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400 - 1200*

Ann Elizabeth Reid

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ABSTRACT

This thesis is a broadly based study of settlement and society in North-East Yorkshire between the end of the Roman period and c1200, when the long-term effects of the Norman Conquest had become apparent. The work embraces three inter-related disciplines; documentary history, archaeology and historical geography. Chapters 1-7 dealing with settlement, concentrate on historical geography. Chapters 8-17 covering social and political history, on documentary history, archaeology and place-name studies. The history and role of the region's monasteries (Chapters 18-20) is approached through history and archaeology. The necessity of integrating approaches is stressed throughout.

The broad conclusions stress the impossibility of dividing the period into watertight compartments and show that the processes of change are evolutionary rather than catastrophic, political changes tending to alter the pace and direction of development rather than completely destroying what had gone before. The study points to further academic disciplines, particularly study of the environment and use in the historic period of methods recently developed by Prehistorians.

SETTLEMENT AND SOCIETY IN NORTH-EAST YORKSHIRE

A.D. 400 - 1200

Ann Elizabeth Reid

Master of Philosophy

University of Durham, Department of Archaeology 1987.

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Don Spratt gave permission to use certain illustrations from his BAR Volume on Prehistoric North-East Yorkshire (BAR 104). Unfortunately his report on the Roxby site appeared too late for me to use in this study.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND SHORT TITLES

- Ag. HR Agrarian History Review
- ASC The Anglo Saxon Chronicle: A Revised Translation, ed. and trans., D. Whitelock, D.C. Douglas and S.I. Tucker 1961.
- ASE Anglo-Saxon England (Periodical)
- AVCeol Vita Ceolfredi Abbatis Auctore Anonymo ed. C. Plummer, Venerabilis Baedae Opera Historica, Oxford 1896., I. pp.388-404.
- BAR British Archaeological Reports
- EHD English Historical Documents, Vol I, c500-1042, ed. D. Whitelock, London 1955.
- EYC Early Yorkshire Charters, ed. W. Farrer and C.T. Clay, 12 vols, Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series, extra ser, Edinburgh, 1913-65. Florence of Worcester: Florentii Wigorniensis Monarchi Chronicon ex Chronicis, ed. B. Thorpe, 2 vols, London 1848-49.
- EHR English Historical Review
- Econ HR Economic History Review
- HA Historia Abbatum Auctore Beda, ed. C. Plummer, Venerabilis Baedae Opera Historia, Oxford 1896 I. 364-87.
- HE Bede, Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum, ed. and trans. B. Colgrave, Oxford.
- HDE Symeon of Durham, Historia Ecclesiae Dunelmensis, Vol 1 of Symeonis Monachi Opera Omnia, ed. T. Arnold, Rolls Series, Vol. 75, 1885.
- HR Symeon of Durham, Historia Regum, Vol 2 of Symeonis Monachi Opera Omnia, ed. T. Arnold, Rolls Series, Vol 75, London 1885.
- JEPNS Journal of the English Place-names Society.
- Med Arch Medieval Archaeology
- NH Northern History
- RCh Rievaulx Cartulary ed. Revd. J.C. Atkinson, Surtees Soc. 18, 1889.
- GCh Guisborough Cartulary, ed. W. Brown, Surtees Soc. Series 89, 1891.
- WCh Whitby Cartulary, ed. Revd. J.C. Atkinson, Surtees Soc., London 69, 1878.

TRHS Transactions of the Royal Historical Society.

TIBG Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers

VA Vita Sancti Cuthberti Auctore Anonymon.

VP Vita Sancti Cuthberti prosaica auctore Beda.

VW Vita Wilfredi

Whitby The Earliest Life of Pope Gregory the Great by a Whitby
Life monk.

GE Gregori I Papae Registrum Epistolarum

DEFINITIONS

All Old English name forms are taken from Stenton 1943.

Historical periods are as follows:-

- . Early Medieval embraces the entire period 400-1200
- . Anglo Saxon - AD 400-1066
- . Norman - 1066-1200
- . Migration Period circa 400-620 'Early Christian/Middle Saxon
c620-860
- . Viking Age circa 867-1020
- . Conquest period circa 1020-1100

Each of these periods is intended as a general tool and should not be seen as watertight compartments.

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No portion of this thesis has previously been submitted for a higher degree of this or any other university. All work contained in this thesis is the sole work of the author.

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INTRODUCTION

This thesis is a multi-disciplinary study of a region defined as North-East Yorkshire between AD400 and AD1200, that is from the end of the Roman period to a time when the longer term effects of the Norman Conquest had permeated English society. History cannot be seen in terms of a series of watertight compartments divided one from another, the Roman period from the Anglo-Saxon, the Anglo-Saxon from the Norman. In each case strong elements of continuity can be seen and it may be questioned how much the lives of ordinary people were influenced by the incursions and the political changes they brought about. Evolution and gradual processes of change appear to be more significant in the long term than watersheds resulting from invasion.

Just as change and development cannot be confined by watertight compartments so the disciplines of historical study cannot be pursued in isolation. The history in its widest sense of the Early Medieval Period can be approached from a number of directions; history in the traditional sense, through the study of documents (cf Hooke 1981); place-name studies as carried out by such as Gelling and Fellows Jensen (cf Gelling 1967, Fellows Jensen 1972); studies of the church (cf Mayr-Harting 1972, Deanesley 1961) and historical geography, the analysis of landscapes and settlement patterns. Each of these approaches may interact with and complement the others and bring about a deeper understanding of the processes at work (Taylor 1983). Multi-disciplinary studies have been carried out in a number of regions, notably Wales (Davies 1982) and Humberside (Eagles 1979). For an introduction to the problems of this approach see O'Sullivan 1984. The same approach has also been used by Sawyer in recent years (cf Sawyer 1978a, 1985).

North-East Yorkshire was chosen for this study for a number of reasons.

Firstly, it provides an area of manageable size with considerable post-Conquest documentation from monastic charters which can be geographically distinguished from that around it. Secondly, no such multi-disciplinary studies have been carried out in this area or in its vicinity. Work which has been done in this part of Yorkshire has concentrated on specific aspects and approaches. The Surtees Society produced editions of the Whitby and Guisborough cartularies (WCh, GCh), providing the documentary material in accessible form; Canon Atkinson, who edited the cartularies, also produced papers of antiquarian interest, for instance, a work on iron production in Cleveland (Atkinson 1886). Peers and Radford reported on the excavations at Whitby Abbey carried out in the 1920s (Peers and Radford 1943), but not only was this excavation carried out in an unsatisfactory fashion but no attempt was made to place the results in any regional context, the authors concerning themselves only with the monastic dimension (Rahtz 1958). Little other archaeological work has been carried out within the region and none of it up to the most rigorous modern standards of excavation and interpretation. However, D.A. Spratt has carried out most valuable fieldwork on the North York Moors (Spratt 1982) and the results of all the excavations at Whitby, Wykeham, Seamer and the cemetery at Saltburn are most interesting and worthy of re-examination (see below 90-95, 189-95).

The region was originally delimited on the basis of the charters of Whitby Abbey. Preliminary study of the Whitby Cartulary showed that the very great majority of the Abbey's grants lay within the Domesday wapentakes of Langbaourgh and Dic, the later medieval Langbaourgh East and West, Pickering Lythe and Whitby Strand. The land of Guisborough Priory lies almost exclusively within Langbaourgh East and West and the two cartularies provide a body of documentation on which to work. Most work done on Anglian Northumbria has discriminated only between Deira and Bernicia,

almost nothing has been done on sub-regions within the two kingdoms and their relationships with the rulers. It is possible to isolate North-East Yorkshire in some degree from the vaguer concept of Daira and to discern a continuing concern with this region on the part of the kings of Northumbria (see Ch 12, 13).

This study is concerned both with settlement, the more tangible results of man's presence, the development of a landscape and human settlements, both nucleated and non-nucleated, and society, the population within the frame. In studying a period far removed from the present we are faced with the problem of hindsight, particularly as we are in any case studying the period before 1086 largely on the basis of later documentary evidence. Baker distinguishes between the retrospective and retrogressive methods of analysis. In the first, the scholar looks back to the past from the present. In the second he works back from the known, the present, to the past, the unknown (Baker 1968). It is intended in this case to follow the retrogressive approach using the study of political history from documents to complement that of settlement by other means - archaeology, place-name studies, etc. Study of the region's economy and its monasteries adds a further dimension, each facet illuminating and adding to the overall picture.

The Methodological Dilemma 1886-1086

In any study of early medieval settlement the evidence of Domesday Book looms large but the nature of this evidence raises fundamental questions. Is the Domesday record representative of the Early Medieval period as a whole? What was the reality beneath the bald record of the tenurial unit - manor, berewick and soke - and its land? Can we, following Vinogradoff and Maitland, postulate a pattern of nucleated villages with demesne farms and a labouring peasantry (Vinogradoff 1904.147-49, Maitland 1897. 14-16), or instead a pattern of farm clusters and dispersed farmsteads, as Hoskins found in Devon (Hoskins 1963.15-52)? Or might the reality have been more complex, a combination of these, as appears on the modern Ordnance Survey 1:50,000 maps of North-East Yorkshire? In making a record of units of land tenure, their lands, values, populations and plough teams, the Domesday inquisitors did not concern themselves with settlement forms, field systems and farming practices (Finn 1972.1-2); these must be inferred from their formalised and standardised record and from the other evidence that may be available.

Settlement Studies.

The Domesday record of tenurial units raises questions of settlement form at three distinct scales. Did individual manorial entries, those of single manors, denote nucleated villages or one or more farmsteads? Domesday records a settlement with its land; what was the form of that settlement? W.G. Hoskins has shown that in many parts of Devon a named manor comprised a demesne farm and the dispersed holdings of a number of villeins (Hoskins 1963.20-29). In other cases we find two or more manors or their constituent parts (berewicks or sokes) bearing the same name, as at Marton in Cleveland - three manors, totalling nine carucates (Faull 1985.300b, 320c, 331b), or East Ayton on the River Derwent - two



manors totalling eight carucates (Faull 1985.314b, 323a). F.W. Maitland noted in 1897 that the Domesday commissioners frequently saw one vill when there were two (Maitland 1897.14); can these settlements be seen as nucleations divided between two or more landholders or did the place-name rather denote a district with a number of farms bearing the same name dispersed across it? Thirdly, we have a number of examples of manors with outlying berewicks and sokes, the multiple estates of G.R.J. Jones (cf Jones 1976, see also Gregson 1985). Can we envisage the caputs (manorial centres) as nucleated villages with individual farms forming the berewicks and sokes? Or was the reality more complex and more dependent on local conditions? Hutton Rudby, now a large village on the banks of the River Leven (NZ 469061) had sokelands at Rudby and Crathorne, now also villages, at the now deserted village of Whorlton (Beresford and Hurst 1971.111) and at Skutterskelfe, Goulton and Blaten Carr, all apparently isolated farms (Faull 1985.305d).

In attempting to produce answers to these questions one can study Domesday Book on its own terms (cf Darby and Maxwell 1962, Sawyer 1976). Some entries can reasonably be assumed to refer to nucleated settlements, such as that for the caput of the multiple estate of Pickering, with its twenty villeins and six ploughs (Faull 1985.299b) but the obvious corollary that settlements without recorded population apart from the tenant, such as Hilton and Ingleby Arncliffe (Faull 1985.300b, 305d, 300d), must then have been single farms cannot be substantiated since in North-East Yorkshire a very high proportion of settlements were 'waste' and hence no population is recorded (for a discussion of 'waste' and its precise meaning, see Wightman 1975). A glance at the map raises further doubts about this hypothesis; in 1086 Hilton comprised both a manor, held by the king, and sokeland of the multiple estate of Seamer and Tanton, held by Richard Surdeval from the Count of Mortain (Faull 1985.

300b, 305d). A nucleated settlement appears on the map today, with a large farmstead - Hilton House Farm - at one end of the row (NZ 465113 and NZ 463115). It is possible, following Hoskins, to see these as representing the manor and soke of Domesday Book. This type of later map evidence can, if used with discretion, create a window on the past and, when considered in conjunction with surviving documentary material, provide indications concerning settlement forms at an earlier period. The validity of this approach is discussed below.

The most basic use of map evidence involves the identification of Domesday place-names with the present-day settlements and examining their distribution in relation to local geology and topography and to other settlements (below. 10-14). Important work on identification was carried out by Maxwell (Maxwell 1950) and studies of this type have been made by Darby and his collaborators in the Domesday Geography of England (cf Darby and Maxwell 1962). More fundamentally, by the examination of the earliest available large-scale map coverage, in conjunction with the Domesday record and other documentation, it is possible, at least in outline, to discover certain of the features of the settlement pattern and the characteristics, field systems and land divisions of a landscape during the immediate post-Conquest era and back into the pre-Conquest period. What forms do Domesday settlements take today and can these forms be projected back into the Early Medieval period? Are Domesday tenurial structures reflected in recent or eleventh century settlement forms? Do these forms, their incidence and distribution, differ geographically and to what extent?

Such an approach is based on a fundamental assumption concerning the settlement forms, distributions, boundaries and field systems mapped by the Ordnance Survey in the mid nineteenth century, before the advent of

intensive farming and industrial development in North-East Yorkshire. Do these bear any relation to those present in 1086 and earlier? Was a nucleated village of the 1850s so in the Conquest period, although the precise plan-form and size of the settlement may have altered? Equally, was the single farm which appears as a tenorial unit in Domesday Book a single farm in 1086? It seems unlikely that a landscape which now shows a pattern of dispersed farms, farm clusters and hamlets was formerly one of nucleated villages but, conversely, it is possible that certain non-nucleated settlements in an area of dispersed forms may have developed into nucleations since the Domesday period. This possibility cannot be ignored by the scholar.

The extensive use of map data is a method employed by a number of scholars in recent years, notably Sheppard, Allerston, Roberts and Hoskins (cf Sheppard 1974, 1976, Allerston 1970, Roberts 1982, Hoskins 1963). Spratt and Bonney have studied patterns of land allotment on the Yorkshire Moors and in Wiltshire and Dorset respectively and argued the prehistoric origins of many recently documented parish and township boundaries (Spratt 1982.158-60, Bonney 1966, 1969, 1972, 1976). Indeed, Maitland noted that in Cambridgeshire many parish and township boundaries appear to have remained stable since the Domesday period (Maitland 1897. 12-13). Spratt and Bonney consider that pressure on land caused by population expansion in the Bronze Age brought about the division of the land into large mixed agricultural units, the boundaries of which were marked in some cases by burials. A proportion of these units became fossilised and survive as modern parishes and townships (for a full discussion see below. 26-38).

If map data can be taken as evidence of former settlement patterns, the way is open to a much more far-reaching analysis of eleventh century

settlement than is possible through the study of Domesday Book in isolation. Using a combined approach the settlement forms, land units and field systems of the mid nineteenth century can illuminate the reality underlying the administrative record of manor, berewick and soke.

This approach is followed by Allerston in her work on the Corallian dip-slope region around Pickering (Allerston 1970). By employing the First Edition Ordnance Survey Six-Inch maps in conjunction with Domesday Book and more recent medieval documents, she has been able, reasonably convincingly, to project the 'planned' nucleated villages of this area back into the medieval period and to suggest that these forms developed in the period following the Harrying of 1069-70. Using the same techniques Sheppard has pushed the hypothesis further, dating the origin of such regular village plans to the re-establishment of these settlements in the period immediately following their devastation (Sheppard 1976, below 48-55). In parallel with Spratt and Bonney's work on land units, G.R.J. Jones has for many years (eg Jones 1961ab) advanced the view that the multiple estates which are found in Domesday Book and other early documents are survivals from Romano-British and prehistoric times, most succinctly in Jones 1976.

What is a multiple estate? The simplest definition might be 'an estate comprising a manorial centre (caput) and dependent holdings (berewicks and sokes)'. This raises many questions. How was the estate administered? What relationship did the berewicks and sokes bear to the caput? How was the land worked and by whom? What were the advantages of this form? How did the multiple estate originate and in what contexts?

Jones has advanced the following model for territorial organisation in North Wales, drawn from the thirteenth century Book of Iorwerth:

4 acres	1 homestead		
4 homesteads	1 shareland	=	16 acres
4 sharelands	1 holding	=	64 acres
4 holdings	1 vill	=	256 acres
4 vills	1 multiple estate	=	1,024 acres
12 multiple estates	1 commote	=	12,800 acres
+ 2 vills			(50 vills)
2 commotes	1 hundred		25,600 acres
			(100 vills)

Within each hundred a proportion of the multiple estates and vills were set aside for the king's use, for the support of himself and his court. The remaining vills made renders in kind in the form of cereals, meat, butter, mead, bragget or ale (Jones 1976.15).

This medieval model is clearly highly theoretical, at least in the precision of the figures and the acreages of the constituent parts. Barrow provides a looser definition of the multiple estate in the form of a set of diagnostic features:

- a) Specialisation of function between various component elements.
- b) More or less systematic allocation of resources between lords, free tenants, serfs or bondmen.
- c) Relatively highly organised system of services due from free and unfree (Barrow 1976.11).

These definitions do not conflict in essentials, the one scholar working from reality as seen in the surviving documents, the other creating a model from a theoretical work. Both have made case-studies of specific areas demonstrating the presence and significance of the multiple estate (cf Jones 1975, Barrow 1973.7-68). In particular, Jones' work on Gwynedd and Elmet has established a geographical and historical link between Wales and Yorkshire of relevance to the present study (Jones 1975, also Jones 1971). However, Gregson has recently produced a critique of the

Jones thesis, remarking that many of his case-studies lack features which he considers symptomatic of the multiple estate and that his arguments are frequently circular (Gregson 1985.344-47). The position of the multiple estate in North-East Yorkshire will be examined in detail below.

How and why did the multiple estate originate? The historiography of the multiple estate shows a withdrawal from the view that its development took place as a result of the migration of a free and equal Scandinavian peasantry into England in the ninth century (Stenton 1927). Jolliffe had earlier argued a Celtic element in the 'shire' system of Northumbria (Jolliffe 1926.2) and noted that survivals of such a system are less evident in the Danish-settled areas of Northumbria, that is Yorkshire (Jolliffe 1926.1), and more recent work has effectively destroyed the Stenton thesis by showing the multiple estate - shire, soke or lathe - to exist in parts of Britain into which the Scandinavians never penetrated in any numbers; Kent (Jolliffe 1933), Wales (Jones 1961b, 1975), Scotland (Barrow 1973.7-68). The existence of essentially similar administrative structures, with only minor regional variations, over so large an area, with differing settlement histories after the fifth century, has led a number of scholars to the conclusion that they are of British rather than Anglo-Saxon or Scandinavian origin. Jones, working back from Domesday Book, has placed the origins of the multiple estate of Amesbury as far back as the Neolithic, this development being brought about by the need for human and material resources to build Stonehenge (Jones 1961a.229-31). This is an exceptional case and perhaps merely an exercise in 'kite-flying' (Roberts.pers.comm); he dates the origin of most estates to the building of hill forts during the Iron Age (Jones 1961a). Spratt, working from the study of boundaries as found in prehistoric dyke and barrow systems and in medieval and later documents, has produced a settlement model for prehistoric North-East Yorkshire

which is in broad agreement with the Jones thesis. He hypothesises a Bronze Age economy based on mixed arable and pastoral farming and considers that a combination of population increase since the Neolithic era and declining soil fertility on the sandstone hills would lead to the integration of upland and lowland agriculture and the appearance of land units which encompassed both arable lowland and moorland pasture (Spratt 1981.94-95). This system continued in being through the Later Bronze Age and Iron Age, linear earthworks being constructed to augment the round barrows as watershed boundary markers (Spratt 1982.174-75).

The study of tenurial units and their origins and development provides a further route back into the past, one which again rests on the presumption that there was no wholesale change or destruction of previous systems but rather gradual development and modification in response to prevailing conditions and problems; in short, that a pattern of land division, once established, is essentially stable in form.

One must conclude that any study of settlement in the Domesday period and earlier necessitates the use of several approaches; the study of a number of sources, both documentary and physical - Domesday Book itself, other medieval documentation from both earlier and later periods, maps, archaeological evidence and the landscape itself, so that they may interact and complement each other. A distribution map may show the location of documented settlements in relation to improved and unimproved land and differing grades of agricultural land, as evidenced by more recent surveys. The careful retrogressive study of boundaries, again related to more recent land use, may indicate the ways in which land resources were distributed and utilised; the Domesday Book shows the proprietary, seigneurial and jurisdictional ties which bonded settlements together. The nineteenth century map, pre-dating the development of

commuter settlements, intensive farming and widespread industrial growth, may tell us something of the settlements to which the land belonged. The study of documentary sources enables us to place North-East Yorkshire in its historical context and to reconstruct the history of landholding and the role of local landholders in national and regional life, while place-name studies provide a means of tracking the progress of settlers coming into the region and assessing their relations with the indigenous inhabitants.

The Settlement Pattern in 1086

1) Settlement Distribution:

This descriptive section is a consideration of the distribution of the 137 settlements in North-East Yorkshire named in Domesday Book, their relationships to the geology and topography of the region and to each other.

North-East Yorkshire is composed of three contrasting topographical zones. The high lands of the North York Moors, some land rising above 1500ft, are composed of hard Jurassic limestones overlaid by thin moorland soils and divide the two great lowland zones from each other. To the north the fertile Cleveland Plain is formed from glacial boulder clays with patches of sand and gravel. The Northern Coastal Plateau has more acid soils and is characterised by undulating relief from 500-700ft OD, which slopes gently towards the sea, its surface broken by steel-sided stream valleys. To the south of Ravenscar, where the high moorland extend to the sea, the glacial drift forms a much lower plateau belt, some 100-300ft OD. South of the high moorland, the Corallian dip-slope of the Moors provides fertile, well-drained and easily worked soils, which have attracted settlement since the Neolithic. This forms the northern flank of the Vale of Pickering, an area then marshy and ill-drained. A number of sub-regions can be distinguished on topographical grounds and it is proposed to make use of these when discussing settlement distributions (see Map 1):

- a) The northern Cleveland Plain, between the Rivers Tees and Leven, a rolling landscape with some of the best soils in the region.
- b) The Moorland scarp and lowlands as far north as the River Leven.

- c) The High Moors, thin acid soils and exposed situations.
- d) The northern coastal plateau, as far south as Ravenscar at the northern end of Robin Hood's Bay.
- e) The southern coastal plateau, from Ravenscar to Cloughton.
- f) The Scarborough lowlands.
- g) The Corallian dip-slope, overlooking the Vale of Pickering, as far west as Pickering itself, bounded on the south by the River Derwent.

This geographical diversity is to a large extent reflected in the pattern of settlement distribution. Generalised settlement distribution is shown in Map 2 but the following points may be noted here:

- a) The greatest number of Domesday settlements lie on the Cleveland Plain and coastal plateau; the high Moors are virtually devoid of recorded settlement, except in the valley of the River Esk. A second major belt of settlement lies on the Corallian dip-slope, particularly around the 100ft contour.
- b) The most heavily settled area is the Cleveland Plain, notably the northern half, as far east as Skelton Beck, an average of 15 recorded settlements per km².
- c) Settlement is also concentrated on the northern coastal plateau below the 400ft contour. In this zone the proportion of Old Norse settlement names (68%) is greater than that in the region as a

whole.

- d) A belt of Old English-named settlements follows the Corallian dip-slope.
- e) On the southern coastal plateau and Scarborough lowlands settlement is more scattered and less nucleated than it is further north.

A detailed examination of settlement distributions and settlement plan forms follows in a later section (below.33-40).

Map 3 shows agricultural land quality as shown by the 1:250,000 Ordnance Survey Land Classification map. The great majority of settlements lie on Grade 3 land - mixed farmland; there is no Grade 1 land in the region and only a small enclave of Grade 2 land around Wykeham. The exceptions lie mainly in the Danby area, where many settlements exist on Grade 4 land on the moorland fringes. However, though most settlements are sited on good agricultural land, their townships frequently include large areas of poor quality moorland (Grade 5), this is particularly true of the settlements on the Corallian dip-slope.

In general terms Domesday settlement avoids low-lying land and that in the immediate vicinity of rivers and streams; settlement below the 100ft contour is very limited and slopes above running water tend to be preferred to immediate stream banks. This can be seen in such settlements as Middleton upon Leven (NZ 466099), Skelton (NZ 655188) and Ugglebarnby (NZ 879073). A number of settlements have however developed at river crossings, such as East and West Ayton on opposite

banks of the Derwent and Rudby and Hutton Rudby on the Leven.

When the distribution of Domesday settlement is related to Land Utilisation Survey data, it can be seen that all named settlements lie within the area of improved land as it stood in 1931-33. Less dense settlement patterns occur in districts with a greater proportion on unimproved land and vice versa. This is to be expected in a mainly agricultural economy (for an analysis of the region's economy, see below 56-67). Contrast is clearly evident between the densely-settled improved land of the Cleveland Plain and sparsely populated Upper Eskdale, where all Domesday settlements lie below, but close to the modern head-dyke line and townships are extremely large (see Map 4). On a more local scale, where apparent gaps occur in the rural settlement pattern in Cleveland, as in the district around Seamer, where single farmsteads are set widely apart, an area of carr-land, since improved, is shown on the First Edition Ordnance Survey Six-Inch Map, surveyed in the 1850s. That this was originally poor and undesirable land is borne out by the place-name Seamer (DB Semers, Faul1 1985.305d), meaning 'sea-marsh' in Old English (Smith 1927.102, 172).

Modern parish and township boundaries contrast the small land units belonging to settlements in Cleveland and parts of the coastal plateau and the very large areas of unimproved moorland belonging to those in less favoured locations. This can clearly be seen in the case of Danby, with a limited area of improved land on the slopes of Eskdale and vast acreages of moorland to the north and south. In contrast, the much smaller acreage of a lowland township such as Pinchinthorpe is composed entirely of improved arable and pastoral (Grade 3) land. That the relative proportions of unimproved land are likely to have been

greater in the Conquest period are before must not however be ignored and it is probable that many sites were more marginal than they now appear. Unfortunately, the extent of such change is impossible to quantify at present. There is the further difficulty that Domesday ignores the existence of pasture, of which many settlements, on the evidence of their township boundaries, may have had very large acreages, and so presents an unbalanced picture of the rural economy.

2) Domesday Settlements and their Precursors:

Domesday Book represents a skeletal record of rural settlement, as it appeared to a foreign bureaucracy concerned with landholding and taxation, in one brief interval of time. It is a complete skeleton and not a partial picture as is normally revealed by archaeological sources. The survey recorded tenurial units, not settlements as such and it is clear that it did not include every settlement then in existence. The compilers concerned themselves only with actual or potential renders to the Crown in the form of taxation and rents and therefore with settlements from which such renders were made. Those settlements which paid rents or taxes through some other estate might well not be named in Domesday Book (Sawyer 1976.2, ASC E 1085).

Certain of the omissions from Domesday in North-East Yorkshire can be restored from other sources. For example twelve sokes are named as belonging to the multiple estate of Whitby in Domesday Book; the foundation charter of Whitby Abbey, issued between 1091 and 1096, names all these twelve vills but adds a further sixteen (Faull 1985.305a, WCh I.No 26). The summary of the fee granted to Robert de Brus in the early twelfth century and appended to the Domesday manuscript includes a number of settlements, such as Kirklevington, which do not appear in the body of the Survey, nor in the Whitby foundation charter (see Faull 1985.332c-333a). It seems most unlikely that such additional

settlements could have developed in the interim and a similar situation has been examined in Kent (contra Darby and Campbell 1962.579-82, see Sawyer 1957, Sawyer 1976.1-4), especially when one considers the devastation and probable depopulation caused during the Northumbrian rebellions of 1067-70 and the Harrying which followed. The place-names of these additional settlements, which include both Old English and Old Norse forms, seem to bear this out (for a full discussion of the regions place-names in contrast, see below.114-32).

Except in cases where such documentary evidence exists, it is rarely possible to flesh out the Domesday skeleton. However, the known examples of such 'additional' settlements do not alter the basic settlement distribution but merely add to the density of the pattern. The more fundamental question which arises is of the extent to which the Domesday settlement pattern represents stability, whether the pattern recorded in 1086 was of long-standing, or essentially transitory.

Spratt's work has shown that settlement in North-East Yorkshire has developed in essentially the same zones since the Neolithic era (approximately 4000-2000bc); we may point to a particular correspondence between the known Iron Age settlement pattern, evidenced by finds of beehive querns (Spratt 1982.187) and that of Domesday Book (Map 5). However, this cannot necessarily be taken to imply continuity of population or of the settlements themselves, since so much of settlement location is based on geographical and environmental factors. Janssen defines three facts of 'continuity', not necessarily mutually exclusive:

- a) Continuity of a settlement site, which does not necessarily mean continuity of population or uninterrupted settlement.

- b) Continuity of population in a small area of settlement, within the bounds of a parish for instance; this need not necessarily imply continuity of the settlements themselves.

- c) Continuity of occupation of a place, which need not mean that the population was ethnically unchanged (Janssen 1976.41).

This could mean, for instance, the abandonment of a settlement site by one population and its later re-use by another, the movement of a population from one site to another within the same township, or a mingling of the newcomers and the established population on a single site.

Sheppard considers that the Harrying and its aftermath provided the obvious context for settlement reorganisation and the creation of villages with regular plans, such as are found in much of Yorkshire and County Durham (Sheppard 1976). However, she does not postulate any change in the location of the individual settlements concerned but rather an organised recolonisation of previously deserted sites and perhaps depopulation of marginal sites (see also Bishop 1927, 1934, Kapelle 1979.158-90, below.48-55). If she is correct, Domesday Book then marks a watershed in settlement form, but not in settlement location.

This is not to say that all settlements have been established in precisely the same locations since the Neolithic era. Numerous settlements of the prehistoric and Romano-British period flourished in North-East Yorkshire but have since remained deserted (see Hartley 1982.206-07). Those prehistoric settlements which have been studied are precisely the ones which became deserted, though later settlements

may be found in close proximity, as at Ingleby Barwick (Heslop 1984). Numerous sites have been revealed by aerial photography but no excavations which might date them have taken place as at Marke^s (NZ 645218) where these are circles, ridge and furrow and a rectangular enclosure (Historic Buildings and Monuments Commission, Aerial Photography Unit). Roxby parish provides an example of a change in the location of settlement within a small area; two settlements of Iron Age date have been found within the parish but are separated from the present-day settlement (Spratt 1982.195-97). This may reflect a shifting of settlement foci, as is postulated for the Middle Saxon period by Arnold and Cunliffe (Arnold 1981, Cunliffe 1972), or else an expansion of one settlement and the decline of its neighbours.

We have some evidence of settlement shift since the Conquest period, a number of parish churches stand relatively isolated from the settlements to which they belong. That of Fylingdales, for instance, stands isolated on the road between Fylingdales and Robin Hood's Bay (NZ 943053); the old church on that site, now demolished, reputedly contained Anglo-Saxon work (VCH. 536). In other cases, as at Carlton (NZ 506045), the church (NZ 507046) is not isolated but may not be fully integrated into the overall village plans. However, in such cases it must always be borne in mind that the church may be a later addition or that metamorphosis may have occurred in the settlement plan. At Carlton, the old church, lying at one end of the row and destroyed by fire in 1881, was not precisely dated but certainly medieval (VCH. 233). A clearer case of settlement shift occurs at Ebberston on the Corallian dip-slope, where an isolated church (SE 893834) and the site of a deserted village lie a few hundred yards to the north-west of the modern irregular two-row settlement (for an analysis of village forms, see below 39-47). Unfortunately, none of

these shifts can be precisely dated, although evidence is accumulating to show that over much of England the movement of settlements over time is the rule rather than the exception (Taylor 1983.121).

On a local scale, Spratt's work has revealed two groups of Iron Age huts within the present-day township of Roxby, on the coastal plateau north of Whitby, both at some distance from the modern settlement (Spratt 1982.195-97). This may show some degree of settlement-shift, although he notes that sites of prehistoric activity closer to modern Roxby may have been ploughed out in medieval times. Alternatively, the present-day rather straggling village of Roxby may have been the most successful of a number of dispersed settlements within the township, the others becoming deserted. Similar evidence is found at nearby Liverton, where an Iron Age/Romano-British enclosure with diagnostic beehive querns lies on the moorland side of the present two-row village.

Spratt notes that the absolute chronology of Iron Age settlement sites in the region cannot be established; it is not known how long Iron Age pottery types continued to be produced after the initial Roman occupation (AD 70-80) and it is only in cases where Romano-British pottery is found on such sites that continued occupation in the Romano-British period is proven (Spratt 1982.189). It must therefore be stated that the hut settlements found in Roxby and Liverton townships may not necessarily be contemporaneous with each other and may have been occupied at any time during the Iron Age and Romano-British period. No evidence has survived from any of these sites which can be dated to the Anglo-Saxon period, but elsewhere in North-East Yorkshire, in the Corallian dip-slope region, evidence is accumulating as to continuity of occupation on various sites from the Romano-British into

the Anglo-Saxon periods (below 90-97). Indeed, Hartley notes that all the sites for which fifth or sixth century Anglian presence is known, show evidence of activity in the Romano-British period (Hartley 1982.214).

In summary, Domesday Book seems to record a settlement distribution similar to both earlier and later periods. The areas of concentration are the same; the Cleveland Plain, the coastal plateau, and the Corallian dip-slope but continuity of occupation on specific sites cannot be proven, except in a small number of cases. Almost all our excavated evidence of prehistoric and Romano-British settlement is taken from sites not occupied today but this in no way proves that present-day and Domesday period sites were not occupied long before the Anglo-Saxon period. Recent scholarship has brought out the hypothesis that rural settlement (excepting hillforts) was dispersed in form during the prehistoric era, characterised by individual farmsteads and small nucleations (Roberts 1985, Higham 1986.122, 186-93). Work in and around Wharram Percy has shown scattered Iron Age and Romano-British settlement, which continued into the early Anglo-Saxon period (Hurst 1984.78-82). Work by Arnold and Cunliffe elsewhere in England seems to confirm the view that dispersed settlement continued to be the norm during the Migration Period (Arnold 1981, Cunliffe 1972). In certain parts of England, notably the West Country, this dispersed pattern is still in existence today (Hoskins 1963.15-52). Archaeological investigations in North-East Yorkshire appear to bear out this picture, in the prehistoric era at least (Spratt 1982.186-203). A dispersed settlement pattern is seen today in parts of the region, notably in the district around Hackness, but in the main the pattern involves a mixture of nucleated villages, hamlets, farm clusters and individual farmsteads (see Map 2). How much of this settlement pattern had

developed by the Domesday period and what brought this about? This issue will be examined in detail in the following chapters.

3) Change and Development AD400-1200:

Domesday Book provides a skeletal record of the settlement patterns of North-East Yorkshire at an established point in time, the last full year of William I's reign, twenty years after Hastings. Fundamental questions are raised by this record; the manner of settlement development, the chronology of the processes of development and whether Domesday records a stable or transitory situation. How far back can the origins of the individual settlements be projected? In what political and social contexts did the settlements develop? (The political and social background will be examined in detail in the next section)

Relatively few Early Medieval sites in North-East Yorkshire have been excavated (for full details, see below 90-97). Much of our information on the development of settlement patterns must therefore come from place-names but this form of evidence raises special problems. The major difficulty is of establishing whether or not the name was coined at the time the settlement was founded. Until very recently, it was frequently assumed by place-name scholars that names and settlements were formed contemporaneously. For example, Cameron, in his studies of the territory of the Five Boroughs, considers Old Norse names in-by to represent settlements newly founded by Scandinavians during the Viking era (Cameron 1977a). Going further back, scholars such as Maitland and Stenton believed that the Anglo-Saxons settled a virtually empty landscape and founded nucleated settlements from the outset (Stenton 1943.283-87, 314). Place name scholars have tended to assume that settlements bearing Old English names were founded by Anglo-Saxons

during the Anglo-Saxon period. However, since 1978 Fellows Jensen has come to the view that settlement-names are not necessarily contemporary with their settlements and that many names in their surviving forms were coined long after the settlements were founded, particularly during the tenth century when the great estates dating from the Iron Age were being broken up into smaller units (Fellows Jensen 1978). The work of Fellows Jensen concentrates on Old Norse settlement-names but there appears no reason why Old English names should not have been coined in this context. Cox has shown that very few Old English place-names in tun are found in sources earlier than 731 (Cox 1976). Though this does not prove that such names were not being coined at the time (Watts. pers. comm); it can be suggested that the majority of settlement-names in tun were coined at the time the estates were broken up.

The work of Spratt and others has shown that England, including North-East Yorkshire, was heavily settled and exploited during the Iron Age and Romano-British periods (Spratt 1982.186-89, Taylor 1983.63-82). In North-East Yorkshire the available evidence suggests a degree of survival of land units and systems of land division from the later prehistoric period through Anglo-Saxon times (below 26-38).

Archaeological evidence suggests that in the Migration Period Anglo-Saxon immigrants formed only a small proportion of the population (below/69-73). What implications does this have for the place-name evidence and what can this evidence add to the overall picture?

Map 7 plots the incidence of Old English-named settlements in Domesday period sources. These are concentrated in Cleveland, on the coastal plateau and the spring-line of the Corallian dip-slope, all areas likely to have supported a substantial population during the Iron Age/

Romano-British period (Spratt 1982.186-89). How many of these Old English names actually represent pre-existing settlements renamed by the newcomers in the fifth century and after? Jones considers that the Anglo-Saxon settlements took place within the framework of pre-existing multiple estates which bear purely Old English names are likely to occupy topographically-favourable sites and to have been 'taken over' from the indigenous population (Jones 1976.39-40). What form did this takeover take? Did a new population oust the indigenous Britons, or did an Anglian lord simply take the place of a British counterpart? Place-name scholars consider that names were bestowed on settlements not by those dwelling within them but by those dwelling in the vicinity, to distinguish a particular settlement from its neighbours and are couched in the language of the neighbours (Cameron 1977a.116). Naming seems frequently to have been carried out on a very local scale, to judge by the existence of two Domesday Torps within three miles of each other, now Nunthorpe (NZ 540132) and Pinchinthorpe (NZ 578142). On this basis, an Old English name was coined by Old English-speakers living in the neighbourhood in their own tongue. Jones' case-studies are concerned with estates that include vills with names indicative of a British presence but there is only one such in North-East Yorkshire. The multiple estate of Falsgrave includes sokeland at Wykeham, a name indicative of Anglian settlement within or knowledge of a Romano-British vicus (Gelling 1967). Excavations at Wykeham (SE 964833) have revealed a fourth century settlement with finds of both Romano-British and Anglian types (below 90-97). This site and two others nearby appear to show the two peoples co-existing, apparently peacefully. It is possible, following Jones, to see this as an example of Anglian settlement within a pre-existing estate and, if the earliest Anglian settlers in the region were indeed foederati (below 85-89), then it may be suggested that the Romano-British authorities placed them within

such estates, that is within the framework provided by the Roman military command and civil administration (for details of civil organisation, see Eagles 1979.19-22).

The limitations of this form of evidence borne in mind, can place-names provide any sight into the course of Anglian settlement in North-East Yorkshire? Dodgson considers the earliest foci of Anglian settlement to be associated with pagan-period cemeteries, which ought to date from the first quarter of the seventh century at the latest (Dodgson 1977). Studies of the few such cemeteries to be found in the region show that they were in use during the sixth century and in some cases earlier (below 91-93). Close study of the cemetery at Saltburn in Cleveland does suggest strongly that a mingling of Anglian and native burial traditions did occur in this period (Gallagher 1978.39-46), in contrast to the *royal* site at Yeavinger where the native rite seems still to have been followed (Hope-Taylor 1977.244-67). Cox singles out the element ham as likely to pre-date all other Old English name-forms (Cox 1973). His later work show the element to have been in use before 731 (Cox 1976).

There are a total of nine settlements in North-East Yorkshire with names in ham or close to pagan-period cemeteries (see Map 6). These are widely scattered across the lowland area; all lie close to the major rivers and are favourably located in relation to the principal needs of rural settlers:

- a) Water supply.
- b) Arable land.
- c) Grazing land and fuel.
- d) Building materials.

Purely topographical place-names are also thought to be representative of a relatively early phase of Anglian settlement (Gelling 1967). These again lie close to the major rivers; Yarm in a loop of the Tees; Hackness, Suffield and Northfield are close together on the east side of the upper Derwent valley. Some evidence is available to suggest an absolute date for such names; fifth and sixth century material has been found at Seamer, near Scarborough (below 94-95) and Bede records the foundation of a monastery at Hackness (Hacanos) in 679-80 (HE IV.23). therefore it appears that some at least of this group of settlement-names were in being by the close of the seventh century, though others may have been coined much later - Yarm however is a very early form (Watts. pers. comm) - and it must be borne in mind that these topographical names were presumably first applied to natural features and later transferred to settlements in these locations and thus the name may considerably pre-date the settlement.

The distribution of place-names of early forms shows that Old English-speakers dwelt not only within the named settlements by the time the names were coined, but also in their vicinity, in settlements which have since been re-named or become deserted. This implies that Anglians had spread over much of the lowlands by this stage, or at least that the Old English language had superseded British among a significant proportion of the population.

Place-names in tun proliferate all over the lowlands and are both more numerous and more widespread than the other Old English name-forms. Place-name scholars consider them to represent a secondary stage of Anglo-Saxon colonisation, since they are very uncommon in early documentary sources (Cox 1976). However, two caveats must be borne in mind. Firstly, that settlements with names in tun may have existed in

the seventh and eighth centuries but were not then of sufficient significance to merit inclusion in our early sources (Watts pers. comm). Secondly, Fellows Jensen's contention that most Old Norse place-names in by were coined for pre-existing settlements at a time of the breaking up of estates may also be applicable to place-names in tun (see Fellows Jensen 1984).

Hunter Blair notes that the heaviest concentrations of early name-forms in ingas lie in areas somewhat apart from the main routeways inland in southern England and that these survive because they were never superseded by later forms (Hunter Blair 1970.24).

Under the 'traditional' philological thesis of contemporaneity of settlement and name, we may postulate two main phases of Anglian settlement in North-East Yorkshire:

- a) Migration Period: Settlement in easily-accessible 'prime' locations.
- b) Post 700: Dispersion, colonisation, a 'fanning-out' across the entire settlement area.

However, the most recent work suggests a much more complex picture, with the survival of the great bulk of the British population and the settlement of small groups of Anglians alongside the $\overset{m}{\underset{\wedge}{\text{A}}}$, with the likely survival of the system of land division from prehistoric times (below 26-38). If Fellows Jensen is correct, it is possible that many of the surviving Old English names were not coined until the tenth century, at a time when Scandinavian settlement was adding further complexity to the overall pattern (below 148-49).

Domesday Book and Antecedent Land Allotment

In recent years a number of scholars have attempted to demonstrate the antiquity of systems of land division, claiming that the estates documented in the medieval period and the present-day parish and township blocks derive from and represent much earlier agricultural units (of Jones 1976, Bonney 1976, Spratt 1981). Bonney has noted a significant correspondence between parish boundaries in Wiltshire and Dorset and prehistoric and pagan Anglo-Saxon burials, 29% of Wiltshire burials lie on boundaries (Bonney 1976.72) and Jones has attempted to project the multiple estates of medieval times back into the Iron Age and earlier (above 5-8), as both a model of social and economic organisation and as a reality. If these theses are correct, then they have profound implications for settlement in North-East Yorkshire since the prehistoric era. If prehistoric land units remained substantially intact, this implies a basic stability over a very long period. Can the Anglian and Viking settlements really be seen as successive watersheds, with substantial dislocation and dispersion of the indigenous population, if the underlying territorial organisation remained basically unchanged? To what extent did the multiple estates of the Domesday record represent and derive from earlier land units and in what periods and contexts did these units develop? The theme is one of continuity of boundaries and estates and of estate centres, the caputs of the Domesday record.

1) 'Prehistoric' Antecedents:

Spratt has made a study of the burial mounds and linear earthworks in many areas of the Moors, seeing both as forming boundary markers (Spratt 1982.160, 172-77). He hypothesises a Bronze Age economy based on mixed arable and pastoral farming and considers that a combination of population increase after the Neolithic and declining soil fertility

on the sandstone hills caused by exhaustion would lead to the integration of upland and lowland agriculture and the appearance of land units which encompassed both arable lowland and moorland pasture. The most obvious and effective boundary markers for such units would be provided by watercourses and watersheds, the latter being further marked by round barrows which appear to be of Bronze Age date (Spratt 1981.94-95). In the Later Bronze Age and Iron Age this integrated upland and lowland system continued in being and linear earthworks were constructed to augment the round barrows as watershed boundary markers (Spratt 1982.174-75).

Many objections to this thesis can be mooted. A major difficulty is that of dating; the linear dykes, in some cases up to 9km long, can be seen to post-date the round barrows but the interval between their construction is not known, nor is the relationship between barrows and dykes, nor the extent to which the individual dykes are contemporaneous. Secondly, though on the High Moors the modern township boundaries are very frequently aligned on prehistoric barrows, the relationship between boundaries and the linear dykes is very much less consistent or clear-cut. Study of boundaries in Levisham and Lockton townships in particular shows very little correspondence (see Map 7). It must also be borne in mind that any correspondence between dykes and boundaries may be purely fortuitous, these structures providing convenient boundary markers for boundaries formed much later. Goodier, in a recent article, has studied boundaries throughout England in relation to pagan Anglo-Saxon burials and has concluded that there is in many cases a relationship between them but that the great majority of the boundaries concerned are likely to have been new formations in the Anglo-Saxon period (Goodier 1984.15-17).

These caveats borne in mind, let us now consider the Spratt thesis in relation to the township boundaries of North-East Yorkshire. Spratt provides a case-study of a north-westerly corner of the Moors, bounded by the River Seph in Bilsdale, the River Rye and the scarp of the Cleveland Hills, in which streams and barrow-marked watersheds divide the terrain into a series of units, each having some 8km^2 of grazing land, valley and riverside land and a cairnfield (Spratt 1981.90-95). This model is constructed in accordance with the monumental and environmental evidence for that period and district but one must use caution in applying it too generally. It seems clear that antecedent boundary markers are used in more recent parish and township boundaries but this does not necessarily demonstrate continuity between the two. Goodier reminds us that later communities may have made use of this type of marker when dividing the land (Goodier 1984.4). However, the model does serve to illuminate the later prehistoric situation in the region.

2) Domesday Book: The Evidence

It must first be noted that Domesday Book records no boundaries, only the extent of geldable land, expressed in carucates and bovates in North-East Yorkshire, and the number of ploughlands; mention is also made in some cases of meadow and pasturable woodland. Boundaries rarely appear in the regions monastic charters, the major exception being the grant of privileges by Alan de Percy to Whitby Abbey under Henry I, which lays down the liberties of the Abbey in the area which formed the wapentake of Whitby Strand until 1974 (WCh I.No 27). This is a documented example of an estate boundary which became fossilised in a local government district, also the case with the original Guisborough Priory boundary, which delimits Guisborough township (GCh I.No 1 and n.). In view of this paucity of early documentation, we

must test the hypothesis that recently-documented township boundaries may represent land units of considerable antiquity. It must be remembered that many township boundaries, particularly in well-settled lowland areas, may be recent and arbitrary creations, resulting from the development of local administration since the medieval period and also perhaps the avarice of later landholders. A seventeenth century surveyor of the Duchy of Lancaster estates in the Vale of Pickering took the boundary between Allerston and Ebberston to be a recent creation, some boundary stones having been lately set up (North Riding Records Vol I.25-26).

Examination of parish and township boundaries on the Second Edition Ordnance Survey maps of North-East Yorkshire shows that they generally follow watercourses where these exist. This is clearly seen, for example, in such townships as East and West Ayton. Boundaries in upland areas are seen to follow watersheds between watercourses and these are very frequently marked by tumuli and stones of unknown date. Documentation from the early seventeenth century shows a reliance on natural features and prehistoric monuments in the Corallian zone (North Riding Records Vol I.23-26). It is particularly noteworthy that the round barrow called Lilla Howe (SE 889978) acts as a boundary marker for no less than four townships, two of them far to the south on the Corallian dip-slope, and for the area of Whitby Abbey's liberties in the twelfth century (WCh I.No 27).

That the same types of boundary marker were employed by both prehistoric and medieval man does not of itself prove that the postulated Iron Age system of land units remained in being. Watercourse boundaries are, by their very nature, undateable in the absence of independent evidence and a barrow or dyke system already in

existence would provide obvious boundary markers for later communities settling the division of land anew. Neither do township boundaries shown on the early Six-Inch maps always show a close correlation with the linear dyke systems; the division of Levisham and Lockton Moors is a case in point (Spratt 1982.180). On Levisham Moor in an area of about 2km^2 to the north of the present village, there is a network of short linear dykes, with some shorter dykes lying east-west off them. Though there are barrows in this area, in no case do they actually coincide with the positions of the dykes. It is noteworthy that in this area the north-south boundaries of Levisham township both follow streams, the linear dykes are roughly equidistant between the two. Further east, however, the boundary between Lockton and Allerston parishes follows a dyke some 2km long across the watershed between two streams (Area of SE 8791) (see Map 8). This contradictory evidence leads us to three possible explanations:

- a) Prehistoric linear dykes delimited smaller land units than those of later periods. It is noteworthy that some townships in this area - the Corallian dip-slope - are very large, that of Allerston being 12 miles long and it is possible that they may have been formed from a number of once-separate units.
- b) The dyke systems may represent sub-divisions within larger units.
- c) The relationships between dykes and some boundaries is purely fortuitous, the dykes being convenient markers in a later system of land division.

That the correlation between burial mounds and boundaries is generally greater than that between linear dykes and boundaries seems to suggest

that the dykes formed sub-divisional markers. The dykes would have been more substantial and more visible than a line of burial mounds set at a distance from one another and ought to have remained so into the medieval period. Why then, if medieval man made use of earlier structures as markers, did they not use the linear dykes rather than the barrows, if they indeed settled the division of land anew? The complexity and proximity of certain dyke systems, particularly those in Levisham township, does further suggest strongly that they were not intended to delimit large units. Charles-Edwards' work on boundaries in Irish law establishes a ritual link between burials and boundaries (Charles-Edwards 1976.85), which may override the importance of the linear dykes. The balance of this circumstantial evidence leads to the conclusion that in the majority of cases it was the barrows which formed the markers of the land unit boundaries and that there was a measure of continuity of these units into the medieval period.

An example of land units in which a degree of continuity can be discerned is found in the Roxby area of the northern coastal plateau. Spratt hypothesises that the Iron Age settlement in Roxby township held as its territory the present-day townships of Roxby and Borrowby (see Map 8). Since the boundary between the two weaves between geometric fields, it can be seen to be a relatively late intrusion. Taking Roxby/Borrowby as a single entity, its boundaries follow watercourses up to the high moorland and then a series of stones of unknown date takes the line across the moor (Spratt 1982.195-97). Spratt takes the boundary of Roxby township with Easington township to the west from a parish map of 1728, which shows the line following Easington Beck; however, the author's own examination of the First Edition Six-Inch map of 1854 shows the boundary following a lane some 500 yards to the east of the Beck, which is also shown on the earlier map. Further change

has occurred since then; the post-1974 county boundary between North Yorkshire and Cleveland follows the earlier line along Easington Beck. Without impugning Spratt's work or the earlier map in any way, this example demonstrates very clearly that boundaries, once formed, do not necessarily remain static (see also above 29). In the light of this earlier evidence, it is of particular interest that in 1086 Roxby, along with Newton Mulgrave, was soke of Borrowby (Faull 1985.305b). If Spratt is correct in his hypothesis, it may be conjectured that the Iron Age land unit of Roxby/Borrowby remained intact as an entity down to the Domesday period, although within this territory the settlement focus may have shifted. It is of course possible that an Iron Age settlement is yet to be discovered in Borrowby township. Roxby and Newton Mulgrave townships are both much larger than that of Borrowby, which appear as a triangle cut out from Roxby township. It seems possible that Newton Mulgrave was a later addition to the original unit, since its western boundary, dividing it from Roxby/Borrowby, follows a stream (Birch Dale Beck) and a line of undateable boundary stones across the Moor.

The importance of Lilla Howe as a township boundary is of particular interest in that this Bronze Age barrow contains an intrusive burial of the Anglo-Saxon period. This was traditionally assumed to be the burial of Lilla, the thegn who died saving King Edwin from an assassin's dagger in 626 (HE II.9, Watkin and Mann 1981), but recent research suggests a tenth century date and possible Viking origins (Morris. pers. comm). If this is so, it raises more questions than it answers. Could it be that the barrow retained its significance as a nodal point from the prehistoric era through to the tenth century, or did this significance only develop in the latter half of the Anglo-Saxon period? Recent work by Fellows Jensen suggests that the tenth

century was a period when, under the stress of the Viking invasions, a market in land developed for the first time and the old large estates were broken up (below 131-34). If this is indeed the case, it is possible that the significance of Lilla Howe as a boundary marker began only in this period. However, the barrow lies on the boundary between two of the great estates which seem to have survived the Viking Age substantially intact. Lilla Howe appears on the boundary of the modern townships of Fylingdales, Goathland, Lockton and Allerston and is one of the boundary markers of the liberty granted to Whitby Abbey by Alan de Percy (WCh I.No 27). Goathland does not appear in the earliest documents but both this township east of the Murk Esk and Fylingdales lie within the Whitby Liberty boundary. Lockton and one of the two tenurial units at Allerston belonged in 1086 to the royal multiple estate of Pickering, the other was a separate manor also held by the Crown and sub-tenanted by the native Cospatric (Faull 1985.299b, 305a). Beyond Ebberston, immediately to the east of Allerston, almost all the Domesday settlements belonged in 1086 to the multiple estate of Falsgrave (see Map 9). As Ebberston township does not extend as far north as Lilla Howe, it seems likely that the barrow formed a boundary marker between the Whitby and Pickering estates and possibly also between these two and the Falsgrave estate. If this is so, can these estates be projected back earlier than the Conquest period?

The Whitby Estate:

This case-study attempts to draw out the evidence for continuity of estate boundaries from the Migration Period and earlier and to formulate conclusions applicable to the other large estates in the region. The charter of liberties of Whitby Abbey, granted by Alan de Percy under Henry I (WCh I.No 27) and confirmed by Henry and succeeding kings, shows clearly the use of prehistoric monuments and natural

features as boundary markers. Sixteen points are named, nine of them watercourses and meres, two farms (Keasbeck and Thirley Cotes), two linear earthworks (Green Dyke and Thieves' Dyke), one a stone circle (Swinestischage). A number of barrows, including Lilla Howe, take the line across the watershed between the head of Greta Beck and the Murk Esk. Since William de Percy granted the estate of Whitby with its 28 vills and the manor of Hackness, Suffield and Everley to the Abbey at its foundation (WCh I.No 26), it seems likely that the boundary defined by his son represents the outer limits of the Whitby estate, Hackness and its environs being joined to the liberty in a later period. This line formed a portion of the boundary of the Pickering Forest under Edward I (WCh II.No 399) and thus of the Honour of Pickering; it seems likely that it divided the Whitby estate from those of Pickering and Falsgrave.

Bede records that King Oswiu granted Hild ten ^ehids of land at Streoneshalch for a monastery circa 657 (HE III.24). The acreage of the seventh century Northumbrian hide is by no means clear; Bede refers to it as the land of one family (terra unius familiae, HE IV.23). Maitland warns us to beware of the common assumption that the hide comprised approximately 120 acres (Maitland 1897.360-62) and further that the fiscal hides of Domesday and other documents do not necessarily represent the 'true' hide on the ground (Maitland 1897.389-95). Finberg states that the hide was a unit of assessment, specifically tax assessment (Finberg 1972.412-14); therefore it seems likely that there were considerable variations in the size of " this over different parts of England.

Whatever the extent of the hide in seventh century Northumbria, it seems most unlikely that the grant to Hild comprised the whole of the

later wapentake. There was a daughter-house of the Abbey at Hackness (HE IV.23) but no evidence survives of its seventh century land allotment. No other evidence survives of land grants to Whitby or Hackness before their desertion during the Viking era, nor of land ownership in North-East Yorkshire earlier than the eleventh century but surviving records of grants to other northern monasteries may be pertinent. The initial grants to Monkwearmouth (founded 674) and Jarrow (founded 681) comprised 70 and 40 hides respectively; further royal grants gave the joint houses at least 143 hides by 716 (Roper 1974.64). The Historia de Sancto Cuthberto shows that by the tenth century the lands of the Community of St Cuthbert encompassed large areas of northern England and what is now southern Scotland (EHD I.No 6, Morris 1977.91-93). Roper has argued forcefully that Hexham Abbey gained considerable landed endowments between its foundation in the 670s and the mid ninth century, when the estate passed to the see of St Cuthbert, the whole being represented by the great estate of Hexhamshire, held by the see in the twelfth century (Roper 1974.64, 170). The evidence shows that grants to monasteries were much larger in size after the Synod of Whitby than before; monasteries founded after 664 gained much larger initial grants and it seems unlikely that the older houses were not given sufficient land in this period to maintain their status.

Domesday Book records that the Whitby estate was held by Earl Siward in the time of King Edward (Faull 1985.305b). The Earl died in 1055 (ASC D 1055) and nothing is recorded of any other pre-Conquest landholder. It seems that this estate and those of Pickering and Falsgrave were part of the *ex officio* lands of the earldom of Northumbria in the tenth and eleventh centuries (below 90-97) and it may therefore be conjectured that the Domesday estate of Whitby represents that which

had developed from the original ten hides granted to Hild and augmented by later grants, passed from the Abbey to the Scandinavian Kings of York after its desertion and ^hence to the earldom after 954, possibly at the instigation of the West Saxon kings (below 91-92). Lacking charter evidence, the boundaries of the Whitby and Falsgrave estates at the time of Domesday must be inferred from the nineteenth century township boundaries of their constituent sokelands. Since they were also held by the earldom in 1066, it seems possible that they also represent units which had served from before the Viking Age. If Fellows Jensen's recent thesis on the formation of Old Norse place-names is correct (below 146-48), then the lack of such names in the area covered by these estates would imply that a market in land did not develop and that these large estates remained substantially intact. Evidence in support of this can be seen in Cleveland, where Scandinavian place-names are very common; no large estate survives but rather a large number of single manors, multiple unit settlements and small multiple estates (below 40-42).

