## Nested negotiations: Landscape and portable material culture in Viking-Age England

Two volumes Volume 1

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## **Abstract**

This thesis examines transitions in life and landscape in Scandinavian-occupied early medieval England. The Viking Age is here contextualized within a longer view, looking both to Middle Saxon England on the eve of the Scandinavian incursions, and beyond the end of Scandinavian rule to structures of landholding and lordship following the Norman Conquest (c.AD 700-1100). Four local case studies from across three different counties (Lincolnshire, Norfolk, and Leicestershire) provide the basis for analysis.

The primary dataset used to identify and assess these places was metal-detected portable material culture recorded with the Portable Antiquities Scheme (PAS). This is combined with data from HERs, Domesday Book, place-names, and landscape evidence in order to identify new early medieval settlements and occupied landscapes. Within these it is possible to identify a range of activities taking place, and socio-cultural negotiations being enacted. This enables the tracking of settlement dynamics over time, and in particular how changing social, political, and cultural contexts affected these transitions.

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# **Accompanying Material**

• DVD with electronic version of thesis (.pdf), Project Database (Appendix 2), high resolution 'Refined Chronology' maps (Appendix 5)

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## Author's Declaration

I declare that this thesis is a presentation of original work and I am the sole author. This work has not previously been presented for an award at this, or any other, University. All sources are acknowledged as References.

## **Chapter 1: Introduction**

The English Viking Age (c. AD 800-1100) can be viewed in many different lights: through the concepts of colonisation and settlement, culture contact and acculturation, or migration and diaspora. In England, the key actors in the Viking Age tend to be characterised as 'local' or 'native' Anglo-Saxons, facing raids and eventually settlement by foreign 'Scandinavians'1, although it is now accepted that the situation was in fact far more complex (see, for example, various articles in Hadley and Richards (2000) and Graham-Campbell et al (2001); Hadley (2005); Richards (2011); Abrams (2012); Downham (2012); McLeod (2014)). Multiple agents, identity negotiations, and longer-term sociocultural processes were at work, and though the Viking Age was a time of many transitions, Scandinavian influence was not necessarily the primary catalyst behind all of them. Complex negotiations were nested within different temporal, locational, and sociocultural frameworks, the networks of which remain to be explored in greater detail. Holistic, multiscalar analysis with a focus on local, everyday life is therefore the best way to access the diverse but interconnected microhistories of the Viking Age. Such an approach furthermore enables a more balanced view of Late Saxon life in general, acknowledging the many different factors affecting change in rural communities.

Archaeological inquiry into Viking Age England<sup>2</sup> suffers from a general paucity of excavated material evidence, although it is beginning to benefit from an increasing number of portable artefacts dated to this period recovered through metal-detecting. Nation- and county-wide assessments of this evidence have highlighted patterns regarding artefact distribution in relation to land use and topography (Richards *et al.* 2009), while methodological research has identified the best ways to address and circumnavigate the inherent biases in such datasets (Robbins 2012, 2013). This has been complemented by research on particular artefact types that develop discussions of Anglo-Scandinavian identity and gender (e.g. Kershaw 2009). Future steps now remain to address the nuances underlying local and regional distributions by combining landscape studies with a closer look at the artefactual record.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Often termed 'Danes' in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, but this should not be read as evidence of ethnic homogeneity or contemporary knowledge of how the newcomers identified themselves. <sup>2</sup> Terminology and its use here is discussed in detail below (1.3.2). Briefly, however, 'Viking Age' is used to refer to a time period (c. AD 800-1100) covering the rise of viking activity and Scandinavian colonisation throughout the North Atlantic and beyond; 'Anglo-Scandinavian England' refers to the same time period, but also has regional connotations, indicating the parts of England subject to 'Danish' control and law: eastern and northern England, also known as the 'Danelaw'.

### 1.1 Research Aims and Objectives

This research aims to explore the transition from the Middle to Late Saxon period in rural 'Anglo-Scandinavian' England between c. AD 650-1100, focusing on change as reflected in the relationship between portable material culture and the social and natural landscape context. Four detailed case studies ('Roxby', 'Aunsby', 'Dunham' and 'Frisby'; Figure 1.1) in three sub-regions (Lincolnshire, Norfolk, and Leicestershire) present contrasting and complementary narratives of life and landscape across the period of Scandinavian incursion and settlement. A range of interconnected research objectives were identified through which to achieve the project aim, informed to a large extent by the diverse nature of the evidence applied. The objectives fall under four interconnected themes:

#### Theme 1: Methodological

**Main objective:** To demonstrate the effectiveness of regional syntheses of archaeological data from largely unpublished sources as the primary means of addressing period-specific research questions.

#### Theme 2: Landscape and artefacts

**Main objectives:** To evaluate, at local and regional scales, the relationship between artefacts and perceptions of place in Anglo-Scandinavian England, as well as the modern influences affecting their perceived relationship.

#### Theme 3: Artefacts and people

**Main objectives:** To compare inter-regional communal identities in Anglo-Scandinavian England as expressed materially through artefacts recovered from the case studies.

#### Theme 4: People and landscape

**Main objective:** To evaluate the role of people in shaping social, political and agricultural landscapes within Anglo-Scandinavian England, and to assess, in turn, the impact of the landscape on those who lived in it.

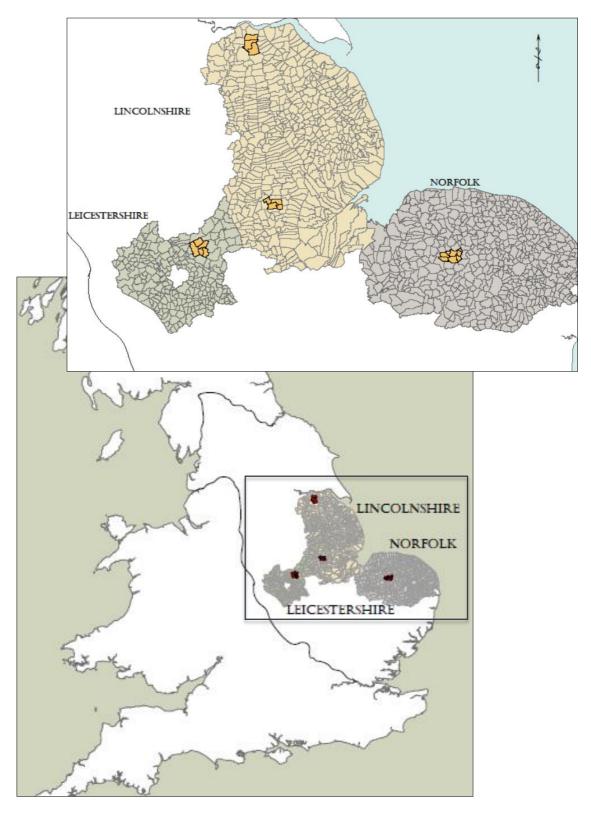


FIGURE 1.1: CASE STUDY LOCATIONS IN ENGLAND SHOWING APPROXIMATE 'DANELAW' REGION

### 1.2 Research Themes

Each of the themes and their underlying objectives is addressed in greater detail here, with reference to the ways in which they also feed into broader debates within Viking Age and landscape archaeology.

#### 1.2.1 Theme 1: Methodological

It is now widely acknowledged that the near-invisibility of Scandinavians in England's archaeological record is due to their swift integration into local Anglo-Saxon populations (Hadley 2008; Richards 2011). The evidence for this remains to be explored in greater detail, with attention to the impact that different geographies and local communities might have had on Scandinavian settlement. Medieval settlement enquiries are moving away from parish- and village-specific studies, opting to explore multiple or wider regions, thus leaving room for comparison between two or more 'landscape histories' (Jones and Hooke 2012, 31). It is one objective here to contrast patterns of activity and change across different parts of Anglo-Scandinavian England and at varying scales; this project has therefore adopted a 'nested' case study approach, with a cluster of parishes constituting the local focus.<sup>3</sup> These are in turn situated within three different sub-regions (counties), and four different kingdoms (Lindsey, Kesteven, East Anglia, and Mercia). Under-studied regions of Anglo-Scandinavian England were targeted specifically to act as local case studies in order to demonstrate the wealth of information that could be gleaned from lesser-used sources of data, particularly the Portable Antiquities Scheme database (PASD).

This project embraces the rather unique case that Anglo-Scandinavian England presents compared to other parts of the 'Viking Diaspora' where archaeological evidence of an overtly 'Scandinavian' nature (e.g. burial mounds, longhouse architecture, stone sculpture) is more apparent (e.g. Atlantic Scotland, the Isle of Man, Iceland, and Scandinavia). Rather than focusing on the relative paucity of Scandinavian material culture in England, it looks inclusively at the data that *is* readily available for the period as a whole: most notably, metal-detected portable artefacts.

Portable material culture, primarily from the metal-detected finds recorded under the Portable Antiquities Scheme (PAS), provides a wealth of information through which to access the early medieval period. Portable artefacts collectively represent communities, and behind each artefact entire networks of people (e.g. craftspeople, suppliers, traders, and travellers) can be inferred, if not traced (Vedeler 2014; Ashby 2014a).

In addition to the PASD, a range of other under-utilised archaeological evidence exists in various repositories, most notably the results of post-PPG16 (Planning Policy Guidance) excavation reports stored as 'grey literature', and regional Historic Environment Records (HERs), normally curated by county council Historic Environment Services. Other evidence includes: environmental and topographic data; place-names; aerial photographs and Google Earth images; historical maps; prehistoric monuments and Roman settlements which might have continued to influence the early medieval landscape; sculpture; and

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> In keeping with the 'nested' approach, throughout the following chapters, 'Boxes' are included as individual case studies on aspects related to the topics at hand, but which are not necessarily critical to the arguments presented. These serve to highlight certain examples from the archaeological and historical record in more detail than would otherwise be possible.

Domesday Book statistics and manorial relationships. The value of the PASD has been adequately demonstrated in other research projects (see, for example, Brindle 2011; Robbins 2012), and Early and Middle Saxon periods have been evaluated through a combination of metal-detected and HER data (e.g. Ulmschneider 2000a; Chester-Kadwell 2009). To date, however, we are in need of appropriate models for the integration of Viking Age PAS data with other forms of available, if disparate, archaeological evidence as part of multi-regional, rural landscape studies (although see Ten Harkel (2010) for a region-specific urban and rural study). Calls are being made for effective syntheses of the growing grey literature libraries (Gardiner and Rippon 2009, 66-7), and Gardiner and Rippon concede (albeit without mention of metal-detecting or the PAS) that '[e]ven small, unstratified assemblages of material in sufficient numbers can start to shed light on the origins and development of currently occupied medieval settlements' (2009, 67). This project thereby intends, as one objective, to test and develop a means of synthesising this material, which could then be applied to future projects. This methodological theme underpins the following research objectives as none of the other questions can be answered without effective synthesis. With many strands of evidence to draw together, there are therefore multiple approaches to reconcile. This methodological approach is detailed fully in Chapter 3.

#### Theme 1: Summary of objectives

- To synthesise unpublished archaeological data in order to examine previously-unknown or understudied areas in Anglo-Scandinavian England
- To assess, at varying scales, change in landscape and material culture across the Anglo-Scandinavian period
- To develop a model for future regional syntheses

## 1.2.2 Theme 2: Landscape and artefacts

The relationship between landscape and artefacts is by no means straightforward: it involves multiple agents through the past to the present day, including individuals, but also cultural and natural processes. All of these affect their availability as archaeological evidence, and are thus part of the 'collection bias' (Robbins 2012, 56).

As the Portable Antiquities Scheme has gained recognition as a source of archaeological enquiry, so have efforts increased to ensure its value is not undermined by the many biases inherent in a product of predominantly amateur metal-detecting. Robbins' recent PhD thesis (2012) was seminal in refining the steps that those making use of PAS data should follow. These are discussed in greater detail in Chapter 3, but it remains here to outline the complex relationship that the artefacts listed in the PASD had with the landscape, their recovery, and the recording process. Robbins has termed this 'The seven stages of collection bias' (2013, 56-7), described in Table 1.1, Table 1.2, and Figure 1.2:

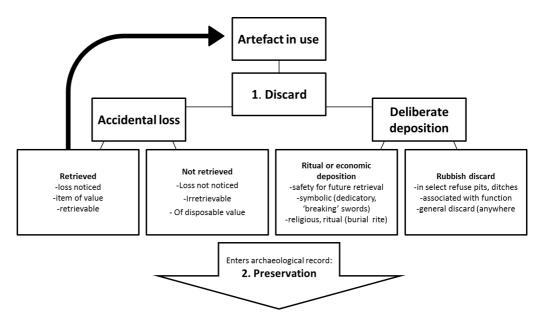


FIGURE 1.2: THE FIRST STAGE OF COLLECTION BIAS: DISCARD Based on Robbins (2012, 27-9).

TABLE 1.1: 'THE SEVEN STAGES OF COLLECTION BIAS'- STAGE 1 Based on Robbins (2012, 27-49).

Stage	Subcategory	Notes	Artefact Types (e.g.s)
1. Loss and discard		• more valuable items likely to be retrieved	<ul><li> items of gold or gems</li><li> larger items</li></ul>
	Accidental loss	• less valuable, smaller items unlikely to be retrieved	<ul> <li>small coinage</li> <li>earrings, beads, pins</li> <li>lead or copper alloy brooches, strap-ends; broken accessories</li> </ul>
		• rubbish discard	<ul><li>broken accessories</li><li>old tools</li><li>metal waste</li></ul>
	Deliberate deposition	• symbolic, ritual deposit	<ul><li>jewellery</li><li>weaponry</li><li>vessels</li><li>toiletries</li></ul>
		• safekeeping	<ul><li>coins</li><li>mixed hoards</li><li>ingots, hacksilver</li><li>tools</li></ul>

TABLE 1.2: 'THE SEVEN STAGES OF COLLECTION BIAS'- STAGES 2-7 Based on Robbins (2012, 27-49).

Stage	Notes	Notes		
2. Preservation	<ul> <li>gold least prone, iron</li> </ul>	<ul> <li>chemical agents in soils affect rates of corrosion as do metal types</li> <li>gold least prone, iron most prone to corrosion (Robbins 2012, 31)</li> <li>acidity of soils major factor in rate of corrosion: higher acidity= more corrosion (e.g. Farewell 2009)</li> </ul>		
3. Survival	<ul> <li>added fertiliser can ch</li> </ul>	<ul> <li>affected by medieval to modern processes</li> <li>added fertiliser can change rate of corrosion (Robbins 2012, 33)</li> <li>plough damage and damage from natural elements once in ploughsoil affects survival</li> </ul>		
4. Exposure		<ul> <li>larger objects more subject to erosion downslope and exposure after tillage than smaller artefacts (Robbins 2012, 35 after Brindle 2011 and Boismier 1991, 1997)</li> </ul>		
Stage	Subcategory	Notes		
	Technique	excavation, geophysics, metal-detecting, etc.		
5. Recovery	Site choice	<ul> <li>Rescue or developer-funded excavations?</li> <li>Research excavations depend on funding, accessibility, other logistics</li> <li>Focus on high-yield fields ('hotspots' 'productive sites') is common in metal-detecting (Robbins 2012, 39)</li> </ul>		
	Sampling methods	<ul> <li>Professional and amateur sampling methods differ</li> <li>Amateur detectorists sample ploughed fields over other types of ground coverage (e.g. woods) and not necessarily systematic in coverage of field, unlike organised field-walking (Robbins 2012, 41)</li> </ul>		
	Visibility	<ul> <li>Visibility of artefact as well as visibility on ground (e.g. height of crop, grass, weather conditions) will affect chances of recovery</li> <li>Strength of signal emitted to metal-detectors varies on soil type and mineral content (Robbins 2012, 42)</li> </ul>		
	Individual impact	<ul> <li>An individual's preferences, knowledge and recognition skills, speed of work, and visual abilities will all affect artefact recovery.</li> </ul>		
Stage	Notes			
6. Reporting	recovered, including: <ul><li>artefact type (perha that FLOs do not w</li><li>accessibility of FLO</li></ul>	<ul> <li>artefact type (perhaps inability of detectorist to identify certain artefact, or idea that FLOs do not wish to see certain types/periods of artefacts)</li> <li>accessibility of FLOs and club meetings</li> <li>relationship with archaeologists, FLOs, and land-owners (see Robbins 2012, 46-7</li> </ul>		
7. Recording	recorded first, or focu artefact type)  • Artefacts without six-	<ul> <li>Dependent on workload and backlog of data, more interesting finds might be recorded first, or focus might tend to individual preferences (e.g. for a time period or artefact type)</li> <li>Artefacts without six-figure grid reference are no longer recorded in most cases (Scott, pers. comm. July 2014)</li> </ul>		

The steps presented here are evaluated at the local case study level to ensure regional collection biases are factored into archaeological interpretations.

This theme is in part methodological, since one objective is to establish categorical models to apply to portable material culture through which specific 'sites' or 'activity zones' might be determined. Another related objective is to evaluate how activity foci may or may not have shifted over time. Can metal-detected artefacts indicate landscapes of continuity or highlight breaks in occupation sequences? Such revelations could be linked into wider questions on the 'Middle-Saxon shift' phenomenon (Arnold and Wardle 1981; Hamerow 1991; Thomas 2010), the potential consequences of Viking incursions and Scandinavian settlement (Leahy 2007b, 165), or the influence of previous periods of activity affecting settlement choice (e.g. Deegan and Foard 2007, 134-5; Reynolds 2011). Our current awareness of the chronology of the Scandinavian occupation in England remains dictated by historical sources, particularly the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (see, for example, McLeod (2014)) which only refers to a fraction of the communities active in the early medieval period. Metal-detected finds in the PASD, however, have the potential to 'refine our understanding of the chronology and process of Scandinavian immigration during the ninth and tenth centuries' — an objective specifically highlighted in the recent East Midlands Regional Research Framework (Knight et al. 2012, 82: 6.1.5).

The final objectives under this theme are to assess, at both the local and inter-regional level, the relationship between artefacts and places of meaning: can artefact distributions highlight locational significance either directly or indirectly? Do they point to change in the way places were used and can they shed light as to why? These questions enable us to think about perceptions of place, the evolution of meaning in the Anglo-Scandinavian landscape, as well as patterns of movement related to identity, ideas, and people.

#### Theme 2: Summary of objectives

- To gain knowledge of regional 'collection biases' in order to inform interpretations of evidence
- To establish whether specific sites or 'activity zones' are made visible when PAS data is categorised in different ways, and test to what extent integration of 'secondary data' can further inform such interpretations
- To assess past perceptions of place over time through artefact distributions
- To evaluate the movement of artefacts through the early medieval landscape in terms of networks of connectivity and communication

### 1.2.3 Theme 3: Artefacts and people

If, as is accepted, Scandinavian settlers in England assimilated with their neighbours over the course of one or two generations, we should not merely be looking for material outputs signifying 'assimilation' such as 'Anglo-Scandinavian' culture, but more broadly at all outputs in a given context across the Viking Age. In this way we should be seeking processes of socio-cultural negotiations on multiple levels including dialogue between social classes, not merely culturally-defined groups. Assimilation would not have

happened all at once or uniformly across the areas of Scandinavian settlement; indeed the available evidence points to factionalism and diversity over time and space within Anglo-Scandinavian England. The research theme 'Artefacts and people' is thus closely linked to issues concerning 'identity' — a topic which continues to resurface in discussions of culture contact, colonisation, and diaspora (e.g. Hadley and Richards 2000; Barrett 2003; Kershaw 2009; Abrams 2012; Kershaw 2013) and cannot be avoided in discussions of Viking Age England.

The objectives under this theme consider identities as linked to portable artefacts on three different scales: individual, communal, and regional. This is ultimately to compare the multiple identities it is expected were exhibited in different regions, times, and contexts across Anglo-Scandinavian England. The focus here is not solely to discern cultural affiliations, but rather to evaluate communities as a whole — including potential influences derived from different cultures — and also taking into account social status, occupation, and gender.

To this end, it is maintained that metal-detected portable material culture presents a more democratic cross-section of society (Geake and Naylor 2008, 102) than other forms of artefact recovery which are subject to selection hierarchy (e.g. excavations of high-status sites) or historical promotion (e.g. Repton). These artefacts, recovered without research agenda from multiple fields, and therefore spanning various realms of past activity and status, speak for at least part of the 'silent majority' or the 'nameless' (e.g. Fleming 2010, xx) and provide 'a realistic sample of actual personal possessions' (Geake and Naylor 2008, 102). Granted, discrimination against iron objects in metal-detecting means that the lowest rungs of society — who were without means of acquiring copperalloy dress accessories — and many daily activities are still under-represented. But the cheaply produced, widely-worn brooches and strap-ends of Anglo-Scandinavian England are material links to the unnamed middle: the freemen and women, the independent farmers and lesser landlords; those with some surplus with which to proclaim their aspirations to the upper echelons of society, but whose names — unless preserved in field-names or villages — are otherwise unrecorded and forgotten.

#### Theme 3: Summary of objectives

- To evaluate multi-faceted communal and individual identities as exhibited through portable material culture in Anglo-Scandinavian England
- To contrast emerging identity signatures across different parts of Anglo-Scandinavian England: to what extent did regionality play a role in shaping these identities?

### 1.2.4 Theme 4: People and landscape

In England, the Viking Age, from its eve to the Norman Conquest, spanned approximately fifteen generations.<sup>4</sup> The final theme, 'People and landscape' seeks to draw together the evidence and interpretations from the themes above in order to evaluate the impact that the generations living across the Anglo-Scandinavian period had on the natural and structured environment. This includes more abstract forms of 'landscape', including social, religious, political, economic, and cultural. The theme also embraces the theory that landscapes, in turn, acted on those living within them, a theme familiar to prehistoric archaeologists though only more recently applied in medieval archaeological studies (see Bradley and Williams 1998; Edmonds 1999; Bradley 2000 on prehistory; and Altenberg 2003; Lund 2008; Lund 2010 for early medieval English and Scandinavian examples).

The objectives here are therefore to explore aspects of change and continuity through the manipulation of land and people in the form of boundary creation, and estate relationships; but also to assess more organic reactions to land and ownership through the naming of places and shifts in settlement morphology. Some of the wider medieval landscape and Viking Age research questions that these touch upon include: the identification of social or political boundaries; whether estate centres can be traced archaeologically (e.g. Knight *et al.* 2012, 6.1.7); the relationship between material culture and place-names; and the role of religion in landscape organisation.

In this way, these objectives address the recent call for syntheses of archaeological data at the local level (e.g. Gardiner and Rippon 2009, 67; McClain 2012 (on later medieval archaeology)) in order to colour, populate, and review the models that wider-scale analyses have identified. Local landscapes are the arenas where cultural interactions — whether cooperative, conflicting or conciliatory — are best viewed. At this scale, archaeological artefacts, place names, and topography can be drawn together to shape a distinct picture of lifestyle and identity in the past. This image is heightened at times of transition and culture contact, where a wider range of habits and decisions are archaeologically identifiable. Overall, however, small-scale studies are only truly worthwhile when related back to the wider context. A final objective is therefore to situate the local and regional case studies within their wider national, North Atlantic, and European early medieval contexts.

### Theme 4: Summary of objectives

- To examine the evidence for continuity and change across the Middle and Late Saxon periods and the role of Scandinavian influence.
- · To explore relationships between places, systems of control, and community perceptions of landscape
- To examine the preceding objectives within an intraregional, national, and diasporic context

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Generations are roughly calculated here based on cycles of 20 years.

## 1.3 Rationale and terminology

### 1.3.1 Reconciling landscape and portable material culture

This is not the first project to marry a landscape archaeology approach with a primary dataset of portable artefacts (cf. Chapter 2). Nevertheless some justification for uniting the two in order to assess Anglo-Scandinavian England is required. It has been noted recently that specialisation and small-scale research foci have served to fragment studies of the medieval period, while at the same time contributing valuable data to specific lines of enquiry (Reynolds 2011, 67). On the other hand, it is clear that nuanced understandings of regional and chronological differentiation within larger models cannot evolve without local and specialised approaches. Indeed, it is time that the concept of 'regionality' is more widely embraced in early medieval studies (see recent examples in Ashby (2011b); Carver (2011)). With this in mind, this project has adopted a multi-scalar approach using nested case studies in order to reconcile the 'local' evidence with the regional and intraregional. Furthermore, although portable metalwork lends itself well to specialist studies (e.g. Thomas 2000a; Thomas 2000b; Kershaw 2013; Weetch 2013), pairing their interpretation with the plethora of evidence available within a landscape archaeology approach ensures a well-rounded synthesis of the study regions that extends to include those living in the area but who might not necessarily be represented by the metal-detected record.

Traditional 'landscape' archaeology is bounded by space, but not time, advocating a longue durée approach (Braudel 1967). More frequently today, however, landscape archaeology is applied as a holistic approach to a given timespan and place. This is the method adopted here. Such an approach does not deny the importance of long and slow change, but recognises that, within this, 'moments of crisis' also exist to be explored in greater detail. Thus, the advent of the Viking Age in England might be seen as the beginning of one such 'moment'. In this case its evolution and repercussions were capped, not three hundred years later, by another moment: the Norman Conquest. There was, however, continuity and persistence on many levels of landscape and society at either end of the 'Viking Age'. With this in mind, the chronological limits of the project are set deliberately so as to encapsulate the Viking Age as a whole: a start-date of AD 650 sets the scene in Middle Anglo-Saxon England — a formative period in the development of the English rural countryside and nucleated villages (Thomas 2012, 45) — and enables a better evaluation of transitions introduced to England as a result of Scandinavian settlers. An end-date of AD 1100 allows for evaluation of the post-Conquest continuity of Scandinavian influence in political organisation and landholding, place-names, and material culture.

The landscapes studied here are both dated and located through PAS data. This is not the only way in which artefacts inform landscape, however. As reflected in the research themes above, the common denominator behind artefacts and inhabited landscapes are the people. Both landscape and object bring us, in different but complementary ways, closer to those who lived, worked, and travelled through Anglo-Scandinavian England.

Words that we might readily apply to certain artefacts, such as 'displayed', 'given', and even simply 'worn', all imply elements of decision-making and convey intent. Similarly, actions that relate to movement in the landscape imply choices made. Although landscape is often an individual experience, the varying scales of a given landscape form a crucial part of the multi-layered knowledge that a community stores, marked by shared words for places and recognisable landmarks that could lie beyond the immediate viewshed. Landscape also involves an intimacy of shared action: the travel companions, the ploughmen working the same type of soil, the drovers, the village children, the congregating spinners, the assembling decision-makers and justice-meters, those paying geld to the same reeve sent from the same central estate. In a similar way, material culture is both individual and communal, with ideas related to fashion and technology traversing space and social spheres. Thus, while there is flexibility to the ways in which people might choose to use an object, and fluidity in the ways a landscape might be utilised by different people, both are also bound by controls and norms (Ashby 2014a, 15). It is these social expectations, the boundaries, and the paths, which enable us to more accurately interpret how artefacts were used or came to be lost, and how a landscape was most likely travelled through. Furthermore, when these constraints or norms can be shown to have changed, we are better able to trace the catalysts compelling them.

On a similar note, artefacts reinforce the dynamism of the early medieval world; the connectedness of even the most rural of sites (e.g. Sindbæk 2007b). This can be extracted through clues to places of manufacture (e.g. coin mints), or the origins of the material components (e.g. antler (von Holstein *et al.* 2014); Mayen querns (e.g. Pohl 2010)). Occasionally landscape and artefact exhibit specific functional connections, such as a net weight lost in a carr, probably from a snagged casting net (cf. Chapter 4, p150). Overall, both provide multiple, complementary paths into the peopled past; taken together, they help to reconstruct nuanced and multi-scalar narratives of life and activity in the early medieval period.

### 1.3.2 'Anglo-Scandinavian' England and terminology

The period between the Scandinavian incursions and the Norman Conquest is known by various terms: Late Saxon, pre-Conquest, Later Anglo-Saxon, the Viking Age, and Anglo-Scandinavian, amongst others. Several of these have also been used as cultural descriptors. In light of criticisms over indiscriminate use of the term 'Viking', it is necessary to explicitly address the terminology applied here.

In all cases, neither ethnic nor cultural affiliations are implied in a term unless addressed on an individual basis. 'Viking' is used strictly in the original sense of the word

to describe those who went *viking* (Richards 2005, 10-1; Ten Harkel 2010, 24). 'Anglo-Scandinavian England' is used throughout to refer to a period *and* the region also known as the 'Danelaw'. The latter term is increasingly disputed and is therefore less frequently used here to denote the area north and east of Watling Street, granted at the treaty of Wedmore (Hadley 2002b, 47-8). 'Anglo-Scandinavian England' defines a more precise area than 'Viking Age England'; both periods are generously attributed the date range c. AD 800-1100, to encompass Scandinavian influences beginning prior to the Great Army settlement (c. AD 850) and those persisting after the Norman Conquest. Four other period descriptors are referred to: the Early (c. AD 400-650), Middle (c. AD 650-850) and Late Saxon (c. AD 850-1100) periods, which together form the 'early medieval period' (c. AD 400-1100). These latter are applied here as culturally 'neutral' terms, and refer strictly to dates. They are furthermore compatible with HER and PAS terminology.

It was more difficult to assign terminology to material culture. Cultural terms assigned by the PAS are inconsistent despite best attempts (see PAS 'Cultural terms' 2014). In this case, 'Viking' is rarely applied to describe material culture, except in specific contexts where artefacts are considered to be products of raiding (e.g. hoards) or long-distance trade in the form of foreign coinage (e.g. Islamic dirhams) or other eastern goods. The term 'Anglo-Scandinavian' is applied to material culture of Scandinavian stylistic, technological, or economic influence (e.g. brooches, ingots) which may have been produced in England, whereas 'Scandinavian' is used to refer to items that were produced in Scandinavia before being imported to England (e.g. Kershaw 2013). 'Anglo-Saxon' material culture has attributes unique to Anglo-Saxon England (as opposed to 'Late Saxon' which could comprise any of the above). The term 'productive site' is avoided where possible, on the basis of confusion associated with it and the different means by which these sites are judged (see discussion in Pestell and Ulmschneider (2003); and Richards et al (2009, 4.1.10)). Where fields have yielded three or more artefacts in this case, they may be referred to as artefact clusters or sites.

Finally, it is acknowledged that use of the terms 'Anglo-Saxons' for locals/natives, and 'Scandinavians' for settlers/colonisers, is overly-reductive. They are, however, necessary in order to broadly denote provenance. Neither those living in England, nor those travelling from Scandinavia, Ireland, or elsewhere from the continent, was a culturally homogenous group; 'Danes' (peoples from the modern regions of Denmark and northern Germany) tended to dominate the English settlement process (Hadley 2002b, 46-7), but they were accompanied by peoples from Frisia, Francia, Ireland, Norway, and other regions. Furthermore, there was more than one wave of Scandinavian settlers to England, in addition to which movement of families back and forth between Scandinavia and England took place over the centuries (Fellows-Jensen 1998). The phrase 'Anglo-Scandinavian' itself reflects the blending of cultures. There was, of course, no simplistic

melding of two distinct cultures during the Viking Age in England. While this project does not specifically seek evidence of cultural differentiation, conflict, or segregation, where evidence would seem to reflect such a case it is explored in detail. Scandinavian settlement and integration with local populations did not occur without consequence, but whether this is archaeologically observable beyond the emergence of 'Anglo-Scandinavian' material culture is a central question to this project.

This study embraces the multiple identities that were negotiated and fluidly adopted by the peoples living within given regions of Anglo-Scandinavian England. Portable material culture provides access to the minutiae of this inhabited world: it sheds light on status, cultural influences, gender and occupation, and can be an indicator of both group and individual identity. Furthermore, their distributions can be used to assess constructions of meaning in association with specific places on varying scales. Areas where high densities of portable artefacts have been located provide a wider landscape context within which to analyse the relationships between material culture, local and cultural identity, and place.

### 1.4 Thesis structure

This thesis aims to characterise the development of rural societies in Anglo-Scandinavian England through portable material culture. The objectives outlined above are met in the following chapters. First, the conceptual and methodological influences behind this project are reviewed in Chapter 2, with specific attention to approaches to the early medieval landscape and associated evidence, and previous studies of portable material culture in archaeological investigation. It is also important at this stage to introduce the three subregions of the study. Here, previous research, their natural landscapes, and political backgrounds within the context of early medieval England are presented.

Chapter 3 establishes the framework to achieving the first research objective: the methods by which the diverse forms of evidence are evaluated. Emphasis is placed on the forms of categorisation applied to the PAS data that were uniquely devised for this project. The methods by which the case studies were selected and their collection bias backgrounds are also outlined, thereby meeting one of the objectives under research Theme 2. The chapter concludes by introducing the case studies themselves.

Chapters 4 to 7 then present each of the case studies in turn, beginning with the two Lincolnshire studies (Chapter 4: Roxby, and Chapter 5: Aunsby), and are followed by the Norfolk study (**0**: Dunham), and that in Leicestershire (**Chapter 7**: Frisby). Each chapter presents the historical and archaeological backgrounds to the local and regional areas, contains an assessment of Domesday Book and place-name evidence, and a detailed artefactual analysis derived primarily from the PAS data. They conclude by characterising the local study area across the Middle to Late Saxon periods, in a synthesis of the evidence

presented. It is at this stage that the objectives from the second, third, and fourth research themes begin to be addressed.

The penultimate chapter (**Chapter 8**) draws together the case study results to discuss, in three interconnected subsections, the ways in which the landscapes, artefacts, and people of Lincolnshire, Norfolk, and Leicestershire exemplify regional differences in transitions into Anglo-Scandinavian England. It also situates the patterns evident in the case studies within the wider political and social context of Anglo-Saxon and Viking Age England, and the wider Viking diaspora, thereby linking all of the research objectives in an integrated discussion.

The concluding chapter (**Chapter 9**) summarises the project results, with attention to the four themes outlined above, and suggests future directions for the use of PAS data and early medieval landscape studies.

### Chapter 2: Literature

### 2.1 Introduction

Chapter One established the importance of portable antiquities to our understanding of the Anglo-Scandinavian period, and how nested studies of local and regional landscapes can further contextualise this high-resolution data. With specific attention to the subregions of Lincolnshire, Norfolk, and Leicestershire, the background to these topics is presented here. Theoretical concepts are explored through landscape and settlement studies, as well as portable material culture.

## 2.2 Anglo-Scandinavian England: an introduction to Lincolnshire, Norfolk, and Leicestershire

Before going into the details of the archaeological methods and literatures associated with portable material culture and landscape, the period itself deserves some contextualisation. This is undertaken here with specific reference to the subregions, each of which played important but differing roles in the evolution of the Viking Age and the region known as the Danelaw. In addition to their interest as areas of Scandinavian occupation, large quantities of Scandinavian-influenced metalwork have been recovered by metaldetectorists in the counties of Lincolnshire and Norfolk. These counties remain the regional foci for emerging debates on the nature of Scandinavian settlement in England which centre on the new portable material evidence (e.g. Margeson 1997; Leahy and Paterson 2001; Pestell 2013). Leicestershire has not produced similar quantities of finds and it therefore acts as a control against which to test the methodology: to what extent do the small finds provide evidence on this period that the 'secondary data' cannot? Before these artefacts can be explored within their landscape context, it is important to briefly present the current state of knowledge of each of the subregions. In one respect this is to highlight the political and historical differences between the regions so that the discussions that follow are easily tied back to these. This is the first step in the 'nesting' of the case studies.

It has previously been noted that archaeological evidence for a Scandinavian presence in England is scarce, but the fact that Late Saxon England experienced a 'Viking Age' is not in question; in what ways, then, can this period be defined? And in particular, what do we know about how the differing regions of Scandinavian-occupied England were affected? In recent years, more archaeological evidence for the period has come to light, and such

discoveries must be considered within the evolving narrative. Firstly, it is important to gain some understanding about the regional context of early medieval England on the eve of the Viking Age, in order to evaluate how change was later affected over the course of the Late Saxon period.

### 2.2.1 The Middle Saxon period

Eighth-century England on the eve of the Viking Age is generally characterised by the widespread acceptance of Christianity, reflected materially in shifts away from the large fifth to early seventh century pagan cemeteries of accompanied cremations and/or inhumations, to the unaccompanied Christian inhumations — increasingly associated with churches — of the seventh and eighth centuries (Hadley and Buckberry 2005; Welch 2012). With this came the rise of the church as a major landholder, and the control of vast complex estates by central minsters or other religious communities (Ulmschneider 2000a, 251-2; Blair 2005). Another traditional characteristic of the Middle Saxon period is the development of elite-controlled trade centres, the 'wics' or 'emporia', many of which evolved into the first post-Roman urban centres (Hodges 1982). Finally, the various kingdoms of early medieval England appear, by the Middle Saxon period, as well-established (albeit territorially flexible) units, with their own administrative systems (Newman 1999, 33).

The 'Middle Saxon' period, as it is often termed, has enjoyed more attention in recent years (Blinkhorn 1999; Ulmschneider 2000a, 2000b; Leahy 2003; Leahy 2007b; Davies 2013), and scholars are increasingly aware that earlier models derived from Hodges' *Dark Age Economics* (1982) and focusing solely on proto-urban 'emporia' are untenable (e.g. Anderton 1999; Naylor 2004). Similarly contentious is the role of minsters and markets and the extent to which they are over-identified in the archaeological (and specifically metal-detected) record (Loveluck 2007, 127; and see discussion in papers in Pestell and Ulmschneider 2003). Both of these debates nevertheless highlight the fact that in Middle Saxon England, centres of power and economic control took different forms. The systems in this period eventually gave way to the changes we see emerging in the Late Saxon period: urbanisation, nucleation, the fragmentation of complex estates — both ecclesiastical and secular — and economic shifts.

Although Lincolnshire has several important ecclesiastical sites well-attested to (Bennett 1993, 46), the county is not known to have had any *wics* (Sawyer 1998, 174). Lincoln itself — an important city in the Roman period (Jones *et al.* 2003) — has little evidence of coastal trade connections in the Middle Saxon period (Steane and Vince 1993, 77-8; Foot and Roffe 2007, 130). We now know, however, that other sites existed which had important trade connections, such as Flixborough (Foot and Roffe 2007, 136). Norfolk, on the other hand, had a developing *wic* at Norwich and a large settlement at Thetford,

although Ipswich, in Suffolk, was the most important centre in East Anglia as a whole (Rogerson 2005, 32). Minsters would have acted as other foci in Norfolk, although few of their locations are known at present (Dereham is one exception (Rogerson 2005, 32)). In Leicestershire, the only landlocked county of the subregions, there is less evidence for Middle-Saxon trading centres. There were nevertheless several important ecclesiastical communities around which trade and fairs might have centred, including a minster at Breedon, and from as early as the 670s, a bishopric at Leicester (Morris *et al.* 2011, 41). Other important seventh-century ecclesiastical sees in the east midlands and East Anglia were found at Ely, Peterborough (*Medeshamstead*), Iken, and *Dommoc*. Elmham and probably *Cnobheresburg* were in Norfolk; with Bardney, Barrow (on Humber), Caistor, and Threekingham in Lincolnshire (Blair 2005, 150) (Figure 2.1).<sup>5</sup>



FIGURE 2.1: EARLY MEDIEVAL ENGLAND: PLACES MENTIONED IN THE TEXT

At this time, regional kingdoms were being solidified. In the early seventh century, smaller tribal units coalesced in north Lincolnshire to form the kingdom of Lindsey, while

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> First mentions of several of these ecclesiastical sites are found in Anglo-Saxon Charters (e.g. Breedon, Barrow, and Peterborough), which otherwise offer little information on Norfolk (apart from Thetford and Crowland), Lincolnshire, and Leicestershire (Whitelock 1995).

to its south, the Tribal Hidage records the Spaldas and Bilmingas (Vince 2006, 165; Kessler and Dawson 2008). Natural features such as the Humber estuary, the Trent valley, and the River Witham that defined Lindsey bound many of these territories. The southern kingdoms of what was to become Lincolnshire — Kesteven and Holland — were both to the south and east of the Witham. Norfolk belonged to the kingdom of the East Angles, the western territory of which was probably loosely defined by the Fens (Williamson 2006, 11). Leicestershire lay within what is known as 'Middle Anglia', another probable coalescence of smaller tribes listed in the Tribal Hidage (Vince 2006, 165). All of the kingdoms of these subregions were subject at one time or another to the greater kingdom of Mercia, although East Anglia maintained the most autonomy up to the Scandinavian incursions (Williamson 2006, 43). Lindsey in particular was a source of contention between Northumbria and Mercia throughout the seventh century, an indication that the Humber was not always perceived as a political border. Indeed, the Witham and its surrounding alder carr were arguably a greater barrier, acting as a buffer between Lindsey and the southern kingdoms (Kesteven and Holland) which were more easily incorporated into Mercia from the seventh century (Foot 1993, 133-6; Vince 2006, 167). Leicestershire and the Middle Angles fell firmly within the Mercian kingdom throughout the Anglo-Saxon period.

In terms of the archaeology, a handful of published, excavated settlements such as Flixborough (e.g. Loveluck and Atkinson 2007) and, outside the subregions, Raunds and Higham Ferrers, Northants., (Hardy et al. 2007; Chapman and Audouy 2009), have contributed to our understanding of Middle Saxon settlement morphology and structural evolutions. Increasingly, unpublished 'grey literature' reports from post-PPG16 developerfunded excavations are adding to these well-known examples. In Leicestershire, the Middle Saxon period is particularly poorly represented in the published literature; Eye Kettleby, Melton Mowbray (Finn 1998 (interim report)) remains the primary source of Middle Saxon settlement evidence in the county (Vince 2006), although recent discoveries at Barleythorpe, Rutland (TLAHS 2013) should help to develop this further. In Norfolk, slightly more evidence for settlement in the period has come to light, with the excavations of North Elmham and Sedgeford, for example (Wade-Martins and O'Connor 1980; Cabot et al. 2004). A reliance on pottery for delimiting settlement extents has been especially common in Norfolk (Wade-Martins 1980; Rogerson 1995a; Davies 2013). In parts of North Lincolnshire, however, visible potsherds are increasingly scarce due to plough damage (Van de Noort, pers. comm.). In Leicestershire, where Ipswich ware is rare, the Saxon fabrics are less easily distinguished chronologically. Furthermore, Leicestershire does not have as extensive a history of intensive agriculture as Lincolnshire and Norfolk, with fewer open fields suited to fieldwalking. Much of its pre-medieval archaeology remains preserved beneath ridge-and-furrow, especially along the Wreake valley. In all cases there

is a less than complete understanding of settlement and communities in the Middle Saxon period.

### 2.2.2 The Late Saxon period

Historically-documented evidence for Scandinavian administrative impact includes the establishment of wapentakes (ON vápnatakr), similar to the Anglo-Saxon hundreds, while the larger regions of Yorkshire and Lindsey were also divided into manageable threes known as ridings (ON thrithing). Notably, Kesteven and Holland were not included in this division; further proof that they were administratively separate. Indeed, Flixborough was identified as existing within a trans-Humber region, suggesting closer networks between Lindsey and the north (Loveluck 2007, 2). None of the subregions is well-represented in charter evidence (cf. n.5, above), though each region figures more frequently in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. Notably, the reference to the 'Five Boroughs' of the Danelaw (AD 942) indicates that along with Derby and Nottingham, Leicester, Stamford, and Lincoln were important features of the early Scandinavian-controlled political landscape (Stenton 1971, 508). The regions of Lindsey, Kesteven, and Leicestershire were therefore each subject to a centre of Scandinavian power until Edmund's conquest of the region in AD 942, even after which many Scandinavian characteristics — not least of which was the toponymic landscape — were maintained. Of East Anglia, we know from the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* that Guthrum and his followers settled there in the second half of the ninth century (AD 890). Key events from the *Chronicle* are referred to in the case study discussions (Chapters 4-7).

The Late Saxon period is widely recognised as a time of formative change in the English landscape in general. The degree to which these changes — including the emergence of the open-field system and nucleation — reflect Scandinavian influences is debated, however (e.g. Hart (1992); and see Hadley (2005) for overview). The midlands and East Anglia, both Scandinavian-settled territory and both areas of lowland England where nucleated settlement is most visible, have been the subject of much discussion on this topic (see for example Platts (1985); Foot (1993); Sawyer (1998); Leahy (2007b) on Lincolnshire; Hoskins (1957b); Phythian-Adams (1978) on Leicestershire; Darby (1971) on eastern England in general; Davis (1955); Wade-Martins (1971); Williamson (1993) on East Anglia; and for settlement structures in the Danelaw more generally, see Hadley (1996; 2005; 2009a); Fleming (2010, 213-40)). Although there is little direct evidence for raids, archaeologists and historians have suggested breaks in settlement continuity might be accounted for by disruption due to 'vikings' or Scandinavian reorganisation (e.g. Martin 2007, 135).

Blair (2005, 316-9) notes that most religious institutions suffered from a 'Viking interlude' in the late ninth or early tenth centuries, although within this generalisation a

range of outcomes — from complete abandonment, to 'weathering' the vikings (e.g. Repton, Leics.; Barton-on-Humber, N. Lincs.), to re-founding as an abbey (e.g. Peterborough and Ely) — is observable. He notes that the north-east midlands are not as well documented as other parts of England, however, making it more difficult to assess the Scandinavian impact on Lincolnshire and Leicestershire minsters (Blair 2005, 315). For East Anglia, documents referring to the fortunes of such establishments make this easier to evaluate. North Elmham (Norfolk) has archaeological evidence to support the theory that although disruption probably occurred in the late ninth century (Wade-Martins and O'Connor 1980), by the tenth century it resumed its role as bishopric (Blair 2005, 317). With settlements, however, the catalysts for change are less obvious.

Only a handful of contemporary excavated settlements from within or nearby the subregions are known. These include Flixborough (Loveluck and Atkinson 2007) and Goltho (Beresford 1987) in Lincolnshire (both in Lindsey), Higham Ferrers (Hardy et al. 2007), Raunds (Chapman and Audouy 2009), and West Cotton (Chapman 2010) in the south midlands (Northamptonshire), and Sedgeford (Cabot et al. 2004) in Norfolk. Excavations outwith the main study region in the north, such as Cottam, Cowlam, (Richards 1999a; Richards 2013) and Wharram Percy, Yorks., (Wrathmell 1989, 2012b), and Bishoptone, Sussex (Thomas 2010) in the south, can also provide some analogy. Unexcavated settlement evidence can occasionally help to develop this picture, although the dating is less certain: a number of deserted or shrunken medieval villages have been noted in aerial and earthwork surveys in all of the subregions (e.g. Bewley (1998) on Lincolnshire (results of NMP); Cushion and Davison (2003) on Norfolk; Hartley (1987) on Leicestershire); those within the case studies proper are listed in the relevant chapters. Finally, results of field-walking and pottery scatters have also been used to posit potential changes in settlement and land use. This has been undertaken with the most success in Norfolk, as mentioned above (Wade-Martins 1980; Rogerson 1995a; Davies 2013).

This research has yielded a variety of interpretations on observable or insinuated Scandinavian impact. Goltho's dating remains disputed (Beresford 1987; discussion in Richards 2000, 301-2), though as a fortified settlement c. 25 kilometres east of Torksey, an Anglo-Saxon origin could indicate a reaction to the nearby Scandinavian presence, whereas a Scandinavian foundation could be the result of a Great Army settlement (e.g. Beresford 1987, 123). At Higham Ferrers, Hardy et al (2007, 211) acknowledge that the new ninth-century settlement could be related to Scandinavian settlement. The hiatus that preceded this re-settling probably occurred before the Viking Age (Hardy *et al.* 2007, 206-8). Settlement at Late-Saxon West Cotton (Chapman 2010, 240) was similarly innocuous and the area was probably only founded in the tenth century after the West Saxon conquest of the Scandinavian-settled midlands. In neither case are artefacts overwhelmingly 'Scandinavian' in character, although at Goltho (Lincs.), the bow-sided

structure of the large hall has been compared to Scandinavian long-halls (but c.f. Richards 2000, 300).

In Leicestershire, Hoskins (1957b, 10) believed — although it was not archaeologically visible — that Scandinavians 'settled themselves in a distinct quarter of the village but impose[ed] their agriculture on the fields as they found them, since there was no room to develop their own field-system'. The idea of a Scandinavian catalyst behind nucleation and open fields persists to an extent, inspired by the notion that the 'sokemen' or 'freemen' (indistinguishable from 'Freemen') of Domesday Book were a Scandinavian relict (Hoskins 1957a, 7; Stenton 1969; Davies 2010, 104). It is possible that in regional examples, one or both of these might hold true; however both arguments lack archaeological and historical support as national models. For example, Davis (1955, 25) has pointed out that although Yorkshire is traditionally a 'Scandinavian' county, it has relatively few freemen listed in Domesday Book; Norfolk, on the other hand, has many freemen but is considered less 'Scandinavian' in character than other eastern counties. Where evidence for Scandinavian influence on English agriculture is deliberately sought (e.g. Banham 2009), it is not often forthcoming. Furthermore, Danish provincial law codes suggest that open-field farming only began in Scandinavia in the twelfth century (Hoff 2004, 436) and was therefore unlikely to be an import. Martin (2007, 135) has recently advocated a middle ground, suggesting that Scandinavian disruption to the earlier systems might have indirectly enabled widespread changes in landholding, but that the new agricultural systems themselves were probably Frankish imports. This suggestion fits well with McLeod's recent thesis (2014) that many more migrants to England in the Viking Age came from or via Francia than was previously thought.

Shifts in burial practices tend to be no more indicative than the settlements. There were certainly major changes in funerary tradition accompanying the adoption of Christianity from the sixth century; however, not until the tenth century is there consistent evidence for unfurnished burials in churchyards (e.g. Hadley 2002a, 210; Knight and Howard 2004, 165). Nevertheless, each of the subregions or near vicinity has yielded burial evidence for the Late Saxon period: Derbyshire has the best-known examples in midland Mercia with the pagan Heath Wood and Repton cemeteries (Biddle and Kjølbye-Biddle 1992; Richards 1995; Biddle and Kjølbye-Biddle 2001). Repton was associated with Mercian royalty, as was Breedon-on-Hill, Leicestershire; both revealed eighth- and ninth-century burials which were probably elite and monastic communities (Knight and Howard 2004, 165). In Norfolk, Caister and Burgh Hill are similarly religious sites with Middle and Late Saxon inhumations (Green *et al.* 1993, 32; Rogerson 2005). Richards (2002), Harrison (2007), and Redmond (2007), all sought to assess Viking Age burials in England. Given the diversity of practice (e.g. cremation at Heath Wood, accompanied burial at Repton, and unaccompanied Christian-style burial) within

relatively poor records, there are few obvious models that might be proposed. There is, on the other hand, more evidence for Scandinavian influence in the sculptural memorialisation that begins to take place in England from the tenth century.

The erection of Christian monuments with Scandinavian influences in the midlands has been linked by Sidebottom (2000) to inheritance claims and overt assertions of acceptance of Saxon rule and religion on the part of newcomers to England. He suggests that political pressures from West Saxons in the tenth century necessitated monumental affirmations of inheritance rights, property, and the newly-adopted religion, on the part of immigrant communities. Everson and Stocker (1999) and Ten Harkel (2010) have shown that stone sculpture distributions reflect access to local resources and can be linked to expressions of regional identity.

Others have looked to coinage and the economy as a means of interpreting the Scandinavian impact. The evidence ranges from bullion, weights, and hacksilver, to hoards, and new currencies issued. In East Anglia, for example, an increase in hoarding in the 920s can be linked to Anglo-Saxon re-conquest; a single hoard from Thurcaston, Leicestershire similarly coincides with Aethelfled's taking of Leicester in AD 918 (Blackburn 2006, 205-8). Crucially, the East Anglian hoards represent a homogenous 'national' currency under Scandinavian rule up to AD 917 when Edward the Elder conquered it (Blackburn 2006, 221). This supports Hart's delimitation of the region as the 'Eastern Danelaw' (1992, 9). Furthermore, after Edward's conquest, Blackburn (2006, 221) suggests that Norfolk and Suffolk emerged with distinct characteristics: Edward's 'Portrait' coinage from Norfolk retained features of the Scandinavian mint, suggesting administrative continuity, whereas Suffolk appears to have shared in the Wessex and Mercian currency. Norfolk therefore retained an independent identity even after reconquest. This is also visible in other portable material culture (e.g. Kershaw 2013; see below).

In terms of the midlands, Ten Harkel (2010, 277-8) suggests that through the minting of its own coins, Lincoln retained an opposition to rule from the south until the mid-tenth century. She furthermore argues that opposition was expressed through continued allegiance to York. As addressed above, the relationship between Lindsey and Northumbria fluctuated politically in the Middle Saxon period. Archaeologically, however, it appears that despite Lincoln being one of the Five Boroughs, the extent to which Lindsey identified more closely with the north than with the other midland regions should be considered. The well-attested ferries at Winteringham, Ferriby and Barton-on-Humber, ensured that the Humber was not necessarily the barrier that modern maps would have it appear. In any case, the demonstratively Christian nature of the coinages of the east midlands, York, and East Anglia, might also be seen as a means by which Scandinavian leaders sought to align their territories with other great powers in an increasingly

Christian world (Blackburn 2005, 26), similar to the ways in which sculpture was being manipulated. The initial periods of Scandinavian rule are therefore slightly better understood through coinage. The process of settlement and the integration of Scandinavian and Anglo-Saxon communities in the later decades of the Viking Age remain less clear, though sites such as Cottam serve to demonstrate what we might expect to see in the excavated settlement record (Richards 1999a, 2003a).

In the cases of Lincolnshire and Norfolk, and to a lesser extent Leicestershire, metal-detected data has begun to reveal hitherto unknown sites of Middle and Late Saxon activity. At their most basic, the metal-detected distributions help to fill in the gaps in what, as shown above, are quite sparse landscapes of archaeological evidence. At their best, they can illustrate a range of systems, from trade and economy to social status and communal identity. Over the past two decades, several research projects have featured metal-detected and portable material culture as the primary dataset, highlighting the variety of approaches that can be taken, but especially the ways in which landscape and identity are closely tied to portable material studies. The focus in the following discussion is again on the three subregions, Lincolnshire, Norfolk, and Leicestershire.

### 2.3 Portable material culture, landscape, and identity

## 2.3.1 Portable material culture and the Portable Antiquities Scheme

The Portable Antiquities Scheme, established in 1997, has revolutionised the way in which England, and increasingly Wales, record and store information on portable artefacts, and its value is increasingly appreciated amongst archaeologists: this project is one of a growing number making use of the PAS records for England and Wales in order to interpret past land use and settlement.<sup>6</sup> Similarly, other unpublished, lesser known, and online archaeological resources and databases are enjoying wider application in current research projects. Thus, for example, grey literature excavation reports and Historic Environment Records are emerging from online databases and HER offices to provide valuable syntheses of specific regions (e.g. Davies (2010) on West Norfolk), time periods (e.g. Blinkhorn (2012) on the Mesolithic; the Roman Grey Literature project (Fulford and Holbrook 2011)), or events (e.g. Raffield (2013) on conflict in Scandinavian Britain). Although metal-detecting remains a contentious issue amongst archaeologists (e.g. Lewis (2012); and see Thomas (2012) for overview of history in England and Wales), the archaeological value of such a vast dataset is increasingly difficult to deny.

One of the earlier projects to demonstrate the archaeological value, and not just the potential, of PAS data, was The Viking and Anglo-Saxon Landscape and Economy ('VASLE')

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> As of September 2014, 422 research projects relied on PAS data to some extent (http://finds.org.uk/research).

project (Richards *et al.* 2009). VASLE was an inspirational precursor to this project, comprising a nation-wide study of the portable material culture of the Middle and Late Saxon periods (Richards *et al.* 2009; see also Naylor and Richards 2010), and necessarily established an effective approach for using PAS data to study the period (detailed in the following chapter). Since then, other projects have contributed to developing more rigorous methods for working with the PASD, particularly Robbins' (2012) PhD thesis.

As a publicly accessible online database, and now with over a million recorded artefacts, the PAS database (PASD) has vast potential. In 2011, 83.19% of PAS finds were found through metal-detecting with a further 2.46% recovered as chance finds during metal-detecting (PAS 2011, Table H). Unfortunately, although the number of finds reported to the PAS increases annually, county-wide reporting levels cannot be determined precisely. In all regions there remain metal-detectorists who choose not to report their finds and these numbers vary locally (Robbins 2012, 63; Kershaw 2013, 16-7; pers. comm. with local FLOs). The overwhelming majority of metal-detecting is undertaken by amateur hobbyists with little, unrecorded, or undisclosed strategy to their recovery methods (Robbins 2012, 40-1). Nevertheless, findspot precision is improving with encouragement from FLOs and increased use of GPS devices: in 2011 the large majority of finds were recorded to at least a six-figure grid reference (PAS 2011, Table G).

This project is not primarily a methodological study of the use of PAS data, though it does aim to reinforce its value in exploring time periods that are underrepresented by other archaeological resources. Previous studies have outlined the history and biases of the PAS in greater detail, as well as past and recent approaches to charting the effects of plough damage in relation to metal-detected artefacts; this will not, therefore, be duplicated in detail here (but see Haldenby and Richards (2010, especially 1151-2); Robbins (2012, 30-6; 2013)). Rather, some of the ways in which portable material culture has been used to assess landscape and identity will be explored. Earlier archaeological enquiry into plough zones tended to focus on ceramics (e.g. Schofield 1991), but it is increasingly recognised that if we aim to use metal-detected finds as an archaeological resource, we must better understand the modern cultural and natural taphonomic processes affecting the rates of preservation. This particular review aims to focus on the ways in which portable metalwork has previously been studied in the sub-regions.

### 2.3.2 Portable material culture and landscape

Even before the PAS was established, the numbers of metal-detected finds from counties such as Lincolnshire and Norfolk were attracting the attention of archaeologists. Katharina Ulmschneider (2000a) pioneered a comparative county-based study of metal-detected artefacts in Lincolnshire and Hampshire, with the aim of enlightening the archaeology of the Middle Saxon period. In particular, Ulmschneider focussed on economic developments

visible through the portable material culture, and suggested that the 'productive sites' observed were related to ecclesiastical control of resources (2000a, 100). The study also compared metal-detected artefact signatures with those from excavated sites. This approach was also adopted by the VASLE project (Richards et al. 2009), although others have cautioned against the compatibility of such datasets (e.g. Loveluck 2007, 127-8). Ulmschneider's study fuelled further research and future debates on the distributions and possible signatures of metal-detected artefacts (e.g. Pestell and Ulmschneider 2003), though the 'minster hypothesis' associated with 'productive sites' has since been rejected as overly reductive, while the term 'productive site' has been deemed misleading (Richards 2003a, 155). John Naylor's research (2004) similarly looked at the Middle Saxon metal-detected record to identify market sites and trade networks. Naylor's (2004) focus was on coinage, looking at this in association with frequencies of other metal-detected finds and using artefact 'fingerprints' to compare regional patterns (see Chapter 3, 3.2 for more on this). In the cases described above, a reliance on coins as key indicators of trade sites is theoretically sound, but discrepancies between the excavated and metal-detected record suggest that this is not a failsafe predictive model.

Ulmschneider's (2000a) consideration of the distribution of artefacts in relation to landscape features such as rivers, ferry crossings, and routeways, was a valuable contribution in an early field of research. Since this study, many other projects have applied similar techniques at varying scales. In Norfolk, for example, Chester-Kadwell (2009) developed the idea that there might be discernible relationships between artefacts (both metal-detected and field-walked) and aspects of landscape. With a focus on the Early Saxon period, she examined a range of landscape attributes, including slope, proximity to water sources, and soil types, and through GIS mapping determined statistical relationships with distributions of HER-recorded material culture. While some general observations were possible, for example that inhumations were often intervisible with settlements (Chester-Kadwell 2009, 144), statistical analysis did not result in any definitive models by which settlements or other sites could be identified in the future. Chester-Kadwell acknowledges that Early Saxon peoples were adept at managing and exploiting a range of resources (2009, 142); this was certainly also the case in later, more densely-populated periods.

Focussing on the PASD, Tom Brindle (2009) illustrated that metal-detected data has strong potential for locating and assessing activity associated with Romano-British settlements. Brindle's thesis was in part methodological, taking into account depositional, post-depositional and recovery processes, and used micro- and macro-regional case studies in order to contextualise the patterns emerging (Brindle 2011, 2013). The volume of finds associated with the Roman period enables a firmer identification of 'sites' within the landscape. Across other historical periods, attempts have been made to further refine

the identification of 'activity' in the landscape through the portable material culture. Gareth Davies (2010), with another focus on Norfolk, looked at the early medieval period as a whole, focusing on a number of individual parishes near the western coast. Davies aimed, through polygon analysis, to locate 'zones' of activity which could be discerned through different locational and artefactual signatures (2010, 131-3). Davies' methodology included fieldwalking and geophysics, and helped to prove that, as others have started suggesting, rural centres of importance and trade were prolific in the Middle and Late Saxon periods (2010, 378-9). Furthermore, Davies (2010) has shown that localised studies are highly valuable in refining wide-scale models for change and economy.

With particular attention to the Viking Age, the VASLE project (Richards et al. 2009) remains the most notable attempt at synthesising landscape and metal-detected finds. This nation-wide project also employed microregional case studies at the parish level. The focus of VASLE was on economy, and this was in part dictated by the role that coinage was perceived to play in identifying so-called 'productive sites'. As Ulmschneider found, however, coins are often more represented in the metal-detected record than in excavation contexts where they might be anticipated (2000a, 107). One shortcoming of the VASLE project which was in part due to time constraints and the fact that the PAS was still developing, was that finds at the case study level were not mapped (Richards et al. 2009, 4.2.1.2). This undermines, to some extent, the 'landscape' aspect of the project. Parishes can vary widely in size, and, furthermore, the PAS relies on modern parish jurisdictions which often include post-medieval amalgamations of earlier units. Ulmschneider (2000a, 101) argued that 'variations in findspots are unlikely... to distort the general picture of distribution' within parishes. Certainly this was a more acceptable standpoint a decade or more ago. At the time of the VASLE project, no parishes contained more than one notable concentration of artefacts, so in a sense mapping would have been redundant (Richards et al. 2009, 4.2.1.2). The alternative argument is that even the microregional landscape can shed valuable light on the association between past activity and landscape. Increasingly today, discrete concentrations of artefacts are to be found within a single parish and these are certainly worth exploring in depth. Since the time of the VASLE project, however, the precision of findspot recording has become a PAS priority — to the extent that finds without a minimum grid reference are no longer recorded (Wendy Scott pers. comm.). Furthermore, the increased number of finds recorded for certain parishes suggests that mapping — even to a lower level of precision — should be undertaken where possible if one aim is to explore relationships to the local landscape.

Portable material culture has recently shifted scholarly opinion on Norfolk, from the notion of a short-lived Scandinavian occupation as documented in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (whereby material culture was merely *influenced* by continued contact with

Scandinavians), to belief in a widespread and longer-lasting settled Scandinavian presence in the region. Norfolk was conquered by the West Saxons in AD 921, according to the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, but quantities of tenth and eleventh-century metalwork in Scandinavian styles have led some to question the extent to which Scandinavian influence was diminished by this event. Margeson (1997) was the first to promote the idea based on the volume of Scandinavian-style artefacts recorded in the NHER, and this has since been taken up by others referring to the ever-increasing metal-detected record in Norfolk (e.g. Hutcheson 2006; Kershaw 2013; Pestell 2013). Pestell's theory (2013) moves beyond the problematic assumption that 'Scandinavian' material culture indicates the presence of people from Scandinavia, and seeks to identify 'deeper-seated cultural practices' through the artefactual record. He argues that evidence of pagan religious beliefs (e.g. Thor's hammer pendants) and the persistence of a bullion economy (albeit short-lived) are key indicators of the presence of foreign cultural practices, and therefore, Scandinavians (Pestell 2013, 254). This argument goes some way to remedying the perceived 'problem' with the East Anglian Viking Age, whereby history and archaeology do not coincide. Kershaw (2013) and Pestell (2013) agree that Scandinavian-style fashion (represented in mostly secular dress accessories) was more easily negotiated amongst Anglo-Saxon communities than a change in religion, accounting for the widespread and persistent Anglo-Scandinavian jewellery types, whereas Thor's hammer pendants went out of use in the tenth century.

