Barrows and Buildings, Ditches and Dwellings:

The Appropriation of Prehistoric Monuments in Early to Middle Anglo-Saxon Settlements

Vicky A. Crewe

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Chapter Six

Analysis of Case Studies

Four settlements from the corpus were selected for in-depth analysis as case study sites: Barrow Hills, Sutton Courtenay, Catholme and Eye Kettleby (see fig. 6.1). These sites were chosen because they are some of the most extensively-excavated and well-recorded settlements in the corpus. Furthermore, all four have particularly large numbers of excavated buildings in comparison to other settlements in the corpus, with at least forty-five buildings each. As such, detailed spatial analysis of the relationships between the structures and monuments in each settlement can be undertaken. The aim of this analysis is to determine whether there were more subtle spatial, structural and chronological relationships between buildings and prehistoric monuments than the more general overview of settlements in the previous chapter was able to reveal.

Each settlement will be discussed separately, taking into account a number of different categories of archaeological evidence. Barrow Hills will be considered first, followed by Sutton Courtenay, Catholme, and finally Eye Kettleby. The discussion of each case study will commence with a description of the settlement, its discovery and the prehistoric features within it. Specific aspects of the settlements will then be considered, in order to determine whether they can reveal information about the relationships between the Anglo-Saxon settlements and the earlier monuments that they incorporate. This discussion will include, for example, analysis of the sizes of buildings in relation to monuments, and investigation of the impact that monuments may have had on movement around each settlement. It is hoped that the close examination of these different aspects of the settlements will enhance our understanding of how people reused monuments in settlements during the fifth to ninth centuries.

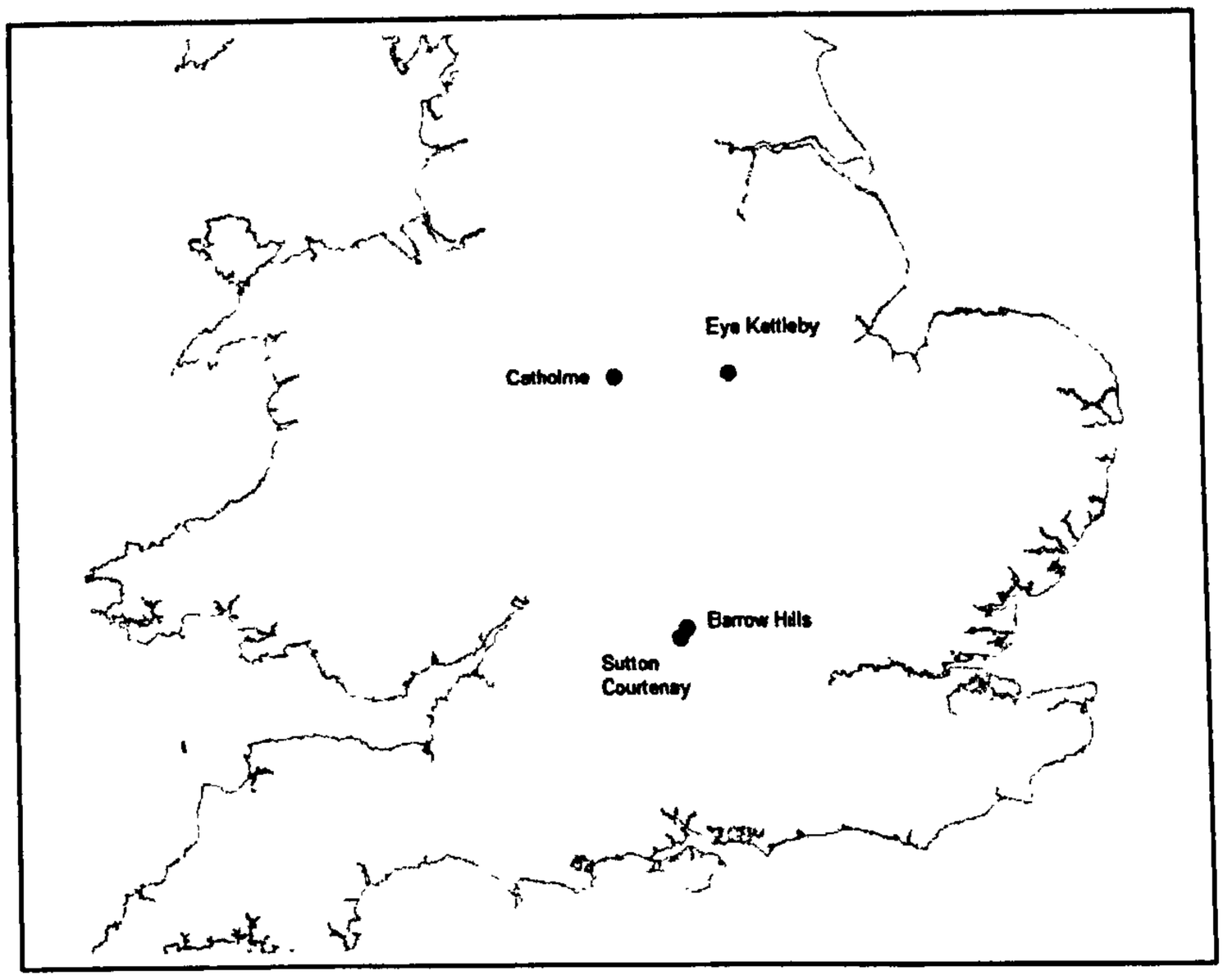

Fig. 6.1 Locations of the case study sites.

Categories of Analysis

Before discussing the four sites, it will be beneficial to explain exactly which elements of the settlements are to be analysed and why. There are six aspects of the archaeological evidence from each settlement that are deemed in this study to be particularly useful for understanding how Anglo-Saxon communities appropriated monuments. These are settlement layout, building sizes, building replacement, phasing, movement within a settlement, and finds and burials, the latter two forming one category. These categories of evidence are investigated at each of the four sites, always with specific reference to what they might reveal about the appropriation of monuments within the settlements. A brief summary of each of the aspects of the settlements that are analysed follows.

Settlement Layout

In this part of the analysis attention is paid to the positions of buildings in relation to prehistoric monuments in each settlement, as well as to the distribution of different types of buildings. This reveals how the settlements formed around the monuments within them, and highlights particularly close or interesting relationships between buildings and earthworks.

Building Sizes

This aspect of the analysis involves comparing the sizes of post-built structures and SFBs, with reference to their positions in relation to monuments; in other words, comparing the sizes of structures closer to monuments with those further away. This aspect of the settlement evidence was selected for investigation because it has the potential to reveal information about the status of settlements, since it has been demonstrated by James et al. (1984) that the sizes of post-built structures could be indicative of status. They divided settlement sites into two groups, one with predominantly larger buildings, measuring over 50m^2 in area, the other with mostly small buildings, under 50m^2 (James et al. 1984: 185-6). Those sites falling into the first category also tended to show clear signs of planning, and included well-known, high-status settlements, such as Yeavering and Cowdery's Down (Hants). Marshall and Marshall (1991: 39) have observed that larger buildings not only point to a higher-status role for a settlement as a whole, but could also denote higher status *within* settlements.

It is also possible that differences in building dimensions were linked to function, as the excavators of Barrow Hills have suggested (Chambers and McAdam 2007: 66-7) (see below). Meanwhile, size differences may also have been linked to date, as larger post-built structures – especially those constructed using plank- or post-in-trench techniques – increased in number from the seventh century onwards (Marshall and Marshall 1991: 42). Thus, considering the sizes of post-built structures in relation to monuments is deemed to be of value in this part of the analysis, as it has the potential to reveal whether particular sizes of building were more likely to be located close to barrows, which could, in turn, disclose information about the status, functions or dates of those structures.

No such links have previously been drawn between size and status or function in the case of SFBs, although there are some indications that building sizes were more varied in the seventh and eighth centuries than in the fifth and sixth (Tipper 2004: 11). These structures have often been interpreted as rather lowly craft-working or

storage sheds, the implication being that they were not employed to express status in the same way that post-built structures were. Nonetheless, there was significant variation in the sizes of these structures in Tipper's (2004) review, and it is not unusual to find SFBs that are as large as post-built structures on many sites. Thus, if it is possible that increasing size correlated with increasing status where post-built structures were concerned, the same *might* be true of SFBs, since those members of society with the wealth and resources to construct large hall buildings may also have had the means to build larger SFBs. Similarly, if size differences were related to functional use in post-built structures, it is also possible that the same was true for SFBs. For these reasons both post-built and SFBs are analysed in terms of size and their proximity to monuments.

When considering the proximity of buildings to barrows, structures have been classified in this thesis as falling into one of several categories; buildings on a barrow's mound or ring ditch, buildings within 10m of a barrow (but not on it), buildings within 10-20m of a barrow, and buildings more than 20m away from a barrow. The distances between monuments and buildings were measured from site plans using a clear plastic ruler (a method advocated by Huggins (1991: 7) for calculating building dimensions), measuring from the outer edge of the monument to the nearest part of the building. This method was used at Barrow Hills, Sutton Courtenay and Eye Kettleby. At Catholme the method employed was different, as the settlement layout was highly structured and buildings were located in different settlement zones; in this case building sizes are considered in relation to the zones in which they were located. Additionally, at Eye Kettleby, there were several prehistoric enclosures, and accordingly in this instance the sizes of buildings were analysed with reference to their positions inside and outside the enclosures.

Building Replacement

The rebuilding and re-cutting of both post-built structures and SFBs is considered, as this can reveal whether there were particular building locations in settlements that communities used repeatedly. When these repeatedly-used building plots

occurred in close proximity to pre-existing earthworks, they may indicate that structures close to earthworks were places of long-lived importance. Additionally, the replacement and maintenance of buildings are demonstrative of multiple phases of activity, and they are therefore indicators of chronological depth. As such, they can aid the dating of sites and they are related to the following category of evidence, phasing.

Phasing

The dating evidence from each case study site varies, but it includes finds assemblages, stratigraphic relationships and radiocarbon dates. These are used to investigate the phasing of the sites, and thereby their chronological development. This category of evidence was considered significant in this study because it has the potential to reveal whether there were changes in the relationships between buildings and monuments over time. Moreover, it may also disclose whether there were wider chronological developments across all four sites.

Movement within the Settlement

Another aspect of the settlement evidence to be analysed is the impact that pre-existing monuments had on the movement of inhabitants around settlements. Did monuments obstruct routes or views from one side of the settlement to the other, for example? Or did they influence the way in which particular buildings were approached and entered? Alternatively, did buildings or other structures such as fences restrict or encourage access to the monuments? This part of the analysis takes into account the evidence for trackways, views through and across settlements, and the positioning of buildings and fences in relation to monuments in order to answer these questions.

Finds and Burials

Aspects of the artefact assemblages from each site are considered, in order to date features where possible, but also to determine whether finds were distributed in such a way as to provide information about the uses of particular areas of the

settlements. Specific attention is paid to the apparently deliberate placement of artefacts, animal remains and human burials in settlement features, particularly when they have been found close to monuments. An increasing number of these placed deposits are being recognized on Anglo-Saxon settlements (Hamerow et al. 2007: 185), and they frequently comprise animal remains, which can be complete or fragmentary, in the form of skulls, articulated limbs or trunks, or disarticulated bone en masse (Hamerow 2006: 3). Complete or semi-complete objects, such as pottery vessels and brooches, on the bases of features or in primary fills, are another form of placed deposit (Hamerow 2006: 17). These items generally stand out when they are against a background of highly fragmented material, but they are more likely than animal deposits to be interpreted as casual losses. Human burials within settlements can also be classed as placed deposits, and are similarly of interest here.

Placed deposits are useful for indicating which areas of settlements were seen as appropriate for 'ritual' or ideologically-important activity. For example, 50% of the deposits in Hamerow's study were deposited in SFBs as termination or closing offerings, generally dug into the backfill or laid on the base of the buildings (Hamerow 2006: 8). There was also a link between entrances or boundaries and placed deposits, which may have reinforced the liminal, transitional nature of these locations (Hamerow 2006: 9). When these deposits are found near to monuments, this may reveal that these places were also linked to ritual activities. Furthermore, the insertion of human and animal burials into monuments in settlements – essentially a form of funerary monument reuse – adds an additional layer of meaning to the appropriation of those monuments by the communities who lived near them. Placed deposits could also emphasise the exceptional status or functions of buildings, as for example at Yeavering, where a cache of ox skulls was associated with a large post-built structure which, it has been suggested, had a religious function (Hamerow 2006: 30).

The presence of reused prehistoric and Roman artefacts occurs on all four case study sites. In some cases they have been found in contexts thought to represent general collections of discarded material, but in other instances there is evidence to suggest that they were buried deliberately in features, as placed deposits. Either way, their presence in settlements demonstrates that inhabitants were recycling older items, and this provides a further avenue for exploring the reuse of, and reactions to, the physical remains of the past.

Case Study 1: Barrow Hills

Barrow Hills, near Abingdon in Oxfordshire, was excavated by Oxford Archaeological Unit and Reading University between 1983 and 1985, as the site was under threat from housing development (Chambers and McAdam 2007: 1) (see figs. 6.2 and 6.3). Although ploughing had damaged the site in recent years, some archaeological features, including many SFBs, were clearly visible as cropmarks prior to excavation. Twenty-two post-built structures were excavated, and these were divided into three categories by the excavators: halls, ancillary structures and fencelines (Chambers and McAdam 2007: 66). Of these, thirteen were interpreted as buildings, with the remainder thought to have formed fences. However, the excavators did warn that the site plan was 'misleadingly tidy', as many other postholes had been excavated but could not be reconstructed as parts of buildings or fences, and they were therefore omitted from the published plan (Chambers and McAdam 2007: 66, 85, 303). Additionally, extensive animal burrowing on the site caused some confusion due to the resemblance between burrows and postholes, while a 'blank' section of the site to the south of SFBs 4, 5 and 16 was probably due to the loss of excavation records for that area, rather than a true lack of archaeological features (Chambers and McAdam 2007: 10).

All the post-built structures at Barrow Hills were of simple posthole construction, and as few artefacts were recovered from the postholes these structures were dated on the basis of their relationships with SFBs, of which there were forty-five (Chambers and McAdam 2007: 66, 83, 89). The majority of the datable material was

recovered from the fills of SFB pits, although there were also a small number of other pits of Anglo-Saxon date. The finds indicated a period of occupation between the fifth and early seventh centuries, although the dates retrieved from most SFBs provided only a *terminus post quem* for each building, rather than its exact dates of occupation, since the material had been deposited after the abandonment of the buildings (Chambers and McAdam 2007: 297). The dates from these buildings can, nonetheless, provide some indication of the phasing of the site, and are useful for understanding its chronological development, as will be demonstrated below.

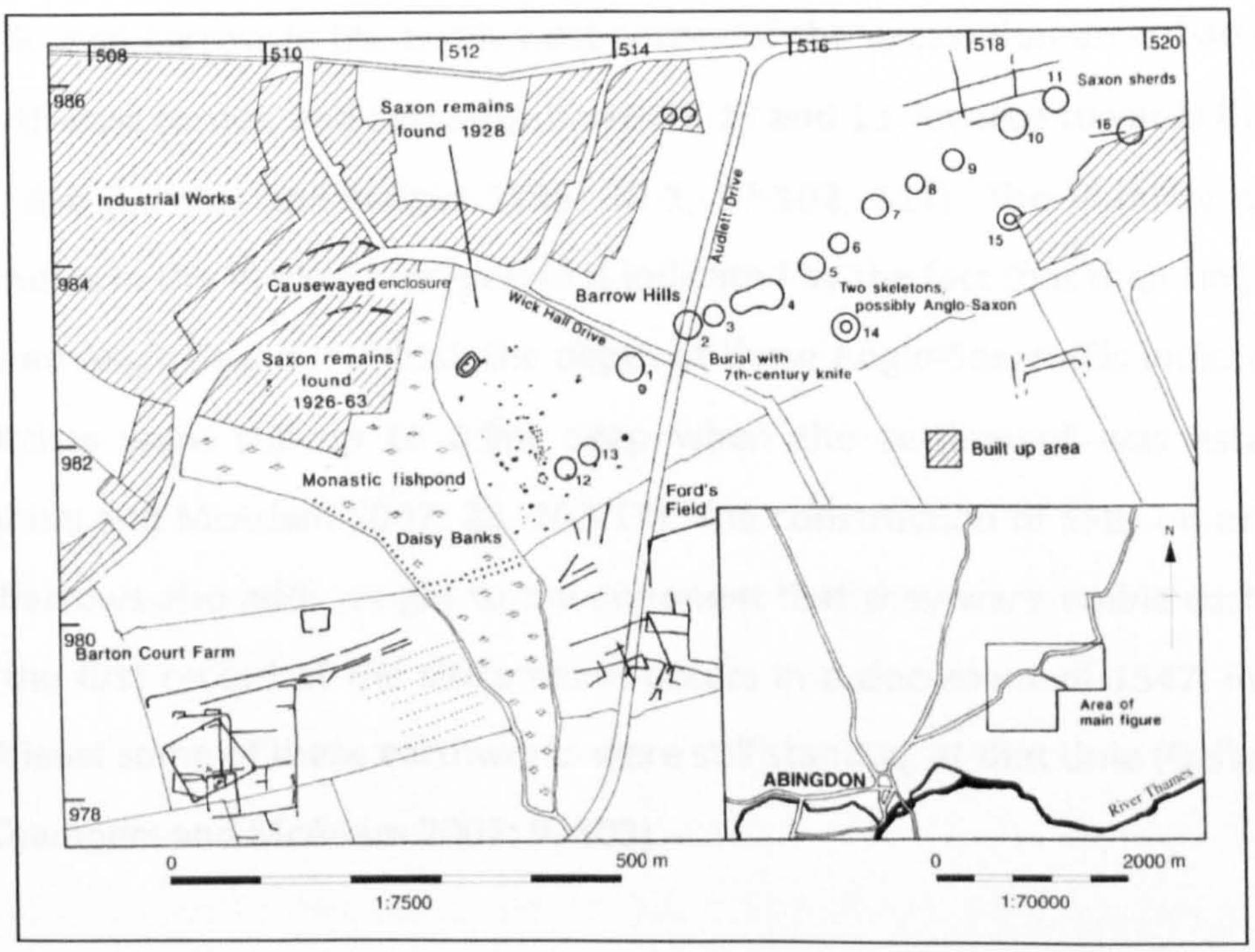

Fig. 6.2 Barrow Hills prehistoric barrow cemetery; the Anglo-Saxon settlement is in the field containing barrows 12 and 13 (from Chambers and McAdam 2007: 3, fig. 1.3).

A large proportion of the settlement's original extent seems to have been excavated, although occupation may have extended slightly beyond the limits of the excavation to the north and south, whilst to the west the burnt remains of a wattle and daub structure, associated with fifth- to seventh-century artefacts, were discovered in the 1970s (Avery and Brown 1972; Chambers and McAdam 2007: 65). Some 300m south-west of Barrow Hills was a roughly contemporary settlement at Barton Court Farm, also excavated in the 1970s, which may have been linked to the Barrow Hills site, as similar pottery was found at both (Chambers and McAdam

2007: 7, 66). However, the western boundary of the Barrow Hills settlement was formed by a stream surrounded by marshy land called Daisy Banks, and there do not appear to have been any further features in the area between the two sites, making the possibility that they were part of one settlement unlikely (see fig. 6.2).

Barrow Hills was situated at the south-western end of a prehistoric monument complex, and a number of these monuments were situated within the Anglo-Saxon settlement itself. There were several substantial monuments of particular note: a Neolithic oval barrow in the north-west corner of the excavation area, barrow 1 in the north-east corner, and two large barrows, 12 and 13, located towards the south of the site (Barclay and Halpin 1999: 20-1, 97-102, 111). The visibility of these monuments in the Anglo-Saxon period is indicated by the fact that their ring ditches contained Anglo-Saxon material; the depth of these Anglo-Saxon fills indicated that the ditches were still up to 0.9m deep when the settlement was established (Chambers and McAdam 2007: 23, 203-17). The construction of SFBs on or next to some barrows also adds weight to the argument that they were visible earthworks, while the first record of the site's name occurs in a document of 1547, indicating that at least some of these earthworks were still standing at that time (Gelling 1974: 437; Chambers and McAdam 2007: 9, 303).

There were also a number of smaller monuments within the settlement, including two late Neolithic or early Bronze Age ring ditches, 201 and 801, with internal diameters of 9.5m and 10m respectively, which may also have had internal mounds (Barclay and Halpin 1999: 48, 135-6) (see fig. 6.3). Although there is little evidence to indicate whether 201 was an earthwork in the Anglo-Saxon period, the positioning of SFBs in relation to 801 strongly suggests that it may have been visible. There were also two pond barrows in the settlement; the pit of 4583 was 4.6m in diameter and 1m deep, while the pit of 4866 was 6.5m in diameter and also 1m deep (Barclay and Halpin 1999: 52, 115). A late sixth- or seventh-century burial seems to have been inserted into the bank around 4866 and its central pit contained some Anglo-Saxon material, whilst the positioning of five third- to fourth-

century Romano-British graves on the north-west side of pond barrow 4583 strongly suggests that an external bank was still visible around that monument in the late Romano-British period (Chambers and McAdam 2007: 118).

There were several less substantial pre-existing features that *might* have influenced the Anglo-Saxon settlement, although there is no clear spatial or structural evidence to confirm that this was the case. A segmented ring ditch, comprised of shallow ditch segments, enclosed an area c.10m by 9m, and was located west of barrow 12 but had no evidence for an accompanying mound or bank (Barclay and Halpin 1999: 44). Even so, it is interesting that it does appear to have been respected by a Romano-British grave to the south and by an Anglo-Saxon fence to the north, so it may have survived in some form. There were also Neolithic and Bronze Age 'flat' graves, which had no evidence for earthworks accompanying them, although some had seen repeated burial activity during the prehistoric period, perhaps indicating the presence of small mounds or banks (Barclay and Halpin 1999: 56, 130). Again, the graves had not been disturbed by later features, although this does not necessarily mean that they were still visible as earthworks in the fifth to seventh centuries. The third- to fourth-century Romano-British graves respecting the segmented ring ditch were part of a cemetery that lay in the middle of the investigation area (Chambers and McAdam 2007: 13-17). Although there were no indications that these burials had been accompanied by markers, except perhaps small amounts of upcast material from the graves, the Anglo-Saxon features did generally respect them. To summarise, then, there was an extensive palimpsest of earlier activity at Barrow Hills, and although the visibility of some features in the Anglo-Saxon period is doubtful, an array of monuments certainly existed as substantial earthworks and appear to have influenced the layout of the fifth- to seventh-century settlement.

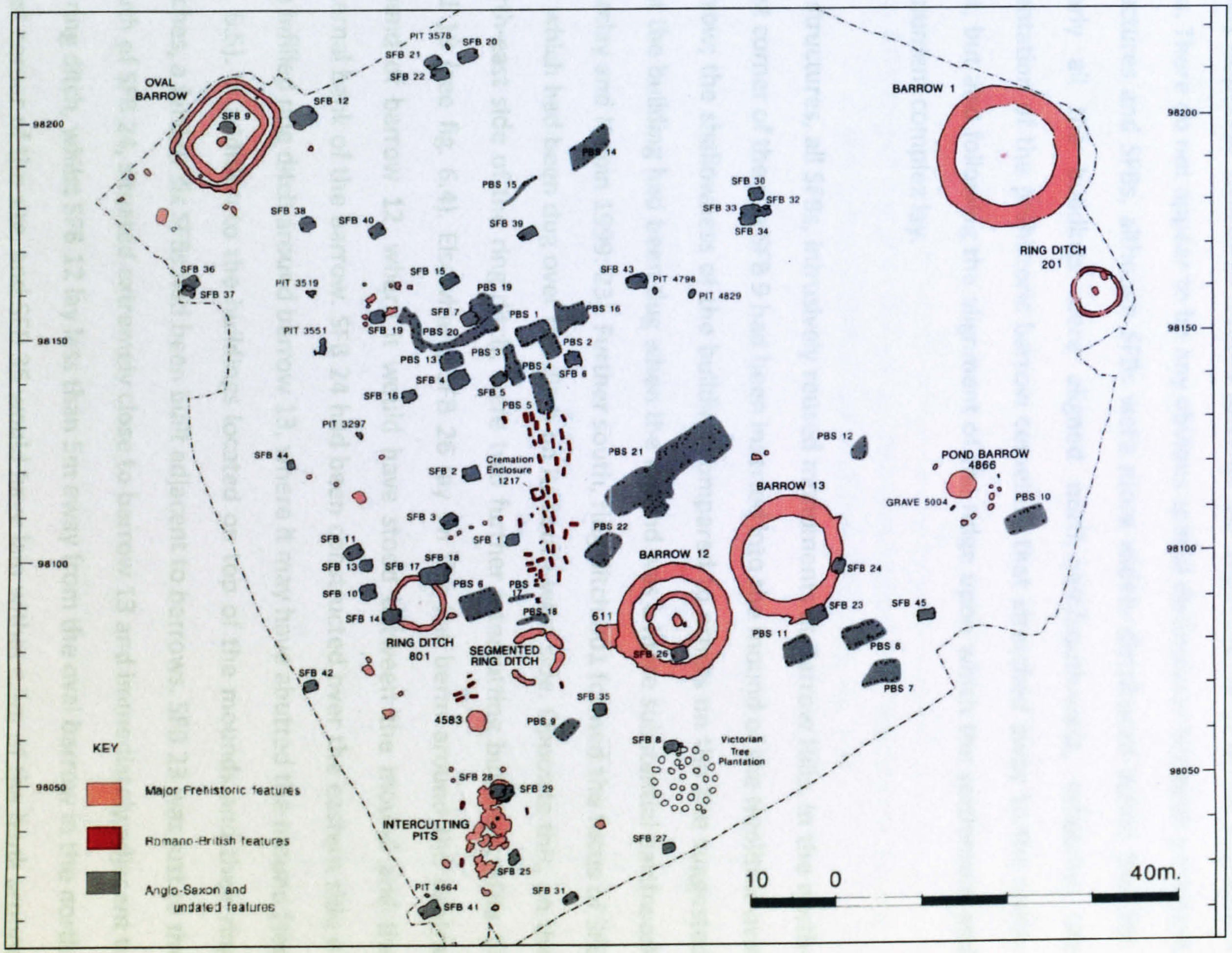

Fig. 6.3 Barrow Hills site plan (after Barclay and Halpin 1999: fig. 1.9).

Settlement Layout

Many buildings were situated in the middle of the investigation area, surrounded by the prehistoric barrows but not directly in contact with them. The majority of post-built structures were located in this central/northern cluster of buildings, accompanied by a number of SFBs. The settlement activity was by no means restricted to this part of the site, however, as another cluster of post-built structures and SFBs lay to the south-east of barrow 13, whilst there were more widely dispersed structures located towards the south and west of the excavation area. There do not appear to be any obvious spatial distinctions between post-built structures and SFBs, although SFBs were more widely distributed across the site. Nearly all the buildings were aligned north-east/south-west, reflecting the orientation of the prehistoric barrow cemetery that stretched away to the north-east, but also following the alignment of the ridge upon which the settlement and monument complex lay.

Six structures, all SFBs, intrusively reused monuments at Barrow Hills. In the north-west corner of the site SFB 9 had been inserted into the mound of the Neolithic oval barrow; the shallowness of the building compared to others on the site suggested that the building had been dug when the mound was a more substantial earthwork (Barclay and Halpin 1999: 23). Further south, ring ditch 801 formed the focus of SFB 14, which had been dug over the ditch on its south-west side. Opposite this, on the north-east side of the ring ditch, were two further intercutting buildings, SFBs 17 and 18 (see fig. 6.4). Elsewhere, SFB 26 lay on the flat berm around the central mound of barrow 12, where it would have stood between the mound and the external bank of the barrow. SFB 24 had been constructed over the eastern side of the infilled ring ditch around barrow 13, where it may have abutted the mound (see fig. 6.5). In addition to the buildings located on top of the mounds and their ring ditches, a further six SFBs had been built adjacent to barrows. SFB 23 was just to the south of SFB 24, situated extremely close to barrow 13 and immediately adjacent to its ring ditch, whilst SFB 12 lay less than 5m away from the oval barrow in the north-west corner of the site, and SFB 35 would have lain within c.5m of the bank around

barrow 12. SFB 10 lay less than 5m west of ring ditch 801, while SFBs 11 and 13 were within 5-10m of the same ring ditch.

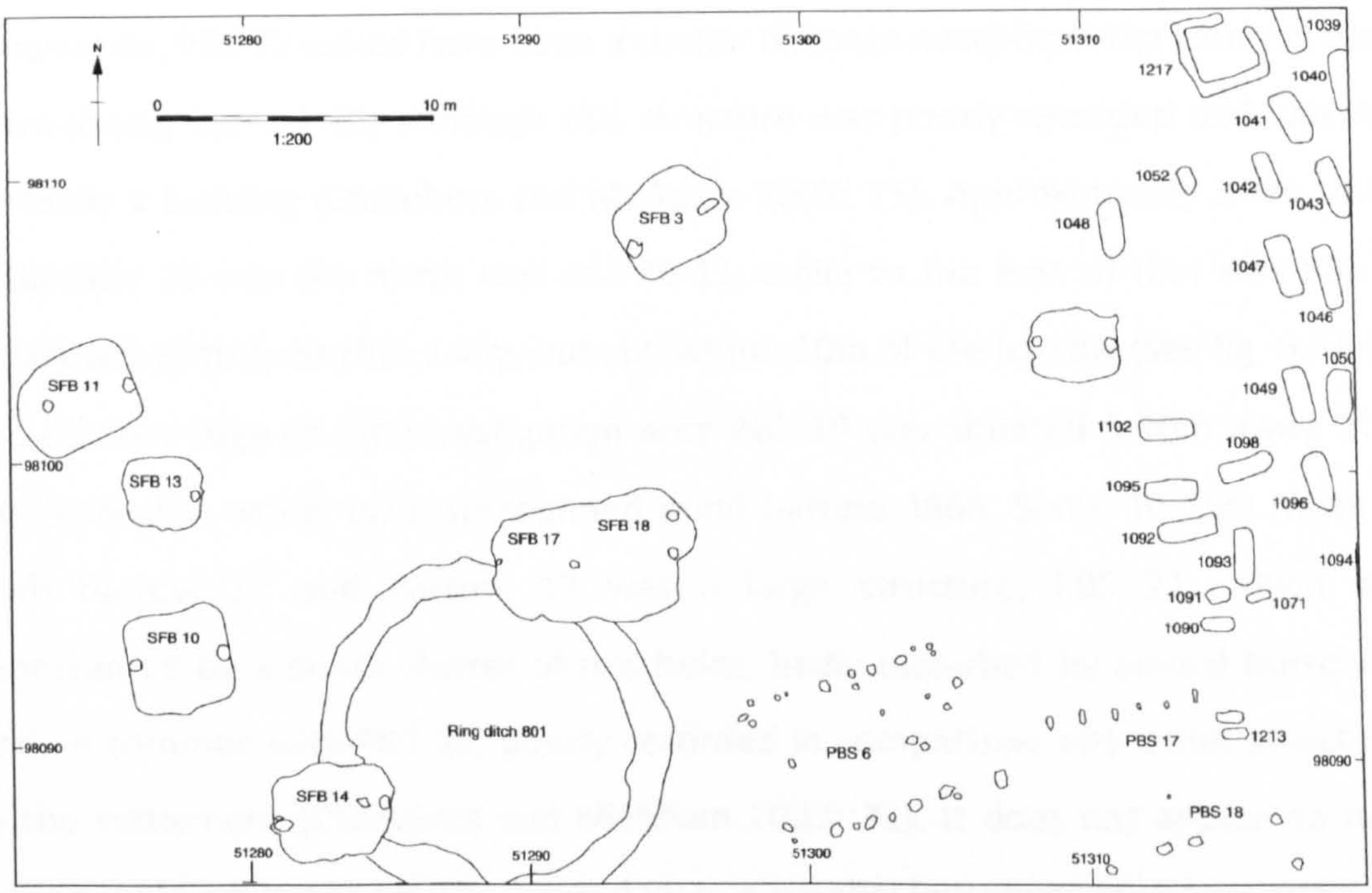

Fig. 6.4 Detail of ring ditch 801 and surrounding Anglo-Saxon buildings at Barrow Hills (after Chambers and McAdam 2007: 306, fig. 7.5).

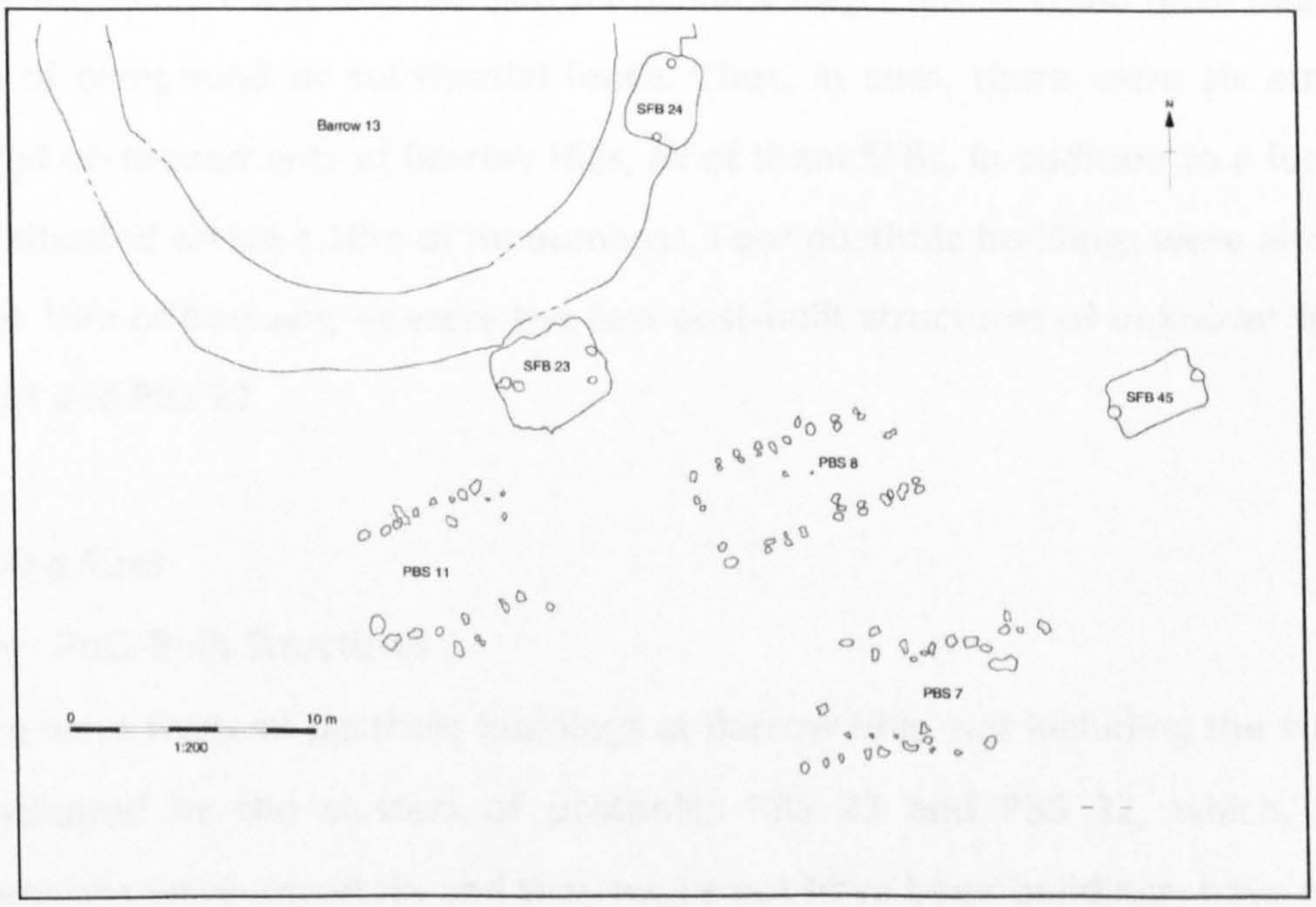

Fig. 6.5 Detail of barrow 13 and adjacent buildings at Barrow Hills (from Chambers and McAdam 2007: 305, fig. 7.4).

Post-built structures had also been constructed very close to barrows. To the east of ring ditch 801 was PBS 6, the end of which lay just 2-3m from the monument. Meanwhile, PBS 22 would have been a similar distance away from the external bank surrounding barrow 12, although this structure was poorly recorded and was not certainly a building (Chambers and McAdam 2007: 71). Approximately 3-4m south of barrow 13 was the north wall of PBS 11, while to the east of that was PBS 8, which was slightly further away, but still within 10m of the barrow (see fig. 6.5). On the eastern edge of the investigation area PBS 10 was situated 5-10m away from the bank that would have surrounded pond barrow 4866. Some 10-15m north of both barrow 12 and barrow 13 was a large structure, PBS 21, which was represented by a dense cluster of postholes, badly disturbed by animal burrowing and, in common with PBS 22, poorly recorded in comparison with other structures in the settlement (Chambers and McAdam 2007: 71). It does not appear to have been a building; instead it was formed by two parallel fencelines 30m long and 8.5m apart, alongside two roughly L-shaped structures, a smaller one at the southern end of the fences and a larger example at the northern end. Although its function was unknown, PBS 21 was unusual and particularly large, and it could have been some form of compound or substantial fence. Thus, in sum, there were six structures located on monuments at Barrow Hills, all of them SFBs, in addition to a further six SFBs situated within c.10m of monuments. Four posthole buildings were also within about 10m of barrows, as were the two post-built structures of unknown function, PBS 21 and PBS 22.

Building Sizes

- Post-Built Structures

There were thirteen posthole buildings at Barrow Hills, not including the structures represented by the clusters of postholes PBS 21 and PBS 22, which, as their dimensions were uncertain and they might not have been buildings, have not been included in this part of the analysis. In the excavation report the thirteen buildings with known dimensions were categorised by size, the larger examples being interpreted as halls or dwellings, and the smaller ones as ancillary buildings, such as

storage structures and workshops (Chambers and McAdam 2007: 66-7). There were six of these ancillary structures, with areas of between 7.6m^2 and 14.1m^2, and seven 'dwellings', with areas of 24.5m^2 to 37.4m^2 (see table 6.1). The average area of the post-built structures was 20.7m^2; all the ancillary structures were smaller than average, while the 'hall' structures were all larger. The buildings do, therefore, appear to have fallen into two separate categories, as a gap of 10.4m^2 exists between the area of the largest ancillary structure and the smallest hall-type structure, whilst the different categories of building fall on either side of the average area.

Structure	Interpretation	Length (m)	Width (m)	Area (m^2)	Relationship to Monument
PBS 1	Hall	7.0	3.5	24.5	Over 20m away
PBS 2	Ancillary	4.0	3.5	14.0	Over 20m away
PBS 3	Ancillary	4.2	1.8	7.6	Over 20m away
PBS 4	Ancillary	3.2	2.7	8.6	Over 20m away
PBS 5	Hall	9.0	3.5	31.5	Over 20m away
PBS 6	Hall	7.5	5.0	37.5	c.2.5m from ring ditch 801
PBS 7	Hall	7.0	3.5	24.5	c.18m from barrow 13
PBS 8	Hall	8.0	3.5	28.0	c.9m from barrow 13
PBS 9	Ancillary	5.0	2.5	12.5	c.18m from barrow 12
PBS 10	Hall	7.5	4.2	31.5	c.9m from pond barrow 4866
PBS 11	Hall	5.5	4.5	24.8	c.5m from barrow 13
PBS 12	Ancillary	4.2	2.5	10.5	c.12.5m from barrow 13
PBS 13	Ancillary	4.7	3.0	14.1	Over 20m away

Table 6.1 Interpretations, sizes and locations of post-built structures at Barrow Hills (buildings within 20m of a monument are highlighted in blue).

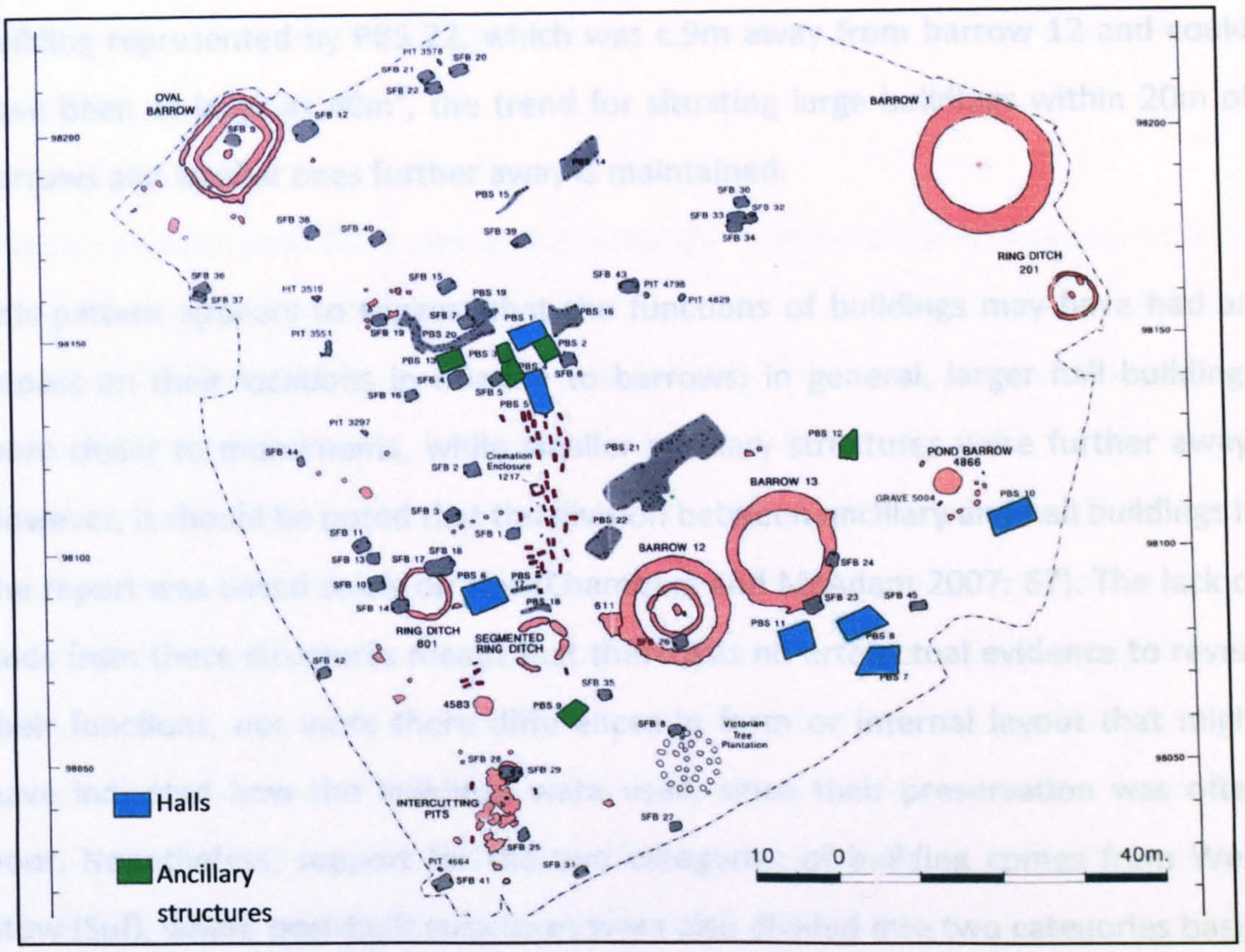

Fig. 6.6 Halls and ancillary structures at Barrow Hills (after Barclay and Halpin 1999: fig. 1.9).

Seven of the thirteen post-built structures were located within 20m of a barrow; all were towards the south of the site and were near to ring ditch 801, barrow 12, barrow 13 and the pond barrow 4866 (see fig. 6.6). Of these seven buildings, five belong to the hall category and two were ancillary structures. Four buildings (PBSs 6, 8, 10 and 11) were within 10m of a barrow, and these were all halls. In contrast, the six buildings located over 20m away from barrows comprise two halls and four ancillary buildings. Thus, there appears to have been a trend at Barrow Hills for building larger structures (the 'halls') within 20m of barrows. Indeed, PBS 6, the largest reconstructable hall in the settlement was located just 2.5m away from ring ditch 801, while PBS 10 was also large, at 31.5m^2, and it was c.9m away from pond barrow 4866 (although it was comparable in size to PBS 5, which was located further north and away from the barrows). Although there *were* relatively large buildings over 20m away from barrows, primarily in the central/northern area of the site, there were only two, and dispersed amongst them were a higher number of smaller, ancillary structures. Moreover, if we take into consideration the possible

building represented by PBS 22, which was c.9m away from barrow 12 and could have been as large as 40m^2, the trend for situating large buildings within 20m of barrows and smaller ones further away is maintained.

This pattern appears to suggest that the functions of buildings may have had an impact on their locations in relation to barrows; in general, larger hall buildings were closer to monuments, while smaller ancillary structures were further away. However, it should be noted that the division between ancillary and hall buildings in the report was based *solely* on size (Chambers and McAdam 2007: 67). The lack of finds from these structures meant that there was no artefactual evidence to reveal their functions, nor were there differences in form or internal layout that might have indicated how the buildings were used, since their preservation was often poor. Nonetheless, support for the two categories of building comes from West Stow (Suf), where post-built structures were also divided into two categories based on their size (West 1985: 10-14). There were 'hall' buildings, measuring in the region of 6-8m by 3-5m, and other post-built structures 'of lesser importance', typically measuring 3-5m by 1-3m. In light of this, the attribution of functional differences to smaller and larger buildings at Barrow Hills may hold true and this could explain the differences in size between groups of structures at this site and others.

It is possible, however, that there were other reasons for the differences in size between the buildings. It was mentioned previously that building size may have been related to status. None of the structures at Barrow Hills measured more than 50m^2 and the settlement therefore falls into James et al.'s (1984: 185) Group 1 category of 'lower-status' settlements. However, as Marshall and Marshall (1991: 39) have pointed out, larger buildings might have signalled high status *within* a settlement, even if that settlement was not one that we would interpret as 'high-status'. One possibility, therefore, is that the buildings at Barrow Hills had similar functions regardless of their size, but that their different dimensions reflected

differences in the rank, wealth or status of the individual or group who built and used them.

It is also possible that the dates of the buildings contributed to differences in their sizes. The settlement was occupied between the late fifth and early seventh centuries, and it is feasible that within that period there were phases during which larger structures were built. Marshall and Marshall (1991: 42; 1993: 374-9, 390-1) found that post-built structures increased in size during the Anglo-Saxon period, but that the larger, later structures were usually of post- or plank-in-trench, not posthole, construction. Furthermore, although these larger structures began to appear in the late sixth and early seventh centuries, their numbers grew within the seventh century, at which time the settlement at Barrow Hills appears to have been abandoned. The structures at Barrow Hills do not seem to fit in with the wider trends of building development in Anglo-Saxon England, although it is possible that some larger structures were of a different date from smaller ones. Thus, it seems likely that at Barrow Hills the differences in the sizes of post-built structures were related to their functions, although status and their dates of construction could also have a dictated their dimensions.