Land Units: Conclusions:

It can be stated that the use of natural features and prehistoric monuments in the system of land division is found in the Early Medieval Period, as seems to have occurred in the Bronze and Iron Ages but no absolute link between the two can be established. There is rather a balance of probability in favour of a considerable measure of continuity, variations occurring in the overall pattern as a result of local events and conditions. Jones has contended that the multiple estate provided the economic and social framework necessary for the building of later prehistoric public works such as hillforts (Jones 1961, 1976.40). Many of his case-studies include settlements with names indicative of a British presence during the Anglo-Saxon age but

such names are almost entirely lacking in North-East Yorkshire, the exceptions being Wykeham, near Scarborough and Waupley on the northern coastal plateau (NZ 727145), which does not appear in Domesday Book (Faull 1977.12). Only one hillfort exists within the region, Eston Nab, overlooking the Tees estuary (NZ 568183). Therefore, any linking of prehistoric land units with Early Medieval multiple estates must be based to a much greater extent on informed conjecture. We lack evidence of landholding before 1066, apart from the grants recorded by Bede; we particularly lack the Old English charters so useful further south (cf Sawyer 1975, Davies 1979). An examination of the development of a society from the Late Roman Period through to the Norman Conquest may however reveal a context for the survival of a system of land division in its basic essentials, from the Iron Age and perhaps earlier, though not necessarily in the survival of individual estates unchanged.

Any such survival in North-East Yorkshire is likely to be strongly influenced by local geography and topography, under which the agricultural potential of a large area - the Moors and to a lesser extent the marshlands of the Vale of Pickering - is very limited. It is precisely in the high moorland that earlier boundaries appear to have become fossilised; on the lowlands, more suitable for arable farming and much more densely populated in the ensuing centuries, boundaries seem to be more fluid and more affected by the development of local government. Goodier's study of Anglo-Saxon burials of the pagan period in relation to boundaries leads her to conclude that the majority of boundaries marked by burials were of recent origin at the time of burial, with little evidence of continuity from the prehistoric era (Goodier 1984). However, most of her work concentrates on southern

England and the special circumstances of North-East Yorkshire may create a context for a greater continuity of earlier land units:

- a) Higher proportion of marginal land and land suitable only for pasture.
- b) Probability of a majority British element in the population in the Early Medieval Period (below 69-73).
- c) Apparently peaceful settlement of Anglians in the region, beginning with settlements of foederati in Roman service (below 57-60).

Settlement Hierararchies in 1086

Two forms of settlement hierarchy are immediately apparent from the Domesday record:

- a) Hierarchy of tenurial form, whether manorial caput, single manor, berewick or soke.
- b) Hierarchy of land allotment; the amount of arable land which pertains to the settlement.

To these may be added three more:

- c) Hierarchy of Domesday settlement characteristics, whether village, hamlet, single farm etc.
- d) Hierarchy of nineteenth century settlement characteristics. For this period the availability of maps makes it possible to study settlement plans.
- e) Hierarchy of medieval and later status, whether borough, ecclesiastical parish or civil parish.

a) Tenurial Form

Domesday Book lists 206 tenurial units in North-East Yorkshire, 39 of the 137 named settlements apparently containing two or more tenurial units. Of these 206, 15 were manorial caputs, having authority over one or more berewicks and sokes, 4 berewicks and 71 sokes, the land allotment varying from two bovates at the manor of Cloughton to the caput of Pickering with 37 carucates (Faull 1985.299b, 305d). A close

study of Domesday Book has shown that there is no correlation between tenurial status and size of land allotment; sokes may frequently contain more arable land than manors, for instance. The assessed size of the majority of both manors and berewicks/sokes varies between two and eight carucates, comparatively few falling outside this range (see Appendix 1).

The terms berewick and soke are both used of constituent parts of the multiple estates but there appears to have been a fundamental difference between them. The berewick seems to be a detached portion of a manor, in part dependent on and in part independent of the main body. The lord probably had some demesne land and some farm buildings but no hall and did not consume farm produce on the spot. In the soke, by contrast, the lord's rights seem to have been of a justiciary rather than a proprietary nature (Maitland 1897.148). In North-East Yorkshire berewicks are much fewer in number than sokes and many multiple estates contain no berewicks; those with berewicks are Pickering and Falsgrave (berewicks outside the region) (Faull 1985.299a), Whitby (Sneaton) (Faull 1985.305a), Acklam (Ingleby Barwick) (Faull 1985.305a), Borrowby (Roxby) (Faull 1985.305b). That berewicks were probably detached portions of the main caput can be seen in the Domesday geld assessments, which generally treat caput and berewick as one (cf Faull 1985.305a).

The tenurial pattern of the Cleveland Plain shows much greater fragmentation than that of the Corallian dip-slope (see maps 11 and 12). Cleveland has a large number of single manors and small multiple estates, whereas virtually all the settlements of the Corallian dip-slope belong to the soke of Pickering (3 berewicks and 18 sokes) and of Falsgrave (1 berewick and 21 sokes). Cleveland shows both the

highest concentration of single-unit and multiple-unit settlements, those in which two or more tenurial units share the same place-name, precisely because of this apparent fragmentation, and land allotments there are consequently smaller (see Appendix 1). One may see the great estates of the Corallian zone as survivors from an earlier system of land division (above 26-38) and the much more numerous small units of the Cleveland Plain the results of its breakdown. However, it is also possible that the estates of Pickering and Falsgrave had originally been smaller and had absorbed neighbouring units. One might see the small manor at Allerston, lying adjacent to sokeland of Pickering and within the area covered by this estate, as either a break-away from the main estate or as a survivor from an earlier period of aggrandisement. Both holdings belonged to the king in 1086 but the manor was tenanted by the native Gospatric; this information unfortunately takes us no further, since either hypothesis can be fitted to the evidence (Faull 1985.300b). Examination of the social background may however provide a partial answer to these questions. This will be found in the section on Society and Politics.

A further tenurial form which ought to be considered in this sub-section is the multiple manor, which contains two or more villas or apparently equal statutes. In North-East Yorkshire there are three examples; Hackness, Suffield and Everley; Guisborough, Middleton and Hutton Lowcross, and Thorpfield and Irtton. There is also the multiple estate of Seamer and Tanton and the manor of Eskdale, with units at Crunkley Gill, Lealholm and Danby (Faull 1985.328b). These seem to have been originally separate units jointed under a single landholder shortly before Domesday was compiled. Guisborough, Middleton and Hutton Lowcross is described as being three manors in 1066, all held by Uchtred (Faull 1985.305c). Hackness, Suffield and Everley had three

churches in 1086 (Faull 1985.323a), strongly suggestive of former separateness at a time when most churches were proprietorial.

Thorpefield and Irton was held by Karli and Blakkr in 1066; they may well have then been separate (Faull 1985.323a). These examples may be seen as part of a continuing process of tenurial change and development.

b) Settlement Plan-Forms:

When assessing the likely characteristics of settlements in 1086, it is necessary to make use of the earliest available large-scale map evidence, that provided by the Ordnance Survey Six-Inch series, begun in the mid nineteenth century. Table 1 shows Domesday tenurial forms and nineteenth century plan-types, drawn from the Six-Inch series, of settlements in North-East Yorkshire; multiple-unit settlements are treated as single entities for this purpose.

How far can nineteenth century plan-forms be projected back into the medieval period? In other words, can it be assumed that the nucleated settlement of the 1880's was so in the eleventh century and, equally, that certain of the settlements which appear in Domesday Book were never more than single farms? Here we must resort to informed conjecture.

It is apparent that Domesday tenurial status has little bearing on . . . plan-form. For example, Carlton, soke of Seamer and Tanton in Domesday (Faull 1985.305d), emerges by the 1880's as a 'planned' green village of parochial status, whereas Tocketts, also in Cleveland, a manor in its own right in 1086, was a deserted settlement represented by a single farm (Beresford and Hurst 1971.211). Both were held by the same Domesday landholder, Robert, Count of Mortain. Many other examples of

marked change can be noted; Whorlton was soke of Hutton Rudby in Domesday Book (Faull 1985.305d). In the ensuing centuries a castle was built there by the Meynell family and was their main stronghold in the north. The earthworks of a planted borough can be discerned on the ground (Roberts. pers. comm.) but today only a church remains of the settlement (VCH.309-11). Since such changes, the waxing and waning of settlements, can be shown to have occurred in the historical period, can it be assumed that in most cases settlement forms have remained static over many centuries?

Roberts has suggested that those settlements for which no Domesday population is recorded are likely to have been single farms occupied only by the named landholder members, and his family and household servants (pers. comm.). This, however, is difficult to substantiate. No population, apart from the landholder, is recorded in 110 Domesday tenurial units, representing 93 named settlements. It must be borne in mind that 53 of these settlements are described as 'waste'; certain of these may well have had populations before the Harrying of 1069-70. Of the 40 non-populated settlements not described as 'waste', ten are now represented by single farms or other non-nucleated settlements (hamlets and farm clusters) and 12 by deserted settlements listed by Beresford and Hurst (Beresford and Hurst 1971.209-11). The remaining 18 are nucleations (see Table 2). These appears overall to be little correlation between lack of Domesday population and non-nucleated status today. Whorlton, now deserted, had 20 villeins in 1086; Wilton, a hallgarth, had eight villeins and ten sokemen and Marton, also now deserted, 14 villeins and six sokemen (Faull 1985.305d, 331ab). All these settlements lie on the Cleveland Plain. When settlements described as 'waste', which may previously have been nucleations, are brought into consideration, the overall picture is still less

convincing; a greater proportion of 'wasted' sites without population developed into planned nucleations by the nineteenth century (see Table 1). We are therefore faced with an impasse; either the premise that settlements without servile population were not nucleated in 1086 is incorrect, or the present plan-forms of settlements do not reproduce those of 1086, or the Domesday record of peasant population is incomplete. Logically, there may be truth in all these and each may repay further investigation.

Further difficulty is caused by the fact that ten of the vills for which a servile population is recorded and which ought logically to have been nucleated in 1086, are not now nucleations. Upsall and Westerdale, the first now deserted, the second a nucleation, had only three and one villeins respectively. Little Ayton and Kildale, neither nucleations, had nine villeins, and eight bordars and one villein. The manor of Hackness, Suffield and Everley, with three vills but no nineteenth century nucleation, had 14 villeins and four bordars. It seems that at the same time as certain settlements were developing into nucleations, others were declining into hamlets, farm clusters and single farms, although the possibility that the situation was distorted by the presence of refugees must be considered.

The simple thesis that modern plan-form reproduces that of the eleventh century takes no account of any substantial development since that date. It has already been noted that a number of nucleated settlements became deserted in later medieval times and after; it is highly probable that similar transformations occurred in reverse, that settlements which were single farmsteads or groups of farmsteads in 1086 later evolved into nucleated villages. We cannot know the extent of omissions of population from Domesday Book, that complete

settlements were left out of the Survey has already been noted. Examination of the settlements which achieved ecclesiastical parish status in the medieval period may indicate which settlements are most likely to have been significant in the years following the Norman Conquest and which may therefore have been nucleated in 1086 or soon after.

c) Settlement Status

Table 3 plots the Domesday tenurial forms and late nineteenth century plan-forms of the 40 settlements which appear to have obtained parochial status during the medieval period. Logically, these ought to have had a greater significance at that time than those which did not achieve this status. The same should obtain of those settlements which became townships. However, the possibility of seigneurial influences needs to be borne in mind; settlements belonging to certain landholders may have had a greater likelihood of becoming parish centres because of the power of these lords, rather than their own intrinsic importance. Further, can a crude correlation between settlement status and plan-form apparent in the nineteenth century shed light on the importance of a named settlement in the Domesday period? The time factor must be remembered, that considerable change may have taken place in a settlement between the Survey and the granting of parish status.

It will be seen from the table that a greater number of caputs and manors became parish centres than did berewicks and sokes. This correlation is not absolute but the correspondence which is apparent may be related more to the role of secular lords in the endowment of churches than to the size and importance of the settlements. A much closer correlation is seen between plan-form and parochial status. All

the urban settlements, the 'planned' two-row settlements and church/hall clusters had become parish centres by the nineteenth century. In contrast, only one hallgarth had gained this status and no single farm or farm cluster. From this analysis three factors can be seen to have a bearing on the gaining of parochial status in the medieval period;

- a) Manorial status in 1086, whether multiple or single.
- b) A 'planned' layout.
- c) A geld assessment for the complete settlement entity (all parts of a multiple unit settlement) of six or more carucates in 1086.

103 of the 137 settlements named in Domesday Book are represented by present-day civil parishes (townships). The majority are nucleated settlements of various forms but a number are now represented by hamlets, farm clusters and deserted sites. Can these be seen as former nucleations which have lost their earlier significance, or are they the most significant foci in areas of non-nucleated settlement? Of these non-village townships the majority are disposed in two groups in Cleveland and around Hackness. The Six-Inch map shows the Hackness district to be an area of scattered farms and farm clusters and here the township centres seem to be the most significant foci. The situation in Cleveland is however more complex. Nine of the twelve non-village townships in this area are deserted villages (Beresford and Hurst 1971.209-11), the remaining three being hallgarth sites, which may reflect some seigneurial influence on their status. Thus in North-East Yorkshire we have cases both of settlements which have lost their former importance and become deserted and those which form the major foci in areas of non-nucleated settlement and, incidentally, of a

considerable degree of stability in the pattern of local organisation, since the status was not transferred elsewhere when these settlements declined.

The most interesting case of a non-village township is that of Whorlton, which remained both an ecclesiastical and civil parish into the twentieth century, despite having long been deserted. Whorlton's status is a clear example of seignorial influence. Whorlton Castle, built in the twelfth century or perhaps a little earlier, was the seat of the Meynell family from that time (VCH.311-15). Fieldwork by Roberts suggests that the deserted village adjacent to the castle was in fact a planted borough. The earthworks cover 3 - 4 acres and are separated from the castle to the west by a ditch across the spur. There is a large Norman church, now in ruins (Roberts. pers. comm.). The date of the abandonment of the borough tentatively identified as such by Farrer (VCH.310), is not clear. The castle was in decay by the fourteenth century but the church appears to have been substantially remodelled around 1400 and further alterations were carried out as late as 1593 (VCH.309-16). It may be suggested that Whorlton's status was artificial, being mainly the creation of the Meynells, and that their decline was matched by that of the settlement.

Overall, the situation in North-East Yorkshire is complex. It is clear that generalised hypotheses are not universally applicable and much is dependent on strictly local conditions and circumstances. The lack of closely dateable evidence for the centuries between Domesday Book and the Ordnance Survey is a serious handicap to the scholar. A consideration of the planned villages of the region may provide some answers but will also raise many more questions.

Planned Villages

In recent years the planned villages of Yorkshire and County Durham have attracted considerable attention from scholars, principally concerned with dating their origins and analysing the reasons for their formation. Research by Allerston, Sheppard and Roberts has dated them to the medieval period, before 1400. Allerston is inclined to date those of the Corallian dip-slope to earlier than 1300 but does not attempt to link their origins to any particular historical period or event (Allerston 1971). Sheppard goes further, favouring the immediate post-Conquest era as the most obvious opportunity and context for a large-scale and substantial remodelling of settlements (Sheppard 1974, 1976).

In her earlier work Sheppard hypothesises a link between settlement frontage - the length of the toft row - and the fiscal carucates of the Domesday geld assessments. She argues that those villages whose plans provide the evidence in support of such a link must have developed in the period in which geld was important, that is before or soon after 1162, when geld ceased to be levied on a regular basis and almost certainly before 1220, when the last of the series of occasional carucates was raised on the basis of earlier assessments (Sheppard 1974.133). The most likely occasion for such a replanning of settlements to reflect the geld assessment was the recolonisation of 'waste' settlements after 1070, a process likely to be complete by 1200.

Sheppard has since gone on to discuss this hypothesis in detail (Sheppard 1976), basing her views on the work of T.A.M. Bishop (Bishop 1947). Bishop noted that in 1086 many lowland settlements in Yorkshire

were populated, while those in the uplands were 'waste'. He hypothesised that the Harrying by the Norman army in 1069-70 had been restricted to the lowlands and that in the aftermath of the devastation the leading Norman landholders forcibly moved peasants from intact but marginal upland manors to recolonise deserted but potentially valuable lowland holdings. Sheppard considers the planned village to be the result of this recolonisation.

Various objections can be made to Bishop's views. The assumption is made that the devastation of the lowlands was virtually total and this is re-stated by Sheppard (Sheppard 1976.12). However, Wightman warns us that this may not be the case, that a vill may well have been designated as 'waste' for administrative and other reasons and not solely as the result of devastation:

- a) Marginal land not utilised or used only for non-arable purposes, cf swampy areas of the Vale of Pickering.
- b) Manors under cultivation but without arable.
- c) In circumstances where two manors were joined together, one might be designated 'waste' in order to 'balance the books' (Wightman 1975.57 - 58, 70).

If upland manors were indeed unaffected by the Harrying, why should this be so? It seems unlikely that an army led by an experienced and ruthless soldier should have failed to devastate the uplands, the obvious area for prolonged guerrilla resistance to the Normans. It seems inconceivable that William would not have at least attempted to roust his enemies out of the Moors and Dales, though in these areas

there would have been little of agricultural value to be destroyed, apart from sheep, which escape mention in Domesday Book. Further, if Wightman is correct, many upland manors could have been designated as 'waste' for purely administrative purposes or nearly so. Kapelle has pointed out that there is no necessity to postulate a forced peasant migration to provide manpower for the recolonisation; there must have been considerable numbers of refugees in the devastated areas (Kapelle 1979.168-72). The presence of large numbers of refugees is implied by the existence of 30 villeins and eight sokemen plus, one may presume, their families, on a mere two carucates of monastic land at Prestebi and Sourebi (Faull 1985.305a). The large populations in some other settlements may include refugees.

This however, does not necessarily invalidate Sheppard's basic thesis that Norman lords settled a peasant population in planned villages on formerly worthless estates. Sheppard failed to find any exact correlation between settlements that were 'waste' in 1086 and later planned nucleated forms (Sheppard 1976.7-22). This non-correlation has been confirmed recently by Roberts (Roberts. pers. comm.). Through testing the incidence of a number of factors in relation to planned village forms, Sheppard found that such settlements tended to show the following Domesday characteristics:

- a) Belonging to certain landholders, particularly the king and leading magnates.
- b) Not subinfeudated - held directly by the tenant-in-chief, rather than through a sub-tenant.

- c) Not the location of a demesne farm - no demesne ploughs recorded in Domesday Book.

The validity of this thesis in relation to the more circumscribed area of North-East Yorkshire must now be considered.

Of our 137 Domesday settlements, 51 have plan-forms suggestive of some overall planning in their original layout; 37 are two-row street settlements, eight street-green villages and eight polyfocal settlements with planned elements (see Table 4). Of these 51, 32 were wholly or partly 'waste' in 1086. Thus 'wasting' may be a significant factor in 60% of cases of possible settlement planning. However, there remain 19 settlements with apparent regularities of plan in which devastation did not occur, or recovery of population took place within two decades. A further complication is that a number of these apparently planned villages were multiple-unit settlements in 1086 (14 of 51). Did these come into the hands of single landholders soon after, or was one unit planned and later absorbed its neighbours?

The incidence of the characteristics set out by Sheppard was examined and the results are shown here:

- a) Waste in 1086 (32 settlements).
- b) Not 'divided' between one or more tenurial units (37 settlements).
- c) Not subinfeudated (38 settlements).
- d) Lacking demesne ploughs in 1086 (14 settlements).

e) Belonging to the fees of:	I	The King	17
	II	Count of Mortain	14
	III	Earl of Chester	9
	IV	William de Percy	<u>4</u>
			44
			—

However, this need not necessarily be taken at face value, since certain of these characteristics pertained to the majority of settlements in the region. Of the 137 named settlements, 43% were 'waste' in 1086 and a further 18% partly 'waste'. Similarly, although the king, the Count of Mortain between them held land in 44 of the 51 planned settlements, it must not be forgotten that these held three-quarters of the manors in the region. Matters are complicated by the fact that the bulk of the royal lands in Cleveland passed to the Brus fee soon after 1100; nine of the planned settlements experienced this change of ownership. Which landholder was therefore responsible for the planning of these settlements? Further, the high incidence of 'waste' settlements and incomplete recording elsewhere must have affected the recording of demesne ploughs - some settlements may have had demesne ploughs before becoming 'waste'. It may be the case, therefore, that these characteristics are a reflection of local conditions rather than factors leading to the development of a planned layout.

Therefore, in order to assess the validity of Sheppard's hypothesis and to test whether any set of criteria can similarly be applied to other forms of nucleated settlement in the region, it was decided to examine the incidence of Sheppard's characteristics in relation to 'unplanned' and deserted settlements. If the hypothesis is wholly valid, it might be expected that these settlements would have different characteristics in common from the planned settlements, or at least that the balance of significance of these factors would alter.

The results show no significant change in characteristics appertaining to the different settlement forms, nor in the balance of these characteristics, with the interesting exception that multiple-unit settlements show a greater tendency to become deserted:

- a) 'Waste' in 1086 (19 holdings).
- b) Not subinfeudated (13 holdings).
- c) Not 'divided' between two or more tenurial units (12 settlements).
- d) Belonging to fees of:

I	Earl of Chester	7 holdings
II	The King	5 holdings

Total:- 16 settlements, 20 holdings.

None of the 27 nucleated multiple-unit settlements became deserted in the medieval period or later; four of the seven containing three units becoming deserted. The balance of significance again alters in relation to the settlements listed as deserted villages by Beresford and Hurst:

- a) 'Waste' in 1086 (21 holdings).
- b) Belonging to the King's fee (15 holdings).
- c) Not subinfeudated (30 holdings).
- d) 'Divided' between two or more tenurial units (9 settlements).

Total:- 14 settlements, 30 holdings.

No single factor can be said to occur solely or even principally in relation to one settlement type. In all cases 'wasting', belonging to certain landholders and non-subinfeudation occur prominently but this seems to be a reflection of local conditions. In 1086 North-East Yorkshire was characterised by a very high incidence of 'waste' and a tenurial pattern in which a very small group of landholders, close to the king, had absolute dominance (below.128-30, Appendix 3).

Sheppard's hypothesis is therefore of limited value in relation to this part of Yorkshire, except as a tool of analysis. The factors she adduces are largely a reflection of local conditions, affecting the majority of Domesday settlements. Nor is there any close correlation with 'wasting', the proportion of 'waste' holdings in the planned settlements is similar to that for the region as a whole, nor is there a correlation with population recorded in Domesday. A time factor must be brought into consideration. The landholding pattern of Domesday, dominated by the great magnates, was essentially transitory, most of the Domesday tenants-in-chief being ousted under Henry I (below 175-78). A further complicating factor is that 14 planned settlements were multiple-unit settlements in 1086. It is not therefore clear which, if any, of the Domesday tenants-in-chief were responsible for the planning of the settlements concerned. It is unlikely that the replanning was all carried out at the same time, within a relatively short interval and it may be that certain settlements were replanned under Henry I, by the successors of the Domesday tenants-in-chief or by their sub-

tenants. In 1086 17 years had passed since the Harrying, recovery was in progress but the rate and extent of this recovery would vary with strictly local conditions, probably unique to each settlement; manpower and livestock available, severity of the original damage, the wishes of the landholder and the efficiency of his bailiff or steward. Domesday Book for 1086 records this process of uneven and piecemeal development.

Whatever the precise origin of these planned settlements, logic and evidence point strongly to their development in the post-Conquest period; the question naturally arises of the types of settlement which they replaced. Were these new 'model' settlements constructed on the sites of former nucleations or were they themselves the first nucleations in a landscape of hamlets and farmsteads? This will be discussed in the final chapter of this section.

Table 1 : Domesday Tenurial Forms and Recent Plan-Types

<u>Plan Type</u>	<u>DB Caputs</u>	<u>DB Manors</u>	<u>DB Sokes</u>	<u>Total</u>
	2	2	0	4
	0	0	0	0
	0	4	3	7
	0	2	1	3
	3	15	7	25
	4 (9)	1 (24)	1 (12)	6
* * * * *	* * * * *	* * * * *	* * * * *	* * * * *
	0	1	1	2
	1	1	9	11
	0	4	9	13
	0	1	1	2
	0	5	5	10
	3	1	1	5
	1	9	0	10
	0	1	3	4
	1 (6)	1 (22)	1 (28)	3
TOTAL:	15	48	42	105

(Symbols as used by BK Roberts)

Source: Domesday Book, OS 6-Inch 2nd Series

Table 2 : Nucleated Villis and DB Population

Populated DB

Acklam (caput)	12 villeins, priest
East Ayton	18 villeins
Great Ayton (1)	8 villeins
Brotton	8 villeins
Faceby	1 villein, 3 bordars
Falsgrave (caput)	5 villeins
Guisborough	13 villeins (total)
Kirkleatham	1 sokeman, 7 bordars
Lythe	6 villeins
Marske	16 villeins
Middleton upon Leven	3 villeins
Ormesby	7 villeins, 16 bordars, 1 priest
Seamer (NZ 498103)	5 villeins
Seamer (TA 016834)	15 villeins
Skelton	12 villeins
Snainton	5 villeins
Sneaton/Whitby	10 villeins, 3 bordars
Pickering (caput)	20 villeins
Stokesley	8 villeins, 1 priest
Wilton (total)	8 villeins, 2 bordars

Total 21 villis

Possible Population (Sokelands of Falsgrave)

West Ayton
Burniston
Hutton Buscel
Wykeham

Total 4 villis

Non-Populated DB

Aislaby (NZ 858086)	Lazenby
Allerston	Levisham
Boulby	Lockton
Great Broughton	Loftus
Great Busby	Maltby
Carlton	Mickleby
Crathorne	Great Moorsholm
Cloughton	Middleton by Pickering
Ebberston	Liverton
Ellerby	Newby
Eston	Newton Under Roseberry
Easington (1 villein)	Normanby (NZ 556183)
Egton	Roxby
Fylingthorpe	Scalby
Hilton	Stainton
Hilderwell	Thornaby
Hutton Rudby (1 priest)	Thornton
Irton	Thornton Dale
Kirkby in Cleveland	Ugglebarnby
Kirklevington (Brus Fee)	Ugthorpe
Lackenby	Yarm

Nucleations named in Whitby Abbey Foundation Charter (WCh I.No 26)

Broxa
Ruswarp
Sneatonthorpe
Stainsacre

Deserted Sites with Population in 1086

Barwick Ingleby	12 villeins
Marton	14 villeins, 6 bordars
Whorlton	20 villeins

Nucleated Waste Settlements

Aislaby (NZ 858086)	Maltby
Allerston (prob)	Mickleby
Great Broughton (prob)	Great Moorsholm
Great Busby (pos)	Newby
Carlton	Normanby (NZ 556183)
Cloughton	Roxby (pos)
Crathorne (prob)	Newton under Roseberry
Egton	Scalby (prob)

Ellerby
Eston
Ebberston
Fylingthorpe
Hilton (prob)
Hinderwell
Irtton
Kirkby in Cleveland (pos)
Lackenby
Lazenby (prob)
Liverton
Loftus

Stainton (prob)
Thornaby (prob)
Thornton
Thornton Dale (prob)
Ugglebarnby
Ugthorpe (pos)
Upleatham

Total - 35
Definite - 22
Probable - 9
Possible - 4

Tenurial Units without Recorded Population TREWaste in 1086

Acklam (1)	Killerby
Aislaby	Kilton (1)
East and West Ayton	Kilton Thorpe (1)
Great Ayton (1)	Lazenby
<u>Baldebi</u>	Liverton
Barnaby	Loftus (1)
Blaten Carr	Mickleby
Borrowby	Moorsholm
Boulby (1)	Little Moorsholm
Broxa	Mulgrave
Great Broughton	Newby
Great Busby	Newholm
Little Busby	Newton Mulgrave
Carlton	Normanby (near Eston)
Cloughton	Stainsby
Crathorne	Stakesby
Ellerby	Thornaby (1)
Eston	Irton
<u>Florun</u>	Tocketts
Fyling Hall	Tollesby
Fylingthorpe	Ugglebarnby
Goldsborough	Upleatham
Goulton	Upsall
<u>Grimesbi</u>	
Hawsker	—
Hemlington	51
Hutton Mulgrave	—

No Population 1086

Acklam (2)	Kilton (2)
Airyholme	Kilton Thorpe (2)
Allerston (Manor)	<u>Kirkby</u>
<u>Arnodestorp</u>	Loftus (2)
Arncliffe	Morton and Nunthorpe
Little Ayton	Newham
Battersby	Newton
<u>Bergolbi</u>	Normanby (Whitby)
Brompton	Pinchinthorpe (2)
Little Broughton	Roxby
Cayton	Skutterskelfe (3)
Coulby	Stainton
Dromonby	Tanton (2)
Dunsley (2)	Thoraldby (2)
Easby (2)	Thornaby (1)
Egton	Thornton Dale
Ellerburn	Troutsdale
Foxton	Tunstall
Hilton	Ugthorpe
Hilderwell	—
Hutton Rudby	52
Ingleby Greenhow	—
Ingleby Arncliffe	

Table 3 : Domesday Tenorial Forms and Recent Plan-Types of Parish Settlements

<u>Plan Type</u>	<u>DB Caput</u>	<u>DB Manor</u>	<u>DB Berewick</u>	<u>DB Soke</u>	<u>Total</u>
	3	1	-	-	4 (4)
	1	4	-	-	5
	1	-	-	2	3 (7)
	2	13	-	4	19 (19)
	-	-	-	2	2 (4)
	1	2	1	1	5 (5)
	1	-	-	-	1 (10)
	-	-	-	1	1 (13)
TOTAL	9	20	1	10	40 (62)

Source: Domesday Book, OS 6-Inch 2nd Series, VCH

Table 4 : Settlement Plan-Types in North-East Yorkshire

<u>Polyfocal</u>	<u>2-Row Regular</u>	<u>2-Row Street Green</u>
Great Ayton Crathorne Hutton Rudby Egton Pickering East Ayton West Ayton Thornton Dale	Newby Middleton by Pickering Irton Sneaton Hilton	Levisham Lockton Mickleby Hinderwell Ruston Guisborough (Developed) Yarm
8	5	8
<u>Irregular 2-Row</u>	<u>Irregular Street Green</u>	<u>Agglomerations</u>
Broxa Burniston Great Busby Easington Ellerby Faceby Cloughton Kirkby in Cleveland Kirklevington Lackenby Lythe Liverton Maltby Great Moorsholm Newton Ormesby Roxby Ruswarp Sawdon Seamer (Cleveland) Sneatonthorpe Stainsacre Snainton Thornaby Thornton Ugglebarnby Upleatham	Wilton Ugthorpe Aislaby Loftus Great Broughton	Scalby Stainton Fylingthorpe Kirkleatham
27	5	4

The Economy of North-East Yorkshire AD 400-1200

Settlement must not only be considered on its own terms, the processes of its development and the causes and effects of change, but in the context of economy and society. This chapter will explore the evidence which is available for the economy of the region during the Early Medieval Period. Direct documentary evidence is very limited; none survives from before the Conquest, except for incidental details in Bede's story of Caedmon which, strictly, are only applicable to the economy of Whitby Abbey itself. No specific archaeological research has yet been carried out into the economy of this region. Evidence must therefore be drawn from Domesday Book and from post-Conquest monastic charters. The economy of the Anglian monastery will be examined in a separate chapter (below.189-95).

North-East Yorkshire was an agricultural region; no boroughs existed there during the period in question, although reference is made to the port, ie market, of Whitby in the foundation charter of 1090-96 (WCh I.26). Evidence however survives to demonstrate the importance of the sea and rivers, both for communications and fisheries, of iron production in the district around Danby and of sheep farming in addition to arable cultivation.

1) Agriculture

Our major difficulty in discussing the forms and significance of agriculture is of evidence. Almost nothing survives from before the Conquest and Domesday Book is a formulaic document which attempts to fit reality to a pre-conceived theoretical pattern (Finn 1963.3-20). The Domesday commissioners were concerned with the value of the land for tax purposes and geld was then levied on arable land, thus entries

frequently give only the extent of arable land and the assessed number of plough-teams. However, entries for 38 land units show meadow and/or pasturable woodland, evidence for the keeping of cattle and pigs respectively. Little archaeological work has been done anywhere in England on agriculture in this period; P.J. Fowler remarks that much more is known about agriculture in the Roman period through archaeology than in the Anglo-Saxon era (Fowler 1976.23-24).

Since we have no direct evidence for arable farming in North-East Yorkshire before the Conquest, our information must be taken by analogy with other regions and with earlier and later periods. Fowler, while stressing that there is little direct evidence of continuity of agricultural practice between the Roman and Anglo-Saxon periods, suggests that much may be learned from the study of Roman-period agriculture and that one should be wary of back-projecting the medieval model of the nucleated village with its three-field system (Fowler 1976.26-27). Indeed, we may gain a more accurate picture of Anglo-Saxon period agriculture by working forward from the Iron Age and Romano-British era than by working back from later medieval evidence. Much work has been done on establishing the origins of the open-field system rather than on the study of what it replaced (Finberg 1972 398-99, 411-19). If the basic pattern of land division and of settlement location remained in being through and after the Anglian incursion and the technology of farming did not materially alter, it is logical to suppose that no wholesale change occurred in agricultural practices and that development was instead evolutionary.

Work by Jones, Cundill and Simmons has established the pattern of land clearance on the North York Moors and their environs from palaeobotanical evidence (Jones, Cundill and Simmons 1979). Two major

clearance phases can be discerned in the pollen record, the second of which is correlated on archaeological grounds with the Iron Age and Romano-British period. In this period trees were almost completely replaced on the Moors by heather moorland and acid grassland; both arable and pastoral farming were practised. A reduced intensity of clearance is found in the Early Medieval Period, ending in a C14 date of 1060-160bp, that is in the latter half of the Anglo-Saxon era. During the major clearance phase heather and blanket bog developed on the High Moors, rendering them useful only for summer grazing (Jones, Cundill and Simmons 1979.21). The pollen evidence helps to place agriculture in the Anglo-Saxon period in a context of long-term change and development, rather than being studied in isolation. A difficulty of pollen evidence is that most of it is derived from peat bogs, which do not exist uniformly over the county and are mainly found in upland and marginal areas. Therefore, one must be wary of applying the results of a particular analysis too generally, particularly as the exact balance of pollen types is specific to the bog concerned and its own unique topographical, geological and climatic position and the agricultural history of the area around it. However, this does not invalidate broad conclusions drawn from pollen evidence, any more than the unique nature of each excavated settlement invalidates broad arguments drawn from the archaeological record.

There is no real evidence of technological innovations brought here by the Anglo-Saxons; the view that they were responsible for the heavy plough has now largely been abandoned (Fowler 1976.27-28). Equally, we lack large-scale evidence of types of early medieval fields. Our only excavated data comes from the peripheral areas of Cornwall and Montgomeryshire, at Gwythian and Hen Domen (Fowler and Thomas 1962, Barker and Lawson 1971). Both sites show that ridge-and-furrow was in

existence by the eleventh century but it must be stressed that this was a technique of cultivation and in no way evidence that open fields were also in existence. This evidence does show that at the end of the Anglo-Saxon period a plough capable of turning a furrow was in use but the slightness of the traces of ridge-and-furrow shows that such evidence could easily be destroyed by later activity and possibly that such cultivation was not practised over a long period at these locations. It must also be stressed that evidence from Cornwall and Montgomeryshire, both predominantly 'Celtic' areas, cannot necessarily be applied wholesale to an area far-removed geographically.

It is possible that the Domesday record of plough-teams and carucates may give a measure of the amount of arable land available to each settlement but it must be remembered that these are fiscal carucates, a measure of tax liability analogous to the rateable value of houses in the present day, not measures of acreage. Consequently actual amounts of land size of actual carucates may have varied widely even within the same region. It is therefore difficult to adduce a suitable multiplier - was the 'actual' carucate composed of 40, 80, 120 or more acres, represented in Domesday by the fiscal carucate. The number of plough-teams recorded in Domesday may provide a rough yardstick - the greater the number of plough-teams, the larger the acreage represented by the fiscal carucate. Appendix 1 records not only the fiscal carucage of the settlements but also the number of ploughlands.

Documentary evidence does not support the thesis that the 'classic' open-field system developed in the Anglo-Saxon era, at least earlier than the eighth century. Ine's Laws show that some form of open-field agriculture existed in seventh century Wessex but there is no hint of the communal ownership of land; shares in the fields are clearly seen

as belonging to individuals, each of whom must be compensated for damage caused by a neighbour's default (EHD I.No 32.40, 42, 42.1). Ine's Laws give evidence that common ploughland and meadow were extant in seventh century Wessex but one should be wary of applying this throughout the country and must bear in mind that there may be discrepancies between the theory as found in the lawbook and the reality, which may in any case have differed from place to place.

The standard cereals in the seventh and eighth centuries were wheat and rye, sown in autumn, and barley and oats, sown in spring (Finberg 1972.420). Cuthbert tried to grow wheat on the Inner Farne and failed but had more success with barley (VP.19). Barley seems to have been the most important crop over England as a whole, being used for both human and animal food and for brewing (Fowler 1976.24). The cultivated area of North-East Yorkshire lies below Kapelle's oat-bread line (Kapelle 1979.214-19) and therefore in a zone in which wheat and barley would have been cultivated. Wheaten bread was used for the sacrament and was highly valued by the Normans (Kapelle 1979.219-20). Beans were also cultivated extensively (Finberg 1972.422).

2) Livestock and Pastoral Farming

All our evidence for the raising of livestock in North-East Yorkshire, apart from the incidental information in the story of Caedmon (HE IV.24), comes from post-Conquest documents, principally Domesday Book and the charters of the regions' monasteries. Analogous evidence can also be drawn from Boldon Book, the twelfth century customal of the Bishop of Durham's estates in Durham and Northumberland.

Domesday Book shows meadow and/or pasturable woodland in a total of 38 tenurial units. Map 15 shows the distribution of such land, in

addition to Domesday mills (see also Table 5). Meadow occurs more frequently than pasturable woodland, in a total of 29 places, as against 14 instances of pasturable woodland. By contrast, the entry for the multiple estate of Loftus speaks of ruined or useless woodland (silva mutila, Faull 1985.305b). Though meadow appears twice as frequently as pasturable woodland, the amounts are much smaller, a few acres in comparison with one or more leagues. This might suggest that pig-keeping was of greater importance; however, we cannot know the extent to which the woodland was utilised or the intensity of the pig-rearing. Meadow was important for the production of hay as winter fodder for cattle; the insufficiency of such fodder led to large-scale slaughter each winter.

The distribution of meadow and pasturable woodland broadly follows that of the settlements. It is noticeable that there is little evidence of woodland on the Cleveland Plain and Corallian dip-slope, being more common on the coastal plateau. However, this cannot necessarily be taken at face value, since it may be a reflection of the survival of evidence; certain of the Domesday commissioners may have omitted meadow and woodland from their record. Most of the settlements of the Corallian zone belonged then to the multiple estates of Pickering and Falsgrave; in neither case are the lands of their constituent sokes listed individually and the entry for the meadow and woodland of Pickering is ambiguous; it is not clear whether the 16 X 4 leagues of woodland and $\frac{1}{2}$ X $\frac{1}{2}$ league of meadow belonged to the caput alone or were distributed between the sokes (Faull 1985.299b). A large part of the later Honour of Pickering came under the Forest Law but simply placed the area outside the Common Law. It is more probable that only the valleys were forested.

Boldon Book, the record of a survey carried out in 1183, shows that livestock were an important feature of agriculture on the estates of the Bishop of Durham. Renders which frequently appear in this customal are cornage and metreth, both of which concern cattle; cornage was originally as assessed levy on cattle and metreth seems to be a tribute render comparable with the Welsh treth Calan Mai (Austin 1982.84). There are also renders in kind in the form of hens and eggs; at Stanhope the pinder held six acres and rendered 40 hens and 400 eggs (Austin 1982.43). Cornage and metreth appear to have been traditional renders made all over northern England and, if so, may suggest the importance of cattle-raising in Northumbria, including North-East Yorkshire (see Jolliffe 1926).

Whitby Abbey did possess vaccaries in the region as early as the first half of the twelfth century. One of the Abbey's charters makes reference to the destruction of vaccarium Abbati et monarchorum de Whiteby de Kesbek by William of Aumale, Earl of York during the reign of Stephen (1135-54) (WCh II. No.572). The same charter refers to the vaccarium de Bilroche which also belonged to Whitby. The Vaccary at Keasbeck was clearly restored after its destruction, since it makes an appearance in the monastic account rolls of the last years of the fourteenth century (WCh II. No.590). These accounts, dating from 1394-95 and 1396-97, detail renders to the Abbey and include eggs, fish, pigs and cattle in large quantities (WCh II. No.590, No.640).

No mention is made of sheep or sheep pasture anywhere in Domesday but such land was being granted to monasteries within a century of the Conquest. In the first half of Henry II's reign (1154-74) Thorfinn of Allerston granted Rievaulx Abbey pasture for 500 sheep, a sheep-fold, a parcel in the Westerdale and one acre of meadow to provide litter for

the fold (EYC I. No.387). Shortly after, the same Thorfinn exchanged pasture for 500 sheep, a sheep-fold and the tofts of one carucate in Allerston for that one carucate, five acres of intakes in Gindale and other parcels (EYC I. No.388, 1160-75). This may be the same pasture, in any case the exchange is an interesting comment on the relative values of sheep pasture and arable land. In the same period (1160-66) Durand de Cliff gave Byland Abbey his moor at Deepdale with 44 acres of meadow and common of pasture for 400 sheep over the territory of Osgodby and Cayton (EYC XI. No.189). From this the Abbey was to render 6s per annum to the Lord Percy when socage rent was due. No charter evidence survives of grants of sheep pasture to Whitby or Guisborough; grants to these houses are almost exclusively arable. This may be a reflection of the geographical distribution of Whitby and Guisborough lands, which largely avoid the moors but this is not necessarily the case. Some time in the twelfth century Richard Lost granted the monks of Rievaulx 33 acres in Saltcoteflath, near Normanby in Cleveland and thus on lowlands near the Tees, his land in the Saltcote Hills and pasture for 100 ewes, in addition to part of the Tees for fisheries (EYC II. No.743). This area is within the spheres of activity of both Whitby and Guisborough. Further evidence that Whitby at least may not have had much concern for sheep farming comes from the two surviving account rolls of the Abbey, in which sheep and their products are nowhere mentioned (WCh II. No.590, No. 640). We can presume that resources other than arable were exploited in the early medieval period as in the periods before and after and the lack of documentary evidence must not be allowed to obscure this. Besides pasture, these would include woodland and animals for hunting.

3) Fisheries

Fisheries do not appear in Domesday Book but are frequently found in the later charters, mainly in the River Tees. Fisheries certainly in rivers existed early in the Anglo-Saxon period; the name Yarm (DB Gearum) means 'at the fish weirs' and seems to be a very early name-form (Watts. pers. comm.). It seems logical to suppose that the sea was also exploited. A number of fisheries were granted in the twelfth century to Guisborough and other houses, often in association with other gifts. John Ingram granted Guisborough Priory one carucate in Ayresome with places for the construction of fisheries in 1150-60 (EYC II. No.707). Some ten years later Roger de Cusin granted the monks of Byland a toft of 1½ acres at Linthorpe, the tillage of Gaterigg next the Tees and a licence to attach fisheries, with common rights (EYC III. No.1851). Adam de Brus II, in the latter half of the twelfth century, confirmed the grant of William de Acklam to Byland of a fishery below Gaterygg with liberty to fish the Tees with a net where others draw their nets (EYC I. No.773). This gives incidental information on methods of fishing then employed. No charters record grants of fisheries to Whitby Abbey but the account rolls show that the monks received renders of fish in the late fourteenth century (WCh II. No.590). The editor of the Whitby Cartulary notes that in his time the River Esk was full of salmon and shoals of herring still moved down the North Sea coast (Atkinson 1879.577). In the late of the absence of charter evidence of fisheries elsewhere, we may presume that Whitby's fish came from the Esk and from the sea.

4) Iron

Cleveland is an area in which iron ore occurs naturally; indeed steel was produced from local ore into the twentieth century. These deposits were utilised during the medieval period but there is as yet no

evidence for iron production before the Conquest.

Little work has been done in this field since Canon Atkinson in the 1880's. He notes that there were at least twenty iron-slag heaps in Danby township and similar numbers in Glaisdale and Egton (Atkinson 1886.31). These cannot be dated and he rejects Young's suggestion in his History of Whitby of 1817 that most may be assigned to the Roman period (Young 1817.758). He notes documentary references to forges in the thirteenth century charters of Guisborough Priory. A grant in Glaisdale by Peter de Brus II in 1223 refers to a forge (fabrica) (GCh II. No.937); Atkinson believed this gave the community exclusive rights to dig and work ore within the bounds of Glaisdale (Atkinson 1886.36). The Roll of Coram Rege Pleas of 1227 shows that the Priory had at least four fabricae, one lately constructed and valued at ten marks, also five vaccaries valued at five marks each (Atkinson 1886.37). This gives some idea of the relative values of forges and agricultural units. The division of the Brus lands between the heirs of Peter de Brus III, soon after 1271, shows five small forgiae at Danby, worth 10s, and two others in the forest, worth £4 each. This may be compared with six acres of meadow in the same township worth 6s per annum and 56 bovates arable, each worth 6s (Atkinson 1886.37). This further shows that furnaces varied in size; Atkinson estimated that the maximum weekly production of any Cleveland furnace would not exceed one ton; the forges were widely dispersed, not because the ore deposits were scattered, but because smelting them required large quantities of charcoal (Atkinson 1886.44-45).

The documentary evidence of iron production is limited to the lands of Guisborough Priory; there is no evidence from the Whitby Cartulary, although slag-heaps are found in Goathland township, part of which lies

within the Whitby Liberty. Unfortunately, we have as yet no means of dating the origins of iron production in Cleveland, without proper archaeological excavation; the Guisborough charters of the early thirteenth century read as though the forges were well-established at the time of writing, although one at least was of recent construction, showing that the industry was not static.

5) Shipping

Our documentary evidence for shipping in the Tees is limited, but extremely interesting. The two ports in the Tees were Yarm and Coatham, which could only be reached by fishing boats by the time of Canon Atkinson (GCh I.119n), presumably as a result of silting. Yarm was certainly a port of considerable importance; when an account was rendered to the Exchequer in 1205-06 (7 John) of a fifteenth from all parts of the kingdom, Yarm was rated at £42 17s 10d, Dover at £37 6s 1d, Winchelsea £62 2s 9d and Barton on Humber £33 11s 9d. At the same time Coatham paid 16s 11d and Whitby 4s. Whitby's lack of importance may be due to geography; the Esk is only navigable as far as Ruswarp, two miles upriver, and the town is surrounded by high moorland, whereas Yarm and Coatham lie in a rich and productive agricultural area. Unfortunately, our documentation does not tell us what products were passing through the Tees ports but wool seems a likely possibility.

Summary

The economy of North-East Yorkshire was in the main an agricultural one, based on mixed farming. Unfortunately the nature of Domesday Book distorts the picture by concentrating on arable to the virtual exclusion of pastoral farming. The monastic charters however give good, though quantitatively small, evidence of the importance of sheep farming and fisheries. Wool was probably the region's major export, the

iron industry probably catered mainly for local demand, as did the salt industry centred on Coatham.

Before the Conquest one major monastery - Whitby - was supported by local resources from the twelfth century, two (Whitby and Guisborough) which held the vast bulk of their lands in their region. Other post-Conquest monasteries from outside North-East Yorkshire, such as Rievaulx and Byland, drew on this region and perhaps exploited their resources in a more specialist manner, concentrating on the wool production for which the moorland fringes were abundantly suitable.

Colonisation and Change AD 400-1200

Summary

This chapter will take the form of an overview of settlement development and the advancement of hypotheses. The processes which bring about changes in individual settlements and the overall settlement pattern function over many centuries. Nucleations shrink or expand through variations in fortune, villages alter their plans, new farmsteads are created alongside others which may have existed for long periods. Taylor's work shows that farms over many parts of the country may have existed on the same sites from the Domesday period and earlier (Taylor 1983.174-81) though map study of North-East Yorkshire shows that many of the farms there were created in the enclosures of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries; examples are seen around Hackness where geometrically laid-out fields are found adjacent to farmsteads set apart from nucleations. Certain hamlets and farm clusters develop into nucleations through the growth of population, while other nucleations decline and become deserted. The period of this study, 800 years, is relatively short in the context of the entire history of human settlement.

The results of the foregoing analysis strongly suggest that the pattern of land units recorded in Domesday Book and fossilised to some degree in township boundaries probably derives in its essential form from the prehistoric era (above 26-38). This basic pattern of large units was modified and partly destroyed through processes operating since that time. Much of this breakdown may have occurred during the tenth century, as an indirect consequence of the Viking settlement (below Ch. 14). A parallel situation is seen in South-East Wales, where the early charters of the monastery of Llandaff record the gifts of large estates by kings, with the use of Roman terminology; later charters,

employing indigenous (Welsh) terms, show the breakdown of units and grants by non-royal landholders (Davies 1979).

Settlement in North-East Yorkshire has been concentrated in the same geographical zones since the Neolithic era; it seems likely, therefore, that a high proportion of present-day settlements lie on sites occupied since prehistoric times, or within a short distance of prehistoric sites, the population having 'drifted' and built on a new site (Taylor 1983.31, 104-05). An example of this may be seen at Ingleby Barwick, close to the Tees (Heslop 1985). This process of drift continued to occur in the later medieval period, examples being seen at Ebberston and Thornton Dale, where deserted villages of medieval date lie adjacent to modern nucleations and at Whorlton, where settlement has shifted to Swainby, which does not appear on the earliest sources.

Archaeological evidence and analogues from elsewhere in Britain show that this prehistoric and Romano-British settlement pattern was largely dispersed (Spratt 1982.206-07, Eagles 1979.197-209, Taylor 1983.83-84, Higham 1986.119-35, 186-98, HBMC Aerial Photography Record). Domesday evidence suggests that certain settlements in North-East Yorkshire, having large servile populations, had become nucleations by the eleventh century and the results of the excavations at Wharram Percy bear this out; the dispersed pattern of the prehistoric and Roman periods became one of nucleation during the Anglo-Saxon era (Hurst 1984.80-83). The development of nucleation may come about in a number of ways; growth from a single node, the agglomeration of a group of adjacent dispersed settlements, the collapse of an initially dispersed pattern into one of nucleated villages and through deliberate planning (Taylor 1983.131).

The multiple-unit settlements of Domesday Book provide logical contexts for the development of nucleations by aggregation. If two tenurial units bear the same name, then their centres ought to be relatively close together and population expansion in one or both would over time tend to lead to linkage. Taylor noted that a single farm may develop into a hamlet and thence into a nucleation over a period of generations simply through the growth of a single family (Taylor 1983.131).

Planned settlements are a particular feature of northern England, including North-East Yorkshire; however, Sheppard's criteria for the planning of an individual settlement apply to the majority of Domesday villas in the region (above 48-55). It therefore seems that the nature of landholding and settlement in this region was particularly conducive to the development of planned settlements but this begs further questions. Why did only a proportion of settlements displaying this combination of factors become planned nucleations? Here we must consider antecedent status, the nature of the settlement before the Harrying, for which we have no direct evidence and geographical and topographical factors, perhaps a particularly favourable site, or land which required a large amount of labour, without ignoring the specific requirements and intentions of the landholder responsible for the planning. It is also possible that the availability of a convenient source of manpower in the form of refugees may also have been a precipitating factor. Since nucleations are found within a mixed pattern of settlement the collapse of a dispersed pattern into one of nucleation seems not to have occurred to any great extent in this region. We see, over all, the gradual development of nucleations in a dispersed pattern, given an impetus by the creation of planned villages in the period after the Harrying of 1069-70.

The harrying and the planning of settlement brought a temporary break

in the picture of continuous long-term development and evolution. It must be borne in mind that even the new planned villages were not immune from the normal processes of change and development in the centuries following their formation. The effects of such change are seen in settlements such as Newton under Roseberry and Middleton upon Leven, where planned villages have become shrunken, and certain polyfocal settlements, such as Stokesley and East and West Ayton, where agglomeration has taken place to link a planned nucleus with nearby settlements. Crathorne, where a planned element and a church/hall focus are evidence, has a church with twelfth century fragments and four hogbacks of the Viking period (VCH.236, Lang 1984.126) which strongly suggests that one or both foci are of considerable antiquity.

The next chapters will examine the social and political history of the region in the period AD 400-1200. this will include analyses of the Anglian and Viking incursions and the Norman Conquest and their effects on society. The results of this study and of work carried out elsewhere in England (cf Eagles 1979, Faulk 1974, 1977, Hope-Taylor 1977) suggest strongly that the newcomers were in all cases very much a minority in the basic population, which in fact remained largely of indigenous British origin. If it is correct to see the basic settlement distribution as having been established during the prehistoric era, then the effects of these incursions did not so much change this settlement distribution wholesale as modify it, possibly precipitating the development of nucleations within the overall pattern and bringing about the partial breakdown of the system of land division, the progress of evolutionary change being modified by cataclysmic change.

A number of points can be drawn from this analysis, which may be set

against the pattern of a society as examined in the following chapters:

- a) The basic patterns of settlement and land division seem to have been established in the prehistoric era. Settlement distribution in the region has not materially altered since the Neolithic area, though the settlements themselves have evolved and the pattern of land units seen today appears as a modified form of that established in the later Bronze and Iron Ages.
- b) The development of settlement and land division involved processes of continuous evolution, rather than a succession of watersheds brought about by a series of incursions from overseas, though certain specific events may have accelerated or changed the direction of these processes.
- c) The development and change in specific settlements was, and is, governed not only by generalised factors affecting the entire district but by a combination of factors unique to that settlement.
- d) Planned settlements may not have been the first nucleated settlements in the region but their appearance may have accelerated the process of nucleation which seems to have begun during the Anglo-Saxon period, perhaps through social change.

Table 5 : Meadow and Pasturable Woodland

Aislaby (NZ 858086)	6 acres meadow 1 x 1 league pasturable woodland
East Ayton	40 acres meadow 9 x 9 furlongs pasturable woodland
Great Ayton (1)	6 acres meadow
Little Ayton (1)	3 acres meadow
Barnaby	5 acres meadow
Barrowby (with Roxby)	8 acres meadow $\frac{1}{2}$ league x 1 furlong non-pasturable woodland
Brotton	12 acres meadow
Dalby	12 acres meadow 5 x 3 furlongs pasturable woodland
Egton	3 x 2 leagues pasturable woodland (waste)
Ellerby	6 acres meadow
Hackness, Suffield & Everley	2 x 1 leagues pasturable woodland
Faceby Falsgrave (Manor)	10 acres meadow 3 x 2 leagues pasturable woodland
Goldsborough	16 acres meadow
Hinderwell (1)	13 acres meadow
Hutton Mulgrave	3 x 1 league pasturable woodland
Kilton (1)	8 acres meadow
Kirkleatham (1)	14 acres meadow
Kirkleatham (2)	6 acres meadow
Lazenby	3 acres meadow
Loftus (1) (Manor)	Ruined woodland 10 acres meadow
Loftus (2)	8 acres meadow and underwood
Lythe	6 acres meadow 1 league x 2 furlongs pasturable woodland
Marske (1)	8 acres meadow
Mickleby	6 acres meadow and underwood (waste)

Marton & Nunthorpe	4 acres meadow
Pickering (Manor and sokes)	Meadow $\frac{1}{2}$ x $\frac{1}{2}$ league Woodland 16 x 4 leagues
Pinchinthorpe (2)	3 acres meadow
<u>Prestebi & Sourebi</u>	26 acres meadow
Roxby (2) (soke)	1 league x 4 furlongs pasturable woodland
Seamer (TA 016834)	3 x 2 furlongs pasturable woodland
Skelton	2 leagues x 2 furlongs pasturable woodland
Snainton	2 acres meadow
Sneaton & Whitby	7 x 3 leagues pasturable woodland 3 x 2 leagues plain
Stokesby	8 acres meadow
Upsall	$1\frac{1}{2}$ x $1\frac{1}{2}$ leagues woodland and plain
Wilton (1)	6 acres meadow
Wilton (2)	6 acres meadow
<u>Domesday Mills</u>	
East Ayton	1 worth 5s pa
Dalby	1 worth 2s pa
Fylingthorpe (WChI no.26)	1 mill
Guisborough	1 worth 4s pa
Hackness (WChI no.26)	1 mill
Ingleby Arncliffe (EYCI no. 568)	1 mill (1153-54)
<u>Prestebi & Sourebi</u>	1 worth 8s pa
Ruswarp (WChI no. 1)	1 mill
Stokesby	1 worth 10s
Whitby (WChI no.26)	Mills

Table 6: Multiple Unit Settlements 1086

Non-Populated

Boulby
 Great Broughton
 Little Busby
 Cloughton
 Crathorne
 Dunsley
 Easby
 Foxton
 Fyling Hall
 Goulton
 Hilton
 Hinderwell
 Kilton
 Kilton Thorpe
 Lackenby
 Lazenby
 Levisham
Loctemares
 Loftus
 Morton
 Newby
 Newham
 Newton
 Normanby (NZ 553186)
 Pinchinthorpe
 Roxby
 Skutterskelfe
 Stainton
 Thoraldby
 Thornaby
 Thornton
 Thornton Dale
 Tollesby
 Wykeham

34

Waste 1086

Cloughton
 Fyling Hall
 Hinderwell
 Lackenby
 Newby
 Normanby (NZ 553186)

6

Populated

Acklam
 Allerston
 East Ayton
 Great Ayton
 Little Ayton
 Guisborough
 Kirkleatham
 Marske
 Marton
 Tanton
 Upsall
 Wilton

12

Probably Waste 1086

Little Busby
 Dunsley
 Little Broughton
 Easby
 Foxton
 Kilton
 Kilton Thorpe
Loctemares
 Roxby
 Skutterskelfe
 Thornaby,
 Tollesby

12

Partly Waste 1986

Boulby
Great Broughton
Loftus
Marske
Newham
Pinchinthorpe
Stainton
Crathorne
Marton Lazenby

10

Nucleated Multiple Unit Settlements

Acklam
Allerston
East Ayton
Great Ayton
Guisborough
Kirkleatham
Marske
Great Broughton
Cloughton
Crathorne
Hilton
Hinderwell
Lackenby
Lazenby
Levisham
Loftus
Newby
Newton Under Roseberry
Normanby (NZ 553186)
Roxby
Stainton
Thornaby
Thornton
Thornton Dale
Wykeham

25

'Clustered' Multiple Unit Settlements (Farm Clusters)

Little Ayton
Dunsley
Foxton
Fyling Hall
Kilton
Tanton

6

Deserted Multiple Unit Settlements

Newham
Marton
Little Broughton
Morton
Tollesby
Kilton Thorpe
Upsall
Little Busby
Skutterskelfe
Thoraldby
Thornton Dale I
Pinchinthorpe

12

Nucleated Non-Populated Multiple Unit Settlements

Great Broughton
Crathorne
Hilton
Lazenby
Levisham
Roxby
Stainton
Thornaby
Thornton Dale
Wykeham

10

Deserted Non-Populated Multiple Unit Settlements

Little Busby
Marton
Newham
Pinchinthorpe
Skutterskelfe
Upsall

6

Source: Domesday Book, OS 6-1nd, 2nd Edition

Society and Politics in North-East Yorkshire AD 400-1200

This section explores the political and historical background against which the settlement patterns seen in the preceding chapters developed during the Early Medieval Period. The major theme during the eight hundred years between AD 400 and AD 1200 is of the effects, both long- and short-terms, of the incursion of the Anglo-Saxons, Vikings and Normans into North-East Yorkshire. In each of these cases, though the natures of the incursions are very different, the same questions arise and should be kept in mind throughout this discussion. When did the newcomers settle in the region and in what numbers? In what political and social contexts did they settle? What were their relations with the indigenous inhabitants? What effects did they have on the settlement pattern, and on the social and political fabric of the region? On a larger scale, what role did North-East Yorkshire and its people play within the Northumbrian kingdom and earldom? How did the incursions differ from one another in character, substance and impact?