Other studies have looked at pottery distributions (Symonds 2003b), or sculpture (Everson and Stocker 1999) in Anglo-Scandinavian England as a way of assessing boundaries, landscape and identity. Attitudes to landscape more generally have been explored in Viking Age Britain with relation to 'Viking' burial sitings (Harrison 2007), movement through the landscape (Symonds and Ling 2002), and Norse associations with antecedent landscape features (Leonard 2011). In Scandinavia and Iceland, landscape approaches to the Viking Age are more common, in part due to the availability of excavated evidence (Lund 2005; Thäte 2007b, 2009; Halstad-McGuire 2010; Maher 2013). The landscape approaches are discussed in greater detail below.

### 2.3.3 Portable material culture, materiality and identity

Metal-detected finds have been used in a number of other ways to study the period, most frequently with an aim to unravel the complexities of 'identity' and social practice in the Viking Age. Other portable artefacts (e.g. bone combs (Ashby 2014a), steatite vessels (Forster 2004)) have also been treated in detail, but the focus here remains on artefacts derived from the metal-detected corpus of the PAS.

The concept of 'materiality' (Meskell 2004; Miller 2005) has emerged in the past decade as a means of moving beyond the treatment of material culture as static. This can

be useful when considering identity in relation to objects because it implies a continued impact on social practice (Mills and Walker 2008, 14; although see Ingold (2007) for an opposing view). Artefacts play an active role in shaping individuals and societies; in other words, materiality asks that we consider the artefact's agency in the construction of social practice. In discussions of Viking Age material culture, the role of the artefact in negotiating various identities is widely acknowledged. In the past, dichotomous views of the cultures in 'contact' in the British Isles during the Viking Age have, however, led to static associations between object and ethnic identity. These undiscerning ascriptions have undermined several arguments on Viking Age evidence, most notably in Orkney where architecture and portable goods are often viewed as either 'Pictish' or 'Norse' (e.g. Ritchie (1977); and see Barrett (2004) and Richards (2000) for further cautions on this). Furthermore, such viewpoints risk presenting material culture in its final, predepositional phase only, without attention to the varied roles it might have played in its 'life'. It is now widely acknowledged that there were diverse identities and cultural associations in operation throughout the Viking Age, some of which might have had ethnic bases, though even these were fluid. By considering material culture within this dynamic context, it becomes more difficult to equate Scandinavian material culture with the presence of peoples of Scandinavian descent, for example. What the concept of materiality encourages, however, is consideration instead of the myriad social practices connected to and referenced by artefacts. In many cases, these analyses in fact bring us closer to the people themselves — to their actions, decisions, and beliefs — and thus, towards aspects of identity.

Concepts of identity are impossible to avoid when exploring the archaeology of Viking Age England. The portable material culture provides valuable ways into assessing identity construction but must be used with caution. The Viking Age was undeniably a time of migration and culture contact (cf. McLeod (2014, Chapter 2) on overview of use (and lack thereof) of migration theory in studies of Viking Age England). Abrams (2012) and Jesch (2008, with 2015 (in press) much anticipated) have argued effectively that the Viking Age can be viewed with a 'diasporic' framework (see also Downham 2012). Diaspora and migration theories encourage the notion that differences existed between settling and local peoples, implying at the broadest, the meeting of at least two cultural groups. Diaspora cannot exist without a 'host' nation (cf. Cohen 2008, 17). The host nation and its inhabitants play a crucial role in the evolution of beliefs and attitudes towards the 'homeland', empathy between migrants, and of course, 'acculturation'. It is therefore important that not only the diasporic communities are considered in such studies, but that their 'host' communities and the *places* that come to host them are afforded the agency they deserve. Diaspora and migration are therefore useful constructs within which to frame archaeological questions on the material outputs — often apparently evidencing

'acculturation' and cultural sycretism — of the period of contact and settlement in Viking Age England. Crucially, however, culture contact and assimilation must be viewed as *processes* with multiple means of manifesting themselves materially.

Along these lines, one role that has been ascribed to the material culture of the Viking Age is that of the negotiator: 'Anglo-Scandinavian' material culture tends to be seen as evidence of acculturation. The processes by which the artefacts actually served to develop this have, in the past, been explored in fairly straightforward terms, as the proclamation of identity through the wearing of a certain style or item. The complexities of this and the problems underlying ethnic assignations of identity through material culture have been addressed elsewhere (Weissner 1983; Jones 1997; Hadley 2002b; Barrett 2003). As Richards rightly notes, 'the label Anglo-Scandinavian disguises a host of interactions played out within every household and market at local level' (2011, 58). Recently, more nuanced arguments have emerged which take into account the range of social networks and negotiations behind the 'life' and 'language' of an artefact (e.g. Ashby 2011a; Kershaw 2013). Thus there are temporal and locational implications to an artefact's materiality; these are often assessed through artefact 'biographies'. Mills and Walker (2008, 16) would advocate, rather, that 'genealogies of practice' are a more inclusive means by which not just the object's life, but the associated social practices that relate to it, are addressed. This concept embraces the aspects of cultural memory inherent in the transmission of practice, and in this way deeper social histories might be explored in relation to an artefact. Ashby (2011a) suggests a similarly informed approach, by which material culture can be perceived to have a 'language', with 'grammars' of ornament. In this way, differences in ornamental 'grammar' within a shared material 'language' can be interpreted in socially and locationally complex ways, tying into ideas of regionalism, tradition, and group identity. Both 'genealogies of practice' and the notion of a 'language' of material culture illustrate that *materials* (and production and sourcing) do have a role in materiality, contrary to Ingold's concerns (2007). The implications regarding Viking Age portable material culture centre again on the transmission of Scandinavian influences in design and form to members of an increasingly diversifying society. That Scandinavian-style artefacts were being produced locally in England, presumably by a range of craftspeople in both urban and rural areas (Kershaw 2013, 141), begs consideration of the processes by which such transmissions occurred, and their wider social implications.

Some archaeologists are beginning to consider cultural transmissions of technology and style in terms of 'mimesis' (Sofaer [in press]).<sup>7</sup> Psychologists, sociologists and anthropologists are increasingly looking to mimetics as a means of understanding human development and cultural evolution, predominantly in behavioural expressions (such as

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> The concept was pioneered by René Girard (e.g. 1977), writing initially about imitation in literature, and is now used extensively in the arts, humanities, and social sciences to explore imitation and transformation.

imitating violence (e.g. Anspach 2011)), but also in material culture (e.g. Sofaer [in press]).<sup>8</sup>

Crucial to the period of cultural contact at hand, mimesis can help to model the means by which identity was selectively expressed through imitation and appropriation of aspects of an 'other' culture, which might be visible in changes in dress and accessories, for example. Jane Kershaw's research (2013) on Viking Age identity as expressed in brooches touches on many of these themes, with a regional focus on the best-represented counties, Norfolk, Suffolk, and Lincolnshire (and see also Weetch (2013) on Late Saxon brooches). The concept of 'Anglo-Scandinavian' material culture is used to describe both sculpture and portable artefacts that combine influences of Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian style or form. Kershaw's invaluable research has shown that despite surface similarities between 'Anglo-Scandinavian' and 'Scandinavian' jewellery, there are often recognisable differences in terms of either design, shape, or fitting (2013, 39). Anglo-Scandinavian material culture is often considered to be a product of the newly-forged expressions of identity that emerged amongst both those of Scandinavian and Anglo-Saxon descent living in England during the Viking Age. Richards (2002, 2011) suggests that it is these new identities that we should be looking for in England, rather than attempting to find 'Vikings'.

Although the term Anglo-Scandinavian can imply both a dichotomy and seamless blending between two distinct cultures (e.g. Ten Harkel 2010, 25), it is now normally recognised as simply a convenient term that encapsulates a variety of nuances (cf. Chapter 1, p37). Kershaw (2013, 39) has aptly demonstrated through the example of brooches that cultural influences as expressed materially came from a variety of angles: in some cases Scandinavian motifs adorned otherwise 'Anglo-Saxon' brooches, whereas some were generally Scandinavian in style, with the exception of the pin attachment. The production, dissemination, and taste for brooches in England was even more culturally complex, with regional styles produced in different parts of England (e.g. the East Anglian Jellinge and Borre styles), as well as Scandinavian regional preferences influencing their distribution (Kershaw 2013, 224). Overall, the Anglo-Scandinavian brooches were conservatively 'Scandinavian' in style (Kershaw 2013, 233), with rare exceptions. The mimetic model therefore reflects a dominant Scandinavian influence on jewellery produced in England in the ninth and tenth centuries; despite some adaptations, there is little evidence for Anglo-Saxon influence going the other way. This changes in the tenth and eleventh centuries, when mixed styles appear on items of jewellery (Kershaw 2013, 236). The indications are

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> The concepts of reference and 'citation' are similar, and have been explored in the early medieval period by conference sessions for EAA (2014) and Nordic TAG (2014) organised by Nanouschka Burström (University of Stockholm) and Howard Williams (University of Chester) and an edited volume based on these sessions has been proposed.

that over the first generations of the Viking Age, craftspeople in England actively sought to preserve, unadulterated, forms and ornament derived from Scandinavian fashions.

On different artefact types, mimesis in Anglo-Scandinavian England has been shown to work in the other direction. Most notable is Guthrum's East Anglian currency, which was a lighter imitation of King Alfred's coinage (Hadley 2009b, 205). Blackburn (2005) argues that this was in fact deliberately different in order to match a traditional Anglo-Saxon weight used in East Anglia. This is therefore an example of 'Anglicisation' under Scandinavian control, with additional connotations in its emulation not just of coins, but of a system of weight and economy that was associated with regional identity. This further coincides with Guthrum's Christian baptism and (whether politically motivated or not) acceptance of the Anglo-Saxon religious identity (Hadley 2009b, 206). Rowlands (1993, 142) notes that 'the conservative transmission of cultural form is particularly likely where people are exposed constantly to highly visible examples of material objects invested with authoritative credibility' (my emphasis). Viking Age coinage issued in England clearly needed to err on the conservative, although negotiations related to regionalism are evident in the different weight of Guthrum's currency. On the other hand, Kershaw's discovery (2013, 233) that ninth- and tenth-century Anglo-Scandinavian brooches followed a 'conservative' use of Scandinavian motifs might, following Rowlands' reasoning, reflect not just a high visibility of Scandinavian accessories within Anglo-Scandinavian England, but also an elitism associated with either the wearers or the social histories of the designs.

Portable material culture is increasingly recognised as crucial evidence for negotiations of identity in the Viking Age, especially in Anglo-Scandinavian England where it remains one of the few ways in which Scandinavian influence is archaeologically visible. The Portable Antiquities Scheme has gone a great way toward augmenting this record, and continues to inspire important research related to artefacts on a variety of scales, as the examples above have demonstrated. Specific regional attributes and concerns regarding metal-detected artefacts and recovery biases are discussed in detail in Chapter 3.

# 2.4 Landscape and materiality; people and places of meaning

Landscape approaches to the Viking Age within the subregions and in combination with portable material culture have been addressed above. It remains here to examine the theoretical and methodological background to early medieval landscape studies more generally, and to align this project appropriately. The emphasis in Late-Saxon landscape studies tends to be on settlement morphology and determining the Anglo-Saxon influence on medieval settlement patterns. Questions of 'continuity' or 'discontinuity' with

antecedent agricultural landscapes are common (e.g. Deegan and Foard 2007, 237). In the past two decades, however, early medieval landscape archaeology has taken more leads from prehistoric and anthropologically-informed approaches. This involves, for example, moving beyond looking at continuity in settlement and field systems, and instead looking to citations and references to the past, and to the social implications behind such practice. Recent calls for the theorisation of landscape and medieval archaeology in particular (Johnson 2007; Gilchrist and Reynolds 2009) have fuelled this movement, although in early medieval archaeology this was already underway. Increasingly, nuanced studies combine more traditional 'historic landscape' techniques — the value of which as ways *into* the evidence for landscape change cannot be disputed — with questions and approaches that aim not simply to document change, but to identify the reciprocal influences of people and place on one another.

The Early Saxon period has traditionally lent itself more readily to these perspectives, with more obviously ritualised interactions with the landscape often visible through burial rites (for example Williams (1997); Lucy (2000; 2002); see also Bradley (1987, 1998, 2000) on the original inspiration for many such approaches to early medieval landscapes derived from prehistoric examples). The increasingly Christianised landscapes of Middle and Late Saxon England are now also recognised as imbued with monumental and ritual characteristics (e.g. Stocker and Everson 2003; Turner 2006; Petts 2009). Landscape interactions need not be viewed solely in terms of religion and ritual; or, rather, everyday activities need not necessarily be divorced from what we term 'ritual' or 'belief'. It has been suggested (e.g. in relation to hoards and 'special' deposits (Leahy 2013) but equally applicable to the wider landscape context) that dichotomies between the 'ritual' and 'functional' may not have been so stark in the early medieval world (Morris and Jervis 2011). At the same time, it cannot be denied that certain places were imbued with different social values and that these could change over time. There is meaning in every aspect of landscape, but some aspects might be more *meaningful* in certain contexts and to certain people than others. In this respect, landscape, as part of the material world, can also be conceived as having materiality. Again, materiality opens lines of enquiry beyond traditional dichotomies (e.g. natural/human-made; ritual/functional; urban/rural) and towards the range of social practices that shaped and were shaped by landscape. As Miller (2005, 5) reminds us, 'much of what we are exists not through our consciousness or body, but as an exterior environment that habituates and prompts us.' Thus, landscape is an extension of humans, just as humans are also an extension of landscape. This idea of reciprocal agency and interconnectedness is formative to the ways in which landscape is considered in this project.

The 'exterior environment' takes many forms, amongst which are portable objects, but also *places*. Place played an important role in Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian mindsets

alike, with topography, assembly sites, and ancient monuments all recognised and interacted with in various ways (see Gelling and Cole 2000; Thäte 2007a). The ways in which we can observe this and furthermore qualify *meaning* within places in the past are more difficult, however. Nevertheless some key approaches have been applied with success, including the concepts of reuse ('the past in the past'; e.g. Bradley and Williams (1998)) or avoidance (Semple 1998) of places and monuments. The concepts of boundaries, barriers, and movement through the landscape are also important to understanding social organisation and dictated experiences; boundaries are furthermore one means by which communal identities were negotiated and forged (e.g. 2003a; Symonds 2003b). These ideas tie in well with the more traditional concerns of historical landscape archaeology, related to field systems, nucleation, and settlement morphology (e.g. Lewis et al. 2001; Christie and Stamper 2012; Williamson et al. 2013), although the approaches tend to diverge here, avoiding the 'interpretive', and preferring the 'historic', to use Johnson's terminology (2007, 2-4). Rippon's multi-scalar North Somerset Levels project is one such example, whereby the apparently 'blank slate' of the Levels pointed to cultural (rather than environmental or antecedent) influences accounting for regional diversity (2006, 8). Other examples of valuable contributions to early medieval landscape studies, which consider environmental *and* political landscapes, are the assessments that contextualise well-known settlement excavation sites, such as Wharram Percy (Wrathmell 2012a), and Cottam and Cowlam (Richards 2013). (For an earlier, monumental example, see Williamson (2008) on Sutton Hoo.) These studies are interdisciplinary, and Wrathmell (2012a) and Richards (2013) are especially noteworthy for their analyses of Domesday Book evidence and the extent to which pre-Conquest administrative boundaries can be discerned from a combination of historical and archaeological sources. Domesday Book tends to be used conservatively by archaeologists, but as with place-names (discussed below), the wealth of information it can provide when used cautiously is increasingly being harnessed by historical archaeologists.

The promotion of empirical evidence over 'softer' forms of evidence such as folklore, etymology, and experiential interpretations of the past (e.g. Tilley 1994), has long been a theme in landscape archaeology (see critique in Fleming 2006), but they need not be mutually exclusive (e.g. work by Reynolds (2003, 2009); Semple (1998, 2007)). One of the more recent developments within archaeology on the subject of empiricism versus experiential, is the growing (re)acceptance of place-names as a valuable insight into people, places, and perceptions in the past (e.g. Semple 2007; Jones and Semple 2012a).

The contentious subject of Scandinavian settlement and culture contact has attracted considerable attention within toponymic scholarship (see Fellows-Jensen (1968; 1975, 1995; 2000, 2012); Cameron (1975a); Styles (2001); Abrams and Parsons (2004)). In both the case of landscape studies and Viking Age research, however, the generalisation of

place-names in early discussions on ethnicity, chronology, and extent of early medieval settlement (e.g. Smith 1956) led to a scholarly backlash whereby place-names came be seen as an unreliable means of answering archaeological and historical queries (see Abrams and Parsons (2004) and Ryan (2011) for an overview of the treatment of placenames in the study of Viking Age England). Again, with an eye to anthropologicallyinformed interpretations, calls have since been made for the effective integration of placename studies in archaeology (Gardiner and Rippon 2007; Morris 2012). A recent resurgence in the study of place-names within multi-disciplinary studies of the Anglo-Saxon and Viking Age landscape has indeed taken place (Ryan and Higham 2010; Cullen et al. 2011; Jones and Semple 2012a). This has led to some important new contributions to our understanding of Scandinavian place-name elements such as -thorps and -bys and the 'Grimston' hybrid (Fellows-Jensen 2012; Townend 2012) which have long been the subject of debate. It has recently been suggested (Cullen et al. 2011) that contrary to earlier belief, -thorps were not 'secondary' settlements to -bys, but co-occuring developments as settlements nucleated throughout the ninth to eleventh-centuries, possibly influenced in part by Scandinavian settlers (see Box 5.1 Chapter 5, for details). Place-names ending with the recognisably Scandinavian –by, meaning 'farmstead' or 'settlement', are generally taken to indicate fragmented parts of previously large Anlgo-Saxon estates, renamed or newly named to reflect the Scandinavian lords that inherited them (Sawyer 1982, 104). Fellows-Jensen's (2012, 360-1) more recent interpretation suggests that the many –bys found across eastern and northern England bearing personal names reflect changes in landholding whereby emphasis was placed more firmly on individual property (see details in Box 4.2, Chapter 4).

It is now acknowledged by many that place-names played an active role in meaningfully constituted landscapes, and could reveal key insights into how the medieval world was viewed (e.g. Gelling and Cole 2000; Townend 2007). Hooke (2010, e.g. 169-71) demonstrates, for example, that place-names can be used effectively to pinpoint specific places — even specific trees — connected with assembly sites in the medieval landscape. Gelling and Cole (2000) pioneered an approach that demonstrated the diversity, but specificity, extant in Anglo-Saxon perceptions of the natural landscape, showing that certain hill profiles or confluences of features (e.g. lakes and Roman roads), for example, were often named similarly. Thus even across the varied landscape of England, a shared recognition of features could serve to unite, make familiar the unknown, and direct travellers (Jones and Semple 2012b, 3). Studies of this sort provide access to medieval awareness of the natural world which few other approaches can offer.

Research on place-names within the landscape is arguably most effective when combined with (or led by) archaeological and historical evidence. The linking of place to

material again touches upon the debates outlined above, whereby Scandinavian placename distributions are perceived to be at odds with the archaeological evidence for a Scandinavian presence in Norfolk, though not in Lincolnshire. More nuanced explorations of these issues are needed, and models might be found in socially-informed approaches such as Everson and Stocker's (2012) assessment of the ritual landscape of Barlings, Lincolnshire, or Reynold's (2009) assessment of boundaries in Late Saxon England.

The work described above has aimed to illustrate the range of approaches with which landscape has been explored in the early medieval period, and the various forms of evidence applied. Emphasis was placed on viewing landscape not just as a canvas, but as an active, agency-laden part of the perceived world. To this end, the tenets and approaches of historical landscape analysis are believed to be a necessary part of landscape archaeology, but it is also believed that additional consideration of *meaning* and *experience* can further enrich our understanding of a peopled landscape.

### 2.5 Conclusion

This chapter presented a wide range of ways in which the Anglo-Scandinavian period, and material culture and landscape in particular, have been approached. A number of studies have combined portable artefact analysis with landscape and distribution approaches, but the PASD now needs to be put to use to feed into archaeological themes that go beyond the artefacts, and beyond its own validation as a dataset. The multi-scalar approach taken here synthesises a range of other evidence with the PAS data to construct a holistic view of life and transition in local landscapes and their wider regional contexts. Within this it is possible to frame a number of questions on Viking Age negotiations of identity and use of space. Referring to the rural landscape, Dyer (1990) reminds us that no one model, either social or environmental, for example, will be sufficient to explain the complex 'whole' (cf. quotation below, Chapter 3). This premise is embraced here: the four case studies will reveal different local and regional patterns which could not be supported by a single model, and the material culture will have been expressed according to diverse social practices over the course of the Viking Age. Differences in availability and resolution of evidence will contribute to the various approaches and interpretations drawn out from each case study. In terms of theoretical approach, however, all case studies are equally interpreted within a framework informed by concepts of materiality and both historic and interpretive landscape approaches. The following chapter describes the methods by which the concepts presented above have been applied.

### **Chapter 3: Methods**

### 3.1 Introduction

'The answer [to understanding variety in medieval settlement patterns] will not be found if we confine our research too narrowly to the details of plan forms. Rather the settlement pattern should be seen as an ingredient in a package that gave each region its special character. The elements within each package include natural resources, agrarian methods, social structures and ties of lordship, which were locked together to form a coherent whole...'

-Dyer (1990, 97)

Dyer (1990, above) advocates the use of a broad range of evidence in researching medieval settlement patterns. This project is not concerned solely with settlement patterns, but his advice is equally applicable to landscape archaeology in general. There are two primary archaeological influences in this project which need to be reconciled: landscape archaeology and the study of portable material culture. These approaches have already been shown to be compatible (cf. above, 2.3.2, and, for example, Chester-Kadwell (2009); Richards et al (2009)). It remains here, therefore, to outline specifically how findspot and artefactual evidence from a large database such as the PAS is paired with a 'landscape' ethos and other forms of evidence, in order to evaluate transition in Anglo-Scandinavian society.

In the context of this research, landscape archaeology guides the use of a complementary set of methods: the use of multiple lines of evidence which are considered in relation to one another; the use of multiple scales of analysis to make better sense of both the local and wider regional contexts; and the interpretation of such evidence as diverse parts of a larger whole. Within this, portable material culture is used in two ways: firstly, as the basis for site selection, and, secondly, with the artefact types providing additional insight into chronology, identity, provenance, and function. The 'multiple lines of evidence' are termed 'secondary data' for convenience and to complement the 'primary', PAS dataset. This chapter begins by detailing the structure of the approach, before presenting the methods applied to the portable finds and secondary data against which they are interpreted: the place-names, environmental, topographical, and historical evidence. Details of the steps taken to clean the data, calculation processes, and justification for certain forms of categorisation are all presented in the Appendices and will be referred to throughout.

### 3.1.1 The 'nested' case study

The overall approach to the project was one of 'nested' and multi-scalar analysis, both temporally and spatially. 'Landscape' can never exist as a representation of one period in time; it is always imbued with past features; it is continuously changing and being reappraised by those living within it. Every attempt is therefore made here to present the landscape as a changing, malleable entity, at all times both replete with past action and filled with potential for change to come.

This can be a difficult task, however, and chronological boundaries must be imposed. The project is limited to a timespan of a few hundred years, and the chronological resolution of the archaeology from these periods is not as fine as would be hoped. Nevertheless, each case study is presented from a relatively long view, beginning with notable 'prehistoric' features, before the focus narrows to the Middle and Late Saxon periods, thus enabling interpretations of the periods at hand to sit more comfortably within their longer pasts. Additionally, medieval developments that might have emerged from the Middle and Late Saxon periods are also considered. Within this, the dating of the PAS finds allows for some attempt at representations of chronological dynamism, and, while the artefacts are mostly treated as either 'Middle', 'Late', or 'Middle/Late' Saxon finds, more refined changes over time are also explored (see **Appendix 3** for details).

In terms of a spatially-nested study, similar considerations apply: a 'landscape' is continuous, but boundaries have had to be applied to delimit individual study regions. The PAS database in part dictated the form that the spatial limits of the case study would take, since it records finds by modern parish, district, and county. One way of blurring these modern impositions was by identifying parish clusters rather than individual parishes to form the basis of assessment. This point is returned to below. The county, or 'subregion', within which each cluster sits was selected first, to act as the outer 'nest'. This ensured that assessment of the artefacts within a given cluster could be contrasted with the patterns evident in the county as a whole. Within the county, other scales of comparison such as the 'hundred' or 'wapentake' also exist. Therefore each 'local' case study was situated within a concentric range of wider, 'regional' landscapes. Finally, the parish clusters themselves provided the opportunity, in turn, for micro-scalar analysis (Figure 3.1). Artefact clusters, settlement morphology, and other archaeological features of note within a given parish serve as studies-within-studies; and those with more detailed evidence are used to better characterise the case study cluster as a whole.

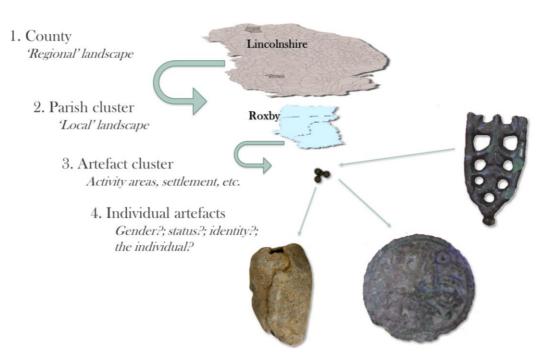


FIGURE 3.1: THE 'NESTED' CASE STUDY APPROACH Unless noted, all artefact images pictured throughout are from the PAS website: finds.org.uk.

The nested case study approach is not novel (inspiration here came initially from Rippon (2007), though there are other examples), but it is a flexible, tailorable approach, suitable for a project such as this: it makes good use of the landscape as a malleable, multiscalar entity, while also taking advantage of the spatial and chronological metadata attributed to PAS records. Furthermore, because of discrepancies in the spatial resolution of the 'secondary' data (e.g. Domesday Book information is often best viewed from the 'estate' level, while place-names can be highly localised), shifting scales allows for appropriate integration of various other lines of evidence. Finally, the idea of a 'nested' approach is not only a useful methodological, but also a conceptual framework. Nesting provides a flexible framework within which to explore human activity and agency. Fluidity is crucial to a nuanced portrayal of the past, but in dealing with specific dates, individual artefacts, and bounded places this can be difficult to convey. The case study chapters are structured so that the parish clusters are first nested temporally. The Middle and Late Saxon PAS data is then analysed, after which the case study is situated within its wider regional framework. With this structure in place, the final case study discussions look in more detail at the small-scale developments within the parish clusters, with their interpretations informed by the regional evidence.

### 3.2 Portable Antiquities Scheme data

### 3.2.1 Site selection

The primary determinant in selecting case study regions was quantity of PAS records relevant to the period of interest. The subregional, or 'macroregional' level, the county, was identified first (Lincolnshire, Norfolk, Leicestershire), followed by the selection of local case studies, the 'microregions' within these ('Roxby' and 'Aunsby', Lincs.; 'Dunham', Norf.; 'Frisby', Leics.). The criteria for the counties was that they fall within areas historically associated with 'Anglo-Scandinavian' England; in other words, within the 'Danelaw'. Two of the three counties selected for study, Lincolnshire and Norfolk, had been identified in the VASLE research project (Richards et al. 2009) as containing a number of 'productive sites'. Leicestershire had one 'productive site' identified in the VASLE project. The county was selected here in part for its central position in Anglo-Scandinavian England, but also to provide a case study with fewer artefacts against which to test the applied methodology. Data was downloaded from the PAS website (finds.org.uk/database) for the 'early medieval' period for each subregion (county).9 These datasets as provided by the PAS needed to be 'cleaned' to arrive at the final quantities of data available for each parish (see below, p66). From this stage it was then possible to select the parish-based microregions.

Many of the early stages of site selection and data cleaning derived inspiration and guidance from the VASLE project (Richards et al. 2009). The VASLE project identified several case study sites using the PASD, based on the 'parish' field, selecting those parishes with the largest quantities of Middle and Late Saxon finds (Richards et al. 2009, 4.2.1.2). It was initially determined to follow VASLE's lead, and to isolate individual parishes that revealed the most PAS artefacts to serve as 'local' case studies. In several cases, however, parishes with large quantities of PAS finds appeared to form clusters. These clusters were deemed a more appropriately flexible unit than individual parishes: the cluster enabled a greater catchment of PAS data to analyse in addition to providing a wider range of land types, soils, and the chance to assess potential communication and travel across a larger area. Fewer projects look at parish clusters than individual parishes, although increasingly, alternative study area boundaries are sought, for example in terms of soil types, or geology<sup>10</sup>. The Whittlewood Project analysed a cluster of parishes on the border of Northamptonshire and Buckinghamshire, but this group was easy to delimit by their inclusion in the royal forest of Whittlewood (Jones and Page 2003; Jones et al. 2006). People in the past would not have been constrained by the boundaries of the parishes in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> As of 24 October 2012. County data for Lincolnshire, North Lincolnshire, and North East Lincolnshire were downloaded separately and then collated for cleaning at the second step. <sup>10</sup> One example is the current PhD research project being undertaken by Adam Daubney at the University of Leicester: 'Portable Antiquities, Palimpsests, and Persistent Places: the contribution of PAS data in Lincolnshire c. 10,000 BC - AD 1700'.

which they lived, and, while it is necessary to draw a study boundary line somewhere, a more inclusive area opens a greater set of possibilities. Kernel density maps further helped to identify potential case study areas in Lincolnshire and Norfolk, though in Leicestershire there was only one region with a suitable number of PAS finds to merit further investigation (see Figure 3.2, Figure 3.7, Figure 3.10, below).

In some cases, parishes included in a case study cluster have few, or even no PAS-recorded finds. It was deemed more fitting to the project, and sympathetic to our current understanding of PAS recovery patterns and constraints, to include parishes that formed a coherent, natural grouping with the others, rather than to exclude them solely based on their 'lack' of portable antiquities. This is also to reinforce that while the project's case study areas may focus around a parish with many PAS finds, it is not necessarily assumed that to be more densely settled than other regions. Such is a potential risk faced by studies that take the parish unit as the sole basis for study.

Several other factors that were taken into account before selecting the final case study clusters. These factors are tabled as criteria that were applied to the parishes which ranked highest within the selected regional study area in terms of PAS finds (Appendix 3, p548). The results of this are presented at the end of this chapter, as the case study regions are introduced. Before the ranking of the Lincolnshire, Norfolk, and Leicestershire parishes took place, however, the PAS data itself needed to be 'cleaned' for accuracy. The cleaning steps are detailed in Appendix 3, p548, and are summarised as follows:

TABLE 3.1: PAS DATA CLEANING: STEP 1

11/1	CLLL	MING. SILI I	
	1.	Initial cleaning process	Comments
	Steps	s taken	comments
	Per c	ounty:	
	•	Data download on PAS website: Advanced search > Broad Period = Early Medieval	
	Of the	ese records, the following were <b>discarded</b> :	
	•	Finds with assigned date span of $\geq$ 500 years	Too broad
	•	Finds dating primarily to the Early Saxon period (c. AD 400-650) $$	Too early
	•	Finds falling primarily in the post-Conquest period (i.e., after AD 1066) $$	Too late
	•	Finds without assigned start or end dates	Too vague

These cleaning steps define a parameter within which all Middle Saxon and Late Saxon artefacts should fall, in accordance with the date-range identified in Chapter 1: AD 700-1100. They were based on steps taken by Richards et al (2009, 2.2.1). Of course, some artefacts will date to one end or another of the spectrum, and dating in the PAS errs on the side of caution; small discrepancies should not affect the 'regional' case study pattern, however, while objects in the local case studies were subject to individual appraisal.

Overall, it is acknowledged that a certain amount of trust must be placed with the trained identifiers and recorders of the objects, as the Scheme intends.

Further cleaning steps were necessary to prepare the data for the criteria by which the parish clusters would be identified (Table 3.2). The temporary removal of the non-metal finds from the dataset and the assigning of 'subperiods' were based on VASLE cleaning steps (Richards *et al.* 2009, 2.2.1); the temporary removal of coins was specific to this project:

TABLE 3.2: PAS DATA CLEANING: STEP 2
See Appendix 3 for additional details on these steps.

	leaning for parish cluster selection os taken	Comments		
Of t	he records, some were <b>temporarily removed</b> :			
•	Finds where primary material not metal	Subject to different forms of recovery; reintroduced after case studies selected		
•	Object type is 'coin'	Unsuitable to have case study based solely on coinage, especially in case of a hoard representing a single event; a range of artefact types was desired; coins reintroduced after case studies selected.		
To t	chese records, new categories were <b>added</b> :			
•	'Subperiod'	Artefact date falls under:		
	• Middle Saxon (MSx)	• MSx (to AD 850)		
	• Late Saxon (LSx)	• LSx (from AD 850)		
	Middle or Late Saxon (ASx)	ASx (between c. AD 850-950 or too broad)		
		This was to check that parishes selected for study artefacts of mixed date ranges.		
•	'Refined subperiod'	<ul> <li>Distinguish within 'ASx' category:</li> <li>Too broad = ASx</li> <li>Too close to AD 800 = MLSx (Middle/Late Saxon)</li> </ul>		
		NB this category used primarily for discussion purposes rather than quantitative analysis where 'subperiod' is favoured.		

The microregion selection process based in part on the above cleaning steps is presented case by case below (3.4.1). After this stage, however, it was necessary to expand upon the information accompanying each PAS record, in order to enable future quantification and analysis. To this end, another series of categories were applied, of which the 'fingerprint' follows the VASLE project's approach and the 'functional groups' are inspired by it (Richards *et al.* 2009, 3.2). These are listed here and are detailed in the Appendix (p555):

TABLE 3.3: PAS DATA CLEANING: STEP 3

3. Cleaning for analysis	Comments	
Steps taken	Comments	
To these records, new categories were <b>added</b> :		
Unique 'Case Study IDs'	For ease of reference in-text and on maps.	
'Simplified Types'	For consistency in reference to object types across three subregions.	
'Broad Subtype' (Fingerprint type)	For creating regional artefact Fingerprints	
BROOCH PIN STRAP-END/FITTING OTHER DRESS/JEWELLERY HOOKED TAG COIN HORSE FITTING OTHER	These subtypes were based on the VASLE project types (Richards et al 2009) which were identified based on the most commonly represented artefact types across early medieval England	
'Functional Groups'	For linking artefacts to activity and use	
DOMESTIC ECONOMIC HORSE HUNTING/FISHING OTHER PERSONAL WEAPONRY/TOOLS	These groups provide an alternative means of classifying the data and relate more closely to associated activity than the 'Fingerprints'	
'Refined Chronologies'	To evaluate changes in artefact use over time within and across the Subperiods.  This category also considers longevity of use of artefact and/or ability to assign refined date brackets.	
'Culture'	To compare cultural influences (e.g. Scandinavian, Irish) of artefacts	
'Provenance'	To map networks of travel and trade through artefacts	
'Parallels'	To note areas were similar finds have been made and perhaps trace regional influences	
'Comments'	Additional notes regarding the object were entered here.	

The fingerprint and functional group classifications are important components of the data analysis throughout the project. Each approach presents a slightly different means of presenting and comparing the data. The most valuable part of these classifications is that they enable comparisons across regions, from case study to case study, and between different time periods.

Following the above cleaning steps, at this stage, coins recorded in the Corpus of Early Medieval Coins (EMC) were integrated into the dataset alongside the PAS coins. The resolution of EMC data is comparable to that of the PAS except in terms of findspot specificity. In addition to the above categories, the coins were classified further into historically-intuitive date groups, following Richards et al (2009, 3.2.2; which was, in turn, based on Naylor (2007); details in **Appendix 3**). Finally, several columns of metadata from

the PAS database were removed in order to streamline the project database and ensure that only entries most relevant to the project were listed in the catalogue and database.

TABLE 3.4: CASE STUDY IDS BY EVIDENCE TYPE

The ID codes provide a quick way of noting whether an artefact referred to in the text, on a map, or in the catalogue is from a PAS dataset, an HER, or EMC, and also whether it is metal or non-metal. This was an important device for cleaning and categorisation prior to presenting the results.

Evidence	ID code	ID code	ID code	
	PAS: Local case studies Metal 001-299	PAS: Local case studies Non-metal 300-399	PAS: Local case studies Unprovenanced 800-899	
Roxby ( <i>N Lincs</i> )	R + e.g. R027	R + 3	R + 8	
Aunsby ( <i>Lincs</i> )	A +	A + 3	A + 8	
Dunham ( <i>Norf</i> )	D +	D + 3	D + 8	
Frisby ( <i>Leics</i> )	F +	F + 3	F + 8	
PAS: Subregions Metal only 0001-2000				
Lincolnshire Norfolk Leicestershire	e.g. LIN0902 NOR +	At the regional level, non-metal finds are excluded from all analyses, while unprovenanced finds are not distinguished by a separate number since at the resolution at which regional finds are mapped, their presence or absence would not have much effect on the overall distribution.		
	ID code			
Evidence		ID cod	e	
Evidence	EMC: Local cas 400-499	se studies		
		se studies	HER: Local case studies Metal only	
	400-499	se studies	HER: Local case studies Metal only 500-799	
Roxby ( <i>N Lincs</i> )	400-499 n/a	se studies	HER: Local case studies Metal only 500-799 R+5	
Roxby (N Lincs)  Aunsby (Lincs)  Dunham (Norf)	400-499 n/a A+	se studies	HER: Local case studies Metal only 500-799 R + 5	

The classifications added above made the datasets widely compatible, thus enabling ease of comparison across case studies from micro- to macroregion in chart and graph form, and also statistically through hypothesis testing (see **Appendix 4**). The most commonly-referred to categories throughout are the 'fingerprints' and 'functional groups', together referred to as the artefactual 'signatures'.

The more detailed database (**Appendix 1**) is compatible with the catalogue numbers, each of which has been assigned a unique Case Study ID, as described in Table 3.4. These are explained further in Appendix 3, p548. The Case Study IDs are listed in the text as the artefacts are referred to; in cases where in-depth reference is made to the details entered in a PAS or HER record (available through the either the project database or the relevant website), the specific PASD or HER ID is cited as a means of signifying that the information is not my own but derived from the artefact record. The project ID also links to the original PASD or HER ID in the catalogue and database.

### 3.2.2 Metal-detected material culture as a dataset

The many problems inherent in metal-detected artefacts have been enumerated by both critics and proponents of its value as archaeological evidence. The biases in such a dataset cannot be eradicated, but their impact can be minimised through awareness. This has been addressed in part through the survey of recovery biases at the end of this chapter (p91). Alongside this, Robbins provides a set of three guidelines in the form of questions for researchers working with the PASD which have been adapted here (see Robbins 2012, 246-8 and 2013 for details).

#### 1. What is the survey area?

The most important issues here are ensuring that the area to be studied has sufficient data and that areas that have been metal-detected are known, while regions that are likely to hinder the recovery of data are also fully understood (Robbins 2012, 246-7). These latter are known as 'constraints' (Richards *et al.* 2009, 2.6.2). In this case, the primary constraints identified across all subregions were: urban areas, woodland, parks and gardens, rivers, lakes, and scheduled monuments. Local case studies revealed additional constraints, including rabbit warrens (*Roxby*, Lincs.), airfields (*Dunham*, Norf.), quarries (*Frisby*, Leics.), and local topography, which are taken into account and discussed on a case-by-case basis. These details are presented at the end of this chapter.

### 2. How do the patterns of recovery influence the data?

The patterns of recovery are more difficult to ascertain since they require an understanding of local metal-detecting practice. Visits and communication with local FLOs and visits with metal-detecting societies and individual detectorists were crucial in developing a clearer image of the recovery patterns. It is not within the remit of this project to survey all active metal-detectorists in a region (e.g. Robbins 2012, 248). At the local level, however, I met with, emailed, and, where relevant, informally questioned, metal-detecting groups and individual metal-detectorists active in the case study area. The FLOs, local archaeologists, and HER staff familiar with many of the recording and reporting strategies in the local area were also extremely valuable sources of information. From these communications, a summary of the state of metal-detecting in each local case study area has been derived and presented below (p91). Some issues were familiar across all study regions, however, including: the lack of funding in the PAS and therefore the lack of staff to cope with the ever-present backlog of finds to be recorded; there is also a struggle to convince many metal-detectorists to record object provenance. Due to the quantities of finds recovered with minimum four-figure grid references, these are prioritised over unprovenanced finds (Wendy Scott and Martin Foreman, pers. comm.).

### 3. What are the reporting and recording issues associated with the dataset?

Again, candid discussion with the FLO served to illuminate these issues. Some of this information was also gleaned from the metal-detectorists themselves (cf. below, p93). These three steps were followed with respect to each local case study in order to better understand potential shortcomings in the available data.

### 3.2.3 Presenting and analysing portable material culture

The PAS data, occasionally including EMC and portable HERs, was presented and analysed in a number of ways. These included mapping using the Geographic Information Systems (GIS) software ArcGIS 10.0; comparative bar, line, and pie charts created in Excel; tables created from different queries in Access; statistical hypothesis testing using a Chi-square statistical analysis in the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS)<sup>11</sup>; as well as photographs of individual artefacts (from the PAS website).

Chi-square test statistics were used to query the comparative PAS charts based on 'fingerprints', 'functional groups' and 'subtypes' to test for correlations (or the lack thereof) in the datasets which might be more statistically nuanced than is readily depicted

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Details on how Chi-square tests were applied to the project are listed in Appendix 4.

in a chart. The Chi-square test is known as a 'goodness of fit' statistical test, and helps to assess the ways in which data distributions fit within anticipated distributions on the assumption that variables are independent (Pallant 2010, 217). The results of these tests do not solve the problems faced by working with metal-detected datasets whereby patterning in the artefact datasets could be a result of either recovery biases, historical processes, or a combination of the two. The test nevertheless helps to quantify particular anomalies between datasets and highlights instances where expected counts are not met, or, conversely, are over-represented within a given category. Based on this data it is then possible to more effectively query the reasons behind the results. Details of the method and how it is applied are provided in **Appendix 4**.

A note on use of images and copyrights is important here. All photographs, unless otherwise attributed, are the author's own. PAS artefact images are used throughout the thesis. These were downloaded from the PAS website (finds.org.uk) and are used under a Creative Commons License. The images were all edited in Keynote (for Mac) or Corel Paint Shop Pro X7 (for PC) prior to display in order to remove the image background. Where possible, the scale provided for the image was retained and replicated. The use of archived map images is (at present) licensed for unpublished material only. These are based on photographs taken by the author at the respective archival institution. Maps are cited according to their archive number and archive code, and bibliographic details for these are listed in Appendix 6: Archive data as they do not follow a conventional bibliographic format. The use of maps and the ways in which the artefacts are portrayed within them are considered further here.

### 3.2.3.1 Landscape, dots-on-maps, and polygons

A landscape-based analysis of what are often spatially distinct findspots presents conceptual problems. Many have argued that 'dots-on-maps' mask the reality of distributions in the past and on the ground (Davies 2010, 132; see also Monmonier (1996)). Similarly challenging, while part of the aim of a landscape approach is to move beyond the limits of a 'site', one of the project goals is to identify 'areas' of activity within the case studies assessed. These problems are rectified to an extent by mapping findspots in GIS to answer a variety of queries, and in some cases by using polygons to delimit areas where more than one findspot occurs (cf. Davies 2010, 131-4). For example, when mapped by functional group, the distribution of 'economic' finds might have different extents than the distribution of 'personal' items; when these are broken down by sub-period, the patterns might again appear differently. This method helps to present a multi-faceted picture of areas of activity, and arguably goes some way to balancing the 'static' image that dots on maps can present. Furthermore, where evidence allows, both the place of origin

and deposition location of an object are discussed and illustrated, as a reminder that an essential quality of 'portable material culture' is movement.

Findspot mapping remains the most accessible format for presenting data such as the PAS, especially when they are categorised in a variety of ways. 'Dots', however, do not necessarily represent accurate findspots, and therefore for each case study maps are provided to illustrate findspot resolution to 1m, 10m, or 100m, based on the PASD. In addition, the following cautions have been applied to the interpretation of PASD records:

- 1. Based on discussions with local FLOs and members of the metal-detecting community operating within the case study areas, it is assumed that within the case study regions, the findspots provided by metal-detectorists are accurate to the best of their knowledge.
- 2. It is not assumed that an artefact was recovered from the precise location of original deposition. However:
- 3. Where two or more artefacts within the same sub-period are found within the same field, it is believed that this provides increased evidence for original deposition nearby.
- 4. Similarly, associations with particular features, such as roads, or recorded archaeological findspots, cropmarks, or other sites, can support an interpretation in favour of an original loss or deposition site.
- 5. Where findspot locations are centred on a village, it is assumed that the artefact could have come from any field in the surrounding parish. In this respect, artefacts on village centroids are considered to have the same locational resolution as unprovenanced finds recorded to a specific parish.

A final point to make about presentation of finds in both maps and charts, is that the quantity of data is not always conducive to statistical analysis, especially in the Leicestershire case study. Where they are not quantifiable, these issues are discussed on a case-by-case basis. Furthermore, it is important to remember that in many cases, a single artefact recovered through metal-detecting likely represents a number of other similar examples in use at the time but which might never be recovered (for a summary of theories on the formation processes of the archaeological record see Robbins (2012, 21-36)). The difficulty is in attributing any exponential figure to a certain find type. It is certain, however, that the artefacts presented here do not constitute a complete picture. Nevertheless, when we bear in mind that the charts and maps represent a fluctuating rather than definitive artefactual signature, some general patterns are still usefully observed.

## 3.3 Secondary data: collection and application

Although termed 'secondary' data, the name denotes their position in the data collection sequence rather than their importance. The secondary data group is broad in scope, comprising: recorded archaeological features prior to and contemporary with the Late Saxon period, place-names, Domesday Book entries and other historical surveys, historic maps, communication routes, environmental, and geological data. The methods by which some of these are used involve adding them as layers to maps using GIS. Given the potential extent of these forms of evidence, certain data is introduced in fine detail only in the parish clusters, with select aspects discussed at the wider regional level. Use of placename and Domesday Book evidence are discussed separately, while the rest are summarised below.

## 3.3.1 Uses of 'secondary data'

One objective was to demonstrate that a synthesis of lesser-known archaeological evidence from regions that had not undergone major archaeological excavations could generate a refined narrative of rural Anglo-Scandinavian landscapes (cf. Chapter 1, 1.1). Searches to identify local archaeology of note were undertaken in: grey literature reports<sup>12</sup>, National Monuments Records (NMRs), Historic Environment Records (HERs)<sup>13</sup>, historic maps<sup>14</sup>, aerial photographs (APs), Google Earth<sup>15</sup>, and LIDAR maps<sup>16</sup>. The criterion behind this evidence was firstly, to isolate any prehistoric, Romano-British, or Anglo-Saxon features that might still have been part of the landscape in the Middle and Late

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup>Grey literature was searched for by primary place-names within a case study (i.e. parish) through the Archaeology Data Service 'Library of unpublished fieldwork reports'

<sup>(</sup>http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/greylit/query.cfm). Other references to contractor reports and other preliminary project reports were found through HER entries and in regional archaeology journals.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup>HERs and NMRs were searched for initially by region on the English Heritage PastScape database (http://www.pastscape.org.uk/) and Heritage Gateway

<sup>(</sup>http://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/gateway/), as well as regional online HER databases (e.g. Lincs to the Past (http://www.lincstothepast.com/home/.) and Norfolk Heritage Explorer (http://www.heritage.norfolk.gov.uk/)). Full HER data downloads and mappable shapefiles were acquired directly from the local services during visits to the relevant historic environment service. <sup>14</sup> Historic maps were viewed through the above databases where available, but primarily through Digimap's Historic Data downloads for OS maps; earlier tithe and enclosure maps were viewed at the relevant local archives.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> APs were browsed by region in the Cambridge University Collection of Aerial Photography (CUCAP; http://www.geog.cam.ac.uk/cucap/) and in most cases, notable features were recorded as shapefiles in HERs; in the case of North Lincolnshire, AP-identified archaeology had been transcribed into mappable cropmarks. Google Earth was browsed by region and by date in order to compare more recent changes in visibility of features in the landscape. Most aerial photographs presented here are derived from Google Earth.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> LIDAR data was provided as rasters from the Environment Agency via the Geomatic Group. This data was based on targeted reconnaissance of low-lying land for flood-risk evaluations, and therefore none of the case studies have full LIDAR coverage. It was nevertheless useful as an analytical tool highlighting earthworks and field systems visible in the present day; in several cases it picked out earlier archaeological features which are mentioned in the text.

Saxon periods. Whether actively incorporated into the contemporary landscape with some knowledge of their antiquity, as with moot mounds or Roman roads (see Sanmark and Semple (2008) on examples of assembly sites reusing antiquated features; and Semple (2013) on Anglo-Saxon attitudes to the monumental past); or more passively accepted as dictating field systems and settlement, as with Iron Age or Roman enclosures (e.g. Deegan and Foard 2007, 134); or even both recognised and deliberately avoided, as with prehistoric mounds in the Late Saxon period (Semple 1998), features pre-dating the period under study could have played an important role in structuring land use, social organisation, and even cultural beliefs and memory. Where such features were listed in the county or national records (HERs, NMRs) or had been identified in other studies (e.g. AP mapping programmes; NMP), they are mapped as shapefile layers and referred to in the introductions to each case study. Where relevant, they are also mapped against the Middle and Late Saxon HERs and PAS data. In the case of more tentative features identified from Google Earth and LIDAR data, these are addressed on a case-by-case basis.

The second criterion dictating the use of the above data was to develop a better image of true gaps in the early medieval archaeological record. This step goes some way towards addressing the problem of negative evidence in the PAS, but can only really inform small parts of the study area. The grey literature is in fact more useful for this purpose than for its revelations of early medieval activity, although the test pits, trial trenches, and watching briefs tend to cover very small areas: a report of 'no evidence' within a one metre-square trench cannot guarantee the same is true ten metres away. On the regional scale, however, patterns from grey literature reports have the potential to reveal more general trends, and at the least can confirm macroregional activity in the past. HERs often note fieldwalking and even metal-detecting 'events' which can similarly contribute to isolating actual absence of activity; differences in preservation and settlement intensity are also taken into account in these cases, especially where Saxon pottery is known to be scarce. Identifying areas of the landscape known to have been searched in some way but which have not produced material culture dating to the Middle or Late Saxon periods can help to narrow our view of the occupied landscape.

Other sources of data serve to highlight changes in the landscape in the more recent past, especially in terms of land use, routeways, and settlement morphology. Though many centuries removed from the early medieval period, information derived from historic maps can occasionally provide glimpses into patterns of change in a given region, including roadside reclamation and entire shifts or erasures of routeways and farmsteads. Map regression analysis was undertaken to this end, comparing modern Ordnance Survey (OS) maps and Google Earth views to earlier maps. In all cases, First Edition OS historic maps were available from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Eighteenth- to nineteenth-century tithe and enclosure maps were available for at least a part of each

microregion, but much more rarely were pre-enclosure maps available to consult. In addition to information on the physical landscape, these maps occasionally provided clues in the form of place-names. In the case of *Roxby* (Lincs.) and *Frisby* (Leics.), these names had already been recorded in the English Place-Names Society surveys (EPNS). With the other case studies, the maps provided one of the few sources of field names; as early modern sources and without detailed onomastic enquiry, however, the antiquity and origins of the names were less clear. Nevertheless in all cases certain maps enhanced the resolution of the place-name evidence by linking the names to specific fields. Archives are referenced in-text according to their archive number, with which it is possible to search for them at the respective archive repository.

Information on the natural environment was derived from a range of sources, with mappable forms of geology, topography, modern 'constraints', and other modern background data which were available through Edina's Digimap service for import as layers into GIS (digimap.edina.ac.uk). Additional mappable information was derived from the English Heritage 'Historic Landscape Characterisations' (HLCs). Details on water tables and floodplains came from Natural England (for modern information) and a range of archaeological literature (for past data). Soil data was derived from 'Soilscapes' (National Soil Resources Institute (NSRI)) and, where relevant, compared to assessments in local archaeological reports (often grey literature). LIDAR data was kindly provided by the Environment Agency (cf. n.16, above).

A final type of evidence used here is photographic. Photographing a location provides a visual record of it, and can help to convey information about the characteristics of a landscape better than a description might. A modern photograph cannot capture the past, but it can preserve useful information about modern land use as well as capturing aspects of the landscape that will have been slow to change, such as slope and distance between one place to another. Hand in hand with this is the necessity of actually visiting the area under study. Each case study region has been visited at least twice, with the agenda to: view and photograph the places where finds have been recovered, where cropmarks and earthworks have been recorded, and the features that parish boundaries follow; walk the footpaths between villages; and photograph the fields, landscape features, flora, and landmarks linked to specific place-names. This affords a perspective of the landscape unattainable through maps.

The availability of the above evidence varied by subregion and case study; none has identical sets of data with which to work. This was challenging, but overall resulted in a nuanced picture of what are diverse regions. In another way, similarities noted amongst the case studies were made all the more striking. By mapping PAS artefacts against the above data, layers of possible associations and other patterns are made evident.

#### 3.3.2 Place-names as data

The value of place-names to archaeological research is increasingly appreciated (e.g. Semple 2007; articles in Jones and Semple 2012a; Jones 2013), especially when looking at patterns across a wider region, and especially where culture contact has played a key role in colouring the toponymic landscape. This study uses place-names as a means of identifying areas where Scandinavian linguistic influence can be determined, but they are also used as a way into evaluating landholding patterns and perceptions of the local environment. Domesday Book is one of the most valuable sources in identifying placenames, especially as 1086 provides the *terminus ante quem* for the recorded names. Domesday does not provide a comprehensive list of all eleventh-century place-names, however, and the wealth of lesser place-names relating to field, road, or hamlet must be sought elsewhere. Some of these are preserved on various historical documents, which, for this project have been enclosure, tithe, and estate maps, and first edition Ordnance Survey maps. As mentioned above, where available, these sources have been consulted and combed for names that provide an indication of ownership, land use, or geographical features. The primary place-names of the parish cluster case study are presented in a table at the beginning of the place-names discussion in each case study chapter. Philological interpretations are relied upon wherever available. In this respect, the English Place-Name Society (EPNS) surveys serve as a valuable secondary resource for half of the case studies, as mentioned above: *Roxby*, Lincs., and *Frisby*, Leics.; the other study areas are awaiting publication.

While Scandinavian elements preserved in place-names by the eleventh century are probably a good indication of the influence of Scandinavian language in that area, it is not possible to determine by whom precisely the places were named, or even that they refer to a specific settlement (Gelling and Cole 2000). In this respect, although modern villages normally preserve the primary place-name (often the same name as the parish), it is not assumed that this is the same location for which the place-name originated. Finally for convenience, parishes or townships are referred to by their pre-1850 historical parish names along with the associated boundaries (as GIS files (Southall and Burton 2004), derived from Kain and Oliver (2001)). This enables local archaeology to be interpreted alongside earlier ecclesiastical and political boundaries. The origins of these will vary from case to case, and it is one objective to examine the possible formation dates of these boundaries.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> It is therefore not assumed that the parish name applies to the historic boundaries since these might have changed over time, though it is assumed that the general region will have remained the same. On this note, though some administrative regions are variously called 'parishes' or 'townships' or 'lordships' over time and in different documents, for the sake of convenience, 'parish' is used as the preferred term although an area may not always have ecclesiastical origins. Finally, where primary places are mentioned in-text it is to be understood as referring to the parish, unless specified as 'village'.

Place-names are mapped by parish and by modern village; field- and other lesser placenames are mapped according to availability of evidence by case study, although often their original location is obscure and these are preserved in name only. In summary, placenames are initially presented in a separate section of the case study chapters, and are integrated in the case study discussions where they contribute information on the following:

- Scandinavian or Anglo-Saxon linguistic influences
- Settlement type (e.g. -tuns v. -hams; -bys v. -thorps)
- Land use or estate fragmentation
- Topographic, directional, or other descriptions of landscape phenomena

### 3.3.3 Domesday Book

Domesday Book is another problematic source of information, though when used with care can provide a range of valuable information related to the eleventh-century landscape, some of which can be extrapolated further back in time, even to the Middle Saxon period. The Domesday Survey was first and foremost an assessment of taxable wealth. Each of the subregions is well-covered by the Survey, and in the case of Lincolnshire and Leicestershire, additional twelfth-century surveys present a lesser hundredal system that Domesday Book only hinted at. This system was separate from the wapentakes, which suggest another level of regional administration and taxation not necessarily related to either the Late Saxon wapentakes or the estate networks preserved in Domesday. Debate as to the origins of this system persists, but it is suggested that it was also a Late Saxon invention, and that given its distribution, may have been introduced by Scandinavian administrators (Darby 1954, 321).

The Domesday Book information used here is based on the Phillimore editions.<sup>19</sup> The population and geld figures referred to in the chapters that follow, based on the maximum population estimate derived from the Domesday Book data, are used only as a general guide since their reliability is debatable. They nevertheless provide a useful means of comparing population densities even if the absolute figures cannot be relied upon.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> The 'Lindsey Survey' (c. AD 1118) and the 'Leicestershire Survey' (c. AD 1130) provide further evidence for 'hundreds' which existed within the larger wapentakes. In the case of the latter, the parishes belonging to these hundreds are explicitly identified. These are detailed in the LeiVCH, and suggest that Leicestershire and Lincolnshire were organised on many different scales. These smaller 'hundreds' preserve a local taxation unit which appears distinct from the manorial divisions presented in Domesday Book (Darby 1954; Slade 1956). The Lindsey Survey is less explicit about the hundredal system, but still provides hints as to earlier divisions (Foster and Longley 1976).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> The Open Domesday (OD) online database was also referred to for geld and population calculations, but this in turn was based on the Phillimore Domesday. In the case of Leicestershire, however, population data was not always broken down by manor and had to be calculated separately. These figures were roughly estimated from the geld allotments.

Interpretation of the data has been guided by the wealth of literature on the subject, including Victoria County History compilations, regional historical atlases, and independent work by Stenton (1969, 1971), Darby (1954; 1971, 1987), and more recently, Hadley (1996; 2005); Fleming (1991, 1998, 2010) and Roffe (1984; 2000a, 2007). Interpretations of Domesday data in relation to archaeology have also been referred to, such as Wrathmell (2012) on Wharram Percy, and Foot and Roffe (2007) on Flixborough. As with the other forms of secondary data, the quality and quantity of information derived from Domesday Book differs by region. Mapping of Domesday data therefore varies according to the case study, though in each case certain soke relationships are illustrated. In each case study the available information is detailed in an introduction devoted to the Survey, and, like the place-names, relevant particulars are integrated into the case study discussions. Also as with the place-names, a table presents the basic data for each Domesday entry within the parish cluster. Domesday data allows for some general comparisons across the subregions and case studies, and the final discussion in Chapter 8 therefore draws together these inferences for the Late Saxon period. Where possible, the following information is extrapolated from the Domesday Survey for each case study:

- Middle or Late Saxon estate systems and relationships between sokes and centres
- Post-Conquest fragmentation of estates
- Local industry (e.g. fishing, salt-milling)
- Late Saxon churches
- Population size and density
- Relative value of land
- Presence of forms of subsistence or agriculture (e.g. woodland, pasture)

The integration of the evidence described above within the individual case studies and in the final discussion, ensures that the archaeological record — and especially the primary dataset of metal-detected artefacts — is explored from a number of angles and at varying scales. This holistic approach means that landscape is not simply treated as a blank canvas, and also that it is effectively 'peopled' through the consideration of human-made features and artefacts, movement through the landscape, and place-making. Although each of the case studies presented below has differing quantities and quality of evidence, each is approached with the same questions.

#### 3.4 Introduction to the case studies

## 3.4.1 Selection of the case studies

The case study selection process is detailed here, thereby introducing the study areas prior to the case study chapters that follow. The subregions and local study areas are also assessed in terms of recovery bias and artefact preservation in line with the methodology described above.

A general set of criteria that defined the selection of the case study areas was established to ensure each was appropriate for study, and

Table 3.5 presents these below. The table highlights the shared characteristics amongst the parishes of the microregions (e.g. most of them focus on a river valley), but importantly, it also highlights the diversity between the four case studies: there are four different Anglo-Saxon kingdoms represented, and three different modern counties. This provides a wide range of territory, political influences, and regional diversity with which to compare and contrast rural settlements in Anglo-Scandinavian England. Criteria 1-3 therefore establish that despite the necessity of looking to regions known to be extensively metal-detected and which fall within the Scandinavian-settled 'Danelaw' region of England, there is relative diversity in political territory, both modern and medieval, represented in the four study areas. Criterion 4 ensures that the region under study has a terminus ante quem of 1086 with an entry in Domesday Book. Criterion 5 was flexible, but confirms that the study areas are non-urban; while illustrating similarities in terms of access to fresh water, key topographic differences across the four areas are also evident. See also Table 4.1, Table 5.1, Table 6.1, Table 7.1 for details on notable geographic features, routeways, and major rivers within the case studies. Criteria 6-7 judged the suitability of the study areas as places that had not featured in great depth in recent research focussing on the early medieval period, based on the literature. The aim here was to identify areas that were –if not 'new'–understudied, given their current portable artefact signature. The final criterion, 8, was to confirm that there was 'diversity' in the artefacts dating to the Middle and Late Saxon periods for each case study. This meant that the PAS data for any given area of study could not be dominated by coinage or any other single type of artefact. To have such a dataset would greatly restrict the potential for comparison between other areas in addition to limiting the cross-section of activities and people represented by the artefacts. It was also to ensure chronological diversity so that artefacts did not fall primarily within the Middle Saxon period, thereby underrepresenting the period at the heart of the study: the Late Saxon period or Viking Age. These criteria are discussed case by case below, alongside other factors that aided in determining which areas to study.

