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Conquest or colonisation: The Scandinavians in Ryedale from the ninth to eleventh centuries

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Sarah Ann Carr

Abstract

This thesis is concerned with assessing the impact of Scandinavian settlement upon the territorial organization of the Ryedale region of Yorkshire during the late Anglo-Saxon period. The Ryedale region was selected as the focus of the thesis due to its location within the Danelaw, the number and density of Scandinavian place-names and the amount of archaeology and sculpture from the late Anglo-Saxon period within the area.

In order to examine the impact of Scandinavian settlement, two models of territorial organization have been defined, firstly that of continuity based on the 'Multiple Estate' model, secondly that of considerable upheaval as a result of the conquest by armies of Danes, Irish-Norse and the kingdom of Wessex. This thesis examines how the available evidence from Ryedale, supplied by place-names, Domesday Book and other contemporary documents, archaeology and sculpture, and boundaries and other topography, argues both for and against the two defined models.

The results of the study suggest that, despite the period of upheaval, which was evident during the late Anglo-Saxon period, at least two of the Domesday estates within Ryedale were of some antiquity, possibly dating from the early Anglo-Saxon period. These estates had survived the power struggles of the Irish-Norse kingdom of York, the reconquest of the Danelaw by the kings of Wessex and the events of the mid-eleventh century, following the Norman Conquest. Although the Scandinavians changed the way the land was assessed, divided and owned, the changes that resulted from their settlement were essentially linked to the introduction of new of place-names and terms of administration for a pre-existing territorial organization.

Conquest or Colonisation: The Scandinavians in Ryedale from the Ninth to Eleventh Centuries

Submitted by

Sarah Ann Carr

to the University of Durham

as a thesis for the degree of

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in the Faculty of Social Sciences,

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Declaration

I declare that all material in this thesis which is not my own work has been identified and that no material is included for which a degree has previously been conferred upon me.

Chapter 1: Introduction

> ...And in his days came for the first time three ships: and then the reeve rode thither and tried to compel them to go to the royal manor, for he did not know what they were, and they slew him. These were the first ships of the Danes to come to England.[1]

This statement from the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle for the year 789 marked the beginning of a period of turmoil and upheaval for the Anglo-Saxons. During the next 300 years the shores of England would be subjected to invasions by boatloads of Scandinavians bent on plunder, conquest and settlement. In what way, and to what extent, the Scandinavians changed the landscape of the country they found upon their arrival is a matter of some conjecture.

There are essentially two hypotheses proposed by scholars who study this problem – firstly, that the Scandinavians were assimilated into a pre-existing, and rather ancient, territorial structure, or secondly, that a new structure of land holding and patronage was created as a result of the interaction of the Anglo-Saxons and the Scandinavians. Both of these hypotheses have been the basis of considerable debate over the past 100 years, as will be discussed in chapter two.

The purpose of this thesis is to assess the extent of the influence that the Scandinavians had on the settlement structure of the existing population by focusing on one particular region within the area of England settled by the Scandinavians. Both of the above hypotheses will be considered as possible models through the application of each to the Ryedale region, in the light of the available evidence for the period spanning the ninth to eleventh centuries. The effect of the settlement of part of the Danish 'Great Army' in Yorkshire in 876, the conquest of the kingdom of York by the Norwegians of Dublin c.

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[1] *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* trans. and ed. G. M. Garmonsway (London: J. M. Dent and Sons Ltd, 1953), p. 54.

919, and its reconquest by the kings of Wessex, and the reign of Cnut in the eleventh century will all be considered as factors of Scandinavian settlement. From this work it may be possible to propose to what degree there was assimilation of the Scandinavians into the existing population, and at what level and to what extent the two groups interacted.

Historical Background

The factors behind the expansion of the Danes and Norwegians into the lands west and south of them have been variously put as population pressures in their homelands, increase of royal authority, development of technology which allowed them to build boats for long sea journeys, changes in land ownership resulting in a growing population of footloose younger sons, or the lure of easy wealth in the undefended monasteries of Christian Western Europe.[2] All of these may have played their part, but essentially the activities which the Scandinavians were involved in were much the same as many other Dark Age societies.[3] The bias with which the Scandinavian invaders and settlers are viewed today is very much the result of how they were seen by their contemporaries, who were quite often also their victims. The evidence from Scandinavia suggests that land had become a rare commodity,[4] so the development of

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[2] P. H. Sawyer, *The Age of the Vikings*, 1st edn (London: Edward Arnold, 1962), pp 197-206; 2nd edn (London: Edward Arnold, 1971), pp. 205-6, 207-8; Julian D. Richards, *Viking Age England* (London: B. T. Batsford/English Heritage, 1991), p. 14; Henry R. Loyn, *Anglo-Saxon England and the Norman Conquest* (Harlow: Longman Group Ltd., 1962), pp. 49-50; John Marsden, *The Fury of the Northmen: Saints, Shrines and Sea-raiders in the Viking Age* (London: Kyle Cathie, 1993), pp. 14-9;

[3] Sawyer, *Age of the Vikings*, 1st edn, pp. 194-6, 2nd edn, p. 203; Marsden, *Fury of the Northmen*, p. 17. For a critique of Sawyer's views see Guy Halsall, 'Playing by whose rules? A further look at Viking atrocity in the ninth century', *Medieval History*, 2, 2 (1992), pp. 2-12.

[4] Loyn, *Anglo-Saxon England and the Norman Conquest*, p. 49; Marsden, *Fury of the Northmen*, p. 19; Sawyer, *Age of the Vikings*, 1st edn, pp. 197-203, 2nd edn, pp. 206-8.

boats that could travel long distances over the sea,[5] provided the Scandinavians with the means of finding more land to settle. This view that the shortage of land within Scandinavia led to the raids and eventual settlement is not without its critics.[6] It appears that land hunger was a factor at first for the Norwegians, whose homeland was dominated by the sea, mountains and narrow stretches of habitable land along the coast.[7] Plunder appears to have initially been an important motivating factor for the Danes,[8] who only began to settle after the middle of the ninth century.[9] The Swedes were essentially involved in trade and exploration, as opposed to settlement, eastward into present day Russia and the Ukraine,[10] and thus do not, as a group, play a role within the Scandinavian settlement of England, although individuals may have been involved.[11]

In conjunction with this activity by the land-hungry Scandinavians should be considered the complacency of the Anglo-Saxons, who for 'nearly 350 years...[had] inhabited this most lovely land, and never before [had] such terror appeared in Britain...',[12] and the political instability, especially of the kingdom of Northumbria.[13]

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[5] Loyn, *Anglo-Saxon England and the Norman Conquest*, p. 49; Marsden, *Fury of the Northmen*, p. 19; Sawyer, *Age of the Vikings*, 1st edn, p. 77; P. H. Sawyer, *Kings and Vikings: Scandinavia and Europe AD 700-1100* (London: Methuen, 1982), pp. 75-7.

[6] Halsall, 'Playing by whose rules?', pp 2-12.

[7] Sawyer, *Age of the Vikings*, 2nd edn, pp. 207-8.

[8] Sawyer, *Kings and Vikings*, pp. 80-1; *Age of the Vikings*, 2nd edn, pp. 208-9.

[9] Sawyer, *Age of the Vikings*, 2nd edn, p. 209.

[10] Sawyer, *Age of the Vikings*, 1st edn, pp. 203-5, 2nd edn, pp. 213-5.

[11] Sawyer, *Age of the Vikings*, 1st edn, p. 43.

[12] Dorothy Whitelock ed., *English Historical Documents Vol. I, c. 500 – 1042*, 2nd ed. (London: Eyre Methuen, 1979), p.842.

[13] Nick Higham, *The Northern Counties to AD 1000* (Harlow: Longman Group, 1986), pp. 290-1.

To the Scandinavians both of these factors, as well as the wealth collected in many monasteries, may have made the region of the north-east of England, which lay closest to the sea routes from Scandinavia, attractive as a source of land, wealth and power. It is against this background, of political instability and complacency amongst the Anglo-Saxons and land hunger amongst the Scandinavians, that the invasion and settlement of the Danish Great Army between c. 865 and 886 should be viewed.

Reasons for Carrying Out Research

All settlements develop within a structure made up of the possibilities and limitations of the physical environment and imposed organisational frameworks of man.[14] Settlement pattern may be defined as the distribution within a space of individual settlement entities, whether these are towns, villages, hamlets, farms or cottages.[15] This pattern can be influenced by the various separate factors that make up its environment as much as by the local interests of individuals or communities.[16] This thesis intends to look at the territorial organisation of settlement patterns - or the interrelationships between the elements of local settlement and between them and their related land units - in order to assess the impact of Scandinavian settlement.

The starting point in historical research is the events of the past. However, researchers do not have access to the events, only to the accounts and surviving evidence, which are not necessarily complete.[17] This thesis will aim to avoid any attempts at 'recreating'

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[14] Brian K. Roberts, 'The Anatomy of Settlement', in *Medieval Settlement: Continuity and Change*, ed. P. H. Sawyer (London: Edward Arnold Ltd., 1976), pp. 297-325, at p.300.

[15] Ibid p. 300.

[16] Ibid, p. 300.

[17] David Wishart, 'The Selectivity of Historical Representation', *Journal of Historical Geography*, 23 (1997), pp 111-8, at p. 112.

the past, but will focus on suggesting a possible framework for the representation and understanding of a past society. Considerable work on the extent and structure of Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Scandinavian settlement has been completed in various fields - such as place-names and archaeology - and it will be necessary to draw on the scholarship of others - including Jones, Stenton, Sawyer and Hooke - in order to achieve the above aims.[18]

A considerable amount of research has been carried out into various factors of settlement, especially in regions such as the Yorkshire Wolds,[19] the Midlands,[20] and Wales,[21] but the models proposed for these regions do not necessarily apply to other areas of the country. The resulting conclusions suggest that more research is necessary to determine the impact that the Scandinavians had on the areas they settled.[22]

Region of Study

It is also important to define the area of study. Alan Everitt asks the pertinent question 'as historians, what exactly do we mean, or ought we to mean, by a "region"?'[23] He questions whether a study area is a "conscious" region - an area with a sense of its own

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[18] For detailed discussions of the current scholarship regarding Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Scandinavian settlement refer to chapter two.

[19] Maurice Beresford and John Hurst, *Wharram Percy: Deserted Medieval Village* (London: B. T. Batsford/English Heritage, 1990).

[20] Della Hooke, 'Early Medieval Estate and Settlement Patterns: The Documentary Evidence', in *Rural Settlements of Medieval England : Studies Dedicated to Maurice Beresford and John Hurts*, ed. Michael Aston, David Austin and Christopher Dyer (Oxford: Basil Blackwell Ltd., 1989), pp. 9-30.

[21] G. R. J. Jones, 'Basic Patterns of Settlement Distribution in Northern England', *Advancement of Science* 18 (1961), pp. 192-200.

[22] J. G. Hurst, 'Medieval Rural Settlement in Eastern Yorkshire', *Archaeology in Eastern Yorkshire* ed. T. G. Manby (Sheffield: University of Sheffield Press, 1988), pp. 110-8, at p. 112.

[23] Alan Everitt, 'Country, County and Town: Patterns of Rural Evolution in England', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th ser. (1979), pp 79-108, at p. 80.

identity - or a region that is a perception of historians or geographers.[24] What defines a region, especially when considered in a historical perspective? Everitt suggests geology is one of the determining factors in early settlement - shaping the society and economy of an area.[25] It appears that some regions can be defined by the perceptions of modern scholars, while also having had a "conscious" identity, at some stage in the past, through the influence of the environment.

The area to be studied is centred on the western end of the Vale of Pickering, known as the Ryedale district, in Yorkshire (fig. 1.1), which includes most of the Domesday wapentake of *Manshowe*, now modern Ryedale wapentake, but excludes the urban area of Malton. The study will also be taking into consideration Domesday vills which lie adjacent to Ryedale and which had links to the region through the organisation or division of land. This region has been identified as having considerable architectural, archaeological and sculptural evidence of both Anglian and Anglo-Scandinavian periods. Place-name evidence also points to settlements from the Anglian to Anglo-Norman period. The area's close proximity to, and strong road links with York hint at a possible centre of commercial and administrative influence for the region. Ecclesiastically the area appears to have had early links with Whitby and through there to Lindisfarne and the traditions of Iona and the Celtic Church.[26] Following the Synod of Whitby in 664,[27] and Wilfrid's consecration as Bishop of York,[28] the influence of the

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[24] Ibid, p. 80.

[25] Ibid, p. 83.

[26] Alan Thacker, 'Monks, preaching and pastoral care in early Anglo-Saxon England', *Pastoral Care Before the Parish*, ed. John Blair and Richard Sharpe (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1992), pp. 137-70, at p. 144, note 44; Philip Rahtz, 'Kirkdale Anglo-Saxon Minster', *Current Archaeology*, 155, pp 419-22, at p. 420.

[27] Higham, *The Northern Counties*, p. 288.

Church at York would have been strengthened over the region, through the expansion of the estates held by the Church, and Wilfrid in particular,[29] and the development of the Roman episcopal form of Christianity throughout northern England.[30] There is evidence of monasteries in the region from the mid-seventh century[31] and Anglo-Saxon churches still stand at Kirkdale, Hovingham, Stonegrave and Appleton-le-Street.
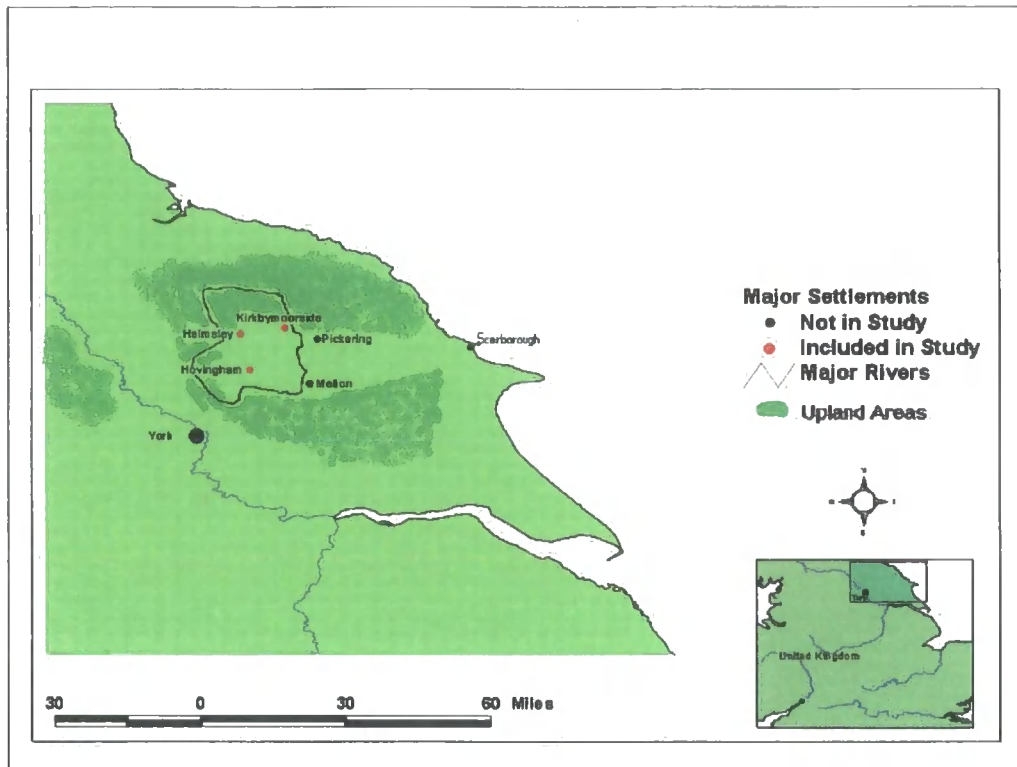
Figure 1.1 - Map of Yorkshire indicating area of study

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[28] Ibid, pp. 289-90.

[29] Ibid, pp. 289-90.

[30] John Godfrey, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1962), pp. 119-20.

[31] Whitelock, *English Historical Documents*, pp. 764-5.

The region is also well defined by strong physical features of the landscape. To the north by the North York Moors, which rise sharply from the floor of the Vale and provide a natural barrier to the spread of settlement;[32] to the west by the Jurassic rocks of the Hambleton and Howardian Hills and to the south by the chalk Yorkshire Wolds. The vale itself provides rich agricultural land and plenty of fresh water - important factors for settlement – although the lowest lying land must have been poorly drained and difficult to work a thousand years ago.[33] These physical borders produce an area that is defined by the landscape and environment, which may have impacted on the nature of the settlement.

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[32] Richard Muir, *Yorkshire Countryside: A Landscape History* (Edinburgh: Keele University Press, 1997), pp. 8 and 12.

[33] H. C. Darby and I. S. Maxwell, *The Domesday Geography of Northern England*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1962), p. 161.

Chapter 2: Models for Early Medieval Settlement and their Significance for Viking Studies

The study of settlement history has developed within the fields of history, archaeology and geography. As a result much of the work carried out in settlement studies has borrowed the research and conclusions of scholars from other disciplines. It was at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries that Sir Paul Vinogradoff and F. W. Maitland laid the seeds for the debate, which will be examined in the following. Vinogradoff suggested a Celtic origin for much of the later manorial institutions of Britain.[34] Later J. E. A. Jolliffe linked the existence of large multi-vill estates in Northumbria to an early period of Anglo-Saxon society, when they developed out of pastoral Celtic traditions.[35] However, he suggested that the structure of society, which gave rise to these estates, was distinctive to Northumbria, the result of an amalgam of Celtic and Anglian communities.[36] Credit has been given to Maitland and Sir Frank Stenton for recognizing the various parts of the larger estate units – berewicks and sokeland – and the dependency of these parts within the estate.[37] Unlike Vinogradoff and Jolliffe, Stenton credited the Scandinavians with the creation of these estates, in the north and east of England.[38] Thus two hypotheses for the nature of settlement, in the north and east of England in the late Anglo-Saxon period, developed. The first proposes the continuity of territorial organization, from Celtic institutions to the early middle ages. The second is based upon Stenton's suggestion of upheaval and reorganisation under the Scandinavians. This chapter proposes to define these two

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[34] Sir Paul Vinogradoff, *Growth of the Manor*, 3rd edn (London: George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 1920), pp. 39-42.

[35] J. E. A. Jolliffe, 'Northumbrian Institutions', *The English Historical Review* 41, 1 (1926), pp. 1-42, at pp. 30-1.

[36] Jolliffe, 'Northumbrian Institutions', p. 42.

[37] Nicky Gregson, 'The Multiple Estate Model: Some Critical Questions', *Journal of Historical Geography* 11, 4 (1985), pp. 339-51, at p. 340; F. M. Stenton, 'Types of Manorial Structure in the Northern Danelaw', in *Oxford Studies in Social and Legal History*, ed. P. Vinogradoff (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1910), pp. 13-4.

[38] F. M. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England* 2nd ed. (Oxford Clarendon Press, 1947), p. 502.

hypotheses as models for settlement history and examine their relationship to current literature on the subject.

Model 1: Continuity of Settlement Structure - Multiple Estates

In the field of landscape history David Dymond defines the term continuity as 'the extent to which features have not only been physically stable, but have also been used continuously for much the same purposes over considerable spans of time'.[39] The model based upon the continuity of settlement structure has developed from the initial proposals by Vinogradoff and Jolliffe, that later medieval manorial structure preserved Celtic elements.[40] Jolliffe had proposed that there was a similarity between the territorial organisations of Northumbria and Wales, which supported the theory of Celtic people surviving in parts of the North of England in sufficient numbers and for long enough for the amalgamation 'of the two civilizations in which Celtic community and Anglian lordship unite in a distinctive Northumbrian society'.[41] In Northumbria, the groups of townships administered from and appendant to a headquarter settlement containing a lord's court became known as shires.[42] Jolliffe paralleled the renders and dues of these shires with traditions of Celtic custom, and suggested a degree of historical continuity.[43]

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[39] David Dymond, 'Archaeologists and Historians' in *Landscapes and Documents* ed. Alan Rogers and Trevor Rowley (London: Bedford Square Press of the National Council of Social Service, 1974), pp. 5-14 at p.12.

[40] Vinogradoff, *Growth of the Manor*, pp. 39-42; Jolliffe, 'Northumbrian Institutions', pp. 30-1.

[41] Jolliffe, 'Northumbrian Institutions', pp. 40-2.

[42] Ibid, p. 4.

[43] Ibid, p. 40.

This hypothesis of continuity of settlement structures was formed into a model for the examination of territorial organisation by G. R. J. Jones, which he defined as the 'multiple estate' model.[44] The hypothesis of the multiple estate suggests that the patterns of the landscape were of ancient origin – dating back as far as the Iron Age – and that these patterns could be found throughout England and Wales, irrespective of settlement by Anglian or Scandinavian populations.[45] In several articles during the 1960's Jones tried to show that Scandinavian settlement fitted into a pre-existing territorial organisation.[46] He argued that examining the pre-existing territorial structure of the regions could solve the controversy over the nature of Scandinavian settlement and the numbers involved,[47] introduced by Sawyer.[48] Jones based his theories on an examination of the territorial organisation in various parts of Britain and the similarities found between the institutions and customs of manorial lands of Celtic regions and those of Anglian and Anglo-Scandinavian regions, for example the shires of Northumbria as outlined by Jolliffe in his 1926 article 'Northumbrian Institutions'.[49] Jones used these similarities between different regions to propose that the territorial organisation of much of England and Wales had a common origin from the period of British occupation, although he stresses that these patterns of organisation should not be

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[44] Jones, 'Basic Patterns', pp. 192-200; 'Multiple Estates and Early Settlement', in *Medieval Settlement: Continuity and Change*, ed. P. H. Sawyer (London: Edward Arnold, 1976), pp. 15-40; 'Multiple Estates Perceived', *Journal of Historical Geography* 11, 4 (1985), pp. 352-63.

[45] Jones, 'Multiple Estates and Early Settlement', pp. 19-24 (Aberffraw, Wales), pp. 26-35 (Malling, Sussex), pp. 35-40 (Burghshire, Yorkshire).

[46] Jones, 'Basis Patterns', pp. 192-200; 'Early Territorial Organisation in Northern England and its Bearing on the Scandinavian Settlement' in *Proceedings of the Fourth Viking Congress* ed. Alan Small (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1965), pp. 67-84.

[47] Jones, 'Early Territorial Organisation in Northern England', p. 67.

[48] Peter H. Sawyer, 'The Density of Danish Settlement in England', *University of Birmingham Historical Journal* (1958), pp. 1-17.

[49] Jolliffe, 'Northumbrian Institutions', pp. 1-42.

seen as 'an exclusively Celtic achievement'.[50] To support this hypothesis of continuity of ancient territorial organisation, Jones made use of medieval Welsh law books, which provided evidence of the hierarchical organisation of society and the rents and services due on Celtic manors in the thirteenth century, but were derived from much earlier traditions.[51] The use of these law books has enabled Jones to suggest how the organisation of land and services in Wales in the thirteenth century could then be related to similar structures found throughout England during the late Anglo-Saxon and post-Conquest periods. The availability of the law books for Wales has provided Jones with details about the structure of society and the organisation of the land and how it was worked, which have enabled him to propose the existence of the model in regions where the evidence is more limited and on its own may have remained ambiguous.[52]

Jones proposed that the fundamental factors of the multiple estate were essentially as follows, based on the example of the arable economy of unfree bondmen in Wales:[53]

- Small, nucleated hamlets of bondmen, containing approximately nine houses in each, forming the most characteristic unit of early settlement.

- Hamlets each forming the local unit of agrarian co-operation, cultivating a permanent open-field shareland and grazed common pastures.

- These hamlets were also part of a wider grouping of settlements subject to the authority of a lord.

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[50] Jones, 'Basic Patterns', p. 200, 'Multiple Estates Perceived', p. 353.

[51] Jones, 'Multiple Estates and Early Settlement', pp. 15-7.

[52] Jones, 'Multiple Estates Perceived', p. 356.

[53] Jones, 'Basic Patterns', p.193.

- Different settlements within the grouping had different functions relating to the services for the lord, but complementary to the grouping.

- Land was held in return for rents and services to this lord, obligations included grain and cattle rents, entertainment of the lord and his retainers at certain seasonal circuits, construction of the lord's court and cultivation of the lord's demesne lands.

- Demesne land was normally situated on the best soil within the administrative area or neighbourhood subject to the lord's control and was cultivated for the maintenance of the court, which was situated nearby.

Although these factors are based on Welsh evidence, they appear to be common in most regions of England where the multiple estate hypothesis has been applied.[54] As a basis for settlement studies, Jones summarised the essential features of this multiple estate as "...a territorial entity containing a hierarchy of settlements, settlements which were in part functionally differentiated and whose occupants, supervised by a ministerial aristocracy, owed rents and services for the support of a lord".[55] In conjunction with these factors Jones stresses that evidence from archaeology and place-names can also be used as indications of the existence of multiple estates.[56] Archaeological evidence for the reuse of Iron Age and Roman sites has been cited by Jones to indicate the continued use of centres of local authority from the Romano-British to Anglo-Saxon periods.[57] Jones has also cited place-name evidence as indications of Celtic survival in regions of

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[54] Jones, 'Multiple Estates Perceived', pp. 352-63.

[55] Jones, 'Multiple Estates Perceived', p. 354.

[56] Jones, 'Basic Patterns', pp. 193-4; 'Multiple Estates Percieved', p. 357.

[57] G. R. J. Jones, 'Celts, Saxons and Scandinavians', in *An Historical Geography of England and Wales*, ed. R. A. Dodgshon and R. A. Butlin (1978), pp. 57-79, at pp. 67-9; Gregson, 'Multiple Estate Model', p. 346.

Anglian settlement.[58] He stresses the examples of *walas, cumbran* and *brettas* as referring to small communities of Britons in existence at the time of Anglian settlement, and perhaps as late as the period of Scandinavian settlement.[59] In addition to this evidence, other scholars have linked the existence of early ecclesiastical centres to the administrative centres of these estates, especially royal estates, perhaps due to the reuse of Roman forts for the location of both.[60]

These points suggest a model, which includes a territorial and service structure possible evidence of a social hierarchy and monastic centre, as illustrated below:
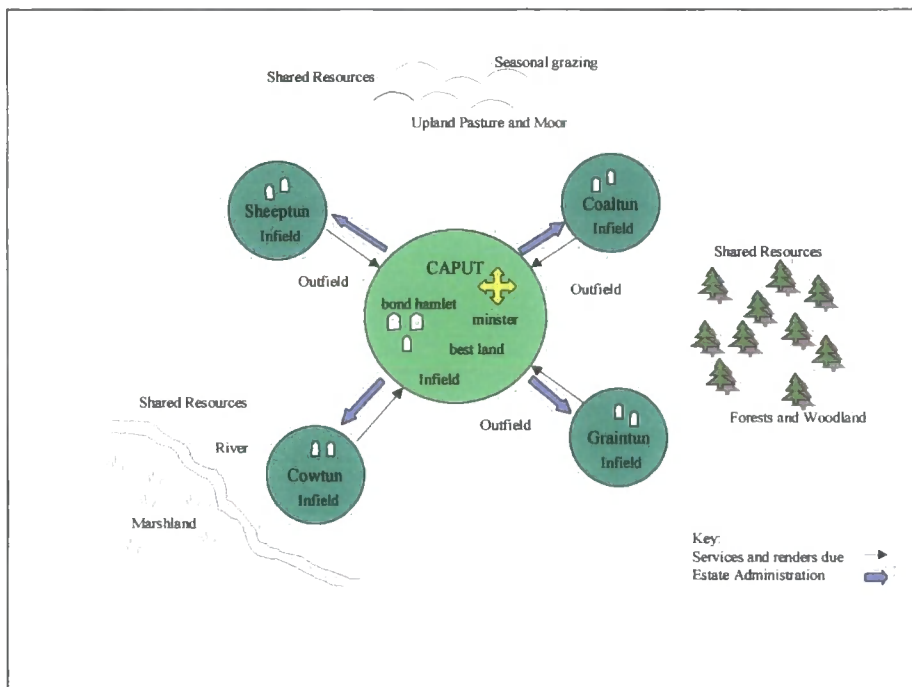
Figure 2.1: Model of a multiple estate after Jones and Aston.[61]

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[58] Jones, 'Basic Patterns', pp. 193-4; Gregson, 'Multiple Estate Model', p. 346.

[59] Jones, 'Basic Patterns', pp. 193-4.

[60] Richard Morris, *Churches in ths Landscape* (London: J. M. Dent and Sons, 1988), pp. 112-3 and 118-9.

[61] Michael Aston, *Interpreting the Landscape: Landscape Archaeology and Local History* (London: Routledge, 1985), p. 35.

The continuity argued for by both Jolliffe and Jones is based on the organisation of the land holding and the renders and services due to the overlord by free and tied tenants and the existence of such organisation in regions with a Celtic population, such as Wales, as well as in areas of Anglian and Scandinavian settlement. Within this organisation were settlements with a certain amount of co-dependence and shared access to resources, such as woodland, fresh water and its products, and common grazing.[62] The hypothesis suggests that this form of territorial organisation was so firmly established by the ninth century, that the incoming Scandinavians were assimilated into it and only introduced a gloss of Scandinavian names in areas of settlement.[63] Jones has cited several examples for the grafting of Scandinavian administrative arrangements and names on to the pre-existing structure of the multiple estate.[64] For example, the term *wapentake*, referring to administrative divisions of the land, is a Scandinavian word equivalent to the Anglo-Saxon *hundred*,[65] and the use of Old Norse *thing*, meaning common assembly, in place-names such as Laughton-en-le-Marthen.[66] He has suggested that the place-name evidence supports the theory that the Scandinavians had a monopoly of the positions of authority as it indicates that the Scandinavian leaders took possession of the manor centres and left the names unchanged.[67] Their followers were given rights over established, appendant settlements of the manors, and often changed the names to reflect their new position of authority.[68]

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[62] Jones, 'Basic Patterns', pp. 193-4; 'Multiple Estates and Early Settlement', pp. 15-7;

[63] Jones, 'Early Territorial Organisation', p80; 'Celts, Saxons and Scandinavians', pp. 73-5.

[64] Jones, 'Early Territorial Organisation', p. 80.

[65] Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 497.

[66] Jones, 'Early Territorial Organisation', pp. 80-1.

[67] Ibid, p. 81.

[68] Ibid, p. 83.

So it would appear that they would have introduced words from their own language for the purposes of administration, but not necessarily have changed the way the administration was carried out. This would suggest that the invading Scandinavians took over as local lords in the region, but did not implement their own structure of territorial organisation. As a result any break-up of the estates between the arrival of the Scandinavians and Domesday Book, may be reflected in the number of smaller manors with Scandinavian place-names.[69] However, Jones has suggested that Domesday Book shows that the territorial organisation of the multiple estate was still in existence in Yorkshire, having survived the settlement of the Scandinavians.[70]

The hypothesis of the multiple estate has had considerable support since Jones' proposals during the 1960's. H. P. R. Finberg supported and elaborated on Jones' hypothesis in his chapter in the first volume of *The Agrarian History of England and Wales*.[71] Finberg cites several examples where archaeology supports the theory of continuous occupation of an area, despite discontinuity of a site.[72] However, the lack of archaeological evidence, especially for the early part of this period, makes any definite statements regarding the nature of settlement difficult to substantiate. There has been some debate regarding the actual continuity of settlement during the Anglo-Saxon period, some of which stems from Maitland's contention that there is unlikely to be a village in England that had not been deserted at least once in its history.[73] The multiple

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[69] Jones, 'Early Territorial Organisation', p. 81; 'Celts, Saxons and Scandinavians', pp. 74-6.

[70] Jones, 'Early Territorial Organisation', p. 81.

[71] H. P. R. Finberg, 'Anglo-Saxon England to 1042', *The Agrarian History of England and Wales Vol 1.11 A. D. 43-1042* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), pp. 383-525, specifically at pp. 454-7,

[72] Ibid, pp. 391-4.

[73] F. W. Maitland, *Domesday Book and Beyond* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1897), pp. 365.

estate model appears to allow for some measure of discontinuity of settlement, as it relates to the continuity of the organisation and administration of the land, as opposed to the continuity of a settlement site. Some excavations have revealed what appears to be a considerable shift in settlement between the early and late Saxon periods, resulting in differences in settlement type and location.[74] The explanation for these differences has been called the 'Middle Saxon Shift'. This has been defined as a move from marginal land to prime valley locations, from dispersed settlements to nucleated hamlets through the desertion of existing settlements. This shift has been linked to changes in agricultural practices and environmental pressures, which required the definition of new territorial units.[75] A model to describe Middle Saxon Shift has been defined as follows:
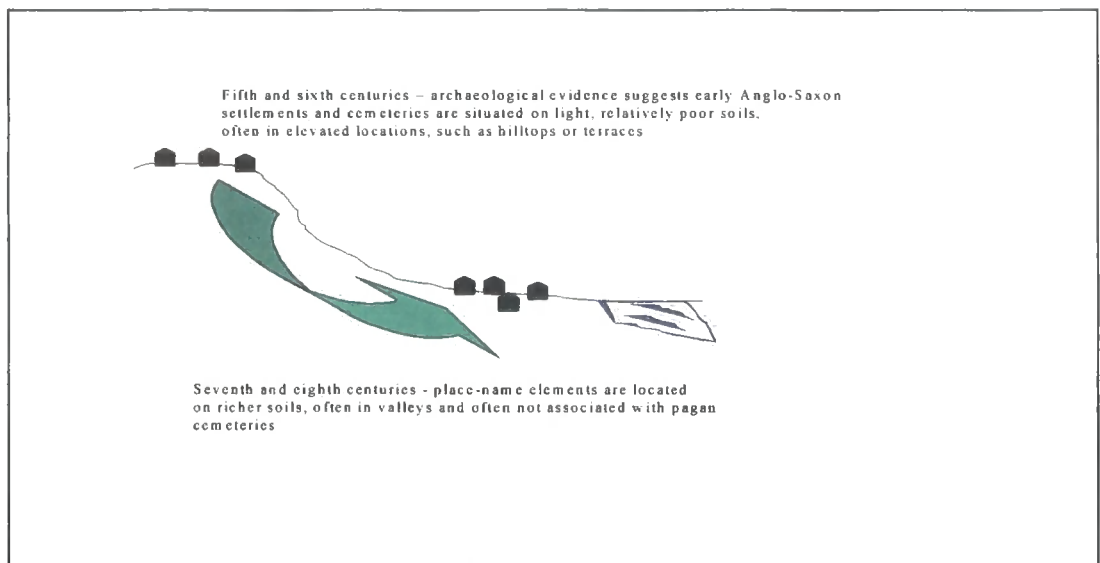
Figure 2.2: Model of Middle Saxon Shift.[76]

[74] H. F. Hamerow, 'Settlement Mobility and the "Middle Saxon Shift": Rural Settlements and Settlement Patterns in Anglo-Saxon England', *Anglo-Saxon England* 20 (1991),pp. 1-17, at pp. 2 and 6-8.

