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SHARING OUT THE LAND OF THE NORTHUMBRIANS: EXPLORING PLACE-NAMES AND TOWNSHIP BOUNDARIES (PART THREE)

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Introduction

Much of the debate about Scandinavian settlement in England has traditionally focused on its chronology, and on the number of people involved: when and how many? There are, though, other arguably more interesting and illuminating questions about the settlement: where did it take place, how was it implemented and who planned it? Any attempt to answer these last three questions will, of course, have implications for our understanding of the first two.

The earlier articles in this series explored the patterning of settlement evidenced through the mapping of township territories associated with place-names ending in Old Norse (ON) *-bý*, and analysing the ways in which these townships interplayed with neighbouring communities marked by place-names with Old English (OE) generics, notably those in *-tūn* (Wrathmell 2020; 2021). They rested (as this third article rests) on two underlying hypotheses. The first is that many townships in eastern Yorkshire with OE place-names were already in existence at the time of the Scandinavian settlement, and retained their names beyond the period of settlement – though some of them, perhaps for various reasons, acquired ON specifics including personal names. The second is that townships with generics in ON were created as territories for some groups of Scandinavian settlers – though not necessarily for all of them.

This concluding article attempts, first, to draw out some broad themes from the analyses offered in the earlier articles, exploring intentions, means of implementation and actors in the Scandinavian settlement. In further case studies, focusing on the archiepiscopal soke estates of Helperby and Weaverthorpe, and on places in the study area with 'Kirby' names (see Fig. 1), it then attempts to trace the role that the Church, specifically the archbishops of York, may have played in managing both the settlement and the subsequent Christianisation of the newly settled communities. The final sections consider the chronology of settlement, and the circumstances that would have promoted or discouraged the persistence of earlier township names during and beyond the Scandinavian settlement. As with the previous articles, the case studies, and therefore the conclusions, are limited to parts of the former Deiran kingdom in southern Northumbria.

Intentions

Recent analysis of metal-detected finds assemblages in eastern Yorkshire has emphasised the initial disruption to Northumbrian communities resulting from contact with the Great Army and its component war bands (Richards and Haldenby 2018, 344-5). Thereafter, it would presumably have been possible for the Viking leaders to expropriate, should they have wished to do so, large areas of the best available farming land (however that might be defined); to kill, enslave or evict all the existing farmers and their families; and to settle their own followers on that land, creating new communities within large new blocks of farming territories. The previous analyses relating to the Vale of Pickering (Fig. 1) seem, however, to show that such large-scale expropriation of the best land did not occur, and it was presumably not, therefore, the intention of the Viking leaders to do this.

This does not mean, though, that the Scandinavian settlers were content to occupy relatively unproductive farmland which had thus far been ignored by the local population. In the Vale of Pickering, the township territories marked by place-names with *-bý* generics display a number of characteristics which suggest insertion into pre-existing patterns of communities, offering *prima facie* evidence that these do, indeed, signify Scandinavian settlement. Evidence for disruption caused by their insertion can be found in the layout of township boundaries, and in their relationship to fields and village settlements, notably in scatters of detached, intermixed blocks of land attributed to several townships. Yet overall, the intercalation of *-bý* townships indicates a broad intention to minimise disruption whilst at the same time meeting the need for settlement space.

The choice not to expropriate large blocks of farming land in the Vale is emphasised by the choice to do just that in less attractive upland areas, in the Howardian Hills and on the northern Wolds (Fig. 1). To be clear, these are not areas that were inimical to mixed farming regimes, reflecting either an unwillingness or inability on the part of the Scandinavian settlers to take up good land. Rather, they are territories that had not, by the time of the settlement, been divided up into townships; territories that could be occupied with relatively minor disturbance to the existing local communities. The intention seems, once again, to have been to minimise disruption, a conclusion that must surely point to a negotiated settlement achieved through a series of transactions.

[1] Fishergate, York.

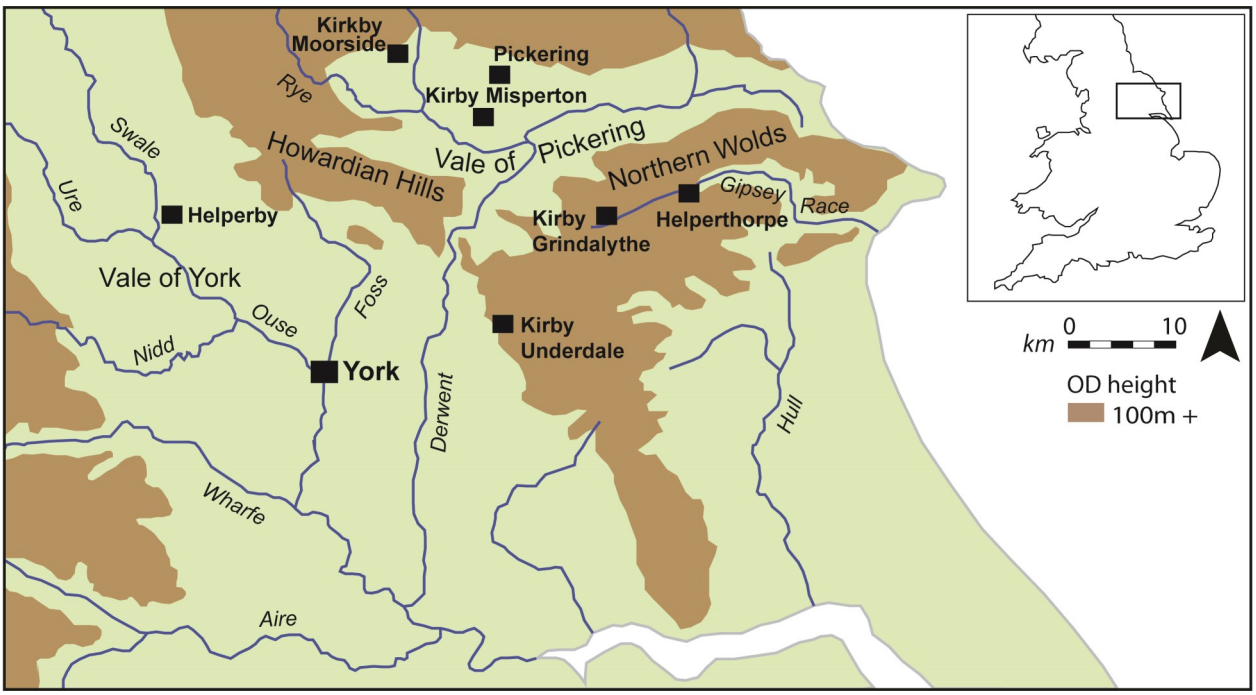

Figure 1 Location map showing some of the key places appearing in Figures 2–6.

Implementation

Such transactions imply a familiarity not just with the requirements of the incomers, but also with the disposition and character of the existing communities among which the incomers would settle. They will also have required mechanisms for implementation. We cannot now know whether *-bý* townships were established through the allocation of single blocks of land within boundaries certified by perambulation, comparable to those recorded at Newbald, in the East Riding, in the mid-tenth-century grant to Earl Gunner (see Wrathmell 2020, 18); or whether they were established through the allotment of a proportion of the acres of a township, as inferred from the same charter's grant of every other acre in the adjacent eastern part of Hotham; or both. What this grant demonstrates, though, are some of the mechanisms available for creating new townships.

Townships were created across England over the course of about eight hundred years, starting perhaps in the later eighth century and continuing, at least in Northumberland, until the early sixteenth century (Roberts and Wrathmell 2002, 86 and fig. 4.3). During the first few centuries the emphasis was upon the division of pre-existing folk territories, such as Pickering, into smaller units, each with its own defined areas of arable, meadow and pasture. Subsequently, as the landscape filled with townships, the larger ones might themselves be divided up, as at Lutton on the Wolds (see below and Fig. 4), which was split into two townships: East and West Lutton.

Over 40 years ago, Robert Dodgshon published a detailed analysis of the processes involved in township splitting, building on much earlier studies by Sir Paul Vinogradoff and F.W. Maitland. Fundamental to the whole process was shareholding: each landholder had a fixed share of the township's resources, though the shares could be recalculated and reapportioned when circumstances, such as township splitting, required. The quantification of the share was achieved through apportionment of the assessed land – the land that in the Yorkshire Domesday entries was recorded in terms of carucates and bovates. Attached to the assessed land were proportionate rights to share in the community's other resources, so that each landholder had an aliquot share of the entire township (Dodgshon 1980, 34–41, 83–7, 108–09, 129–32; Vinogradoff 1905, 149–52).

The assessed arable and meadow were typically contained in what have been called, variously, 'open', 'common' or 'subdivided' fields (Bailey 2010, 156–7; Dodgshon 1980, 1, 151–3). This last term, employed by Dodgshon, is the one used here, as it emphasises the shareholding dimension of such arrangements, rather than the visual aspects of the fields or the farming practices employed by the landholders, both of which varied over time and across different regions.[2] The shares of assessed land, which were assigned to landholders by lot, were typically represented by long narrow strips, extending on occasion over a kilometre in length. Their widths were determined by measurement, in some places and at various times by twelve 'law-worthy men' using a 'rod and cord' (Dodgshon 1980, 31–4).[3]

[2] This is not to underplay the importance of understanding communal farming practices relating to arable fields, but rather to emphasise Mark Bailey's comment (2010, 155) that we have little information about them before the thirteenth century. There is a hint of a three-field system at Kirby Grindalythe (Fig. 4) in a late twelfth-century charter which records the grant of three demesne bovates next to three demesne furlongs located in different parts of the township (Farrer 1915, 384, no. 1079).

[3] John Blair, Stephen Rippon and Christopher Smart (2020, 101) have argued that a wooden rod, a customary perch in length, is likely to have been the basic tool of Anglo-Saxon surveyors. The furlong (and later field) name 'Wandales', widely recorded in

In some regions, mainly in the Central Province, the subdivided fields were characterised by a 'regular' allocation, meaning that the strips allotted to the shareholders were set out in a specific order applied to all the furlongs – tenant B always had an allotment of strips between those of tenants A and C. The reason for choosing strips and 'tenurial cycles' of this kind as the basis for allocation was expressed by the landholders of Chatton, Northumberland, in 1566. They 'had their land allotted by rigg and rigg as is the custom in every husband towne, so that each should have land of like quality' (Dodgshon 1980, 31–3, 46–7; see also Gardiner 2009, 11–12).