TABLE 3.5: CASE STUDIES AGAINST CRITERIA

I A	BLE 3.5: CASE STUDIES AGAINST CRITERIA							
	8. Artefact diversity	Å	ý	~	V			
Criteria	7. Currently or recently studied?	MA dissertation (Burton 2009); Brindle on Roman period (2009)	Osboumby part of PhD study by Adam Daubney (Leicester); VASLE	Mileham part of Launditch study (Wade-Martins 1980), focus on DMVs; post- Conquest Mileham focus of Liddiard (2005)	As part of earthwork survey from air (Hartley 1987)			
	6. Excavations (historic period)	-Roman villas -early Anglo- Saxon cemeteries (sixth-seventh centuries)	-small-scale excavation Anglo-Saxon 'hall'	-fieldwalking around Mileham; excavation of DMV north of Mileham (Grenstein)	-small-scale excavation in churchyard: possible Anglo- Saxon occupation			
	5. General topography	Valley along River Ancholme, Iimestone slopes	Small valleys along streams, rolling hills, fenland to east	Valley along river Nar, clayey land, highest hills in region	Extremely hilly, steep valleysides along Wreake, good visibility.			
	4. Listed Domesday	ý	Ý	ý				
	3. Within 'Danelaw'	ý	ý	ý	ý			
	2. Historic Kingdom	Lindsey	Kesteven	East Anglia	Mercia			
	1. County (post 1970)	North Lincolnshire	Lincolnshire	Norfolk	Leicestershire			
	Parishes (modern)	-Roxby cum Risby -Winterton -Appleby	-Aunsby and Dembleby -Osboumby -Aswarby and Swarby -Culverthorpe and Kelby -Silk	Great Dunham Little Dunham Little Dunham Little Dunham Litcham Litcham -Litcham -Rempstone Beeston with Bittering	-Frisby and Kirby -Hoby and Rotherby -Grimston -Asfordby			
	Parish cluster name	'Roxby'	'Aunsby'	'Dunham'	'Frisby'			

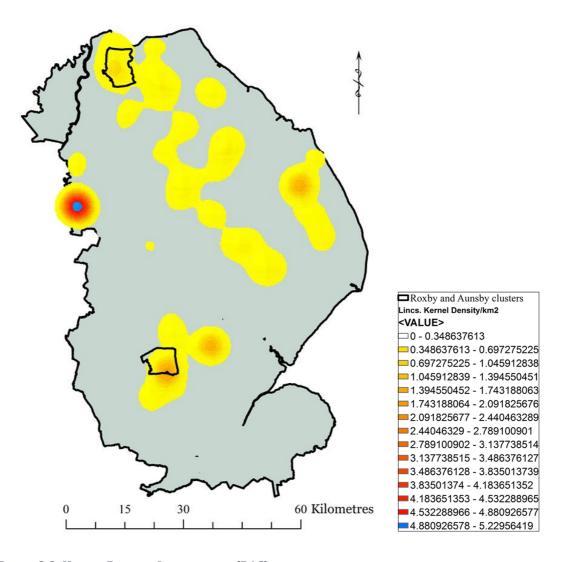


FIGURE 3.2: KERNEL DENSITY, LINCOLNSHIRE (PAS)

Note that the densest distribution on the kernel density map marks Torksey; see charts below. 
Roxby is outlined to the north and Aunsby to the south. The map only depicts areas where the kernel density is > 0.349 Middle-Late Saxon artefacts per square kilometre.

#### *3.4.1.1 Lincolnshire: Roxby and Aunsby*

In Lincolnshire, 6.5% of the modern parishes had ten or more early medieval finds (excluding coins) recorded in the PASD. These parishes were ranked in order of quantity of early medieval PAS artefacts (Figure 3.4) so as to identify parishes that might serve as microregional case studies. When the coins were included in the dataset, the parishes ranked differently, highlighting just how much they can affect the record (Figure 3.5). It was understood that a number of the parishes with high quantities of coins were predominantly Middle Saxon in date. Omitting coins from the dataset made it easier to quickly narrow the desirable case study options according to the criteria outlined above. This information was then assessed against a kernel density map generated for the county (Figure 3.2). This map revealed that in several cases, artefact concentrations were not restricted to a single parish, but that in fact clusters of parishes appeared to host intense

metal-detecting and artefact recovery. Thus the parish clusters were determined based on this proximity and on geographical coherence.

The highest-ranking parishes in Lincolnshire were considered alongside the criteria established (Table 3.5). Torksey and Little Carlton were dismissed as options because, in the case of the former, the parish remains under study as part of a collaborative project of the Universities of York and Sheffield directed by Julian Richards and Dawn Hadley (see Hadley and Richards 2013 for details), going against criterion 7. In the case of the latter, it seemed to be a valid option except that even discounting coins, over 70% of the artefacts were of a single find type: pins. This meant that there was not enough artefact diversity to make it suitable for the current study under criterion 8.

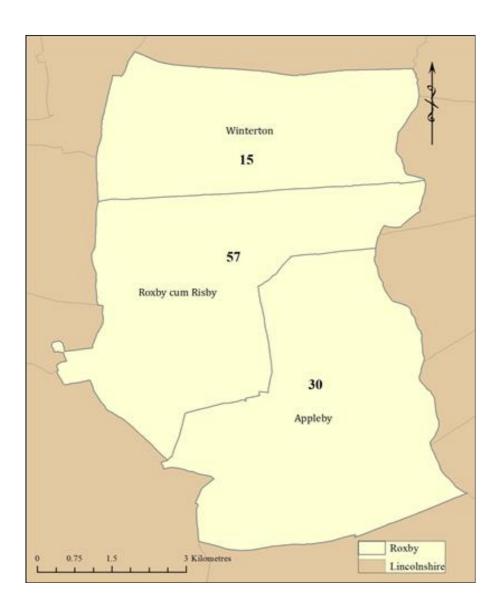


FIGURE 3.3: THE CASE STUDY CLUSTER OF *ROXBY*, N. LINCS. The *Roxby* cluster shown here with the quantity of early medieval PAS finds attributed to each parish.

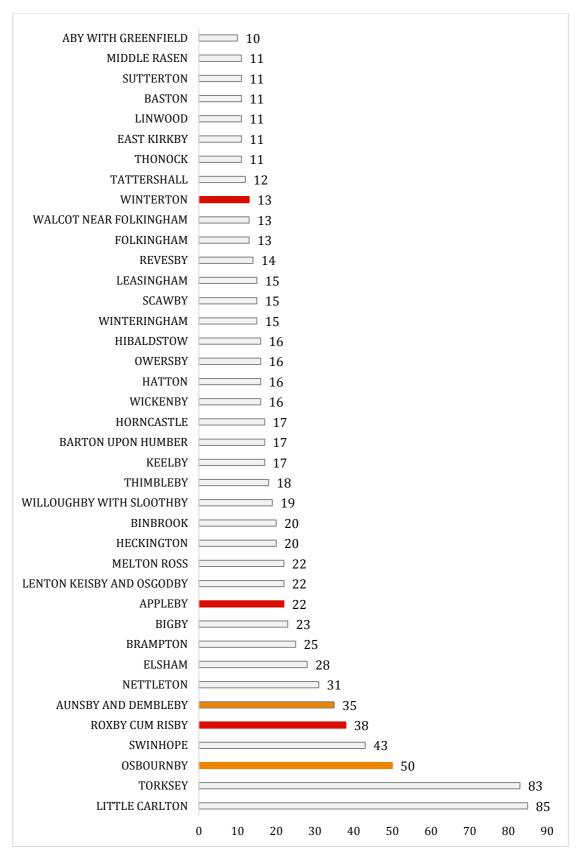


FIGURE 3.4: LINCOLNSHIRE PARISHES BY NUMBER OF PAS FINDS WITHOUT COINS

The parishes with ten or more PAS finds dating to the Middle and/or Late Saxon periods are ranked by quantity. These quantities do not include coins, since parishes with a record made up primarily of coins did not fit the project objectives. This chart can be contrasted with that below, showing how the inclusion of coinage drastically alters the parish rankings. Parishes within the North Lincolnshire *Roxby* cluster are shown in red; parishes from the Lincolnshire *Aunsby* cluster are shown in orange.

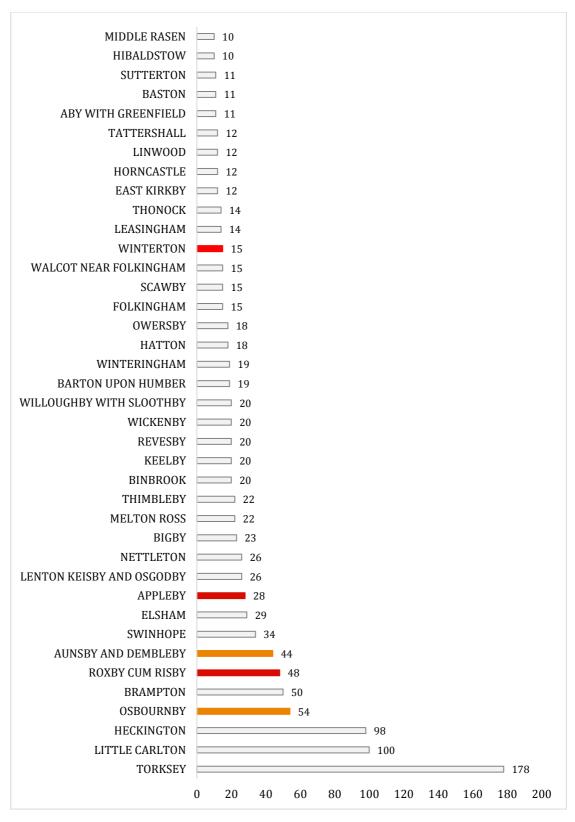


FIGURE 3.5: LINCOLNSHIRE PARISHES BY NUMBER OF PAS FINDS WITH COINS
In this case, Torksey dominates the record, with Little Carlton and Heckington rather further behind. These latter sites are comprised almost entirely of either Middle Saxon coinage or pins, and are therefore not suited to a project seeking to explore Late Saxon activity.

In this way, the parishes of Osbournby and Roxby cum Risby were identified and assessed. Roxby cum Risby suited the criteria perfectly and two neighbouring parishes bounded by the same topographical features (the river Ancholme and the Lincoln Edge)

served to delineate a clear study area (Figure 3.3, above; see also Figure 3.12, below). Osbournby and Aunsby and Dembleby also formed a coherent unit, and to this small group were added a number of surrounding parishes, some of which had a few artefacts recorded to them (Figure 3.6). Osbournby had in fact formed one of the VASLE project case studies (Richards et al 2009, 4.4.42) but this went into little detail and would not therefore compromise the overall aim to assess understudied regions. These microregions were named after the central parishes, 'Roxby' and 'Aunsby'. The areas will henceforth be referred to in italics to distinguish them from references to the parishes proper or the villages therein which bear the same names.

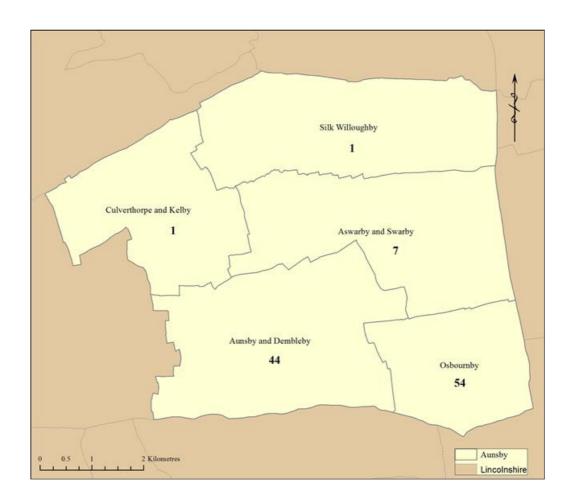


FIGURE 3.6: THE CASE STUDY CLUSTER OF *AUNSBY*, LINCS. The *Aunsby* cluster shown here with the quantity of early medieval PAS finds recovered from each parish.

#### 3.4.1.2 Norfolk: Dunham

In Norfolk, fewer than 6% of the parishes have ten or more Middle and/or Late Saxon artefacts attributed to them in the PASD. Norfolk might have posed problems in providing a suitable area to study since in recent years its 'productive sites' have attracted the attention of a number of archaeologists (e.g. Rogerson 2003; Richards *et al.* 2009; Davies

2010; Pestell 2014). These are found within 'West Norfolk' and are often notable for their coinage record. Happily, the parish of Great Dunham had not been subject to an assessment on the basis of its artefact signature, unlike other parishes found high in the rankings such as Congham (Figure 3.8), which featured in Davies' thesis (2010). Again, another nearby parish, Beeston with Bittering, helped to define a cluster worth exploring as a unit (Figure 3.9).

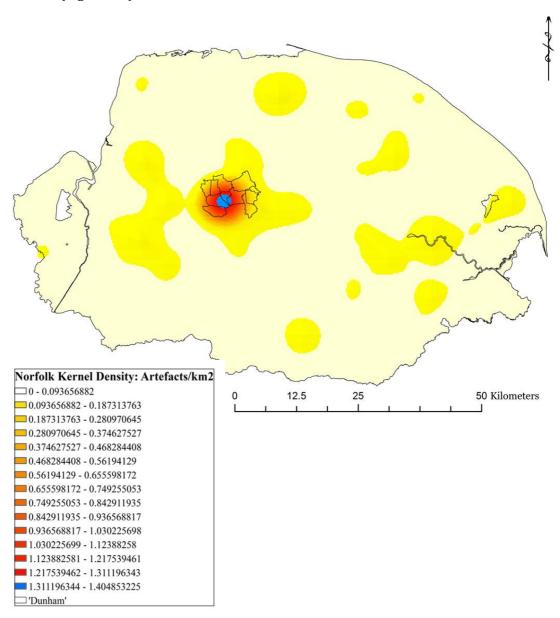


FIGURE 3.7: KERNEL DENSITY, NORFOLK (PAS)

The kernel density map for Norfolk illustrates the western bias to the metal-detected record for Middle-Late Saxon artefacts. The Dunham study region has the densest concentration of artefacts per square kilometre in the county by far. This map should be viewed with the important caveat that it only portrays the PAS record and not HER or EMC data. When these latter are included the 'productive' site of Bawsey would be much more strongly represented, in addition to other west Norfolk parishes highlighted by the VASLE project (Richards *et al.* 2009) and in Davies's PhD research (2010). It is intriguing that these datasets differ so widely in terms of areas represented, and draws attention to the differences in coin findspot recording over the years. The PASD continues to underrepresent the coinage record for Norfolk as a whole.

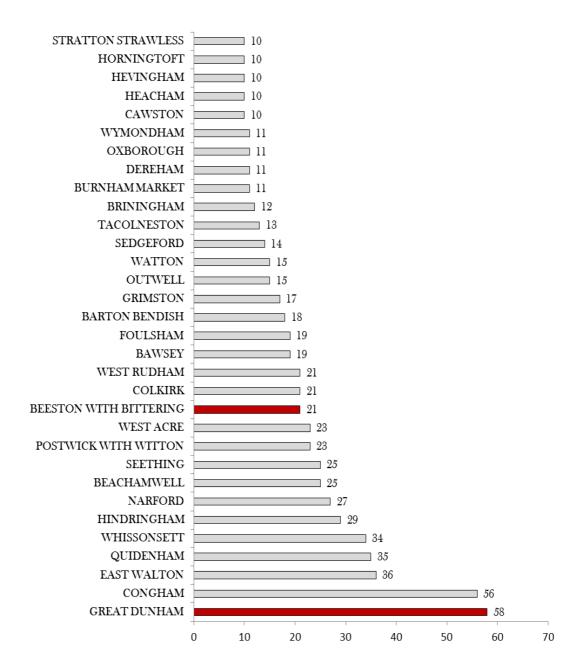


FIGURE 3.8: NORFOLK PARISHES BY NUMBER OF PAS FINDS WITHOUT COINS Great Dunham had the most artefacts, excluding coins, of all the Norfolk parishes.

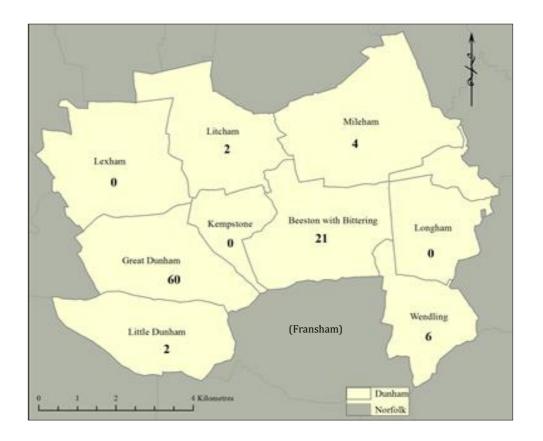


FIGURE 3.9: THE CASE STUDY CLUSTER OF DUNHAM, NORFOLK.

Note that Fransham is excluded from the case study because it featured as the subject of a PhD thesis on the early medieval period. Fransham does not have a large quantity of artefacts recorded on the PASD for the Middle-Late Saxon period, so its exclusion was not problematic.

It was determined that the inclusion of Fransham (the parish neighbouring the study area to the south) was not appropriate since its Anglo-Saxon archaeology had been explored in depth by Andrew Rogerson as the sole focus of his PhD thesis (1995a) thereby going against criterion 7 (

Table 3.5). Nevertheless, reference is made to Fransham throughout and it serves to inform the case study interpretations. The case study cluster was named 'Dunham'.

#### 3.4.1.3 Leicestershire: Frisby

Leicestershire presents a different case from those above, since a similar selection process could not be applied: only one parish in the county had more than ten finds recorded in the PASD (Figure 3.10).

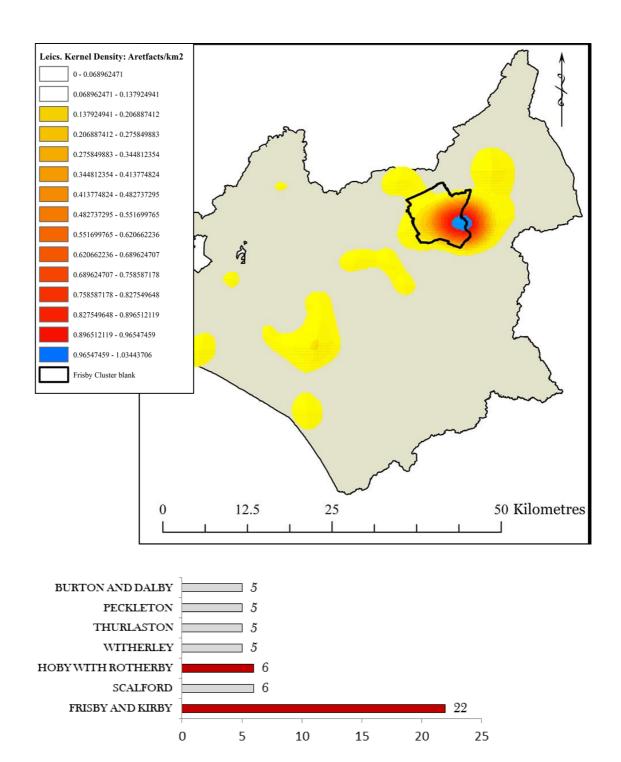


FIGURE 3.10: LEICESTERSHIRE PARISHES WITH FIVE OR MORE ARTEFACTS IN THE PAS
The only area suitable for study in Leicestershire was Frisby and Kirby, and the surrounding parishes, where the overwhelming majority of MSx and LSx artefacts in the county are found.

This made the selection process easy; 'Frisby' had not been subject to any detailed study and just fit the criterion on diverse artefacts (

Table 3.5) when combined with the results of parishes in the neighbouring valley (Figure 3.11).

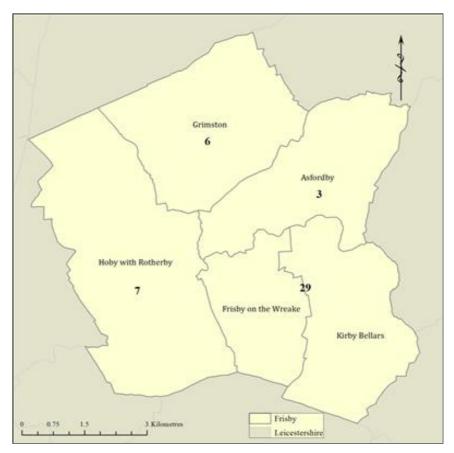


FIGURE 3.11: THE CASE STUDY CLUSTER OF FRISBY, LEICS.

## 3.4.2 Evaluation of recovery biases

Once the study regions were selected, it was necessary to review each of them in terms of the various biases that could affect interpretation of the metal-detected data. The steps taken here follow Robbins' suggestions (2012, 246-8; 2013, 56-7) as outlined above, by answering the three primary questions related to biases, and bearing in mind the 'seven stages of collection bias' (2012, 27-49; cf. Chapter 1, Table 1.1, Table 1.2). Again, the subregions provide the general focus for discussion, but it is at the local case study level that specifics related to metal-detecting practice are now addressed.<sup>20</sup>

#### 3.4.2.1 Understanding recovery biases in Lincolnshire

#### What is the survey area? (Roxby, Lincs.)

The survey area focuses on the Ancholme valley, south of the Humber estuary, in North Lincolnshire (Figure 3.12). High water tables and flooding were a constant aspect of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Lincolnshire is divided into three separate jurisdictions: North Lincolnshire, Northeast Lincolnshire, and Lincolnshire proper. The northern counties are served by one FLO, while Lincolnshire is served by another. As Robbins (2013, 67) notes, there will be inevitable differences in recording practices between individual FLOs, based on a number of factors ranging from personal preferences and availability of resources. To this end, North Lincolnshire is considered separately from the south.

nature to contend with in *Roxby*. The contours of the land, even at a few metres above sea level, strongly dictated settlement site selection. The several –holmes place-names (e.g. Thornholme in Appleby), from ON *holmr* (island), reflect the relative importance of even slightly higher ground in regions prone to flooding in the Late Saxon period. The area is therefore characterised in part by its floodplains to the east against the river Ancholme. Another defining aspect of *Roxby* is the underlying limestone geology and the limestone cliff, the 'Lincoln Edge', which is lined with springs and runs north-south through the Ancholme valley, delimiting the study area to the west.

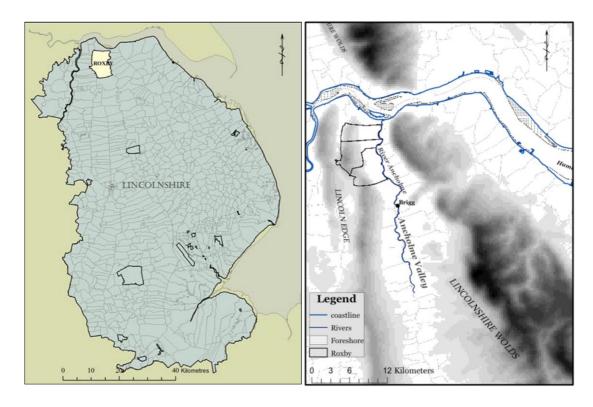


FIGURE 3.12: ROXBY WITHIN LINCOLNSHIRE AND THE ANCHOLME VALLEY In the map on the right, note how the western half of the study area is on higher ground.

In general, freely draining soils such as those found overlying the limestone bedrock, are less suitable for artefact preservation than waterlogged soils (Farewell 2009, 3). Soils that drain well are also better suited to agriculture, and increased agricultural activity exacerbates the destruction of archaeological material. Areas around Santon and High Risby in *Roxby* (see Figure 4.6, below) have more acidic sandy and loamy soils, and are also freely draining (National Soil Resources Institute 2012). This would suggest low preservation potential; and yet Santon has yielded a large number of finds, suggesting that, had preservation been better, the area might be even more archaeologically forthcoming. Overall, however, it is likely that *Roxby*'s bias in recovery toward higher ground (>10 m OD) is historically representative. The gentle slope and the east-draining springlines in *Roxby* do not appear to have resulted in any noticeable shift of portable material culture.

In terms of constraints there are several that are specific to *Roxby*, besides the common constraints of urban areas, woodland, parks, and scheduled monuments: a railway passes through Santon and there are extensive rabbit warrens in Risby (Figure 3.13).

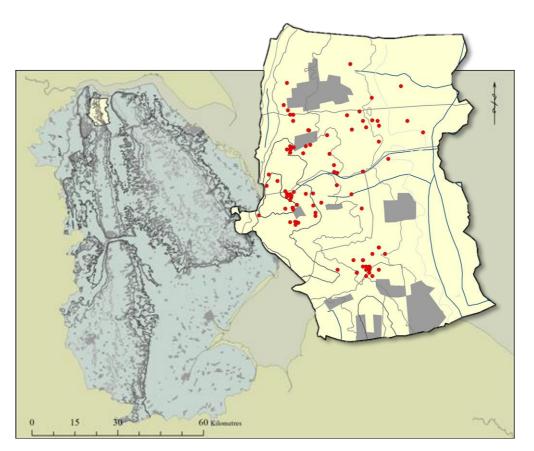


FIGURE 3.13: ROXBY CONSTRAINTS Constraints are shown in grey on both the Lincolnshire map and *Roxby* inset. *Roxby* shows the basic distribution of Middle and Late Saxon PAS finds against the constraints.

#### How do the patterns of recovery in N. Lincolnshire influence the data?

Patterns of recovery in the *Roxby* study area are more rigorous than others, perhaps accounting for the high quantity of artefacts reported here. The Scunthorpe Metal Detecting Society has grown considerably in numbers over the years; they meet regularly with the local FLO in attendance, and they have access to most fields in the three parishes under study (SMDS anon. member pers. comm., 8 October, 2012).21 Although they have not recorded every field where they have yet to go, or do not have permission to access, the impression was that a high proportion of fields, especially along the Lincoln Edge and west of Ermine Street have been searched. Club members are enthusiastic about most periods, and they are encouraged to collect and record non-metal chance finds as they

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Communication with metal-detector users at club meetings resulted in the opportunity to speak informally with them about their practice. In some cases similar questions came up and were answered. The results of a selection of these informal interviews are presented in Boxes associated with the relevant case study. These were not quantitative surveys but the anecdotal information presents some interesting notes on how metal-detecting is pursued by certain individuals. Information is anonymous but used with permission.

detect, although discarding of certain items deemed 'uninteresting' is known to take place (SMDS anon. member, pers. comm., 11 August, 2014; cf. Box 3.1).

BOX 3.1: METAL-DETECTOR USER PROFILE, ROXBY

#### Metal-detector user profile: Roxby

Hours detecting/month: 30 hours with group

Years detecting area: 7 (30+ total)

Period of preference: Everything

Average detecting radius from home: up to 5 miles

Material/objects discriminated against? 'if needed'

Any sorting of finds? Yes: uninteresting items

Strategy in searching? To 'return to good fields'

Why metal-detect? 'The buzz', fresh air, get away.

#### What are the reporting and recording issues associated with the dataset?

Prior to the establishment of the PAS, local archaeologists such as Kevin Leahy in North Lincolnshire had already recognised the importance of developing strong relationships with local metal-detectorists (see Leahy 2007b; Addyman 2009). Thus an initial recording system was developed and this early trust between archaeologists and metal-detectorists in part accounts for the volume of finds reported to the PAS in Lincolnshire. This also means that some of the pre-PAS records are stored separately, either by Leahy or with the North Lincolnshire Museum (NLM).

There is a generally positive relationship between the North and North East Lincolnshire FLO and the Scunthorpe Metal Detecting Society (SMDS) who are the most active around the *Roxby* study area. The greatest issue with recovery is an aversion to iron objects, which probably results in an under-representation of the Anglo-Scandinavian period (Martin Foreman, pers. comm., 8 October, 2012). The other side to this, however, is the local FLO's personal interest in 'everyday' artefacts of iron and lead, which it could also be argued has led to an over-representation of such finds in North Lincolnshire compared to other jurisdictions. This is difficult to quantify, however: searches in the PASD by the primary materials 'lead' and 'iron' indicate that Lincolnshire proper records more than North and Northeast Lincolnshire combined (as of August 2014). Differences in reporting, land cover, and county size might account for this, although it could be significant that per kilometre square, North and Northeast Lincolnshire have twice the density of lead and

iron finds recorded (to all periods) than Lincolnshire proper (as of August 2014; Table 3.6).

TABLE 3.6: LEAD AND IRON REPORTING AND RECORDING ACROSS LINCOLNSHIRE

Artefacts by material	North and Northeast Lincolnshire	Lincolnshire
Lead items (all periods)	860	2502
Lead items (all periods)/km <sup>2</sup>	0.83	0.42
Iron items (all periods)	98	249
Iron items (all periods)/km²	0.094	0.042
Lead and iron items (Early Medieval to Medieval periods)/km <sup>2</sup>	0.0222	0.0073

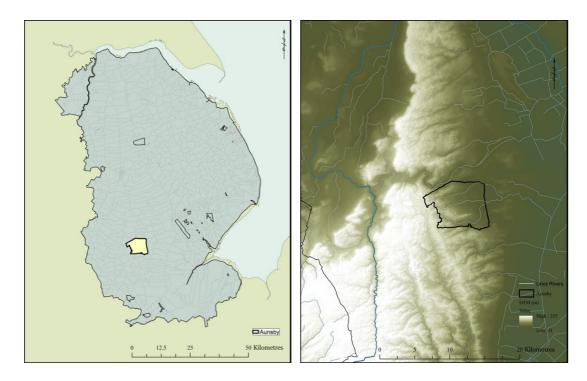


FIGURE 3.14: AUNSBY WITHIN LINCOLNSHIRE AND ITS TOPOGRAPHY

#### What is the survey area? (Aunsby, Lincs.)

Despite its size, the north and south of Lincolnshire are not vastly different in terms of geography, in part because they share an underlying geology. The greatest difference is that there are no chalk wolds to the south, where the land is flatter and gives way to the Fens. The predominantly clayey soils that cover *Aunsby* are moderately good at preserving artefacts (Farewell 2009, 3). There are few steep slopes and no major waterways to accelerate natural erosion (Figure 3.14). The entire region lies above the modern floodplain; fluctuating water tables which are detrimental to preservation are not a

common problem in the area. With this in mind, the case study area is in a relatively good position for preserving metalwork; localised acidity in the soils would appear to be the most adverse natural factor. Accessible terrain with gentle gradients and reasonably arable soil contributed, however, to increased agricultural productivity over the years; as elsewhere, this is the greatest threat to the underlying archaeology.

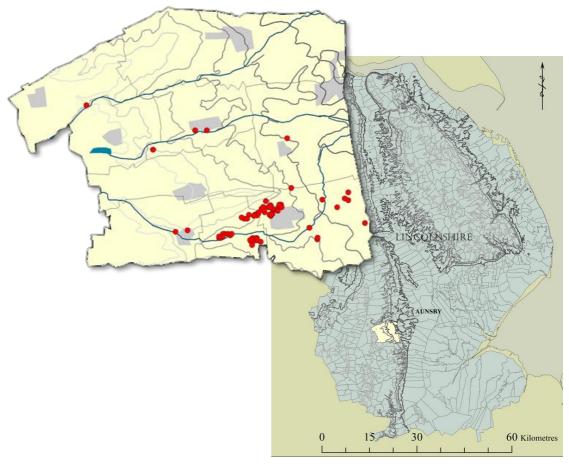


FIGURE 3.15: AUNSBY CONSTRAINTS

Constraints are shown in grey on both the Lincolnshire map and *Aunsby* inset. *Aunsby* shows the basic distribution of Middle and Late Saxon finds against the constraints. Note the concentration around the modern village of Osbournby and proximity to becks in other cases.

#### How do the patterns of recovery in Lincolnshire influence the data?

The area has been metal-detected predominantly by a single detectorist who works closely with local FLOs and has been granted access to most of the land within the study area (Tim Camm, pers. comm.). As a native to Osbournby, the focus of his detecting has been on that parish, accounting in part for the high volume of PAS-recorded finds in Osbournby. It is undoubtedly a 'targeted' site. Tim has access to most of the land of Osbournby and Scott Willoughby parishes and knows the farmers well. He agreed that searching farther afield more regularly (e.g. Aswarby and Swarby, the parish north of Aunsby and Osbournby) would likely somewhat readjust the current bias toward Osbournby as the most 'productive'. We cannot therefore assume that Osbournby was

necessarily more important or heavily populated than neighbouring regions in the past based on the distribution of metal-detected finds alone.

#### What are the reporting and recording issues associated with the dataset?

The Finds Liaison Officer for Lincolnshire has a strong relationship with individuals and clubs in the county (Adam Daubney, pers. comm.) and has been in the position for over ten years (Figure 3.16). This has resulted in a high level of consistency within the Lincolnshire PAS entries. As addressed above, the combination of extensive plough-based agriculture and a long tradition of metal-detecting in Lincolnshire is one of the reasons that the county has so many Portable Antiquities records. There are more people responsible for recording finds in Lincolnshire than in North and North East Lincolnshire (e.g. 51 v. 13 in 2011 (http://finds.org.uk/database/statistics/county); and see Table 3.7 on differences in FLO positions in N.Lincs.), however, and this could result in a lack of consistency in the identification of artefacts but also in increased quantities of artefacts recorded on the PASD.

TABLE 3.7: FINDS RECORDED TO PASD PER COUNTY

FLO/Primary recorder	County	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014
Wendy Scott	Leicestershire	93	904	1635	1048	963	1471	1082	1165	1342	1511	687	522
Kurt Adams (2003); Lisa Staves (2004-2009); Martin Foreman (2009-present)	North and North East Lincolnshire	287	652	752	407	610	841	500	1284	1307	1277	1240	1022
Adam Daubney	Lincolnshire	1597	1301	2644	2570	2197	3142	3551	6004	5180	4338	4311	4037
Erica Darch and various	Norfolk	2854	916	2063	2817	13764	2399	1334	4801	824	6069	10832	9270

### 3.4.2.2 Understanding recovery biases in Norfolk

#### What is the survey area?

The *Dunham* survey area is one of the areas of highest relief in Norfolk. It is predominantly arable and grassland, situated on soils dominated by boulder clay, with some chalky till. The primary constraints in the region (Figure 3.17) are urban areas, although there is also a disused airfield and a local quarry that restrict metal-detecting.



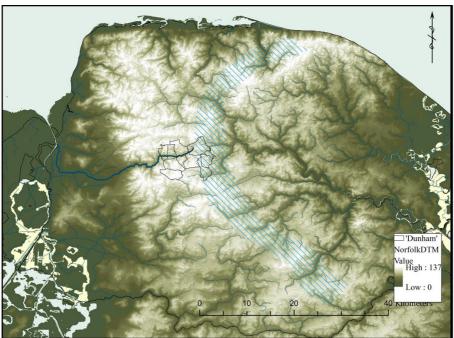


FIGURE 3.16: DUNHAM IN NORFOLK

Note the regional watershed that traverses the county and lies along the eastern edge of the study area.

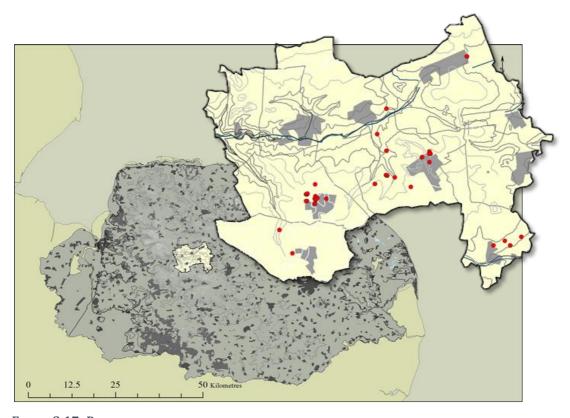


FIGURE 3.17: DUNHAM CONSTRAINTS

Constraints are shown in grey on both the Norfolk map and Dunham inset. Dunham shows the basic distribution of Middle and Late Saxon finds against the constraints.

#### How do the patterns of recovery in Norfolk influence the data?

Patterns of recovery are known to have focused on the southern parishes of the study region, in part through cooperation with local archaeological research on Fransham parish (Andrew Rogerson, pers. comm). Fransham and Great Dunham parishes have therefore been specifically targeted, and one local metal-detector user indicates that he will often return to a 'reliable' field for the sake of satisfaction (see Box 3.2, below). This means that certain areas are likely to be over-represented. Nevertheless, other areas — for example the confluence of parish boundaries near the Nar in Lexham — have also been targeted as part of a research agenda, but did not yield any finds dating to the early medieval period (Rogerson, pers. comm.). Some parts of Great Dunham are not available for detecting due to landowners refusing permission (anon. metal-detectorist, pers. comm.). There is an active detecting community in the region, but they tend to work in pairs or small groups rather than as a club and there is some competition for access to land (anon. metal-detectorist, pers. comm.). It is clear that in the case of *Dunham* there is a mixed range of access to land which affects recovery.

BOX 3.2: METAL-DETECTOR USER PROFILE, DUNHAM

#### Metal-detector user profile: Dunham

Hours detecting/month: 12hrs/month; 2-7 years ago: 80hrs/month

Years detecting area: 10 (15 total)

Period of preference: All, but especially Anglo-Saxon

Average detecting radius from home: 26 miles at most

Material/objects discriminated against? Very small iron, but try to discriminate minimally

Any sorting of finds? 'Scrap' discarded, but reports all finds presumed to be 300 years or older or fragments with evidence of patination

Strategy in searching? Return to areas that have yielded the most; avoid areas where little was recovered. Enjoys 'reliable' sites

Why metal-detect? Interest in coins and artefacts, seeing results shared with others (via PAS, museums); thrill of possible treasure; fresh air.

#### What are the reporting and recording issues associated with the dataset?

Similar to Lincolnshire, Norfolk also has a long history of cooperation between amateur metal-detectorists and local archaeologists. The results of this are still evident in the NHER which holds a large number of records of portable artefacts. Many of these are now being entered into the PAS, causing some overlap between the two databases (Rogerson, pers. comm.). The NHER and PAS work closely together in the same building. One advantage to this collaboration is that metal-detecting and field-walking events alike are entered as polygons on the NHER database, enabling negative evidence to be traced more accurately. As with Lincolnshire, however, there are often many contributors to the PAS database in a given year, meaning potential for a reduced consistency in recording and identification.

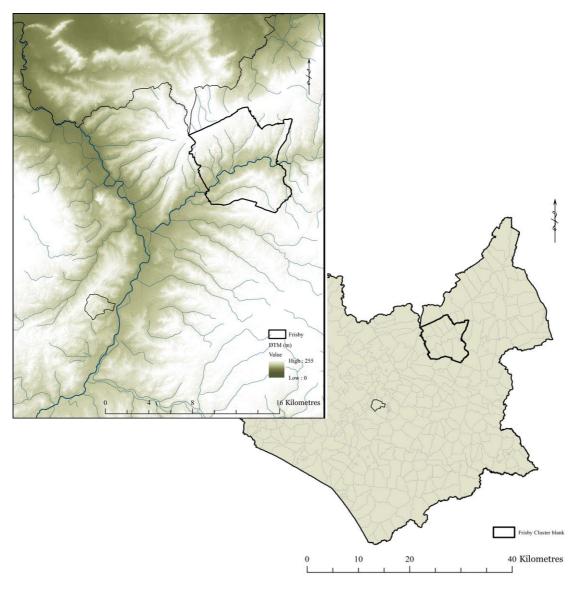


FIGURE 3.18: FRISBY IN LEICESTERSHIRE

#### What is the survey area?

*Frisby* is an area of high relief with undulating hills and what was once a major waterway running through it. There are large alluvial tracts to the west of the study area, and floodplains line the river. The constraints in *Frisby* include built-up urban areas and a railway that runs through the case study. The primary constraints to recovery in *Frisby* are the ridge and furrow fields of heavy clay soil that restrict access to metal-detecting. The steep slopes might also affect findspot distributions through erosion, although artefacts recovered from the Roman and later medieval periods suggest that this does not greatly affect recovery (see **Figure 7.29**, Chapter 7).

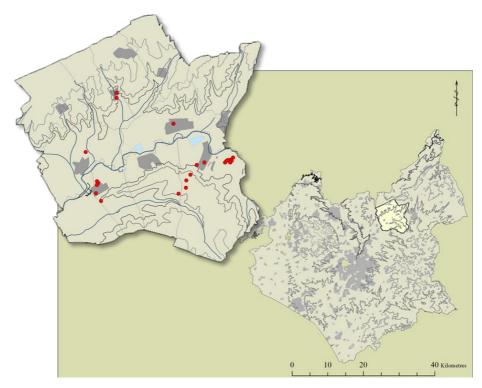


FIGURE 3.19: FRISBY CONSTRAINTS

#### How do the patterns of recovery in Leicestershire influence the data?

A local metal-detecting club, the Melton and Belvoir Search Society (MBSS), operates regularly in *Frisby* and the surrounding Melton region, with meetings based out of Melton Mowbray. Another metal-detector user also surveys the area regularly but independently of the MBSS (Wendy Scott, pers. comm.). There is a mixed level of commitment to reporting finds and recording accurate findspot information amongst local metal-detectorists, although those surveyed were enthusiastic about local history (Box 3.3).

Overall, however, a lack of permission to survey new fields and a tendency to secrecy rather than cooperation amongst some of the detectorists has resulted in a rather patchy distribution of artefacts dating to the early medieval period.

#### What are the reporting and recording issues associated with the dataset?

Leicestershire has been a focus of historic landscape archaeology since Hoskins. In the following decades, local history and archaeology clubs formed, often supervised by Peter Liddle, former county archaeologist. There has therefore been a strong connection between local archaeologists, the county council, and the general public for several decades.

A lack of funding for the Scheme overall and understaffing also means that the FLO must be selective with regards to reporting to avoid generating too great a backlog. Therefore only finds for which a minimum eight-figure grid-reference is provided are recorded (Wendy Scott, pers. comm.). The local FLO is a Viking Age enthusiast, but this

does not appear to have strongly biased the Leicestershire record in favour of the Late Saxon period, as Figure 3.10 demonstrates.

BOX 3.3: METAL-DETECTOR USER PROFILE, FRISBY

#### Metal-detector user profile: Frisby

Hours detecting/month: 40-50

Years detecting area: 28

Period of preference: Any period

Average detecting radius from home: 5 miles

Material/objects discriminated against? Small iron

Any sorting of finds? No, all recorded with PAS

Strategy in searching? Looking at APs, old maps, internet, luck. Go over one area extensively.

Why metal-detect? Interest in history

# **Chapter 4: Roxby**

## Case Study 1: Roxby, Lincolnshire

## 4.1 Introduction

TABLE 4.1: ROXBY AT A GLANCE

Roxby, Lincolnshire						
No. parishes in study area	3					
(modern)	3					
No. historical parishes	6					
Parishes by name	Roxby cum Risby, Appleby, Winterton, [Santon], [Sawcliffe]					
Parish with most PAS finds	Roxby cum Risby (57)					
Parishes without PAS finds	_					
Size of study area	$57.7 \text{ km}^2$					
Pre-Viking kingdom	Kingdom of Lindsey					
Wapentake/hundred	Manley wapentake					
Rivers	Ancholme					
Major routeways	Ermine Street; Jurassic Way					
Other geographical features	Lincoln Edge; Humber estuary					
Nearest centres c. 1066	Lincoln, Torksey					
No. small finds analysed in area	106					
No. small finds per km²	$1.8/\mathrm{km}^2$					
No. entries in Domesday	24					

The Ancholme Valley has long been recognised as an area of archaeological interest, primarily because of its importance in Roman-occupied England. Its place-names, archaeology, and portable material culture now also point to a diverse post-Roman period, although this has not previously been studied in any depth. The *Roxby* study area (Figure 4.1; Figure 4.2) is therefore an appropriate region in which to explore transitions in settlement, communication, and trade in the early medieval period.

This introduction presents the geographical, environmental and historical background to *Roxby*, and is followed by an assessment of the region's Middle and Late Saxon small finds, identified through metal-detecting. The final section is devoted to interpreting the small finds data in light of other evidence, including place-names, Domesday Book records, and the environmental and topographical data.

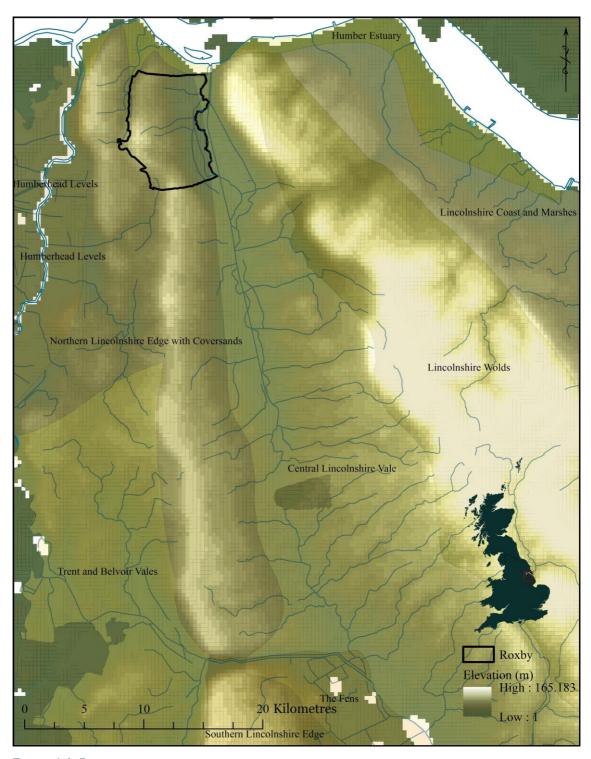


FIGURE 4.1: ROXBY TOPOGRAPHY Roxby lies almost entirely on the Natural Character region designated 'Northern Lincolnshire Edge with Coversands' (© EH).

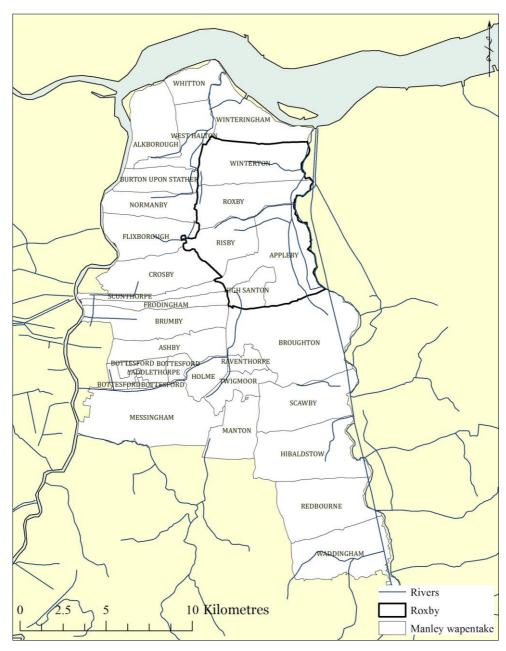


FIGURE 4.2: MANLEY WAPENTAKE

## 4.2 The region and parishes

'[In] Winterton, good channelly loam, on a limestone substratum; ... Roxby, part sand, good barley, and turnip, and some wheat... But the finest estate I have seen of some time for soil, is the lordship of Wintringham; it consists of three descriptions of land: marsh, called here warp and grove; strong loam under the bean husbandry; and dry loam for turnips. All three are excellent. The marsh is a tract of allusion of the Humber, deposited to the depth of six feet, and apparently as good at bottom as at top.'

-Young (1799, 11)

*Roxby* is named for Roxby-cum-Risby, one of the three modern parishes in the study region (Table 4.1). Located in the jurisdiction of West Lindsey in the former Kingdom of

Lindsey, it lies 50 kilometres north of Lincoln, just northeast of Scunthorpe (Figure 4.3). In the early medieval period, the *Roxby* parish cluster was located within Manley wapentake, which encompassed northwest Lindsey (Figure 4.2). Manley also included the parishes of Whitton, West Halton, and Flixborough. The wapentake follows the natural boundaries of the Humber estuary and the Rivers Trent and Ancholme. As will be explored further, these natural features factored heavily in the development of the local area.

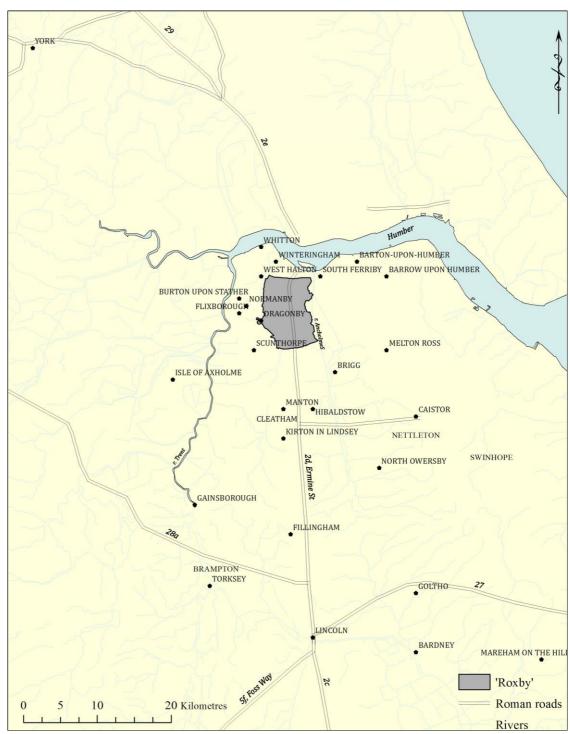


FIGURE 4.3: ROXBY AND THE SURROUNDING REGION
Roman roads labelled with Margary's (1973) classifications.

The *Roxby* parish cluster comprises the modern civil parishes of Winterton, Roxby-cum-Risby and Appleby. The early medieval jurisdictions referred to throughout the study are Appleby, Risby, Roxby, Santon, Sawcliffe, and Winterton (Figure 4.4). Some villages preserve the parish names; others are preserved only by deserted medieval villages, such as High and Low Risby. Like its wapentake, *Roxby* is bounded to the east by the Old River Ancholme. Its western boundary is defined by a valley at the bottom of a steep slope, along which Winterton Beck flows into the Humber (Figure 4.1). The outskirts of the city of Scunthorpe now form the southern boundary, with the parish of Winteringham defining it to the north.

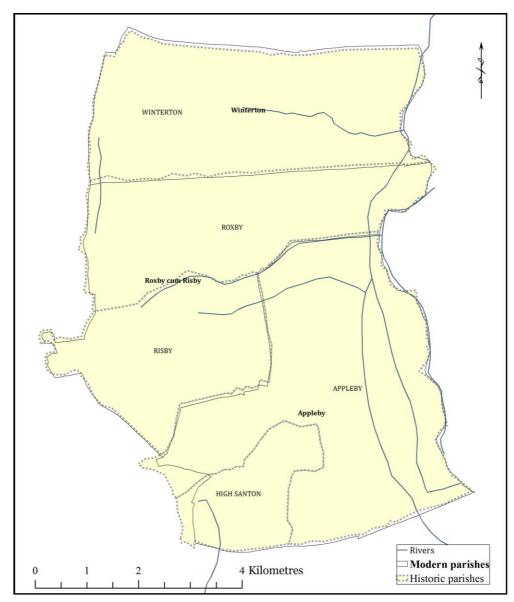


FIGURE 4.4: ROXBY PARISHES: MODERN AND HISTORIC

Data for all historic parishes presented throughout are based on Kain and Olivers' AHDS Study
4348, made available for GIS by History Data Service (2009), available at http://hds.essex.ac.uk/.

## 4.2.1 Geography, soils, and agriculture

The region comprises several distinctive geographical features due to its location in the Ancholme valley. The valley is shaped by the north-south aligned ridges of the limestone Lincoln Edge (or 'Jurassic Ridge') to the west and the chalk Wolds to the east (Figure 4.1, above). The Lincoln Edge both defined movement across the landscape and created boundaries. The 'Jurassic Way', a prehistoric ridge-top trackway, and Ermine Street, a Roman road (Margary no. 2d (1973, 192; Briggs 2013)), facilitated north-south travel through the region, as did the river Ancholme to the east. The Ancholme creates a natural barrier between the limestone slopes of *Roxby* and the eastern chalk wolds. Within *Roxby*, travel between hamlets, villages, and the major routeways can still be traced in cropmarks lining the land (cf. Figure 4.12, below).

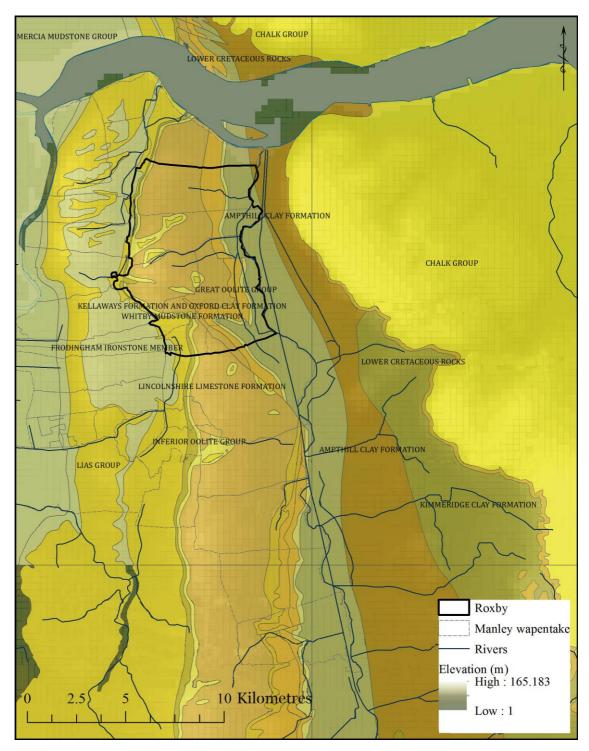


FIGURE 4.5: UNDERLYING GEOLOGY (© Crown copyright/database right 2015. A British Geological Survey/EDINA supplied service.)

East of the Lincoln Edge, sloping oolitic limestone turning to thick peat and alluvium toward the river floodplains characterise the Ancholme Valley (Figure 4.5). The highest point in the study region lies to the west in Risby at 77 m OD, with the lowest points to the east along the river. *Roxby* is characterised predominantly by 'freely draining lime-rich loamy soils' ('Soilscape 5'; Figure 4.6). The land adjacent to the river Ancholme is currently at risk of flooding (National Soil Resources Institute 2012). Prior to drainage improvements in the seventeenth century, flooding would have been a common

occurrence. The area is considered to have 'moderate to high' fertility by the National Soil Resources Institute at Cranfield, and as with the rest of the county it is dominated by ploughed land (National Soil Resources Institute 2012).

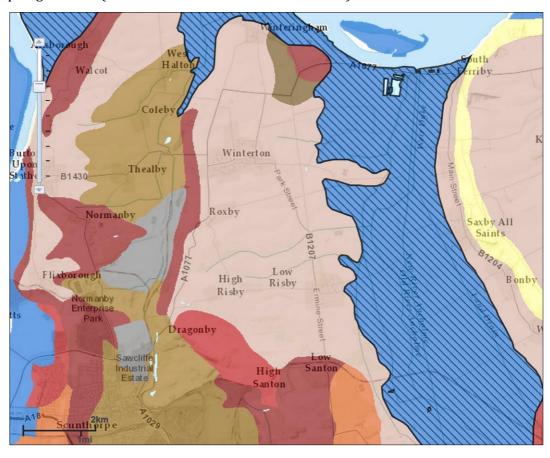


FIGURE 4.6: SOILS

Modern soil designations according to 'Soilscapes' (Cranfield University) are shown against a modern map of the area. Soilscape 21 (blue, hatched) is a common feature of the floodplains of the Ancholme and Trent valleys and has moderate fertility (© National Soil Resources Institute 2012). Key: Blue (Soilscape 21): 'Loamy and clayey soils of coastal flats with naturally high groundwater'; Light brown (Soilscape 7): 'Freely draining slightly acid but base-rich soils'; Dark brown (Soilscape 8): 'Slightly acid loamy and clayey soils with impeded drainage'; Orange (Soilscape 14): 'Freely draining very acid sandy and loamy soils'; Maroon (Soilscape 10): 'Freely draining slightly acid sandy soils'; Red (Soilscape 15): 'Naturally wet very acid sandy and loamy soils'; Pink (Soilscape 5): 'Freely draining lime-rich loamy soils'.

High water tables caused the development of groundwater gleys along the low-lying Ancholme Valley areas (under 5 m OD). Brown soils, also found here as the land rises toward the Lincoln Edge, are less common in association with rivers as they are characteristically freely-draining; they therefore tend toward valley margins and are very fertile (Van de Noort and Ellis 1998, 13). In the past, peat soils would have been much more common around the floodplains, making them unattractive for agriculture (Van de Noort and Ellis 1998, 12-3); Young's views on Winteringham (see above, p106) might not have been so favourable had he been observing the area in the early medieval period. Blown sands are a common feature of the parishes to the west, along the Lincoln Edge (e.g. at Flixborough (Loveluck and Atkinson 2007). *Roxby* has only restricted blown sand

deposits, and these places were of such note as to be preserved in a handful of field names and the place-name 'Santon' (Cameron 1998).

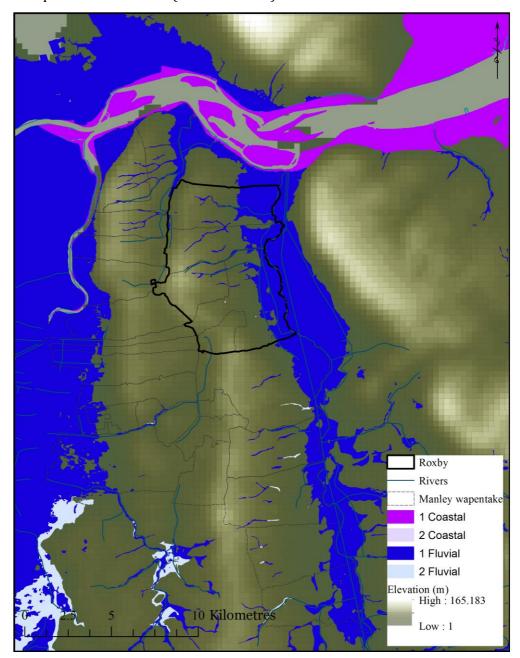


FIGURE 4.7: MODERN FLOOD LEVELS

The area around *Roxby* and the northern Ancholme valley remains prone to high-risk flooding from both the coast and the rivers Trent and Ancholme. In periods of severe flooding, the Lincoln Edge and Winterton Beck divide eastern and western Manley wapentake, creating semi-insular environments. **Key:** 1 Coastal= areas susceptible to first influx of coastal flood waters; 2 Coastal= areas susceptible in extreme coastal flood events; 1 Fluvial = areas susceptible to first influx of fluvial flood waters; 2 Fluvial= areas susceptible in extreme fluvial flood events. (© Crown copyright/database right 2015. A British Geological Survey/EDINA supplied service.)

Tidal swells would have affected rivers such as the Trent and Ancholme, and even the lesser Winterton Beck, raising river levels especially where they met the Humber (Figure 4.7). Freshwater alluvium and estuarine deposits were layered over peat shortly after the drier Roman period. It is within these layers that most post-Roman palaeoenvironmental evidence is found — but as these were surface deposits, they have been subject to

ploughing and drainage, resulting in a very poor record (Van de Noort and Ellis 1998, 290; Dark 2000, 157). By the tenth century, tidal flooding had built up enough silt and mud in places along the Humber to create higher ground that was protected from all but the spring floods, though in previous centuries this would have still been dominated by marshland (Sheppard 1958, 1). Though it was mostly unsuitable for settlement, the marshland would have been exploited for resources (Sheppard 1958, 2). In fact the placename 'carr', from the ON *kjarr* (Sawyer 1998, 13) is a good indication of the type of land that lined the Ancholme valley in the Middle and Late Saxon periods, referring to marshes, often with brushwood (Figure 4.8).



FIGURE 4.8: MARSH ALONG THE RIVER ANCHOLME
The marshy saltwater mouth of the river Ancholme, facing north across the Humber estuary.

There is notoriously little pollen evidence for this period (Dark 2000, 157), and evidence for crop plants at neighbouring Flixborough was equally sparse (Dobney *et al.* 2007, 90). It is likely that those living in *Roxby* in the post-Roman period farmed more livestock (cows, sheep, and pigs) on the heathy limestone slopes than cereals. Small-scale crops of barley and flax on the sloping valley sides might be expected based on comparisons to Flixborough (Dobney *et al.* 2007, 90). The lower-lying marshes were certainly exploited for brushwood and their fauna, although the archaeological recovery patterns presented below support the premise that most settlement and activity concentrated on the higher, lime-rich soils.

# 4.3 Archaeological context of *Roxby*

'All this corner of the County, on the West Side of the Street, was full of Romans in the old Time, as we may conjecture from their Coins, and Many Tiles, and Bricks, that are found here, especially at the Cliff, called Winterton Cliff, where there have been some old Roman Buildings.'

-Cox (1700)

The archaeological and historical background evidence has been termed the 'secondary data', complementing the 'primary' PAS records. Following the methods outlined above (Chapter 3, 3.2.3), the study area was assessed for notable archaeological finds and features based on searches of Historic Environment Records (HERs) and developer-funded archaeology reports. The focus here is especially on past landscape features that could have influenced life and settlement in the early medieval period, and is not therefore an exhaustive review of the region's prehistory.

# 4.3.1 Prehistoric Roxby

There are very few visible earthworks or other notable prehistoric features remaining in *Roxby;* agricultural activity has long since razed any mounds or ditches. Aerial photographs preserve some cropmark evidence of early enclosures and linear features, including pathways. Most notably, and almost certainly still in use in the early medieval period, was the 'Jurassic Way' thoroughfare (Dudley 1949). This track runs roughly parallel to Ermine Street from Kesteven to Scunthorpe, and clearly follows the ridge of the Lincoln cliff (Figure 4.9). Other linear trackways run parallel to the Jurassic Way to its east, perhaps indicative of lesser branches leading to settlements, though their dates are difficult to ascertain (Mike Hemblade, pers. comm., June 2012). Several 'mounds' were reputedly situated near the medieval Thornholme Priory (Loughlin and Miller 1979, 182), but these are no longer visible. It is otherwise difficult to evaluate the extent to which prehistoric features would have been integrated in the early medieval landscape. We are on firmer footing, however, with Roman influences.



FIGURE 4.9: PREHISTORIC ROXBY

*Roxby* presents a busy prehistoric landscape, with ring ditches, enclosures, trackways and boundaries. Note that the cropmarks presented here are not necessarily all prehistoric and some Romano-British HERs are included as well. The prehistoric routeway, Jurassic Way is shown to the west, lining the Lincoln Edge. (HER data © N.Lincs. Historic Environment Office.)

# 4.3.2 Roman and post-Roman Roxby (to c. AD 650)

Since the earliest days of Roman occupation in England, strong Romano-British influence was present in the Ancholme Valley; it now accounts for the majority of known archaeology in the area (Figure 4.10). Winteringham was an important landing place, linking the sea and southern England to a central point of access into the north: the

elevated and paved Romano-British road, 'Ermine Street'. Where it met the Humber, a ferry operated to transport travellers further north to York (Stead and Charlesworth 1976, 16). Villas, farmsteads and other occupation sites developed along this route as crosscountry trade increased (Stead and Charlesworth 1976, 17). Roman villas were situated in Winteringham, Winterton, and Roxby, and pottery was produced at Santon and near Dragonby (Whitwell 1993, 15). Several other indicators of a Romano-British presence have been indicated through cropmarks, pottery scatters, and excavation.

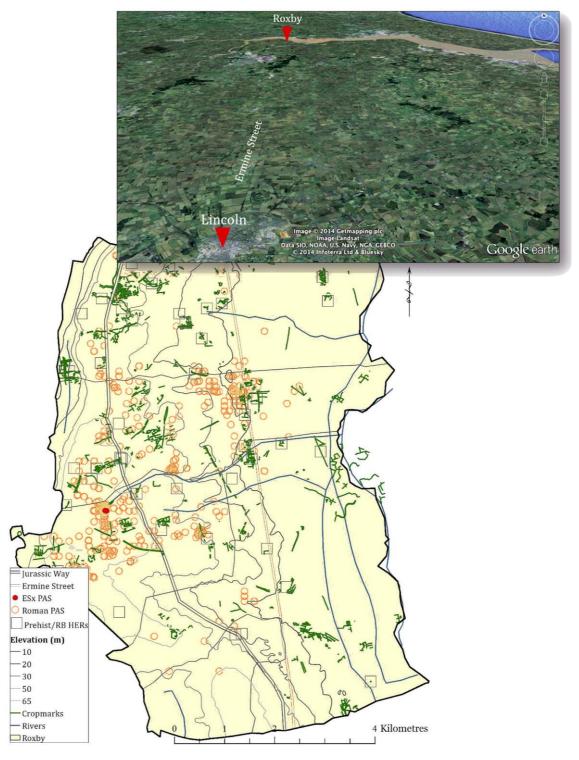


FIGURE 4.10: ROMANO-BRITISH AND EARLY SAXON *ROXBY*Ermine Street is preserved in modern roads and is especially evident between Lincoln and the Humber, as can be seen in aerial imagery.