[75] Martin G. Welsh, 'Rural Settlement Patterns in the Early and Middle Saxon Periods', *Landscape History*, 7 (1985), pp. 13-24, at pp. 20 and 22.

[76] Hamerow, 'Settlement Mobility', p. 11.

However, H. F. Hamerow argues against this model of 'Middle Saxon Shift' - as she claims that the evidence is inconclusive[77] and the link between early Saxon dispersed settlement and later nucleated settlements is unclear.[78] If there was a shift, she argues, then it was from mobile to essentially stable settlements closely linked to changes in agrarian organisation, especially the desirability of nucleated settlements for efficient maintenance of open-field farming.[79] However, her suggestion of a continuous shift or steady migration would not necessarily be revealed by usual archaeological practices.[80] Her arguments would appear to support the idea of continuity of land use during the early and middle Saxon periods, especially when changes in agricultural techniques are considered. Although scholars still appear to be a long way from understanding the reasons behind the reorientation of the landscape, which accompanied the relocation of settlements,[81] these shifts do not necessarily mean the redefining of the role a settlement plays within its territorial organisation.

The suggested continuity of settlement between the Romano-British era and the early Anglo-Saxon period in the work of Faull,[82] as well as Beresford and Hurst,[83] also argues against the model of Middle Saxon Shift, as evidence shows that the Romano-Britons tended to use prime land in river valleys,[84] which was then reused by the

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[77] Ibid, p. 12.

[78] Ibid, p. 15.

[79] Ibid, p. 17.

[80] Ibid, p. 12.

[81] Welsh, 'Rural Settlement Patterns', p. 21.

[82] M. L. Faull, 'Roman and Anglian Settlement Patterns in Yorkshire', *Northern History* IX (1974), pp. 1-25.

[83] Beresford and Hurst, *Wharram Percy*, p. 82 and p. 92.

Anglo-Saxons. The excavations carried out by Beresford and Hurst at Wharram Percy have shown the reoccupation of some Iron Age and Romano-British sites by the early Anglo-Saxon settlers.[85] They have suggested that although the site of the north manor house at Wharram Percy has evidence of occupation during the Iron Age, Romano-British and Saxon periods, other Romano-British farms appear to have been abandoned.[86] This evidence for reoccupation of a site from the Iron Age to the Saxon period appears to support Jones' hypothesis about the continued use of important Iron Age sites.[87] The evidence from Wharram Percy does not appear to support the theory of early Anglo-Saxon settlements on relatively poor soils often in elevated locations. There is further evidence from Yorkshire that suggests Anglo-Saxon re-use of Romano-British sites, for example at York and Malton.[88] This evidence from the archaeology of the region contributes to the support of Jones' hypothesis regarding continuity.

The hypothesis of continuity proposed by Jones has been suggested as a means of dealing with the controversy that arose after the publication of Peter Sawyer's article on the number of Scandinavians involved in the invasions of England, 'The Density of Danish Settlement in England'.[89] Sawyer introduced the hypothesis that the settlement of Scandinavians involved less than previously believed, as the size of the armies had

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[84] Hamerow, 'Settlement Mobility', p. 14.

[85] Beresford and Hurst, *Wharram Percy*, pp. 80-2.

[86] Ibid, p. 82.

[87] Jones, 'Multiple Estates and Early Settlement', p. 39.

[88] Finberg, 'Anglo-Saxon England to 1042', p. 387.

[89] Jones, 'Early Territorial Organisation', pp. 67-84; Sawyer, 'The Density of Danish Settlement', pp. 1-17. Sawyer continued to argue for a reassessment of the numbers of Scandinavians involved in the raids of the ninth century, although he did accept that the armies of the eleventh century, under Svein and Cnut were considerably larger – *Age of the Vikings*, 2nd edn, pp. 131-2.

been considerably exaggerated by contemporary sources.[90] Prior to this it had been generally accepted that the number of Scandinavians documented in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, although slightly inflated, were reasonably accurate. Scholars had pointed to the considerable number of Scandinavian place-names and the influence on the Anglo-Saxon language as evidence to support the theory of a large number of settlers.[91] In his article Sawyer suggested that the invasions led to a replacement of the ruling authorities of the region, following 876, as opposed to a wholesale settlement of land by farmers and their families.[92] If this was so then it is possible that to the native peasant farmers the Scandinavian settlement would have initially just meant a change in to whom they paid their rents and services.[93] Considerable debate followed Sawyer's initial article and his later book, *The Age of the Vikings*, leading him to alter his opinion somewhat, to allow for a larger number of settlers. However, he still maintained that the Scandinavians replaced the ruling strata of society.[94] This suggests that no major upheaval of territorial organisation occurred following the arrival of Scandinavians, and lends support to Jones' hypothesis of continuity.

Jones' suggestion that looking at territorial organisation could solve the differences of opinion over Scandinavian settlement has found support amongst modern scholars. C. D. Morris has related Jones' conclusions to the work of Geoffrey Barrow looking at the 'shires' in Scotland, Edmund Craster for ecclesiastical estates of the Lindisfarne

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[90] Sawyer, 'The Density of Danish Settlement', p. 17.

[91] Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, pp. 499 and 504.

[92] Sawyer, 'The Density of Danish Settlement', p. 17.

[93] Richards, *Viking Age England*, p. 30.

[94] Sawyer, *Age of the Vikings*, 2nd edn, pp. 148-76.

community, and Brian Roberts for south County Durham.[95] Barrow has examined the

evidence of medieval charters, place-names and eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth century

estates in Scotland and his conclusions suggest an origin for shires, which pre-dates

English influence in the area.[96] Barrow parallels the shires of Scotland with those of

Northumbria, the commotes of Wales and the lathes of Kent, suggesting continuity

from an early period.[97] Craster's work was based on the *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto*

and documentary sources for the community's estates, and illustrates the size and

boundaries of these estates.[98] Roberts has suggested that close examination of the

physical layout and organisation of villages in County Durham can indicate very early

origins, as early as the late Roman period for some.[99] Furthermore, Morris suggests

that the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* implies the taking over of estates in the entries for 876,

877, and 880, and that following the seizure of York, political control was followed by

a takeover of estates.[100]

The hypothesis of continuity, as first suggested by Jones, maintains a territorial

organisation in which the patterns and institutions of pre-Anglian administration

continued to influence units of local government, while evolving as the result of

developments throughout Britain during the Anglian and Anglo-Scandinavian periods.

This hypothesis allows for changes that were occurring independently of the

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[95] C. D. Morris, 'Aspects of Scandinavian Settlement in Northern History: A Review', *Northern History*, 20 (1984), pp. 1-22, at p. 6.

[96] G. W. S. Barrow, *Kingdom of the Scots* (London: Edward Arnold, 1973), pp. 64-5.

[97] Barrow, *Kingdom of the Scots*, p. 57.

[98] Edmund Craster, 'The Patrimony of St. Cuthbert', *English Historical Review*, 69 (April, 1954), pp. 177-199, at pp. 186-7, 189 and 191-2; C. Morris, 'Aspects of Scandinavian Settlement', pp. 6-7.

[99] Roberts, 'Anatomy of Settlement', pp. 307-311.

[100] C. D. Morris, 'The Vikings in the British Isles: Some Aspects of their Settlement and Economy', in *The Vikings*, ed. R. T. Farrell (London: Phillimore Press, 1982), pp. 70-94, at p. 86.

Scandinavian settlements, such as those argued for by Sawyer.[101] Della Hooke also

suggests that the Anglo-Saxon period was one of both estate amalgamation and

fragmentation.[102] The introduction of parishes, often along the lines of secular estates

in size and shape, also affected the territorial organisation of Britain.[103] One of the

major developments of the mid to late Anglo-Saxon period appears to be the

introduction of nucleated settlements.[104] This may or may not have been the result of

changes in agricultural techniques; however, it does seem to have been wide spread

throughout Britain.[105] The fact that these changes were occurring in all regions of

England during the late Anglo-Saxon period suggests that they were occurring

independently of the Scandinavian invasions and settlement.

All of these views appear to support the conclusions of Jones that Scandinavian

settlement can be seen as "adoption of a pre-existing, and in large measure surviving

organisation of the multiple estate".[106] He suggests that it should not be seen as a rigid

model but as a "framework for tracing the evolution of settlement".[107] Although many

studies have since attempted to distance themselves from the "multiple estate" model,

most have accepted the basic principle of a multi-vill estate organisation in early

medieval society.[108]

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[101] Sawyer, 'Conquest and Colonization', p. 130.

[102] Hooke, 'Early Medieval Estate', p. 14.

[103] Hooke, 'Early Medieval Estate', p. 15.

[104] Richards, *Viking Age England*, p. 31.

[105] Della Hooke, 'The Mid-Late Anglo-Saxon Period: Settlement and Land Use', in *Landscape and Settlement in Britain AD 400-1066*, ed. Della Hooke and Simon Burnell (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1995), pp. 95-114, at pp. 96-7.

[106] Jones, 'Celts, Saxons and Scandinavians', p. 74.

[107] Ibid, p. 354.

Model 2: Change of Territorial Organisation under the Scandinavians

By its very nature a settlement changes or evolves, as people move in or out and it is influenced by external factors, such as natural disasters, wars or shifts in land-use.[109] Stenton proposed the argument for a major upheaval of settlement structure under the Scandinavians[110] and modern scholars, including Richards, Stafford, and Hurst, have supported his theories. Unlike the 'multiple estate model', these scholars argue against the Danish assimilation into English society prior to the Norman Conquest.[111]

These scholars suggest that Scandinavian settlement resulted in radical changes in estate structure. The large estates found in the eighth and early ninth centuries, especially those held by the Church, disappeared, to be replaced by small manorial units.[112] Buying and selling of land had resulted in the consolidation of lands around a vill-centre and less dependence upon the complementary services of various, scattered settlements over a large area. These changes have been seen as the result of the Scandinavian invasions and settlement, and their introduction of new practices in land holding by an independent free peasantry.[113] It must also be considered whether the changes to territorial organisation within the Danelaw were a result of the re-conquest of the region by the kings of Wessex as opposed to introductions by the Danes.[114] It

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[108] Dawn M. Hadley, 'Multiple Estates and the Origins of the Manorial Structure of the Northern Danelaw', *Journal of Historical Geography*, 22,1 (1996), pp. 3-15, at p. 3 and note 3.

[109] Everitt, 'Country, County and Town', p. 81.

[110] Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, pp. 505-6.

[111] Richards, *Viking Age England*, pp. 30-1; Hurst, 'Medieval Rural Settlement', p. 112.

[112] Richards, *Viking Age England*, p. 30.

[113] Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, pp. 510-2.

[114] Pauline Stafford, 'The Danes and the Danelaw', *History Today*, 36 (October 1986), pp. 17-23, at p. 21.

has been suggested by Hadley that this re-conquest did much to transform the territorial organisation of the region.[115]

Unlike the 'Multiple Estate' model, this model cannot be defined by distinctive features of settlement interrelationship or place-names, for example. It depends more on the close examination of various aspects of settlement studies to identify and assess the impact that the Scandinavian settlement had upon the region in question. As a hypothesis of territorial organisation the theory has developed and adapted to contemporary scholarship since Stenton first examined it during the 1940's, but has not been immune to criticism.[116]

Stenton based much of his theory on detailed study of Domesday Book and changes in the way that scholars perceived it. By the middle of the twentieth century Stenton suggested that the survey had a wider purpose than just a fiscal record of taxes and gelds, and could be used to examine the territorial basis of English feudalism.[117] Stenton used the evidence from Domesday Book as the basis of his hypothesis regarding the impact of the Scandinavian settlement upon the Danelaw, proving that it could indeed be used for more than fiscal purposes. He used the evidence of free peasantry found in Domesday to suggest the creation of an Anglo-Scandinavian society, different in structure and organization from that of the Anglo-Saxons, following the Scandinavian invasions.[118]

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[115] Hadley, 'Multiple Estates', p. 7.

[116] Peter Sawyer, '1066-1086: A Tenurial Revolution?', in *Domesday Book: A Reassessment*, ed. Peter Sawyer (London: Edward Arnold, 1985), pp. 71-85, at pp. 81-3.

[117] Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 648.

[118] Ibid, p. 505.

Stenton proposed that the major differences, aside from legal ones, between the south of England and the Danelaw were in some administration of the rural economy, such as the dividing up of open fields - instead of the hides and yardlands of the south, in the Danelaw land as divided into ploughlands and oxgangs - and the status of free peasants, or sokemen, in the Danelaw.[119] The basis of his hypothesis for major upheaval under the Scandinavians was the unique racial composition and abnormal structure of the Danelaw as illustrated by the distribution of sokemen in Domesday Book and the reorganisation of land into oxgangs and ploughlands.[120] Stenton suggested that there were a certain number of freemen in 1086 throughout England, whose survival through the Anglo-Saxon period was based on a strong tradition of ancient independence.[121] Although it is nearly impossible to suggest how these freemen become so rare within Anglo-Saxon society, Stenton proposed that the process began when the king granted overlordship of a village or settlement to a noble or ecclesiastical lord, with all the dues and services usually rendered to the king.[122] The process continued when the inhabitants were unable to provide food-rents, and render in kind gave way to a supply of labour on demesne land by the eleventh century.[123] Stenton suggested that the manorial economy, as presented in Domesday Book, was the end process of an evolution of English society.[124] However, unlike Jones, Stenton suggested that the manors of Domesday Book were not of a single type and did not have a common origin.

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[119] Ibid, p. 507.

[120] Ibid, p. 505.

[121] Ibid, p. 464.

[122] Ibid, p. 465.

[123] Ibid, p. 465.

[124] Ibid, p. 473.

These different types of manors included those supported by demesne, ones without demesne but supported by money rents or in kind, and very rarely examples of manors without a hall or manor house.[125] The most ancient manors, according to Stenton, were those belonging to the king, in which the inhabitants were required to support the king by substantial rents in kind.[126] However, the larger estates, or sokes, Stenton linked to the relationship between the sokemen and their lords, thus dating them to the period of Scandinavian settlement.[127] The structure of these sokes was based upon the justice done within their courts, as opposed to any long standing tradition of services owed by the dependent settlements. Unlike the rest of England, Stenton suggested, the freemen, or sokemen, within the Danelaw were descended from the rank and file of the Danish army, who maintained the military organisation of the army after their settlement.[128] As a result of their introduction, the structure of the society within the Danelaw was unique in England.[129] The social structure was made up of a 'peasant aristocracy', the sokemen, who owned land but had some obligations to a lord.[130] Below them were the villeins and bordars as found in other parts of England and a considerable number of slaves.[131] Above the free peasants were their lords, including a class of noblemen unique to the Danelaw, the holds, which included men of great territorial power.[132] It is

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[125] Ibid, p. 474.

[126] Ibid, p. 476.

[127] Ibid, p. 511.

[128] Ibid, p. 512.

[129] Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England,* p. 511; Stenton, *The Free Peasantry of the Northern Danelaw* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), p. 3.

[130] Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England,* p. 508.

[131] Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England,* pp. 507-8.

[132] Ibid, p. 502.

this class of noblemen whom Stenton credits with the creation of the large and composite estates found in the Danelaw at the time of Domesday.[133] He argued against the assimilation of the Danes into English society through this evidence of a unique social structure, as well as that of the number and variety of Danish personal and place-names[134], and the survival of elements of Danish language in the Danelaw.[135] However, the evidence for settlement has its limitations and the use of personal and place-names can lead to various interpretations.

Since Stenton's first discussion of the theory, it has received widespread support, although it has occasionally been adapted to allow for advances in scholarship. Henry Loyn tempered Stenton's point regarding the origin of sokemen by suggesting that, although they may not have been the descendants of free Danish settlers, their existence was the result of a large-scale immigration from Scandinavia.[136] He has pointed out that in Domesday Book, the sokemen appear almost entirely in lands that were under Danish control at some point.[137] Loyn proposed that there were two possibilities to be considered with regard to the ways in which the Scandinavians impacted on Anglian society.[138] Firstly, he suggests a direct method, which is dependent upon the arrival of a large number of Scandinavian farmer-warriors. Secondly, there is the possibility that the invasions and inherent weakness of the Northumbrian royal house resulted in the break up of land tenure and the end of any continuity of land holding. Loyn suggests

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[133] Ibid, p. 502.

[134] Ibid, p. 513.

[135] Ibid, p. 515.

[136] Loyn, *Anglo-Saxon England and the Norman Conquest*, p. 55.

[137] Ibid, p. 55.

[138] H. R. Loyn, *Vikings in Britain* (London: B. T. Batsford Ltd., 1977), pp. 132-3.

that the balance of evidence is in favour of conquest and settlement as opposed to any intense colonisation during the tenth century.[139] C. R. Hart has also linked the Scandinavian settlement to changes in tenurial organisation. He based his theory upon the introduction of the ploughland and changes in administration of agricultural land, which Stenton had observed.[140]

The interpretation of Domesday evidence has had supporters; however, since Stenton and his work regarding the population of Domesday England, thoughts have changed regarding both the nature of the Norman tenurial revolution and the benefits of using Domesday Book in modern research.[141] It has become recognised that Domesday Book was probably the largest survey of its type, but related to other smaller scale fiscal assessments and surveys common to that period.[142] The work of Sawyer examining the continuity of lordship from Anglo-Saxon to Norman periods, from the evidence as presented by Domesday Book, appears to disprove Stenton's use of Domesday to reconstruct tenure and social structures in Anglo-Saxon England.[143] Sawyer suggests that it would be impossible to reconstruct the pre-Conquest lordships from the evidence of Domesday, as there is no way of knowing how many sub-tenants or superior lords were concealed.[144] He also uses the evidence of Domesday to dismiss the theory that the sokes were lordships introduced by the Scandinavians in the ninth century, but were

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[139] Ibid, p. 133.

[140] C. R. Hart, *The Early Charters of Northern England and the North Midlands* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1975), pp. 14-5; Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, pp. 506-7.

[141] Sawyer, '1066-1086: A Tenurial Revolution?', p. 72.

[142] H. B. Clarke, 'The Domesday Satellites', in *Domesday Book: A Reassessment*, ed. Peter Sawyer (London: Edward Arnold, 1985), pp. 50-70.

[143] Sawyer, '1066-1086: A Tenurial Revolution?', pp. 81-3.

[144] Ibid, p. 83.

in fact far older and based on regalian rights.[145] However, Sawyer's work has also been questioned as more scholars investigate what evidence is available for examination in Domesday Book.[146] The inconsistencies and the selective nature of some of the recorded information must be kept in mind when using Domesday Book to examine settlement history. Scholars need to have an awareness of the role that evidence interpretation can have in forming theories. For example, the examination of social structures by Stenton and Sawyer led to two opposing conclusions.

Despite the questions posed about the basis of Stenton's original hypothesis, the theory of upheaval has the support of modern scholars. Julian Richards, although accepting the pattern of 'multiple estates' during the early Anglo-Saxon period, as proposed by Jones, suggests that from the ninth century onwards these estates were broken up and a class of private landholders emerged as a result of the Scandinavian invasions.[147] John Hurst has suggested, based on the work done at Wharram Percy by himself and Maurice Beresford, that the large number of Scandinavian place-names, for sites which pre-date the middle of the ninth century, indicate the possibility of a major reorganisation of the landscape during the Anglo-Scandinavian period.[148] He has further postulated that the emergence of nucleated settlements in the area may be linked to the Scandinavian impact on eastern Yorkshire.[149] The emergence of nucleated settlements during the late Anglo-Saxon period has given rise to some discussion. Despite the lack of evidence

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[145] Ibid, p. 81.

[146] Robin Fleming, *Kings and Lords in Conquest England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 111-27.

[147] Richards, *Viking Age England*, p. 30.

[148] Hurst, 'Medieval Rural Settlement', p. 112.

[149] Ibid, p. 112.

from the pre-Conquest period for parts of northern England,[150] scholars have proposed

several general theories. Richards and Tim Unwin have suggested that the development

of nucleated villages, which was ongoing in other parts of England, was retarded by the

Scandinavian influx. Richards has put the delay in nucleation, in parts of northern

England, down to a combination of cultural and geographical factors.[151] Unwin's

suggestion is that differences in the date of settlement organisation throughout England

could be largely caused by the differences in the cultural background of the

populations.[152] Unwin puts the cultural difference in the Danelaw down to the presence

of free, independent 'warrior-farmers'[153], resulting in a definite difference between the

areas influenced by Scandinavian settlement and those which were not. These two

views suggest that while the whole of England was undergoing some general changes in

territorial organisation, examination of the Danelaw indicates that these general changes

were effected by the Scandinavian settlement of the region, resulting in a different

chronology and level of change. Indeed within the Danelaw these general changes may

have been adapted to the unique culture of the region, resulting in greater

differentiations between the Danelaw and the rest of England.

One question, which has been posed by scholars, is whether the Scandinavian invasions

hastened or retarded the break-up of multiple estates.[154] The argument for the creation

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[150] Pamela Allerston, 'English village development: Findings from the Pickering district of North Yorkshire', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 51 (1970), pp. 95-109, at pp. 97-100 and 105-6.

[151] Richards, *Viking Age England*, p. 31.

[152] Tim Unwin, 'Towards a Model of Anglo-Scandinavian Rural Settlement in England', in *Anglo-Saxon Settlements*, ed. D. Hooke (Oxford: Blackwell Press, 1988), p. 80.

[153] Unwin, 'Towards a Model', p. 95; Richards, *Viking Age England*, p. 31.

[154] Stafford, 'Danes and the Danelaw', pp 18 and 22.

of new administrative units, such as wapentakes and ridings, as a result of the Scandinavian settlement[155] does not necessarily prove the existence of an entirely new system of territorial organisation. It appears that these units were created around existing estates and possibly parishes, and it has long been recognised that the wapentakes of the Danelaw and the hundreds of the rest of England are interchangeable in function and meaning[156]. Stafford has suggested that the Scandinavian settlement retarded the break-up of multiple estates that was happening elsewhere, through the take over of large estates with attached villages, which in Domesday were marked by sokeland.[157] In essence this means the redistribution of the land of the estates, by granting the freedom of land ownership to loyal followers, without reorganising its structure, but resulting in a change to the interrelationship of the various parts.

Those who have supported the hypothesis of upheaval have also made use of developments in place-name studies to suggest how the Scandinavians settled the Danelaw. Stenton argued that the number and distribution of Scandinavian place-names may be used to establish the point that the names in themselves are a record of a migration of the Scandinavian people,[158] which leaves a distinct impression of Scandinavian military organisation.[159] However, place-name specialists have pointed out that the evidence of place-names only supports the theory of settlement by a large

[155] Ibid, p. 18.

[156] Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 497; Peter Hunter Blair, *An Introduction to Anglo-Saxon England*, 2nd edn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), p. 232.

[157] Stafford, 'Danes and the Danelaw', pp 18 and 22.

[158] Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, pp. 513-4.

[159] Ibid, p. 518.

number of Scandinavians and their families, who were closely tied to the land, possibly secondary to the initial settlement of the followers of Halfdan.[160]

Much work has been done since the 1960's to assess the importance that place-names play in indicating the scale and distribution of settlement by the Scandinavians. The development of this research has been detailed by Gillian Fellows-Jensen in 'Place-Names and Settlement History: A Review', where she has used a reverse chronological approach - stripping back the layers of history to isolate influences on place-names.[161] The research into place-names plays a large role in the work of those scholars who espouse the hypothesis of Scandinavian upheaval. The argument surrounding the meanings of -by and -thorp is quite important, as it often focuses on whether settlements with these place-name elements can be proved to be well-established settlements at the time of the Scandinavian invasions. There is also the difficulty of later naming practices which may have employed Scandinavianised elements, but do not necessarily reflect settlement patterns of the ninth century.[162] Neither do place-names, which are believed to be of the ninth century, necessarily identify either the existing settlement structure of the pre-Scandinavian era or the patterns of settlement after 876,[163] despite Stenton's assertions that the military organisation of the Danelaw can been seen in the distribution of place-names.[164]

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[160] Margaret Gelling, *Signposts to the Past: Place-Names and the History of England* (London: J. M. Dent and Sons Ltd., 1978), pp. 220-1.

[161] Gillian Fellows-Jensen, 'Place-Names and Settlement History: A Review', *Northern History*, 13 (1977), pp. 1-26.

[162] Gillian Fellows-Jensen, 'Place-Names and Settlement in the North Riding of Yorkshire', *Northern History*, 14 (1978), pp. 19-46, at p.40; 'The Vikings in England: a review', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 4 (1975), pp. 181-206, at p. 183.

[163] The dating of Scandinavian place-names has undergone some recent revision, so the patterns of distribution of land amongst the Scandinavians may not be easily established on the grounds of place-names alone. Cf. Fellows-Jensen, 'Of Dane – and Thanes – and Domesday Book', in *People and Place in Northern Europe 500-1600*, ed. Ian Wood and Niels Lund (Woodbridge, Suffolk: The Boydell Press,

Fellows-Jensen has attempted to relate the *-by/-thorp* argument to the structure of

Scandinavian settlement in her conclusions to her survey of the Scandinavian period in

'Place-Names and Settlement History'.[165] Finding evidence of Anglian settlement to

substantiate these theories has proved to be a difficulty, but Fellows-Jensen later linked

the use of personal names, plus the habitative generics of *-tun*, *-by* and *-thorp*, to a

possible change of ownership structure following the Scandinavian settlement.[166] This

is based on a comparison of Old English and Scandinavian place-names. Fellows-

Jensen has suggested that place-names with Anglian personal name elements generally

reflect groups of men surrounding a leader but without any indication of ownership of

the land by individuals, whereas the Scandinavian personal names reflect individual

ownership of land.[167] This theory may be used to suggest a possible change in the

structure of landholding as a result of the Scandinavian settlement.

It may be possible to draw a link between a change in territorial organisation under the

Scandinavians, based on the evidence of Scandinavian place-names, and the

development of a market in land, as a result of new methods of landholding. The fact

that the prime land holder of the pre-Scandinavian period was the Church, which

subtenanted land during the life time of a tenant,[168] suggests that a dislocation of the

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1991), pp. 107-21; *The Vikings and their Victims: the Verdict of the Names* (London: The Viking Society for Northern Research, 1995).

[164] Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, pp. 517-8.

[165] Fellows-Jensen, 'Place-Names and Settlement History', p. 8.

[166] Fellows-Jensen, 'Settlement in the North Riding of Yorkshire', p. 32; 'Scandinavian Settlement in the Danelaw in the Light of the Place-Names of Denmark', *Proceedings of the Eighth Viking Congress - Mediaeval Scandinavia Supplements*, 2 (1981), pp. 133-45, at p. 139.

[167] Fellows-Jensen, 'Scandinavian Settlement in the Danelaw', p. 143.

[168] Fellows-Jensen, 'Settlement in the North Riding', p. 32.

land-holding structure could have developed if the Church was displaced within the region. For example, the community of St. Cuthbert, based at Lindisfarne, held lands in the modern counties of Durham, Cumbria and Northumberland, as well as southern Scotland, and some of Yorkshire,[169] but they left the island in 875 to escape the army of Halfdan and wandered over much of northern England for seven years.[170] Settlement by Halfdan's army along military lines in 876,[171] may possibly have taken advantage of such displacements as that of the Lindisfarne community, with individuals being given land, formerly held by the Church, as reward for good service. In this the Church would appear to have been treated as any defeated party, their lands confiscated and distributed among the victorious army. Thus the Scandinavian landholders would have looked upon their estates as their own property[172] unlike the previous Anglian tenants.

Under the Anglo-Saxons land was seen as a reward for services rendered and due, which could be removed by the tenant's lord if those services were not upheld and the rights of which were returned to the lord on the tenant's death.[173] The majority of land was in the hands of kings, major lordly families and the Church.[174] The Danes would have been unlikely to continue with a system which tied the gift of land to life-long service, as they valued land as a permanent reward for services already rendered. This

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[169] Craster, 'The Patrimony of St. Cuthbert', 177-84.

[170] Whitelock, *English Historical Documents*, p. 277.

[171] Loyn, *Anglo-Saxon England and the Norman Conquest*, p. 56.

[172] Fellows-Jensen, 'Settlement in the North Riding', p. 32.

[173] T. M. Charles-Edwards, 'The Distinction between Land and Moveable Wealth in Anglo-Saxon England' in *Medieval Settlement: Continuity and Change*, ed. P. H. Sawyer (London: Edward Arnold Ltd., 1976), pp. 108-87, at p. 183.

[174] Richards, *Viking Age England*, p. 30.

resulted in an emerging market in land.[175] This may have been further bolstered by the amount of land which was permanently alienated from the Church. Evidence from Domesday Book hints at the disparity between the number of monasteries, in the Danelaw, before and after the period of Scandinavian settlement. It has been suggested that this disparity was due to the Scandinavian invasions.[176] This land also became extremely valuable during the period of the reconquest of the Danelaw by the royal house of Wessex. It provided a source of rewards for royal officials who had an important role to play in the defence and spread of aristocratic loyalty to the kingdom of Wessex.[177] The development of a market economy during the eighth century, through an expansion in overseas trade,[178] may have further led to the growing market in land. Under the Scandinavians this overseas trade developed further with the links between the kingdoms of York and Dublin, and the stability provided for markets by the urban centres of the Scandinavians in the Danelaw. This evidence of changing attitudes towards land tenure, the development of a market economy, especially in land, and the upheaval in land holding which occurred with the displacement of northern monasteries have been suggested as contributing reasons for the break-up of older estates into small units.[179] The result of this break-up would be the removal of traditional services owed to a manor centre, and the creation of a new pattern of settlement interrelationships, based more upon military loyalty to one's lord as opposed to a tradition of services

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[175] Hadley, 'Multiple Estates', p. 7.

[176] Robin Fleming, 'Monastic Lands and England's defence in the Viking Age', *The English Historical Review*, 395 (April 1985), pp. 247-65, at p. 249.

[177] Ibid, pp. 257 and 265.

[178] S. R. H. Jones, 'Transaction Costs, Institutional Change and the Emergence of a Market Economy in Later Anglo-Saxon England', *Economic History Review*, 46, 4 (1993), pp. 658-78, at p. 665.

[179] P. H. Sawyer, 'Conquest and Colonization: Scandinavians in the Danelaw and in Normandy', *Proceedings of the Eighth Viking Congress - Mediaeval Scandinavia Supplements*, 2 (1981), pp. 123-31, at p. 127; Loyn, *Anglo-Saxon England and the Norman Conquest*, pp. 194-5.

rendered. These factors should be considered as being more the result of the Scandinavian settlement than any general trend throughout England, and for this reason support the theory of Scandinavian upheaval.

Other modern scholars continue to lend support to Stenton's theory of Scandinavian upheaval. Dawn Hadley has also suggested that the development of a market in land under the Scandinavians resulted in changes in territorial organisation. Through her examination of the 'multiple estate' model, she has suggested that although the multi-vill estate organisation can be seen as a basic principle of early medieval society, the origins and functions of the components of this estate organisation may vary.[180] She has argued, as had Stenton,[181] that the estates or 'sokes' of Domesday Book could have had several different points of origin, including the fragmentation of larger sokes and the amalgamation of lands, possibly during the late tenth and early eleventh centuries.[182] The evidence, as presented by Hadley, suggests that territorial organisation during the Anglo-Saxon period was quite fluid and influenced by the creation of landed endowments for the Church and secular aristocracy.[183] The reconquest of the Danelaw by the kingdom of Wessex during the tenth century may have further transformed territorial organisation while encouraging the developing market in land.[184] It appears from the work by Hadley that the period of the tenth and eleventh centuries saw the introduction of new sokes, which either acted to concentrate the power and wealth of the new landowners from Wessex, or to amalgamate small land

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[180] Hadley, 'Multiple Estates', pp. 3-12.

[181] Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 474.

[182] Hadley, 'Multiple Estates', p. 6.

[183] Ibid, p. 8.

[184] Ibid, p. 7.

units held by sokemen into administrative units through which dues and tributes could be collected. These theories take into account the impact that the reconquest of the Danelaw by the kingdom of Wessex had upon the territorial organisation of the region. As Hadley has demonstrated, this part of the Anglo-Saxon period needs to be considered when looking at the impacts of the Scandinavian settlement, as it was a direct result.

The theory of upheaval as a result of the Scandinavian invasions has been supported and expanded by scholars since the initial work by Stenton. The hypothesis now suggests that the territorial organisation reflected in Domesday Book was the result of the Scandinavian invasions and settlement, and the Anglo-Saxon reaction and reconquest of the regions under Scandinavian rule.

Chapter 3: The Evidence in Relation to the Multiple Estate

Model

The hypothesis of the continuity of multiple estates is based upon the evidence of manorial estates to which were owed ancient services and renders by the populations of linked dependent settlements and the adaptation of the Scandinavian settlers to this pre-existing territorial organisation. Jones' work on the historical continuity of multiple or multi-vill estates in England and Wales is largely based on the evidence of manors with dependent vills in the form of berewicks and sokeland, as found in Domesday. To this evidence he supplemented other documentary sources, such as references to indigenous Celtic populations in extant laws, and administrative records from the Middle Ages, where available. Furthermore, he has also used the evidence of place-names containing Brittonic elements,[185] and archaeological remains.[186]

Documentary Evidence: Domesday Book

Jones has suggested that the evidence of manors with dependent vills, as found in Domesday, indicates the survival of an ancient form of territorial organisation, despite the Scandinavian settlement of the ninth, tenth and eleventh centuries.[187] It should be noted that as evidence for settlement, Domesday Book has some limitations. Settlements found listed in it represent vills that were eligible to pay taxes. This fact means that some places, although in existence at the time of the survey, were not recorded. The method of collating information was dependent upon the landowner or tenant declaring its value in a private statement. In order to confirm the tenure and title over a manor, an open court session was held in each county town and the Domesday

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[185] Jones, 'Basic Patterns', p. 194; 'Early Territorial Organisation', pp. 73-4.

[186] For detailed discussions of Jones' methods please refer to the section of chapter 2 which deals with the Multiple Estate model.

