914: 71-84; Speight, H. 1897: 172).

Before ceasing to consider the courts of Gilling attention must turn to a very unusual agreement made at the end of the thirteenth century that involved Asulph of Cleasby; the same Asulph, bailiff of the Earl of Richmond, involved in the *Manneslaghtre* inquisitions of Hang wapentake in 1289-91. In the agreement Richard Donn has agreed to quit suit to the court of Lord Thomas de Burgus (of the Burgh Fee found in Hang wapentake) and instead transfer suit to Asulph's court of Ellerton-on-Swale in the wapentake of Gilling "and no other" (National Archives 2013: CR 26/1/12/L/22). Ellerton on Swale is located on the northern bank of the Swale in Gilling wapentake and directly adjacent to the northern border of Hang. As such it forms a mirror image to *Manneslaghtre* directly over the southern border of Hang wapentake. On the one hand it would appear that Asulph was attempting to incorporate parts of Claro Hill into Hang and parts of Hang into Gilling. On the other the two instances suggest courts situated directly outside the border of Hang. There is still not enough information available to assess the implications of this in a satisfactory manner. However it does seem to reinforce the notion of a major divergence in the practice of jurisdiction between the wapentakes of Gilling and Hang.

It remains to turn briefly to pre-Conquest historic traces of Gilling. By tradition the site has been associated with the location of *In-Getlingum* found in Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* (Colgrave and Mynors 1969). It was the site of Oswin's murder, after the King of Deira had fled from the abortive battle at *Wilfaresdun* (*ibid*). In 1870 Donald

Haigh argued that an inscription unearthed at Collingham church in the West Riding bore reference to the death of Oswin and so comprised a more compelling location for *In-Getlingum* (1870: 252-88). This was met with general acceptance until Collingwood dismissed the sculpture as of ninth- rather than seventh-century date (1915: 129-299). Subsequently, attention returned to the Richmondshire Gilling although more recently Ian Wood has made a case for the Ryedale Gilling as the site of the murder (and later monastery; 2008: 17-8). In 2009 Tom Pickles argued from textual cues and the presence in Gilling of coterminous sokeland and reconstructed mother-parish boundaries that once again the Richmondshire Gilling was indeed the true *In-Getlingum* (Pickles 2009: 315, 320; cf Hadley 2000: 131-3). Regardless of the weight placed on the textual cues the relationship between the manorial and parochial districts is compelling and marks out Gilling as a longstanding manorial and ecclesiastical centre. Further, the name In-Getlingum appears to be a district name based off the corporate *–ingas term* discussed above (Yorke 2000: 85; Pickles 2009: 318). As such Gilling, and the Honour of Richmond, may in fact represent the long-term development and expansion of a seventh-century territory.

Gilling West (GIL-1)

Location: NZ18190515 (centred on Gilling West)
Reason: Named venue of the later medieval wapentake

Etymology

See above

Historical Evidence

See above

Topography

The settlement of Gilling is positioned at a crossing of Gilling Beck in the base of the associated river valley, a landform aligned north-west – south-east that is carved into the lower slopes of the Pennine Fringe. To the north-east the land rises steeply onto Gatherley Moor while to the south-west it is defined by a gentler, partially stepped slope that is crested by High Moor. The footprint of the town is on low ground prone to flooding, bookended to the north-west and south-east by the smaller river valleys of Smelt Mill and Aske Beck. The First Edition Ordnance Survey mapping shows the village as a single street straddling Gilling Beck. The church of St Agatha is situated on the southern bank of this layout in a circular churchyard set some 70 metres to the west of the main road.

At a wider scale Gilling is situated to the west of the Magnesian Limestone belt at a mid-point in the Liddesdale limestone groups that characterise the lower Pennine slopes. The settlement is found on a broader spread of alluvial material in the valley. This would indicate that the propensity towards flooding is one with a long history. The main road through the settlement links it to Melsonby in the north and Richmond

to the south. This road continues north towards Aldbrough St John, one of the extra-mural settlements of the Stanwick fortifications, before forming an interface with Dere Street. This road is also shadowed by the Scot's Dyke, a linear earthwork dubiously dated to the sixth or seventh centuries AD (Page 1912: 55) and recently demonstrated to be of Iron Age date (T. Moore *pers. comm.*). While proposed as a boundary feature the modern relations it enjoys are almost entirely characterised by communications. Gilling is also linked by a partially surviving path leading north-west from the town, possibly towards East Layton. Considering communications at a wider scale it is clear that Gilling was a node in a wider complex of connections that ran parallel and to the west of Dere Street. The NMR speculates upon a relation with the Stanwick complex (2013: MON#625308) and it may be possibly to articulate (in rough terms) a division between this Iron Age centre on the one hand and the crossing at Catterick on the other. This however merely adds to the speculation. One can less controversially categorise Gilling as another example of an assembly site, as with Pontefract and Market Weighton, positioned in significant but distant relation to the Roman road network. The village is situated in the eponymous township and parish. It is situated in the south-western quadrant of this large and dispersed ecclesiastical unit, one that Tom Pickles has shown to reflect the older tithe obligations to a mother church at Gilling (2009: 319). In turn it is found in the central eastern part of the wapentake and near the later medieval division (along Dere Street) between the wapentakes of Gilling West and Gilling East.

Archaeological Evidence

The oldest standing fabric in the present day village of Gilling is that of the church of St Agatha, an edifice of the thirteenth century (Pevsner 1966: 170). The site and the wider village is closely associated with an assemblage of Anglo-Saxon sculpture, including an early tenth-century hogback memorial amid a wider selection of fragments ranging from the ninth to eleventh centuries (Lang 2001: 113-8, 279). Besides these a number of other early medieval artefacts have been recovered from the village, most famously a ninth-century sword from Gilling Beck itself (NMR 2013:

MON#21557). The North Yorkshire HER also contains a verbal report of the discovery of 'Anglo-Saxon coins' west of the Old Methodist Chapel on the south side of the Beck (North Yorkshire HER 2013: MNY32166). This has not been verified. As such Gilling provides one of the better examples of compelling early medieval activity at a historically documented site. The debate about the association with *In-Getlingum* has been rehearsed above and it seems likely that this was indeed the site of Oswin's murder. No other evidence for a monastic establishment survives beyond the assumed proximity to the village and river crossing. Page has suggested that Castle Hill (NZ16390425) was the site of Earl Edwin of Mercia's Gilling stronghold (Page 1914: 72). Again no evidence survives apart from hearsay.

Gilling marks not only a crossing of Gilling Beck but also the interface of a linear earthwork known as the Scot's Dyke. This is a rock-cut bank and ditch that stretches southward from the Gainford crossing on the Tees to a point just east of Richmond on the Swale (Page 1912: 55: NMR 2013: MON#625308). It has been interpreted as a structure of early medieval date but the reasoning behind this seems unclear, while as stated above, Iron Age dates for the earthwork have recently been obtained (T. Moore *pers. comm.*). There is no further early medieval material in the wider area – instead character is dominated by the junction of Roman roads at Scotch Corner. This marks the intersection of Margary road 82 (Scotch Corner – Brougham) with Dere Street, two structures that have evidently had a strong influence on subsequent parochial units (Margary 1967: 429-30, 433-6). Gilling thus appears to be a significant early medieval crossing within a landscape that continued to be articulated by Romano-British infrastructure. It may be significant that this enduring estate centre was associated with the Scot's Dyke crossing rather than the rather more enduring node at Scotch Corner and this lends itself to the suggestion that, while accessibility was an important factor in the choice of an assembly site, this did not extend to dominance of a communications network, which instead may have been actively unhelpful in terms of controlling and structuring participation.

Hang Wapentake (HANG-0)

Etymology

The wapentake has been traditionally associated with a meeting place at Hang Bank, a rise in ground situated at the mid-point between the settlements of Hutton Hang and Finghall. Hang has been taken to indicate the Old English word *hangar*, for 'wooded slope' (Smith 1928: 229; Anderson 1934: 10). Hutton Hang appears in Domesday Book as *Hotun/Hotune* (Faull and Stinson 1986: 312b, 381b) whereas the Hang affix first appears in an Inquisition of the extent of the Honour of Richmond in 1280 (Brown 1892: 228). Hutton, as in other instances, refers to a farm on a hill-spur (Smith 1928: 248). Meanwhile Finghall, despite appearances, is not an assembly-attesting name. The *Finegale* of Domesday Book and *Fynyngale* of the *Register of Richmond* in fact has a far more likely derivation from the Old English 'Finn's *healh*' or 'nook' (Faull and Stinson 1986: 312b, Gale 1722: 83; Smith 1928: 248). There is some possibility that Hang appears in a pre-Conquest context. The *Liber de Hyda* records a fragment of text associated with the early eleventh-century Archbishop of York, Aelfric, querying the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Durham in a place called *Hangus* (Cooper 1970: 17; Edwards 1866). It is by no means decisive evidence of a pre-Conquest presence for Hang but it is nonetheless intriguing. Note should also be made of the presence of Hanghow Pastures (SE10868574) in the parish of Coverham (**HANG-2**).

Historical Evidence

The wapentake of Hang is not mentioned by name in the Domesday Inquest. Instead this district is first noted in the Pipe Rolls of 1166 alongside that of Gilling (Pipe Roll Society 1888: 48). However the area that the wapentake circumscribes is assessed within that of what is described as the *Terra Alani Comitis* and, further, the survey was structured strictly along the bounds of the river Swale which in turn delimited the two wapentakes of Gilling and Hang. It is argued above that this is indicative of

the implicit presence of the wapentakes at 1086 but a more uncontroversial proposition would be that they are in part manifestations of an abiding natural division.

The wapentake is next mentioned alongside that of Gilling and Halikeld in an extent of 1183/4 recorded in the *Register of Richmond* (Gale 1722: 21-25). It records fines by wapentake and by tenant and indicates that there was a *vicecomes*, or 'sheriff', of Hang (*ibid*: 23). It also indicates a practice found in Gilling and Hang of assessing each wapentake as a series of *Temanetales* (analogous to tithings of ten men) with a remainder of carucatage serving to stress the link between this decimal grouping and land assessment. (*ibid*). One learns elsewhere that specific fines of 'sheriff's aid' in a given wapentake of Richmondshire were assessed by appurtenant *Temanetales* (Clay 1936: 165). As with Halikeld nearly all subsequent references to Hang are as one of a trio of wapentakes (cf Maxwell-Lyte 1903: 348, 501; Skaife 1867: 333; Caley 1812: 122; 1818: 196, 200). There is an undated inquisition of the time of Henry III that reports a jury of the wapentake of Hang adjudicating on a matter of landholdings at East Witton and other places in that district (Brown 1892: 131-2). No venue is recorded. Another inquisition at Leeming likewise adjudicated on the manor of Masham in Hang wapentake in 1301 though there is no evidence that the inquest involved attendance from the specific wapentake jury (Brown 1902: 157). The wapentake of Hang was also implicated in the *Manneslaghtre* inquisitions of 1289-91 as reported above. This however refers to alleged conventions of the wapentake outside of the district.

Within the extent of Hang wapentake there is persistent reference to a further district, that of Mashamshire. An *inspeximus* of Henry VI would indicate that this name was current from the early twelfth century and appears to have been associated with the estates of Nigel de Albani in the south of the wapentake (Whitaker 1823b: 93). It was also taken as the name of a prebendary of York (Eyre and Strahan 1802: 297b). However Whitaker has argued that prior to Albani, the area of the estate was not united under one specific under-tenant of the Honour of

Richmond (Whitaker 1823b: 93). However, the area of Mashamshire is the only part of the Honour in Domesday Book that consistently shows an increase in value between 1066 and 1086. Thus there may be an implicit link suggesting a pre-Conquest unit of unknown character.

Hang Bank (HANG-1)

Location: SE17348927 (centred on field-name)
Reason: Named venue of the wapentake

Etymology

See above

Historical Evidence

Hang Bank is situated between the settlements of Hutton Hang and Finghall. It is not itself the subject of anterior reference. Hutton Hang appears in Domesday Book as *Hotun* and *Hotune* (Faull and Stinson 1986: 312b, 381b). It was one of the pre-Conquest possessions of Gilli, distributed throughout the central belt of what became known as Hang wapentake and latterly came under the control of Landric, a sub-tenant of Alan Rufus. Finghall meanwhile was formerly a possession of Gamall – tenure had been transferred directly to Alan Rufus by 1086 (*ibid*). Both the *Quo Warranto* and the *Nomina Villarum* group Hutton Hang and Finghall together (Caley 1818: 224; Skaife 1867: 337). To this day Hutton Hang remains with the wider parish of Finghall. It has been suggested that Finghall may have been the site of the 788 synod of *Pincanheale* (Page 1914: 232). An identification with Finchale Priory in County Durham remains more likely.

Topography

Hutton Hang is found on the north-eastern slopes of Hutton Hill, declining towards Leeming Beck, 1.4 kilometres to the north-east. Insofar as specific foci can be identified, Hang Bank appears to refer to a parcel of land and a crossroads. In turn these overlook a small dry valley 700 metres to the south, forming a natural bowl in the landscape, delimited to the south-east by Long Hill. These, and Hutton Hill, are

part of a wider ridgeline in the Pennine Dales Fringe set between the courses of the river Ure to the south and Leeming Beck to the north. The immediate surrounds of Hang Bank are situated roughly equidistant to the Domesday vills of Hutton Hang and Finghall.

The ridge on which Hang Bank sits marks the transition between the Magnesian limestone to the east and the Liddesdale limestones of the Pennine Fringe to the west. Between the two the site itself is associated with a band of Millstone Grit. Situated near the crest of Hutton Hill, Hang Bank is devoid of drift geology beyond a shallow stratum of boulder clay. The wider surrounds however are characterised by glacial tills. The crossroads at Hutton Hang are linked with the aforementioned vills to the north-east and south-west. It is also positioned on a more significant east-west road running between Bedale and Spennithorne. It is situated on the border between the townships of Hutton Hang and Finghall, each in the parish of the latter settlement. It is found in the central southern portion of the wider parish and is situated centrally within the wapentake of Hang.

Archaeological Evidence

Hang Bank is located at a mid-point between the Domesday vills of Hutton Hang and Finghall. Despite this there is a complete absence of early medieval activity in relation to this site. Instead there are two elements of note to the north-east, each in association with Finghall. The first is the church of St Andrew. Despite the earliest fabric being twelfth century in date it is also associated with a number of fragments of ninth-century sculpture (Pevsner 1966: 162; Lang 2001: 107-9). The church is notably distant from the present settlement of Finghall, a settlement that displays clear evidence of post-Conquest planning. Most interesting however is the connection between the two. To get to the church one proceeds eastward for 600 metres along a path known as Church Lane before turning north and following Spruce Gill covert for another 400 metres to St Andrews. This turning point is characterised by Spruce Gill House (and latterly the railway) and at this location a small but long-

term assemblage of metal-detected finds has been recovered. These include a number of coins of mid thirteenth-century date (PAS 2013: LANCUM-311468, SWYOR-34A2E5), an undated Roman *siliqua* (*ibid*: LANCUM-31BDC7) and most importantly, a copper alloy brooch of early medieval provenance (*ibid*: LANCUM-31A134). This assemblage has been derived from an area c.60 metres in radius.

The plan of present-day Finghall would assert a degree of settlement shift, in which case the assemblage may indicate an earlier location of habitation, while also demonstrating its long-term character. That said it is, as with Finghall, also distant from the church and a scene of activity contemporaneous with both this structure and the later village. As such it would seem to indicate extra-mural activity of long-term character, possibly a market but more generally something plausibly related to the wider definition of assembly. There is no record of a market in association with Finghall but evidently there was some sort of long-term tradition of external activity. Hang Bank is associated with the wapentake purely on the basis of nomenclature and as shown below with Hanghow it is not alone. Conversely Finghall demonstrates intriguing, if not compelling elements that could suggest the practice of assembly. However the toponym has been shown not to relate to any assembly-attesting element. It is difficult to conclude much other than a fresh incentive to reconsider the nomenclature.

Hanghow Pastures (HANG-2)

Location: SE10838572 (centred on field-name)
Reason: Possible alternate named venue of the wapentake

Etymology
See above

Historical Evidence

The name Hanghow appears twice. Once on the Ordnance Survey first edition mapping as Hanghow Pastures and latterly as Hanghow Lane, the road that curves along the south-western perimeter of Coverham Church. No further references have been identified.

Topography

Hanghow Pastures is found on the lower section of the steeply sloping southern banks of the river Cover. The name is represented both in the nomenclature of the pasture and in Hanghow Lane, a road that delimits the northern extent of the aforementioned parcel of land. It also crosses the Cover and curves around the south-west of the old churchyard boundary of Holy Trinity, Coverham. To the south the site is overshadowed by the crest of Flamstone Pin and Braithwaite Moor. At the wider scale the site represents the transition from the Pennine Fringe to the deep and stark river valleys of the Pennines proper.

It is situated at the transitional point between the Millstone Grit and the Liddesdale limestones that characterise the lowlands of the Pennines. Drift geology is represented by glacial tills. Communications comprise the Coverham road which finishes directly above the Pastures at Sourmires Wood. This continues as a footpath along the lower slopes of the Cover eastward to East Witton.

Unusually, Hanghow Pastures is situated in an un-named township division of Coverham Parish. This parish is defined by the watershed of the upper-valleys of the Cover. Hanghow pastures is situated at the north-eastern end and entrance to this valley, 3.8 kilometres west of its confluence with the river Ure. At a wider scale it is situated central to Hang wapentake and resides on the border with a Royal Peculiar of Catterick as recorded in the 1291 Papal Taxation (Eyre and Strahan 1804: 307).

Archaeological Evidence

No archaeological material has been recovered from Hanghow Pastures or its immediate environs. The NMR has however indicated the presence of a sub-circular enclosure, sixty to seventy metres in diameter, on this position (NMR 2013: MON#1114411). This has been tentatively assigned a prehistoric/Romano-British date though this attribution is essentially the default inference in this region. Some 500 metres south-west of the Pastures, the univallate earthworks of Castle Steads perch on a terrace. These have been assigned an Iron Age provenance (Challis and Harding 1975: 52) though more recently the NMR has proposed a post-Roman date (NMR 2013: MON#50922). Alas, the reasons of this reconsideration have not been stated.

Hanghow Pastures is positioned on the opposite bank to the ruins of Coverham Abbey, a Premonstratensian establishment of the thirteenth century (Halsall 1989 passim). Despite this late date it was evidently positioned on the location of a far earlier ecclesiastical node. This is evidenced both by a ninth- to tenth-century cross-shaft set within the fabric of the thirteenth-century church of Holy Trinity (Pevsner 1966: 125; Lang 2001: 83), but also by the more recent find of a tenth- to eleventh-century ring-headed cross that more clearly demonstrates Hiberno-Norse influence (*ibid*). It would seem reasonable to posit ecclesiastical activity in this immediate area from the ninth century onwards.

Finally it would appear that the control of the mouth of this valley has been a long-term concern. Some kilometres to the north-east of Hanghow Pastures one finds Williams Hill, a Norman ringwork, and Middleham Castle, the keep that superseded it (Cathcart King 1983: 521). Conversely, the southern bank is covered by the univallate defences of East Witton Camp, 1 kilometre east of Hanghow, alongside the aforementioned earthworks of Castle Steads (Page 1912: 7-8; NMR 2013: MON#50913). The environs of Middleham Castle and Williams Hill are also joined by the remains of a Roman villa complex (Scott 1993: 151).

Hanghow Pastures has no clear link to an assembly signature and is found on the opposite bank from a known concentration of early medieval activity. The wider archaeological record indicates an interest in the control of movement though in most cases this could as easily be concerned with movement along the corridor of the Ure as it could be along the valley of the river Cover. Its more direct proximity to Coverham Abbey would suggest the latter, a more local concern with a smaller community, reflected in the Yorkshire Summary by a geographical order. How this could relate to the wider wapentake, and whether it even was in fact the wapentake meeting-place, is however impossible to tell.

North Riding of Yorkshire – Assembly-attesting place-names

Dingledow (DNG-1)

Location: NZ56901224 (centred on field-name)

Reason: Assembly-attesting toponym

See entry for Langbaurgh Ridge (**LAN-0; LAN-1**).

Fingay Hill (FGY-1)

Location: SE40129927 (centred on hill-crest)
Reason: Assembly-attesting toponym

Etymology

Fingay Hill is a relatively recent iteration of a far older toponym, and certainly not a well-known one. The Reverend J.C. Atkinson reported the presence of a *Thynghou* in the vicinity of East Harlsey in a charter of 1250 in the Rievaulx Chartulary (1881: 208). Despite this he was unable to locate a plausible modern toponym in relation. William Brown had more success, linking a later reference, early sixteenth century in date, to one 'Finney Hill' on the border of the parish of East Harlsey (Brown 1894: lvii, 291). Given the presence of Fingay Hill on the First Edition Ordnance Survey mapping, published prior to each of these examinations, these difficulties seem odd. At any rate Smith has inferred that the toponym derives from the Old Norse *Þing-haugr* or 'assembly hill' (1928: 213). As with Landmoth it is suggested as a possible venue of the Riding Court (*ibid*).

Historical Evidence

The Rievaulx chartulary records a grant of 1.5 acres at *Thynghou* from William FitzAndrew to the Abbey in 1208 (Atkinson 1881: 208). As the rest of the charter concerns lands in East Harlsey this has been used to fix the toponym within this immediate district. The later reference in the Guisborough Chartulary is again nested within a boundary perambulation at East Harlsey. One clause is of particular interest. Following a clause that appears to indicate southward movement along the eastern boundary of the township of New Sawcock it states that one must travel *per capite de Thyngowe et sic inter Thyngowengs et Holmeng* ('along the heads of *Thyngowe* and so between *Thyngowengs* and *Holmeng*') (Brown 1894: 290-1). Immediately after this clause it appears to travel southward for a time along Harlsey Beck (*ibid*).

Thyngowengs and *Holmeng* are lost, while Fingay Hill represents a solitary eminence out of keeping with a description of 'heads'. This may refer to lost barrows or levelled glacial drumlins but that must remain speculative. What is clear is that the *Þing* element was attached to both a hill and also a lowland *ings*, a local dialectic word for meadowland and marshes.

Topography

Fingay Hill is an eminence set slightly apart from some of the final, westerly crests of the Cleveland Hills. These include the ridge on which East Harlsey sits and the wider, more amorphous example on which Harlsey Castle is found. Fingay Hill is lower, a lozenge-shaped crest at around 80 metres above sea level, and divided off by the course of Harlsey Beck, which runs along the south-eastern base of the hill. Likewise the course of Ing Beck runs 500 metres due west of Fingay Hill. It is likely to represent a final outcropping of the Lias limestones and sandstones before the wider distribution of Triassic sandstones. On the First Edition Ordnance Survey mapping a footpath runs up to the hill from Low Moor Farm in the south. A further line of communication is found immediately to the north-west of the hill in the form of Low Moor Lane. This runs from a crossroad to the north-east at Viver Moor but finishes as a footpath at the township boundary due west of Fingay Hill. The Hill straddles two parishes and two townships, that of Osmotherley parish and the township of West Harlsey to the south and the parish of East Harlsey and township of New Sawcock to the north. The presence of Harlseys on either side would suggest that this is a product of sub-division and reorganisation some time after the Domesday Inquest. When the two parishes are considered together they do appear to form a distinct central eastern group in the wapentake, one that may accord with a geographical grouping noted in the Domesday Summary for Allertonshire. Fingay Hill is situated on the divide at the western end of this larger grouping. This is a lowland position in an otherwise upland parish. If, to speculate, Fingay Hill was significant for this grouping, this may have represented a mutual point of relatively easy access. Fingay Hill is also situated centrally for the entire wapentake of Allertonshire. Finally it is situated on

the border between a jurisdictional peculiar of the Bishop of Durham and that of the rural deanery of Cleveland.

Archaeological Evidence

There is no archaeological evidence associated with Fingay Hill or the fields that immediately surround it. Fingay Hill is 900 metres east of the Roman road leading south to Thornton-le-Street and Thirsk (Margary 1967: 431-3). None of the remains from East and West Harlsey appear to pre-date their listing in Domesday Book, while the moated site at the proposed location of Sawcock to the north is likewise of later medieval provenance (Cathcart King 1983: 528; Le Patourel 1973: 119; Platt 1969: 221). A solitary Roman coin was reported from East Harlsey in the 1930s – it would seem unwise to read too much into it (Clark 1938: 97). Fingay Hill would appear to be yet another example of a 'clean' assembly site.

Landmoth (LAND-1)

Location: SE42469267 (centred on field-name)
Reason: Assembly-attesting toponym

Etymology

The vill of Landmoth appears in the form *Landemot* in the Main Entries and Summary of the Yorkshire Domesday (Faull and Stinson 1986: 299a, 381a). It has subsequently appeared as *Lanmouth* and *Lamoth* (Smith 1928: 206). Smith has presented a solution to the toponym comprising the Old English elements *land-(ge)mot*, thought to mean 'district meeting place (*ibid*). He proposes that it represented an alternative riding or wapentake assembly site to either Northallerton or Fingay Hill, though this proposition is presumably just a response to the multiplicity of plausible venues.

Historical Evidence

Landmoth is described as one of the eleven berewicks of the manor of Northallerton (Faull and Stinson 1986: 299a). All other ratings are grouped together and no individual details are presented. It is unclear how independent it was in the later medieval period though Page records that it donated tithes to the church at Leake in 1344, found in the soke of Northallerton at the time of the Domesday Survey (Page 1914: 410-18). It is a deserted medieval village. All that remains is one wing of the manor house.

Topography

The deserted medieval village of Landmoth was situated on Landmoth hill, the crest of a stark and narrow ridge aligned north-south between the deeply incised course of Cod Beck to the west and the meanderings of Leake Stell to the east. At a wider scale this ridge is bookended by the final scarps and moorlands of the Cleveland Hills

to the west and is overshadowed to the east by the high moors of Thimbleby and Over Silton. The ground dips sharply to the west but at the base of the gentler eastern slope there is a small sub-circular plain that abuts the Leake Stell to the east. No trace remains of the settlement of Landmoth. One wing of the post-medieval manor house of the same name does survive and it is presumed that the village would have either been adjacent or nearby. Beresford has proposed from old charter evidence that it was closely linked to Chapel Well at SE442389323 (1954: 302).

Landmoth Hill comprises a sandstone ridge of the Ravenscar group amid the Lias limestones and sandstones that make up the lower slopes at the western extent of the Cleveland Hills. The wider area is characterised by glacial tills. Despite the absence of a clearly defined location for the village there are two relevant lines of communication. The first is High Lane that crests the ridge and follows it north-south. This runs between Sigston Smithy crossroads to the north and Borrowby to the south. At the eastern base of Landmoth Hill another north-south road runs its course, along the western edge of the aforesaid plain. Despite its proximity to High Lane it follows a differing course, moving north to Ellerbeck Bridge and south to Leake. Landmoth is situated in the township of Landmoth-Cum-Catto in the parish of Leake. This is situated relatively centrally in a parish that appears to be defined by the interface of Broad Beck with Cod Beck. In turn it is situated in the central southern part of the wapentake. Like Northallerton this was situated in a jurisdictional peculiar of Durham, albeit one in the possession of the Bishop rather than the Chapter (Eyre and Strahan 1802: 302).

Archaeological Evidence

There are no medieval remains at the site of Landmoth. All that survives is one wing of Landmoth Hall, built in the sixteenth century (NMR 2013: MON#618024). Beresford has suggested that the older village of Landmoth was close to Chapel Well to the north (1954: 302). There are however no physical traces that would accord with this proposition. The DMV's of Sowerby-under-Cotcliffe and Leake are situated

to the north-west and south respectively but there seem no obvious signs of early medieval activity in relation to this site. It is also distant to the Roman road running to Thirsk, situated over 2.5 kilometres to the east of this line of communication. Landmoth appears to be a high point between two rivers towards the end of a range of hills. While the plain to the east does look like an intriguing platform it is not supported by any historical, toponymic or archaeological evidence as a site of assembly. This therefore appears to be another 'clean' site.

Mothow, Hovingham (MTH-1)

Location: SE67197527 (centred on the barrow at the eastern end of Hovingham)
Reason: Assembly-attesting toponym

Etymology

The name appears twice in one early fourteenth-century charter, as both *Mothow* and *Mothowe* (Brown 1932: 132-2). In the absence of further iterations any solution must be tentative. Nonetheless it would appear to represent a compound of the Old English *ge(mot)* and the Old Norse *haugr*, indicating an 'assembly mound'. It is evidently closely associated with the settlement of Hovingham. This appears unchanged in Domesday Book as *Hovingham* and has been interpreted by Smith as an Old English toponym meaning 'homestead of the followers of Hofa' (Faull and Stinson 1986: 327d; Smith 1928: 51). An alternative possibility - that *hof* instead indicates a temple - is dismissed in relation to the nearby Domesday settlement of *Hoveton* and the likelihood of such a connection with the '-*ingham* element'.

Historical Evidence

The charter within which *Mothow* is found supplies two pieces of information; one more useful than the other. The first is that *Mothow* was found 'in the territory of Hovingham' and it is so listed amid a modestly sized outline of what appear to be field names (Brown 1932: 131). It is not clear whether this refers to the settlement or the manor though it remains likely that a situation within the sokelands or berewicks of Hovingham would have required further qualification. The second is that the 'selion' of land at Mothow was found between that of Roger Rabot and Davit 'the lord's bondman' (*ibid*: 132). The extent of the lands of either of these individuals is unknown. Thus one is left to consider historical evidence for Hovingham.

It is entered once in Domesday Book, the capital messuage of the selfsame manor,

acquired by Hugh son of Baldric from Orm son of Gamal. While possessing extensive holdings it is confined to the south-west of the wapentake. Scackleton is found just over the border in Bulmer, while Butterwick makes for an anomalous outlier in the hundred of Burton in the East Riding. Subsequent to the 1086 Inquest it joined the Mowbray Fee, engendering a long-established link with Thirsk, Kirby Malzeard and other Yorkshire manors (Illingworth and Caley 1818: 218). The *Placita de Quo Warranto* reports a market and annual fair at the manor though interestingly it is stated that these were only held when the locals turned up (*ibid*). As mentioned above Hovingham was said to possess a court leet (Farrer 1914: 460). Whether this was synonymous with the similarly noted *Hallemote* at Hovingham is unclear (Brown 1902: 76). Certainly a further inquisition was recorded in Hovingham in 1294 concerning a land grant that may have been prejudiced against the interests of the crown (Brown 1898: 164-5). Hovingham to all intents and purposes appears to be have been an administrative centre of some importance in the later medieval period.

Topography

The settlement of Hovingham is found in the Rye valley at a northerly interface with the base of the Howardian Hills. It is directly below the slope of Mossburn Bank, which is divided by the minor river valleys of Wath Beck and the Marrs Beck that flow along the northern perimeter of the village before joining the Rye further north. The village is roughly aligned north-south, perpendicular to the base-of-slope (and Roman) road from Malton. This orientation is also set at a significant remove from the northerly road to Nunnington. Considering also the manner in which the church of All Saints is set back from the main street it may be that Hovingham displays a partially imposed plan upon, rather than apart from, the existing settlement. It is also possible that the westerly road leading into the hills continues for some distance to Yearsley. The southerly roads continue, indirectly, to Terrington. In terms of geology, the Howardian Hills interface is of a type with the Cleveland Hills, another interface of lowland West Walton Clays and a hillslope defined by Corallian limestones. As at Langbaurgh, Ravenscar sandstones crest the hills. Beyond Mossburn Bank a valley

runs roughly east-west, marking another transition, with the Kellaways clays sandwiched between the Corallian and Ravenscar formations. This line marks the border with Ryedale at Barton-le-Street to the east, coincident with a discontinuous linear dyke of either medieval or Iron Age date. Between Hovingham and Barton-le-Street the southern border extends into this valley to take in Airyholme and the moors of Slingsby and Hovingham. Hovingham is located in the selfsame township and parish. The settlement is central to the rest of the parish which extends north-east to South Holme and East Ness. It extends east to Fryton and southwards to Airyholme, Coulton and – in Bulmer – Scackleton. Hovingham is on the central southern border of the wapentake.

Archaeological Evidence

Evidence from Hovingham would strongly suggest that it was a place of long-term settlement. It is best known for its Romano-British connections, not least in the traces of a Roman villa found in the grounds of Hovingham Hall in 1745 (Eastmead 1824: 205; Kitson Clark 1935: 88-92). The uncovered building complex was accompanied by an assemblage of second- to fourth-century coinage, a tessellated pavement and crucially, a single styca (*ibid*). This villa is closely associated with Ivan Margary's Roman road 814, running from Malton and seemingly terminating at Hovingham[4] (1973: 423-4). The road in turn is overlooked by Wath camp on Diana Hill (Welfare and Swan 1995: 145). Numismatic evidence from the PAS tallies well with the date range of the villa assemblage (e.g. PAS 2013: YORYM-AC2737, YORYM-ABFF76, YORYM-EEB9C7) while a hoard found at Temple Bank Wood, 700 metres westward of Hovingham Hall, seemed to be early fifth century in date (Burnett 1984: 116-8).
Early medieval material is represented at Hovingham by the report of the aforesaid styca and the sculptural fragments found in the church of All Saints. While the nearest early medieval PAS reports are some distance east and west on the Howardian slopes at Cawton and Gilling it would seem plausible to treat Hovingham as a focus of

[4] Though Margary does note the possible that the route continued at least as far as Sowerby [SE431810].

activity from at least the eighth century onwards.

There is plentiful cropmark evidence, both in the immediate surrounds of Hovingham and also above the modern town on Mossburn Bank (NMR 2013: MON#1024409, MON#898077). The majority are reported as field-boundaries, trackways and enclosures of prehistoric/Romano-British date (*ibid*). The fragments of Romano-British pottery from Wath Quarry, directly above Hovingham, would lend themselves to the later date (*ibid*: MON#972717). A number of other cropmarks would appear to represent ploughed out barrows, indicating a diminished concentration of monuments trailing off from those identified and/or extant on the upper slopes. One concentration is found at the eastern end of the town, 30 metres north-east of the supposedly Roman Barrow on the road to Malton (*ibid*: MON#1024412, MON#1024413; cf Dunning and Jessup 1936: 53). This is an almost conical and certainly re-modelled earthwork inside a bend in the road. Close proximity to two round barrows, which in turn are surrounded by numerous cropmarks of square barrows, would strongly suggest a far earlier date in prehistory. Rather than comprising the standing fabric of a Roman barrow it instead attests to differential treatment of the monument in subsequent eras. The cropmarks of a further possible cluster of barrows are also known on the western side of Hovingham on the northern bank of Marrs Beck (NMR 2013: MON#907596).

It would seem reasonable to treat Hovingham as a long term focus of both settlement and mortuary activity. In terms of a plausible assembly site, this is more difficult to ascertain. *Mothow* would appear to indicate a mound or hill. The most obvious connection would be with the manor, which is presumed to have occupied the present site of Hovingham Hall. Notwithstanding its close connection with the site of the Roman villa, attention has also been drawn to a now-levelled mound once found within the grounds of the hall (*ibid*: MON#974388). It may represent another example of curated monumentality to the 'Roman' barrow on the east side of town. Clearly each requires further investigation before more can be discussed on the matter. In her recent consideration of *Mothow*, Allison proposed Moody Hill, on the

basis of the presence of the aforesaid roadside barrow (2011: 40). There is one other possibility which should be raised. The promontory of Pickering Knoll on the western side of the village is bisected by a cross-ridge dyke of unknown date (NMR 2013: MON#987387). This divides off the cropmark of a sub-circular enclosure, which in turn is connected to the centre of Hovingham by cropmark indications of a trackway (*ibid*: MON#907365, MON#1024407). This engenders a certain amount of interest due to both the presence of an analogous promontory in the *Tyngoudale* zone identified in Langbaurgh wapentake and also in the growing corpus of 'hanging promontories' identified by Stuart Brookes and John Baker at other hundredal sites in England (Brookes and Baker 2013a). It is by no means a clear identification and as with the other cited locations requires further scrutiny. One should note that Eastmead in 1824 connected Pickering Knoll, "a rude seat of stone encircling an ancient fir", with annual "rural sport and festivity in the vale below" (Eastmead 1824: 207). Ultimately these sites can only join the ranks of interesting possibilities, shorn of a compelling early medieval archaeological component.

Stony Cross (STX-1)

Location: SE66828478 (centred on the site of the cross)
Reason: Assembly-attesting toponym

Etymology

The name occurs in two forms within the Rievaulx Cartulary; *Spelcros* and *Spelcrosse*. (Atkinson 1889: 41, 285). No later forms are known. Analogues of this toponym include a Spelcrosse recorded adjoining the chapel of St Mary Magdalene, Shrewsbury in 1356 (Maxwell-Lyte 1909a: 404) and the aforementioned *Spelcros* encountered at nearby Guisborough (see above). Allison (2011: 33) has cited *Spelcros* as a plausible combination of the Old English element *spell* for 'speech' and the Old Norse *kross*, and as such an attestation of the practice of assembly at this location. However, it is also worth noting that *Spelcros* could instead be a portmanteau of Middle English, referring to a 'Gospel Cross'. There is form for this in the study area, such as the lost 'Gospel Thorn' in Brighouse (Smith 1961b: 80). Certainly the association of the gospel with landscape features on the parish boundaries was a characteristic of Rogationtide processions (Jepson 2011: 13). This dilemma is unresolved and so analysis has proceeded.

Historical Evidence

The Rievaulx references to *Spelcros* consist of a land grant, in 1142x1152, and its later confirmation in 1333/4 (Atkinson 1889: 41, 285; Allison 2011: 33). It is listed at the start of a grouping ordered subsequently Skiplam, Rookbargh, Muscoates and Wombleton. In footnotes to his edition of this Chartulary, J.C. Atkinson proposed that *Spelcros* was none other than Stony Cross, a partially extant wayside marker 600 metres directly north of Wombleton. This is not qualified although Allison later proposes that this is a linked group attached to Welburn Grange. Unfortunately these locations are too disparate to allow easy acquiescence to the stated view. Skiplam is

3.6 kilometres north of Wombleton, Muscoates is 4 kilometres to the south-east while Rookbargh is 5 kilometres to the east of the same settlement. The main connection would appear to be that, excepting Rookbargh, the remainder of the locations are found within the parish of Kirkdale. The only other known cross site in the vicinity of this grouping is that of the market cross at Kirby Moorside, though of course there is no reason to take an extant distribution of cross sites as representative (McDonnell 1963: 423). One could even point to Stump Cross up in Tripsdale, 15 kilometres to the north of Wombleton, merely as it falls within the same parish (*ibid*: 424). The identification of Stony Cross with *Spelcros* has therefore been assessed as weak.

Allison does however report several traditions associated with Stony Cross. The first is the oft-cited trope of the devil-thwarted church foundation, explaining a putative transition of ecclesiastical function from Stony Cross to Kirkdale (Crosland 1947: 76-7). The second, uncited, is somewhat confusing and is therefore quoted in full: "The fierce local pagan ruler Black Pig built his 'howe'…on the site of the cross and was buried there at Creaking Howe" (Allison 2011: 34). Allison proposes Stony Cross is not only Spelcros but is also Creaking Howe, which is problematic given that Creaking Howe is the present name for a road junction two kilometres north-west of Kirby Moorside. The identification remains problematic.

Topography

Stony Cross is sited mid-way up the hill-slope north of the settlement of Wombleton as the land begins to climb up to the North York Moors. It is directly west of a small dry valley at Cockerhill Field that divides the slopes of Wombleton from that of Nawton. As with so many other of the examples in the study area it is positioned at a transition of land-forms, between the uplands to the north and the Rye Valley to the south. As at Pickering it is situated between the Corallian limestone uplands and the West Walton formation of the valley below. It is evidently positioned at a significant and ancient crossroads, as indicated by the six radial routeways at the

interface and, in a number of cases, their characteristic dog-legs and traces of differential maintenance at proximate township and parish boundaries. Where connections can be identified, the crossroad appears to link Nawton, Welburn, Wombleton and Kirkdale. Stony Cross is located in Wombleton township in the wider parish of Kirkdale, one of several thin and narrow parishes that straddle the moorland-valley transition of the wapentake, on a roughly north-south alignment. Stony Cross is found in the central-southern portion of this and is relatively central to the wapentake as a whole.

Archaeological Evidence

Stony Cross today is marked by a sandstone block atop a modern plinth and cobbled area. (Hayes 1988: 41). The block has a cross carved into the top and is of unknown date. There are no archaeological features of note in the immediate vicinity of the site. Proximate early medieval activity is represented by the church of St Gregory, Kirkdale, 1.2 kilometres north-east of the site. This bears a nave and other fabric of pre-Conquest eleventh-century date and an impressive series of sculptural fragments (Pevnser 1966: 216). These date from the eighth century onwards (Lang 2001). The inscription on the sundial refers to the church as a derelict minster and so strongly suggests the prior presence of a monastic community (*ibid*). Geophysical investigation in the late 1990s indicated the presence of structures directly north of the churchyard while earthworks to the south indicated activity in this direction as well (Watts, Grenville and Rahtz 1996). It would seem reasonable to treat the site as a locus of long-term monastic activity. There are no further relevant archaeological traces in significant spatial relation to Stony Cross.

Spelgate (SPG-1)

Location: SE82508350 (centred on mid-point of track)
Reason: Assembly-attesting toponym

Etymology

Attention to this assembly-attesting name is very recent, highlighted in Allison's recent consideration of assembly names in Ryedale (2011: 35-6). It occurs as a fieldname in the late seventeenth century in two forms – *Spellgate* and *Spelgate* (*ibid*). It would appear to comprise the Old English element *spell* – for 'speech – and the Old Norse *gata* – for road. In this sense it may be of a type with Spellowgate found to the north-west of Driffield (see above).

Historical Evidence

Spelgate only occurs as a fieldname on two occasions in the later seventeenth century. It is described as north of Pickering Highway and south of Brickendale Way and Hollintree Lands in 1685 (Allison 2011: 35). A 'Brackendales' and 'Hollan Trees' can be identified from the 1848 tithe assessment in the fields directly west of Thornton Dale. A 1673 deed refers to 'one rood in *Spelgate* from Roxby Lane to the gate called Stiffegate in Langlands' (*ibid*). While neither Roxby Lane nor Stiffegate nor Langlands can be identified today, Roxby Hill and Roxby Castle are directly to the south of the western fields of Thornton Dale and it would seem plausible that Roxby Lane was situated in the western field leading south. Allison places *Spellgate* in the lands between Pickering Road and Green Gate directly west of Thornton Dale (*ibid*). This seems very likely to be the correct location. Despite the attachment of this toponym to a field (or series of fields) it may well have initially referred to what became known as Greengate, which leads from Thornton Dale westward across the lower slopes of the moors towards Pickering. It is also part of the township of Thornton Dale. This was sokeland of the royal manor of Pickering. Kirkby's Inquest

noted that John de Eston held a three-weekly court at the manor of Thornton Dale (Skaife 1867: 147). It was also the venue for at least three Inquisitions between the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries (Brown 1898: 164; Turton 1895: 262; Maxwell-Lyte 1916: 116).

Topography

Spelgate is found to the west of Thornton Dale, north of the road to Pickering, east of Swinecroft Hill and north of what are described as High Fields on the First Edition Ordnance Survey mapping. Thornton Dale itself nestles to the east in the valley mouth of Thornton Beck. *Spelgate* meanwhile is found on the raised slopes to the west some 500 metres north of the lowlands of the Vale of Pickering. This part of the slope is characterised by the slight promontory of Roxby Hill and the remains of Roxby Castle to the south. Despite the possibility that Greengate is synonymous with *Spelgate* its course is only apparent for a short distance. It does line up with the remains of a round cairn and ditched enclosure at SE8138083920 and also with the aforementioned cropmarked and earthworked sub-circular enclosure east of Pickering castle (North Yorkshire HER 2013: MNY8867; NMR2013: MON#1476231, MON#1370351). Of course it also marks a potential course to Pickering itself. The administrative geography of the *Spelgate* fields is unusual. The area is divided between the variegated parishes of Thornton Dale and Ellerburn, a settlement further north along Thornton Beck. The reasons for this instance of mass detachment are unclear, but it appears to form a column following the course of Thornton Beck to the east and Howl Dale to the west. Like Thornton Dale, *Spelgate* is located in the central south-western portion of Pickering wapentake.

Archaeological Evidence

There is little archaeology of note in the *Spelgate* fields or on the proposed trajectory of Greengate beyond what has already been discussed in the topographic section. The NMR reports a ploughed down medieval boundary bank at what appears to be

the terminus of Greengate in the mid nineteenth century (NMR 2013: MON#62728). Aside from this there are no monument records pertinent to *Spelgate* itself. In this instance it is deemed very likely that, if *Spelgate* refers to the practice of assembly, it is referring to a road leading to an assembly site at Pickering or somewhere in between.

Spell Close Farm (SCF-1)

Location: NZ43741078 (centred on farm)
Reason: Assembly-attesting toponym

Etymology

Spell Close Farm has received no known prior scrutiny as regards the elements of the toponym. The earliest known form of the name appears twice on the first edition Ordnance Survey mapping, as Spell Close Farm on the road south-east of Yarm and Spell Close Wood on the banks of the river Leven. Given the lack of antecedent forms it is impossible to gauge the strength of association between Spell and Close. It remains to state that Spell is phonologically identical with the Old English element *spell*, for 'speech'.

Historical Evidence

No records have been located that refer to Spell Close Farm, Spell Close Wood or simply Spell Close. It is a toponym present since the First Edition Ordnance Survey mapping with no other historic details available.

Topography

Spell Close Farm and Spell Close Wood are found on gently undulating terrain in the catchment of the river Leven. While the wood follows the bank of the river the farm is situated 250 metres north-west of a very slight rise called Toft Hill. There is however no trace of wider settlement in the immediate area. Between the wood and farmland there is a discrete parcel of land c.0.8 km^2 in area. This is bound by the river Leven to the north-east and the West Gill along its northern, western and south-western extent. Red Hall Lane appears to define the south-eastern edge of this zone. It rests on a bedrock of Triassic sandstones topped by glacial tills. It is connected by

a road immediately south-west of the Close by the road running between Yarm and what was Castle Leavington. It is situated within the township of Castle Leavington which is in turn found within the parish of Kirk Leavington. With the exception of Yarm this defines the north-eastern end of Allertonshire and thus Spell Close is also at the north-eastern border of the wapentake. This parish was found within the rural deanery of Cleveland.

Archaeological Evidence

There are no monument records associated with the immediate environs of Spell Close Farm and Spell Close Wood. It is situated almost equidistant to the likely early medieval settlement of Yarm and the Norman motte at Castle Leavington. It is also somewhat nearer to the site of the early medieval ecclesiastical establishment at Kirk Leavington to the south-west. There are however two possible lines of evidence for prior activity on this site. The first is the name Toft Hill, found south-east of Spell Close Farm and marking a local high point in these undulating lowlands. No earthworks or cropmarks are recorded while scrutiny of Google Earth imagery has only revealed traces of widespread ridge and furrow. The second is the PAS report of a gold wire finger ring, found at Toft Hill (PAS 2013: DUR-92E7D2). The report indicates that similar rings have been identified in sixth- to seventh century-mortuary contexts in Kent, such as Finglesham and Buckland (Hawkes and Grainger 2006). This is not on its own enough to suggest the presence of a cemetery on site as chance loss could also be a possibility given that only a single find has been reported. The site is 900 metres north-east of Kirkleavington and its church of St Martin wherein is found a large collection of ninth- to tenth-century sculpture (Lang 2001: 141-52). These divide into types of the Allertonshire workshop and those of a more defiantly Anglo-Scandinavian cast (*ibid*: 44-5). There is also one reported piece of ninth-century sculpture from Yarm with a requisite inscription in Old English, more distant at three kilometres north-west of Spell Close Farm (*ibid*: 274-276). Also, to the north, and across the river Leven, an Anglo-Saxon cemetery is known from High Leven (Mole 2005). This would seem to indicate the relatively successful endurance of early

medieval nodes of settlement and activity in the north-eastern corner of the wapentake. It does not necessarily set the finger-ring, or the site of Spell Close in general, within a more informative context. Brief mention should be made of the hypothesised Tees Bridge to Huntcliff road that would pass between Spell Close Farm and Yarm (NMR 2013: MON#1012613). Its existence as a Roman road is considered doubtful but it may nonetheless represent a long-term communication route of some provenance. One possibility that does present itself with regard to the assembly attestation is that the *spell* name is once more set at a distance, albeit an accessible one, from a longstanding, or plausibly longstanding ecclesiastical foundation, as seen in the North Riding with Guisborough and Kirkdale.

Spella Farm (SPLF-1)

Location: SE59727029 (centred on farm)
Reason: Assembly-attesting toponym

Etymology

Spella occurs in three forms on the First Edition Ordnance Survey mapping; Spellar House, Spellar Wood and Spellar Rush. Latterly, Home Farm to the north was renamed Spellar Park, and Spellar House has recently become Spella Farm. A Spellar Wood is also found in Honington, Lincolnshire. This is thought to be the location of the assemblies of *Threo* wapentake (Green 2012: 232 138n). While antecedents for the present toponym are not forthcoming, the Lincolnshire counterpart has been interpreted as the Old English *spell – hoh* or 'speech spur' (Pantos 2001: 345; Cameron 1985: 202). There is no identifiable spur of land at or near any of the above-listed Yorkshire toponyms.

Historical Evidence

No mention of Spella/Spellar in any of its variants has been identified in records pre-dating the First Edition Ordnance Survey mapping.

Topography

The early Spellar names (discounting Spellar Park) are tightly distributed on either side of the Birdforth-Bulmer wapentake border. These are found in gently undulating lowlands on the edge of the south-eastern lower slopes of the Howardian Hills. Spellar Wood comprises a quadrilateral area of woodland directly abutting the wapentake border. Immediately to the north-west is a small copse called Spellar Rush. While each of these are found in Ryedale, Spellar House is instead located in Birdforth, 300 metres to the south-west. A kilometre to the south-east the ground descends

once more, into the vale of the river Foss and the ruins of Marton Abbey. Meanwhile, Farlington Beck runs southwards some 1.5 kilometres to the east, likewise into the Foss. All of this in turn overlooks the lower-level river basin north of the city of York. The drift geology comprises glacial tills, underlain in turn by Lias formation sandstones. None of the Spellar names appear to be connected to any significant lines of communication. The First Edition Ordnance Survey mapping indicates a footpath leading from Marton Abbey to Spellar House and thence to the Wood. Another likewise leads north from Spellar Wood to Stearsby. As mentioned, the Spellar names mark the Birdforth-Bulmer wapentake border. On the Birdforth side this is represented by the township and parish of Marton-in-the-Forest. The Bulmer side is split between the townships of Brandsby and Stearsby, each in Brandsby parish, with the dividing line also marking the eastern extent of Spellar Wood.

Archaeological Evidence

The Spellar names are distributed either side of the Birdforth-Bulmer wapentake border and as such it can be difficult to identify a site as such. Nonetheless there is reason to believe the boundary itself, adjacent to Spellar Wood, marks the focus of activity. The main reason for this is the presence of a cropmark that appears to denote a curvilinear enclosure, 250 by 220 metres, directly on the boundary. This enclosure arrests the progress of ridge and furrow directly to the north and, furthermore, its north-easterly extent appears to be depicted as a bank within Spellar Wood in the First Edition Ordnance Survey mapping. It is not associated with any other finds but should certainly be a focus of future attention.

1.5 kilometres south-west of Spellar Wood one finds the substantial earthwork remains of Marton Priory. This was founded in 1154 (Knowles and Hadcock 1971: 142, 166). Where stonework has been incorporated into the subsequent edifice of Marton Farm it appears to accord with a later medieval date (Mackay and Swan 1989: 71-84). Likewise the moated site called The Rush, 1.2 kilometres south-east of Spellar Wood, appears likewise to be of later medieval date (Le Patourel 1973: 120). There is finally

a genuinely bizarre site one kilometre north-east of Spellar Wood, just beyond Thorn Hill. Here the burnt remains of a wooden building were found, in 1937, in association with late fourth-century Romano-British pottery, a sixth-century pendant, a ninth-century sculpture fragment of a cross-arm (Lang 2001: 88-9) and a hoard of weaponry, ingots and harness fittings of roughly the same period (Shepperd 1939: 273-281). The metalwork has been interpreted as Viking booty or as a smith's hoard.

The key property to Spellar Wood appears to be its position on a border. Whether this was meant to be the wapentake border, or else a precursor, successor or fellow-traveller to these districts, is unclear. There does however appear to be a focus to the names in a curvilinear enclosure straddling the southern part of Spellar Wood and adjacent fields in Birdforth wapentake.

Thingwall (THW-1)

Location: NZ91821004 (centred on Haggit Howe)
Reason: Assembly-attesting toponym

Etymology

One of the most intriguing toponyms to appear in the Whitby Chartulary is that of *Tingwal* or *Thingwala*. It first appears in 1145x1148 in a charter of Pope Eugenius III, confirming the grant of lands transferred to the Abbey of Whitby by the Domesday landholder William of Percy (Farrer 1915: 218; Atkinson 1879: 118). This toponym was repeated as *Thingwala* a few short years later in 1160 in a memorial of this grant (Farrer 1915: 200; Atkinson 1879: 2-3). Smith has interpreted this toponym as an example of the compound *Þingvǫllr*, or 'assembly field' (1928:128). There is no clear link between *Tingwal/Tingwala* and any extant or identifiable place-name.

Historical Evidence

While ostensibly lost, information from the above cited sources and their analogues strongly indicates that Thingwall was located immediately to the east of the town and abbey of Whitby. Firstly, in both the Eugenius confirmation and the later Memorial charter Thingwall is set within an initial group of vills, all of which are situated within Eskdale. These in turn are co-extensive with the extent of the manor of Whitby as outlined in Domesday Book (Faull and Stinson 1986: 305a). More interestingly, Domesday Book and the Thingwall citations follow the same strict geographical pattern, accounting for vills on the east side of the river Esk before recommencing the survey on the opposite bank. This pattern is also found in three other grants and confirmations to Whitby between 1090 and 1136 (Farrer 1915: 200, 202, 212).

If all five of the Whitby grants are then compared to one another Thingwall can

arguably be identified in close proximity to Larpool and Spital Vale, each situated immediately to the east of Whitby. In the 1145x1148 grant Thingwall follows immediately after Netherby and Overby. This is then followed by Larpool, Hellerdale (modern Spital Vale – see Atkinson 1881: 428, 727) and Stainsacre. The 1160 grant makes clear that Netherby and Overby are part of Stainsacre before the listing turns again to Larpool and Hellerdale. Like Thingwall, Larpool and Hellerdale are only encountered in the 1145x1148 and 1160 listings, a consistent sub-group that appears to have been inserted within a stronger and older pattern that ran from Stainsacre and its constituents through to Gnipe Howe and the Fylings. It is thus proposed that Thingwall lay to the east of the river Esk, west of Gnipe Howe and north of Cock Mill Beck (immediately south of Larpool Hall). This provides a manageable area within which to conduct the usual archaeological assessment.

It should also be noted that this area has been proposed on two previous occasions, albeit with less in the way of explanation. Apropos of very little, both Lionel Charlton (1779: 69) and George Young (1817: 912) linked Thingwall to *Haggitt Howe* (NZ9183610043), a small knoll cresting a minor ridge looking over Whitby Abbey before the cliffside rises once more towards the south-east (Figure 122; Figure 132). On the tithe map of 1844, the building here is labelled as *Agate Howe*, with a mound depicted immediately to the west (NMR 2013: MON#513502). Atkinson, translator of the Whitby Chartulary, also specified that he considered Thingwall to lay "on the line of the cliff at no great distance from the existing ruins [of Whitby Abbey]" (1894: 97). This was based upon a less specific "tradition I have met with [that] seems to point to its absolute site there" (*ibid*). This tradition may in fact merely be drawn from Charlton and Young's earlier assertions. On its own these contributions are not particularly helpful but they nonetheless tally with the more considered geographical approach outlined above. Regardless, it is not considered compelling enough to narrow the field of inquiry.

Topography

The area in question is defined to the north by cliffside and to the west by the banks of the river Esk. This is punctuated by Spital Vale, a deep and narrow valley that runs south-east of the Esk for just over one kilometre. Cock Mill and Intake Beck define the south while to the east the ground rises consistently but unevenly, resulting in a number of smaller knolls, such as Haggitt Howe. At the wider level this cliff-side is part of wider dendritic network of river valleys congregating at the mouth of the Esk. While it can be considered relatively high ground, it is overshadowed to the south and west by the uplands of the North York Moors, a setting that renders Whitby something of an isolated basin. As elsewhere in the North York Moors it is a landscape defined by the Lias series of limestones, capped by sand and siltstones of the Ravenscar formation. While alluvial deposits define the channel of the Esk, glacial tills characterise much of the cliff-side and are no doubt responsible for the undulating terrain encountered here. Whitby is notorious for its isolation and until the modern era it was still considered easier to reach by sea than by land, owing to the treacherous conditions of the North York Moors. The eastern cliff-side is however marked by Hawkser Lane, a longstanding route that leads to Normanby and thence across the moors to Scarborough. The area under consideration is coextensive with that part of the township of Hawsker-cum-Stainsacre north of Cock Mill and Intake Beck and west of Gnipe Howe. This is part of the wider parish of Whitby, found at the eastern limit of Langbaurgh wapentake and in the selfsame archdeaconry and rural deanery of Cleveland.

Archaeological Evidence

The dominant feature on the eastern headland is the ruined eminence of Whitby Abbey. While the upstanding fabric dates from the thirteenth century and later a strong case has long been made to equate this with the seventh-century monastery of Streoneshalh of Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*. This monastery was founded on land for *x familiarum*; a grant from King Oswy to Hild, a kinswoman of Edwin (Colgrave and Mynors 1969: 292-3). It is most notable as the setting for the Synod of Whitby in 664, a debate that concerned which of the British or Roman liturgical traditions the

nascent English Church was to follow (*ibid*: 299-309). Whitby Abbey fell victim to the depredations of the Vikings in the ninth-century and no more is heard of a monastic centre until its re-foundation in or before 1078. Despite the interlude Page (1923: 506) does however note that the recorded toponym of *Prestebi* in Domesday Book could indicate the continuance of some manner of ecclesiastical activity, if not just the memory of past character. The new monastery was in turn abandoned following piratical incursions though monastic functions had been re-established by the mid-twelfth century (Atkinson 1878: 1). The historic equation of *Streoneshalh* and Whitby dates from William of Malmesbury's Chronicle (Giles 1866: 51), backed up by the copious evidence for high status and pre-Conquest ecclesiastical activity uncovered by Sir Charles Peers in the early 1920s (Peers and Radford 1943).5

These excavations revealed substantial early medieval activity immediately to the north of the footprint of the medieval abbey. Despite numerous later medieval grave cuts a number of stone building foundations were uncovered in close association with strong evidence for high status early medieval activity (Peers and Radford 1943). Numerous examples of pre-Conquest stone sculpture were catalogued, dating from the late seventh to the early ninth centuries (Lang 2001: 231-266). Note must also be made of two further fragments of sculpture indicative of Scandinavian influence and dated to the late ninth and tenth centuries (*ibid*: 251-253). This was also accompanied by varied metalwork and numismatic evidence of a similar date (Peers and Radford 1943: 47-76). Unfortunately the 1943 report is little more than a finds catalogue, reflecting a brutal and unsympathetic excavation process that paid no heed to the nuances of stratigraphy. As a result both Rahtz (1976) and Cramp (1976) have urged caution over the interpretation of the layout and proposed functional zones of the complex, whilst still affirming the monastic identification with the *Streoneshalh* of Bede. Rahtz later excavated in 1958 further to the north of the Abbey near the cliff edge, finding strong evidence for the later medieval occupation of a settlement, amid a small but robust assemblage of Anglo-Saxon pottery and earlier timber foundations (Rahtz 1962: 608-612). This in turn has been identified with the

[5] However, for a critical re-examination of this identification, see Barnwell *et al* 2003.

Prestebi of Domesday Book (*ibid*). A further intervention 150 metres south-east of the later medieval abbey revealed a cemetery (Rahtz 1967: 72-3). Despite the presence of a ninth-century styca, the remains were deemed to be associated with the later medieval re-foundation of Whitby. Later excavation by Wilmott in the mid-1990s did however indicate the presence of upwards of one thousand early medieval inhumations to the south of the thirteenth-century monastic boundary (Nenk *et al* 1996: 292; Denison 2002: 4). This was part of a wider programme of work on the Whitby headland that revealed even stronger evidence for settlement on artificial terraces.

The site has an evident conciliar connection in relation to the Synod of Whitby, though it is presently impossible to expand on this. Both Cramp (1976a) and Rahtz (1976) have cautioned against treating the 1920s site plan as indicative of the core monastic complex. The profusion of sculpture would stress an ecclesiastical function, though the excavated area may instead represent an ancillary zone to Streoneshalh. That said, one aspect of Peers results has been cited in relation to potential conciliar practices. This has been the preponderance of metalwork found at the north-eastern limit of the 1920s excavations beyond a linear paved way that was then interpreted as the monastic vallum. The concentration was first pointed out by Cramp (1976b: 457). Katharina Ulmschneider has latterly cited this as an example of a 'productive site' in the context of a religious centre but further investigation and comparanda are needed before this can be taken further.

Unsurprisingly, the surrounding area has received comparatively little attention. A glass bead recovered during Brewster's excavation of Gnipe Howe has been tentatively associated with a secondary inhumation of the early medieval period (Brewster 1995; Meaney 1964: 293). There is no further early medieval activity recorded in the area. The moated site of Whitby Lathes was a venue for court proceedings in 1394 as an appurtenant manor of the abbey and the site today is found amid an unusual complex of earthworks (Page 1923: 514, 522; Le Patourel 1973). These have been unconvincingly ascribed to associated gardens and ponds

and are further accompanied by the former site of two standing stones – Robin Hood and Little John – that appear to define an avenue of sorts leading to the site of the manor house (Page 1923: 506). The site is an intriguing possibility for Thingwall, especially given its close proximity to Haggit Howe. Regardless it must remain a possibility alone in the characteristic absence of early medieval archaeological materials.

Tyngoudale (TYNG-1)

Location: NZ59361399 (general grid-reference for the area, centred on the promontory in the valley south of Hutton Lowcross)
Reason: Assembly-attesting toponym

Etymology

The place-name *Tyngoudale*, alongside the variants *Tinghoudale* and *Tingholvesdale*, appears in a number of entries in the chartulary of Guisborough Priory, dating from the first half of the fourteenth century (Brown 1889: 171-5). No further instances of the toponym have been identified, though it appears probable that it is a construction of the Old Norse elements *Þing-haugr-dalr*, which would appear to indicate a hill or mound associated with conciliar practices within a wider vale. Mention should be made once more of Dingledow, a road and a field immediately north-east of Langbaurgh ridge. This is some 3.8 kilometres south-east of Lowcross, but may represent the continuance of an older name.

Historical Evidence

The name *Tyngoudale* appears in reference to a number of different features. The 1319 charter of lease from John of Hutton to Guisborough Priory treats with both a *parcum* (deer park) and *pratum* (field/meadow) of *Tyngoudale* (Brown 1889: 174). The remainder of the relevant entries concern instead what were likely earlier grants to the Hospital of Hutton Lowcross. Thus one also finds a *collem quoque cum frutecto* (a hill/mound with uncultivated scrub) at *Tinghoudale*, and a *fonte* (spring) (*ibid*: 171). Finally the name is also connected to a *boscum* (wood) (*ibid*: 172, 175). The majority of these topographic features are associated with bounded spaces rather than singular foci. The elements *fonte* and *collem* form exceptions to this, the latter doubly so considering the absence of this element in the rest of the chartulary.

Though the location of *Tyngoudale* can be narrowed down to a relatively small area directly south-west of Guisborough, the site itself defies exact mapping. The lease to the Priory gives the bounds of the deer-park of *Tyngoudale* as that along the road to or from Lowcross, thence to the unidentified *Ad Spinam* (thorns?) and *Viuercloures* to the southern corner of the park. The boundary then circumscribes an extent that leads to a *Kerlingkeld* and the meadow of *Tyngoudale*, with rough ground adjacent to the aforesaid *Spina*, possibly the northern part, towards the fields of Lowcross (*ibid*: 174). In this case Lowcross is the only readily identifiable toponym. An undated grant of Richard of Hutton to the Hospital at Lowcross further specifies that a stream ran from the *fonte* of *Tinghoudale* along the bounds of Hutton and Barnaby 'to the west' (*ibid*: 171). The field of *Tingolvesdale* is described in another grant of Richard as near to the cultivated field of *Spirtflat* (*ibid*: 172). While these names further reinforce an association with the immediate vicinity of Lowcross, greater precision has met with difficulties.

These features are now considered in order. Lowcross was the site of the Hospital of St Leonard after it had transferred from what is now Hutton, or Hutton Lowcross, in the thirteenth century (Knowles and Hadcock 1971: 326). While no visible fabric attests to the new site of the hospital the boundary situation of the present-day Lowcross House accords with descriptions of the foundation (Page 1913: 314. It is highly likely that the new hospital was found either there or very close by and likewise the Lowcross road mentioned in the charter very likely equates to one or both of the connecting roads to Guisborough in the east and Pinchinthorpe to the south-west. *Ad Spinam* also appears in the Guisborough chartulary as a topographic feature to the west of Tunstall. This feature would be found in low-lying ground at the north-eastern edge of the Vale of York. It is thus unlikely to refer to the ridgeline of the Cleveland Hills and more likely indicates the less durable presence of thorn trees or bushes. While no further mention has been found for *Viuercloures*, a *Viverparke* is mentioned in the eastern fields of Guisborough (*ibid*: 81).

Kerlingkelde is without doubt the most intriguing of the toponyms to appear in

relation to *Tyngoudale*. It bears a strong likeness to the *Kerlinghou/Kerlinhou* that appears elsewhere in the Guisborough Chartulary. Smith solved this lost place-name as the Old Norse *kerling-haugr*, or 'old woman mound' (1928: 151). However, as Carling Howe is situated some two kilometres to the north of Guisborough, it would seem that *Kerlingkelde* indicated a differing locale entirely. It is encountered twice apart from the *Tyngoudale* references. Firstly, the lost toponym of *Spirtflat* is described as being at the northern end of *Kerlingkelde* (Brown 1889: 171, 173). This is an unusual way to treat a toponym that would appear to signify a spring. *Tingolvedale* is described in relation to *Spirtflat* in identical terms in another charter while *Kerlingkelde* serves merely to denote a spring and the name of a stream running towards Lowcross (*ibid*: 172). However the most intriguing reference comes from an undated grant by Hugh of Hutton to the Hospital of St Leonard. In it he granted them the *culture* of *Spirtflat* on the northern edge of *Kerlingkelde* with the exception of the selfsame field and spring of *Kerlingkelde* (*ibid*: 173). It would be tempting to propose *Kerlingkelde* as a synonym for Tyngoudale were it not for the explicit and separate reference to each in a grant by Richard of Hutton (*ibid*: 171). This makes clear that the hill, field and spring of *Tinghoudale* were separate to the field and spring of *Kerlingkelde*, despite the apparent similarities in description. It is both helpful in establishing topographical cues for the site but it also makes it clear that one could well be mistaken for the other.

In summary, Tyngoudale was situated not far to the south of the fields of Lowcross (by way of the evidence from *Kerlingkelde*). It was associated with a valley, woods, a hill, a spring and uncultivated fields. The stream that ran from the spring appears to have demarcated the now lapsed boundary between Hutton and Barnaby. This was near another spring and field called *Kerlingkelde* and the stream that ran from this alternate spring likewise ran towards Lowcross. Thus it would seem reasonable to pursue further archaeological inquiries in the valleys to the south of Lowcross House. The following examination centres upon Lowcross House, though this is merely a convenient anchoring point. It must be noted that this diverts somewhat from Frank Rimington's earlier examination of this material. Rimington (1975) equated the deer

park of *Tyngoudale* with the Cliff Park mentioned in 1539 that included Kemplah Close. With numerous deer parks in close proximity, caution has been exercised in the present study, and greater stress placed on the connection to Lowcross.

Topography

Lowcross House is adjacent to the northern base of the whaleback of Bousdale hill, a promontory that extends northwards from the western limit of the Cleveland Hills, and directly and immediately northwards of Roseberry Topping. To the west of this promontory is the low-lying undulating ground of the Vale of York while to the east it forms a shelter for a series of valleys incised into the northern edge of the Cleveland ridge. These form a number of promontories into the Guisborough valley, which is itself defined to the north by Barnaby and Eston Moor. As such Guisborough was and is positioned along a major line of communication adjacent to the coast. A number of small streams run off the ridge towards Lowcross, including one from Whinny Bank at the northern end of Bousdale Hill alongside the collected run-off of streams from the valleys further west, though this has been disrupted by the construction of the railways in the nineteenth century. Land communication is dominated by the Guisborough road, following a line that turns south after Bousdale Hill and heads towards Great Ayton. Further to the east, Ruthergate marks a track leading from Guisborough up to the North York Moors. The underlying geology is identical to that found in the vicinity of Langbaurgh ridge. Glacial tills dominate the Guisborough valley while the town itself is positioned on a gravel bank.

The township of Hutton Lowcross circumscribes the vales immediately to the east of Bousdale Hill. Its western limit follows the crest of the said promontory, although it extends an amorphous appendage to the west in its north-western corner. It is also part of a wider convergence of townships, including Pinchinthorpe, Newton and Great Ayton on Newton Moor and Little Roseberry, just to the south of the northern ridgeline. There is however no evidence of anything other than the barrows that congregate elsewhere on these moorlands. The township is part of the wider parish

of Guisborough. It is also central to the middle division of Langbaurgh in Domesday Book.

Archaeological Evidence

The evidence indicating the location of *Tyngoudale* is entirely contingent upon the situation of the re-founded Hospital of St Leonard. This moved from Hutton, south-east of Guisborough, to Lowcross in the east at some point in the thirteenth century. Regrettably no material evidence survives for the Lowcross site. The name persists in the form of Lowcross House and Lowcross Swangs just north of Bousdale Hill. Given the position of each of these on the township boundary between Hutton Lowcross and Guisborough it is highly likely that the Hospital was sited in very close proximity. There is no early medieval evidence in the immediate area of this site. In the wider area early medieval activity is restricted to the modern settlements. This includes evidence of incorporated fabric at St Oswald's church, Newton, and the identification of late Anglo-Saxon pottery and postholes during excavations at Guisborough Priory (Youngs *et al* 1986: 123; Youngs *et al* 1987: 119). There is an almost concomitant lack of later medieval material in the hypothesised area of *Tyngoudale*, thus limiting what can be inferred from the available material. Despite being marked on the First Edition Ordnance Survey mapping, the former site of the Hospital of St Leonard at Hutton is equally uncertain. Excavation in the 1960s recovered only evidence for a post-medieval farmhouse (Wilson and Hurst 1966: 182; 1967: 280; 1970: 171). As with Lowcross though the Hospital is still likely to be very close by, as evidenced by sculptured masonry built into the fabric of the nearby Hutton Home Farm (Page 1923: 356). A short way distant to the east one finds Ruther Cross, a wayside marker of unknown date (NMR 2013: MON#28521). The road it lays beside is however of some antiquity, documented as *Rogergate* in the Guisborough Chartulary and proposed in one quarter, tentatively, as a Romano-British track (*ibid*: MON#28552; Brown 1889: 38). While a number of Roman coins have been located along this track there is little to suppose that this comprises a higher concentration than found elsewhere along the Cleveland ridge, e.g. Hunter Hill Farm (Elgee 1923: 12). Consideration must then

turn to evidence of monumentality in the immediate region. This is marked for the most part by Bronze Age cairns on the ridge top, extending southwards into the interior of Guisborough Moor (Crawford 1980: 33-36). There is also a suggested prehistoric camp at the top of Cliff Wood, with ramparts running some distance to the east and west along the ridgeline. Ord dismissed this as being of any antiquity due to its poor defensive prospects (1846: 122-3). His judgement seems a little hasty and it remains unexplained. Cropmarks indicate a further concentration of barrows on the promontory of Bousdale Hill, in far closer proximity to Lowcross House (NMR 2013: MON#1552491, MON#1552494). This particular complex is accompanied by further cropmarks of a complex, partitioned enclosure (*ibid*: MON#1553003). No other details are forthcoming for this site. Finally there is a cross-ridge dyke cutting off the promontory of Hall Heads just to the south of the proposed Hutton site of the old Hospital. This has been treated as prehistoric on morphological grounds but again no further details are available (*ibid*: MON#27691).

With such limited resources no more can really be derived from this information but that *Tyngoudale* occupied or was in close proximity to the ridgeline, a recurring characteristic in the present study. It may be significant that Dingledow and Dingledow road are relatively nearby (as is Langbaurgh ridge), but one would be testing the evidential constraints to the limit if any great weight were placed upon this.

Weapontake Stone (WEAP-1)

Location: SE59597454 (centred on the crossroads adjacent to the South Coney Hills)
Reason: Assembly-attesting toponym

Etymology

The name is mentioned once, in a boundary charter of 1796 (Marwood 1995: Ch. 10). It is phonologically of a type with 'wapentake'. Its involvement in a boundary dispute means that one must also accept the possibility that the name could be the anachronistic product of a late eighteenth century antiquarian. Certainly, those involved would have been very aware of the position of Yearsley in relation to the border of three wapentakes.

Historical Evidence

The name is taken from an unpublished History of Gilling by John Marwood (1995). In it he notes (without reference) a boundary dispute prior to 1796 between Charles Fairfax and Lord Fauconberg (*ibid*: Ch. 10). The boundary clauses are listed, one of which reads as follows: 'North west nearly in a straight line to the base of a large mount of earth called South Coney Hill...thence to a stone called the Weapontake stone which divides the wapentakes of Birdforth and Ryedale and which is marked with a cross on its top and is situate near the road from Yearsley to Gilling'. The name is undoubtedly striking. It is also one of the few clauses that is not qualified with mention of a new boundary stone and an alphabetical mark. As Marwood makes clear, the stone has not been located. However its location is quite clearly adjacent to Cooper's Lane where it runs nearest to the Coney Hills, e.g. SE596745, allowing 50 metres for leeway.

Topography

The Coney Hills and the site of the Weapontake Stone are found at one of the highest points on the Howardian Hills. The surviving barrow does in fact comprise an early trigonometric point and would appear to face north-west down onto Yearsley Moor. The ground is seen to gently slope away to the south-west and north-east, to the Vale of York and Holbeck respectively. To the north-west and south-east the ridgeline of the hills continue. These hills represent part of the Ravenscar sandstone formation found throughout the western side of the North Riding. The site of the Weapontake Stone marks the junction where the road from Gilling intersects with Malton Street, running east from Yearsley. The junction marks respectively the boundary between the townships of Yearsley and Gilling, which are in the parishes of Coxwold and Gilling respectively, and likewise in the wapentakes of Birdforth and Ryedale. The eponymous rural deaneries follow suit.

Archaeological Evidence

There is no stone that would appear to match the description of the Weapontake Stone, though the junction and earthworks of the Coney Hills are identifiable. The Coney Hills are now ploughed down and only the northerly of the group survives as an earthwork (NMR 2013: MON#56957). Previous descriptions suggest that there were at least three mounds amid piles of rocks from presumed field clearance. It has also been suggested that they represent natural knolls with the surviving mound comprising a barrow atop a natural rise (*ibid*). One G.F. Willmot is recorded as excavating the site in 1936 though no account of this intervention has been identified. It seems likely that the Coney Hills are of a type with the loose clusters of Bronze Age barrows that crest the ridgeline of the Howardian Hills, e.g. Black Hill 500 metres to the south-east (Greenwell 1877: 550-3).

The position of Weapontake Stone and the Coney Hills is largely perceived in relation to the settlements of Yearsley and Gilling. It should also be noted that Beresford places the DMV of Grimston on Grimston Moor and along Malton Street, 800 metres west of the Coney Hills junction (1955: 299). Early medieval evidence is as ever scarce.

Greenwell had proposed a number of cist burials found on Yearsley Common to be seventh or eighth century in date (1877: 550-1). Conversely, Meaney has found this doubtful (1964: 303).

The Weapontake Stone is described at a junction on the border of Birdforth and Ryedale wapentakes and only 900 metres away from the point where these two wapentakes meet Bulmer wapentake. It may mark a significant border but there is no obvious early medieval archaeological association with the site.

West Riding of Yorkshire – Domesday wapentakes

Skyrack Wapentake (SKY-0)

Etymology

The name Skyrack first appears in Domesday as *Siraches* (Faull and Stinson 1986: 315a, 320d, 328c, 330c, 373c, 379a). Early place-name scholars, such as Taylor (1864: 224) and Mutschmann (1913: 123-4), solved it as the Old English *scir-ac*, or 'shire oak', whose pronunciation had subsequently been heavily influenced by Scandinavian norms. Anderson cleaved to this approach in full (1934: 22-3), though Smith latterly highlighted an alternative, 'bright oak', derived from the same Old English elements (1961e: 88). As seen in more recent work, e.g. Potts (1984: 33), the majority view would have it as a 'shire oak' under Scandinavian influence. The name is traditionally associated with a lost 'Skyrack Oak', marked on the First Edition Ordnance Survey in the centre of Headingley (Figure 114). This was first noted by Ralph Thoresby in the early eighteenth century (1715: 85, 150-1) though crucially he equivocates – there is no sense that he is reporting a long-standing tradition. This caution is likely what spurred Anderson (1934: 22-3) and Smith (1961d: 88-9) on to propose an alternative location for Skyrack at Oaks Farm just outside Otley in the township of Burley-in-Wharfedale. This was based on a cited assembly of Skyrack *apud Burcheleia* in the early thirteenth century, discussed immediately below (Lancaster and Baildon 1904: 113-4). However this identification is speculative and largely unnecessary, as the Skyrack Oak site is itself found within the township of Headingley-cum-Burley. In the absence of further information the present study considers the Headingley site to comprise, or to be closely associated with, the eponymous focus of Skyrack wapentake.

Historical Evidence

Skyrack wapentake, along with Barkston Ash (**BAR-0**) and the Ainsty (**AIN-0**), also in

the West Riding, comprise the three wapentakes in the study area most closely delineated by riverine boundaries. To the north it is defined the river Wharfe and to the south it is defined by the river Aire. The eastern border is defined by the course of the Roman road running between Doncaster and Tadcaster (Margary 1967: 415-6), punctuated by the Aberford Dykes (Faull 1981: 172-3). The short western end terminates on moorland on the eastern side of the Pennines. The remainder of the wapentake is defined by the undulating landscapes of the Coal Measures and Millstone Grit. It may be significant that the border with Barkston Ash also marks the transition to the Magnesian Limestone belt.

The principal landholders in 1066 were the Archbishop of York, Earl Edwin and Gospatric, whose holdings were based respectively around the manors of Otley, Kippax and Bingley. Subsequently the Archbishopric maintained control of its land, though Earl Edwin was supplanted in favour of Ilbert de Lacy. While the crown held no lands prior to the Conquest in Skyrack, by 1086 it had become a significant landholder within the district. The Yorkshire Summary for Skyrack exemplifies the strong influence that this pattern of tenure exercised. It commences with the Otley estate, going so far as to assess its outliers without the wapentake (listed as *Gereburg*; see **GER-0**) within the section designated for Skyrack. Thereafter it assesses Kippax at the other end of the wapentake before consolidating the remaining entries in groups for De Lacy, the King and the remaining Fees. The Summary gives no obvious impression of sub-divisions beyond the manorial disposition already outlined in the main returns of Domesday Book.

Domesday Book offers the first record of an assembly of Skyrack wapentake. In the Claims, the juries of Skyrack and Barkston Ash wapentakes were called to testify as to the pre-Conquest ownership of the manor of Thorner, north-east of Leeds, and other lands near the border of the two wapentakes. Essentially Ilbert de Lacy claimed the territories listed in the *Clamores* on account of their situation within his 'castlery' (‘*castelli*’), an entity which both Paul Dalton (2002: 76) and Robin Fleming (2003: 75) have argued is synonymous with Skyrack wapentake following a presumed

'hundredal grant'. His opponents, among them Osbern de Arques, meanwhile claimed various territories within Skyrack and Barkston Ash on the basis of tenurial succession. It is very clear that Ilbert de Lacy did not hold Skyrack in its entirety and it is by no means certain that the 'castlery' did indeed gloss the wapentake. If it did, this could reflect the uneasy handling of an existing territorial situation by incoming magnates. The Claims also state that two measurements were made of this 'castlery', evidence that stresses both the possibility and reality of territorial flexibility in this period.

Skyrack wapentake next appears in the Pipe Rolls of the later twelfth century. In 1166 a number of men within the wapentake were fined for concealing what was described as a double duel at a court within the wapentake (Pipe Roll Society 1888: 46). Regrettably it cannot be established whether this incident took place at the wapentake court itself. The wapentake appeared again in 1188 in relation to a fine for presenting false witness (Pipe Roll Society 1844: 85). It is found in an undated quitclaim of land at Pool that was also witnessed by the County Court at York (Brown 1909: 81). The listing of seventeen witnesses may indicate that the deed summarised the proceedings of two separate courts, with the County York standing in to offer confirmation of business transacted at Skyrack's own court. Towards the end of the thirteenth century it is listed in an enquiry of knight's fees (Lancaster and Baildon 1904: 347-52) while, more unusually, the Wakefield Court Rolls of 1286 records a dispute over cattle being rustled away into Skyrack wapentake (Lister 1917: 167). None of these cite a specific venue for proceedings.

The first reference to a venue for an assembly of Skyrack wapentake is found in a late twelfth-century/early thirteenth-century charter of Kirkstall Abbey, stating that the assembly took place *apud Burcheleia*, 'at Burley' (Lancaster and Baildon 1904: 208). The proceedings in this case concerned the grant of an indentured family to Kirkstall Abbey. As mentioned above, Burley has been taken by Anderson (1934: 22-3) and Smith (1961d: 88-9) to signify Burley-in-Wharfedale. However the strong proximity of another Burley to Headingley means that it is more likely that this charter refers

to the Headingley site, or at least its near environs. The same cartulary of Kirkstall also lists an undated assembly of Skyrack wapentake, witnessing a grant of land at Wetecroft and held *ad molendinum Wichdunie,* 'at Wigton Mill' (Lancaster and Baildon 1904: 113-4). This has been identified with Wigton in the parish of Harewood just under nine kilometres north of Leeds. As such, two documented locations in Skyrack have been the subject of further scrutiny – the Skyrack Oak site in Headingley and the location of Wigton Mill in the eponymous township.

The Skyrack Oak, Headingley (SKY-1)

Location: SE27983604 (centred on the position of the tree)
Reason: Named venue of the wapentake

Etymology

See above

Historical Evidence

All of the above cited evidence exists in certain relation to Skyrack, and only probable relation to the Headingley site. It is the combination of local tradition and the late twelfth-/early thirteenth-century grant witnessed *apud Burcheleia* (Lancaster and Baildon 1904: 208) that makes the case for the one-time tree in Headingley as a seminal venue for this wapentake.

Topography

The Oak Tree is depicted just to the north of the central junction of the village of Headingley on the First Edition Ordnance Survey, at the entrance of the driveway to Headingley Hall. This would appear to fit with Joseph Rhode's 1830 painting of the tree (Figure 57). In the 1846 tithe survey of Headingley, a tree is indicated at this location in the grounds of Oak Cottage (Tracks in Time 2013). It subsequently vanishes from the 1893 County Edition before reappearing in the 1921 Ordnance Survey Second Revision. A designated verge is depicted in this position in the 1903 First Revision but there is crucially no tree, despite frequent arboreal symbols elsewhere on the map. Early photographs do however indicate that an ancient tree stump referred to as 'The Oak' was preserved adjacent to the tramlines in early twentieth-century Headingley (Figure 58). Headingley itself is located on undulating ground in the Aire valley, rising and sloping more steeply as one moves further west

into the Pennines. Prior to the expansion of nearby Leeds, the core of the village was situated on the western side of Headingley Hill. At the wider scale it was set between the valley of the Meanwood to the north and the course of the Aire itself to the south (1.6 kilometres away). It is found on the Lower Coal Measures on an area devoid of drift geology. Headingley is found on the south-eastern half of the chapelry of Headingley and, by virtue of this, also on the eastern side of the township of Headingley-cum-Burley, which includes the chapelries of Burley and Kirkstall. This is part of the wider parish of Leeds, which straddles the wapentakes of Skyrack and Morley (**MOR-0**). In turn it is found within the rural deanery of Ainsty as part of the wider archdeaconry of York.

Archaeological Evidence

In the immediate vicinity of the location the only significant element of medieval activity is questionable. The church of St Michael in Headingley was built on the site of an earlier chapel, one which R.V. Taylor claimed bore re-used twelfth- and thirteenth-century stonework (1875: 364-5). No traces remain to test this proposition. Moving further back Wardell reported the discovery of an urn containing first- and second-century Roman coins in Battye Wood on Headingley Hill in 1846 (NMR 2013: MON#51293). As such Headingley is of a type with many of the other wapentake foci of West Yorkshire in its comparative sterility.

It remains to make note of Kirkstall Abbey, two kilometres to the west of Headingley. It is situated on the banks of the Aire and was the institution that curated the few informative early charters concerning the Burley and Wigton Skyrack assemblies. Excavations at the twelfth-century Cistercian Abbey have revealed Romano-British coins and pottery, though nothing out of step with the background scatter of the wider area (Moorhouse and Wrathmell 1987: *passim*).

Wigton Mill (SKY-2)

Location: SE31194208 (centred on the recorded position of the post-medieval mill)
Reason: Historically documented venue of Skyrack wapentake

Etymology

A meeting of Skyrack wapentake is recorded in an undated charter of Kirkstall Abbey as taking place *ad molendinum Wichdunie* (Lancaster and Baildon 1904: 113-4). This has been identified with Wigton in the parish of Harewood, just under nine kilometres north of Leeds. The name Wigton is first mentioned in 1135x1160 (Smith 1961d: 187). Smith solves it as Old Englich *wic-tun*, in this case meaning 'farm belonging to Wyke', a nearby settlement (*ibid*). The site of Wigton itself is lost, though a manor house adjacent to Wigton Moor is recorded by the First Edition Ordnance Survey at SE31944122. The location given is that of a mill indicated on a late seventeenth-century estate map of Harewood (WYAAS 2012: PRN#1362). There are no material traces with which a connection can be secured to the mill described in the Kirkstall charter.

Historical Evidence

The mill itself had been granted to Embsay Priory by Cecilia de Romille in the early twelfth century (Lancaster and Baildon 1904: 114) under the proviso that no other mills were erected in the Harewood estate, excepting Wigton and Brandon. Wigton mill is of course the venue for the land grant to Kirkstall mentioned above, which WYAAS tentatively date to the late twelfth century (2012: PRN#1362). There are no other documented accounts of conciliar practice in the later medieval period.

Topography

While Wigton Mill is indicated on the aforementioned Harewood Estate Map there

are no readily identifiable features at the depicted location. It appears to have been positioned close to the base of a steep valley at the confluence of Eccup Beck and Sturdy Beck, on the eastern fringe of the Pennines. From this point the river moves north towards an interface with the Wharfe. At a wider scale it is situated on the Millstone Grit west of the Magnesian Limestone belt, in an undulating landscape as the ground rises westward into the Pennines. There are no obvious signs of significant routeways on the First Edition Ordnance Survey. The site itself is 1.5 kilometres north of Roman road 72b running between Tadcaster and Ilkley (Margary 1967: 401-3).

The site of Wigton Mill is significantly located at the interface of four townships and three parishes: the township and parish of Harewood, the township of Wigton within the aforesaid parish, the township of Wyke in the parish of Bardsey and the township of Eccup in the parish of Adel. It appears to reflect an interface between the pre-Conquest holdings of Ligulf, Alward and the royal Domesday manor of Harewood (with a non-royal pre-Conquest origin). This would suggest that Wigton Mill was positioned on an estate border. All four of the townships that intersect at the location of Wigton Mill were part of the rural deanery of Ainsty in the archdeaconry of York.

Archaeological Evidence

As at the Skyrack Oak there is a dearth of reported material remains in the area. WYAAS record a weir in the stream 30 metres away from the recorded mill site but it is unclear whether it is connected to the mill, seventeenth century or earlier (WYAAS 2012: PRN#1362). The mill site is over 1.5 kilometres from the nearest Domesday vill, Lofthouse, and over 1.3 kilometres from Roman road 72b, running between Ilkley and Tadcaster (Margary 1967: 401-3). It is also over one kilometre north-west of the purported location of Wigton itself, with the mill instead located at the northern extremity of the township. As such the seventeenth century mill site is very quiet in archaeological terms.

Barkston Ash Wapentake (BARK-0)

Etymology

This wapentake is recorded as *Barcheston(e)* in the pages of Domesday Book (Faull and Stinson 1986: 302c, 307c, 329c, 373c, 379b). Prior to the twentieth century, both Palgrave (1832: clviii) and Gomme (1880: 221) had cited the full name, Barkston Ash, as one of a group of hundredal names that referred to trees. The full toponym has been solved by both Smith and Anderson as a hybrid term, derived from the Old Norse personal name *Bǫrkr* and the Old English *tun* - 'farmstead' (Anderson 1934: 23; Smith 1961d: 1, 53). It is strongly linked with the Domesday vill of Barkston listed in this wapentake. This vill appears as *Barchestun* in Domesday Book (Faull and Stinson 1986: 315c, 379b) but is also recorded earlier (*Barces-tune*) as an appurtenant vill of the Archbishop of York's estate of Sherburn-in-Elmet in c.1030 (Farrer 1914: 21). The earliest recorded instance of the name Barkston *Ash* is in 1598 in the West Riding Session Rolls, specifically referring to the wapentake (Lister 1888: 222). Its earliest appearance in relation to the settlement is on an Enclosure Award of 1770 (Smith 1961d: 53).

Historical Evidence

The territory of Barkston Ash is to all intents and purposes paired with that of Skyrack wapentake (**SKY-0**). Both are defined to the north and south by the rivers Aire and Wharfe respectively, divided by the course of the Roman road running between Doncaster and Tadcaster (Margary 1967: 415-6), punctuated by the Aberford Dykes. Where Skyrack terminates to the west on Ilkley Moor, the wapentake of Barkston Ash is more closely constrained at its eastern end by the convergence of these two rivers at Little Airmyn. The western end of Barkston Ash covers the Magnesian limestone belt, after which the terrain declines eastward into the Vale of York.

The most startling characteristic of the Yorkshire Summary for Barkston Ash

wapentake is the absence of information provided. It is abundantly clear that the initial entry for Sherburn-in-Elmet, its unspecified outliers and 96 carucates of land, conceals numerous settlements, an observation confirmed when one compares the Barkston Ash of Domesday with the earlier c.1030 assessment of the three archiepiscopal estates of Sherburn-in-Elmet, Ripon and Otley within the County of York. While nine of the pre-Conquest settlements are included in the Domesday listing, the majority are not – it remains unclear what exactly has determined this partial overlap. The c.1030 listing almost certainly accounts substantially for Sherburn-in-Elmet's 96 carucates at the start of the Yorkshire Summary. Beyond this point the Summary organises Barkston Ash by Fee. The early cluster of vills in the north-west of the wapentake that account for Bramham manor are dealt with primarily within a block concerning the Count of Mortain's 1086 holdings rather than as an estate. As such the Summary is more helpful in indicating the dominance of the manor of Sherburn-in-Elmet within the wapentake than in elucidating much of its internal structure.

Thereafter, a number of juries of Barkston Ash wapentake can be found. In 1295/6 a jury of this wapentake was called to adjudicate upon the wardship of one Adam, son of Robert of Everingham (Brown 1898: 64). In 1328 another jury of Barkston found William, Walter and John Baildon guilty of repeated violent affray (Baildon 1924: 73). Neither of these actions specifically took place in the wapentake court, which at any rate is not named. The chartulary of Healaugh Priory does however allude to a timetable for the assembly, stating that a rental fee following a grant of land at Toulston was due payment at the first wapentake of Barkston after Michaelmas each year (Purvis 1936: 43).

The juries of Barkston Ash wapentake are most prominent in the accounts of Inquisitions. Aside from one convention recorded at York in combination with juries from the Ainsty, Staincliffe and Harthill in 1260 (Brown 1892: 85-7), all the Inquisitions concerned took place at Sherburn-in-Elmet (Brown 1898: 42, 87-8, 103-4; Maxwell-Lyte 1916: 131). This reinforces the sense that Sherburn was dominant in

the district, such that Paul Dalton has described it as a wapentake manor (2002: 170). Nonetheless it does not follow that the wapentake court of Barkston Ash convened at Sherburn-in-Elmet, not least as a very similar situation can be witnessed with respect to Inquisitions at Skipton within Staincliffe wapentake (**STA-0**). In terms of identifying a named venue for a muster of the wapentake, one must look forward as far as the Pilgrimage of Grace in 1536, when Barkston Ash mustered at Hillam, five kilometres south of Sherburn-in-Elmet. As such, for the purposes of the present study the village of Barkston Ash is the only historically cited assembly site known in this wapentake.

Barkston Ash (BARK-1)

Location: SE48903603 (centred on the position of the tree)
Reason: Named venue of the wapentake

Etymology

See above

Historical Evidence

As noted above, Barkston is first named in c.1030 as part of the Archbishop of York's estate of Sherburn-in-Elmet. It is in fact mentioned twice, once in terms of land assessed and then once again in a recapitulation that would seem to imply an unclear connection to the *inland* of this estate (Keynes 1986: 88-91). Five of the seven recapitulated vills are listed earlier as appurtenant vills in Edgar's 963 grant of 20 *cassati* in *Sireburnam* (Sherburn-in-Elmet; Hart 1975: 120-121). This earlier grant does not however mention Barkston. Nor does Oswald's 972 memorandum of lands stolen from the church (Hart 1975: 123-4).

Barkston is next listed as a Domesday vill of modest means in the possession of Ilbert de Lacy (Faull and Stinson 1986: 315c). This had been inherited from one Saxulf, who may or may not have been the same individual who held Weardley in the adjacent wapentake of Skyrack (**SKY-0**; Faull and Stinson 1986: 330b). Barkston was one of the few appurtenant vills of the c.1030 Sherburn estate to be mentioned by name in the Domesday returns. Only around a quarter of the c.1030 assessment also appears in the Domesday returns and in general terms this tallies with those that experienced an earlier partial assessment. The vill of Barkston Ash was at least partially outside the control of the Archbishop but it is plausible that joint lordship had been the case for much of the eleventh century at least. This would explain the seeming decrease in assessment from 2 ploughlands and 5 oxgangs in the c.1030 assessment to 1

carucate in Domesday.

Topography

The current ash tree is situated at the western end of the village at a T-junction on the north-south Towton to Sherburn-in-Elmet road. The tree itself is of no great age, but does stand in the same location as a forebear marked 'Barkston Ash' on the First Edition Ordnance Survey. The village of Barkston Ash is found on the low-lying ground at the western edge of the Permian Mudstones and Siltstones of the Humberhead Levels, after which the ground rises up further east onto the Magnesian Limestone belt. The land on which the village (and tree) is situated is not characterised by any drift geology, though where the ground rises to the east one finds intermittent patches of glacial tills.

The majority of the village in the early nineteenth century was found in Barkston township in the parish of Sherburn-in-Elmet. However this layer of administration was punctuated by two detached portions. Rather than signifying detached portions of townships further afield, these instead outline those areas of the village and township of Barkston that were within the remit of the parish of Saxton directly to the north. The site of the 1849 Barkston ash tree is set within the parish of Sherburn-in-Elmet but is also directly to the south of a protruding detached portion of Saxton parish. Given the late accounts of the tree, the morphology of this detached portion may bear reference to arboreal antecessors. In turn Saxton township was found within the rural deanery of Ainsty, archdeaconry of York, while the remainder of Barkston was located within the Prebendary of Fenton, otherwise known as the Archbishop’s deanery of Sherburn. It certainly stresses that there may have been some tension over the border location of this assembly site, on what was evidently a road of long-standing importance, connected to the pre-Conquest archiepiscopal centre of Sherburn-in-Elmet.

Archaeological Evidence

The village of Barkston itself is largely devoid of pre-modern archaeological features. There is a socket stone of a later medieval wayside cross at the northern end of the village on the Sherburn-Towton road, marking the boundary between the parishes of Saxton and Sherburn-in-Elmet (NMR 2013: MON#54497). A number of cropmark features to the south-west of the village have also, tentatively, been identified as Romano-British in origin (North Yorkshire HER 2013: MNY#36029). The only significant category of archaeological data in significant proximity to the village is from records deposited with the Portable Antiquities Scheme.

Barkston is in a region of Yorkshire witness to greater reported metal detector activity than seen to the west of the Magnesian limestone. It is also in close proximity to the battlefield at Towton, an early engagement of which took place at Dinting Dale, one kilometre north of Barkston Ash. As such there is both a disproportionate level of late medieval metalwork in this area and a disproportionate level of reported finds in general. Enhanced scrutiny has revealed a significant quantity of early medieval metalwork. It is certainly an over-representation resultant of investigative practice. Regardless of this it is informative in many ways. A multi-period distribution of Portable Antiquity Scheme reports indicates that Barkston village itself is on the very edge of the south-eastern quadrant of this concentration of activity. It is unclear whether finds are lacking, whether there has been a relative dearth of detectorist activity of whether the distribution is instead the result of selective reporting. It should be noted that the distribution extends over the bounds of the Registered Battlefield. For the time being the Portable Antiquities Scheme material is considered on the basis of the wider Saxton-Towton area.

The later medieval Portable Antiquities Scheme record is arguably better at indicating the limits of detectorist surveys than it is at determining any significant post-Conquest patterns of activity. This does however offer useful comparative material for the other distributions and makes it fairly clear that detectorist activity has been focused along the Towton to Sherburn-in-Elmet road and in the vicinity of

the villages of Saxton and Towton themselves. When the early medieval material is considered three significant zones can be identified in relation to the rest of the area of high PAS reportage. The first is on Windmill hill between the villages of Saxton and Barkston. This is a group record and should be treated as a c. 100 metre spread. These consisted of a mid eighth-century coin (of Eadberht of Northumbria) and a number of dress fittings (PAS 2013: SWYOR-24E6D7, SWYOR-B53533, SWYOR-B4E6C5). Those that could be identified would tentatively suggest a date in the latter half of the early medieval period. Two other coins of mid ninth-century date (Aenred and Aethelred II of Northumbria) were found directly north-east of Saxton with another dress assemblage of similar character (PAS 2013: YORYM-3B5802, YORYM-3B9142, YORYM-140401).

Ultimately this indicates that Saxton, a village whose church holds an Anglo-Scandinavian cross-head fragment (Coatsworth 2008: 245-6), likely witnessed activity back in the mid-eighth century. Indeed, the spread of Romano-British material in relation to the rest of the Towton battle area would seem to suggest that the area in and around Saxton was a venue for activity at an even earlier juncture. More unusually an analogous assemblage of coins (Eanred and Aethelred II of Northumbria) and dress fittings (750-1100AD) has been identified in the vicinity of five mounds recorded on the First Edition Ordnance Survey map (PAS 2013: YORYM-195876, YORYM-649707, YORYM-B6D803). For the time being one can only speculate. Little can be said about Barkston itself. One can however point to a seeming intensity of activity in the mid-ninth century prior to the fall of Northumbria.

Barkston would appear to be quite silent, as regards early medieval metalwork, in comparison to Saxton. Despite the aforementioned problems with the spread of the PAS data it at least indicates that there is no 'halo' of early medieval metalwork to the north and west of Barkston where enhanced scrutiny has been applied. To all intents and purposes there is no significant archaeological component to the wapentake site itself.

Strafforth Wapentake (STR-0)

Etymology

The name appears only once, as *Strafordes wapentac,* in the Claims of the Domesday survey (Faull and Stinson 1986: 373d). Not only is the sub-heading missing from the main text – it is also, more unusually, absent within the Summary, despite structuring the Summary in an identical fashion to the other wapentakes of the West Riding. It is solved from the Old English *straet-ford*, effectively 'street ford', indicating a road crossing (Smith 1961a: 78). This solution is of long-standing, first presented in Thomas Cox's *Magna Britannia Antiqua et Nova* (1738: 515) and linked specifically to Strafford Sands, a fording point on the river Don between the settlements of Mexborough and Conisbrough. Both Joseph Hunter (1819: 9; 1828) and John Wainwright (1829: xxxii) equivocated over this attribution. Wainwright even proposed, and then rejected, an alternative solution of *staf-ford* ('staff ford') simply because he did not deem Strafford Sands to be an eminent enough crossing for a wapentake venue (*ibid*: xiv). Yet, both Anderson (1934: 24) and Smith (1961a: 1) have identified a gloss of this wapentake as *Mekesburgh wapentac* in an Inquisition of 1321, strengthening the association with the nearby Strafford Sands site (Anderson 1934: 24).

Historical Evidence

Where other wapentakes of the West Riding generally reflect topographic transitions to one side or the other of the Magnesian Limestone belt, Strafforth encompasses some of the most divergent landscapes of any district in Yorkshire, stretching from the Pennines in the west down to the Humberhead Levels in the east. The extent of the wapentake reflects the catchment of the river Don, which effectively bisects the territory. There appears to be no consistent bounding strategy. Rivers, including the Sheaf, the Torne and the Derwent-on-Trent, partly define the southern boundary, while river valley crests mark a noticeable amount of boundary areas, especially with

Staincross wapentake (**STC-0**) to the north-west.

Strafforth wapentake in Domesday Book is evidently dominated in large part by the manor of Conisbrough. This was a possession of Earl Harold prior to the Conquest, one which had subsequently passed to William de Warenne. With its 91 carucates it has been assessed without providing further details for its appurtenances in an identical fashion to the manor of Sherburn-in-Elmet in the wapentake of Barkston Ash (**BAR-0**). This comprises the first entry in the Summary for Strafforth – thereafter it proceeds to relate the many territories of Roger de Busli throughout the wapentake, including the manors of Laughton-en-le-Morthen, Dadsley and Wath-upon-Dearne. After this point the Summary seeks to relate possessions according to estate rather than strictly by Fee. These manors are generally disposed one side or another of the Don, reinforcing the sense that this river has said a massive influence on the structure of the historic landscape of Strafforth wapentake.

Following Domesday Book, two fines are recorded in the Pipe Rolls in relation to the *Wap de Straford* in 1166 (Pipe Roll Society 1888: 47). A jury of Strafforth wapentake is acknowledged in the Inquisitions of Knights' Fees that took place in 1305/6 (Skaife 1867: 230) while in 1307 an Inquisition of the manor of Wath-upon-Dearne stated that the manor owed one annual suit of attendance at the Michaelmas Court of Strafforth wapentake (Brown 1906: 139). No wapentake records have been identified that indicate the venue of the court, beyond the name of the wapentake itself. As mentioned above, the wapentake was glossed as *Mekesburgh* (mod. Mexborough), in an Inquisition of 1321 (Anderson 1934: 24) but neither does this specify the venue. That Mexborough is so close to Strafford Sands would seem to imply that the latter location remained current as a real, or at least symbolic, wapentake venue. The early conjunction between Strafforth and the Honour of Tickhill could explain the lack of material concerning wapentake procedure, its functions plausibly adopted by the Honour in like fashion to that of the Honour of Pontefract with regard to Osgoldcross (**OGC-0**) and Staincross (**STC-0**). At any rate evidence from the historical sources provide no alternative venue sites to Strafford Sands, now dealt with below.

Strafford Sands (STR-1)

Location: SE49890005 (centred on the ford)
Reason: Named venue of the wapentake

Etymology

See above

Historical Evidence

No conciliar or other historically attested activity is directly associated with this location.

Topography

Strafford Sands is situated on the north bank of the river Don, one kilometre to the west of the confluence of this body with the river Dearne. It is also situated just under two kilometres east of Mexborough and 1.8 kilometres north-west of Conisbrough. It is found in a low-lying river valley, prone to flooding. Strafford Sands formerly marked the southern edge of a wider floodplain set about the Don-Dearne confluence, one that stretched over one kilometre to the north, between the rises in ground marked by Wind Hill and Cadeby Ridding. This landscape has subsequently been subject to great alteration. The Mexborough canal had been dug between Strafford Sands and The Ings at the time of the First Edition Ordnance Survey in 1854. Subsequently, The Ings was used as a slag-heap, converting frequently submerged land into a striking rise in the middle of the river valleys. The land that Strafford Sands itself is on has now been comprehensively re-dug into a series of small reservoirs. It is one of the more striking examples of an assembly location almost entirely re-landscaped according to industrial prerogatives.

The most conspicuous aspect of the wider situation is its setting on the banks of the Don, a major feature in the landscape throughout recorded history. At an even wider level Strafford Sands was on the southern edge of the aforementioned flood plain. This flood plain itself is on the eastern edge of a more severe topographic transition, between the western edge of the Magnesian Limestone belt and the West Yorkshire Coal Measures. To the west, the Coal measures occupy much lower-lying ground before it begins to climb again some 8 kilometres to the west at the beginning of the Pennine transition. The site is meant to comprise the crossing of a Roman road, though as discussed below, the identification is not in fact a firm one. The presence of the recent canal and tow-path on the First Edition Ordnance Survey mean that other routeways are difficult to evaluate.

Strafford Sands is set in the south-eastern side of Mexborough township, where it traces the corner of the Don-Dearne confluence. The crossing itself is also at the junction of two townships on the southern bank: Denaby in the parish of Mexborough and Conisbrough in the eponymous parish. Mexborough parish was also recorded as a peculiar of the Archdeacon of York in the 1291 Taxation. Meanwhile, the intersecting parish of Conisbrough was part of the rural deanery of Doncaster within the archdeaconry of York.

Archaeological Evidence

Both Anderson (1934: 24) and Smith (1961a: 78) associated Strafford Sands with a Roman road. This attribution is by no means secure. The road in question is listed in the National Monuments Record (NMR 2013: MON#1010754) running between Skelbrooke and Margary road 710c (Margary 1967: 412), 1.7 kilometres south-west of Conisborough. An excavation was undertaken by Mary Kitson-Clark and C.E. Whiting in 1930 along the course of this putative road at Lound Hill Quarry (Kitson-Clark and Whiting 1930: *passim*). Kitson-Clark found that the excavated road surface was in fact set upon post-medieval quarry material. Whiting did add that this surface may have replaced an earlier road, but that proposal remains supposition alone. It is

likely that the road depicted by the NMR was largely interpolated from field-boundaries. Further, the floodplain of the Dearne makes for an impractical road foundation and the straightness of the interpolated road along what would have been marshy and/or submerged ground indicates a lack of supporting evidence for the course of the road. The valley-line through Cadeby Ridding, to the east, would offer a dryer route and demonstrates a higher concentration of Romano-British activity (e.g. NMR 2013: MON#619987, MON#620960). The striking intensity of further Romano-British activity on both sides of the river at Conisbrough provides evidence for a far more compelling fording point for a putative Roman crossing. Serious doubts must therefore be voiced over this as the proposed course of the road. Strafford Sands is one of the few fordable points on the Don in this part of Yorkshire, but it would be unwise to further propagate notions of a Roman crossing.

Strafford Sands makes for a very sterile focal point, though this must in part be a function of post-medieval destructive processes. A railway cutting in the early twentieth century uncovered a third-century Roman coin hoard roughly 500 metres north-east of the ford (NMR 2013: MON#55965). More recent aerial transcription work has identified an Iron Age/Romano-British enclosure complex 800 metres north-west of the crossing (*ibid*: MON#620908). Part of the complex includes a possible drove road directed towards the crossing. In an area with an admittedly lower density of PAS records, there are none to report. It should be noted that there is early medieval activity at what would have been crossings of the Don at Conisborough and Mexborough. On the northern bank at Cadeby Cliff (opposite Conisborough) there is a curvilinear enclosure with an internal mound associated with a wider scatter of lithics (SYHER 2013: MON#01989/01). A number of sherds of supposed early medieval pottery have also been recovered on the site of the earthwork (*ibid*). Meanwhile both Conisborough and Mexborough themselves boast examples of early medieval sculpture (Coatsworth 2008: 124-5, 212). While Strafford Sands is comparatively sterile in terms of its pre-modern archaeological content, it is set significantly between places of intense early and later medieval activity.

Osgoldcross Wapentake (OGC-0)

Etymology

Osgoldcross is first recorded as the wapentake name *Osgotcros* in Domesday Book (Faull and Stinson 1986: 308b, 379c) and has been solved by both Anderson (1934: 24) and Smith (1961b: 79) as the Old Norse *Asgautr-kross*, or Asgautr/Osgot's cross. The first mention of a cross itself is found in the 1652 Parliamentary Survey as *'Osgodcross alias Pontefract Market Cross'* (*ibid*). This was in relation to unspecified damage during the recent Civil War. It is next mentioned in Thomas Gent's *Historia Compendia Anglicana* who explained that Pontefract's Butter Cross (another name for the Market Cross) was also known as Oswald's Cross, after the seventh-century Northumbrian king (1741: 403). The name was also preserved in the lost Pontefract street name *Osgatelayn* (Smith 1961b: 79), reinforcing the argument for the market cross as its one time location. The cross was demolished and replaced with a sheltered market in the early eighteenth century (Fox 1827: 355).

Historical Evidence

The wapentake of Osgoldcross is first documented in Domesday Book. Unlike many of the other Domesday wapentakes, the distribution of vills and manors within is partial, concentrated heavily on the western side of the wapentake, such that the reconstructed bounds are based heavily upon the later documented situation of the manor of Snaith in Osgoldcross. The eastern half of Osgoldcross wapentake, south of the river Aire, consists of low-lying marshy land, known in the later medieval period as *Balne* (associated with Snaith), and further east *Merskland* (Smith 1961b: 1-2). It is entirely possible that this land was unsuitable for habitation one thousand years previously, explaining the seeming lack of settlement. The holdings of Staincross (**STC-0**) in Adlingfleet and those of Strafforth wapentake (**STR-0**) in Hatfield Chase serve to reinforce our current understanding of the eastern bounds of Osgoldcross wapentake. Further west the territory is defined by concentrated settlement, not

least Pontefract, and the undulating terrain of the Magnesian limestone belt. The northern border is defined by the river Aire, and partly the Ouse, while its southern and western flanks are not as clearly delineated. The river Went bisects the wapentake from east to west, though it does define the southern extent of the wapentake for part of its south-eastern border.

The principal landholder in Osgoldcross in 1086 was Ilbert de Lacy. This part of his wider fee had been consolidated from a more varied disposition of tenure prior to the Norman Conquest. By 1086 he was tenant-in-chief for more than 85% of the listed vills. As such De Lacy's Fee is ineligible to provide sub-structure to the order of the Summary. Instead one witnesses an anti-clockwise motion beginning in the central southern township of Bentley-with-Arksey. Three characteristics are notable from this. The Summary commences with a small group of holdings appurtenant to the Count of Mortain. This better reflects the pattern of tenure directly south of Osgoldcross in Strafforth wapentake. Given the marshy nature of the area and poor delineation of boundaries this likely reflects a degree of ambiguity over the border between the two wapentakes. Secondly, a few clusters of vills can be identified, such as the holdings of 'two brothers' in 1066, consisting of Badsworth, Upton and Rogerthorpe Manor. Despite assimilation within the De Lacy Fee, this earlier tenurial pattern influences the 1086 Summary. Finally, the holdings of the crown remain stable, and have evidently been reserved to be recapitulated at the end of the Summary, judging by the wild vacillations the order of the Summary takes in this final phase. Ultimately it appears to be a survey, conducted clockwise, of the De Lacy Fee in Osgoldcross wapentake.

The wapentake next appears in the Pipe Rolls of 1166 in relation to fines for false witness and concealment (Pipe Roll Society 1888: 47). Beyond this point, the most striking aspect about Osgoldcross in the historical record is its close association with Staincross wapentake, also in the West Riding, with each situated within the larger Honour of Pontefract. Some sixty years after the recorded submission to the Pipe Rolls one Alan Fitz Ranulf was described in a witness list as the joint bailiff of

Staincross and Osgoldcross (Jackson 1858: 61-2). Another joint bailiff, Alan Smithton, appears in an undated land grant to the monks of St John's, Pontefract (Holmes 1902: 460). In the Fine Rolls of 1242/3 Osgoldcross and Staincross are described as jointly in the king's custody (Henry III Fine Rolls Project 2013: 27/860). However, by 1269 the annotations on a writ state that the sheriff of York held no power within the 'liberty' of Osgoldcross, a strong signal that it was no longer in royal hands (Brown 1892: 109-10). It is likely that this episode of royal tenure was brief, as the Honour of Pontefract strongly reflects the De Lacy holdings in the West Riding found in the 1086 Domesday Inquest. The strong links between the two wapentakes are reinforced in the *Nomina Villarum* of 1316, where the two were assessed together as the *Libertas de Osgotcrosse* (Skaife 1867: 363-4).

No explicit wapentake meetings are recorded until the mid-fourteenth century, when Fox reports an *anniversarie institution of the wapentake of Osgodcrosse held at Gret-Stones yn Novembre 1368*. Regrettable the location of this remains unknown. Inquisitions at Pontefract are known to have been held by the bailiff of the liberty of Osgoldcross (Maxwell-Lyte 1916: 24) while the only mention of an Osgoldcross jury is found in relation to a joint wapentake Inquisition at York in 1288/9 (1906: 373). It is likely that many if not most of the functions of the wapentake court had been assumed by the court of the Honour of Pontefract, such that one reads in the extent of the manor of Upton established in 1297/8 that the holder was meant to do service at the court in Pontefract every three weeks (1912: 182). That said it is evident that a corporate body for the wapentake survived, certainly long enough to structure the Osgoldcross quarter sessions held at the Mote Hall in Pontefract Market Place towards the end of the later medieval period (Fox 1827: 357). It is likely no coincidence that this was adjacent to the reported site of Osgoldcross itself. It remains that Osgoldcross is the only historically documented site that can be identified with confidence in this wapentake.

Osgoldcross (OGC-1)

Location: SE45562187 (centred on the covered market cross)
Reason: Named venue of the wapentake

Etymology

See above

Historical Evidence

While the wapentake of Osgoldcross is mentioned in the Domesday returns, this does not correspond to any given vill. The identification of Osgoldcross with Pontefract market place instead rests on post-medieval antiquarian accounts and the lost street of *Osgotlayne* documented in 1481 (Smith 1961b: 79). Of course, Pontefract is not mentioned in Domesday either. Instead it lists the adjacent/co-extensive manorial centre of Tanshelf. This appears in Domesday as a former royal manor in the possession of Ilbert de Lacy (Faull and Stinson 1986: 316c). It was replete with sixty burgesses and was thus one of the few towns documented in the Yorkshire Domesday. Further it has been identified with the *Taddenesscylf* of the Worcester recension of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (Swanton 2000: 112). It was here in 947 that the Northumbrian nobles and Wulfstan, Archbishop of York, submitted to Eadred of Wessex (*ibid*). The name was solved by Smith as the Old English *Taedennes-scelf* - 'Taedden's shelf' - presumably referring to the hill-spur that modern Pontefract rests upon (Smith 1961b: 83).

The later development of Tanshelf, and by extension Pontefract, is unclear. The name Tanshelf survives today as a township in the parish of Pontefract and as the name of one of its suburbs. The manor of Tanshelf was also referred to on a routine basis throughout the later medieval period. Yet, Pontefract is the name of the later medieval settlement, parish and Honour that developed on this location. Pontefract

itself is first mentioned in 1090 in relation to a lost *Kirkby* (Smith 1961b: 79). Its name - 'broken bridge' - has been provisionally linked to Bubwith Bridge (Faull and Moorhouse 1981: 199-200) but this is set some distance from Pontefract itself. Smith has suggested that Kirkby and Tanshelf are names that reflect the eastern and western parts of Tanshelf respectively (Smith 1961b: 76). According to this proposal, the Pontefract name replaced Kirkby, leaving Tanshelf partially extant to the west (*ibid*). While it is clear that a significant division remained between Tanshelf and Pontefract, Smith's proposal is difficult to evaluate. Tanshelf was granted a chartered market in 1257, some years before the same was granted to the burgesses of Pontefract in 1294 (Maxwell-Lyte and Stamp 1908: 472, 436). The 1257 Tanshelf grant in fact followed a 1255 grant to the burgesses of Tanshelf and *Westcheap* of all the privileges previously granted to the burgesses of Pontefract (Beresford 1967: 525-6). Crucially both Richard Muir (1997: 228) and Oliver Creighton (2002: 120) identify *Westcheap* with the extra-mural market. Muir sees Westgate as a development following the success of the earlier Micklegate market while Creighton has focused instead on the development of St Giles Church, adjacent to the market place, as a sign of the developing prestige and importance of Westcheap. While it is difficult to draw substantive conclusions from this, it at least appears evident that ecclesiastical and market functions are recorded in close proximity to the traditional site of Osgoldcross in the thirteenth century.

Post-medieval records are also of some help. George Fox preserved a description, not of the Cross, but of its immediate surrounds. "It has a freed way to it, as well as an unpaved portion of ground, of about two yards in breadth surrounding it; within which boundary, as tradition hath it, the corporate body of the town could not seize anyone for debt &tc" (1827: 355). Further, Quarter Sessions of Osgoldcross wapentake were documented at the Mote Hall in the later medieval period, directly adjacent to the market place and cross-site (*ibid*: 357; National Archives 2013: QD4/167).

Topography

The site of Osgoldcross is now that of an eighteenth-century covered market cross. This is in a pedestrianised plaza within a busy urban commercial district of Pontefract. On the First Edition Ordnance Survey it is set some distance from Pontefract castle, separated by a broad street called the Horse Fair and the outer bailey of the castle complex, denoted in part by Back North Gate and Gilly Gate. This relationship is clearest on Paul Jollage's 1742 map which, while somewhat stylised, places the Market Cross (and thus Osgoldcross) as an extra-mural feature to Pontefract Castle (National Archives 2013: C788; Figure 68). At a wider scale the core of Pontefract occupies a hill spur extending from Marl Pit Hill in the south-west that dips before rising again at the north-eastern end for what was the eminence of the Castle. It is flanked by the Grove Town vale to the south-east and a wider expanse of low-lying ground to the north-west. The former Bailey of Pontefract Castle occupies the dip in the hill spur. The Market Cross/Osgoldcross is situated instead halfway along the south-western rise towards Marl Pit Hill. The regional topography reflects the undulating eastern margins of the Magnesian Limestone belt, set between the Coal Measures to the west and the Vale of York to the east. Pontefract itself was a well-connected town by the mid-nineteenth century. However, it is noticeable that it, and by association Osgoldcross, is set at a significant remove from the Roman road (Margary 28b) to the south-west that ran between Doncaster and Tadcaster (Margary 1967: 415-6). Finally, Osgoldcross was situated in both the township and parish of Pontefract. It was also within the rural deanery of Pontefract within the archdeaconry of York.

Archaeological Evidence

The aforementioned link with St Giles Church in the Market Place is reinforced by the presence of a thirteenth-century Dominican Friary founded close to the market place (Knowles and Hadcock 1971: 74). This would not be worthy of specific mention did it not parallel the situation at the market and assembly of Toft Green in York itself (see Section 6.3).

The nearest traces of early medieval material to the Osgoldcross site are from Pontefract castle. Excavations here have revealed a two phase early medieval cemetery (Youngs *et al* 1986: 179-180), in operation firstly in the seventh and eighth centuries and then once more in association with a two cell church between the mid-tenth and early-twelfth centuries (Geake 1997: 191). The cemetery may have been very extensive, occupying ground at least as far west as Ass Hill (Youngs *et al* 1987: 172). Further afield, there is evidence of re-occupation at the Roman fort at Castleford (Crockett and Fitzpatrick 1998: 35-60), just under five kilometres north-west, while barrow re-use at the Ferrybridge Henge complex is found over three kilometres to the north-east (Greenwell 1877: 371-4).

Staincross Wapentake (STC-0)

Etymology

The name Staincross is first recorded in Domesday Book as a wapentake, found as *Staincros* and *Stancros* (Faull and Stinson 1986: 308b, 316c, 379c). This is derived from the Old Norse *steinn-kros*, referring to a stone cross (Anderson 1934: 25; Smith 1961a: 261, 317). No corresponding place-name is documented until a *Stainecrosse* is listed in a will of 1589. This name is extant in the settlement of Staincross (SE3347810451), Staincross Common (SE3229910925) and Staincross Hill (SE3243910673), all just over 1.5 kilometres to the north-east of the Domesday vill of Darton. Scholars from at least the late-nineteenth century (e.g. Pratt 1882: 2-3) have identified this site with a presumed-lost standing cross and assembly focus.

Historical Evidence

The main body of Staincross wapentake occupies high moorland and undulating hills in the upper valleys of the Don and Dearne in south-west Yorkshire. In Domesday it also possessed a detached portion of low-lying terrain in the Humberhead Levels, centred on Adlingfleet. The main portion covers an area of c.340 square kilometres. It is bordered to the north by Agbrigg wapentake (**AGB-0**) and to the south by Strafforth wapentake (**STR-0**). Osgoldcross wapentake (**OGC-0**) borders it to the east as *Hamestan* hundred, Cheshire, does so to the west. Meanwhile the detached portion at Adlingfleet is found at the confluence of the Ouse and the Trent. The wapentake is dominated by the upper courses of the rivers Don and Dearne. Indeed the valley of the former appears to structure the shape of the western edge of the territory. While the western section of the northern boundary of Staincross is defined by the upper valley of the Don, much of the rest is indistinct, aside from occasional convergences with riverine courses, including the rivers Dearne and Dove.

In the Domesday survey, Ilbert de Lacy was clearly the predominant landholder in the

wapentake. This is of a type with the other wapentakes that formed the Honour of Pontefract. A significant minority of his holdings had sub-tenants who were evidently in place before the Norman Conquest. Prior to 1066 there does not appear to have been a dominant tenant – Staincross is characterised by variety instead. Further evidence for a connection with the Honour of Pontefract comes from the outlying parts of the royal manor of Tanshelf (situated at Pontefract) within Staincross wapentake. At the very least, the post-Conquest Honour of Pontefract drew heavily upon pre-Conquest connections. The Summary for Staincross does not appear to have been organised by Fee or manor, instead adopting a general clockwise Summary of the vills of the wapentake, albeit subject to significant interruption for which the cause remains unknown.

Following Domesday, Staincross wapentake next appears in the Pipe Rolls of 1170 (Pipe Roll Society 1892: 44). After this, the earliest documented court of the wapentake is dated to between 1204 and 1209 (Farrer 1916: 403). This concerned a dispute over rights of way in the wapentake, though the venue is not given. Two juries of Staincross were cited in the late twelfth and early-thirteenth centuries (Baildon 1926: 398). There are a number of joint bailiffs recorded for the wapentakes of Staincross and Osgoldcross, the earliest of which dates to 1220 (Holmes 1902: 351; **OGC-0**), but note must also be made here of Thomas de Torneton, who in 1227 was described as bailiff solely of Staincross (Farrer 1916: 332-3). It may have been a scribal error, or else the Honour of Pontefract may not have been a particularly stable construct.

One venue is given for a convention of Staincross wapentake. This appears in *Bracton's Notebook* (Bracton and Maitland 1887: 184). It recounts how in 1235/6 one Avicia was described attending the 'next wapentake within a week at Cawthorne'. It is doubly interesting that a late thirteenth-century rental agreement notes "A rent of 3d. in *Barneby* [Barnby Hall], which is a hamlet of the town of *Calthorn* [Cawthorne]...for a farm called *Wapentach ferme*" (National Archives 2013: Sp/St/71/1). Reference to this location is made twice more in c. 1300, this time as

wapentachferme (*ibid*: SpSt/4/11/9/9; SpSt/4/11/9/11). Thus archaeological and topographic consideration has first of all been applied to Staincross itself, followed by Barnby Hall, the putative site of what is best translated as 'Wapentake Farm'.

Staincross (STC-1)

Location: SE32431067 (centred on Staincross Hill, general grid-reference only)
Reason: Named venue of the wapentake

Etymology

See above.

Historical Evidence

See above.

Topography

The settlement of Staincross is situated at the junction of five roads, 500 metres north-east of the centre of Mapplewell. Staincross Common is adjacent, running at a north-west – south-east alignment, surmounted by Staincross Hill. Staincross Common straddles either side of the hill, while the Staincross crossroad is set at the end of the hill-spur. The crossroad is still extant, but Staincross Common is now a built-up residential area. The summit of Staincross Hill has been reworked into a reservoir. Staincross Hill forms one of the peaks on the hillside on the eastern edge of the Dearne valley. It also marks the transition from the lower lying Coal Measures to the Southern Pennine Fringe. The north-south Barnsley road that intersects with Staincross crossroad follows the upper valley line towards Barnsley, crossing through the adjacent valley containing Woolley as it moves north towards Sandal Magna and Wakefield.

Staincross crossroad is found at a bottleneck on the southern edge of Notton township [Royston parish] where it extends a 'finger' adjacent to Staincross Common. The majority of Staincross Common meanwhile is situated on the northern edge of

Mapplewell township [Darton parish]. The north-eastern edge of the Common is however covered by another 'finger' of Notton township. Darton township and parish also cover some of the south-eastern slope of Staincross Hill. This has all the appearance of minor interdigitation (Winchester 1990: 44), suggesting contested land in the medieval period. All of these townships were in the rural deanery of Doncaster within the archdeaconry of York.