Ermine Street was one of the most impressive of the Romano-British legacies left on the Ancholme valley landscape (Figure 4.10). Excavations revealed the road to be 14-15 feet wide in places and much of it was ditched along the sides; the road itself was built up, metalled, and paved with limestone and mortared for many stretches (Dudley 1949, 145-7). As a primary Roman thoroughfare, Ermine Street was a focal point for Romano-British settlement. The Jurassic Way is similarly associated with evidence of Romano-British enclosures, farmsteads, and pottery production (May 1976, 7), illustrating the influence of these major routes on settlement patterns.

It is difficult to assess the full extent to which the cropmark-identified occupation sites and field systems would have been visible to those living in the centuries after Roman withdrawal from England. The assumption that nature reclaimed much of its land after the Roman period is problematic, and must instead be considered on a case-by-case basis. While agriculture and woodland clearance diminished in certain areas after the Roman period, activity did not cease altogether. Artefacts from Dragonby (Sawcliffe), Winterton, and Winteringham point towards Germanic influence in the area as early as the fourth and fifth centuries (Leahy 1993, 30). At Dragonby, excavations of a Roman settlement revealed several sherds of mid-fifth and sixth-century pottery suggesting that there was at least limited occupation nearby (May 1996, 611). Many of the sturdy limestone-built villas would have remained visible, even as they fell into decay, perhaps inspiring new settlement or at least acting as an attractive source of building material. It is clear from eighteenth-century observers, however, that these structures were by no means completely picked over in the post-Roman period (Cox 1700, cf. quotation above).

The primary archaeological evidence for Early Saxon activity in *Roxby* comes from the two cemetery phases, identified by Leahy and Williams (2001) as 'Roxby I' and 'Roxby II', on Sheffield's Hill (NLHER: MLS15987). Excavation of these sixth- and seventh-century cemeteries did not reveal structural evidence, although nearby pottery scatters suggested settlement (Leahy and Williams 2001, 310). The cemeteries were dominated by inhumations, with only two cremations present in the sixth-century cemetery (Leahy 2007a, 13). These cemeteries contrast with the large cremation cemeteries with relatively few inhumations found in neighbouring regions, as at Bagmoor, Cleatham, and Elsham (Leahy 1993, 39-40). The Sheffield's Hill cemeteries are notable in terms of their landscape setting: they are located on a high point of land on the Lincoln Edge near the convergence of the Roxby, Risby, Flixborough, and Normanby parishes. The cemeteries are in line with an old trackway that skirts the 70m contour along the Roxby parish boundary, and are also connected by a track stemming off the Jurassic Way, passing first through High Risby (Figure 4.11).

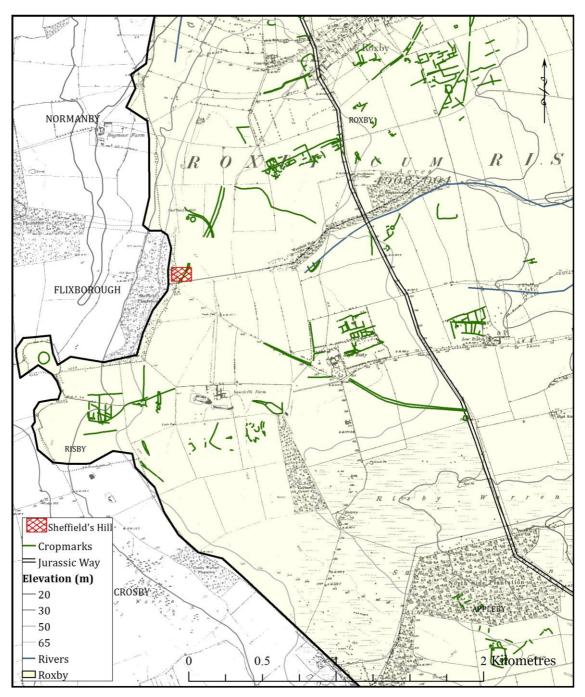


FIGURE 4.11: SHEFFIELD'S HILL (Historic map copyright for this and all subsequent *Roxby* historic OS maps: Crown copyright and Landmark Information Group Limited (2015). All rights reserved. (1891)).

*Roxby* was part of a busy Roman transit landscape, in addition to hosting several wealthy permanent settlements. After Roman withdrawal, the area continued to support small communities, though the evidence of their activities is much more ephemeral. They had at least one important communal focal point maintained over several generations at Sheffield's Hill, where ancestral memories were hinged to the limestone slope. The cemeteries here might furthermore have played a role in determining the boundaries that came to define the region.

### 4.3.3 Middle Saxon Roxby (c. AD 650-800)

TABLE 4.2: MIDDLE SAXON EVIDENCE SUMMARY

Excavations	Pottery	Non-PAS metalwork
у	n	у

There are few Historic Environment Records for the *Roxby* parishes dating to the Middle Saxon period (Figure 4.12). Excavations at the neighbouring parish of Flixborough revealed a community practicing local resource exploitation, craft-working, and animal husbandry by the late seventh century (Loveluck and Atkinson 2007, 20-1). It is highly likely that similar, if perhaps less intensive, activity took place to the east in the Ancholme valley as well.

At this time the Christian landscape of North Lincolnshire and Lindsey was evolving. Bede and Thomas of Ely describe St Ætheldreda's trip across the Humber to Winteringham and thence to West Halton in the seventh century, where she apparently founded a monastery (Blake 1962; Roffe 1986, 32). Paired with the suggestion of some ecclesiastical activity at North Conesby, West Halton, and Flixborough, *Roxby* was bounded to the west by a network of religious sites. Such places might have encouraged trade and travel traversing the Humber, as with Ætheldreda, perhaps leading to increased traffic through *Roxby*. The western side of the Lincoln Edge was an elite and possibly fortified landscape, with at least two burhs reflected in the names Flixborough ('Flik's burh') and Burton-upon-Stather ('Burh-tun') (Cameron 1998; though cf. Gardiner (2012) on assumption that all burhs were fortified).

#### 4.3.3.1 Excavation

Archaeological evidence for the period prior to Scandinavian settlement is based predominantly on metal-detected finds: the concentration of Middle Saxon artefacts at Low Santon is conjecturally identified as a cemetery and settlement on this basis (NLHER: MLS21374; R903). Some limited excavations might point to an Anglo-Saxon cemetery discovered over the Winterton Roman villa, although its dating remains uncertain: excavations of the Winterton mosaics took place in the eighteenth century, and excavations of the villa proper began in 1958 (Loughlin and Miller 1979, 223). Post-Roman inhumations were found overlying the villa, but were not dated (Stead and Charlesworth 1976). It is possible that these were Middle or Late Saxon inhumations on the basis of similarities in practice elsewhere (see Bell 2005 for full study). It is highly likely that they are pre-Conquest: other early medieval examples of cemeteries deliberately associated with Roman structures in England tend to date between the fifth and eighth centuries, with a preference for association with villas compared to other

Roman monuments (Williams 1997, 16). At nearby Whitton, an excavated lay cemetery of fifty individuals dating from the early seventh to the late eighth century was associated with some sort of wall (Hadley 2002c). In the case of Winterton, an inhumation found in 1747 was centered on and directly over the Winterton 'Orpheus' Roman mosaic (Stead and Charlesworth 1976, 50). Inhumations over Roman mosaics also occur in the East Midlands at Denton and Norton Disney; at Denton a 'Saxon pot' accompanied the burial (Stead and Charlesworth 1976, 91). The Winterton mosaic inhumation was not reported to have any grave goods and nor did the five inhumations found in 1958, located in a cemetery 100 metres away (Stead and Charlesworth 1976, 49-50). The cemetery appears to be Christian, with burials aligned east-west and unaccompanied by grave goods. The burials were centered over villa rooms and aligned along and across robbed walls (Stead and Charlesworth 1976, 50). This practice could reflect a shared regional preference for monumental reuse (Williams 1997, 14), perhaps aligning themselves with the grandeur of North Lincolnshire's Roman past. The location on the west-facing slope of the Lincoln Edge near the Burton-on-Stather parish boundary could have been another influencing factor; this situation also bears similarities to the earlier Sheffield's Hill cemetery.

#### 4.3.3.2 Pottery

No Middle Saxon pottery, besides the possible 'Saxon pot' (Stead and Charlesworth 1976, 91) has been recorded in Roxby.

### 4.3.3.3 Metal Finds

The NLHER records three metal artefacts in *Roxby*: a Northumbrian styca (Aethelred II), found somewhere near Appleby (R500); a silver sceatta in Winterton (A501); and part of a silver ingot from Roxby cum Risby (A502). Another remarkable find from Winterton was not recorded with the PAS or NLHER but has been noted in Pestell (2013, 243): it is a mount or brooch depicting a horsed female warrior facing a shield-bearing figure. Similar examples have been found around Peterborough and at Bylaugh, Norfolk, but there are only six known in total (Pestell 2013, 243).

The state of *Roxby* in the seventh to ninth centuries remains difficult to characterise, based on the current evidence. The small finds from the PAS discussed below help to clarify the picture, however, and evidence from the surrounding regions further aids in its interpretation.

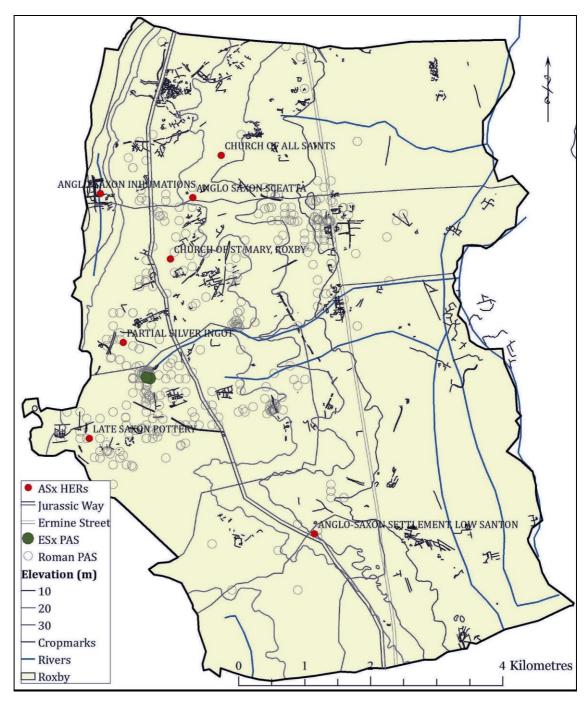


FIGURE 4.12: MIDDLE AND LATE SAXON HERS
MSx and LSx archaeology is shown against the known earlier archaeology. (HER data © N.Lincs. Historic Environment Office.)

# 4.3.4 Late Saxon Roxby (c. AD 850-1100)

TABLE 4.3: LATE SAXON EVIDENCE SUMMARY

Excavations	Pottery	Non-PAS metalwork	Sculpture, structures	DMVs
n	у	у	у	3

By the mid-ninth century, *Roxby* was predominantly Christian, though it might have retained physical or communal memories of earlier ritual landscapes. The political

landscape was continually shifting. The most notable lasting structures in the landscape between AD 850-1100, were probably those built during Roman occupation; Roman legacies were visible throughout the valley, even at the turn of the seventeenth century (Cox 1700). By this period however, the local inhabitants had developed their own monumental building agenda, erecting stone and timber churches, of which some evidence of the former remains preserved today (cf. Figure 4.12, above). In terms of the more ancient constructed landscape, it is possible that unrecorded tumuli, ditches, and banks, long-since lost to ploughing, were still known in the Late Saxon period but their visibility at the time is difficult to evaluate. Neighbouring fortified centres, as perhaps at Flixborough, may have been prominent at the time, but in *Roxby* proper, the only known structural evidence dating to the Late Saxon period comes from ecclesiastical fabric.

#### 4.3.4.1 Excavations

Contract excavations in *Roxby* revealed little Late Saxon evidence, although trial trenches to the west of All Saints' Church, Winterton, might have identified north-south croft boundary ditches and a small refuse pit, cut and filled before the twelfth century (Johnson 2006). These were accompanied by small assemblages of animal bone with some potsherds.

### 4.3.4.2 *Pottery*

Very few potsherds survive in the heavily ploughed Ancholme Valley. One rim sherd of Torksey ware was identified in the PASD from High Risby. Around 'Dragonby', south of Sawcliffe, a pottery scatter of shell-tempered Late Saxon pottery (R308) was found during fieldwalking (May 1996, 611). Dragonby has also been identified as a Roman pottery kiln site; settlement, if not pottery production, may have continued into (or reoccurred in) the Late Saxon period. Two sherds of Lincolnshire fine-shelled ware were recovered from the pre-construction trial trenches in Winterton mentioned above, although they are only broadly dated to between the tenth and twelfth centuries (Johnson 2006).

### 4.3.4.3 Small finds

Kevin Leahy recorded four metal-detected artefacts recovered from Late Saxon *Roxby* prior to the establishment of the PAS: two strap-ends, a buckle, and a brooch, all dating to the late eighth-century or later. The buckle was in a zoomorphic Urnes style, and the brooch exhibited signs of gilding (Leahy, pers. comm.).

The VASLE project identified three 'productive sites' within a 15-kilometre radius of *Roxby*, although the locality itself had not by then yielded many metal-detected finds (cf. Figure 4.3). The productive parishes were: Flixborough, five kilometres to the southwest of Roxby-cum-Risby, and Elsham and Melton Ross across the Ancholme on the wolds (Richards *et al.* 2009, 4.4.24; 4.4.22; 4.4.34). Flixborough, excavated in the 1980s (Loveluck and Atkinson 2007), was identified as a 'productive site' based on its high quantity of coins, recorded in the EMC (Richards *et al.* 2009, 4.4.24); Elsham was known from previous excavation as an important Early Saxon cremation cemetery but which also yielded portable material evidence of Middle and Late Saxon activity (Richards *et al.* 2009, 4.4.22); Melton Ross, neighbouring Elsham, similarly revealed multi-period settlement evidence along a wold-top trackway (Richards *et al.* 2009, 4.4.34). These sites serve to enforce that the north Lincolnshire valleys and ridges were host to diverse communities and foci continuing into the Late Saxon period. *Roxby* was by no means isolated, and certainly other communities, the evidence for which remains to be identified, lived in the region at the same time.

Other finds worth mentioning from nearby *Roxby* are additions to the PASD which were recorded too recently to be incorporated into the original project database. One was recovered by metal-detectorists in Winteringham, just north of Winterton, and the other from Roxby cum Risby. Both were kindly shown to me by members of the Scunthorpe Metal-Detecting Club. The first is a silver pendant depicting Odin with a raven on each shoulder (PASD: NLM 7F954A); the second is a mount depicting a beast's snout (perhaps a dragon or horse), which may have decorated a casket or the sides of a vessel (PASD: NLM-EB62F5; see Box 4.3 for details). The former is particularly rare and is the first of its kind recovered in England. Other examples are known from the Baltic region and Sweden, and it is therefore likely to reflect connections with the east (Ken Jacobs, pers. comm., 3 September 2014).

### 4.3.4.4 Sculpture, structures, earthworks, settlement

Clues to local village origins might be found in the churches of Winterton and Roxby which are believed to contain Anglo-Saxon elements (Loughlin and Miller 1979, 211, 223). These churches reflect an early Christian population, and could indicate settlement nucleation prior to the Norman Conquest. In Roxby, St Mary's church is located just north of several Roman buildings and a mosaic (Loughlin and Miller 1979, 210). The manor of Appleby with Risby and Sawcliffe was listed as having a church in Domesday Book although no evidence for this survives.

Three 'deserted medieval villages' (DMVs) are known in *Roxby* (Table 4.4), of which High Risby and Sawcliffe remain visible on aerial photographs today, while Low Risby is

less discernible (Figure 4.13). The origins of these settlements were probably, at the latest, Late Saxon, and developed into the vills by which they were known in Domesday Book. Their etymology is discussed in detail below (4.5).

TABLE 4.4: DESERTED MEDIEVAL VILLAGES (DMVs)

DMV	In DB?	Location known?	Parish	HER ID	Project ID
High Risby	у	у	Roxby cum Risby	MLS63778	n/a
Low Risby	y	y	Roxby cum Risby	MLS63789	n/a
Sawcliffe	y	y	Roxby cum Risby	MLS63781	n/a



FIGURE 4.13: HIGH RISBY

The track that runs south of High Risby meets with the Jurassic Way and appears to lead towards the Lincoln Edge cliff near the Sheffield's Hill cemeteries (see Figure 4.11, above).

A network of transportation routes would have served the farmsteads, hamlets, and manors in the region. Many of these were ancient features such as the Jurassic Way and Ermine Street, directing movement between the Humber and Lincoln. *Roxby* was connected to important hubs, including Kirton-on-Lindsey and the Ancholme crossing at Brigg, via these north-south routes, see Figure 4.3 (above). A number of lesser trackways are also visible in cropmarks recorded in *Roxby*, and although many may be prehistoric in origin, it appears that they continued to connect hubs of settlement into the medieval period. One track clearly links High Risby with Sawcliffe, for example (cf. Figure 4.13).

The few archaeological indications of Middle and Late Saxon occupation in the *Roxby* parishes point toward several local communities, mostly living west of Ermine Street on

the Lincoln Edge limestone slope. The PAS records serve to fill out this picture, illustrating potential concentrations of settlement, the importance of ancient trackways, and various types of activities taking place. Domesday Book also provides key information on the political landscape of *Roxby* at the end of the Viking Age.

# 4.4 Domesday Book and historical background

TABLE 4.5: ROXBY IN DOMESDAY BOOK All data derived from Open Domesday (OD) and Domesday Book: Lincolnshire (1986, Phillimore, 'LDB').

Place	Total Population	Relative Size	Total tax (geld units)	Relative Amount	Domesday Entries
APPLEBY	12 households	quite large	4	medium	3
RISBY	82 households	very large	5	quite large	4
ROXBY	37 households	very large	6	quite large	3
SANTON	16 households	medium	1.6	quite small	3
WINTERTON	49 households	very large	12	very large	8

Domesday Book provides the closest contemporary historical data on *Roxby*, as there are no charters for the area. When used with caution, this snapshot of land holdings at the end of the Viking Age is a valuable means of capping previous conjectures on earlier systems of ownership with slightly more tenable information, as Hadley (2005) has shown.

Domesday contains various entries on the SIX PLACES LISTED IN TABLE 4.5 and Table 4.6, including an extraordinarily high number of entries for Winterton (8). Based on the archaeology and later place-names, it would appear that the survey here was rigorous in recording all extant settlements, which is not always the case. We should assume that High and Low Risby were evaluated together as 'Risby' even if they existed as separate settlements at the time, as was common in other cases (see, for example, Phythian-Adams (1978) on Claybrooke Magna and Claybrooke Parva, and  $\bf 0$  for a similar example in Great and Little Dunham).

Domesday records that prior to the Conquest, Gamal held a manor within Appleby, Risby and Sawcliffe; Santon was recorded as a jurisdiction of the above and we might assume that this also fell under Gamal's domain (LDB 17, 2-3). After the Conquest, Roger de Bully held this manor in lordship. Bully was a major landowner with the majority of his holdings in Nottinghamshire and Yorkshire. Ulf Fenman also held a manor in Appleby before the Conquest (LDB 24, 10). Ulf was a major pre-Conquest landlord with holdings focused on the Humber, Lincoln, and Kesteven. His land was subsumed for the most part by Gilbert de Ghent following the Conquest. De Ghent was also the tenant-in-chief of manors in Roxby and Risby (including Santon and Sawcliffe); all of these were held by his

man, Robert Marmion. Winterton is the odd one out of this group of properties, with eight different tenants-in-chief both before and after the Conquest (Figure 4.14; and see Box 4.1). Areas held by high-ranking elite pre-Conquest passed similarly to the hands of earls or royalty post-Conquest, probably reinforcing the perceived value of these lands.

For example, the largest Winterton holdings in terms of geld and population at the time of the inquest were both sokelands of West Halton and Kirton-in-Lindsey. Earl Harold and Earl Edwin held these TRE, respectively, and after the Conquest they were held by Earl Hugh of Chester and King William. It should be noted, however, that in this instance some post-Conquest divisions of land are evident: prior to the Conquest, the part of Winterton that went to Siward the Priest had been held by Fulcric and Grimbald. Fulcric (who was lord of Flixborough prior to the Conquest) had also held the manor at Winterton proper TRE (Table 5.6). It therefore seems that this was once a larger unit (making up 40% of the assessment), part of which Grimbald shared with Fulcric (or had inherited part of — their relationship is uncertain but may have been familial). In this manner it is clear that land divisions continued to occur after the Conquest; a large jurisdiction such as Winterton could clearly still afford to be partitioned.

Again using Winterton as an example of the complex webs of individuals and places involved in Late Saxon estates, when the sokelands of Winterton are viewed within their wider estate setting, it is clear that both Earl Harold's West Halton estate and Earl Edwin's considerably larger Kirton-in-Lindsey estate had a distinct north Lincolnshire focus (Figure 4.15). Box 4.1, below, provides further details on Winterton, which is an interesting case study (see also Hadley (2005, 112), and Roffe in Loveluck (2007, 138) on the connections to West Halton and Flixborough).

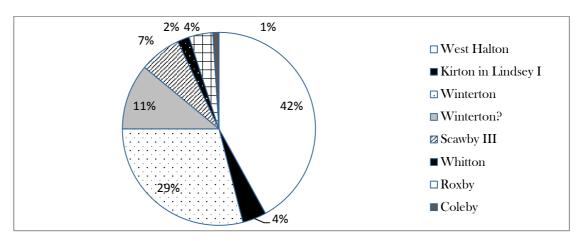


FIGURE 4.14: MANORS HOLDING LAND IN WINTERTON

These calculations are based on the geld dues listed for each manor holding part of Winterton and are not always a direct reflection of the extent of land held, but generally indicate how much the land held was worth as a taxable entity. By 1086 West Halton held the largest valuation in Winterton, followed by a manor at Winterton proper.

TABLE 4.6: LANDHOLDING IN DOMESDAY BOOK Key: [M]= manor; [S]= Soke; [B]= berewick

						Te	Tenant-in-Chief TRW (1086)	(9801) MA					Key.
	Roger de Bully	Gilbert de Ghent	St Peters Peter- borough	Bishop Odo	Ralph Paynel	Norman D'Arcy	Guy de Craon	Earl Hugh of Chester	King William	Siward the Priest	Durand Malet	Henry de Ferrers	Erneis de Buron
Place							Lord TRE (1066)	(990					
	Gamal	Ulf Fenman	Eskil	Erawin the priest, Thorfridh; Tosti brother of Erik	Merleswein the sheriff	Fulcric	Esbiorn; Ketil	Earl Harold	Earl Edwin	Fulcric	Edwin	Siward Barn	Barth father of Gamal; Wedge of Womersley
External Manors				Audleby [M]			Ashby cum Fenby [M]	West Halton [M]	Kirton in Lindsey I [M]		Scawby III [M]	Whitton [M]	Coleby [M]
APPLEBY, RISBY, AND SAWCLIFFE	E	M	E										
RISBY				[2]									
ROXBY		[8]			W	[8]							
WINTERTON					[8]	[M]		[8]	[8]	[M]	[8]	[8]	[8]
SANTON	[S]	[8]					[2]						
Additional holdings			Ŧ	<del>+</del>				iç.	+24				

#### Box 4.1: Winterton as an estate unit

The case of Winterton, which was noted in Hadley (2005, 112) is a good example of the complexities of landholding recorded in Domesday. Winterton is a large parish, and it is not difficult to imagine it being carved into various manors, sokes, and berewicks over time, as Roffe has shown to be a common evolution of the great 'primitive estate' (2007 138); Winterton might once, therefore, have been a more coherent, larger estate in the Middle Saxon period. This explanation would suit the naming practice in Domesday Book, whereby 'Winterton' refers to eight different manors and must therefore be the name of the larger 12carucate hundred rather than an individual estate, as was also the case with Flixborough (Roffe 2007, 137). Roffe in fact suggests that Winterton might have once been part of a much larger ecclesiastical estate focused on West Halton, given their Domesday connection (see below; 2007,138). I would suggest, rather, that as West Halton would have preserved its topographical coherence better without the inclusion of Winterton, Winterton and Winteringham — both 12-carucate hundreds — might have formed their own neighbouring estate complex. This would be in keeping with their shared name origins ('followers of Wintra'), and might even have evolved from earlier Roman jurisdictions. It would also make topographic sense to use the cliff as a hundredal boundary.

*Pictured:* The Lincoln Edge from the west facing Winterton (beginning at the crest of the hill). The limestone cliff provides a convenient natural boundary for defining territories.



The estate holdings in the other *Roxby* vills are more tightly interlinked, with only part of Risby and Santon held as sokeland of a manor that is not either Winterton, Roxby, Appleby, or Risby (LDB 4,17;Table 4.6). The Winterton, Roxby, Appleby, and Risby manors themselves are quite small; none of them have holdings outside the region except for land in Normanby held jointly with neighbouring Santon. This probably indicates that *Roxby*'s manors were isolated farms or small hamlets, and certainly not extensive estates as at Kirton-in-Lindsey (Finn and Stell 1973, 8). What emerges here, therefore, is that by the eleventh century, *Roxby*'s manorial landscape was characterised by various estate parts in physical proximity to one another, and which were, beside some land in Winterton, also closely politically connected, with adjacent parts of land owing and being owed services to one another.

The vills of Roxby, Risby and Appleby thus appear fairly autonomous, with relatively few landowners, especially when compared with Winterton. Relative to other Domesday entries, the populations in *Roxby* are considered to be 'quite large' (OD), with sixty percent of the recorded households belonging to 'freemen'. Freemen were a class of landholding Domesday peasants, similar to 'sokemen' who may have owed their 'free' status to royal or noble grants of freedom (see Hadley 2005, 45 for a detailed discussion). They are thought to be more closely associated with the Danelaw, but there is no evidence that they derived from a shared ethnic group, despite previous assumptions that they represented members

of the Scandinavian armies (Hadley 2005, 39). There are no slaves listed in *Roxby*; besides freemen, the remainder of the populations comprise 'villagers' (*villanus* or villein) — the most common group of the Domesday peasantry in the country — with a handful of 'smallholders' (*bordarius*, bordar), perhaps representing pockets of expansion due to land clearance (Harvey 1979).

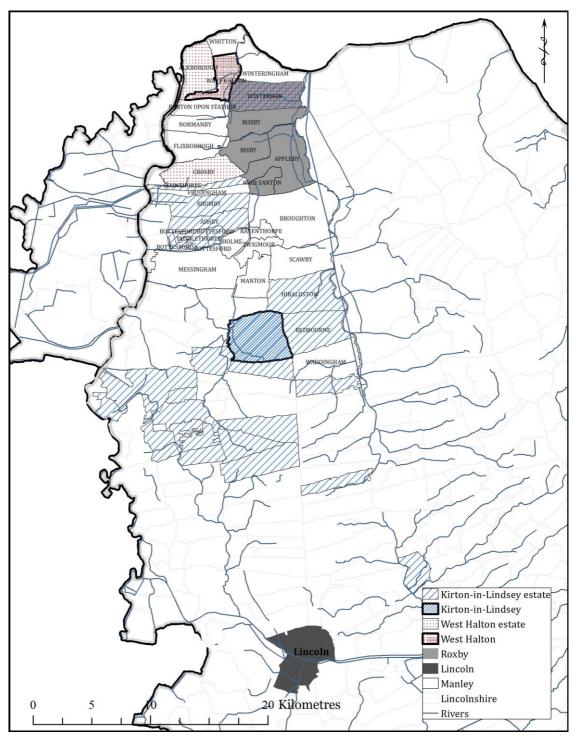


FIGURE 4.15: KIRTON-IN-LINDSEY AND WEST HALTON DOMESDAY ESTATES

While the relationships between a central manor and its various parts are still not well understood, there would certainly have been a degree of communication, travel, and

movement of goods between them. Some berewicks had specific roles in an estate's economy, for example supplying wool, or swines, or wood (Fleming 2010, 328); others contributed in less specialised ways. The interconnectedness of most of the *Roxby* manors, however, suggests that goods and produce were not travelling very far beyond the Ancholme valley, perhaps contributing to a more consolidated regional identity. Of general note is that none of the manors on the western side of the River Ancholme held land on its eastern side — or across the Humber for that matter. Berewicks and sokeland at times linked the Ancholme and the Trent valleys, as well as the more southerly parts of Lindsey, as with Kirton-in-Lindsey. This is in keeping with the rest of the county, where administrative units (e.g. wapentakes, ridings) and other boundaries (e.g. kingdoms) restricted manorial connections within the same territory (Symonds 2003a, 33). This pattern had in turn been dictated by the natural geography of the region that encourages north-south communication but restricts east-west access (Symonds 2003a).

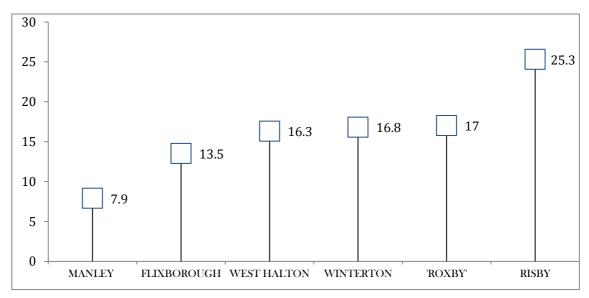
On a similar note, the soils in *Roxby* are much more uniform than in neighbouring areas. This might account for the relatively large parishes in the northern Ancholme valley, and is perhaps further evidenced by the fact that Santon and Sawcliffe, both smaller, separate jurisdictions, each had different, sandier, soil compositions than the rest of the region. Where possible, it was common practice for townships to hold a range of different types of land, often resulting in parishes and townships shaped as long strips, like the 'ladder' parishes found throughout Lincolnshire. Manorial estates could further diversify their holdings with external sokelands (e.g. the vale-wold arrangements found in the soke centre-outlier relationships around Wharram Percy (Wrathmell 2012, Fig. 73)). In the case of *Roxby*, local choice of land was limited, but each parish had access to peat and marsh along the river as well as the loamy lime-rich soils of the higher ground.

TABLE 4.7: TABLE OF ASSETS IN ROXBY

Vill	Church
Appleby, Risby, Sawcliffe	2
Total	2

Domesday Book is a notoriously tenuous means of accounting for extents of agricultural land and other resources and industries that a given manor might have supported. *Roxby* would appear to be no different, in that while archaeological evidence points towards an Anglo-Saxon church at both Roxby and Winterton, Domesday records neither priest nor church under any of the manorial holdings associated with these places. Conversely, Appleby, Risby, and Sawcliffe were listed as having two priests and two churches between them, one held under Roger de Bully's estate, and the other under Gilbert de Ghent's (Table 4.7). Very little woodland is mentioned under any of the *Roxby* entries, and there is no indication of fairs or markets, milling, or other industry. On the

other hand, Winteringham to the north of Winterton, with only one Domesday entry, had three mills and one fishery in addition to a church and a priest. Both Winteringham and Winterton were assessed at the same geld (12 units), however, suggesting that Winterton's value derived from other resources. There was certainly a large population at work; the combined parishes have the highest population density within the wapentake of Manley, despite the large size of the parishes (Figure 4.16). The large populations ascribed to Risby and Winterton mostly account this for. Over 55% of the population were freemen (discounting slaves, priests, and other infrequently mentioned groups), suggesting a high degree of independence amongst the local populace. The data used here must be viewed cautiously given the many flaws in the Domesday surveying and recording process, but it does seem that the northern Ancholme valley supported a large population overall. This might account in part for the many artefacts that have been recovered from the study area compared with the surrounding region. More specifically, there might be some correlation between the relative status of the freemen (generally considered to have owned more land than other Domesday groups) and the ability to acquire portable material culture.



Place	Max. DB population	Size of area (km2)	Pop density (ppl/km2)
'Roxby'	980	57.7	17
Risby	220	8.7	25.28
Winterton	245	14.6	16.8
Flixborough	190	14	13.5
West Halton	130	8	16.3
Manley	4625	592.42	7.9
Manley average	119	15	7.8

FIGURE 4.16: POPULATION DENSITIES IN MANLEY

If the Domesday records for Manley can be trusted, *Roxby* comprised 21% of the population on less than 10% of the land, as the chart and table above illustrate. Risby was particularly densely populated. West Halton and Winterton may have had similar population densities.

By the thirteenth century, chartered Wednesday markets were recorded for Winteringham and Appleby, while Winterton had two eight-day fairs each year, in addition to a Thursday market (Platts 1985, 136, 142). It is probable that such charters formalised longer traditions, though it is difficult to prove pre-Conquest origins for such practices.

Overall, Domesday Book presents *Roxby* as a region of average value, with no land held directly by royalty, although some manors had aristocratic tenants-in-chief both before and after the Conquest. The many freemen could represent land grants to loyal followers from lords of larger estates. It is possible that this practice reflects land-giving in line with the oft-cited *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* note that the Viking armies parcelled out the lands they had conquered and proceeded to plough (876-7), although this cannot be taken for granted. The relationship between landscape, language, people, and naming practices offers another angle from which to evaluate this more closely.

# 4.5 Place-names

'Language adheres to the soil, when the lips which spake are resolved in dust.'''
-Sir F Palgrave (quoted in Streatfeild (1884))

TABLE 4.8: PRIMARY SETTLEMENT NAMES
All entries are derived from the Lincolnshire EPNS (Cameron 2001) unless otherwise noted.

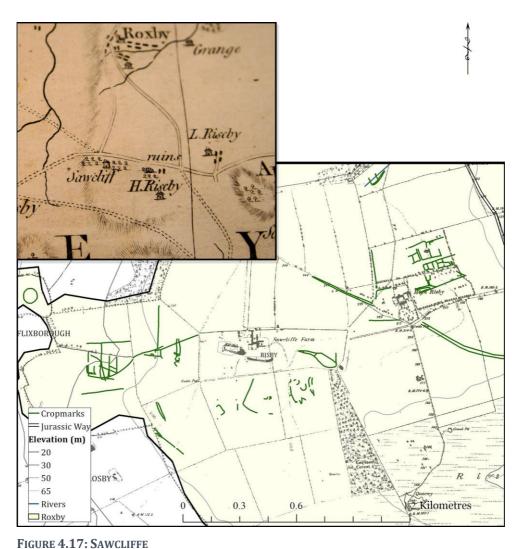
Place Name	Meaning	Expanded	Origin	First recorded
APPLEBY	Appletree, <i>aepple</i> , farmstead	aepple + by (farm)	OE/OSc	Domesday (1086)
RISBY	Brushwood, <i>hris</i> , farmstead	hris + by (farm)	OSc	Domesday (1086)
ROXBY	Personal name, Hrokr's farmstead	<i>Hrokr</i> + by (farm)	OSc	Domesday (1086)
SANTON	Sand settlement	Sand + ton	OE	Domesday (1086)
SAWCLIFFE	Steep cliff where the willows grow	Sahl (willows) + cliff	OE	Domesday (1086)
WINTERTON	Settlement of the followers of Wintra	Winteringas (followers of Wintra) + ton	OE	Domesday (1086)

In addition to providing a *terminus ante quem* for a region's name, place-name evidence can provide insight into ownership, attitudes to landholding, and perceptions of landscape. Table 4.8 presents the primary place-names of *Roxby*, all of which were first recorded in Domesday Book, thereby suggesting that such appellations were in use by the late eleventh century at the latest. Half of the names involve some Scandinavian influence, while more than half of them preserve Old English origins. Scandinavian elements in a

place-name do not necessarily indicate that they were 'coined' or 'founded' by people of Scandinavian descent; what they do indicate is that people were using Scandinavian language to refer to a region (Townend 2000, 98).

## 4.5.1 Primary settlement names

Apart from 'Winterton' and 'Roxby', the names in the area are 'topographic' names, meaning they are descriptive in terms of location and associated land. The toponymy thereby affords a glimpse into aspects of the local landscape that were viewed as distinctive, or relevant for defining a piece of land or a farmstead. Neither the present Sawcliffe Farm, nor the deserted village, for example, are situated on a steep slope despite the toponymic inference; the original name could instead refer to an area that would have once defined the Sawcliffe manor which stretched to the slope of the Lincoln Edge (Figure 4.17). The land itself, and not just a given settlement location could be equally — if not more — important in the naming of a place.



Inset: 1778 Armstrong map showing Sawcliffe against the Lincoln Edge. Courtesy of Lincolnshire Archives (LArch: LCM 13/4).

#### Place-names and the Viking Age: -bys

The Scandinavian 'farmstead' suffix, '-by', remains a much-debated term. The model proposed by Fellows-Jensen (2012, 360-1) is perhaps the most favourable since it attempts to account for both regional and chronological diversity in Scandinavian naming practices across England. She proposes a more nuanced view of the previously accepted model set forth by Sawyer (1982, 104) whereby -bys were seen as fragmented Anglo-Saxon estates, re-named by the Scandinavians who claimed them. According to Fellows-Jensen, early Scandinavian settlement in the ninth and tenth centuries probably resulted in re-naming of the earlier settlements with 'common words... appellatives or adjectives/adverbs', followed by -by (2012, 360). This practice was in keeping with the naming process familiar in Scandinavia, where personal names were a rarity (Abrams and Parsons 2004, 388). 'Risby' fits this description, as does 'Dembleby' (Aunsby, Chapter 5). As larger estates were partitioned into smaller units in eastern England, it became increasingly common to name these settlements after the people associated with them, as we see with 'Roxby' (and numerous other names in the other case studies, including 'Osbournby' (Aunsby, Chapter 5), and 'Welby' (Frisby, Chapter 7)). Crucially, these changes in naming practice were linked to a shift to independent taxation, signifying a break from the larger Anglo-Saxon estate (Fellows-Jensen 2012, 360). Such changes in naming practice went hand-in-hand with a growing emphasis on private property and boundary development (e.g. Reynolds 2003).

It has been suggested that hybrid OE-ON –*by* names such as 'Appleby' (*Roxby*), 'Willoughby' (*Aunsby*, Chapter 5) and 'Hoby' (*Frisby*, Chapter 7), might be later coinings, emerging only after both Old Norse and Old English linguistic influences had been absorbed by local populations (Fellows-Jensen 2011, 82). These studies can help to develop settlement models, but without local investigation guided by other sources of evidence, they can only ever remain models. It is expected that portable artefacts and other underused material can go some way towards verifying these suggestions. Across the three case studies with –*by* place-names, it is notable that each area has a mixture of appellative and personal prefixes, and at least one 'hybrid'.

*Pictured*: Numerous –*by* place-names line the Ancholme valley, detail from 1778 Armstrong map (LArch: LCM 13/4).



As another example, the root *hris* for brushwood, present in 'Risby', was clearly a common descriptor amongst Scandinavian-speaking peoples since it occurs in Denmark and other places in England, with names of a similar etymology elsewhere in Iceland and Denmark (Streatfeild 1884, 224; Cameron 2001, 94). Although it might seem to describe

less than ideal land with implications of marshiness, 'Risby' may in fact denote the location of an important resource: brushwood was used for thatch and other aspects of construction. Scandinavianised forms of 'thatch' appear in field-names throughout *Roxby* (Cameron 2001, 17). The interpretation of this name might even be extended to shed light on the livelihoods of Risby's occupants, as collectors and distributors of thatching material.

The place-name 'Roxby' itself is a personal toponym which could to point to the foundation of a settlement in the region by a man named Hrokr, the 'holder of the vill' (Fellows-Jensen 2011, 72) who may have been of Scandinavian descent. Santon and Winterton, on the other hand, are fully Old English names, the latter referring to an early group of settlers who followed 'Wintra'. Winteringham shares the same etymology, though the different natures of the settlements are presumably distinguished by the fact that one is a –ham, and the other a –ton. It is suggested that the latter tends to be subsidiary to the –hams (Williamson 2005, 34). The name 'Appleby', which is an ON-OE hybrid, might be an example of a local shared language. Fellows-Jensen (2011, 82) suggests these types of names represent 'coinings' that occurred after differences in language would have had time to be absorbed and integrated into local speech (

Box 4.2). The area was therefore not totally dominated by Scandinavian-speaking peoples, since these Old English names persisted.

## 4.5.2 Field and other place-names Roxby

On the other hand, the field names of *Roxby* speak of a deeply learnt and long remembered Scandinavian language active in the area. This was used to describe many different aspects of the farmed landscape, suggesting that the peasantry and other classes closely tied to the land were using Old Norse to communicate and label places related to their everyday life. The 'Winterton Carrs', for example, are named after the ON kjarr, a marshy woodland or shrubland. This practice is evident in parishes with OE primary settlement names as much so as in parishes with ON elements (e.g. 'Winterton' in Cameron (Cameron 2001, 125-31)). As an example, a term only recorded in Lincolnshire and still in use today, 'garing', comes from the Scandinavian 'geiri'. The term specifically means a 'triangular piece of land which cannot be ploughed' (Cameron 2001, 16). Its restricted geographical use is evidence of the way in which the evolution of language continues to reflect localised identities through a shared language of the land. The evidence from the field-names reflects a 'deep' migration of Scandinavian-speaking peoples to the area: regardless of their numbers, the impact was such over time that their linguistic influences were adopted, repeated, and eventually written down. The *Roxby* place-names therefore indicate a strong degree of Scandinavian influence in the region. They also serve to illustrate the ways in which the land was perceived (e.g. 'Sawcliffe') and utilised (e.g. 'Risby') in the past.

### 4.6 The Artefacts

TABLE 4.9: ARTEFACTS AT A GLANCE

Roxby, Lincolnshire	
No. PAS finds (excluding coins)	79
No. finds analysed total (including coins)	92
No. coins (PAS; EMC)	13; 0
No. non-metal finds	10
% artefacts found metal-detecting	100%
No. small finds from HER (metal; non-metal)	3; 1
Total no. small finds	110

### 4.6.1 Roxby and the PAS

At the time of the VASLE project (data collection 2006), Roxby-cum-Risby and its neighbouring parishes had fairly low numbers of portable artefacts recorded in the PASD for the Middle-Late Saxon period, with only 18 records in total for the cluster in the VASLE database: 17 from Roxby-cum-Risby, 1 from Winterton (Richards *et al.* 2008). There are now 92 finds in this project dataset from across the three parishes, with this figure expected to increase significantly over the following years (Mike Hemblade, pers. comm.). All artefacts, including the coins and non-metal finds, were discovered during metal-detecting (Table 4.9). This is a clear example of how much our knowledge of a given area can change over just a few years; negative evidence in the PASD does not necessarily mean lack of past activity. The majority of the artefacts date to the Late Saxon period (Figure 4.18).

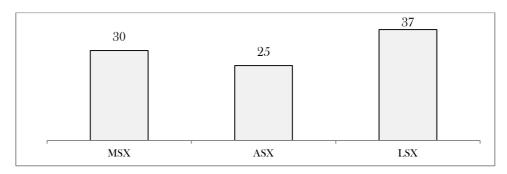


FIGURE 4.18: ARTEFACTS BY SUB-PERIOD

Nearly a third of *Roxby*'s artefacts fall under the 'ASx' category, indicating that they are either too closely dated to the mid-ninth century or that they have been assigned too broad a date range.

The *Roxby* dataset is mapped below with the project IDs to be linked to the catalogue (Figure 4.19; **Appendix 1**). The artefacts are also mapped according to findspot precision

(Figure 4.20), against a detailed local constraints map (Figure 4.21) and map highlighting areas that have been fieldwalked in *Roxby* (Figure 4.22), and the number of artefacts per parish (Figure 4.23).

The aim here is to use the artefacts to better characterise certain spaces within *Roxby*, and to identify important places within the landscape, whether settlements, burials, or, more cautiously, areas of activity. It is also important to emphasise that each individual find of a common object type will rarely represent the only example of its kind in use in the past (cf. Robbins 2012, 25-7). Metal-detecting recovers only a small percentage of what there once was due to various taphonomic processes and cultural circumstances described in Chapter 3 (p65). It is therefore important to view the artefacts in *Roxby* within this perspective: one strap end could actually represent 20 or 100 others that will never be recovered. It is of course impossible to measure how much we are missing, but this 'tip-of-the-iceberg' phenomenon should be borne in mind when viewing the charts that follow.

The finds are here categorised according to the methods outlined in Chapter 3 (p71), beginning with the cluster 'fingerprint', the 'functional categories', and the coinage fingerprint, before going into more detail regarding the chronology, provenance, and artefact type and design. At this latter stage, *Roxby* is nested within its regional framework in order that its artefact patterns are viewed against Lincolnshire's as a whole.

It should be noted that since non-metallic PAS artefacts (e.g. pottery and glass) are subject to less systematic retrieval — normally representing chance finds by metal-detectorists — they are therefore excluded from the majority of the quantitative assessments that follow. Similarly, HER artefacts are recorded based on a variety of different retrieval circumstances, and can often represent a more systematic programme of retrieval (e.g. through organised fieldwalking). They must therefore also be excluded from most quantitative analyses. Where any non-PAS and non-metallic items are included, it will be made clear; these artefacts will feature more prominently in the discussion section below.

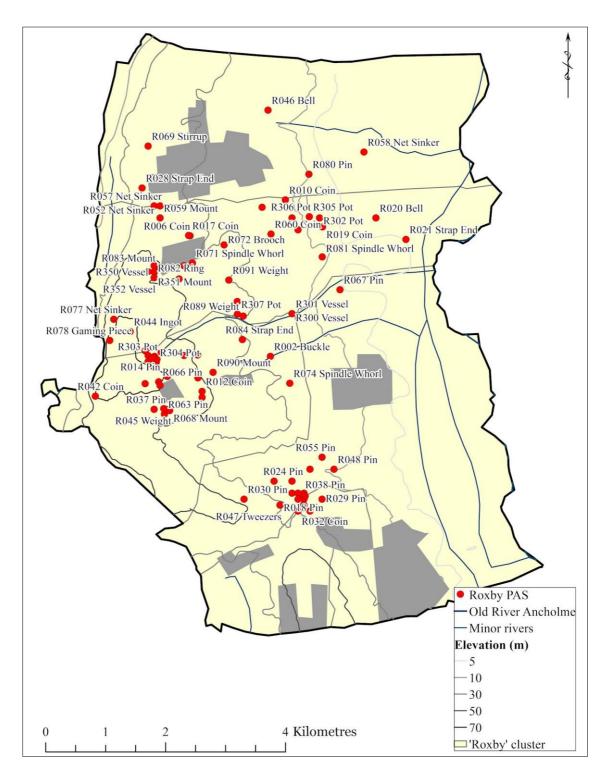
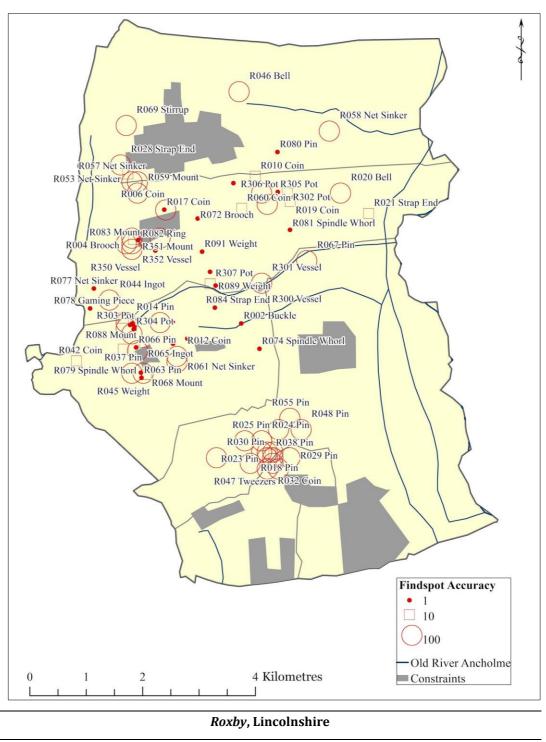


FIGURE 4.19: ROXBY ARTEFACT DISTRIBUTION
The artefact ID numbers on the map can be linked to the more detailed references in the catalogue (Appendix 1).



 Roxby, Lincolnshire

 1m
 10m
 100m
 n/a

 28.4%
 14.7%
 53.9%
 2.9%

FIGURE 4.20: FINDSPOT PRECISION

More than half of the artefacts were only recorded to 100m within their original findspot. Nevertheless, nearly 30% were recorded very closely, to within 1m. The Roxby dataset thereby provides mixed levels of precision.

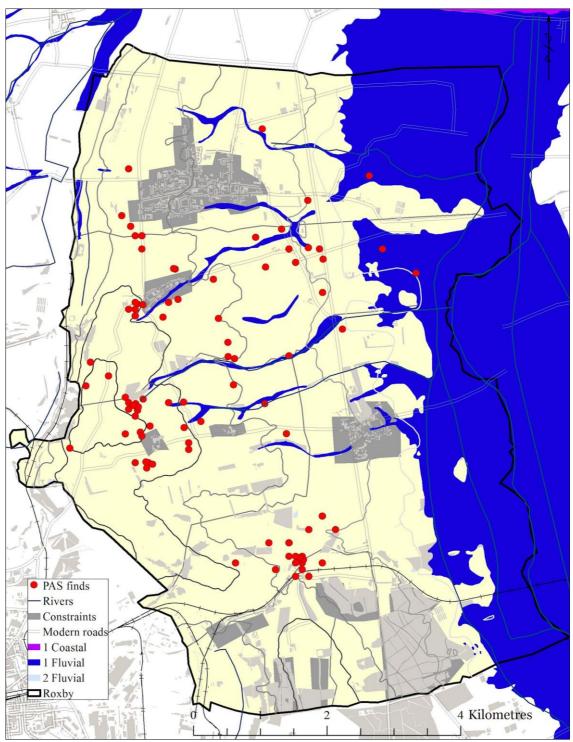


FIGURE 4.21: PAS AND LOCAL CONSTRAINTS

Refer to Figure 4.7 for flood level key. It is clear that artefacts were less commonly lost around floodplains and low-lying areas, although a number are found along the stream-lines. Urban constraints are normally avoided by metal-detector users and this would appear to be the case in *Roxby* as well, although the outskirts of modern villages and DMVs have been targeted.

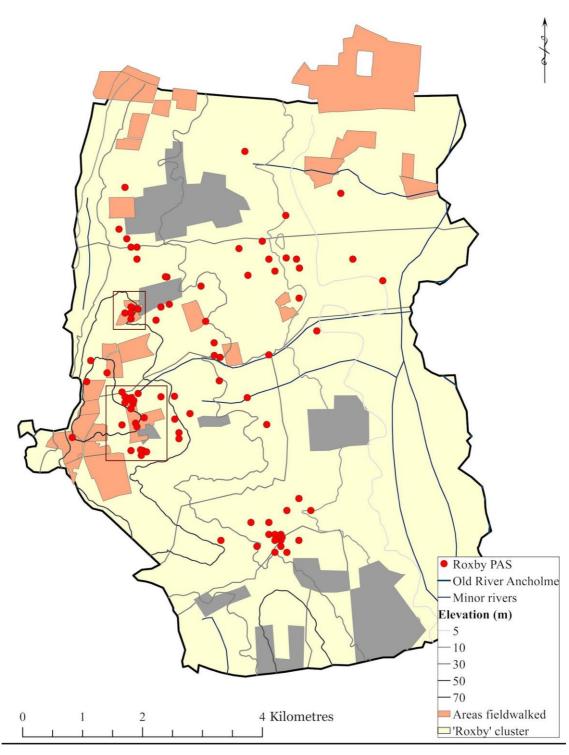


FIGURE 4.22: FIELDWALKING IN ROXBY

The NLHER records fieldwalking events in North Lincolnshire, and those within the *Roxby* study region are portrayed here against the PAS artefacts. Only concentrations around the village of Roxby (small box) and the DMV of High Risby (large box) clearly coincide with fieldwalking events. Since 100% of the early medieval artefacts from Roxby were recovered during metal-detecting and not fieldwalking, this map is a better illustration of areas where 'negative evidence' might be effectively discounted.

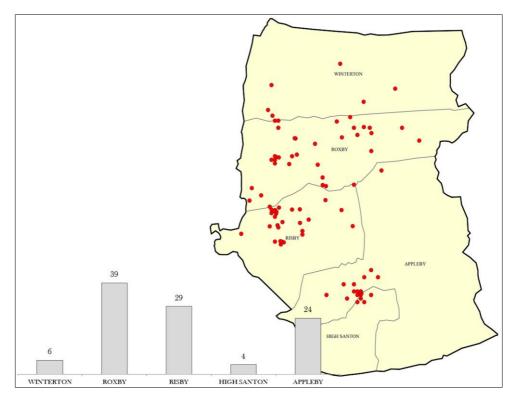


FIGURE 4.23: PAS FINDS BY PARISH

Note that the artefacts from Appleby cluster primarily around the area known as 'Santon' and are thus discussed with the Santon assemblages rather than as 'Appleby'. Risby, Appleby, and Santon were part of the same jurisdiction in Domesday Book, although they had separate manors and vills.

### 4.6.2 Fingerprints

The cluster 'fingerprint' (Figure 4.24; Figure 4.25; Figure 4.26; Figure 4.27) is a means of depicting, at a glance, the relative quantities of the more frequent find types of early medieval metal-detected artefacts from across England and Wales (see Richards *et al.* 2009; Chapter 3, 3.2). The fingerprints provide a general benchmark which can be contrasted with the finds signatures in other parishes.

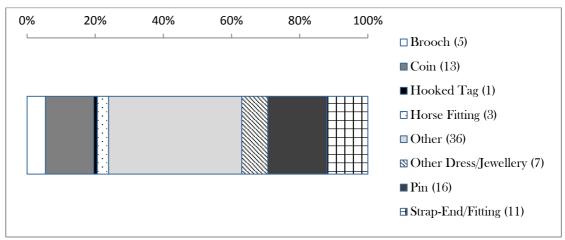


FIGURE 4.24: FINGERPRINT CHART A)
The 'other' category dominates the *Roxby* dataset.

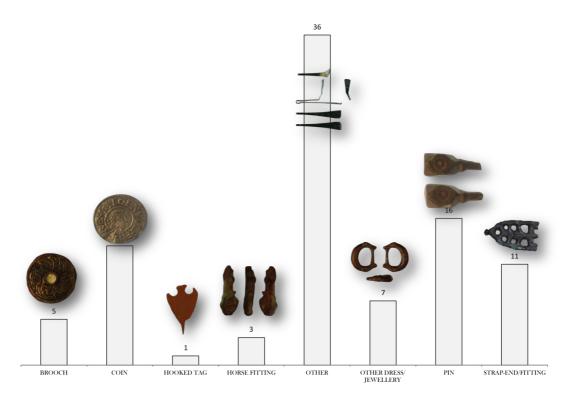


FIGURE 4.25: FINGERPRINT CHART B)

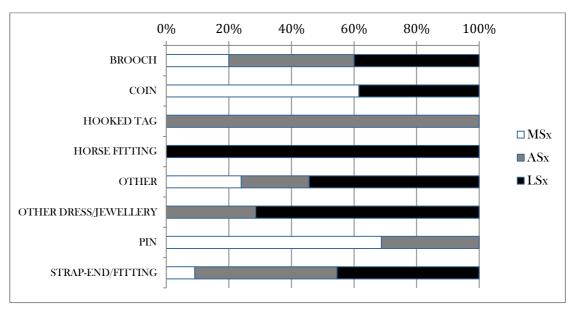


FIGURE 4.26: FINGERPRINT BY SUB-PERIOD (%)

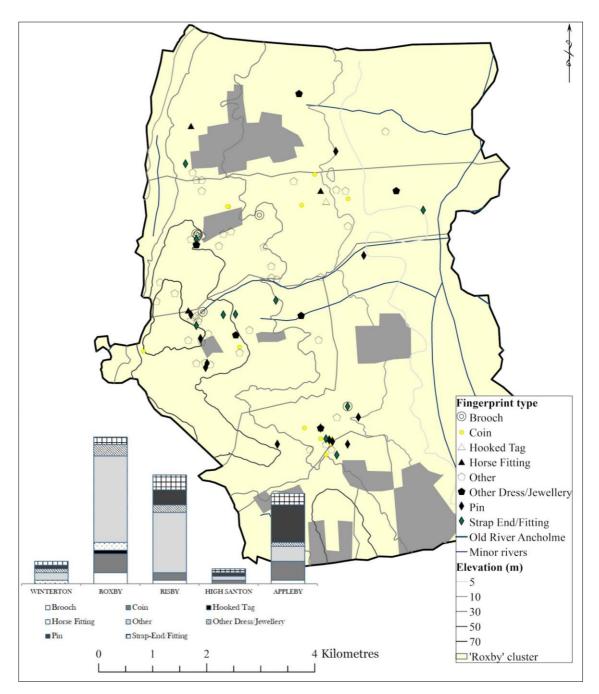


FIGURE 4.27: FINGERPRINT DISTRIBUTION

As the figures above illustrate, *Roxby* has a range of different artefact types, dominated by the 'other' category (at 40%). These are finds which do not fall under any of the primary object types. This alone points towards a diverse range of activities taking place in the region. The category is broken down in Figure 4.28 below in order to better understand this diversity. When the fingerprints are separated by broad sub-period, shown in Figure 4.26, changing trends over time are made more visible. For example coins and pins are less prominent in the later Anglo-Saxon period while strap-ends are more frequently used at this time; other dress items such as brooches tend to be worn regularly throughout, but these are relatively rare in *Roxby*. It should be noted that although there is

an apparent absence of pins in the Late Saxon period, it is possible that certain pin types have been too cautiously assigned a broad date range (see Haldenby 2012).

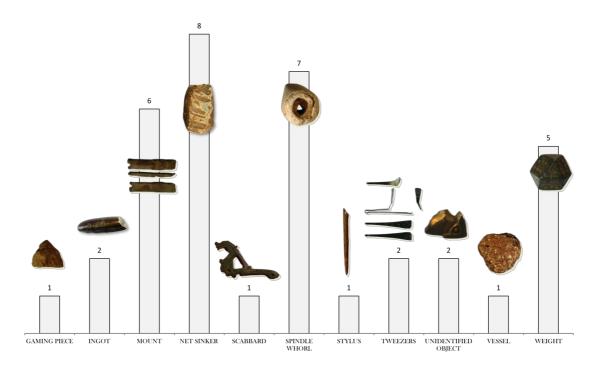


FIGURE 4.28: ROXBY 'OTHER' ARTEFACT CATEGORY

The artefacts that could not readily be classified under the more common find types are presented here. Note that they are based on the 'simplified types' (cf. Chapter 3, Table 3.3), so the scabbard chape is listed as 'sword' for example.

The 'other' artefacts paint a picture of a range of activities and different lifestyles over the years in the *Roxby* region. Some artefacts could be linked to gendered activities, such as the spindle whorls, generally understood to be used by women (Loveluck 2007, 107; Walton Rogers 2009), while the stylus and the bells (the latter under the 'other dress/jewellery' category) could suggest a literate, high status component (e.g. Schoenfelder and Richards 2011, 160). This is similarly reflected in the silver dress accessories: two pins dated to the Middle Saxon period, and a silver bell and possible decorative mount from the Late Saxon period (R018, R038; R046, R088; Figure 4.29; see Box 4.3 on mounts). The remainder are coins or ingots.

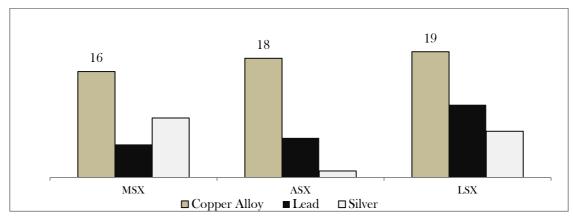


FIGURE 4.29: PRIMARY MATERIALS BY SUB-PERIOD

The fact that *Roxby* has such a diverse range of artefacts is at once an indication of the relative intensity with which the area has been metal-detected, though these figures also highlight the Scunthorpe Metal Detecting Society's tendency to report less attractive leadalloy items whereas other metal-detectorists often select against this alloy. The artefact pattern is therefore perhaps not unique to *Roxby*, but could simply reflect a better representation of the actual distribution of artefacts within northern Lincolnshire communities.

#### 4.6.3 Functional groups

The functions associated with the *Roxby* artefacts provide another means of interpreting the overall signature of the area (Figure 4.30; Figure 4.31; Figure 4.32; refer to Appendix 3 (1)a)ii)) for details on the functional categories assigned). The categories here illustrate that activity associated with economics as well as subsistence procurement were taking place in *Roxby*.

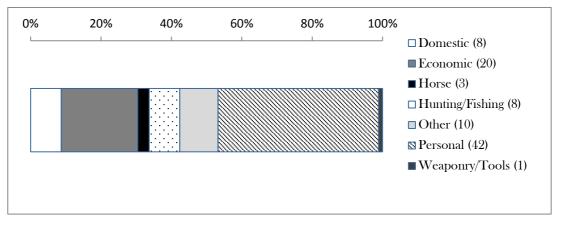


FIGURE 4.30: FUNCTIONAL GROUPS A. (%)

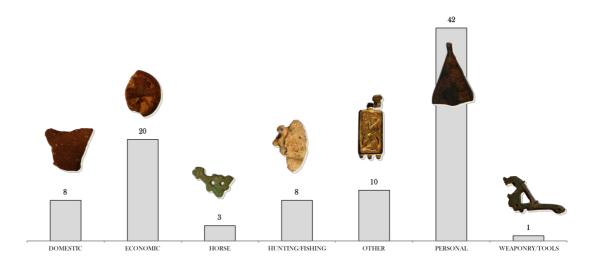


FIGURE 4.31: FUNCTIONAL GROUPS B.

This re-categorisation of the artefacts results in a different pattern to the fingerprint above. *Roxby*'s 'other' fingerprint category is now distributed across the functional groups with minor spikes in the 'economic' and 'personal' categories.

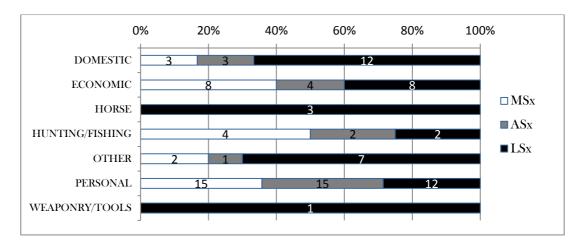


FIGURE 4.32: FUNCTIONAL GROUPS BY SUB-PERIOD

Note the relatively even distribution of 'personal' artefacts across the sub-periods, and that unlike the coins (above, Figure 4.26) which were weighted 3:2 (MSx:LSx), the 'economic' items are weighted 2:1:2 (MSx:ASx:LSx). In this example, non-metal finds were included, drastically increasing the evidence for 'domestic' activity.

Nearly half of the artefacts are considered 'personal', indicating a high number of dress-related finds, as the fingerprint also illustrated. Many spikes in 'personal' artefacts occur when probable cemetery sites are regularly revisited by metal-detectorists, as at Santon (Figure 4.33). Personal items are therefore likely to have a stronger representation in the artefactual record. Santon has been interpreted as a cemetery, and 'personal' items of adornment with early dates (c. AD 400-700) are good indicators of cemeteries (cf. Chester-Kadwell 2009). For the later Saxon periods, however, when grave goods ceased to be included in the burial rite, the number of personal items that were either lost or deposited requires alternative explanations. It has been noted that many of the 'everyday' items used by early medieval people were iron, and are therefore normally avoided by metal-detectorists; the other everyday objects that tend to be better preserved are the dress accessories. Figure 4.32 breaks down the personal category by sub-period, illustrating that certain items are only associated with the Middle Saxon period (tweezers), while others are only Late Saxon (bells, ring). Brooches and strap-ends are found across the three categories.

The 'other' category continues to be well represented in *Roxby* even following this recategorisation of the data. This is in part due to the problematic category of the 'mount'. This category is explore in greater detail in Box 4.3.