On the Yorkshire Wolds, the shareholding mechanism can be seen in action in a fourteenth-century inquisition relating to the allocation of dower land at Wharram Percy. The bovate strips belonging to each landholder, including those of the manorial and manorial-dower shares, were recorded in one specific furlong, called *Middelgates*. The order of counting the strips was determined by 'sun-division': the two bovates of the final landholding listed were said to be *propinquiores sole* (that is, at the eastern end of the strips in *Middelgates*). This furlong was used as the model for all the others at Wharram: the order and quantity of strips allocated to each landholder was said to be the same in every furlong in the township (Wrathmell 2012, 290–92).

Thus a very simple calculation, which could be made on the basis of the measured strips in one particular furlong, was the key to mapping all the shares of all the landholders throughout the assessed lands, and by extension could be used to calculate the shares of common pasturage and other resources in the unassessed parts of the township. Sun-division was one of the methods used to plot the tenurial cycle; another, recorded in Scotland, 'was simply to give each landholder a numerical order, so that he held, say, the third or fifth rig throughout a particular toun' (Dodgshon 1980, 33). If there were significant changes to the number of landholders, a completely new share allocation could be made at any time. If additional lands were taken in, they could be shared out according to the existing allocation.

This latter process has been explored by Mark Gardiner in his discussion of the long parallel strip-fields of the Lincolnshire marshlands. These seem to have been meadow lands (sometimes cultivated) which were allocated to individual townships, and then to the landholders of those townships, during the twelfth century. They were known as 'dales', a term with origins in OE *dāl* and the cognate ON *deill*, both meaning a share or portion: 'A number of deeds suggest that dales represented a proportionate share of land in the vill' (Gardiner 2009, 3–5; see also Smith 1956, 126, 128).

Gardiner also notes the use of tenurial cycles in the Lincolnshire allocations, the resemblance of these strips to those of 'open-field' lands in eastern Yorkshire, and the evidence that they could be fenced off and farmed 'almost as holdings in severalty' (Gardiner 2009, 6–10). This last feature supports Dodgshon's argument 'that sub-divided fields in *most* areas had nothing to do with a communal tenure… They may have possessed rights of common grazing or communally-regulated systems of cropping, but their landholding was mostly based on a form of several tenure' (Dodgshon 1980, 49).

The first in this series of articles referenced the tenth-century grant of 'each second field (*æcer*) to the east of Hotham (*hode*)' in the East Riding (Woodman 2012, 131). It also referenced the grant to Archbishop Oscytel of York, in 956, of two manslots in Farnsfield, every sixth acre and three manslots in Halam, every third acre in Normanton, and two shares (*dales*) and four manslots of all the land in Fiskerton, all part of the Southwell estate in Nottinghamshire (Woodman 2012, 98 and 110). The proportionate allocation of numbered acres here seems very similar to the much later references to numbered rigs in Scotland, cited above; and the 'manslots' (literally 'men's lots') have been linked to the allocation of land to the rank-and-file members of the Danish army (see discussion in Woodman 2012, 110).

All these references demonstrate that the allocation of shares in sub-divided fields would have been very familiar to the tenth-century archbishops of York and their officials, and could have been used more widely as one of the mechanisms by which the component war bands of the Great Army were settled in Yorkshire. Indeed, the primary information we have for Scandinavian settlement in Northumbria, that provided by the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* for the year 876, refers to the land having been 'shared-out': *gedælde* (discussed in Townend 2014, 85). Was *gedælan* used here in a technical as well as a figurative sense?

The concept of sharelands may have been used to implement the Scandinavian settlement, but if so, it was not a new idea. This much is evident from the well-known reference to 'sharelands' (*gedalland*) in Ine's laws dating to the late eighth or ninth century (see Gardiner 2009, 4 and n.10). It is also implicit in the layout of the long, narrow fields of townships to the west of Pickering, discussed in a previous article (Wrathmell 2021, 4–7), which have the appearance of sharelands. The course of the Middleton, Aislaby and Wrelton township boundaries, and the presence of intermixed, detached portions, have led to the proposition that Aislaby was inserted into the eastern and western parts of its neighbours. If so, it will have required a reallocation of sharelands in Middleton and Wrelton, as well as a new allocation for the landholders in Aislaby.

Similarly, the insertion of Farmanby and Roxby into part of Thornton Dale, discussed in the first in this series of articles (Wrathmell 2020, 19–22), will have required the reallocation of sharelands for Thornton's landholders, as well as for the new settlers in Farmanby and Roxby. These inferences then lead us to the prior existence of sharelands in the Northumbrian townships affected by the Scandinavian settlement. It seems

townships in the study area (e.g. at Thornton Dale: Wrathmell 2020, fig. 5), is thought to incorporate ON *vǫndr*, a wand or twig, and OE *dāl* or ON *deill*, both meaning a share: https://epns.nottingham.ac.uk/browse/North+Riding+of+Yorkshire/Great+Edstone/53286b0ab47fc40bc6000110-Wandales (Accessed February 2022). Rather than indicating wooden fencing, as suggested in this citation, *vǫndr* may have referred to the rod used to measure out shares of land..

possible that Middleton and Wrelton, for example, had been established as 'regular' shareland townships by the administrators of the Deiran and Northumbrian royal estate of Pickering, decades or perhaps even a century or more before the Scandinavian settlement.

The same sort of argument can be applied to the habitation sites of the landholders who farmed the sharelands and the other resources of these vills. Most of the study area sites appear on historic mapping as regular-row villages, and the underlying structures of these villages – lines of farmsteads set within the shares – were perhaps created as an accompaniment to new or reorganised regular shareland divisions in the period of Scandinavian settlement. This would certainly fit the known broad dates for the abandonment of curvilinear agglomerate 'Butterwick-type' settlements in eastern Yorkshire (Wrathmell 2012, 111–13; see below). Other regular-row villages, however, like Middleton, may well have been in existence before the Scandinavian settlement, reflecting innovative village planning designed to accompany agricultural reorganisation on royal estates like Pickering (see Roberts 2008, 297–8). Yet others will, of course, date to later centuries.

Actors

Having set the scene for implementing Scandinavian settlement, it is disappointing to find a scarcity of leading actors to perform it. Halfdan, the Viking leader billed by the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* as the person who shared out the lands of the Northumbrians, seems to have exited the stage soon afterwards (Rollason 2003, 216). Very little is known about his successors in the late ninth and early tenth centuries, other than some of their names. The one aspect of their rule in Yorkshire that emerges both from written sources (inevitably, perhaps) and from numismatic evidence is their association with Church interests, intermittently at least with the archbishops of York (Rollason 2003, 216–8, 224–8; Townend 2014, 47–53).

The balance of power in the relationship between the Scandinavian rulers and the archbishops has been much debated (see Townend 2014, 58–60). It is, however, difficult to identify any actors other than the officials of the archbishop who might have had the knowledge and administrative skills to implement the kind of Scandinavian settlement envisaged here, even if it was carried out under the close direction of Scandinavian rulers. There is no evidence for the survival through this period of any Northumbrian ecclesiastical institutions other than those represented by the Archbishopric based at St Peter's, York, and the Community of St Cuthbert based originally at Lindisfarne, subsequently at Chester-le-Street and finally at Durham (Abrams 2001, 33). The overall distribution of *-bý* place-names between the Humber and the Tyne, as recorded by Gillian Fellows-Jensen (1972, 176) and Victor Watts (1988-9, 23) points firmly to the active involvement of the archbishops, and specifically to Archbishop Wulfhere (854-92/3 or 900: see Rollason 1998, 59). Shane McLeod (2014, 178–80) has argued that Wulfhere had a close relationship with the Scandinavian leaders both before the recorded settlement of 876 and afterwards.

The western half of the Vale of Pickering had been home to a remarkable density of Deiran religious communities in the seventh and eighth centuries. Richard Morris (2015, 126) has identified communities at Lastingham, Stonegrave, Hovingham, Kirkdale and Coxwold on the basis of written evidence, sculptural remains and archaeology, along with other possible examples at Gilling East and Kirby Misperton. On topographical grounds, it might be possible to add Ellerburn and Levisham (St Mary's church site) to their number. None of these institutions is known to have survived the periods of Scandinavian rule in the tenth and eleventh centuries. They had certainly lost all their endowments of land by the time of the Norman conquest. Their failure may not always have been a consequence of the Scandinavian settlement: minsters elsewhere in England were also being stripped of their assets in the eighth and ninth centuries (see Blair 2005, 323–4). On the other hand, a clear and very marked divergence is to be found in the northern Danelaw's response to the English monastic reform movement of the tenth century.

The monastic reform movement had only a limited discernible impact in Northumbria (Pickles 2018, 231), despite Archbishop Oswald of York being one of its main protagonists (Blair 2005, 350–54). Whether or not the Scandinavian settlement was a prime cause of the collapse of Northumbrian monasteries, it was almost certainly the obstacle to their refoundation: the Scandinavian landholders seem to have been no more inclined to facilitate monastic renewal than those in Normandy who opposed the refoundation of Jumièges Abbey in the mid-tenth century (Abrams 2001, 35; see also Hadley 2000a, 119).

Monastic life did not return to the Vale of Pickering until the end of the 1070s, the decade when the main landholders of Scandinavian ancestry – those descended, it has been suggested, from King Cnut's *hold* Thorbrandr (Wrathmell 2012, 184–7) – were replaced by Norman tenants-in-chief. In about 1080, Lastingham was refounded under Abbot Stephen (Burton 1999, 40), who reconstituted, as far as he was able, the lands with which Lastingham had been endowed in earlier centuries (Wrathmell 2012, 194–5). The archbishop's reaction to the refoundation of Lastingham (and before it, Whitby and Hackness) is unknown; but these developments may not have been welcome. When the support of William Rufus enabled Abbot Stephen to go a stage further, and begin constructing St Mary's Abbey in York, on St Peter's front doorstep, there were evident tensions between the Abbot and Archbishop Thomas I (Norton 1994, 280–82; Burton 1999, 40–41; Rees Jones 2013, 48, 153).

Until then, the Archbishopric and the Community of St Cuthbert are the only institutions we know of that might have organised and promoted the conversion of the Scandinavian settlers to Christianity. Lesley Abrams has usefully distinguished between conversion, 'the initial transition marked by baptism (or some other formal acceptance of Christianity)' and Christianisation, 'the process whereby Christian beliefs and practices penetrated into the converted society' (Abrams 2001, 31). Both stages will presumably have required ordained clergy to undertake such work, and ordained clergy imply a functioning episcopal organisation.

Though the evidence for baptism is lacking, memorialisation of Christian dead through the erection of funerary monuments in stone is widely evidenced, and in eastern Yorkshire is usually dated to the first half of the tenth century (Stocker 2000, 191). Collections of

funerary sculpture of this period are to be found at many churches in the Vale of Pickering: not only at one of the two churches distinguished by 'Kir(k)by' names (Kirkby Moorside: Lang 1991, 154–8), which are discussed below, but also at churches associated with the (presumably) defunct religious communities of earlier times, such as Lastingham and Stonegrave (Lang 1991, 167–70, 215–20). They are also found at churches that may have been created for pastoral care in a parochial context, perhaps Middleton by Pickering and Sinnington (Lang 1991, 181–7, 207–13).