Archaeological Evidence

Modern development has and would seriously impede the recovery of archaeological material in and around Staincross. There are no reported later or early medieval finds in the near vicinity. A Roman altar dedicated to Mars was reportedly discovered on Staincross Common in the early nineteenth century (Collingwood and Wright 1965: 622). A number of Roman coins have also been recovered north of Staincross Hill (SYHER 2013: MON#00553/01).

Cawthorne/Barnby Hall/*Wapentach Ferme* (STC-2)

Location: SE29270814 (centred on Barnby Hall Farm)
Reason: Historically documented venue of Staincross wapentake

Etymology

A late thirteenth-century rental agreement notes "A rent of 3d. in *Barneby* [Barnby Hall], which is a hamlet of the town of *Calthorn* [Cawthorne]...for a farm called *Wapentach ferme*" (National Archive 2013: Sp/St/71/1). Reference to this location is made twice more in c. 1300, this time as *wapentachferme* (National Archives 2013: SpSt/4/11/9/9; SpSt/4/11/9/11). There is no mistaking the nomenclature. While neither Smith nor Anderson identified the name, 'wapentake farm' would clearly appear to be the solution. Whether this refers to a farmstead or the wider *ferme* of an estate or district remains unclear. It is also arguably supported by field-name evidence for the Old English element *mot*, or 'meeting'. A land grant of 1322 in Barnby refers to a bovate of land called *modrode* (National Archive 2013: SpSt/4/11/9/16). The *mod* element re-occurs in the early seventeenth century in a description of the holdings of Barnby Hall manor, in reference both to a *Modram bank* and a *Nether Modram banke* (National Archive 2013: SpSt/93/17). These latter examples however require further examination before much else can be inferred.

Historical Evidence

A messuage called *Wapentachferme* was extant in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century in close proximity to the Domesday vill and manor of Barnby Hall. It is associated with the Cawthorne assembly detailed above by way of proximity and nomenclature. It is worth noting that in an Inquisition of 1327 the castle of Pontefract is listed as claiming the ferme of both Osgoldcross and Staincross (Maxwell-Lyte 1909a: 58). The appurtenant vills of Staincross appear under the *Libertas de Osgotcrosse* in Kirkby's Inquest of 1277 (Skaife 1867: 363-364), a matter of

comprehensive lordship by the Duchy of Lancaster. When one considers that Barnby Hall was appurtenant to the manor of Tanshelf in Domesday and later explicitly part of the Honour of Pontefract (held by Lancaster) it would be just as reasonable to treat *Wapentachferme* as a tax-collection node, rather than necessarily a venue of assembly. The presence of *Modrode* and *Modram* in the Barnby documents potentially favours an assembly attribution but until they are subject to further study little more can be said on the matter.

Topography

No spatial details can be elicited aside from its position within the hamlet of Barnby Hall. This at least means that it was not an appurtenant holding at a distance. Barnby Hall itself is set on a small rise 800 metres east of the Domesday vill of Cawthorne. It is just north of the road leading thence to Barnsley and this road separates the Barnby Hall rise from a large hill on Barnby Green. This rise is set at the confluence of Cawthorne Dyke and Silkstone Beck in strongly undulating countryside on the Southern Pennine Fringe. Despite higher land to the south-east and north-west, the two rises at Barnby serve to obscure these on the horizon. Barnby Hall itself is found close to the interface between the Middle and Lower Pennine Coal Measures. Barnby Hall is located on the eastern side of the township and parish of Cawthorne. This is part of the rural deanery of Doncaster within the archdeaconry of York.

Archaeological Evidence

At Barnby Hall itself a medieval arch has been identified, incorporated into the fabric of the present farmhouse (South Yorkshire HER: MON#0500/03). Earthworks and a probable house platform have also been identified immediately to the south-west of the farmhouse, potentially indicative of shrunken medieval settlement (NMR 2013: MON#620487).

Agbrigg Wapentake (AGB-0)

Etymology

Agbrigg wapentake is first mentioned in Domesday Book as *Hagebrige* and *Agebruge* (Faull and Stinson 1986: 317b, 379c). It has been solved by Anderson and Smith as the Old Norse *Aggi-bryggja* - 'Aggi's Bridge' (Anderson 1934: 25; Smith 1961b: 99, 117). It is associated with a bridge crossing Oakenshaw Beck to the south-east of Wakefield. The earliest identified mention of this location is in 1277, in a defamation suit of the Wakefield Court Rolls, detailed below (Baildon 1901: 164). The stream known as Oakenshaw Beck is recorded as *Aggebrigg brook* in the Wakefield Court Rolls of 1327 (Walker 1945: 129) and again in 1572 as *Aggebriggbrook* (Smith 1961b: 117). Agbrigg remained a current toponym, surviving as the name of a southerly suburb of Wakefield directly north of Oakenshaw Beck, following the expansion of the latter settlement in the nineteenth century. The relatively early provenance of the location citations and the enduring integrity of the name make Agbrigg one of the more confident wapentake site identifications in the West Riding, and Yorkshire as a whole.

Historical Evidence

The wapentake of Agbrigg is situated directly west of the Magnesian limestone belt, climbing up into the Pennines on the border with Lancashire and Cheshire. Its dimensions are long and thin, defined by the catchment of the river Calder to the east, and the upper courses of the river Colne in the uplands to the west. It is one of the more clearly defined wapentakes in terms of river catchments, and its borders are correspondingly less well-defined, excepting boundary markers on the moorlands that define its western extent.

In Domesday Book the wapentake had two prominent landholders at the time of the Inquest – Ilbert de Lacy and the King. The royal holdings reflected possessions prior

to the Norman Conquest while the De Lacy Fee in Agbrigg represented the consolidation of holdings from a varied group of minor landowners. In the Summary, after recounting the Archbishop of York's holdings in Osbaldwick, it proceeds to detail the De Lacy Fee. This breaks off at the entry for Wakefield, after which the Summary proceeds to recount the holdings of the eponymous manor. This produces an intriguing spatial pattern whereby the core of the manor of Wakefield has effectively been sandwiched between two discrete blocks of the De Lacy Fee in the eastern half of the wider district (Figure 112). It is possible that this may reflect sub-divisions within the wapentake though this is a proposal that requires further investigation beyond the scope of the present thesis. The remainder of the Summary vacillates between smaller groups of vills, alternating between those of the Manor of Wakefield and those of the De Lacy Fee.

As with so many other wapentakes in Yorkshire, Agbrigg is next documented in the Pipe Rolls of the later-twelfth century. In 1166 a number of people from the district were fined for false pleas (Pipe Roll Society 1888: 48). In 1181 the wapentake was again fined for concealment (Pipe Roll Society 1909: 41, 44). Despite this no specific wapentake courts have been identified for Agbrigg. This is almost certainly due to its inclusion within the Honour of Pontefract, alongside Staincross (**STC-0**) and Osgoldcross (**OGC-0**). Indeed, the Hundred Rolls report that the Honour held a court at Almondbury within the wapentake (Illingworth and Caley 1812: 132) – this is most likely where the functioning of the wapentake had been diverted. The absence of Agbrigg from Kirkby's Inquest serves to underline this presumption. Despite this, one jury of Agbrigg was empanelled at an Inquisition of 1285/6, held at Agbrigg, concerning the validity of a proposed land grant (Brown 1898: 43). Further, bailiffs of Agbrigg appear frequently in the De Banco Rolls in the fourteenth century (e.g. Baildon 1924: 76), including one instance in 1337 where the said bailiff was ordered to convene a jury of twelve free men. Regardless, none of these instances testify to designated wapentake procedure.

However, outside of a strictly conciliar context historical accounts of the location of

Agbrigg itself do offer some intriguing insights. In 1277 a defamation suit was launched at the manor court in Wakefield - the defendant had suggested that the plaintiff's father was buried at Agbrigg and evidently this amounted to a slight requiring redress in open court (Baildon 1901: 164). It is a puzzling account until one considers it in light of later events. In 1324 in further court proceedings of the manor of Wakefield, a number of townships pleaded that fines they had accrued over a number of unlawful deaths should have been shared between further townships complicit in the misdemeanour (Walker 1945: 40-1). It continues that three men who had been handed over to the custody of the bailiffs of Wakefield had subsequently and unlawfully been led out of Wakefield prison and south of the town to Agbrigg and were there executed. It is evident from the two cases that Agbrigg was considered a suitable venue for judicial killings. It is regrettable that this cannot be linked to later or earlier executions but nonetheless provides crucial information as to its character for a site that has been largely destroyed by industrial development.

Agbrigg (AGB-1)

Location: SE34951928 (centred on bridge)
Reason: Named venue of the wapentake

Etymology

See above

Historical Evidence

See above

Topography

The Agbrigg site focuses on a crossing of Oakenshaw beck to the south-east of Wakefield. It is set on the western edge of Heath Common, an area of high ground on the floodplain of the river Calder. The Agbrigg crossing itself is set between this Common and that of Sandal Common to the west, comprising another small rise in the floodplain. The Wakefield to Wragby road makes use of both of these areas as it traverses the floodplain. The area has been thoroughly reworked during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The bridge was destroyed to insert a modern railway and road bridge and all of the land up to the western bank of Oakenshaw Beck is now taken up by housing.

The floodplain of the Calder defines the wider area of the wapentake site, as the watershed of this river defines the eastern part of the associated territory. It is situated on the Middle Coal Measures west of the Magnesian Limestone belt. The Agbrigg crossing itself is situated just south and above the alluvial deposits that characterise this part of the valley of the Calder, a position that implies that it would have been at little risk of flooding during periods of heavy rainfall. In terms of

communications, it is most obviously positioned on the road to Wakefield 2.2 kilometres to the north-west, leading in the opposite direction to Foulby and Wragby in Osgoldcross wapentake. As discussed below, Donald Haigh has proposed that this reflects the course of Roman road 721 (Haigh *et al* 1982), passing through Tingley (**TING-1**) in Morley wapentake (**MOR-0**), further to the north-west, once it had traversed Wakefield. The Agbrigg crossing is also connected by a path recorded on the First Edition Ordnance Survey that intersects with the Wakefield road on the western bank of Oakenshaw Beck. This may provide circumstantial evidence for the exact position of assemblies, though it would be unwise to speculate further at this stage. The crossing itself marks an intersection of three parishes and three townships. The western bank is covered by the township and parish of Sandal Magna. The eastern bank is divided at the point of the crossing between the township of Warmfield-cum-Heath (Warmfield parish) and the township and parish of Crofton. The site appears to be accessible, yet set apart from the estate centres at Wakefield and Sandal Magna. The entirety of the crossing was found in the archdeaconry of York and the rural deanery of Pontefract.

Archaeological Evidence

Activity in the nineteenth century has eradicated any possibility of identifying proximate material to the Agbrigg crossing on the western bank of the river. Canal digging on the eastern side has compromised this to an extent. The only certain pre-modern record to report is that of a possible Iron Age/Romano-British pair of enclosures seen as cropmarks 300 metres to the south-east of the Agbrigg crossing (NMR 2013: MON#1393047). Donald Haigh has proposed that the Agbrigg crossing marked the course of Margary's Roman road 721 (1967), intersecting with Foulby on the Osgoldcross border (Haigh *et al* 1982). It is the same line of argument deployed to suggest that Tingley rests on 721 as well; it proposes that a line can be drawn between Bradford, Tingley, Wakefield and Foulby, intersecting with the Doncaster-Tadcaster road near Hampole.

Morley Wapentake (MOR-0)

Etymology

The earliest occurrence of Morley is as both vill and wapentake name in 1086 in Domesday Book. It appears variously as *Morelei, Moreleia* and *Morelege* (Faull and Stinson 1986: 317d, 373d and 379d) and is solved by both Anderson and Smith as the Old English *mor-leah*, or moorland clearing (Anderson 1934: 25; Smith 1961: 182). Both district and vill name have been in continuous use since, leading to the straightforward identification and extent of both for the purposes of the present study.

Historical Evidence

The distribution of vills for Morley wapentake in the Summary of Domesday Book omits the westernmost third of the district. This has been reconstructed through recourse to later assessments, both of Morley and of neighbouring territories. Rather than necessarily reflecting a lack of settlement, as plausibly argued for the marshy lowlands of Osgoldcross (also in the West Riding), this lacuna in Morley almost certainly corresponds to the former extent of Sowerbyshire (Hadley 2000: 107), an upland territory that had already been incorporated within Morley, or was otherwise in the process of undergoing this change. Evidence that the Sowerbyshire vills were omitted rather than absent comes from contrasts between the main entries and the Summary in the Yorkshire Domesday, whereby an outlying cluster of royal holdings of the manor of Wakefield, arranged along the upper course of the river Calder in this westernmost third, have also been omitted.

Following this, the borders of Morley wapentake can be seen to follow the course of the river Aire to the north-east, where it borders Skyrack wapentake. It then observes the upper extent of the watershed of the river Calder for part of its southern border. Once the aforementioned river intersects with this border, the boundary of Morley

instead follows the hill-crests directly north of the valley of the Colne, before its western border traces the peaks of the Pennines. Finally, its north-western boundary traces the courses of several of the upper tributaries of the Aire before returning to meet that river. The wapentake extends from Pennine uplands in the west to the gentler, undulating landscape of the Millstone Grit to the east. Internally, the territory is divided by the crests of Wadsworth and Oxenhope Moors, running along a north-west – south-east alignment. South-west of this divide, Morley is defined by the upper course and tributaries of the river Calder as it descends from the Pennines. The north-east of Morley comprises the land between the Moors and the river Aire.
The Domesday assessment for Morley, incomplete as it is, indicates that Ilbert de Lacy, the landholder of this district, acquired this part of his wider Fee from a varied collection of pre-Conquest landlords. He held almost every vill in the district, yet it is clear that the pre-Conquest structure of Morley wapentake has nonetheless structured the order of the Summary. This is demonstrated by the groupings of holdings of pre-Conquest lords, reinforced by this pattern of groupings extending to cases where there were multiple landlords, as in the area around Rothwell. In the case of the holdings of one Arnketil, it can be shown that this corresponds to the manor of Bolton. This would indicate that there is one implicit estate grouping (Rothwell) alongside one explicit exemplar within the same wapentake. This does not provide a comprehensive breakdown of sub-territories within the wapentake, but it does at least provide evidence for its existence.

Morley wapentake next appears as a conduit for fines in the Pipe Rolls of 1166 (Pipe Roll Society 1888: 46). As with other wapentakes dominated by De Lacy, it is described as a constituent part of the Honour of Pontefract in Kirkby's Inquest (Skaife 1867: 30). As with the other territories under the aegis of this post-Conquest construct, references to wapentake courts at specified venues are lacking. Despite this, there are reports concerning juries of Morley wapentake. A latter citation is found in an Inquisition of 1287/8 (Brown 1898: 67) though the evidence of an earlier jury is far more informative. This first instance occurs in the Claims of Domesday Book. The King, arguing that jurisdiction lay with the manor of Wakefield, sought to contest

the alms derived from three annual festivals held at the church of St Mary's *in silva Morlege*, or 'Morley wood' (Faull and Stinson 1986: 373d). The jury of Morley wapentake divided these alms in half, between the King and Ilbert de Lacy, therefore acknowledging that a degree of jurisdiction was conveyed by its situation within Morley wapentake. By extension, this indicates that this territory in 1086 already functioned as a proprietary wapentake in the hands of De Lacy. There has been considerable debate over the identification of 'St Mary's in Morley Wood'. William Smith, in *Morley: Ancient and Modern* (1886: 213), posed that it was a former name of St Mary's Church on Troy Hill in Morley itself. Latterly it has more widely been considered to refer to St Mary's Church, Woodkirk, three kilometres south-east of Morley (Baildon 1901: i; Sanderson and Wrathmell 2005: 4). This requires further scrutiny, as Woodkirk is directly proximate to Tingley (**TING-1**), a place-name attested assembly site considered by Smith (1961b: 175) and Anderson (1934: 26) to comprise an abiding conciliar venue for Morley wapentake.

This latter argument proceeds, beyond the evident toponymic cues, on the basis that the three festivals cited in the Domesday Claims were a direct precursor to the two fairs granted by Henry I to Woodkirk, then in the hands of Nostell Priory, between 1100 and 1135 (Farrer 1916: 144-5). This in turn was considered to have continued into the present day as the Lee Gap Horse Fair, directly proximate to Woodkirk church. While a certain amount of supposition is evidently involved, two pieces of other evidence support the Woodkirk proposition. Firstly, while Morley itself was in the Fee of De Lacy within the wapentake (Faull and Stinson 1986: 317d), Woodkirk was found in West Ardsley; described as crown lands in the Summary of Domesday Book, and not present in the main entries (*ibid*: 379d). Much later, in 1300 the Chartulary of Nostell Priory recounts a legal debate over the village bull in Woodkirk. The owner of the bull claimed rent from Nostell Priory on the basis that Woodkirk was in Morley (Baildon 1895: 155). The prior meanwhile was adamant that it was primarily situated in West Ardsley. This is essentially a repeat of the Domesday claim, albeit with a more bovine bent and from this it seems reasonable to associate *in silva Morlege* to Woodkirk. In turn, this strengthens the association between the

proximate site of Tingley and Morley, detailed below. Despite this, Morley will be considered in terms of its archaeological and topographic character below, while Tingley is examined in the section of assembly-attesting place-names in the West Riding.

Morley (MOR-1)

Location: SE26102787 (centred on Morley)
Reason: Named venue of the wapentake

Etymology
See above

Historical Evidence

Morley is listed in the Domesday survey of 1086 as both vill and the name of the surrounding wapentake. Listed as waste and possessing a church, it was held by Ilbert de Lacy following the pre-Conquest lordship of Dunstan of Swillington (Faull and Stinson 1986;). No recorded wapentake activity is directly associated with this settlement.

Topography

The historic core of Morley is situated on an exposed ridge between two valleys; the steep Valley Stream to the north and the gentler Owler's Beck to the south. Despite rapid urban expansion in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century the layout of a planned medieval settlement can still be outlined in a block formed by Queen Street, Commercial Street and Hope Street. The degree of urbanisation and absence of pre-modern material traces effectively obscures further observation. The town of Morley is found within the undulating eastern Pennine uplands, at the interface between the Lower and Middle Coal Measures. The immediate and wider area surrounding the settlement is not characterised by any drift geology. The First Edition Ordnance Survey depicts roads leading from Morley towards Bradford, Leeds and Wakefield, though post-medieval urban activity precludes one from divining any earlier significance from this. While Haigh's proposed course of Roman road 721 is situated 1.1 kilometres to the south-west of Morley, it should not be treated as a firm

identification (Haigh *et al* 1982). Morley is situated within an eponymous township, within the wider parish of Batley. This in turn is found within the rural deanery of Pontefract as part of the larger archdeaconry of York.

Archaeological Evidence

The only known pre-modern material traces in Morley consist of fragments of Norman stonework reported during the construction of St Mary's Church on Troy Hill in the late nineteenth century (NMR 2013: MON#51172). Given the wide date range of planned villages and the destruction wrought by the Scots after the battles of Bannockburn (1314) and Old Byland (1322) there is little more to add. While there has been some suggestion that the church *in silva Morlege* was synonymous with the site of St Mary's on Troy Hill at the northern end of the historic core of Morley (Smith 1886: 213) it is more widely supposed that the entry in the Domesday Claims refers instead to St Mary's, Woodkirk, in the neighbouring parish of West Ardsley (Baildon 1901: i; Sanderson and Wrathmell 2005: 4). The NMR also points out that the pre-nineteenth-century dedication of the Troy Hill site was in fact to St Nicholas (NMR 2013: MON#51172). Aside from the nomenclature of Woodkirk, this church was also the focal point for the Woodkirk (later Lee Gap) Fair documented in the mid-twelfth century (Farrer 1916: 144). St Mary's church, Woodkirk receives further attention in the entry for Tingley.

Ainsty Wapentake (AIN-0)

Etymology

Ainsty wapentake is first mentioned in Domesday, variously as *Ainesti*, *Annesti*, *Anestig* and *Einesti* (Faull and Stinson 1986: 308c, 329a, 373d, 379d). A suitable toponymic solution has been a source of long debate. Camden (1701: 884) proposed that the name came from the Germanic *Anstossen*, in reference to a boundary or border, plausibly a pale of the City of York. Drake, in his *Eboracum* (1736: 381) instead identified the toponym as *anent*, a term introduced no better than as an "old northern word" used "to signify a *hundred contiguous*, *opposite*, or *near*, the city itself" (*ibid*). The Oxford English Dictionary supports this usage, identifying precursors of *anent*, not least as *on efn* in Beowulf, meaning 'in the company of', or 'about' (OED Online 2014). Isaac Taylor was the first to identify the name with the Old Norse *einstigi*, or 'narrow path' (1896: 40). This solution was latterly followed by Edmund Bogg (1902: 265-6) and Sidney Addy (1904: 97) with the latter highlighting the possibility of the synonymous, and Scandinavianised, Old English toponym *an-stigi*. The 'narrow path' solution, either as Old Norse or Old English, was followed subsequently by Anderson (1934: 21-2) and Smith (1961d: 235). It should be noted that Isaac Taylor did also produce a second solution, namely that the name could derive from the Old Norse *eigen*, indicating a proprietary holding (1896: 40), combined with the Old English *stigu*, signifying an enclosure, or more properly, a sty (cf Smith 1961g: 251). This solution would be of a type with Camden and Drake's solutions if the name refers to the wider territory of Ainsty, and not so much if it instead indicated a more localised structure. At any rate, the 'narrow path' solution remains the most prominent. The name Ainsty survives as Ainsty Cliff directly south of Bilbrough, in an area associated with Ainsty in the later medieval historical record, as detailed below.

Historical Evidence

Ainsty wapentake comprises one of the most tightly defined sub-shire territorial areas in Yorkshire, closely followed by the wapentakes of Skyrack and Barkston Ash. The north-western border follows the course of the river Nidd, while its north- and south-eastern counterparts are bounded by the river Ouse. The river Wharfe defines its south-western extent, leaving a small land boundary to the west between the rivers Nidd and Wharfe. The territory itself is situated on low-lying ground in the Vale of York, directly south-west of the eponymous City. Before systematic drainage it was marshy, and prior to the early thirteenth century, a designated area of forest, and forest law (Hardy 1835a: 434).

The Domesday vills of Ainsty are distributed fairly evenly within the aforementioned bounds. The wapentake is characterised by a varied cast of pre-Conquest landowners. The establishments of York Christ Church and York St Peter owned significant holdings but no landlord appears to have been dominant. The post-Conquest situation is fairly similar, although Osbern de Arques appears to have held more vills than other landholders in 1086. The Summary for Ainsty wapentake does not appear to have been organised by Fee or manor. Instead it recounts a clockwise, albeit vacillating, summary of the wapentake, in places akin to an itinerary, a phenomenon previously identified by Ian Maxwell (1962b: 489). It indicates that a different method of assessment was applied in this wapentake to others, such as Barkston Ash, organised by fee.

Ainsty was first listed as a constituent wapentake of the West Riding in 1086. As for many other Yorkshire wapentakes, members of this district were fined in the Pipe Rolls of 1166 and 1169 (Pipe Roll Society 1888: 49; Farrer and Clay 1939: 114). While no specific wapentake officials are noted, deans of Ainsty occur in witness lists of 1191x1203, 1212 and 1226 (Farrer 1915: 415; Holmes 1899: 209-10, 244). It came to early prominence due to two charters of disafforestation specific to Ainsty, issued during the reigns of Richard I and John respectively (Raine 1894: 87; Hardy 1835a: 434). This latter charter was cited by the City of York in 1218-9 to confirm its claim to Ainsty wapentake as a possession of the city (Palliser 2014: 9). This was opposed by

Henry III who claimed the wapentake as a royal possession in 1220 (Tillott 1961). By the end of the thirteenth century it appears to have come into the hands of the City of York once more. The charter of John was again cited, whereby it was found to have been amended, leading to the imprisonment of the mayor of York (*ibid*). In 1282 the king returned the wapentake to York, pending final judgement over jurisdiction, which was resolved in York's favour in 1283 (Maxwell-Lyte 1893a: 41, 70). In 1396 York was formerly separated from Yorkshire and established as its own county, although Ainsty was only annexed to York and removed from the West Riding in 1449 (Madox 1726: 293). Both the earlier bailiffs and the later sheriffs of York held courts of Ainsty in York itself (Palliser 2014: 205).

The conciliar functions of the Ainsty were clearly transferred to York at some point in the later medieval period. Both the earlier bailiffs and the later sheriffs of York held courts of Ainsty in York itself (Palliser 2014: 205). There is no sense in the Domesday account of Ainsty that it possessed a significant connection to the City of York beyond simple proximity, while Richard I's release of the Ainsty from forest law in 1190 makes no mention of York (Raine 1894: 87). Paul Dalton has argued that Roger de Mowbray's earlier grants of Middlethorpe and Acaster Selbis to Selby Abbey during the reign of Stephen formed part of a plan to amalgamate Ainsty and the City of York under his eventual jurisdiction (Dalton 2002: 168). It is likely that control in practice was already held by York at the time of the attempted annexation in the later thirteenth century.

The decisions of a jury of Ainsty wapentake are recorded in the Claims of Domesday Book. This primarily concerned the former holdings of William Malet in this wapentake. The latter half of the jury's decisions are more varied. Most interesting are the two statements "William Percy calls on his peers to witness" and "Osbern de Arques confirms" which appear to imply the actual presence of these individuals at the court(s) in question (Faull and Stinson 1986: 374a). Beyond this, the Hundred Rolls of the later thirteenth century record that a wapentake court of Ainsty was held in Bilbrough (Illingworth and Caley 1812: 125). This location is particularly significant

as it accords well with two surviving early citations of Ainsty as a place-name. The first is found in the Hundred Rolls of 1255 where a section of the Roman road running between Tadcaster and York is described as extending "from the south of Catterton Wood between Steeton Moor and Catterton Moor towards Ainsty" (Brown 1892: 44; quoting Smith 1961d: 235). This would place Ainsty on or near the Roman road north or north-east of Steeton Moor, a position very close to Bilbrough. A further entry in the 1276 Hundred Rolls states that an obstructive enclosure had been built on the king's highway at a place called Ainsty to the bounds of Copmanthorpe (Illingworth and Caley 1812: 125). The westerly township boundary of Copmanthorpe intersects with the Roman road 1.7 kilometres to the east of Bilbrough, further triangulating this area as the focus of the wapentake. The presence of the toponym Ainsty Cliff directly south of Bilbrough only serves to confirm this observation. As such, this area has been the principle focus of enquiry below. It should finally be noted that Drake makes reference to *Aynsty-Cross* as a longstanding wapentake venue (1736: 389). Regrettably he does not indicate the location of this lost monument.

Ainsty Cliff (AIN-1)

Location: SE52924605 (centred on field-name)
Reason: Named venue of the wapentake

Etymology

See above

Historical Evidence

Ainsty Cliff itself is within the township and in close proximity to Bilbrough, which Domesday lists as one of several possessions of Christ Church prior to the Conquest and Richard, son of the Bishop Arnfastr, afterwards (Faull and Stinson 1986: 327a). The Victoria County History links this to Holy Trinity, Micklegate, City of York but does so without further citation (Tillott 1961: 303). For all other details, see above.

Topography

Ainsty Cliff is presently set in woodland immediately south of Bilbrough. It is adjacent to Bilbrough spring and overlooks a number of small caves to the south. It is situated on the southern end of the hillcrest of Bilbrough hill, an area of high-ground that dominates the southern half of Ainsty wapentake and overlooks the Roman road running between Tadcaster and York. This hill is in turn located on the western edge of the Vale of York, as part of a low ridgeline running north-east to York itself, and just over four kilometres east of the Magnesian limestone belt. The wider landforms consist of Triassic Sandstones. Bilbrough Hill and the associated ridge are formed from glacial sands and gravels amid the wider accumulation of till. The main line of communication relevant to the identified site is the aforementioned York to Tadcaster road. While no paths marked on the First Edition Ordnance Survey connect to Ainsty Cliff, the Hundred Rolls of 1255 do refer to a street leading to Ainsty (Brown

1892: 44). Whether this refers to the present site of Ainsty Cliff, or another proximate location associated with Ainsty, is unclear. What is certain however is that the name was associated with a designated node in local or regional land communications in the thirteenth century. Ainsty Cliff is found within the township and parish of Bilbrough. In turn it is located within the archdeaconry of York and rural deanery of Ainsty. Ainsty Cliff and its near environs comprise a well-connected and conspicuous landmark on the road between Tadcaster and York.

Archaeological Evidence

Smith cites the flat-topped mound set between Ainsty Cliff and Bilbrough proper as the likely focus of the assembly (Smith 1961d: 235) but this is to assume too much about the ideal form of a wapentake assembly. There are no archaeological records pertinent to the immediate vicinity of Ainsty Cliff. The mound itself is now part of a landscaped garden, today standing at around 1.5 metres in height. Harry Speight reports Roman tile and brick in relation to earthworks uncovered during construction work in 1900 just to the north of the mound (Speight 1902: 165-166), but this has since been reinterpreted as later medieval building material linked to a former moated site (NMR 2013: MON#56425). Likewise the mound has been reinterpreted on the basis of its morphology as a possible windmill mound (NMR 2013: MON#56436). It should be noted that Speight also reports a local tradition of treasure buried in this mound, a common theme associated with mounds across the country (Grinsell 1976).

To the north of Ainsty Cliff one finds Bilbrough. This is a Domesday vill with a chapel boasting fourteenth-century fabric (NMR 2013: MON#56442). To the south Ainsty Cliff and Bilbrough overlook the old Roman road running between Tadcaster and York, the 'ancient street' of the 1255 Inquisition (Brown 1892: 44-5; Margary 1967: 416-7). To the east of Ainsty Cliff and immediately south of Bilbrough a small amount of Romano-British metalwork has been detected, including a number of third-century coins (PAS 2013: YORYM-A56787, YORYM-A55E23). The only early medieval material

in some proximity is a silver ingot, from between the ninth and tenth centuries, found along the Roman road in the vicinity of SE539460, one kilometre east of Ainsty Cliff (*ibid*: SWYOR-C4D0D2). In summary, Ainsty Cliff is set between a Domesday vill and a Roman road with no clear archaeological material directly attributable to the site itself.

Burghshire (BUR-0)

Etymology

The wapentake of Burghshire is first mentioned in Domesday Book, appearing as *Borchescire* and *Borgescire* in the main text and Claims (Faull and Stinson 1986: 308b, 321d, 328c, 329b, 374a). It also appears as *Bargescire* in the Summary (*ibid*: 379d). The toponym was solved by Anderson as a combination of the Old English elements *burh* and *scir* (1934: 20-1). The second element indicates a shired district, found in a number of other wapentake and non-wapentake names in Yorkshire, e.g. Allertonshire and Hallamshire. The element *burh* in this instance is not thought to refer in general terms to a 'fortification but instead to indicate specifically the Domesday manor of *Burc/Burg* (Faull and Stinson 1986: 299d, 301c, 326d, 328c, 329c, 330b, 380a), latterly known as Aldborough, a walled Roman town on the banks of the river Ure. Smith concurs with this view (1961e: 80) – the specific etymology for Aldborough is discussed below.

It is easier to determine when this wapentake starts to be referred to instead as Claro Hill (**CLA-0**) than it is to denote the point at which it ceases to be called Burghshire. Claro first appears in the Pipe Rolls of 1166 (Pipe Roll Society 1888: 47). Notwithstanding this, Burghshire is found as a district in the 1287 enquiry of St Leonard's Hospital in York and in the 1357 wool-price schedules (Cullum 1999: 22; Munro 1979: 211). Further, as Anderson indicates (1934: 20), the name could still be found as the suffix to a number of toponyms in the sixteenth century. Scrutiny of the aforesaid schedule and enquiry reveals that in each case Burghshire was listed as one of several non-wapentake districts, though often these districts, like Cleveland and Craven, were effectively co-extensive with wapentakes, in these instances with Langbaurgh and Staincliffe respectively. It would appear that Burghshire remained a current district name, either locally or in a restricted sector, as Claro acquired official standing.

Historical Evidence

The extent of Burghshire, as outlined in Domesday Book, straddles the mountainous uplands of the Pennines to the west while encroaching upon the low-lying Vale of York to the east. These two extremes are unevenly divided by the undulating landscapes of the Magnesian Limestone belt, rendering for the wapentake a diverse topographic aspect. Much of its southern border with Skyrack wapentake is defined by the river Wharfe while a significant proportion of its north-eastern extent is defined by the Swale and the Ure. Despite these partial bounding characteristics the wapentake itself is centred upon the river Nidd, whose course effectively bisects the district.

The distribution of vills in Domesday Book reflects this upland-lowland divide, existing in far higher concentrations on the Magnesian Limestone belt and further east. The overriding impression given by the tenurial patterning of Burghshire is one of relative continuity. In 1066 Gospatric was the most prominent landholder in the district, with vills spread throughout Burghshire, while the King, the Archbishop of York and Gamalbarn had distinct clustered holdings in the north, central-eastern and south-western portions of the wapentake. By 1086 Gospatric's fee, though still significant, had retreated to the northern and eastern sides of the wapentake. While the Archbishop's holdings remained stable, the lands of the King and incoming Normans had expanded and encroached upon vills throughout the wapentake. The three principal manors were those of Knaresborough, Aldborough and Ripon. Knaresborough comprised a tight cluster of vills central to the wapentake while Aldborough represented scattered holdings throughout. These were and remained in royal hands at the time of Domesday Book. In contrast the manor of Ripon had an archiepiscopal character, situated in the north of the wapentake and heavily structuring the final section of the Burghshire Summary, as discussed immediately below.

There is some confusion over the sub-divisions present in the Burghshire Summary.

Maxwell claimed that it exhibited a tri-partite division (1962c: 2), while Roffe more recently indicated that this Summary was divided in two (2000a: 85). The problem is that the divisions are effected in differing ways. The Summary commences with Nun Monkton before proceeding to elucidate a discrete grouping of vills in the eastern portion of the wapentake, delimited by the course of the river Nidd to the south and the rivers Ure and Swale to the north. It does not appear to operate by manor, instead vacillating westwards towards the Knaresborough Fee. After covering the holdings of Knaresborough, a half-space in the text indicates a transition. After this point the Summary proceeds to cover the remainder of the wapentake in anti-clockwise fashion, omitting the archiepiscopal holdings of Ripon in the north of the wapentake. It may be attempting to focus on clusters of vills by landholder but this would be very difficult to prove. The final division of the text, following Maxwell, is distinguished by an enlarged 'I' after which it covers in a single block the holdings of the Archbishop of York in the manor of Ripon. It is abundantly clear from the plan of this Summary (Figure 113) that the first section, hemmed in the rivers, reflects a discrete sub-division of the wapentake. It also elucidates the position of Claro Hill, this feature being set dead-central to the sub-division in question. Ripon would also appear to reflect a distinctive district, albeit one made explicit by the manorial extents outlined in Domesday Book. It does not provide a comprehensive breakdown of the structure of Burghshire but it does indicate the presence of a sub-structure.

Notably, Burghshire was cited by Glanville Jones as a Northumbrian exemplar of the 'multiple estate' (1971; 1979). Jones' model of the 'multiple estate' derived from outlines found in medieval Welsh records. These consisted of hierarchical and interlinked groups of estates, often characterised by a range of economic specialisations (Jones 1979: 11). Crucially, he argued that this reflected norms stretching back to the Romano-British, if not Iron Age period. In this view the pattern of Anglo-Saxon settlement and territoriality in many parts of the country reflected the acquisition and gradual break-up of this existing situation rather than the imposition of a new system of organisation. In the case of Burghshire the three manors of Aldborough, Knaresborough and Ripon were argued to be component

estates of the Burghshire 'multiple estate' (Jones 1979: 29-30). Further, Burghshire, based around the Roman, and probable Iron Age settlement of *Isurium Brigantes* (now Aldborough), reflected the assimilation/survival/development of an Iron Age/Romano-British polity within an eleventh-century territorial framework. This proposal is difficult to assess – while there are compelling examples of estates in other parts of the country, it is too easy to make the essentials of the model fit for Burghshire. It is an intriguing possibility, but certainly not a compelling one. Dawn Hadley has further stressed that Ripon, one of the proposed component estates of Burghshire, in fact extends outside the Domesday dimensions of the territory while other manors with *caputs* without this 'multiple estate' enjoyed holdings within it (2000: 146). There is no conclusive evidence asserting a Romano-British character to Burghshire.

Following the Domesday inquest, Burghshire next appears as a district in 1089x1118, listed in a recapitulation of gifts given to St Mary's Abbey in York (Farrer and Clay 1955: 31). It is not specified whether it is treated as a wapentake or as an alternate gloss for a co-extensive district. Certainly, this latter option prevailed in the following centuries, with Burghshire appearing alongside other wapentake glosses in a 1287 visitation of St Leonard's Hospital in York and later in the 1357 wool-price schedule (Cullum 1999: 22; Munro 1979: 211). It is found even later as a district name in a will of 1409/10 (Raine 1865: 47, 51) and continues as a toponymic suffix into the post-medieval period (Anderson 1934: 20). There is no clear evidence that it was used as the official name for the relevant wapentake at any point after the Domesday Inquest. It is worth noting that a Dean of Burghshire was recorded in a witness list of 1175x1185 (Farrer 1914: 69). This does not correspond to any known deanery listed in the 1291 Ecclesiastical Taxation (Ayscough *et al* 1802). One can tentatively suggest that it may reflect the deanery of Boroughbridge but it is difficult to advance this assertion beyond the realm of speculation.

No meetings are recorded of Burghshire, either as a wapentake or as an analogous conciliar body after Domesday Book. Indeed the 1086 Inquest records the only

known conciliar activity of this body, specifying in the Claims the testimony of Burghshire in a dispute between Ralph Paynel and Osbern de Arques over land in Nun Monkton (Faull and Stinson 1986: 374a). It is difficult to determine the exact point that Burghshire became officially known as Claro wapentake, but the lack of evidence here could indicate that in this, and other cases, the transition could feasibly have occurred directly after Domesday Book. In the present section, Borough Hill in Aldborough is given further attention.

Borough Hill, Aldborough (BUR-1)

Location: SE40586634 (centred on the Old Court House, Aldborough)
Reason: Possible named venue of the wapentake

Etymology

It is argued above that the *Burg* referenced in the name of Burghshire referred to Aldborough. In Domesday this manor appears as *Burc* and *Burg* (Faull and Stinson 1986: 299d, 301c, 326d, 328c, 329c, 330b, 380a). The manor was juxtaposed upon the ancient regional capital of the Brigantes, known as *Isurium* in Ptolemy's Geography (Berggren and Jones 2000). Attention is instead directed to Borough Hill, formerly a raised eminence at the crossroads within the walled town. This location was first mentioned in relation to a parliamentary hust of 1544 (Smith 1852: 42; Turner 1853: 135). Justification is given by way of the nomenclature and this (admittedly late) conciliar event.

Historical Evidence

There are no early medieval historic traces in relation to Aldborough. Ranulf Higden's *Polychronicon* sought to link Aldborough with the 870 attack on *Al-Cluith* [Dumbarton Rock] (Higden *et al* 1865: 66). This erroneous notion has persisted (cf Goodall 1769; Turner 1853: 29). Glanville Jones has also argued that Aldborough and Burghshire represented the active continuation of the capital territory of the Brigantes throughout the early medieval period (Jones 1979: 29-30). Hadley proposes that caution be exercised over this proposal (2000: 146). The first verifiable reference is in Domesday. It is listed as a pre- and post-Conquest royal manor with several appurtenances that had witnessed a severe drop in taxable value (Faull and Stinson 1986: 299d). There are no recorded assemblies and the wapentake had changed name (and presumably meeting-place) by the mid-twelfth century (Smith 1961e: 1). When the Lordship of Aldborough was brought within the remit of the Honour of

Knaresborough its courts were moved to Boroughbridge and from that point it ceased to be an administrative node of importance. As mentioned above, it was the site of an early modern assembly - two members of this former 'pocket borough' husted and were returned on this rise to Parliament in 1544 (Smith 1852: 42; Turner 1853: 135).

Topography

The remains of the Borough Hill rise are located at the southern edge of the eponymous cross-roads and green at the centre of Aldborough. It is not a true hill *per se*, but rather a protruding spur on the broader slope towards the Ure that the town of Aldborough rests upon. Turner reports a mound "four yards high and one hundred in circumference" upon it that was removed in 1683, revealing tesserae, ceramic building material and pillar bases (1853: 135). The disposition of the contemporary green is much as it was when depicted on the First Edition Ordnance Survey. The rise is partially compromised by an eighteenth-century building known as the Old Court House (NMR 2013: MON#55229). Turner reports that this functioned jointly as a judicial node of "the Navigation Company" when they held the lordship of the manor and also functioned as a market house when trading took place at Borough Hill (1853: 75-6). The position of Borough Hill within the walls of Aldborough is made clearer by Smith's plan of its Roman antiquities, indicating three main roads (1852; Figure 49). Borough Hill is situated 150 metres to the south of St Andrew's church, though the relationship between the two remains unclear. Aldborough itself is set on a slope dipping noticeably in a north-north-easterly direction down towards the river Ure.

Aldborough and Borough Hill are situated within the wider flood-plain of the Ure, defined by Triassic Sandstones. The town straddles the interface between the alluvial core of this plain, and the surrounding glacial tills. As such, the Aldborough site represents a dry, raised spur extending from higher ground to the south that is relatively proximate to the crossing of the Ure itself. The town was closely associated with the Dere street crossing and is linked by a further road running south-west

towards Ilkley. The Boroughbridge crossing, 750 metres north-west of Aldborough, came into prominence at an unknown point. This settlement, first mentioned in 1155 (Smith 1961e: 82), came to supplant much of the town's administrative role. Borough Hill, and by extension Aldborough, is located within the township and parish of Aldborough. While a deacon of Burghshire is recorded in 1175x1185 (Farrer 1914: 69), at the time of the 1291 Taxation Aldborough was a peculiar of the Dean and Chapter of York in the Archdeaconry of Richmond.

Archaeological Evidence

Aldborough is best known as a walled Roman town. This has been identified with the *civitas* of *Isurium* as opposed to a military fort, the regional capital of the Brigantes and a crucial intersection on Dere Street where it ran north of York towards Hadrian's Wall and beyond. It also marked a westerly intersection towards Ilkley and thence to Manchester. The assemblage of early medieval material is by comparison relatively sparse. The rise of Borough Hill itself appears to have been augmented by the collapsed monumental remains of a Roman municipal structure (Turner 1853: 135; Ferraby and Millett 2013: 292-3; Figure 49). Two burials, in the north-western bastion and adjacent to the northern wall, have been interpreted as post-Roman intrusions (Buckberry 2004: 450). Butler has meanwhile noted a seventh-century Anglian burial accompanied by a thread box and girdle hangars during earlier excavations at Aldborough (1971: 163). This also noted some carved bone objects that were suggested to be Scandinavian in influence. Finally, fragments of an eighth-century cross have been re-erected as a pillar in the garden of the manor house (NMR 2013: MON#55211). Interestingly, fragments of the same cross have been found in Cundall (*ibid*). Detectorists have discovered a few items of early medieval metalwork to the south of the Roman walls, including pins and strap-ends, but nothing sufficient to denote a focus or zone of activity (e.g. PAS 2013: DUR-05C5B6, YORYM-FD88B7).

Halikeld Wapentake (HAL-0)

Etymology

Halikeld wapentake first appears in Domesday Book in the form *Halichelde* (Faull and Stinson 1986: 308c, 322b, 380b). The toponym remained stable, though it was occasionally appended –*shire* (e.g. Smith 1928: 218). It is one of several wapentakes where Old Norse and Old English synonymous word elements are equally applicable. Thus the first may either be the Old Norse *heiligr* or the Old English *halig*, each meaning 'holy (Anderson 1934: 10). In turn the second element indicates a spring or a well, from the Old Norse *kelda* or the Old English *celde* (*ibid*: 10-11). It is highly likely that the second element at least is Old Norse in derivation, given the restricted and southerly extent of the Old English (*ibid*: 11). As to whether it is an Old Norse word subject to subsequent Anglification or else a hybrid remains moot.

Historical Evidence

The wapentake of Halikeld in Domesday Book appears to have been bound to the east, west and south by the converging courses of the rivers Ure and Swale. This is certainly the impression given in the Yorkshire Summary. This situation is complicated by the remainder of Domesday Book, which instead divides the wapentake between the West and North Ridings. It is unclear why this is the case but it may be analogous to the division of the Archbishop's Otley estate between the wapentakes of Skyrack (**SKY-0**) and *Gereburg* (**GER-0**). The boundary is tightly defined by the rivers except to the north and here there is an uneasy boundary of seeming encroachments between the Land of Count Alan and Halikeld. The wapentake, and the sites of the Halikeld springs themselves, are situated at a transitional point between the lowlands of the Vale of York and the lower slopes of the Magnesian limestone belt.

Halikeld wapentake appears in Domesday Book solely as a district sub-header (Faull

and Stinson 1986: 308c, 322b, 380b). As such its character is largely determined by the outline given in the Summary. This provides a strict sequence organised by landholder. Unusually this commences with the lands of the Archbishop of York in lieu of the King, who is instead listed fourth, behind the Bishop of Durham and the surviving pre-Conquest lord Gospatric. The prominence of ecclesiastical officers in the wapentake is unusual and it may indicate a former detached portion in a similar relationship to the Liberty of Ripon that *Gereburg* appears to have enjoyed with the Archbishop's Otley estate. This is likely only to be partly the case. The Halikeld vills listed for the manor of Ripon are only found along and to the east of the Swale. There is also the matter of the position of Athelstan's cross, a boundary market for the Liberty of Ripon at SE33647364, again near the banks of the Ouse (NMR 2013: MON#53790). Finally the geographical distribution of the Archbishop's lands in the Summary all maintain position along this same corridor of the Ure. Between them all they demonstrate only the partial incursion of Ripon across the Ure. Another explanation is required for the morphology of Halikeld.

With the exception of Holme the vills of the Bishop of Durham occupy a similar position to those of the manor of Ripon, although they seem to be found further north along the Ure. They are presented in the Summary as constituent members of the manor of Hutton Conyers, including outliers in the Land of Count Alan and the wapentake of Burghshire. Gospatric's lands appear to concentrate in the south-eastern corner of the wapentake, and in most cases he appears to be an under-tenant variously of the Bishop of Durham, the Archbishop of York and the King. The holdings of the crown cluster in the same area before the Summary closes with the Count of Mortain's manor of Cundall. Like Hutton Conyers this possesses a concentration, in the eastern corner of the wapentake, and a further spread of outliers without the district. As such it appears to be an easterly analogue to Hutton Conyers further west.

There is nothing here to explain Halikeld's ambiguous position between the North and West Ridings. Furthermore it is striking that the vast majority of the vills appear

to have continued under the same tenure prior to 1066. Indeed it is only the Count of Mortain's holdings in Cundall that significantly buck this trend, acquired from Earl Waltheof. Halikeld cannot therefore be explained as a product of reorganisation following the Conquest. Instead it inclines one to consider whether Halikeld represents the imperfect imposition of a riding and wapentake scheme over a series of older districts prior to the mid-eleventh century. Conversely, further evidence for this proposal is only found on estates with a significant archiepiscopal character, such as Otley, and it may be that one is instead witnessing a disconnect between shrieval or royal authority on the one hand and ecclesiastical norms on the other. Ultimately, without further examples it is difficult to place any great weight upon this proposal.

Subsequent to Domesday the wapentake of Halikeld almost always appears solely as a component part of the wider honour of Richmondshire. Lordship of this wapentake has certainly followed that of the Honour throughout the later medieval period (Page 1914: 356). Some of the earliest of the few details available about Halikeld come from the *Registrum Honoris de Richmond*, a compilation of records from this Honour (Gale 1722). Thus one learns that the wapentake of Halikeld, along with Gilling and Hang, was subdivided into *Temanetale* in the late twelfth century (*ibid*: 22-3). These constituted groupings of ten men after the fashion of the early medieval tithing further south and were evidently linked to individual land assessments or, more precisely, the carucatage, as evidenced by a remainder noted at the close of each *temanetale* listing (Page 1914: 17). These listings group Halikeld with Gilling and Hang in a fashion that implies an intimate connection. However it is only in the reign of Henry III that this is made clear. The fine rolls of this period describe the three wapentakes as a possession of King John prior to the Baron's Revolt (Henry III Fine Rolls Project: C60/29 #371). In 1231/2 this trio was granted by the crown to the Count of Britanny (*ibid*: C60/31) and in 1235/6 it was then granted to Alexander Bacon, described as the *custos* of Richmondshire (*ibid*: C60/35). Bacon is alternately described in the *Registrum* for the previous year as the *custos* of the three wapentakes (Gale 1722: 273). This confirms the previously implicit connection, reinforced by an Inquisition of the Honour of Richmondshire in 1285 which explicitly divides the fee of Richmondshire into the three aforesaid wapentakes (Maxwell-Lyte

1906: 342; cf 1913: 231). These are the only records one finds; either the confirmation of a bailiff for the three wapentakes or a statement of the extent of the Honour by way of the three wapentakes. It would appear that almost all other business did not warrant record in this domain. This reflects limited royal engagement in what was the semi-autonomous province of Richmondshire. Thus, while *Kirkby's Inquest* does indeed provide a separate listing for each wapentake, the *Nomina Villarum* instead assesses all three districts as the Liberty of Richmond (Skaife 1869: 181, 333-9).

There are two specific exceptions to this. An undated Inquisition of the reign of Henry III, tentatively dated by Brown to 1245/6, indicates twelve knights of Halikeld wapentake adjudicating on a point of forest law at an unspecified venue (Brown 1892: 267). Secondly, in 1284/5 a partially obscured Inquisition Post Mortem at York records that an unknown gentleman surnamed Breton owed one annual suit to the wapentake of Halikeld by way of an illegible holding (Brown 1898: 7). Despite immersion within the Honour of Richmondshire the wapentake maintained a degree of conciliar integrity, albeit one whose extent is difficult to assess. It was also one of the wapentakes in attendance at John of Kilvington's North Riding Inquisition at Bedale in 1349/50 though this was without both the district and the jurisdiction of Haliked wapentake. In the modern era the wapentake has received little attention. Francis Palgrave proposed that Halikeld was a scene of pagan worship, a line quoted in turn by Gomme (Palgrave 1832: clviii; Gomme 1880: 221). However the spring in Palgrave's case was merely used as a device with which to articulate a prohibition against cultic activity at springs stated in the Laws of Cnut. There is no documented evidence for worship at the site.

Halikeld Springs (HAL-1)

Location: SE34017556 & SE34277514 (centred on the two springs)
Reason: Named venue of the wapentake

Etymology

See above

Historical Evidence

See above

Topography

Halikeld in fact consists of two sites, albeit locations close enough together that consideration has been undertaken in tandem. On the First Edition Ordnance Survey mapping two Halikelds, at SE34247604 and SE34177504, are indicated as field names at a distance of one kilometre from one another. They are divided both by the parish boundary of Wath and Hutton Conyers and in turn the district boundary between the Land of Count Alan and the wapentake of Halikeld. There are also two Halikeld Springs, at SE34017556 and SE34277514. The former is situated directly on the boundary between the two districts while the latter resides in Halikeld proper. Today the northern site has been capped by a concrete plug in the middle of an industrial estate. The latter remains as an overgrown pond. The two sites are situated at the beginning of a gentle rise in the Magnesian limestone belt. They are overshadowed to the south by the local eminence of Carr Hill. A further rise is found directly east of the Halikeld Springs on Melmerby Common and from here the ground slopes down westward towards the banks of the Ure. The springs are 2.5 kilometres east of the said river and 3.5 kilometres west of the Swale. The terrain is characteristic of the

Vale of York, consisting of underlying Triassic sandstones topped by the glacial sands and gravels that characterise the confluence between the Ure and the Swale. The precise position of the Springs is likely a product of the intersection of glacial tills at this point – the springs mark the northerly interface of this outcrop with the gravels. The two springs are connected by road to Melmerby in the north and a crossroad to the south which in turn connected to Ripon further to the south-west and Dere Street to the east (Margary 1973: 428-9). The springs are also located 1.6 kilometres due west of the Roman road though there is no obvious sign of a direct road leading to it. As mentioned they are located on both a parish and wapentake border. Each of these parishes abide by a corridor of land between the Ure and Dere Street, with the Halikeld Springs positioned centrally between the two. In turn Hutton Conyers is described as an extra-parochial district although there is no clarification as to how this came about (Page 1914: 403). Thus it would appear that the Halikeld springs are defined most obviously by a border situation.

Archaeological Evidence

As mentioned much of the modern site of the Hallikeld Springs has been covered by a modern industrial estate. Archaeological material in close proximity to their location is defined almost exclusively by the earthwork and cropmark remains of barrows. One, now destroyed, was situated 150 metres west of the northerly and border-situated Halikeld Spring. There is alas no record of excavation (Grinsell 1953: 442). Further barrow excavations did take place in the mid-nineteenth century along a row of mounds along Melmerby Common to the west (*ibid*: 442; Manby 1971: 177). These revealed Bronze Age sherds, alongside cremation deposits and flint scrapers – certainly nothing to indicate early medieval or later re-use. More recent studies of aerial transcriptions have identified the cropmarks of further barrows in the vicinity along with a large-scale pit-alignment to the south-west of the springs (NMR 2013: MON#1114294; Riley 1977: 29). Alongside the henges of Hutton and Nunwick to the south and south-west it would appear that the Springs were located on a edge of a prehistoric monumental landscape on the lower slopes of the Magnesian Limestone

belt (Harding and Lee 1987: 308-313). The next nearest feature of interest is the aforementioned Roman road (Margary 1973: 428-9). There is no abiding connection between the two places although the PAS has reported a concentration of Romano-British metalwork along Dere Street, directly east of the Halikeld Springs. These included a first- to second-century brooch, an undated stylus, a second-century mount and a fourth-century coin (PAS 2013: YORYM-91C287; YORYM-080053; YORYM-07CC66; YORYM-1AEA66). It is a diverse and small assemblage and thus difficult to gauge any particular activity or function from which it might have resulted. It does however indicate a concentration of activity along the road at the point nearest to the springs.

There is an absence of early medieval activity in both the immediate and wider vicinity of the springs and this is compounded by the relatively frequent distribution of later medieval reports in the area. This indicates if nothing else that detectorist activity is ongoing in the area, thus eradicating inaction as an explanation for the absence. The presence of Athelstan's Cross 2 kilometres to the south-west also indicates that Hallikeld was situated some way outside of the longstanding boundaries of the Liberty of Ripon (NMR 2013: MON#53790). The PAS has reported a late Saxon bell from immediate environs of this cross – certainly an unusual find but not enough to suggest specific activity (2013: YORYM-7ECE18). Likewise an unidentified piece of Viking silver has been identified three kilometres east of the Springs north of Rainton (*ibid*: NCL-099763). Combined with the evidence of ninth- to tenth-century Anglo-Scandinavian sculpture from Wath, 2.2 kilometres to the north-west (Lang 2001: 217-9), the Springs by comparison seem quiet. To all intents and purposes the Hallikeld springs represent an isolated border location that would have been in relatively easy reach by way of Dere Street.

Craven (CRA-0)

Etymology

The district known as Craven first appears in Domesday Book as a territory in the Yorkshire Dales. It is found variously as *Incrave*, *Crave* and *In Crave* in the main text, signalling vills appurtenant to this district (Faull and Stinson 1986: 301c, 314c, 322b, 329c, 331d, 327c). However, in the Summary the sub-heading for this district is instead presented as *Cravescire* (*ibid*: 380b). Thereafter it makes no further appearance as a territory analogous to the wapentakes found elsewhere in Yorkshire, although the name was taken as that of the eponymous deanery in the archdeaconry of York (Ayscough *et al*. 1802: 300). Nonetheless it was in use throughout the later medieval period as a general term denoting those people and places in or linked to this part of the Yorkshire Dales (Smith 1961f: 1). The name is also associated with a number of topographic features in this area, including Craven Well and Craven Moor (*ibid*: 2).

The first place-name solution was offered by Camden, who proposed that it derived from a cited British root, *Crage*, meaning 'rock', the author deeming this an appropriate semantic connection to the often harsh, upland terrain of this district (1701: 727). Whitaker, the celebrated historian of Craven, concurred with this judgement (1812: 8). Disagreement only surfaced in the early twentieth century when Ekwall (1924a: 21) argued against this, deriving the name instead from the Welsh *craf*, or 'garlic', perhaps indicative of the flora of this immediate region. Smith (1961f: 1-2) cleaved to this view, though P.N. Wood has latterly tried to reinforce a geological interpretation by pointing to another Welsh *craf,* this time meaning 'scratched', again implying exposed and rocky terrain (1996: 3). Most recently A.R. Rowley has undertaken a more comprehensive review of the toponym (1999). Doubtful of both Ekwall and Woods' hypotheses, Rowley has instead proposed that the proto-Celtic **crav-ona*, meaning 'rocky region', makes for the more elegant solution (*ibid*: *42*). Interestingly he also toys in brief with the notion that Gargrave, a

vill within the Domesday district of Craven, may bear the same linguistic root as Craven itself (*ibid*: 37). However, while indicating reservations about Smith's hybrid Old Norse/Old English solution, *geiri-graf* 'copse in a triangular plot of ground', he concedes that a link to Craven would be even more tenuous. It would seem reasonable, but by no means certain, that the name Craven refers to the rocky terrain of much of its associated landscape. More certainty can be placed on its pre-Anglian, Brittonic roots, a factor of crucial importance to hypotheses of a British kingdom of Craven, discussed below.

Historical Evidence

Craven occupies an unusual position in the Yorkshire Domesday. It was a district treated in analogous fashion to the hundreds and wapentakes found elsewhere in that county whilst seemingly comprising neither. Some have argued (Faull 1981: 171; Wood 1996: 3) that it exemplifies the partial consolidation of a British kingdom of Craven within a framework of wapentakes. However, notwithstanding the purported polity, Domesday Craven presents the more immediate issue that its reckoning within the 1086 Inquest is noticeably inconsistent. Vills and manors linked to Craven in the main text are spread throughout much of the Yorkshire Dales, clustering on the upper courses of the rivers Aire, Wharfe, Ribble and Hodder. Beyond this one is faced with two problems. First, as Finn has pointed out (1972: 29), there is little accompanying information concerning the extent of these lands in comparison to other parts of Yorkshire. Second, the account of Craven given in the Yorkshire Summary is much smaller, dwelling exclusively on the holdings of Bolton Abbey, a possession of Earl Edwin that by 1086 had been acquired by King William. In combination these two factors ensure that the reconstructed Domesday district of Craven is more completely based upon later parochial boundaries than any other part of Yorkshire. As such one can only confidently discuss its territorial aspect in quite general terms. As the clustering of settlement implies, it encompassed a series of upland river valleys in the Yorkshire Dales. Its northern boundary, abutting the North Riding of Yorkshire, appears to be defined by the river valleys of the Wharfe

and Nidd. In turn, the course of the Nidd defined part of the border between Craven and Burghshire. Beyond that, the chances of shifting into speculation grow sharply. Despite these issues a number of useful details can be drawn from the Domesday material. It is clear that the two largest estates within Craven were those of Grindleton and Bolton Abbey. Only the latter was included in the Summary, though the former was itself but a small part of Roger of Poitou's larger holdings within the district, which also included the manors of Winterburn, Long Preston and many individual vills. It is likely no coincidence that the Summary account of Bolton Abbey concerns the principal royal holding in the district. The dimensions of this estate also reflect one of the principal corridors of movement in this part of the Pennines, running through Airedale, a vector arguably reflected in the proposed Roman road between Skipton and Ingleborough (Margary 1967: 408).

Beyond the inconsistent Summary, there is so little information presented about the extent and value of lands in Craven that Maxwell (1962c: 61) proposed that the entire district had been rated as waste in 1086, possibly as a result of the Harrying of the North. This thesis has never received much support. Crucially, Arthur Raistrick pointed out that this hypothesised zone of waste very carefully respects the wapentake borders with Burghshire and Skyrack to the east (1970: 40). Furthermore those vills within these two wapentakes, that so closely border Craven, show no sign of such consistent devastation. Raistrick concluded by arguing that wanton rapine and pillage was very unlikely to show such concern for bureaucratic niceties (*ibid*). Certainly, while a third of Craven is explicitly described as waste (Dalton 2002: 62) it is more likely that the lack of detail and inconsistent reckoning of Domesday Book came about as a result of minimal control and awareness of this stark and relatively inaccessible upland region. Finn suggested that the residents of Craven were too few and scattered to form a useful jury to account for the region (1972: 30) – thus one only finds an account of a royal estate in the Summary. This assumes too much about assembly practices in this region but nevertheless it seems more likely that the problems with the Craven account relate more to the coroners' methodology than to an assumed deserted wasteland.

After Domesday Craven does not appear again in an analogous position to the other wapentakes in the West Riding of Yorkshire. It is clear that after 1166 this position was approximately supplanted by Staincliffe wapentake. While Craven does not appear again as the name of a secular territory in the medieval period it is found as a deanery within the archdeaconry of York (Ayscough *et al*. 1802: 300). However, it also continues to be used as a seemingly ill-defined district name throughout the later medieval period. Richard of Hexham reports that the Scots under King David attacked *Suthernesse* [Furness] Abbey in the province of *Crafna* (Raine 1864: 82). An Inquisition Post Mortem during the reign of Edward I records one Ricus de Braddelegh holding diverse messuages in Craven (Caley 1806: 226). Further instances of this can be consulted in Smith (1961f: 2). Most strikingly it is found as an affix to various place-names in the Yorkshire Dales, including Thornton-in-Craven and Stainton-in-Craven. Despite a seeming reduction in status the toponym has been incredibly tenacious, and yet it remains unclear why this is so.

This ambiguous situation is reinforced by a few instances where Craven does appear to be treated in a fashion after a wapentake or related territory in the later medieval period. In 1175 pleas of Craven are cited in relation to a partition of the Percy Fee in this region, though no further supporting information is forthcoming in this instance (Farrer and Clay 1963: 87). Earlier, between 1130 and 1154, a charter gifting Kildwick vill to the Canons of Embsay begins with a greeting to *omnibus hominibus de Crava* (‘all the men of Craven’; Legg 2009: 4-5), a diplomatic address normally associated with discrete manorial or wapentake concerns. Later, in 1338, Craven was listed as the sole district in Yorkshire exempt from a wool tax (Price 1953: 191). Finally, in the mid-sixteenth century, reference is made to a bailiff of Craven (Baildon 1893: 489-90). In no instances are assemblies of Craven cited. Ultimately it is more likely that the toponym Craven is being deployed as a gloss for Staincliffe wapentake and possibly the Deanery of Craven.

This proposed solution does not however entirely abrogate the significance of this

toponym's staying power. The application of the affix is most similar to the use of Elmet further to the south-east in the West Riding of Yorkshire. Comparisons to Elmet, and the likely Brittonic derivation of the name, have been crucial in arguments proposing Craven as an undocumented British kingdom (Faull 1981: 171; Wood 1996: 14). It is an enticing possibility but there is a serious lack of corroborating evidence with which to take this proposal further. It must also be pointed out that Elmet is not the only plausible analogy to place alongside Craven. Richmondshire, a later medieval Honour in the North Riding, is treated in a similar fashion (**TAC-0**). Like Craven it is on occasion in this period referred to by name, but on others by its constituent wapentakes, depending on the business at hand. One could argue that the term Craven was simply being deployed to define Roger of Poitou's eastern holdings in the West Riding. That said, the application of a Brittonic name to this franchise seems unusual and one must reiterate that a hypothesised small British kingdom does currently seem more likely. In terms of assembly, it is likely that more information can be found through scrutiny of the wapentake of Staincliffe.

Gereburg Wapentake (GER-0)

Etymology

The district known as *Gereburg* appears in only one document, and then only once, in Domesday Book (Faull and Stinson 1986: 379a). In the early nineteenth century Thomas Stapleton proposed that the name derived from the Brittonic *caer,* indicative of the fortifications at Aldborough (1839: ix-xn). Later, Anderson proposed alternate Old Norse and Old English elements for the name, respectively *jarð-borg* or *eorþ-burh* (1934: 21). In each case the toponym signifies an earthwork. Smith reasserted Anderson's Old English solution while proposing a second; the Old English *geiri-burh*, or 'fort in the triangular corner of land' (1961e: 1). Given the lack of varied iterations for this toponym, it is difficult to provide a conclusive solution. That said, the name is found elsewhere, not least for Yarborough in Lincolnshire, where the *Gereburg/Gereberg* form can more conclusively be linked to the Old English *eorþ-burh* (Anderson 1934: 50; Pantos 2001: 352). Anderson, like Stapleton, has suggested that the name refers to Aldborough and is effectively a synonym for Burghshire (1934: xxxi, 6, 21). Smith (1961e: 1) does not express this view. More recently David Roffe has been more equivocal, suggesting both that it could have been an alternate name for Burghshire or Skyrack, and also that it may instead reflect a sub-division (2000a: 85n). Again, the lack of evidence makes it difficult to adjudicate on the matter effectively, though certainly the territorial disposition does make it look like land in Burghshire under the jurisdiction of the Skyrack-based estate of Otley. Finally, Barrie Cox has argued that the *eorþ-burh* name formation, in relation to Yarborough, Lincolnshire, is a toponym specific to prehistoric hillforts, an assertion that contrasts with the strong links made to Aldborough by the above authors (1996: 50). There are no monuments in *Gereburg* that match this description. Arguably one could consider the Iron Age promontory fort of Castleberg, at Nesfield a few kilometres to the west of *Gereburg* as a candidate (NMR 2013: MON#48017). Immediately south of Ilkley one finds the enclosed earthworks at Backstone Beck and Green Crag (NMR 2013: MON#49991, MON#49896), while the enclosed Iron Age settlement at Danefield

Wood is located immediately south of Otley (*ibid*: MON#51667). None of these are in *Gereburg per se*. While there is much to be said for *Gereburg* as a referent of the walled Roman town at Aldborough, its morphology is heavily constrained by the positions of Otley and Ilkley on the opposite bank of the river Wharfe. It is not implausible that the earthworked fortifications implied in the name could refer to one or both of these nodes instead.

Historical Evidence

Gereburg wapentake appears in the Yorkshire Summary of Domesday Book as a sub-section within the listing for Skyrack wapentake (Faull and Stinson 1986: 379a). It is described as circumscribing a number of outliers of the archiepiscopal estate of Otley, including Stubham, Denton and Clifton (*ibid*). This connection is striking when mapped (Figure 59). *Gereburg* consists of two small portions of land on the north bank of the river Wharfe, opposite Ilkley and Otley respectively. Furthermore, rather than a mere quirk of the Domesday Inquest, it can be shown that *Gereburg* accurately reflects the northern extent of the Otley estate in c. 1030 (Farrer 1914: 21-2). Given the way in which the rivers Wharfe and Aire so strictly delineate the boundary of Skyrack wapentake, *Gereburg* very much looks like the bisected northern half of the Otley estate. Either, it had not been fully subsumed within Burghshire at the time of the Domesday Inquest, or else there was cause, currently unknown, for the Otley estate to be summarised in one block. It is highly unlikely that *Gereburg* represents a distinct sub-division of Burghshire, let alone a stand-alone territory.

West Riding of Yorkshire – Later Wapentakes

Claro Wapentake (CLA-0)

Etymology

The name Claro wapentake first appears in the Pipe Rolls of 1166 as *Clarehov* (Pipe Roll Society 1888: 47) and by the end of the twelfth century appears to have almost entirely supplanted the former name of the wapentake, Burghshire (**BUR-0**). It is latterly found as *Clarau*, *Clarehowe* and *Clarrehowe* (Smith 1961e: 1). It is only in the later sixteenth century that it acquires the suffix 'Hill' (*ibid*: 14). Those who have examined the toponym consider that it shares a first name element with the settlement of Clareton, some 850 metres to the south-west of Claro Hill, in the parish of Coneythorpe and Clareton. This latter name is found in Domesday Book, as *Clareton* and *Claretone* (Faull and Stinson 1986: 299d, 330a, 380a). This pairing of names was first tackled by Thomas Stapleton in the early nineteenth century (Stapleton and Plumpton 1839: ix-x). He considered Claro Hill to have been named after the settlement of Clareton, although specifically toponomastic analysis amounted only to the identification of the second Old English elements, *tun* (farmstead) and *hoh* (hill) respectively (Stapleton and Plumpton (1839: ix-x). Anderson concurred with these second elements and argued that the first element was derived from the Old English *claefre*, or 'clover', after expressing some scepticism over the presence of Clare as a personal name at the time of word formation (1934: 21). By contrast Smith had more confidence in the presence of a personal name in the toponyms, suggesting that clustered toponyms bearing the same personal name were a Scandinavian trait in the place-name distribution of the area, a thesis highly reminiscent of the work of Alexander Bugge (1904: 317-8; see Section 2.3.1). As such, one is likely dealing either with a 'clover hill' or 'Clare's hill'.

Historical Evidence

Claro wapentake emerges in the 1166 Pipe Rolls as a corporate body guilty of (and fined heavily for) the concealment of the death of one Cnut (Pipe Roll Society 1888: 47; Farrer 1916: 479). By the early thirteenth century it appears to have entirely supplanted Burghshire as a territorial name in common usage, with *Burgesir* found as the latest and last iteration in 1219 (Smith 1961e: 1). Claro wapentake is recorded witnessing a quitclaim in favour of Fountains Abbey (Lancaster 1915: 12) and in 1218/9 jurors from Claro wapentake appeared before the Justices in Eyre at York (Stenton 1937: 284). Twelve men of the king, of Claro wapentake, witnessed an inquisition of proof of age in 1292/3 (Brown 1898: 16) while its bailiff appears on a witness list of the same regnal year (Brown 1926: 64).

From its earliest mention it is described as a property of the crown, a status reiterated in the *Placita de Quo Warranto* and *Kirkby's Inquest*, both produced during the reign of Edward I (Caley 1818: 200; Skaife 1867: 349). In an inquisition of 1318/9 the Liberty of Ripon is described as situated within Claro wapentake though this inquisition also specifies that the king remained the lord-in-chief of the wapentake (Maxwell-Lyte 1910: 99). Nonetheless, by 1340 the Patent Rolls report that the bailiwick of Claro had been granted to one Simon de *Ponte Burgi* (Maxwell-Lyte 1898c: 441). This shift in ownership likely reflects a distinct shift in the character of assembly venues, as outlined below.

No juries of Claro wapentake are recorded at Claro Hill itself, at least by name. Aside from the presence of a Claro jury at a 1292/3 inquisition at Skipton (Brown 1898: 149), the only named wapentake venue for Claro in the first few centuries following the Domesday inquest was that of Harewood Bridge, once between 1202 and 1212 (Farrer and Clay 1947: 136). At the close of the thirteenth century Claro wapentake became embroiled in a border dispute over court venues with its northerly neighbour, Hang wapentake (**HANG-0**; Brown 1898: 99-101). The bailiff of Richmondshire had been accused of holding wapentake courts of Hang within the bounds of Claro wapentake, more specifically between a place called *Manslaghtre* on Nutwith Hill and Kirkby Malzeard (*ibid*). Further accusations added that other erroneous

wapentake courts had been held near Kirkby Malzeard at Grewelthorpe (*ibid*). The bailiff was eventually cleared of this charge (*ibid*: 101) but it serves as one of the rare demonstrations that a wapentake court was readily considered a feature that could be imposed at short notice rather than being overly subject to long-term conciliar tradition.

It remains to note a late flurry in wapentake venue listings. The memorials of Fountains Abbey, between 1446 and 1458, record no less than five different wapentake venues for Claro, these being Flaxby, Aismunderby, Stainburn, Deighton and the lost *Walsworthbryge* (Fowler 1918: 103, 105, 111, 142, 144). This marks quite a contrast with the earlier reticence of the historic sources. This change could be due in part to the shift away from royal control of the wapentake. The wider distribution of these venues is indeed most reminiscent of the graveships of the Honour of Wakefield. However, this would be to speculate – the earlier sources as we have them point to two venues – Claro Hill (**CLA-1**) and Harewood Bridge (**CLA-2**).

Claro Hill (CLA-1)

Location: SE40365996 (centred on Claro Hill)
Reason: Named venue of the wapentake.

Etymology

See above

Historical Evidence

Claro Hill, as a landscape feature, does not appear in Domesday Book or prior documentation. However, Clareton makes several appearances. Given its proximity and the shared first element of the toponym, it is worth briefly considering the context of this settlement in Domesday Book. It is listed as one of several outliers of the manor of Aldborough, a manor that remained in the hands of the crown either side of the Norman Conquest (Faull and Stinson 1986: 299d). Three carucates of land in Clareton were also held by Gospatric, an instance of tenure that similarly witnesses no disruption on the part of the events of 1066 (*ibid*: 330a). This lack of tenurial disruption is also reflected in the stability of the value of Gospatric's holdings, which remain unchanged. The grouped assessment for the royal holdings in Clareton mean that this cannot be comprehensively assessed, though what evidence there is would suggest a high degree of stability. It is also worth noting the early date of the connection between Clareton and Aldborough.

Claro Hill itself is not referenced in any later medieval documentation. This partly reflects its status as a pleonasm - the toponym Claro itself bears the Old English element *hoh*, thus rendering the suffix 'Hill' unnecessary (Smith 1961e: 14). However, one must also note that no later medieval assemblies are specified at Claro, by any iteration of the place-name. The first identifiable citation of this feature is found in the West Riding Session Rolls of 1597, where it is found as *Clarohill-Yaite*, or 'Claro

Hill Road' (Lister 1888: 83). In 1650 *Claro monte* occurs as a landmark in a parish register (Slingsby 1908: 15). Nonetheless, no traces of post-medieval assembly at Claro Hill can be found either. No evidence can also be found for assemblies recorded in association to Clareton, at any point in time.

It is described as a 'wooded summit' in Ely Hargrove's history of Knaresborough and Harrogate (1789: 120). In his *Yorkshire Gazetteer* he goes into more detail (1812: 65), identifying it as a *gemote* 228 feet in height (just under 70 metres) crested by an octagonal folly of very likely recent date (*ibid*: 65-6). Francis Palgrave referred to Claro Hill as an assembly site in his *Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth* (1832: clviii), while in Harry Speight's *Nidderdale* (1894: 203) it was first identified as a glacial moraine. Attention now turns to its landscape setting.

Topography

Claro Hill today constitutes the one-time site of a quarried out gravel moraine, adjacent to the hard shoulder of the A1, between Knaresborough and Wetherby. There is a surviving, larger moraine directly south-west in Claro Field, though early maps make clear that this is a distinct entity. In the late eighteenth century it was described as a 'wooded summit' (Hargrove 1789: 120), once adorned with an octagonal folly (Hargrove 1812: 65-6). Prior to the construction of the A1, it marked a crossroads between the north-south Boroughbridge road, and roads from Arkendale and Clareton to the west, and Whixley and Great Ouseburn to the east. This crossroads is found on low-lying land at the interface between the western edge of the Vale of York and the beginning of the Magnesian Limestone belt, a recurring pattern for assembly sites (and indeed major lines of communication) in the West Riding of Yorkshire. The location of the moraine itself is poised within a patchwork of detached parochial districts. It marks one of several boundaries between the township of Clareton (Allerton Mauleverer parish) and the township of Coneythorpe (Goldsborough Parish). This divides up the remainder of Clareton field, while other detached townships of Allerton Mauleverer parish consolidate positions along the

Boroughbridge road. A further cluster of detached portions converges immediately north of the hill, this time between the parishes of Knaresborough, Marton and Allerton Mauleverer. It is very odd, and must reflect one-time tension over perceived control (or indeed maintenance) of this routeway and junction. While the varied detached portions immediately surrounding Claro Hill were all part of the rural deanery of Boroughbridge, in the archdeaconry of Richmond, the upper convergence instead reflected a divide between this ecclesiastical grouping and the Prebendary of Knaresborough (also in the archdeaconry of Richmond).

Archaeological Evidence

Claro Hill today comprises a barely perceptible rise adjacent to the A1. It is in fact overshadowed by Gravel Hill, immediately to the south. It is likely that the octagonal folly reported by Ely Hargrove on the crest of Claro Hill instead refers to the extant and octagonal Temple of Victory erected in Allerton Park in the later eighteenth century (NMR 2013: MON#55111). Regardless, the First Edition Ordnance Survey at least makes clear the position of the mound. This is at what must have been a significant and long-standing cross-roads, detailed immediately above. Neither the NMR, the HER or the PAS report any proximate early medieval activity in relation to the site itself. The only feature of interest was a sub-rectangular earthwork enclosure, named Gravel Hill Plump, roughly 45 metres in breadth and depicted immediately south of Claro Hill upon the eponymous rise (NMR 2013: MON#55105). The NMR has assigned it a post-medieval date and that remains the most likely possibility. Nonetheless it may be possible, with the help of future comparanda, that this reflects a wider pattern, seen also in the enclosures near Spellow Clump, East Riding (**SPC-1**); Spellow Hill, West Riding (**SPH-1**); and further afield, the *quadrivium* reported in relation to the Elloe Stone in Lincolnshire (Everson and Stocker 1999: 162-4).

It is difficult to determine how long Claro Hill has operated as a node in the network of land communications. Margary records no Roman road at this point, although a metalled road surface, plausibly Roman, was discovered below Dunsforth road 1.4

kilometres north-east of Claro Hill (North Yorkshire HER 2012: MNY#11385). The north-south road has evidently been in operation long enough to have a significant influence over the disposition of township bounds, best reflected in the elongated shape of Boroughbridge township, stretching southwards to encompass the sides of this routeway. However, recent developer-funded archaeology has revealed Roman settlement and mortuary activity immediately to the north at Allerton Park Quarry (Ross 2007; Noakes and Town 2008) and juxtaposed Iron Age and Romano-British settlement to the south at Ten Low Hill (Fraser *et al* 1994). It is likely that the gravel moraine of Claro Hill marked a Romano-British, if not prehistoric, routeway, and that it functioned as a significant crossroads at least by the time of the Domesday Inquest, if not before.

Harewood Bridge (CLA-2)

Location: SE31224607 (centred on bridge)
Reason: Historically documented venue of the wapentake.

Etymology

The toponym Harewood is first encountered as *aet Harawuda* in the tenth-century Rushworth Gospels (Hogg 2004: 242). This has been linked to the royal West Riding Domesday manor of *Hareuuode* (Faull and Stinson 1986: 301b, 379a), a name which is latterly associated with a settlement, as *Harwode* and *Harewde* (Smith 1961d: 180-1). It is of course also associated with a bridge. Smith is not entirely confident whether the first element is that of the Old English elements *haer* or *hara*, 'heap of stones' and 'hare' respectively, but is more certain that the second is the Old English term *wudu*, or 'wood'. (*ibid*: 181).

Historical Evidence

Harewood Bridge is first noted in the historical record as a venue for a meeting of Claro wapentake. More precisely, at a point between 1202 and 1212, land at Nesfield and Beamsley was quitclaimed with the witness of the whole wapentake (Farrer and Clay 1947: 136). The chartulary of Sawley Abbey notes another quitclaim at Harewood Bridge in the mid-thirteenth century, though the type of assembly involved was not specified (McNulty 1933: 33). After this point no other assembly citations for Harewood Bridge can be found, until 1427 when it is listed as the site of witness for a will (Raine 1836: 413).

Topography

Harewood Bridge marks a crossing of the river Wharfe on the border of Skyrack and Burghshire (later Claro Hill) wapentakes. The present bridge is eighteenth century in

date (NMR 2013: MON#904694), though a Harewood Bridge was recorded in association with the eponymous estate in the early thirteenth century. The site has changed little since the First Edition Ordnance Survey and still features a wood-mill on the south bank. The road-crossing heads north to Dunkeswick before continuing to Harrogate. The southerly course connects directly to the core of the Harewood estate, one kilometre to the south-east. The surrounding countryside is characterised by gently undulating topography to the west of the Magnesian Limestone belt, before the more severe character of the Pennines makes itself known. The drift geology of the crossing is marked by alluvium embanked with gravel terraces either side of the Wharfe. The crossing itself straddles the boundary between the townships of Dunkeswick and Harewood, both in the parish of Harewood. They are both found within the rural deanery of Ainsty in the wider archdeaconry of York.

Archaeological Evidence

The present edifice of Harewood Bridge was constructed in 1729 (Pevsner 1979: 247). No traces of an earlier structure have been identified. However, its appearance in anterior historical documentation and its situation between the Domesday vills of Harewood and Dunkeswick would strongly suggest that this site represents a long-standing river-crossing. No early medieval activity has however been identified within the immediate vicinity of this communication node. Tenth-century sculptural fragments built into the fifteenth-century fabric of Harewood church indicate that this was a site of some prominence towards the end of the early medieval period, an observation reinforced by the discovery of a hoard of mid to late eleventh-century coins by the west gate of Harewood churchyard (Coatsworth 2008: 161-2; NMR 2013: MON#53073). The cropmarks of a trackway have been identified immediately to the south of Dunkeswick, extending for a length of 400 metres on a north-west – south-east orientation and thus angled at the site of the bridge (NMR 2013: 1373025). This trackway was deemed prehistoric in date and could therefore associate the Harewood crossing with a date of similar antiquity, but this will require further investigation. Ultimately the Harewood Bridge site has the appearance of a

longstanding communication node, but little more can be inferred for the time being.

Staincliffe Wapentake (STA-0)

Etymology

This territorial name, appearing as *Steinclif*, first occurs in relation to a wapentake fine recorded in the Pipe Rolls of 1166 (Pipe Roll Society 1888: 46). Subsequent iterations include *Stainclive*, *Stainclif* and the more distinctive variant *Stainhil* (Smith 1961f: 1). It shares its name with a lost Staincliffe, near Stainton, within this wapentake. Smith (*ibid*: 55) solved this toponym as the hybrid Old Norse/Old English *steinn-clif*, or 'stone cliff'. Conversely, Anderson had earlier considered it an example of the more consistently Old English *stān-clif*, subsequently subject to Scandinavian influence (1934: 26). Notwithstanding this, the semantic associations are identical. Indeed Whitaker, in his earlier work on the history of Craven, proposed that the name Staincliffe was merely an Anglo-Saxon gloss of the Brittonic name Craven, linking Camden's rendition of Craven as 'rock/rocks/rocky' (1701:727) to the 'stone cliff' of the later wapentake (Whitaker 1812: 8). The proposition is impossible to assess but it is undeniably intriguing that the extents of these two territorial units coincide so firmly.

Historical Evidence

After appearing in the Pipe Rolls, the corporate body of Staincliffe wapentake next appears in the late twelfth century as witness to the transfer of land in Kettlewell to Fountains Abbey (Farrer and Clay 1963: 163). In 1270 it was witness to a quitclaim of land to Bolton Abbey (McNulty 1934: 120) and was one of several wapentakes at a muster, alongside Ewcross and the otherwise undocumented *Boughelaunde* [Bowland] in 1300 (Maxwell-Lyte 1895: 529). However the majority of citations for Staincliffe wapentake in the two centuries following its first appearance concern

inquisitions. These almost all took place in Skipton (Brown 1898: 149; 1902: 109-10; Maxwell-Lyte 1912: 322) though in the reign of Edward I it is noted that one was held in the village of Rylstone near Skipton (Brown 1902: 14). As elsewhere in Yorkshire there are no clear or direct links between the venues of inquisitions and designated wapentake assembly sites.

Staincliffe is described variously as a hundred, wapentake and liberty throughout the later medieval period (cf Rose and Illingworth 1811: 159; Hardy 1845: 51). During the reign of Henry III, the wapentake was granted to Edmund de Lacy, with the additional privilege that de Lacy could himself grant it out as he pleased (Maxwell-Lyte 1908a: 201, 216). This had then been passed down to Thomas of Lancaster and therefore to the Duchy of Lancaster as one of several wapentakes in a private franchise, including Osgoldcross and Staincross, also in the West Riding, as well as the Honour of Knaresborough (*ibid*: 159, 217; 1912b: 531; 1913: 59).

There are few indications of specific wapentake venues for Staincliffe and it is likely that the relatively early incorporation of this territorial unit within the wider franchise of the Duchy of Lancaster is largely responsible for this state of affairs. Nonetheless two sites can be discerned. The first is Staincliffe itself, a lost location described as *Staincliff juxta Stainton* in the Cartulary of Sallay Abbey in 1208 (Farrer and Clay 1947: 150). The position of Stainton is known, and so scrutiny below will focus on its immediate environs. It must also be added that in an Inquisition of the holdings of Thomas of Lancaster, *Steyncliff* is set apart in an individual entry amid a listing of manors, described solely as the court of the wapentake (Maxwell-Lyte 1913b: 59). It does suggest that there is a specific assembly location, defined primarily by conciliar activity. However, there is another named assembly site for Staincliffe. In the above cited Kettlewell grant in the late twelfth century, witness was said to have been undertaken by *toto wapentac de Steinclif apud Flatteby* ('the whole wapentake of Staincliffe at Flasby'). Thus, the landscape and archaeological traces associated with Stainton and Flasby are the next immediate concern in this assessment.

Staincliffe (STA-1)

Location: SD8952 **(**Unknown, 4 figure grid reference given for immediate environs of Little Stainton
Reason: Named venue of the wapentake**.**

Etymology

See above

Historical Evidence

See above

Topography

The precise site of Staincliff is unknown. Smith has identified Stainton with the township of Bank Newton in Gargrave parish. Three Staintons can be found within: Stainton Hall, Little Stainton and Stainton Cotes, all within a short distance of each other. Given the hilly landscape of the Yorkshire Dales, there is no obvious stony rise that could plausibly represent the lost site of Staincliffe. It is found in the Bowland High Group of silt- and sandstones, which are covered in turn by glacial tills. Unusually for the identified and approximate assembly sites in Yorkshire, there are no nearby water-courses. The township is situated within the rural deanery of Craven and the archdeaconry of York.

Archaeological Evidence

No early medieval activity can be detected in and around the three Stainton place-names within the township of Bank Newton, or indeed within the township as a whole. There is in fact very little later medieval activity, though it can be assumed

that at least some of the limestone quarrying that characterises this landscape dates from that time. As such, the entry for Stainton in Domesday Book provides the only evidence for early medieval activity in the probable vicinity of the Staincliffe wapentake focus.

Flasby (STA-2)

Location: SD94675665 (centred on Flasby)
Reason: Historically documented venue of the wapentake.

Etymology

The toponym Flasby first appears in Domesday Book as *Flatebi* (Faull and Stinson 1986: 332a). Subsequent to this it appears as *Flasceby*, *Flasbie* and also *Flaxeby*, this latter iteration causing slight confusion with the Flaxby known from Burghshire, also in the West Riding (Smith 1961f: 48). The name has been solved by Smith as Old Norse. It refers to a personal name, meaning 'Flat's farmstead'. Despite slightly differing toponomastic developments, both Flasby and Flaxby are thought to share the same meaning (*cf* Smith 1961e: 15).

Historical Evidence

As mentioned, Flasby is first found in the main text of Domesday Book, though as with many other vills in Craven, it is not assessed in the accompanying Yorkshire Summary. It is reported as a possession of Roger de Poitou, the main landholder in Craven at the time of the Domesday Inquest. Formerly it had been held by one Thorfinn, as part of a seeming grouping, consisting of Winterburn, Gargrave, Little Newton, Horton in Ribblesdale, Selside, and the lost *Leuetat* (Faull and Stinson 1986: 322a). The majority of these cluster at the centre of Craven, allowing for two outliers in the north-west of the territory. In the foregoing section on Staincliffe wapentake, the presence of Flasby as a wapentake venue is accounted for. There are no other documented wapentake assemblies in Flasby after the late twelfth century and indeed very little in the way of more general conciliar activity. The one exception to this is in 1271 when the Sheriff of Yorkshire summoned a jury of twelve men in Flasby to determine whether Robert de Neville had seizin of Flasby manor (Rose and Illingworth 1811: 180). While it is not clear what type of assembly this was, its

concerns were distinctly local and there is no obvious way to link it to the wider activities of Staincliffe wapentake.

The only significant information with regard to assembly at Flasby comes from some lost field names recorded in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The first of these is a *Frethburgestanes* found in the vicinity of the common pasturage shared by Flasby and Winterburn (Hardy 1875: 183). This lost toponym was considered by Smith to have been derived from the Old English *friðborh*, indicating stones where surety could be given (Smith 1961f: 52). It is unfortunate that this name has been difficult to locate. It was once connected by a path from Eston but nothing more specific can be ascertained. The whereabouts of the second name can be narrowed down a little more. *Landesmosesgile*, reported in the later thirteenth century along with the aforementioned *Frethburgestanes* (Parker 1932), was evidently situated in close vicinity to Eston Tarn, which can be located on the First Edition Ordnance Survey mapping. This has been solved by Smith as the Old English *land-mot* or 'land meeting', appended with the Old Norse *gil*, indicating a ravine (Smith 1961f: 52). The form of this assembly-attesting place-name is directly comparable to that of Landmoth, found in Allerton wapentake in the North Riding.

Topography

The small village of Flasby is located on the steep westerly banks overlooking Flasby Beck in the Yorkshire Dales, some three kilometres north-east of Gargrave. No specific assembly site is associated with the village. A Flasby Hall Farm is found directly on the opposite bank of the Beck, while Flasby Hall is located to the south of the village. Flasby Beck is a tributary of the river Aire, locating Flasby in the upper catchment of this river in an undulating landcape, situated on glacial tills set upon the interface between limestones and siltstones of the Bowland High Group. The village is well connected to Gargrave on the First Edition Ordnance Survey, and is organised around a river crossing that extends eastward to Flasby Fell. It is situated in the township of Flasby, in the parish of Gargrave. In the 1291 ecclesiastical taxation

this was situated within the rural deanery of Craven as part of the wider archdeaconry of York.

Archaeological Evidence

No early medieval archaeological evidence is reported in or around the present settlement of Flasby. There are a number of barrows in the immediate surrounds of the village (NMR 2013: MON#46404, MON#46459). These have been dated to the Bronze Age on morphological grounds, although the report of an Iron Age sword from a moor near Flasby in the nineteenth century may indicate that some at least were of later date or were else re-used (Challis and Harding 1975: 42). The most distinctive site in relation to Flasby are the Giants Graves immediately to the north of the village. The NMR (2013: MON#46451; MON#46479; MON#46453) lists them as pillow mounds, though excavation has revealed large quantities of later medieval pottery and glass, suggestive either of more intensive activity, or else manuring reflective of a concentration of settlement not yet identified in this area. In relation to the other potential assembly sites listed near Flasby, Raistrick excavated an Iron Age cairn across the river from Eston Tarn, recovering a burial with an iron spearhead (Challis and Harding 1975: 57). This has no clear connection to either *Landesmosesgile* or the *Frethburgestanes*.

West Riding of Yorkshire – Later medieval riding court

Wingate Hill (WEST-1)

Location: SE47294114 (centred on hill-crest road junction)
Reason: Historically documented venue of the West Riding court.

Etymology

The first cited instance of a court for the West Riding as a whole is found in the *Placita de Quo Warranto* early in the reign of Edward I, listing one John Vavasour paying suit to the riding court *apud Windeyates* alongside the wapentakes of Claro Hill and Barkston Ash (Caley 1818: 187). In an Inquisition of 1298 Roger de Mowbray of the manor of Thirsk was stated as paying suit to the three Riding Courts of *Yarlestre*, *Craykehouhe* and *Wyndeiates* (for the North, East and West Ridings respectively (Brown 1902: 78). An analogous spelling - *Wyndeyates* - is also noted in a wapentake ordinance of Henry VI (Walbran 1878: 56). Smith solves the name as Old English *wind-geat* - 'windy gap' (Smith 1961d: 76). The name appears on a roadmap of c.1765 that runs from London to Berwick at a turn-off from Grimston (SE48674162) as "Wingate Ash". Interestingly the same map marks the wapentake site as Barkston rather than Barkston Ash.

Historical Evidence

The few medieval accounts of Wingate as a Riding court are listed above and all follow a common format, whereby suit was paid to both a Riding Court or Courts, alongside a number of wapentakes. In each case the wapentakes do correspond to the jurisdiction of the Riding Court - there are no ostensibly detached wapentakes from these lists of obligation. For Wingate Hill the earliest list is at the beginning of the reign of Edward I. Craike Hill in the East Riding is likewise first mentioned in the *Quo Warranto* (Smith 1937: 1; Caley 1818: 187). However the North Riding is glossed

as *Trithingum de Yarlestre* in a late twelfth-/early thirteenth-century claim by Roger Lascelles (Gale 1722: 92). While Wingate Hill was certainly treated as the Riding Court in the later thirteenth century it would seem reasonable that a court of the West Riding was in existence in principle in the earlier part of the thirteenth century.

Topography

Wingate Hill is situated on a relatively gentle rise, demarcated by the Cock Beck to the south and east and a dry river valley some 350 metres to the north. This rise is one of the highest points on the eastern margin of the Magnesian Limestone belt. Moving west the ground continues to undulate before climbing at the interface with Skyrack wapentake. A road junction is found at the top of the hill, joining the Old London Road with Chantry Lane (running south-west towards Hazelwood Castle). The London road moves north-east down Wingate Hill and mid-way along the valley line to Tadcaster. Its southerly course turns to the south-east and descends directly into the valley of the Cock Beck before climbing sharply once more towards Towton. This valley is likely the 'windy gap' of the name. The exact site of the cross is likely to have changed slightly as a result of quarrying activity, recorded by the Ordnance Survey on the crest of Wingate Hill in the mid-twentieth century.

The hillcrest is split between the townships of Stutton and Hazelwood in the parish of Tadcaster. A 'finger' of the township of Lead Hall (parish of Ryther) extends along the Cock Beck and onto the southern scarp of the hill, bounded to the east by the Cock Beck. These are all found in the rural deanery of Ainsty in the archdeaconry of York. The boundary between the townships of Lead Hall and Stutton at the base of the valley is marked by the Old London Road. Adjacent and across Cock Beck they are each met by the township of Towton in Saxton parish.

Archaeological Evidence

A cross surmounts Wingate Hill to the west of the hillcrest road-junction. The cross-

base may be later medieval but the shaft and head are modern (NMR 2013: MON#54944). On the rest of the hill a number of cropmarks have been identified and tentatively interpreted as Iron Age/Romano-British field systems (NMR 2013: MON#1199579). An Iron Age burial has also been recovered from Jackdaw Quarry, 800 metres west of the Wingate road junction. At the immediate scale Wingate Hill is underwhelming. The distribution of PAS material reinforces this, indicating a small concentration at Hazelwood castle to the south-west, but nothing in and around Wingate Hill or the Cock Beck valley immediately to the south-east. However it is also in close proximity to a very significant junction in the network of Roman roads leading into Tadcaster. Wingate Hill is itself just over 2.5 kilometres south-west of Tadcaster but is only 800 metres south-east of the initial junction. At this point three separate east-west Roman roads converge (Margary 1967: 401-3, 409, 415-6) while a fourth (Margary road 280; *ibid*: 417) running north-south, marks an intersection at SE45874144. It is evidently an intense focus of infrastructure and Wingate Hill would appear to be in its orbit, at an unmistakeable remove.

West Riding of Yorkshire – Assembly-attesting place-names

Costley (COS-1)

Location: SE10353725 (centred on field-name)
Reason: Assembly attesting toponym

Etymology

Costley appears as a field name in the 1846 Tithe Assessment for Bingley and Micklethwaite). Smith offers two solutions. Either the Old English *cost-leah* for 'tansy clearing' or otherwise *cost-hlaw* for 'trial hill/mound' (Smith1961: 170). This latter solution has been adopted by WYAAS (2013: PRN#2621).

Historical Evidence

The tithe assessment provides the only known recorded instance of the Costley name.

Topography

Costley is depicted as a field name, adjacent to March Cote Farm and just below Coplowe Hill, Norr Hill and the Black Hills ridge, on a shallowing of the hillside that slopes down in a north-easterly direction towards the river Wharfe. Stephen Moorhouse (WYAAS 2013: PRN#2621) has suggested that an unspecified knoll to the north-east, possibly Round Hill, could have acted as the concomitant assembly focus but this would assume much of the form of a given assembly. It is situated south of Bingley and Rumbald's Moor in the uplands of the Pennines, at an interface between the Millstone Grit and the Lower Coal Measures. It is also adjacent to Roman road 721 running between Bradford and Elslack (Margary 1967: 407-8), specifically at the point where it crosses the divide between Skyrack and Morley wapentakes. The field itself is found on the south-western edge of Micklethwaite township, Bingley parish,

bordering its Morley wapentake counterpart to the south-west (Wilsden township, parish of Bradford). While both sides of this border were considered to be within the archdeaconry of York in 1291, the Bingley side comprised part of the rural deanery of Craven, while the Bradford side was situated within the rural deanery of Pontefract.

Archaeological Evidence

March Cote Farm was a significant location for the quarrying of millstones in the later medieval period (WYAAS 2012: PRN#2621) but most striking are the lengths of monumental stone walling that mark the wapentake, parish and township boundaries at this point. Some of this walling is as much as 0.75 metres in width and appears to be of a very different character to the orthostatic walling that comprises much of the surrounding field boundaries. A 2011 field survey by WYAAS has suggested a medieval date but little more can be surmised (*ibid*). The site of the Costley field name is also suffuse with ridge and furrow. This has led Moorhouse to suggest an assembly took place elsewhere - this would be consistent with the supposition of a township assembly - but the ridge and furrow could also indicate an early end to such practices. At any rate Moorhouse has proposed an unspecified knoll to the north-east. This could mean Round Hill (see above) or even The Old Hill, which is marked Old Cote Hill on the tithe assessment (SE10533838; WYAAS 2012: PRN#5091). At a wider level Costley field is just over 300 metres north-east of the Roman road running between Bradford and Elslack fort, crossing the wapentake boundary at a return of the boulder walling known as Stocker Close

***Ding* (DING-1)**

Location: SD7054 (Unknown, 4 figure grid reference given for immediate environs of Slaidburn township)
Reason: Assembly-attesting toponym

Etymology

The field-name *Ding* is recorded in Slaidburn township in 1844 (Smith 1961f: 206). Smith offers no solution to this name – it is listed here as a possible iteration of the Old Norse/Old English *þing* – 'assembly' – but must be treated as dubious in light of the absence of diachronic comparanda.

Historical Evidence

No citation for this name exists beyond the 1844 tithe assessment for Slaidburn (Smith 1961f: 206). As such it is a dubious assembly attestation.

Topography

The field name *Ding* cannot be localised any better than the township of Slaidburn. This is located in what is now Lancashire, within the Forest of Bowland and more specifically along the upper courses of the river Hodder in the western Pennines, set upon the Bowland High Group of Limestones. Much of the lower reaches of this part of the Pennines is characterised by glacial tills. The village itself is organised around a prominent crossroads in the Forest of Bowland. It is located in both the township and parish of Slaidburn, within the rural deanery of Craven, as part of the larger archdeaconry of York.

Archaeological Evidence

Within Slaidburn township, the only known evidence of early medieval activity comes from Slaidburn itself. Here, a ninth- to tenth-century sculptural fragment, now lost, was discovered in a residential garden (Coatsworth 2008: 249). The Roman road between Ribchester and Low Borrow Bridge runs through the western half of this township (Margary 1967: 377-82). Two cross sockets have been identified within the township: one at Cross Gates in the western half of the township (NMR 2013: MON#44742) and another, known as the 'Leper Stone', built into the fabric of Slaidburn Bridge (*ibid*: MON#44739). Nothing points decisively to a focus of activity that could be consonant with an assembly-attesting *Ding*.

Dinting Dale (DINT-1)

Location: SE48703716 (centred on field-name)
Reason: Assembly-attesting toponym

Etymology

The field name Dinting Dale occurs directly north of Barkston Ash on the First Edition Ordnance Survey. Smith likewise locates it on the 1848 tithe assessment (1961d: 72). It is first mentioned in 1548 as *Dintingdale*, the site of an engagement that took place during the Battle of Towton in 1461, a major turning point in the War of the Roses (Hall 1809: 255). Smith offers no solution to this name. It is highlighted here due to its phonological character and proximity to Barkston Ash, but it should be treated as a dubious assembly-attestation.

Historical Evidence

The early citation of *Dintingdale* specifies that Lord Clifford was slain here with his men during the Battle of Towton (Hall 1809: 255). No conciliar activity is associated with this location.

Topography

Dinting Dale is located 800 metres to the north of Barkston Ash village, and 1.1 kilometres east of Saxton village. It is directly west of Scarthingwell. While changes in topography are very slight in this part of Yorkshire, the name may reference a slight vale, dipping from Saxton east towards the Vale of York. Like Barkston it is situated adjacent to the Sherburn to Towton road, following along the course of the interface between the western edge of the Vale of York and the eastern edge of the Magnesian Limestone Belt. It is found in the township of Saxton-cum-Scarthingwell. In the rural deanery of Ainsty and the archdeaconry of York.

Archaeological Evidence

Given its proximity to Barkston Ash, please consult the archaeological summary for this assembly site (**BAR-1**).

***Domeland* (DOME-1)**

Location: SE3587 (Unknown, 4 figure grid reference given for the centre of Sheffield)
Reason: Assembly-attesting toponym

Etymology

Smith records the presence of the field-name *Domeland* in Sheffield in 1452 (1961a: 220). This was interpreted as deriving from the Old English elements *dom-land*, or '*judgement* district' (*ibid*). No other iterations of this toponym have been identified.

Historical Evidence

See Etymology

Topography

Domeland is a lost field-name now associated with the sprawling urban expanse of Sheffield. This is situated on the river Don in the south-west of Strafforth wapentake on the Lower Coal Measures on the western edge of the Pennines. It would almost certainly have been found in one of the now-subdivided townships of the parish of Sheffield. These were all situated in the rural deanery of Doncaster, within the archdeaconry of York.

Archaeological Evidence

The name Domeland has not been localised sufficiently to provide a summary that would differ in any useful way from a gazetteer of archaeological sites within the limits of the City of Sheffield. As such, no further enquiry was attempted.

Fingerfield Farm (FING-1)

Location: SE24637582 (centred on farm)
Reason: Assembly-attesting toponym

Etymology

The name is located on the First Edition Ordnance Survey in association with a farmhouse 1.4 kilometres east of Grewelthorpe. Smith also identifies it on a map of 1817 (1961e: 207). Prior to this it appears in a twelfth-century land-grant, and subsequent confirmation, as *Tinchehoucroft* and *Tingehoucroft* (Taylor 1884: 270, 276). Smith has solved this as the Old Norse *Þing-haugr*, combined with the Old English *croft*, which combine to indicate an enclosure associated with the "hill or mound where the council met" (1961e: 207).

Historical Evidence

Beyond the twelfth-century land grant, it is worth noting that Fingerfield was in close proximity to Grewelthorpe. This was associated with the illegal convention of Hang wapentake within the district of Claro Hill wapentake at the end of the thirteenth-century (**CLA-0**; **HANG-0**). However, it is unlikely that Fingerfield marks the spot. One meeting was said to be located at *Manslaghtre* between Kirkby Malzeard and Nutwith Hill, to the west of Grewelthorpe (Brown 1898: 99-101). Another was said to have taken place at Grewelthorpe itself but was still strongly associated with the *Manslaghtre* meetings (*ibid*). As such, no direct conciliar associations can be identified with the site of Fingerfield Farm.

Topography

Fingerfield Farm is now known as Tower Hill Farm. The farm buildings stand adjacent to a small, conspicuous rise, evident from a 1930s quarry to represent a gravel

outcrop within a wider expanse of glacial tills. These surmount the Millstone Grit that characterises the western edge of the Pennines. Survey by a local archaeological society in the early 2000s identified cairns on the rise but these were latterly dismissed as quarrying debris (NMR 2013: EVENT#1503594). At a wider scale, the site is on the southern side of the watershed of the river Ure and stands just north of the road between Grewelthorpe and Ripon. It is situated in the south-eastern end of the township of Grewelthorpe, within the parish of Kirkby Malzeard. This in turn is found within the Prebendary of Masham in the archdeaconry of Richmond.

Archaeological Evidence

In the survey and excavation detailed above, Mesolithic flakes were recovered alongside the aforesaid evidence for gravel quarrying (NMR 2013: EVENT#1503594). There is no evidence for early medieval activity in relation to Tower Hill. The nearest early medieval archaeological evidence is found in the pre-Conquest fabric of the church at Kirkby Malzeard (*ibid*: MON#52182) However, a later medieval clearance cairn and an Iron Age pit alignment are located immediately south-west of the gravel rise (North Yorkshire HER 2012: MNY#30188; MNY#23055) while the cropmarks of an Iron Age trackway have been identified leading towards the same focus (NMR 2013: MON#52182). Fingerfield and Tower Hill constitute a local, well-draining high-point in an undulating landscape, and this evidence is consonant with that.

Hostingley (HOST-1)

Location: SE27141834 (centred on field-name)
Reason: Assembly-attesting toponym

Etymology

The name Hostingley is first recorded as *Hastingley* in 1634 (Smith 1961b: 214). Smith has exercised a degree of caution over the solution to the place-name, quoting Otto Ritter's (1922: 140) Old English/Old Norse *husting/hus-þing* – 'house assembly' – and the Old English *leah* – 'field' – instead of necessarily suggesting it himself. It remains an equivocal identification. More recently Barbara Jepson has convincingly demonstrated that it is one of a wider class of place-names, including *Harstonlay* and *Whorestonewood*, that signify boundary stones, from the Old English *har-stan* (2011: 191-2). As such, this supposed assembly-attestation has been pursued no further.

Knowler Hill (KNOW-1)

Location: SE20172408 (centred on Christ Church, Liversedge)
Reason: Assembly-attesting toponym

Etymology

Smith follows Goodall in linking the modern Knowler Hill with a 1560 attestation of a *Hustin Knowll* (Smith 1961c: 29). Unfortunately, Goodall made no such attempt to cite this source (1913: 26, 194). *Hustin Knowll* itself was solved by both as the Old English *hus-ting-cnoll,* for 'house assembly hill/knoll'. Given Barbara Jepson's recent work on Old English *har-stan* ('boundary stone') toponyms (2011: 190-2), this must also be considered a valid alternative.

Historical Evidence

Goodall does not cite the source of the 1560 iteration *Hustin Knowll*.

Topography

The name Knowler Hill is preserved in the street running between the east-west Bradford and Halifax roads that go through Liversedge, with the ground falling as it approaches the river Spen to the north-east. While not immediately apparent, Christ Church, Liversedge, was said to have been built in the early nineteenth century on a knoll (Stead 1907: 33) and, in the absence of conspicuous alternatives, this may plausibly be the location of the knoll in question. At the wider scale the site is found in the upper reaches of the watershed of the river Calder on the Pennines Lower Coal Measures, mid-way between the Magnesian Limestone belt and the starker reaches of the Pennines further to the west. It is situated in the township of Liversedge as part of the wider parish of Birstal.

Archaeological Evidence

There is no evidence for early, or indeed later medieval archaeological activity in and around the site of Knowler Hill.

***Landesmosesgile* (LMG-1)**

See entry for Flasby (**STA-2**).

Morthen (MORT-1)

Location: SK46218889 (centred on site of the *Tourneberg*, as listed by South Yorkshire Archaeological Service)
Reason: Assembly-attesting toponym

Etymology

The name occurs from the mid-twelfth century onwards. Initially as *Mordinges*, but found later as *Morthyng* and *Morhing* among others (Smith 1961a: 168). It is frequently associated with the place-name Laughton-en-le-Morthen, though it must be noted that this conjunction only occurs from the early thirteenth century onwards (see *ibid*: 141-2, 158, 162). Scott Surtees had identified this as a plausible assembly-attesting *þing* name as far back as 1865 (Surtees 1868: 449), though Armitage Goodall preferred to interpret it as the Old Norse *morð-eng* ('slaughter meadow'), possibly reminiscent of a battle-site (1913: 215). Smith has cleaved to the earlier solution, combining the Old English or Old Norse element *mor* with the Old English or Old Norse element *þing* to produce a *mor-þing*, or 'moorland assembly'. More recently, Parker has proposed that it could derive from the *–ingas* element instead, from a presumed tribal district called *Morthingas* (1986: 28).

Historical Evidence

There are no recorded conciliar events at Morthen associated with wapentakes, hundreds or analogous conciliar bodies. The focus of previous enquiry has been upon a location cited between Whiston and Morthen in 1345 called the *Tourneberg*, purely on account of its name (Ellis 1895: 73). The first part of this toponym is reminiscent of the terminology used for the Sheriff's Tourn. Among other functions in the later medieval period, these Tourns conducted assemblies of frankpledge for the members of a given hundred, wapentake or analogous entity (Loyn 1984: 147). The second element, *-berg*, could feasibly derive from Old English *beorg* or Old Norse

berg, signifying a hill or mound (Smith 1961f: 157). This would provide intriguing circumstantial evidence for an assembly, but the location and presumed monument is lost and is not mentioned in any further sources. When one considers that Morthen, both as the name of the settlement and the name of the district, appears relatively late, then this assembly-attestation ceases to be quite so compelling.

Topography

The village of Morthen itself remains much as it was on the First Edition Ordnance Survey, consisting of a small collection of buildings focused on a crossroads, with Morthen Hall set a short distance to the east. These roads link it in to Whiston in the west and Wickersley to the north. It is also positioned just north of the proposed Roman road 189, running between Catcliffe and Oldcoates (Margary 1967: 414-5). The site of the *Tourneberg* has been identified immediately south-east of Upper Whiston on the course of this proposed road. There is no trace of it, and it is likely that the identification is based on the selected spot marking a local high point. Both these foci are situated on the interface between the Upper and Middle Coal Measures of the Pennines on its easterly fringe, though well clear of the Magnesian Limestone belt separating this range from the Vale of York. The village of Morthen itself is set within the township of Whiston in the wider parish of Rotherham. Meanwhile the proposed site of the *Tourneberg* is set in another township of Whiston, this time positioned within an eponymous parish. Both of these are found in the 1291 ecclesiastical taxation within the rural deanery of Doncaster and archdeaconry of York.

Archaeological Evidence

No early medieval activity is recorded in the vicinity of Morthen or that of the proposed location of the *Tourneberg*. The nearest early medieval archaeological evidence for either comprises a later period coin hoard found just north of Whiston (Thompson 1956: 118). As mentioned, there is no trace of a mound at the *Tourneberg*

site. The nearest later medieval activity is represented by the Norman fabric of St Mary's Church in Whiston (Pevsner 1979: 542). There is little of great age in Morthen itself. The significance of the *Tourneberg* is however threefold. First, it rests on a local high-point in the landscape, and secondly is situated one kilometre to the east of the crossing of the Roman roads between Catcliffe and Oldcotes, and Chesterfield and Templeborough respectively (Margary 1967: 13, 414-5). Finally this high-point is characterised by a dense assemblage of enclosure cropmarks, dated on morphological grounds between the Iron Age and Romano-British periods (South Yorkshire HER 2012: 02139/01; 02140/01; 03354/01; NMR 2013: MON#619344; MON#1076375; MON#1025552). It is likely that the Morthen assembly focus, if it is at the *Tourneberg,* is primarily characterised as an older settlement focus on a significant communication node.

Mutter Hole (MUTT-1)

Location: SD96782619 (centred on field-name)
Reason: Assembly-attesting toponym

Etymology

The earliest cited reference to Mutter Hole is from the 1536 tithe rental for Halifax parish (Smith 1961c: 189). It is referred to as *Motherholle in Stansfield*, linked to a lost *Paleshouse*. Smith has exercised caution over the place-name solution, citing both the Old English *motere* - 'to mutter' as well as the West Yorkshire dialect term 'mutter' - to crumble soil (Smith 1961c: 189). The second element is *hol*, referring to a hollow. The name Mutter Hole is found on the First Edition Ordnance Survey linked to a small complex of buildings. By the 1894 County Series it has become known as Mulcture Hall, the name it bears currently.

Historical Evidence

There are no historically documented accounts of conciliar activity at this location.

Topography

The site of Mutter Hole is found on the banks of the river Calder at the confluence with Jumble Hole Clough, a steep-sided wooded valley. Mutter Hole itself is set upon a gentle scoop mid-way down this hillside. While much of the surrounding area has been heavily reworked through the construction of the Rochdale canal, the hillside aspect of Mutter Hole is much as it was depicted in the mid-nineteenth century. It is located 2.7 kilometres south-west of Hebden Bridge in the heart of the Pennines amid the upper courses of the river Calder. It is a stark, upland landscape, characterised by a severe topography overlying the Millstone Grit. There is no compelling evidence from the First Edition Ordnance Survey for abiding

communication links in relation to this assembly-attesting place-name. It is located at the intersection of three townships: Stansfield Middle Third, Stansfield Lower Third and Erringden, all within the parish and chapelry of Halifax. These are all found in the rural deanery of Pontefract and the archdeaconry of York.

Archaeological Evidence

There are no pre-modern archaeological traces within two kilometres of Mutter Hole.

Spella Garth (SPG-1)

Location: SE6726 (Unknown, 4 figure grid-reference given for Drax township)
Reason: Assembly-attesting toponym

Etymology

Spella Garth is listed in the 1840 Tithe Assessment for the township of Drax. Smith solves the name as the Old English *spell-haugr* (or *hlaw*) – *garð*, meaning 'speech hill enclosure' (Smith 1961d: 11).

Historical Evidence

Spella Garth is unknown apart from the 1840 citation. It is not associated with any conciliar or related activities.

Topography

The exact location of *Spella Garth* is unknown. The township of Drax is found in the low-lying Humberhead Levels, at the confluence of the Aire and the Ouse. As with the Vale of York immediately north, it is characterised by lacustrine clays atop Triassic sandstones. The township of Drax is in the rural deanery of Ainsty and the archdeaconry of York.

Archaeological Evidence

There is no evidence for early medieval archaeological activity within the township of Drax. The earliest known material comes from the twelfth-century fabric of St Peter's Church in Drax itself (Pevsner 1979: 186-7). There is no circumstantial later medieval activity that could indicate the plausible location of *Spella Garth*.

Spellow Field (SPF-1)

Location: SE3062 (Unknown, 4 figure grid-reference given for South Stainley township)
Reason: Assembly-attesting toponym

Etymology

Several Old English spell names – meaning 'speech' – are known from the township of South Stainley. These include *Ye Spellow Field*, *Long Spellow*, *Short Spellow* and *Spellay* (Smith 1961e: 97). These have been solved by Smith as later recorded iterations of the Old English *spell-hoh* – 'speech mound' – although it is possible that the latter element was instead the synonymous Old Norse element *haugr* (*ibid*).

Historical Evidence

Beyond their citation as field-names, no other associated historical material has been found.

Topography

The township and parish of South Stainley is situated relatively central to Burghshire/Claro Hill wapentake as a whole, roughly seven kilometres north-west of Knaresborough. It is positioned on the western margin of the Magnesian Limestone Belt, at the interface with the Millstone Grit. Like much of the eastern side of this wapentake, the drift geology is characterised by glacial tills. The topography of the surrounding landscape is gentle, though undulations increase to the west. The Stainley Beck runs through the centre of the township, as does the road leading north to Ripon. It is part of the rural deanery of Boroughbridge, in the archdeaconry of Richmond.

Archaeological Evidence

In the township of Stainley the only early medieval material consists of an eleventh-century grave-marker discovered adjacent to the ford south of Stainley Hall, 700 metres to the south-east of South Stainley (Coatsworth 2008: 281). This area is characterised by an indistinct series of earthworks, though no more is forthcoming on what these may signify (NMR 2013: MON#1547718). No other locations in the township indicate foci of early or later medieval activity that could be seen to signify assembly activity.

Spellow Hill (SPH-1)

Location: SE37986222 (centred on field-name)
Reason: Assembly-attesting toponym

Etymology

Spellow Hill is found south-east of Staveley on the First Edition Ordnance Survey. It is accompanied by a Spellow Field directly to the north. It was first recorded in 1558 and has been solved by Smith as the Old English *spell-hoh* – 'speech mound' – although he notes that the second element could easily derive instead from the synonymous Old Norse element *haugr* (1961e: 89).

Historical Evidence

While the name remains current, it is cited only briefly in post-Conquest wills and deeds. No historically attested conciliar activity is associated with this venue.

Topography

Spellow Hill remains to this day, associated with a large residential property and park. It is situated on the north face of the hill surmounted by the White Cross and White Cross crossroads immediately north-west of Arkendale. There is a smaller rise on this northern face directly east of the recorded location of Spellow Hill, but it would unwise to form a direct association between this and the toponym. Spellow Field itself extends northwards to the base of the slope. Otherwise, it is situated in a relatively even and flat landscape, defined by glacial tills and the Magnesian Limestone belt. It is located in both the township and parish of Staveley, which in turn is found within the rural deanery of Boroughbridge and archdeaconry of Richmond.

Archaeological Evidence

The NMR reports the presence of a rectangular earthworked enclosure adjacent to Spellow Hill, measuring 68 metres by 73 metres (2013: MON#1542527). This has been interpreted as a post-medieval structure, and may even constitute evidence for landscape gardening. However, the position and size of this feature next to the location of an assembly-attesting toponym has parallels with the enclosure at Spellow Clump in the East Riding (**SPC-1**), Claro Hill in the West Riding (**CLA-1**) and the Elloe Stone in Lincolnshire (Everson and Stocker 1999: 162-4). Aside from this, a tenth-century strap end was found 900 metres south-east of Spellow Hill (PAS 2013: YORYM-4E7252). This comprises all relevant early medieval data for the area around Spellow Hill.

***Speltrig* (SPT-1)**

Location: SE30876970 (centred on field-name)
Reason: Assembly-attesting toponym

Etymology

The name *Speltre* first occurs, and severally, in 1233 in relation to a number of land-grants associated with Ripon (Fowler 1908: 60, 64, 67-8). By 1583 it was known as *Speltridges* (1875: 381) and appears as Speltrig on the First Edition Ordnance Survey. Smith has solved the name as a combination of the Old English elements *spel* and *treow* – literally 'speech-tree' (1961e: 172). He also notes that the later *Speltridges* form may reflect its position on a ridge directly south of the town (*ibid*).

Historical Evidence

As mentioned, *Speltre* is mentioned as a location in a series of land grants. (Fowler 1908: 60, 64, 67-8). These are not terribly informative, though it may be significant that the usual form applied to describe land in relation to this toponym was to write *super Speltre*, stressing its elevated position (e.g. *ibid*: 58, 60). In one grant of 1233, *Speltre* is described as adjacent to the common fields of Ripon; in another, *Speltre* is described within the territory of Ripon (*ibid*: 67-8). A fourteenth-century grant of land at *Speltreg* specifies that this field-name was found within the common fields (Fowler 1881: 121). Finally, in 1583, land at *Speltridges* is described as meadow (Fowler 1875: 381). It appears that *Speltrig* was situated on raised ground, on common pasture a short distance south of the historic core of Ripon. It appears to comprise an ancillary assembly of a type more commonly found in the East Riding, e.g. Spellow Clump (**SPC-1**) and Huntow (**HUN-1**).

Topography

The site of *Speltrig* has now been built over, following the expansion of Ripon in the latter half of the twentieth century. It was situated on raised ground 1.5 kilometres to the historic core of Ripon itself, and directly adjacent to the main road leading south from Ripon. Earlier records suggest that this land once formed common pasture. It may be of note that it is only 700 metres south-west of Gallows Hill, which forms the northerly point of the low ridge that overlooks Ripon. It is found, as is Ripon, on the Magnesian Limestone belt, itself at an interface between river terrace deposits and glacial gravels. It is a generally flat landscape. *Speltrig* forms the southern appendage to the township and parish of Ripon. Unsurprisingly this was located in the Archbishop's Liberty of Ripon, within the archdeaconry of York.

Archaeological Evidence

No early medieval archaeological evidence is associated with the site and surrounds of Speltrigs. Immediately south-west of the location, a fourteenth-century coin has been recovered (PAS 2013: YORYM-4E7252). No other significant activity of any age is associated with the site.

***Thinge* (THIN-1)**

Location: SE4943 (Unknown, 4 figure grid-reference given for Tadcaster East township)
Reason: Assembly-attesting toponym

Etymology

Smith lists a lost field name *Thinge* within Tadcaster at the time of Henry III (1961d: 240). It is likely that this refers to the same location as the *Thinge* identified in Tadcaster in the Chartulary of Healaugh Priory (Purvis 1936: 201). It occurs singly, and has been interpreted as *þing*, either Old Norse or Old English in derivation, signifying an assembly. It is worth pointing out that the name Tongue Field is reported from an enclosure award of 1791 in Tadcaster East. While this is considered to derive from Old English *tunge*, as in 'tongue/spit of land' (Smith 1961g: 258), this element has also been identified within Tadcaster West as *Thunge* (Smith 1961d: 76). As such this must be treated as a dubious attestation of assembly at best.

Historical Evidence

Thinge remains a dubious assembly-attesting place-name associated with Tadcaster in the mid-thirteenth century (Purvis 1936: 201; Smith 1961d: 240). No other details are known.

Topography

The field-name *Thinge* is lost. Smith classes it among other field-names associated with the township of Tadcaster East, in Ainsty wapentake on the eastern bank of the river Wharfe. This township is found on low-lying ground on the western edge of the Vale of York at the transitional point between the Magnesian Limestone (on which

Tadcaster proper is located) and the Triassic Sandstones that underpin the Vale of York. Tadcaster East township is dominated by the Roman road between Tadcaster and York (28c; Margary 1967: 416-7). Tadcaster East is situated in the parish of Tadcaster, straddling the river Wharfe and the two wapentakes of Barkston Ash and Ainsty. All of this falls within the rural deanery of Ainsty in the archdeaconry of York.

Archaeological Evidence

There is no evidence for early medieval archaeological activity within the township of Tadcaster East, the presumed location of *Thinge*. The town itself does boast historic and archaeological evidence for early medieval settlement, though nothing that can be identified or attested as an assembly focus. There are a number of embanked enclosures on the east bank of the river Wharfe, opposite Tadcaster itself, which have not been securely identified with any period or function, though an association remains with the field-name 'The Grange', alluding to a later medieval date (NMR 2013: MON#1199252).

Tingley (TING-1)

Location: SE28002621 (centred on site of mound)
Reason: Assembly-attesting toponym

Etymology

The earliest account of the name is found in the Yorkshire Feet of Fines from 1208 where it is recorded as both *Tyngelawe* and *Thingeslawe* (Smith 1961b: 175). Unusually it is also depicted on Christopher Saxton's 1577 Map of Yorkshire as *Tynglaw* (From Weaver to Web 2014). It has been solved as the Old English *þing-hlaw* - 'assembly hill/mound' (Anderson 1934: 26; Smith 1961b: 175).

Historical Evidence

There are no assemblies, or assembly-related activities, documented at Tingley itself. It occurs as a habitative and personal name in the later medieval period. It has been conjectured to be an early medieval assembly site since at least the early eighteenth century (see Thoresby above). It was Goodall (1913: 25) who proposed that it was a supra-wapentake assembly site, contrasting its "generic" name with the perceived localised and topographic nomenclature of the surrounding wapentakes. Since then it has routinely been treated as a "probable" assembly site (cf Anderson 1934: 26).

Topography

The name Tingley is presently borne by a built-up residential area, surrounding a major roundabout adjacent to a hotel complex, on what is termed Tingley Common. The First Edition Ordnance Survey indicates that this is a development from a sparsely settled moorland crossroads linking Dewsbury, Leeds, Wakefield and Bradford. The original crossroads is set on a natural communication route - a prominent and exposed ridge running between Wakefield and Bradford. It is this line that Haigh

proposed guided the putative course of Roman road 721 (Haigh *et al* 1982). It is just over 200 metres north-north-west of an oval rise at the head of the valleys of Woodkirk and Baghill Becks. To the north-east of the crossroads is the steep valley of Mill Beck. In his *Ducatus Leodiensis*, Ralph Thoresby referred to Tingley as among the "monuments of the Danish times" (1715: 195). Goodall likewise refers to a visible 'lowe' (1913: 25) while later Smith cited a mound depicted on the First Edition Ordnance Survey at SE281261. A small rise had been documented at this location by the West Yorkshire Archaeology Service though later field survey reported major disruption from a disused military depot on the crest of the rise (WYAAS 2012: PRN#4149). This can only amount to circumstantial evidence for a mound at the Tingley crossroad. As with Morley, Tingley is found on the western Pennine uplands, on the Middle Coal Measures. It is situated in the township and parish of West Ardsley, within the rural deanery of Pontefract and archdeaconry of York.

Archaeological Evidence

Like Morley, there is a general paucity of pre-modern material traces at this site. The conjectural Roman road proposed by Donald Haigh runs through the Tingley crossroad (WYAAS 2012: PRN#3482-3486; Haigh et al 1982). Almost all other archaeological traces within a kilometre of the crossroads are of post-medieval date. Two evaluations on Tingley Common (400 metres north-west) and one watching brief in the grounds of Tingley House (200 metres south-east) have revealed nothing of significance. Archaeological material has however been recently discovered by metal detector in early 2010 in the location of the mound specified by Hugh Smith during a renewed programme of house-building (PAS 2013 7E9C73; 7E8131; 7D9174; 7D7B85; 7D6448; 7D4BF2; 7D3162; 7CF1A2; 7CD8D7; 7CAAE7; 7C8427). This revealed a striking assemblage of personal accoutrements. A cluster of pins within the assemblage suggest an eighth- to ninth-century date with one outlier in a fragment of a brooch from the fifth to sixth centuries (*ibid*). These are discussed in further detail in Section 5.1.1.

