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Early ecclesiastical organization:: the evidence from North-east Yorkshire

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Abstract

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Early Ecclesiastical Organisation: the Evidence from North-east Yorkshire

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The aim of this thesis is to discover how parishes evolved in North-east Yorkshire. It seeks the origin of the parish system in the 7th century with the establishment of *monasteria* in accordance with the theory, the 'minster' hypothesis, that these were the minsters of the Middle Ages and the ancient parish churches of today. The territory of the *monasterium*, its *parochia*, was that of the secular royal *vill*, because kings granted these lands with the intention that monasteries provided pastoral care to the royal *vill*. The *parochia* fragmented in later centuries into parishes through the building of private or proprietary churches or *Eigenkirchen*. This thesis, therefore, looks for answers to three main questions (i) were *monasteria* centres of pastoral care and performing the function of later parochial churches, (ii) were the territories of *monasteria* coterminous with the secular land units, and can these be recreated using later manorial boundaries, and (iii) were these *monasteria* superior mother churches during the Middle Ages and distinct from other churches in the area? The study area comprises the *monasteria* of Whitby, Hackness and Lastingham, and compares these to the non-monastic site of Pickering, which may have been the site of a secular 'minster'. It was concluded that there is no evidence that the *monasteria* provided pastoral care as part of their function and that their *parochiae* cannot be recreated using later manorial boundaries, i.e. those from *Domesday Book*. They were not superior churches in the later Middle Ages. However, Pickering was a superior church but the extent of its early medieval territory cannot be recreated from *Domesday Book*. An alternative view regarding the development of parishes in the area was proposed, which suggested that the bishop, influenced by the church benefactor, based the parish boundaries around township boundaries.

Early Ecclesiastical Organization:

The Evidence from North-East Yorkshire

by

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University of Durham

Department of History

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List of Maps

Abbreviations

Ceolfrith	'The Anonymous Life of St. Ceolfrith, Abbot of Jarrow' in *EHD*, 758-70.
Corpus v. 3	Lang, James. *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, v. 3, York and Eastern Yorkshire* (Oxford: for British Academy by Oxford Univ. Press, 1991)
Corpus v. 7	Lang, James. *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, v. 7, Northern Yorkshire* (Oxford: for British Academy by Oxford Univ. Press, 2001)
DB	*Domesday Book* (ed. J. Morris, Yorkshire, v. 30 in 2 parts, ed. by Margaret L. Faull and Marie Stinson, Chichester: Phillimore, 1986)
DBB	Frederic William Maitland. *Domesday Book and Beyond: Three Essays in the Early History of England* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1987)
Eddius	*The Life of Bishop Wilfrid by Eddius Stephanus, Text, Translation, & Notes*, Bertram Colgrave (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1927)
EHD, I	*English Historical Documents I, c. 500-1042*, ed. D.W. Whitelock (1955; 2nd ed. London: Eyre Methuen, 1979)
EYC	*Early Yorkshire Charters, v. 1*, ed. W. Farrer (Edinburgh: Ballantyne, Hanson, 1914)
Gregory	*The Earliest Life of Gregory the Great, by an Anonymous Monk of Whitby, text, translation, & notes*, Bertram Colgrave (Lawrence: Univ. of Kansas, 1968)
HAB	Bede, 'Lives of the Abbots of Wearmouth and Jarrow' in *The Age of Bede*, ed. and trans. D.H. Farmer (London: Penguin, 1998), 187-210.
HE	Bede, *The Ecclesiastical History of the English People, The Greater Chronicle, Bede's Letter to Egbert*, ed. J. McClure and R. Collins (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1994)
Taxatio Nicholai	*Taxatio Ecclesiastica Angliæ et Walliæ, Auctoritate P. Nicholai IV, circa A.D. 1291* (London, 1802)
VA	*Vita Sancti Cuthberti Anonyma* in *Two Lives of Saint Cuthbert: A Life by an Anonymous Monk of Lindisfarne and Bede's Prose Life, texts, translation and notes*, Bertram Colgrave (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1940), 61-139.
VP	*Bedae Vita Sancti Cuthberti* in Colgrave, op. cit. 142-307.
Whitby Chartulary	*Catularium Abbathiæ de Whiteby, Ordinis S. Benedicti, Fundatæ Anno MLXXVIII, v. 1-2*, ed. J.C. Atkinson, Surtees Society, 69, 72 (Durham, 1878, 1881)

1 – Introduction

Aim

The aim of this thesis is to discover how parishes evolved in North-east Yorkshire. It seeks the origin of the parish system in the 7th century with the establishment of *monasteria* in accordance with the theory, the 'minster' hypothesis, that these were the minsters of the Middle Ages and the ancient parish churches of today. The territory of the *monasterium*, its *parochia*, was that of the secular royal *vill*, because kings granted these lands with the intention that monasteries provided pastoral care to the royal *vill*. The *parochia* fragmented in later centuries into parishes through the building of private or proprietary churches or *Eigenkirchen*. This thesis, therefore, looks for answers to three main questions (i) were *monasteria* centres of pastoral care and performing the function of later parochial churches, (ii) were the territories of *monasteria* coterminous with the secular land units, and can these be recreated using later manorial boundaries, and (iii) were these *monasteria* superior mother churches during the Middle Ages and distinct from other churches in the area?

Study Area

The thesis examines the three monastic sites known to have existed in the 7th century. They are Whitby[1], Hackness and Lastingham and for comparison a site without a known *monasterium*, Pickering, which was land of the king at the time of the Domesday inquest and therefore might be the framework for ecclesiastical *parochiae*. On the basis[2] that each of these ancient ecclesiastical centres and the royal estate may have

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[1] Bede recorded that Hild's double monastery was at Streanæshalch which Simeon of Durham, *History of the Kings of England* (reprint) (Lampeter: Llanerch, 1987), 145, identified as Whitby, [A.D. 1074]; see also Alan Thacker, 'Monks, preaching and pastoral care in early Anglo-Saxon England' in *Pastoral Care before the Parish*, ed. by John Blair and R. Sharpe (Leicester: Leicester Univ. Press, 1992), 143 n. 32.

[2] See below for a summary of the 'minster hypothesis' that links the monastic estate with a *regio*.

been the focus of a large *regio*, the study area was determined to encompass Skelton, Whitby, Scarborough and Helmsley (see also fig. 1). It was expected by researching the history of the parishes surrounding the *monasteria* for evidence to support the theory that the extent of the early medieval *parochiae* of these *monasteria* could be found.

The study area presents special problems in that the *monasteria* at Whitby, Hackness and Lastingham are known to have existed in the second half of the 7th century and were described in contemporary accounts in the early 8th century[3] but no further documents have survived for them, although Whitby is thought to have continued in existence into the late 9th century according to later sources.[4] This means that until *Domesday Book*, which recorded the area's estate structure in the second half of the 11th century, there are no documentary sources for the intervening 350 years. The region as a whole, including Pickering, is characterised by its lack of sources for the pre-conquest period. However, the study area is examined in light of recent research into estate structure, land holding and territorial organization, *Eigenklöster*, *Eigenkirchen*, and ecclesiastical organization in other parts of the country[5]. In addition, the area has a number of other churches with significant collections of Anglian and Viking stone sculpture[6], which indicates that a network of churches, maybe other *monasteria*, *Eigenkirchen* or maybe dependencies of these *monasteria*, are likely to have existed in the early medieval

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[3] The section on documentary sources describes these in detail.

[4] *Whitby Abbey, v.1,* 1 Ingwar and Ubba devastated the monastery and Symeon mentioned that it was destroyed in the 9th century; later historians have associated this with the Danish raids of York, *ASC* s.a. 867, 869 and have dated the monastery's destruction to 867; John Burton, *Monasticon Eboracense and the Ecclesiastical History of Yorkshire* (York, 1758), 69; J.C. Atkinson, 'Introductory chapters' in *Whitby Abbey, v.1,* xx; George Young, *A History of Whitby, and Streoneshalh Abbey; with a statistical survey of the vicinity* (Whitby, 1817) 2 v.

[5] For example the studies by the contributors in John Blair, ed., *Minsters and Parish Churches: the local church in transition, 950-1200* (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Committee for Archaeology, 1988); also D.M. Hadley, *The Northern Danelaw: its social structure, c. 800-1100* (Leicester: Leicester Univ. Press, 2000); John Blair, *Anglo-Saxon Oxfordshire* (1994); John Blair, *Early Medieval Surrey: landholding church and settlement before 1300* (1991).

[6] James Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture* (Oxford: for British Academy by Oxford Univ. Press, 1991-2001) v. 3, York and Eastern Yorkshire, v. 6 Northern Yorkshire; David Stocker and Paul Everson, ' Five towns funerals: decoding diversity in Danelaw stone sculpture' in *Vikings and the Danelaw,* ed. James Graham-Campbell et al. (Oxford: Oxbow, 2001), 223-43.

Study Area (fig. 1)
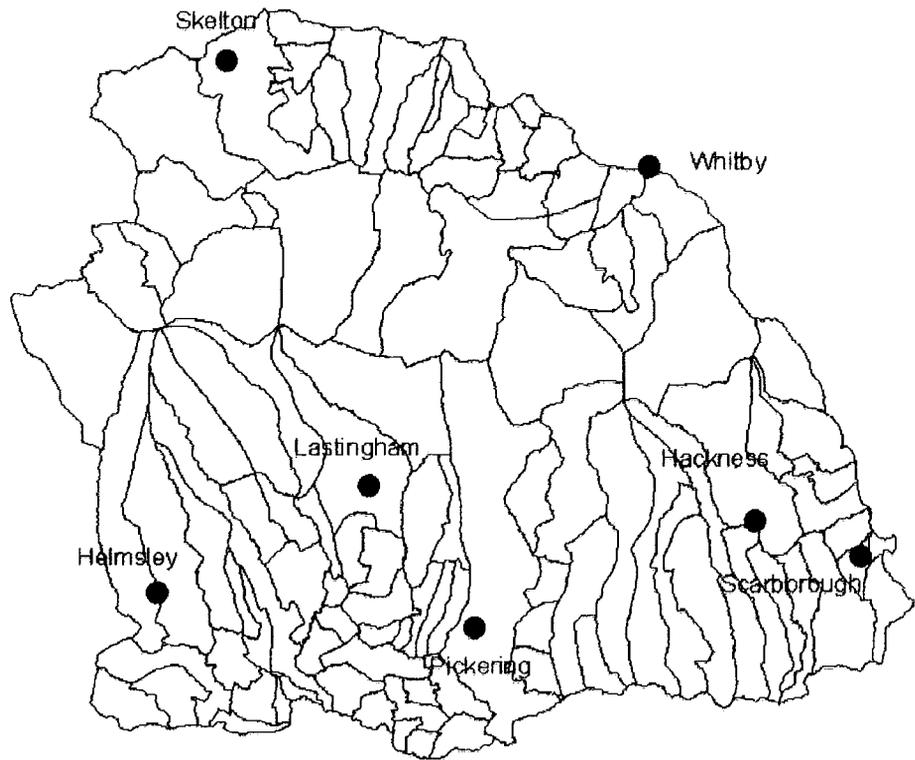
Township boundaries based on
1817 map of the County of York
by C. Greenwood

period[7]. These churches are Easington, Lythe, Hawsker, Ellerburn, Levisham, Middleton, Kirby Misperton, Sinnington, Kirby Moorside and Kirkdale. The distribution of these churches is analysed with regard to the location of the *monasteria* and territorial organization. It is hoped that this approach will add to an understanding of the development of the parochial system in North-east Yorkshire.

Research Context

Minster Hypothesis

A brief description of the minster hypothesis and some of the salient points of its critics suffice to bring the subject into context for this thesis. The 'minster' hypothesis was first promulgated by F.M. Stenton in 1936[8] and later in his book, *Anglo-Saxon England*, in which he wrote that :

> 'The word *mynster* is the Old English form of the Latin *monasterium*, and there is no doubt that many ancient parish churches actually represent early monasteries which have disappeared without trace. The missionary impulse was strong in early English monasticism, and the foundation of a monastery was a natural means of spreading Christianity among a backward people. ... it should not be assumed that the description of a community as a *monasterium* necessarily means that its members were monks. ... So far as can be seen, the earliest English parishes were large districts served by clergy from a bishop's *familia*, grouped round a central church.'[9]

During the last twenty years, the 'minster hypothesis' has been refined to a model that argues that *monasteria* or 'minsters' were the primary institutions for providing pastoral care in early medieval England. The main proponent of this hypothesis, John Blair, has suggested that 'seventh- or eighth-century *monasteria* or "minsters" [were] staffed by pastorally active religious communities, and ...that a network of "minster parishes" was established in each of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms within two or three generations of

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[7] The existence of sculpture does not prove that a church stood in this location but can be taken to show high probability.
[8] David Rollason, 'Monasteries and society in early medieval Northumbria' in *Monasteries and Society in Medieval Britain*, ed. Benjamin Thompson (Stamford: Paul Watkins, 1999), 60.
[9] F.M. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 3rd ed. (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1971), 148-9.

conversion.'[10] These 'minsters' were identified as 'superior or "mother" churches which exerted control over groups of lesser churches from the eleventh century onwards, and which had probably once served great "proto-parishes" (...parochiae...) from which the parishes of the lesser churches were formed.'[11] The territory of the 'minster,' its *parochia*, was coterminous with that of the royal *vill* since it was the king who founded the 'minster' and supported the aim of pastoral care in his kingdom.[12] In succeeding centuries, as the laity established its own private churches, or *Eigenkirchen*, the *parochia* fragmented into parishes based on the lord's manorial estate.

Critique of Minster Hypothesis

Stenton's assertion and this model have been criticised because succeeding scholars have accepted this hypothesis without questioning even 'Stenton's admission that "no records of these communities have survived".'[13] The model also makes the assumption 'that pastoral care was characteristic of "minsters", and hence, by implication of central importance in the early Anglo-Saxon church. But pastoral care was and is primarily the concern of the episcopate.'[14] It was the bishop, in charge of his diocese, who was responsible for pastoral care of the laity and not the monastery. It was the achievement of the late 7th-century archbishop of Canterbury, Theodore, to establish dioceses throughout England and to install the bishops and this process continued into the 8th century with the institution of the archbishopric of York.[15] The primary role of the bishop and the ecclesiastical unit of the diocese in providing pastoral care was clearly

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[10] John Blair and Richard Sharpe, eds., *Pastoral Care Before the Parish* (Leicester: Leicester Univ. Press, 1992), 2-3.
[11] Ibid., 2.
[12] John Blair, 'Introduction: from minster to parish church' in *Minsters and Parish Churches: the local church in transition, 950-1200*, ed. by John Blair (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Committee for Archaeology, 1988), 1-19.
[13] Rollason, 'Monasteries and society', 60.
[14] Eric Cambridge and David Rollason, 'Debate: the pastoral organization of the Anglo-Saxon Church: a review of the "Minster Hypothesis"' *Early Medieval Europe* 4 (1995), 87-104 at 92; see also Rollason, 'Monasteries and society', 59-74.
[15] Rollason, 'Monasteries and society', 74.

emphasised by Bede in his letter to Egbert, archbishop of York in 734, where Bede recommended that Egbert should ordain more priests and establish more bishoprics making use of existing *monasteria* for the location of new episcopal sees. However, he did not imply that the *monasterium* or its monks were engaged in pastoral activity; this was retained by the bishop and his priests.[16] The ecclesiastical organisation into parishes can be traced on the continent following the reforms first instituted by the Carolingian rulers in the 8th and 9th centuries that increased the religious standards of the laity and revived the structure of dioceses. One of the key elements in this was the imposition of tithes to sustain the local church supported by secular laws. The population that paid these tithes had to know to which church the payment was made so the area had to be defined and was called its *terminum*.[17] Similar reforms were made in England in the 10th century with the introduction of compulsory payment of tithes and reform of pastoral care to the laity.[18] These reforms were the work of late Anglo-Saxon leaders of both church and state and showed a purposeful method to Church organisation that is contrary to 'the suggestion of the "Minster Hypothesis" that the structure of the late Saxon church at local level was largely produced by a process of disintegration: in other words that earlier large parishes mainly disintegrated as aristocratic or manorial churches were founded within them and usurped their rights and revenue.'[19]

One of the key elements of the 'minster hypothesis' is the equation of *parochia* and royal *vill*. However, these were two units serving different purposes. Even if we

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[16] Ibid., 63-4.

[17] Cambridge and Rollason, 'Debate', 97-8.

[18] Ibid., 98-9.

[19] Ibid., 99; see also Catherine Cubitt, 'Pastoral care and conciliar canons: the provisions of the 747 Council of Clofesho' in *Pastoral Care before the Parish*, 193-211 and *Anglo-Saxon Church Councils c.650-c.850* (Leicester: Leicester Univ. Press, 1995) for the role of the archbishops and bishops in determining church policies.

understand the term *parochia*[20] we cannot be certain that both terms described the same

area and whether they were defined as a geographically coherent territory. The term

manor is added when describing the fragmentation of the *parochia*, equating manorial

estate and parish. However, a distinction should be made between these words to avoid

confusing secular administrative (*vill* and *regio*), economic (manor) and ecclesiastical

(parish) units. Although the boundaries of these units coincided in many instances, they

did not represent the same concept. The secular vill and ecclesiastical parish boundaries

appear to have been stable[21] but D.M. Hadley has shown[22] that manorial boundaries

were subject to new grants of land or confiscation and, therefore, were not fixed over

time. She advised caution when using evidence of manorial estates from late sources to

recreate parish boundaries since the estate may have acquired land shortly before the

records were written.

Dawn Hadley has made other points that question the applicability of the 'minster

model' for the Danelaw; that the Scandinavian settlements were a factor in the shape of

the Church but also the policies of the West Saxon kings and that 'lack of episcopal

control ... [deprived] local churches of episcopal support, and [allowed] secular lords to

exert unusual influence over ecclesiastical organization.'[23] Richard Morris has found

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[20] The term *parochia* was first used in Rome during the first three to four centuries to describe the community of Christians in a city presided over by a bishop with his church; it was therefore not a geographically defined area. During the fourth and fifth centuries, Christianity spread beyond the city into the countryside with bishops in the lead role, preaching, baptising and building churches. However, the bishop's sphere of influence was not divided into geographical areas, nor was a church built for centres of population. The word parish came to be used to denote individual country churches or all churches in the country. At this time, *diocese* appeared in the ecclesiastical terminology, adapted from Roman civil administration to describe the unit between province and prefecture, and applied sometimes to whole areas of city and country districts governed by a bishop or to country districts or individual churches only. 'Only from the ninth century onwards, did the words *parish* and *diocese* begin to be used exclusively in the modern way.' G.W.O. Addleshaw, *The Beginnings of the Parochial System*, 2nd ed. (York: St. Anthony's Press, 1959), 4-11, esp. 7.
[21] *DBB*, 13.
[22] Hadley, *The Northern Danelaw*, 'Conquest, colonization and the church: ecclesiastical organization in the Danelaw' *Historical Research* 69 (169) (1996), 109-28; 'Multiple estates and the origins of the manorial structure of the northern Danelaw' *J Hist. Geography* 22 (1) (1996), 3-15.
[23] Hadley, 'Conquest, colonization and the church', 128.

that the 'minster model' can be applied to, for example, Pocklington and Pickering[24] but

an examination of the distribution of churches in Yorkshire discovered that the location

of *monasteria* founded in the 7th and 8th centuries and the extent of their *parochiae*

precludes a systematic establishment of pastoral care for the region.[25] Eric Cambridge's

analysis of early churches in County Durham[26] has found clusters of Anglo-Saxon

churches that form a pattern of monastic sites with nearby dependencies and the

resultant implications for parochial development. These arguments are taken into

consideration in this thesis.

Research Plan

This thesis takes the approach that theories and deductions based on evidence from

other parts of the British Isles and continental Europe can be applied to North-east

Yorkshire. Therefore, secondary sources are examined to explain the development of

the parochial system in the study area for which primary sources are lacking. Also, this

lack of material means that information is included even if the result is a negative

conclusion. The main sections of the thesis are divided into three chapters, being

'Monasteries and pastoral care in the pre-Viking period' (chapter 2), 'Parishes as the

successors of minster territories' (chapter 3), and 'Monasteries as mother-churches'

(chapter 4). The plan for each chapter is outlined below.

2 – Monasteries and Pastoral Care in the pre-Viking Period

This chapter examines the contemporary, i.e. 7th-8th century, evidence for Whitby,

Hackness and Lastingham. It seeks answers to the questions, (i) was pastoral care a

function of one or all of these *monasteria* and (ii) was the territory of the *monasterium*

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[24] Richard Morris, *Churches in the Landscape* (London: Phoenix, 1997), 135, but see also ch. 3, 'Mynster, monasterium', 93-139.

[25] Ibid.,138.

[26] Eric Cambridge, 'The Early church in County Durham: a reassessment' *J Brit. Arch. Assoc.* 137 (1984), 65-85.

its *parochia*, and was this coterminous with that of the secular land unit? The method

used is to study in detail all the information on the three sites. For Whitby, this includes

a review of its status as a double monastery, its role as a centre of learning and the

education of future bishops, and the significance of Caedmon's vision. For Lastingham

and Hackness it means whether a sense of its purpose can be found in the brief accounts

of each. The influence of the *monasteria* within the surrounding area and outside the

immediate region is considered and the extent of the estates that may show them to have

been equivalent to the *parochiae* and therefore coterminous with the *regio*.

The extent of this *parochia* is sought in the cluster of churches with Anglian stone

sculpture. These sites may represent dependencies of the three *monasteria* and may fit

the 'minster' hypothesis that pastoral care was provided from these foundations for

complete coverage of the *parochia*. There are other pre-Conquest churches in these

clusters with Viking stones, which may be proprietary churches built by lay lords from

the 8th century onwards, i.e. *Eigenkirchen*. They are introduced in this chapter because

of the supposition that the building of *Eigenkirchen* caused the disintegration of

parochiae, which is addressed in the next chapter.

Pickering church is mentioned only briefly because there is no evidence for its existence

in the pre-Viking period. It is considered more appropriate to compare it to the early

secular 'minsters' that Eric Cambridge[27] has identified in County Durham and view this

church as part of the 'episcopal process of establishing a system of pastoral care.'[28]

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[27] Cambridge, 'Early church in County Durham', 79-81.
[28] Cambridge and Rollason, 'Debate', 93.

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3 – Parishes as the Successors of Minster Territories

The 'minster' hypothesis supposes that the monastic *parochia* can be recreated on the basis of later manorial boundaries. This chapter seeks to answer two questions, (i) is it the case that manorial boundaries have a relationship to parish boundaries and (ii) can it be assumed that the manorial boundaries extended to the limit of the parish boundaries in preceding centuries. Studies in other parts of England have shown that landholding in the second half of the 11th century when *Domesday Book* was compiled can be used sometimes to find earlier landed estates.[29] Used cautiously, this information may add to the scant sources for the early *monasteria*. *Domesday Book* assigns manors by wapentake and vill, which allows us to see the secular jurisdictional divisions of the 11th century; therefore, the economic and the secular units for the study area can be drawn from *DB*. The ecclesiastical divisions become available in the 13th century[30] giving us parish churches and by implication parishes, and deaneries. The chapter describes the *DB* manors against the early 19th-century[31] secular township boundaries and ecclesiastical parish boundaries for each cluster identified in chapter 2, i.e. Whitby (including Hackness) and Lastingham, and for comparison Pickering, to see if manorial estates were coterminous with the parishes.

4 – Monasteries as Mother-Churches

Whitby, Hackness and Lastingham, and for comparison Pickering, are examined to determine whether they had superior status in the later middle ages as would be expected from the 'minster' hypothesis. This chapter looks for answers to two

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[29] See David Roffe, 'Pre-conquest estates and parish boundaries: a discussion with examples from Lincolnshire' in *Studies in Late Anglo-Saxon Settlement*, ed. Margaret L. Faull (Oxford: Oxford Univ., Dept. of External Studies, 1984), 117-8; but also Hadley who casts doubt on the general applicability of this idea.

[30] *Taxatio Nicholai*. see below under 'Sources' and with the occasional reference in the Archbishops' of York registers (published as Surtees Society volumes 56, 109,114, 123, 128, 138, 141, 145, 149, 151-3).

[31] See below 'Sources' and chapter 3 for the rational of using 19th-century maps.

questions, (i) can the remains of the monastic territories, the *parochia*, be recognized by identifying dependent churches and chapels and (ii) can a reorganized episcopal clergy have produced the pattern, seen in the 11th century, of church and one priest? Plausibility for the latter is enhanced by the *Law of the Northumbrian Priests*. The *Law* is perused for relevance to episcopal organization and hierarchy and the roles of the bishop and priest. The history of diocesan divisions larger than the parish, the archdeaconries and rural deaneries, is given along with boundaries in the study area and the possible meaning for ecclesiastical organization.

The clusters of churches around Whitby, Lastingham and Pickering, identified in chapter 2, are examined with regard to whether there is evidence that these churches were superior or mother-churches in the post-Conquest period. The incidence of stone sculpture is investigated, especially those with larger numbers than the one or two Viking funerary monuments that indicate the memorials to the benefactor of the church. These may denote the burial of a merchant elite from an area larger than the parish.[32] The implications for this theory are discussed.

Sources

The information for North-east Yorkshire is drawn from the following sources. The contemporary early 8th century works that pertain directly to the study area are Bede's *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*,[33] *Two Lives of St. Cuthbert*, one by an anonymous monk of Lindisfarne and another by Bede,[34] and *The Life of Gregory the*

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[32] David Stocker, 'Monuments and merchants: irregularities in the distribution of stone sculpture in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire in the tenth century', in *Cultures in Contact: Scandinavian Settlement in England in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries*, ed. Dawn M. Hadley and Julian D. Richards (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), 179-212.
[33] *HE.*
[34] *VA, VP.*

Great.[35] Despite the last named being a life of the 6th-century pope who initiated the Augustinian mission to England the document reveals details of the monastery at Whitby where it was written. Other sources are indirectly relevant in that they describe monasteries and monastic life in 7th- and 8th-century Northumbria, these are Bede's *Lives of the Abbots of Wearmouth and Jarrow,*[36] and *The Life of Bishop Wilfrid by Eddius Stephanus,*[37] and on the role of the bishop, Bede's *Letter to Egbert.*[38] Although the aim of these works was not to describe contemporary society and monastic life in general, they do reveal a considerable amount of information that was used to describe 7th-century *monasteria* and their estates and in particular the three in the study area. Unfortunately, this is the extent of the contemporary accounts for the study area but later sources are examined supplying additional information.

For comparing the boundaries of manors, townships and parishes, the approach taken was to compile the data on landholding in the 11th century from *Domesday Book,*[39] this being the earliest source for information on manors both immediately before and after 1066. To facilitate the comparisons this data is mapped onto an early 19th century *Map of the County of York*[40] that showed township boundaries, this being the earliest map where these divisions are marked. Identification of townships and parishes is taken from Langdale's *Topographical Dictionary* of 1822[41] that described the contemporary

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[35] *Gregory.*
[36] *HAB.*
[37] *Eddius.*
[38] Bede, 'Letter to Egbert' in *The Ecclesiastical History of the English People, The Greater Chronicle, Bede's Letter to Egbert,* ed. J. McClure and R. Collins (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1994), 343-57.
[39] *DB.*
[40] C. Greenwood, *Map of the County of York, Made on the Basis of Triangles in the County, determined by Lieut. Coll. Wm. Mudge, Royal Art*[y]*. F.R.S. and Capt*[n]*. Tho*[s]*. Colby, Royal Eng*[rs]*. in the Trigonometrical Survey of England, by Order of the Honourable Board of Ordnance, and Surveyed in the Years, 1815, 1816, & 1817* (Leeds: John Hurst & C. Greenwood, 1817), scale of statute miles, 10 (=7¼ ins.), 9 sheets, each 27¼ x 23 ins.
[41] Thomas Langdale, *A Topographical Dictionary of Yorkshire; Contains the Names of all the Towns, Villages, Hamlets, Gentlemen's Seats, &c. in the County of York, Alphabetically Arranged under the Heads of the North, East, and West Ridings; also in what Parish, Township, Wapentake, Division and Liberty they are Situated ...*, 2nd ed. (Northallerton: J. Langdale, 1822)

place-names within their township, parish and wapentake and George Lawton's *Collections Relative to the Churches and Chapels within the Diocese of York*[42]. The use of a map from 1817 is felt to be justified on two grounds, (i) most of the *vills* at the time of Domesday Book were civil parishes in the 19th century 'and in all probability they then had approximately the same boundaries' that they had eight hundred years later[43] and (ii) it preceded the re-organisation of parishes in the mid-19th century while the 1st edition 6" Ordnance Survey maps[44] for the study area were not published until the 1850's and were, therefore, post-dating these changes. However, these Ordnance Survey maps were studied for township boundaries, in particular detached parts of townships that may relate to earlier boundaries.

The primary documentary sources on churches and chapels in the study area consulted are, (i) *Domesday Book*, (ii) *Taxatio Ecclesiastica Angliœ et Walliœ, Auctoritate P. Nicholai IV*[45] dated to 1291, (iii) *Whitby Chartulary*,[46] and (iv) early charters.[47] These texts are important sources in general but their use is limited to evidence specific to this research. Churches and priests documented in *Domesday Book* represent only a partial list but were an important source to point to pre-Conquest churches. The *Taxatio Nicholai* lists parish churches with their taxable values, both the old and the new assessment, and was 'prepared for the purpose of raising taxes ... in order for the church

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[42] George Lawton, *Collectio Rerum Ecclesiasticarum de Diœcesi Eboracensi or Collections Relative to the Churches and Chapels within the Diocese of York* (London: J.G. and F. Rivington; York: H. Bellerby, 1842.
[43] *DBB*, 13.
[44] Ordnance Survey, *1st edition 6" maps, Sheets 8-9, 18-20, 30-33, 44-47, 59-62, 74-77, 89-93, 106-108* (Southampton: Ordnance Survey, 1853-7).
[45] *Taxatio Nicholai*; the *Valor Ecclesiasticus Temp. Henr. VIII, Auctoritate Regia, Institutus. Vol. V* (London, 1825) was consulted but since it did not add any new information, the data originally compiled was excluded from this thesis.
[46] *Whitby Chartulary.*
[47] *EYC.*

to finance a crusade.'[48] Although most parish churches were included none of the chapels were listed separately, at best they are shown as *ecclesia de ... cum capella* or *ecclesia de ... cum capellis*. In addition, there 'was always a degree of uncertainty regarding the status of many churches, and the claims of parishioners might well conflict with the pretensions of the mother church.'[49] However, the document is important for this study because it provides the first systematic list of church, parish and deanery.

The *Whitby Chartulary* includes a list of the chapels given to the Benedictine Abbey after its foundation in 1078 by William Percy and his son.[50] Although there are no specific dates given of these gifts of chapels to the Abbey, it was apparently before the end of the 11th century but there was also no indication as to the date of their origins. Since this account of the Abbey's history was not written until probably the mid-12th century[51] accurate dating of the church and chapels was not possible. However, the *Whitby Chartulary* contains other charters referring to churches and chapels and disputes concerning them that are useful for understanding the difficulties regarding parish development. There are only a few relevant charters extant relating to the study area and these are all dated after the Conquest but are included because of their significance regarding their reference to churches.

The *Law of the Northumbrian Priests*[52] from the early 11th century is the only primary source that relates to the role of the priest and his church. The chapters concerning lay society and the church were excluded since they proscribe mostly pagan practices, this

[48] N.J.G. Pounds, *A History of the English Parish: the Culture of Religion from Augustine to Victoria* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2000), 83-4.
[49] Ibid., 84.
[50] *Whitby Chartulary*, 2-3.
[51] James G. Clark, *The Whitby Abbey Chartulary: a Summary Description* (unpubl. palaeographical report for Friends of Whitby Abbey, November 2001), 1.
[52] 'The Law of the Northumbrian Priests' in *EHD*.

being a topic for a different discussion. The *Law* was studied for information on the church hierarchy and the developing ecclesiastical organisation.