These collections of sculpture imply an active local ministry in the first half of the tenth century which, as noted above, in turn presupposes an episcopal structure to oversee the work. As Dawn Hadley has put it, the sculpture, along with other strands of evidence, 'could be interpreted as proof of the success of the ecclesiastical network and its provisions for pastoral care in accommodating the settlement of pagan Scandinavians. It seems fair to conclude that both the Christian Church and the Scandinavian settlers adapted themselves to each other, apparently relatively rapidly…' (Hadley 1997, 92; see also Hadley 2000a, 112 and Stocker 2000, 196).

Lesley Abrams has reached a similar conclusion on more general grounds. She has stressed the difficulty of understanding how conversion could have taken place without an institutional structure: 'how were converts to be baptised, for example, without priests, and churches consecrated without bishops?' In the Danelaw there must have been 'priests and churches in operation that could carry out the necessary functions for a newly Christian population (and their English Christian neighbours)' (Abrams 2000, 139). Even in the absence of direct written evidence, it is hard to avoid the conclusion that the archbishops and their officials must have played a key role in negotiating the settlement, and in organising the formal conversion of the settlers.

Using the two stages proposed by Abrams, the subsequent Christianisation of the newly converted population may have been partly achieved though the provision of funerary stone sculpture, not only in Yorkshire but also in Lincolnshire. In the latter county, David Stocker and Paul Everson have argued that the bishop of Lindsey 'may have had a direct role in the production of sculpted stones after *c*. 950… and although we have less consistent evidence in Deira, we can suggest that the archbishops were similarly involved here' (Stocker 2000, 196). The iconography of the Nunburnholme cross-shaft, for example, with its juxtaposition of the Eucharist with the feast of *Sigurð* and *Reginn*, was surely conceived by ecclesiastics as means of promoting Christianisation among Scandinavians (Lang 1977, 88; Lang 1991, 193).

Christianisation will also have required the 'correction' of long-established customs and practices in Scandinavian society which were seen to be contrary to the Church's teachings. This will have taken much longer, as is perhaps evident in some of the texts written by or associated with Wulfstan, Archbishop of York, in the first quarter of the eleventh century. Among these texts, the so-called 'Laws of Edward and Guthrum' refer to the payment of *lahslit*, a fine levied on Danes in the Danelaw for various transgressions, including withholding tithes (Whitelock *et al*. 1981, 302–12, esp. 305 n.3 and 308), as does 'The Northumbrian Priests' Law', which seeks to instruct priests in the northern Danelaw partly on their own behaviour, partly on the behaviour of their parishioners (Whitelock *et al*. 1981, 449–68).

A third text, known as *Wifmannes Beweddunge*, reaches into the heart of family life, with its requirements concerning the entitlement of wives and widows to property, and its admonition regarding the dangers of marriage within the prohibited degrees of kinship (Whitelock et al. 1981, 427–31). In the first of the following case-studies, it is suggested that, in the third quarter of the tenth century, Archbishop Oscytel of York was already in a position to enforce, in a Scandinavian community, the Church's rules regarding the prohibited degrees of marriage. This is demonstrated by the forfeiture to him of Helperby, a township in the Vale of York, by the River Swale (Fig. 1).

The archbishops and the Helperby estate

The soke estate of Helperby (Fig. 2) is referred to in a memorandum, originally composed by Archbishop Oswald of York between 975 and 992 (Keynes 1986, 84), which lists several estates taken from the archbishops by Earl Thored. These dispossessions may have then been recent, a response to the support which had been given by the archbishops to Earl Oslac, whom Thored had supplanted (Woodman 2012, 60–61).

The memorandum names two townships with *-bý* place-names, the two earliest recorded *-bý* place-names in Yorkshire. One is Skidby, located near Cottingham in the East Riding, which had been purchased by Archbishop Oscytel (d. 971) for the support of St John's, Beverley. It was subsequently regained by the archbishops, and was recorded as a berewick of the archbishop's Beverley estate in Domesday (Faull and Stinson 1986, 2E, 1). The other is Helperby, which came into Oscytel's hands through forfeiture. Its place-name incorporates a Scandinavian female personal name, *Hjalp*, in its ON genitive singular form (*Hjalpar*: Fellows-Jensen 1972, 30; Ekwall 1960 232; Townend 2014, 106; Watts 2004, 295), suggesting (as well as the currency of the Old Norse language) that *Hjalp* was at some stage the owner, or at least principal resident of the township.

The memorandum states that: 'Helperby was given to him [Archbishop Oscytel] in compensation for illicit cohabitation – there were two brothers who had one wife – and to Helperby belong two parts of Myton and the soke of Wide Open and Tholthorpe and Youlton and Thorpe' (Woodman 2012, 134–5). Though these places had not been recovered by the archbishops at the time of a survey of their estates in about 1020 (Woodman 2012, 147), they were once more in their hands by 1066 (Faull and Stinson 1986, 2N, 25–26).

Before considering the implications of the memorandum for Helperby's settlement history, it is worth reviewing the circumstances of its forfeiture. It has been suggested that compensation was due to the archbishop on the grounds of polyandry (Barrow 2000, 161), a possibility that cannot be discounted. On the other hand, it is equally possible, and perhaps more likely, that the specific circumstances leading to forfeiture of the estate were the death of one of the brothers and the remarriage of his widow to the other.

Marriage to close affines was prohibited by the early Church, which in the late fourth century specifically

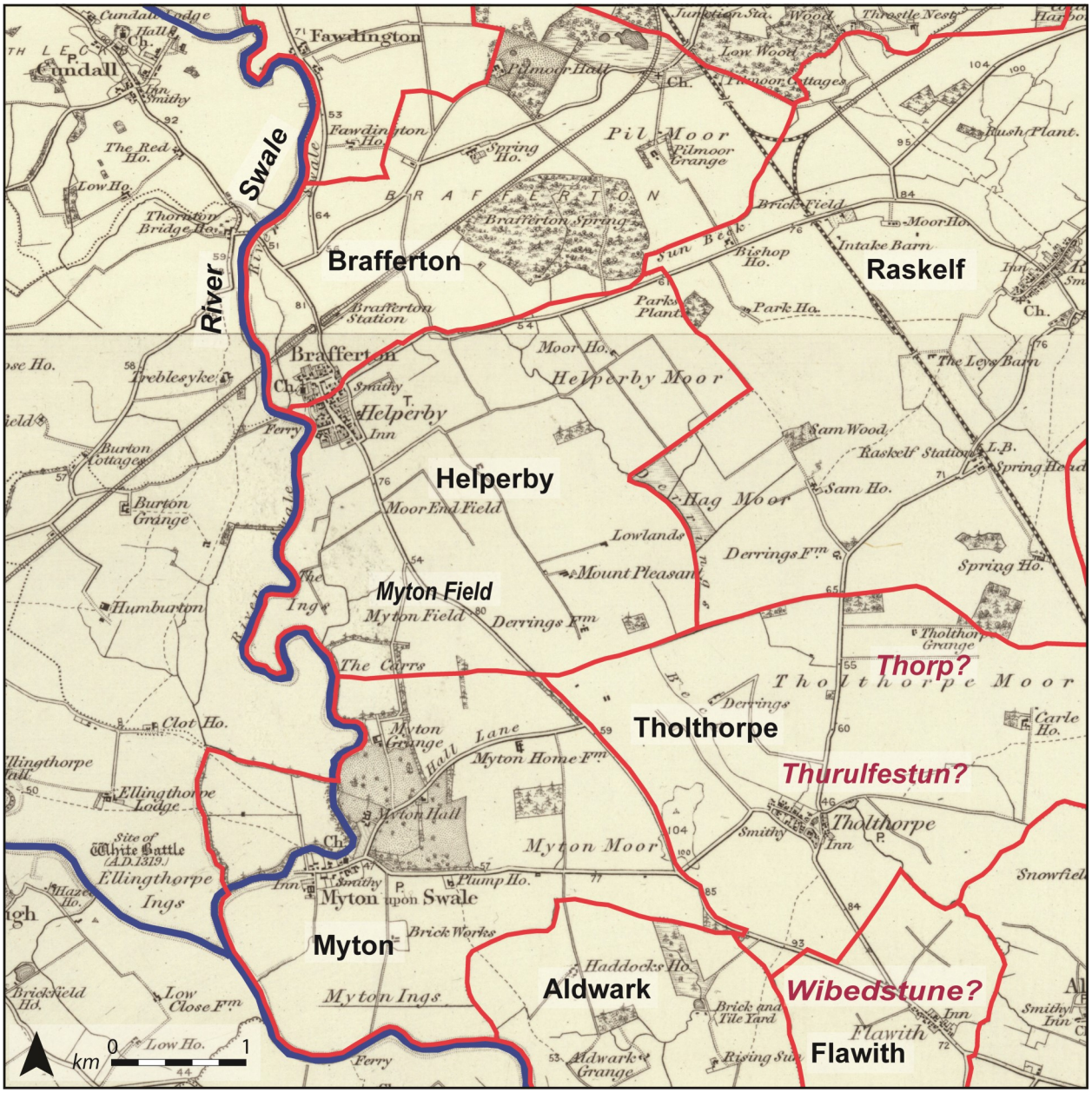

Figure 2 Helperby and adjacent townships on the east side of the River Swale, based on Ordnance Survey One Inch map sheets 52 and 62, revised in 1896, with township boundaries (in red) as indicated on the First Edition Six Inch maps sheets 120-21, 138-9 (surveyed 1848-53). The map shows the approximate locations of the lost townships of Thorp, Thurulfestun and Wibustan recorded in the tenth century, the last of these also recorded as Wibedstune in Domesday. Youlton township adjoins the southern end of Flawith. Base map reproduced with the permission of the National Library of Scotland.

forbade marriage between a widow and the brother of her deceased husband (Goody 1983, 60–63). Two centuries later, the prohibition on marriage with dead brothers' widows is implicitly included in Pope Gregory's responses to St Augustine's questions during his mission to Kent, as recounted by Bede: 'So also it is forbidden to marry a brother's wife, because by a former union (*per coniunctionem priorem*) she had become one flesh with his brother' (Colgrave and Mynors 1969, 84–5).

