

CHAPTER I

EARLIER RESEARCH

There are some apparent early references to pre-Conquest sculptures in the West Riding, but most are disappointing in relation to surviving sculpture. Leland noted ‘3. crossis standing in row at the est ende of the chapelle garth’ at Ripon in the sixteenth century (Smith, L. T. 1907, 81), but none of the few remains from this important site can be identified with these, which must be presumed destroyed. Dewsbury was said in the late sixteenth century to have a cross associated with the missionary Paulinus by its inscription (Camden 1607, 565; Gibson 1695, col. 709), although it is clear even from these references that it was reported but not seen: Gibson in his second edition of *Britannia* (1722, 855–6) made it clear that nothing at that time was known of this cross, though there are a number of later attempts to relate it to remains of what appears to be a gable cross blown down in the early nineteenth century (for example Robinson, J. 1872). The sculptures we know from this site were discovered late in the eighteenth century, and though several are inscribed, none has anything like the reported inscription. Much of the attention of local historians up to the eighteenth century was taken up with matters of genealogy (Forster 1994a and 1994b). Watson (1775, 281), who said the settlement of Stansfield took its name ‘from an antient stone cross, the top of which is now destroyed, and the bottom is made into a seat, from whence a very good prospect of the county’, is unusual, but it is impossible to identify this with the cross-shaft now at Stansfield, especially as the barn in which it was found in modern times is said to have been built in 1701 (Heginbottom 1988, 2). On the other hand, the three cross-shafts at Ilkley (nos. 1–3), were first mentioned by Camden (1607, 567–8), who saw them in 1592: he thought them Roman, however.

By the early nineteenth century more interest was being shown in visible monuments of no genealogical interest: the work of Whitaker (1812; 1816 and reprints) is a sign of the changing times. Not all of this interest was particularly well informed. R. D. Chantrell, the architect and restorer of Leeds parish church in the late 1830s, and the saviour of the few surviving fragments of

the numerous carved stones discovered in that restoration (reputed to have been taken away in cartloads), is on record as believing what he had found dated from much earlier than the Christian era, going back to Babylonian and/or Druidic times (see Chantrell, R. 1856–7 and also Moore 1877, who records his views in full). By the mid nineteenth century, however, there is evidence of a lively interest in sculpture, including the Leeds sculpture, by then recognised as being pre-Conquest. As with other areas of Northumbria, however, the largest number of references at first concerned those few pieces with inscriptions, or thought to have inscriptions, in the work particularly of Haigh (1856–7, 1869–70, 1873, 1877, etc.); and Stephens (for example 1866–7, 1884a, 1884c, 1901), although it is fair to say that Haigh, while often over-eager in his readings, also had wider ambitions in his attempt to list and comment on all the fragments from Leeds (id. 1856–7), for instance. The inscriptions are still the most studied element on the sculptures, with later work especially in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries not only recording but correcting some of the more fanciful earlier readings, as well as placing them in a wider context of palaeographical and also runic studies: see Page (1958, 1959b, 1969, 1973, 1995, 1999, 2001); Parsons (1999); Higgitt (1986b, 1991, 1995, 2001); Okasha (1971, 2001); and Chap. VIII below.

Nevertheless, also from the mid nineteenth century, discoveries of sculptured stones in the course of church restoration were regularly recorded, and stones already known were commented on, sometimes in the light of new discoveries — for example Pettigrew 1864 (Ilkley and Collingham); Fowler 1870, 1889, 1893 (Dewsbury and Kirkheaton); Holmes 1884 (Kippax); Collyer and Horsfall Turner 1885 (Ilkley); Parez 1893 (Gargrave). At around the same time we find the first attempts to list all pre-Conquest stones in England by G. F. Browne (1885b, 1885c) and J. R. Allen and Browne (1885); or in various regions, as in Allen (1890, 1891) for the West Riding. The same writers undertaking these large projects were also concerned with setting some of those recognised as major monuments in context: Browne (1885a) for the

Leeds parish church cross and Allen (1884a, 1885) for the three larger crosses at Ilkley. Smaller area studies also began to appear, of which a notable example is that of C. F. Innocent (1910), *Early Christian Remains in the District*, for Sheffield. Guide books of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries often noted the existence of carved stones in parish churches, and some of these, such as J. E. Morris (1911), and H. Speight (1894, 1898, 1900, 1902, 1906) in a number of books following particular river valleys, were clearly a source for W. G. Collingwood.