This period divides logically into four; the Migration Period, from circa AD 400 to the first half of the seventh century; the Early Christian Period, up to the later ninth century; the Viking Age, from the landing of the so-called Great Army in 865 until the eleventh century, and the Norman Conquest and its aftermath. To some extent these periods shade into one another, particularly the latter two; some might see Hardrada's invasion of 1066 as marking the real end of the Viking Age, and indeed Viking activity in the North and Irish Seas continued throughout the reign of the first Norman king; as late as 1085 orders were given to devastate the North Sea coast in case of an attack from Denmark (ASC E 1085). In this study, two chapters will be devoted to each period, the first dealing with North-East Yorkshire in

its Northumbrian and national contexts, the second on local affairs. The initial chapter, dealing with political matters, will be based mainly on contemporary documentary sources, where there are available; the second will depend to a much greater extent upon archaeological and toponymic evidence. Further chapters will focus on monasticism in the region before and after the Conquest.

The Migration Period: The Broader Political Scene

This period, from the disappearance of Roman authority in the early fifth century until the emergence of the Northumbrian kingdoms into the light of written history is one which has occasioned much scholarly debate and controversy. In AD 400 Roman arms held sway in the North; the Dux Britanniarum commanded at York, Stilicho had recently reorganised the defences of Roman Britain; the rich villas of the Vale of Pickering and the Yorkshire Wolds were still occupied and apparently being reconstructed and modernised in the second half of the fourth century (Salway 1981.419-26, Eagles 1979.197-209). Archaeological investigations at both York and Malton show alterations to the defences which can probably be dated to the early fifth century, in a context of continuing Roman authority (Eagles 1979.191, 199-201). Yet by AD 600 the Roman garrisons had disappeared, as had the villas and the cash economy; Anglian monarchs reigned over the new kingdoms of Deira and Bernicia, the latter linking the formerly Roman- garrisoned Tyne-Tees region with the native zone to the North, and King Aethelfrith was powerful enough to inflict heavy defeats on both the British confederacy of Y Gododdin and on Aedan of Dalriada. The power of the sub-Roman kingdoms of Rheged and Elmet had waxed and was waning, to be destroyed by the Northumbrians in the course of the seventh century. This is not to say that the Anglian presence in northern England dates entirely to the fifth century and later. There are indications of the presence of Germanic foederati in Roman service as early as 360, in the burials of three Germanic officers within the fort at Malton (Eagles 1979.200). Faull has made a strong case for the Anglian cremation cemetery at Sancton on the Wolds being associated with a settlement of Germanic mercenary soldiers situated in a strategically important location just north of the junction of the Roman roads from Lincoln to

York and Malton, under the authority of the Roman military command (Faull 1974.11). The Anglian cemetery at The Mount may reflect the presence of fourth-century foederati in York itself (Eagles 1979.194). Within North-East Yorkshire there are two sites at which both Anglian and Romano-British artefacts have been found, apparently in association, at Wykeham and Crossgates, Seamer (for a full discussion of this evidence, below 93-95).

That groups of Germanic mercenaries were present in Yorkshire in the second half of the fourth century does not mean that it is necessarily through their activity alone that the Anglian monarchy of either Deira or Bernicia developed. This chapter will concentrate on the monarch of Deira, that part of Northumbria south of the Tees (Hunter Blair 1949) and where there is greater evidence for early Anglian settlement.

The boundaries of Deira have been defined by Hunter Blair in the basis of Bede's testimony (Hunter Blair 1949). Since the Tees is presumed to have formed its northern boundary, North-East Yorkshire, particularly the Cleveland Plain, was geographically a frontier region during the seventh century. Lacking such a well-defined natural boundary and facing the British kingdoms of Rheged and Elmet, the western boundary of Deira was more fluid and fluctuated through that century.

Certainly, after Aethelfrith's decisive victory at Catraeth circa 600, and Edwin's conquest of Elmet some twenty years later, the whole of Yorkshire was in English hands and its north-east portion far from any major centre of British power (Hunter Blair 1949).

What are the origins of the kingdom of Deira? The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, sub anno 560, states:

In this year Ceawlin succeeded to the kingdom in Wessex and AEIle to the kingdom of the Northumbrians, and held it for thirty years (ASC C).

The E manuscript adds:

Ida having died, and each of them ruled for thirty years.

The Chronicler's sources are unknown. Bede gives no date for AEIle's accession, but implied that he was still reigning at the time of Augustine's mission to England (Chron. Maj. Entry 531) and if his story of Gregory's meeting with the Deiran slaves has any substance, it suggests the he was reigning in the period 585-90 (HE II.1, Miller 1979.42). These entries do not agree with the thirty year reign quoted above, nor does the Chronicler's later statement that AEIle died in 588. That Ida died in 560 after reigning thirty years agrees neither with Bede nor with another statement in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle that he began to reign in 547 (HE V.24, ASC 547).

This conflict of sources demonstrates the extreme difficulty of trying to piece together a coherent account of the origins of the Northumbrian kingdoms. Bede is virtually silent on the sixth century; Ida appears in his chronology or events (HE V.24) and AEIle incidentally because of his indirect link with Pope Gregory. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle was composed only at the end of the ninth century, in Wessex, from unknown sources and has very little information on the Northumbrian kingdoms, except entries for the seventh century drawn from Bede (see Whitelock 1955.109-16). Further information can be drawn from the Historia Brittonum, an eighth or ninth century compilation, again far-removed geographically and chronologically from events (Whitelock 1955.117-18). Attempts to interpret these disparate and inconsistent sources - not all the names rules appear in each source - and to produce a chronology of events have provoked much scholarly controversy. Kirby has analysed all Bede's dates for Northumbria and noted various internal

inconsistencies (Kirby 1963). Miller has performed a similar analysis for Deira only, with somewhat different results (Miller 1979).

Miller has shown convincingly that AElle's known children were born between the later 560s and middle 580s and that it is likely that AElthelfrith of Bernicia took control of Deira circa 600. She suggests that this would probably push AElle's death forward to that date, since Bede names no king between him and his son Edwin, and does not suggest that Edwin was already a king when forced into exile by AElthelfrith (HE II.17). Therefore, if the Chronicler is correct in his statement that AElle reigned thirty years, or thereabouts, the beginning of his reign should be moved forward to circa 570 (Miller 1979.43-44). However, the Chronicle and Historia Brittonum name two rulers between AElle and AElthelfrith. The Chronicle states that AElle was succeeded by AElthelric (ASC 588) who reigned for five years; sub anno 593 AElthelric is named as the father of AElthelfrith. The Historia Brittonum states that an otherwise unknown Frithuwald reigned for six years and in his time the people of Kent received baptism (EHD No.2). Kirby considers that Frithuwald must have reigned in Deira, since AElthelfrith was reigning in Bernicia from 593 (Kirby 1963.526). The inclusion of two additional kings, reigning for a total of eleven years, renders the Chronicle dates of AElle's accession and death approximately accurate. If the Deiran AElthelric was the same man as AElthelfrith's father, then it seems that a Bernician ruler had held power in Deira before AElthelfrith. Frithuwald does not appear in the surviving genealogies, and it might be suggested that he seized the throne from AElthelric or on AElthelric's death and was subsequently removed by AElthelfrith.

Bede, when he calculated the date of 547 for Ida's accession on the basis of regnal lists, did not apparently consider that more than one king could have reigned at the same time in the sixth century as well as the seventh (Kirby 1963.526). The Chronicle and Historia Brittonum hints at a complexity analogous to that found in Wessex. Indeed, Bede's general silence on events in Northumbria in the sixth century means that information on the origins of the Deiran kingdom must be gleaned from elsewhere.

AELLE is the first recorded Deiran king, but the Chronicle entry on his accession implies that his throne was gained by peaceful means. Unfortunately, Bede's interest in AELLE rests solely on his indirect connection with Pope Gregory; he does not even state that he was Edwin's father, and he gives no further information. Two hypotheses can be put forward; firstly that AELLE gained the throne by inheritance or other means from an Anglian predecessor and was not therefore the first Anglian ruler of Deira, or secondly that he gained his kingship from a British authority by peaceful means, since there is no evidence of any violent conquest, though it is dangerous to argue too much from silence.

Hunter Blair has advanced the thesis that the revolt of the Saxon mercenaries recorded by Gildas pre-dated and brought about the British appeal to Aetius which also appears in Gildas. The British author does not give any geographical location for the revolt, but since the mercenaries made an alliance with the Picts it is reasonable to suppose that it took place in northern England (Hunter Blair 1947.43-44). He notes that the Deiran genealogy included in the Historia Brittonum includes one Soemil, fifth in descent from Woden and AELLE's great-great-great grandfather, ipse primus seperavit Deur o Berneich

(HB.3), and considers that he could have been active in 446-50, the supposed period of the mercenary revolt, and detached Deira from Roman rather than Bernician authority. More recent work has proceeded along similar lines. Dumville has recently advanced the view that the barbarian conquest recorded by Gildas and which led to the appeal to Aetius only involved that part of Britain north of the wall, and that the three shiploads of Germanic mercenaries were settled in the north-east of modern England to deal with the Picts, probably in the period 480-90. It was in this area that the revolt took place (Dumville 1984.64, 71-72, 83). He notes elsewhere that a ninth century chronicle fragment now in Berne, which draws on Bede (HE V.24) gives the following information:

Anno DXLVII. Ida regnare coepit, qui fruit filius Eoppa filii Eosa. Iste Oessa primus venit in Brittaniam. Ida regnavit annos Xii, a quo regalis Nordanhymbroborum prosapia originem tenit.

This statement that Oessa was the first of the Bernician line to come to Britain is analogue to the notice of Soemil in the Historia Brittonum (Dumville 1973.313-14n). Oessa's place as Ida's grandfather ought to date his activity to the later fifth century, the period to which Dumville ascribes the supposed mercenary revolt.

What bearing does this have on Deira? A number of objections to the Hunter Blair thesis can be raised. Firstly, the dating of events in Gildas is the subject of much scholarly debate (see Dumville 1984); secondly that Soemil does not appear at all in the Deiran genealogy in the Chronicle (ASC 560) and that in the Moore Memorandum he occupies the seventh generation from Woden, two generations closer to AElle. If the latter is correct, it would place his activity in the later years of the fifth century, the period to which Dumville now dates the mercenary revolt. This does not of itself invalidate the basic

hypothesis of an assumption of power before c560 by Germanic settlers, the former foederati or their descendants, possibly supplemented by independent settlers. It is tempting to see the origins of both Deira and Bernicia in this revolt, Soemil and his descendants gaining power in Deira and Oessa and his descendants in Bernicia. Such a conclusion seems almost too tidy and convenient.

A possibility not hitherto examined is that the kingdom of Deira was originally formed by Britons rather than the Germanic settlers, in the sub-Roman period which saw the foundation of numerous small kingdoms in the north and west of Britain, including those of Rheged and Elmet, and that it was only some time later that the kingship was assumed by an Anglian dynasty. Deira seems to be a name of British origin, probably a borrowing from a Primitive Welsh Deir (Jackson 1958.420-21), and it has recently been suggested that Soemil is also a British name (Cramp pers. comm.). Hope-Taylor has argued for the development of a sub-Roman authority over the territory which became Bernicia, later supplanted by a line of Anglian rulers (Hope-Taylor 1977.300-08); though parts of his thesis appear unfounded (below 86-89), the basic premise appears reasonably secure.

A similar development may have occurred in Deira. Attempts have been made to link Coel Hen with York, dated his activity to the first half of the fifth century; Hunter Blair suggests that he was a high Roman military commander who usurped power in the area of his command and was able to organise an army to maintain his authority (Hunter Blair 1947.45-48). The Welsh Triads refer to Peredur map Efracw Iarll; to judge by his father's name he was probably linked with York in some way (Bromwich 1961.488-91). It is tempting to equate him with Peredur map Eliffer Gosgordffawr, whose death in 580 is recorded in the Annales

Cambriae (Faull 1974.23). Be that as it may, one can postulate an assumption of control by a British authority on or after the decay of the Roman military command. This British authority employed Germanic mercenaries to garrison the area against the Picts and Scots; some form of takeover occurred, either a military rising in the late fifth century or more peacefully in the sixth century. If the former is correct, it is possible that Soemil and his followers broke away from a sub-Roman authority which had developed in Bernicia, and thus Soemil did separate Deira from Bernicia, as the Historia Brittonum tells us. In either case, it is from these beginnings that the Anglian monarchy of Deira developed and gradually extended its power out of its early focii in the East Riding.

The Anglian Settlements in North-East Yorkshire

This chapter examines the progress and nature of the Anglian settlement of North-East Yorkshire, covering the period from the later fourth century until the early seventh century, and drawing upon archaeological and place-name evidence. Since the settlement of this region, particularly its southern portion, is inextricably linked with that elsewhere in Yorkshire, some of the evidence here will be drawn from adjacent area, but this will be clearly indicated where it occurs in the text.

Archaeological evidence for Migration period Northumbria is drawn from cemeteries, monastic sites, the palace site at Yeavering and a small number of excavated dwelling sites. Within North-East Yorkshire we have cemeteries at Saltburn on the Cleveland coast, at Seamer, near Scarborough and single burials at Barnby, Kingthorpe, Lilla Howe and possible Robin Hood's Bay and Knipe Howe (Meaney 1963.282, 291, 293-94, 296,300). The monastery at Whitby and settlement sites at Wykeham and Crossgates, Seamer have been excavated (Peers and Radford 1943, Moore 1965). Elsewhere in Yorkshire Anglian settlement have been uncovered at Catterick, Elmswell and Kemp Howe, (Faull 1974.6-7). Place-named evidence shows that an Old English-speaking population became established in the region in sufficient numbers to supplant all previous settlement-names, although this change in nomenclature does not necessarily imply that the British population was either driven out of the region or 'swamped' by a mass influx from overseas (see Faull 1977).

Differing place-name forms can provide a relative chronology of settlement, but it is difficult to tie this to any absolute dates. In

any case, almost all our place-names are first recorded in the Domesday Book as much as five hundred years after the names were coined.

Further, a given place-name was not necessarily coined at the time of the settlement's foundation. Fellows Jensen has recently recanted her former views and now considers that the majority of Old Norse place-names in England reflect the re-naming of pre-existing settlements (Fellows Jensen 1984). It seems likely that this process of re-naming may also apply to settlements which now bear Old English names.

From a combination of archaeological, documentary and place-name evidence it is however possible to draw conclusions on the development of Anglo-Saxon settlement in the region and the political contexts in which this occurred. Fundamental questions are:

- a) When did the Anglian settlements take place, and did they occur gradually over a long period, or within a relatively short time?
- b) Where did the newcomers settle?
- c) What were the political contexts of these settlements?
- d) What political, social and tenurial frameworks did they establish?

The Background to the Settlements

Spratt's work has shown that in the Iron Age and Romano-British era the region was well-exploited by an intensive mixed farming economy which supported a relatively dense population (Spratt 1982.186-219). Iron Age settlements in lowland areas - Cleveland and the Vale of Pickering - appear to have remained occupied for much of the Roman period, and the native settlement pattern may have been augmented by villa construction (Spratt 1982.206-08). In the second half of the fourth century the worsening barbarian raids gave the region a military importance for the first time. Previously, the only known Roman military structure in the region was the fort at Lease Rigg, built in the 80s and abandoned early in the second century (Hartley 1982.211-12). In the mid fourth century a chain of signal stations was constructed along the coast, at Filey, Scarborough, Ravenscar, Huntcliff and Goldsborough (Hartley 1982.213-14). The defences of both Malton and York were refurbished in this period and possibly again early in the fifth century (Eagles 1979.191, 199-200), showing that the Roman military command was still functioning at the end of the fourth century, the time of Stilicho's tour of inspection, and presumably for some time thereafter.

However, only one of the Domesday place-names of North-East Yorkshire betokens any British settlement (Wykeham, near Pickering) and no written testimony refers to any single Briton or group of Britons within the region. Could the Britons have been entirely wiped out or drivenⁿ out? Were they wholly submerged beneath the new settlers, or did they form the bulk of the population beneath an Anglian aristocracy? What became of the Roman military presence and why was it apparently unable to prevent the Anglian settlement? The known history of York

and the East Riding may allow us to infer some details concerning the North-East region of Yorkshire.

Cemetery evidence suggest that the Anglo-Saxons were present in the city of York, at Malton and in the Yorkshire Wolds in the latter half of the fourth century, and this has been plausibly attributed to the employment of Germanic foederati by the late Roman military command (Hunter Blair 1947.42-43, Faull 1974.3-6, Eagles 1979.194-195).

Hope-Taylor has suggested that the chain of signal stations on the coast, probably constructed against the Pictish rather than the Saxon threat, stretched Northward to th Forth and gave early warning of Pictish seaborne raids to the naval patrols of foederati, (Hope Taylor 1979.302). His conclusions from his excavations at Bamburgh indicate that use of this natural fortress began in pre-Roman Iron Age and continued into the post-Roman ear (Hope-Taylor 1979.292, 301-02). He postulates that the rock of Bamburgh was also the site of a fourth century signal station, belonging to the same coastal early warning system as those of Yorkshire (Hope-Taylor 1979.301-03). Unfortunately he has not yet published these excavations and he apparently ignores the fact that no evidence of any other such structure has ever been found north of Huntcliff, which overlooks the mouth of the Tees (Sylvester 1973.17-18). If these five stations are indeed the only ones that ever existed, then their role seems to have been purely local defence, the protection of the Vale of Pickering and its villas and the city of York itself (Sylvester 1973.31-32).

There is no evidence of the employment of naval foederati in this part of Britain and in considering the Hope-Taylor thesis it must be remembered that the dateable occupation of the signal stations ends in the 390s, or soon after and they do not appear in the Notitia Dignatatum (Salway 1981.383-84, Sylvester 1973.15). The dating may not

be entirely conclusive, being based on coins, which go out of use in Britain soon after 407 (Frere 1978.414-16), but it does strongly suggest that the abandonment of the signal stations occurred when Roman authority still held sway. Much more damning is the evidence that the harbour of Brough on Humber, site of a Roman naval base, silted up circa 360 and its Roman naval unit, the numerus superventientum Petueriensium, despatched to Malton for other duties before 370 (Eagles 1979.188-189, 200). The evidence of violence and violent death at Huntcliff and Goldsborough during the 390s (Hornsby and Laverick 1931, Hornsby and Stanton 1912) leads Faull to consider that the stations, operating in conjunction with coastal forces, were so successful that they became targets themselves and their positions become untenable (Faull 1974.19). However, a brief consideration of the practical aspects may suggest the opposite. It has already been noted that the harbour at Brough went out of use around the time the signal stations were constructed. Therefore, unless some other yet undiscovered naval station was in operation at this time, no naval forces could have been available. Find of Roman coins and pottery in the excavations at Whitby Abbey (Peers and Radford 1943) make it possible to infer some Roman-period activity here, but one should be wary of overstating the case for any stationing of naval forces in the Esk, though the availability of this natural harbour must not be ignored. The range of unaided visual observation over the sea is dependent upon altitude and atmospheric conditions. The North Sea is frequently affected by mists and low cloud. From Huntcliff the maximum range, in unusually good conditions, is approximately thirty miles, but in normal condition around 22 miles, and limited to the north in modern times through industrial pollution. However at an altitude of 500ft, Huntcliff is itself frequently in cloud and in general terms, successful observation is dependent on the alertness of the lookouts (information from HM

Coastguard 1986). Further any intelligent raider it likely to make his approach to a hostile coast at night, when visibility is unlikely to be more than 1 - 1½ miles, although if the raiders were showing lights, which seems unlikely, an oil lamp might been seen at 6 - 7 miles. It is also noteworthy that not all the stations are intervisible; certainly Huntcliff and Goldsborough are not in line of sight, and a further beacon would have been required if a signal were to have been transmitted between them (information from HM Coastguard 1986). This suggests that the attacks on the two northern most stations may not be proof of their success but of their impotence. It is possible that their final desertion is linked with Stilicho's reorganisation of the British defences late in the 390s (Salway 1981.419-26, Frere 1978.266-79) or the final withdrawal of the garrison of Britain by Constantine III in 407.

If there were no naval forces operating on the Yorkshire coast in the late fourth century, how were the signal stations intended to provide protection for the villas and settlements inland? It seems likely that the stations worked in conjunction with cavalry stationed inland, probably the numerus superventientum Petueriensium at Malton (Eagles 1979.200). However, as Malton is some 22 miles from the nearest point on the coast (Filey) and allowing time for the initial message to be passed inland by beacon or galloper, it is unlikely that troops could reach a landing place in strength within less than half a day of a sighting, it seems that the numerus was not intended to repel a landing, but was instead dispersed over the area of the rich settlements, or moved out of concentration at Malton to defend key points inland on receipt of the warning. Of course, the lighting of the beacons would alert the civil population and also give warning to the raiders that they had been sighted, perhaps causing them to modify

their plans. In conclusion, it might also be said that, far from the signal stations being part of a coastal defence system employing naval patrols, it was the silting up of Brough which brought about their construction and the employment of land-based forces for the defence of this area.

The Early Settlements

Evidence for the earliest Anglian settlements comes in the main from excavated cemeteries and settlement sites. The areas of North-East Yorkshire for which there is evidence of very early settlement - fifth and sixth century - are the Tees estuary and its environs, represented by burial evidence and the Scarborough lowlands and Vale of Pickering, where there are settlement sites at Seamer and Wykeham and a cemetery at Seamer.

The Tees estuary and its environs provide an obvious route inland for any seaborne raider or settler, as did the Humber and its tributaries further south. It is not therefore particularly surprising that we find a pagan-period cemetery at Saltburn, on the coast just south of the Tees and abutting directly onto the Cleveland Plain rather than the less hospitable lands a few miles to the south (Gallagher 1978). There is also a single burial at Yarm in a loop of the Tees and an inhumation cemetery at Norton on the north bank of the river (Meaney 1963.303, Vyner 1984, Cramp pers. comm.). In this light it is of considerable interest that no real evidence of a Roman presence, apart from coin finds, has yet been uncovered in the Tees area, in sharp contrast to the many villa sites in the Vale of Pickering and Vale of York. On the present evidence, it looks very much as though the North York Moors proved an effective barrier to Romanisation among the native population. It has already been noted that a number of pre-Roman sites appear to have remained in occupation through the Roman period, surviving relatively unaltered from the prehistoric era (Spratt 1982.198-210). There is a further contrast with the East Riding, where recent research has revealed a pattern of numerous straggling Roman-period settlements (RCHM East Riding). Numerous sites have been

revealed by aerial photography, but as yet, not detailed study of these has taken place (See HBMC Aerial Photography Collection). The lack of identifiable Roman material on the sites in North-East Yorkshire makes it difficult to establish whether they remained in occupation in the Roman period, and indeed the duration of the occupation. The only clear evidence of Roman presence in the north of the region is purely military, and it is possible that it was deliberately administered as a military zone, on strategic grounds, particularly with the increase in seaborne raids during the fourth century (Cramp pers. comm.).

The cemetery at Hob Hill, near Saltburn (NZ 651205), was uncovered sporadically by open-cast mining in 1909 and 1910. The site was neither excavated nor published satisfactorily, (Hornsby 1912) but D.B. Gallagher has recently presented the surviving archaeological evidence in a fuller form and attempted to place the cemetery in context (Gallagher 1978). The cemetery lies on coastal plateau land immediately north of Hob Hill, a small outline of the Eston Hills to the west. The Tees estuary lies 3½ miles to the north-west. There is no evidence of pre-Saxon occupation in the immediate vicinity, apart from the worked flint implements found during the excavations. The signal station at Huntcliff is some two miles away (Gallagher 1978.2-3).

Evidence has survived of 48 burials, both cremations and inhumations, but an unknown number were destroyed before Hornsby first visited the site (Gallagher 1978.6). Hornsby's report seems to have been compiled on the basis of his received correspondence with other scholars, without the use of sites notes (Gallagher 1978.6). Grave orientations are omitted. Twenty graves contain cremations, 26 inhumations and one could have contained either (Gallagher 1978.7-12). Grave goods

included pottery, knives, spearheads and jewellery, as well as cremation urns. Orientation, where it can be ascertained, was north-south or south-north (the positions of the heads are seldom recorded). It is not clear whether cremation persisted side-by-side with inhumation or preceded it. Hob Hill, along with the single urn at Yarm, provides the most northerly example of Anglo-Saxon period cremation in England. Cremation seems to have been relatively uncommon in Northumbria, the only other such cemeteries are Driffield, Heworth, Sancton and The Mount, whereas 24 purely inhumation cemeteries exist in Deira (Gallagher 1978.39, Meaney 1963.282-304). This may suggest an early date for this cemetery, or may simply reflect a community which retained cremation for a longer period than those elsewhere. The evidence from the grave goods suggests that the cemetery may have come into use at an early date; the pottery ranges from the late fourth century to the late sixth century, or from the late fifth century to the late sixth century, depending on the date of one vessel (Hob Hill No. 104), which may date from the fourth century (Gallagher 1978.38). Most other grave goods date from the sixth century; a francisca may date from the later fifth century, but it must be borne in mind that the weapon, of a type rare in northern England, may have been old when buried, perhaps an heirloom (Gallagher 1978.31-32).

Evidence from the inhumation burials at Hob Hill seems to suggest a British influence on burial customs. The inhumations lie north-south or south-north; northern orientation of graves is common in Northumbria during the Roman and post-Roman periods, but rare among the pagan Anglians, although it has been seen at Hartlepool (Gallagher 1978.42, Faull 1977.5-7, Cramp pers. comm.). It is not clear whether inhumations were contracted or extended, or whether both practices were followed on this site, either contemporaneously or at different times.

The most powerful evidence of a British influence on burial customs is seen in the coffin burial (No. 46). These are rare in England, even in wealthy Kent, but a context for this example may be found in the tradition of cist burials among the Britons of the north during the Roman period (Faull 1977.10). A cist burial at Castle Eden in County Durham shows British influence and contains a sixth century Anglo-Saxon claw beaker, which provides dating evidence and suggests some trading or other connection between Anglian and Briton. Like Hob Hill, the recently excavated and yet unpublished cemetery at Norton, north of the Tees, contains inhumations (Cramp pers. comm.) and its location close to the Tees (NZ 44882256) some two miles away, implies that the river formed a natural routeway inland. Seven stone cists were found at this site in 1936-38, but none of these finds has survived or been published (Vyner 1984.173).

As previously stated, evidence of both Romano-British and Anglian traditions is found further south in the settlement sites at Wykeham and Crossgates, Seamer and at Staxton, on the south side of the Vale of Pickering. Parallels can also be drawn from sites at Elmswell, near Driffield and Catterick.

The most revealing of these sites is at Wykeham (SE 966836), which supplied both toponymic and archaeological evidence for very early settlement, even of pre-Anglian occupation. Gelling has shown that the name-form - Old English wicham - is indicative of association with or knowledge of a Romano-British vicus on that site or in that immediate vicinity (Gelling 1967). Wykeham lies on a Roman road (Margary 817) and excavations carried out in 1947 in an area to the east of the present village revealed a number of sunken-featured building which did not confirm to the common Anglian grubenhous type. The excavator

distinguished four sunken hut types, of which the main ones were small circular huts without internal post-holes and large circular huts with internal post-holes, rather than the common Anglian rectangular form (Moore 1965.433-35). Both late Roman and fifth century Anglian pottery were found in associated with these structures, though the great majority of the finds were Anglian domestic objects - knives, bone combs, querns, (Moore 1965.433-35). This does not necessarily demonstrate uninterrupted occupation, an influx of Anglians co-existing with the indigeneous inhabitants but the apparent juxtaposition of finds and building traditions is of extreme interest. Unfortunately, the excavations was not satisfactorily carried out by modern standards and many of the excavator's conclusions may therefore have been based on a misreading of the evidence, particularly as the report was not written for nearly twenty years after. No demonstrably Romano-British structures have been found on the site or in its immediate vicinity, although allowance must be made for the effects of quarrying before 1947 (Faull 1974.16). The anomalous buildings may indeed reflect the influence of the British building traditions, but the predominance of finds of Anglian character suggests a mainly Anglian population, gaining good quality Romano-British pottery through trade, barter or exchange; the Crambeck potteries seem still to have been in production in the early fifth century (Eagles 1979.48-54).

Four miles to the east of Wykeham, the site at Crossgates, Seamer, adjacent to a cemetery of the pagan period, shows a similar mix of finds, but the buildings are orthodox Anglian and Romano-British, separated by some fifty yards. Both Anglian and Romano-British residues were found in the hearths of the Anglian site, and it may be presumed that here too the Anglian settlers were making use of

contemporary commercially-produced pottery (Moore 1965.436, Faull 1974.17).

At nearby Staxton, two miles south of Seamer, a Romano-British site has been found dating from the first and second centuries. Finds suggestive of an Anglian presence have been made within the outer ditch, but these do not prove co-existence since only an isolated fourth century British find has been made. Certainly there was an Anglian settlement in the vicinity, since an inhumation cemetery containing 56 graves with grave goods has been found some 200 yards away (dwelling site TA 024794, Cemetery TA 022792), (Faull 1974.17, Meaney 1963.302-02). One grave group included fifth/sixth century objects (Sheppard 1962, Eagles 1970.299). Other finds of similar type in this region are as follows (see map):

- a) Thornton Dale: Romano-British pottery (SE 83378226). Similar finds to the south of the railway station on the edge of a sand and gravel spread).
- b) Allerston: Romano-British and Anglian sherds.
- c) Ebberston: Romano-British sherds including Crambeck ware at Alfred's cave (SE 898833).
- d) Cayton Parish: Romano-British pottery in gravels.
(Eagles 1979.197-98)

It is noticeable that these sites lie on sand and gravels, suggestive of accidental discovery during quarrying, which may give a misleading impression of settlement distribution.

Analogous discoveries to those at Wykeham have been made at Elmswell, near Driffield. Floors of stone and clay we found associated with signal station are and good class Roman pottery in addition to local coarse wares. Anglian sherds were found on the same site and fragments which seem to date from the first half of the sixth century; since none of these finds were associated with structures, Corder has suggested that they could be disturbed grave goods, but the only skeletons found there were probably of the Roman period. As is the case with Wykeham, the site seems not to have been satisfactorily excavated and only new excavations may produce answers to the questions it raises (Faull 1974.12-13).

Catterick was apparently reoccupied by troops circa 370 (Faull 1974.4), a further example of military reorganisation in the north during this period. Anglian settlement, possible of mercenary troops, is indicated by a sunken-featured building overlying the temple complex north of the river and by Anglian burials, some inside a Roman building, but little fifth century material has been found (Faull 1974.4).

These sites demonstrate the presence of Anglians in these areas by the early fifth century, but the lack of military equipment and general domestic character of the sites - only at Catterick has any military equipment been found - may militate against their being settlements of foederati deliberately placed there by the Roman military command. It must however be said that weapons are valuable items likely to be carefully looked after and carried away with their owners when they moved elsewhere.

No definite evidence of an Anglian presence, military or civilian, has been found within the signal stations; the excavator at Goldsborough

concluded that both men whose remains were found there were of Roman-British origin, being representative of a type found in Roman period graves in Britain (Hornsby and Laverick 1932.216-19). It is however open to question how much ethnic origin can be deduced from skeletal remains. Faull considers that the garrisons were British and that the high proportion of women, children and elderly men among the dead of Huntcliff indicates that there were vici attached to the signal stations (Faull 1974.20). It is possible on this evidence that they garrisoned by some form of local militia rather than regular troops, although the employment of such garrisons elsewhere in the North has recently been called into question (Salway 1981.385). As yet no further excavations have been carried out at the signal stations, indeed that at Huntcliff has now disappeared as a result of coast erosion. Thus we have no conclusive evidence of the employment by the Roman military command of Anglian foederati in North-East Yorkshire, but the presence of Germanic officers at Malton in the 350s and 360s, of Anglians in the neighbourhood of two of the signal stations in the early fifth century and possibly earlier, their apparent dwelling alongside the native population and use of native pottery implies that their settlement was not actively opposed and that their presence became accepted.

Faull postulates a reorganisation in the Roman defence circa 370, in which Malton became the hub of a defence system in which the signal stations provided early warning of attacks and foederati were settled in the southern part of the East Riding, particularly at Sancton, where large numbers of burials have been found (Faull 1974.21-23). It seems likely that this reorganisation is linked with the silting-up of Brough and consequent decline in the coastal naval forces (above 85-89). Faull feels that independent Anglian settlement began in the Vale of

Pickering at about the same time, apparently peacefully. By the early fifth century the Romano-British economy and defensive system were in decline - possible the signal stations had proved to be ineffective, the cash economy disappeared and the villas were abandoned (Faull 1974.21-23). The East Riding, particularly the areas around Driffield and Goodmanham, is on present evidence the main focus of early settlement in Deira and expansion of royal power out of this region does not seem to begin until the latter half of the sixth century, when Elmet and Rheged were still powerful states (Faull 1974.23-24, HB.63).

No dwelling sites later than the fifth century have yet been excavated in North-East Yorkshire, apart from the monastic site at Whitby. To gain further knowledge of the progress of Anglian settlement we must turn to the evidence of place-names.

Place-name evidence may give us a picture of the gradual spread of Anglian settlement in the region. A most important point to note is that we must distinguish between the age of the settlement and the age of its name; evidence is accumulating to show that the region was intensively settled and farmed long before the arrival of the Anglians. It is therefore likely that Old English names are borne not by settlements newly-founded on virgin land, but by those re-named by the newcomers, or founded elsewhere in the township from the British site. Further, Old English place-names in this region are overlain by an Old Norse stratum and these names may themselves represent a further re-naming. That being said, enough early Old English place-names remain to provide a skeleton for the Anglian settlement, when used in conjunction with the archaeological evidence.

It has already been noted that pagan-period cemeteries and excavated dwelling sites occur in easily-accessible areas near the coast (above 61, 62-64). This is also the case with the earliest place-name forms, which are found close to the major rivers and are favourably located in relation to the practical needs of rural settlements (above 20).

Dodgson considers the earliest Anglo-Saxon settlements in England to be associated with the pagan period cemeteries (Dodgson 1977), although in most cases the associated settlements have not yet been located, since cemeteries tend to have been discovered by accidents, particularly in quarrying or nineteenth century railway building. A second stratum of early settlement appears to be shown by place-names in ham (Cox 1973). Purely topographical names may be of similar antiquity and are found in similar locations (Gelling 1977). In North-East Yorkshire both these categories of place-name lie close to the major rivers or other means of communication such as Roman roads (see map 13). Wykeham lies on a Roman road, Levisham, a few miles west, a short distance from the same road (Margary 817), three other hams in the lowlands of the Cleveland Plain. Yarm, a very early name form (Watts pers. comm.) lies in a loop of the Tees, Hackness, Northfield and Suffield on the east side of the upper Derwent valley. Can any chronological dating be applied to these names and to their settlements?

The archaeological evidence from Seamer and Wykeham shows that these settlements were in existence in the fifth century and probably earlier. It must be remembered that the place-names themselves need not necessarily be contemporary, although the name Wykeham does appear to be very early (Gelling 1867) and we have literary evidence that the name Hackness (Hacanos) has been coined by c680 (HE IV.23). The name 'Haecca's ness' is purely topographical and it is therefore possible that the first occupation there may have been the monastery whose

foundation is noted by Bede. Smith assumed that 'ness' referred to the headland above the present settlement, between the river Derwent and Lowdale Beck (Smith 1972.112), but it has recently been suggested that it refers to the marked salient in the township boundary which encloses a portion of the hilltop to the south-west (Roberts pers. comm.). Examination of the recent One-Inch and the Second- Edition Six-Inch Ordnance survey maps shows that this break in the boundary occurs, though the salient does not enclose the supposed site of the seventh century monastery. Enclosed hill-tops of a similar type are found at Mote of Mark and possibly also at the Hirsell, providing the inhabitants with an emergency refuge adjacent to their farmlands (Cramp pers. comm.).

Place-names in tun proliferate all over the region's lowlands and outnumber all other old English name forms. Since they are very uncommon in Bede's Historia, produced in 731, they are thought by place-name scholars to represent a secondary phase of settlement, post-dating the centuries of which Bede was writing (Cox 1976). However, this evidence is somewhat ambiguous, since it may mean either that the tun element was not in use in Bede's time or the times of which he was writing, or alternatively that settlements bearing such names were not included in the Historia because they were not the names of monasteries, royal residences or sites of battles (Watts pers. comm.).

Be that as it may, settlement names in the tun are both more numerous and more widespread than other forms and so appear to result from a large-scale movement or change, not necessarily all at the same time. Work by Hope-Taylor and Milet has shown a shifting of settlement in Bernicia during the middle Saxon period, which has also been noted by

Arnold in Hampshire (Arnold 1981, Cramp pers. comm.). This shift may be symbolised by the abandonment of Yeavinger and the building of a new palace site at Millfield, a short distance away. Such a change is likely to have occurred in Deira as well as further north and south. However, the formation of the tun names may have taken place as late as the tenth century, if Fellows Jensen is correct in her change of views (Fellows Jensen 1981), through the break-up of large estates into smaller units, which gained Old English place-names in tun or Old Norse names in by, depending on the composition of the neighbouring populations (below 153-54).

On the basis of archaeological and place-name evidence, we may postulate three major strata of Anglian settlement in North-East Yorkshire (see map 17):

- a) Settlement in the late Roman period, the fourth and early fifth centuries, in part of foederati associated with the Roman military command.
- b) Settlement in the major river valleys - Tees, Leven and Derwent - and in the Vale of Pickering, the latter building on the pre-existing settlements of foederati.
- c) 'Fanning-out' across the entire settlement area.

This leads on to interlinked questions; in what capacity did the newcomers settle in the lowland areas and, most important of all, what became of the Britons?

The thesis that the coming of the Anglo-Saxons brought about the



wholesale dispersal of the indigenous population and the destruction of their settlements and institutions has now been discounted, at least as a simple or speedy operation. Recent work leads to the inescapable conclusion that the newcomers formed only a proportion of the population and that they developed and modified the existing territorial and social system rather than destroying it utterly.

It has already been noted that the system of land division of North-East Yorkshire appears to have originated in the prehistoric *era*, and G.R.J. Jones has long argued that the multiple estate system pre-dates the coming of the English (Jones 1961 and following). If this is so, the presence of a number of such estates in the Domesday record implies that the newcomers took over pre-existing tenurial units as going concerns and that a number of them survived more or less intact into the Domesday period.

It is possible, on this basis, to argue for the survival of a considerable proportion of the British population and that the Anglian who gave names to the estates and their components formed a numerically-small aristocracy. This raises the question of how the bounds of these estates came to be known to their new masters. If pre-Anglian tenurial units were to survive intact, a knowledge of their bounds and extents must have been passed to the newcomers by the local people, which implies not only the survival of a strong British element in the population, but also of a degree of bilingualism. This thesis is given greater weight by the relatively small number of definitely Anglian burials in the region and the likelihood of British influences on the burial customs of Hob Hill (above 92). The discoveries at the excavated settlement sites strongly suggest a period in which Angle and Briton dwelt in peace, if not side-by-side, at least in neighbouring

settlements and this in the fifth century, when mutual distrust might be expected to be at its height. Most interestingly, the only named seventh century peasant in the region, the poet cowherd Caedmon, bears a British name; the element Caed meaning 'battle' (Jackson 1958.244) appears in the names of three seventh century kings of Gwynedd, Cadfan, Cadwallon and Cadwalladr, as well as the West Saxon Caedwalla (Colgrave 1969.380n). The Caedmon composed in Old English and in the Old English poetic tradition suggests that by the later seventh century, if not earlier, distinctions between the two races had become blurred, probably as a result of intermarriage over the preceding two centuries, indeed the spread of Christianity may also have had some influence (Cramp pers. comm.).

This hypothesis does not itself account for the virtually complete disappearance of British place-names from North-East Yorkshire. Faull, making a case for widespread British survival, has adduced a number of factors which may bring this about. Firstly, study of Celtic place-names from the Roman period has shown them to be almost entirely topographical, applied to the settlement site rather than identifying the settlement itself names with habitative elements being mainly confined to forts and major earthworks (Faull 1977.17-18). Secondly, at times when Anglians were moving into new areas, there would have been few English speakers in the British population to pass on the local names and the newcomers had probably already given names to various settlements and natural features before bilingualism developed. By the time the Anglians had established overall control and begun to 'fan-out', sufficient Britons would have learned enough English to pass on the names of settlements and natural features further removed from the Anglians, leading to the survival of small stream-names and minor feature-names (Faull 1977.19).

This would suggest that any Anglian takeover of estates in their entirety could not have taken place in the early stages of settlement, since lack of a language in common would prevent the passing-on of bounds and other information. Foederati in the region must have been able to communicate with the Roman military command and civil administration, but they appear to have served in distinct units under their own officers. Drawing an analogy with the Indian Army before 1947, in which the British officers learned Urdu in order to communicate with their men, rather than the men learning English, it may be suggested that the military command provided itself with either bilingual officers or interpreters. If this is so, then the rank-and-file foederati would have no reason to learn any more than what might be described as 'bazaar British'.

There is growing evidence to suggest that pre-Anglian settlement in England is typified by hamlets and dispersed farmsteads, rather than the nucleated villages whose development seems to have begun in the Anglo-Saxon period (see Roberts 1975, Taylor 1983, Spratt 1982) and that the early Old English names in ham and ingas referred to districts as much as settlements, much as modern farm-names refer to the farmstead with its land and not to the farmstead alone (Roberts pers. comm.). Work by Powlesland immediately to the south has revealed a very heavy incidence of dispersed settlement over a large area of the Wolds and Vale of Pickering. Unfortunately, his recent work has not yet been published.

On this basis we may postulate a lack of mutual linguistic understanding between the two peoples. We may envisage the early Anglian settlers re-naming British hamlets and farmsteads, which bore names to them both incomprehensible and unpronounceable and

establishing and naming separate settlements within pre-existing land units. The relative proportions of old and new settlements and the degree to which the newcomers settled alongside the British is likely to have been dependent to a great extent on strictly local conditions.

Hope-Taylor's work at Yeavering has shown that in Bernicia the great bulk of the Migration Period population is likely to have remained British, overlain by an Anglian aristocracy and royal dynasty (Hope-Taylor 1979.280-84). Miket's work on Bernician burials has not materially altered the position (Miket 1980). Though evidence for the presence of Anglians is more forthcoming in Deira, on the present evidence it seems likely that in North-East Yorkshire those of purely Anglian origin were heavily outnumbered by Britons and by an increasingly large half-breed element which probably came to eventual dominance.

The Anglian settlement of North-East Yorkshire appears to have occurred gradually over a considerable period, beginning in the late fourth century under Roman auspices, but on present evidence it seems unlikely that they settled in any numbers until much later. Unfortunately, few settlement sites have been excavated and none of these have produced evidence later than fifth century. These settlements appear to have been those of foederati, but there is a gap in our knowledge covering the all-important period in which the Anglian dynasty of AElle gained power. It would be of great interest and value to know the relative population figures for Anglians and Britons in this period, the later fifth and sixth centuries. This lack of evidence makes it difficult to assess the relationship between the two peoples and the degree of intermingling which occurred and the social context in which the Anglian assumption of power took place.

The Anglian settlement of North-East Yorkshire occurred within a context of the gradual breakdown of Roman authority and its replacements by some British power structure, followed by the middle of the sixth century by the advent of a line of Anglian rulers who gradually expanded their territorial authority out of the Anglian nucleus in the East Riding, reaching Catterick before AD 600. We have no real evidence of the survival of political institutions, but it does appear that the tenurial framework of the Anglian period was based on that of the previous era. The political situations in seventh century Deira will be examined in detail in the next chapter. However, further insight into the progress of the Anglian settlement and British-Anglian relations in the period of the settlements can only be gained by large scale excavations and other archaeological investigations, on the model of those carried out by Powlesland around West Heslerton.

North-East Yorkshire and the Deiran Kingdom in the Seventh Century

When North-East Yorkshire emerges into recorded history in the seventh century it is as part of the Northumbrian political entity, successively Anglian kingdom, Scandanavian kingdom and finally English earldom. Specifically, it belonged to the southern portion of Northumbria, the Deira of Bede's Historia, the later Scandanavian kingdom of York. The little narrative evidence which survives from the pre-Conquest period speaks only of the region's monasteries and makes no mention of any political role; it appears anonymously within the larger entity of Deira. It is therefore difficult to assess the degree of political importance the region held; indeed it might appear at first sight that North-East Yorkshire was something of a political backwater. However, close study of the documentary evidence reveals a thread of concern with Deiran affairs and specifically with North-East Yorkshire, on the part of the rulers of Northumbria throughout the pre-Conquest era and after.

The boundaries of Deira have been defined by Hunter Blair on the basis of Bede's testimony (Hunter Blair 1949). During the seventh century the Cleveland Plain formed part of the frontier region between Deira and Bernicia, but North-East Yorkshire was far from any major centre of British power (above 76).

For much of the period of Bede's Historia relations between the rulers of Deira and those of Bernicia were at best acrimonious and at times degenerated into open war. Aethelfrith (c593-617), the first known ruler of both kingdoms (but see above 77-82), forced the Deiran Edwin into exile and plotted to bring about his death before he himself was killed in battle against Edwin on the River Idle, on Deira's southern

frontier, C617 (HE II.12). During Edwin's reign the sons of Aethelfrith preferred exile to the danger of Edwin's vengeance (HE III.1). IN 651 Oswine of Deira came to the point of pitched battle with Oswiu of Bernicia, only to be murdered on his orders (HE III.14). Four years later, his successor Aethelwold, though a member of the Bernician dynasty, fought on the Mercian side at the decisive battle of the Winwaed (HE III.24).

Unfortunately, in describing these events Bede makes no mention of any place within North-East Yorkshire, nor of any person who can positively be identified as belonging to the region. His record of the monastic foundations of Whitby, Hackness and Lastingham may however shed some light on the situation.

Bede states that after his victory at the Winwaed King Oswiu granted the church twelve ten-hide estates, six of them in Deira and six in Bernicia, for the founding of monasteries, in thanksgiving for his success (HE III.24). It is likely though not specifically stated, that one of these formed the initial grant to Hild at Streoneshalch (HE IV.23). How long this land had been in Oswiu's hands is an open question. It is unlikely that these Deiran lands were part of an ancestral holding of the Bernician dynasty; a more plausible hypothesis is that they came from Oswine at his death, or from Aethelwold after his fall from grace and were royal estates of the kings of Deira. Whatever the exact truth, it does prove that the ruling family was in possession of land in North-East Yorkshire by 656 and the implication of this gift is that these estates were not the only royal land in North-East Yorkshire or in Deira. That the land was gained at the expense of the Deiran kings would seem to be implied by the

establishment of monasteries under Bernician royal patronage, thus providing foci of royal authority in a formerly hostile province.

This royal patronage is particularly seen in the case of Whitby or Streoneshalch. Its first abbess, Hild, was a great-niece of King Edwin; she was first succeeded by Oswiu's widow Eanfled, herself Edwin's daughter and then by the latter's daughter AEfflaed; the monastery was the burial-place not only of Edwin of Deira but of the Bernician Oswiu himself. Oswiu's burial here rather than in one of the great Bernician monasteries - Lindisfarne would seem the obvious place - is particularly significant and, together with his widow's taking the veil at Whitby, is suggestive of deliberate and continuing assertion of Bernician authority in North-East Yorkshire.

A possible context for this concern may be seen in the religious character of Deira. Unlike Bernicia, Deira seems to have been influenced to a much greater extent by the Roman mission which converted Edwin and continued after his death in the person of James the Deacon. Until the establishment of the Whitby monastery the work of the Irish mission seems to have been mainly concerned with Bernicia, though we must be wary of arguing too much from Bede's silence. Though Hild was originally converted by Paulinus, her monasticism appears to have combined both Roman and Celtic traditions and she was of the Celtic party at the Synod of 664. It is therefore possible to see Whitby as a planted focus of Bernician power in religion as well as in politics (for a full discussion of the religious character of Whitby in the seventh century, see below 161-64).

Bede records that Lastingham, on the southern fringe of North-East Yorkshire, was founded by Bishop Cedd on land granted by King

Aethelwold in return for prayers for his soul and a place for his burial (HE III.23). This shows another royal holding on the borders of this region. Since Aethelwold was a Bernician, the son of King Oswald (634-41), it appears most likely that this was land of the kings of Deira, rather than an inheritance from his Bernician forebears.

Unfortunately, Bede does not date the foundation; Aethelwold disappears from recorded history after the Winwaed and it has been suggested that he was killed there, which would place the foundation before November 655 (Hunter Blair 1949.52). However, Bede states that he withdrew to a place of safety at the outset of the battle, implying that he took no part on the fighting (quamuis ipso tempore pugnandi sese pugnae subtraxerat euentumque discrimis toto in loco expectabat, HE III.24).

In the absence of definite evidence as to Aethelwold's fate, it is just as possible that he made his grant in penitence after the battle.

Bede tells us nothing of the previous ownership of the land on which Hackness monastery was founded, but his statement that Hild built it (quod ipsa eodem anno construxerat, HE IV.23) implies that it was her own foundation, perhaps on her own land. Since Hild, through her father Hereric, was Edwin's great-niece, Hackness may represent a further Deiran royal holding.

Further evidence of Bernician concern with Deira is shown by the Bernician king's appointment of sub-kings to rule there. All the known Deiran sub-kings, with the exception of Alhfrith, had close blood ties with that province. The first sub-kings were appointed by Oswiu; presumably Oswald, Edwin's nephew by his sister Accha, felt himself to be acceptable to the Deirans and this is supported by Bede (HE III.6). Oswiu, who seems to have been Aethelfrith's son by another wife (Miller 19879.43), felt it necessary to appoint Oswine, a cousin of Edwin, as

his co-ruler, but relations between them came to the point of war in 651, for reasons which Bede does not disclose (HE III.14). At some point after Oswine's murder, Oswiu installed Aethelwold, Oswald's son by a Mercian princess, to replace him (HE III.23), but, as noted above, Aethelwold appeared in the Mercian army in the Winwaed campaign. His eventual fate is not known, nor is that of Alhfrith who followed him.

Alhfrith seems to have been Oswiu's eldest son; his mother is not named by Bede but the Historia Brittonum states that Oswiu's first wife was a Briton, Riemmelth or Rhiainfellt (HB.67) and it is possible that Alhfrith was her son. Oswiu seems to have hoped that his son would prove more amenable than Oswine and Aethelwold, but once again he was unsuccessful. Bede portrays Alhfrith as an enlightened prince, a convert to and supporter of Roman Christianity and an early patron of Bishop Wilfrid; he tells us nothing of his rule in Deira and his relation with his father and overlord. Like Aethelwold, Alhfrith disappears from history after a recorded event, in this case the Synod of Whitby of 664 and it has recently been suggested that the reasons for holding of the Synod and in particular King Oswiu's decision in favour of the Roman Easter, may be found in the developing rift between the two rulers.

Abels goes into this issue in some detail, and only the points relevant to Deira will be examined here. Mayr-Harting has suggested that Alhfrith was largely responsible for prompting the Synod, as a result of his growing rift with his father and as an opportunity to put pressure on him (Mayr-Harting 1972.108). Abels considers that Alhfrith had become disaffected over the uncertainty of his position as Oswiu's heir and was eventually to revolt against him (Abels 1983.6-7), though this last may be overstating the case.

Alhfrith emerged from the Winwaed in a strong position; Aethelwold was disgraced, possibly in exile, Alhfrith was Oswiu's only adult son and a proven warrior, being a joint-commander of the Northumbrian army in the battle (HE III.24). His appointment to rule Deira suggests that Oswiu then regarded him as his heir (Abels 1983.7-8). By 664, the year of the Synod, his position was considerably weakened; his half-brother Ecgfrith was now adult, the son of the reigning queen and likely to command support in Deira as Edwin's grandson. It may well be that Alhfrith feared being edged out of the succession to Northumbria as a whole (Abels 1983.7-8). His conversion to Roman Christianity under Wilfrid's influence is likely to have increased tensions between father and son, especially if Deiran Christianity was mainly derived ^{from} the Roman mission (above 109). It may be that Alfrith's concession re-opened a breach which the founding of Whitby had attempted to heal. These tendencies are demonstrated by events following Alhfrith's gift of land at Ripon to Wilfred some time before 664. The young king granted Wilfrid thirty hides of land shortly after granting the same site to monks of the Irish persuasion (HE III.25). The Prose Life of Cuthbert gives more details, that Eata's monks were driven out of Ripon and returned to their former home at Melrose (VP.8). By this action Alhfrith had transferred land from an abbot loyal to Bishop Colman, his father's friend and ally, to one more dependent on himself and by driving out Eata struck at Eata's lord, King Oswiu (Abels 1983.8).

Alhfrith's engineering of the Synod seems to explain its location at a Deiran monastery (Abels 1983.9), but the choice of Whitby, rather than any other house, may reflect its pre-eminence in Deira and royal ties, aided by its position on the only natural harbour on the Yorkshire coast. Oswiu's decision in favour of Rome (HE III.25), seems to have defused a difficult political situation and Alhfrith is not heard of

again (Abels 1983.14-17). That he rebelled against his father is possible, but it is equally possible that Oswiu decided simply to remove him from his office and perhaps send him into exile. Deansley has suggested that he may have succumbed to the plague which was endemic in 664 (Deansley 1961.90), but if this is so, it is surprising that Bede does not name him among the victims who included Bishop Tuda (HE III.26) and possible Archbishop Deusdedit (HE III.28, HE IV.1).

Following Alhfrith's fall, Oswiu seems not to have appointed another sub-king. Eddius twice names Ecgfrith's brother AElfwine, killed at the Battle of the Trent in 679/80 as a king and it seems likely that here was another Deiran sub-king (VW.17, 24), but it was not necessarily Oswiu who appointed him. AElfwine was another son of Eanfled and so a Deiran through his mother, but as he was only eighteen years old when he was killed and therefore born about 661, it seems unlikely that he was appointed immediately Alhfrith's fall (HE IV.21(19)). Colgrave dates the dedication of Wilfred's church at Ripon, at which 'the two most Christian kings and brothers, Ecgfrith and AElfwine', were present (VW.17) to the period 671-78, but if the earlier date is accurate, it does not necessarily prove that AElfwine was already a king at the age of ten, since Eddius may have been writing anachronistically. It may instead be postulated that Ecgfrith ruled Deira directly in the early years of his reign and installed his brother as sub-king in the second half of the decade, when AElfwine would have been fifteen-plus and of military age.

The foregoing discussion has been concerned with Deira as a political entity. When the locations of the major political events are plotted, it does seem that North-East Yorkshire lay somewhat outside the main spheres of activity. Most of Bede's political detail is concerned with

battles and the dealings of kings with other ruler and with churchmen. The battles all took place in Deira's frontier regions. The Battles of the Idle (617), Hatfield Chase (633) and the Winwaed (655) all took place close to the border with Mercia, in the geographical gap between the Humber and the Pennines. The border zone between Deira and Bernicia was the scene of the battle commemorated in the British poem Y Gododdin, at Catraeth - Catterick - a few miles south of the Tees. Though its precise location is unidentified, the confrontation between Oswiu and Oswine took place in the same area. Bede tells us that Oswiu assembled his army at Vilfaraesdun, about ten miles north-west of Catterick, which places it within the triangle formed by Piercebridge, Greta Bridge and Scotch Corner (HE III.14, Hunter Blair 1949.54).

This part of the frontier zones was just outside our region but we cannot know how intimately North-East Yorkshire and its people were connected with these events. It can be conjectured that Oswine drew some of his manpower from the region, but we can have no idea of their numbers, nor of the proportion of the total population involved, nor of the people's attitudes towards the doomed Oswine. If the evidence assembled above for Bernician concern with Deira is admissible, then a considerable degree of Deiran separatism can be postulated and if Bede's idealised portrait of Oswine is in any way admissible, then surely he could have attracted a considerable personal following. However, Oswine, following the disbandment of his army realising that his cause was hopeless, did not seek refuge within the region, but in the house of his nobles at Gilling, near Richmond (HE III.14). Bede does state that Oswine was greatly outnumbered and, if Deira was then more densely populated than Bernicia, as seems likely on present archaeological evidence, this suggests that time was not available for

the raising of a larger army, indeed that Oswiu may have taken Oswine by surprise.

Difficulties of evidence make it impossible to assess the importance of North-East Yorkshire to seventh century Northumbria, or to Deira, as accurately as one would wish, but the evidence which survives suggests that the region was in no sense a political or religious backwater. Certainly Whitby was one of the greatest of the Northumbrian monasteries, closely linked with the ruling dynasty; the abbesses Hild and AElfflaed were considerable figures in northern religious life; the former a leader of the Celtic party at the Synod, the latter a friend of Cuthbert and ally of Wilfrid in his efforts to regain his see (VA.6, 10, VP.23, 24, 34, VW.60). No recorded political events occurred within the region, but it is known that the royal dynasties held land at Whitby and Lastingham at the very least. It is possible that there were royal residences at these sites or elsewhere in this region.

The known royal residences in Deira are at York, at Catterick and at or near Goodmanham (HE III.13-14). Drifffield, where King Aldfrith died in 705, was probably also a royal residence at that date (HE V.18, Whitelock 1959.86). Two further residences are not precisely located. Campodunum is thought to be a Roman site near Dewsbury in the West Riding (Colgrave 1969.189n3). The attempted assassination of King Edwin by an emissary of Cwichelm of Wessex took place 'at the King's hall which lay beside the River Derwent' (iuxta amnen Deruventionem, ubi tunc erat villas regis, HE II.9). This site has been identified with Old Malton, just outside the region (Ramm 1978.58) but it is not impossible that it lay further up the Derwent. A case could be made for Hackness, a place with very strange morphological features (Roberts pers. comm.), which is later found in the hands of Hild, Edwin's

great-niece, one of the few survivors of the Deiran house, although the traditional identification of the barrow known as Lilla Howe (SE 88929868) as the burial-place of the thegn Lilla, who died shielding his king from the assassin's dagger, has now been discredited (Watkin and Mann 1981).

The Viking Age: The Broader Political Scene

After the death of Bede, whose information on Deiran affairs virtually ceases after 700 in any case, we are faced with a still greater lack of documentary evidence. No Northumbrian source has survived in its original form; apart from the northern recensions of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (MSS DE), we must depend on the Northumbrian annals which survive in the twelfth century compilations of Symeon of Durham and Florence of Worcester and the works of other post-Conquest writers.