The evidence from Tingley suggests a monumental focus at a significant communications node; one which witnessed some intensity of activity in the years leading up to the first wave of Scandinavian colonisation. If wider place-name and historic activity is considered then the site would appear to increase further in significance still. 600 metres south of the crossroads (and mound site) one finds Hesketh Lane and Hesketh House (SE27962557), indicative of the Old Norse *hes* and *skeið* - for 'horse track' or 'course' (Atkin 1978). However, most significant to the location of Tingley is the Lee Gap Fair, formerly the Woodkirk Fair, initially held 1.5 kilometres south-west of the Tingley crossroad in and around St Mary's church, Woodkirk. This is the oldest continuous fair in England, documented since the mid-twelfth century. It is also traditionally associated with the Towneley mystery plays (Pollard 1897: xi). This church is almost certainly synonymous with the church in Morley Wood of the Domesday Claim and is associated with a probable pre-Conquest cross-base (Coatsworth 2008: 284). There are reasons to suppose this fair to be at least contemporary with the Domesday Inquest - this requires further consideration (**MOR-0**). Despite this, Tingley and the fair-site are very much separate locations, and it would be wrong to straightforwardly associated putative assemblies at Tingley with the fair.

East Riding of Yorkshire – Domesday Hundreds

Hessle Hundred (HES-0)

Etymology

Hase Hundret occurs as a sub-heading on several occasions in both the main entries of Domesday Book and the Yorkshire Summary (Faull and Stinson 1986: 325b, 328a, 330d, 381c). The vill of *Hase* is the first vill of the eponymous hundred in the Summary and is referenced several times in the main entries (*ibid*: 325b, 326c, 381c). There is no further record of the hundred after the Domesday Inquest though the name of the settlement occurs variously as *Hesel*, *Hesselia*, *Hasla* and *Hezell* throughout the later medieval period (Smith 1937: 215-6). Anderson solves the name as 'hazel' from the Old Norse *hesli* (1934: 17) while Smith likewise concludes 'hazel, though by way of the Old English *haesel*, under Scandinavian influence (1937: 215-6).

Historical Evidence

Hessle is first listed as an outlier of the manor of North Ferriby, a pre-Conquest possession of Eadgifu that had subsequently come into the hands of Ralph of Mortemer (*ibid*: 325b). It is set apart as the one outlier that is not waste, instead returning four villagers with one plough (*ibid*). The primary holding at Hessle however was a manor, received by Gilbert Tison from the previous lords Alwine and Ketill (*ibid*: 326c). This latter record notes the presence of a church and a priest, alongside a comparatively small drop in value from the 1066 reckoning (*ibid*). This holding is further reflected by Tison's single Lincolnshire possession on the opposite bank of the Humber at South Ferriby (Farrer and Clay 1952: 187). Indeed, a ferry is recorded here in Domesday (*ibid*). The Summary total of carucates matches that listed in the two main entries (*ibid*: 381c). The *Hase Hundret* sub-heading is used twice in the main entries apart from these, for Hugh son of Baldric and the King's thegns, but in each case it heads a section encompassing vills throughout the East Riding, suggesting an unfinished course of sub-headings (*ibid*: 328a, 330d). This manor subsequently

passed into the De Stuteville Fee (Farrer and Clay 1952).

It is difficult to trace any type of court at Hessle in the centuries following the Conquest and what is known is of local note alone. A feoffment was dated at Hessle in 1298 (National Archives WYL230/14). In terms of assembly-related activity a market charter was granted to the manor of Hessle in 1254 by Henry III (Maxwell-Lyte 1908a: 385). Hessle has all the appearance of a minor manor with one distinct characteristic, this being the ferry. It remained such throughout the later medieval period.

Hessle (HES-1)

Location: TA03282644 (centre of Hessle)
Reason: Named venue of the hundred

Etymology

See above

Historical Evidence

See above

Topography

The town of Hessle has now largely been swallowed up by the conurbation of Hull, encroaching from the east. The original settlement was found at the south-eastern edge of the Yorkshire Wolds, where it intersected with the Humber estuary. Despite being adjacent to the Wold slopes it is nonetheless low-lying, centred on the road leading north from Hessle Haven, site of the former Humber Ferry. The town is planned around this north-south aligned street, with the Church of All Saints found in a central position. At a wider view it can be seen that Hessle is situated on the western end of the Hull valley at an interface between the alluvial deposits associated with said river and the glacial tills that mark the inside edge of the wolds, a memento of the geological forces that gauged out the Hull valley and Holderness from the Sussex Chalk. There is no spring-line at this point of the Wold slope interface. Instead Hessle is situated between the Wolds and what was formerly marshland. Indeed, travel to the east was perilous until significant drainage had taken place. The main communications ran north along the road to Anlaby and south over the river by ferry. The town of Hessle is situated on the central southern estuary edge of the selfsame hundred. This was later listed as part of the wapentake of Harthill.

Archaeological Evidence

Besides the entry in Domesday there is little evidence for early medieval activity and occupation in or around Hessle. Little commercial archaeological work has been recorded in the settlement but the work that has been undertaken has so far failed to uncover dateable medieval material prior to the Conquest (cf Jobling 2005). While a church is mentioned in 1086 in the centre of Hessle, the present edifice of All Saints is largely comprised of fabric of thirteenth-century date or later, though elements of re-used Norman masonry have been identified (Pevsner and Neave 1995: 467-468; Dennison 2006: 2). More intriguingly, a chalk-walled cist was reported during renovations at the base of the church tower in the first decade of the twentieth century (Sheppard 1907: 64). Meaney has cited this as evidence of Anglo-Saxon mortuary practice. (1964: 291). Buckberry meanwhile notes that the chalk lining would be consistent with a time-frame later in the early medieval period (2004: 427). There is nothing else of relevance to report in the immediate settlement of Hessle.
The nearest clear evidence of early medieval activity is found 1.3 kilometres to the west on the higher ground at Tranby. A number of amber beads and pottery fragments were recovered during the construction of a school (NMR 2013: MON#78956). Meaney has deemed this further evidence of early medieval burial (1964: 291). This material was not found in association with other specific items from the archaeological record and nor is there any consistent archaeological patterning in the area around Tranby. Hessle is, like so many other of the East Riding assembly sites, quiet, but this is doubly unusual considering its position as a significant ferry crossing.

There is good reason to think that Hessle was only established as a crossing late in the early medieval period. Firstly, there is almost as little evidence for Romano-British activity in and around Hessle and Hessle Haven as there is for the early medieval period. The main source of data for this is the reported discovery of a first-century picture lamp in association with fourth century coins on the foreshore of

Hessle Haven in the late 1970s (East Yorkshire HER 2013: MHU14119). One must go some four kilometres westward to where the riverine shelf begins to extend at North Ferriby before Romano-British material begins to appear in any great quantity. This was likely an outlier to the Romano-British settlement further north-west at Melton Hill but it is reasonably clear that, if the concentration of material reflects the intensity of activity, then the main crossing was at Brough-on-Humber in the Roman period. Secondly, the only really significant concentration of early medieval activity in relation to these crossings is of PAS reported metalwork on the Roman road 2.5 kilometres north of Brough around Brantingham Roman villa. The date ranges tend to congregate between the ninth and eleventh centuries. Meanwhile eighth-century occupation is recorded at Melton Hill just north-west of North Ferriby. The silence from Hessle is striking in comparison. It would be reasonable to argue that raiding in the period would discourage settlement and activity on the Humber itself but it would not lead to a veritable vacuum of infrastructure in the area around the crossing. This is what one witnesses at Hessle. It is not easy to poses reasons why Hessle became the crossing. It would be in a good position to serve the port at Hull, or even further at Hedon, if either of those were not essentially later medieval foundations. One clue may be found in Domesday. Hessle is the only outlier of the manor of North Ferriby that is not listed as waste. It may be that Hessle as a major ferry crossing was a product of the Conquest, a possible beach-head for the Norman military occupation of the East Riding.

Welton Hundred (WEL-0)

Etymology

The hundred of *Welleton* appears twice in Domesday. Once, erroneously in place of Cave hundred in the main entries and again in the Yorkshire Summary (Faull and Stinson 1986: 320c, 381c). The eponymous manor of Welton appears on numerous occasions either as *Welleton*, *Welletone* or *Wellet'* (*ibid*: 304c, 304d, 306c, 306d, 307a, 373a, 373b, 373c, 320c, 381c). It received two surviving mentions before the Domesday Inquest in 1080x1086, as *Wellatunam* and *Wealletune* among others (Farrer 1915: 299-303). Both Anderson (1934: 17) and Smith (1937: 220) interpret the name as 'farm by the spring' from the Old English elements *wella/waella* – *tun*. Each has cited St Anne's Well in the village as the possible inspiration. Rattue (2001: 67) notes that the cult of St Anne is only known from the twelfth century onwards, indicating that it has replaced an older association.

Historical Evidence

Welton is listed under the possessions of the Bishop of Durham at the time of the Domesday Inquest (Faull and Stinson 1986: 304c). This had been in the hands of Earl Morcar prior to the Conquest and it is clear from the pre-Domesday charters cited above (cf Farrer 1915: 299-303) that this had been a recent royal grant, with *sac* and *soc*, in c. 1080x1086. The manor possessed outliers at Ellerker, Walkington, Hunsley and Yokefleet. It enjoyed a degree of jurisdiction over Brantingham, Brantingham Thorpe, Hotham, Cliffe, Scorborough, Newton Gardham, Gardham, Lund, Holme on the Wolds, Lockington, Aike and Cherry Burton. The latter three and part of Hotham were only recovered subsequent to the Domesday Inquest. Former jurisdiction is recorded in the Domesday Claims at Risby and the outlier of Walkington. These two subsequently went to St John's, Beverley. Intriguingly, this transfer was testified by an unnamed wapentake, in what was portrayed to be then a region of hundreds (*ibid*: 373c). Only one outlier, Walkington, was within Welton hundred, and this appears to

have been granted to St John's Beverley. In a similarly puzzling manner, the majority of the vills under its jurisdiction were in fact in the hundred of *Sneculfcros*. Others are found in the hundreds of Cave and Howden: only Brantingham and Lund are clearly within the hundredal territory of Welton. This disjuncture between manorial soke and hundred is well attested in other of the East Riding hundreds, not least Warter and Pocklington. As mentioned above, the sub-heading for Welton hundred in the main entry instead refers to vills within the hundred of Cave before continuing to list other East Riding settlements. This error is difficult to account for, but it should be noted that this erroneous listing indirectly follows the same overall ordering of vills in the East Riding found in the Summary.

Following Domesday, Welton remained a possession of Durham, notwithstanding the vicissitudes brought on by the intrigues of Bishop Flambard. Control was confirmed by Henry I in 1101 following the previous seizure of Durham's territories and this was later in turn granted by Flambard to the monks of that cathedral (Farrer 1915: 305-6). Control in the twelfth century was consolidated in the face of incursions from the diocese of York, demonstrated by Alan of Brittany's grant of the churches in Welton to Durham (*ibid*: 298; cf Barlow 1950). The nature of this control is clarified by several greetings to the "men of Howdenshire and Welton soke" throughout the twelfth century (Farrer 1915: 297, 32, 324; Snape 2002: 136). This constituted the Liberty of Howdenshire, rather than the wapentake, which only covered that part of the old hundred of Howden east of the new course of the river Derwent.

Of course, this refers to the soke of the manor of Welton rather than that of the hundred. Domesday indicates that the two were quite divergent entities. Regardless, the greetings recorded to Howdenshire and Welton soke plausibly indicate a degree of parity in administration. Howdenshire and Holderness demonstrate the potentially close relationship between a Liberty and a wapentake. Howdenshire and Welton soke further indicate the potentially close relationship between a Liberty and manorial soke. Hundredal and wapentake manors such as Burton Agnes and Driffield in the East Riding, and Barkston Ash in the West riding, yet further demonstrate

linkages between hundreds or wapentakes and manorial soke. For all this, there has never been an imperative for consistent administration and so it does not mean that they are the same thing.

One of the detached portions of Welton Hundred, comprising Lund and Holme-on-the-Wolds, intrudes into the core of *Sneculfcros* Hundred. It is not listed in Domesday within the soke of Welton but had evidently been included by 1100 as notified by royal confirmation in response to a dispute (Farrer 1915: 296). This is the only historical evidence beyond the location of Welton itself that plausibly links the soke and hundred together. Unusually, by 1316 the two townships were instead respectively listed by Kirkby as within the jurisdiction of Allertonshire and Howdenshire (Skaife 1867: 341, 317). This would appear to indicate a continuum of control between the Yorkshire territories of Durham, and an increasing move towards remote administration at the expense of Welton itself. This practice could for instance be seen in the Liberty of Allertonshire by way of the selfsame wapentake meeting instead in the adjacent territory of Birdforth (Page 1914: 397).

Welton (WEL-1)

Location: SE95882728 (centre of Welton)
Reason: Named venue of the hundred

Etymology

See above.

Historical Evidence

See above.

Topography

The village of Welton is situated at the mouth of Welton Dale, incised into the southern slopes of the Yorkshire Wolds at the interface with the river Humber. The core of Welton itself rests upon the northern edge of the flat estuarine plain. It is found on the spring-line between the Lower Chalk of the Yorkshire Wolds and the West Walton sandstones at the base of the eastern side of the Vale of York. Despite its position in the Vale, it is set off from the lacustrine clays that characterise this region, instead resting upon a thin boulder-clay veneer to the West Walton formation. The centre of Welton is presently found at 30 metres OD. The village is set along a single street, Cowgate, at a south-west – north-east alignment. This aligns with traces of the former Roman road between Brough and Swanland and it would appear that this communications artery has informed the position and layout of Welton.

Welton is situated on the central western edge of the selfsame township and parish of Welton. This is found on the eastern side of the smaller coastal portion of Welton hundred. The majority of the Domesday hundred is in fact found inland, dominated to the north-west and south-east respectively by the settlements of Walkington and

Cottingham. Welton itself appears rather peripheral to the hundred. Interestingly, the smaller coastal portion containing Welton was later co-opted as a jurisdictional peculiar of the Prior and Convent of Durham. This reflects the jurisdiction of the Liberty of Howdenshire.

Archaeological Evidence

While the village of Welton is listed in Domesday Book, evidence for the pre-Conquest settlement on the 'footprint' of the present settlement is slim. The only explicitly cited early medieval evidence has comprised a series of postholes and a ditch, recorded on Church Street in 2005 and ascribed a late Anglo-Saxon/early Saxo-Norman date (Bradley 2005). The nature of this phasing raises concerns - it is unclear whether this has been undertaken by way of the stratigraphic sequence or though the analysis of dateable artefactual evidence. At any rate the 2007 Conservation Area Appraisal for Welton cites a sixth-century sunken-featured building on Church Street, absent from any corresponding material in the relevant monument records. It would seem that this ascription has been a creative extrapolation of the aforementioned 2005 evaluation (East Riding of Yorkshire 2007: 5). No church is recorded at Welton in Domesday Book and the majority of the fabric of St Helen's, Welton, is fifteenth century in date (Pevsner and Neave 1995: 739-740). A Norman respond incorporated into the chancel arch and late eleventh-century coinage recovered during the mid-nineteenth century restoration of the church would however suggest a date at the very inception of the later medieval period (East Riding of Yorkshire 2007: 6; Thompson 1870: 41-42). This does not amount to evidence for an early medieval settlement at Welton. Regardless of this the layout of the village has clearly been informed by earlier infrastructure, namely the Brough to Swanland Roman road. This has not been recorded by Margary, but has been identified through aerial photography and test trenches (Stoertz 1997; Esmonde Cleary 1997: 417). This aligns with the main road through the village, Cowgate, orientated south-west – north-east and, it would appear, latterly diverted to more of a north-south orientation outside the bounds of the settlement.

Further evidence of settlement is found as cropmarks immediately to the west of present-day Welton (Stoetz 1997). These are situated just north of the Roman road and have revealed evidence of Iron Age coinage and a series of Romano-British features, including a mosaic (East Yorkshire HER 2013: MHU3472, MHU8047, MHU8783, MHU10837, MHU15126). An early medieval sceatta, a pinhead and a buckle have also been recovered from this location (*ibid*: MHU17243, MHU17704). This is not enough to suggest early medieval occupation at Welton but it is sufficient to consider Welton a successor site to a former satellite of Brough-on-Humber. In the context of wider early medieval activity, it is reasonably quiet. At Melton Hill, 1.5 kilometres south-east, an early medieval inhumation has been recorded, while a more substantial array of early medieval PAS data has been recovered in the fields north of Brantingham Roman villa 3 kilometres north-west. These aside, this is not an area of noted early medieval activity.

Cave Hundred (CAV-0)

Etymology

The hundred of Cave is recorded twice, once in the main entries of the Yorkshire Domesday and once in the Summary (Faull and Stinson 1986: 328d, 381c). It shares its name with not one, but two manors of *Cave/Cava*, each within the hundred and listed consecutively at the beginning of the Cave section of the Summary (*ibid*: 302c, 306b, 320c, 328a, 332c, 373a, 381c). Today one finds the settlements of North Cave and South Cave each within the bounds of the old hundred. Differentiating between them within Domesday, or indeed identifying whether Cave hundred refers to one of these, both of these or indeed none of these, can be problematic. William Page had identified North Cave as the putative centre for the corresponding hundred in the Victoria History of the County of York (1912: 318-9. This identification comes without explanation and has been referenced and quoted without comment by Anderson (1934: 17). Smith (1937: 153) restates this without critique and latterly Faull and Stinson have quoted Smith (Faull and Stinson 1986: 11E1n). As a proposition it is decidedly problematic. While one can link the manors of the Main Entries with their entries in the Summaries there is nothing to suggest which, if either, comprises the hundredal centre. All that can be drawn from Domesday is that the Cave that became known as South Cave is the first listed in the Summary for Cave hundred, immediately followed by North Cave. This order is not necessarily a smoking gun. Subsequent to Domesday South Cave was referred to as *Marcacava* (1156x1157) on account of the market presumed to be held here (Farrer 1914: 157). A mill at *Nort Cava* is recorded in 1148, presumably to differentiate itself from the Cave to the south-east (*ibid*: 164). As for the meaning of Cave itself, Anderson quotes Ekwall's then unpublished solution of Old English *caf*, for 'quick', in reference to nearby streams (Anderson 1934: 17). Smith accords with this proposal (1937: 223). It should also be noted that Farrer (1915: 423) had argued that the *Hundecoum* that appeared in the Fine Rolls of 1200 was a gloss for North Cave, owing to proximity with Everthorpe (Hardy 1835: 105). This has not been subject to subsequent place-name analysis.

Historical Evidence

A number of vills in Cave are erroneously recorded within the hundred of Welton in the main entries (Faull and Stinson 1986: 320c). Of the manors, North Cave is recorded as a pre-Conquest manor of the Archbishop of York, one that had subsequently been transferred to the Canons of that minster (*ibid*: 302c). It is listed as waste in 1086 except for the presence of one unnamed tenant. A further two manors were at 1086 in the possession of the Count of Mortain, subinfeudated to Nigel Fossard and acquired from a number of pre-Conquest lords (*ibid*: 306b). This manor had witnessed no such drop in value. A further six holdings from other assorted pre-Conquest lords had come into the hands of Robert Malet (*ibid* 320c). These were mostly waste. Finally North Cave is listed once more as a berewick of the manor of Little Weighton, acquired from one Gamall (*ibid*: 328a). This had in fact increased in value since 1066. Thus, North Cave in 1066 appeared to have been divided between nine lords and the Archbishop of York. One of these is referred to as Ulf the Deacon and it may be that among this number were clergy of the minster. South Cave by contrast was but one estate at the time of Domesday in the hands of Robert Malet and in the likely former possession of Gamall, the aforementioned lord of North Cave and Little Weighton (*ibid*: 320c). There are no further records of the hundred of Cave. Nor are there any records of meetings taking place at either settlement in the centuries following the Norman Conquest. As mentioned above, South Cave was glossed as *Marcacava* in 1156x1157 indicating the early presence of a market (Farrer 1914: 157) and this early date is reinforced by a market grant from Roger de Mowbray in 1170x1184 (Greenaway 1972: No 360). In South Cave there is also a *Gallow Flatt* recorded to the south of the village on an estate map of 1759 (Hall 1892: 64-65).

There has been one suggestion of a possible assembly place for Cave and/or Welton hundred. In the grant of Edgar of 963, 30 *cassati* were granted to one Gunnar at Newbald, associated with North Newbald in Cave Hundred (Farrer 1914: 15-18). In

the Old English bounds detailed at the end of the charter, a place known as *yins housum* occurs. Farrer quotes W.H. Stevenson who had earlier interpreted this as a transcription error for *Þing-hougum* and posed the hill at Hunsley Beacon as the likely candidate for an assembly, either for Cave or Welton hundred. Cyril Hart later attempted to reconstruct these boundaries, though this has a number of problems (1975: 121-123). The starting point is unclear and there are few readily identifiable nodes without extensive and uncritical recourse to reverse-engineered parish boundaries. Thankfully, the Roman road is identifiable, as is *Deoppendale* (Deepdale, South Newbald; SE9278235711) and both of these are set in the bounds in close proximity to the *Þing-hougum*. Thus, one can at least safely assume that this assembly was a short distance, probably south, along the road from its intersection with Rudston Dale ('the denes that follow from Deepdale': Hart 1975: 123). This tentative re-appraisal would serve to make the eastern part of South Cave village a possible candidate for the location. Ultimately, there is a lack of clarity regarding which of North Cave and South Cave corresponds to the Domesday hundredal name of Cave. Indeed it may also be that both or neither do. For the time being equal consideration will be given to both.

North and South Cave (CAV-1)

Location: SE89413248 (centre of North Cave), SE91543093 (centre of South Cave) and SE92353121 (Market Street, South Cave)
Reason: Possible named venue of the hundred

Etymology

See above

Historical Evidence

See above

Topography

North Cave is situated on the very western edge of the lower slopes of the Yorkshire Wolds. This places it on a limestone shelf at the transitional point between the Wolds to the east and the combined lowlands of the Humberhead Levels and Vale of York to the west. South Cave effects a similar aspect, though it does climb to slightly higher ground at All Saints Church at the eastern end of the village. This higher ground continues as far as the eastern portion of the settlement around the Roman Road from Brough to York (Margary 2e; 1967: 418-19). The layout of North Cave is clearly influenced by the course of North Cave Beck, running along the northern and western sides of the village. This flows both from North Newbald on the Wold edge to the north and from Drewton further east within the Wolds, and thence through Drewton Dale. While the layout of North Cave clearly cleaves to the line of the Beck, it remains unusual. All Saints Church (of North Cave), is situated at the east end of Church Street to the south of the Beck. However, the street known as Nordham runs parallel to the north of the Beck leading to a manor house in the west. To the south-west of Church Street, Westgate continues, on a staggered but identical orientation, delimited to the

west by the southerly course of North Cave Beck.

South Cave by contrast is not situated around any discernible course of water. It is instead one kilometre north-east of the southerly course of North Cave Beck. The layout is more unusual than that found at North Cave, split between a western and eastern portion. This division is directly reflective of the post-Domesday split of the vill between the manors of East and West Hall. Market activity has focused on the eastern section and it may be that this function on the Roman road was in fact crucial to the origin and development of this part of the settlement. The western half is aligned north-east – south-west, a single street book-ended by All Saints Church and Hall Garth, the supposed site of the manor house. The nearest source of water is instead St Helen's well, next to the church. The eastern half of South Cave is set on a north-north-west – south-south-east alignment on the Brough to York Roman road – now Market Street. The two were divided by the house and grounds at Cave Castle.

North Cave and South Cave are each Wold-edge settlements set at a similar height above sea level. This zone is formed from the Lias group of marine limestones which extends along the western scarp of the Yorkshire Wolds. Between the two the spur of Everthorpe Hill makes for a modest high-point. To the east of each one finds the raised ground of the mid-Wold slopes. This comprises a series of Oolitic limestones and sandstones. Crucially, these are below the spring-line in the chalk, found one kilometre east of the easternmost part of South Cave, and a full three kilometres east of North Cave. That said, a well dedicated to St Helen is located adjacent to All Saints Church in South Cave. Above this rise the heights of Great Wold, Little Wold and West Hill. Communications on the First Edition Ordnance Survey mapping shows roads running directly from North Cave to local destinations, including South Cave. A further road runs to Howden, via Gilberdyke in Howdenshire. If it was a more substantial communications node prior to this point, these routes have not been well preserved. A similar situation exists for the western portion of South Cave. The eastern portion however rests upon a surviving stretch of the Brough to York Roman road. While subject to subsequent deviation this road latterly remained well connected to Market Weighton in the north and the Humber estuary to the south.

The village of North Cave is located on the eastern side of the township and parish of the same name. It is more centrally located within the main portion of the wider parish, noting a detached portion 1.5 kilometres to the north at South Cliffe. This same parish occupies the central part of the eastern portion of Cave Hundred. Within both the wapentake and rural deanery of Harthill it maintains a central southern position. South Cave conversely is centrally located within both the township and the wider parish of the same name. It has two adjacent townships to the west, these being Faxfleet and Broomfleet. It is on the southern edge of the hundred of Cave and the wapentake of Harthill. The parish is however co-extensive with the jurisdictional peculiar of South Cave. It is likely that the position of North Cave, more central to the hundred, has informed the preference in the literature for this vill as the hundredal meeting place.

Archaeological Evidence

The oldest upstanding fabric in the village of North Cave is that of All Saints Church. Norman fabric is located in the tower though there is no visible evidence of an early medieval precursor (Pevsner and Neave 1995: 624). A linked entry for Little Weighton and North Cave mentions a priest but it is not clear whether this refers to one or both of these vills (Faull and Stinson 1986: 328a). This church is at the east end of the village, adjacent to both the 'Site of a Hall' on the First Edition Ordnance Survey map and a post-medieval manor house. PAS reports for early medieval material amount to a single pin of unspecified early medieval date in the immediate surrounds of Westgate (YORYM-40C3C3). Two, more substantial, spreads of material are found immediately to the west and south of the settlement. To the west an assemblage of eleven artefacts covers the entire period. Two early Anglo-Saxon beads and two early buckles were found though not in close proximity, ranging in date from the fifth to seventh centuries (*ibid*: PUBLIC-E396C8, PUBLIC-E21495, SWYOR-267615, SWYOR-292867). The majority of the assemblage is later in date, with a number of pins of eighth- and-ninth century date (*ibid*: SWYOR-4AB008, SWYOR-2635D2), strap ends

extending to the end of the period (*ibid*: YORYM-B4DA82, FAKL-EB08B3) alongside a late Anglo-Saxon brooch and a buckle (*ibid*: YORYM-488741, SWYOR-4F8AB4; cf Leahy 2007: 80 [for the brooch]; cf Griffiths et al 2007: 72 [for the late buckle]). There is no distinct temporal cluster within this material and it is spread out over an area c. 700 metres in radius. Little more other than long-term early medieval activity can be asserted.

A larger and more densely clustered assemblage has been identified to the south. It is on the road to South Cave and on the township boundary with Drewton within the same parish. This is overwhelmingly early in date and largely consists of brooches and other dress accessories. Examples included fifth- to sixth-century cruciform and long-short brooches (PAS 2013: SWYOR-500E27, SWYOR-485B34, SWYOR-484A51, SWYOR-C8DC91) and a somewhat later penannular brooch of sixth- to seventh-century date (*ibid*: SWYOR-213050; cf Fowler: 1964). Plausibly contemporaneous finds included a Merovingian *tremiss* of the fifth to seventh centuries, a sleeve clasp and a number of mounts (PAS 2013: SWYOR-CA0345, SWYOR-DBEDF7, SWYOR-A68304). A strong case can be made for this as evidence of early medieval mortuary practice immediately to the south of the present site of North Cave. These finds are relatively densely clustered over a zone 300 metres in diameter, 650 metres south of the village. There is a seeming second phase juxtaposed over this early assemblage, though it is far smaller and more dispersed. It includes three weights tentatively dated to the Anglo-Scandinavian era, with similarities to known bullion weights (*ibid*: SWYOR-4A8A16, SWYOR-E16C55, SWYOR-A1D945; cf Biggs 1995: 9). An eighth-century silver sceatta has also been recovered, along with an eleventh- to twelfth-century buckle and two late strap ends (PAS 2013: SWYOR-BD6EA1, SWYOR-7A4C65). A Borre-style Scandinavian mount of the late tenth or early eleventh century was also located (*ibid*: SWYOR-46AD01; cf). This is the only diagnostically Scandinavian find, but in relation to the bullion weights, it indicates comparative activity to that seen at the early medieval cremation cemetery at Rudston. It is also likely that some of this later material reflects the characteristic metal-detector 'halo' of settlement activity around North Cave at the end of the early medieval period. This zone is characterised

by a rich and dense assemblage of later medieval metalwork uncharacteristic merely of settlement shrinkage. This may have witnessed later medieval market activity.

There is a final outlier of early medieval activity at Carr House, two kilometres west of North Cave on the Norlands road. This material includes half a dozen artefacts of early Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Scandinavian dress-accessories (e.g. PAS 2013: Brooch - SWYOR-CD5AC6, Strap End - SWYOR-916885; Pin - SWYOR-27DA11). It is on a long established site of Romano-British activity, marked as such on the First Edition Ordnance Survey mapping (cf Loughlin and Miller 1979: 44). What it signifies is unclear considering the small size of the assemblage, though another mortuary node is indeed plausible. The remainder of the area around North Cave is characterised by the transition from Iron Age to Romano-British settlement in the lower-lying ground to the west. The cropmarks of a large Roman villa have been identified 1.5 kilometres north-west of North Cave and to the south of this at Drylands Quarry a larger expanse of Romano-British settlement has been identified (*ibid*: 43; Atkinson 1992; Atkinson 2002). Further transition settlement has been discovered 1 kilometre due west of North Cave, almost adjacent to the PAS concentration immediately west of the village (Moorhouse 1977: 3, 7) while analogous settlement activity has further been signalled at the Newport Road Quarry one kilometre south-west of the village (Fraser 2004).

Like North Cave, the oldest standing fabric in South Cave is that of the identically named All Saints Church (Pevsner and Neave 1995: 700). It certainly possesses thirteenth-century fabric, with the possibility that some classified as such was re-used from twelfth-century masonry (*ibid*). This church is next to St Helen's well, the nearest source of water for the village. Further early medieval activity is signified by the find of a sugar loaf shield boss from the grounds of Cave castle (Eagles 1979: 449). A fifth- to seventh-century brooch has been detected immediately south of the western side of South Cave, in close proximity to an unidentified possible brooch fabric from the Anglo-Scandinavian period (PAS 2013: YORYM-64EB83, NLM5521). This is a negligible assemblage for South Cave itself and stronger evidence exists for

a Roman presence on the footprint of the present settlement. A Romano-British inhumation has been discovered on the eastern limit of eastern South Cave (Moorhouse 1972) while a mosaic has been reported from the site of the market place itself (Kitson Clark 1935: 74-5; Scott 1993: 100). Iron Age settlement is also known from Station Road so it seems highly likely that settlement continuity is being witnessed as at North Cave (Loughlin and Miller 1979: 34).

There is no corresponding halo of early medieval activity at South Cave to that found at its northerly counterpart. An early eighth-century coin has been located amid a dense cluster of later medieval metalwork. This is largely thirteenth-century in date, found just to the west of the crossroads and parish border on the old Roman road, 850 metres north of South Cave. Like the zone south of North Cave, this may reflect later medieval market activity. The early medieval period is however negligible and as such presents no serious evidence for continuity. In the surrounding area cropmarks of a Roman villa have been found 1.2 kilometres east of South Cave (NMR 2013: MON#1431989). This villa would have been situated on the higher wold slopes, looking over the Brough to York road. Also, a number of lead pigs have been found to the south-east, as have coins at Kettlethorpe Farm and Drewton Manor (Richmond 1958: 152; Elgee and Elgee 1933: 135; Kitson Clark 1935: 78). Further prehistoric material includes a possibly hillfort on the slope to the south of the aforementioned cropmark of the Roman villa (NMR 2013: MON#1383357), a round barrow north of the village (*ibid*: MON#1411052) and a possible long barrow to the east (*ibid*: MON#1434297). These are exceptions from the norm, for the immediate area of both North Cave and South Cave is relatively free of monumental remains. Final mention should be made of a richly adorned inhumation of seventh-century date found at Everthorpe Hall (Meaney 1964: 288; Geake 1998: 158). Grave goods included an amethyst necklace and a silver mounted pendant – this may represent a Conversion era cemetery.

In conclusion, there remains no satisfactory way to determine which of the Domesday Caves represents the hundredal focus of the like-named hundred. North

Cave is more central to this district and appears to bear more sign of early medieval activity, in a setting of long-term settlement stretching back at the very least to the Iron Age. It is also adjacent to North Cave Beck, which may be the referent element of the toponym. South Cave meanwhile is more peripheral to the hundredal territory and bears considerably less, but still notable, signs of early medieval activity. It was the predominant market of the immediate area but most interesting is its plan. It would appear that the western part of South Cave represented a planned post-Conquest settlement away from the old Roman settlement on the Brough to York road. This is where the later medieval market was held and it is clear from the place-name evidence that this market was active long before it received royal assent. It may be that South Cave represents an instance of a settlement (or re-settlement) being planned in relation to an existing market and nevertheless falling within its gravitational pull. An analogous layout of settlement and market can be found between Driffield and Little Driffield – in each case the market site looks to be the old and abiding focal point. Each of North Cave and South Cave are found near, but not at the Wold edge. Despite these observations there is no assembly model of sufficient strength to conclude with anything but speculation. The *yins housum*, mentioned above, is after all a proposed typological error rather than a clear citation of assembly.

Howden Hundred and Howdenshire Wapentake (HOW-0)

Etymology

The district of *Hoveden hundret* is first mentioned in the Yorkshire Summary of Domesday (Faull and Stinson 1986: 381c). Howden itself is encountered one century previous to this in a grant by Edgar of Wessex to one Quen, gifting lands *aet Ealdredrege* [Drax, Barkston Ash Wapentake, West Riding] and *aet Heaffuddaene* [Howden] (Hart 1975: 119-120). *Hoveden* is also mentioned, rather dubiously, in the 664 foundation grant from Wulfhere of Mercia to Peterborough Abbey found in the Laud recension of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (Swanton 2000). While this latter document is almost certainly a post-Conquest forgery (Hart 1975: 55) it nevertheless preserves an older form of the name. Smith has solved this as the Old English *heafod-denu* – literally 'head-valley' – yet given the low-lying and flat landscape there are problems associating this with the head of a proximate valley (Smith 1937: 250-251).

Historical Evidence

Howden is listed as part of a forged seventh-century grant to the Abbey of Peterborough (Swanton 2000). It is difficult to estimate the extent to which this forgery was based off previous documentation. The best that one can say is that it had evidently fallen into royal hands by the mid-tenth century, when Edgar granted the estates of Howden and Drax to his *matrona*, Quen (Hart 1975: 119-120). The bounds listed for this grant correspond strongly to the extent of the manor of Howden in Domesday (Hadley 2000: 119). This manor is effectively co-extensive with the hundred listed in the Summary so either one or both were of some antiquity. The relation to Drax, which is adjacent to Howden on the southern bank of the Ouse, is difficult to infer due to the problematic identification of places listed in the charter (Hart 1975: 119-120). The Domesday Inquest again records Howden as a royal manor on the eve of the Conquest (Faull and Stinson 1986: 304c). It is also difficult to say whether the Quen of 959 was part of the royal household or a more distant figure. It

had subsequently come into the possession of the bishop of Durham and thence the Chapter of Durham. Thus, it found itself in a similar situation to Allertonshire in North Yorkshire, a circumstance which may explain much of the ambiguity in its later history. The wapentake of Howdenshire appears to have been significantly smaller than the erstwhile hundred, with the wapentake encompassing only those parts of the hundred east of the river Derwent. The remainder was transferred to the later wapentake of Ouse and Derwent, though it appears that it possessed an ambiguous status for some time, with Ouse and Derwent variously described as situated within Howdenshire and Harthill (**ODW-0**). There are no substantial lines of evidence for the hundred and /or wapentake meetings of the district before the appearance of the Moot Hall in the market square, though it is a very late listing. Howden was a market centre from an early date, noted by a charter granted by John in 1200 (Hardy 1837: 37).

Howden (HOW-1)

Location: SE74792825 (centre of Howden)
Reason: Named venue of the hundred and wapentake

Etymology

See above

Historical Evidence

See above.

Topography

The modern settlement of Howden is situated on the flat low-lying ground of the Humberhead levels. The central core of the town around St Peter's Church is just over 5 metres OD. The lower ground that surrounds it is unsurprisingly characterised by an extensive network of dykes and drains and in places is found below sea level. Howden itself is on one of the few areas of raised ground amid what would have been marshy terrain (McDonagh 2007: 10). This rise is sandwiched between the slightly higher ground of Thorpe Lidget and Knedlington, to the north-east and south-west respectively. It is 1.5 kilometres north of the Humber estuary and 3 kilometres north-east of the intersection of the Ouse and Aire at Asselby Island. Howden is also 4.5 kilometres from the nearest section of the course of the river Derwent. This last spatial relation is of special interest, as the 'Old Derwent' is thought to have flowed through Howden before subsequently changing course to intersect with the Ouse further west. On the First Edition Ordnance Survey this course is marked as an alternative name for Howden Dike Drain, a course of water that divided off the moated area of the Bishop's manor house from the rest of Howden. A brief glance at the local drift geology under the town indicates a channel of alluvial material

between the lacustrine clays, one that lends much credence to the proposal. This is confirmed by palaeoenvironmental work that has determined that the full body of the river would have flowed along the Old Derwent, from Brackenholme, through Howden, to Kilpin, until a point in the later medieval era (Lillie and Gearey 1999: 58). This does raise a related matter of the genesis of the 'new' Derwent, especially as it marks the later boundary between the wapentake of Ouse and Derwent on one hand and the liberty of Howdenshire on the other. For the time being, this evidence supports Smith's toponym solution of 'head-valley'. Howden is indeed set on a small rise near the mouth of a formerly important river channel. The name would then refer to the wider valley of the river Derwent as opposed to the immediate area of the present day settlement of Howden. In turn this could reflect the regional importance of this settlement. As mentioned, the town itself is based around the church, the Bishop's manor and the market place. The main street of the town, Bridge Gate, runs at a north-east – south-west orientation that reflects the older road network focused on the adjacent high ground in these two directions.

Below the lacustrine clays, Howden rests upon Triassic sand- and siltstones. The alluvium has made for particularly fertile soil, rated Grade 1 by Natural England. Despite this propensity for arable, Howden has been better known in the past for its livestock fairs. A horse fair is recorded as early as 1200 (Midgely 1945: 203n). Despite signs of regional importance Howden was not historically well connected by land. Most of the connecting roads visible today have only been made possible by drainage of the levels. Some of this has admittedly taken place at an early date. Allison reports road-building on Wallingfen to the north-east in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in response to drainage initiatives (1976: 73).That said, the layout of the town reflects land-based movement north-east and south-west in response to the proximate high ground at Knedlington and Thorpe Lidget. Further routes are directed towards the Humber estuary though the road north to Bubwith and East Cottingwith has reason to reflect an older route. Regardless of this it is not an obvious focus for a livestock fair, certainly not one of any size. Despite this, in the eighteenth and nineteenth century the horse fairs at Howden were in fact the largest in England. They may well

however have only been possible as a result of century upon century of extensive drainage.

Howden is located in both the township and parish of that name. This was one constituent part of a very large parish that in the early nineteenth century included the townships of Laxton and Barmby among others, as well as the north-eastern common lands at Wallingfen. This parish was largely co-extensive with the jurisdictional peculiar of the Prior and Convent of Durham as recorded in 1291 and likewise the wapentake/liberty of Howdenshire. Conversely, it formed the south-eastern portion of the earlier hundred of Howden, divided from the north-west by the course of the 'new' Derwent adjacent to Barmby Marsh. This divergence between the administrative divisions may well relate to the change in course of the Derwent in the later medieval period. Riverine morphology also appears to have informed the shape of Howden township, which comprises a dumb-bell shape bisected by the course of the Old Derwent. This may be an example of a conjoined township.

Archaeological Evidence

There seems little doubt that Howden formed the caput of a pre-Conquest estate. However only two instances of early medieval archaeological traces can be identified. An unpublished excavation undertaken on the site of the Bishop's Manor House noted the presence of ninth- to eleventh-century pottery, though it is not clear in what quantity or what context (McDonagh 2007: 13). Some distance further away, the Portable Antiquities Scheme has recorded a ninth- to tenth-century strap end at the east end of Knedlington, to the south-west of Howden (PAS2013: YORYMM287). This is the entire verifiable early medieval assemblage for Howden and the surrounding area. The record is likely both a product of environmental and methodological influences. The estuarine conditions will have favoured a significant build-up of sediment over time and the relative absence of PAS finds over the wider area must at least partially represent an area of low metal-detecting/reporting. McDonagh considers the pottery to be evidence of late-Saxon settlement in and

around the Bishop's Manor (McDonagh 2007: 13). In light of the high ground Howden sits upon and the charter to Quen, this would seem reasonable, but much the same conclusions would be drawn in the absence of any early medieval archaeological material. Note should be made of the curvilinear cropmark at SE7256029164, 500 metres north-west of Barn Hill. This has been identified on morphological terms as an early medieval ringwork, though no further details exist (NMR 2013: MON#1074938).

The church of St Peter in Howden is the next oldest feature. Largely thirteenth century in date, the corbel table is of the twelfth century (Pevsner and Neave 1995: 485). It is presumed that this building is juxtaposed upon the site of an earlier Anglo-Saxon Church, though no evidence has been forthcoming. The Bishop's Manor, as already mentioned, has provided the only material evidence for early medieval activity at Howden. Geophysical survey in 2000 indicated the potential presence of earlier structures on the site of the Bishop's Palace (Kelly 2000). A later watching brief however revealed only masonry from the 13th century (Jobling 2006) reflecting the more expansive later medieval complex partly demolished in the early nineteenth century (Sheahan and Whellan 1856: 602). Later medieval fabric is also visible at the base of the re-modelled market cross (Maule Cole 1900: 3). Later medieval evidence actually provides four possible sites of later medieval assembly. The first is the Bishop's Manor. The second is the Moot Hall, previously found in the market place but demolished in the early nineteenth century (Sheahan and Whelan 1856: 598). The third is Ringstone Hurst, noted as a place of muster for Howdenshire at the inception of the Pilgrimage of Grace in 1536 (Bush 1996; 2009). The final one is not an assembly so much as the assembly-related activity of the fairs at Howden. The PAS records indicate a concentration of later medieval metalwork at the north-western limit of the historic core of the town, where Bridge Gate adjoins Northolmby Close. This is the site of the famous Howden horse fair. It had been presumed that this was an eighteenth century innovation (Sheahan and Whelan 1856) and that medieval market activity had been limited to the market place, including the 1200 horse fair. The metalwork assemblage includes a number of coins of thirteenth- and fourteenth-

century date along with coin weights and would appear to suggest an extra-mural market at Howden at a considerably earlier date than has hitherto been considered (PAS 2013: LVPL-4404F7; LVPL-442686; LVPL-C58D62). Regrettably there is no clear link between these and any early medieval activity.

Weighton Hundred (WEI-0)

Etymology

The hundred of Weighton appears once in the main entries and once in the Summary of the Yorkshire Domesday as *Wicstun Hund/Hundret* (Faull and Stinson 1986: 322c, 381c). The manor of *Wicstun* is noted as a royal possession (also listed in the Summary) and the soke of this manor is referenced in relation to the holdings of Robert Malet (*ibid*: 299b, 320c, 381c). The name *Wicstun* is linked with the settlement of Market Weighton within the bounds of the hundred – subsequent forms of the toponym, such as *Wycton* and *Wyghton* (Smith 1937: 229), would support this connection. Anderson solves it as the Old English *wictun* without comment (1934: 16). Smith meanwhile gives more consideration to the solution, pointing out that this compound has been variously used to indicate both a residence and a court (Smith 1937: 229-30). Smith also suggests a more ancient connection between the *wic* element and the *vicus* of a then unknown Roman fort (*ibid*). If this latter suggestion carries any weight the name could refer to the Roman settlement at Shiptonthorpe (Millett *et al* 2006). Smith finally cites a further suggestion from Bruce Dickins, who notes that the compound *Wicketunes* appears in the Middle English poem 'The Owl and the Nightingale' and may signify an 'ecclesiastical establishment' (*ibid*: lx). Final note must be made of the settlement of Little Weighton which has a different derivation, from *Wideton* in Domesday Book (Faull and Stinson 1986: 328a). This instead means 'willow farm' from the Old English elements *wiðig-tun* (Smith 1937: 23).

Historical Evidence

The manor of *Wicstun* is listed with an outlier at Shiptonthorpe, enjoying further jurisdiction over North Cliffe, Goodmanham, Houghton, Sancton and Hotham (Faull and Stinson 1986: 299c, 320c). It was a pre-Conquest possession of Earl Morcar and had evidently witnessed a sharp drop in value since the Conquest. With the exception

of Hotham, in Cave hundred, these are all co-extensive with the hundred of Wicstun. As such, this relationship has much in common with that found between the soke of Driffield and the eponymous hundred. The manor evidently enjoyed a long royal association. It is notable for a series of royal decrees in the last decade of the thirteenth century and was evidently an intermittent venue of the royal court in the reign of Edward I, interspersed with sittings at Beverley among others (Maxwell-Lyte 1895: 4, 352, 457, 479-81, 544; Gough 1888: 35; Brown 1902: 136; National Archives SC 1/26/42, 134). An inquisition held at and concerning the manor of Market Weighton also reported a three-weekly court convened there at least from 1288x1289 (Brown 1898: 46-9). While this latter practice likely reflected wider mores at the time it remains a comparatively early reference to the timetable of a specific manorial court. The earliest recorded meeting at Market Weighton was an assize, dated 1174x1175 (Pipe Roll Society 1897: 172).

Market Weighton (WEI-1)

Location: SE87734182 (centre of the settlement)
Reason: Named venue of the hundred

Etymology

See above

Historical Evidence

See above

Topography

Market Weighton is situated at a confluence of a variety of artificial and natural features. Like so many other examples of documented Domesday hundreds it is set on the edge of the Wolds at c.25 metres OD, between the rising chalk of Goodmanham and Weighton Wold on the east and the gently declining plain of Shipton Common to the west. It is also positioned at the mouth of Goodmanham Dale, a distinctive dry valley that divides Goodmanham and Weighton Wolds. Further within the Wolds, Moor Beck flows through this valley although it sinks underground just to the west of South Dalton. A stream is recorded once more at Goodmanham Spring, 2.2 kilometres east of Market Weighton, flowing by way of the Mill Beck into Market Weighton itself. Beyond the village this course divides between Skelfrey and Weighton Becks into the Foulness and the more recent Weighton Canal respectively. The settlement itself is orientated west-north-west – east-south-east along Northgate (now York Road), High Street and Southgate. The Church of All Saints, Market Weighton, is positioned midway along the northern side of High Street and, adjacent and to the north of this, one finds Hall Close, the supposed site of the medieval manor (Sheahan and Whellan 1856: 588-9)

Market Weighton is less than one kilometre to the west of the Wold interface between the Lower Chalk and Triassic Sand and Siltstones. The spring-line, marked by Goodmanham Spring and St Helen's Well, indicates the precise transition. The village is set at some distance and so the spring-line, while important, has not been the predominant factor in the location of the settlement. It is also situated on a remnant of alluvial tills, bordered by the Wold edge to the east and a broader expanse of lacustrine clays to the west. Market Weighton was and is well connected by road to other settlements within and beyond the East Riding, including Bishop Burton, North Cave, Beverley, York and Shipton. However, there is no clear evidence that it was situated on a Roman road. Rather it appears, like Pontefract, to be set at some distance between parallel Roman roads. In this case Roman road Margary 2e (1967: 418-19) runs to the south-west of Weighton between South Newbald and York, while the Wold road (Margary 29; 1967: 419) runs from Malton through Warter to intersect with the aforesaid road at South Newbald. It offers a contrast to a number of the other hundredal sites in the East Riding but it remains a puzzle. The spring-line is not given primacy as a factor in the siting of the settlement, but the spring-line is also the course that the old Roman road took and it is genuinely difficult to see what other factor drove the settlement to establish itself at a distance from this water source. Otherwise one would expect Market Weighton to be located at or just to the east of Goodmanham Mill (SE8846542465).

Market Weighton is set in the north-eastern half of the selfsame township, 900 metres from the border with Goodmanham. It is more central to the parish, which includes the townships of Shipton to the west and Arras to the right. This latter relationship likely explains why Weighton township covers so much of the Weighton Wolds, adjacent to Arras. No such coverage is seen for Goodmanham Wold, likely as Goodmanham is a township and parish in its own right. The parish was co-extensive with the Prebendary of Weighton within the archdeaconry of the East Riding. Market Weighton is also in the north-eastern half of the central portion of Weighton hundred. It is essentially divided between the area around Market Weighton in one half, and

Spalding Moor in the other. Conversely, Market Weighton is almost at the very centre of Harthill wapentake.

Archaeological Evidence

The oldest surviving structure in the settlement is the Church of All Saints, midway along the High Street to the east of the Market Place. The fabric of the lower part of the tower and nave is late eleventh century in date (Pevsner and Neave 1995: 609). The site of the medieval manor house is not certain, though Hall Close, 80 metres north of the church, has been proposed as a candidate for the site (Sheahan and Whellan 1856: 588-9). A small amount of evidence alludes to early medieval activity on the site of the present settlement. Bruce-Mitford noted ninth- and tenth-century bar-lip pottery deriving from Market Weighton, but offered no specific location (1956: 196). A similarly poor spatial resolution is offered for two reported graves from Market Weighton, uncovered in 1906. Amber beads and a cruciform brooch were found in one, while an accompanying inhumation was associated with weaponry (Meaney 1964: 295; Geake 1997: 158; Buckberry 2004: 436). These grave goods were dated between the sixth and seventh centuries. A number of entries from the Portable Antiquities Scheme are also of relevance, all on the southern side of the town and adjoining fields. The earliest finds comprise two fifth- to sixth-century cruciform brooches on the south-western edge of the village (PAS 2013: LVPL-B263C5, LVPL-B25454). Pottery from the later part of the early medieval period has been located south of the Market Place (*ibid*: YORYM-AFCCF4, YORYM-42B132). A later strap end and buckle have also been found on the south-eastern and south-western limits of Market Weighton respectively (*ibid*: YORYM-2BB056, SWYOR-FF2A20). This amounts to a very small assemblage and little can be inferred. Evidence for Romano-British activity in Market Weighton itself is even slighter, amounting to a fibula and a brooch (East Yorkshire 2013: MHU232; NMR 2013: MON#61416). It is very difficult to determine the establishment of the present settlement. While there are no substantial finds prior to the Norman Conquest, urban build-up can obfuscate a great deal. The point must for now remain moot. Final note must be made of a mound that

Drake, in his *Eboracum*, stated was situated at the western end of the town. No further details are forthcoming (1736: 31).

There is better evidence for early medieval settlement in the immediate surrounds of Market Weighton. Halkon and Millett have recorded evidence of early medieval occupation to the south-west of Market Weighton off Hawling Road on a site that appears to have witnessed intermittent settlement through the late Iron Age and Romano-British periods, including the discovery of a Roman coin hoard (1999; NMR 2013: MON#61425). This evidence of early medieval occupation is also found in close proximity to the findspot of a coin of Charlemagne (East Yorkshire 2013: MHU19570). A more tentative case can be made for an inhumation cemetery on the Wold edge at Rose Hill. This was found during railway cutting to the north-east of the village in the late nineteenth century. While associated with Samian pottery and Roman coinage, a number of items including iron spearheads and jet beads were proposed by Eagles to represent renewed or continued activity in the early medieval period (Kitson Clark 1935: 123; Eagles 1979: 433-4). The site is also found in close association with two barrows (NMR 2013: 61447).

Beyond this, the nearest early medieval activity is denoted by the early Anglo-Saxon cremation cemetery at Sancton, 3 kilometres south-east on the southern slopes of Weighton Wold (Meaney 1964: 289; Buckberry 2004). Six kilometres to the west there is a cluster of later early medieval PAS reports from Tantubs Hill, west of Harswell. Likewise, All Saints Church at Holme upon Spalding Moor shows evidence of ninth-century sculpture. In Summary this makes Market Weighton look isolated. There is no sense of ancillary settlement to a central place. If it acted in this capacity in the early medieval period, its very functionality must have discouraged the clustering of proximate settlement. The absence of early medieval material evidence from Goodmanham, despite its famed place in Bede, and the absence of any discernible early medieval activity at the Romano-British town of Shiptonthorpe, only serves to show that environmental factors are unlikely to be sufficient in explaining the lack of activity in the periphery of Market Weighton. There is far better evidence

for the distribution of earlier Romano-British settlement than there is for the early medieval period within the same area (Halkon and Millett 1999). This does however sit within a pattern in the East Riding, of Romano-British settlement being followed by a seeming quiet until the later medieval period.

Sneculfcros Hundred (SNE-0)

Etymology

The hundred of *Sneculfcros* appears once in the main entries of Domesday Book and once in the Yorkshire Summary (Faull and Stinson 1986: 322c, 381d). Smith solves the name as 'Sneculf's cross' from a Scandinavian personal name attested in the early eleventh century (Farrer 1915: 260) and the Old Norse *kross* (Smith 1937: 153; cf Anderson 1934: 16).

Historical Evidence

Contrary to most of the East Riding hundreds it is also discussed in the later document known as the *Libertates Ecclesiae Sancti Johannis de Beverlaco* (Raine 1837: 101). Among other privileges it states the '*villa Sancti Johannis*' to be head ('caput') not only of *Suecolfros* Hundred, but also of the entire East Riding, and that this had been granted to the church by King Athelstan (*ibid*). The frontispiece states these liberties were translated into Latin by Alfred of Beverley, a chronicler working in the twelfth century (Gransden 1974: 212). However the document itself includes material of fourteenth-century date (Wilson 2006: 16). The inclusion of the term *Suecolfros* alone would strongly favour the incorporation of earlier material but little more can be said for the time being.

There are no recorded assemblies of *Sneculfcros* hundred and nor is there any corresponding place-name. The only clue comes from the previously mentioned liberties. Chapter 18 of this work states that in antiquity the only place in the East Riding where a jury of twelve could meet was at Beverley, *ad Cruces* (Raine 1837: 104-5). Wilfully anachronistic as it may be, and embedded within a manuscript of late provenance, there remains the possibility that genuine information is contained within, and so it would nevertheless seem prudent to consider the sanctuary crosses of Beverley. One Inquisition at least is recorded taking place at one of the northerly

Beverley crosses – the lost *Grith Cross* – in 1296 (Brown 1902: 35).

Driffield Hundred (DRI-0)

Etymology

Driffield appears as a hundred once in the main entries as *Drifel Hund* and once again in the Summary as *Drifelt Hundret* (Faull and Stinson 1986: 307a, 381d). This name is mirrored by the manor of *Drifelt/Drifeld* which itself appears once, followed by numerous references to its soke (*ibid*: 299c, 306c, 306d, 373a, 381d). Unlike most of the hundred names found in the East Riding of Yorkshire the name Driffield has also appeared in a pre-Conquest context. While the earliest known copies of the Northern Recensions are of twelfth-century date, they record the death of Aldfrith of Northumbria *on Driffelda* in c. 705AD (Swanton 2000). There is no further mention of the hundred after Domesday, though the place-name appears variously as *Dryffeld, Dridfeld* and *Dreffelde* in subsequent documents (Smith 1937: 153-4). Anderson interprets the name as the Old English *dryge-feld*, or 'dry field' (1934: 15). Smith rejects Anderson's solution and places more stress on the seemingly earlier *Driffelda* variant to instead pose the solution of OE *drif-feld* or, 'stubble field' (Smith 1937: 153-4). Ekwall meanwhile has interpreted it as 'dirty field' (1936: 151). Mention should also be made of Little Driffield. *Drigelinghe* is mentioned as the first outlier of the manor of Driffield itself (Faull and Stinson 1986: 299c). No solution has been posed but Skaife has suggested that this equates to the proximate settlement of Little Driffield (1896: 11). This is the sole appearance of this word-form and suggests that much more work needs to be done on the etymology of Driffield.

Historical Evidence

Driffield was one of the royal demesne manors of the East Riding, alongside Pocklington. It was a former possession of Earl Morcar and had evidently been reduced to waste in the time that had elapsed since 1066 (Faull and Stinson 1986: 299c). It had outliers at Kilham, Elmswell, Little Driffield (*Drigelinghe*?) and Kelleythorpe. It held soke over the further vills of Great Kendale, Eastburn, Kirkburn,

Southburn, Kilnwick, Tibthorpe, Skerne, Cranswick, Middleton on the Wolds and Beswick. Unlike most of the East Riding hundreds with eponymous manors, the majority of the soke of Driffield is found within the eponymous hundred as outlined in the Summary. That said, there are four found outside, in Burton and *Sneculfcros* hundreds, while Elmswell is also listed as being within the hundred of Turbar. The entry for Beswick (*ibid*: 299c) suggests that this was a separate manor that had recently been added to the soke of Driffield, making the original correlation with the hundred even more striking in comparison to, say, Pocklington or Warter.

Driffield (DRI-1)

Location: TA00985782 (centre of Driffield)
Reason: Named venue of the hundred

Etymology

See above

Historical Evidence

See above

Topography

The town of Driffield is set at the foot of the southern slopes of the Yorkshire Wolds at the mouth of Elmswell Slack (alternately Monks Dale). This runs between Elmswell Wold and Driffield Wold and partly toward the mouth of said dale, the spring-line erupting at the beginning of the course of Water Forlorns, 1.7 kilometres north-west of the northern end of the town. This meanders through Driffield as Driffield Beck before intersecting with the river Hull 700 metres south of the town. The similarly named settlement of Little Driffield is found 1.2 kilometres to the west of Great Driffield. It is situated at the same altitude as its namesake, again at the base of the Yorkshire Wolds, but instead is found a small distance north of the upper course of the Hull. The layout of Driffield accords with the course of Driffield Beck along Middle Street, with one side of the properties backing onto the Beck itself. Westgate and Scarborough Road mark the old western and eastern limits respectively while Moot Hill marks the northern end of the town. All Saints is also located in the northern side and it seems likely that this section reflects the historic core. Little Driffield is far smaller with the church of St Peter (now St Mary) on the south-eastern limit. Houses cluster on the northern side on the road from (Great) Driffield.

Driffield is not only set within the southern slopes of the Yorkshire Wolds but is also, more precisely, situated within the inner angle of the Wolds between its southern and eastern salients. This places it on the north-eastern edge of the slight shelf within, defined by the spur that terminates in Hutton Cranswick. Like the rest of the Wolds and Holderness it is based on the Sussex White Chalk Formation. A display of the drift geology reveals that both Driffield and Little Driffield are situated on a discrete deposit of glacial sands and gravels between the glacial tills of the upper slopes and the gravel terraces in the lowlands. In turn it is situated within the angle formed by the confluence of the river Hull and Driffield Beck. In the early modern period it was a stopping point on the road from Hull to Bridlington, a course that shadowed the inner lower slopes of the Wold formation. A 1766 road map from the Gentleman's Magazine depicts it as a more significant node with turns to Bridlington, Burlington and Scarborough. Notwithstanding this it does not appear to have been a major communications node.

Driffield is found within the township and parish of Driffield. Little Driffield forms another township within the selfsame parish that extends to cover the township of Kelleythorpe and the upper slopes of Driffield and Elmswell Wolds. Unusually, the township of Little Driffield enjoys numerous detached portions within the adjacent township of (Great) Driffield, which appear in some instances to correspond to cultivated strips in the dry valleys of the Wolds. This parish is co-extensive with a jurisdictional peculiar of the precentor of York, which also held land in the parish of Little Ouseburn in the North Riding of Yorkshire. Driffield is found in the northern section of Driffield hundred and in the north-east corner of the wapentake of Harthill. As mentioned above, the soke of Driffield manor at Domesday was largely co-extensive with the area of the hundred, an unusual occurrence in light of its bedfellows.

Archaeological evidence

The name Driffield is of course attached to two settlements, that of Driffield, or Great Driffield, and the smaller hamlet of Little Driffield 1.3 kilometres to the west. All Saints Church in Driffield boasts a late twelfth-century font and contemporaneous architectural fragments, though nothing earlier has been identified (Pevsner and Neave 1995: 440). The church of St Mary (formerly St Peter) in Little Driffield possesses earlier masonry dating back to the eleventh century (*ibid*: 597-598). It is also associated with a number of tenth-century cross fragments (Lang 1991) It is also more dubiously with the early eighth-century burial of Aldfrith, king of Northumbria. In fact, no more is known other than that he was buried at Drifelda in 705 AD (Swanton 2000). To the north of the Church of All Saints in Driffield stood the moated site of Hall Garth, now destroyed and turned over for residential properties. This is one of the supposed sites of Driffield Castle and the reported location of a series of inhumations questionably dated to the early medieval period (NMR 2013: MON#79339; Loughlin and Miller 1979: 90; Buckberry 2004: 421). Near this site are the extant remains of Moot Hill, another candidate for that honour. Mortimer considered it to be a round barrow (1905: 294), yet subsequent excavation revealed the masonry and moat of what was in fact a Norman motte (Eddy 1983: 44-5). Underneath this motte, fourth-century Romano-British pottery was found in association with a building. Construction work in the mid-nineteenth century has also revealed a series of inhumations on this site, in association with an Anglo-Saxon sword, suggesting intervening mortuary activity (Mortimer 1905: 294).

As at Moot Hill, almost the entire early medieval assemblage from Driffield and its surrounds is mortuary in character. The non-mortuary element will briefly be listed before considerations of a sepulchral bent. Arguably the most significant non-mortuary find is the possible foundation of a sunken featured building just north-west of Driffield train station (Gardner 2004). This is not exactly unequivocal proof of settlement. During a recent evaluation, likewise near the train station, a few sherds of late Anglo-Saxon pottery were recovered amid a ceramic assemblage largely of eleventh- and twelfth-century date (Tibbles 1993). This quantity of material related to occupation is not unusual per se, but with respect to the number of interventions

in Driffield that have solely turned up mortuary material, the lack of substantial early medieval occupation deposits is puzzling. Early medieval find-spots do nothing to shift this pattern, including a bronze buckle vaguely credited to Driffield (Watkin 1983: 96-7). The PAS reports a sixth- to seventh-century penannular brooch from Topside Fall just east of Driffield and a sixth- to seventh-century pin at the west end of Mill Lane in the middle of the present town (PAS 2013: YORYMB1157, NCL-35F2D2). Neither of these counterbalances the prominence given to burial at Driffield.

In fact, Driffield is particularly noted for the quantity of mortuary deposits uncovered in the nineteenth century. A number of these can be assigned to the early medieval period. One of the earliest discoveries within the town itself was of an unclear number of inhumations at Moot Hill, found in association with a sword, ascribed to the Anglo-Saxon period (Mortimer 1905: 294). Mortimer considered this cemetery to extend to a number of undated burials found to the south on Bridge Street (*ibid*). On the western side of the village, building work in 1893 on the Old Show Ground south of Mill Lane uncovered a number of inhumations accompanied by Anglo-Saxon pottery. These were found in association with the site of a Bronze Age barrow and appear to represent an instance of re-use (Mortimer 1905: 294; Meaney: 286-7). Buckberry reports that further inhumations were found during an unpublished excavation conducted by the Granthams in the 1950s (2004: 419). Further inhumations and an unclear association of cremated material were found east of the railway station in 1876. These were also associated with early medieval pottery (Mortimer 293: Meaney 287). A single inhumation, found 100 metres north at Routh Hall (Buckberry 2004: 421), may represent an outlier to this cemetery.

There have also been a number of undated mortuary deposits linked to the early medieval period, largely by association with Driffield. These include the Bridge Street inhumations mentioned above, though a reported Anglo-Saxon necklace from 1833 may have been found on this site (Buckberry 2004: 421). A number of others are more dubious. Mortimer recorded a burial west of All Saints Church as early medieval on the basis of unclear criteria and proposed a similar date for a series of inhumations

found at the gasworks in the centre of town and two further inhumations discovered on the east side of Driffield in 1820 (Mortimer 1905: 293-294; Buckberry 2004: 422). In both cases Meaney has been skeptical of the assigned period (1964: 287). Buckberry has also uncovered reference to nine burials to the south of the town on what is now Skerne Road, in association with a horse skeleton (2004: 421). Finally a number of burials discovered at the now destroyed moated site of Hall Garth in 1920 were assigned an early medieval date, though the reasoning behind this is unclear (Loughlin and Miller 1979: 90; Buckberry 2004: 421). Clearly there was an assumption that burials in Driffield were of early medieval date though it is highly likely that this assumption can be traced back to Mortimer.

In fact there is evidence of earlier activity in Driffield which would necessarily problematise the above assumptions on mortuary date. Obviously the early medieval cemetery at the Old Show Ground was juxtaposed upon a Bronze Age Barrow. This same site has revealed evidence of more widespread burials of Neolithic and Bronze Age date. Further, Romano-British occupation layers have been discovered adjacent to the site of the train station at the southern end of Driffield (Tibbles 1992; Tibbles 1993; Fraser 2002). This would add further support to the evidence for Roman activity found at Moot Hill, ranging from two vases reported by Kitson Clark in first half of the twentieth century (1935: 78) and the evidence of fourth-century Romano-British occupation noted by Eddy in excavations of 1975 (1983: 40-51). It would seem reasonable to propose Romano-British settlement at Driffield from this material.

Unlike many other of the hundredal sites in this survey, Driffield also possesses manifold outliers of early medieval activity. The primary manifestation of this is in the form of mortuary deposits in re-used barrows. This is evident in the settlement itself at the Old Show Ground. This includes the barrow at Cheesecake Hill, east of Driffield. Here, Mortimer excavated subsequent to the discovery of secondary inhumations in 1849. This revealed further inhumations – on each occasion they were accompanied by grave goods (Akerman 1855: 13; Mortimer 1905: 286-294; Meaney 1964: 285; Laing 1977: 33; Buckberry 2004: 419). Two further re-used

barrows are known south of Kingsmill. One of these admittedly is only classed as such due to the identification of an Anglo-Saxon pottery sherd (Mortimer 1905: 283-4). Another, at TA01705668 1.2 kilometres south-west of Driffield, was found in association with an entire early medieval cemetery (Mortimer 1905: 271-283; Meaney 1964: 386). It is highly likely that the reported Anglo-Saxon ring from the Greenwell excavations at Driffield is associated with this latter barrow (cf Sheppard 1923: 43-4). Interestingly, as Romano-British material would seem to underlie Anglo-Saxon mortuary activity in Driffield itself, so Romano-British barrow re-use parallels its better known early medieval practitioners. Mortimer records a number of instances of these, including one to the north of Elmswell, one immediately to the east of Elmswell (Mortimer C58), and two more to the south-east of the town near the confluence of Driffield Beck and the river Hull (1905: 263, 285). Another, Mortimer's barrow C37, south-west of Driffield at Kelleythorpe would appear to indicate both Romano-British and early medieval re-use of a barrow (1905: 262).

Early medieval cemeteries have been encountered in other contexts around Driffield. Early medieval inhumations have been identified on the site of the Iron Age and Romano-British settlement at Kelleythorpe to the south-west of Driffield, in close proximity to the aforementioned barrow of early medieval and Romano-British re-use (Stead 1979: 101-2). Some Anglo-Saxon pottery has been found in the upper layers of the second- to fourth-century Romano-British settlement/villa site located between Elmswell and Little Driffield (Corder 1940). To the west of this, on the border with the township of Garton on the Wolds, one finds a further Bronze Age barrow re-used for early medieval burial (Meaney 1964: 293).

Driffield has all the appearance of an early medieval necropolis. Conversely, occupation and other forms of early medieval activity in the town and the immediate vicinity are represented solely by a possible sunken-featured building, a small scatter of late period pottery near the train station, and the fragments of tenth-century sculpture in the church at Little Driffield. This raises a difficult issue. The non-mortuary portion of the early medieval Driffield assemblages is still higher, relatively

speaking, than the other Domesday hundredal centres and in a number of these instances, some degree of pre-cursor settlement is assumed. On the other hand, Driffield itself has received a greater deal of attention (notably from Mortimer) and besides was noted for skeletal discoveries long before Mortimer became active. It would seem reasonable to expect more evidence of settlement under these circumstances if it was present to any great extent. This is not the case and so it would seem prudent to treat Driffield instead as a focal point for wider dispersed settlement for much of the early medieval period.

In many ways it appears reminiscent of the relationship between Roman and early medieval activity at Rudston (see below). In each case a concentration of Romano-British activity in a discrete area was replaced by early medieval practices of an almost exclusively sepulchral note in the earlier part of the early medieval period. Settlement at Rudston, and possibly Driffield as well, kept its distance. It is likely that a change occurred towards the end of the early medieval period, denoted by the late Anglo-Saxon pottery at the train station and the sculpture at Little Driffield. Indeed, Little Driffield shows signs of settlement shrinkage (NMR 2013: MON#1548018, MON#1548077) in contradistinction to (Great) Driffield which has far more of a planned aspect. It may be that Little Driffield was a precursor settlement at the end of the first millennium to a planned estate centre on Driffield Beck, formerly a long-standing burial centre of regional importance.

This hypothesis admittedly pushes the evidential constraints of the trace remains at Little Driffield to their absolute limit and does not answer the more pertinent questions about assembly at Driffield. Moot Hill likely refers to a motte and little can be read into the probable juxtaposed early medieval burials considering how prevalent they are throughout the immediate area. A market was held at Driffield at Cross Hill, but interestingly the Driffield Horse Fair was instead a mainstay of Little Driffield. This is interesting, as it would appear to be a designated detached market zone as is also found at South Cave. Further, each in fact may represent the oldest part of each settlement. In short, eleventh-century lords may have been planning

settlements away from markets, rather than markets away from settlements. That said, this is not enough on its own to suggest Little Driffield to be the Driffield of the hundred.

Driffield happens to be in relatively close proximity to two more closely identified assembly sites. The first is Spellow Clump (**SPC-1**), 2.5 kilometres north-west of Driffield on Elmswell wold and directly connected through the appropriately named course of Spellowgate. This road from Driffield has since been diverted but it is accompanied by a second Elmswell Spellowgate from the aforesaid westerly village. Its position in relation to Driffield is quite similar to that of Spell Howe (**SPH-1**) with Folkton, Acklam (**ACK-1**) with the possible re-used barrow on Acklam Wold and of course Huntow (**HUN-1**) with Bridlington. Spellow Clump may well be the Driffield assembly site. Driffield is also 5 kilometres east of Craike Hill (**CRA-1**), the riding court for the East Riding. This may well have comprised another site and it is likewise within the bounds of the hundred of Driffield, albeit on the border with Turbar hundred. Nothing conclusive can be found here alone, but interesting patterns with other hundredal/wapentake sites are readily evident.

Warter Hundred (WAR-0)

Etymology

Warter is the name of both a district and a manor. The Hundred of Warter appears as the sub-heading *Warte Hund'* in the main entries of Domesday and as *Wartre Hundret* in the Summary (Faull and Stinson 1986: 307a, 322c, 381d). It is also the name of the manor of *Warte/Wartre*, set within the eponymous hundred and held by the King at the time of the Domesday Inquest (*ibid*: 299b, 306d, 322c). There are no recorded instances of a jury from this hundred, nor is there any mention of hundredal or wapentake courts convened in this place. Anderson (1934: 15) cites Ekwall's solution of the Old English *wearg-treow* for 'felon-tree' or 'gallows' (1931: 91). Anderson also considers the alternative first elements of the Old English *weard* and the Old Norse *varg*, each meaning 'guard', but dismisses this on topographical grounds, for the settlement of Warter is situated in a valley (Anderson 1934: 15). Smith broadly follows this interpretation, though he notes the alternative Old English *wearr*, which could instead alter the meaning to 'gnarled tree' (Smith 1937: 15). Della Hooke politely equivocates in a similar manner (2010: 173).

Historical Evidence

The manor of Warter was a pre-Conquest possession of Earl Morcar that had latterly come under royal control. It had three outliers at Harswell, *Torp* and Nunburnholme, with partial jurisdiction over Duggleby, *Turodebi*, Hotham and Seaton Ross (Faull and Stinson 1986: 299b). Of all of these only Nunburnholme is situated within the pale of Warter hundred. This is clearly not a 'wapentake manor' of a type with Driffield or Sherburn-in-Elmet (cf. Cam 1932). Further evidence of jurisdiction is found in Lockington, also outside Warter (Faull and Stinson 1986: 306d). William of Percy is described leasing a further four carucates to one Geoffrey at Warter (*ibid*: 322c). Finally the manor is described as waste.

Much of the subsequent history of Warter is that of the Augustinian Priory. It is clear that it had been founded by 1140 (Burton 2006: 84; Farrer and Clay 1955: 113) and what little evidence there is for assembly-related activity in the later medieval period revolves around it. The earliest of these was a market, suppressed in 1253x1254 as it damaged the existing market in Pocklington (Page 1923: 235). In return a fair was granted to the Prior at Warter at the feast of St James. This fair was evidently quite boisterous, as it was later cancelled in 1328 after a spate of killings (Burton 1758: 384n). Archbishop Wickwane of York recorded an inquiry in 1293 at the porch of the Priory into certain accusations directed by the local villagers towards the Prior. One can also cite a land release of 1328, directed to the Priory of Warter and witnessed therein (Brown 1914: 87).

Warter (WAR-1)

Location: SE86935039 (centre of Warter)
Reason: Named venue of the hundred

Etymology

See above.

Historical Evidence

See above.

Topography

The village of Warter is situated at around 60 metres OD at the centre of a dendritic expanse of dry-valleys in the middle of the Yorkshire Wolds. The settlement itself is found in the valley of Hayton Beck. Subsidiary to this is Scarndale to the north and both Bailey Dale and Great Dug Dale to the south-east. Warter is sited at the spring-line where Hayton Beck emerges from the chalk. This equates to the chalk-limestone interface between the upper Wolds and its lower slopes. As such, it is a sheltered and inconspicuous village. In layout, it bears the hallmarks of a planned estate village, running along a street aligned north-east – south-west with a dog-leg. The earthworks of Warter Priory dominate the northern and western sections of the village.

At the wider scale Warter can be found at the confluence of two larger dry valleys. The aforementioned Scarn Dale marks the mouth of one of these, extending as far north as Saintofts Dale at the northern limit of the township (SE8700753417). The other is the upper, dry valley beyond the springing point of Hayton Beck. This extends as far as Blanch (SE8922352797). Warter also comprises a well-appointed

communications node in the Wolds. The Roman road from Malton to South Newbald crests the Wolds at Skygates, 1.3 kilometres north-west of the village, before descending to the western limit of the settlement and then heading south across Hayton Beck near Washdike Bridge. The First Edition Ordnance Survey map shows further roads extending from Warter towards Huggate and Pocklington.

Warter is set centrally within the single township parish of Warter. It is set on the central southern border of the core portion of Warter hundred. This possesses an outlier in the northern reaches of what became the wapentake of Ouse and Derwent, adjacent to the City of York. Warter is conversely found on the central northern reaches of the later recorded wapentake of Harthill. It is was part of the rural deanery of Harthill. In this instance no clear trace of the morphology of the hundred appears to have been preserved.

Archaeological Evidence

Warter is an example of an estate village where post-medieval contraction was aided and abetted by the landholder through the re-distribution of freeholds to existing tenants (Neave 1993: 134). Earthworks indicative of village shrinkage have indeed been identified on the north-east side of the present village (NMR 2013: MON#61788). While care must be taken with the nineteenth-century and present plan of the village, it is clear that the earthwork remains of Warter Priory dominate the valley. This had been founded in the early twelfth century on a site already occupied by a church. Excavations by St John Hope at the turn of the twentieth century recovered features consonant with the later medieval priory though no evidence of early medieval occupation or activity was noted (St John Hope 1900: 40-50). However an Anglo-Saxon spearhead is recorded, unprovenanced, from Warter Priory – this may, tentatively, indicate mortuary activity (Lucy 1998: 312). Finally, a number of Roman coins and ornaments were reported just south of the Priory in the early nineteenth century though what activity this amounts to is difficult to say (Kitson Clark 1935: 136). As mentioned earlier with regard to the wider topography,

the Malton-South Newbald Roman road passes on the western limit of the village.

If the scope of inquiry is expanded it becomes immediately clear that Warter, in its position amid the Wolds, is in the centre of an area that has witnessed little sign of substantial activity, regardless of the period. In consideration of the early medieval era, a number of crouched inhumations were discovered 1.5 kilometres south of Warter, along the Roman road, in 1851 (Buckberry 2004: 438; Lucy 1998: 131). The accompanying finds have been identified as grave-goods, suggesting a date in the earlier part of the period. A possible secondary inhumation was also identified in a barrow at Blanch to the north-east in the same year (Mortimer 1905: 322; Buckberry 2004: 446). Of most interest is the place-name Skygates, 1.3 kilometres north-west of Warter. It is recorded as *Scaydgat* in the late twelfth century and Smith has posed this as an example of the Old Norse word *skeið*, meaning 'track' (1937:171). Atkin (1978) has posed that these *skeið* names reference horse-racing activity and it is well worth noting the presence of the long-straight track of the Roman road adjacent to this place-name.

In conclusion Warter is a relatively isolated but well-connected village in the centre of the Wolds. It is on a Roman road at a spring-line on the confluence of valleys. Little relevant archaeological evidence is found in association but the Skygates name may indicate an association with horse-racing.

Pocklington Hundred (POC-0)

Etymology

The hundred of *Poclinton* first appears in the main entries and Summary of the Yorkshire Domesday (Faull and Stinson 1986: 307a, 322c, 381d). The same spelling appears without deviation for the manor of *Poclinton* found within (*ibid*: 299c, 320c, 329d, 373b). The hundred of Pocklington received no further mention, but the manor of Pocklington remained a matter of frequent notice throughout the later medieval period. Both Anderson and Smith have proposed the solution 'Pocela's farmstead', an Old English compound with a diminutive personal name as its first element (Anderson 1934: 16; Smith 1937: 182). More recently Carole Hough has proposed that the first element could instead refer to the Old English *pohha/pocca*, an otherwise unknown word that may refer to an animal, possibly deer (2001: 10).

Historical Evidence

It was a royal manor at the time of the Domesday Inquest, acquired from Earl Morcar of Northumbria (Faull and Stinson 1986: 299c). It had outliers in Hayton, Millington and Bielby, with partial jurisdiction over Nunburnholme, Meltonby, Grimthorpe, Burnby, Allerthorpe, Waplington, Fangfoss, Barmby Moor, Givendale and Ousethorpe Farm (*ibid*). Further jurisdiction is recorded at Youlthorpe, Kilnwick Percy and South Duffield (*ibid*: 329d, 373b). One of its outliers, Millington, is found within the hundred of Warter while the vills under its wider jurisdiction are divided fairly equally between the territory of Pocklington and Warter hundreds, with South Duffield found within the bounds of Howden hundred.

In this the manor of Pocklington appears to have the same weak relationship to the wider hundred as is found in Warter. It is also one of the few manors in Yorkshire, and one of two in the East Riding (the other being Bridlington), to record burgesses,

though Maxwell argues that this settlement would have differed little in quality to the rest of the East Riding at the time of the Domesday Inquest (Maxwell 1962: 228). Further, it is nigh impossible to determine what details in the main entry for the manor of Pocklington refers to the caput itself or instead to the constituent parts of its wider soke (*ibid*: 227). One of the combined details is of interest and this is its pre-Conquest valuation of £56. Maitland has pointed out that this sum occurs frequently, as at the manors of Whitby, Falsgrave, Burstwick, Mappleton and Gilling among others, and is likely a fiction reflecting the class of manor under consideration (1897: 473). It is certainly also set within another class of manor. It is one of a number of royal demesnes, including Driffield, Pickering, Kilham and Aldborough, whose churches were granted to the Archbishop of York by Henry I in the first two decades of the twelfth century (Farrer 1914: 333-4). Kilham is the only one of these that was not a listed hundred or wapentake centre (Barrow 2003: 21).

Following Domesday it evidently remained in royal hands, though a tithe grant from the mill of Pocklington in the mid-twelfth century may reflect partial subinfeudation (Smith 2005: 8). That the manor was out of royal hands at this point is revealed by an unfinished order of seizure by Henry III in 1227x1228 (Dryburgh *et al* 2008: 12/50). At any rate in 1231 it was granted to the Count of Aumale (*ibid*: 15/294). By 1293 it was once again in royal hands and was this time transferred from the crown to Meaux Abbey in return for the fledgling port at Wyke [modern Hull] (Burton and Bond 1868: 188). In turn the Abbey transferred this to the Percy family in whose hands it largely remained until the Pilgrimage of Grace (Martin 1909: 43).

In all of the documents subsequent to Domesday it is clear that Pocklington was a manor, but it was also clearly one with special status. In 1203 the *homines de Poclinton* are recorded paying two sums to the crown: one for their 'ancient farm' and another to have the said town at the ancient farm' (Devon 1833: 282). While it would be tempting to suggest that this may refer to a survival of the hundred, further evidence reveals that this is in reference to the manor. Further *homines* are recorded in the same roll for Scarborough, Driffield and Scalby. Of these only Driffield

represented a Domesday hundred. Farrer and Clay make clear that in the following year the same payment for Pocklington was made by Roger de Stutville and the year after by the Sheriff of York (1952: 69). Further, the fine roll of 1225 for Henry III described the same *homines of Pocklington* paying to have what is clearly the vill at farm (Dryburgh et al 2008: 10/48). However these same listings do refer to wapentakes, such as Pickering and it would seem that fines were treated no differently for each (cf National Archives 2013: E35/270).

It was also however the venue for a conspicuous number of recorded Inquisitions. The earliest concerns an extent of the manor conducted in 1260, including mention of the Fair of St Margaret (Brown 1892: 73-77). Further instances are recorded in 1279, 1282 (*ibid*: 194, 256), 1296 and 1297 (Brown 1902: 24, 43, 55). This continued into the early fourteenth century (Brown 1906: 22, 25, 42, 78; Maxwell-Lyte 1916: 2, 67, 337) with another spate of inquiry in the early fifteenth (Baildon 1918: 22, 48, 50, 102, 108, 131, 161). Pocklington was evidently a frequent and long-abiding venue for such courts and its regional prominence cannot be downplayed. A Session of the Peace, for the *Soca de Pokelyngton*, was also recorded here in 1361 (Putnam 1939: 25).

Of the hundred of Pocklington, no more is known after Domesday Book. Of the manor and soke of Pocklington, it is clear that it remained an important, semi-autonomous and regionally important centre of administration. The hundred and soke of Pocklington did however maintain differing borders.

Pocklington (POC-1)

Location: SE80214896 (centre of Pocklington)
Reason: Named venue of the hundred

Topography

Pocklington is situated on the very eastern edge of the Vale of York, from where it gently slopes in a westward direction towards the river Derwent. It is found in relatively close proximity to the lower western scarp of the Yorkshire Wolds and can arguably be treated as situated within a transitional lowland-upland zone. The Wold interface is represented by Chapel Hill, a low spur that extends from the twin-horned higher ground of Kilnwick Percy to within 300 metres of the town. Chapel Hill marks the spring-line and a small spring, St Helen's Well, extends from here to the north-eastern end of Pocklington. This is not a significant water-course with regard to the layout of the town. That privilege is reserved for Pocklington Beck, flowing through Ousethorpe on the Wold edge to the north and from Pocklington thence to an interface on the low plain with Pocklington Canal. The layout of Pocklington acquiesces to the course of this Beck, consisting of Chapman Gate on a north-east – south-west alignment, partially in parallel with the Market Place and the Swine Market. The Church of All Saints is situated between the two. At the south-western end of the town, Northgate runs perpendicular to these streets, orientated towards York.

Pocklington is set within the Vale of York and rests upon Triassic mud and siltstones overlaid with lacustrine clays from the Pleistocene glaciation. It is also sandwiched, to the north and south, between two zones of relatively fertile soil, on North Field and Pocklington Common. These follow the final shallow shelf of the Wold interface and likely comprise one of the primary reasons for the siting of the town. In terms of communication it is connected to Full Sutton, rather than directly to York, in the north-west while The Mile, leading north out of town, skirts the Wolds for a time

before crossing into Great Givendale. The Kilnwick Percy road leads west to Warter, the south-eastern roads lead to Burnby and Hayton, while the south-western salient effects an intersection with the Roman road. It is notable that Pocklington, like Market Weighton, is not set upon this older communication network, but instead on slightly high ground 1.5 kilometres to the north-east.

The settlement at Pocklington is set on the central western edge of the township of Pocklington, an elongated unit aligned roughly north-south. It almost entirely covers land below the wolds, excepting the spur at Chapel Hill, and extends beyond Roman road Margary 2e (1967: 418-19) towards Pocklington Grange and the lower lying ground of The Carr. Northgate, at the south-western end of the settlement, in fact also shadows the parish boundary with Barmby Moor. It is also central to the parish of Pocklington, including the northerly adjacent townships of Meltonby, Yapham and Ousethorpe. This parish formed the centre of a jurisdictional peculiar of the Dean of York. This also included the area around Kilham in the East Riding and Pickering in the North Riding and likely shares a connection with the royal demesne manors granted by Henry I to the Church. While the parish centre of Pocklington resides within its own hundred, the northern townships were instead in the hundred of Warter at the time of Domesday. Pocklington is a hundred of unusual shape, with adjacent outliers across the Derwent. The settlement of Pocklington is central for that part of the hundred to the east of the Derwent. It is found in the wapentake of Harthill in all later reckonings.

Archaeological Evidence

The oldest building in Pocklington is that of All Saints Church, with evidence for twelfth-century fabric (Pevsner and Neave 1995: 648). A church is recorded at Pocklington in 1086 though nothing contemporary with this is known (Faull and Stinson 1986: 299c). No secure location can be given for the medieval manor house (cf Pocklington Local History Society 2013). Some late Anglo-Saxon pottery has recently been unearthed during an evaluation on Market Street south of the church

(Tibbles 2008). Little evidence is available from the Portable Antiquities Scheme, amounting to a sixth-century clothing fastener and a ninth-century strap end (PAS 2013: YORYM-E4C041, YORYM-F33FC7).

Almost all the evidence for occupation and activity around Pocklington is Romano-British in date. Presumed Iron Age/Romano-British settlement and square barrow cropmarks at The Balk on the south-eastern edge of the town were, through excavation, demonstrably examples of late Iron Age to Romano-British settlement continuity. (Gaffney 1995; Parry 2001). One kilometre to the north a Roman villa has been identified (Esmonde Cleary 1999: 342). Furthermore, there are sufficient quantities of Roman material in the town to assume juxtaposition between the present settlement and the material located in The Balk (cf Eagles 1979: 444; Elgee and Elgee 1933: 42; East Yorkshire HER 2013: MHU20460; PAS 2013: LANCUM-D1D712, LANCUM-D6EE75, LANCUM-40EFD4). The numismatic evidence at least congregates in the third- and fourth-centuries AD.

It would seem that there are few traces of early medieval activity within Pocklington itself, but enough to assume some degree of settlement prior to the Norman Conquest. However there is one feature on the northern outskirts of the present town which is of very great interest indeed. This is a cluster of metal-detected eighth- and ninth-century metalwork, 500 metres north of Pocklington, near Mile Farm. Part of this includes dress accessories, notably a number of pins (PAS 2013: YORYM1682, YORYM1683). The majority of the assemblage comprises Copper alloy stycas. Those that can be identified cluster in the first half of the ninth century, stamped with the names of the Northumbrian kings Eanred, Aethelred II and Raedwulf (*ibid*: YORYM1719, YORYM1718, YORYM1722). There are also two examples of earlier coins; an early eighth-century Frisian sceatta and another of Eadberht of Northumbria, this time from the middle of the eighth century (*ibid*: YORYM1723, PUBLIC-8ADF47). Nearby and to the south of Mile Farm a ninth- to eleventh-century strap fitting was recovered, along with a sixth-century sleeve clasp (*ibid*: YORYM-F33FC7, YORYM-E4C041). The initial assemblage is too distinctive merely to mark the

northerly extent of purported early medieval settlement, nor is it likely to reflect mortuary practice in the ninth century. Instead it likely indicates the presence of a specific activity and the possibility of trade must be considered. Most interestingly however, is the similarity of this assemblage, with that found at the assembly attesting locations of Barkston Ash (**BAR-1**) and Tingley (**TING-1**). It is possible that this may reflect the detritus of early ninth-century assembly practice, and so may comprise a specifically archaeological signal for such activity. Doubts can immediately be cast upon this proposal given the presence of a remarkably similar metalwork 'fingerprint' in the fields to the north of the village of Barmby Moor, 2.8 kilometres west-north-west of Pocklington, a place not known for documented or toponomastically attested assemblies (e.g. PAS 2013: YORYM-4E5EB1, SWYOR-ECB295). Conversely, the settlement of Pocklington is situated on the outer orbit of the conspicuously curvilinear and compact parish of Barmby Moor. One may in fact be witnessing an undocumented shift from a previous estate centre/assembly site prior to the Domesday Inquest. The site of the Pocklington metalwork is also 260 metres south-east of an undated inhumation cemetery (NMR 2013: MON#61816) though as this is also equidistant from the previously mentioned Roman villa, a close association cannot be posited at this time. It is also close to the present day field name of Fair Field, though great care should be exercised in proposing any sort of link.

Pocklington is set a short distance from both the Wold edge and the long-established Roman road between York and Brough. The odd parochial relationship with Barmby Moor cannot be dismissed and it may be that a formerly ancillary centre became the head of the dominant manor by the occasion of Domesday. Pocklington likely witnessed some degree of early medieval settlement, but it is difficult to provide a substantial assessment of this. The NMR and East Yorkshire HER do not record a significant amount of early medieval activity in the surrounding region, but it is clear that Pocklington marks the south-eastern limit of a narrow corridor of early medieval detected finds, moving north on a line between Barmby Moor and Pocklington amid the larger spread of Romano-British metalwork.

Huntow Hundred (HUN-0)

Etymology

Huntou is deployed in Domesday as a hundredal name in the Summary with no corresponding vill (Faull and Stinson 1986: 307a, 381d). *Hunton* is recorded in 1225 in a charter of Bridlington Priory, as is a *Huntondale* in 1270 (Lancaster 1912: 51, 205). The 1225 charter situates *Hunton* in Fraisthorpe while the 1270 document implies that *Huntondale* is at least partially co-extensive with the township of Buckton. As such, one is either dealing either with multiple Huntows or else the later medieval proliferation of the toponym from a single earlier location. These locations are discussed below – it must be noted presently that there are inevitably issues of confidence with place-name analysis based on a sparse dataset of potentially divergent origin. In defence of Smith's identifications, this analysis has focused on a tightly clustered group of locations within the same hundred. At any rate Smith and Anderson diverge on the solution. Smith interprets the Huntow names as the Old English *hunta* and Old Norse *haugr, for* 'hunter's mound' (Smith 1937: 103). Conversely Anderson linked it instead to a personal name, solving it as 'Hundi's mound' (Anderson 1934: 12). Cox later favoured this earlier attribution, linking the name-formation to the lost hundred of *Hundehoge* in Leicestershire (1971: 14). Fenton-Thomas has more recently cited Huntow as an exemplar of the Old English *howe* element (2003: 106). Despite linguistic differences, a mound, hill or rise is the common element to all the aforementioned solutions.

Historical Evidence

Huntow appears solely as a district name in Domesday Book, so all appurtenant information is equally relevant to the hundred as a whole. The aforesaid 1270 land grant ceded an acre of *Bucton* that lay in *Huntondale* (Lancaster 1912: 51). The same chartulary earlier records a dispute between the Prior of Bridlington and one Thomas de Melsa over, among other appurtenances, "two butts in *Hunton*…in the vill of

Fraisthorp". There is no corresponding modern place-name to the Hunton cited in Fraisthorpe (**HUN-2**), but there is a Huntow in the modern township of Buckton (**HUN-1**). There is a further Huntow farm at the northern end of Bridlington township. It is not accounted for in earlier documentation but, notably, it is adjacent to Buckton township. Finally, John Nicholson situated Huntow "Moot-Hill" on the land between Bridlington and Bridlington Quay (1880: 15). His description however is that of the earthwork remains of Bridlington Priory, evidently following a schema that favoured earthworks in close association with the principal towns of the East Riding. Speeton (**SPE-1**) has also been proposed as the meeting place of Huntow, based on the spell element in its name, one of several 'type 2' toponymic elements identified by Pantos as indicative of assembly. This is dealt with following consideration of the Huntow candidates.

Huntow (HUN-1)

Location: TA16617058 (East Huntow, Bridlington township), TA16397005) West Huntow, Bridlington township) and TA15777222 (Huntow, Buckton township)
Reason: Named venue of the hundred

Etymology

See above

Historical Evidence

See above

Topography and Archaeological Evidence

The next candidates for the site of Huntow are two farm-complexes to the north-east of Bridlington, respectively East Huntow and West Huntow. The linkage in this case is based on the modern place-names. East Huntow is instead depicted simply as Huntow on the First Edition Ordnance Survey mapping. East Huntow is positioned adjacent to the Hunmanby to Bridlington road that runs into the latter settlement from the north. For the final approach the road is channelled along a narrow vale orientated north-south that marks the southern Wold edge. East Huntow is positioned at the head of this vale on the upper slopes of the Wold. The highpoint of the Wolds however is a further 800 metres north at Grindale Whins. West Huntow conversely is 300 metres to the west of the Bridlington road, at the end of a smaller tributary vale. Each of these is positioned on the north-western side of Bridlington township in the selfsame parish.

A very well defined complex of cropmarks has been identified 250 metres east of East Huntow farm (Stoertz 1997). It appears to represent a double-ditched rectilinear

enclosure with similarly defined entrance routes and a number of curvilinear features within. It may be in some sort of relationship with the adjacent track. Further cropmarks have been reported to the south, including a possible round barrow (NMR 2013: MON#1373129). This zone may be the site of the nineteenth-century excavations of Edward Tindall. A number of barrows were opened in and around Huntow (referred to as *Hunton* by Wright 1861: 22). One of these had evidently witnessed Roman activity, marked by a number of Roman fibulae (*ibid*: 24-5). The exact locations remain unclear but it is apparent that a number of clusters of barrows, and analogous cropmarks, can be found to the west and the north. There is no evidence of early medieval activity in and around this area.

Attention finally turns to the Huntow in Buckton township. As previously mentioned a link can be established between Buckton and a *Huntondale* mentioned in 1270 (Lancaster 192: 51). The First Edition Ordnance Survey map records a Huntow plantation and a Huntow House at an interface of townships. A further Huntow district name is appended to this particular location in the far south-western corner of Buckton township. It is set on the same road from Bridlington after it has turned to the north-west. It is on the Wold uplands at a point where the land begins to slope away into vales to the south-west. It is also at an administrative boundary, between the townships of Buckton, Grindale and Speeton, all within the parish of Bridlington. The cropmark of a long-barrow has been identified 500 metres north-east of the township interface (NMR 2013: MON#1379493). A small number of other cropmarks have been proposed, but the nearest significant monumental element comes from an Iron Age square barrow cemetery one kilometre to the west. The most striking element to Huntow in Buckton is its isolation.

In the absence of a type-site, or an effective model of assembly to work off, it is difficult to evaluate whether one, several or none of these sites was the meeting place for the hundred of Huntow. It is unlikely that all three Huntows north-west of Bridlington represent an accurate picture of past assembly – an element of toponym proliferation has surely been at work in this instance. Nor can one cite ease of

communication as a factor when the Buckton Huntow and East Huntow are each sited on the same road. In Buckton Huntow's favour it is a short distance down-slope of Speeton Field. This name is normally associated with the cliff-side settlement further north, but in this context may offer a proximate Type 2 name favouring the most north-westerly of the possible Huntows. Conversely East Huntow is well positioned in relation to Bridlington itself and in very close proximity to a well-defined cropmark complex. It is further of a type with Spell Howe, Spellow Clump and possibly Acklam in overlooking a prominent settlement. However, there is no effective model to assess these against and so one must look for patterns within the dataset of the present study. Regardless of this, the Huntow of Fraisthorpe is arguably the best attested, even if it has no modern presence. The earthworks are considered above, but the evidence may be vital in another sense. That hundreds and wapentakes could and did meet away from an abiding territorial focus is not in question. That several foci could exist, with the same name, is far more unusual.

Fraisthorpe (HUN-2)

Location: TA15366154 (centre of Fraisthorpe)
Reason: Field-name connection to Huntow

Etymology

Fraisthorpe is recorded as *Frestintorp* in Domesday Book and variously as *Fraistingtorp* and *Freystingtorp* in twelfth- and thirteenth-century instances of the Bridlington Chartulary (Smith 1937: 87). Smith quotes Lindqvist interpreting this as an Old Norse toponym, solving it as 'Freisting's village', while noting that there was no known instance of the personal name Freistingr (Lindqvist 1912: 45). Interestingly this putative personal name would be derived from the Old Swedish/Old Danish *fresta/fraestae*, meaning a trial or a venture – a somewhat analogous solution to that found for Wetwang. At any rate this solution was always tentative at best and needs renewed scrutiny.

Historical Evidence

The main landholding at Domesday passed between one Ligulf and the Count of Mortain, though two individuals, Gamall and Karli, held a carucate apiece before the Conquest (Faull and Stinson 1986: 307a, 328b, 331a). One of these was appurtenant to the manor of Sherburn, though whether this refers to the Archbishop's manor of Sherburn-in-Elmet, or the more modest settlement of Sherburn in the East Riding, remains unclear. Huntow appears twice in relation to Fraisthorpe. In 1185x1195, land at *Haunthau* is described in the Chartulary of Warter Priory just west of the village of Fraisthorpe near the present Earl's Dyke (Farrer 1915: 153-154). Huntow appears again as *Hunton* in a 1225 charter of Bridlington Priory, namely that "two butts at *Hunton*" had been quitclaimed to Bridlington Priory (Lancaster 1912: 205). The only recorded meeting at Fraisthorpe involved the grant of a road in 1299 (Lancaster 1912: 301). This no doubt referred to increased traffic from Bridlington after the erosion of

an earlier coastal road (Allison 2002).

Topography

This well reflects Fraisthorpe's position as a minor communications node, between Bridlington and Barmston. Fraisthorpe itself is just north of the bridge crossing the Earl's Dyke, marking the boundary between both Huntow hundred and Dickering wapentake to the north, and Holderness to the south. It is also on the low-lying and flat coastal plain of the Holderness peninsula, 1.5 kilometres from the sea. The settlement itself is on the central southern edge of the selfsame township, on the southern border of the wider parish of Carnaby.

Archaeological Evidence

Present day Fraisthorpe is a shrunken medieval village and earthworks remain to the south and south-west of the surviving chapel of St Edmund. An excavation of unknown date, conducted by unknown parties, is reported by the NMR (2013: MON#81278). The NMR identifies a possible manorial complex with building foundations and fishponds. More intriguingly, one of several mounds amid the earthworks was interpreted as a beacon. Furthermore, there was an unusual moated structure, too small to accommodate a habitation, leaving the whole complex somewhat anomalous. To the north is the chapel of St Edmund. This was rebuilt in the late nineteenth century though elements of thirteenth-century fabric have been reused (Pevsner and Neave 1995: 426). This building and its predecessor were set upon another, elongated mound. It is not clear whether it represents a motte, a tumulus or another form of earthwork (NMR 2013: MON#81275). The settlement of Fraisthorpe was either sited amid an existing series of mounds or else they were raised during the course of settlement for an unknown purpose or after, representative of clearance.

Turbar Hundred (TUR-0)

Etymology

The hundred of *Turbar* is listed solely as a district in the pages of Domesday Book, spelt either as *Turbar* or *Torbar* (Faull and Stinson 1986: 307a, 322d, 382a). There are no further instances of the name on record. Smith reduces the solution to a note, referencing Anderson, in the *Place Names of the East Riding of Yorkshire* (1937: 86n). Anderson himself solved the first element as the Scandinavian *Þur* or *Þuri,* either referring to a personal name or else the god Thor (Anderson 1934: 12). The second element is *beorg*, meaning 'hill' (*ibid*). Both Anderson (1934: 12) Smith (1937: 116-7) and Allison (1974: 3) suggest Spell Howe in Flotmanby as the meeting place on account of its position and possession of the Old English element *spell*, or 'speech'.

Historical Evidence

The Domesday entries for *Turbar* hundred refers to no specific location. Instead it is explicitly referenced twice, for the Count of Mortain and William Percy in the main entries (Faull and Stinson 1986: 307a, 322d, 382a). Allison has proposed that the manor of Hunmanby held a predominant position in *Turbar* hundred akin to Bridlington in Huntow and Burton Agnes in Burton (1979: 4).

Burton Hundred (BUR-0)

Etymology

The hundred of Burton appears as a district in the Yorkshire Summary and once in the main entries as a heading for the holdings of the Count of Mortain (Faull and Stinson 1986: 382a, 307a). Neither Anderson nor Smith attempt a solution, directing the reader to the analysis of Burton Agnes (Anderson 1934: 12; Smith 1937: 86n). The implication is that Burton is derived from the Old English elements *burh-tun* to signify a fortified farmstead (*ibid*). The etymology Burton Agnes proper is dealt with separately.

Historical Evidence

In the Victoria County History Allison accepted the equation between Burton and the soke of the royal manor of Burton Agnes but did not assume that this also indicated the meeting place (Allison 1974: 4). Allison makes the tentative suggestion of Rudston Beacon but this merely follows Smith's own hypotheses for Dickering (1937: 85). Fletcher's suggestion of Fox Hill in Lowthorpe is based on dubious folk etymology - Fox Hill ~ Folk's Hill - and carries little weight (Fletcher 1901: 140).

Burton Agnes (BUR-1)

Location: TA10356342 (centred on Burton Agnes manor)
Reason: Probable named venue of the hundred

Etymology

The royal manor of Burton Agnes appears severally as *Burtone*, *Bortona* and *Burton* in the pages of Domesday Book (Faull and Stinson 1986: 299d, 332c, 382a). Like Burton Fleming, Burton Agnes is one of the six standard versions of the toponym Burton to be found in the East Riding alone, excepting Burton Constable, then *Santriburtone* (*ibid*: 304b). As in the other instances it represents the Old English *burh-tun*, to indicate a fortified farmstead (Smith 1937: 88). The feudal affix of Agnes is first encountered as *Anneis Burton* in 1234 in the register of Archbishop Gray of York (Raine 1872: 67). After this point it becomes commonplace, variously as *Burton Agnetis*, *Burton Agneys* and Burton Agnes. The feudal affix is ascribed by William Farrer to Agnes de Albemarle, the mother of William de Roumare who granted the church at Burton Agnes to the Abbey of St Mary's in York in 1170x1176 (Farrer 1915: 34-35). Smith meanwhile cites Agnes de Percy as the inspiration though the rationale behind this is unclear (Smith 1937: 88). The association between Burton hundred and Burton Agnes has been based on various factors. Firstly, it is the only Burton in Burton hundred. It is also the predominant royal manor of the hundred in the main entries of Domesday Book with widely distributed jurisdiction. That said, the absence of references to meetings (of any kind, let alone hundredal) is problematic. There are no documented courts of the hundred of Burton. It can be presumed that there was a manorial court at Burton Agnes though no charters dated at this manor have been located for the earlier part of the later medieval period.

Historical Evidence

The manor of Burton Agnes was in the possession of the king with one unnamed sub-

tenant. It is clear from the heavily reduced valuations that it was devastated in the later eleventh century. The identification of the Domesday Burton with Burton Agnes rests on the following. The Burton of Burton hundred is listed in the Summary as a possession of the King and geldable for 14 carucates (Faull and Stinson 1986: 382a). The main entry for the manor of Burton lists outliers in Gransmoor, Harpham and Boythorpe, with further jurisdiction over Langtoft, Haisthorpe, Thwing, Potter Brompton and Thornholme (*ibid*: 299d). These are all listed in Burton hundred and in close proximity to modern Burton Agnes. This comprises reasonably strong evidence to affirm the identification between the Burton of Burton hundred and Burton Agnes. It is also clear however that the tenure of the manor was in flux in the immediate period around the time of the inquest. It was initially a possession of Earl Morcar of Northumbria and became a royal manor following the Conquest. However, the addendum to the main entries lists the holdings of Robert de Bruis and here it becomes clear that the manor of Burton Agnes had been granted away from the crown to Robert after the main survey had taken place. Potter Brompton, Langtoft and Boythorpe are omitted but Foxholes, listed in the main entry as under the jurisdiction of the royal manor of Bridlington, is included. Interestingly Foxholes comprises the entirety of one of the detached portions of Huntow hundred and one may be tempted to propose this transition as evidence of consolidation. However, it is not enough on its own and further explanation is required for the omission of the other vills before much more can be said. It should also be noted that Thwing is listed in the Bruis Fee as a manor with appurtenances in Rudston (with Burton), East and West Heslerton (in *Toreshou* hundred) and Scampston (in *Scard* hundred; Faull and Stinson 1986: 332c). It is impossible to say whether these were considered part of the king's Domesday manor of Burton Agnes, or a later addition. It is clear at least that there is a transition from mono-hundredal appurtenances to a manor of Burton Agnes that stretches beyond the hundred, during the compilation of Domesday Book. As previously mentioned there are no documented courts of any kind in the centuries following the Norman Conquest. Geoffrey Bainard's 1100x1115 statement of *meo dominio de Burton* is thought to refer to his holdings as a sub-tenant on the king's manor (Farrer 1915: 34). Mention must be made however of the Tuesday market

granted to the manor by charter in 1257 (Maxwell-Lyte 1903: 468). As such the topographic and archaeological focus will be placed upon the Norman manor house and the settlement in general.

Topography

The manor and village of Burton Agnes are situated at the end of a southern slope of the East Yorkshire Wolds at a transition in the landscape to the low-lying silts and glacial tills of the Holderness peninsula. The manor (TA1025363250) is situated within quadrangular grounds that themselves punctuate a rectangular block of fields stretching up-slope to the north-west, terminating at Rudston Beacon (TA0945965583) on the old Woldgate road. These fields are notable for the putative appearance of open-field farming in the First Edition Ordnance Survey map of 1854. The ornamental garden of the later hall crosses the south-eastern extent of the manor grounds into the area occupied by Burton Agnes village. This is in essence a one-street village, but one interrupted as it were by the twin features of Maypole Hill (TA1036763107) and Burton Agnes Mere (TA1043763032) directly to the south-east of the grounds of the Hall. Mill Beck leads from the Mere into the wider drainage dykes of Holderness. The present road runs towards Bridlington but, noting the dog-leg at TA1104463569 and aligned road and field boundaries, it is plausible that the older course of the road followed the south-eastern boundary of the manorial grounds.

As previously mentioned Burton Agnes is set on the transition between the Wolds and the low-lying plains of Holderness. It is situated on the spring-line of the Wolds and this is reflected in the present course of Mill Beck. The distribution of alluvial silts indicates that Burton Agnes was once situated adjacent to a more substantial tributary of what is now Kelk Beck, two kilometres to the south-west. The manor is placed on the south-eastern extent of the hundred of Burton, the majority of which occupies the high ground of the Wolds. It does not possess easy access to navigable river communications but the manor and village of Burton Agnes is roughly

equidistant on the road running between Bridlington (c. nine kilometres) and Driffield (c. eleven kilometres).

The manor and village of Burton Agnes is set centrally within the eponymous township. The north-eastern extent shadows the associated fields on the Wold slopes up to Woldgate. The south-western appendage of the township is more unusual. The majority of it covers the rise in ground on the Holderness plain at Blakey Hill (TA1147662137). In a more striking fashion it then narrows and extends along the ground known as Burton Horse Carr towards Wharram Hill with its embankment cross, before terminating at an otherwise undistinguished square barrow at Forty Pennyworths, Hastem Hill (TA1340060405). Burton Agnes is also central within the parish, defined by the same line of Woldgate and extending onto the plains of Holderness.

Archaeological Evidence

The present Hall of Burton Agnes was constructed in the early seventeenth century (Pevsner and Neave 1995: 367). It is however situated adjacent to the site of the rebuilt Norman manor house. This is widely supposed to have been constructed in the late-twelfth century (*ibid*: 366) – trial excavation in the mid-1980s found masonry and a rammed-chalk floor in the undercroft that tallied with this assessment (Wilson 1985: 189). The manor house is also found adjacent to the church of St Martin. The earliest structural fabric is twelfth century, though the font may be eleventh century in date (Pevsner and Neave 1995). There are no known early medieval or Romano-British traces found within the village.

Note must be made of the curving linear cropmark found within the manorial grounds, interpreted diversely as a former road line (Humberside Archaeological Partnership 2013: MHU7589) or as part of the Wold Entrenchments (NMR 2012: MON#81293). No solution is ventured here. On the south-western outskirts of Burton Agnes village (TA0991062846) suffuse Romano-British occupation debris has

been encountered (Tibbles 1996). This is matched by further pottery finds to the north-east on the Wold slope (NMR 2012: MON#79575). The third- and fourth-century remains at Harpham Roman Villa are also found nearby on the Wold slope at TA0899063476 (Scott 1993: 98). This does not denote a concentration of Romano-British activity in comparison to the wider area. It is more likely that this reflects a relative lack of wider attention to the archaeological character of the wider landscape. The archaeological record is not overly informative about Burton Agnes. The church of St Martin indicates that the present manor site was active by the late eleventh to early twelfth century. There were very likely elements of Romano-British settlement in and around the Wold slopes proximate to the manor and village. There is nothing that would seem to correspond to the *burh* of Burton, though the very shape of the manorial grounds surely demands further investigation. The most striking physical aspect of the site is its position on transitional ground between the Wolds and the plain of Holderness.

There is evidence within the wider area however. Hunter-Mann, excavating at Lowthorpe (or Kelk) Beck at the turn of the millennium, discovered late Roman and early medieval settlement (2000). The site, 3.3 kilometres to the west of Burton Agnes near the mouth of a wold valley, revealed a number of sunken-featured buildings clustered around a Bronze Age barrow, apparently reflecting continuity of focus since the late Romano-British period. Other potential early medieval attributions require caution. Fox Hill, further to the south-west, is, as already mentioned, dubious, as are the Lowthorpe and Wharram Hill embankment crosses. It would seem reasonable however to propose a string of settlement running southward from Kilham through the Lowthorpe Beck site to Lowthorpe itself on the lower Holderness plains. Burton Agnes by contrast would appear to be quite isolated. The later medieval corpus of the PAS would appear to indicate a small concentration of later medieval coins immediately to the east of Thornholme, 1.8 kilometres north-east of Burton Agnes. It is a small cluster that ranges from the twelfth to the fifteenth century and is too small to indicate any functional relation (PAS 2013: SWYOR-54E0F4, YORYM-80C121). In short, there are no immediate or wider archaeological traces of

Burton Agnes as a focus of activity in the early medieval period.

Scard Hundred (SCAR-0)

Etymology

The form of the district name *Scard* remains consistent in its appearances in Domesday Book (Faull and Stinson 1986: 307a, 325b, 382a). No other iterations are known. Smith has posed the solution 'cleft in the hills', from the Old Norse word *scarð* (Smith 1937: 120). There is no clear documented location that matches this name, nor are any assemblies recorded in relation to this hundred. Anderson has suggested that the Scar Dale found in Wintringham may preserve this name (1934: n13) though no back-formations are known with which to assess this proposal.

Historical Evidence

The Summary for Scard accords with the order of vills listed in the Scard sub-heading for the holdings of the Count of Mortain, excepting the disjunctured example of Rillington (Faull and Stinson 1986: 307a). However, only the first half of the holdings of Ralph of Mortemer listed in Scard are in fact situated there. Two are actually in Cave Hundred while two others are instead located in the North Riding, in the wapentakes of Bolesford and *Maneshou* (*ibid*: 325b). The cause of this error is unclear.

Acklam Hundred (ACK-0)

Etymology

Acklam appears as *Hacle* to describe the name of one of the East Riding hundreds (Faull and Stinson 1986: 307b, 382a). As *Aclun*, it appears on three occasions as a vill (*ibid*: 307b, 331c, 382a). There are no known pre-Conquest variants but it appears as *Aclum, Acolhum* and *Acelum* in the centuries following the survey. Smith has proposed that the name is derived from the Old Scandinavian *ǫclum*, referring to the word 'ankle' and thought to indicate the slope of Acklam wold (1937: 147-148). Ekwall (1936) had earlier proposed that the name came instead from the Old English *acleum*, the dative plural of 'oak clearing'. There are phonological difficulties with both and Anderson favours Ekwall's solution in this instance (Anderson 1934: 14).

Historical Evidence

The vill of Acklam appears as a holding of the Count of Mortain at waste under the jurisdiction of the manor of Howsham, also within the hundred of Acklam (Faull and Stinson 1986: 307b). It had been acquired from the pre-Conquest lord Ormr. Acklam is also listed as a manor, with a church, in the hands of two of the king's thegns (*ibid*: 331c). This had been held prior to the Conquest by Siward. There is a discrepancy with the Summary. The holding of the king's thegns is rated at 9½ carucates while the corresponding Summary entry for the king only lists 6½ carucates. There are no known meetings recorded at Acklam in the East Riding of Yorkshire. It is mentioned on a number of occasions in relation to deeds dated at Leppington, one mile to the east, and it can reasonably be assumed that it fell within the jurisdiction of this manor at least by the later fourteenth century (cf Maxwell-Lyte 1890: A278, A356-9, A420)

Acklam (ACK-1)

Location: SE78496171 (centre of Acklam)
Reason: Named venue of the hundred

Etymology

See above

Historical Evidence

See above

Topography

The village of Acklam is situated at the mouth of the dry valley of Thrussen Dale, incised into Acklam Brow at the north-western edge of the larger body of the Yorkshire Wolds. More precisely, it is situated at the spring line on the lower Wold slope from whence Leppington Beck runs westerly into the river Derwent, some 5 kilometres away. This lower slope divides either side of Leppington Beck into Toft Hill and Tuskeydales, leaving the village in a shallow vale. Present day Acklam is based around a single street, orientated west-south-west – east-north-east, perched part way up the northern slope of this vale. Evidence of older activity, such as the settlement cropmarks and supposed motte, are conversely situated on the southerly side of this same vale. It would seem reasonable to infer that this layout is the product of a potential flooding risk from the run-off of rain on the Wolds. In essence the village is strongly linked with the Wold heights just to the north-east, characterised by the dense earthworks of the Aldro group.

Acklam, like so many other of the sites in this survey, occupies transitional ground, in this case between the Yorkshire Wolds and the lower slopes in the valley of the

Derwent. The transition is marked by the chalk of the Wolds to the east and the sandstones of the Ravenscar group that informs the morphology of the transitional wold slopes. This said, it is still some distance from the alluvial tills that define the Vale of York 2.3 kilometres south-west. The orientation of the village would appear to reflect the main routes of communication running roughly east and west, intersecting respectively with Margary Roman road 29 running along the western edge of the Wolds from Malton to South Newbald and Margary Roman Road 81a running in the lowlands between Malton and Grimston (Margary 1967: 419-421).

The village of Acklam is located centrally within the township of Acklam. It is also set centrally within the wider parish, including the adjacent townships of Leavening to the north and Barthorpe to the south. This parish was later co-extensive with a jurisdictional peculiar of the Chancellor of York, along with Wawne in the East Riding and the eastern part of Laughton-en-le-Morthen in the West Riding. It is also arguably central to the hundred, though the shape means that it is also less than two kilometres from the north-eastern interface with the hundred of Scard. This interface, forming a corner within an otherwise triangular hundred, is noted for the dense concentration of entrenchments and barrows known as the Aldro group. Conversely, Acklam is found in the south-west corner of the partially coextensive wapentake of Buckrose.

Archaeological Evidence

There is no secure material evidence for later medieval settlement in the village of Acklam itself. An unidentified motte and bailey has been recorded south of the village (Moorhouse 1968: 109; Cathcart King 1983: 531). This appears to be an artificially raised and ditched ridge and the ascription cannot be treated as secure. No traces of the medieval church remain, though the churchyard is still found at the east end of the village, close to the spring from which the Leppington Beck draws forth (Pevsner and Neave 1995: 263). A single incomplete Anglo-Saxon brooch has been recorded on the southern slopes at Acklam near the motte, and this has been dated to the fifth

or sixth centuries AD (PAS 2013: YORYM-D82EC6). Slightly better evidence exists for Romano-British activity in Acklam. This admittedly amounts to a first-century coin in the eastern churchyard (Taylor and Collingwood 1927: 190) as well as a 'baton of command' reported by Kitson Clark to have been found in Acklam (1935: 61). Present day Acklam is relatively quiet, archaeologically speaking.

If the gaze is drawn back, consideration can turn to the Anglo-Saxon cemetery 800 metres south-east of the village at Greet's Hill in 'Penny-piece Field'. Mortimer conducted excavations at this site in 1878 some years after the reported discovery of amber beads and a gold pendant in association with a number of inhumations (Mortimer 1905: 94-5). These earlier discoveries also included a sword in a mortuary context amid a number of other iron fragments (*ibid*). Mortimer's own work uncovered half a dozen crouched burials aligned north-east – south-west in association with further ferrous finds. The pendant was initially dated to the Scandinavian period, though subsequent review has altered this to the conversion period (cf Elgee and Elgee 1933: 182; Geake 1997: 188-9). This date has been applied to the remainder of the artefactual assemblage from the cemetery, with the exception of two glass vessels of fifth-century date (Buckberry 2004: 448; North Yorkshire HER 2013: MNY2030). For the time being caution would advise keeping to a sixth- and seventh-century date for this inhumation cemetery.

Acklam's dominating landscape feature is Acklam Wold, overshadowing the village to the north-east. Thrussen Dale road leads from the village onto this minor plateau. It is characterised by a series of barrows, comprehensively dug by John Mortimer in the latter half of the nineteenth century (Mortimer 1905: 85-94). In almost all cases these revealed evidence of purely Bronze Age date. One however, Mortimer barrow 203, had been extensively disturbed earlier in the century, re-used as a mass-grave following a cattle plague (*ibid*: 83-4). However, this was the only barrow on Acklam Wold with significant signs of prior disturbance and, intriguingly enough, Whellan reports that in 1856 "a Saxon sword was discovered in a barrow, or ancient grave, on Acklam Wold, along with other sepulchral remains" (1859: 209n). The sword was of

sixth- to seventh-century date, in concord with the cemetery at Greets Hill (Buckberry 2004: 448). One may plausibly argue that this sword and burial were located at Mortimer barrow 203. This barrow is just 100 metres east-south-east of a pair of barrows (Mortimer No.s 204 and 205) that aerial transcriptions reveal had been enclosed within a single kidney-shaped enclosure (Mortimer 1905: 83-4; Stoertz 1997). A third barrow is recorded as an adjacent cropmark (NMR 2013: MON#1319317).

Barrow 203 is directly aligned with Thrussen Dale Road and its purported intersection with the Roman Wold road (Margary 29; 1973: 419). Beyond this road, the Aldro monumental complex is found. Early medieval activity in the wider area is represented by a series of inhumations in re-used barrows along the Malton – South Newbald Roman road, south-east of Acklam, e.g. at Uncleby Wold (Mortimer 1905: 123-4). This also included an early medieval inhumation cemetery of possibly seventh-century date at Painsthorpe Wold (*ibid*: 103-7; Lucy 1998: 129). Very little activity is recorded further up on the wolds but a spike in PAS early medieval metalwork has been recorded for the eighth and ninth centuries at Birdsall, 5.5 kilometres north-east. To the south-west, significant levels of early medieval activity have been recorded at Skirpenbeck.

In conclusion, Acklam itself is relatively quiet in archaeological terms but it is situated in close proximity to a sixth- to seventh-century cemetery. There was clearly early medieval activity around one of the barrows overlooking the village on Acklam Wold. This may have been barrow 203 but caution must be exercised in the ascription. It should be noted that the overlooking barrow has obvious parallels with Spell Howe (**SPHW-1**) and Folkton in the easterly hundred of *Turbar*.

Toreshou Hundred (TOR-0)

Etymology

The form *Toreshou* appears in the main entries, the Claims and the Summary of the Yorkshire Domesday, although the category of the district appears to differ between a hundred and a wapentake (Faull and Stinson 1986: 307b, 373a, 382b). Smith and Anderson solve this district name as 'Thor's mound' from the Old Norse '*Þorr/Þorrir – haugr*'. Neither suggests a location (Anderson 1934: 13; Smith 1937: 120).

Historical Evidence

Paul Dalton has proposed that the archiepiscopal manor of Weaverthorpe may have acted as a focus for the hundred and this may thus add an ecclesiastical dimension to any traceable assembly practices (Dalton 2002: n170). *Toreshou* is unusual in that it is also described in the Domesday Claims not as a hundred but as a wapentake (Faull and Stinson 1986: 373a). Maxwell has dismissed this as a scribal error (1962: 463). This is difficult to assess in isolation but is surely worthy of enhanced scrutiny considering the relationship to Buckrose wapentake. The vills listed under *Toreshou Hund'* in the main entries match up with those listed for the district in the Summary and follow the same order (Faull and Stinson 1986: 307b, 382b). *Toreshou* appears in the Claims in a dispute between the King and Nigel Fossard over ownership of Croom. Despite the specific topographic nature of the district name, no known assembly site has been associated with *Toreshou*.

South Hundred, Middle Hundred, North Hundred and Holderness Wapentake (HOL-0)

Etymology

These hundreds each appear once in the main entries and once in the Summary, as *Uth Hund*, *Mith Hundret* and *Nort Hundret* respectively (Faull and Stinson 1986: 304b, 382b). These district names do not occur in any other known documents. Both Anderson (1934: 11) and Smith (1937: 15) explain *Uth* as South without further qualification – the etymology is very unclear. *Mith* and *Nort* are treated as Middle and North in much the same fashion. South is however a description that accords well with the location of *Uth* at the southerly point of the Holderness peninsula. Holderness does not appear in Domesday Book as a wapentake, though it is present as *Heldernesse* in relation to holdings of St John's, Beverley (*ibid*: 304b). It should also be noted that the geographical district of Holderness is referred to as *Hallornes* in the *Orkneyinga Saga,* concerning events at the turn of the first millennium (Vigfusson 1887: 61). It also appears as *Hellornes* in *Heimskringla* (Smith 1937: 15). Anderson (1934: 19-20) solved this toponym as the Old Norse *Hǫldarnes*, meaning 'headland of the hold (an office of rank)', an interpretation with which Smith concurs (1937: 14-5). Interestingly, Smith also observes that the Scandinavian iteration *Hallornes* likely reflects the Scandinavian reception of a, by then, partially Anglified toponym (*ibid*: 15).

Historical Evidence

The contents of the main entry sub-heading and the Summary sub-heading are mirrors, listing the same vills in the same order with almost exactly the same taxable values (Faull and Stinson 1986: 304b, 382b). These themselves are ostensibly found within the holdings of the Archbishop of York yet are specified to be in the possession of St John's Beverley, within *Heldernesse* (*ibid*: 304b). This evidently does not represent the distribution of vills within this sub-division of the peninsula as the long list of non-headed Holderness vills in the Summary and Claims demonstrates (*ibid*: 374b). Maxwell (1962a: 166-7) has observed that the order of the Holderness

Summary does not hinge upon the hundredal divisions of this landscape and instead appears to be predicated on the manorial possessions of Drogo de Bevrere, the principal landholder at the time of the Domesday Inquest.

The divisions of *Uth*, *Mith* and *Nort* make no further appearance in historical accounts as hundreds, though as discussed below they appear to have structured other later medieval conciliar arrangements. The wapentake of Holderness on the other hand makes its first appearance as the target of fines in the Pipe Rolls of 1166, closely followed by a second appearance in 1170 (Pipe Roll Society 1888: 48-9; 1892: 43). However this is not the first appearance of this entity in a conciliar capacity. In the Domesday Claims the *homines de Heldernesse* were called to adjudicate on the ownership of a number of lands within this district (Faull and Stinson 1986: 374b), a function directly comparable to that witnessed for various wapentakes elsewhere in the Claims. Thereafter all references to wapentake assemblies of Holderness are linked to Hedon (e.g. Burton and Bond 1866: 309; Brown 1902: 309). Mention must also be made of a *curia liber* – 'court of free-men' – accounted for in an extent of the manor of Roos in Holderness in the reign of Edward I (Maxwell-Lyte 1906: 345). It is situated to the east of Burstwick, the later seat of the Earls of Albemarle and often the first location listed in surveys of Holderness (Sharp 1904: 132). It is of interest that Hedon, the abiding wapentake venue, is found directly west of Burstwick and it may be that the *curia liber* reflects an earlier or alternative venue of the wapentake, though this must remain speculative for the time being.