Collingwood himself began publishing his series on the sculptured stones of Yorkshire in the *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* in 1907, with the first mention of West Riding stones, among those in the Yorkshire Museum, in 1909. His earliest listing of the West Riding sculptures is however in the *Victoria County History* for Yorkshire, vol. II (id. 1912). His full account of West Riding discoveries to date appeared in the *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* (here Collingwood 1915a). The layout of this piece (and of the others in the series) owes a great deal to the approach of J. R. Allen and J. Anderson (1903), in which monuments were classified by monument and pattern types as the basis of comparison for grouping and dating purposes. This approach had already appeared in Allen's 1890 paper on the West Riding, as mentioned above. Collingwood's *tour de force* builds on this, and other earlier attempts at a full coverage, and in spite of occasional inaccuracies in drawings and some disputable reconstructions, his article in the *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* for 1915 remains the single most important contribution to the study of the sculpture in a regional context, and the starting point for any subsequent attempt to cover the same area.

This is not only because of the generally high standard of drawing and the systematic approach, recording location, measurements, stone type, some provenance history and earlier publications (although these last are not complete), but because in his discussions of some pieces, and also at the end of the article (id. 1915a, 261–99), he placed this sub-regional study in the wider context of the sculpture of Yorkshire (building on his earlier work in the east and north of the county) and to some extent of Northumbria as a whole. The monument and pattern types and the figural scenes for the whole county were summarised here.

Collingwood also placed the West Riding sculpture in what he understood to be its historical context. He explicitly interpreted a number of historical events as affecting the spread, both of sculpture in general and then of particular sculptural forms or motifs, into the West Riding (id. 1915a, 294–9). For example, he saw the

kingdom of Elmet and the western dales as inhibiting factors on the early expansion of Deira to the west, and the seventh-century annexation of Deira by Bernicia as implying that the origin of the stone cross should be sought north of the Tees, and not in Yorkshire, where he saw no evidence of work before 700. In the eighth century, he allowed that there was early sculpture in the north west of the West Riding, at sites such as Ripon, Collingham, Otley and Ilkley. Sites from the southern half of the area, Dewsbury, Thornhill, and Sheffield, he admitted only in the ninth century, and Kirkheaton and Kirkburton even later, as part of the Anglian settlement of Elmet. From the end of the ninth century Danish Christians desiring a monument had to look to Anglo-Saxon carvers — and in this period he placed the cross-base at Hartshead, the Leeds parish church cross (Leeds 1 and 6), and new developments in the north-east of the area at Collingham, Aberford and Saxton. He stressed the Anglian legacy in the south of the West Riding, saying that monuments with specifically Norse or Danish features, as opposed to those he regarded as merely decadent, were not to be found south of Leeds. In the north, he proposed that the Scandinavian settlers, as sheep farmers, were able to make a living in the dales — he cited Gargrave, Kildwick, Slaidburn, Burnsall, and Kirkby Malzeard in the area in support of this.

In the same year, he published his account of the early crosses at Leeds (Collingwood 1915b), in which he placed these remains in their local and historical context, repeating and enlarging on his views as to the historical background of the material. In a more wide-ranging article (id. 1916–18), however, he stressed a different aspect of his analysis of the development of Anglian sculpture, in particular its indebtedness to Roman and Italian sources both earlier and contemporary, with the earliest Anglian sculpture closest to its origins, and demonstrating a progressive decadence and stylisation which continued even into the Anglo-Scandinavian period.

Collingwood's detailed work on Yorkshire provided the backbone to his overall study of the sculpture of Northumbria, published in 1927, and for a number of later publications. In one of these, another important area study within the West Riding (id. 1929), he had clearly modified his views of the lack of Scandinavian sculpture south of Leeds to some extent, suggesting that Danish settlers could be traced in some of the sculpture from Kirkheaton and Kirkburton, and the Norse in some from High Hoyland: the latter he traced through evidence of links with the west, from Cumbria and Galloway. He believed that the historical evidence for the movement of Norse from these areas dated both the sculpture and the first arrival of the Norse in the region. As well as

historical evidence, he deployed place-name evidence, and evidence from the appearance of new monument and pattern types.

Writers on pre-Conquest art in the middle decades of the twentieth century tended to concentrate on the bigger picture from the beginning to the end of the pre-Conquest period, and for the whole country: for example Brown 1937; Kendrick 1938 and 1949; Rice 1953. Such work drew on the more detailed and comprehensive regional surveys which had preceded them, and also began or contributed to the interest in studies based around one or two particularly outstanding examples, even if placing them in a wider context, such as Brown 1921. Some, however, did undertake regional and period studies, attempting to distinguish between Anglian traditions and Viking developments in the late pre-Conquest period: Kendrick 1941a and 1941b, for example. In these studies, the influence of the themes set up by Collingwood is apparent and strong, and he himself continued to draw on his earlier work until the early 1930s.