- Sunken-Featured Buildings

Of the forty-five excavated SFBs, forty-two were well enough preserved to yield dimensions for analysis (see table 6.2). As there were more SFBs than post-built structures, and because a number were situated on top of monuments, their sizes and positions in relation to barrows show greater variation than the post-built structures. SFB areas have been calculated based on the lengths and widths of the pits provided in the report, as the pits were the only surviving elements of the buildings. However, the SFBs at Barrow Hills appear to have had suspended plank floors over their pits; the superstructures of the buildings need not have been restricted to their pit sizes, and the buildings could well have had larger floor areas than the pit dimensions suggest (Chambers and McAdams 2007: 81). Indeed, in

some instances it appears that SFBs had greater floor areas than some of the smaller post-built structures.

Eighteen of the forty-two SFBs were situated either on monuments or within 20m of them (see table 6.2). Six were on barrows, while a further four were within 10m of a barrow, and another eight were between 10-20m from a barrow. The rest of the excavated SFBs, twenty-four in total, were over 20m away from monuments; many of these were situated in the central/northern occupation area around PBSs 1-5 and 19-20. The average size for all SFBs on the site was 11.6m^2; buildings situated over 20m away from barrows were generally smaller than this, with an average area of 10.6m^2 (see table 6.3). In contrast, the structures lying *within* 20m of a barrow had a higher average of 12.9m^2 (see fig. 6.7). The average size of buildings lying within 10m of a barrow was larger still, at 15m^2, while the buildings located on barrows had a similarly large average area of 14.7 m^2. Therefore, SFBs located closer to barrows tended to have larger areas on average than those further away, with those on barrows or within 10m of them being particularly large in comparison to others. This trend is also demonstrated by the fact that 56% of the SFBs within 20m of monuments were of above-average size, whilst only 23% of the SFBs over 20m from barrows were above-average in area.

Although there are no clear or predictable patterns, such as building size increasing with increasing proximity to a monument, the average areas of the SFBs reveal a similar trend to that exhibited by the post-built structures, with larger buildings frequently lying near to barrows. Of course, there are some smaller buildings located close to barrows, such as SFB 13, which had an area of 7.3m^2 and was c.7m from ring ditch 801. Equally, there are some relatively large SFBs in the central/northern area of the site. Nonetheless, larger structures were more likely than smaller ones to be situated close to barrows, particularly within 10m of them. There were several especially large buildings situated on, and near to, barrows, such as SFBs 12 and 17, the only buildings to have areas of over 20m^2. As with the post-built structures, the different dimensions of these buildings might be related to

their functions, or their date of occupation, and the latter will be explored in the Phasing section (below).

SFB	Length (m)	Width (m)	Area (m^2)	Relationship to Monument	Category
1	3.1	2.6	7.9	c.18m from ring ditch 801	10-20m away
2	3.8	3.0	11.5	20m+ away from monuments	Over 20m away
3	4.0	3.3	13.1	c.11m from ring ditch 801	10-20m away
4	4.5	4.1	18.2	20m+ away from monuments	Over 20m away
5	3.5	2.6	9.1	20m+ away from monuments	Over 20m away
6	3.7	3.0	11.2	20m+ away from monuments	Over 20m away
7	3.5	2.9	10.3	20m+ away from monuments	Over 20m away
8	3.5	2.5	8.8	c.14m from barrow 12	10-20m away
9	4.2	3.3	13.9	On oval barrow	On barrow
10	3.6	3.6	13.0	c.3.5m from ring ditch 801	0-10m away
11	4.3	3.3	14.2	c.11m from ring ditch 801	10-20m away
12	5.6	4.5	24.9	c.2.5m from oval barrow	0-10m away
13	2.8	2.6	7.3	c.7m from ring ditch 801	0-10m away
14	4.4	3.4	14.8	On ring ditch 801	On barrow
15	4.4	2.8	12.2	20m+ away from monuments	Over 20m away
16	3.5	2.4	8.5	20m+ away from monuments	Over 20m away
17	6.5	4.0	26.0	On ring ditch 801	On barrow
18	4.5	3.0	13.5	On ring ditch 801	On barrow
19	3.9	2.8	10.9	20m+ away from monuments	Over 20m away
20	4.3	2.9	12.5	20m+ away from monuments	Over 20m away
21	3.5	2.8	9.7	20m+ away from monuments	Over 20m away
22	3.7	2.6	9.9	20m+ away from monuments	Over 20m away
23	4.3	3.5	14.9	Less than 1m from barrow 12	0-10m away
24	3.5	2.7	9.6	On barrow 13	On barrow
25	4.0	2.5	9.9	20m+ away from monuments	Over 20m away
26	3.4	3.0	10.2	On barrow 12	On barrow
27	4.0	2.5	9.9	20m+ away from monuments	Over 20m away
28	3.0	2.2	6.5	20m+ away from monuments	Over 20m away

29	4.0	2.5	9.9	20m+ away from monuments	Over 20m away
30	3.5	2.8	9.5	20m+ away from monuments	Over 20m away
33	4.3	3.2	13.8	20m+ away from monuments	Over 20m away
35	3.3	2.8	9.2	c.11.5m from barrow 12	10-20m away
36	3.5	3.0	10.5	c.20m from oval barrow	10-20m away
37	3.2	2.1	6.7	20m+ away from monuments	Over 20m away
38	3.6	3.1	11.2	c.16m from oval barrow	10-20m away
39	4.2	2.6	10.9	20m+ away from monuments	Over 20m away
40	3.7	2.9	10.7	20m+ away from monuments	Over 20m away
41	4.5	3.3	14.6	20m+ away from monuments	Over 20m away
42	3.0	2.3	6.9	20m+ away from monuments	Over 20m away
43	4.7	3.2	14.9	20m+ away from monuments	Over 20m away
44	2.8	2.1	5.8	20m+ away from monuments	Over 20m away
45	4.0	2.2	8.8	c.20m from barrow 13	10-20m away

Table 6.2 Sizes of SFBs and their distances from barrows. Buildings on barrows are shaded in blue, buildings 0-10m from a barrow green and those 10-20m from a barrow grey (SFBs 31, 32 and 34 have been excluded as their areas were unknown).

Relationship to Barrow	No. of Buildings	Average Length (m)	Average Width (m)	Average Area (m^2)
On barrow	6	4.4	3.3	14.7
0-10m away	4	4.1	3.6	15.0
10-20m away	8	3.7	2.9	10.5
All buildings on/within 10m	10	4.3	3.4	14.8
All buildings on/within 20m	18	4.0	3.1	12.9
Over 20m away	24	3.8	2.8	10.6
All SFBs (with known sizes)	42	3.9	2.9	11.6

Table 6.3 Average sizes of SFBs in relation to their positions near monuments.

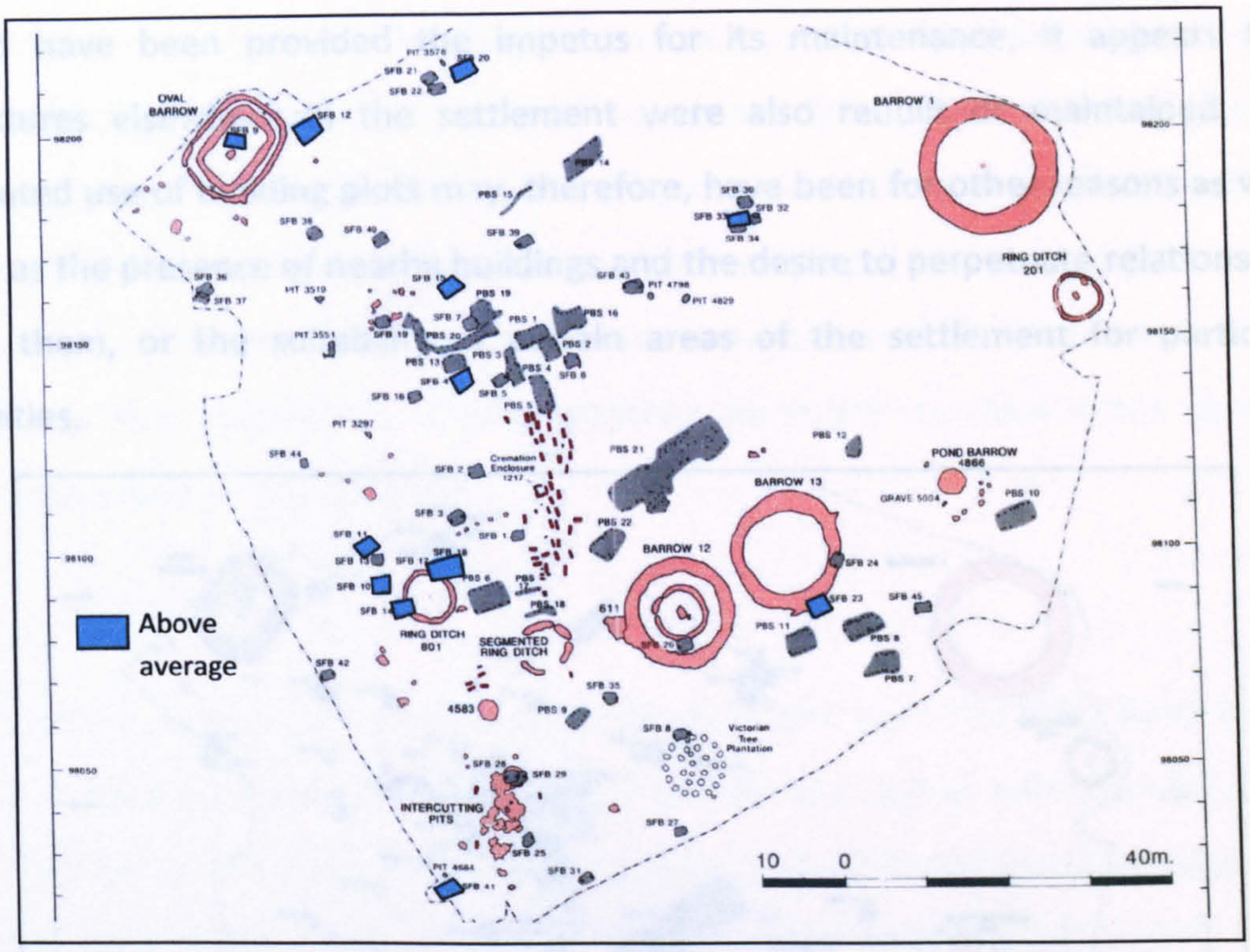

Fig. 6.7 SFBs of above-average size (after Barclay and Halpin 1999: fig.1.9).

Building Replacement

Possible re-cut or replaced postholes were observed in five SFBs (1, 2, 3, 8 and 38), while the pits of six (3, 14, 23, 29, 38 and 43) had been re-cut or extended (Chambers and McAdam 2007: 80) (see fig. 6.8). Meanwhile, SFBs 17 and 18 intercut each other, as did SFBs 28 and 29, SFBs 32-34, and SFBs 36 and 37. The proximity of SFB 30 to the cluster of intercutting buildings formed by SFBs 32-34 suggests that it might have been another phase of building related to them, while the closeness of SFBs 20, 21 and 22 in the north-west corner of the site suggested that they might also have replaced each other (Chambers and McAdam 2007: 80-1).

A number of these intercutting and maintained SFBs were associated with barrows; SFBs 14, 17 and 18 were on ring ditch 801, while SFB 23 was immediately next to the ring ditch of barrow 13. This suggests that the positions of these structures were sufficiently important for the buildings to have been maintained and replaced. However, the practice of rebuilding and replacing SFBs was by no means restricted to the areas around barrows. While a building's position in relation to a monument

could have been provided the impetus for its maintenance, it appears that structures elsewhere in the settlement were also rebuilt or maintained. The repeated use of building plots may, therefore, have been for other reasons as well, such as the presence of nearby buildings and the desire to perpetuate relationships with them, or the suitability of certain areas of the settlement for particular activities.

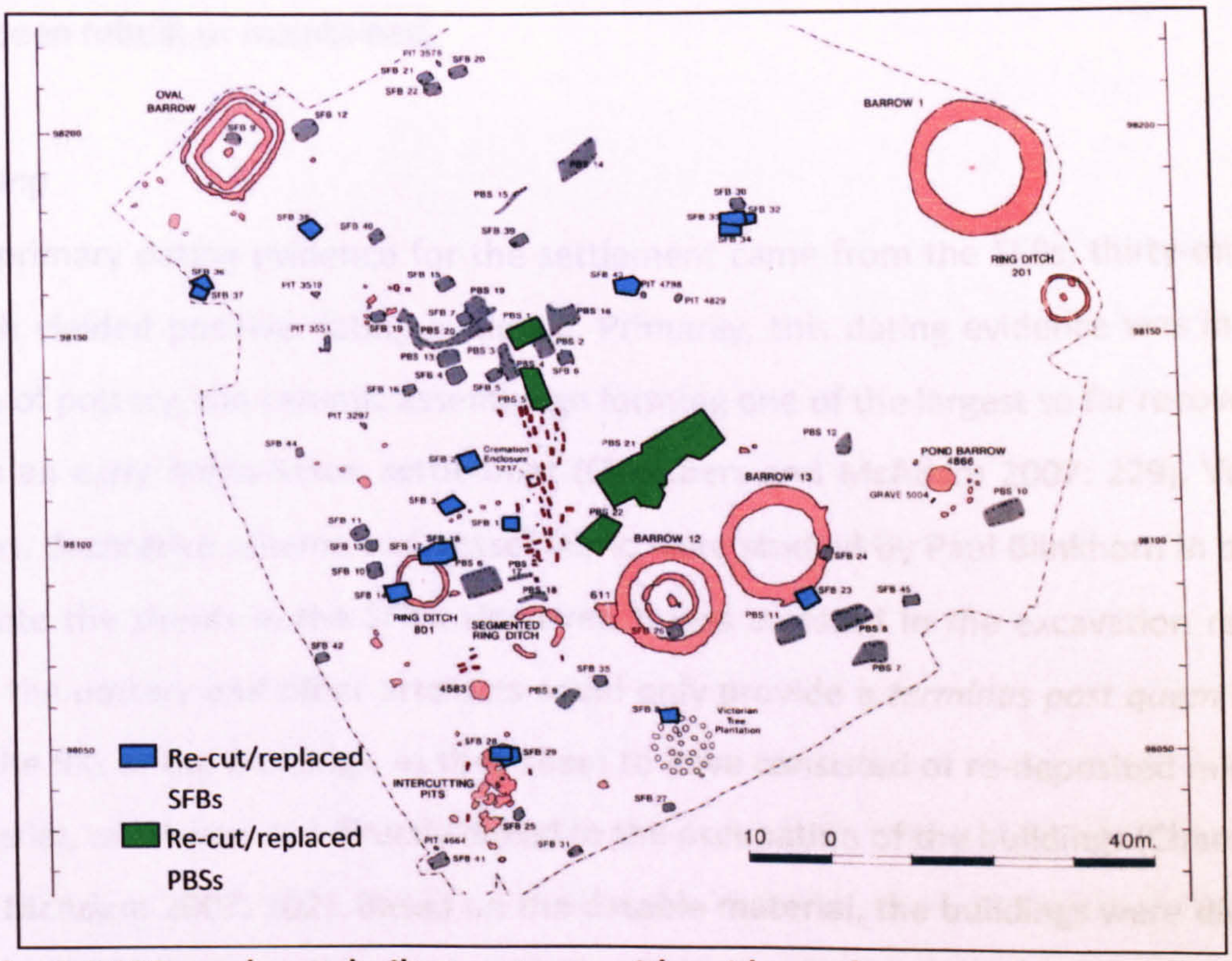

Fig. 6.8 SFBs and post-built structures with evidence for re-cutting or replaced postholes (after Barclay and Halpin 1999: fig. 1.9).

Where post-built structures were concerned, it was often difficult to distinguish whether more than one phase of building was represented in the poorly-preserved clusters of postholes. PBS 1 had some replaced posts, indicating that there had been at least one phase of rebuilding, while the southern end of PBS 5 could also have been rebuilt (Chambers and McAdam 2007: 67, 85). The large clusters of postholes forming PBSs 21 and 22 had been formed by numerous structural phases although, as previously stated, the functions of these features are unknown (Chambers and McAdam 2007: 87). In addition to the features on the site plan, there was also a mass of undated postholes, stakeholes and animal burrows that

could not be joined to form buildings; these were particularly prevalent in the area west of the Romano-British cemetery that contained SFBs 2 and 3, and they give the impression of intense, long-term activity (Chambers and McAdam 2007: 303). There *seems*, therefore, to have been a concern for maintaining the original positions of certain post-built structures, although this was sometimes difficult to confirm and there was little evidence to indicate whether the structures close to the barrows had been rebuilt or maintained.

Phasing

The primary dating evidence for the settlement came from the SFBs, thirty-one of which yielded positive dating evidence. Primarily, this dating evidence was in the form of pottery, the ceramic assemblage forming one of the largest so far recovered from an early Anglo-Saxon settlement (Chambers and McAdam 2007: 229). Vessel forms, decorative schema and vessel fabric were studied by Paul Blinkhorn in order to date the sherds in the SFBs. However, it was stressed in the excavation report that the pottery and other artefacts could only provide a *terminus post quem* (*tpq*) for the fills of the buildings, as they seem to have consisted of re-deposited midden material, which was not directly linked to the occupation of the buildings (Chambers and McAdam 2007: 302). Based on the datable material, the buildings were divided into a fifth-century *tpq* group, a fifth- to sixth-century group, and a sixth-century group (see fig. 6.9). The presence of joining sherds in the ditch of barrow 13, pit 414 and SFB 7 (all fifth-century *tpq*) and SFB 23 (sixth-century *tpq*) demonstrates that it is inadvisable to assume that material in these features directly related to their use and adds weight to the argument that the fills of the SFB pits had been introduced from middens elsewhere on the site (Chambers and McAdam 2007: 232). It was noted, therefore, that the pottery did not provide definitive dating evidence that could be used to reconstruct the precise dates of particular buildings. At most, it provided an earliest date at which an SFB's pit had been filled in, meaning that occupation of the structure must have pre-dated that time. Nonetheless, this information does provide a valuable (and rather rare) opportunity for exploring how the settlement may have changed over time, albeit in general terms rather than

through the absolute dating of particular features. As such, the proposed *tpq* groups will be scrutinized here, in order to determine whether they can assist in understanding the development of the Barrow Hills settlement, and in particular its relationships with the prehistoric monuments it contained.

Only five buildings (SFBs 5, 7, 15, 35 and 43) were assigned to the fifth-century *tpq* group; with the exception of SFB 35, towards the south of the site, all were in the central/northern area, to the north and north-east of the Roman cemetery. The fifth-century *tpq* buildings were in close proximity to post-built structures in this central/northern area, including PBSs 1-5, 13, 16, 19 and 20, suggesting that these structures may have belonged to the same phase as the SFBs (Chambers and McAdam 2007: 302-7). The fifth- to sixth-century *tpq* group of eight buildings (SFBs 2, 3, 25, 30, 32, 36, 38 and 42) appears to have been more dispersed than the earlier group, expanding to the south, north-west and north-east. None of these buildings were closely associated with post-built structures in the same way as the earlier SFBs, and none were in the area of the fifth-century *tpq* SFBs. This *could* indicate that the central fifth-century *tpq* area continued in use during this time, and that the fifth- to sixth-century *tpq* buildings represent the outwards expansion of the settlement, whose earlier core was still in existence at the centre of the site.

Eighteen buildings were classed as falling into the sixth-century *tpq* group (SFBs 1, 4, 6, 8, 14, 19, 20, 21, 23, 24, 26, 28, 29, 37, 39, 40, 41 and 45), and they were even more widely dispersed across the site. Buildings in this group appear to show the settlement expanding in all directions, with further buildings being added to the central/northern area of earlier occupation, suggesting that this formed a focus of the settlement throughout its life. This group also contained a second focus towards the south and south-east of the site, particularly around ring ditch 801, barrows 12 and 13, and the pond barrow. If the sixth-century *tpq* SFBs in this second focus *did* represent activity relating to a later phase of the settlement, it is possible that the post-built structures around them, including PBSs 6-12 and 21-22, were also part of this second settlement focus.

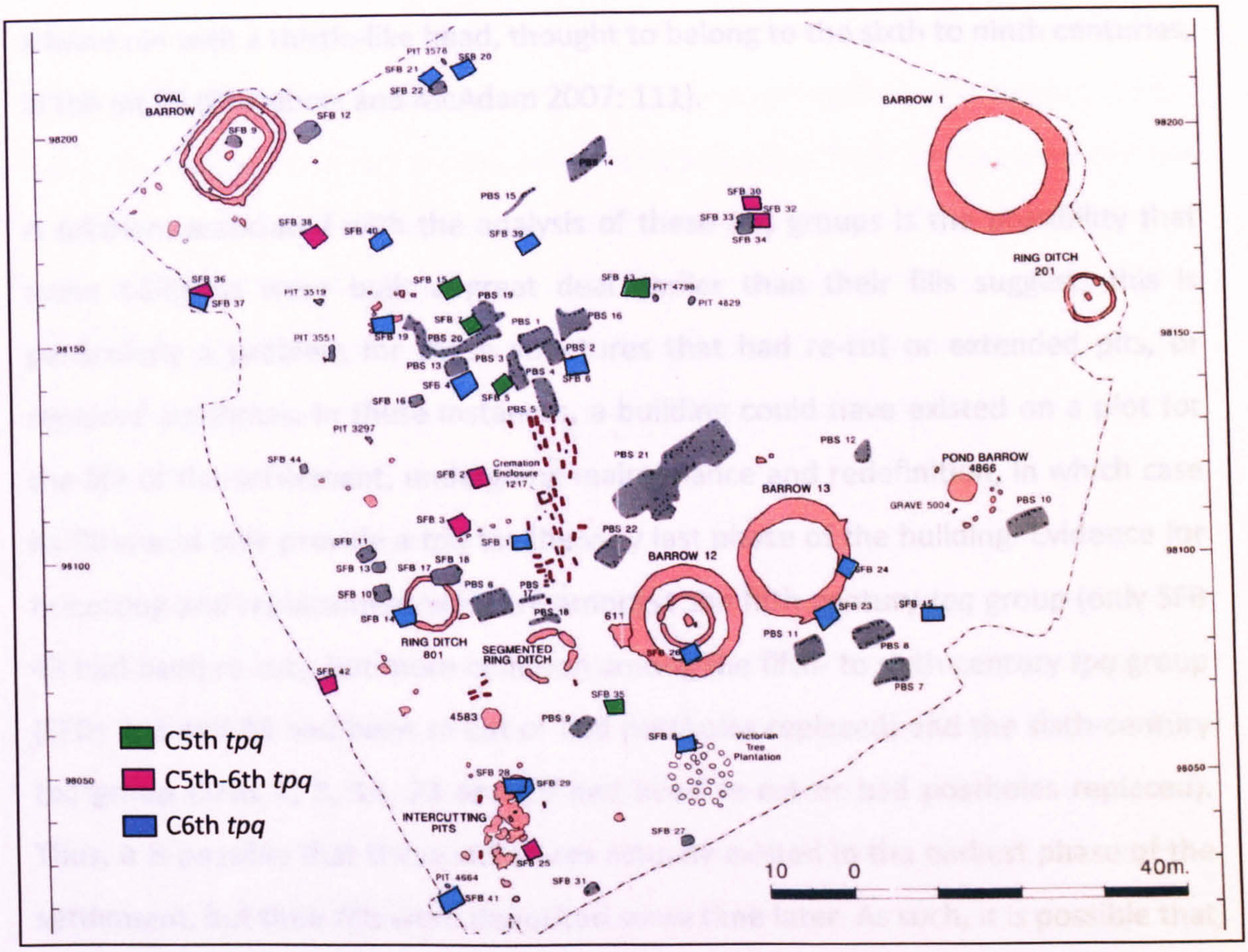

Fig. 6.9 *Terminus post quem* **groups (after Barclay and Halpin 1999: fig.1.9).**

The phasing evidence from Barrow Hills appears to suggest that there was a tendency for later (*possibly* sixth-century) buildings to be situated on or near barrows; SFBs 14, 23, 24 and 26, all of which were on or adjacent to barrows, belonged to the sixth-century *tpq* group. Further support for the suggestion that SFBs 14, 23 and 26 belonged to a later phase in the settlement's life comes from the fact that they post-dated the backfilling of the ring ditches around barrows 12 and 13, which were filled with occupation debris some time after the establishment of the settlement, although exactly when is unknown (Chambers and McAdam 2007: 302). Unfortunately it was not possible to place the other buildings that lay on top of or adjacent to barrows (SFBs 9, 12, 17 and 18) into *tpq* groups, as they yielded no diagnostic pottery (Chambers and McAdam 2007: 111). Given that SFBs 14, 23, 24 and 26 *appear* to have belonged to a period later in the settlement's life, it might also have been the case that the other buildings on or close to barrows also belonged to that phase. In the case of SFB 9, this was supported by the discovery of

a bone pin with a thistle-like head, thought to belong to the sixth to ninth centuries, in the pit fill (Chambers and McAdam 2007: 111).

A problem associated with the analysis of these *tpq* groups is the possibility that some buildings were built a great deal earlier than their fills suggest; this is particularly a problem for those structures that had re-cut or extended pits, or replaced postholes. In these instances, a building could have existed on a plot for the life of the settlement, undergoing maintenance and redefinition, in which case its fill would only provide a *tpq* for the very last phase of the building. Evidence for re-cutting and replacement was rare amongst the fifth-century *tpq* group (only SFB 43 had been re-cut), but more common among the fifth- to sixth-century *tpq* group (SFBs 2, 3 and 38 had been re-cut or had postholes replaced) and the sixth-century *tpq* group (SFBs 1, 8, 14, 23 and 29 had been re-cut or had postholes replaced). Thus, it is possible that these structures actually existed in the earliest phase of the settlement, but their fills were deposited some time later. As such, it is possible that SFBs 14 and 23, which both belonged to the sixth-century *tpq* group, had been re-cut or otherwise maintained and were next to barrows, were not only in use during a later phase in the settlement's life, as they could have existed earlier.

On the basis of the *tpq* groupings a possible sequence of the settlement's development can be suggested. It seems that in the first phases of the settlement the relationships between the buildings and earlier monuments at Barrow Hills were more associative in form; the buildings were interspersed with the monuments, and may even have been bounded by them to the south and east, but they do not seem to have lain directly on the barrows. In later phases of the settlement, perhaps in the sixth century, it appears that buildings began to 'encroach' on the barrows. People seem to have reused the monuments more intrusively and, although associative forms of reuse did continue, SFBs were more likely to be constructed immediately adjacent to the barrows and on top of them. If the presence of post-built structures close to these potentially later SFBs can be taken as an indication that they were part of 'clusters' of buildings of a similar date,

then it is also possible that many of the hall-type and ancillary buildings situated near to monuments, especially those in the south-eastern settlement focus, belonged to a later phase in the settlement's history. That the central/northern focus continued in use when the south-eastern focus was established is suggested by the evidence for the rebuilding of PBSs 3 and 5, and by the mass of undated postholes around SFBs 2 and 3, which were indicative of long-lived and repeated use (even though plans of individual buildings could not be identified).

It is now possible to explore the suggestion made above that there might be correlations between building sizes, their proximity to monuments and their dates. In terms of the SFBs, the fifth-century *tpq* group of buildings are either of average size for the site as a whole, or below-average (between 9m^2 and 11.6m^2). The buildings with a fifth- to sixth-century *tpq* were mostly of average size for the site, although there were two larger examples and one smaller one; there seems to have been greater variation in the size of SFBs in this group compared to the first. The sixth-century *tpq* group contained five larger-than-average SFBs, two smaller-than-average and the rest average in size; it was also varied, but it included a greater number of larger-than-average buildings. SFB sizes, therefore, seem to have varied to a greater extent in the second and third *tpq* groups, while in the third group they were also more likely to be larger than average. Further support for there being smaller buildings in the fifth-century *tpq* group comes from the layout of the settlement. A number of smaller-than-average SFBs could not be phased and were thus not included in the *tpq* groups. However, SFBs 1 and 16 were both particularly small (between 6m^2 and 9m^2 in area) and were both within the central cluster of buildings, meaning that they *may* have belonged to an earlier phase of the settlement.

Given the problems associated with dating the post-built structures, it was more difficult to trace correlations in their sizes, dates, and proximity to monuments. However, if the south-eastern structures PBSs 6-12 and 21-22 *can* be attributed to a later phase through their association with the nearby sixth-century *tpq* SFBs, this

area may have belonged to a later period in the settlement's occupation. As many of these structures were large, and classed as dwellings, it may have been the case that inhabitants of this area of the site, perhaps in the sixth century, were particularly concerned with constructing their dwellings in close proximity to a number of the site's visible monuments, including barrows 12 and 13, as well as the pond barrow and ring ditch 801. In comparison with the apparently earlier central/northern settlement focus, which may have continued to be occupied at the same time as the southern focus was in use, the desire to associate buildings with monuments was apparently much greater.

In sum, the phasing evidence demonstrates that many of the SFBs situated on monuments and very close to them belonged to the sixth-century *tpq* group of structures. It is possible that the post-built structures towards the south of the site, in the area around barrows 12 and 13, also belonged to the same phase as these SFBs. It has been shown that the SFBs belonging to this sixth-century *tpq* group were more likely to be of larger-than-average size, with some particularly large examples (e.g. SFBs 14 and 23) situated on barrows. Based on this evidence, it could be argued that the undated SFBs 12 and 17 were part of this later trend, due to their large sizes and positions on monuments. Meanwhile, many of the post-built structures in the southern part of the settlement nearest the barrows were also large in comparison to those elsewhere on the site. The evidence points to the possibility that the inhabitants of Barrow Hills began to build on or very close to monuments during a later phase of the settlement, perhaps in the sixth century, and that the buildings they constructed were often larger than those that had come before, and perhaps larger than other contemporary buildings as well.

Movement within the Settlement

The lack of dating evidence for some settlement features, particularly the post-built structures, makes it virtually impossible to determine which structures were standing at any one time at Barrow Hills. Nonetheless, it is possible to make some observations about how people might have moved around the settlement and

interacted with the monuments, even if this was not necessarily the same throughout the settlement's history. The structures situated on, or very close to, barrows are particularly interesting, as the earthworks could have influenced or impeded access to those structures. A particularly clear example of this is provided by SFB 26, located on the berm of barrow 12; in order to access this building people may have been required to climb over the bank around the barrow and then perhaps walk on the berm around the central mound. Similarly, the approach to SFB 9 would have required people to climb up onto the oval mound, perhaps avoiding the partially-preserved hollow of the ditch around the barrow on their way.

Accessing SFBs 23 and 24 could have been affected by their proximity to barrow 13; SFB 24 was aligned with its long axis perpendicular to the mound and SFB 23 was on a similar alignment less than a metre away from the ring ditch. It seems likely that these locations impacted upon the ways in which people approached and entered the buildings, although it is true to say that our understanding of the positions of SFB entrances is extremely limited (Tipper 2004: 81). It is unlikely that doorways would have been located in the sides of SFBs 24 and 26 closest to the barrows, but it is unknown which of the other sides would have provided access to the buildings. The entrances could, arguably, have been in the long walls opposite the sides abutting the mounds; they would then have faced outwards, towards the rest of the settlement, with SFB 23, for example, opening out onto the area around PBS 8 and PBS 11.

The buildings on ring ditch 801 were aligned differently from SFBs 23 and 24, with their end walls abutting the monument. It is possible that the doorways of these structures were also in the long walls, as SFB 14 could then have opened out towards SFB 10. If these buildings were indeed contemporary and related, this would have facilitated access between them. Wherever the entrances to SFBs 9, 14, 17, 18, 23 and 24 lay, it seems likely that the oval barrow, barrow 13 and ring ditch 801 would all have formed substantial, noticeable earthworks for those entering and leaving the buildings. Certainly in the case of SFB 26, and perhaps the others,

there may have been attempts to restrict access to the buildings through their positioning in relation to the prehistoric earthworks.

The entrances into structures PBS 1, PBS 3 and PBS 5 in the central area of the site opened out onto a roughly square 'courtyard' north of PBS 5, which might have been long-lived even if the buildings around it were not all contemporary. Entrances to post-built structures towards the south of the site seem to have led out towards the barrows they were close to, although they all had more than one entrance. PBS 6, for example, had a doorway in its western wall which, as it was only c.2.5m away from ring ditch 801, would have opened out directly onto the monument. Elsewhere, a doorway in the north wall of PBS 11 was less than 5m away from barrow 13 and would have led out towards it, while a doorway in the west wall would have led out towards barrow 12. There was no trace of a doorway in the north wall of PBS 8, the best-preserved structure on the site, although there was an entrance in the west wall that could have led out to an area onto which SFB 23 also possibly opened. If PBS 11 was contemporary, this structure might have encouraged people to walk around it on leaving PBS 8 by the western door, meaning that they may have passed between PBS 11 and barrow 13. On the other hand, if they were not contemporary, the western door of PBS 8 would have funnelled people out towards barrow 12.

Towards the east of the settlement, PBS 10 had entrances in its west, north and south walls, and the first two would have opened out onto an area to the east of the pond barrow; people leaving or entering by these entrances would have had to navigate around the pond barrow as they travelled to the other side of the settlement. Of course, there may have been multiple ways in which people approached and left these buildings and we cannot be certain that they always did so in the ways suggested here, especially as there are no traces of trackways in the settlement. The routes people might have taken remain unknown, as do any structured 'rules' that could have governed movement around the settlement. Nevertheless, there is evidence to demonstrate that people would have had to

interact very closely with the barrows, for instance when they left PBS 6 by its western entrance.

The locations of fences and buildings within the settlement will have affected how visible each barrow was from different parts of the site. The relative lack of buildings around the oval mound suggests that this barrow might have been visible and easily accessible from much of the settlement. Similarly, barrow 1 was within an open space, which might have allowed clear views and access from much of the settlement and the same might have been true of ring ditch 201 if it still had a visible mound in the Anglo-Saxon period. There seems to be more evidence to indicate that views were more restricted towards the south of the settlement. This is partly due to the positions of the large barrows 12 and 13, which could have blocked views from one side of the settlement to the other. The location and density of the buildings and fences in this southern area might have had a similar effect. The most noticeable example of this is the possible large fence PBS 21, which may well have screened barrows 12 and 13 from view from the central cluster of buildings, and the effect may have been even greater if PBS 22 was also standing at the same time. The evidence for paired posts along some of the posthole lines in PBS 21 suggests that the fence was formed by planks or panels of wattling, which could have been very effective at screening the barrows from view (Chambers and McAdam 2007: 71). Similarly, PBS 17, a fence extending from close to the south-east corner of PBS 6, also seems to have been constructed using planks or panels between paired posts, and in conjunction with PBS 6 it might have screened the southern part of the site from view from the central cluster of buildings around PBS 5. On the other hand, barrows 12 and 13 could also have prevented people standing amongst buildings PBS 7, PBS 8 and PBS 11 from seeing across to the central and northern parts of the site.

Crucially, the fences, buildings and barrows that formed screens and prevented people on one of the settlement from viewing the other side might also have prevented *movement* between different areas as well. It is possible, therefore, that

fences and buildings were used to obstruct or control access between different parts of the site, in particular between the northern/central cluster of buildings, the cluster around ring ditch 801, and the buildings to the south-east of barrows 12 and 13. The location of PBSs 7, 8 and 11 and their associated SFBs on the south-eastern side of barrow 13 certainly seems to suggest that whoever built them was seeking to divide themselves from the central cluster of buildings to the north-west. It was previously demonstrated that many buildings in this area had a sixth-century *tpq*, and the cluster may have belonged to a later phase in the settlement's occupation. As such, there seems to have been a growing intensity of occupation in the area around the monuments to the south of the site in the later phases of the settlement, possibly accompanied by greater control over access into and out of this area of the settlement. Anyone wanting to enter this part of the site would have had to pass between PBSs 6 and 22, or bear west and pass by the SFBs on the western side of ring ditch 801 and then past PBS 9, or they would have had to go around to the east, passing by PBS 21, PBS 12, PBS 10 and the pond barrow. Thus, access to the monuments in this part of the settlement appears to have been controlled, or the monuments were being used to control access to the buildings in this area or, indeed, both.

Finds and Burials

The most prolific assemblage recovered from Barrow Hills, apart from Anglo-Saxon pottery, consisted of reused Roman pot sherds, of which there were seventy-five examples (Chambers and McAdam 2007: 35-7). The majority of the sherds had been shaped into discs, half-discs and wedges, which might have been used as gaming pieces, counters, weights, craft tools or as pot stands (Chambers and McAdam 2007: 257-9) (see fig. 6.10). Nearly every SFB yielded at least one reused Roman sherd, and the ditches around Barrows 1, 12 and 13 all contained a number of them. This is not unusual; many Anglo-Saxon settlements, including all four discussed in this chapter, have yielded both shaped and un-shaped Roman sherds (see, for example, West (1985: 82-4) for a discussion of the Roman material from West Stow). The sherds are not likely to have been residual material from Roman

activity, as there is little evidence for activity of this date on site and there were no sherds of this type in the third- to fourth-century graves (Chambers and McAdam 2007: 36). The fact that they had been shaped, and were in a limited range of ceramic types, also indicates that they were deliberately selected and brought onto the site. The ceramic material did not include shell-tempered fabrics, which were widely used in the area during the late Roman period and were thus readily available locally, but instead comprised primarily Oxfordshire colour-coated sherds and other coloured, reduced fabrics (Chambers and McAdam 2007: 37). The colour, and perhaps the fine, even texture, of these fabrics may well have made them attractive to the Anglo-Saxon community at Barrow Hills.

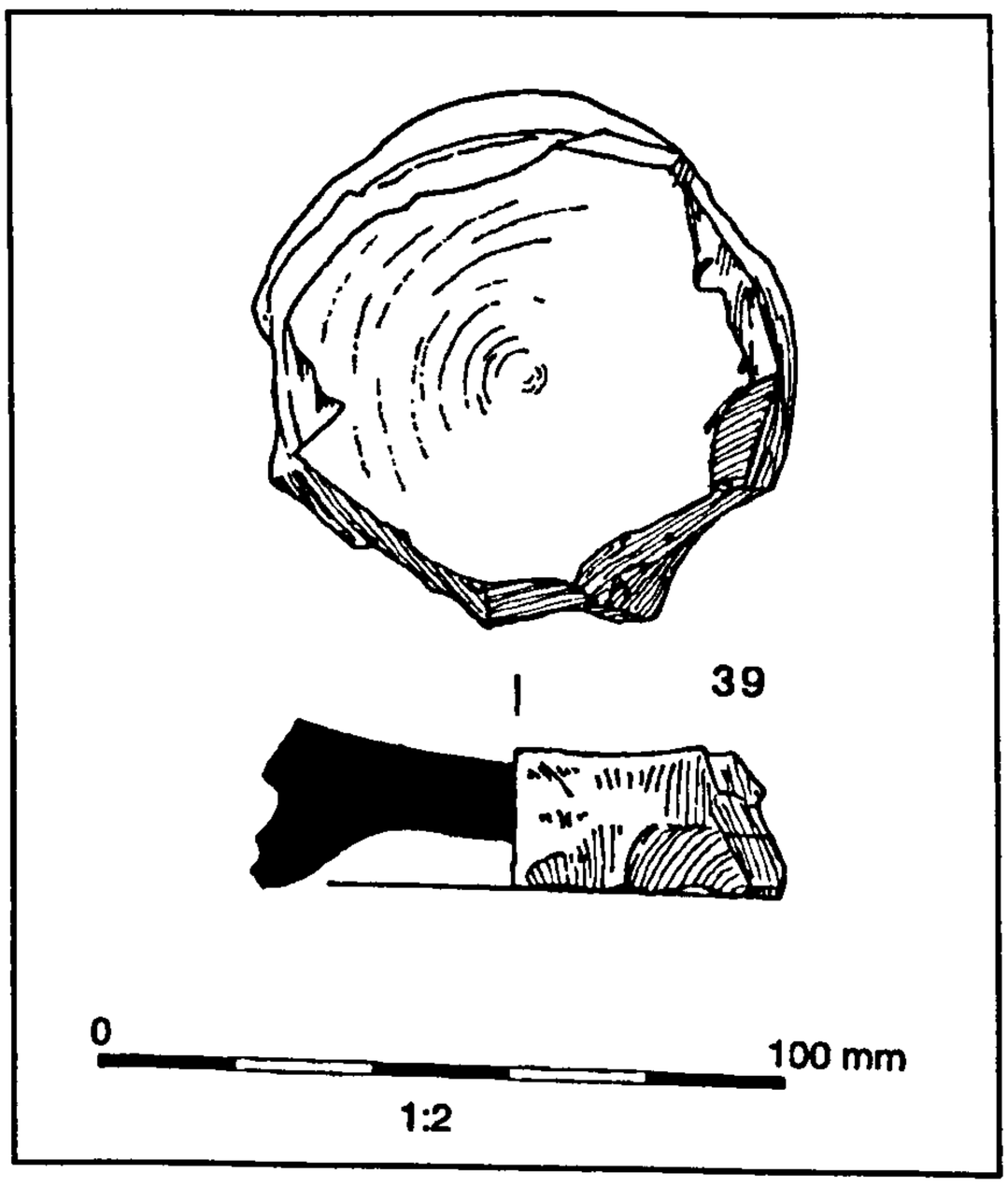

Fig. 6.10 A shaped reused Roman sherd from SFB 11 at Barrow Hills (from Chambers and McAdam 2007: 116, fig. 3.33).

Other Roman artefacts were also discovered in Anglo-Saxon contexts; for example, fragments of Roman glass were recovered from a number of SFBs (1, 4, 6, 14, 24, 35, 40 and possibly 24) (Chambers and McAdam 2007: 89-186). The fragment in SFB 1 had been polished after it was broken, suggesting that the modification had taken place in the Anglo-Saxon period, and this might also have been the case with the fragments in SFBs 4, 6 and 37, which all had signs of scratching and wear. A fragment of Roman trumpet brooch also came from SFB 4, whilst there was a first-

to third-century bone pin in SFB 6, a possible Roman comb in SFB 11, a copper-alloy drop handle in SFB 13, a fragment of cable bracelet in SFB 28, and another possible Roman comb in SFB 29 (Chambers and McAdam 2007: 89-164). Like the Roman ceramics, these objects appear to have been retrieved from elsewhere, since there is no evidence for Roman activity preceding the Anglo-Saxon settlement in this area, with the exception of the Roman burials, which had experienced minimal disturbance and did not contain the types of artefact recovered from the SFBs.

Furthermore, thirteen Roman bronze coins were discovered in Anglo-Saxon contexts, along with two unstratified examples (Chambers and McAdam 2007: 89-219). Three of the stratified coins came from the upper fills of SFBs 30, 42 and 43, but the remaining ten coins were all found in the fills of the ring ditches around Barrows 1, 12 and 13; there were two in barrow 1, three in barrow 12, and five in barrow 13 (Chambers and McAdam 2007: 166, 191-5, 207-19). No other features in the settlement, such as pits or burials, contained these coins, and it might be significant that their deposition was focused in very particular locations, especially as so many were deposited in prehistoric ring ditches. Two coins, an unstratified example and one from barrow 12, were very worn, suggesting that they might have been in circulation amongst the Anglo-Saxon community for some time, and two others, from SFB 43 and barrow 13, had been perforated, suggesting that they had been reused as pendants (Chambers and McAdam 2007: 214).

Blinkhorn's analysis of the Anglo-Saxon pottery also revealed interesting distribution patterns, which may relate to the functions of particular areas of the settlement (Chambers and McAdam 2007: 229-47). Blinkhorn noted that, in the sixth century, sherds of jars and bowls finding their way into SFBs in the central/northern area of the site belonged to fairly small vessels, whereas fragments from larger sixth-century jars and bowls were more common in the southern part of the site.[1] Bowls were also more common to the south of the site,

[1] The 'central/northern' group consisted of SFBs 1, 4, 6, 19, 20, 39 and 40, while the 'southern' group comprised SFBs 8, 14, 23, 24, 25, 28/29, 41 and 45 (Chambers and McAdam 2007: 239).

making up 23.7% of the vessel assemblage in contrast to 7% of the central/northern assemblage (Chambers and McAdam 2007: 241). The sample for the fifth-century pottery was very small, but it too suggested that larger vessels were being deposited towards the south of the site (Chambers and McAdam 2007: 239).

Anthropological studies have shown that small vessels are often used individually for food consumption or preparation by an individual, while larger vessels are used for food or water storage, or for cooking for larger numbers of people (although these trends are not universal and other uses are known) (Chambers and McAdam 2007: 246). Caution is required when using this data, as the material finding its way into SFBs did not necessarily relate to the use of the buildings. Nonetheless, this distribution suggests that the central/northern area of the site experienced more individual food consumption, while the southern area was used for food storage and preparation, perhaps more communally. Interestingly, there are some exceptions to this pattern in the southern SFB group; few jar sherds were recovered from the SFBs in the area of barrows 12 and 13 (Chambers and McAdam 2007: 246).[2] This part of the settlement, therefore, does not resemble either the southern or the central/northern area. It is possible that this is simply the result of deposition practices, although it may be significant that this part of the site, which was so closely entwined with the large Bronze Age barrows 12 and 13, as well as the pond barrow to the east, stands out from the other areas; perhaps it had a different function, or the inhabitants of this area used pots (and perhaps other, unpreserved vessels in organic materials) in a different way from the rest of the occupants.

The excavation report made no explicit reference to any possible placed deposits in the settlement, but this is not unusual for a site excavated in the 1980s, before the widespread realisation that structured deposition might have take place in Anglo-Saxon settlements (Hamerow 2006). There were few indications of exactly where artefacts were found in SFBs fills, for example, and no mention of any articulated

[2] The report did not indicate exactly which SFBs near barrows 12 and 13 lacked the jars but, as the closest buildings to these monuments, SFBs 23 and 24 and perhaps SFB 45 are likely candidates.

animal remains in these buildings. However, it is possible that at least some of the Roman objects noted above were placed deliberately in SFBs and other features, particularly the Roman coins in the ring ditches. It was noted that the near-complete skeleton of a fairly large adult dog was discovered in the uppermost level of the pond barrow 4866, which might have constituted a deliberately placed deposit (Chambers and McAdam 2007: 218) (see fig. 6.11). Indeed, its proximity to a human burial (see below) suggests that this area of the settlement, or this monument in particular, might have been viewed as especially important in terms of ritual activity.