One of the most interesting aspects of Holderness is found in the concurrent four-fold and three-fold divisions of the territory. The former was a function of the private Liberty of Holderness and the latter existed within the purview of the crown, in the form of the annual Sheriff's Tourn (Poulson 1840: 157-8). Each type of structure appears to have been strongly influenced by the three Holderness hundreds of Domesday Book. The four bailiwicks of the Seigniory of Holderness were called Mois, Helpston, Tunstall and Dunsley. These divisions are first recorded in an inquisition of Fees in Holderness late in the reign of Henry III, briefly anterior to Kirkby's Inquest of

1285 and published by Skaife as an appendix to the said Inquest (Skaife 1867: 371-377). They are thought to be named after presiding bailiffs at the time of the inquisition. Descriptions would indicate that they were officers of the court at the wapentake assembly of Holderness at Hedon (Poulson 1840: 156). The layout differs from the hundredal divisions, comprising four, rather than three sections. Despite this, it is evident that there is a strong relationship between the two. The bailiwicks of Helpston and Tunstall are largely co-extensive with *Mith* hundred, while Dunsley and Mois effectively shadow *Nort* and *Uth* hundreds respectively. Dunsley covers all of North Hundred and also extends slightly to the south, covering the townships of Withernwick and Routh among others. Meanwhile Tunstall, largely comprising the eastern half of Middle hundred, extends south to the townships of Roos, and indeed Tunstall, in what was South hundred. The office of bailiff was determined by tenure insofar as a specific tract of land granted the privilege of appointment to a given landholder. Thus the oxgang of land called Bailiff's Close in Tunstall granted the holder the ability to appoint the bailiff of Tunstall. Mois was associated with land in Burstwick, Helpston with Preston, and Dunsley with Dringhoe (*ibid*: 155).

The alternative three-fold sub-division of Holderness provides illuminating detail. The Chronicle of Meaux Abbey records a north, middle and south division in the mid-thirteenth century (Burton and Bond 1867: 82n). Poulson's later outline of their constituent parts (1840: 161-162) indicates that it effectively represented the partial consolidation of the four bailiwicks, with Helpston and Tunstall combined into the Middle Division in a fashion that again reflects the old extent of Middle Hundred. Further it would appear that this three-fold division did not follow the aforementioned four-fold variant, but was rather contemporaneous. On the one hand, the four bailiwicks were implicated in the running of what was effectively the private wapentake of the Liberty of Holderness at Hedon. Meanwhile, the North, Middle and South Divisions of Holderness reflected the annual Sheriff's tourn, involving frankpledge and pleas of the crown - essentially that business which fell without the remit of the Liberty. The tourn for the North Division was held at Seaton, the tourn for the Middle division was held in Preston, while Keyingham was the venue

for the Sheriff's Tourn in the South Division (Poulson 1840: 157). The cause of the division between the two forms of bailiwick is almost certainly due to its status as a liberty. The absence of many of the vills of Holderness in Domesday Book further reflects its distance from royal administration. Regardless of this, it is impossible to say which is aping the other – essentially do Helpston and Tunstall reflect sub-divisions of Middle Division, or does Middle Division represent the consolidation of each of these bailiwicks? This question aside, how does one account for deviations from the hundredal framework quite apart from the broad similarities? At least, one can indicate a clustering of sites. The land appurtenant to the bailiff of Dunsley, namely Dringhoe, is effectively adjacent to the site of Skipsea Brough, the castle held by the Earl of Albemarle, in possession of the wapentake. The seat of the Albemarles later moved southward to the manor of Burstwick. The immediate area of this manor is conspicuously busy. Burstwick marks land associated with the appointment of the bailiff of Mois while Preston, to the north-east, was both site of an analogous landholding for the bailiwick of Helpston and site of the Sheriff's tourn for the Middle Division. Hedon, nearby, was no less than the wapentake court in the later medieval period, and one can further argue that Keyingham, site of the South Division Sheriff's Tourn, likewise falls within the orbit of this clustering of administrative activity. A degree of antiquity can also plausibly be assigned to this cluster, considering the listing of *Spelhoudayl* as an appurtenant holding of Burstwick in its Ancient Extent of 1339 (National Archives 2013: E142/49/4-7). Burstwick is also associated with the toponym *Spellay*, recorded in 1560. Regrettably the site of this place is unknown. Holderness and Howdenshire demonstrate the best evidence for the partial survival of the Domesday hundredal units. It is no coincidence that these happen to constitute the two Liberties of the East Riding and thus were further removed from shrieval control than their counterparts.

Hedon (HOL-1)

Location: TA18802872 (centred on Hedon)
Reason: Historically documented venue of the wapentake

Etymology

Hedon first occurs as a place-name in the first half of the twelfth century, a circumstance that has led some to propose it a post-Conquest foundation. The earliest known grant of land - *at Haduna* - is dated 1138x1142 and would seem to tally with this assessment (Farrer 1916: 43). The earliest known form of the name within the East Riding occurred in 1115 when a hospital was granted to the Abbey of Aumale *ad flumen Heldone* (Burton 2006: 51-52). Smith contrasts the possible Old English toponymic solution *heah-dun* – 'high-hill' - with the low-lying topography of Holderness (Smith 1937: 39). Instead, favour is granted to the first element as *haeð*; essentially 'heath'. The second element is not tackled and the *Heldone* (see above) and *Heldona* forms (Farrer 1916: 36) encountered are dismissed as vagaries (*ibid*). Considering the abiding relationship Hedon enjoyed with the wapentake of Holderness this dismissal is far too lightly undertaken, a deficit compounded by the evidently inconclusive place-name solution. The place-name Hedon is in need of pressing re-evaluation.

Historical Evidence

Crucially one encounters the phrase *in pleno wapentagio de Hedona* - in the full wapentake of Hedon – in 1197x1210 in a land dispute noted in the Chronicle of Meaux Abbey (Burton and Bond 1866: 309). As such it seems synonymous with the wapentake of Holderness, rather than a mere incidental venue to its proceedings. Another wapentake court is recorded at Hedon in 1251 (Smith 1937: 15).

Topography

The town of Hedon is situated on a slight rise of ground in the Holderness peninsula. This rise equates to the immediate area around the church and the market place and it is highly likely that the immediate and wider surrounding area would have been marshy and liable to flooding before the advent of dykes and systematic drainage. The core of the town is found 600 metres north of the head of Hedon haven, from where it flows into the Humber estuary. The town has been laid out on a clear grid pattern that extends from the northern high ground down to the Haven itself. The First Edition Ordnance Survey indicates the preservation of this grid pattern even in light of evident shrinkage of the town following its usurpation by the later-favoured port at Hull.

In the later medieval period Hedon was sited at the head of Hedon haven. This has since been extended inland to Burstwick and beyond. As mentioned it is on a slight rise amid very low lying ground. This low ground is sandwiched between the Humber estuary and the higher points of Tofts Hill and Park Hill that form the more substantial rises that crest the undulations further inland on Holderness. Like the Wolds, Holderness rests on the Sussex Chalk. The town itself is situated on the border between the glacial tills and alluvial clays of the Humber estuary. The main road to Hull would likely have been impassable 1000 years ago. Instead, possible routeways would have included the northern road to Preston and the eastern path across Magdalen Hill to Burstwick. Hedon was primarily a sea-port.

The town of Hedon is positioned within the township and parish of the same name on the Holderness peninsular. This is a single township parish set at the intersection between the parishes of Preston, Paull and Burstwick. In appearance it looks like an extension of Burstwick into Preston, which would be appropriate, considering the links between this manor and the town of Hedon. It was presumably situated within the Middle hundred of Holderness at Domesday as part of the parish of Preston, although if a relation to Burstwick stretched back to the eleventh century, the area of Hedon would instead form part of the intrusion of South hundred to the north. It

is situated on the north bank of Hedon Haven which marks part of the boundary. As a result it seems more likely to be a constituent part of Middle Hundred. This boundary endured for the later medieval Holderness divisions of Helpston and Mois. Hedon was also situated in the southern half of the wapentake of Holderness on the coast of the Humber estuary. Hedon, and the township of Preston to the north, was a jurisdictional peculiar of the subdean of York in the 1291 taxation.

Archaeological Evidence

The archaeological record for Hedon and its immediate surrounds does indeed support the historical account of a great surge in activity in the twelfth century. That said, it is also clear that the stage was not a sterile one. As usual, the earliest standing fabric is that of the church. Dedicated to St Augustine, it is situated on the small rise of Market Hill at the north end of the town and boasts thirteenth-century fabric (Pevsner and Neave 1995: 453). Two other later medieval churches – St Nicholas on the east end of the town and St James to the south – were disused by the fifteenth century (Boyle 1895: 146). Groundworks in the churchyard of St Augustine have revealed a stone cist, but it is of unknown date (Jobling 2006). More readily identifiable early medieval material is sparse. A watching brief on Market Hill encountered a bone and iron knife assigned an Anglo-Scandinavian provenance while the East Yorkshire HER records unspecified "Anglo-Saxon finds" to the north-east of the church (Bradley 2000; East Yorkshire HER 2013: MHU#12044). A pin dated to c. 800-950 AD has been found south of the town access to the Haven (PAS 2013: YORYMM434).

It is difficult to say whether this represents prior settlement at Hedon towards the end of the early medieval period. The available material is few and scattered. It is also only 1.4 kilometres north-east of Newton Garth and, a little further on, Paull. These two estuarine settlements possess a more decisive early medieval 'footprint', at least as regards the quantity of PAS reports. The evidence from Hedon may merely represent activity in the vicinity of a rise in ground on an inland route from the coast.

Notwithstanding the ephemeral quality of the early medieval assemblage it is at least clear that the Market Hill formed a focus for rural Romano-British settlement. Ditches attesting to this were uncovered in the historic core of Hedon in the mid part of the previous decade (Fraser 2004). Counterparts have been discovered on Twyer's Hill at the north-western end of Hedon (Nenk *et al* 1997: 300). More extensive cropmarks of field-systems have been identified north of the town (NMR 2013: MON#1199733). A third-century hoard of Roman coins has been reported from the west side of Hedon and further thirdcentury coins have been identified at the intersection between the town and the haven (PAS 2013: YORYMM93, YORYMM94).

East Riding of Yorkshire – Later Medieval Wapentakes

Harthill Wapentake (HAR-0)

Etymology

Harthill wapentake is not present in the hundredal system outlined for the East Riding in Domesday Book. Instead it first appears in the Pipe Rolls of 1166 as *Wap de Hertle* (Pipe Roll Society 1888: 48). Later iterations include *Hertell* and *Hertyl* (Smith 1937: 151-2). Both Smith (*ibid*) and Anderson (1934: 18-9) solve this toponym as the Old English *heorot-hyll*, 'Hart Hill', though the latter has indicated that there is an outside chance that the second element may also have been the Old English *leah* (field/clearing). This place-name is now lost, though it occurs severally in the West Riding (cf Smith 1961a: 153; 1961b: 290). Anderson (1934: 18-9) and Smith (1937: 152) have highlighted a recurrent connection between the name and the manor of Everingham (cf Farrer 1914: 55; Farrer and Clay 1965: 85). The latter cited example indicated that Harthill was situated within the Fee of Beverley. Intriguingly, it is also endorsed with the place-name Hessleskew, found at the eastern end of Sancton township. Harthill is also cited in relation to a *bosci de Hertlegh* in the possession of Nunburnholme Priory (Dugdale *et al* 1825: 279) while a *Hertilgate* is described running on a roughly north-south orientation to the east of Goodmanham (Dugdale *et al* 1825: 976). These varied cues are too diverse to enable the triangulation of this lost location. Further, it would be unwise to assume, as with Everingham and Nunburnholme, that estate possessions were necessarily close or contiguous with estate centres. Nonetheless the brief description of *Hertilgate* relates well to the location of Hessleskew. This is not sufficient to pose a location for Harthill, but it would be a reasonable starting point for future research.

Historical Evidence

Harthill does not appear in Domesday Book and instead the first extensive outline is

found in Kirkby's Inquest, of the later thirteenth century (Skaife 1867: 78-92). This reveals that the territory neatly consolidated eight hundreds – Driffield, Warter, Pocklington, Welton, Hessle, *Sneculfcros*, Weighton and Cave. Exceptions to this included small portions of Warter and Cave, acquired by the wapentakes of Buckrose and Howdenshire respectively, while the detached hundredal portions west of the Derwent had been consolidated into the wapentake of Ouse and Derwent by the fourteenth century. It may be significant that the East Riding hundreds that became Harthill are assessed consecutively within the Yorkshire Summary of Domesday Book, comprising circumstantial evidence for at least the notional existence of this wapentake in the later eleventh century (discussed further in section 5.4.7).

The boundaries of Harthill wapentake are particularly easy to identify. It is bounded to the south by the Humber, to the east by the river Hull, to the west by the river Derwent and to the north by the course of the Roman road (Margary 810; 1967: 421-2), running between Bridlington and York. It is defined internally by the southern uplands of the Yorkshire Wolds, declining into the Vale of York to the west, and the plain of Holderness to the east. Settlement within the wapentake was very clearly focused on the eastern and western wold slopes.

No specific wapentake courts of Harthill are recorded. The later thirteenth-century *Placita de Quo Warranto* reports that the manors of Leppington and Duffield owed suit to the wapentake court (Caley 1818: 196). Elsewhere a 1296 inquisition reports that the lost manor of *Brunnom* owed one annual suit to this court (Brown 1902: 42). Almost all citations for Harthill wapentake in the centuries following the Domesday Inquest are in reference to juries convened for Inquisitions. The earliest known convention of a jury of Harthill is at Filey, in Dickering wapentake in 1278, as part of a joint jury with Dickering and Buckrose to determine jurisdiction over a beached whale (Brown 1892: 184). A year later in 1279 another joint jury convened for an inquisition at Pocklington, this time with Buckrose, Dickering, and Bulmer (North Riding of Yorkshire) before the Sheriff of York (Brown 1892: 194). Harthill juries convened singly for wapentakes at York in 1289 (Brown 1898: 87), Wilton in 1290

(*ibid*: 104), Driffield in 1299 (Brown 1902: 99-100) and Market Weighton in 1372x1396 (Burton and Bond 1868: 210). As part of multi-wapentake juries, juries of Harthill also sat at an unstated location in 1295 (Brown 1902:15-6), a place referred to as *in campum Eluele* in 1361 (argued by Bertha Putnam [1939: 34] to be located at Sledmere), and at *le Stane* in Rudston in 1449 (Maxwell-Lyte 1909b: 306). However one views it, these inquisitions constitute a varied assemblage, with no clear emphasis on a core area or areas. However, the lost location of Harthill itself did serve on one occasion as a venue for an inquisition of the wapentake before the royal justices in 1339x1349 (Burton and Bond 1868: 34). Ultimately this leaves us with no clear site or sites to investigate further. The diversity of the inquisitions however likely reflects the presence of multiple assembly sites within the territory, whether as official wapentake venues or else suitable analogues.

Ouse and Derwent Wapentake (ODW-0)

Etymology

The phrase Ouse and Derwent first appears as *Vsam et Derewent* in the Pipe Rolls of 1197 (Anderson 1934: 19). This name remained very stable, associated with both a wapentake and a forest. The name refers to the two rivers that delineate the territory, with each toponym Brittonic in origin (see Smith 1937: 2-3 and 9-10 for further details).

Historical Evidence

The wapentake of Ouse and Derwent is situated in the centre of the low-lying Vale of York. With the exception of a low ridge running through Stillingfleet, Escrick and Wheldrake townships, it is entirely flat. As the name suggests it is defined by the courses of the rivers Ouse and Derwent. It is significant that the southern end of the wapentake reflects the latter course of the river Derwent, a river that formerly flowed further east, passing through Howden.

Ouse and Derwent does not appear in Domesday Book – the area it circumscribes consisted of outlying and detached portions of various hundreds. The southern half of the wapentake covers the western half of Howden hundred, while a significant part of the north is characterised by the western extent of Pocklington hundred. This hundred is contiguous with two detached portions of hundreds in the north-west of the wapentake, from Warter and *Sneculfcros*.

Ouse and Derwent appears in the 1197 Pipe Rolls in reference to the *homines* ('men') of this district (Anderson 1934: 19). It is first described as a wapentake in the Pipe Rolls of 1200 (*ibid*). The name was also given to a royal forest. A verderer of the forest of Ouse and Derwent was mentioned in 1220 (Farrer 1915: 322). In 1233 the Bishop of Durham and the Abbot of St Mary's, York, petitioned Henry III to disafforest large

parts of “lands between Ouse and Derwent” (Henry III Fine Rolls Project 2013: C60/32 228). This was granted in the following year (*ibid*: C60/33 264).The distribution of the respective ecclesiastical holdings, including Heslington in the north and the Howden estate in the south, would imply that the royal forest covered a substantial part of the wapentake, and may even have been co-extensive with this district. Thereafter there exists a degree of ambiguity over the status of the wapentake in relation to either the liberty or wapentake of Howdenshire. In 1284 it was described as *le wappyntak in Houdenshyre inter Usse et Derwent* (Anderson 1934: 19). Kirkby’s Inquest describes it as the wapentake of Howdenshire between the two rivers (Skaife 1867: 60). Interestingly, on several occasions, Howdenshire was itself described as a part of Harthill wapentake (*ibid*; Allison 1976:1-4). As such it is not certain whether Ouse and Derwent was either a former component part of a wider Howdenshire, or whether its ambiguous status reflects abiding tension between a wider wapentake schema for the East Riding and the pre-Conquest Howden estate, a situation that enjoys clear parallels with the archiepiscopal estate of Otley and *Gereburg* wapentake in the West Riding. At any rate, in line with its association with a royal forest, the wapentake remained a holding of the crown throughout the later medieval period (Allison 1976: 1-4). No wapentake courts of Ouse and Derwent are recorded, although suit to this court is noted in the *Placita de Quo Warranto* (Caley 1818: 191). An inquisition of the wapentake concerning the manor of Thorganby was held at an un-named venue (Maxwell-Lyte 1912: 184) while Kirkby’s Inquest specifies that the returns for Ouse and Derwent were supplied by a jury of the wapentake empanelled at York (Skaife 1867: 60). As such, no venue for the wapentake court has been identified, nor is there a location associated with the name of the district.

Buckrose Wapentake (BUC-0)

Etymology

There is no clear toponym, or topographic comparanda, with which to analyse the name, limiting one to the district title alone. Despite this, Anderson's own approach to the etymology was problematic, as he assumed a close relation between the development of the form Buckrose and that of the settlement of Bugthorpe. This is used to argue for the first element as the Scandinavian personal name Buggi, followed less problematically by the Old Norse *kross*, or 'cross' (*ibid*). While Smith admonishes this approach, his solution is much the same, resulting in 'Bukki's cross' (1937: 120). Anderson's approach is in line with an assembly site attribution of Bugthorpe, though a Bug Dale in Kirby Underdale is noted in passing (1934: 14). Smith cited issues of phonology and accessibility and instead posited Buckton Holms and another Bug Dale, this time in Duggleby, instead (1937: 120). Apropos of nothing, he also cites a cross-base near Wharram-le-Street as an appropriate wapentake assembly (*ibid*). There are myriad suggestions for the site of Buggi or Bukki's cross and no definitive recorded meetings of the wapentake alone. As such this is unlikely to be resolved satisfactorily. There is however one reference from the mid-sixteenth century to the chapel of East Lutton in Weaverthorpe. An inventory of church possessions in the wake of the Reformation records the chapel as *Est Lutton Bukros* (Walcott 1871: 196). This could just indicate the wapentake it was set within but it seems unnecessary and it is the only one singled out as such in the listing.

Historical Evidence

Buckrose wapentake is first encountered in the Pipe Rolls of 1188 as *Bucroswapentacum* (Anderson 1934: 14). However it is possible that the surrender of a toft at Kirkby Grindalythe in 1180x1201 may mark a slightly earlier reference, with the first listed witness described as the king's bailiff of *Buccros* (Farrer 1915: 386). It is one of the later referenced wapentakes. Three of the six East Riding

wapentakes are listed in the Pipe Rolls of 1166: Harthill, Dickering and Holderness; though the latter may appear as *homines de Heldernesse* in the Domesday Claims (Faull and Stinson 1986: 374b). Areas of Howdenshire and the wapentake of Ouse and Derwent were nested in the liberties of the Bishop of Durham (Barlow 1950). This may explain the omission of these two (Barlow 1950). However Buckrose, like Dickering, is co-extensive with the hypothesised consolidation of three Domesday hundreds (Taylor 1888: 72) and as such does not appear distinct from the 1166 grouping. Either it is a matter of scribal error, it may point towards the piecemeal development of a later medieval wapentake system, or else the temporal divergence is a chimaera of a partial documentary record. No further chronological gap can be detected between Buckrose and the earlier grouping and from the 1180s onward they each merit intermittent reference.

Efforts to identify a documented wapentake court for Buckrose are fraught with difficulty. The earliest known location of a jury of Buckrose is at Filey, in Dickering, in 1278, as part of a joint jury with Dickering and Harthill to decide jurisdiction over a beached whale (Brown 1892: 184). A year later in 1279 another joint jury convened for an inquisition at Pocklington, this time with Harthill, Ouse and Derwent, and Bulmer (North Riding of Yorkshire), before the Sheriff of York (Brown 1892: 194). Neither of these are within the confines of Buckrose Wapentake. In order to find a wapentake jury of Buckrose potentially convening within Buckrose one must move as far forward as the mid-fourteenth century. Another joint jury of Harthill and Buckrose considered an assault that had taken place in defiance of the king's peace *in campum Eluele* [lost] (Putnam 1939: 34). Putnam proposes that this jury was convened at Sledmere in 1361 (*ibid*: 34n). None of this is particularly satisfactory and other lines of inquiry must be attempted.

Like Dickering, Buckrose was also the name of a rural deanery within the broader Archdeaconry of the East Riding. Unlike Buckrose it is broadly coterminous with the wapentake (Figure 134). A Dean of Buckrose is listed in 1267x1276 (Raine 1873: 47) and it is one of the constituent deaneries in the 1291 Taxation of Pope Nicholas IV

(Ayscough et al 1802: 335). Most interestingly however, a chapter of Buckrose deanery is recorded at 1246 at Langton, within the wapentake (Greenaway 1999: n43). A chapter is not however a wapentake assembly.

Dickering Wapentake (DICK-0)

Etymology

The name Dickering is itself ambiguous. It may be corporate, a tribal name referencing the possible Old English personal name Dicer and *-ingas*, essentially 'the people of Dicer' (Anderson 1934: 13). The alternate and favoured option is that it is instead a toponym, comprising the Old English *dica/dic-hring* – 'dyke ring' (Smith 1937: 85). In an area of copious earthworks much ink has been spilt in attempts to identify this place. Smith has proposed Nine Dikes Road, Rudston Beacon and Rudston Long Barrow (*ibid*: 85). Allison has noted that *dic-hring* could equally mean 'ring near the dyke' and has thus proposed Maiden's Grave as a further alternative (Allison 1974: 4). Argham Dykes is also proposed (*ibid*). Documented sites of the wapentake are dealt with in separate entities.

Historical Evidence

Dickering, alongside Harthill, is first encountered as a wapentake in the Pipe Rolls of 1166 as a heading *Est t'hing Wap de Dikering* (Maxwell-Lyte 1888: 48; Allison 1974: 3; Allison 1976: 130). The first recorded meeting of the wapentake was recorded in the late twelfth century (possibly 1192x1193) at *Flemingaburtuna* (modern Burton Fleming; Lancaster 1912: 102). The wapentake itself is well attested in subsequent documentation. An inquisition held in Hunmanby in 1297 refers to the wapentake court of *Rudestan* and crucially does this in reference to generalised court obligations, implying regular practice (Brown 1902: 67). Subsequent meetings are reported severally in Rudston in 1320, 1361 (Martin 1909: 217-218n; Putnam 1939: 33, 49) and again in 1449, this time "at the wapentakes of Harthill and Dickering at '*le Stane*' of Rudston" (Maxwell-Lyte 1909b: 306). While Rudston and/or its associated lands evidently comprised an enduring locale for later medieval instances of assembly for Dickering wapentake, the business appertaining to this unit took place in a number of other locations. Inquests into the Archbishop of York's holdings in the wapentake

were undertaken at Caythorpe in 1296 (Brown 1902: 32) and Bridlington in 1298 (*ibid*: 94). A later cadastral inquisition was also recorded at Kilham in 1428 (Maxwell-Lyte 1920: 265). Among the more unusual joint wapentake meetings to occur was that at Filey in 1278. Here three wapentakes: Buckrose, Harthill and Dickering, were summoned by the Sheriff of York to ponder rights to a recently stranded whale in Filey bay (Brown 1892: 184). The Chronicle of Meaux abbey also records a later joint jury of Dickering and Buckrose in 1339x1349 (Burton and Bond 1868: 34). This evidence suggests a flexibility to the wapentake with a concomitant assumption of Rudston (or at least its surrounds) as a suitable place for assembly.

The wapentake shared its name with a rural deanery, one that was largely co-extensive with the combined area of Dickering in the East Riding and Pickering in the North Riding (intriguing known as *Dic* in Domesday; Faull and Stinson 1986: 380c). A monastic grant is recorded as sworn, affirmed and written down by dean Richard of Seamer *in capitulo de Dicaringa* ('in the chapter of Dickering') at Fleming Burton in 1170x1185 (Farrer 1915: 373-374). This is especially notable as it precedes specific mention of the wapentake court of Dickering. The same Richard, referred to as the Dean of Seamer, presided over another chapter of Dickering deanery at Boynton in 1180x1190 (*ibid*: 377). In keeping with its cross-Riding remit, a further deanery chapter is recorded at Scarborough in 1281 (Lancaster 1912: 269). It is interesting that records of the deanery chapters precede records of the wapentake meetings, although both are subsequent to the first known mention of Dickering wapentake found in the Pipe Rolls of 1166. It is equally interesting that the first recorded mention of each court was at Burton Fleming in the late twelfth century. In each case there is no further association with this place. Finally, the deanery covers both Pickering and Dickering. Their homophonic properties, coupled with Pickering's Domesday form – *Dic* – surely warrant a level of scrutiny that has hitherto now been neglected. It is presently impossible to resolve but at the very least one should not straightforwardly assume that the deaneries are shadowing earlier wapentakes.

Burton Fleming (DICK-1)

Location: TA08367232 (centre of Burton Fleming)
Reason: Historically documented venue of the wapentake

Etymology

Burton Fleming, in the township and parish of the same name, is first recorded in Domesday Book as *Burtone* and *Burton* (Faull and Stinson 1986: 301a; 382a). The name is derived from the Old English elements *burh-tun*, indicating a fortified farmstead (Smith 1937: 112). It is one of six examples of *burh-tun* in the East Riding alone – further identification is provided by its position within the Yorkshire Summary entries for *Turbar* hundred (Derby and Maxwell 1961: 481) but this still requires a main entry reference to the appurtenant vill of Argham (see below), to fix upon this toponym as synonymous with the modern Burton Fleming. It is known as Burton until the later twelfth century, excepting one reference to *Burtona Flandrensi* in a Confirmation of Henry I to the Canons of Nostell Priory, c. 1120x1122 (Farrer 1916: 136-7). This feudal affix of Fleming developed from the Fleming family, who held Burton in the twelfth century (Smith 1937: 112).

Historical Evidence

The Summary lists Burton Fleming in Turbar hundred, yielding sixteen carucates and under the tenure of the King (Faull and Stinson 1986: 382a). This was acquired after 1066 from one Karli, holding 14½ carucates, and one Ketilbjorn, in possession of another 1½ carucates (*ibid*: 301a). It also held jurisdiction over the vill of Argham. A meeting of Dickering wapentake is recorded at *Flemingaburtuna* in the late twelfth century and in like fashion the chapter of the deanery of Dickering was held here in 1170x1185 (Farrer 1915: 373-374).

Topography

The village of Burton Fleming is nestled in a trough of the Great Wold Valley. This is a broad vale that runs through the Yorkshire Wolds, from Wharram-le-Street in the west, through Burton Fleming and south towards Rudston, before meeting the North Sea at Bridlington. At the base of this valley runs the Gipsey Race, an intermittent stream that sears through the chalk escarpments in the wetter parts of the year. The name is derived from either the Old English *gips* or the Old Norse *geispa*, followed by the Old English *ea* and effectively means 'gasping stream', no doubt reflecting its temperamental character. However Burton Fleming is not focused upon this fair-weather body of water but rather upon a crossroads some 300 metres to the north. It is in essence a single-row village, expanding in width at its northerly and southerly limits as the roads lead out. The church of St Cuthbert is set at the northern corner of the intersection. The southern limit of Burton Fleming is defined by the parallel course of the Gipsey Race and the Bridlington Road.

Burton Fleming is situated just west of the point at which the Great Wold Valley turns southward towards Rudston. It marks the juncture at which the road heading eastward towards Bridlington climbs out of the Valley and up into Grindale. It is clearly a road that witnessed uneven maintenance, noted by the narrowing of the track at TA1087671911 and the northern turn at TA0634372553 on the First Edition Ordnance Survey. One should also note that this road is set apart from the core of the village of Burton Fleming. An uneven course can also be noted for the north-western arm of the cross-road, which abruptly terminates on the township boundary and barrow cemetery at Cansdale (TA0718774203) before continuing as a minor track to Fordon. Likewise the south-western arm is clearly a former conduit to Thwing. Selected maintenance has ensured that it continues from TA0763571271 towards Thwing as a trackway, while the main road continues south towards Kilham as "Nine Dikes Road". The north-eastern and south-eastern arms fare better, continuing towards Hunmanby and Rudston respectively. It is clear that Burton Fleming was, by the mid-nineteenth century, only a formerly important cross-road.

Burton Fleming is set centrally within the eponymous township and parish, of which it is the sole constituent member. The morphology of the township is strongly constrained by the course of the Valley. The northern and south-western sides of the township are bound by the wold uplands, the east by Bartindale, while the southern and western divisions are perpendicular to the Great Wold Valley, marked by Maiden's Grave (TA0966270654) and Willy Howe (TA0616372356) respectively.

Archaeological Evidence

Buckberry's gazetteer of Anglo-Saxon burials in Yorkshire lists two undated inhumations in Burton Fleming at TA0814072010 (2004: 417). Aside from this single, awkward entry, the Portable Antiquities Scheme reports a few early medieval finds in Burton Fleming. A strap end from the later part of the period was recovered from TA0849872499 while parts of a bucket and a buckle have been recovered at the south-eastern end of the village (TA0854372031). This could well reflect residual activity in what was clearly a natural corridor of movement.

The only upstanding medieval fabric in the present village of Burton fabric is to be found in the church of St Cuthbert (TA0835472366). Pevsner reports a Norman doorway and a twelfth-century font (Pevsner and Neave 1995: 378). No traces of a manor house are known before the seventeenth century. It is unclear the degree to which the extent of the village on the 1854 map would reflect the medieval village. Aerial transcriptions have revealed two strands of linear settlement extending from the southern end of Burton Fleming to the east and south-east respectively (Stoertz 1997: Map 2). Little can be said for the eastern branch but the south-eastern extension is shadowed by a small but significant spread of Romano-British material that concentrates at what is either a crossroads or an intersection with a Wold entrenchment at TA0914871297. There is no reason to consider this a representation of the former extent of Burton Fleming, but it would appear to show that the south-eastern route to Rudston is of some antiquity.

Rudston (DICK-2)

Location: TA09776772 (centred on orthostat)
Reason: Historically documented venue of the wapentake

Etymology

This settlement first appears as *Rodestan* in several of the main returns of Domesday Book (Faull and Stinson 1986: 307a, 325d, 331a). The name bears frequent reference with little variation in subsequent reports (Smith 1937: 98). It is written as *Rudestan* in a 1297 inquisition as the venue for the wapentake courts of Dickering (Brown 1902: 67). The constancy of this toponym has led Smith to pose the solution of Old English *rod-stan*, meaning 'rood' or 'cross stone', with evidence of Scandinavian influence over its pronunciation (*ibid*: 98-99). This stone is strongly associated with the monumental orthostat set upright in the churchyard of All Saints, Rudston, though the name is associated with a number of locations in the immediate area, including Rudston Beacon.

Historical Evidence

The Domesday Summary lists Rudston in the hundred of Burton, held severally by the King, the Count of Mortain and Ralph Paynel, each with eight carucates of taxable land (Faull and Stinson 1986: 382a). The King's holdings were leased to Uhtred and were derived from the pre-Conquest Ligulfr (*ibid*: 331a), Mortain's holdings were leased to one Richard and acquired from an eight carucate manor of the pre-Conquest Gunnvor (*ibid*: 307a) and Paynel had inherited a like amount from Merlesweinn (*ibid*: 325a). Mortain and Paynel's holdings are listed as waste (*ibid*). Details of assemblies at Rudston are discussed above in the section on Dickering wapentake.

Topography

Rudston, like Burton Fleming, is found at a return in the base of the Great Wold Valley. In this instance the valley turns west towards Bridlington, away from its former southerly course. Unlike Burton Fleming, Rudston is perched on the edge of a spur rather than at the base of the valley. This has likely precluded the serious flooding that Burton Fleming has witnessed. The Gipsey Race courses around the western and southern extent of this spur and so through Rudston itself. The village of Rudston does not conform to the strict planning found in so many other Wold villages. Rather it appears to comprise several blocks: a western group aligned north-south outside the curve of the Race, a southern block oriented east-west backing on to the western course of the Race and a third northern grouping, including All Saints Church and the eponymous orthostat of Rudston, aligned east-west on the Roman road. The three surround a large, apparently open area. It appears to suggest a village of diverse lordship.

Rudston is on raised ground in the base of a valley that would have formed a natural communications route through the Wolds. It is also at an intersection of a number of roads that do not cleave to the aspect. The most striking of these is the Roman road to Bridlington, Margary number 811 (1967: 41-2). To the east this follows the valley line through to the coast. To the west however it climbs upslope to the significant cluster of Romano-British detected finds at Dotterel (TA0638368596) and thence to Octon. It is connected to Burton Fleming to the north, Burton Agnes to the south and Kilham to the south-west.

Rudston is found moderately central to both the township and wider parish of Rudston, which constitutes the aforesaid township and that of Caythorpe. Its morphology broadly reflects the valley sides at this return of the Great Wold Valley. Caythorpe maintains the strong appearance of a divided strip from a larger antecedent township of Rudston. The township and parish of Rudston deviates from this pattern at what would be its natural western limit, extending beyond the Burton Fleming – Kilham road in order to take in the higher ground around the Roman road

at the previously mentioned locale of Dotterel.

Archaeological Evidence

The village of Rudston is primarily noted for a highly unusual convergence of prehistoric monumentality. The best known of these is the Rudston monolith, a tapering sandstone orthostat standing at over eight metres in height in the churchyard of All Saints at the northern end of Rudston village. It is the tallest standing stone in the British Isles and undoubtedly both the '*rood stane'* implied in the toponym and '*le Stane'* that acted as the focus of the 1449 joint wapentake meeting of Harthill and Dickering (Maxwell-Lyte 1909b: 306). Local folklore has variously ascribed it to a thunderbolt of the devil (Nicholson 1889: 62), a victory marker for an unlikely battle "'tween Danes and Roman Cath-licks" (Royston 1873: 66) and a memorial cited in an apocryphal Saga for a Viking known as Rudd (Thompson 1869: 191; Gutch 1912: 3-5). More usefully these tales report differing names for the stone, offering both "Seaton" and "Beauta" as potentially prior nomenclature (Thompson 1869: 191).In fact this obelisk dates either to the late Neolithic or Early Bronze Age and bears interesting relation to an earlier series of cursus monuments that appear to focus on the site of the present village (Dymond 1966: Manby 1988; Barclay and Bayliss 1999; Chapman 2003; Stoertz 1997).

Cursus monuments comprise a linear pair of banks and ditches that may extend for miles in length. At Rudston, four have been firmly identified – radiocarbon dating positions them in the latter half of the fourth millennium BC (Barclay and Bayliss 1999). Cursus A begins adjacent to Rudston Beacon, moving north by way of a dog-leg towards an interface with the Gypsey Race (Chapman 2003: 346). The Argham Dykes trace a continuing course north of the Race and may represent a continuation of Cursus A (Stoertz 1997). The terminus of Cursus B (TA0792066719) is found near Kilham Grange and proceeds north-east as far as Walsh flats (TA0885767294) before disappearing. It is the only cursus directly aligned upon the monolith and it has been supposed that this may mark the original opposing terminus (Dymond 1966: 93).

Cursus C would appear to run east-west 250 metres north of the monolith while Cursus D follows the course of the Gypsey Race from its turn west of Burton Fleming into Rudston village itself. As mentioned they do not in fact all converge on the monument. Cursus monuments A, B and D each converge on the spur while Cursus C in fact would appear to comprise a boundary device at right-angles to the Great Wold Valley. Stoertz has further proposed traces of a fifth cursus aligned south-west – north-east amid the cropmark complex located immediately south-east of the present village (1997). In an upland chalk landscape these earthworks would have been partially visible prior to the advent of deep ploughing.

There is no early medieval material found in close association with the Rudston monolith. Excavations by William Strickland in the late eighteenth century revealed that it extended below the churchyard in excess of nine metres but further detail is lacking (Pegge 1776: 95-6). Smith reports that Strickland found many skulls but one must bear in mind that the monolith is situated in a churchyard (Smith 1881: 26-27). The monument is found adjacent to the Church of All Saints and this can be dated to the late eleventh or early twelfth century by extant fabric in the tower (Pevsner and Neave 1995: 664). A recent watching brief in the North Aisle only revealed further later medieval flooring (Rawson 2007). The juxtaposition is, alongside Knowlton in Dorset, one of the most frequently cited British examples of the putative Christianisation of prehistoric monuments (*passim* Grinsell 1986). As mentioned, the north-eastern terminus of Cursus B may be occluded by this yard. While that remains to be clarified one can state with more confidence that the most striking immediate relationship shared by the monolith and the church is the presence of the Roman road to Bridlington (Margary 811; 1967: 41-2). This runs directly along the northern perimeter of the churchyard and also appears to define the northern limit of the village of Rudston itself.

The absence of early medieval material in association with the monolith and church is well reflected in the village as a whole. As mentioned in the mid nineteenth century it was broadly divided into three blocks surrounding the Gypsey Race and Marton

Lane. Earthworks set in and around Marton Lane would suggest that this relatively empty quarter was once a substantive area of settlement (Medieval Village Research Group 1966: 17). One intervention in the central area revealed a later medieval tile (Bradley 2001). Later investigation on the south side of Marton Lane uncovered Iron Age and Romano-British pottery, alongside Roman coinage and a stone engraved with the game of Nine Mens' Morris (East Yorkshire HER 2013: MHU18092). The juxtaposition of Romano-British and later medieval archaeological activity is reinforced further with the results of contract archaeological work along Eastgate, the southern block of settlement in the town. Numerous reports of Romano-British pottery have been encountered on Eastgate, some of which has been dated to the third- and fourth-centuries AD (Harrison 2000; NMR: MON#79476; East Yorkshire HER: MHU16841, MHU19624, MHU19878, MHU19880, MHU20360, MHU4132). This has been accompanied by further discoveries of later medieval metalwork and pottery at Eastgate extending from the eleventh century through to the nineteenth (East Yorkshire HER: MHU18090, MHU20362, MHU20846, MHU18091). Postholes of a possible timber-framed building have also been reported at Eastgate but there is no obvious reason to assign them outside of the established Romano-British and later medieval chronological trends (*ibid*: MHU19940). Finally, work in Rudston north of Eastgate has uncovered a Roman building, though the date is unclear (Loughlin and Miller 1979: 125). From this array of archaeological interventions one can safely say that early medieval activity in the southern half of Rudston is highly improbable. Rudston is not a perfect lacuna however. One Anglo-Saxon body sherd has been reported to the Portable Antiquity Scheme from the area around Marton Lane while earlier the Elgees noted two fifth-century cruciform brooches at Rudston, though more precise spatial details were lacking (PAS 2013: YORYM-8118F3; 1933: 180). Meaney has suggested that the latter may well reflect early Anglo-Saxon mortuary practice (1964: 297). As shall be elaborated below, this proposal is very strongly favoured by recent detectorist finds to the south of Rudston.

If these results are contextualised in terms of Stoertz's work on the Yorkshire Wolds for the National Mapping Programme one can see that Rudston is framed to the

north and south by two discrete and dense cropmark complexes, alongside the aforementioned dykes and cursus monuments (1997). The northern cropmark site, centred at TA0966168033, is actually situated upon the intersection of cursus monuments C and D. It appears to be a dense juxtaposition of double ditched curvilinear enclosures. Challis and Harding report fourth-century pottery from this site (1975). The southern cropmark complex looks to be a multi-period gridded system of enclosures and tracks, tentatively dated to the Iron Age/Romano-British era (Stoertz 1997) Stoertz also proposes that the complex harbours a fifth cursus with its terminus at TA0975566934 (1997). Field-walking by Northern Archaeological Associates has picked up the same Romano-British and Later Medieval pottery signatures found at Eastgate (NAA 1995). It seems likely that present day Eastgate in Rudston occupies part of the area of this complex and may represent the shrunken remnants of a far more extensive concentration of settlement immediately south of Rudston church. Likewise the undated Roman building found at TA0944367921 may in fact be related to the northern cropmark site.

So far this amounts to an argument against early medieval activity in Rudston. Sufficient interventions have occurred that one can reasonably say that it is increasingly unlikely that substantive early medieval settlement existed within the immediate confines of the monolith and church at Rudston. By contrast, a small number of early medieval detected finds have been encountered on the roads leading out of Rudston. At Newdales, on the Roman road leading west from Rudston, a number of coins have been identified, including a sceatta of Alhred of Northumbria [765-774] along with a later styca of Aethelred II of Northumbria [841-849 AD] (PAS 2013: YORYM1674; YORYM892; YORYM893). A small amount of metalwork, strap ends and hooked tags, have also been recovered from the south-westerly road to Kilham. However there is also a striking spike in early medieval metalwork found at the southern limit of the southern cropmark complex at Rudston.

The complex is suffuse with Romano-British metalwork, in line with excavated and fieldwalked data. Just under 500 coins have been recovered, suggesting settlement

from the late second century through to the early fifth. This degree of continuity is interesting, because the early medieval assemblage adjacent to its southern perimeter bears the unmistakeable signature of an early Anglo-Saxon cremation cemetery. This includes cremated bone (PAS 2013: YORYM-CDD8A4, YORYM-C16164, YORYM-C0F9B7), molten metal (*ibid*: YORYM-C0DED4, YORYM-3C7E56, YORYM-864713) and a vast quantity of fragmented sartorial accoutrements (*ibid*: YORYM-148C07, YORYM-C223F0). Those items that favour a closer date include two knobs from likely fifth-century cruciform brooches (cf West 1998: 131, 240) and the fragments of two small-long brooches (PAS 2013: YORYM-B2B7E1, YORYM-21BA03, YORYM-214921, YORYM-091812). This much would seem to indicate that Anglo-Saxon mortuary activity was present by the late fifth century, a relatively short time-span from the presumed early fifth century occupation of the southern Rudston cropmark complex. The cruciform brooches reported by the Elgees at Rudston are likely to be of this provenance. It is more difficult to state when mortuary practice ceased. Two finds, a sleeve clasp of c.550-700 (*ibid*: YORYM-1E93D6) and a spacer bead fashionable in the seventh century (*ibid*: YORYM-097717) could suggest continuity into the seventh century. There is no clear signature in the assemblage to suggest activity beyond 700 AD. There is however a later phase of early medieval activity on this site. A coin minted at the start of the reign of Aethelred II of Wessex has been recovered from the same location (*ibid*: YORYM-4BA333) and this was accompanied by a number of items of silver, including a plate fragment and a ring (*ibid*: YORYM-6B78D4, YORYM-6B67B2). It tallies well with previous finds of portable bullion but is itself too small an assemblage to infer much. It is clearly not indicative of late Anglo-Saxon settlement but rather of presumably short period activity of a sort on the site of a centuries old cremation cemetery to the south of the Rudston monolith and the deserted remnants of a Romano-British settlement. Interestingly the same site was revisited more substantially between the mid-twelfth and late-fourteenth centuries, now marking a high concentration of later medieval coinage for that period). This may well reflect trade activity at an otherwise undocumented market or fair.

There is more substantial evidence for early medieval settlement in the area around Rudston, such that it forms a contrast to the relative silence from the village itself. There is dispersed evidence for early medieval settlement in and around the two adjacent townships of Caythorpe. A small amount of Anglo-Saxon pottery was recovered from the site of a Romano-British settlement (TA1256367786) in the township of Boynton (NMR 2013: MON#81230). Further intermingled Romano-British and Anglo-Saxon pottery has been recovered from a rectilinear embankment called "Old Banks" on the 1854 Ordnance Survey mapping (NMR 2013: MON#81251; TA1165567054). To the east of Low Caythorpe a fifth- to seventh-century sunken-featured building (SFB) was found in 1996 (Abramson 1996). This may be contemporaneous to another SFB of fifth- to seventh-century date found in association with a post-built hall radiocarbon dated to between 690 and 980 AD at TA1168266720 (*ibid*: 26-7). In Low Caythorpe itself a chalk-built late Anglo-Saxon building appears to have been replaced by a later medieval manor house (Medieval Village Research Group 1963: 9; Coppack 1974: 34-41). This latter instance may reflect a degree of continuity of settlement between the SFB and what seems to have been a proto-manor house. Mortuary practice may be represented by a re-used barrow at nearby South Side Mount (Greenwell 1877: 497). Three extended burials without grave-goods were found in a row in an intrusive context within the barrow. Greenwell speculated an early medieval date though little more is forthcoming (cf Buckberry 2004: 440). A further inhumation was found at Thorpe Hall in 1960 in association with a spear fragment and an urn (Meaney 1964: 302; Butler 1971: 197). A coin of Eanred of Northumbria [810-841 AD] was found nearby but the connection is unclear (Butler 1971: 197).

More substantial mortuary practice was found in the early nineteenth century on the other side of the valley, south-west at Cocked Hat Row (Mortimer 1905: 344; Meaney 1964: 292; TA07786596). In contrast to Rudston this was an inhumation cemetery, though being in operation in the fifth and sixth century it was likely contemporaneous (*ibid*). Finally, Greenwell's excavations at Rudston Long Barrow in the early 1860s revealed suffuse Anglo-Saxon pottery (Greenwell 1877: 497). He

presumed that this represented ploughed out burials but it should also be stated that this is also one of the sites Smith proposed as the 'dyke-ring' of Dickering wapentake (1937: 85). It was clearly an unusual earthwork, but mention should also be made of the adjacent radial array of dykes centred at TA0794668218. This presumably gave the name to Nine Dykes Road and may also be the inspiration for Dickering. Finally, to the north the Neolithic henge monument of Maidens Grave has been proposed as another possible wapentake site for Dickering. This is largely due to a link inferred between a *Stodefald* mentioned in 1299 and the henge (Allison 1974: 4). These proposals are inherently difficult to evaluate. What is clear is that settlement focused to the east in and around Low Caythorpe, with surprisingly little evidence for mortuary practice. On the other side of the valley Rudston Long Barrow witnessed a peak of sorts in unspecified early medieval activity, as signified by the ceramic assemblage. The inhumation cemetery at Cocked Hat Row was meanwhile in a different valley overlooking the site of present day Kilham. One could argue that Rudston may have served as a node of mortuary activity for the settlement in Caythorpe. More persuasively, the sum of this evidence is that the entire township of Rudston, in the return of the Great Wold Valley, was, with one important exception, almost entirely devoid of early medieval activity. It is as if the cursus monuments defined a forbidden zone, a mode of behaviour entirely at odds to what had been witnessed of the Romano-British situation.

As such, the early medieval profile for the immediate surrounds of Rudston is unusual. There is no evidence for settlement in the early medieval era but a cremation cemetery had been instituted in the latter half of the fifth century on the southern bounds of a Romano-British settlement known to be active at least at the start of that century. The settlement was set on the southern edge of the return of the Great Wold Valley as it began to climb once more. This was some 900 metres south of the Rudston monolith and a kilometre south of another Romano-British settlement active in the fourth century and of quite differing structural character to its more orderly southern neighbour. This occupied the far side of the spur that Rudston was situated on. Overlooking each of these was Rudston villa to the south-west, again

active as a courtyard villa in the third and fourth centuries (Collingwood and Taylor 1934: 203-4), though this was only the latest iteration of a complex dating back to the third century BC (Wilson and Wright 1966: 199-200; Stead 1980). The Roman material is interesting because the location of the cremation cemetery appears to be related far more strongly to the southern Romano-British settlement than it is to the undoubtedly very striking and outlandish monolith to the north. The excavations at Mucking and at Saltwood provide copious evidence for the use of prehistoric monumentality as a focus for mortuary activity (Clark 1993; Mckinley *et al* 2006). Rudston is a site which clearly does not cleave to this tendency. Further, the bullion activity in the later part of the era is likewise focused upon the lapsed cemetery site rather than one of the most impressive monuments in the British Isles. The bullion sample is admittedly small but its worth is strengthened by yet another, more substantial period of largely numismatic activity ancillary to the settlement at Rudston between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries. If this is a reflection of early medieval assembly, then a more nuanced model of landscape foci is required to integrate the results of Rudston into that system.

East Riding of Yorkshire – Later medieval riding court

Craike Hill (CRA-1)

Location: SE97175757 (centred on hill)
Reason: Riding court venue for the East Riding

Etymology

The East Riding of Yorkshire is glossed in the *Placita de Quo Warranto* of the reign of Edward I as *thrithingum de Crakou*, alongside comparative glosses of the West and North Ridings respectively as *Windeyates* and the lost *Yarlestre* (Caley 1818: 191). An inquisition of 1296 clarifies that *Crayhou* was the name of the court of the East Riding (Brown 1902: 43). Smith has collated a series of references to the place within a reasonably tight period, ranging from the late twelfth to the early thirteenth century (1937: 1). At one point in the aforementioned *Quo Warranto* it is also glossed as *trithing de Gartem*, (Caley 1818: 195). In its solution, Smith demurs on the Old Norse *kraka-haugr* - 'crow mound' - instead citing the first element as the Brittonic *kraik*, or 'rock' (Smith 1937: 1). It can be implied that *haugr* was a possible subsequent addition (*ibid*). The association of this name with Craike Hill, split between the parishes of Kirkburn (Harthill) and Garton-on-the-Wolds (Dickering), is guided by a description in the 1298 *De Banco* rolls setting this riding court specifically within the wapentake of Harthill (Baildon 1895: 59-60).

Historic Evidence

Craike Hill is not documented in Domesday Book. All identified later medieval instances of the name are dealt with in the Etymology above.

Topography

Craike Hill comprises a raised hill-spur extending from the eastern end of Tibthorpe Wold in a north-easterly direction. This protrudes into a shallow dry-valley from which the river Hull springs, 1.7 kilometres to the east of Craike Hill. It is considered by some (e.g. Manby 1958) to be an extension of Garton Slack to the north-east. At Craike Hill this valley has widened considerably from the narrow passage south of Wetwang at Infield Falls. This area, between Tibthorpe Wold to the south and the settlement of Garton-on-the-Wolds to the north, does in fact fan out beyond Emswell to form the low-lying shelf at the foot of the inner corner of the Wolds on which the settlement of Driffield is situated.

Craike Hill is found half-way along the shallow vale that marks the western end of the lower shelf of the Yorkshire Wolds, situated within the inner corner of the Yorkshire Wolds, noted for the presence of the settlement of Driffield. It is situated on the Sussex Chalk Formation like the rest of the surrounding area on a dry river terrace of gravels and sands co-extensive with the vale. The hill-spur of Craike Hill is adjacent to an east-west track running through the vale that forks to the west to lead to Wetwang and, further along, Huggate. To the east it is directed to the south of Elmswell, almost certainly towards Driffield.

Craike Hill is positioned on the border of three townships and two parishes. Kirkburn and Battleburn comprise the two southerly components while each is bordered to the north by the township and parish of Garton-on-the-Wolds. The east-west border between the two parishes follows the valley line with each rising into their respective chalk wolds. Positioned like so, Craike Hill is therefore found on the border of two hundreds, that of Driffield and Turbar. The parish of Garton-on-the Wolds in fact forms a single detached township of Turbar, the majority of which is based in two larger separate portions, around Nafferton to the east and Hunmanby to the north-east respectively. Conversely Craike Hill is set on a border within the undivided hundred of Driffield. This border position is reflected in the disposition of the wapentakes. In this instance Craike Hill is instead set on the north-eastern border of Harthill wapentake where it meets the appendage of Dickering wapentake

constituted by Garton-on-the-Wolds. As such Craike Hill marks the intersection of three hundreds and later, three wapentakes. It is likewise found on the border of the rural deaneries of Harthill and Dickering in 1291.

Archaeological Evidence

As noted Craike Hill marks a focal point along a dry valley that leads eastward to Driffield and the wold edge. The focal point comprises a raised hill-spur and this has acted as a central point to a dense complex of prehistoric monuments. A display of upstanding monuments reveals an intersection between some striking examples of the linear Wold Entrenchments that so characterise the uplands of the East Riding. Aerial transcriptions reveal trackways and densely clustered cemeteries of square barrows while further excavations have indicated evidence of mortuary and settlement evidence stretching into the Romano-British and early medieval periods. From an assembly perspective however its prime archaeological characteristic is that of a border situation to the early medieval mortuary zone that surrounds Driffield.

The earliest evidence from Craike Hill itself is that of a Neolithic settlement from what is now a disused gravel quarry directly north of the hill-spur. This included a number of hearths, grooved ware and suffuse lithic debitage (Manby 1958: 223-36). Beaker sherds were also identified, suggesting further or continued occupation into the early Bronze Age (*ibid*). The crest of the spur itself is thought to be a remodelled natural mound. This contained a single inhumation on the southern side of the monument. The body was flexed and associated with a small piece of worked iron (Mortimer 1905: 235). This was used to date the inhumation to the early medieval period (Buckberry 2004: 433-4; Lucy 1998: 130). Mortimer records no details for barrow C46a, 240 metres north-west of the hill-spur, but later gravel quarrying revealed an unrecorded number of skeletons possibly indicative of a secondary early medieval cemetery, as noted at Mortimer barrow 112, 1.5 kilometres east of Craike Hill (Loughlin and Miller 1979: 111; Buckberry 2004: 433). These two barrows mark the extreme westerly extent of proposed early medieval mortuary activity within the

immediate area of Driffield. While neither of these boast the most decisive of assemblages they are among a proximate series of secondary barrow inhumations that collectively pose a more compelling sense of an early medieval mortuary zone. Mortimer records an undated secondary inhumation intruding into barrow C67 850 metres east of Craike Hill (1905: 243-4). Meanwhile Mortimer Barrow 112, a further 550 metres east of C67, revealed a number of secondary inhumations, including one with an iron knife dated to the early medieval period (1905: 245-6; Meaney 1964: 290; Buckberry 2004: 434).

This same area is also witness to two substantial and definitive early medieval inhumation cemeteries. In the mid-1980s one was found amid a square barrow cemetery on the site of the former Garton railway station, 950 metres east of Craike Hill (Halkon 1989: 1-6; Stead 1991). The burials were found in several groups. The most striking was a central cluster of east-west aligned graves set in two rows of five within a rectilinear ditched enclosure, with dimensions c. 25 metres by 22 metres. These were associated with rich grave goods – gold, silver, jewellery, weapons - dating to the seventh and eighth centuries (Geake 1997: 158). There was also an adjacent and centrally-placed north-south burial in association with a cauldron. Another cluster of east-west row graves was located immediately to the east of this enclosure alongside a larger row, mainly unexcavated, to the north-east at the trench limit. Further, a number of adjacent square barrows have witnessed intrusive secondary inhumations of early medieval date. The square enclosure dominates the excavated extent, though inhumations clearly extend beyond this point. It is also situated amid the other barrows in such a way as to suggest contemporaneity, indicating that an earlier prehistoric enclosure had been re-used for high-status mortuary activity in the mid-Anglo-Saxon era. Essentially, rather than re-using a focal element as in other secondary inhumations at Craike Hill, varied elements of an entire monumental complex are being utilised. John Blair (1995) has attempted to draw comparison with other mortuary enclosures in early medieval contexts, such as at Spong Hill and Morning Thorpe, in order to make a case for cultic enclosures (Green *et al* 1987; Penn *et al* 2007). This proposition needs further work. One can

more safely identify further instances of the re-use of complexes, not least at the prehistoric monumental complex and Anglo-Saxon cemetery of Street House, North Yorkshire, 66 kilometres north-west of the Garton Station site (Sherlock 2012).

The other significant early medieval cemetery, at Green Lane Crossing, may indicate analogous mortuary activity with respect to a prehistoric monument. This cemetery, 1.5 kilometres east of Craike Hill, was excavated by Mortimer in 1870 adjacent to the cutting of the new railway (Mortimer 1905: 247-257). Two groups of inhumations were found. The western group featured bodies orientated north-west – south-east in something of an untidy line. It tapered towards the north-west but had been truncated by the railway at this point. The south-eastern point ended adjacent to Barrow C34 (Mortimer 1905: 258). There was then a gap of c. 14 metres before a further group of east-west inhumations was encountered, again in a line but generally in narrow rows of three to four grave cuts. The first group was replete with grave goods dated to the seventh and eighth centuries while the second was devoid of any such assemblage (Geake 1997: 158). It has been proposed that the second group represented post-Conversion continuity of an existing cemetery (Mortimer 1905: 247-57). It was situated beyond the putative end of the Wold Entrenchment - Meaney has further suggested that the divide may represent a destroyed barrow (1964: 289). By contrast the first group appears to be aligned upon the old embankment, though one could equally argue that the 'post-Conquest' cemetery is utilising an analogous focal point, either something destroyed in the intervening space or even barrow C34. One can even point to the tapering inhumations of the westerly group and pose a comparison to the string-burials associated with the orthostat in building complex A of the Yeavering site (Hope-Taylor 1977). Elements of continuity are plausible beyond the immediate siting of each group.

There is a third possible inhumation cemetery and another cremation cemetery. A single burial was recovered at the north-west corner of Eastburn Aerodrome in the 1930s (Sheppard 1939: 44-7). No further details are known for this particular burial but it may be part of the eastern cemetery excavated by Mortimer at Green Lane

Crossing (Mortimer 1905: 247-257). Further finds without provenance from the Aerodrome suggested further seventh- to eighth-century Conversion period goods (Geake 1997: 158). It is likely that the westerly group of the Green Lane Crossing site was contemporaneous with a lost inhumation cemetery to the south-east. Mortimer further identified a series of cremations at the brickyard 1 kilometre north of Craike Hill as Romano-British in date (1905: 238). However Eagles has suggested that these may instead represent an early Anglo-Saxon cremation cemetery (1979: 433). There is however little material with which to evaluate this proposal and it will be given no further consideration.

There is clearly no shortage of early medieval mortuary activity in the area around Craike Hill. More precisely, there is a great deal of mortuary activity to the east of Craike Hill. There is little in the way of corresponding settlement activity. A number of sherds of early Anglo-Saxon pottery was found in later contexts during Congreve's excavation at the Iron Age to Romano-British settlement/villa south of Elmswell (Corder 1940). That is all. It renders much the same impression as Driffield, though one should exercise caution, considering the early date for most of the responsible archaeological interventions.

Regardless of the location of settlement Craike Hill clearly marks the western end of an early medieval mortuary zone. A large series of barrows runs through Garton Slack to the west without evidence of early medieval intrusion or other activity. There is both Romano-British barrow re-use and evidence of settlement immediately west. Mortimer Barrow C64, 1.4 kilometres to the west of Craike Hill, displays significant Romano-British disturbance, including a coin of Nero, but it is unclear exactly what this alludes to (Mortimer 1905: 226-8). This is in close proximity to a Romano-British settlement 1.4 kilometres west of Craike Hill, evidenced by the conjunction of PAS data and aerial transcriptions (Stoertz 1997). Conversely, for the early medieval period the only other piece of material evidence is a debatable gold 'pendant' detected in the fields between Craike Hill and the aforementioned Romano-British settlement (PAS 2013: YORYM-90EAA5). There is no further early medieval activity

and it seem that what can be found is entirely consonant with the disposal of the dead in the middle of the early medieval period. The early medieval material pattern does not appear to reflect or relate to patterns of Romano-British settlement and mortuary activity, nor to the wider distribution of round barrows, though it does seem to focus upon a series of densely clustered Iron Age barrow cemeteries in the immediate surrounds of Craike Hill. Transcription data from the National Mapping Programme further reveals that at one point the Craike Hill-spur marked a crossroad with evidence of a track running in roughly a north-south direction that passed by the western flank of the spur. For all this, there is no evidence for what could be described as plausible assembly activity. Indeed neither is there any good evidence for later medieval activity at Craike Hill. Two coins, c.1300, have been recovered from Tibthorpe Wold. This indicates very little. As such, at this scale a vague correlation can be drawn between a meeting place first noted in 1291 and a concentration of monumental re-use in early medieval mortuary practice. It is only when one considers this as part of the wider ambit of Driffield that it becomes clear that Craike Hill does in fact mark a very clear border, denoting the western end of the mortuary zone that appears to surround Driffield. This border may in fact be very severe indeed, reflected in the division between the townships of Kirkburn and Battleburn, the southerly appendage to the Wold Entrenchments at Craike Hill, and the continuation of field boundaries along the Kirkburn-Battleburn line further north through Garton-on-the-Wolds. What appears to be a focal point of activity at one scale can appear entirely marginal at another. The high profile of the mortuary deposits should not necessarily drive a narrative of a mortuary zone however. This may simply be the most striking manifestation of an early estate.

East Riding of Yorkshire – Assembly-attesting place-names

Speeton (SPE-1)

Location: TA14887465 (centred on Speeton)
Reason: Assembly-attesting toponym

Etymology

The village of Speeton is recorded variously as *Spretone*, *Specton* and *Spetton* in the returns of Domesday (Faull and Stinson 1986: 299c, 307a, 382a). Following this it is encountered as *Spetune* and *Spetona* in the later medieval period (Smith 1937: 104). Smith interprets the etymon as 'speech enclosure' from the Old English elements *sp(r)æc* and *tun* (Smith 1937: 105).

Historic Traces

The Domesday Summary lists the King and Count of Mortain as landholders in Speeton (Faull and Stinson 1986: 382a). The King's part is derived from Earl Morcar by way of the manor of Bridlington (*ibid*: 299c) while Count Robert is described as holding one manor at Speeton from one Ligulfr (*ibid*: 307a). Ligulfr is a name that occurs frequently in the Yorkshire Domesday, but an analogous transfer to Mortain can be found in two vills of Huntow hundred; Bempton and Fraisthorpe (*ibid*: 307a). The latter history of Speeton is that of Bridlington Priory as proprietor. Gilbert de Gant is recorded granting three carucates at Speeton to the Priory in the mid-twelfth century (Farrer 1915: 498-499). This is accompanied by a further grant of all of Speeton (Dugdale 1825: 162) that was later confirmed by Henry II (Farrer 1915: 443). This is complicated slightly by a divergent grant from the same Gilbert de Gant of "half of Speeton" instead to one Tero, son of Malger" (Hebditch 1948: 162). This aberrant strand of tenure likely reflects the Domesday division of landholding. This was evidently resolved in the Prior's favour in 1182, when Thomas de Alost

quitclaimed certain possessions in Speeton (Farrer 1915: 494). Ultimately it is clear that Speeton was by tradition part of the manor of Bridlington and was connected thus to the Priory. While set up as an Augustinian foundation of 1113 Marmaduke Prickett inferred, by reference to a recorded tradition of a nunnery on the site and the Domesday record of a church at Bridlington, that the Priory in fact represented the re-founding and re-framing of an Anglo-Saxon nunnery (Prickett 1836: 12). Besides a number of ninth-century strap fittings detected in the footprint of the former Priory (PAS 2013: LVPL1009, LVPL1010, LVPL743), no further evidence for early medieval activity can be discerned beyond the pages of Domesday Book.

The only evidence for early medieval assembly activity in Speeton is that of the toponym. Allison has suggested that the hill known as Great Flat, on Speeton Field to the south of the settlement, marks the assembly site (1974: 3). This, incidentally, is adjacent to the Huntow in Buckton township. There is little documented for the later medieval period. A will was ratified at Speeton in 1346 with the seal of the deanery of Dickering, suggestive of the chapter meeting (Hebditch 1948: 163). Earlier, a witness to the twelfth-century quitclaim is named as *Willelmo filio consistoris de Spetona* (Farrer 1915: 487). This may link a consistory official to Speeton though it is entirely possible that the settlement was only designated as a living.

Topography

Speeton is appropriately perched on the edge of Speeton Cliffs. In fact it sits at an even more significant juncture. Speeton marks the interface between the northern edge of the Yorkshire Wolds and the sea. The coastal shelf represents the interface between the Sussex Chalk of the Wolds and the Wealden sand and siltstones to the north. As such the north-western limit of the township dips down to a coastal shelf in contrast to the sheer cliffs of the north-eastern edge. Indeed the eastern edge of the shelf line is marked on the cliff-top by a prehistoric dyke. As a coastal settlement the drift geology is marked by glacial tills. The village itself is nestled between two larger rises, these being Beacon Hill to the west and the smaller apex of Speeton

Moor to the east. A spur from Beacon Hill towards Speeton is marked by a series of smaller rises, including Bonfire Hill, Mill Hill and Streng Hill. The name Speeton is also found as Speeton field at the southern end of the township. This marks a wide and gentle rise just inland from the coast between Maiden's Grave Slack and the road junction of Huntow in Buckton township. The road map in the mid nineteenth century suggests it was better connected to Hunmanby to the west than further east towards Flamborough Head. That said, it was clearly relatively isolated by land than much of the rest of the East Riding. The notably minute church of St Leonard at Speeton also attests to a low population, a situation reflected in the small number of households listed in Domesday. Speeton is set fairly centrally within the eponymous township, a constituent part of the larger parish of Bridlington. It is found on the northern coast of Dickering wapentake and the north-western corner of the Domesday hundred of Huntow. Indeed, the south-eastern corner of the township is marked by Huntow plantation, suggesting close proximity to the hundred meeting place. Regrettably there are several Huntows located in Huntow, rendering the identification problematic.

Archaeological Evidence

Little remains of the greatly shrunken medieval village of Speeton. Coastal erosion has had a baleful influence on much of the settlement, which occupied ground to the north and west of the present church of St Leonard. The surviving earthworks were levelled in 1960. Inspection of the detritus from this episode revealed pottery from the twelfth century onwards, though one must note that this was drawn from a small and de-contextualised sample (Wilson and Hurst 1961: 333). The distribution of field boundaries and platforms suggests that the original village was organised around the site of the green at TA1501874882. The church itself contains twelfth-century structural fabric, a Norman font, and the NMR makes casual reference to incorporated "Anglo-Danish carving" (Pevsner and Neave 1995: 708; NMR 2013: 81346).

A number of rises are listed immediately west of the present village of Speeton on the site of the coastguard station. One of these was the location for a post-mill labelled on the First Edition Ordnance Survey, appropriately on Mill Hill. Another mound is located on Bonfire Hill, now mutilated by a pill-box. The presence of a further Beacon Hill 350 metres further west may raise some questions about the function of Bonfire Hill, but it remains that Beacon Hill is only listed as a post-medieval beacon NMR 2013: MON#1494176). Further east, two converging dykes are recorded on the cliff edge and these are associated with a number of barrows recorded by Knox's 1821 map of Yorkshire (NMR 2013: MON#81306, MON#1494211, MON#1494184). Knox also noted a series of three aligned barrows on the eastern side of the township (*ibid*: MON#81348). The National Mapping Programme in the Yorkshire Wolds also noted a series of enclosures, of probable Iron Age or Romano-British date, linked to two trackways, running east-west and north-south respectively. The north-south trackway happens to line up exactly with Wide Lane, one of the southerly roads moving in to Speeton (1997). It is admittedly circumstantial, but it may indicate that the siting of Speeton respected long term settlement and communication patterns.

There are no clear signs of early medieval activity in Speeton township and not enough is known of the old character of the village to assess this. An early eighth-century sceatta has been reported in the neighbouring township of Reighton (PAS 2012: YORYM-51AA75) but beyond this the first thing of note is Huntow Plantation and House at the south-eastern corner of the township, a location identified with the eponymous Domesday hundred. The cropmark of an Iron Age square barrow is reported from the summit of Great Flat on Speeton Field, but no further information is forthcoming (Stoertz 1997). Like Spell Howe, Speeton is very distant indeed from identifiable early medieval features. The nearest is in fact All Saints Church, Hunmanby, over six kilometres away, with eleventh-century fabric and eighth-century sculptural fragments. When PAS data is considered this is still only reduced to around four kilometres. This may however be a function of investigative strategies – there is little PAS material for any period within this four kilometre catchment. That

said, it would seem reasonable to suggest that the surrounds of Speeton were never witness to particularly high intensity occupation and activity.

Spell Howe (SPHW-1)

Location: TA06587882 (centred on mound)
Reason: Assembly-attesting toponym

Etymology

Smith identified the tumulus known as Spell Howe in the township of Folkton with a *Spelhou* recorded in the thirteenth-century Chartulary of Bardney Abbey (Smith 1937: 116). Among other gifts received in Hunmanby "Thorald de Hundemanby gave to the same church three roods in the town-fields, viz. between the road from *Spelhou* and *Linghou-stich*" (Farrer 1915: 477). Further instances of the name have been difficult to locate, though exemplars from other parts of the country do exist, e.g. Spelhoe hundred in Northamptonshire and indeed Spellow Clump in the East Riding itself. The understood solution in each case is the Old English *spell* and Old Norse *haugr*, for 'speech hill'. Anderson proposed that Spell Howe was the meeting-place for the hundred of *Turbar* (1934: 12; 1939a: 160).

Historical Evidence

Beyond mention made in the aforesaid chartulary of Bardney Abbey no further reference to Spell Howe can be found before it was depicted on the First Edition Ordnance Survey mapping.

Topography

The tumulus of Spell Howe possesses a striking and highly visible aspect perched on the edge of Flotmanby Wold, overlooking the spring-line Wold settlements at Folkton and Flixton and further ahead to the old border with the North Riding at the river Hertford. This spring-line marks the division between the Wold chalk and the Wealden series of sand and siltstones in the valley below. The tumulus itself is

perched on a small spur at the top of the slope and is associated with a small complex of former earthworks, including a number of possible barrows and an unusual rectilinear embankment. This complex itself marks the area of a small spur atop the wolds before they rise further to the west.

Spell Howe is not just set on the northern edge of the Wolds but in fact on the north-east corner of the Wolds as a whole. A display of the drift geology indicates an intrusion to the south of Spell Howe of the glacial tills that denote the eastern coast of Yorkshire and the fall in altitude of the Wolds. The Spell Howe complex is relatively isolated and poorly connected in terms of the Wold landscape, but in relation to the lowlands to the north it is easily accessible from Folkton and is in fact only 600 metres south of Margary road 816 running between York and Muston (possibly to Filey; Margary 1967: 424-5).

The Spell Howe monumental complex is situated centrally within the township and parish of Folkton, adjacent to the sister township of Flixton to the west. The township extends north across the Wold edge to the river Hertford and south to the deserted medieval village of Cambe in the Wold valleys. Its bounds are constrained to the east by the Wold Dykes. The western boundary is less obvious but may reflect an equitable land division between Flixton and Folkton, or else mark the density of barrows in that immediate area. It is possible that Folkton township may constitute the product of two former townships, divided north-south by the Wold Dykes and evidenced by the dog-leg in the western boundary at TA0517177368. It is set on the northern edge of the wapentake of Dickering and the north-west edge of *Turbar* hundred.

Archaeological Evidence

Spell Howe is an extant barrow listed on the 1854 first edition Ordnance Survey mapping of East Yorkshire at TA0656578775, set upon a knoll overlooking the northern wold edge. A mound is still visible at the time of writing but it has been

heavily landscaped within a residential garden. No archaeological excavations have been recorded in and around the barrow – regardless of this it has been heavily mutilated in the twentieth century. By the 1938 Ordnance Survey Third Revision a covered reservoir had been inserted into the mound. Further, the 1971 1:2500 map records an adjacent residence and more regrettably a decommissioned Royal Observer Corps Monitoring Post built into the north-west slope of the tumulus (Subterranea Britannica 2013). A watching brief on an adjacent cable trench in 2003 noted heavily disturbed ground yet no archaeological deposits (MAP Archaeological Consultancy 2003).

The 1854 map depicts the Spell Howe tumulus as part of a cluster of earthworks, including a rectilinear embankment, an alignment of elongated barrows and another solitary mound. The earthwork known as 'Lang Camp' had survived only as a rectilinear depression by 1968 and it remains a mystery (NMR 2013: MON#79656). The name was recent, applied by Robert Knox (1855: 130) in apparent confusion with a *Grangia de Kamp* appurtenant to Rievaulx Abbey (Farrer 1915: 472n) and latterly identified a short distance to the south at TA0648676627. There is no evidence for past excavation on either the four elongated mounds or the solitary barrow. The barrow has been assigned a Bronze Age date on morphological grounds (NMR 2013: MON#79689). The elongated mounds are more puzzling, first depicted on the 1893 First Revision maps and omitted from the monumental array present on the First Edition Ordnance Survey. Two potential conclusions can be drawn from this. Either they are late nineteenth-century creations, or else they hovered uneasily between an artificial and natural aspect. Field investigation in 1968 certainly treated them as natural features, indicating that the separate portions had been ploughed down into a single rise (NMR 2013: MON#79692). Still, Ordnance Survey mapping in the first half of the twentieth century makes no doubt that this was a conspicuous landscape feature, just not necessarily an ancient artificial edifice. Some comparison may be in order with the Spellow Hills Long Barrow in Ulceby, Lincolnshire, though the Spell Howe mounds are at least twice the length.

The Spell Howe complex is largely enclosed to the south and east by entrenchments on the Wolds. These have evidently informed the eastern township boundaries. The dog-leg observed at TA0517177368 may be interpreted likewise as evidence of a divide within the township effected by the east-west portion of the dyke. This separates Spell Howe and the high ground from the valley of Bording Dale and the deserted settlement of Cambe (see *Kamp* above). This high ground is entirely characterised by barrows of Bronze Age date or earlier. William Greenwell excavated many of these, including the clusters of round barrows at Sharp Howes, Danebury Manor, and Flotmanby Wold (1890). The unpublished re-excavation of a number of these was undertaken by Brewster in the late 1960s and early 1970s yet the Bronze Age provenance remained consistent (NMR 2013: MON#636150). Note must also be made of the cropmark identification of a cluster of Iron Age square barrows to the east of the Spell Howe complex at TA0708578582.

As such one is left with a heavily mutilated mound bearing significant nomenclature in close proximity to an unexplained embankment, a barrow and a dubious array of elongated mounds. This is enclosed on the edge of the wolds and framed either side by clusters of Bronze Age (and in one case Iron Age barrows). There is little PAS data to report aside from a small cluster of material on the western edge of the township. These include a polyhedral coin weight, a decorated stylus and a strap fitting (PAS 2013: NLM687, NLM688, NLM689). They are each dated to the tenth century and, with the exception of the Anglo-Saxon stylus, are considered to be of Scandinavian origin. The findspot location directly overlooks the settlement of Folkton. This covers all the proximate relevant activity to Folkton. If the view is expanded it is clear that all other traces of early medieval activity in the surrounding region are found at the base of the Wold edge, whether in reference to the ninth- to tenth-century cross fragment at Folkton (Lang 1991) or the copious settlement evidence from Staxton. The uplands of the Wolds themselves would appear to be largely devoid of early medieval activity.

The most striking attribute of Spell Howe is its position on the brow of the Wolds

overlooking the Roman road and the settlements on the spring-line. This may well be a distinct type-site, reflected in a similar topographic arrangement at Acklam, Spellow Clump and Huntow among others.

Spell Wood (SPW-1)

Location: SE69164948 (centred on field-name)
Reason: Assembly-attesting toponym

Etymology

Spell Wood was not identified by either Anderson (1934) or Smith (1937) in their respective surveys. It has been identified in the course of the present project and highlighted as a plausible example of the Old English element *spell*, meaning 'speech' (Smith 1961f: 247).

Historical Evidence

Spell Wood is listed prior to its appearance on the First Edition Ordnance Survey mapping in 1760, 1651, 1649 and 1637 (National Archives 2013: SpSt/4/7/18, DDEL/32/32, DDEL/32/28, DDEL/32/12). No earlier references have been located. One of the musters prior to the Pilgrimage of Grace in 1536 is recorded at Kexby Moor, for the district described as West Harthill. This may equate to Kexby Common just south-east of Spell Wood (Bush 2009: 5; 1996: 80).

Topography

Spell Wood, and especially Spellwood Plain, are situated at a local high-point in the low-lying ground between the Ouse and the Derwent. The strip of fields marked as Spell Wood crosses the southern scarp of this rise on an east-west alignment before descending into a slight coombe to the west. The eastern end of Spellwood Plain marks the local high point, at around 12 metres OD. This plain appears to be a discrete portion of cleared woodland and no structures are visibile on the First Edition Ordnance Survey mapping. It is adjacent to Kitching Plantation while the next slight rise is Oak Hill, 1.1 kilometres north. It is also 1.3 kilometres west of the river

Derwent.

Spellwood Plain is set on a slight rise of land in the low-lying Vale of York between the courses of the rivers Ouse and Derwent. Like the rest of the Vale of York it is set upon a bedrock of Triassic sandstones with the drift geology characterised by lacustrine clays. The only visible line of communication on the First Edition Ordnance Survey mapping is Dauby Lane, running at a north-south orient next to the field, between Elvington and the Roman road between Brough and York (Margary 2e: 1967: 418-19).

Spellwood Plain is located in the township of Kexby, a constituent part of the wider parish of Catton. This parish extends northwards as far as Stamford Bridge to take in the townships of Low Catton, High Catton, Scoreby and Stamford Bridge. Spellwood is on the southern edge of Kexby township and the south-eastern edge of Catton parish. It is located in the northern half of the detached portion of Pocklington hundred in what later became the wapentake of Ouse and Derwent. Within this wapentake it is found in the northern half. It is on the border of the rural deaneries of Harthill and Bulmer.

Archaeological Evidence

There are no signs of early medieval activity at Spellwood Plain or in the area surrounding the site. There are in fact no recorded traces of any period at the site itself. Ordnance Survey mapping indicates that the Spellwood Plain field was combined with the eastern side of the Spell Wood strip by the end of the nineteenth century. No buildings are depicted on the site on any of the maps that have been consulted. There are two moated sites downslope and to the east of Spellwood Plain at the crossing of the river Derwent. Kexby Old Hall, now levelled, is found on the western bank while St Louis Farm marks its eastern counterpart (La Patourel 1973: 113, 116). Neither has been subject to investigation, nor is there any clear evidence of a ford at this point. Regardless of this, the presence of the Giant's Hill motte, 600

metres south of the twinned moated sites (Cathcart King 1983: 532), would seem to reinforce the notion of a proximate river crossing (NMR 2013: MON#59395). If so, this road may have connected with Dauby Lane at SE6945849296, adjacent to Spell Wood Plain. Final note should be made of satellite imagery of the site from Google Earth, which may indicate the presence of rectilinear structures in the north-eastern corner of what was Spellwood Plain.

Spellow Clump (SPC-1)

Location: SE99985982 (centred on mound)
Reason: Assembly-attesting toponym

Etymology

Spellow Clump is recorded on the First Edition Ordnance Survey, next to a structure called Best's Grave and a rectilinear 'Old Enclosure'. Both Anderson (1934: 15n) and Smith (1937: 153) have identified it as bearing the assembly-attesting Old English element *spell*, or 'speech'. While it lacks earlier iterations, the name is paralleled by a Spellow Hill in Staveley, West Riding of Yorkshire, which Smith interpreted as the Old English *spell-hoh* – 'speech-mound' – although he stated that the second element could as easily have derived from the synonymous Old Norse element *haugr* (1961e: 89). The name is also associated with Spellow Farm, on the site of the 'Old Enclosure', and two Spellowgates, roads that led from Elmswell and Great Driffield respectively towards the site of the Clump.

Historical Evidence

This name and location is not associated with any conciliar or other historically documented activity prior to its appearance on the First Edition Ordnance Survey in the nineteenth century.

Topography

Prior to the development of the farm, Spellow Clump consisted of a small group of trees adjacent to the north-south course of Elmswell Spellowgate. Within this group was an artificial mound known as Best's Grave, and directly south-east of the clump the First Edition Ordnance Survey depicts a rectilinear 'Old Enclosure'. All of these are enclosed within a square field, amid a wider wold-edge of recently consolidated

strip fields. Spellow Clump is situated mid-way up the slopes of Elmswell Wold in an angle formed in the Yorkshire Wolds, looking down upon the settlement of Driffield. It is 1.3 kilometres north of Elmswell and 2.6 kilometres away from Driffield. The Driffield Spellowgate heads towards Spellow Clump from Driffield, but is diverted northward at the township boundary between Elmswell and Driffield, a course that tends it to observe the said boundary instead. That said, the former orientation of the road and its nomenclature provide satisfactory evidence for a former connection to Spellow Clump. The site rests upon the chalk bedrock of the wolds, some 450 metres north-west of the line at which the lowland glacial tills commence. Spellow Clump is set centrally within the township of Elmswell. This consists of the settlement and that part of Elmswell Wold directly to the north. It is near the central western edge of the parish of Driffield, on the western Elmswell Wolds, divided from Driffield Wold to the east by the dry valley of Elmswell Slack. In turn it is found within a Peculiar of the Precentor of York within the archdeaconry of the East Riding.

Archaeological Evidence

There are few archaeological traces associated with Spellow Clump. The monument known as Best's Grave was recorded as a post-medieval sepulchre (Mortimer and Sheppard 1905: 264). The NMR records that the 'Old Enclosure' was purportedly post-medieval in date and had survived as an earthwork until relatively recently, measuring 33 metres by 22 metres (NMR 2013: MON#79346). Neither of these were subject to recorded survey or intrusive investigation and it is clear that the post-medieval dates provided are speculative. Certainly one cannot determine whether Best's Grave represents the re-use of an existing monument or else a far more recent tomb. Further afield there is very little aside from the passing ascription of cropmarks to linear boundaries and barrows. A ring-ditch has been identified 500 metres north of the Clump, as has a ditched enclosure some 600 metres south-west (NMR 2013: MON#1382540; East Yorkshire HER 2013: MHU8187). Neither is deemed significant. The main sign of age is found in the shared Spellowgate nomenclature of the Driffield and Elmswell roads. These are clearly of some age – it is infuriating that one cannot

determine how old.

Wetwang (WTW-1)

Location: SE93275900 (centred on Wetwang)
Reason: Assembly-attesting toponym

Etymology

The vill of Wetwang is first recorded in the pages of Domesday Book variously as *Wetwangha* and *Wetuuangha* (Faull and Stinson 1986: 302d, 381d). Later variants include *Wetewang* and *Wettewong* (Smith 1937: 128). Smith has adopted Knudsen's solution of the name as the Old Norse *vaett-vangr* or "field of summons for the trial of an action" (*ibid*). E. Maule Cole, the vicar of Wetwang in the late nineteenth century, has pointed out that this term had previously been in use in Iceland to denote the place of a trial (1906: 105).

Historical Evidence

Wetwang first appears in Domesday as a manor in the possession of the Archbishop of York. This had been inherited from the previous incumbent of the see and had been reduced to waste since the Conquest. Unlike many of the manors in Domesday, dimensions are given for Wetwang, namely two leagues in length by half a league in breadth.

Topography

The village of Wetwang is situated on a chalk-ridge orientated east-west on the mid-slopes of the east-facing scarp of the Yorkshire Wolds. This ridge is defined to the north and south by two dry-valleys, that of Wetwang Slack, leading into Garton Slack, to the north of the village, and Townbyres Bottom to the south. Wetwang has the appearance of a planned later medieval settlement, with a single road aligned east-west with concomitant backstreets. The church and manor are both positioned at

the eastern end of the village.

Wetwang is found at the mid-point between the high Wolds to the west at Huggate and the lowlands that begin at Driffield. It is situated on the Sussex Chalk Formation but unusually for a village at this height in the Wolds, is set upon river gravels rather than straight on to the chalk bedrock. The village is orientated in a like manner to the ridge on which it is situated and likewise communications are dominated by an east-west road on this axis running between Garton-on-the-Wolds to the east and Fridaythorpe to the west. A south-easterly road moves towards Driffield via Craike Hill while another street to the north is directed towards Sledmere. It is also however only 1.2 kilometres south-east of an intersection between the Roman roads running from York to Bridlington, and from Malton to Bainton (Margary 1967).

The village of Wetwang is situated centrally within the township and parish of the same name. Notably, its northern border follows the line of the Roman road (Margary 810) from York to Bridlington (Margary 1967). The parish covers the adjacent township of Fimber, one that appears to have been attached to the parish arbitrarily from an older parochial arrangement. Wetwang is positioned in the north-eastern corner of the hundred of Warter. The township of Fimber meanwhile is instead included within the hundred of Scard. It is likewise at the south-eastern corner of Buckrose wapentake, near the intersection between this unit and those of Dickering and Harthill. The relationship becomes more complicated when ecclesiastical jurisdiction is revealed. The parish of Wetwang is here consolidated within the Prebendary of Wetwang, which also includes the parish and township of Fridaythorpe. As such there is no clear relationship between either of these three territorial units.

Archaeological Evidence

The archaeological evidence for Wetwang and its immediate area presents a relatively convincing case for an absence of early medieval activity, more so due to

the degree of archaeological interventions that have taken place here and revealed nothing of this date. While it is possible that future interrogations of the record will reveal a degree of activity contemporaneous with the early medieval period, Wetwang does at least provide decisive evidence that the patterns of mortuary activity listed at Driffield and Craike Hill do not extend further into the Wolds.

The oldest building in Wetwang is the church of St Nicholas (formerly St Michael) towards the south side of Main Street on the eastern side of the village (Pevsner and Neave 1995: 748-9). The earliest identifiable fabric appears to be twelfth century (*ibid*). The village itself is a striking example of a planned settlement of eleventh- to twelfth-century date, an observation consonant with its assignment as waste in the Domesday Inquest. Excavations at the east end of the village at the turn of the millennium revealed structural evidence of what was likely a manorial complex, juxtaposed on an earlier cart burial (Hill 2002: 410-412). As a result it is likely that the church and adjacent manor formed the core of the planned settlement following the Norman Conquest.

A post-Norman genesis for the present settlement would explain much of the lack of early medieval activity. Twelfth-century occupation material at Westfield Farm on the western end of the village cut into an earlier ditch, assigned by the presiding archaeologist as 'pre-medieval' (Dennison 2001). In the late nineteenth century, Mortimer had encountered some sherds of Anglo-Saxon pottery while excavating Mill Hill, 500 metres to the east of the present village (1905: 205-7). This was accompanied by later medieval pottery, a fourth-century Roman coin and much assorted detritus. More intriguingly this was recovered from a mound that concealed a cross cut into the chalk bedrock below. Mortimer believed this to signify an Anglo-Saxon moot, remodelled from an earlier Bronze Age barrow (*ibid*: 388, 396). It is far more likely that this represents the foundations of a later medieval post-mill and not a barrow at all (cf Holt 1988). The assemblage from the mound could then represent midden and assorted rubbish from the immediate area. Certainly there is no solid reason to treat this as an example of a re-used barrow.

The only significant evidence for early medieval activity at Wetwang comes from a little known feature found in the well-known excavations conducted at Wetwang and Garton Slacks (Brewster 1980; Dent 1983). These programmes are far better known for the discovery of Iron Age chariot burials, though these were but one part of an expansive multi-period complex including Bronze Age barrows alongside Iron Age and Romano-British settlement (possibly a villa). More recent excavation has revealed that the chariot burials likely extend up the valley slopes and within the present settlement of Wetwang itself (Hill 2002: 410-412). Among the findings was one possible sunken-featured building on the eastern edge of Dent's excavations in the 1980s (1983). This was radiocarbon dated to 570-710 AD (Walker et al 1991: 100). PAS reports for the early medieval period are few. These include a number of pins a short distance to the south of the present village. The one dateable pin errs towards the eighth or ninth century (PAS 2013: NCL-232407). A late period strap end is also known from the dry valley of Townbyres Bottom to the south of the village (*ibid*: NCL-190500).

It is difficult from this to articulate the archaeological character of the immediate area in the early medieval period. Wetwang did mark a significant concentration of Romano-British settlement. The Roman cross-roads at Blealands Nook was accompanied by a cemetery and suffuse cropmarks of Iron Age and Romano-British date (Mortimer 1905: 194-200; NMR 2013: MON#64538). Further cropmarks to the south-west of Wetwang at Townbyres Bottom are co-extensive with a concentration of Romano-British metalwork reported to the PAS (NMR 2013: MON#1197467). Coins amid the assemblage tend towards third- and fourth-century dates (PAS 2013: WMID-877124, WMID-870F16) as do a series of earlier unprovenanced examples linked to Wetwang (Kitson Clark 1935: 137-8). Regardless of the sunken-featured building, this level of activity clearly did not continue to any great extent in the post-Roman period. It certainly does not reflect patterns of mortuary behaviour found to the east at Craike Hill and Driffield.

Impact and Change:
Assembly Practices in the Northern Danelaw

Alexis Tudor Skinner

Volume 3 of 3
Ph.D. Thesis. Department of Archaeology
Durham University
2014

FIGURES

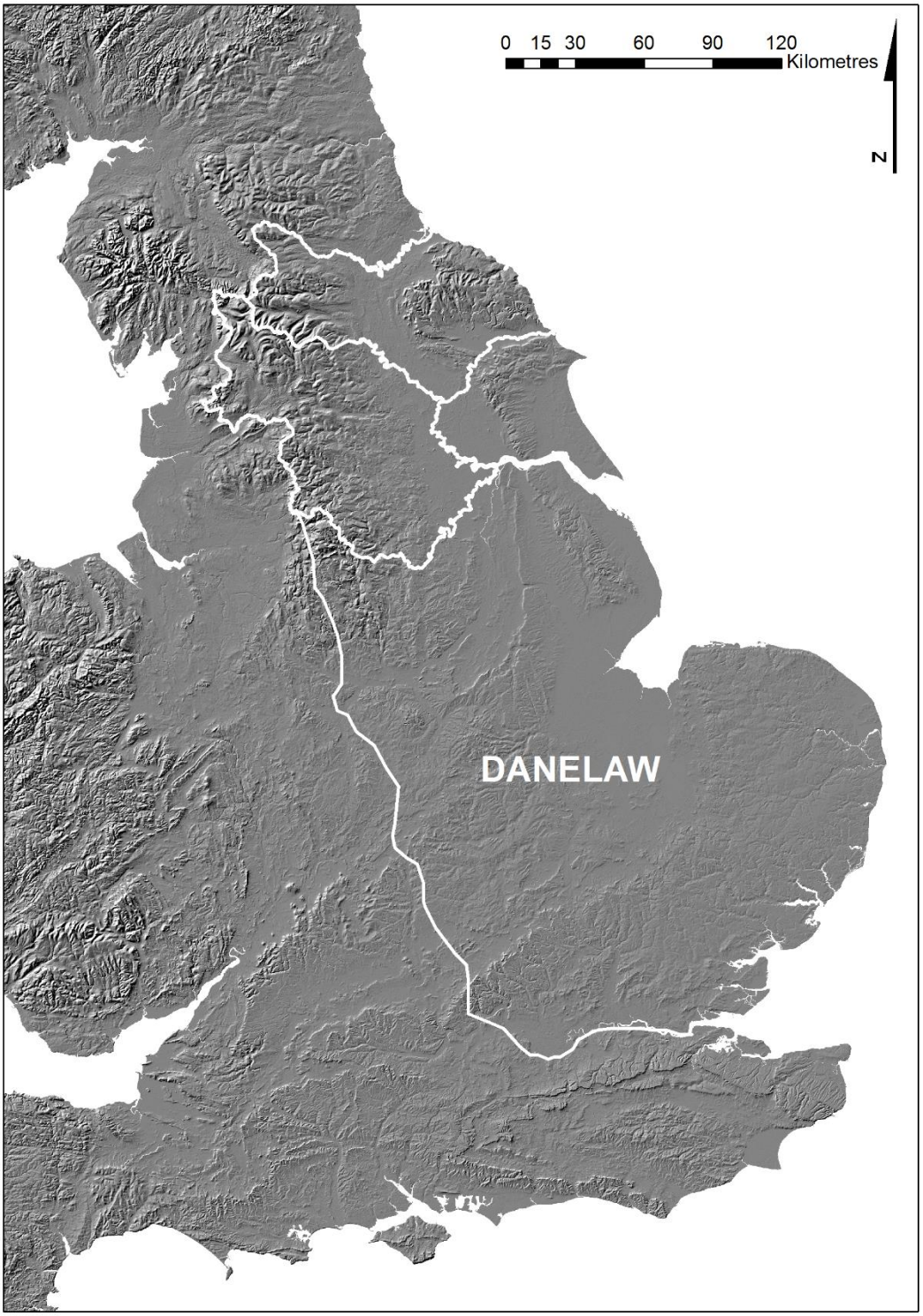


Figure 1 - The Danelaw, indicating the three Ridings of Yorkshire (after Hadley 2000).

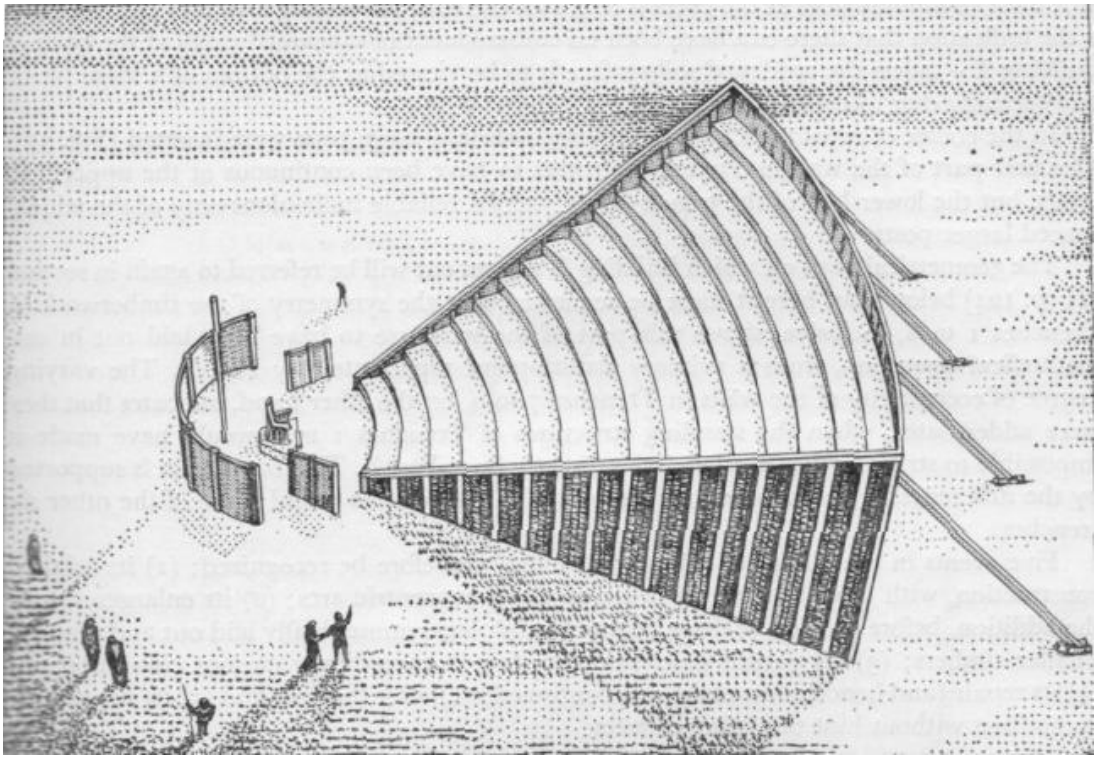


Figure 2 - Reconstruction of building E at Yeavering (Hope Taylor 1977).

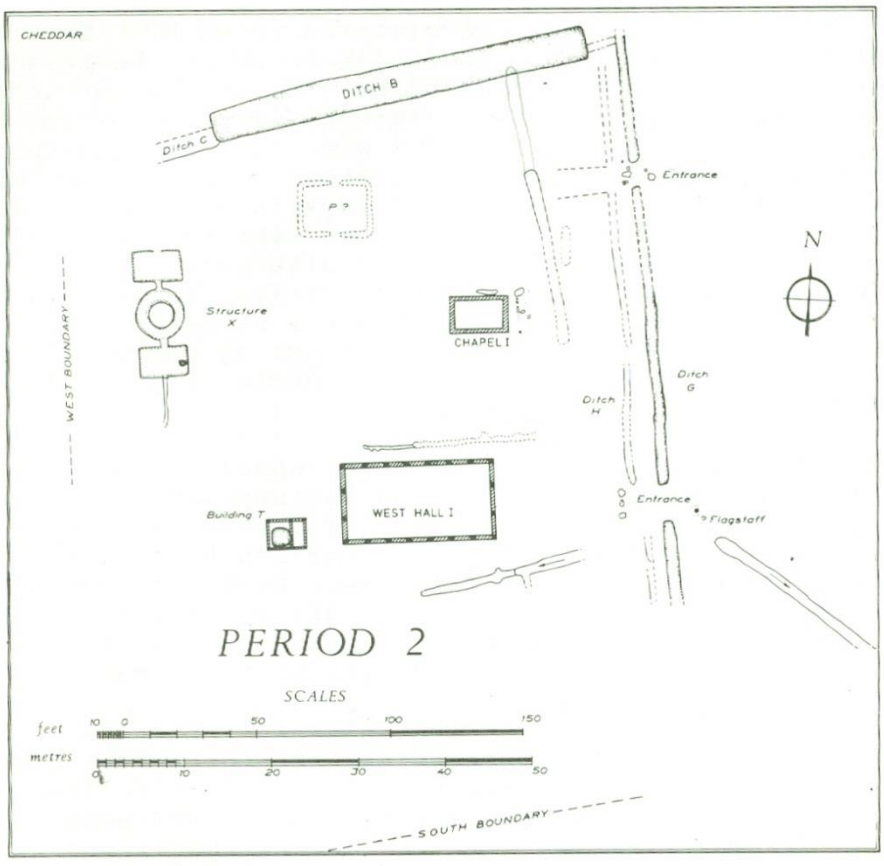


Figure 3 - Phase 2 at Cheddar – the presumed 'witan' venue (Rahtz 1979).



Figure 4 - Tynwald, Isle of Man © Richard Hoare.

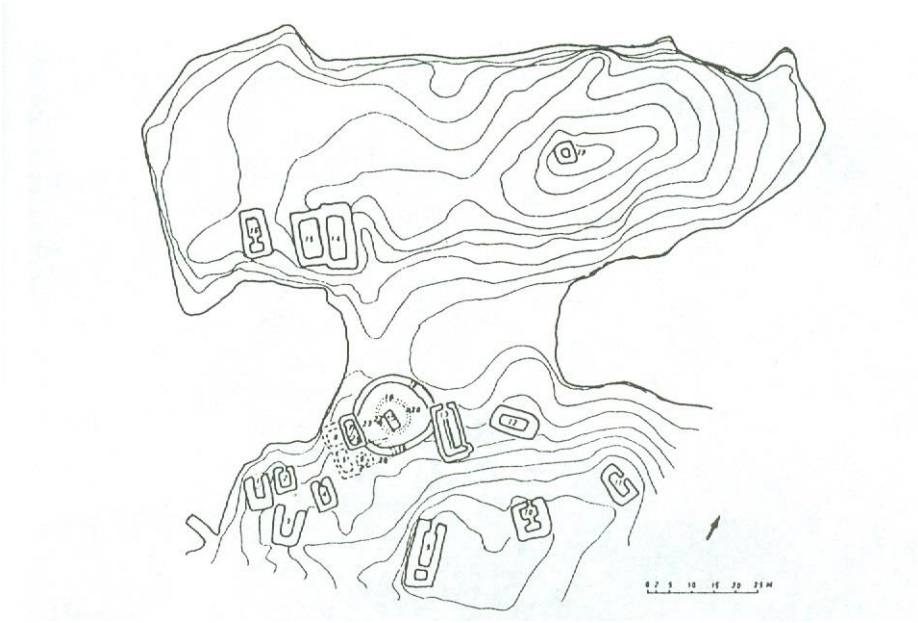


Figure 5 - Plan of the booths and other remains at Þingnes, KjalarnesÞing (Friðriksson 1994).

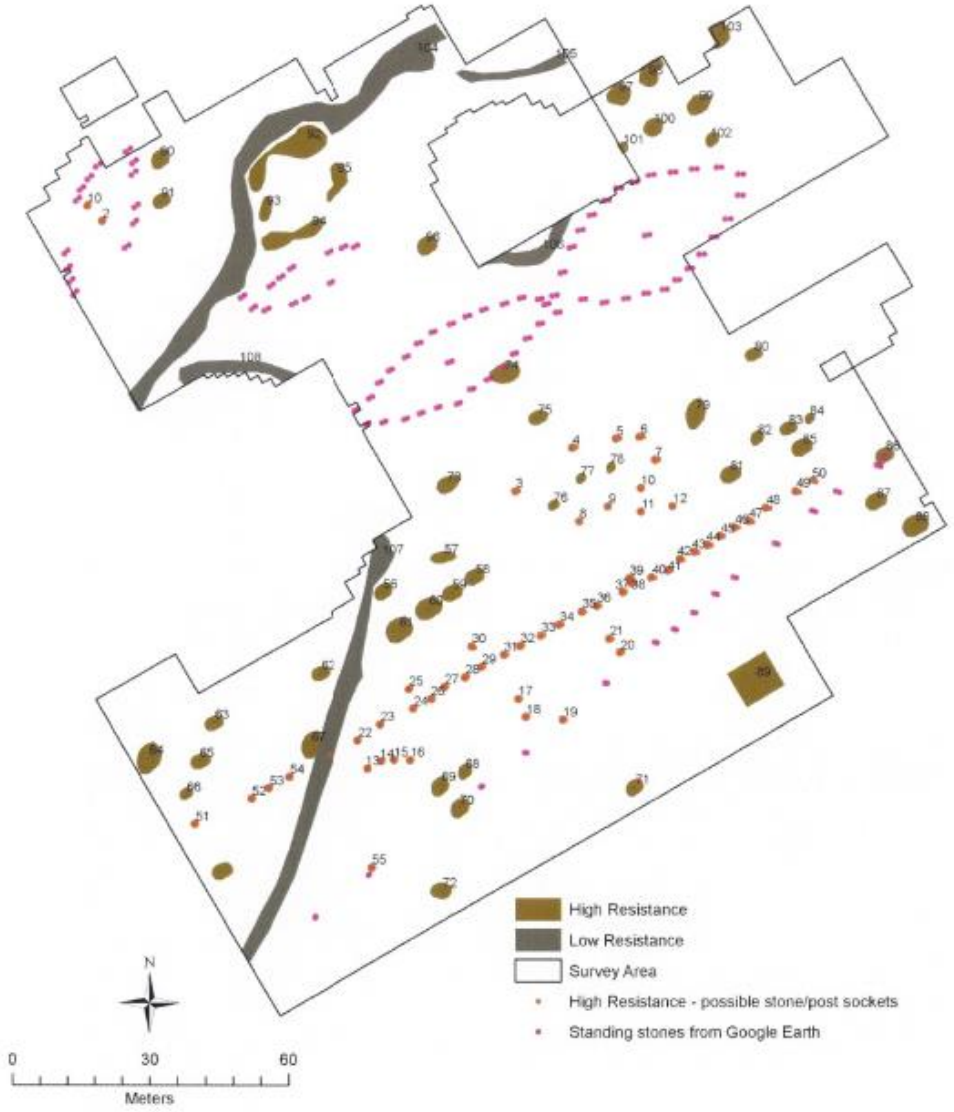


Figure 6 - Interpretation of the recent geophysical results from Anundshögen (Sanmark and Semple 2011).

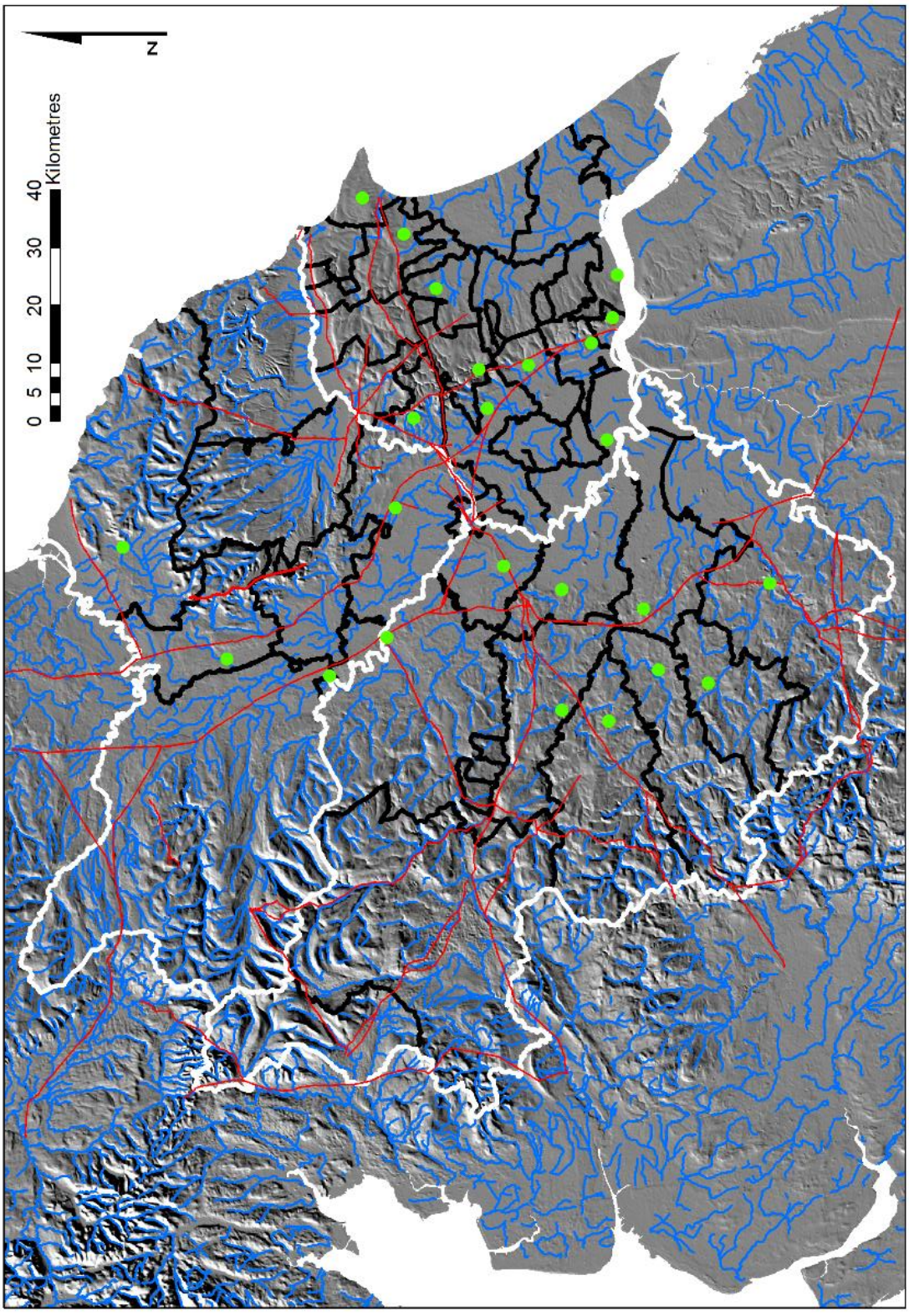


Figure 7 - Domesday hundred and wapentake sites of Yorkshire, indicating hundred and wapentake venues (in green). The Roman road network is indicated in red.

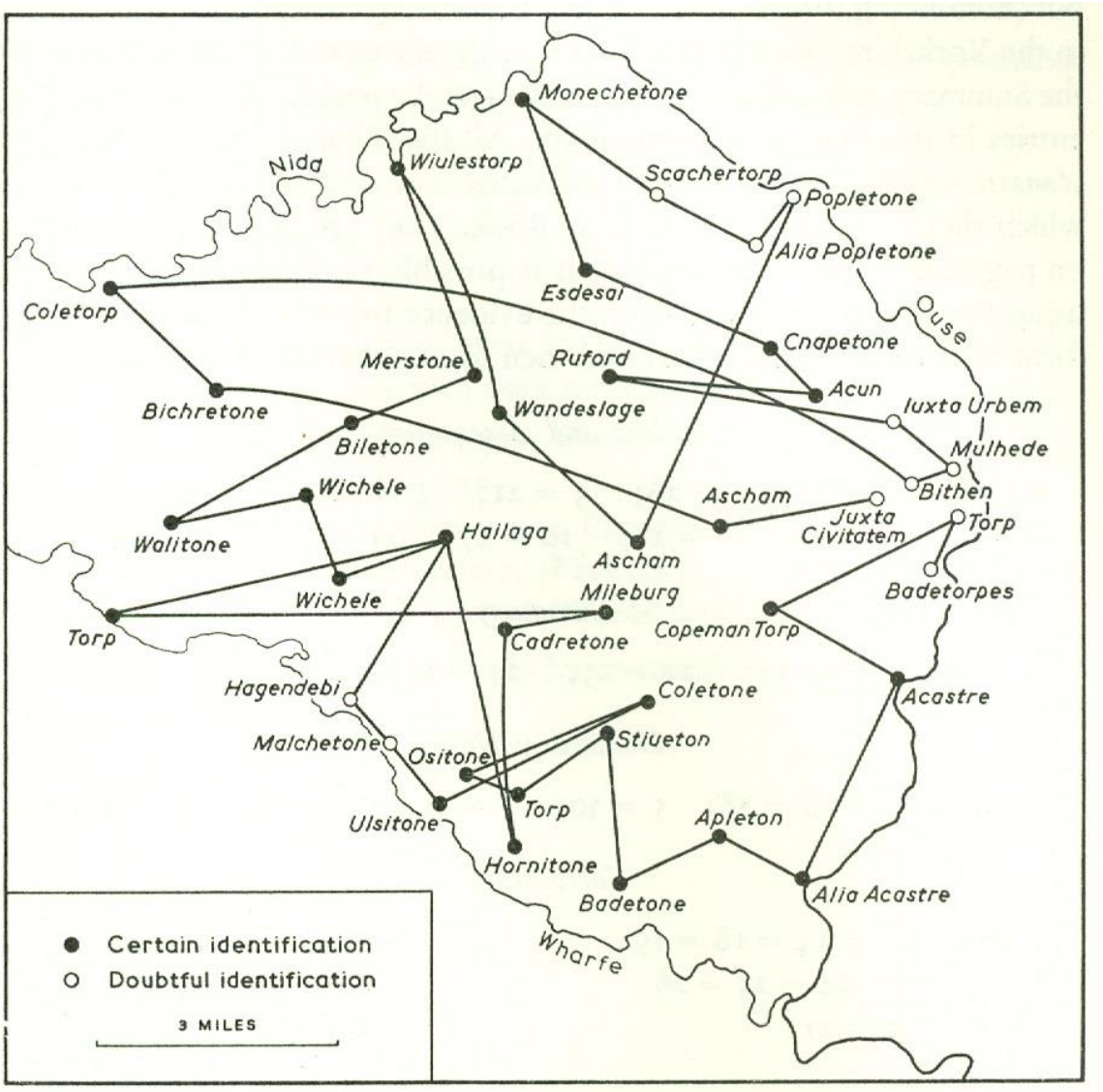


Figure 8 - Domesday Summary order for Ainsty wapentake (Maxwell 1962b).

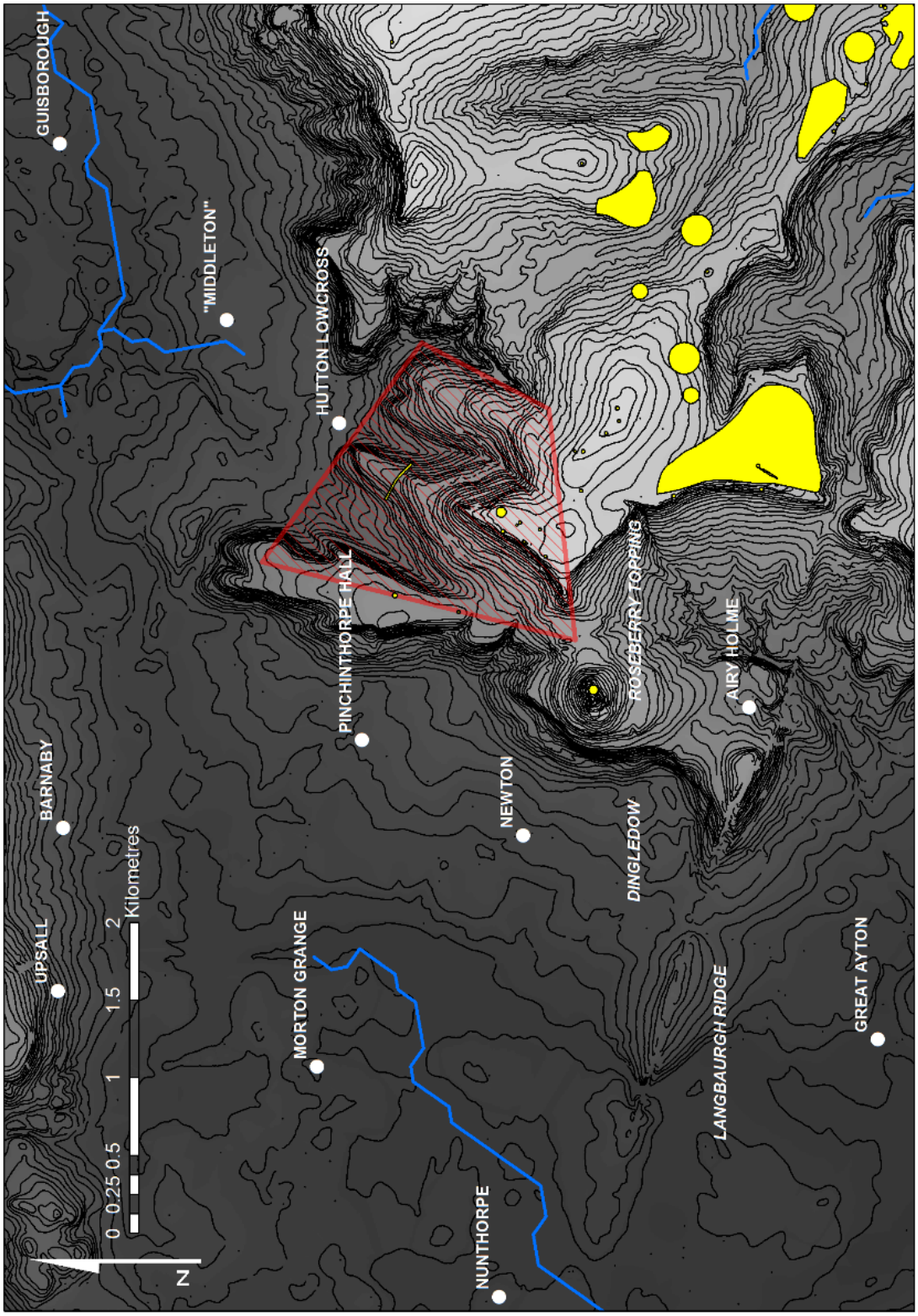


Figure 9 - Proposed location of Tyngoudale. Clusters of prehistoric monuments are indicated in yellow. Domesday vills are indicated and annotated by the white dots. Other significant place-names are highlighted in italics.

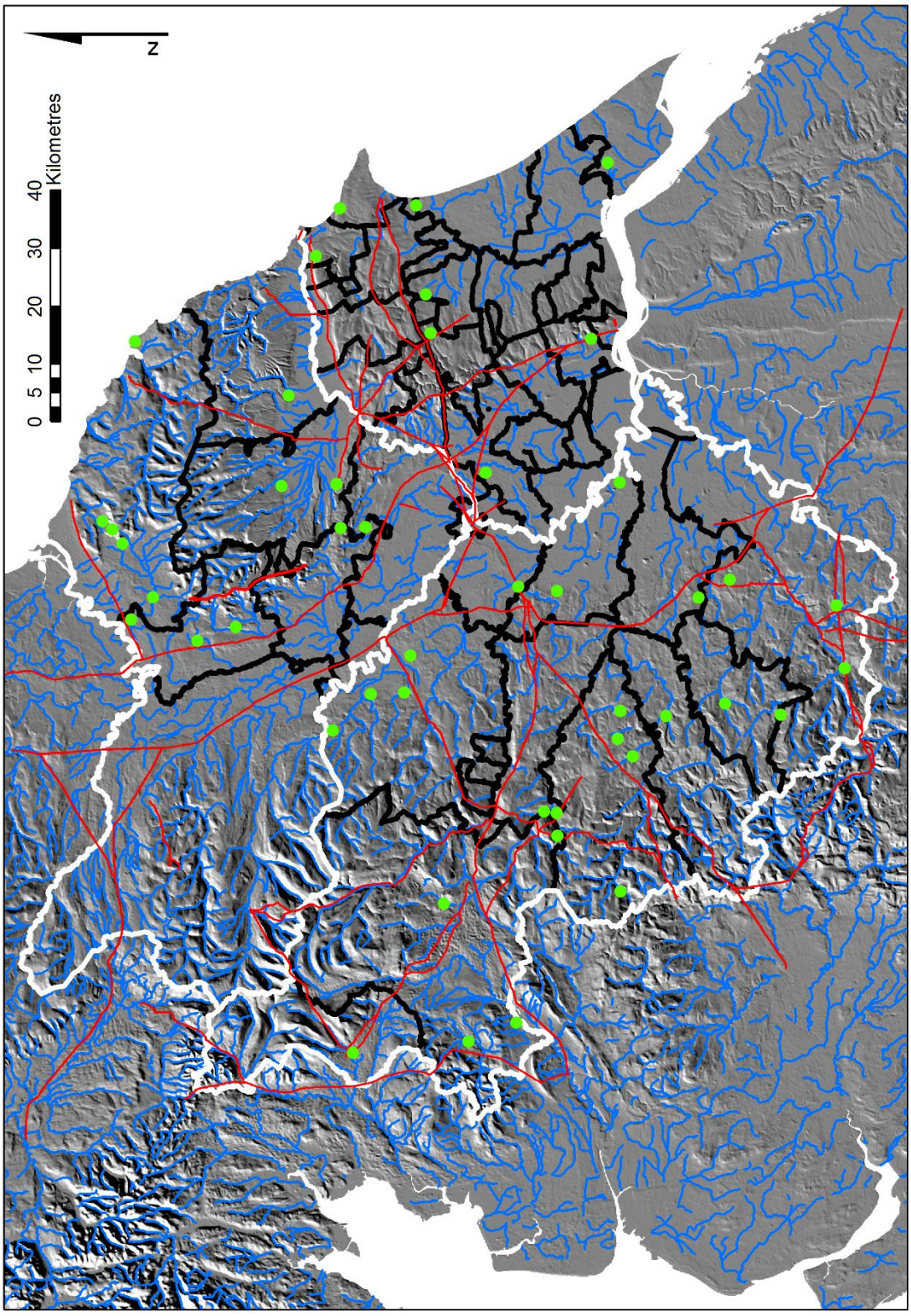
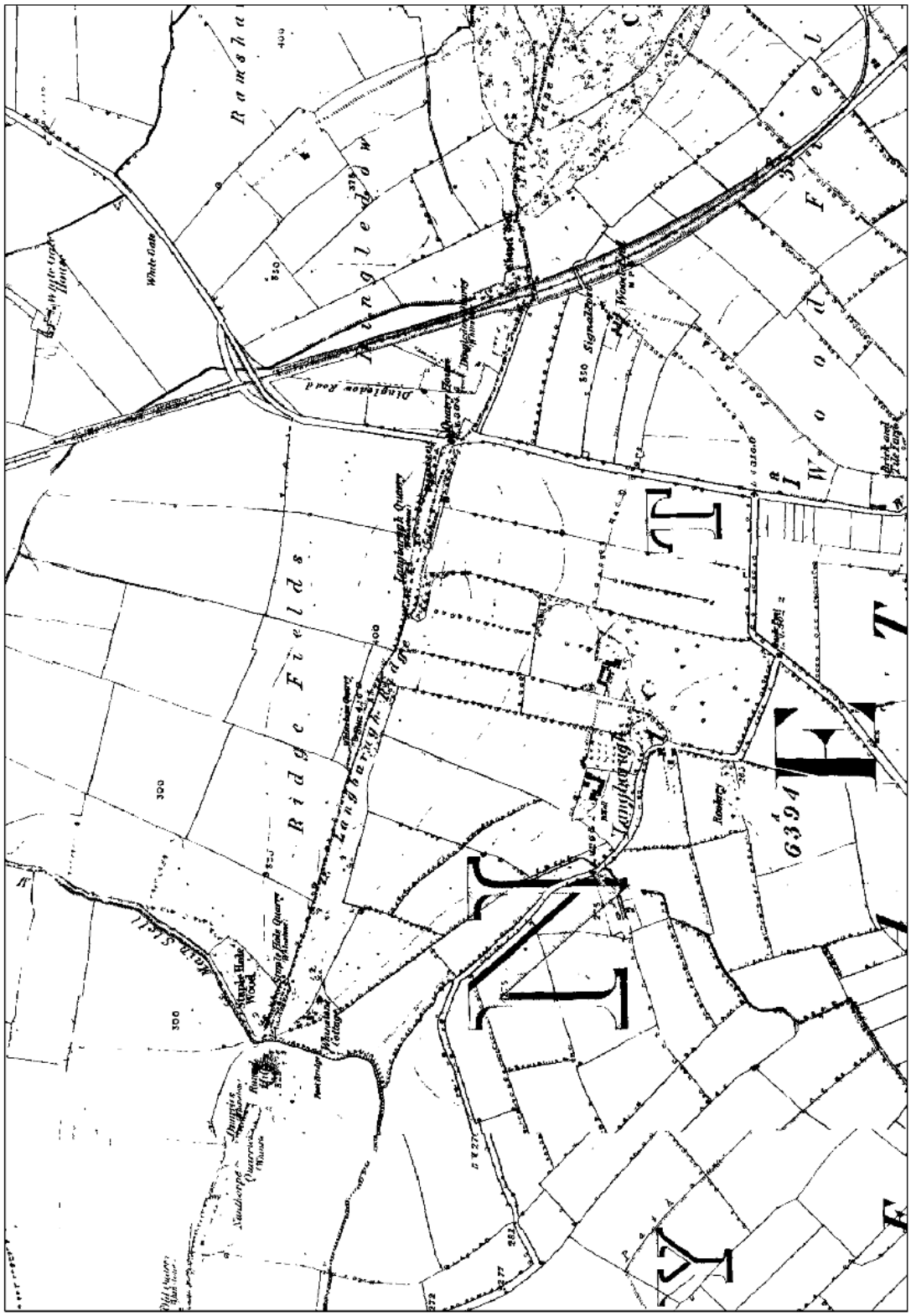


Figure 10 - Distribution of assembly-attesting place-names in the study area.


Ridge Fields
Langbaurgh Ridge
Langbaurgh Quarry
Langbaurgh
Roseberry
Wood
Quarry
Plantation Road
White Gate
Sandcroft
Quarry
Ruins
Old Quarry
Ruins
Old Quarry
Ruins
Old

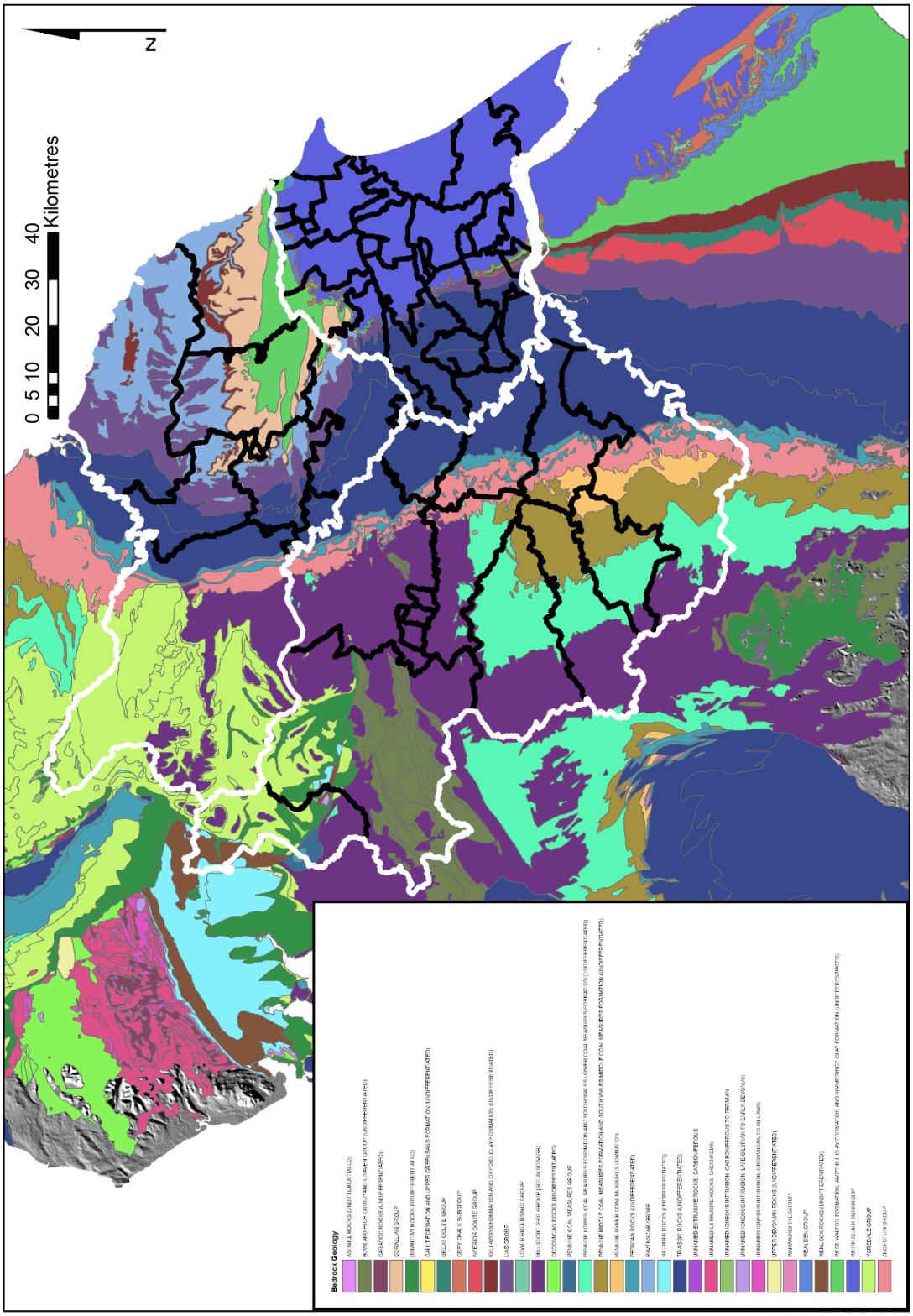


Figure 12 - Bedrock geology of Yorkshire.