The area presents an interesting enquiry into the examination of the 'minster' hypothesis and seeks to find explanations for the parochial structure as it developed after christianisation and into the later Middle Ages. It is hoped that a detailed analysis of local sources together with evidence from research in other parts of Britain can bring some understanding to the development of the parish system.

2 – Monasteries and Pastoral Care in the Pre-Viking Period

This chapter seeks to find evidence for the 'minster' hypothesis that pastoral care was an integral function of the 7th- and 8th-century *monasteria*. It looks for answers to the supposition that the *monasterium* had a defined territory, its *parochia*, which was coterminous with the secular territory of the *regio* and that the laity building *Eigenkirchen* in succeeding centuries fragmented the *parochia* into the later parish system.

The chapter examines the contemporary early medieval sources for evidence of pastoral care at the *monasteria* of Whitby, Hackness and Lastingham, especially regarding their role in providing pastoral care of the surrounding *regio*. The chapter will interpret the information that is available on the function of each *monasterium* and the territory attached to it to determine whether each had a wider role in a large geographic area, the *parochia*, or was solely focused on a specific estate that had been granted by the king. Other possible monastic sites, i.e. churches where early Anglian stone sculpture has been found, are analysed to see if they can be linked to the known *monasteria* and therefore present a cluster of dependent *monasteria* that fit into a system of pastoral care. Churches with evidence that they existed in the pre-Conquest period are described because they may be the *Eigenkirchen* that the 'minster' model assumes caused the disintegration of the *parochiae*, which resulted in the parish system that could still be seen in the 19th century. A non-monastic site was selected, Pickering, to investigate whether a *parochia* based on the royal *vill* can be recreated.

The Seventh-Century *Monasteria*

Whitby, Hackness and Lastingham are examined to see if they fit into the 'minster' hypothesis that early *monasteria* were centres for priestly activities to provide pastoral

care to the surrounding population. It seeks evidence that the land granted to the founder and successors became its *parochia* and that this was based on secular territory. The following section describes the contemporary, early 8th-century writings on what is known about these *monasteria* to identify their function and whether this function can be interpreted to mean that the *monasteria* provided pastoral care and the extent of the land granted to it.

Whitby

The contemporary sources describe the *monasterium* at Whitby with approving but few words and these are summarised below. There is no direct evidence for pastoral care but a few conclusions can be drawn from these accounts as they are interpreted in the light of research from other areas of the country. The *monasterium* at Whitby, or Streanæshalch as it was known, was founded in 657 with a grant of ten hides from King Oswiu in thanks for victory in the battle against the Mercian King Penda. Hild was brought in from Hartlepool to become abbess of this double monastery, a foundation of men and women. Hild was a great-niece of Edwin, King of Northumbria, of the Deiran royal line, while Oswiu was of the Bernician royal family who was married to Edwin's daughter, Eanflæd, and their daughter, Ælfflæd, was brought up as a nun in the *monasterium* in thanks for Oswiu's victory over Penda. During the next sixty years, the *monasterium* was noted for being the site of the Synod of Whitby, the burial place of kings (Edwin and Oswiu) and many nobles[1], the school where five future bishops were educated, the home of the first English poet, while the abbesses were sought after as advisors to kings. It is clear from Bede's account in his *Ecclesiastical History* that it was a place worthy of praise and admiration. The Synod of Whitby took place in 664, during the reign of Oswiu, to discuss the correct calculation for the date of Easter and

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[1] *HE* iii, 24.

the use of the Roman tonsure, with the outcome that Northumbrian monasteries followed the guidelines preferred by Rome.[2] It is not known whether the endowment of ten hides was enlarged during the years before or after the Synod but in 664 Whitby had the infrastructure to host such a conference attended by a large number of people.

The Double Monastery and Pastoral Care

There is very little known about how the *monasterium* at Whitby was organized and divided between the male and female element. As with many other double monasteries in England, an Abbess who was a member of the royal family headed the house.[3] The English double monasteries were influenced by those established in Gaul and the example of Hild is instructive because she was leaving for Chelles when Aidan recalled her to Northumbria and the monastic life in the North.[4] The study by Dom Hilpisch[5] has shown that most double monasteries in Gaul were founded as female monasteries but became double houses, regardless of whether the founders were men or women. The land granted for their foundation appears to have been in the founding family's possession, e.g. Romarich founded Remiremont *in propria* and he and his successors retained influence as abbot, and Burgundofara built her nunnery *supra paternum solum* and Sadalberga *in hereditate paterna* and similar conditions existed in Nivelles and Chelles. The last four *monasteria* all had abbesses at the head of their institutions.[6] Although during the 7th and 8th centuries these double monasteries included monks and

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[2] *HE* iii, 24-25.

[3] Mayr-Harting, Henry. *The Coming of Christianity to Anglo-Saxon England*, 3rd ed. (University Park: Pennsylvania State Univ. Press, 1991) 151-2.

[4] *HE* iii, 23; however it seems unlikely that Hild would have intended to go to Chelles in the 640's because this monastery was not founded or restored by Balthildis until 660, see 'Explanatory Notes' in *HE*, 407; on double monasteries see Patrick Sims-Williams, *Religion and Literature in Western England, 600-800* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1990), 119-25.

[5] For a comparative study of double monasteries in Western Europe and their origins in the Near East see P. Stephanus Hilpisch, *Die Doppelklöster: Entstehung und Organisation* (Münster: Aschendorffschen Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1928) esp. 25-52; see also D.B. Schneider, *Anglo-Saxon Women in the Religious Life: a Study of the Status and Position of Women in the Early Mediaeval Society* (unpubl. PhD dissertation, Cambridge Univ., 1985), which I have not read.

[6] Hilpisch, *Die Doppelklöster*, 42.

nuns, by the 9th century monks were replaced by canons and the double monasteries disappeared.[7]

The double monasteries founded in England from the middle of the 7th century onwards were established as nunneries with a serving male convent under the rule of abbesses. These women were the decision makers, they oversaw education and learning, chose the entrants, cared for their souls and disciplined the members of the monastery. Despite this unity, monks and nuns were strictly separated and interaction limited and supervised, the monks serving as priests or in roles that supported the daily activities of the *monasterium* as an economic estate. Although priests were an important element in the double monastery, the male convent was most likely to consist of monks and not canons.[8] The fact that Whitby had a resident bishop after 685, to which Alan Thacker attaches such importance to the issue of pastoral care of Whitby's *parochia*,[9] may be better explained as offering Trumwine a place of retirement after Ecgfrith's defeat by the Picts, which meant his withdrawal from the see of Abbercorn. It can be supposed that Trumwine may have been given a role in teaching and training rather than that he preached to the *parochia*. Dom Hilpisch was of the view that the male element of the *monasterium* consisted of brothers, for example those that accompanied Hild and Ælfflæd on their travels, and that rising to the priesthood was an honour not accorded to everyone, which was the reason that Bede mentioned 'that there might be no difficulty in finding many there who were fitted for holy orders, that is, for the service of the altar.'[10] From the foregoing then, there is no indication that the double monastery had

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[7] Ibid., 43-4.
[8] Ibid., 46-7.
[9] Alan Thacker, 'Monks preaching and pastoral care in early Anglo-Saxon England' in *Pastoral Care before the Parish*, eds. John Blair and Richard Sharpe (Leicester: Leicester Univ. Press, 1992), 149.
[10] Hilpisch, *Die Doppelklöster*, 49 and *HE* iv, 23; see also Thacker, 'Monks, preaching and pastoral care', 138..

the function of pastoral care inherent to the institution and the example of Whitby does

not add anything contrary to the findings.

The Centre of Learning

Bede accorded Hild respect in the management of the *monasterium* when he wrote that

'[S]he established the same Rule of life as in the other monastery, teaching them to

observe strictly the virtues of justice, devotion, and chastity and other virtues too, but

above all things to continue in peace and charity.'[11] Hild supervised the study and

learning with the result, as was mentioned above, that many became priests, and five of

those became bishops. Four became bishops of York, Dorchester and Hexham and one

went to Canterbury and Rome but did not become attached to a particular see.[12] There

is no evidence whether this school admitted scholars from the local area only or that

they came from a wider Christian community. It is apparent from the example of the

five bishops that the priests who were associated with the *monasterium* were educated

to serve further afield, possibly having been brought to the notice of visiting kings or

queens just as Wilfrid had been sponsored by Eanflæd[13]

The standard of education may not have been as high as that at Jarrow. Colgrave's[14]

analyses of *The Earliest Life of Gregory the Great* written at Whitby in the early 8th

century found that the author was unfamiliar with many works that were known to have

been collected at Jarrow and that his knowledge of Latin was not as good as Bede's,

though this may be merely a reflection of 'his own lack of ability'[15] than that of his

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[11] Bede HE iv, 23; see also Peter Hunter Blair, 'Whitby as a centre of learning in the seventh century' in *Learning and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England: Studies presented to Peter Clemoes on the Occasion of his sixty-fifth Birthday*, eds. Michael Lapidge and Helmut Gneuss (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1985), 3-32, esp. 3-9.
[12] *HE* iv, 23.
[13] *HE* v, 19.
[14] Colgrave, *Gregory*, 36-8, 48-9; but see also Patrick Sims-Williams, *Religion and Literature in Western England, 600-800* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1990), 185-6.
[15] Ibid., 36.

teachers. Certainly, there is no mention in the sources of the acquisition of books in Rome that is such a well-known feature of Jarrow and Wearmouth following Benedict Biscop's journeys. Since this work and a letter of introduction written by Ælfflæd for an unnamed abbess on prilgrimage and addressed to Abbess Adola of Pfalzel, near Trier,[16] are the only documents that remain from this monastery it is difficult to judge the educational qualifications of its students, but five of these students did achieve high ecclesiastical office with a sixth being a candidate but dying before he could be consecrated.[17] It is not known to which places the numerous priests were destined but it seems unlikely to be only locally. There is here no sense of Whitby being a *monasterium* that limited its vision to its territory or *parochia*.

Cædmon

The story of Cædmon[18] has a number of points that throw some light on the *monasterium*. Cædmon was an estate worker who started to compose religious poetry in English following a dream (in a cattle byre). On informing his master, the reeve, of his newly acquired skill, he was taken to the abbess who enrolled him into the community of brothers. He needed interpreters to instruct him in religious history and the Scriptures to create songs and poetry from what he had learned. The name, Cædmon, is of British origin[19] so points to the survival of the British in the area around Whitby. He worked on the estate and did not have direct access to the monastic community or abbess but must have been exposed to some religious tuition to enable him to compose the first song about the creation story in a dream. However, whether it means that he was a British Christian or that he had been converted recently and was

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[16] P.H. Blair, 'Whitby as a centre of learning', 29-30.
[17] *HE* iv, 23.
[18] *HE* iv, 24; see also extensive notes in Charles Plummer, *Venerabilis Baedae* (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1896), v. 2, 248-258; P.H. Blair, 'Whitby as a centre of learning', 22-5.
[19] J.M. Wallace-Hadrill, *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People: a Historical Commentary*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988,165.

under the care of priests from the *monasterium* cannot be ascertained. Once part of the community, he was taught orally and memorised the stories that he then turned into poetry. His death took place in the infirmary. It is clear from the story that the estate workers were separate from the monastic community, having their own social life and entertainment. They lacked education and it was rare for a worker to cross over into religious life. However, Hild and others immediately recognised the value of English religious songs in Christian teaching to a population ignorant of Latin. How extensively these songs were used in succeeding decades or how far they spread geographically is not known since Bede is the only source for this story and one remaining poem.

The Estate and the *Parochia*

The 'minster' hypothesis equates the extent of the monastic territory with its *parochia* and with that of a royal *vill*. Contemporary evidence for the monastic estate of Whitby is scant but a few references to it are examined. The estate was alluded to a second time[20] during a visit from Cuthbert to dedicate a church. The story of Cuthbert's vision during the visit was recounted in both versions of his *Life*.[21] Shortly before his death in 687, Cuthbert was visiting a place in his diocese named *Osingadun*, meeting with the abbess Ælfflæd the day before dedicating a church there. During the feast, he had a vision of the death of one of her 'servants of God' from her *familia*, upon which Ælfflæd sent a messenger back to her *monasterium* for further details. There, none of the brethren had died but upon enquiry 'they heard that one of the brethren in the shepherd's huts had fallen down from the top of a tree and was dead, all his bones being broken.'[22] The messenger returned the next day and arrived during the dedication ceremony and mass and Cuthbert's vision was confirmed to him. There are a few

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[20] See the paragraph on Cædmon above.
[21] *VA* iv, ch. 10; *VP* ch. 34; see also Eric Cambridge, 'Early church in County Durham', 74, 84.
[22] *VA* iv, ch. 10.

differences in the story told by Bede and the Anonymous Monk of Lindisfarne who added that Cuthbert had been on a tour of his diocese but was travelling outside the see's boundaries when he visited an estate belonging to Ælfflæd's monastery for a meeting with her and to dedicate a church. After Cuthbert's vision, a messenger was sent back to the *monasterium*. On his return to Ælfflæd he met 'some men bearing the body of a dead brother ... one of the shepherds'[23] and this he reported back.

The estate at *Osingadun* is unidentified but it has been suggested that it might be Lythe with its church dedicated to St. Oswald and a significant collection of carved stones.[24] The shortest distance between Lythe and Whitby is about four miles using the road going along the beach at low tide between Sandsend and Whitby, the alternative is via Dunsley and therefore much longer. High tide might be the explanation that the messenger had to return the next day. It seems unlikely that the messenger would meet those people carrying the body of the shepherd on either road since the surrounding land is used mostly for agriculture. The dedication to St. Oswald presents a further difficulty. David Kirby has speculated that Wilfrid and the monks of Hexham promoted the cult of St. Oswald in opposition to Oswiu and his descendants who had expelled him from the country.[25] Ælfflæd, Oswiu's daughter, headed Whitby when Cuthbert dedicated the church of *Osingadun*. Her mother, Eanflæd, Edwin's daughter, may or may not have been alive at this time.[26] Æthelburh, her mother and Edwin's wife, had left Northumbria for Kent with her children after Edwin's death and did not return

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[23] *VP* ch. 34.
[24] Eric Cambridge, 'Archaeology and the cult of St. Oswald in pre-conquest Northumbria' in *Oswald: Northumbrian King and to European Saint*, ed. Clare Stancliffe and Eric Cambridge (Stamford: Paul Watkins, 1995),140-3; and 'Early church in County Durham', 74.
[25] D.P. Kirby, 'Northumbria in the time of Wilfrid' in *Saint Wilfrid*, ed. D.P. Kirby quoted in David Rollason, *Saints and Relics in Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1989), 113-4.
[26] Eanflæd was alive in 685 when Ecgfrith was defeated by the Picts and Trumwine retired to Whitby where 'Ælfflæd presided over the monastery with her mother' *HE* iv, 26.

during Oswald's reign because she feared King Oswald.[27] These events could have influenced the daughter at an impressionable age.[28] Lythe's identification with *Osingadun* should not be accepted without questioning the politics of dedication in 7th-century Northumbria,[29] although, of course, the dedication may be of much later date. *Osingadun* needs to be looked for somewhere else but within a short distance of Whitby.

The extent of Whitby's territory is sought by examining the original grant to the *monasterium* of 10 hides; there is nothing known of an increase to this grant during the succeeding decades. Compared to other foundations, such as those of Benedict Biscop in Wearmouth and Jarrow[30] and Wilfrid's at Selsey[31], Whitby's grant was insignificant. There is an anomaly between the *monasterium* supporting a group of nuns and monks, although of unknown number, a teaching centre and the host site for the Synod of 664 with an estate of only 10 hides. Further difficulties arise when trying to comprehend what a charter granting 10 hides meant. The issue has been debated for over a hundred years and some of the reasoning helps to understand this. The hide is usually thought to mean an area that could support one family.[32] Maitland[33] examined it as a unit of measurement and concluded that it was 120 acres. Either as a fiscal unit or the land of one family, the acreage would be variable depending on the land's productivity. It is of interest that early charters gave away the land to monasteries in units of five or ten hides

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[27] *HE* ii, 20.

[28] However, Osthryth, Oswiu's daughter and Ælfflæd's sister, supported the cult of Oswald in Merica when married to King Æthelred, see *HE* iii, 11 and P. Sims-Williams, *Religion and Literature*, 92-3.

[29] See also D. Rollason, 'The Politics of sainthood' in *Saints and Relics*, 105-29.

[30] Ecgfrith gave a grant of 50 hides for the original foundation at Wearmouth in 674 and by the time of Ceolfrith's death in 716, the size of the monastic lands was 150 hides with a population of 600, see *Ceolfrith*, esp. para. 7, 33.

[31] Æthelwealh gave Wilfrid 87 hides at Selsey, see *HE* iv, 13.

[32] J.M. Wallace-Hadrill, *Commentary*, 124 explained that Bede did not use the term hide, but to him 'they were simply units of tenure, each theoretically capable of supporting a family and therefore varying according to the yield of the land. They may later have become units of revenue or *feorm*.' see also p. 33.

[33] *DBB*, 357-520.

and they gave whole *vills*. Eric John took the analysis further and said that '[A]s early

as Ine's law we have a provision for a uniform *feorm* to be paid for each ten hides. The

feorm is uniform, so the area which produced it cannot have been.'[34] He continued that

there was no need to define the acreage of a hide since it was variable.

> 'The hide is part of the talk of taxation, and the hidage was determined by the amount of
> *feorm*, the amount of service, a king thought he could reasonably and safely exact from a
> given holding. A study of beneficial hidation in the sources up to and including
> Domesday Book would, I believe, amply confirm that the will of the king, power,
> privilege, and favour, had a great deal more to do with determining the hidage than the
> area of anyone's holding, least of all a peasant's. Once this is conceded, it follows that
> when a land-book talks of granting an estate of x hides, this has nothing to do with
> conveying an estate of y acres, but rather grants power over "men and fields" which
> amongst other things means the right to x hides' worth of *feorm*.'[35]

If a charter did not grant the land, then who owned the land? This issue has been

discussed recently.[36] Susan Reynolds disputes the accepted theory that '[L]and, in fact,

was not "owned" by anyone; it was "held" by superiors in a ladder of "tenures" leading

to the king or other supreme lord.'[37] She continues that '[M]ost historians who write

about feudo-vassalic institutions ... would agree that the lack of distinction between

property and government, as we understand them, formed a significant element in the

character of fiefholding and thus in medieval law and politics in general.'[38] Instead, she

argues that '[B]efore the twelfth century free men expected to hold their land as ... full

property: that is, they held it with what, irrespective of any obligations they owed, they

thought of as full rights,'[39] although these rights would have had some restrictions such

as the rights of his kin who might expect to inherit it or his tenants, including peasant

tenants. The property also carried obligations to taxation or services that reduced the

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[34] Eric John, *Land Tenure in Early England: a Discussion of some Problems* (Leicester: Leicester Univ. Press, 1964), 30.
[35] Ibid., p. 31.
[36] Susan Reynolds, *Fiefs and Vassals : the Medieval Evidence Reinterpreted* (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1994) and D.M. Hadley, *The Northern Danelaw : its Social Structure, c. 800-1100* (Leicester: Leicester Univ. Press, 2000).
[37] Reynolds, *Fiefs and Vassals*, 51 quoting Harold Berman, *Law and Revolution*.
[38] Reynolds, *Fiefs and Vassals*, 52.
[39] Ibid., 59.

holder's rights in it and that were largely dependent on the holder's status and size of estate. Full property rights should not be confused with 'ownership' or 'absolute property' because these words are a later conceptualisation. The terms used to describe these holdings were alod, *proprium, proprietas* or *hereditas*.[40] At the same time as holding an alod, a free man might also have held land from a king, sometimes as part of his official position in the kingdom, or a church and this was known as a fief or benefice having restricted rights. Most knowledge of these grants has come from church records showing that land was granted on condition that the 'fundamental and ultimate rights of the church to the land were not to be impaired. As a means to this end a fixed term was often imposed on the beneficiary's rights.'[41] This and the examples from Gaul have implications for Whitby. It is possible that the grant of land for 10 families could represent an alod of Hild or Oswiu's family and the alod's boundary need not have any relationship to secular territories.

Other evidence relevant to the hypothesis relates to the territory of the *monasterium* being the *parochia*. This equation is doubtful because it is unlikely that this territory was a contiguous area as can be seen from the example of Wearmouth and Jarrow. The site at Wearmouth was the original foundation from a grant of fifty hides by Ecgfrith in 674 and 'increased either by his gift or that of other kings and nobles'[42] although Bede wrote that Ecgfrith donated seventy hides and instructed Benedict Biscop to build a monastery in honour of St. Peter.[43] In 681/2, the king donated a further forty hides at Jarrow for a *monasterium* dedicated to St. Paul.[44] This site was geographically separate

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[40] Ibid., 53-59.
[41] Ibid., 63.
[42] *Ceolfrith*, 760.
[43] *Life of the Abbots*, ch. 4.
[44] Ibid., ch. 7.

from Wearmouth; the two communities were to act as one,[45] each having an abbot until the time of Ceolfrith who became abbot for both in 688. By the time of Ceolfrith's death in 716, it consisted of 150 hides with a population of 600.[46] This number has recently been explained by the inclusion of monks and estate workers,[47] which is reasonable but then this vast *monasterium* was under-populated if one hide could support one family as is normally accepted.[48] It is also significant that the acquisition of land was a gradual process, as in the case of the three hides purchased from king Aldfrith in exchange for two silk cloaks.[49] It is unlikely that land was granted or bought always adjacent to the two sites. Evidence that properties were not contiguous is from the information that Ceolfrith exchanged eight hides of land 'together with a fair balance of money' by the river Fresca, which had been a purchase from Aldfrith, for a copy of the Cosmographers, 'for twenty hides at a place known locally as the township of Sambuce, because this new plot was nearer the monastery.'[50] The *monasterium* acquired more land from gifts by noblemen who retired there, as the case of Witmer's donation of ten hides in the township of Dalton confirmed.[51] Unfortunately, there are no sources that describe Whitby to such an extent but the above illustrates the complexity of monastic land acquisition over a period of 40 years and leaves doubt that one can equate the territory with the *parochia*.

The foregoing paragraphs on Whitby's estate and land holding in general have emphasised how little information is known about the grant to the monastery. The examples from other areas have helped the writer to try to understand how the term

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[45] Ibid.
[46] *Ceolfrith*, ch. 33.
[47] Sarah Foot, quoted in Thacker, p. 141, as pers. comm.
[48] See also above.
[49] *Life of the Abbots*, ch. 9.
[50] Ibid., ch.15.
[51] Ibid.

'monastic territory' should be interpreted. Was Whitby's monastic estate land *in propria*, as those of some of the double monasteries in Gaul? Did the king grant other benefits? Is it significant that members of the royal family, Edwin and Oswiu, in addition to other nobles and the abbesses, were buried in the church of St. Peter?[52] Alan Thacker has called it 'the *Eigenkloster* of the Deiran royal line'[53] without explaining what he meant by this statement. But did this affect the status of the land grant or the property rights? These questions cannot be answered. The grant of 10 hides at Whitby gave the monastery certain rights that were not specified in the extant sources. This means that to define the area on the ground, either that of the original 10 hides or of a speculative subsequent grant, whether the 10 hides is defined as the nominal amount of land to support 10 families, a specific amount of 120 acres per hide, an alod, or tribute due to the king, leads nowhere and may be irrelevant. In addition, if the grant refers to 'power over men and fields' or dues re-distributed from the king to the monastery rather than a specified area, the 10 hides could be a reference to *feorm* from activities in the port rather than from agricultural produce based on acreage in the surrounding area.[54]

Whitby's Importance

There is no evidence that Whitby was a royal *vill* but certainly the king visited, as in 664, and Oswiu and Edwin were buried there, which suggests a site of importance. However, the *monasterium* itself would have included extensive buildings, including a

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[52] *HE* iii, 24.

[53] Thacker, 'Monks, preaching and pastoral care', 143; for a critical review of the terms *Eigenkirche* and *Eigenkloster*, see Reynolds, *Fiefs and Vassals*, 418-9 where she explained that the understanding of these words arose out of 19th century 'ideas of property and power' and that benefactors exercised control 'more like that of a ruler than an owner'.

[54] Between the foundation of the Benedictine monastery in 1078 and William de Percy's death, he granted the port of Whitby to the Abbey; see *Whitby Chartulary* v.1, 4; Henry II confirmed the grant of the 'seaweed along the strand' to the monks; see *EYC*, II, no. 870 quoted from Janet Burton, *The Monastic Order in Yorkshire, 1069-1215* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1999), 253. Although these events occurred 400 years after the foundation of the Anglo-Saxon monastery, it should be remembered that the port, with fishing and shipbuilding remained an important source of income for the town until the 20th century.

library and one or two schools for novices and secular students,[55] which can be surmised from the education of the monks. Besides the nuns and monks, the *monasterium* must have employed secular workers, to support the activities of the site and already known from the stories of Cædmon and Cuthbert's vision that showed the existence of a reeve and shepherds. The excavations in the 1920's have been described and re-interpreted[56] but reports on the 1990's excavation by English Heritage have not been published yet, although short articles have appeared recently.[57] These found that the Anglian site covered a wider area than that originally excavated and a more extensive site to the south than had been thought. Evidence for a large (11m) Iron Age round-house was found on the east cliff, in addition to further Anglian but few Anglo-Scandinavian finds. The area was also inhabited during the Roman period as represented by finds excavated in the 1920's.[58] This indicates that the area was used for habitation for many centuries although whether it was in continuous use from Iron Age to the 8th-9th centuries and what its status was has not been established. Certainly the lack of comparable Anglo-Scandinavian artefacts is very curious. It leads one to suspect a hiatus on the east cliff until the arrival of Reinfrid and the foundation of the Benedictine Abbey, the remains of which are still visible. This leaves unanswered the question whether Whitby was a royal *vill* and had extensive territory attached to it but is included as background to the site of the *monasterium* and affects continuity of the site,

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[55] Eddius recounts that Wilfrid's school received the sons of secular chiefs to be instructed, see *Eddius*, ch.21.

[56] C.R. Peers and C.A.R. Radford, 'The Anglian monastery of Whitby' *Archaeologia* 89 (1943), 37-88; Rosemary J. Cramp, 'Analysis of the finds register and location plan of Whitby Abbey' in *The Archaeology of Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. David M. Wilson (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1976), 453-7; Philip Rahtz, 'The Building plan of the Anglo-Saxon monastery of Whitby Abbey' in the same volume, 459-62; see also P.A. Rahtz, 'Whitby 1958' *Yorks. Arch. J.* 160 (1962), 604-18.

[57] Buzz Busby, 'Whitby Abbey; an archaeologist's view' in *Whitby Lit. & Phil. Soc. Annual Rep.* 2001, 42-6; Sarah Jennings, Liz Muldowney and Tony Wilmott, 'Archaeology on the East Cliff at Whitby: 2002' in *Whitby Lit. & Phil. Soc. Annual Rep.* 2001, 56-7; attempts to elicit more information from English Heritage failed.

[58] British Museum, Medieval and Later Antiquities Dept. *Whitby Abbey Finds, 8.11.1920-30.5.1928.*

which has implications for the theory that the *monasterium* became a superior church in the Middle Ages.

An examination of the far-ranging activities of Whitby's monastic inhabitants shows that it is important to make a distinction between influence and extent of territory. Patrick Sims-Williams has cited numerous examples where Whitby's influence can be seen in Western England but there appears no link other than individual ties. Ælfflæd's sister, Osthryth, was married to Æthelred, king of Mercia, and there is some speculation that Ælfflæd founded a monastery in that region.[59] Two monks educated at Whitby were destined to be bishops of the Hwicce, Tatfrith, who died before he was consecrated, and Oftfor, who became the second bishop of the Hwicce c. 691-699.[60] Oftfor may also have been the source for references in Worcester in later centuries to Pope Gregory that are first seen in the *Life* written by a monk (or nun) of Whitby.[61] Alan Thacker has recognized Whitby's importance when he wrote that 'the more closely we look at Whitby's position in the diocesse of York, the more anomalous it becomes.'[62] He continued that members of the monastery 'played a crucial role in the career of Wilfrid', hosted the 'crucial synod which settled the Easter calculations' and appears to eclipse York as the diocesan centre in the 7th century.[63] He considered Tatwine's residence at Whitby [he had been bishop of the Picts until 685 when Ecgfrith's military defeat forced his retreat from the see of Abbercorn] significant to providing pastoral care to its *parochia*[64] but there is no evidence that Tatwine had an official position. Alan Thacker recognized that other members of the community were important in the role that Whitby played during these years.

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[59] Sims-Williams, *Religion and Literature*, 92-3.
[60] Ibid., 102-3.
[61] Ibid., 185-90.
[62] Thacker, 'Monks, preaching and pastoral care', 149.
[63] Ibid., 149-50.
[64] Ibid., 149.

Bishops and the *Monasterium*

The association of the bishops with *monasteria* has already been mentioned in the

introduction when outlining the 'minster' hypothesis and in the critique of it, in

particular the views of David Rollason and Eric Cambridge. Pastoral care was the

responsibility of the bishop, as was stressed both by Bede in his *Letter to Egbert* and in

the canons of the Council of *Clofesho* in 747.[65] Where the bishop resided within a

monasterium, as at Lindisfarne, he was specifically separate from the abbot who was

responsible for the monastery.[66] However, it should be noted that king Oswald gave

Aidan 'a place for his episcopal see on the island of Lindisfarne'[67] implying that the

monasterium was established afterwards. Therefore, the case of Lindisfarne was very

different from those other *monasteria* that were not episcopal sees.

Whitby had close relations with a number of bishops; Aidan held Hild in high regard to

have persuaded her to head several *monasteria* in the north, Eanflæd had sponsored

Wilfrid, Ælfflæd met Cuthbert on several occasions to discuss issues of concern[68] and

mediated for Wilfrid in his disputes about the Northumbrian see,[69] in addition to all

those future bishops educated there. However, these appear more to be personal

relationships than matters of pastoral care and the episcopate. Whitby's relationship to

its episcopal see may be more relevant. Though nothing is known, there are several

points to consider :-

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[65] Bede, 'Letter to Egbert' in *The Ecclesiastical History of the English People, The Greater Chronicle, Bede's Letter to Egbert*, ed. J. McClure and R. Collins (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1994), 343-57; C. Cubitt, 'Pastoral care and conciliar canons', 195-7.
[66] *HE* iii, 26.
[67] *HE* iii, 3.
[68] *VP* 24.
[69] *Eddius* ch. 43, ch. 60.

York had been the seat of bishop Eborius in 314 when he is known to have attended the Council of Arles.[70] The fate of the British Christian population in the following three centuries is not known. According to a map by Richard Morris,[71] this area was probably the frontier where pagan and British Christian populations may have co-existed. A possible indicator for the survival of Christianity is the place-name with the element *Eclēs or *eglēs 'a church' from Latin *ecclesia* that may be presented in the village of Egglescliffe on the river Tees, just to the north of the study area, in County Durham.[72] Unfortunately, there is no evidence to associate churches with Roman sites[73] either within a walled city or extramural, especially on or near cemeteries, or the existence of a Roman Christian building with an Anglo-Saxon church[74] that is such a prominent feature in other parts of the country. The hypothetical British Christian population that survived in the 5th and 6th centuries must have had some pastoral provisions as has been shown in the western parts of Britain[75] where Bede made reference to British bishops during Augustine's meeting with them soon after his arrival in Canterbury.[76] Although only bishops were mentioned, the existence of other clergy seems likely. Northern England may also have retained some priests. Therefore, no conclusion can be drawn about an existing British Christian population and the provision of pastoral care prior to and during the 7th-century conversion of the Anglo-Saxons but it is possible that a British Christian framework was in place.

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[70] Richard Morris, *Churches in the Landscape* (London: Phoenix, 1997), 12-13.

[71] Morris, *Churches in the Landscape*, 7.