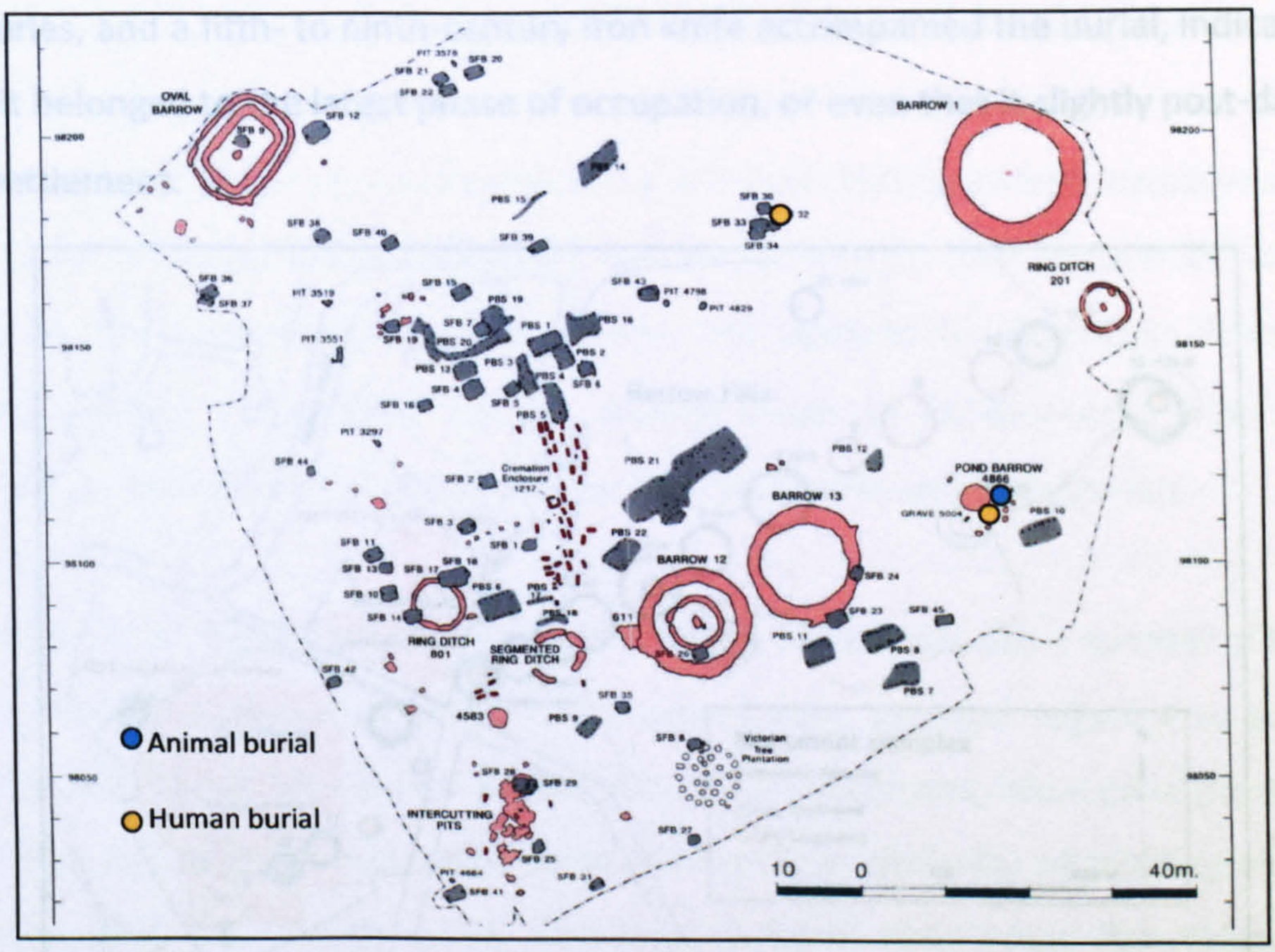

Fig. 6.11 Animal and human burials at Barrow Hills (after Barclay and Halpin 1999: fig. 1.9).

A number of human burials had been interred within the settlement and just outside it (see figs. 6.11 and 6.12). A newborn infant had been buried in a shallow cut in the bottom of SFB 32, towards its south side, although it had been badly damaged by an animal burrow (Chambers and McAdam 2007: 201). It is interesting to note that this building was part of an intercutting cluster, which incorporated SFBs 33 and 34, and possibly SFB 30, as well; there may have been up to four phases of building in this location. The space on all sides of these intercutting buildings

appears to have been open and clear of settlement features, suggesting that a deliberate decision was taken to build on roughly the same plot multiple times. The insertion of the infant into one of these phases of building might have reflected the importance of this location within the settlement, or to a particular function of the buildings. Elsewhere in the settlement, an adult female, aged over 45, had been buried on the south-west side of the pond barrow 4866 (which also contained the dog burial) (Chambers and McAdam 2007: 201). The cut was very shallow, and the burial seems to have been inserted into a bank around the barrow, which had subsequently eroded. A copper-alloy pin, dating to the late sixth or early seventh centuries, and a fifth- to ninth-century iron knife accompanied the burial, indicating that it belonged to the latest phase of occupation, or even that it slightly post-dated the settlement.

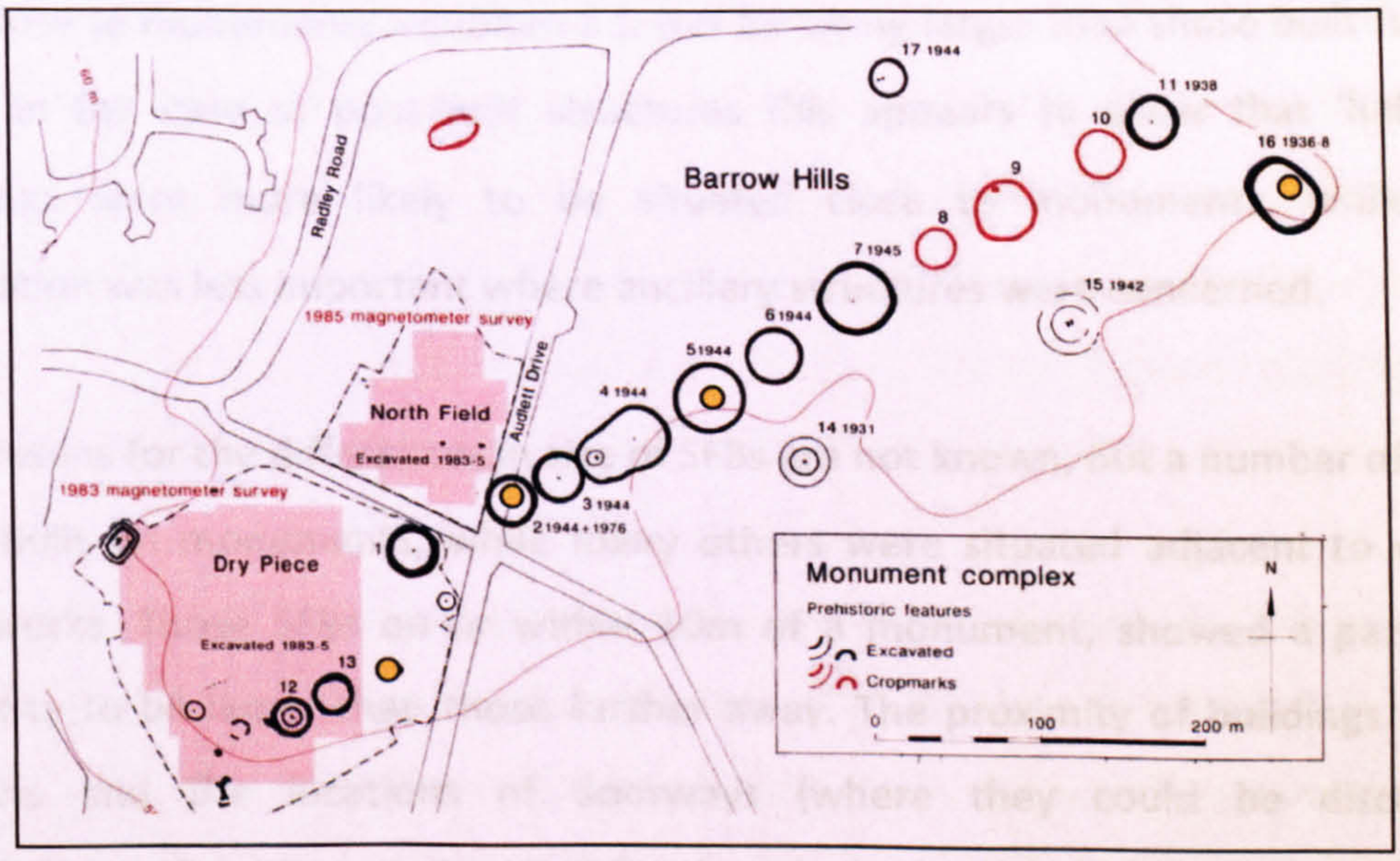

Fig. 6.12 Plan of the Barrow Hills cropmark complex showing the barrows reused for Anglo-Saxon burials (after Barclay and Halpin 1999: 2, fig. 1.2).

To the north-west of the settlement, in other barrows belonging to the prehistoric barrow cemetery, further Anglo-Saxon burials were found throughout the twentieth century. Barrow 2 contained a secondary burial with a seventh-century knife, Barrow 5 contained two undated secondary burials, which may have been Anglo-Saxon, and in Barrow 16 Anglo-Saxon sherds were recorded in the south-west quadrant of the ring ditch (Chambers and McAdam 2007: 220). There are

indications, then, that in the late sixth and seventh centuries, the inhabitants of Barrow Hills began to bury some of their dead in the prehistoric monuments around the settlement, and it is interesting to note that this development apparently took place *after* the monuments had been reused for some time in the settlement, perhaps even post-dating the settlement.

Conclusions

This in-depth analysis has revealed that inhabitants of Barrow Hills had a range of surviving prehistoric monuments available to them for reuse, as the settlement was established in an area with a particularly high density of pre-existing earthworks. Some Anglo-Saxon structures were constructed extremely close to these monuments, while others were built on top of them. Both post-built structures and SFBs close to monuments exhibited a trend for being larger than those built further away. In the case of post-built structures this appears to show that 'halls' or dwellings were more likely to be situated close to monuments, while this association was less important where ancillary structures were concerned.

The reasons for the differences in size of SFBs are not known, but a number of them were built on monuments, while many others were situated adjacent to earlier earthworks. Those SFBs on or within 10m of a monument, showed a particular tendency to be larger than those further away. The proximity of buildings to the barrows and the locations of doorways (where they could be discerned) demonstrate that on entering and leaving these structures people would have passed extremely close to the monuments, confirming that they would have been very aware of the presence of these barrows in their settlement. Indeed, it can even be argued that these monuments could have been an inconvenience to the inhabitants as they built on and moved around the site; that they deliberately established their settlement among these earthwork 'obstacles' suggests that the monuments did, indeed, have special significance.

Phasing of the SFBs suggests that there may have been several foci to the settlement. Initially, it appears that the central/northern cluster of buildings formed the focus of the settlement, but during later phases of the settlement the buildings may have become more dispersed. As part of this development, it is possible that the buildings to the south of the site may have been built, including the structures around ring ditch 801 and those to the south-east of barrows 12 and 13, although it seems that the central/northern focus continued in use. The southern structures were closer to the monuments than the earlier occupation focus had been, and there was a tendency for dwellings, in particular, to be located near to the monuments. Interestingly, it appears that SFBs constructed on and adjacent to the barrows may have belonged to a later settlement phase, when they began to 'encroach' onto the monuments; the implication is that the importance of intrusively and demonstrably reusing monuments was growing. While in the earlier phases the central/northern cluster of buildings may have been surrounded and perhaps 'protected' by the barrows, in the later phases the obvious, intrusive association of particular buildings with the barrows became more frequent. This may indicate that the monuments, and their role in the community, became more significant, or it could suggest that the control of the barrows grew in importance.

The possibility that there was increasing control of the southern area of the site is supported by the presence of 'barriers', formed by PBS 17, PBS 18, PBS 21 and PBS 22, as well as the use of barrows 12 and 13 to divide the south-eastern cluster of buildings from the rest of the settlement. These would have impeded movement from the north of the site to the south, and suggest some form of restriction of movement may have been in place. In this way, then, the reuse of monuments in the settlement at Barrow Hills could be interpreted as 'acts of possession', which demonstrated that particular people or groups had rights to the barrows and their use. It is interesting, therefore, that the use of the monuments for burial did not develop until the very end of the settlement's life, in the late sixth or early seventh century. The trend in the settlement, and in the area around it, was for increasing 'ownership' of barrows; their reuse for burial may have been another development

in this increasing ownership, establishing links between particular individuals or families and particular monuments.

It has been shown in this analysis that there were not necessarily strong links between the barrows in the settlement and placed deposits, including human and animal burials. Although the pond barrow on the eastern edge of the settlement did contain both a dog burial and a human burial, the other barrows do not seem to have been used for similar activities. A possible exception is the pattern of deposition of the reused Roman coins from the settlement, which showed a marked trend for being deposited in the ring ditches around barrows, especially barrows 12 and 13. Placed deposits were found elsewhere, however, such as the neonate burial in SFB 32, some distance away from the barrows. Thus, although barrows could be the focus of apparently ritual activity in the settlement, this was not always the case.

Case Study 2: Sutton Courtenay

There were two major components to the Sutton Courtenay[3] settlement; a dispersed group of SFBs to the north of the site, and a number of large halls to the south. The northern area was investigated by Leeds during a series of salvage excavations in the midst of gravel quarrying in the 1920s and 1930s (Leeds 1923; 1927; 1947) (see fig. 6.13). Leeds investigated thirty-three SFBs, or 'houses' as he dubbed them; thirty to the east of Milton Road, which ran from north to south through the site, and another three in a field to the west. He also exposed parts of two probable post-built structures, one (building XXII) in the middle of the site, and another un-numbered example further north (Leeds 1927: 16, fig. 1; 1947: 84). However, additional buildings had been destroyed before Leeds was able to record them, particularly in a 'blank' area in the middle of the site, where workmen reported having seen further structures (Leeds 1923: 149; Hamerow et al. 2007: 109). Others were already partially destroyed at the time of their investigation and

[3] The settlement actually spans the boundary between the parishes of Drayton and Sutton Courtenay, but it is commonly known as the latter (Hamerow et al. 2007: 113).

revealed few clues about their original sizes, forms and contents (e.g. buildings II, IV and V) (Leeds 1923: 157-8). Recent re-assessment of the finds from this part of the site suggests that these buildings were occupied from the fifth or early sixth century into the seventh century (Hamerow et al. 2007: 115).

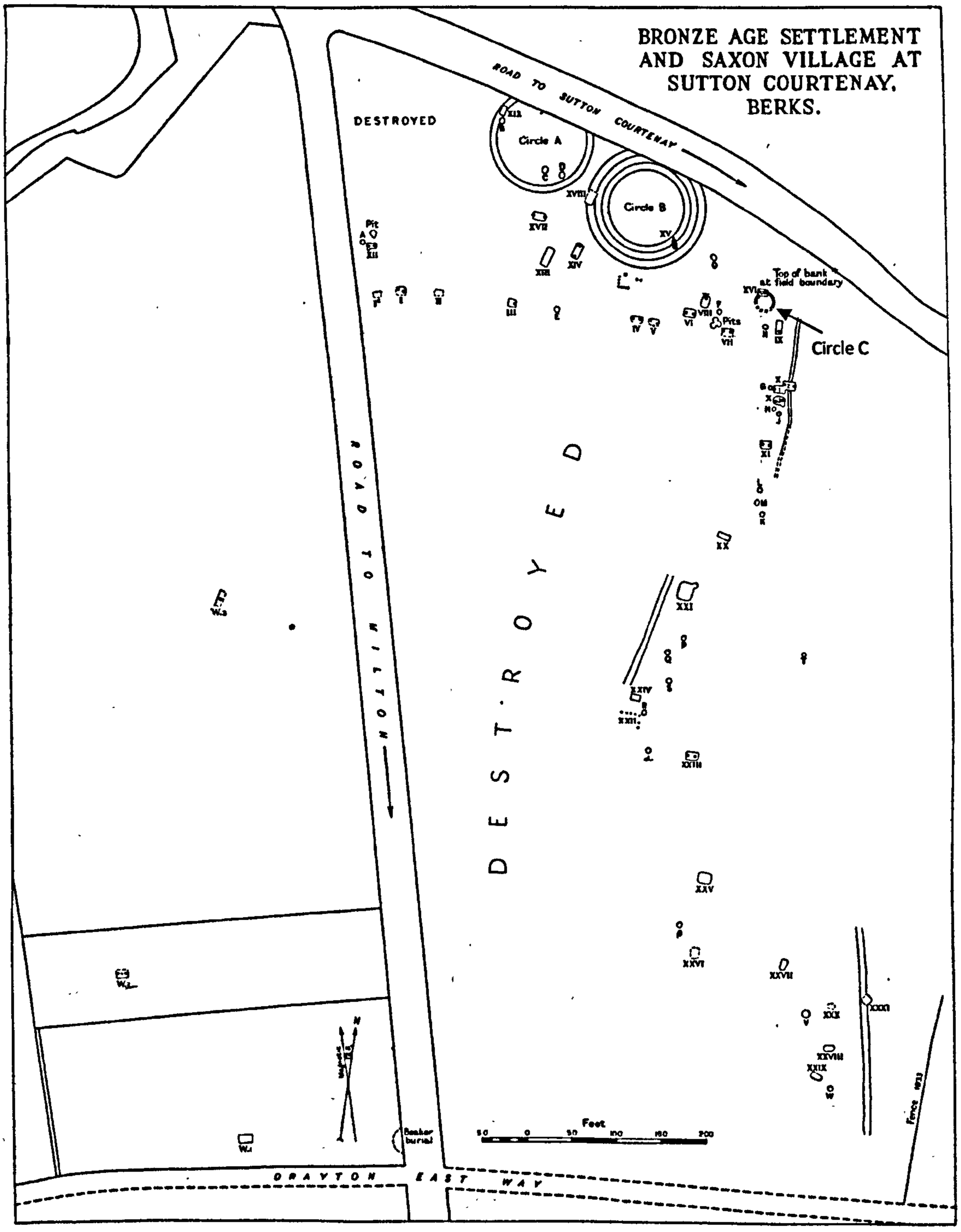

Fig. 6.13 Plan of the northern part of the Sutton Courtenay site, excavated by Leeds in the early twentieth century (after Leeds 1947: fig. 1).

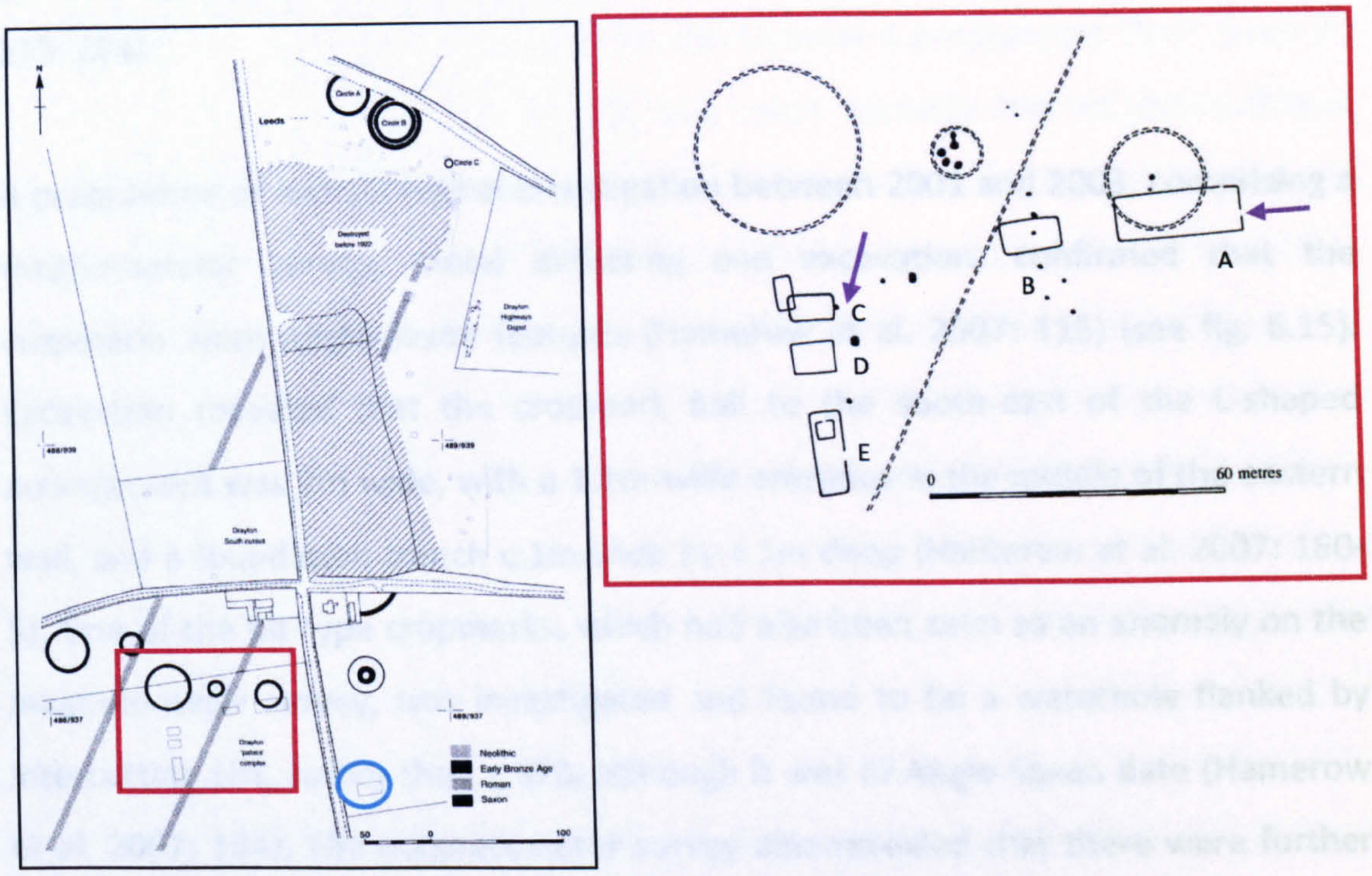

Fig. 6.14 Overview of the Sutton Courtenay site with Leeds's excavation area to the north and the cropmark halls to the south (left) (after Barclay et al. 2003: 17, fig. 3.1). The cropmark hall to the south-east of the L-shaped cluster, investigated by Hamerow et al. (2007), is circled in blue. Detail of the L-shaped cropmark hall complex and barrows (right) (after Blair 1994: 32, fig. 30). The approximate positions of the recent Time Team investigations are marked by the arrows on the right-hand plan.

More recently, intrusive and non-intrusive archaeological investigations since the 1970s have led to the discovery of several large timber buildings to the south of the site (see fig. 6.14). Benson and Miles (1974a: 62; 1974b: 223-4) identified the cropmarks of five timber halls lying in an L-shape on aerial photographs, while another cropmark hall was subsequently identified to the east of these by Hawkes (1986: 88-9). These cropmarks were thought to represent exceptionally large Anglo-Saxon timber structures, possibly belonging to a high-status settlement or 'palace' site, examples of which are known from the late sixth and seventh centuries elsewhere in the country (Benson and Miles 1974a: 62; Blair 1994: 32; Hamerow et al. 2007: 109). The halls were also accompanied by a number of sub-rectangular and sub-circular cropmarks, 3-5m long, at least some of which may represent SFBs,

perhaps related to the buildings to the north (Blair 1994: 32; Hamerow et al. 2007: 115, 224).

A programme of archaeological investigation between 2001 and 2003, comprising a magnetometer survey, metal detecting and excavation, confirmed that the cropmarks were Anglo-Saxon features (Hamerow et al. 2007: 115) (see fig. 6.15). Excavation revealed that the cropmark hall to the south-east of the L-shaped arrangement was 9m wide, with a 1.1m-wide entrance in the middle of the eastern wall, and a foundation trench c.1m wide by c.1m deep (Hamerow et al. 2007: 160-3). One of the pit-type cropmarks, which had also been seen as an anomaly on the magnetometer survey, was investigated and found to be a waterhole flanked by intercutting pits, rather than a SFB, although it was of Anglo-Saxon date (Hamerow et al. 2007: 154). The magnetometer survey also revealed that there were further possible SFBs to the south-east of the partially-excavated hall building.

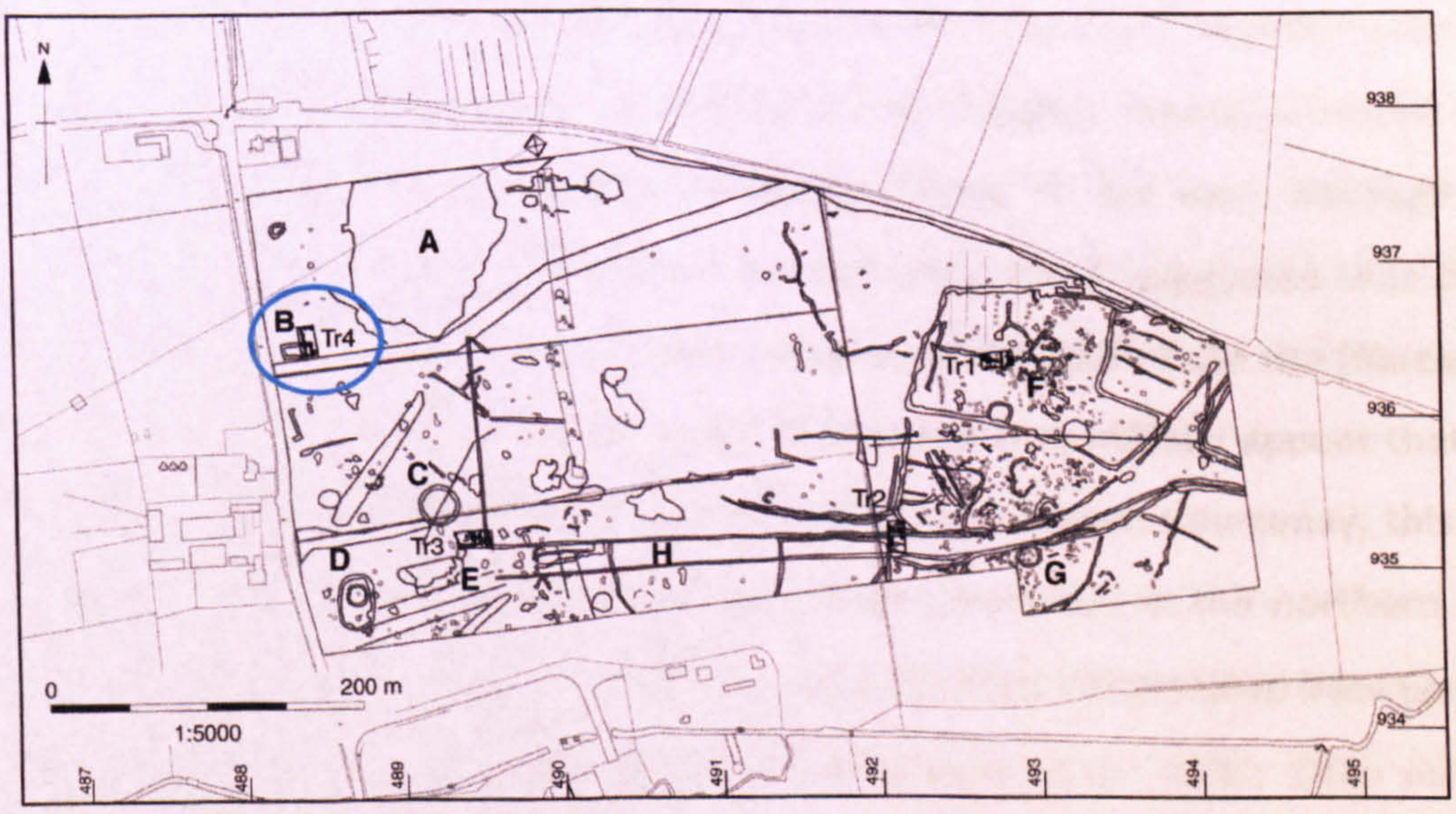

Fig. 6.15 Results of the magnetometer survey to the south-east of the cropmark halls; the eastern end of the sixth hall lay in Trench 4, and it is labelled B on the plan. The ring ditch identified by the survey is labelled C and the possible Neolithic oval barrow is labelled D (after Hamerow et al. 2007: illus. 4).

Even more recently, in 2009, elements of this southern part of the site have been examined as part of an investigation by the Channel 4 programme *Time Team* (H. Hamerow pers. comm.). The largest and most easterly hall of the L-shaped arrangement (A) was partly excavated, and found to have an entrance in its east wall, whilst the most northerly hall (C) was found to overlay an SFB at its eastern end. The investigations undertaken since 2001 indicate that the settlement at Sutton Courtenay was much more complex, extensive and of higher status than Leeds had imagined, a notion that is supported by the metal-detected finds of high-status sixth- and seventh-century metalwork from a postulated nearby cemetery, and the discovery of early eighth-century coins that may indicate the presence of a market (Hamerow et al. 2007: 109-10).

The settlement is, therefore, extensive and rather complex, consisting of a number of elements, perhaps of different phases. The excavated settlement features cover an area of approximately 750m from north to south, although the settlement's full extent is not known, and it may have continued to the north and west (Hamerow et al. 2007: 115, 183). Excavations at the adjacent Drayton Highways Depot site appeared to indicate that no further buildings existed to the east, although the recent magnetometer survey conducted by Hamerow et al. suggested that there were more easterly SFBs close to the halls in the southern half of the site (Barclay et al. 2003: 23-9; Hamerow et al. 2007: 115). Although it may initially appear that the SFBs and post-built structures were spatially distinct at Sutton Courtenay, this was not the case, as the partially-preserved post-built structures in the northern area and the SFBs in the southern area demonstrate; the exact relationship between the two areas is, however, presently unknown (Hamerow et al. 2007: 187). Indeed, although a large number of buildings have been investigated, the quality and quantity of evidence is not always satisfactory enough to create a detailed picture of the settlement. This is partly the result of the destruction of the site through quarrying and the salvage nature of the excavations in the 1920s and 1930s, but it is also due to modern ploughing, which has severely truncated many features in the southern area (Hamerow et al. 2007: 113). Furthermore, the investigations of

Hamerow et al. are in their infancy and as yet they have primarily consisted of non-intrusive investigations and small-scale excavation, while the results of the most recent phase of work by *Time Team* are awaiting post-excavation analysis and publication.[4] Nonetheless, there is enough evidence to explore the relationships between the settlement and the prehistoric monuments within it, which will be discussed below.

The site contained numerous prehistoric monuments, many of which were discussed in Chapter 5. At the northern limit of the area excavated by Leeds were three ring ditches; Circle A had an internal diameter of c.20m, Circle B a diameter of c.27m, and Circle C a diameter of c.9m (Leeds 1927: 60). Circles A and C were typical forms of ring ditch, while Circle B may have had an inner and outer berm on either side of the ring ditch (Barclay et al. 2003: 22). Close to the large halls to the south of the site were further ring ditches, including a particularly large example to the north of hall C. There were two more ring ditches either side of it, one of which had been overlain by hall A, casting doubt on its visibility during the Anglo-Saxon period, and to the east of these was another, double-ditched, cropmark ring ditch. In the area surveyed in 2001-03, there was another ring ditch with an internal diameter of c.23m, and a probable Neolithic oval barrow measuring approximately 33m by 21m (Hamerow et al. 2007: 113, 121, 131). There were geophysical anomalies over and around the oval barrow; these were undated, but it is possible that they were Anglo-Saxon features, perhaps buildings or graves (Hamerow et al. 2007: 131). Given that the nearest parallel for this feature was the Barrow Hills oval barrow, c.5km away, there was a local precedent for situating buildings on top of these monuments.

There may have been further barrows in the area destroyed by quarrying, as the apparent partial cropmark of a large ring ditch, perhaps over 40m in diameter, was plotted just to the south of the road that formed the southern boundary of Leeds's site (see fig. 6.14). Moreover, there were more ring ditches situated to the west of

[4] This is being undertaken by Wessex Archaeology.

the cropmark halls. Only the ring ditches to the far north of the site have been excavated, and the discovery of fragments of human skull, Bronze Age pottery and flint from Circle B suggested that this was a Bronze Age barrow, while Circles A and C are also likely to have been barrows (Leeds 1927: 60; Barclay et al. 2003: 22). Both Barclay et al. (2003: 23) and Hamerow et al. (2007: 113) felt confident that, given the high numbers of prehistoric barrows in this area, the unexcavated ring ditches also represented barrows. They also suggested that, given the relationships between the buildings and the ring ditches, which will be discussed in detail below, there was evidence to support their longevity and visibility as monuments into the Anglo-Saxon period.

A Neolithic cursus also ran through the settlement from north to south. The monument consisted of two sections, a northern one (Drayton North cursus) and a southern one (Drayton South cursus); the area excavated by Leeds lay at the northern end of the Drayton South cursus, but it seems that most features associated with this monument were destroyed by gravel extraction before Leeds became aware of them (Barclay et al. 2003: 16) (see figs. 6.13 and 6.14). However, part of the eastern ditch survived, and was traced by Leeds for c.55m, whilst he also probably uncovered a further 17m of ditch, although this stretch was not included on his published plan (Leeds 1927: 62; Barclay et al. 2003: 16). The ditch was probably accompanied by a bank, as excavations of the Drayton North cursus revealed that it had internal parallel banks (Moore 1986: 99; Ainslie and Wallis 1987: 1-2) (see Chapter 5). Additionally, in 2001-03, Roman enclosures were found on the eastern side of the field subjected to the magnetometer survey (Hamerow et al. 2007: 135). Although they were located some distance from the Anglo-Saxon settlement and do not seem to have influenced it, a droveway ran from the enclosures to the west of the field, where the Anglo-Saxon buildings were located. The droveway dated from the mid first to early second century AD, and was c.15m wide with defining ditches that had been re-cut on at least one occasion, and it is possible that this feature still existed at the time of the Anglo-Saxon occupation (Hamerow et al. 2007: 154).

Settlement Layout

The SFBs in the northern half of the site generally had an east-west alignment, similar to many other early Anglo-Saxon settlements (Marshall and Marshall 1993), although several were on a roughly north-south alignment. They were arranged around the 'blank' quarried area; this area probably contained further buildings, as did the field containing building W1 to the west of Milton Road (Leeds 1927: 75; 1947: 92; Hamerow et al. 2007: 115). Leeds recorded the investigation of thirty-three buildings, although subsequent re-evaluation has shown that some of his interpretations were rather dubious. 'House' X, for example, was interpreted as a building consisting of three rooms, labelled 1 to 3 (Leeds 1923: 167-73). It is more likely that these 'rooms' were three separate buildings, two of them intercutting (see fig. 6.16). Similarly, Leeds interpreted 'house' XXI as a cellared building with a clay store, but its depth, the waterlogging at its base and the wattle around its sides make it more likely that this was a waterhole (Leeds 1947: 81-4; Tipper 2004: 88; Hamerow et al. 2007: 185).

'House' XV was a rather unusual feature, which Leeds also interpreted as a building, although it was only partially excavated. It consisted of a 'pavement' of limestone blocks overlying the south-west quadrant of Circle B, with several Anglo-Saxon sherds lying above it (Leeds 1927: 69-70) (see fig. 6.16). It did not resemble other buildings on the site, nor indeed Anglo-Saxon buildings from elsewhere in the country, although it was noted that a number of other SFBs contained large limestone blocks, often in their upper fills (for example, buildings III, VI, VII and VIII) (Leeds 1923: 157-66). It is possible that, as the building was only partially excavated, it *was* an SFB but Leeds failed to reveal its sides, its base or any of the diagnostic characteristics that would have proved this. Taking into account the reinterpretation of 'house' XXI as a waterhole and the realisation that 'house' X was in fact three buildings, Leeds actually seems to have excavated thirty-five buildings, including the questionable limestone paved building XV.

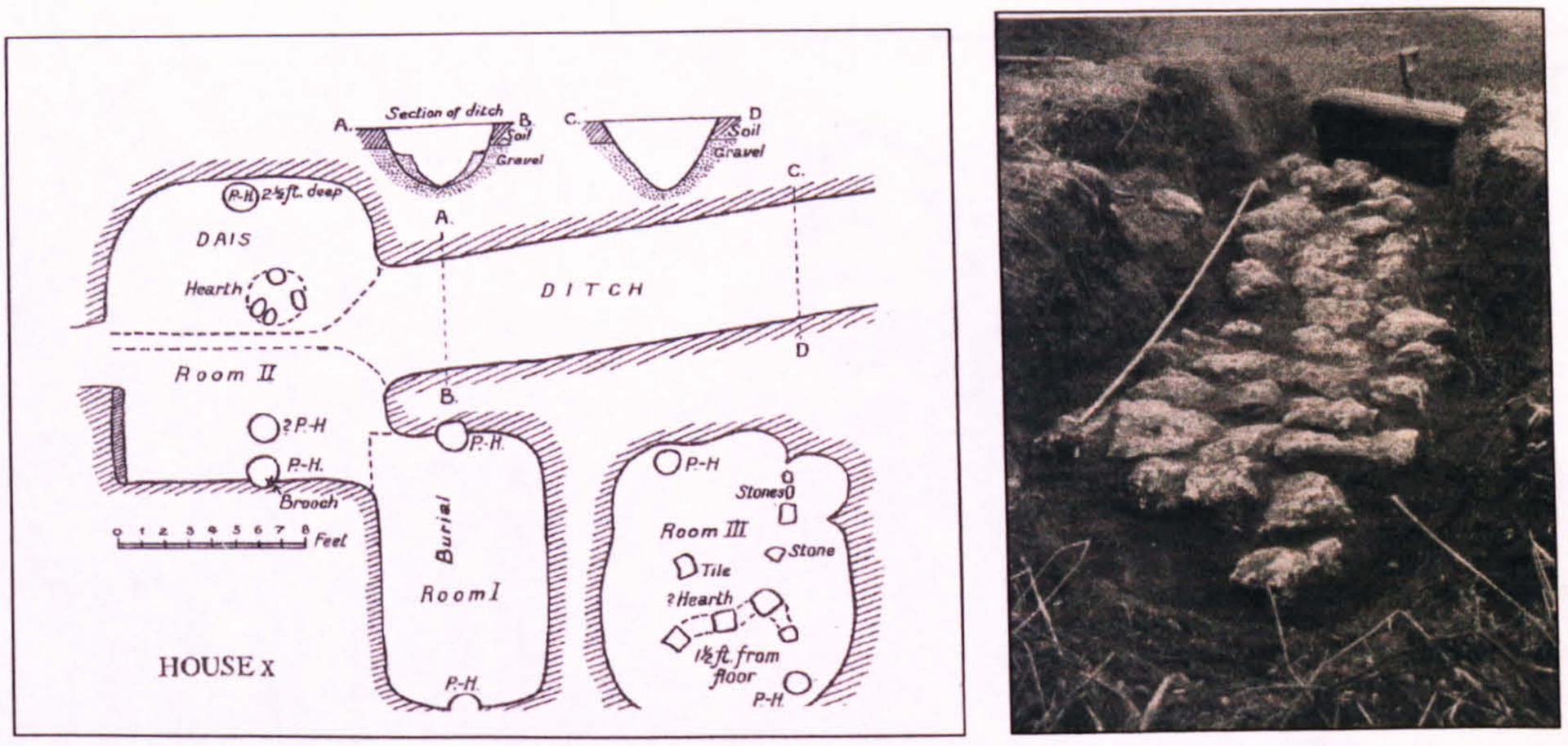

Fig. 6.16 The three 'rooms' of 'house' X (left) (from Leeds 1923: 168, fig. 10) and 'house' XV under excavation (right) (from Leeds 1927: plate VII, fig. 1).

Although the quarried 'blank' area in the centre of the site did not allow a complete picture of the layout of the northern part of Sutton Courtenay to be produced, it does appear that a relatively large number of the SFBs in the settlement were located towards the north of this area, close to Circles A, B and C. Each of these ring ditches had been reused intrusively; building XIX lay on the north-west side of Circle A, building XVIII lay over Circle B on its western side, and building XVI lay over Circle C on its northern side (see fig. 6.17). The limestone 'pavement' of XV was also situated over the south-west quadrant of Circle B. In addition, there were further structures in very close proximity to the ring ditches; building XVII was c.6-7m south of Circle A, building XIV was a similar distance south of Circle C, and building IX was c.5m south-east of Circle C. Less than 5m south of Circle B lay the postholes of one of the two post-built structures noted by Leeds, which appears to have been at least c.3.8m wide by c.7.6m long. It is interesting that, while a roughly east-west alignment was preferred across much of the site, buildings VIII, IX, XIII and XIV had a north-south alignment, which also echoed the alignment of building XIX on Circle A and XVIII on Circle B. This is particularly noticeable in contrast to the row of buildings to the north of the quarried area, including 'houses' I, II, III, IV and V, which were all aligned east-west. It appears that the north-south aligned buildings were aligned on the barrows, each having an end wall pointing towards a barrow.

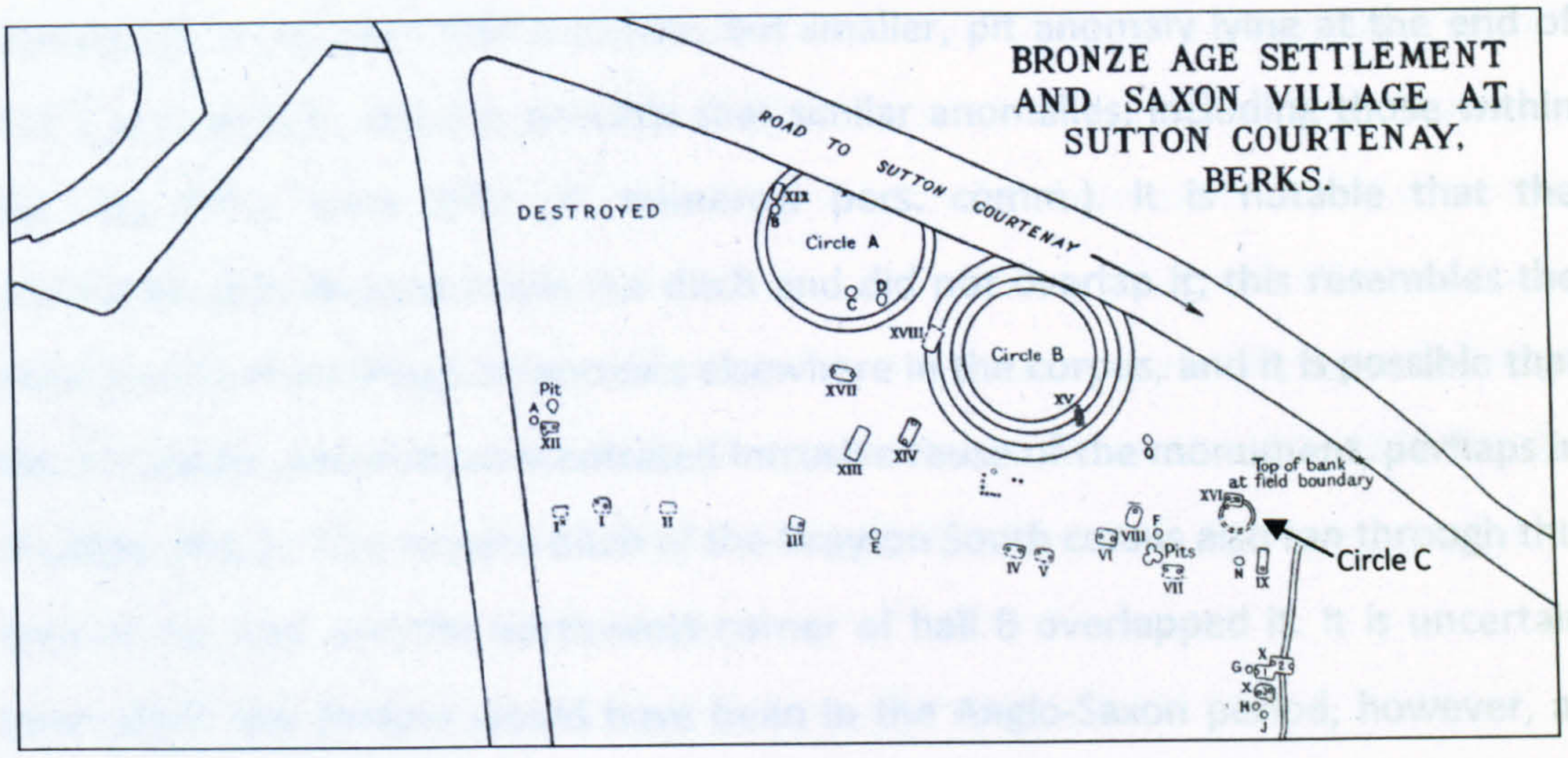

Fig. 6.17 Detailed view of the buildings situated on ring ditches to the north of Leeds's excavation area (after Leeds 1947: fig. 1).

The L-shaped arrangement of large halls also appears to have been influenced by prehistoric barrows. The three halls (C, D and E) forming the short, north-south side of the 'L' pointed towards a large ring ditch, approximately 35m in diameter. The closest cropmark to the ring ditch was C, which was just over 10m away from the monument, although it overlapped with a smaller rectangular feature on its western side, which was even closer to the ring ditch (Hamerow et al. 2007: 224). As it was on a different alignment from C, D and E, this smaller rectangle may have belonged to a different phase. The long, east-west side of the 'L' was formed by cropmarks A and B, the former situated directly over another ring ditch, c.20m in diameter. This may indicate that this particular monument was no longer a visible earthwork in the Anglo-Saxon period; this is also suggested by the cropmark evidence, which shows that the ring ditch was less substantial than other examples nearby (Hamerow et al. 2007: 189). Alternatively, it could indicate that the building had been deliberately placed over a pre-existing earthwork after it had been wholly or partly levelled; this would be unusual, as this practice has not been seen elsewhere in the study area, but it is a possibility.

A smaller ring ditch, c.10m in diameter, was situated between the two larger ring ditches and encircled what appear to be at least five pit-type cropmarks. Recent

investigations revealed that a similar, but smaller, pit anomaly lying at the end of hall C was an SFB, and it is possible that similar anomalies, including those within the ring ditch, were SFBs (H. Hamerow pers. comm.). It is notable that the anomalies were located *inside* the ditch and did not overlap it; this resembles the construction of buildings on barrows elsewhere in the corpus, and it is possible that the anomalies represent concentrated intrusive reuse of the monument, perhaps in multiple phases. The eastern ditch of the Drayton South cursus also ran through this area of the site, and the north-west corner of hall B overlapped it. It is uncertain how visible this feature would have been in the Anglo-Saxon period, however, as both Barclay et al. (2003: 23) and Hamerow et al. (2007: 189) have stated that it was unlikely to have been particularly well-preserved.