The political history of Northumbria from the ninth to the eleventh century is frequently obscure and confused. Between the Danish capture of York in 867 and the death of Erik Bloodaxe in 954, some eighteen individuals held, or claim^{ed}, kingship at York. By no means all these eighteen were Scandinavians and few succeeded one another peacefully (see Smyth's Northumbrian chronology in Smyth 1978). The earliest known to history, Egbert, expelled 872 and Ricsige, installed 873 and supplanted by Halfdan in 875, seem to have been English sub-kings installed by the Danish here. Halfdan was killed in Ireland in 877 and there is then a gap in the records in 883, when the Danish Christian Guthfrith gained the kingship (HSC, EHD 1. No 6). On his death in 895 one Sigfrith became king but in 900 the Northumbrian host took Aethelwold, nephew of Alfred the Great, as king (ASC D sa901). After Aethelwold's death in battle in 905 (ASC D 905), the kingship seems to have remained in Scandinavian hands. However, the Norsemen of Dublin who held power from the second decade of the tenth century seem initially to have gained this power by force of arms; in 918 the men of York (Eoforwicingas) offered submission and oaths to Aethelflaed (ASC C 918), which Wainwright sees as an attempt to secure her protection against the Norse invader Ragnald (Wainwright 1959.320).

The political instability seen above continued under the Iron-Norse kings and the southern English kings, now forcing Scandanavian power north of the Humber, attempted at various times to assert their authority in the north, Edward the Elder gained the submission of Ragnald and other northern British rulers in 921, but this seems not so much to be an acceptance of his overlordship as an alliance against the common Norse enemy (ASC A 918 (921), Wainwright 1952.325-44). It is most interesting that Ragnald, so recently a leading figure among the Norse invaders (Wainwright 1950.165-79), making ties of friendship and alliance with his erstwhile foes. Possible he felt his hold on the Kingdom of York to be under threat from other Norsemen.

Edward's successors attempted on various occasions to destroy the Scandanavian power-base at York; Athelstan drove out King Guthfrith in 927 and assumed the kingship until his own death. In 940 Edmund was constrained to make terms with Olaf Guthfrithsson, who had seized the throne of York on Athelstan's death and later drove out Olaf Cuaran and Ragnall Guthfrithsson, joint-rulers at York (ASC DE 927, 944, Smyth 1978). Once again the death of a West Saxon king was followed by a reassertion of Northumbrian independence. In 947, following Edmund's murder, the Northumbrians made submission to King Eadred but within the year they had taken Erik Bloodaxe for their king (ASC D 947, 948). Eadred reacted with a punitive expedition and Erik was ousted (ASC D 948). Soon after, Olaf Cuaran returned to York and reigned there until 952, when Erik returned again, reigning until 954 (ASC E 949, 952, 954).

The pattern of events in the Kingdom of York shows the marked instability of the kingship; king follows kings with bewildering rapidity and almost none reign unopposed. From the 920s the West Saxon

rulers intervened in Northumbria for the first time in a century, since Egbert gained the submission of the Northumbrians in 829 (ASC A 829). Like Egbert's authority, destroyed the following year, this influence was essentially transitory. Athelstan's treaty with Sihtric (ASC D 926) did not survive beyond the latter's death; Athelstan immediately expelled his successor and claimed power for himself. From 927 until 954 it is tempting to see the Kingdom of York in West Saxon eyes as being a running sore which must be lanced when it grows too large, but is ignored meanwhile. There is no evidence to suggest that in between the punitive expeditions their kings had any more than formal dealings with the rulers of York. This indifference continues in the ensuing century when royally-appointed earls held de jure power over Northumbria. Edgar's law of 962 appear to grant the Danes legal autonomy within the Danelaw; these are not only the Danes in Northumbria, but Edgar makes specific mention of the Northumbrians:

Now Earl Oslac and all the host who dwell in his aldormanry are to give their support that this may be enforced (the law code), for the praise of God and the benefit of the souls of all of us, and the security of all people.
(EHD I. No 41.15).

The precise bounds of the Scandanavian Kingdom of York have not yet been ascertained; the tendency is to assume that it was coterminous, or mostly so, with the Anglian kingdoms of Deira (Morris pers. comm.). Certainly place-name evidence seems to show a lack of heavy Scandanavian settlement north of the Tyne (PNNb) and a line of English rulers held power at Bamburgh from the reign of Alfred until the third decade of the eleventh century at least (Whitelock 1959, Kapelle 1979.14-26). Substantial estates in County Durham did however come into Norwegian hands early in the tenth century and were granted by Ragnald to two of his followers (HSC, Morris 1981). This suggests that the authority of the Kings of York may at times have extended to the Wear. The southern boundary is more clearly defined; the Chronicle for

942 speaks of King Edmund conquering Mercia as far north as Dore, the Whitwell Gap and the Humber (ASC D 942). That Dore may long have been a border district is shown by Egbert's foray there against the Northumbrians in 829 (ASC A sa827).

After the death of Erik Bloodaxe (ASC DE 954) de facto power in Northumbria was held by earls appointed by successive West Saxon kings. The Events of c.927-54 show a marked reluctance on the part of the Northumbrians to accept the domination of a southern king and examples of this particularism are seen for at least another century. Earl Uchtred was among the first to submit to Swein Forkbeard at Gainsborough in 1013 (ASC DE 1013); in the rebellions of the 1060s, the first against the West Saxon Tostig, the remainder against the Normans, we can see, underlying the specific grievances, a refusal to accept domination from outside. It has even been suggested that the Northumbrians offered no more than token resistance to Harald Hardrada in 1066 (Kapelle 1979.103-04).

The appointment of earls to exert West Saxon authority over southern Northumbria - the former Deiran and Scandanavian kingdom - show a marked reluctance to trust any Northumbrian with power on such a scale. Since no English king from Athelstan to William I is known to have visited Northumbria except for making war and Domesday Book shows no royal land in Northumbria before the Conquest, the Earls of Northumbria were in effect vic^eroys and it is clear that succeeding kings felt no Northumbrian could be entrusted with such an office (see Whitelock 1959).

Osulf, Earl of all Northumbria (954-66) was of the Bamburgh family. Oslac (966-c975) appears to have come from the eastern Danelaw.

AElfhelm (c992-1006) was certainly a Mercian. Only Thored (C975-c992) may have been a local man and it is possible that he was not a royal appointee but had made use of the instability caused by the disputed succession of 975 to seize the office, (Stafford 1979.24). Apart from Osulf, all ended their careers in disgrace. Oslac was banished in 975 (ASC DE 975); Thored, whose daughter King Aethelred married in a possible attempt to buy his loyalty (Stafford 1979.24), took part in the naval expedition of 992, which was betrayed by Ealdorman Aelfric and afterwards disappears from history. This is in fact a rare example of a Northumbrian earl campaigning against an enemy outside his own borders (ASC DE 992). AElfhelm was killed in 1006 and his sons blinded (ASC E 1006, Whitelock 1959.77-81).

After 1006 the Northumbrian earldom was reunited under Uchtred of Bamburgh, who may already have held power over northern Northumbria (Whitelock 1959.82). This shows the policy of appointing southerners as earls in Yorkshire had now been recognised as a complete failure. From then on, until the Norman Conquest, all earls of Northumbria were men with personal ties to the king, Aethelred gave Uchtred his daughter in marriage (De Primo Saxonum Adventu, Whitelock 1959.82). This marriage, like those of other royal daughters to Eadric of Mercia and Ulfcytel of East Anglia, is only paralleled by Aethelflaed's marriage to Aethelred of Mercia at a similar time of crisis (Stafford 1979.35). Even so, Aethelred's appointment of his trusted adviser Wulfstan as Archbishop of York looks like an attempt to provide a counterweight to Uchtred's new-found power. In his appointment of Uchtred, King Aethelred was again successful; Uchtred first made submission to Swein in 1013 and later threw in his lot with Edmund Ironside in his revolt against his father (ASC DE 1013, 1016).

After Uchtred's murder at Cnut's court in the winter of 1016, the Scandinavian king appointed his own followers to the English earldoms, The Norwegian, Erik of Hlathir, held southern Northumbria from c1017 until 1023 and was followed, possibly after an interval, by the Danish Siward (Whitelock 1959.77-83). Both men seem to have had close personal ties to the King; indeed it is most interesting that a Norwegian Viking should be among Cnut's personal following some years before his conquest of Norway (in 1028, ASC D 1028).

There is a parallel reluctance to appoint local men to the archbishopric of York, which may accrue from Archbishop Wulfstan I's apparent involvement in the conflicts of 940-54 (Whitelock 1959.73-77, Cooper 1970). That the southern English kings had however little influence over northern Northumbria is demonstrated by elections to the bishopric of Durham remaining the sole prerogative of the Community of St. Cuthbert until after the Norman Conquest (Kapelle 1979.24-25,31). Similarly, members of the House of Bamburgh seem to have succeeded one another as earls of northern Northumbria without outside interference.

Politics and North-East Yorkshire in the Viking Age

The role of North-East Yorkshire and its people in the political affairs of the Viking Age remains obscure. Surviving sources refer in the main to "Northumbrians" and not to more local groupings. Only on two occasions do our sources give any hint of conditions within North-East Yorkshire directly. We are told, in the post-Conquest Memorial of Foundation of Whitby Abbey, that the Anglian monastery at Whitby fell into decay as a result of the depredations of Ingvar and Ubba - Ivar the Boneless and his brother (WCh I No. 1). In the following century King Edmund (940-46) is said by William of Malmesbury to have visited the deserted site and to have carried away the relics of St. Hild to Glastonbury (Gesta Pontificum 1:36).

There is no direct evidence to corroborate either statement; however, some circumstantial evidence can be assembled. Since Whitby Abbey lay on the coast it was, like the great Bernician monasteries of Lindisfarne and Jarrow, both attacked by the Vikings (Cramp 1976.231) and vulnerable to seaborne attack. No archaeological material dateable to later than the mid ninth century was found in excavations in the 1920s (Peers and Radford 1943), suggesting that monastic life did cease on this site in the period of the Viking invasions, though not necessarily as a direct consequence. Aethelwold, in the preamble of the Regularis Concordia of King Edgar's reign, produced about 970, blames not Viking assault but secular domination (saecularium prioratis) for the destruction of religious life (Regularis Concordia ed Symons 1953.7, E. John 1966.154-56). That the abuses referred to by Aethelwold were already in existence in Bede's day is made clear in the latter's letter to Egbert, in which he speaks of the nobility's gaining grants of royal land on the pretext of establishing monasteries and the monasteries

themselves becoming increasingly secular and the monastic life becoming debased through the influence of noblemen (EHD I. No. 170). It might therefore be suggested that monasticism at Whitby was already in decay before the Viking assault proved the final blow.

King Edmund mounted a number of campaigns in northern England, in one of which his army worked in co-operation with a naval force which moved up the North Sea coast into Scotland (ASC 944). Whitby's position on a sheltered estuary provides a logical stopover point on a long coastal voyage, but Edmund's alleged removal of Hild's relics cannot be substantiated. No mention is made of Hild in the eleventh century List of Saint's Resting Places and a twelfth century compilation places her relics at Whitby (Rollason 1978).

Early in the eleventh century, according to the Historia Ecclesiae Dunelmensis, one Styr son of Ulf gave three carucates of land at Normanby in Cleveland to the community of St. Cuthbert (HDE.83). Styr was a rich citizen of York, of Danish descent and the father of the second wife of Earl Uchtred; it may be presumed that this was not his only holding within the region (Kapelle 1979.16-17). Styr does not appear to have been a considerable force in Northumbrian politics at the time; Durham sources tell us that Uchtred obtained his daughter in marriage at the price of agreeing to kill Styr's enemy Thurbrand. In the event it was Thurbrand who killed Uchtred when he came to make submission to Cnut in 1016 (De Obsessione.218-19). Uchtred is said to have married three times, on each occasion to daughters of men with considerable political power; his first wife was the daughter of Aldhun, Bishop of Durham and the third a daughter of King Aethelred. In this context it seems likely that Uchtred's second marriage was calculated to win the support of one of the most prominent of the

Yorkshire Danes, at a time when Uchtred had newly come to the earldom of southern Northumbria and may have been in need of allies south of the Tees (Kapelle 1979.16-17).

In the last generation before the Norman Conquest, a number of prominent Northumbrians can be associated with North-East Yorkshire; Domesday Book shows that the last three pre-Conquest earls had considerable landholdings in the region and certain other landholders can be identified with leaders of the Northumbrian risings against William I (below 128-29).

Although he does not appear in Domesday Book, Copsig, a supporter of Tostig during his tenure of the earldom (HDE.97, Kapelle 1979.89) is reported to have given lands and churches at Marske, Guisborough, Thornton, Tocketts and Readeclive to the community of St. Cuthbert during the Confessor's reign (HDE.94-95). Since the community does not appear in the Domesday record for North-East Yorkshire and lands in all the named settlements are in different hands in 1066, we may here had evidence of a fluid land market in the pre-Conquest period, which may have developed as a result of the Viking invasions (below 133-54). Alternatively, the lands held by St. Cuthbert may simply have been excluded from the Survey for some administrative reason.

Domesday Book shows Earl Tostig (1055-65) in possession of the largest single tenurial unit in the region, in terms of the number of sokes, the multiple estate of Falsgrave (Faull 1985.299ab). His successor Morcar held a similar multiple estate at Pickering (Faull 1985.299ab). Earl Siward (c1033-55) was the largest single landholder in the region, by virtue of his holding the three multiple estates of Whitby, Acklam and Loftus (Faull 1985.305a).

No royal lands north of the Humber are recorded in the Confessor's time, but the presence of these large holdings of royally-appointed earls imply that North-East Yorkshire was an area of some importance in this period. This begs the question of whether these holdings were of long standing and whether they were personal to each earl, or went with the office.

All these last three pre-Conquest earls were non-Northumbrians; Siwards origins are not known with any certainty, but he was apparently a Danish follower of Cnut and not an Englishman at all, being the hero of an old Norse saga (see Scott 1952). Tostig was a West Saxon with a Danish mother and Morcar a Mercian. It therefore seems unlikely that they could have inherited their lands from their forebears. This being so, did the earls hold these lands by virtue of their office?

The first difficulty is created by anachronism in Domesday Book. Earl Siward is listed as a landowner at the time of King Edward's death, though he had himself been dead for ten years and Tostig is also listed, though he was then outlawed (nithing) and in exile (ASC 1055, 1065). These anachronisms can simply be accounted for if, as seems likely, the Domesday commissioners gained their information on who held the settlement in the time of King Edward from questioning the inhabitants of that settlement (Finn 1972.2). Siward, who held the earldom for over twenty years and Tostig, who held office for ten, would surely have been better remembered than the relatively transitory Morcar. Siward's Northumbrian lands did not apparently pass to his only surviving son; in 1066 Waltheof held considerable lands in Huntingdonshire and Northamptonshire, which appears to have come from Siward's Midland earldom (Scott 1952.60-61), but none in Northumbria, where he did not become earl until 1071 (ASC D 1072). This suggests

strongly that Siward's Yorkshire lands belonged to the earldom, as did the estates held by Tostig and Morcar TRE. Waltheof was apparently not considered as Siward's successor in Northumbria because of his youth but this may not necessarily have precluded him from holding office in the peaceful Midlands. By 1086 Falsgrave and Pickering were in royal hands and Siward's former lands were held by the Earl of Chester, one of the leading Norman magnates.

If the multiple estates of Falsgrave, Pickering, Whitby, Loftus and Acklam did indeed form the lands of the earldom of Northumbria in this region, it would be of interest to know when they came to the earldom. It is possible that they came from the holdings of the Scandinavian kings of York and conceivably from the earlier Deiran rulers. Whitelock notes that Driffield, where King Aldfrith died in 705, was a royal holding in 1066 and might have been so since the seventh century (Whitelock 1959.86). It may be conjectured that the lands had passed into the hands of the Scandinavian kings in the ninth and tenth centuries and came to the earldom from this source. Alternatively all or part of the holding may have been of more recent origin. King Athelstan is known to have encouraged English landholding in the north, purchasing Amounderness in Lancashire, recently settled by Norsemen, and granting it to the church of York in 934, presumably to strengthen English influence in the area (EHD I No. 104). Copeland (Kaupeland) in Cumbria appears from its name to have been the object of a similar purchase (Whitelock 1959.72). It may therefore be conjectured that Athelstan's successors, after the fall of the Scandinavian kingdom, may have provided their Northumbrian earls with a Yorkshire power base by similar means.

Among the men named as leaders of the Northumbrian risings of 1069 are three who may be connected with North-East Yorkshire. These are Waltheof, son of Earl Siward, Cospatric and Archil (ASC D sa1068). Domesday Book shows that Waltheof did not inherit his father's Yorkshire lands but a Cospatric and an Archil both appear to have been considerable pre-Conquest landholders here. Immediately we are faced with difficulties of identification; can all the landholders bearing the same name be the same man? Secondly, two Cospatrics are known to have been active in northern politics in the 1060s. One was a son of Earl Uchtred but his second wife and was murdered at King Edward's court at Christmas 1064, according to a twelfth century source, supposedly at the instigation of Queen Eadgyth, acting in the interests of her brother Tostig (Florence I: 223, Whitelock 1959.84). The other candidate is the Cospatric who purchased the Northumbrian earldom from William I in 1067, was among the leaders of the 1069 rising and was subsequently made Earl of Dunbar by his kinsman Malcolm III of Scots (ASC D 1067, sa1068, 1072). A third Cospatric who must be considered is the Cospatric whose grandson Thorfinn was sub-tenant of Allerston in the mid twelfth century and a benefactor of the church (see Appendix 4). It is not clear which of these was the Domesday Cospatric, if indeed he was any of these. That Cospatric son of Uchtred was dead in 1064 does not necessarily rule him out, since Siward appears in Domesday ten years after his death. That the Domesday Cospatric is not called 'earl', unlike Siward, Tostig and Morcar, may suggest that he was not the post-Conquest earl, but this seems even less substantial. However, if either of these two Cospatrics is the correct one, it is possible that his lands formed part of the Yorkshire holdings of the house of Bamburgh, since the two men were close kin; one was Earl Uchtred's son, the other, through his mother, a grandson of Uchtred and his third wife. Whoever he was, the Cospatric of North-East Yorkshire was

clearly a man of some substance, holding two multiple estates and four smaller manors. In 1086 these lands, like those of the earls, were in the hands of the greatest among the Normans, Hutton Rudby (six sokes) and Seamer and Tanton (four sokes) belonged to the Court of Mortain, the four simplex manors to the king.

Little of Archil is known beyond his name and the extent of his landholding. Orderic Vitalis names him among the leaders of the rising (Orderic Vitalis 2:222) and to work as an equal with Waltheof, Cospatric, Maerleswiin, sheriff of Lincoln and the brother of the Danish king, he must have been a man of some substance and military reputation. Archil held five manors in North-East Yorkshire, totalling 15 carucates, all but one of which later passed to the king.

The Viking Age

It will come as no surprise that narrative evidence for Scandinavian settlement in Yorkshire is almost non-existent. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle informs us that in 876:

Halfdan shared out the lands of Northumbria and they (the here) were engaged in ploughing and in making a living for themselves.

Further settlement by members of a second here may have occurred in 896:

And afterwards in the summer of this year the Danish army divided, one force going into East Anglia and one into Northumbria, and those that were moneyless got themselves ships and went south across the sea to the Seine.

Little archaeological work has taken place except in York itself and any attempt to assess the nature, extent and density of this settlement must be based largely on place-name evidence, supplemented by analogous evidence from elsewhere in the British Isles. The following questions raise themselves. Where did the Scandinavians settle and in what numbers? How did this settlement come about? What effects did this uprooting from their homelands have on the Scandinavians and how did their settlement affect the indigeneous inhabitants?

All these matters have raised very considerable scholarly controversy, most marked in respect of the most basic question, that of the number of Scandinavian settlers. Philogists have argued that the very considerable numbers of Old Norse place-names in the parts of England settled by Scandinavian must betoken a proportionately large influx (of Cameron 1977abc, Fellows Jensen 1972). Sawyer takes the opposite view, that the Viking armies of the ninth century were to be numbered only in hundreds of men and that the numbers of these warriors who settled in England were correspondingly small (Sawyer 1958). Since then he has gone on to argue that the Scandinavian settlement took the form of an

aristocratic takeover, rather than a peasant colonisation and in this he is echoed by the independent work of G.R.J. Jones (Sawyer 1962, 1976, 1978a, 1982, Jones 1964).

These opposing platforms are not easy to reconcile. Place-name scholars argue that the most common Old Norse name-form, in which an Old Norse personal-name is suffixed with an Old Norse By, marks the settlement of a Scandinavian individual in a period before their language had been greatly influenced by contact with Old English (Cameron 1977a.119-20, Fellows Jensen 1972.237-43). This is not necessarily negated by a rejection of the theory that such names represent primary colonisation of vacant land by Scandinavians. Recent work by Fellows Jensen has led her to believe that many Old Norse place-names are much younger than their settlements and represent re-named Old English settlements (Fellows Jensen 1984). In other words, she feels that a Scandinavian individual gained power in a pre-existing settlement and Old Norse-speakers in the neighbourhood re-named the settlement in the form 'X's by'

Sawyer however contends that Old Norse place-names could have been coined at any time between the initial Scandinavian coming in the mid ninth century and the compilation of Domesday Book in 1086 and that many date from a period subsequent to the initial settlement, when Old Norse personal-names and place-name elements had been taken up by the Old English speaking majority. He argues for a considerable degree of internal colonisation in the tenth and eleventh centuries and considers that many men ~~came~~ to bear Scandinavian personal-names because of the spread of Old Norse influences upon the Old English language (Sawyer 1958.13). More recently he has argued that the Scandinavian aristocratic takeover of pre-existing settlements did not begin before the tenth century, since areas captured by the English shortly after

900, particularly around Derby and Cambridge, show few Old English names (Sawyer 1982.103-04). He now believes that the Scandinavian brought about the break-up of pre-existing estates into smaller units under the control of individuals (Sawyer 1981.126-30). In this he is now followed by Fellows Jensen, who feels that Old Norse place-names developed in this context of a growing land market, which brought closer identification of individuals with their lands (Fellows Jensen 1984).

Broadly speaking, the philologists⁶ are in agreement with Sawyer on the relatively small size and aristocratic character of the ninth century Danish armies, but find difficulty in explaining the large number and wide distribution of Old Norse place-names in the light of this. Cameron feels that the armies alone cannot account for either the extent or character of Scandinavian settlement in England (Cameron 1969.178). Lund has put forward circumstantial evidence to suggest that rural settlement was in the main the work of peasant migrants following in the wake of the armies, stating that the ninth century warriors were not farmers, nor did they intend to become farmers, but established themselves in fortified boroughs, notably the well-known Five Boroughs and remained there (Lund 1969). However, the available evidence for the character of the Scandinavian armies seems decidedly to contradict this view. Far from the Viking warriors being uninterested in farming, the Chronicle records that they divided the lands of the Northumbrians in 876, of Mercia in 877 and of East Anglia in 880 (ASC 876, 877, 880). Lund sees the lack of Old Norse place-names in the vicinity of the Five Boroughs as proof that they remained inside the boroughs themselves, but Cameron notes the large number of Grimston-hybrid names in these areas and believes that they represent settlements taken over from the English (Lund 1969, Cameron

1977). Finally, the fact that successive Viking armies made submission to Edward the Elder (of the army of Bedford in 914 (ASC 914), the army of Northampton in 917 (ASC A 917) does not necessarily prove that the armies remained as bodies inside their boroughs. It is equally possible that the warriors and by the tenth century their sons, had now settled to farming the land around the boroughs, but remained under the authority of their war-leaders.

Sawyer sees the members of the ninth century Scandinavian armies as imposing themselves as a tenurial aristocracy over the Anglo Saxon villages of northern and eastern England and bringing about change in the names of these existing settlements (Sawyer 1958.15). Such a view is also put forward by G.R.J. Jones (Jones 1965). Cameron, making use of geological and topographical evidence as well as the place-names themselves, sees the majority of Old Norse-named settlements as new foundations in the Viking Age. The so-called Grimston-hybrid names are thought to denote the small number of English settlements taken over by Scandinavians and re-named after their new lords by Old English-speakers in the neighbourhood (Cameron 1977).

On the question of whether the Scandinavians took over pre-existing settlements or founded new ones on previously unoccupied sites, depends part of the answer to the question of relations between Viking and Anglo-Saxon. Did the newcomers defeat and expel the former occupiers, or did they settle peacefully in the same settlements and intermarry? Or did they live quite apart in their own settlements? How many Scandinavian-named settlements can be assigned to the original influx of the 860s and 870s? Does the high proportion of Scandinavian personal-names among the pre-Conquest landholders of North-East Yorkshire imply a strong Scandinavian element in the population, or

simply a fashion for such names among an English majority? If the latter, what brought this about? And if a high proportion of landholders were ultimately of Scandinavian origin, what was the strength of the Scandinavian element in the non-landholding population? Study of place-names and personal-names in North-East Yorkshire may provide an answer to some of these questions.

On the 137 individual settlement names in North-East Yorkshire which appear in Domesday period sources, 49 are purely Old English, 58 Old Norse, 19 hybrid and 11 Scandinavianised (see Appendix 2). If Cameron is correct in this thesis that Old Norse names betoken settlements founded by Scandinavians, this suggests a considerable Old Norse-speaking influx into the region. If, on the other hand, Sawyer's view is the correct one, the Scandinavians were at least numerous enough to take over a large number of settlements and to have a marked influence on the local dialect and naming habits. Can we ascertain which hypothesis is the more correct and perhaps formulate a new thesis specifically applicable to North-East Yorkshire?

The distribution of Old Norse place-names does not differ markedly from that of Old English. The main settlement areas are again the Cleveland Plain, the northern coastal plateau and in the Scarborough lowlands (see map). However, some points may be noted:

- a) Old Norse names are virtually absent from the Corallian dip-slope, the exceptions being a small number of Scandinavianised names, such as East and West Ayton and the purely Old Norse Ellerburn.
- b) Clusters of Old Norse names tend to lie slightly apart from the heaviest concentrations of Old English names.

- c) Old Norse names are particularly concentrated in two zones; the southern Cleveland Plain, south of the Leven and the northern coastal plateau, particularly around the lower reaches of the Esk.
- d) The greatest number of hybrid names is found in the southern coastal plateau and in the Scarborough district.

Cameron postulates a threefold sequence of Scandinavian settlement, a relative sequence not tied to any chronological period:

- a) Grimston-hybrid names: Taking over of pre-existing settlements by a Scandinavian population of tenurial aristocracy. These tend to occupy similar sites to Old English-named settlements and are frequently parish and township centres.
- b) Names in by: Settlements founded by Scandinavians on previously unoccupied sites. These sites frequently lack one or more of the requirements of a rural population (above 23) and Cameron feels that they were occupied later than the prime sites whose settlements bear Old English names.
- c) Names in thorp: Secondary Scandinavian settlements founded on previously unoccupied sites during expansion from earlier Scandinavian foci (Cameron 1977abc).

Fellows Jensen's recent work has produced a quite different sequence. She sees both the Grimston-hybrid and by names as the result of the takeover and re-naming of existing settlements, one form being coined by Old English-speakers and the other by Old Norse-speakers. Thorp names result from secondary settlement developing out of either Old

English or Old Norse-named settlements (Fellows Jensen 1981, 1984, on thorps, see also Lund 1976).

Only two Grimston-hybrid names are found in North-East Yorkshire; Burniston (TA 019934) north of Scarborough and Sneaton (NZ 894078) south of Whitby. Sneaton is surrounded by purely Old Norse names, but the pattern around Burniston is more complex, with a clutch of Old Norse names around Scarborough itself and Old English names to the north and west. Both were townships in 1936 and Sneaton was an ecclesiastical parish (VCH.534). Sawyer, in pursuing his theory of the takeover of existing estates by Scandinavian lords, has noted that caputs and berewicks more frequently bear Old English names than do sokelands, (Sawyer 1982.106). Sneaton is the berewick of Whitby, the great majority of whose dependent sokes bear purely Old Norse names (22 of 28). It seems likely that the Whitby estate survived more or less intact from the pre-Viking era, the period of the Anglian monastery (above 28-30). Can we see the Whitby estate as being taken over by a Scandinavian leader in the vacuum caused by the desertion of the monastery, its sokes being granted to individual warriors? Though the great majority of names within this estate are purely Old Norse, the survival of an Anglian population is shown by the coining of the name Sneaton in an Old English form.

Burniston is a more complex and more interesting case. In 1086 it was sokeland of Falsgrave, itself an Old Norse name. This estate possessed one berewick (Northfield OE) and 21 sokes, six of which bear Old Norse names, four hybrid and Scandinavianised names and the remainder Old English. Study of the map shows very clearly that the Old Norse names are concentrated within three miles of Falsgrave itself, a short distance from the coast, the hybrid and

Scandinavianised names in a ring around this and the Old English names still further out (see Map 17). This suggests strongly that the original takeover of the estate was carried out from the sea and that only those sokes close to the caput were granted to Scandinavians, the remainder continuing in the hands of Englishmen. That the Scandinavians reached this area by sea and that their influence was limited to a coastal foothold, is reinforced by evidence from the neighbouring estate of Pickering, where the only purely Old Norse name is that of Ellerburn (Faull 1985.299b). In this light the tradition that Scarborough was founded from the sea by one Thorgils 'Skarði', the hare-lipped, in 965 is of extreme interest (Stenton 1971.374, Gordon 1957.151, 246f, Kormahs Saga Ch. 27, Islensk Fornrit Vol. 8.299). Like Burniston, Sneaton lies near the coast, some three miles from the sea and within a mile of the highest navigable point of the Esk at Ruswarp. This evidence is highly suggestive of Viking settlement in the region direct from Scandinavia across the sea, rather than from the Vale of York. Other hybrid name-forms will be considered later in this chapter (below 140-42).

Old Norse Names in By

Of the 58 Old Norse place-names in the region, 35 are names in by; of these 25 have an Old Norse personal-name as the first element. Such names are found in all the settlement areas, with the exception of the Corallian dip-slope, but their concentrations lie somewhat apart from those of Old English names (see map 18).

To Cameron the distribution of Old Norse place-names in by would imply that the English had already settled the prime sites, with easily worked soils, close to running water and so on and that the incoming Scandinavians had then been constrained to settle the

vacant 'second-class' land. 19 of the 35 by settlements with a personal name lie on boulder clay, six on the lighter gravels, nine lack an obvious source of running water. However, the majority of the Old English-named settlements, which under the Cameron thesis must be earlier, also lie on boulder clay, 29 of 49. Over 67% of all settlement lie on clay, a proportion not markedly different from that of the by names and which can be explained in other ways, the areas of concentration of bynames contain more boulder clay soils than elsewhere (see table 6).

A greater proportion of present-day nucleated settlements bear Old English names or Scandinavian names in Old English tun bear names in by or other Old Norse forms, but this itself is not proof of late foundation. North-East Yorkshire is a region of mixed settlement forms, which might be described as a semi-dispersed Settlement pattern (see Map 2). Fellows Jensen, drawing on work done in Denmark, states that by in Denmark can mean 'farm' as much as 'village' (Fellow Jensen 1981b.138). Lisse, working in Denmark, concluded that a place-name is much less likely to change in the case of a nucleated settlement than in a single farm with a single tenant (Lisse 1974.117-27). Thus, the settlements which came to bear Scandinavian names are much more likely to have been single farms than those which retained their old English names even if a Scandinavian lord came to hold power in an English settlement (Fellows Jensen 1981b.140-41).

The case for the Cameron hypothesis is therefore by no means watertight, but a number of further points can be drawn from it. The large number of these purely Scandinavian names suggests that a considerable Old Norse-speaking influx did take place. It has been noted that place-names are not coined by those dwelling within the

settlement but by those in the vicinity to distinguish that settlement from its neighbours. Therefore, a high proportion of Old Norse names in any area suggests a considerable number of Old Norse speakers, in a position to influence place-nomenclature (for information and analysis of social structure in the Viking age, see below 152-57).

Old Norse Names in Thorp

Scandinavian settlement-names in thorp, thought to denote secondary Scandinavian settlements (Cameron 1977b) are relatively rare in North-East Yorkshire. Domesday Book shows three such names with Old Norse personal-names (Arnodestorp, Roscheltop and Ugthorpe) and four simplex thorps (now Kilton Thorpe, Nunthorpe, Pinchinthorpe and Thorpefield). That such names represent secondary and more marginal settlements and their siting. Three of the seven are now lost or deserted (Arnodestorp, Roscheltop and Pinichinthorpe). Only Ugthorpe is now a nucleated settlement and township centre. In Domesday Book two thorps, the lost Arnodestorp and Roscheltop are sokes of Hinderwell and Loftus respectively and the remainder being centre of single manors of less than six carucates, Thorpefield being linked with neighbouring Irton (Faull 1985.332d, 305a, 300a, 323a). All seven thorps lie on ^βboulder ^Cclay and four lack a convenient source of running water (see table 7).

The thorps are found in areas of predominately Old Norse place-names, four on the northern coastal plateau and two on the Cleveland Plain (see map 19). The exception, Thorpefield, is found in the Scarborough district, an area where hybrid and Scandinavianised names are common. Thorpefield Farm, within half-a-mile of the hybrid-named nucleated settlement of Irton, lies in the 'inner ring' of hybrid and Scandinavianised place-names around the Old Norse core of Scarborough

(above 99-100). From its location Thorpefield may be secondary to Irton rather than any other settlement; the only thorp which may be secondary to an Old English-named settlement in Pinchinthorpe (NZ 578140), the nearest settlements being the Old English-named Newton-under-Roseberry and Hutton Lowcross. Lund has recently argued that a significant proportion of thorp names are in fact Scandinavianised forms of Old English throp (Lund 1976). However, there is little evidence to support this. No unmodified throp names survive in the Danelaw and the element is not particularly common outside. As already noted, the thorps of North-East Yorkshire lie in areas of Old Norse-named settlements. Thorpefield might appear a further exception, but the very name Irton means 'the Irishmen's tun' and suggests a settlement of Irish Norsemen.

Hybrid Names

Hybrid names other than Grimston-hybrids have been neglected in the past by scholars, but the implications of their presence ought to be considered. Beside the two Grimston names there are three hybrid-names in tun. Irton, Stainton and Whorlton, possibly also Kilton and Snainton, one hybrid thorp, two hybrid bys and four others (see Appendix 1). All these names, with the interesting exception of Allerston (see below 141-42), lie in areas in which Old Norse names are frequent, principally in Cleveland (7 of the 13), the exceptions being Irton, near Scarborough and Allerston and Snainton on the Moorland dip-slope. The formation of hybrid names, which show both Old English and Old Norse elements other than personal-names, suggests an admixture of Old Norse into the local speech. This may be corroborated by the appearances of two place-names in which Old Norse by is prefixed with an Old English personal-name, Barnaby (NZ 571161) and Ellerby (NZ 799146). However, this can be explained in another way. Since both

lie in areas of strongly Old Norse place-names, it is equally possible that the names were coined by Old Norse-speakers to refer to the settlements of the Anglians. If it is valid to see the majority of hybrid names as the result of linguistic mingling through the Scandinavian presence, it is reasonable to see them as being coined at a relatively late stage in the Viking settlement, after a period of intermarriage between the two groups.

The exceptions to the general rule of location in areas of Scandinavian names ought to be considered separately. The name Irton 'the tun of the Irishmen or Irishman' lies on the fringe of a clutch of Old Norse names and appears to denote a settlement of one or more Norsemen from Ireland and the ethnic origin of the tenants or tenant was sufficiently unusual to distinguish it from its neighbours. This name and its location, suggest two things. Firstly, that Irish-Norse settlers were not common in the Scarborough district and secondly that in this 'inner ring' Old English-speakers were in the majority in the population.

The cases of Allerston and Snainton, both in the multiple estate of Pickering in Domesday Book, appear at first sight to be out of place. This area is one in which Old English names overwhelmingly predominate. Only one purely Old Norse name is found within the Pickering estate and few Scandinavianised names. An answer to this problem may be found in a close study of these names. Fellows Jensen, writing in 1972, saw Allerston (DB Aluerestan, Faull 1985.229a) as a hybrid name, in which an Old English personal-name AElfhære or AElfric, is combined with Old Norse steinn 'stone'. However, the Domesday form does not seem conclusive of an Old Norse second element. The twelfth century charters of Rievaulx show the form Alverstain (cf No 1 RCh), which does

suggest Scandinavian influence. The name Rawcliff, near Guisborough, appears as Readclif, with an Old English first element, shortly before the Conquest (Fellows Jensen 1972.162), the change to an Old Norse form taking place in the later eleventh or twelfth century. Drawing on this analogy, one might see the name of Allerston as being originally Old English, becoming Scandinavianised in the period after the Viking settlement, (Fellow Jensen, 1972.238). Some support for this suggestion is found in the presence of settlements with Scandinavianised names further to the east on the Moorland dip-slope, at East and West Ayton on opposite banks on the River Derwent. A further example of a name regarded by Fellows Jensen as a hybrid, which may instead be Scandinavianised is Stokesley in Cleveland, the second element of which is Old English leag; the first element may be Old Norse or Old English, but shows Scandinavian influence. A further 'doubtful' case is that of Whorlton in Cleveland, the name refers to the nearby Whorl Hill and may simply reflect a change in the name of the hill.

Both hybrid and Scandinavianised names seem to represent a mingling of the Old Norse and Old English languages, which may itself represent intermarriage between the two races. That such names may have been coined relatively late in the Viking Age does not imply that their settlements are of similar date. These settlements may have been completely re-named in this period, as may be the case with the by and Grimston-hybrid settlements, or their original names were adapted to suit Old Norse pronunciation in areas where there was a considerable Old Norse-speaking population.

Table 7 : Place Names and Topography

<u>Old English</u>	<u>Stream</u>	<u>No Stream</u>	<u>Valley Side</u>	<u>Crossing</u>	
<u>Ham</u>	1	2	1	1	5
<u>Leag</u>	0	1	1	0	2
<u>Tun</u>	8	6	8	3	27
Habitative	3	1	0	0	5
Topographical	3	1	3	0	7
Miscellaneous	2	0	0	1	3
	17	11	13	5	49

<u>Old Norse</u>	<u>Stream</u>	<u>No Stream</u>	<u>Valley Side</u>	<u>Crossing</u>	
<u>By</u>	21	11	3	1	39
<u>Thorp</u>	2	4	0	0	7
Habitative	6	2	1	0	9
Topographical	5	4	2	1	13
	34	22	6	2	68

<u>Hybrid</u>	<u>Stream</u>	<u>No Stream</u>	<u>Valley Side</u>	<u>Crossing</u>	
<u>Tun</u>	2	4	1	0	7
<u>Grimston</u>	2	0	0	0	2
<u>Thorp</u>	0	1	0	0	1
<u>By</u>	0	0	1	3	4
Other	0	0	1	3	4
	4	7	2	3	16

<u>Scandinavianised</u>	<u>Stream</u>	<u>No Stream</u>	<u>Valley Side</u>	<u>Crossing</u>	
Personal Name	1	1	0	0	2
Other	2	0	0	0	8
	3	1	0	1	8

<u>All Name Forms</u>	<u>Stream</u>	<u>No Stream</u>	<u>Valley Side</u>	<u>Crossing</u>	
	58	42	21	11	132

The Progress of the Old Norse Settlement

The above study of place-names has effectively demolished the Cameron hypothesis in relation to the Old Norse place-names of North-East Yorkshire. It now appears that the majority of Old Norse place-names are borne by settlements which originated much earlier. However, this raises as many questions as it answers. When did this Scandinavian takeover occur? What form did it take? What was its historical context? Was there an influx of peasants in addition to the advent of a new tenurial aristocracy? What became of the English landholders?

The assumption tends to be made that the Scandinavian settlement of Northumbria was entirely the result of Halfdan's division of the land in 876. This appears too simplistic. The work of Wainwright has shown a considerable Scandinavian influx from Ireland into North-West England in the first two decades of the tenth century and more recently Morris has found evidence of a division of large areas of County Durham among the followers of Ragnald in the aftermath of the battles of Corbridge (Morris 1981). This can be dated to the period 918-24. The possibility of a further incursion, on a more local scale, as late as 965 has already been noted (above 137).

What form did Halfdan's division take? The Chronicle version seems to imply a large-scale dividing-up of the land among a large group of farmers. However, Roger of Wendover, writing in the thirteenth century but drawing on much earlier annals, records under 876:

... Healfdene, King of the Danes, occupied Northumbria and divided it among himself and his thegns and had it cultivated by his army, then the king of the same province, Ricsige, struck to the very heart with grief, ended his last day and Egbert succeeded him (EHD I. No 4, 876).

This puts quite a different interpretation on the land division. Whendover's account suggests that Halfdan granted the lands to the leaders of his army, the rank and file cultivating the land under their authority and the military command structure remaining intact. It is not stated that Halfdan took the kingship of the former Deira for himself, but Symeon makes it clear that both Ricsige and Egbert reigned only north of the Tyne (EHD I. No 3, 867, 876). Halfdan himself was killed in Ireland the following year and it is not clear from our sources whether the next recorded king, Guthfrith, held power over both parts of Northumbrian (HSC).

Sawyer has recently argued that the Scandinavian armies took advantage of the vacuum created by the desertion of monasteries to seize estates (Sawyer 1982.103-04). He notes the large number of Old Norse place-names around Whitby Abbey and contrasts this with the paucity of such names around Bardney, which apparently survived (ASC 909).

The Whitby estate, which may have survived relatively intact from the pre-Viking era, shows a far greater proportion of Old Norse names than do those of Pickering and Falsgrave, which seem also to be of pre-Viking origin (above 33-36). This suggests that the Pickering estate remained under the authority of Englishmen, while that of Falsgrave may have been partly occupied by a Scandinavian coastal enclave (above 137). It has already been noted that these three estates may have been ex officio lands of the earldom of Northumbria and previously lands of the Scandinavian kings of York (above 109-11). It is possible that the differences in nomenclature reflect strictly local conditions, that the Kings of York left the running of the Pickering estate in the hands of Englishmen and few Scandinavians settled there, while both Whitby and Falsgrave were administered by Scandinavians and a greater number of

the newcomers came to hold authority of some kind in the sokelands. The situation in Cleveland is more complex and will be examined in detail.

Sawyer has further argued that it was in the tenth century, rather than in the ninth, that the majority of Old Norse place-names were coined as a result of the fragmentation of large estates into smaller units held by individual tenants. He notes that place-names in by are not common in areas taken by the West Saxons soon after 900 (Sawyer 1982.103). He goes on to suggest that heavy losses among the Scandinavian kings and nobles in battles such as Tettenhall in 910 and Brunanburh in 937 weakened the authority of the aristocracy in the Danelaw and so gave smaller landholders the opportunity to exert fuller rights of ownership over their lands, encouraging the formation of place-names in which by and thorp are combined with personal-names (Sawyer 1982.106).

However, Sawyer's work concentrates on the more southerly parts of the Danelaw and one should beware of applying this model to Northumbria without full consideration of local conditions. Firstly, the Scandinavian kingship was maintained much longer in Northumbria than in the rest of the Danelaw, interruptedly up to 955, while the army as an entity seems not to have survived beyond the first decade of the tenth century. In 902 the Chronicle records that the Aetheling Aethelwold went to 'the Danish army in Northumbria, and they accepted him as King and gave allegiance to him' (ASC D 902). In 910 this army broke an earlier peace and ravaged Mercia, but was heavily defeated at Tettenhall. Since two kings died in the battle, along with two earls and five holds, it seems that Tettenhall effectively broke the power of the Scandinavian army in Northumbria (ASC 910) and ended its separateness. By 926 the Chronicler calls Sihtric 'King of the Northumbrians' and refers thereafter to 'the Northumbrians' without

ethnic divisions. If Sawyer's hypothesis is correct, then the fragmentation of estates in Cleveland may be dated to the aftermath of Tetterhall. However, the possibility of a further incursion in the time of Ragnald must be borne in mind. Morris' work shows that Ragnald granted extensive estates in County Durham to Scula and Onlafball ON Skui^l and Olafballr, (HSC) after the Battle of Corbridge. Later, possibly in 918 after the second Battle of Corbridge, Ragnald seized and re-granted the estate at Gainford (HSC.262-63, Morris 1981.224-25). All these estates had previously belonged to the Community of St. Cuthbert, which had left Lindisfarne as a result of the Viking invasions and was then at Chester le Street (Morris 1981.223-25).

No evidence survives of any similar activity south of the Tees but since Ragnald took York in 919 (ASC D sa923, HR.919) and established himself as king there, it seems unlikely that he did not make grants of land in Yorkshire, bringing a further influx of Scandinavian landholders. If the majority of Old Norse place-names in England date from the tenth century, it may be that the development of the land market which brought this about occurred as a result of Ragnald's conquest. It is noteworthy that in 918, shortly before Aethelflaed's death, the 'men of York' had made submission to her, presumably in the hope of obtaining her aid against Ragnald (ASC C 919). No mention is made of any action by the Danish army in Northumbria against Ragnald and it is possible that its fighting power had been effectively destroyed in the campaign in Mercia in 910.

Jones, Sawyer and now Fellows Jensen argue for an aristocratic takeover rather than the large scale migration and colonisation suggested by Cameron, though their hypotheses differ in form. Jones believes that

Scandinavian nobles gained control of multiple estates but rarely changed the names of the caputs and endowed their followers with ^{de}interminate rights over the appendant sokes; these men were more closely tied to the settlements, hence the more frequent adoption of Old Norse, hybrid and Scandinavianised names in respect of the sokes (Jones 1965.84). Sawyer argues that the tenth century was a period in which many of the large estates became fragmented as a result of a growth in small-scale private ownership for the first time. Previously, before the Viking Age, land was granted by kings in perpetuity only to monasteries; grants by kings to individuals were made only for the lifetime of the recipient, in return for lifelong service (Charles-Edwards 1976, John 1960, 1966). In the tenth century we see for the first time numerous royal grants to individuals in perpetuity and the development of a fluid market in land (Sawyer 1978.155-57). This brought about the break-up of many estates and Fellows Jensen now believes that it was in this period and context that Old Norse names in by were coined (Fellows Jensen 1981a, 1984). She states that most of the by names with appellative specifics were coined early in the tenth century and bestowed upon English settlements taken over by Danish landholders, the various Kirkbys, Crosbys and Inglebys. At some later date the newcomers began to break up the English estates into small independent agricultural units, many of which had already existed as dependent settlements. This resulted in the bestowal of place-names formed of Old Norse personal-names in by (Fellows Jensen 1984.35-36).

The evidence in support of the Jones thesis in North-East Yorkshire is insubstantial. The presence of a large number of Old Norse place-names in an area implies a considerable Old Norse-speaking population in that area and it is therefore difficult to see why caputs taken over by

Scandinavian lords should have retained their Old English names, while the names of appurtenant sokes tended to be changed. The names of the caputs of North-East Yorkshire hardly bear out the Jones thesis (see Appendix 1). Six caputs bear purely Old Norse names, five purely Old English. All contain sokes with both old English and Old Norse names.

There is more evidence to support Fellows Jensen's recent change of views, though it must be borne in mind that the appearance of a wholly new type of land market in the tenth century may be an illusion created by the greater survival of charters from this period. Of some 1,500 charters which have survived from the pre-Conquest period in some form, the largest proportion date from the tenth century. This may evidence a larger land market then than at any other time, or may simply reflect a better chance of documents surviving after the worst ravages of the Viking Age.

The tenurial pattern of North-East Yorkshire seems to support the basic thesis. In Cleveland and the northern coastal plateau, north of Whitby where Old Norse names are most common, the tenurial pattern is fragmented, many single manors, multiple unit settlements (those apparently containing more than one tenurial unit) and small multiple estates. It is possible that not only the by names were coined in the context of the break-up of estates, but also certain of the Old English names, particularly those in tun, some of which also contain personal-names. One example may be Eston in Cleveland; the name means 'the east tun' and the settlement lies at the east end of Ormesby township, implying that the settlement of Ormesby was in existence at the time the name Eston was coined. It must be remembered that Ormesby may have been re-named in the Viking period, and that it is therefore

possible that Eston was named in relation to it before the Viking invasions.

Other Evidence from Place-names

A particularly interesting group of place-names is that in which the specific is indicative of the inhabitants' ethnic origin. Seven such names are found in North-East Yorkshire; three Inglebys - 'the by of the English', two Normanbys - 'the by of the Norwegians', one Danby - 'the by of the Danes' and the hybrid Irton - 'the tun of the Irish'. Six of these names have purely Old Norse forms and lie within or on the fringes of Old Norse areas, with the exception of Danby, in thinly-populated Upper Eskdale. Their names imply that the presence of Englishmen, Norwegians and Danes respectively was sufficiently unusual in those localities to mark these settlements out from others. However, these names need not necessarily evidence the presence of a community of a particular ethnic origin. The names in their Domesday form give no evidence of the numbers involved. Normanby, for instance, may be the settlement of a group of Norwegians or tenanted by a Norwegian individual. It may even have belonged to a man with the personal-name Northmann, which is found in Domesday Book (cf Faull 1985.300a).

The three Inglebys appear to be pre-existing English settlements re-named by Old Norse-speakers in the neighbourhood. Danby and the two Normanbys present the greatest problems of interpretation. The place-name Normanby suggests that Scandinavians of Danish descent were in the majority in the area and the presence of one or more Norwegians was somewhat out of the ordinary. The Chronicle refers to the invading Vikings as 'Danes' but this does not necessarily prove that the various armies were composed of Danes; it seems more likely that the Chronicler

is using a convenient shortland. The presence of Norwegians in North-East Yorkshire may be related to the activities of the Norse-Irish Regnald, or may simply be isolated and perhaps 'one-off' settlements in areas mainly settled by Danes. J.T. Lang does however make the point that finds of Anglo-Scandinavian sculpture are mainly found in areas of Norwegian settlement, and their distribution seems to suggest a routeway into Yorkshire and County Durham via the Rivers Eden and Tees (Lang 1984.87-99.90). If this is so, it would suggest that the Norwegian influence was considerable and that it was connected with Regnald, who seems to have come into North-East England across the Pennines.

The name Danby presents further problems; the settlement lies on the upper reaches of the Esk and the few Domesday settlements in the region all bear Old English names. Two possible interpretations may be put forward. Firstly, the majority of Scandinavians in the immediate neighbourhood may have been of Norwegian origin but their settlements lacked the manorial status to merit inclusion in Domesday Book; the modern 1:50,000 Ordnance Survey map shows a large number of Scandinavian settlements and feature-names which do not appear in early sources and so cannot be closely dated (see Mann 1974). Secondly, the name may have been coined by Old English-speakers living locally at a time when Old Norse elements had passed into the language as loanwords. However, the form Danby is pure Old Norse, showing no sign of Old English influence; a hybrid form found elsewhere in England is Denby (Fellows Jensen 1972.13) and this seems to favour the first hypothesis.

The name Irton is a hybrid form, meaning 'the tun of the Irish'. This is the only example in this region of a settlement of Irishmen, or an Irishman. The settlement lies in the Scarborough district, in the

'inner ring' of hybrid and Scandinavianised names (above 119). The name is indicative not of a settlement of the Irish per se, but of Norwegians from Ireland (Fellows Jensen 1972.189). Their presence may be related to the activity of Ragnald or to the later Thorgils Skarhi, or may have been completely independent, although the distributions of place-names in the district around Scarborough does suggest that the Irish-Norse presence was part of an overall movement.

Social Structure in North-East Yorkshire during the Viking Age

The above discussion of Old Norse place-names and their distribution does not of itself provide answers to all the fundamental questions. A key issue is the social structure of the region during and after the period of Viking settlement. It has already been established that the newcomers are likely to have formed a minority in the population, but they did not in fact form an 'aristocracy' or were they farmers and peasants of similar status to their Old English-speaking neighbours?

It is noteworthy that the Old Norse language did not supplant Old English in the areas of Scandinavian settlement, as Old English did British in the Migration period. This suggests that a different series of factors were in operation in each period, suggesting that there were fundamental differences in the nature of the settlements. The impact of Old Norse on the Old English language was however considerable. Lund makes a comparison between the effects of Norman-French and Old Norse respectively, stating that they are qualitatively different. Norman-French loanwords are mostly confined to those spheres of life in which the aristocracy had an interest; law, administration, military life and the aristocratic lifestyle, whereas Old Norse loanwords are mainly ordinary, everyday words and concepts (Lund 1969.198). On this basis, Lund postulates a large-scale influx of Scandinavian peasants in the wake of the armies, considering that the warriors remained for the most part in their fortified boroughs (Lund 1969.198-199). However his arguments in favour of such a migration appear fundamentally flawed (above 115).

Domesday Book shows that a high proportion of landholders of the Confessor's time bore Old Norse personal-names. Were these men

aristocrats or farmers and was there a corresponding Scandinavian peasantry in the region? It must first be noted that a man bearing an Old Norse name need not have been of purely Scandinavian native origin. The Norman Conquest is the supreme example of an aristocratic takeover in England, with no suggestion of any peasant influx, yet by 1200 the very great majority of the population whose names are recorded bore Norman-French personal-names, such as Robert, William and Richard. In two centuries since the initial Scandinavian coming, there was ample time for intermarriage between English and Scandinavian and consequent interchange of names. One can see the effects of 'mixed' marriage in the names of the sons of the West Saxon Earl Godwin. His wife was a Dane, a relative of King Cnut; his three eldest sons, Harold, Swein and Tostig bore Danish names, as did their sister Eadgyth who married Edward the Confessor. Earl Siward was of Danish origin, he made a political marriage with a member of the Bamburgh family. his sons were Osbeorn (Asbjorn) killed in battle against ^Mcbeth, and Waltheof, named after an ancestor of his mother's (ASC D 1954, 1075). One can see the variations in naming habits in one landholding family in the post-Conquest period through the charters of Whitby and Rievaulx. In 1066 the small manor of Allerston, as distinct from the soke of Allerston belonging to Pickering, was held by one Cospatric; by 1086 it had passed to the king but Cospatric's descendants continued as sub-tenants until the last years of the twelfth century. Cospatric, who bore an Irish-Norse name, was followed by his son Uchtred, an Old English name and then by his grandson Thorfinn (Torphin) who appears as a benefactor in the cartularies of Whitby and Rievaulx in the 1170s. Thorfinn became assimilated into Anglo-Norman society, as evidenced by his marriage to Matilda (Maud) de Fribois, by whom he had a son with the Norman-French name of Alan, who seems to have pre-deceased his father (VCH.421, EYCI No.386, 387, RCh No. 1).

All this borne in mind, 29 of the 47 pre-Conquest landholders of North-East Yorkshire bore Scandinavian names, or 62% of the total (see Appendix 2). Excluding the three pre-Conquest earls, who were not of Northumbrian origin, we are left with 27 of 44 landholders bearing Old Norse names. Of these men, 22 held but a single manor, only one more than ten. 19 held between two and five manors and five between six and ten. This shows that the landholding class was composed of relatively small men, apart from the three earls, whose position was fundamentally different. The evidence shows that men with Old Norse names formed part of a relatively homogeneous landholding class and did not in any sense monopolise its upper echelons (see Table 8). The landholders with Old Norse names held a total of 77 manors, an average of 2.85 manors per man, those with Old English names 41 manors, or 3.15 manors per man.

The proportion of Old Norse personal-names among the pre-Conquest landholders of North-East Yorkshire implies a strong Scandinavian influence. As a minimalist view, it might be suggested that the influx of a numerically-small landholding class has resulted in a change in naming habits among their English peers, as can be seen throughout England as a result of the Norman Conquest. At the other extreme, it could be said that the landholding class in this region was mainly of Scandinavian origin, it is noteworthy that in 1066 some manors with Old Norse names, such as Boulby, were held by men with Old English names, which might suggest that intermarriage had taken place since the initial Viking settlement. Equally, manors with Old English names such as Cloughton, were held by men with Old Norse names. This factor may also suggest a fluidity in the land market into the mid eleventh century. Overall, the evidence suggests that there was a considerable Scandinavian element in the landholding class, but that this class as a

whole was a homogenous one in terms of the amount of land held, and intermarriage took place between its members.

Further evidence on the social structure prevailing in this part of the Danelaw during and after the Viking settlement may be gained by study of the tenurial structure. Scholars such as Stenton believed that the presence of multiple estates and the sokemen dwelling within them resulted from the settlement of free and equal members of the Scandinavian armies of the ninth century; Stenton envisaged the peasant warriors of the Danish armies being settled on the land by their lords and owing them relatively light services in return for this land (Stenton 1927.217-18, 233). More recent work has cast serious doubts on this thesis. Work by R.H.C. Davies, G.R.J. Jones and G.W.S. Barrow has revealed multiple estates comparable to those of Northumbria not only in the Danelaw but in parts of English never settled by the Scandinavians, and also in Wales and Scotland (Davies 1955, Jones - various, Barrow 1973). Jolliffe showed that there were such estates as far south as Kent (Jolliffe 1933); Finberg points out that sokemen appear in the Kentish Domesday (Finberg 1972.477). This being so, the presence of multiple estates in Yorkshire cannot of itself be adduced as evidence for any Scandinavian peasant, as distinct from landholding farmer, in the region. However, the number and distribution of Old Norse place-names in by combined with personal-names, coupled with the personal-names of the Domesday landholders, does imply a considerable Scandinavian presence at this independent farmer level. Beneath this stratum, can we detect the presence of peasants of Scandinavian origin who were dependent on them?

Scholarly opinion on this subject is markedly polarised. On the one hand, we have the Sawyer minimalist view, on the other the philologists'

theory of a peasant migration, also followed by H.R. Loyn. The Chronicle entry for 876 may indicate that the personnel of Halfdan's army settled down as farmers (but see above 132-33), but no documentary source mentions a Scandinavian or Old Norse-named peasant in the region. The place-name Lazenby in Cleveland is interpreted by Fellows Jensen as 'the by of the freedmen' (Fellows Jensen 1962.32), but this takes us no further. It may have been the settlement of several freedmen or of only one freedman and we cannot know the ethnic origin of these men. They may have been Scandinavians themselves, but they may equally have been captives taken in war, or their descendants, later freed by their Scandinavian lord. Lazenby may even gain its name from an owner/tenant with the personal-name of Lesing or Leising, which does appear in the Yorkshire Domesday (cf Faull 1985.300a).

From this tangle of evidence we may produce a working hypothesis. Firstly, that the initial Scandinavian settlement in North-East Yorkshire resulted from the division of Northumbria among the leaders of the army of 876, who gained control of the estates which formed the main feature of land tenure at this time. This may have been augmented by a further influx at the time of Ragnald's supremacy in 918-24, possibly including a higher proportion of Norwegian Vikings. During the tenth century a market in land developed in the region and this led to the break-up of many estates into smaller farming units held by individual farmers of both Scandinavian and Anglian extraction. The estates of Whitby, Pickering and Falsgrave came eventually into the hands of the earls of Northumbria and remained substantially intact.