Four centuries later, the law code known as VI Ethelred, cap. 12 is more explicit: 'And it must never happen that a Christian man marries among his own kin within six degrees of relationship… *or with the widow of a man as nearly related to him as this* [my *Italics*]' (Robertson 1925, 95). Marriage within the prohibited degrees of relationship was treated by the Church as incest, and the law code known as II Cnut, cap. 51 sets out the range of penalties for incest, the severest being forfeiture of all the transgressors' possessions, reserved for the closest degrees of relationship (Robertson 1925, 201–03). The so-called 'Laws of Edward and Guthrum' (1002 x 1008) state that in cases of incest: 'the king has the male offender and the bishop the female, unless compensation is made to the Church and the State as the bishop may direct, in proportion to the deed' (Whitelock *et al.* 1981, 307, where the Helperby case is cited in n. 3).

Figure 3 Road sign on the southern approach to Brafferton and Helperby villages (S. Wrathmell).

Compensation on the grounds of incestuous marriage provides a ready context for the transfer of Helperby to the archbishops. What remains to be considered is why such marriages might have been attempted in the first place. The most likely scenario is the implementation of endogamous marriage strategies which were used to keep property within a particular kin group, for example when a married woman with rights in land had been childless at the time of her husband's death, or when a daughter, in the absence of sons, would inherit landholdings in preference to collateral male kin (see Goody 1983, 39–40, 60).

In a Scandinavian context these kinds of strategies, and the impact on them of the Church's prohibitions, were the subject of a wide-ranging discussion, written in 2001 by Birgit Sawyer and published online.[4] She described a society which, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, felt under threat from the Church's prohibitions in relation to endogamy: 'The implication seems rather to support the interpretation of the incest prohibition as an instrument for hindering marriages since the more people who were related, the fewer marriages could be contracted.' (p.6). The result would be that more unmarried daughters or widows might seek protection from the Church and take with them their landholdings – an issue that also affected the aristocracy of tenth and eleventh-century Saxony (Leyser 1989, 70–71).

In the absence of contemporary sources for pre-Christian Scandinavian marriage and inheritance practices, there is one well-known later source that purports to describe relevant events in mid-tenth century Scandinavia: *Egils Saga*. It recounts Egil's marriage to his brother's widow, an act which would have enabled him to consolidate his control of her infant daughter who had inherited her father's estate (Fell 1985, 86–8). Though the saga as we have it was not compiled until the thirteenth century, its audience was presumably willing to believe that, three centuries earlier, such arrangements would not have been unthinkable.

The precise circumstances leading to the forfeiture of Helperby are not recoverable, but a plausible, broad context can be offered. In the third quarter of the tenth century, Archbishop Oscytel was in a position to enforce the Church's prohibitions relating to marriage between affines within the prohibited degrees,[5] and to obtain an estate in land in compensation for the offence. More than that, he was able to do this in a community which was probably made up of the descendants of Scandinavian settlers, perhaps still Old Norse speakers. This reinforces the suggestion made earlier in this article, that in favourable political circumstances, the archbishops were able to maintain significant control over local communities, including Scandinavian ones.

Hjalp may have been the founder of Helperby. On the other hand, given the grounds on which this township became forfeit, it is possible that she was the woman who had illicitly cohabited with the two brothers. As the Archbishop would not have recognised the right to the estate of the second brother/husband (and assuming the first brother/husband was deceased), his acquisition of the woman's estate might have led his officials to attach her name to it, an attachment which became fixed by its use in their written records (a circumstance discussed in Hough 2013, 259–60).

[4] https://www.academia.edu/12193019/Marriage_Inheritance_and_Property_in_Early_Medieval_Scandinavia (accessed February 2022).

[5] That marriages within the prohibited degrees might occur without the Church being aware is indicated in *Wifmannes Beweddung*, which advises that 'It is also well to take care that one knows that they [bride and groom] are not too closely related, lest one afterwards put asunder what was previously wrongly joined together' (Whitelock 1979, 468, no. 50; Wormald 2001, 386).

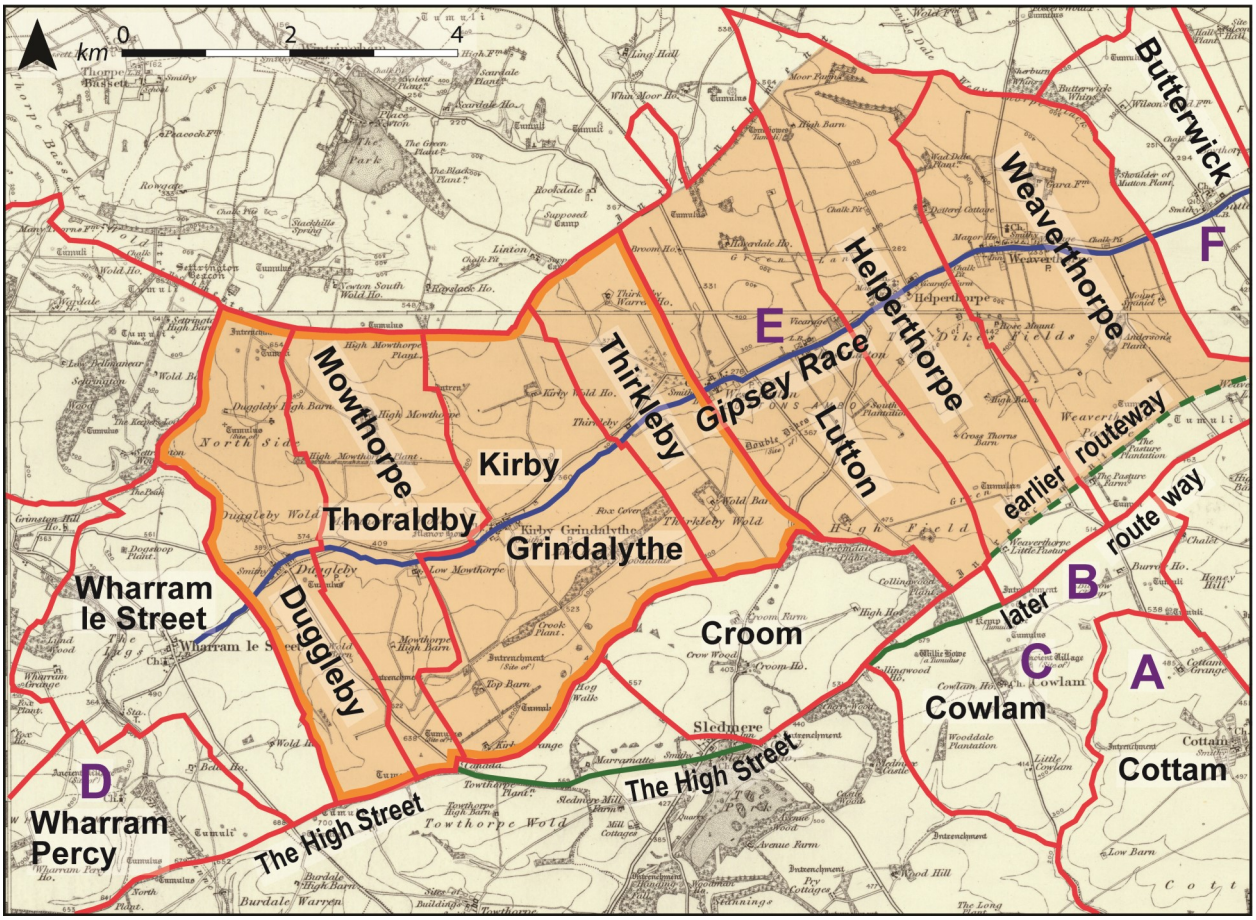

Figure 4 Weaverthorpe and adjacent townships on the northern Wolds in and around Cranedale, based on Ordnance Survey Six Inch map sheets 125 and 143 (surveyed 1850-51). The map shows, shaded, the putative pre-Scandinavian territory of the archbishops of York, with the block given over for Scandinavian settlement outlined in orange. Township boundaries are in red, and the capital letters mark the locations of Butterwick-type settlement sites described in the text. Base map reproduced with the permission of the National Library of Scotland.

Figure 2 shows Helperby and neighbouring townships as they appear on the Ordnance Survey One Inch map sheets 52 and 62, revised in 1896, with township boundaries as indicated on the First Edition Six Inch maps sheets 120-21, 138-9 (surveyed 1848-53). The most striking feature relates to the main settlements of Helperby and Brafferton townships, which seem to take the form of a combined, single large village unit – a circumstance acknowledged in the current signage on the approach roads, as can be seen in Figure 3. The two villages are separated physically by an east-west routeway which runs from Raskelf in the east to Boroughbridge to the south-west, and administratively by the township boundary which runs along the centre of the carriageway.

Immediately west of the village(s), the routeway crosses the River Swale at a ford accessed on the east from a pasture called Swale Green. This is the 'broad ford' which supplies Brafferton with its place-name specific (Ekwall 1960, 59; Watts 2004, 78); but on the First Edition Six Inch map the ford has a name derived from ON: Helperby Wath (Wath also meaning ford: see Townend 2014, 108), emphasising neatly the cumulative impact of English and Scandinavian influence in this one particular location.

The lands which Oscytel acquired in compensation included not only Helperby but also the two parts (or shares: *tpa dæl*) of Myton which were said in the memorandum to belong to Helperby (Woodman 2012, 134). In the nineteenth century, the southern part of Helperby township contained what was, until 1813, an open field called Myton Field (NYCRO NRRD DO no. 26 and ZMI no. 21; see also Fig. 2). This may simply have referred to its proximity to Myton, but an alternative explanation might be that it represented the two tenth-century shares of Myton. These shares may originally have comprised acres distributed more widely across Myton's open fields, subsequently consolidated for their more convenient management by the farmers of Helperby, in much the same way as suggested in an earlier article with regard to Hotham and Newbald, in the East Riding (Wrathmell 2020, 18). The position of Helperby village in relation to Brafferton village can be interpreted as evidence of Helperby's creation out of what was, originally, the southern half of Brafferton township, with additional lands provided by the two shares of Myton to the south.

The Helperby estate acquired by the archbishops also included soke over *Þibustan*, *Þurulfestun*, *Ioletun* and *Þorp* (Woodman 2012, 134). These lands, assessed as 11 carucates and 2 bovates, remained soke of Helperby at Domesday (Faull and Stinson 1986, SN, B23-24), but with some changes to the vill structure: *Þurulfestun* and *Þorp* had been replaced by *Turulfestorp*, now

Tholthorpe, its village settlement perhaps occupying the earlier settlement site of *Þurulfestun* (as suggested in Watts 2004, 608; see also Fellows-Jensen 1972, 130). *Þibustan* is also lost. It has been linked to a farm named Wide Open, about 20km to the south-east in Skelton township, close to York (Smith 1928, 17–18), despite A.H. Smith's conclusion that 'The modern name is not a derivative of the early forms, unless by popular corruption'. It is more likely that the lost Domesday *Wibedstune*, following *Turoluestorp* in the Yorkshire Summary and combined with it in a joint assessment of seven carucates (Faull and Stinson 1986, SN, B24), was located next to it. Its disappearance may be associated with the emergence, in the twelfth century, of a new vill called Flawith (Smith 1928, 21). Thus, although these township names display a remarkable degree of instability, their transience may simply be the consequence of an unusual degree of instability in the disposition of township territories.