[72] Kenneth Cameron, 'Eccles in English Place-names' in *Christianity in Britain, 300-700*, ed. M.W. Barley and R.P.C. Hanson (Leicester: Leicester Univ. Press, 1968), 87-92.

[73] For Roman remains at Whitby see above.

[74] John Blair, 'Anglo-Saxon Minsters: a Topographical Review' in *Pastoral Care before the Parish*, ed. John Blair and R. Sharpe (Leicester: Leicester Univ. Press, 1992), 226-66.

[75] This has been extensively researched and described in Steven Bassett, 'Church and diocese in the West Midlands: the transition from British to Anglo-Saxon control,' 13-40, and Huw Pryce, 'Pastoral Care in Early Medieval Wales,' 41-62, both in *Pastoral Care before the Parish*, ed. John Blair and R. Sharpe (Leicester: Leicester Univ. Press, 1992).

[76] *HE* ii, 2.

The see of York was re-established in 625 when Paulinus became bishop and later archbishop[77] but appears to have lapsed upon Edwin's death and Paulinus' departure for Kent in 633. However, it should be remembered that James, the deacon, remained in York after Paulinus' departure and attended the Synod of Whitby.[78] James ministered to parts of the population at least in York and Catterick.[79] King Oswald established a see on Lindisfarne with Aidan as bishop for the Northumbrians and the see of York is not mentioned but with James in Yorkshire and possibly others of the episcopal clergy, they may have continued to administer the area.

Wilfrid was consecrated bishop of York after the Synod of Whitby but his political difficulties meant that he was often absent, having been expelled from Northumbria, and the see was without a bishop during these periods. Alan Thacker has attributed to bishop Tatwine's residence at Whitby after 685 some significance[80] but that is difficult to find and it was Cuthbert who dedicated the church at *Osingadun*, not Tatwine, to whom no official role as former bishop of Abbercorn can be attributed.

The Archbishop of Canterbury between 668 and 690, Theodore, attempted to divide the existing bishoprics at the Synod of Hertford in 672 but was opposed by the bishops who saw their status and income diminished.[81] In due course, these divisions took place on the death or exile of the incumbents, as in the case of Wilfrid of Northumbria. Northumbria eventually had sees also at Ripon, Hexham, and Lincoln (at one time part of the kingdom), in addition to York and Lindisfarne.[82] Considering Whitby's importance and influence during the second half of the 7th century, the question arises

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[77] *HE* ii, 9 and ii, 17.
[78] *HE* ii, 20 and iii, 25.
[79] *HE* ii, 20.
[80] See above section under Whitby's importance.
[81] Henry Mayr-Harting, *The Coming of Christianity to Anglo-Saxon England*, 3rd ed. (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State Univ. Press, 1991),130-5.
[82] Ibid., 132.

why it was not chosen as an episcopal see. Factors other than a suitable *monasterium* must have been considered in Theodore's decision. The diocesan boundaries that resulted from these divisions must have had significance to the ecclesiastical administration but their relationship to secular boundaries is not known.[83]

The implications for pastoral care are that there may have been a framework for ministering to a Christian population based around a pre-7th century episcopate. In the 7th century, despite the absences of the bishops, the episcopal see with its clergy is likely to have continued to ordain priests, consecrate churches and provide pastoral care.

Interim Conclusions

Interpretation of the information about Whitby leads to the conclusion that it was an important *monasterium* with remarkable abbesses at its head in the 7th and early 8th century but gives no indication that it was a centre for pastoral care of a large *parochia*; neither the monastic nor the secular territory can be identified from the foregoing. Its importance lay in the education of priests and bishops and in the role of its abbesses in ecclesiastical policies, such as the Easter calculations and influence over the consecration of bishops.[84]

Hackness

The information about Hackness is examined with regard to the provision of pastoral care from the site as evidenced from the contemporary sources and whether is can be determined to be within the territory of Whitby or separate from it. The Hackness *monasterium* was established shortly before Hild's death in 680, probably for nuns only.[85] Begu, one of the nuns, had a dream of Hild's soul ascending to heaven while in

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[83] I have not researched this question in detail.
[84] Thacker, 'Monks, preaching and pastoral care,' 149-50.
[85] *HE* iv, 23.

the sisters' dormitory; she woke Frigyth, the nun 'who was then presiding over the monastery in place of the abbess ... [and] announced that the Abbess Hild, mother of them all, had departed from this world'.[86] Frigyth called all the sisters together, to pray in the church. When official news of Hild's death arrived the next day, the women announced that they already knew of it. This is the extent of what is known about the *monasterium*.

There is no indication to its affiliation or even subordinate status to Whitby except for the link understood by the statement that Abbess Hild was their mother and that news of Hild's death came from Whitby by messenger the next day.[87] Sarah Foot has investigated the language of such words as *monasterium, coenobium, cella* and *domus* and found that they were used synonymously. These various terms were found in texts but they could not be ascribed to different forms of monasticism before the 10th century Benedictine reforms.[88] No writer used different words to denote 'daughter' or subject houses; they were all described as *monasteria*.[89] Hackness may have had a relationship to Hild that was of similar standing as her other foundations in Hartlepool and on the River Wear, that it was part of a family of her *monasteria* rather than denoting dependent status. Hackness had a church but there is no hint that it provided pastoral care.

Lastingham

The territory of Lastingham and any reference to pastoral care in Bede's account is sought in this part. Oethelwald, King of Deira (651-55?) and son of Oswald granted

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[86] Ibid.
[87] See also Hadley, *The Northern Danelaw*, 246-8 and Cambridge, 'Early church in County Durham', 73-5.
[88] Sarah Foot, 'Anglo-Saxon minsters: a review of terminology' in *Pastoral Care Before the Parish*, ed. John Blair and R. Sharpe (Leicester: Leicester Univ. Press, 1992), 212-25.
[89] Ibid., 220.

land to Cedd, bishop of the East Saxons to found a *monasterium* where he, Oethelwald, might come to pray and be buried.[90] Cedd, a native Northumbrian, chose the site at Lastingham deliberately to be among steep and remote hills on land more suited to robbers and wild beasts, so that 'the fruit of good works shall spring up where once beasts dwelt or where men lived after the manner of beasts.'[91] Cedd spent most of one Lent at the site to cleanse it when he was recalled to the king. One of the three brothers of Cedd, Cynebill, a priest completed the task. Cedd established a rule similar to that of Lindisfarne where he had been educated and he died in 664 in Lastingham of the plague following the Synod of Whitby. He was buried outside the walls until a stone church dedicated to St. Mary was built subsequently and he was re-buried next to the altar.[92] Another brother, Chad, succeeded him as abbot.[93] A fourth brother, Cælin, was the priest who ministered to Oethelwald and his family and who had made Cedd known to Oethelwald.[94]

There are several points to be made relating to pastoral care. Oethelwald asked bishop Cedd of the East Saxons to built a monastery, not the priest Cælin who may have acted as personal chaplain to the royal family or may have had a wider role in a territory that has remained undefined since very little is known about Oethelwald. Neither did a member of the royal family appear to have a role in the foundation or the subsequent administration of the monastery. But Cedd and two of his brothers at least were active in the *monasterium*, giving rise to the thought that it was a family *monasterium*. There is no information on the family of Cedd and his brothers, other than that they were native Northumbrians but they may have been a prominent family considering that four

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[90] *HE* iii, 23.
[91] Ibid.
[92] Ibid.; see also Hadley, *The Northern Danelaw*, 262.
[93] *HE* iii, 23 and iii, 28.
[94] *HE* iii, 23.

brothers had the opportunity to be educated as priests, which Bede comments on as 'a very rare thing to happen'.[95] It was Cedd who chose the site, not the king, and it may have been land associated with his family. Also, Bede referred to Lastingham like a personal *monasterium* when he wrote that 'Bishop Chad ... was then living in retirement in his own monastery of Lastingham'[96] after he had ruled the church of York.[97]

The location of the *monasterium* 'amid some steep and remote hills' seems far from human habitation and hardly likely to be sited to promote pastoral care to a wider population or the centre from which to administer pastorally active priests. However, it attracted monks from other parts of the country. After the death of Cedd, about thirty 'brothers who were in his monastery in the kingdom of the East Saxons ... came from that monastery, wishing to be live near the body of their father'.[98] One of Chad's monks while he was bishop of the Mercians, the monk Oswine 'decided to renounce the world and ... came to the most reverend father's monastery at Lastingham'.[99] It appears that Lastingham did not have dependent status to both Cedd and Chad's other foundations in the kingdom of the East Saxons or in Mercia although the wording 'father's monastery' is reminiscent of the reference to Hackness and Hild as the nun's 'mother'.

Both Cedd and Chad were bishops and abbots at Lastingham but they were without episcopal responsibility in Deira. Chad had been bishop of Northumbria but Wilfrid had always disputed this and it is not certain whether he was abbot at Lastingham at the same time as bishop in York or if his duties were mutually exclusive. Bishops may

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[95] *HE* iii, 23.
[96] *HE* iv, 3.
[97] *HE* v, 19.
[98] *HE* iii, 23.
[99] *HE* iv, 3.

have been very protective of their activities within their sees; this could be seen when Theodore attempted to divide the large episcopal sees and was opposed by the bishops who did not wish their income reduced. There is no indication that either brother exercised pastoral activity while resident at Lastingham.

Interim Conclusions

The information about Hackness and Lastingham from 7th and 8th century sources gives no indication of the size of the monastic estates that were granted to Hild and Cedd respectively. Therefore, nothing can be said about its relationship to secular boundaries, nor is there any evidence for the existence of royal *vills* nearby. Activities relating to the provision of pastoral care cannot be deduced from the descriptions by Bede. Hild's foundation of Hackness as a monastery for nuns cannot be identified for certain as a dependency of Whitby and the relationship or dependent ties of Lastingham to any other monastery is not known either.

Evidence for other Monastic Sites and Early Medieval Churches

This section looks for other possible monastic sites or early churches to see if these fit into a system of pastoral care organized from one of the three *monasteria*. The evidence for these comes mostly from architectural or sculptural stones found in churches in the area on the basis as stated by Eric Cambridge that there are 'close correlations between sites with Anglian sculpture and those with early stone churches on the one hand, and with documented monastic sites on the other'.[100] He ends this early period around A.D. 850.[101] Following his example on the early churches in County Durham, this section examines the location of early churches in North-East Yorkshire for clusters similar to those identified in County Durham. These clusters represent sites where one or more

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[100] Cambridge, 'Early church in County Durham', 69.
[101] Ibid., 66.

monasteria were originally dependencies of another or were independent sites, such as the cluster of Jarrow, Gateshead and South Shields.[102] The evidence is reviewed and interpreted in regard to the provision of pastoral care from sites other than the three known *monasteria* and examines whether they were interconnected in subordinate status and therefore give an indication for the large *parochia* that is a feature of the 'minster' hypothesis. The implications for pastoral care are explored.

There are also churches with sculptural stones from the late 9th-11th centuries that may represent the *Eigenkirchen* of the nobility. According to the 'minster' hypothesis their existence caused the disintegration of large *parochiae*. The term *Eigenkirche* will be defined and how it may have fit into the system of pastoral care. These churches will be classified according to the occurrence of stone sculpture, whether funerary monuments or other stones, and their significance examined with regard to the developing parish scheme. Churches with Viking funerary monuments, which may have existed as *Eigenkirchen* in the pre-Viking period, are considered for the implied burial rights that were likely to have been attached to them and what consequence this had for the final parochial organization.

This part lists the churches with Anglian and Anglo-Scandinavian stones, either architectural or sculptural, based on the descriptions and dating in the *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture*[103] which is the latest publication available and the most comprehensive for all the sites in the study area and, therefore, allows appropriate comparisons to be made. This writer is not making any comments on the artistic qualities or iconographic meanings of the sculpture but is interested in the existence of these pieces in relation to their location and the implications for ecclesiastical

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[102] Ibid., 75-7.
[103] *Corpus, v. 3,* and *Corpus, v. 7.*

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provisions in these early Christian centuries. The reader should consult the *Corpus* for the introduction to the geology, Anglian- and Anglo-Scandinavian-period forms and ornaments, descriptions of the items and the extensive bibliographical references.

Churches with Stones from the 7th to the mid 9th Centuries

The following table should be used in conjunction with the accompanying map (see also fig. 2) for visual impression of the location of early churches that may represent Anglian monastic sites. Similar to Eric Cambridge's findings in County Durham, there are two clusters, one around Whitby that includes Lythe, four miles away,[104] and another around Lastingham that includes Kirkdale (a distance of 4½ miles), Middleton (a distance of 4½ miles) and Sinnington (a distance of 2¾ miles). The inclusion of Ellerburn, Kirby Misperton and Sinnington is problematical because of the presence of 9th century sculpture or later and none from the earlier period. However, if one includes these, another cluster can be identified with Middleton, Kirby Misperton and Ellerburn – the latter two are a distance of 5 miles from each other. Middleton is 3¾ miles from Ellerburn and less than 4 miles from Kirby Misperton, while Sinnington is less than 2½ miles from Middleton. Either there are two overlapping clusters or Ellerburn, Kirby Misperton and Sinnington were not *monasteria*. This leaves Hackness but Eric Cambridge has included Hackness in the Whitby cluster explaining that the distance of 13 miles to Hackness, much further than the four or five miles characteristic of clusters in County Durham, is a feature of the terrain, i.e. high moorland.[105]

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[104] All distances given are 'as the crow flies', i.e. shortest distance on the map between points and not along existing road.
[105] Cambridge, 'Early church in County Durham', 74.

Churches with
Anglian Stone Sculpture (fig. 2)
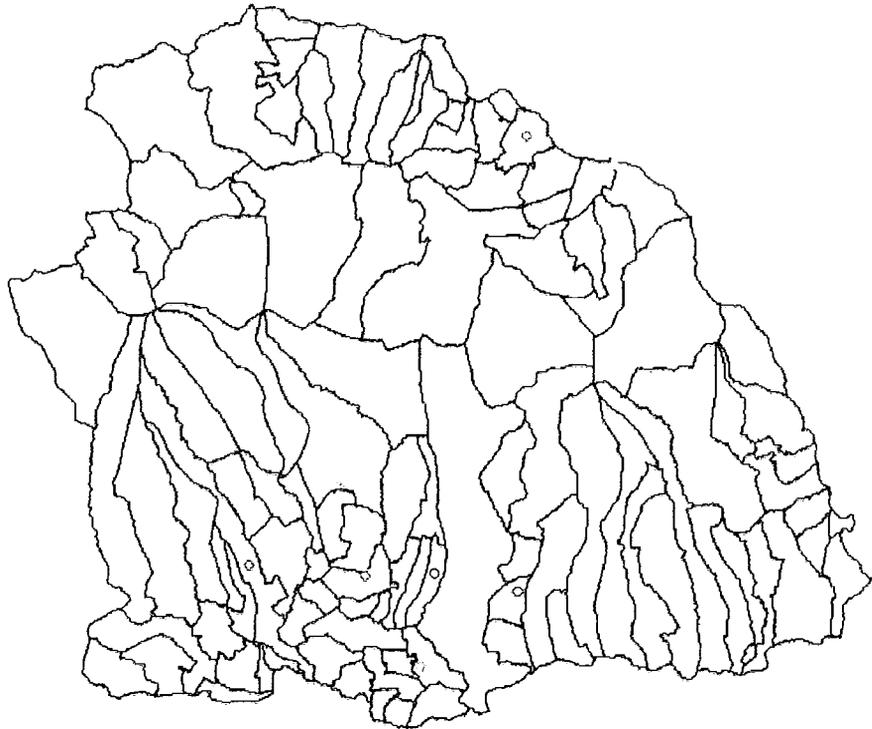
Anglian.dbf
- o Ellerburn
- Hackness
- ç Kirby Misperton
- ○ Kirkdale
- ≈ Lastingham
- ○ Lythe
- ○ Middleton
- ○ Sinnington
- Whitby Abbey
- [ ] Greenwooddata.shp

Ellerburn[106]	4.	Fragment of cross-shaft – 'associated with Anglian crosses, usually to the west of the Pennines.'[107]	9th-10th C
Hackness[108]	1.	Part of cross-shaft	late 7th-8th C
	2.	Part of grave-marker	late 7th-8th C
	3.	Part of grave-cover or impost	late 7th-8th C
	4.	Architectural fragment (?)	8th C
Kirby Misperton[109]	1.	Part of cross-shaft – design possible manuscript source, beasts found on Lindisfarne Gospel[110]	9th C
	2.	Fragment of cross-shaft or impost	9th-10th C
	3.	Fragment of cross-shaft or impost	9th C
Kirkdale[111]	7.	Grave-cover[112]	late 8th-early 9th C
	8.	Grave-cover	early 9th C
Lastingham[113]	3.	Part of cross-head	late 8th-early 9th C
	4.	Part of cross-head	8th C
	5.	Cross-arm	late 8th-9th C
	7.	Architectural feature	9th C
	8.	Architectural feature	8th C
	9.	Architectural feature	late 7th-early 8th C
	10.	Part of chair	8th C
	11.-12.	Fragments (lost)	8th-9th C and 7th-9th C
Lythe[114]	36.	Door jamb	late 8th-early 9th C
	37.	Finial	late 7th-early 8th C
Middleton[115]	9.	Architectural feature (?)[116]	8th-early 9th C

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[106] *Corpus v. 3*, 126-30.

[107] *Corpus v. 3*, 127-8.

[108] *Corpus v. 3*, 135-42.

[109] *Corpus v. 3*, 152-4.

[110] *Corpus v. 3*, 153.

[111] *Corpus v. 3*, 158-66.

[112] This is supposed to be the 'King Oethelwald stone' but it seems unlikely that a grave-cover would be made 150 years after his death.

[113] *Coprus v. 3*, 167-74.

[114] *Corpus v. 7*, 167.

[115] *Corpus v. 3*, 187.

[116] 'This plaque may well have belonged to the early phase of the pre-Conquest church at the site being reused in the eleventh-century tower (Taylor and Taylor, 1965, I, 423).' ... The marigold motif ... 'It is not often found in Hiberno-Saxon work, but does occur on the continent.' *Corpus v. 3*, 187.

Sinnington[117]	10.	Fragment of cross-shaft	9th-10th C
	16.	Part of cross-shaft or grave-cover	9th-10th C
	17.	Fragment	9th-10th C

Whitby[118]   see note below

The sculpture at these churches is linked in the *Corpus* to nearby sites but also to churches in other parts of Northumbria, in Ireland and on the Continent. These links may represent early monastic associations or they may reflect the background of the stonemasons. References to stonemasons who came from Gaul with Benedict Biscop[119] and the request of Nechtan, king of the Picts, for masons from Ceolfrith at Wearmouth and Jarrow[120] to build stone churches in Northumbria and Scotland respectively is instructive in that it could explain the similarities of artistic features on the sculpture as a result of itinerant craftsmen rather than the dependency of one site to another. Therefore, the sculpture alone should not be used as an indicator of a connection between sites in a cluster.

Eric Cambridge has noted 'the resemblance between the elements of a cluster and the relationship of the secular and ecclesiastical foci of multiple estates as analysed by Glanville Jones and recently observed by Cramp in Bernicia'.[121] If the monastic sites were indeed dependencies of either Lastingham or Whitby then it may follow that the location of the subordinate church represents the extent of the original estate. He went on to suggest that if there is a cluster of independent monasteries, these may 'reflect a deliberate policy ... one possibility is that this was the result of the division of a single

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[117] *Corpus v. 3*, 207-13; the author speculated that item 1. part of a cross-shaft from the mid 9th- mid 10th C (included in the next section) may hint at a monastic site.
[118] *Corpus v. 7*, 231-66, 302-3; the stones found at the post-Conquest abbey site and on the headland need not be listed here since the early Anglo-Saxon monastery is well known; it is necessary to mention that no pre-Conquest stones have been found at the parish church of St. Mary adjacent to the monasteries.
[119] *HAB* ch. 5, and *Ceolfrith*, par. 7.
[120] *HE* v, 21.
[121] Cambridge, 'Early church of County Durham', 73.

estate amongst several different monastic beneficiaries.'[122] This question is addressed in detail in the next chapter where the parishes as successors of the minster territories are examined. However, some problems with this theory should be noted now. In the tale of the foundation of Lastingham it is very explicit that Cedd was allowed to choose the site of his monastery. It may, of course, have been a choice of a select number of sites that the king could grant but the multiple estate theory is also at variance with land-holding in the 7th century as described above through the work of Susan Reynolds.

The foundation of Ellerburn, Kirkdale, Kirby Misperton, Middleton and Sinnington and Lythe is unknown – no documentary evidence has survived of a grant or charter establishing these *monasteria*. However, they are likely to fall into the pattern already seen, i.e. either a royal grant where a member of the royal family is appointed abbot or abbess as seen at Whitby, a notable ecclesiastic such as Cedd at Lastingham or a *gesith* of the king as Benedict Biscop of Wearmouth and Jarrow. The proliferation of *monasteria* established by the laity was a feature of the 8th century, especially the 'false' monasteries described by Bede as those in name only and established for the acquisition of land by nobles.[123] The sites discussed here, therefore, could have a number of different origins, which would be indistinguishable in their material culture.[124] However, then pastoral care from these sites would likely be limited to the extent of the estate, if provided at all. The size of the estate, which might not be large, and the dynamics of land acquisition as seen in Wearmouth and Jarrow would make a consistent and comprehensive coverage of the pastoral needs of the population difficult.

One other aspect noted by Eric Cambridge is the juxtaposition of clusters against areas where there are no early stone churches or sculpture that can be seen in the areas along

[122] Ibid., 77.
[123] *Letter to Egbert*, 349-50.
[124] Cambridge, 'Early church in County Durham', 78.

the coast from Whitby south to Scarborough and from Lythe towards the west to Skelton within the study area limits as well as on the moors. According to the *Corpus*, there is no early sculpture between Whitby and Filey on the east coast[125] and Lythe and Yarm on the River Tees.[126] Eric Cambridge wrote :-

> 'It is surely absurd to suppose that such extensive areas were unprovided with churches in the pre-Viking period and that their pastoral needs were served entirely from the areas where early churches and sculpture are present. Equally, the contrasts in the distribution of the latter are so marked as to rule out an explanation in terms of random losses. It follows that the existing distribution must reflect the original situation fairly closely, at least in broad outline, and that the surviving material remains are characteristic only of a particular kind of ecclesiastical site, rather than of any early ecclesiastical site as such.'[127]

If the churches of Ellerburn, Kirby Misperton and Sinnington are excluded from the list of early *monasteria* then the areas that do not have any early churches is even larger than just limited to the coastal zone and high moor and includes Pickering and the area to the east. Cambridge's explanation that in these areas secular minsters were located is examined in relation to the church of Pickering in chapters 3 and 4. If Ellerburn and Kirby Misperton are included, there is still a large geographic area to the east of Ellerburn that is devoid of churches with sculpture.

On the basis of these clusters, i.e. Whitby, Hackness and Lythe, and Lastingham, Kirkdale and Middleton, at least two areas have been identified that might indicate that there was a connection between the *monasteria* in each cluster. The next two chapters review the landholding and the possible mother-church status of each to see if they represent a true cluster and therefore had a relationship to each other or whether these were independent foundations. The implication for the *parochia* can only be determined when the relevant information has been compiled.

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[125] *Corpus v. 3*, 4.
[126] *Corpus v. 7*, 8.
[127] Cambridge, 'Early church in County Durham', 71.

Churches with Anglo-Scandinavian Funerary Monuments

The 'minster' hypothesis established that *Eigenkirchen* fragmented the *parochia* and

resulted in the parishes of later centuries. Churches with Anglo-Scandinavian stone

sculpture are considered here to be *Eigenkirchen* and are examined in relation to the

clusters of *monasteria* above. The following table lists the churches with Anglo-

Scandinavian funerary monuments and is to be used with the map (see also fig. 3). The

number of sites with Viking-age funerary monuments increases the incidence of pre-

Conquest sculpture from 9 to 14 but the difference is not as large as that observed in

County Durham.[128] If one excludes Ellerburn, Kirby Misperton and Sinnington then the

numbers change to 6 and 14. The quantity of sculpture at these sites that span the

Anglian and Viking periods increases except at Lastingham and Whitby where there are

only small quantities and at Kirby Misperton where there is none. The quantity of

Anglo-Scandinavian funerary monuments at the individual church sites is remarkable

since David Stocker and Paul Everson have observed in Lincolnshire, Stamfordshire

and Nottinghamshire that most relevant churches there had only one or two monuments

and only five places had more than four monuments.[129] Therefore, the phenomenon of

the large quantity of such monuments in the churches in the study area is examined as

well as the implication for pastoral care. The case of Pickering is discussed since the

town's importance in the immediate pre- and post-Conquest period is not reflected in

the incidence of either Anglian or Viking sculpture in the church.

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[128] Cambridge, 'Early church in County Durham', 69; see also Richard Bailey, *Viking Age Sculpture in Northern England* (London: Collins, 1980).
[129] Stocker and Everson, 'Five towns funerals', 224.

Churches with
Viking Stone Sculpture (fi.g 3)
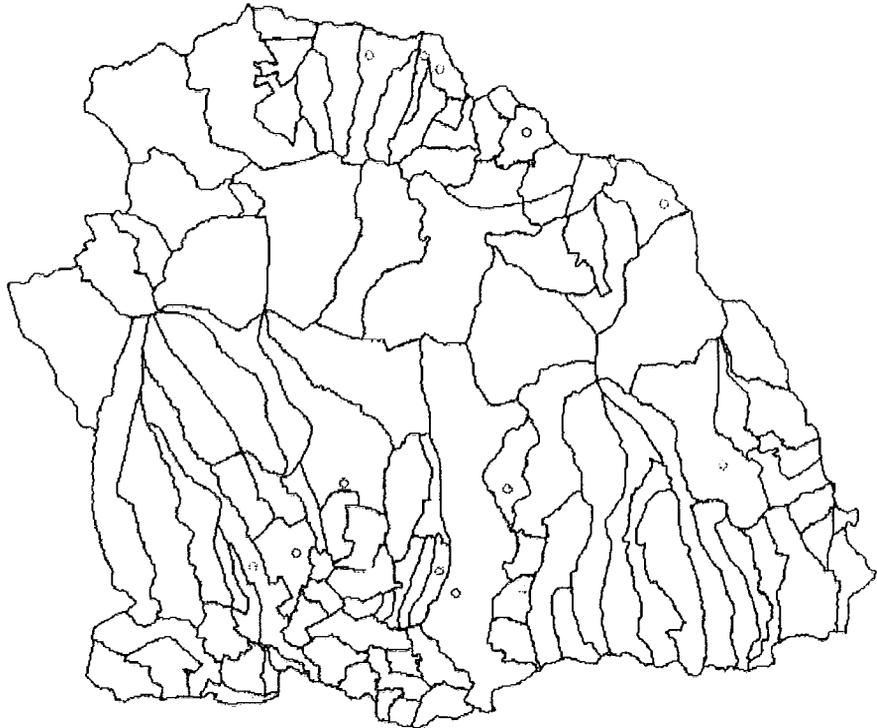
Viking.dbf
- ○ Easington
- ○ Ellerburn
- ○ Hackness
- ○ Hawsker
- ○ Hinderwell
- ○ Kirbymoorside
- ○ Kirkdale
- ○ Lastingham
- ○ Levisham
- ○ Lythe
- ○ Middleton
- ○ Pickering
- ○ Seaton
- ○ Sinnington
- ○ Whitby Abbey
- ☐ Greenwooddata.shp

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Easington[130]	1., 2.	Shaft fragments	late 9th-mid 10th C
	3., 4.	Cross-head fragments	late 9th-mid 10th C
	5.	Cross-head fragment	pre-Conquest
	6.	Part of hogback	first half of 10th C
	7.	Incomplete hogback in two fragments	first half of 10th C
	8.	Hogback fragment	first half of 10th C
	9.	Fragment	late 9th-mid 10th C
Ellerburn[131]	1.	Part of cross-shaft and –head	10th C
	2.	Fragment of cross-shaft	10th-early 11th C
	3., 5.	Fragments of cross-shaft	10th C
	6.	Part of cross-shaft	10th C
	7.	Part of cross-head	10th C
	8.	Part of cross-head	mid 10th C
	9.	Two fragments of hogback	10th C
Hawsker[132]	1.	Incomplete cross-shaft	first half of 10th C
	2.	Cross-base	10th C
Hinderwell[133]	2.	Hogback fragments(?)	pre-Conquest(?)
Kirbymoorside[134]	1.	Upper part of cross-shaft	10th C
	2.-3.	Parts of cross-shaft	10th C
	4.	Part of cross-head	10th C
	5.	Cross-head	10th C
	6.	Unknown type of monument – 'It could be a quarter of a coffin lid, or some kind of very hefty string-course. Adcock has suggested that it may be a lectern or from some related form of stone furniture (Adcock 1974, I, 120-4).'[135]	mid 9th C
Kirkdale[136]	1.	Cross-shaft and part of –head	late 9th-mid 10th C
	2., 3., 5.	Cross-shaft and part of –head	10th C
	4.	Part of cross-shaft	10th C
	6.	Part of cross-head	10th C
	9.	Part of hog-back	late 9th-10th C
	10.	Sundial	1055-1065

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[130] *Corpus v. 7*, 103-6.
[131] *Corpus v. 3*, 126-30.
[132] *Corpus v. 7*, 122-4.
[133] *Corpus v. 7*, 295.
[134] *Corpus v. 3*, 154-8.
[135] *Corpus v. 3*, 158.
[136] *Corpus v. 3*, 158-66.

Lastingham[137]	1.	Upper part of cross-shaft	10th C
	2.	Cross-shaft and part of –head	mid 10th C
	6.	Hogback	mid 10th C
Levisham[138]	1.	Lower part of cross-shaft	10th C
	2.	Part of cross-shaft	10th C
	3.	Part of cross-shaft	late 9th-10th C
	4.	Fragment of cross-head	10th C
	5.	Grave-cover	10th C
Lythe[139]	1.	Lower part of shaft	first half of 10th C
	2.-4.	Parts of shaft	first half of 10th C
	5.	Part of shaft	late 9th-mid 10th C
	6.	Shaft fragment	mid 9th-mid 10th C
	7.	Part of cross-head	mid 9th-mid 10th C
	8.	Cross-head	10th-11th C
	9.-12., 16.	Grave-markers	first half of 10th C
	13.-15.	Grave-marker fragments	first half of 10th C
	17.-28., 30., 31.	Hogback fragments	first half of 10th C
	29., 32.	Hogbacks	first half of 10th C
	33.	Hogback fragment	early 10th-mid 11th C
	34.	Recumbent monument	10th-11th C
	35.	Recumbent monument fragment	first half of 10th C(?)
Middleton[140]	1., 3.	Complete cross-head and –shaft	10th C
	2.	Part of cross-head and –shaft	10th C
	4.	Part of shaft and head of cross	10th C
	5.	Part of cross-shaft	10th C
	6.	Cross-head and part of shaft	10th C
	7.	Part of cross-head	10th C
	8.	Fragment	10th C
Pickering[141]	1., 2.	Parts of cross-shaft	10th C
	3.	Part of cross-shaft	10th-early 11th C
	4.	Fragment of hogback	10th C
Seaton[142]	1.	Coffin(s)	pre-Conquest(?)

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[137] *Corpus v. 3*, 167-70.

[138] *Corpus v. 3*, 175-8.

[139] *Coprus v. 7*, 153-66.

[140] *Corpus v. 3*, 181-7.

[141] *Corpus v. 3*, 199-201.

[142] *Corpus v. 7*, 298.