[187] Jones, 'Basic Patterns', p. 197.

commissioners based their investigation on pre-existing geld lists.[188]   The

commissioners then produced an estimate of the annual value of each manor, and an

assessment of its liability to taxation.[189] The summarising of this information, which is

found in the final Domesday Book, appears to have been treated with some

inconsistency in different regions. Despite the apparently meticulous cross-checking, it

has become obvious to modern scholars that certain elements were overlooked or left

out.[190] Despite these limitations, the survey can be used to suggest how much land was

held by the top strata of society, and the geographical distribution and interrelationship

of their holdings. Furthermore, it hints at how land was distributed during the late

Anglo-Saxon period and the methods of distribution following the Norman Conquest.

The Evidence of Manors

The model of the multiple estate as defined by Jones[191] included the caput, or centre of

the estate, on the best soil, with small nucleated hamlets subject to its authority and

holding land in return for rents and services. It is possible to see something of this

structure in the manors, berewicks and sokelands of Domesday Book. Berewicks have

been defined as the outlying lands of a large estate, which were dependent in some way

upon the head manor.[192] They were the property of the lord and were either held as

demesne or sub-tenanted to villiens or bordars. Sokeland, on the other hand, owed

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[188] D. Roffe, 'Domesday Book and Northern Society: A Reassessment', *English Historical Review* (April, 1990), p. 311.

[189] A. R. Bridbury, 'Domesday Book: A Re-Interpretation', *English Historical Review* (Aprill 1990), p. 290.

[190] Darby and Maxwell, *Domesday Geography*, pp. 150-2; Roffe, 'Domesday Book and Northern Society', p. 310.

[191] Jones, 'Basic Patterns', p. 193.

[192] Stenton, 'Types of Manor', pp. 4-5.

some services and dues to the manorial centre to which it was appendant, but the lord of the manor had no rights of ownership over the land itself, only seigniorial rights over the inhabitants.[193]

There are a total of 75 entries for vills in Ryedale which can be divided, based upon their 1066 geldable value, into five categories – very large manors (valued in pounds), large manors (25s or more), medium manors (10-24s), small manors (1-9s) and manors and other parcels of land with no value returned (Appendix III). The 1066 value has been used to determine the larger estates prior to the 'Harrying of the North' and to reduce the number of manors which returned little or no value due to being waste at the time of the survey. The following table summarises the relationship between the size of the manors and the presence of dependent vills.

Table 3.1: Size of Domesday Manors and Numbers of Dependent Vills

Category	Value (1066)	Total Number	Number with Berewicks	Number with Sokeland
Very Large	In Pounds	3 (+ Pickering)	3 (+ Pickering)	(Pickering)
Large	25 s. +	2	0	1
Medium	10-24 s.	19	0	1
Small	1-9 s.	4	0	0
No Value	N/A	45	0	2

Within Ryedale there were two very large estates, with manors at Hovingham and Kirkbymoorside, both valued, including outlying lands, at £12 and both of which had a number of berewicks, although neither had jurisdiction over any sokeland.[194]

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[193] Ibid, pp 10 & 14.

[194] D[omesday] B[ook] – Y[orkshire], ed. M. L. Faull and M. Stinson (Chichester: Phillimore, 1986), 23N19-21, 23N23-24.

The estate centred Pickering needs to be noted as it had a berewick in the vill of Barton, within Ryedale.[195] The estate held both berewicks and sokeland over a large area of the Vale of Pickering and may indicate how the area was divided. In 1086, Domesday Book lists it among the land of the King,[196] and if it was traditionally a royal manor, this may indicate that it was of considerable age.

There is one other estate which needs to be consider in relation to Ryedale, that centred at the manor of Coxwold. The estate held land within the Ryedale region and its location at the easiest crossing between the Vale of York and the Vale of Pickering suggests links between the manor and the Ryedale region. The estate itself would be considered large by the above standards, having returned a value of £6 in 1066 and £12 in 1086.[197] As with Hovingham and Kirkbymoorside, the estate of Coxwold held berewicks but no sokeland.[198]

In Ryedale the evidence suggests the possible survival of two estates centred at Hovingham and Kirkbymoorside, as well as one at Coxwold, which borders the region. The presence of three large estates within the area, as well as Pickering to the east, suggests the possibility that the entire area had at one stage been divided in a similar manner, which took advantage of the natural resources and landscape. By 1066, however, the majority of land was divided into small manors with little or no

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[195] *DB Yorks*, 1Y4.

[196] *DB Yorks*, 1Y4.

[197] *DB Yorks*, 23N1.

[198] *DB Yorks*, 23N1
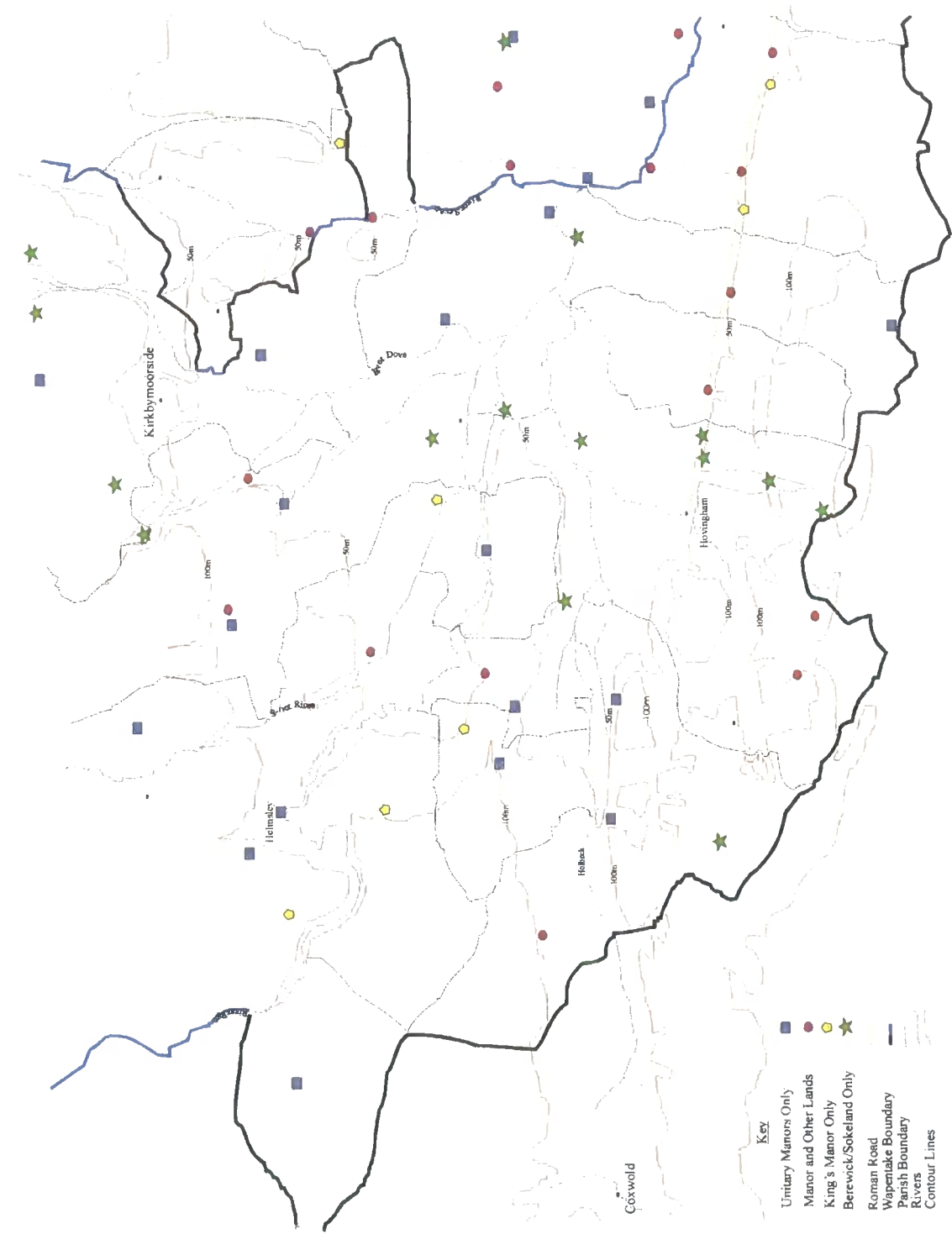
Figure 3.1: Map of Ryedale region illustrating distribution of Domesday vills and relationship to land holding.

outlying land (fig. 3.1). The manner in which these lands were held in 1066 – small manors within close proximity – suggests the possible break up of larger estates.[199]

The evidence for sokeland in Ryedale is limited to four estates, two with manors in the vill of Helmsley, one in Scackleton and one at Nunnington.[200] The sokeland of the estates centred in Helmsley, at Fryton and Coulton,[201] is too far removed to suggest the settlement of Scandinavian followers around a leader. Scackleton was a very small manor of half a carucate, with a small piece of sokeland, of unspecified size, in Bulmer wapentake.[202] As there was only one piece of sokeland, it seems unlikely that a leader who had so little land for himself would hand out a parcel of it to his followers. It may be more likely that the sokeland was acquired after the manor or it became sokeland as a reward to one or more tenants. It is possible that the sokeland at Nunnington could be interpreted as Stafford has done – the parcelling of land to followers around a leader. This interpretation is possible as Stonegrave, East Ness and South Holme are all vills adjacent to the vill of Nunnington and to one another; however, the sokeland at Wykeham, being at some distance from the estate centre, appears to have been acquired in a different manner. These instances of sokeland at some distance from the manor centre may be the result of later acquisitions of land through marriage, land exchange or grants, or the fusion of land holdings. The fact that there are only four estates in Ryedale with sokeland, none of which are large or have other dependent vills, makes it difficult to suggest any interpretation of the reasons behind their existence.

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[199] Jones, 'Multiple Estates and Early Settlement', p. 38.

[200] *DB Yorks*, 2A4, 5N50-1, 1N86, 16N1.

[201] *DB Yorks*, 2A4, 5N50-1.

[202] *DB Yorks*, 1N86.

Evidence from early charters elsewhere in Northumbria suggests that multiple estates in Northern England were of considerable size.[203] For example, the estates of the community of St. Cuthbert included a grant of land at Gainford, co. Durham, which was defined as stretching from three miles south of the Tees to the Wear and from the Roman road called Dere Street to the hill-country on the west.[204] Within Ryedale the two large estates – Hovingham, 40 carucates of land, and Kirkbymoorside, 56 ½ carucates of land[205] - do not come close in size to these larger estates. However, if a link between these estates and the later parishes can be established, then it may be possible to suggest that the estates of the region were once larger than those recorded in Domesday Book. Although it is hard to substantiate, the similarities between the larger Danelaw estates and parishes has lead some scholars to suggest that the parochial geography of a region can indicate the extent of secular divisions of the seventh and eighth centuries.[206] The post-medieval parish of Helmsley is considerably larger, 29,000 acres compared to 8,600 and 13,700 for Hovingham and Kirkbymoorside respectively, but the vill of Helmsley was made up of at least three manors.[207] Kirkbymoorside most probably included the post-medieval parish of Kirkdale,[208] making an estate totalling over 23,000 acres. The large size of the parishes that border

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[203] Higham, *The Northern Counties*, pp 292-3; Craster, 'The Patrimony of St. Cuthbert', pp. 178-84.

[204] Craster, 'The Patrimony of St. Cuthbert', p. 186.

[205] *DB Yorks*, 23N19-21, 23N23-4.

[206] Hadley, 'Multiple Estates', pp. 4-5; D. J. H. Michelmore, 'The Reconstruction of the Early Tenurial and Territorial Divisions of the Landscape of Northern England', *Landscape History*, 1 (1979), pp 1-9, at p. 8

[207] References to post-medieval parishes and their size and boundaries refer to those that were in existence before 1832; George Lawton, *Collectio Rerum Ecclesiasticarum de Dioecesi Eboracensi* (London: J. G. and F. Rivington, St. Paul's Churchyard, 1842), pp. 512-37.

[208] As there was a church at Kirkdale from the eighth century – see Rahtz and Watts, 1998-9 – and it has been suggested that it served the manor at Kirkbymoorside, it is likely that the original parish included both the post-medieval parishes until a parish church was established at Kirkbymoorside.

the North Yorkshire Moors – Lastingham is 25,300 acres and Middleton 25,400 acres - may be in part due to the lack of resources at the estate level, if a parallel can be drawn between estates and parish structure.

Jones has also suggested a link between the estate at Hovingham and royal land holding based upon the proximity of the estate's berewicks to lesser royal holdings in 1086.[209] It would be difficult to substantiate any link as the majority of the royal holdings were very small – less than five carucates – and only six of the fifteen vills which contained berewicks actually shared land between the king and the Hovingham estate (Appendix III). Furthermore, there is no evidence that proves that these lands were held by or from the king in 1066. The king also held a similar amount of land in vills shared with Kirkbymoorside, an estate that Jones does not mention, but which was larger and appears to have shared similar characteristics with Hovingham. The method of land holding changed considerably during the Anglo-Saxon period[210] and the habit of several Northumbrian monarchs of gifting land to loyal supporters and the church had depleted royal holdings by the ninth century.[211] Furthermore, the lack of documentary evidence for the region makes it difficult to prove continuity of royal estates through the Anglo-Saxon period. There is no evidence as yet for a royal tun in Ryedale, although the estate at Pickering was a king's manor in 1086.

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[209] Ibid, p. 356.

[210] Charles-Edwards, 'Land and Moveable Wealth'; S. R. H. Jones, 'Transaction Costs', pp. 658-78; Richards, *Viking Age England*, p. 30.

[211] Jones, 'Multiple Estates and Early Settlement', p. 38.

The Evidence for Mills, Woodland and Meadows

The available resources played a major role within the structure of the multiple estates, and however limited some of the details of Domesday Book may be, it does provide an idea of how much woodland and meadows there were, and as a result, how the land may have been worked.[212] The availability of these natural resources would be important to the interrelationship and distribution of the dependent vills within the multiple estate model. The mention of woodland may provide some indication of how wooded the region still was – the majority of woodland was linked to the manors of Helmsley and Gilling East,[213] and also an unmentioned amount linked to Hovingham.[214] This suggests that woodland was found mostly at the western end of the region on the slopes of the Hambleton and Howardian Hills. If each estate required some woodland for the pasturing of swine, the collection of firewood and as a source of building material, then it would be expected that there would be a number of berewicks of each estate within the most heavily wooded area. The estates of Hovingham and Coxwold obviously had some shared woodland resources within their lands,[215] but there is no indication that Kirkbymoorside had either woodland or any berewicks in the woodland.

The mention of meadows would be expected as the low-lying land would have been ideally suited for this purpose.[216] It is interesting to note that this land is still used mostly as meadows. Meadows would have provided seasonal grazing lands, and could possibly be linked to the movement of animals from common upland grazing areas

[212] Darby and Maxwell, *Domesday Geography*, p. ix.

[213] *DB Yorks*, 5N50, 15E17, 23N26.

[214] *DB Yorks*, 23N24.

[215] *DB Yorks*, 23N24, 23N1.

[216] Darby and Maxwell, *Domesday Geography*, pp. 136-8.

within the larger estates. Of the larger estates, both Kirkbymoorside and Hovingham have meadows of some size in their berewicks,[217] however, Coxwold contains no recorded meadow, and the estate is nearly entirely woodland.[218]

Mills are also mentioned, despite the large amount of wasteland, which suggests that there was the possibility for a large amount of arable land to be under cultivation.[219] Darby and Maxwell suggest that the number of mills is underestimated somewhat,[220] so for a fertile region such as Ryedale, there may have been more than the four mills mentioned in Salton, Kirkbymoorside, Nunnington and Kirby Misperton.[221]

The model of the multiple estate as illustrated on page 16 above, links many of these resources to the settlements which make up the estate. Their distribution and relationship to both multiple estates and unitary manors may help to indicate how the land was organised for optimum distribution of these shared resources.

The Evidence for Churches

It has been suggested that early churches were often located at or near the central caput of the estate.[222] Although of a late date with regard to the Anglo-Saxon period, Domesday Book can indicate the locations of churches and may hint at possible estate centres. Domesday Book lists four churches with priests, at Hovingham,

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[217] *DB Yorks*, 23N20-1, 23N24.

[218] *DB Yorks*, 23N1.

[219] Darby and Maxwell, *Domesday Geography*, pp. 150-2.

[220] Ibid, p. 152.

[221] *DB Yorks*, 2N2, 23N19, 16N1, 8N1.

[222] Aston, *Interpreting the Landscape*, pp. 35 & 48.

Kirkbymoorside, Helmsley and Nunnington,[223] one example of a priest but no church at

Slingsby,[224] which it has been suggested should be understood as having a church,[225]

one church with no priest at Barton,[226] and half a church with a priest at Kirby

Misperton.[227] The first four churches appear in composite entries meaning that it may

be difficult to identify the exact location of the church.[228] For example, the entry for the

estate at Nunnington reads:

> In Nunnington Merlesveinn had 6 carucates of land taxable. There is land for 3 ploughs. Ralph as it. Waste. Value before 1066, 40s.
> To this manor appertains this jurisdiction: Wykeham, 6 bovates; Stonegrave, 5 carucates and 2 bovates; Ness, 3 carucates; Holme, 1 carucate. Together 10 carucates of land taxable, on which 5 ploughs are possible. Now Ralph has there 1 plough; and 7 villagers with 4 ploughs. There, a church and a priest. 1 mill, 3s; meadow, 10 acres. 1 league long and 1 wide. Value 20s.[229]

This suggests that the five plough-teams, the church, priest, mill and meadow all belong

to the sokeland of the estate, which was not waste and had a returnable value. This is

entirely possible as there was a monastery at Stonegrave in the eighth century, and

evidence for a church during the tenth and eleventh centuries.[230] In these cases other

evidence is needed to pin point the most likely location of the church. It has long been

accepted that these numbers are conservative and that there were a considerable number

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[223] DB Yorks, 23N23, 23N19, 5N50, 16N1.

[224] DB Yorks, 5N48.

[225] Darby and Maxwell, Domesday Geography, p. 153.

[226] DB Yorks, 5N45.

[227] DB Yorks, 8N1.

[228] Darby and Maxwell, Domesday Geography, pp 152-3.

[229] DB Yorks, 16N1.

[230] Margaret Firby and James Lang, 'The Pre-Conquest Sculpture at Stonegrave', The Yorkshire Archaeological Journal, 53 (1981), pp. 17-29, at p. 29; James Lang, The Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume III: York and Eastern Yorkshire (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), pp. 215-20.

of churches that did not get mentioned.[231] Not all the churches within the region, which contain pre-Conquest fabric were listed within the survey. It does appear from archaeological evidence that, for example, the church at Appleton has significant remains that appear to date from the first half of the eleventh century.[232] The name Oswaldkirk, also indicates the presence of a church; however, none is listed in Domesday Book.[233]

References to churches, which must have had a geldable value to be included in Domesday Book, suggests that they were not mere field chapels, but were more likely to be higher status village churches.[234] However, no value or assessment is recorded for any of the churches.[235] The archaeological evidence to be examined later bears out the possibility that of the churches listed, Hovingham was the central church of the estate.[236] The fact that Kirkbymoorside was named for its church, even if this church was located at Kirkdale, as has been suggested,[237] indicates the status and possibly importance of Kirkbymoorside within its estate. Barton and Kirby Misperton were unitary manors,[238] which may have been separated from larger estates and the churches

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[231] Darby and Maxwell, *Domesday Geography*, pp. 152-3.

[232] Richard K. Morris, 'Churches in York and its Hinterland: Building Patterns and Stone Sources in the 11th and 12th Centuries', in *Minsters to Parish Churches: The Local Church in Transition 950-1200*, ed. John Blair (Oxford: Oxford University Committee for Archaeology, 1988), pp. 195-7.

[233] Darby and Maxwell, *Domesday Geography*, p. 153, n. 3.

[234] In Yorkshire chapels were not distinguished from churches, cf. R. Morris, *Churches in the Landscape*, p. 141.

[235] Darby and Maxwell, *Domesday Geography*, p. 153.

[236] For discussion of the archaeology of Hovingham church see page 81.

[237] *DB Yorks*, notes 23N19.

[238] *DB Yorks*, 5N45, 8N1.

constructed as part of the period of church building during the tenth century, if not earlier. The two vills of Kirby most likely would have been named for the church.

Helmsley and Nunnington appear to be slight anomalies. It is possible that Helmsley was once the centre of an estate of similar size to Kirkbymoorside and Hovingham, although the evidence is rather limited to support this.[239] Although Nunnington was the centre of an estate in 1086, the location of a monastery at Stonegrave, on sokeland, suggests a possible reorganisation of an estate after its fission from a larger multiple estate.

Summary of Domesday Evidence

The evidence of Domesday Book suggests the continuity of two large estates with their dependent lands, centred at Hovingham and Kirkbymoorside, as well as one other estate bordering Ryedale, in Coxwold. The distribution of the berewicks attached to these estates generally indicate that the manors were making use of wide spread resources. The lack of sokeland attached to these estates and the large number of small independent manors suggests the fission of other large estates and/or the parcelling off of land from these estates. The evidence of churches may indicate possible early minster sites and the centres of multiple estates, which had disappeared from the landscape by 1066.

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[239] Of the post-medieval parish of Helmsley, 18 carucates of 32 were held by the same person in 1066, *DB Yorks*, 5N38, 5N39, 5N40, 5N41, 5N42, 5N50, 5N52; other evidence includes a pre-Conquest hogback tomb in the church (Lang, *Corpus Vol III.*, p. 142) and the topographical nature of the place-name, which may indicate an early date.

Documentary Evidence – Non-Domesday Sources

Few pre-Norman documentary sources have survived for the Ryedale region. There is one letter dating from 757/8 from Pope Paul I to Ecgberht, archbishop of York and Eadberht, king of Northumbria, regarding the rightful ownership of the monasteries of Stonegrave, Coxwold and *Donæmupe*;[240] and a charter dating from 1031 from King Cnut to the community of St. Cuthbert, confirming their territorial holdings in the North Riding of Yorkshire, which included the church of Coxwold with the land adjacent.[241]

These documents are important sources of information about the nature of the church in the region at the times, and as sources of early place-name spellings. As sources used in place-name studies, these documents need to be approached with caution. Early charters may only survive today as later copies and thus could contain copying errors. As a result place-names, as recorded in these sources, may reflect the influence of a language or naming pattern that had nothing to do with the actual name of the settlement at all. This could lead a researcher to make false assumptions about the original meaning and origin of a place-name. Dating from the middle of the eighth century, the letter from Pope Paul I, provides scholars with three place-names which pre-dated the Scandinavian settlement. Two of the names have both kept their Anglo-Saxon forms essentially intact – *Cuhawalda* is now Coxwold and *Staningagrave* is now Stonegrave. The topographical nature of these names and their links to the sites of early monastic centres may indicate their relative importance within the region, especially if either or both were the centres of early multiple estates.

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[240] Whitelock, *English Historical Documents*, pp. 764-5.

[241] Hart, *Early Charters of Northern England*, p. 127.

It has been suggested that the early minster churches may have been founded at or near the site of estate centres.[242] This proposal has received support from scholars who have discovered links between the location of seventh century power centres and similarly dated minsters.[243] These minster churches were essentially part of a community, either secular or monastic, and were, before the establishment of village churches, the centres of ecclesiastical activity in the surrounding countryside.[244] The letter of Pope Paul I indicates that there were monasteries, possibly linked together, within the Ryedale region by the middle of the eighth century:

> ...The religious Abbot Forthred...at once reported to us that three monasteries had been granted to him by a certain abbess, namely the monasteries which are called Stonegrave and Coxwold and *Donæmupe*; and that your Excellency took these monasteries from him by force and gave them to a certain 'patrician', his brother, Moll by name.[245]

These monasteries may have been responsible for 'spreading the Word of God' throughout the region, as well as carrying out baptisms, marriages and later burials. If these monasteries were early minster churches these places may indicate centres of multiple estates, evidence for which may not be found in other sources. The location of the monastery at *Donæmupe* is as yet unknown, but the settlements of Stonegrave and Coxwold are easily identified. Evidence from Domesday Book suggests that Coxwold was a multiple estate at the time of the survey, with demesne land, berewicks and woodland. The interests of the estate lay well outside the modern parish boundaries,

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[242] Aston, *Interpreting the Landscape*, p. 35.

[243] J. Blair, 'Anglo-Saxon Minsters: A Topographical Review', *Pastoral Care Before the Parish*, ed. John Blair and Richard Sharpe (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1992), pp. 226-66, at p. 231.

[244] Godfrey, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 317.

[245] Whitelock, *English Historical Documents*, pp. 764-5.

with land at Osgoodby and Thirkleby in the Vale of York and Ampleforth, nearby in Ryedale. The fact that there is no mention of a church at Coxwold, may possibly be linked to the surviving charter of Cnut in 1031, which confirms the church to the community of St. Cuthbert at Durham.[246] The location of Coxwold within the easiest crossing of the Hambleton Hills between the Vale of York and the Vale of Pickering may suggest a reason behind its size and continued importance.

The vill of Stonegrave, on the other hand, was essentially almost entirely sokeland of a medium sized estate centred at Nunnington.[247] There is mention of a church somewhere within the estate, however the Domesday Book entry is not specific on its location and it is possible that the monastic church at Stonegrave remained in use through the Anglo-Scandinavian period to become the parish church mentioned in Domesday Book.[248] However, the presence of an early church does not always mean that the vill marks the centre of a multiple estate. Further evidence is needed to support the theory that Stonegrave was once of greater importance than the evidence from Domesday Book suggests.

From the Norman period there is a considerable amount of documentary evidence in the form of charters relating to the foundation of several monasteries within the region. The survival of these charters within the cartularies of the monasteries often means that they are later copies, possibly doctored to support the side of the monastery in contested

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[246] Hart, *Early Charters of Northern England*, p. 127.

[247] *DB Yorks*, 16N1.

[248] Firby and Lang, 'Pre-Conquest Sculpture', p. 29; Lang, *Corpus Vol III.*, pp. 215-20.

land claims.[249] These charters provide evidence of place-names in early forms and can indicate boundaries as they were at the time of the endowments recorded. The importance of boundaries to territorial organisation will be dealt with in some detail later, however, it should be noted that these charters often form the first documented sources of boundaries, thus indicating a minimum age, if not their origin.

Place-Name Evidence

> All names arise from the need to identify and distinguish one place from another, and therefore refer to distinguishing features of topography, ownership or settlement within a certain area of local or more than local significance, depending upon the importance of the place in question.[250]

The study of place-names can provide a historian with evidence of settlement not available from more traditional historical sources, such as documents and charters. The meanings behind the elements of a place-name can help to indicate the ethnic origin of the founder, possible land ownership patterns, and even the relationship of a settlement with others in the area. The existence of early charters and documents provides scholars with examples of how place-names have developed, thus suggesting earlier forms and possible meanings. The most important source of early place-names is Domesday Book, but even this must be used with caution, as the names of settlements and vills were rendered by the Normans in a form understood and recognised by themselves, using the closest equivalent sounds in French to approximately represent the English place-names they were recording, and as a result may not reflect the original meaning and origin of the name as recognised by the local population.[251] No

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[249] For an example see P. H. Sawyer, 'The Charters of Burton Abbey and the Unification of England', *Northern History* 10 (1975), pp. 28-39, at p. 36.

[250] V. E. Watts, 'Comment on 'The Evidence of Place-Names' by Margaret Gelling', in *Medieval Settlement: Continuity and Change*, ed. P. H. Sawyer (London: Edward Arnold Ltd, 1976), pp 212-22, at p. 214.

[251] K. Cameron, *English Place-Names*, 4th ed. (London: B. T. Batsford Ltd., 1988), p. 21.

assumption should be made that the first people to record the name of a place were the original settlers, unless this fact is recorded independently. Neither can it be assumed that the way the place-name is recorded actually reflected the name used by the local inhabitants. For these reasons, it is important to find the earliest, valid reference for a place-name, but also to be aware of any bias inherent in the source.

The model of multiple estates makes use of place-names for various reasons. Firstly, Jones has argued that the survival of Celtic settlement names may indicate a small pocket of the British population that endured into the Anglo-Saxon period. Secondly, these settlements of Britons may be linked to the structure of the multiple estate and indicate vills which owe certain services to the caput of the estate. Thirdly, it is possible that the names of settlements may reflect the services or renders owed to the estate and thus their role within the estate structure. Finally, it has been suggested that the use of topographical features in place-names indicate settlements or territorial organisations which pre-date habitative ones and there may be a link between early settlement names with topographical elements and the caputs of multiple estates.[252]

In relation to the issue of Scandinavian settlement, Jones has used the evidence of place-names to suggest that the Scandinavians fitted into the pre-existing multiple estate structure, through the renaming of berewicks and sokeland but the retention of English names for the caputs of multiple estates.[253]

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[252] Jones, 'Celts, Saxons and Scandinavians', p. 67.

[253] Ibid, p. 74.

There is no evidence that suggests that any Celtic settlement names survive in the Ryedale area. However, Celtic names are often preserved in rivers and other topographical features. The preservation of these Celtic names may have resulted in some Celtic elements in place-names in an Anglianised form. Perhaps one of the most notable examples of this in England would be that of York. The British name was *Eburac* or *Evoroc*, which became *Eofor-wic* [boar farm] to the Anglo-Saxons, and *Jorvik* to the Scandinavians.[254] In Ryedale, some surviving field names bear evidence of Celtic influence. Pen [hill] Nab in Gillamoor and Oon (cave) Mouth in Keldholme.[255] These may indicate areas of British survival after the Anglo-Saxon settlement. It has been suggested that, although the names did not survive, the British people did, and place-names with the element *Walas* indicate pockets of the indigenous population.[256] Within the Ryedale area there is one example of this element occurring at Walton, a village situated on good quality land, which was a berewick of Kirkbymoorside at the time of Domesday Book.[257] The survival of British populations as indicated in place-names may indicate long-standing traditions of service and render.

The factors that Jones has used to construct his model framework include not only the survival of Celtic place-names but also a service network based around the dependent vills of the estate for the support of the lord.[258] The evidence for the services rendered is limited; however it is possible to suggest what some of them may have been from the

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[254] Muir, *Yorkshire Countryside*, p. 88.

[255] R. H. Hayes, 'The Story of Gillamoor and Fadmoor', *The Ryedale Historian*, 4 (1969), pp. 7-25, at pp 8-10.

[256] Jones, 'Basic Patterns', pp 193-4; 'Multiple Estates Perceived', p. 359; 'Multiple Estates and Early Settlement', p. 34.

[257] *DB Yorks*, 23N20.

[258] Jones, 'Multiple Estates and Early Settlement', pp 34-5; 'Multiple Estates Perceived', p. 354.

place-names of the berewicks. Jones has argued that settlements with a name ascribing a purpose to them suggest the role they once played within a larger estate structure.[259] Within this category are Walton (village of the Britons)[260], Cawton (calves' farm)[261], Barton (barley farm)[262], Carlton (village of the ceorl)[263], and possibly Coulton (charcoal village)[264]. Of these Walton was a berewick of Kirkbymoorside in 1086,[265] land in Coulton belonged to the manor of Hovingham[266] and as a King's vill jurisdiction of sokeland in Coulton was held by two of the manors of Helmsley.[267] Cawton was held independently of any other manor,[268] and Barton contained both a manor and land held as a berewick of Pickering.[269] It is hard to use these examples as an argument for the name to reflect the purpose of the settlement within a larger estate structure, or for them to suggest origins pre-dating the Anglo-Saxons. However, Jones has consistently used the example of *Walton* to indicate the possible survival of a community of Britons within an area of English settlement.[270] In contrast to several early place-name scholars, he has argued that when there is a link between good quality settlement sites

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[259] Jones, 'Multiple Estates and Early Settlement', pp 34-5; 'Multiple Estates Perceived', p. 354.

[260] A. H. Smith, *Place-Names of the North Riding of Yorkshire* (Nottingham: English Place-Names Society, 1928), p. 66.

[261] Ibid, p. 52.

[262] Ibid, p. 47.

[263] Ibid, p. 72.

[264] Ibid, p. 50.

[265] *DB Yorks*, 23N20.

[266] *DB Yorks*, 23N24

[267] *DB Yorks*, 1N84, 2A4, 5N51.

[268] *DB Yorks*, 5N43, 23N4.

[269] *DB Yorks*, 1Y4, 5N45.

[270] Jones, 'Basic Patterns', pp. 193-4, 'Celts, Saxons and Scandinavians', p. 65.

and settlements which indicate the survival of a British population, these examples can be linked to the probably location of a multiple estate.[271] Furthermore, as Jones has pointed out that settlements with Anglo-Saxon or Scandinavian names provide no proof of Anglo-Saxon or Scandinavian origin, such settlements could be considered to date from a pre-Anglo-Saxon period. The survival of Celtic place-names amongst Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian settlements may indicate that the re-named settlements were the more successful.[272] . He suggests that such re-naming would have occurred during a time when these settlements were loosening their bonds with manorial centres, which may have been more advanced in richer areas.[273] However, Anglo-Saxon names with the element –tun are notoriously difficult to date.[274] They can be used to suggest only that Anglo-Saxon place-naming habits were prevalent at the time when the settlement took on its current name.

Both Fellows-Jensen and Gelling have suggested that many topographical place-names should be seen as being earlier than habitative ones.[275] Fellows-Jensen has postulated that 'the use of a topographical term to denote a settlement suggests that the name was given at the foundation of the settlement or at least before it has had time to grow and conceal or dwarf the natural feature concerned'.[276] It has been noted that the name of

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[271] Jones, 'Basic Patterns', pp. 194-6.

[272] Jones, 'Multiple Estates and Early Settlement', pp. 39-40.

[273] Ibid, p. 40.

[274] Fellows-Jensen, 'Settlement in the North Riding', pp. 31-6; Gelling, *Signposts to the Past*, pp. 181-6 and pp. 228-32.

[275] Gelling, 'The Evidence of Place-Names', pp 207-8.