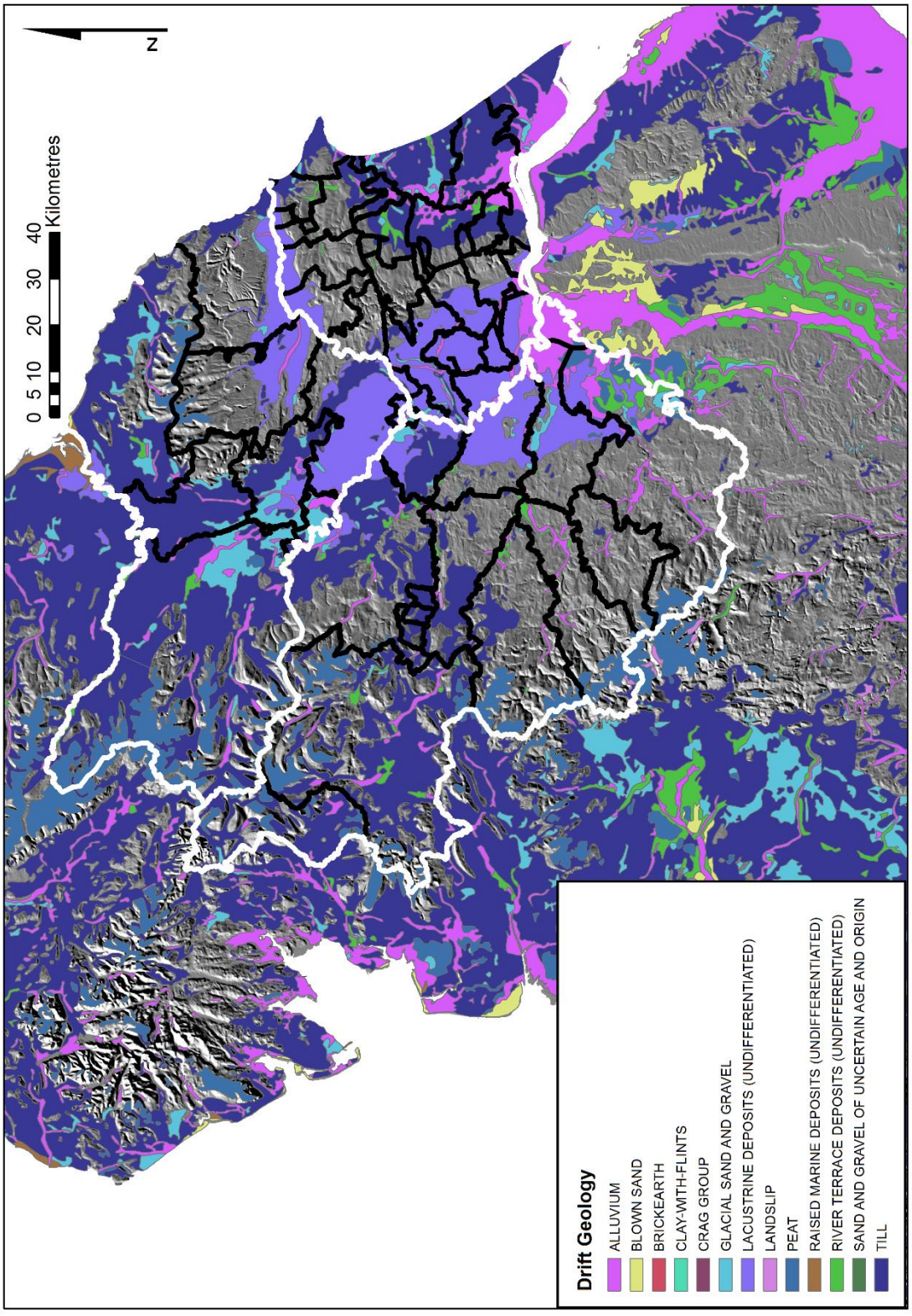


Figure 13 - Drift geology of Yorkshire.

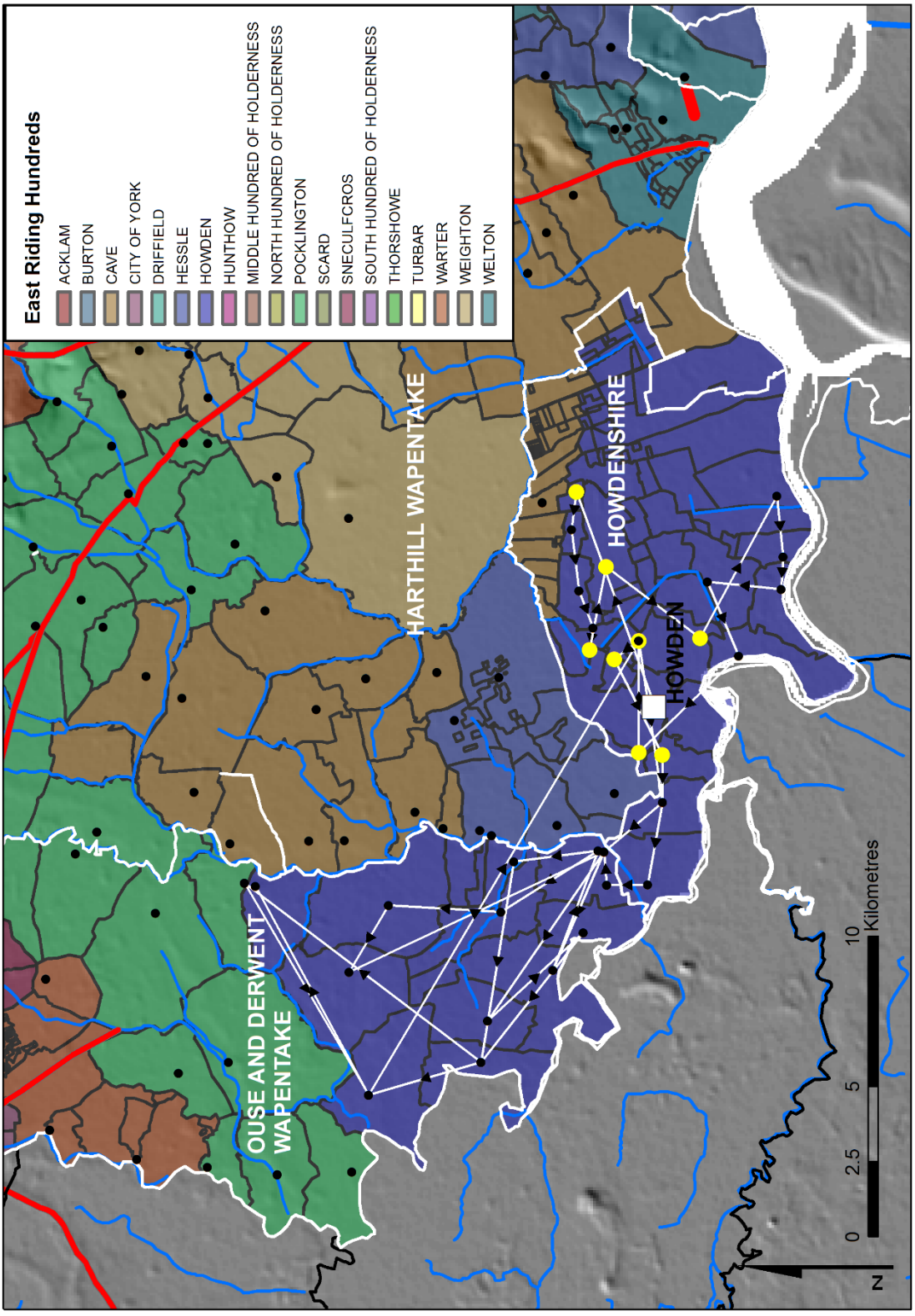


Figure 14 – The later East Riding wapentakes overlaid over the Domesday hundreds, indicating the order of the Howden Summary, and Edgar's Howden grant (marked in yellow).

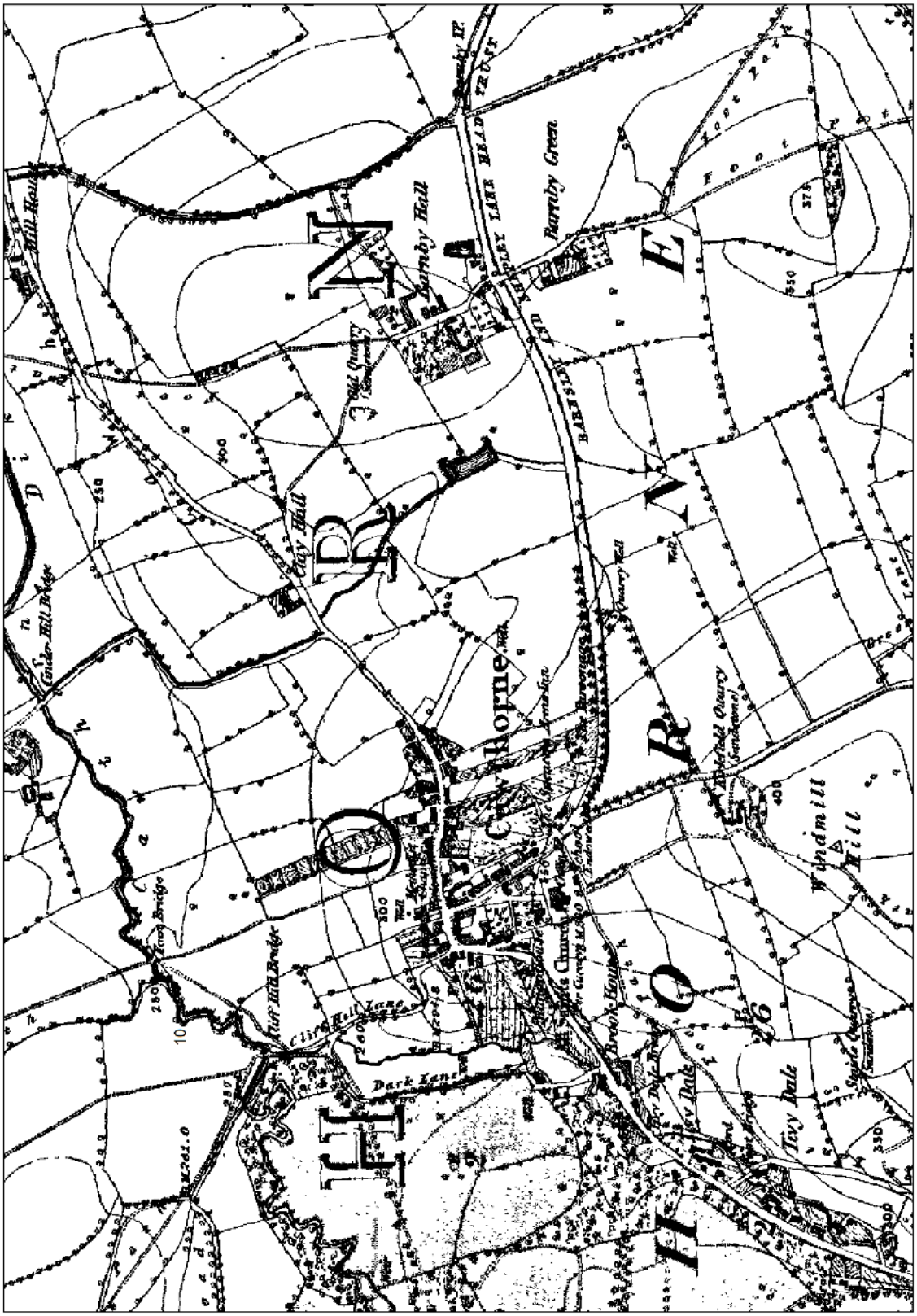

Barnby Hall
Barnby Green
Clay Hall
Cawthorne
Windmill Hill
Tivy Dale
Dark Lane
Clay Hall Lane
Tivy Dale Bridge
Cawthorne Bridge
Gate Hill Bridge
Brook House
Quarry Hill
Old Quarry
Quarry
Pond
Well
Chapel
Church
Rectory
Vicarage
Boundary Stone
Sewage Works
Barnsley Old Road
Barnsley Road
Barnsley Road (Old Road)
Barnsley Road (New Road)
Barnsley Road (Turnpike)
Barnsley Road (Turnpike Road)
Barnsley Road (Turnpike Road)
Barnsley Road (Turnpike Road



Figure 16 - Identifications of territories in the Tribal Hidage (Hill 1981).

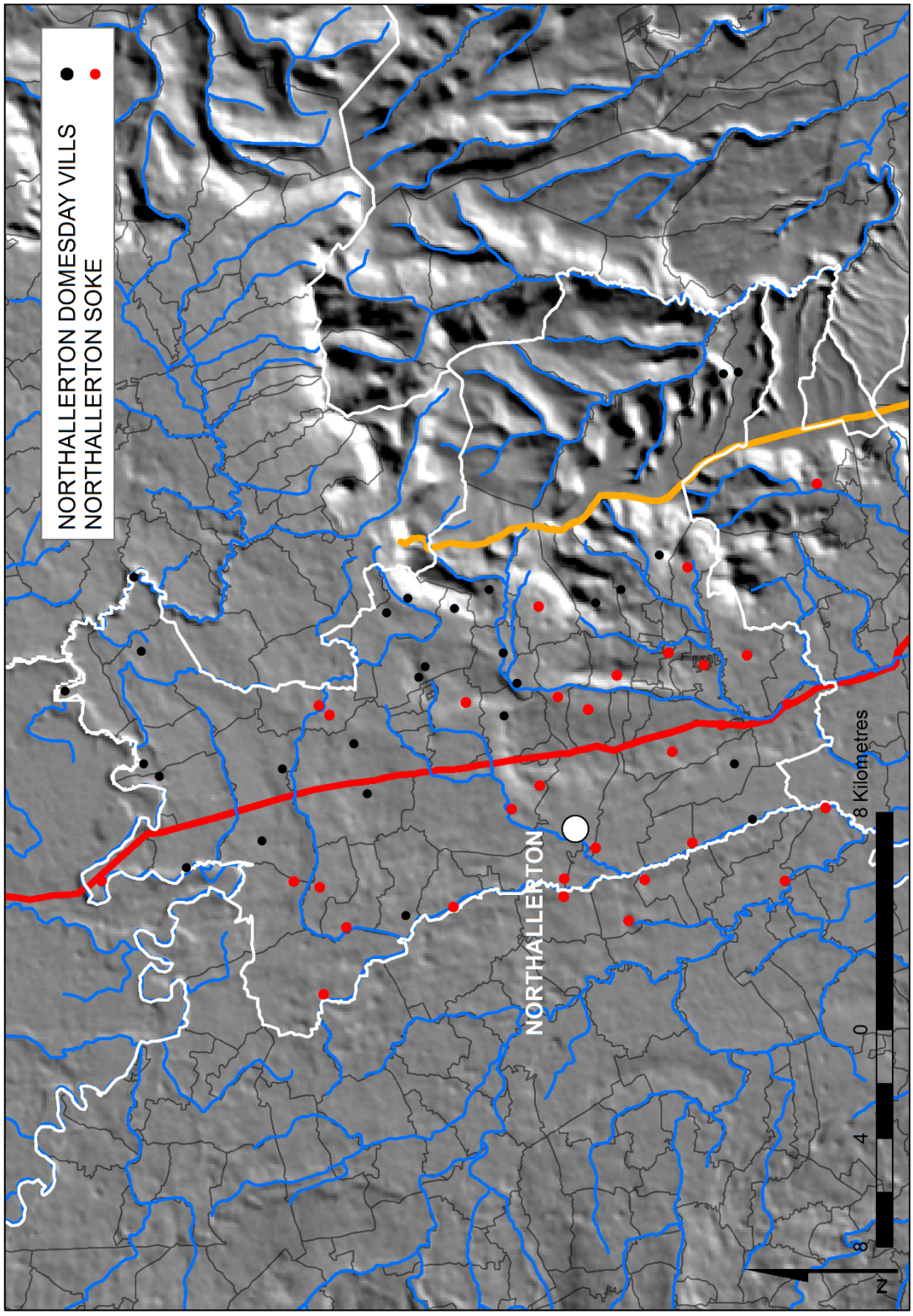


Figure 17 – Wider topography of Allertonshire wapentake, indicating the courses of Margary Roman Road 80a (in red) and Hambleton Street (in orange).

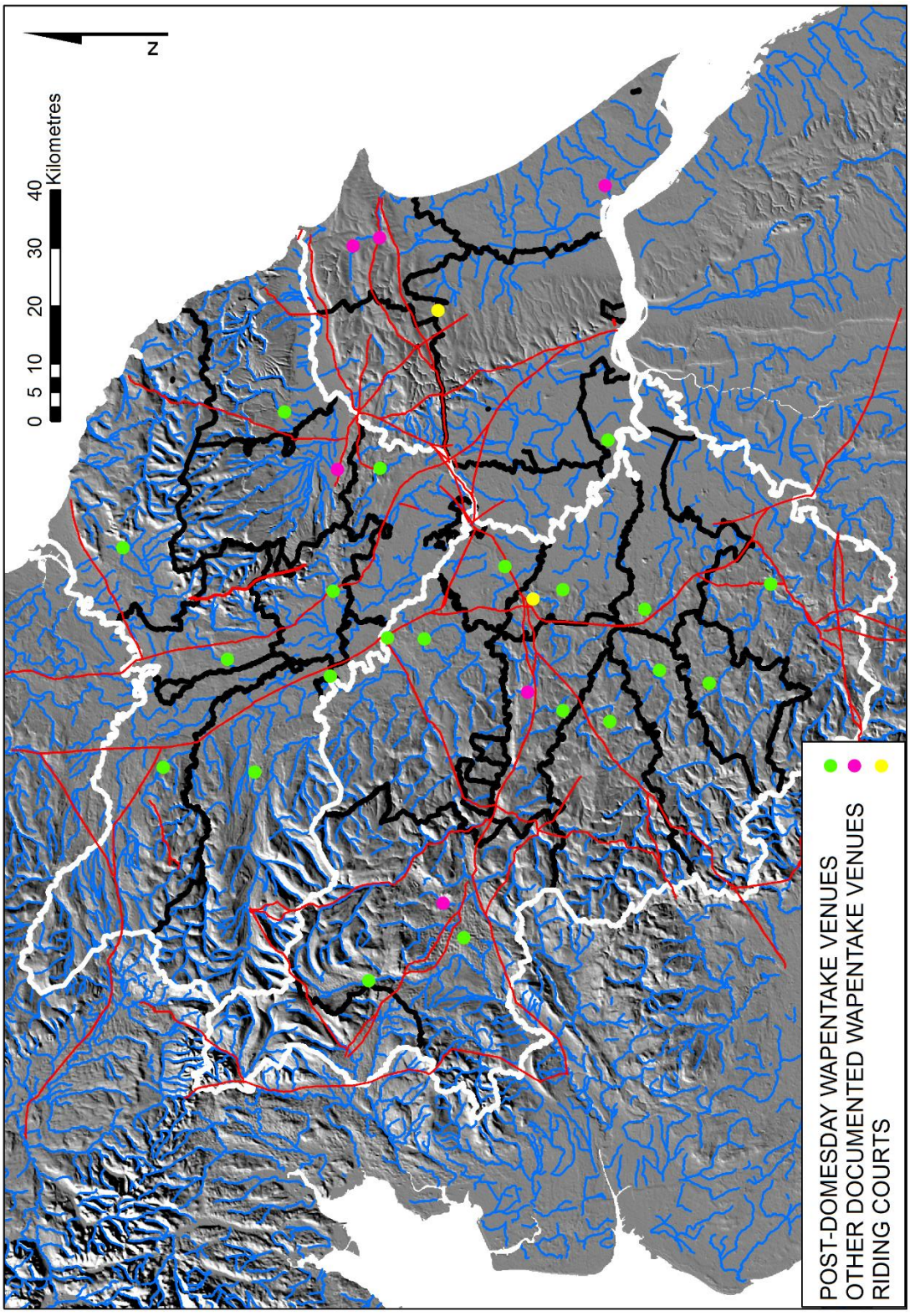


Figure 18 – The Post-Domesday wapentakes of Yorkshire. Indicating named and historically attested venues, alongside the Roman road network (in red).

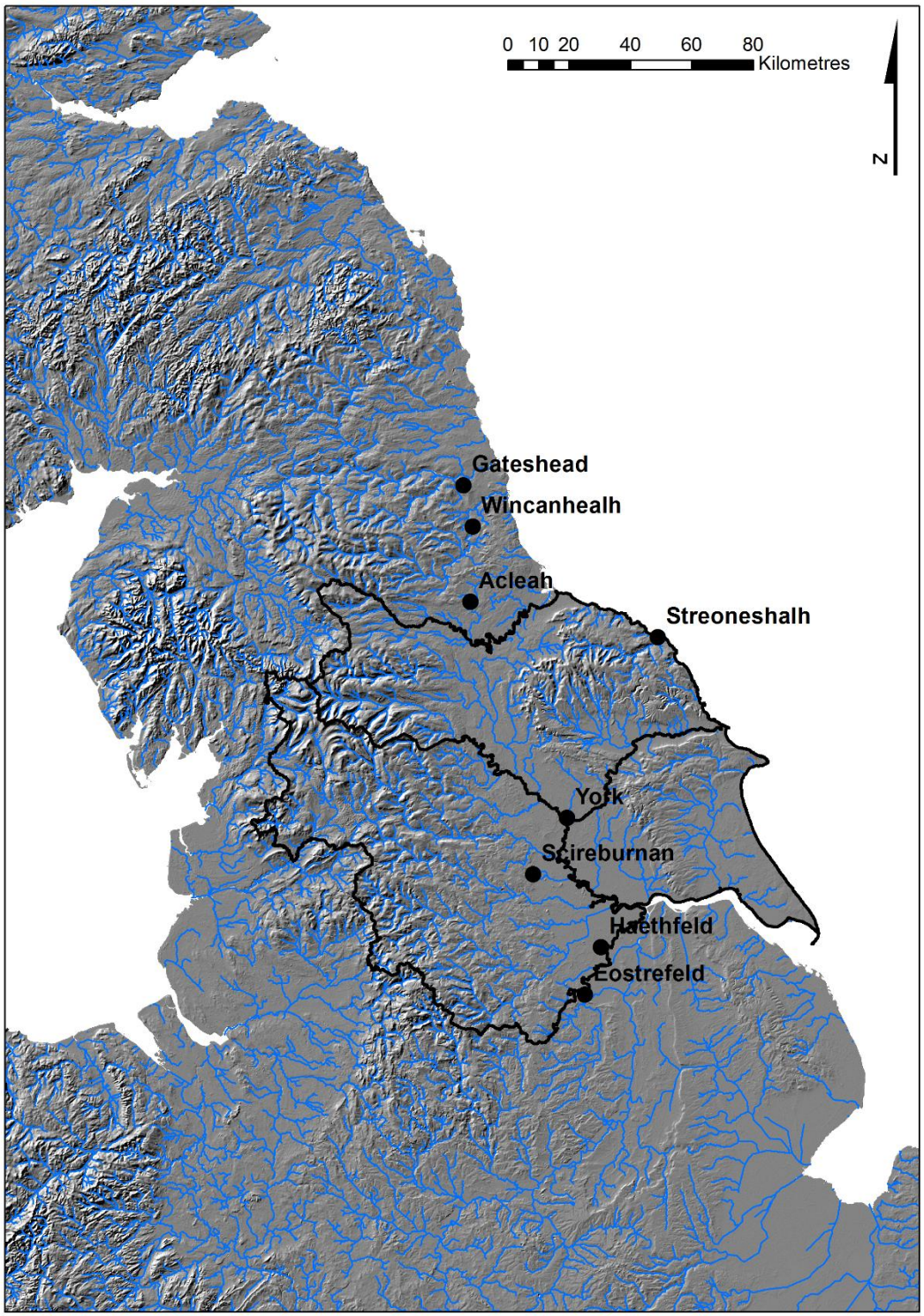


Figure 19 – Councils and synods recorded in early medieval Northumbria.

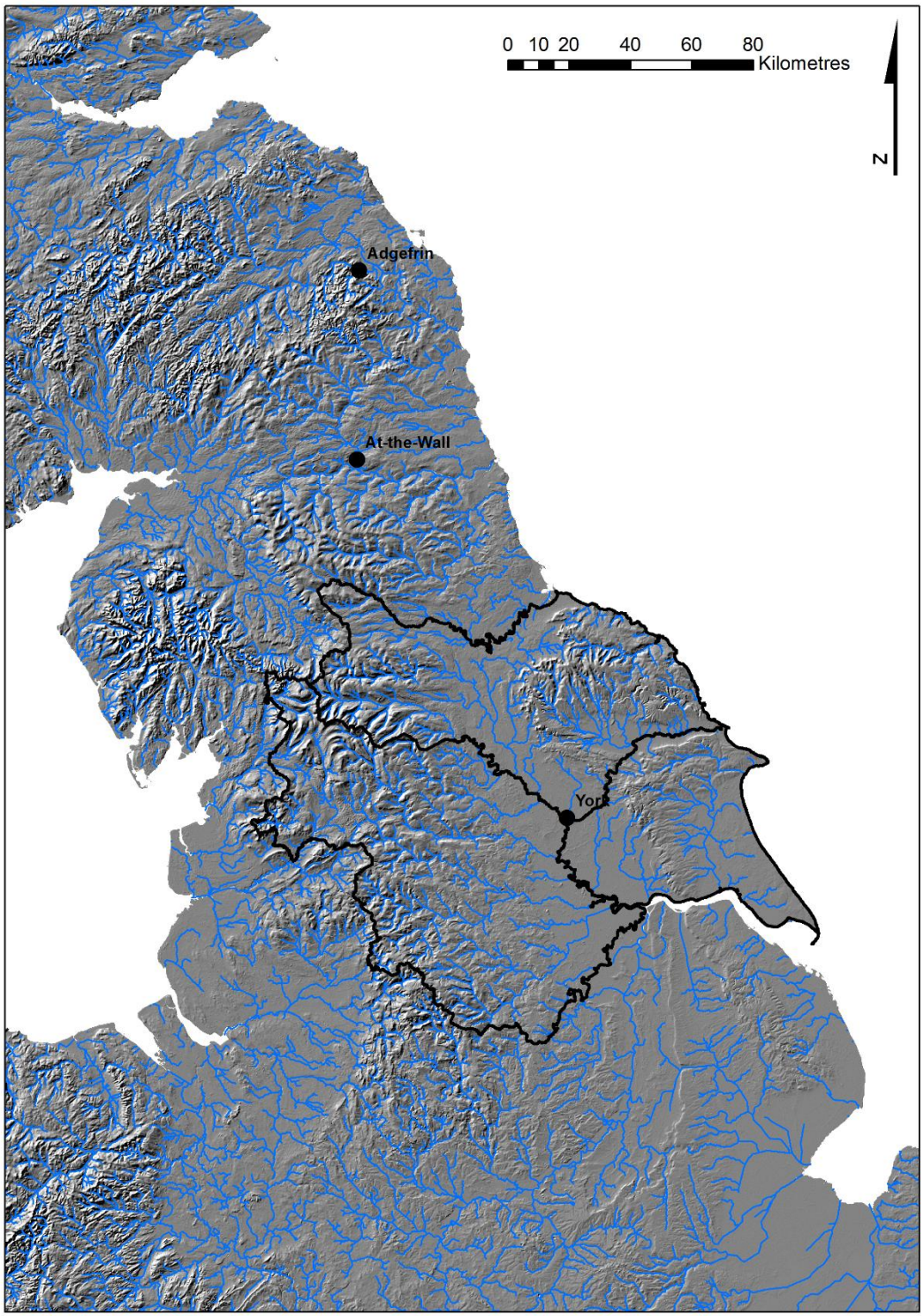


Figure 20 - Baptisms recorded in early medieval Northumbria.

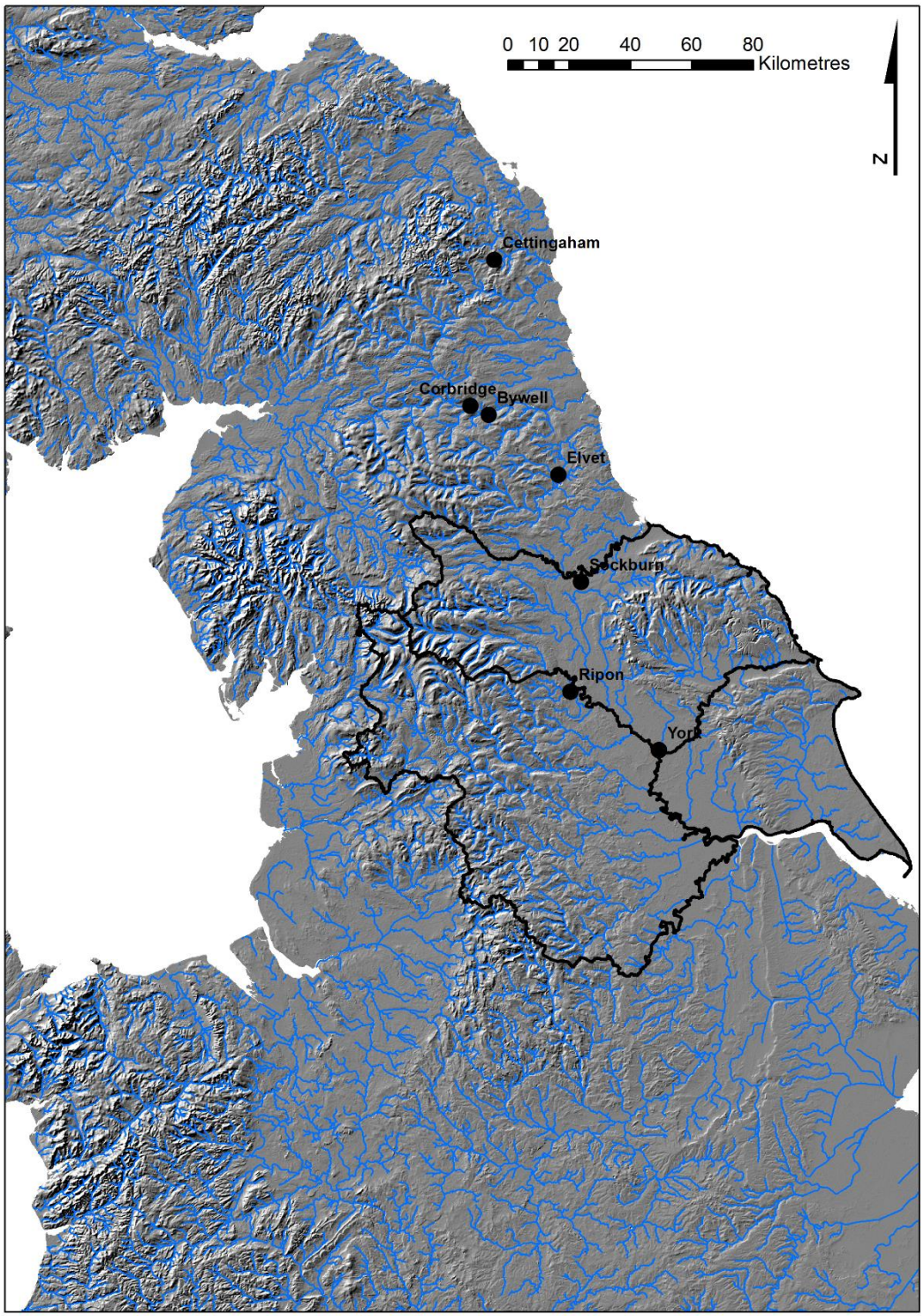


Figure 21 - Consecrations recorded in early medieval Northumbria.

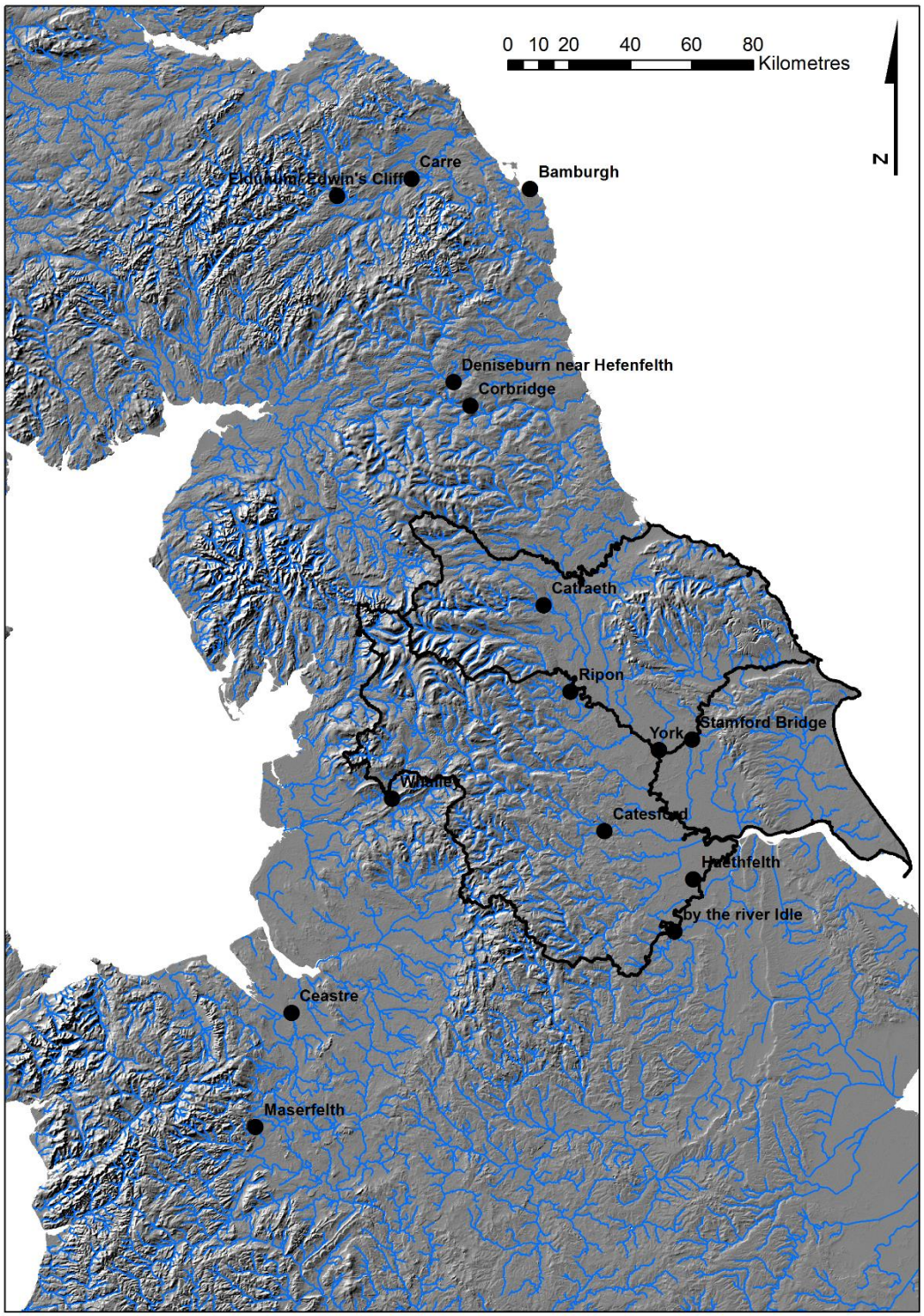


Figure 22 - Battles recorded in early medieval Northumbria.

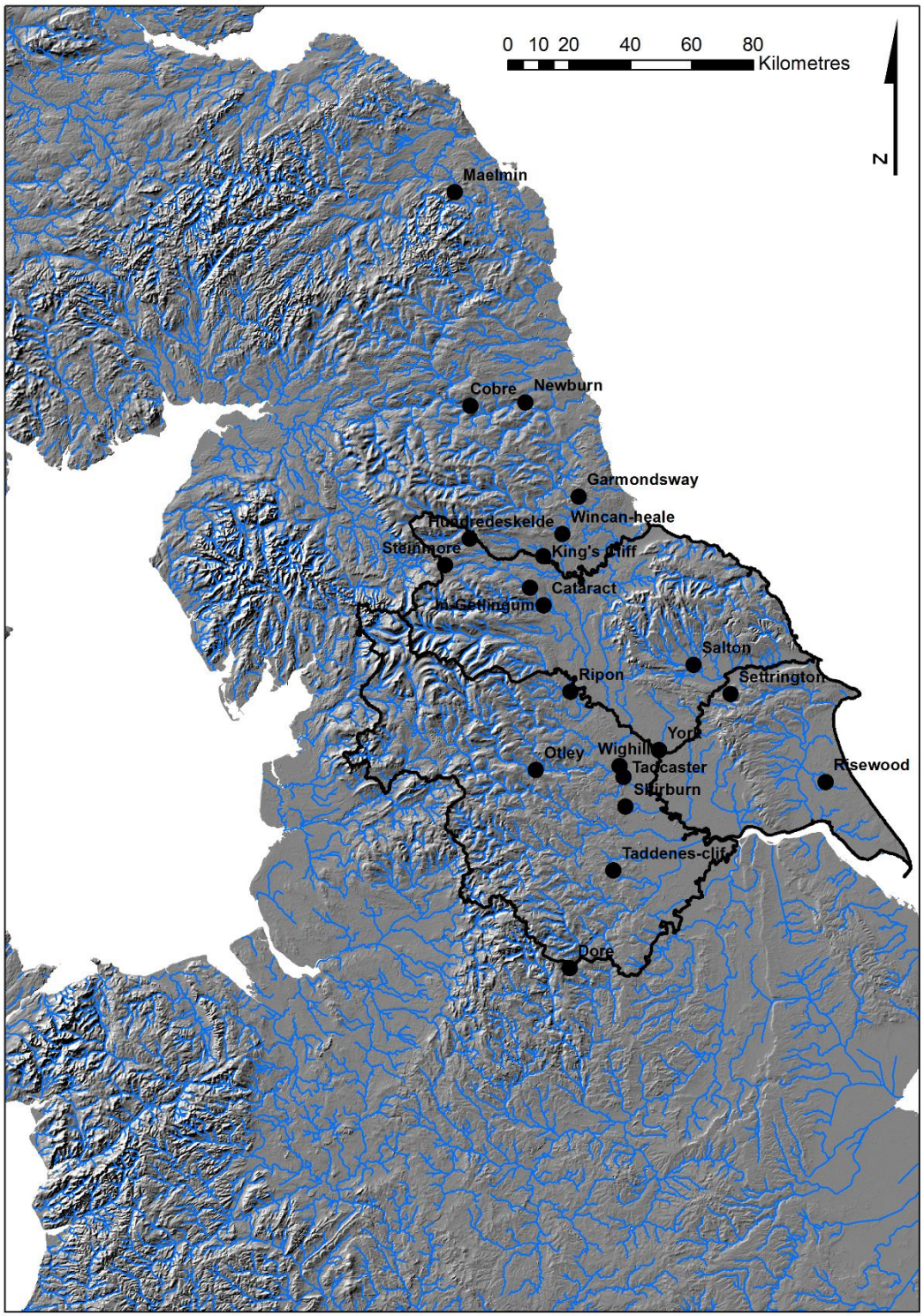


Figure 23 - Assembly-related activities recorded in early medieval Northumbria.

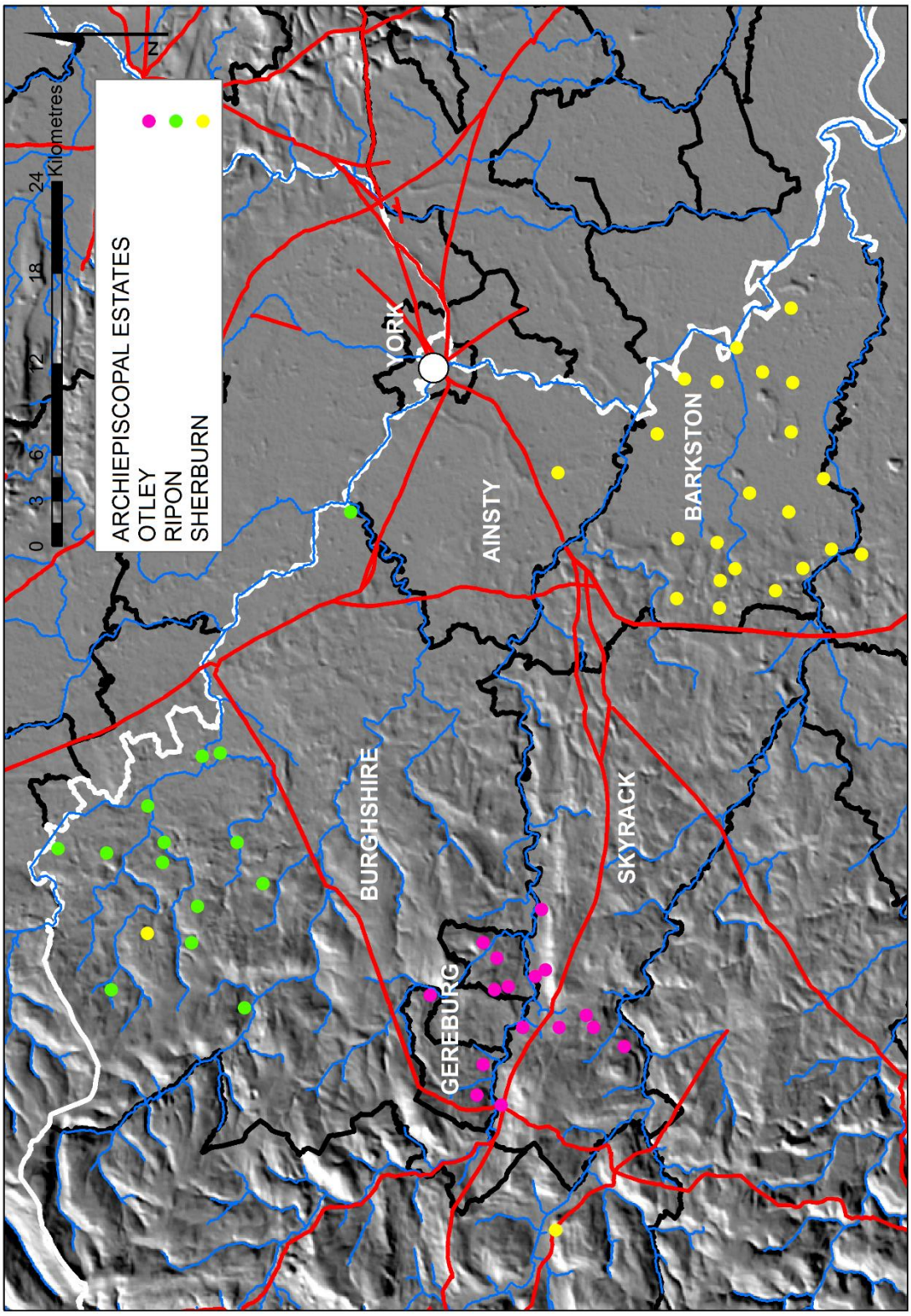


Figure 24 - Area of Gereburg, Barkston Ash, Skyrack, Ainsty and Burghshire wapentakes. Wapentake venues (blue); Otley estate (purple); Ripon estate (green); Sherburn estate (yellow).

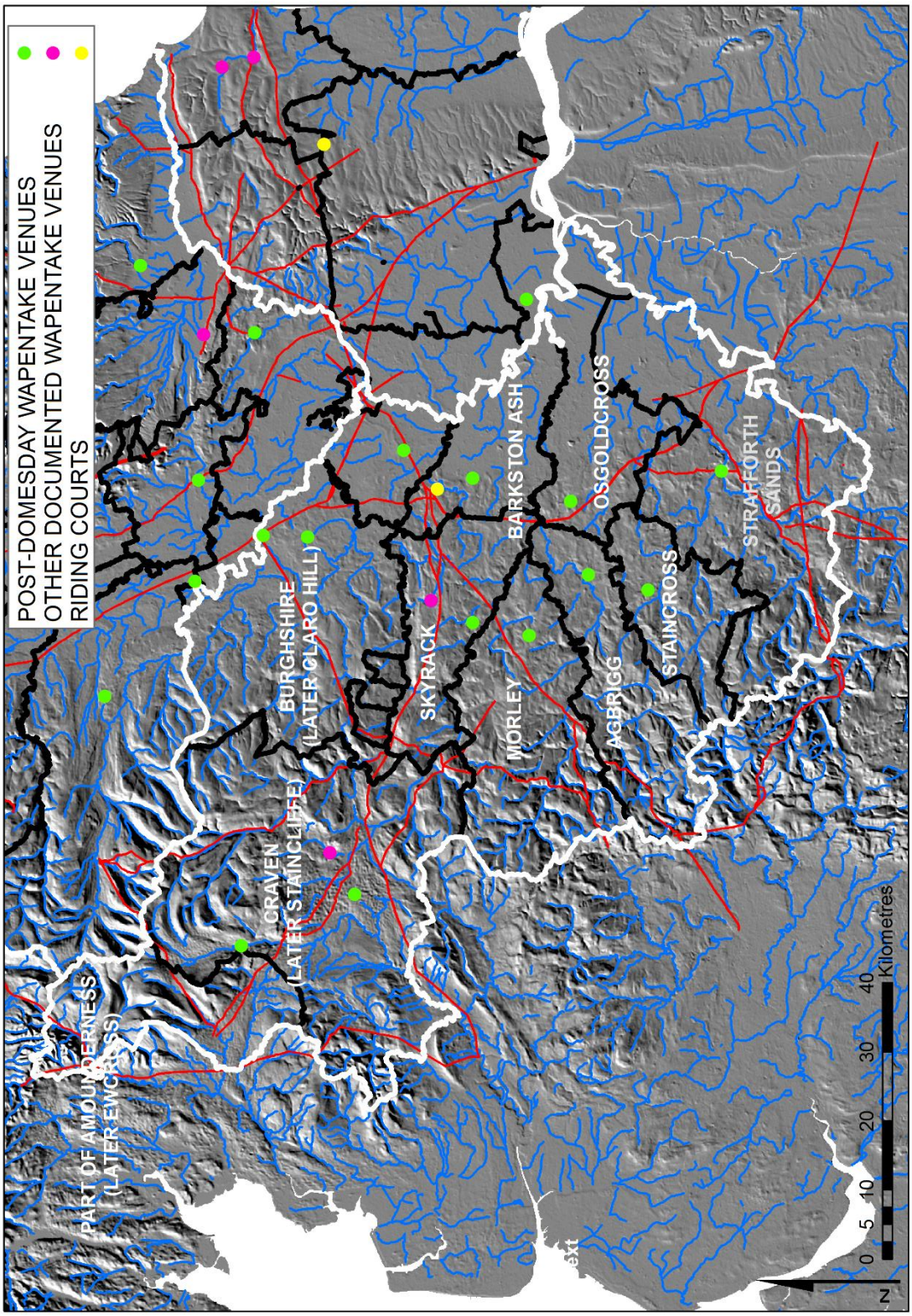


Figure 25 - Wapentakes of the West Riding.

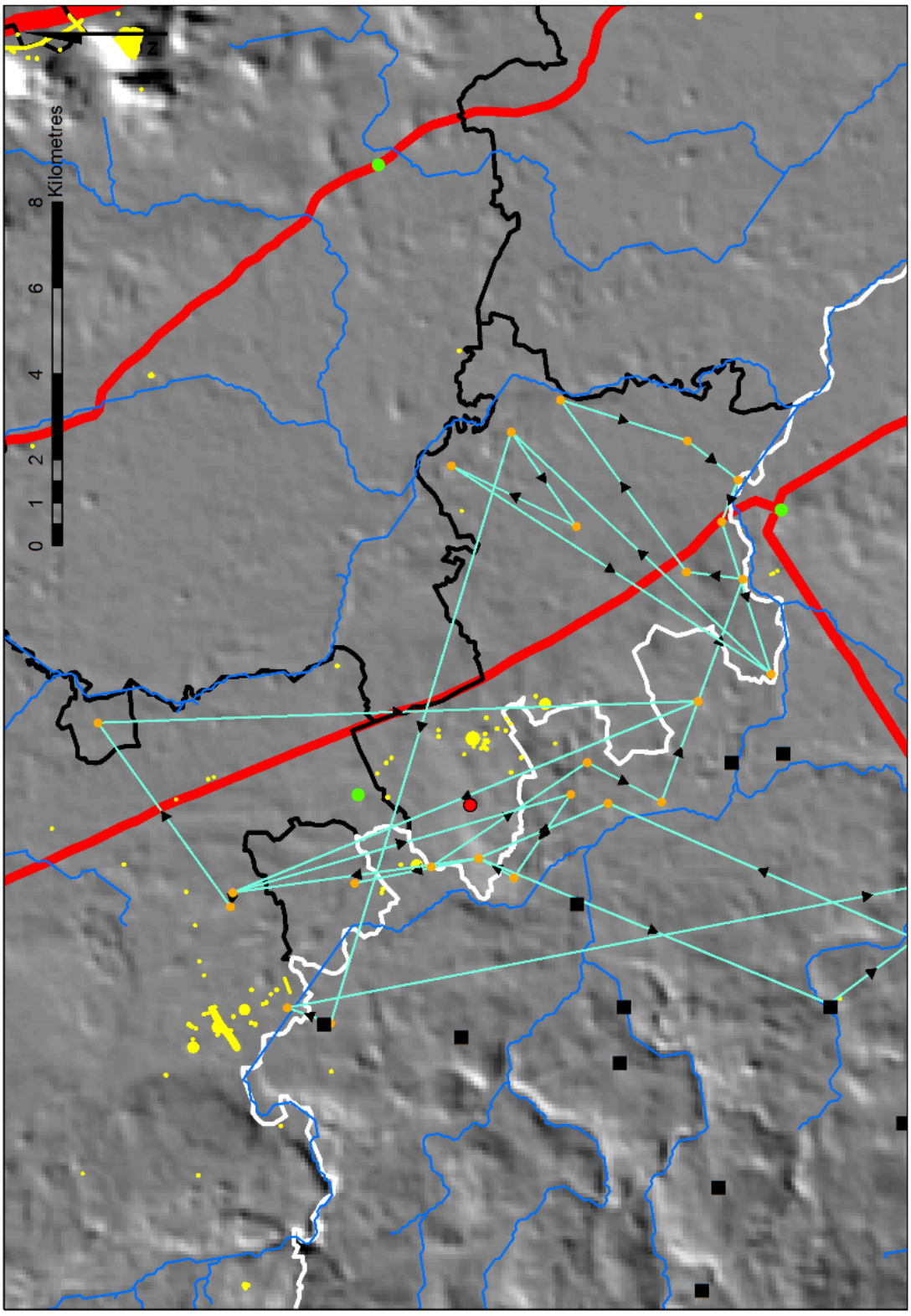


Figure 26 - Halikeld wapentake, indicating the Halikeld Summary (blue). Ripon estate (black square); wapentake venues (green). Prehistoric earthworks are recorded in yellow. Athelstan's Cross is marked by the red dot.

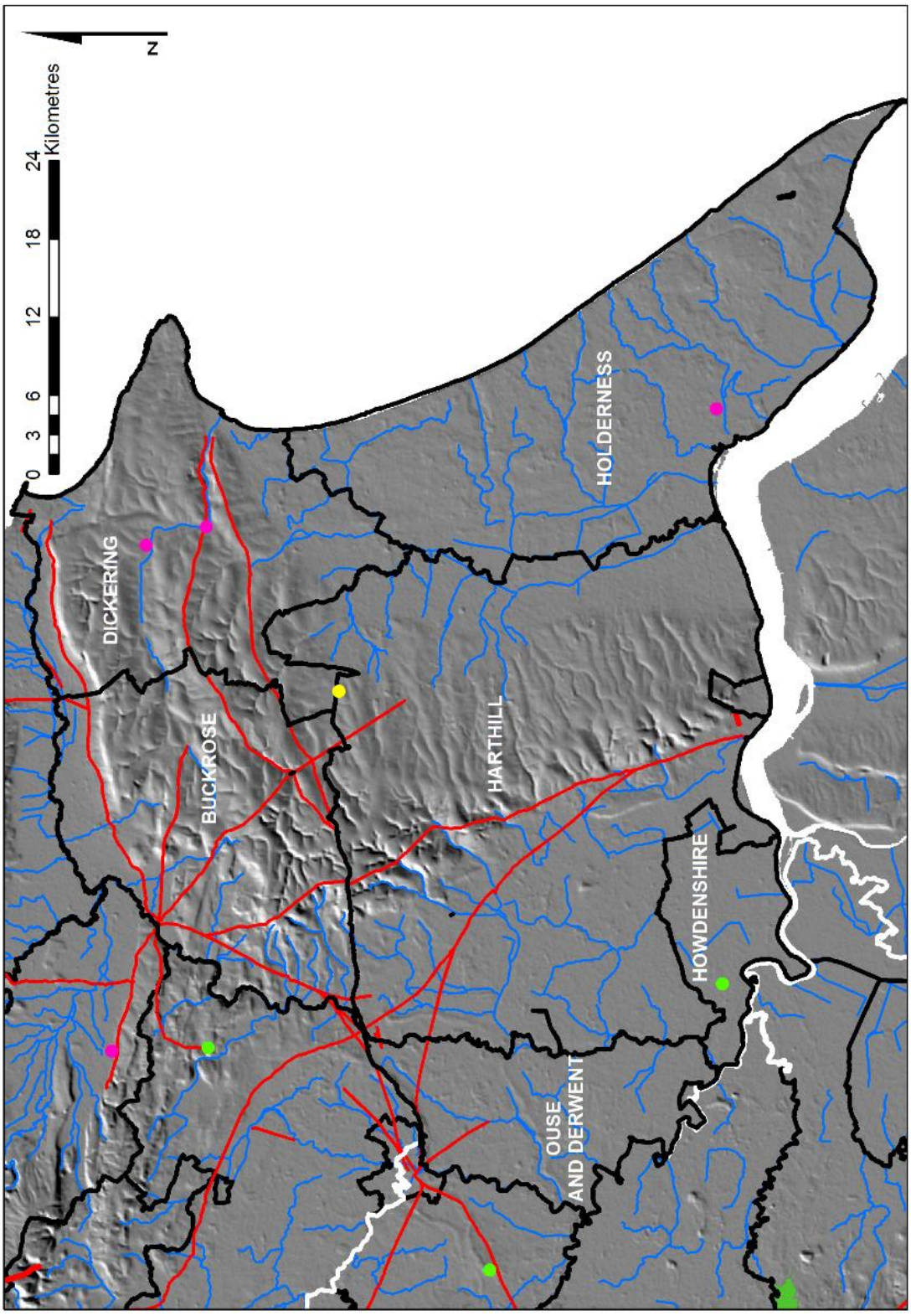


Figure 27 - East Riding wapentakes. The Roman road network is marked in red. The map includes named wapentake venues (green), documented wapentake venues (purple) and Craike Hill, the riding court (yellow).

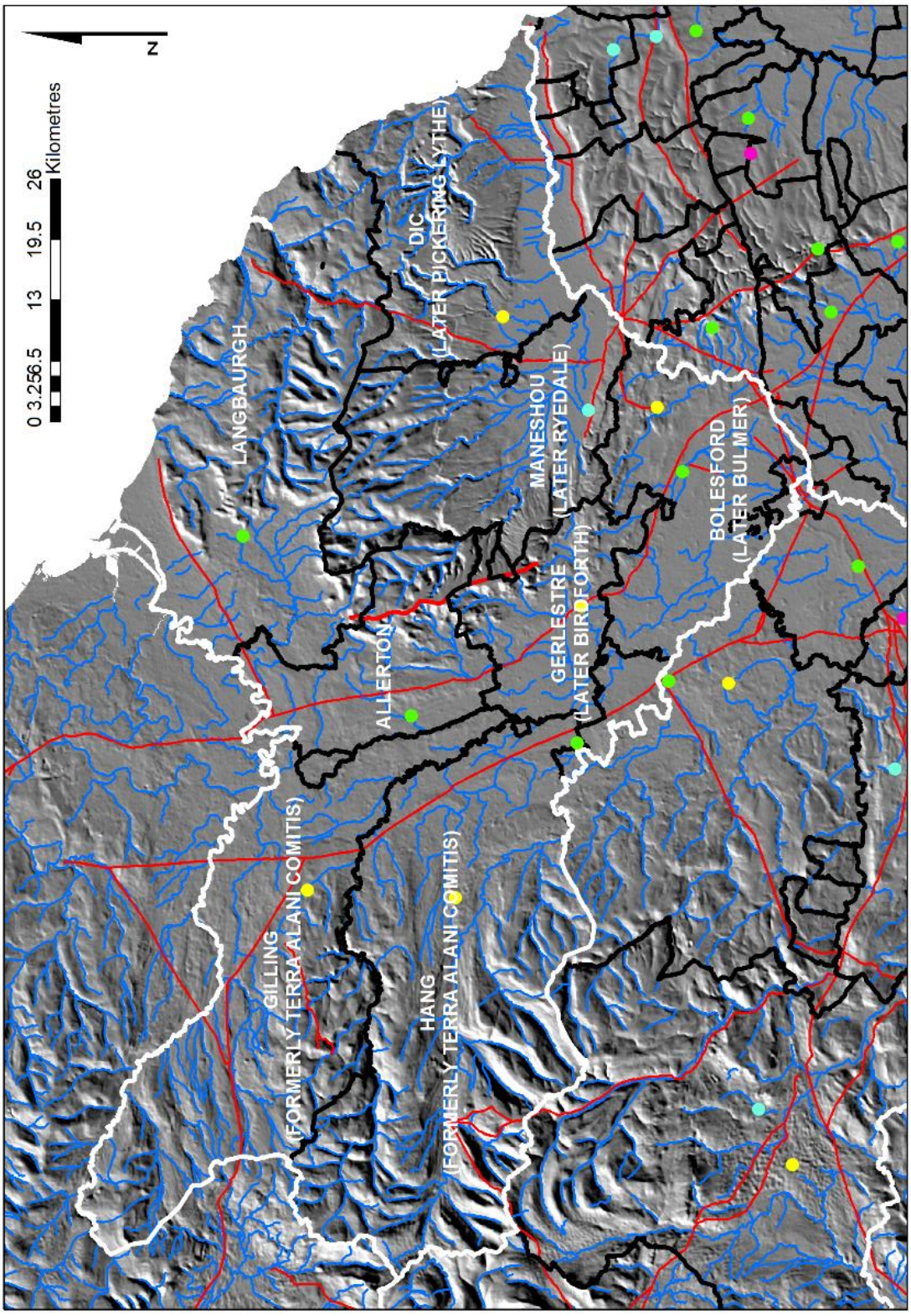


Figure 28 - North Riding wapentakes. Indicated are Domesday wapentake venues (green), post-Domesday named wapentake venues (yellow) and other documented wapentake venues (cyan).

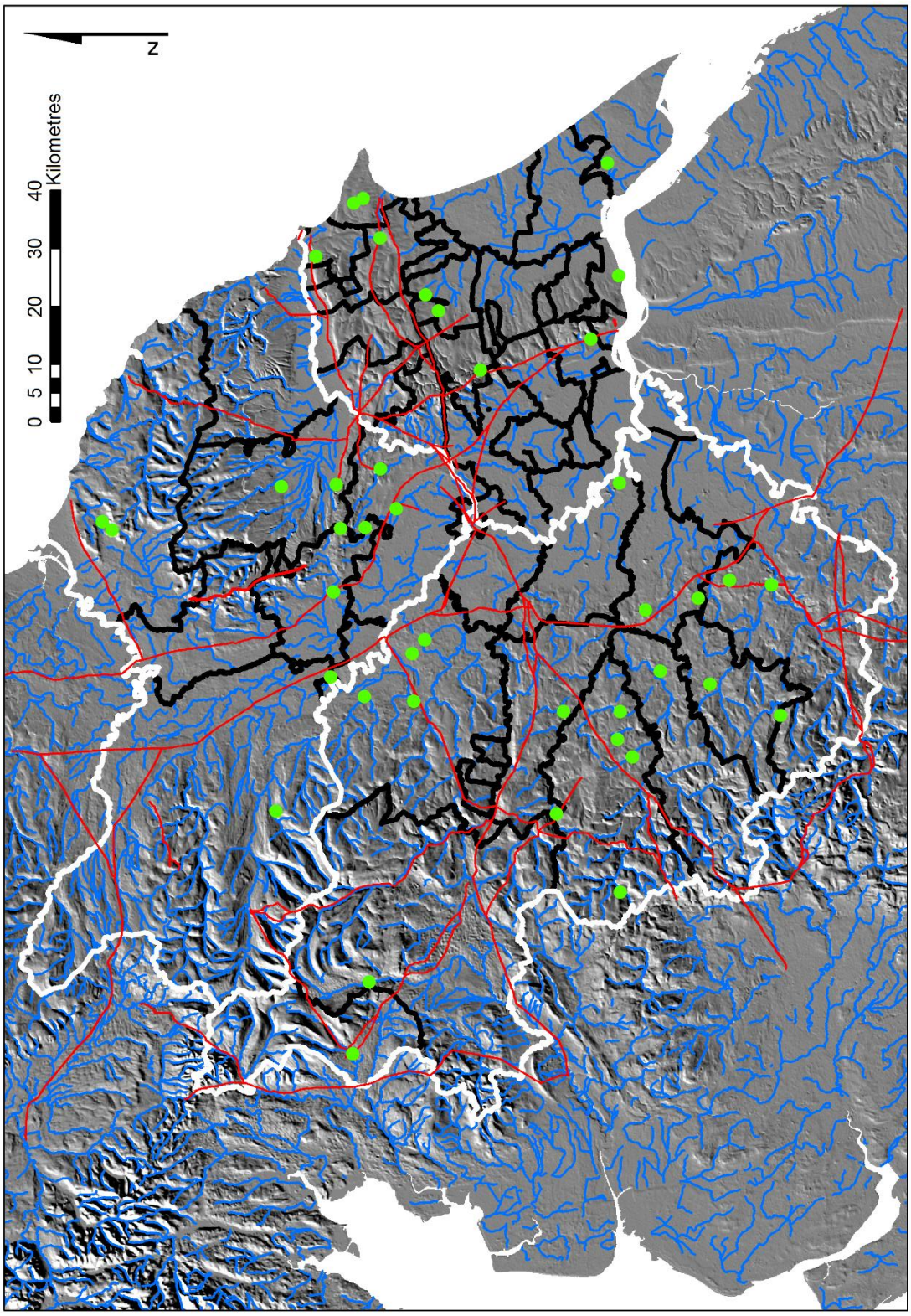


Figure 29 - Documented and place-name attested assembly sites referencing focal points in Yorkshire.

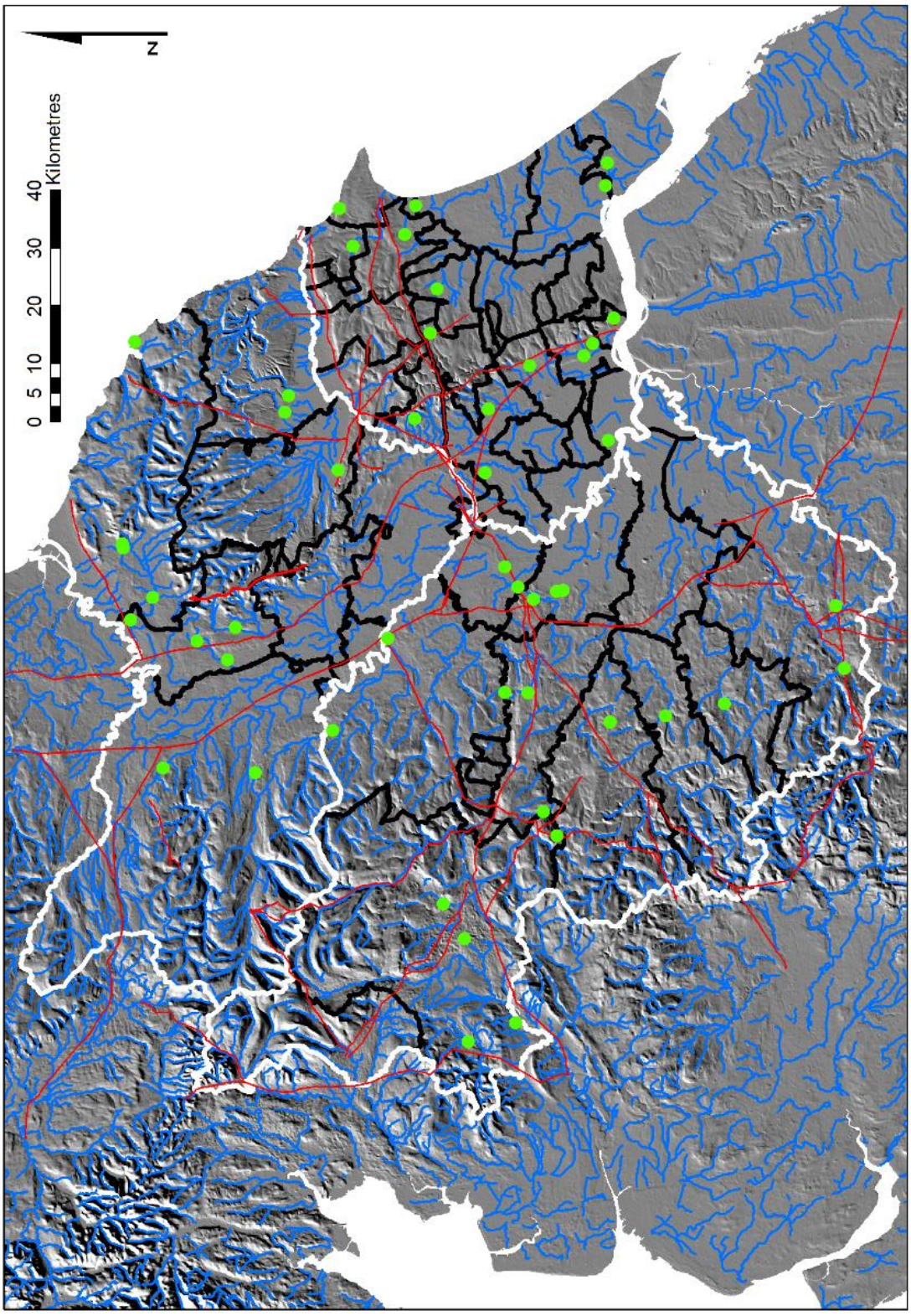


Figure 30 - Documented and place-name attested assembly sites referencing focal areas in Yorkshire.

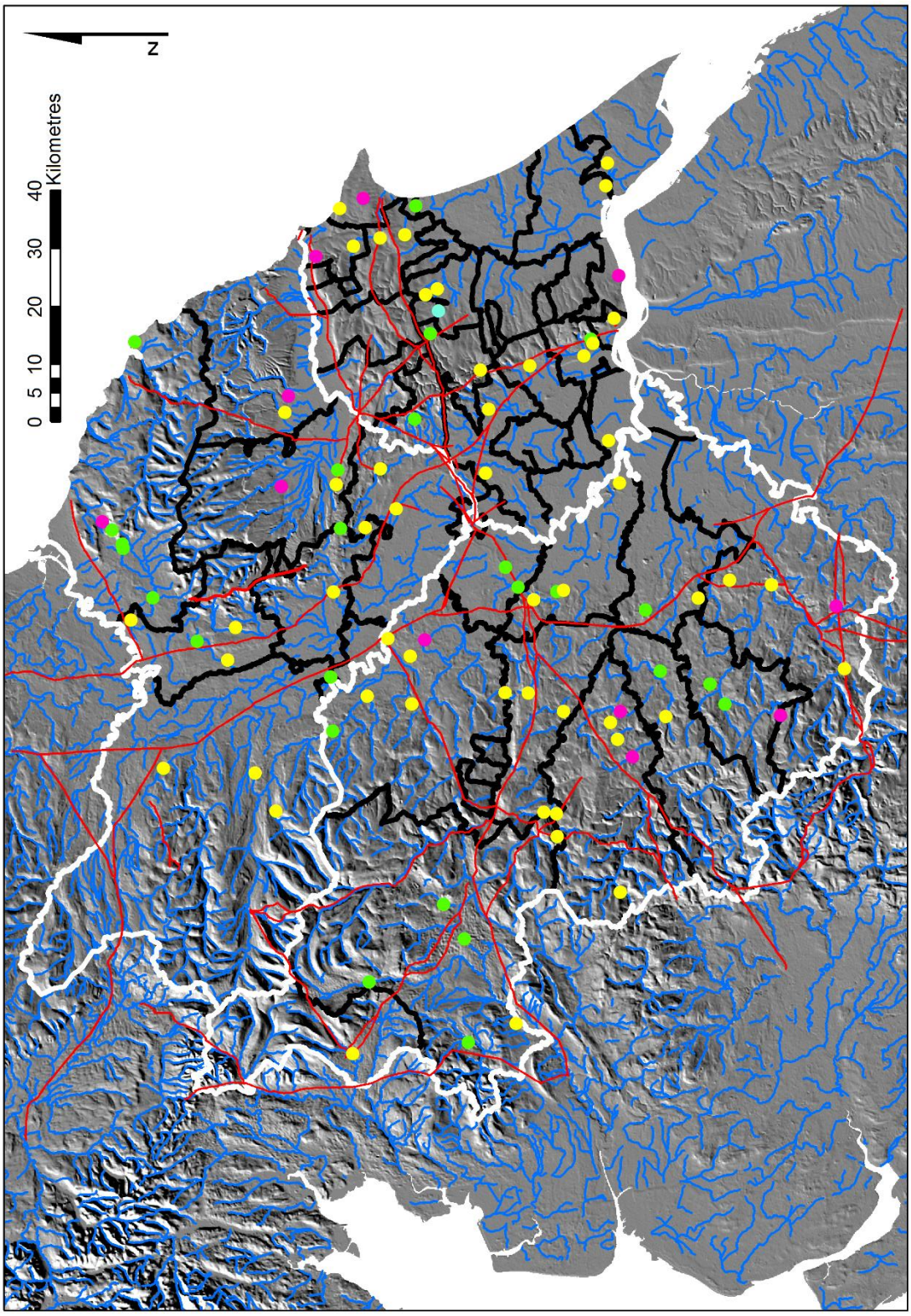


Figure 31 - Distribution of Old Norse and Old English assembly names in Yorkshire. Old Norse (green); Old English (yellow); British (light blue); Hybrid or unclear (purple).

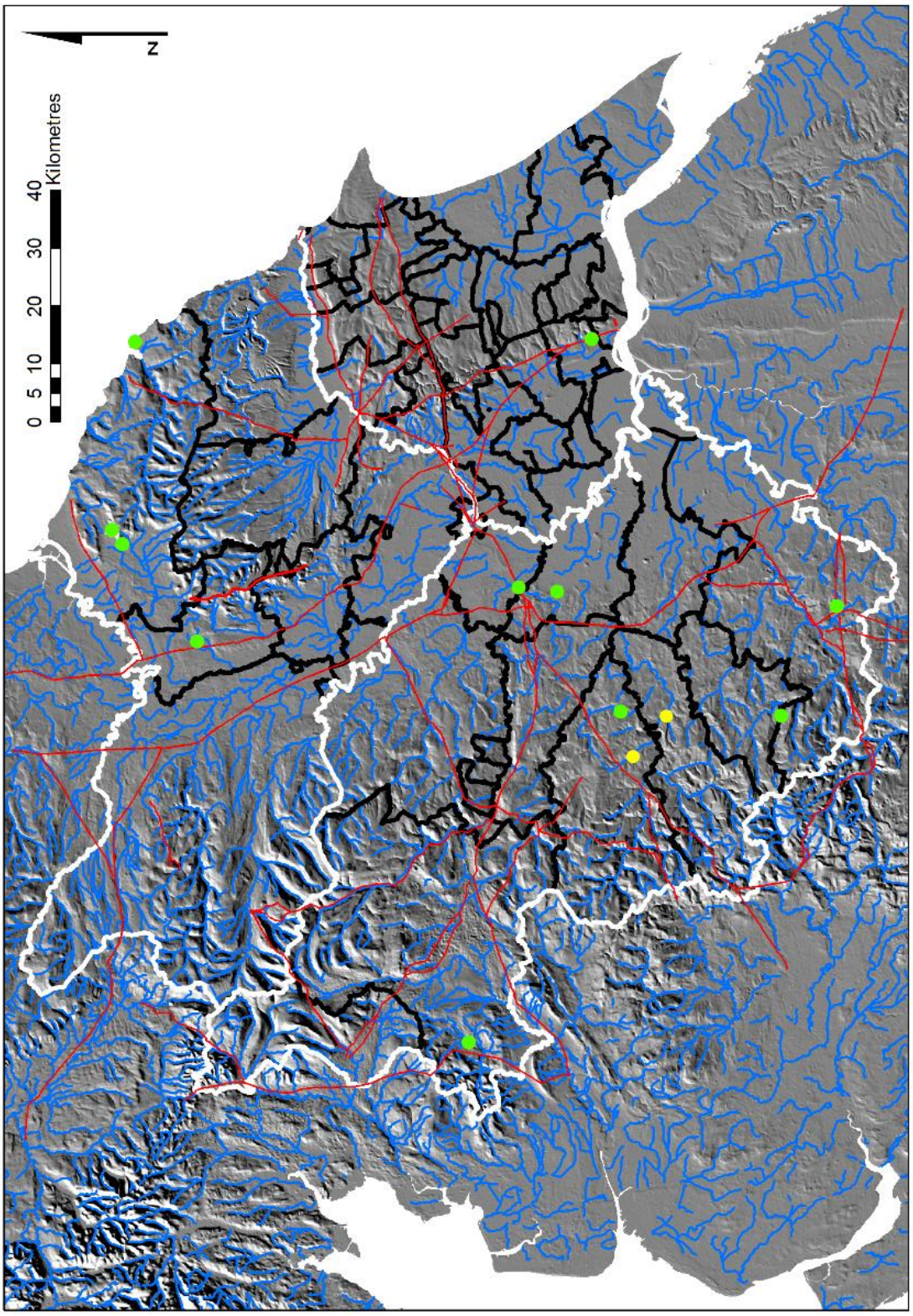


Figure 32 - Distribution of þing names in Yorkshire. Þing (green); husting (yellow).

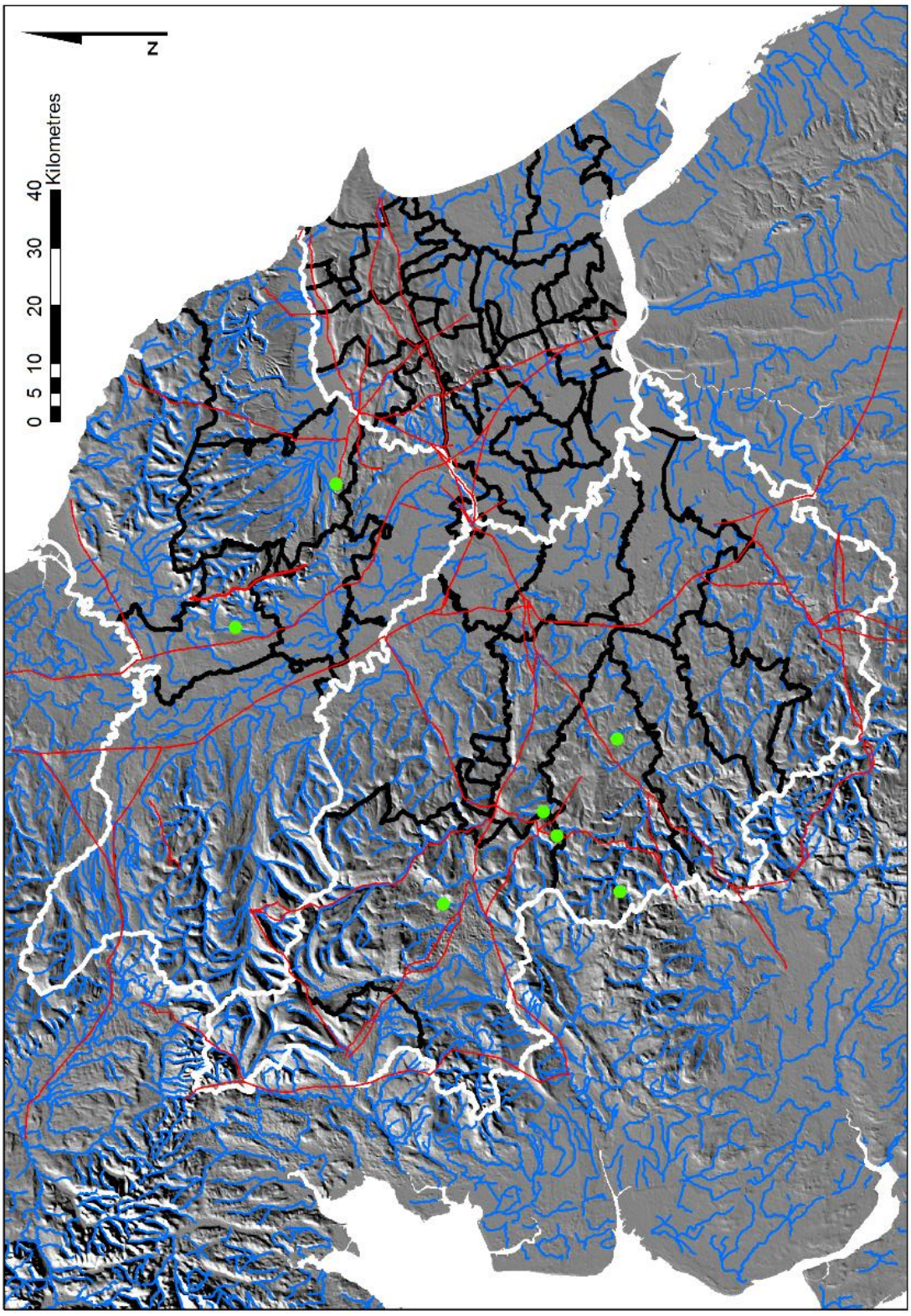


Figure 33 - Distribution of (ge)mot names in Yorkshire.

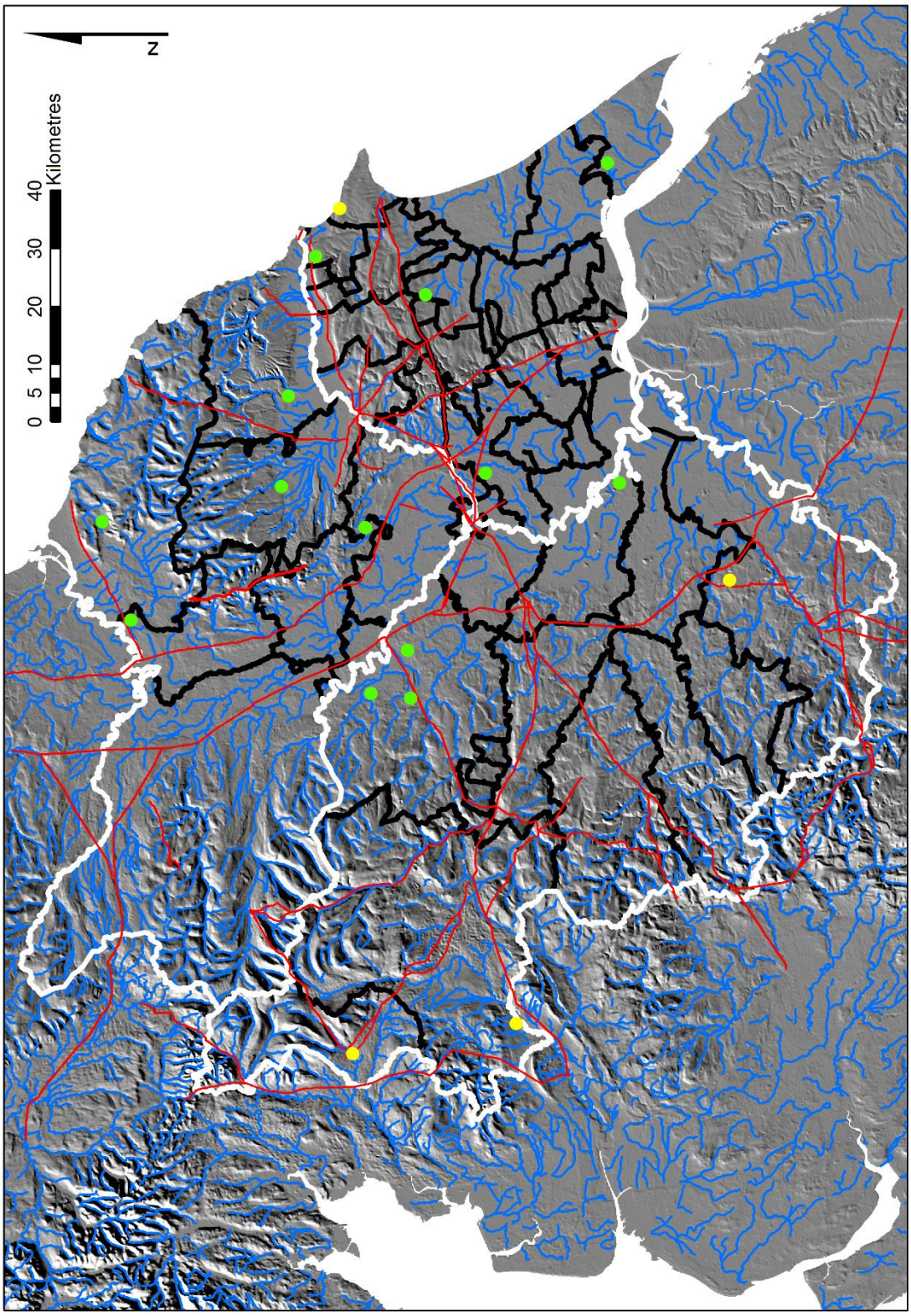


Figure 34 - Distribution of spell names in Yorkshire. Spell (green); Spraec (yellow).

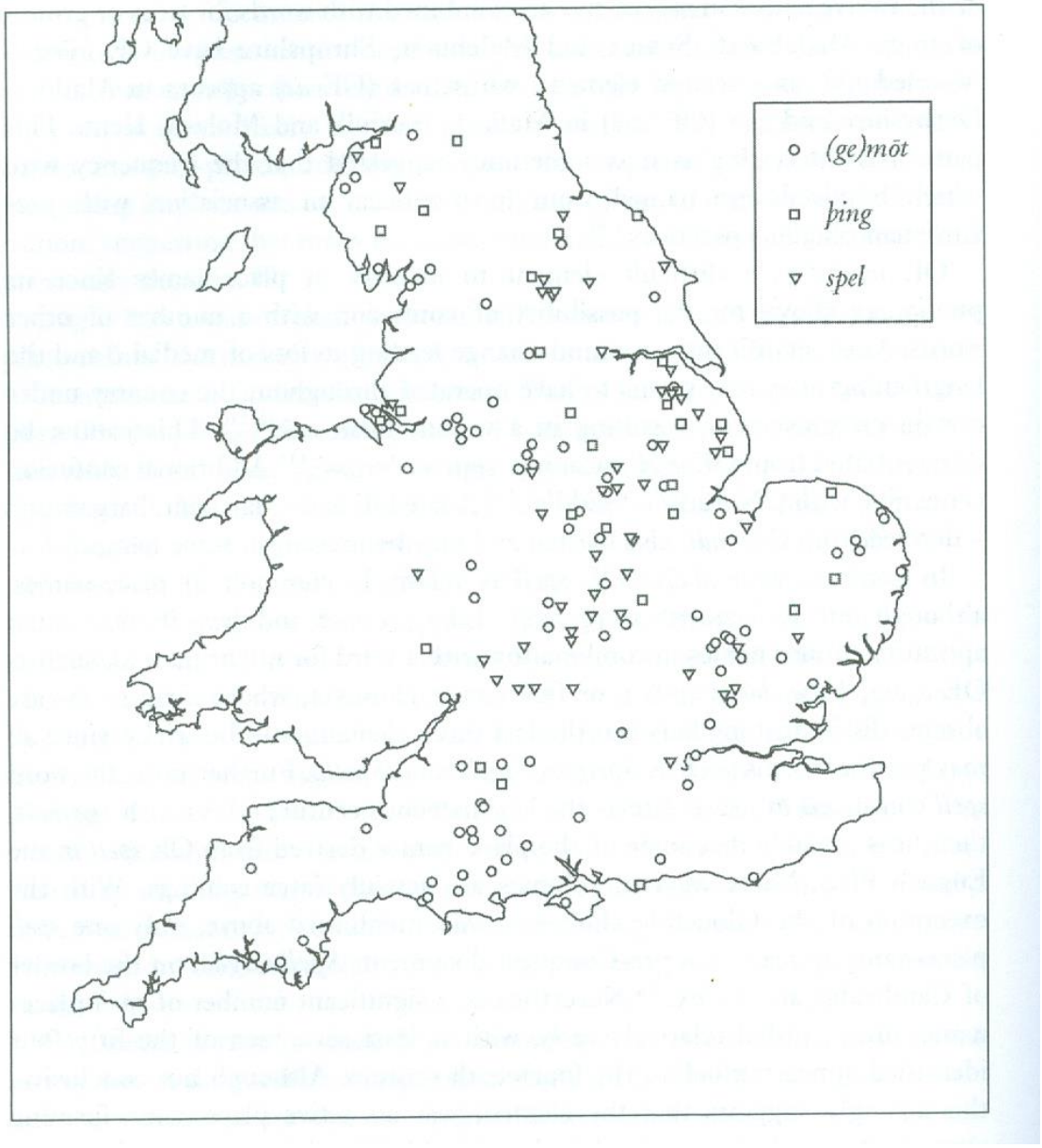


Figure 35 - National distribution of the element spell (Pantos 2004).

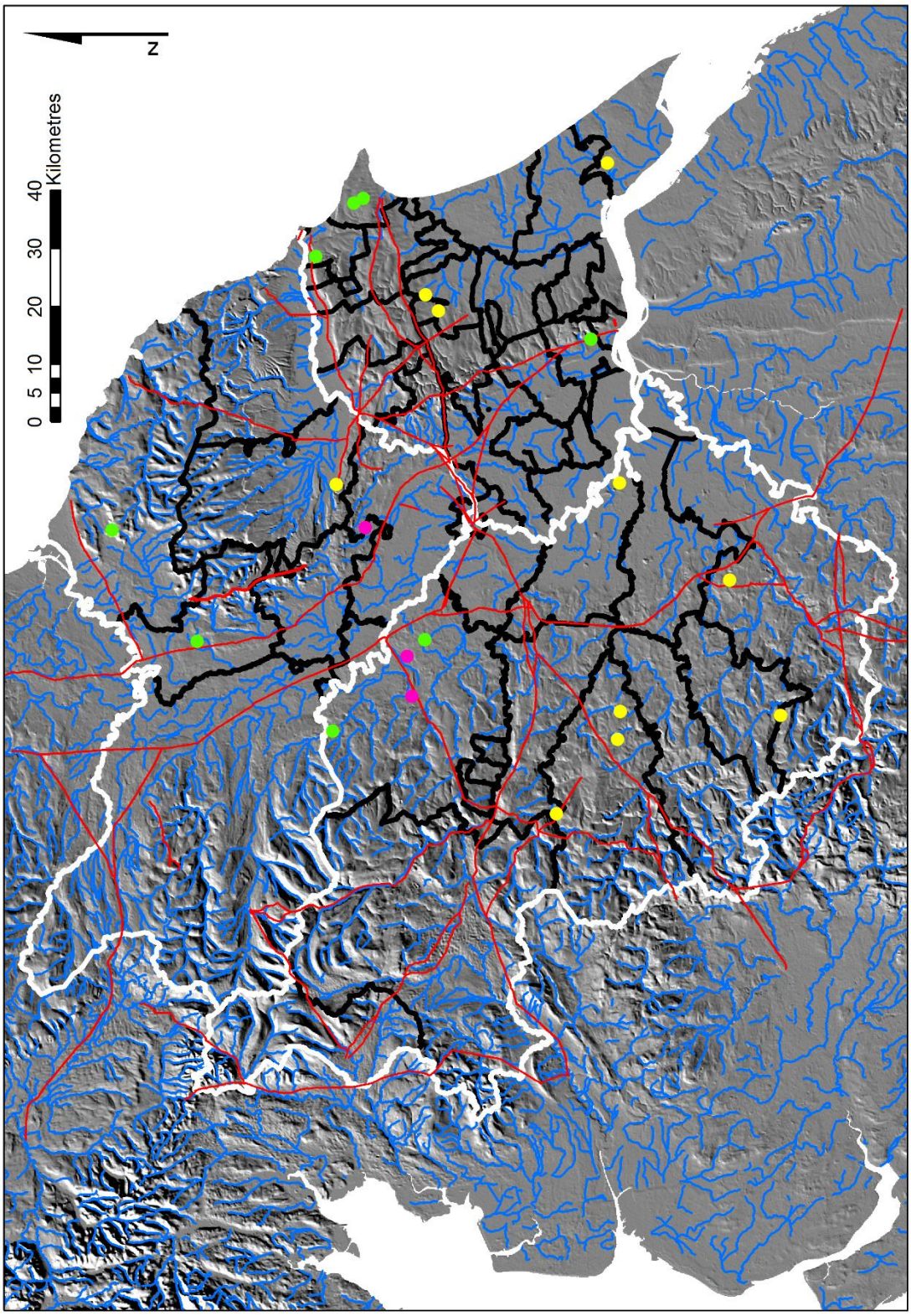


Figure 36 - Assembly names referring to hills and mounds in Yorkshire. ON haugr (green); OE hlaw (yellow); OE hoh (purple).

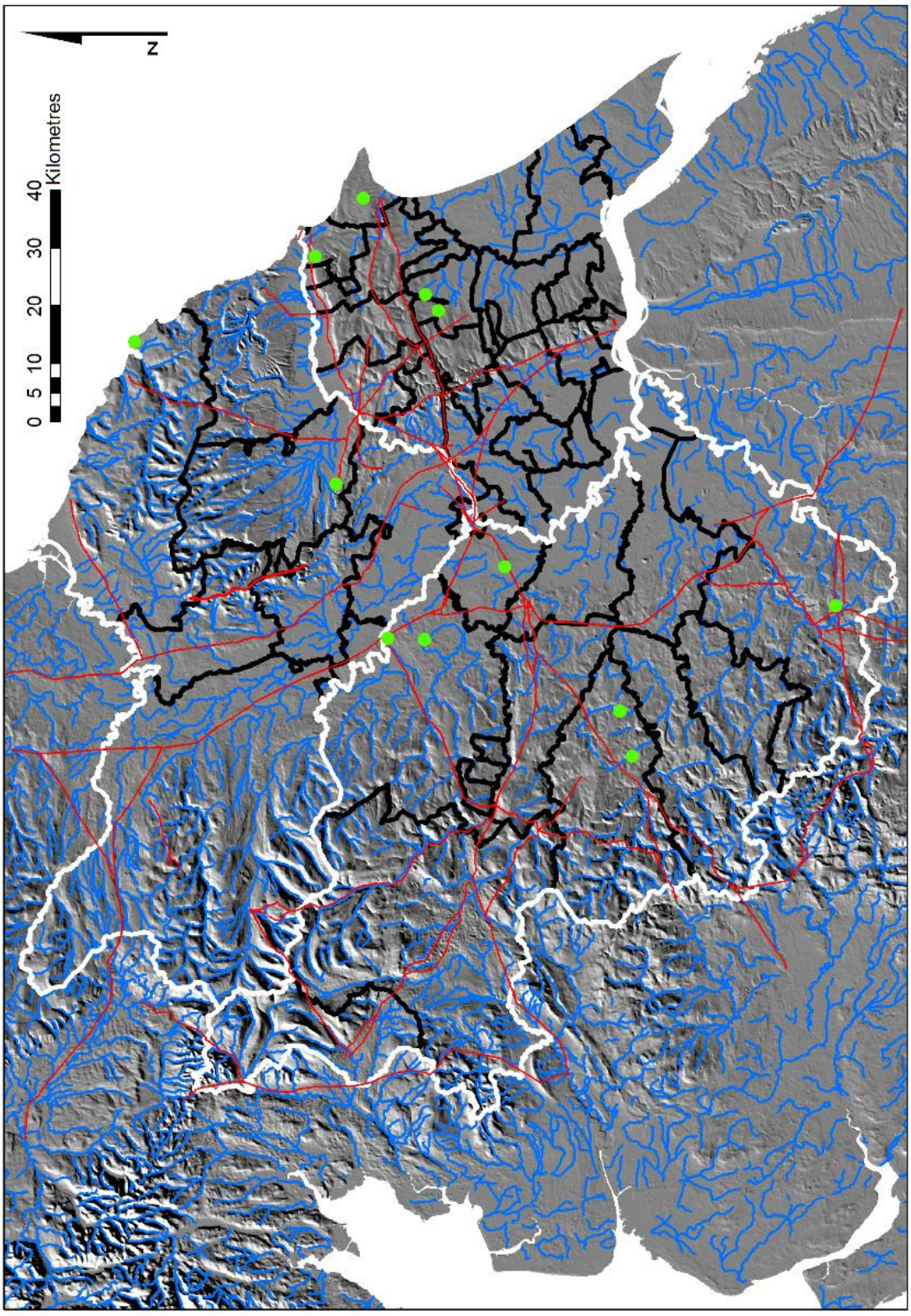


Figure 37 - Assembly sites in Yorkshire associated with mounds.

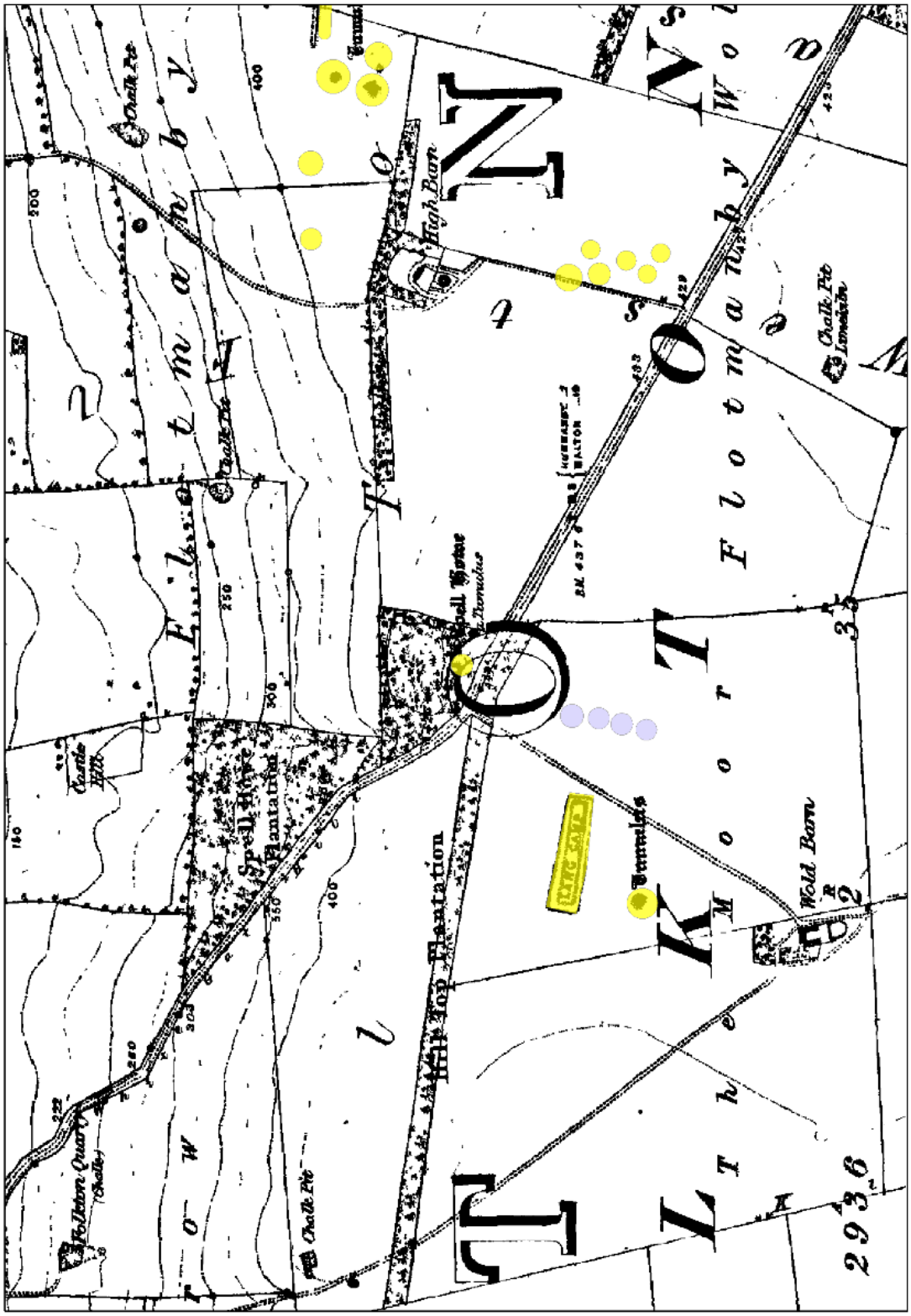


Figure 38 - First Edition Ordnance Survey of Spell Howe. Earthwork monuments are indicated in yellow. Ambiguous natural/artificial earthen edifices are marked in grey.

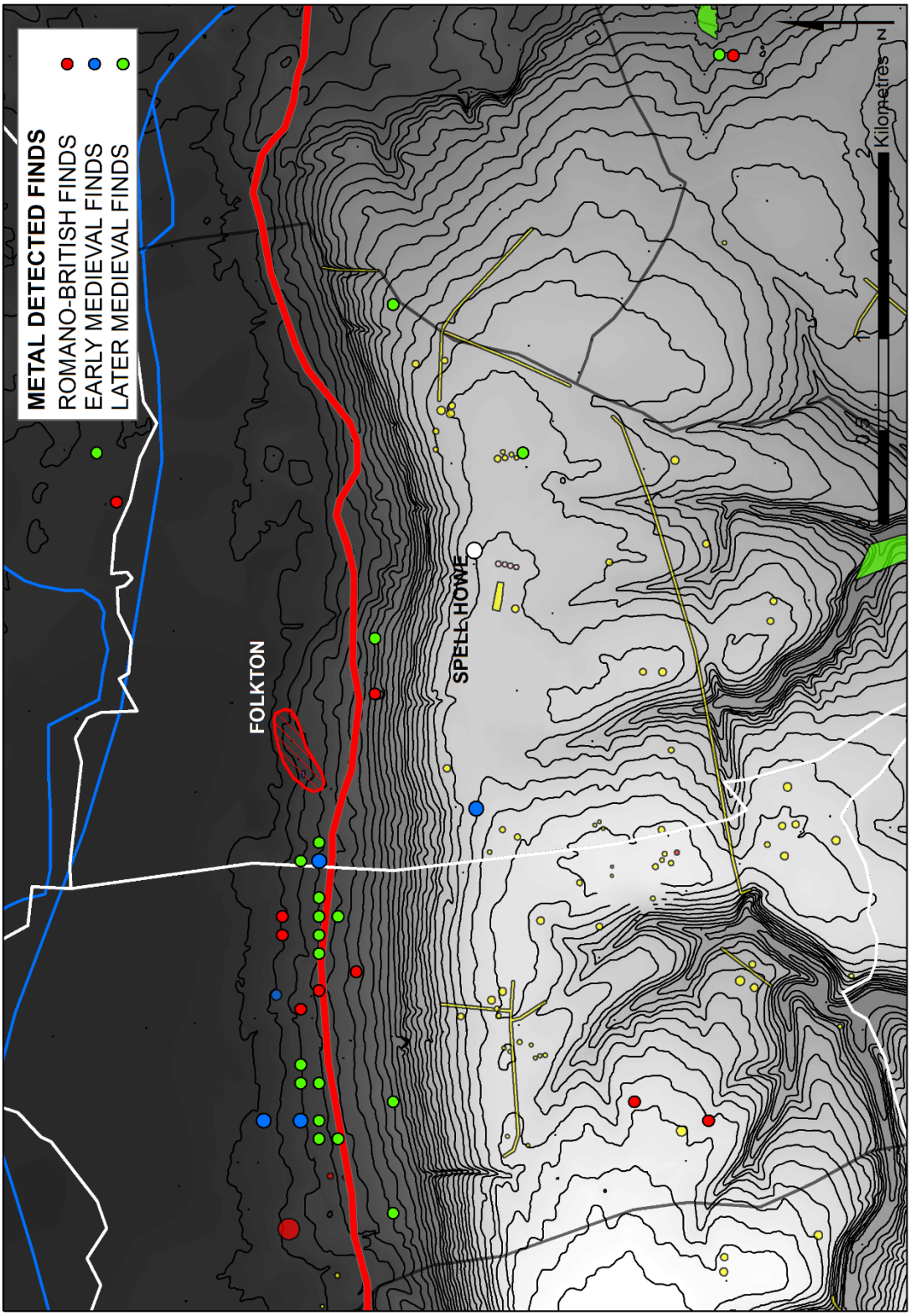


Figure 39 - Spell Howe in its wider landscape. The yellow polygons indicate earthwork monuments in the immediate environs of this site.

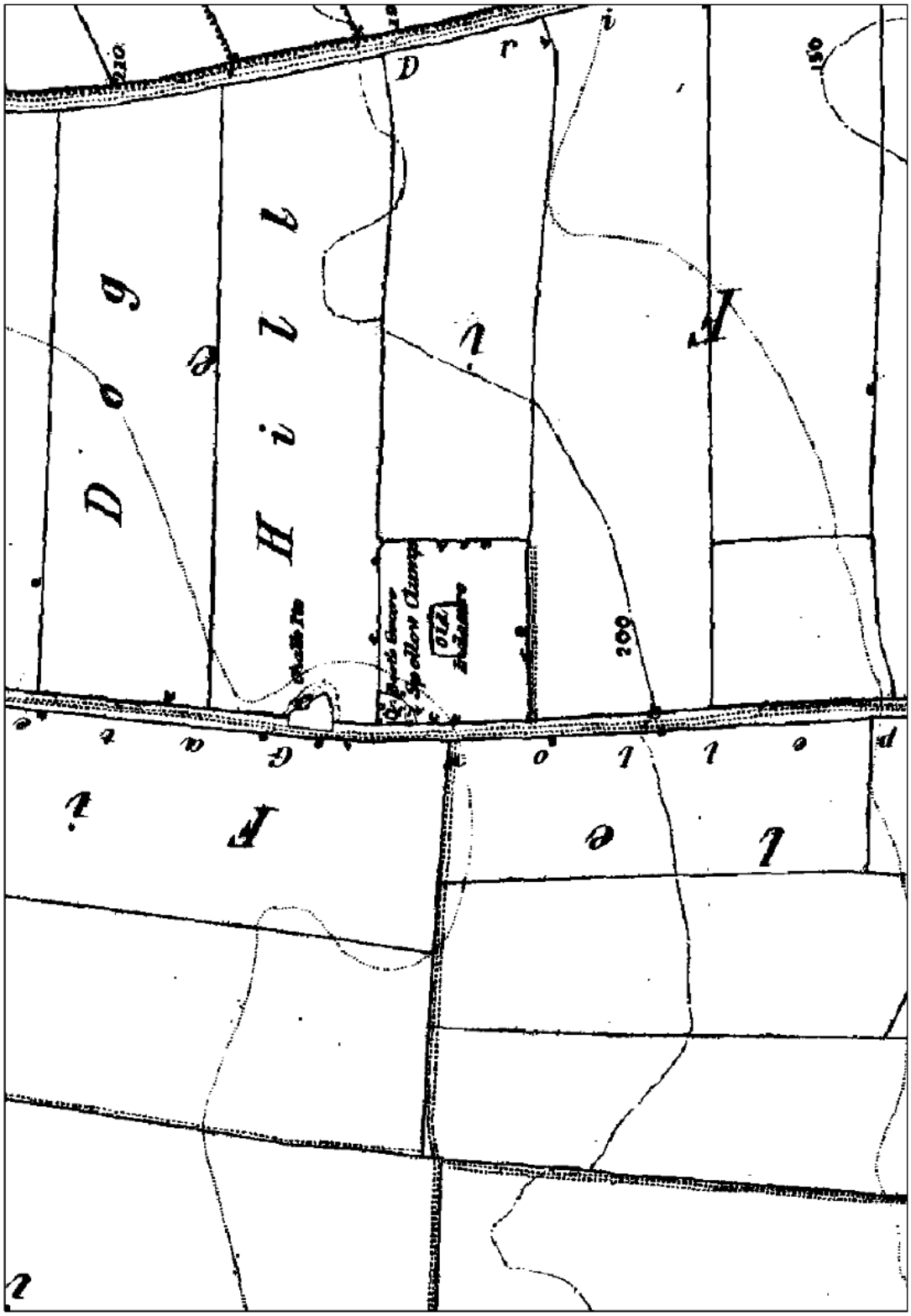


Figure 40 - First Edition Ordnance Survey of Spellow Clump.

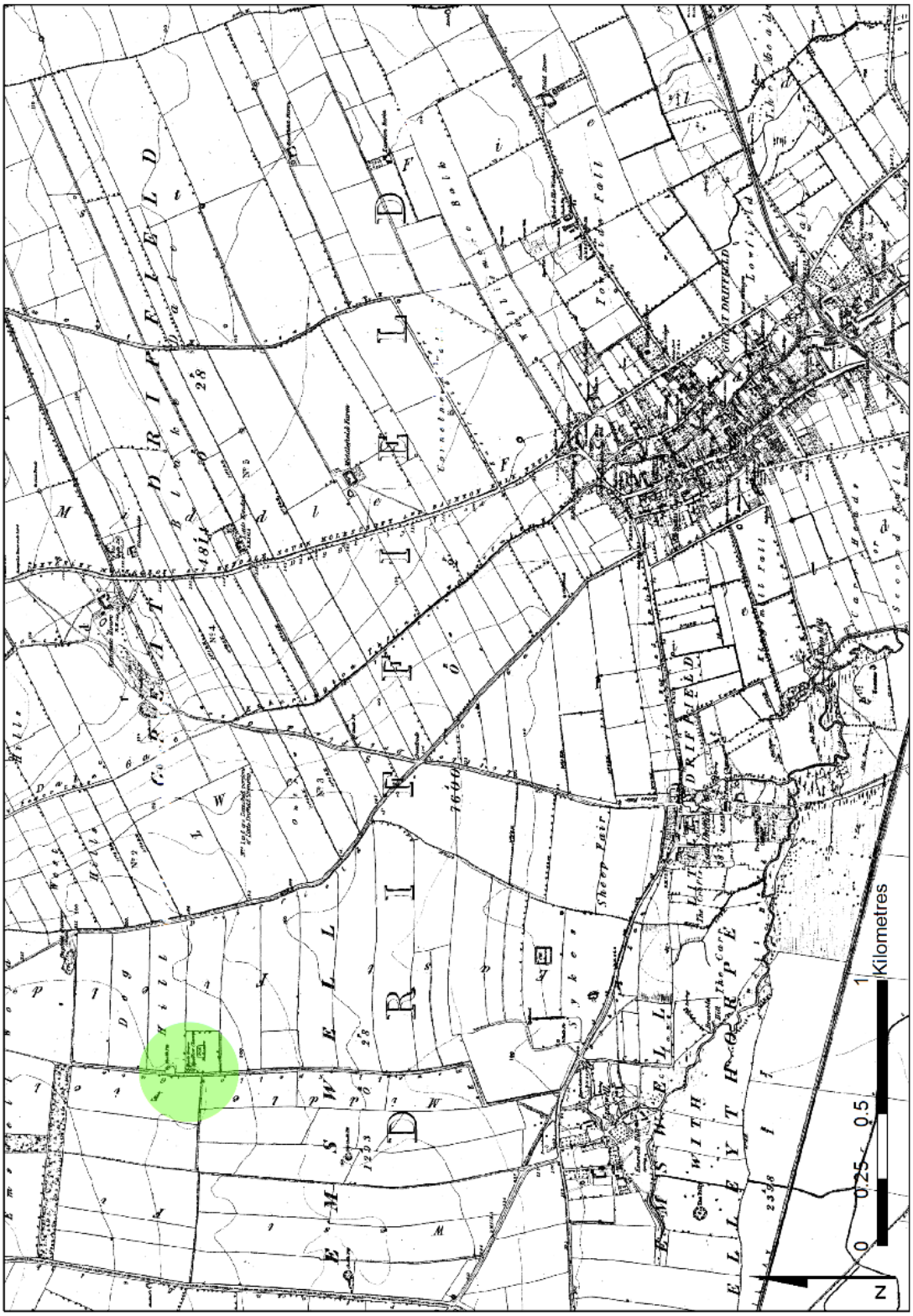


Figure 41 - Spellow Clump in relation to Driffield.

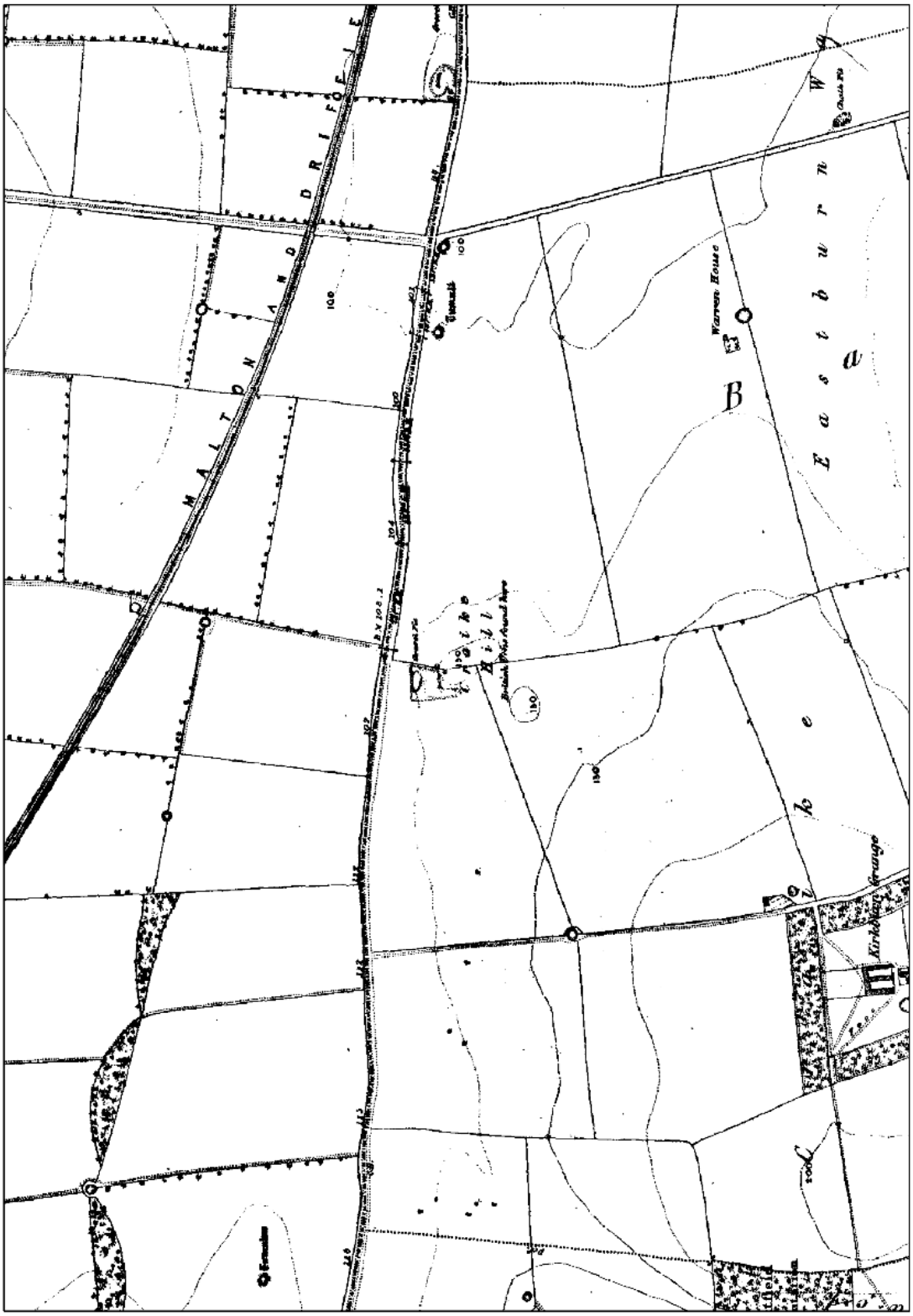


Figure 42 - First Edition Ordnance Survey of Craike Hill.

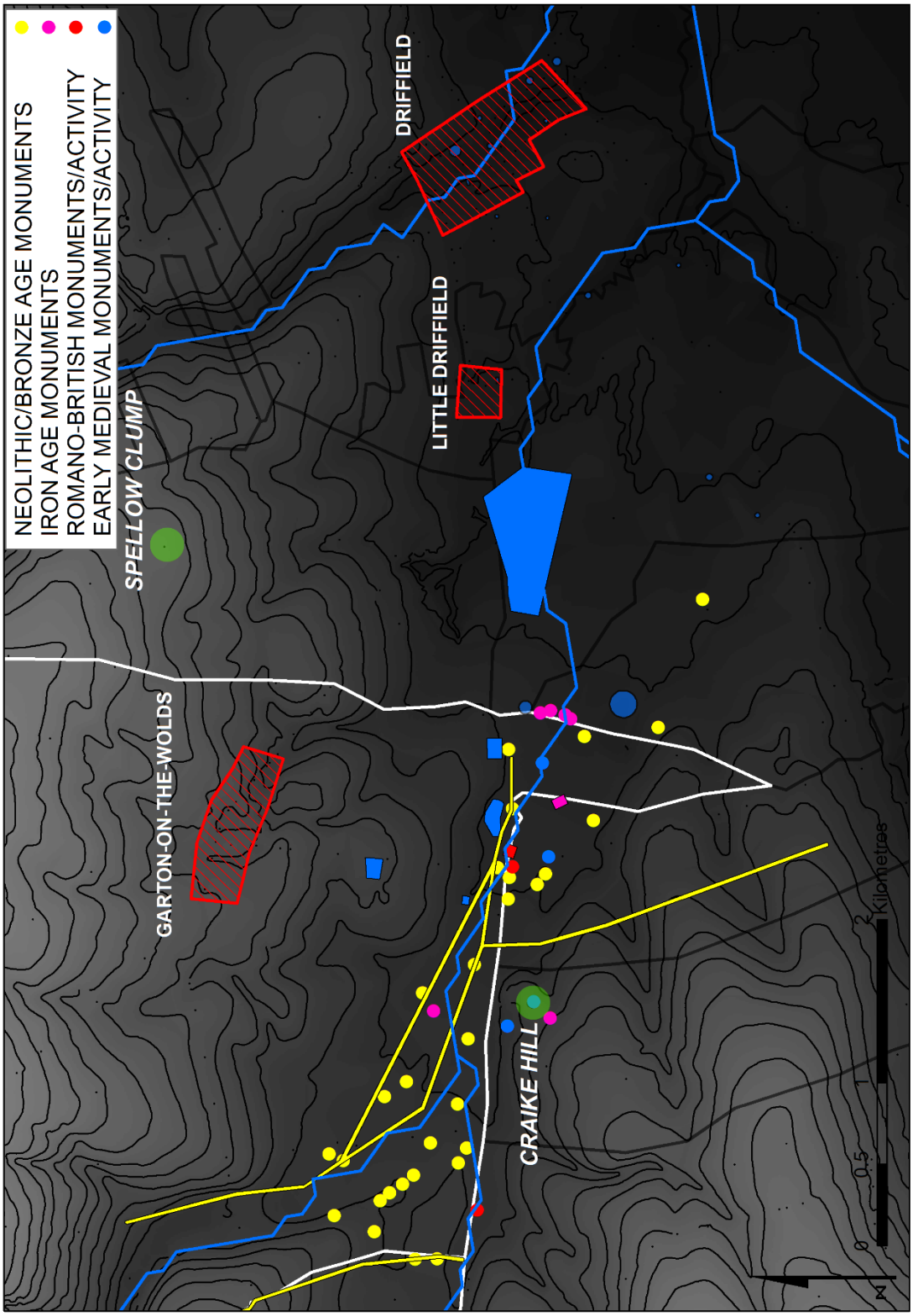


Figure 43 - Craike Hill in its wider landscape.

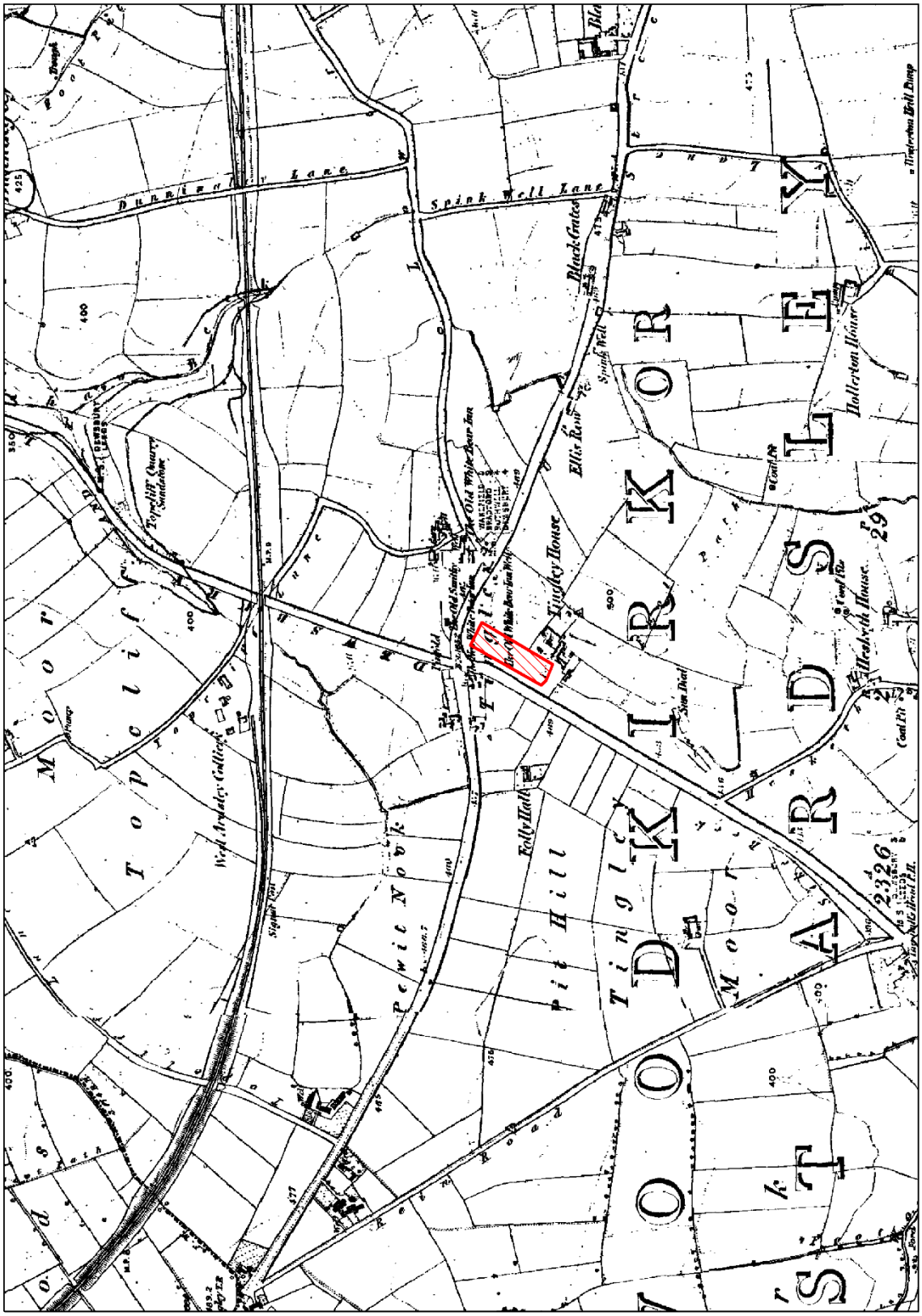


Figure 44 - First Edition Ordnance Survey of Tingley, indicating approximate area of the recent metal-detector survey.



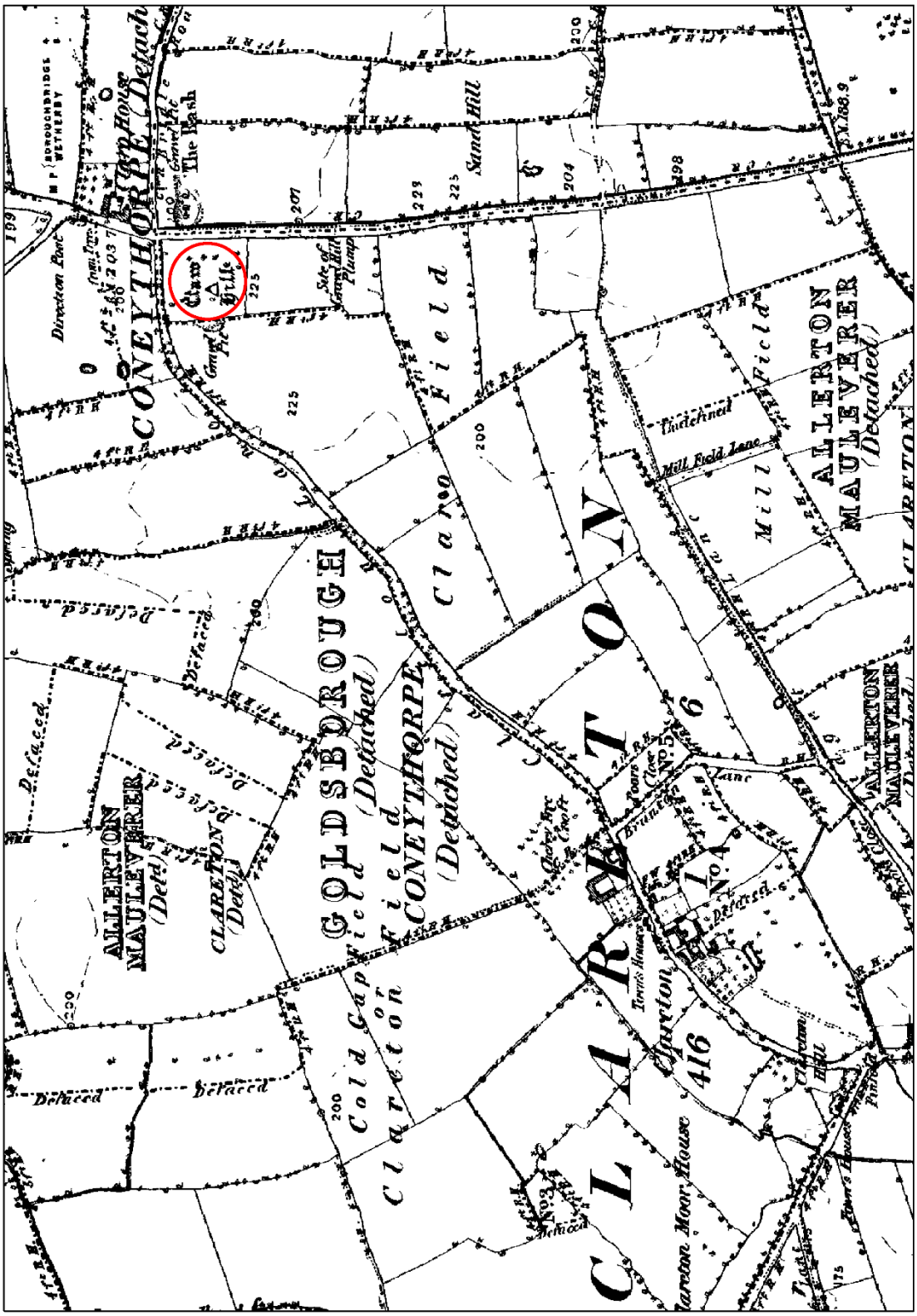
Figure 45 - Pin from the Tingley assemblage (PAS 2013: 7D4BF2).