Sinnington[143]	1.	Part of cross-shaft	mid 9th-mid 10th C
	2., 4.-8.	Parts of cross-shaft	10th C
	3.	Lower part of cross-shaft	10th C
	9.	Fragment of cross-shaft	first half of 10th C
	11., 12.	Parts of cross-head	10th C
	13.	Part of cross-shaft and –head	10th C
	14.	Fragment of hogback	mid 10th C
	15.	Part of coped grave-cover	mid 9th-10th C
	18.	Fragment	first half of 10th C
Whitby[144]	32.	Cross-arm reused as mould	originally 7th-8th C, reused 9th-10th C
	33.	Lower part of cross-shaft	late 9th-10th C
	34.	Cross-shaft fragment	9th C
	35.	Upper part of cross-shaft	late 9th-mid 10th C

The presence of funerary monuments at a church site proves that this was the location of a cemetery and more than likely a church also. A church with churchyard guarded its burial rights because of the source of income, soul-scot, and a cemetery became a feature of the parish church, as distinct from a chapel that did not have one.[145] 'In the course of the eighth century, if not earlier, lay landholders had begun to establish private or patronal churches, or *Eigenkirchen*, and as the role of the minster diminished so that of the patronal church, limited in its jurisdiction to the estates of its patron, began to increase.'[146] The churches in the preceding table that have monuments dated from the mid-9th century and later are classed here as *Eigenkirchen*, and are different from those with earlier sculpture that were classified as *monasteria* in the previous section.

However, a distinction needs to be drawn between the land granted to churches for the establishment of a *monasteria* and the role of the lay patron who founded an *Eigenkirche* on his estate. Land granted to churches was recorded in charters and became known as bookland. It seems that this gave churches different rights and

[143] *Corpus v. 3*, 207-13.
[144] *Corpus v. 7*, 231-66, 302-3, esp. 250-3.
[145] Pounds, *History of the English Parish*, 36.
[146] Ibid., 22.

obligations to those of lay nobles in that the property was granted for ever and the bishops and monks were not expected to perform military service, although the people living on the land were probably required to fulfil the obligations on the land.[147] A review of recent research[148] into bookland and *laenland* is not necessary for purposes of this thesis because no land books, if they ever existed, survive for the study area and '[b]y the later tenth century ... the distinction between bookland and other hereditary property of nobles and free men was becoming blurred.'[149]

The term *Eigenkirche* is understood to mean proprietary rights or ownership but it is a concept born out of 19th-century ideas of property and power.[150] 'The premises seems to be that all power is based on property rights and that property rights form a single self-defining entity.'[151] Susan Reynolds continues that

> '[T]he rights that kings and lords had over churches do not seem to have been envisaged as the same as those they had over secular property, any more than the rights they had in castles were the same as those they have over unfree tenants or servants, despite the use of the word *proprietas* in connections with any of them. Chapels inside people's houses were no doubt 'theirs' in a relatively obvious sense, but the control exercised over most so-called proprietary churches was more like that of a ruler than an owner, with the additional flavour that the ruler often saw himself as a benefactor and was supposed to be the special protector of the beneficiary.'[152]

The implication for pastoral care seems to be that one can disassociate the boundaries of the lord's estate from that of 'his' church. This would overcome the difficulty of providing pastoral care to a population on land that was acquired or disposed for economic reasons and changed lords as a result, the 'notional movability of land' as Maitland said.[153] It would also eliminate the necessity of every lord, however small the estate, to build a church and provide pastoral care of his people. This is what many

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[147] Reynolds, *Fiefs and Vassals*, 326-332.
[148] For a recent discussion on charters, 'bookland' and '*laenland*' see D.M. Hadley, *The Northern Danelaw*, 68-70.
[149] Reynolds, *Fiefs and Vassals*, 333.
[150] Ibid., 418.
[151] Ibid.
[152] Ibid.
[153] *DBB*, 10.

lords did do for reasons of status, piety or economic benefit[154] as evident from areas where there were churches in close proximity and may be seen at Seaton and Hinderwell. The next chapter examines landholding in the mid to late 11th century using *Domesday Book* and compares it to the parish boundaries so that the *Eigenkirchen* and *monasteria* can be placed within (late) Saxon estates. Although it is late evidence, nevertheless it has been applied in other areas and found of value.

The sculptural evidence is interesting in that unlike in Lincolnshire, Stamfordshire and Nottinghamshire where many churches had one or two Anglo-Scandinavian funerary monuments, which, it has been argued, represent the burial of the owner/founder of the church and these 'graveyard monuments are a valuable indicator of the cultural background and aspirations of the tenth-century elite',[155] the North-east Yorkshire study area does not show this pattern. Churches with Viking-age sculpture are concentrated between Ellerburn in the east and Helmsley in the west and only at Lythe and Easington in the North and these have considerable numbers of monuments unlike the five places that Stocker and Everson found that had any more than four. Several points emerge :-

1. Whitby and Lastingham have very little Anglo-Scandinavian sculpture in comparison to other churches nearby and Hackness has none. As former *monasteria* these should have remained important churches in the later period.

2. Lythe has a considerable number, which is surprising whether one accepts that it is *Osingadun* or a *monasterium* of the laity.

3. The *Eigenkirchen*, Easington, Kirby Moorside, Levisham and if one includes the doubtful *monasteria*, Ellerburn and Sinnington, have a large quantity of monuments, more than can be represented by the family of the owner/founder of the church.

4. Pickering and Kirby Misperton have comparatively few monuments but this should be expected from the study by Stocker and Everson.

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[154] Pounds, *History of the English Parish*, 28-29.
[155] Stocker and Everson, 'Five towns funerals', 224-5.

5. Middleton and Kirkdale have substantial numbers of monuments but not as excessively large a number as Lythe.

Stocker and Everson's study of churches with large numbers of monuments and of the relationship of the Vikings buried with these monuments to the kingdom of York and Wessex is noteworthy and will be described in chapter 4 when examining monasteries as mother churches and following the next chapter on parishes as the successors of minster territories, which looks at landholding in the immediate pre-Conquest period that may shed some light on the issue of why these churches contain these significant pieces of sculpture.

Pickering

Pickering does not appear in historical sources until the Conquest period. Therefore, it is difficult to say much about the settlement and surrounding area in this early period. However, its undoubted important status in the later medieval period raises questions about the early beginnings and, in relation to the 'minster' hypothesis, the lack of an identifiable 'minster'. The present church lacks Anglian sculpture and does not have many Anglo-Scandinavian funerary monuments either. It may fall into the category of a secular minster not built in stone but in wood.[156] Eric Cambridge has pointed out that both in North-west England and parts of County Durham, there are large areas devoid of *monasteria* where the parishes are of unusually large size or as in the south of County Durham where there are four comparatively large parishes. 'Perhaps significantly, most of them remained administrative foci throughout the Middles Ages.'[157] He continued, '[W]hen late pre-Conquest sculpture is present at these sites at all, it is usually only in

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[156] Cambridge, 'Early church in County Durham', 80, 81.
[157] Ibid., 79.

small quantities.'[158] The number of clergy is also likely to have been very small, probably in single figures.[159] Bede stressed the importance of education for the priesthood at Whitby and showed that only a few achieved this status, which indicates that the ratio of monks to priests was large. A small number of clergy and a timber-built church probably not of great size would be difficult to discover. Therefore, it is to the extent of the parish that it is necessary to look. The next chapter places the secular estate of Pickering into context at the time of the Conquest and compares it to its parish and to parishes nearby to see if a similar pattern as in other parts of northern England can be discerned. Chapter 4 looks at the status of the church of Pickering as a mother-church.

Conclusions

The historical sources give no indication that pastoral care was provided from Whitby, Hackness or Lastingham in the late 7th or early 8th century. There are neither surviving charters for the area nor any details of the grants of land to build the *monasteria*. Therefore, deductions about the monastic estates cannot be drawn from these sources. The concept of early medieval land holding was explored to try to give an understanding of the grant for the monastic estates but because of the complexity and variability of property rights and obligations no final conclusions can be drawn about the three monastic sites. However, this excursion into landholding showed that speculation about the extent of the estate can lead to presumptions that are unfounded by the evidence. There is also no evidence to show the existence of a *villa regalia* nor the extent of the secular boundaries.

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[158] Ibid., 79-80.
[159] Ibid., 81.

Other *monasteria* were indicated because of the incidence of Anglian sculpture at Lythe, Kirkdale, and Middleton with additional potential sites at Ellerburn, Kirby Misperton and Sinnington. Further, *Eigenkirchen* with Anglo-Scandinavian funerary monuments were identified so that these can be analysed in a later chapter with regard to the fragmentation of *parochiae* that is an integral part of the 'minster' hypothesis. An explanation for the lack of an early church in Pickering was sought with the conclusion based on the research in County Durham that this could be the site of a secular minster, which tended to have timber structures and so of ephemeral nature. Before drawing any conclusions about these churches, a look at the estates in which they were located at the time of Domesday Book is necessary and is the subject of the next chapter.

3 – Parishes as the Successors of Minster Territories

This chapter seeks to identify the 'minster' territories of Whitby and Lastingham and the territory of the *vill* of Pickering. Hackness is included under the territory of Whitby. The extent of these territories is based around the clusters of *monasteria* and *Eigenkirchen* that were suggested in the last chapter. The chapter addresses the question whether it is possible, as the 'minster' hypothesis proposes, to reconstruct minster territories on the basis of later manorial estates. It investigates whether (i) it is the case that manorial boundaries have a relationship to parish boundaries and (ii) it can be assumed that manorial boundaries once extended to the limits of the parish boundaries in the centuries before documentary records became available.

The earliest source for these manorial estates in the study area is *Domesday Book. DB* has descriptions of landholding in 1066 and 1086 but with gaps in naming pre-Conquest landholder. This chapter plots the information obtained from *DB* on manors, their sokelands and berewicks within parish boundaries to look for patterns of contiguity for the parishes of Whitby, Hackness, Lastingham and Pickering with their surrounding areas encompassing the parishes of the other potential *monasteria* and *Eigenkirchen* to ensure that the furthest extent of the *parochiae* has been researched. The information for the 11th-century manorial estates is brief and probably not always consistent. It appears that the Yorkshire folios were the first to be compiled and that the inconsistencies found in these folios stem from scribal experimentation and 'postscriptal additions of conventions adopted later in the process of compilation.'[1] Yorkshire had more manors than other parts of the Danelaw, such as Lincolnshire, and this may be a result of the scribe's decision on whether to assign manor to land rather than differences

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[1] Hadley, *Northern Danelaw*, 116.

in territorial organization.[2] On the other hand, Yorkshire may have been genuinely

different from the other areas. The Yorkshire folios have two further sections that are

unusual amongst the *DB* volumes; they are the claims sections and the 'summary'. The

claims part described those lands in dispute at the time of recording. The 'summary',

called as such for lack of a better term, lists land by wapentake and *vill*. The

landholding described in this part is not always consistent with those in the main text

section and may have been derived from a separate source.[3] The landholding data in

this chapter uses information from all three sections. Although it is important to be

aware of these possible problems, the information for the study area is taken as it is

from *Domesday Book* since there are no other sources extant to enable us to enlarge on

these entries.

The parish boundaries were arrived at in a two-stage process because the maps defined

township boundaries and not those of parishes. The map used was the *Map of the*

County of York[4] dating from 1817 and may more accurately reflect the medieval parish

boundaries than the Ordnance Survey maps, which were surveyed in the 1850's and

therefore dated after the parish re-organization. A photocopy of the map was obtained,[5]

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[2] Ibid.

[3] *DB*, appendix, 5. 'Text, claims and summary'.

[4] C. Greenwood, *Map of the County of York, Made on the Basis of Triangles in the County, determined by Lieut. Coll. Wm. Mudge, Royal Art*. *F.R.S. and Capt*. *Tho*. *Colby, Royal Eng*. *in the Trigonometrical Survey of England, by Order of the Honourable Board of Ordnance, and Surveyed in the Years, 1815, 1816, & 1817* (Leeds: John Hurst & C. Greenwood, 1817), scale of statute miles, 10 (=7¼ ins.), 9 sheets, each 27¼ x 23 ins.

[5] The photocopy was made up of 23 A3 sheets taken from the microfilm of the above map, which had been filmed in sections – not an ideal solution but the only one available to me. The map is located at the North Yorkshire County Record Office in Northallerton and is only accessible in the microfilm version. This created some distortions when rejoining the pieces together. The boundaries were then digitised in a geographical information system, ArcInfo and transferred to ArcView and the final version overlaid onto the Bartholomews map of the UK that is available with ArcView. Some 'stretching' and adjustments were required to match known points on both maps but some distortions may still occur due either from working of a photocopy of a m/f or the inaccuracies of early 19th century surveying, a satisfactory outline of township boundaries was achieved. Churches were noted on the Greenwood map and therefore selected as the most permanent points between their recording in 1817 and now but they required a personal visit to identify the grid references since today's Ordnance Survey maps show all churches, C of

which showed the township boundaries and was the earliest map where these divisions were marked. The study area was a landscape of townships, of which one or more formed an ecclesiastical parish. Identification of townships and parishes was taken from Thomas Langdale's *Topographical Dictionary* of 1822[6] that described the contemporary place-names within their township, parish and wapentake and George Lawton's *Collections Relative to the Churches and Chapels within the Diocese of York,*[7] which named all the parish churches and information relevant to them. The use of a map from 1817 was felt to be justified on the ground that most of the *vills* at the time of *Domesday Book* were civil parishes in the 19th century 'and in all probability they then had approximately the same boundaries' that they had eight hundred years later.[8]

The medieval source on parish churches and by implication parishes is the *Taxatio Ecclesiastica Angliæ et Walliæ, Auctoritate P. Nicholai IV*[9] dated 1291 and the early modern source is the *Valor Ecclesiasticus Temp. Henr. VIII*[10] dated 1535, which lists the churches within their deaneries and archdeaconries. These sources confirmed the overall stability of the parishes between the 13th and 16th centuries and matched those of the 19th century sources mentioned above. Therefore the 19th century map was thought to be a fair representation of the medieval parishes and useful as a visual aid for this thesis.

E and other denominations. In addition, it was important to locate the C of E churches before they were moved in the later 19th century as in the case of Egton and Skelton, amongst others.

[6] Thomas Langdale, *A Topographical Dictionary of Yorkshire; Contains the Names of all the Towns, Villages, Hamlets, Gentlemen's Seats, &c. in the County of York, Alphabetically Arranged under the Heads of the North, East, and West Ridings; also in what Parish, Township, Wapentake, Division and Liberty they are Situated ...,* 2nd ed. (Northallerton: J. Langdale, 1822)

[7] George Lawton, *Collectio Rerum Ecclesiasticarum de Diœcesi Eboracensi or Collections Relative to the Churches and Chapels within the Diocese of York* (London: J.G. and F. Rivington; York: H. Bellerby, 1842.

[8] Maitland, *DBB*, 13.

[9] *Taxatio Ecclesiastica Angliæ et Walliæ, Auctoritate P. Nicholai IV, circa A.D. 1291* (London, 1802).

[10] *Valor Ecclesiasticus Temp. Henr. VIII, Auctoritate Regia, Institutus. Vol. V* (London, 1825).

Parish boundaries were based on the township boundaries of Greenwood's map except where different parts of one township lay in separate parishes.[11] Also, the township is important when using *Domesday Book* since landholding is described by *vill*. The *vill* or *villa* is the Medieval Latin word for English *tún, ton, town* that described the geographic area of land and was different from *villata* or township that was the organized body of its inhabitants. The township was a *communitas* that did not have rights but many duties. The term has been traced to the ninth century where it appeared in Old English as *túnscipe* and the Oxford English Dictionary described it as the inhabitants or population of a *tún* or village collectively or the community dwelling in and occupying a *tún*.[12] By definition *vill* and township are not synonymous but township came to be used as the territory of the *tún* and is used here interchangeably with *vill* but especially when referring to 19th-century units. For purposes of this thesis *vill* and township have the same meaning.

The *vill* differed from the Domesday manor. 'The term "manor" (*manerium*) has been the subject of great debate, but it was seemingly employed by Domesday Book when a lord's hall (*aula*) was present; the hall was the collection point for geld, and was doubtless also a focal point for organizing agricultural activities and settling grievances.'[13] The township was the 'unit for taxation, for law enforcement and for defence[14] while the manor was an economic unit.[15] Both the township and manor were

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[11] The boundary was drawn at an approximation.
[12] *The Oxford English Dictionary* [CD-ROM] (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1998), c890 tr. Bæda's Hist. v. xi. [x] (1890); see also Hadley, *Northern Danelaw*, 95-101.
[13] Hadley, *Northern Danelaw*, 108; see also Maitland, *DBB*, 107-150, on the manor and a comparison of manor and vill.
[14] Pounds, *History of the English Parish*, 277.
[15] Ibid., 276.

secular units while the parish was part of the ecclesiastical organisation based around a church that received its tithe.[16]

The manorial structure of the northern Danelaw that emerges from *Domesday Book* shows the existence of 'large estates or "sokes", which consisted of a central manor with outlying dependencies (known as berewicks and sokelands) which not uncommonly were many miles away from the manorial centre.'[17] Hadley's study has demonstrated that in the northern Danelaw manors were of a great diversity and complexity in that there were large estates with sokes and berewicks extending over many vills to very small manors of a few bovates on land covering part of a vill.[18] This pattern has also been observed in the study area and is detailed below with the individual entries from *Domesday Book*. It is considered whether this had any bearing on the relationship between manorial and parish boundaries.

This diversity of manorial estates has been found in Lincolnshire and has been used there to establish different categories that affect the development of parish boundaries, which may have some relevance to the study area. David Roffe[19] has identified four types of territorial organisation that influence the origin of parish boundaries, (i) the holding, defined as the basic element of a manor, e.g. the berewick of a manor that became a parish, probably at a late date, (ii) the manor, likely to be a self-sufficient unit comprised of all its holdings and if it occupied a discrete area it was probably very old and thus reflected in the parish boundary, (iii) groups of manors that formed an extended tenurial group that either formed one parish or several and were therefore of

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[16] Ibid.

[17] Hadley, *Northern Danelaw*, 108.

[18] Ibid., 108-15.

[19] David Roffe, 'Pre-conquest estates and parish boundaries: a discussion with examples from Lincolnshire' in *Studies in Late Anglo-Saxon Settlement*, ed. Margaret L. Faull (Oxford: Oxford Univ., Dept. of External Studies, 1984), 117-8.

different origin and date, (iv) communal and public institutions may have affected

parish boundaries. In the case of Lincolnshire, this is based on the 12-carucate hundred

and independent of the manorial estate. Here the parish 'may be merely a convenient

territory from which ecclesiastical dues could be paid by a group of sokemen who were

only tenurially related in so far as they paid suit to the same royal manor.'[20] Whether

these types can be applied to the study area and can offer explanations for the origin of

parishes will be examined in the succeeding sections.

Domesday Book arranged many *vills* by wapentake and since manors were entered by

vill the wapentake may have an important association with the manors in the study area.

From the 9th century onward, the administrative unit larger than the township but

smaller than the county was the wapentake in Yorkshire and other counties subject to

Scandinavian influence. It has been compared to the hundred in other parts of England

but it was Cyril Hart's[21] contention that there were certain differences, though only two

are noted here. The wapentake dealt with legal issues, especially law and order, and

implemented royal commands, as did the hundred, but its law was the *Danelage* and it

had a much looser structure with the assembly having fewer regulations and duties.

Since the wapentake was a Danish institution its origin can only be some time after the

late ninth century.[22] The wapentake boundary was directly related to the manors so that

one finds these manors were generally contained within its bounds, with only very few

exceptions.[23] The creation of wapentakes took the manors into consideration when

forming the boundaries but over time as land was acquired the manors may have

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[20] Roffe, *Pre-conquest estates*, 118.
[21] Cyril Hart, *The Danelaw* (London: Hambledon, 1992), 281-5.
[22] However, John has shown that the hundred is much older, see 'English Feudalism and the Structure of Anglo-Saxon Society', in *Orbis Britanniae*, 128-153.
[23] See map for North Yorkshire in Hart, *Danelaw*, 254.

crossed these boundaries but the wapentake remained static.[24] Dawn Hadley has emphasized that the 'wapentakes and the sokes of the northern Danelaw were fundamentally unrelated institutions, both geographically and functionally' and that wapentake centres, i.e. meeting-places, were 'commonly located at a distance from the major soke centres.' [25] However, the influence of manorial lords when wapentake boundaries were drawn may have resulted in many manors being confined to one wapentake and later manorial acquisitions causing manors to cross wapentake boundaries.[26] The wapentake boundaries may reflect an earlier administrative unit and this may have some importance on the relationship to minster territories.

This and the succeeding chapter examine landholding with regard to the potentially furthest extent of the minster territories as identified in the clusters of chapter 2. These clusters may show other early monasteries and *Eigenkirchen* that may have fragmented the 7th-century minster territories. Therefore, for Whitby, it groups together the 19th-century parishes of Whitby, Hackness, Lythe, Hinderwell, which includes Seaton, and Easington and investigates the landholding within these to find the relationship between manorial and parish boundaries and between Whitby and the other manors in the cluster. Similarly, Lastingham and Pickering are examined to find their relationships to the parishes and to the clusters. The landholding is taken from *DB* and both the 1086 and 1066 landholders are described and compared. This has been found useful because not all 1066 landholders are known but those of 1086 are and may offer an explanation for those of 1066 that are unknown.

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[24] Hart, *Danelaw*, 266-7.
[25] Hadley, *Northern Danelaw*, 105.
[26] Ibid., 107, 152-3.

The Minster Territory of Whitby

Let us begin with the 19th century the parish of Whitby, which comprised the townships of Newholm with Dunsley, Ruswarp, Eskdaleside, Ugglebarnby, Aislaby, Hawsker with Stainsacre but Sneaton and Fylingdales, although linked to Whitby historically, were separate parishes.[27] Sneaton chapel was given to Whitby Abbey by William de Percy or his son but had parochial status in the 13th century since it is shown in the *Taxatio Ecclesiastica P. Nichalai IV*[28] as a church. Fylingdales may have been a parish in the 13th century. It is shown in the *Taxatio Nichalai*, but was part of Whitby parish when 'in the year 1353 it was decided by the Court of York, that Fylingdales is not a separate parish, and therefore not liable to pay procurations to the Archdeacon.'[29] The parish of Whitby prior to the 13th century comprised the townships named at the beginning of this paragraph plus Sneaton and Fylingdales..

The Domesday manor of Whitby[30] was given to Earl Hugh after the Conquest, having been in the possession of Earl Siward before, who held it as one manor. When *Domesday Book* was compiled, the estate was in the possession of William de Percy who had it from Hugh. To this manor belonged the berewick of Sneaton, and the sokes of Fyling (Old Hall), Fyling (Thorpe), Gnipe (Howe), Prestby, Ugglebarnby, Sowerby, Breck, Baldebi, Flower(gate), (High)Stakesby, and Newholm. However, the Abbot of York had Prestby and Sowerby from William de Percy. From the 'summary' it becomes clear that the assessment of Whitby itself was ten carucates,[31] that the Count of Mortain had two bovates in Stakesby that were not in the manor of Whitby and from the

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[27] The information on townships and parishes is compiled from Thomas Langdale, *Topographical Dictionary* and George Lawton, *Collections*.
[28] *Taxatio Nicholai*, 301.
[29] Lawton, *Collections*, 482, see also *Whitby Chartulary*, v. 1, 243-4, 246.
[30] DB folio 305a; *DB* place-names are written as they appear on the translated pages of the Phillimore ed.
[31] DB folio 380c.

Claims section that Earl Hugh[32] claimed 1 carucate of land of William de Percy in Fyling (Old Hall) as part of Whitby. Also, excluded from the manor of Whitby were the two manors of the king,[33] one each in Dunsley and Normanby, the 1 carucate that Berenger de Tosny[34] had in Dunsley, the 3 carucates in Aislaby that the Count of Mortain[35] had, though they were in Whitby parish in the 19th century. In general, it would appear that the extent of the manor was the same in 1066, except for the Abbot of York's land in Prestby and Sowerby

The names of pre-1066 landholders are incomplete but from the information of 1086 a picture emerges. Earl Siward held the manor of Whitby with its berewick and sokelands. The Abbot of York almost certainly acquired Prestby and Sowerby after the foundation of the Benedictine Abbey at Whitby in 1078[36] so that these lands need not be shown separately on the pre-1066 map. The disputed 1 carucate of land in Fyling (Old Hall) was held by Merewine as 1 manor prior to 1066.[37] Although claimed by Earl Hugh against William de Percy, the *DB* entry shows that 'he has no testimony'.[38] It would appear that Merewine held this land quite independently from the manor of Whitby or any other tenurial hierarchy, as did the landholders of the following lands, 1 carucate of an unknown landholder in Dunsley, with Berenger de Tosny his successor,[39] 1 manor of 3 carcuates of Uhtred in Aislaby,[40] 1 manor of Ligulfr in Normanby and 1 manor of Thorulfr in Dunsley.[41] This confirms that the manor of Whitby was of the same extent in 1066 and 1086. Within the geographic limits of the manor, Merewine

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[32] DB folio 373a.
[33] DB folio 300a.
[34] DB folio 380c.
[35] DB folio 305b.
[36] A. Hamilton Thompson, 'The Monastic settlement at Hackness and its relation to the Abbey of Whitby' *Yorks. Arch. J.* 27 (1924), 388-405, esp. 394-5.
[37] DB folio 322d.
[38] DB folio 373a.
[39] DB folio 380c.
[40] DB folio 305b.
[41] DB folio 300a.

and Ligulfr held separate manors in Fyling (Old Hall) and Normanby respectively. These may point to both manors being separate and independent from the manor of Whitby at this time but their origin is unknown. They and the manors in Dunsley and Aislaby, as well as the 2 bovates in Stakesby may have been alodial properties.

The manor of Whitby, as recorded in 1086, may not reflect a permanent estate. The mention of berewicks and sokes supports this. Manors like Whitby, which are multiple in character and possessed jurisdiction seemed to be a survival from before the tenth century reorganization of local government 'when government and property rights were indistinguishable. Whether soke lords had a significant share in the property rights of their free subjects is, however, unclear.'[42] They may have received the fines incurred by men within their jurisdiction, while generally jurisdiction lay in the county.[43] The relationship between lord and man inferred by commendation was one of personal patronage and protection and not necessarily one of property rights.[44] This is illustrated by the phrase 'he "goes with his land" to a lord'[45] and by example, '"Tostig bought this land from the church of Malmesbury for three lives" … of course we should assume that during the lease the land could have no other lord than the church of Malmesbury. Not so, however, for during his lease Tostig "could go with that land to whatever lord he pleased".'[46] This indicates the impermanence of the manor as a unit, which has also been demonstrated by Dawn Hadley in the example of the lands acquired by the archbishop of York at Sutton-by-Redford in 958 or the lands acquired in the late 10th century by archbishop Oscytel, which were later seized by Æthelred II.[47]

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[42] Ibid., 338.
[43] Ibid., 338.
[44] Ibid., 338-40.
[45] *DBB*, 71.
[46] Ibid., 72.
[47] Hadley, *Northern Danelaw*, 140-4.

Comparison of the extent of the Domesday manor of Whitby with the parish boundary shows that the manor did not extend as far as parish boundary in the west (see also fig. 4).[48] Property rights in the *vills* of Dunsley, Aislaby, Normaby, Fyling (Old Hall) and Stakesby show the existence of independent landholders without any ties to Whitby. These may be interpreted as ancient alods. They cannot be assumed ever to have belonged to Whitby and that the parish represents the extent of an ancient estate. The manors of either 1066 or 1086 do not explain why they should have been combined to form Whitby parish. The categories established by David Roffe appear relevant to Sneaton only, which is typical of type (i), a berewick that became a parish at an unknown date. The other manors or sokelands do not fit the three subsequent categories defined above, i.e. a manor with all its holdings, a group of manors or a group based around communal or public institutions. The parish consisted of the manor of Whitby with its sokelands, but excluding the berewick (Sneaton), and alods; it is difficult to explain in terms of the above categories.

Fylingdales is a different case. In the 14th century, there was uncertainty as to whether it was a parish or chapelry. As a result, the Abbot of Whitby went to the court in York to obtain a ruling that it was a chapelry of Whitby. As a chapelry, it sat well within the parish. Fylingdales Moor, which was common to both Hawsker cum Stainsacre and Fylingdales, would then be part of Whitby parish. As would Helwath, the detached part of agricultural land belonging to Fylingdales township on Fylingdales Moor. The tithe map for Fylingdales[49] shows the moor as part of the township and therefore within that

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[48] The township of Eskdaleside did not exist and the area was part of Ugglebarnby; this can still be seen on the 1st ed. 6" maps of the Ordnance Survey, where detached portions of both townships are shown.
[49] *Sketch of the Township of Fylingdales situate in the Parish of Whitby in the North-Riding of the County of York comprising 5 parts.* (S.l.: S.n.,1844), pt. 1 and 2. Plan of the township of Fylingdales sistuate in the Parish of Whitby in the North-Riding of the County of York, 1845, pt. 3 and 4. Plan of the Moors situate in the several Townships of Hawsker cum Stainsacre and Fylingdales in the Parish of Whitby in the North-Riding of the County of York, surveyed 1845, pt. 5. Outline of parts 1-4.

Whitby Manor in 11th Century
within Parish Boundaries (fig. 4)
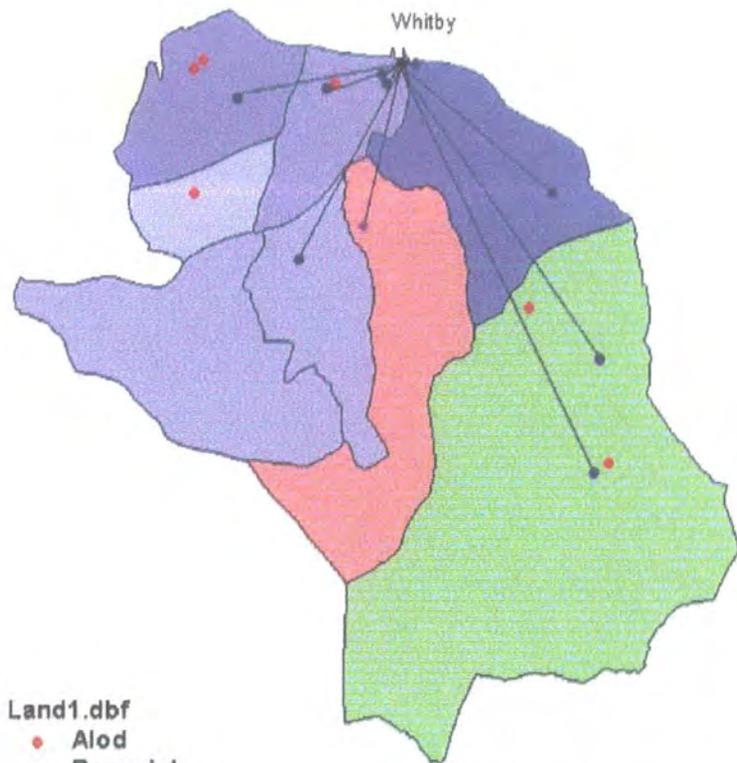
Whitby

Land1.dbf
- Alod
- Berewick
- Manor
- Sokeland

Whitby.shp
- Aislaby
- Eskdaleside
- Fyling
- Hawsker cum Stainsacre
- Newholm cum Dunsley
- Ruswarp
- Sneaton
- Ugglebarnby

Whitby parish townships
are in shades of blue
Sneaton is in pink
Fylingdales is in green

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parish. However, the moor was and is still common to both Fylingdales and Hawsker cum Stainsacre. The remnants of this common is evident in that 'Fylingdales Moor, owned by the Strickland Estate, is subject to the common rights of 48 holders'[50] whose farms are in both townships. If it had been created a separate parish out of Whitby parish, a case could have been argued that it fit the theory of large *parochia* divided, although the alod of Fyling (Old Hall) would have to be ignored. If it was temporarily a parish, the parochial structure encompassed the secular township but disregarded the manorial boundary.