By 1066, some two centuries after the initial settlement, intermarriage and other contacts between two landholding groups had blurred distinctions and personal nomenclature was no longer a reliable guide

to ethnic origins. Since the initial Scandinavian settlement the workings of the land market had brought this class of independent farming landholders into being, the only large holding comparable to those of post-Conquest landholders being that of the earldom.

Table 8 : Personal-Names and Landholding 1066

<u>Old English</u>		<u>Old Norse</u>	
<u>Landholder</u>	<u>Manors</u>	<u>Landholder</u>	<u>Manors</u>
Aluer	1	Altor	1
Aluret	1	Archel	2
Blac	1	Archil	5
Blacre	4	Aschil	1
Edmund	8	Carle	4
Eldred	1	Chiluert	1
Gamel	3	Chilander	1
Haward	2	Cospatric	6
Hawart	1	Gunnevare	1
Leuenot	1	Hundegrim	1
Magbanet	2	Leisinc	2
Merewin	1	Lesing	7
Uchtred	15	Ligulf	3
Waltef	1	Malgrin	2
		Norman	9
		Om	1
		Swen	9
		Tor	3
		Torbrand	2
		Torchil	3
		Torfin	1
		Torolf	1
		Torone	1
		Ulchil	6
		Ulf	2
		Ulcel	2
<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
13	41	27	77
<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>

Anglian and Anglo-Scandinavian Sculpture in North-East Yorkshire and its Context

Finds of sculpture from the Early Medieval period have been made at 20 sites in North-East Yorkshire. These include the known monastic sites at Whitby and Hackness, but the majority are settlements whose importance can only be surmised. Fifteen sites show only Anglo-Scandinavian pieces, dateable to the tenth and eleventh centuries and four of the remaining five both Anglian and Anglo-Scandinavian (Collingwood 1907, see map with sculptures). The exception is Hackness, which has many Anglian pieces associated with the monastery, one of which (Okasha No. 42) also bears very indistinct runes and an ogham text (Okasha 1971. 74). Collingwood first drew attention to these runes but made no attempt to date them (Collingwood 1907.329-30). There is a possibility that they represent later carving on an originally Anglian period stone.

That sculpture of both periods can occur on the same sites is of considerable interest, in that it demonstrates a continuity of importance of these settlements from the Anglian era into the Viking Age. Crathorne, Easington and Stainton all show both types (Collingwood 1907.305-6, 320-21, 388). Whitby has one Anglo-Scandinavian fragment among a mass of Anglian material; it is interesting that it was found not on the monastic site, but in a working quarry at the edge of the cliff (Collingwood 1909.302).

Apart from its intrinsic artistic importance, the major interest of Anglo-Scandinavian sculpture is in the evidence it may provide for the Scandinavian settlement and the position of Scandinavians in society.

J. T. Lang however lists a number of caveats (Lang 1978.11-12):

- a) The location of stone sculpture is closely tied to the availability of raw materials. Little is found in the chalk and boulder clay lands of the East Riding or in the Vale of Pickering. The type of stone available also influences the form of monuments; no hogbacks are found on the Isle of Man, where the local stone is laminated and better suited to cross-slabs (Lang 1984.90).

- b) Funerary sculpture tells us little of where the Anglo-Scandinavian population lived, but does fix the location of their dead; the cemetery pattern need not be identical with the settlement pattern.

- c) Distribution maps rarely indicate the wide date range of stones at individual sites and all the stones at a given site need not necessarily be contemporaneous. A further caveat is that the dating of stones is largely based on stylistic criteria.

Anglo-Scandinavian sculpture reflects Scandinavian taste and Scandinavian influences on monumental art in England and indicates the establishment of an influential Scandinavian presence in the vicinity of finds. This need not be pushed too far; a single stone may simply be the display piece of an individual Scandinavian lord with the means to pay for its production. Lang however remarks that the presence of large prestige monuments such as hogbacks is a mark of a settled and well-rooted community (Lang 1984.90). Over all, the evidence of sculpture tends to corroborate that of place names in showing that Scandinavians and men of Scandinavian descent were a considerable force in the landholding society of North-East Yorkshire during the tenth and eleventh centuries.

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Map shows the distribution of both Anglian and Anglo-Scandinavian sculpture. It is noticeable that the bulk of the pieces are found in Cleveland and on the coastal plateau, with a further scatter on the Corallian dip-slope. There were areas where suitable stone was available and Cleveland and the coastal plateau were districts where place name evidence shows the Scandinavian settlement to be heaviest (above 134-35). However, certain settlements with Anglo-Scandinavian sculpture bear undeniably Old English names (Easington, Kirklevington, Yarm). The Corallian dip-slope is an area with very little toponymic evidence of a Scandinavian presence. One piece lies in the Old Norse-named settlement of Ellerburn, which is a 'one off' in this region of Old English names. Other sites were found in the Old English settlements of Pickering and Levisham.

A total of seven Anglo-Scandinavian sculpture sites bear unambiguously Old Norse names (Crathorne, Ellerburn, High Hawsker, Lythe, Ormesby, Thornaby and Upleatham). Three more seem to have been of Anglian origin despite their Old Norse names, Ingleby Arncliffe - 'the by of the English', Kirkby in Cleveland, whose name shows the presence of a church and Whitby itself. The names of five sites are purely Old English (Easington, Kirklevington, Levisham, Pickering and Yarm) and the remaining four hybrid and Scandinavianised (Great Ayton, Kildale, Skelton and Stainton). Of the sites with both Anglian and Anglo-Scandinavian sculpture, Crathorne and Whitby now have Old Norse names, Easington an Old English name and the name Stainton is hybrid. This shows clearly that Scandinavian influence did not necessarily result in a change of place name, that at least one settlement which Old Norse name was in existence before the Viking settlements. This evidence, together with the nature of the sculptural motifs (Collingwood 1907), suggests a mingling of Anglian and Scandinavian

traditions. Many monuments follow the Christian Anglian form of crosses, with Scandinavian motifs, although others take the form of hogbacks, a Scandinavian colonial development (Lang 1984.87, 90-97). The location of Anglo-Scandinavian motifs on stones at Old English-named sites on the Corallian dip-slope in particular suggests a mingling of artistic traditions, rather than the sculpture being the exclusive property of the newcomers.

The distribution of Anglo-Scandinavian sculpture in England as a whole does not follow that of Old Norse place names. Lang has made a particular study of hogbacks, which shows this form to be largely confined to the North Riding of Yorkshire, Cumberland and central Scotland (Lang 1984.87), though outliers are found elsewhere. This may in part be due to lack of suitable stone in certain districts, but he feels that the absence of hogbacks from the heavily Scandinavian-settled areas of East Anglia and Lincolnshire is highly significant. From the over all distribution, he postulates that the hogback was a Norse-Irish development, occurring mainly in areas of Norse-Irish settlement, spreading from Cumberland into Yorkshire and southern Durham via the Tees Valley (Lang 1984.87-88, 90). He considers Cleveland to be an area with a strong Norse-Irish presence; however the evidence is not conclusive (above 149-51).

What does sculpture tell us? Over all, the presence of funerary sculpture shows that Scandinavians and those Scandinavian ^{with} artistic tastes were buried in these places and that those with Scandinavian artistic tastes had sufficient power and wealth to erect these monuments, which further suggests that men of Scandinavian origins were a powerful force in society, corroborating the evidence of Domesday landholding (above 152-57). Finds of both Anglian and Anglo-

Scandinavian sculpture from the same sites show that certain churches were not deserted, or at least only temporarily and remained in operation during the Viking Age. This is true both of settlements with Old English names and those with Old Norse names. A decline in importance of the monastic sites of Whitby and Hackness can be discerned: Whitby has produced only one Anglo-Scandinavian fragment and Hackness runes of doubtful provenance. The monastic site of Whitby seems to have become deserted during the Viking Age; we have no documentary evidence of the fate of Hackness, but this may also be the case there. However, three churches were functioning within the manor of Hackness, Suffield and Everley in 1086 (Faull 1985.323a). Hackness does lie in an area of dispersed settlement from which Old Norse place names are absent; this negative evidence is not conclusive, but it may be that powerful and wealthy Scandinavians did not settle there. Lang suggests that the major focus within the Whitby district moved away from the monastic site during the Viking Age. He notes that Lythe, where no fewer than 19 hogbacks and parts of hogbacks were found during church restorations in 1910, lies at the northern end of Whitby Strand and suggests that its church formed the necropolis for a Norse-Irish colony, in an area of many Old Norse place names, the monastic site being ignored (Lang 1984.90). Lythe was not part of the Whitby estate in 1066 but it is possible that it had earlier been a dependency and broken away during the tenth century. The manor of Lythe was held in 1066 by Sveinn (Faull 1985.305b), whose name is suggestive of Scandinavian origins (but see above 152-57). The large number of these prestige monuments at Lythe does strongly suggest the presence of a wealthy and influential Scandinavian population in that area during the tenth and eleventh century.

No church appears at Lythe in the Domesday record. Indeed, churches only appear at four sculpture sites in the Domesday record (Hackness, Easington, Kildale and Ormesby). This is of interest in that virtually all the finds were made in the course of church renovations and a number of these churches show pre-Conquest fabric, as at Crathorne (VCH.236). It is possible that certain of these churches were accidentally omitted from Domesday Book, or that they had recently gone out of use as a result of the Harrying. Only one of these settlements without a church in Domesday was 'waste' in 1086 (Great Ayton) and one other (Stainton) partly 'waste' (Faull 1985.320c, 305a, 329d), although most of the remainder had fallen considerably in value. Easington, for example, lay within the multiple estate of Loftus and was the only one of its sokes not to be 'waste'; the church there lacked a priest (Faull 1985.305a). Certainly there must have been a church at Kirkby in Cleveland at the time when Old Norse place names were being coined and sculptured pieces produced.

Over all, the evidence provided by sculpture finds corroborates that of place names and Domesday in showing that the Scandinavian influence on North-East Yorkshire was considerable, and that those of Scandinavian origin were influential members of the landholding class. The sculpture also demonstrates that Scandinavian influences were not confined to areas of Old Norse place names and that the certain churches remaining in operation, or indeed came into being during the Viking Age.

Society and the Norman Conquest in North-East Yorkshire

The effects of the Norman Conquest and the Harrying of the North on the settlement forms and patterns of North-East Yorkshire has already been brought under scrutiny in the section devoted to settlement. It is now the place to consider the progress and processes of the Conquest and the effects on the society of this region of the imposition of a Norman landholding class.

The Norman Conquest is seen as one of the great watersheds of English history, as if, after 14th October 1066, nothing could ever be quite the same again. Unfortunately, the exact progress of the imposition of Norman authority is not easy to ascertain. Domesday Book shows that by 1086 an alien aristocracy had supplanted the native landholders, at least at the level of tenants-in-chief, and by that date Normans had come into most governmental and episcopal offices in England as a whole, but it is not always clear how these changes came about, or when the bulk of them occurred. By 1075 only two native bishops remained in office, the others being replaced by continental churchmen as they died off or were deposed by Norman authority (Barlow 1954.96). In government there was no revolution in form, but rather a parallel change in personnel. South of the Humber this Norman takeover seems to have been carried out relatively peacefully. Stamford Bridge and Hastings seem to have destroyed the English ability and will to resist; they accepted William of Normandy as Harold's successor; certainly the claims of Edgar and Aetheling, who was proclaimed king by Archbishop Ealdred and the citizens of London (ASC D 1066) seem to have attracted little active support. The only concerted resistance to the Normans occurred in the North and in the fenlands around Ely (ASC E 1070) and it was in Northumbria that resistance was much the more serious and

prolonged. The northern risings were not, however, so much expressions of deep-seated antagonisms towards the Normans per se, as reactions to specifically local conditions and concerns. Events in Northumbria after 1066 cannot be understood without reference to those of Tostig's earldom; the concerns which caused the northern landholders to rise against Tostig underlay the three risings against William of Normandy (Kapelle 1979.86-87). Equally, social and political development in Northumbria after 1070 can only be understood in the context of these risings and the punitive expedition which followed them.

By 1086 the 47 native landholders of King Edward's time had been replaced by nine Normans of the highest rank and a small group of King's Thegns, who probably ought not to be seen as tenants-in-chief but rather as sub-tenants on royal land. To understand, chart and date this tenurial change, it is necessary to explore its political context, the causes and progress of the risings and the extension of Norman power into Northumbria.

Norman authority did not reach Northumbria until 1068 and was neither lasting nor effective until well into the following decade. Initially William, intent on consolidating his position in southern England, attempted to rule Northumbria through local men, but his first choice as earl could hardly have been a worse appointee for a ruler anxious to create and maintain stability. Copsig, who became earl in the first months of 1067, had been closely associated with Tostig's unpopular rule and his first recorded act as earl was the attempted murder of Osulf, the current representative of the house of Bamburgh. As earl, he was ultimately responsible for the collection of William's first geld, a levy which the compiler of the northern recension of the

Chronicle considered to be outrageous (HR.198, ASC DE sa1066). Less than three months after taking office, on 12th March 1067, Copsig was murdered by Osulf, who then appears to have assumed de facto authority over the province (HR.198). This does not appear to have provoked any Norman reaction; William returned to Normandy in the same month and remained there until December, leaving the rule of England to his half-brother, Odo of Bayeux and William Fitz Osbern, Earl of Hereford (Barlow 1954.91). No Norman intervention took place when, in the autumn, Osulf was killed attempting to bring an outlaw to justice and the earldom remained vacant until William sold the office to Cospatric on his return from Normandy (HR.199).

Cospatric's appointment is a clear demonstration of William's awareness that his power did not yet extend north of the Humber. Through his mother the new earl was of the Bamburgh line and it appears that his father Maldred had been a son of Duncan I of Scots; thus he was close kin to the reigning Scottish king Malcolm III (1058-93) (HR.199). Cospatric seems to have given greater weight to these ties than to his duty to King William; certainly he spent much of his tenure of the earldom in active opposition to the Normans.

The rising of 1068 showed that this policy of ruling through native earls could not be sustained. Rather than the Northumbrian's rising against William's earl, they attempted, under the same earl and Maerleswein, Sheriff of York, to place Northumbria outside the Norman orbit (ASC D sa1066, 1067, Florence 1:226-27). No contemporary author records the Northumbrians' grievances but Kapelle sees a causal link with a second heavy geld which William levied between early December 1067 and late March 1068 (ASC D sa1067, Florence 2:2, Kapelle 1979.109). Be that as it may, the rising served to convince William

that he could not hope to maintain a client native earl. Cospatric having fled to Scotland along with King Malcolm and Edgar the Aetheling (ASC D sal067), William appointed Robert de Comines to be earl and built a castle at York, to be garrisoned by 500 picked men under William Malet. The government of Yorkshire was entrusted to Robert FitzRichard (Orderic Vitalis 2:218, 222, Florence 2:2). This echoes the pre-Conquest policy of appointing only outsiders as earls (above 120-22).

Norman attempts to carry their authority beyond the Tees led directly to the third and most serious of the northern risings. In January 1069 Comines mounted a punitive raid into County Durham; in retaliation the Northumbrians surprised the earl and his army in the city of Durham and killed the majority of them (ASC DE sal068, HR.186-87, HDE.98-99).

Other rebels then caught Robert FitzRichard away from York Castle and killed him and the majority of his retainers. Cospatric, Maerleswein and Edgar the Aetheling came from Scotland with an army and were joined by some of the great northern landholders, including Archil and the four sons of Carle. Their combined forces then laid siege to York Castle, after the citizens had made terms with Edgar (ASC DE 1068).

King William now faced a most serious situation; his local commanders were dead and the only Norman army in Northumbria under siege in York Castle. His response was decisive. He moved north with an army, surprised and defeated the besiegers within the walls of York before the castle fell, ravaged the city and plundered its churches (ASC DE sal068, Orderic Vitalis 2:222). He remained at York for eight days in order to build a second motte-and-bailey castle which he put under the command of William FitzOsbern, one of his most trusted subordinates

(Orderic Vitalis 2:222, York 1972.87). However, this Norman success was incomplete. Despite a further defeat inflicted by FitzOsbern, the rebel leaders remained at large and withdrew to rebuild their forces out of reach of the Normans. In the autumn a Danish fleet sent by Swein Estrithsson, apparently intent on furthering his own claims to the English throne, arrived in the Humber Estuary and linked up with the Northumbrian forces to take York and inflict a decisive defeat on the Normans (ASC DE sa1068, HR.187-88, Orderic Vitalis 2:2224-26, Florence 2:3-4). However, this success was followed by a period of apathy on the part of the Northumbrians which was to contribute in large measure to their ultimate failure. Having achieved their immediate aim of destroying Norman power in the north, they failed to follow up their success. This is in itself a powerful demonstration of the parochial nature of their concerns. The men of Northumberland and Durham appear to have returned home for the winter, leaving the Danish army in possession of the now burnt-out city of York (HR.188). William then acted to cut the ground from beneath the feet of his enemies, preventing the Danes from establishing a secure base and forcing them to winter in the open. With his army in a poor state Osbeorn, the Danish leader, made terms with William, agreeing to depart peacefully in the spring (Florence 2:4). When King Swein arrived in the spring, intending to launch operations against the Normans, he could do no more than make a brief plundering foray into East Anglia before returning home (ASC E 1070).

Meanwhile William, unable to meet his Northumbrian enemies in pitched battle, laid waste Yorkshire after Christmas 1069. This Harrying was repeated, though apparently less severely, in Durham and southern Northumberland in January 1070 (ASC D sa1069, Orderic Vitalis 2:230-32, Florence 2:4). This policy brought the rebellion to an end but did not

destroy the Northumbrians' opposition to William; it was not for another ten years that he was able to assert his authority beyond the Tyne and the wasting of Yorkshire created a new set of problems.

It was now possible to bring Yorkshire within the Norman orbit, the power-base of the native leaders having been destroyed, but the shire was a virtual wasteland and therefore of no value to the Normans unless and until the land was economically redeveloped (see Appendix 3 for details of wasted settlements). Further, the earldom of Northumbria, whether in English or Norman hands, no longer had the resources necessary for the defence of the province against the Scots and any other potential enemies, such as the Danes (Kapelle 1979.124). The processes of redevelopment and the consolidation of Norman power were underway by 1086.

William's next round of appointments shows an awareness that his power was limited to Northumbria south of the Tees. William Malet was retained as Sheriff of York; Thomas, Canon of Bayeux and protégé of Bishop Odo, succeeded Ealdred as Archbishop of York, but Cospatric was restored to the earldom with authority north of the Tees (Florence 2:6, Orderic Vitalis 2:232). William was clearly aware that his options were limited and that his resources were not great enough to push his authority into Durham and Northumberland. Henceforth Yorkshire was under Norman political and tenurial control and the centres of Northumbrian opposition shifted northwards.

Overall, the series of Northumbrian risings show a reluctance to accept authority from south of the Humber, continued from the pre-Conquest period. The rebellion against Tostig is part of this pattern but seems to be based to a greater extent on personal animosity. The Chronicle

tells us that all the thegns of Yorkshire and Northumberland came together and outlawed Tostig, slew his retainers and seized his weapons and treasure. They then chose Morcar, son of Earl AElfgar and brother of Edwin of Mercia, to be earl (ASC D 1065). That the Northumbrians accepted a southern earl of their own choice is interesting. It suggests that at this stage they were prepared to be governed by an outsider so long as he ruled justly and within their traditions; the fact that Morcar was young, probably under twenty, may also have influenced their decision, they may have thought him easily influenced.

Norman reaction to the risings brought them into Yorkshire, perhaps earlier than had been intended; certainly it was in response to active opposition that they pushed northwards; it was not until the murder of the Norman Bishop of Durham in 1079 (ASC E 1079) that they moved north of the Tyne.

Post-Conquest Landholding

The effects of the Harrying on settlement patterns and village forms have already been discussed (above 48-55). It is now necessary to scrutinise the processes by which a Norman landholding class was established in its aftermath. Le Patourel considers the conquest of Yorkshire to represent in microcosm the conquest of England as a whole, the military defeat of opponents being followed by an aristocratic takeover of lands. Yorkshire was however marked out from the rest of England by two special circumstances:

- a) Yorkshire was the rallying-point of most of the English leaders capable of sustained resistance to the Normans.

- b) Eleventh century kings generally needed to supplement their revenue by plunder and the extension of their territory. Yorkshire was the meeting place between the Scots, seeking plunder under Malcolm Canmore and territorial gains in Cumbria and Northumberland under his successors, and the Normans, extending their dominion northwards. The Scots came as far south as Northallerton in 1138 and York was the main base for English operations in Scotland into the fourteenth century (Le Patourel 1971.2-4).

These special circumstances may be responsible for certain features of Domesday land tenure in North-East Yorkshire. It is noticeable that in 1086 the great bulk of the land was concentrated in the hands of a very few great landholders. In North-East Yorkshire the three greatest figures, the King, Robert of Mortain and Robert Malet, held a total of 93 of the 125 manors, 74% of manors and 81% of all manorial land (see

Appendix 3). Le Patourel notes that over England as a whole the King and his immediate family held some 20% of all land in 1086. This is not the case in North-East Yorkshire, where William held 49 manors and 234½ carucates, some 39% of the total. No other members of the royal family held land in the region, though William's half-brother, Robert of Mortain, held a further 34 manors, totalling 178 carucates exclusive of sokes. These holdings were vastly greater than those of any other individual; Robert Malet, the third man in the region, held 13 manors totalling 27½ carucates. This distribution of holdings shows a complete departure from the pre-Conquest tenurial pattern (see table 8).

We may assume, given the political circumstances outlined above, that this Norman tenurial takeover occurred only after the Harrying, but what form did the change take? Was there a wholesale dispossession of native landholders at a particular time, presumably very soon after the Harrying and a re-allocation of their estates to the great among William's followers? Or did the changeover occur piecemeal, individual Normans seizing estates on their own initiative and own account? All the evidence points to the former course and if many of the English thegns were dead or in exile, an ordered redistribution would seem the most obvious method. The Norman tenants-in-chief did not come into possession of compact blocks of land, rather their holdings were widely dispersed, not only over Yorkshire but over many parts of England (Le Patourel 1971.12-13). It seems that each Norman landholder was allocated the lands, or part of the lands, of one or more Englishman, his antecessores (Finn 1972.10). Thus in North-East Yorkshire we find Robert of Mortain in possession of the lands of Uchtred and Swen, Robert Malet those of Edmund and Leisinc and the Earl of Chester and multiple estates of Whitby, Loftus and Acklam, listed as the holdings

of Earl Siward in 1066 but probably part of the ex officio lands of the earldom (above 125-27). That most of the Norman tenants-in-chief had major interests elsewhere in England is exemplified by the case of the Earl of Chester. Before 1066 his family had gained extensive lands in Normandy, including the vicomté of Avranches. According to tradition, Hugh of Avranches came to England in 1067 and within three or four years came into possession of the earldom of Chester and with it lands and lordships in some twenty English counties, including Yorkshire (Le Patourel 1971.20). He later succeeded his father in his Norman lands and took the opportunity provided by possession of Chester to conquer new lands in Wales. He ended 'a life of acquisitiveness and violence, characteristically perhaps, as a death-bed monk in his own foundation of St. Werburgh's at Chester' (Le Patourel 1971.19-20). (that the earl was not greatly concerned with his North-East Yorkshire estates is shown by his leasing Whitby to William de Percy and Acklam to Hugh FitzNorman by the time of Domesday (Faull 1985.305a). Little is known of the latter but Percy and his descendants came to be among the greatest of the Yorkshire magnate families. It seems possible that William de Percy had come into possession of the Whitby estate in chief shortly after 1086, since his grant of the estate to Whitby Abbey in the early 1090's makes no mention of the Earl of Chester (WCh I.No.2).

What became of the pre-Conquest landholders of North-East Yorkshire? A number presumably lost their lives in the battles of 1066 and the risings which followed but this would not account for all. Earl Morcar, for example, was taken prisoner in the Fens in 1071 and incarcerated for the remainder of King William's lifetime (Arnold II.195). In the Yorkshire Domesday, uniquely, there appear a number of

King's Thegns, apparently three pre-Conquest landholders still in possession of their lands. Twelve estates were held by such men in 1086, varying in size from one to twelve carucates, all in Cleveland (Faull 1985.331.ab). These are not necessarily the pre-Conquest landholders themselves, it may be that in some cases their heirs had inherited these manors. The size of the holdings shows that the native thegns were not always left only the smallest and poorest estates. However, these men should not be regarded as tenants-in-chief, certainly they do not appear as such in later documents (Le Patourel 1971.11-12). Other Englishmen may have survived as tenants of some Norman lord. One definite example is seen in the case of the Allerston family. Cospatric, who held the land under King Edward, was followed by his son Uchtred and grandson Thorfinn as tenants of the Crown. Other tenants of English origin can be traced into the twelfth century. The Inquest of Knights of 1166 lists 48 tenants of William de Percy II, not necessarily all in North-East Yorkshire. Three of these, Adam FitzNorman, Richard FitzAngot and Peter FitzGrent appear by their patronymics to be of English origin. A large number of others, who lack Norman territorial surnames, may also be of English descent (Black Book of the Exchequer 60). Apparent Englishmen also appear in twelfth century monastic charters. In addition to Thorfinn de Alverstain, who made six separate grants of land at Allerston to Rievaulx Abbey before 1170 (EYC I. no.387, 388, 386; RCh no.1); Richard FitzThurstan de Normanby granted cultivated land at Cargo Fleet to Rievaulx under Henry II (RCh. no.116). That the Allerston family were substantial landholders is shown by the extent of their gifts; Uchtred de Alverstain granted 2 carucates at Cayton to Whitby some time in the twelfth century and one of Thorfinn's grants to Rievaulx comprised pasture for 500 sheep (WCh I. no.108 EYc I. no.387). In the years 1170-85, Robert, Son of Robert, son of Alfred de Skelton, granted one

bovate and a toft at Hutton Lowcross to Guisborough and circa 1189 Nicholas 50th of FitzRoald granted two bovates and three tofts at Guisborough to the same house (GCh. I. no.34).

The evidence cited above implies that a considerable proportion of the knightly class, those holding land of the tenants-in-chief, was ultimately of English origin and that by the middle of the twelfth century, a hundred years after the Conquest, racial distinctions were becoming blurred and Normans and natives were merging into a united tenurial class. However, the tenants-in-chief of North- East Yorkshire, holding their lands directly of the king, continued to be of Norman blood. Appendix 5 lists the landholders and their fiefs circa 1200.

To what extent is Domesday Book representative of tenurial stability? Unfortunately, we are faced with a documentary hiatus from 1087 until the 1120's and after, when monastic charters begin to be available in numbers, with the exception of a few early charters of Whitby Abbey (WCh I. no. 2, WCh II. no. 415, 555). However, the evidence which survives strongly suggests that the Domesday record represents a temporary and short-lived stage of tenurial development. It has already been noted that the royal fee in the region is proportionately much larger than that elsewhere in England, within a few years of 1086, certainly before 1120, much of the royal fee in Cleveland passed to Robert de Brus I, one of Henry I's 'new men', possibly in the aftermath of the Battle of Tinchebrai in 1106 (Faull 1985.332cd, 333a, VCH 115). In addition, Brus gained the Domesday lands of the Count of Mortain which had been subinfeudated to Richard Surdeval (VCH.155).

The succession dispute between Henry I and his brother Robert Curthose

which ended in the latter's defeat at Tinchebrai seems to have cost a number of North-East Yorkshire magnates their lands. Robert of Mortain died in 1090, his heir William seems not to have inherited his Yorkshire lands and lost the whole of his inheritance in 1106 (VCH.155). Farrer considers that Robert Malet was killed at Tinchebrai; his heir was not permitted to inherit in England and his Yorkshire lands were divided among other landholders (ASC E 1110, VCH.169). For the wider context of these changes see Hollister⁴ 1979.

Map 20 shows the pattern of landholding in 1086 and Map 21 that of circa 1200. It will be seen that not only have the individual tenant-in-chief families changed but the distributions of their lands have altered. The greatest landholders of 1086 were the King, the count of Mortain and Robert Malet; the families of the latter two did not survive as tenants-in-chief after the early twelfth century. By 1200 the royal holding was largely restricted to the Corallian dip-slope, comprising the Honour of Pickering which combined the estates of Pickering and Falsgrave, and a number of simplex manors, the royal lands in Cleveland having passed to the Brus family. The Earl of Chester held three multiple estates in 1086 but he failed to pass his Yorkshire lands to his heirs; it has already been noted that the Whitby estate seems to have passed in chief to William de Percy soon after the Survey. Many of the Mortain fiefs passed in chief to his Domesday tenant Nigel Fossard and remained in that family, passing through a Fossard heiress to the Mauley family in John's reign and being tenanted by the Meynells of Whorlton into the fourteenth century. Those Mortain lands which had been held by Richard Surdeval came into Brus hands before 1120 (VCH.155).

Of the Domesday tenants-in-chief only the Percy family appear to have

maintained and increased their importance during the twelfth century, though their holdings in this region were much reduced by the grant of the Whitby estate to the Abbey (WCh I. no.2). Thus William de Percy died in Palestine on crusade in 1096; his Yorkshire lands passed to his son Alan de Percy I; both Alan and his son William de Percy II continued to be benefactors of the Abbey, where the first Prior and first Abbot were their kinsmen, and of other religious houses in Yorkshire and Lincolnshire (Atkinson 1879). After 1086 the Percy family came into possession of the former royal holdings at Deepdale, Lazenby, Osgodby and Wilton, possibly Kilton and Kilton Thorpe and Robert of Mortain's land at Cloughton (EYC XI.3).

The Balliol family obtained the manor of Stokesley from William II; this had previously been held by the King's Thegn Uchtred, an early benefactor of Whitby Abbey (Faull 1985.331b, EYC I.384, R.Mag Pip. 31 Henry I.34). Circa 1200 the bulk of the land of North-East Yorkshire was in the hands of the Crown (Honour of Pickering) and the following families: Balliol, Brus, Fossard, Meynell and Percy. Of these only the last were tenants-in-chief in 1086. A further change in the century after Domesday was the vast increase in the holdings of religious houses. No church lands are listed in Domesday Book under 1066, despite the known pre-Conquest grants of land in Cleveland to the see of St. Cuthbert (above 124-25) and in 1086 the only ecclesiastical holdings were six carucates in the manor of Hackness, Suffield and Everley belonging to the infant and then peripatetic monastery of Whitby and six carucates at Prestebi and Sourebi held by the Abbot of York of William de Percy (Faull 1985.305a, 323a). A century later Whitby Abbey held full rights and privileges in the lands granted by William de Percy I at its foundation, which came to form the Liberty of Whitby Strand, under the Abbey's authority until the Dissolution of the

Monasteries. These privileges were first conferred by Henry I and confirmed by succeeding Kings (WCh I. no.185). Guisborough Priory, founded a generation later, by Robert de Brus I in the early 1120's, gained the vill_s and lands of Guisborough and Kirkleatham and five churches in other vill_s from the Brus Fee at its foundation (GCh I. no.1). Both these houses gained many grants of limited acreages in various parts of Yorkshire during the twelfth century from a large number of benefactors of varying means. In addition, smaller houses from within the region and others from elsewhere in northern England benefitted from piecemeal grants in North-East Yorkshire. These houses included the great Cistercian abbeys of Byland, Rievaulx and Fountains, St. Mary's Abbey, York and ten other hospitals, convents and monasteries (see Appendix 4).

The monastic charters show that the large foundation grants to such houses as Whitby and Guisborough, were made by tenants-in-chief. This is also the case at Rievaulx, founded by Walter Espec, sheriff of Yorkshire under Henry I (Atkinson 1891.IX-XI). However, following the foundations, the monasteries gained the bulk of their subsequent grants from smaller men, in limited acreages. These charters therefore provided evidence of the extent of subinfeudation in the region; many of the grantors acknowledge the approval of their lords and indeed make their gifts for the souls of their lords; in 1154-72 Walter Ingram granted the church of Ingleby Arncliffe, two bovates and a dwelling to Guisborough Priory for the welfare of Adam de Brus II, his lord and the souls of William Ingram, Robert de Brus I and Adam his son (EYC II. no.711). William de Percy II confirms the gifts of Durand de Cayton and his heirs in Deepdale and those of Angot de Osgodby in Osgodby to the monks of Byland in 1160-66 (EYC XI. no.22). This greater number of grants by smaller men may be attributed to the fact that these

sub-tenants were closer to the land and to the local monasteries, some of the tenants-in-chief being absentees and all of them having interests in other parts of the county and in England as a whole; for example the main Percy manor in Yorkshire was outside the region at Topcliffe (VCH.72). Of 59 eleventh and twelfth century grants to Whitby Abbey apart from the foundation grant, 44 were made by sub-tenants (see Appendix 4).

Monasticism in North-East Yorkshire AD 657-1200

The monastic history of North-East Yorkshire falls naturally into two phases, from the foundation of Hild's monastery circa 657 to its desertion during the ninth century, and from the foundation of the new Whitby abbey in the 1070's until the Dissolution of the Monasteries in 1538. In both these incarnations Whitby was an important religious house; its first three abbesses were considerable figures in Northumbrian religious life and after the Conquest the Abbey became one of the great landholders of the region, the abbots holding authority over a considerable slice of territory, the Liberty of Whitby Strand. Whitby and its daughter-house at Hackness, are the only known religious houses within the region before the Conquest; in the twelfth century the picture changes completely; both convents and hospitals were founded in addition to Whitby and the Augustinian Priory at Guisborough and religious houses elsewhere in the north came to possess considerable landed holdings here.

The Anglian Monastery c657-867

The political background to the establishment of the monastery at Streonshalch under Hild has been scrutinised above (above 93-94). This chapter will examine the character and development of this house through the seventh and eighth centuries, its physical form and internal economy and its place in the religious life of Northumbria. We are fortunate in having both documentary and archaeological evidence for this period, in the works of Bede and Whitby's own Life of Pope Gregory and in the excavations on the site during the 1920's. In addition, there is an interesting series of monumental inscriptions from both Whitby and Hackness (Okasha 1971).

Bede's Historia notes the foundation of the monastery (HE III.24), the Synod of 664 (HE III.25), the death of Hild (HE IV.23), the miracle of Caedmon (HE IV.24) and the retirement of Bishop Trumwine and his community to Whitby (HE IV.26). All these chapters give valuable information on the history and character of the house.

1) Character and Physical Form:

Whitby was a double monastery, having both male and female members, a form thought to have originated in Frankia, which flourished in England only from the seventh to ninth centuries (Deanesley 1961.202, Cramp 1976.205). In this it differed sharply from Monkwearmouth-Jarrow. Bede's account implies that there was no sharp division between the sexes, as at Wimborne (Cramp 1976.223); both monks and nuns appear in the account of Hild's death - the monks inform the nuns of Hackness of the Abbess's end (HE IV.23).

The monastic church was dedicated to St. Peter and was the burial-place of notables; the church dedication survived into the Domesday period and beyond (WCh I.No.2). In the outer part of the monastery was a place for female novices (in extremis monasterii locus seorsum posita, ubi nuper venientes ad conversationem feminae solebant probari, donec regulariter institutae in sociatatem congregationis susciperentur, HE IV.23). Cambridge has recently argued that this may have been at some remove from the main monastery but the evidence is not conclusive (Cambridge 1984.73-74). There was also an infirmary (Erat autem in proximo casa, in qua infirmiores et qui prope morituri esse videbantur induci solebant (HE IV.24)).

The form of the monastic accommodation is not noted by Bede, though in the daughter-house at Hackness there was a communal female dormitory (in dormitoria suorum, HE IV.23). This evidence is not easily related to the results of archaeological excavation at Whitby. Cramp's work has shown that the excavator's conclusions were coloured by preconceived ideas as to the physical form of the monastery (Cramp 1976.225). The method of excavation removed all stratification, leaving only the foundations of buildings and the finds; the authors of the report did not define a building sequence but simply separated supposed Anglo-Saxon from supposed post-Conquest (Rahtz 1976.461). Therefore we cannot tell which of the excavated structures were contemporary with each other and which, if any, date from the initial foundation. Peers and Radford considered the monastic accommodation to have been in the form of individual cells, which conflicts with the evidence both from Bede and Rahtz's revision of the excavators' plan (Rahtz 1976.462). However, William of Malmesbury, describing the state of the monastery at the time of its reoccupation in the 1070's speaks of:

Monastori or oratories to nearly the number of forty, whereby the walls and altars, empty and roofless had survived the destruction of the perate host (Malmesbury Gesta Pontificum, Cramp 1976.224).

One of the excavated structures was put forward as an example of a monastic cell (Building G). From the difficulties of the previous excavation and the reports from it, it seems that only a fresh excavation of the parts of the site ignored in the 1920's may produce an answer (see below for an analysis of the economic life of the monastery based on archaeological material).

2) Spiritual and Intellectual Life:

What little is known of spiritual life in seventh century Streoneshalch suggests strongly that the monastery bestrides the religious divisions of seventh century Northumbria. Hild gave her support to the Celtic party at the Synod of 665, although she had been baptised by the Roman Paulinus and trained in East Anglia; indeed she had intended going on to the Gaulish monastery of Chelles but was called home by Bishop Aidan (HE IV.23). Whitby produced the first English Life of Pope Gregory and the monastic church contained an altar to him (Whitby Life. Ch 19). Abbess AElfflaed was a close friend of Bishop Cuthbert, who epitomised the traditions of the Celtic religious life, yet interceded with her half-brother King Aldfrith to have the ultra-Roman Wilfrid restored to his see and appeared on his behalf at the Synod of the Nidd in 703 (below 166). All this indicates that Whitby drew on both the Roman and Celtic traditions in Northumbrian Christianity, that there is unlikely to have been a sharp division between the Roman and Celtic parties and that Bede may greatly exaggerate the discord between them (for a full analysis of the nature of prayer and worship in seventh century England, see Mayr-Harting 1972.168-980).

The emphasis in the intellectual life of Whitby was clearly on basic religious education from the scriptures. Five bishops were trained there and Bede stresses the scriptural knowledge of all except Otffor, who when he wished to reach greater perfection in his studies, went first to Archbishop Theodore in Kent and thence to Rome - further example of Whitby's ties to the Roman church (Colgrave 1964.130). Bede stresses Hild's devotion to education, continuing to instruct her flock on her death-bed (HE IV.23). That this education was often at a basic level is shown by the story of Caedmon. Bede states that Hild had him instructed in the whole course of sacred history and he turned the various Bible stories into vernacular verse (HE IV.24). Bede does not state whether Caedmon's verse were intended for the community. It is possible that they were intended for the instruction of novices; it may also be that Hild wished Caedmon to bring the word of God to the local laity. Certainly Bede's catalogue of his subjects, which includes the pains of Hell, the terrors of future judgement and the joys of Heaven, has a strongly didactic air.

Apart from a surviving letter of AEfflaed, the only known literary production of Anglian Whitby is the Anonymous Life of Pope Gregory, dating from circa 704-14, towards the end of AEfflaed's tenure of the abbacy. A close examination of the work tells us much about Whitby scholarship. Its character and style suggests that Whitby did not share fully in the Northumbrian intellectual flowering of the period, exemplified by the products of Lindisfarne and Monkwearmouth-Jarrow. The Life does not follow the established hagiographical model, based ultimately on the Life of St. Anthony of Egypt, through the Life of St. Martin by Sulpicius Severus. This form is seen most clearly in the Anonymous Life of Cuthbert and in Felix's Life of St. Guthlac (Colgrave 1968-48-49). Traditionally, a saint's Life begins with his birth,

attended by portents and miracles, followed by the miracles performed in his lifetime, a long account of his pious death, his burials and the miracles performed at his tomb. Portents and visions are also standard features; Adomnan's *Life of Columba*, for instance, is composed of three books, of miracles, visions and portents respectively (*Life of Columba*, ed A.O. and M.O. Anderson 1963). The *Whitby Life* shows some of these standard elements, but miracles are few in number - the author complains of a shortage of good miracle stories! (*Whitby Life*. Prologue). Gregory's holiness is shown by his deeds and his humility rather than the usual catalogue of miracles.

The great bulk of the *Whitby* author's information about Gregory comes from oral tradition, though he makes use of the *Liber Pontificalis* and Gregory's own theological works; his information on the sojourn in Constantinople comes from Gregory's *Moralia*, his commentary on the Book of Job (Colgrave 1968 22-23). That the writer's sources are limited is shown by his running out of material about Gregory and falling back on traditions about Paulinus's mission to Northumbria, in which King Edwin threatens to outshine the saint in importance. This is hardly to be wondered at; after all, Gregory had been dead a hundred years and never came to England, whereas Edwin and Paulinus were a generation later and almost within living memory at the time of writing. In contrast, Felix, Eddius and the anonymous biographer of Cuthbert were writing about local saints who were their contemporaries or near-contemporaries.

The author clearly had a wide knowledge of scripture and quotes most frequently from the Psalms, Matthew's Gospel and I Corinthians. However, he shows no real classical learning; his Latin shows frequent

grammatical errors, limited vocabulary and involved sentence construction (Colgrave 1964.136).

Taken as a whole, the Life of Gregory provides further evidence for education at Whitby being very largely based on the scriptures, with no evidence of any tradition of classical learning. This is much in keeping with Gregory's own philosophy; he once rebuked a certain Bishop Desiderius for his passion for the classics (Hunter-Blair 1970.285, G.E.XI.34). In the light of this disdain for non-scriptural learning, Hild's encouragement of Caedmon's vernacular versifying seems all the more praise worthy.

Further evidence for Whitby being somewhat apart from the intellectual mainstream of Northumbria, represented by Lindisfarne and Monkwearmouth-Jarrow, is found in the fact that Bede did not know the Whitby Life, nor did he know of its existence (Colgrave 1964.56-59). Had Bede known the story of the miraculous finding of King Edwin's bones and their translation to Whitby, he would surely have used it, since Edwin is one of his greatest heroes (Whitby Life. Ch 18-19). Neither are the Whitby author's tales of the crow disturbing the faithful at Mass and Paulinus's soul being carried to heaven in the form of a swan found in Bede's pages (Whitby Life. Ch 15, 17). The story of Edwin's mysterious visitor at the East Anglian court is also treated differently; the Whitby author makes it clear that the visitor was Paulinus himself (HE 11.12, Whitby Life Ch 16). Not only did Bede not know the Whitby Life, he did not know the same sources.

3) The Abbessess:

The character of any monastery must depend much on its original head and on his or her successors, especially at a time when monastic Rules were generally formulated by individual abbots (Hunter-Blair 1970, cf. HA II. AU (eol 6)

In this case much must depend on Hild herself, whether she actually founded the monastery or simply set a pre-existing house in order (HE IV.23).

Like her monastery, Hild seems to bestride the political and religious divisions of seventh century Northumbria, being responsible for the fusion of Roman and Celtic elements at Whitby, an admirer of Pope Gregory, yet an advocate of the Celtic way in the Synod of 664 (HE III.25). She was born circa 614, at a time when her father Hereric, the nephew of King Edwin, was in exile in Elmet, or possibly already dead by poison (HE IV.23). From then until her entry into the religious life at the age of 33, symbolically the age at which Christ began His ministry, our sources are silent, apart from her baptism in 627 with the king and other members of the royal house (HE IV.23). In personality, she stands apart from the usual pattern of the virgin saint. Bede stresses her wisdom and states that all who knew her called her mother (Non solum ergo praefata Christi ancilla et abbatissa Hild, quam omnes qui noverant ob insique pietatis et gratiae matrem vocare consuerant, HE IV.23). Eddius calls her 'most pious mother' (mater piissima, VW.X), which suggests a human warmth in addition to her religious zeal (Fell 1980.86-87). Since Bede makes no mention of her virgin state and it seems unlikely that a member of the royal family could remain in the world unmarried for 33 years - her sister Herewith married Aethelhere of the East Angles - it seems probable that she was married at some stage and entered the religious life in her widowhood. As Bede is silent about her secular life, it is possible that her husband was a pagan whom she failed to convert (Fell 1980.79-80). Bede, in stressing her wisdom and concern for the education of her community, makes her a much more believable and human figure than his other female saints, for instance Aethelthryth (HE IV.19).

Hild was succeeded in the abbacy by her cousin Eanfled, who ruled jointly with her daughter Aefflaed (HE IV.26). From Bede's testimony it seems that Aefflaed was the driving force in the partnership, possibly due to her mother's advancing age; Eanfled was fifty-four at the time of Hild's death, elderly for the time. Bede does not record her death; she was alive in 685 (HE IV.26) but Aefflaed may have come into sole authority soon after. Bede says that she gained much from Bishop Trumwine after his retirement to Whitby following the debacle of Nechtansmere and that he assisted her in the governance of the monastery (HE IV.26).

Aefflaed had been dedicated to God in infancy in thanksgiving for her father's victory at the Winwaed and seems to have spent her early life under Hild's tutelage, first at Hartlepool and then at Whitby. Bede calls her a devout teacher (HE IV.26) which suggests that she continued Hild's policy of educating her flock. The Life of Gregory dates from her time and must have been produced at her instigation, a further instance of her concern for education. She was a close friend of Cuthbert, who miraculously healed her from a paralysing illness and journeyed to him on Coquet Island for his wise counsels (VP. Ch 23, 24, 34). Despite being brought up to the monastic life from earliest youth, Aefflaed seems not have been entirely cut off from the world; Eddius calls her 'always the comforter and best counsellor of the whole province' (semper totius provinciae consolatrix optimaque conciatrix, VW.60). Her first recorded journey to Coquet Island was made in order to question Cuthbert on the succession to the Northumbrian throne following King Ecgfrith's death at Nechtansmere (VP.24). This presumably reflects more than familial interest; there was apparently no obvious heir in Northumbria and her half-brother Aldfrith came from exile in Ireland or Iona to take the throne (VA.105n). In the same

period (686-87) Aelfflaed was involved with Wilfrid in his attempts to regain his see. It seems likely that she was hostile to Wilfrid in the early years of her abbacy, at least during Cuthbert's lifetime; Archbishop Theodore wrote begging her to make peace with the bishop (VW.43).

Later, in 706, she took Wilfrid's part in the Synod of the Nidd (VW.60). Both Bede and Eddius praise her wisdom; Eddius calls her 'the prudent virgin' (sapientissima vigo AElfflaeda, VW.60).

Aelfflaed died circa 714 and no successor is named; in fact Whitby disappears from narrative history from then until the eleventh century. However, an eighth century memorial stone at Hackness dedicated to one OEdilburg 'most blessed mother' (- (OEDI)L(BUR)GA SEMPER TENENT MEMORES COMMUNITATES TUAE TE MATER AMANTISSIMA) may commemorate a later abbess (Okasha 1971.No. 42). The Whitby coin evidence indicates that occupation of the monastic site continued into the 850s at least, which ties in with the traditional dating of its abandonment as a result of the deprivations of the Great Army, though it is not necessarily the case that monastic life as such continued up to that date.

4) The Monastic Economy:

This section will discuss the monastic economy and external links of the Anglian monastery, as evidenced by archaeology and the limited documentary material.

It is clear that at this time monasteries were intended to be self-supporting, as were secular village communities, building their own churches and dwelling structures and producing their own food and other necessities (Cramp 1976.201.09).

The excavation in the 1920s produced no evidence of agriculture but since it involved only a portion of the monastic site, immediately to

the north of the church, this is hardly surprising. We have evidence from the Caedmon story that the Abbey held herds of cattle and employed laymen to tend them. We do not know whether Hild's Rule resembled the Rule of St. Benedict in requiring the monks and presumably nuns, to do manual labour, or whether all such work was performed by laymen. Bede's account of Wilfrid's foundation at Selsey may suggest that at this time agricultural work was performed by laymen (HE IV.13). If Whitby did indeed receive one of Oswiu's ten-hide estates (possessiones X familiaris, HE III.24) then this land could have provided for the dietary needs of a community of some size. A contrast is seen with Hild's first monastery in County Durham endowed with only a single hide (HE IV.23). The lack of a firm agricultural base may have had some bearing on the brief life of this house. Whitby may have gained further lands from the royal house in the years following its foundation (Above 26-29).

The Whitby excavations provide considerable evidence of industries apart from agriculture, particularly of types of work performed by women. This may be a function of the nature of the excavation, that only a limited area of the site was covered. Only weaving can definitely be proved to have taken place within the monastery but there is circumstantial evidence of pottery production and possibly also metalworking. More than 100 loom weights were found during the excavation, all dated by the excavators to the eighth century and later (Peers and Radford 1943.83).

The evidence for metalworking within the monastery is somewhat ambiguous. The Whitby metalwork forms the largest and most varied group from any Anglo-Saxon monastic site and indicates the diversity of artistic traditions in Northumbria at this time (Till 1983.i).

However, this does not necessarily prove that any of the objects were actually produced there. One building (Building G of Rahtz's plan, Rahtz 1958) included a chamber with an unusually large hearth, which the excavators considered to be a smithy (Peers and Radford 1943.31). However, no metalworking debris were found within the building or in its vicinity, nor are any metalworking tools recorded in the excavation report (Peers and Radford 1943, Till 1983,20). The excavators further felt that the domestic objects found in that area indicate that this part of the site was occupied by females and the rarity of industrial material, other than objects connected with weaving, suggests that any workshops were elsewhere on the site (Peers and Radford 1943.68).

The surviving metal objects found at Whitby provide little further evidence in support of metalworking there. Few of the objects found at Whitby, apart from the coins, can definitely be said to have been produced outside the monastery. There is no intrinsic reason why much of the metalwork should not have been produced within the monastery (Peers and Radford 1943.47-53) but it is impossible to prove a provenance. Many of the pieces show Irish parallels but no specifically Irish features and seem most likely to be of Northumbrian origin (Peers and Radford 1943.53). Till notes that the skillets are of Irish types, though not necessarily Irish imports; one possible Irish item is a small pennanular brooch (No 5053), of a type rare in Britain after the fifth century but common in Ireland (Till 1983.79). The cultural connections attested by the art of the Whitby metalwork appear to be with the Celtic rather than the Germanic world, a further example of Whitby's links with the Celtic milieu (Till 1983.90). Not all the decorative motifs are religious; that on one of the so-called book cover plaques (No 14) is definitely secular, classical or pagan

Saxon (Peers and Radford 1943,53). This makes an interesting contrast with the monastery's concentration on scriptural learning up to the death of Aelfflaed and if the excavators are correct in assigning the bulk of the finds to the eighth century, may show a shift in emphasis and perhaps a decline in standards under later abbesses.

There is less evidence of glassworking at Whitby. Various types of ornamental settings were found but no window glass (Peers and Radford 1943.72). There is no demonstrable evidence of actual glassworking, unlike at Monkwearmouth and Jarrow (Cramp 1976.239-40). Certain objects appear to be of English origin but are not necessarily Northumbrian (Peers and Radford 1943.72). Benedict Biscop is credited with the introduction of glassworking into Northumbria (HAB Plummer I.373) but the industry was apparently short-lived; in 764 Cuthbert, Abbot of Monkwearmouth and Jarrow, asked Bishop Lul to send him a maker of glass vessels, because this art was unknown (quia eiusdem artis ignari et inopes sumus, Peers and Radford 1943.72, EHD I.No 185). As with the metalwork, there is no reason why certain of the objects should not have been produced within the monastery; it has already been noted that the excavated area seems to have encompassed only the women's quarters. That craftsmen could dwell within monasteries as monks is clear, Bede tells a cautionary tale of one such in a Bernician monastery (HE V.14).

The finds of pottery at Whitby have important implications for monastic industry in the pre-Viking period. Most of the finds are ordinary domestic wares, Anglian in character, hand-made rather than wheel-thrown. However, finds were also made of good-quality wheel-thrown wares. The latter were considered by the excavators to be Frankish imports, mainly dating from the seventh and eighth centuries,

with two vessels from the ninth century (Peers and Radford 1943.79-82). At that time no other such finds had been made in Northumbria, which enabled the excavators to adduce a Frankish origin and hence considerable overseas contacts for the monastery. However, recent work has totally disproved this thesis. Re-examination of the Whitby pottery shows that the Roman sherds, handmade Anglian sherds and so-called imported sherds were all made of an identical sandy micaceous grey fabric. The same fabric is stratified in the Middle Saxon layers at Monkwearmouth and Jarrow. These finds show that full wheel technology was in use in Northumbria before 867; the pottery being made on a slow wheel and fired at a very high temperature, though not in a proper kiln (Hurst 1976.304-05). Most of the sherds of this type of pottery appear to come from similar globular vessels, so far found only on these three monastic sites. This of course may simply be due to accidents of discovery, but may have profound implications for monastic industry. It is possible that in the seventh and eighth centuries the monasteries were centres of wheel technology in Northumbria, using the same sources of clay, or even that this type of pottery was made in one house and traded or exchanged with the others.

This disproving of the thesis of a foreign origin for the wheel-thrown pottery does not dispose of the Abbey's external contacts entirely. Clear evidence both of links with the continent and ties with the universal church comes from a papal bulla or pendant seal found at the back of Church Street, Whitby in 1874, among rubbish apparently thrown down the cliff from the monastery above. This bore the name of Boniface, Archdeacon of Rome (BONI/FATII/ARCH/DIAC), which dates it to either 685 or some thirty years earlier, when another Boniface, whom Wilfrid met (VW.12), held the archdiaconate of Rome. This bulla was presumably

attached to a papal document sent to the Abbey in the 650s or 680s, a chance survivor among many (White 1984.37-38).

That the excavated area covered all or part of the women's quarters in the monastery is suggested by the nature of the personal objects found; the great majority are types normally found in women's graves, no object can be ascribed to purely male use (Peers and Radford 1943.58). Bede's testimony that the monastics lived a frugal life is somewhat weakened by the number of personal trinkets found, which include numerous pairs of tweezers, three rings and six brooches, though most appear to be of a practical rather than decorative nature (HE IV.23, Till 1983.88, Peers and Radford 1943.58-61). If these objects are eighth century, it is possible that they reflect a decline in standard from Hild's time.

The coin finds of Whitby attest to its wealth and external contacts. Over 100 coins were found in the excavations, a huge number for a monastery (Till 1983.270). Eleven Roman coins were found, two of them in an Anglo-Saxon hoard but the majority of coin finds date from the period c700-850; the only kings not represented are Ecgfrith (670-85) and Alhred (766-74); the earliest Northumbrian coins are those of Aldfrith (685-705). The latest coins go up to those of Archbishop Wigmund (837-54); there are large numbers from Eanred (807-41) and Aethelred II (841-49). These finds have considerable implications. The coins are mainly Northumbrian issues; the Northumbrian coinage became increasingly isolated from that of Mercia and the south and increasingly inadequate for anything except regional taxation purposes (Dolley 1976.354-55, 357). Therefore the Whitby coins do not provide evidence for direct trading outside Northumbria, but do show the monastery playing a part in the economy of the region and kingdom. The dating of the coins

suggests that this continued through the eighth century and the first half of the ninth and that the monastery did not suffer an absolute decline in its economic fortunes in this period.

Taken as a whole, the excavated evidence suggests that eighth and ninth century Whitby Abbey was a flourishing community, with its own herds and fields and probably workshops producing metalwork and pottery. It is unlikely that the Life of Gregory was the only literary production of the Abbey; the iron-pointing pins found in the excavations may have been markers for scoring vellum (Cramp 1967.8-9) and seven styli were found; these are not common on Anglian sites though one was found at Blythburgh (Peers and Radford 1943.64). The monastery seems to have had considerable contacts within Northumbria, but there is no unambiguous evidence for contacts further afield, either through coinage or artefacts. The excavated evidence suggests that occupation continued on the site up to the period of the Viking invasions, though it is not necessarily proved that monastic life remained in being.

Monasticism After the Norman Conquest

At the time of the Norman Conquest Yorkshire was a county without monastic houses and none are recorded as such in Domesday Book twenty years later. A century after, however, the situation had completely changed; a large number of religious houses and hospitals had come into being, a number of which now possessed substantial landholdings in North-East Yorkshire. The most important of these houses were the Benedictine abbey of Whitby and the Augustinian priory of Guisborough; the great Cistercian abbeys of Byland, Fountains and Rievaulx, though elsewhere in the North Riding, also had substantial holdings in the region.

This revival and extension of monastic activity must be linked with the imposition of Norman power over the region. All the major houses were founded by and benefited from the largesse of non-Englishmen, in a period when the Norman monarchy was consolidating its power in the north. Whitby received its first lands from William de Percy, Guisborough was founded by Robert de Brus and Rievaulx by Walter Espec, all men of considerable standing.

The refoundation of Whitby is of particular importance, coming as it did a generation earlier than any other monastic activity in the region, at a time when the effects of the Harrying were still deeply felt and Norman authority was still establishing itself. It is, further, the only example in this area of renewed monastic activity on an earlier site, although elsewhere in Northumbria new houses were founded at the Anglian sites of Jarrow and Lindisfarne in the same period. It is therefore worth considering in some detail. The importance of Whitby

is attested by the survival of three separate accounts of the refoundation;

- a) The Memorial of Foundation in the Whitby Cartulary (WCh I.No 1).
- b) Symeon of Durham (Atkinson 1879.XXXII-XXXIV).
- c) Stephen of Whitby, Abbot of St. Mary's, York (Atkinson 1879. XXXIV-XXXIX).

All these date the refoundation of the Abbey to the 1070s and this dating is supported by the Domesday entry for the manor of Hackness, Suffield and Everley, which includes six carucates of 'land of St Hild' (Faull 1985.323a). Taken together the three accounts show that the monastery enjoyed a somewhat precarious existence in its first years, until the large grant from William de Percy established it on a secure footing during the 1090s.

All these accounts differ somewhat in detail and emphasis, that of Stephen differing markedly from the other two. According to the Whitby Memorialist, writing before 1180 (Atkinson 1879.XXXII); in the time of William I one Reinfrid miles strenuissimus in obsequio domini sui Willelmi Bastard Regis Anglorum turned aside from a march through Northumbria with the king to visit the site of the Anglo-Saxon monastery at Streoneshalch, where he was horrified at the destruction wrought by Ivar and Ubbi (crudelissimus piratis Ingwar et Ubba) and determined to restore monastic life in the north. He then became a monk at Evesham and, after an interval, returned to Northumbria with Aldwine, Prior of Winchcombe and the monk AElfwin. Reinfrid was well received by William de Percy, who granted him the monastic site (antiquum monasterium Sancti Petri Apostoli) and two carucates of land at Prestebi.