The hall to the south-west of the L-shaped arrangement, in the field investigated by Hamerow et al. (2007) in 2001-03, does not appear to have been strongly influenced by the remains of monuments. However, the magnetometer anomalies thought to represent SFBs to the south of the hall were relatively close to the anomalies of the ring ditch (C) and the oval barrow (D) (see fig. 6.15) (Hamerow et al. 2007: 154). If these were SFBs, they would have been within c.50m of the ring ditch and c.100m east of the oval barrow and, as previously noted, further anomalies situated on and around the oval barrow might also have been buildings (Hamerow et al. 2007: 131).

Building Sizes

- Post-Built Structures

The large post-built structures situated to the south of the site fell into James et al.'s (1984: 185) Group 2, comprising sites at which the majority of buildings measure over 50m^2 (see table 6.4). The two sets of postholes excavated by Leeds to the north appear to have been partially-preserved post-built structures. As they were incomplete their dimensions are unknown, but they do not appear to have been built on the same scale as those to the south. Leeds did not specify the dimensions of these structures, but measurements have been taken from his site

plan, albeit rather imprecisely due to the plan's small scale. The dimensions of halls A to E, and the hall to the south-east of them, have been obtained from Hamerow et al. (2007: 224). However, they did not provide dimensions for the smaller rectangular building overlying the north-west corner of C, so this has been measured from Blair's (1994: 32) plan of the cropmarks. It should be noted that, with the exception of the width of the south-eastern hall excavated in 2001-03, the building dimensions have all been obtained from cropmark plots or geophysical surveys, rather than through excavation.

The two posthole buildings excavated by Leeds were of fairly typical size for an early Anglo-Saxon settlement (Marshall and Marshall 1991). However, given their partial preservation, it is of course possible that they were larger than the measurements here suggest. Although it is, therefore, difficult to confirm that the un-numbered structure was, as it appears to be on the plan, larger than building XXII, it is interesting that it was situated within about 5m of Circle B. It is just possible that, as at Barrow Hills, there was a link between larger post-built structures and monuments, although the poor preservation of these structures and the lack of evidence for other post-built structures in this area make this impossible to confirm.

The cropmark halls were exceptionally large; all except the structure overlapping the north-west corner of C were over 50m^2 in area, while building A and the south-eastern hall were particularly substantial. Indeed, building A was comparable in size with the largest timber building, A4, at the high-status settlement of Yeavering (Hamerow et al. 2007: 187). The relationships between these buildings and at least one ring ditch, on which they appear to have been aligned, is also significant, as similar associations have been noted in high-status Anglo-Saxon settlements elsewhere, for example Hatton Rock (Rahtz 1970) and Cowage Farm near Malmesbury (Hinchliffe 1986). Interestingly, in this complex of halls at Sutton Courtenay the larger structures were located further away from the large, focal ring ditch, while the smaller ones were closer. This is in contrast to the situation at Barrow Hills, and possibly in the northern area of the Sutton Courtenay settlement,

where larger buildings appear to have been closer to monuments. The arrangement of halls at Sutton Courtenay is sufficiently different from the other sites to suggest that there may have been different rules dictating the construction and positioning of the large buildings. Their structured layout suggests that they were part of one complex, built perhaps at the same time by the same person or group, and thus they all appear to have been associated with the prehistoric monuments in this area.

Building	Excavation History	Length (m)	Width (m)	Area (m^2)
A	Cropmark	25.0	8.0	200.0
B	Cropmark	9.0	6.0	54.0
C	Cropmark	9.0	6.0	54.0
D	Cropmark	9.0	6.0	54.0
E	Cropmark	16.0	6.0	96.0
South-eastern hall	Excavated by Hamerow et al. (2007)	19.0	9.0	171.0
Rectangular building over north-west end of C	Cropmark	9.0	4.0	36.0
Posthole structure XXII	Excavated by Leeds (1947)	7.0+	4.7+	32.9+
Posthole structure south of Circle B (un-numbered)	Excavated by Leeds (1927)	9.4+	4.7+	44.2+

Table 6.4 Dimensions of post-built structures at Sutton Courtenay.

- Sunken-Featured Buildings

The evidence for this part of the analysis is derived wholly from the SFBs in the northern part of the site. Although there appear to have been a number of SFBs in the vicinity of the large halls their dimensions have not been confirmed through excavation. There is one exception, an SFB excavated very recently as part of the *Time Team* investigation, but at the time of writing no information was available

regarding its size. Of the thirty-five SFBs excavated by Leeds, the dimensions of twenty-eight were known; this includes many of the buildings in the main cluster to the east of Milton Road, as well as the three buildings to the west (W1 to W3) (see table 6.5). The 'rooms' of building X have been treated as three separate buildings, distinguished here as X(1), X(2) and X(3).

The average size of the SFBs was 11m^2; thirteen buildings were larger than this, up to 17.9m^2, and fifteen were smaller, the smallest measuring 6.1m^2 (see table 6.5). The majority of the larger-than-average structures were located to the north of the area investigated by Leeds, just to the south of the three ring ditches, with particular concentrations south-west of Circle B and south of Circle C (see fig. 6.18). Further south there were just two larger-than-average buildings (XXV and XXVIII), while W3 was the only above-average example west of Milton Road. A number of buildings were particularly large, with areas in excess of 15m^2 (buildings VI, VII, IX, XII, XIV and W3). Again, these tended to be located just south of the barrows; all except W3 were situated within c.20m of Circles B and C. Of the twenty-eight structures with discernable dimensions, three were positioned on the monuments, and another seven were within 20m of a ring ditch; the average area of these ten structures was 13.6m^2, compared to an average of 9.5m^2 for buildings over 20m away.

As at Barrow Hills, there appears to have been a tendency for larger SFBs to be situated closer to monuments at Sutton Courtenay. However, unlike Barrow Hills, the three structures located on top of the barrows were not particularly large. Only building XVIII was of above-average size, while buildings XIX and XVI were relatively small, although they were still larger than a number of other SFBs in the settlement. The ring ditch of Circle B was wider than the other two ring ditches, which may explain why the building located on it was larger than those on Circles A and C; the smaller size of the other ring ditches could have restricted the sizes of the buildings on top of them. The average area of buildings within 10m of a barrow was 14.6m^2, while the average for those within 10-20m of one of the barrows was 15.4m^2,

meaning that there was a slight tendency for SFBs in the clusters south of the monuments to be larger the further out they were. There may not, therefore, have been a desire to place particularly large buildings directly *on* the barrows at Sutton Courtenay, but there does appear to have been a marked trend for constructing larger buildings in close proximity to the monuments.

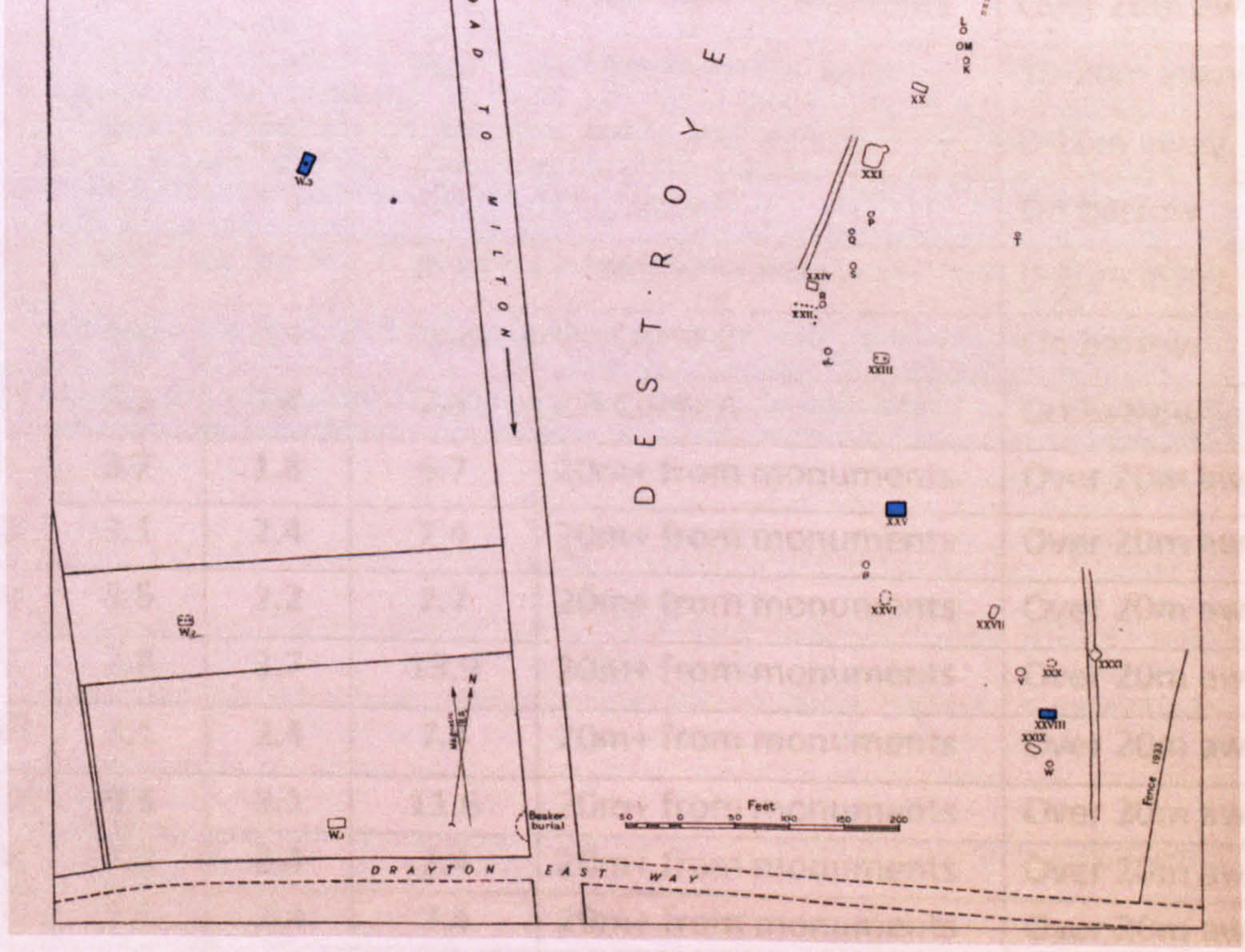

Fig. 6.18 SFBs with above-average areas at Sutton Courtenay (after Leeds 1947: fig. 1).

SFB No.	Length (m)	Width (m)	Area (m^2)	Relationship to Monument	Category
III	3.4	1.8	6.1	20m+ from monuments	Over 20m away
IV	3.1	2.4	7.4	20m+ from monuments	Over 20m away
V	3.4	2.4	8.2	20m+ from monuments	Over 20m away
VI	4.9	3.5	17.1	c.20m from Circle C and c.16m from Circle B	10-20m away
VII	4.7	3.4	15.8	c.12m from Circle C	10-20m away
VIII	4.0	3.0	12.0	c.15m from Circle C and c.14m from Circle B	10-20m away
IX	5.3	3.2	17.1	c.5m from Circle C	0-10m away
X(1)	3.5	2.4	8.5	20m+ from monuments	Over 20m away
X(2)	4.1	3.5	14.4	20m+ from monuments	Over 20m away
X(3)	3.7	3.2	11.7	20m+ from monuments	Over 20m away
XI	3.2	2.7	8.8	20m+ from monuments	Over 20m away
XII	4.0	3.0	12.0	20m+ from monuments	Over 20m away
XIII	6.4	2.6	16.6	c.16m from Circle B	10-20m away
XIV	5.0	3.6	17.9	c.5m from Circle B	0-10m away
XVI	3.1	2.9	8.8	On Circle C	On barrow
XVII	3.4	2.7	8.9	c.7m from Circle A	0-10m away
XVIII	4.1	3.4	13.8	On Circle B	On barrow
XIX	3.2	2.4	7.8	On Circle A	On barrow
XX	3.7	1.8	6.7	20m+ from monuments	Over 20m away
XXIII	3.1	2.4	7.4	20m+ from monuments	Over 20m away
XXIV	3.5	2.2	7.7	20m+ from monuments	Over 20m away
XXV	3.8	3.7	13.9	20m+ from monuments	Over 20m away
XXVII	3.1	2.4	7.4	20m+ from monuments	Over 20m away
XXVIII	3.8	3.1	11.6	20m+ from monuments	Over 20m away
XXIX	3.1	2.4	7.4	20m+ from monuments	Over 20m away
W1	3.1	2.4	7.4	20m+ from monuments	Over 20m away
W2	3.1	2.4	7.4	20m+ from monuments	Over 20m away
W3	6.4	2.3	16.6	20m+ from monuments	Over 20m away

Table 6.5 Dimensions and locations of SFBs at Sutton Courtenay.

Of course, the destruction of a large swathe of the northern part of the Sutton Courtenay site is problematic. Without information about the other buildings that no doubt existed in the destroyed area, it is impossible to know whether the trends in size noted here were borne out by the rest of the settlement. For example, building W3 shows that large SFBs could be situated some distance away from the three ring ditches. However, there are enough buildings with known sizes scattered across the whole site to be able to say that there was a trend amongst the excavated buildings for larger structures, often particularly large examples, to be constructed close to the three ring ditches, especially Circle B and Circle C.

Building Replacement

The structures excavated towards the north of the site yielded little evidence for re-cutting or rebuilding, although their poor preservation and salvage recording may have led to evidence for replaced postholes or re-cut pits being overlooked. The only known instance of rebuilding is in relation to building X, which Leeds interpreted as three rooms of one structure, despite the fact that he recognised that 'room' 2 was built after 'room' 1 had fallen out of use (Leeds 1923: 176). One 'room' appears to be a separate SFB, while the others formed two intercutting buildings; building X, therefore, appears to represent three phases of re-building (Hamerow et al. 2007: 185). The structure was located towards the north of the excavation area, but did not have any obvious or direct relationship with any of the monuments. However, with such limited evidence regarding the replacement and re-cutting of SFBs, it is possible that the structures on the ring ditches could have been rebuilt or maintained, and so too could other SFBs in the settlement.

Further south there are some indicators of building replacement, although the lack of excavation in this area means that there may be many more instances of building maintenance and replacement yet to be uncovered. During the recent *Time Team* excavations an SFB was excavated at the end of cropmark hall C, and it was found to be earlier than the hall (H. Hamerow pers. comm.). Similar anomalies, perhaps also SFBs, overlapped the cropmark outline of hall B. Although this evidence can tell us

little about augmentation to *individual* buildings, it does reveal that this part of the site was already occupied prior to the construction of the large halls. The fact that the SFBs were replaced by such large and unusual halls may indicate that these particular barrows were seen as especially significant, and that they became the focus of high-status occupation that overlay previous traces of an earlier, perhaps more 'ordinary' settlement. The smaller rectangular hall overlapping hall C did not share an alignment with any of the other halls in the 'L-shape', and it appears to have belonged to a different phase; its position so close to the large barrow to the north suggests that this building plot was sufficiently important to have been used in at least two phases. If so, this smaller structure may have been a precursor to the more substantial complex of halls, and could even have belonged to an earlier phase of the settlement, which might well have included some or all of the SFBs excavated by Leeds to the north.

Phasing

Phasing the different elements of the settlement is not straightforward, partly because of the limited excavation to the south of site, and partly because the artefacts from the SFBs to the north have undergone limited modern analysis, since many finds in the archive cannot now be linked to particular features (Hamerow et al. 2007: 115). However, the Anglo-Saxon pottery found during the 2001-03 excavations in the area containing the halls was typical of the early to middle Anglo-Saxon period, with a predominance of chaff-tempered wares suggesting a sixth- to seventh-century date (Hamerow et al. 2007: 168-9). This date was supported by the lack of sand-tempered wares and decorated sherds, both of which are generally thought to indicate a fifth- to sixth-century date in this area. The indications are, then, that this part of the settlement, at least, did not exist before the late sixth century.

The hall sizes and methods of construction add weight to the assertion that the settlement had a seventh-century phase, as similar complexes of large buildings belonging to the seventh century or later have been found elsewhere in the country

(Blair 1994: 32). Meanwhile, the SFB uncovered at the end of hall C during the recent *Time Team* excavations was unlikely to have been filled in before the late sixth century (H. Hamerow pers. comm.). The similar anomalies overlapping hall B may also be earlier SFBs, in which case the halls may belong to a later phase of settlement at Sutton Courtenay, which was preceded by a settlement consisting of many SFBs, including those to the north excavated by Leeds. If so, the settlement may have developed from a more 'ordinary' occupation site into an extraordinary one at some in the late sixth or seventh century. Metal detected items discovered during the 1990s in the field containing the south-eastern hall included sixth- to seventh-century dress accessories, such as saucer brooches, mounts and buckles, thought to be from an associated cemetery, and these correlate with the postulated date of the settlement (Hamerow et al. 2007: 118, 170-6, 185). Fourteen sceattas dating from c.700-730 have also been recovered from the same field by metal detectorists since 1991 (quite possibly in addition to further, unreported metal detected finds), suggesting that in the early eighth century the southern part of the site at Sutton Courtenay functioned as a trading and meeting place (Hamerow et al. 2007: 180).

Understanding the development of the part of the settlement excavated by Leeds is rather difficult. The few instances of intercutting buildings, discussed above, demonstrate that there were several phases to certain areas of the site, but absolute dates for any of these phases are not known. Hamerow et al. (2007: 169) briefly discussed the ceramics from Leeds's excavations and these, like the ceramics from around the large halls, were attributed a sixth- to seventh-century date, based on the small proportion of decorated sherds and the presence of 'swallow's nest' lugs[5] on vessels. Leeds discovered a fifth-century silver-gilt equal-armed brooch in 'room' 2 of building X and he believed that this provided a date for the site's occupation, although this was not necessarily the case as the brooch could have

[5] 'Swallow's nest' lugs are round pouch-shaped additions applied to a vessel's exterior surface, around the neck or rim, which enclose a perforated hole for suspension (G. Perry pers. comm.).

been old when it was deposited and the site lacked other fifth-century pottery or finds (Leeds 1923: 171; Hamerow et al. 2007: 184).

It is just possible that comparison with the buildings at Barrow Hills *might* reveal links between the sizes, positions and dates of the SFBs excavated by Leeds. At Barrow Hills, the sixth-century *tpq* group of SFBs were often larger than earlier examples, and showed greater variation in size. At Sutton Courtenay, therefore, it might be the case that the larger SFBs close to Circles A, B and C, and the buildings situated on top of them, belonged to the sixth century, or at least a later phase of the settlement. If so, is it possible that the settlement also displays the 'encroachment' of activity onto the barrows during a later phase of occupation? Could that 'encroachment' have taken place at a similar time to the construction of the large halls to the south, or perhaps earlier? These possibilities deserve consideration, but they remain only tentative suggestions; in the absence of reliable dating evidence they are impossible to substantiate.

Nevertheless, a general model for the development of the settlement at Sutton Courtenay can be suggested. The settlement might have begun with a dispersed collection of SFBs in the northern part of the site, perhaps accompanied by post-built structures (of which only two were traced, although it seems likely that there were more). As at least one SFB pre-dated the cropmark hall complex, the SFBs in this area appear to have belonged to an earlier phase of the settlement, while the magnetometer anomalies in the field to the south-east might represent further contemporary structures. The multiple phases of building X indicate that, at least to the north of the site, occupation took place long enough for buildings to have fallen into disrepair and to have been replaced. The small rectangular cropmark hall overlapping hall C may also have belonged to this earlier phase, and it could have been contemporary with the buildings positioned on Circles A, B and C to the north. During a later phase the large cropmarks halls to the south may then have been constructed, overlying some of the earlier SFBs and the small cropmark hall. The inhabitants at this time appear to have replaced the earlier, more subtle reuse of

the prehistoric monuments with a more substantial and ostentatious complex of structures exhibiting reuse. The focus of the settlement at that time appears to have been the hall complex, although it is possible that the areas to the north and south continued to be used.

Movement within the Settlement

There are few indications of how people might have moved around the northern part of the settlement, since no traces of trackways or routes were noted by Leeds. Similarly, the lack of knowledge about entrances in SFBs means that little can be said about how the inhabitants might have interacted with the barrows on the northern edge of the site. However, at least three buildings were situated on ring ditches which, in a similar way to the buildings on barrows at Barrow Hills, could have impeded access to the buildings. At the very least, their locations would have meant that people entering or leaving the buildings would have been aware of the monuments. All three were aligned with their long axes following the line of the ring ditches, possibly indicating that the entrances were in the opposite walls, facing out and away from the barrows. The location of building XVI on the northern side of Circle C might have served to hide it from view, at least partially, from the other side of the barrow if the earthwork was a significant landscape feature. As at Barrow Hills, the buildings clustering around the south-west side of the barrows might have had an effect on access to the monuments, as inhabitants would have had to negotiate their way around these structures when approaching the barrows from the southern part of the settlement. This is particularly true of the line of east-west SFBs formed by buildings including I, II, III and IV; while we cannot know whether all these structures existed at any one time, or what other structures stood in the destroyed area, it is interesting that they seem to have formed a linear arrangement to the south of the barrows. It is possible that they acted as a boundary, separating the barrows and the buildings on or near them from the rest of the settlement to the south.

The cropmark halls to the south display a much more structured arrangement than the SFBs. The axial arrangement of large timber buildings is a characteristic feature of high-status settlements, and has also been noted at Cowdery's Down and Yeavering, although the significance of this arrangement is unknown (Hamerow et al. 2007: 187). It is possible that axial alignments emphasised the importance of particular buildings or were related to processions through the settlement and the structures (Hamerow et al. 2007: 187). The location of the larger buildings further away from the ring ditch in this area might suggest that processions started at the barrow and moved progressively through the halls, going from the smaller to larger buildings. There may also have been enclosures limiting or influencing the way that people moved through this part of the site. This was suggested by a length of ditch extending from one corner of the hall excavated by Hamerow et al., but as it was not possible to carry out geophysical survey in the field containing the rest of the halls, and as no enclosures were visible on the aerial photographs, this cannot be confirmed (Hamerow et al. 2007: 187).

Finds and Burials

As at Barrow Hills, numerous Roman artefacts were discovered in the SFBs and pits excavated by Leeds; as there was no evidence for Roman occupation on the site, it seems that these finds were brought into the settlement from elsewhere (Leeds 1923: 149) (see table 6.6). The bases of vessels were frequently found, some having been trimmed into discs and spindle whorls (Leeds 1927: 79). The curated Roman ceramics show a preference for red wares and grey wares, as the collection included fragments of brick or tile, sherds of Samian or Samian-type wares, and other red and grey ceramics. Some pieces were decorated, including a tile decorated with a linear pattern from building IV, a fragment of Samian-type ware mortarium with white painted scrolls from building VII, an almost complete but very abraded bowl of Samian-type ware with scroll decoration in white on the rim from building XVII, as well as a sherd of Samian ware decorated with a roulette pattern from Pit β (Leeds 1923: 158, 162; 1927: 71; 1947: 87).

Other Roman finds include a fragment of decorated glass from building X(2), a bronze fibula from building XIII, a brass coin of Constantinus I in building XXI and a late fourth-century bronze coin of Gratian in W1 (Leeds 1923: 171; 1927: 68; 1947: 82). Interestingly, Leeds (1947: 85) also recorded finding a small Roman vase containing a bronze Roman coin in building XXII, the more southerly of the two post-built structures. A large pit or posthole inside the timber hall to the south-east of the cropmark hall complex was also found to contain a Roman sherd, although it had not been shaped (Hamerow et al. 2007: 167). Flint was found in every SFB, although given the extensive prehistoric use of this area, and the fact that Leeds (1923: 151-4, 184; 1927: 59-62) found prehistoric pits as well as SFBs here, these could have been residual rather than deliberately collected, although it is possible that a mixture of both factors were responsible for the presence of flint in the SFBs.

Building	Roman Artefacts
I	Gaming piece cut from Samian ware.
IV	Part of a tile baked brick red and decorated on one side with a linear pattern (may be Roman).
VI	Six sherds of Samian or Samian-type ware; fragments of Romano-British tile; a 'roundel' (possibly a pot lid?) made from the base of a Roman pot, 3.5in diameter.
VII	A light grey ware Roman bowl fragment with flat base and straight sides widening upwards to a moulded rim; a fragment of a mortarium of Samian-type ware decorated with scrolls in white paint.
Pit 2 (W of VII)	A fragment of a well-fired Roman brick or tile; a pot lid made from the base of a Roman vase.
VIII	The base of a Roman pot; two pieces of Samian ware; fragments of Roman tiles; a fragment of glass (Roman?)
X(2)	A dozen sherds of Roman greyware; a fragment of decorated Roman glass.
X(3)	In the western half of the hut was a line of stones and Roman tile in a crescent c.5.5ft wide; two small sherds of Samian ware; a rim fragment of light red mortarium; sherds of light grey wares and base of a vase in the same fabric; also a possible Bronze Age sherd.

XI	Two bases of Roman vases.
XII	A fragment of Roman tile.
Pit N of XII	A Samian sherd.
XIII	A Bronze Roman fibula of mid second century AD.
XIV	Half a dozen Roman sherds, including the bases of two grey ware vases; the carinated collar of a slender-necked vase deliberately smoothed down to use as a spindle whorl.
XVII	A practically complete bowl of Samian-type ware with scroll decoration in white on the rim, worn and chipped.
XX	The base of Samian-type ware bowl with rough edge trimmed.
XXI	Outside the north-east corner of the pit, about 2ft deep in gravel, was a circular recess, containing a brass coin of Constantinus I.
W1	A small bronze coin of Gratian (AD 375-83) on the base of the hut close to the western end.
W2	Two Roman sherds.
Unstratified	The base of a small-footed Roman vase 1.5in high and 2in diameter, which had been roughly levelled around the top edge and 'used as a lamp' (on the edge and walls traces of burning were observed).
XXI	Pieces of Roman tile; a Roman sherd cut to a gaming piece.
XXII	A small rough Roman vase containing a small bronze coin of Tetricus.
XXIII	Several fragments of Roman tiles; the base of a Roman vase pared down to make a pot lid; a spindle whorl made from the base of a small Roman red-ware vessel.
XXV	The base of a Roman vessel with a small hollow foot with upper edge trimmed to make a ?toy cup or gaming piece.
Pit β	A gaming piece cut from a sherd of Samian ware decorated with a roulette pattern.
XXVII	Fragments of Roman tile towards the middle of the western side.
XXVIII	The base of a Roman grey ware vase.

Table 6.6 Roman artefacts found in Anglo-Saxon contexts at Sutton Courtenay (based on information in Leeds 1923; 1927; 1947).

It is possible that some of these Romano-British sherds formed placed deposits, particularly when they were unusual in being highly decorated or practically complete vessels, whilst the bronze coins and fibula might also have been

deliberately placed in specific features. There are also a number of Anglo-Saxon finds that might constitute deliberately placed deposits. For example, Leeds found a large smashed cooking pot in building VII, while building X(2) contained a fifth-century silver-gilt equal-armed brooch, mentioned above, which had been placed on the base of the pit (Leeds 1923: 162, 171). In 'house' XXI, now thought to be a waterhole, a large piece of antler and a complete or semi-complete pottery vessel were found just above the base of the feature, which Hamerow et al. (2007: 185) classed as a placed deposit, although the presence of a vessel in a waterhole may have resulted from accidental loss rather than deliberate deposition.

There were a number of interesting animal bone assemblages that may also have represented placed deposits (see fig. 6.19). A horse skull and part of an articulated horse skeleton, as well as the skull and several other bones from a dog, were recovered from Pit 2, to the west of building VII (Leeds 1923: 165). At the centre of building XII lay the back half of an ox skull, with its horn cores attached, while building XVII had the hind feet of a dog in its eastern posthole and the front feet in the western posthole (Leeds 1923: 63; 1927: 71). Meanwhile, an articulated lower leg of an ox had been deposited in building XXIX (Leeds 1947: 89). Further south, in the fill of the recently-excavated SFB underlying the east wall of hall C, the skull of a dog was discovered (H. Hamerow pers. comm.). In addition, two human burials were found in the area of the settlement excavated by Leeds. In building X(1) was the burial of an adult male accompanied by an iron knife; the body had been deposited after the building went out of use and then covered by earth and a layer of clay (Leeds 1923: 169). Meanwhile, Pit α, which was nearly 2m wide and located to the west of building XXIII, contained the remains of an adult female, whose body had been interred at an angle, so that her feet were higher than her head (Leeds 1947: 86). Her feet were to the east, with her legs sloping downwards, and her arms were 'outstretched' towards the remains of an infant, while behind her head were two ox skulls and a horse skull.

As at Barrow Hills, these deposits were fairly widely dispersed and there were no specific associations between placed deposits and the prehistoric monuments. Building VII and the adjacent Pit 2 were within c.16m of Circle C and building XVII was c.7m south of Circle A, but building XII was some way to the west of the barrows, buildings X(1) and X(2) were about 25m away from the closest barrow, Pit α was some 150m south of the barrows, and building XXIX was at the southern end of the site. Thus, although several placed deposits were found fairly close to the prehistoric monuments, it cannot be said that there was any particular link between them and the prehistoric monuments, although there could have been further, less obvious or already destroyed deposits which were not identified by Leeds.

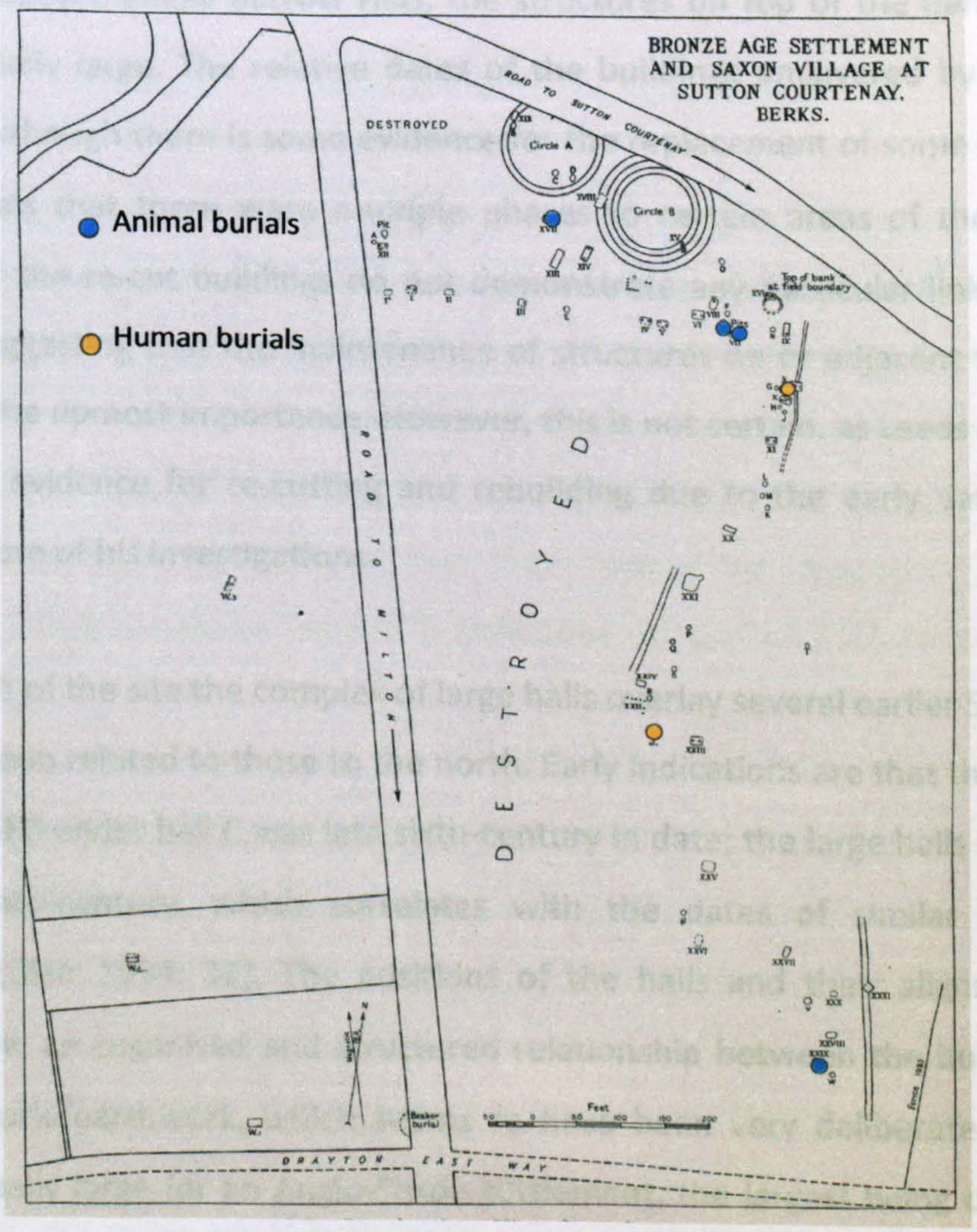

Fig. 6.19 Animal and human burials in the northern portion of the Sutton Courtenay settlement (after Leeds 1947: fig. 1).

Conclusions

The two areas of settlement at Sutton Courtenay seem to have been part of one site, although their archaeology and excavation histories are very different. The earliest elements of the settlement may have been located in the area excavated by Leeds to the north of the site, which seems to have been inhabited in the sixth and seventh centuries. A possible fifth-century phase is attested to by a brooch from building X(2), but this could have already been old when it was buried (Leeds 1923: 171; Hamerow et al. 2007: 184). The primary evidence of occupation in this area was in the form of numerous SFBs, three (or possible four) of which were on the prehistoric barrows, Circles A to C, at the northern end of the site. The SFBs in this part of the site showed a tendency to be larger the closer they were towards the barrows although, unlike Barrow Hills, the structures on top of the barrows were not particularly large. The relative dates of the buildings uncovered by Leeds are unknown, although there is some evidence for the replacement of some structures, which reveals that there were multiple phases to certain areas of the site. The locations of the re-cut buildings do not demonstrate any particular links with the barrows, suggesting that the maintenance of structures on or adjacent to barrows was not of the upmost importance. However, this is not certain, as Leeds could have overlooked evidence for re-cutting and rebuilding due to the early date and the salvage nature of his investigations.

To the south of the site the complex of large halls overlay several earlier SFBs, which may have been related to those to the north. Early indications are that the recently-excavated SFB under hall C was late sixth-century in date; the large halls could have been seventh-century, which correlates with the dates of similar complexes elsewhere (Blair 1994: 32). The positions of the halls and their alignment on a barrow show an organised and structured relationship between the buildings and the prehistoric earthwork, which seems to have been very deliberate. The halls were unusually large for an Anglo-Saxon settlement, the largest being comparable in size to the largest building at Yeavering (A4) (Hamerow et al. 2007: 187). Meanwhile, the discovery of a possible high-status cemetery and market near to the

halls also indicate that the site acquired special status towards the late sixth or early seventh century (Hamerow et al. 2007: 183-5). Indeed, Sutton Courtenay was a West Saxon royal centre by the ninth century, and it is likely that a similar high-status role was already being signalled through the complex of large halls, the cemetery and the market, several centuries earlier (Hamerow et al. 2007: 189). If the northern part of the site excavated by Leeds *was* earlier than the hall complex, it is possible that the focus of this earlier settlement was the northern area containing the three prehistoric barrows. The presence of three or four structures on these barrows could, in fact, have been a precursor to the complex to the south, and these structures could potentially have been related to the display of status on the site prior to the construction of the larger, more ostentatious and highly structured group of halls.

As at Barrow Hills, there was little evidence to indicate that the barrows at Sutton Courtenay were linked specifically to ritual activity in the form of placed deposits, as these were dispersed across the whole site. The relationship between the northern and southern areas is difficult to determine, as is the extent to which the buildings in both areas co-existed, although there is some overlap between the dates of features to the north and the south (Hamerow et al. 2007: 186). Nonetheless, there is ample evidence to demonstrate that there was a high degree of integration between the Anglo-Saxon settlement features and the prehistoric landscape in both the northern and southern areas at Sutton Courtenay. The form that monument reuse also appears to have developed and changed, from a dispersed collection of SFBs, and perhaps also post-built structures, to an ordered arrangement of remarkably large halls, perhaps with some co-existence of the two. Analysis of the recent excavations at Sutton Courtenay, as well as future investigation of the site, will no doubt reveal further information about the relationships between the Anglo-Saxon settlement and the prehistoric landscape.

Case Study 3: Catholme

Catholme lies in Staffordshire, close to the border with Derbyshire, on a gravel terrace of the River Trent (Losco-Bradley and Kinsley 2002: 1). This terrace became a focus for quarrying in the early 1970s, resulting in a large-scale excavation, which uncovered an area of c.3.4ha in various seasons between 1973 and 1980 (Losco-Bradley and Kinsley 2002: 3-6). The excavation area was defined to the east by the Trent, to the west by an existing quarry and a railway line, to the south-west by the course of a sunken road, Catholme Lane, and to the north by the proposed limit of quarrying activity. This did not reveal the full extent of the settlement, as buildings may have continued beyond the limit of the excavation to the north-west and the south.

The settlement was occupied from the early seventh to late ninth centuries, and consisted of a number of 'zones', defined by ditched and fenced boundaries, connected by trackways, and containing settlement features including post-built structures, SFBs and pits of various types (Losco-Bradley and Kinsley 2002: 28) (see fig. 6.20). At least sixty-five post-built structures and SFBs were excavated, a large number of which had been refurbished or rebuilt in the same location several times (Losco-Bradley and Kinsley 2002: 85-8). Thirteen of these buildings were SFBs, and there was also a further possible SFB (AS33), which was heavily eroded. The remainder of the structures were post-built, constructed using posts set in postholes or trenches, or postholes with shallow ditches linking them.

Some of the postulated post-built structures were more subjective than others, such as five examples (AS8, AS10, AS24, AS27 and AS53) identified from two sets of paired postholes, thought to represent the deeper entrance posts of otherwise heavily eroded buildings. The excavation report did, however, explicitly state that conjecture was avoided as much as possible when distinguishing structures amongst the large numbers of excavated postholes (Losco-Bradley and Kinsley 2002: 85). The post-built structures at Catholme show greater variation in their forms than the buildings recognised at settlements such as Barrow Hills; this may

result from differences in preservation or from the different dates of settlements. Four buildings had annexes (AS25, AS38a/b, AS42a and AS61) and some were formed by two units of similar size (AS6, AS15, AS43 and AS45), although in the case of AS6 and AS15 there is no certainty that both units stood at the same time.

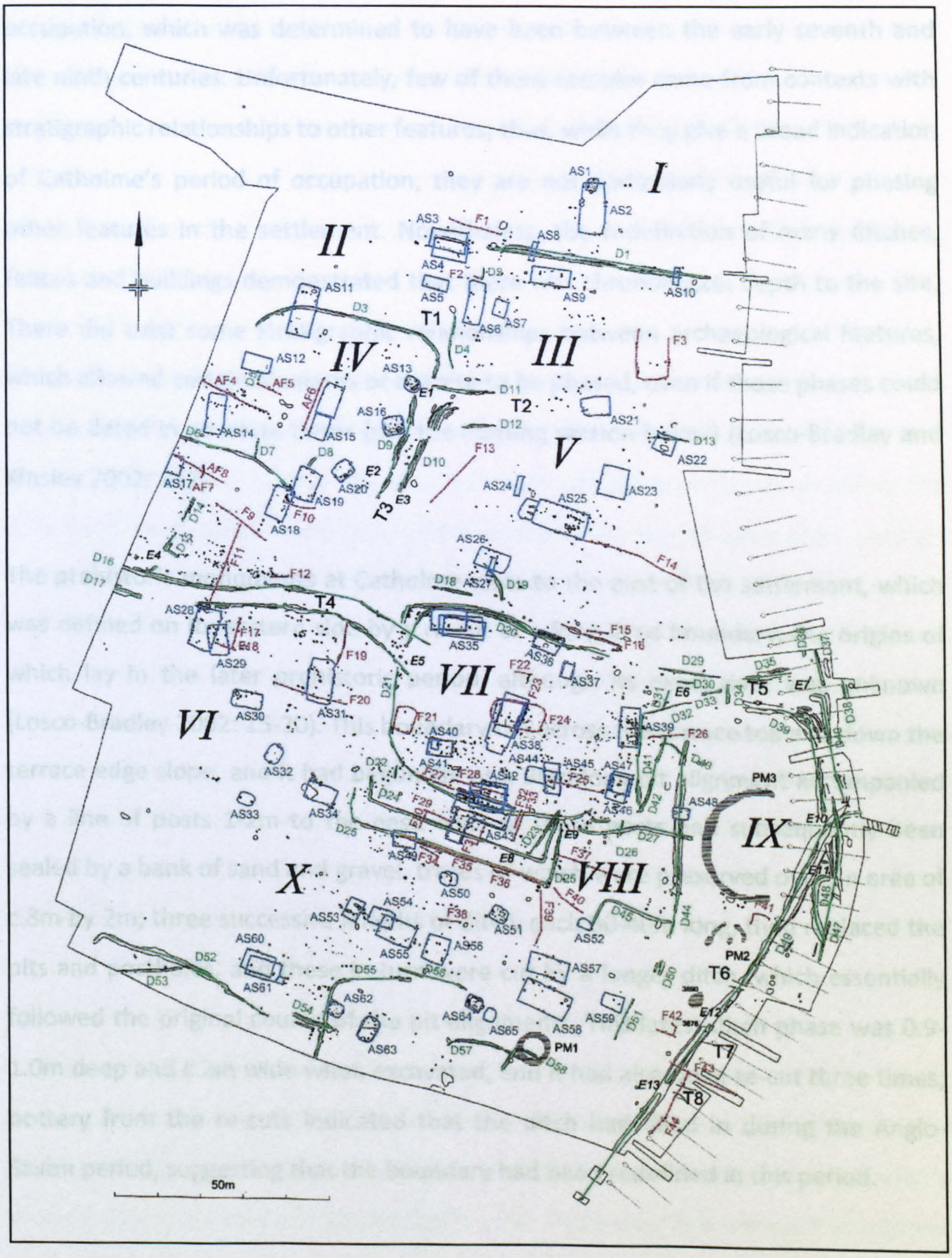

Fig. 6.20 Catholme site plan (from Losco-Bradley and Kinsley 2002: 116, fig. 3.97).

The assemblage of Anglo-Saxon artefacts recovered from Catholme was small, with a dearth of datable finds, and radiocarbon dating was undertaken in order to determine the dates of the settlement (Losco-Bradley and Kinsley 2002: 120-3). These dates were recalibrated in 1995, some fifteen years after the excavation ended, providing a more reliable indication of the settlement's period of occupation, which was determined to have been between the early seventh and late ninth centuries. Unfortunately, few of these samples came from contexts with stratigraphic relationships to other features; thus, while they give a broad indication of Catholme's period of occupation, they are not particularly useful for phasing other features in the settlement. Nonetheless, the redefinition of many ditches, fences and buildings demonstrated that there was chronological depth to the site. There did exist some stratigraphic relationships between archaeological features, which allowed certain elements of the site to be phased, even if those phases could not be dated in absolute terms (see the Phasing section below) (Losco-Bradley and Kinsley 2002: 117).

The prehistoric monuments at Catholme were to the east of the settlement, which was defined on its eastern side by a re-cut of a long-lived boundary, the origins of which lay in the later prehistoric period, although its exact date was unknown (Losco-Bradley 2002: 15-20). This boundary ran across the terrace top and down the terrace edge slope, and it had begun life as a 90m-long pit alignment accompanied by a line of posts 1-2m to the east. Nine of these posts had subsequently been sealed by a bank of sand and gravel, traces of which were preserved over an area of c.8m by 2m; three successive lengths of ditch, each 30-40m long, then replaced the pits and postholes, and these in turn were cut by a longer ditch, which essentially followed the original course of the pit alignments. This latest ditch phase was 0.9-1.0m deep and c.2m wide when excavated, and it had also been re-cut three times; pottery from the re-cuts indicated that the ditch had filled in during the Anglo-Saxon period, suggesting that the boundary had been redefined in this period.

Within the area defined by the long-lived boundary was a large penannular ring ditch (PM3), c.30m in diameter, and a smaller segmented ditch-monument (PM2), approximately 10m in diameter (Losco-Bradley and Kinsley 2002: 15) (see fig. 6.20). Both were difficult to date, but they may have been constructed in the late Neolithic period. There was a third monument (PM1) to the south of PM2 and PM3, which appears to have been a ring ditch with a diameter of c.5m. Given its small size, and the fact that the Anglo-Saxon ditch D58 cut across it, PM1 may not have been a visible feature in the Anglo-Saxon period. A further prehistoric feature, located just to the south of PM2, was a large pit (3690), which could have survived as a hollow into the Anglo-Saxon period, when it appears to have filled up (Losco-Bradley and Kinsley 2002: 15).

The area containing the prehistoric features is particularly interesting, as it is the only part of the settlement devoid of buildings. It seems to have been separated from the rest of the settlement by a series of ditched boundaries, including the long-lived north-south ditch D44, which had a distinctive sinuous plan, perhaps resulting from the ditch curving to avoid passing too close to PM3 (Losco-Bradley and Kinsley 2002: 29). The longevity of PM3 is indicated by the fact that the eastern terminals of medieval furrows respected the inner edge of its ditch, suggesting that a mound survived within it until well after the settlement was abandoned (Losco-Bradley and Kinsley 2002: 119). It appears, then, that PM3, and possibly the smaller monument PM2, were respected by nearby settlement features and 'annexed' or cut off from the rest of the settlement, perhaps in order to separate or protect them from occupation activities that took place elsewhere.

Settlement Layout

Catholme's occupation zones were numbered I to X, and were all fully or partially enclosed by ditched and fenced boundaries. The report authors argued that these zones reflected real occupation units that were in use during the settlement's lifetime (Losco-Bradley and Kinsley 2002: 115). There was little evidence to indicate that the zones had different functions; instead, it seems that each unit represented

a property or farmstead belonging to a different group, possibly different families or members of one extended family (Losco-Bradley and Kinsley 2002: 28, 126-7). Each zone contained a number of post-built structures, while the majority of SFBs were situated to the south of the site in Zone X, which may suggest some degree of functional variation between this area and the rest of the settlement. Many of the enclosures and trackways had been redefined on multiple occasions, indicating longevity and stability in the settlement's layout.

Of particular interest in this study are the zones on the eastern side of the settlement, VII, VIII and IX. The prehistoric monuments were in Zone IX, while the two other zones were immediately adjacent to this area; any spatial relationships between settlement features and earlier monuments are likely to have been manifested in this part of the site. The boundaries of these particular zones were very well-defined, although it cannot be argued that this was a trait restricted to this part of the site, as Zones IV and V also had clear boundaries. Others, however, are much less clear; the limits and contents of Zone II are rather obscure, and the report authors did not explain why they classed this as a separate zone. It is also difficult to see how Zone I, containing just one SFB overlain by a larger post-built structure, might have constituted a farmstead in itself; it may well have been related to the cluster of buildings in Zone III.