Another approach was sought to find a rationale for Whitby's parish boundary with those of Lythe using the groupings of entries in the *DB* 'summary'. The following clusters are entered in *DB*, (i) (High) Stakesby, Newholm and Lythe and (ii) Dunsley, Hutton (Mulgrave) and Egton.[51] These 6 *vills* form a continuous geographic area that overlapped the parish boundary between Whitby and Lythe. (High) Stakesby and Newholm, parts of the manor of Whitby, and Dunsley were in Whitby parish and Lythe, Hutton (Mulgrave) and Egton were in Lythe parish. If the *DB* 'summary' was 'based on existing English administrative or fiscal records'[52], these clusters ought to have some significance. It is apparent, however, that the arrangement was independent of the parish and that the administrative or fiscal records grouped different townships together.

The detached parts of townships were investigated to see if that might explain the inclusion of lands into the parish boundary. The manor of Whitby included woodland pasture, 7 leagues long and 3 leagues wide, the whole open land 3 leagues long and 2

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[50] Harry Green, *A Record of the Membership and Work of the Manor of Fyling Court Leet on 1st January 2000* (Robin Hoods Bay: H.Green, 2001), 6; note that the Strickland Estate is the successor of the Cholmley estate who were the successors of the Abbey's lands.

[51] *DB* folio 380c, lines 5 and 6.

[52] *DB*, Appendix, 5. Text, Claims and Summary, quoting from S.P.J. Harvey, 'Domesday Book and its predecessors', *English Historical Rev.*, lxxxvi (1971), 753-73.

wide, and the meadow attached to Prestby and Sowerby was 26 acres in various places.[53] These were presumably included in the geographic area of the manor and not a distance away, either within or without the parish. The tithe maps[54] for the other townships. i.e. excluding Fylingdales, in Whitby parish show that only Eskdaleside cum Ugglebarnby were intertwined with many detached fields. Eskdaleside was not a *vill* in the *DB* survey and may therefore be a later creation. The other townships, Hawsker cum Stainsacre, Ruswarp, Newholm cum Dunsley and Aislaby[55] did not have detached parts. If these townships had included detached parts of townships that were in the manor of Whitby, this might have indicated that the manor extended into these townships. As it is, the lack of detached areas provides additional support that the manor of Whitby did not extend further than has been shown and not as far as the parish boundary.

The foregoing points have shown that the boundary of the manor of Whitby in the 11th century was not coterminous with that of the parish and it cannot be assumed that there ever was a direct relationship between the two units. Economic considerations governed the manor and therefore, the manor was subject to change through purchase, seizure or sale. The existence of ancient alods confirms that the manor of Whitby did not extend over a continuous area and not as far as the parish, as do the lack of detached parts of townships. Further evidence that the tenurial landscape was unrelated to the administrative and parochial boundaries comes from the *DB* 'summary', with its groups

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[53] *DB* folio 305a.
[54] *Plan of the Township of Hawsker cum Stainsacre situate in the Parish of Whitby in the North-Riding of the County of York*, surveyed 1844; *Plan of the Township of Ugglebarnby in the Parish of Whitby ...*, 1844; *Plan of the Township of Eskdaleside ...*, 1844; *Plan of the Township of Ruswarp situate in the Parish of Whitby ...*, 1844; *Plan of the Township of Newholm cum Dunsley in the Parish of Whitby ...*, 1845; *Plan of the Township of Aislaby ...*, 1844.
[55] The town of Whitby is excluded from the tithe maps, the boundary for Hawsker cum Stainsacre included St. Mary's church but not the areas below the church to the river Esk and boundary for Ruswarp excluded the area near the river on the west side around Flowergate, the *DB* flore.

of townships forming units that were dissimilar to both the manorial and parish boundaries.

Hackness

This section examines the manorial boundaries in relation to the parish boundaries but also looks for a tenurial connection to Whitby, which might indicate that Hackness was part of Whitby's 'minster' territory. In addition to an analysis of landholding in the 11th century and comparison to the 19th century parish boundary, this part considers the wapentake boundary and the implication this has to defining Whitby's territory.

The 19th century parish of Hackness included the townships of Hackness, Suffield with Everley, Broxa and Harwood Dale with Silpho. The *DB* entry for William de Percy reads that he had a manor there and in 'Hackness, Suffield and Everley there are 8 carucates of land taxable ... Of this land 2 carucates are in the jurisdiction of Falsgrave, and the others are part of St. Hilda's land. Now William has there ... 3 churches and a priest. Woodland pasture, 2 leagues long and 1 wide. The whole manor, 6 leagues long and 2 wide.'[56] The berewick Northfield (Farm) and the soke Thirley (Cotes) soke to the king's manor of Falsgrave, are situated, the former next to the village of Suffield and the latter near Harwood Dale. Northfield (Farm) was assessed at 5 carucates according to the 'summary'[57] while a figure for Thirley (Cotes) is not given.[58] The 'summary' also states that William de Percy had 6 carucates in Suffield and Everley and 4 carucates in Hackness.[59] Neither the land of St. Hilda is mentioned in the 'summary' nor do the amounts of carucates in the 'summary' on the one hand and in the main entries under the king and William de Percy on the other add up to a sensible balance.

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[56] *DB* folio 323a.

[57] *DB* folio 380c; see also folio 299a for the main entry of the soke of Falsgrave.

[58] *DB* folio 380c gives the combined total of 14 carucates for Thirley (Cotes), Stainton(dale), Burniston and Scalby.

[59] *DB* folio 380d.

There is also no account of pre-Conquest landholding except that the king had the

manor of Falsgrave from Tosti, which means that Tosti held Northfield (Farm) and

Thirley (Cotes).

There are still many unanswered questions, such as what was the land of St. Hilda, why

were Northfield (Farm) and Thirley (Cotes) included in the parish and which were the 3

churches. Hamilton Thompson[60] has stated that this, i.e. the land of St. Hilda, refers to

a grant made after the foundation of the monastery at Whitby by Reinfrid in 1078 when

the group of monks left Whitby for Hackness to avoid the raids that they experienced at

the site on the coast. He argued that such a definite statement as 8 carucates of St.

Hilda's land could not refer to the original seventh-century endowment because an oral

tradition of the Anglo-Saxon monastery would be more vague. In addition, the grant to

St. Hilda could only be a reference to the post-Conquest monastery at Whitby with its

dedication to St. Peter and St. Hilda. However, Hamilton-Thompson quoted a further

charter dated to the reign of William II, with a probable date of 1091-1092, that referred

to a grant of land at Prestby as given 'to the church of St. Peter of Presteby and

Whiteby'.[61] He did not explain this inconsistency in giving land to St. Hilda in

Hackness but to St. Peter in Whitby. It seems more likely that a post-Conquest grant in

Hackness would also specify the church of St. Peter, which makes the reference to land

of St. Hilda remarkable.

There still remains the problem that *Domesday Book* does not mention the pre-Conquest

owner, if anyone else, of the land at Hackness. The land for the monastery established

by Hild in 680 may have been granted to Hild herself or to the church of St. Peter in

Whitby but land granted by charter or book meant that it remained permanently in the

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[60] A. Hamilton Thompson, 'The Monastic settlement at Hackness', 397-403.
[61] Ibid., 400.

possession of the grantee.[62] In time, Hild was venerated as a local saint so this land may have come to be referred to as 'land of St. Hilda'. However, that this land might be retained by a remnant of the earlier monastic community during the intervening centuries seems improbable but not impossible. In either case, whether this land was given in the post-Conquest period or not, it is interesting that the association between Whitby and Hackness apparently remained known because Reinfrid and his monks moved from Whitby to Hackness and not somewhere else. However, in the pre-Conquest period a link between Whitby and Hackness cannot be ascertained from *Domesday Book* since landholding in Hackness is not given and the landholders in Whitby cannot be shown to have had a connection to Hackness. In the post-Conquest period, the link between the two sites can be attributed to William de Percy and this may be another reason for Reinfrid's removal to Hackness, i.e. Percy making land available to him and his monks there.

The wapentake boundary may be a further indication that Hackness was quite separate from Whitby in the pre-Conquest period. The creation of wapentakes took the manors into consideration when forming the boundaries but over time as land was acquired the manors crossed these boundaries but the wapentake remained static.[63] Although Dawn Hadley has emphasized that the 'wapentakes and the sokes of the northern Danelaw were fundamentally unrelated institutions, both geographically and functionally'[64], wapentake boundaries were influenced by manorial lords.[65] The implication for Hackness and Whitby is that the two were not linked either economically, administratively and legally.

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[62] Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 307-9.
[63] Hart, *Danelaw*, pp. 266-7.
[64] Hadley, *Northern Danelaw*, 105.
[65] Ibid., 107, 152-3.

The next chapter will address the issue of deaneries and archdeaconries that divide the area of Hackness from Whitby and Pickering and their relationship to the wapentake boundaries. It is noteworthy here that Hackness was in the archdeaconry of the East Riding and Dickering deanery with Falsgrave and not in Cleveland deanery with Whitby or Ryedale deanery with Pickering. However, the question can be raised here of the usefulness of equating secular boundaries with those of the ecclesiastical hierarchy. As Dawn Hadley has shown, although the manorial lords appear to have influenced wapentake boundaries, the functions of the wapentake remained separate from those of the manor. A similar case can be construed as regards parishes, i.e. lords may have influenced parish boundaries but the manor remained an economic unit separate from it. The boundary of the parish of Hackness cannot be demonstrated to relate either to the 7th-century monastery or to landholding in the 11th century deduced from *DB*.

Lythe

The indication from the stone sculpture at Lythe is that it was the site of a *monasterium*; whether this was *Osingadun* is uncertain. However, if this was the case, according to the 'minster' hypothesis, a tenurial relationship to Whitby should to be found. On the other hand, if it was an independent *monasterium*, there ought to be a correlation between the manorial and parochial boundaries. Therefore, this section examines the manorial boundaries in relation to the parish boundaries and whether it can be assumed that manorial boundaries extended as far as those of the parish. In the 19th century, the parish of Lythe included the townships of Lythe, Barnby, Goldsborough, Ellerby, Mickleby, Borrowby, Newton Mulgrave, Hutton Mulgrave and Ugthorpe. Before the mid-14th century, the township of Egton was also part of the parish before it became separated.

In the pre-Conquest period, Sveinn had one manor each in Lythe, Hutton (Mulgrave),

Egton, (Mul)grave (Castle), Goldsborough, Mickleby, Borrowby including a berewick

in Roxby and soke in Newton (Mulgrave), and in *Grimesbi*, while in Ellerby, Siward

and Sveinn had 2 manors.[66] Ligulfr had one manor in Ugthorpe and 'within this

boundary, Gamall 2 carucates'[67] and in 1086 the king had 4 carucates in Barnby.[68] The

entry for Barnby is from the 'summary' and does not name the pre-Conquest landholder

and the township is not entered under any other entry from which it may be learned who

the pre-1066 landholder was. This shows that, though, Sveinn held many manors there

were substantial areas that others held, especially Barnby and Ugthorpe.

The Domesday Inquest recorded the manors individually for each township and not as a

manor with berewicks and sokelands centred on Lythe, or another named place in Lythe

parish. There was only the manor of Borrowby that included a berewick and soke,

otherwise each manor was confined to one township, except for Ellerby, where there

were two and Ugthorpe, which was the location of Gamall's 2 caracuates. Sveinn held

most of these manors, except for land in Ellerby, Ugthorpe and Barnby, which was held

by others. There seems to be no connection to the land or landholders in Whitby parish.

Siward, who shared 2 manors with Sveinn in Ellerby cannot be identified as being

synonymous with Earl Siward who held the manor of Whitby.[69] Ugthorpe may have

been settled at a date later than the others named above[70] because 'thorpe' denotes a

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[66] *DB* folio 305b; *DB* note 5N10 'Grimesbi, a lost vill subsequently part of Borrowby township'.
[67] *DB* folio 300a.
[68] *DB* folio 380c.
[69] *DB* note 1N36.
[70] Place-name analysis has undergone some recent revision and its complexity is explained in recent articles by Gillian Fellows-Jensen, 'In the steps of the Vikings' and Tania Styles, 'Scandinavian elements in English place-names: some semantic problems' in *Vikings and the Danelaw*, ed. James Graham-Campbell et al., 279-98; see also Gillian Fellows-Jensen, *Scandinavian Settlement Names in Yorkshire* (Copenhagen: I kommission hos Akademisk forlag, 1972), 42-53, 70; Gillian Fellows-Jensen, *Scandinavian Personal Names in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire* (Copenhagen: I kommission hos Akademisk forlag, 1968), esp. 320 for reference to Ugthorpe; Margaret Gelling, *Signpost to the past* 3rd ed.(Chichester: Phillimore, 1997), 215-40, 261-3; Hadley, *Northern Danelaw*, 90-1, 153-4; see also Alan

secondary settlement but it is not known from which primary one. The parish of Lythe did not represent the land either of a single landholder or of one manor at the time of the Domesday survey to explain its boundaries. Also, there is no evidence to link the landholders of the late 11th century to the manor of Whitby.

Seaton, Hinderwell and Easington

Seaton and Easington are examined because Seaton and Easington may be the site of *Eigenkirchen* that caused Whitby's *parochia* to fragment, in which case a tenurial link needs to be established. Hinderwell may have had a connection to Whitby, since the name means Hilda's Well. This part summarises the *DB* entries on the lands held and compares manorial and parish boundaries to assess their relationship.

Uhtred had a manor in Seaton (Hall) with '½ church' and sokeland in Roxby.[71] Since *DB* 'only records a church when it is significant from a revenue point of view'[72] Uhtred's ½ church was important to the assessment of his manor but there is no information as to who had the other half and little evidence that this ½ church was actually located at Seaton (Hall). Division of churches was known since the 9th century when *Eigenkirchen* could be sold, given away, bequeathed or divided into portions.[73] The existence of possibly pre-Conquest stone coffins[74] has been tied to the *DB* entry of the church but these coffins can no longer be found and accurately dated. It seems likely that the church was in Seaton because the DB entry starts with 'in Seaton ...' and lists villagers and woodland also. However, this highlights that the landholder and church benefactor need not be the same person and leads to the consideration that

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Everitt, *Continuity and Colonization: the Evolution of Kentish Settlement* (Leicester: Leicester Univ. P., 1986) for an analysis of settlement chronology.
[71] *DB* folio 305b.
[72] John Godfrey, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon England* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1962), 322.
[73] Ibid., 320.
[74] 400 m to the east of Seaton Hall and marked on the OS 6"map see *Corpus v. 7*, 298.

churches may need to be separated from landholding, which has implications for the relationship between manorial and parish boundaries.

Hinderwell needs to be mentioned because the name means 'Hilda's well'[75] and could indicate that there was a link to Hild and the *monasterium* at Whitby. Northmann had a manor in Hinderwell with soke in *Arnodestorp*, which was acquired by William de Percy.[76] In Hinderwell was also one of the sokelands to the manor of (South) Loftus.[77] Seaton disappeared as a separate township and the area was absorbed into Hinderwell parish. Easington was another soke of the manor of (South) Loftus in the possession of Earl Siward before the Conquest and had a 'church without a priest.'[78] Although Earl Siward was the landholder of South Loftus and Whitby, each manor appears to have been separate and geographically discreet and therefore they cannot be linked. The manor of South Loftus included sokelands extending from Guisborough to Hinderwell but not in a continuous geographic territory. The area was divided into numerous ecclesiastical parishes. The parishes of interest, because they are the sites of possibly early churches, are Hinderwell and Easington. Hinderwell formed a parish with Roxby but landholding in both townships was diverse with many different persons holding land at the time of the Conquest. Easington formed a parish with Liverton, a township geographically detached from Easington, being located west of Loftus, while Easington is east of Loftus.

The 'minster' territory of Whitby cannot be reconstructed on the basis of later manorial boundaries. The manorial boundaries appear to have no relationship to the parish boundaries and it cannot be assumed that manors extended to the limits of the parish in

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[75] A.H. Smith, *The Place-Names of the North Riding of Yorkshire*, English Place-Name Soc., v. 5 (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1928), 138.
[76] *DB* folio 322d.
[77] *DB* folio 305a.
[78] *DB* folio 305a.

the early medieval period because the existence of ancient alods is evident from the *DB*

entries. The manor of Whitby was confined to part of the parish and there is no

evidence to link this manor to Lythe, Hinderwell, Seaton Hall or Easington on tenurial

grounds. The 11th-century landholding shows that the *monasterium* at Lythe was almost

certainly an independent foundation and that the churches at Seaton Hall and Easington

were *Eigenkirchen* whose benefactors had no connection to Whitby. In Hinderwell,

despite the name, there was an alod of Northman as well as sokeland to (South) Loftus.

Therefore, these *Eigenkirchen* should be investigated with the manor of (South) Loftus.

The Minster Territory of Lastingham

The cluster of *monasteria* and *Eigenkirchen* identified in chapter 2 is examined in this

section with regard to recreating Lastingham's 'minster' territory. This section

summarises the information from *DB* on manors and places them in the context of the

19th-century parish boundaries. The manorial boundaries are related to the parish

boundaries to assess whether they show a correlation. The churches are related to the

manors and considered in terms of the concept of *Eigenkirchen* and the role of the

benefactor.

In the 19th century, the parish of Lastingham included besides the township of that

name, the townships of Appleton-le-Moors, Rosedale West Side, Farndale East-Side or

High-Quarter, Hutton-le-Hole and Spaunton. The place-names Rosedale and Farndale

appear for the first time in the mid 12th century.[79] The Dales and Lastingham,

Appleton-le-Moors, Hutton-le-Hole and Spaunton surround Spaunton Moor, which was

common to the latter four townships.[80] In addition, the Ordnance Survey recorded the

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[79] Smith, *Place-names of the North Riding of Yorkshire*, 63, 80.
[80] Ordnance Survey, *1ˢᵗ edition 6", sheet 74* (Southampton: Ordnance Survey, 1856).

detached portions of these four townships on its map[81] and it showed them to be intertwined; the tithe maps also confirm this.[82] The chronology of these developments is not determined here but the complicated nature of the townships that make up the parish needs to be kept in mind when the manorial boundaries are compared to the parish.

The *DB* entry under the king assigns him 1 manor of 1 carucate at *Baschebi* previously belonging to Gamall,[83] under Berenger de Tosny, it reads that in 'Lastingham, Gamall had 1 manor with 1 carucate ... Now, from Berenger, the Abbot has there 1 villager with 1 plough.' 'In Spaunton, Gamall had 1 manor with 6½ carucates ... Now the Abbot has (it) from Berenger.'[84] In Hutton (le Hole) was a berewick of Kirby (Moorside) belonging to Ormr before the Conquest and Hugh son of Baldric in 1086.[85] In the 'summary', the following carucates are assigned, in Lastingham, the Abbot had 2 carucates and Berenger de Tosny 1 carucate, in *Baschebi* the king 1 had carucate, in Appleton (le Moors) the Abbot had 2 carucates and 2 carucates from the king, in Spaunton, the Abbot had 6½ carucates from Berenger de Tosny and a further 1 carucate from the king.[86] Clearly there was not one landholder or one manor that predominated in this area, which could be related to the parish boundary.

The Abbot referred to is the same Abbot of York who had land in Prestby. It was the monks of Whitby after leaving there, who settled in Lastingham for a period before

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[81] Ibid.

[82] *Plan of the Township of Lastingham Surveyed for the purposes of the Tithe Commutation Act 1841*; *Plan of the Township of Spaunton in the Parish of Lastingham in the North Riding of the County of York*, (1849); *Plan of the Township of Hutton le Hole in the Parish of Lastingham in the North Riding of the County of York*; *Plan of the Township of Appleton-le-Moors in the Parish of Lastingham in the North Riding of the County of York*.

[83] *DB* folio 300b, see *DB* note 1N57 for locating *Baschebi* in Lastingham township.

[84] *DB* folio 314a.

[85] *DB* folio 327c.

[86] *DB* folio 380d.

moving on to York.[87] Therefore, the acquisition of this land must be dated after the Conquest. Gamall was the main landholder in the pre-Conquest period but he held the land as separate manors, which were acquired by the king and Berenger of Tosny emphasizing that they were disconnected. The discrepancy between the entries in the main part and the 'summary' makes analysis of this parish difficult. However, the lands in the parish appeared to be in the possession of the Abbot of York, when in a charter dated a few years after the Domesday Survey, his land was confirmed and he received additional lands near Lastingham, i.e. those of Hugh son of Baldric.

> 'Confirmation by William II to abbot Stephen and the monastery of St. Mary, York, of the church and site of the monastery outside the city of York, from Galmonhou to the mid-stream of Ouse with the onset of a mill, and their possessions to be held in frank almoign with the same laws and customs which the church of St. Peter of York or that of St. John of Beverley has; further confirmation of the gifts of William I, Count Alan of Brittany, Berenger de Toeny, Hugh son of Baldric, Osbert de Arches, Odo the crossbowman, Gilbert de Gant, William de Estois and Ilbert de Lascy. 1088-1093.'[88]

The diversity of landholders who made this donation leads to the impression that the pre-Conquest landholders were a disparate group of individuals who had property rights in the area. It suggests that these were ancient alods.

According to the *DB* 'summary', the lands within these *vills* was divided between two wapentakes, Lastingham was in Dic, Spaunton and Hutton-le-Hole were in Manshowe, and Appleton-le-Moors was in both or possibly it was divided, since it is difficult to tell whether the two entries to the Abbot's land refer to one and the same 2 carucates or whether those he had from the king were separate, which seem more likely. The point made in the previous section on Whitby and Hackness regarding wapentake boundaries and manors is applicable here. It seems unlikely that the area of the parish was one manor when wapentakes were created, which would imply that it was not one manor or 'minster' territory prior to the 9th or 10th century.

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[87] Hamilton Thompson, 'Monastic settlement of Hackness', 390-1.
[88] *EYC*, v. 1, 264-67; see also Farrer's notes on this charter.

The extent of the 7th-century monastery cannot be deduced from *DB*. There was no identifiable manorial centre; the properties referred to appear to have been individual manors. There was a berewick to Kirby Moorside in Hutton-le-Hole. The wapentake boundary between Dic and Manshowe divided this parish,[89] which makes it unlikely that the area was a unified territory in the early Anglo-Saxon period according to the arguments above. Although the parish boundary had no relation to manorial landholding in the 11th century, the four townships taken together had a definable boundary. The detached portions of the townships were confined to the parish. None of the townships of Kirby Moorside, Sinnington or Middleton had detached parts in Lastingham parish.[90] Kirby Moorside had a berewick in Hutton-le-Hole but this was quite separate from the township and did not reflect a detached part of Kirby Moorside. The implication is that Lastingham as a parish unit is meaningful when created out of these townships but it cannot be shown that the 7th-century monastery extended to the limit of the parish and was the centre for pastoral care for this area.

Kirkdale, Kirby Moorside, Sinnington and Kirby Misperton

The landholding of these four areas is considered here because of their churches. The possibility that the first three may represent a cluster around Lastingham has already been mooted. Kirby Misperton is included in this section, although thought possibly a cluster with Middleton and Ellerburn in the last chapter, because *DB* has identified a tenurial link to Kirby Moorside, i.e. there was a berewick to Kirby Moorside there.

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[89] However, in the 13th century, Lastingham is in Ryedale wapentake, see William Page, *The Victoria County History of the County of York, North Riding 2 v.* (London: Constable; St. Catherine Press, 1914-23) v.1, 459.

[90] As far as I have been able to determine; the parish boundaries are not easily identified on the maps, esp. on a microfilm copy.

Kirkdale was not mentioned in *DB* and there was not a township of that name; it is the name of the parish first mentioned in 1202.[91] The church lay in the township of Welburn but is not near the nucleated village.[92] In 1086, the king had a manor from Grimr in Welburn,[93] Berenger of Tosny had another manor there but it is not stated from whom,[94] and there was also Hugh Son of Baldric' berewick to his manor of Kirby (Moorside) which he had from Ormr.[95] This latter landholder could provide the connection to the church since the sundial found there dated to 1055-1065 has an inscription that reads :-

> 'Orm the son of Gamal bought St. Gregory's minster when it was utterly ruined and collapsed and he had it rebuilt from the foundation (in honour) of Christ and St. Gregory in the days of King Edward and in the days of Earl Tosti. And Hawarð made and Brand the priest.'[96]

However, since Orm (or Ormr) bought the church from someone unnamed it may have no connection to his berewick there and landholding in the mid 11th century may be irrelevant. Already stated in chapter 2, rights in *Eigenkirchen* should be seen as those of a ruler and not of an owner with the ruler serving as special benefactor. Ormr, therefore, would be St. Gregory's benefactor and would benefit from the income of the church without property rights over all the lands in the parish of Kirkdale. The implication is that the *monasterium* of the 8th century cannot be shown to have controlled an extensive area using 11th-century sources. The parish boundary cannot identify 8th-century property rights because there are too many independent landholders in the 11th century to assume that the *monasterium* was at the centre of a large estate.

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[91] Smith, *Place-names of the North Riding*, 66.

[92] Page, *VCH*, v. 1, 517; the parish consisted of the townships of Beadlam, Bransdale Westside, Muscoates, Nawton, North Holme, Skiplam, Welburn and Wombleton; in the pre-Conquest period Uhtred had 1 manor in Beadlam (*DB* folios 305d and 306a), in Nawton Ulfr had 4 carucates (*DB* folio 303a), Thorbrandr probably had 1 manor (*DB* folio 314c) and Ormr had a berewick belonging to Kirby Moorside (*DB* folio 327c), in (North) Holme (House) Gamall probably had 1½ carucates (*DB* folio 314b) and a manor of 1½ carucates (*DB* folio 300c) the former belonged to Berenger of Tosny and the latter to the king after the Conquest, in 'Walton' Thorbrandr had 1 bovate (see *DB* 8N27 note for placing 'Walton in Welburn township) and in Wombleton Ulfr had 1 manor (*DB* folio 303b).

[93] *DB* folio 300c.

[94] *DB* folio 314c but it probably belonged to Thorbrandr who is the last named; see also *DB* 8N24-8 note.

[95] *DB* folio 327c.

[96] Lang, *Corpus, v. 3*, 163-6.

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Property rights in the early medieval period, discussed in chapter 2, allowed for both individual landholders of small estates as well as those of large estates, which means that the parish boundary may not have borne any relation to secular landholding and 11th-century landholding bears this out.

Ormr's manor of Kirby Moorside had a priest and a church and berewicks in 'Walton'[97], Hutton (le Hole), Gillamoor, and Hoveton, as well as in Welburn, *Middelham*, Harome, Nawton, (Great) Barugh, Normanby, Misperton, Ryton, Marton and (Little) Barugh.[98] The extent of this manor ranges from the moors to the Derwent valley although not in a continuous geographic area. Others held land in these *vills* as well[99] and in areas in-between, such as in Edstone, where Gamall had a manor in Great Edstone and Thorbrandr had 3 carucates.[100] The church and priest recorded in the Kirby Moorside *DB* entry has been linked to Kirkdale[101] but then where would the assessment for the church located in the village of Kirby Moorside be, which has a small collection of Anglo-Scandinavian stone sculpture pointing to its existence before the Conquest. The entry under Kirby Moorside is very specific; it reads '[T]here, a priest and a church.'[102] This can be compared to the entry for Easington church, which is shown specifically under the soke of Easington and not under the manor of South Loftus.[103] It seems clear that both churches, in Kirby Moorside and Kirkdale existed in the second half of the 11th century but only the church in Kirby Moorside was recorded in *DB*. The manor of Kirby Moorside predominated but it was not the only one.

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[97] see *DB* 8N27 note, a lost vill subsequently part of Welburn township.
[98] *DB* folio 327c.
[99] For example Thorbrandr had 2 carucates and 6 bovates in Kirby (Misperton) with ½ church and a priest and Gamall had 1 manor in another Kirby (Misperton) (*DB* folio 314a) and 1 manor in Normanby (*DB* folio 300c).
[100] *DB* folio 314b.
[101] Page, *VCH*, v. 1, 523.
[102] *DB* folio 327c.
[103] see *DB* folio 305a.

In Sinnington Thorbrandr had a manor and a further 2 carucates.[104] The entry separates the manor from the land of 2 carucates and in the 'summary' places the manor in Dic wapentake and the land of 2 carucates in Manshowe wapentake. The other townships that formed the parish were Marton and Little Edstone, with Marton in Dic and Little Edstone in Manshowe wapentake. In Marton were one of the berewicks to Kirby Moorside and Gamall's manor[105] and in Little Edstone was land of Thorbrandr. The parish as a unit is not mirrored in the area as a manorial entity. The separate economic units are emphasized further by the boundary between the two wapentakes dividing the parish.

The berewick of Misperton belonging to Ormr's manor of Kirby Moorside[106] was in this township. Thorbrandr had land of 2 carucates and 6 bovates in Kirby (Misperton) that included ½ a church with a priest, which the Abbot of York received from Berenger of Tosny after the Conquest.[107] Gamall had 1 manor in another Kirby (Misperton), which also came to the Abbot from Berenger.[108] The parish of Kirby Misperton was larger than the township and included the townships of Ryton with Lund Forest, Great Habton, Little Habton, Great Barugh and Little Barugh. In Great Barugh and Little Barugh, the King had one manor each that was in the possession of Ligulfr and Esbjorn respectively prior to the Conquest.[109] In the same place, the Archbishop of York acquired land that was Ulfr's three manors before 1066.[110] There were also berewicks of the manor of Kirby Moorside in both Barughs.[111] In (Great and Little) Habton, the King had two manors formerly in the possession of Ulfr and Knutr and the Count of Mortain had ½

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[104] *DB* folio 314b and 314c.
[105] *DB* folio 314b, see also 8N11-21 note on identifying Gamall with this manor.
[106] *DB* folio 327c.
[107] *DB* folio 314a.
[108] *DB* folio 314a.
[109] *DB* folio 300c.
[110] *DB* folio 303a.
[111] *DB* folio 327c.

carucate that was formerly in Ulfeketill's and Ormr's possession as one manor without a hall.[112] In Ryton, the King had a manor that had belonged to Knutr before 1066[113] and another 6 bovates in Salescale.[114] In Ryton was also was another berewick of Kirby Moorside.[115] Land tenure before the Conquest as evidenced from the entries in *DB* show the area to be one of small manors and holdings and the parish boundary cannot be related to the manorial tenure in the middle of the 11th century.

Lastingham cannot be shown to have been at the centre of a large manor and its parish is not of exceptional size – its large size can be accounted for by the area of moors that are part of the parish in the north. Kirby Moorside, which had berewicks, but no sokelands,[116] in the parishes stretching from Lastingham, Kirkdale, Sinnington to Kirby Misperton, was the largest manor in the area in terms of geographic spread. However, many other landholders within each parish and township were identified making a simple explanation of the boundaries difficult. The churches that can be identified were in the possession of Ormr in Welburn (Kirkdale) and Kirby Moorside, and of Thorbrandr in Kirby Misperton. The church in Sinnington was not entered into the *DB* record and therefore cannot be linked to Thorbrandr who held the manor. The case of Kirkdale church, which was bought by Ormr in the decade leading up to the Conquest, is instructive because it shows that churches could be independently acquired and may not have been tied to the land. This also clarifies Susan Reynolds' concept that a person's right in an *Eigenkirche* differed from rights over secular property.[117] This right should be seen as that of a benefactor, even though it gave him (or her) the right to

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[112] *DB* folio 305d.
[113] *DB* folio 300b.
[114] *DB* folio 380d; this place no longer exists but was in Ryton township see *DB* SN, Ma2 note.
[115] *DB* folio 327c.
[116] Hart has postulated that manors 'with a high proportion of berewicks compared to sokelands are likely to be of more ancient origin' than other manors, see Hart, *The Danelaw*, 265.
[117] see chapter 2.

buy, sell and bequeath the church or part of it. The church had its role in parochial care and was linked to the ecclesiastical hierarchy, which is exemplified by the *Northumbrian Priests' Law* to be discussed in the next chapter.

The 'minster' territory of Lastingham cannot be reconstructed using manorial boundaries. The manors described above did not have a relationship to the parish boundaries and it cannot be assumed that they ever extended to the limits of the parishes. The *monasterium* at Lastingham cannot be shown to have had extensive property holdings in the area that became the parish; there is no evidence that it had a large *parochia* over which it was responsible for pastoral care. The cluster of churches in Kirkdale, Kirby Moorside, Sinnington and Kirby Misperton (whether they were *monasteria* or *Eigenkirchen* is unimportant) cannot be linked to Lastingham using manors and landholding and, therefore, this was not the *parochia*. The size of Lastingham's parish was not exceptional and cannot be thought of in terms of the 'minster' hypothesis' *parochia*.