[276] Fellows-Jensen, 'Scandinavian Settlement in the Danelaw', p. 36.

the caput of multiple estates is usually the same as the estate and is often recorded very early on, characteristically topographical in form, and sometimes with –*tun* added.[277]

Dating place-names for the period of Anglian settlement can lead to considerable disagreement. It has generally been accepted that settlements with the elements –*ham*, -*ingham* and –*ingas* are of a relatively early date. However, Margaret Faull has suggested that this does not appear to be as clear-cut in Yorkshire as in other areas.[278] Recent work has suggested that place-names with the elements –*wic*, -*ham*, and –*ingaham* dated from the earliest period of Anglo-Saxon settlement and were linked to ancient units of lordship, often Roman villas.[279] For the area under discussion only Hovingham has both an -*ingham* element and evidence of Roman settlement.[280] Other evidence suggests that Hovingham was also the caput of a multiple estate.[281] Other place-names contain these elements or compounds of them – Gilling East, Stonegrave and Gillamoor – but do not show any evidence of Roman settlement. Fellows-Jensen has suggested that the places with these elements – *ham*, *ingham* and *ingas* – were used initially more for areas and groups of people, rather than individual settlements.[282] During the medieval period three of the places with these elements – Hovingham, Gilling East and Stonegrave - became parishes, which may support this hypothesis, as two of these were vills with only small estates or sokeland in 1086, yet they were considered important enough for the locating of early churches. This puts them in the

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[277] Aston, *Interpreting the Landscape*, pp. 34-5.

[278] Fellows-Jensen, 'Settlement in the North Riding', p. 24.

[279] Jones, 'Celts, Saxons and Scandinavians', p. 67.

[280] Jones, 'Multiple Estates Perceived', p. 356.

[281] Ibid, p. 356.

[282] Fellows-Jensen, 'Settlement in the North Riding', p. 27.

same level of importance as Hovingham and Kirkbymoorside, both of which had early churches[283] and both of which were the centres of large estates. These parishes also share at least one common boundary. Hovingham is the largest of the three parishes and contains land on both banks of the River Rye, as well as some land in the Howardian Hills. There are nearly an equal proportion of uplands as low-lying alluvial land from the bottom of the vale. The settlement of Hovingham is nearly the geographical centre of the parish. Gilling East lies directly to the west of Hovingham. The settlement lies at the northern edge of the parish, on the banks of Marrs Beck, and the parish is almost entirely made up of uplands. Stonegrave parish is directly north of Hovingham. In the shape of a "U", it lies astride a spur of boulder clay that juts out from the Hambleton Hills eastward into Ryedale. The majority of the land is low lying – under 100m – and the settlement of Stonegrave is at the foot of Caulkley's Bank, the steepest part of the outcrop. It is difficult to specify why these three settlements may have been early in date, but it may be linked to their locations near the Coxwold-Gilling gap in the Hambleton Hills. The evidence of Roman remains at Hovingham may suggest a possible continuity of land use when an Anglo-Saxon and his followers took over the lands of a Roman estate. If this evidence of place-names, boundaries and geography is accepted then it may be suggested that Anglian settlement possibly followed the most accessible routes into the area – the Roman road from Malton and the most direct route from the Vale of York through the Hambleton Hills - with settlements above the swampy vale bottom (above 40m), but with close access to both fresh water and upland pastures (fig. 3.2). This region continued to be of some importance with the location of ecclesiastical centres at Stonegrave, Hovingham and further west at Coxwold.

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[283] Evidence of early churches in the form of archaeological remains at Hovingham and in the place-name of Kirkbymoorside.
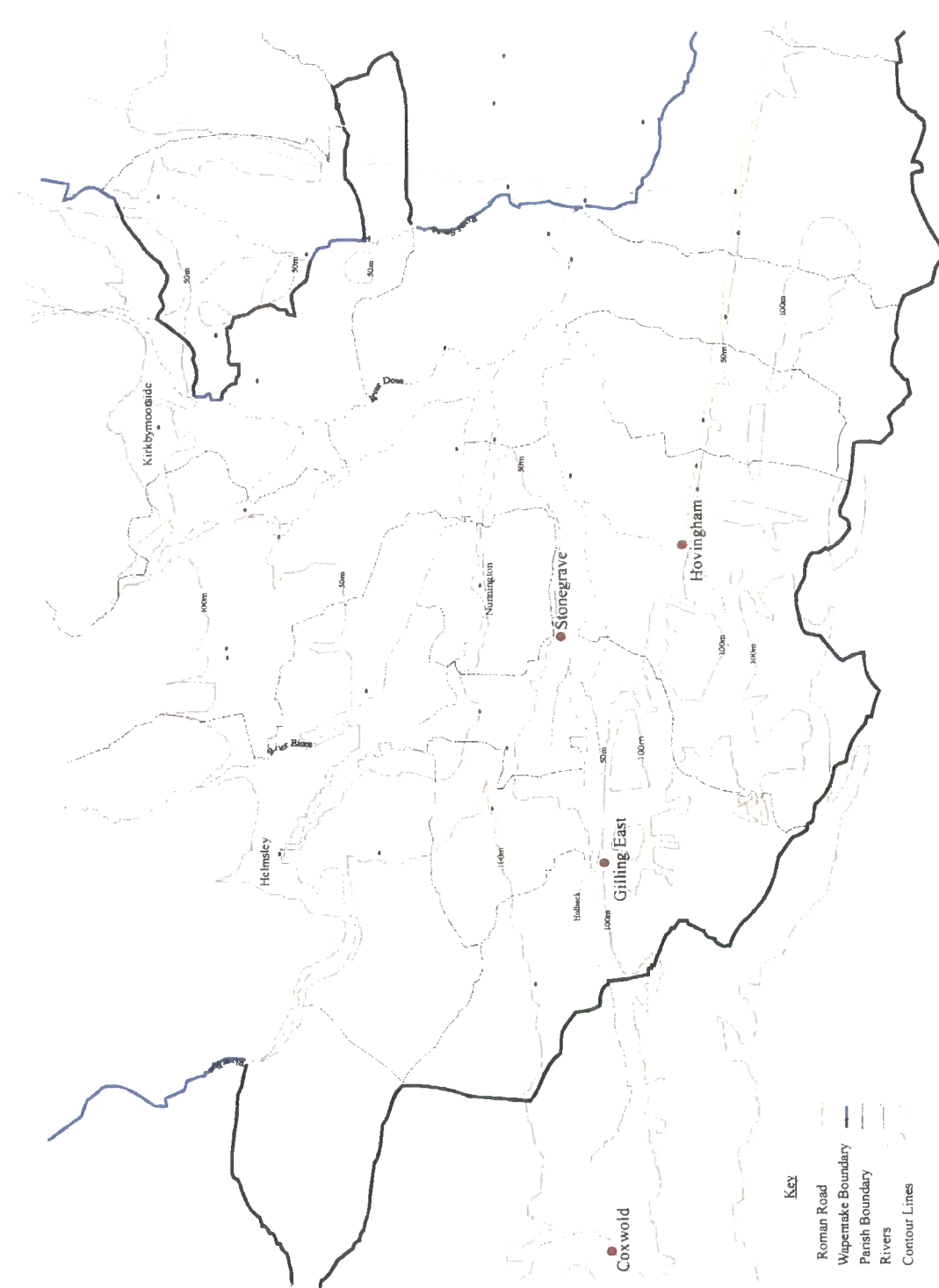
Figure 3.2: Map of Ryedale region illustrating topography of possible early Anglo-Saxon settlement sites in the west of the region, based on place-name evidence.

The fourth place-name, Gillamoor, was recorded in Domesday Book as Gedlingesmore, which has been interpreted by Smith as 'open expanse of land belonging to the Getlingas'.[284] Unlike the other places with the *–ham, -ingham* and *–ingas* elements, Gillamoor was a berewick at the time of Domesday Book and is within the modern parish of Kirkbymoorside. The present village of Gillamoor is 150m above sea level at the edge of an escarpment above the River Dove. Less than half a mile to the south-west is the village of Fadmoor, a settlement to which Smith has assigned an early date based on its similarity in place-name construction to Gillamoor.[285] Can an early date be assigned to these two settlements based on the evidence of their names? Both occupy moorland away from a regular supply of water and are in very close proximity to one another. One clue may be the reference to topographical features – moorland in each case. If taken into consideration with Fellows-Jensen's hypothesis that the elements of *–ham, -ingham* and *–ingas* were used initially for areas, then the names of these settlements may have referred to areas of moor land linked to settlements lower down the slopes, which have either been renamed or ceased to exist. The fact that at the time of Domesday Gillamoor was a berewick of Kirkbymoorside may bear this out.[286]

Of the Anglo-Saxon topographical names found in Domesday Book, Stonegrave, Gillamoor and Fadmoor have been discussed and appear to fit within the theory of early settlements or areas with the *–ham, ingham* or *–ingas* elements. Five of the other examples – Helmsley, Welburn, Beadlam, Harome and Pockley – are found within a square in the north west of the Ryedale area (fig. 3.3). Helmsley, Beadlam and

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[284] Smith, *North Riding of Yorkshire*, p. 64.

[285] Ibid, p. 62.

[286] *DB Yorks*, 23N20.
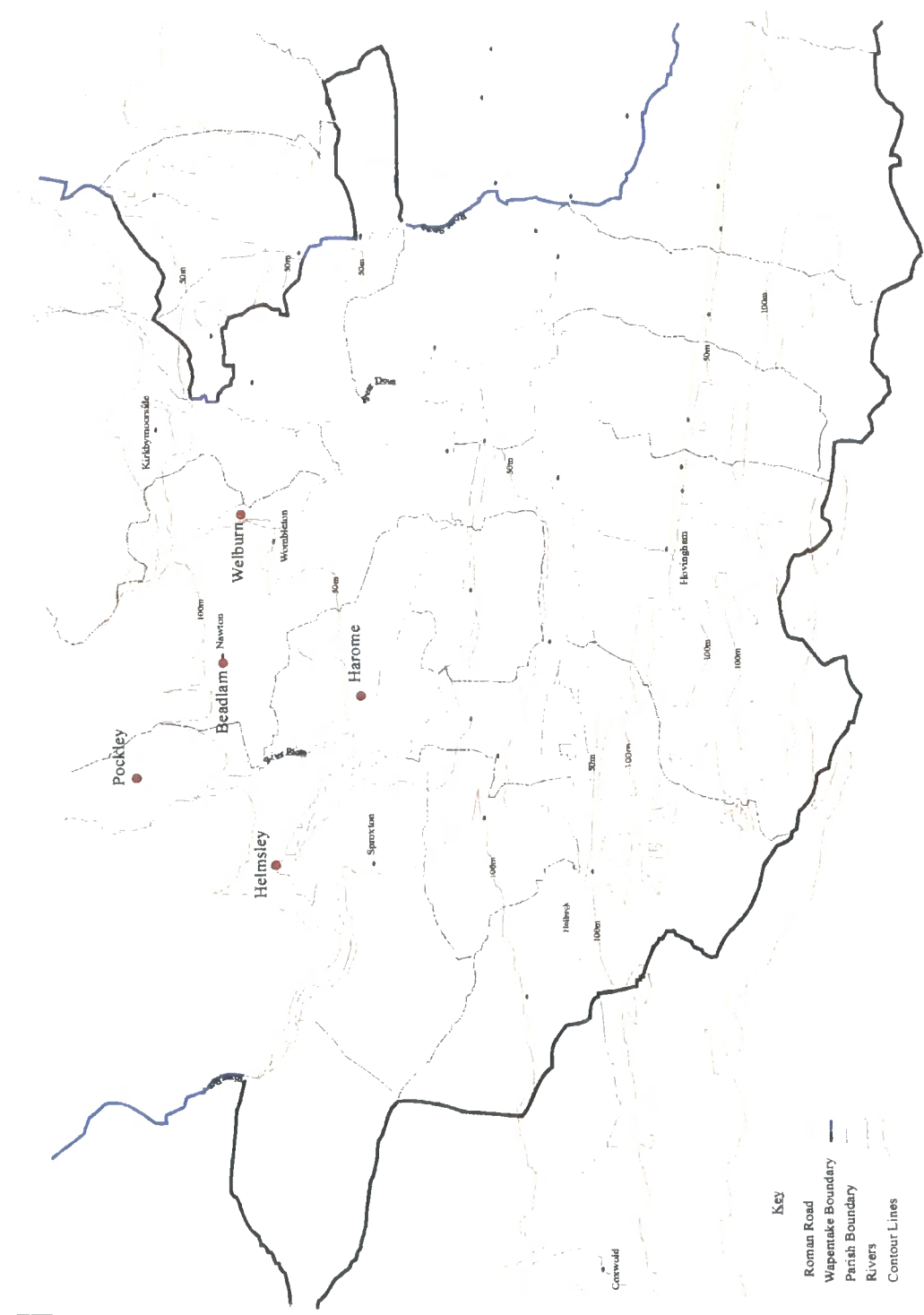
Figure 3.3: Map of Ryedale region illustrating topography of possible early Anglo-Saxon settlement sites in the north-west of the region, based on place-name evidence.

Welburn are in a line on or near the modern A170 at the northern edge of the Vale. Pockley is only a mile north of this line and Harome slightly more to the south. Helmsley, Harome and Welburn have access to fresh running water as they are on the banks of the River Rye, River Riccal and Hodge Beck respectively. Both Harome and Welburn lie in open land and may have been subject to some flooding, although the probable meaning behind Harome – 'amongst the stones' – may indicate a dry, slightly elevated location. Beadlam and Pockley are both on sloping sites, although Pockley lies at a higher level, towards the moor. At the time of its naming the region around Pockley must have been well forested for the clearing to be noted. Helmsley is where Rye Dale opens up into the Vale of Pickering. The town is surrounded on three sides by steeply sloping ground that rises up to the moors to the north and the Hambleton Hills to the west and south. It is likely that this land was heavily wooded in the early Anglo-Saxon period. There is evidence to suggest that the land around Helmsley was settled earlier – the remains of a Roman villa have been discovered about a mile east of the town centre and there are tumuli within half a mile. The modern parish of Helmsley is the largest in the region and includes a considerable amount of moorland. Helmsley was also listed as containing three manors in Domesday Book, which may indicate a site of some local importance. It is not necessarily true that all these names indicate early settlements because they are topographical. However, their close proximity to evidence of early settlements and the use of the –*leah* element in Helmsley and Pockley may indicate a pocket of relatively early settlement by the Anglo-Saxons.

The four remaining topographical names in Domesday Book are Ampleforth, Coxwold, Barugh and Scackleton. Ampleforth is located at the base of an escarpment northwest of Gilling East. The ford may refer to a crossing of the Holbeck or one of its tributaries.

The modern parish includes land on the bank of Holbeck and moorland above, most of which is too steep for agricultural uses. Dating of this place-name would be inconclusive, save that it is pre-Domesday Book. Scackleton is located on top of a low hill in the southern tip of Hovingham parish. The name is Scandinavianised Old English and refers to a 'valley in which a pole, used as a landmark, was a prominent feature'.[287] As it appears in Domesday Book – Scachelden(e) and Eschalchedene – the name is more Old English than Scandinavian but cannot be dated to more than pre-Domesday.

The villages of Great and Little Barugh are on a small hill in the bottom of the vale, along the line of one of the suggested Roman roads. The majority of the land around these villages is low lying and prone to flooding. The location of the Roman road may suggest a possible early date for the settlements, especially as they are located on the only high land between the Roman road at Amotherby and where the North York Moors jut into the vale near Sinnington.

One other name that can be conclusively dated to before the middle of the eighth century is that of Coxwold. The name appears, in the form *Cuhawalda*, in the letter from Pope Paul I, which has been dated to 757-8.[288] Coxwold is located in the Hambleton Hills on the western slopes overlooking the Vale of York, but with easy access to the Vale of Pickering. It lies in a valley west of Gilling East, on either bank of Eller Beck. Its location in a valley between the Vale of York and the Vale of Pickering may have made it a favourable site for early settlement.

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[287] Smith, *North Riding of Yorkshire*, pp 51-2.

[288] Whitelock, *English Historical Documents*, p. 764.

The centres of multiple estates would most likely be found in the areas of early settlement. Evidence from Domesday Book suggests the possibility that both Hovingham and Kirkbymoorside were such centres,[289] and place-name evidence appears to support the theory that the Anglo-Saxons had most likely settled first the areas along the edges of the Vale, above any low-lying swamp, but with ready access to upland areas for pasturing their animals. As a result the landscape that would have faced the first Scandinavian settlers would have been well settled above the 50m mark. Low-lying areas were probably still quite swampy and subject to frequent flooding. Uplands had been heather and scrub moors for over a thousand years and were possibly used for seasonal grazing but were unlikely to be heavily settled.

Jones has suggested that, throughout the Danelaw, the Scandinavians retained the multiple estate structure and the distribution of Scandinavian place-names can be used to support this.[290] The fact that many caputs of multiple estates retained Anglo-Saxon place-names through the period of Scandinavian settlement, despite being under Scandinavian control, suggests a measure of continuity. Within the region the larger estates of Coxwold, Hovingham, and Pickering to the east, all retained their Old English names, only the large estate of Kirkbymoorside was renamed.

Jones has linked Scandinavian names for foci of small multiple-estates or manors to a process of fission especially where they occur in an area of berewicks or sokeland.[291]

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[289] For discussion of the Domesday evidence refer to pages 40-52 above.

[290] Jones, 'Early Territorial Organisation', pp. 80-1.

[291] Jones, 'Celts, Saxons and Scandinavians', pp. 74-5.

It is possible to see this at Slingsby and Amotherby, vills which contained both unitary manors and berewicks of Hovingham. However, it appears that the majority of manors within Ryedale retained their Old English names - sixteen of eighteen medium manors and all but one of the small manors had Old English names at the time of the Domesday survey. This may suggest that the Scandinavians were not the influencing factor in the fragmentation of the larger estates, as this process may have occurred independently of their settlement.

Scandinavian influence on place-names is most noticeable amongst the smaller parcels of land and the berewicks of Hovingham. The estate had fifteen berewicks, of which seven names were purely Scandinavian, two were Grimston Hybrids and another one was Scandinavianised Old English. Thus two thirds of the vills containing berewicks of Hovingham were influenced by Scandinavian naming practices, and at least two indicate the renaming of existing settlements. At least two of the berewicks with Scandinavian names suggest, through their location and the topographical nature of their names, that more land was being brought into cultivation within the pre-existing estate structure. Both Ness and South Holme are on low lying alluvial land near the River Rye and both were in part berewicks of Hovingham. In the estate of Kirkbymoorside the majority of berewicks have retained their Old English names. Of the fourteen berewicks, only one was purely Scandinavian and one was a Grimston Hybrid.

The majority of the vills in Domesday Book appear to retain their Old English names, whether as berewicks, sokeland or manors. The Scandinavian place-names have been used for settlements on the low lying lands near the rivers or in the uplands of the

Hambleton and Howardian Hills. These settlements were quite often only berewicks at the time of the Domesday survey, suggesting a secondary or outlying importance. This fits into the possibility that the structure of settlement had been retained with a gloss of Scandinavianisation applied to the names of secondary settlements.[292] The only major estate with a Scandinavian name, Kirkbymoorside, seems to have been an established manor which was renamed. It is possible that a degree of fission of larger estates may be indicated by the existence of such manors as Slingsby, Amotherby, and Kirkby Misperton.

Summary of Evidence:

The evidence of place-names suggests a period of early settlement in the west and north of the region. Some of the place-names of the region may indicate a structure of services due and the possible survival of a British population. Most of the caputs of the larger estates retained their Old English names throughout the period of Scandinavian settlement, while Kirkbymoorside indicates an established settlement which was renamed during this period. Many of the settlements with Scandinavian names were vills with berewicks to one or other of the larger estates, or contained sokeland, possibly indicating the fission of larger estates during the late Anglo-Saxon period. However, the large number of unitary manors with Anglo-Saxon names may indicate that this fission was occurring independently of Scandinavian settlement, as opposed to being a direct result.

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[292] Fellows-Jensen, *The Vikings and their Victims*, p. 18.

<u>Archaeology</u>

Archaeology provides material evidence that can either support or contradict traditional historical sources. It can prove to be an invaluable tool for historical research through the interpretation of materials uncovered and the greater understanding these materials can provide about a society or culture for which the documentary sources are limited.[293] It can also act as a chronological basis for the assessment of other evidence. This is due to the relatively scientific nature of archaeological dating techniques. It has been suggested that whereas history deals with events and people at the level of interaction, reaction and power struggle, archaeology looks at the materials of day-to-day existence or the trivia of village life – such things often overlooked by contemporary observers.[294]

The goals of archaeology include the descriptive activity of relating sites and their contents to cultural history, reconstructing the way people have made their livings in the past, explaining why cultures change or stay the same, and understanding artefacts and how they relate to our contemporary world.[295]

Archaeological evidence for the pre-Scandinavian age is rather limited due to the nature of the many rural Anglian settlements and the wooden structures the population generally lived in.[296] The most easily identifiable evidence for Anglo-Saxon sites tends to be remnants of their pottery. By its nature any archaeological evidence can only

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[293] Colin Renfrew and Paul Bahn, *Archaeology: Theories, Methods and Practice*, 2nd edn. (London: Thames & Hudson, 1996), p. 12.

[294] Brian M. Fagan, *In the Beginning: An Introduction to Archaeology*, 9th edn. (New York: Longman, 1997), p. 19.

[295] Fagan, *In the Beginning*, pp. 24-5.

[296] David M. Wilson, 'Archaeological Evidence for Viking Settlement and Raids in England', *Frumittelalterliche Studien*, 2 (1968), pp. 291-304, at p. 293.

provide researchers with a snapshot of life in a certain place at a certain point in time. It is limited by the size of the excavation site. Hamerow has observed that in the search for developing settlement patterns, if the settlements were continuously shifting across the landscape, searching a small area would provide finds mostly from one period of occupation.[297] This is further restricted by the nature of the environment and the materials that have survived.

David Wilson has identified four main sources for the archaeology of the Anglo-Scandinavian period – graves, settlements, coin-hoards and sculpture – that can provide some limited answers to questions of settlement.[298] The limited number of actual sites for these sources does little more than confirm that the Scandinavians were in England,[299] but their distribution can be seen as significant in relation to the settlement of the Scandinavians.[300] The developments in Anglo-Scandinavian archaeology, especially in urban settings, during the past couple of decades, have led to the identification of distinctive features of Scandinavian society and have suggested the development of urbanisation in England was linked to the growth of Anglo-Scandinavian society.[301] However, this does little to help identify the developments that took place in rural areas. The evidence of urban archaeology for peaceful coexistence of both parts of an Anglo-Scandinavian society, suggests that in rural areas

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[297] Hamerow, 'Settlement Mobility', p. 12.

[298] Wilson, 'Archaeological Evidence', p. 293.

[299] Ibid, p. 293.

[300] Ibid, p. 296.

[301] D. O'Sullivan 'Changing Views of the Viking Age', *Medieval History* 2, 1 (1992), pp. 3-12, at p. 4.

a similar coexistence could be seen. However, the absence of archaeological evidence in rural areas should not be interpreted as satisfactory negative evidence.[302]

As this is a specialised field of research, the results of work undertaken by others needs to be employed when carrying out research. To gain the most from any archaeological studies undertaken, it is necessary to understand the close similarities between history and archaeology. The recognition of the parallels between archaeology and history is important as the field of archaeology can provide information that may supplement traditional methods of historical research. However, it is also a destructive field of work and once an excavation has been done it cannot be attempted again to check the results of someone's conclusions. Also the care taken by archaeologists today is not necessarily the way things have always been done in the past, so some evidence may have been lost or misinterpreted. Despite the advances in recording and non-invasive techniques, there is not the money to carry out large-scale excavations, so some known sites have not been fully explored.

Despite its limitations, archaeology can provide considerable amounts of physical material for interpretation and may contribute greatly to contemporary understanding of past societies. When used in conjunction with other evidence, archaeology can provide information about everyday life, which cannot be found in historical documents. It can also help to fill gaps in contemporary knowledge when historical documents are missing.

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[302] C. Morris, 'The Vikings in the British Isles', p. 83.

Archaeologically, it has been suggested that the caputs of multiple estates could be linked to Roman villas or roads and are often near pre-Roman sites such as Iron Age hills forts.[303] Early churches appear to have made good use of both Roman centres and early Iron Age forts.[304] The evidence for Roman settlement is limited for Ryedale, however the importance of the region during the Roman period can be surmised from its proximity to York, the forts at Malton and Scarborough, and the roads criss-crossing the Vale. The remains of two Roman villas have been identified at Hovingham and to the east of Helmsley.[305] The route of the Roman road west from Malton towards Hovingham is still clearly discernible.[306] It tends to follow the 50m contour line along the northern edge of the Howardian Hills. It is possible that the modern A170, from Helmsley to Scarborough via Pickering, also marks the route of a Roman road along the southern edge of the moors, although there is no material evidence to confirm this. A third suggested Roman road crosses the Vale between Amotherby and Wrelton, taking advantage of high land at Great Barugh and Riseborough.[307] All this evidence of forts, villas and roads suggests considerable Roman activity in the area.

The lands of the two known villas may still have formed "estates" during the Anglo-Saxon period, but it may be difficult to link them with later Domesday estates. The Beadlam villa, half way between Helmsley and Beadlam does not appear to be linked to

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[303] K. Mary Hall, 'Pre-Conquest Estates in Yorkshire', in *Yorkshire Boundaries*, ed. H. E. Jean Le Patourel, Moira H. Long and May F. Pickles (Leeds: York Archaeological Society, 1993), pp 25-38, at p. 25; Aston, *Interpreting the Landscape*, p. 35.

[304] Blair, 'Anglo-Saxon minsters: topographical review', pp. 231 and 234-7.

[305] Roger J. A. Wilson, *A Guide to the Roman Remains in Britain* (London: Constable and Co., 1974), p. 235.

[306] Ivan D. Margary, *Roman Roads in Britain*, 3rd edn (London: John Baker Ltd., 1973), pp. 423-4.

[307] Margary, *Roman Roads in Britain*, pp. 425-6.

any later estate centre and is actually on the boundary between Helmsley and Kirkdale parishes and the townships of Helmsley, Pockley, Harome and Beadlam. It is possible that the lands of the villa continued to be used, but from another estate centre.[308] The other villa is in Hovingham and has been cited by Jones[309] as possible evidence to suggest Hovingham as the centre of a multiple estate. Hovingham is also on the route of the Roman road between Malton and the Great North Road (Leeming Lane) through the Gilling-Coxwold gap.

The few pieces of surviving archaeology from Ryedale in the Anglo-Saxon period supports the theory of relatively peaceful and continuous settlement over several hundred years. There is very little early evidence of settlement, most likely due to the nature of the dwellings, however, the mid to late Anglo-Saxon period appears to have been rich in stone carvings and sculpture of an almost exclusively ecclesiastical nature. This archaeological evidence may indicate the locations of early minster churches linked to the caputs of major estates, but which have no documentary evidence to support this link. It has been suggested that early carved tombstones could be linked to minster sites: they had the monopoly on burials before the tenth century.[310]

Sculpture

The majority of both Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Scandinavian sculpture for the area can be found in places with Old English names, the exceptions being Kirkbymoorside,

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[308] Jones, 'Celts, Saxons and Scandinavians', p. 64.

[309] Jones, 'Multiple Estates Perceived', p. 356.

[310] John Blair, 'Introduction: From Minster to Parish Church', in *Minsters and Parish Churches: The Local Church in Transition 950-1200*, ed. J. Blair (Oxford: Oxford University Committee for Archaeology, 1988), p. 8.

Kirkdale and possibly Kirby Misperton.[311] The pre-Scandinavian dates attributed to some of the sculptures in the first two of these places suggest that despite the Anglo-Scandinavian nature of their names, there was Anglo-Saxon settlement in these areas. Kirby Misperton is actually made up of three Domesday vills – Misperton and two Kirbys, so it is unknown whether the carvings came from the Anglo-Saxon Misperton or one of the Scandinavian Kirbys.[312] The dating of the carvings to the ninth century[313] does suggest relatively early settlement in the area, with Misperton being later recorded as a berewick of Kirkbymoorside in Domesday Book.[314] Pre-Scandinavian carvings have been found in Gilling East,[315] Hovingham,[316] Kirkbymoorside,[317] Kirkdale,[318] Kirby Misperton,[319] Sinnington[320] and Stonegrave.[321] These carvings point predominantly to links with monasteries in Monkwearmouth, Jarrow and Lindisfarne and to the traditions of the Celtic Church based there, through the style of the carvings.[322] For example, one of the grave covers from Kirkdale has been paralleled in style to Hiberno-Saxon carpet page designs.[323] The use of these styles may suggest the

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[311] Lang, *Corpus Vol III.*, pp. 16-7 and 26-7.

[312] *DB Yorks*, 8N1-2; Lang, *Corpus Vol III.*, pp. 152-4.

[313] Lang, *Corpus Vol III.*, pp. 152-4.

[314] *DB Yorks*, 23N21.

[315] Lang, *Corpus Vol III.*, p. 133.

[316] Lang, *Corpus Vol III.*, pp. 146-8.

[317] Lang, *Corpus Vol III.*, pp. 157-8.

[318] Lang, *Corpus Vol III.*, pp. 161-3.

[319] Lang, *Corpus Vol III.*, pp. 152-4.

[320] Lang, *Corpus Vol III.*, pp. 212-3.

[321] Lang, *Corpus Vol III.*, pp. 216-7; Firby and Lang, 'Pre-Conquest Sculpture', pp 17-8.

[322] Lang, *Corpus Vol III.*, pp. 19-20, 21-5, 133, 153, 158, 162-3, 217.

[323] Lang, *Corpus Vol. III*, p. 162.

conservative nature of rural carving or the possibility of an early date, as the influence of the Hiberno-Saxon tradition would have begun to die out in the decades following the Synod of Whitby in AD 664.[324]   Of the sites with links to Northumbrian monasteries – Gilling East, Kirkdale, Kirkbymoorside, Kirby Misperton and Stonegrave – it has been suggested that there were monasteries or *mynsters* at Kirkdale[325], Stonegrave[326] and possibly at Gilling East.[327]   Recent excavations at Kirkdale have confirmed the presence of an important religious centre in the Anglian period.[328]   Lang has linked Kirkdale with the monastery at Lastingham based upon geographical proximity and the survival of similar sculptures.[329]   The earliest evidence so far discovered at Kirkdale dates it to the eighth century, when the area to the north of the church was used as a burial ground for both secular and ecclesiastical people.[330]   There is evidence for a stone church before the present one, built by Orm Gamalson, through the incorporation of reworked stones from a window arch and a window lintel.[331]   The first phase of stone building is on an angle 20° different to the present church.   It is represented by the graves, the churchyard wall, a robbed out wall below the level of the present church and a sarcophagus found west of the tower.   This line of orientation may

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[324] On the conservative nature of carving in Ryedale see Lang, *Corpus Vol III.*, p. 19. Some scholars have argued for continued links between the churches of Ireland and England, thus suggesting a later date for the carvings, cf. Kathleen Hughes, 'Evidence for contacts between the churches of the Irish and English from the Synod of Whitby to the Viking Age', in *England before the Conquest*, ed. Peter Clemoes and Kathleen Hughes (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), pp. 66-7.

[325] Philip Rahtz, Lorna Watts and Jane Grenville, 'Archaeology at Kirkdale', *Supplement to Ryedale Historian* 18 (1996-97); Thacker, 'Monks, preaching and pastoral care', p. 144, n. 44.

[326] Whitelock, *English Historian Documents*, p. 830.

[327] Lang, *Corpus Vol III*, p. 133.

[328] Philip Rahtz and Lorna Watts, 'Archaeology at Kirkdale', *Supplement to Ryedale Historian* 19 (1998-99), p. 1.

[329] Lang, *Corpus Vol* III, p. 16.

[330] Rahtz and Watts, 'Archaeology at Kirkdale' (1998-99), p. 1.

[331] Ibid, p. 12.

be associated with the Anglo-Saxon monastery.[332] Rahtz has suggested that there were two other phases of construction beneath the present west end, but on the same angle as the current church. These phases may relate to the evidence of iron smelting and smithing found in the field north of the church, which was most probably associated with construction work.[333] As this industrial work was found above the level of the eighth- and ninth-century burials, it most likely dates from the late ninth or early tenth centuries.[334] This can be narrowed down as the sarcophagus linked to the first phase of building has been tentatively dated to the tenth century.[335] It may have been that the church was rebuilt later in the tenth century along a more canonical east-west orientation. This may be linked to the resurgence of Anglian control in Northumbria after the expulsion of Eric Bloodaxe in 954.[336] As the earlier burials show secular activity it is not really possible to suggest that the Scandinavian settlement of the area resulted in an end to monastic activity at Kirkdale. The long period of use that the first church enjoyed as an ecclesiastical centre suggests that there was a certain level of stability from the eighth to the middle of the tenth centuries. It is only into the tenth century that the quality of the sculpture that has been uncovered starts to decline,[337] and after this point there were no new sculptures, until the carving of the sun-dial in the eleventh century, which relates to the reconstruction of the church by Orm Gamalson.

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[332] Ibid, p. 13.

[333] Ibid, p. 1.

[334] Ibid, pp. 1-5.

[335] Ibid , p. 11.

[336] Fleming, 'Monastic Lands and England's Defence', p. 265.

[337] Lang, *Corpus Vol III.*, pp. 158-66.

The evidence of Kirkdale suggests that by the eighth century there was an important local ecclesiastical centre that served the needs of the surrounding people. The dedication to St. Gregory suggests the possibility that the church was an early foundation, not long after the conversion of Northumbria.[338] It has been suggested that Kirkdale was established as a monastery with pastoral duties as part of the outlying *parochia* of Whitby.[339] If this is true then its possible consecration by Cuthbert would support an early date. The church and its surviving sculptures reflect strong links with Northumbrian monasteries, possibly through Lastingham and Whitby. The evidence of fine quality carvings reflects a level of material wealth from estates, either secular or ecclesiastical, or the appreciation of such wealth amongst the secular population, especially the local land lord.

If Kirkdale was founded as part of the *parochia* of Whitby, it could be suggested that the holdings of Whitby were partitioned into Scandinavian hands following the decline of the monastery. As Kirkdale is at some distance from Whitby, it may have been an early example of possible fission of a larger estate. Although this link between Kirkdale and Whitby is speculative, the relative similarities between Lastingham, which had strong links to Whitby, and Kirkdale, such as location, early foundation dates, and sculpture, make it possible.[340]

Archaeological evidence also suggests sites of ecclesiastical importance in Ryedale at Hovingham, Stonegrave and possibly Gilling East and Sinnington, as they all have

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[338] Richard Fletcher, ed. *St. Gregory's Minster, Kirkdale* (Joint Church Council, 1990); Philip Rahtz and Lorna Watts, 'Kirkdale Anglo-Saxon Minster', *Current Archaeology* (155), pp. 419-22, at p. 420.

[339] Thacker, 'Monks, preaching and pastoral care', p. 144, n. 44.