Two other conclusions can be drawn from these early records. First, the two shares of Myton which belonged to Helperby in the later tenth century might account for inconsistencies in the Domesday survey, which lists a manor of four and a half carucates in Myton as being held by the Count of Mortain, despite the same holding being attributed in the Summary to the archbishop (Faull and Stinson 1986, 5N, 69; SN, B25). The Summary also attributes to the archbishop ten carucates in Helperby, whereas the Survey itself attributes to him eight carucates there (Faull and Stinson 1986, 2N, 25-26; SN, B24-25). The two carucate difference might conceivably relate to the two shares of Myton.

Secondly, two of the other townships in the Helperby soke had 'Grimston hybrid' place-names: Youlton, incorporating the Old Norse personal name *Jóli* (Fellows-Jensen 1972, 130; Watts 2004, 712), and *Þurulfestun*, incorporating the Old Norse personal name *Thórulfr* (Fellows-Jensen 1972, 130; Watts 2004, 608). Fellows-Jensen (1972, 109) identified 42 place-names in Yorkshire (including these examples) which combine a Scandinavian personal name and *-tūn*. It is interesting that two of them recorded in the later tenth century were within the soke of a *-býr* settlement which also has a Scandinavian personal name specific.

Finally, it is clear that the soke estate of Helperby can only have been a century old at most when we first meet it, upon its forfeiture to Oscytel (though it may, of course, have replaced an earlier soke estate centred on Brafferton). This reinforces Dawn Hadley's warning that we cannot assume that all such estates are the remnants of larger, early Anglo-Saxon territorial units, and supports her proposition that some were, at the time of the Domesday survey, more recent formations (Hadley 2000b, 87–8). The same is true of the next Domesday soke to be discussed: the archbishops' Weaverthorpe estate, located on the northern Wolds in a valley once called Cranedale, now the upper part of the Great Wold Valley, on either side of the stream called the Gipsey Race (Fig. 1).

The archbishops and the Weaverthorpe estate

Domesday records that in the time of King Edward, Weaverthorpe (Fig. 4) with its berewicks of Mowthorpe and Sherburn was held by Archbishop Ealdred as a single manor of 26 carucates (Faull and Stinson 1986, 2B, 18). Its soke extended across Helperthorpe, and into North Grimston, Sutton, Birdsall, Croom, Thirkleby, (East and West) Lutton and the lost *Ulchiltorp* (Faull and Stinson 1986, 2B, 18–19). Most of these holdings were on the Wolds to the south and south-west of Weaverthorpe vill, their township areas recorded in Figure 4. Others lay in the Vale of Pickering to the north and north-west, below the Wolds scarp (see Wrathmell 2012, fig. 36).

These were all attributed to Archbishop Thomas, Ealdred's successor, at the time of the Survey, along with two more recent additions to his estates. The first comprised nine carucates at Cottam which had previously been held as one manor by Ulfr, an Anglo-Scandinavian thegn who was a major benefactor of St Peter's (Faull and Stinson 1986, 2B, 17; Rees Jones 2013, 51). The second was the church of Cowlam and half a carucate in the same vill which seem to have been acquired by Thomas himself (Faull and Stinson 1986, 2B, 18).

Ignoring these additions, it is possible to distinguish two different types of component of the Weaverthorpe soke. On the one hand, the majority of the archbishop's Domesday holdings, both berewicks and soke jurisdiction, comprised a few carucates within vills which also contained holdings of the king, the king's thegns, or Norman tenants-in-chief. Mowthorpe, for example, contained a manor of one carucate held by Nigel Fossard from the Count of Mortain in addition to the archbishop's five carucate berewick (Faull and Stinson 1986, 2B, 18; 5E, 71). North Grimston, where the archbishop had soke of three and a half carucates, also contained five manors of five king's thegns amounting to four carucates, and a manor of two carucates and two bovates held by Hugh fitz Baldric (Faull and Stinson 1986, 2B, 18; 1E, 53; 23E, 17).

The Weaverthorpe estate may have been assembled from heterogeneous donations over several centuries before the Conquest, but three components stand out from the others. Weaverthorpe itself, Helperthorpe and Lutton were entirely in the hands of the archbishop at Domesday; the Survey records no other interests in these vills. They may, therefore, represent in origin a single extensive territory donated to St Peter's at a relatively early period, despite the apparently more recent formation of two of their place-names.

One of these names, Helperthorpe, incorporates the ON genitive singular form of the female name *Hjalp*, which we have already met in Helperby (Fellows-Jensen 1972, 60; Watts 2004, 295). Could they refer to the same person? As far-fetched as this may seem, we should bear in mind the rarity of ON female personal names as specifics of *-býr* and *-thorp* place-names. In her survey of women in English place-names, Carole Hough noted only eight secure instances of place-names containing ON feminine personal names recorded in Domesday Book or earlier.[6] Of these, two combine with *-býr* (one being Helperby) and five with *-thorp*

[6] None of entries in Judith Jesch's additional list of women's names is recorded before the twelfth century (Jesch 2008, 159–60).

(including Helperthorpe). Helperby and Helperthorpe are the only place-names incorporating the personal name *Hjalp* (Hough 2002, 65-6, 97). We may also note that the earliest records of both townships bearing these place-names associate them with the archbishops of York, one in the later tenth century, the other in the eleventh.

Is it more likely that two women with that name, out of a total of seven recorded cases of ON female personal names certainly associated with *-býr* and *-thorp* generics by the time of Domesday, happened to be landholders in Yorkshire who gave their names to townships associated with St Peter's? Or is it more likely that the two places were associated with one woman named *Hjalp*, who had forfeited her original estate to the archbishop on the grounds of illicit marriage, and had been given instead a life interest in a new and less productive township on the Wolds? If so, was *Vithfari,* whose ON name is preserved in genitive singular form in neighbouring Weaverthorpe (Watts 2004, 658), her partner in the illicit marriage?

As noted some years ago (Wrathmell 2012, 181), a Domesday soke estate with its *caput* in a vill named Weaverthorpe is unlikely to have been in existence before the Scandinavian settlement, given that *-thorp* names are believed to have been coined mainly in the tenth and eleventh centuries (Cullen *et al*. 2011, 138–42). There is a further piece of evidence, also previously noted, to suggest that Weaverthorpe and the adjoining Helperthorpe were created relatively late in the sequence of township formation along the Gipsey Race. It is to be found in their relationship to a long-distance, east to west routeway which had been in use since prehistoric times (Wrathmell 2012, 104–5 and fig. 38).

The routeway, known in the nineteenth century as the High Street (Wrathmell 2012, 56), passes just to the south of Croom township, the stretches marked as green lines on Figure 4 indicating where the route has not been used as a township boundary. To the east of Croom there are two divergent trackways marking a change in the course of the route: the later (and present) one to the south, and an earlier one, marked by the Ordnance Survey as an *Intrenchment*, to the north.

The south-eastern end of Lutton township runs only as far as the earlier trackway (as does Croom), but Weaverthorpe and Helperthorpe extend across it, running as far as the later course of the route. Lutton, which had been split into East and West Lutton by the early twelfth century, and which had perhaps been so divided before the Norman conquest (Wrathmell 2012, 107), incorporates an OE personal name and *-tūn* (Watts 2004, 387). It is therefore potentially an earlier formation than the names of its neighbours to the north-east. The date when the route changed course is not known, but the sequence of its courses matches the suggested relative dating for the coining of the township place-names.

That said, there are grounds for supposing that the archbishops' interest in Cranedale might have originated in pre-Scandinavian centuries. Part two in this series of articles discussed the block of territory to the west of Lutton, a territory which is occupied by four townships with *-býr* place-names: Thirkleby, Kirby Grindalythe, Duggleby and the lost *Thoraldby* (apparently subsumed in a secondary township, Mowthorpe: Wrathmell 2012, 99). It was suggested that these *-býr* townships might have been formed out of the territory of an earlier estate, centred on what we now know as Kirby Grindalythe and possibly under the control of an ecclesiastical institution (Wrathmell 2021, 13, 16). We might now venture a little further, to suggest that the institution in question was St Peter's, York.

Among the places named on Figure 4, Wharram Percy and Kirkby Grindalythe have both produced fragments of Anglo-Saxon stone sculpture. As John Senior noted (in Lang 1991, 15), stone for sculpture manufacture is virtually non-existent on the Wolds, and the nearest stone in any way suitable for this purpose, the Coral Rag of North Grimston, is susceptible to frost damage. The earliest piece from Wharram Percy, a fragment of cross-arm dated to the late eighth century, seems to have come from more distant quarries, possibly from those at Stonegrave in Ryedale, at the western end of the Vale of Pickering (Lang 1991, 222).

Stonegrave was the location of one of the cluster of Deiran religious houses noted above, dating to the late seventh and eighth centuries; and the incised interlace decoration of the Wharram piece also supports a Ryedale connection (Lang 1991, 222; Morris 2015, 136 –7 and fig. 7.2). It is arguable, therefore, that the pre-Scandinavian Wharram 'territory' – however that may have been defined – was affiliated to one or more of these early monasteries, an affiliation signified by a stone cross brought in from Ryedale.

The development of a comparable hypothesis for the Kirby Grindalythe sculpture produces different connections. The analysis of the stone-types of the five fragments there indicated a variety of stone sources (Lang 1991, 150–2). One is Coral Rag (no. 4), for which the nearest source, as noted above, is North Grimston, adjoining Wharram le Street township on the west. Two others (nos 1 and 5) are sandstone possibly from the North York Moors, whilst the two remaining pieces (nos 2 and 3, dated to the ninth to tenth centuries) are Millstone Grit, 'probably reused Roman ashlar from York, perhaps originally from area of Hetchell Crag (Thorner)' (Senior in Lang 1991, 150).

A York connection is strengthened by James Lang's discussion of fragment number 3. Its 'profile beast with ribbon body', though resembling the bound dragons of the Ryedale series, does not, he argued, come from the Ryedale workshops. He pointed instead to the York Metropolitan School: 'Indeed, the modelling, the arch of the neck and the mane have their closest parallel in a grave-cover from the York Minster cemetery… This is undoubtedly in the main stream of the York styles' (Lang 1991, 151).