Pickering

Pickering is included because it was a large parish and a royal manor after the Conquest and appears to be a prototype for the 'minster' hypothesis. There is no evidence that Pickering was the site of a *monasterium* in the 7th or 8th century but it was suggested in chapter 2 that Pickering may have had a secular minster. This section follows the same format as previous ones, examining manorial boundaries in relation to parish boundaries. It describes and attempts to explain the division or fragmentation of the area of the manor into separate parishes.

Pickering was a major manorial centre[118] that the king acquired from Morcar[119]. In the 19th century, the parishes of Middleton, Pickering, Levisham, Ellerburn, Thornton Dale, Allerston, Ebberston and Brompton represented this area. In the Middle Ages, Allerston and Ebberston was one parish and both were previously chapelries to Pickering as was Ellerburn. These changes will be described in more detail in the next chapter when Pickering as a mother church is examined. The *DB* entry for the king records that Pickering had berewicks in Barton (le Street), Newton, (High) Blandsby and Easthorpe (House), and sokelands in Brompton, *Odulfesmare*, Ebberston, Allerston, Wilton, Farmanby, Roxby (Hill), Kingthorpe (House), *Chiluesmares*, *Aschilesmares*, *Maxudesmares*, Snainton, *Chigogemers*, Ellerburn, Thornton (Dale), Levisham, Middleton and Barton (le Street). In addition to this manor, the king had acquired separate manors in Brompton from Ulfr, in Troutsdale and Loft Marishes from Arnketill, in Allerston, Ellerburn, (Low) Dalby, 'Kettlethorpe', Aislaby, Wrelton, Cawthorn and Cropton from Gospatric, in Lockton from Ulfketill and in Thornton (Dale) 3 manors from Thorbrandr, Gospatric and Thorr.[120] The king was not the only landholder in these townships in 1086. The Count of Mortain had 2 manors from Thorfinnr, one each in Loft Marishes and *Ghigogesmersc*, and 1 manor in Barton (le Street) from Waltheof, which included a church.[121] Berenger of Tosny had 6 manors from Gamall, one each in *Leidtorp*[122], Newton, Snainton, Little Marish and Thornton (Dale) and one in Brompton with a priest and a church.[123] William de Percy had a manor from Blakkr in Snainton[124], where Gospatric retained his manor there after the

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[118] *DB* folio 299b; it was assessed at £88 in 1066.
[119] Morcar was Earl of Northumbria in 1065 after Tostig; see Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 578-9.
[120] *DB* folio 300b.
[121] *DB* folio 305d.
[122] see *DB* 8N7 note, lost vill subsequently part of Wilton township.
[123] *DB* folio 314b.
[124] *DB* folio 323a.

Conquest.[125] Robert of Brus obtained land in Brompton, Thornton (Dale) and Cawthorn

'after the Book of WINCHESTER was written'[126] where the previous landholder is not

stated but these could be the Ulfr and Gospatric's manors that the king had obtained

after the Conquest. This underlines that Morcar's manor with its berewicks and

sokelands predominated but that his manor did not cover this area to the exclusion of all

others. Gospatric and Gamall had many manors and these covered similarly extensive

territories. This is significant insofar as it relates to equating manorial with parish

boundaries, because it leaves some doubt as to which manor or manors to equate with

the parish boundary.

These place-names formed a continuous geographic area in Dic wapentake with the

exception of Barton-le-Street, which was in Manshowe wapentake. However, in the

'summary' the king's land in Barton-le-Street is shown with his manor in Pickering

under Dic wapentake but the Count of Mortain's land in Barton-le-Street is included in

the entry under Manshowe wapentake. The king's berewick and sokeland there may be

an acquisition later than the establishment of the wapentake boundary[127] and, therefore,

is disregarded in the following section since it seems unlikely that it bears any relevance

to the question of defining the parish boundary.

The manors are compared to the parish boundaries in this part (see also fig. 5). The

19th-century parishes are used to describe the parishes in the earlier period because the

hypothesis is tested that manors can be related to parish boundaries. In the 19th century,

the area of the manor of Pickering was divided among the parishes of Middleton

(including the detached township of Lockton), Pickering, Levisham, Ellerburn (with

Farmanby and the detached township of Wilton), Thornton-Dale, Allerston, Ebberston

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[125] *DB* folio 330b.

[126] *DB* folio 332c, d and 333a.

[127] see Hart, *The Danelaw*, 264-7.

Pickering Manor in 11th Century within Parish Boundaries (fig. 5)

Land2.dbf
- Aled
- Berewick
- Manor
- Soke

Pickering.shp
- Aislaby
- Allerston
- Brompton
- Cawthorne
- Cropton
- Ebberston
- Ellerburn
- Farmanby
- Goathland
- Kingthorpe
- Levisham
- Lockton
- Middleton
- Pickering
- Rosedale
- Snainton
- Thornton Dale
- Wilton
- Wrelton

Pickering parish townships
are in shades of red
Middleton in shades of blue
Brompton in shades of yellow
Thornton Dale is in green
Levisham is in brown

and Brompton with Snainton divided between the latter two.[128] Before the mid-13th century, Ellerburn, Allerston and Ebberston were chapelries in the parish of Pickering.[129] Lockton, part of Middleton parish, is thought to have been in Pickering parish at one point in time but this has been difficult to verify[130] and there is no information as to when it may have been in Pickering parish and changed to Middleton. In the 11th-12th century, the area was divided among the parishes of Middleton (with or without Lockton), Pickering, Levisham, Thornton Dale and Bompton. Pickering was by far the largest parish in the study area despite its lack of a *monasterium* that should have formed the basis of the parish.

Comparing landholding to Pickering parish is cumbersome, so the approach here is to compare landholding to the 19th-century townships and grouping those together by 19th-century parishes. This may help to explain the division of the parish in the 13th century and can be compared to other parish developments. Pickering included, besides the township of that name, Newton, Kingthorpe, and most of all those *DB vills* with *mare, maress, mers, mersc*. These were recorded as part of the Morcar's manor but Gamall had a manor in Newton as well. The later parish of Ellerburn included Farmanby and the detached township of Wilton. In all three townships were sokelands of Morcar's Pickering manor, but Gamall also had 1 manor in *Leidtorp* (part of Wilton) and Gospatric had 1 in Ellerburn. The church in Ellerburn has Anglo-Saxon stone sculpture dating from the 9th-11th century[131] and could conceivably be a *monasterium* but more likely it would have been an *Eigenkirche* but one that did not cause Pickering parish to fragment in the pre-Conquest period. Morcar had sokelands in Allerston, Ebberston and

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[128] There were also 2 extra-parochial areas shown on the 1st ed. 6" Ordnance Survey map, (i) Wheeldale Moor and (ii) the fields named 'Turnhill'; see Ordnance Survey, *1st edition 6", Sheet 60* (Southampton: Ordnance Survey, 1854).

[129] Lawton, *Collections*, 516-7.

[130] Ibid., 529.

[131] Lang, *Corpus v. 3*, 126-30.

Snainton, Gospatric had a manor in Allerston, and Gamall and Blakkr each had a manor in Snainton. This confirms that Morcar predominated in this area but also points to the existence of alods. In this case there appears to be a relationship between the manorial boundaries and those of the parish.

Pickering parish surrounded Thornton Dale, which was both a township and parish. Morcar had sokeland in Thornton Dale, Gamall had 1 manor and Thorbrandr, Gospatric and Thorr had 3 manors there. There were too many manors so that the manorial boundaries cannot be related to the parish boundary. Brompton parish included the township of that name as well as Sawdon, Troutsdale and part of Snainton. A priest and a church were recorded in Brompton belonging to Gamall's manor there. In Brompton was also Morcar's sokeland of Pickering, in Troutsdale was Arnketill's manor and in Snainton was sokeland of Pickering, one of Gamall's manor, Blarkkr's manor and Gospatric's manor. However, since Snainton was divided between Brompton and Ebberston parishes, it is difficult to place the one or other manor in Brompton or Ebberston. It could be argued that Brompton parish can be related to Gamall's manor and *Eigenkirche* there and in Snainton but that does not explain why Troutsdale was included in the parish. In Levisham was sokeland of Pickering and the township and parish were coterminous. Levisham fits the model identified as type (i) of David Roffe's categories, i.e. the holding, defined as the basic element of a manor, probably at a late date. Of the three parishes, only Levisham is an example of a clear relationship between the manor and the parish. Thornton Dale and Brompton cannot be equated with the manorial boundaries.

Middleton included the townships of Aislaby, Cawthorn, Cropton, Wrelton, Rosedale East Side and the detached township of Lockton, east of Pickering and Levisham. In

Aislaby, Wrelton, Cawthorn and Cropton there had been separate manors held by Gospatric, but in Lockton was Ulfketill's manor and in Middleton itself was sokeland of Morcar's Pickering manor. Middleton is the site of a church with significant Anglo-Saxon stone sculpture pointing to it being the location of a *monasterium* in the 8th century. The geographic distribution seems to imply that Levisham and Pickering were separated from Middleton since both of those parishes divided Middleton.[132] Also, in Middleton was sokeland to Pickering but in all the other townships, there were individual manors administered separately. The manorial boundaries do not explain the parish boundary.

At first glance, Pickering in 1086 appears to have been in royal hands as far as the extent of its manor. However, a closer look has identified that in 1066 and before many separate manors held by Gamall, Gospatric, Thorbrandr and others were within these townships. The manorial boundaries do not have a relationship to the parish boundaries except in the single case of Levisham. The parishes that emerged from this area cannot be linked to the hypothesis that Pickering *parochia* fragmented into parishes based on the manor. Some of these parishes were not established until the 13th century.[133] Dawn Hadley has shown that landholding changed as land and manors were bought and sold so landholding in the mid-11th century was probably different from that of the mid-10th century but not that different. It is not likely that Morcar's predecessors held the lands of all these men then; property rights in the period preclude this. It is also important to remember than sokeland was not permanently attached to a manor. As was stated at the beginning of this chapter, the relationship between lord and man inferred by

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[132] See also next chapter on the problem of Lockton.
[133] See next chapter.

commendation was one of personal patronage and protection and not necessarily one of property rights and is illustrated by the phrase 'he goes with his land to a lord'.

Conclusions

This chapter sought to reconstruct the 'minster' territories of Whitby, including Hackness, and Lastingham and the territory of Pickering for comparison. It looked for evidence to answer the questions whether it was that case that manorial boundaries had a relationship to parish boundaries and whether it can be assumed that the manor extended to the limits of the parish. The conclusion from the foregoing is that the 'minster' territories cannot be recreated. Either they did not exist or they were not based on manorial boundaries. It cannot even be shown clearly that manorial boundaries had a relationship to parish boundaries except in the case of Levisham. An examination of property rights argued that it cannot be assumed that the manor extended to the limit of the parish because of the existence of ancient alods and the impermanent relationship of sokeman to lord.

DB recorded all entries for manor, soke, berewick, carucate and bovate in the township to which they belonged. The distinction of the economic unit from that of the secular unit is noteworthy because it highlights the significance of the township in 11th-century record keeping. Therefore, the township was an important unit for governmental assessment. In the 19th century, parishes were defined in terms of the townships within their boundaries. The tithe maps outline township boundaries and indicate in which parish they are situated. The relationship of township to parish requires further analysis especially of those where one township was divided between two parishes, which might explain the connection between the two.

This chapter has mentioned the ancient churches in the clusters as they bear on manorial holdings especially when they can be linked to a manor through the *DB* evidence. The *DB* entries have highlighted that only some of the churches known to have existed were recorded. This means that manors and churches were not always connected and therefore, churches known to have existed cannot be linked to a particular manor. This has implications for the development of parishes around manors and their *Eigenkirchen*, because the 'minster' hypothesis proposes that the manor and the *Eigenkirche* fragmented the *parochia* of the *monsterium*. The next chapter examines the cluster of churches as they relate to the three monasteries and to Pickering church as mother-churches.

4 – Monasteries as Mother-churches

This chapter examines the supposition that 7th- and 8th-century *monasteria* had superior or mother-church status in the later Middle Ages. It seeks answers to the question whether the remains of the 'minster' territories can be identified from the dependent status of churches, either the chapelries within the parish or any one of the churches in the clusters that surround them. The question regarding Pickering church is similar, except that in this case it is the territory of a secular 'minster' that is sought. Related to this question is that of the position of the priests in these churches and chapels, the role of the episcopal clergy and if they were reorganized following the Viking settlements in the 10th century. Plausibility of a reorganized clergy is enhanced by the *Law of the Northumbrian Priests*.

The role of Whitby, Hackness and Lastingham parish churches as mother-churches is considered and evidence sought for superior status over other parish churches in the study area, which may indicate that those parishes were once part of the monastic *parochia*. An examination of the clusters of churches around these *monasteria*, identified in chapters 2 and 3, looks for evidence of a relationship between them. Pickering church is studied on a comparative basis and the implication for the development of parishes. The hypothesis is tested that the laity building *Eigenkirchen* based around their estate fragmented the *parochia*. The laity's position in the *Eigenkirche* and its separateness from the manorial estate is emphasized. Churches with large numbers of Anglo-Scandinavian sculpture are noted again and how they may have affected the parochial landscape and the clustering of sites. They are assessed following the example of Everson and Stocker's investigation of Anglo-Scandinavian funerary monuments in Lincolnshire and its relevance to Yorkshire whose key points are that the

stones represent the memorials to the new elite, that if there is a small quantity, they mark the burial of the founder or benefactor of the church and his family but if there is a large quantity, they probably mark the burial of traders or merchants who operated in the areas nearby.

The bishop's function with regard to the supervision of churches was specified in The *Law of the Northumbrian Priests* and is deemed relevant here. The ecclesiastical hierarchy that emerges from the *Law's* chapters demonstrate the existence of bishops, archdeacons, deacon, mass-priests and others, which might indicate that diocesan divisions larger than the parish had already taken place. This leads to a brief history of the ecclesiastical boundaries of deaneries and archdeaconries so evident during the high Middle Ages. The ecclesiastical divisions are compared to the secular boundaries and their similarities and differences noted. These are especially relevant for the study of Hackness and are therefore included here.

The Law of the Northumbrian Priests

The existence of pre-Conquest collegiate churches in the study area cannot be confirmed from either documentary or archaeological sources. *DB* mentions several cases of a church and a priest or without a priest or even 3 churches and a priest, as in the case of Hackness, but not of a community of priests attached to a church or 'minster'. However, the *Law of the Northumbrian Priests*[1] gives an indication of the role of the priest and the ecclesiastical hierarchy and seems to be a code of conduct for both parish priest and the laity. The *Law of the Northumbrian Priests* can be dated to

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[1] in *EHD*, 471-6.

1020-1023.[2] Therefore, it is a valuable document to fit into the chronology of church development in the pre-Conquest period.

There are several points emerging from the *Law* that need emphasizing :-

The *Law* envisages a hierarchy of bishop and archdeacon, with other positions, such as priest, mass-priest and deacon.[3] The role of the bishop and archdeacon in relation to the priest is defined. The bishop ordained the priests in his diocese,[4] and the priest was ordained to a particular church.[5] Although not specifically stated, the bishop had to consecrate the church and laws 13 and 14 are about the fines due from the priest, if he celebrated mass in either an unconsecrated building or without a consecrated altar.[6] Both the bishop and archdeacon could place injunctions on the priest; the fines due to either person if a priest celebrated mass despite the prohibition were the subject of laws 3 and 7 and ignoring their summons was the concern of laws 4 and 6.[7] Church synods apparently took place, whether regularly or not is not known, because law 44 states '[I]f a priest stays away from a synod, he it to compensate for it.'[8]

There are a few hints that the churches had different standing in this period. Laws 1 and 2 address the role of colleagues leading to the assumption that some were collegiate churches.[9] Law 19 states that '[I]f anyone violates sanctuary, he is to pay compensation in proportion to the status of the church and according to what its right of protection is.'[10] These might be oblique references to the three or four-fold division of churches in old English law, which differentiated between various churches with and without

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[2] see Dorothy Whitelock's notes in *EHD*, 471-2.
[3] Laws 1, 2, 4, 6, 12, 23, 57.2, in *EHD*, 472-5.
[4] Law 12, in *EHD*, 472-3.
[5] Law 28, in *EHD*, 473.
[6] *EHD*, 473.
[7] *EHD*, 472.
[8] *EHD*, 474.
[9] *EHD*, 472.
[10] *EHD*, 473.

graveyards.[11] However, since the laws were attempting to promote good conduct for priests, the church's hierarchical position would be irrelevant for this purpose.

According to these laws, the priest was ordained to his church and he had direct responsibility for it. The church was called 'his' and the laws referred to his owning it.[12] He probably did not 'own' it just as a layperson did not 'own' the *Eigenkirche*. This would not have been in conflict with the patronage of the lay benefactor but would have complemented each other's role. The priest had responsibility for looking after the spiritual needs of the congregation and the benefactor and community supported him and the church.[13] A possible conflict of interest between the bishop and benefactor or local lord is indicated by law 5, which states that '[I]f a priest refers a case to a layman which he ought to refer to an ecclesiastic, he is to pay 20 ores.'[14] However, since this is the only law which refers to possibly divided loyalty, not too much should be read into it that may not have been intended. But it does seem clear that the author of the *Law* meant for church matters to be resolved by the Church and not by the laity.

The *Law* appears to be more concerned with payment and collection of the 'Rome-penny' or St. Peter's pence than with tithes. Laws 57.1, 57.2, 58 and 59 relate to this and the penalties owed for failing to pay, depending on the status of the person owing the penny. The penny was to be paid from everyone, villager to lord of an estate and the fines for non-payment were severe. It also instructed that 'two trusty thegns and one mass-priest be nominated in each wapentake, to collect it and hand it over'.[15] It is

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[11] Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 148; see esp. Cambridge and Rollason, 'Debate', 99-100 for a discussion of these divisions.

[12] see laws 2.1 ' he who rightly owns the church', 2.2 'his church', 22 'drives a priest from his church', in *EHD*, 472-3.

[13] The priest historically maintained the chancel while the community looked after the nave – pers. com. Richard Burge, priest-in-charge, St. Oswald's, Lythe.

[14] *EHD*, 472.

[15] *EHD*, 475.

noteworthy that collection of the money was a matter of cooperation between the secular and ecclesiastical authorities, i.e. two thegns and a priest and based on the wapentake. Tithe is mentioned in law 60 in connection with non-payment and the fines due from those who owe it, who seem to be fewer than those who had to pay the Rome-penny. ' If anyone withholds tithes and he is a king's thegn, he is to pay 10 half-marks; a landowner [is to pay] six half-marks, a *ceorl* 12 ores.'[16] The parish is noted in law 42, which reads '[I]f a priest conceals what wrong is rife among men in his parish, he is to compensate for it.'[17] Although the parish was obviously in existence by this time, there is no information on its organization.

The *Law* shows that the writer had clear ideas on the organization of the Church in Northumbria and the conduct of his priests, and the laity as it related to religious matters. A hierarchy was in place to manage these affairs, although the specifics of it are unclear to us because they were not explicitly stated. From the amount of the fines due, it can be deduced that bishops were below the Archbishop and lower again were the archdeacons, but both supervised the priests and they met at synods. However, it is not known whether the position of archdeacon indicates that archdeaconries had already been established and their boundaries defined (see below). Also, there is no clarity on the existence of a 3 or 4 tier arrangement of churches or on the relationship between lay benefactors and the Church, although cooperation between secular and ecclesiastical parts of society is apparent.

Deaneries and Archdeaconries

The secular boundaries of the wapentakes were not mirrored in the ecclesiastical boundaries of the rural deaneries in the study area. The origin of the deanery is difficult

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[16] *EHD*, 475.
[17] *EHD*, 474.

to ascertain. The history of the ecclesiastical divisions between dioceses and parishes, the archdeaconries and rural deaneries, is obscure and has received very little attention.[18] It is considered here because the parishes of the study area are grouped into rural deaneries and archdeaconries and have their own boundaries quite distinct from the secular ones of the wapentake and manor. In particular, it is relevant to Hackness since this parish is in the East Riding archdeaconry and administered from Beverley.

The archdeacon was first mentioned in the fourth century as a member of the bishop's *familia* and was his chief administrative officer.[19] The division of dioceses into archdeaconries is of unknown date but they were found at the end of the ninth century in Reims, Amiens and Laon and may have come into existence during the Carolingian era. These archdeaconries were identified either through the title of 'the *archidiaconus major* who bore the title derived from the church, while the second archdeacon received that of the geographical district in this charge.'[20] More evidence is found in the following centuries but neither the name nor the geographic area of archdeaconries is consistent. The evidence from the continent is that they did not necessarily correspond to the *pagi* of Frankish administration, although it is assumed that if they did, the ecclesiastical division was of an early date.[21] In England, archdeaconries became known in the twelfth century and were founded mainly upon county divisions, with notable exceptions, such as in Yorkshire. The archdeaconries of the diocese of York corresponded to the three Ridings but with these two exceptions.

> 'The archdeaconry of Cleveland or North Riding extended south of York to take in the East Riding wapentake of Ouse and Derwent, while that of East Riding took in, as it still

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[18] The following section is based on A. Hamilton Thompson, *Diocesan Organization in the Middle Ages: Archdeacons and Rural Deans,* Raleigh Lecture on History (London: British Academy, 1943), 1-44.
[19] Ibid., 7.
[20] Ibid., 10-
[21] Ibid., 11.

does, a strip of the North Riding between the vale of Pickering and the sea. In both cases, this may point to a geographical distribution of the Ridings anterior to Domesday.'[22]
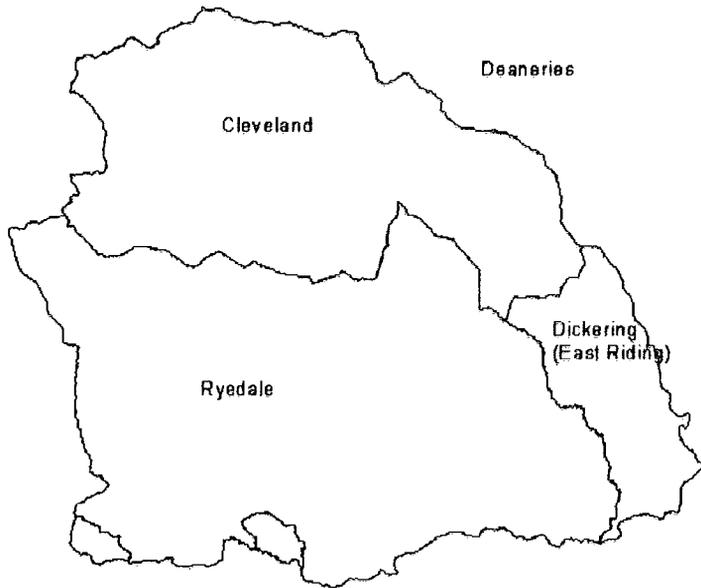
The rural deaneries so evident in the high Middles Ages appear to have their origin in the 9th century and as with archdeaconries one cannot make any general statement regarding their structure. Although a number of deaneries usually comprised one archdeaconry and the dean was responsible to the archdeacon, there were cases of the boundaries of one rural deanery being coterminous with that of the archdeaconry, while the number of deaneries in each diocese varied, the number of benefices in each deanery varied even more. In the middle of the 9th century, the title of dean or *decanus* was given to a selected number of priests (one in ten of those living further than six or seven miles from the city) who were to collect the holy oils from the cathedral church on Maundy Thursday and to distribute them among the churches in the rural areas. Of interest also is that the title *archipresbyter* was equivalent to *decanus* and referred to a priest of a mother church of a district with its dependent daughter churches and chapels. As these daughter churches became independent this early meaning of the title became obsolete.[23] The territory and the names of these rural deaneries did not usually correspond to any one administrative or geographic area and it is thought that they were not defined until the 13th century. The names and geographic areas of the deaneries in the study area do not compare to the wapentakes (see also fig. 6). This discrepancy leads to the suggestion that ecclesiastical boundaries were established for their own purposes irrespective of the secular boundaries.

[22] Ibid., 16-17.
[23] Ibid., 17-21.

Comparison of Deaneries
and Wapentakes (fig. 6)

Deaneries

Cleveland

Ryedale

Dickering
(East Riding)

Wapentakes

Langbargh

Manshowe

Dic

N

Whitby as Mother-church

The role of the parish church is examined and whether the parish can be identified with the 'minster' territory. The parish church of Whitby is St. Mary's on the east cliff adjacent the monastery but below it. The Whitby Chartulary says that William de Percy, his son Alan and others (un-named) gave the *vill* and port of Whitby to the Abbey. It then specifies all the lands, possessions, forests, churches, tithes, and liberties of Whitby and other *vills* that were given.[24] The places named appear to have been confined to the area of the parish. It is not known when Percy or his son acquired the *vills* but it must have been after *DB* was recorded because this list is different from the land held in 1086, or if someone else made these donations. In a later dispute with Lythe,[25] the *vills* given are cited as the evidence for the parish boundary. Also, they gave the 'Heremitoria de Eschedale et de Mulegrif; forestas quæ pertinent ad ecclesiam de Witeby; Ecclesiam Sanctæ Mariæ ejusdem villæ cum sex capellis, (supplied on the lower margin as :- capellam de Filinga, et de Hakesgard, et de Snetuna, et de Ugilbardebi, et de Dunesle, et de Asulvebi).'[26] It continues to name other gifts in Hackness and outside the study area. Although the Percy bequests were probably the largest, other benefactors also made donations. It is impossible to state when Percy became the benefactor of these chapels or who the one or more benefactors were before the Conquest. Naming the chapels to St. Mary's Whitby seems to establish the church with its dependencies at the end of the 11th century.

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[24] 'Itaque omnes terras, possessiones, forestas, ecclesias, decimas et libertates, quas sæpe nominatus idem Willielmus de Perci, cum Alano de Perci, filio suo, monasterio de Witebi dederat in primis, necnon in ultimis temporibus suis antequam Ierosolimam peteret, vel quique fideles monasterio nostro de Witebi dederunt vel concesserunt in elemonsinam perpetuam, ad monimentum, hic breviter annotabismus :- Villam et maris Portum de Witebi, Overbi, et Nedhrebi, id est Steinsecher, Thingwala, Leirpel, Helredale, Gnip, id est Hauchesgard, Normanebi, Fielengam et alteram Fielingam, Bertwait, Setwait, Snetune, Hugelbardebi, Sourebi, Risewarp, Neuham, Stachesbi, Baldebi, Breccha, Flore, Dunesleia; *Whitby Chartulary*, v. 1, 2-3.

[25] see following section on Lythe.

[26] *Whitby Chartulary*, v. 1, 3.

The chapels are mentioned again in the Chartulary during the abbacy of Roger of

Scardeburg, 1222-1244, with an additional chapel in Eskdale.[27] In 1460, there was also

the church or chapel of St. Ninians in Whitby[28] but otherwise nothing is known of either

of these subsequent acquisitions and they were probably built after the 11th century.

The chapel of Dunsley was destroyed at the dissolution.[29] The chapel of Hawsker

disappeared and today's church is from the 19th century. The site of the medieval

chapel may be the cross-shaft dating from the first half of the 10th century, which was

described as a tall cross *in situ* on its original base in a field in front of Hawsker Hall in

1910.[30] The entry from the *Whitby Chartulary* and the cross has been taken to mean

that a chapel existed before the Conquest but a further reference in the chartulary states

that the Abbot of Whitby gave permission to the Haukesgarth family to build a chapel

there in the first half of the 12th century.[31] This makes it difficult to be categorical about

the continuity of the site since the cross could have been moved.

Whitby Chartulary names six chapels to St. Mary's church but whether there were

others is undetermined. However, it can be established almost certainly that Sneaton

became a parish between the 11th and 13th century since the old valuation for the church

in the *Taxatio Nicolai* (dated 1291) was 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*[32] This same document valued

Whitby's church with a chapel at 33*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*[33] and must refer to St. Mary's but which

chapel or why only 1 chapel is not known. Fylingdales was valued separately at 16*l.*[34]

and appeared to have been a separate parish then. In 1353, a dispute started between the

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[27] *Whitby Chartulary*, v. 1, 121.

[28] *Whitby Chartulary*, v. 2, 625.

[29] Langdale, *Topographical Dictionary*, 31.

[30] *Corpus, v. 6*, 122-4; Collingwood, *Yorks. Arch. J.* 19 (1907), 330; Collingwood, *Yorks. Arch. J.* 21 (1911), 280-283.

[31] *Whitby Chartulary*, v. 1, 179-80.

[32] *Taxatio Nicholai IV,* 301; this document gives two figures for parish churches, old assessment and new – I am only quoting the old assessment throughout this thesis because it will have reflected the churches value and standing in the past, i.e. before 1291.

[33] *Taxatio Nicholai IV,* 301.

[34] *Taxatio Nicholai IV,* 301.

Abbot and Community of Whitby and the Archdeacon of Cleveland, Thomas Helwell, regarding the chapel at Fyling. They claimed that this chapel was dependent on St. Mary's church in Whitby and the dispute appeared to continue in 1431 between the Abbot and Community of Whitby and William Peleson, Archdeacon of Cleveland. Following the archdeacon's visitation and request for payment for this visit, the Abbot and Community successfully convinced the court in York that Fyling was a chapelry of St. Mary's Whitby and not a separate parish.[35] It appears that this was the chapel dedicated to St. Stephen[36] on a hill overlooking the present day village of Robin Hood's Bay, that may be the Filingwik of a 14th century source.[37]

Another chapel dedicated to St. Hild was mentioned in a 15th-century papal document stating :- 'Indulgence to those visiting on certain feasts, and contributing to the repair of the monastic church of SS Peter and Hild at Whitby and the chapel of St. Hild near Fyling.'[38] There was also a church at Saxeby in South Fyling which has disappeared but a charter[39] dated between 1177 and 1181 stated that Robert de Aykton granted the church to Whitby Abbey. Maps show a field named chapel-garth near Kirk Moor and a St. Ives Farm[40], there being also the story that foundations of a church or chapel were seen in the 18th century.[41] Saxeby, then, could be the site of the unidentified *Osingadun*, the dependency of Whitby mentioned in both versions of the *Life of St. Cuthbert*.[42] If

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[35] *Whitby Chartulary*, v. 1, 243-247; I am grateful to Rev. Barry Williams for a copy of pages 246-247 from his translation of the Strickland manuscript of the Chartulary.
[36] Arnold-Forster, *Studies*, v. 3.
[37] *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem*, Misc. v. 2, 137 (543. Writ to Sheriff of York. 15 Edw. II (1321).
[38] Eugenius IV – Papal doc., no. 102, 8-15 October, 1431-7 in *Original Papal Documents in the Lambeth Palace Library: a Catalogue*, Jane E. Sayers (London: Univ. of London, Athlone Press, 1967), 37.
[39] *Whitby Chartulary*, v. 1, 51-2, the grant refers to a church not a chapel see "... Robertus filius Wilhelmi de Aichetona, ... , donavi et præs. c. confirmo Deo et S. Petro et S. Hyldæ de Wyteby, Monachisque usque in finem sæculi ibid. Deo serv., in lib.et perp. elem., ecclesiam de Saxeby cum omnibus suis pertinentiis ..."
[40] Ordnance Survey, *North York Moors, Eastern Area, 1:25000 Outdoor Leisure Map 27* (Southampton, 1986), NE Sheet.
[41] *Whitby Chartulary*, v. 1, note p. 52.
[42] *VA* iv, ch. 10; *VP*, ch. 34.

this is the case, it has significance for establishing the monastic territory of the *monasterium* as being within the parish boundary.