Figure 46 - Pin from the Tingley assemblage (PAS 2013: 7D3162).



Figure 47 - Pin from the Tingley assemblage (PAS 2013: 7D9174).


CONEYTHORPE
Claro
Field
GOLDSBOROUGH
(Detached)
CONEYTHORPE
(Detached)
CLARO
ALLERTON
MAULEVERER
(Detached)
Thicketmed
Mill Field Lane
Mill
Field
Declared
Claro
Field
Cold Gap
Claro
Field
Claro
Hill
Claro
Moor House
416
Claro
Moor
Claro
Hill
Claro
Hill
Claro
Hill

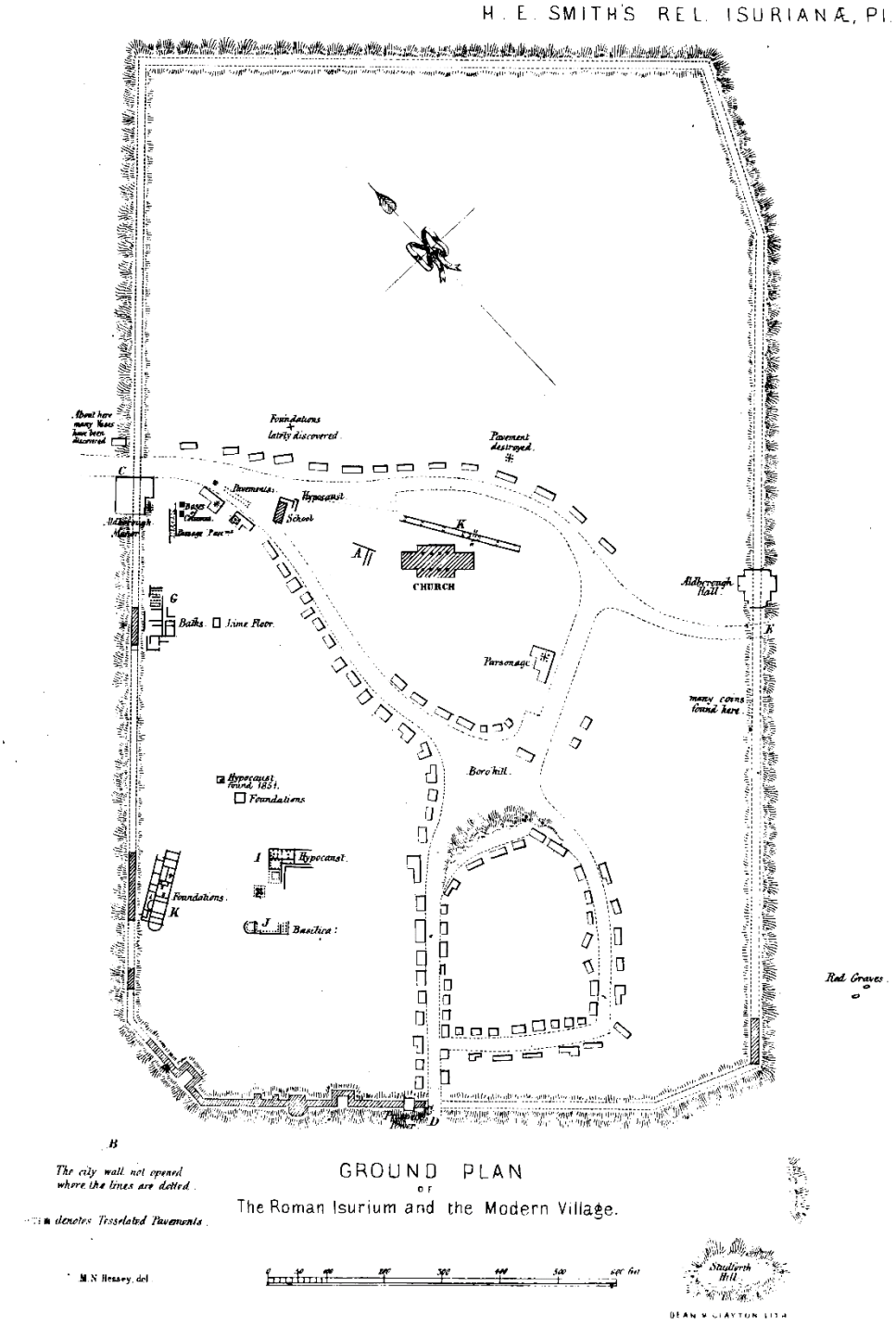


Figure 49 - Ecroyd Smith's plan of Aldborough, indicating the position of Borough Hill.

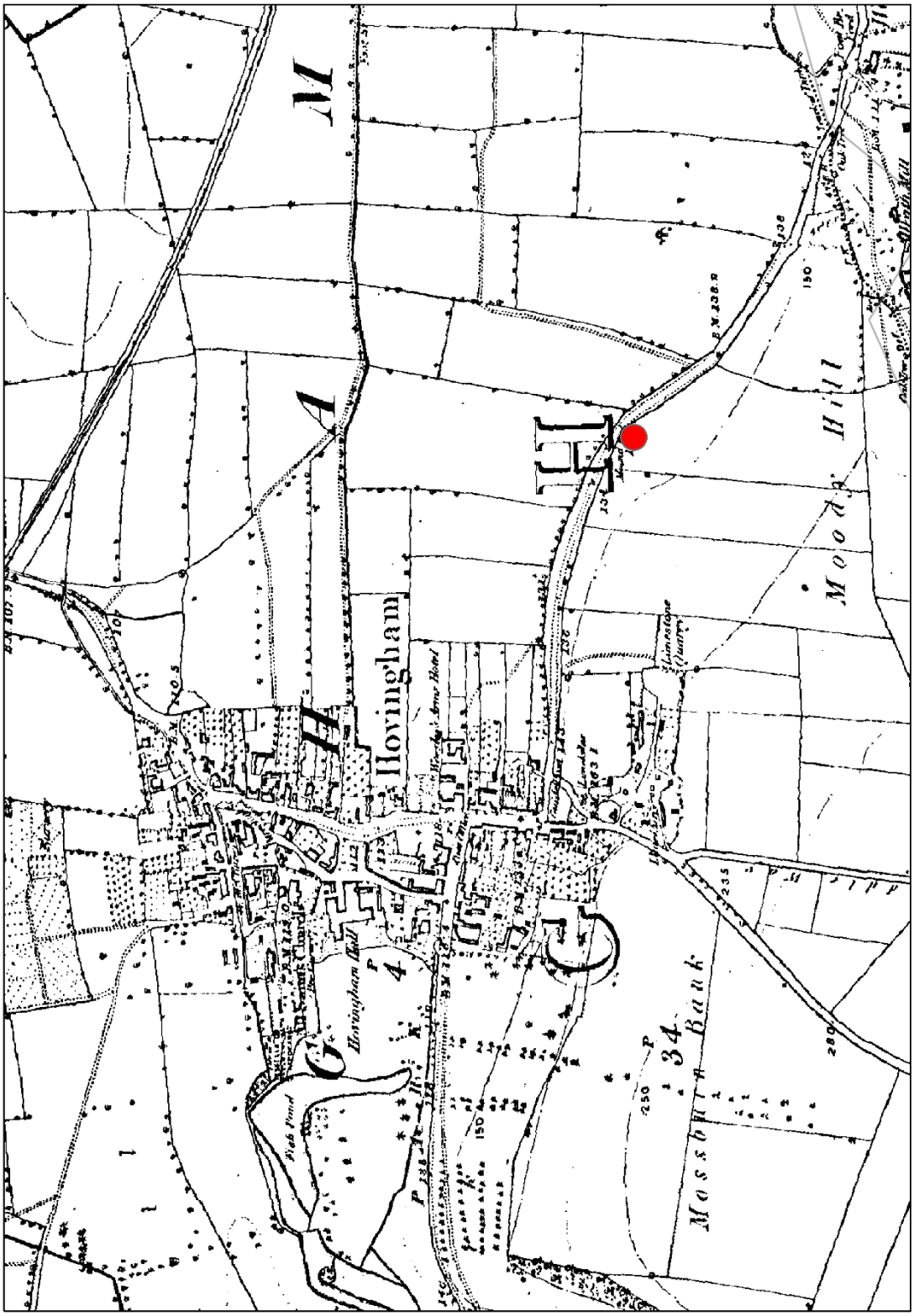


Figure 50 - First Edition Ordnance Survey of Hovingham, indicating the barrow on the Roman road leading out east from the village.

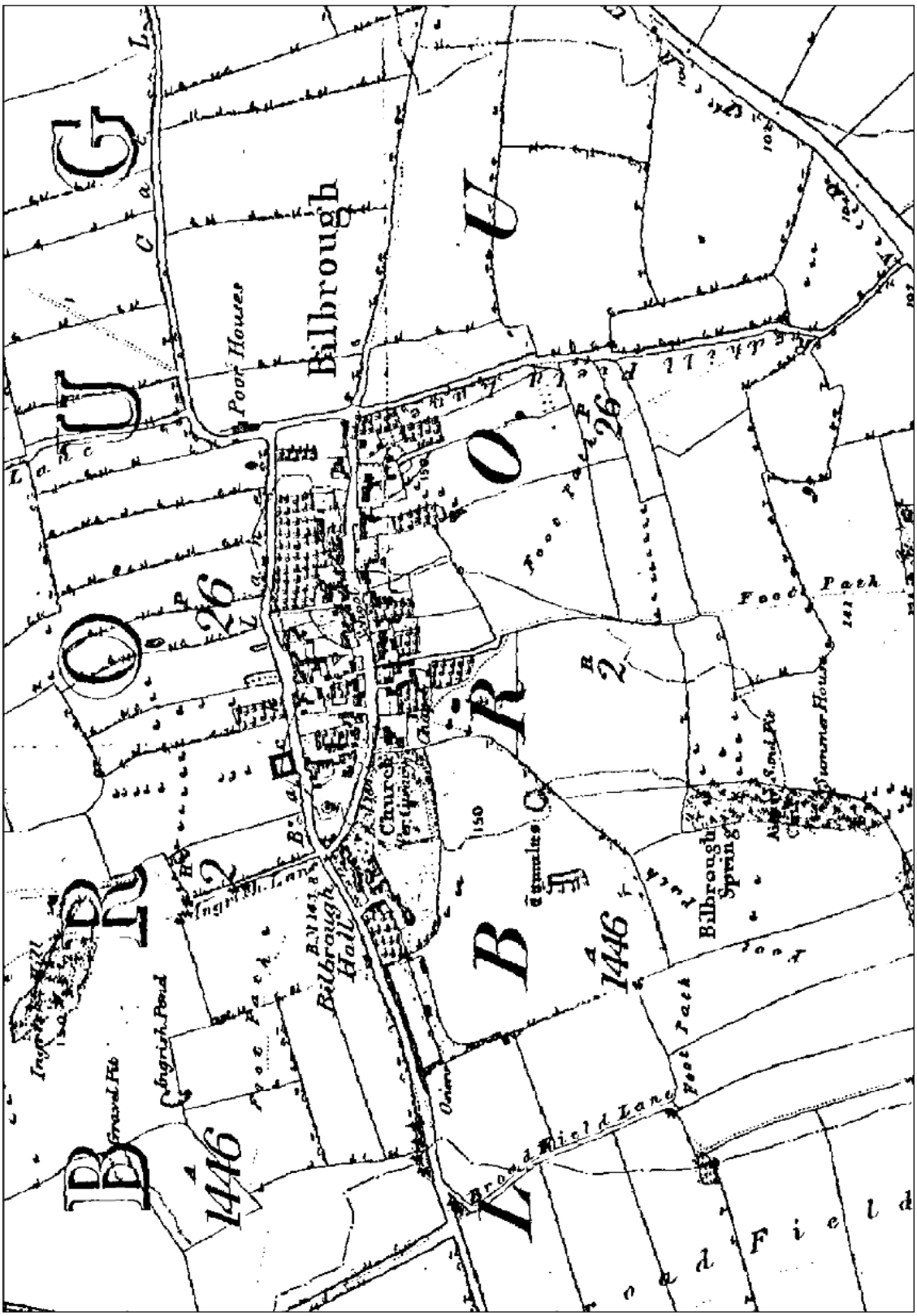


Figure 51 - First Edition Ordnance Survey of Ainsty Cliff. The site is just south of Bilbrough Spring.

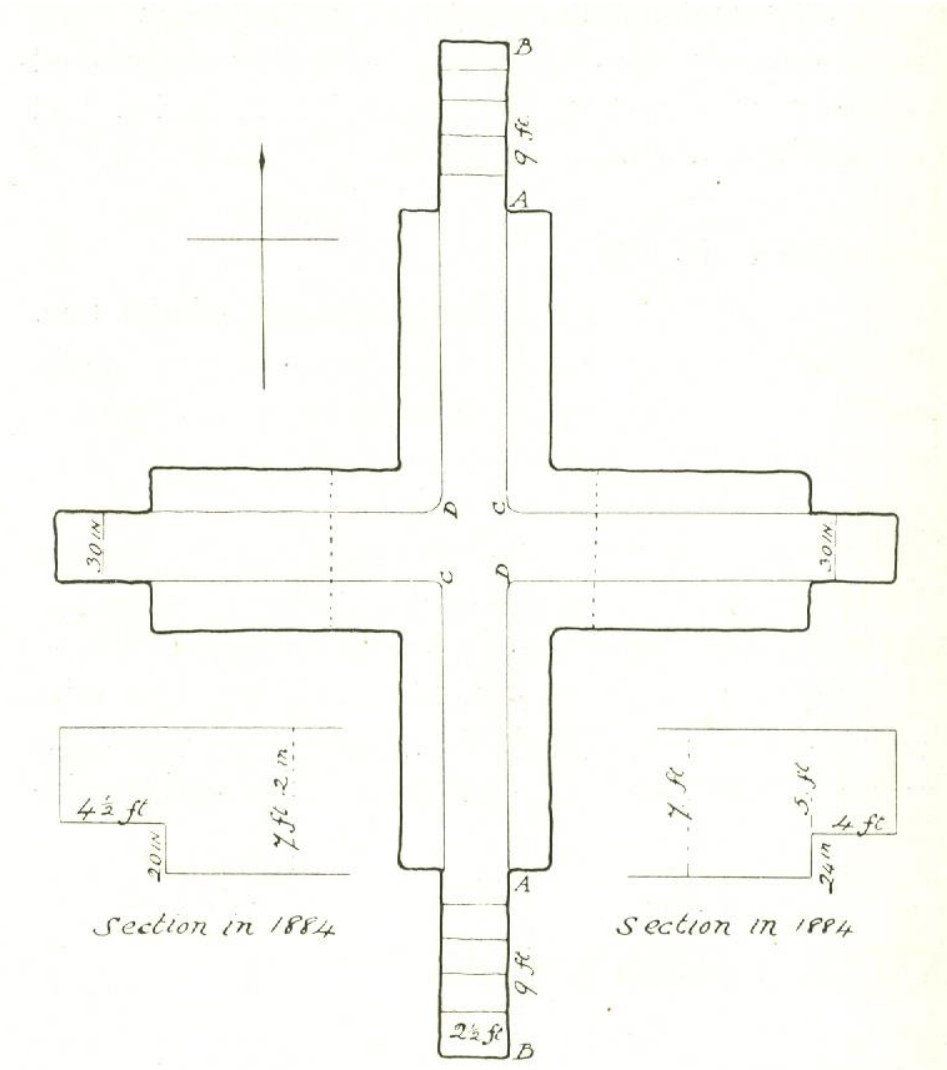


FIG. 503.—PLAN OF EXCAVATION UNDER BARROW 122.

Figure 52 - Plan of Mortimer's excavations at Mill Hill, Wetwang.

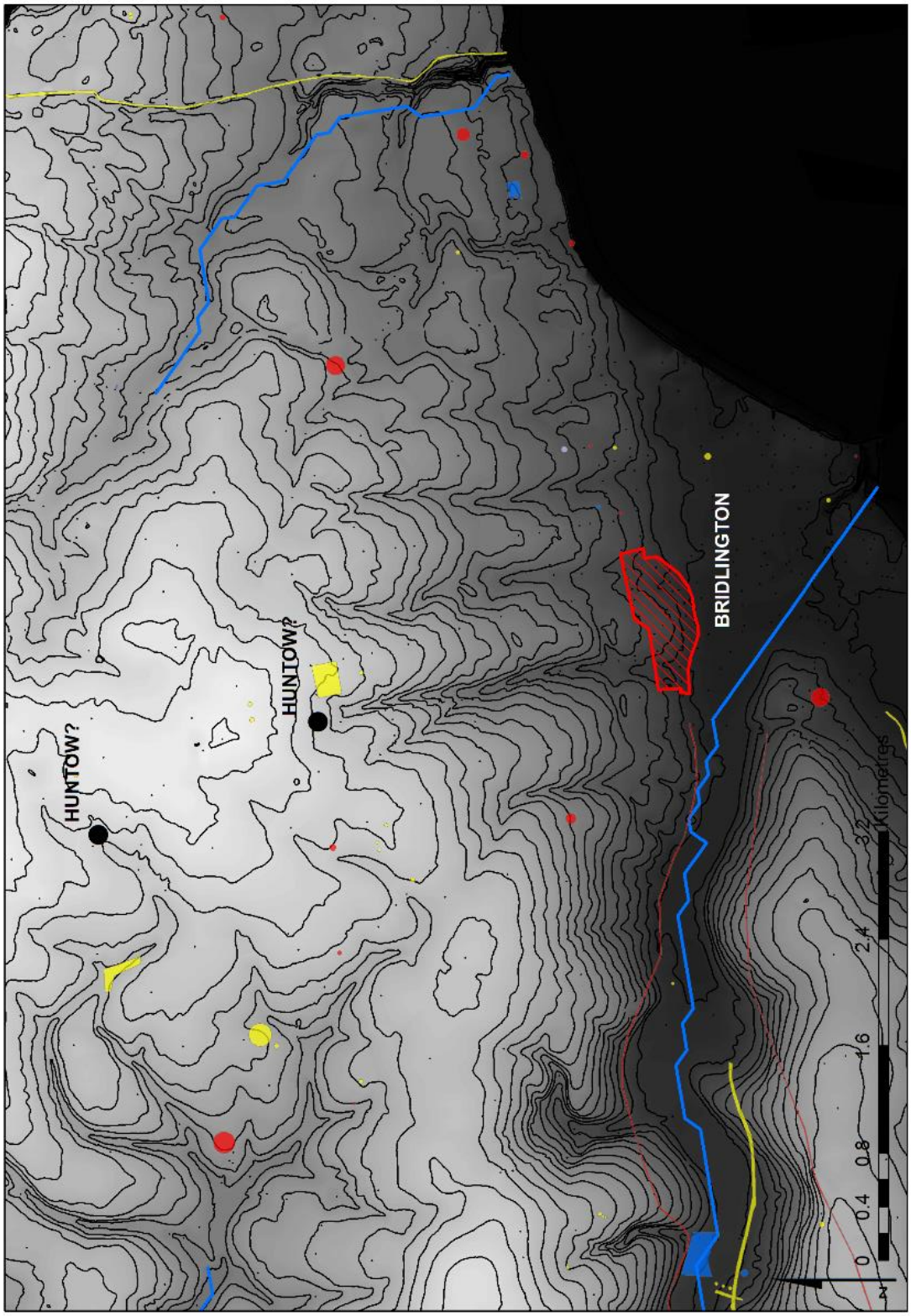


Figure 53 - Positions of Huntow in relation to Bridlington.

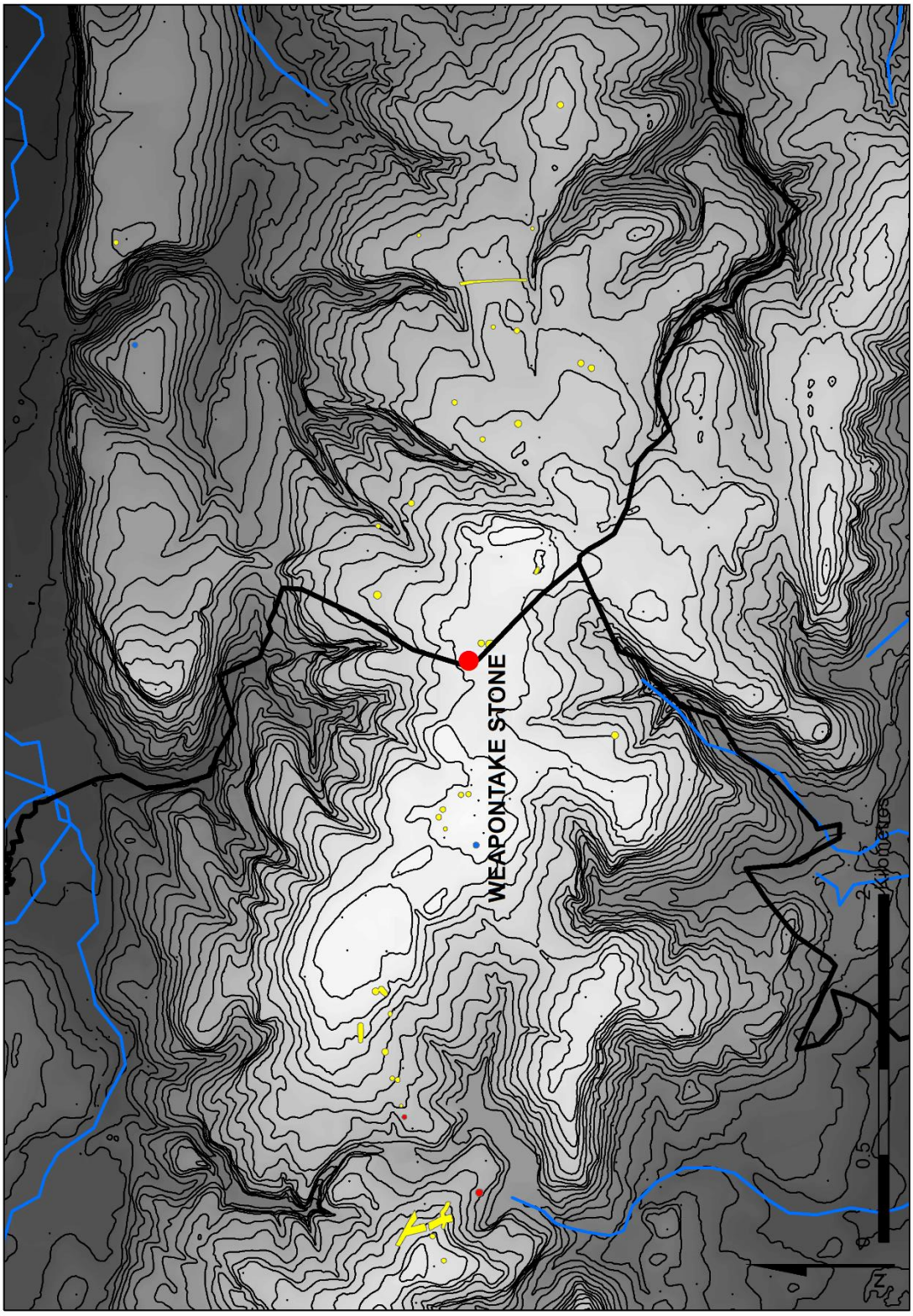


Figure 54 - Wider topography of the site of the Weapontake Stone.



Figure 55 - First Edition Ordnance Survey of Barkston Ash. The red dot marks the position of the cross base north of the ash tree.

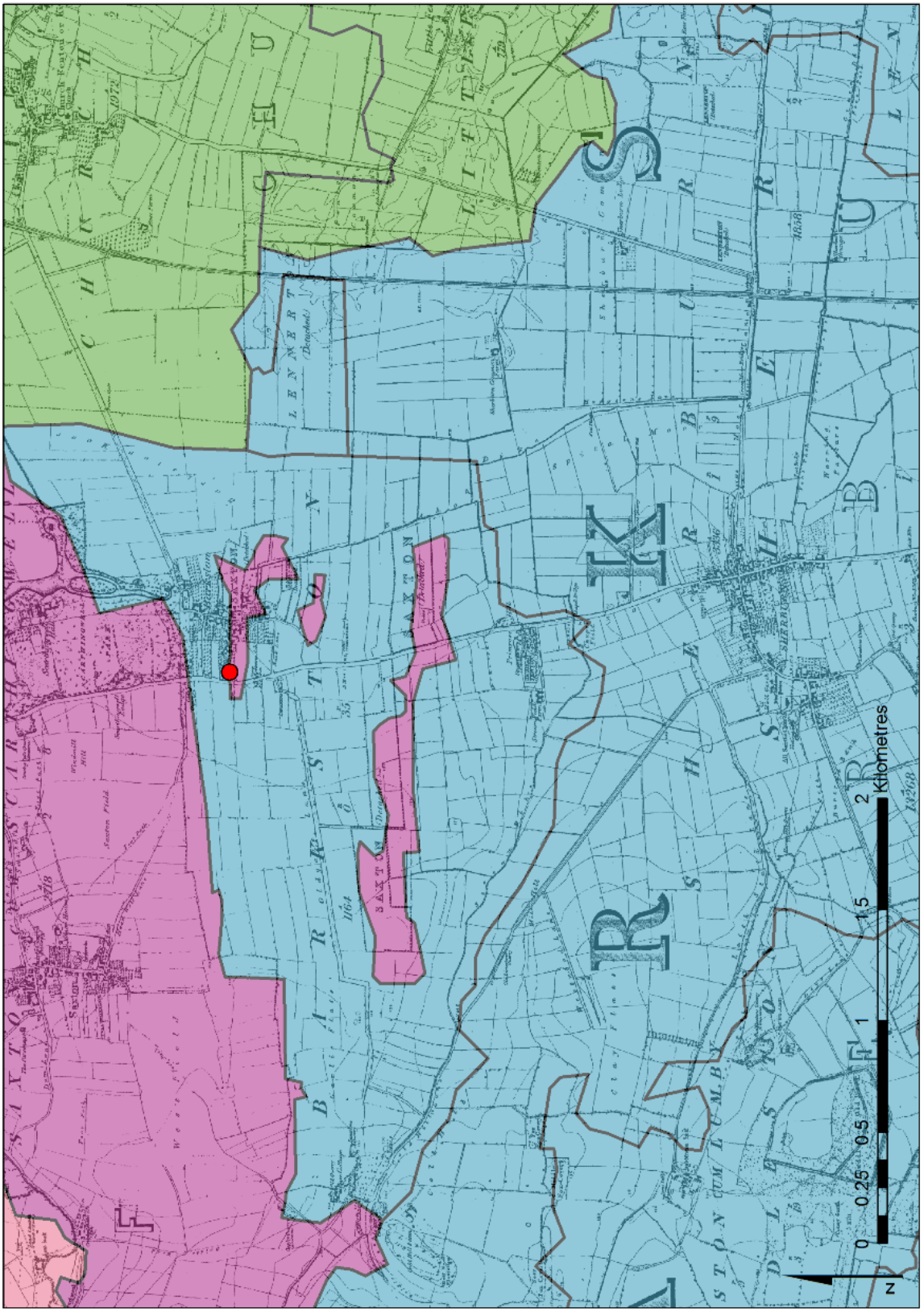


Figure 56 - The situation of Barkston Ash on the parish (and estate) boundary of Sherburn-in-Elmet.



Figure 57 - 'The Skyrack Oak, Leeds, 1830' – Joseph Rhodes © Bridgeman Art Gallery.



Figure 58 - 'The Oak, Headingley, Leeds' © Leeds City Council.

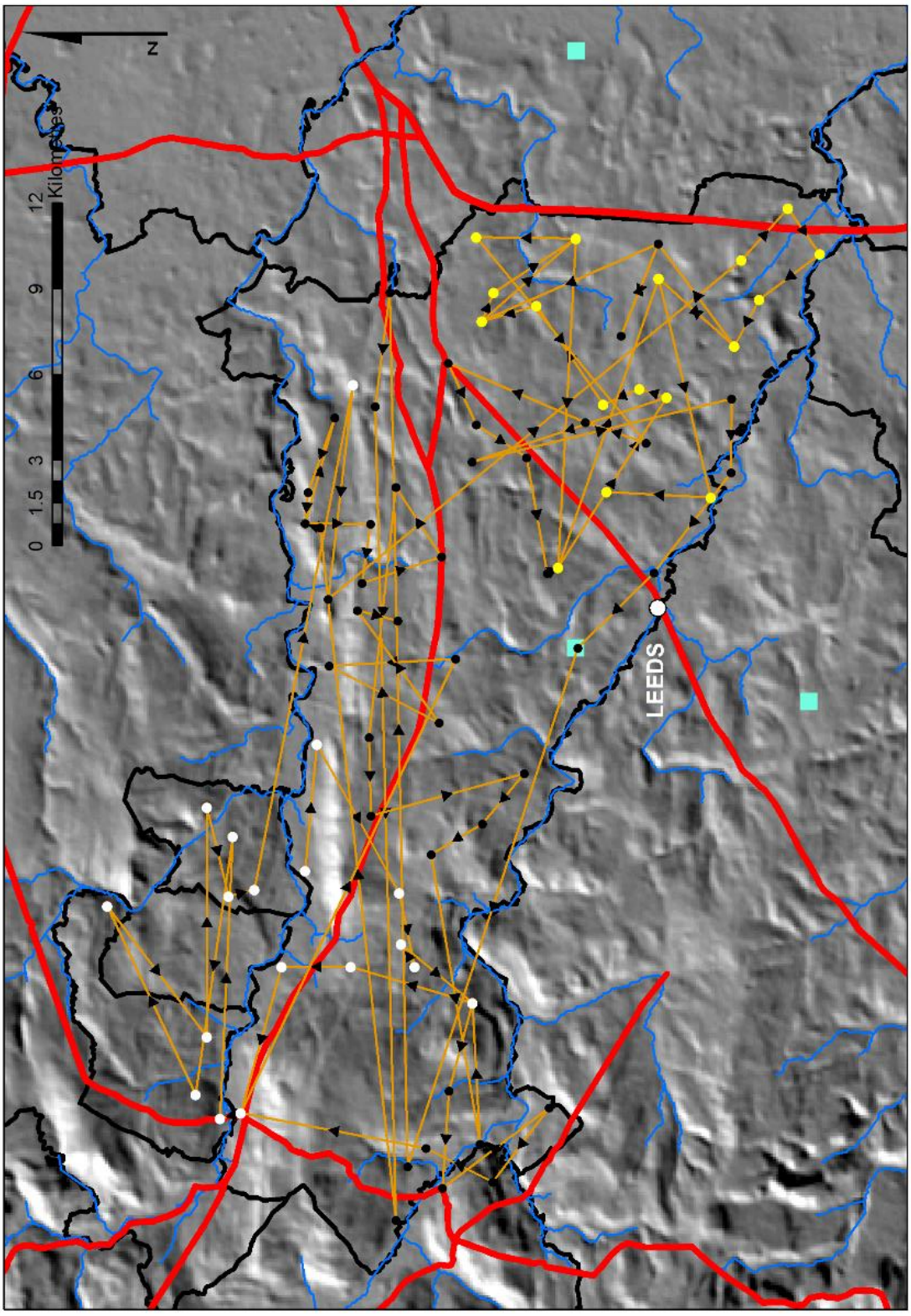


Figure 59 - Skyrack wapentake, indicating the order of the Summary, the Otley estate (white), the Kippax estate (yellow) and wapentake venues (blue).

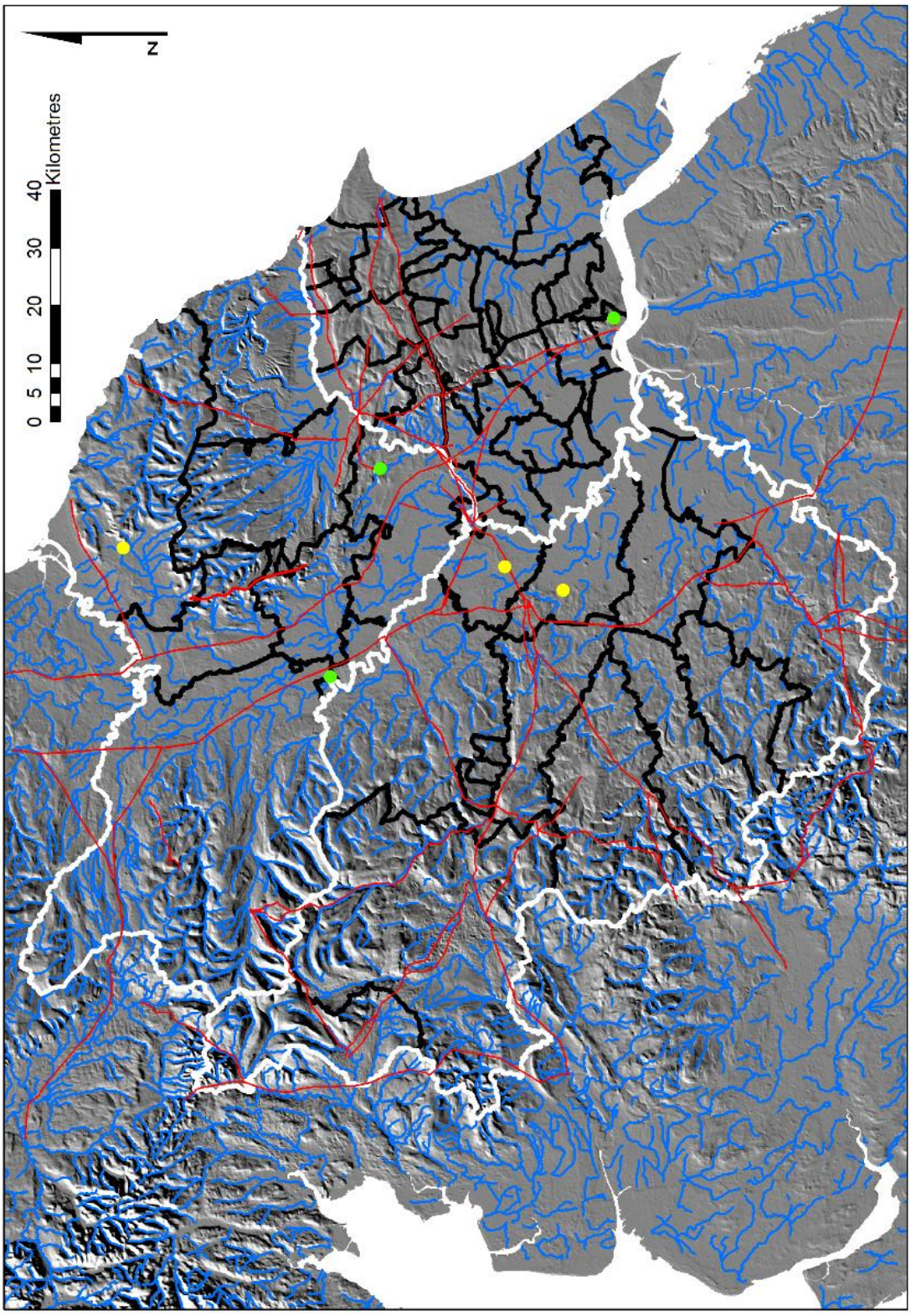


Figure 60 - Springs and wells in the assemblies of Yorkshire. Wapentake names that reference springs are green. Other wapentake venues associated with springs are marked in yellow.

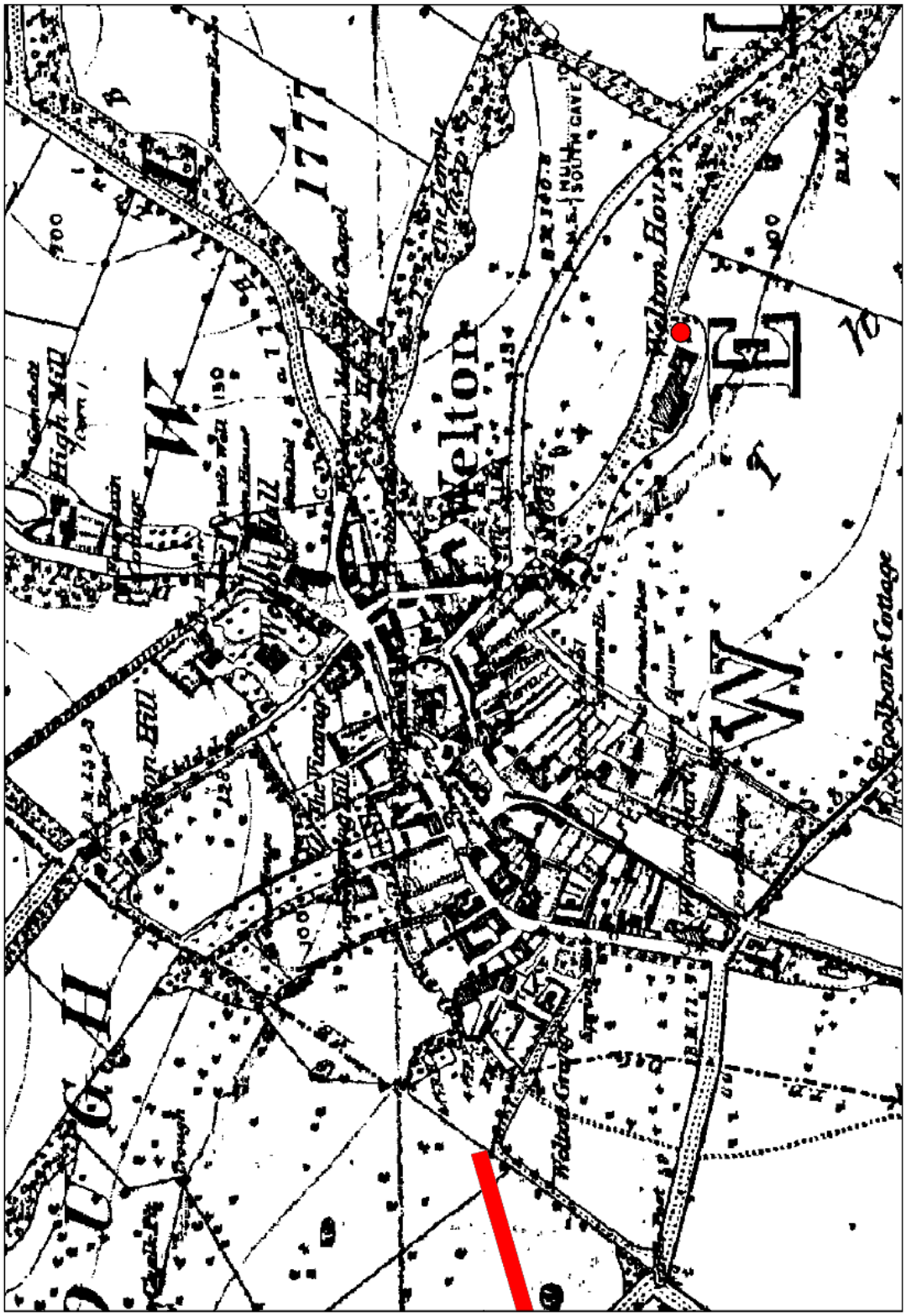


Figure 61 - First Edition Ordnance Survey of Welton. St Ann's Well is marked by the red dot.

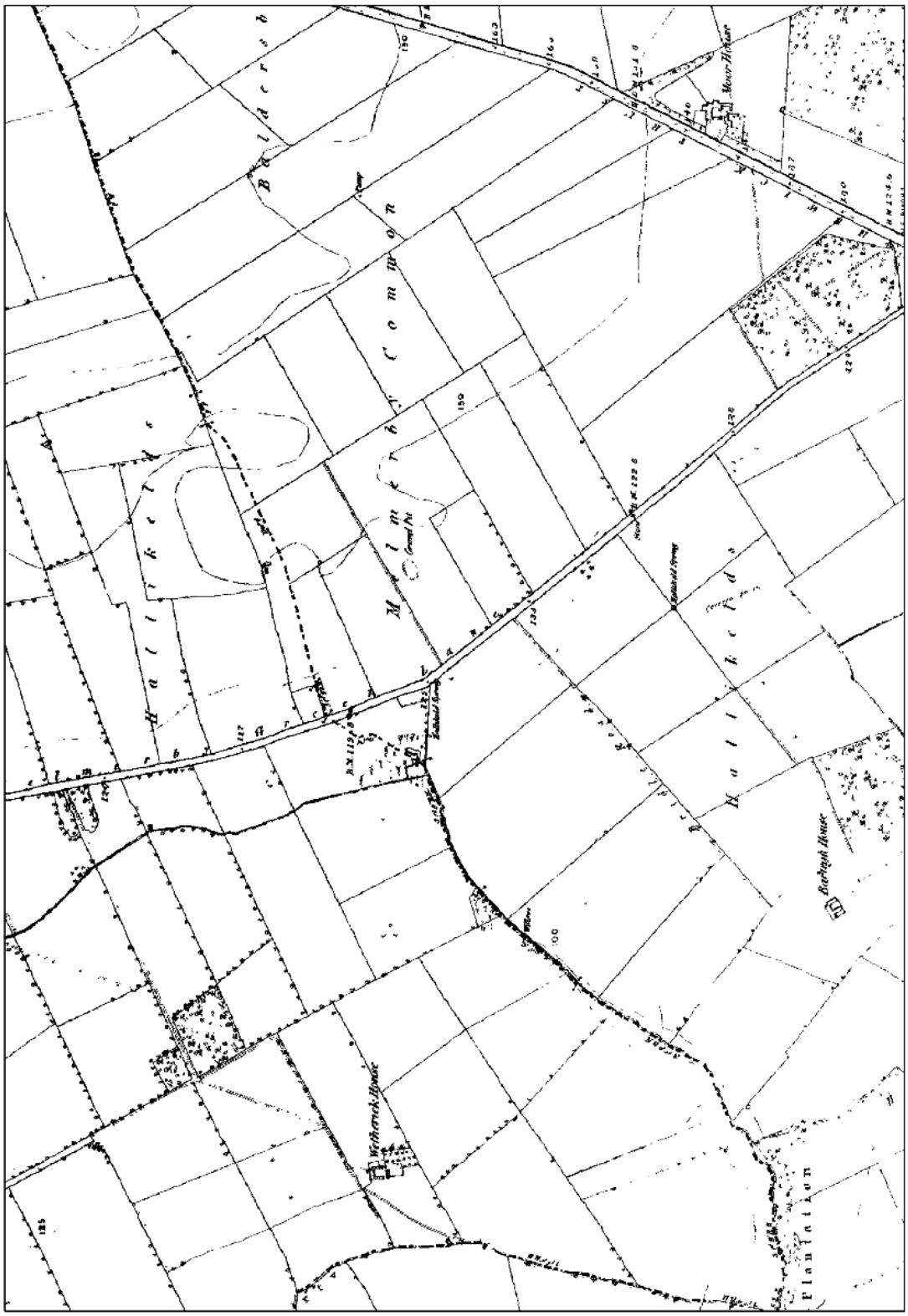


Figure 62 - First Edition Ordnance Survey of the Halikeld Springs.

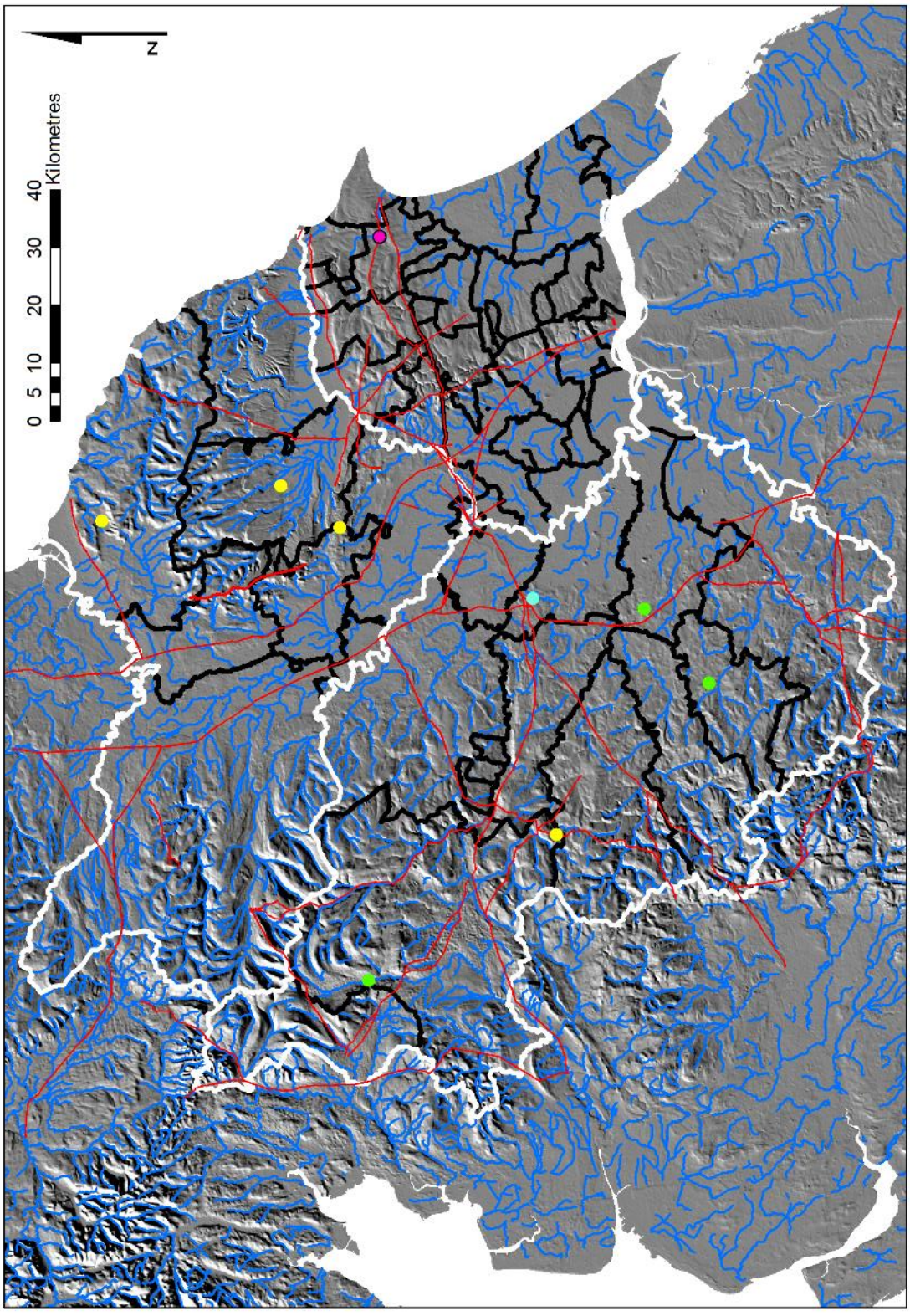


Figure 63 - Assemblies associated with crosses in Yorkshire. Wapentake venues (green), assembly-attestation (yellow), documented courts (purple); riding court (light blue).

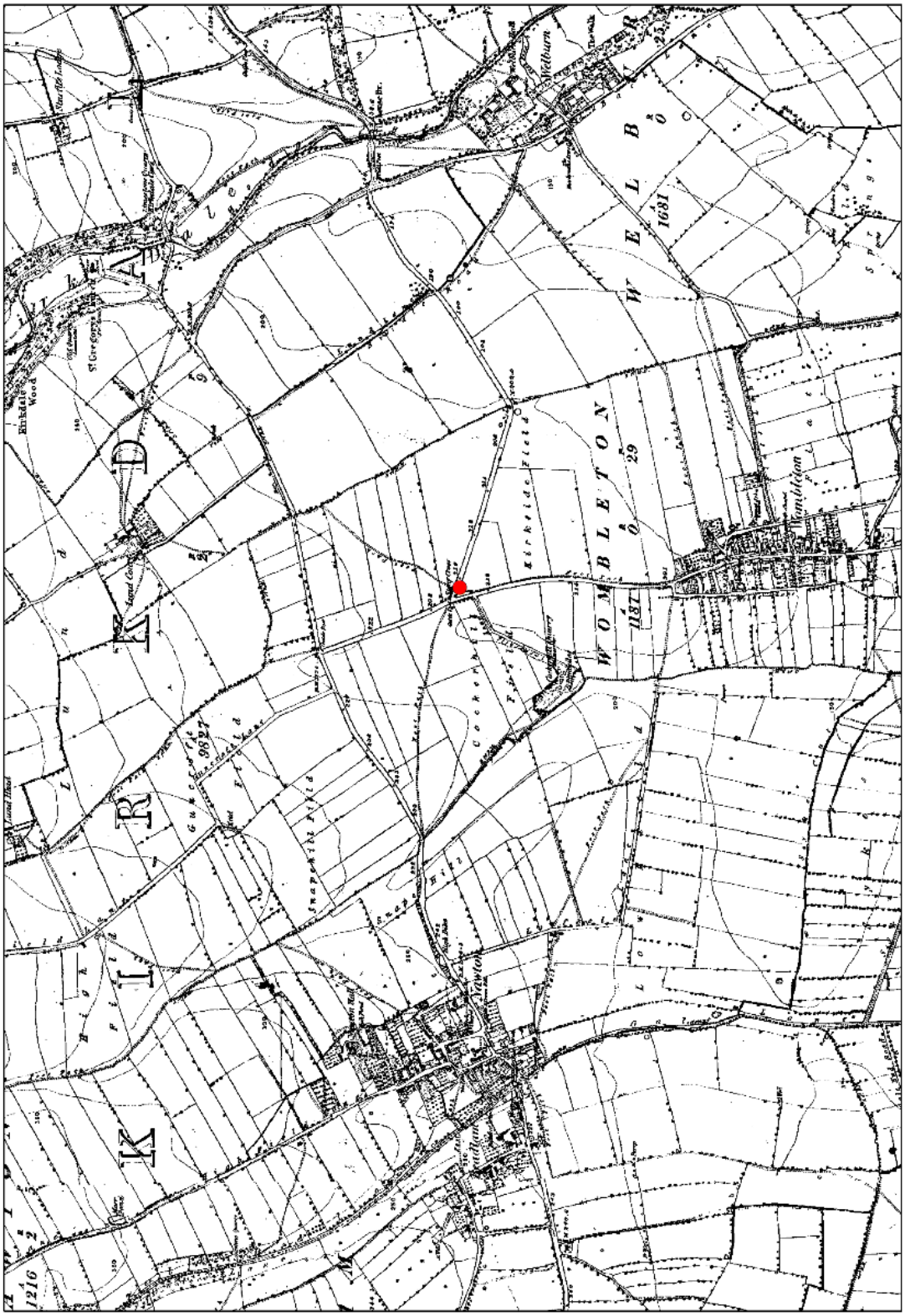


Figure 64 - First Edition Ordnance Survey of Stony Cross.



Figure 65 - The Rudston monolith © Trish Steel.

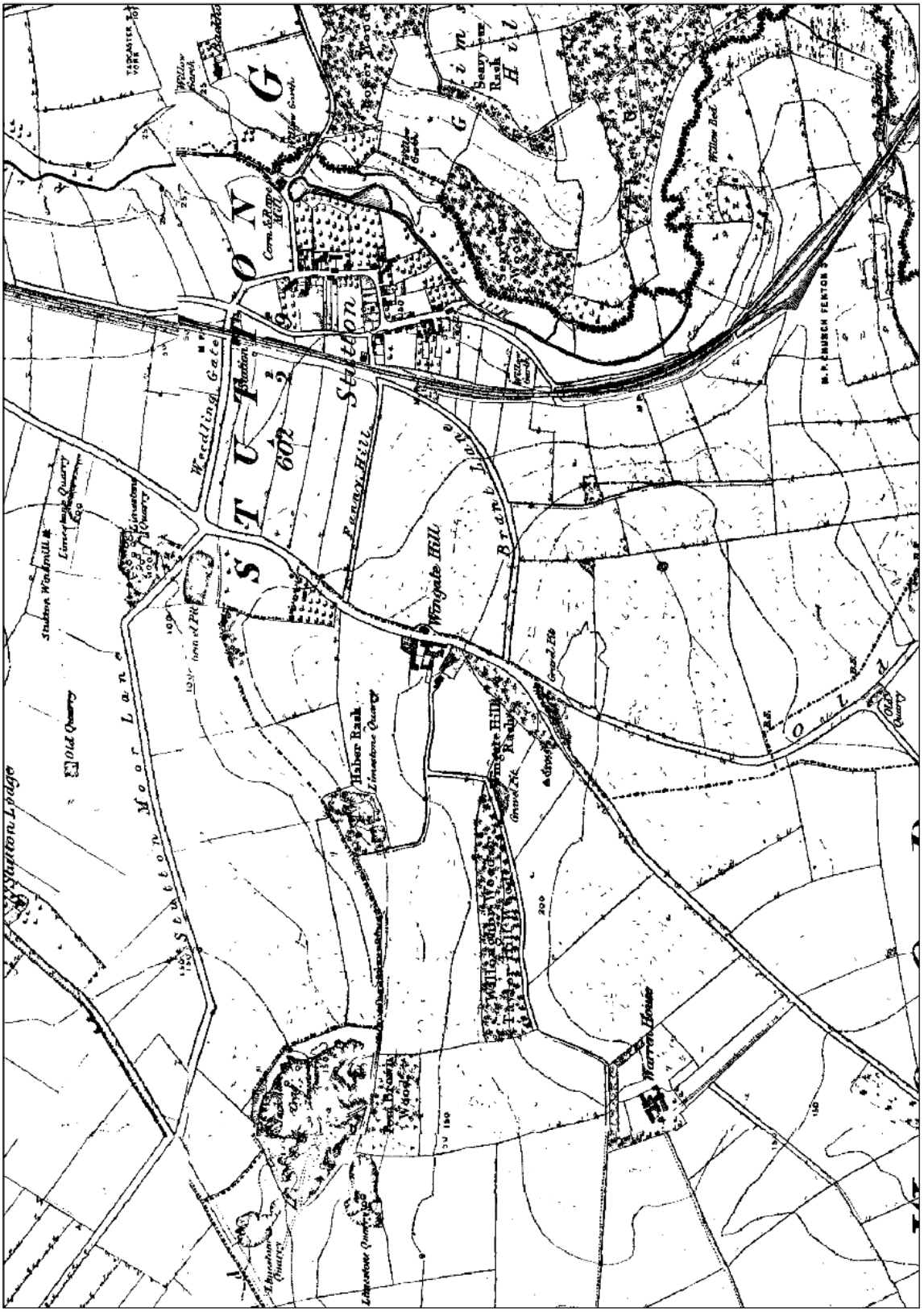

Weedling Gate
Station
Penny Hill
Wingate Hill
Brandy Lane
Moor Lane
Old Quarry
Limestone Quarry
Hilbre Bank
Limestone Quarry
Warren House
Willow Beck
Willow Wood
Station Woodmill
Limestone Quarry
Old Quarry
Limestone Quarry
Old Quarry
Limestone Quarry
Old Quarry



Figure 67 - The Market Cross, Pontefract. Site of Osgoldcross © Roy Gunson.

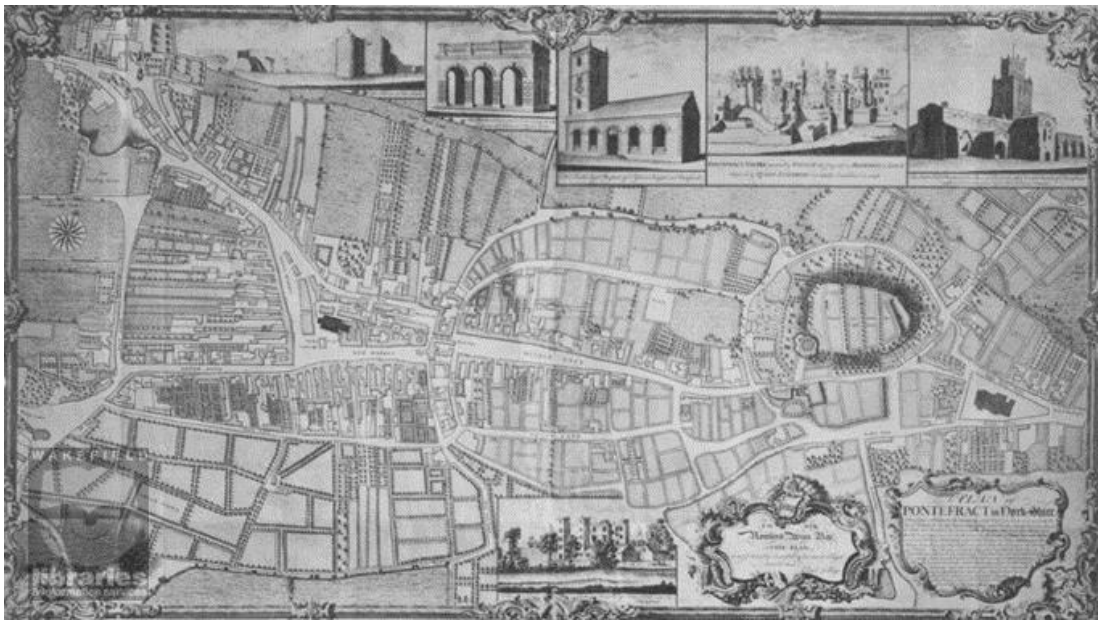


Figure 68 - Old map of Pontefract. The market place is situated in the central western portion of the map (National Archives 2013: C788).

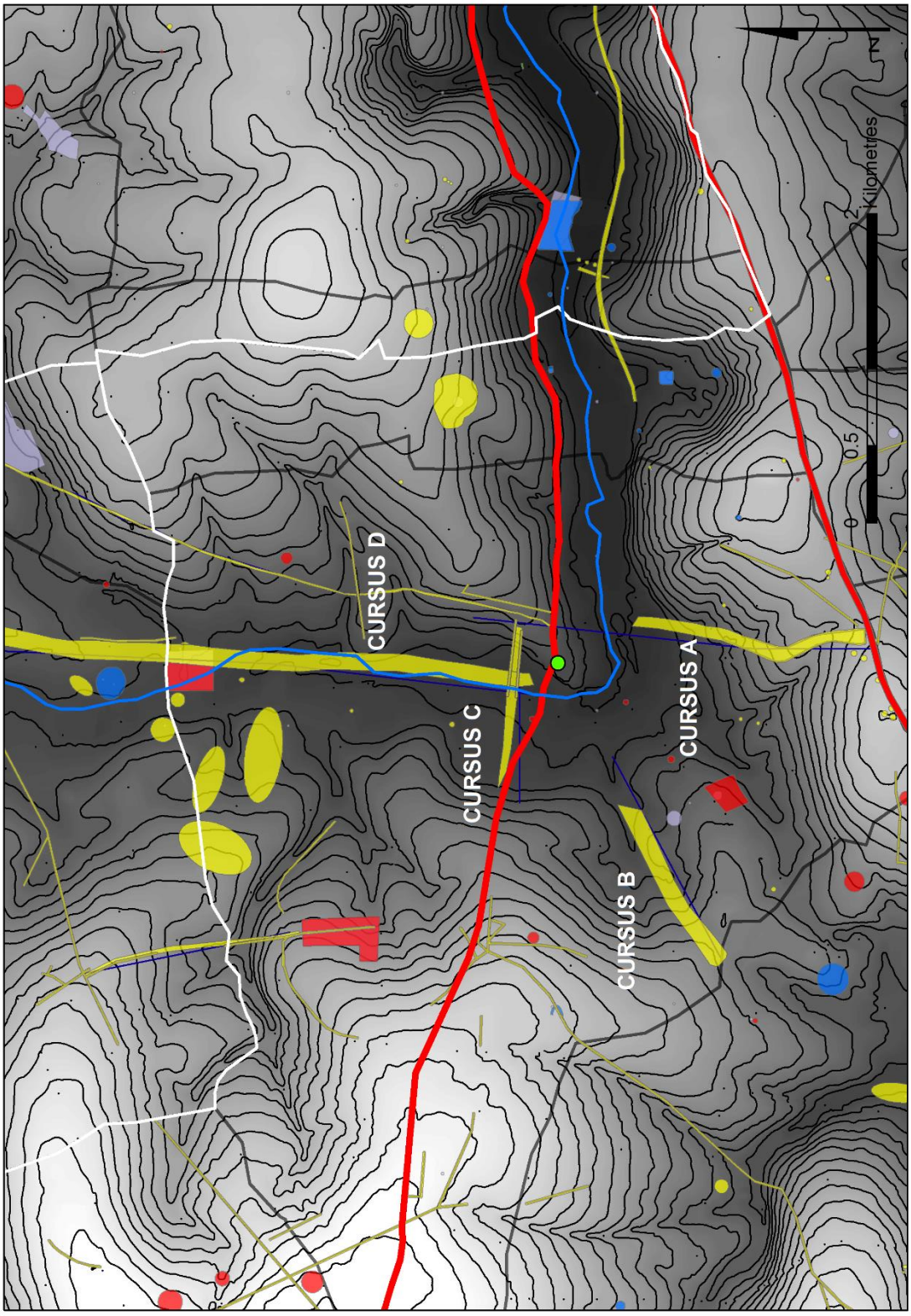


Figure 69 - Wider archaeological landscape of Rudston. Prehistoric monuments (yellow). Roman material (red); early medieval material (blue). The monolith is marked by the green dot.

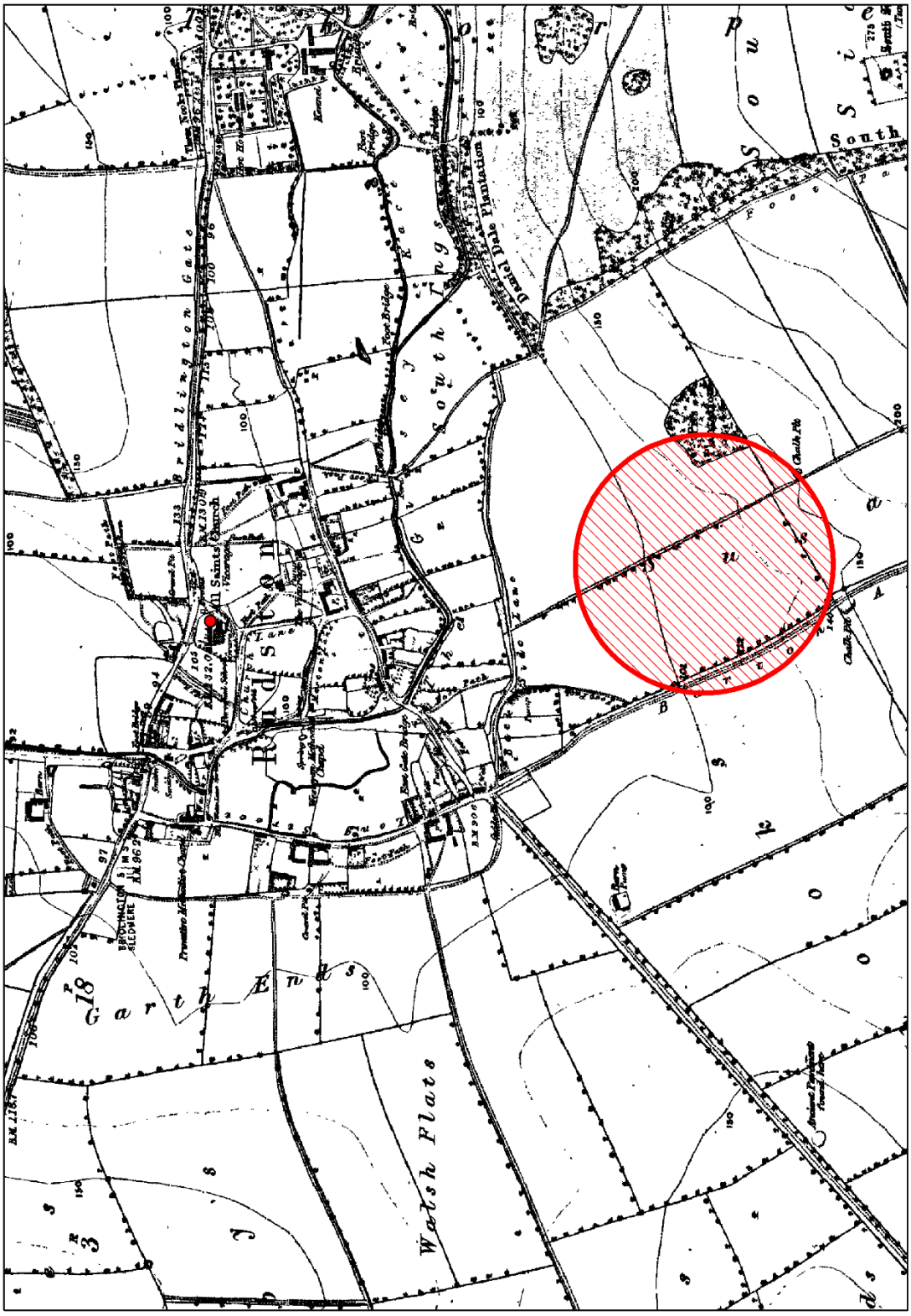


Figure 70 - First Edition Ordnance Survey of Rudston, indicating focus of early Anglo-Saxon mortuary material and the later Anglo-Scandinavian bullion deposit. The Rudston obelisk is marked by the red dot to the north.



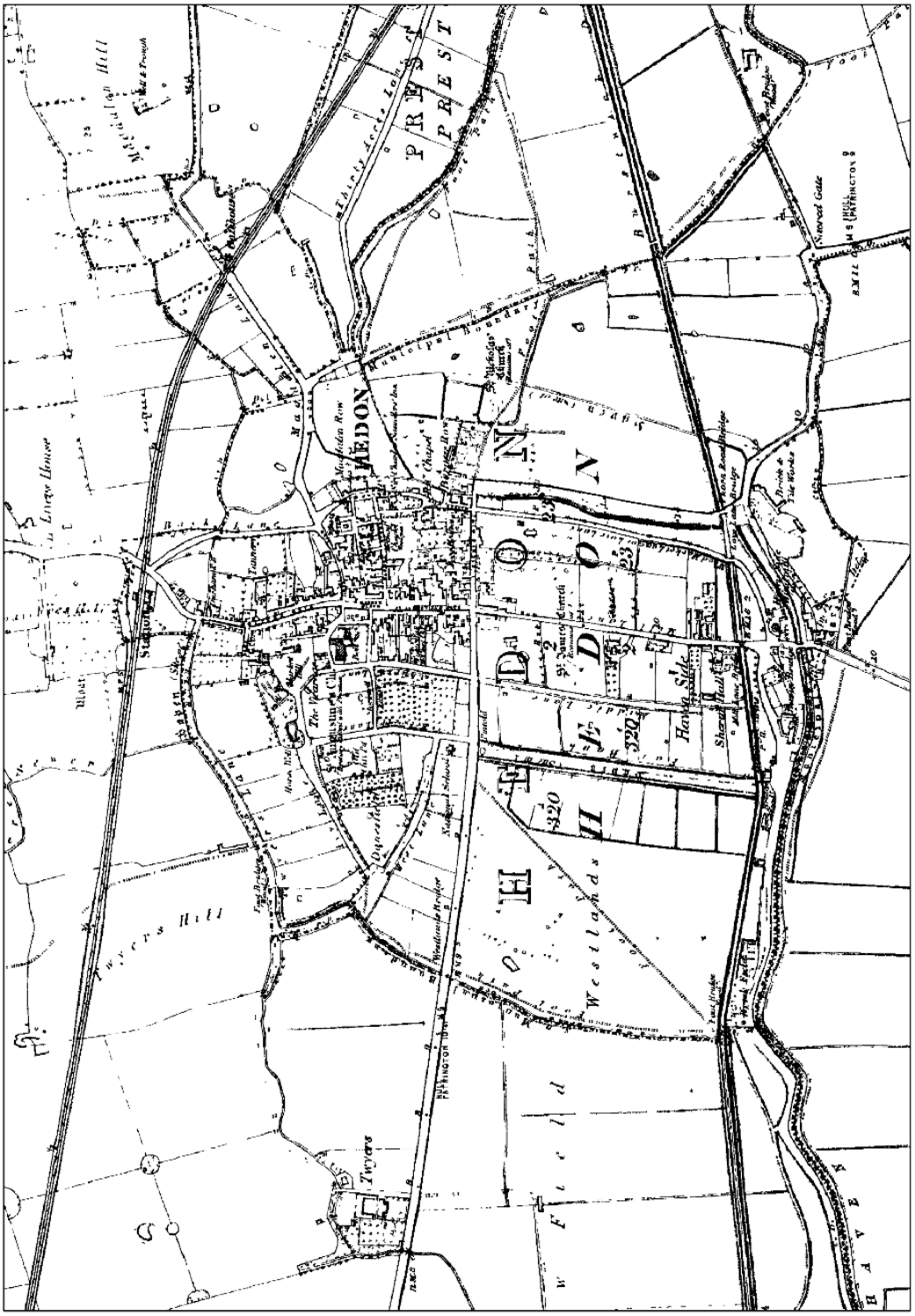
Figure 71 - Cut silver fragment from the Rudston assemblage (PAS 2013: B67B2).



Figure 72 - Cut silver from the Rudston assemblage (PAS 2013: B78D4).



Figure 73 - Silver coin of Aethelred II (PAS 2013: 4BA333).


HEDON
PREST
HEDON
Hedon Field
Weeds Hill
Hedon Haven
Hedon Haven Bridge
Hedon Haven Bridge
Hedon Haven Bridge

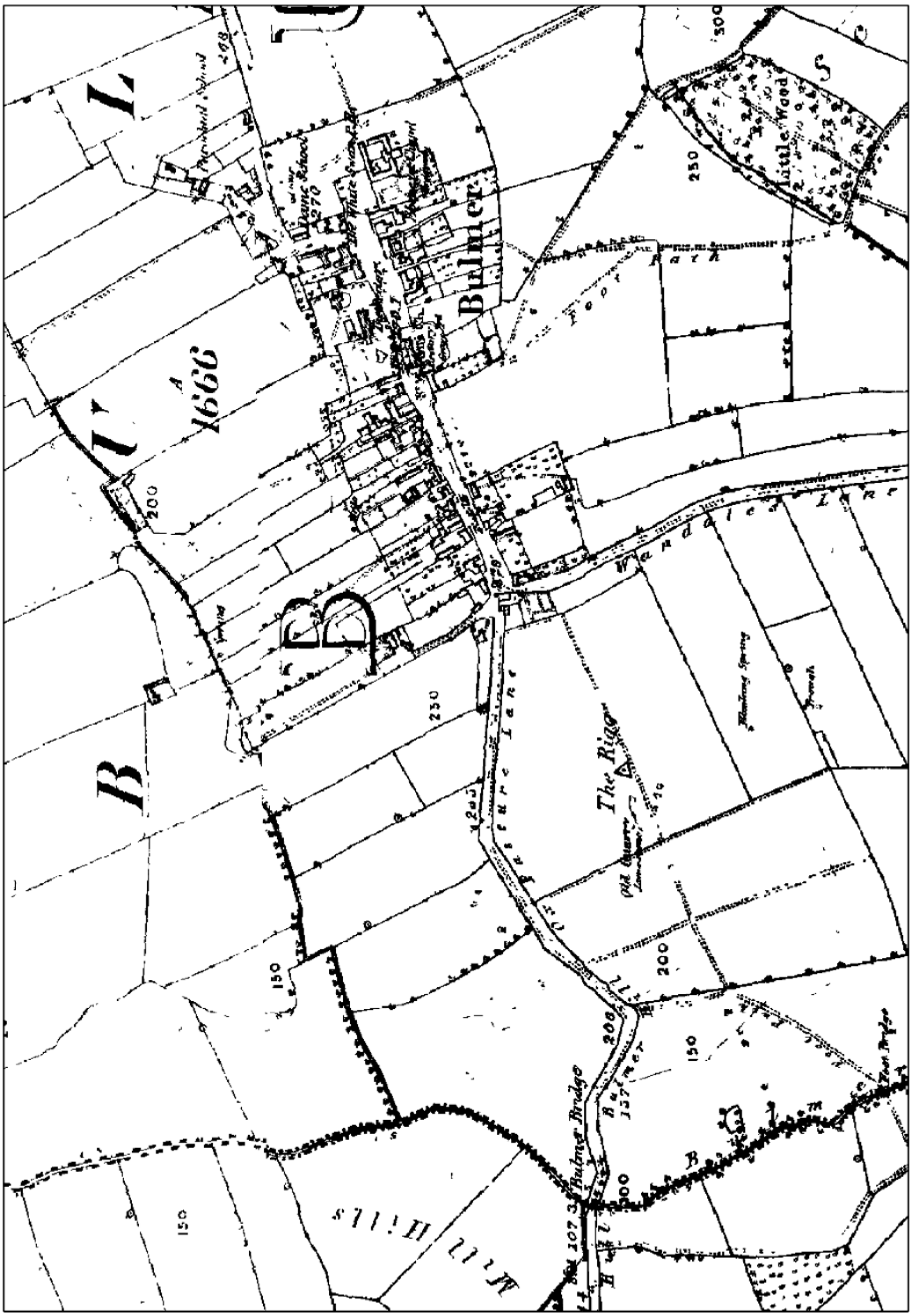


Figure 75 - First Edition Ordnance Survey of Bulmer.

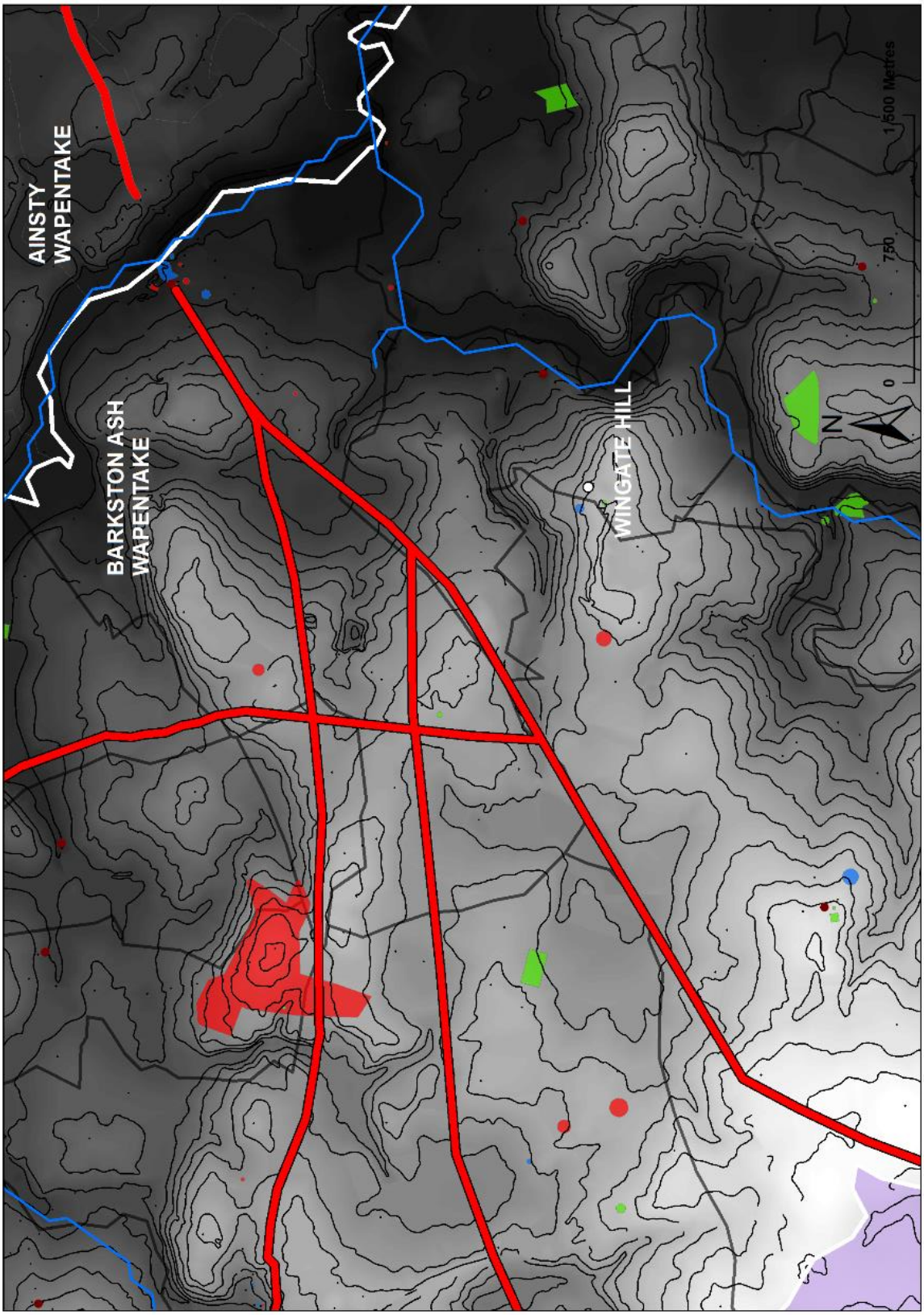


Figure 76 - Wider topography of Wingate Hill. This map is dominated by the convergence of several Roman roads.

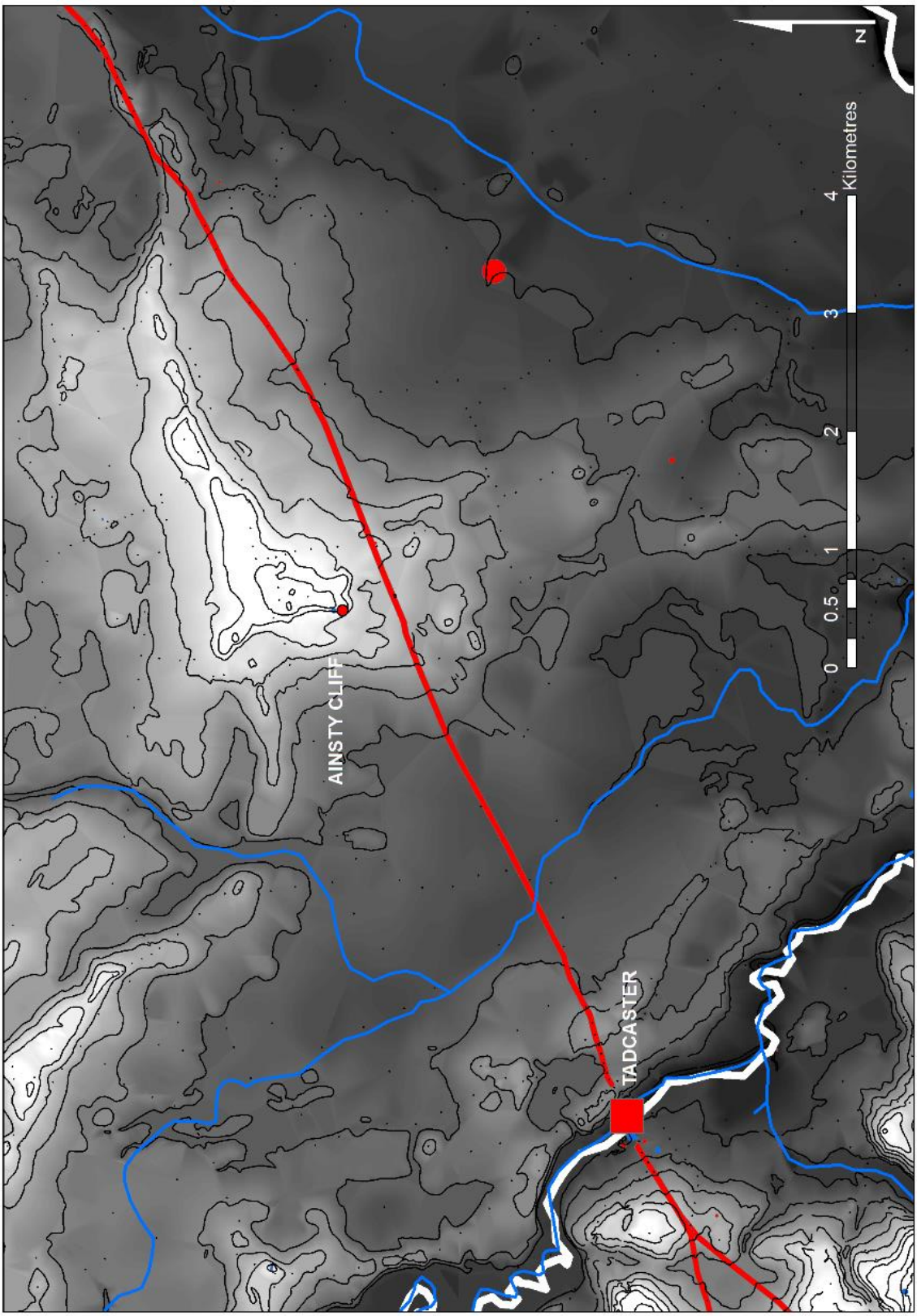


Figure 77 - Wider topography of Ainsty Cliff.

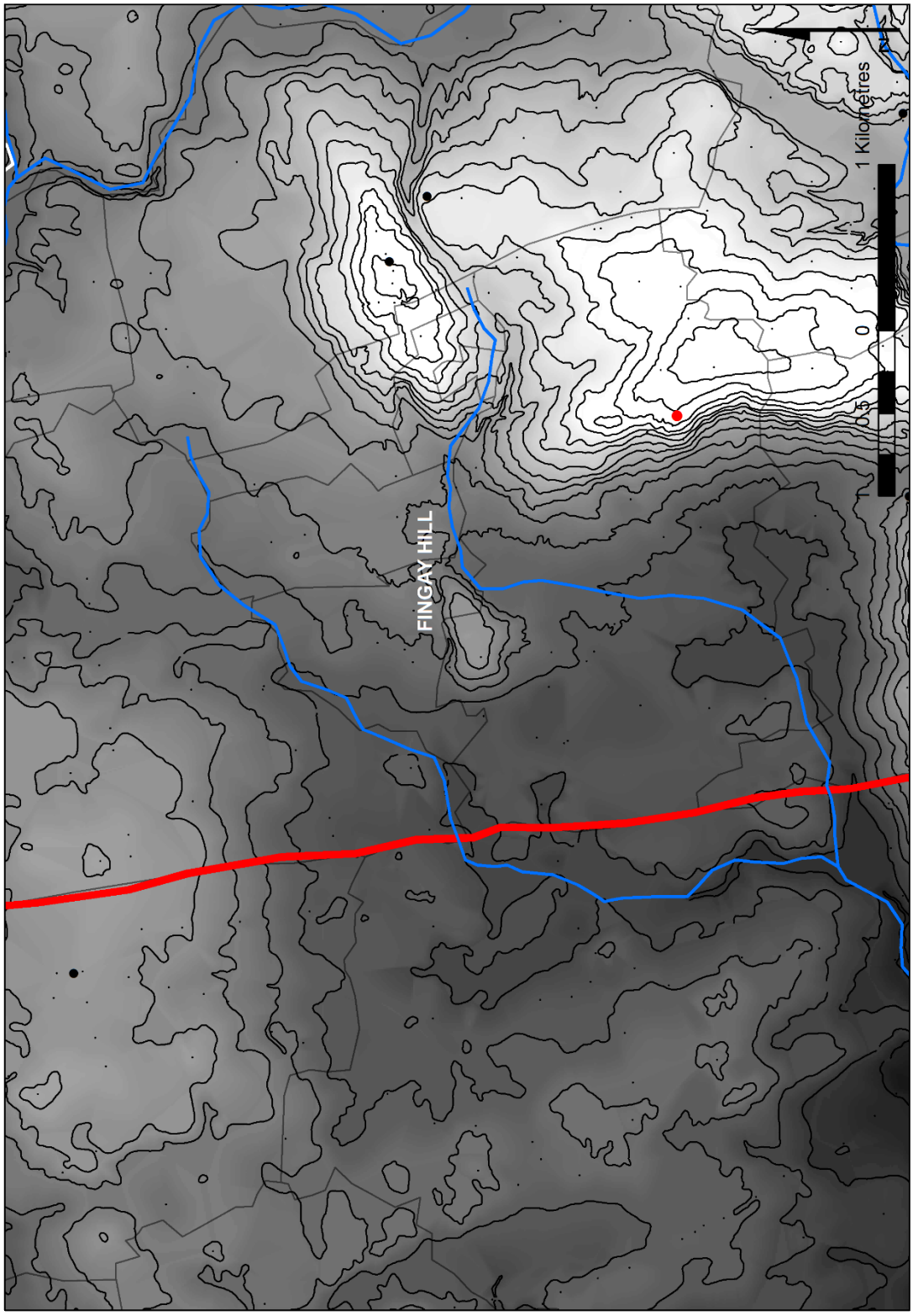


Figure 78 - Wider topography of Fingay Hill.

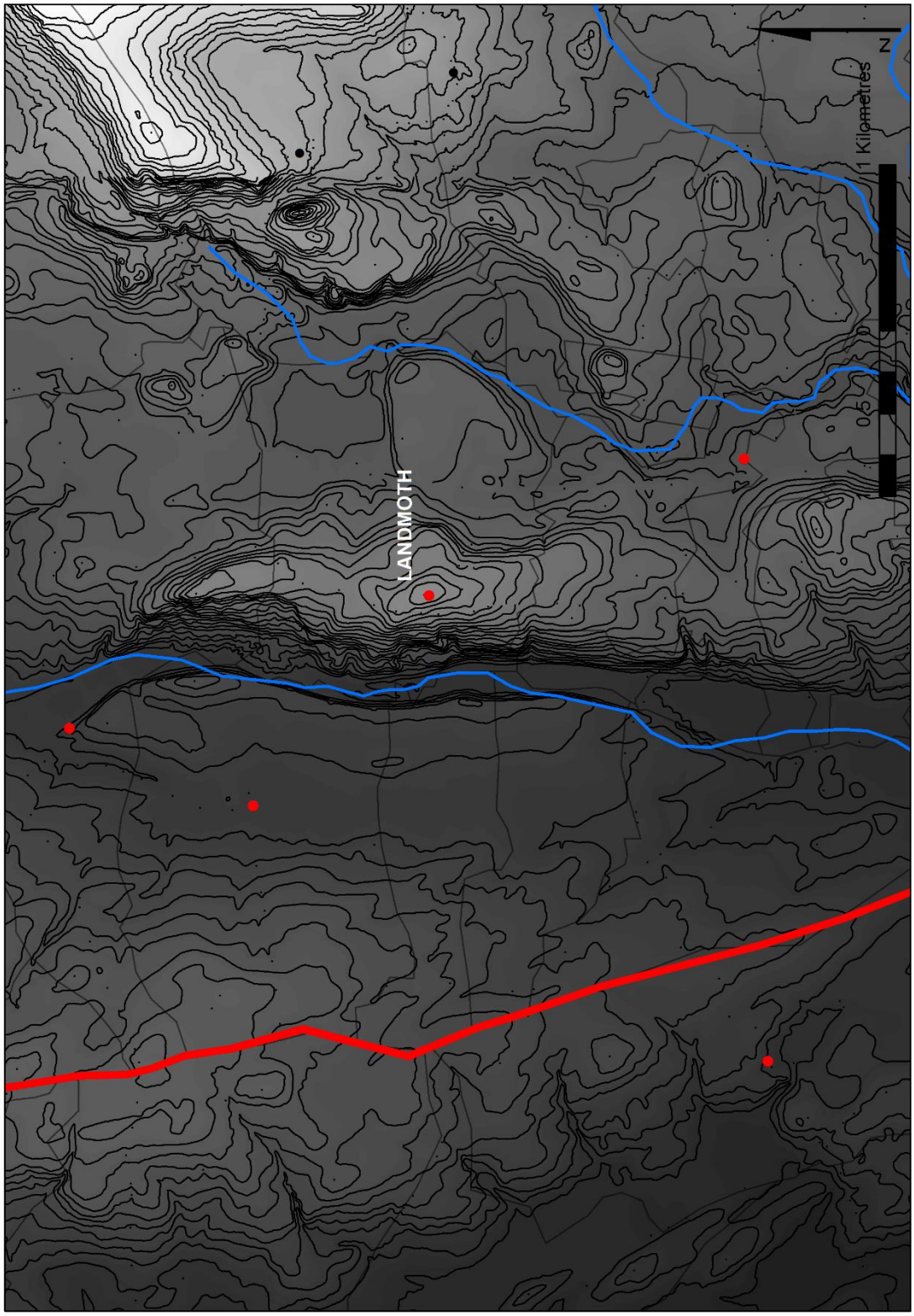


Figure 79 - Wider topography of Landmoth.

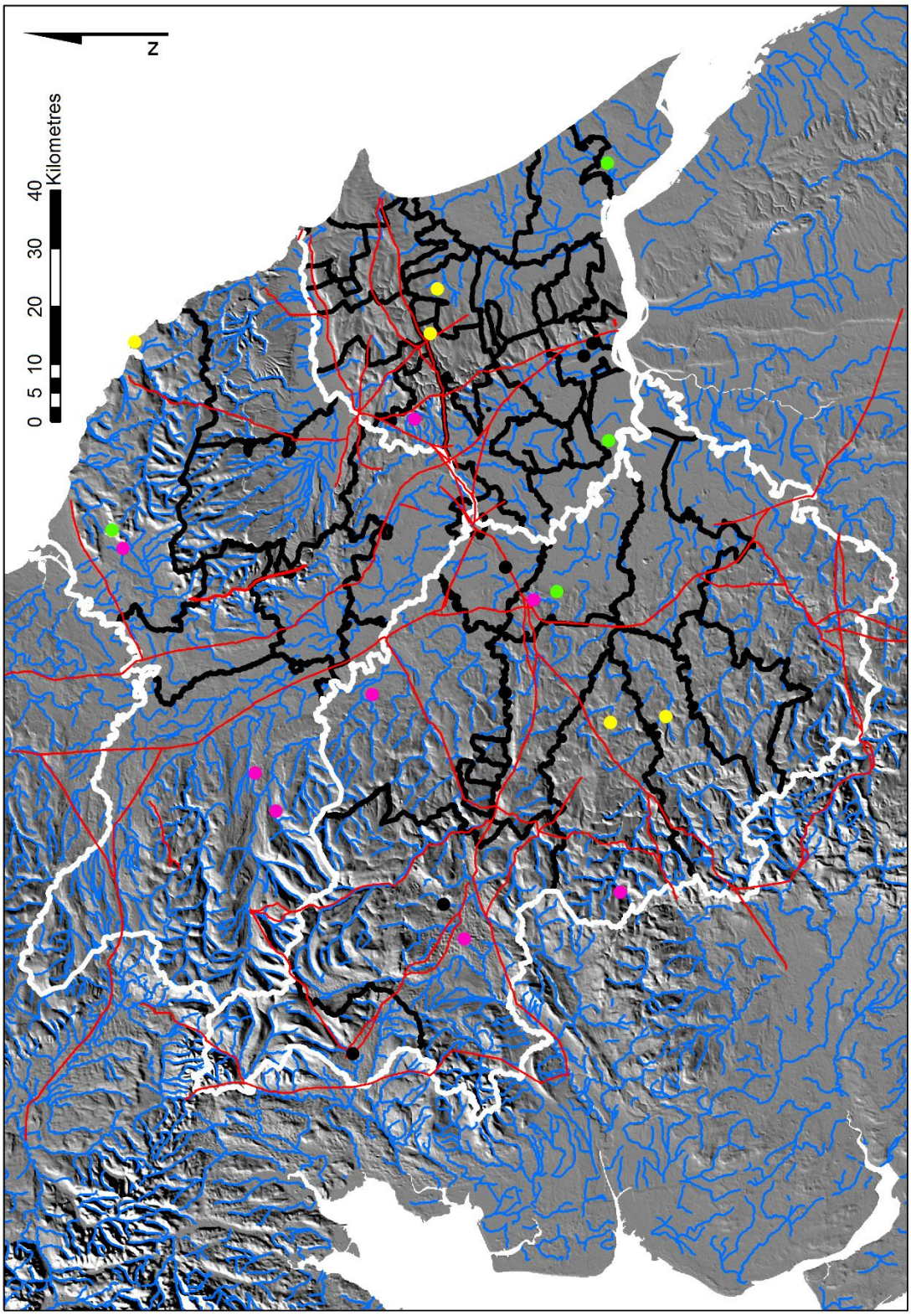


Figure 80 - Distribution of miscellaneous landform names in Yorkshire. Valleys (green); Fields/Clearings (yellow); Slopes (purple).

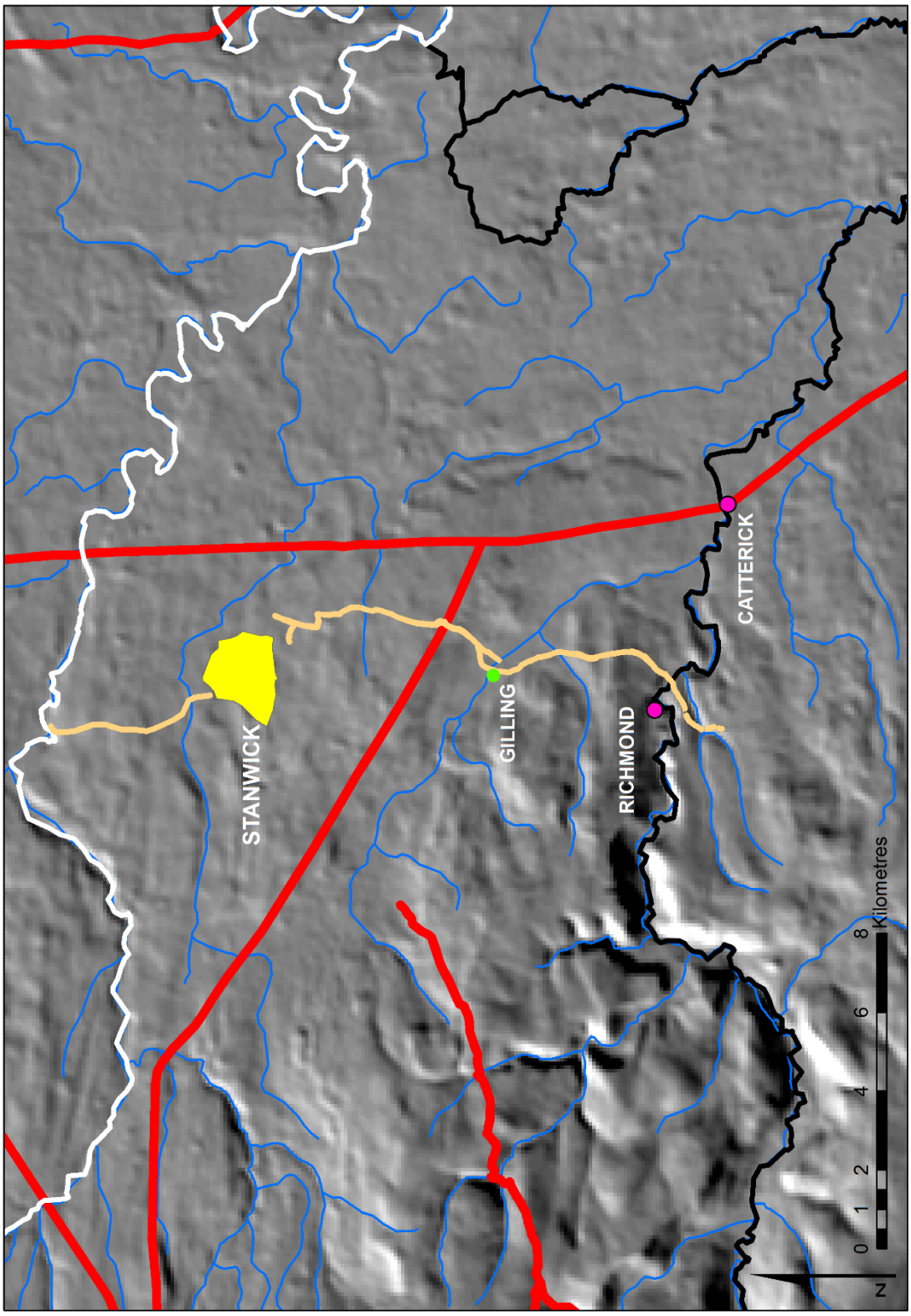


Figure 81 - Wider landscape of Gilling, displaying the intersection with the Scot's Dyke (beige), leading north towards the Stanwick fortifications.

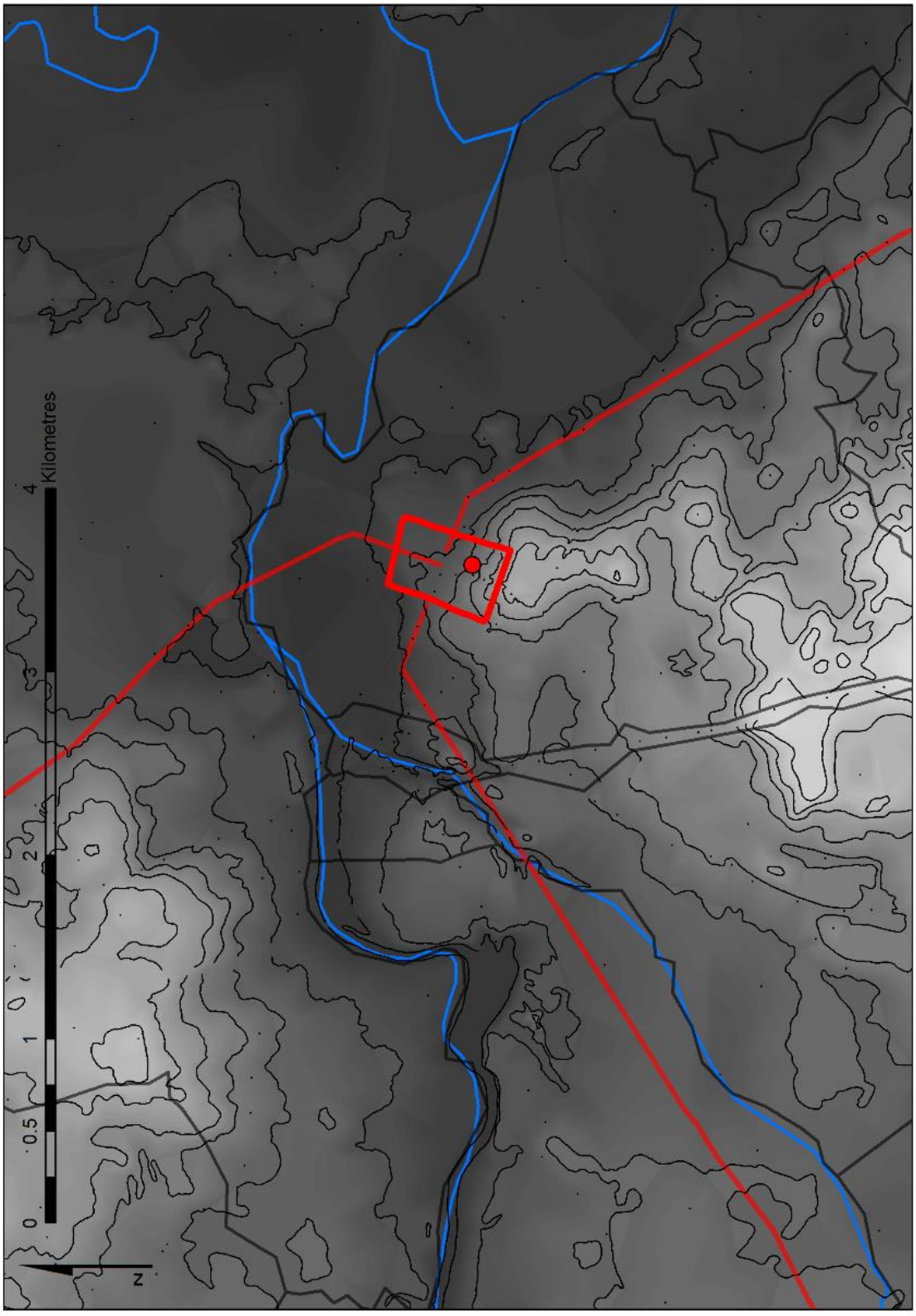


Figure 82 - Wider landscape of Aldborough, indicating Borough Hill (red dot), the walls of the town and the courses of intersecting Roman roads.

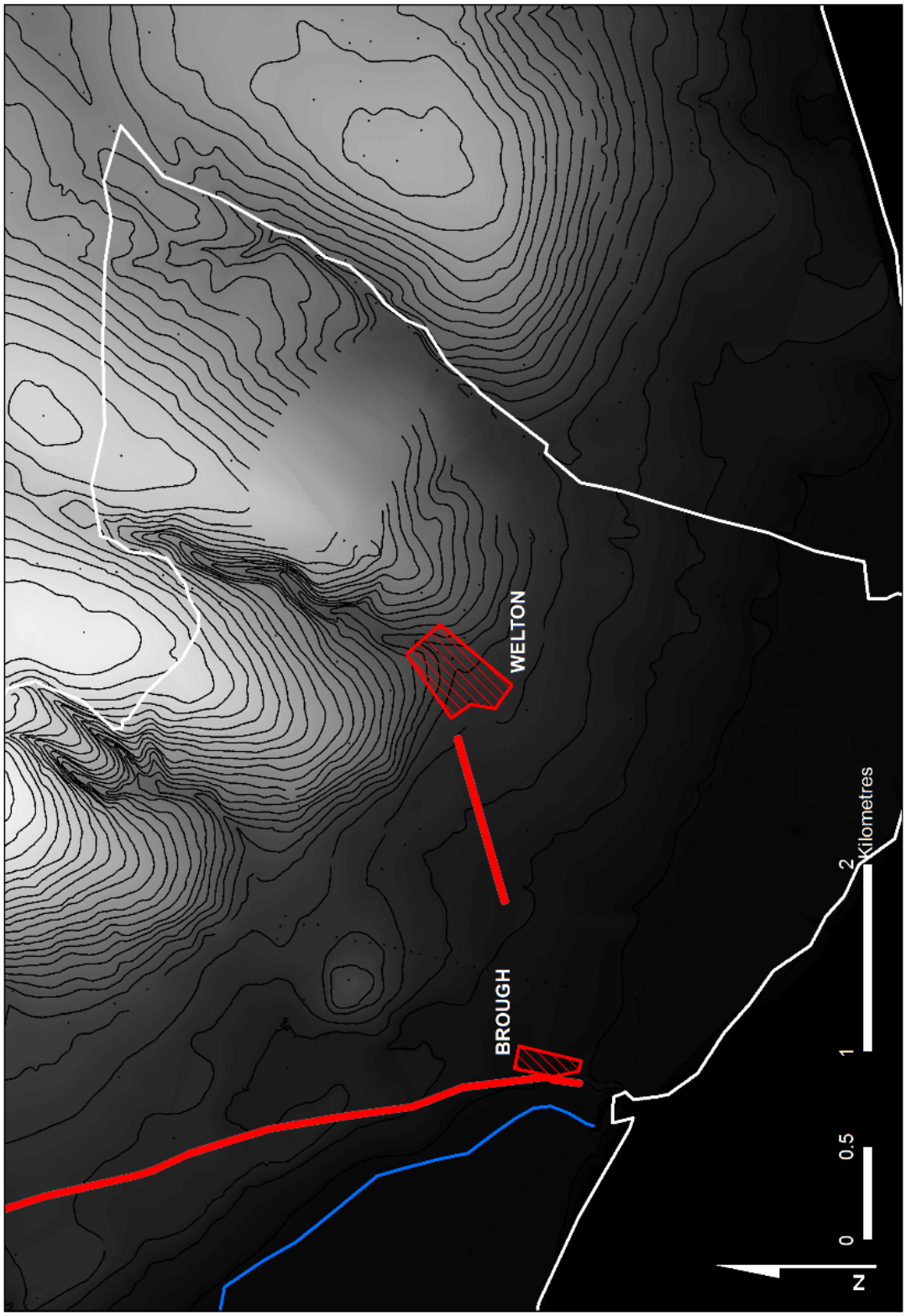


Figure 83 - Wider landscape of Welton.

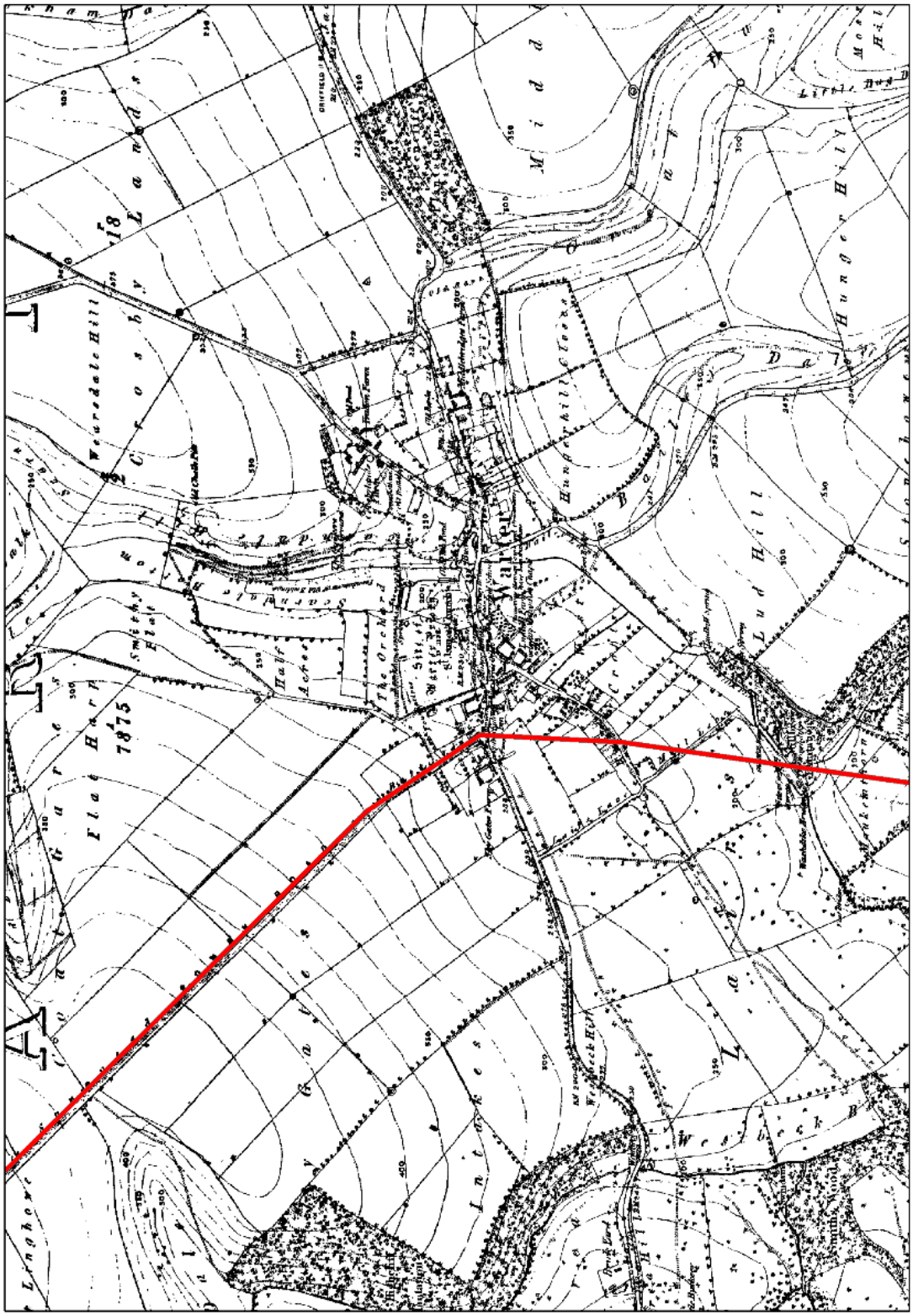


Figure 84 - First Edition Ordnance Survey of Warter indicating the course of the Roman road.

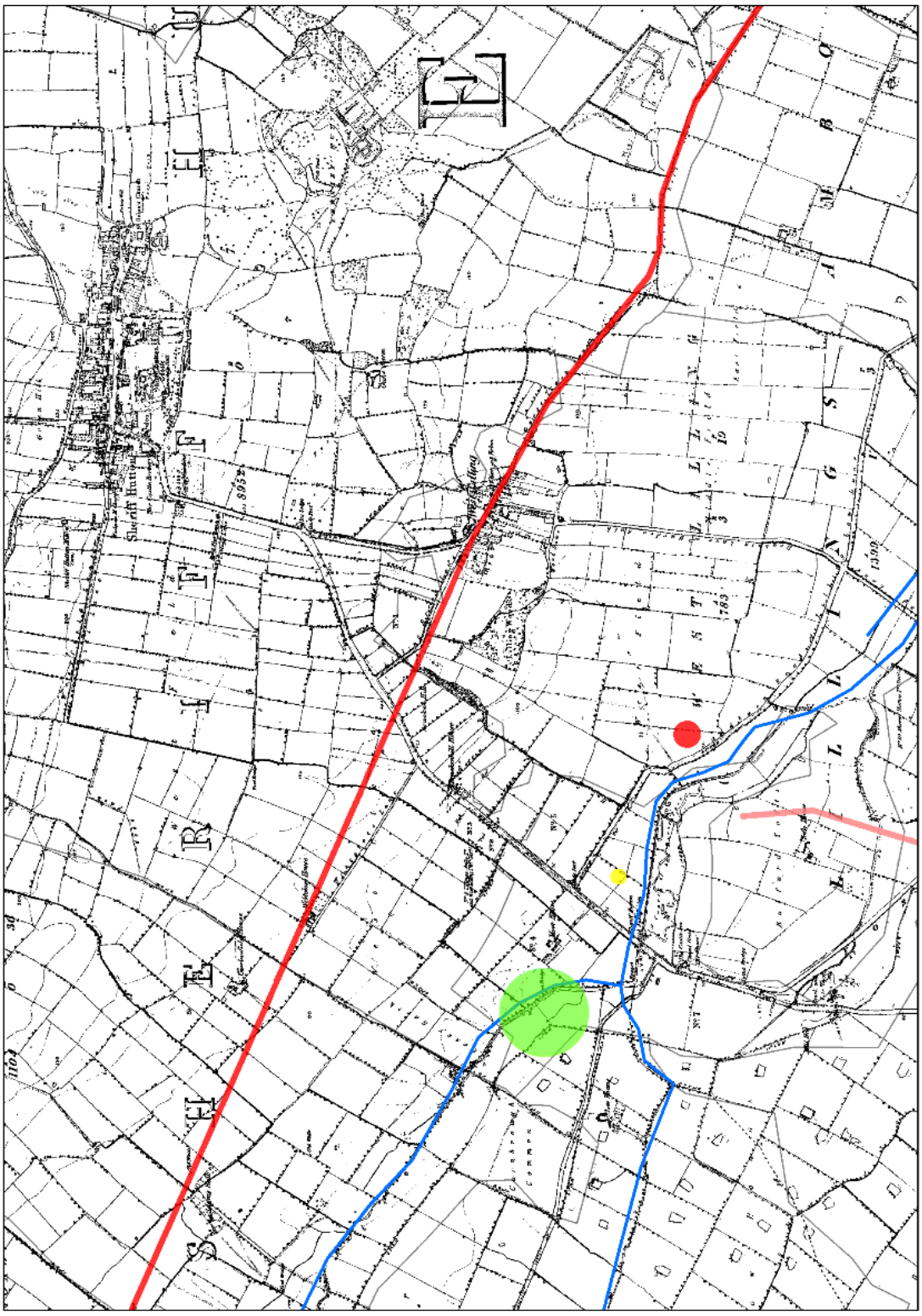


Figure 85 - First Edition Ordnance Survey of Bolesford. The large green circle marks the presumed site of the meeting place. The yellow dot indicates the position of a round barrow and the red dot the approximate position of a Roman villa, while the pink line indicates the presumed course of a recently discovered Roman road.

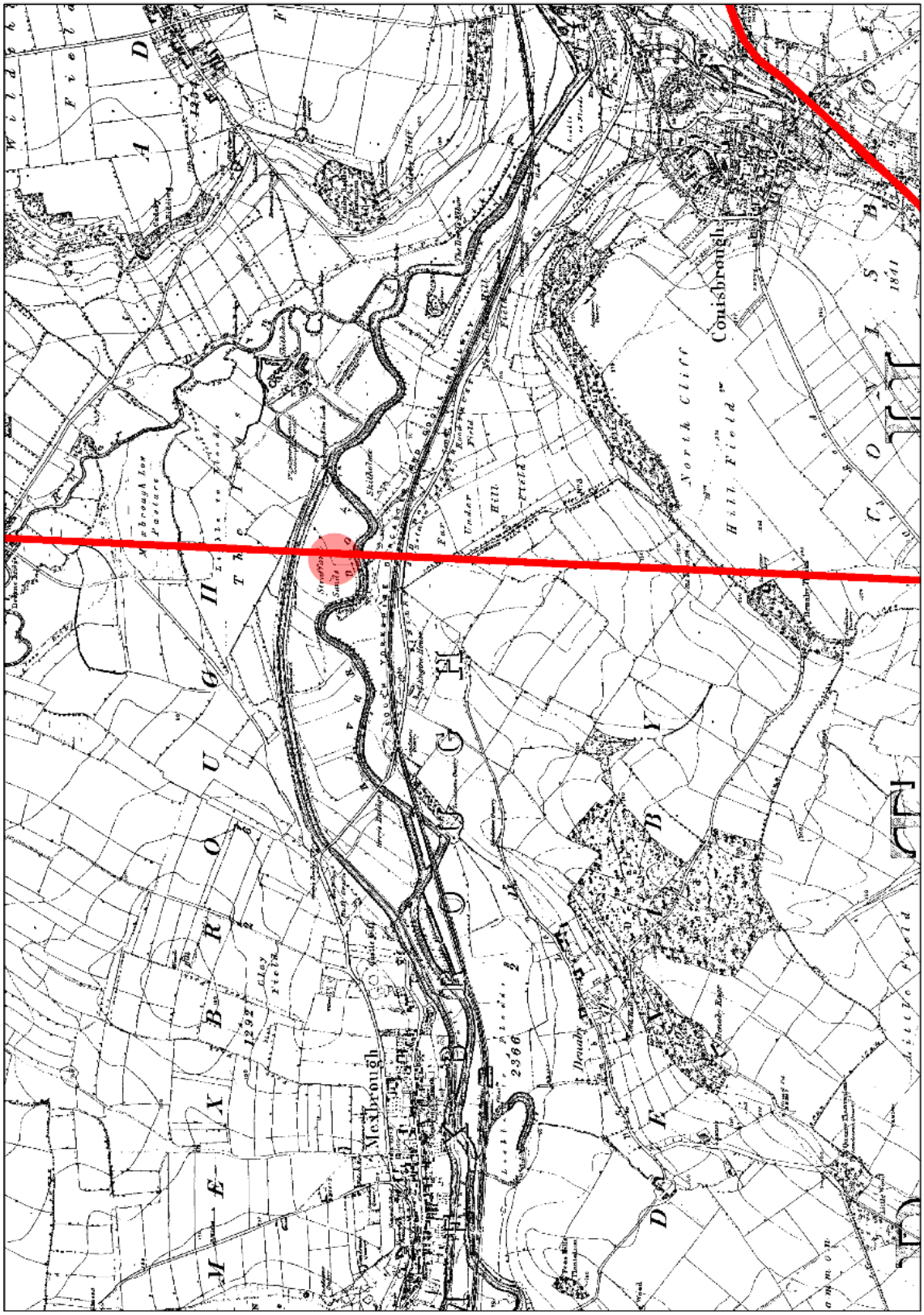


Figure 86 - First Edition Ordnance Survey of Strafforth Sands.

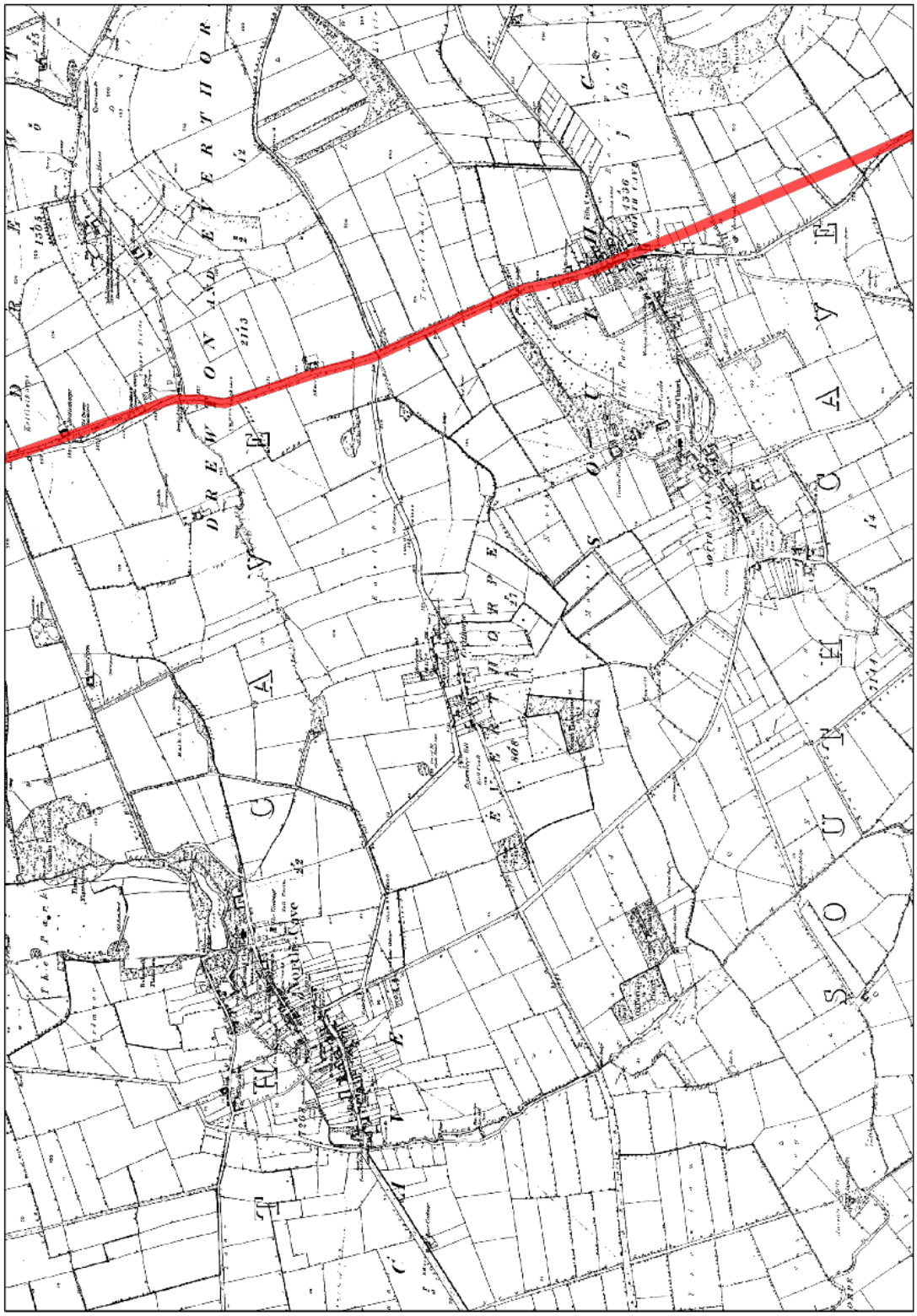


Figure 87 - First Edition Ordnance Survey of North and South Cave.



Figure 88 - First Edition Ordnance Survey for Birdforth.

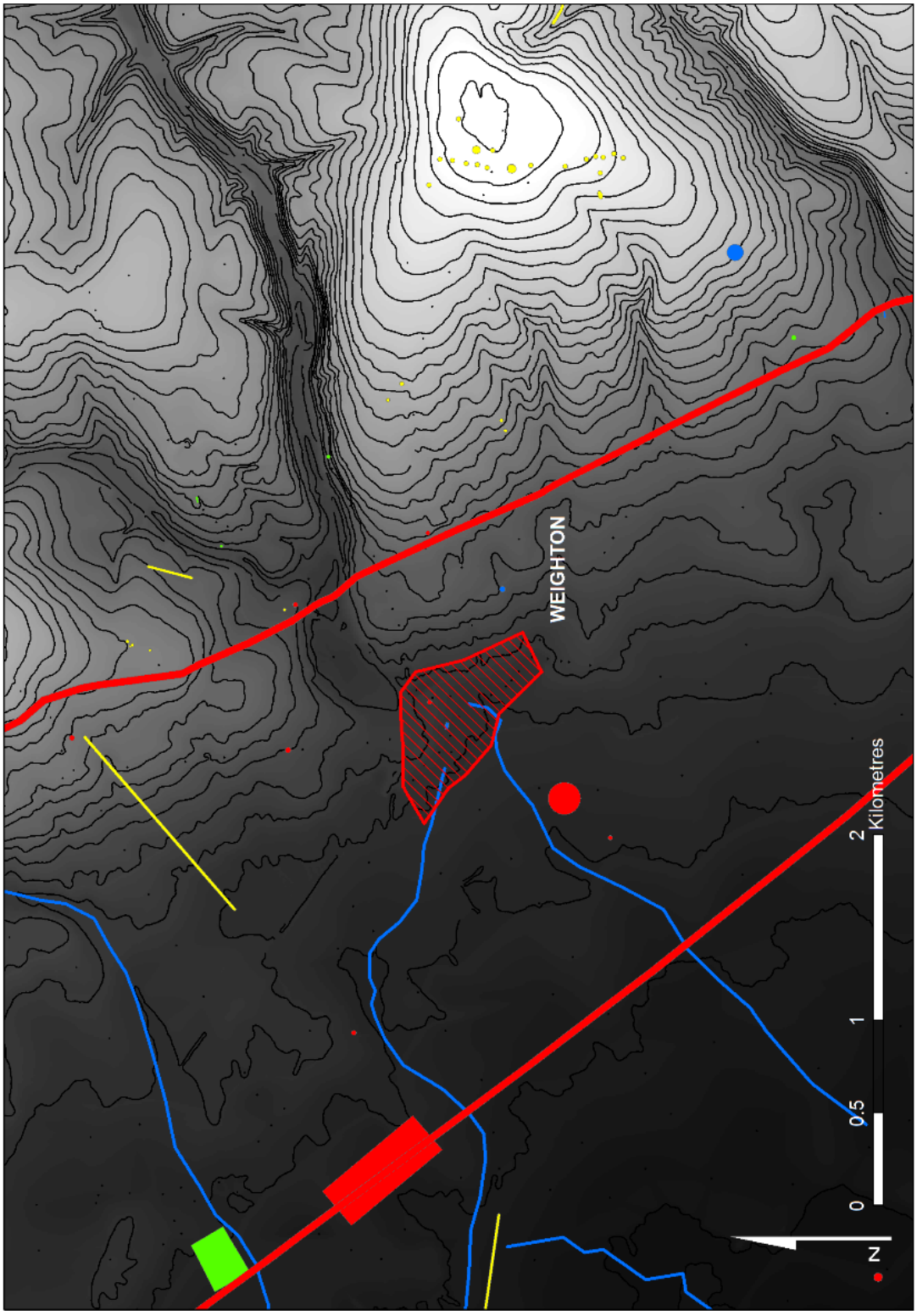


Figure 89 - Wider topography of Market Weighton. It is positioned between two Roman roads, of which the western example is marked by the Romano-British settlement at Shiptonthorpe. Prehistoric remains (yellow), Romano-British remains (red), early medieval remains (blue) and later medieval remains (green).