Symeon, though in no way contradicting the above, makes Aldwine the moving spirit of the refoundation and makes no mention of Reinfrid's initial journey north. He states that Aldwine, Prior of Winchcombe, animated by a desire to visit the famous monastic region of Northumbria, became a monk at Evesham, before travelling north with the priest Elfwy and Reinfrid ignarus litterarum. For a time the three settled at Jarrow before Aldwine and Reinfrid moved on to Whitby to found a new community. Both sources then agree that Reinfrid soon gathered a band of followers and became Prior of the new foundation. The Whitby Memorialist adds that he subsequently died while building a bridge at Omnesbridge on the Derwent and was buried at Hackness. After this the two diverge; the Whitby account states that Serlo, brother of William de Percy, succeeded Reinfrid as Prior and Symeon that the community moved to York and founded St. Mary's Abbey. Stephen, writing of the foundation of St. Mary's Abbey, of which he was abbot, states that in 1078, when Thomas of Bayeux was Archbishop of York, he became a monk at Whitby, in a zealous community headed by one Reinfrid, a man strong in goodness and conspicuous for his heavenly virtues. Reinfrid is said to have gone to Jarrow with the intention of becoming a solitary but many others joined him and formed a community. Still intent on the solitary life, Reinfrid moved to Whitby but again many others followed him there. Within days of Shephen's arrival, the community elected his Abbot, by the command of the king and archbishops. Soon after, William de Percy became the enemy of the monks and the depra-dations of robbers and pirates caused them to move to Lastingham. Royal intervention brought about a return to Whitby, but peace did not last long; Percy succeeded in openly expelling the monks, who then moved on to York.

The points at issue between the three accounts can be summed up as follows:

- a) Symeon may be muddling Aldwine with Reinfrid; why should a prior elect to become a simple brother in another house, when the revival of northern monasteries might be more easily effected by a man in authority?
- b) Neither Symeon nor Stephen makes any mention of Reinfrid's earlier career or visit to Whitby.
- c) The Whitby account does not include the period spent at Jarrow which is found in the other two sources. He represents Reinfrid as the moving spirit of the journey north, whereas Symeon states that both Reinfrid and Elfwy were allowed to leave Evesham only on condition that they remained under Aldwine's authority. Stephen states that Reinfrid's intention was to be a solitary, whereas the other two make it clear that his wish was to found a monastic community.
- d) Stephen claims that the other monks chose him as abbot; the other writers state that Reinfrid was head of the community until his death and that both he and his successor bore the title of prior. Indeed, neither mentions Stephen in connection with Whitby.
- e) Stephen states that the community moved first to Lastingham and then to York; Symeon that they went to York only and the Whitby writer that they remained around Whitby and Hackness.

All these issues will be examined in detail below.

Firstly, can Domesday Book provide any information by which we can assess these accounts? It has already been noted that the Whitby

Memorialist and Symeon of Durham date the new monastery to the reign of William I and that of Stephen states that the new community was in existence by 1078. Domesday Book shows that the monks held land at Hackness in 1086, in an entry which is intriguing. The manor of Hackness, Suffield and Everley comprised '8 carucates of land taxable, where 5 ploughs are possible. Of this land 2 carucates are in the jurisdiction (soke) of Falsgrave and the others are part of St. Hild's land', (Faull 1985. 323a). No pre-Conquest landholder is named; the character of the entry suggests that the manor was not and had not been a single unit, especially since it included no fewer than three churches. In 1086 the manor was held by William de Percy. A surviving charter of William I provides supplementary information which may clarify the position (WCh II.No 555). This charter begins with a general statement of the liberties to be enjoyed by the community and follows with the grant of Ecclesiam S. Petri de Hakanessa et in eadem villa duas carucates terrae, et in Northfeld quator et in Briniston duas. This grant adds up to eight carucates, two more than the Domesday holding. Since 1086 the multiple estate of Falsgrave, held by the king, included sokeland at Bruniston, it may be suggested that this land had passed out of monastic hands in the interim (Faull 1985.299b). As Reinfried is said to have drowned in the Derwent and been buried at Hackness, it appears that the land there came into the possession of the community during his lifetime.

Domesday Book also speaks of the Abbot of York holding land at Whitby and also at Lastingham (Faull 1985.305a), held from William de Percy and Berenger de Todeni respectively. These entries give credence to the story of a move to York; why else should a monastic site granted to the community of St. Hild be in the hands of the Abbot of York soon after? However, this does not necessarily prove that Stephen's other

statements are valid. It seems unlikely that a new community under a respected prior like Reinfrid should oust him in favour of a raw newcomer. Hamilton Thompson considers that Stephen did indeed become head of the community, possibly through his own machinations and suggests that the opposition of William de Percy was directed against Stephen and his followers, rather than at the community as such. He feels that the Whitby writer omits this episode as irrelevant to his purpose, whereas it was important to the early history of St. Mary's Abbey (Hamilton Thompson 1923.394). However, it is difficult to see how a twelfth century monastic writer could resist a good story of past misdeeds and repentance, if William de Percy indeed made his large grant to Whitby Abbey after a period of active assaults. It seems more likely that Stephen invented or exaggerated Percy's opposition in order to justify his own actions and that he was not the head of the whole monastery but simply the leader of a group which seceded from the main community. We may postulate the following sequence of development:

- a) Reinfrid makes his journey to Whitby and subsequently becomes a monk at Evesham.
- b) Reinfrid, Aldwine and AElfwine journey north and establish a community at Jarrow.
- c) Reinfrid moves on to Whitby, is granted the monastic site and a parcel of land by William de Percy and establishes a new community.
- d) Some time later, probably circa 1080 or earlier (Hamilton Thompson 1923.394-95), a breakaway group headed by Stephen moves to

Lastingham and thence to York, where they form the core of the new St. Mary's Abbey.

e) Reinfrid drowns and is succeeded by Serlo de Percy.

This leads directly on to the question of Reinfrid's identity. Firstly, and most intriguingly, his name suggests that he was not of Norman but of English origin. If the Whitby account is correct, we then find an Englishman serving in William's army within five years of the Norman Conquest, since it seems most likely that the writer was referring to the punitive expedition of 1069-70. Furthermore, the balance of the evidence suggests that he was not a common soldier but a man of some rank in the Norman army. Symeon refers to him as ignarus litterarum but at a time when most men, even those of high rank, were unlettered, Reinfrid's illiteracy is unlikely to be a reflection on his social status. In any case, would a man of low rank who had spent only a short period in the monastic life, be in a position to lead a refoundation of religious houses in the north? Atkinson feels that if Reinfrid had sufficient freedom of action to depart from the king's army to visit the derelict site, he must have been a soldier of high rank, probably a personal follower of the king (Atkinson 1879.LIIII). This in itself is not conclusive, he could have been a deserter. However, since Fulk the Steward, who granted two carucates to the new monastery (WCh I.No 88) and witnessed a number of Percy charters early in the twelfth century, was Reinfrid's son (Fulco Dapifer filius Reynfridi Prioris de Whitby, Atkinson 1879.LIVnI), Reinfrid was probably a man of some substance before he entered religion and, since no wife is mentioned, probably a widower. It may be suggested that he was a king's thegn from somewhere in southern England, since it was at Evesham that he became a monk and there is no suggestion in any source

of his having been a Northumbrian. That an apparent Englishman could be found occupying a position of some rank, perhaps leading a body of his own followers, in a Norman army so soon after Hastings, is an interesting reflection on the lack of resistance to the conquerors outside Northumbria and the Fens.

The date of the refoundation of Whitby is not given in any of the early sources, but if Reinfrid indeed took part in the punitive expedition, allowing time for his return to the south and monastic training at Evesham, his second journey north can hardly have taken place earlier than 1072 and the new community was certainly in existence in 1078, if Stephen's word can be trusted. The date of his death is also unrecorded, but Hamilton Thompson dates the move to Lastingham to c1080 and Reinfrid was still alive at this time, so it seems reasonable to date this to the 1080s or perhaps a little after (Hamilton Thompson 1923.392-95).

The history of the refounded monastery remains confused after Reinfrid's death. Stephen speaks of the deprivations of William de Percy and though this may be an attempt to cloak the split which led to the move to Lastingham of some of the monks (Above 152). The unknown author of the account in the Dodsworth MS speaks of a strife which developed between William de Percy and his brother Prior Serlo (Atkinson 1879.LVIII). William is said to have granted the Abbey's lands at Stakesby and Everley to one of his knights, Ralph de Everley, and to have intended depriving the monks of all the lands previously given them. Serlo then went with all speed to the king (William II), 'trusting to his former intimacy with him when both were young soldiers in the house and court of the Conqueror' (Atkinson 1879.LVIII). Rufus instructed William to make and keep peace with Serlo and his monks and

at Serlo's request granted the community two carucates at Hackness and four at Northfield. The Whitby account once again ignores any such strife and moves on to the grant of the Whitby estate to the monastery during the 1090s.

In considering the validity of the Dodsworth account, we must bear in mind that the story is of unknown date and provenance, whereas the Whitby writer is working before 1180, at a time when the events of his monastery's foundation are likely to have been well-remembered, though probably outside living memory. It is however possible that some details could have been suppressed to avoid giving offence to the Percy family, who remained the monastery's patrons throughout the twelfth century. It must be remembered that within a few years at most of his alleged assaults on the monastery, William de Percy not only granted much the largest of his estates in this region to the monks, but himself departed on crusade and died in the Holy Land. However, this may be taken in two ways; do these acts show Percy to be a pious defender and benefactor of the church, or did he make the grant and take the cross in penitence for earlier misdeeds? Be that as it may, the present author is inclined to doubt the validity of the tale, firstly through reservations over the trustworthiness of the source and secondly because charter evidence shows that land at Hackness, Northfield and Burniston was granted to the Abbey, not by William Rufus but by his father (WCh II.No. 555, Above 151). Thirdly, if William de Percy's grant and crusading vow were indeed in penitence, would the Whitby author not have said so?

There is some evidence to suggest that the monastic community spent a period at Hackness before the grant of the Whitby estate set the monastery on a secure footing. It has already been noted that there

was 'St. Hild's land' at Hackness in Domesday and that Reinfrid died while building a bridge over the Derwent. The Dodsworth MS gives an account of the monks' withdrawal to Hackness, as a result of the assaults of pirates:

Serlo the prior and his monks showed to William de Percy their misfortune and wretchedness and besought him to give them a place of habitation at Hackenas. He gave them the church of St. Mary at Hackness that they might build a monastery there, because the abbess at Hild had built a monastery in the same town. And he readily granted their request that, when peace was established, they might return again to Whitby, to the monastery aforesaid. So they began to build a monastery at the said church of St. Mary and there they remained for some time and led well the religious life. (Hamilton Thompson 1923.398).

This account ties in well with the grant of Whitby to the monks in the 1090s and if the date can be pushed back before 1086 (the Dodsworth MS speaks of 'the days of William II'), it provides a context for the granting of the lands in and around Hackness to the community. The Yorkshire coast is known to have been exposed to raids in this period; orders were given by William I to devastate the coastal belt in case of Danish invasion in 1085 (ASC 1085); during the time of Abbot Richard of Peterborough (1148-75) the Abbey was raided by the King of Norway, 'so that they whom by the management of their Abbot had grown very rich, now became very poor; the rapacious Norwegians having left them nothing' (Atkinson 1879.XXX).

Hamilton Thompson suggests the following sequence of events. After Stephen's secession contact between his group and the Whitby monks virtually ceased. Whitby remained exposed to attacks by pirates and, some time before 1086, the monks gained a grant at Hackness, to which they temporarily retired. Serlo de Percy may have used his influence with his brother. While at Hackness Reinfrid died and was succeeded by Serlo and before departing on crusade William de Percy granted the Whitby estate to the community (Hamilton Thompson 1923.399-400). He

notes that the Durham Liber Vitae gives evidence of a sojourn at Hackness under Prior Serlo in the time of Bishop William de St. Calais, who died in 1096:

Conventio inter monachos dunelm' et monachos de Hakenesse. Pro Serlone sicut promonacho aecclesiae nostrae et hos idem ipse pro nobis. Pro aliis autem sicut pro fratribus de glestonbiri.
(Hamilton Thompson 1923.400).

The grant of the Whitby estate marks the real beginning of the Abbey's fortunes, even though at the time of Domesday the estate was almost entirely waste. That the monastic community was capable of bringing the land back into production is shown by the Domesday entry for that portion of the estate - the two carucates at Prestebi and Sourebi - which already belonged to the monastery. Whereas the remainder of the estate was without population and valueless, this land contained eight sokemen with one plough and thirty villeins with three ploughs, in addition to a working mill worth ten shillings (Faull 1985.305a). This strongly suggests that survivors of the ^yHarring from all over the estate and perhaps outside it, had taken refuge on the monastic land and were working it on the monks' behalf. Since the number of men was more than ample for the cultivation of a mere two carucates, it seems that here was a reserve of manpower for the working of the estate as a whole.

Whitby was unusual in not being founded directly by a layman and its foundation took place a generation earlier than the other houses in the region. Guisborough was founded by Robert de Brus circa 1120, Rievaulx by Walter Espec in 1128 (GCh I.No.1, Atkinson 1889.IX-XIX), Byland and Fountains later still. By this period Norman power in the region had become firmly established and active opposition to the Normans long since ended. It seems likely that the new foundations were an expression not only of the founder's piety but of his power and authority.

Monastic Landholding c1090-1200

The foundation grant to Whitby Abbey was much the largest made in this region to any monastery, comprising 31 vills, four churches, two hermitages and seven chapels (WCh I.No 26). Since the land was waste in the Domesday record, it may not have been of much immediate value and therefore William de Percy's gift to his brother's monastery may not have appeared quite so generous at the time. Guisborough, founded circa 1120 at a time when, fifty years after the H^yarr[^]ing, a large measure of recovery could be expected, gained only the vills and lands of Guisborough and Kirkleatham, land in three other vills and seven chapels (GCh I.No 1). The foundation grants of the three great Cistercian houses were outside the region.

Following the large initial grants from leading landholders like William de Percy and Robert de Brus, gifts to all monasteries became smaller and more piecemeal, made in the majority of cases by sub-tenants of the great lords (see Appendix 4). After the initial grants, there are very few cases of gifts being made of complete vills; Fylingdales and Hawsker to Whitby by Alan de Percy (WCh I. No 27), Maltby and two bovates to Guisborough by William FitzFulk before 1182 (GCh. No 17). More typical are the grants of 24 acres of newly-tilled land at Great Ayton to Whitby by Stephen de Bulmer between 1154 and 1170 (WCh I. No 226), and one bovate at Linthorpe to Whitby by Roger de Cusin before 1165 (WCh I.No 138). Similarly, Guisborough gained two tillages at Marske from William Magnus de Tocketts in 1180-90, one bovate at Ugthorpe and his body for burial by William de Argentom in 1175-85 (EYL II. No 766, 769).

Appendix 4 lists all recorded grants of land in this region to monasteries from c1090 to the end of the twelfth century. This was a period of widespread giving by laymen to monasteries; alienation of land to monasteries without licence was forbidden under the Statute of Mortmain of 1279 but the estates of northern monasteries had become stabilised by this time and remained so until the Dissolution (Waites 1961.481). Whitby gained most of its lands in the century after its foundation but there was a further burst of activity under Abbot Roger de Scarborough in the early thirteenth century. Rievaulx gained the greater part of its lands before 1170 and Guisborough had its greatest period of expansion from the late twelfth century to the mid thirteenth (Waites 1961.481-82).

Map 22 shows the distribution of monastic lands in the region. The concentration of Guisborough lands in Cleveland is clearly evident, the only exception being a grant by Robert de Brus around Danby in Upper Eskdale (GCh I.No1). Whitby held the bulk of its lands on the coastal plateau, the Liberty of Whitby Strand itself, with more scattered holdings to the north and south. There was a further block around Hackness and again in the Scarborough district and a scatter of lands in Cleveland associated with the cell of Middlesbrough (Waites 1961.484-86). Most of the Rievaulx lands were in the Vale of Pickering outside North-East Yorkshire (Waites 1961.490) but there is a scatter of holdings in Cleveland and several grants at Allerston (see Appendix). The Allerston lands lie adjacent to the main concentration of Rievaulx holdings but the lands in Cleveland are at a considerable distance from the monastery and physically quite separated. Both Fountains and Byland also held lands in Cleveland. This presumably has some reflection on the importance of Cleveland, with its seaborne and

river-borne trade, fisheries and salt-panning industry at the mouth of the Tees (Waites 1961.489). However, it must be remembered that the location and extent of monastic lands depends on the grantors and where their landed interests lie. It is of interest that certain of the Cleveland landholders should prefer to make grants to the Cistercian abbeys, rather than to the local houses of Whitby and Guisborough. The bulk of these grants were made between c1160 and c1190, by sub-tenants (see Appendix 4) and might perhaps reflect some degree of religious disenchantment with the Benedictines of Whitby and the Augustinians of Guisborough. Grants to Whitby in Cleveland which are datable to this period seem to have diminished but Guisborough was enjoying a considerable expansion from circa 1170 onwards. Distributions show that the bulk of lands held by any monastery lay in its immediate locality; this is particularly so in the case of Guisborough. The map shows a tendency for grants to 'thin out' as the sphere of influence of another monastery is reached, as in Cleveland where there is overlap between Whitby and Guisborough. The proximity of other houses could create difficulties. Byland Abbey moved four years after its foundation, partly because there was no room for all those wishing to enter the monastic life there, but also because its original site was too close to Rievaulx (Burrows 1983.68). Nostell Priory was founded on a poor sandstone site in the vicinity of several other houses and could not gain sufficient grants of lands nearby to establish itself on a secure footing (Burrow 1985.83-85). By contrast, Bridlington Priory was the only religious house in the East Riding at its foundation and was situated on the edge of the prosperous Wolds and all later foundations were at least fifteen miles away. There was therefore little competition for endowment and the priory gained extensive grants in its locality during the twelfth century (Burrows 1983.85).

North-East Yorkshire was not the exclusive sphere of the great monastic houses. Twelve other religious institutions gained land in this region during the twelfth century, mainly in Cleveland but also at Cloughton and around Scarborough. These grants were all small in size, the largest being two carucates at Ingleby Greenhow to Keldholme Nunnery by Alexander de Ingleby c1170-85 (EYC I. No 574) and a church at Stokesley and one carucate to St. Mary's, York by Guy de Balliol in 1112-22 (EYC I. No 559). Five of these twelve institutions were within North-East Yorkshire and all but two (Hexham Abbey and the Hospital of Jerusalem) within the county of Yorkshire. The small number of grants to those houses within the region is presumably a reflection of their relative unimportance in comparison with such houses as Whitby and Guisborough. Those outside the region are considerable institutions - St. Mary's, York, Bridlington Priory, Malton Priory, the Hospital of Jerusalem and St. Peter's, York; the small number of gifts to them is presumably related to their physical separation from the region.

To sum up, the largest grants to religious houses were made by individual tenants-in-chief at the time of the foundation, normally by the founder himself. Thereafter, recorded grants show considerable activity by smaller men, the sub-tenants of the great lords, who granted religious houses a limited acreage, a church or a mill. In the case of Whitby and Guisborough the families of the original founders kept an interest in the houses but the size and value of their later gifts was relatively low. The charters do show a degree of seigneurial interest, in that tenants frequently make clear the consent of their lords in the grants and charters survive from the tenants-in-chief confirming the grants of their sub-tenants. William Ingram grants half

a carucate in Ingleby Arncliffe to Guisborough, with the consent of Adam de Brus his lord (GYC II.No 714); Adam de Brus confirms the gift of William de Acklam to the monks of Byland of a fishery at Linthorpe (EYC II.No 773).

CONCLUSION

This thesis has applied a multi-disciplinary method of historical study to a geographically circumscribed area and the results demonstrate the validity of this approach. In every page of the Early Medieval period the use of a number of interacting methods of study has revealed aspects of settlement and society which might otherwise have remained obscure and made possible new avenues of interpretation and enquiry. For example, the development of settlement can be approached through historical geography, backed by archaeological and place-name study, but it cannot be understood without an awareness of the social and political background it developed against, to be gained through documentary history, archaeology and perhaps also church history and anthropology. Equally, the politics of North East Yorkshire cannot be understood without a knowledge of their social background and the wider political contexts of England as a whole, nor should development and role of monasticism in this region be studied in isolation.

Each of these disciplines presents its own peculiar problems. For instance, the study of place-names may show the presence of a particular linguistic group in a district in a broad chronological period, but there is now considerable doubt over whether a particular place-name may actually date its settlement, whether the name and settlement were formed contemporaneously (see Chapter 14). Archaeology studies specific sites and areas and produces results specific to those sites, but the findings tend to be applied indiscriminately; one site is taken to characterise an entire culture. This problem can only be overcome by much more widespread investigation of sites and comparisons of findings. Certain of the difficulties unique to each discipline may be overcome by the use of a multi-disciplinary method in which the

scholar is aware of the inherent difficulties and may find ways to overcome them.

The major conclusions which can be drawn from this study are as follows:-

- a) No one historical period can be isolated in time from those before and after. As settlement cannot be isolated from its social and political background, so the period under scrutiny cannot be separated into watertight chronological compartments. In every case - Anglian into Viking, Viking into Conquest and post-Conquest - one period shades into the next and the same issues and lines of development are carried over. In a sense, we ought not to see culture phases - Anglian, Viking and so on - as entities in themselves, but as periods of transition, since all periods are to a greater or lesser extent transitional. The difficulties inherent in dealing with history as a series of chronological phases are exemplified by the difficulty found in establishing the beginning and end of each phase! (See Chapters 8-17).
- b) The processes of change and development in North-East Yorkshire are evolutionary rather than catastrophic, though the pace and direction of gradual economic change has been altered by specific events, particularly the Anglian and Viking invasions and the Norman Conquest, each of which had far reaching effects on settlement and on politics and society (see Chapters 8-17).
- c) The basis of the system of land division seems to have become established in the prehistoric era, and to have remained substantially intact until the Viking era, when the development of

a market in land brought about a partial breakdown of the system and itself created a new impetus towards change by evolution, an example of specific events altering the direction of evolutionary change (see Chapters 3, 13-14).

- d) The Norman Conquest and the recolonisation of previously deserted settlements hastened the processes of settlement nucleation, which seems already to have begun before the eleventh century. It must be remembered that the Conquest did not put an end to evolutionary change nor were the new planned settlements themselves immune to stimuli which brought about change.
- e). In political affairs it is possible to trace a continuing royal concern with the affairs of North-East Yorkshire from the seventh century into the post-Conquest era. This is clearly demonstrated by the founding of Whitby Abbey under Oswiu as a focus of Bernician authority in the formerly hostile province of Deira. The written history of the Abbey shows the continuation of the royal link; Oswiu was buried at Whitby rather than in the great Bernician house of Lindisfarne, close to the royal hall at Bamburgh and the centre of the bishopric; the Synod of 664 was held at Whitby and its genesis was closely linked with secular politics and the rivalry between the rulers of Deira and Bernicia. We see through the Domesday Book, that the Earls of Northumbria had large holdings in the region in the last years before the Conquest, which shows a concern with North-East Yorkshire which may be traced back much earlier and certainly continues much later (see Chapters 11, 12, 13). After the Conquest, the king and his Norman magnates held large amounts of land in the region, which was among the last to be conquered by the Normans and was involved

in the most concerted resistance to the newcomers (see Chapter 17). In all these cases we see a need on the part of the monarchy to subjugate a region once hostile and powerful.

- f) Monasticism was important in the region in both the Anglian period and after the Norman Conquest. Monasteries were much more numerous in the post-Conquest era, but the Anglian monastery of Whitby seems to have had a much greater significance, having close ties with the Northumbrian monarchy. The later monasteries at Whitby and Guisborough were important landholders, but involvement in eternal politics seems to be lacking. This may be seen as a reflection of the times and the differing circumstances of the earlier and later monasteries. The Anglian monastery of Whitby was founded at the instigation of a king and remained a royal monastery throughout its documented history, a focus of royal power in a formerly hostile region; the post-Conquest monasteries were founded by laymen and received the bulk of their lands from laymen, the royal connection never developed (see Chapters 18-20).
- g) In the absence of environmental study, little can be said about the agricultural economy, beyond drawing attention to the likely importance of pastoralism which is obscured by the nature of Domesday Book. The development of iron-working and use of the Tees as a waterway can be seen in post-Conquest sources, but one should be wary of attempting to push these back earlier than the twelfth century (see Chapter 6).

The pattern of continuous evolution in settlement and society can be traced from the prehistoric era until the Norman Conquest, with modifications accruing from external events. The Norman Conquest

cannot be seen as bringing an end to these evolutionary processes but only as a partial watershed. Certainly the Conquest brought about a complete dislocation in land holding at the tenant-in-chief level. The relatively large number of native landholders, each holding a small number of manors, were replaced by a very few great Norman magnates, each with close ties to the king. However, the native landholders seem not to have been entirely swept away; in many cases the sub-tenants of these Norman tenants-in-chief, those with more direct ties to their land, were in the twelfth century largely of English origin (see Chapter 17).

The introduction of planned villages and a strong stimulus towards the nucleation of settlement may also be traced to the period between the harrying of 1069-70 and c1200, the beginning of the processes of recolonisation of deserted sites being documented in Domesday Book. At the same time a revival of monasticism took place in the north, most notably in the last years of the reign of Henry I, which began in this region with the refounding of Whitby Abbey and there was a complete change in the personnel of government and episcopacy at the higher levels.

However, an underlying continuity can always be seen. The Conquest caused only a change in the pace and direction of settlement development; the foundations of the settlement pattern had been laid long before and the effects of the Norman Conquest were not to sweep them away but rather to build on them. The Normans were never more than a small magnate class, limited in number, with many of the families of former English tenants-in-chief remaining in possession of their land as sub-tenants. Some intermarriage occurred during the twelfth century; the Allerston family provides a documented example

(above 174). Ultimately of course, the Normans were absorbed by the English rather than the reverse, as earlier Anglian and Viking settlers had merged with the indigeneous inhabitants. It must be borne in mind that Anglians, Scandinavians and Normans, certainly the last, seem each to have been less numerous than the indigeneous inhabitants, and although each formed an aristocracy - the Anglian being capable of entirely supplanting the British language - in no case did they drive out or otherwise 'swamp' their predecessor. Strong elements of continuity from pre-Anglian times can be discerned - the basic pattern of land division and the foundations of the settlement pattern - and it may be doubted whether the coming of successive waves of newcomers had much effect on farming practices and the basic pattern of economic exploitation. Further, it may be doubted whether the lives of ordinary people - the peasants in their fields - were greatly affected by the political changes or by social changes in the higher echelons. The bulk of the population are likely to have continued their lives in much the same manner in AD 400, when allowance is made for the effects of changes of landholder and the development of nucleated settlements.

This thesis has not exhausted the possibilities for study in this region. There are a number of avenues of enquiry which might remove the lacunae in the present work and further illuminate the picture already revealed. There is much scope for archaeological study, since little has yet been done in this region using the most stringent modern methods. A re-excavation at Whitby Abbey and excavation of the parts of the site may correct the misleading and confusing impressions given by the earlier work (Peers and Radford 1943, see Chapter 19). The work of Dominic Powlesland on the other side of the Vale of Pickering has demonstrated another method of archaeological enquiry, with great potential, although such an in-depth study can only be carried out in a

limited geographical area. Such a study might be carried out in one of the townships of North-East Yorkshire, such as Whorlton, with its castle and deserted village.

Archaeological investigation might reveal much more about the environment in conjunction with palaeobotany. By this means it should be possible to gain much more insight into the Early Medieval economy of the region. Work by Simmons and others covering the prehistoric era has shown the potential of this approach (cf Jones, Cundill and Simmons 1979). Overall, the methods now used by prehistorians could profitably be applied to the Early Medieval period. Spratt's work on the North York Moors has brought much understanding of the Bronze and Iron Ages (Spratt 1982) and the same methods ought to be carried forward into the Romano-British and Early Medieval periods, which show development and evolutionary change from the prehistoric era.

Whatever the precise nature of further studies in this area, it is important that a multi-disciplinary approach is followed. The disciplines of documentary and place-name studies have probably been pursued to their limits, at least in isolation, but have still much to offer within a multi-disciplinary framework.

Appendix 1 : Settlement Size - Arable Land

<u>Settlement</u>	<u>Tenurial Structure</u>	<u>Total Land</u>	<u>Ploughlands</u>
Acklam	1 caput, 3 manors	17 car.	9½
Airyholme	1 manor	2 car.	1
Aislaby (SE 774857)	1 manor	4 car.	2
Aislaby (NZ 857085)	1 manor	3 car.	2
Alleston	1 manor, 1 soke	3 car. +	2+
Appleton	1 manor	6 car.	-
Arncliffe	1 manor	2 car.	½
East and West Ayton	2 manors, 1 soke	8 car.+	5+
Great Ayton	2 manors	8 car.	4
Little Ayton	2 manors	6 car.	3
Barnaby	1 manor	6 car.	3
Battersby	1 manor	2 car.	1
<u>Bergolbi</u>	1 manor	6 car.	½
Borrowby	1 caput	6 car.	4
Boulby	1 manor, 1 soke	3 car.	1
Brompton	1 manor	1 car. 6 bov.	1
Brotton	1 caput	12 car.	6
Great Broughton	2 manors	9 car.	5
Little Broughton	1 soke	8 car.	-
<u>Baldebi</u>	1 soke	1 car	-
Blaten Carr	1 soke	-	-
Great Busby	1 soke	5 car.	-
Little Busby	3 manors, 1 soke	7 car.	1+
Burniston	1 soke	-	-
Carlton	1 soke	8 car.	-
Castle Leavington	1 manor	4 car.	-
Cawthorn	1 manor	1 car.	-
Cayton	2 manors	6 car.	-
Cloughton	2 manors	1 car. 2 bov.	½
Barwick Ingleby	1 soke	6 car.	-
Coulby	1 soke	1 car.	-
Crathorne	1 manor, 1 soke	6 car.	3
Dalby	1 manor	3 car	3
Dromanby	1 soke	3 car.	-
Dunsley	2 manors	4 car.	1
Easby	2 manors	6 car.	1
Easington	1 soke	8 car.	-

<u>Settlement</u>	<u>Tenurial Structure</u>	<u>Total Land</u>	<u>Ploughlands</u>
Egton	1 manor	3 car.	3
Ellerburn	1 manor	3 bov.	-
Ellerby	1 manor	6 car.	4
Eskdale	1 manor	12 car. 2 bov.	-
Eston	1 manor	9 car.	5
Faceby	1 manor	8 car.	2
Falsgrave	1 caput	15 car.	8
Farmanby	1 soke	-	-
Flowergate	1 soke	2 car.	-
Foxton	2 manors, 1 soke	16 car.	-
Fylingthorpe	1 soke	5 car.	-
Fyling Hall	1 manor, 1 soke	2 car.	$\frac{1}{2}$
Goldsborough	1 manor	2 car.	2
Goulton	1 manor, 1 soke	6 car.	$\frac{1}{2}$
<u>Grimesbi</u>	1 manor	2 car.	1
Guisborough	3 manors, 1 soke	21 car.	$2\frac{1}{2}$
Hackness, Suffield and Everley	1 manor	8 car.	5
Hawsker	1 soke	3 car.	-
Hemlington	1 soke	3 car.	-
Hilton	1 manor, 1 soke	9 car.	$1\frac{1}{2}$
Hackness, Suffield	1 manor	8 car.	5
Hinderwell (inc. <u>Arnodestorp</u> and <u>Rosecheltorp</u>)	3 manors, 1 soke	3 car. 2 bov.	$1\frac{1}{2}$
Hornby	1 manor	1 car.	-
Hutton Buscel	1 soke	-	-
Hutton Mulgrave	1 manor	3 car.	3
Hutton Rudby	1 caput	6 car.	4
Ingleby Arncliffe	2 manors	8 car.	3
Ingleby Greenhow	1 soke	7 car.	-
Kildale	2 manors	6 car.	3
Killerby	1 manor	2 car.	1
Kilton	2 manors	3 car.	2
Kilton Thorpe	2 manors	4 car.	2
Kirkby in Cleveland	1 soke	3 car.	-
Kirkleatham	2 manors, 1 soke	15 car.	7
Lackenby	1 soke	1 car. 6 bov.	-
Lazenby	1 soke	$\frac{1}{2}$ car.	-
Liverton	1 soke	6 car.	-

<u>Settlement</u>	<u>Tenurial Structure</u>	<u>Total Land</u>	<u>Ploughlands</u>
Levisham	1 manor, 1 soke	2 car.+	-
Lockton	1 manor	5 car.	4
Loftus	1 caput, 1 manor	8 car.	7
Maltby	1 soke	3 car.	-
Marske	1 manor	8 car.	4
Marton	4 manors	13 car.	5½
Mickleby	1 manor	4 car.	2
Middleton upon Leven	1 soke	8 car.	-
Middleton by Pickering	1 soke	-	-
Great Moorsholm	2 manors	3½ car.	1 1/4
Little Moorsholm	1 manor	5 car.	3
Morton	1 manor	3 car.	-
Morton/Nunthorpe	1 manor	9 car.	5
Mulgrave	1 manor	6 car.	3
Newby	2 manors	4½ car.	2
Newham	2 manors	3½ car.	2
Newholm	1 soke	4 car.	-
Newton	2 manors	10 car. 6 bov.	3
Newton Mulgrave	1 soke	3 car.	3
Normanby (Whitby)	1 manor	2 car.	2
Normanby (Eston)	1 soke	½ car.	-
Nunthorpe	1 manor	6 car.	-
Ormesby	1 manor	12 car.	8
Pickering	1 caput	37 car.	20
Pinchinthorpe	2 manors	6 car.	-
<u>Prestebi</u>	1 soke	2 car.	-
Rawcliff Banks	1 soke	2 car.	-
Roxby	1 manor, 1 soke	3 car.	-
Rudby	1 soke	3 car. 1 bov.	-
Skutterskelfe	1 manor, 2 sokes	3 car.	-
Seamer (south)	1 manor	6 car.	3
Seamer/Tanton	1 caput	13 car.	8
Seaton Hall	1 caput	3 car.	2
Skelton	1 manor	13 car.	7
Snainton	1 manor	1½ car.	1
<u>Sourebi</u>	1 soke	4 car.	-
Stainsby	1 soke	3 car.	-
Stainton	3 manors, 1 soke	5 car.	-
Stakesby	1 soke	2 car. 6 bov.	-

<u>Settlement</u>	<u>Tenurial Structure</u>	<u>Total Land</u>	<u>Ploughlands</u>
Stokesley	1 caput	6 car.	3
Tanton	1 manor, 1 soke	4 car.	1
Thirley Cotes	1 soke	-	-
Thoraldby	1 manor, 1 soke	3 car.	½
Thornaby	2 manors, 1 soke	7 car.	1
Thornton	1 soke	3 car.	-
Thornton Dale	2 manors	4 car. 3 bov.	2
Thornton Fields	1 manor	2 car.	1
Thorpfield/Irton	1 manor	4½ car.	2
Tocketts	1 manor	2 car.	1
Tollesby	2 manors, 1 soke	9 car.	3
Troutsdale	1 manor	2 car.	1
Turnstall	1 manor	3 car.	2
Ugthorpe	1 manor	2 car.	2
Upleatham	1 soke	10 car.	-
Upsall	1 manor, 1 soke	10 car.	1½
Westerdale	1 manor	1 car.	½
Whorlton	1 soke	8 car.	-
Wilton	2 manors	7 car. 6 bov.	4
Whitby (and Sneaton)	1 caput, 1 berewick	15 car.	15
Wilton/Lazenby	1 manor	1 car.	½
Wykeham	1 manor, 1 soke	½ car.+	-

Source: Domesday Book

Appendix 2 : Place-Name Forms in North-East YorkshireOld English

<u>Modern Form</u>	<u>Domesday Form</u>	<u>Meaning</u>	<u>Location</u>
Barwick (Ingleby)	<u>Berewic</u>	Berewick	NZ 432142
	<u>Bertwait</u>		Lost
Blaten Carr	<u>Blatun</u>		Near NZ 523057
Brompton	<u>Bruntun(e)</u>	Broom- <u>tun</u>	SE 943182
Brotton	<u>Broctune</u>	Stream- <u>tun</u>	NZ 691197
Great Broughton	<u>Broctun</u>	Stream- <u>tun</u>	NZ 547064
Little Broughton	<u>Broctun</u>	Stream- <u>tun</u>	NZ 539080
Castle Leavington	<u>Levetona/Lentun(e)</u>	R. Leven- <u>tun</u>	NZ 461103
Cayton	<u>Caitun(e)/Caimton(a)</u>	Caega's <u>tun</u>	TA 057833
Cloughton	<u>Cloctune</u>	valley- <u>tun</u>	TZ 008944
Dunsley	<u>Dunesla</u>	Dun's <u>leag</u>	NZ 857112
Easington	<u>Esingetun</u>	Eas's <u>ingtun</u>	NZ 744181
Egton	<u>Egetune</u>	Ecga's <u>tun</u>	NZ 804053
Eston	<u>Astun</u>	East- <u>tun</u>	NZ 553193
Everley	<u>Eurelai/Eurelag</u>	Wild boar <u>leag</u>	SE 974889
			NZ 461082
Foxton			NZ 461082
Fylingthorpe	<u>Figelinge/Nortfigelinge</u>	?Fygela's people	NZ 943050
South Fyling	<u>Figelinge/Suthfigelinge</u>	?Fygela's people	NZ 943029
Goldsborough	<u>Golbog</u>	Golda's <u>burg</u>	NZ 837147
Goulton	<u>Goltona/Goultun</u>	Golda's <u>tun</u>	NZ 477043
Hackness	HE <u>Hacanos</u> ,	Hacca's <u>ness</u>	SE 971906
	DB <u>Hagenesse</u>		
Hemlington	<u>Himeligetun</u>	Hemela's <u>tun</u>	NZ 494148
Hilton	<u>Hiltune</u>	Hill- <u>tun</u>	NZ 466114
Hutton Buscel	<u>Hotun(e)</u>	Spur- <u>tun</u>	SE 974842
Hutton Lowcross	<u>Hotun</u>	Spur- <u>tun</u>	NZ 598148
Hutton Mulgrave	<u>Hotun(e)</u>	Spur- <u>tun</u>	NZ 836100
Hutton Rudby	<u>Hotun</u>	Spur- <u>tun</u>	NZ 468065
Kirklevington	<u>Levetona</u>	R. Leven- <u>tun</u>	NZ442099
Lealholm	<u>Lelun/Laelun</u>	?Among the twigs- <u>tun</u>	NZ 763076
Levisham	<u>Leuecen</u>	?Leofgeat's <u>ham</u>	SE 834905
Liverton	<u>Liuretun</u>	?Stream-name <u>ham</u>	NZ 712158
Marton	<u>Martune</u>	Fen, marsh- <u>tun</u>	NZ 516162
Middlesbrough	<u>Mid(e) lesburc(h)</u>	Midele's <u>burg</u>	NZ 493204
Middleton upon Leven	<u>Mid(d)eltun</u>	Middle- <u>tun</u>	NZ 467099
Morton	<u>Mortun</u>	Moor- <u>tun</u>	NZ 555145

<u>Modern Form</u>	<u>Domesday Form</u>	<u>Meaning</u>	<u>Location</u>
Newham	<u>Niueham</u>	New- <u>ham</u>	NZ 537144
Newholm	<u>Neueham</u>	New- <u>ham</u>	NZ 867105
Newton	<u>Neutone</u>	New- <u>ton</u>	NZ 530133
Newton Mulgrave	<u>Neutone/Newetone</u>	New- <u>tun</u>	NZ 789155
Northfield	<u>Nortfeld</u>	North field	SE 987908
Pickering	<u>Pickering(a)</u>	?Picer and people	SE 799840
Saltburn	<u>Saltebrun</u>		NZ 664215
Seamer	<u>Semara</u>	Sea marshes	NZ 498103
Seamer	<u>Semaer</u>	Sea marshes	TA 016834
Seaton Hall	<u>Scetune</u>	Sea- <u>tun</u>	NZ 782178
	<u>Setwait</u>		Lost
Silpho	<u>Silfhou</u>		SE 965921
Skutterskelfe	<u>Codreschelf</u>	Chattering brook shelf	NZ 484072
Snainton	<u>Snechintun</u>		SE 921823
Suffield	<u>Sudfelt/Sudfeld</u>	South field	SE 985906
Tanton	<u>Tametun</u>	River name- <u>tun</u>	NZ 523106
Thirley Cotes			TA 977950
Thornton	<u>Torentun</u>	Thorn- <u>tun</u>	NZ 478137
Thornton Dale	<u>Torentun(e)</u>	Thorn- <u>tun</u>	SE 838832
Thornton Fields	<u>Torenetune</u>	Thorn- <u>tun</u>	SE 834830
Tocketts	<u>Theoscota/Tocstone</u>	- <u>co</u> t	NZ 627182
Tunstall	<u>Ton(n)estale</u>		NZ 531125
Westcroft	<u>Westcroft</u>	West <u>croft</u>	SE 9784
Wilton	<u>Widtune/Wiltune</u>	Wild- <u>tun</u>	NZ 585198
Wykeham	<u>Wicam/Wicham</u>	Vicus- <u>ham</u>	SE 966833
Yarm	<u>Gerou/Tarum</u>	At the fish pools	NZ 419112
<u>Old Norse</u>			
Acklam	<u>Aclun/Aclum</u>	Probably slope	NZ 486170
Airyholme	<u>Ergun/AErgi</u>		NZ 579116
Aislaby	<u>Aislachesbi/Aislachebi</u>	Asulfr's <u>by</u>	NZ 857086
	<u>Arnodestorp</u>	Arnauldr's <u>torp</u>	?NZ 7916
Ayresome	<u>Arusum</u>	At the houses near the river	NZ 482193
	<u>Baldebi</u>	Baldi's <u>by</u>	NZ 8910
Barnby	<u>Barnbi</u>	Barn/Bjarni's <u>by</u>	NZ 820125
Barwick Ingleby	<u>Engelbi</u>	<u>By</u> of the English	NZ 493146
Battersby	<u>Badresbi</u>	Bothvarr's <u>by</u>	NZ 596076

<u>Modern Form</u>	<u>Domesday Form</u>	<u>Meaning</u>	<u>Location</u>
	<u>Berguluesbi/Bergolbi</u>	Bergulfr's <u>by</u>	NZ 5012
Borrowby	<u>Berghebi</u>	Berg- <u>by</u>	NZ 770157
<u>Boulby</u>	<u>Bolebi</u>	Boli's <u>by</u>	NZ 760190
Broxa	<u>Brekka</u>	Slope	SE 946915
Great Busby	<u>Buschebi</u>	Busk/Buski's <u>by</u>	NZ 523056
Little Busby	<u>Buschebi</u>	Busk/Buski's <u>by</u>	NZ 515040
Coulby	<u>Cole(s)bi</u>	Koli's/Kolli's <u>by</u>	NZ 507138
Dalby	<u>Dalbi</u>	Dalr- <u>by</u>	SE 857873
Danby	<u>Danebi</u>	Danes'- <u>by</u>	NZ 708087
Dromonby	<u>Dragmalebi</u>	Dragmall's <u>by</u>	NZ 534058
Easby	<u>Esebi</u>	Esi's <u>by</u>	NZ 577087
Ellerburn	<u>Elreburne</u>	Alder stream	SE 842842
Faceby	<u>Fecbi</u>	Feitr's <u>by</u>	NZ 497033
Falsgrave	<u>Walesgrif</u>	Hill, knoll/Hvlar's pit	TA 027875
Flowergate	<u>Florun/Flore</u>	?Cow-stalls	NZ 8910
	<u>Grimesbi</u>	Grimr's <u>by</u>	NZ 780155
Hawsker	<u>Houkesgart(h)</u>	Hawkr's- <u>garth</u>	NZ 925076
Hornby			NZ 362055
Ingleby Arncliffe	<u>Engelbi</u>	English <u>by</u>	NZ 446009
Ingleby Greenhow	<u>Engelbi</u>	English <u>by</u>	NZ 581064
Kildale	<u>Childale</u>	Narrow bay- <u>dalr</u>	NZ 581064
Killerby	<u>Chilvertesbi</u>	Ketifotr's <u>by</u>	TA 065836
Kilton Thorpe	<u>Torp</u>	<u>thorp</u>	NZ 693177
Kirkby in Cleveland	<u>Cherchebi</u>	Church- <u>by</u>	NZ 539061
Kirkleatham	<u>Westlidum</u>	Slope	NZ 594219
Lackenby	<u>Lachebi</u>	Slow moving river <u>by</u>	NZ 564195
Larpool	<u>Leirpel</u>	Leirr- <u>pool</u>	NZ 899094
Lazenby	<u>Lesingebi</u>	Freedmen's <u>by</u>	NZ 572198
Loftus	<u>Locthusum</u>	Houses with lofts	NZ 718182
Lythe	<u>Lid</u>	Slope	NZ 845131
Maltby	Maltebi	Malti's <u>by</u>	NZ 460135
Mickleby	<u>Michelbi</u>	Mikill- <u>by</u>	NZ 802130
Great Moorsholm	<u>Morehusum</u>	At the houses on the moor	NZ 689145
Little Moorsholm	<u>Morehusum</u>	At the houses on the moor	NZ 684162
Mulgrave	<u>Grif</u>	Trench, pit	NZ 839116
Newby		New- <u>by</u>	TA 010900
Normanby	Northmannebi	Norwegian's <u>by</u>	NZ 928061

<u>Modern Form</u>	<u>Domesday Form</u>	<u>Meaning</u>	<u>Location</u>
Normanby	<u>Normanebi</u>	Norwegians' <u>by</u>	NZ 553186
Nunthorpe	<u>Torp</u>	<u>Thorp</u>	NZ 535140
Ormesby	<u>Ormesbi</u>	Ormr's <u>by</u>	NZ 536172
Osgodby	<u>Asgozbi</u>	Asgautr's <u>by</u>	TA 055847
	<u>Overbi</u>		NZ 8910
Pinchinthorpe	<u>Torp</u>	<u>Thorp</u>	NZ 581149
	<u>Prestebi</u>	Priests' <u>by</u>	NZ 8809
	<u>Roscheltorp</u>	Rosketill's <u>torp</u>	?NZ 7118
Roxby	<u>Rozebi</u>	Rauthr's <u>by</u>	NZ 761163
Rudby	<u>Rodebi</u>	Clearing/Ruthi's <u>by</u>	NZ 473067
Ruswarp	<u>Risewarp</u>	Overgrown silt land	NZ 889092
Scalby	<u>Scallebi</u>	Skalli's <u>by</u>	TA 009903
Scarborough	<u>Scardeburg</u>	Skarthi's <u>burg</u>	TA 0489
	<u>Sourebi</u>	Sour- <u>by</u>	NZ 8809
Stainsacre	<u>Stainsaker</u>	Steinn's field	NZ 914084
Stainsby	<u>Steinesbi</u>	Steinn's <u>by</u>	NZ 464158
Stakesby	<u>Staxebi</u>	Staki's/Stakkr's <u>by</u>	NZ 886103
	<u>Stemanesbi</u>	Stigmann's <u>by</u>	?TA 0190
Thoraldby	<u>Toroldesbi</u>	Thoraldr's <u>by</u>	NZ 490373
Thornaby	<u>Tormozbi</u>	Thormothr's <u>by</u>	NZ 453166
Thorpefield	<u>Torp</u>	<u>Thorp</u>	TA 0084
	<u>Tingwala</u>	<u>Thingvollr</u>	Lost
Ugglebarnby	<u>Ugleberdesbi</u>	Uglubardr's <u>by</u>	NZ 880073
Ugthorpe	<u>Uchetorp</u>	Uggi's <u>torp</u>	NZ 798112
Upleatham	<u>Uplider</u>	Slope	NZ 637194
Upsall	<u>Upesale</u>	High dwellings	NZ 546158
Whitby	<u>Witebi</u>		NZ 897103
Tollesby		Toli's <u>by</u>	NZ 510160
<u>Hybrid</u>			
Allerston	<u>Aluerestan</u>	AElfhere's/ AElfric's stone	SE 878829
Barnaby	<u>Bernodbi</u>	Beronnorth's Beorn-Wald's <u>by</u>	NZ 571161
Burniston	<u>Brinnistun</u>	Bryningr's <u>tun</u>	TA 012931
Crathorne	<u>Cratorne</u>	Nook/corner- <u>thorn</u>	NZ 443075
Ellerby	<u>Elwordebi</u>	AElfweard's <u>by</u>	NZ 799146
Guisborough	<u>Ghigesburg</u>	?Gigr's <u>burh</u>	NZ 616161
Irton	<u>Iretune</u>	Irish- <u>tun</u>	TA 012842

<u>Modern Form</u>	<u>Domesday Form</u>	<u>Meaning</u>	<u>Location</u>
Kilton	<u>Chiltun</u>	OE <u>Cilda</u> /ON <u>Kill-tun</u>	NZ 700184
Linthorpe	<u>Levingthorp</u>	Leofa's <u>thorp</u>	NZ 481189
Sneaton	<u>Snetune, Sneton</u>	Snjo's <u>tun</u>	NZ 895078
Stainton	<u>Steintun, Esteintona</u>	Steinn- <u>tun</u>	NZ 481141
Stokesley (doubtful)	<u>Stocheslag(e)</u>	<u>Stocc/Stoc-leag</u>	NZ 526086
Whorlton	<u>Wirveltune</u>	Whorl Hill- <u>tun</u>	NZ 483024
 <u>Scandinavianised</u>			
Great Ayton	<u>Atun</u>	River- <u>tun</u>	NZ 557108
Little Ayton	<u>Atun</u>		NZ 570103
East Ayton	<u>Atun</u>		SE 995853
West Ayton	<u>Atun</u>		SE 988848
Westerdale	<u>Camiesedale</u>	Comb, crest- <u>dalr</u>	NZ 664060
Carlton	<u>Carletun</u>	Carla's <u>tun</u>	NZ 509044
Hinderwell	<u>Hildrewelle</u>	Hild's well	NZ 975165
Marske	<u>Mersc</u>	Marshes	NZ 635224
Rawcliff Bank	<u>Roudecliff</u>	Red Cliff	
Skelton	<u>Scheltune</u>	Shelf- <u>tun</u>	NZ 656189

Sources: Smith 1927, Fellows Jensen 1972.

Appendix 2 : Place-Name Forms and Drift GeologyOld English

	<u>Name</u>	<u>Location</u>	<u>Soil Type</u>
<u>Ham</u>	Lealholm	NZ 763076	Alluvium
	Levisham	SE 834905	Sandstone
	Newham	NZ 517134	Boulder clay
	Newholm	NZ 866105	Gravel
	Wykeham	SE 966833	Sandstone
<u>Leag</u>	Dunsley	NZ 857112	Sand and shale
	Everley	SE 965889	Clay
<u>Tun</u>	Brompton	SE 943821	Limestone
	Brotton	NZ 691197	Boulder clay and sandstone
	Great Broughton	NZ 547063	Boulder clay
	Little Broughton	NZ 560068	Boulder clay
	Cayton	TA 056833	Boulder clay
	Cloughton	TA 008942	Boulder clay
	Easington	NZ 744180	Boulder clay (close to gravel)
	Egton	NZ 808063	Gravel
	Eston	NZ 554185	Boulder clay (close to large gravel island)
	Foxton	NZ 456081	Boulder clay
	Goulton	NZ 477043	Boulder clay
	Hemlington	NZ 501143	Boulder clay
	Hilton	NZ 465113	Boulder clay
	Hutton Lowcross	NZ 598148	Boulder clay/alum shale
	Hutton Mulgrave	NZ 836100	Boulder clay
	Hutton Rudby	NZ 469016	Gravel and alluvium
	Hutton Buscel	SE 972840	Sand and gravel
	Kirkleavington	NZ 431098	Boulder clay
	Castle Leavington	NZ 461103	Boulder clay
	Liverton	NZ 712158	Boulder clay
	Marton	NZ 515158	Boulder clay
	Middleton	NZ 467099	Boulder clay
	Morton	NZ 555145	Alluvium and clay
	Newton	NZ 530133	Boulder clay
	Newton Mulgrave	NZ 789155	Boulder clay
	Seaton Hall	NZ 782178	Boulder clay

	<u>Name</u>	<u>Location</u>	<u>Soil Type</u>
	Tanton	NZ 523106	Gravel terrace
	Thornton	NZ 478137	Boulder clay
	Thornton Dale	SE 838831	Boulder clay
	Wilton	NZ 585198	Boulder clay
Habit.	Goldsborough	NZ 837147	Boulder clay
	Middlesbrough	NZ 493204	Laminated clay
	Tocketts	NZ 627182	Boulder clay/gravel?
	Westcroft	SE 9784	Sand and gravel
Topog.	Hackness	SE 967900	Sandstone and gravel
	Northfield	SE 987908	Boulder clay, sand, shale
	Seamer	NZ 498103	Gravel
	Seamer	TA 015833	Lacustrine clay
	Suffield	SE 985906	Shale and alum shale
	Yarm	NZ 416129	Alluvium
Misc.	Fylingthorpe	NZ 943050	Boulder clay
	Fyling Hall	NZ 942046	Boulder clay
	Pickering	SE 799840	Sandstone and calcareous rocks
<u>Old Norse</u>			
<u>By</u>	<u>Baldebi</u>	NZ 8910	Boulder clay
	Barnby	NZ 870125	Gravel and sandstone
	Battersby	NZ 595075	Gravel island
	<u>Bergolbi</u>	Lost	
	Boulby	NZ 760190	Boulder clay
	Great Busby	NZ 523056	Boulder clay
	Little Busby	NZ 511040	Boulder clay
	Coulby	NZ 507138	Gravel island
	Dramonby	NZ 534057	Boulder clay
	Easby	NZ 577087	Boulder clay
	Faceby	NZ 495030	Boulder clay
	<u>Grimesbi</u>	NZ 780155	Boulder clay
	Killerby	TA 065836	Boulder clay
	Maltby	NZ 436162	Gravel island
	Ormesby	NZ 530167	Boulder clay
	Osgodby	TA 055847	Boulder clay

<u>Name</u>	<u>Location</u>	<u>Soil Type</u>
Roxby	NZ 761163	Gravel island
Scalby	TA 009903	Boulder clay
Stainsby	NZ 464151	Gravel terrace
Stakesby	NZ 855107	Boulder clay
Thoraldby	NZ 493073	Boulder clay
Thornaby	NZ 450176	Boulder clay
Tollesby	NZ 509640	Boulder clay
Ugglebarnby	NZ 880073	Boulder clay
Whitby	NZ 901112	Boulder clay
Danby	NZ 696062	Sandstone and shale
Ingleby Arncliffe	NZ 447009	Boulder clay
Barwick Ingleby	NZ 432146	Boulder clay
Ingleby Greenhow	NZ 580062	Gravel island
Normanby	NZ 546183	Boulder clay
Normanby	NZ 928061	Boulder clay
Lazenby	NZ 572198	Gravel island
<u>Prestebi</u>		
Borrowby	NZ 770157	Boulder clay
Dalby	SE 856873	Clay
Lackenby	NZ 565194	Gravel island
<u>Sourebi</u>	?NZ 8910	Boulder clay
Kirkby in Cleveland	NZ 538060	Boulder clay
Mickleby	NZ 801129	Boulder clay
<u>Thorp</u>		
<u>Arnodestorp</u>	NZ 7916	Boulder clay
Roschelthorp	NZ 7916	Boulder clay
Kilton Thorpe	NZ 693177	Boulder clay
Nunthorpe	NZ 540132	Boulder clay
Pinchinthorpe	NZ 581149	Boulder clay
Thorpefield	TA 0084	Boulder clay
Ugthorpe	NZ 798112	Boulder clay
<u>Habit</u>		
Ariyholme	NZ 579116	Boulder clay
Ayresome	NZ 482193	Laminated clay
Flowergate	NZ 8910	Boulder clay
Hawsker	NZ 928075	Boulder clay
Loftus	NZ 723178	Boulder clay
Moorsholm	NZ 688144	Boulder clay
Little Moorsholm	NZ 684161	Boulder clay

	<u>Name</u>	<u>Location</u>	<u>Soil Type</u>
	Stainsacre	NZ 914084	Boulder clay
	Scarborough	TA 047191	Boulder clay
	Upsall	NZ 546158	Boulder clay
<u>Topog.</u>	Acklam	NZ 486170	Gravel island
	Broxa	SE 946915	Boulder clay
	<u>Camisedale</u>	NZ 664060	Oolitic
	Ellerburn	SE 842842	Clay and sandstone
	Falsgrave	TA 028879	Chalk with flints
	Kildale	NZ 604195	Gravel
	Kirkleatham	NZ 593218	Boulder clay
	Larpool	NZ 899094	Boulder clay and shale
	Lythe	NZ 845131	Boulder clay
	Mulgrave	NZ 848126	Boulder clay
	Ruswarp	NZ 889092	Alluvium and clay
	Skutterskelfe	NZ 632194	Gravel
	Upleatham	NZ 632194	Alum shale and clay
<u>Hybrid</u>			
<u>Tun</u>	Irton	TA 010841	Lacustrine clay
	Kilton	NZ 700184	Gravel island
	Snainton	SE 919821	Clay and sandstone
	Stainton	NZ 480140	Boulder clay
	Whorlton	NZ 483024	Sandstone and shales
Grimston	Burniston	TA 012931	Boulder clay
	Sneaton	NZ 893078	Boulder clay, sandstone and shale
<u>Thorp</u>	Linthorpe	NZ 485188	Laminated clay
<u>By</u>	Barnaby	NZ 571161	Boulder clay
	Ellerby	NZ 799146	Boulder clay
<u>Misc.</u>	Guisborough	NZ 616161	Gravel
	Crathorne	NZ 443075	Boulder clay
<u>Scandinavianised</u>			
	?Allerston	SE 878829	Kimmeridge clay
	Great Ayton	NZ 563107	Boulder clay

<u>Name</u>	<u>Location</u>	<u>Soil Type</u>
Little Ayton	NZ 570103	Boulder clay
East Ayton	SE 991849	Clay, sand and gravel
West Ayton	SE 987847	Clay, sand and gravel
Carlton	NZ 506045	Boulder clay
Hinderwell	NZ 795165	Boulder clay
Marske	NZ 633223	Boulder clay
Skelton	NZ 655188	Sand and shale island
Stokesley	NZ 525085	Gravel and Alluvium

Source: Ordnance Survey, 1 inch, Geological Survey (.

Appendix 3 : Landholding in 1086William I

<u>Holding</u>	<u>Status</u>	<u>Arable Land</u>
Acklam	Manor	3 car.
Airyholme	Manor	2 car.
Allerston	Manor	3 car.
Little Ayton	Manor	2 car.
Battersby	Manor	2 car.
Boulby	Manor	1 car.
Brompton	Manor	1 car. 6 bov.
Great Broughton	Manor	4 car.
Little Busby	Manor	1½ car.
Cayton	Manor	4 car.
Crathorne	Manor	5 car.
<u>Bergolbi</u>	Manor	1 car.
Dunsley	Manor	3 car.
Easby	Manor	2 car.
Ellerburn	Manor	3 car.
Faceby	Manor	8 car.
Falsgrave	Multiple Estate	15 car./84 car. sokes
Goulton	Manor	1 car.
Guisborough	Manor	1 car.
Hilton	Manor	3 car.
Ingleby Arncliffe	Manor	6 car.
Kilton	Manor	3 car.
Kilton Thorpe	Manor	2½ car.
Lazenby	Manor	3½ car.
<u>Loctemares</u>	Manor	1½ car.
Loftus	Manor	4 car.
Marton	Manor	1 car.
Morton and Nunthorpe	Manor	9 car.
Newham	Manor	2 car. 2 bov.
Newton	Manor	4 car. 6 bov.
Normanby (NZ 928061)	Manor	2 car.
Pickering	Multiple Estate	37 car./50 car. sokes
Pinchinthorpe	Manor	3 car.
Roxby	Manor	1 car.
Skutterskelfe	Manor	2 bov.
Stainton	Manor	1 bov.