[340] Lang, *Corpus Vol III*, pp. 162-3; Rahtz, 'Kirkdale Anglo-Saxon Minster', p. 420.

some earlier sculptures. One of the earliest Anglian stones in the area was found at Gilling East. Rosemary Cramp has suggested that it is linked to Wearmouth/Jarrow in style and Lang has dated it to the eighth century.[341] A slightly later carving can be found at Hovingham. The presumed shrine slab of the late eighth/early ninth century is of very skilled work and shows links with carvings of the Midlands.[342] Hovingham also has an Anglian cross of the ninth century carved into a wall.[343] It has been suggested that there was a stone church at Hovingham prior to the present eleventh-century one.[344] The evidence of the surviving carvings does support this possibility. Despite the documentary evidence of a monastery in the mid-eighth century Stonegrave, unfortunately, has only one surviving carving of Anglian work – a ninth-century cross shaft which displays stylistic links with Lindisfarne. The majority of the surviving carvings are from the tenth century[345] and suggest that Stonegrave had a period of ecclesiastical importance during the Anglo-Scandinavian period. Of the considerable number of surviving carvings from Sinnington, most date from the tenth century, however there are several pieces of late Anglian work with links to York. Lang has suggested that these carvings may hint at a monastic site at Sinnington.[346] Within the corpus of Ryedale carvings there is one more Anglian piece. It is a stone monument of unknown purpose in Kirkbymoorside, which Lang has dated to the middle of the ninth

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[341] Lang, *Corpus Vol III*, p. 133.

[342] Ibid, pp 147-8.

[343] Ibid, p. 146.

[344] Thacker, 'Monks, preaching and pastoral care', p. 145.

[345] Lang, *Corpus Vol III.*, pp. 215-20; Firby and Lang, 'Pre-Conquest Sculpture', 17-29.

[346] Lang, *Corpus Vol III*, p. 207.

century and parallels with work from Monkwearmouth of the late eighth and early ninth centuries.[347]

The geography of the sculptures points to continued settlement along the edges of the vale, with churches and other ecclesiastical centres in clusters – along the route from Helmsley to Pickering and at the western end of the vale where it is easiest to cross into the Vale of York. There is just the one example of Kirby Misperton where ninth century Anglian sculpture survives in the low-lying land of the vale. The evidence of the surviving carvings suggests several ecclesiastical sites in Ryedale with stylistic links to places as geographically diverse as Lindisfarne, York and the Midlands.

If early churches indicate the possible locations of estate centres, it may be suggested that Hovingham, may have been such a one. The presence of monasteries or minsters at Kirkdale, Stonegrave, Coxwold and possibly Sinnington, suggests a settled population base and sufficient wealth to support these communities. Following the Scandinavian settlement it is likely that these monasteries became secular churches under local pressure during the tenth century, as monastic functions appear to have been less resilient than parochial ones during this period.[348] However, it would be difficult to suggest a difference between these communities, whether monks, nuns, or priests, based upon the archaeological evidence.

The archaeological evidence from the Roman period suggests the importance of Hovingham as a settlement and possible administrative centre. It appears that this

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[347] Ibid, pp 157-8.

[348] Blair, 'Introduction: From Minster to Parish Church', p. 3.

importance may have continued into the Anglo-Saxon period with the construction of an early stone church. This suggests the possibility that Hovingham became the centre of an estate during this period. There is no other evidence for ecclesiastical activity within the berewicks of the estate.

Kirkbymoorside does not have the archaeological evidence for continued settlement, administrative or ecclesiastical focus from the Roman through the Anglo-Saxon periods. It has been suggested that the church at Kirkdale was the minster for the estate as there is only one church mentioned in Domesday for the estate of Kirkbymoorside and no mention of Kirkdale specifically, despite the material evidence for the church.[349] Indeed it did have some status as a church with burial rights, and evidence suggests a monastic community. The archaeological evidence cannot really be used to support Kirkbymoorside as the caput of a multiple estate.

The location of Gilling East and the suggested link between Coxwold and Stonegrave makes it most likely that surviving sculptures and a possible monastic site may have been linked to one or other of these sites. Stonegrave itself, once again, appears as somewhat of an anomaly. The documentary evidence for an early monastery has, as yet, not been borne out by the archaeology. The surviving cross-shaft indicates no status for the church, and could even have come from another site, albeit relatively local. However, there is no other site closer than Gilling East or Hovingham with evidence of Anglian ecclesiastical importance.

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[349] *DB – Yorks*, notes 23N19.

<u>Boundaries</u>

Boundaries mark the sharing out of resources between adjacent communities.[350] It has

been suggested that the boundaries of royal estates and the *parochiae* of linked minsters

were coterminous.[351]   However, drawing any link between the large post-medieval

parishes and Anglo-Saxon estates is difficult due to problems with dating the parishes

and their boundaries and relating these to the boundaries of the estates.[352] The majority

of these boundaries, within Ryedale, follow watercourses and other natural features

making dating extremely difficult.[353]   However, dating boundaries is fundamental to

establishing the possible extent of Anglo-Saxon estates.   In some instances the

boundaries of the parishes are the same as for the wapentakes.   For example the

northern boundaries of Helmsley, Kirkdale and Kirkbymoorside parishes all follow the

division between Ryedale and Langbaugh wapentakes.[354]   This line is approximately

the highest point of the moors and marks the change in the watersheds from the

southern flowing tributaries of the River Rye to the northern flowing tributaries of the

River Esk. It has been noted that within Yorkshire, where topography permits, lengthy

boundaries are often based on the natural features of rivers and watersheds.[355] For this

reason, it is not surprising that, in a region with such marked topographical features, the

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[350] May F. Pickles, 'The Significance of Boundary Roads in Yorkshire', in *Yorkshire Boundaries*, ed. H. E. Jean Le Patourel, Moira H. Long and May F. Pickles (Leeds: York Archaeological Society, 1993), p. 61.

[351] Thacker, 'Monks, preaching and pastoral care', p. 139; Blair, 'Introduction: From Minster to Parish Church', p. 2. For discussion of the role of early minsters and the theory of continuity of site and function of *monasterium* and parish churches see Eric Cambridge and David Rollason, 'The pastoral organization of the Anglo-Saxon Church: a review of the 'Minster Hypothesis'', *Early Medieval Europe* 4, 1 (1995), pp. 87-104, at pp. 92-7.

[352] Michelmore, 'Reconstruction of Early Divisions', p. 8.

[353] OS 1st edn maps sheets 73-4, 89-90,122-3, 2nd edn maps sheets 105-6.

[354] OS Landranger series no. 94 and 100.

[355] Pickles, 'Boundary Roads', p. 74.

boundaries of parishes, townships and wapentakes should be the same, and it is likely that these boundaries have remained the same for a considerable length of time.

A study into the significance of boundary roads in Yorkshire has suggested that the determining factors for the location of boundaries are topography and underlying geology.[356] The physical landscape of Yorkshire would have had a considerable impact upon how man could use the land. The height and gradient of the land, the depth and nature of the soil and the nature of the climate all influence the potential uses of the land. As boundaries define the extent of one community's resources, the relatively stable nature of waterways and ridge tops would provide natural barriers. Where roads coincide with boundaries, therefore, it must be because the division of territorial resources – boundaries - and the lines of communication – roads - are determined by topography to be the same feature. For example, this may occur where low-lying marshy ground is bisected by a narrow ridge of higher ground. It has been suggested that where a Roman road cuts across a parish boundary, the boundary is the earlier feature.[357] The theory behind this is that if the roads already existed when the boundaries were set, it would be easy to make use of them. If this is true then the boundaries of the parishes along the southern part of Ryedale all predate the Roman period as the road there cuts through perpendicular to each parish along the road. However, it could be suggested that as the road links many of the settlements in this area, it would be unlikely that it would be used as a boundary marker as the settlements central to the parishes would become marginal within the parish. Pickles stresses that "there is no reason why we should expect a Roman road which, for example, appears to

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[356] Ibid, p. 61.

[357] Aston, *Interpreting the Landscape*, pp 39-43.

have been built to link two forts, to have a boundary function unless its alignment is also one which divides resources".[358] Within Ryedale the fact that the Roman roads were built for swift communication, generally avoiding either low-lying land or moorland, it is unlikely that they would be used as boundaries. In this case it is hard to argue for the boundaries being the older feature. It appears that the settlements have grown up along the line of the road, in part due to its location on good land above the alluvial, but with access to uplands. Thus it should be expected that the boundaries would be perpendicular to the road. Only the settlement at Hovingham appears to date from the Roman period, although it too may have come into existence after the construction of the road.[359]

The same theory applies to the other suggested Roman road from Amotherby to Wrelton.[360] This road follows the line of high ground across the vale and may even pre-date the Roman period, as a trackway from the Wolds to the Moors. Settlements have developed along it and boundaries are again perpendicular to it.[361]

Thus it appears that the territorial boundaries of parishes and townships bear no relationship to the Roman landscape, either because they pre-date the Roman period, or because the surviving features of the Roman period, the roads, did not naturally define any boundaries between territorial resources. Given that the Roman roads within Ryedale were used as a means of quick communication, especially between York and

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[358] Pickles, 'Boundary Roads', p. 61.

[359] For examination of the signficance of Roman remains in Hovingham refer to pages 72-3 above.

[360] Margary, *Roman Roads*, pp. 425-6.

[361] OS 1st edn map sheets 90-1, 123-4, 2nd edn map sheets 106-7.

the signal stations on the coast, it is most likely that they cut across the pre-existing landscape along the most direct route.

There has been considerable discussion about the relationship between burials and boundaries.[362] It has been suggested that if a relationship can be established between the earliest burials and the dating of boundaries then it may be possible to establish how long specific boundaries have been recognised.[363] There are several instances where the modern boundaries[364] in Ryedale have tumuli or barrows within one kilometre, however a close analysis of the post-medieval parish and modern township boundaries has shown that there is not a significant relationship (table 3.2).

Table 3.2: Distance of Tumuli, Barrows and other Earthworks from Boundaries

	Tumuli	Barrow	Cairns*	Dykes	Field Systems	Settlements/ Hut Circles	Pillow Mounds	Other**
Within 1 km	53	2	28	2	4	0	0	5
Greater than 1 km	55 #	0	37	4	9	2	11	11

* many Cairns appear to mark paths over the moors and are of indeterminate dates.
** includes crosses and undefined earthworks.
\# includes one tumuli dated to Roman period at Hovingham.
(Sources: OS 1st edn map sheets 73-4, 89-90, 123-4, 2nd edn map sheets 105-6, OS map Landranger series map 100, National Monuments Record, Sites and Monuments Record for North Yorks.)

The majority of the tumuli are found on the higher ground of the moors and Howardian Hills where the boundaries tend to follow natural features such as ridges, dales or watercourses. It may have been that these lands were more marginal, so the rate of

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[362] Goodier, 'Formation of Boundaries', pp. 1-3; Desmond Bonney, 'Early Boundaries and Estates in Southern England', in *Medieval Settlement: Continuity and Change*, ed. P. H. Sawyer (London: Edward Arnold Ltd., 1976), pp. 72-82.

[363] Goodier, 'Formation of Boundaries', p. 6; Bonney, 'Early Boundaries and Estates', p. 74.

[364] The boundaries that have been analysised are found on the OS 1st edn maps for parishes and townships, and the OS Landranger series for wapentakes.

survival of such burials would have been higher. However, the lack of any correlation between the locations of the tumuli and the boundaries makes it seem unlikely that a relationship can be established. Thus it is not possible to suggest any *terminus ante quem* for the boundaries of Ryedale prior to the Domesday period.

With regard to the various types of boundaries within Ryedale, the township boundaries quite often coincide with parish boundaries and generally follow the same features. The topography of the area suggests these as natural boundaries. It is only rarely that a township extends beyond the boundary of a parish and never beyond the wapentake. The origin of these townships is unknown although it has been suggested that they constituted an economic unit of agricultural land organised for farming, which was inexorably linked with tenurial holdings.[365] This suggests that the townships could have, in some way, evolved from the dependent vills of the multiple estates, possibly through the fission of the larger estates.[366] If this is the case then it would be expected for there to be more of a relationship in Ryedale between modern townships and Domesday vills than between post-medieval parishes and vills, as the parishes should have a more ecclesiastical origin. The majority of the modern townships appear as vills in Domesday Book and several vills, which have disappeared, are still represented by township names, for example Grimston and the shrunken Howthorpe and Laysthorpe.[367] The possible economic nature of townships and the appearance of continuity, which they give to the administration of the landscape, leads to the

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[365] O'Hare, 'Yorkshire Boundaries', p. 17; Pickles, 'Boundary Roads', p. 61; Michelmore, 'Reconstruction of Early Divisions', pp. 2-4.

[366] Williamson, 'Parish Boundaries', p. 247.

[367] Maurice Beresford, ' Lost Villages of Yorkshire – Part IV', Yorkshire Archaeological Journal 38 (1955), 280-309, at p. 294.

possibility that their origin may be of some antiquity and could lend credence to the early dating of multiple estates.

Despite the possible link between townships and multiple estates, the boundaries which have come to define the region do not appear to have been as definitive or as static during the late Anglo-Saxon period. There are several instances within Ryedale of a Domesday estate that crossed township, parish and wapentake boundaries. The estate of Coxwold within Gerlestre (now Birdforth) wapentake had a berewick at Ampleforth, in Manshou (now Ryedale) wapentake. Likewise the estate of Pickering within Dic (now Pickering Lythe) wapentake had a berewick at Barton, in Manshou (now Ryedale) wapentake. The reasons for this may be manifold, but it is possible that the estates acquired the land through marriage, an exchange of land or a land grant. The fact that all the other estates are contained within the wapentake suggests either that the boundaries predate the estates and defined their limits, which would be slightly artificial, or that the boundaries of the estates in part helped to define the boundaries of the wapentakes. This is more likely as the wapentakes took shape during the eleventh century when many of these estates appear to have already been in existence for some time.[368] The boundaries as defined in Domesday Book appear not to have been exact. There are several vills which were not assigned to any wapentake in the text, but have been link to Ryedale on the basis of geography.[369] These include the vills of Gillamoor, Grimston, Hawade, Hoveton, Hovingham, Howthorpe, Hutton, Kirkbymoorside, Laysthorpe, Misperton and Wath. Of these Grimston, Hawade, and Hoveton are now lost. Furthermore, some of the vills which were listed in the text as being part of

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[368] O'Hare, 'Yorkshire Boundaries', p. 16.

[369] *DB Yorks*, notes.

Ryedale wapentake, are now part of Pickering Lythe. These include Great and Little Barugh and Ryton. This suggests even more a late date for the formation of the wapentake boundaries.

The survival of Iron Age remains on the moors is considerable and may be important in establishing any evidence of continuity of multiple estates. Jones has suggested a link between Iron Age hill forts and caputs of multiple estates, based upon the evidence found in Wales and Northumbria for the caputs being located within close proximity to Iron Age hill forts.[370] The only hill fort in the region is east of Lastingham and outside the area of this study. The location of the majority of the Iron Age remains, high on the North Yorkshire moors, makes it difficult to suggest any links with the two large manors of Hovingham and Kirkbymoorside.

This lack of evidence suggests that, within Ryedale, it is not really possible to use Iron Age burial and settlement remains to establish the dates of local boundaries or to postulate any theory of continuity of settlement patterns to the Anglo-Saxon era. With regard to dating the boundaries it is accepted that wapentakes were established by the late eleventh century,[371] and the spate of church building in the mid-eleventh century within Ryedale, may be linked to the establishment of local parishes, all of which fall within the wapentake. Thus, the wapentake boundaries may have made use of already existing parish boundaries. The earliest charters for the region that detail boundaries are from the twelfth century and later. Land grants to Rievaulx Abbey and other monastic establishments often are quite detailed, using watercourses and roads, which

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[370] Jones, 'Basic Patterns', p. 199.

[371] O'Hare, 'Yorkshire Boundaries', p. 16.

can easily be followed by modern scholars. However, there are occasional references to landmarks, such as trees, which have long since disappeared. Examination of several of these charters indicates that some of the boundaries of land grants are the same as the boundaries of the parishes and townships. For example the Foundation Charter of Rievaulx Abbey[372] indicates that the boundary of the initial land grant follows the River Rye from Rievaulx to where the River Seph flows into it, then along the River Seph to Fangdale Beck – this is the post-medieval parish boundary of Helmsley as well as the boundary of twentieth century Ryedale district and the Domesday wapentake of Manshou. Thus this boundary has long been recognised and has remained unchanged as it follows a natural watercourse. Unfortunately, without being able to confirm any earlier date for this boundary it is only possible to state that at least some of the boundaries of Ryedale date back to the eleventh century. This is based on the use of wapentakes as regions of administration within Domesday Book.

Summary of all evidence:

Within Ryedale it is possible to see evidence for the existence of at least two multiple estates, centred at Hovingham and Kirkbymoorside. Domesday Book illustrates the fact that both of these manors had dependent berewicks which could provide a number of difference services. The lands of both manors stretched from the River Rye to uplands in the North Yorkshire Moors and the Hambleton Hills (fig. 3.4), and would most likely have included the seasonal movement of livestock. Domesday Book also suggests a social hierarchy including a lord, villeins, and priests in both of these manors.

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[372] *Cartularium Abbathiae de Rievalle*, ed. Rev. J. C. Atkinson (Durham: Surtees Society, 1889), pp. 16-21.
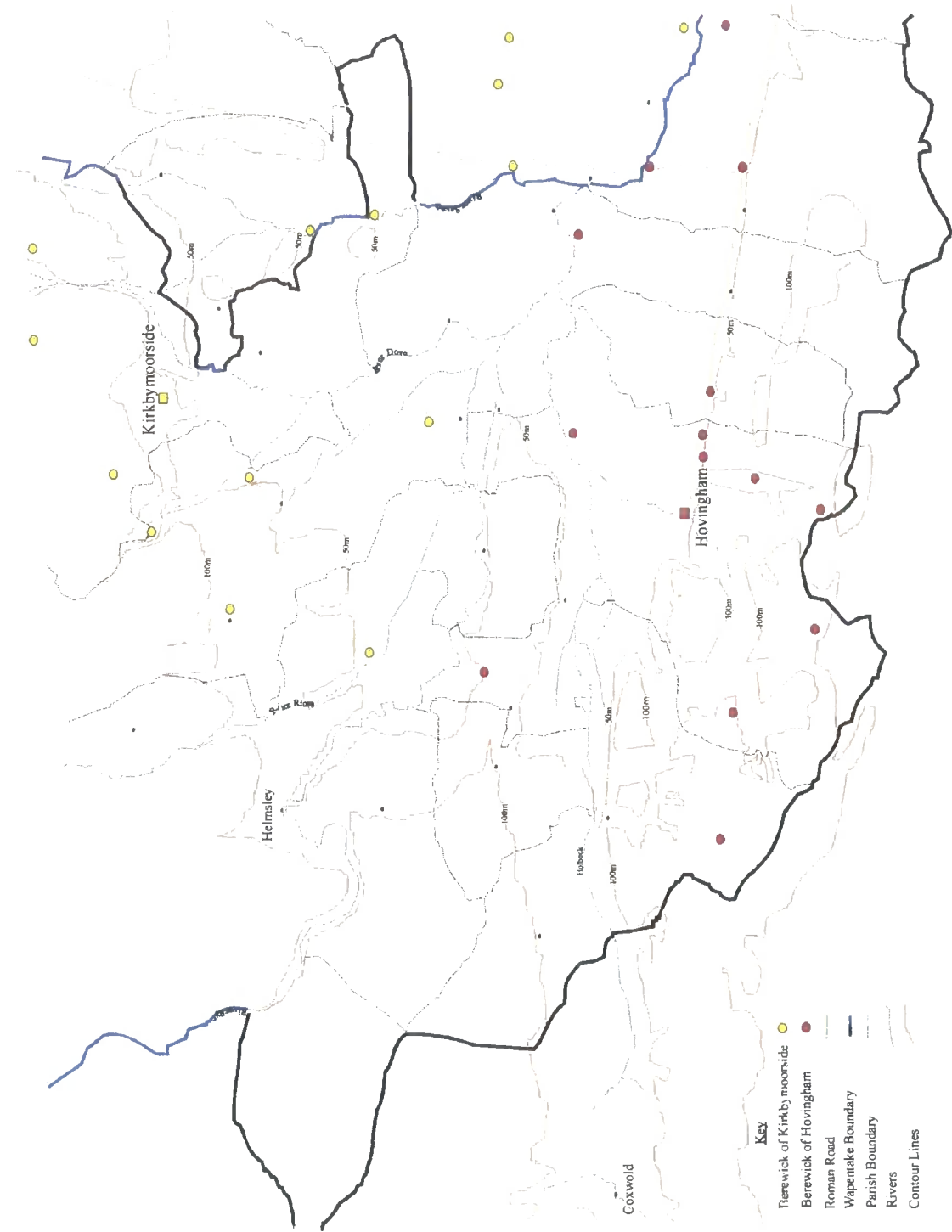
Figure 3.4: Map of Ryedale region illustrating topography of the berewicks of Domesday estates centred at Kirkbymoorside and Hovingham.

Place-name evidence can be used to suggest the survival of a British population, at Walton within the estate of Kirkbymoorside and through the use of Celtic elements in field names, also within the estate of Kirkbymoorside. There is further evidence from place-names which may be used to support the application of the multiple estate model within the region, such as the survival of early English topographical place-names, such as Gillamoor, Pockley, Harome and Stonegrave. Hovingham is also a name which originates in the early period of Anglo-Saxon settlement, as does Helmsley and Coxwold, two of which were the centres of Domesday estates, while the unitary manors of Helmsley may have been the result of the fission of a single, large estate. The survival of the estates through the Anglo-Scandinavian period and the assimilation of incoming Scandinavians may be indicated by the renaming of many of the berewicks of the Hovingham estates during this period. Fellows-Jensen has suggested that the evidence from place-names in the Danelaw indicates that the original Danish settlement "involved the assumption of lordship over a pre-existing estate", which presumes that the land would have continued to be cultivated by the population already living there.[373] Therefore, the process of the fragmentation of the larger estates should be seen as occurring gradually, possibly excelerated by the arrival of the Norse-Irish army in the first quarter of the tenth century. This may be supported by the evidence of place-names such as Normanby, indicating a settlement of Norwegians, and Ness, which is more Norwegian than Danish in origin.[374]

The evidence available from the archaeology of the region suggests the importance of Hovingham during the Roman period as a settlement and possibly an administrative

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[373] Fellows-Jensen, *The Vikings and their Victims*, p. 18.

[374] Smith, *North Riding of Yorkshire*, pp. 51 & 58.

centre. The site of an early stone church at Hovingham further indicates the possibility that the settlement became the centre of a large estate during this time. However, archaeological evidence cannot really be used to argue for the existence of a multiple estate centred at Kirkbymoorside.

It is possible to suggest that the manor of Coxwold, to the west of Ryedale, also represents the survival of a multiple estate. It too had berewicks at the time of the Domesday survey and a hierarchy of lords, villeins and priests. The name of the caput, like Hovingham, is of an early Anglo-Saxon date, and there is evidence for a monastic church in the middle of the eighth century. These multiple estates do not appear to have been as large as some found elsewhere in other parts of Yorkshire and Northumberland, however, the fertile nature of the land and the relatively close proximity of resources may have resulted in smaller estates.

The question of how Scandinavian settlement impacted on the existence of the multiple estates has been answered differently by various supporters of the continuity argument. Jones interprets the Scandinavian settlement as speeding up the fission of multiple estates in areas of highly productive land.[375] His suggestion is that fission resulted in smaller multiple estates where formerly there were large ones, leaving a hierarchy of multiple estates.[376] This would have resulted in new multiple estate foci being created on the most fertile land with the development of arable land leading to the disappearance of hamlets of outlying dependencies and the growth of the foci into

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[375] Jones, 'Celts, Saxons and Scandinavians', p. 75.

[376] Jones, 'Multiple Estates and Early Settlement', p. 40.

villages.[377] The development of smaller multiple estates through the fission of larger estates, resulted in the appearance of unitary manors with new village churches during the early eleventh century. The result was coterminous parishes and manorial estates.[378] The high number of Scandinavian field names may indicate how arable land was developed under the new Scandinavian land lords with greater cultivation.[379] However, this fission does not necessarily mean that the larger estates disappeared. These larger multiple estates with caputs near Iron Age forts or Roman settlements or hundredal manors can be inferred as being of considerable antiquity, but the distinction between multiple estates and their components needs to be noted, as the former need not be as old as the latter.[380]

Within Ryedale it is possible to suggest that new unitary manors developed around the edges of the two largest estates of Hovingham and Kirkbymoorside. Although most of the unitary manors have retained Old English names, their large number and the relatively few examples of sokeland suggest that the land with the weakest ties to estate caputs was detached from their estates and placed under new lordship. One example of this could be the vill of Slingsby. This fission of larger estates may have resulted in the downgrading of a manor centred at Helmsley from a multiple estate to a number of small unitary manors.

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[377] Jones, 'Celts, Saxons and Scandinavians', p. 75.

[378] Ibid, p. 76.

[379] Cfi. Gelling, *Signposts to the Past*, p. 218.

[380] Jones, 'Multiple Estates and Early Settlement', p. 40.

Chapter 4: The Evidence in Relation to the Upheaval Model

This model which has been proposed to explain the impact of the Scandinavians on the territorial organisation of the north and east of England has been based upon the distribution of freemen throughout the region, evidence of unique forms of territorial divisions and the density of Scandinavian personal and place-names, all being used to prove the lack of any mass assimilation of Scandinavians into English society. It has been argued that the distinct features of the Danelaw reflect a society which was abnormal in structure and unique in racial composition.[381]

Documentary Evidence: Domesday Book

Stenton used the evidence of population structure, including the presence of a class of freemen, as well as unique forms of territorial and agricultural divisions, as found in Domesday to propose his theories of Scandinavian upheaval.

The Evidence of Manors

Despite their origins, whether long standing or new creations, by 1066 the majority of the land within Ryedale was divided into small manors with little or no outlying land. The manner in which these lands were held in 1066 – small manors within close proximity and often held by the same person – suggests the possible attempt to create larger estates for more effective use of the land. A prime example of this is the land in and around Helmsley. If the large estates are the result of Scandinavian settlement, as proposed by Stenton,[382] then the land around Helmsley may be seen as a stage of development from small dispersed manors to large estates through the amalgamation of lands in the hands of one land owner. The parish of Helmsley was divided into thirteen

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[381] Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 505.

[382] Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 502.

parcels of land, some manors, some berewicks and others smaller land pockets, all totalling approximately 32 carucates.[383] Of these five were held by Uhtred, TRE, 18 carucates of land or 56% of the total; no other landowner held more than about two carucates of land in total. This suggests the possibility that one of the local landholders was possibly in the process of consolidating his holdings in such a way as to make the best use of the land, probably through the acquisition of lands in adjacent vills. Uhtred held the largest manors in Helmsley and Harome, and the rest of his holdings, in Pockley and Stilton, were in adjacent vills (Appendix III).[384]

Hadley has suggested that this process of creating new sokes or estates during the tenth and eleventh centuries occurred as an attempt to accommodate "an increasingly anomalous social group".[385] In this she is referring to the sokemen, whose existence has been linked to the Scandinavian settlement.[386] She suggests that this may have occurred in instances where all the sokemen/sokeland in a region was attached to a royal or other important estate. Stenton also regarded these estates as new developments, the result of the relationship between sokemen and their lords becoming territorialized[387] – the tradition of jurisdiction that a lord had over his sokeman changed to also include the land of that sokeman. He suggested that the stability of these estates

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[383] *DB Yorks*, 1N80, 2A4, 5N50, 1N78, SN,L7 note, 1N277, 1N81, 5N42, 8N28, 1N79, 5N492N9, 5N40, 5N41, 5N5.

[384] *DB Yorks*, 5N40, 5N42, 5N49, 5N50.

[385] Hadley, 'Multiple Estates', p. 7.

[386] Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, pp. 508-10; Loyn, *Anglo-Saxon England and the Norman Conquest*, pp. 54-6.

[387] Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 511.

came from the justice done in the manor courts and their continued existence could be recognised in later records by the use of the term 'soke'.[388]

The distribution of the sokeland in Ryedale in Domesday Book, and its limited extent, may make it difficult to suggest that this occurred within the region. The only estate with any amount of sokeland is that of Nunnington, where the majority of the sokeland lies in adjoining vills (fig. 4.1).[389] It may be possible to suggest that this land was amalgamated into one holding having been alienated from one or more larger estates at an earlier point in time. However, the importance of Nunnington as an estate appears to have been rather limited within the region – unlike some of the other estates within Ryedale, it has no berewicks and its holdings are almost all in the immediate vicinity of the estate centre. It appears likely that the close association of these adjoining vills with sokeland was the result of the creation of an estate to house the followers of a Scandinavian lord, as had happened elsewhere in the Danelaw.[390]

The Evidence of Land Division and Cultivation

When the Danish armies settled in England there was no sign that they attempted to remodel the style of agriculture or to remove the existing population. One difference within the methods of cultivation, which has been identified by Stenton, was the introduction of a system of dividing out the plan of open fields.[391] Within the Danelaw, Domesday Book records oxgangs and ploughlands as opposed to the hides and yardlands of the rest of England. An oxgang was the holding of a man who could

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[388] Ibid, p. 511.

[389] *DB Yorks*, 16N1.

[390] Stafford, 'Danes and the Danelaw', pp. 18 and 22.

[391] Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 506.
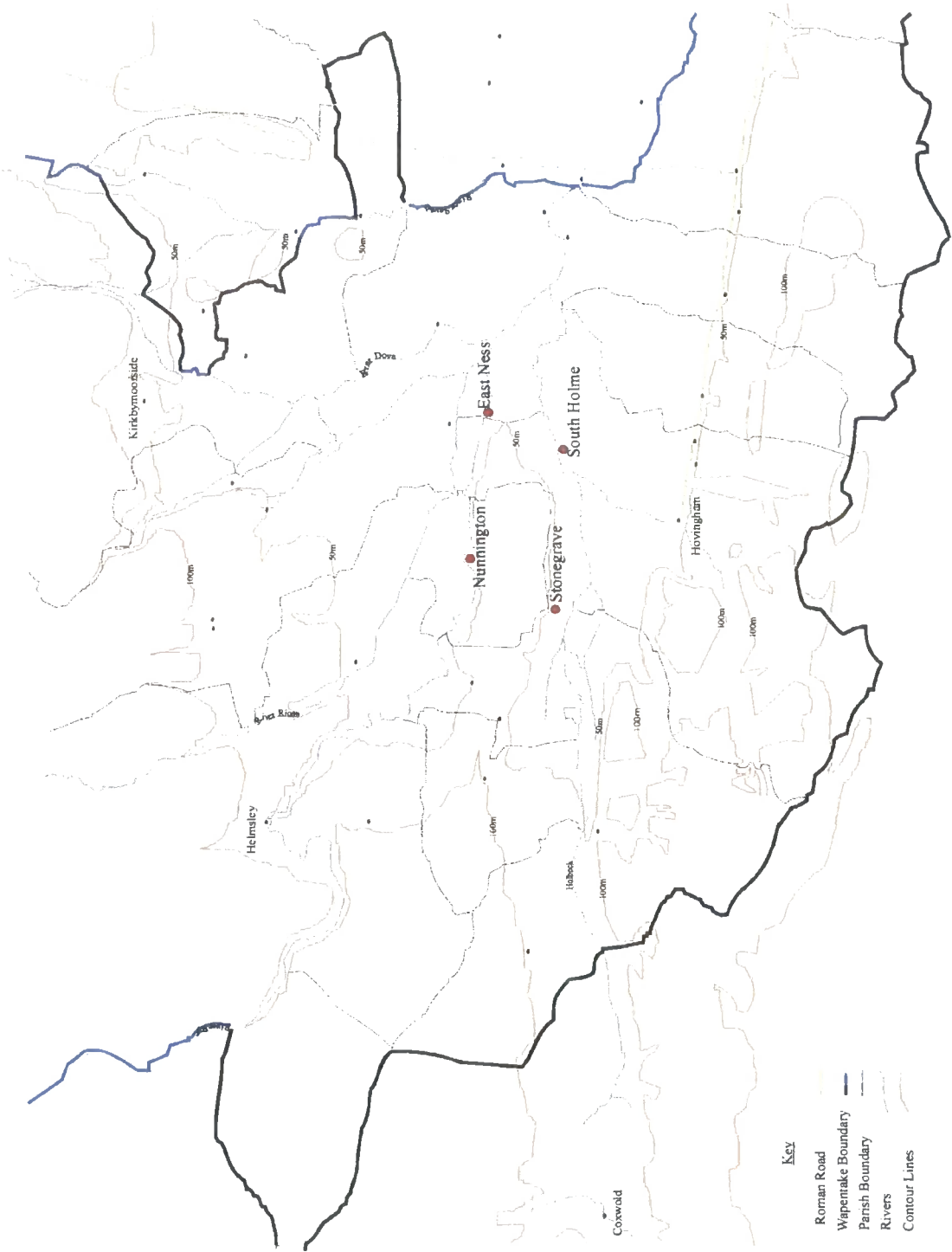
Figure 4.1: Map of Ryedale region illustrating estate of Nunnington with sokeland in adjacent vills.

contribute one ox to a co-operative eight-ox plough team. This system was based on the amount of work which an eight-ox plough team could do in a year, instead of the English system based on the amount of land which could support a peasant household.[392]

This method of cultivation and land division may reflect the possibility that the Scandinavians were able to exploit the land more effectively and took advantage of developments in agriculture, such as the introduction of the ox or horse drawn plough into the region.[393] This may have extended to the opening up of new land for cultivation. The evidence of Domesday Book highlights that the low-lying alluvium was settled by 1066, in areas where there is no strong evidence for previous, Anglo-Saxon settlement.[394] Within Ryedale there is the possibility that the land on either side of the River Rye became cultivated and settled in the late Anglo-Saxon period, because the evidence of place-names suggests the influence of Scandinavian naming habits, for example, Holme and Ness.[395]

The Evidence of Population

The survey gives no idea as to the structure of eleventh-century society, as it only mentions the general population in the context of how they contribute to the incomes of their landlords. Despite this, it does provide a list of the major eleventh-century land holders, including archbishops, bishops, earls and other magnates, as well as the lesser landlords such as thegns. The survey also identifies the classes of tenants on manors

[392] Ibid, p. 507.

[393] Hamilton-Dalrymple, 'Ryedale Settlement Patterns', p. 38.

[394] Ibid, p. 38.

[395] Smith, *North Riding of Yorkshire*, pp. 50-1.

and within estates in 1086. For Yorkshire the population figures for 1066 are not included in the survey, only the land holders.