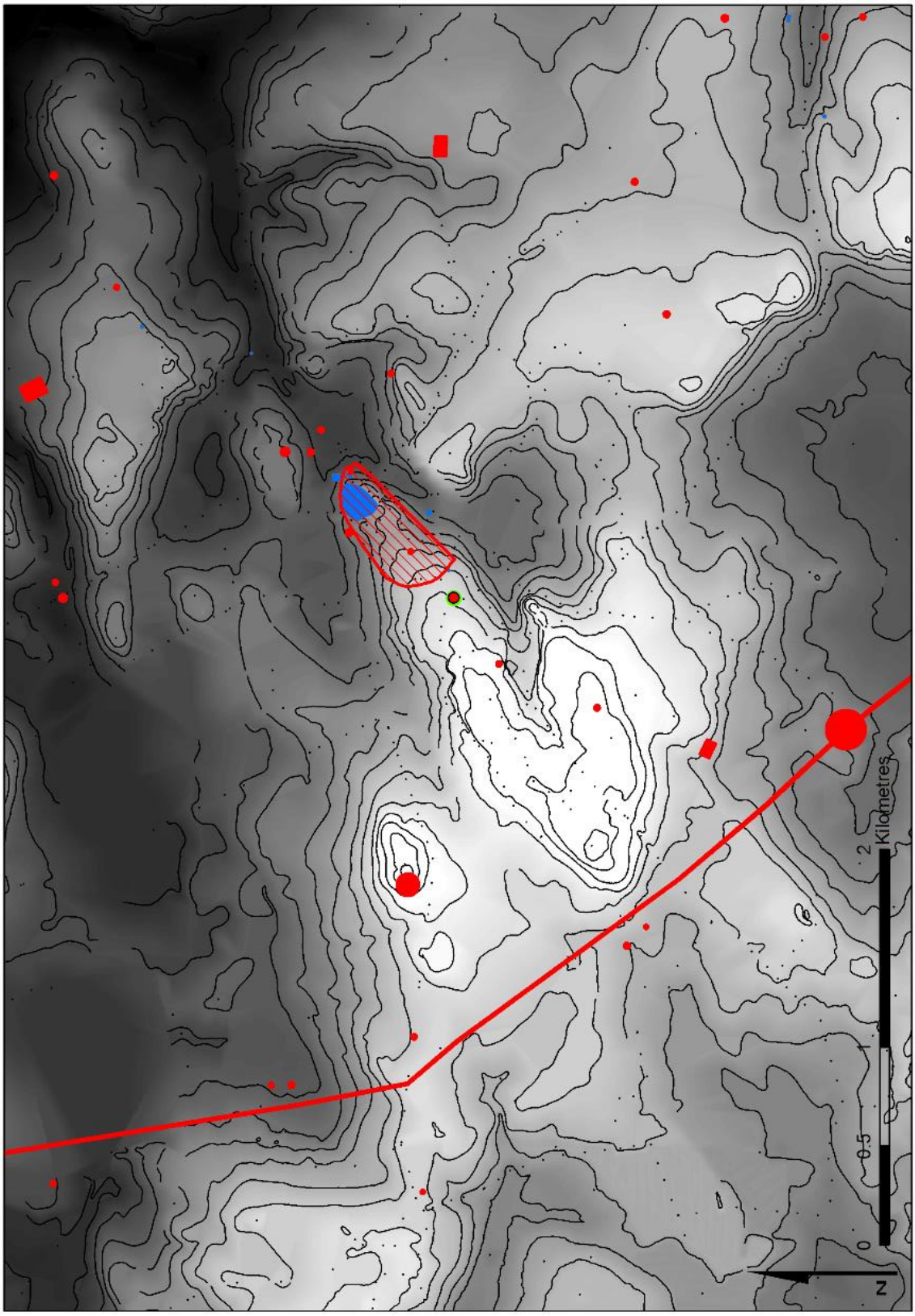


Figure 90 - Wider landscape of Osgoldcross. Roman remains (red); Early medieval remains (blue). Osgoldcross is marked by the green bordered red circle.

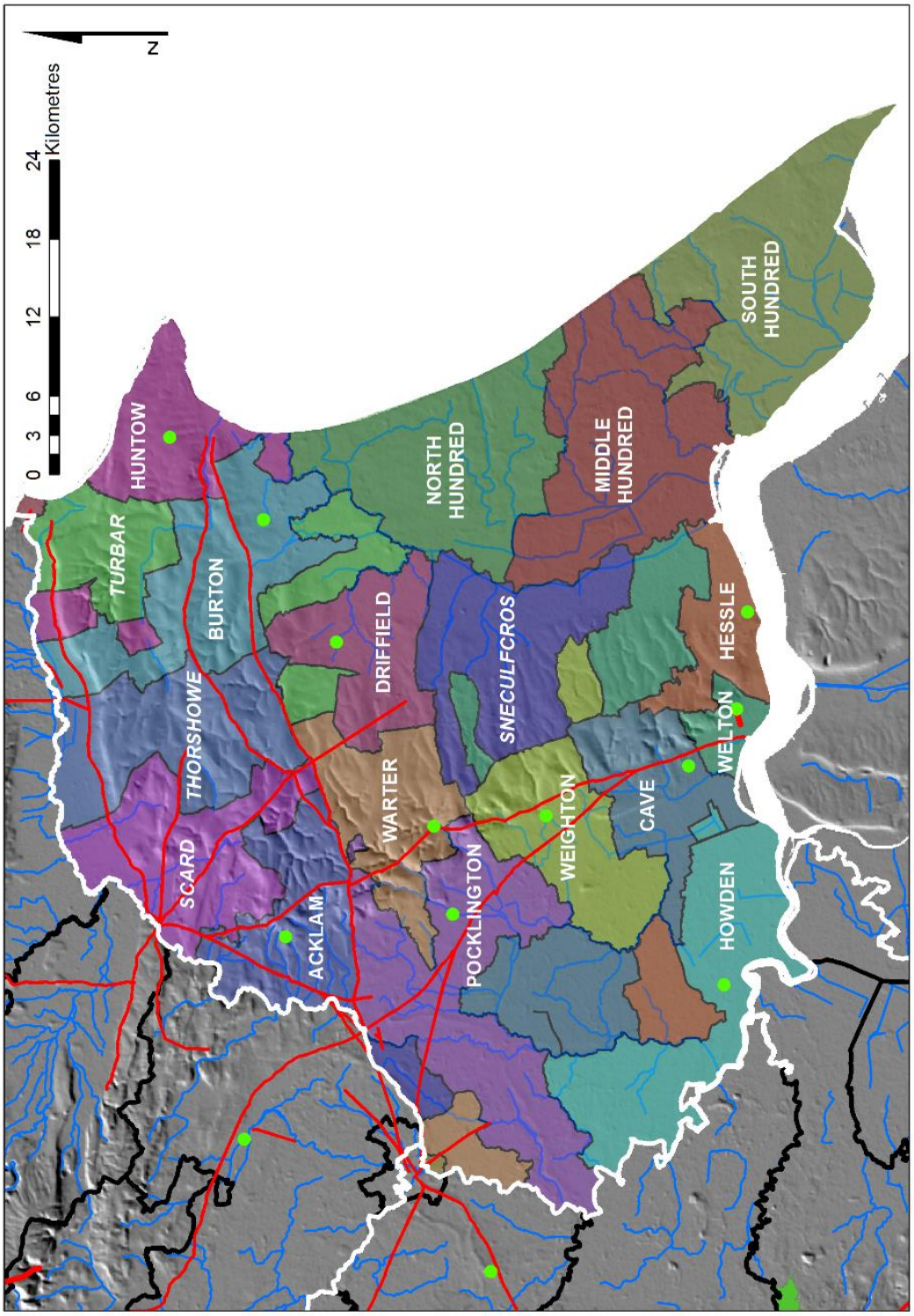


Figure 91 - East Riding hundreds – colours indicate detached portions.

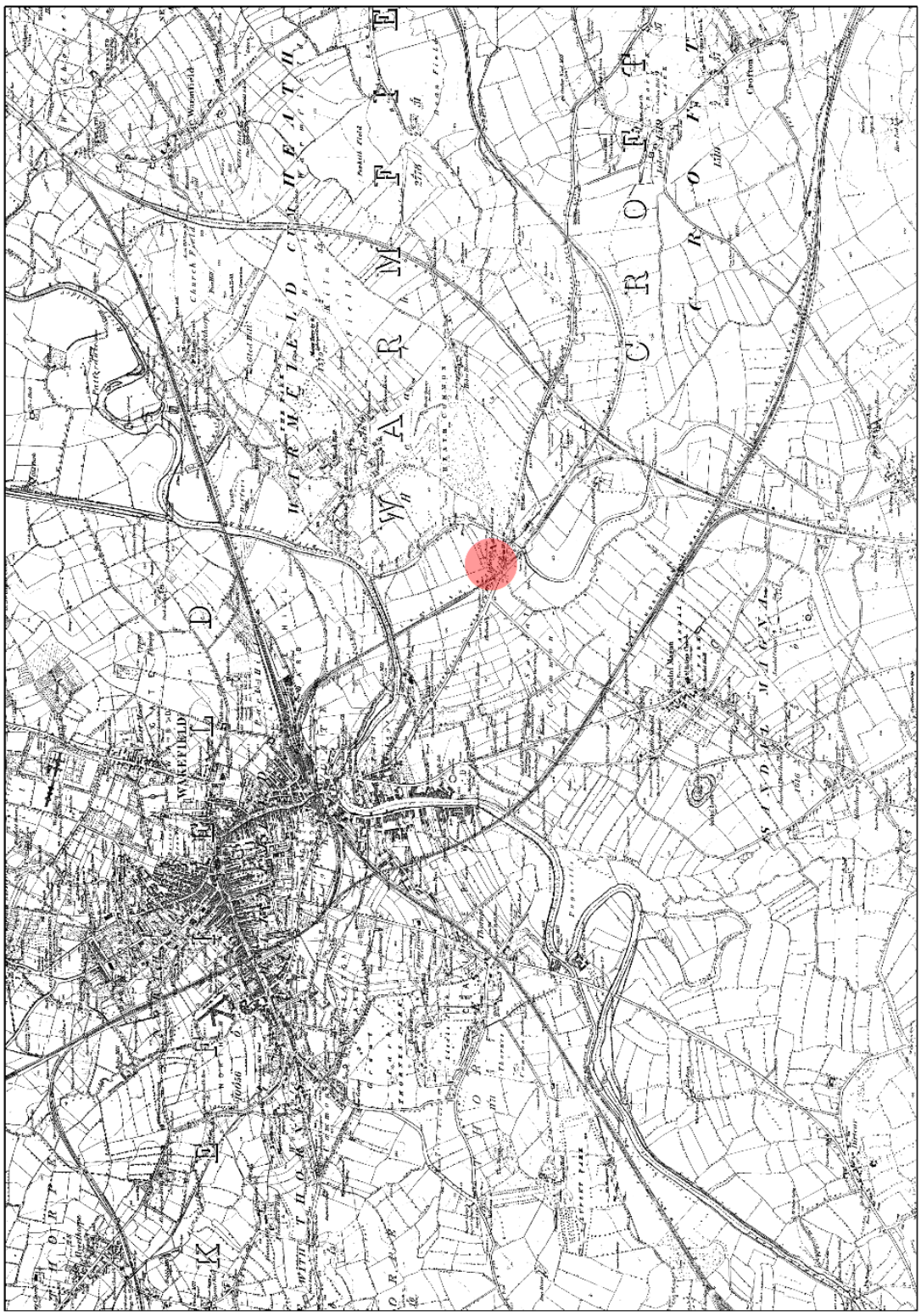


Figure 92 - First Edition Ordnance Survey of Agbrigg.

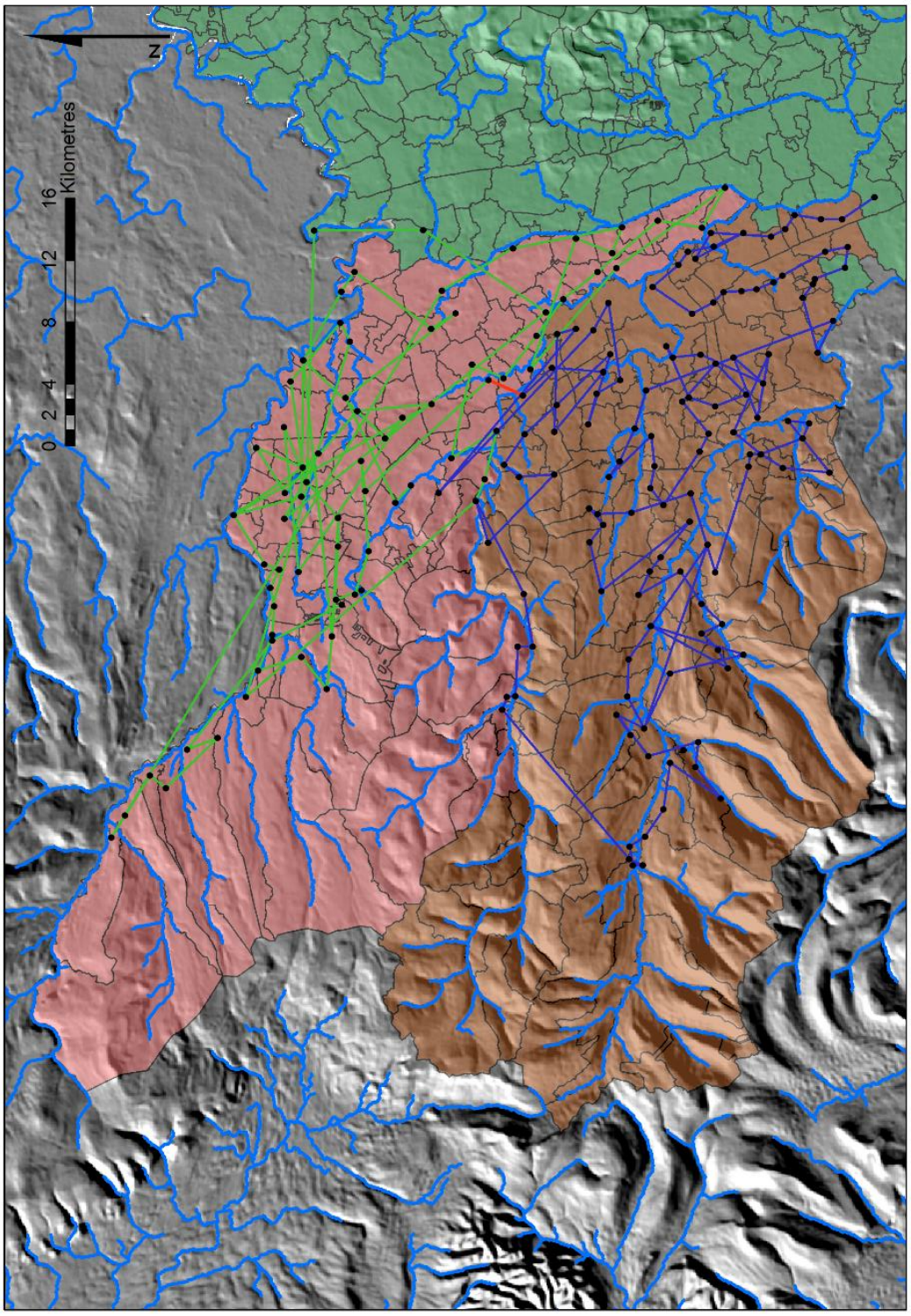
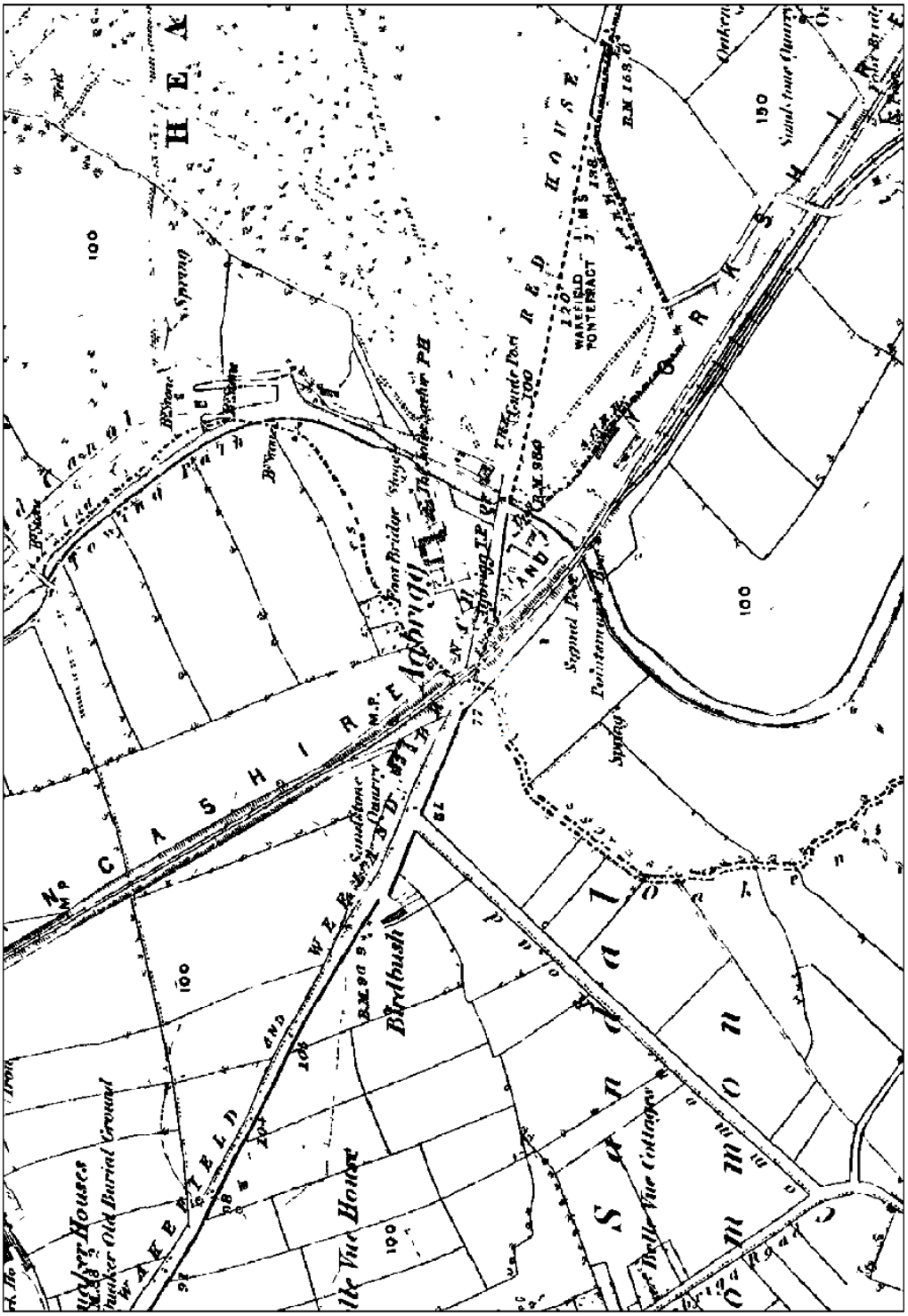


Figure 93 - Yorkshire Summary for the Terra Alani Comitis overlaid on the wapentakes of Gilling and Hang.


Birdbush
Agbrigg
Sandstone Quarry
Old Road
Belle Vue Cottages
Belle Vue Houses
Quaker Old Burial Ground
Spring
Sand Stone Quarry
Sandstone Quarry
Pinfold
Signal Box
Foot Bridge
Stone Trough
Pond
Pinfold
Spring
Spring
Spring

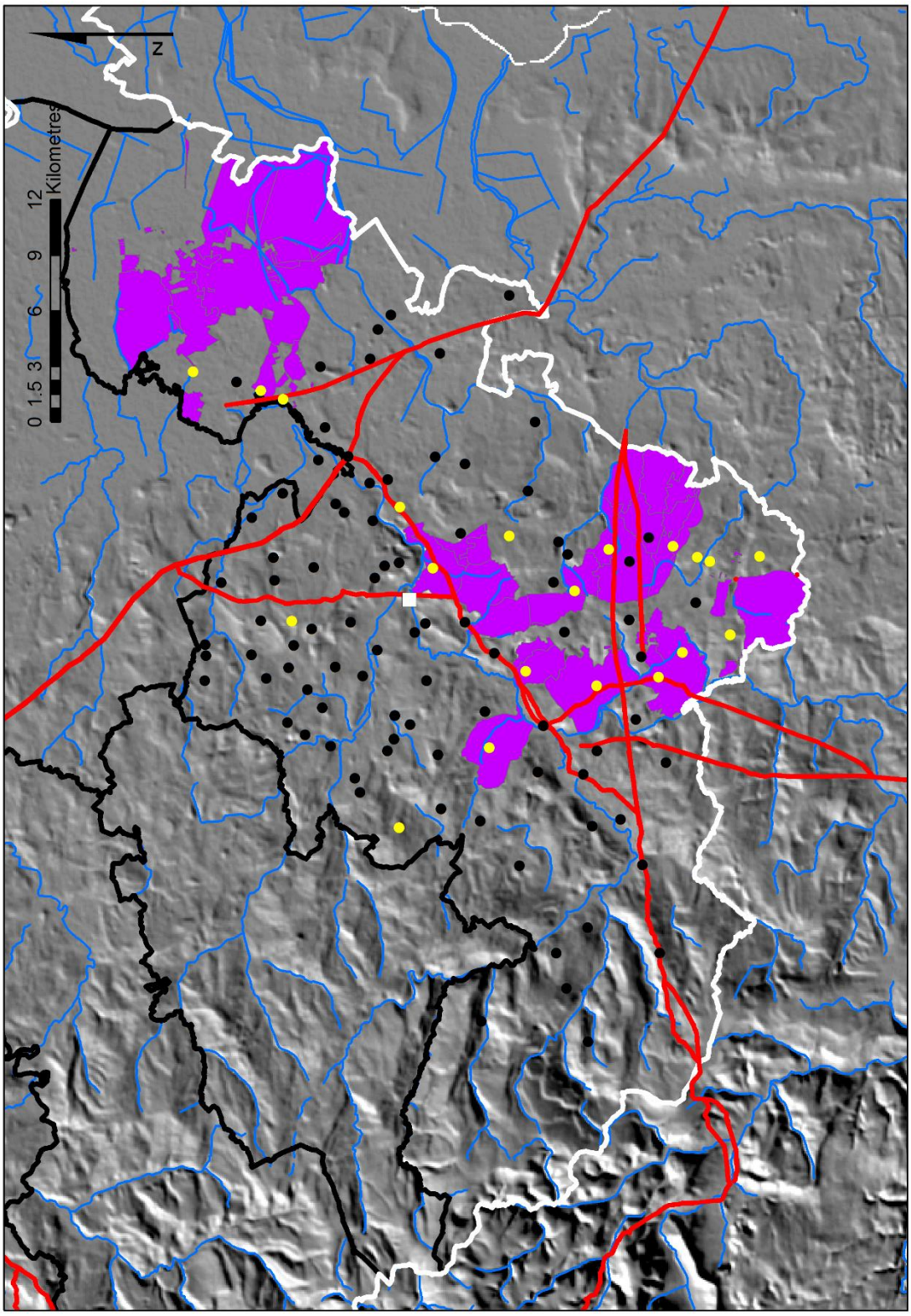


Figure 95 - Strafforth wapentake, indicating the soke of Conisbrough (yellow points), and the reconstructed mother parish of Conisbrough (purple). Strafforth Sands is marked by the white square.

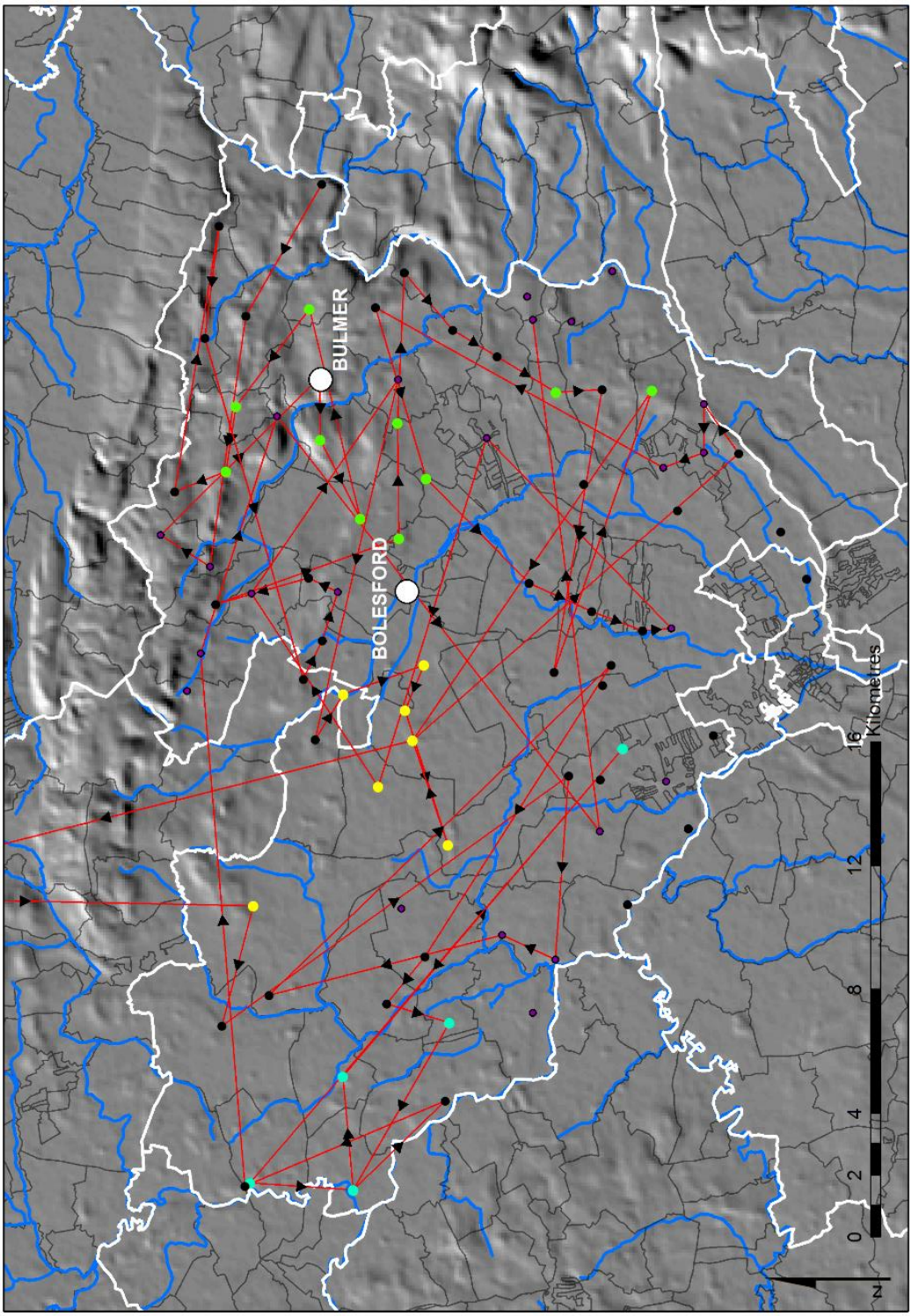


Figure 96 - Bolesford wapentake, indicating the Bolesford Summary. The soke of Bulmer is green, the soke of Easingwold is yellow.

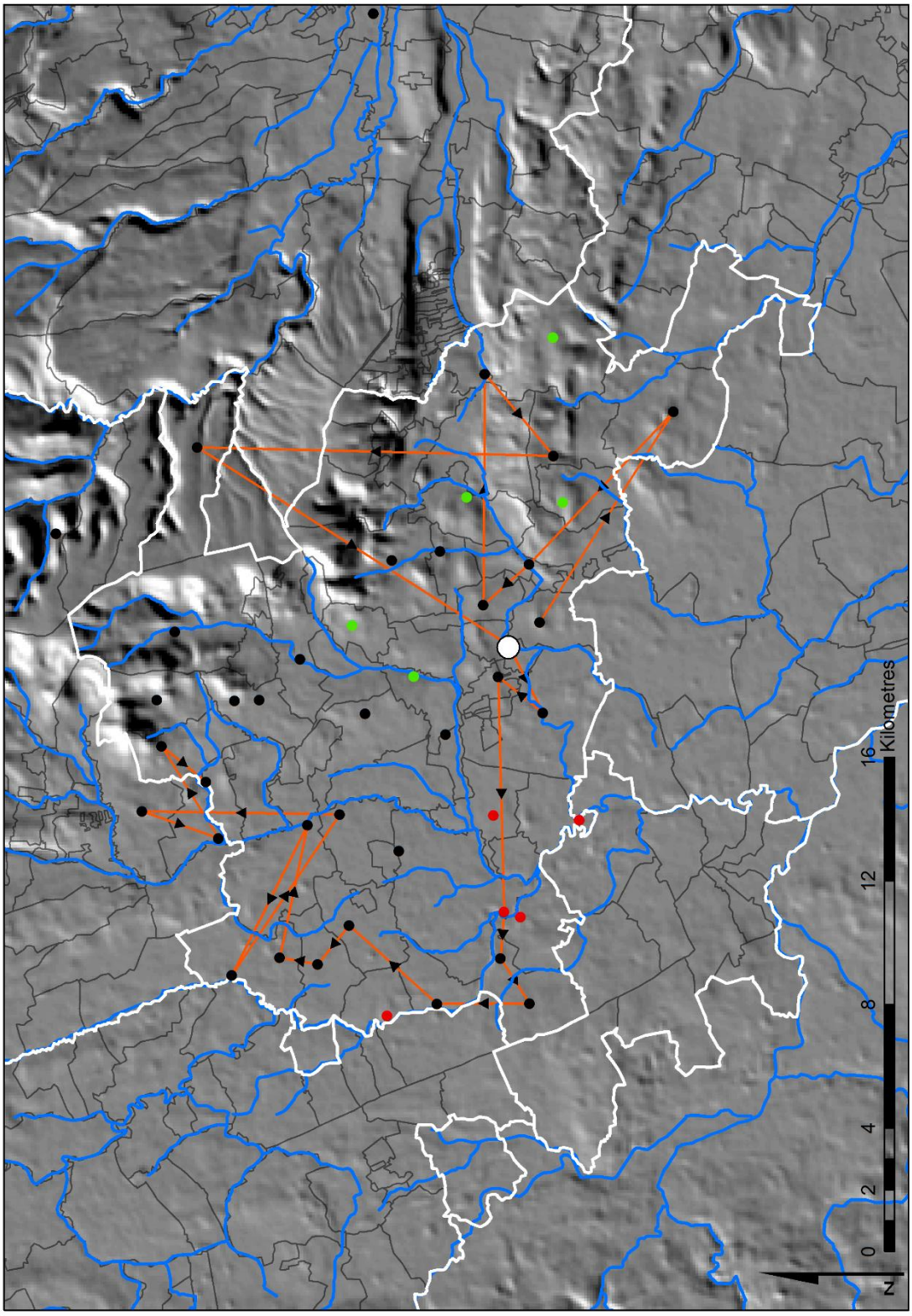


Figure 97 - Birdforth wapentake and Birdforth Summary, indicating the soke of Coxwold (red) and Topcliffe (green).

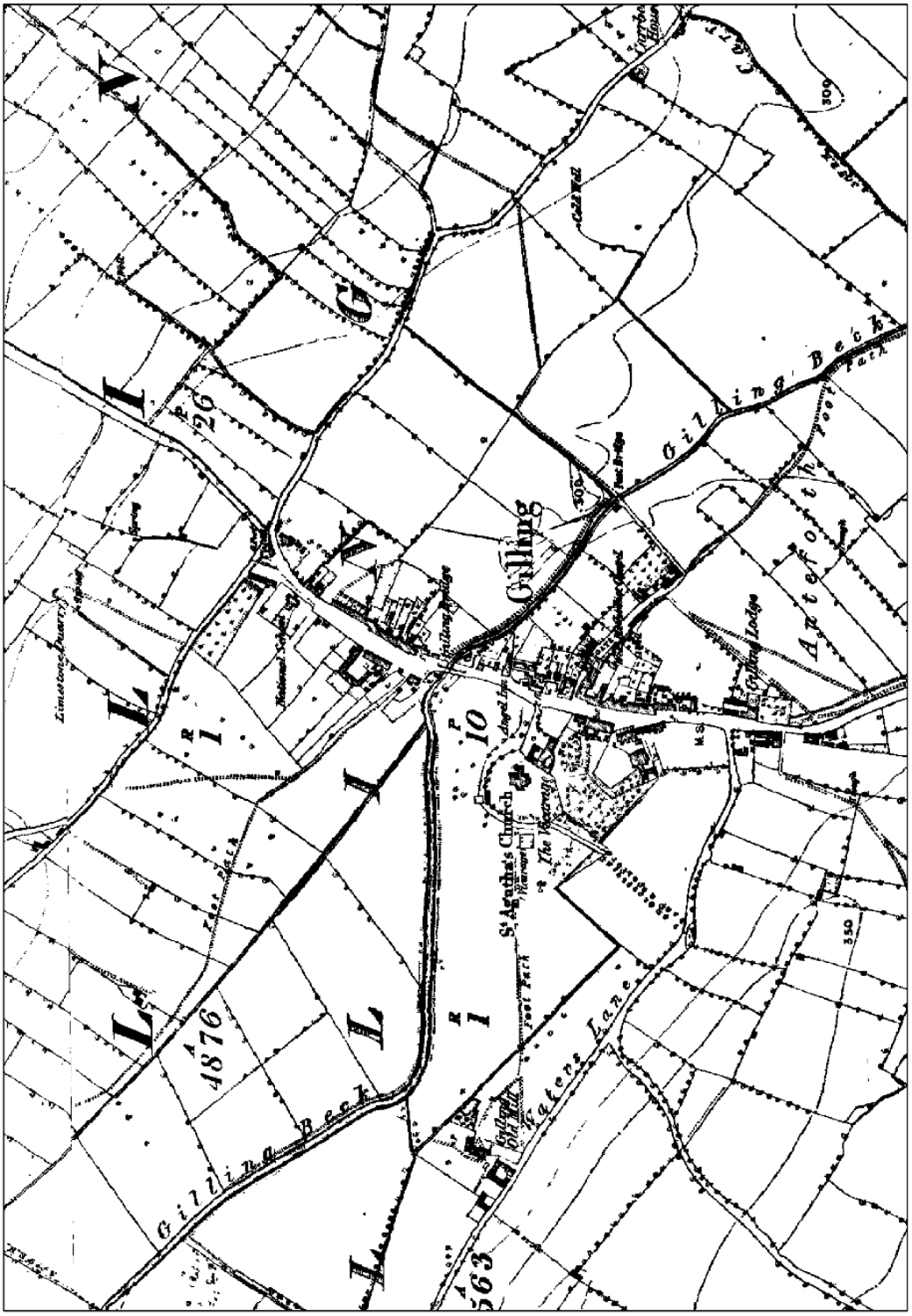
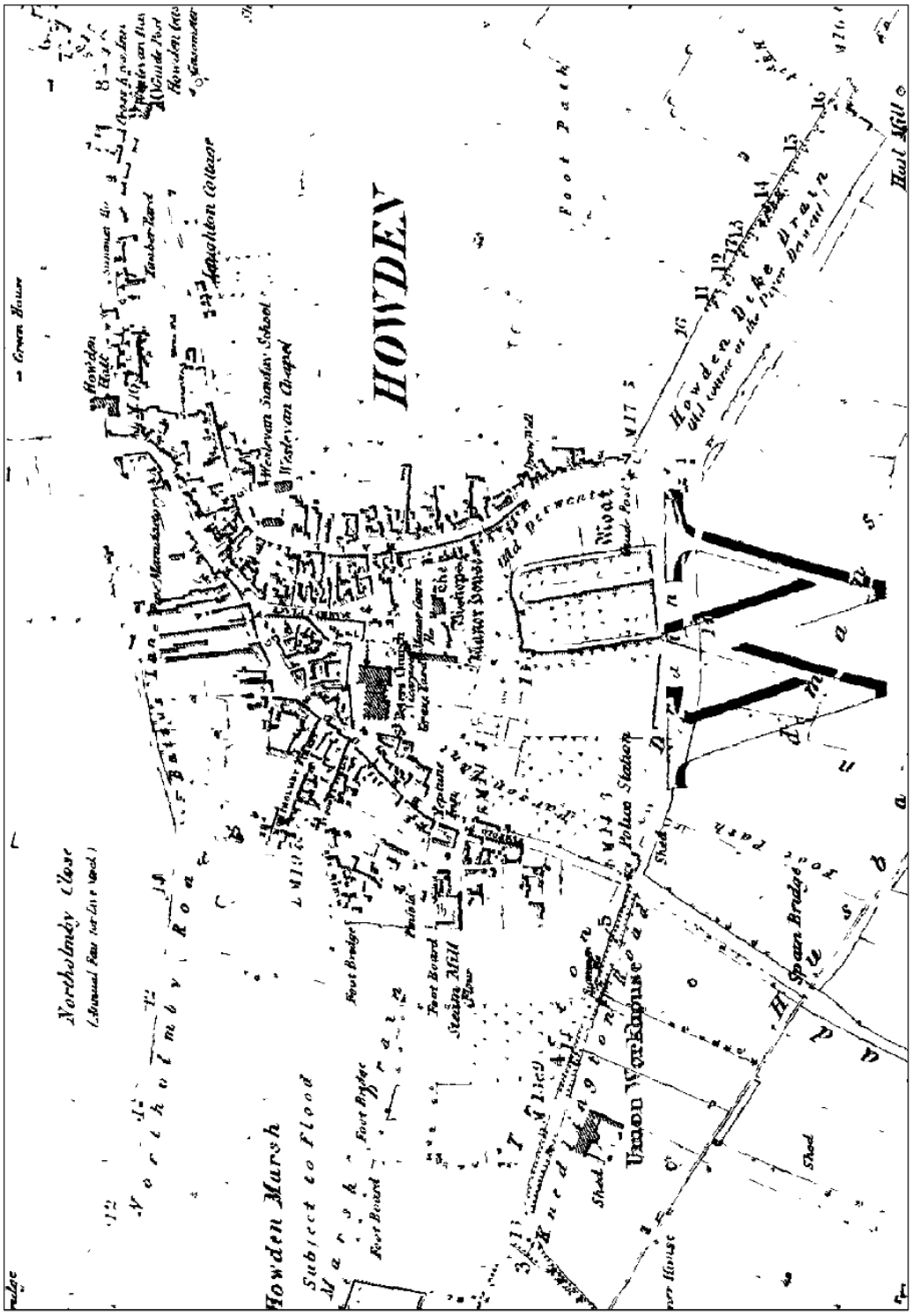


Figure 98 - First Edition Ordnance Survey for Gilling.


HOWDEN
Howden Marsh
Subject to Flood
Union Workhouse
Span Bridge
Foot Bridge
Foot Board
Foot Path
Shed
Road
Mill
Police Station
Wesleyan Chapel
Wesleyan Sunday School
Howden Dike Drain
Old Course of the River Derwent
Foot Path
Foot Path
Foot Path

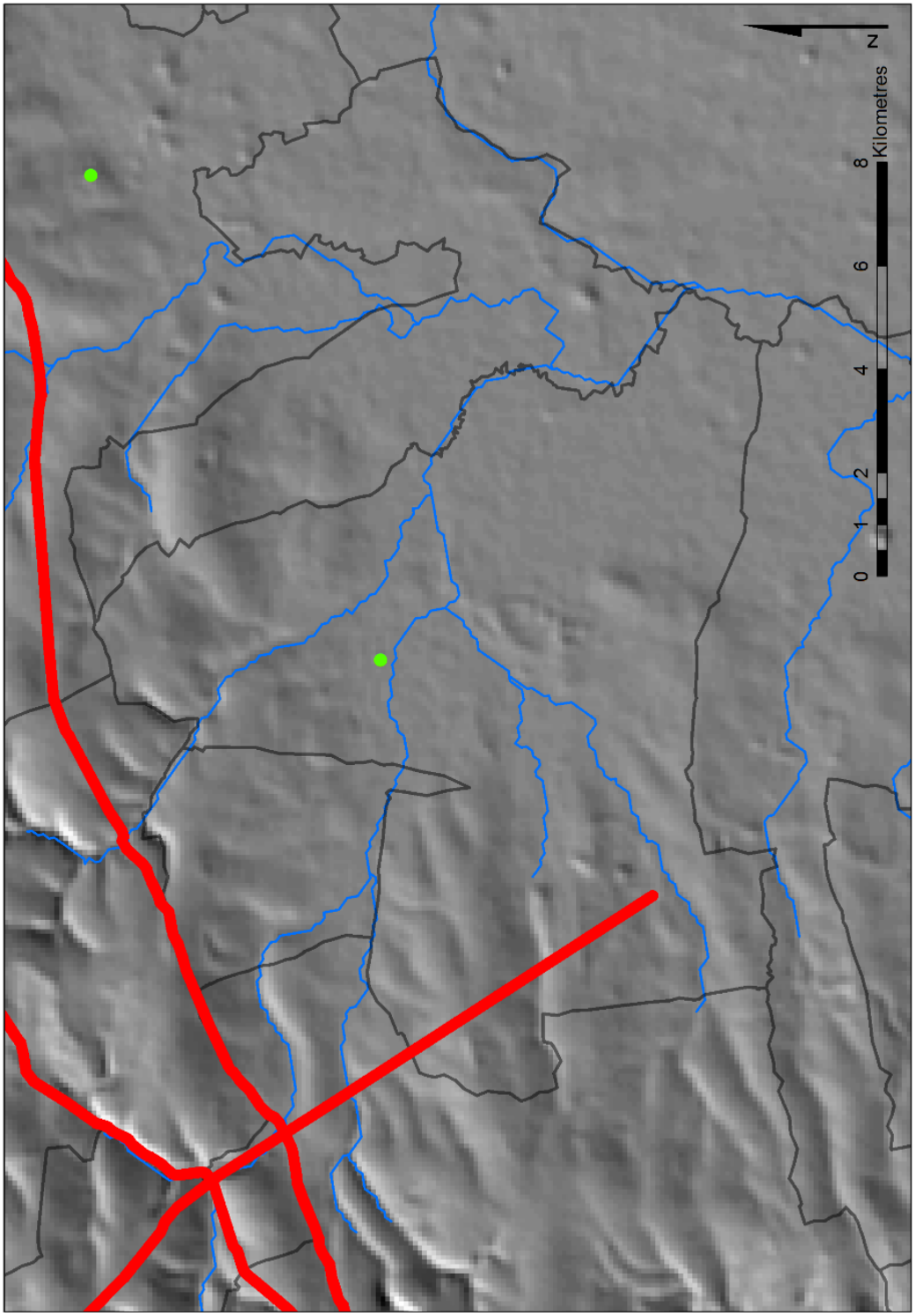


Figure 100 - Topography of Driffield hundred. Hundred venues are marked by green dots.

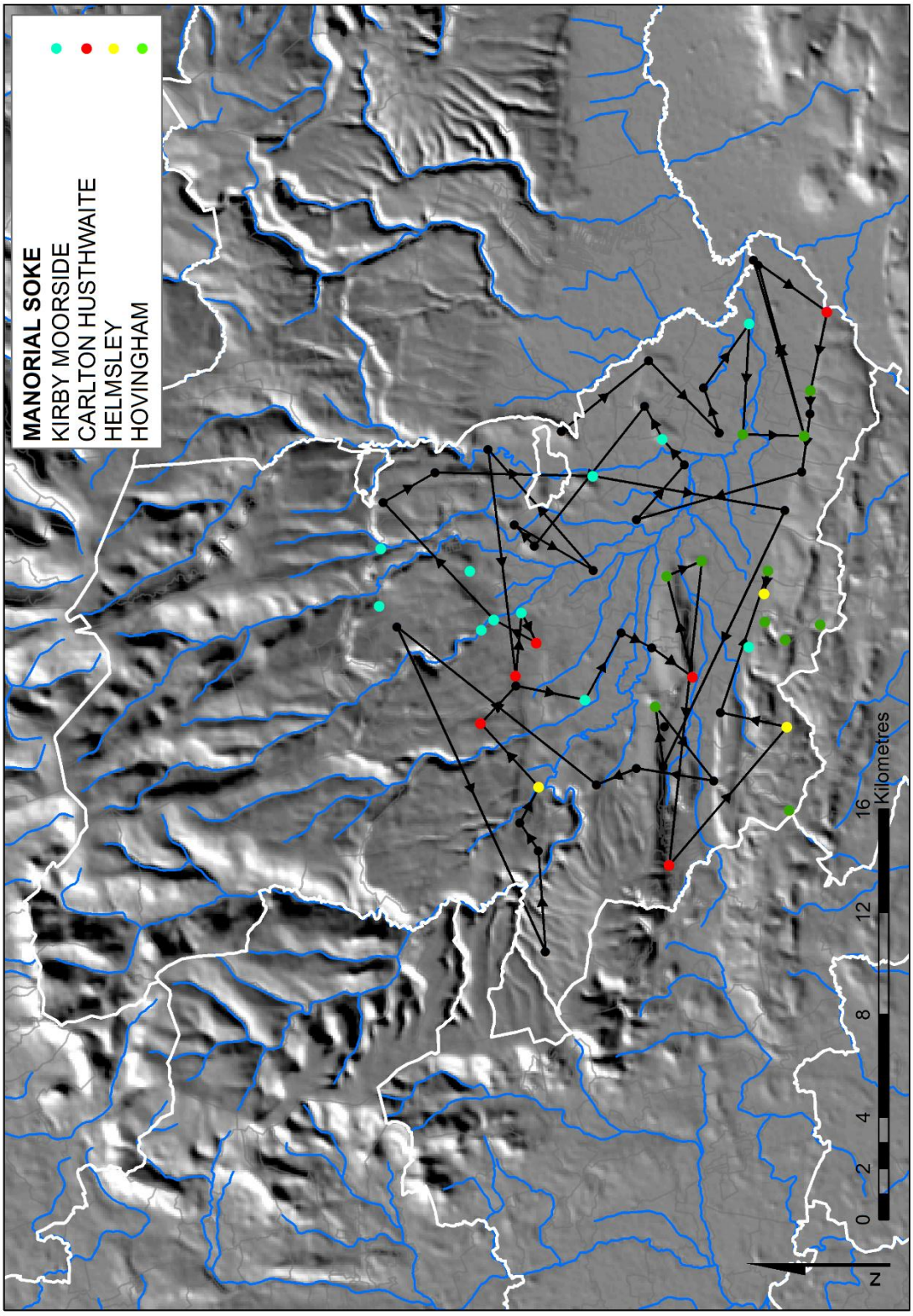


Figure 101 - Ryedale wapentake, indicating the Maneshou Summary.

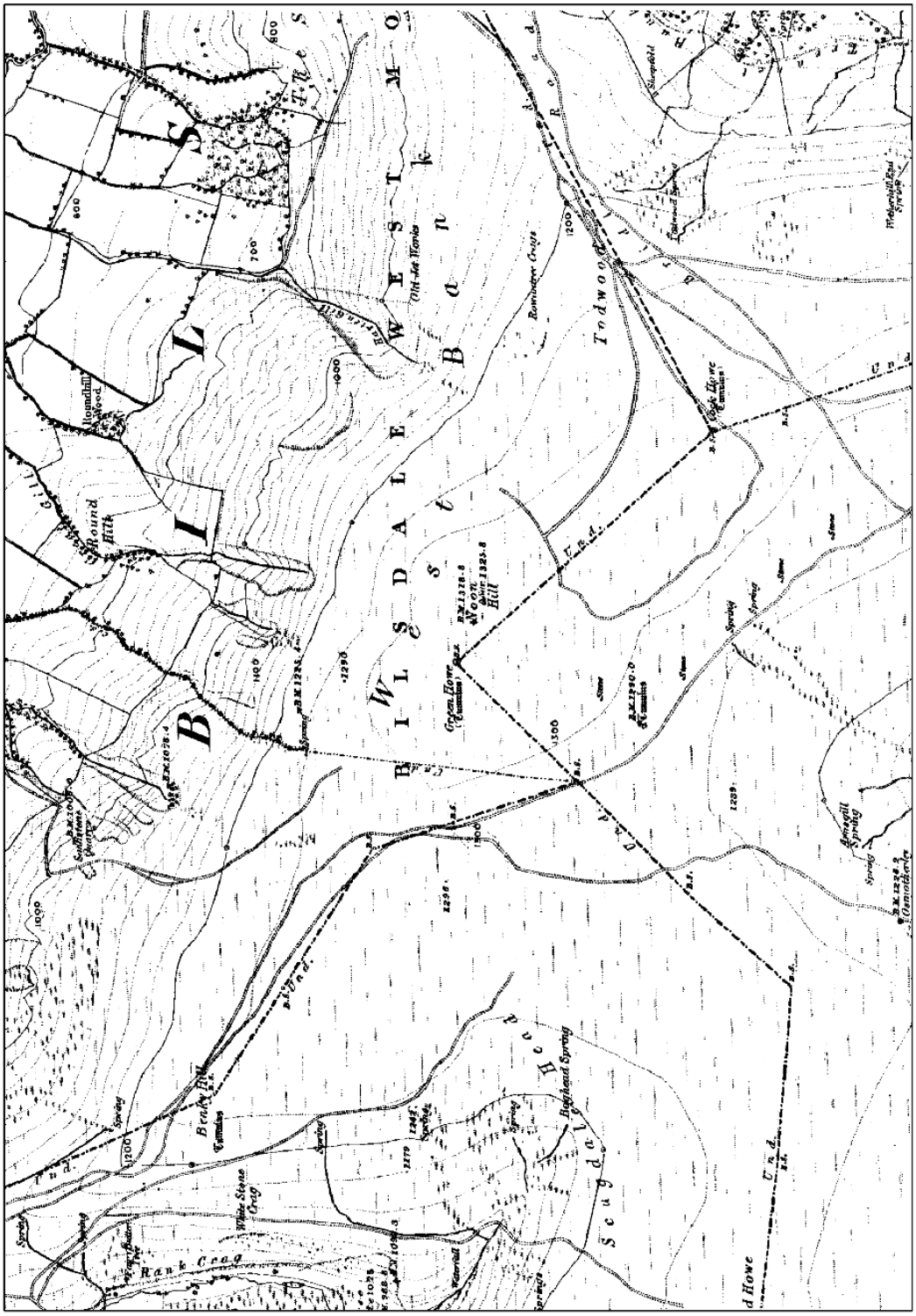
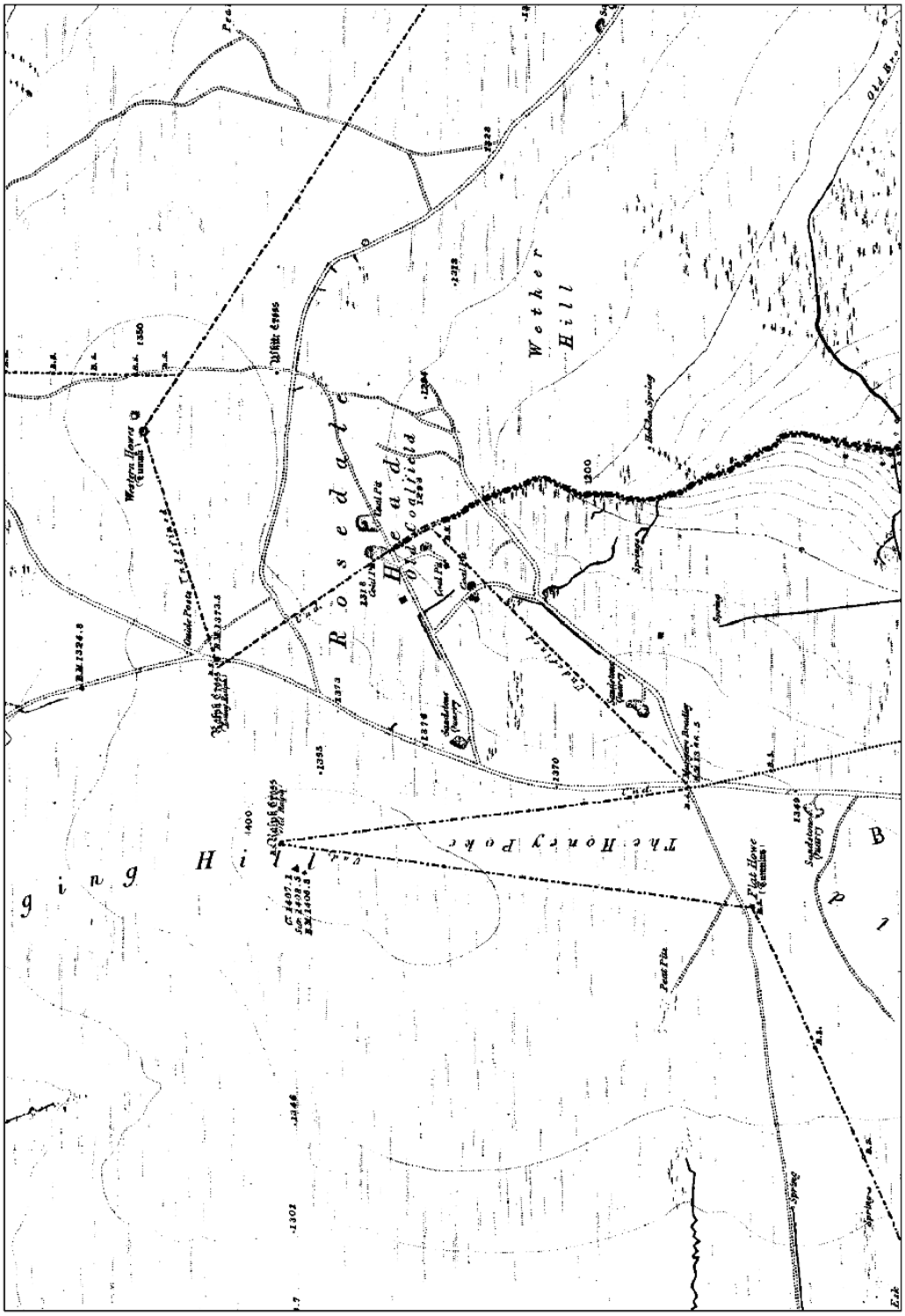


Figure 102 - First Edition Ordnance Survey for Green Howe.


Wether Hill
Rosedale Head
Old Ralph Cross
Wetherhill Spring
Flat Howe
Peat Pits
Sandstone Quarry
Sandstone Quarry
Sandstone Quarry
Spring
Spring
Spring

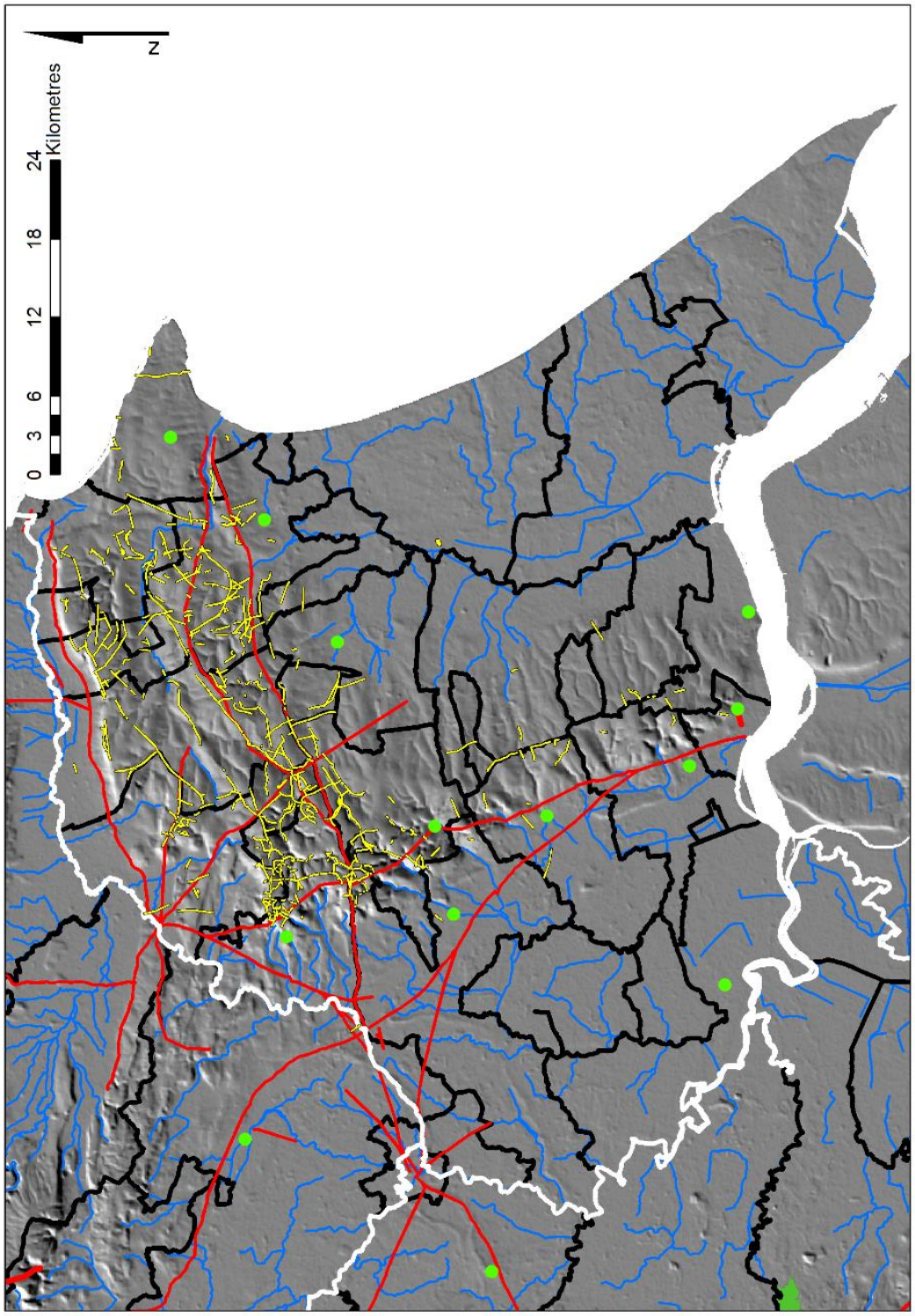


Figure 104 - Entrenchments of the East Riding. Hundred sites are marked with green dots.

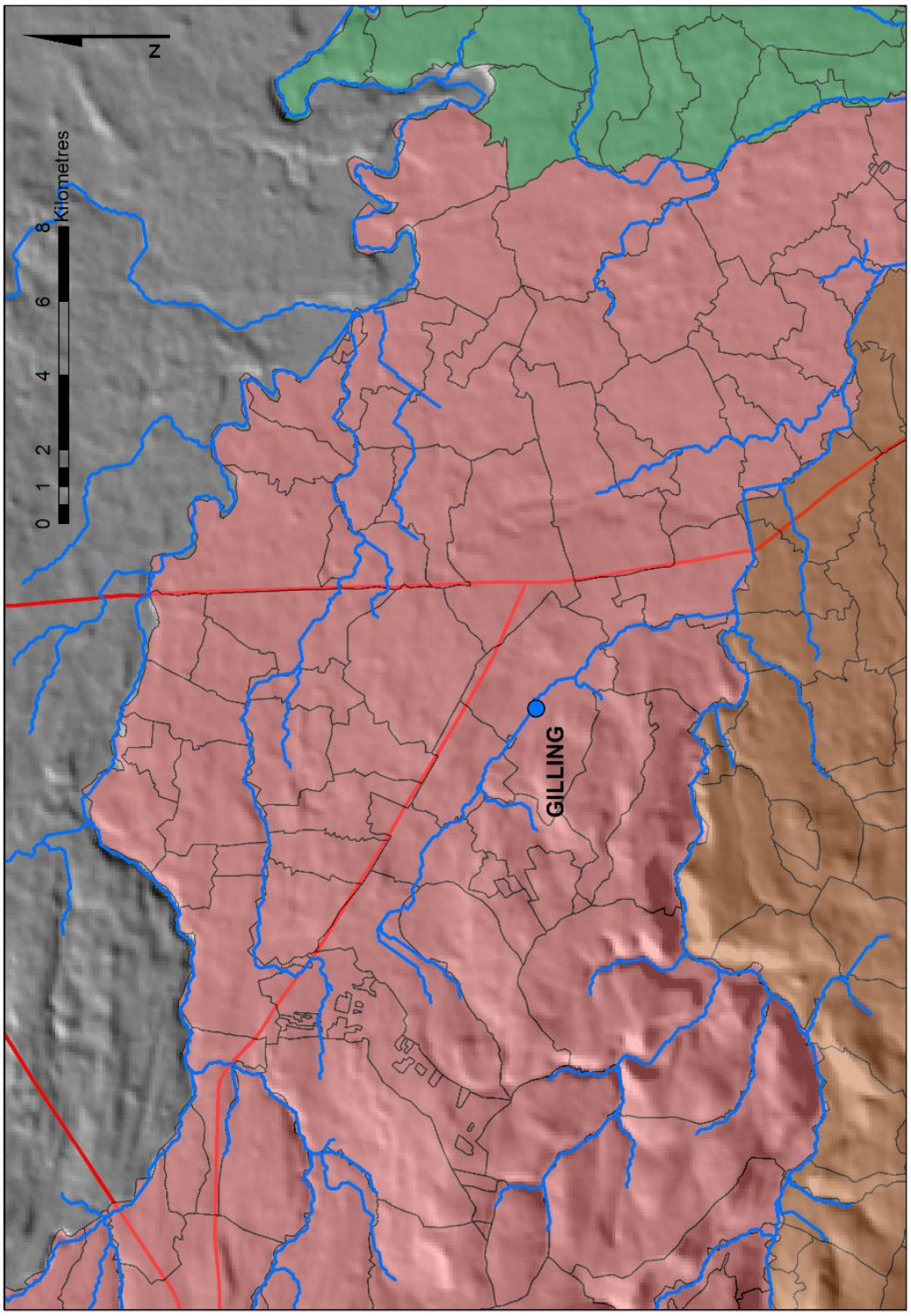


Figure 105 - Intersection between Roman roads and township boundaries in Gilling wapentake.

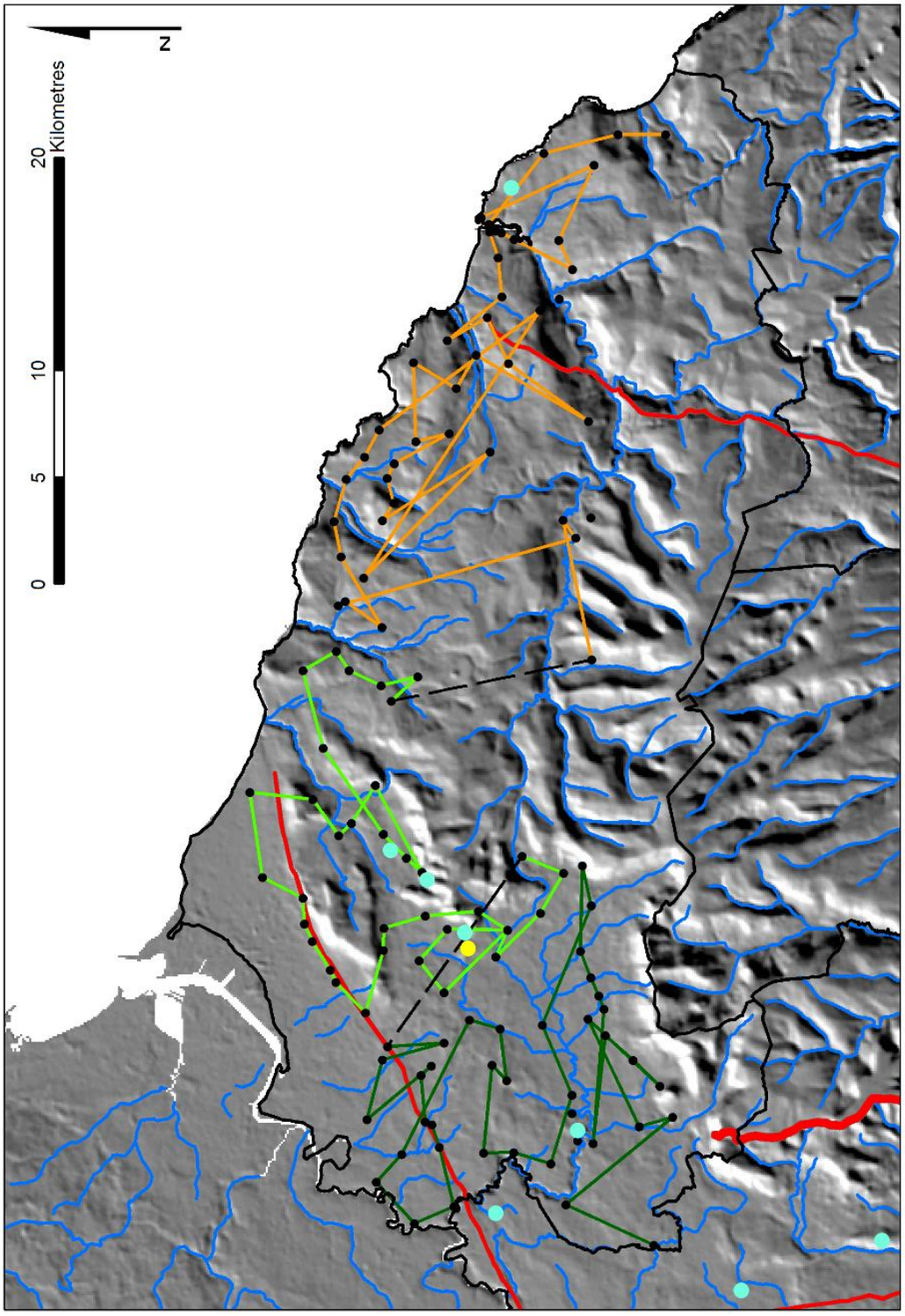


Figure 106 - Summary for Langbaurgh wapentake, indicating sub-divisions explicit in the text (Maxwell 1962b). The yellow dot indicates Langbaurgh ridge. The cyan dots indicate assembly-attesting place-names in this region.

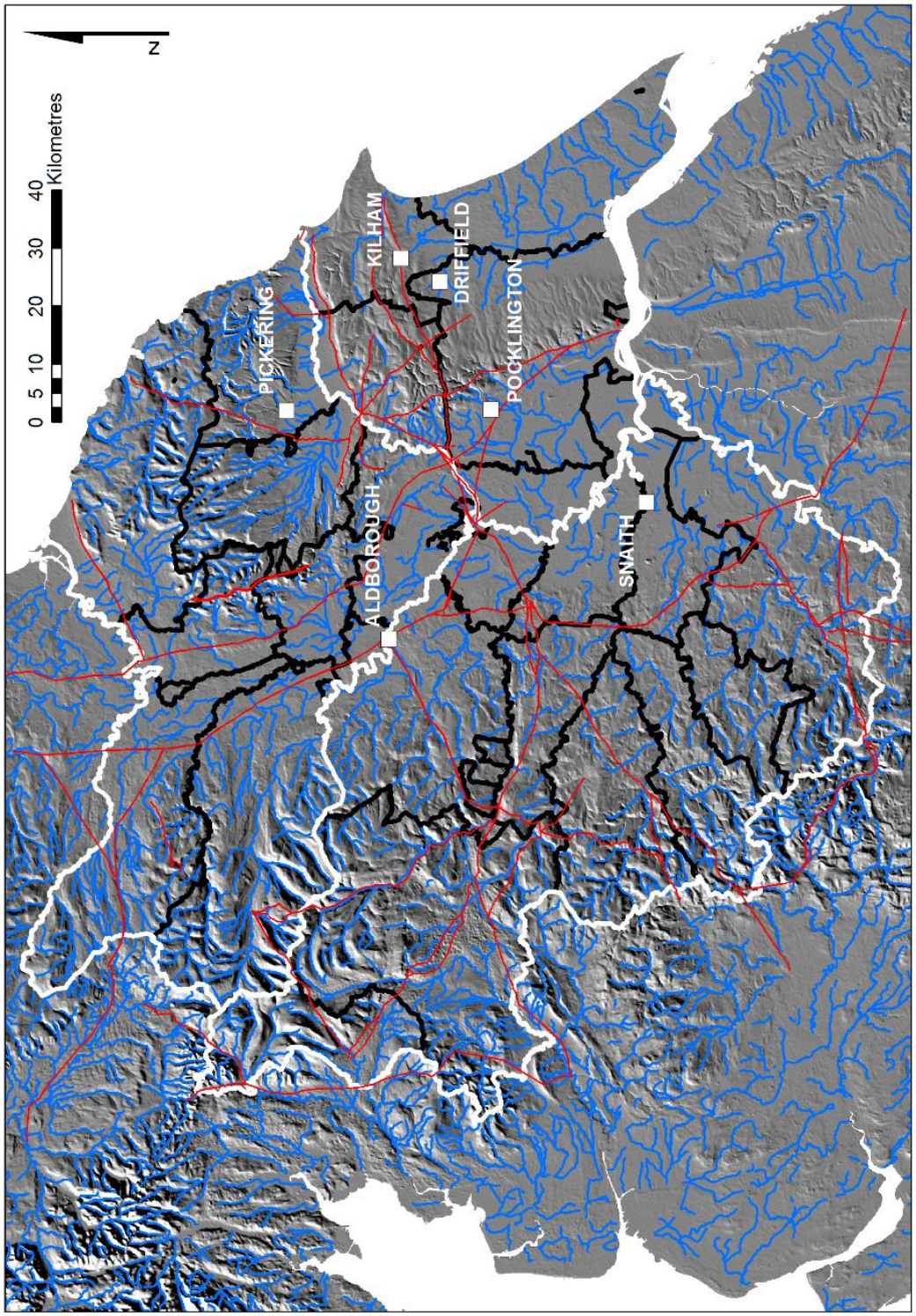


Figure 107 - Royal demesne in Yorkshire.

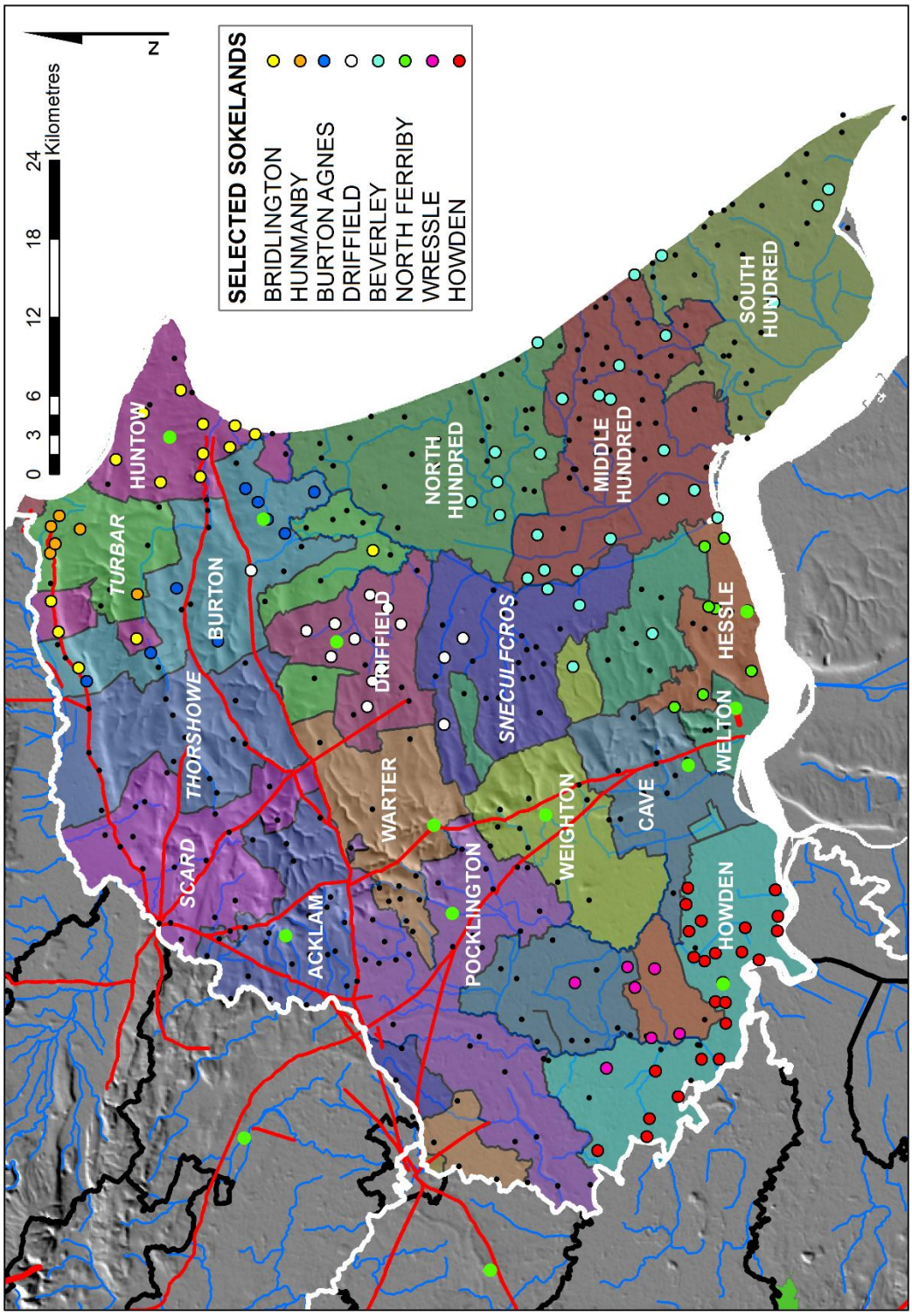


Figure 108 - Examples of soke relationships with the East Riding hundreds. Large green dots indicate hundredal venues.

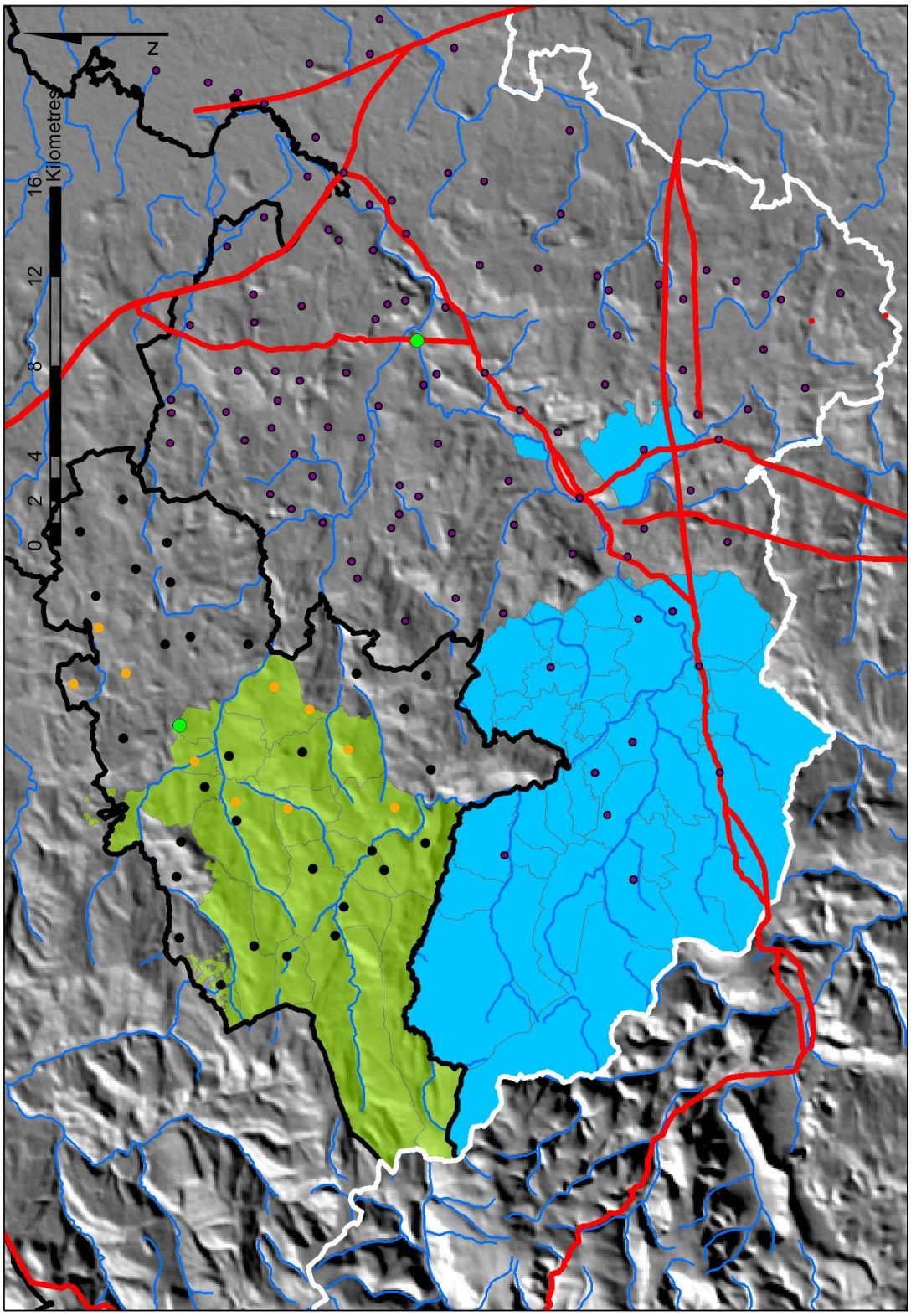


Figure 109 - Mother parishes of Silkstone (green) and Ecclesfield (blue). The orange dots indicate the soke of Tanshelf. The Large green dots mark the Staincross wapentake focus and, further east, Strafforth Sands.

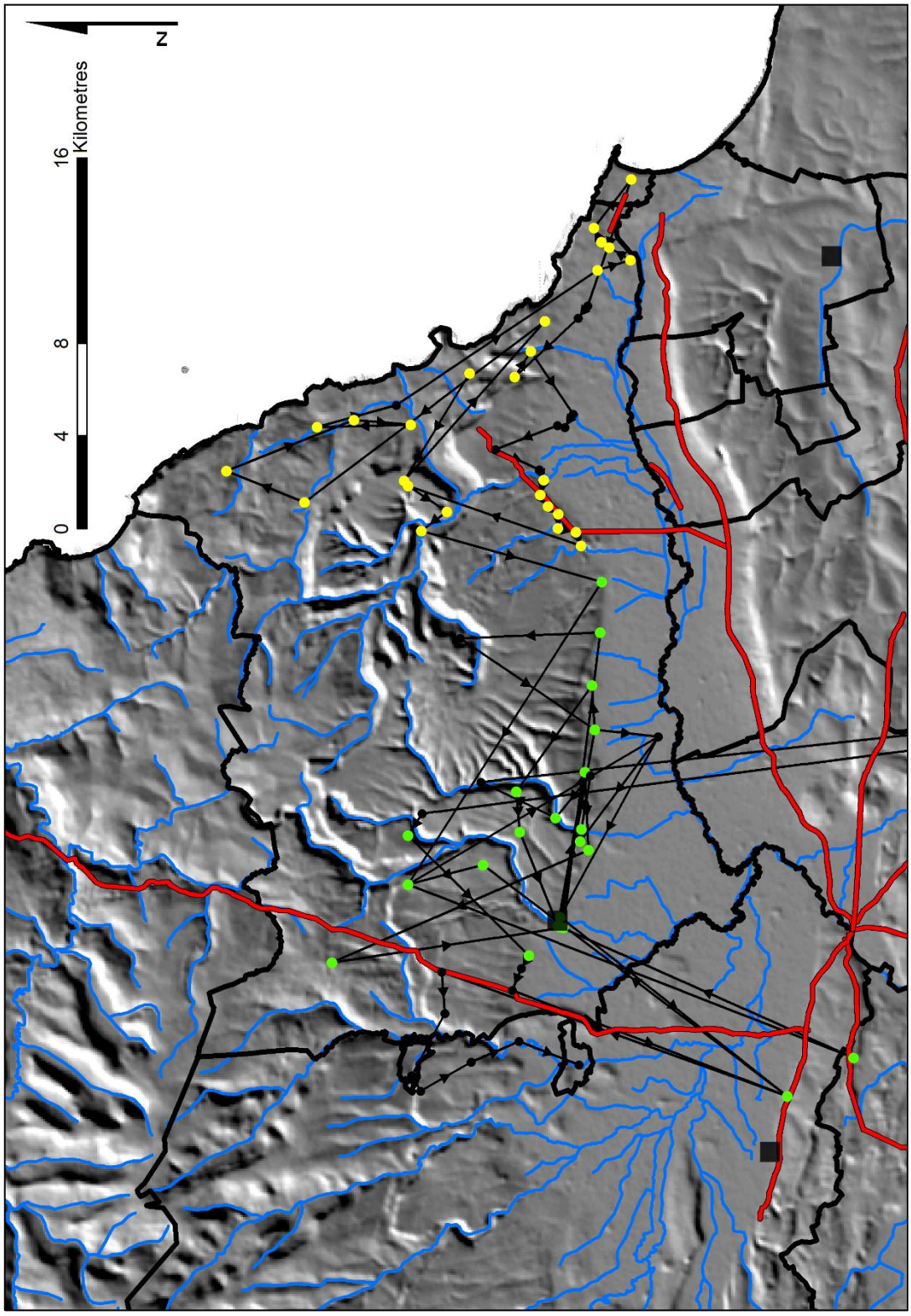


Figure 110 - Dic wapentake and Summary indicating the soke of Falsgrave (yellow) and Pickering (green). Wapentake venues are marked by black squares.

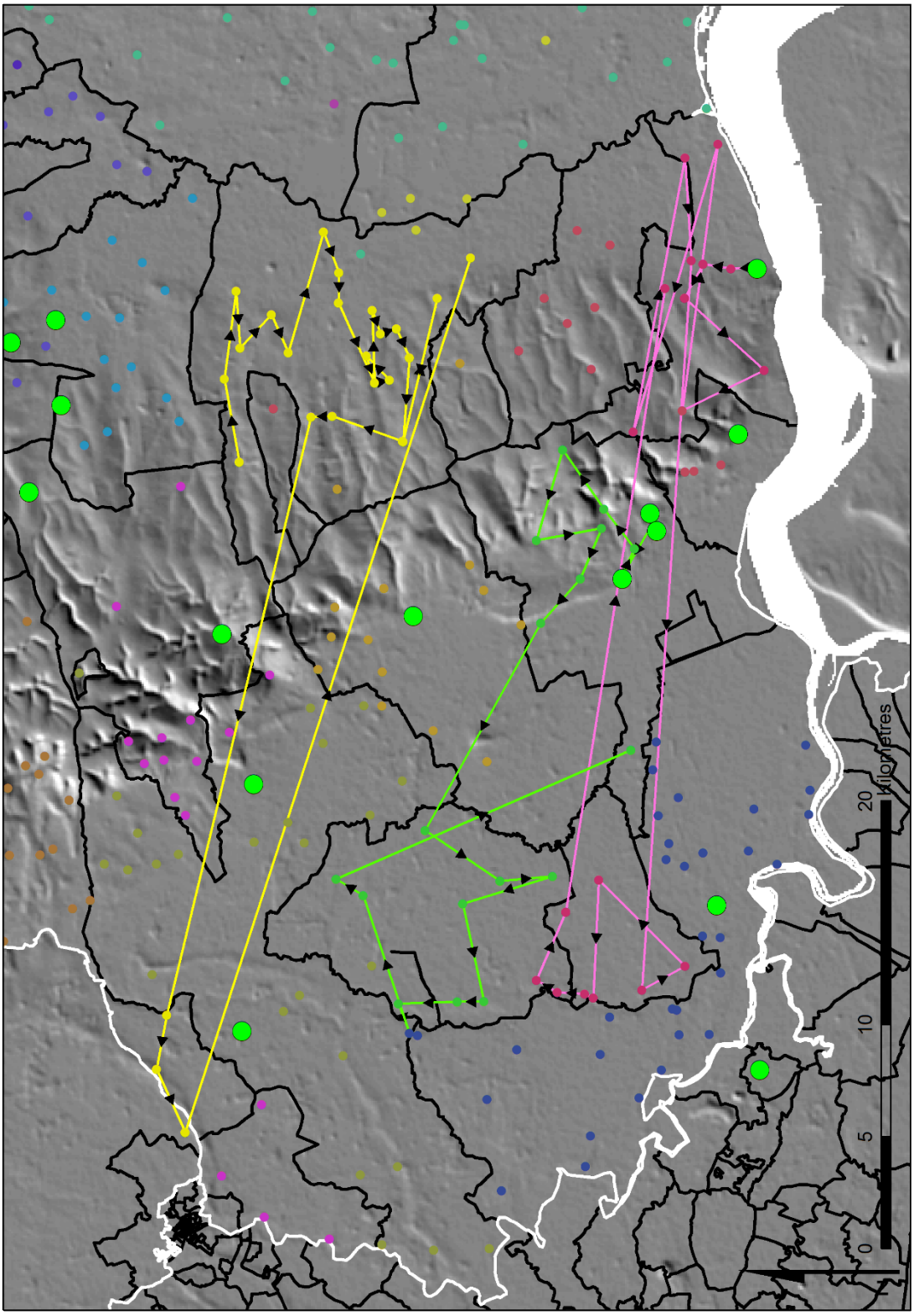


Figure 111 - Summary orders for the hundreds of Hessle (purple), Cave (green) and Sneculfcros (yellow). All other dots are colour-coded as per hundred.

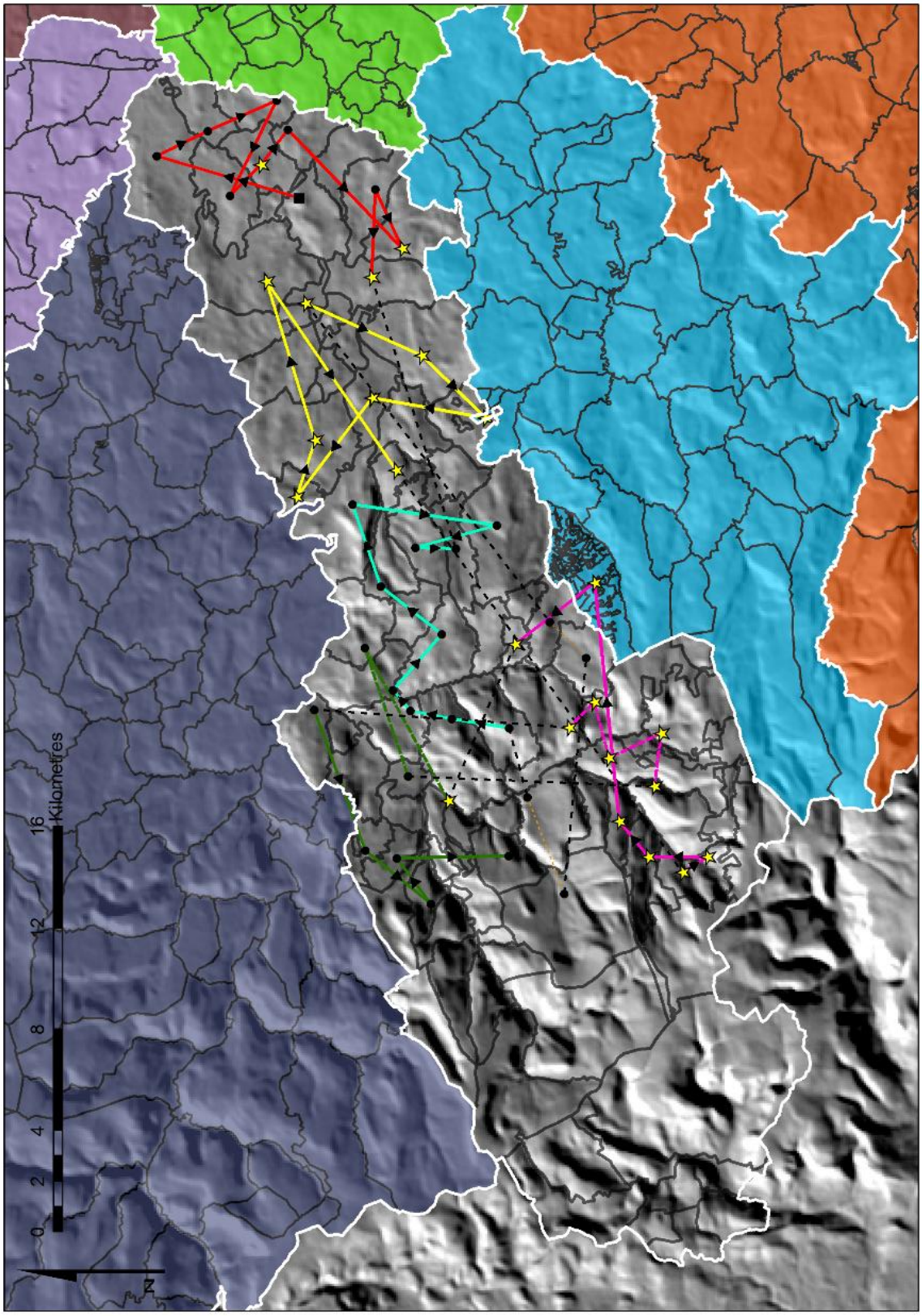


Figure 112 - Sub-divisions of Agbrigg following division at start of the Agbrigg Summary. Stars mark the royal soke of the manor of Wakefield. Part one (red), part two (cyan), part three (yellow), part four (purple), part five (green).

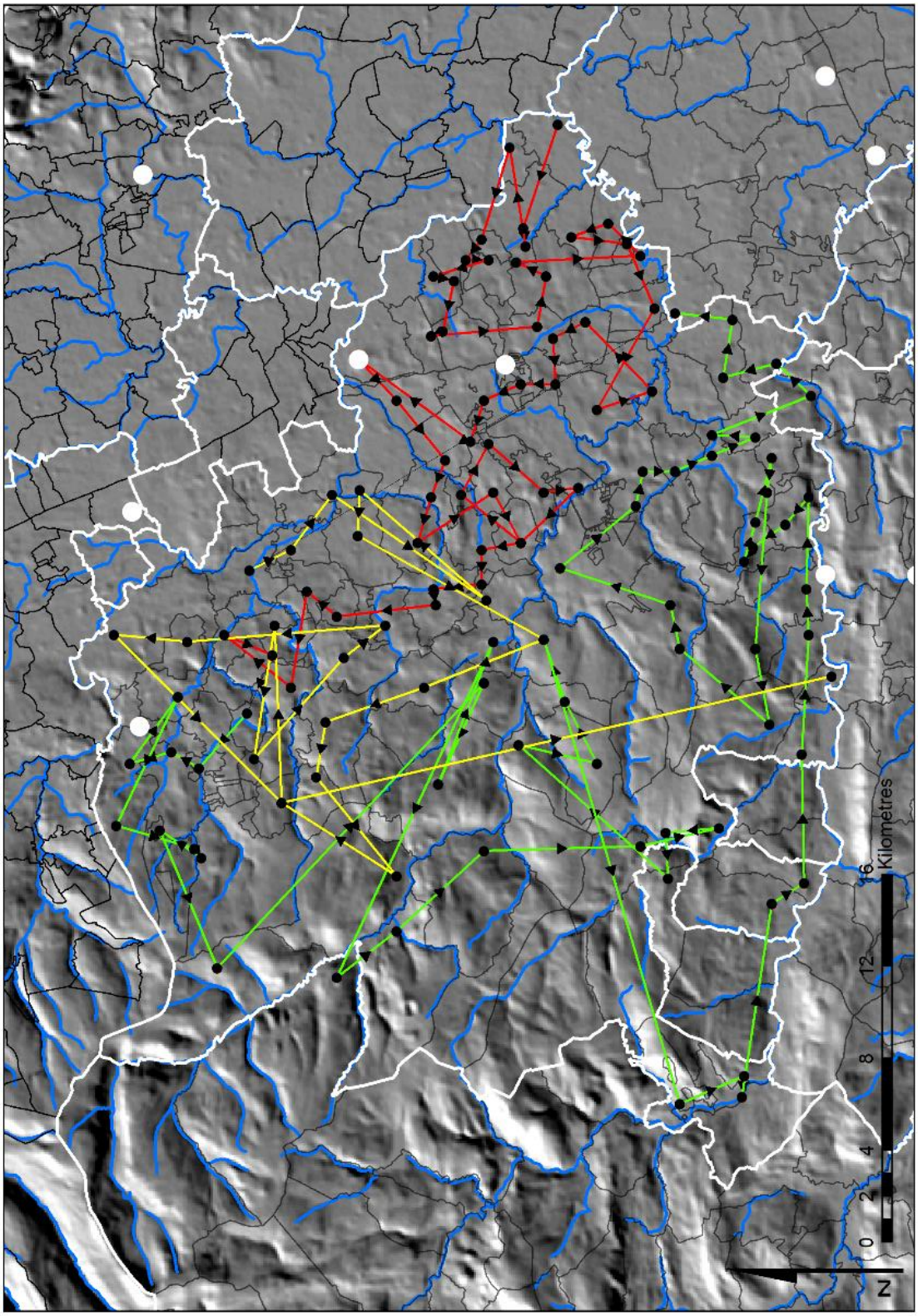


Figure 113 - Burghshire Summary, subdivided by divisions in the text. First part (red), second part (green) and third part (yellow).

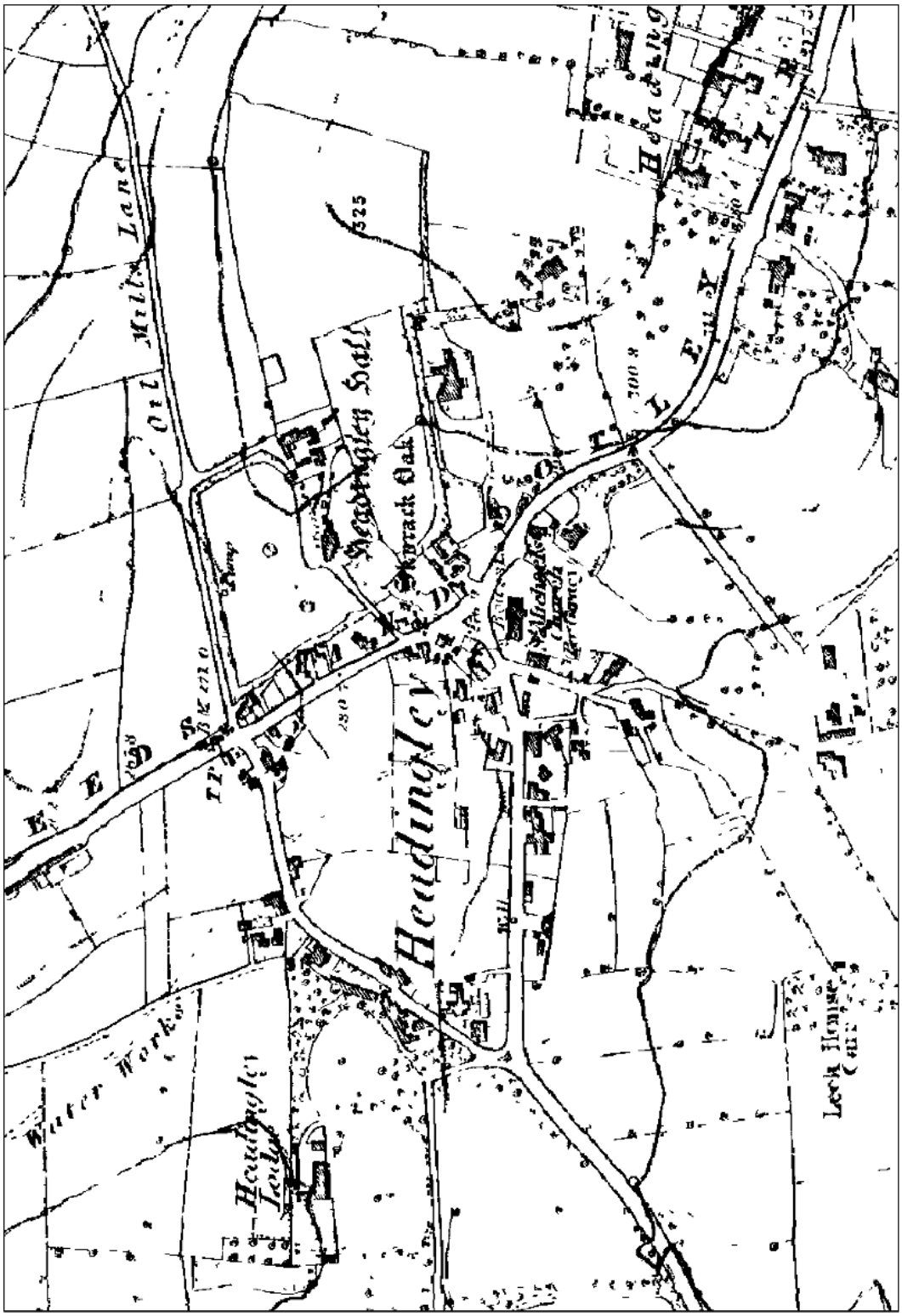


Figure 114 - First Edition Ordnance Survey of Headingley and the Skyrack Oak.

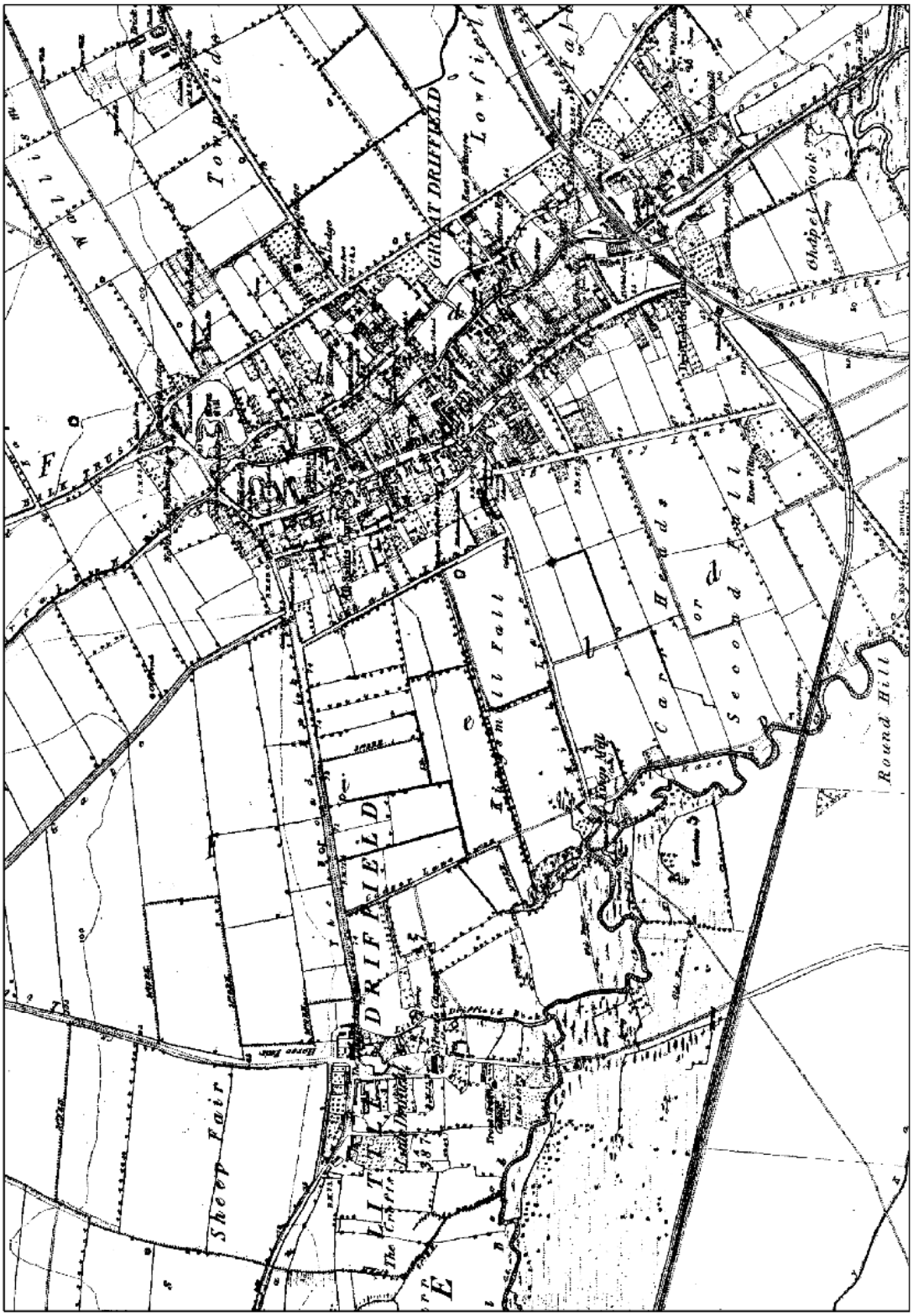


Figure 115 - First Edition Ordnance Survey for Driffield.

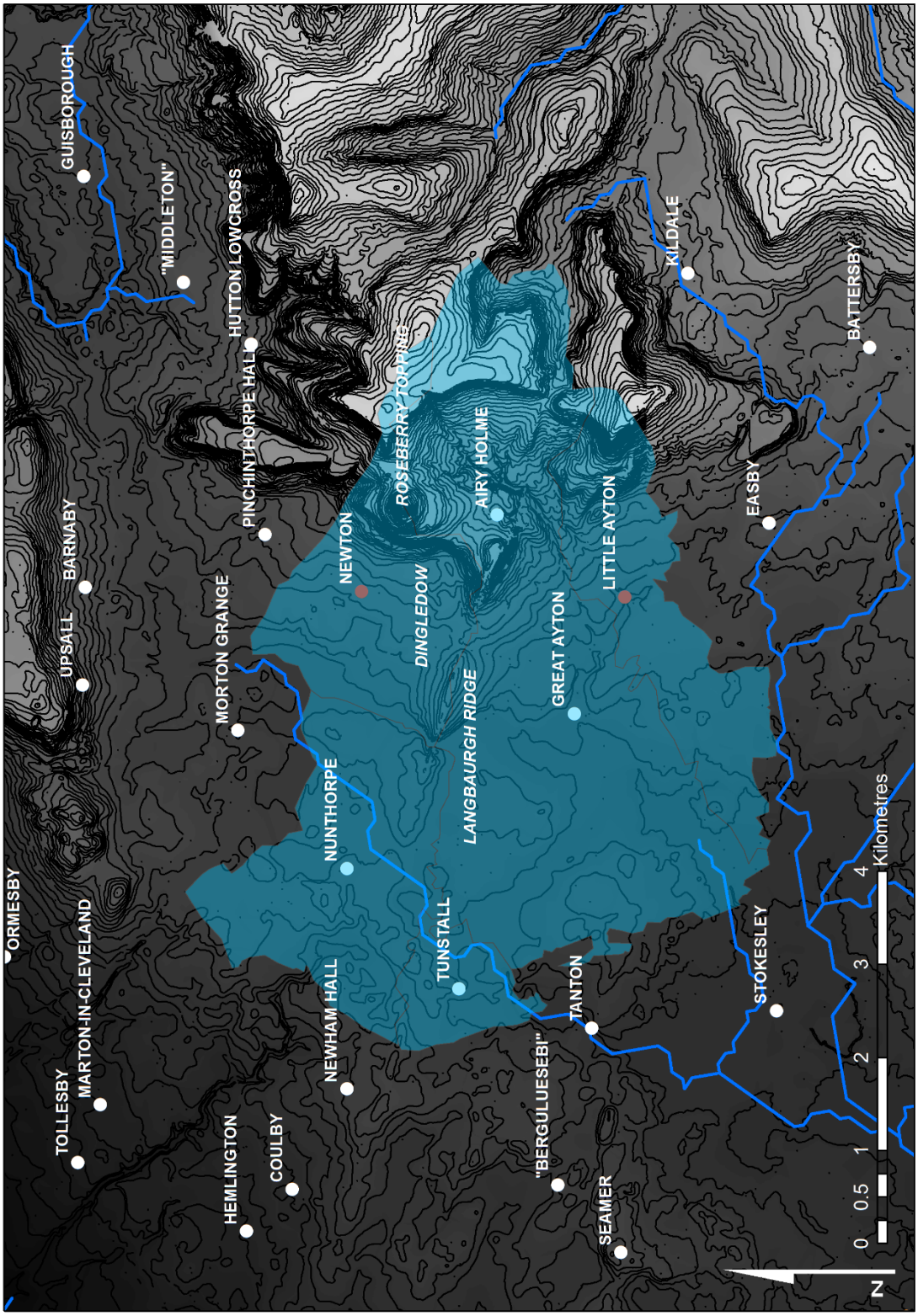


Figure 116 - Reconstructed mother parish of Ayton and Langbaurgh Ridge.

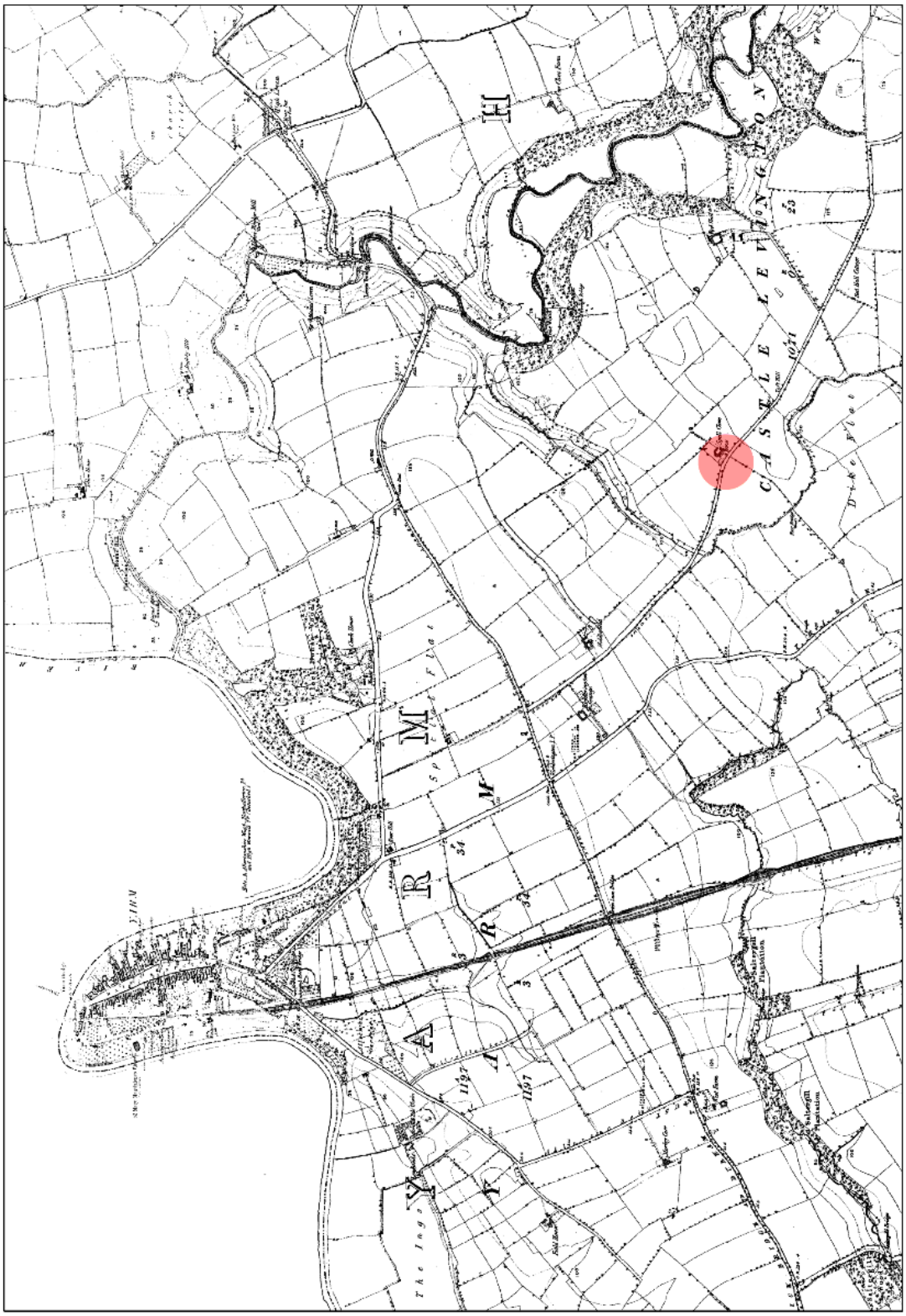


Figure 117 - First Edition Ordnance Survey for Spell Close Farm.



Figure 118 - First Edition Ordnance Survey for Grewelthorpe and Fingerfield.

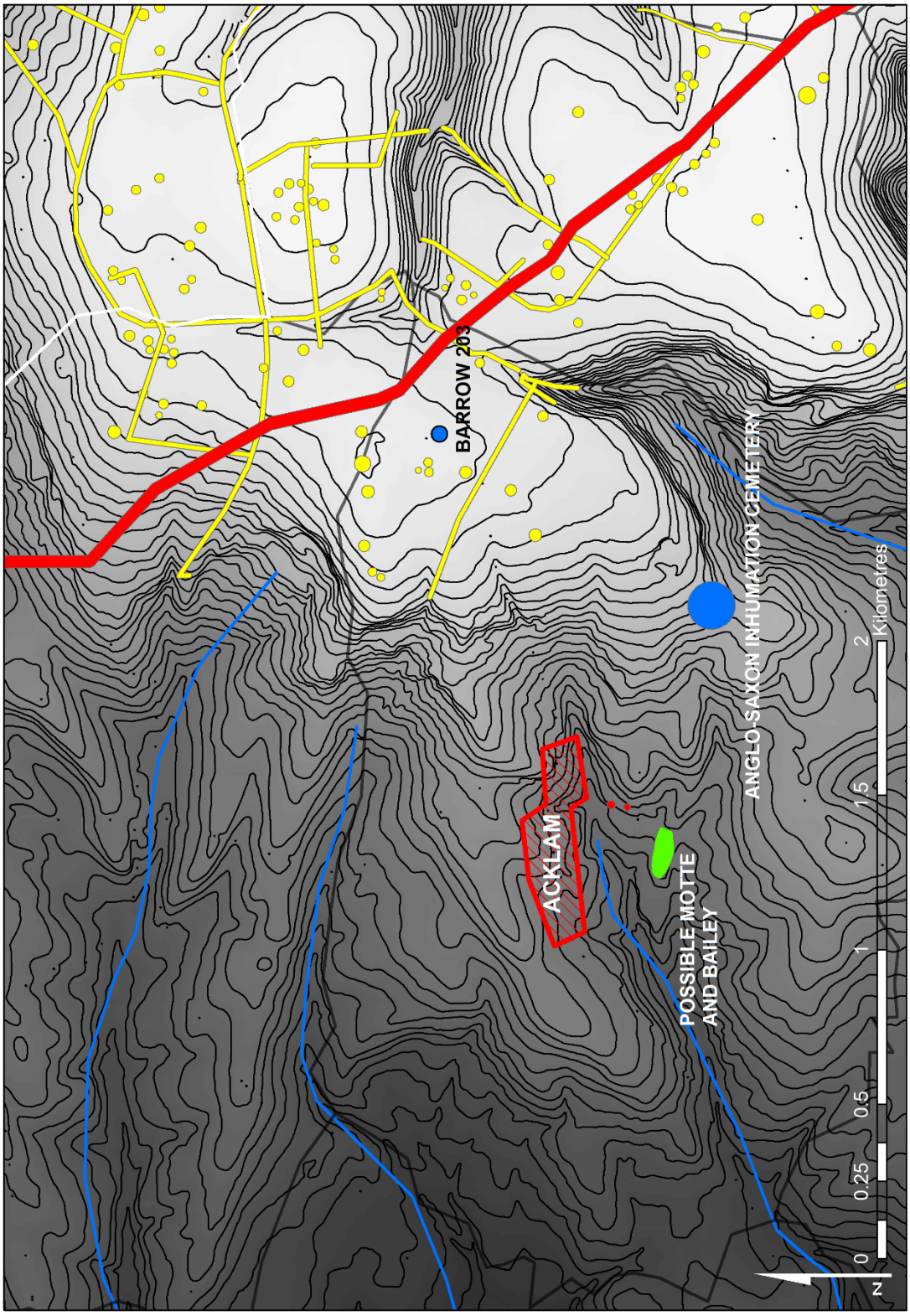


Figure 119 - Wider topography of Acklam. Barrow 203 is situated on the ridge directly east of the village. The yellow polygons mark the complex of prehistoric linear earthworks and barrows. An early medieval cemetery is also known to the southeast of the village.

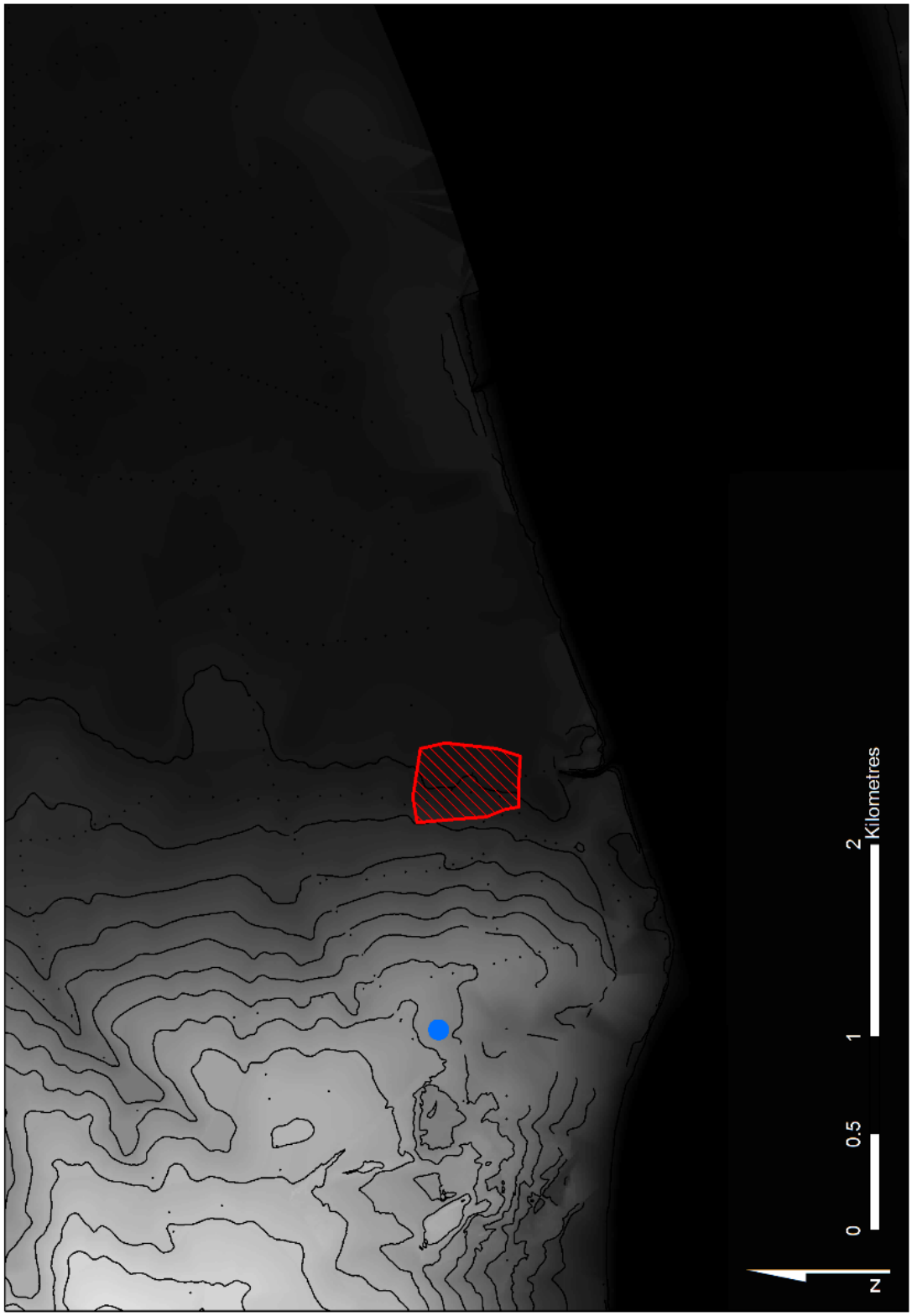


Figure 120 - Wider topography of Hessle. The finds from Tranby are directly west and above the village of Hessle.

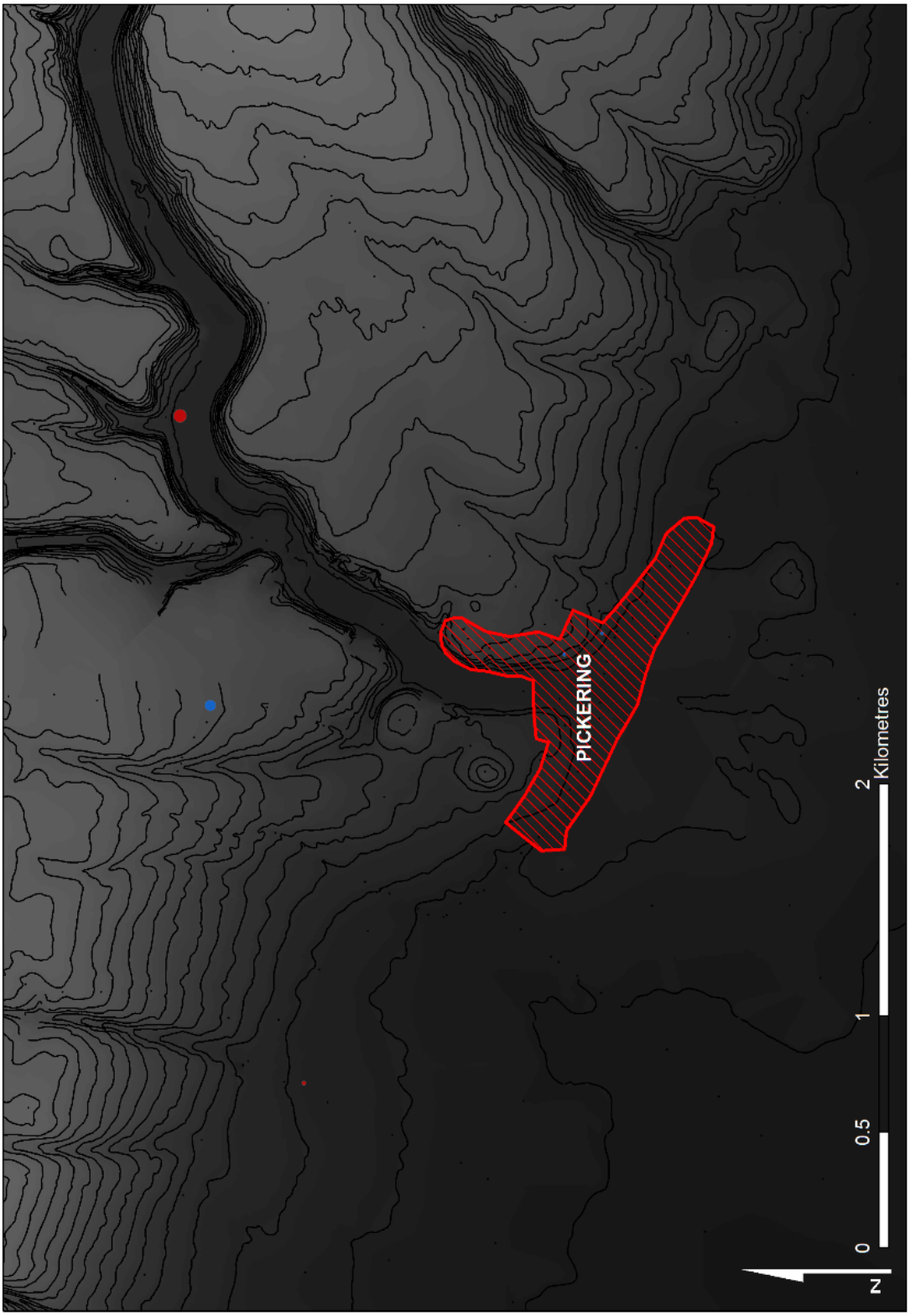


Figure 121 - Wider topography of Pickering, indicating (in blue) the site of the early medieval mortuary deposits on the slopes north of the town. The red dot to the north of the town marks the location of a Romano-British bath-house.

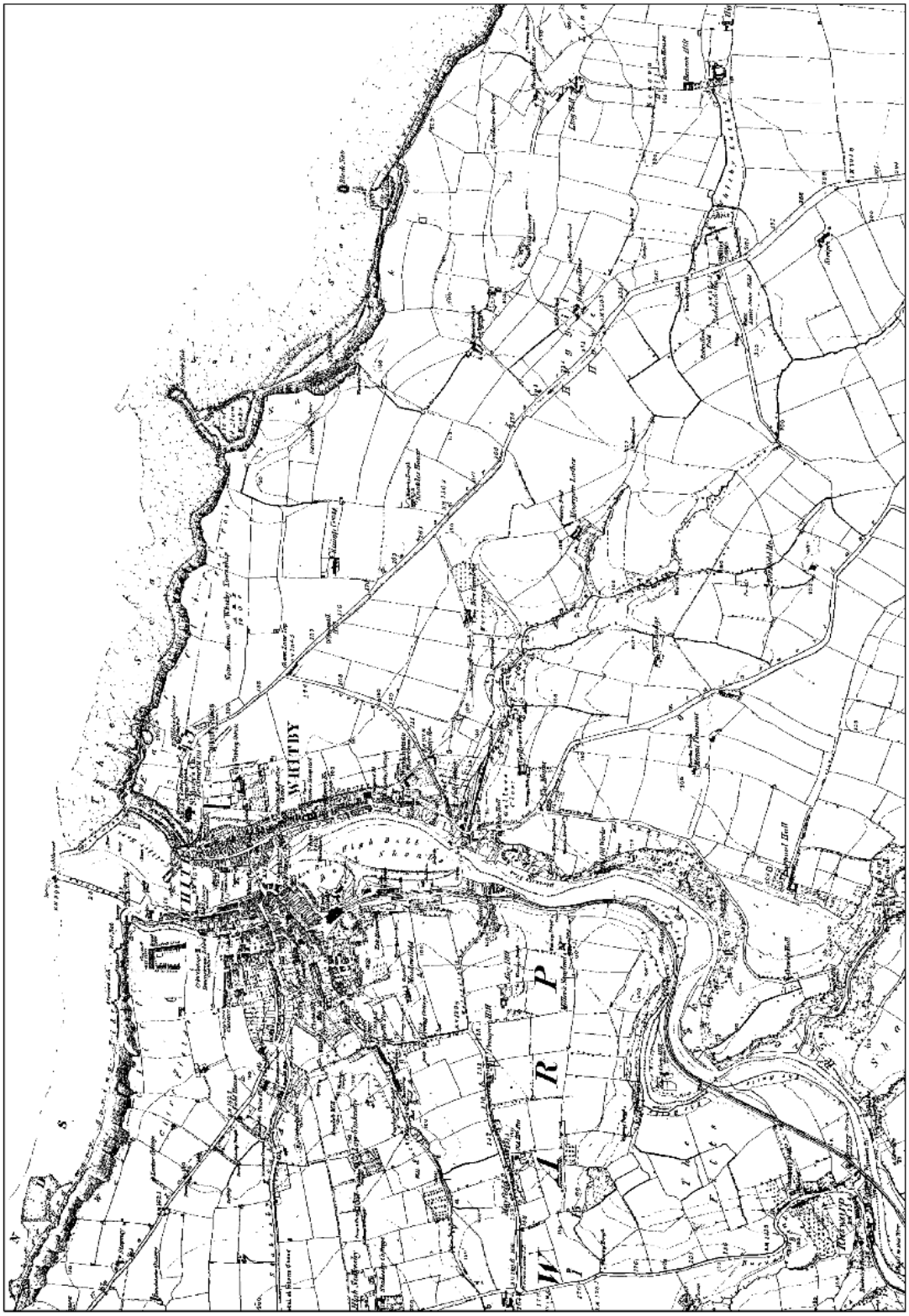


Figure 122 - First Edition Ordnance Survey for Whitby. Haggitt Howe is positioned on the eastern side of the map.

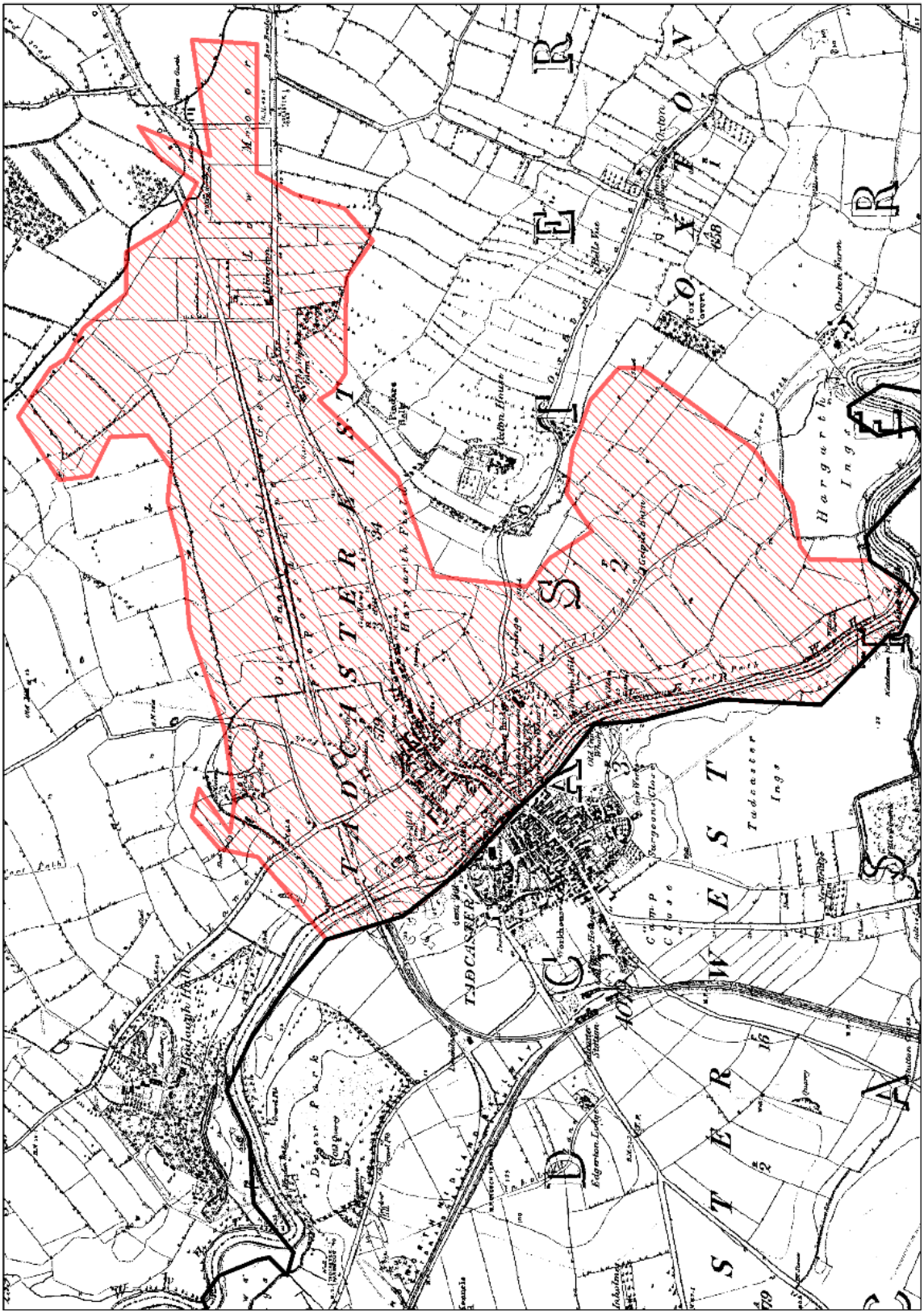


Figure 123 - Plausible locations for Thinge, immediately east of Tadcaster.