<u>Holding</u>	<u>Status</u>	<u>Arable Land</u>
Tanton	Manor	2½ car.
Thoraldby	Manor	1 car.
Thornaby	Manor	1½ car.
Thornton Dale	Manor	3 car.
Thornton Fields	Manor	2 car.
Tollesby	Manor	2 car.
Troutsdale	Manor	2 car.
Tunstall	Manor	3 car.
Ugthorpe	Manor	2 car.
Upsall	Manor	1 car.
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TOTAL	2 Multiple Estates/45 manors	174½ car/134 car. sokes
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Robert, Count of Mortain

Aislaby (NZ 857085)	Manor	3 car.
Great Ayton	Manor	6 car.
Barnaby	Manor	6 car.
Borrowby	Manor	6 car.
Brotton	Manor	12 car.
Great Broughton	Manor	5 car.
Cloughton	Manor	2 bov.
Egton	Manor	3 car.
Ellerby	Manor	6 car.
Eston	Manor	9 car.
Goldsborough	Manor	2 car.
<u>Grimesbi</u>	Manor	2 car.
Guisborough, Middleton and Hutton Lowcross	Manor	25 car.
Hutton Mulgrave	Manor	3 car.
Hutton Rudby	Multiple Estate	6 car./20 car. sokes
Kilton	Manor	1 car
Kilton Thorpe	Manor	1½ car.
Kirkleatham	Manor	9 car.
Lackenby	Manor	2 car.
<u>Loctemerc</u>	Manor	1½ car.
Lythe	Manor	2 car.
Mickleby	Manor	4 car.
Great Moorsholm	Manor	3 car.

<u>Holding</u>	<u>Status</u>	<u>Arable Land</u>
Little Moorsholm	Manor	1 car.
Mulgrave	Manor	6 car.
Newby	Manor	2½ car.
Normanby (NZ 541683)	Manor	7 car.
Seamer and Tanton	Multiple Estate	13 car./25 car. sokes
Seaton Hall	Multiple Estate	3 car./2 car. sokes
Skelton	Manor	13 car.
Stainton	Manor	7 bov.
Tocketts	Manor	2 car.
Wilton	Manor	4 car.
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TOTAL	3 Multiple Estates/30 manors	171½ car./47 car. sokes

Hugh, Earl of Chester

Acklam	Multiple Estate	11 car./25 car. sokes
Loftus	Multiple Estate	4 car/46½ car. sokes
Whitby	Multiple Estate	15 car./28 car./6 bov. sokse
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TOTAL	3 Multiple Estates	30 car./99½ car. sokes

Robert Malet

Acklam	Manor	1 car.
Great Ayton	Manor	2 car.
Little Ayton	Manor	4 car.
Little Busby	Manor	½ car.
Marton	Manor	5 car.
Newham	Manor	10 bov.
Normanby (NZ 546183)	Manor	½ car.
Pinchinthorpe	Manor	3 car.
Stainton	Manor	2 car.
Thornaby	Manor	1½ car.
Thornton	Manor	1 car.
Tollesby	Manor	3 car.
Guisborough	Manor	3 car./2 bov.
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TOTAL	13 manors	26 car./6 bov.

Hugh, Son of Baldric

<u>Holding</u>	<u>Status</u>	<u>Arable Land</u>
Crunkly Gill	Manor	16 car.
 <u>William de Percy</u>		
East Ayton	Manor	6 car.
Cloughton	Manor	1 car.
Fylingdales	Manor	1 car.
Hackness, Suffield and Everley	Manor	8 car.
Hinderwell	Manor and Soke	4 car./10 bov. sokes
Killerby	Manor	2 car.
Markse	Manor	8 car.
Seamer (South)	Manor	6 car.
Thorpfield and Irton	Manor	4½ car.
Snainton	Manor	1½ car.
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TOTAL	10 Manors, 1 Soke	42 car./10 bov. sokes
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King's Thegns

Kildale	Manor	6 car.
Marton	Manor and Soke	3 car./2 car. soke
Newsham	Manor	2½ car.
Ormesby	Manor	12 car.
Stokesley	Manor	6 car.
Wilton	Manor	3 car./6 bov.
Wilton and Lazenby	Manor	1 car.
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TOTAL	8 Manors, 1 Soke	36 car./2 bov./10 bov. soke
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Robert de Brus

Acklam	Manor	2 car.
<u>Bergolbi</u>	Manor	1 car.
Little Busby	Manor	2 car.
Castle Leavington	Manor	4 car.
Cayton	Manor	2 car.
Faceby	Manor	8 car.
Foxton	Manor	9 car.

<u>Holding</u>	<u>Status</u>	<u>Arable Land</u>
Goulton	Manor	1 car.
Guisborough	Manor	1 car.
Hilton	Manor	3 car.
Ingleby Arncliffe	Manor	2 car.
Kildale	Manor	6 car.
Kirklevington	Manor	6 car.
Marton	Manor	4 car.
Great Moorsholm	Manor	½ car.
Morton	Manor	3 car.
Newham	Manor	2 car./2 bov.
Newton	Manor	4 car./6 bov.
Nunthorpe	Manor	6 car.
Ormesby	Manor	12 car.
Pinchinthorpe	Manor	3 car.
Stainton	Manor	1 bov.
Tanton	Manor	2½ bov.
Thornaby	Manor	1½ bov.
Thornton Dale	Manor	11 bov.
Tollesby	Manor	3 car.
Upsall	Manor	3 car.
Wykeham	Manor	½ car.
Yarm	Manor	3 car.
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TOTAL	33 Manors	107½ car./8 bov.
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Subunfeudated LandRobert of Mortain

<u>Holding</u>	<u>Tenant</u>	<u>Arable Land</u>
Aislaby (NZ 857085)	Richard Surdeval	3 car.
Great Ayton	Nigel Fossard	6 car.
Barnaby	Richard Surdeval	6 car.
Borrowby	Nigel Fossard	6 car.
Brotton	Richard Surdeval	12 car.
Great Broughton	Nigel Fossard	5 car.
Egton	Nigel Fossard	3 car.
Ellerby	Nigel Fossard	6 car.
Eston	Richard Surdeval	9 car.
Golsborough	Nigel Fossard	2 car.

<u>Holding</u>	<u>Tenant</u>	<u>Arable Land</u>
Hutton Mulgrave	Nigel Fossard	3 car.
Lackenby	Nigel Fossard	2 car.
Mickleby	Nigel Fossard	4 car.
Great Moorsholm	Richard Surdeval	3 car.
Little Moorsholm	Richard Surdeval	1 car.
Mulgrave	Nigel Fossard	6 car.
Newby	Nigel Fossard	2½ car.
Normanby (NZ 546183)	Nigel Fossard	7 car.
Seamer and Tanton	Richard Surdeval	13 car./25 car. sokes
Seaton Hall	Richard Surdeval	3 car./2 car. soles
Skelton	Richard Surdeval	13 car.
Stainton	Richard Surdeval	7 bov.
Tocketts	Richard Surdeval	2 car.
Wilton	Richard Surdeval	4 car.

Earl of Chester

Whitby	William de Percy	15 car./28 car. sokes
Acklam	Hugh	11 car./25 car. sokes

William de Percy

Cloughton	Richard	1 car.
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TOTAL	4 Multiple Estates 23 manors	5 Tenants	152½ car/.80 car. sokes
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Richard Surdeval	10 Manors 2 Multiple Estates	79 car./7 bov./80 car. sokes
Nigel Fossard	12 manors	52½ car.
William de Percy	1 Multiple Estate	15 car./28 car.
Hugh	1 Multiple Estate	11 car./25 car.
Richard	1 Manor	1 car.

Source: Domesday Book

Appendix 4 : Grants to Religious Houses c1090 - 1200Whitby Abbey

<u>Settlement</u>	<u>Size of Grant</u>	<u>Grantor</u>	<u>Charter</u>	<u>Date</u>
<u>Baldebi</u>	Vill	William de Percy	WCh I No 26	1091-96
<u>Bertwait</u>	Vill	William de Percy	WCh I No 26	1091-96
Broxa	Vill	William de Percy	WCh I No 26	1091-96
Dunsley	Vill	William de Percy	WCh I No 26	1091-96
Everley	Vill	William de Percy	WCh I No 26	1091-96
Fyling Hall	Vill	William de Percy	WCh I No 26	1091-96
Fylingthorpe	Vill	William de Percy	WCh I No 26	1091-96
<u>Gaitelai</u>	Vill	William de Percy	WCh I No 26	1091-96
Hackness	Vill	William de Percy	WCh I No 26	1091-96
Hawsker	Vill	William de Percy	WCh I No 26	1091-96
Helredale	Vill	William de Percy	WCh I No 26	1091-96
Larpool	Vill	William de Percy	WCh I No 26	1091-96
Loftus	Vill	William de Percy	WCh I No 26	1091-96
Flowergate	Vill	William de Percy	WCh I No 26	1091-96
Newholm	Vill	William de Percy	WCh I No 26	1091-96
Normanby (NZ 928061)	Vill	William de Percy	WCh I No 26	1091-96
Northfield	Vill	William de Percy	WCh I No 26	1091-96
<u>Overbi</u>	Vill	William de Percy	WCh I No 26	1091-96
<u>Prestebi</u>	Vill	William de Percy	WCh I No 26	1091-96
Silpho	Vill	William de Percy	WCh I No 26	1091-96
<u>Sourebi</u>	Vill	William de Percy	WCh I No 26	1091-96
Stakesby	Vill	William de Percy	WCh I No 26	1091-96
<u>Staupe</u>	Vill	William de Percy	WCh I No 26	1091-96
Suffield	Vill	William de Percy	WCh I No 26	1091-96
<u>Setwait</u>	Vill	William de Percy	WCh I No 26	1091-96
Sneaton	Vill	William de Percy	WCh I No 26	1091-96
<u>Nidrebi</u>	Vill	William de Percy	WCh I No 26	1091-96
<u>Tornesleia</u>	Vill	William de Percy	WCh I No 26	1091-96
Ugglebarnby	Vill	William de Percy	WCh I No 26	1091-96
Whitby	Vill	William de Percy	WCh I No 26	1091-96
Whitby	Church of SS Peter and Hild	William de Percy	WCh I No 26	1091-96
Whitby	Church of St Mary	William de Percy	WCh I No 26	1091-96
Hackness	Church of St Peter	William de Percy	WCh I No 26	1091-96
Hackness	Church of St Mary	William de Percy	WCh I No 26	1091-96

<u>Settlement</u>	<u>Size of Grant</u>	<u>Grantor</u>	<u>Charter</u>	<u>Date</u>
Eskdale	Hermitage	William de Percy	WCh I No 26	1091-96
Mulgrave	Hermitage	William de Percy	WCh I No 26	1091-96
Aislaby (NZ 857085)	Chapel	William de Percy	WCh I No 26	1091-96
Dunsley	Chapel	William de Percy	WCh I No 26	1091-96
Fyling	Chapel	William de Percy	WCh I No 26	1091-96
Hawsker	Chapel	William de Percy	WCh I No 26	1091-96
Sneaton	Chapel	William de Percy	WCh I No 26	1091-96
Ugglebarnby	Chapel	William de Percy	WCh I No 26	1091-96
Stainsacre	Vill	William de Percy	WCh I No 26	1091-96
<u>Tingwala</u>	Vill	William de Percy	WCh I No 26	1091-96
Ayton	Church	Stephen de Meynell	WCh I No 26	1091-96
Burniston	2 car.	William I	WCh II No 555	c1070-87
Burniston	2 car. & mill	Uchtred de Cleveland	EYC I No 384	1087-1109
Hackness	Church & 2 car.	William I	WCh 11 No 555	c1070-87
Northfield	4 car.	William I	WCh II No 555	c1070-87
Hinderwell	½ car.	John Ingram	WCh I No 1	<u>ante</u> 1148
Hutton Buscel	½ car.	Alan Buscel	WCh I No 194	c1130-38
Hutton Buscel	Hermitage called Westcroft and land	Alan Buscel	WCh I no 68	1135-55
Ingleby	Church & mill	Adam de Ingleby	EYC I No 568	1153-54
Middlesbrough	Church & 1 car.	Robert de Brus	WCh I No 1	<u>ante</u> 1148
Newholm	2 car. 2 bov.	Robert de Brus	WCh I No 11	<u>ante</u> 1135
Seamer (TA 015833)	Church	William de Percy II	WCh I No 45	1145-53
Sneaton	2s per annum	John Arundel	EYC XI No 172	Mid 12thC
Wykeham	½ car.	Paganus de Wykeham	WCh I No 93	c1125-35
Upleatham	2 bov.	Roger de Argentom	WCh I No 72	c1154-66
Thorpefield	6 bov.	Roger de Mowbray	WCh I No 256	1138-66
Great Ayton	Church & 4 bov.	Robert de Meynell	WCh I No 226	c1154-70
Great Ayton	24 acres newly tilled	Stephen de Bulmer	WCh I No 226	c1154-70
Butterwick	1 car. 2 bov and mill	Durand de Butterwick II	WCh I No 214	c1157-70
Lindthorpe	1 bov.	Roger de Cusin	WCh I No 138	<u>ante</u> 116.
Middlesbrough	9 acres and 2 tofts	Robert FitzErnisius and John Ingram	WCh I No 133	1160-70
Middlesbrough	Toft of 4 acres	Cecily de Acklam	EYC II No 705	1160-70
Middlesbrough	9 acres	John Ingram	WCh I No 137	1160-70
Cayton	3 bov.	Robert Roc	WCh I No 144	c1170-90

<u>Settlement</u>	<u>Size of Grant</u>	<u>Grantor</u>	<u>Charter</u>	<u>Date</u>
Fylingthorpe	Church	Robert de Ayton	WCh I No 198	1177-81
Ingleby	Court & land	Henry, chaplain	EYC I No 579	1180-1200
Great Ayton	Church	William de Stuteville	EYC XI No 105	1189-91
Ayresome	5 acres arable	Gregory de Linthorpe	WCh I No 179	
<u>Brackenhoue</u>	½ acre	William Tosty	WCh I No 136	
Burniston	Church	Alan de Munceus	WCh I No 194	
Burniston	2 car.	Everard de Ros	WCh I No 248	
Cayton	2 bov.	Durand de Cayton	WCh I No 239	
Dunsley	5 tofts	William de Percy de Dunsley	WCh I No 65	
Dunsley	1 toft	William de Percy de Dunsley	WCh I No 66	
Dunsley	1 toft	William de Percy de Dunsley	WCh I No 207	
Fyling Hall	Vill	Alan de Percy	WCh I No 27	
Fyling Hall	Vill	Robert de Ayketon	WCh I No 174	
Hawkser	Vill	Alan de Percy	WCh I No 27	
Hinderwell	½ car with toft	William Wirfald	WCh II No 426	
Liverton	2 bov.	Robert de Liverton	WCh I No 219	
Liverton	2 bov.1 toft	Robert de Liverton	WCh I No 229	
Liverton	Land specified	Robert de Liverton	WCh I No 247	
Loftus	2 bov.	William de Percy	WCh I No 74	
Loftus	2 bov.	Richard de Argentom	WCh II No 417	
Marton	Toft of 8 acres	Thomas de Marton	WCh I No 147	
Middlesbrough	Land called	Robert Galicien	WCh I No 116	
Middleton	2 bov.	Ace de Lockington	WCh I No 1	
Ormesby	8 perches meadow	Roger de Baius	WCh I No 146	
Roxby	1 car.	Father of William Fossard	WCh II No 423	
Ruswarp	Land held by Raphy Surensis	Johanna Arundel	WCh I No 102	
Scarborough	2 <u>mansuras</u>	Maurice and Richard, priests		
Killerby	1 <u>mansura</u> /2 bov	Robert FitzAschetin	WCh I No 1	
Ugglebarnby	2 bov.	Ralph de Ugglebarnby	WCh I No 109	
Great Ayton	Meadow	William FitzAngnotus	WCh I No 106	
Cayton	2 car.	Uchtred de Allerston	WCh I No 108	
Cayton	2 bov.	Thorfinn de Allerston	WCh I No 1	

Guisborough Priory

<u>Settlement</u>	<u>Size of Grant</u>	<u>Grantor</u>	<u>Charter</u>	<u>Date</u>
Acklam	Church	Ailfred	GCh I No 1	1119-24
Ayresome	1 car.	William Ingram	GCh I No 1	1119-24
Guisborough	Vill and lands	Robert de Brus I	GCh I No 1	1119-24
Guisborough	Church	Robert de Brus I	GCh I No 1	1119-24
Guisborough	Land of Uchtred	Robert de Brus I	GCh I No 1	1119-24
Tollesby	½ car/church	Robert de Sturmy	EYC II No 686	1119-24
Kirkleatham	Vill and 9 car.	Robert de Brus I	GCh I No 1.	1119-24
Loftus	3 bov.	Theobald de Loftus	GCh I No 1	1119-24
Marske	Church	Robert de Brus I	GCh I No 1	1119-24
Ormesby	Church	Ernald de Percy	GCh I No 1	1119-24
Skelton	Church	Robert de Brus I	GCh I No 1	1119-24
Stainton	Church	Robert de Brus I	GCh I No 1	1119-24
Upleatham	Church	Robert de Brus I	GCh I No 1	1119-24
Kirkleatham	1 car and tofts for 20 years	William de Caratil	EYC II No 745	c1160
Kirklevington	Church	Adam de Brus II	EYC II No 654	1155-65
Yarm	Church	Adam de Brus II	EYC II No 654	1155-65
Ayresome	1 car.	John Ingram	EYC II No 707	1150-60
Ingleby Arncliffe	Church and 2 bov.	Walter Ingram	EYC II No 711	1150-72
Ugthorpe	1 bov. held of William de Hamby	Peter de Cordanvill	EYC XI No 94	c1150-80
Guisborough	1 strip	Richard, son of Gocelin	GCh I No 154	Mid 12thC
Eston	60 acres	Robert de Meynell II	EYC II No. 772	1160-72
Ughthorpe	2 car for 20yr	William de Hamby	EYC I No 619	c1161
Arncliffe	Church	Walter Ingram	EYC II No 717	c1170
Guisborough	2 car.	William de Caratil	EYC II No 755	1160-80
Barnaby	6 bov.	Ricolf de Galmeston	EYC II No 702	1170-85
Easington	Church	Roger de Rosel	EYC II No 770	1170-80
Guisborough	House	Alan de Ferlington	EYC II No 1055	1170-85
Guisborough	1 bov.	Hawise Cogan	EYC II No 695	1170-80
Hutton Lowcross	1 bov, 1 toft	Robert FitzRobert FitzAlfred de Skelton	EYC II No 698	1170-85
Ingleby Arncliffe	½ car. 19 acres	William Ingram	EYC II No 715	1170-80
Kirkleatham	2 tillages in East Coatham	Richard de Caratil	EYC II No 756	1170-80
Ughthorpe	1 bov. and his body for burial	William de Argentom	EYC II No 769	1175-85

<u>Settlement</u>	<u>Size of Grant</u>	<u>Grantor</u>	<u>Charter</u>	<u>Date</u>
Guisborough	1 bov.	Eustace, nephew of Prior Cuthbert	EYC II No 699	1175-95
Maltby	Vill & 2 bov.	William FitzFulk	GCh I No 17	<u>ante</u> 1182
<u>Caldecotes</u>	Mill	William de Percy de Kildale		1171-95
Guisborough	1½ acres	Thomas, nephew of Prior Ralph	EYC II No 700	1175-95
Guisborough	6 acres	William de Bretvill	EYC II No 696	1185-95
Kirkleatham	Saltpan in Cotham,	Roger de Tocketts	EYC II No 757	1180-90
Marske	2 tillages	William Magnus de Tocketts	EYC II No 766	1180-90
Tollesby	½ car.	William de Acklam	GCh I No 17	<u>ante</u> 1182
Ughthorpe	2 bov.	William de Argentom	GCh I No 17	<u>ante</u> 1182
Ughthorpe	1 car.	Ingram de Munceaux	EYC II No 1061	1182-1205
Upleatham	2 bov for 20yr	Peter Escarbot	EYC II No 763	1188
Guisborough	2 bov. 3 tofts	Nicholas, son of Richard FitzRoald	GCh I No 112	c1189
Guisborough	5 tofts	William de Lyuum	GCh I No 34	Late 12th
Guisborough	<u>Totam Westwith</u>	Adam de Bruss II	GCh I No 10	<u>ante</u> 1199
Guisborough	1½ acres in <u>Adalwaldslet</u>	Eustace de Guisborough	GCh I No 24	
Kirkleatham	Church	William de Kilton	EYC II no 724	1195-1206
Marion	Church	Robert Sturmy	EYC II No 687	<u>ante</u> 1140
Crathorne	Church	Robert Sturmy	EYC II No 687	<u>ante</u> 1140
Guisborough	Guisborough	Eustace de Guisborough	GCh I No 22	
Guisborough	3 <u>rodas</u> in <u>Adalwaldslet</u>	Eustace de Guisborough	GCh I No 22	
Loftus	3 car.	Richard Beard		
<u>Rievaulx Abbey</u>				
Allerston	Pasture for 500 sheep, sheep- fold, parcel in Wesdale/1 acre intakes	Thorfinn de Allerston	EYC I No 387	1154-74
Cargo Fleet	Cultivated land in <u>Saltcoteflath</u>	Richard Fitz Thurstan de Normanby	RCh No 116	1154-81
Allerston	Land on east side of Allerston Beck and adjoining meadow	Thorfinn de Alleston	EYC I No 388	1160-75

<u>Settlement</u>	<u>Size of Grant</u>	<u>Grantor</u>	<u>Charter</u>	<u>Date</u>
Allerston	1 car. in Allerston, 5 acres in Gindale, in exchange for tofts of 1 car. & pasture for 500 sheep	Thorfinn of Allerston	EYC I No 386	1160
Allerston	1 car.	Thorfinn of Allerston	RCh No 1	<u>ante</u> 1170
Allerston	12 perches/	Thorfinn of Allerston	RCh No 1	<u>ante</u> 1170
Normanby (NZ 546183)	Fishery & 8 acres	Roger Losth	EYC II No 664	1175-85
Normanby (NZ 546183)	33 acres in <u>Saltcoteflath</u> , land in Saltcote Hills, his part of the Tees for fisheries, pasture for 100 ewes	Richard Losth	EYC II No 743	1175-85
Normanby (NZ 546183)	1 bov./15 acres meadow/4 perches meadow elsewhere in Normanby	Richard Losth	RCh No 329	<u>ante</u> 1189
Greenhow	Forest	Stephen de Meynell	RCh No 164	c1180-85
Great Broughton	13 acres	Jordan Pain de Broughton	RCh No 123	c1180-88
Normanby	Land specified	Robert de Normanby	EYC II No 743	1185-95
Cargo Fleet	33 acres	Richard Losth	RCh No 117	<u>ante</u> 1200
Foxton	Manor	William de Grey	RCh No 354	

Fountains Abbey

Cayton	2 car.	Eustace FitzJohn	EYC I No 502	1135-57
Cayton	2 car.	Henry II	EYC I No 503	1172-82
Carlton	2 bov.	Roger de Skutterskelfe	EYC II No 802	1175-85
Scarborough	Land specified	Roger de Bavent	EYC I No 368	1175-94
Great Busby	1 bov.	Robert de Busby	EYC I No 583	1180-90
Great Busby	Land specified	Robert de Hesding	EYC I No 582	1180-90
Dromonby	2 bov, 5 acres, & other small grants	Ernald FitzBence	EYC I No 585	12th C

Byland Abbey

Deepdale	Tillage	Simon de Cliff	EYC XI No 193	c1145-70
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<u>Settlement</u>	<u>Size of Grant</u>	<u>Grantor</u>	<u>Charter</u>	<u>Date</u>
Deepdale	Manor, meadow pasture	Durand de Cliff	EYC XI No 183	1160-66
Osgodby	Gifts	Angot de Osgodby	EYC XI No 22	1160-66
Linthorpe	Toft of 1½ acres, fishery	Roger de Cusin	EYC II No 1851	1160-70
Osgodby	½ bov.	Richard de Osgodby	EYC XI No 195	1160-81
Tollesby	Toft of 40 x 8 perches	Hugh Malebusse	EYC III No 1849	1170-80
Thornaby	2 bov.	Richard Malebisse	EYC III No 1850	1176-1200
East Ayton	4 acres meadow	Ralph de Hallay	EYC XI No 175	1175-81
Deepdale	2 bov.	William de Cayton	EYC XI No 191	1180-90
Deepdale	2 acres profitable land	William de Cayton	EYC XI No 190	1180-90
Linthorpe	Fishery	William de Acklam	EYC II No 773	1185-96
Kirkleatham	Toft & croft, and salthouse	William de Kilton	EYC II No 725	1190-1206

Grants to Other Religious Houses

St. Mary's, York

Stokesley	Church/1 car.	Guy de Balliol	EYC I No 559	1112-22
Butterwick	½ car.	Durand de Butterwick	EYC II No 1073	1122-37
Acklam	2 bov/pasture	William de Escures	EYC I No 32	1165-71

Bridlington Priory

Cloughton	Pasture	William de Aumale	EYC I No 362	1138-54
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St Mary, Thornton

Acklam	Church	William de Escures	EYC I No 32	1154-70
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Barnaby Hospital

Pinchinthorpe	5 acres	William Pinchun	EYC I No 752	1155-70
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Guisborough Hospital

Broughton	2 acres	William Paen	EYC I No 577	1170-85
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Hexham Abbey

Little Broughton	5½ acres	William de Mowbray	EYC II No 801	1194
Ingleby Greenhow	Toft	Alexander de Ingleby	EYC I No 576	<u>ante</u> 1200

<u>Settlement</u>	<u>Size of Grant</u>	<u>Grantor</u>	<u>Charter</u>	<u>Date</u>
<u>Kedholme Nunnery</u>				
Ingleby Greenhow	2 car/63 acres moorland, with right to break up moorland as far as their lands extend	Alexander de Ingleby	EYC I No 574	1170-85
Ingleby Greenhow	25 acres arable	Ralph Paen	EYC I No 575	<u>ante</u> 1201
<u>Nunthorpe Nunnery</u>				
Kildale	2 bov.	William de Maltby	EYC II No 748	1175-85
Stokesley	6 bov.	Guy de Boveincourt II		
Westerdale	2 bov and pasture	Guy de Boveincourt II	EYC I No 565	1190-1204
Pinchinthorpe	2 acres	William Pinchun	EYC II No 753	1195-1210
<u>Malton Priory</u>				
Scarborough	Land specified	Haldan de Scarbro'	EYC I No 366	1170-90
<u>St. Curthbert's, Marton</u>				
	20 acres	Hugh Malebisse		1175-85
<u>Hospital of Jerusalem</u>				
Cloughton <i>W'dale</i>	1½ acre/1 toft	Thomas de Duggleby	EYC II No 229	1180-1200
<u>St. Peter's, York</u>				
Cloughton	1½ acre/1 toft	Thomas de Duggleby	EYC II No 229	1180-1200

Appendix 5 : Landholding circa 1200 : Lay Landholders

Brus

Acquisitions in Domesday Manuscript, probably post 1106

Acklam	2 car.
<u>Bergolbi</u>	1 car.
Little Busby	2 car.
Cayton	2 car.
Faceby	8 car.
Foxton	9 car.
Goulton	1 car.
Guisborough	1 car.
Hilton	3 car.
Ingleby Arncliffe	2 car.
Kildale	6 car.
Kirklevington	6 car.
Marton	4 car.
Great Moorsholm	½ car.
Morton	3 car.
Newham	2 car. 6 bov.
Newton	4 car. 6 bov.
Nunthorpe	6 car.
Ormesby	12 car.
Pinchinthorpe	3 car.
Stainton	1 bov.
Tanton	2½ car.
Thornaby	1½ car.
Thornton Dale	11 bov.
Tollesby	3 car.
Upsall	3 car.
Wykeham	½ car.
Yarm	3 car.

Other Acquisitions

Ayresome - Tenanted by Ingram from early 12th C.	VCH. 271
Boulby - Tenanted by de Rosel	VCH. 340
Brotton	VCH. 329
Coatham - From early 12th C.	VCH. 376
Danby	VCH. 336
Easington - Tenanted by de Rosel	VCH. 340

Lazenby	VCH. 376
Linthorpe - Tenanted by de Acklam	VCH. 271
Skelton	VCH. 407
Tocketts - Tenanted by de Caratil from early 12th C.	VCH. 360
Upleatham	VCH. 411

Balliol

Battersby (1)	VCH. 245
Little Broughton - Bulk passed to Hexham & Rievaulx Abbeys	VCH. 255
Great Busby (1)	VCH. 304
Little Busby (1)	VCH. 304
Dromonby	VCH. 256
Easby	VCH. 304
Ingleby Greenhow	VCH. 245
Kirkby in Cleveland	VCH. 253
Newby	VCH. 307
Skutterskelfe (2)	VCH. 287
Sokesley	VCH. 302
Thoraldby (2)	VCH. 288
Westerdale - Tenanted by de Bovecncourt, then to Knights Templar before 1203	VCH. 415

Fossard

Great Ayton (1)	VCH. 226
Barnby	VCH. 393-94
Borrowby (Multiple estate)	VCH. 394
Great Broughton - Tenanted by Meynell	VCH. 254
Egton - To 1154, and again post 1194	VCH. 345-46
Golsborough	VCH. 394-95
Hutton Mulgrave	VCH. 395
Lackenby (1)	VCH. 376
Lythe	VCH. 393
Mickleby	VCH. 395
Mulgrave	VCH. 395
Newton Mulgrave	VCH. 396
Tunstall	VCH. 229
Wilton (2)	VCH. 377

Archbishop of Canterbury - Tenanted by Meynell

Carlton (2)	VCH. 232
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Eston	VCH. 279
Hutton Rudby (Multiple Estate)	VCH. 284-85
Newby (2)	VCH. 307
Rudby	VCH. 284-85
Seamer (Cleveland)	VCH. 291
Whorlton	VCH. 311

Meynell

Carlton (2)	VCH. 232
Goulton	VCH. 315
Greenhow	VCH. 246
Middleton upon Leven	VCH. 285
Skutterskelfe (3)	VCH. 287
Thoraldby (1)	VCH. 288

Crown

Honour of Pickering - Multiple Estate of Pickering and Falsgrave, united before 1168	VCH. 465
Allerston - Tenanted by de Allerston (Anglo-Saxon)	VCH. 421
Brompton (1)	VCH. 426
Cloughton	VCH. 480
Cropton	VCH. 455
Ebberston	VCH. 435
Ellerburn	VCH. 438
Levisham	VCH. 450
Lockton (1)	VCH. 456-57
Kingthorpe - Tenanted by de Kingthorpe	VCH. 469
Marion - Part tenanted by Malebiche, remainder by de Marion	VCH. 264-65
Middleton by Pickering	VCH. 454
Pinchinthorpe - Tenanted by Pinchun	VCH. 359-60
Scalby	VCH. 480
Snainton	VCH. 428
Thornton Dale (1)	VCH. 493
Ugthorpe	VCH. 396
Wykeham (1) - with appurtenance at Ruston	VCH. 499-500

Percy

Burniston	VCH. 480
Cloughton	VCH. 480
Deepdale	VCH. 432

East Ayton (1)	VCH. 486
Hinderwell	VCH. 407
Killerby	VCH. 432
Kirkleatham	VCH. 375
Irton	VCH. 487
Marske (2)	VCH. 402
Seamer (Scarborough)	VCH. 485
Snainton (2)	VCH. 428
Upleatham	VCH. 411
Wilton (1)	VCH. 377
Newholm - Tenanted by de Newholm	

Percy de Kildale

Battersby (2)	VCH. 246
Kildale	VCH. 250
Kilton - Tenanted by de Kilton	VCH. 330
Kilton Thorpe - Tenanted by de Kilton	VCH. 331
Ormesby	VCH. 278

Surdeval

Little Morrsholm	VCH. 409
Roxby (2) - Thence Brus before 1272	VCH. 368
Seaton Hall - Tenanted by de Seaton before 1148	VCH. 369
Tanton (2)	VCH. 307

Other

East Ayton	Bigod Earls of Norfolk	VCH. 486
Great Ayton	Stuteville	VCH. 226
Little Ayton	Malebiche	VCH. 227
West Ayton	de Ayton	VCH. 442
Cayton	Aumale, tenanted by de Allerston	VCH. 431
Dunsley	Percy de Dunsley	VCH. 518
Easby (2)	Mowbray	VCH. 306
Ellerburn (1)	de Allerston	VCH. 438
Hutton Buscel	Buscel, from Henry I	VCH. 442
Locton (2)	Malcale	VCH. 456-67
Osgodby	Aumale	VCH. 432
Staintondale	Knights Hospitaller	VCH. 481

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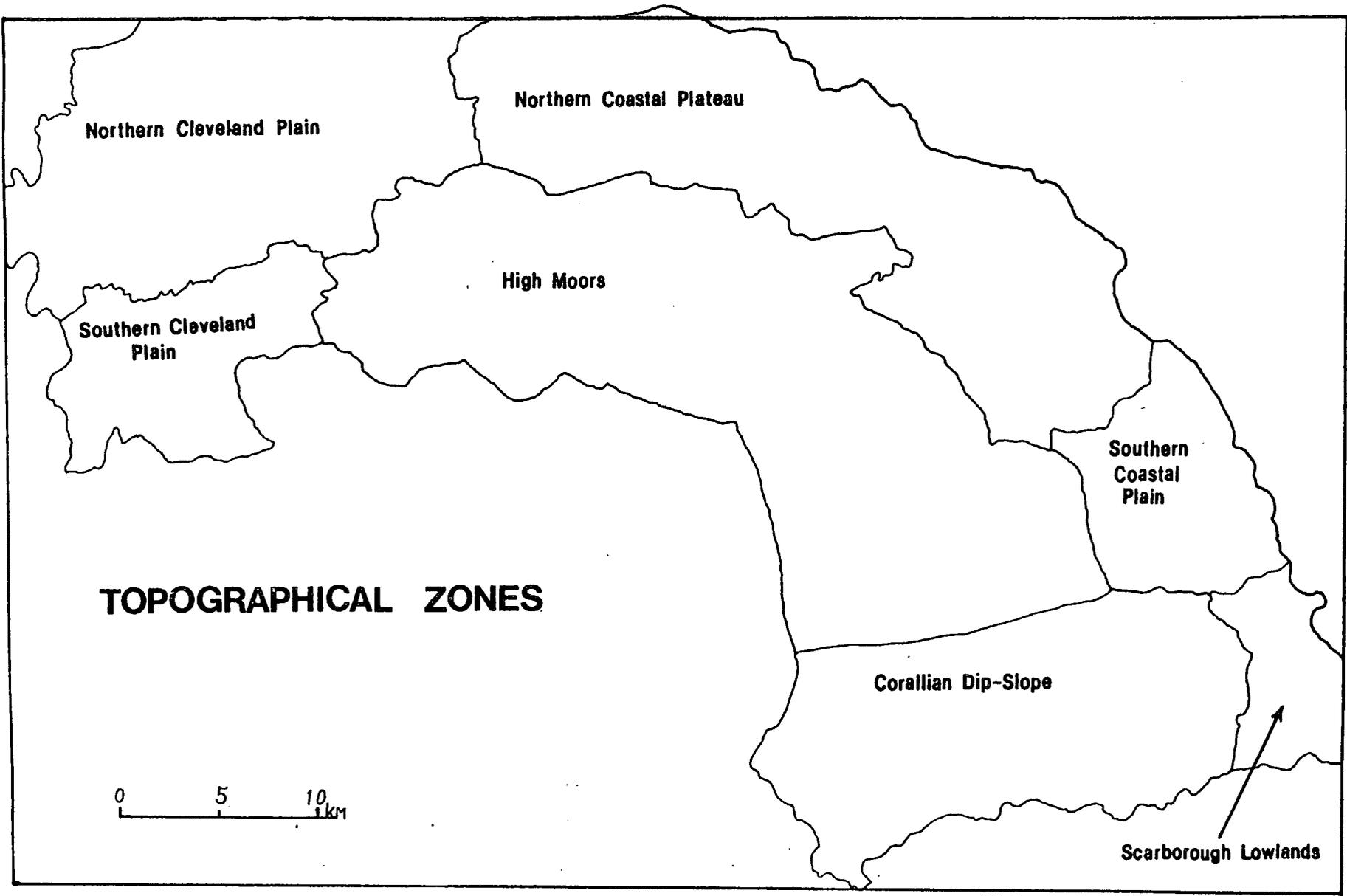
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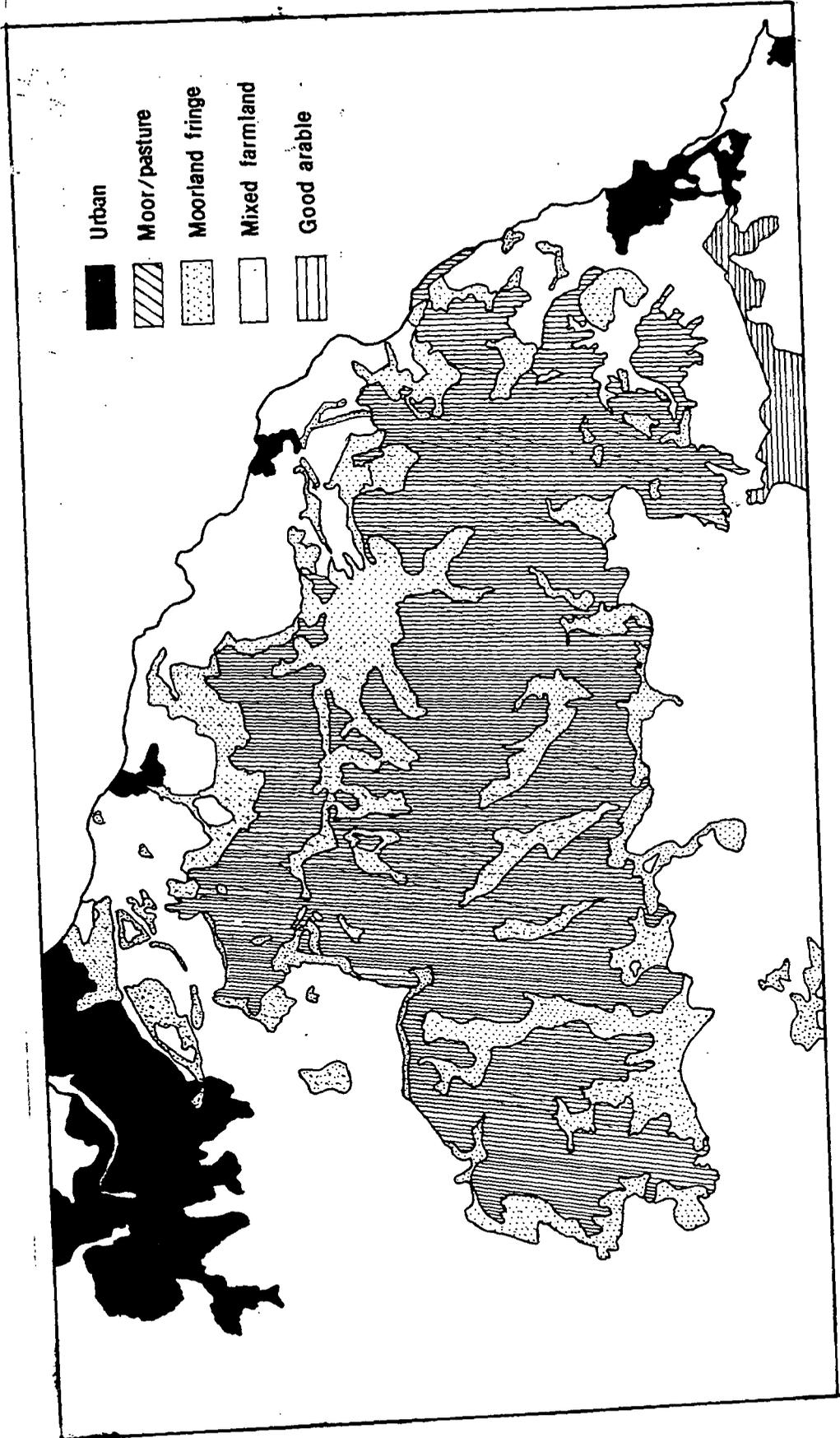
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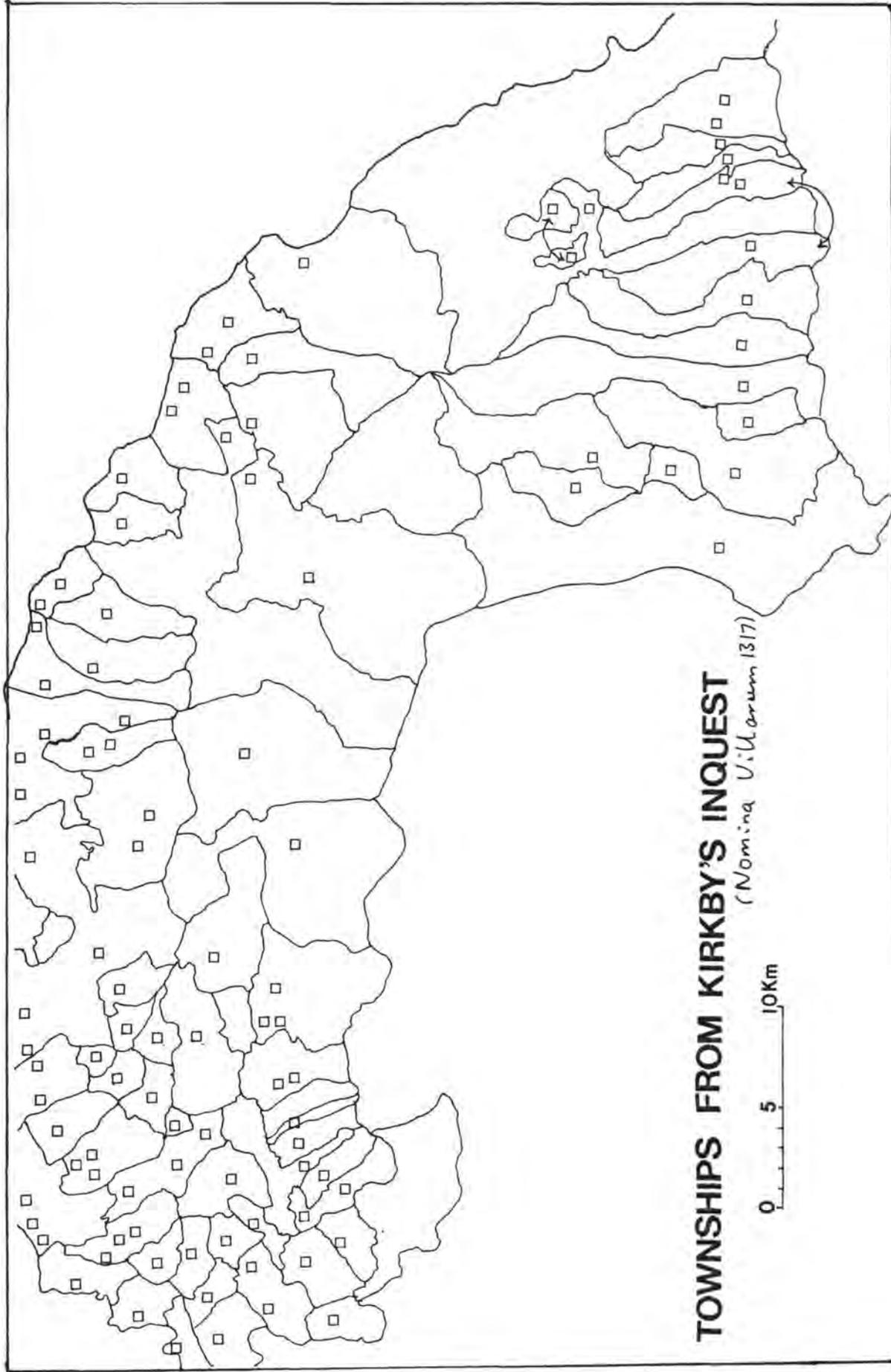
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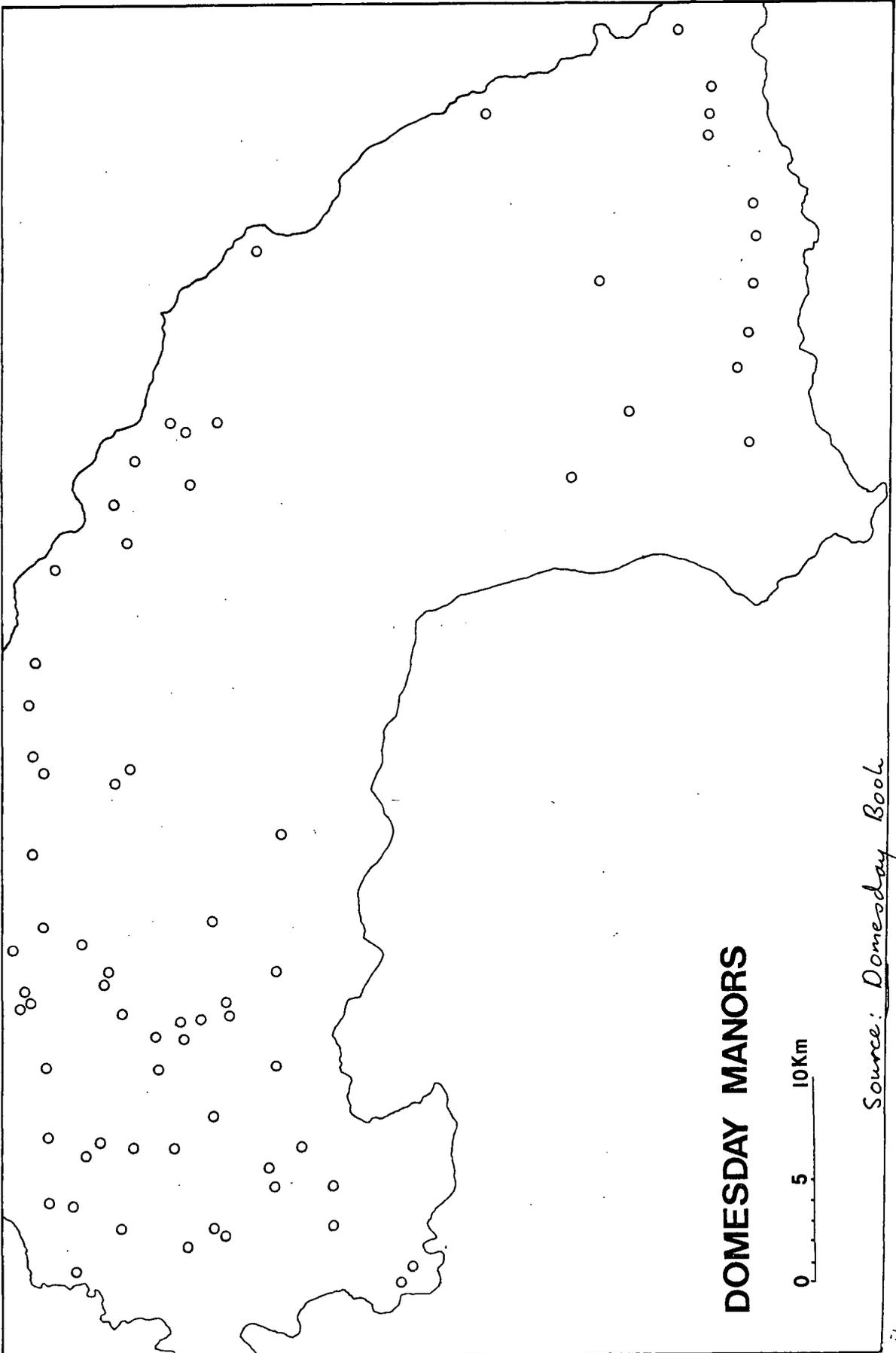
AGRICULTURAL LAND QUALITY 1976
*Ordnance Survey Land Classification Map, 1:250,000
1976.*



TOWNSHIPS FROM KIRKBY'S INQUEST

(Nominia Villarum 1317)