In the later part of the twentieth century a number of surveys of Anglo-Saxon art looked at regional as well as period developments, and made it easier to approach the comparative material in other media: Wilson 1964 and 1984; Backhouse, Turner and Webster 1984; Webster and Backhouse 1991. However, there were other more important developments for the study of the sculpture of Yorkshire, including the West Riding. The first was the growth in the development of Viking studies, especially those which used or analysed the evidence of art styles and specifically Scandinavian iconography in relation to the movement of peoples. This interest, in which themes from Scandinavian mythology were recognised, was present from much earlier, of course, in for example Browne 1885a, but became more explicit: for instance in Shetelig 1948; or Henry 1967. From the 1970s, however, there was considerable interest in evidence for Scandinavian settlement: this has been examined through place-names studies, particularly in the work of Gillian Fellows-Jensen (1972, 1987, 1995), whose influence is apparent in the study of the Scandinavian place-names in Faull and Moorhouse's regional survey of the West Riding (1981, I, 203–9; and see Chap. II, p. 18). There has been greater scepticism since the 1980s about place-names as evidence for settlement of particular linguistic groups, and indeed in the homogeneity of racial groups in any area (Higham 2004), but this view can be challenged (see for example the socio-linguistic perspective proposed in Townend 2000). It is no coincidence, however, that work on the Viking-age sculpture of northern England also really took

off in the 1970s, for example in new work by Lang on the spread of images of Sigurd and Weland and other examples of Scandinavianised iconography (Lang 1974, 1975a, 1975b, 1976a, 1978b, 1978c for example); and on hogbacks as a distinctive monument type with a very particular geographical spread (Lang 1967, 1984). Lang's focus was on Yorkshire, but the wider picture, taking in Ireland, southern Scotland and the north west of England, including these and other aspects of form and iconography, were also developed by Bailey, in a series of books and papers (1978, 1980, 1984, 1996a, 1996c; see also Bailey and Cramp 1988).

There have been some important recent studies of the archaeology of the area. The archaeology, sculpture and architecture of Ripon, for example, has received extensive coverage from the 1990s: all important for understanding the sculptural remains at this important and early site (see for example Hall 1995; Hall and Whyman 1996; Hall, Patterson, Mortimer and Whitfield 1999; Bailey 1991). Some of the works by Lang mentioned above also have a Ripon focus. A recent development has been the publication of regional archaeological surveys, summing up current knowledge and assessing future priorities: for Yorkshire as a whole this is to be found in Manby, Moorhouse and Ottaway 2003 (see within it particularly Hall 2003). The West Riding is fortunate in having a more specific study for the west of the present county (it does not cover the whole of the historic West Riding), that by Faull and Moorhouse 1981, which looked *inter alia* at the distribution of sculpture in the area covered, and the extent of the original *parochia* of Dewsbury (see Chap. II, p. 20). Churches and sculpture in the south and west of the region have been surveyed by Ryder (1982; 1991; 1993).

Another important development in recent work has been the particular interest in building up a chronology of Anglian sculptures in both Mercia and Northumbria. Major sculptures of the West Riding have figured largely in these studies. The most influential of these is Cramp 1970 on the Otley crosses, a paper to which many later papers by other writers have in effect been a response, specifically in the case of I. N. Wood 1987. Many of the themes picked up in her 1970 paper were elaborated by Cramp in a series of other publications (1976, 1977, 1978a, 1984, 1999, 2006a, for instance). In this tradition are some of the later works by Lang, in particular Lang 1990a, 1993, 1999, 2000: particularly those in which he looked at classical influences on the Otley sculptures and the iconography of the 'apostle cross'. This growth of interest in iconography of the figural sculpture and its background in contemporary exegesis is also found in the work of Bailey (1996c); Coatsworth (1979, 1988,

2000); and Hawkes (1989, 2002a, 2003b), for example. Such work has informed the ongoing debate on the meaning and context of some aspects of the sculpture, particularly the figural sculpture, of the West Riding, and forms a necessary background to any current and future work. Harbison (1992), with its full coverage of the Irish material and detail of the exegetical background to the figural sculpture in particular, has also proved important for an understanding of the Norse-Irish background to some of the later sculpture in the region. The emphasis on non-figural ornament, pioneered by J. R. Allen, and continued in the work of Collingwood has not been so prominent recently, although it is still given its due place in the *Corpus* volumes (Cramp 1991): the work of Adcock on interlace (1974) and animal ornament (2002) has been important for the present study. Two other unpublished area studies should also be acknowledged: Craig 1992 on the pre-Norman sculpture of south-western Scotland; and especially Sidebottom 1994, which included a number of the sculptures in the West Riding in its study of the pre-Norman sculpture of the north Midlands.