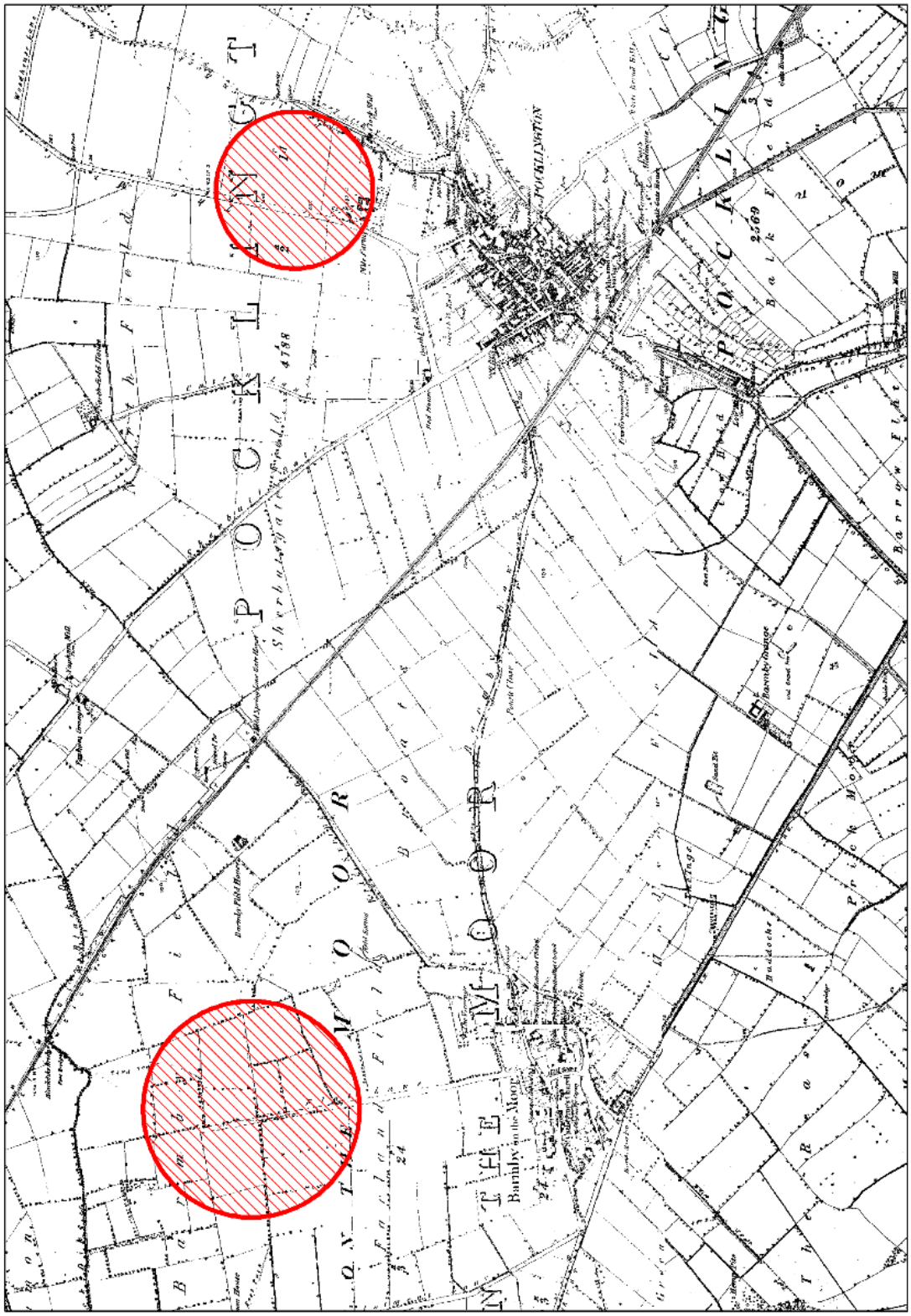


Figure 124 - Zones of early medieval metalwork north of Pocklington and Barmby Moor.

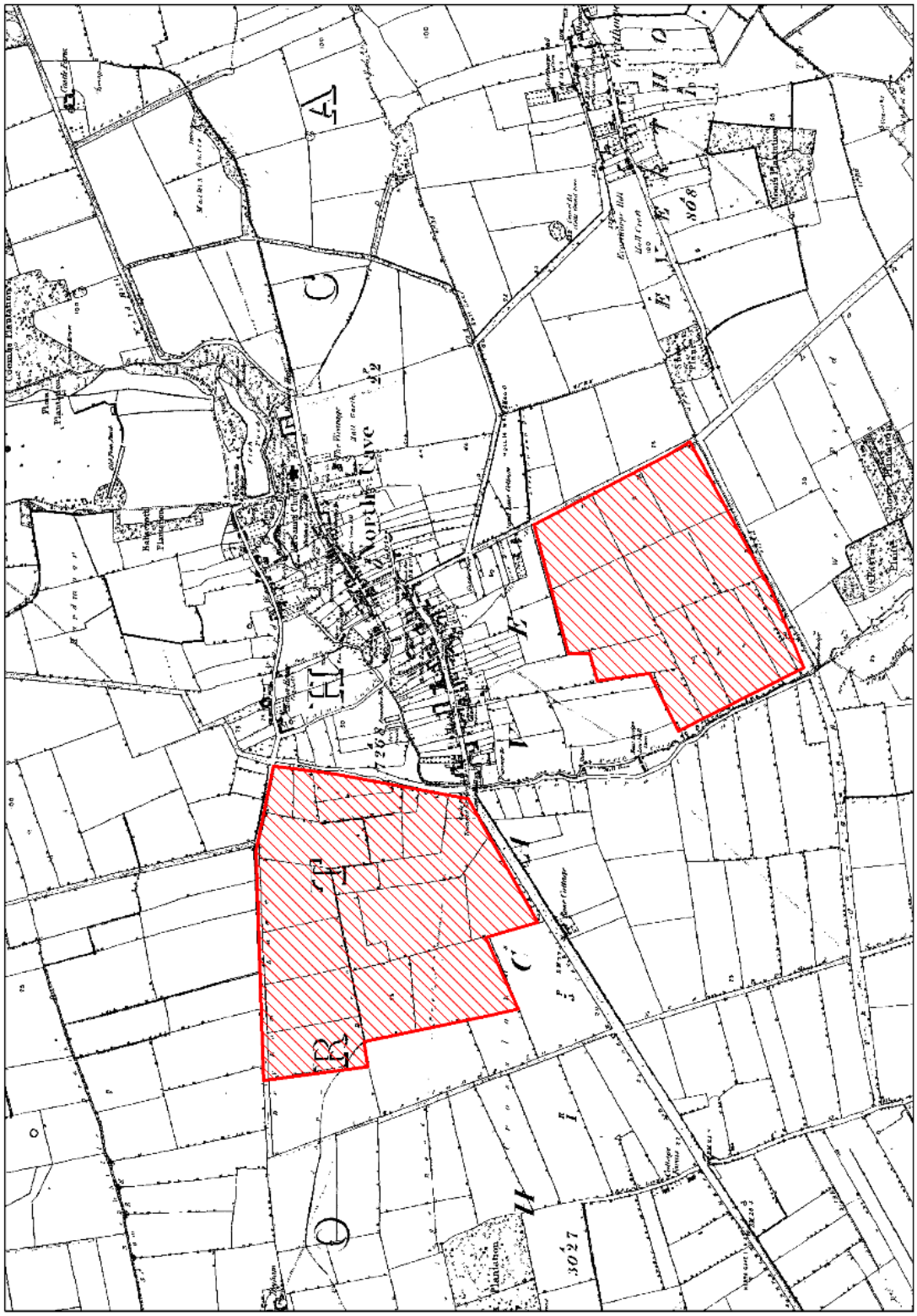


Figure 125 - First Edition Ordnance Survey for North Cave, indicating zones of early medieval metalwork.

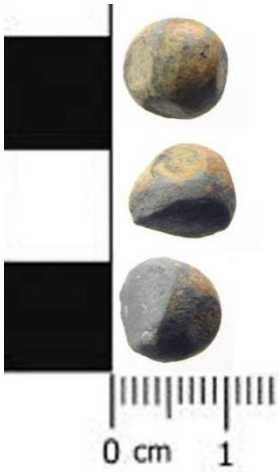


Figure 126 - Lead weight from the metalwork zone south of North Cave (PAS 2013: A1D945).

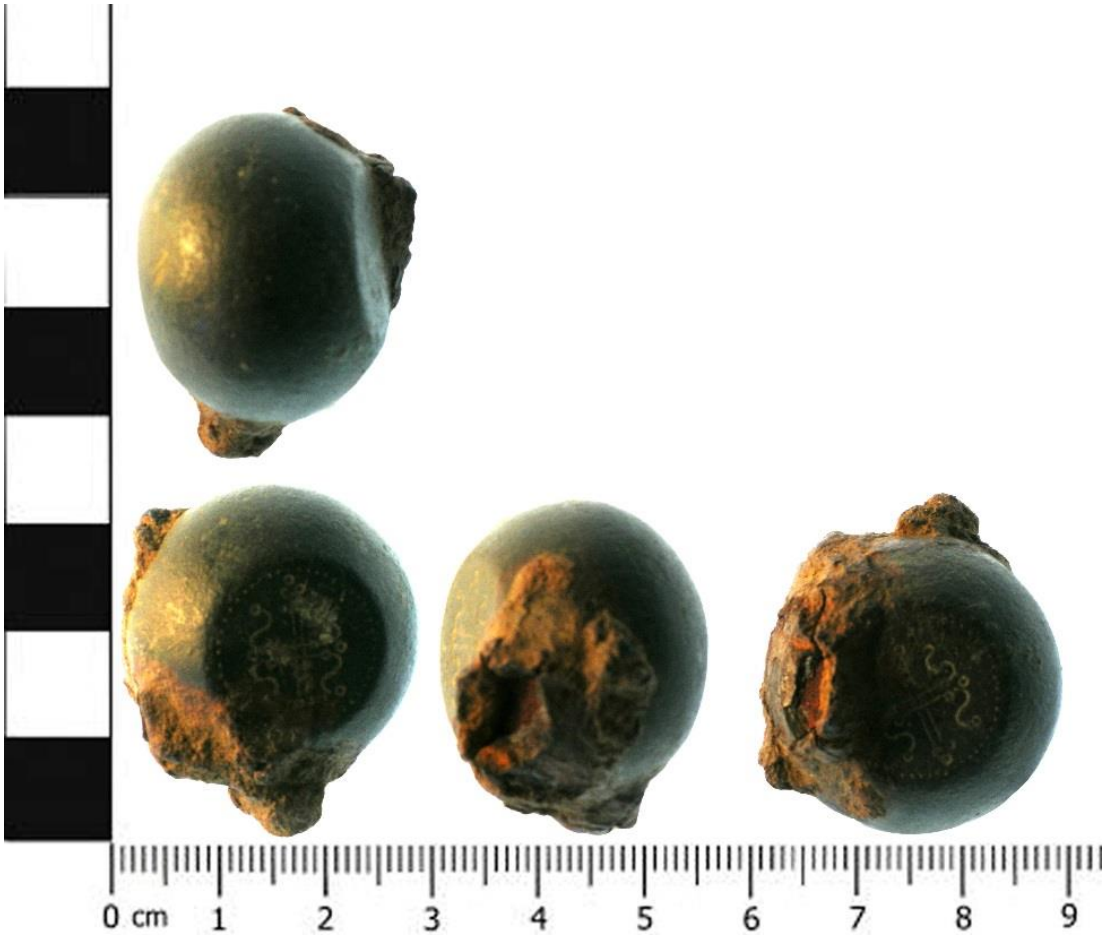


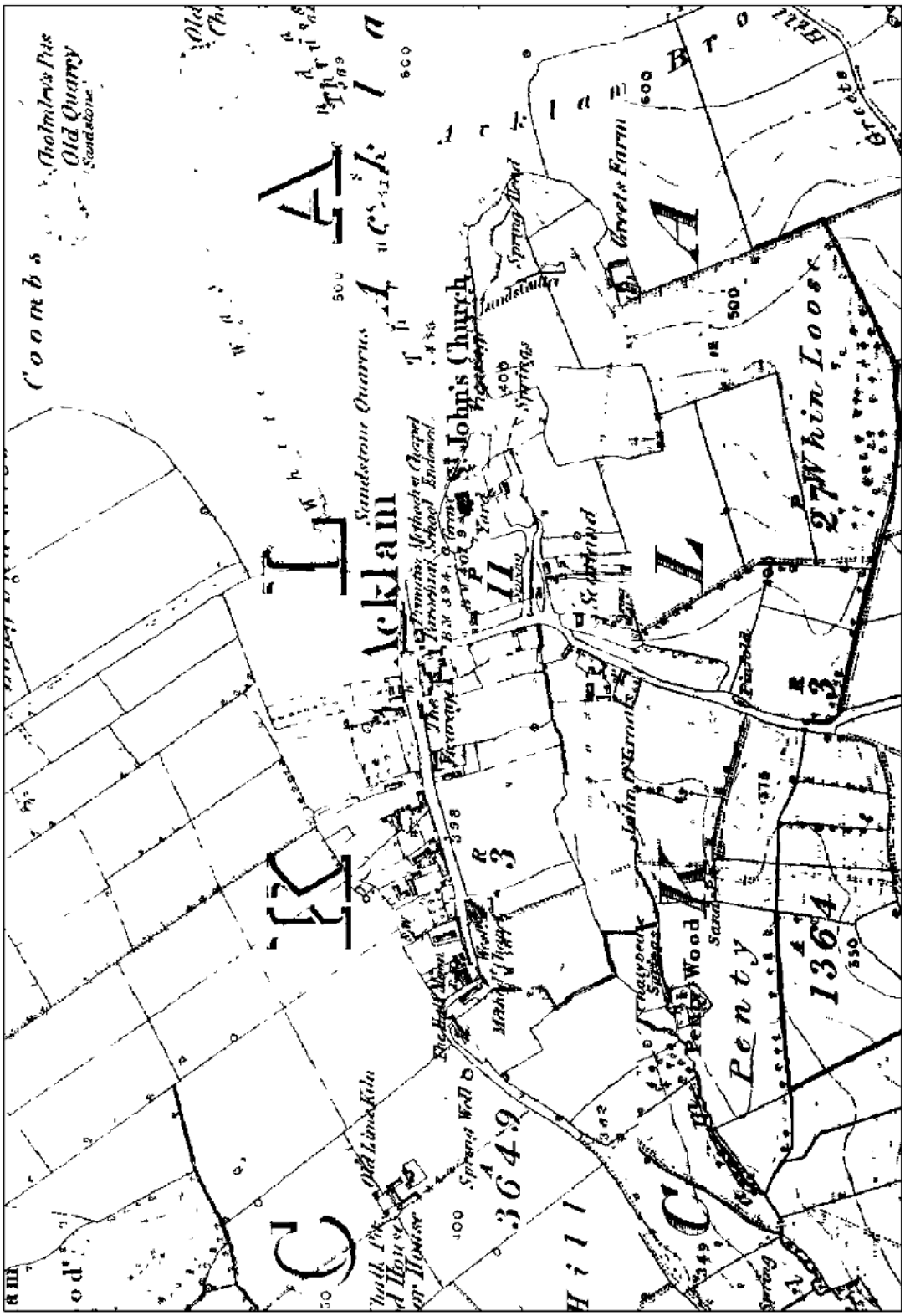
Figure 127 - Lead weight from the metalwork zone south of North Cave (PAS 2013: E16C55).



Figure 128 - First Edition Ordnance Survey for Hessle.



Figure 129 - First Edition Ordnance Survey for Burton Agnes.


Acklam
St John's Church
Sandstone Quarries
Old Quarry
Sandstone
Coombs
Gravel Pit
Spring Head
Spring
Sandstone
Primitive Methodist Chapel
Thornham School Endowed
Pond
Old Lime Kiln
Spring Well
Mark'd Right
Wood
Sand Pit
Pen ty
Whin Loose
Gravel Pit
Br
Hall
Acklam
Acklam
Acklam

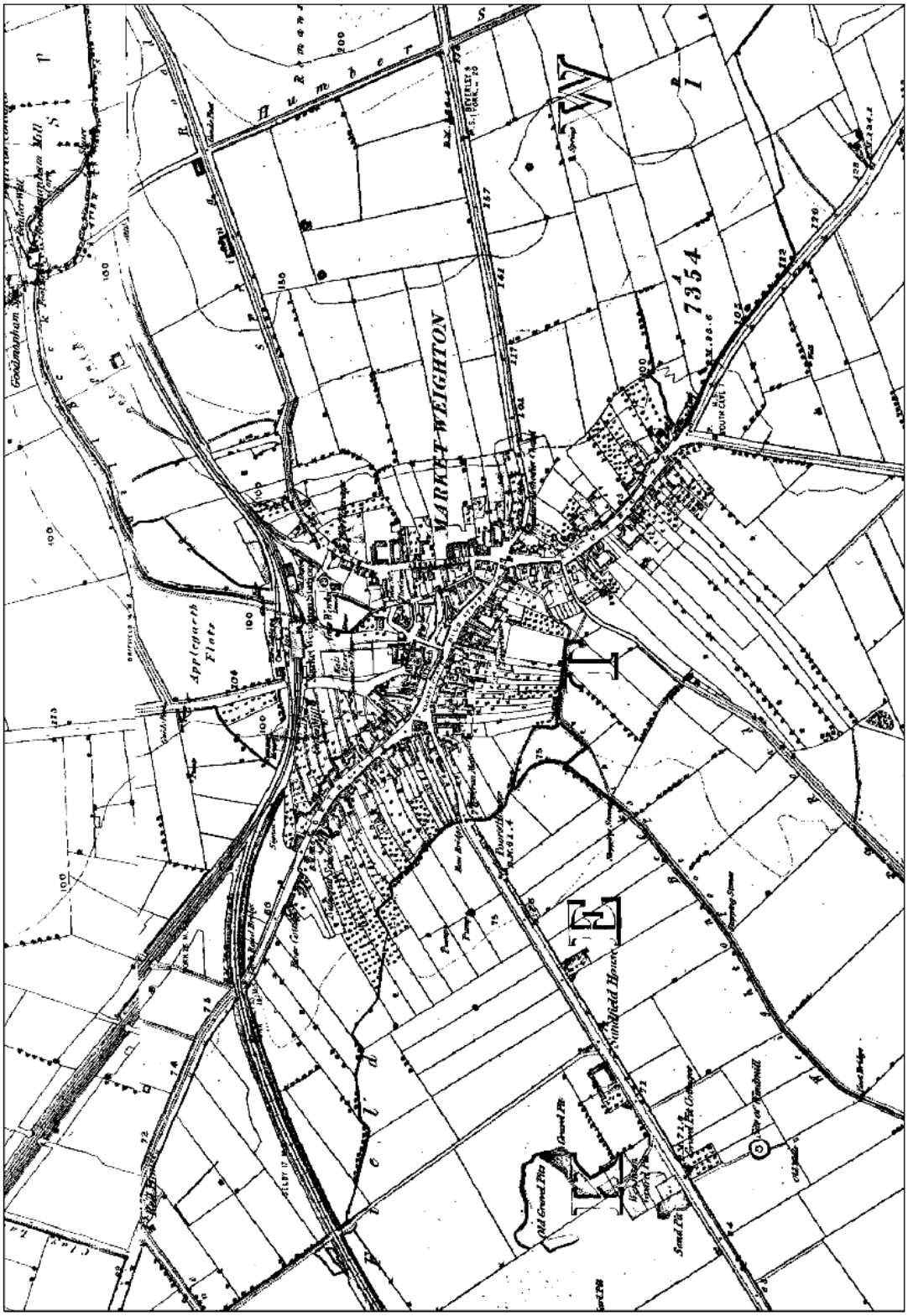


Figure 131 - First Edition Ordnance Survey for Market Weighton.

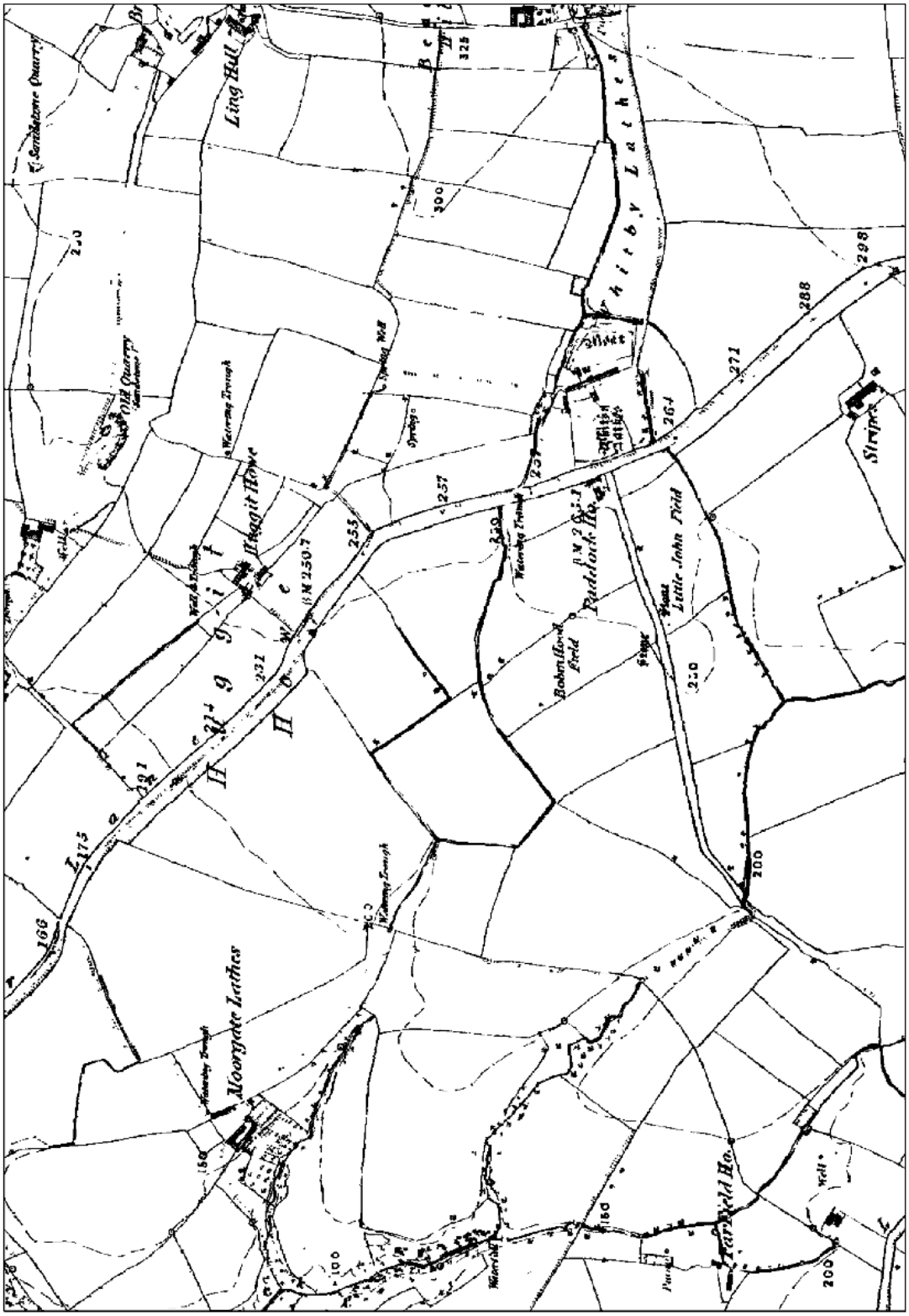


Figure 132 - First Edition Ordnance Survey showing Whitby Lathes and Haggitt Howe.

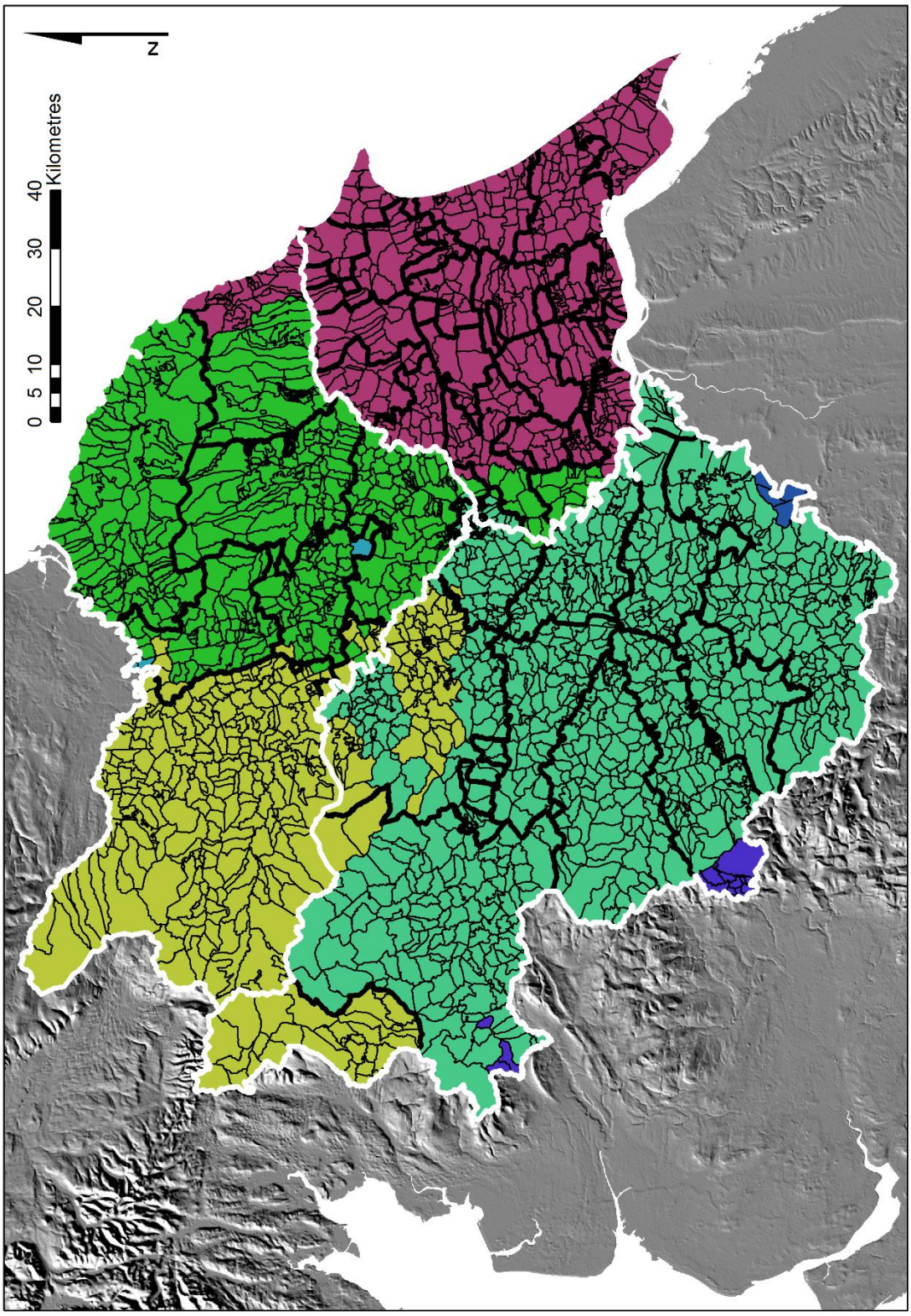


Figure 133 - Archdeaconries of Yorkshire.

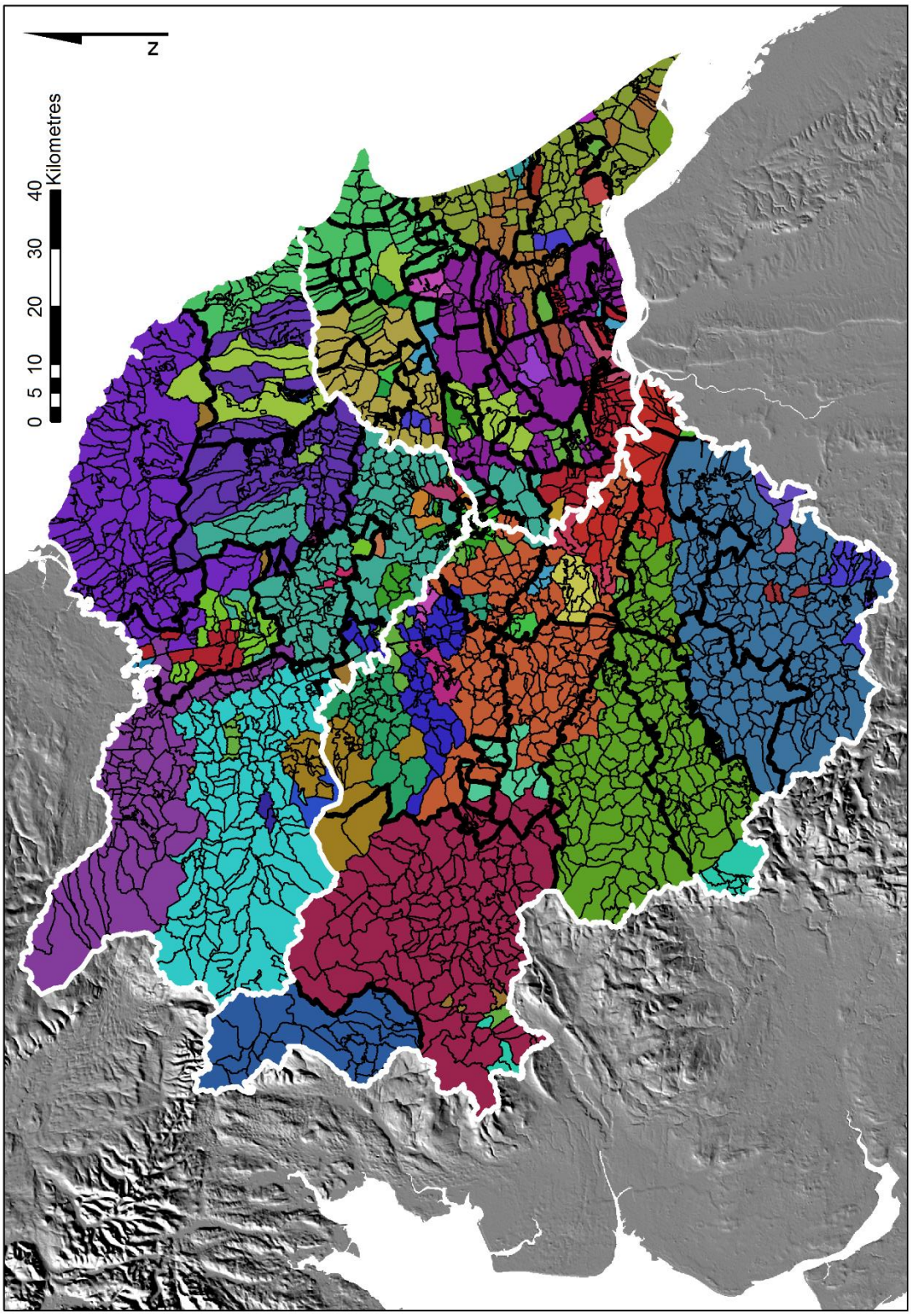


Figure 134 - Rural deaneries of Yorkshire.

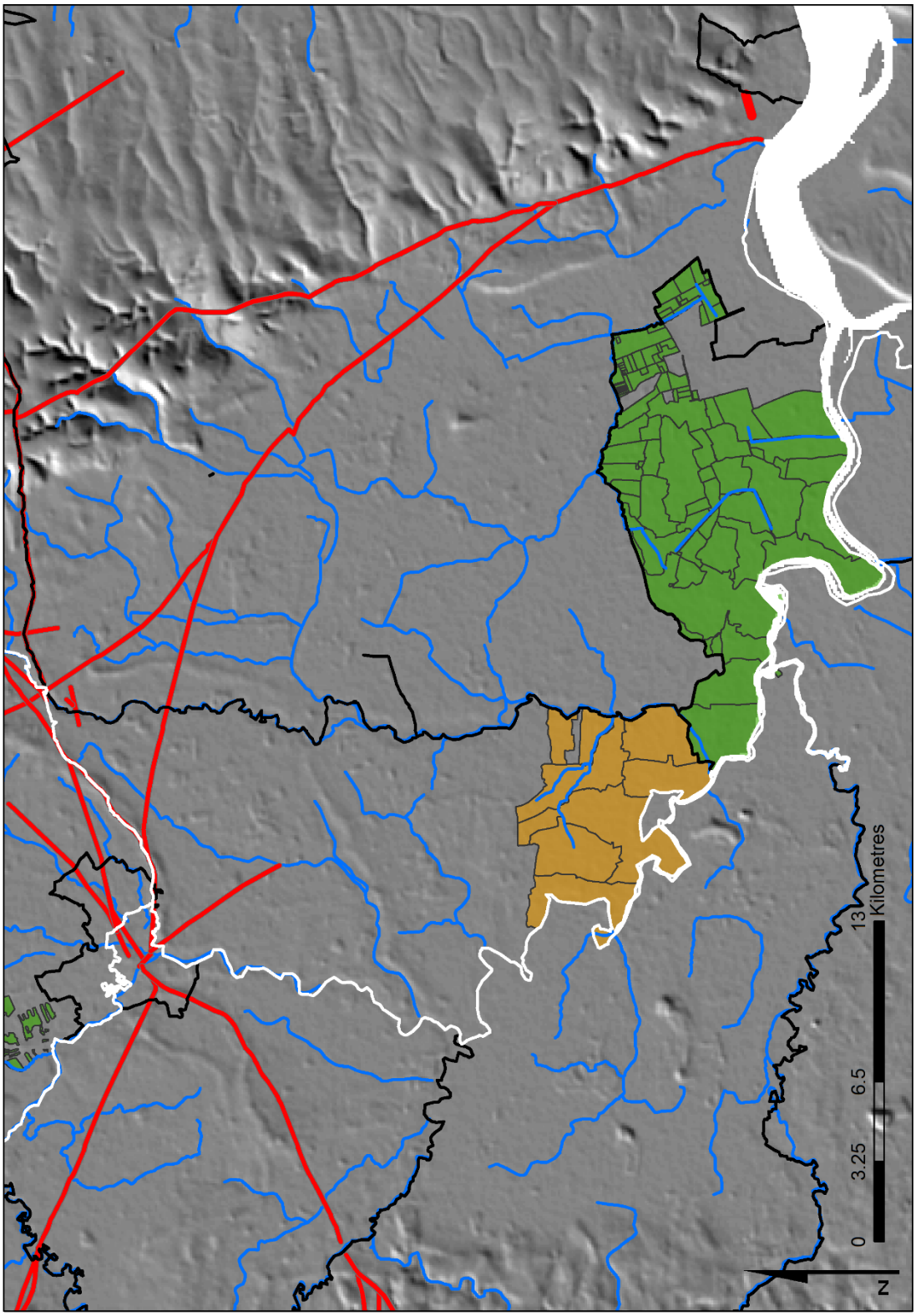


Figure 135 - The parochiae of Howden (green) and Hemingbrough (orange) compared to Howdenshire and Ouse and Derwent wapentakes.

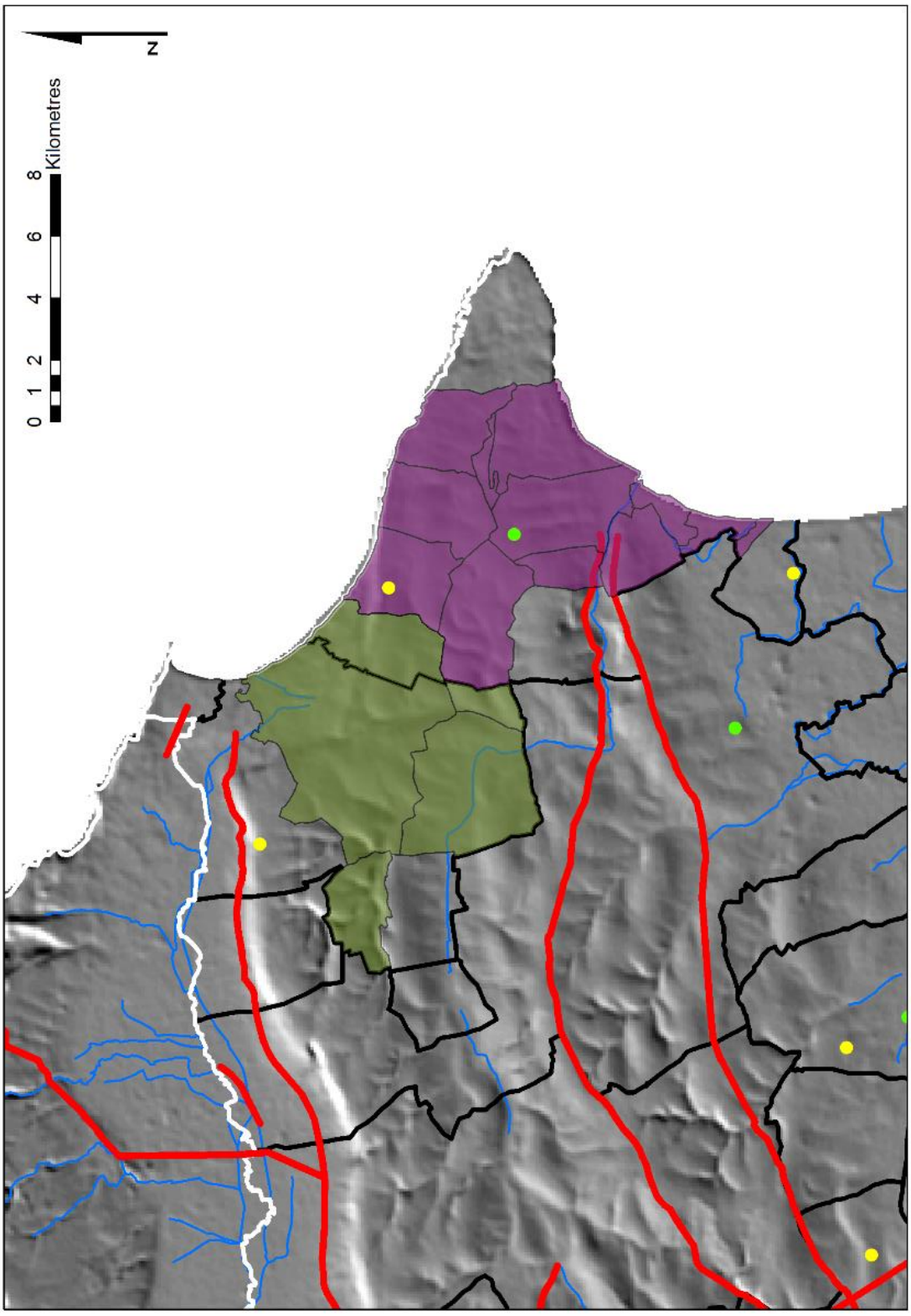


Figure 136 - The mother parishes of Bridlington (purple) and Hunmanby (dark green) compared to the hundreds of Huntow and Turbar. Place-name attested assemblies are marked by yellow dots. Hundredal venues are marked by green dots.

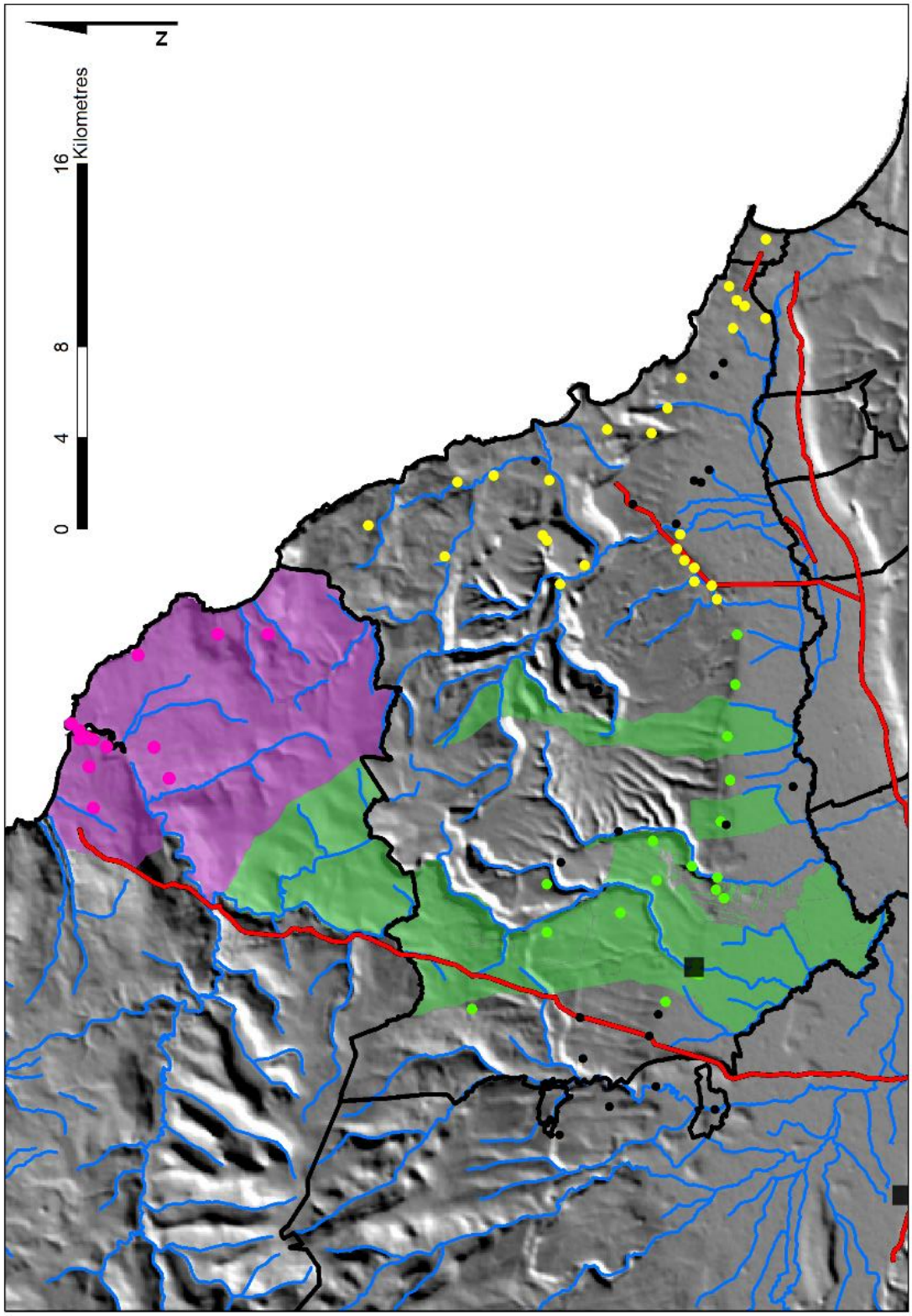


Figure 137 - The mother parishes of Pickering (green) and Whitby (purple) compared to their sokelands. The yellow dots indicate the extent of the soke of Falsgrave.

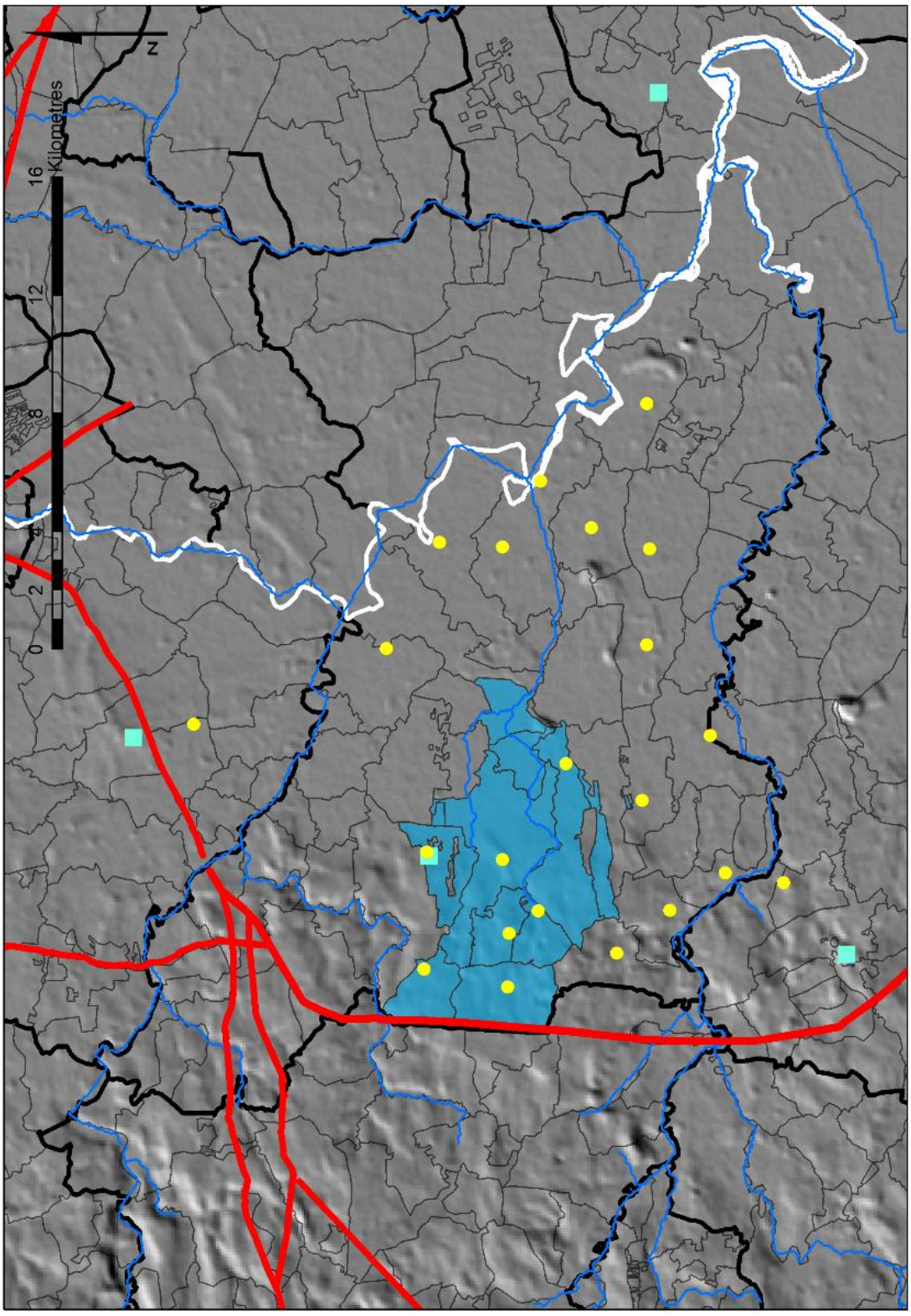


Figure 138 - The mother parish of Sherburn-in-Elmet in comparison to the holdings of the 1030 archiepiscopal estate. The cyan squares indicate wapentake venues.

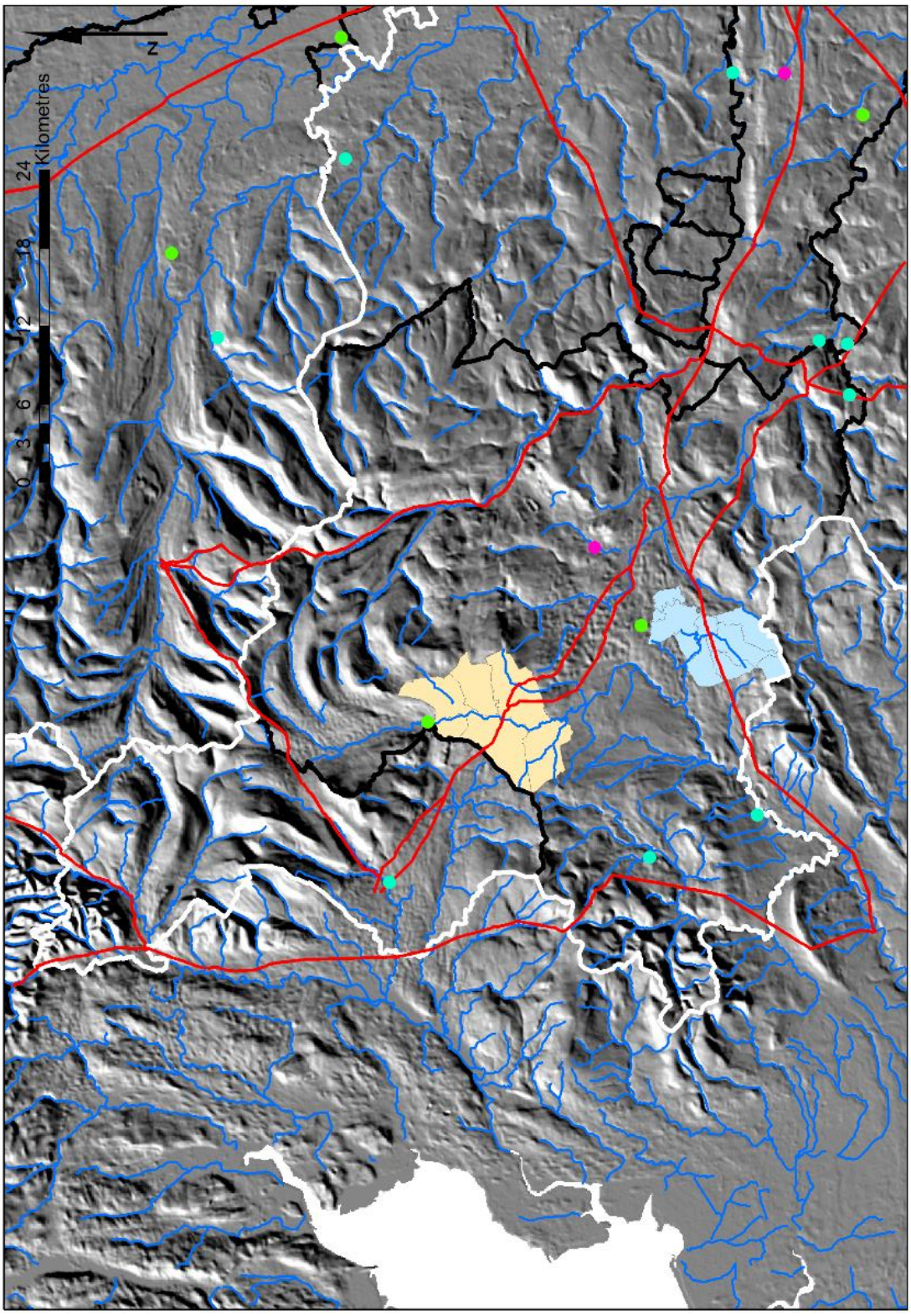


Figure 139 - The mother parishes of Giggleswick (beige) and Barnoldswick (light blue) in relation to the approximate sites of Ewcross and Staincliffe (green dots).

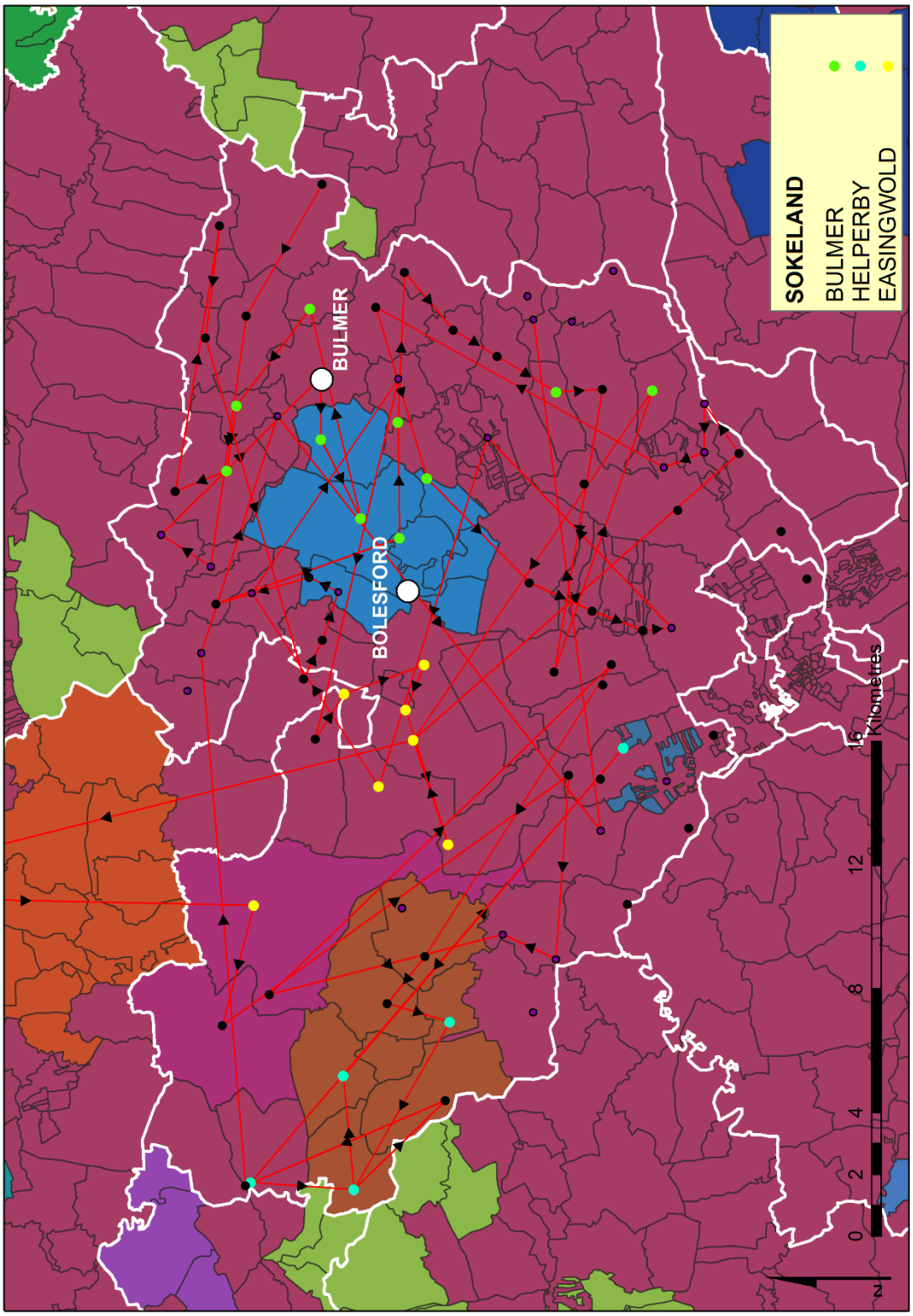


Figure 140 - Mother parishes in Bolesford (later Bulmer) wapentake, indicating discrete patterns of territories between Domesday sokelands and mother parishes.

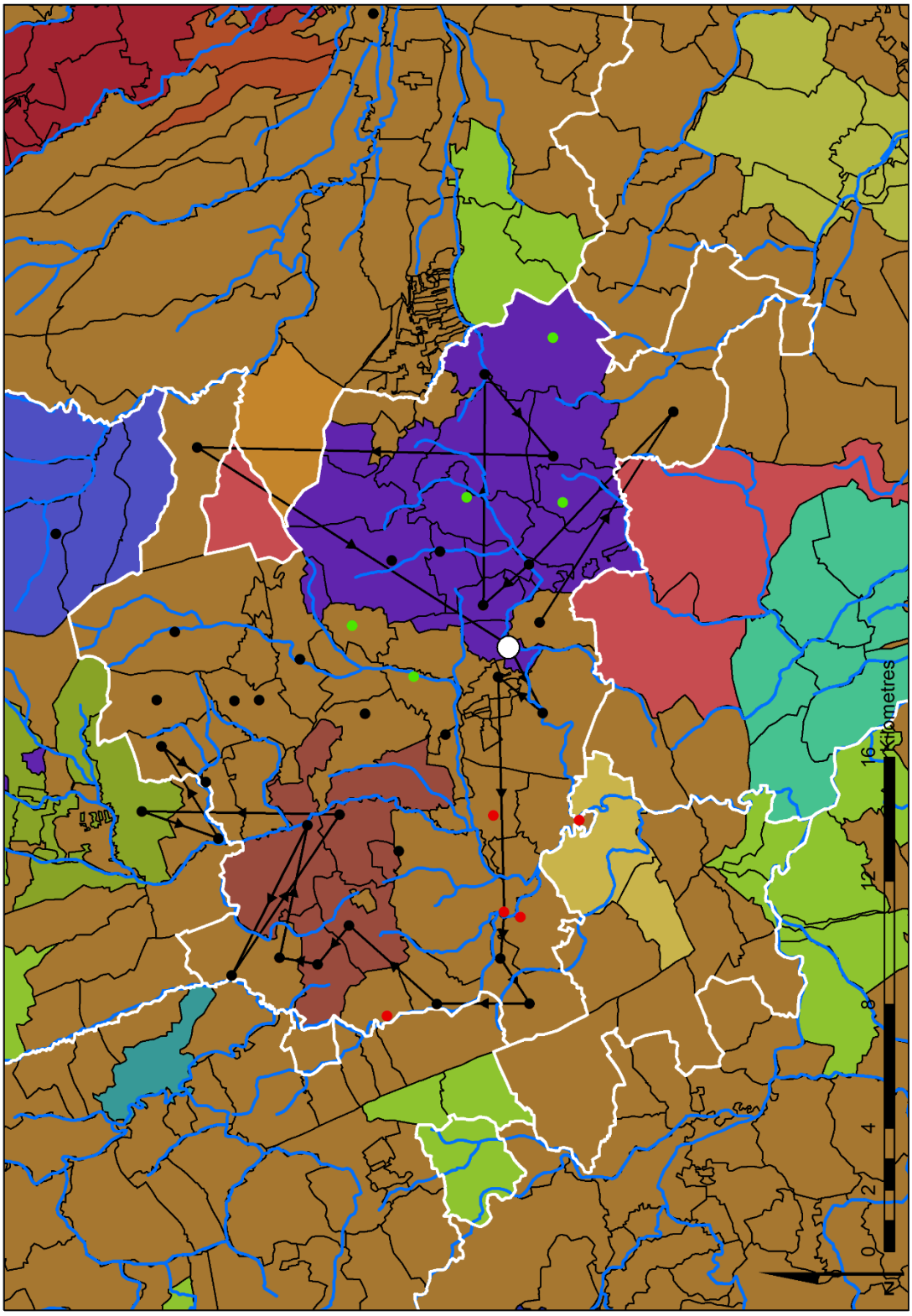


Figure 141 - Mother parishes in Birdforth wapentake. Birdforth itself is marked by the white dot. Sokeland of Coxwold (green dots); sokeland of Topcliffe (red dots). This indicates discrete territorial extents between sokeland and mother parishes.

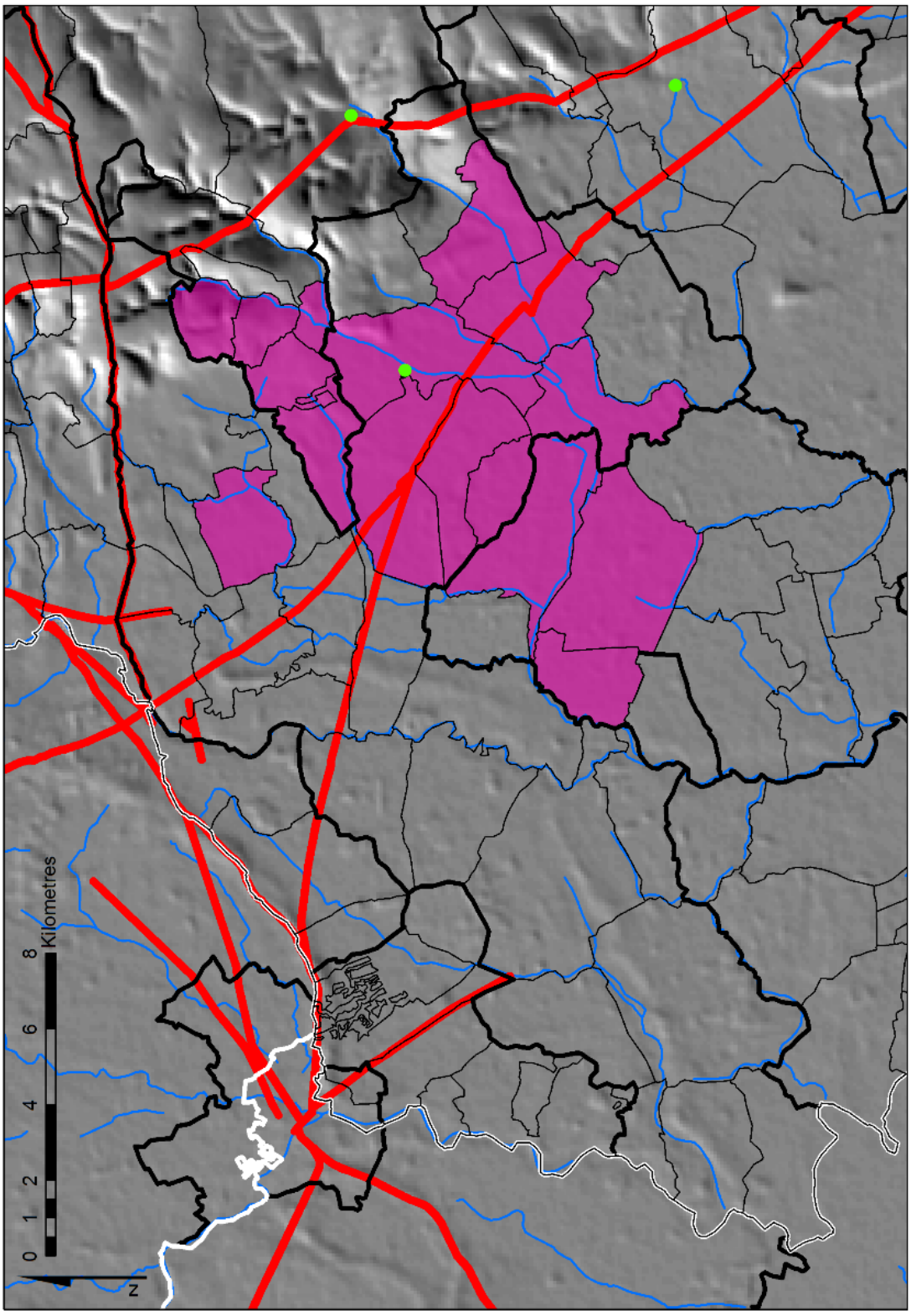


Figure 142 - The mother parish of Pocklington compared to the hundred of Pocklington. Hundredal venues are marked by green dots.

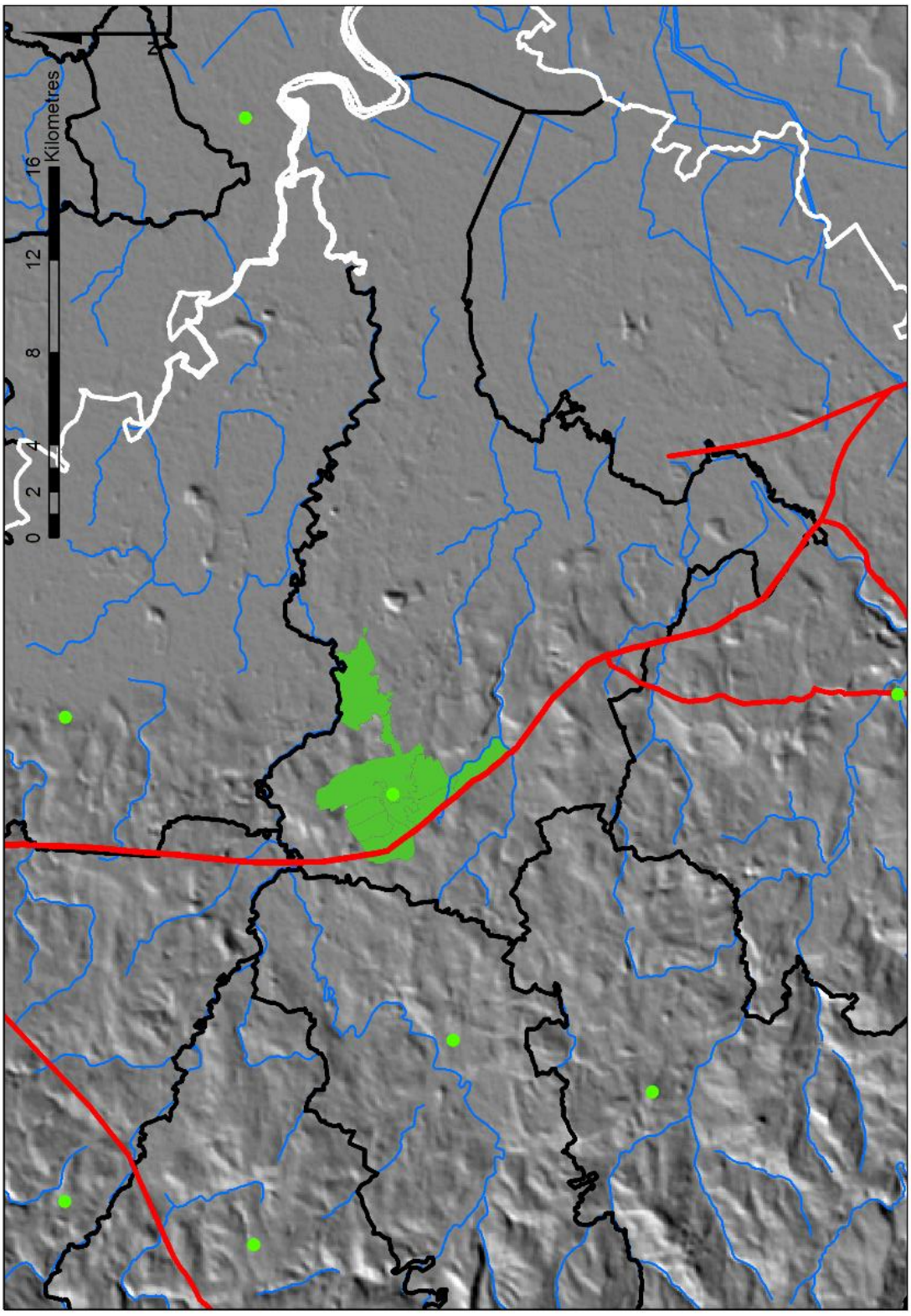


Figure 143 - The mother parish of Pontefract, centrally positioned to Osgoldcross. Osgoldcross and nearby wapentake venues are signified by green dots.

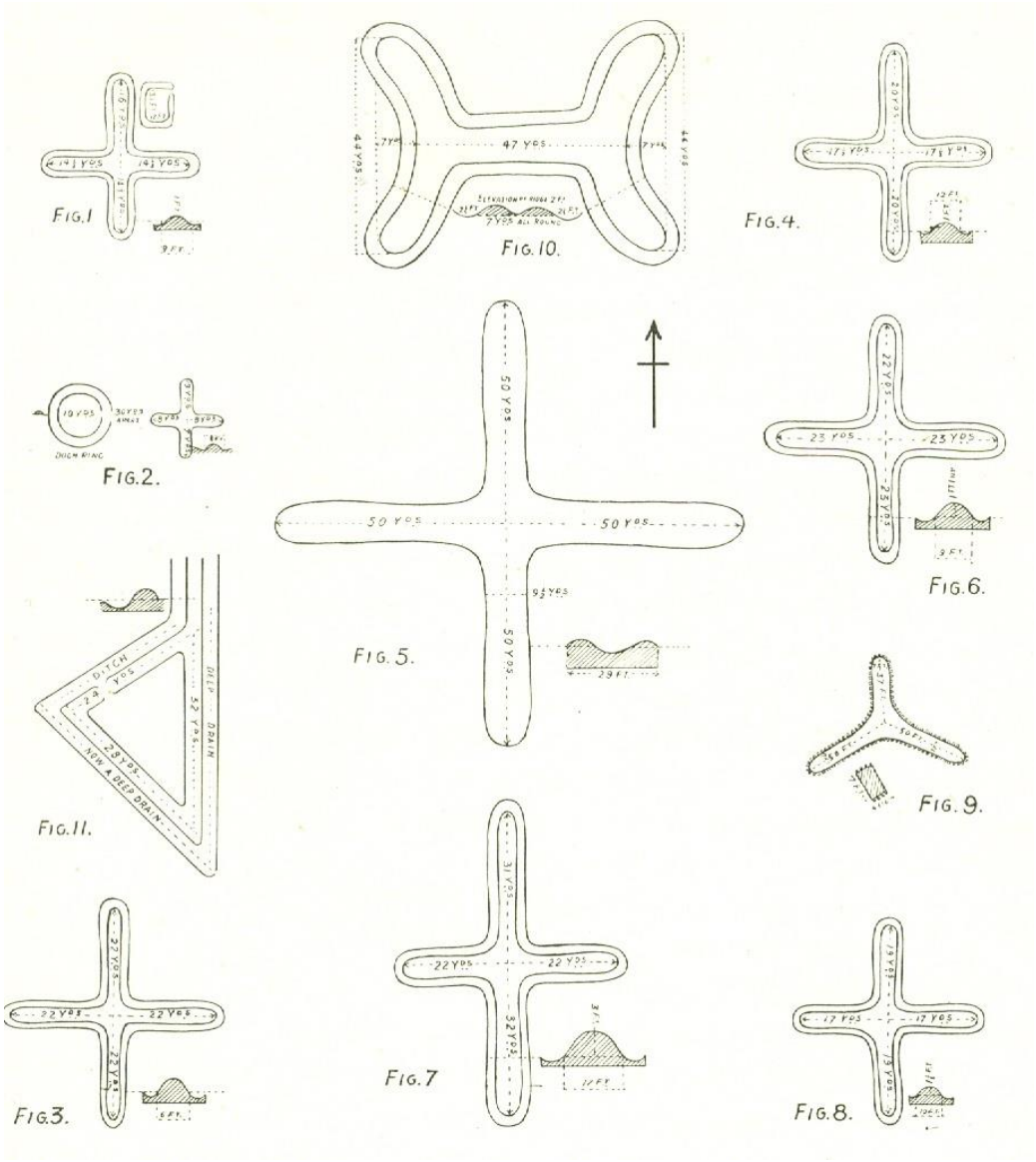


Figure 144 - Embankment crosses investigated by Mortimer in East Yorkshire.

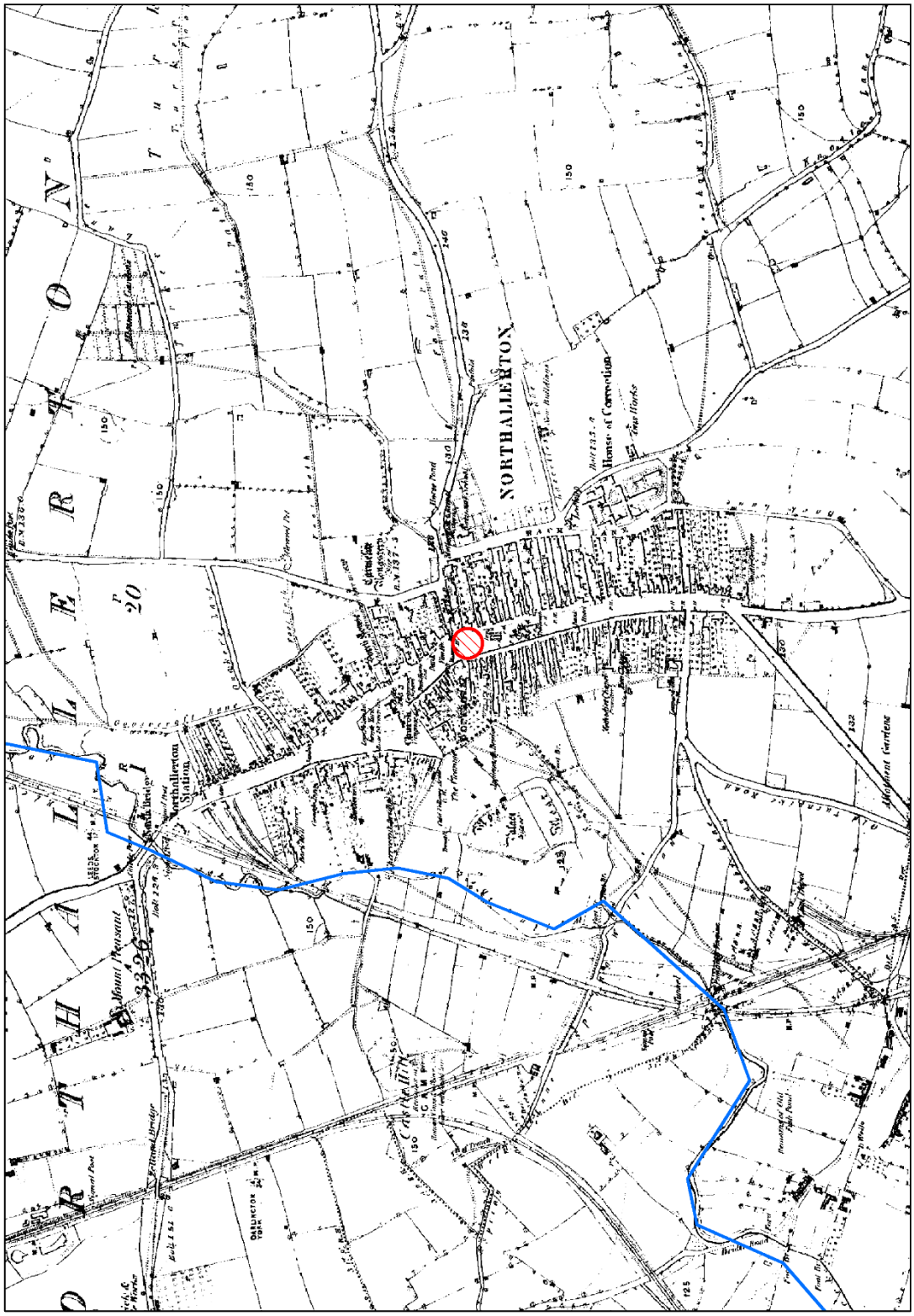


Figure 145. First Edition Ordnance Survey of Northallerton, indicating the position of the toll-booth, scene of town meetings in the later medieval period.

TABLES

Name	Code	Riding	Type of territory	First appearance	Solution	References
Acklam	ACK-0	East	Hundred	*Hacle* - 1086	ON 'Ankle'	Anderson 1934: 14; Smith 1937: 147-8
Burton	BUR-0	East	Hundred	*Burtone - 1086*	OE 'Fortified Farmstead'	Anderson 1934: 12; Smith 1937: 86n
Cave	CAV-0	East	Hundred	*Cave* - 1086	OE 'Quick (Stream)'	Anderson 1934: 17; Smith 1937: 153
Driffield	DRI-0	East	Hundred	*Drifelt* - 705	OE 'Dry/Stubble Field'	Anderson 1934: 15; Smith 1937: 153-4
Hessle	HES-0	East	Hundred	*Hase* - 1086	OE/ON 'Hazel'	Anderson 1934: 17; Smith 1937: 215-6
Howden	HOW-0	East	Hundred	*Hoveden* - 1086	OE 'Head of the Valley'	Smith 1937: 250-251
Huntow	HUN-0	East	Hundred	*Huntou* - 1086	OE/ON 'Hundi's Mound'/'Hunter's Mound'	Anderson 1934: 12; Smith 1937: 103
Mith	HOL-0	East	Hundred	*Mith* - 1086	? 'Middle'	Anderson 1934: 11; Smith 1937: 15
Nort	HOL-0	East	Hundred	*Nort* - 1086	? 'North'	Anderson 1934: 11; Smith 1937: 15
Pocklington	POC-0	East	Hundred	*Poclinton* - 1086	OE 'Pocela's Farmstead'	Anderson 1934: 16; Smith 1937: 182
Scard	SCAR-0	East	Hundred	*Scard* - 1086	ON 'Hill Cleft'	Anderson 1934: 13; Smith 1937: 120
Sneculfcros	SNE-0	East	Hundred	*Sneculfcros* - 1086	ON 'Sneculf's Cross'	Anderson 1934: 15; Smith 1937: 153-4
Toreshou	TOR-0	East	Hundred/Wapentake	*Toreshou* - 1086	ON 'Thor's Mound'	Anderson 1934: 13; Smith 1937: 120
Turbar	TUR-0	East	Hundred	*Torbar - 1086*	ON 'Thor's Hill'	Anderson 1934: 12; Smith 1937: 86n
Uth	HOL-0	East	Hundred	*Uth* - 1086	? 'South'	Anderson 1934: 11; Smith 1937: 15
Warter	WAR-0	East	Hundred	*Wartre* - 1086	OE 'Gallows Tree'	Anderson 1934: 15; Smith 1937: 15
Weighton	WEI-0	East	Hundred	*Wicstun* - 1086	OE 'Market Town/Vicus'	Anderson 1934: 16; Smith 1937: 229-30
Welton	WEL-0	East	Hundred	*Welleton* - 1086	OE 'Farm by the Spring'	Anderson 1934: 17; Smith 1937: 220
Allerton	ALL-0	North	Wapentake	*Aluretone* - 1086	OE 'Aelfere's Farm'	Smith 1928: 204; Anderson 1934: 10
Bolesford	BOL-0	North	Wapentake	*Bolesforde* - 1086	OE 'Bull Ford'	Smith 1928: 13; Anderson 1934: 6
Dic	DIC-0	North	Wapentake	*Dic* - 1086	OE/ON 'Dykes'	Smith 1928: 74; Anderson 1934: 3
Gerlestre	GERL-0	North	Wapentake	*Gerlestre* - 1086	OE/ON 'Earl's Tree'	Smith 1928: 79; Anderson 1934: 7
Langbaurgh	LAN-0	North	Wapentake	*Langeberg* - 1086	OE/ON 'Long Ridge'	Smith 1928: 128, 165; Anderson 1934: 2
Maneshou	MAN-0	North	Wapentake	*Maneshou* - 1086	ON 'Man's Mound'	Smith 1928: 42; Anderson 1934: 5
Terra Alani Comitis	TAC-0	North	Fee	*Terra Alani Comitis* - 1086	Lat. 'Land of Count Alan'	Faull and Stinson 1986: 309c
Agbrigg	AGB-0	West	Wapentake	*Hagebrige* - 1086	ON 'Aggi's Bridge'	Anderson 1934: 25; Smith 1961b: 99, 117
Ainsty	AIN-0	West	Wapentake	*Ainesti* - 1086	OE/ON 'Narrow Path'	Anderson 1934: 21-2, Smith 1961d: 235
Barkston	BARK-0	West	Wapentake	*Barcheston* - 1086	OE+ON 'Bǫrkr's Farmstead'	Anderson 1934: 23; Smith 1961d: 1, 53
Burghshire	BUR-0	West	Wapentake	*Borchescire* - 1086	OE 'Shire of the Borough'	Anderson 1934: 20-1; Smith 1961e: 80
Craven	CRA-0	West	Not specified	*Crave* - 1086	Brit. 'Rocky Region/Garlic'	Smith 1961f: 1-2; Wood 1996: 2-3; Rowley 1999: 42
Gereburg	GER-0	West	Wapentake	*Gereburg* - 1086	OE/ON 'Fortified Earthwork'	Anderson 1934: 21; Smith 1961e: 1
Halikeld	HAL-0	West	Wapentake	*Halichelde* - 1086	OE/ON 'Holy Well'	Anderson 1934: 10; Smith 1928: 218
Morley	MOR-0	West	Wapentake	*Morelei* - 1086	OE 'Moorland Clearing'	Anderson 1934: 25; Smith 1961b: 182
Osgoldcross	OGC-0	West	Wapentake	*Osgotcros* - 1086	ON 'Asgautr's Cross'	Anderson 1934: 24; Smith 1961b: 79
Skyrack	SKY-0	West	Wapentake	*Siraches* - 1086	OE 'Shire/Shining Oak'	Anderson 1934:22-3; Smith 1961d: 88
Staincross	STC-0	West	Wapentake	*Staincros* - 1086	ON 'Stone Cross'	Anderson 1934: 25; Smith 1961a: 317
Strafforth	STR-0	West	Wapentake	*Strafordes* - 1086	OE 'Street Ford'	Anderson 1934: 24; Smith 1961a: 78

Table 1 - The Domesday hundreds and wapentakes of Yorkshire

Name	Code	Riding	Type of territory	First appearance	Solution	References
Howdenshire	HOW-0	East	Wapentake	*Houedensire* - 1153	OE 'Shire of Howden'	Smith 1937: 243-4
Holderness	HOL-0	East	Wapentake	*Heldernesse* - 1086	ON 'Headland of the Hold'	Anderson 1934: 19-20; Smith 1937: 14-5
Harthill	HAR-0	East	Wapentake	*Hertle* - 1166	OE 'Hart Hill'	Anderson 1934: 18-19; Smith 1937: 151-2
Buckrose	BUC-0	East	Wapentake	*Bucros* - 1188	ON 'Buggi's/Bukki's Cross'	Anderson 1934: 14; Smith 1937: 120
Dickering	DICK-0	East	Wapentake	*Dikering* - 1166	OE 'Dyke Ring'	Anderson 1934: 13; Smith 1937: 85
Ouse and Derwent	ODW-0	East	Wapentake	*Vsam et Derewent* - 1197	ME 'Ouse and Derwent'	Anderson 1934: 19
Langbaurgh	LAN-0	North	Wapentake	*Langeberg* - 1086	OE/ON 'Long Ridge'	Smith 1928: 128, 165; Anderson 1934: 2
Allerton	ALL-0	North	Wapentake	*Aluretone* - 1086	OE 'Aelfere's Farm'	Smith 1928: 204; Anderson 1934: 10
Pickering	DIC-0	North	Wapentake	*Pikiringelit* -1135	OE 'The Settlement of Picer's People'	Smith 1928: 74, 85; Anderson 1934: 4
Ryedale	MAN-0	North	Wapentake	*Ridale* - 1166	ON 'Valley of the River Rye'	Smith 1928: 42; Anderson 1934: 5
Bulmer	BOL-0	North	Wapentake	*Bulem' sur'* -1166	OE 'Bull Pool'	Smith 1928: 8; Anderson 1934: 6
Birdforth	GERL-0	North	Wapentake	*Bruchewrche scire* -1088	OE 'Brudda's/Bride's Ford'	Smith 1928: 190; Anderson 1934: 8
Gilling	GIL-0	North	Wapentake	*Gillinge* - 1166	OE 'Settlement of Getla's People'	Smith 1928: 53; Anderson 1934: 9
Hang	HANG-0	North	Wapentake	*Hangeschire* - 1157	OE 'Wooded Slope'	Smith 1928: 229; Anderson 1934: 10
Skyrack	SKY-0	West	Wapentake	*Siraches* - 1086	OE 'Shire/Shining Oak'	Anderson 1934:22-3; Smith 1961d: 88
Barkston	BARK-0	West	Wapentake	*Barcheston* - 1086	OE+ON 'Borkr's Farmstead'	Anderson 1934: 23; Smith 1961d: 1, 53
Strafforth	STR-0	West	Wapentake	*Strafordes* - 1086	OE 'Street Ford'	Anderson 1934: 24; Smith 1961a: 78
Osgoldcross	OGC-0	West	Wapentake	*Osgotcros* - 1086	ON 'Asgautr's Cross'	Anderson 1934: 24; Smith 1961b: 79
Staincross	STC-0	West	Wapentake	*Staincros* - 1086	ON 'Stone Cross'	Anderson 1934: 25; Smith 1961a: 317
Agbrigg	AGB-0	West	Wapentake	*Hagebrige* - 1086	ON 'Aggi's Bridge'	Anderson 1934: 25; Smith 1961b: 99, 117
Morley	MOR-0	West	Wapentake	*Morelei* - 1086	OE 'Moorland Clearing'	Anderson 1934: 25; Smith 1961b: 182
Ainsty	AIN-0	West	Wapentake	*Ainesti* - 1086	OE/ON 'Narrow Path'	Anderson 1934: 21-2, Smith 1961d: 235
Halikeld	HAL-0	West	Wapentake	*Halichelde* - 1086	OE/ON 'Holy Well'	Anderson 1934: 10; Smith 1928: 218
Claro	CLA-0	West	Wapentake	*Clarehov* - 1166	OE 'Clover/Clare's Hill'	Anderson 1934: 20-1; Smith 1961e: 1
Staincliffe	STA-0	West	Wapentake	*Steinclif* - 1166	OE/ON 'Stone Cliff'	Anderson 1934: 26; Smith 1961f: 55

Table 2 - The later medieval wapentakes of Yorkshire

Name	Location	Date	Refs	Description
near the river Derwent	Unknown	627	Bede *HE* II.9	Edwin's court - Lilla assassinated
Unknown Northumbrian court	Unknown	627	Bede *HE* II.13	Coifi heads to Goodmanham to desecrate temple
Unknown Northumbrian court	Unknown	627	*ASC* A	Edwin's court populated by his *theod* (armed men)
Unknown court	Unknown	634x642	Bede *HE* III.6	Oswald and Aidan feasting at Easter, poor people from everywhere gathered on the *plateas*
Streoneshalh	Whitby, Strensall	664	*Stephanus* 10; Bede - *HE*	Synod to decide upon Paschal controversy
Haethfeld	Hatfield, Herts; Hatfield Chase, S. Yorks	675x680	Bede *HE* IV.17; *ASC* A; (*ASC* E)	Theodore convenes synod to confirm orthodoxy
Unknown Northumbrian synod	Unknown	680x681	Bede *HE* IV.12; *Stephanus* 34	Rejection of Wilfrid by Ecgfrith
Adtuuifyrdi, near the river Alne	Unknown	684	Bede *HE* IV.28, Anon *Cuthbert*, Bede *Cuthbert*, S66	Decision to elect Cuthbert as bishop
Unknown Northumbrian synod	Unknown	686	Adomnan - *Life of St Columba* 2.47; *Annals of the Four Masters* 686.5	Adomnan tonsured in Petrine fashion by Northumbrian ecclesiasts while recovering Irish prisoners
Eostrefeld / Aetwinespathe, near river Idle	Austerfield, S. Yorks	691	*Stephanus* 46	Rejection of Wilfrid by Aldfrith
Unknown Northumbrian synod	Unknown	701x705	Bede *Historia Abbatum* ch15	Granting of privileges to Wearmouth-Jarrow
near river Nidd	Unknown	706	Bede *HE* V.19; *Stephanus* 60	Wilfrid and Osred reconciled
"between *Deouama* and *Niwambirg*"	Unknown	756	*Hoveden* p6	Eadbert slain returning with army after subjecting Britons at *Alt Cluith*
Unknown Northumbrian synod	Unknown	765x774	*Vita Sancti Willehadi*	Willehad exhorted to act as missionary on the continent
Acleah	Aycliffe, Auckland, C. Durham	782	*ASC* A; *ASC* E	Northumbrian counterpart to Kentish *Acleah*
Wincanhealh/Pincanhalh	Finchale Priory, Durham, Pinkhill Lane, W. Yorks	787/788	*ASC* A; *ASC* D; *ASC* E; *Hoveden* 787	Northumbrian synod
Acleah	Otley, W. Yorks; Auckland, C. Durham	788/789	*De statu hagustaldensis*; *ASC* A; *ASC* E	Northumbrian counterpart to Kentish *Acleah*
Unknown Northumbrian court	Unknown	794	*ASC* A	Aethelred slain at his court
Wincanhealh/Pincanhalh	Finchale Priory, Durham, Pinkhill Lane, W. Yorks	798	*Hoveden* 798	Northumbrian synod held by Archbishop Eanbald
Shirburn/Scireburnan	Sherburn-in-Elmet	963	S712	Land grant from Edgar to Aeslac of land around Sherburn-in-Elmet
York	York	1003x1016	*HSC* 29	Darlington granted to the community of St Cuthbert
York	York	1064	*ASC* E	Edwin and Morcar outlaw Tostig
Gateshead	Gateshead	1080	*ASC* E	Death of Walcher at council in Gateshead

Name	Location	Date	Refs	Description
Eburaci	York	627	Bede *HE* II.14	Baptism of Edwin by Paulinus
Unknown baptism	Unknown	627	*ASC* A; Bede *HE* II.9	Baptism of Edwin's daughter Eanfled
Adgefrin	Yeavering, Northumberland	627x628	Bede *HE* II.14	Baptism of multitude *in villam regiam* of Edwin
Near Catterick	Near Catterick	627x628	Bede *HE* II.14	Baptism by Paulinus
Finecester/Tiowulfingacester	Near river Trent	627x628	Bede *HE* II.16	Baptism, probably near Trent
At-the-Wall	Wall	653	Bede *HE* III.21	Baptism of Peada
At-the-Wall	Wall	653	Bede *HE* III.22	Baptism of Sigbert

Table 4 - Baptisms recorded in early medieval Northumbria

Table 5 - Consecrations recorded in early medieval Northumbria

Name	Location	Date	Refs	Description
Ripon	Ripon	664	Malmesbury *Gesta Regum* 3.100.12	Wilfrid ordained abbot and priest at Ripon
Ripon	Ripon	664	*Stephanus*	Wilfrid dedicates church at Ripon
York	York	678	*ASC* E	Consecration of Wilfrid's successors following his deposition - Bosa to Deira and Eata to Bernicia
York	York	685	*ASC* E	Cuthbert consecrated bishop of Hexham at York
Aelfetee	Elvet, C. Durham	763	*ASC* E	Pehtwine ordained Bishop of Whithorn
York	York	777	*ASC* E	Ethelbert consecrated bishop of Whithorn at York
Sochasburg	Sockburn	780	*ASC* E	Hygebald consecrated bishop of Lindisfarne. Hoveden records this as taking place at Corbridge in 786
Uulfeswelle	Unknown (fort on Hadrian's Wall?)	781	*Historia Regum*	Tilberht consecrated bishop of Hexham. Note the fort of *Lupofantana* in Procopius' Buildings fo Justinian
Monasterium et Corabrige	Corbridge	786	*Historia Regum*	Adulf consecrated bishop of Lichfield / Mayo?
Hearrahaleh near Candida Casa	Whithorn	790	*Historia Regum*	Baduulf consecrated bishop of Whithorn. Hearrahaleh said to mean "the place of lords"
York	York	793x796	*ASC* E	Eardulf anointed king at York
Sochasburg	Sockburn	796	*Historia Regum*	Eanbald consecrated AB of York
Wduforda/Widford	"Woodford"?	797	*Historia Regum*	Consecration of Headred
Cettingaham	Whittingham?	800	*Historia Regum*	Consecration of Eanbryth
Bywell	Bywell	804	Symeon *Libellus* p91	Consecration of Ecgberht
Oswiedune	Unknown (fort on Hadrian's Wall?)	883	Symeon *Libellus* p123	Guthred announced as king to the Vikings

Table 6 - Battles recorded in early medieval Northumbria

Name	Location	Date	Refs	Description
Catraeth	Catterick	late C6th	*Y Gododdin*	Battle between Britons and Deira/Bemicia
Degsastan/Egesanstan	Unknown	603	*ASC* A; *ASC* E; Bede *HE I*.34	Aethelfrith of Northumbria fights Aedan of the Scots
Ceastre	Chester	606	*ASC* E; Bede *HE II*.2	Aethelfrith attacks Chester
By the river Idle	Bawtry. S. Yorks?	616	Bede *HE* II.12	Raedwald slays Aethelfrith - Edwin ascends throne
Haethfelth	Hatfield Chase, S. Yorks; Hatfield, Herts	633	Bede *HE* II.20; *ASC* E; *Annals of Innisfallen* AI633.2; *Cambriae* 630	Cadwallon slays Edwin in battle
Denisesburn near *Hefenfelth*	near Chollerton, Northumberland	633x634	Bede *HE* III.1-2; *Cambriae* 631	Oswald slays Cadwallon in battle
Maserfelth	Oswestry, Shropshire	641	Bede *HE* III.9; Adomnan - *Life of Columba* I.1; *ASC* E; *Annals of Innisfallen* A644.1; *Cambriae* 644	Penda slays Oswald in battle
Wilfares-dun	"10mi NW of Catterick"	651	Bede *HE* III.14	Osriu and Oswine almost go into battle
Bamburgh	Bamburgh	651x655	Bede *HE* III.16	Penda attacks Bamburgh
By the *Winwaed/Winwidfeld*	Unknown	654	Bede *HE* III.24; *ASC* E; *Cambriae* 656	Oswiu slays Penda in battle
By the Trent	Unknown	679	Bede *HE* IV.21; *ASC* E	Aelfwine killed by Trent where Ecgfrith and Ethelred fought
Dun Nechtain/Nechtainsmere	Dunnichen?	685	Bede *HE* IV.26; *Fragmentary Annals of Ireland*; *Ulster* 686.1; *ASC* E	Ecgfrith slain fighting the Picts
Between *Haefe* and *Caere*	Unknown	710	*ASC* E	Ealdorman Bertfrith fought against Picts
Mere	South of the border' ASC	716	*ASC* D	Osred fell in battle at this location
Eldunum / Edwin's Cliff	Eildon Hills	761	*ASC* E; *Historia Regum*	Oswine slain at this location
Hwaellege/ Whalley/Wellehare, also called *Billingahoth*	Whalley	797/798	*ASC* E; *Historia Regum*	Murderers of Ethelred attacked King Erdulph at this place
York	York	867	*ASC* A; *ASC* E	Unsuccessful siege of York - Viking dominance
Corbridge	Corbridge	918	*Symeon* p61	Battle between Vikings and Northumbrians
York	York	923	*ASC* D; *ASC* E	Raegnald storms York
Brunanburh/ Wendune/Vinheiðr	Bromborough, Merseyside?	937x939	*Egil's Saga*; *ASC* A; *ASC* E	Athelstan fights against British confederency, synonymous with Brunanburh
York	York	943	*ASC* D	Edmund attacks Anlaf and Wulfstan in York
Ripon	Ripon	948	*ASC* D	Eadred sacks Ripon
Catesford	Castleford	948	*ASC* D	Northumbrians attack Eadred as he returns south
Bamburgh	Bamburgh	993	*ASC* F	Bamburgh destroyed by Vikings
Carre	Carham	1016x1018	*Historia Regum*	Battle between England and Scotland
Stamford Bridge	Stamford Bridge	1066	*ASC* C; *ASC* E	Harold II defeats Harald Hardrada and Tostig in battle.Hardrarda camped at Stamford Bridge in order to receive the submission of Northumbria (ASC C 1066)
York	York	1068	*ASC* D	William attacks York

Table 7 - Other conciliar events recorded in early medieval Northumbria

Name	Location	Date	Refs	Description
Maelmin	Milfield, Northumberland	C7	Bede *HE* II.14	Successor palace, estate centre to *Adgefrin*
In-Getlingum	Gilling, N. Yorks	651	Bede *HE* III.14	Slaying of Oswine
York	York	741	*ASC* E	"here York burned"
Juxta Mechil-wongtune/Mechilwongtun	Unknown	758	*Historia Regum*	Osulf slain at this location. Translates as "town at the conference field"
Cataract	Catterick	762	*Historia Regum*	Marriage of Ethelwald and Etheldryth
Wincan-heale	Finchale Priory, C. Durham, Pinkhill Lane, W. Yorks; Wighale	765	*Historia Regum*	Ethelwald "lost the kingdom of Northumbria"
Cataract	Catterick	769	*ASC* E	Hallburning by Camred
York	York	774	*ASC* E; *Historia Regum*	Alred banished from York during Easter. Hoveden says he was "shorn"
King's Cliff	High Coniscliffe, C. Durham	778	*ASC* E	Ethelbald and Herbert slay high-reeve Eldulf here. Hoveden calls this a battle
Helathryn	Unknown	778	*ASC* E	Ethelbald and Herbert slay high-reeves Cynewulf and Eggo here. Hoveden calls this a battle
Seletun	Salton?	779/780	*ASC* E; *Historia Regum*	Beorn burnt in his hall by Northumbrian high-reeves on Dec 24
Scythlecester/Siltecester near the wall	Chesters, Northumberland?	788/789	*ASC* E; *Historia Regum*	King Elfwald slain by Sicga
Ripon	Ripon	790	*Historia Regum*	Eardulf executed outside Ripon monastery
Wonwaldremere	Unknown, near York?	791	*ASC*	Oelf and Oelfwine slain at this location after being dragged out of the city of York
Dingburg	Aynburg, Tynemouth?	792	*ASC* E; *Historia Regum*	Osred captured by Ethelred and slain at this location. Prob. Synonymous with Aynburg. Wendover suggests he was killed at Tynemouth
Cataract	Catterick	792	*Historia Regum*	Marriage of Ethelred and Elfred
Cobre	Corbridge?	796	*Historia Regum*	Ethelred slain at this location
Dore	Dore Gap	827	*ASC* A; *ASC* E	Submission of Northumbria to Egbert of Wessex
York	York	869	*ASC* E	Viking army returns to York
Unknown submission	Unknown	918	*ASC* C	Yorkshire submits to Aethelflaed. This might have taken place at Derby
Eamotum	Dacre? / Laneshaw Bridge, Pendle?	926	*ASC* E	Submission of Britain to Athelstan. Malmesbury says this took place at Dacor
Taddenes-clif	Tanshelf?	948	*ASC* D	Submission of Northumbria to Eadred of Wessex
Steinmore	Rey Cross?	954	*ASC* E	Erik Bloodaxe slain by Maccus
Otley	Otley	972	*Robertson* 110-13	Described as estate centres in memorandum of Oswald
Ripon	Ripon	972	*Robertson* 110-13	Described as estate centres in memorandum of Oswald
Shirburn	Sherburn-in-Elmet	972	*Robertson* 110-13	Described as estate centres in memorandum of Oswald
York	York	1016	*ASC* D	Edmund Ironside is in York during campaign
Garmondsway	Garmondsway, C. Durham	1016x1035	*ASC* E	Cnut makes pilgrimage to body of St Cuthbert
Tadcaster	Tadcaster	1066	*ASC* D	Harold mustered troops at Tadcaster before hitting Stamford Bridge
York	York	1067	*ASC* D	Edgar Atheling met people of York
York	York	1068	*ASC* D	William spends Xmas at York
Hundredeskelde	Hunderthwaite	1070	*ASC*	Malcolm of Scotland slays nobles at this location
Newburn	Newburn	1072	*Historia Regum*	Copsi slain at Newburn while feasting
Risewood	Risewood	1072	*Historia Regum*	Aldred slain at this location. Presence of a "moot hill" on 1st Ed OS map
Settrington	Settrington	1073	*Historia Regum*	Carl slain while feasting at Settrington
Wighill	Wighill	1016?	*De Obsessione*	Uhtred slain at or on way to peace negotiations with Cnut at Wighill

Table 8 - Assembly-attesting place-names in Yorkshire

Name	Code	Riding	First Appearance	Easting	Northing	Solution	References
Speeton	SPE-1	East	*Spretone* - 1086	514880	474658	OE 'Speech Farmstead'	Smith 1937: 104-5
Spelhoudayl	HOL-0	East	*Spelhoudayl* - 1339	522733	428413	ON 'Speech Mound in the Valley?'	National Archives: DDCC/14/68; No Published Solution
Spell Howe	SPHW-1	East	*Spelhou* - C13	506580	478823	OE+ON 'Speech Hill'	Smith 1937: 116
Spell Wood	SPW-1	East	Spell Wood - 1637	469166	449489	OE 'Speech?'	No Published Solution
Spellay	HOL-0	East	*Spellay* - 1560	522733	428413	OE/ON 'Speech Hill?'	National Archives: E142/49/4-7; No Published Solution
Spellow Clump	SPC-1	East	Spellow Clump - mid C19	499983	459825	OE 'Speech Mound'	Anderson 1934: 15n; Smith 1937: 153
Wetwang	WTW-1	East	*Wetwangha* - 1086	493275	459008	ON 'Trial Field'	Smith 1937:128
yins housum	CAV-1	East	*yins housum* - 963	492340	431243	ON 'Assembly Hill'	Farrer 1914: 15-8
Dingledow	DNG-1	North	Dingledow - mid C19	456905	512243	ON 'Assembly?'	No Published Solution
Fingay Hill	FGY-1	North	*Thynghou* - 1250	440120	499278	ON 'Assembly Hill/Mound'	Smith 1928: 213
Landmoth	LAND-1	North	*Landemot* - 1086	442460	492678	OE 'District Meeting Place'	Smith 1928: 206
Mothow	MTH-1	North	*Mothowe* - C14	467195	475278	OE/ON 'Meeting Mound'	Brown 1932:132-3
Spelcros	LAN-0	North	*Spelcros* - C14	460758	515713	OE+ON 'Speech Cross'	Brown 1889: 38
Spelgate	SPG-1	North	*Spelgate* - C17	482505	483503	OE+ON 'Speech Road'	Allison 2011: 35-6
Spell Close Farm	SCF-1	North	Spell Close Farm - mid C19	443745	510783	OE 'Speech?'	No Published Solution
Spella Farm	SPLF-1	North	*Spellar House* - mid C19	459725	470290	OE 'Speech Hill-spur'	No Solution but see Pantos 2001: 345
Stony Cross	STX-1	North	*Spelcros - C14*	466825	484783	OE+ON 'Speech Cross'	Allison 2011: 33
Thingwall	THW-1	North	*Tingwal* - 1145	491825	510048	ON 'Assembly Field'	Smith 1928: 128
Tyngoudale	TYNG-1	North	*Tyngoudale* - C14	459363	513998	ON 'Assembly Mound in the Valley'	Brown 1889: 171-5
Weapontake Stone	WEAP-1	North	Weapontake Stone - 1796	459596	474541	Wapentake Stone?	No Published Solution
Costley	COS-1	West	Costley - 1846	410350	437250	OE 'Trial Hill/Clearing'	Smith 1961d: 170
Ding	DING-1	West	*Ding* - 1844	370856	452454	ON 'Assembly'	Smith 1961f: 206 - No Published Solution
Domeland	DOME-1	West	*Domeland* - 1452	435353	387458	OE 'Judgment District'	Smith 1961a: 220
Fingerfield	FING-1	West	*Tingehoucroft* - C12	424625	475870	ON 'Assembly Hill'	Smith 1961f: 207
Hostingley	HOST-1	West	*Hastingley* - 1634	427149	418349	OE 'House Assembly in/by the Clearing'	Smith 1961b: 214
Knowler Hill	KNOW-1	West	*Hustin Knowll* - 1560	420177	424084	OE 'House Assembly by the Mound'	Smith 1961c: 29
Landemosegile	LMG-1	West	*Landemosegile* - 1246	394674	456710	OE 'District Meeting Place by the Ravine'	Smith 1961f: 52
Morthen	MORT-1	West	*Mordinges* - 1164	446210	388891	OE 'Moorland Assembly'	Smith 1961a: 168-9
Mutter Hole	MUTT-1	West	*Motherholle* - 1536	396785	426194	OE 'Muttering Hollow'	Smith 1961c: 189
Spella Garth	SPG-1	West	*Spella Garth* - 1840	467437	426322	OE/ON 'Speech Hill Enclosure'	Smith 1961d: 11
Spellow Field	SPF-1	West	*Spellay* - 1662	430000	462000	OE/ON 'Speech Mound?'	No Published Solution
Spellow Hill	SPH-1	West	*Spellow Hill* - 1558	437980	462220	OE/ON 'Speech Mound'	Smith 1961e: 89
Speltrig	SPT-1	West	*Speltre* - 1233	430870	469700	OE 'Speech Tree'	Smith 1961e: 172
Thinge	THIN-1	West	*Thinge* - C13	449463	443859	ON 'Assembly'	Smith 1961d: 240
Tingley	TING-1	West	*Tyngelawe* - 1208	428005	426218	OE+ON 'Assembly Hill'	Smith 1961b: 175

Name	Code	Riding	Solution	Type of Feature	Type of Assembly
Agbrigg	AGB-0	West	ON 'Aggi's Bridge'	Bridge	DB Wapentake
Buckrose	BUC-0	East	ON 'Buggi's/Bukki's Cross'	Cross	LM Wapentake
Sneculfcros	SNE-0	East	ON 'Sneculf's Cross'	Cross	DB Hundred
Spelcros	LAN-0	North	OE+ON 'Speech Cross'	Cross	Assembly-attesting place-name
Stony Cross	STX-1	North	OE+ON 'Speech Cross'	Cross	Assembly-attesting place-name
Osgoldcross	OGC-0	West	ON 'Asgautr's Cross'	Cross	DB Wapentake
Staincross	STC-0	West	ON 'Stone Cross'	Cross	DB Wapentake
Birdforth	GERL-0	North	OE 'Brudda's/Bride's Ford'	Ford	LM Wapentake
Bolesford	BOL-0	North	OE 'Bull Ford'	Ford	DB Wapentake
Bulmer	BOL-0	North	OE 'Bull Pool'	Ford	LM Wapentake
Strafford Sands	STR-0	West	OE 'Street Ford'	Ford	DB Wapentake
Spell Howe	SPHW-1	East	OE+ON 'Speech Hill'	Hill	Assembly-attesting place-name
Spellay	HOL-0	East	OE/ON 'Speech Hill?'	Hill	Assembly-attesting place-name
Turbar	TUR-0	East	ON 'Thor's Hill'	Hill	DB Hundred
yins housum	CAV-1	East	ON 'Assembly Hill'	Hill	Assembly-attesting place-name
Spella Farm	SPLF-1	North	OE 'Speech Hill-spur'	Hill	Assembly-attesting place-name
Claro Hill	CLA-0	West	OE 'Clover/Clare's Hill'	Hill	LM Wapentake
Costley	COS-1	West	OE 'Trial Hill/Clearing'	Hill	Assembly-attesting place-name
Mutter Hole	MUTT-1	West	OE 'Muttering Hollow'	Hill	Assembly-attesting place-name
Spella Garth	SPG-1	West	OE/ON 'Speech Hill Enclosure'	Hill	Assembly-attesting place-name
Tingley	TING-1	West	OE+ON 'Assembly Hill'	Hill	Assembly-attesting place-name
Fingay Hill	FGY-1	North	ON 'Assembly Hill/Mound'	Hill	Assembly-attesting place-name
Fingerfield	FING-1	West	ON 'Assembly Hill'	Hill	Assembly-attesting place-name
Harthill	HAR-0	East	OE 'Hart Hill'	Hill	LM Wapentake
Huntow	HUN-0	East	OE/ON 'Hundi's Mound'/'Hunter's Mound'	Mound	DB Hundred
Spellow Clump	SPC-1	East	OE 'Speech Mound'	Mound	Assembly-attesting place-name
Toreshou	TOR-0	East	ON 'Thor's Mound'	Mound	DB Hundred
Hanghow	HANG-2	North	OE 'Wooded Slope by the Mound?'	Mound	LM Wapentake
Maneshou	MAN-0	North	ON 'Man's Mound'	Mound	DB Hundred
Mothow	MTH-1	North	OE/ON 'Meeting Mound'	Mound	Assembly-attesting place-name
Tyngoudale	TYNG-1	North	ON 'Assembly Mound in the Valley'	Mound	Assembly-attesting place-name
Knowler Hill	KNOW-1	West	OE 'House Assembly by the Mound'	Mound	Assembly-attesting place-name
Spellow Field	SPF-1	West	OE/ON 'Speech Mound?'	Mound	Assembly-attesting place-name
Spellow Hill	SPH-1	West	OE/ON 'Speech Mound'	Mound	Assembly-attesting place-name
Spelhoudayl	HOL-0	East	ON 'Speech Mound in the Valley?'	Mound	Assembly-attesting place-name
Langbaurgh	LAN-0	North	OE/ON 'Long Ridge'	Ridge	DB Wapentake
Weapontake Stone	WEAP-1	North	Wapentake Stone?	Stone	Assembly-attesting place-name
Hessle	HES-0	East	OE/ON 'Hazel'	Tree	DB Hundred
Warter	WAR-0	East	OE 'Gallows Tree'	Tree	DB Hundred
Gerlestre	GERL-0	North	OE/ON 'Earl's Tree'	Tree	DB Wapentake
Skyrack Oak	SKY-0	West	OE 'Shire/Shining Oak'	Tree	DB Wapentake
Speltrig	SPT-1	West	OE 'Speech Tree'	Tree	Assembly-attesting place-name
Halikeld	HAL-0	West	OE/ON 'Holy Well'	Well	DB Wapentake

Table 9 - Focal points referenced in the named and place-name attested assemblies of Yorkshire

Name	Code	Riding	Solution	Type of Feature	Type of Assembly
Dic	DIC-0	North	OE/ON 'Dykes'	Earthworks	DB Wapentake
Dickering	DICK-0	East	OE 'Dyke Ring'	Earthworks	LM Wapentake
Gereburg	GER-0	West	OE/ON 'Fortified Earthwork'	Earthworks	DB Wapentake
Acklam	ACK-0	East	ON 'Ankle'	Hill-slope	DB Wapentake
Hang Bank	HANG-1	North	OE 'Wooded Slope'	Hill-slope	LM Wapentake
Howden	HOW-0	East	OE 'Head of the Valley'	Hill-slope	DB Hundred; LM Wapentake
Scard	SCAR-0	East	ON 'Hill Cleft'	Hill-slope	DB Hundred
Staincliffe	STA-0	West	OE/ON 'Stone Cliff'	Hill-slope	LM Wapentake
Driffield	DRI-0	East	OE 'Dry/Stubble Field'	Open Land	DB Hundred
Hostingley	HOST-1	West	OE 'House Assembly in/by the Clearing'	Open Land	Assembly-attesting place-name
Morley	MOR-0	West	OE 'Moorland Clearing'	Open Land	DB Wapentake
Morthen	MORT-1	West	OE 'Moorland Assembly'	Open Land	Assembly-attesting place-name
Thingwall	THW-1	North	ON 'Assembly Field'	Open Land	Assembly-attesting place-name
Wetwang	WTW-1	East	ON 'Trial Field'	Open Land	Assembly-attesting place-name
Ainsty	AGB-0	West	OE/ON 'Narrow Path'	Path	DB Wapentake
Landemosegile	LMG-1	West	OE 'District Meeting Place by the Ravine'	Ravine	Assembly-attesting place-name
North Cave	CAV-1	East	OE 'Quick (Stream)'	River	DB Hundred
South Cave	CAV-1	East	OE 'Quick (Stream)'	River	DB Hundred
Barkston Ash	BARK-0	West	OE+ON 'Bǫrkr's Farmstead'	Settlement	DB Wapentake
Gilling	GIL-0	North	OE 'Settlement of Getla's People'	Settlement	LM Wapentake
Market Weighton	WEI-0	East	OE 'Market Town/Vicus'	Settlement	DB Hundred
Northallerton	ALL-1	North	OE 'Aelfere's Farm'	Settlement	DB Wapentake
Pickering Lythe	DIC-0	North	OE 'The Settlement of Picer's People'	Settlement	LM Wapentake
Pocklington	POC-0	East	OE 'Pocela's Farmstead'	Settlement	DB Hundred
Speeton	SPE-1	East	OE 'Speech Farmstead'	Settlement	Assembly-attesting place-name
Welton	WEL-0	East	OE 'Farm by the Spring'	Settlement	DB Hundred
Domeland	DOME-1	West	OE 'Judgment District'	Unspecified Location	Assembly-attesting place-name
Landmoth	LAND-1	North	OE 'District Meeting Place'	Unspecified Location	Assembly-attesting place-name
Spell Close Farm	SCF-1	North	OE 'Speech?'	Unspecified Location	Assembly-attesting place-name
Spell Wood	SPW-1	East	OE 'Speech?'	Unspecified Location	Assembly-attesting place-name

Table 10 - Focal areas referenced in the named and place-name attested assemblies of Yorkshire

Name	Code	Riding	Solution	Type of Feature	Type of Assembly
Middle Hundred	HOL-0	East	? 'Middle'	Direction	DB Hundred
North Hundred	HOL-0	East	? 'North'	Direction	DB Hundred
South Hundred	HOL-0	East	? 'South'	Direction	DB Hundred
Craven	CRA-0	West	Brit. 'Rocky Region/Garlic'	Regional Landform	DB Wapentake
Holderness	HOL-0	East	ON 'Headland of the Hold'	Regional Landform	LM Wapentake
Ouse and Derwent	ODW-0	East	ME 'Ouse and Derwent'	Riverine Circumscription	LM Wapentake
Ryedale	MAN-0	North	ON 'Valley of the River Rye'	Valley	LM Wapentake

Table 11 - Districts referenced in the named and place-name attested assemblies of Yorkshire

Name	Code	Riding	Type	Solution	References
Allerton	ALL-0	North	Domesday Wapentake	OE 'Aelfere's Farm'	Smith 1928: 204; Anderson 1934: 10
Birdforth	GERL-0	North	Later Medieval Wapentake	OE 'Brudda's/Bride's Ford'	Smith 1928: 190; Anderson 1934: 8
Bulmer	BOL-0	North	Later Medieval Wapentake	OE 'Bull Pool'	Smith 1928: 8; Anderson 1934: 6
Claro	CLA-0	West	Later Medieval Wapentake	OE 'Clover/Clare's Hill'	Anderson 1934: 20-1; Smith 1961e: 1
Landmoth	LAND-1	North	Assembly-attesting place-name	OE 'District Meeting Place'	Smith 1928: 206
Landemosegile	LMG-1	West	Assembly-attesting place-name	OE 'District Meeting Place by the Ravine'	Smith 1961f: 52
Driffield	DRI-0	East	Domesday Hundred	OE 'Dry/Stubble Field'	Anderson 1934: 15; Smith 1937: 153-4
Dickering	DICK-0	East	Later Medieval Wapentake	OE 'Dyke Ring'	Anderson 1934: 13; Smith 1937: 85
Welton	WEL-0	East	Domesday Hundred	OE 'Farm by the Spring'	Anderson 1934: 17; Smith 1937: 220
Warter	WAR-0	East	Domesday Hundred	OE 'Gallows Tree'	Anderson 1934: 15; Smith 1937: 15
Harthill	HAR-0	East	Later Medieval Wapentake	OE 'Hart Hill'	Anderson 1934: 18-19; Smith 1937: 151-2
Howden	HOW-0	East	Domesday Hundred	OE 'Head of the Valley'	Smith 1937: 250-251
Knowler Hill	KNOW-1	West	Assembly-attesting place-name	OE 'House Assembly by the Mound'	Smith 1961c: 29
Hostingley	HOST-1	West	Assembly-attesting place-name	OE 'House Assembly in/by the Clearing'	Smith 1961b: 214
Domeland	DOME-1	West	Assembly-attesting place-name	OE 'Judgment District'	Smith 1961a: 220
Weighton	WEI-0	East	Domesday Hundred	OE 'Market Town/Vicus'	Anderson 1934: 16; Smith 1937: 229-30
Morthen	MORT-1	West	Assembly-attesting place-name	OE 'Moorland Assembly'	Smith 1961a: 168-9
Morley	MOR-0	West	Domesday Wapentake	OE 'Moorland Clearing'	Anderson 1934: 25; Smith 1961b: 182
Mutter Hole	MUTT-1	West	Assembly-attesting place-name	OE 'Muttering Hollow'	Smith 1961c: 189
Pocklington	POC-0	East	Domesday Hundred	OE 'Pocela's Farmstead'	Anderson 1934: 16; Smith 1937: 182
Cave	CAV-0	East	Domesday Hundred	OE 'Quick (Stream)'	Anderson 1934: 17; Smith 1937: 153
Gilling	GIL-0	North	Later Medieval Wapentake	OE 'Settlement of Getla's People'	Smith 1928: 53; Anderson 1934: 9
Howdenshire	HOW-0	East	Later Medieval Wapentake	OE 'Shire of Howden'	Smith 1937: 243-4
Skyrack	SKY-0	West	Domesday Wapentake	OE 'Shire/Shining Oak'	Anderson 1934:22-3; Smith 1961d: 88
Speeton	SPE-1	East	Assembly-attesting place-name	OE 'Speech Farmstead'	Smith 1937: 104-5
Spella Farm	SPLF-1	North	Assembly-attesting place-name	OE 'Speech Hill-spur'	No Solution but see Pantos 2001: 345
Spellow Clump	SPC-1	East	Assembly-attesting place-name	OE 'Speech Mound'	Anderson 1934: 15n; Smith 1937: 153
Speltrig	SPT-1	West	Assembly-attesting place-name	OE 'Speech Tree'	Smith 1961e: 172
Spell Wood	SPW-1	East	Assembly-attesting place-name	OE 'Speech?'	No Published Solution
Spell Close Farm	SCF-1	North	Assembly-attesting place-name	OE 'Speech?'	No Published Solution
Strafforth	STR-0	West	Domesday Wapentake	OE 'Street Ford'	Anderson 1934: 24; Smith 1961a: 78
Pickering	DIC-0	North	Later Medieval Wapentake	OE 'The Settlement of Picer's People'	Smith 1928: 74, 85; Anderson 1934: 4
Costley	COS-1	West	Assembly-attesting place-name	OE 'Trial Hill/Clearing'	Smith 1961d: 170
Hang	HANG-0	North	Later Medieval Wapentake	OE 'Wooded Slope'	Smith 1928: 229; Anderson 1934: 10

Table 12 - Old English assembly names in Yorkshire

Name	Code	Riding	Type	Solution	References
Agbrigg	AGB-0	West	Domesday Wapentake	ON 'Aggi's Bridge'	Anderson 1934: 25; Smith 1961b: 99, 117
Acklam	ACK-0	East	Domeday Hundred	ON 'Ankle'	Anderson 1934: 14; Smith 1937: 147-8
Osgoldcross	OGC-0	West	Domesday Wapentake	ON 'Asgautr's Cross'	Anderson 1934: 24; Smith 1961b: 79
Ding	DING-1	West	Assembly-attesting place-name	ON 'Assembly'	Smith 1961f: 206 - No Published Solution
Thinge	THIN-1	West	Assembly-attesting place-name	ON 'Assembly'	Smith 1961d: 240
Thingwall	THW-1	North	Assembly-attesting place-name	ON 'Assembly Field'	Smith 1928: 128
yins housum	CAV-1	East	Assembly-attesting place-name	ON 'Assembly Hill'	Farrer 1914: 15-8
Fingerfield	FING-1	West	Assembly-attesting place-name	ON 'Assembly Hill'	Smith 1961f: 207
Fingay Hill	FGY-1	North	Assembly-attesting place-name	ON 'Assembly Hill/Mound'	Smith 1928: 213
Tyngoudale	TYNG-1	North	Assembly-attesting place-name	ON 'Assembly Mound in the Valley'	Brown 1889: 171-5
Dingledow	DNG-1	North	Assembly-attesting place-name	ON 'Assembly?'	No Published Solution
Buckrose	BUC-0	East	Later Medieval Wapentake	ON 'Buggi's/Bukki's Cross'	Anderson 1934: 14; Smith 1937: 120
Holderness	HOL-0	East	Later Medieval Wapentake	ON 'Headland of the Hold'	Anderson 1934: 19-20; Smith 1937: 14-5
Scard	SCAR-0	East	Domeday Hundred	ON 'Hill Cleft'	Anderson 1934: 13; Smith 1937: 120
Maneshou	MAN-0	North	Domeday Wapentake	ON 'Man's Mound'	Smith 1928: 42; Anderson 1934: 5
Sneculfcros	SNE-0	East	Domeday Hundred	ON 'Sneculf's Cross'	Anderson 1934: 15; Smith 1937: 153-4
Spelhoudayl	HOL-0	East	Assembly-attesting place-name	ON 'Speech Mound in the Valley?'	National Archives: DDCC/14/68; No Published Solution
Staincross	STC-0	West	Domesday Wapentake	ON 'Stone Cross'	Anderson 1934: 25; Smith 1961a: 317
Turbar	TUR-0	East	Domeday Hundred	ON 'Thor's Hill'	Anderson 1934: 12; Smith 1937: 86n
Toreshou	TOR-0	East	Domesday Hundred	ON 'Thor's Mound'	Anderson 1934: 13; Smith 1937: 120
Wetwang	WTW-1	East	Assembly-attesting place-name	ON 'Trial Field'	Smith 1937:128
Ryedale	MAN-0	North	Later Medieval Wapentake	ON 'Valley of the River Rye'	Smith 1928: 42; Anderson 1934: 5

Table 13 - Old Norse assembly names in Yorkshire

Name	Code	Riding	Type	Solution	References
Mith	HOL-0	East	Domesday Hundred	? 'Middle'	Anderson 1934: 11; Smith 1937: 15
Nort	HOL-0	East	Domesday Hundred	? 'North'	Anderson 1934: 11; Smith 1937: 15
Uth	HOL-0	East	Domesday Hundred	? 'South'	Anderson 1934: 11; Smith 1937: 15
Craven	CRA-0	West	Domesday Wapentake	Brit. 'Rocky Region/Garlic'	Smith 1961f: 1-2; Wood 1996: 2-3; Rowley 1999: 42
Terra Alani Comitis	TAC-0	North	Fee	Lat. 'Land of Count Alan'	Faull and Stinson 1986: 309c
Ouse and Derwent	ODW-0	East	Later Medieval Wapentake	ME 'Ouse and Derwent'	Anderson 1934: 19
Dic	DIC-0	North	Domesday Wapentake	OE/ON 'Dykes'	Smith 1928: 74; Anderson 1934: 3
Gerlestre	GERL-0	North	Domesday Wapentake	OE/ON 'Earl's Tree'	Smith 1928: 79; Anderson 1934: 7
Gereburg	GER-0	West	Domesday Wapentake	OE/ON 'Fortified Earthwork'	Anderson 1934: 21; Smith 1961e: 1
Hessle	HES-0	East	Domesday Hundred	OE/ON 'Hazel'	Anderson 1934: 17; Smith 1937: 215-6
Halikeld	HAL-0	West	Domesday Wapentake	OE/ON 'Holy Well'	Anderson 1934: 10; Smith 1928: 218
Huntow	HUN-0	East	Domesday Hundred	OE/ON 'Hundi's Mound'/'Hunter's Mound'	Anderson 1934: 12; Smith 1937: 103
Langbaurgh	LAN-0	North	Domesday Wapentake	OE/ON 'Long Ridge'	Smith 1928: 128, 165; Anderson 1934: 2
Mothow	MTH-1	North	Assembly-attesting place-name	OE/ON 'Meeting Mound'	Brown 1932:132-3
Ainsty	AIN-0	West	Domesday Wapentake	OE/ON 'Narrow Path'	Anderson 1934: 21-2, Smith 1961d: 235
Spella Garth	SPG-1	West	Assembly-attesting place-name	OE/ON 'Speech Hill Enclosure'	Smith 1961d: 11
Spellay	HOL-0	East	Assembly-attesting place-name	OE/ON 'Speech Hill?'	National Archives: E142/49/4-7; No Published Solution
Spellow Hill	SPH-1	West	Assembly-attesting place-name	OE/ON 'Speech Mound'	Smith 1961e: 89
Spellow Field	SPF-1	West	Assembly-attesting place-name	OE/ON 'Speech Mound?'	No Published Solution
Staincliffe	STA-0	West	Later Medieval Wapentake	OE/ON 'Stone Cliff'	Anderson 1934: 26; Smith 1961f: 55
Tingley	TING-1	West	Assembly-attesting place-name	OE+ON 'Assembly Hill'	Smith 1961b: 175
Barkston	BARK-0	West	Domesday Wapentake	OE+ON 'Borkr's Farmstead'	Anderson 1934: 23; Smith 1961d: 1, 53
Spelcros	LAN-0	North	Assembly-attesting place-name	OE+ON 'Speech Cross'	Brown 1889: 38
Stony Cross	STX-1	North	Assembly-attesting place-name	OE+ON 'Speech Cross'	Allison 2011: 33
Spell Howe	SPHW-1	East	Assembly-attesting place-name	OE+ON 'Speech Hill'	Smith 1937: 116
Spelgate	SPG-1	North	Assembly-attesting place-name	OE+ON 'Speech Road'	Allison 2011: 35-6
Weapontake Stone	WEAP-1	North	Assembly-attesting place-name	Wapentake Stone?	No Published Solution

Table 14 - Hybrid, debatable and miscellaneous linguistic groupings in the assembly names of Yorkshire

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