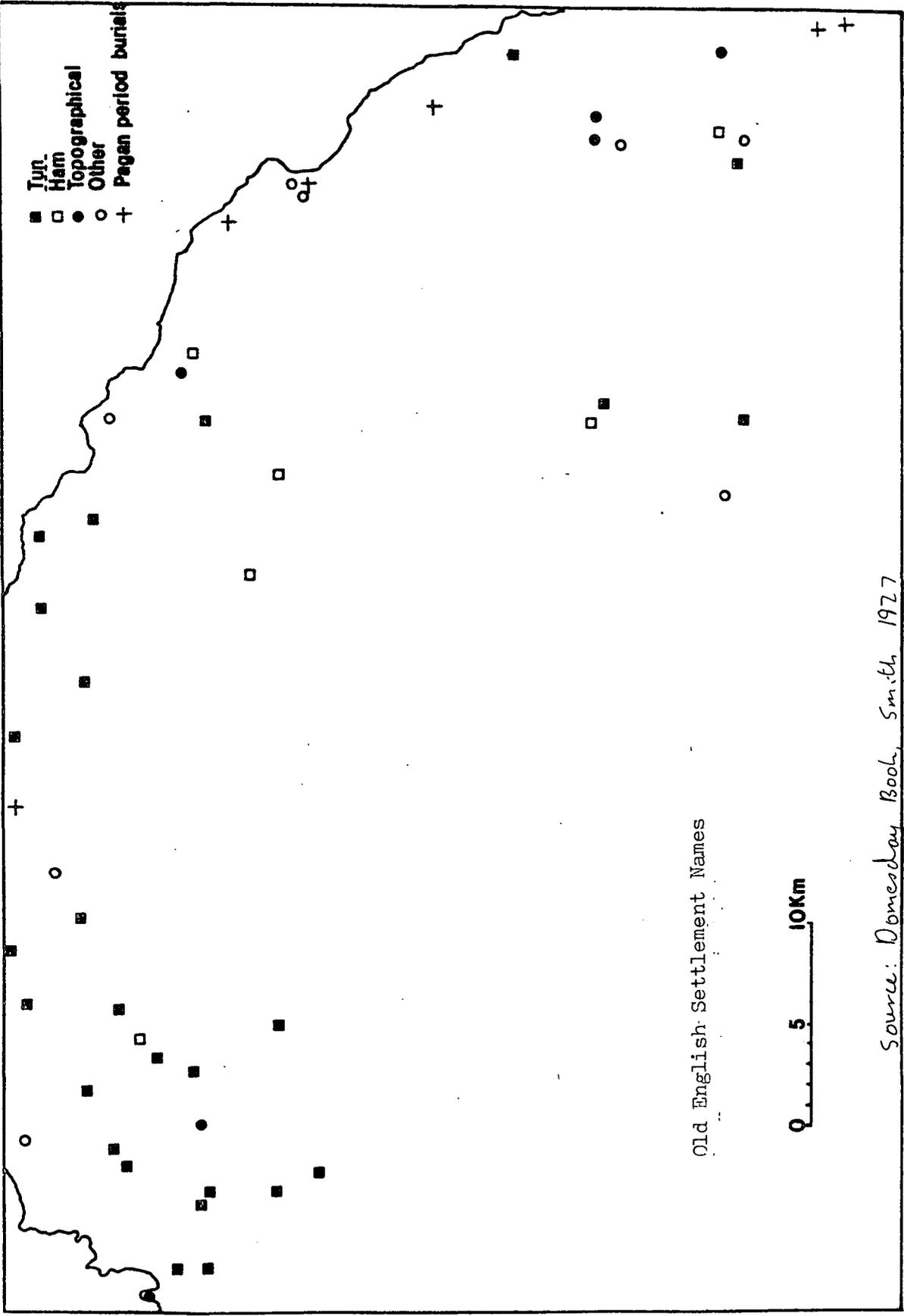




DOMESDAY MANORS

0 5 10Km

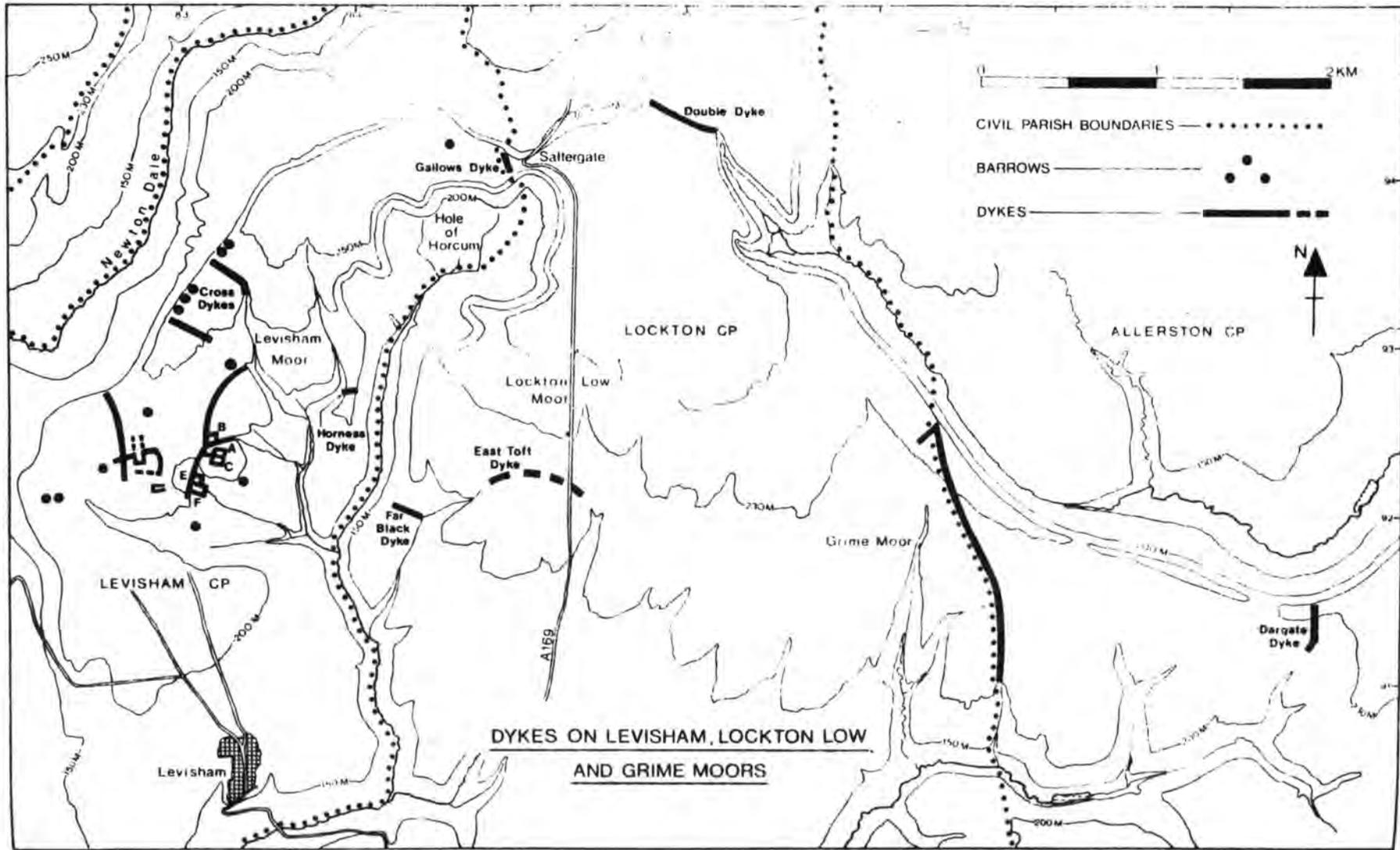
Source: *Domesday Book*



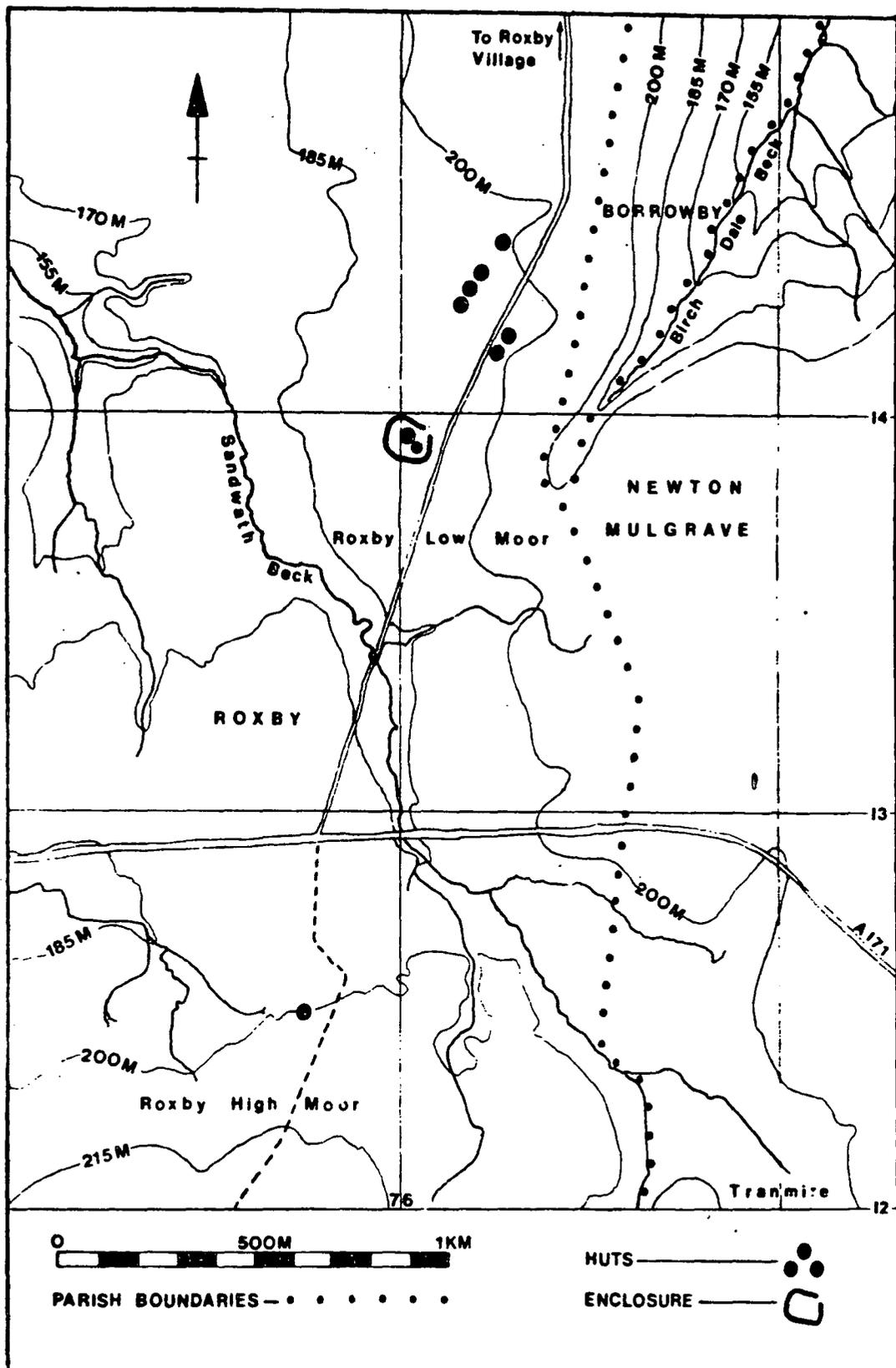
Old English Settlement Names



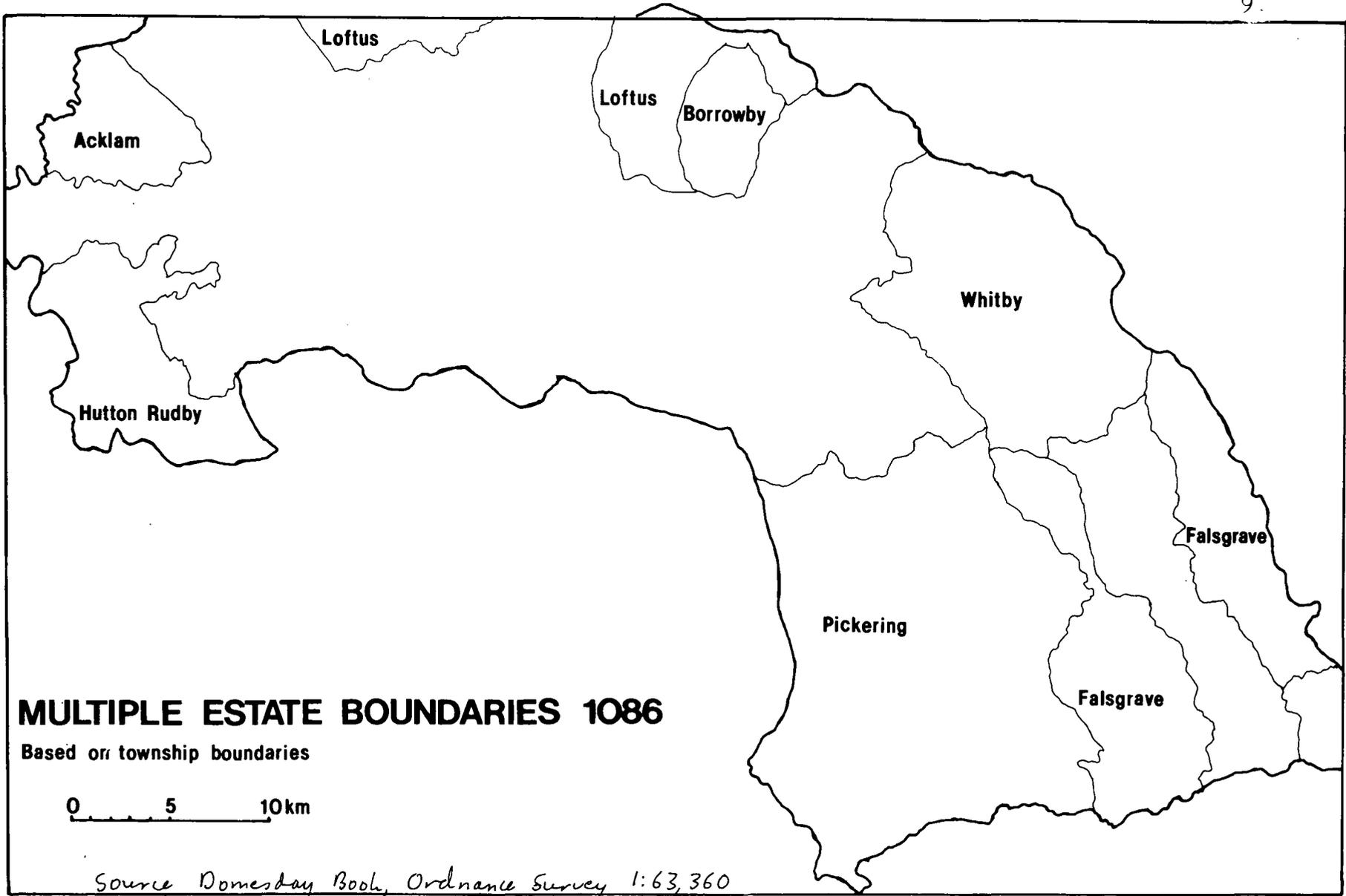
Source: Domesday Book, Smith 1977



From Spratt 1982

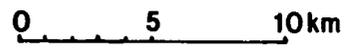


8. Iron Age Sites and Boundaries at Roxby (from Spratt 1982)

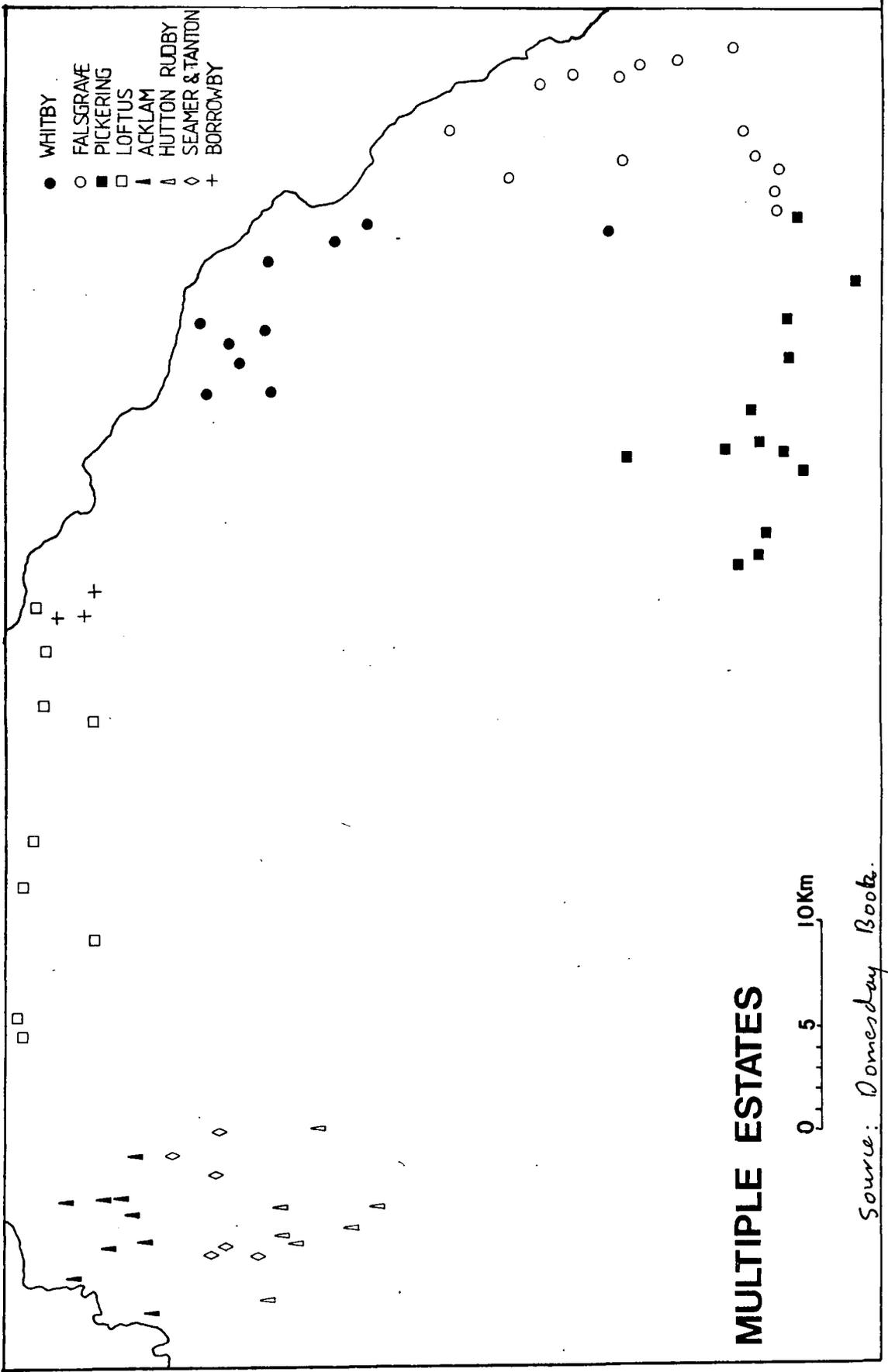


MULTIPLE ESTATE BOUNDARIES 1086

Based on township boundaries



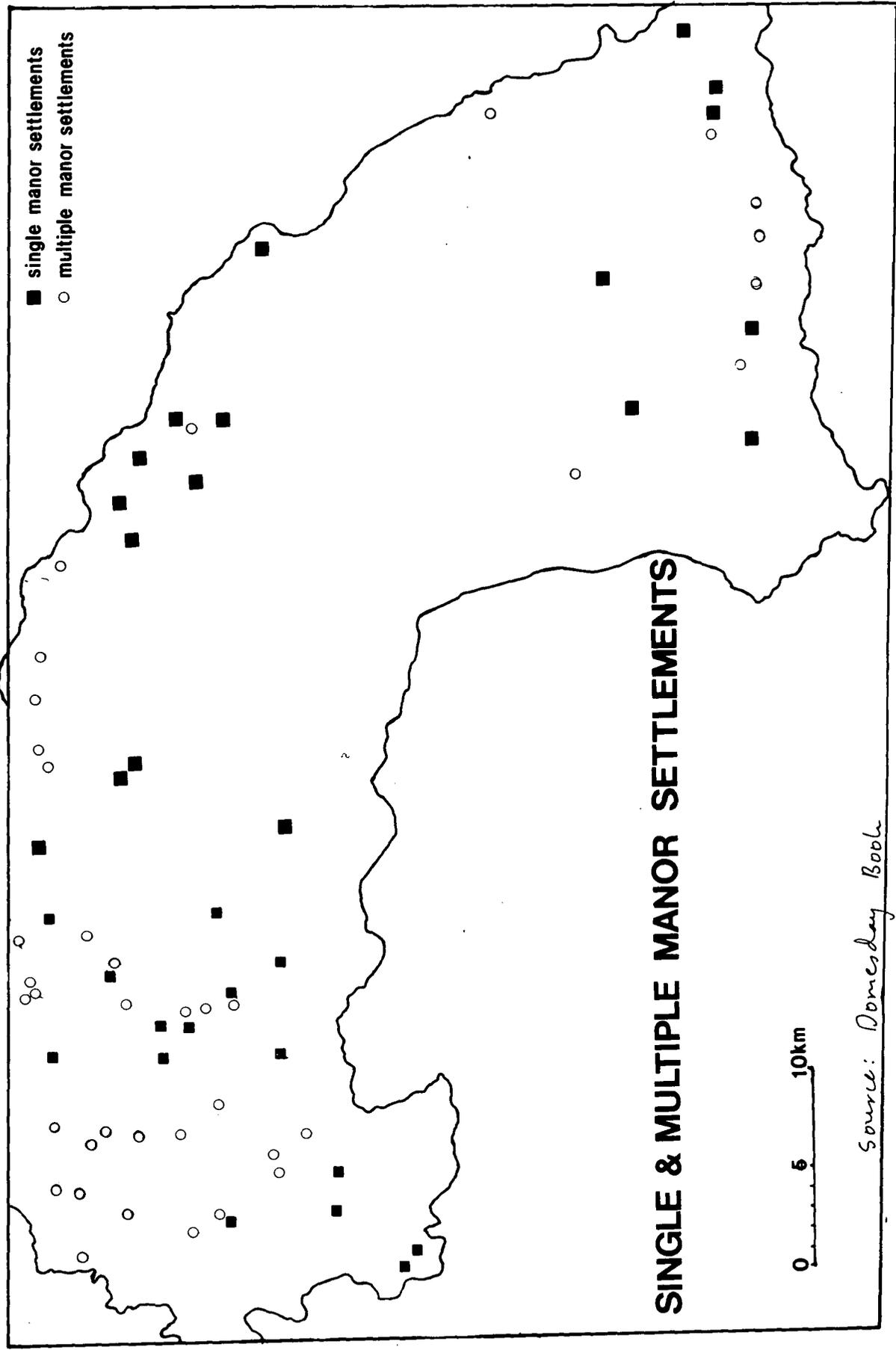
Source Domesday Book, Ordnance Survey 1:63,360

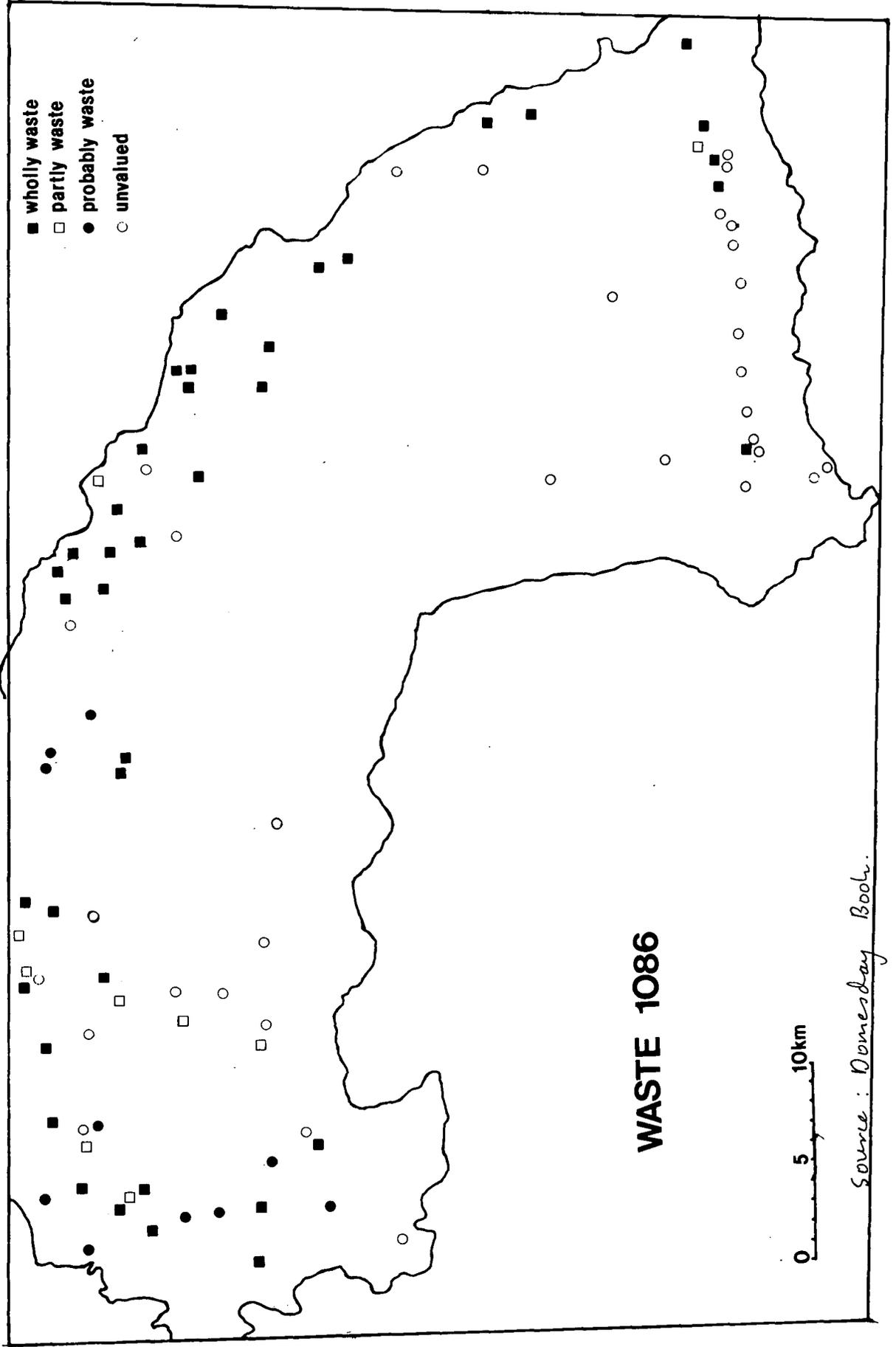


MULTIPLE ESTATES

0 5 10Km

Source: Domesday Book.

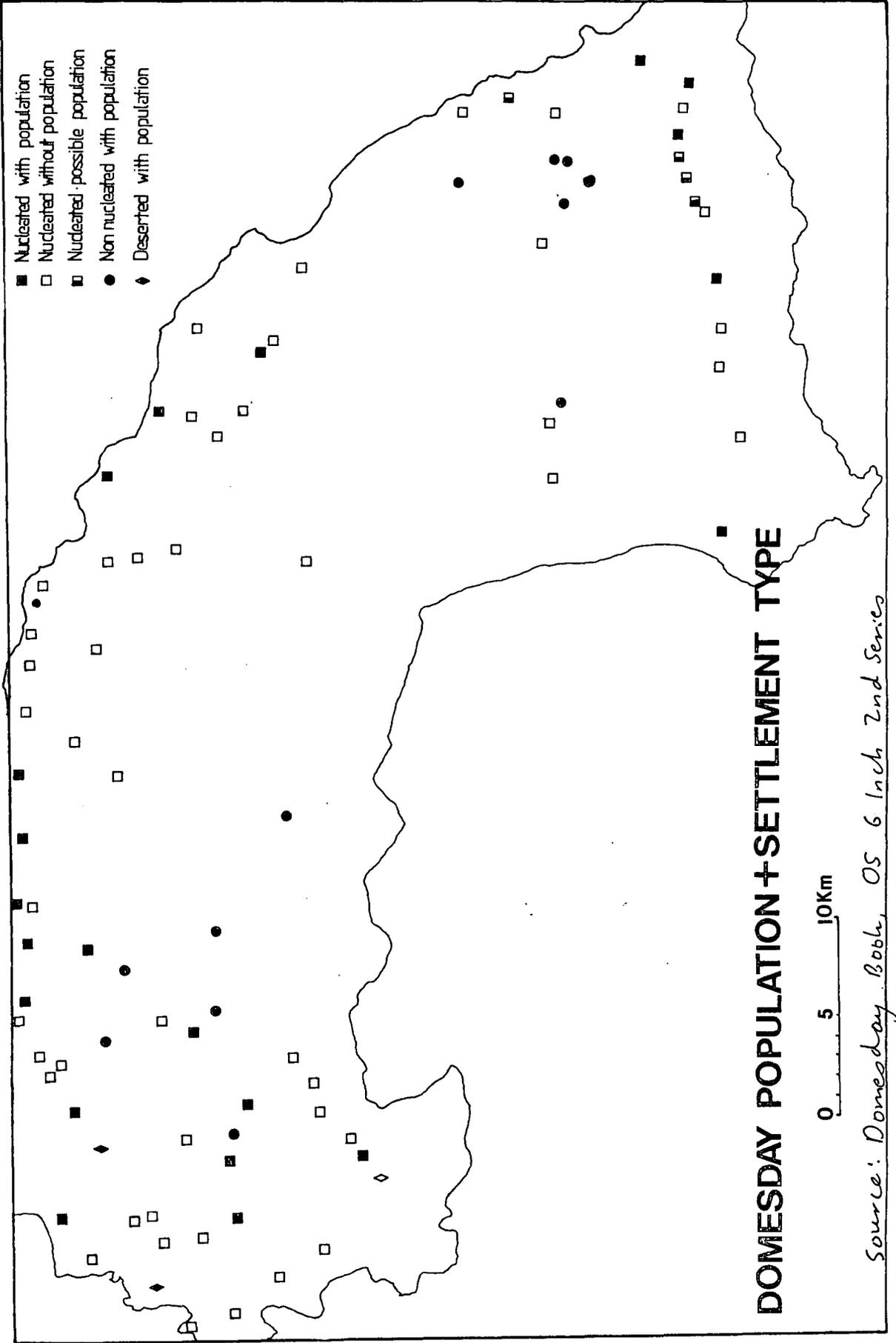




WASTE 1086

0 5 10km

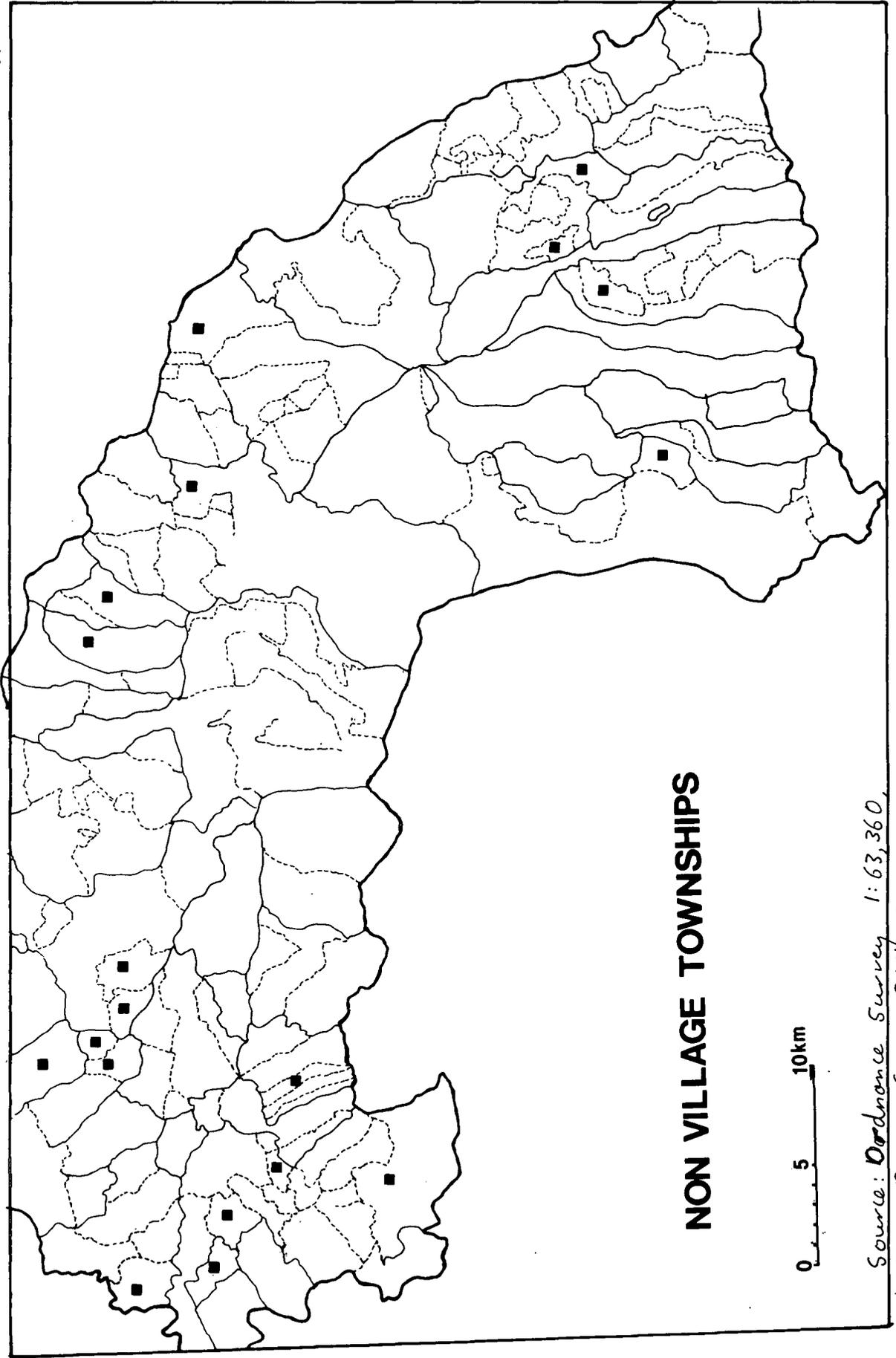
Source: Domesday Book.



DOMESDAY POPULATION + SETTLEMENT TYPE

0 5 10Km

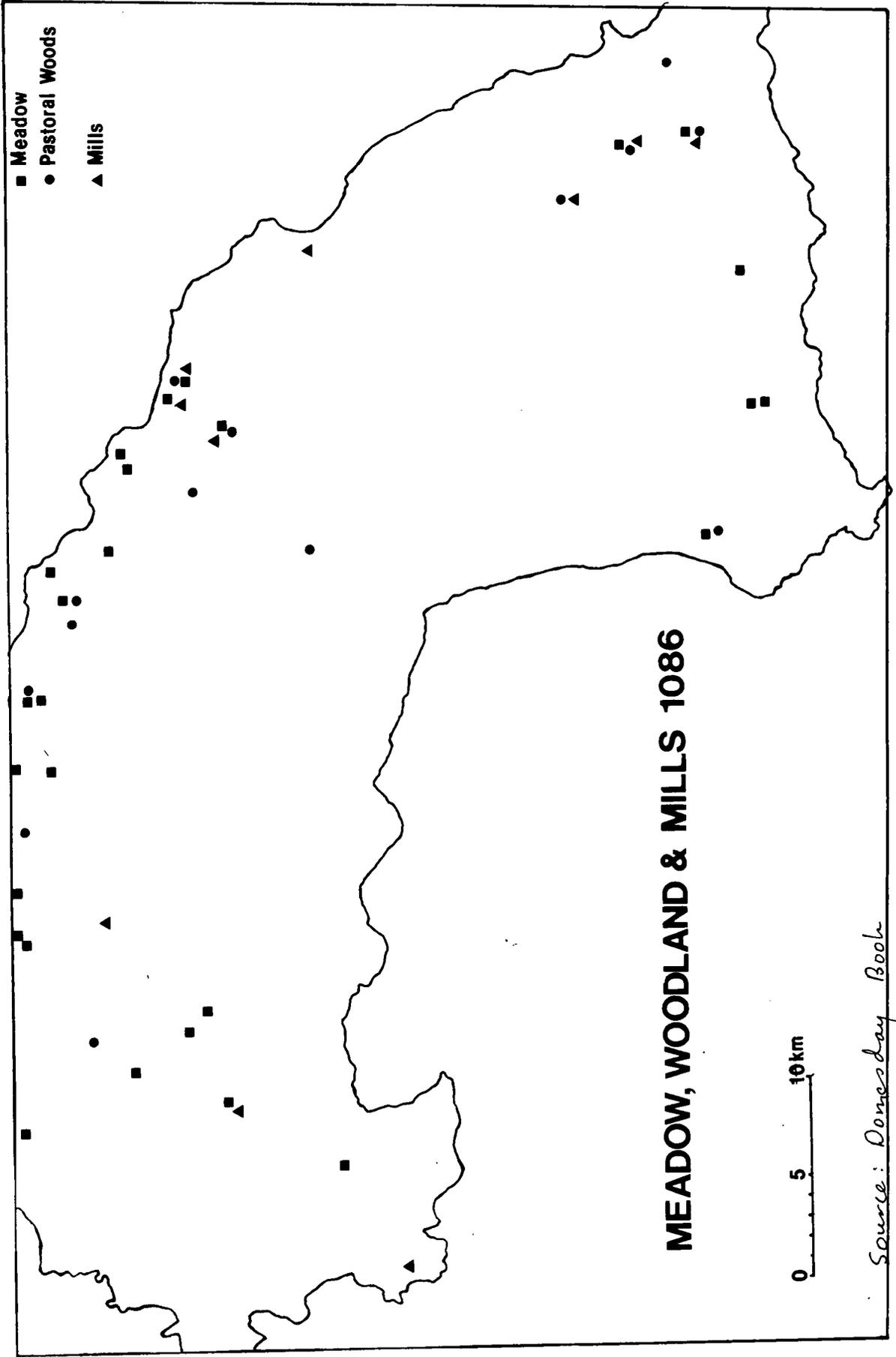
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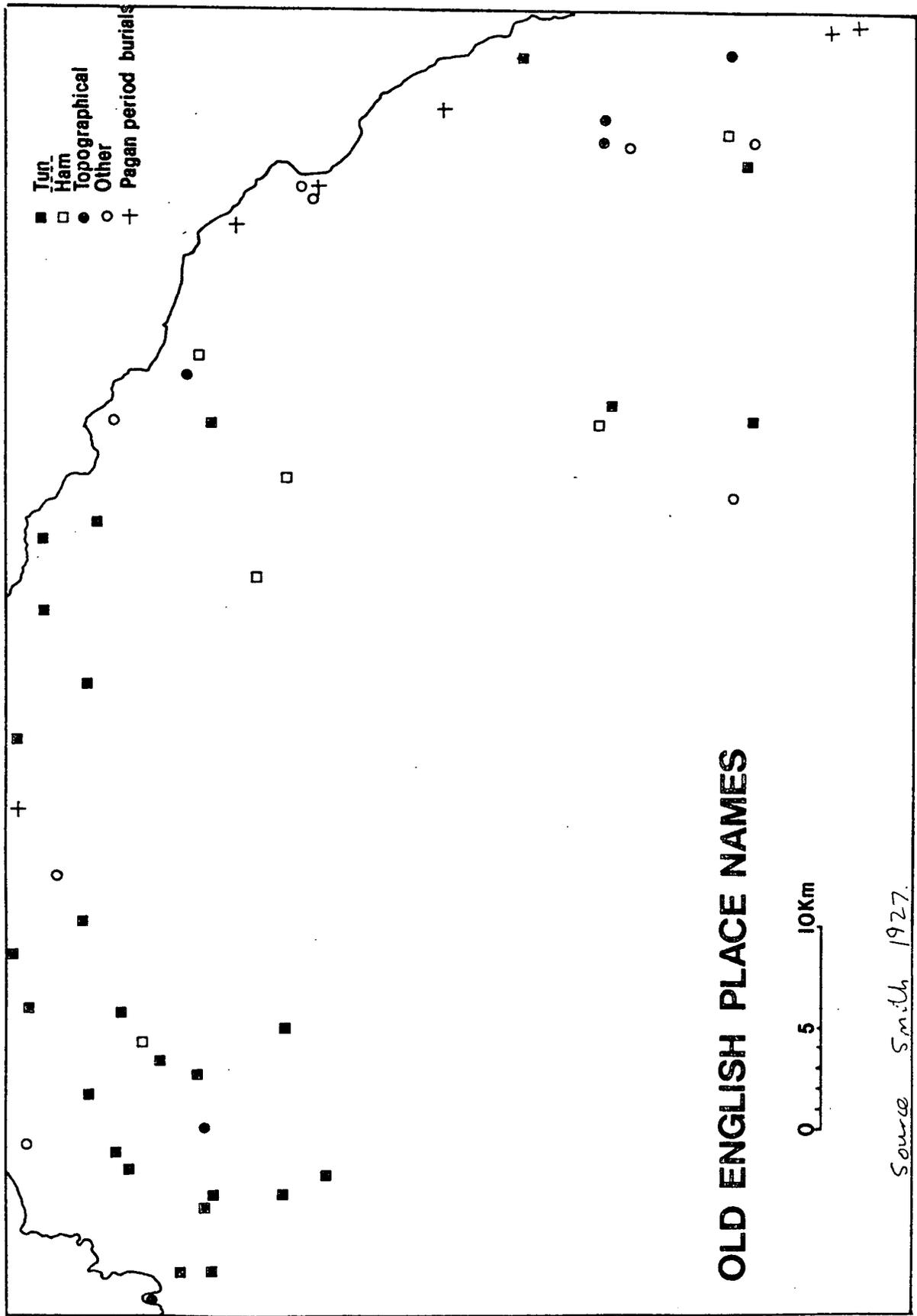


NON VILLAGE TOWNSHIPS



Source: Ordnance Survey 1:63,360,
Map Base from B.K. Roberts



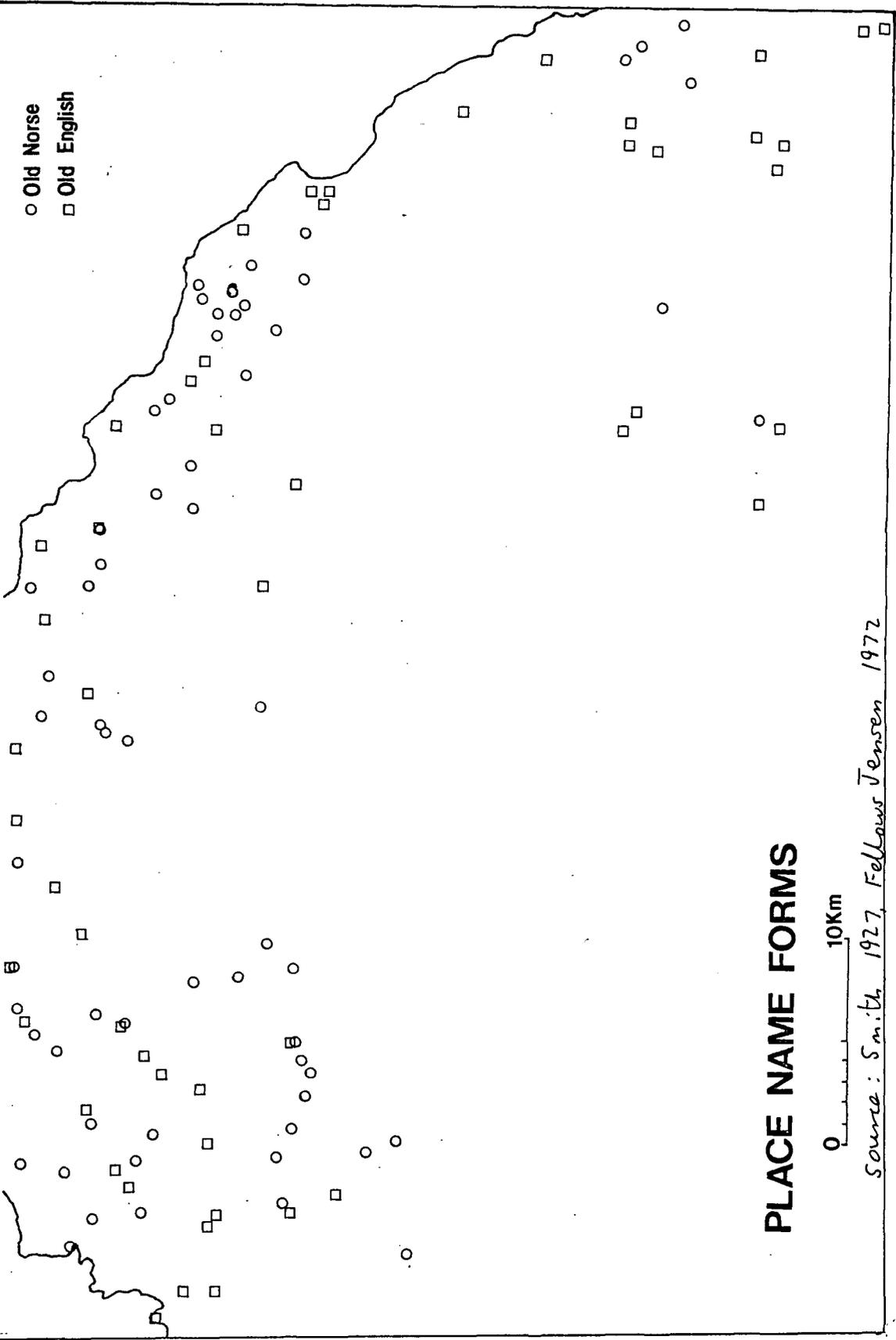


OLD ENGLISH PLACE NAMES



Source Smith 1927.

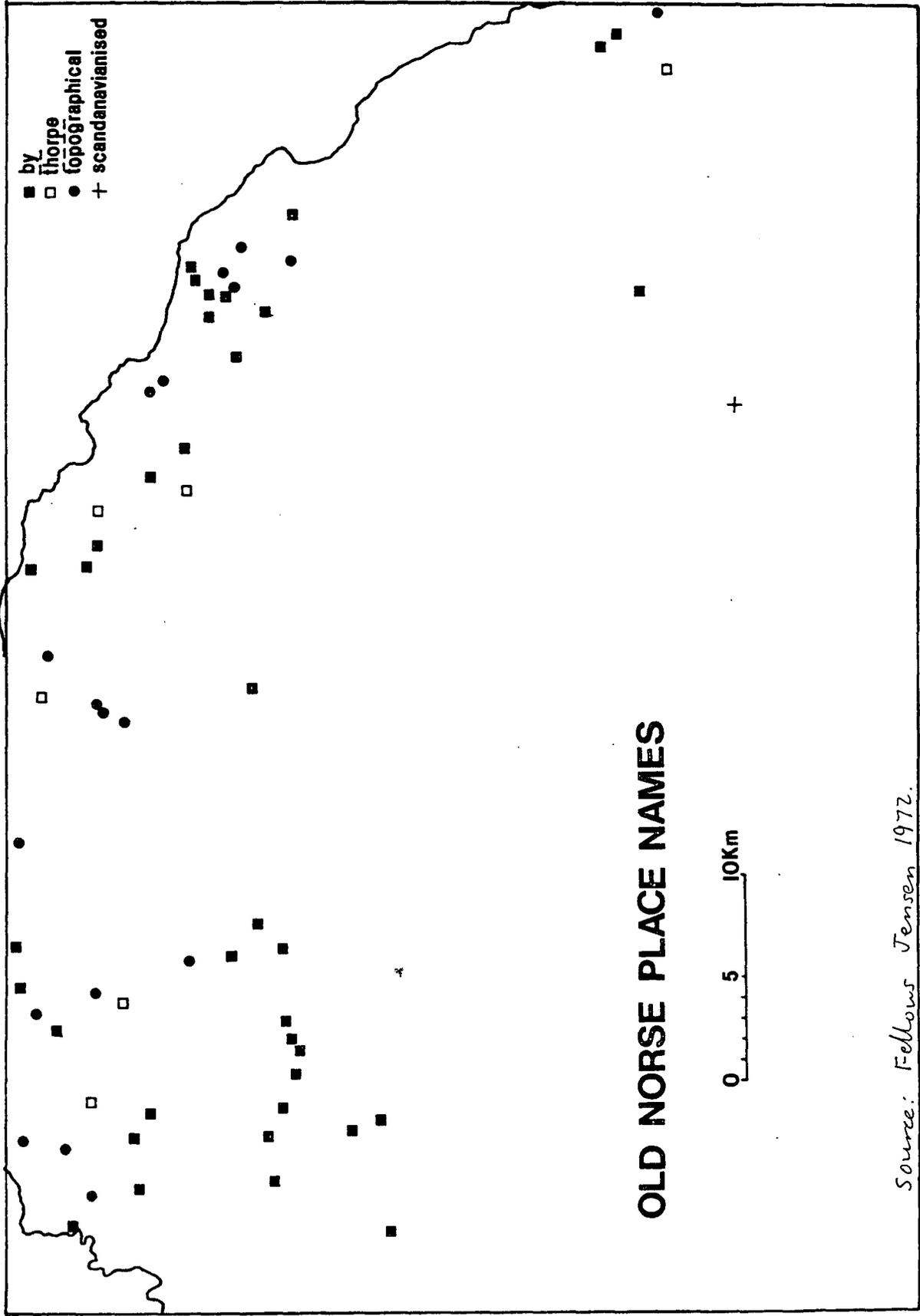
○ Old Norse
□ Old English



PLACE NAME FORMS

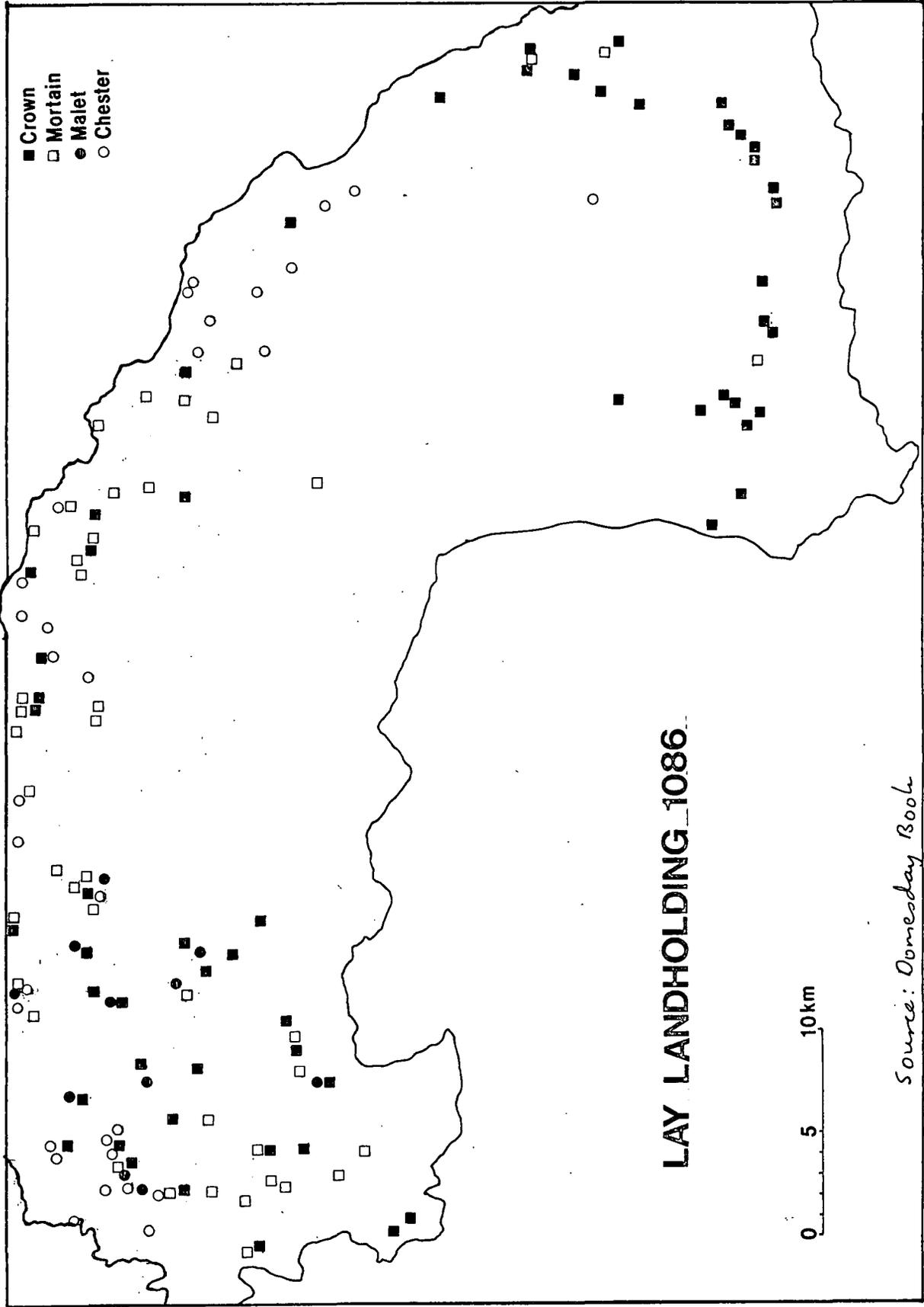
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Source: Smith 1927, Fellows Jensen 1972



OLD NORSE PLACE NAMES

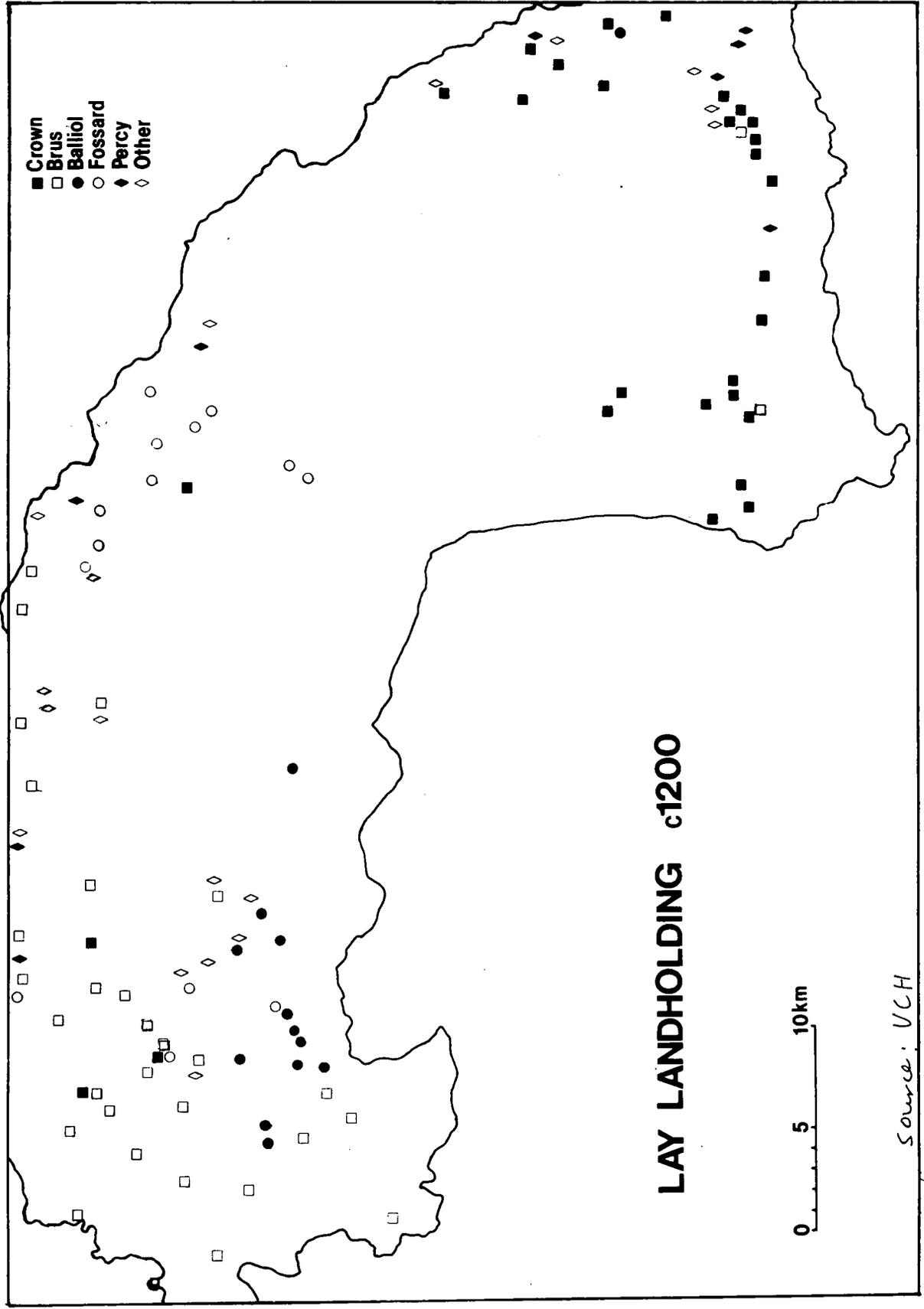
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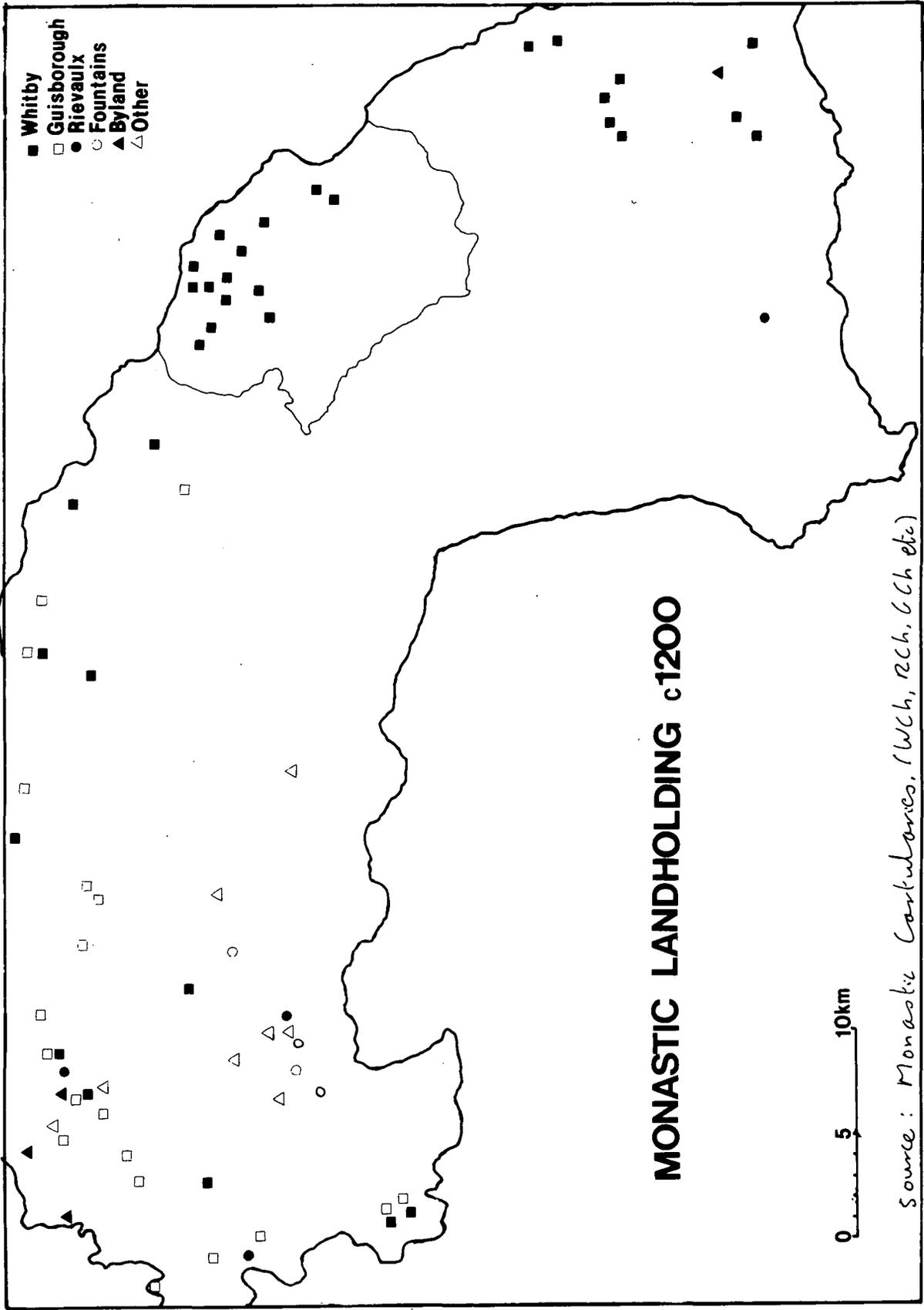


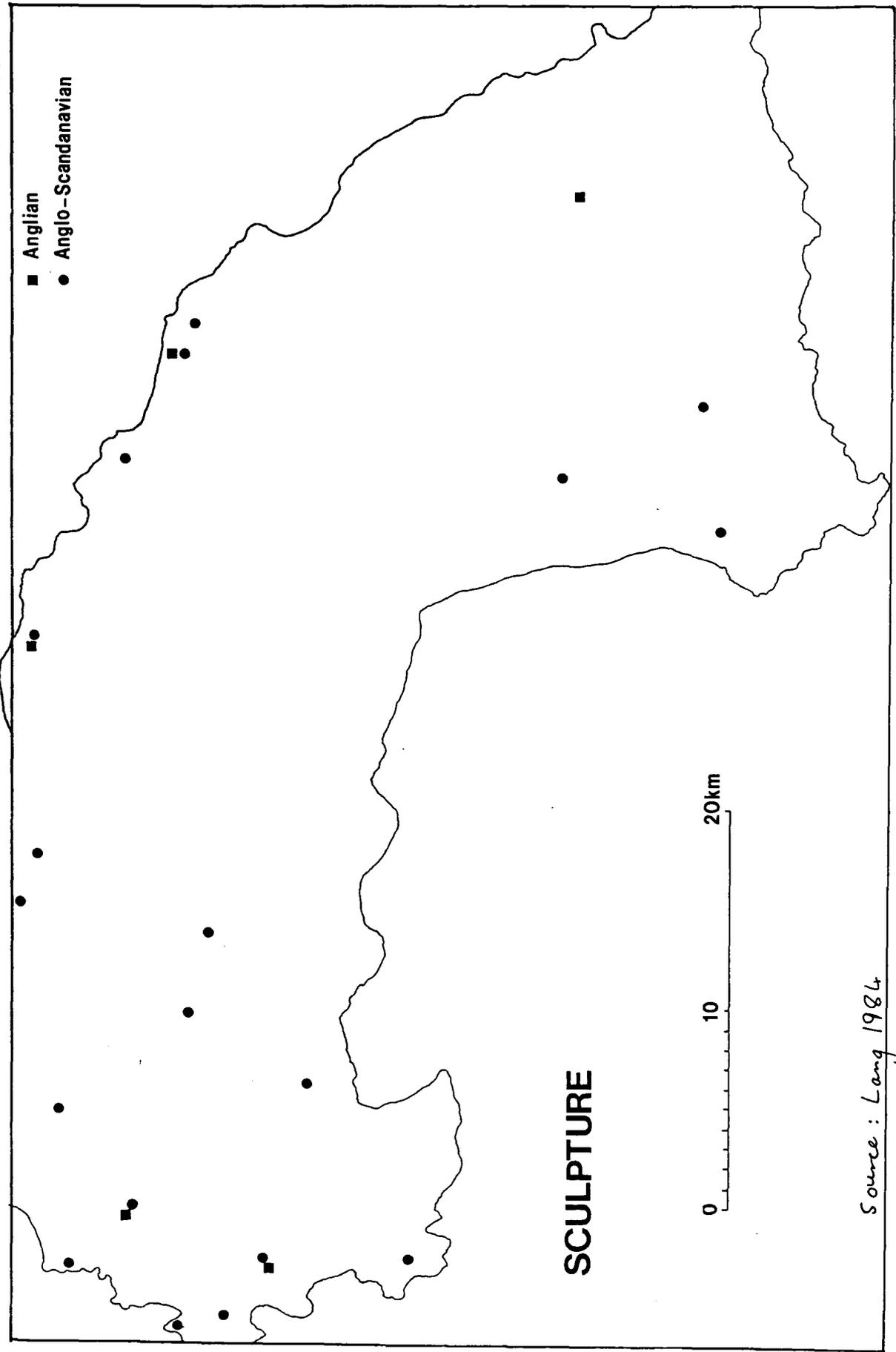
LAY LANDHOLDING 1086



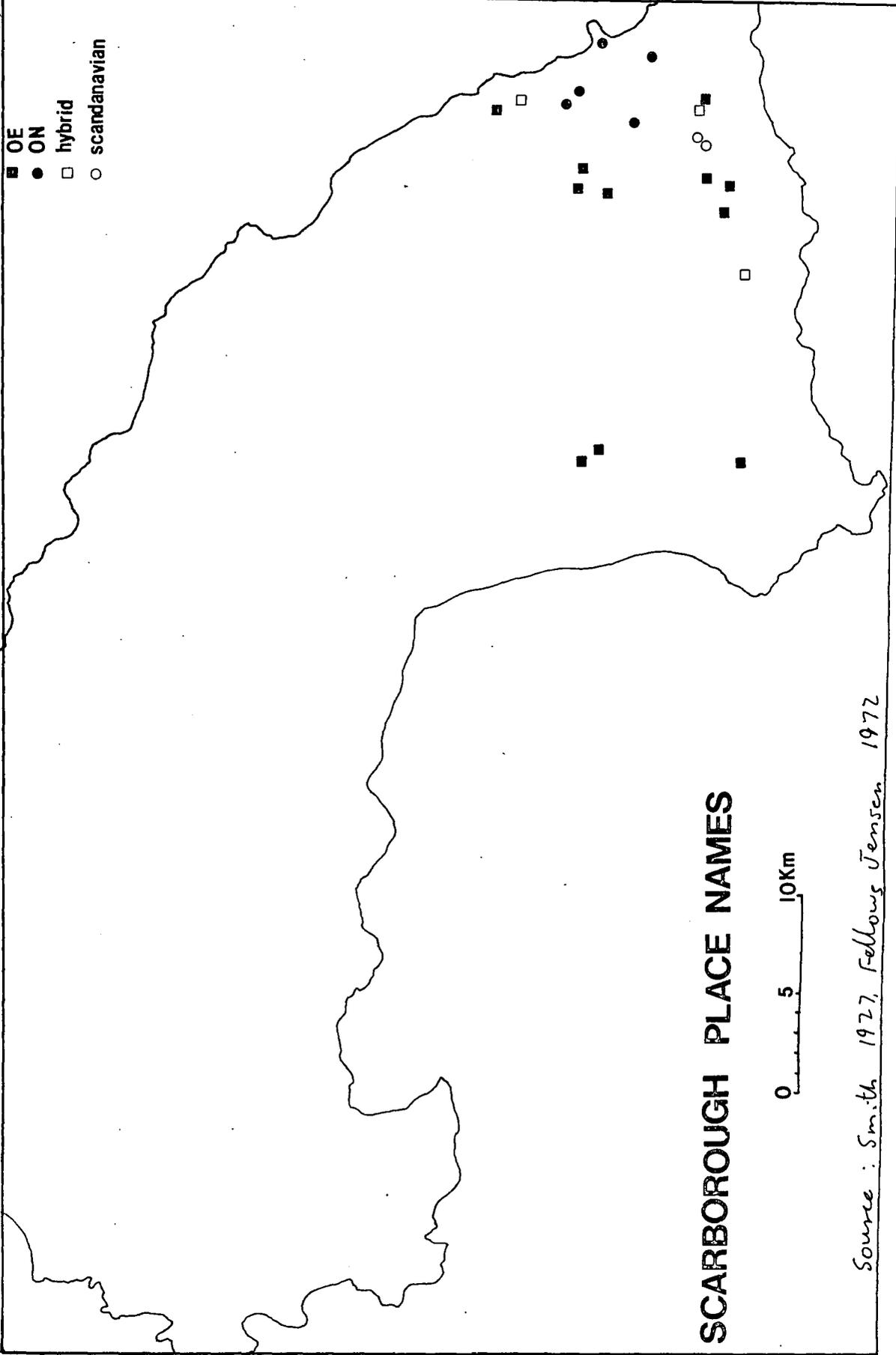
Source: Domesday Book







- OE
- ON
- hybrid
- scandinavian



SCARBOROUGH PLACE NAMES

Source : Smith 1977, Fellows Jensen 1972