Conclusions as to the 'minster' territory are not easily drawn from this evidence of chapels and churches. The documents prove their existence at one point in time but it cannot be inferred that there was continuity over centuries, especially from before the Conquest. There is also no certainty that the site of these chapels remained the same, as noted above in the references to Hawsker chapel.[43] Although the parish church, St. Mary's, may have been founded in the 7th century, there is no evidence that it was. Presumptions can be made that it was because other examples are known where a monastic church of St. Peter was juxtaposed with a second church dedicated to St. Mary.[44] Continuity has not been proven for either church (or both churches) throughout the Viking period.

Whether the parish existed by the end of the 11th century is not confirmed, but comparing the chapels listed in the chartulary with the townships in the parish in the 19th century shows considerable overlap. St. Mary's chapels were Hawsker, Fylingdales, Sneaton, Dunsley, Uggelbarnby and Aislaby. These compare to the 19th-century townships of Hawsker cum Stainsacre, Fylingdales, Newholm cum Dunsley, Eskdaleside cum Uggelbarnby and Aislaby, and Sneaton a separate parish; only the area of the later township of Ruswarp appears not to have had a chapel in the 11th century or it did not belong to St. Mary's. However, there is doubt whether St. Mary's chapels were long-standing dependencies or were more likely a result of Percy's recent

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[43] Robin Daniels has found that on Teesside some churches were moved by new lords after the Conquest; see his article 'The Church, the manor and the settlement: the evidence from the Tees Valley, England' in *Ruralia I: Conference Prague 1995*, ed. Institute of Archaeology (Prague: Pramátky Archeologické, 1996), 102-14.

[44] John Blair, 'Anglo-Saxon minsters: a topographical review' in *Pastoral Care Before the Parish*, ed. J. Blair and R. Sharpe, 226-66.

acquisition. Therefore, they cannot be used to identify the territory of the 7th-century *monasterium*.

Hackness

The enquiry into Hackness is two-fold, (i) it seeks a link from the parish church to Whitby to confirm the connection between the two 7th-century monastic sites and (ii) it looks for Hackness' superior status over other churches. The *Whitby Chartulary* states that William de Percy and others gave to the monastery of Whitby the 'villam de Hachanesse, et duo molendinum, et ecclesiam Sanctæ Mariæ ejusdem villæ, ecclesiam Sancti Petri ubi monachi nostri Deo servierunt, obierunt et sepulti sunt; Dales, Everlai, Brochesei, Northfeld sine danegeld, et Silfhou, totam Gaitelei, Suthfeld'.[45] Hackness, Everley and Suffield were entered under William de Percy in *DB*, while Northfield (Farm) was a berewick of the king's manor of Falsgrave. It is not known when Percy acquired these *vills* or persuaded others to give them to Whitby Abbey but it must have been after 1086. The places named appear to have been within the 19th-century parish boundary. Though a parish is not mentioned in the *Whitby Chartulary*, it gives the impression that Whitby Abbey was acquiring all the *vills* in Hackness as they had done in Whitby. *DB* recorded 3 churches and a priest in Hackness, Suffield and Everley[46] but only two were given to Whitby monastery according to the account quoted above.

Frank Rimington's explanation for the 3 churches was that two were monastic churches and one a 'parish' church.[47] The present parish church, dedicated to St. Peter, was probably the parish church of St. Mary that was mentioned in the *Whitby Chartulary* and later sources. The original St. Peter's was the monastic church to which Reinfrid

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[45] *Whitby Chartulary*, v.1, 3.
[46] *DB* folio 323a.
[47] Frank Rimington, 'The Three Churches of Hackness', *Trans. Scarborough Arch. Hist. Soc.* (1988) 27, 3-10.

moved with his community and where he was buried in the burial-ground, the story

recounted in the *Whitby Chartulary*. Rimington thought that the third church was

another monastic church still standing from the original seventh-century monastery.[48]

There may have been a chapel in Harwood Dale in the Middle Ages attached to the

parish church on 'Chapel Field' near Grange Farm, but not where the ruins of another

one stood near Chapel Farm,[49] and a chapel dedicated to St. Botolph was mentioned

from the 14th to 16th centuries in Hackness with the last being suggested as the successor

to the third church in Hackness.[50] The stone sculpture found in Hackness does not solve

the problem of the 3 churches because the pieces were found in an outbuilding of

Hackness Hall and in the vicarage garden. The one impost or grave cover in the present

parish church itself is probably not *in situ*.[51] However, the size of the nave may 'reflect

the dimensions of that early church.'[52] The stones may all have come from one 7th-

century church and been dispersed at a later date. The juxtaposition of two churches

dedicated to St. Peter and St. Mary has already been noted at Whitby as being a feature

of early monastic communities. The evidence from Hackness points to it being an

element of the 11th-century monastic site as well. The third church, or 2 or 3 churches,

could have been an *Eigenkirche* and became redundant in the succeeding period. There

is no information whether either of the 2 churches had dependent status on the third.

This means that continuity of the original monastic church throughout the Anglo-Saxon

centuries is at best uncertain.

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[48] Ibid., 4-6; see also *Whitby Chartulary*, v. 1, 3.
[49] Rimington, 'The Three Churches of Hackness', 4.
[50] Ibid., 6-8.
[51] *Corpus v. 3*, 135-42.
[52] Cambridge, ' The Early church in County Durham', 74-5.

In 1291 Hackness parish church was valued in the *Taxatio Nicolai* at 33*l*. 6*s*. 8*d*.[53] without any chapels for which there is no explanation. This valuation equalled that for St. Mary's Whitby but whether it reflects equal status or the area's agricultural land and a source of tithe income for the church is not known. The *Taxatio Nicolai* placed Hackness in the deanery of Dickering, in the archdeaconry of the East Riding. This has already been mentioned but highlights that the ecclesiastical administration of Hackness was unconnected to Whitby and may reflect older separate organization.

The foregoing summary of churches and chapels in Hackness and related information has left much that cannot be answered. There is still no satisfactory explanation for the 3 churches and if they are relevant to this enquiry. However, until they can be explained away they need to be mentioned if only as a problem because it highlights that it cannot be assumed that the 7th-century monastic church continued in existence into the later Middle Ages, as the 'minster' hypothesis proposes. The parish church did not have a superior or mother-church position over other parish churches and its position over other chapels is not clear. Further, there is no information that Hackness parish church had any relationship to St. Mary's parish church of Whitby at the time of the Conquest or during the later Middle Ages; the connection to Whitby is through the Abbey.

Lythe

Lythe is the third church identified in chapter 1 as being one of a cluster around Whitby monastery. It has been mooted as the site of the unidentified *Osingadun*, in which case it would have been a dependency of Whitby.[54] The post-Conquest sources give no indication for this. St. Oswald's church was valued in 1291 with its chapels at 33*l*. 6*s*.

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[53] *Taxatio Nicolai*, 326.
[54] Cambridge, 'Archaeology and the cult of St. Oswald', 140-3.

8*d.*,[55] which equals that for Whitby. The number of chapels was not specified nor were they identified at any point. One of these chapels was in Egton, dedicated to St. Hilda,[56] which became a parish in the mid-14th century, when the bishop of Damascus consecrated the church in 1349.[57] The other chapel may have been Hutton Mulgrave on the basis that there is a Kirk Field in Hutton Mulgrave.[58] Ugthorpe may have had a chapel. This relies on the tenuous evidence that Archbishop John Le Romeyn visited Ugthorpe in 1286, where he collated and inducted a deacon and gave dispensation to a priest.[59] However, from the example of Whitby, there may have been several more chapels, one in each of the townships. There is no information that St. Mary's church in Whitby had superior status over St. Oswald's.

The dispute in the 13th century involving the two parishes over their common boundary is noted here. In 1280, Peter de Mauley III, lord of Mulgrave, and John of Tocotes, minister of Lythe, started a claim against Whitby Abbey to the tithe of the land between Lythe parish and the river Esk, that were the townships of Ruswarp, Aislaby, Newholm, Dunsley, Stakesby and half of Whitby, even stating that St. Mary's church in Whitby was dependent on Lythe church.[60] Statements were taken from elderly Whitby residents who

'deposed, That Thordesay Beck, which issued out of Mulgrave Park, was the western limit of Whitby parish; that the bounder went from thence to Merhoue, near the corner of the Horsecroft; from thence to Swarthouecross, and from thence right down Brocholey Beck to the river Eske: That it was public, notorious, and manifest to all those who lived in Whitby Strand, that the Church of St. Mary at Whitby had for time immemorial, and as they verily believed from its first foundation, belonged to the Abbot and Convent of Whitby, who in right thereof had ever received

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[55] *Taxatio Nicholai*, 301.
[56] Arnold-Forster, *Studies*, v. 3.
[57] Lawton, *Collections*, 481.
[58] Ordnance Survey, *1:25000 Outdoor Leisure Map 27, NE Sheet* (Southampton: Ordnance Survey, 1986)
[59] *The Register of John le Romeyn, Lord Archbishop of York, 1286-1296: Part 1* (Pub. of the Surtees Society; v. 123) (Durham: Surtees Society, 1913), 250, 253.
[60] *Whitby Chartulary*, v. 2, 393-397 note, much of the dispute is quoted from Lionel Charlton, *The History of Whitby and of Whitby Abbey* (York, 1779), 225-7; see also v. 2, 626 and *The Register of William Wickwane, Lord Archbishop of York, 1279-1285*. (Pub. of the Surtees Society; v. 114) (Durham: Surtees Society, 1907), 242.

tithes from all these places which were now claimed by John of Tocotes and Lord Peter de Malo-lacu [Mauley].'[61]

The case reached the Pope who issued a bull finding in favour of Whitby Abbey and against Peter de Mauley and John Tocotes who had to defray all expenses but it was the Abbey who paid a fine of 1000 marks to de Mauley and Tocotes, which represented more than a year's income. According to Canon Atkinson, who edited the *Whitby Chartulary* and wrote the notes, after the papal bull was issued the Abbey had a document that stated where the boundary was and was secure in its claim to the tithe and other benefits from these townships with future disputes avoided.[62] However, this still leaves several questions unanswered, (i) did John of Tocotes and Peter de Mauley have a valid claim to the tithes of these lands, (ii) what was their evidence, (iii) why did the Abbey pay so much to de Mauley and Tocotes, (iv) why did the Pope become involved? Although, according to Lionel Charlton, de Mauley and Tocotes did not have evidence for their claim but brought witnesses who swore that the lands in dispute had been mortgaged to the Abbey by Nigel Fossard and that was how the Abbey came into their possession. More witnesses on the Abbey's side were interviewed but they rejected this claim emphasizing that William de Percy or his son had given this land to the Abbey.[63] It is noteworthy that the witnesses referred to events in the previous 200 hundred years but to none before the Conquest. The foundation of St. Mary's church was linked to the Abbey and its later association stressed but apparently it was not coupled with Hild's monastery.[64] The Abbot of Whitby and the witnesses refuted the claim that St. Mary's was dependent on Lythe but did not try to claim St. Oswald's

[61] *Whitby Chartulary*, v. 2, 394-395 note.
[62] Ibid., 397 note.
[63] Lionel Charlton, *The History of Whitby and of Whitby Abbey* (York, 1779), 226-7.
[64] There was an awareness of St. Hild in the 13th century and her importance to the area, because Charlton wrote that '[F]rom the rolls that are yet preserved relating to this trial we learn, that the bounders of Whitby Strand were originally set out by Lady Hilda, about the year 660; and that on the east side thereof she made certain dykes and ditches, which at the time of this trial still continued to be known by the name of *St. Hilda's dykes*; though all these dykes have now lost that name, and are most of them gone to decay, that only excepted which his call *Green-Dyke*, adjoining Stainton Dale.' Charlton, *History of Whitby*, 227.

church as St. Mary's dependency. If de Mauley and Tocotes had knowledge of some pre-Conquest facts, it was not recorded. However, de Percy did not have all the land between the rivers Esk and East Row at the time that *DB* was recorded; the king and others held some of this land and it was acquired by the Abbey subsequently. Although, the dispute went first to the Archbishop of York who found in favour of the Abbey, de Mauley and Tocotes proceeded with their case to the Pope. There is missing information that would lead to an understanding of why the case went to the Pope and he decided to hear it and why the Abbey paid such a large fine.[65] The question arises; did de Mauley and Tocotes have a valid claim to this area that was older than the post-Conquest Abbey? It is unlikely that an answer can ever be provided but it is sufficient to raise doubts as to assumptions made about parish boundaries.

The Sculptural Evidence

The two architectural stone pieces at Lythe church point to it being the location of a monastery. Its remarkable collection of funerary monuments dating from the mid-9th century indicates that this was the graveyard for a large Scandinavian elite[66] who chose to be buried there. These stones were carved there because the 'features of its monuments are peculiar to Lythe and form a workshop group within the tightly local range of hogbacks at the site'.[67] This workshop may have existed until the mid-11th century, the latest date for one of the hogbacks, although most date from the first half of the 10th century. Despite the majority of stones being 'peculiar to Lythe', one piece is of a type linked to the Trent Valley hogbacks dated to the first half of the 10th century in the East Midlands.[68] They have their roots in the Viking hogback but 'are much more overtly Christian monuments. They were made during the period when the lower Trent

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[65] See also Atkinson's notes *Whitby Chartulary*, v. 2, 394-397.
[66] Stocker and Everson, 'Five towns funerals', 224-5.
[67] *Corpus v. 6*, 49.
[68] Stocker and Everson, 'Five towns funerals', 231-34.

valley ... had been brought under the control of the Christian king of Wessex. Consequently it may be reasonable to regard these memorials as those of an elite who, regardless or their Anglo-Scandinavian origins, had sided with the new English regime of Edward the Elder.'[69] The implication for Lythe is that someone had connections to either the Trent Valley or Wessex and was influenced enough by southern English Christianity to wish to be memorialised in this way.

It is beyond the scope of this thesis to analyse the other monuments along the lines of those in Lincolnshire, Stamfordshire and Nottinghamshire but David Stocker and Paul Everson's conclusions offer scope for an interpretation of the churches with stones in the study area. The new elite, who arrived in the early 10th century in Lincolnshire, probably was composed of 'traders associated with both the Viking kingdom of York and Scandinavia.'[70] In the second half of the 10th century, the sculpture in Lincolnshire shows 'cultural affiliations' to Wessex and the rule of English kings after the area had been re-conquered and may have heralded a change in the elite or in the outlook of the existing elite. The new elite 'arrived under a reinvigorated episcopal authority, who were instrumental in the development of the parochial system in Lindsey.'[71] In Stamfordshire and Nottinghamshire where the elite did not appear to have such close links to the Viking kingdom of York, the authors found that 'continuity in monumental tradition might be seen as evidence for continuity within the elite.'[72] A complex picture of culture, trade and government in the 10th century emerges from this analysis.

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[69] Ibid., 233-4.
[70] Ibid., 240.
[71] Ibid., 241.
[72] Ibid.

David Stocker has compared the 'exceptional' number of funerary monuments at Lythe with those at St. Mark's and St. Mary-le-Wigford in Lincoln[73] and has concluded that these represent the memorials for a merchant elite who traded on the strand of Lincoln in the newly established port and lived (and died) there rather than in the old walled city.[74] The parallel to Lythe is that the church 'is placed near the brow of the hill above the fine strand created between the outfalls of the Mikleby Beck and the East Row Beck' and may the location of a beach-market.[75] The strand actually extends from the river Esk in Whitby to Sandsend, at Sandsend Beck (not Mickleby Beck) and was the shortest route to Whitby (2½ miles) at low tide before the coast road was built at the end of the 19th century. Although no evidence for a pre-Conquest settlement is known, Sandsend in 1300 was a large village, it had '53½ tofts rendering 53s. 6d. yearly, and sea fishery worth 13s. 4d. yearly – Sum, 66s. 10d.'[76] The port of Whitby is not documented until after *DB*, but it is probably that it existed at least earlier in that century and maybe before then.

The pieces of stone sculpture at Lythe may represent 30 memorials to individuals most of them buried in the first half of the 10th century, more than at York Minster.[77] It seems more likely that the merchants who chose to be buried in Lythe came from beyond Sandsend and included those trading in those townships west of the river Esk (Flowergate, Stakesby, Baldebi, Newholm, Dunsley), while the elite of Whitby was represented in the few monuments found at the Abbey site, east of the river. The implication for the parish is that either the boundary is a late 10th or post-10th century

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[73] David Stocker, 'Monuments and merchants', 200.
[74] Ibid., 189.
[75] Ibid., 200.
[76] Inquisitions post mortem, no. 304, Peter de Maule alias de Malo Lacu, writ to Thomas de Normanville, the king's steward, 16 July, 7 Edw.1, in *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Moretm and other Analogous Documents preserved in the Public Record Office* (London: HMSO, 1904-), v. 2 Edward 1.
[77] Stocker, 'Monuments and merchants', 201 fig. 10.

creation or that it may have changed, in which case, Peter de Mauley and John of Tocotes may have had a valid claim to the tithes for this area.

Easington, Seaton and Hinderwell

These three churches are considered here briefly because in the previous chapters a connection to Whitby was postulated. Easington church, dedicated to All Saints, was valued in 1291[78] at 21*l*., including 1*l*. to the priors of Guisbrough. Its chapel in Liverton, dedicated to St. Martin, is known from 1219 when the advowson was given to the Priory of Guisbrough.[79] The parish of Hinderwell incorporated the township of Seaton with its church, mentioned in *DB* as ½ belonging to Uhtred with his manor. It is not known whether the church of Hinderwell that is shown in the valuation of 1291 at 16*l*. 13*s*. 4*d*.[80] and the church of Seaton were contemporaries or successors. The church, dedicated to St. Hilda, has a chapel in Roxby dedicated to St. Nicholas[81] dating from the reign of Henry V in the early 15th century.[82] None of these three churches or their chapels gives an indication of a link to Whitby. In particular, a connection between Whitby and Hinderwell cannot be found, despite the place-name etymology meaning Hilda's well. Instead, the parochial divisions need to be investigated with regard to the soke manor of (South) Loftus and the larger than average number of funerary monuments in Easington related to Loftus rather than Whitby but this is beyond the scope of the thesis.

St. Mary's church in Whitby did not have superior status over other parish churches. Its status as mother-church was a result of the chapels within the parish. The 'minster' territory of the 7th-century monastery cannot be identified. The link to Hackness

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[78] *Taxatio Nicholai*, 301.
[79] Lawton, *Collections*, 480.
[80] *Taxatio Nicholai*, 301.
[81] Arnold-Forster, *Studies*, v. 3.
[82] Lawton, *Collections*, 485.

appears more likely to be a result of the post-Conquest Abbey's acquisition policy than the remains of 'minster' territory. The other churches in the cluster, Lythe, Seaton, Easington and Hinderwell, did not have a connection to Whitby and therefore cannot have fragmented the *parochia*.

Lastingham as Mother-church

The evidence for Lastingham's superior status is examined and whether the 'minster' territory can be recreated. The church of St. Mary's position on high ground overlooking the village is probably the place of the 7th-century monastery. The stone sculpture from the 7th to 10th centuries is an indicator but not proof of its continued survival both of its structure and its function. The lack of medium to large numbers of 10th-century funerary monuments indicates that St. Mary's did not become the burial site for the Scandinavian elite of a greater geographic area than its later parish but was confined to the burial of the church's benefactors. The sundial of the church in Kirkdale has shown that a church could lie in ruins before it was rebuilt and interruptions to continued existence were likely. 'The church was an ancient Rectory, which was given to the Abbey and Convent of St. Mary's York, and appropriated thereto, and a Vicarage ordained therein, in 1299.'[83] This complements the grant of land to the Abbot of York shortly after the Conquest, which was discussed in the previous chapter. *Taxatio Nicholai* lists the old valuation in 1291 at 16*l*. 13*s*. 4*d*. and the vicarage at 13*l*. 6*s*. 8*d*.[84] Although the vicarage was not ordained until 1299 it was obviously already in place at the earlier date. There is nothing in this information that can be related to the pre-Conquest church and this and its status gives no indication of its earlier role as a *monasterium*.

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[83] Lawton, *Collections*, 525.
[84] *Taxatio Nicolai*, 324.

St. Lawrence chapel in Rosedale had a special relationship to Lastingham. Rosedale

East Side was in Middleton parish and the West Side in Lastingham. George Lawton

listed the chapel in his entry under Middleton but wrote :-

> 'ROSEDALE – ST. LAWRENCE (*Parish of Lastingham*) ...
> The Chapel is within the parishes of Lastingham and Middleton, and was appropriated to the
> Priory of Rosedale. The town, it seems, is divided by a brook, and the Chapel stands in that part
> which belongs to the parish of Middleton, the other part is in Lastingham parish, but the
> inhabitants come to this parish, and contribute 10s. per annum to the Minister. The Vicar of
> Middleton, in Archbishop's Sharp's time, resigned all his title to this parish.'[85]

It appears that Lawton's description of 'this parish' refers to Lastingham and the

meaning of 'the inhabitants come to this parish' is a reference to parochial services,

such as burials. There is a difficulty in ascribing too early a date to this tie to

Lastingham; however, the anomaly is noteworthy. Rosedale is a place-name not

mentioned in *DB* so it is not known to which *DB vill* the area was attached. The parish

church of Lastingham cannot be shown to have had superior or mother-church standing

during the Middle Ages.

Kirkdale, Kirby Moorside, Sinnington and Kirby Misperton

The cluster of churches identified in chapter 1, the landholding within the boundaries of

their parishes, which was detailed in chapter 2, are described briefly here. Despite the

tenuous link to each other and Lastingham within the Kirby Moorside manor the

churches may show a link that can be related to the 'minster' territory.

St. Gregory's Minster, Kirkdale, has received much attention over recent years with

extensive excavations in the 1990's that have been interpreted as the site of an Anglo-

Saxon monastery.[86] The skeletons of 14 men, women and children dating from the

eighth and ninth centuries have been found in the field north of the church and there is a

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[85] Lawton, *Collections*, 529.
[86] Philip Rahtz and Lorna Watts, *Kirkdale Archaeology, 1996-1997*, Supplement to Ryedale Historian no.
19 (Helmsley: Helmsley Arch. Soc., 1998).

site indicating industrial or craft activities from the later Anglo-Saxon period.[87] The church was valued in 1291 at 23*l*. 6*s*. 8*d*.[88] The stone sculpture listed in chapter 1 gives an indication of almost continuous existence but the sundial inscription described in the previous chapter proves that the church was ruined for a period. The burial evidence might be interpreted as that of a monastic church with responsibility for pastoral care of the surrounding population but the number of graves found is so small that it seems more likely to be those of the laity attached to a *monasterium*. The moderate number of funerary monuments dated to the late 9th and 10th century means that St. Gregory's stands out as a graveyard for an elite of the surrounding area. It has more than nearby Helmsley church, which has 1 hogback,[89] or Kirby Moorside, which signifies its status in the 10th century as a church with burial rights to a wide area.

The church in Kirby Moorside has already been mentioned previously because the church and a priest were listed in *DB*. It is dedicated to All Saints and valued in 1291 at 16*l*. 13*s*. 4*d*. and the vicarage at 10*l*.[90] All Saints church had one dependent chapel in the Middle Ages in Gillamoor of unknown dedication.[91] The funerary monuments all date to the 10th century and their number indicates that they probably belonged to the elite who were the church's benefactors. Its foundation may have been in the 9th century since an unknown type of monument is dated to the middle of that century. All Saints[92] church, Sinnington, was valued in 1291 at 8*l*.[93] It has a moderate collection of funerary monuments, which indicates that Sinnington was also the burial ground for an elite of the surrounding area.

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[87] Ibid., 1-5.
[88] *Taxatio Nicholai*, 324.
[89] *Corpus v. 3*, 142-3.
[90] *Taxatio Nicholai*, 324.
[91] Arnold-Forster, *Studies*, v. 3.
[92] Arnold-Forster, *Studies*, v. 3.
[93] *Taxatio Nicholai*, 324.

St. Lawrence church of Kirby Misperton is known from *DB* and from an early charter :-

> 'Grant by Roger Fitz-Gerold to St. Mary's, York, of the church of Kirkby Misperton with the tithe of the town and of his demesne and with one carucate which belongs to the church and another carucate of his own land. 1094-1099'[94]

It is significant that the church owned one carucate of land before the date of this charter although it is not mentioned in *DB*. This is one of the criteria used by John Blair[95] to identify 'minster' churches but *DB* is clear that the church had only one priest and was not a collegiate church, which would be expected of a 'minster'. The church was valued in 1291 at 37*l*. 3*s*. 4*d*., of which 10*s*. went to St. Mary's Abbey, York.[96] It has only fragments or a part of at most 3 cross-shafts, 2 dating from the 9th century and the third from the 9th-10th century. These pieces appear to point to the burial of the founder and his family in the 9th century who may have also endowed the *Eigenkirche* with one carucate. There is no sculpture firmly dated to the 10th century. This lack of memorials may be a result of succeeding generations predilection or a preference for burial at nearby Sinnington or Middleton.

The evidence for identifying the 'minster' territory of Lastingham through the status of its church or others in the surrounding parishes has been negative. The data compiled about each of the churches in the cluster, was useful only to show that Lastingham cannot be distinguished from any of the other churches. The links of Lastingham and Kirby Misperton to St. Mary's Abbey in York were of post-Conquest origin and therefore, have no significance in this enquiry. It appears from this that the former monastic status of Lastingham became irrelevant after the Viking settlement and the church was not distinguished from other *Eigenkirchen*, which had been built or were

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[94] Chartulary of St. Mary's, York (Dean and Chapter), f. 209d (old f. 132), n.1; in *EYC*, v. 1, 473-474.
[95] John Blair, 'Secular minster churches in Domesday Book' in *Domesday Book: a Reassessment*, ed. Peter Sawyer (London: Edward Arnold, 1985), 104-42.
[96] *Taxatio Nicholai*, 324.

founded in this period. The evidence from Lincolnshire, which points to a revitalized episcopate in the 10th century, and the *Law of the Northumbrian Priests* are relevant here. The remarkably fast integration of the new Viking elite in the area into the church framework, as seen in the acceptance of Christian burial, points to a strong episcopate that educated the priests and consecrated the buildings to serve at the local level. This would not have happened without some central church organization administering the education, ordination and supervision of priests, the distribution of sacraments and the consecration of altar and building none of which could have been achieved without the bishop.

Pickering

The evidence for Pickering church having superior status in the post-Conquest period is examined and whether it can be shown to have had a secular minster in the 7th or 8th century with an attached *parochia* that can be recreated from its mother-church position. Pickering is the only area for which there is proof that the parish existed in the mid-11th century; the parish is mentioned in the early 12th century in a

> 'Writ of Henry I to archbishop Thurstan, Nigel de Aubigny and Ranulf Buscel (?), directing that the church of Pickering shall have the parish which it had in the time of King Edward, notwithstanding the erection of any new chapels, and shall have seisin of the tithes which Engenouf de Fourneaux seized. 1114-1128.'[97]

This establishes the parish of Pickering as of pre-Conquest origin and one has to assume that the church had its beginning then or earlier. The parish was not defined in this writ but information has identified other townships that were included. 'This church was given by King Henry I., with the soke thereof, and all the Chapels and tithes, to the Deanery of York, and a Vicarage was ordained therein, 2 Id. November, A.D. 1252'.[98] The chapels referred to were Ebberston with Allerston and Ellerburn with Wilton; the

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[97] Reg. Mag. Album, pt. I, f. 63b; pt. ii, f.11; in *EYC*, v. 1, 311.
[98] Lawton, *Collections*, 532; see also *Walter Gray's Register*, 'An Ordination by Archbishop Gray of the vicarages of the churches belonging to the Deanery of York', 212-214, esp. 213.

vicarages were ordained a few days after Pickering, on '8 Id. November, A.D. 1252'.[99]

Payments of 12*d.* and 2*s.* per annum were reserved from Ebberston and Ellerburn respectively to the mother church at Pickering.[100] The higher payment from Ellerburn is interesting because the geographic area of Ebberston is far greater than that of Ellerburn; it is possible that this payment points to Ellerburn's former position indicated by its stone sculpture discussed later in this section. The chapel of Lockton, was 'formerly considered to be within the parish of Pickering, with right of sepulture.'[101] This statement has been difficult to verify and is left here because it needs to be considered when discussing the formation of parishes of what was the manor of Pickering. The vicarages of Pickering and Ellerburn were valued in 1291 at 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*[102] each and Ebberston is not shown. The valuation of Pickering was probably based on the vicar getting the small tithe, which was still the case in the 17th century, when '[T]he Vicar hath small tithes of Pickering, the Marishes, Blandsby Parke, Kinthrop, and Newton.'[103] The basis for Ellerburn's valuation is not known and a comparison is not possible but it suggests that Ellerburn had some significance.

The townships of what was the manor of Pickering had several anomalies still recorded on the 1st edition 6" Ordnance Survey maps. The area of Wheeldale, now Wheeldale Moor, was extra-parochial when the Ordnance Survey published its map of the area[104] but seems to have been in Pickering township since '[T]he Rector is not entitled to the tithes of the lands called Weeldale Rigg, for they are not within the parish. – Osborne v.

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[99] Lawton, *Collections*, 516-7; see also *Walter Gray's Register*, 212-214, esp. 213.
[100] Lawton, *Collections*, 516-7.
[101] Lawton, *Collections*, 529.
[102] *Taxatio Nicolai*, 322.
[103] Lawton, *Collections*, 532, quoting from the Parliamentary Survey, v. xvii, 193-9.
[104] Ordnance Survey, *1st Edition 6" map, Sheet 60* (Southampton: Ordnance Survey, 1854). I have difficulty following the township boundaries on the map, but I think Wheeldale Rigg was in Pickering township but the following dispute appears to confirm it.

Breckon.'[105] Pickering and Newton townships each had detached fields in the other's township[106] but this did not affect the parochial boundaries because Newton was one of the townships in the parish.

Ebberston with Allerston also included part of the township of Snainton, which makes the parish boundary with Brompton not easily discerned.[107] Ebberston had many detached fields in Snainton.[108] The other part of Snainton was a chapelry of Brompton. The tithe maps for Ebberston and Snainton[109] were not helpful because by the 1840's the properties that were converted to a rent-charge in lieu of tithe were only a small part of the township and could not be used to define the boundaries. A further court case cited in Lawton adds to the difficulty of the boundary; he quoted that '"[T]he impropriator is only entitled to a modus of ten pounds a year, in lieu of the great and small tithes arising upon such part of the capital messuage and farm call Foulbridge, as is not situate in the parish of Ebberstone." Caley v. Williamson.'[110] There was no tithe map for Brompton. As already indicated, Ebberston was not listed in the *Taxatio Nicholai*, although the vicarage was ordained in 1252 and presumably a church existed, and there is no pre-Conquest stone sculpture at the church. However, this information needs to be treated cautiously, because the occurrence of stone sculpture has much to do with the inclination of the benefactor or founder of the church to commission such monuments, which was shown by Everson and Stocker.[111] It does not mean that a church or chapel did not exist at any time in the pre-Conquest period.

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[105] Lawton, *Collections*, 532, quoting from 1 Wood, 279.
[106] Ordnance Survey, *1st Edition 6" map, Sheet 60*.
[107] Lawton, *Collections*, 516; 'Snainton township extends into Ebberston parish.'
[108] Ordnance Survey, *1st Edition 6" map, Sheet 92* (Southampton: Ordnance Survey, 1854).
[109] *Plan of the Parish of Ebberston in the North Riding of the County of York* (1844); *Chapelry of Snainton in the Parish of Brompton in the North Riding of the County of York, the property of his Grace the Lord Archbishop of York* (1847).
[110] Lawton, *Collections*, 515, quoting from 4 Wood, 3.
[111] Everson and Stocker, 'Five Towns Funerals', 223-43.

Brompton, besides part of Snainton, also included the townships of Sawdon and

Troutsdale. The church and a priest were recorded in *DB* belonging to Gamall in 1066

but the building does not have any pre-Conquest stones. It was dedicated to All Saints

and was valued at 53*l*. 6*s*. 8*d*. in 1291.[112] Therefore, Brompton appears to have been an

Eigenkirche, although why the parish took the form that it did, i.e. to include part of

Snainton and Sawdon and Troutsdale, is not apparent from *DB* or later sources.