David Stocker has argued that funerary monuments 'made of stones carved in York itself, on masonry recycled from Roman buildings which themselves belonged to the archbishop... would have been a very tangible visual symbol of the reach of the archbishops' (Stocker 2000, 198). In the case of Kirby Grindalythe, such connections may have indicated the archbishops' continued interest in Cranedale, in what had been a pre-Scandinavian territory of St Peter's extending from what became Duggleby, in the west, to what became Weaverthorpe, in the east. Thomas Pickles has suggested that the place which became known as Kirby Grindalythe may have earlier contained a small religious community (Pickles 2018, 250; see also Wrathmell 2021, 13); was it a dependency of St Peter's,

and the pre-Scandinavian administrative hub of Cranedale?

At the time of Scandinavian settlement, the western part of the territory (outlined in orange on Fig. 4), including what became Kirby Grindalythe, was given over to the formation of new *-býr* townships and the provision of resources to ensure that the new settlements had access to pastoral care. The rest of the territory, ultimately with a new *caput* at Weaverthorpe, was retained by the archbishops who, as suggested earlier in more general terms, would surely have been instrumental in planning and implementing such allocations to Scandinavian settlers.

The townships in and around Cranedale have produced no less than six habitation sites of the Middle Saxon period, their locations marked by letters on Figure 4. Originally identified by Catherine Stoertz as 'curvilinear enclosure complexes', associated with rectangular pits 'which strongly resemble… *Grubenhäuser*' (Stoertz 1997, 55, 59), they have been categorised more specifically as 'Butterwick-type' settlements, named from one of the clearest examples (Fig. 4, F; Wrathmell 2012, 106). They are frequently located close to medieval and modern village settlements, the agglomerated curvilinear forms of their enclosure ditches standing in marked contrast to the latter's rectilinear forms and regular rows of tofts and crofts.

The eponymous Butterwick settlement (Fig. 4, F), and one at Lutton which lies between the villages of East and West Lutton (Fig. 4, E; Wrathmell 2012, 106–7), are undated other than by their formal characteristics. Those at Cowlam and Wharram Percy, however, have produced artefact assemblages which can be assigned respectively to the eighth and ninth centuries and the seventh to ninth centuries (Fig. 4, C and D; Richards 2013, 252–6). A further site, known as Cottam A (Fig. 4, A), appears to date from the mid-eighth to the mid-ninth centuries. Its identification is based on its artefact assemblage, as structural evidence for enclosures or buildings (apart from a possible truncated *Grubenhaus*) was not identified (Richards 2013, 229–30).

The transition from these Butterwick-type settlements to the better-known rectilinear Wolds villages seems to have occurred in the later ninth century – at least on those sites which have been excavated, or which have provided metal-detected artefact assemblages. It is tempting, therefore, to link this transition to the impact of Scandinavian settlement. It is a link which can be explored in more detail at the final site discussed here, Cottam B (Fig. 4, B), where an Anglo-Saxon settlement, occupied during the eighth and ninth centuries, was replaced in the late ninth or early tenth century by an Anglo-Scandinavian settlement located about 100m further north (Richards 2013).

As noted in the Cottam B excavation report, the Anglo-Saxon settlement has none of the complexity of the Butterwick-type sites, being a sub-rectangular ditched enclosure containing at least two post-built structures but no *Grubenhäuser*. Furthermore, it was set astride a north-south trackway, 'apparently controlling use of the track' (Richards 1999, 89). Its Scandinavian replacement, identified as a farmstead, was marked by a number of sub-rectangular enclosures, and by a substantial, ditched entrance way with what appears to have been a major timber gatehouse facing south towards the location of the earlier settlement and the trackway (Richards 1999, 94).

A further layer of the site's settlement history has been introduced more recently by Dawn Hadley and Julian Richards. They have deployed the techniques they so successfully developed to define the archaeological 'signature' of the Great Army's winter camps, to identify the presence at Cottam B of a Great Army war band. They regard its presence there as transitory, following and presumably causing the abandonment of the Anglo-Saxon enclosure, and preceding the establishment of its Scandinavian successor (Hadley and Richards 2018, 5–8). As they conclude, 'Cottam B therefore captures the moment of a critical transition in Viking behaviour in England, from raiding to settlement activity' (Hadley and Richards 2018, 8).

It is a transition that implies the eviction of the inhabitants of the Anglo-Saxon settlement, and their subsequent replacement by a Scandinavian farming community. If so, it stands in marked contrast to the principal theme of this series of articles, which is one of a negotiated settlement of Scandinavians, designed to minimise disruption to the existing rural population. Before allowing the contrast to stand, however, it is worth exploring an alternative hypothesis for the archaeological sequence at Cottam B: that the Anglo-Saxon enclosure did not contain a farming settlement of the kind found elsewhere on the Wolds, but had a specialist function as a Northumbrian 'Kingston', part of the royal administrative infrastructure.

Jill Bourne's analysis of places named *Kingston* (and variants) identified a corpus of about 70 such names in England, only five of them north of a line between the Wash and the Mersey, and none in either the East or North Ridings of Yorkshire (Bourne 2012, 261–2, 268). She emphasised the close relationship of many of them to Roman roads (or perhaps to contemporary highways, most of which had originated as Roman roads) and identified 'strings' of them along major routeways. The name seems mainly to have been attached to what are known only as small, dependent settlements. 'Five survive only as names of farms or small country houses, most are no more than hamlets and a few have developed into small villages' (Bourne 2012, 264).

As Bourne suggests (2012, 266, 279–80), the function of a *cyninges tūn* is perhaps to be found in royal administration relating to the highways, notably in relation to the routes connecting royal estate centres. This would certainly fit the context of Cottam B, identified as a possible outlier of the royal estate of Driffield to the south (Richards 2013, 208–9), and set astride the track of a routeway running northwards across the Wolds, a route which could have connected Driffield to the royal estate centre at Pickering.

Cottam B was located at the junction of this routeway with the High Street, the major east-west highway noted above (Fig. 4; Richards 2013, 254–5; Wrathmell 2020, fig. 36). It also seems to have been established outside the local township structure, in an area of land called *Burrehou* in the twelfth century, one of a number of distinct small territories set along the course of the High Street which seem to represent remnants of a corridor of permanent pasture used for driving animals between the

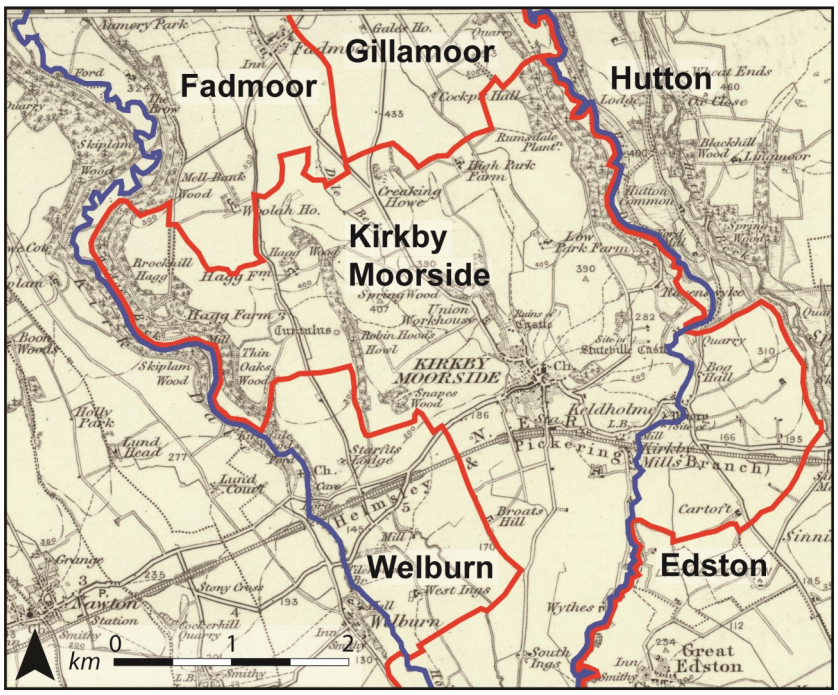

Figure 5 Kirkby Moorside township (based on Ordnance Survey One Inch map sheet 53 (surveyed 1847–53; revised 1895–6). Base map reproduced with the permission of the National Library of Scotland.

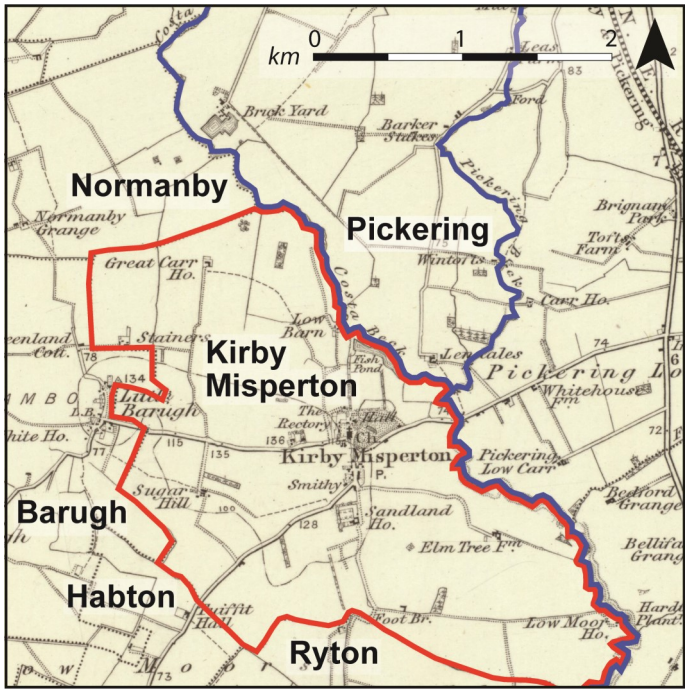

Figure 6 Kirby Misperton township (based on Ordnance Survey One Inch map sheet 53 (surveyed 1847–53; revised 1895–6). Base map reproduced with the permission of the National Library of Scotland.

Vale of York and Holderness (Richards 2013, 205–6; Wrathmell 2012, 288–9 and fig. 104).

Thus, it is not surprising to find Viking war bands in what seems, at first glance, to be a remote spot on the Wolds, moving along these routes. The Anglo-Saxon enclosure at Cottam B may have been attacked not because it was a rural settlement, but rather because it was a projection of Northumbrian royal administration and justice, facilitating official journeys and supervising commercial activity along these routeways. It was soon replaced by a Scandinavian enclosure, perhaps established to perform much the same function on behalf of the war band leaders. If so, it is not necessarily an indication of more general interactions between Northumbrian and Scandinavian farming communities.

A final dimension to the Cottam B site is potentially even more intriguing: the evidence for its participation in a bullion economy, in the shape of two copper-alloy balance fragments, plain lead weights and a fragment of a dirham coin (Kershaw 2020, 122–3). Jane Kershaw has argued for a dual currency economy in the Danelaw: 'bullion and coin appear to have co-existed as forms of currency for some 70 or 80 years, from the onset of a sustained Viking presence in England in c. AD 865 to at least c. AD 930/40' (Kershaw 2017, 185).