Unlike Barrow Hills and Sutton Courtenay there were no intrusive relationships between buildings and monuments, due to the fact that Zone IX was kept clear of settlement activity. The closest building to the monuments was the SFB AS48, which was built late in the settlement's life and seems to have disrupted the long-lived ditched boundary separating this area from Zone VII (this building will be discussed in more detail below). Thus, rather than displaying links between individual buildings and monuments, as the preceding sites did, Catholme appears to exhibit associations between compact and precisely-bounded occupation areas and monuments.

Building Sizes

All the buildings except one were more than 20m away from the monuments at Catholme, meaning that they have been analysed differently from those at Barrow Hills and Sutton Courtenay. In this case, the sizes of buildings have been compared based on the zones in which they were situated. Building dimensions have been measured from plans in the excavation report, as the authors did not provide measurements. Forty-eight post-built structures had widths that were sufficiently preserved for measurement, although the areas of only twenty-seven could be determined with confidence since the lengths of the remaining twenty-one were not known for certain due to poor preservation or truncation by medieval plough furrows. Minimum lengths for these structures have been provided here, but they may have been longer. The average area of the post-built structures has, therefore, been calculated using only the twenty-seven known building sizes, although the remaining twenty-one with known minimum measurements will also be referred to in the analysis below. Where appropriate, the dimensions of multiple phases of buildings have been included, as a number had been rebuilt several times on the same plot. It was possible to determine the dimensions of sixteen SFBs, and this number also included multiple phases of structures that had been rebuilt in their original locations.

- Post-Built Structures

The average area of the post-built structures was 40.3m^2; twelve structures with known areas were larger than this, while at least nine with known minimum areas were above-average as well (see table 6.7). As table 6.7 shows, Zone VII had a higher number of above-average structures than any of the other occupation zones. In addition, it also had a particularly high number of very large buildings measuring over 60m^2. Although other zones contained structures measuring over 60m^2, none contained more than one (see table 6.7 and fig. 6.21). The phases of AS38 in Zone VII measuring in excess of 75m^2 may have been the largest structures in the settlement as, although AS25 in Zone V was extremely large, it was composed of two units that may not have stood at the same time (Losco-Bradley and Kinsley

2002: 85). The excavators suggested that AS38 might even have been as long as 15m originally (Losco-Bradley and Kinsley 2002: 85), meaning that it could have covered an area of c.90m^2. Thus, there appears to have been a trend for building and re-building particularly large structures in Zone VII, on a scale that was not seen in the other occupation zones.

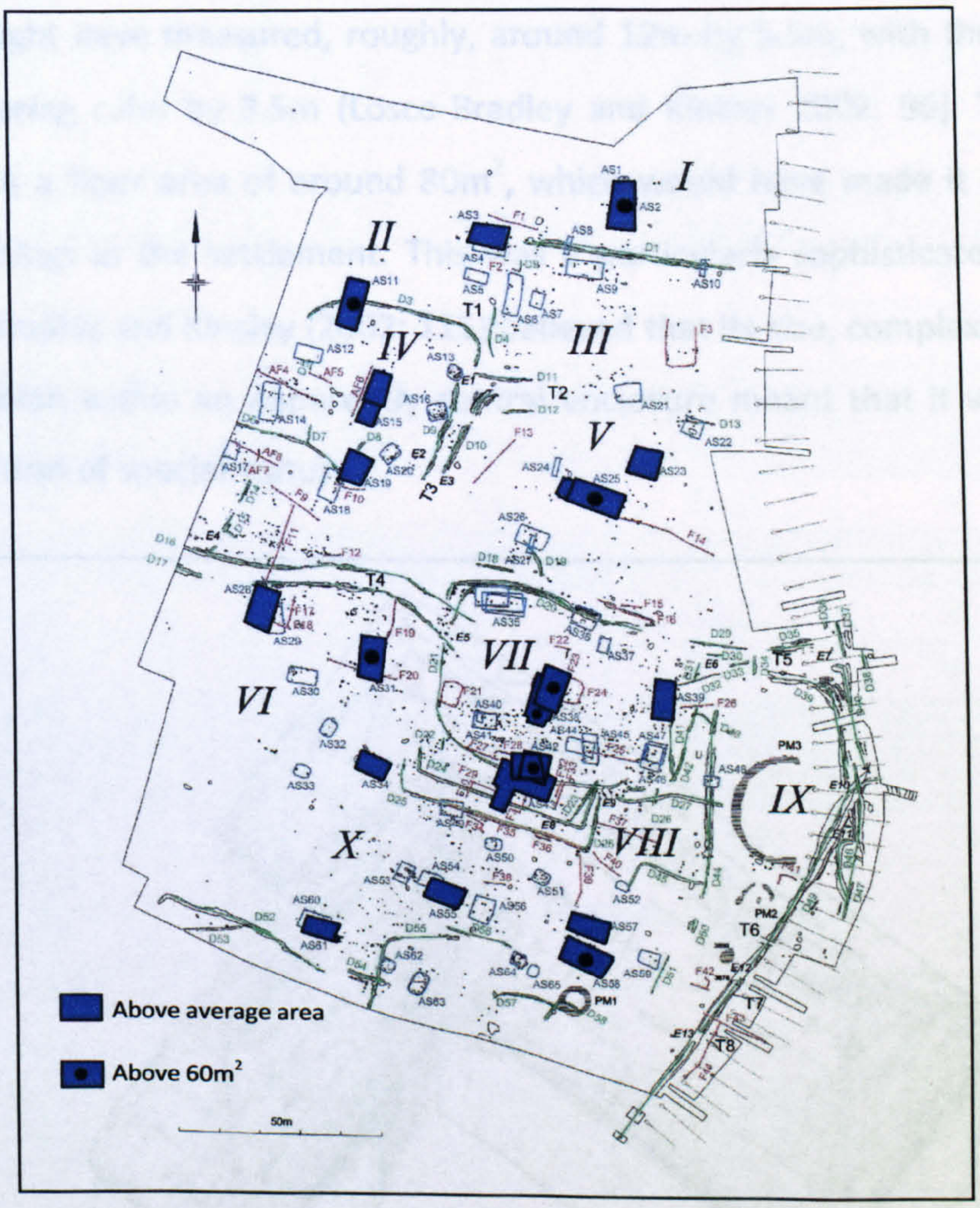

Fig. 6.21 Post-built structures of above-average size at Catholme (after Losco-Bradley and Kinsley 2002: 116, fig. 3.97).

The assertion that Zone VII contained a comparatively high number of large structures is supported by the presence of AS43 along its southern edge. This structure was particularly large and complex, but its multiple phases and unusual layout made it impossible to determine measurements for inclusion in table 6.7. It is best interpreted as an L-shaped building with a cross-passage at the junction of the

arms; the narrowness of the southern arm suggested to the report authors that it may have been lower and perhaps separated from the wider building by a screen (Losco-Bradley and Kinsley 2002: 96) (see fig. 6.22). A similar screen might have sub-divided the wider unit, cutting it in half lengthways (at least in the second phase of the building), creating two rooms. Although exact dimensions for each phase of the structure were difficult to ascertain, it was suggested in the report that the structure might have measured, roughly, around 12m by 5.5m, with the southern 'arm' measuring c.4m by 3.5m (Losco-Bradley and Kinsley 2002: 96). This would have given it a floor area of around $80m^2$, which would have made it one of the largest buildings in the settlement. This was a particularly sophisticated building, and Losco-Bradley and Kinsley (2002: 115) believed that its size, complex layout and central position within an apparently central enclosure meant that it was imbued with some form of special status.

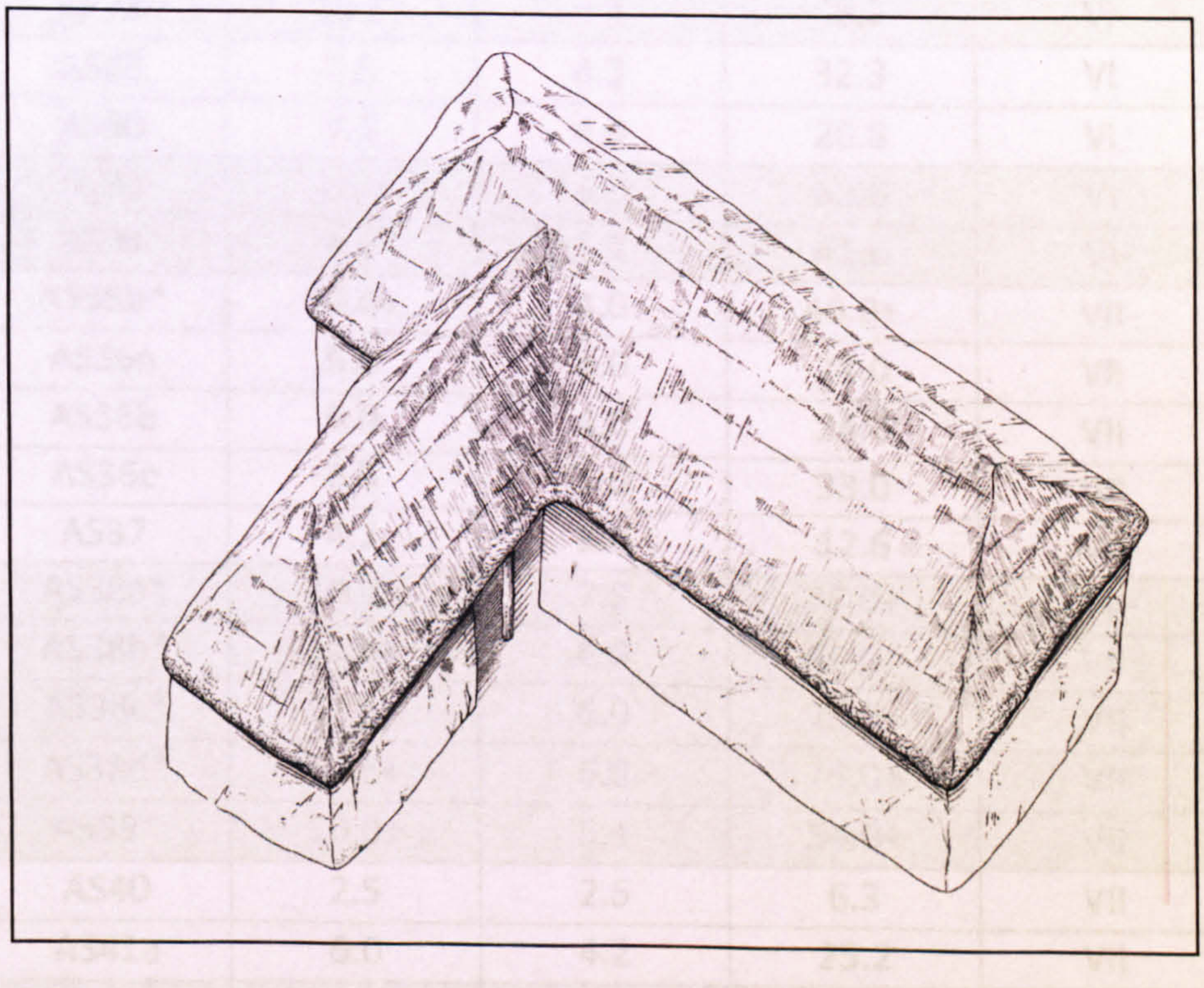

Fig. 6.22 Reconstruction of post-built structure AS43 in Zone VII (from Losco-Bradley and Kinsley 2002: 98, fig, 3.87).

Building	Length (m)	Width (m)	Area (m^2)	Zone
AS2	11.5	5.5	63.3	I
AS3	9.0	4.5	40.5	II
AS6	10.0	4.0	40.0	III
AS7*	4.5+	3.0	13.5+	III
AS9*	6.0+	4.5	27.0+	III
AS11*	12.5+	5.0	62.5+	II
AS14	9.5	4.0	38.0	IV
AS15	13.5	4.0	54.0	IV
AS17*	3.6+	4.4	15.8+	IV
AS18	8.3	4.7	39.0	IV
AS19	7.5	5.4	40.5	IV
AS21	6.7	4.4	29.5	V
AS22*	4.7+	4.5	21.2+	V
AS23*	7.5+	6.2	46.5+	V
AS25	16.0	5.8	92.8	V
AS26	7.4	4.6	34.0	V
AS28	10.5	5.4	56.7	VI
AS29	7.5	4.3	32.3	VI
AS30	7.2	4.0	28.8	VI
AS31	10.8	5.8	62.6	VI
AS34	8.0	5.2	41.6	VI
AS35b*	10.0+	4.0	40.0+	VII
AS36a	6.0	4.0	24.0	VII
AS36b	6.0	4.0	24.0	VII
AS36c	6.5	5.0	33.0	VII
AS37	4.2	3.0	12.6	VII
AS38a*	10.0+	7.5	75.0+	VII
AS38b*	11.0+	6.0	66.0+	VII
AS38c*	12.5+	6.0	75.0+	VII
AS38d*	12.5+	6.0	75.0+	VII
AS39*	10.0+	5.4	54.0+	VII
AS40	2.5	2.5	6.3	VII
AS41a	6.0	4.2	25.2	VII
AS42a	8.0	6.2	49.6	VII
AS42b	9.0	6.8	61.2	VII
AS45*	8.0+	3.5	28.0+	VII
AS46	7.0	4.5	31.5	VII
AS47a*	5.5+	4.0	22.0+	VII

AS47b*	5.5+	4.7	25.9+	VII
AS49*	5.0+	4.0	20.0+	VII
AS54	6.0	3.8	22.8	X
AS55*	9.5+	5.2	49.4+	X
AS56*	6.0+	4.8	28.8+	X
AS57*	9.5+	4.7	44.6+	X
AS58	11.2	5.5	61.6	X
AS59*	4.0+	5.0	20.0+	X
AS60*	7.0+	4.7	32.9+	X
AS61	9.2	4.7	43.2	X

Table 6.7 Dimensions and locations of post-built structures at Catholme; buildings of above-average size are shaded green (* denotes structures for which only minimum sizes are known).

- Sunken-Featured Buildings

Most of the SFBs were to the south and west of the settlement, in Zones IV, VI and X, although there was one example to the north of Zone I (Losco-Bradley and Kinsley 2002: 117) (see fig. 6.23). The majority had pit areas of $10m^2$ to $20m^2$, the average area size being $13.1m^2$, although AS64a was just under $6m^2$ according to the excavators[6] and AS63 was c.$25m^2$ (Losco-Bradley and Kinsley 2002: 88) (see table 6.8). AS63 lay to the south of Zone X, while two buildings in Zone IV measured $20m^2$ or just over; these particularly large SFBs were comparable in size with some of the smaller post-built structures. AS63 in Zone X was accompanied by a concentration of SFBs of below-average size, which lay primarily on the eastern side of the zone. Similarly, the buildings in Zones I and VI were also generally fairly small. As at Barrow Hills, the excavators warned that the structures could have been larger than their pits suggested, as their floors may have been suspended over the pits (Losco-Bradley and Kinsley 2002: 88).

The SFBs were, therefore, fairly varied in size, and there are few direct links that can be drawn between these buildings and their relationships with the prehistoric

[6] Although it was very badly disturbed and its dimensions could not be measured from the plan provided in the report.

monuments, as most were situated some distance away from Zone IX. The absence of SFBs in Zone VII may indicate that they had a role which did not feature in Zone VII. The exception is SFB AS48, which was the only building within 20m of the prehistoric monuments. Although it does not display the close, intrusive style of reuse seen at some of the sites in the corpus, it is interesting that this constitutes another example of a link between an SFB and at least one pre-existing monument, albeit in a different form from the sites already discussed in this chapter. This is especially interesting considering that the other SFBs were generally much further away from Zone IX. At 10.8m^2, this SFB was of below-average size and there is, therefore, little to indicate that SFB sizes were related to their proximity to monuments at Catholme.

Building	Length (m)	Width (m)	Area (m^2)	Zone
AS1	3.0	2.5	7.5	I
AS13	4.0	3.5	14.0	IV
AS16	4.8	4.2	20.2	IV
AS20	5.0	4.0	20.0	IV
AS32	4.6	3.6	16.6	VI
AS48	4.0	2.7	10.8	VIII
AS50a	3.8	2.8	10.6	X
AS50b	3.5	2.6	8.8	X
AS51	4.2	3.0	12.6	X
AS52	3.0	2.5	7.5	X
AS62a	4.0	3.5	14.0	X
AS62b	4.0	3.5	14.0	X
AS63	6.2	4.0	24.8	X
AS64b	4.0	3.2	12.8	X
AS64c	3.2	2.3	7.4	X
AS65	3.2	2.7	8.6	X

Table 6.8 Dimensions and locations of SFBs at Catholme (structures of above-average size are shaded green).

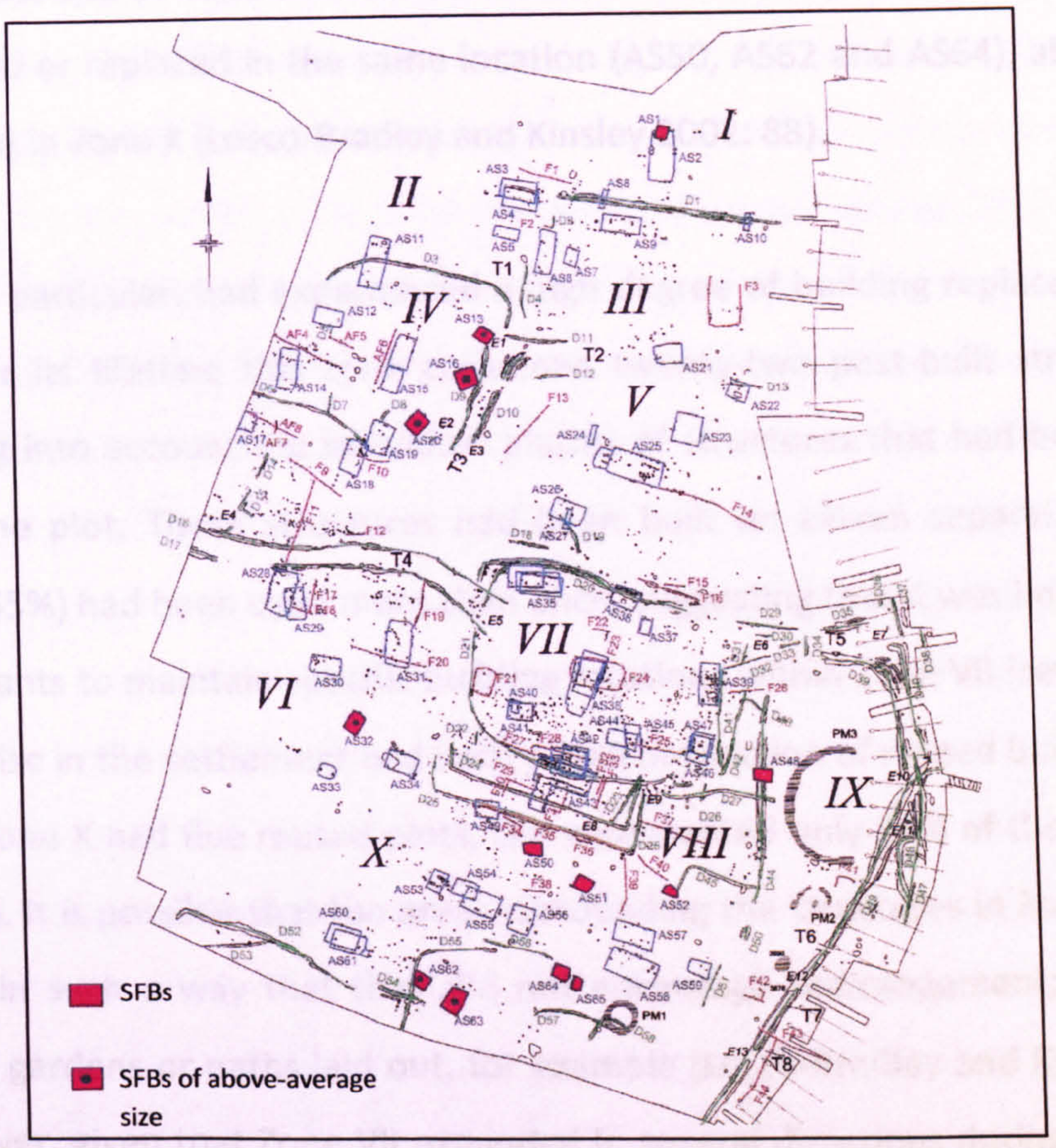

Fig. 6.23 SFBs at Catholme, with those of above-average size highlighted (after Losco-Bradley and Kinsley 2002: 116, fig. 3.97).

Building Replacement and Phasing

The evidence for the re-cutting and replacement of buildings and the evidence for phasing will be discussed together for Catholme, as the two are inseparable. In the absence of datable finds, rebuilt and overlapping features provide the primary evidence for phasing. Although few absolute dates could be determined, the recognition of sequences of building and rebuilding indicated that there had been a number of phases of occupation; this aided understanding of the development of some areas of the site, albeit not the whole settlement (Losco-Bradley and Kinsley 2002: 117-9, 126). In some cases several phases of building had replaced each other in much the same location. For example, AS2 overlay the SFB AS1 in Zone I, while nearby AS3 and AS4 overlapped, although it was not clear which building was earlier. The same is true of AS26 and AS27 in Zone V, which also overlapped the

boundary D19, and of AS60 and AS61 in Zone X. There were three instances of SFBs being altered or replaced in the same location (AS50, AS62 and AS64), all of which were located in Zone X (Losco-Bradley and Kinsley 2002: 88).

Zone VII, in particular, had experienced a high degree of building replacement and repair. Over its lifetime this zone contained twenty-two post-built structures in total, taking into account the individual phases of structures that had been rebuilt on the same plot. These structures had been built on eleven separate plots, of which six (55%) had been used more than once, suggesting that it was important for the inhabitants to maintain specific building locations within Zone VII (see fig. 6.24). Nowhere else in the settlement had such a high proportion of reused building plots; although Zone X had five reused plots, this represented only 36% of the total plots in this area. It is possible that the areas surrounding the structures in Zone VII were organised in such a way that they did not encourage rearrangement; there may have been gardens or paths laid out, for example (Losco-Bradley and Kinsley 2002: 87). However, given that Zone VII expanded in several directions during its lifetime (see below) and new buildings were constructed in those expanded areas, the inhabitants do not seem to have had qualms about altering the layout of this occupation area. The repeated replacement of buildings in Zone VII might not, therefore, have been for purely practical reasons; perhaps, if these were family farmsteads, it was important to maintain the locations of ancestral properties within them.

While the replacement of buildings can offer insights into the phasing of specific areas of the settlement, clues about the development of the settlement more broadly are provided by the enclosures and trackways. These were, on the whole, long-lived and repeatedly maintained, indicating that the general layout of the settlement did not change considerably during its occupation. There were no certain instances of a boundary cutting a building, suggesting that the boundaries and trackways were primary settlement features and that buildings were constructed later (Losco-Bradley and Kinsley 2002: 119). However, there *were* some

changes to the long-lived enclosures and trackways, apparently in the later phases of the settlement's life. For example, the defining ditches of trackway T4 had been re-cut multiple times and the trackway was therefore deemed to have existed throughout the life of the settlement (Losco-Bradley and Kinsley 2002: 28, 117). However, one of the later re-cuts of the ditch defining the southern side of T4 (D17) was overlapped by building AS28, from whose northern end a fence (F11) extended northwards, across the trackway (see fig. 6.25). This suggests that at some point in its later life T4 was blocked, even if only temporarily.

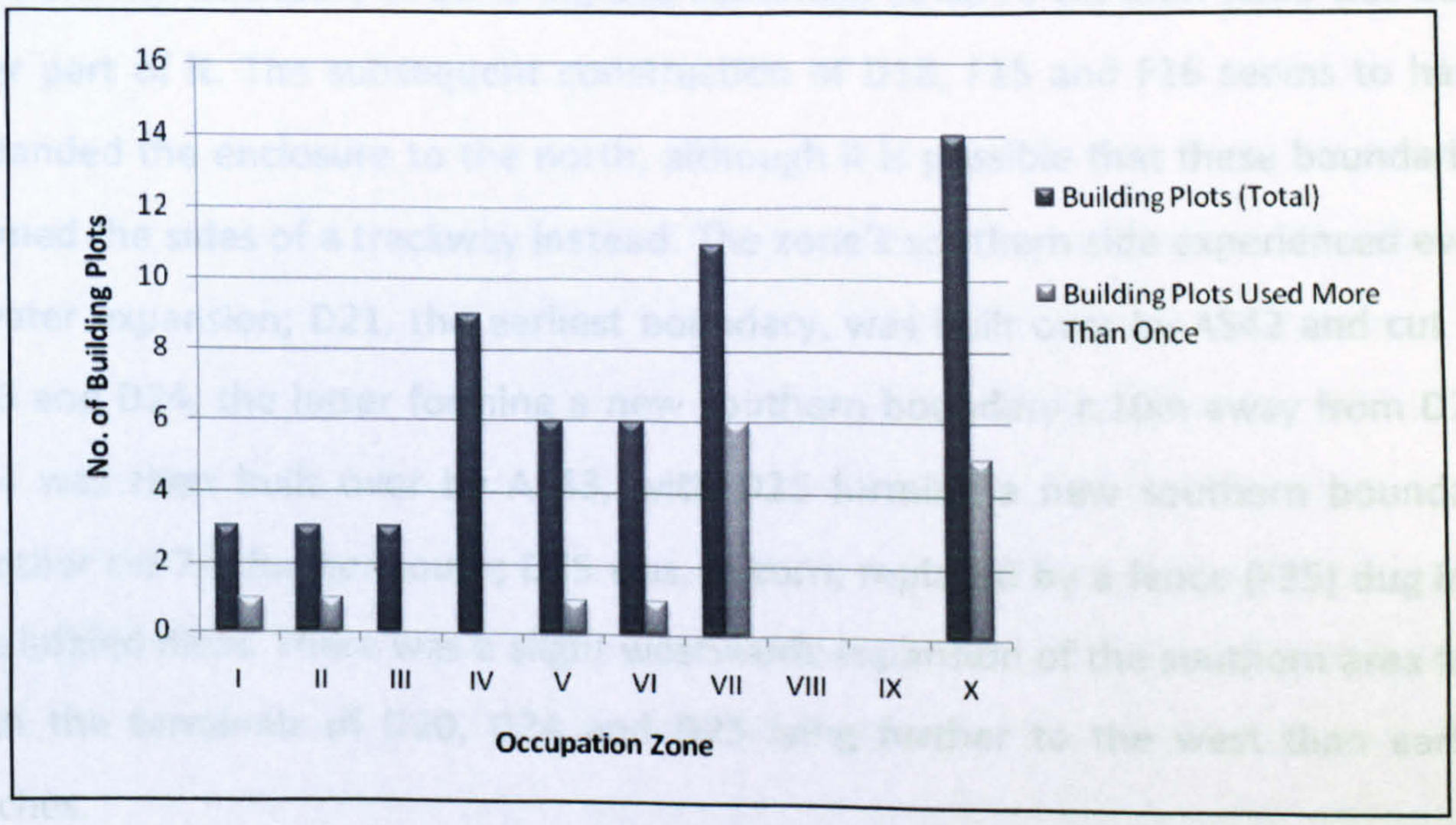

Fig. 6.24 Total number of building plots in each zone at Catholme and the number that had been used more than once.

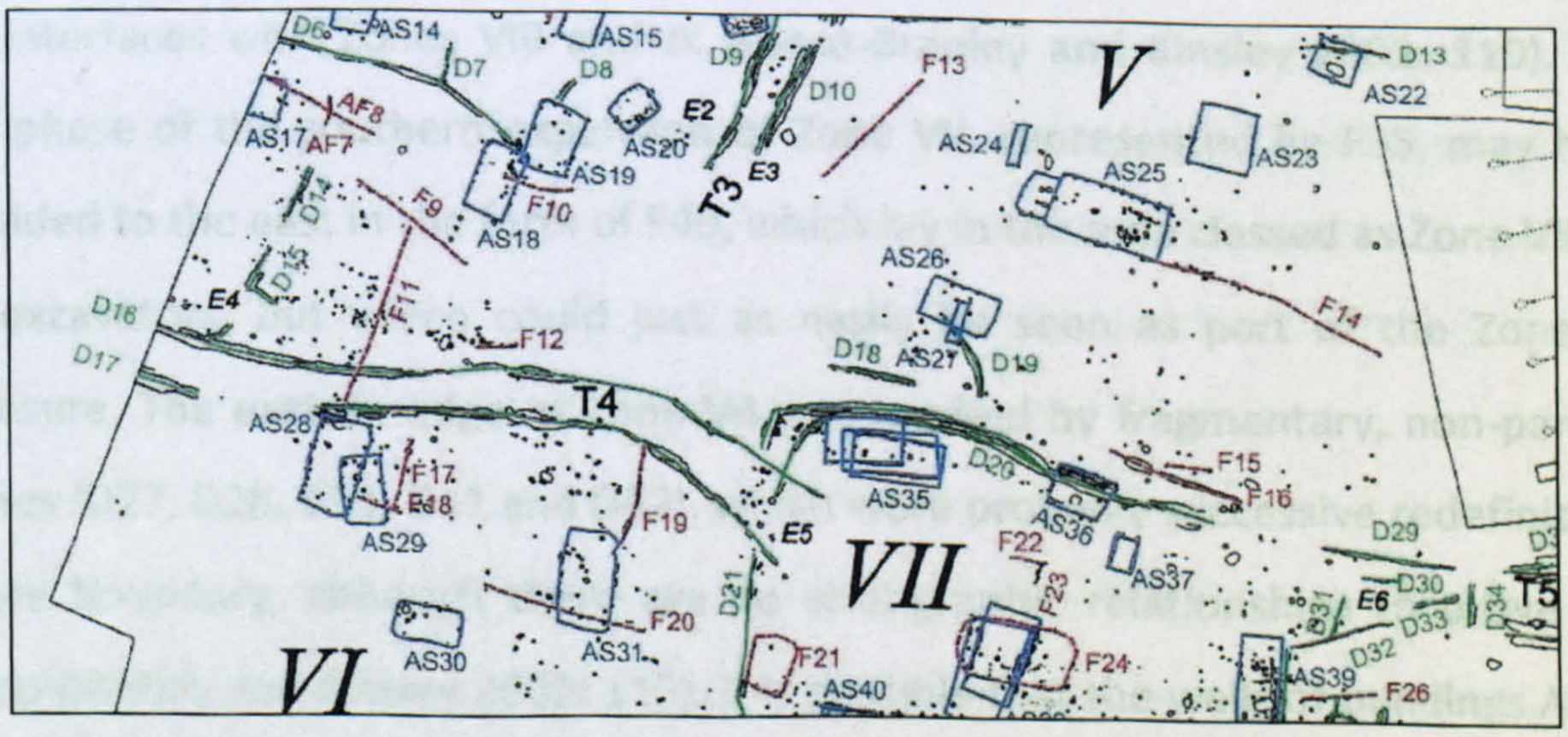

Fig. 6.25 Detail of trackway T4, with AS28 and F11 overlapping it (from Losco-Bradley and Kinsley 2002: 116, fig. 3.97).

In contrast to Barrow Hills and Sutton Courtenay, the evidence from Catholme appears to point to a settlement with a relatively long-lived and consistent layout. However, there are indications that this was not always the case, particularly around Zone VII. In addition to the replaced buildings in this occupation area, its boundaries were also redefined on numerous occasions. While the west side of the enclosure around Zone VII seems to have been fairly static, the north, south and east sides expanded outwards, often at the expense of other zones, particularly Zone X (Losco-Bradley and Kinsley 2002: 117-9) (see fig. 6.26). D20 initially formed the northern boundary of Zone VII, and continued to be re-cut after AS36 was built over part of it. The subsequent construction of D18, F15 and F16 seems to have expanded the enclosure to the north, although it is possible that these boundaries formed the sides of a trackway instead. The zone's southern side experienced even greater expansion; D21, the earliest boundary, was built over by AS42 and cut by D23 and D24, the latter forming a new southern boundary c.10m away from D21. D24 was then built over by AS43, with D25 forming a new southern boundary another c.6-7m further south; D25 was, in turn, replaced by a fence (F35) dug into the infilled ditch. There was a slight westwards expansion of the southern area too, with the terminals of D20, D24 and D25 lying further to the west than earlier ditches.

It is also possible to trace the development of Zone VII on its eastern side, where it had interfaces with Zones VIII and IX (Losco-Bradley and Kinsley 2002: 119). The final phase of the southern expansion of Zone VII, represented by F35, may have extended to the east in the form of F40, which lay in the area classed as Zone VIII by the excavators, but which could just as easily be seen as part of the Zone VII enclosure. The eastern edge of Zone VII was marked by fragmentary, non-parallel ditches (D27, D28, D31, D41 and D42), which were probably successive redefinitions of one boundary, although there are no stratigraphic relationships to prove this (Losco-Bradley and Kinsley 2002: 119). It is possible that the walls of buildings AS39, AS46 and AS47 formed part of the area's eastern boundary. Just to the east of these buildings and the fragmentary lengths of ditch was D44, the sinuous long-lived

boundary separating the prehistoric monuments from the rest of the settlement; it is possible that a trackway ran along the gap between D44 and the border formed by the buildings and short ditches (Losco-Bradley and Kinsley 2002: 119). It is also possible that D41 represented the first eastern boundary, but that it was replaced by D42, which could have continued to the south as D26. In the final phase on the eastern side of Zone VII D27 and D43 were constructed, cutting the long-lived D44, while SFB AS48 was also built directly over D44. At this point, the eastern edge of the enclosure was some 15m away from its original boundary, and Zone VII was encroaching on Zone IX to an extent not seen in the earlier phases of the settlement.

Changes in the layout of Zone IX were also observed, most notably on the eastern side of the area, along the terrace edge, which was defined at various times by lengths of ditch, including D36 to D40, D47, D48 and D49 (Losco-Bradley and Kinsley 2002: 117-9). D49 formed the initial Anglo-Saxon phase of boundary, which re-cut the already-present prehistoric boundary, and it was re-cut numerous times on the same line. At a later stage in the settlement's life D49 was then replaced by D47, which overlapped the northern end of D49 but changed the angle of the boundary from a north-east/south-west alignment to a more north-south alignment. However, D47 stopped just inside the limit of the excavation; if it did extend beyond the limit of excavation to the south its course is unknown. The developments in the delineation of Zone IX are difficult to interpret, since there was no pressure from building activity forcing the area to expand. One possibility is that the activities taking place in this area, perhaps related to the prehistoric monuments, underwent changes which required more space to the east of PM2 and PM3, although exactly what these activities were it is difficult to determine.

The development of the area around Zones VII, VIII and IX is particularly interesting in light of this study. It seems that the enclosure around Zone VII was long-lived and maintained for much of the life of the settlement. It had seen intense occupation, with a clear preference for building in particular locations within the enclosure, and

the approach to the enclosure along T4 was maintained for a long period of time. During its existence it expanded to the north, south and east, encroaching on Zones IX and X. For much of Zone VII's life its buildings were clearly separated from the prehistoric monuments to the east, but at some point in the later phases of the settlement, this changed, with alterations to the boundaries between the two areas and the construction of AS48. Prior to this, Zone IX had been exempt from the encroaching expansion of Zone VII; it is possible that some development in the social organisation of the community living at Catholme resulted in this change, and this will be discussed in more detail below.

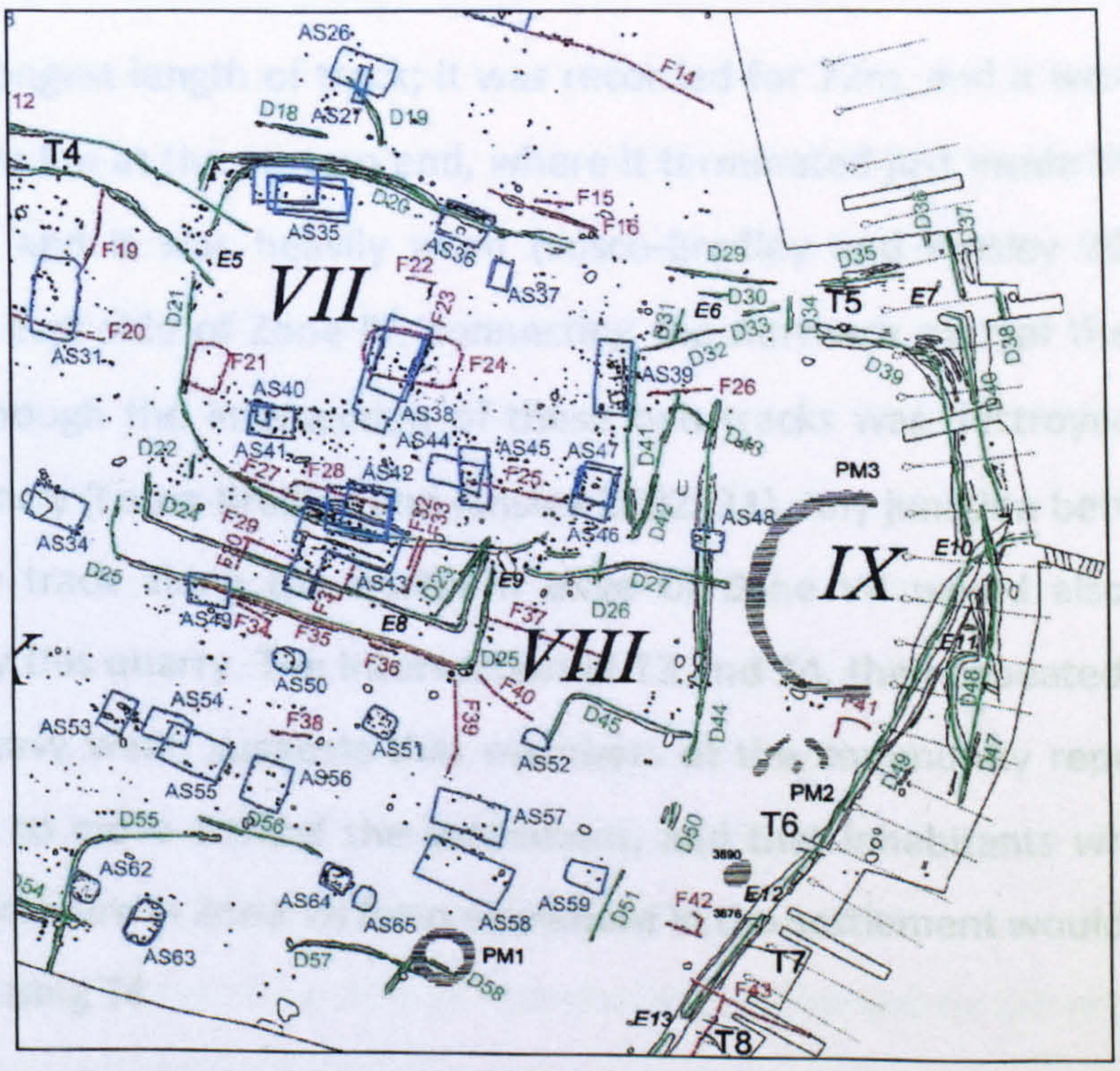

Fig. 6.26 Detail of Zone VII, showing its redefined and expanding boundaries (from Losco-Bradley and Kinsley 2002: 116, fig. 3.97).

Movement within the Settlement

Catholme yielded more information about movement within the settlement than the two preceding case studies. A number of trackways (T1 to T5) were recognised, defined on either side by ditches or buildings (Losco-Bradley and Kinsley 2002: 31). As previously mentioned, their defining ditches had been re-cut on numerous

occasions, and some were very heavily worn, indicating that they had been used for long periods of time. Further trackways, T6 to T8, were also identified to the east of the long-lived terrace-edge boundary D49; although not defined by ditches, they were visible as worn linear hollows (Losco-Bradley and Kinsley 2002: 31). There may well have been further examples, but these could not be identified with certainty; D18, F15 and F16 may have formed the northern edge of a trackway running across to the north of Zone VII (although this could have been an extension to the enclosure), whilst D44 could have formed the eastern side of a north-south track running between Zones VII and IX (Losco-Bradley and Kinsley 2002: 31, 117-9).

T4 was the longest length of track; it was recorded for 72m, and it was 3.5m wide, broadening to 8m at the eastern end, where it terminated just inside the enclosure in Zone VII, and it was heavily worn (Losco-Bradley and Kinsley 2002: 31). T3 abutted the east side of Zone IV, connecting the northern part of the settlement with T4, although the intersection of these two tracks was destroyed by a post-medieval quarry (Losco-Bradley and Kinsley 2002: 31). Any junction between T3 and the possible track along the northern edge of Zone VII would also have been destroyed by this quarry. The intersection of T3 and T4, their repeated redefinition and their heavy wear, suggests that members of the community repeatedly used these tracks to move around the settlement, and that inhabitants who wished to enter the enclosure in Zone VII from elsewhere in the settlement would have had to approach it using T4.

In contrast, trackway T5, which led down the terrace edge from the north-east corner of Zone VII, showed very little evidence of use. Although the ditches on both sides had been repeatedly re-cut, its gravel surface was not eroded; it does not, therefore, seem to have been a main thoroughfare through the settlement (Losco-Bradley and Kinsley 2002: 32). The track appears to have followed a route out of the north-east corner of the Zone VII enclosure, past PM3, towards the terrace edge and the long-lived boundary D49. The track's lack of wear suggests that it might have been reserved for certain occasions, or for use by specific people, a possibility

that is supported by the fact that access to it was, it seems, only possible from inside Zone VII (although the possible trackway along the northern edge of this enclosure might have connected it to T3). As T5 does not appear to have been a major thoroughfare, it is possible that its use was controlled or restricted in some way. The evidence from this part of the site suggests that, once again, the farmstead in Zone VII exerted some form of control over parts of the site, in this case restricting movement to the north of the area containing the prehistoric monuments and controlling access onto the terrace edge.

Evidence for the control of access to Zone IX also comes from the arrangement of ditches and buildings on the eastern side of Zone VII. It is possible that D44 formed the eastern side of a north-south trackway, which would have abutted the eastern side of Zone VII; its western edge could have been formed by D41 and/or D42. Gaps in the southern side of T5, and between D44 and D39, could have been entrances which allowed access to the area containing PM2 and PM3. In later phases, the reorganisation of the eastern portion of Zone VII saw the addition of D27 and D43, which would have created a very different arrangement in this area, as the possible north-south track formed by D44 and the Zone VII enclosure would have been blocked off. If ditches D41 and D42 were, indeed, earlier and no longer existed in this period, there would have been direct access from the interior of Zone VII into Zone IX, with D27 and D43 creating a 'funnel' between the two areas. That ditch D44 did not exist to restrict access in this phase is supported by the presence of SFB AS48, which lay directly over it (although another possibility is that, if the SFB had a doorway at either end, it might have provided access *through* boundary D44 into Zone IX).

Towards the south of Zone IX, where it bordered X, access appears to have been less restricted, with few boundary features dividing Zones IX and X. However, there were possible restrictions on movement; D50 and D51, for example, seem to have formed southerly continuations of D44, and there are two fences, F41 and F42, forming short lengths of east-west boundary to the south of PM3. The terminals of

medieval furrows had badly damaged this area of the site, making it possible that further boundary features once existed in this area (Losco-Bradley and Kinsley 2002: fig. Y). It is also possible that buildings, fences and ditches to the south of Zone VII might have served to restrict access to the eastern side of the site. Fences F39 and F40 may have been fairly late additions to the southern boundary of Zone VII, and would have blocked access to Zone VIII and possibly IX (Losco-Bradley and Kinsley 2002: 119). Further, F39 connected with AS57, while F40 connected with AS52, suggesting that these structures might have had a role to play in delineating this area of the site (Losco-Bradley and Kinsley 2002: 117). A number of features in Zone X could also have restricted access to Zone IX for anyone approaching from the west and north of the settlement, including ditches D55, D56, D57 and D58, fence F38, and buildings AS50, AS51, AS56, AS57, AS58 and AS59.

The ditches delineating many of the boundaries at Catholme were shallow, and would probably have needed accompanying above-ground structures to improve their effectiveness, especially if part of their function was as stock enclosures or pathways (Losco-Bradley and Kinsley 2002: 29). The short lengths of many re-cuts strongly suggested that this was the case; the ditches seem to have been quarried for material for the localised repair of associated banks, which could have been topped by fences or hedges. Thus, they may have provided substantial screening of particular parts of the settlement, and there might have been numerous barriers restricting views across the settlement. Zone VII would have been particularly well-screened; with the exception of one possible opening near the north-east corner, it appears to have been the only zone which was fully enclosed. Since every expansion of the occupation area was accompanied by a new ditched or fenced boundary, the effective enclosure of this area appears to have been important. Similarly, Zone IX was also surrounded by long-lived boundaries, which might well have screened the monuments from view for the rest of the settlement.

Meanwhile, there is some evidence for entrances through these numerous boundaries (these were labelled E1 to E13) (Losco-Bradley and Kinsley 2002: 30).

There were several entrances in the terrace-edge boundary (E7, E10, E11, E12 and E13), which were not all open at once, and which suggest that movement between the river terrace and Zone IX was possible. Two of these entrances became the foci for ritual activity in the form of burials, which suggests that they were important places for the inhabitants of the site (see below). Several entrances to Zone VII were also identified, the main one being E5 at the eastern terminal of trackway T4 (Losco-Bradley and Kinsley 2002: 30-1). A cluster of postholes in the trackway at the point where it met Zone VII suggested that there had been an entrance structure here, which included two large postholes, c.0.75m in diameter and c.3m apart on the line of ditch D21, possibly representing gate posts (see fig. 6.27). There was also a hollow at this point, indicating that the entrance had been heavily used; this, along with the entrance structure, suggests that E5 formed a primary, perhaps visually impressive, entrance into Zone VII. While there were other entrances into this zone, they were much smaller and less ostentatious. Catholme Lane, the sunken road that joins the site to Barton-under-Needwood 3km to the north, currently skirts around the excavated area to the south, but it may originally have led into the settlement in the form of trackway T4 (Reynolds 2003: 132). If so, entrance E5 could have been the main entry point into the settlement for visitors from elsewhere.