Several previous *Corpus* volumes have been mentioned above. The volumes already published for the adjacent areas of Cumbria and northern Lancashire (Bailey and Cramp 1988), and Durham and Northumberland (Cramp 1984) have been important for an understanding of the relationship of the West Riding material to the sculpture of Northumbria as a whole. That for Lincolnshire has been important for a consideration of the spread of specific types of Viking-age sculpture (Everson and Stocker 1999; see also Stocker 2000). The pre-Conquest sculpture of the rest of Yorkshire has also been published in two previous *Corpus* volumes, Lang 1991 (on York and eastern Yorkshire); and Lang 2001 (on northern Yorkshire): having these two works available has been of inestimable value in the preparation of the present volume.

Previous work on the West Riding sculpture, the *Corpus* volumes mentioned above, and the study of the

historical background (Chap. II below), have suggested a number of possibilities for research in the area. The existence of the huge ecclesiastical estates of at first Wilfrid, and subsequently the bishops, then archbishops, of York, must be important for the study of the sculpture in this region: such estates are not documented for this period elsewhere in Yorkshire. The existence of a large royal estate with several foci but apparently a minster at Dewsbury is more speculative, but must be an important consideration for the connections between the sculptures in this area. It is notable that there is a concentration of important figural sculptures and inscriptions in the West Riding, associated with these estates — with the inscriptions in particular related to the Dewsbury area of influence.

Collingwood was aware of differences in the distribution and style of Viking-age sculpture in the West Riding, though at one point he considered this mainly in relation to the area south of Leeds (id. 1915a, 294–9), later modifying his views somewhat in this respect (id. 1929). Nevertheless he clearly perceived differences in the spread of monument types, iconography and motifs of Scandinavian origin, which require further analysis.