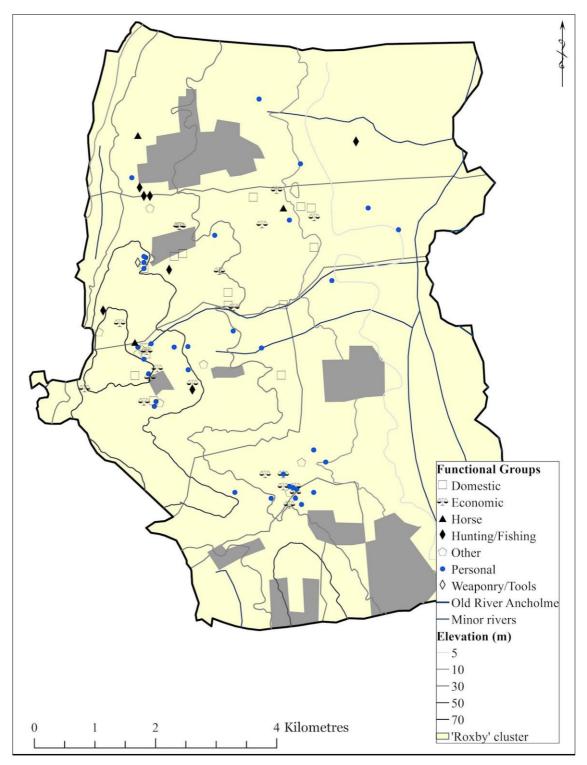


FIGURE 4.33: FUNCTIONAL GROUPS DISTRIBUTION

Note that non-metal artefacts are included here to better illustrate the coincidence of 'domestic' activity alongside the other finds.

#### The 'mount': categorically problematic

The 'mount' object type is a common PAS designation but is difficult to classify. Many of the entries might belong under the 'Personal' category, and indeed where it is strongly suggested that the item could be jewellery, it is included in this category. Horse-harness pendant mounts are normally distinguished as such in the PAS descriptions, but there is also a chance that some are unidentified under the 'mount' category. Mounts can additionally refer to a number of find-types, from furniture fittings, book fittings, bowl fittings, casket fittings, hinges, personal pendants, or other jewellery types. There are seven 'mounts' in the *Roxby* dataset which therefore might belong in another category, but due to their state of preservation are difficult to classify more narrowly. It is of note, however, that each of these has Scandinavian associations: one is Borre style (R049); another comes from Ireland, often associated with Hiberno-Norse trade (R801); one is in the Urnes Anglo-Scandinavian style (R090); another has parallels in Birka (R088); a third is in a crude 'Anglo-Scandinavian' style (R083); another has a probable zoomorphic mask in an Anglo-Scandinavian style (R068); with a final mount exhibiting possible Scandinavian knotwork (R059).

The Irish openwork mount has been described as an important local find, and points strongly to connections between *Roxby* and Scandinavian traders or settlers from Ireland (PASD: NLM-DA7151; R801). Another find of particular note is the possible pendant with granular designs that is reminiscent of a Thor's hammer (R088). This item has parallels in decoration in Birka, as well as Russian types. A possible eastern connection is interesting here in light of a recent discovery of another nearby pendant-mount. A pendant recovered from Winteringham depicts a skeletal bearded man with a bird on each shoulder, probably a representation of 'Odin' and his 'attendant ravens' (PASD: NLM 7F954A). Parallels for this pendant have not been found in England and it is a unique find indeed. Several remarkably similar pendants have been reported in Swedish and Russian contexts, indicating that this was an eastern-derived design (Ken Jacobs, pers. comm.). A second 'mount' of a different style was also recently recovered from Roxby cum Risby. It is more commonly paralleled in England, but is a fine romanesque-style beast, probably designed to affix to the side of a vessel for decoration (PASD: NLM-EB62F5).

The mounts in the Ancholme valley are diverse and their identification is in need of refining since they in fact represent a range of different functions. The examples here all point to influences from outwith the local area, and frequently from overseas. *Roxby* and the surrounding region was indeed well-connected, and appears to have at least indirect contact with eastern trade and travellers as represented in the Odin pendant and the Thor's hammer. Notably, given their religious connotations, these items were unlikely to appeal to a local Christian population (Pestell 2013). It might therefore be suggested that they arrived along with their pagan owners or were intended for trade with a Scandinavian population known to have settled there.

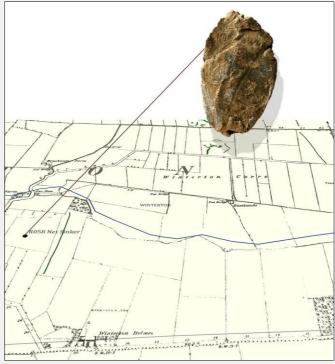
Clockwise from left: Possible 'Thor's hammer' pendant (R088; 2x scale); Irish openwork mount (R801; to scale); 'Odin pendant', Winteringham (PASD: NLM 7F954A; 2x scale); Romanesque 'mount', Roxby cum Risby (PASD: NLM-EB62F5; to scale). Winteringham object photograph copyright: Ken Jacobs.



Even in the Late Saxon period there are notably few horse-related items recorded in *Roxby*, and only one item associated with weaponry or tools, the Late Saxon scabbard chape (R007), which could even date to the post-Conquest period. What does emerge fruitfully from the functional classifications compared to the fingerprints is that it is clear that elements of domestic activities (e.g. cooking, spinning), and resource management (e.g. hunting and/or fishing) were taking place in the region (see Box 4.4). The former is reinforced by the non-metal artefacts which include several sherds of pottery, discussed further below. There is also a degree of economic activity beyond Middle Saxon coinage represented in the weights and ingots which were introduced in England alongside the growing Scandinavian presence.

BOX 4.4: HUNTING AND FISHING IN ROXBY

'I trap birds in many ways; sometimes with nets sometimes with snares, sometimes with lime, by whistling, with a hawk or with a trap.' (From Aelfric's Colloquy (d. 1002) (Swanton 1975, 108), also cited in Loveluck (2007, 91)).



The eight net sinkers recorded in *Roxby* are made of lead. Most were recovered along the Lincoln Edge (see Figure 4.33), although one (R058, pictured here) was recovered from the area known as the Winterton Carrs. As noted above (4.5.2), 'carr' is derived from the ON *kjarr* meaning marshy woodland. This type of marshy brush would have been an ideal habitat for waterfowl and other birds. The net sinker pictured here was found 'unclenched', perhaps because it was lost or discarded while still attached to the net it weighted (PASD: NLM-8A1036). Its condition and recovery location in the carrs (where few other items have been recovered) suggests a bird-trapper at work, perhaps one similar to that described in *Aelfric's Colloquy. Roxby*'s concentration of net sinkers is presently unique amongst the other Lincolnshire parishes, as is shown below (Figure 4.39).

### 4.6.4 Coins and economic activity in Roxby

The coins in *Roxby* fall under nine of the seventeen early medieval coin categories, and in fact present a relatively diverse range, as will be demonstrated by comparison with the other case studies. There was only one coin located in *Roxby* recorded in the EMC, but this entry was also listed in the PAS so has not been duplicated here. Two coins were recorded in the NLHER, which aided in diversifying the record and contributed another sceat to the AD 710-40 bracket (Figure 4.34). This distribution of coins, along with the Late Saxon weights and silver ingots — including another from the NLHER — highlights *Roxby* as a region of continual economic activity throughout the early medieval period (Figure 4.35).

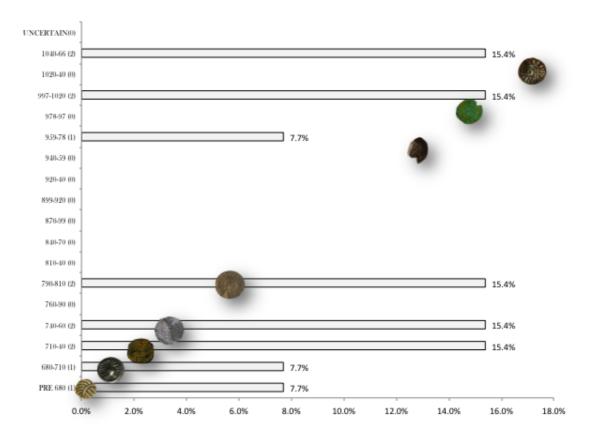


FIGURE 4.34: COINS BY DATE GROUP

The distributions of the coin date groups suggest a fine balance in coinage used before the ninth century and after the tenth. Given the few coins, however (2 maximum per group), a single new find would drastically alter the table. These values should therefore be treated with caution. They do, however, provide invaluable evidence for a monetised economy operating in the region during the Middle Saxon period and its revival following the West Saxon conquest of the midlands. The break in between, complemented by the bullion evidence, strongly suggests Scandinavian influence on trade.

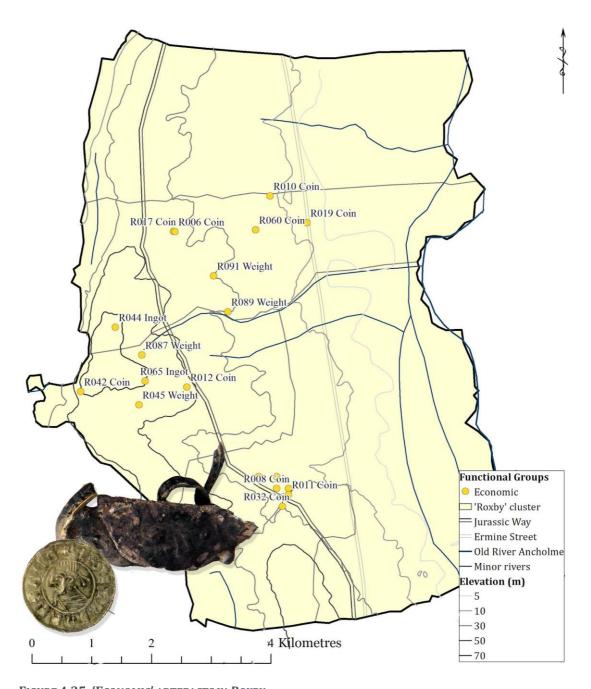


FIGURE 4.35: 'ECONOMIC' ARTEFACTS IN *ROXBY*Pictured: Coin of Aethelred II (R017; PASD: NLM-C93FF4); hacksilver 'ingot' (R065; PASD: NLM-5AEE11).

The following looks into the distribution of finds in *Roxby* in more detail, paired with distribution maps and a refined chronological assessment of change over time. The relationship between the Lincolnshire artefactual patterns and *Roxby*'s are also considered.

## 4.7 Artefacts in *Roxby* through time

TABLE 4.10: LINCOLNSHIRE AND ROXBY PAS STATISTICS

Lincolnshire		
Total ASx finds	Finds without Roxby	Roxby % of Lincs. data
1845	1735	5.5%

The artefact trends in *Roxby* are assessed here alongside trends present in Lincolnshire as a whole. This is in order to situate *Roxby* within its overarching milieu. These quantitative comparisons are not accepted as definitive representations of the patterns in artefact use that existed in the past, but they do provide a basis for further discussion. Most of Lincolnshire's PAS artefacts (99.2% of cases) were found in conjunction with metal-detecting. This is comparable to *Roxby* where 100% of the finds were made by metal-detectorists, so the two datasets are likely to be affected by similar biases in terms of recovery. Both of these figures are above the national average which was 82% in 2011 (PAS 2011). The data from *Roxby* is first compared against the county average in terms of fingerprint and functional categories, and this is followed by a more detailed assessment of patterning over time.

The transitions in use of space over time in *Roxby* have certainly been made less visible due to heavy agricultural activity over the centuries. Nevertheless, distribution maps of portable artefacts indicate that there were some areas that were more intensively used in the Middle Saxon period compared to the Late Saxon period. Distribution of the archaeology previously identified from the Roman and Early Saxon periods (4.3.2, above) is also taken into account. These broad transitions are explored in detail here through the 'refined' artefact chronologies (cf. Appendix 3, (1)a)i)(1))), and by considering their discard locations.

# 4.7.1 Roxby, Lincolnshire and Middle and Late Saxon material culture

The fingerprints provide a good starting point for comparison between the local and regional study areas, shown in Figure 4.36. This chart highlights one obvious anomaly: *Roxby* has nearly double the number of 'other' artefact types than the county average. These 'other' types have been detailed above (Figure 4.28) and are fairly representative of the main 'other' artefact types that occur throughout Lincolnshire; spears and plaques are the only two notable object groups not represented in *Roxby*. This would indicate that in fact *Roxby* has one of the most diverse assemblages in the county. A chi-square test (p=.000; **Appendix 4**) confirms that *Roxby*'s assemblage is not the result of random patterning, but that there is significance to its distribution of artefact categories.

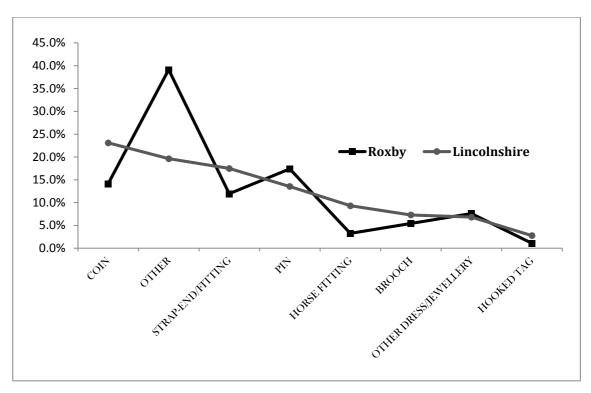


FIGURE 4.36: LINCOLNSHIRE AND ROXBY: FINGERPRINTS COMPARED

As a comparison (Figure 4.37), Little Carlton, a parish in East Lindsey and currently the parish with the highest number of PAS artefacts in Lincolnshire (cf. Chapter 3, Figure 3.5), has a much more limited range of 'other' artefact types. Across the Ancholme and southeast of Appleby, Elsham was dominated by pins, with several brooches and strapends/fittings, but only one artefact classed as 'other'. The 'other' component for Torksey, as a final example of another parish known to be extensively metal-detected, comprises around 25% of its artefact signature. There is much greater diversity in object type, as would be expected with such high numbers, but these are still heavily dominated by one type: weights, which make up 54% of the 'other' component. The differences in artefact composition in these instances are a direct reflection of the nature of the region, and as the chi-square test helps to confirm: Middle Carlton is suspected to be a Middle Saxon monastic site (Adam Daubney, pers. comm.); its lack of artefact diversity reflects a prescribed and perhaps limited range of activities. Elsham is a cemetery site with dress items from accompanied burials. Torksey, on the other hand, was an overwintering camp of the Great Viking Army (Hadley and Richards 2013) and later became a busy economic centre, with its status as such reflected in high quantities of weights.

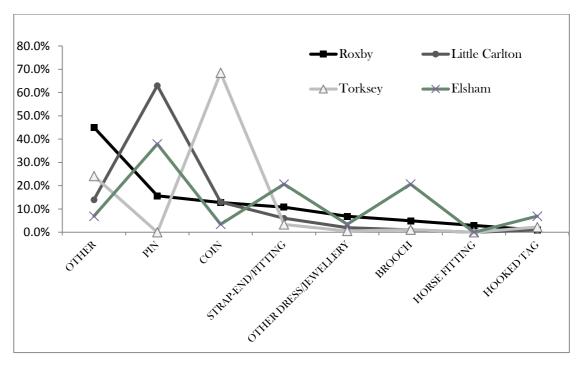


FIGURE 4.37: ROXBY COMPARED TO LITTLE CARLTON, TORKSEY, AND ELSHAM

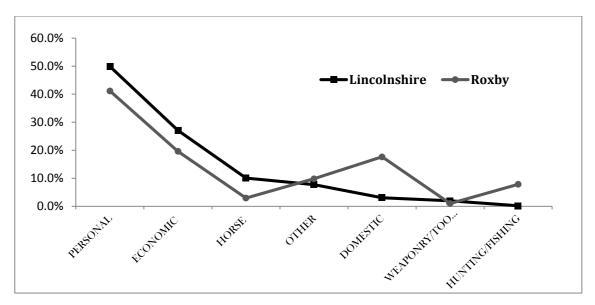


FIGURE 4.38: LINCOLNSHIRE AND *ROXBY*: FUNCTIONAL GROUPS COMPARED The trends are more uniform when recategorised into functional groups.

The discrepancies between the county-wide and local trends when recategorised into functional groups, are not vast but may be telling (Figure 4.38): *Roxby* has a marked lack of horse-related items compared with the county as a whole (as was equally apparent under the fingerprints). Other parishes with high numbers of PAS finds suggest that *Roxby* is not alone in its lack of horse fittings: Torksey does not have a single horse-related item recorded in the current PASD of its 178 artefacts, while Osbournby (with 54 finds in total) has 17 (see below, Chapter 5, and Figure 4.39).

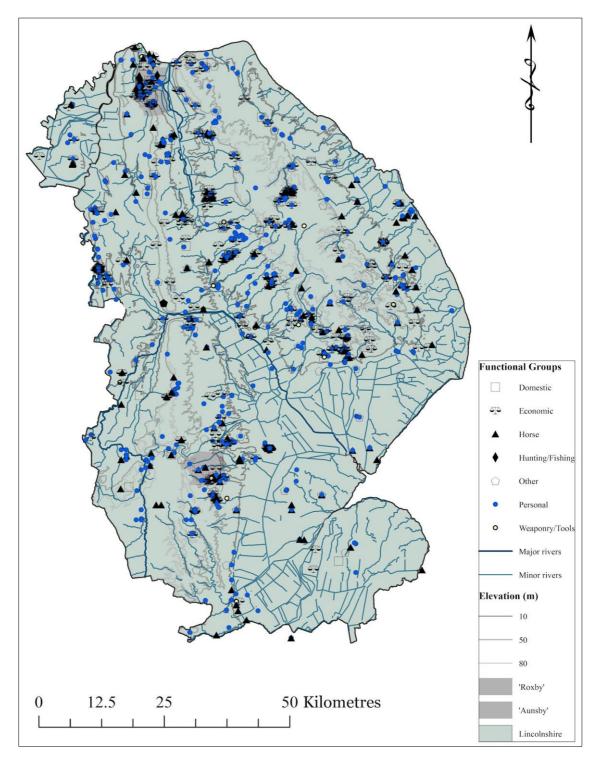


FIGURE 4.39: DISTRIBUTION OF PAS FINDS BY FUNCTIONAL GROUP, LINCOLNSHIRE

*Roxby* exhibits discrepancies between the 'domestic' and 'hunting/fishing' categories as well. The former is perhaps reflective of settlements across *Roxby*. Non-metal finds are predominantly potsherds, with 10 sherds or scatters recorded in this database. In addition, the number of spindle whorls found in *Roxby* — already uncommonly high — is growing. Since this dataset was compiled in October 2012, another four have been added to the record. They are all mapped here against the pottery in Figure 4.40. Their distribution is varied, although some are associated with cropmarks and roads or tracks. The pottery is more likely to represent rubbish dispersed during manuring (e.g. Schofield

1991; Rogerson 1995a), but the quantities in *Roxby* are too low to evaluate this further, due to intensive ploughing (Van de Noort and Ellis 1998). Spinning, on the other hand, was a portable task and need not necessarily have been associated with the home; it may have been included as part of the female dress kit although menservants may also have helped with textile production (Walton Rogers 1997, 1726; Walton Rogers 2009).

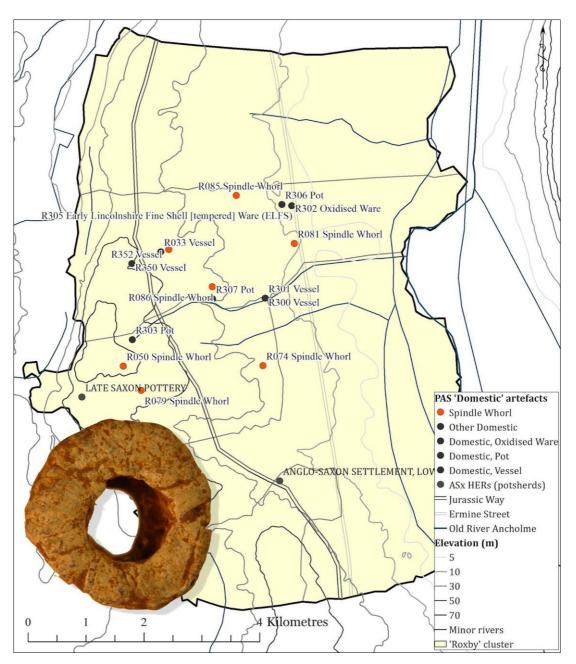


FIGURE 4.40: DISTRIBUTION OF 'DOMESTIC' ITEMS IN *ROXBY*This map includes finds recorded from *Roxby* to October 2014, adding two more years' worth of metal-detected finds to the original dataset downloaded October 2012. The known distribution of spindle whorls does not extend beyond Risby and Roxby parishes. Pictured: lead spindle whorl (R086; PASD: NLM-C31BB5).

Compared with Lincolnshire as a whole, spindle whorls are noticeably absent outside of Lindsey. This is in part due to differences in recovery and recording, whereby lead is more commonly recovered in North Lincolnshire (see Chapter 3, p82). It might also

indicate that the heavy lead spindle whorls were more restricted to the northern uplands, where sheep-rearing coincided with maritime and agricultural demands for heavy cord, perhaps even for the manufacture of sails. Wool sails are well attested in the Viking Age and experimental archaeology has proven them to be capable — if not as efficient as flax and hemp sails — of a range of manoeuvres at sea (Cooke *et al.* 2002). Roxby might thus be viewed as a landscape of specialised production, featuring sheep-rearing, trade in woollen textiles and cord production, in addition to the fishing or wild fowling described below. Local production of lead spindle whorls might further complete this taskscape.

The 'hunting/fishing' artefacts present *Roxby* as an area practicing local subsistence. What is most striking, however, is that from across all of Lincolnshire, *Roxby* has eight of the eleven known 'hunting/fishing' artefacts recorded in the PASD. Another is from Winteringham, the study area's northern neighbour, with the furthest from Bigby, on the east side of the river Ancholme (see Figure 4.39, above). Again, these are lead objects. The net sinkers were used for either fishing or netting birds. As mentioned, lead alloy artefacts are more likely to be recovered in North Lincolnshire based on detecting practice. Regardless of whether or not this makes *Roxby* truly unique, it is now nevertheless possible to envision the people of *Roxby* as water-fowl and/or fish netters, aligning their activities closely with practices identified at neighbouring Flixborough where small geese and cranes were favoured, and evidence of fish bones was found to a lesser extent (Dobney *et al.* 2007, 91-4; Loveluck 2007).

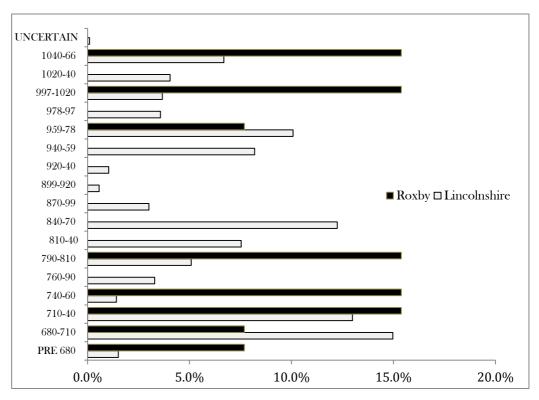


FIGURE 4.41: LINCOLNSHIRE AND ROXBY: COINAGE DATE GROUPS COMPARED

The coinage fingerprint of *Roxby* continues to appear diverse when viewed against Lincolnshire as a whole (Figure 4.41). It should be remembered, however, that it takes only two finds to make up 15% of the Roxby record; this chart could easily change with the addition of a few more coins. Nevertheless the breadth is rare, as will be demonstrated below, and almost certainly represents a mere fraction of the coinage in circulation in the region.

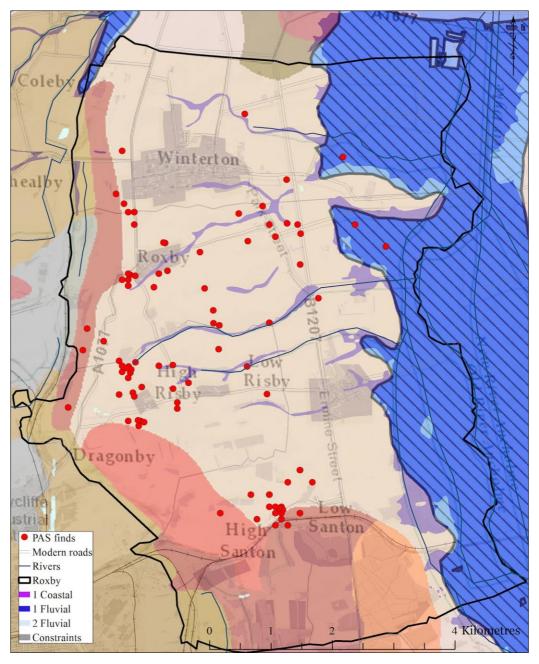


FIGURE 4.42: CONSTRAINTS AND SOILS

The acid soils along the Lincoln Edge and in Santon appear generally to have been avoided as were the soils of very low fertility around Dragonby. The dominant soil is of moderate fertility (Soilscape 7) and coincides with spring-lined slopes above the floodline. **Key: Blue** (Soilscape 21): 'Loamy and clayey soils of coastal flats with naturally high groundwater'; **Light brown** (Soilscape 7): 'Freely draining slightly acid but base-rich soils'; **Dark brown** (Soilscape 8): 'Slightly acid loamy and clayey soils with impeded drainage'; **Orange** (Soilscape 14): 'Freely draining very acid sandy and loamy soils'; **Maroon** (Soilscape 10): 'Freely draining slightly acid sandy soils'; **Red** (Soilscape 15): 'Naturally wet very acid sandy and loamy soils'; **Pink** (Soilscape 5): 'Freely draining lime-rich loamy soils' (© National Soil Resources Institute 2012).

The distribution of artefacts shown thus far in Roxby reveals some particular groupings, which will be explored in greater detail below. In general, settlement east of Ermine Street appears to be lacking. Ground above 10m OD was clearly preferred for settlement and activity in the early medieval past (see Figure 4.21, above, and Figure 4.42). This was probably a combined result of higher water tables following the Roman period, but also due to lack of upkeep of the Roman-imposed drainage systems (Esmonde Cleary 1995). The constraints map (Figure 4.42) highlights metal-detecting taking place quite close to the village of Roxby which is not normally common. A more refined consideration of the chronological distribution and clustering of these artefacts helps to highlight the patterning over time.

#### 4.7.2 Middle Saxon Roxby (MSx) c. AD 700-850

Prior to the Scandinavian settlements, when the Kingdom of Lindsey fell variously into the hands of Northumbria or Mercia, very few horse-related items and a limited amount of jewellery and coins were being circulated, lost, or deposited in *Roxby*, although pins were prolific (Figure 4.43a-b, below; for the following discussion refer to polygon map series at the end of section 4.7.2). The lack of horse accessories in this period is typical across England (e.g. Sheeran 2009, 3.4.2). Horse accessories are not uncommon in Middle Saxon burials (Fern 2005), but they are vastly under-represented in the metal-detected record prior to the Late Saxon period which suggests a more specific, even ritualised, role for this material group prior to the arrival of Scandinavians. It also reinforces that this category of material was only 'open' to select groups of peoples in specific contexts (Hinton 1999).

The single brooch recovered here (R062) is an incomplete annular type which probably dates to the Early Saxon period (c. AD 400-720). The pins are primarily of copper alloy with various head types. Some are parallels to Flixborough types, while two linked pins (R018 & R038), found in similar locations by separate finders, are thought to be a pair (Geake and Naylor 2008, 102). Artefacts comprising the 'other' category include net sinkers, two sets of tweezers, and two unidentifiable copper alloy objects. Tweezers in particular have been identified by Chester-Kadwell as 'indicator finds' (2009, 85) reflecting Early Saxon cremation rites, along with shears, and bucket fittings. The latter four artefacts were found in the Santon region, which has been interpreted as a settlement and cemetery based on the small finds signature, and is recorded as such in the NLHER (R903). The dating of the finds in this region suggest that while it might have initially supported a cemetery, by the late eighth century when grave goods were no longer common, it probably had a different function (Figure 4.44).

The Middle-Late Saxon (MLSx) date bracket is designed to reflect items that may have been in use leading up to the period of Scandinavian settlement and persisted afterwards,

as well as the ninth- and early tenth-century imports introduced to England through Scandinavian networks (Figure 4.45).

. It was in the mid-ninth century that Scandinavian attacks on England became more frequent, followed by overwintering at strategic locations as part of the 'Great Army'. Toward the end of this period, members of the Great Army and other Scandinavian migrants began to settle in parts of England. Cultural legacies such as place-names, sculpture, and portable artefacts corroborate with the historical accounts that link these settlers predominantly with Northumbria and the eastern counties. Unsurprisingly *Roxby*, in its prime estuarine position, shows evidence of early connections with Scandinavia.

One example from the parish of Roxby is a Jellinge-style brooch which was probably of Scandinavian origin (R004, in Kershaw (2012) cat. no. 485). It was lost or deposited near a crossroad outside the modern village of Roxby (Figure 4.47) and might have arrived there via trade or perhaps on the garment of a Scandinavian immigrant to the area. Two polyhedral weights also suggest contact with Scandinavians operating on a bullion-based economy; polyhedral weights have been found at many places of known Scandinavian influence. The Viking overwintering camp Torksey, southwest of *Roxby* in the Trent valley, for example, has 22 polyhedral weights recorded with the PASD, although more than 100 have been recovered overall (Hadley and Richards 2013, 14). Under *Roxby*'s Middle-Late Saxon 'economic' functional group, the three artefacts listed are all associated with Scandinavian activity and trade, as, indeed, is the Late Saxon item — a piece of hacksilver from a probable Islamic coin.

On the other hand, many pins and strap-ends in *Roxby* dated to AD 800-1000 are representative of Anglo-Saxon styles which persisted in fashion in the region amidst incoming foreign stylistic influence. Artefacts which are more difficult to date precisely (ASx) include a possible stylus and part of a large vessel rim (R015; R033). These latter are probably Anglo-Saxon in date, but are otherwise primarily valuable for their locational metadata. This period of transition in *Roxby* therefore witnesses the introduction of economics and fashion in a Scandinavian-style, although day-to-day life does not appear to undergo any drastic transformation. The Late Saxon period begins to see more intensive evidence of change.

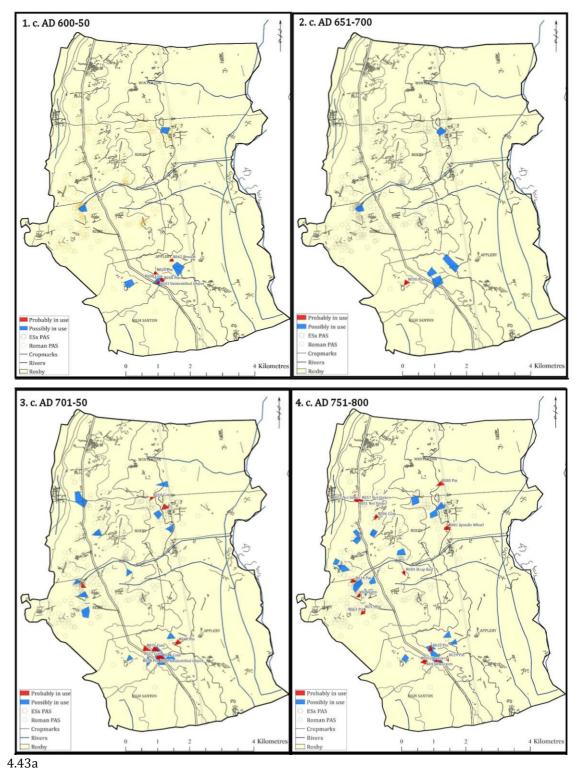
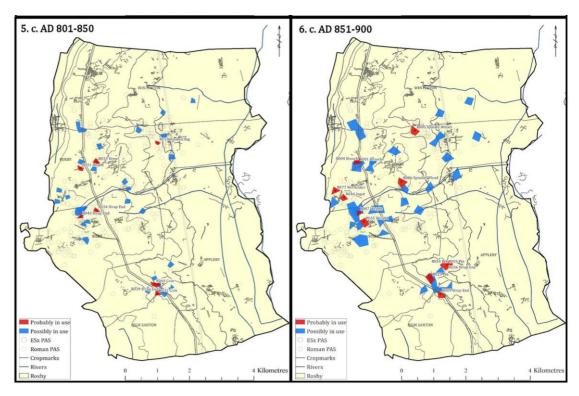


FIGURE 4.43A-B: MSx Roxby through time

Polygons represent possible physical extents of sites of loss (and possibly use), across a chronological dimension of periods of probable versus possible use and discard in Middle Saxon *Roxby*. These schemas are based on the refined chronologies assigned to each artefact, derived from PASD 'dates from' and '-to' (see **Appendix 3**). Polygons provide a minimum 100m buffer around recorded findspots to allow for lack of precision, and to highlight 'areas' rather than simply spots within which there is artefactual evidence for past human activity. The time periods shown here span dates of use centring on AD 600 to AD 850, from top to bottom, left to right. See Figure 4.49 for the Late Saxon refined chronology, and see **Appendix 5** for high resolution slides of the same maps to better illustrate these changes through time.



4.43B

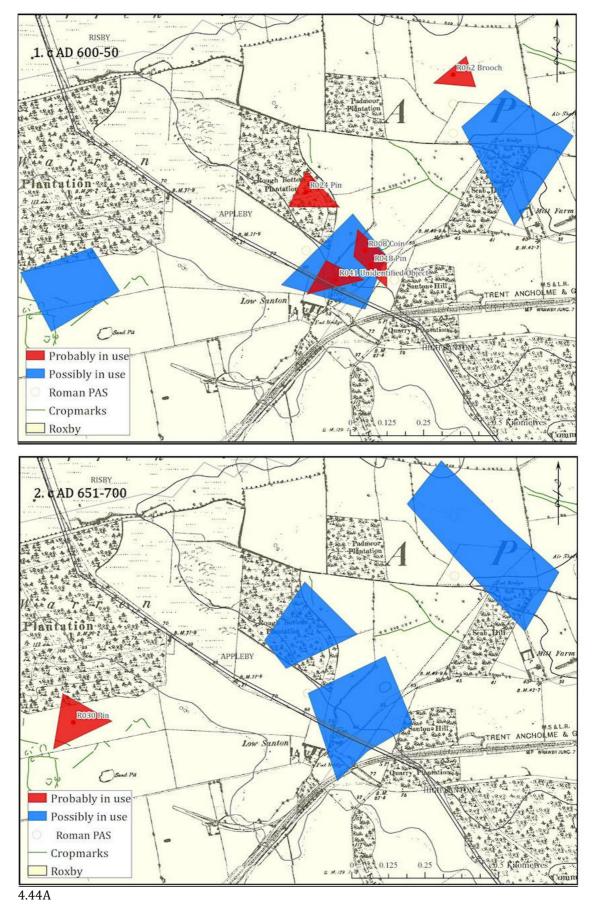
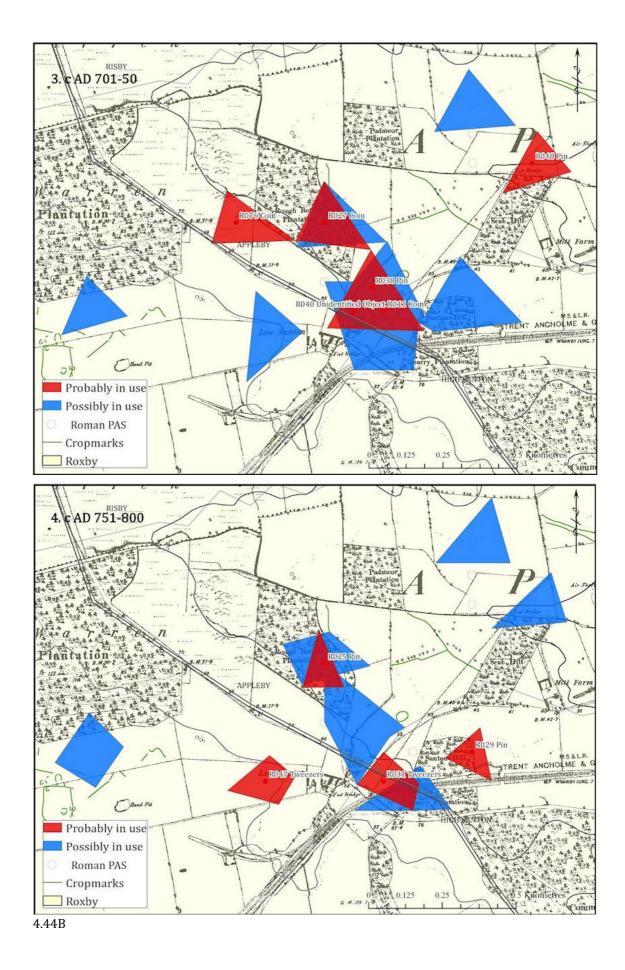
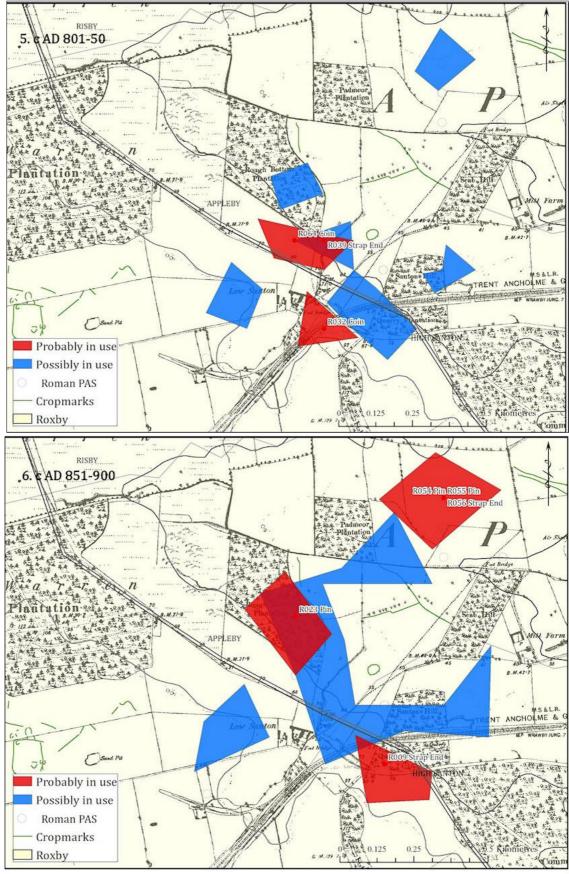


FIGURE 4.44A-C: MSX SANTON THROUGH TIME

164





4.44c

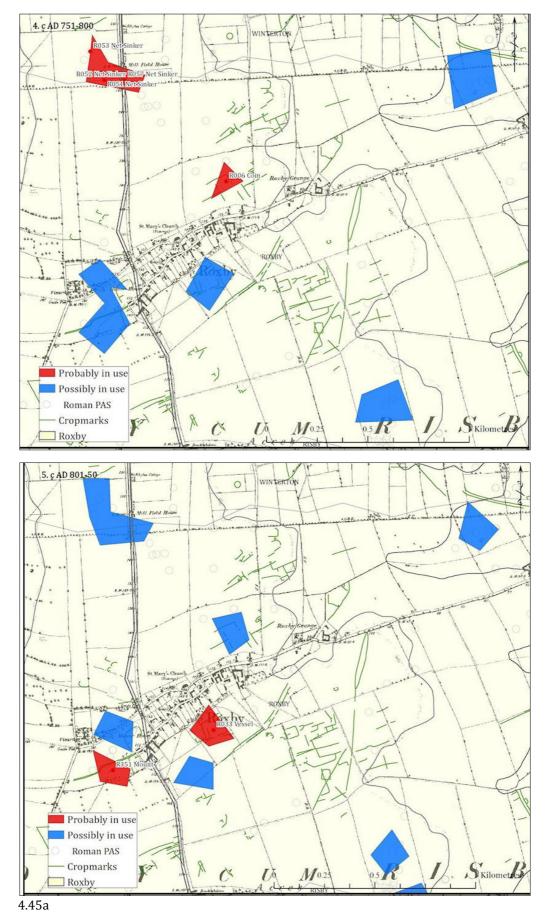
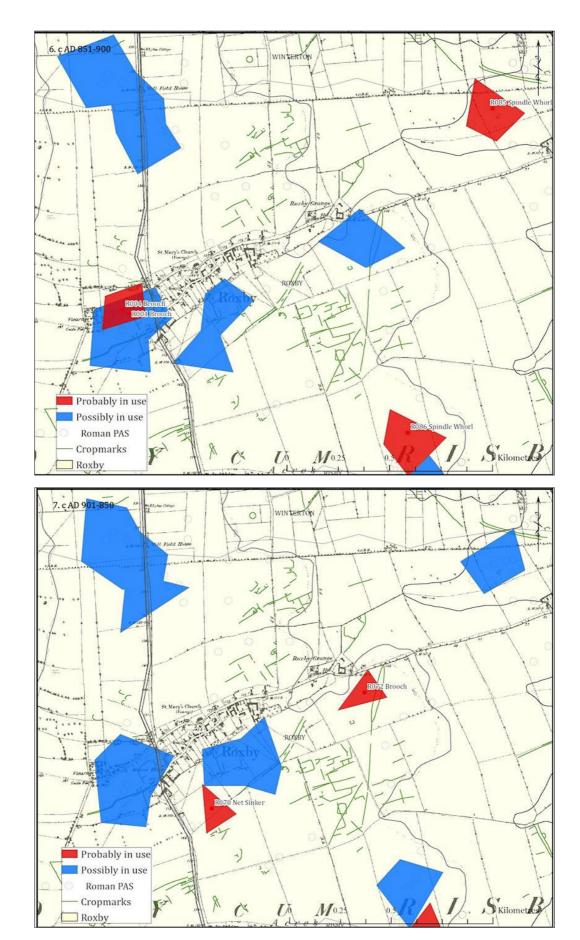
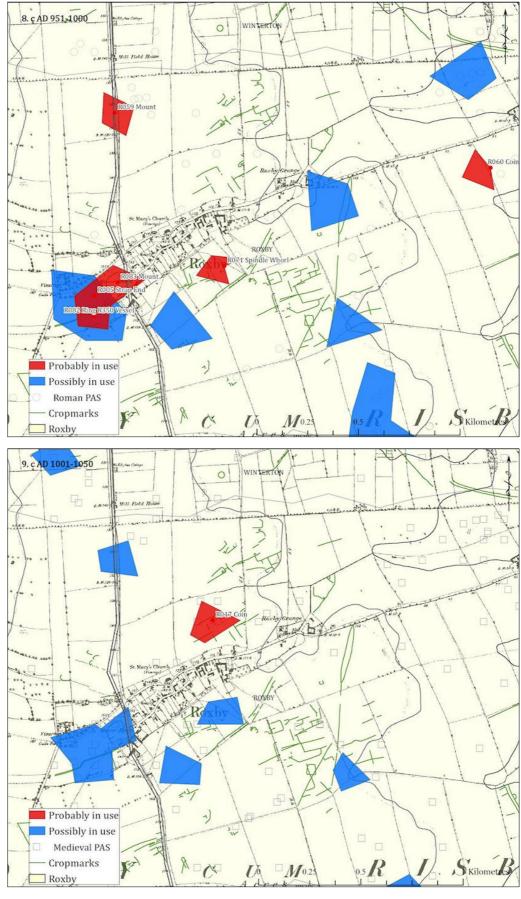


FIGURE 4.45A-C: ASX ROXBY THROUGH TIME

This map series spans the period c. AD 750-1050 around the village of Roxby, showing the distribution of artefact losses changing over time.



4.45b



4.45c

#### 4.7.3 Late Saxon Roxby (LSx) c. AD 850-1100

The Late Saxon period involves a floruit of Scandinavian control and what has become known as 'Anglo-Scandinavian' or 'Anglo-Danish' culture. Christianity was accepted as the primary religion and local patronage of what became parish churches flourished. Certain regions however, including Lindsey, maintained close affinities with Scandinavia; when Cnut travelled from Denmark to claim the English throne, the people of Lindsey pledged him their allegiance. The period also witnesses the decline of Scandinavian political power in England, with the accession of Edward the Confessor in 1042. Even after the Norman Conquest, however, Scandinavian linguistic influences and art styles persisted.

More than half of the artefacts dated to the Late Saxon period in *Roxby* fall into the 'other' fingerprint category, reflecting an increase in different activities and perhaps even a growing population or number of visitors. Many of the artefacts are associated with Scandinavian and Anglo-Scandinavian styles: there are two 'Norse' bells which are unique to Scandinavian-settled regions in England (R020, R046; Figure 4.46), and the mounts are decorated in Anglo-Scandinavian styles. The brooches have central bosses and interlace motifs (R072, R073) derived from the Scandinavian Borre style. These reflect an evolving fashion from the other Scandinavian-style brooch examples dated to earlier periods of manufacture, of which one is an East Anglian series Borre-style disc brooch (R001; Figure 4.47). Finally, the horse accessories in the record point to changing lifestyles in *Roxby*, perhaps due to an increased Scandinavian elite or military presence. Of greatest note as 'indicator' finds pointing to Scandinavian influence (Pestell 2013) are the silver ingots (R044; R065), the weights (R087; R035; R045), and a 'mount' that has been likened to a Thor's hammer pendant, with granular designs paralleled in Birka (R088; PASD: NLM-C6EB24). It is apparent that there was a marked shift in *Roxby* in favour of Scandinavianinfluenced artefacts toward the end of the millennium (for the following discussion refer to polygon map series at the end of 4.7.3: Figure 4.49a-b, Figure 4.50a-c).

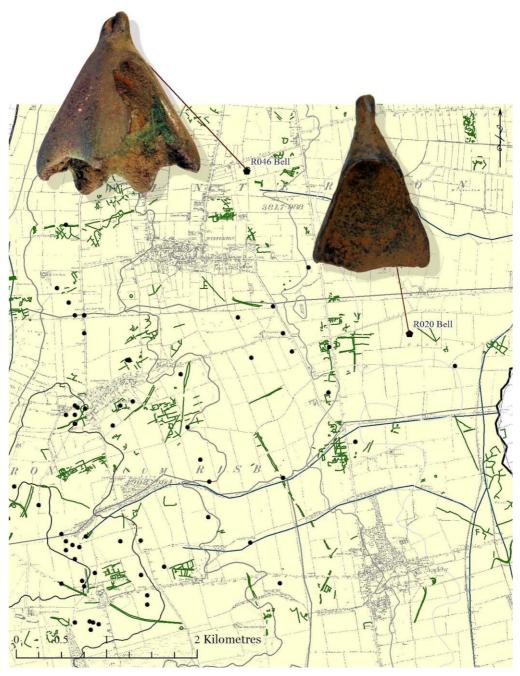


FIGURE 4.46: NORSE BELLS

These bells lay outwith the primary concentrations of artefacts in *Roxby*. Their distributions might help refine our understanding of the contexts in which such objects were used and lost. Bell R020, for example, was recovered from east of the 5m OD contour in the low-lying carrs, 1km south of the net sinker (R058) discussed above (Box 4.4). This adds weight to the argument that bells might be associated with hunting paraphernalia, even as decorative adornments for persons taking part in the hunt.

The presence of horse-related finds in coincidence with Norse bells suggests elite activity. The distribution of the bells was shown above to lie beyond the areas in which most finds have been recovered. While Schoenfelder and Richards (2011, 157-8) show that Norse bells were not be suitable for hunting based on the dull sound a copper alloy bell generates, or hawking given their weight, their deposition contexts in *Roxby* could prompt a reconsideration of the relationship between bells and hunting activity. Bell R020 in particular ('Roxby cum Risby 1' in Schoenfelder and Richards (2011, 163, 165)) was

recovered from the floodplain east of Ermine Street. The only other artefacts dating to the early medieval period so far east are a strap-end (R020), and a net weight (R050). The net weight provides an indication of the type of activity that was probably taking place in the marshy carrs and recalls the quotation from *Aelfric's Colloquy*, above (cf. Box 4.4); the bells might therefore be viewed within this context, whereby they would have been lost during hunting or hawking expeditions. This idea need not negate Schoenfelder and Richards' argument that bells were part of high-status female costume: though useless as animals' bells, perhaps they were nevertheless associated with the hunt as jewellery that specifically recalled the elite activity.



FIGURE 4.47: 9TH-11TH CENTURY BROOCHES IN ROXBY

The brooches pictured here date to slightly different time periods, but that does not mean that some of them may have been in use later than their production date, perhaps as heirlooms. The coincidence of the Jellinge brooch (R004) adjacent to the East Anglian Borre-style brooch (R001) is curious (note that the brooch shown here is not from Lincolnshire as there was no photo on record; pictured is PASD: DUR-4B3BC2, an appropriate parallel from the *Dunham* dataset (0)). The brooches were recovered close to the modern village near a confluence of several ancient tracks (see Figure 4.48 below for detail). The locations of the other two brooches are also noteworthy: one was recovered near a spring head (R073) which might have been an attractive settlement site; the other — a poorly executed lead alloy brooch (R072) — was found in a field on the other side of Roxby village, close to what appears to be an old droveway.

There are two general groupings of artefacts in Late Saxon *Roxby*: one to the west of the modern village of *Roxby* where the brooches were recovered (Figure 4.47), and another,

looser grouping around the area of Sawcliffe and High and Low Risby (Figure 4.50). Around the wider area more apparently individual losses have occurred. Several of these do appear to relate to trackways based on the cropmark evidence (Figure 4.48). The Risby distributions could indicate that a number of small hamlets and farmsteads were active at this time. This would suit the Domesday Book records which group Sawcliffe with Appleby, Santon and Risby; it seems that these were not necessarily coherent nucleations even by the eleventh century, although there were manors and two churches shared amongst them.

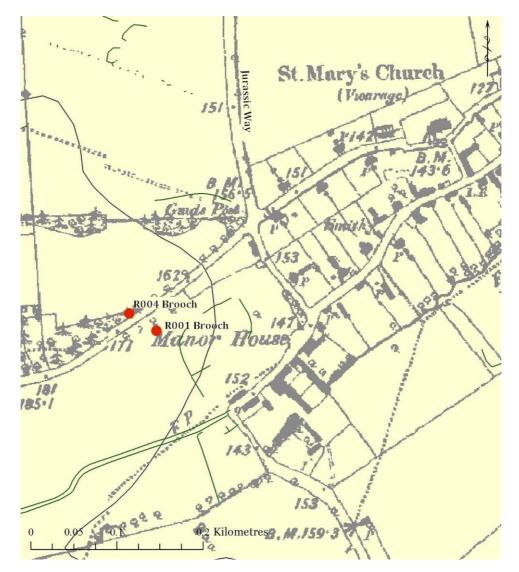


FIGURE 4.48: DETAIL OF BROOCH FINDSPOTS

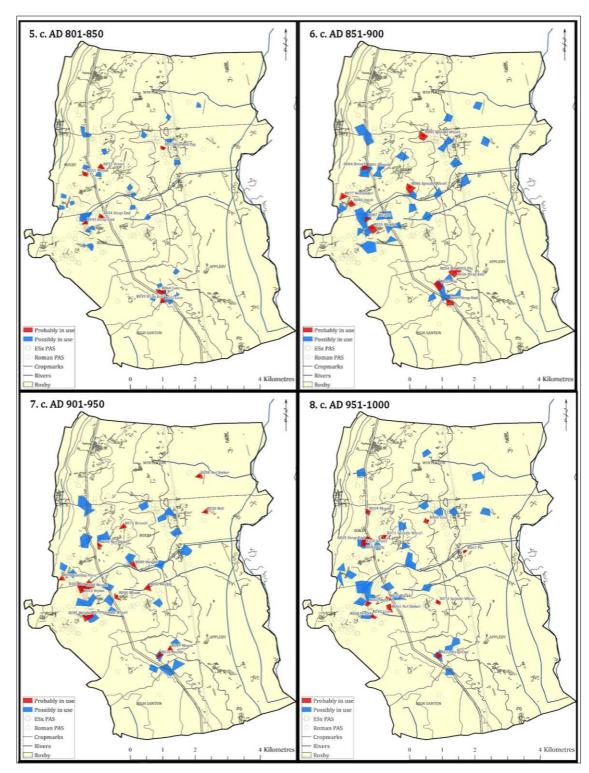
Note the trackway leading into town as well as the enclosure formation near the location of the 'Manor House'. It is possible that this was the site of a settlement or ecclesiastical enclosure?

Although this remains a small sample size, the refined chronology of the artefacts may suggest a more nuanced narrative for activity over time: perhaps a settlement near the springhead along the Roxby-Risby parish boundary first settled in the eighth or early ninth century, as a Maxey ware sherd and pin would suggest. This area appears to have

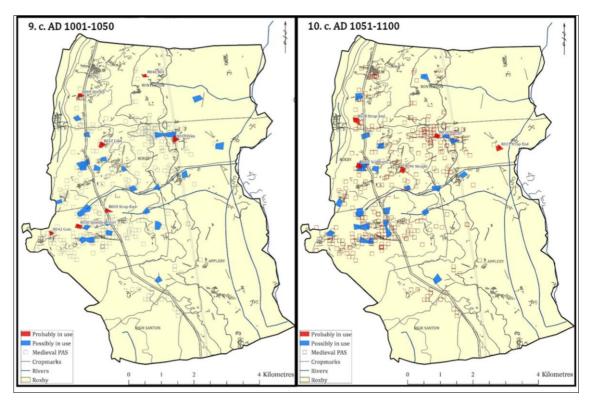
remained a focal point until the eleventh century when activity begins to concentrate closer to the location of the DMV at High Risby (Figure 4.50).

This is a general overview of changing uses of space over time, and certainly the entire landscape was active throughout the Late Saxon period. The artefact distributions nevertheless tentatively highlight certain focal points — presumably related to settlement due to the presence of potsherds — around which activity coalesced and opportunities for the loss of material culture increased.

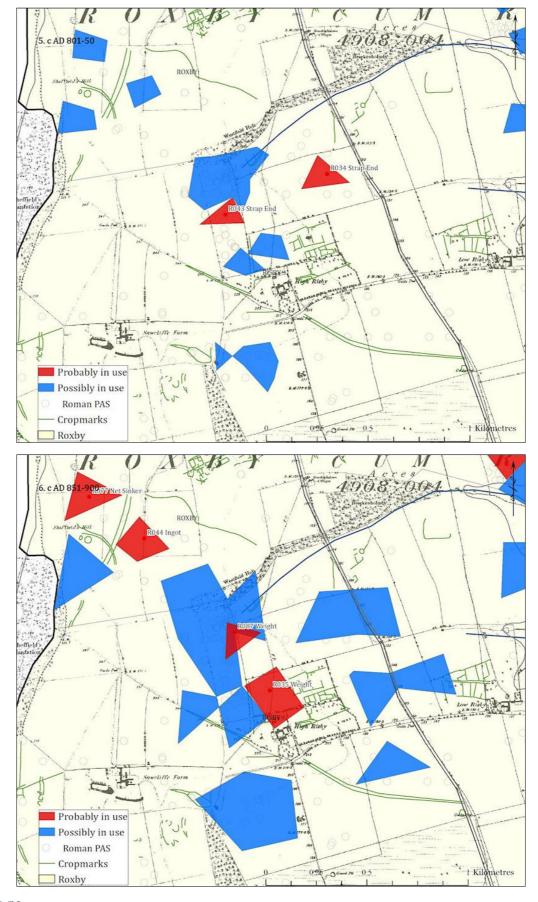
Following the mid-ninth century, the character of material culture in Risby is strongly influenced by Scandinavian designs and cultural apractices. A gaming piece (R078) and hacksilver ingots (R044; R065) and weights (R087; R035; R045) would have been introduced to the area by Scandinavians, if not brought there and lost by people of Scandinavian affiliation. Pestell (2013) has argued that ingots and Thor's hammers represent socio-cultural practices closely connected with Scandinavia and are more likely to indicate the presence of someone affiliated with that practice (i.e., a 'Scandinavian') than not. It seems highly likely that at some stage, people affiliated with Scandinavian culture were active in Risby. The place-name suggests Scandinavian-speaking people spent enough time there to name it. On this evidence, it is suggested that Risby reflects an enclave that was at least part comprised of first-generation Scandinavian immigrants. Based on the similarities to finds in Torksey (the Islamic-based weight, ingots, a gaming piece, a possible Thor's hammer (R088), and Torksey ware (R303)) this might point to members of the Great Army and their followers choosing to settle here. In Viking Age Denmark, hamlet settlements were often made up of six to seven farmsteads (Fleming 2010, 213), and the situation at Risby might have been similar. Roxby's artefactual signature is less varied than Risby's, but again the presence of a brooch from Scandinavia in company with Anglo-Scandinavian style items might be argued to indicate a similar situation, in this case led by one 'Hrokr'. These suggestions are worth exploring further within the wider context of the Ancholme valley and the connections that linked Roxby to the early medieval world.



**4.49**A FIGURE **4.49**A-B: LSx *Roxby* THROUGH TIME See **Appendix 5** for high-resolution slides of the same maps that illustrate the changes through time.

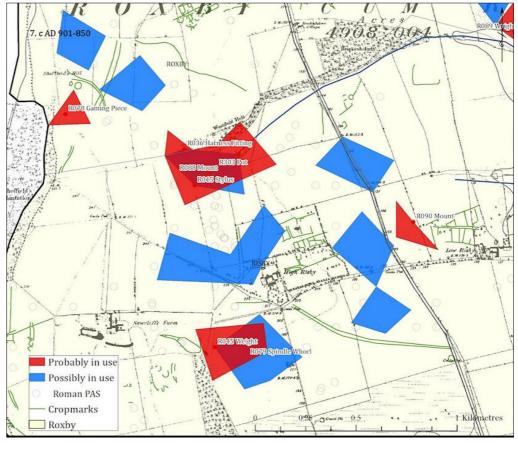


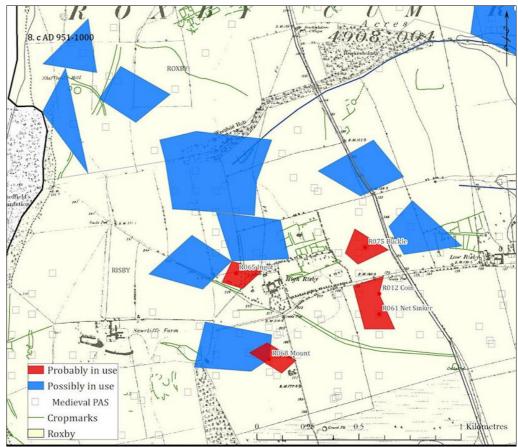
4.49B



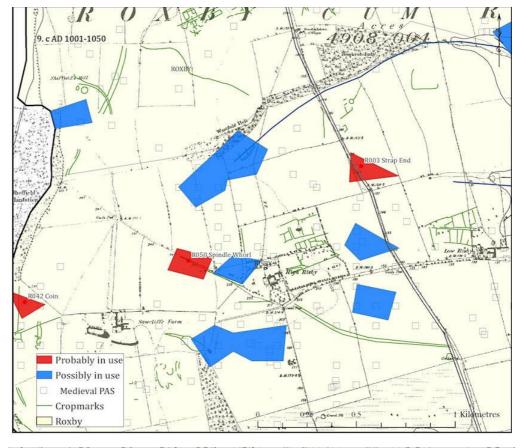
4.50a Figure 4.50a-c: Late Saxon Risby

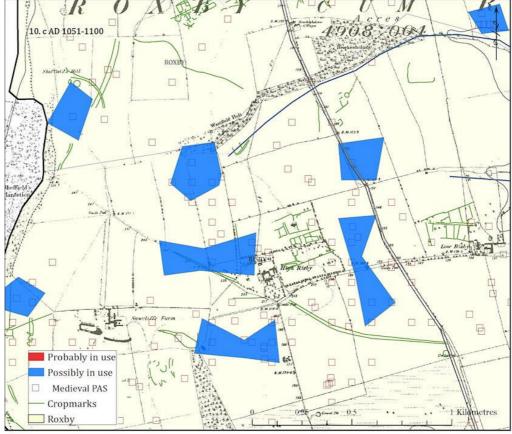
There is some indication that losses along routeways occurred when viewed against the cropmarks, but this might also reflect metal detecting biases and recording practices. **Appendix 5** shows the series in high resolution slides.





4.50B





**4.50**c

# 4.8 Roxby, Lincolnshire, and the early medieval world: Communities on the Edge

'What you should first realize, to understand the sea roads, is how close the ocean brings far-apart places.'

-Macfarlane (2012, 89)

#### 4.8.1 Introduction

The oceans and seas had been bringing 'far-apart places' closer well before Scandinavian travellers made use of them to reach England's shores, and the 'swan-roads' such as the Trent to take them further inland. Modern history continues to laude the seafaring abilities of the 'Vikings', and rightly so. But as the case of *Roxby* has shown, the arrival of Scandinavians to England did not herald a unique overseas connection. Nesting *Roxby* temporally in the historic *longue durée*, its continental connections can be traced to the Roman port and ferry at Winteringham. The northern Ancholme Valley was a busy, structured landscape: villas, large farms and enclosures, outposts, a port and ferry system, and a major thoroughfare all contributed to a vibrant and active region. Along with Ermine Street, the prehistoric cliff-top Jurassic Way continued to link settlements, including the Roman pottery production centre at what is now Dragonby, to the Winterton villas.

The overall landscape of *Roxby* might thus be characterised as one of channelled movement, but to what extent did such a landscape shape the actions and evolution of Middle and Late Saxon society? Portable evidence for a landscape of travel and connectivity might be expected to take the form of imported goods, with indications of economic transactions or market sites also present. As has been demonstrated above, *Roxby* is not without such evidence, but this must be considered in more detail.

Within this broad characterisation of *Roxby* as part of the north-south Ancholme corridor, it also existed as a landscape of small, permanently-settled farming communities and manors, whose communication networks would have normally been more local. It is possible that objects representing long-distance connections came from this established population, rather than as a result of travellers or traders simply passing through Roxby. They might in this way be linked to an elite or aspiring elite population. The distribution of artefacts tends towards the upland, closer to modern village locations rather than along Ermine Street. The role of the local Lincoln Edge communities within the Ancholme passage is assessed below: to what extent did the two spheres of settlement and local industry and trade and travel intersect? Changes in land use and society across the Middle Saxon to Late Saxon periods are also examined.

#### 4.8.2 Gateway to the southern Danelaw?

*Roxby*'s connections to the wider North Atlantic and European world cannot be mapped precisely, though they can be lightly traced to elucidate some patterns of trade and communication. Figure 4.51 and Figure 4.52 show the networks of connections in Roxby based on the PAS-identified provenance of some of the artefacts. It is more difficult to discern by what route and through whom they arrived in *Roxby*, however.

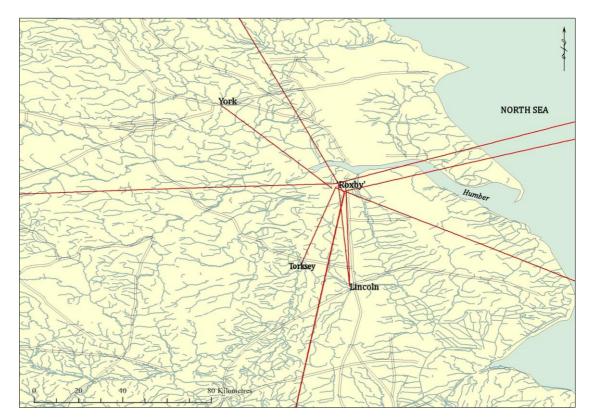


FIGURE 4.51: CONNECTIONS TO ROXBY: INTERNATIONAL

These networks show the general place of manufacture and subsequent final deposition point of the artefacts for which provenance could reasonably be ascribed in *Roxby*. It is difficult to trace by which routes these objects travelled, but the far-reaching connections depicted here illustrate that *Roxby* attracted people linked into a range of communication networks in the early medieval period. A number of other artefacts for which parallels are probably found beyond England have not been shown here, (and the Odin pendant from Winteringham would extend this map to include the Baltic region (cf. Box 4.3)) but we should imagine that this map is representative of a much more intricate network of communication and trade.