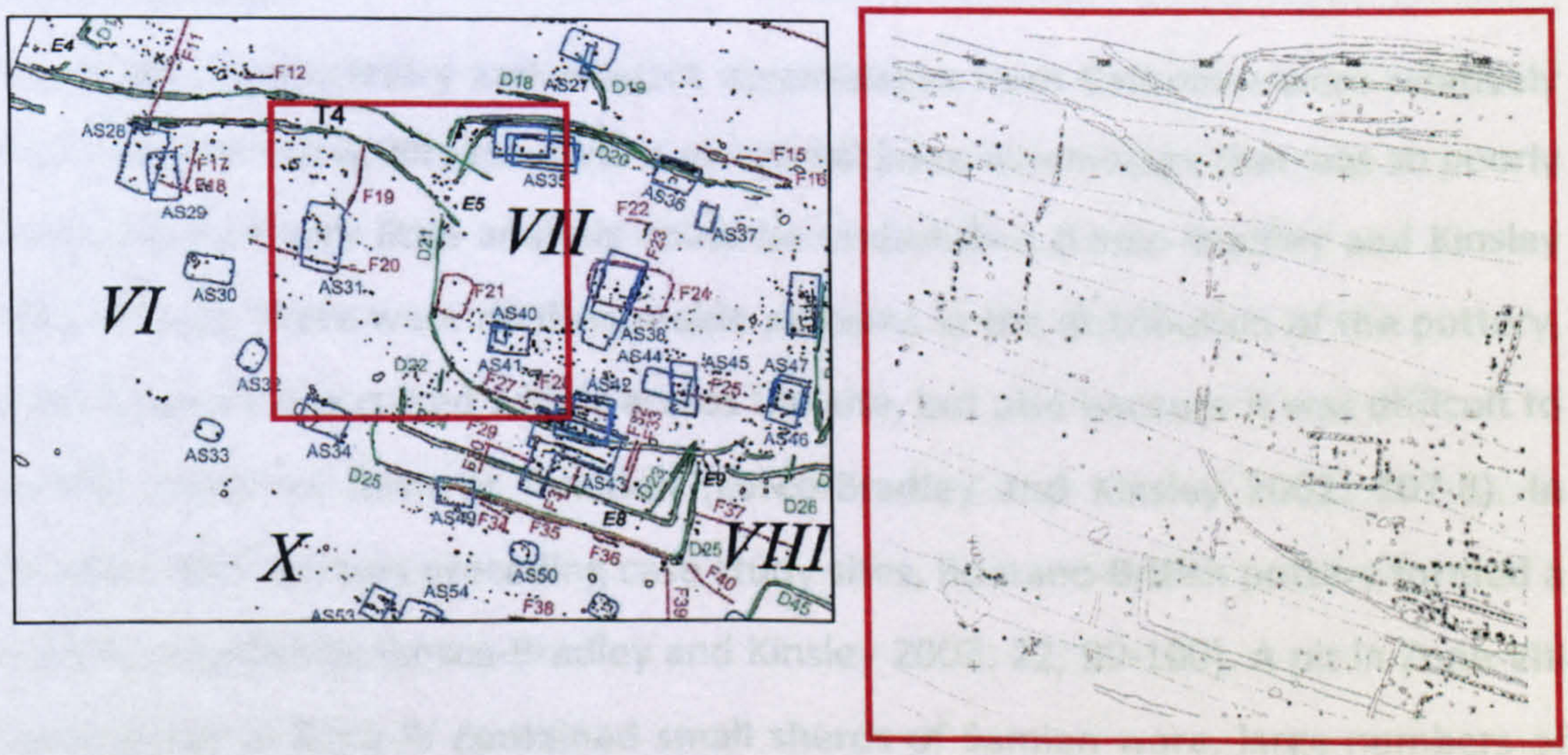

Fig. 6.27 Detail of Zone VII showing T4 leading into the occupation area (left) (after Losco-Bradley and Kinsley 2002: 116, fig. 3.97) and close-up of entrance E5 showing the postholes of a possible gateway structure (right) (from Losco-Bradley and Kinsley 2002: fig. Y).

Another, much less ostentatious entrance was also present on the south side of Zone VII, in the form of the 2m-wide gap (E8) through F35, which was blocked or modified by F36, just 0.6m to the south (Losco-Bradley and Kinsley 2002: 30). F36 continued to the east, forming a passage c.2.5m long, which would have permitted only single-file access through E8. To the east of this, E9 allowed access through ditch D27; again, this was a fairly narrow entrance, which would have led out of the enclosure into an area of further boundary features. In contrast to E5, this was a much narrower and restrictive entrance, which may have been used by different people, in different ways, or on different occasions from the more elaborate E5.

Due to their poor preservation, doorways into structures were difficult to trace and there were too few to be able to reconstruct any internal routes and paths between enclosures and buildings (Losco-Bradley and Kinsley 2002: 30, 87, 126). However, it can be stated that, unlike Barrow Hills and Sutton Courtenay, none of the structures at Catholme would have opened out onto monuments or the spaces around them, perhaps with the exception of SFB AS48, although the exact position of this building's entrance is unknown.

Finds and Burials

The Anglo-Saxon pottery and artefact assemblages from Catholme were relatively small, and the soil acidity resulted in an animal bone assemblage that was so poorly preserved that very little analysis could be undertaken (Losco-Bradley and Kinsley 2002: 111-5). There were no discernable patterns in the distribution of the pottery, partly because it occurred widely across the site, but also because it was difficult to classify based on form or function (Losco-Bradley and Kinsley 2002: 107-8). In common with the two preceding case study sites, Romano-British pottery formed a notable assemblage (Losco-Bradley and Kinsley 2002: 22, 99-100). A pit in Zone VIII and another in Zone IV contained small sherds of Samian ware, large numbers of which were also recovered from SFBs. In contrast, sherds of Roman pottery from Anglo-Saxon ditch contexts were primarily grey-ware body sherds. The Romano-British pottery from the SFBs contrasts with that from other Anglo-Saxon contexts

as the sherds were larger and less abraded; 61% were oxidised as well, compared to 28% from pits and ditches, and 50% from topsoil (Losco-Bradley and Kinsley 2002: 99). As at Sutton Courtenay, the overall preference was for grey and red-orange sherds, as well as some colour-coated sherds; the bias towards oxidised sherds was thought to indicate that they might have been used as 'talismans or ritual objects' (Losco-Bradley and Kinsley 2002: 100). There was no evidence for the shaping of the sherds, as there had been at Barrow Hills, but the biases towards certain wares and colours suggests that they were deliberately collected.

Certain areas of the settlement had become the foci for both human and animal burials (Losco-Bradley and Kinsley 2002: 115) (see fig. 6.28). At entrance E1 into Zone IV a human burial (3617) had been inserted into the fill of SFB AS13 (Losco-Bradley and Kinsley 2002: 40-1). No torso bones were present due to the poor bone preservation, but the surviving skull and leg bones indicated that the head had been to the north-east, and it was tentatively suggested that the individual was male and aged twenty or older. Human burial 3367 was located between structures AS41 and AS42 in Zone VII, although its level of preservation was poorer than that of 3617, as it had been eroded by a furrow (Losco-Bradley and Kinsley 2002: 40-1). Additionally, D27 yielded part of a human skull from its lowest fill, which was thought to belong to an adult aged thirty-five or older. It is possible that the position of this skull fragment, in a ditch belonging to a later phase of the Zone VII enclosure, indicates that the construction of D27 had disturbed an earlier burial in this zone (Losco-Bradley and Kinsley 2002: 40-1).

In Zone IX, a human burial (3666) had been inserted into a ditch of the terrace-edge boundary D49, just north of the entrance gap E12 (Losco-Bradley and Kinsley 2002: 41). The body had been aligned with the ditch so that its head was to the south-west; preservation was poor, but dark stains indicated the location of the skull, upper arms and spine, and a knife blade was present on the spine stain. The only surviving bone fragment came from the skull vault, which revealed that the individual had been an adolescent or an adult. A cow burial (3663) had also been

inserted into a grave adjacent to the later phase of terrace edge boundary ditch, D47, between entrances E10 and E11, and due east of the penannular ring ditch (Losco-Bradley and Kinsley 2002: 41). The grave was too small to have held the animal intact, but there is evidence that parts of it were articulated. The location of these burials suggests a concern for continuity of location. They are located around the older features on the site and around the long-lived farmsteads; they may show a concern for continued land ownership and an ancestral presence, in which case it is particularly interesting that a large proportion were situated in Zones VII and IX.

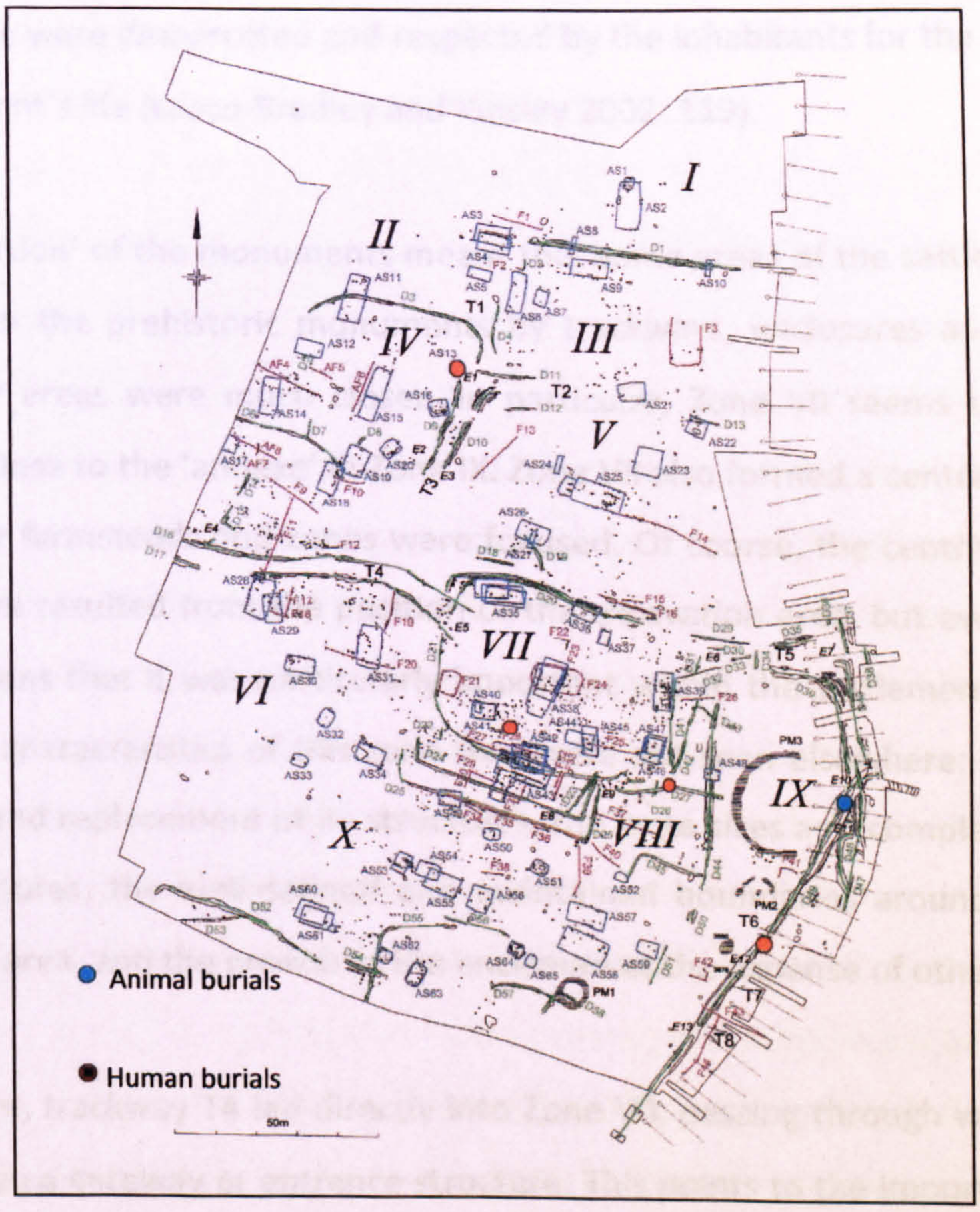

Fig. 6.28 Human and animal burials at Catholme (after Losco-Bradley and Kinsley 2002: 116, fig. 3.97).

Conclusions

Catholme's layout differs greatly from the preceding two case study sites, due to its long-lived and stable structure. Its dates of occupation are also different, which may go some way towards explaining its different layout. Planning is evident, especially in the layout of the boundaries surrounding the occupation zones, although perhaps to a lesser extent in the case of the buildings (Losco-Bradley and Kinsley 2002: 126). Catholme is also different in terms of how its prehistoric monuments were reused. Unlike the two previous case study sites, the monuments at Catholme were separated from the rest of the settlement and they had not been built over. Instead, they were demarcated and respected by the inhabitants for the duration of the settlement's life (Losco-Bradley and Kinsley 2002: 119).

The 'annexation' of the monuments meant that some areas of the settlement were divided from the prehistoric monuments by trackways, enclosures and buildings, while other areas were much closer. In particular, Zone VII seems to have lain extremely close to the 'annexe' in Zone IX. Zone VII also formed a central area upon which other farmsteads and zones were focused. Of course, the centrality of Zone VII may have resulted from the position of the excavation area, but even so, there are indications that it was particularly important within the settlement. There are four major characteristics of this zone that were not seen elsewhere: the scale of rebuilding and replacement of its structures, the large sizes and complex layouts of those structures, the well-defined and maintained boundaries around the whole occupation area, and the growth of the enclosure at the expense of other zones.

Furthermore, trackway T4 led directly into Zone VII, passing through what appears to have been a gateway or entrance structure. This points to the importance of this particular occupation zone, but it also suggests that control was exerted over access to the area. The encroachment into other zones of the settlement also indicates that the inhabitants of Zone VII could exert power over other areas. The complex layouts of buildings such as AS43 also indicate that Zone VII was unusual in comparison to other areas. Moreover, the large and complex buildings in this zone

would have required greater amounts of labour and resources than smaller structures, while the complete rebuilding of structures on slightly different alignments and scales, rather than their maintenance on the same spot, suggests that the people in control of Zone VII had the wherewithal to completely replace structures once they were not suitable for their purpose or when they were in need of updating. The builders of Zone VII, therefore, appear to have had great concern for continuity, but at the same time made the most of their ability to expand at the expense of other areas of the settlement. This may indicate that these occupants exerted control over the settlement and community, and that they were perhaps of higher status than other occupants.

In light of this, it is particularly interesting that Zone VII also appears to have controlled access into Zone IX, the area containing the prehistoric monuments, cutting off that area from the rest of the settlement. It is possible that the occupants in charge of Zone VII used their farmstead enclosure to restrict access to the monuments and the activities that took place around them. Even after changes took place in the layout of the eastern side of Zone VII, including the replacement of the long-lived ditch D44 with a 'funnel' between Zones VII and IX, Zone VII appears to have maintained its control over the monuments. AS48, the closest building to monument PM3, may have contributed to controlling access between the two zones, or its function could have been related to particular activities that took place in Zone IX. The possibility that the occupation zones at Catholme were ancestral farmsteads is supported by the longevity of the enclosures and by the presence of burials at specific points within some of the zones, which may have been 'founder' burials (Losco-Bradley and Kinsley 2002: 126). While one human burial was found near the entrance to Zone IV, the majority of the burials at Catholme were in Zones VII and IX, supporting the assertion that these were particularly significant and ideologically-charged areas of the settlement.

Case Study 4: Eye Kettleby

Eye Kettleby was excavated by University of Leicester Archaeological Services (ULAS) in advance of development in the late 1990s, after fieldwalking, geophysical survey and trial trenching between 1993 and 1995 revealed traces of Anglo-Saxon occupation (Finn 1997b: 88; Finn 2007). In total, an area of 4.2ha was excavated, with a further 3.35ha recorded during a watching brief (Bradley and Gaimster 2000: 289). Many archaeological features had been damaged by medieval ploughing, which seems to have flattened a once undulating field (Finn et al. 1998: 5). A benefit of this agricultural activity was that the resulting plough soil accumulated in the hollows, protecting some features from the more intense deep mechanical ploughing that had taken place for fifty years or so before the site was excavated.

The site has not yet been fully published and this discussion is, therefore, based on several interim reports, two unpublished dissertations on the settlement produced by Michael Hawkes (1998) and Robert Sayer (2003), and on information provided by the site director, Neil Finn of the University of Leicester Archaeological Services. Although these sources provide a great deal of information about the site, their use has not always been straightforward, as they occasionally contain conflicting information.[7] It should also be noted that, as post-excavation analysis is not yet complete and the excavation has not been fully published, the interpretation of the site is ongoing and is subject to change and reassessment (N. Finn pers. comm.). The most recent interim report, which is now ten years old, referred to the identification of twenty post-built structures and twenty-five SFBs at Eye Kettleby (Bradley and Gaimster 2000: 289). Several other uncertain examples had actually been excavated, but these were not mentioned in the interim report. They are PBSs 17, 22 and 23, which were recorded in Neil Finn's unpublished post-excavation

[7] For example, the dimensions of the SFBs used here have been taken from Hawkes (1998), who numbered the buildings differently from the numbering system devised by Neil Finn, and did not provide corresponding master plan numbers. In most cases it has been possible to correlate the buildings discussed by Hawkes with those on the master plan based on their sizes and forms, but there have been occasions when this has proved to be impossible. To avoid further confusion, in this analysis both the post-built and SFBs will be referred to using Finn's numbering system, taken from the site master plan and his notes.

notes. There may also have been an additional SFB, which can be seen in the south-east corner of the site on the most recent (but unpublished) site plan, although it is un-numbered (see fig. 6.29). It appears, therefore, that the excavated settlement consisted of twenty-three post-built structures and twenty-five, possibly twenty-six, SFBs.

In addition to the buildings, a large number of pits were excavated, while several fence lines appeared to date to the Anglo-Saxon period (Finn 1999: 6, 9). A number of shallow, discontinuous ditches may also have been Anglo-Saxon; although this has yet to be confirmed through analysis of their contents, they were distinguishable from the rectilinear medieval field system that covered much of the site (Finn et al. 1998: 6). Part of a cobbled road or trackway uncovered in the western part of the site may also relate to the Anglo-Saxon phase. It is likely that the excavated area does not represent the full extent of the original settlement, as it appears to have continued to the west and north of the investigation area (Finn 1999: 5, 12). Provisional assessment of the finds indicated a fifth- or sixth-century date for the settlement, possibly extending into the seventh century (Finn 1999: 5; Bradley and Gaimster 2000: 289). Samples submitted for radiocarbon dating have confirmed this, yielding dates of cal AD 439-539, AD 464-550, AD 539-563 and AD 558-604 (68% confidence) (Sayer 2003: 111; N. Finn pers. comm.).

As discussed in Chapter 5, there may have been a prehistoric barrow in the north-west corner of the settlement, where excavation revealed a C-shaped Bronze Age ditch (Finn 2007). If this feature had continued to form a circle, it would have had a diameter of c.19m, and in the interim reports it was postulated that this was part of a ring ditch around a barrow (Finn 1997b: 91). More recently, the excavator has expressed doubt over this interpretation, primarily due to the absence of a full ring ditch (N. Finn pers. comm.). There *is* evidence, however, to suggest that the C-shaped ditch may well have belonged to a prehistoric barrow.

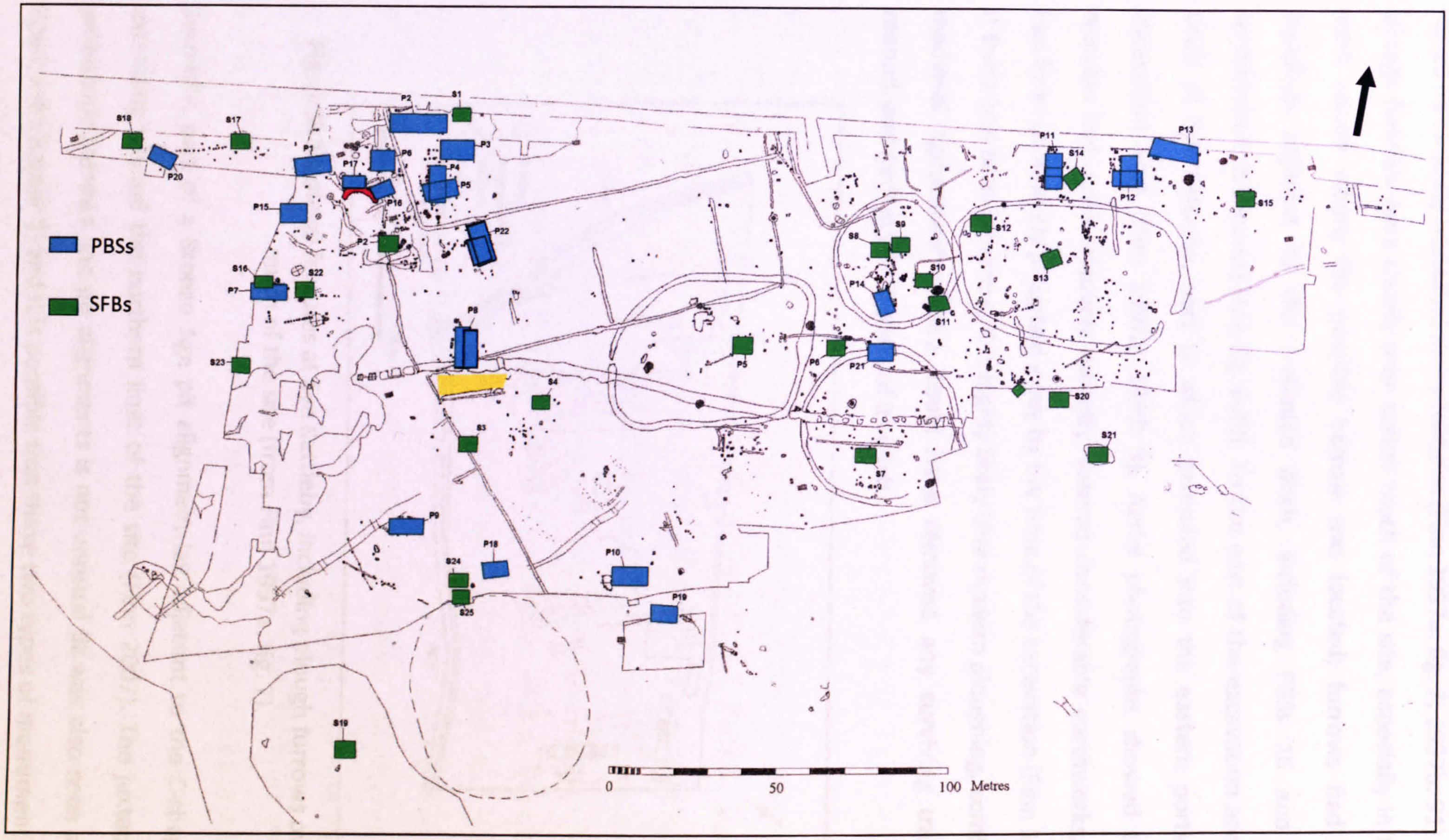

Fig. 6.29 Eye Kettleby site plan (after an unpublished plan by Finn). The C-shaped ditch is highlighted in red, while the section of Anglo-Saxon cobbled trackway is yellow and just to the south of the prehistoric pit alignment/ditch. The Bronze Age enclosures can be seen in the central/eastern part of the site.

Firstly, the site had been severely damaged by medieval and modern ploughing, which had heavily truncated many features (Finn 1997a: fig. 7; 1997b: 91). Medieval plough furrows were clearly seen across much of the site, especially in the north-west corner where the possible barrow was located; furrows had truncated buildings adjacent to the C-shaped ditch, including PBSs 16 and 17 (Finn unpublished document) (see fig. 6.30). To the east of the excavation area was the DMV of Eye Kettleby, part of which extended into the eastern portion of the excavation area (Finn 1997a; 1999: 9). Aerial photographs showed that these remains had, until relatively recently, formed considerable earthworks, but they had been completely ploughed away by the time of the excavation (Finn 1997b: 90). If there had been a barrow, it is highly likely that modern ploughing, combined with medieval agricultural activity, could have removed any surviving traces of its mound, and perhaps even parts of its ditch.

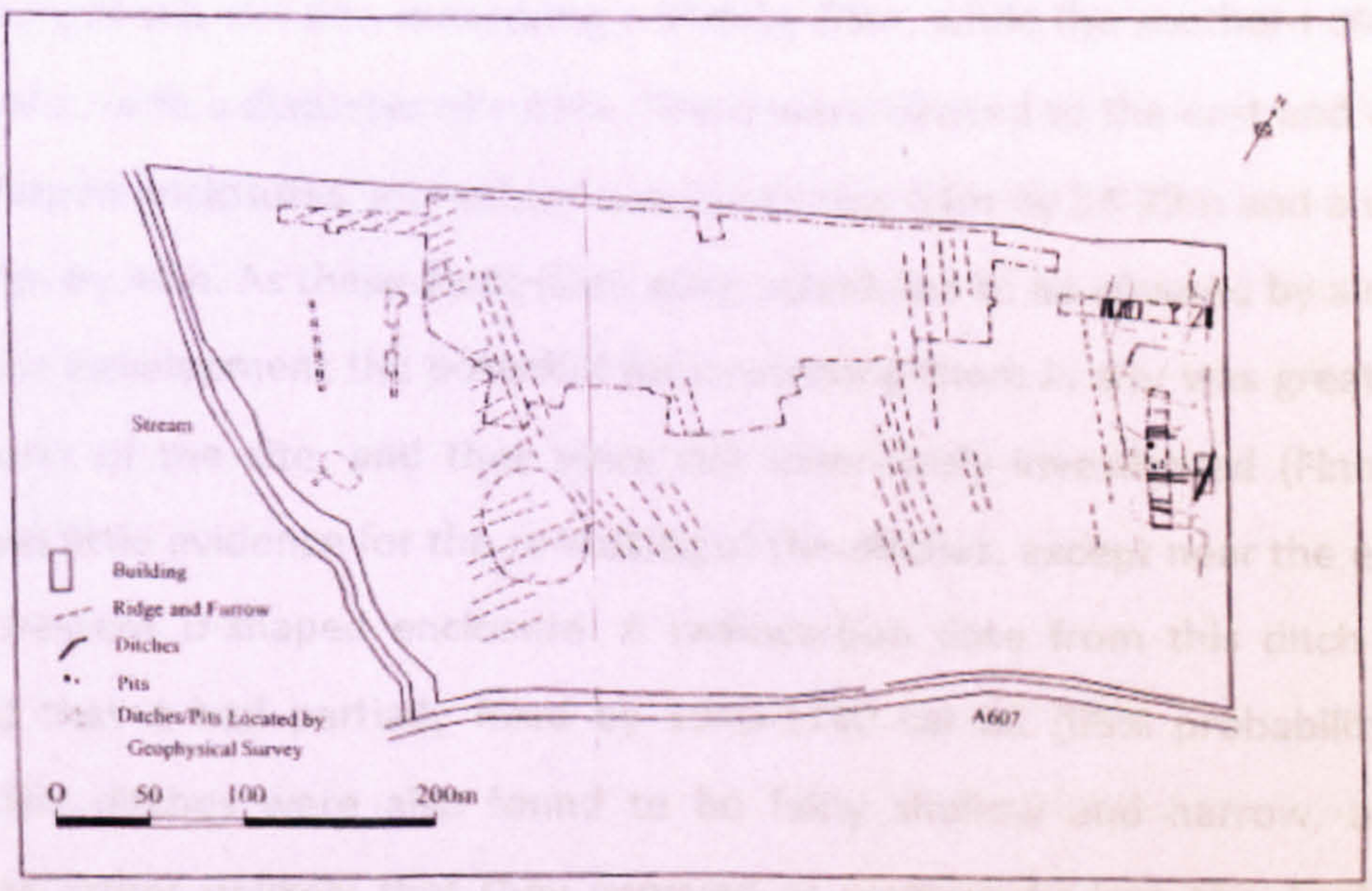

Fig. 6.30 Medieval features at Eye Kettleby, including plough furrows overlying much of the site (from Finn 1997a: fig. 7).

Secondly, part of a Bronze Age pit alignment lay adjacent to the C-shaped ditch, extending beyond the northern limit of the site (Finn 2007). The juxtaposition of prehistoric barrows and pit alignments is not unusual (it was also seen at Freiston Road; see Chapter 5) and it is possible that these two types of monument are found next to each other because they both formed land divisions or territorial boundaries

in prehistory (Copp and Toop 2006: 93, 151). Thirdly, the shape of the ditch does not preclude it from having been a barrow, as at both Catholme and Church Farm, Bierton penannular ditches were thought to have been associated with mounds. Furthermore, the size of the feature correlates with other known Bronze Age mounds seen in the corpus, while the lack of Anglo-Saxon settlement features in the space where the hypothesised mound would have been adds support to the suggestion that an earthwork was present. As this discussion of the site will demonstrate, the alignment of buildings on and near the postulated barrow also resembles the patterns seen at settlements where the presence of barrows has been confirmed.

In addition to the possible ring ditch, there were also four early Bronze Age enclosures located towards the eastern side of the site (Finn 2007). The northern enclosure was sub-circular, measuring c.34m by 36m, while the southern enclosure was circular, with a diameter of c.43m. These were flanked to the east and west by two D-shaped enclosures, an eastern one measuring 64m by 34-39m and a western one c.55m by 41m. As these enclosures were scheduled to be covered by a car park during the development the potential for preserving them *in situ* was greater than other parts of the site, and they were not extensively investigated (Finn 2007). There was little evidence for the re-cutting of the ditches, except near the entrance to the western D-shaped enclosure. A radiocarbon date from this ditch section revealed that it had partially filled by 1940-1740 cal BC (95% probability) (Finn 2007). The ditches were also found to be fairly shallow and narrow, and it is therefore rather unlikely that they survived as earthworks into the Anglo-Saxon period. However, the enclosures were probably accompanied by banks, an assertion supported by the evidence for silting from a bank in a section across the northern edge of the eastern D-shaped enclosure (Finn 2007). Thus, the enclosures, if still visible in the Anglo-Saxon period, are likely to have been preserved as raised banks, rather than ditches. Additionally, at some stage a large boulder was placed over the infilled ditch of the western D-shaped enclosure, and it had been used as a polishing or sharpening stone (N. Finn pers. comm.). The date of the stone's insertion into the

ditch is unknown but it might have pre-dated, or been contemporary with, the Anglo-Saxon occupation.

A sinuous east-west pit alignment belonging to the late Bronze Age was also traced for 200m across the excavation area, consisting of pits c.2.5m^2, 1m deep and 1m apart, and at an unknown point in time this alignment had been redefined as a ditch (Finn 1997b: 91; Finn 2007). The feature neatly bisected the southern circular enclosure, supporting its visibility at that time (Finn 2007). Although it cut through the western D-shaped enclosure less neatly, it did enter the enclosure very close to its entrance, perhaps entering between the terminals of its banks, which could have been wider apart than the gap in the ditch suggested (see fig. 6.29). It is not clear whether this ditch was a visible feature in the Anglo-Saxon period, although the location of the possible Anglo-Saxon cobbled trackway suggests that it might have been influenced by the earlier ditch. If the pit alignment and subsequent ditch had cut through the banks of the earlier enclosures, they might have altered the earthworks, perhaps changing their shape and affecting how the enclosures appeared to the site's occupants in the fifth to seventh centuries. Even so, the enclosures, especially the two northerly ones that had not been bisected by the ditch, may well have remained substantial earthworks during the Anglo-Saxon reoccupation.

Settlement Layout

There were two clusters of post-built structures in the north-east and north-west corners of the site, perhaps indicating a bifocal settlement of two 'residential' areas, in addition to several dispersed post-built structures to the south (Sayer 2003: 109). The possibility that the two clusters of buildings represented residential areas is supported by the fact that the majority of SFBs were located towards the centre of the site, in what may have been an industrial, craft-working or storage zone, similar to that postulated at West Heslerton (Powlesland 2000; Sayer 2003: 109). This suggestion relies on an assumed functional differentiation between SFBs and post-built structures, in which the former are not interpreted as dwellings (see, for

example, Rahtz 1976a: 93; Welch 1992: 21-5; Hamerow 1993: 14-5). Although it is difficult on many sites to prove that the two types of building did, indeed, have different uses, at Eye Kettleby the functional distinction between the two is supported by the presence of three apparently 'ancillary' post-built structures in this central area of the site, alongside many of the SFBs. These ancillary buildings are PBSs 14, 21 and 23, all of which were relatively small and may, therefore, have had storage, craft or industrial uses; indeed, PBS 14 has been provisionally interpreted as a raised granary structure (N. Finn pers. comm.). The presence of the large boulder that had been used as a polishing or sharpening stone in this area is intriguing; it is possible that the wear on the stone was related to craft activities taking place in the Anglo-Saxon period.

The bifocal layout of the settlement could, alternatively, have been due to a settlement shift. PBSs 11 and 12 in the north-eastern cluster utilized post-in-trench and beamslot construction techniques, which are generally thought to be later in date than simpler posthole construction methods, possibly developing in the seventh century (Marshall and Marshall 1991; Sayer 2003: 109). However, as both of these structures also had earlier, posthole only phases, these post-in-trench and beamslot phases of building may simply represent later augmentation of pre-existing buildings. That both clusters of post-built structures were in existence at roughly the same time is supported by the radiocarbon dates; fire-pit 2424, near the eastern cluster, produced a radiocarbon date of AD 539-563 (68% confidence), whilst fire-pit 541, near the western cluster, returned a date of cal AD 464-550 (68% confidence) (Sayer 2003: 112). Thus, there seems to have been a bifocal settlement by the mid sixth century or earlier, but the absence of later construction techniques in buildings to the west raises the possibility that the eastern focus survived into the seventh century.

Of all the buildings in the settlement, the western cluster of post-built structures was most closely related to the postulated barrow. A number of post-built halls lay to the north and north-east of the C-shaped Bronze Age ditch, with several others

to the west. Immediately north of the ditch, lying partially on top of it, were two post-built structures, 16 and 17. PBS 16 was a small post-built structure, measuring 3.3m by between 2.3m-3m (the eastern side had been truncated by a medieval ditch) (Finn unpublished document). PBS 17 lay slightly to the west of PBS 16, and measured 5m by c.4.4m; it was unusual in that it was sub-rectangular, with no clear corners, unlike the other post-built structures on the site (Finn unpublished document). Both buildings were, therefore, unusual for the settlement, as in most other instances the posthole buildings were larger, more regularly-shaped, and had traces of features such as doors, internal fittings or hearths, none of which were found with these structures. Indeed, it was suggested that PBS 17 might even have been a small enclosure, rather than a building (Finn unpublished document).

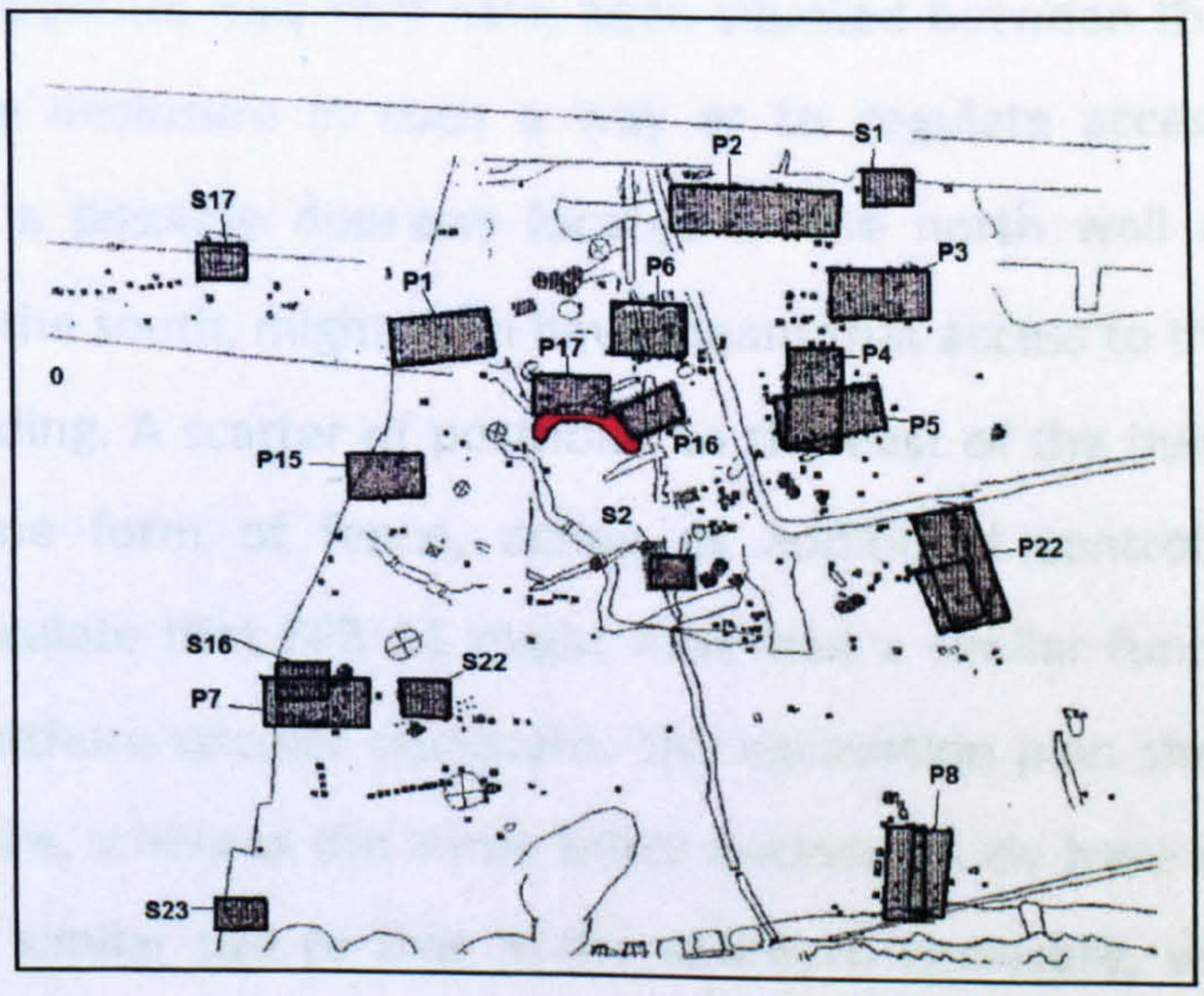

Fig. 6.31 Detail of buildings surrounding the C-shaped ditch at Eye Kettleby (after an unpublished plan by Finn).

Both PBS 16 and PBS 17 were roughly perpendicular to the curved Bronze Age ditch, lying with their long axes aligned on the ditch, while SFB 2 to the south-east would have been very close to mound had there been one (see fig. 6.31). This SFB was probably not close enough to have abutted the postulated mound, but it would have lain several metres away, in a location reminiscent of SFB 23 at Barrow Hills. The buildings in this area of the site are densely clustered, yet they do not impinge on the area of the possible mound. In addition, a number of pits and fire-pits

clustered on the south-eastern side of what would have been the mound, again respecting the area of the ring ditch. The situation at Eye Kettleby differs from other sites discussed in this chapter as the buildings in closest proximity to the mound were post-built structures, rather than SFBs.

The large Bronze Age enclosures at Eye Kettleby also seem to have exerted some influence over the organisation of the settlement, as the 'zone' of SFBs in the centre of the site coincided with the four earlier enclosures (see fig. 6.32). Some were inside the enclosures and some outside, with one building, SFB 11, situated directly over the ditch of the northern circular enclosure. The position of PBS 21 is particularly interesting, as it lay across the entrance to the southern circular enclosure. This structure may well have been situated between the terminals of a bank around the enclosure in such a way as to regulate access. Its east-west alignment, with a possible doorway located in the north wall and perhaps an opposing one to the south, might even have meant that access to the enclosure was *through* the building. A scatter of postholes to the east of the building could have represented some form of fence, acting as additional control measure. It is tempting to speculate that SFB 11 might have had a similar function, controlling access to the northern circular enclosure. The excavation plan shows no entrance into this enclosure, whereas the three other enclosures *do* have entrances. If the gap had been a similar size to that in the southern enclosure, which was c.1.5m wide, SFB 11 would have been large enough to completely obliterate any trace of the gap in the ditch.

Each enclosure contained between one and four SFBs and a scatter of pits, although the northern circular enclosure also contained PBS 14, the possible granary. The majority of pits were dispersed across the central part of the site, suggesting a closer relationship with SFBs than with post-built structures. Indeed, Sayer (2003: 112) demonstrated that pits were more consistently located 20m of SFBs compared to post-built structures. Although the exact uses of many of these pits are unknown,

they may add weight to the argument that the centre of the settlement was used as a craft, storage or industrial area.

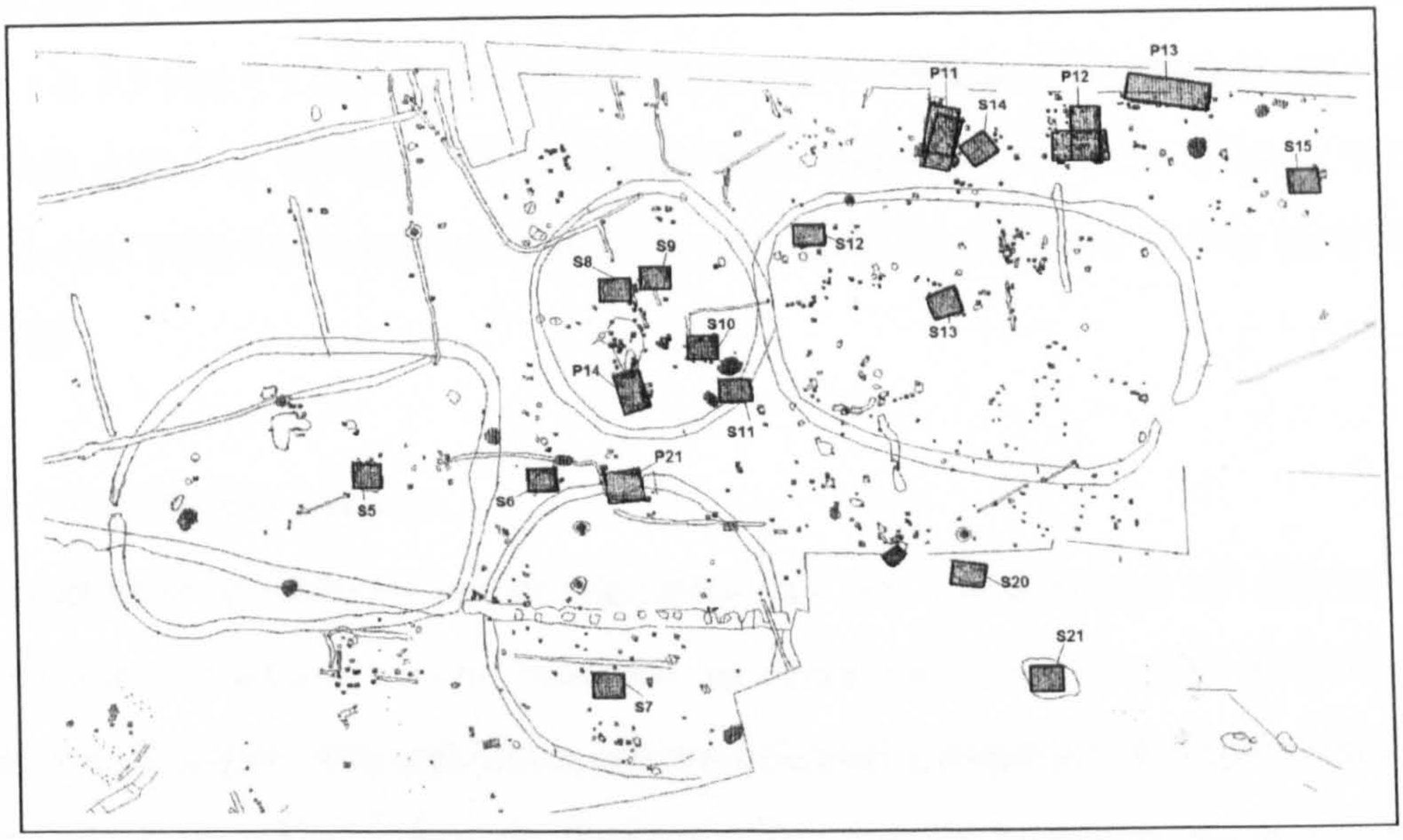

Fig. 6.32 Detail of the buildings in and around the Bronze Age enclosures at Eye Kettleby (after an unpublished plan by Finn).

Elsewhere, the possible Anglo-Saxon trackway, which may have followed the line of the prehistoric pit alignment, led from the west of the settlement towards the central zone of SFBs and the prehistoric enclosures. PBS 8 was aligned so that its southern end lay on the line of the prehistoric pit alignment/ditch; this may be coincidental, but it resembles the situation at other settlements in the corpus, such as Glebe Farm and Pennyland, where buildings were situated with one end wall over an earlier ditch.

Building Sizes

As at Barrow Hills and Sutton Courtenay, the sizes of buildings at Eye Kettleby have been considered in relation to their distances from the possible barrow. The dimensions of the post-built structures are derived from Neil Finn's unpublished notes, which record the excavation of twenty-three structures, some of which had multiple phases. However, his notes on the SFBs were not available for study, and the dimensions of these buildings have, therefore, been taken from Hawkes (1998).

It was previously mentioned that some of the building numbers attributed by Hawkes did not match those on the excavation master plan. In most cases it was possible to correlate his numbers with those on the master plan, but three buildings (SFBs 12, 20 and 21) had to be omitted from the analysis since they could not be matched with the numbers and dimensions provided by Hawkes. Thus, a total of twenty-two SFBs had known dimensions and could be included in this part of the analysis.

- Post-Built Structures

The post-built structures at Eye Kettleby had an average area of 32.3m^2. The buildings varied greatly in size, however, so some were much smaller than this and others much larger, although there were no distinct categories of smaller and larger structures resembling those at Barrow Hills. Twelve buildings were of above-average area; the majority of these were located towards the west of the site, particularly in the north-western focus close to the postulated barrow (see table 6.9 and fig. 6.33). Four of the above-average structures (PBSs 2, 4, 9 and 22) were particularly large, with areas in excess of 50m^2; these were also situated to the west of the site. PBSs 2, 4 and 22 were in the north-western cluster of buildings, while PBS 9 was to the south of them on the western side of the settlement.

There appears, therefore, to have been a marked trend for constructing larger post-built structures towards the west of the site, particularly in the north-west occupation cluster near to the location of the possible barrow. A number of the above-average sized buildings had been increased in area and complexity through the addition of annexes; these were used in the construction of PBSs 3, 4 and 9, which, again, were towards the west of the site. Although some smaller structures were also present in the western half of the settlement, several particularly small examples measuring under 15m^2 in area (and therefore roughly comparable with the 'ancillary' structures at Barrow Hills) were situated towards the south of the site, with one (the possible granary PBS 14) inside one of the Bronze Age enclosures.