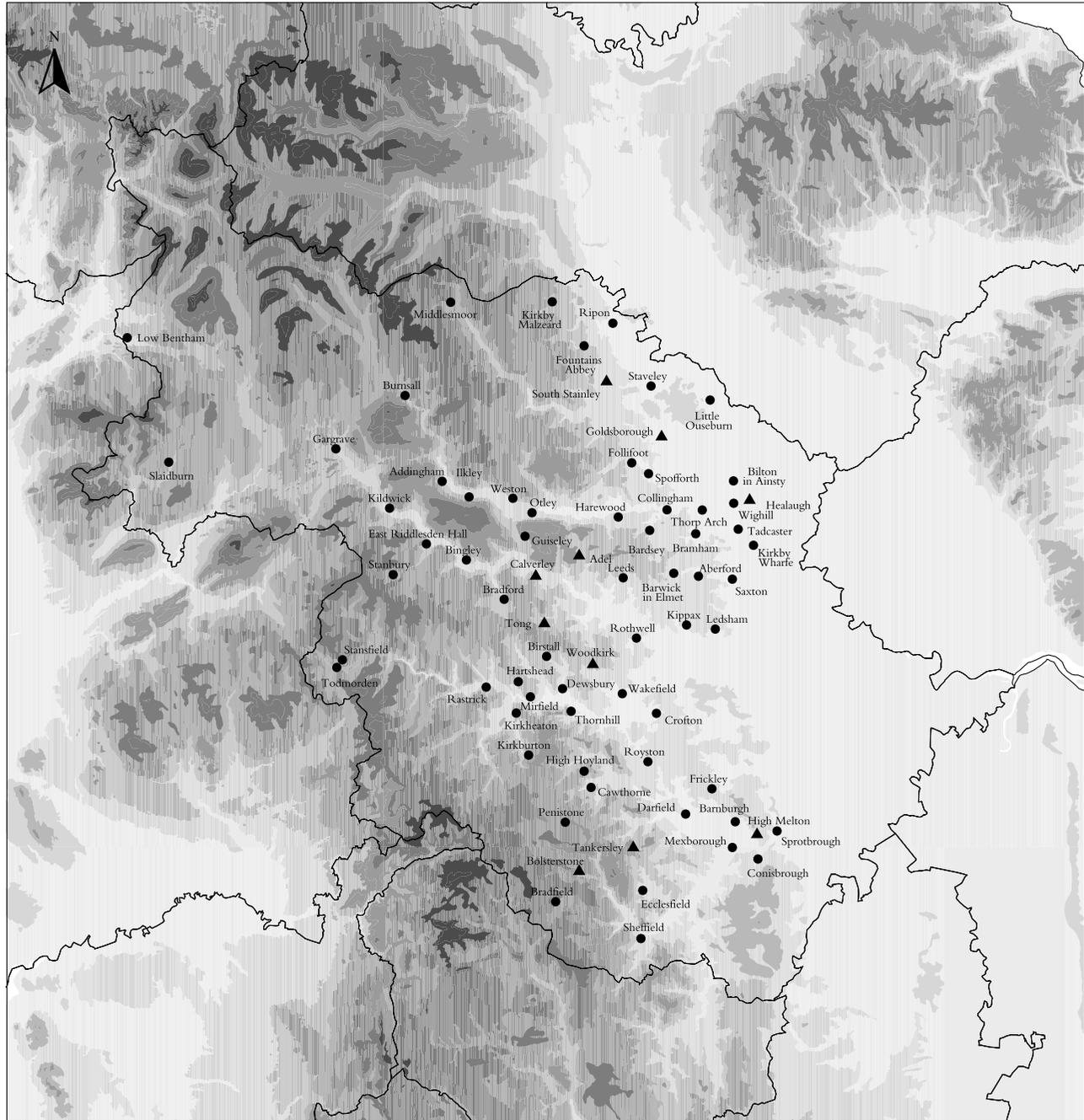
Connections with sculptural groups in adjacent regions need elucidating, as in the case of the work of the ‘Uredale master’ defined by Lang (2001, 43). Some major works at Otley and Ilkley and their connections have been well-studied; others at Dewsbury, though they have received some attention, have been discussed since Collingwood’s time mainly in relation to other works, partly, perhaps, because his views on the late settlement of Elmet means that the Dewsbury group have often been seen as followers of styles originated elsewhere. The emphasis on these major works, both in the south and the north of the area, however, means that connections between, and groupings of, other sculptures have been considerably less studied. The existence of the previous *Corpus* volumes, and especially those for the rest of Yorkshire, have made approaches to some of these questions possible.

WEST YORKSHIRE	SOUTH YORKSHIRE	NORTH YORKSHIRE	LANCASHIRE
Bradford	Barnsley	Bilton in Ainsty	Slaidburn
Addingham	Cawthorne	Burnsall	
Bingley	Darfield	Follifoot	
Bradford	High Hoyland	Fountains Abbey	
Ilkley	Penistone	Gargrave	
Stanbury	Royston	Kildwick	
<i>Tong</i>	<i>Tankersley</i>	Kirkby Malzeard	
Calderdale	Doncaster	Kirkby Wharfe	
Rastrick	Barnburgh	Little Ouseburn	
Stansfield	Conisbrough	Low Bentham	
Todmorden	Frickley	Middlesmoor	
Kirklees	Mexborough	Ripon	
Birstall	Sprotbrough	Saxton	
Dewsbury	<i>High Melton</i>	Spofforth	
East Riddlesden Hall	Sheffield	Staveley	
Hartshead	Bradfield	Tadcaster	
Kirkburton	Ecclesfield	Weston	
Kirkheaton	Sheffield	Wighill	
Mirfield	<i>Bolsterstone</i>	<i>Goldsborough</i>	
Thornhill		<i>Healaugh</i>	
<i>Woodkirk</i>		<i>South Stainley</i>	
Leeds			
Aberford			
Bardsey			
Barwick in Elmet			
Bramham			
Collingham			
Guiseley			
Harewood			
Kippax			
Ledsham			
Leeds			
Otley			
Rothwell			
Thorp Arch			
<i>Adel</i>			
<i>Calverley</i>			
Wakefield			
Crofton			
Wakefield			

KEY:
 Modern county in capitals
 Metropolitan or unitary authority in bold
 Additional Appendix A sites in italics

TABLE 1

Sites with sculpture in the historic West Riding of Yorkshire, divided into modern counties and unitary authorities



- Sites: Main Catalogue
 - ▲ Sites: Appendix A
- Height Above Sea Level (metres)
- 0m to 50m
 - 50m to 100m
 - 100m to 150m
 - 150m to 300m
 - 300m to 500m
 - 500m and Above

FIGURE 2
 Sites with sculpture in western Yorkshire, with topography