First, it is important to note that the networks of exchange illustrated by the small finds currently known in *Roxby* highlight only a small percentage of what was surely a more complex system of linkages. The earliest evidence for an overseas connection comes from a Continental sceatta, minted between AD 690-760, possibly at Ribe (R076). Approximately 500m to the southeast, two early ninth-century silver pennies, both minted in Canterbury, were also recovered (R064, R032). These finds are all from the Santon region, and reflect an enclave of well-connected Middle Saxon inhabitants. The Coenwulf coin (R032) remains the most northerly of its kind recorded with the PAS, indicating a more considerable journey than most Coenwulf pennies; another has been found at

Horncastle, in southern East Lindsey (NCL-C00753) but none appear in the large Flixborough coin assemblage (Evans and Loveluck 2009).



**FIGURE 4.52: CONNECTIONS TO ROXBY: REGIONAL**Showing Roman road networks and river systems. Trade appears to move in a north-south direction overall, and therefore probably moved along the anticipated routes: the Trent, Jurassic Way, and Ermine Street.

The ninth and tenth centuries continued to witness the movement (and subsequent loss) of long-distance items. The parish of Roxby in particular has yielded finds of distant provenance that are almost certainly associated with viking activity or Scandinavian traders: an unprovenanced Irish openwork mount (R351) was lost or discarded somewhere in the parish of Roxby, and a Jellinge-style brooch, identified as a Scandinavian type (Kershaw 2012, cat. no. 485), was recovered just outside the modern village of Roxby at a crossroad with a local routeway (R004; Figure 4.47, above). In Risby, a possible Thor's Hammer amulet for which stylistic parallels have been noted in Birka and western Russia (R088), was recovered near a rare sherd of Torksey ware (R303) and a stylus (R015; Figure 4.50, above). This assemblage strongly points to Scandinavian associations, probably in relation to viking activity with the Great Army. Their presence is recorded not only at Torksey in AD 873, but throughout the late ninth and tenth centuries, raiders were moving along the Humber and through Lindsey (*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, 873). *Roxby* would have provided a good place for migrant settlers wishing to profit from incoming trade networks, and perhaps even acted as a point of contact for newer arrivals to Lindsey.

Finally, one of the silver ingots from *Roxby* (R065) contains a possible Islamic coin, another common indicator of the far-reaching Scandinavian trade network that is so well represented at the viking overwintering camp of Torksey (Hadley and Richards 2013). It is also evidence of people trading in a bullion economy, which Pestell (2013) attributes to people identifying with Scandinavian socio-cultural practices. In the eleventh century, conversely, there are no objects to represent overseas connections; pottery from Lincoln and Torksey, and a coin from York nevertheless indicate continued links to important regional centres.

The extensive networks of Scandinavian merchants and raiders in the Viking Age are well attested to. Their commercial activity might be seen as a tenuous precursor to modern globalisation (Sindbæk 2007b, 59, 70), whereby '[c]ommunications across long distances were achieved through a spindly combination of hubs and weak ties,' (Sindbæk 2007b, 70). With this in mind, Roxby was probably rather peripheral within such a network. Nevertheless, nearly 10% of the small finds from Roxby have been shown to come from at least 45 kilometres away; there are surely many more as yet unidentified or unprovenanced objects (especially pottery sherds) that travelled similar distances. Winteringham, just north of *Roxby* with its port and ferry on the Humber — which we know to have had a market at least by the thirteenth century — has surprisingly little evidence for long-distance trade. Nevertheless, the recent discovery of the Odin pendant with probable Baltic connections (cf. Box 4.3), and a lead-filled cowrie shell which might be a Scandinavian or Hiberno-Norse weight (PASD: LIN1632) suggest that there remains much to be discovered in terms of the area's connectivity. At South Ferriby, for example, which was the major ferry port east of the Ancholme, Kershaw (2012) has recorded two Jellinge-style brooches of Scandinavian origin. This also points to the Humber estuary as an important channel of North Sea trade. The PAS data on Torksey only record a fraction of the finds now known from the overwintering site (cf. Hadley and Richards (2013, 14) on more than 100 weights recovered), but they nevertheless show a different pattern of imported artefacts altogether. Of the 178 records, 119 (67%) are from at least as far as York, and all but one are coins. Half of these coins came from the Islamic Empire. The PAS does not therefore record any quantity of Scandinavian-imported brooches similar to the Jellinge-style brooch from *Roxby* — a reminder that Torksey was indeed a specialist site. Such comparisons do not confirm *Roxby* as a uniquely connected region, and other Humberside places might yet reveal similar networks. Roxby nevertheless presents characteristics of an area with regular access to hubs of trade and manufacture, and might even have played a role in disseminating these objects.

The finds discussed above are only those for which a specific origin can be traced; this is not to imply that all other artefacts in *Roxby* were locally produced. Many items have parallels known from Flixborough and other parts of Lincolnshire, but those for which

similar types have been found at Meols or East Anglia, for example (see **Appendix 2**), would again seem to support *Roxby*'s position within a wide-ranging network of trade, especially in dress accessories. The question remains, however, as to whether *Roxby*'s diverse assemblage was a result of passing trade and travel, or dictated by the desires and fashions of those living in the area.

Travel in the early medieval period was not ad hoc; and movement was regulated by permissions and laws (see Symonds 2003b for discussion). As Symonds (2003b, 29) explains, by the seventh century, the laws of Wihtred and Ine were restricting travellers to primary thoroughfares (this would presumably mean Ermine Street and the Jurassic Way in the case of *Roxby*), 'lest they be taken for thieves'. We might therefore expect that if items were predominately chance losses from travellers passing through Roxby, the distribution of finds would overwhelmingly focus on these main roads. On the other hand, if Roxby had a more central role in the distribution of goods, perhaps as a market, we might expect the clustering of 'economic' functional group objects with imported goods. The distribution of artefacts known to be imported, and those for which parallels outside the kingdom of Lindsey are known, do not line Ermine Street or the Jurassic Way to an obvious extent, although low quantities of finds might make any patterning difficult to discern (cf. Figure 4.42, above). There are two clusters where 'economic' artefacts coincide closely with imported items: at Santon and Risby. Both assemblages have been discussed above, and it would seem that they indicate a well-connected Middle Saxon settlement and cemetery, and a possible Late Saxon settlement related to some trade, respectively. While the few imports from along the roadsides might be travellers' losses, we should look to other explanations concerning more deliberate agency to explain the remainder of the finds — especially those dating to after the arrival of Scandinavians in Lincolnshire.

### 4.8.3 Communities on the Edge

The clustering of artefacts in parts of *Roxby* reflects convergences of activity, probably over many years in some cases. In these locations, artefacts were more likely the deliberate acquisitions of local residents than the chance losses of passers-by.

When *Roxby* is viewed against an excavated context, its artefact signature fits neatly within the Humberside model of a community with regular access to traded goods, as evidenced in Flixborough (Evans and Loveluck 2009). Similar to Flixborough, the inhabitants of *Roxby* benefitted from three levels of access to goods: the local (e.g. local potteries; possible local strap-end production in North Lincolnshire), 'inter-regional' (e.g. York coins or East Anglian jewellery), and long-distance (e.g. continental or Irish jewellery; see Loveluck (2007, 112)). Excavations at Flixborough revealed links to Scandinavia and Denmark throughout the Anglo-Saxon period (Loveluck 2007, 112-4);

similar connections are evidenced in *Roxby* with the early sceatta from Ribe (R076) — a type also found across the Humber at North Ferriby (Loveluck 2007, 114).

Preservation conditions in *Roxby* have been exacerbated by extensive ploughing, which has resulted in a lack of pottery sherds (Van de Noort and Ellis 1998, 290) and therefore an incomplete picture of inter-regional and long-distance connections. Some degree of regular access to imported continental ware in the Middle Saxon period (as at Flixborough) might be expected, but cannot be assumed. Maxey ware and Ipswich ware were both found in large quantities at Flixborough (Evans and Loveluck 2009), though only the former has been identified in a single sherd from *Roxby* (R304). It is possible that the relative statuses of the Flixborough settlements and those in *Roxby* are made clearer through such differences; Flixborough was a manorial centre controlling three other manors, while the Roxby and Appleby manors were essentially independent and unconnected beyond their immediate environs. Certainly no imported glass has been recovered from *Roxby* (e.g. Loveluck 2007, 115), despite extensive fieldwalking (Mike Hemblade, pers. comm.).

In the late ninth and tenth century, however, long-distance and inter-regional connections are once more exhibited at *Roxby*. This coincides with the rise in material of Scandinavian nature. Again, increased access to imported goods in the Viking Age could indicate individuals or groups either moving or inviting such commodities. The artefacts themselves suggest that activity was related at least in part to early Scandinavian migrants — probably associated with the Great Army.

The artefact clusters in the parish of Risby located near the boundary with Roxby and an old trackway leading northwest-southeast from the Jurassic Way through the deserted medieval village of High Risby, and down the Lincoln Edge to Normanby, are possible market-site candidates, but the quantities of finds in the case of Roxby make this difficult to support at present. Loveluck (2007, 128) cautions against the assumption that portable evidence of economic activity can be indicators of market sites, but they might nevertheless indicate sites of exchange if even on a small scale. Nevertheless, in Risby, there is a high concentration of economic-related items within a 500m radius, converging on the DMV (Figure 4.50, above). Many of these finds, such as the polyhedral weights and Irish mount, are indicative of Scandinavian activity. This distribution of finds could therefore tentatively be interpreted as a Viking Age trading site, perhaps only serving the local area, though possibly drawing traders from the other side of the Lincoln Edge. Given that Sawcliffe, Risby, and Appleby were listed as separate places in Domesday (although a united estate), it is probable that the Risby distributions were also at least partially associated with the Sawcliffe and Risby settlements, and potsherds support an argument in favour of settlement.

### 4.9 Conclusion

The region of North Lincolnshire discussed here as 'Roxby' developed as part of a wider Early Saxon ritual landscape after the Roman withdrawal. This was later replaced with ecclesiastical and complex estate foci, to which the *Roxby* landscape and communities played a subsidiary role. Burial rites continued to evolve in the Middle and Late Saxon periods, with Christian-style burials strategically placed over ancient Roman structures. The relationship between church and cemetery at this point remains difficult to evaluate, although in West Halton it is possible that the eighth-century burials focused around a local parish church.

Changes in artefact type and style from the Middle Saxon to Late Saxon period were not drastic, but do clearly reflect a growing Scandinavian influence, especially towards the tenth century. At this stage, dress accessories reflect Scandinavian Borre-style ornamentation, with later items exhibiting Ringerike and Urnes artwork. The more visible dress items, such as strapends, brooches, and mounts, proclaimed these Scandinavian-influenced fashions.

It is argued that by the time of the Domesday survey, *Roxby* had hosted several generations of mixed Scandinavian and Anglo-Saxon descendants, based on the toponymic landscape and landholding divisions. Indeed, field names and agricultural terms in the Ancholme Valley retain a Scandinavian influence to this day. The example of Risby, and the imported Scandinavian and Anglo-Scandinavian style accessories found adjacent to the modern village of Roxby, would seem to suggest that Scandinavian-affiliated individuals or groups were instrumental in drawing certain types of goods to the region.

The inhabitants who owned these items could have been the antecessors of later patrons of the churches known to exist at Appleby (with Risby and Sawcliffe), and Winterton by 1066. Whether holding manors in the fee of another lord, or as freemen, they would have benefitted from local resources to pay their geld and potentially live well. As has been demonstrated, the region was suitable for wild fowling and fishing in the marshes, and also supported upland pasturing on the Lincoln Edge heath. Textile working was an active local industry that complemented sheep-rearing, and these might even have supported a Humberside maritime industry of shipbuilding.

# **Chapter 5: Aunsby**

# Case Study 2: Aunsby, Lincolnshire

5.1 Introduction: the parish cluster of *Aunsby* 

TABLE 5.1: AUNSBY AT A GLANCE

	Aunsby, Lincolnshire
No. parishes in study area (modern)	5
No. historical parishes	8
Parishes by name	Aunsby & Dembleby, Culverthorpe & Kelby, Silk Willoughby, Aswarby & Swarby, Osbournby, [Scott Willoughby]
Parish with most PAS finds	Osbournby (59)
Parishes without PAS finds	Silk Willoughby
Size of study area	$47 \text{ km}^2$
Pre-Viking kingdom	Kingdom of Kesteven (part of Mercia)
Wapentake/hundred	Aswardhurn and Aveland wapentakes
Rivers	<del>_</del>
Major routeways	Mareham Lane; Salter's Way
Other geographical features	Near Fen edge
Nearest centres c. 1066	Lincoln, Stamford, Peterborough
No. small finds analysed in area	109
No. small finds per km²	2.1/km <sup>2</sup>
No. entries in Domesday	21

The *Aunsby* study area (Table 5.1; Figure 5.1; Figure 5.2) is named after one of the central townships in the parish cluster. It is located in the former kingdom of Kesteven in south Lincolnshire, 25km south of the city of Lincoln, directly south of Sleaford (Figure 5.3). This introduction presents the geographical, environmental, and historical background to the study region, followed by an assessment of its Middle and Late Saxon small finds, all of which were identified through metal-detecting. Finally, the small finds are interpreted in light of other evidence, including place-names, Domesday Book records, and environmental and topographical data.

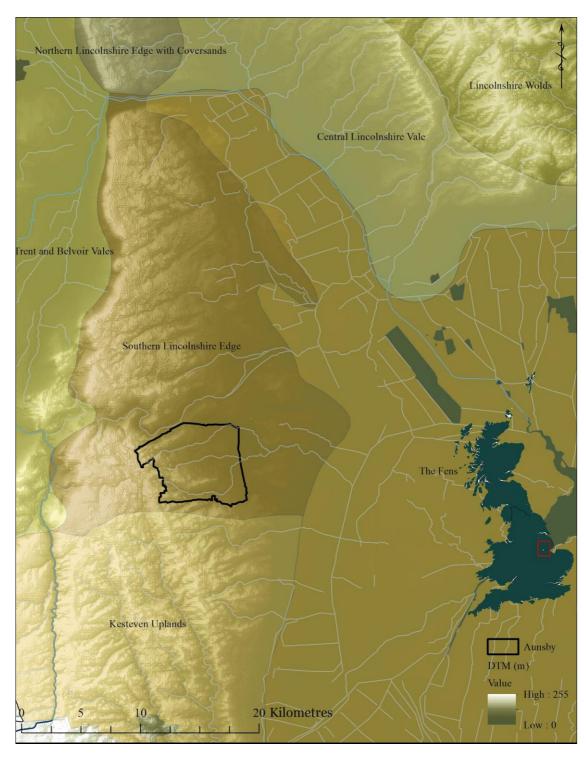


FIGURE 5.1: AUNSBY TOPOGRAPHY
Shown over the 'Natural Character' regions of England (©EH).

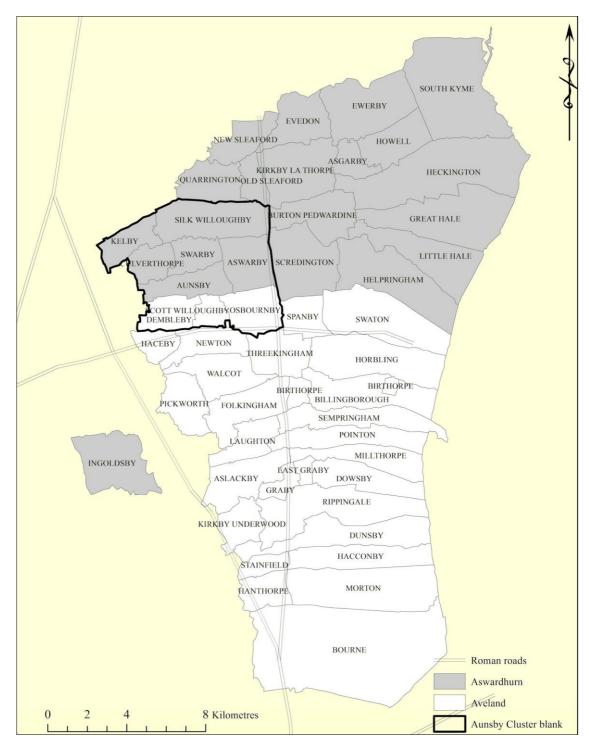


FIGURE 5.2: AVELAND AND ASWARDHURN WAPENTAKES

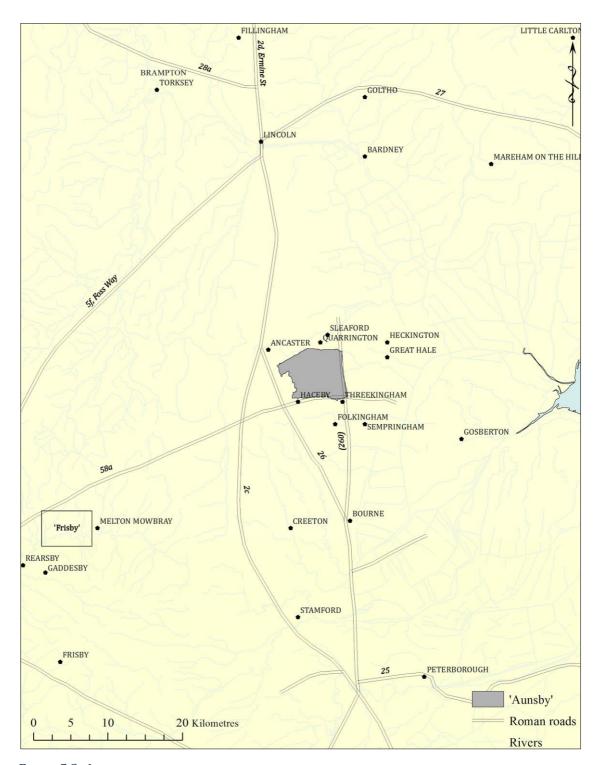


FIGURE 5.3: AUNSBY AND THE SURROUNDING REGION

This map shows the study area in relation to local places of importance and to areas or sites of interest mentioned throughout the chapter.

# 5.2 The region and parishes

Unlike *Roxby*, which is located within a single wapentake, the *Aunsby* study area falls across two neighbouring wapentakes: the early administrative units of Aswardhurn and

Aveland (Figure 5.2). The parishes themselves form a relatively coherent group although the wapentake divisions here were not as strongly bound by topography as in Manley (North Lincs., Chapter 4). In fact later amalgamations combined parishes from across the two wapentakes. For example *Aunsby* was originally located in Aswardhurn, and Dembleby in Aveland, while at other times Osbournby and other northern Aveland parishes were listed as belonging to Aswardhurn.

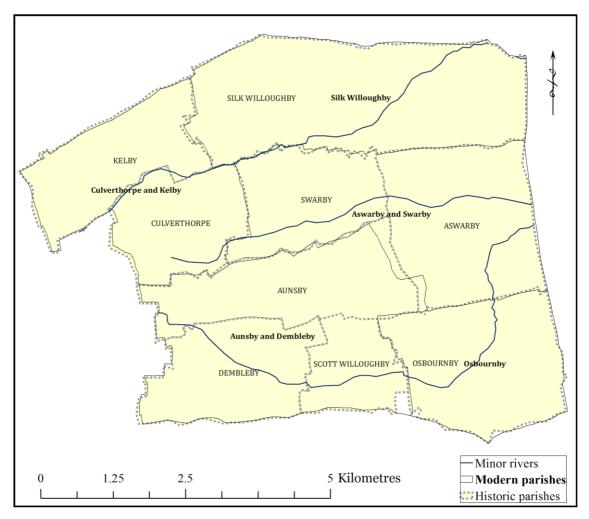


FIGURE 5.4: AUNSBY PARISHES: MODERN AND HISTORIC

The *Aunsby* study area is a cluster of five modern civil parishes. As the names imply, three of the parishes are modern amalgamations of neighbouring administrative units (Table 5.1; Figure 5.4). The remainder of the study will refer instead to the eight earlier townships, which probably shared many of the same boundaries that emerged prior to the Norman Conquest.

# 5.2.1 Geography, soils, and agriculture

The *Aunsby* region lies on an east-draining watershed and is characterised by gentle slopes lined with three becks that converge in the neighbouring eastern parishes as they enter

the fens. There is no major river in the study area, but a regular supply of water would have been available from the becks and springs lining the valleys. To the north of the study area in Silk Willoughby, the ground levels out slightly toward Sleaford (Figure 5.5). The land around Culverthorpe has the most variable terrain, coinciding with a more diverse underlying geology (cf. Figure 5.8). The highest point in the region is 80m OD in Kelby, and the lowest points are found to the east as the ground slopes towards the fens.

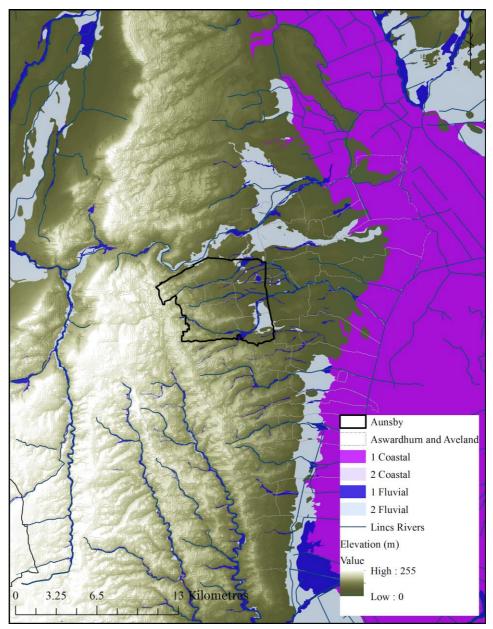


FIGURE 5.5: MODERN FLOOD LEVELS

*Aunsby* lies above most local areas susceptible to flooding, although eastern Osbournby and Aswarby parishes are at risk of fluvial floods in extreme cases.

<u>Key</u>: 1 Coastal= areas susceptible to first influx of coastal flood waters; 2 Coastal= areas susceptible in extreme coastal flood events; 1 Fluvial = areas susceptible to first influx of fluvial flood waters; 2 Fluvial= areas susceptible in extreme fluvial flood events.

(© Crown copyright/database right 2015. A British Geological Survey/EDINA supplied service.)

Cross-country travel would have been accessed along the Roman road 'Mareham Lane' (probable extension of Margary no. 260 (1973)), which bounds the study area to the east,

and the Roman Ermine Street (Margary no. 2c (1973, 192; Briggs 2013)) running from London through Lincoln to the Humber is just west of *Aunsby*. The King's Way also passed east of *Aunsby*, meeting Mareham Lane at Sleaford Margary no. 26 (1973, 192; Briggs 2013)). An east-west route that probably served as a salt way leading inland from the fens to northern Leicestershire lines the southern edge of the study area (Margary no. 58b (1973, 192); Figure 5.3; see Chapter 7, Figure 5.3). Locally, the terrain would have made communication by foot or by horse relatively easy, with few steep slopes (Figure 5.6).



FIGURE 5.6: LANDSCAPE CHARACTERISED BY GENTLE SLOPES AND FLAT LAND Aunsby is easy to move through today, with good footpaths and minor roads; its communication routes were probably similarly well-connected and easily navigable in the past. Pictured: road between Osbournby and Scott Willoughby, facing east towards Osbournby village. Note the hill in left background which is a prominent landscape feature, 'Green Hill', defining the Osbournby-Aswarby parish boundary.

Geologically, *Aunsby* is fairly similar to the *Roxby* case study area, as both are located on the same north-south Jurassic band. In *Aunsby* Jurassic Oxford clay and Kellaway Rock dominates, with a mixture of Cornbrash, and oolitic limestones to the west (Figure 5.7). The area around Culverthorpe and Kelby is characterised by more irregular dips and slopes (Figure 5.8). The area has drift coverage of boulder clay, similar to Roxby and Dunham, as well as glacial gravel deposits, both of which have influenced the soils (Wilson 1948, 13). In pre-glacial times, the *Aunsby* region would have been above sea level, compared with Roxby, which would have been below sea level with dry land only at the top of the Lincolnshire cliff (Wilson 1948, 71).

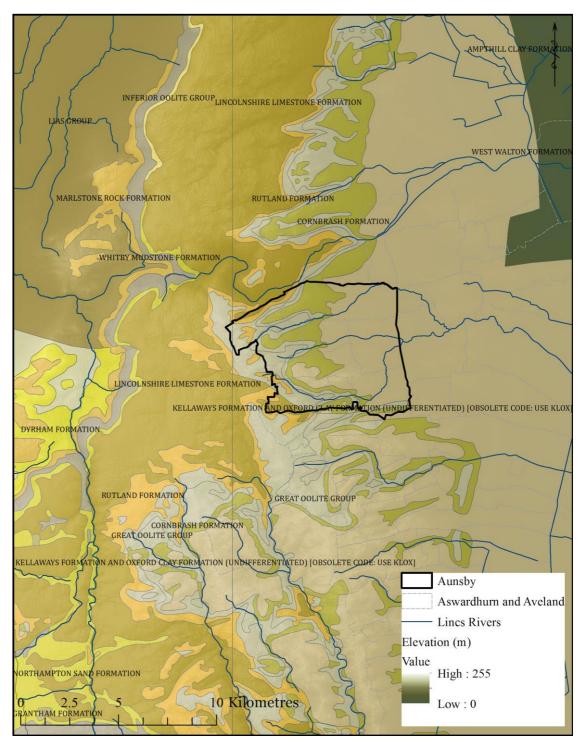


FIGURE 5.7: UNDERLYING GEOLOGY (© Crown copyright/database right 2015. A British Geological Survey/EDINA supplied service.)



FIGURE 5.8: CULVERTHORPE AND KELBY TOPOGRAPHY

The western part of the study area is characterised by more irregular undulations compared to the long gentle slopes of Osbournby and the flat land of Silk Willoughby.

The soils in the general region are primarily Soil Type 8, after the Soil Survey of England and Wales classification (1983) which is described as 'pelo-stagnogley', that is — as 'clay vale' implies — mainly clayey soils with impeded drainage. In the eighteenth century, Arthur Young described the region's soils thus:

At Scot Willoughby, Osburnby [sic.], and the neighbourhood of Folkingham, there are three soils; strong clay, on a mortary bottom, stiff and churlish, difficult to work. A Creech, loam on stone, dirty in winter; call it watery creech, because wet; lames sheep by feeding turnips on it. Rich hazel loam.

- Young (1799, 8)

The clay soil type makes up approximately 13% of the East Midlands soil coverage and is analogous to Soilscape type 18 (King 2006, 14; National Soil Resources Institute 2012). In the *Aunsby* cluster in particular, however, 'freely draining' and 'loamy soils' (Soilscape 5) are also present (Figure 5.9); the overall soil texture is clay and clay loam (King 2006, Fig. 3).

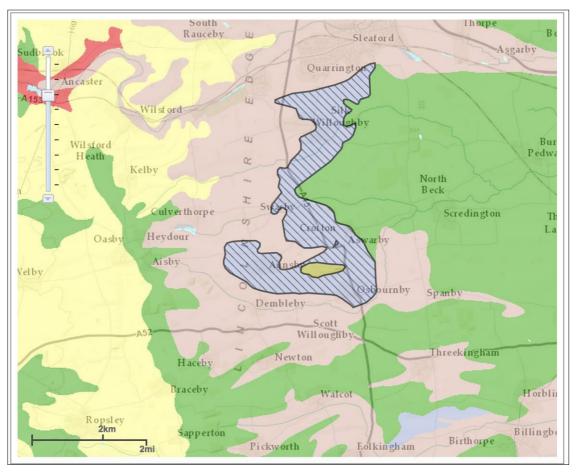


FIGURE 5.9: SOILS

Modern soil designations according to 'Soilscapes' (Cranfield University) are shown against a modern map of the area. Soilscape 22 (light blue, hatched) is the least fertile soil in *Aunsby*. It covers a swath of Aunsby parish and extends in a northward band to Silk Willoughby. This soil type is rare in England, with only 1.7% coverage. Most of the area has a more common lime-rich freely draining soil, although half of Silk Willoughby and all of Aswarby have more slowly permeable, acidic loamy and clayey soils. A pocket of highly fertile soil (Soilscape 9) straddles the parish boundaries of Aunsby, Scott Willoughby, and Osbournby, while Kelby is almost entirely comprised of a limey-chalky soil type (© National Soil Resources Institute 2012).

<u>Key</u>: Green (Soilscape 18): 'Slowly permeable seasonally wet slightly acid but base-rich loamy and clayey soils'; Taupe (Soilscape 5): 'Freely draining lime-rich loamy soils'; Light blue (Soilscape 22): 'Loamy soils with naturally high groundwater'; Puce (Soilscape 9): 'Lime-rich loamy and clayey soils with impeded drainage'; Yellow (Soilscape 3): 'Shallow lime-rich soils over chalk or limestone.'

Although much of this land is currently under cultivation, in the past it would have best supported pastures for livestock (Wilson 1948, 13). The *Aunsby* region is currently fairly arable with occasional patches of waterlogged soil on low-lying ground near becks and around springheads (NSRI 2012). Conditions would have been relatively similar in the medieval period, although without drainage systems, the waterlogged areas would have been less manageable (Figure 5.10; Figure 5.11).



FIGURE 5.10: DRAINAGE IN OSBOURNBY
Modern drainage ditch along a field west of Osbournby



**FIGURE 5.11: WATERLOGGED FIELDS IN OSBOURNBY**South in the same field as Figure 5.10, the brown patch in the centre reveals the location of a springhead, where waterlogged soil prevents crops from growing.

# 5.3 Archaeological context of *Aunsby*

"The quantity of stones I have extracted from the land would surprise you, not to mention the bones of eighty bodies with several curiosities attached to them. We find more every day, and they are scattered singly over the fields and lie near the surface. I can supply you with plenty of knives and spears, and with some broken urns and broaches [sic]."

-Mr Mainwaring to his landlord at Coleby Hall, 1833<sup>22</sup>

Following the methodology outlined above (Chapter 3), the study area was assessed for notable archaeological finds and features based on searches of Historic Environment Records (HERs) and developer-funded archaeology reports. These are described chronologically, alongside previously published research results.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Quoted in Phillips (1934), published originally in *Lincolnshire Notes and Queries*, 1833. Mr Mainwaring had presumably been ploughing up an Early Saxon cemetery in Coleby Hall park.

### 5.3.1 Prehistoric Aunsby

Fieldwalking, aerial photographs and excavation have identified several large areas of prehistoric settlement and activity in the *Aunsby* parishes. Figure 5.12 shows Silk Willoughby with an extensive area of prehistoric activity evident in the western part of the parish. Several cropmarks indicate an enclosure with settlements and a trackway belonging to an early farmstead (LHER: MLI88395). Evidence of similar boundary ditches and enclosures is found across the other parishes in the study region, with another especially large complex near the river in the south-eastern corner of Aswarby and Swarby (LHER: MLI88437).

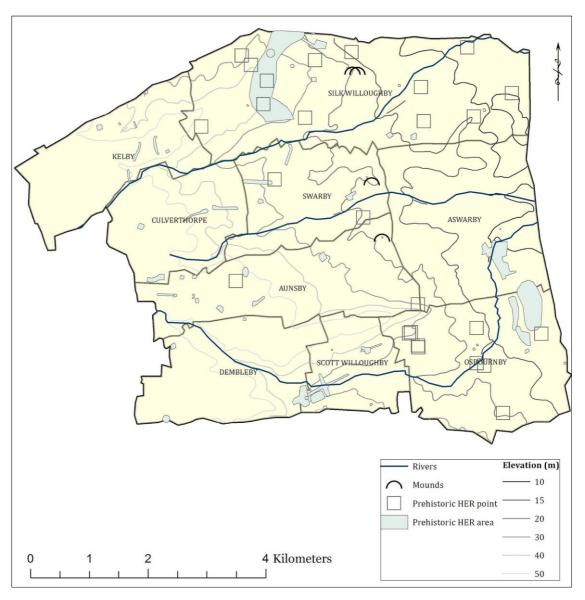


FIGURE 5.12: PREHISTORIC *AUNSBY*Data derived from HER data and shapefiles courtesy of the Lincolnshire Historic Environment Record Office.

It is possible that extensive areas of occupation such as these left traces on the land that were recognised by later occupants. Certainly the settlement in Aswarby seems to have

informed Romano-British occupation as is illustrated below (5.3.2). Several tumuli, which remain visible to this day, would certainly have been noted in the past. One Bronze Age barrow in particular, located in Silk Willoughby, is known as the place of a medieval 'Folk Moot' (LHER: MLI60722). The exact origins of the mound as a meeting place are unknown, but the site was well-situated along a major routeway, and would have featured prominently in the early medieval landscape (Figure 5.13).

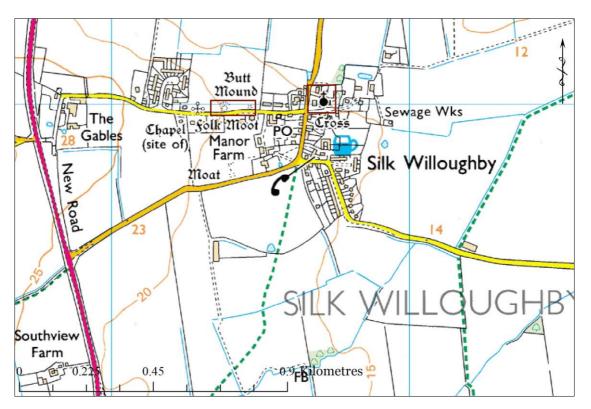


FIGURE 5.13: SILK WILLOUGHBY MOOT MOUND

The mound lies opposite a ruined chapel and adjacent to a moat. Other mounds, of which one is still visible, 'Butt Mound' were situated east of the moot mound along the same routeway (red rectangle). From the moot mound, the modern parish church of Silk Willoughby is visible (red square). (© Crown Copyright and Database Right [2015]. Ordnance Survey (Digimap Licence).

*Aunsby* was host to a landscape that preserved at least moderate visibility of prehistoric activity in the early medieval period. Evidence of a Roman presence would have arguably had an even greater impact on those living in the region, as is discussed below.

## 5.3.2 Roman and post-Roman Aunsby (to c. AD 650)

Several Romano-British settlements have been identified in the *Aunsby* case study region, including a possible villa to the east of Scott Willoughby (Taylor 2005, 2). Another lies just outside the region in the parish of Haceby, south of Dembleby. The area was well-connected, with several lesser stretches of Roman roads running through the area, and the major thoroughfare, Mareham Lane, bounding the region to the east (Figure 5.14).

Mareham Lane connected Bourne to Sleaford, and thence to Lincoln and Ermine Street. Salt from the Fens was an important business in Roman Lincolnshire, as it had been in the Iron Age, and these routes served to distribute the commodity inland (Lane 1993, 26).

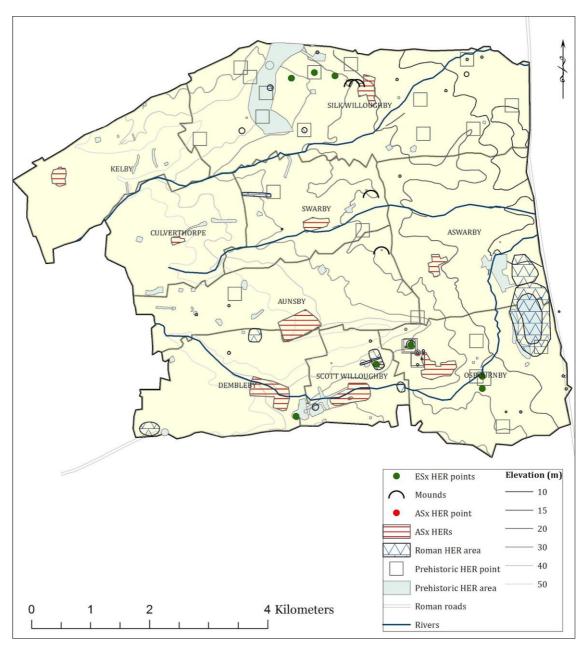


FIGURE 5.14: ROMANO-BRITISH AND EARLY SAXON AUNSBY

Just west of Mareham Lane in Osbournby, cropmarks preserve evidence of a Romano-British field system along with settlements, trackways, and enclosures (LHER: MLI60347). A Roman coin hoard was also found here (Richards *et al.* 2009, 4.4.42). Metal-detected artefacts associated with the Romano-British period recorded in the PASD correspond closely with the cropmarks across *Aunsby* (Figure 5.15). The parish of Osbournby contained the majority of these artefacts, with further concentrations around Scott Willoughby, supporting the theory that a Roman villa is located there.

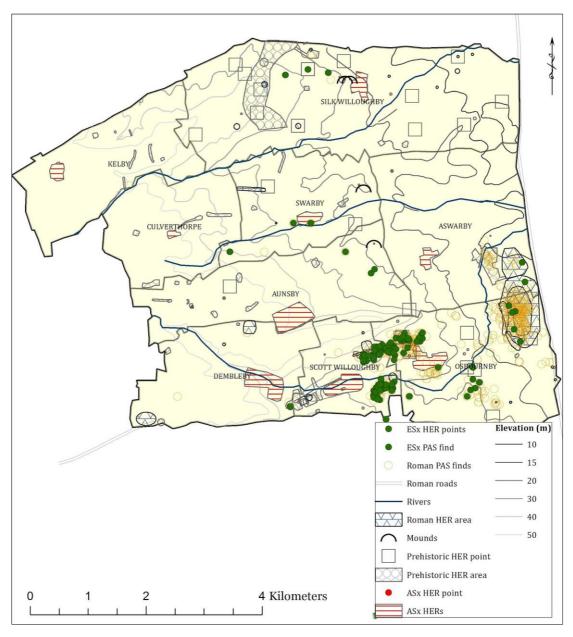


FIGURE 5.15: ROMANO-BRITISH AND ESX AUNSBY WITH PAS FINDS

Unsurprisingly, evidence for the Early Saxon period is more limited. There are several pottery scatters that suggest potential settlement or cemetery sites. In terms of distribution, these are restricted to the north and south of the *Aunsby* study area. To the east of the large prehistoric farmstead, Silk Willoughby has yielded a handful of Early Saxon artefacts and pottery (A309), with more found at the Early Saxon site of Silkby in the west of the parish (Simmons 1994); in Dembleby, a large pottery scatter was found in the same location as the Romano-British villa (A305). Single finds and smaller pottery scatters have also been found around Dembleby and Osbournby in association with areas of Roman or prehistoric activity. Despite extensive metal-detecting in Osbournby, only a handful of finds associated with the large complex to the northeast of the parish have been recovered. The complex is situated on land between 10 and 15m OD, so it is possible that a post-Roman rise in the water table made this lower land less attractive. The few Early

Anglo-Saxon finds in this heavily metal-detected area probably reflect a combination of change in the local availability of goods after Roman withdrawal, a reduced population, and perhaps a shift in settlement foci.

Aunsby is, however, situated just south of a number of known Anglo-Saxon cemeteries. These include two at Quarrington (NMR: 349050) with inhumations and cremations dating between the fifth and early seventh centuries (Walker and Lane 1996); one at Sleaford (NMR: 348815) with over 400 inhumations, and others further afield at Ancaster, to the west, and Heckington, to the east (Phillips 1934, 138-41, 146).

Romano-British *Aunsby* would have been part of a busy system of trade, given its proximity to the salt marshes and their road networks. Prosperous farms and villas were scattered throughout the region. Limited though it is, the evidence for post-Roman activity in *Aunsby* proper nevertheless signals that local communities continued to occupy the area; it remains difficult to determine more about their quality of life or daily activities.

### 5.3.3 Middle Saxon Aunsby (c.650-800)

TABLE 5.2: MIDDLE SAXON EVIDENCE SUMMARY

Excavations	Pottery	Non-PAS metalwork
y	у	n

Aunsby lay close to a number of varied activity hubs in the Middle Saxon period, with a possible monastic centre to the southeast, the continuing salt trade to the east in the marshy fens, and Folkingham to the south emerging as a complex political estate centre (cf Figure 5.3). Threekingham was emerging as an ecclesiastical landscape during this time: St Werburg was believed to have died in a religious community in Threekingham at the beginning of the eighth century (Roffe 1986, 30), and archaeological evidence of a large Anglo-Saxon cemetery supports the notion that such an institution was founded there (Hadley 2005, 256; Ten Harkel 2010, Appendix 6.2.6). Roffe (1986, 30) suggests that the monastery was specifically located at Stow Green, a region tenurially beholden to the central Threekingham estate. This is based on the twelfth-century account of St Ætheldreda, who rested at a 'Stow' while travelling from Ely and upon planting her staff in the ground it took root; a church was then founded to commemorate the miracle (Liber Eliensis, Blake 1962, 29-30; Roffe 1986, 32; Cox 1994, 39; Roffe; Cox 1994, 39). There is some debate as to the veracity of Stow Green as Ætheldreda's 'Stow': a place named Stow in the kingdom of Lindsey which is known for its early medieval sculpture makes an equally probable resting place en route from Winteringham to Ely (e.g. Ten Harkel 2010, 88). 'Stow' is OE for 'holy place' (Cox 1994, 49). Nevertheless, the evidence points towards

Threekingham as a site of continued religious importance into the eleventh century, when two churches were recorded there in Domesday Book.

As the economy began to revive after the Roman withdrawal, trade in salt probably resumed, likely with different production methods (Healey 1993, 28) and the Lincoln pottery industries were being established (Young 1993, 30). *Aunsby* would have again been part of a landscape of movement, shifting goods to and from the marshy fringes and market centres such as Bourne and Lincoln along the old Roman roads. At this time, large complex estates were also emerging. Changing social relationships were manifesting themselves in the organisation of land, creating 'landscapes of obligation' (Fleming 2010, 106). Folkingham, to the south of Osbournby, was most likely the local central place in such a political landscape. Much of *Aunsby*'s eastern inhabitants were under obligation to the lord of Folkingham (see Table 5.6, below). Obligations would have taken the form of provisioning, based normally on the availability of resources and the agricultural abilities of a given area (Fleming 2010, 106). The majority of the evidence for these estate relationships is extrapolated from Domesday Book and will therefore be addressed in more detail below (5.4).

#### 5.3.3.1 Excavation

In Aunsby proper, a settlement site was confirmed northwest of the modern village of Osbournby, when a small-scale excavation revealed an Anglo-Saxon dwelling on what is assumed to have been a farmstead (LHER: MLI90161; Figure 5.16). The structure has been interpreted as a 'hall', similar in shape to that at West Stow, Suffolk (Mahany 1977), which could suggest an Early/Middle-Saxon date (c. 6th-7th C). A range of artefacts, including a clay spindle whorl, burnt bones, a bone comb fragment, and a chalk loomweight, were also identified in the vicinity, as was a linear feature: possibly a boundary ditch (A302; A307). In the 1990s, excavations at nearby Quarrington provided a rare detailed glimpse into Middle-Saxon life in the vicinity. In this case a single area was settled intensively throughout the Early and Middle Saxon periods (Walker and Lane 1996). An enclosure and boundary ditches dating to the second half of the eighth century were identified, one ditch containing a sherd of Ipswich ware (Walker and Lane 1996, 11). In 2005, small areas of both Osbournby and Scott Willoughby were surveyed by fieldwalking prior to the insertion of a pipeline. No early medieval evidence was confirmed although several Roman and medieval potsherds and metal artefacts were found (Taylor 2005). An earlier 1979 pipeline stands out as an obvious cropmark in aerial photographs; many metal-detected finds have since been made near this disturbance, which might not be a coincidence (Figure 5.17).

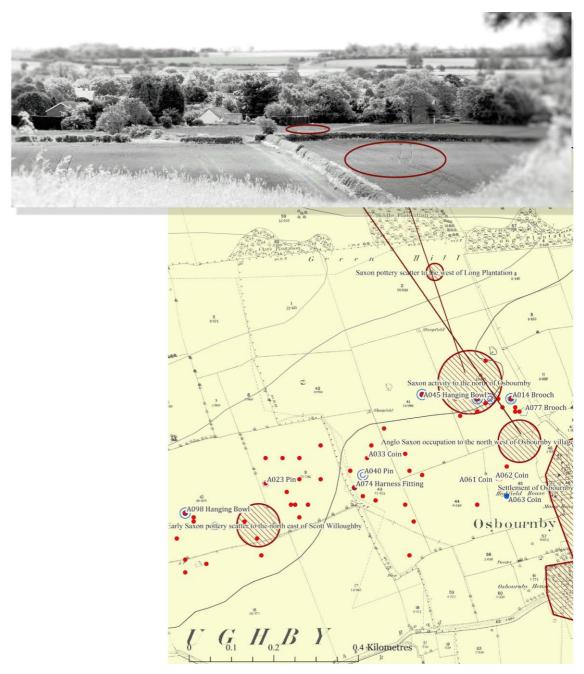


FIGURE 5.16: LOCATION OF THE MIDDLE SAXON 'HALL' IN OSBOURNBY (Historic map copyright for this and all subsequent *Aunsby* historic maps: Crown copyright and Landmark Information Group Limited (2015). All rights reserved. (1891)).

The early 'hall' provides the most conclusive evidence for Anglo-Saxon settlement in *Aunsby*. We may suppose that *Aunsby* was home to other forms of contemporary, if dispersed, habitation.



**FIGURE 5.17: PIPELINE THROUGH OSBOURNBY**The pipeline runs diagonally from northeast of Osbournby to southwest through Scott Willoughby.

#### 5.3.3.2 Pottery

Pottery scatters found during fieldwalking in the vicinity of the Osbournby hall support the idea that there were probably other dwellings close by (Figure 5.18). The potsherds found here extend the probable date of occupation into the eighth century. Other records of 'Anglo-Saxon' pottery in the area tend to be Early Saxon, as the Silkby excavations demonstrated (Simmons 1994); they are often not classified further than 'Anglo-Saxon' or 'Saxon' in the HERs and grey literature, so there is the chance that some record later activity.

#### 5.3.3.3 Metal Finds

No pre-PAS finds are known in the area. Osbournby was identified in the VASLE project as a 'productive' site, but it was nearby Heckington with its numerous Middle Saxon coins that was the most intriguing site in the region (Richards *et al.* 2009, 4.4.42, 4.4.54). The HERs do not record additional metal finds in *Aunsby*.

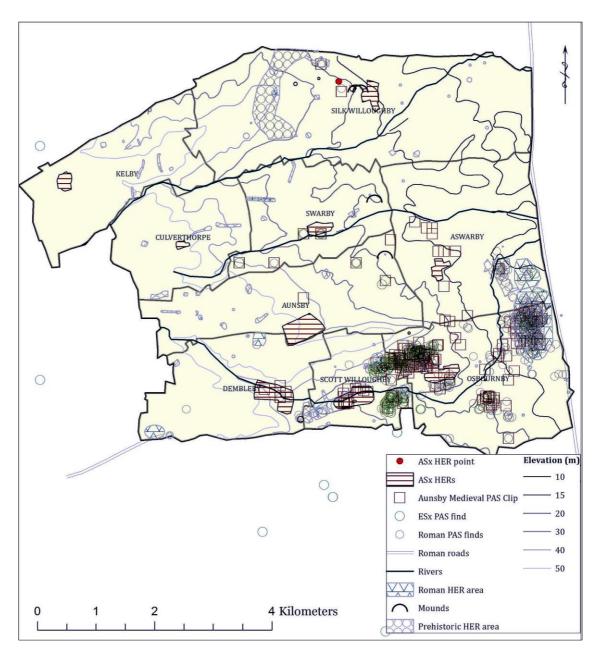


FIGURE 5.18: MIDDLE SAXON TO MEDIEVAL AUNSBY

Map showing the HER evidence for Middle-Late Saxon activity in *Aunsby* overlaid with 'medieval' (post-1066) PAS finds. The HER areas mostly represent pottery scatters. Note that later medieval artefacts have been recovered around the area of intensive Roman activity to the east of the study region, although there is no indication of a Middle or Late Saxon presence there.

# 5.3.4 Late Saxon Aunsby (c.800-1100)

TABLE 5.3: LATE SAXON EVIDENCE SUMMARY

Excavations	Pottery	Non-PAS metalwork	Sculpture, structures	DMVs
у	у	n	у	3

In the early ninth century, Lincolnshire was yet to become a temporary home to overwintering Vikings and a permanent home to Scandinavian lords, soldiers, farmers, and their families. These decades were not times of lasting peace, however, and feuds

between Mercians and East Angles in particular must have disrupted the lives of those living between the clashing powers, including the people of Lincolnshire. Kesteven does not receive detailed attention in historical records, although the impact of events in Lincoln, Stamford, and Peterborough, and lesser centres such as Sleaford and Bourne, would all have filtered through the south of Lincolnshire.

Most of the historical evidence for Late-Saxon *Aunsby* comes from Domesday Book, after which the Viking Age had effectively run its course. Associated place-names can be linked to the entries discussed in greater detail in the following sections. Overall, however, archaeology provides the best way into the story of Late-Saxon *Aunsby* up to the Norman Conquest (see Figure 5.18, above).

#### 5.3.4.1 Excavation

Despite field walking, several pipeline insertions with watching briefs, and excavations over the past two decades, little Late Saxon evidence besides pottery has been recovered. At Laurels Farm, Osbournby, an undated pit was observed and excavated during a watching brief; several other building plots were developed which were not monitored (Cope-Faulkner 2005). There have been no excavated Late Saxon settlements in the general vicinity, but Goltho, South Lindsey (Beresford 1987), and Raunds, Northamptonshire (Chapman and Audouy 2009) provide some analogy in the following discussions. Several possible Late Saxon inhumations were excavated adjacent to the foundations of an Anglo-Saxon church at Sleaford (Ten Harkel 2010, Appendix 6.2.5).

#### 5.3.4.2 Pottery

Late Saxon pottery has been recovered in limited amounts through fieldwalking and chance finds; detailed identification of the fabric is generally lacking, however. It seems probable that Lincoln's Silver Street pottery would have been in use in *Aunsby*, given how prolific it was in neighbouring parishes (Young 1993, 31), but thus far only Kelby has revealed sherds of recognisable regional imports: tenth- to eleventh- century Stamford ware and South Lincolnshire shelly and gritty ware (Dymond 1999, Appendix 2). Quarrington has been similarly unforthcoming in this regard after the mid-eighth century. This is perhaps an example of settlement shift or nucleation, but not necessarily proof that occupation did not continue across the Late Saxon period outwith the excavated area (Walker and Lane 1996).

#### 5.3.4.3 Small finds

No metalwork unrecorded with the PAS dating to the Late Saxon period has been identified in *Aunsby*. The LHER lists 'two unidentified bone artefacts of Anglo-Scandinavian type' from somewhere in Osbournby parish (LHER: MLI60302), and an antler artefact in Silk Willoughby similar to objects from Viking Age York (LHER: MLI91102). These vague records might nevertheless hint at some craft production or domestic activity in Late Saxon *Aunsby*.

#### 5.3.4.4 Sculpture, structures, earthworks, settlement

The eighteenth-century church at Scott Willoughby is believed to have replaced a Late Saxon church of tenth-century origin (Taylor 2005, 2); Domesday Book lists a church and a priest under Ingelrann's manor at Scott Willoughby. It had belonged to Leofric in 1066 (LDB 39,1). To the west of the modern church, aerial photographs highlight cropmarks that are most likely part of a shrunken medieval village, showing tofts and crofts although these are no longer discernible (A304). Pottery and artefacts scatters around Scott Willoughby, on either side of the stream support the case for a larger village in the Late Saxon and medieval period. Culverthorpe is also listed in Domesday as having a church and a priest, although the church has never been located (A910). Another church is mentioned in Osbournby under Gilbert de Ghent's Folkingham holdings, although its original location is not known (Figure 5.19).

Sculpture has been effectively studied elsewhere to characterise Late Saxon Lincolnshire (Everson and Stocker 1999), and two Late Saxon examples have been found in the *Aunsby* study region from Swarby and Scott Willoughby. The former is a 'gridded marker', produced at Barnack and Ancaster from the late tenth century (Everson and Stocker 1999, 259-60; Ten Harkel 2010, 73, Appendix 4.2.35). This type might emulate some Lincoln sculpture (Everson and Stocker 1999, 61), but its known distribution was throughout the south-east midlands from Leicestershire to Peterborough and Kesteven (Ten Harkel 2010, 73). Another grave cover of Ancaster freestone was found in Scott Willoughby (Ten Harkel 2010, Appendix 4.2.31). These two examples place Aunsby within the tenth- and eleventh-century network of grave-marker commissions common to Kesteven, but which were markedly less so in northern Lincolnshire (Ten Harkel 2010). Several other examples in neighbouring parishes demonstrate a regional preference for the locally-quarried freestone (e.g. North Rauceby and Sleaford (Ten Harkel 2010, Appendix 4.2.26; 4.2.33)). Ancaster and Barnack had been quarried for stone since at least the Roman period (Phillips 1934, 128) and locals continued to patronise them into the Late Saxon period (see Figure 5.3).

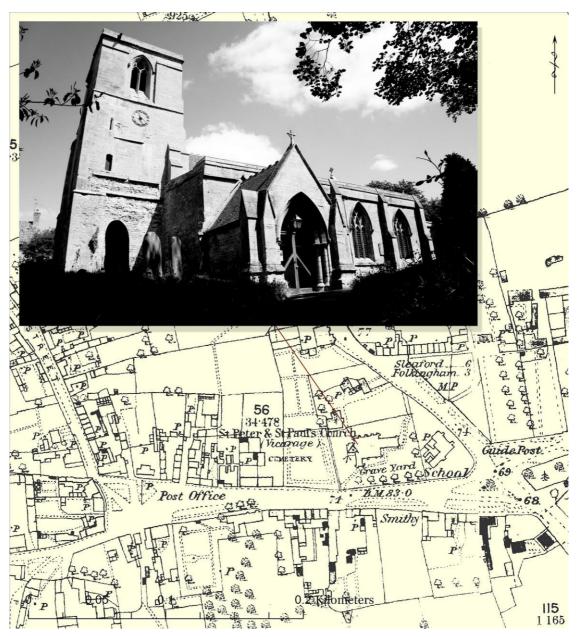


FIGURE 5.19: OSBOURNBY CHURCH OF ST PETER AND PAUL

There are three DMVs recorded in the *Aunsby* region, only one of which, Silkby, is visible in the modern landscape (Table 5.4). Of these, Scott Willoughby remains the only settlement recorded in Domesday Book; the other two may have only developed in the post-Conquest period.

TABLE 5.4: DMVs in Aunsby

	In DB?	Location known?	Parish	HER ID	Project ID
Crofton	n	n	Aunsby	MLI90883	N/A
Scott Willoughby	у	у	Aunsby/ Dembleby	MLI60445	A903
Silkby	n	у	Silk Willoughby	MLI60492	N/A

# 5.4 Domesday Book and historical background

'The Lincolnshire enquiry... is remarkably full, although not complete, because of the peculiar social structure of the area.'

-Roffe (1979, 30)

TABLE 5.5: AUNSBY IN DOMESDAY BOOK
All data derived from Open Domesday (OD) and Domesday Book Lincolnshire (1986, Phillimore)

Place	Total Population	Relative Size	Total tax (geld units)	Relative Amount	Domesday Entries
ASWARBY	47 households	very large	5.1	quite large	2
AUNSBY	25 households	quite large	3.5	medium	1
CULVERTHORPE	9 households	quite small	3.4	medium	1
DEMBLEBY	31 households	quite large	2.8	medium	3
KELBY	15 households	medium	6.5	quite large	2
OSBOURNBY	33 households	quite large	6	quite large	2
SCOTT WILLOUGHBY	15 households	medium	3.3	medium	3

As has previously been demonstrated (cf. Chapter 4, 4.4), the Lincolnshire Domesday survey presents a complex system of ownership and obligations. *Aunsby* is rather less complex than some, with relatively succinct clusters of landholding (Table 5.5; Table 5.6). Despite its many problems, at the very least Domesday Book can shed valuable light on the systems that were in place in the mid-eleventh century; at the most, it can be used to inform on earlier tenurial relationships and (rarely) can be linked to physical parts of the landscape. Domesday can also be used cautiously to provide information on agricultural resources and the local economy.

The major landowners in post-Conquest *Aunsby* were Guy de Craon and Gilbert de Ghent (Table 5.6). Their land in this region had been inherited mostly from Aelfric son of Godram, and Ulf Fenman, respectively. The network of landholding in this case is relatively tightly knit: there are small manors such as Scott Willoughby with sokeland in nearby Aunsby; similarly Aswarby held sokeland in Scott Willoughby. A number of parcels of land were held apparently independently (e.g. Colsvein's Dembleby holding). By 1066, the large parish of Silk Willoughby had been parcelled into six, including one manorial centre, each held by a different tenant-in-chief. Silk Willoughby's size and partitioning recalls the case of Winterton, discussed in Chapter 4, above (Box 4.1). The range in size of these estates — from small independent manors to holders of multiple sokes and berewicks — all indicate that a wide range of England's social strata held Kesteven's lands (Roffe 1979, 30).

TABLE 5.6: LANDHOLDING IN DOMESDAY BOOK **Kev**: [M]= manor; [S]= Soke; [B]= berewick

				Tenant-ii	n-Chief TRW (10	086)			
	Gilbert de Ghent	Guy de Raimbaucourt	Kolsveinn of Lincoln	Bishop of Durham, St Cuthbert	Waldin le Breton	Guy de Craon	Bishop of Lincoln St Mary	Robert of Stafford	Odo the Bowman
Place				Lor	d TRE (1066)				
	Gilbert de Ghent	Guy de Raimbaucourt	Kolsveinn of Lincoln	Bishop of Durham, St Cuthbert	Waldin le Breton	Guy de Craon	Bishop of Lincoln St Mary	Robert of Stafford	Odo the Bowman
External manor	Folkingham [M]					Cold Mareham [M]			
ASWARBY I	[S]					[S]			
SCOTT WILLOUGHBY		[M]							
AUNSBY		[S]							
SILK WILLOUGHBY	[S]				[M]		[M]	[M]	[M]
OSBOURNBY	[S]					[M]			
DEMBLEBY	[S]		[M]			[S]			
ASWARBY II	[M]								
SCOTT WILLOUGHBY	[S]					[S]			
SWARBY						[M]			[M]
KELBY				[M]		[S]			
CULVERTHORPE	[M]								
Additional holdings	+20 (Folk.) + 7 (Culver.)					+ 1 (Osb.)			

Based on Table 5.6 above, we can envision the potential range of social statuses associated with land in *Aunsby*: the manorial estates, especially those with several additional holdings such as Gilbert de Ghent's Folkingham and Culverthorpe sees, both of which he held in demesne (i.e., held personally as Lord and Tenant-in-Chief), are easily attributed to the wealthy royal favourites. Further down the scale, lesser lords rewarded by their superiors might hold the smaller and independent manors such as Scott Willoughby and its Aunsby sokeland, which was held by Leofric of Willoughby from Guy de Raimbeaucourt. Finally, the sokelands themselves would have been held by anyone from thegns owing military or other service, prosperous farmers, or poor peasants, all striving to pay the geld for which their land had been assessed (Roffe 1979, 30).

There are only two external manors that held land in *Aunsby*: Folkingham and Cold Mareham. Both the manors of Osbournby and Culverthorpe held land in other parishes as well. *Aunsby*'s network of tenurial relationships extended throughout the wapentakes of Aveland and Aswardhurn, but little further beyond it (Figure 5.20). Only Culverthorpe held soke beyond the River Witham.

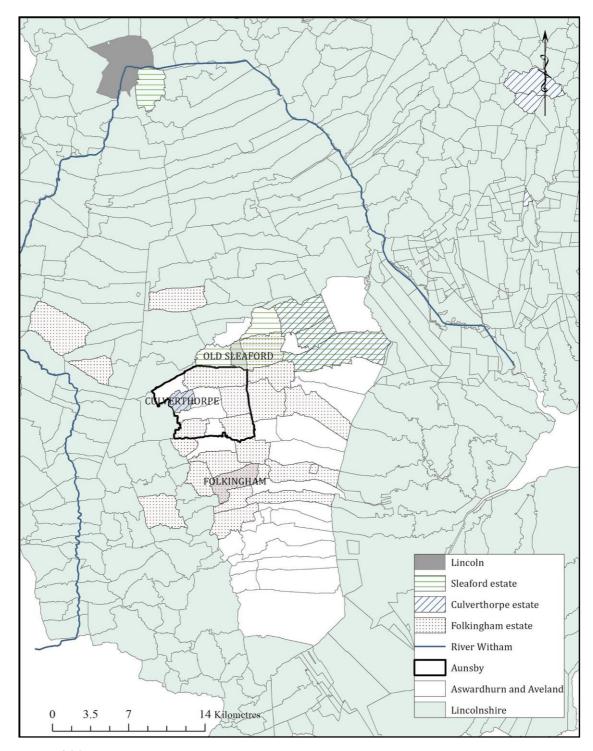


FIGURE 5.20: NETWORK OF MAJOR ESTATES AROUND AUNSBY

By the time of the Domesday survey, Folkingham was the largest local estate under Gilbert de Ghent. There is only a minor overlap with the once greater estate of Sleaford, which focuses almost solely on land in northern Aswardhurn. Culverthorpe and Sleaford held many of the same areas in soke, however, with Heckington a particular favourite that a number of other soke centres also held parts of. Similar shares in sokes amongst Sleaford, Culverthorpe and other local centres suggest planned rather than ad hoc divisions of land, likely taking place around the same time (Table 5.7). See Roffe (1979, Fig. 16) for detailed map of all soke relations around Sleaford.

TABLE 5.7: SLEAFORD AND RELATED ESTATES

Grey shading highlights shared sokeland across two or more estates. Adapted from Roffe (2000b; 2007, 292) with addition of Culverthorpe. Although Culverthorpe estate was not discussed in Roffe's assessment (2007, 292), it is clear that Gilbert de Ghent's Culverthorpe manor was party to the same divisions of land as the other estates presented here. **Key**: [M]= manor; [S]= Soke; [B]= berewick.

Bishop of Lincoln	The King	Colsvein	Colegrim	Gilbert de Ghent
[M] Sleaford				
				[M] Culverthorpe
	[M] Kirkby			
			[S] Burg	
			[M] Burg	
[S] Ewerby			[M] Ewerby	
	[S] Ewerby Thorpe	[M] Ewerby Thorpe		[S] Ewerby Thorpe
[S] Howell	[S] Howell	[S] Howell	[S] Howell	[S] Howell
[S] Heckington	[S] Heckington	[M] Heckington	[B] Heckington	[S/B] Heckington
[S] Quarrington	[S] Quarrington			
[S] Laythorpe		[M] Laythorpe		
[S] Evedon	[B] Evedon	[S] Evedon	[S] Evedon	
[S] Canwick				
				[S] Hale
				[S] Hagworthingham
				[B] Outlier of Lusby
				[S] Jurisdiction of Lusl

The head manor of Folkingham was the central soke in Aveland and southern Aswardhurn. It is the Folkingham landholding patterns recorded in Domesday that suggest it was similarly central in the centuries prior to the Conquest. Sleaford was the other major soke centre to the north in Aswardhurn, with Edenham and Grantham the only other comparable centres in Kesteven (Roffe 1979, 30). When the carucates attributed to each holding in Folkingham are tallied, they total approximately 96, including Folkingham's 12. The organisation of land in Anglo-Saxon England tended to take the form of 12-carucate 'hundreds' (see Box 4.1, Chapter 4); large estates would control a number of these from the estate centre (Roffe 1993b, 36; 2000a). Thus Folkingham preserves the older elements of an 8-hundred estate in its Domesday holdings. Each of these small 'hundreds' would have had their own moot site (Insley 2003, 48-9). The Folkingham

estate was probably even greater than Domesday suggests prior to the introduction of new systems of tenure in the ninth and tenth centuries.