A considerable amount of the argument for Scandinavian upheaval is based upon the presence of certain freemen in Domesday Book, often called sokemen. These men owned their own land and paid taxes directly to the king, but were also under the jurisdiction of a lord. Stenton refers to these freemen as the descendents of the rank and file of the Great Army.[396] The Domesday entries for Ryedale record no sokemen in the region. For the lack of any reference to sokemen within the Domesday entries Stenton proposed the following conditions, which he has cited in relation to other regions:[397]

1. A depression of the peasantry – villains on sokeland were originally sokemen or their descendants, but Domesday Book tended towards a depression of the higher social classes and their status may have been affected by the Harrying of the North.

2. Villeins on sokeland referred to a social class lower than that of recognised sokemen, they would have been seen as inferior in wealth or through a heavier burden of customary services. The social divisions of Domesday were the work of Norman lawyers and were based upon diversities of economic condition as opposed to strict legal distinctions.

3. Men of inferior rank may have held their tenements under the sokemen. Dependent tenure of this nature was a natural result of an agrarian system such as that of the Danelaw.

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[396] Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 512.

[397] Stenton, 'Types of Danelaw Manor', pp. 17-20.

The lack of any indications of the population numbers and social hierarchy before the Norman Conquest makes it difficult to suggest which, if any, of these conditions prevailed. An examination of the sokeland entries indicates that the only sokeland that returned a population was in the manor of Nunnington, where all the villains lived on the sokeland. It may be possible to suggest that some of these villeins may, at one time been sokemen or their descendants. This would be the only case for a population of 'hidden' sokemen.

The details from Domesday Book suggest a population density for the area in 1086 of anywhere between 0.9 and 1.3 persons per square mile.[398] However, to gain a more accurate idea of the actual population it has been suggested that these figures need to be multiplied by a factor of four or five.[399] The low population figures for some vills, often no population has been returned, would have been dependent upon the level of cultivation, plough teams and the geldable value of the estate. The figures for 1066 are not given, although examples from other regions in Yorkshire indicate a significant decline in the rural population.[400] Villeins made up the majority of the population, although there are references to priests, thegns, tenants and smallholders. Assessing the population of the Ryedale region is very difficult because the figures have only been given for the larger manors. The two largest estates of Hovingham and Kirkbymoorside are listed as having tenants numbering 54 and 47 people respectively, each figure includes one priest.[401] There are 73 other entries for the region, only eleven of which have any mention of a population, one of which that identifies a tributary or rent-payer,

[398] Darby and Maxwell, *Domesday Geography*, p. 121.

[399] Ibid, p. 181.

[400] Ibid, p. 120.

[401] *DB Yorks*, 23N19, 23N23.

and two list tenants.[402] These eleven list figures from two to thirteen villagers, one

mentions smallholders and four mention priests. The listing of villagers is usually in

conjunction with plough-teams, so the fact that they are mentioned at all depends upon

the taxable and arable value of the manors in question. The lack of any mention of

villagers in the majority of the entries may be due to the amount of land that was waste.

Thirteen entries definitely identify land as waste and 21 only suggest how many

plough-teams would be possible – plough-lands – as none appear to exist *in situ*, which

suggests that the land may have been waste.[403] The villagers listed are almost always of

the villein class. There are no sokemen mentioned, although there is land held as

sokeland from manors in Helmsley and Nunnington. This does not disprove Stenton's

theory of a free population descended from the 'Great Army', rather it poses the

question of why are there no sokemen and what does the lack of them mean about the

social hierarchy of the region. The lack of any mention of population figures for 1066,

and the large number of waste manors in 1086, means that Domesday Book can do little

more than hint at the social hierarchy in Ryedale in the late Anglo-Saxon era.

The Evidence for Waste Land

The great political upheavals which occurred between the Norman Conquest and the

compilation of Domesday Book have resulted in an unclear picture of how land was

settled and used during the late Anglo-Saxon period. This has already been noted

above with regard to the lack of sokemen in the Yorkshire folios.[404] As a result of the

political upheavals and the threat of further uprisings against the Normans, William I

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[402] *DB Yorks*, 5N45, 8N1-2, 15E17.

[403] Darby and Maxwell, *Domesday Geography*, pp. 139-42.

[404] Refer to the above section on the Evidence of Population, p. 98 ff.

led his followers on a campaign to subdue and conquer the north of England. Commonly referred to as the 'Harrying of the North', this campaign has been blamed for much of the waste land reported in Domesday Book. This evidence tends to cloud the picture of how the land would have been cultivated in 1066, and what sort of people lived and work in the area.

The most noticeable feature of the Domesday Book entries for Ryedale is the large number recorded as waste or only recording plough-lands, with no plough-teams in place for cultivation. (Appendix III) There are only a few estates which were fully cultivated, and they tended to be larger and as a result most likely more prosperous. Even these decreased in geldable value between 1066 and 1086. Only two estates increased, Coxwold from £6 to £12 and Kirby from 3s. to 20s.[405] This increase in value may have been due to an increase in available arable land,[406] however, there is no real means of confirming this theory. The activities of the Normans following 1069 have clouded the image of territorial organisation, during the late Anglo-Saxon period, that is provided by Domesday Book.

Personal Name Evidence

Stenton has suggested that studies into personal names may give a rough estimate of Scandinavian strength within the population, in various parts of the Danelaw.[407] It would be unsafe to use the names of persons of local importance, such as land holders,

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[405] *DB Yorks*, 23N1, 8N1.

[406] Darby and Maxwell, *Domesday Geography*, p. 112.

[407] Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, pp. 505-6.

as evidence for the racial composition of the peasantry.[408] It may be possible by examining the names of these land holders in 1066 to suggest to what extent the Scandinavians were still of importance at the local administrative level (Appendix IV). It may also be possible to use the evidence of Domesday Book to identify place-names with a personal name element, thus suggesting the amount or level of settlement by the Scandinavians during the later Anglo-Saxon period.[409]

It appears that the majority of land holders in Ryedale bore Scandinavian names. Waltheof, although appearing Anglo-Saxon in origin, is suggested to be the son of Earl Siward of Northumbria, a Dane.[410] The largest land holder in Ryedale was Orm, generally accepted to be Orm, son of Gamall, who rebuilt the church at Kirkdale c1155-65. Merlesveinn was Sheriff of Lincolnshire and held lands throughout England.[411] It has been suggested that Uhtred, an Anglo-Saxon name, was one Uhtred son of Thorketill of Cleveland, a beneficiary of Whitby Priory, who bore a Scandinavian name.[412] The names Ulf, Grim, Gamall, and indeed Orm, were all common Scandinavian names.[413] However, Anglo-Saxons could just as easily have borne these Scandinavian names as naming practices followed fashion.[414] That Scandinavian influence on personal names was prevalent in this area can be confirmed, but the ethnic origins of these men is not always clear. It appears that in Ryedale the fact that the

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[408] Ibid, p. 512.

[409] For detailed discussion of personal name elements within place-names refer to the section on Place-Name Evidence at page 109 below.

[410] *DB - Yorks*, Appendix III.

[411] Ibid, Appendix III.

[412] Ibid, Appendix III.

[413] Fellows-Jensen, 'Of Danes – and Thanes – and Domesday Book', p. 111.

[414] Sawyer, *Age of Vikings*, 1ˢᵗ edn., p. 159.

majority of landholders had Scandinavian names suggests the possibility that Scandinavians controlled the largest estates, but whether this had been the state of affairs for the previous two centuries cannot be established.

Summary of Domesday Evidence

The information provided by this assessment cannot hope to answer the question of what life was like in either 1066 or 1086. The Vale of Pickering and Ryedale in particular should have been a relatively prosperous region with fertile land and a settled population. However, aside from the two large estates of Kirkbymoorside and Hovingham, over half of the remaining land was waste or not under cultivation. Darby and Maxwell suggest that there were a number of factors to be taken into consideration – the Harrying of the North and attacks by Danes and Scots; the movement of people, either voluntarily or by new land lords, from populated uplands to depopulated fertile low lands; and the arrival of a new population into waste areas, who had not had the time to cultivate the land by the time of the survey.[415] The considerable amount of waste land does suggest a period of upheaval and the disruption of farming and the normal way of life. It is most likely that as the land was still waste and cultivation limited, the disruption was a relatively recent occurrence, and unlikely to be linked to the period of Scandinavian settlement. It is necessary to look beyond the returns of 1086 in order to establish the size and value of manors before the Norman Conquest.

As the details provided by Domesday Book are limited for 1066 it is not really possible to postulate how different the territorial organisation may have been. The relative relationship between manors may be identified by an examination of the numbers and

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[415] Darby and Maxwell, *Domesday Geography*, pp 149-50.

status of land holders (Appendix IV). The difficulty with this assessment is the confirmation of a land holder's identity. One occurrence of a name cannot be confirmed as representing the same person in another entry. However, it is reasonable to assume that where the land of a thegn went to a certain Norman, any other occurrence of that name in the same region where the land went to the same Norman can be taken to represent the same thegn.[416] For example, in Ryedale, all the lands held by Uhtred in 1066 went to Count Robert of Mortain, and all those of Ulf, a common name, went to the Archbishop of York.[417] The value of this exercise has some limitations, as there were several periods of Anglian dominance throughout the tenth century, and the continuity of Scandinavian control from 876 to 1066 is questionable. It has been suggested that following the fall of the Norse-Irish kingdom in York, there was an attempt to reinstate Anglian supremacy into the politics of the area, with the aim of excluding Scandinavian control,[418] although the legislation of King Edgar ten years later recognised a level of Danish autonomy in social and legal customs.[419] It is most likely that any attempt to restore English dominance would have been in areas of highest prosperity and involved the larger estates. However, with the ascension of Cnut to the throne of England in 1014 it is unlikely that this policy would have continued. An examination of the names of land holders in 1066 for Ryedale, suggests that, despite the upheaval, there were still a number of Scandinavians who held productive manors and even large amounts of the region. Whether they were the direct descendants of the early waves of Danish or Norse settlers, or the result of the take-over by Cnut, cannot be determined.

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[416] Fellows-Jensen, 'Of Danes – and Thanes – and Domesday Book', pp. 110-2.

[417] DB – Yorks, 2N2-14.

[418] Lang, Corpus Vol III, p. 9.

[419] Stenton, Anglo-Saxon England, pp 365-6.

The lack of sokemen and the limited information regarding the structure of the population of the region makes it hard to use Stenton's hypothesis regarding sokemen to support the model of Scandinavian upheaval. The evidence of personal names does support the theory that the Scandinavians were most likely to have held positions of influence and power in the region, sufficient to have had an effect on the naming habits of the land holding class, and to influence the style of place-names. It is possible in some instances to identify land holders of Scandinavian descent, however, this is more due to the survival of ancillary information and not just based upon the origin of their name.

Overall, the evidence of Domesday Book in Ryedale cannot be used to support the hypothesis that in regions of intensive settlement there was no general assimilation of the Danes into English society in the two hundred years before the Norman Conquest. It is too inconclusive. The evidence does suggest that there were a number of small unitary manors held by people with Scandinavian names, however it does not suggest how they acquired the land and it does little to clarify how the land was organised.

Documentary Evidence – Non-Domesday Sources

Stenton has used the evidence of charters from other parts of the Danelaw to suggest the development of forms of land holding and land purchase which were introduced by the Scandinavians.[420] For example the use of 'festermen' to provide surety of a land seller's right to the land he is selling has been linked to the influence of Scandinavian

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[420] Ibid, p. 505.

practises. Other charters suggest a thriving market in land.[421] Under the Anglo-Saxons

land was not a marketable commodity, but rather it could be granted to the tenant by a

lord, often the king, for a fixed period, such as the life time of the tenant.[422] This land

was not hereditary, but would revert back to the lord. There was also a class of land

which was hereditary, but the owner would be expected to leave this land to his sons.[423]

Thus land was not something to be traded in. The development of a market in land has

been linked to the break up of larger estates under the influence of Scandinavian

settlement.

The break up of larger Anglo-Saxon estates may not have occurred quickly, but was

more likely to be a gradual process. There is evidence to suggest that some of the

estates held by the community of St. Cuthbert were still intact c. 919.[424] It may be

possible that these estates were of some antiquity[425] and their re-allocation by Raegnald

marks their break up under the Scandinavians.[426] Although some of the land eventually

went back to St. Cuthbert, it was through a grant by King Athelstan of Wessex in 934,

thus suggesting that the lands of Raegnald follower, Onalafbald, were forfeited to

him.[427] This parcelling of estates by Raegnald, with the forfeiture of some of it to the

king of Wessex, indicates that the large estates may have been broken up into smaller

estates or unitary manors in order to reward the followers of the Scandinavian leaders.

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[421] Hadley, 'Multiple Estates', p. 7.

[422] Richards, *Viking Age England*, p. 30;

[423] Charles-Edwards, 'Land and Moveable Wealth', p. 184.

[424] Marsden, *Fury of the Northmen*, pp. 169-70.

[425] Craster, 'The Patrimony of St. Cuthbert', pp. 186-190.

[426] Ibid, p. 191.

[427] Ibid, p. 191.

These smaller estates appear to have thus become alienated from the original larger estates through the transfer of lands. The fact that this reorganisation of the lands of St. Cuthbert occurred during the period of the Norse kingdom of York, suggests that the settlement of the Danes, between 876 and 920, did not encroach upon the estates of the community sufficiently to alienate their lands, or occurred in such a manner that the structure of landholding was not changed.

Other documents provide evidence of the social hierarchy of the area during the tenth century. One surviving list of wergilds from the Scandinavian kingdom of York identifies a class of men between the thegn and ealdorman – the hold – which were distinct to the Danelaw[428] and evidence of their existence has also come from contemporary records of the activities of the Danish army.[429] This class included men of great territorial power, as may be indicated by the region name Holderness and the now lost Holdlythe region of Ryedale. Stenton suggests that these men were responsible for the creation of large and composite estates characteristic of the eleventh century through the grouping of Danish colonists in village settlements around the residence of a man of this class, whom they regarded as their lord.[430] There is no evidence in Ryedale to indicate the existence of one of these large estates, despite the evidence of the now lost place-name Holdlythe, thought to refer to the southern part of the Ryedale wapentake.[431] The only large estate in the area, Hovingham, does not

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[428] Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, pp. 501-2; see also discussion in chapter 2, pages 28-9.

[429] *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, p. 94, n. 1 and p. 97. It appears that the hold class originated in the western part of Norway, suggesting that their introduction occurred following the Norse-Irish conquest of the tenth century, cf. Peter Foote and David M. Wilson, *The Viking Achievement* (London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 1970), pp. 84-5.

[430] Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, pp. 501-2.

[431] Smith, *North Riding of Yorkshire*, pp. 42-3.

appear, in the Domesday survey, to have encompassed vills referred to as *in Holdelithe* during the later middle ages.[432] Although it is possible, if all the lands south of the River Rye, west of Malton, once formed part of the estate of Hovingham, that the estate may have been held by a man of the hold class, who gave his title to the region. However, the meaning may have become obscured, and eventually lost, as the land was divided into smaller estates and unitary manors.

Place-Name Evidence

Place-name evidence has played a key role in developing the arguments surrounding the impact of the Scandinavians on local settlement. As detailed in Chapter 2, there has been considerable debate regarding how the evidence should be interpreted.[433] However, it cannot be denied that there are a considerable number of Scandinavian place-names throughout Yorkshire, and Ryedale is no exception (fig. 4.2).

Domesday Book provides historians with an early source of recorded place-names. There are 60 names listed in Appendix I as having been documented in Domesday Book, 37 of these have been suggested to be Anglo-Saxon in nature and of the remaining 23, three, possibly four are Grimston Hybrids, 12 are believed to be Scandinavian, six contain elements of both Scandinavian and Anglo-Saxon and one is of unknown origin.[434]

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[432] *DB – Yorks*, 23N23-4; Smith, *North Riding of Yorkshire*, pp. 42-3.

[433] For discussion see pages 34-5 above.

[434] Smith, *North Riding of Yorkshire*, pp. 42-77.
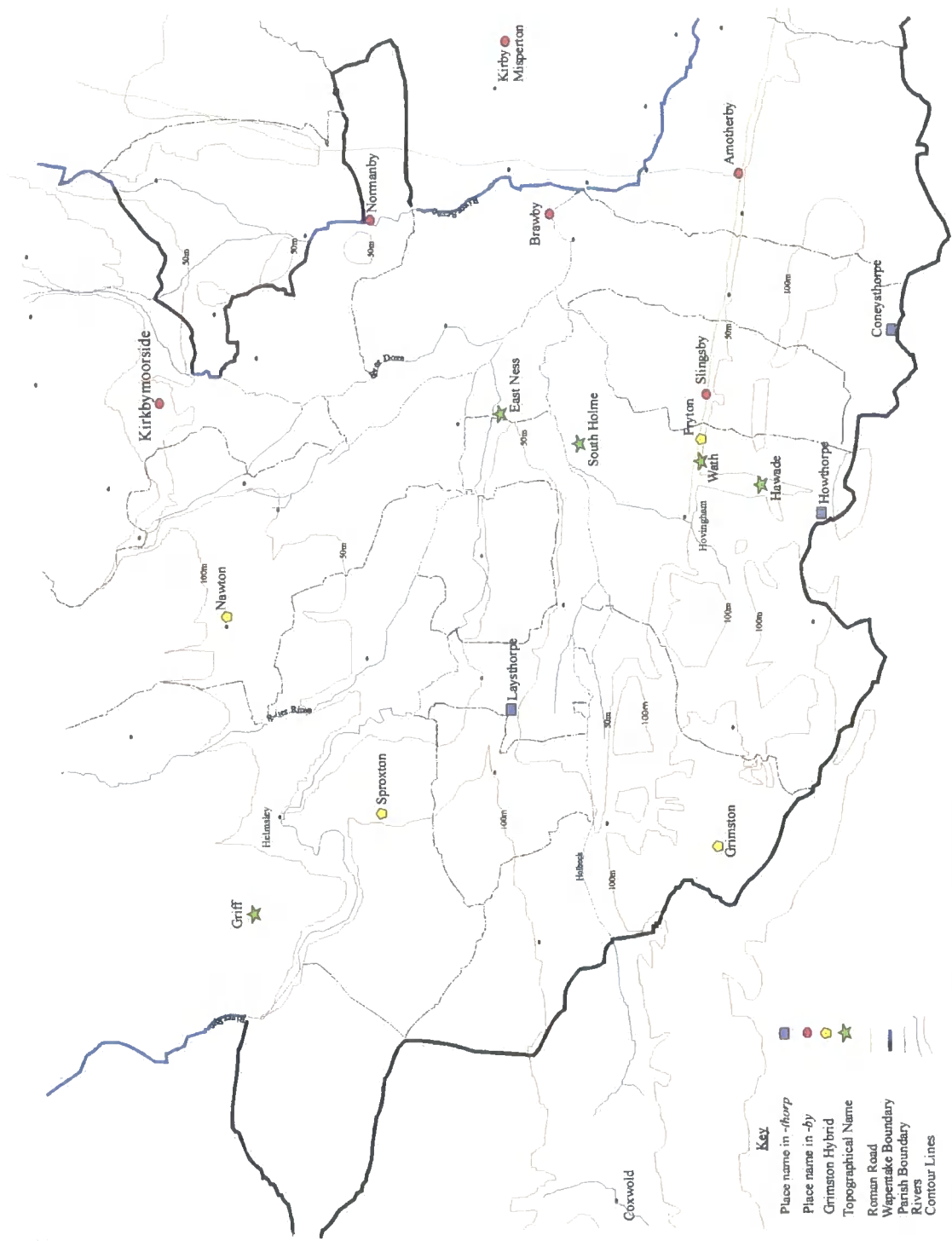
Figure 4.2: Map of Ryedale region illustrating topography of Scandinavian place-names.

Both Cameron and Fellows-Jensen suggest that the hybrid names represent the first stage of Scandinavian settlement – the alienation or take over of an existing Anglo-Saxon village, with partial renaming reflecting the new landlord.[435] As the number of Scandinavian settlers may initially have been limited and it appears that land was shared out most likely at the land holding level,[436] it is possible that Grimston Hybrids would have come into existence at this time. If this is the case these settlements should be found in good sites amongst other settlements with English names indicating that they date from before the middle of the ninth century.

In the Ryedale region, there are three, possibly four, examples of Grimston Hybrids found in Domesday Book – Fryton, Grimston, Nawton and possibly Sproxton, depending on how the first element is interpreted. There are 21 other names with the habitative –tun, one of which has a Scandinavian topographical word as the first element, the others all have English first elements. If Grimston Hybrids represent vills taken over by and named for Danes in the early years after 876, as suggested by Cameron and Fellows-Jensen,[437] the low numbers may suggest that there were not very many Danes initially involved in taking over land in the region. However, the locations of the vills and their relationship with manors and other settlements may suggest why they are so few in number. With regard to distribution, Fryton is to the east of the estate centre of Hovingham, along the route of what is believed to be a Roman road.[438] The village is on the junction of the alluvial plain of the River Rye with the north-eastern

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[435] Cameron, *English Place-Names*, p. 236; Fellows-Jensen, 'Settlement in the North Riding', p. 38; Fellows-Jensen, *The Vikings and Their Victims*, pp. 16-7.

[436] Gelling, 'Evidence of Place-Names', p. 200.

[437] Cameron, *English Place-Names*, p. 236; Fellows-Jensen, 'Settlement in the North Riding', p. 38; Fellows-Jensen, *The Vikings and Their Victims*, pp. 16-7.

[438] Margary, *Roman Roads*, pp. 423-4.

slopes of the Howardian Hills. The surrounding settlements have Scandinavian names – Slingsby to the east, Wath to the west, South Holme and East Ness to the north. Some of the land was a berewick of Hovingham, other land was sokeland under the jurisdiction of one of the manors at Helmsley.[439] Grimston is west of Hovingham, in the modern parish of Gilling East, with Coulton to the south-east, Gilling East to the north, and Cawton to the north-east. Although the vill centre has disappeared, it is believed to have been just below the edge of the Howardian Hills.[440] The only taxable land recorded in the vill was held as a berewick of Hovingham.[441] Nawton is to the south-west of Kirkbymoorside, approximately half way between Kirkbymoorside and Helmsley. It is adjacent to Beadlam, with Wombleton to the south, Welburn to the east and Skiplam to the north. The village is situated where Beadlam Rigg runs down from the Moors to Ryedale. The vill of Nawton had two manors of two and four carucates each, as well as some land that was a berewick of Kirkbymoorside.[442] Sproxton is south of Helmsley on top of low moor land that runs eastward to form a spur of high land south of the Moors. In Domesday Book, the vill had three manors, totalling four carucates.[443]

Of the four settlements examined, all appear to be situated on relatively good sites, with easy access to both low alluvial land and higher moor land. Both Nawton and Fryton are situated along the edge of where the underlying Corallian rock bed joins the alluvial

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[439] *DB – Yorks*, 23N24, 5N51.

[440] Beresford, 'Lost Villages', p. 294.

[441] *DB – Yorks*, 23N24.

[442] *DB – Yorks*, 23N21, 2N6, 8N24.

[443] *DB – Yorks*, 1N77.

floor of the vale – sites which appear to have been settled early by the Anglo-Saxons.[444]

Nawton is surrounded by settlements with Anglo-Saxon names and most likely fits the definition proposed by Cameron and Fellows-Jensen. Grimston possibly represents the site of some seasonal upland grazing for the Hovingham estate. Although the surrounding settlements have many Anglo-Saxon names, its location does not appear to have been as favourable as those of Nawton and Fryton, as well as other settlements with Anglo-Saxon names. Gelling has suggested that the use of the *grim-* element may have been to denote the poor quality of the site. She has cited, as evidence, several other examples in Yorkshire where the settlement site is also lost.[445] At the time of the Domesday Survey, both Fryton and Grimston were at least in part linked to the large estate centred at Hovingham.[446] The fact that it does not appear that any land at Grimston was held independently, suggests either a very strong link between the settlement and the estate centre, or that the settlement was of a more secondary nature and may not have been profitable as a separate manor. As it is now a lost village, it is more likely to be the latter than the former. Part of Nawton was also linked to the large estate at Kirkbymoorside.[447] The fact that there were independent manors at Nawton[448] and semi-independent sokeland at Fryton[449] supports the theory that the Danes, having been given landholding rights over this land, possibly removed these manors from larger estates.

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[444] Hamilton-Dalrymple, 'Ryedale Settlement Patterns', p. 37.

[445] Gelling, *Signposts to the Past*, pp. 233-4.

[446] *DB – Yorks*, 23N24.

[447] *DB – Yorks*, 23N21.

[448] *DB – Yorks*, 2N6, 8N24.

[449] *DB – Yorks*, 1N77.

Both Cameron and Fellows-Jensen have suggested that the second stage of Danish settlement is represented by the *–by* element,[450] probably given to newly colonised settlements, which Fellows-Jensen has suggested were mostly on the outfields of parent vills.[451] There has been some discussion about this chronology. Gelling notes that Kir(k)by, meaning 'village with/by a church', is relatively common in areas of the Danelaw, and is generally as well-sited as villages with English names.[452] The name itself suggests a well established village with a church at the time when the name was given its permanent form, possibly early after the arrival of the Danes.[453] Thus it is unlikely to represent a new settlement. The most striking thing to be noted about the names with the *–by* element generally is the frequency of the first element being a personal name, conservatively put at 45% for Yorkshire by Fellows-Jensen.[454] As a result of her research, she suggests that the personal name with *–by* arose spontaneously in response to a demand for a large number of place-names either to denote settlements newly established through the initiative of the landlord or settlers, or perhaps to mark the transference of settlements into private ownership.[455] Thus the *–by* names may represent the break-up of larger estates, possibly under the influence of a new wave of settlers, with the first element being the name of the first independent landowner. If this is the case, then it is likely that these settlements were secondary or outlying to an earlier vill centre. Therefore, it could be suggested, along the lines of Fellows-Jensen, that these settlements may have been on inferior sites to places retaining their English

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[450] Cameron, *English Place-Names*, p. 236; Fellows-Jensen, 'Settlement in the North Riding', p. 38.

[451] Fellows-Jensen, 'Place-Names and Settlement History', p. 7.

[452] Gelling, 'Evidence of Place-Names', p. 209; *Signposts to the Past*, p. 234.

[453] Fellows-Jensen, 'Scandinavian Settlement', p. 138.

[454] Ibid, p. 139.

[455] Fellows-Jensen, 'Scandinavian Settlement', p. 139; 'Settlement in the North Riding', pp 37-40.

name, because they would be easier to separate from an established estate than better quality sites. Cameron suggests that these settlements were all new and established on land little occupied at the time of settlement.[456] This theory he based on research that compared and contrasted –by named places with adjacent English named places in terms of land utilisation and quality. This theory suggests that there were areas of underdeveloped land within the region and most of the names with the –by element could be found in these areas. If this was the case, it may be expected that these place-names would be located on the low-lying alluvial land on the banks of the rivers.

In the Ryedale area the element –by is only seen in five place-names – Kirkbymoorside, Kirby Misperton, Slingsby, Brawby and Normanby. Kirkbymoorside and Kirby Misperton are both examples of a 'village with/by a church'. Of the other examples of names with the –by element, two are purely Scandinavian – Slingsby and Brawby – with personal names as the first element, and one has an Anglo-Saxon first element – Normanby – which was commonly used to describe a settlement of Norwegians in an area where they were unusual.[457]

At the time of the Domesday survey Kirkbymoorside was the vill centre of one of only three very large manorial estates in the Ryedale area.[458] It is unlikely that a settlement founded c. 900 could have consolidated such large land holdings by 1066, especially during a time when it appears that large estates were fragmenting. Furthermore, the Danes would have had to be converted to Christianity very shortly after arriving in

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[456] Cameron, *English Place-Names*, p. 236.

[457] Smith, *North Riding of Yorkshire*, pp. 48-9, 57-8.

[458] *DB – Yorks*, 23N19-21.

England, constructed a church at the site of settlement and named their settlement for the church. It should also be noted that the church that appears to have served the manor of Kirkbymoorside, at Kirkdale, was in existence for a couple of hundred years before the arrival of the Danes.[459] There is the possibility that there was another church actually in Kirkbymoorside, represented by the discovery of a stone monument of unknown purpose, but Anglian in date.[460] Kirkbymoorside itself is situated on the edge of the Corallian rock bed of the moors, where it joins the alluvial valley floor. The topography of the region has made the narrow bit of land where the moors meet the alluvial valley favourable for early settlement.[461] The settlement is between Hodge Beck and the River Dove. The land slopes sharply up to the moors from the centre of the present day town. At Domesday Book, the manor had berewicks on the moors – Gillamoor and Hutton – as well as land on the low-lying valley bottom, such as Harome and Ryton.[462] The location of Kirkbymoorside and the extensive nature of its estate suggests an Anglian settlement renamed by Scandinavians during the late Anglo-Saxon period.

The manor at Kirkbymoorside also held land at Normanby, where there was possibly one other independent manor of three carucates belonging to Gamall in 1066.[463] The land here at Normanby is quite low lying and the River Seven flows through the present

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[459] *DB – Yorks*, 23N19 note; Philip Rahtz and Lorna Watts, 'Kirkdale Anglo-Saxon Minster', *Current Archaeology* 155 (1998), pp. 419-22. See discussion regarding the minster at Kirkdale in Chapter 3, pp. 80-1.

[460] Lang, *Corpus Vol III*, pp 157-8.

[461] Hamilton-Dalrymple, 'Ryedale Settlement Patterns', p. 37; Darby and Maxwell, *Domesday Geography*, p. 99.

[462] *DB – Yorks*, 23N20-21.

[463] *DB – Yorks*, 23N21, 1N74.

village. Other settlements in the area have English names – Marton and Salton. East of Normanby is Kirby Misperton. The present village is represented in Domesday Book by three vills, two called Kirby and one Misperton.[464] It is on a low lying hill west of Costa Beck. It is also close to settlements with English names – Great and Little Barugh as well as Misperton itself. The vill of Misperton was a berewick of Kirkbymoorside,[465] while both Kirbys were unitary manors.[466] Brawby is nearby and is situated on the north bank of the River Rye, very close to where the River Seven flows into it. Although subject to flooding, it is quite likely that the soil is very rich. On the opposite bank of the River Rye is Butterwick and on that of the River Seven is Little Habton, both places similarly situated, with English names and of pre-Domesday Book in date.[467] To the north-west is Salton, also on the banks of a river, the Dove, also with an English, pre-Domesday name.[468] In this situation, it is difficult to believe that a site of what is likely to be rich alluvial soil would have been neglected when all other such sites in the local area had been settled. However, it is possible that these settlements date from the Anglo-Scandinavian period, especially if the land was made more accessible by Danish agricultural practices.[469] Thus the names may reflect more the make up of the population of the settlements than that of their landlords.

The last remaining example of a Domesday settlement with the element –by, Slingsby, is on the southern edge of the valley, where the land begins to slope up to the

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[464] DB – Yorks, 8N1-2, 23N21.

[465] DB – Yorks, 23N21.

[466] DB – Yorks, 8N1-2.

[467] DB – Yorks, 1N59, 5N35.

[468] DB – Yorks, 2N2.

[469] Hamilton-Dalrymple, 'Ryedale Settlement Patterns', p. 38.

Howardian Hills. It lies on the acknowledged route of a Roman road from Malton to Hovingham.[470] Some of the land was held as a berewick of the large manorial estate at Hovingham, while the rest, some 14 carucates, was an independent manor.[471] The vill would have contained both low-lying alluvial soil and uplands, as the modern parish does. It is possible that the modern parish, which only has the one vill of Slingsby, represents the bounds of the Domesday vill. The Roman road appears to have been well settled with manors at Appleton, two at Swinton and another at Barton, which also contains sokeland of the manor of Pickering.[472] The assessment of the Domesday manor along with its favourable location, along the route of a Roman road, surrounded by settlements with Anglian names, suggests that Slingsby pre-dates the Scandinavian settlement, thus its name may represent an example of the transference of ownership into private hands, as suggested by Fellows-Jensen.[473]

It is hard to see how these settlements could all be said to be new during the second stage of Danish settlement. It has hopefully been clearly shown that Kirkbymoorside was unlikely to have been a new settlement. The unitary manors and Scandinavian place-names of Slingsby and the Kirbys may represent the break up of larger estates, which has been suggested to have started with the arrival of the Danes and the taking over of land by Halfdan and his followers.[474] The location of Normanby and Brawby may indicate the expansion of settlement on to the lowest land in the Vale, and so may fall into the category of "new" settlements.

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[470] Margary, *Roman Roads*, pp. 423-4.

[471] *DB – Yorks*, 23N24, 5N48.

[472] *DB – Yorks*, 1Y4.

[473] Fellows-Jensen, 'Scandinavian Settlement', p. 139.

[474] Loyn, *Vikings in Britain*, p. 133; Richards, *Viking Age Britain*, p. 30.

The names with the *–thorp* element, which Cameron puts as being representative of the last stage of Danish settlement, are generally believed to have been secondary to Danish settlements, often because places with the *–thorp* element and those with Scandinavian names occupied "second-best" locations in the landscape.[475] Fellows-Jensen also suggests that especially in Yorkshire many settlements with the *–thorp* element appear to be newly established by Scandinavians, although she notes that some might be of an earlier origin.[476] She has based this on the use of English first elements, which are proportionally higher than with *–by*, and on a reassessment of the evidence which has been used to indicate the secondary nature of many *–thorp* settlements. She suggests that although these settlements were assessed at limited value in Domesday Book, and none in the North Riding gave their name to a later parish, these factors can only be used to indicate their lowly status, not that they were new at the time of the survey.[477] Lund has argued for a wider acceptance of this theory and his hypothesis is that the appearance of place-names with *–thorp* suggests only a Scandinavian influence in naming patterns in an area of older English settlement.[478] Generally he suggests this is related to the secondary nature of *–thorp* settlements,[479] as many of these minor settlements would have been recorded as part of larger estates in Domesday Book, thus their existence at the time has been overlooked.[480] Based on the evidence of first

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[475] Gelling, 'Evidence of Place-Names', p. 209.

[476] Fellows-Jensen, 'Settlement in the North Riding', p. 41.

[477] Ibid, p. 41.

[478] Niels Lund, 'Thorp-Names', in *Medieval Settlement: Continuity and Change*, ed. P. H. Sawyer (London: Edward Arnold, 1976), p. 223.

[479] Cf. Cameron, *English Place-Names*, p. 236.