York itself has provided plentiful evidence of coinage of this period, but very little in terms of the paraphernalia associated with metal-weight exchange, perhaps indicating the suppression of bullion in favour of coinage (Kershaw 2020, 127). Yet the evidence for metal-weight exchange appears to have a widespread (if

sparse) distribution through the Vales of York and Mowbray, and on and around the Yorkshire Wolds (Kershaw 2020, fig. 44). Might the dual currency economy reflect, at least in part, differences between those war bands which had been settled as farming communities relatively rapidly, and those which remained mobile – on the road – into the early decades of the tenth century? The late ninth-century coin from Kirby Grindalythe parish (see Wrathmell 2021, 13) and the evidence for metal-weight exchange from Cottam B, only a few miles away, may reflect these two different lifestyles: the one marked by rapid integration into Northumbria's coin-based economy and Christian religion; the other eschewing both for up to half a century (see also Raffield 2020, 203).

The archbishops and places named Kirby (Figs 1, 5 and 6)

The areas of eastern Yorkshire covered in these three articles encompass four Kirby place-names, two in the Vale of Pickering and two on the Wolds (Fig. 1). The latter two, Kirby Grindalythe and Kirby Underdale, seem to be integral to blocks of *-bý* townships otherwise distinguished by ON personal-name specifics, and each was a parochial centre by the twelfth century (Wrathmell 2021, 11–6). The two in the Vale, Kirkby Moorside and Kirby Misperton, are not contiguous with blocks of other *-bý* townships (although one of Kirby Misperton's adjacent townships is Normanby: Fig. 6); but in any case, the Vale townships marked by place-names in *-bý* do not form blocks of territory: they are interspersed with townships bearing other kinds of place -name generics.

The significance of the place-names Kirby and Kirkby has been the subject of lengthy debate. For Fellows-Jensen, a few of these place-names in England seem to denote 'farmsteads owned by a church'. The great majority, however, amounting to 42 names 'were all probably given to old established settlements in which the Scandinavian settlers found a church on their arrival' (Fellows-Jensen 1987, 298). A more comprehensive analysis of Kirby names has recently been carried out by Thomas Pickles (2018, 244–53). He has argued that these names, presumably coined and preserved by ON speakers who settled nearby, are unlikely to have meant 'religious community', or 'farm with/by a church', because of the poor correlation of such names with known early religious communities and with churches known to have been in existence at that period. He has concluded, instead, that 'The coining of new generic Old Norse place-names in *kirkja-by(r)* by local Old Norse communities that signalled some generic status but did not distinguish the place further… seems most explicable if the places were outside the ownership and interest of the local Old Norse naming communities', and that they 'point to a minimum number of places where churches retained land for a significant period after Old Norse-speakers settled nearby' (Pickles 2018, 253).

His conclusions are certainly applicable to the Vale of Pickering, where none of the documented religious communities of the seventh and eighth centuries was renamed Kirby (see Morris 2015, 126, 135–8, 144), but where Kirby Misperton has strong associations with one of them (Lastingham: Morris 2015, 132–3). A fragment of architectural sculpture also indicates a church at Kirkby Moorside in the mid-ninth century (Lang 1991, 158; Pickles 2018, 251). Of the two Wolds examples, the possibility of Kirby Grindalythe having been a pre-Scandinavian episcopal dependency has already been discussed, above.

As noted earlier in this article, Anglo-Scandinavian sculpture signifies the use of at least two of these four Kirbys for burials during the tenth century, but in performing this role they were no different from the churches and graveyards located on the sites of documented pre-Scandinavian religious communities, such as Lastingham and Stonegrave, nor from other local churches in townships with OE place-names such as Middleton and Sinnington: these have all produced Anglo-Scandinavian cross fragments, sometimes in impressive quantities. What sets the Kirbys apart is not the presence of Anglo-Scandinavian sculpture, nor the signs of earlier monastic associations, but the names themselves, and the application of those names to territorial units (or, in the Vale, parts of such units) which had earlier been known by other names.

This is certainly the case with Kirby Misperton, where the suffix denotes the name of the earlier *-tūn* township (Watts 2004, 350). Shortly before Domesday Book was compiled, this Kirby had been granted by its Norman tenant-in-chief, Berenger de Tosny, to the Abbot of York (in two parts, reflecting its earlier apportionment between two previous landholders: Faull and Stinson 1986, 8N, 1-2, SN, Ma 1). Abbot Stephen had also received a third part, a berewick of Kirkby Moorside simply called Misperton, from another tenant-in-chief, Hugh fitz Baldric (Faull and Stinson 1986, 23N, 21).

As suggested above, Abbot Stephen seems to have been attempting to reconstitute the land holdings of Lastingham (Wrathmell 2012, 194–5), so it is probable that Misperton was originally one of them. Kirby was created out of Misperton, but perhaps encompassed only part of the township. It is possible that Kirkby Moorside was similarly only part of an earlier township, one associated with a folk-grouping known as the *Gētlingas* (see below). It appears, therefore, that parts of pre-existing township territories were, in or after the late ninth century, renamed Kirby to signify, as Pickles has concluded, their possession by the Church. They were presumably in the possession of the archbishops rather than the religious communities they had formerly supported, though in either case they had passed into secular hands by the time of the Norman conquest.

They may, therefore, mark church lands which had been repurposed to support the provision of pastoral care to the Scandinavian settlers, a role which is evident in the geographical relationship of the Wolds Kirbys to the neighbouring *-bý* settlements, but is not so readily mapped in relation to the Vale Kirbys. They could well, therefore, belong to the earliest phase of Scandinavian settlement, to a period when the archbishops were unable to enforce the payment of tithes and other church dues normally used for pastoral support; a role which became redundant when the archbishops reached the point at which they could enforce such contributions, perhaps by the late tenth century (see Abrams 2000, 146). Such an explanation might account for the Kirbys in the Vale and on the Wolds, but it would not necessarily apply to all (or indeed any) other instances of this place-name elsewhere in the Danelaw.

Dating the formation of *-býr* townships

The three articles in this series have thus far failed to address directly the question of when Yorkshire's *-býr* townships with ON personal-name specifics might have been created. It is a question that can no longer be evaded. The starting point for any discussion must be the arguments put forward by Peter Sawyer who concluded that *-býr* settlement names were *not* coined at the time of Halfdan's initial land-sharing, nor indeed at any time during the final quarter of the ninth century. He observed that 'Scandinavian settlement names are rare in the parts of the Danelaw that were recovered by the English soon after 900', and he ascribed the main period of Scandinavian name production to the early years of the tenth century (Sawyer 1982, 103). The context was seen to be the fragmentation of the Danelaw's soke estates in the first half of the tenth century, when the Scandinavian aristocracy suffered a series of military defeats. The consequent weakening of their authority gave 'many small landowners a chance… to claim fuller rights of ownership over their holdings' an interpretation 'consistent with the remarkable number of Scandinavian place names that incorporate a personal name' (Sawyer 1982, 106).

Fellows-Jensen has elaborated this line of thinking but appears to be broadly in agreement. She identifies at least two strata of *-býr* names in England, the first 'at the end of the ninth century or the beginning of the tenth, when Danish settlers in eastern England took over a large number of pre-existing English settlements, to many of which they gave names in *-býr* whose specifics were common nouns such as *dal* 'valley' in Dalby… and *kirkja* 'church' as in Kirkby…' (Fellows-Jensen 2013, 85). She continues that 'It was perhaps rather later… that the Danish settlers in eastern England began to break up old estates into small independent agricultural units, many of which may have begun life as dependent secondary settlements. In Yorkshire and the East Midlands this fragmentation resulted in settlements whose names consisted of a Danish personal name and *-býr*' (Fellows-Jensen 2013, 86).

These inferences have been questioned by Lesley Abrams and David Parsons (2004, 404–6), and they fail to gain support from the detailed evidence of eastern Yorkshire. The place-names of the *-býr* townships discussed in the first two of these articles include thirteen with certain or likely ON personal name specifics. To these should perhaps be added Whenby, the women's *býr*. Ignoring the Kirbys that have already been discussed, the four remaining 'common noun' specifics, Blandsby, two Dalbys and Skewsby, are all in terrains less favourable for arable and cattle farming than those qualified by personal names. It is difficult to imagine that these territories, rather than those marked by personal name specifics, were the ones first shared out among Halfdan's followers.

On the contrary, it is easier to imagine that an intensive and fairly rapidly organised settlement of Halfdan's followers, achieved by the insertion of new *-býr* townships into territories already occupied and full of minor topographical names as well as township names, will have required place-name specifics that indicated who, among the new leading landholders, was being given which share. This is, of course, essentially the process outlined by Sir Frank Stenton, when he argued that:

'Beneath the leaders of highest rank in the Danish armies… there must have been a large number of men who led small companies of followers. It would be natural, and indeed inevitable, that when the time for settlement came, some of these companies should group themselves upon the soil around the men who had led them in the war, and that the names of these men should sometimes become attached to the villages which arose in this way' (Stenton 1970, 308).

A relationship between such names and what could be seen as intensive and rapid settlement events can also be detected in two other clusters: one at Flegg, in Norfolk, and the other in Schleswig, north Germany. The 'island' of Flegg, on the Norfolk coast, has a cluster of thirteen contiguous townships with *-býr* place-names, almost all of them with ON personal name specifics. It has been suggested that this territory, perhaps once a monastic estate centred on Caister, might have been allocated in the early or mid-ninth century as the base for a Viking fleet, one established by the indigenous rulers to protect commercial traffic operating between the inland waterways of Norfolk and Continental markets (Abrams and Parsons 2004, 417–9; Abrams 2005, 316–8).

Denmark has no similar clusters of *-býr* place-names with personal name specifics, but there is one in the peninsulas of Angeln/Angel and Schwansen/Svansø, now in Germany but under Danish control at various times during the Viking Age. They lie beyond the eastern end of the boundary earthwork known as the *Danevirke*. Birte Hjorth Pedersen's map of such names indicates notable concentrations either side of the Schlei/Slien waterway, which provided the trading centre at Haithabu/Hedeby with access to the Baltic. Rejecting suggestions that this cluster was the result of Swedish or English Danelaw influence, Pedersen concluded that it was simply a reflection of the particular circumstances of settlement activity in this region in the Viking Age (Pedersen 1960, 11, 45–6). Like the concentrations of *-býr* place-names with personal name specifics in Flegg and in eastern Yorkshire, they may represent a deliberate act of co-ordinated settlement which gave expression to political strategy.