The wider estate network surrounding *Aunsby* also preserves clues that deliberate partitioning had occurred prior to the Domesday survey, with the major restructuring of earlier multiple estates possibly coinciding with or instigated by the arrival of new landholding groups: Scandinavian migrants. Culverthorpe's estate shares similar sokeland with four other local estates (Table 5.7). Heckington and Howell were particularly coveted as sokeland, the former with three fisheries and a church held by Culverthorpe. Both were fenland jurisdictions, and would therefore have provided a range of resources otherwise unavailable to inland Culverthorpe and Sleaford. Roffe (2007, 291-2) states that evidence of 'ordered division of large estates' is found throughout the north and east midlands and East Anglia.

Apart from the churches mentioned above, no entries in *Aunsby* indicate other industry or notable attributes within the study area proper (Table 5.8). As stated above, Culverthorpe held three fisheries and a church in its soke of Heckington (LDB 24,40). Woodland was recorded under several of the manors. South Kesteven had large extents of woodland that were being exploited at this time (Roffe 1993a, 34) and North Kesteven appears to have also had wooded pockets as indicated by the 90 acres in Kelby (LDB 3,35). Folkingham itself had one mill and 80 acres of woodland (LDB 24,82). It is furthermore worth noting that by 1066 Folkingham controlled a market in its sokeland at Threekingham (LDB 24,91), presumed to have held a central role within the ecclesiastical landscape of Anglo-Saxon Kesteven. This may be indicative of secular and ecclesiastical tensions in the region: of the two religious houses with investments in Threekingham, it was a secular lord that profited from the market.

TABLE 5.8: TABLE OF ASSETS IN DOMESDAY

Vill	Church	Fisheries
Aswarby	1.6	
Culverthorpe	1	3
Osbournby	1	
Scott Willoughby	2.1	
Silk Willoughby	1	
Swarby	0.3	
Total	7	3

There were no royal holdings in *Aunsby*, although the major post-Conquest land-owner, Gilbert de Ghent, held three manors in the study area. The populations and gelds assessed at *Aunsby* suggest an area of relative importance to the sees to which they were beholden,

but not that they were a remarkably wealthy group of settlements. The place-names examined below go some way to shedding light on the people founding, living in, and owing obligations to these manorial estates.

#### 5.5 Place-names

TABLE **5.9:** PRIMARY SETTLEMENT NAMES All entries are derived from Fellows-Jensen (1978); the EPNS surveys for Aveland and Aswardhurn have not been published.

Place Name	Meaning	Expanded	Origin	First recorded
ASWARBY	Aswarth's farmstead	Personal name + by (farm)	OSc	Domesday (1086)
AUNSBY	Land lying waste	Topographic + by (farm)	OSc	Domesday (1086)
[CULVER]THORPE	Thorpe ('Culver' added thirteenth century)	Thorpe= enclosure/ settlement	OSc	Domesday (1086)
DEMBLEBY	Farm of the "wooded ravine with stream"	Topographic description + by (farm)	OSc	Domesday (1086)
KELBY	Ceol's settlement (OE name later with 'K' element indicates Scandinavian influence)	Personal name + by (farm)	OE/OSc	Domesday (1086)
OSBOURNBY	Osbern's settlement	Personal name + by (farm)	OSc	Domesday (1086)
[SCOTT] WILLOUGHBY	Willow Farm. Willoughbys probably OE then adapted with -by after Scandinavian settlement. Also 'Water' Willoughby.	Topographic + by (farm) ('Scott' is 12 <sup>th</sup> C family name)	OE with OSc suffix	Domesday (1086)
[SILK] WILLOUGHBY	As above	As above; later amalgamated with 'Silkby ('silk' origins unknown; first recorded 12th century)	OE with OSc suffix	Domesday (1086)
SWARBY	Svarri's settlement	Personal name + by (farm)	OSc	Domesday (1086)

The place-names of *Aunsby*, as with many areas of Lincolnshire, are full of Scandinavian elements (Table 5.9). All of the parish names in *Aunsby* were recorded in Domesday, indicating that they were in use at least as early as the eleventh century.<sup>23</sup> Some of the *-by* suffixes could potentially reflect a trend in naming inspired by Scandinavian settlers but not necessarily coined by them, although Fellows-Jensen considers it improbable (1978, 371). There certainly seems to have been a prevalent Scandinavian influence in the region prior to the Norman Conquest: the names listed in Table 5.9 each contain at least one element of Old Scandinavian; many more such names are found throughout Kesteven.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> There was also a 'Crofton' settlement in the parish of *Aunsby*, first recorded in the 13th century (LHER: MLI90883). The origins of the name might come from OE 'croh' and 'tun' for 'settlement where saffron grows' (Cameron 1998, 35); it only later evolved into the more common 'Crofton'. There is a small deserted medieval settlement associated with the name, but there is no evidence that it was in existence prior to the Norman Conquest, and it is therefore not referred to in future discussions. Similarly, the hamlet of 'Silkby' from the ON 'Silki's farmstead', was situated near (Silk) Willoughby and later amalgamated. It is first recorded in the early 12th century and is now discernible as a deserted medieval village (LHER: PRN60492).

Ekwall (1951, 146-7) observed that in Kesteven in particular, Danish place-names occurred in close proximity to Roman roads; the *Aunsby* group sits within five kilometres of King Street (Margary 2c, see Figure 5.3).

### 5.5.1 Primary settlement names

While the place-names can help to characterise the linguistic preferences of the regions' inhabitants, they can also shed light on local perceptions of the landscape. The willow-lined banks of the *Aunsby* becks evident in today's landscape echo the flora of the medieval past, preserved in the common place-name 'Willoughby' (Figure 5.21).



FIGURE 5.21: SCOTT 'WILLOUGHBY' Willow trees still line the beck in Scott Willoughby, which is an OE-ON hybrid name. Originally simply known as 'Willoughby' it was later prefixed by 'Water' and then 'Scot', while Silk Willoughby to the north was prefixed by 'Silk' in reference to the settlement of Silkby.

'Dembleby' is more descriptive: the farmstead by the wooded ravine with a stream. There is no doubt that the name refers to the Dembleby Beck, which is surrounded on either side by rolling hills, creating a lush ravine (Figure 5.22). The name of Aunsby is particularly pertinent to seeing the land through the eyes of potential Scandinavian settlers. While it has elsewhere been interpreted as the personal name, 'Auđunn', Fellows-Jensen interprets 'auđn' as rather the Old Scandinavian for 'state of lying waste', which was a common place-name in Norway in the fifteenth century (1978, 33). Such a late Norwegian use does not prove that five hundred years prior the term might have enjoyed

localised use as a place-name in England, but it is plausible that the term itself was in common usage. As Fellows-Jensen points out, Aunsby and one of two Owmbys (arguably of the same origin, both in Lincolnshire) were situated near abandoned Roman settlements (1978, 34). Furthermore, Aunsby has less arable soil than elsewhere in the study area (see Figure 5.9, above) and was quite plausibly an uncultivated part of a larger Anglo-Saxon estate before Scandinavian partitioning. On topographical grounds, Fellows-Jensen's (1978, 33-4) interpretation is certainly tempting. Given that the precedent to name places from personal names was much more common, however, it would not be prudent to discount the likelihood that Aunsby refers to *Auđunn*'s homestead.



FIGURE 5.22: 'DEMBLEBY'
Dembleby's 'wooded' ravine is mostly arable field now, but the rolling hills and stream are still visible. The 1641 map of Dembleby (LArch: MISC DEP 683).

Those places with a Scandinavian personal name prefix, Aswarby, Osbournby, and Swarby, provide possible evidence for settlements that developed around Scandinavian-occupied farms (cf.

Box 4.2, Chapter 4). In the case of Osbournby, for example, there is nearby evidence of a Middle Saxon settlement, the name of which was not preserved (Mahany 1977; cf. 5.3.3.1,

above). It seems plausible that a shift in primary occupiers — possibly to one 'Osbern' and his Scandinavian-speaking followers — in the late ninth or tenth century heralded this change in local nomenclature. The name 'Aswarby' is notable as one of three instances in the East Midlands in which the personal name Aswarth (*Asvarđr*) prefixes a habitative name.

## 5.5.2 Field and other place-names

The name is also preserved in the wapentake name, 'Aswardhurn', meaning Aswarth's thorn-bush (Fellows Jensen 1978, 151), which was quite possibly named after the same individual (Anderson 1934, 60). A third reference is found in Aswardby. This place was not recorded until the twelfth century and is not located in Aswardhurn wapentake (Fellows Jensen 1978, 80). The implication here is that the parish of Aswarby might have hosted the Aswardhurn wapentake meeting place, which, unlike that of Aveland, has not yet been identified. This is based initially on toponymic evidence and the precedent exhibited in many known cases whereby the wapentake derives its name from the place in which its assembly met (e.g. Bucklow Hill, Bucklow Hundred, Cheshire (Pantos 2003, 40; see also Baker and Brookes 2015, 4)) and secondarily on the landscape evidence discussed in greater detail below (see Figure 5.63, below). The name may suggest a new 'Scandinavianised' take on an older Anglo-Saxon assembly site: thorn-names were common Anglo-Saxon boundary markers and meeting places (Hooke 1998, 23; Pantos 2003, 43). The significance and location of the possible assembly site is addressed in the discussion below (5.8.2). The 'Aveland' wapentake also contains a reference to trees, combining the OSc for 'grove', *lundr*, with the Scandinavian personal name, *Afi* (Fellows Jensen 1978, 151). The meeting place for the wapentake was identified by Anderson (1934, 60) as 'The Aveland', a moated site near the village of Aslackby that hosted assemblies up to the late eighteenth century before they were moved to Folkingham (see Figure 5.62 below for locations). Anderson (1934, 61) also notes a lost vill, 'Avethorpe', in the parish of Aslackby, to which the same Afi presumably also gave his name. There would therefore appear to be a precedent in this part of Kesteven that wapentakes contain the same names as local landowners. It is more difficult to determine whether the figure controlled the land around the assembly site by coincidence, or whether there was a deliberate connection between a local figure of power and either the assignment of an earlier meeting site to their land, or the founding of a new meeting site on it.

Due to the fact that the EPNS surveys of the area have not yet been published, there is relatively little that can be said with certainty about the field-names observed on historical maps of *Aunsby* in terms of origin and date. The parish of Osbournby contains a road marked 'Drove', running eastwards from the village, leading to pasture and meadows (see Figure 5.61, below). Many of the post-enclosure maps preserve basic descriptive field

names, with directional prefixes (e.g. North Walk; Far Close), crop names (e.g. Bean Walk), or other general land and land use descriptors (e.g. Water's End; The Thorns; Sand Field).<sup>24</sup> Scandinavian influence in the language of the land is preserved in the common 'Beck' (ON *bekkr*, for stream). The becks of *Aunsby* are known as 'The Beck' (both becks in Silk Willoughby and Osbournby), and 'North Beck' (the beck running through the centre of the study area). These names reinforce the centrality of Osbournby in the southern landscape of *Aunsby*, since 'North' indicates a beck north of the 'primary' beck, i.e. that running through Scott Willoughby and Osbournby. A seventeenth-century map of Dembleby (Figure 5.23) preserves evidence of medieval farming toft and croft organisation, with 'Higher' and 'Lower Long Crofts' listed for the fields south of the village (LArch: MISC DEP 683). Overall, however, without a detailed survey of the lesser placenames in the area, it is difficult to comment fully on their possible relevance to the early medieval landscape, and especially to early Scandinavian linguistic influence.

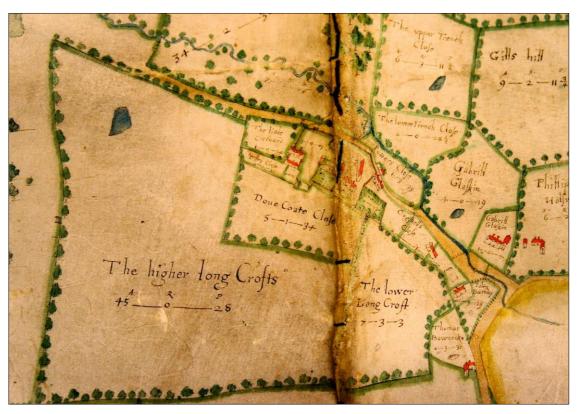


FIGURE 5.23: CROFTS IN DEMBLEBY, 1641
Seventeenth-century map showing where crofts were located in relation to the dwellings. LArch: MISC DEP 683.

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 $<sup>^{24}</sup>$  All examples here taken from an 1839 'Plan of the Parish of Dembleby' (LArch: DIOC/tithe award/B 28). With thanks to the Lincolnshire Archives for permission to view the map.

#### Place-names and the Viking Age: -thorps

-Thorp or -throp names were previously accepted as denoting dependent outlying farms, and as secondary settlements to the earlier -bys ((Ekwall 1936; Cameron 1975a, respectively). This argument was derived in part from European examples of -thorps which tend to be smaller, dependent settlements (Cullen et al. 2011, 12, and see 1-17 for full discussion). The in-depth, national study undertaken by Cullen et al (2011), has revised this notion, however, using a combination of geographic, historical and toponymic evidence. They conclude that -thorps must not represent secondary settlements since they are in fact associated with better soil than -bys, and that -thorps might be better viewed as parallel developments accompanying settlement nucleation in the 9th to 11th centuries (Cullen et al. 2011, 149-51). They furthermore tentatively suggest that -bys were linked to pastoral grazing, while -thorps were intended for crop-based agriculture. Although Fellows-Jensen (2012, 360) disagrees with the latter as a nationally-applicable model, Cullen et al's overall thesis (2011) serves as a valuable contribution to local settlement studies exploring the relationship between landscape, agriculture, and placenames.

The case of Culverthorpe here goes some way to supporting the argument that *-thorps* were not mere 'secondary' and lesser settlements, since by 1086 Culverthorpe was a relatively powerful soke centre, with a more extensive estate than many of the local *-bys*. In fact, we see another *-thorp*, 'Ewerby Thorpe' as a manorial estate with sokes in many of the same parishes as Culverthorpe (see Table 5.7, below), indicating that at least in Kesteven *-thorps* commonly evolved into (or may have began as) wealthy estate centres. Furthermore, with reference to the modern soil map (Figure 5.9), Culverthorpe is arguably the best-sited local parish, with access to three different soils, all of which are lime-rich.

*Pictured*: Old English and Old Norse place-names around Aunsby, including 'Culverthorpe', originally recorded simply as 'Thorpe'.



The primary settlement place-names in *Aunsby* fit the generally accepted model of Scandinavian-acquired farmsteads being founded or reappropriated as sokeland from partitions of former Anglo-Saxon estates (see discussion in Hadley (2005, Chapters 3 & 6)). This was not necessarily a single event, however, and it seems more probable that if these settlements were indeed conferred upon Scandinavian immigrants, it was a mixed process of initial deliberate redistributions and later reclaiming. Roffe has pointed out that the complexities of landholding around Aunsby as recorded in Domesday Book, however, are for the most part structured as to suggest deliberate, contemporary, partitioning of extensive estates (2000b). Thorpe, to which 'Culver' was prefixed in the thirteenth century, is generally accepted to mean 'secondary', or later, settlement, from the Old Scandinavian for 'enclosure' (Hadley 2005, 331). It has recently been argued by Cullen et al (2011) that *-thorps* are associated with the origins of open field farming. Such complexities associated with settlement patterns and naming will be explored further below. In any case, the place names of Aunsby indicate that Scandinavian language certainly influenced the region in the Late Saxon period, and some of the personal name toponyms could reflect organised land grants to members of the Great Army, heralding the shifts in land tenure previously addressed.

#### 5.6 The Artefacts

TABLE 5.10: ARTEFACTS AT A GLANCE

Aunsby, Lincolnshire		
No. PAS finds (excluding coins)	97	
No. finds analysed total (including coins)	105	
No. coins (PAS ; EMC)	8; 1	
No. non-metal finds	2	
% artefacts found metal-detecting	100%	
No. small finds from HER (metal; non-metal)	0; 8	
Total no. small finds	115	

The parish of Osbournby was identified in the VASLE project as a productive site (Richards *et al.* 2009, 4.4.42) and several additional Middle or Late Saxon finds have been recorded since.<sup>25</sup> The small finds presented here come primarily from the PASD, but occasional reference is made to the HERs and a single coin from the EMC that was found within *Aunsby*. The finds are categorised and assessed in a variety of ways, as per the

<sup>25</sup> The precise number is difficult to establish as the VASLE project finds were not subject to exactly the same data cleaning methods applied to the present dataset, but approximately 20 finds have been added to the Osbournby dataset since 2005.

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methods outlined in Chapter 3 (3.2.3), beginning with the fingerprints and functional groups, and followed by a detailed consideration of their chronology and distribution.

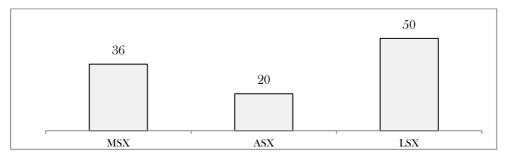


FIGURE 5.24: ARTEFACTS BY SUBPERIOD

The majority of the *Aunsby* artefacts are dated to the Late Saxon period (c.850-1100).

### 5.6.1 Aunsby and the PAS

After cleaning the dataset according to the methods described in Chapter 3, *Aunsby* had 105 metal-based artefacts dating to the Middle-Late Saxon periods (Table 5.10), with the majority dating to the Late Saxon period (Figure 5.24). The artefacts are mapped against natural and human-made constraints in Figure 5.25. The basic distribution maps are presented in Figure 5.26a and b, the artefact findspot precision in Figure 5.27, and artefacts by parish in Figure 5.28.

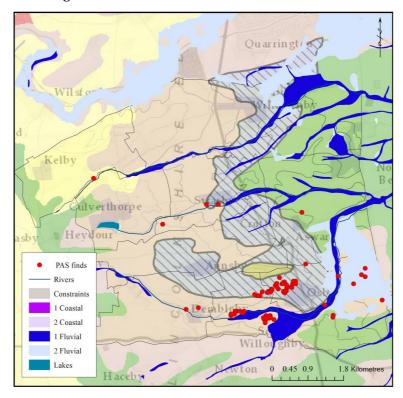


FIGURE 5.25: PAS AND LOCAL CONSTRAINTS

Refer to Figure 5.5 for flood level key. As with *Roxby*, artefacts were less commonly lost around floodplains and low-lying areas; a number of apparently individual losses were found along the becks.

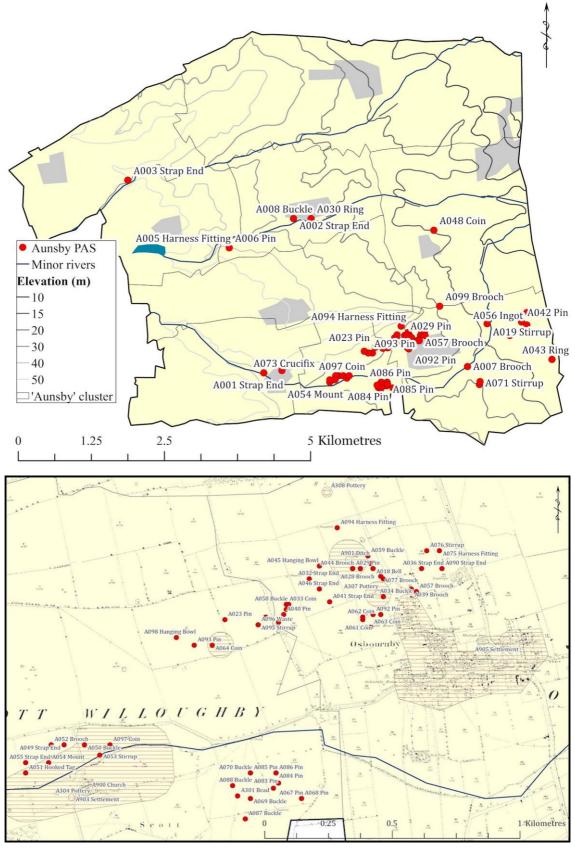
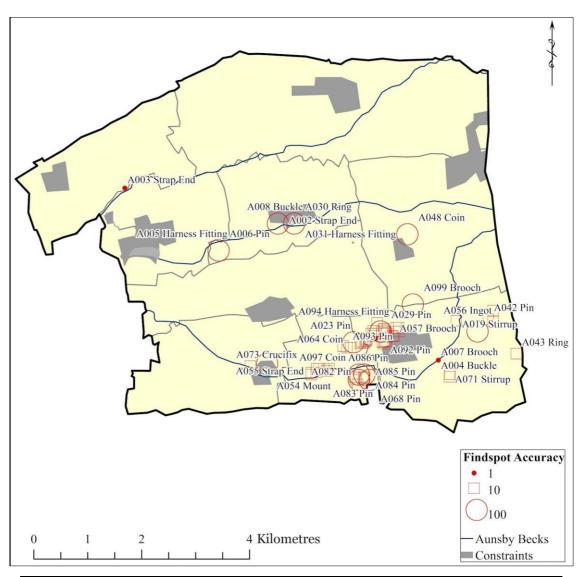


FIGURE 5.26A-B: AUNSBY ARTEFACT DISTRIBUTION

The artefact ID numbers on the map can be linked to the more detailed references in the catalogue (**Appendix 1**). Inset (red box) shows detail of dense distributions of artefacts in Osbournby and Scott Willoughby parishes. It was noted above (Chapter 3, 3.4.2.1) that this was in part a reflection of the local detectorist's preferences since he lives in Osbournby and has permission to detect locally. There is also a coincidence with lower and flatter ground yielding more finds and being favoured by detectorists.



	Aunsby, Lincolnshire			
1m	10m	100m	n/a	
3.8%	63.8%	32.4%	0.0%	

FIGURE 5.27: FINDSPOT PRECISION

More than half the finds were recorded to within 10m of their original findspot. This means that the field to which they are assigned is fairly precise. It is notable that beyond the south of the study area, artefacts are less likely to be recorded to such a good resolution, apart from a single strap-end.

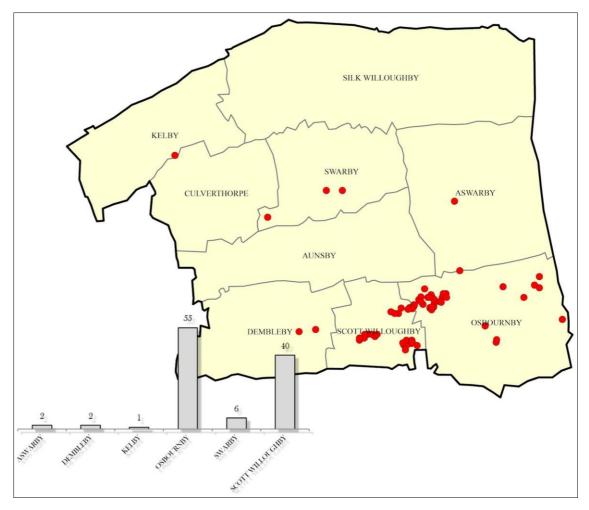


FIGURE 5.28: PAS FINDS BY PARISH

This chart highlights the discrepancies in artefact quantities per parish. It is worth noting that under the PASD the modern parish of 'Aunsby and Dembleby' was ascribed the second most finds after Osbournby, but in fact historically, these fell mostly within Scott Willoughby which is no longer recognised as a parish; no artefacts dating to the early medieval period have yet been recorded for Aunsby proper.

# 5.6.2 Fingerprints

The fingerprints of the *Aunsby* cluster are shown in Figure 5.29, Figure 5.30, Figure 5.31, and Figure 5.32. The *Aunsby* fingerprint immediately stood out from *Roxby*'s in that the find types correspond well with VASLE's established subcategories: in *Aunsby*, the 'other' category makes up a manageable 7% of the data as opposed to *Roxby*'s 40%, and the distribution of finds across all subcategories is more balanced on the whole. *Aunsby* exhibits many strap-ends, in keeping with trends across England noted in the VASLE project (Richards *et al.* 2009).

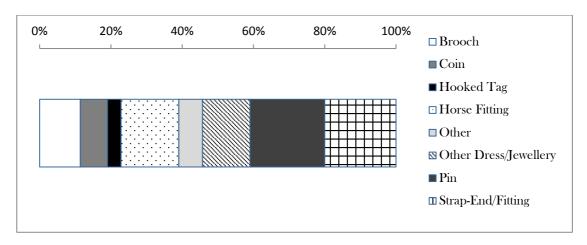
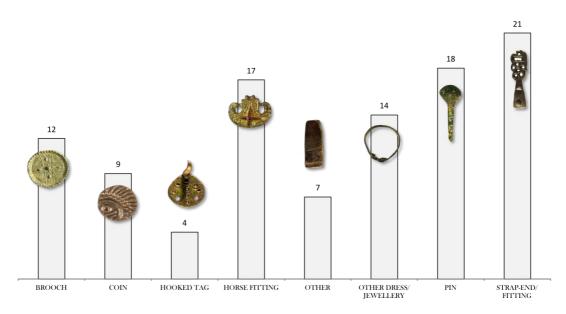


FIGURE 5.29: AUNSBY FINGERPRINT A. (%)



**FIGURE 5.30: AUNSBY FINGERPRINT B.**Fingerprint B. illustrates the raw values by broad artefact type found in **Aunsby**. All types are represented in **Aunsby**, with strap-ends, pins, and horse fittings the most common find types.

The *Aunsby* artefacts are not particularly diverse, although all the standard types are represented. Especially when compared with the Roxby dataset, it would appear that a rather limited range of activities and influences permeated *Aunsby* over the Middle and Late Saxon periods. When the finds are considered in terms of their sub-periods (Figure 5.31), trends in artefact use nevertheless emerge: coins, for example, are extremely rare in *Aunsby* in the Late Saxon period; on the other hand there are a large number of horse-related finds dating to the Late Saxon period though very few prior to the ninth century. The object of greatest note in the 'other' category is the silver ingot (Figure 5.33) which was probably Viking Age bullion (A056). There were also two probable hanging bowl fragments (A045, A098) which are often taken to indicate burial depositions.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup>Hanging bowls are considered 'indicator finds' by Chester-Kadwell (2009, 85) in that they normally come from cemetery contexts, specifically as furniture of seventh- and early eighth-

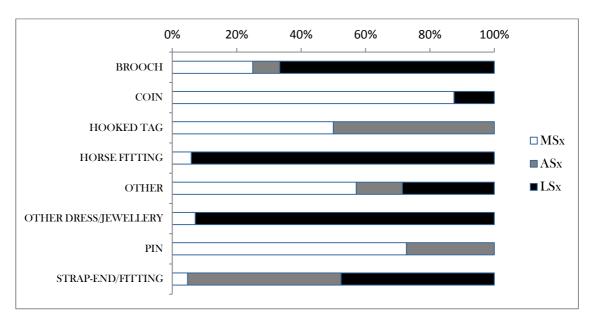


FIGURE 5.31: FINGERPRINT BY SUBPERIOD

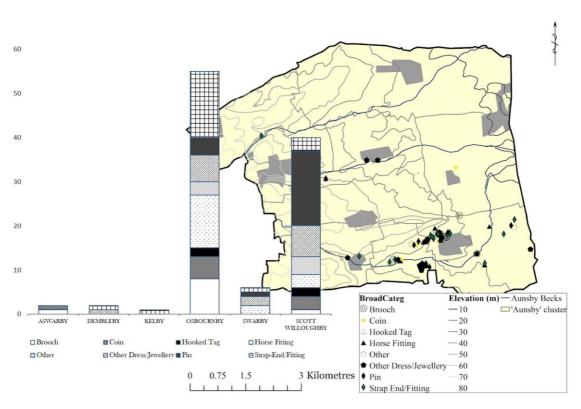


FIGURE 5.32: FINGERPRINT DISTRIBUTION

century 'Final Phase' burials (see Geake 1999). A possible seventh-century inhumation at Sleaford, north of *Aunsby*, was accompanied by a hanging bowl (Geake 1999, 13). There is therefore a strong possibility that the bowls at *Aunsby* came from similar contexts, representing shared burial rites across Anglo-Saxon Kesteven.

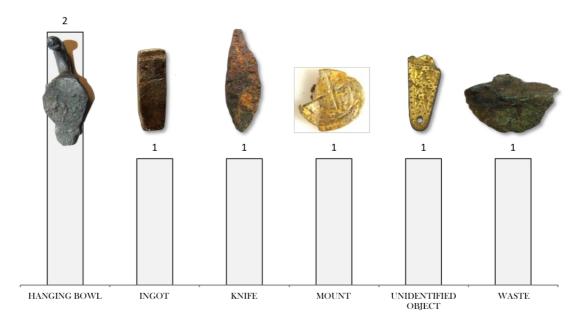


FIGURE 5.33: AUNSBY 'OTHER' ARTEFACT CATEGORY

Note that the 'waste' pictured above is actually a Northumbrian example from the PASD (ID: NCL-421006). It is used here for illustrative purposes as it is a fragment of copper alloy waste, similar to that from Aunsby. The latter was not photographed at the time of recording.

## 5.6.3 Functional groups

The functional groups do not serve to drastically alter our understanding of *Aunsby*'s artefactual signatures (Figure 5.34, Figure 5.35). The majority of the *Aunsby* finds fall into the 'personal' category. We know from the fingerprints that most of these will be items of personal adornment such as strap-ends, brooches and other jewellery, but the entire category is broken down by sub-period for clarity in Figure 5.36.

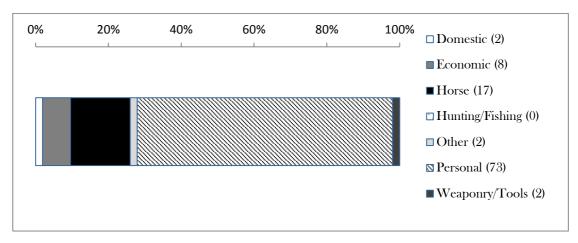


FIGURE 5.34: FUNCTIONAL GROUPS A. (%)

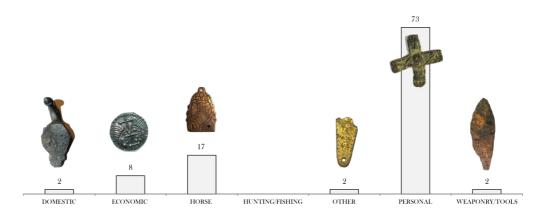


FIGURE 5.35: FUNCTIONAL GROUPS B.

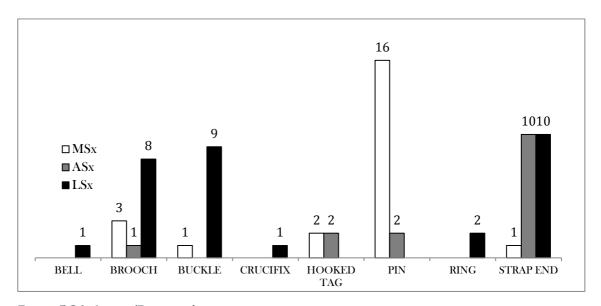


FIGURE 5.36: AUNSBY 'PERSONAL' FUNCTIONAL GROUP

The artefacts presented here are classified according to 'simplified type' and are broken down by sub-period since there are so many. Unsurprisingly, most pins fall within the 'Middle Saxon' sub-period. The Late Saxon period is strongly represented by brooches, buckles, and strap-ends.

One item of particular note in this category is the 'Norse' bell (A018), similar to those recorded in *Roxby* (Figure 4.46; Figure 5.37a). Based on the research by Schoenfelder and Richards (2011), these bells are classified as 'personal' since they are believed to have adorned women of high status. The crucifix is also a relatively rare find (A073), with its depiction of a crucified Christ figure in a Late-Saxon style (Figure 5.37b). One of the two finger rings is certainly Scandinavian in style (A030; Figure 5.38c), with an almost identical example found at Coppergate, York (Mainman and Rogers 2000, 2585). It should also be noted here that the two non-metal items in the *Aunsby* dataset are a glass and a quartz bead, both of which would fall under the 'personal' category (A300, A301). Both beads are broadly dated to the Early-Middle Saxon period (Figure 5.37d & e).



FIGURE 5.37: 'PERSONAL' ARTEFACTS
a. 'Norse' bell (A018); b. Crucifix (A073); c. Finger (or toe) ring (A030); d. Glass bead (A300); e. Quartz bead (A301). First three items approximately to scale, beads shown at 2x scale.

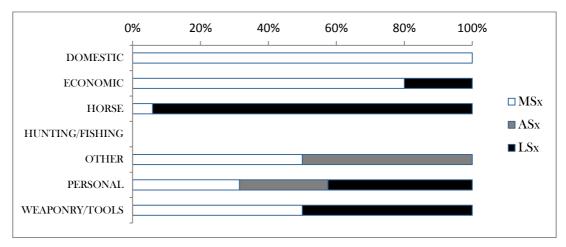


FIGURE 5.38: FUNCTIONAL GROUPS BY SUBPERIOD

When the functional groups are broken down by sub-period, transitions in economic activity are made clearer (Figure 5.38). The two items classed under 'weaponry/tools', are an iron knife (A089) and a fragment of casting waste (A096). Waste such as this falls under the 'weaponry/tools' group since it is evidence of craft production and metalworking (cf. Appendix 3, 1)a)ii). In this specific case, the casting waste appears to be a failed copper-alloy object, possibly a stirrup terminal (PASD: LIN-E9EDE4). The distribution of the artefacts is closely focused on Osbournby and Scott Willoughby (Figure 5.39), but within this there are nevertheless some discernible concentrations of artefact groups (Figure 5.40). There is little diversity in terms of the primary metal composition of the artefacts, suggesting a community of middling affluence, and probably indicating a detecting bias against the recovery of baser metals (see Figure 5.41, below).

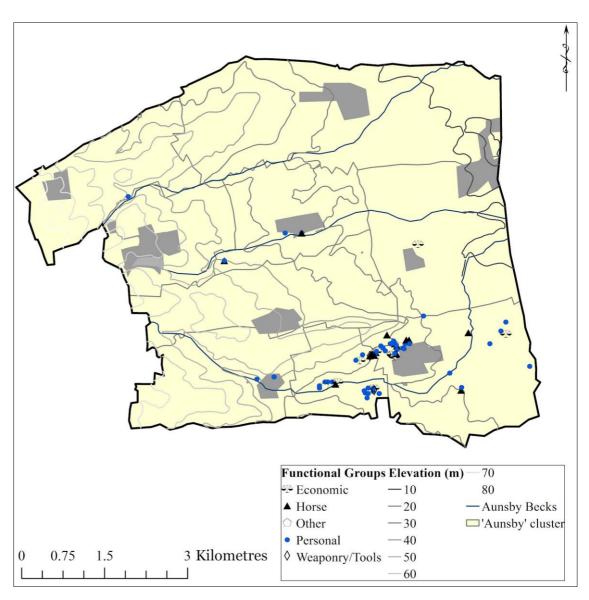


FIGURE 5.39: FUNCTIONAL GROUP DISTRIBUTION
See Figure 5.40 for detail of Osbournby and Scott Willoughby distributions.

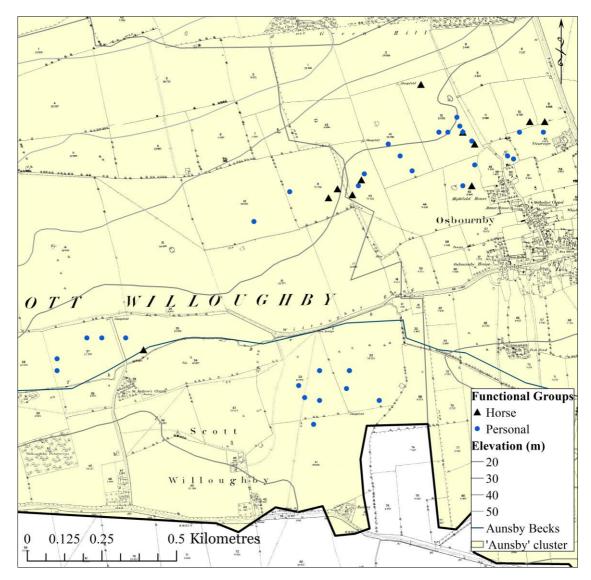


FIGURE 5.40: 'HORSE' AND 'PERSONAL' ARTEFACT DISTRIBUTION IN OSBOURNBY AND SCOTT WILLOUGHBY

Although there is little evidence for hunting, fishing, and other means of subsistence or domestic activity revealed by the functional categories, there is strong evidence that equipped horses were an important part of Late Saxon *Aunsby*'s economy. The deposition locations of horse-related finds tend to overlap with personal items, but there is some clustering to the west of Osbournby village.

# 5.6.4 Coins and economic activity in Aunsby

Nearly 90% of the artefacts in *Aunsby* are made primarily from copper alloy, some with traces of gilding (Figure 5.41). All of the silver artefacts —coins and a silver ingot (A056) — relate to economic transactions. A large quantity of jewellery was recovered in *Aunsby*, but few were composed of expensive metals. This is firstly a reflection of wider changes occurring in Late Saxon England in terms of social attitudes to display and access to silver

and gold; it also indicates that the communities in *Aunsby* maintained fashionable aspirations, but either did not control extensive independent wealth, or chose not to exhibit it in the form of portable accessories as their Middle Saxon predecessors had. Certainly wealth did not take a monetary form in *Aunsby*.

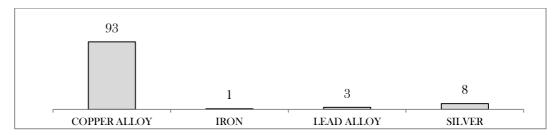


FIGURE 5.41: PRIMARY MATERIALS

The overwhelming majority of the items are of copper alloy, as is to be expected. The silver items are all coins apart from the silver ingot.

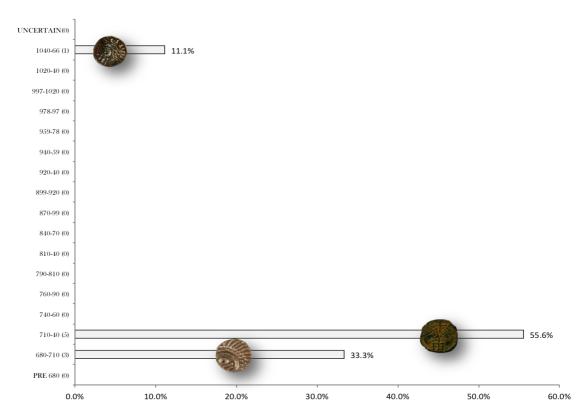


FIGURE 5.42: COINS IN AUNSBY

The scarcity of coins from the early medieval period in *Aunsby* is surprising given the high density of finds in the region, although coins were unlikely to have had the same importance in rural areas as in towns. There are currently nine coins known from the case study area as a whole, reinforcing the fact that not all so-called 'productive' sites appear to be centres of economic transaction (e.g. Richards 1999a; Ulmschneider and Pestell 2003, 8-9; Richards *et al.* 2009, 5.2). As Figure 5.42 shows, only one coin is known from the Late Saxon period (a silver Edward the Confessor penny (A097)), with the majority from the period of mass sceatta production between AD 710-40 (Blackburn 2003, 29; Richards *et* 

al. 2009, 3.2.2), including a single EMC record (A400). Given the many other find-types it seems that the communities in *Aunsby* did not deal extensively with coinage, especially in the Late Saxon period. Neither does this picture develop into one of a bullion-based centre of trade with the inclusion of the single Late Saxon silver ingot (A056).

The distribution maps below help to better assess the finds in relation to one another, and they are especially useful in making sense of the large number of personal items. The dataset is also considered in relation to the wider regional patterns in Lincolnshire, and in finer chronological detail, to illustrate notable shifts in artefact use or production over time.

# 5.7 Artefacts in *Aunsby* through time

TABLE 5.11: LINCOLNSHIRE AND AUNSBY PAS STATISTICS

Lincolnshire			
Total ASx finds	Finds without Aunsby	Aunsby % of Lincs. data	
1845	1727	5.8%	

The artefact trends in *Aunsby* are contrasted here with those in Lincolnshire as a whole. As with *Roxby*, the method of recovery in Lincolnshire (99.2% by metal-detecting) is comparable to *Aunsby* where 100% of the finds were found in association with detecting. *Aunsby*'s finds are first compared against county and regional patterns in fingerprint and functional categories, and this is followed by a more detailed assessment of patterning over time, especially based on the distribution of artefacts. For the following discussions we should bear in mind that *Aunsby* supported a busy prehistoric and Romano-British landscape which gave way to Early Saxon activity that focused on the fields west of Osbournby parish (Figure 5.14). The analysis in this section focuses on *Aunsby* within Lincolnshire but does not go into detailed comparisons with *Roxby*, as all four case studies will be looked at together in the discussion chapter (**Chapter 8**).

# 5.7.1 Aunsby, Lincolnshire, and Middle and Late Saxon material culture

Lincolnshire's fingerprint presents a rather different picture from that of Aunsby (Figure 5.43). The county as a whole is in fact dominated by 'coins' and 'other' artefacts, whereas *Aunsby* had distinctly few finds falling under each of those categories. Conversely, there are many more 'other dress' items in *Aunsby* than are commonly found throughout the county. *Aunsby*'s peak in strap-ends roughly mirrors that of Lincolnshire, though its high

horse-fitting count is noticeably outside the norm. A chi-square statistics test of the two datasets suggests that there is some significance to these patterns (p=.000; **Appendix 4**). If the null hypothesis had been correct, *Aunsby* would have been expected to yield many more coins and fewer horse-fittings and 'other dress' items. Given the longevity of the local metal-detector user's activity in the area and his familiarity with local archaeology, it seems unlikely that his ability to identify certain artefacts can account for the shortage of coins; conversely, however, it is possible that Osbournby's numerous 'other dress' items are a reflection of the local detectorists' keen eye compared to the average Lincolnshire metal-detector user.

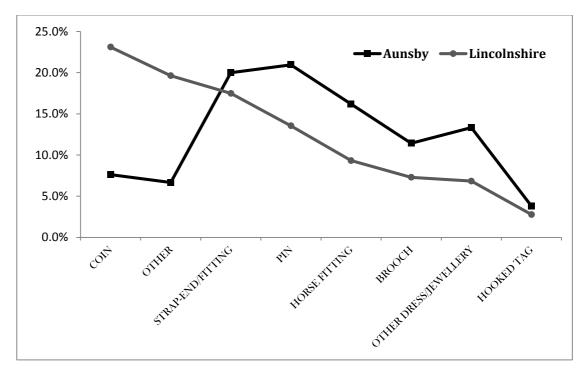


FIGURE 5.43: LINCOLNSHIRE AND AUNSBY: FINGERPRINTS

The pattern in Kesteven is slightly different again, and reinforces the variation that is found across Lincolnshire as a whole (Figure 5.44). In this case, the prominent spike in coins is influenced by the parish of Heckington, which has long been noted for its coin productivity (as 'South Lincolnshire', e.g. Blackburn 2003, 29; Richards *et al.* 2009, 5.5.54). When the Heckington coins are subtracted from the Kesteven totals, the relative percentage of coins compared to other finds groups in Kesteven is much more similar to that of *Aunsby* (Figure 5.45).

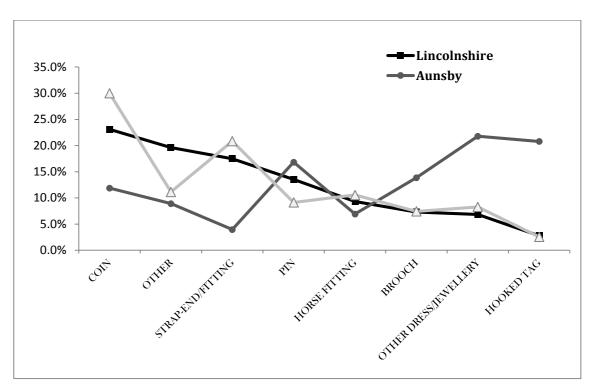


FIGURE 5.44: LINCOLNSHIRE, AUNSBY, AND KESTEVEN: FINGERPRINTS

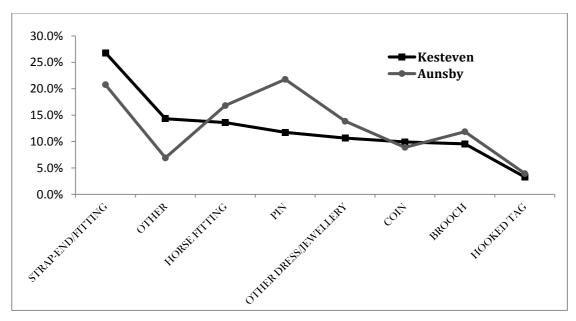


FIGURE 5.45: KESTEVEN AND AUNSBY WITHOUT HECKINGTON: FINGERPRINTS

If *Aunsby* is instead contrasted with Lincolnshire by functional group (Figure 5.46), the overall trend is quite similar, though the numbers themselves can vary widely: both, for example, are dominated by 'personal' artefacts, but with a 20% difference. This comparison also exemplifies how rarely many of the functional categories (e.g. 'domestic', 'weaponry/tools') are represented in Lincolnshire; in this respect *Aunsby* is well within the norm. Again, this might be due to the general disregard metal-detectorists have for iron and lead-based items.

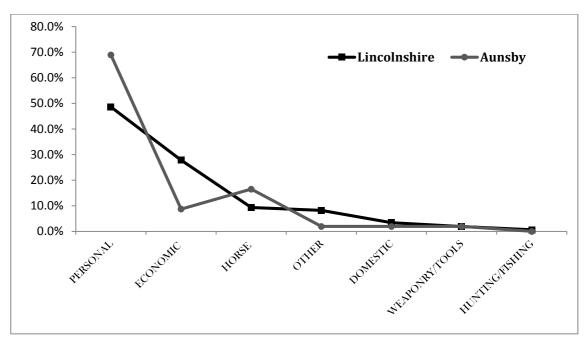


FIGURE 5.46: LINCOLNSHIRE AND AUNSBY: FUNCTIONAL GROUPS

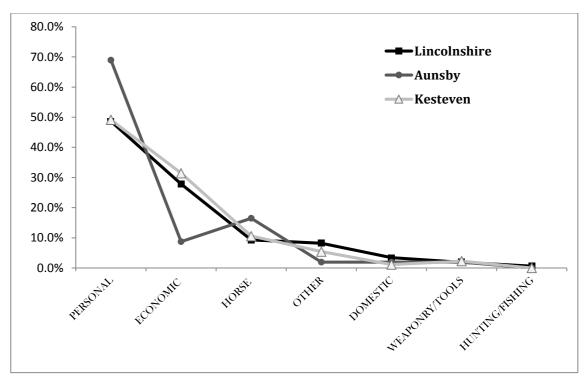


FIGURE 5.47: LINCOLNSHIRE, AUNSBY, AND KESTEVEN: FUNCTIONAL GROUPS

Aunsby has 7% more horse-related finds than the county average; compared with a more localised distribution in Kesteven, the figures remain the same. Equestrian accessories have been associated with elite activity, both in England and in Denmark, and were increasingly important in the tenth and eleventh centuries (Sheeran 2009). The VASLE project showed a wide distribution of horse fittings, although there were no major concentrations in Lincolnshire. In fact across all of Lincolnshire, no other parish has yet returned more than seven equestrian finds dating to this period; Aunsby is indeed

anomalous here with its 17 items. Many of the *Aunsby* types date to between AD 900-1100 and could reflect post-Conquest losses although the dating remains imprecise.<sup>27</sup> More than half bear Anglo-Scandinavian style decoration. Sheeran (2009) suggests that equestrian elite might be associated with Cnut (r. 1015-42), and that a need for military control could be reflected in the presence of horse-related finds. Eleven of the artefacts are stirrup parts which have been attributed to dates following their introduction by Cnut. Six of these are terminals. Based on this evidence, their distribution, and the casting waste, it is tempting to suggest not merely a military presence, but a production site of stirrups and other equestrian accessories.

As previously mentioned, Aunsby's 'economic' category was not bolstered by the inclusion of non-coin economic artefacts. This situation bears further examination, however. To compare more closely with Heckington, the nearby parish with an assemblage heavily dominated by coins (80% including 2 EMC coins), the greatest puzzle, given their proximity, is that *Aunsby* has not yielded more late seventh-century coins. Otherwise, however, Heckington does not actually have a wider distribution of coin dates (Figure 5.48). The two parishes held quite different economic roles within the regional estate network, as described above (5.4). We might therefore infer that although the patterns of coin loss differ significantly in quantity, the similarity in dates of coins lost in both parishes means that the inhabitants of *Aunsby* participated in the same monetary economy of the Middle and Late Saxon periods as those in Heckington; differences in quantity reflect differences in activity and opportunities for transaction rather than necessarily pointing to differing social statuses. Furthermore, while Aunsby does not appear to have hosted an economic centre at any time, transactions in non-monetised forms were probably commonplace. Reduced circulation of coinage after the mid-eighth century was common across Kesteven as a whole.

In terms of the overall distribution of artefacts in *Aunsby*, besides the obvious clustering northwest of Osbournby, the association with becks is also striking (Figure 5.49). The recovery of artefacts is not widespread enough to posit historically representative patterning throughout the region. It seems likely, however, that the Scott Willoughby distributions are artefact losses or deposits associated with permanent and deliberate activity rather than chance losses from travel or manuring. It is curious that the Osbournby-Scott Willoughby artefacts focus solely on soil that has 'naturally high groundwater'. This might reflect an initial decision to site settlements on lesser land and reserve the freely-draining soils for agriculture, perhaps following a Roman precedent (cf. Figure 5.14, above).

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> A current PhD project at the University of York, undertaken by Robert Webley, is aiming to refine pre- and post-Conquest chronologies in artefact types, seeking particularly to enhance the resolution of PAS data. It is therefore anticipated that in the future, a more nuanced chronological reading of such distributions will be possible.

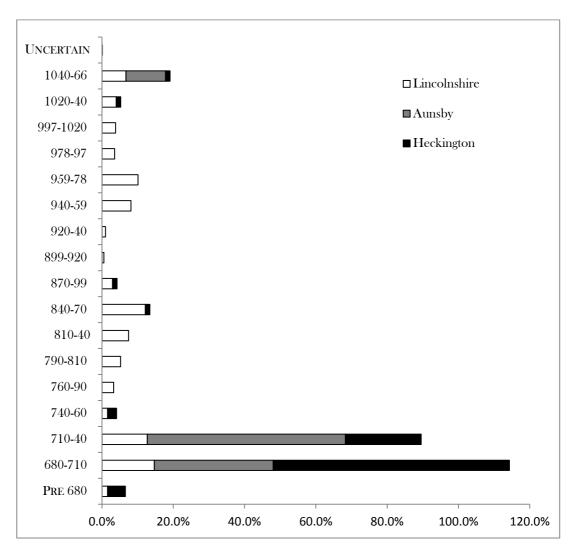


FIGURE 5.48: LINCOLNSHIRE, AUNSBY, AND HECKINGTON: COINAGE

*Aunsby* was not a vastly wealthy region: dress accessories and other portable signifiers were of no remarkable quality especially into the Late Saxon period, with some poorly executed brooches (e.g. the lead brooches, A039 and A351). The many horse-related items do, however, suggest an element of elite activity or at least craft production related to such.

This has so far been a broad view of several centuries of activity. It is therefore important to look in more detail at the chronological nuances within these wider patterns. It is not possible to consider every grouping of artefacts in the following analyses, but a number of notable clusters and some individual artefacts have been selected for evaluation.

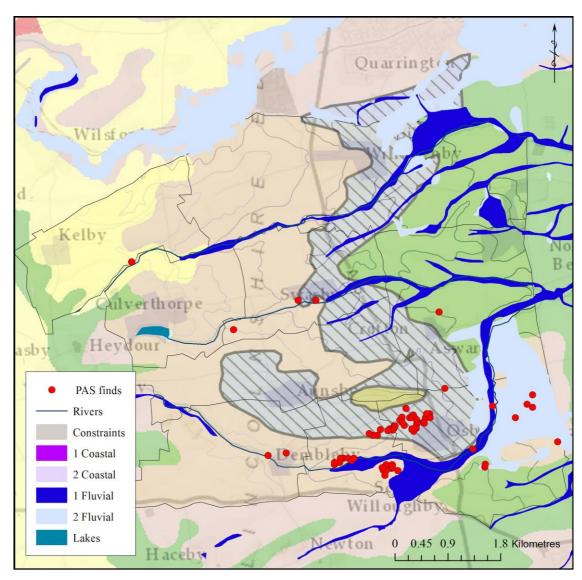


FIGURE 5.49: ARTEFACT DISTRIBUTION, AUNSBY

PAS data shown against soil types and modern constraints. It is clear that many of the Scott Willoughby artefacts on either side of the beck were lost in areas that lie just above the modern flood extents. While it is possible that flooding would have been more extensive in the early medieval period, it seems unlikely that such a number of artefacts would then be lost in close proximity to one another. It is more probable that flood levels are comparable and that losses are related to repeated and permanent activity, deliberately sited adjacent to a reliable water source but above at-risk areas. Flood Key: 1 Coastal= areas susceptible to first influx of coastal flood waters; 2 Coastal= areas susceptible in extreme coastal flood events; 1 Fluvial = areas susceptible to first influx of fluvial flood waters; 2 Fluvial= areas susceptible in extreme fluvial flood events. (© Crown copyright/database right 2015. A British Geological Survey/EDINA supplied service.)

Soilscapes Key: Green (Soilscape 18): 'Slowly permeable seasonally wet slightly acid but baserich loamy and clayey soils'; Pink (Soilscape 5): 'Freely draining lime-rich loamy soils'; Light blue (Soilscape 22): 'Loamy soils with naturally high groundwater'; Puce (Soilscape 9): 'Lime-rich loamy and clayey soils with impeded drainage'; Yellow (Soilscape 3): 'Shallow lime-rich soils over chalk or limestone.

## 5.7.2 Middle Saxon Aunsby (MSx) c. AD 700-850

In the centuries prior to the Scandinavian settlements, it would appear that *Aunsby* had at least two concentrations of Anglo-Saxon activity a distinct cluster of personal finds is located north of Scott Willoughby (Figure 5.53a-c, below) and a wider distribution of artefacts was found north and northwest of the modern village of Osbournby (Figure 5.54a-c, below; for the following discussion consult Figure 5.52a-c, and other polygon map series at end of 1.7.2). The latter suggests either a widespread or heavily ploughed site in use over several centuries. It is considered in detail here, followed by the Scott Willoughby cluster.

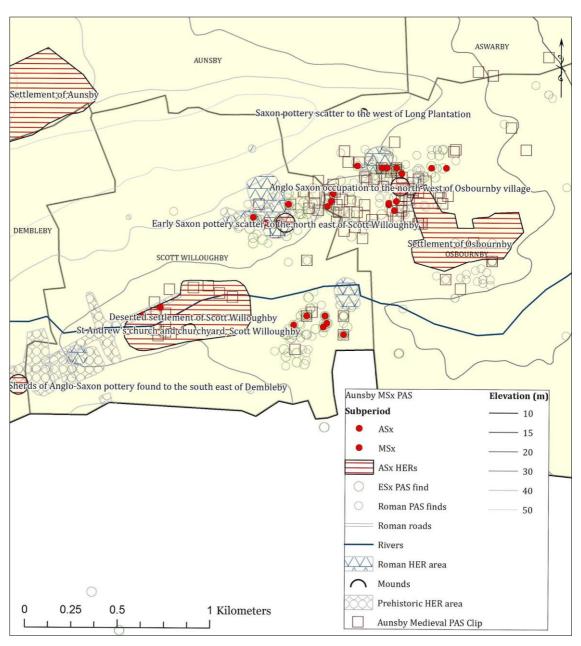


FIGURE 5.50: MSx FINDS AGAINST HERS

When these distributions are viewed against the HERs recorded for Osbournby, it is clear that these were sites of long-term activity. Early Saxon pottery scatters and other 'Anglo-Saxon' pottery have been found throughout the area. See Figure 5.51, below, for detail of artefacts here.

The finds in the larger scatter around Osbournby are all on a slight slope along the 30m contour to the south of the steeper Green Hill. The excavated Anglo-Saxon hall was situated in the same area, close to where coins, pins and brooches were recovered (Figure 5.50). The distribution of metal-detected finds in this case is complemented by the pottery scatters recorded in the HER, as further proof of activity associated with settlement.

The western extent of the distribution straddles the parish boundary between Osbournby and Scott Willoughby (Figure 5.50). The finds here are predominantly Middle Saxon in date, including two sceattas (A033, A064) providing a terminus post quem for their deposition from AD 710. The artefact fingerprint could suggest a 'Final Phase' cemetery and, following Geake's thesis (1999, 16-7), a society eagerly embracing Roman and Mediterranean ties through the use of linked pins (A023), and hanging bowls (A098; Figure 5.54). The extent of the cemetery is difficult to estimate due to ploughing; it could have been between a few hundred metres in diameter or much larger; it might also represent two distinct foci or phases, perhaps similar to the two Sheffield's Hill cemeteries in *Roxby* with sixth- and seventh-century foci (cf. Chapter 4, **Figure 4.11**). Mapping these finds against the Early Saxon HERs and PAS finds would seem to confirm this as a site of intensive use from at least the sixth century to sometime after AD 710 (Figure 5.50). In fact, the westernmost extent of the distribution is noted as an area of prehistoric and Romano-British activity (cf. Figure 5.15, above), where the LHER records a trackway, prehistoric enclosures, and Romano-British artefact scatters. Most of the Early Saxon items are cruciform brooches, with occasional tweezers, wrist clasps and sherds of pottery. Based on Chester-Kadwell's 'indicator' finds assessment (2009, 81) — and given known practices elsewhere in the region (e.g. at Quarrington (Walker and Lane 1996)) this might be taken to represent an early cemetery involving mixed cremations and inhumations. Later 'final phase' cemeteries tended to be closer to settlements than their earlier pagan counterparts (Hadley and Buckberry 2005, 125), as would appear to be the case in Osbournby, given the proximity of the artefacts to an excavated dwelling. The practice of situating Anglo-Saxon burials over Romano-British sites has already been commented on in the case of *Roxby*, (Chapter 4, **4.3.3**), and could also be the case here. Following Drinkall et al's (1998, 363) interpretation of Castledyke (N. Lincs.), this was not merely *a* 'Final Phase' cemetery, but a place of memory that evolved in use *into* the 'conversion' period, or 'Final Phase' (cf. Hoggett 2010, 121-4; Welch 2012). In this case, it seems that the area had been a site of importance for many centuries before peoples living around Middle Saxon *Aunsby* were active, and later memories associated with this place might have been influenced by its long past.

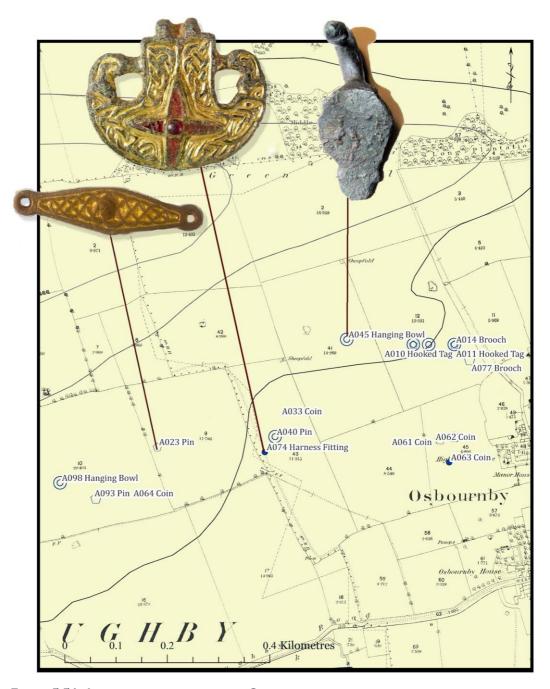


FIGURE 5.51: A POSSIBLE CEMETERY WEST OF OSBOURNBY VILLAGE
Several 'key indicators' that might suggest the presence of an Early-Middle Saxon cemetery are the hanging bowl mount fragments (A045 pictured here), the fine horse-harness mount (A074), and a number of pins, including a linked pin (A023) showing signs of possible reuse as a mount (PASD: LIN-8FCB77). Compare with Early Saxon PAS artefact distribution in Figure 5.50, above.

The distribution of coins south of the excavated Anglo-Saxon settlement to the northwest of Osbournby village (Figure 5.50) suggests that it was in use at the same time as the 'cemetery'. Three coins (A061-3), all sceattas produced between 710-40, were found in the same field as the Saxon hall. They might reflect chance losses or deliberate deposits. The single EMC coin from *Aunsby* was found in 'Osbournby' (i.e. the modern parish; A400). Though its exact findspot is unknown, it was also a 710-40 sceatta and was likely part of the same group. Coin and other accompaniments ceased to be deposited in graves by the mid-eighth century (e.g. Biddle *et al.* 1986, 25). The horse harness pendant

(A074, AD 650-700), found on the Osbournby side of the cemetery distribution, also correlates with a possible late seventh-century date, when cabochon-cut garnets were at their most popular (this trend is exemplified on the elaborate buckle mount from the Sutton Hoo mound 1 burial assemblage (e.g. Fig. 8 (2) Adams 2011, 21), and in numerous artefacts recovered from the seventh-century graves at Updown, Eastry (Kent) (Welch 2008), for example). The cemetery is located on a parish boundary (Figure 5.51), recalling, as mentioned above, the Sheffield's Hill cemetery in *Roxby* (Chapter 4), though, as will be shown, it is also similar to the case in Kirby Bellars, *Frisby* (Chapter 7, **7.3.3**, below). Boundaries and Anglo-Saxon cemeteries are often associated with one another (see Semple 2004), although this changes in the Late Saxon period when 'deviant' boundary burials signified negative connotations with liminal spaces (Reynolds 2003). In the earlier Anglo-Saxon periods, there remains some debate as to which practice inspired or informed which.<sup>28</sup>

By the mid-eighth century, with the rise of Christianity and changes in burial rites, the cemetery may have gone out of use altogether; perhaps the hall was also abandoned around this time. In any case, there appears to be an eastward shift in local activity (see below, Figure 5.57a-c). There was probably a southward shift as well, although this remains archaeologically invisible due to the presence of the modern village. If the identification of the cemetery is correct, it would have served the local community of Osbournby, and perhaps the wider community of the *Aunsby* area, for over 200 years — more than ten generations — before changing beliefs led to its abandonment. It was not entirely forgotten, however, and probably served as a mnemonic landmark by association with the liminal space of the Scott Willoughby-Osbournby parish boundary.

Roughly contemporary with this distribution of material is another cluster 350m to the east, north of the excavated Saxon hall. It similarly features many 'personal' artefacts, including two ansate brooches (A028, A077, dating to between AD 650-850) and another hanging bowl (A045). At least one person using this site had the means of acquiring gilded metalwork, as attested by an unidentifiable accessory (A016). This group of artefacts could mark the eastern extent of a large cemetery ploughed out over the years; there is a similar break in the Early Saxon artefact distribution (cf. above, Figure 5.54a-c). While the western extent of the area ceased to be used in the eighth century, in the eastern concentration there is no evident break in artefact loss through to the later medieval period (see below, Figure 5.57a-c). This might reflect a complete shift in the role of the area around the eighth century, apparently coincident with the adoption of Christian practices.