The positioning of many large buildings in the north-west part of the site, around the location of the possible barrow, appears to resemble the pattern at Barrow Hills and Catholme, where larger post-built structures tended to be closer to barrows. It should be noted, however, that the two structures in closest proximity to the possible barrow were both relatively small. PBS 16 was the smallest stand-alone building in the settlement with an area of no more than c.9.9m^2, while PBS 17 had an area of c.22m^2, which was comparable with other structures elsewhere in the settlement, but still below the average of 32.3m^2. As previously discussed, both were rather unusual structures, PBS 16 because it was so small, and PBS 17 because of its unusual sub-rectangular shape. The unusual qualities of these two structures may be significant; whether they were buildings or enclosures, their positioning seems to have been very deliberate and their functions may have been linked to their close proximity to the monument. Indeed, PBS 17 resembles possible early Anglo-Saxon 'shrines' identified at other sites, and may indicate that the barrow formed a religious focus within the settlement (this possibility will be discussed in greater detail in the following chapter).

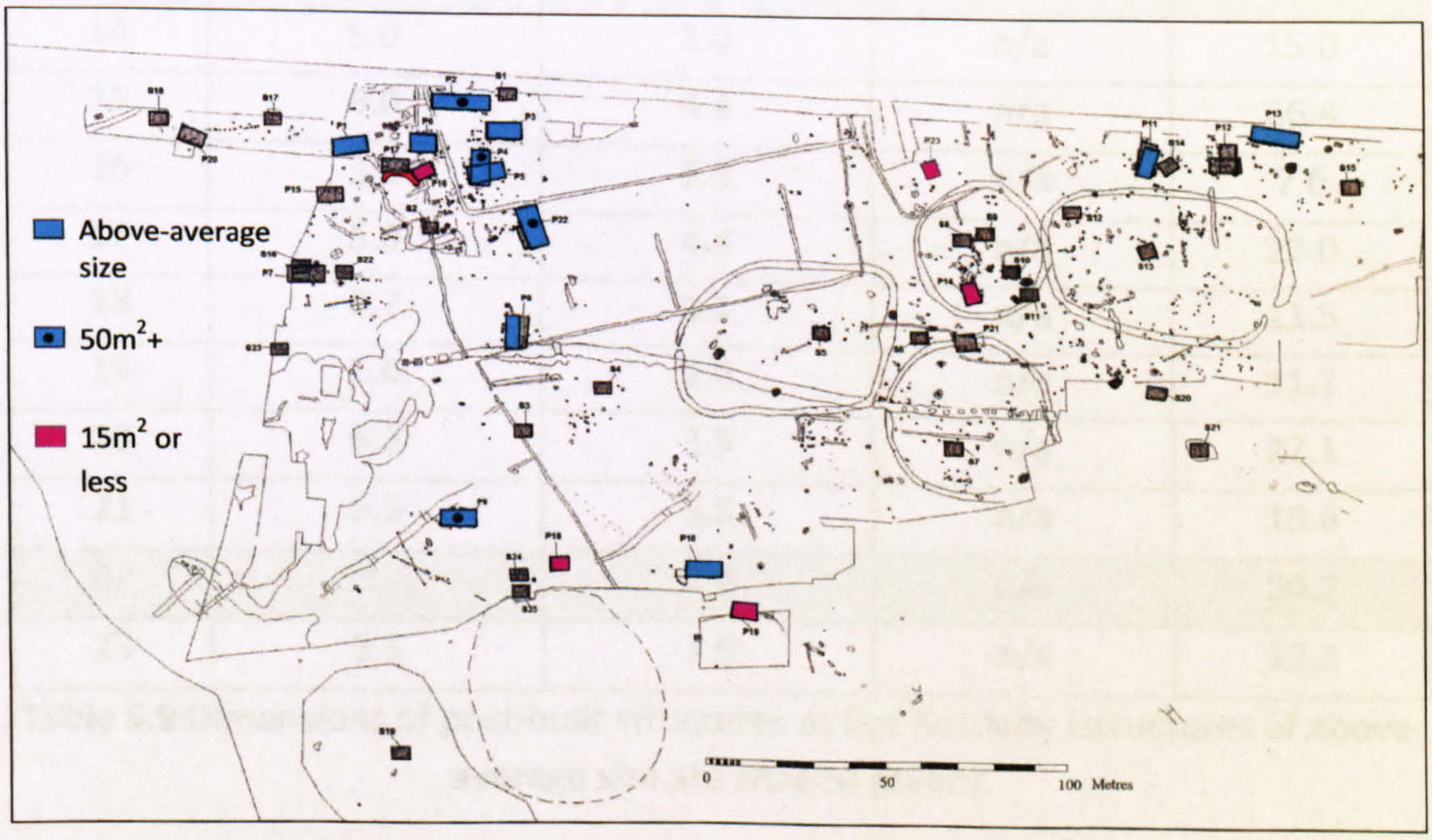

Fig. 6.33 Categories of post-built structure at Eye Kettleby; above-average buildings, particularly large structures measuring over 50m^2 and possible ancillary structures measuring 15m^2 or less are highlighted (after an unpublished plan by Finn).

Building	Length (m)	Width (m)	Annexe (m^2)	Total Area (m^2)
1	9.1	4.2	n/a	38.2
2	14.2	4.6	n/a	65.3
3	8.0	4.6	9.6	46.4
4	10.4	5.0	10.0	62.0
5	10.5	4.4	n/a	46.2
6	6.8	5.0	n/a	33.8
7	6.3	3.8	n/a	23.9
8a	7.6	6.4	n/a	48.6
8b	8.4	3.8	n/a	31.9
9	10.0	5.0	5.3	55.6
10	9.0	4.3	n/a	38.3
11b	7.8	4.5	n/a	35.1
12a	7.5	4.0	n/a	30.0
12b	7.5	4.0	n/a	30.0
12c	6.0	3.5	n/a	21.0
13	12.0	3.0	n/a	36.0
14	5.0	3.0	n/a	15.0
15	6.0	4.4	n/a	26.4
16	3.3	2.3	n/a	7.6
17	5.0	4.4	n/a	22.0
18	3.7	3.1	n/a	11.5
19	5.6	2.0	n/a	11.2
20	6.3	3.5	n/a	22.1
21	5.3	3.5	n/a	18.6
22	11.4	4.4	n/a	50.2
23	3.5	3.5	n/a	12.3

Table 6.9 Dimensions of post-built structures at Eye Kettleby (structures of above-average size are shaded green).

- Sunken-Featured Buildings

The average area of the SFB pits at Eye Kettleby was 11.9m^2; nine buildings (SFBs 3, 5, 8, 11, 13, 14, 15, 22 and 25) were larger than this, with eight of those measuring 14m^2 or more (see table 6.10). There appear, in fact, to be two categories of SFB based on size, a group of buildings with areas of 11.9m^2 or less, and another with areas of c.14m^2 and over (see fig. 6.34). The majority of these larger-than-average SFBs were associated with the north-eastern cluster of buildings or the central area around the Bronze Age enclosures, with only one towards the west of the site. SFBs of below-average size, particularly those below 10m^2, were more frequently found to the west of the settlement, associated with the north-west cluster of post-built structures. However, they were also close to two of the largest SFBs (3 and 25), which had areas of 15.8m^2 and 16.1m^2 respectively.

It appears, then, that larger SFBs were more likely to be situated in the area of the Bronze Age enclosures or to the north-east of them around the cluster of post-built structures in that area. Smaller SFBs were more frequently found towards the west of the site, but there was some variation here, as there were also two particularly large structures. SFB 2, the structure situated very close to the postulated barrow, measured 11.5m^2. Unlike at Barrow Hills and Sutton Courtenay, there does not appear to have been a correlation between large SFBs and the possible barrow at Eye Kettleby. However, there *was* a correlation between large SFBs and the Bronze Age enclosures, since four of the particularly large SFBs (5, 8, 11 and 13) were within the enclosures or directly over them, while two more (SFBs 14 and 15) were just outside of the enclosures to the north-east, associated with the north-east cluster of post-built structures.

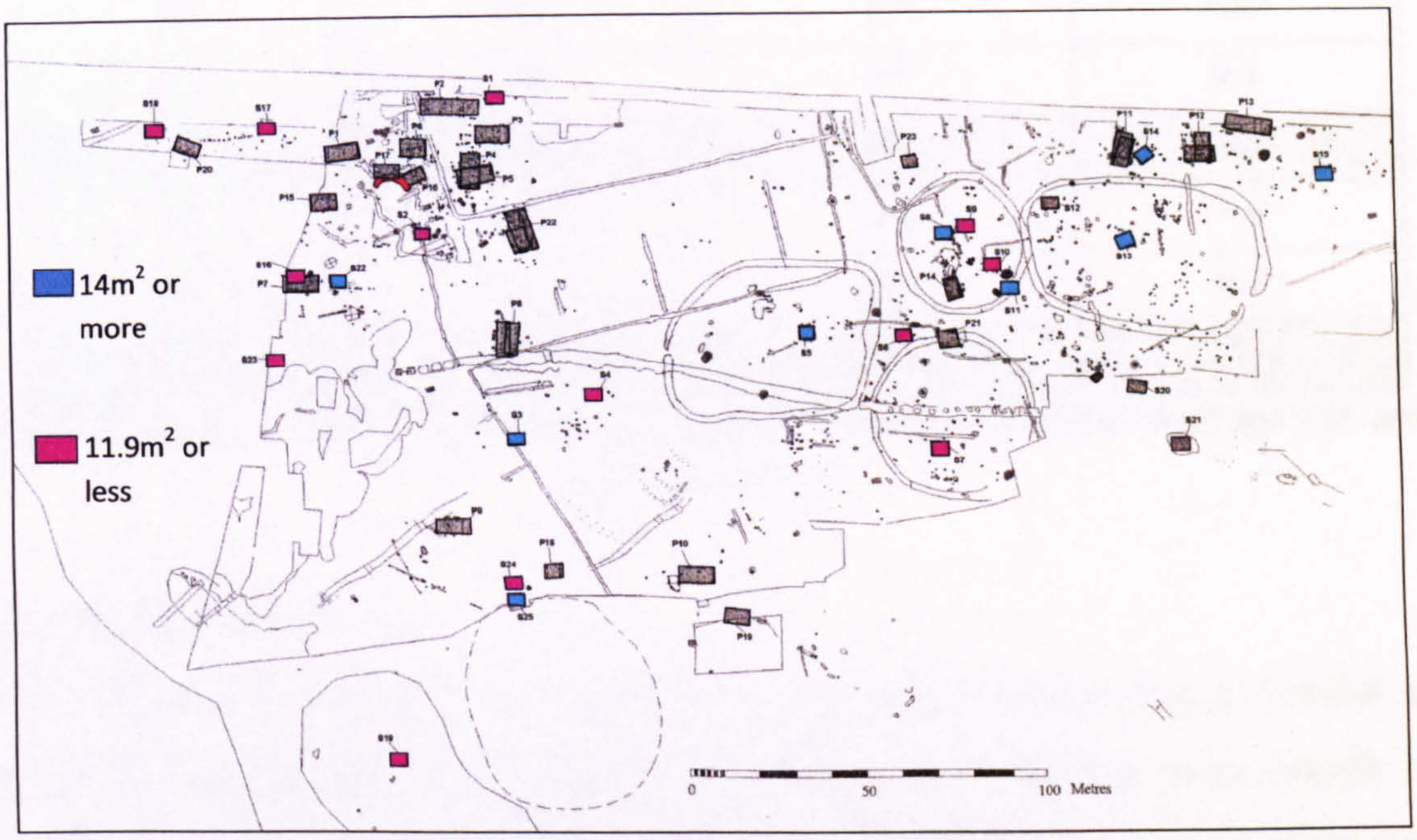

Fig. 6.34 Dimensions of SFBs at Eye Kettleby; the majority of structures fell into two groups, those 14m^2 or more and those 11.9m^2 or less (after an unpublished plan by Finn).

Building	Length (m)	Width (m)	Area (m^2)
1	4.0	2.8	11.2
2	3.6	3.2	11.5
3	4.4	3.6	15.8
4	3.7	2.6	9.6
5	4.5	4.2	18.9
6	3.6	2.6	8.3
7	3.6	3.0	11.0
8	4.6	3.0	14.0
9	3.7	3.1	11.5
10	3.8	2.5	9.4
11	4.1	3.7	15.9
13	4.1	4.0	16.4
14	4.8	3.8	18.2
15	4.7	3.6	16.9
16	3.2	2.3	7.4
17	2.9	2.0	5.7

18	3.3	3.1	10.2
19	3.4	2.7	9.1
22	3.9	3.2	12.5
23	2.8	2.5	7.0
24	2.6	2.1	5.3
25	4.6	3.5	16.1

Table 6.10 Dimensions of SFBs at Eye Kettleby (structures of above-average size are shaded green).

Building Replacement

The fieldwork notes from the excavation of the site revealed that a number of buildings overlapped one another or showed signs of having been rebuilt or refurbished (N Finn unpublished documents). PBS 8 had two apparently overlapping phases, although the posthole plans were difficult to interpret, and PBS 7 was post-dated by SFB 16 (see fig. 6.35). There were at least two phases to PBS 11, and possibly PBS 22, and three possible phases to PBS 12, while PBS 13 had been rebuilt in the same location at least once as well. Elsewhere, PBS 4 and PBS 5 were on different alignments but they overlapped, and the postholes of PBS 5 had been re-cut too.

Structures in both the north-west and north-east clusters of buildings had been rebuilt on the same locations, demonstrating that maintaining the locations of particular buildings was important on both sides of the settlement. Elsewhere, in the SFB-dominated southern and central zones the few post-built structures that were excavated did not show any evidence for having had multiple phases. This suggests that there was greater concern for perpetuating the positions of 'halls' or dwellings in the two northern clusters of buildings than there was elsewhere in the settlement. It is possible, therefore, that the north-west and north-east building foci were ancestral farmsteads similar to those at Catholme; although they lacked the clearly defined boundaries of the Catholme farmsteads, the two clusters of buildings at Eye Kettleby were maintained and perpetuated through repeated rebuilding.

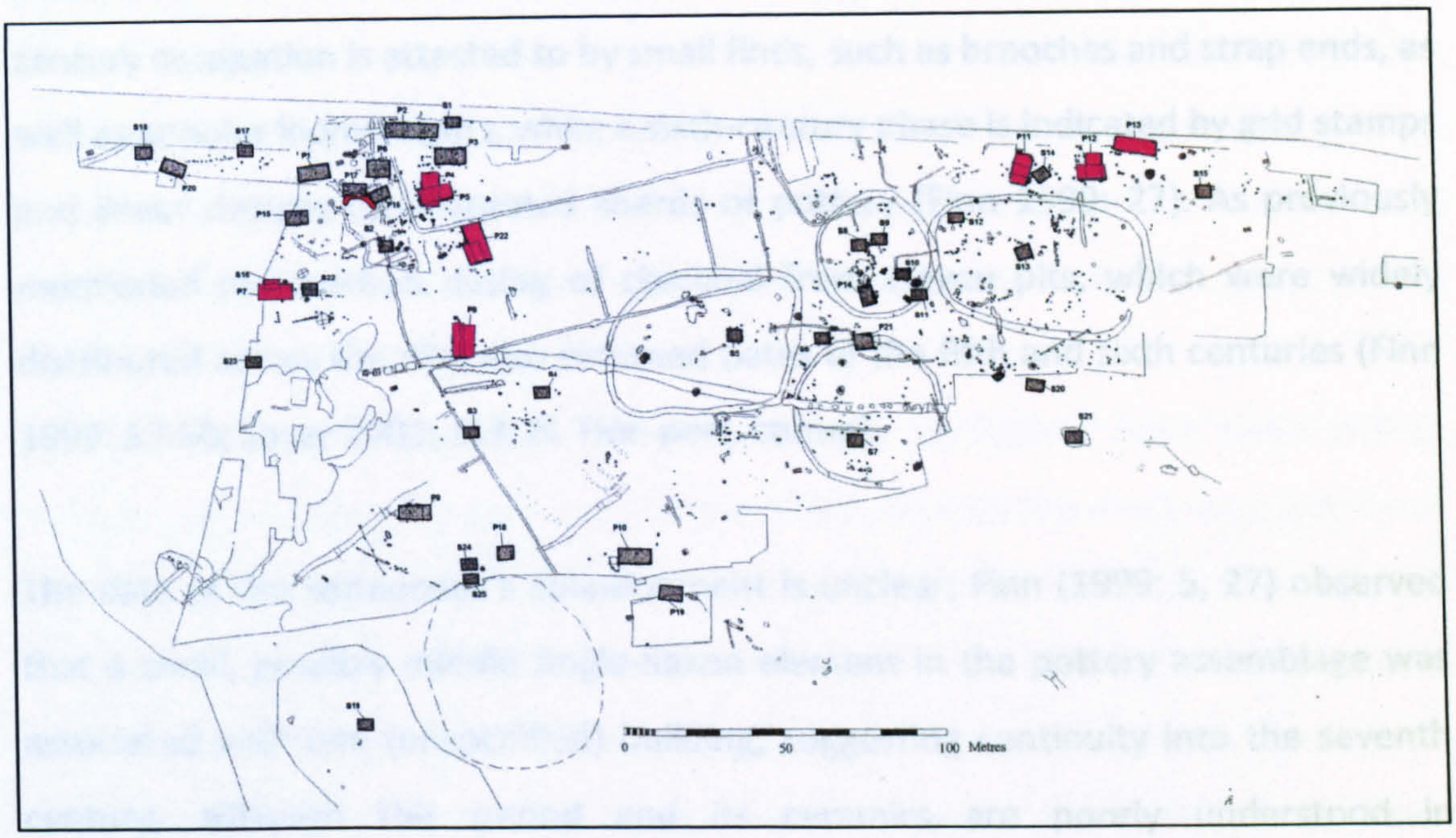

Fig. 6.35 Buildings with evidence for replacement or re-cutting at Eye Kettleby (after an unpublished plan by Finn).

It is not known for certain whether any SFBs had been re-cut or maintained; Hawkes (1998) discussed the contents and dimensions of the SFB, but not the evidence for their replacement or re-cutting. However, he did include plans of the SFBs in his dissertation, taken from the site archive, which can be studied for signs of refurbishment. It does not appear from these that any SFBs overlapped each other, although some do seem to have had two or more postholes at each end, perhaps indicating that there had been some replacement of their posts. This suggests that some buildings had been maintained, although they do not appear to have been rebuilt in the same location when they fell out of use, in contrast to SFBs 32-34 at Barrow Hills or the three 'rooms' of building X at Sutton Courtenay, for example.

Phasing

The re-cutting and replacement of the post-built structures at Eye Kettleby indicates that there were several phases to the settlement and that it was in existence long enough for two, sometimes three, phases of a structure to be built, although how long each phase of building stood for is unknown. Artefacts recovered from the site

indicate that the settlement was occupied during the fifth and sixth centuries. Fifth-century occupation is attested to by small finds, such as brooches and strap ends, as well as annular loomweights, while a sixth-century phase is indicated by grid stamps and linear designs on decorated sherds of pottery (Finn 1999: 27). As previously mentioned radiocarbon dating of charcoal from eleven pits, which were widely distributed across the site, also returned dates of the fifth and sixth centuries (Finn 1999: 59-60; Sayer 2003: 111; N. Finn pers. comm).

The date of the settlement's abandonment is unclear; Finn (1999: 5, 27) observed that a small, possibly middle Anglo-Saxon element in the pottery assemblage was associated with one (unspecified) building, suggesting continuity into the seventh century, although this period and its ceramics are poorly understood in Leicestershire. The construction techniques used to build the later phases of PBSs 11 and 12 were typical of the seventh century and later (Marshall and Marshall 1991; Hawkes 1998: 23) and it is possible that the focus of the latest phase of the settlement lay to the north-east of the site. Thus, it appears that throughout the fifth and sixth centuries the settlement may have had a consistent form, with north-eastern and north-western clusters of post-built structures and a central area containing SFBs, which may have had storage, craft-working or industrial uses. It is possible that, towards the end of the settlement's life in the seventh century, the north-eastern focus survived but the other areas were abandoned, although this has not been convincingly confirmed.

Movement within the Settlement

The only evidence for trackways in the settlement was in the form of a 25m-length of cobbled trackway, which may have been part of a longer track running across the site in an east-west alignment (Sayer 2003: 115). If the Bronze Age enclosures at Eye Kettleby *were* accompanied wholly or partly by banks, they could have formed obstacles to movement around the site, forcing people to move around or between them as they travelled through the settlement. The banks could also have influenced movement into and out of the enclosures, which might have been

controlled further by the positioning of PBS 21 over the entrance to the southern circular enclosure, and perhaps also by SFB 11 over the possible entrance to the northern enclosure. It is interesting that, if this was the case, there was greater control over the central area of the site than there was around the two clusters of post-built structures, which have much less evidence for the control of space.

Several fences associated with the Anglo-Saxon settlement have been noted, including one linking the north-west corner of PBS 20 with the south-west corner of SFB 17 (N. Finn unpublished document) (see fig. 6.36). There were also two lines of postholes just to the south of PBS 7, one on a north-south alignment and the other on an east-west alignment. Moreover, there were a number of discontinuous, sinuous lengths of ditch that did not appear to be part of the rectilinear medieval field system overlying the Anglo-Saxon settlement. There were short lengths of sinuous ditch to the west and south of the C-shaped ditch, immediately adjacent to where the barrow seems to have stood. If so, it is possible that these ditch sections could have been part of a boundary that partially enclosed the barrow during at least some of the settlement's life. Such a situation would be reminiscent of the 'annexing' of barrows at Wolverton Turn Enclosure and Catholme. If a mound was present PBSs 2, 3, 4, 5, 8 and 22 would have been effective in screening it from view from the rest of the settlement too, and they could even have had a role in controlling access into this area of the settlement.

Further possible lengths of Anglo-Saxon ditch lay to the east of the site as well, and these are also likely to have had an impact on movement and visibility within the settlement (N. Finn unpublished documents). One ditch extended from the western end of SFB 10 towards to the eastern side of the Bronze Age circular enclosure in which it lay. Another ran from the eastern end of PBS 21 and had an apparent continuation, with a gap between the two, in the form of another length of ditch to the south of PBS 21. Within the same enclosure, to the north of SFB 7, a ditch ran from east to west. It is possible that these ditches were used to demarcate space within the enclosures, perhaps dividing areas under different ownership or

separating zones with different functions. The latter seems particularly likely if this was, as suggested, an area used for craft or industrial activities, although Sayer's (2003: 123) analysis of the SFB contents did not reveal any distinctive patterns in the fills of these structures that might have revealed how different areas of the settlement were used.

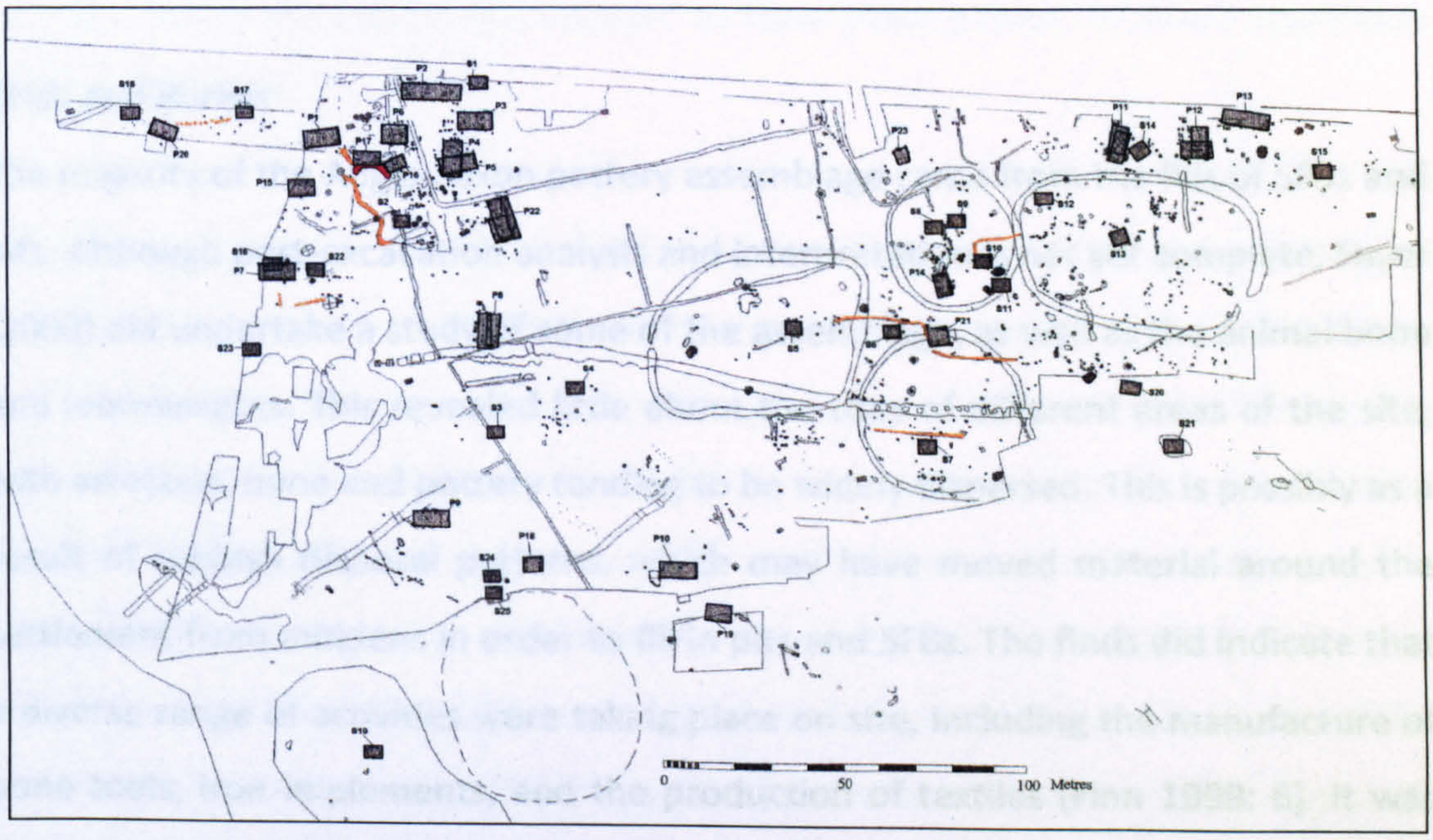

Fig. 6.36 Fences within the settlement at Eye Kettleby (after an unpublished plan by Finn).

It was possible to determine the location of doorways for a number of post-built structures, and they were primarily in the long walls (N. Finn unpublished documents). In general, the locations of the doorways that can be determined do not reveal a great deal about access to the prehistoric monuments, although doorways in the southern wall of PBS 1 and the northern wall of PBS 7 may indicate that the cluster of buildings in this part of the site opened out onto a possible courtyard, represented by a relatively uncluttered area that contained the possible barrow. Unfortunately, there were no clear entrances in the structures overlaying the C-shaped ditch, and thus the access arrangements for them and the extent to which their positions might have been influenced by the postulated barrow are uncertain. As previously mentioned, PBS 21 lay in the entrance to the southern

Bronze Age enclosure; this building may have had an entrance in its north wall, as well as an opposing one in the south wall, which could have acted as a 'funnel' for traffic entering and leaving the enclosure (N. Finn unpublished document). There may have been a similar arrangement for SFB 11, although given the difficulties of determining the positions of SFB entrances, detailed elsewhere in this thesis, this can only be speculation.

Finds and Burials

The majority of the Anglo-Saxon pottery assemblage came from the fills of SFBs and pits. Although post-excavation analysis and interpretation is not yet complete, Sayer (2003) did undertake a study of some of the assemblage, as well as the animal bone and loomweights. This revealed little about the uses of different areas of the site, with artefacts, bone and pottery tending to be widely dispersed. This is possibly as a result of rubbish disposal patterns, which may have moved material around the settlement from middens in order to fill in pits and SFBs. The finds did indicate that a diverse range of activities were taking place on site, including the manufacture of bone tools, iron implements, and the production of textiles (Finn 1999: 6). It was noted that Roman artefacts, including more than twenty Roman coins and a number of Roman brooches, were recovered from Anglo-Saxon contexts (Finn 1999: 61), although no further information about these reused artefacts or their distribution was provided in any of the available sources.

Sayer (2003: 101-2) did note that were a number of unusual, apparently deliberately placed animal bone deposits amongst the faunal assemblage (see fig. 6.37). Near the base of Pit 977 was a cow skeleton, without its skull, lying above a thin layer of ash, while Pit 2230 contained two complete but fragmentary cow skulls, as well as sheep, pig, horse and further cattle bones. Pit 1608 contained a probable articulated bone group identified during post-excavation analysis, comprising bones from the front leg of a young sheep along with other animal bone fragments, mostly from unidentified elements and ribs. A pit cut into the base of SFB 5 contained a number of sheep/goat skulls, and in SFB 18 there was a partial

dog skeleton with a nearly complete spine. SFB 14 also contained a partial dog skeleton with a particularly well-preserved skull, as well as bone fragments from other species including red deer, sheep, cattle, pig, horse and fowl. The examples noted by Sayer were the more obvious instances of articulated animal bones noted during excavation, and it is possible that further, less obvious, deposits of bone might have been missed. These animal deposits were widely distributed, and thus no one part of the settlement appears to have been a focus of ritual deposition (Sayer 2003: 127).

In addition to the articulated animal bone groups, human remains were found in a number of SFBs (Sayer 2003: 105). There was an adult human radius in SFB 14 (as well as the partial dog skeleton and other animal bones mentioned above) and a human metacarpal was found in SFB 22. In both cases the human bones were identified during post-excavation analysis of the faunal assemblage; it is possible that the fragments were deliberately deposited, or they could have been incorporated with other fragmentary bone before their deposition in the SFBs.

More definite examples of deliberately placed burials come from SFBs 7 and 11, each of which contained the remains of a neonate. The example in SFB 7 was found towards the base of the structure, while the other in SFB 11, was grouped with animal bone during excavation and only identified as human during post-excavation analysis. Also from SFB 11 came a very small three-lugged cup, the only complete Anglo-Saxon vessel from the site, which may have been related to the burial (Sayer 2003: 105; Hamerow 2006: 17). The human remains, like the articulated animal deposits, were dispersed and there is little to indicate that particular areas of the settlement were seen as more appropriate for the deposition of burials, although the two infant burials were in SFBs in the central area of the site (Sayer 2003: 127).

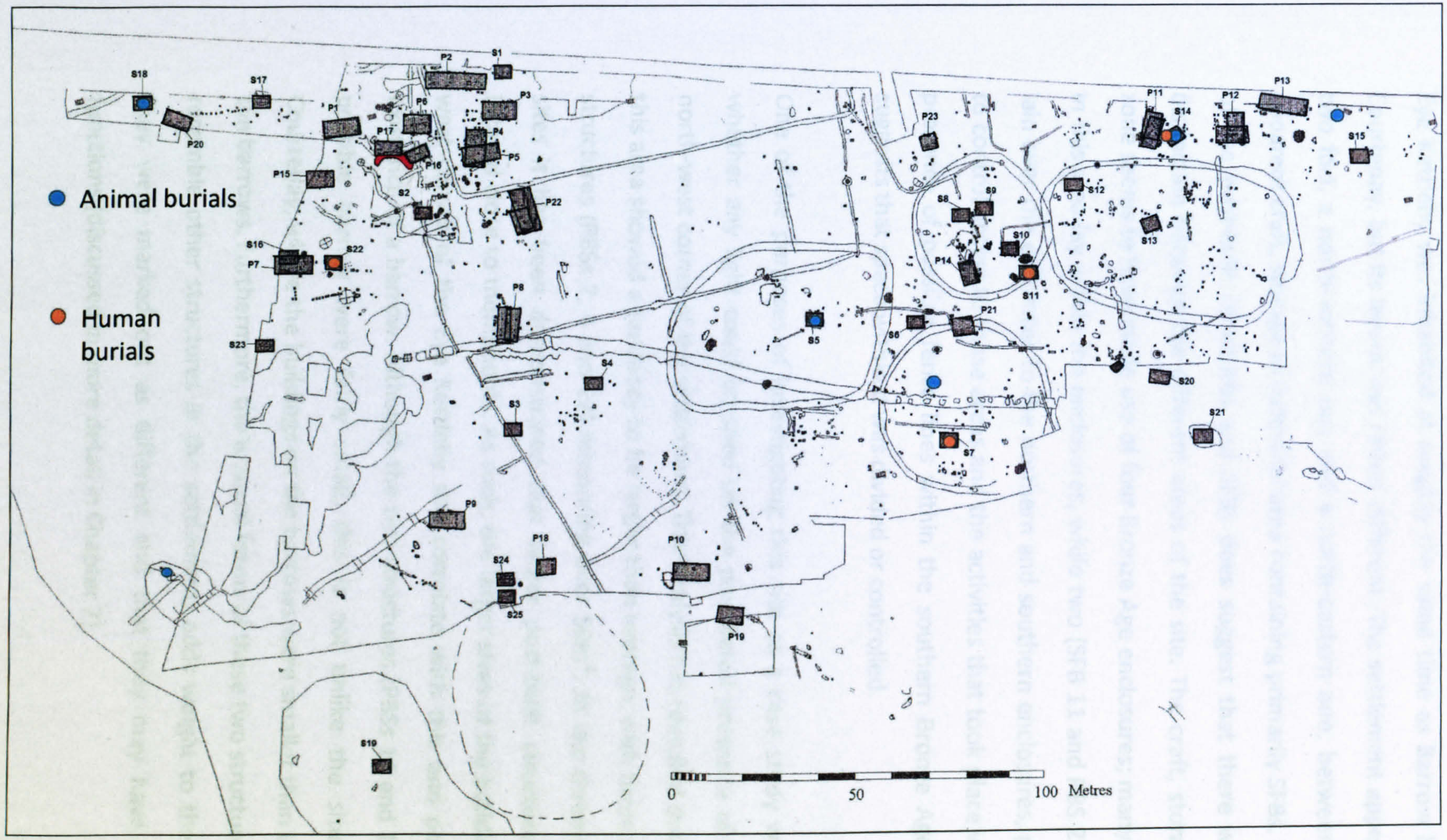

Fig. 6.37 Animal and human burials at Eye Kettleby (after an unpublished plan by Finn).

Conclusions

Eye Kettleby was inhabited at roughly the same time as Barrow Hills and Sutton Courtenay, but its layout was rather different. The settlement appears to have had two foci, a north-western one and a north-eastern one, between which was an apparent craft, storage or industrial area containing primarily SFBs. The distribution of the post-built structures and SFBs does suggest that there was a functional distinction between the different areas of the site. The craft, storage or industrial zone seems to have made use of four Bronze Age enclosures; many of the buildings in this area lay within the enclosures, while two (SFB 11 and PBS 21) seem to have lain over the entrances to the northern and southern enclosures, possibly in order to control access to those areas and the activities that took place within them. The presence of possible fence lines within the southern Bronze Age enclosure also suggests that space within it was divided or controlled.

One of the purposes of investigating this site as a case study was to determine whether any light could be shed on the postulated presence of a barrow in the north-west corner of the settlement. This analysis has revealed that the buildings in this area showed a tendency to be larger than average, with three particularly large structures (PBSs 2, 4 and 22) measuring over 50m^2. At the three other case study sites it has been demonstrated that larger post-built structures tended to be located close to monuments. As such, the larger sizes of the buildings in the north-west corner of the Eye Kettleby site correlate with this and point towards the existence of a barrow. Although the two structures (PBSs 16 and 17) closest to the possible barrow were fairly small, this is not unlike the situation at Sutton Courtenay, where the buildings on the barrows were smaller than those adjacent to the barrows. Furthermore, the unusual forms of these two structures, which did not resemble other structures in the settlement, adds weight to the suggestion that they were marked out as different and that they may have fulfilled specific functions (discussed in more detail in Chapter 7).

Comparisons can be drawn between the settlement layouts of Eye Kettleby and Catholme. Although Eye Kettleby lacked long-lived trackways and boundaries, it does appear to have been divided into 'zones'. In particular, there seem to have been two clusters of 'dwellings', resembling the separate farmsteads at Catholme but without the boundaries delineating them. The north-west collection of buildings may have fulfilled a similar role to Catholme's Zone VII, controlling or restricting access to the postulated barrow. This assertion is supported by the positions of buildings such as PBSs 2, 3, 4, 5 and 22, which could have formed a 'barrier' between the area around the barrow and the rest of the site to the east. The lack of boundary features around the two clusters of post-built structures is in contrast to the centre of the site, as this area *was* delineated by the Bronze Age enclosures, which appear to have influenced the locations of numerous Anglo-Saxon buildings.

In common with the other case study sites there were no indications that ritual activity, in the form of placed deposits, was linked to the monuments at Eye Kettleby as these deposits were widely dispersed across the settlement. There was also little to suggest that buildings closer to the postulated barrow had experienced greater levels of replacement than those elsewhere. While many structures in the north-western cluster had been re-cut and replaced, so too had buildings in the north-eastern cluster, such as PBS 12; this suggests that in both areas the perpetuation of certain building locations was important. This is in contrast to the central area of the settlement, in and around the Bronze Age enclosures, where the maintenance of building locations seems to have been less important. As at Catholme, the repeated replacement of structures in the two 'dwelling' areas may indicate that these were ancestral farmsteads, sustained over long periods of time by particular families or groups. Concurrently, one of these groups may have been in control of the postulated barrow in the north-west corner, which they displayed possession of through the construction of numerous buildings, and perhaps also boundaries, around it.

Case Studies: Summary

The intention of this part of the thesis has been to elucidate the forms that monument reuse took in Anglo-Saxon settlements in much more detail than the wide-ranging review of the corpus in Chapter 5 allowed. The four case study sites were selected based on the fact that all had been excavated relatively recently[8] and because each had been subject to comparatively large-scale excavation, which had uncovered large numbers of buildings. Considering that they were selected solely on the basis of their excavation histories, as opposed to any archaeological traits they were perceived to share, it is particularly interesting that there were a number of similarities in the ways in which all four settlements reused monuments.

Particularly interesting is the apparent tendency for larger structures to be located close to monuments, a trend noted at all four sites. At Eye Kettleby and Catholme, buildings nearer to monuments were also more likely to have annexes than those elsewhere in the settlements. It must be acknowledged that these differences are often subtle and, as far as the archaeological footprints of these buildings can reveal, there is little to mark these particular structures out as 'special' (although it is possible that, when standing, there were aspects of their appearance which did distinguish them from other buildings). It is only at Sutton Courtenay that the particularly large and ostentatious structures close to barrows reveal that the buildings were in some way special. Nonetheless, even though in most cases the differences between structures closer to monuments and those further away are relatively subtle, they may still be significant. This is especially true given that in the early Anglo-Saxon period building dimensions and styles do not seem to have varied to any great extent; even small differences in size, or the addition of an annexe, may well have been significant in distinguishing certain buildings from those around them.

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[8] The exception being the northern portion of the settlement at Sutton Courtenay, but this is countered by the fact that it has been re-examined recently e.g. by Barclay et al. (2003), Tipper (2004) and Hamerow et al. (2007).

Why might some buildings close to monuments have been larger than others? It is possible that these buildings had certain functions, which distinguished them from others in the settlement. It is also possible that they were built, owned or controlled by particular individuals or groups within the settlements. The latter suggestion is not necessarily one that concurs with the general impression gained from settlements of the early Anglo-Saxon period (to which period all but Catholme belong), which have been interpreted as egalitarian, with little evidence for distinction between members of a community (e.g. Hodges 1989: 34-36; Lewis et al. 1997: 98). Even so, the evidence for larger structures close to monuments, combined with the evidence for the control of monuments at the case study sites, raises that the possibility that some monuments were managed, controlled or owned; this is a possibility worthy of consideration.

If we firstly consider Catholme, a middle Anglo-Saxon settlement, there is strong evidence for the control of access to monuments through the annexation of the penannular ring ditch PM3 and the apparent control of access by the inhabitants of Zone VII. Indicators of control are less obvious at the other three sites, but they are present. For example, at both Barrow Hills and Eye Kettleby post-built structures and fences seem to have cut off monuments from the rest of the settlements. Similarly, the SFBs on top of mounds and ring ditches at Sutton Courtenay and Barrow Hills potentially restricted or regulated access to these structures and perhaps signified their ownership or control by certain people; SFB 26 at Barrow Hills is a particularly clear example of this. The locations of these buildings on top of or adjacent to earthworks might also have emphasised them in relation to other structures, calling specific attention to their uses or owners. At Sutton Courtenay, the ostentatious alignment of structures on at least one barrow suggests that the builders of those structures were very clearly exercising their right to build in that place and to reference the barrow. In light of the evidence from all four case study sites, there is a case for suggesting that not all early Anglo-Saxon settlements were as egalitarian as they are often assumed to be, and this possibility will be considered in greater detail in the following chapter.

Another similarity between all four case study sites is that there were no strong or consistent links between apparently ritual finds, in the form of placed deposits, and monuments. There are some links, such as the burial inserted into the pond barrow at Barrow Hills, the collection of Roman coins in the ditches around barrows 12 and 13 at the same settlement, and the burials at entrances into Zone IX at Catholme. Nonetheless, placed deposits were dispersed across the four settlements and there were no clear correlations between them and ancient monuments. Similarly, the rebuilding of structures did not specifically correspond with the monuments; although some were rebuilt close to earthworks, others were rebuilt and maintained elsewhere in the settlements. An exception is Catholme, where there was strong evidence for the repeated rebuilding of structures in Zone VII, which enhanced its distinctiveness in comparison with the other occupation zones. While these other zones did also contain rebuilt structures, this was on a much smaller scale than Zone VII.

One aspect of the relationship between buildings and monuments that *did* differ between the four settlements was the chronology of monument reuse. At both Catholme and Eye Kettleby settlement layouts appear to have been relatively static over time. At Catholme space was regulated by trackways and enclosures, which changed little over time, while at Eye Kettleby the two possible 'domestic' foci and the craft or storage focus were maintained throughout the life of the settlement. Physical divisions between areas at Eye Kettleby were less clear and rigid than those at Catholme, but the different areas do seem to have been maintained, and in the central/eastern area of the settlement pre-existing enclosures were used in order to delineate space. As such, the relationships between buildings and monuments at these two sites remained the same for much of the lives of the settlements. In contrast, the layouts at Sutton Courtenay and Barrow Hills seem to have been more changeable, with the positioning of buildings in relation to monuments changing over time. At Sutton Courtenay this was most clearly seen with the construction of the large southern halls in the late sixth or early seventh century, while at Barrow

Hills there are some indications that buildings 'encroached' onto the monuments during a later phase of the settlement. What is clear is that monument reuse at each settlement was influenced by the particular context of that site and its inhabitants; as Semple (2009: 31) has pointed out in a burial context, the practice is nuanced and individual, selective and strategic.

Chapter Seven

Monument Appropriation in its Wider Context

The purpose of the preceding two chapters was to consider *how* monument reuse took place in settlements; the aim of this chapter will now be to ask *why* it took place. Why did people choose to build their settlements near, on or in older earthworks? What did people believe about the earthwork remains? Did the significance of ancient earthworks change over time? In order to answer these questions, this chapter will discuss the social, political and religious contexts of reuse. It will begin by considering the impact that monument form had on reuse, examining whether there were differences between the ways in which barrows and linear features were appropriated, and perhaps therefore interpreted, by Anglo-Saxon communities.

The chapter will then proceed to explore the potential ideological significance of monument reuse in settlements, investigating whether the ritual and religious importance ascribed to reuse in burial can also be attributed to the practice in settlements. Following this will be a discussion of the social and political contexts of reuse, which will consider whether events and developments in society during the early to middle Anglo-Saxon period had a bearing on monument appropriation in settlements. It will become clear throughout the chapter that the ideological and socio-political meanings of the practice were interlinked, but they are considered separately here for ease of discussion. Their inter-relationships will be discussed towards the end of the chapter, and will be followed by a consideration of the chronological development of monument reuse on occupation sites.

Barrows and Linear Features: The Impact of Monument Form

It has already been noted in this thesis that prehistoric monuments could have survived into the early medieval period in a variety of forms; not only can they be divided into the broad categories of 'barrows' and 'linear features', within these categories there are numerous different shapes and sizes of monument. Decisions about which monuments were to be reused, and what form that reuse took, may

have been dictated in no small way by the physical appearance of those earthworks. Indeed, Williams (1997: 14) has suggested that the selection of particular types of earthwork for reuse may have reflected the expression of different identities. It certainly seems to be a possibility that there were disparities in the ways in which particular earthworks were viewed, interpreted and reused.

It must be borne in mind that settlements may have been established in particular locations for a variety of reasons, including topography and proximity to resources; people may have reused the monuments that were available to them in an area that had already been selected for settlement based on other factors (see Chapter 5). Nevertheless, the proximity of a particular type of monument may have been one factor in the selection of a suitable occupation area. For example, the presence of an Iron Age enclosure at Foxholes Farm appears to have influenced the choice of settlement site, as a number of buildings were constructed inside it. The same may be true of Glebe Farm, where an Iron Age field system influenced the layout of the settlement, and of Barrow Hills, where the first phase of the settlement seems to have been 'enclosed' on several sides by a number of prehistoric barrows (see Chapter 5).

The evidence from the corpus indicates that communities were reusing linear features and barrows in different ways, probably as a result of their differing forms. Where pre-existing enclosures and field systems were concerned, their appropriation often resembled their original uses. The Iron Age field system at Glebe Farm, for example, not only influenced the layout of the later settlement, it was also augmented by the addition of further boundaries. Similarly, the remains of prehistoric sub-rectangular enclosures at Eynsham Abbey and Foxholes Farm, and the hillforts at Taplow and Irthlingborough, were reused to enclose buildings, or buildings were constructed adjacent to the entrances of the enclosures. There appears, therefore, to have been a practical element to the reuse of enclosures. It has been suggested that the reoccupation of hillforts in early medieval south-west Britain was for defensive purposes (Arnold 1984: 73-7), and similar suggestions

have been made with regard to Anglo-Saxon England (Brown and Foard 1998: 71). However, both the reoccupied hillforts in this corpus have evidence for occupation *outside* the ramparts, making the use of the enclosures for defensive measures unlikely in these cases; without further excavation in the interiors of these two hillforts it is unknown whether any buildings or other settlement features were located inside them.

It may seem an obvious conclusion that linear features were reused in ways which resembled their original functions, since their preserved remains in the landscape may well have still been effective at enclosing or demarcating space. However, it is worth taking into consideration the settlement at Briar Hill, where four SFBs were located over the eastern side of a Neolithic causewayed enclosure. These buildings were not near an entrance and they were not enclosed by the monument (Bamford 1985). Instead, they were positioned next to the banks on one side of the enclosure, with some of the buildings aligned on those banks and one perhaps directly on top of an earthwork. Their positions appear to have been influenced by the presence of the monument but it was not, as far as it is possible to tell, reused as an enclosure.