Brompton can be interpreted as fragmenting the *parochia* of Pickering.

Thornton Dale divided the parish of Ellerburn from the detached township of Wilton,

although, exactly where the boundary should be drawn is very difficult to discover. In

the 19th century, the township of Farmanby was divided between Thornton Dale and

Ellerburn.[113] The townships of Ellerburn, Farmanby and Thornton Dale show much of

their area with detached fields and were intertwined so considerably that the Ordnance

Survey published the following note on their map :-

> 'NOTE. The portions numbered 2 to 33 belong to the Township of Thornton Dale in the Parish of
> Thornton Dale, those numbered 34 to 72 belong to the Township of Farmanby in the parish of
> Ellerburn, those numbered 73 to 78 belong to both these Townships, but the portions belonging to
> each cannot be shown by distinct boundaries, and the portions numbered 79-81 belong to the
> Townships of Thornton Dale, Farmanby and Ellerburn in the parishes of Thornton Dale and
> Ellerburn.'[114]

The tithe map for Thornton Dale did not provide the answer to where the parish

boundary lay because it only recorded the area that was 'subject to the payment of

moduses'[115], and there was no tithe map for Ellerburn. The Rector of Thornton Dale

was 'entitled to the tithes of calves and milk in kind. – Worsley *v*. Aydon.'[116] The

church was an 'ancient Rectory, formerly belonging to the patronage of the Lords Brus

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[112] *Taxatio Nicholai,* 324.

[113] Lawton, *Collections,* 536, 517; Lawton gives the population of Farmanby under Thornton Dale but
continues: 'Farmanby extends into Ellerburn parish' and under the entry for Ellerburn: 'The township of
Farmanby is partly in this parish.'

[114] Ordnance Survey, *1st edition 6" map, Sheet 91* (Southampton: Ordnance Survey, 1854)

[115] *Plan of that Part of the Parish of Thornton Dale in the North Riding of the County of York which his
subject to the payment of moduses,* surveyed June 1847.

[116] Lawton, *Collections,* 536, quoting from 3 Wood, 383.

of Skelton'[117], which complements the information from *DB* that recorded the holding

of Robert of Brus in Thornton Dale of 11 bovates,[118] though no church was listed.

However, this does not establish whether the church was of pre- or post-Conquest origin

and its lack of stone sculpture cannot help to date it. The church was dedicated to All

Saints,[119] a vicarage was ordained on 6 Kal. September 1226 and it was consolidated

with the rectory in 1308.[120] The church was valued in 1291 at 14*l*. 6*s*. 8*d*. and the

vicarage therein at 5*l*.[121] This church appears to have been an *Eigenkirche* of Robert of

Brus sometime after the Conquest but there is no information that it had any ties to

Pickering or that it had any chapelries attached. Presumably it was already a separate

parish before the Conquest, because none of the sources give an indication that

Thornton Dale was in the parish of Pickering when the writ of Henry I referred to above

was issued. The parish has the characteristics of having been created because an

Eigenkirche caused it to be split from Pickering.

The parish and township of Levisham were coterminous and Morcar was the single

landholder there with sokeland of 2 carucates and 6 bovates before the Conquest.[122]

The church has already been noted as one with 10th-century funerary monuments, which

may represent the family of the incoming Anglo-Scandinavian benefactor or founder of

the church.[123] The medieval church,[124] dedicated to St. Mary, was located in the valley

dividing Levisham from Lockton township. This church is now only a ruin near the

ruins of a mill; the present parish church is in the village itself on the site of a chapel-of-

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[117] Lawton, *Collections*, 536.
[118] *DB* folio 333a.
[119] Arnold-Forster, *Studies*, v. 3.
[120] Lawton, *Collections*, 536.
[121] *Taxatio Nicholai*, 324.
[122] *DB* folio 299b, 380d.
[123] Stocker and Everson, 'Five towns funerals', 225.
[124] K.B. Halse, *Levisham Church* (unpubl. leaflet available in the Church, 1995), 4 p.

ease. The church was valued in 1291 at $5l$.[125] Levisham is exceptional in the study area in that the parish boundaries were those of the township and the site of one pre-Conquest landholder. The church, almost certainly from the 10th century, had burial rights of at least the local elite suggesting that its parochial status had its beginnings then. Although landholder and church benefactor need not have been one and the same person, Levisham represents an example, exceptional in the study area, where parish, township and manor were coterminous in the mid-11th century.

In the 19th century, Middleton parish included the townships of Aislaby, Cawthorn, Cropton, Hartoft, Lockton, Middleton, Rosedale East Side and Wrelton. The problem of verifying whether Lockton was originally in the parish of Pickering has already been mentioned. However, another source states that the chapel of 'St. Giles (mentioned in the early 13th century) at Lockton belonged to the church of Middleton.'[126] 'In 1566-7 it was said that marriages, burials and baptisms had been celebrated at Lockton chapel, which was in reasonable repair, time out of mind.'[127] That marriages and burials were conducted at a chapel may be because the distance from Lockton to Middleton is approximately 6 miles. Unfortunately, this leaves the question unanswered of why was Lockton part of Middleton, when geographically it is located nearer to Pickering. The manorial landholding during the 11th century does not provide an answer either. If it was once part of Pickering parish, why was it changed and placed with Middleton?

The enclosure award for Cropton dating from 1766 awarded lands in Middleton, Wrelton and Cropton to both the rector and vicar of Pickering in lieu of tithes, as summarized below:-

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[125] *Taxatio Nicolai*, 324.

[126] Page, *VCH*, v. 2, 460, quoting from *Testa de Nevill* (Rec. Com.), 378b, and Exch. Dep. Mich. 3 Jas. II, no.1.

[127] Page *VCH*, v. 2, 460.

'Common and waste in manor of Cropton, ground called Middleton Low Carr alias Riseborough Carr alias Thornton Carr, and stinted pasture called Cropton Bank, 907 ac [whereof 603 ac on the High Moor are in dispute]
Extinguishes all great and small tithes of common in the manor of Cropton by awarding:

(i)   to Dean of York as rector of Pickering, lands in Middleton and Wrelton in lieu of and exchange for tithes of 8 oxgangs in Middleton (manor of Cropton) and 13 oxgangs in Cropton and in lieu of and exchange for tithes of common and waste awarded to owners of 6 messuages in Middleton.

(ii)   to vicar of Pickering, lands in Middleton in lieu of small tithes of common and waste in manor of Cropton and in lieu of tithes of land awarded to proprietors of 6 messuages in Middleton.

(iii)   to lord of the manor of Cropton and rector of Middleton, money payment in lieu of tithes of 8 oxgangs in Middleton, 13 oxganges in Cropton and of allotments granted to owners of ancient messuages etc. in Cropton and Middleton.

[Names of those paying and sums paid]'[128]

However, it is not easily discerned whether these tithes denote that the church of Pickering had superior status over Middleton church or whether a patron or benefactor had given the tithes to Pickering at some time during the previous centuries. This situation may be compared to Kirkdale church where '[T]he tithes of the greatest part of this parish were given by Sir John Danvers for the maintenance of a physic garden, at Oxford. The other tithes are impropriated. The church is not endowed with any tithes. The University allows 10*l.* per annum to the Minister, who has also a little house and a close worth two pounds.'[129] Similar is the case of William de Percy who gave tithes from Upleatham to Whitby monastery after the Conquest but before the end of the 11th century.[130] The payment of tithes to the rector and vicar of Pickering should be regarded with caution, as there is no other evidence that there was a relationship between the two churches in either the pre- or post-Conquests periods. This case also highlights the role of the benefactor or patron of the church being able to disperse tithe quite independently from any land that he might hold in that area.

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[128] I am grateful to John Rushton for pointing this document out: Cropton enclosure award Act 5 Geo III c. 44 (Private) 1765, Award 9 Oct 1766, summarized in North Yorkshire County Record Office, *List of North Yorkshire and North Riding Enclosure Awards and associated Documents in NYCRO* (Guide 4; NYCRO pub., no. 41), 39-40.

[129] Lawton, *Collections*, 525, quoting from Notitia Parochialis, No. 1057.

[130] *Whitby Chartulary*, v. 1, 3.

There is no proof that the church of Pickering had superior status over other parish churches in the area that was the manor. The case of Middleton is confusing. On the basis that tithes were paid to Pickering church, Pickering should be identifiable as an early 'minster' but it cannot be done. It is Middleton church that may be the site of an 8th-century monastery on the basis of the architectural feature among the stone sculpture and there is nothing comparable at Pickering church. This could be an example of a monastery within 2 to 3 miles of a royal centre (Middleton church is 1½ miles from Pickering church), which has been shown in other parts of the country.[131] However, this argument assumes that Pickering was a royal manor in the 7th century, when there are no facts to prove this, merely its status in later centuries conflated back in time. The comparison to the monasteries in western England applies also to Middleton where 'nearly all the early monasteries were situated on outstandingly good agricultural land, on the sort of sites that might equally have attracted a royal vill.'[132] Therefore, the evidence for tithes paid from Middleton and Cropton is tenuous and may point towards an earlier link between Middleton and Pickering but cannot be taken as confirmation that this connection was historically based in the early Anglo-Saxon centuries.

Ellerburn church, dedicated to St. Hilda,[133] was a chapel to Pickering and a vicarage was ordained with Wilton in 1252 and payment of 2s. per annum reserved to the mother church. The vicarage was valued in 1291 at 6l. 13s. 4d. and belonged to the Dean of York. [134] The church has pre-Conquest stone sculpture, which dates it to the 9th-10th century. One piece (no. 4) is a fragment 'from the central part of a round shaft, a form of monument described as a "staff rood" by Collingwood (1927, 5-7) and associated

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[131] John Blair, 'Minster churches in the landscape' in *Anglo-Saxon Settlements*, ed. Della Hook (Oxford: Blackwell, 1988), 35-58, esp. 40-8.
[132] Sims-Williams, *Religion and Literature, 600-800*, 370.
[133] Arnold-Forster, *Studies*, v. 3.
[134] Lawton, *Collections*, 517; and *Walter Gray's Register*, 213.

with Anglian crosses, usually to the west of the Pennines.'[135] The association with

Anglian crosses could date it to the pre-Viking period or it might equally mean the style

came with the arrival of Hiberno-Norse settlers, who reached the area from Ireland and

western Britain in the 1st half of the 10th century.

Since Ellerburn was a chapel to Pickering, the question arises, why was this church a

chapel when there are indication that it may have been a monastery or more likely an

Eigenkirche with a moderate number of funerary monuments? If it was a monastery,

the comparison to Escomb church in County Durham may be appropriate. As Eric

Cambridge wrote regarding this church and others, 'the distribution pattern dictated by

their original *raison d'être* ensured that they were by no means all equally well-placed

to fulfil a parochial function. This might explain why, in some cases, one element of a

cluster never attained parochial status. Escomb, which remained a chapelry of St.

Andrew Auckland is the obvious instance'.[136] The example of Escomb can be loosely

applied to Ellerburn because it has been identified in chapter 2 as a possible cluster with

Middleton and not Pickering; it was never a chapelry to Middleton.

According to the 'minster' hypothesis, if St. Hilda's church Ellerburn was an

Eigenkirche, it should have fragmented the *parochia* of Pickering and Ellerburn should

have been a parish long before the mid-13th century. However, it was not and the above

statement by Eric Cambridge for early monasteries could also hold for *Eigenkirchen*,

i.e. that their distribution pattern was 'dictated by their original *raison d'être*' in this

case to suit the benefactor or patron. He continued that 'most did become parish

churches, though the parishes were often small. It is perhaps worth speculating that this

is, at least in part, the result of an attempt to make use of the comparatively rare asset of

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[135] *Corpus, v. 3*, 127-8.
[136] Cambridge, 'Early church in County Durham', 81.

a stone structure when a church in such a location might otherwise have been inappropriate.'[137]

Pickering church, dedicated to either St. Peter or to SS. Peter and Paul,[138] does not have early Anglo-Saxon stone sculpture and only 4 pieces datable to the 10th century. It had superior status in the later Middle Ages and may be the site of a secular minster. The characteristics of a secular minster that Eric Cambridge has identified for County Durham are, (i) a large parish, (ii) focus of secular administration throughout the Middle Ages, and (iii) either no pre-Conquest sculpture or only a small quantity of late pre-Conquest sculpture.[139] These certainly apply to Pickering. As a secular minster, Pickering should have had a collegiate church, albeit with a small number of clergy,[140] but there is no confirmation from the extant sources. However, the existence of a secular minster fits the evidence described above. The monastery at Middleton did not have to provide pastoral care to the surrounding area but could be dedicated to its monastic virtues. The church survived in the 10th century as evidenced by the funerary monuments and probably in succeeding centuries. The tithes paid to Pickering might originate at this time, i.e. in the pre-Conquest period, in which case it would support Pickering's position as a mother-church.

Four *Eigenkirchen* have been identified in the area of Pickering's manor, Ellerburn, Thornton Dale, Brompton and Levisham. Of these, only in Levisham does the parish coincide with the township and it was the site of sokeland in the mid-11th century. In Thornton Dale and Brompton were several manors and sokelands. However, if one disassociates the churches from the manors and looks to townships as a unit that made

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[137] Ibid.
[138] Arnold-Forster, *Studies*, v. 3.
[139] Cambridge, 'Early church in County Durham', 79-80.
[140] Ibid., 81.

up the parish, one can see that in Brompton parish, Gamall had one manor in that township and another one in Snainton, although not in Troutsdale township. Since *DB* also recorded a church and a priest in 1086 held by Gamall's successor, Berenger of Tosny, it is quite likely that Gamall was also the benefactor of this church in 1066. The situation in previous centuries may have been rather different; manorial boundaries were not static nor did church patrons remain constant. However, in Brompton, there may be a case apparent where the church benefactor and one of the landholders was the same. His or his predecessors' role as church patron would give him an interest in influencing the parish boundaries since it would be in direct correlation to his benefiting from the church's income. As a major landholder, he might also want to incorporate his manors into the parish so that he did not have to pay tithe to someone else. Therefore, the parish may have been formed not around the manors of various property holders but based on the influence of the church benefactor.

Similar circumstances might apply in Thornton Dale, although, there is no information on the church at the Conquest and there was not one major landholder. Ellerburn church is an example of an *Eigenkirche* not causing the fragmentation of a *parochia*. When it was created a parish in the mid-13th century, for reasons unknown today, Wilton was united with the townships of Ellerburn and Farmanby, despite Wilton's detached position east of Thornton Dale. This still leaves the problem of Lockton township. As part of Pickering parish, it forms a geographic unit, but changing to become part of Middleton at some later date is very curious and points to influence by some person or persons unknown.

The moderate number of funerary monuments at Middleton, Levisham, Pickering and Ellerburn point to these churches being the graveyard for the incoming Scandinavian

elite. However, these four churches were the burial sites not just of the benefactors or founders but also of other elite individuals in the surrounding area. Middleton and Pickering were large parishes comprising several townships with manors of different landholders at the time of the Conquest. Their predecessors may have been the elite buried in those graveyards. Levisham is a parish and a single township and has already been identified as an *Eigenkirche* above. It is surrounded by Middleton and Pickering parishes and near to Ellerburn, all with their own monuments. The reasons for the number of elite memorials must remain unexplained. Ellerburn apparently had burial rights in the 10th century but did not become a parish until the 13th century. Thornton Dale, which preceded it as a parish at a date unknown, was intertwined with Ellerburn and does not have any stone sculpture. It is of course speculation to wonder whether the graveyard at Ellerburn had burial rights for Ellerburn, Farmanby, Thornton Dale and possibly Wilton in the 10th century and that the parish of Thornton Dale was later than this. The lack of sculpture at Brompton means that this parish cannot be analysed in this manner.

The secular 'minster' territory of Pickering cannot be recreated with certainty based on the superior status of its church. Its relation with Middleton church is an indicator but cannot be taken as proof that this connection dated from before the Conquest. It is not possible to say that the 'minster' territory extended as far east as Brompton. Although there was sokeland of Pickering, there is nothing known about the church that hints at a link. Thornton Dale and Levisham appear to conform to the pattern that *Eigenkirchen* fragmented the territory, in this case the territory of the secular 'minster' and not of a *monasterium*. However, in Thornton Dale, the manorial boundaries were not related to the parish boundary, which means that factors other than manors decided on the parish boundary.

The parishes in this area were not coterminous with one township, except Levisham, but were organized or created around several townships. The questions in the previous chapter were whether parishes were related to manors and whether the manors extended to the limits of the parish. It was found that manors could not be related to the parish. Manors can be related to some townships but not all. The townships that were combined to form parishes cannot be related to manorial holdings; i.e. the same persons did not hold manors in all the townships that were amalgamated to one parish. It is proposed that lords of *Eigenkirchen* influenced the parish boundaries in cooperation with the reorganized episcopate. This would account for the parish boundaries including various manorial holdings whether these were sokelands or alods.

Conclusions

Whitby, Hackness and Lastingham cannot be shown to have had mother or superior status over other parish churches during the Middle Ages and their parishes were not exceptionally larger than those of the surrounding parishes and smaller than Pickering. It is also difficult to be certain that the churches of these monastic sites remained functional buildings throughout the Anglo-Saxon period. At Whitby, the monastic church of St. Peter may have been twinned with St. Mary's but there is no information about St. Peter after the early 8th century and documentary sources only mention St. Mary's for the first time at the end of the 11th century. The few pieces of Anglo-Scandinavian sculpture found at the Abbey site highlight that here is a little evidence for the graveyard on the East Cliff used by the local elite. St. Mary's was mother church to six chapels after the Conquest all within the parish and only Sneaton became an undisputed separate parish between then and the 13th century. At Hackness, there is a similar difficulty in identifying the 7th century monastic church with the three churches

at the Conquest and the parish church. Continuity of the building cannot be assumed and continuity of function is also unknown. Lastingham church shows signs that it had a continuous existence throughout the pre-Conquest period but there is no evidence for its status as a superior church and it did not have any chapels attached.

Pickering church may have been the site of a secular minster, which might explain the very large size of its parish prior to the 13th century. The existence of a *monasterium* in nearby Middleton need not preclude this. From the information about the three other monastic sites, there is no evidence that pastoral care was provided for populations in the surrounding *regio*. The other parishes in the area that was the manor of Pickering could not be fully explained by the theory that *Eigenkirchen* fragmented the *parochia*. There were several anomalies that needed to be taken into account, (i) Ellerburn church has obvious sculptural evidence that it was an *Eigenkirche* but remained a chapelry until the 13th century, (ii) Levisham church has Scandinavian sculpture that indicates it was the burial ground for an elite beyond its immediate parish, (iii) the landholding pattern did not point to contiguous boundaries for manor and parish in the centuries before the Conquest, except in the case of Levisham, and (iv) the church benefactor or patron appears not to have been always the local landholder.

Separating manor from parish and church from landholding leads to an examination of the role of the bishop and his ecclesiastical hierarchy in the pre-Conquest period. The *Law of the Northumbrian Priests* gives an indication of an organized diocese controlled by the bishop and assisted by the archdeacon. It also provides evidence for collegiate churches in the 11th century but where information exists in the study area, this points to churches with single priests. The ecclesiastical subdivisions below the diocese but above the parish, the archdeaconries and rural deaneries, are of unknown date of

institutionalisation but were significantly different from secular boundaries that they lead to the conclusions that they were formed independently of the secular boundaries. This is a case in point and illustrates that there must have been reasons for drawing ecclesiastical boundaries that are now lost. The 'minster' hypotheses that parishes were a creation of the laity based around economic units conflicts with the evidence from the study area.

5 – Conclusion

The aim of this thesis was to find evidence for the development of parishes in North-east Yorkshire. It examined the 7th-century *monasteria* of Whitby, Hackness and Lastingham for references to pastoral care of the population in the surrounding *regio* and identified possible clusters of other *monasteria* and *Eigenkirchen* nearby, which might indicate a network of an early organization of parochial care. A survey of landholding as recorded in *Domesday Book*, this being the first documentary source for the organization of secular and economic units, followed to see if the boundaries of each of the *monasteria* could be found and if they might be contiguous with the *parochia* of the *monasterium*. The mother or superior church status of the three *monasteria* and Pickering over other churches and chapels within their parishes but especially outside their medieval parish boundaries was sought in accordance with the 'minster' hypothesis.

Pastoral Care in the pre-Viking Period

It has not been possible to fit the evidence of the study area into the 'minster' hypothesis. The pattern appears to be significantly different from that found in other parts of the country. The interpretation of the information known from Whitby has not proven that the 7th-century *monasterium* provided pastoral care to an identifiable *parochia* or to the *regio* of a nearby royal *vill*. Although Whitby's influence was far-reaching and the interest of its abbesses wide-ranging, there are no indications in the sources of a locally defined area that might be equated to a *parochia*. The monastic estate can no longer be ascertained but in any case it is unlikely that it ever had any relation to the *parochia*. The economic consideration of a *monasterium* precluded that it was a static unit and 7th-century property rights allowed for continued acquisitions or

disposal of gifts of land. Whitby's strength lay in its centre of learning, i.e. in its education of priests and bishops, who left the *monasterium* to serve in other areas. It did not have an episcopal see attached with the seat of a bishop, like Aidan at Lindisfarne, who would oversee pastoral care. From these indications it is concluded that pastoral activity played a minor role at Whitby and was probably confined to the population of the monastic estate. The *monasterium* at Hackness may have been an independent foundation of Hild's or it may have been dependent on Whitby but there is no information on its estate. The *monasterium* in Lastingham was a retreat for monks and intended burial site for a Deiran king. For both of the latter two *monasteria* there are no indications that they performed a parochial function.

Pastoral care was a function of the bishop and his secular clergy. The contemporary sources do not have anything to say about the episcopal clergy's relation to the three *monasteria*, except a brief mention of James, the deacon, originally attached to Paulinus in the York bishopric. However, since this area may have had remnants of a British Christian population, York may have been the site of secular clergy who provided pastoral care before the arrival of Paulinus. After Paulinus' departure, James is known to have remained in Yorkshire and it is conceivable that other secular clergy were in York during the 7th century, despite the long hiatus before Wilfrid was consecrated as bishop and during his periods of absence. Pastoral care need not have been dependent on the *monasteria*, which had other functions.

Parishes as the Successors of Minster Territories

The search for the minster territories using the evidence of manors in *Domesday Book* did not find proof that the *parochia* can be recreated from manors and is reflected in the parishes. Not one of the manors was coterminous with a parish or several parishes.

Whitby parish included, besides Earl Siward's manor, other manors and land that, it was concluded, were ancient alods. Therefore, the manor of Whitby did not extend as far as the parish boundaries. In any case, acquisition and disposal of properties and the 'movability' of land, especially those of sokemen who could take their land to any lord, meant that manorial boundaries were never static. There was not a predominant manor in either Hackness or Lastingham on which to base a comparison of manor and parish. The difficulty of the 'land of St. Hilda' in Hackness was discussed without a conclusion being drawn, whether it was ancient land or an acquisition of the post-Conquest Benedictine monastery in Whitby but it did not have a connection to Whitby based on the same landholder. The manor of Pickering was shown to cover an extensive territory and the medieval parish was very large but they were not coterminous. There were only two examples in these four parishes where a berewick, Sneaton, and sokeland, Levisham, became parishes and were coterminous.

The clusters of other *monasteria* and *Eigenkirchen* identified in chapter 2 were placed within their parishes and compared to the landholding. Here again, manor and parish were not coterminous and the landholders could not be connected to one of the three *monasteria*. It seems that the other *monasteria* were individual foundations rather than dependencies of either Whitby or Lastingham. Study of the *Eigenkirchen* found that a link to landholding might be irrelevant, at least in some cases, because churches could be bought, sold or divided by the benefactor who did not need to acquire the land as well. The example of Kirkdale illustrated this point, since the sundial recalls the acquisition of the ruined church by Ormr around 1055-65. This has implications for the hypothesis that *Eigenkirchen* based around the lord's manor fragmented the *parochia*. If a lord was the benefactor of the church but not holder of the land surrounding it, it is difficult to see how the land could have fragmented the *parochia*.

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Monasteries as Mother-churches

There are few indications that Whitby, Hackness and Lastingham had superior status in the later Middle Ages. Whitby appears to have been the mother-church to the chapels within the parish but did not have superior status to other parish churches in the cluster of churches nearby. St. Mary's church did not receive payment from Sneaton church after it became a parish, sometime between it being mentioned as a chapel in the *Whitby Chartulary* and as a parish at the end of the 13th century. Also, there were no links to Hackness and Hackness itself did not have evidence of mother-church status. Lastingham received payment from the inhabitants of Rosedale, a township divided between Lastingham and Middleton, although the chapel stood in that part that belonged to Middleton. Except for this reference, which may indicate a relationship of long standing, Lastingham did not have evidence of superior status.

It is difficult to prove continuity of the *monasteria* throughout the Anglo-Saxon period, since there are no documentary sources for these sites between the early 8th century and the end of the 11th century. The belief is that the *monasterium* at Whitby was destroyed at the end of the 9th century. The archaeology at the Abbey site shows that human activity continued throughout the 8th and into the 9th century followed by a significant lack of Anglo-Scandinavian finds. The few 10th-century funerary monuments confirm that there was a local benefactor and his family who chose to be buried there, but there is no proof that either the monastic church of St. Peter survived or that the later parish church of St. Mary was already in existence or that both continued contemporaneously.

It is not possible to be certain that the monastic church at Hackness survived into the post-Conquest period. The stone sculpture ceased after the 8th century but in the 11th century there were 3 churches in Hackness. This seems to point to the end of the

monasterium but need not mean that a church did not continue to exist. Hackness may be the site of one to three *Eigenkirchen*, which would have been timber-built and its benefactors or founders of the 10th and 11th centuries did not wish to be memorialised with stone monuments.[1] However, here is no simple situation as that advanced by the 'minster' hypothesis that the *monasterium* became the mother church of the Middle Ages.

The evidence from the stone sculpture at Lastingham points to the survival of the church throughout the pre-Conquest period. It is not known when the *monasterium* ceased to exist or when the church started to perform a parochial function. The evidence from the small number of Viking funerary monuments limited to the family of the benefactor indicates that the church did not have a wider role within the surrounding area.

The comparison to Pickering has highlighted that the church and the parish have the indicators to support the 'minster' hypothesis, except that there is no evidence that it was the site of a *monasterium*. However, the church is likely to have been a secular minster. Pickering had a large parish before the Conquest and received payment from two parish churches, formerly its chapels, and tithe from a third, although the origin of the tithe payment is unknown. Middleton, the site of 8th-century stone sculpture, was probably a *monasterium* but was paying tithe to Pickering. Ellerburn, the site of 9th- and 10th-century stones, may have been an *Eigenkirche*, but the church remained a chapel of Pickering until the mid-13th century and did not fragment the *parochia* of Pickering. Therefore, despite Pickering's standing in the later Middle Ages, there are problems with it being an example of the 'minster' hypothesis.

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[1] There is no stone sculpture in the neighbouring manor of Falsgrave, nor in the eastern part of the manor of Pickering, which should be seen as a reflection of the Scandinavian settlement pattern.

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Towards an Understanding of the Development of the Parish System in North-east Yorkshire

The 'minster' hypothesis cannot be applied to the study area and there are indications that the parish system may have developed differently to southern England. The possibility that York was the site of secular clergy in the 7th century has been concluded. There is no evidence for the role of the secular clergy in the study area during the succeeding centuries but there is the evidence for church building. Church building meant consecration and the education, even to a minimum standard, of priests and their consecration. Pastoral care of the nearby population meant baptism, which implies chrism obtained from the bishop. Despite the absence of any records, some form of episcopal organization must have continued through the pre-Conquest period.

The Viking settlement has been regarded as a disrupting influence to *monasteria* but it need not have destroyed the secular clergy. On the contrary, the evidence from the stone sculpture points to a rapid christianisation of the new elite. The conversion points to the existence of priests with a deep knowledge of Christianity that they conveyed to the elite. This resulted in the remarkable display of Christian and pagan motifs on their funerary monuments. It seems unlikely that this could have occurred without an episcopal organization. It is not known how many bishops were in existence in the 10th century but the evidence from Lincolnshire seems to be that the bishoprics were re-established following the conquest by Wessex in the 10th century. However, it seems unlikely that bishops disappeared from Yorkshire when the evidence points to a new Christian elite and a strong episcopate shown by the *Law of the Northumbrian Priests* and described in chapter 4. It showed the roles of the bishop and his clergy. This pointed to the bishop managing an ecclesiastical administration and setting standards for the clergy and the laity in religious matters.

The parish boundaries were compared to the manorial boundaries at length in chapter 3 and found not to coincide. The other secular boundaries of the wapentake and the *vill*, or township, were described. Their origins are not known. A comparison to the ecclesiastical boundaries is useful because they are not conterminous. There are several points to emerge :-

The ecclesiastical divisions of archdeaconries and rural deaneries were different from the secular wapentakes, and not just the boundaries were different, the names of each were also. In particular, Hackness was and is in the archdeaconry of the East Riding and in Dickering deanery, while Whitby is in Cleveland; Hackness was in Dic wapentake and Whitby in Langbargh. Whether the ecclesiastical divisions were established in the pre- or post-Conquest period is not known but if it is a post-Conquest partition then it is curious that the area of Whitby and Hackness parishes, which was known as Whitby Strand, was not in one and the same ecclesiastical division but divided along the lines indicated above. If the divisions were an early phenomenon, then it points to the separation of Hackness and Whitby, but in either case it points to ecclesiastical divisions being created for reasons of episcopal need. However, if these division 'point to a geographical distribution of the Ridings anterior to Domesday'[2] as Hamilton Thompson has suggested, then maybe an investigation of archdeaconries and deaneries is more appropriate to find the early royal *vill*, *regio* or *parochia* than the parish or manor.

The groups of *vills* in the *DB* 'summary', which may have been taken from an earlier secular source, cannot be explained either in terms of the *DB* manorial boundaries or the

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[2] Hamilton Thompson, *Diocesan Organization in the Middle Ages*, 16-17.

later parish boundaries. This hints at the existence of another secular grouping, which remains unexplained.

The thesis did not find a relationship between manorial and parish boundaries but it observed that there was a relationship between township and parish boundaries. Parishes consisted of one or more townships. There were two cases where a township was divided between two parishes, Snainton divided between Ebberston and Brompton and Rosedale divided between Lastingham and Middleton. These were exceptions; overall, whole townships were included in the parish. It was also noticed that detached portions of townships, e.g. Lastingham, Appleton-le-Moors, Hutton-le-Hole and Spaunton were much intertwined, were all included within the boundary of the parish of Lastingham. The chronology of the settlement and development of townships and especially detached parts is not known but it merits further investigation with regard to parish boundaries.

A lord as part of his manor originally founded *Eigenkirchen* but the lord was the benefactor not the owner. From the 9th-century onwards, he could divide, give away or sell not the church itself but the benefits that he derived from it. In these cases, the church ceased to be associated with the manor of the founder. However, it would be in the interest of the benefactor to influence parish boundaries since this would affect the benefits to him.

The evidence from the 10th-century sculpture suggests that parish boundaries had not been firmly defined then. This conclusion is based on the example of Lythe, Ellerburn, Middleton, Levisham and Sinnington, which have larger than average collections of funerary monuments, more than can be accounted by the memorials to the church

benefactor and his family. If these churches had burial rights for an area larger than the later parish, then it follows that the parish boundaries had not been decided.

The history of parochia, archdeaconries and deaneries has shown that these were concepts originated in the needs of the bishops and his clergy and, therefore, should be differentiated from either secular units of jurisdiction or manorial boundaries, which had their own function. This would account for the examples where boundaries coincided and also where they did not. In regard to this, further study of church-state relations in the pre-Conquest period may usefully enlighten the subject.

From the foregoing it is suggested that the bishop, influenced by the church benefactor, based the parish boundaries around township boundaries.

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