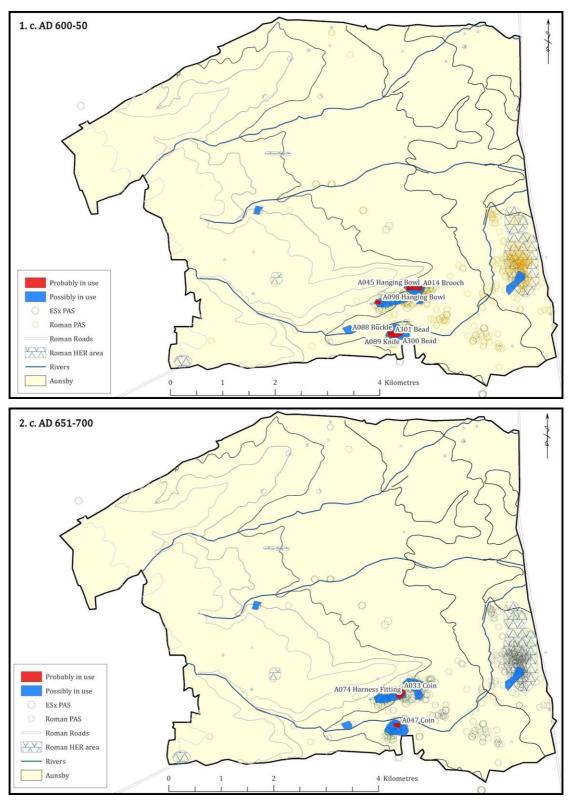
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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> One recently-completed PhD and one current PhD project by Kate Mees (Exeter) and Abigail Tomkins (Oxford), respectively, seek to explore these associations in greater detail, although is will inevitably remain difficult to posit any one model that addresses the relationship between boundary and cemetery (Tomkins, pers. comm.).

It is possible, on the other hand, that non-burial rite functions were associated with this space from the outset, resulting in the artefact signature: a clay spindle whorl, a ditch, and pottery scatters were identified in the vicinity (A901; A302; A307), which could point to a domestic association. This would suit the fact that we know of at least one early dwelling less than 100m to the southeast. There can be no definitive consensus on the nature of these distributions without detailed geophysical survey (and probably also excavation), but regardless of precise cemetery/settlement locations, given the artefactual evidence, an intensive and long-lasting human presence through the Early to Middle Saxon periods and beyond cannot be denied.

Finally, to shift from Osbournby to Scott Willoughby, a distinct concentration of finds is located on the eastern edge of Scott Willoughby, south of Dembleby Beck (Figure 5.53). The items are almost entirely 'personal', except for a possibly Frisian runic-inscribed sceatta (A047; LIN-6DBD38) produced between AD 680-710. Again, a concentration of Early Saxon finds occurs in the same place. It is difficult to view this as anything but another Early Saxon cemetery extending into the early Middle Saxon period. The site is in fact directly across the Beck from the other possible cemetery, and the two were probably intervisible, depending on tree coverage at the time (cf. Figure 5.53; Figure 5.54). If barrows distinguished any 'Final Phase' burials here, as was often the case (e.g. Geake 1999), these sites would have been recognisable and prominent features in the landscape. Each is located within 500m of an area that was settled by the Late Saxon period.

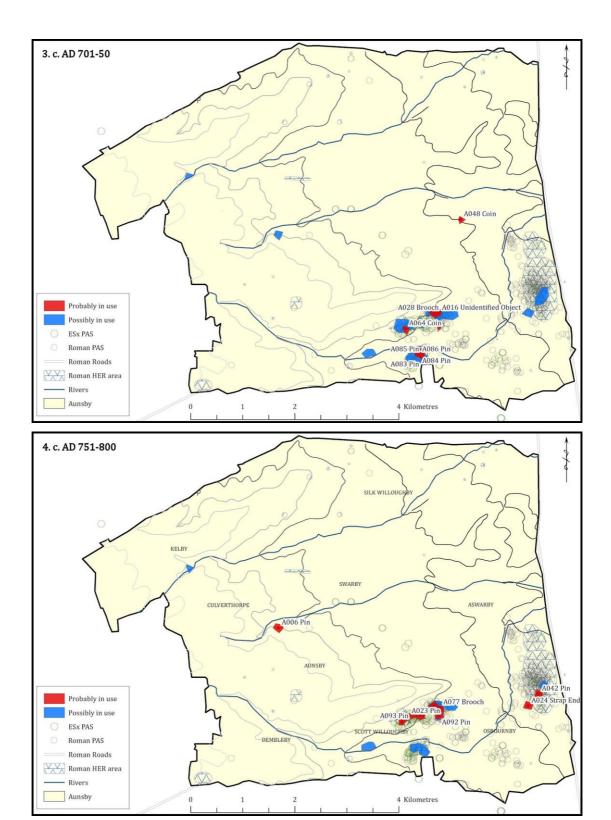
The communities living in *Aunsby* throughout this period show some signs of social stratification, with their 'hall', a gilded linked pin reused as a mount (A023, dated to the mid-eighth century), and a gilded and garnet horse pendant (A074, from a century earlier) all speaking of local families or individuals of relative high status. These latter artefacts are two of the finest items in *Aunsby*. Unless the harness pendant was an heirloom, they could be seen to represent at least two high status families in operation between the seventh and eighth centuries, suggesting the site had a long-term association with affluence.



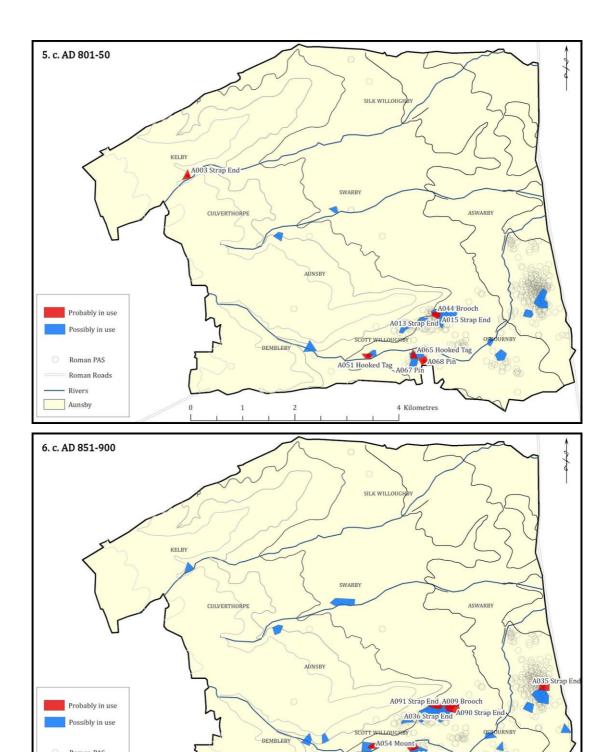
5.52a

#### FIGURE 5.52A-C: MSx Aunsby through time

Details on refined chronologies presented here are found in Appendix 2 (1)a)i)(1)). Polygons provide a minimum 100m buffer around recorded findspots to allow for lack of precision, and to highlight 'areas' rather than simply spots within which there is artefactual evidence for past human activity. The time periods shown here span dates of use centring on AD 600 to AD 850, from top to bottom, left to right. See for the Late Saxon refined chronology, and see Figure 5.57, **Appendix 5** for high resolution slides of the same maps to better illustrate these changes through time.



5.52b

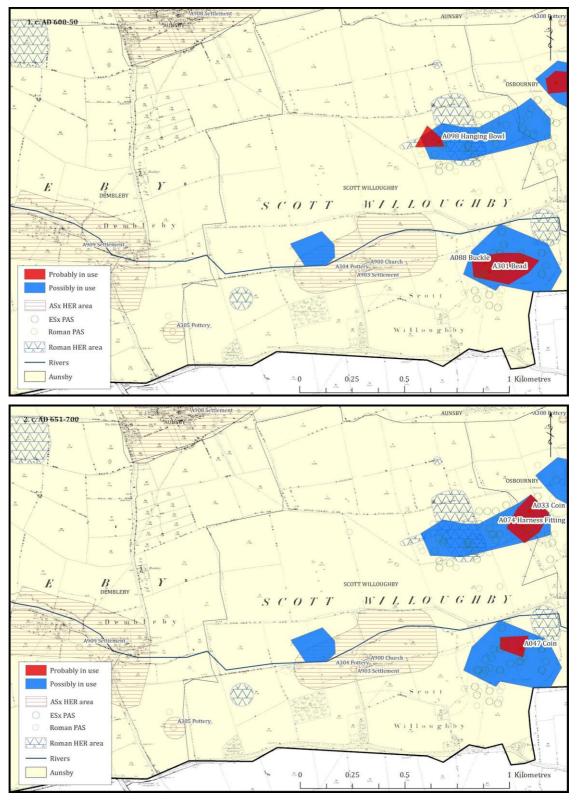


4 Kilometres

5.52c

Roman PAS

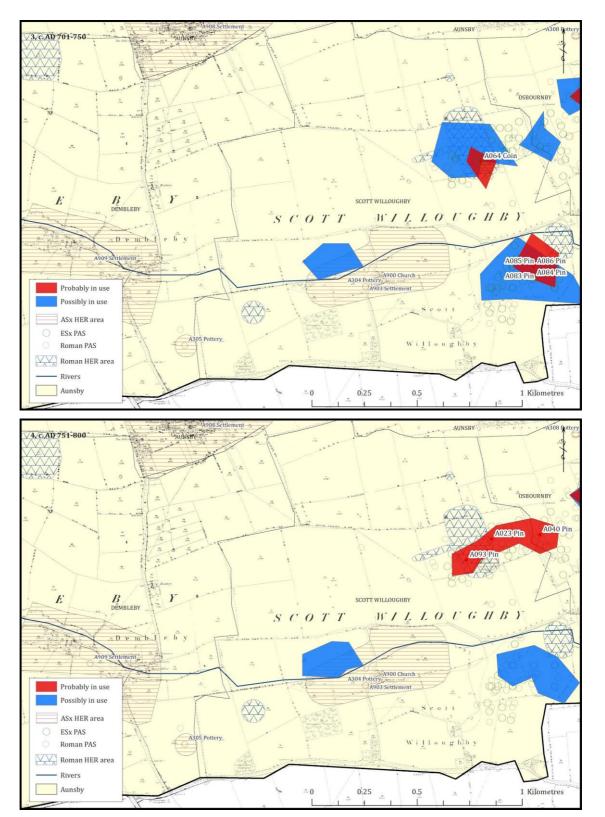
Rivers
Aunsby



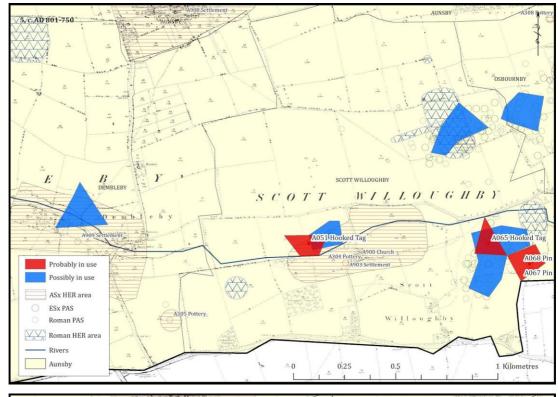
5.53a

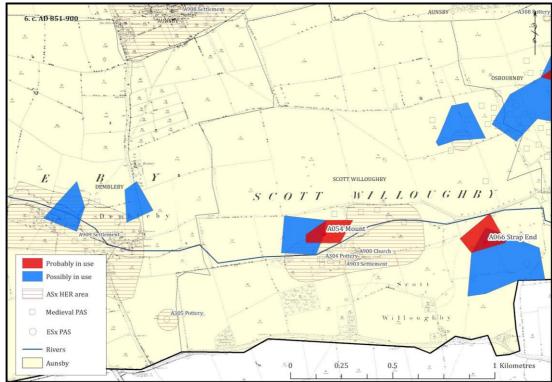
FIGURE 5.53A-C: SCOTT WILLOUGHBY: MSX ACTIVITY

Note that the distribution of artefacts in Scott Willoughby lies directly south of the western spread of the Osbournby-Scott Willoughby distribution, across the beck.

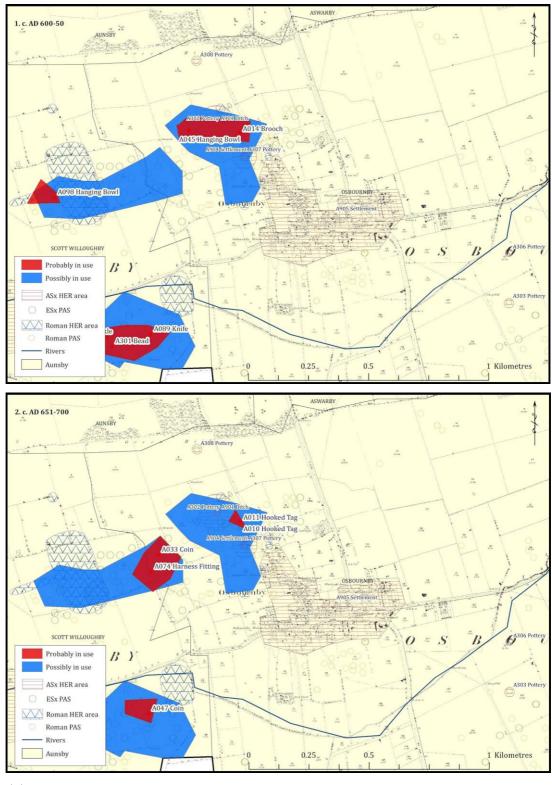


5.53b



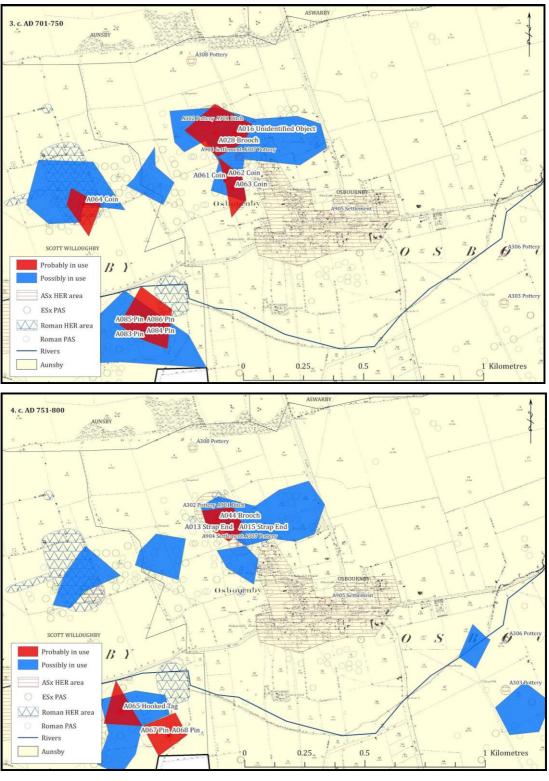


5.53c

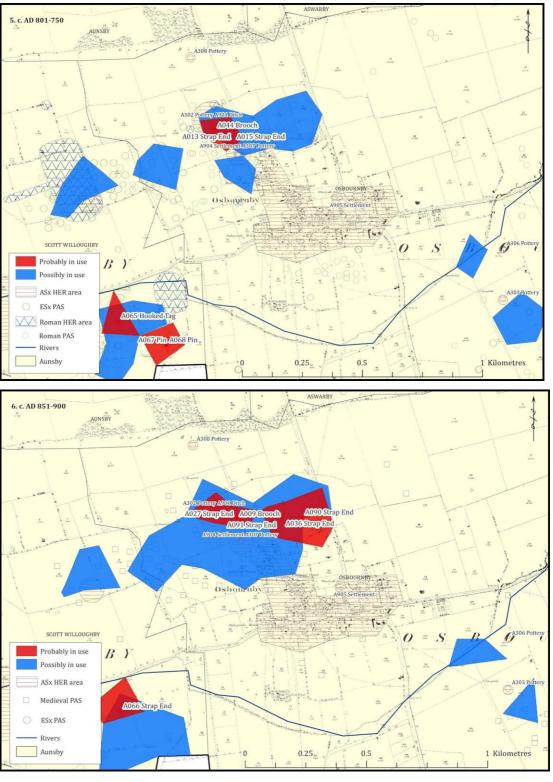


5.54a

FIGURE 5.54A-C: OSBOURNBY: MSX ACTIVITY



5.54b



5.54c

## 5.7.3 Late Saxon Aunsby (LSx) c. AD 850-1100

As vikings made their first appearances on English shores in the late eighth and early ninth centuries, the people of *Aunsby* might have been more concerned with the territorial feuds between the kings of Mercia and Northumbria. In AD 829, Ecgbert conquered Mercia 'and all that was south of the Humber' (*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, 827), though the following year Wiglaf regained control of the kingdom. There might therefore have been some disruption to overland trade, although local farmers and craftspeople may not have been overly inconvenienced by the politics of kingship.

By this time, the communities of *Aunsby* had stopped burying their dead with grave goods in favour of Christian traditions. There might already have been churches founded by local patrons at Osbournby, Culverthorpe, and Scott Willoughby. The grave markers from Swarby and Scott Willoughby date between the tenth and eleventh centuries (cf. 5.3.4.4, above), and churches were recorded in the area by 1086.

In the Late Saxon period, the majority of the archaeologically visible activity in *Aunsby* concentrated northwest of Osbournby village, with fewer finds recovered near the Scott Willoughy-Osbournby boundary than in the seventh and eighth centuries (for this discussion refer to polygon map series, below: Figure 5.57, Figure 5.58, Figure 5.59). This distribution would appear to represent continuous activity from previous centuries; later medieval finds confirm that it was indeed still in use beyond the eleventh century (Figure 5.55). As in the Middle Saxon period, there is also a lesser concentration across the beck in the parish of Scott Willoughby, and at this time yet another cluster appears to the north of the beck where a deserted medieval village was recorded based on cropmarks noted in an aerial photograph (cf. Table 5.4, above).

This activity remains difficult to assess based on the artefact signatures. In Osbournby, there is clearly some consolidation towards the northwest of the modern village over time, which might indicate settlement nucleation, perhaps with a church emerging as the focal point. The Late Saxon finds at Osbournby are predominantly 'personal' items, but it is also here that many of the 'horse'-related finds appear. Several of these items are 'Anglo-Scandinavian' in design, including a 'Norse' bell (A018) and a Borre-style disc brooch (A009). One of only two East Anglian Series Borre-style brooches known from excavated contexts was from an eleventh-century structure in Flaxengate, Lincoln, though the brooch itself might have been residual in the later context (Kershaw 2013, 149). The brooch from *Aunsby* has been assigned an earlier, ninth-century date (c. AD 865-900; PASD: LIN-6BD2) which is in keeping with the common, late-ninth and tenth-century dates for the style. The East Anglian Series disc brooches were mass-produced in East Anglia (Kershaw 2013, 141) and therefore serve as evidence for a wider regional connection when found elsewhere in the Danelaw. These finds could represent a site associated with equestrian activity; perhaps an elite settlement keeping outfitted horses, or again — tentatively — a

horse accessory production site serving the wider elite landscape. Kesteven was a well-wooded area according to Domesday, and hunting, in addition to military activity, might have required a number of horses. The bell, which may carry hunting connotations (Fleming 2010, 296; Schoenfelder and Richards 2011), also suggests an elite presence. Other finds, such as the strap ends and brooches, are of no high quality, and might represent a middling social stratum: well-connected to economic centres, but only able to afford cheaper means of emulating current fashions. The assortment of material therefore probably reflects diverse social strata living in Late Saxon Osbournby equal to the characterisation afforded by Domesday Book of relatively prominent, semi-autonomous holdings. A market here seems unlikely given the distinct lack of economic items, but again trade might have occurred through informal exchange and barter. The many artefacts lost in Osbournby could be the result of discard and casual loss associated with a site occupied for hundreds of years.



FIGURE 5.55: LATE SAXON ACTIVITY IN SCOTT WILLOUGHBY AND OSBOURNBY Also showing medieval PAS artefacts.

It is tempting to connect the Anglo-Scandinavian influence visible in these artefacts with Osbern, Osbournby's eponymous settler, and his family and followers. There are

nevertheless many items that are not Scandinavian in style, and of course we cannot assume that ethnicity or provenance was proclaimed through dress accessories. Only one artefact in the assemblage can be shown to come from Scandinavia, in fact: a 'teddy bear' design brooch (A007) recovered from the south field of Osbournby, dating to the tenth century (identified in Kershaw 2012, no.35). This brooch indicates continued contact with Scandinavian trade networks following the initial period of Scandinavian settlement in the midlands. The brooch was recovered in proximity to a buckle bearing Anglo-Scandinavian designs (A004), although the latter has been assigned a later date. When it occurs in England, this type of brooch (Jansson Type IIA (Kershaw 2012)) is commonly found in Norfolk. Interestingly, there are a number of other artefacts in the *Aunsby* dataset with close parallels in East Anglia, including the strap-distributor (A026), a stirrup terminal (A038), and, of course, the East Anglian style disc brooch (A009). This might reflect the fact that East Anglia is well-detected and therefore appears as the prototype; it could also be an indication of the direction that communication and influence was travelling, however. The presence of an East Anglian brooch series type strongly suggests that at least some locals were looking to East Anglia for fashion and inspiration.

In any case, even if Osbern did arrive in the late ninth century to inherit an estate based around what came to be known as 'Osbournby', few of his family and retinue sought to firmly proclaim their heritage or status through portable accessories. They might even have preferred to distinguish themselves through ecclesiastical patronage, as lords elsewhere were doing (Thomas 2012, 53). The influence of a monastic centre at nearby Threekingham might have encouraged an early interest in shows of Christian piety. The inhabitants of Osbournby and their descendants did enjoy, however, being part of a well-connected network of trade in metal accessories of average quality. By the eleventh century, elite activity in Osbournby was more strongly advertised through metalwork in the form of horse accessories.

One example of later occupation that might be attributed more clearly to Scandinavian migration is found in the parish of Swarby, where there is no evidence of early medieval activity until a ring (A030) and buckle (A008) were deposited after the late ninth century (Figure 5.56). Swarby, from the OSc personal name Svarri, was seemingly resettled after a seventh- to tenth- century hiatus, in the Late Saxon period. The record for Late Saxon activity is admittedly slight, but two of the three finds exhibit Scandinavian influence: the ring (A030) is nearly identical to one found in Coppergate, York, dating to c.930-1050 (PAS: LIN-E42F77). These rings are commonly found in Viking Age graves and could be worn on the finger or toes (Neil Price, pers. comm.). The buckle near Swarby is also of Scandinavian style (A008). This evidence points tentatively to a newly-founded or revitalised community following the establishment of a homestead there by a Scandinavian settler, Svarri. This would suggest that either settlement occurred for the

first time as a direct or indirect result of settlement pressure following the initial Scandinavian migrations of the ninth century, or that what had previously been a lesser Anglo-Saxon hamlet with little material output was 'colonised' by new owners with better access to copper alloy metalwork in the tenth century.

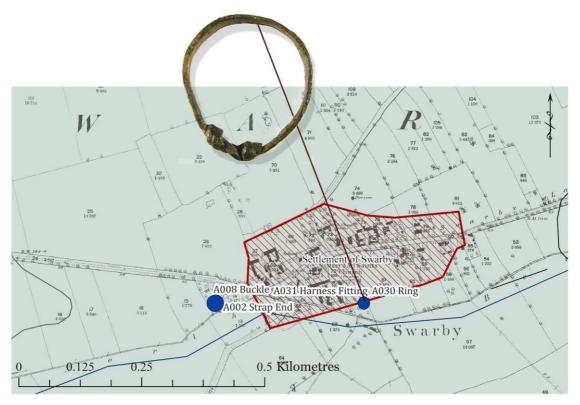


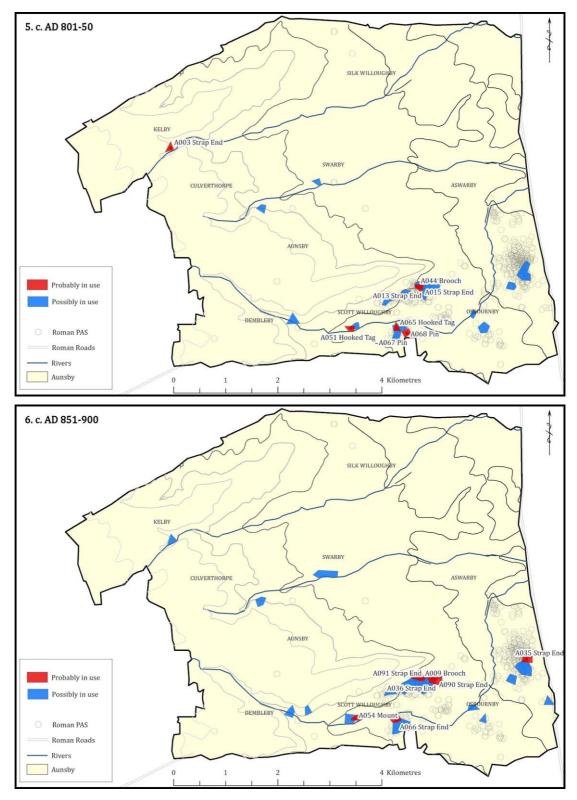
FIGURE 5.56: SWARBY

Although the area has not been as extensively detected as *Aunsby*, the presence of several items with Scandinavian affiliations appearing in the Late Saxon period suggests, at the least, that access to portable material culture had changed and/or that the status of the local inhabitants had improved. The more tempting suggestion is that Swarby represents a little-occupied Middle Saxon settlement that rose to greater prominence when it was partitioned for a Scandinavian lord and his followers settling in the late ninth or tenth century. Another variant of this interpretation is that Swarby was in fact newly founded in the tenth century. *Pictured*: The finger-ring from Swarby is identical to one recovered in Scandinavian Coppergate context, A030; PASD: LIN-E42F77.

As a contrast to Osbournby, none of the finds from the south field in Scott Willoughby can be linked to Scandinavian influence. Where an apparently new presence is visible on the north side of the beck in Scott Willoughby, however, an element of Scandinavian influence is seen, including a Thomas Type G strap end (A049). Many of these finds are quite late, however, dating to no earlier than the eleventh century. Indeed the rare Late Saxon coin mentioned above is located in this cluster, and is a 1048-50 silver Edward the Confessor penny (A097). In light of this evidence it can be suggested that activity north of the beck did not occur until after Cnut's conquest of England. In AD 1016, according to the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, Cnut and his army travelled 'along the Fen to Stamford, and then into Lincolnshire...' and later 'killed and burned whatsoever they came across' in Mercia (*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, 1016). By 1017, however, there was peace and Cnut gave Mercia

to the ealdorman Eadric to hold. The appearance of artefacts in Scott Willoughby that were only lost after the eleventh century could thus relate to another redistribution of land and a wave of new settlers, following Cnut's accession to the English throne. It is suggested that at this time, although an earlier presence had long existed in the locality, a more formal partitioning of land occurred, at which point the boundary between Scott Willoughby and Osbournby was firmly established. It is assumed that by the eleventh century both areas supported a local parish church. The area was probably already known as 'Willoughby' — an amalgamation of Scandinavian and Old English linguistic influences — reflecting previous centuries of Scandinavian- Anglo-Saxon contact (Fellows-Jensen 2011, 82). A settlement shift to the north of the beck was perhaps a deliberate step towards nucleated settlement in order to better work the surrounding fields. The cropmarks indicate that this area of Scott Willoughby did indeed become a medieval toft and croft village at a later stage. Such a change in influence in the area might also be echoed in Osbournby, when, around the same time as new parts of Scott Willoughby were being settled, equestrian equipment — perhaps associated with Cnut's military elite begins to be lost or deposited.

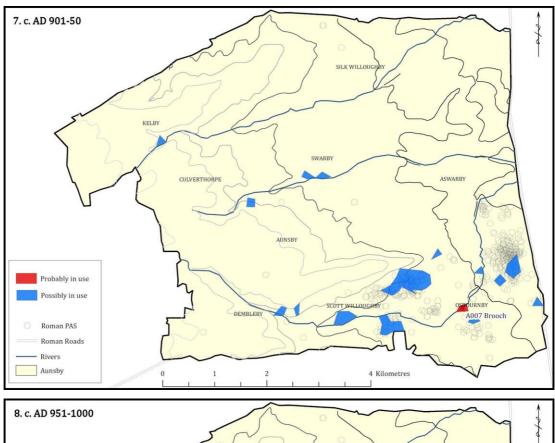
The Late Saxon artefacts seem to highlight the continued importance of certain regions over the centuries; their overall distribution extends over a wider area than do the Middle Saxon artefacts (compare the polygon series in Figure 5.52 above, and Figure 5.57 below). This could tentatively be taken to indicate a growing population, settlement expansion, and perhaps even the deliberate partitioning and reorganisation of landholding in the Late Saxon period. It is suggested that after initial Viking Age settlement in relation to Scandinavian-influenced partitioning and land-taking in the ninth century, the *Aunsby* area experienced another wave of change in the eleventh century, probably in part as a result of Cnut's incursions in England. Several social changes — evident in the Scott Willoughby settlement shift and the presence of an equestrian elite in Osbournby — speak to a period of transition that would have affected all levels of society, especially if they coincided with changes in agricultural practice.

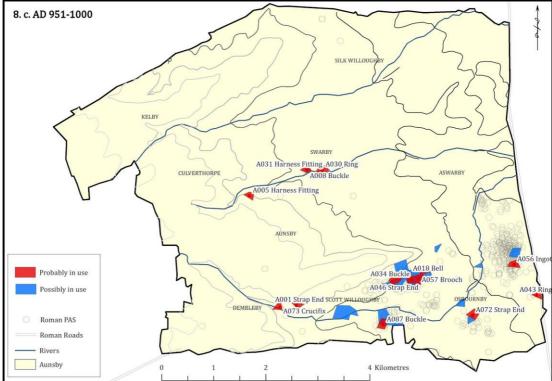


5.57a

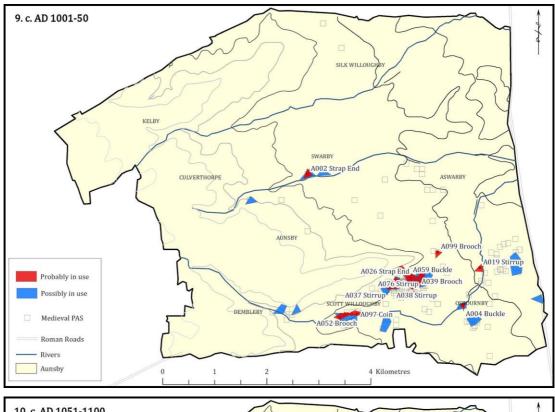
#### FIGURE 5.57A-C: LSX AUNSBY THROUGH TIME

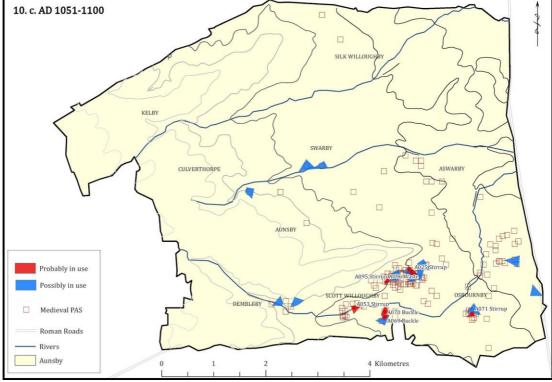
Again the red marks the 'active' finds, although it cannot be assumed that findspots marked in blue do not also represent artefacts being discarded at that time, but for which we lack precision in dating. See **Appendix 5** for high resolution slides of the same maps to illustrate the changes through time.



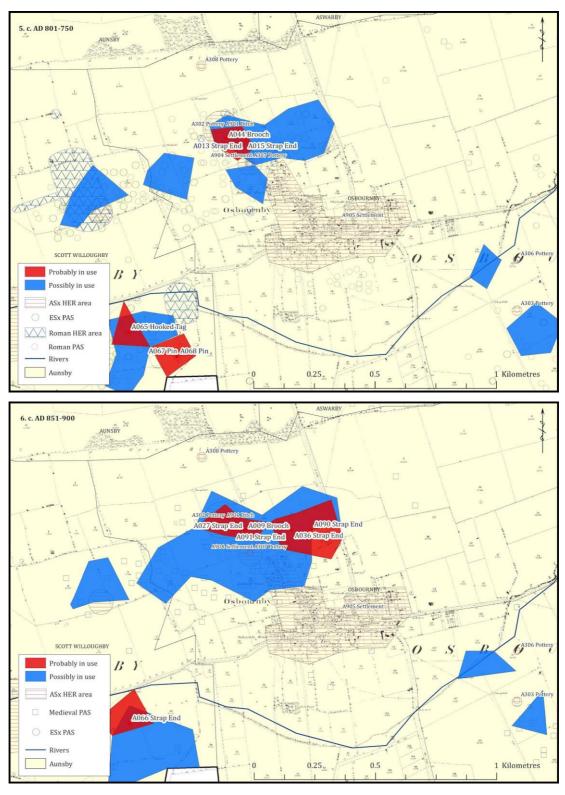


5.57b



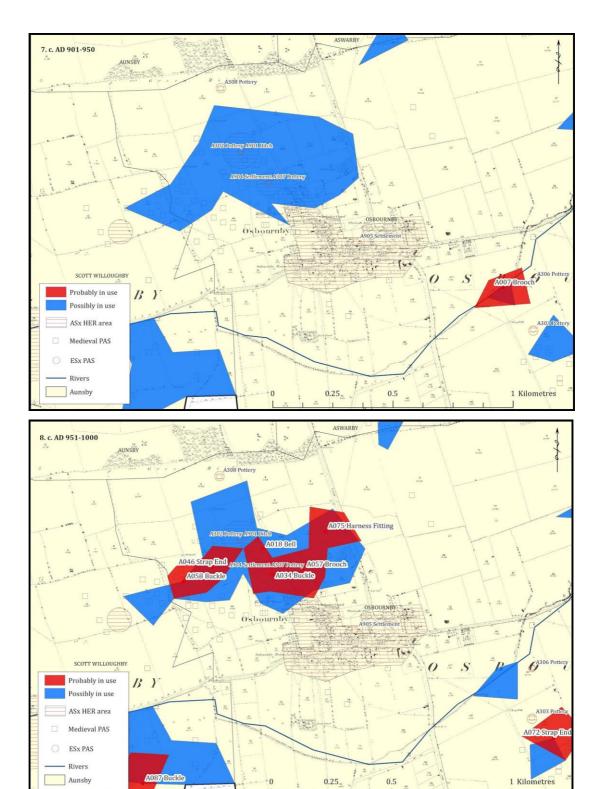


5.57c

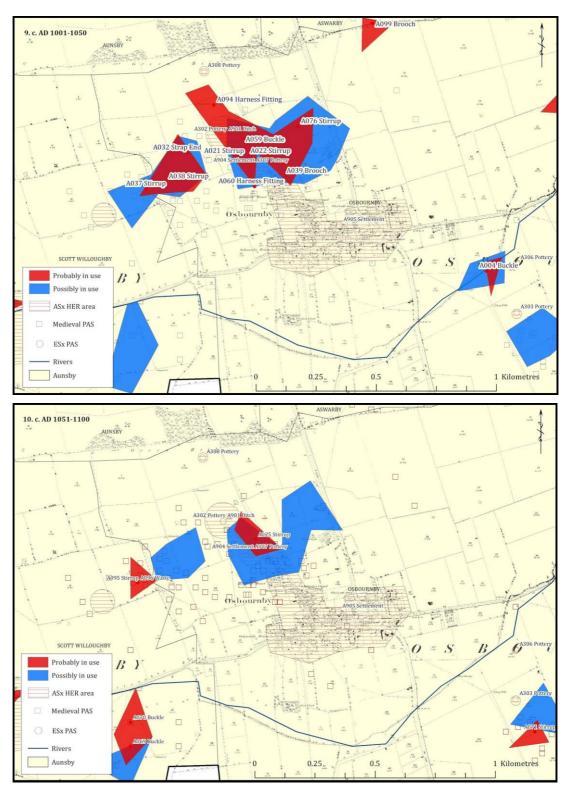


5.58a

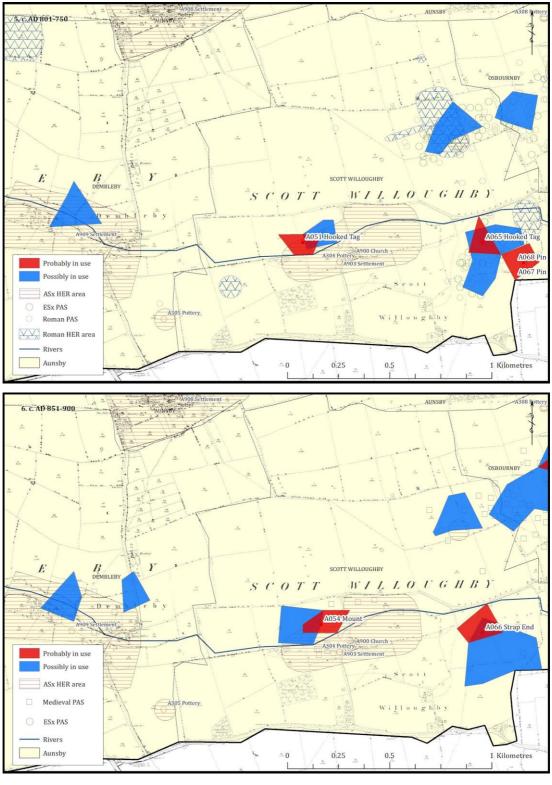
FIGURE 5.58A-C: LATE SAXON OSBOURNBY THROUGH TIME
See **Appendix 5** for high resolution slides of the same maps to illustrate the changes through time.



5.58b

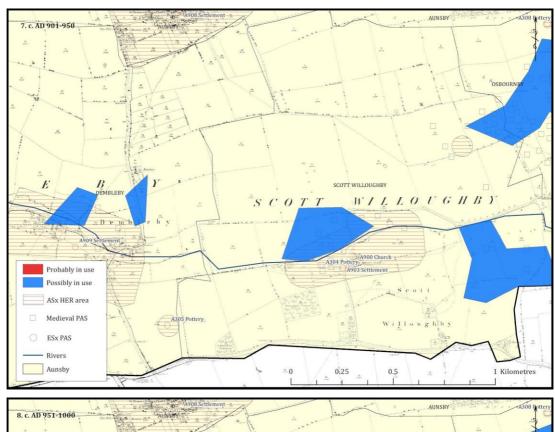


5.58c



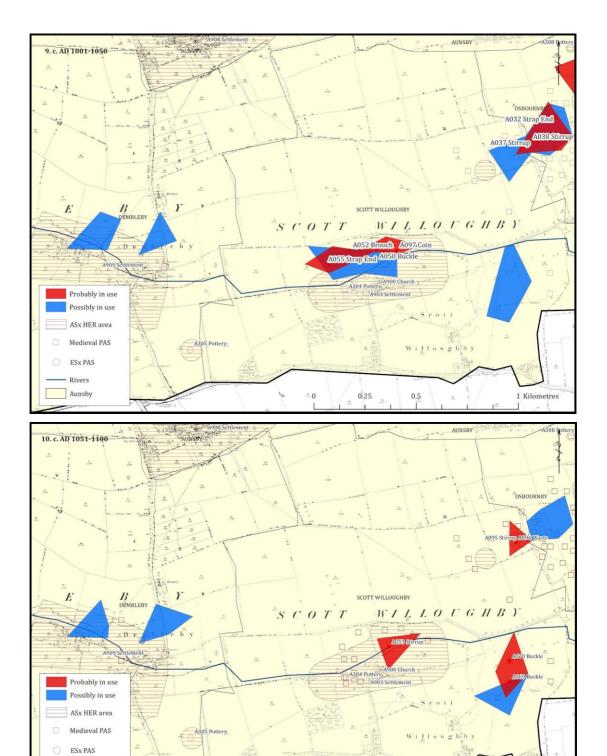
5.59a

FIGURE 5.59: LATE SAXON SCOTT WILLOUGHBY THROUGH TIME
See Appendix 5 for high resolution slides of the same maps to illustrate the changes through time.





5.59b



0.25

5.59c

Rivers
Aunsby

1 Kilometres

# 5.8 Aunsby, Lincolnshire, and the early medieval world: Anglo-Saxon halls, Scandinavian enclave

'The visitor to Lincolnshire, when he leaves the flat country that stretches from Huntingdon to Firsby, finds himself surrounded with records of Danish occupation, more numerous probably than in any other district of England...'

-Streatfeild (1884, 2-3)

#### 5.8.1 Introduction

It is difficult to specify the exact functions that the artefact clusters represent in *Aunsby*, especially for the Late Saxon period. The 'secondary data' complements this evidence, however, and by taking a step back and reviewing the evidence on the regional scale, it is nevertheless possible to generate a narrative of *Aunsby*'s transition into the Viking Age. The primary focus here is necessarily on the parish of Osbournby which has provided the most archaeological evidence. Data from across *Aunsby* as a whole will be considered alongside this when opportunities allow.

## 5.8.2 Osbournby: from Middle Saxon hamlet to nucleated village

Two definitive pieces of evidence present themselves with regards to Osbournby: firstly, that prior to the arrival of Scandinavian settlers, a dwelling — perhaps a lordly hall — existed just outside the modern village of Osbournby. Secondly, that by the end of the Viking Age, a vill with two manors known as 'Osbournby' was located in the wapentake of Aswardhurn. The intervening period is more obscure. It does seem highly likely, however, that the Middle Saxon settlement gave way to Late Saxon and finally medieval settlement, all within the vicinity of the modern village. What influenced these developments? Was it an inevitable, organic evolution, or were there other impetuses? To what extent did Scandinavian activity in the ninth to eleventh centuries affect this process and everyday life in the *Aunsby* communities? These transitions are evaluated below, by contextualising the evidence collated and assessed thus far within the wider socio-political landscape of Anglo-Scandinavian England.

The Middle Saxon finds tell a story of small communities occupying sites on either side of a beck over several generations. They may have buried their deceased on opposite meadows some distance from their settlements. Small hamlets and individual farmsteads were likely common across *Aunsby* with local trackways connecting neighbours within 1.5 to 3 kilometres of one another. In terms of a wider network, the people living in seventh-and eighth-century *Aunsby*, had at least indirect contact with Frisia (as evidenced by the Frisian runic-inscribed sceatta), and also had means of acquiring jewellery with garnets. There is little other evidence of exotic connections, however, and the few pottery sherds

reflect intraregional trade networks. Trade and communication therefore operated on a number of different levels, and the finer items would have come through a network that was 'closed' to the majority of the local inhabitants (cf. Hinton 1999). Alongside this, the activities and lifestyle associated with certain artefacts, such as the equestrianism associated with the garnet-inlaid horse harness mount, would have similarly been restricted to elite members of society.

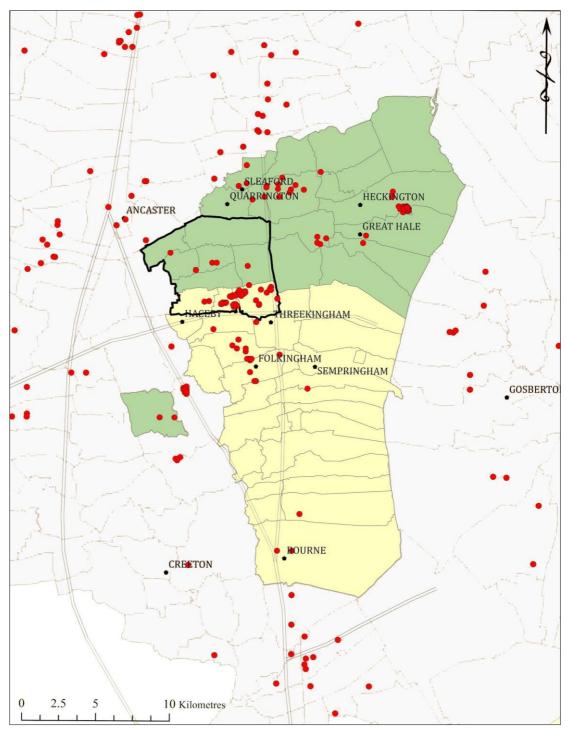


FIGURE 5.60: PAS DISTRIBUTION: AVELAND AND ASWARDHURN Fifteen metal finds from Folkingham have been recorded on the PASD.

Osbournby appears to have been the more populous of the two Middle Saxon sites identified through the artefactual record. The structural evidence and gilded horse pendant indicate that the community may have supported a wealthy lord; perhaps one who controlled a 12-carucate 'hundred' based around the Osbournby settlement. Such local lords, in turn, would have been under obligation to the overlord of a great estate probably that at Folkingham (Roffe 2000b) — provisioning it with local resources. Another power at this time was of course the church. It has already been mentioned that Threekingham may have been a site of early ecclesiastical importance and might therefore have enjoyed an element of control in the region. Land-grants to the church by kings were common in seventh-century England (Ulmschneider 2000b, 72). It is therefore possible that a relationship of provisioning also existed between some of the Aunsby parishes and a seventh-century monastery at Stow Green (Roffe 1986). Churches offered the protection of their saint to local communities, but also provided meeting places, and were associated with trade and fairs (Ulmschneider 2000b, 73). Neither Folkingham nor Threekingham has revealed any considerable amount of archaeology, however (Figure 5.60), and the specifics of their estate jurisdictions in the Middle Saxon period remain uncertain.

The conversion of Lincolnshire took place in the early seventh century, although, as with elsewhere, not every community was quick to adjust to the new doctrine. Thus even as the church was becoming the focal point of local communities, non- or sub-Christian burial rites continued to take place into the mid-eighth century. Aunsby would appear to have at least one example of this type of 'Final Phase' or 'conversion period' cemetery, situated on the parish boundary of Osbournby and Scott Willoughby. The cemetery was presumably in association with the nearby 'hall' excavated in Osbournby, although it is possible that it served a wider area. Certainly the extent of the artefact distributions covers two modern fields, though it is difficult to establish whether this reflects size, different phasing, or, more practically, plough disturbance of a discrete site. There need not have been religious antagonism between any monastic communities around Aunsby and those continuing to practice accompanied burials. A range of burial practices continued to be common throughout this period, and one increasing caution is that we should not assume a standardised progression in burial rites from 'pagan' cemetery, to unaccompanied inhumation, to church foundation and churchyard burial across all regions at the same time (Zadora-Rio 2003; Hadley and Buckberry 2005, 125; Welch 2012).

At some point, probably by the eleventh century, the cemetery area was transected by a parish boundary and would have gone out of use before then. It must be assumed that this was established to delimit the territory of Scott Willoughby from Osbournby, each of which had its own church by 1086, and were supporting different manorial estates. But what had become of the descendants of those who had buried their dead in the ancient

cemetery? The portable material culture suggests that activity continued in the locality across the c.300 years between the supposed abandonment of the cemetery and the Norman Conquest. At this stage it is worthwhile considering the boundaries themselves and at what stage the landscape was actually delineated to serve administrative, economic, or political ends.

In order to assess how the medieval boundaries emerged, one place to start is by removing the parish boundaries to examine human activity in the landscape without them (cf. Figure 5.49, above). When administrative boundaries are removed, the becks are clearly highlighted as the focal points for both south- and north-facing activity in the region. Settlement in Aunsby was first and foremost dictated by the environment: naturally sheltered areas against hills and in small valleys, and access to resources such as fresh water were clearly of central importance. Late Saxon activity and settlement overlay prehistoric to Middle Saxon activity in several cases, however, so it is unclear which encouraged continued use of space more: antecedent features, or the natural environment. Of course, they need not have been mutually exclusive. The local metal-detector user observed that while academics are intent on ascribing breaks and waves and various cultures to the material record, the narrative he observes through the artefacts recovered speaks of continuous use over time (Tim Camm, pers. comm.). The reality was probably not quite so seamless, but it is clear that in many cases past precedents existed in places that were also environmentally desirable for occupation in the Late Saxon period. Meaning over time was accrued and often it focused on particular spaces within the landscape. Such was the case at Osbournby.

With this knowledge, many of the boundaries that were solidified as part of the ecclesiastical or manorial landscape within Aunsby appear to have emerged after the Middle Saxon period. The eastern boundary formed by the Roman road along Osbournby and Aswarby is an older line in the landscape, but the distribution of artefacts suggests that other boundaries within Aunsby were delimited by later features. The dense distribution of 'personal' material culture in Aunsby dating from the late-fifth to mideighth centuries straddles the parish boundary between Osbournby and Scott Willoughby. A long hill to the north of Osbournby in turn marks its boundary with the parishes of Aswarby and Aunsby, which also served as the hundredal boundary between Aswardhurn and Aveland (cf. Figure 5.55, Figure 5.62). The density of finds here is therefore located within 500 metres of a number of administrative boundaries. The fact that the artefacts actually straddle two parishes seems to suggest that the boundaries only developed after the cemetery went out of use. Frequent ploughing has undoubtedly extended the scatter. The field boundaries have been intact since at least the eighteenth century, which could further account for the differences in clustering across either side of the fence (cf. Figure 5.55, above). Comparisons have already been drawn with Sheffield's Hill in Roxby-cumRisby (Chapter 4). These cemeteries were situated on a parish boundary adjacent to a number of other parishes, and the Lincoln Edge might also have served as a local hundredal division.

It is highly likely that the emergence of boundaries in *Aunsby* coincided with the need to delimit manorial territories — especially if new divisions were being created from the fragmentation of older estates. This might well have corresponded with the foundation of parish churches, and a relationship between manorial enclosure and church yard could be anticipated based on other examples (e.g. Goltho (Beresford 1987); and see Reynolds (2003, 116) for other examples). It has been suggested that settlement in Osbournby focused to the north of the modern village in the Middle and Late Saxon periods. This is based on the distribution of PAS finds, but also on the excavated evidence which revealed an early dwelling, ditches and pits (Mahany 1977). The finds recovered from this area might reflect refuse and discards ploughed out from ditches and pits between settlements over the years. Since the modern church in Osbournby was only established in the thirteenth century, it is furthermore possible that the original church location was elsewhere.

Another change taking place around this time was the emergence of the open field system and settlement nucleation. It appears that Osbournby might have been a nucleated settlement from an early stage. There is some evidence for Late Saxon activity to the east of the modern village but this might not necessarily point to settlement. This pattern is similar to the situation observed at Kirby Bellars (Frisby, Chapter 7, 7.8.2 below), where a handful of Late Saxon artefacts are found several hundred yards from the modern and medieval village, near the parish border. Most of the artefacts in Osbournby cluster around the north of the village, however. Historic maps have preserved hints of names of the great fields and common lands in pre-enclosure Osbournby (Figure 5.61). The three-field system extends to the south and east of Osbournby village, suggesting that their creation coincided with or post-dated the establishment of the parish boundary to the west. It is therefore probable that this boundary emerged between the tenth and eleventh centuries, favouring the later date when evidence for increased activity in the surrounding region suggests growing pressures on land management. This is similarly observed in the shift in activity to the north of Scott Willoughby around the eleventh century. Over this time it seems that much of the local population continued to live as it had in the past, except that it had converted to Christianity and eventually grew to follow a new way of working the land cooperatively.

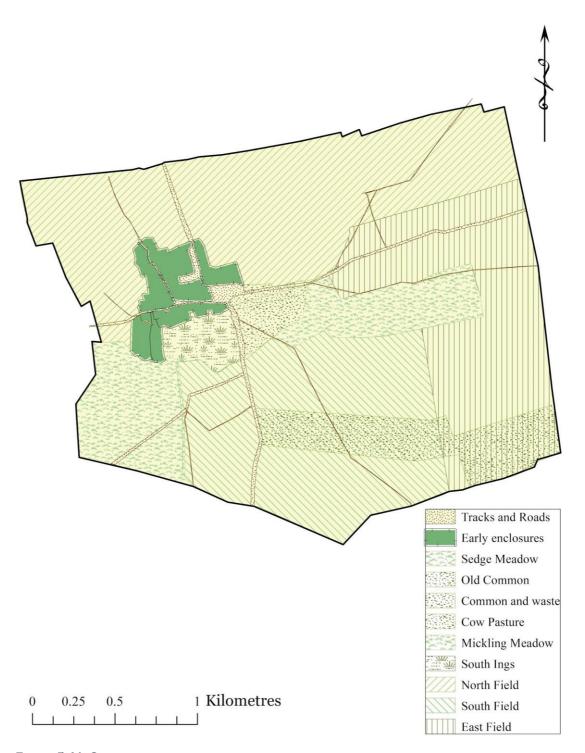


FIGURE 5.61: OSBOURNBY THREE-FIELD SYSTEM Information derived from field names in a 1798 enclosure award (LArch: 35GEO3).

One final question to address is the impact of Scandinavian settlers on the area. Does the seemingly continuous use of a place over time mask underlying conflicts and disturbances? Although Osbournby's origins are pre-Viking Age, a catalyst for nucleation in other parts of *Aunsby* might have come from an influx of new settlers throughout the ninth to eleventh centuries. The tenth century was a time of unrest within the Danelaw, as the West Saxons strove to free it from Scandinavian hands. The artefacts arriving and being lost in *Aunsby* nevertheless indicate continued links not only to the rest of England,

but to Scandinavia — perhaps via East Anglia — as well. Far from being the victims of colonisation, the Anglo-Saxons of *Aunsby* might in fact have been a driving force behind the local adoption of Scandinavian motifs. Cheaply made, and perhaps even locally produced lead versions of Scandinavian-style brooches found in *Aunsby* shed insight into the aspirations of the lower levels of society and also highlight a prevalent demand for new styles that almost certainly transcended cultural and ethnic affiliations. Based on the combination of place-name evidence and material culture, it nevertheless seems that Scandinavian influence must have played a strong role in shaping *Aunsby*'s Late Saxon socio-cultural (and perhaps also its agricultural) landscape. The example of Swarby is one indication that settlements were emerging and diversifying during the tenth centuries, probably as a result of new migrant settlers. There is little evidence to suggest that the Scandinavian settlement in *Aunsby* or the wider region had a necessarily negative impact on the local communities.

Indeed, the long pasts of the places themselves were probably transferred to become part of any new settlers' understanding of the land. Scott Willoughby and Silk Willoughby preserve the local descriptions of the region, while 'Dembleby' was clearly admired for its natural features by the Scandinavian-speaking population. In other respects, if a Scandinavian lord was responsible for the fragmentation of the Osbournby estate, the decision to mark a boundary along the line of an ancient cemetery indicates that local knowledge and ancestral memories were transferred to the newcomers.

A final example of this might be found in the wapentake place-name, Aswardhurn. As mentioned above (5.5), the wapentake is named for the Old Scandinavian personal name, Asvarđr, and either the OSc or OE word for thorn-bush (Fellows Jensen 1978, 151). It is quite possible that a meeting place had been held in the same location, at the 'thorn-bush', prior to Asvarđr's acquisition of or influence on the area. Anglo-Saxon assemblies at thornbushes have been recorded (Hooke 1998, 23; Pantos 2003, 43); the practice was therefore not a uniquely Scandinavian import. It is suggested here that the site of the Aswardhurn meeting place was located at or near Aswarby Thorns, within the parish of Aswarby, presumably named for the same Asvarār (Figure 5.62), and that this may have been an assembly site of some antiquity, even prior to the apparent Scandinavian appropriation of the site as a wapentake meeting place named for *Asvarđr*. The site is geographically appropriate for a meeting place, with good access to local transportation networks, lying just off the Roman Mareham Lane, and another east-west road connecting the Fens to western Aswardhurn slightly to the north. In the nineteenth Aswarby Thorns covered the corner of the parish of Aswarby, where it meets the parishes of Silk Willoughby, Burton Pedwardine, and Scredington, a four-way parish border (Figure 5.63). Bordering the latter fenland parishes, Aswarby provided a relatively central gateway within the wapentake to higher and drier ground, perhaps another reason behind its selection as a meeting place. It

is possible that we should not read the 'thorn-bush' of Asvardr as the literal, or permanent site of the meeting place: the moot mound recorded northwest of Aswarby Thorns in Silk Willoughby is another candidate for the assembly site, and it has already been observed that Aswarby, Swarby, and Silk Willoughby parishes are host to a monumental prehistoric landscape in the form of Bronze-Age barrows (cf. Figure 5.12, above). Pantos (2003, 42) notes that assembly locations may not have been discrete, but could have encompassed a much wider landscape than that focusing on a single bush or tumulus, as was the case at Tingwall, Isle of Man (c. 250m<sup>2</sup>). Another example might be found in the Heane Wood assembly site, Kent. The meeting place is remembered by the name 'Heane Wood', although the focus of the medieval assembly was at the Bronze Age and early medieval barrows north of, or within the woods, around which an Early Anglo-Saxon cemetery was founded (see Baker and Brookes 2015, 10, Fig. 5 for details). It is therefore possible that Aswarby Thorns acted as a gateway to the greater assembly landscape of Aswardhurn, one that perhaps focused around the barrow mounds of Silk Willoughby and Swarby. Another possibility is that the moot mound at Silk Willoughby served a different level of assembly than that at Aswarby Thorns, perhaps for a hundredal assembly — a lesser level of jurisdiction than that of wapentake. This is also noted as a possible practice in Frisby, where within a given wapentake numerous assembly sites have been identified (Chapter 7 (Figure 7.62).

The similarities between Aveland and Aswardhurn wapentakes in terms of placenames have already been noted (5.5.2), but the implications behind them are worth elaborating upon. Both places refer to natural elements in the landscape: a grove in the case of Aveland, and a thorn-bush (or bush/grove/wood of thorns?) in the case of Aswardhurn. The people living in Aveland and Aswardhurn in Kesteven, which is known to be a well-wooded kingdom even by the time of Domesday, were predisposed to name and classify their surroundings based on the local flora and tree coverage. This practice was clearly not lost on people speaking a Scandinavian tongue who later came to live in the region; the treed landscape provided a lingua franca that natives and newcomers alike could appreciate and converse in.

Scandinavian-speaking immigrants to the area had adopted (or been initiated into, or appropriated) the natural landmarks of the region's politico-cultural landscape. Even if it was argued that these sites were 'new' wapentake meeting places founded by an incoming regime, the features selected to define the assembly sites reflect a shared recognition amongst the newcomers of their adopted landscape. Baker and Brookes (2015, 17), however, argue that the lack of references to boundaries in hundred (and wapentake) place-names indicates that the administrative boundaries so commonly associated with assembly sites post-date the founding of the sites themselves. This would suggest that the argument whereby Viking Age immigrants inherited rather than founded these assembly

landscapes is the more likely. Certainly, the only indications that these sites might not have been in use in the Anglo-Saxon period is that they are preserved in a Scandinavian language and were central to the wapentake — an administrative jurisdiction introduced by Scandinavian settlers. Given that assembly sites persisted in similar forms prior to and following the Viking Age in areas of England that were not extensively settled by Scandinavian migrants, it is much more probable that, as Baker and Brookes have observed (2015, 19), this form of 'early administrative organization' survived the 'significant political and cultural changes' of the ninth to eleventh centuries.

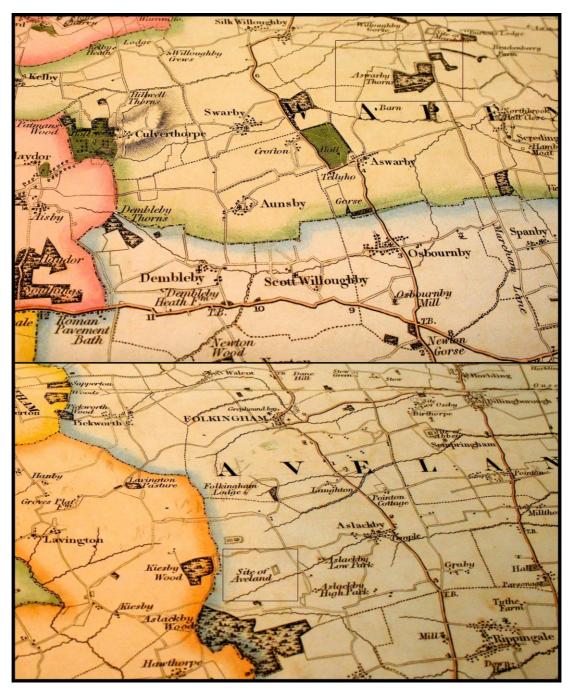


FIGURE 5.62: 'ASWARBY THORNS' AND AVELAND: WAPENTAKE ASSEMBLY SITES? Map excerpts from Greenwood and Greenwood (1830), courtesy of Lincolnshire Archives (LArch: 99/65).

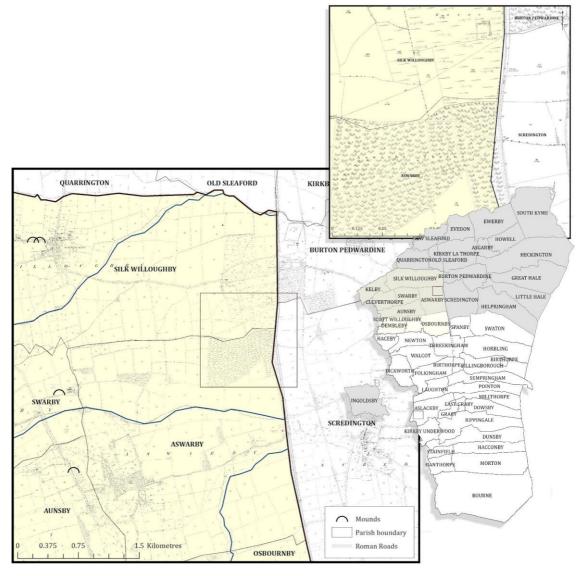


FIGURE 5.63: ASWARBY THORNS IN ASWARDHURN

In the 19th century, Aswarby Thorns bordered Silk Willoughby and the Roman road that divides the western Kesteven parishes from the fens. The Thorns are therefore situated at a natural and human-made confluence. The remains of a medieval cross are recorded along the road mid-way between the Silk Willoughby-Aswarby parish boundary to the west, and the Burton-Pedwardine/Scredington boundary to the east. The Aveland location is shown in the parish of Aslackby and, to the north, Aswarby Thorns in its relatively central position within the wapentake of Aswardhurn (inset map of wapentakes).

On this basis, we can therefore imagine that the place-names of Aveland and Aswardhurn and their respective meeting places exemplify the transitions that occurred in Kesteven over the Anglo-Saxon period to the Viking Age: land organisation was transferred into new hands — whether incoming Scandinavian lords or others taking advantage of Scandinavian-imposed disruptions — and linguistic, if not political, influence in the area was dominated by Scandinavian-speaking peoples. The speed of these transitions cannot be determined precisely, nor can the political mood that accompanied them. Nevertheless, if we accept that certain aspects of the local landscape around *Aunsby* and its wapentakes acted as common denominators linking newcoming freemen and lords to a practice that pre-dated their memories of their adopted settlements, it can be argued

that continuity in landscape use, and administrative practices, might have smoothed some of the interactions between 'natives' and newcomers.

## 5.9 Conclusion

In many respects, the inhabitants of *Aunsby* continued life in the Viking Age in much the same way as they had before Scandinavians arrived in England: they used the Roman roads, they travelled short distances to lead animals to pasture and communicate with their neighbours. But overall, from the time that Scandinavians began to settle in England, it would appear that change — in terms of the distribution of land and access to new ideas and trends — did begin to happen more quickly. What remained a constant throughout this were certain places, such as Osbournby, that had accrued local value over the years. Over time, the newcomers to these areas were initiated into this local knowledge; they also named the landscape and learned of pasts that were not originally 'theirs' but which they would inherit nonetheless. We see this at work in particular in the use of place-names that refer to wooded areas and specific tree types, with evidence that both Anglo-Saxons and Scandinavian-speaking inhabitants identified with the area's arboreal landmarks in similar ways. In this way, acculturation was hastened through the common medium of the landscape.