The kind of sharing out envisaged here for eastern Yorkshire is also, perhaps, better aligned to recent research on the make-up of the Great Army, which has placed greater emphasis on its component warbands, the *lið*, which could have operated independently of one another in the Northumbrian countryside (see Hadley and Richards 2018, 5). *Lið* have been defined as retinues of warriors, sworn to a leader who fed, equipped and rewarded them. Those that embarked for Northumbria might be limited to the crews of a couple of ships, or larger depending on the leader's wealth and standing, and might be composed of men (and possibly women) of varying social and geographical backgrounds, some drawn from kin groups or neighbouring farming families, others from more distant communities (see Raffield 2016, 310–11; Raffield *et al*. 2016, 35–40). In his reconsideration of the Great Army's demography, Ben Raffield has argued that:

'this group comprised not only combatants but also family units, suggesting that the Great Army was seeking out land to settle… The common desire to obtain land, however, should not be confused with the

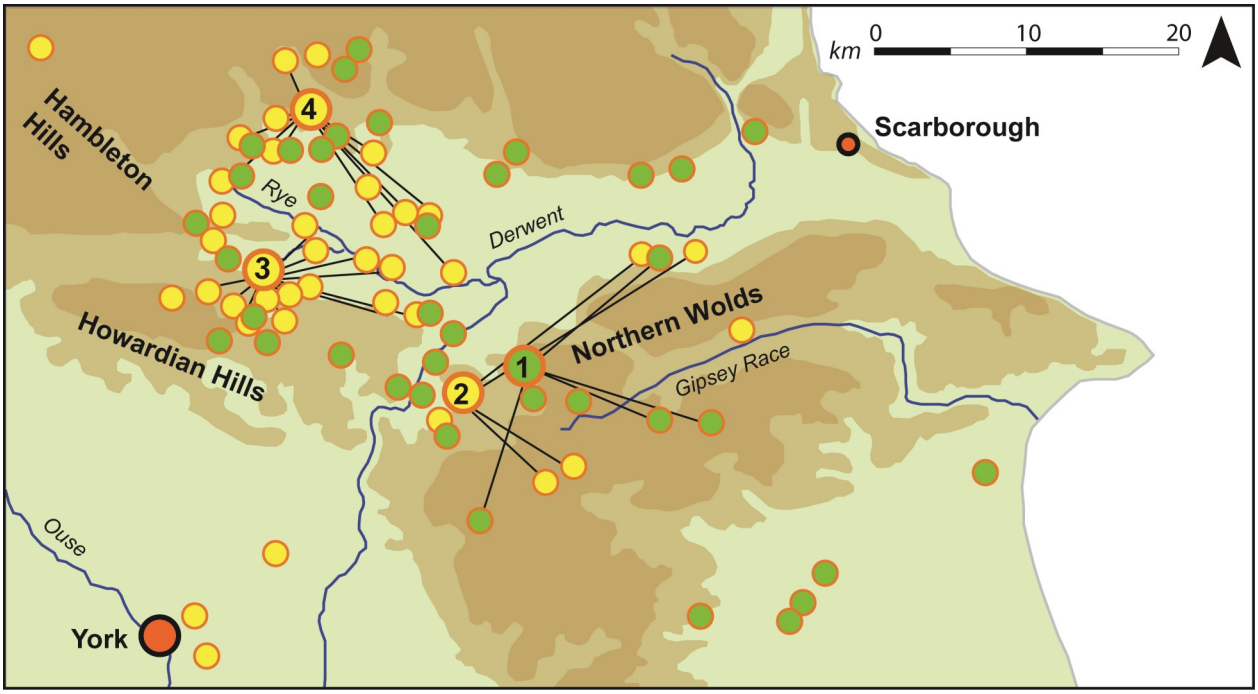

Figure 7 Landholdings of the putative descendants of Cnut's general Thorbrandr the Hold as recorded in the Domesday survey: Thorbrandr/Gamall in green, and Ormr in yellow. The soke estate centres are Buckton (no. 1); Langton (no. 2); Hovingham (no. 3), and Kirkby Moorside (no. 4). Contours at 50m and 100m.

perception that these groups [the autonomous *lið*] possessed a single objective; they were not seeking a single "homeland", but rather individual *homelands*' (Raffield 2016, 330).

The dispersed pattern of *-bý* townships across eastern Yorkshire seems eminently compatible with Raffield's view of the objectives of the individual *lið*. Their settlement within, and dispersal among local farming communities, would also have done much to neutralise the aggressive and disruptive tendencies of *lið* when they operated as fully mobile bands – and perhaps this was the objective of the host communities. The place-names and written records seem in this way to combine to create an intelligible story of settlement in the last quarter of the ninth century.

In contrast, the written records relating to events in the tenth and eleventh centuries are very much concerned with the acquisition by high-status Scandinavians of Northumbrian soke estates comprising groups of pre-Scandinavian townships. The first and best known relates to two multi-township coastal estates in what is now County Durham, estates which had been held in the early years of the tenth century by the Community of St Cuthbert. They were seized by the Scandinavian king Ragnald after the battle of Corbridge in 918, and given by him to two of his followers, presumably military leaders, Onlafbald and Scule (Townend 2014, 56–7, 86; Roberts 2008, 156, fig. 6.3). Within these estates, and in the Community's lands more widely, there is a marked lack of *-bý* place-names and of 'Grimston-hybrid' names (Abrams and Parsons 2004, 413–4 and n. 160). These, surely, could be cases where Scandinavian warrior élites simply took control of existing soke estates and benefitted from their issues, leaving the local farming population largely intact.

The same is probably true of many of the major landholders with ON personal names who feature in eastern Yorkshire's Domesday entries. It has been argued elsewhere that the antecessors of two Domesday tenants-in-chief, Hugh Fitz Baldric and Berenger de Tosny, were descendants of Thorbrandr the Hold, one of Cnut's generals during his conquest of England in the early eleventh century (Townend 2014, 194–8; Wrathmell 2012, 184–7). Thorbrandr's grandson, also Thorbrandr, held until the 1070s a soke centred on Buckton, along with a number of manors in association with Gamall, possibly his brother. Ormr, perhaps another grandson of the *hold*, had held Langton soke; both of these were located on the south side of the River Derwent (Fig. 7). In addition, Ormr held soke estates to the north-west, on either side of the River Rye, at Kirkby Moorside, and Hovingham.

Hovingham was probably a monastic estate of the eighth to ninth centuries, and perhaps earlier (see Morris 2015, 141 and Wrathmell 2021, 7–8); the Langton and Buckton estates may have been more recently formed sokes, but their manorial halls were in *-tūn* townships. Kirkby evidently did not acquire its Domesday name until the Scandinavian period, but given the indications, discussed above, that 'Kir(k)by' names signify the renaming of earlier communities, this one could well have been an earlier estate centre under a different name, perhaps associated with the *Gētlingas*. The folk-name *Gētlingas* is preserved in Gilling East, the probable location of another Deiran religious community just west of Hovingham (Morris 2015, 138; Watts 2004, 250); and Gillamoor, the township immediately north of Kirkby Moorside – and out of which it may have been carved – is named after *Gētla* (Watts 2004, 250).

Outside these centres, the sokes of both Thorbrandr and Ormr included jurisdiction over carucates in several townships with *-býr* place-names. There is, however, nothing to suggest a more meaningful relationship with them than with the *-tūn* and *-thorp* vills which also formed part of these estates; nothing to suggest that townships with *-býr* place-names were created under their control. Indeed, the patterns of landholding shown in Figure 7 seem more closely related to key approaches from the Scarborough coast to York and the Vale of York. An invading army landing on this part of the coast would, after crossing the Vale of Pickering, have been faced with two narrow routeways westwards: the Coxwold-Gilling gap between the northern end of the Howardian Hills and the Hambleton Hills; and the Kirkham gap between the southern end of the Howardian Hills and the northern Wolds. Thorbrandr the Hold, putative ancestor of Domesday Thorbrandr, Gamall and Ormr, might well have been invested with these estates by Cnut to control access to York and the Vale, irrespective of the locations of Scandinavian communities.

The sharing-out and cultivation of Northumbrian lands in the final quarter of the ninth century is recorded in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, and is elaborated in Asser's biography of King Alfred (Abrams and Parsons 2004, 407; Townend 2014, 85–6). Should we link these records with the creation of townships with *-býr* place-names? We can choose to make this link; or we can argue that the documented sharing-out of lands has left no trace in township place-names other than perhaps in the 'Grimston hybrids', and that the creation of townships with *-býr* place-names was the result of some other, later and undocumented phase in the history of Scandinavian settlement. Acknowledging that the settlement of Halfdan's followers may have extended over a number of years and perhaps decades, the first of these alternatives is the more economical, and therefore the more attractive.

The persistence of township names

Underlying this discussion of settlement chronology is an assumption that the place-names first given to townships were liable to persist. It is an assumption that should be explored further in the final section of this article. Topographical township names, if appropriate at the time of their creation, would presumably have continued to be relevant throughout the existence of the community occupying that territory. Among habitative names, those which related to early estate functions, such as Appleton and Swinton in Hovingham (discussed in Wrathmell 2021, 8), evidently retained their names long after those particular functions had ceased to characterise these territories.

Personal name specifics, whether combined with *-tūn* or with *-býr*, might seem more amenable to renaming, as one prominent landholder was replaced by another; and such a replacement has been argued above in the case of Helperby. Yet Helperby was subject to forfeiture, and it may be that it was this kind of radical and sudden change in the transmission of land that was most likely to lead to renaming; it might account for the emergence of the 'Grimston hybrids', as Scandinavians with ON personal names took over townships previously held by Northumbrian landholders. Several other townships within the Helperby soke estate were also subject to name changes between the tenth and thirteenth centuries; but here, it was not just the names that changed, but also the township units and the extent of their territories – a radical alteration in the pattern of rural communities, not simply a name change.

Where townships, once founded, retained their integrity for many centuries, the inclination would have been to retain the original name, not to change it. This would surely have been the case when, by Edgar's reign and probably long before, townships formed the basic units of local administration (see Wrathmell 2020, 23–4). If, for example, the *Farmann* who gave his name to Farmanby near Thornton had been succeeded as principal landholder there by a *Rauðr*, leading to a change in the township's place-name specific, the confusion caused to local administration by the emergence of two adjacent Roxbys would have been considerable. The Kirby names are, I would argue, the only ones where both the specifics and generics of OE place-names were replaced, and even in these cases, as noted above, they may record only a partial, not a complete replacement of the township's earlier name, to signify a new function in the context of the Scandinavian settlement.

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Abbreviations

NYCRO: North Yorkshire County Record Office, Northallerton.

NRRD: North Riding Registry of Deeds (collection held by North Yorkshire County Record Office).

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