[480] Lund, 'Thorp-Names', p. 223.

elements in the Danelaw and Denmark, he argues that where a –*thorp* settlement has a Scandinavian personal name as the first element, it should be considered to represent the appropriation of existing settlements, similar to Grimston Hybrids.[481]

In Ryedale there are three examples from Domesday Book – Howthorpe, Laysthorpe and Coneysthorpe. There are no other examples in other sources (Appendix II) and these three settlements could not have been very minor if they were assessed as having a taxable value. However, the low number of occurrences – three in 60 – is not significant enough to suggest the relative status of these settlements. Fellows-Jensen suggests that in Yorkshire the names with the –*thorp* element, where the first element is a personal name, represent Danish settlement.[482] She bases this on research which shows that the use of personal names as the first element with –*thorp* was common naming practice in Denmark and there are enough parallels in formation of personal name and –*thorp* in Denmark and England to suggest that the Danes brought the naming practice with them.[483] Of the three examples in the area only one – Laysthorpe (Lechestorp in Domesday Book) – is based on this "Danish" naming practice. According to Smith the personal name element originates from the Scandinavian name *Leik*.[484] The fact that the first element is a Scandinavian personal name does not prove that the vill was established by a Scandinavian, merely that when the name became permanent Scandinavian influence had already occurred in the area.

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[481] Ibid, p. 225.

[482] Fellows-Jensen, 'Scandinavian Settlement', p. 139.

[483] Ibid, pp 130-40.

[484] Smith, *North Riding of Yorkshire*, p. 54.

The distribution of the three vills in the landscape may suggest whether they were secondary to English or Danish settlements. Their status and size at the time of the survey may also suggest the nature of the settlements.

Laysthorpe lies on the edge of Corallian rock, which forms a southern spur to the North York Moors, at the junction of this spur with the alluvial plain of How Beck. At the time of the survey there was a manor in the vill of two carucates,[485] that was under cultivation, which was unusual for its size. That the manor was in the hands of Orm in 1066,[486] the lord of Hovingham and Kirkbymoorside, suggests a reason for its cultivation. It is possible that the manor was on land that was once an outlier of Hovingham. Today it is no more than a farm. One of the nearest settlements, Stonegrave, one mile to the east, is believed to be the site of an Anglo-Saxon minster or monastery in the eighth century,[487] and the name is of English origin, albeit Scandinavianised.[488] This suggests that, although the first element is Scandinavian, this settlement may have been secondary to an English estate, and the name reflects its appropriation during the settlement period.

Coneysthorpe is on the northern edge of the Howardian Hills, near the modern Castle Howard estate. This location may explain why the village is relatively large today. It was a manor of three carucates in the survey, which was waste by 1086.[489] There is no obvious reason behind the name – King's village – from the Danish word *coning*

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[485] *DB – Yorks*, 23N25.

[486] Ibid, 23N25.

[487] Whitelock, '*English Historical Documents*, pp. 764-5.

[488] Smith, *North Riding of Yorkshire*, pp. 54-5.

[489] *DB – Yorks*, 5N56.

meaning 'king'. At the time of Domesday Book, the manor belonged to one Thorketill and was given to Count Robert of Mortain after 1066.[490] It is possible that, as Coneysthorpe is part of the parish of Barton, which was a King's vill in 1086,[491] the name reflects a relationship to the King's manor at Pickering, to which Barton belonged. Its status as a manor may indicate the partial break up of a larger estate.

Only one of the three, Howthorpe, was a secondary settlement in Domesday Book. The vill was a berewick of the large manor of Hovingham.[492] It was assessed at approximately 2 carucates and it lies in a hollow piece of land on the northern edge of the Howardian Hills. The name itself is, if Lund is to be believed, entirely of English origin and so location and Domesday evidence would suggest that the settlement was secondary to a large and likely quite old manor at Hovingham. However, Gelling has questioned Lund's theory on the basis of the linguistic ambiguity of the origin and the use of –thorp in Danish naming practises.[493] Its status at Domesday does suggest Fellows-Jensen's conclusion of –thorp representing secondary settlements. It is possible to see some Scandinavian influence with regard to Laysthorpe, Coneysthorpe and Howthorpe, whether in name or composition. The latter is likely to have been a secondary or dependent settlement, while the others, whatever their origins, were manors by 1066.

There are several other settlements bearing Scandinavian names, which are topographical in nature. Their distribution and location suggest that under the

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[490] DB – York, 5N56.

[491] DB – Yorks, 1Y4.

[492] DB – Yorks, 23N24.

[493] Gelling, *Signposts to the Past*, p. 228.

Scandinavians new areas of cultivation and settlement, on the low lying alluvial along the banks of the rivers, were created (fig. 4.2). To the east of Nunnington are a number of small settlements bearing Scandinavian names, such as Ness and Holme, which refer to the topography of the region. These settlements may indicate the possibility of new agricultural techniques which allowed the heavy alluvial soils to be cultivated and become productive. It may also indicate that it was necessary to increase the amount of land under cultivation due to population pressures. These factors would argue against the assimilation of the Scandinavian population into a pre-existing structure of territorial organisation as they point towards development of previously unused land for settlement and cultivation.

Summary of Evidence:

It has been suggested that one of the means of identifying the break up of the large estates, under Scandinavian influence, is through place-names.[494] Within Ryedale it is possible that land became alienated from large estates quite early after the initial wave of Danish settlement. Both Fryton and Nawton could be examples of land being renamed and held independently of the larger estates. By 1066, there were two manors at Nawton as well as a berewick of Kirkbymoorside.[495] Its location approximately half way between Kirkbymoorside and Helmsley may have made the vill more susceptible to alienation, especially if it formed part of an estate at Helmsley. Fryton suggests the partial alienation of land. Approximately two carucates of land was sokeland to one of the manors at Helmsley.[496] Geographically this appears to be an unusual arrangement,

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[494] Cameron, *English Place-Names*, p. 236; Fellows-Jensen, 'Settlement in the North Riding', p. 38.

[495] *DB – Yorks*, 2N6, 8N24, 23N21.

[496] *DB – Yorks*, 5N51.
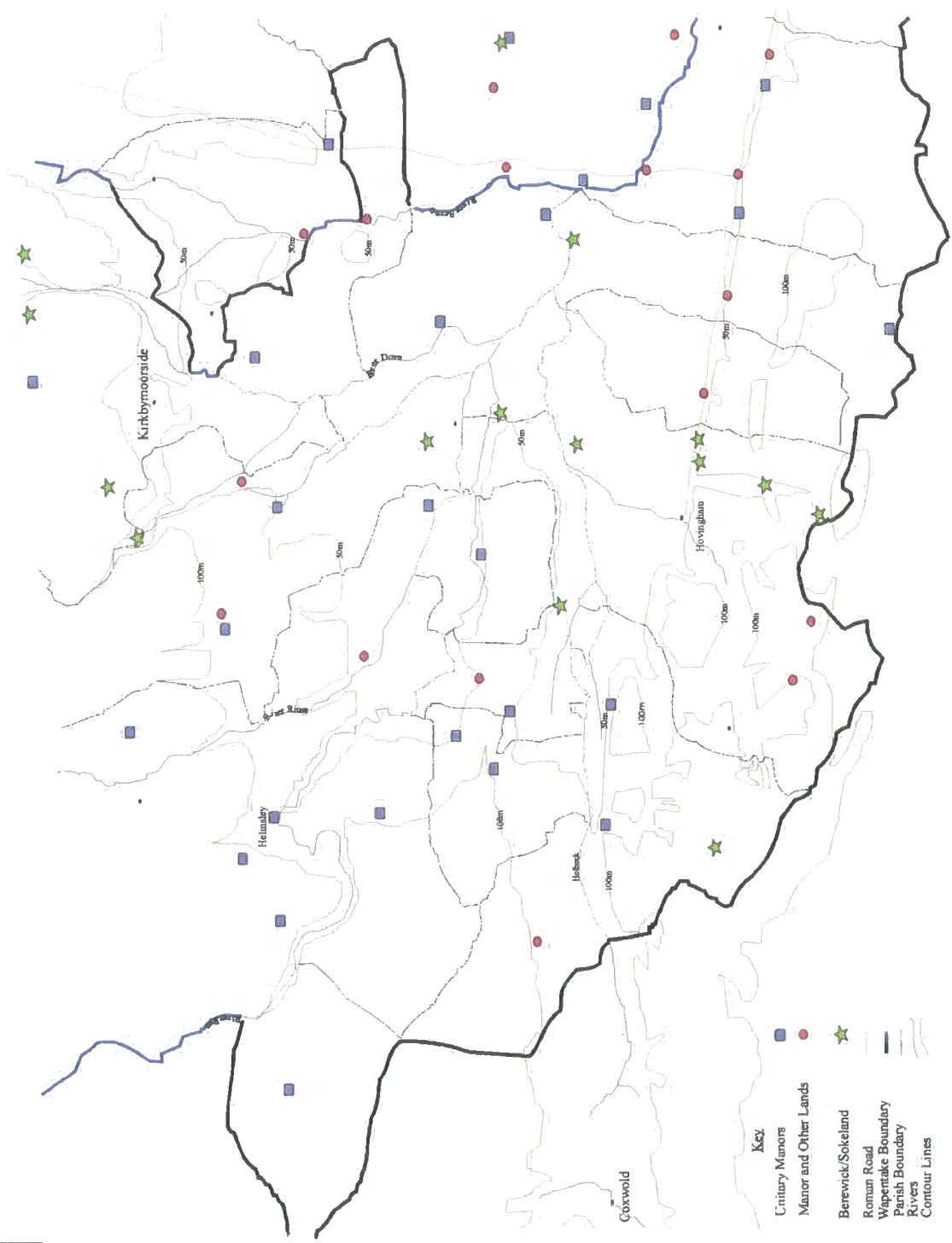
Figure 4.3: Map of Ryedale region illustrating distribution of unitary manors.

Key

Unitary Manors

Manor and Other Lands

Berewick/Sokeland

Roman Road
Wapentake Boundary
Parish Boundary
Rivers
Contour Lines

Kirkbymoorside

Hovingham

Holmsley

Holbeck

Coxwold

West Riess

as Fryton is only two kilometres from the centre of Hovingham, in which estate further land was held as a berewick.[497] It is not a vill that contained any special resources that do not appear to have been available around Helmsley. However, as the majority of the next vill, Slingsby, was an independent manor it may be possible that the estate at Hovingham had once been considerably larger and some of the land was awarded to loyal supporters of the new Danish lord from the edges of the manor. If the regional name Holdlythe is considered in this context, it lends support to the possibility of the break up of a larger Hovingham estate following the arrival of the Scandinavians. Slingsby is another example of a Scandinavian name, possibly linked to the break up of estates.[498] Other Scandinavian names seem to refer to the opening up of land for cultivation and settlement – Ness, Holme, Brawby and Normanby. Much of the land held as small independent manors is generally found around the edges of the two large manors and in the area of Helmsley (figure 4.3). This suggests that there was some break-up of the large estates, as the land farthest from the estate centres would have been easier to appropriate than the vills that had stronger ties to the organisation of the estate.

Archaeology

The peaceful acceptance of the Scandinavians may have been more so if their influx reintroduced some structure or stability into the landholding society of the region - providing peace and some form of law and order for a population that may have been adversely effected by the Scandinavian invasions. Wilson sees the concentration of coin-hoards during the early period of the Scandinavian invasions as conclusive

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[497] *DB – Yorks*, 23N24.

[498] Cameron, *English Place-Names*, p. 236; Fellows-Jensen, 'Settlement in the North Riding', p. 38.

evidence for instability.[499] The theory of acceptable and peaceful coexistence is contrary to the evidence of contemporary sources, often written by the victims of Scandinavian attacks, or by those who felt threatened or victimised, for example the Church. Despite the limited nature of this evidence it has been claimed that the fear of Scandinavian raiders expressed in contemporary sources was widespread throughout society.[500] However, cultural differences between the Scandinavians and the existing Anglian population were not so great as to cause a great exodus of Anglo-Saxons from areas of Scandinavian settlement.[501] There may be several reasons for this, including the acceptance of the Anglo-Saxon population for their new Scandinavian over lords or the small number of incoming settlers not displacing the existing population, or even a combination of both of these factors.

Archaeology has been used as evidence of the secular influence of the Scandinavians and the development of parochial independence during the late Anglo-Saxon period. For example, Blair has suggested that carved tombs from the tenth and eleventh centuries indicate that private manorial churches were becoming more popular for burial than minsters, and as a result gaining a level of parochial independence.[502] The majority of surviving sculpture in Ryedale has been dated to the Anglo-Scandinavian period. Much of it has been linked to the presence of a church on the sites in question. There are a number of surviving Anglo-Saxon churches, dating from the eleventh

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[499] Wilson, 'Archaeological Evidence', p. 298.

[500] Halsall 'Playing by Whose Rules?', p. 6.

[501] Loyn, *Anglo-Saxon England and Norman Conquest*, p. 52.

[502] Blair, 'Introduction: From Minster to Parish Church', p. 8.

century, some of which are hinted at in Domesday Book. Most of these churches, made

of stone, were part of a building renaissance in the eleventh century.[503]

The use of sundials in the construction of churches often points to a date of about the

end of the Anglo-Saxon period. There are five surviving examples in the North Riding

of Yorkshire – at Kirkdale, Great Edstone, Old Byland, west of Helmsley, Skelton near

Middlesborough and Leake in the Vale of York.[504] Green also identifies two further

examples, now lost, both in Ryedale at Kirkbymoorside and Sinnington. There are

another three in Yorkshire, all in the East Riding and all post 1066.[505] Three of the

North Riding sundials are inscribed – Kirkdale, Great Edstone and Old Byland – and

the names found on them are Scandinavian. The inscription on the sundial at Old

Byland is now unreadable and further research is dependent upon nineteenth century

rubbings and copies. The texts on the Kirkdale and Great Edstone sundials are in

Anglo-Saxon with a one line inscription in Latin at Great Edstone. It appears that the

inscription at Great Edstone was not completed, as there is considerable blank space

following the text 'Lodan made me'[506] (fig. 4.4). Considerable detail about the

dedication of Kirkdale can be gathered from the text and it helps to pin point a date for

the considerable rebuilding of churches that occurred in the region. (fig. 4.5). This

period of church building was a national movement that resulted in many of the parish

churches which exist today.[507] Although there is a question about the exact dating of

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[503] R. Morris, 'Churches in York', p. 191.

[504] Arthur Robert Green, 'Anglo-Saxon Sundials', *The Antiquaries Journal* Vol VIII (1928) pp 489-516; W. G. Collingwood, 'Anglian and Danish Sculptures in the North Riding of Yorkshire', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, 19 (1907) pp 266-413, at p. 277 and p. 386; Lang, *Corpus Vol III*, pp 46-7.

[505] Green, 'Anglo-Saxon Sundials', pp 492 ff.

[506] Lang, *Corpus Vol III*, p. 134.

[507] R. Morris, 'Churches in York', p. 191.

Figure 4.4: Sundial at Great Edstone showing inscription.
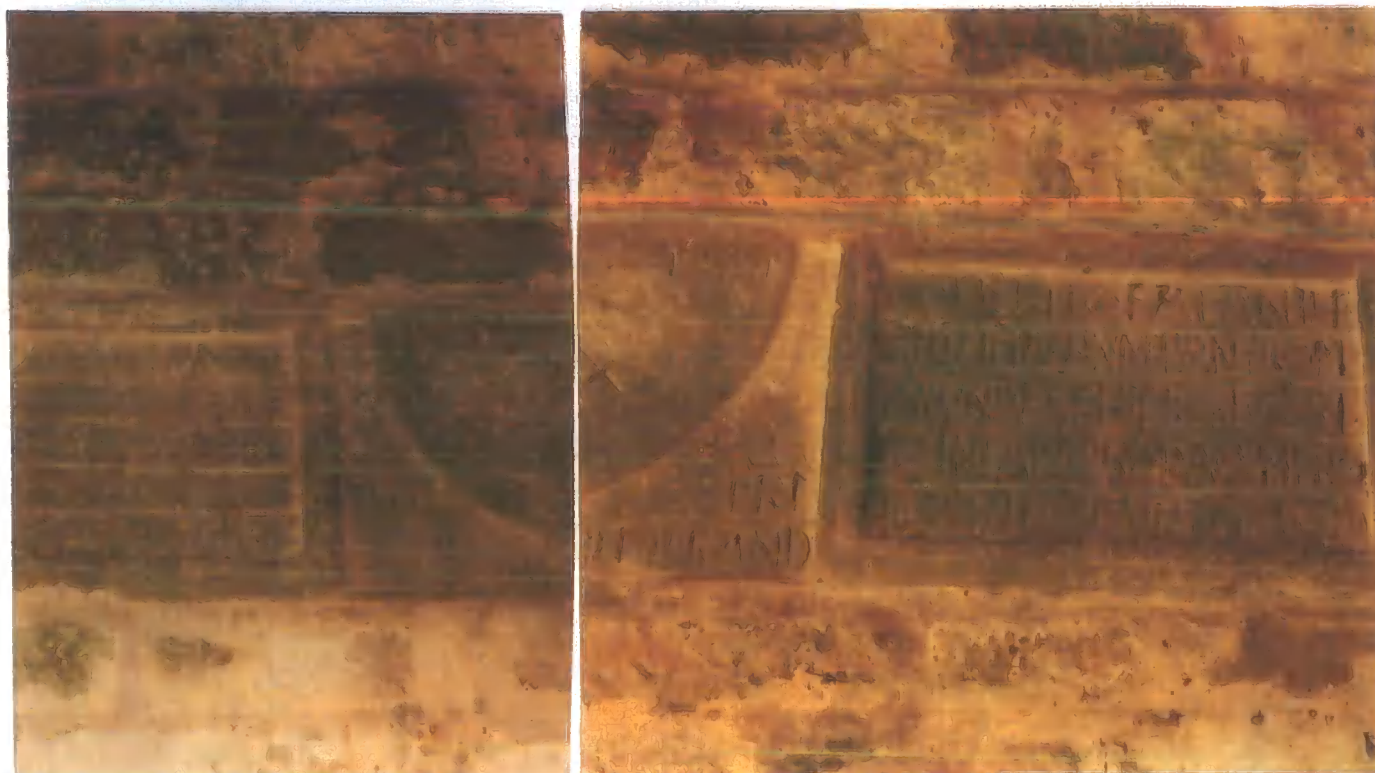
Figure 4.5: Sundial at Kirkdale showing inscription.

many of early churches in the region,[508] the majority of those which date from this period, appear to have been rebuilt under the influence of secular, rather than ecclesiastical, leadership. The dedication of Kirkdale is one indication of this, with the work of rebuilding being instigated by Orm, the lord of Kirkbymoorside. It is likely that he was also responsible for the rebuilding of the church at Hovingham, the centre of one of his other manors, at approximately the same time.

Aside from this collection of sundials, stone carving appears to have died out as an art towards the end of the tenth century. The only exceptions are part of a cross from Gilling East and parts of a cross and grave cover from Sinnington, however, diagnostic details are limited so dating of these carvings is a bit arbitrary.[509]

Sculpture

Sculpture forms a subsection of archaeology, but of the four main archaeological sources identified by Wilson,[510] it is the one with the most material remains, which can be used as research into Scandinavian settlement. By the time of the Scandinavian settlement, England already had a fair amount of stone sculpture. The majority of surviving pre-Conquest sculpture dates from the period after the initial Scandinavian settlement,[511] this, unfortunately, leaves modern scholars with little evidence with which to contrast the Anglo-Scandinavian style, and draw conclusions about the changes introduced by the Scandinavians. A number of scholars have highlighted the interrelationship between the Scandinavian invaders and the Anglian population, which

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[508] Ibid, p. 191.

[509] Lang, *Corpus Vol III*, pp. 224-5 and p. 228.

[510] Wilson, 'Archaeological Evidence', p. 293. For discussion see chapter 3, p. 73 above.

[511] Wilson, 'Archaeological Evidence', p. 299.

is suggested by the mixture of Christianity and paganism found on many of the sculptures.[512]

Although many of the surviving pre-Conquest stone sculptures, within Yorkshire, are from the period following Scandinavian settlement, Lang suggests that evidence points to few sculptures from the tenth and eleventh centuries,[513] thus dating most to the period immediately after the arrival of the Scandinavians. He has suggested a link between the decline in the number of sculptures and the rise in Anglian power in the north-east of England.[514] Not only the number, but also the quality of the sculptures decreases after the ninth century. This may indicate that the original purpose of the sculptures became a less important factor in the society. If the sculptures were ordered by Scandinavian landholders for their own aggrandisement, this may indicate that the short period during which Scandinavian stone sculpture flourished marks the height of Scandinavian influence in the region. The Norse kingdom of York was conquered by Eadred in 954, following the death of Erik Bloodaxe.[515] It has been suggested that the English earls and archbishops who governed Northumbria, on behalf of the kings of Wessex, tried to ensure the exclusion of Scandinavian control, centralising power in the hands of the English.[516] However, this would suggest that the overthrow of the Norse kingdom of York resulted in a comprehensive change within the upper strata of society.

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[512] James Graham-Campbell, 'Pagans and Christians', *History Today*, 36 (Oct. 1986), pp. 24-8, at p. 26; Richard N. Bailey, *Viking Age Sculpture in Northern England* (London: Collins, 1980), chapter 6, especially at pp. 101-3.

[513] James Lang, *The Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume III: York and Eastern Yorkshire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991) p. 43.

[514] Ibid, p. 43.

[515] *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, p. 113.

[516] Lang, *Corpus Vol III.*, pp. 8-9.

There is no evidence to support these, as, although the kings of Wessex were recognised as kings of Northumbria from 955,[517] and were responsible for the appointment of earls and bishops, the local magnates retained a certain amount of autonomy.[518]

Wilson suggests that the sculptural evidence can lead to the following conclusions. Firstly, the Scandinavians took over the position of leaders in the society of the area that they settled. Secondly, their taste in sculpture developed within the first generation of settlement. Thirdly, the large number of sculptures suggests a heavy amount of Scandinavian settlement.[519] However, these conclusions have more recently been questioned. Bailey has suggested that a patron did not need to be Scandinavian to commission or accept sculpture in the Scandinavian style.[520] This would contradict Wilson's first and third conclusions. Wilson's second conclusion that the development of Scandinavian sculpture occurred within 25 years of Halfdan's settlement, and was thus dependent upon Anglian carvers unfamiliar with Scandinavian styles appears to have been based on examples of incompetent carving such as the cross at Middleton.[521] Bailey points out that 'the artist does not need to be English to be incompetent'.[522] Such responses to Wilson's conclusions suggest, as Lang has, that pre-Conquest sculpture should not be used as concrete evidence for the extent and amount of Scandinavian settlement, as exact dating to more than a century is difficult and the

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[517] Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 361.

[518] Ibid, p. 366.

[519] Wilson, 'Archaeological Evidence', p. 301; David M. Wilson, 'The Scandinavians in England', in *The Archaeology of Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. David M. Wilson (London: Methuen & Co. Ltd, 1976), p. 400.

[520] Bailey, *Viking Age Sculpture*, p. 211.

[521] Wilson, 'Scandinavians in England', p. 399.

[522] Bailey, *Viking Age Sculpture*, p. 212.

location of the sculpture indicates no more than the extent of Scandinavian influence.[523]

As a result it is perhaps best to examine the sculpture on a local level in order to be able to assess how the evidence can contribute in the examination of Scandinavian settlement. Sculpture can play a significant role in suggesting the function of a settlement and possibly its importance within a region, when used in conjunction with other evidence. The considerable amount of sculpture within the area of study of this thesis means that it may be able to help to confirm the nature of settlement within the area.

There are three groupings of Anglo-Scandinavian sculpture in Ryedale. The first group is in a line of villages along the road from Helmsley to Pickering – Helmsley, Kirkbymoorside, Sinnington, Middleton and Pickering.[524] The second group is found in the dales to the north of the line, including Kirkdale and Lastingham.[525] The final group is in a cluster of villages at the western end of Ryedale – Oswaldkirk, Stonegrave, Nunnington and Hovingham.[526] Lang has suggested that there may be a temptation to parallel the distribution of carvings with possible land-holding patterns in the tenth century.[527] This may be due to the arrangement of the parishes in long narrow strips running north/south and including moor land and low lying alluvial land. Quite often the parish churches are very close, for example Sinnington, Middleton and Pickering. Lang also suggests that the secular nature of some of the sculpture may bear up this hypothesis. Lang's theory that there may have been a link between the style of

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[523] Lang, *Corpus Vol III.*, pp. 2-3 and p. 27.

[524] Ibid, p. 27.

[525] Ibid, p. 27.

[526] Ibid, p. 27.

[527] Ibid, p. 27.

carvings found in the western end of Ryedale and land owners in the northern villages[528] does not appear to be born up by land holding patterns at the time of Domesday (Appendix IV). Aside from Orm, who held the manors of Hovingham and Kirkbymoorside, the vills of western Ryedale do not appear to have been held by the lords of the northern villages. The stylistic similarities may relate more to the tastes of the local land holders and the skills of the available carvers.

The Scandinavians introduced the hogback tomb into the area, and as a result it should be seen as evidence of Scandinavian influence, if not confirmation of settlement. As examples of stone carving they were short-lived, most likely occurring during the period of the Norse-Irish kingdom of York.[529] Scandinavians also appeared to have introduced ringed cross heads, which were prevalent in Ireland, the Isle of Man and the Western Isles. Lang has suggested that local contact with these areas would have been a result of the York-Dublin dual kingdom c. 920 – 952. Evidence for links to Norse and Irish sources have been identified on crosses at Hovingham, Kirkbymoorside and possibly Sinnington and Stonegrave, as well as the Crucifixion Stone at Kirkdale. This contact with Irish styles resulted in the development of the Ryedale ringed cross-head found in the Kirkbymoorside-Middleton area.[530] A considerable amount of the sculpture from the Ryedale area during the Anglo-Scandinavian period seems to have been developed by at least one local school and so can be seen as stylistically quite distinct from other carvings in Yorkshire.[531] A number of the Ryedale carvings suggest secular subjects, for example warriors or hunting scenes. Distinct from these sculptures

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[528] Ibid, p. 27.

[529] Ibid, p. 29.

[530] Ibid, p. 30.

[531] Ibid, pp 40-2.

is the standing cross at Stonegrave which may suggest links to Ireland or Wales in both style and subject.[532] Lang has suggested that this cross shows a continuation of ecclesiastical patronage during the tenth century with links to a monastery or the Church in Ireland or Galloway.[533] There is no evidence of pagan subjects in the Anglo-Scandinavian sculptures, suggesting that the carvings were carried out after the conversion of the Scandinavians. There are parallels between the secular seated warriors often found in East Yorkshire and ecclesiastical models.[534] It could have been that the Scandinavians saw sculpture as a means to convey their secular authority in a manner easily recognised by the Anglo-Saxons. It has been suggested that the seated warrior sculptures of Ryedale were memorials to local aristocrats using the iconography of the chair as an indication of power and the continuation of heroic tradition to both Anglo-Saxons and Scandinavians.[535] The discovery of these memorial crosses in churchyards indicates possibly cemetery sites during the tenth century. This secular use of sculpture continued at least to the Norman Conquest, as Lang suggests that the use of Anglo-Saxon for the text on sundials reflected their function as secular status symbols.[536]

The first of the warrior images is at Kirkbymoorside (Lang Kirkbymoorside 1, 2 & 3),[537] however, due to their present condition it is only possible to suggest that they date

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[532] Ibid, p. 216.

[533] Ibid, p. 216.

[534] Ibid, p. 37.

[535] J. T. Lang, 'Some Late Pre-Conquest Crosses in Ryedale', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 37 (1973) pp 16-25, at p. 20.

[536] Lang, *Corpus Vol III*, p. 47.

[537] Number system used refers to that found in Lang, *Corpus Vol III*.

from after 920, as they appear to copy the style of the ring-head crosses at Middleton.[538]

Lang suggests that some of the carvings at Kirkbymoorside (Lang Kirkbymoorside 4 &

5) are actually the work of one or more of the Middleton sculptors. Almost all of the

surviving sculptures at Kirkbymoorside post date 920 in style or type. This suggests a

period of local importance within the area, as well as strong links to the neighbouring

estate at Middleton. Geographically and stylistically Sinnington should be included

with the carvings of Kirkbymoorside and Middleton. There are thirteen fragments of

crosses surviving at Sinnington, almost all Lang has dated to the tenth century, only two

he dates from possibly the middle of the ninth century, but even these may be Anglo-

Scandinavian.[539] The evidence for Irish and Norse influence can clearly be seen in

Sinnington 11 – the Crucifixion stone – and Sinnington 3. There are a number of ring-

head crosses at Sinnington and the influence of the Middleton style is evident, although

Lang has suggested that the carvings of Sinnington 3 –5 were actually the source of

much of the Middleton sculptures. The survival of a couple of Anglian carvings, the

large number of tenth century works and several pieces from the early years after the

Scandinavian arrival all point towards a site of some religious and possibly secular

importance, which continued in use into the eleventh century. This is confirmed by the

evidence of grave covers close by from the late Anglian to the Conquest periods. It

appears that even monastic sites were generally used as graveyards during the Anglo-

Scandinavian period, so it is possible that Lang's supposition regarding a monastic site

could be true.[540]

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[538] Ibid, pp. 155-6.

[539] Ibid, pp. 207-13.

[540] Ibid, p. 207.

The site at Kirkdale, although geographically close to the Helmsley to Pickering road, falls into the category of monastic sites in the moor land dales, similar to Lastingham and Levisham further east. All six of the surviving crosses date from the late ninth into the tenth centuries and the majority show evidence of Scandinavian influence. The surviving hogback tomb and the sarcophagus, found by Rahtz in his recent excavations,[541] confirm that the site was used as a graveyard during the tenth and possibly eleventh centuries. The sundial confirms that the church was no longer in use and in a ruinous state by the middle of the eleventh century.

The third group of Anglo-Scandinavian carvings is found at the western end of Ryedale. Hovingham has one example of a free-arm cross of Scandinavian style and one more common ring-head cross from after 920. As a site of settlement, Hovingham shows archaeological evidence from the Roman era, the late eighth and ninth centuries, the tenth century after 920 and the eleventh century reconstruction of the church. Lang has linked the fragments of crosses at Nunnington with the Anglo-Scandinavian tradition of the York Metropolitan School of carving.[542] This link to the school at York is unusual within Ryedale with its own stylistic school, however, its location probably made communication with York easier than with Middleton and the northern Ryedale region.

The carvings at Stonegrave are distinct within the corpus of Anglo-Scandinavian sculpture in Ryedale. There is evidence to suggest a continuing ecclesiastical presence at Stonegrave through the Scandinavian period.[543] While the carvings of the cross

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[541] Rahtz, 'Kirkdale Anglo-Saxon Minster', p. 422.

[542] Lang, *Corpus Vol III*, pp. 193-4.

[543] Ibid, p. 216.

fragments point towards connections with monastic sites at Lastingham and Hackness,[544] the standing stone has been described as Celtic.[545] The use of interlace designs which reflect Anglian style shows a conservative taste in ecclesiastical carvings. There is only one example of 'secular' carving – a grave-slab illustrating a hunt scene. The Christian iconography and style of the standing cross suggests links to the Celtic west, possibly Wales, although its closest analogue in form is at Leeds, where ecclesiastical patronage continued well into the tenth century. Despite the iconography, the form of the cross has no Irish or purely Celtic root. This 'fan-arm' cross-head, with plain wheel, has been linked to Anglian crosses of Galloway.[546] This evidence suggests a date post 920, when the influence of the Norse-Irish kingdom was in evidence, however, the Anglian traditions appear to have had more influence on the carving than Celtic.[547]

The majority of sculpture from Ryedale during the late ninth and tenth centuries indicates a use of carvings for secular prestige and lack of Christian iconography. This suggests that the sculpture may have been memorial or grave stones for prominent Scandinavians, especially after 920. The only evidence of continued ecclesiastical activity was at Stonegrave, where the carvings show links with other monastic and ecclesiastical sites in Yorkshire and elsewhere. Stonegrave's location near the gap between the Vales of Pickering and York may be a reason why the Church continued its activity here as opposed to a more remote location, such as Kirkdale. This lasted

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[544] Margaret Firby and James Lang, 'The Pre-Conquest Sculpture at Stonegrave', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, 53 (1981) pp 17-29, at p. 20.

[545] Collingwood, 'Sculptures in the North Riding', p. 401.

[546] Lang, *Corpus Vol III*, p. 216; Firby and Lang 'Sculpture at Stonegrave', p. 25.

[547] Firby and Lang 'Sculpture at Stonegrave', p. 28.

probably until the middle of the eleventh century when a considerable number of churches in the area were built or rebuilt.[548] Evidence for this period of construction survive, not only in the sundials, but also in surviving architecture and can be found at Hovingham, Kirkdale, Appleton and Middleton.

The development of Norse-Irish styles in Ryedale and the strength of the Scandinavian influence suggest an arrival or influx of settlers after c. 920. Considering place-names this may be linked to the settlement of Normanby and the lower lying lands of the vale. Settlement may have occurred at both landlord, as suggested by archaeological evidence, and farming levels, as suggested by place-names.

Boundaries

The nature of many of the boundaries within Ryedale makes it difficult to propose any form of dating. However within the Danelaw the land divisions of ridings and wapentakes indicate the influence of Scandinavians in their origins. Ridings post date the period of Scandinavian settlement, and have a clear Danish origin.[549] Stenton has suggested that by the time of the Domesday survey they had an important function as a unit of local government.[550] Wapentakes were a local division of the ridings into units for the administration of justice, but as with ridings their first appearance is late in the Anglo-Saxon period, in 962.[551] Unlike ridings, wapentakes may have had origins which pre-dated the Scandinavian settlement, as they are essentially the same in function as the hundreds found in the rest of England, thus suggesting that the

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[548] R. Morris, 'Churches in York', p. 197.

[549] Smith, *North Riding of Yorkshire*, xiv.

[550] Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 497, n. 1.

[551] Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 497; O'Hare, 'Yorkshire Boundaries', p. 17.

Scandinavians introduced their own term for a form of administration which was already in existence.

It may be noted that, whereas the boundaries of the later medieval parishes such as Hovingham are not very regular, some of the others appear to be very regular in shape. For example Slingsby is a single vill parish, the boundaries of which are essentially perpendicular to the main road and nearly parallel to one another. Other parishes in this region, such as Appleton and Barton, are very similar. This may indicate that the origin of these parishes was rather late and the boundaries were influenced by the land holdings of the lord of the manor. Blair has suggested that the origins of parishes must be seen in the same context of developing local lordships and emergent local communities.[552] This may indicate that the regular parishes of parts of Ryedale had a common origin with the unitary manors of Domesday Book, in the break up of larger estates under the influence of the Scandinavian settlement.

Summary of all evidence:

The Scandinavian Upheaval model suggests that the Scandinavians settled the north and east of England in various stages and in sufficient numbers to change the territorial organisation of the region and resist assimilation into English society, as a result creating a racially unique and structurally abnormal society. Although it may be difficult to use the evidence as suggested by Stenton to support a model of Scandinavian upheaval, enough work has been done by modern scholars to establish a viable relationship between the Scandinavian settlement of the ninth to eleventh

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[552] Blair, 'Introduction: From Minster to Parish Church', p. 7.

centuries and the structure of territorial organisation as it appeared at the end of the Anglo-Saxon period.

The evidence for this model is based on the territorial organisation found within Domesday Book, the renaming of settlements and creation of new ones under the Scandinavians, and the influence of the Scandinavians on the archaeology of the period.

Within Ryedale the large number of unitary manors has been linked to the break up of larger estates and the parcelling out of land amongst the Scandinavians. However, there is no real evidence to suggest that the manors were created as sokes with a leader parcelling out land around his estate as rewards to his men, who would own their land in the manner of sokeland. The lack of sokeland and sokemen within the region makes it hard to use this evidence to support the existence of free Scandinavians, as proposed by Stenton.

Place-name evidence does suggest that the Scandinavian renamed some vills upon settlement, sometimes to reflect the name of the new lord, such as Fryton, Nawton or Sproxton. However, not all unitary manors were renamed, despite their proposed fragmentation from larger estates. This may indicate that the fission of larger estates was an on going process, occurring independently of the Scandinavian settlement. It is possible to suggest that the Scandinavians opened up land to cultivation, especially along the low lying river banks, and names such as Ness and Holme, are evidence of this. However, the evidence from Domesday Book fitting these new settlements, in part, into the estate of Hovingham, argues for the continuity of this estate structure despite the overlordship of Scandinavians. This is further supported by the possibility

that the Hovingham estate was once known as Holdlythe, in deference to a new overlord, who may have parcelled out some of the land but kept the estate essentially intact. These conclusions argue more for the assimilation of the Scandinavians into the pre-existing estate structure than for the introduction of a new territorial organisation.

The archaeological evidence suggests that the period of the Norse kingdom of York had a great impact upon the settlement of the region. Many of the surviving stone sculptures from the period show the influence of Irish and Norse styles and the preference for these may indicate that the local lords at that time were of Norse-Irish origin. Other archaeology suggests that life for the majority of the population was stable, with the continued use of churchyards as burial grounds throughout the period.

The Anglian reconquest of the region following the fall of the Norse kingdom of York does not appear to have too much of an impact, although the introduction of new local churches may date from this period. The majority of the land owners listed in Domesday Book bear Scandinavian names, although whether they were Scandinavian in origin is hard to confirm.

The impact that the Scandinavians had on the place-names and archaeology of the region is undeniable. They settled the region in numbers, influencing the way the land was cultivated and divided. They appear to have made changes to local agricultural practices, reorganising the land along lines of the amount that could be ploughed by a team, as opposed to the amount needed to support a family. However, it could be suggested that they did not change the way the land was administered. The wapentakes, which were used to administer justice, appear to be the same as the hundreds of the rest

of England, only bearing a Scandinavian name. Thus, although the land owners appear

to have been Scandinavian in name and taste, and to have renamed the settlements they

found, the essential administration and organisation of the region remained unchanged.

Chapter 5: Conclusion

The aim of this thesis was to assess the extent of the influence that the Scandinavians had on the settlement structure of the existing population of England in the ninth, tenth and eleventh centuries. In order to achieve this two models of settlement structure were examined in relation to the surviving evidence for settlement in the Ryedale region of the North Riding of Yorkshire. The two models were that of the 'Multiple Estate Structure' and 'Scandinavian Upheaval'. The multiple estate model can be defined as a system of territorial organisation based upon a hierarchy of settlements which were interdependent and whose occupants owed rents and services to the support of a lord. Evidence of the survival of these multiple estates can be found in place-names, archaeology and extant documents. The model of Scandinavian upheaval can be defined as the major upheaval of settlement structure under the administration of Scandinavians and the subsequent reconquest of the Danelaw by the kingdom of Wessex, resulting in a unique social structure within the region of the Danelaw.

The aim of this thesis was perhaps rather wide ranging and could be difficult to achieve with the evidence available, hence the continuing debate in academic circles regarding the impact of the Scandinavians. However, it has been possible to assess how the two models could be related to the existing evidence for the ninth to eleventh centuries, to propose which most closely explains the nature and structure of settlement within the Ryedale region.

The evidence for the total restructuring of territorial organisation under the Scandinavians is not necessarily as concrete as that which supports the continuity of a pre-existing system. The survival of large estates with outlying land, which supported the lord through services rendered, has been recorded in Domesday Book and the

boundaries of these estates have been recorded in later documents, and occasionally come down to modern times in the form of parish and township boundaries. There are few surviving records from the Danelaw generally that clearly state that the Scandinavians took over large estates and parcelled out the land to be held as independent manors, and none of these refer to land within Ryedale. That this really happened can only be surmised from the evidence of small manors in Domesday Book and references to land grants from other regions within the Danelaw, such as that of Raegnald to his followers Scule and Onlafball.[553] The question arises why would one estate survive through to Domesday and another on adjacent land be broken up? The period from the ninth century to the Norman Conquest is one of considerable political upheaval, not just by Danish settlers, but also by Norwegian armies and the kings of Wessex. It is most likely that all of these groups have played a part in the creation of the landscape of Ryedale as it existed at the time of the Domesday survey. Under all the invasions, conquests, re-conquests and settlement there appears to have been an undercurrent of continuity which is illustrated by the survival of three large estates centred at Hovingham, Coxwold and Kirkbymoorside, with their services and renders. What factor resulted in the survival of these three estates but the break up of others in the area? There is probably some truth behind the suggestion that land was given by a Scandinavian lord to his followers. However, it appears that the break up of the large estates was happening throughout England from the ninth century as new ideas about land holding and the growth of a land market developed. The survival of Hovingham, Coxwold and Kirkbymoorside may have more to do with fertility of the land and the availability of resources, than a retardation of their break up through the arrival of the Scandinavians.

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[553] Hart, *Early Charters of Northern England*, p. 141.

Theoretically, it is possible to attribute changes in land holding and the development of a land market to Scandinavian influence. However, the limited nature of the evidence for the period within the region makes it hard to substantiate this. It could be accepted as a generality across the Danelaw, which would have applied to the region, without specific evidence to support it. However, this thesis has been concerned with the use of the available evidence, which does not provide any clue as to how land was owned or distributed by the Scandinavians.

The assessment of the available evidence suggests that there was some initial settlement of Scandinavians during the years after the break up of the Danish 'Great Army' in 876, however, the period of the greatest Scandinavian influence was during the years of the Norse kingdom of York c. 919-954, when the archaeology indicates the consolidation of power within the hands of a secular lordship, which had close ties to the population and administration of the region. These Scandinavian settlers, whether Danish or Norse, appear to have settled within an area that had a territorial organisation of some antiquity. The evidence for the existence of multiple estates within the region, before the period of Scandinavian settlement, is considerable, despite the fact that most of the evidence post-dates this period. It has been possible to trace the survival of some of these multiple estates through the Scandinavian period and into the years following the Norman Conquest.

Despite this survival of some multiple estates, others were broken up or reorganised, resulting in the existence, by 1066, of unitary manors with no outlying dependencies. Their existence can either be seen as a result of the trend towards the break up of

estates, which was occurring throughout England, or as the end product of years of Scandinavian influence on the structure of land holding. Within Ryedale there is no evidence for the survival of sokemen, although some sokeland was recorded in Domesday Book, and the unique social structure argued for by Stenton is not readily evident.

The period of Anglian supremacy following the fall of the Norse Kingdom of York appears to have been more of an opportunity for the kings of Wessex to consolidate their position as kings of England. There appears to have been no change in land ownership or organisation, and the region of the Danelaw continued to be considered as distinct by the kings of Wessex. The third wave of Scandinavian settlement, that which followed the conquests of Kings Svein and Cnut, was most likely to be more aristocratic. It may be reflected in the names of the landowners found in Domesday Book. Within Ryedale, it appears to have been a period of relative wealth and stability, as illustrated by the rebuilding of several churches, such as Kirkdale and Hovingham by Orm, the lord of the larger estates of Kirkbymoorside and Hovingham.

The period following the Norman Conquest, including the Harrying of the North and invasions by Danes during the early years of William the Conqueror's reign, did much to destroy the remnants of the Anglo-Scandinavian society of the region, which is only hinted at by the evidence of Domesday Book and other Norman sources.

Thus it appears that it could be said that much of the landscape remained unaltered as a result of the Scandinavian invasions and settlement, however, there are several anomalies within the region, which require some explanation. For example the manor

at Nunnington, which held sokeland in Stonegrave, East Ness, South Holme and Wykeham Hill contains some features that appear as slightly unusual in relation to other estates within the region. In 1086, Domesday Book records that the demesne land at Nunnington was waste, but all the sokeland was under cultivation, suggesting some level of independence from the centre of the estate, unlike the berewicks within the region. Also unlike other estates, the church was not located within the vill of Nunnington, but in the sokeland, most likely at Stonegrave, which was recorded as being a monastery in 756/7 and has ecclesiastical stone sculptures dating from the ninth and tenth centuries, suggesting continuity of use by a religious community. In 1066 the estate was held by Merlesveinn, an important secular landholder in the Midlands. It is possible that the land, which formed the estate of Nunnington in 1066, had been reorganised from land that had been linked to a manor at Stonegrave. The reasons behind this may in part be linked to the settlement of Scandinavians and changes in land holding practices and territorial organisation during the period following their settlement.

Thus it appears that although the organisation of multiple estates continued in essence from the Anglo-Saxon to the Norman periods, the impact of the various waves of Scandinavian settlement should not be discounted. Within Ryedale the forms and services of the multiple estates centred at Hovingham, Kirkbymoorside and Coxwold remained intact, but it appears that some of the lands adjoining these estates, and possibly once part of them, became unitary manors during this period, and there was a degree of territorial reorganisation. There is no evidence for the large manors suggested by Stenton to be a result of the land holding of the 'hold' class of Scandinavians. It is

more likely that those Scandinavians who did acquire land were of a lesser 'thegn' class, as recorded in Domesday Book.

This assessment, which has looked at only a small region within the Danelaw, suggests that the two models that have been examined, should not be viewed as mutually exclusive. The findings of this thesis are that although multiple estates were found to survive relatively intact through this period of conquest and colonisation, this upheaval resulted in changes in the way land was owned, bought, sold and valued, and consequently organised and utilised.

As more of the history of the region is revealed through study and archaeology, it may be possible to expand this study and relate it to the work of other scholars within Yorkshire. Considerable work has been done regarding settlement on the Wolds to the south, and the estates of Whitby to the north. A more detailed study of this part of Yorkshire and the interrelationships of the various regions may provide a clue to how the Scandinavian settlement impacted on an area that was close to the Norse capital of York and the North Sea routes to Scandinavia. With such a study it may be possible to provide scholars with an understanding of how the structures of the multiple estates survived the various waves of Scandinavian settlement and influence and how the resulting society functioned and operated.

Appendices

I. Place-Names in Domesday Book

II. Place-Names in Other Sources

III. Domesday Book Vill Entries

IV. Land Holders in 1066

V. Map of Ryedale region illustrating Domesday vills

Appendix I: Place-Names as found in Domesday Book

Sources – *Domesday Book:Yorkshire*, ed. M. L. Faull and M. Stinston (Chichester: Phillimore, 1986); A.H. Smith, *The Place-Names of the North Riding of Yorkshire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1928)

Domesday Name	Current Name	Origin of Elements	Discussion	
Wilbetun/Winbeltun	Wombleton	OE	+tun	Habitative
Hovingham	Hovingham	OE	+ingham	Habitative
Coltune/Coletun/ Caluetun	Coulton	OE	+tun	Habitative
Frideton/Fritun	Fryton	ODan	Grimston Hybrid	Habitative
Grimeston	Grimston	ON+OE	Grimston Hybrid	Habitative
Hauuade	Hawade	ON		Topographical
Holme/Holm/Hom	S. Holme/N. Holme House	ON/ODan		Topographical
Holtorp	Howthorpe Farm	ON	+thorp	Habitative
Nesse/Neisse	E. Ness	ONorw		Topographical
Neutone/ Neuuentune/ Neuueton	E. Newton/ W. Newton Grange	OE	+tun	Habitative
Eslingsebi/ Selungesbi	Slingsby	ON/ OScand	+by	Habitative
Wad	Wath	ON		Topographical
Chirchebi	Kirkbymoorside	ON/ODan	+by	Habitative
Houetune	Hoveton	OE	+tun	Habitative
Gedlingesmore	Gillamoor	OE		Topographical
Hotun	Hutton le Hole	OE	+tun	Habitative
Waletun/Waleton	Walton	OE	+tun	Habitative
Nageltune/ Nageltone/ Naghelton	Nawton	ON + OE	Grimston Hybrid	Habitative
Wellebrune	Welburn	OE		Topographical
Elmeslac/Almeslai	Helmsley	OE	+leah	Topographical
Non(n)ingtune/ Nunnigetune/ Nonnintune	Nunnington	OE	+ ingtun	Habitative
Steinegrif/Stanegrif/ Stainegrif	Stonegrave	OE poss. Scand. influence		Topographical
Ghellinge/Gillinge	Gilling East	OE	+inga	Habitative
Calvetone	Cawton	OE	+tun	Habitative
Saletun	Salton	OE	+tun	Habitative
Fademora	Fadmoor	? + OE		Topographical
Ambreforde/ Ampreforde	Ampleforth	OE		Topographical
Bodlum/Bodlun	Beadlam	OE		Topographical
Micheledestun	Great Edstone	OE	+tun	Habitative

Edestun	Little Edstone	OE	as above	
Grif	Griff Farm	ON ?		Topographical
Harum/Harun	Harome	OE		Topographical
Lechestorp	Laysthorpe Lodge	ON/ODan	+ thorp	Habitative
Oswaldescherca/ Osuualdscherce	Oswaldkirk	OE+ON		Topographical
Pochelac/Pochelaf	Pockley	OE	+leah	Topographical
Ricalf	Riccal House			Topographical
Sprostune	Sproxton	OSwed/ OFris + OE	Grimston Hybrid	Habitative
Tilstune/Tilstun/ Tiltune	Stiltons Farm	OE	+tun	Habitative
Bartun/Bartune/ Barton/Bartone	Barton le Street	OE	+tun	Habitative
Butruic	Butterwick	OE	+wic	Habitative
Coningistorp/ Coungestorp	Coneysthorpe	ODan/OE	+thorp	Habitative
Scachelden(e)/ Eschalchedene	Scackleton	Scand. OE		Topographical
Scaltun	Scawton	ON+OE	+tun	Habitative
Bragebi/Brageby	Brawby	ON	+by	Habitative
Normanebi/ Normaneby	Normanby	OE/ON	+by	Habitative
Cucualt	Coxwold	+OE	+wold	Topographical
Sevenictun/Siverinct un/Siuenintun(e)	Sinnington	+OE	+ingtun	Habitative
Tornitun/Tornentun	Thornton Riseborough	OE	+tun	Habitative
Habetun/Ab(b)etune	Great & Little Habton	OE	+tun	Habitative
Wich/Wic(h)um	Wykeham	OE	+tun	Habitative
Suintun(e)	Swinton	OE	+tun	Habitative
Apletun/Apeltun	Appleton-le-Street	OE	+tun	Habitative
Berg(a)/Berch	Great & Little Barugh	OE		Topographical
Kirkby/Mispeton	Kirby Misperton	ON/OE	+tun	Habitative
Ritun/Ritone	Ryton	OE	+tun	Habitative
Martun/Martone	Marton	OE	+tun	Habitative
Middelham	Middleham	OE	+ham	Habitative
Aimundrebi/Edmund rebia	Amotherby	ON	+by	Habitative
Newehusum/Neuhus e/Niehusum	Newsham	OE		Habitative
Broctun(e)/Brostone	Broughton	OE	+tun	Habitative

Appendix II: Early Place-Names not in Domesday Book

Source - A. H. Smith, *Place-Names of the North Riding of Yorkshire*(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1928)

Name	Source	Current Name	Origin of Elements
le Frythe	1301 Yorks Inquisitions	The Firth Wood	
Thurkelwode	1301 Yorks Inquisitions	Thurtle Wood	from ODan
Erghum	1138 Dugdale's Monasticon	Airyholme	from OIrish + ON
Le Stockinges	1333 Rievaulx Cartulary	Stocking	
Waterholm(e)	1243 Book of Fees	Waterholmes	OE+ON
Staningagrave	8th Century Letter from Pope Paul I	Stonegrave	OE
Drakedalehevid	1376 Dugdale's Monasticon	Drakedale	OE+ON
Holebec(k)	1154-63 Rievaulx Cartulary	Holbeck	OE+ON
Aldwinetoftes	1193-1203 Rievaulx Cartulary	Antofts	OE
Brochesholes	c1150 Rievaulx Cartulary	Brock Hill	OE
Brunesdale	c1150 Rievaulx Cartulary	Bungdale	OE+ON
Brunescale	1181 Byland Cartulary	lost	OE+ON
Stocking	1249 W. P. Baildon, Monastic Notes	Stocking House	
Rochesberc/ Rochesberg(e)	c1140 Rievaulx Cartulary	Rook Barugh	ON or OE +ON
Coldic	1154-63 Rievaulx Cartulary	Cowldyke	ON+OE
Sanwandeiles	1333 Rievaulx Cartulary	Wandales	ON + ON or OE
Lund(e)	1154-63 Rievaulx Cartulary	The Lund	ON
Loftischo	1282 Yorks Inquisition	Loskay House	ON
Sletholme	1301 Yorks Lay subsidy	Sleightholme Dale	ON
Farnedale	1154-63 Rievaulx Cartulary	Farndale	OE? + ON
Harlonde	1282 Yorks Inquisition	Harland	OE
Middelhoved	13? Rievaulx Cartulary	Middle Head	OE?
Swenekelis	1282 Yorks Inquisition	Swinacle	ON
Buleford(e)	1154-63 Rievaulx Cartulary	Bowforth	OE
Hagh	1414 Yorks Inquisition	Hagg Farm	
Keld(e)holm	1170-86 Dodsworth's MSS, Bodleian	Keldholme	ON
Revenwich	1201 Rotuli Chartarum	Ravenswyke	ON
Brannesdale	c1150 Rievaulx Cartulary	Bransdale	ON
Musecote(s)	1154-63 Rievaulx Cartulary	Muscoates	ON+OE
Skipenum	c1150 Rievaulx Cartulary	Skiplam	Scand. OE
Kirkedale	1202 Yorks Feet of Fines	Kirkdale	ON
Sunnolvehou	1192-9 Rievaulx Cartulary	Sunley Hill	ON
Bildesdale	1153-9 Rievaulx Cartulary	Bilsdale	ON
Horhowe	1301 Yorks Lay Subsidy	Urra	OE+ON
Willelmesbec(h)	1160 Rievaulx Cartulary	William Beck	Norm+ON
Bradfelde	1301 Yorks Lay Subsidy	Broad Fields	OE
Kyrkflat	Kirkham Cartulary	Cock Flat	ON
Kaldmore	Kirkham Cartulary	Cold Moor	
Kirkesletes/	1260 Rievaulx Cartulary	Crosslets	ON

Kirkeslectes			
Elvemire/ Eluitemercote	1260 Rievaulx Cartulary	Ellermire	OE
Fangedala	1160 Rievaulx Cartulary	Fangdale	ON
Garthwayt/ Garthpheit/ Garthwat	Kirkham Cartulary	Garfit	ON?
Holbek	Kirkham Cartulary	Howl Beck	OE+ON
Riedesdal/ Reydhesdalle	1204 Yorks Feet of Fines	Raisale	ON
Smidhesdala	c1180 Rievaulx Cartulary	Smiddales	OE+ON
Steindal(e)	1247 Rievaulx Cartulary	Staindale	ON
Staynhouse	Kirkham Cartulary	Stonehouse Cote	ON?
Thriplesdala	c1180 Rievaulx Cartulary	Tripsdale	OE+ON
Carlton/Karlton	Kirkham Cartulary	Carlton	
Plocwode	1232 Rievaulx Cartulary	Plockwoods	
Rauthepathe	1160 Rievaulx Cartulary	Roppa	
Laueschales	1170 Rievaulx Cartulary	Laskill Pasture	ON
Haghe	1285 Yorks Inquisitions	Hagg End	
Rievalle	1157 Early York Charters	Rievaulx	Anglo-Norman
Hagg	c1180 Rievaulx Cartulary	Abbot Hag	
Krynglecarre	1538 Rievaulx Cartulary	Cringle Carr	ON
Newlathes	1301 Yorks Lay Subsidy	Newlass	OE
Cuhawalda	8th Cent Letter from Pope Paul I	Coxwold	+OE
Holdlythe	C1160-85 St. Leonards Cartulary	**Lost**	ON+OE

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Appendix III: Summary of Domeday Vill Entries

Source – *Domesday Book:Yorkshire*, ed. M. L. Faull and M. Stinston (Chichester: Phillimore, 1986)

Vill	Status	Cultivated Land	Plough-lands Only	Waste in 1086	Value 1066	Value 1086
Hovingham	Manor	8 c. + 32 c. as berewicks			£ 12	100s.
Coulton	Berewick	Of Hovingham				
	Sokeland of Helmsley			½ c.		
	Sokeland of Helmsley			Part of 2 c.		
	King's Manor		1 c.			
Fryton	Berewick	Of Hovingham				
	Sokeland of Helmsley			Part of 2c.		
Grimston	Berewick	Of Hovingham				
Hawade	Berewick	Of Hovingham				
S. Holme	Berewick	Of Hovingham				
	Sokeland of Nunnington	1 c.				*20s*
Howthorpe	Berewick	Of Hovingham				
E. Ness	Berewick	Of Hovingham				
	Sokeland of Nunnington	3 c.				*20s*
E. Newton	Berewick	Of Hovingham				
	King's Manor		2 c.			10s
	Manor			4 c.		
Slingsby	Berewick	Of Hovingham				
	2 Manors	14 c.			70s	30s
Wath	Berewick	Of Hovingham				
Scackleton	Berewick	Of Hovingham				
	King's Manor		½ c. + sokeland			
	Manor			1 ½ c.		
Butterwick	Berewick	Of Hovingham				
Amotherby	Berewick	Of Hovingham				
	King's Manor		2 ½ c.			
Broughton	Berewick	Of Hovingham				
	2 King's Manors		8 c. 2 b.		15s	

	Manor			1 c.		
Newsham	Berewick	Of Hovingham				
	King's Manor		10 b.			
	Manor			1 ½ c.		
Kirkbymoorside	Manor	5 c. + 51 ½ c.			£12	100s
Walton	Berewick	Of Kirkbymoorside				
	Undefined			1 b.		
Hutton	Berewick	Of Kirkbymoorside				
Gillamoor	Berewick	Of Kirkbymoorside				
Hoveton	Berewick	Of Kirkbymoorside				
Welburn	Berewick	Of Kirkbymoorside				
	King's Manor		1 c.			
	Manor			1 c.		
Middleham	Berewick	Of Kirkbymoorside				
Harome	Berewick	Of Kirkbymoorside				
	Manor			5 c.		
	King's Manor		1 ½ c.			
	Undefined			2 b.		
Nawton	Berewick	Of Kirkbymoorside				
	Manor			2 c.		
	Manor			4 c.		
Gt. Barugh	Berewick	Of Kirkbymoorside				
	King's Manor		2 c.			
Lt. Barugh	Berewick	Of Kirkbymoorside				
	King's Manor		1 ½ c.			
Gt. & Lt. Barugh	3 Manors		3 ½ c.		11s 4d.	
Normanby	Berewick	Of Kirkbymoorside				
	King's Manor		3 c.			
Misperton	Berewick	Of Kirkbymoorside				
Kirby (Misperton)	Manor	2 c. 6 b.			3s	20s
	Manor	4 c. 2 b.			8s	
Ryton	Berewick	Of Kirkbymoorside				
	King's		2 ½ c.			2s

	Manor					
Marton	Berewick	Of Kirkbymoorside				
	Manor			5 c.		
Helmsley	Manor	8 c. + sokeland			32s	10s
	2 King's Manors		3 ½ c. + ½ c. sokeland			
Nunnington	Manor	+ *sokeland*		6 c.		*20s*
	Manor	6 c.			20s	20s
	King's Manor		½ c			
Wykeham Hill	Sokeland of Nunnington	6 b.				*20s*
	King's Manor		2 c.			
	Manor		½ c.			
Wykeham	King's Manor		1 c.			
Stonegrave	Sokeland of Nunnington	5 c. & 2 b.				*20s*
	Undefined		8 b.			
Gilling East	Manor	4 c.			20s	8s
	Manor		4 c.		10s	Tributary paying 10s 8d.
Cawton	2 Manors	4 c.			16s	20s
	Manor			3 c.		
Salton	2 Manors	9 c.			20s	10s
Fadmoor	Manor			5 c.	10s	
Beadlam	Manor			4 c.		
	Manor			4 c.		
Ampleforth	Manor			3 c.		
	Berewick	1 c. of Coxwold			*£6*	*£12*
Lt. Edstone	Undefined			3 c.	10s	
Gt. Edstone	Manor			8 c.	20s	
Griff	King's Manor		2 c.			
N. Holme	King's Manor		1 ½ c.			
	Undefined		1 ½ c			
Laysthorpe	Manor	2 c.				
W. Newton	King's Manor		2 c.			
Oswaldkirk	Manor			1 c.		
	Manor			1 c.		
Pockley	Manor			1 c.		
	Manor			1 c.		
Riccal	King's Manor		2 c.			
Sproxton	3 King's Manors		4 c. 2 b.		10s	

Stilton	King's Manor		1 c.			
	Manor			2 c.	20s	
Wombleton	Manor			1 c.		
Brawby	2 Manors		6 c.		10s	
Sinnington	Manor	3 c.			14s	10s
	Undefined			2 c.		
Scawton	Manor			2 c.		
	Manor			3 c.	10s	
Coneysthorpe	Manor			3 c.		
Coxwold	Manor	10 c. + 19 c. 7 b. berewicks			£6	£12
Appleton	King's Manor		5 c.			20s
Swinton	2 King's Manors		11 c.		10s	
Thornton	King's Manors		4 c.			10s
Gt & Lt Habton	2 King's Manors		6 c.			6s
	Manor			½ c.		
Barton	Manor	8 c.			20s	10s
	King's Berewick of Pickering	*Part of 37 c.*			£88	20s 4d.
Total Land		182 ½ c.	87c. 2b.	82c. 7b.		

Total Land :   352 ½ c.

Total Cultivated Land :   182 ½ c.
          Land belonging to KM & Hovingham :   106 ½ c.
          Other Cultivated Land :   76 c.

Total Non-Cultivated Land (plough-lands only) :   87 c. 2 b.
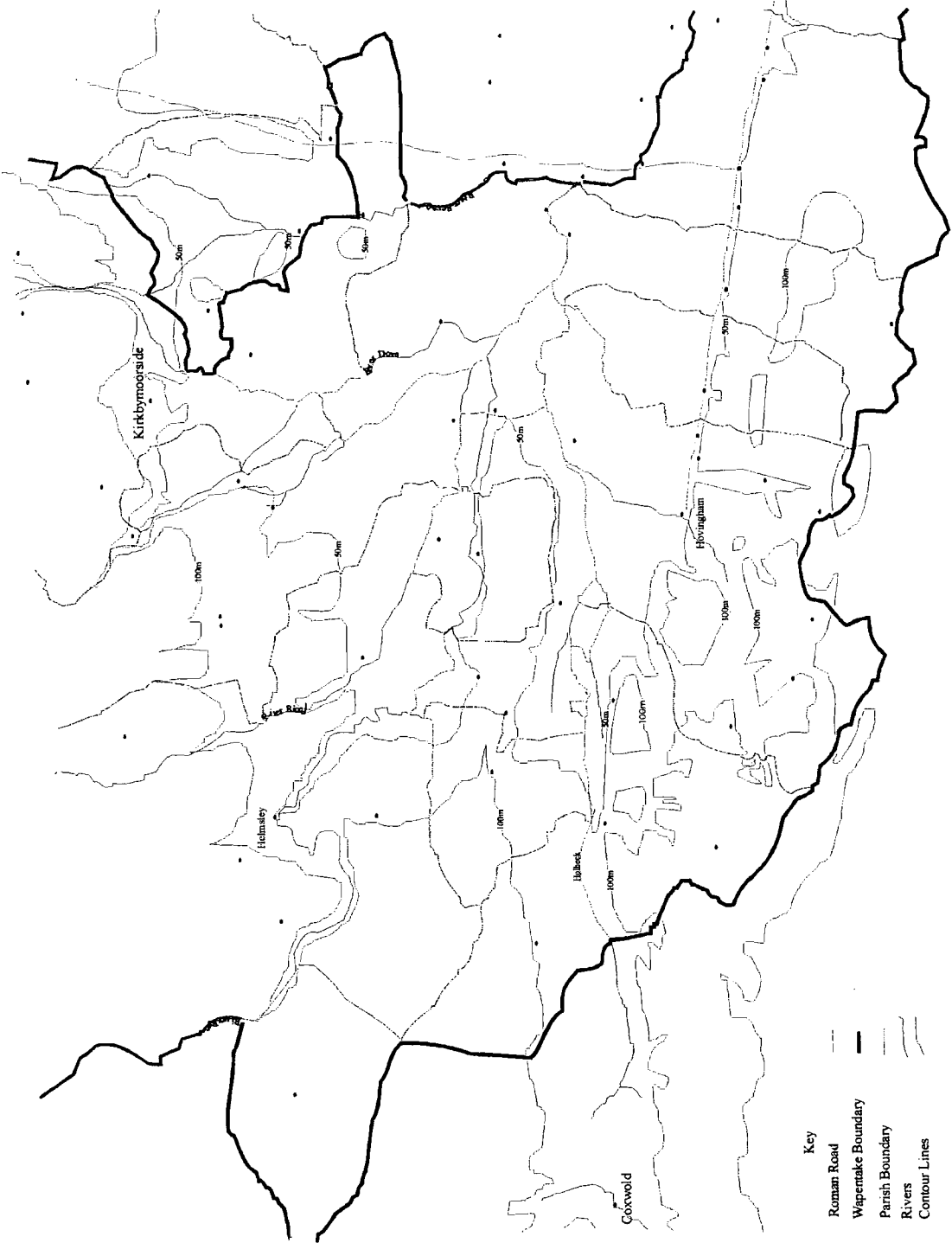
Total Waste Land :   82 c. 7 b.

Appendix IV: Land holders of Domesday Manors in 1066

Source – *Domesday Book:Yorkshire*, ed. M. L. Faull and M. Stinston (Chichester: Phillimore, 1986)

Land holder	Manor	Berewicks	Sokeland	Land Size
Orm	Hovingham	Coulton/Howthorpe/Fryton/E. Ness/Grimston/E. Newton/ Hawade/Slingsby/S. Holme/ Wath/Scackleton/Butterwick/ Amotherby/Broughton/ Newsham		40 c.
	Kirkbymoorside	Walton/Hutton/Gillamoor/ Hoveton/Welburn/Middleham/ Harome/Nawton/Gt. Barugh/ Normanby/Misperton/Ryton/ Marton/Lt. Barugh		56 ½ c.
	Gilling East			4 c.
	Laysthorpe			2 c.
With Ulfketil	Gt & Lt Habton			½ c.
Uhtred	Helmsley		Fryton/Coulton	10 c.
	Beadlam			4 c.
	Harome			5 c.
	Oswaldkirk			1 c.
	Scawton			2 c.
	Pockley			1 c.
	Stilton			2 c.
Merlesveinn	Nunnington		Wykeham Hill /Stonegrave/ E. Ness/S. Holme	16 c.
Bark	Gilling East			4 c.
Kofsi	Coxwold	Ampleforth & others in Bulmer Wapentake		29 c. 7 b.
Brunn	E. Newton			2 c.
Ulf	Salton			9 c.
	Ampleforth			3 c.
	Wombleton			1 c.
	Gt. & Lt. Barugh			3 ½ c.
	Nawton			4 c.
	Pockley			1 c.
	Stonegrave			6 b.
Thorbrand	Lt Edstone			3 c.
	Harome			2 b.
	Welburn			1 c.
	Kirby (Misperton)			2 c. 6 b.
	Sinnington			5 c.
	Nawton			2 c
	Walton			1 b.

With Salomon	Cawton			4 c.
Northmann & Grimm	W. Newton			2 c.
Grim	Welburn			1 c.
	Griff			2 c.
Gamall	E. Newton			4 c.
	Nunnington			½ c.
	Oswaldkirk			1 c.
	Riccal			2 c.
	Gt. Edstone			8 c.
	Kirby (Misperton)			4 c. 2 b.
	Marton			5 c.
	Broughton			1 c.
	N. Holme			3 c.
	Scackleton		Dalby	½ c.
	Thornton			4 c.
	Normanby			3 c.
With Ligulf	Broughton			8 c. 2 b.
Frithgest	Stilton			1 c.
Oudulf	Coulton			1 c.
Waltheof	Fadmoor			5 c.
	Cawton			3 c.
	Barton			8 c.
	Newsham			1 ½ c.
	Scackleton			1 ½ c.
Thorlaug, Northman & Svartkoll	Sproxton			4 c.
Svartkoll	Harome			½ c.
Unknown thegns	Slingsby			14 c.
	Nunnington			6 c.
	Helmsley		Coulton	4 c.
Knut	Ryton			2 ½ c.
	Amotherby			2 ½ c.
	Appleton			5 c.
With Ulf	Gt. & Lt. Habton			6 c.
With Gamall	Swinton			11 c.
Earne	Newsham			10 b.
Siward	Wykeham			1 c.
Thorketill	Wykeham Hill			2 c.
	Coneysthorpe			3 c.
Ligulf	Gt. Barugh			2 c.
Esbjorn	Lt. Barugh			1 ½ c.
Asketill	Scawton			3 c.

Appendix V.: Map of Ryedale region illustrating locations of Domesday vills.

Key

Roman Road
Wapentake Boundary
Parish Boundary
Rivers
Contour Lines

Kirkbymoorside

Welbourn

Hovingham

Helmsley

East Riding

Hutbeck

Coxwold

50m
100m

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