Although Briar Hill does appear to be an exception, in many cases the reappropriation of enclosures, field systems, ditches and banks had a functional purpose. This does not mean, however, that the age of the features was unimportant; it is still possible that the pre-existence of the enclosures gave them added significance or usefulness. Beliefs about the origins of the enclosures and field systems could have incorporated myths about supernatural builders, as intimated by the connections between ditches and *Grīm* or Odin in Old English place-names (see Chapter 4). Moreover, the perceived age and significance of an enclosure might have been used to emphasise the importance of the buildings inside it, or the activities that took place within it. A similar combination of practical use and ideological meaning has been noted at the sixth- to seventh-century barrow cemetery of Sutton Hoo (Suffolk) (Hummler 2005: 457). Here, the barrows had been positioned along the ditches and at the corners of an Iron Age field system, which

Hummler envisaged as being visible still in the form of low banks, hedges and lynchets. However there were no signs of above-ground features under the barrows, and the ditches had been filled in, so Hummler suggested that the barrow-builders levelled the site just before they built the barrows, but still used these features to orient the earthworks. She pointed out that this prehistoric landscape, although old, was not funerary, monumental or even very dramatic, yet it was still chosen as a suitable place for a seventh-century high-status burial ground. She suggested that this activity incorporated functional reuse, as well as beliefs about the origins of the pre-existing field system, and that 'perhaps practical and spiritual considerations were not that far apart in the barrow builders' minds' (Hummler 2005: 457).

The situation appears to have been different where the reuse of barrows was concerned. Their appropriation in settlements bore little resemblance to their original functions as funerary monuments, except in the few instances in which burials were inserted into barrows within settlements (at Barrow Hills and West Halton, for instance; see Chapter 5). There may have been fewer opportunities for reusing barrows in functional ways, as they did not have the practical uses possessed by linear features. Nonetheless, it is not unfeasible for a barrow to have had a practical use; they could have provided shelter from a prevailing wind, for example, or they could have been used as viewpoints. However, these uses are not particularly convincing. At Barrow Hills, for example, the prevailing wind was from the south-west (Chambers and McAdam 2007: 307), but buildings were positioned in such a way that the barrows would not have provided shelter, especially in the case of those buildings directly on top of the monuments. Meanwhile, the presence of buildings around barrows in many settlements would have hindered their usefulness as viewpoints. Further, the construction of SFBs on top of mounds would hardly have been necessary for their use as viewing platforms; indeed, it is possible that these buildings would also have been an impediment to viewing the surrounding area and, given that we know little about the positioning of windows

and doorways in SFBs (Tipper 2004), it is possible that these structures provided few opportunities for looking out.

We must, therefore, look for alternative explanations for the buildings situated on top of barrows, as well as those buildings constructed around them. Perhaps the desire to appropriate these earthworks stemmed from beliefs about their origins and characteristics; their significance may have been ideological, rather than functional. Therefore, it is possible that many of the beliefs relating to barrows postulated by Williams (1997; 1998; 2006) and Semple (1998; 2003a) in the context of burial reuse, such as their roles as liminal places and as the perceived homes of ancestors and supernatural creatures, were also in play within settlements; this possibility will be explored in more detail later in this chapter. Another possibility is that the positioning of buildings on or near barrows might have served to enhance their visibility within the settlement, and perhaps emphasised their importance; this possibility will also be considered in more detail below.

The evidence discussed in this section suggests that there *were* differences in the ways in which different forms of monument were reused, and that Anglo-Saxon communities were making real distinctions between monuments with different forms. Indeed, the place-name and charter evidence discussed earlier in the thesis demonstrates that people did identify monuments of different types, particularly barrows, and described them according to their shape and appearance (see Chapter 4). The distinction between the uses of linear features and barrows is emphasised to an even greater extent when we consider that many linear features in the corpus appear to have been preserved as raised earthworks in the form of banks. Thus, the trend for inserting SFBs into barrows could, potentially, have been replicated through the construction of buildings on top of banks, but it was not. An exception is the site of Briar Hill, mentioned above, where an SFB may have been inserted into part of a bank around a Neolithic causewayed enclosure (Bamford 1985). Interestingly, in this case the banks around the monument were intermittent and they only surrounded part of the ditched enclosure. It is possible that, by the Anglo-

Saxon period, the monument no longer resembled an enclosure, and that the reused section of bank actually bore more of a resemblance to the remains of a barrow.

In spite of these apparent differences between monuments of different types, one characteristic they may all have had in common is that people believed that they were 'alien' or old, belonging to a society different from their own. Williams (1997: 14) has suggested that monuments may have been built into a conceptual framework as 'ancient' places, built before living memory. There may well have been a lack of distinction between different periods and cultures, and monuments would certainly not have been distinguished as Neolithic or Bronze Age features, as they are now. Thus, although monuments were not necessarily classed as belonging to particular societies or periods in history, they may have been perceived as belonging to 'the past' in very general terms. Anglo-Saxon England, like much of early medieval Europe, was preoccupied by precedent (Hunter 1974: 49). As such, it may not have mattered whether monuments were built at different times or by different societies; the very fact that they pre-existed and were 'old' may have been enough to imbue them with importance (this resembles the argument made in Chapter 4 for the production of genealogies, in which 'the past' as a general concept seems to have been more important than its constituent parts). Nevertheless, the distinctions that seem to have been made between linear features, which ran through and divided the landscape, and barrows, which formed discrete 'lumps and bumps' in the landscape, could contributed to some differences in beliefs about the original uses and characteristics of these monuments, and earthworks may have conveyed different messages depending on their form. The remainder of this chapter will now explore what these beliefs and meanings might have been.

The Ideological Significance of Monument Reuse

Throughout this thesis there have been frequent references to the theories used to explain monument reuse in the burial record, such as those put forward by Howard

Williams, which were discussed in detail earlier in the thesis (see Chapter 3). These theories propose that monuments were imbued with ritual and religious significance when they were reused in funerary rites. For example, drawing on burial evidence, Semple (1998; 2003a) has suggested that the Christian 'demonization' of monument reuse occurred from the seventh century onwards because monument reuse was an important aspect of pagan belief systems in early Anglo-Saxon England. Similar interpretations have been applied to the appropriation of prehistoric monuments at early medieval royal sites in Ireland, where it was believed that mounds were openings to the spirit world, making them attractive sources of mythological and supernatural legitimacy (Driscoll 1998: 143-7). This part of the chapter will now address whether there may have been similar beliefs about monuments when they were reused in settlements, and what this might tell us about the role of monuments in pre-Christian belief systems.

SFBs on Barrows: Mortuary Structures?

When comparing the meanings of monument reuse in burial and settlement contexts, one form of evidence which is potentially very useful is the link between SFBs and barrows. This is because, firstly, the construction of SFBs on barrows demonstrates that extremely close spatial relationships did exist between Anglo-Saxon buildings and prehistoric monuments. Secondly, this form of appropriation in settlements most strongly resembles the reuse of monuments for burial, thereby providing the clearest parallels between funerary and settlement reuse practices. However, as previously noted, there are difficulties associated with determining the uses of SFBs (see Chapter 1); determining the reasons for the positioning of particular buildings on barrows is, therefore, potentially problematic.

Nevertheless, there are some indications from the available evidence that these particular structures may have had a role to play in Anglo-Saxon funerary rites. Firstly, the frequent reuse of monuments as the foci for burial activity demonstrates that, at least in some cases, they were closely linked to death and funerary rites in the early to middle Anglo-Saxon period. In addition to being used for burial,

Williams (1998: 99) has suggested that monuments in cemeteries might also have served as stages for ritual performances associated with burial, such as the laying out of the dead. Secondly, there are indications that SFBs were also associated with endings and death. For instance, Hamerow (2006) has shown that placed deposits in SFBs were frequently termination or 'closure' deposits, which marked the end of a building's life. Tipper (2004: 151), too, has linked the deposition of animal remains in SFBs to the 'death' of buildings.

Furthermore, there is some evidence to suggest that the dismantling and termination of the life of an SFB was a prescribed, perhaps ritual, procedure. At Barrow Hills the inward-sloping angle of gable postholes in at least nine SFBs, and the outward slope of two further SFBs, led to the suggestion that they had been deliberately removed when the buildings ceased to be used (Chambers and McAdam 2007: 75). Irregular and enlarged gable postholes can also suggest that SFBs were systematically dismantled and that posts had been forcibly removed (Tipper 2004: 71). For example, the western posthole of AS48 at Catholme was much larger than the eastern one; although it was suggested that it might have held a door jamb, another possibility is that the post was rocked free and removed at the end of the building's life (Losco-Bradley and Kinsley 2002: 74; Tipper 2004: 71). At other settlements for which sufficient information about the relationship between pit fills and posthole fills is available it was also apparent that posts had been deliberately removed. In the majority of SFBs at Barrow Hills for which the relationship between the SFB fill and the posthole fills could be determined, the pit fill extended over the postholes, indicating that the posts had been removed before the deposition of the pit fill, as opposed to decaying *in situ* (Chambers and Madam 2007: 75-6). Similarly, sections through the SFBs at Pennyland showed that in the majority of cases the same material filled both the pits and the postholes or, in a few cases, that the pit fill overlay the posthole fills (Williams 1993: 56-71). Both circumstances indicate that the posts had not decayed *in situ*. Moving outside the study area, the SFBs at the extensively excavated settlement of West Stow displayed a similar phenomenon; in the majority of cases the fills of the postholes

were same as the rest of the fill in the building, or the fill of the pit overlay the postholes (West 1985). It is possible that the dismantling and 'termination' of a building was a structured and methodical activity, and its potential ritual significance is attested to by the insertion of placed termination deposits in SFB fills, the burial of which may have been another step in the process of disassembling the building. Moreover, the very contents of these termination deposits are also resonant of death and termination, as they often included the remains of animals and humans (Hamerow 2006). Indeed, even the burial of an artefact, such as a brooch or pot, as a termination deposit would have taken the item out of circulation and ended its useful life within the community, in a very similar way to burying an object in a grave. It appears, therefore, that the 'death' of an SFB was, in some circumstances, an ideologically important event for Anglo-Saxon communities.

The use of structures during Anglo-Saxon burial rites is supported by the evidence from a number of early and middle Anglo-Saxon cemeteries; many of these sites do not fall into the geographical remit of this study, but they are useful comparanda nonetheless. Williams (2000) has discussed the evidence for structures from a number of cemeteries dating from the period c.450-600. As his study focused on cremation cemeteries many of the buildings he noted were associated with cremations (see fig. 7.1) At Baston (Lincs), a number of postholes have been identified within the cemetery (Mayes and Dean 1976). Williams (2000: 226) suggested that they formed two parallel lines demarcating three irregular sides of an open square, while a narrow slot also formed part of the alignment. There was a similar feature at Westgarth Gardens in Bury St Edmunds (Suf) in association with a cremation grave, while at Portway, Andover (Hants) there were two parallel slots in the cemetery, with a cremation burial laying immediately west of the southern slot (Cook and Dacre 1985; West 1988; Williams 2000: 226-7). Also at Portway were a number of undated postholes; some formed a line through the cemetery, while others were isolated or arranged in pairs and may have held standing posts (Cook and Dacre 1985; Williams 2000: 227).

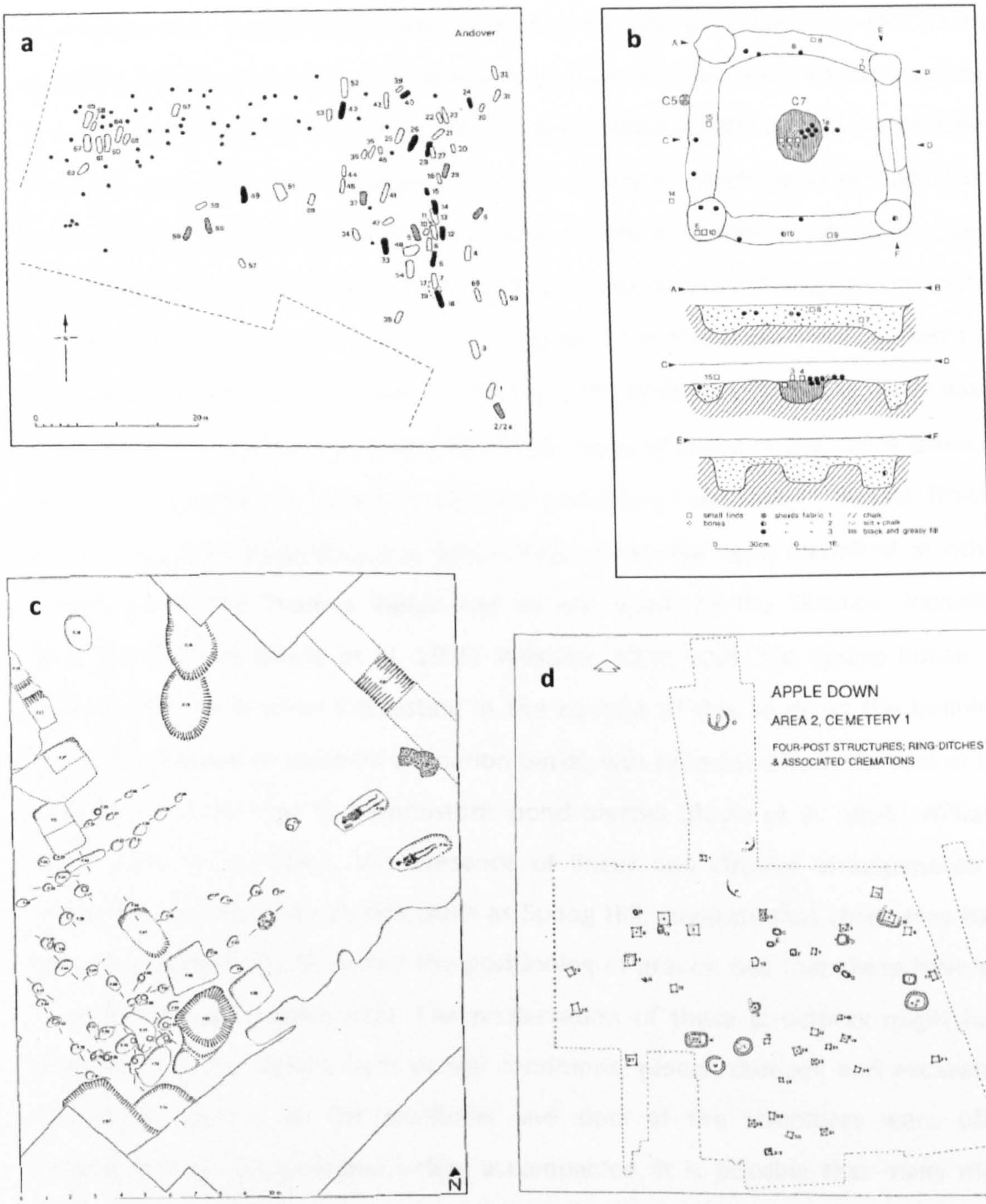


Fig. 7.1 Grave structures from early medieval cemeteries. The mixed rite cemetery at Portway, Andover (a) (from Williams 2000: 411, fig. 5.7); a four-post gully structure from Alton (b) (from Williams 2000: 421, fig. 6.8); graves and postholes at Baston (c) (from Williams 2000: 415, fig. 6.2); and four-post structures and ring ditches associated with early Anglo-Saxon burials at Apple Down (d) (from Williams 2000: 420, fig. 6.7).

Meanwhile, the unpublished plans from the cemetery at Loveden Hill (Lincs) revealed the presence of a sub-circular arrangement of stone slabs, which may have been the post pads for some form of structure (Williams 2000: 226). In addition, there were lines of slabs associated with some burials, which could perhaps have represented the foundations of rectangular structures. Similarly, at Apple Down (Sus) at least four sets of apparent 'fence-lines' were noted, although the distances between the posts were variable and it appears that some were too far apart to have been part of a fence (Down and Welch 1990; Williams 2000: 227). Their dates were uncertain, but they may have had some form of funerary use, since three of the four were close to timber structures containing cremations. Similar timber 'grave houses' to those found at Apple Down have also been identified at other cemeteries in the Thames Valley and to the south of the Thames, including Berinsfield (Oxon) (Boyle et al. 1995; Williams 2000: 228). The 'grave house' at Berinsfield is particularly interesting in the context of this study as the building, which surrounded an unurned cremation burial, was separated from the rest of the cemetery and lay next to a prehistoric pond barrow (Boyle et al. 1995; Williams 2000: 236). Furthermore, the presence of linear and circular arrangements of cremations at other cemeteries, such as Spong Hill, suggests that there may have been structures that influenced the positioning of graves, but that these have not survived (Williams 2000: 228). The preservation of these structures might have been affected by factors such as soil conditions, plough damage and excavation conditions; indeed, as the postholes and slots of the structures were often shallower than the cremations they accompanied, it is possible that many more have been ploughed away, leaving no trace (Williams 2000: 228-30).

Another particularly interesting and relevant example of a building within a cemetery comes from the recently-excavated seventh-century cemetery at Street House near Saltburn (N Yorks) (Sherlock 2008). Most of the 109 graves at this site formed an irregular square 'enclosure', measuring 36m by 34m, with entrances in the southern side and in the north-east corner (Sherlock 2008: 34) (see fig. 7.2). The cemetery appears to have been carefully planned, as no grave overlapped another

and many were very regularly spaced. Preserved in the middle of the 'enclosure' was the ring ditch of an Anglo-Saxon mound covering an inhumation, with a number of other graves clustered around it including a high-status bed burial (Sherlock 2008: 32). The cemetery was on the site of an Iron Age settlement and a number of burials in the north-west corner of the enclosure were within an Iron Age roundhouse (Sherlock 2008: 31-2). Some 8m to the south of the burial mound was an SFB, measuring approximately 3m by 2m, which the excavators believed was associated with the cemetery rites (Sherlock 2008: 31-2). Additionally, there were a number of postholes between the mound and the SFB, possibly forming a structure or fence, although some may have held grave markers.

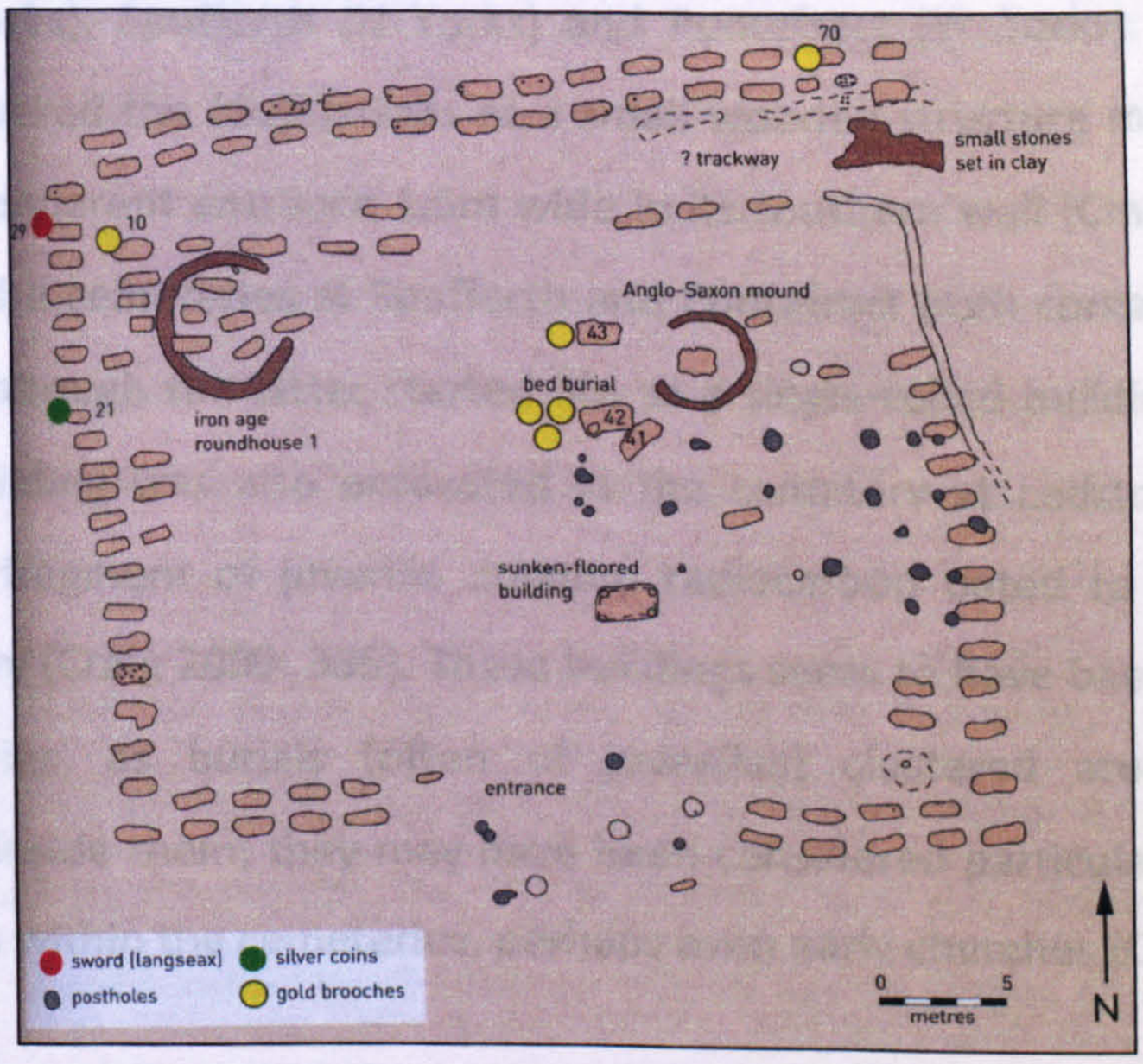


Fig. 7.2 The seventh-century cemetery at Street House (N Yorks). An SFB and the postholes of a possible fence or post-built structure (marked in grey) lay to the south of an Anglo-Saxon burial mound (from Sherlock 2008: 31).

There are several interesting parallels between Street House and the settlements identified in this thesis with SFBs close to or on top of mounds. The first is that the graves within the roundhouse exhibited monument reuse, and the second is that there was an SFB just a few metres from a barrow, albeit an Anglo-Saxon one. The exact chronological relationship between the graves and the building is unknown, as the site is still undergoing analysis. However, the fact that the cemetery appears to

have been planned, and the grave goods indicate a fairly short period of use from c. 650 to 700 (Sherlock 2008: 37), suggests that the building would have been constructed in the knowledge that this was a contemporary mound, rather than an ancient one. Nevertheless, the site provides intriguing links between funerary practices and buildings near to mounds, which may indicate that the construction of buildings near to mounds in both cemeteries and settlements had similar impetuses, perhaps as part of the mortuary ritual.

Elizabeth Craig (2009) has recently considered the structural evidence from several other cemeteries in middle and late Anglo-Saxon northern England, including Thwing (E Yorks), Spofforth (N Yorks) and Pontefract (W Yorks). Excavations at Thwing uncovered the foundations of a small wooden structure measuring 3m by 4m, with an apparent entrance 1.5m wide in its southern wall (Craig 2009: 382-3). Meanwhile, the cemeteries at Spofforth and Pontefract both contained two-celled structures (although the latter started life as a single-celled building) (Craig 2009: 384-5). A building was also excavated in the cemetery at Ledston (W Yorks); it contained a fragment of juvenile cranium radiocarbon dated to the seventh to eighth century (Craig 2009: 386). These buildings seem to have been focal points in the cemeteries, as burials (often of juveniles) clustered around them and occasionally inside them; they may have been considered particularly important or sacred places within the cemeteries, perhaps even early churches (Craig 2009: 386).

At Wells (Som) a fourth- to fifth-century mausoleum containing a late Roman burial was thought to have been demolished in the tenth century, on the basis of a silver penny dating to 941-44 in its infill, and it seems to have stood throughout the early to middle Anglo-Saxon period (Rodwell 2001: xvii, 78). A cemetery had developed to the west and north of the building during the seventh century, and the structure seems to have been used for storing human remains for several centuries, since charnel recovered from it yielded radiocarbon dates from the sixth to tenth centuries (Rodwell 2001: 78-9). Also of interest are two buildings, constructed in the seventh to eighth centuries, belonging to the early church of St Wystan at Repton

(Derbys). The earliest church appears to have been built c.600, and not long after a semi-subterranean, two-roomed structure was constructed c.60m to the west on the same alignment; bones stacked in the eastern room suggest that this was a mausoleum (Biddle and Kjølbye-Biddle 2001: 50). Several kings of Mercia were buried at Repton, including Merewahl, who may have been interred at Repton in the later seventh century, perhaps in the mausoleum (Biddle and Kjølbye-Biddle 2001: 50). Elsewhere at Repton a crypt beneath the chancel of the modern church appears to have begun life as a baptistry, sunk 1.2m into the ground and drained by a stone channel, which had been built by c.740 at the latest. This was subsequently converted into a mausoleum to hold the body of King Æthelbald, who died c.757, as well as other, ninth-century, Mercian kings including Wiglaf, who ruled between 827 and 840 (Biddle and Kjølbye-Biddle 2001: 50). A similar structure is known, from Anglo-Saxon documents and later antiquarian records, to have existed at Winchcombe (Glos), an important Mercian royal centre (Bassett 1985: 82). Here, a free-standing structure is thought to have existed from the early ninth century, when King Cœnwulf's son Cynhelm was interred in the building (Bassett 1985: 85).

In his study, Williams (2000) speculated about the functions of the cemetery structures he had identified, concentrating specifically to their uses as part of the early Anglo-Saxon cremation rite. He suggested that the buildings surrounding burials of cremated remains at places such as Apple Down and Berinsfield are unlikely to have been part of the cremation rite since there was no burnt material in the postholes or slots (Williams 2000: 229). It is possible that these structures were used as tombs for displaying or storing cremated remains and urns, while the postholes in cemeteries such as Baston and Portway could have held 'memorial posts' (Williams 2000: 226). Another suggestion was that remains were placed on the structures as an alternative to burial, or that the structures displayed items recovered from the funeral pyre, or brought by the mourners (Williams 2000: 228).

Craig (2009) noted that the functions of the buildings in the middle and late Anglo-Saxon cemeteries that she studied were also enigmatic. There are few clear indications for their exact uses, and there is little coherence in the terminology applied to them. Two-celled buildings are often interpreted as early churches, primarily because they often correspond in date with the increasing instances of church-building in England from the seventh century (Morris 1983: 35-8; Craig 2009: 396). Meanwhile, single-celled structures are generally termed 'burial chapels' or 'mortuary chapels', whether they contained burials or not (Craig 2009: 396). The use of these structures for storing human remains has been hinted at in some cases, at Ledston for example, but Craig (2009: 396-7) has suggested that buildings which yield no human remains, or any other clues about their functions, may have been used for housing holy objects, reliquaries or charnel, which are not discovered archaeologically because they were important enough to be removed and transported somewhere else once a cemetery fell out of use.

When envisaging the ways in which buildings might have been used in Anglo-Saxon funerary rites, anthropological studies of non-western societies may be of some assistance, since they reveal a variety of ways in which structures, both in settlements and cemeteries, might be used in burial practices. For example, the Ma'anyan of Borneo store the ashes of their dead in containers on large raised platforms in cemeteries; these often also contain relics from former festivals (Huntingdon and Metcalf 1979: 82). This is reminiscent of Williams's (2000) suggestions for the structures at cemeteries such as Apple Down. Similarly, in Bali the cadavers of priests and very prestigious individuals are not buried, but are instead retained within domestic compounds on special platforms (Huntingdon and Metcalf 1979: 85). Is it possible, perhaps, that the unexplained postholes found in cemeteries, such as those at Street House and Baston, represent similar structures? Could it also have been the case that the masses of postholes which cannot be reconstructed as building footprints found on some settlements, such as Barrow Hills, also represent more ephemeral structures such as platforms, which could have played a role in funerary activities?

There are many ethnographic examples of communities storing their dead in or near settlements prior to burial, either in houses or specially-constructed huts; these can facilitate the visualisation of how mortuary structures in Anglo-Saxon settlements could have been used and the types of funerary activities that might have taken place in them. For instance, the Toradja of central Sulawesi in Indonesia store corpses after death in a rough hut built slightly away from the village (Huntingdon and Metcalf 1979: 83-5). Similarly, the Mambai of Timor remove the corpse from its house immediately after death and take it to the cult house of its descent group, where it is laid out on a mat and dressed in ritually appropriate clothes (Huntingdon and Metcalf 1979: 89-90). The body remains there for several days while all the deceased's close family are summoned; when they can no longer tolerate the smell the body is rolled in its mat and buried in the centre of the village. After the death of a member of the Bara community of Madagascar, a 'female' and a 'male' mortuary house are selected from the structures already standing in a settlement (Huntingdon and Metcalf 1979: 102-3). The corpse rests in the female house for three days, during which time the women keep vigil, while in the male house the men of the deceased's family receive male visitors and organise the funeral. The Phayeng of Manipur in India also place dead bodies inside temporary huts, which are specially constructed in one corner of the domestic courtyard (ManiBabu 1994: 157). When the body of a member of the Phayeng community is transported to its hut, it is carried clockwise around the outside of the hut three times, and kept there until a cremation pyre has been built; when it is time for it to be cremated, the corpse is placed in its coffin inside the hut (ManiBabu 1994: 158-60). The prescribed circling of the hut is of particular note here; the barrows on which the SFBs sat at settlements such as Manor Farm and Barrow Hills would have been suitable features for similar circumnavigation and processional activities.

Amongst the Berawan of central northern Borneo the body of the deceased is displayed in the settlement on a specially built seat for a day or two until all the close family have viewed it, then it is inserted into a coffin or large jar, which is kept in the family longhouse or on a simple wooden platform in the graveyard

(Huntingdon and Metcalf 1979: 68). Some time later the coffin or jar is brought out of storage and moved to a small shed built into the longhouse veranda. The bones are then transferred to a final resting place; this is sometimes a large carved post with a niche for a jar to sit in, while on other occasions the bones are placed in a large decorated wooden mausoleum, which may house up to forty coffins. These mausoleums are often elaborately carved or painted; they are located in graveyards, which are adjacent to domestic longhouses, and they consist of a chamber, which might be some 2m to 6m above the ground on several posts, or on the ground, or even underground (Huntingdon and Metcalf 1979: 135-7). The close relationship between death and domestic activity was also noted by Rivers (1906) in his study of the Todas of southern India in the early twentieth century. Dairying was a particularly important activity, in economic, social and religious terms, and there were strict rules about who could milk buffalo and produce dairy products (these activities were always undertaken by men), and the rituals and prayers which accompanied each activity. On the death of a male member of the community, the body would be stored for several days in the outermost room of the village dairy, or in a specially-constructed hut which was also called a 'dairy' (*pali*) (Rivers 1906: 245). When women died their bodies were also placed in specially-constructed huts, known as 'houses' (*ars*); their huts were burned down immediately after use, while male huts were left standing and sometimes used again for further funerals if they had not fallen into disrepair (Rivers 1906: 340).

Of course, these anthropological examples are vastly removed, both temporally and geographically, from the Anglo-Saxon world. Nonetheless, they provide insights into the ways in which buildings, particularly those in settlements, might be incorporated into a number of different stages of the funerary process. For example, Ma'anyan funerary structures in cemeteries provide possible correlates for buildings in Anglo-Saxon cemeteries. The structures used by groups such as the Toradja, Phayeng and Berawan communities demonstrate how closely entwined death rituals can be with domestic life, with the preparation of the corpse for burial often taking place within settlements. In some cases these structures are temporary

and built specially for a funeral, but the use of dairies by the Todas, and the Bara use of existing structures as 'female' and 'male' mortuary houses, emphasise the 'multi-purpose' role that buildings in settlements can have. It is not unfeasible to suggest that the same may be true of buildings in Anglo-Saxon settlements, and that SFBs on or adjacent to barrows might have been linked to the funerary process, whether they were built specifically for that purpose or had other functions when they were not in use as mortuary structures. Similarly, we might also speculate about the functions of the unusual posthole features (PBS16 and PBS17) adjacent to the mound at Eye Kettleby and the hundreds of narrow postholes immediately north of the barrow at West Halton; were these temporary or ephemeral structures associated with funerary rites perhaps? The lack of human burials within the buildings on or near barrows suggests that they did not receive inhumations or cremated remains, as some of the buildings in the cemeteries discussed above did, but they may have played a role in the preparation and storage of bodies prior to burial or cremation.

The anthropological studies discussed above also raise some interesting questions about the physical appearance of structures attributed with a funerary function; is it possible that they were marked out in some way from surrounding structures? As is generally the case with Anglo-Saxon buildings, it is difficult to determine what the structures in Anglo-Saxon cemeteries might have looked like, given that there were a variety of building techniques available to the creators of Anglo-Saxon architecture and because footprints of buildings are often all that remain (Williams 2000: 229). Nonetheless, the possible reconstructions of the structures from the Apple Down cemetery provide some clues as to the appearance of these buildings (Down and Welch 1990) (see fig. 7.3). Although the Apple Down reconstructions are plain and undecorated, this need not have been the case. The mausoleums used by the Berawan demonstrate that a modest footprint of a few postholes can be topped by an elaborately carved and painted funerary chamber (Huntingdon and Metcalf 1979: 135-7). The discovery of white plaster on a number of buildings at Yeavering

(Walker 2009: 293) and the preserved carved posts from an early medieval 'temple' at Gross Raden in Germany (Stupecki 2007: 376-7) also suggest that these structures had the potential to be more elaborate and decorative than their archaeological footprints suggest (see fig. 7.3).

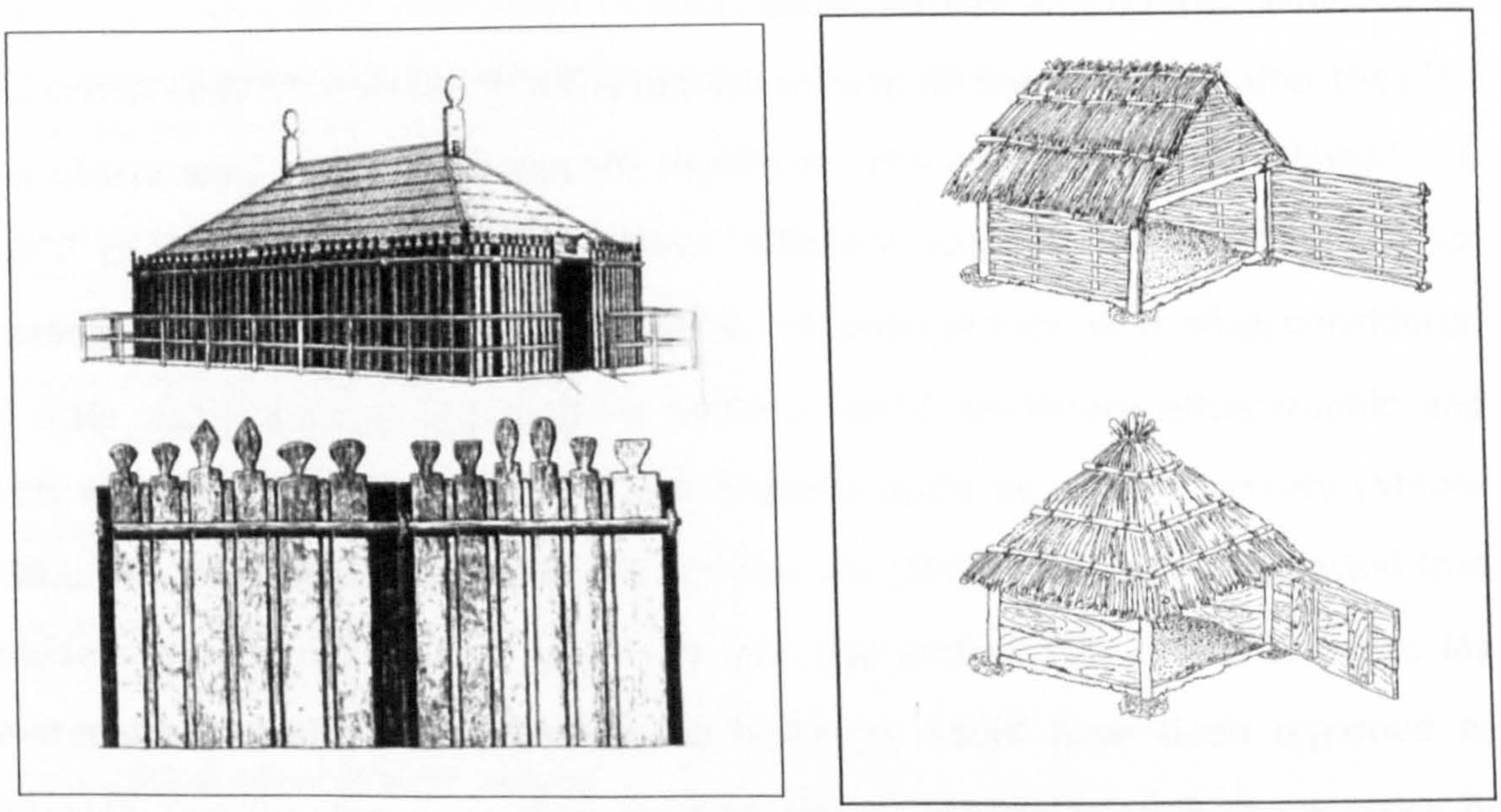


Fig. 7.3 A reconstruction of the pagan 'temple' at Gross Raden (Germany) (left) (from Stupecki 2007: 377, fig. 3) and possible reconstructions of the timber structures at the Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Apple Down (right) (from Williams 2000: 423, fig. 6.10).

An implication of the apparent connection between death and buildings on or near monuments is the possibility that this was part of wider set of beliefs about fertility and birth; the close link between death, birth and fertility is a phenomenon noted in many societies (Huntingdon and Metcalf 1979: 96). For example, although the Todas did not allow women to enter dairies except when a man's body was laid out in one, during pregnancy and immediately after giving birth women were confined to buildings some distance from their village; in common with men's funeral huts, these were built to resemble dairies and were also known as 'dairies' (Rivers 1906: 330). There was, therefore, a link between domestic buildings, funerary structures and buildings associated with birth amongst the Toda communities studied by Rivers. Similarly, the Bara of Madagascar perform bawdy, sexual songs and dances at funerals, while coffins are 'buried' by being inserted head-first into the small

opening of a cave, a practice which represents the 'birth' of the deceased into the world of the ancestors (Huntingdon and Metcalf 1979: 114-6).

There is some evidence which hints at the possibility that both monuments and SFBs *might* have been connected to ideas about fertility and rebirth. Where SFBs are concerned, it is possible that the rubbish used to fill the structures after they fell out of use was, in fact, ideologically significant. The classification of 'rubbish' is a social construct, which varies between different societies, while strategies for dealing with refuse also differ; although the disposal of rubbish is often considered of little significance in the modern western world, there are ethnographic and archaeological indications that rubbish disposal could be a ritual activity (Moore 1982; Hill 1995: 4). For example, Parker Pearson (1996: 125-7) has suggested that middens in late Bronze Age and early Iron Age settlements, some of which lay immediately outside the entrances to buildings, could have been regarded as valuable 'fertility stores', as they were so closely associated with the practice of manuring. Thus, the disposal of midden material can in itself be a meaningful activity, since it removes the possibility that the material could be used to grow crops and encourage agricultural fertility. Indeed, the lack of byres for holding animals in Anglo-Saxon England would have made the collection of animal dung for agricultural use difficult, and the use of domestic refuse as manure is likely to have been very important (Tipper 2004: 158). This may mean that decision to fill SFB pits with this material, rather than using it for growing crops, was significant. Furthermore, it is possible that the deposition of infant burials as 'placed deposits' in some SFBs may have served a similar purpose, representing fertility and new life, while the structured deposition of animal remains could also have represented sacrifices, or even animals that had suffered accidental deaths, whose deposition in particular buildings could have encouraged the health and reproduction of a flock or herd (Sayer 2003: 106).

Moreover, it has been suggested that one of the potential uses of SFBs was as grain stores, since there is no evidence on Anglo-Saxon settlement sites for airtight grain

storage pits, or for the four-, six- or nine-post raised grain storage structures found on the continent at this time (Tipper 2004: 164). The raised floors of SFBs would also have allowed air to circulate around the building, and may have discouraged attack from burrowing rodents as well. If so, the tending and maintenance of these buildings may have required considerable effort; as the preservers of a community's food, and therefore its future wellbeing and continued success, they may have been particularly important places within settlements. Therefore, there is evidence, albeit equivocal, to suggest that SFBs in general may have been tied into beliefs about fertility and the lifecycle even when they did not contain items that can be classed as placed or structured deposits; the very act of filling them with midden material may in itself have been meaningful.

In the case of ancient monuments, it is possible that they too were significant in conceptions of lifecycles and the afterlife. Williams (1997; 1998) has proposed that, if ancient earthworks were believed to be the homes of ancestors, the dead or supernatural beings, they may have been timeless places, perceived as existing in both the past and the present, while Semple (2003a) has made similar claims (see Chapter 3). If this *was* the case, monuments may have been connected to beliefs about the afterlife, and perhaps rebirth or continued existence after death, at least for some Anglo-Saxon communities. Their longevity, and the fact that they belonged to a time before living memory, could have made them timeless places, or at least places with a *different* form of time from that of everyday life. Monuments may have, therefore, not only contained the dead in literal terms, it is also possible that they were thought of as containing their 'afterlife' incarnations. Thus, it is also possible to suggest that SFBs, when they were located on or near barrows, were also tied into beliefs about life, fertility and rebirth, as well as death; however, it is acknowledged that the evidence is rather ambiguous and the interpretations offered here are conjectural.

A further implication of the postulated use of SFBs on barrows as funerary structures is the possibility that the use of these buildings was in some way dictated

by gender. This is a very tentative assertion; in common with the suggestion that SFBs on mounds were linked to ideas about birth and fertility the evidence is rather limited, but it is a subject worthy of consideration. Geake (2003: 260-1) has observed that there were a large number of decisions that had to be made about burial rites when a person in Anglo-Saxon England died. There were decisions about whether to cremate or inhume them, which grave goods they were to be buried or burnt with, the positions of these grave goods in the grave or on the pyre, what sort of container to place the remains in, and where to finally lay the body or cremated remains to rest. A pre-requisite for making these decisions was the need to know exactly what they signalled, how to undertake them properly, and knowledge of what was appropriate for each person.

Geake (2003: 262) has suggested, therefore, that there may well have been ritual specialists in early Anglo-Saxon England who made these decisions. She has postulated that the burials of so-called 'cunning women', identified by Audrey Meaney (1981: 249-62) and Tania Dickinson (1993: 45, 53), may be those of ritual specialists. These female inhumations are enigmatic and they marked out by the fact that they do not resemble the rest of the burial population in their cemeteries. Their graves contain unusual objects, placed in unusual positions and combinations, in particular 'scrap' items such as the scraps of textiles and iron and bronze artefacts in the 'cunning woman' grave (27) at Wheatley (Oxon) (Meaney 1981: 32-4; Geake 2003: 263). Both Meaney and Dickinson have both suggested that these women were ritual specialists, healers or fortune tellers, and the fact that they did not receive a 'normal' burial suggested to Geake (2003: 264) that they might have been the controllers or managers of funerary practices.

In support of her argument Geake (2003: 264) cites an ethnographic example from modern rural Greece, where women, particularly older women, are often in charge of burial practices. To this we might add a number of other ethnographic examples; for example, amongst the Bara of Madagascar women are responsible for the important task of laying out and preparing a body in the 'female' house

(Huntingdon and Metcalf 1979: 103). Meanwhile, amongst the Ma'anyan of Borneo ritual specialists, who are always women, are believed to guide the soul on its journey to the land of the dead using long ritual chants (Huntingdon and Metcalf 1979: 82). Geake (2003: 165) also cited the observations of the Arab traveller Ibn Fadlan, who soon after AD 920 recorded witnessing the burial of a Rus chief; the funerary rites were presided over by a woman and her daughters. While Geake (2003: 267) admits that the evidence for the control of burial by female ritual specialists is not vast, Craig (2009: 413) has pointed out this is a very worthy avenue of research; the evidence for consistency in burial practices both within and between cemeteries certainly seems to suggest that *someone* directed and managed Anglo-Saxon funerary rites, and the unusual burials of 'cunning women' are possible candidates for this role.

Similarly, in the context of later medieval England Roberta Gilchrist (2008: 152) has suggested that the role of women as 'care-givers' in life extended to death as well. Their family roles and their use of charms and sympathetic magic in this period gave women access to the corpse, as well as access to the magical materials that were buried with the dead such as herbs and ash. Gilchrist's study of the apotropeic uses of certain grave goods in medieval England revealed an over-representation of children buried with these items; she suggested that mothers and grandmothers may have used charms to protect these vulnerable members of society after death (Gilchrist 2008: 152). There are interesting links here with the high frequency of child burials, particularly infants, in SFBs; is it possible that their over-representation in Anglo-Saxon domestic contexts is also indicative of female influence over burial rites?

When considering the potential influence of gender on funerary activities and monument reuse in settlements it could be argued that the evidence is relatively sparse. Nonetheless, this is an interesting avenue of enquiry. If Geake is correct when she suggests that 'cunning women' were responsible for managing mortuary practices in early Anglo-Saxon England, and if it is also true that they were healers

or ritual specialists as suggested by Meaney (1981), we might suggest that they were also responsible for dictating which prehistoric monuments were reused in cemeteries and settlements, and when. We might also find that they were responsible for aspects of the funerary ritual which took place in settlements, such as laying out, washing and dressing the corpse, and perhaps keeping vigil by it. Therefore, if buildings situated on, or near, monuments in settlements *were* tied into the funerary process, then it is also a possibility that women were exerting influence on the reuse of monuments in these contexts.

In sum, it is possible that the SFBs found on barrows, and perhaps also other buildings adjacent to monuments in settlements, were linked to funerary rites as there is evidence to suggest that both monuments and SFBs could be connected to death and endings, whether literal or symbolic. When both SFBs *and* monuments are found in such close proximity, this raises the possibility that they were used as part of activities and ceremonies associated with death. The anthropological evidence discussed here has helped to shed light on ways in which structures might be used as part of burial practices, and particularly how aspects death and burial could be intimately tied to settlements, not just cemeteries. It is not unfeasible, therefore, that some of the activities surrounding death and burial took place in Anglo-Saxon settlements. Interestingly, although buildings have been found on barrows at a fairly small number of sites in the corpus, the destruction of monuments through ploughing in the medieval, post-medieval and modern periods, as noted by Jones (1998) for example (see Chapter 5), could have removed traces of similar structures at other sites, especially when the tops of features have been destroyed. If so, the positioning of SFBs on top of ancient earthworks could, in fact, have been more frequent and widespread than the archaeological evidence suggests.

Monuments in Christian Ideology: St Guthlac's Mound

The preceding discussion of buildings on monuments primarily focused on archaeological evidence from the early Anglo-Saxon, pre-Christian, period. However, the review of the Anglo-Saxon documentary evidence earlier in this thesis (see Chapter 4) drew attention to the mid eighth-century source *The Life of St Guthlac*, which recounts the saint's search for an uninhabited dwelling-place in the late seventh or early eighth century and his subsequent decision to dwell 'in the side of a barrow which had been dug open, building a hut over it' (Chapter XXVIII; Colgrave 1956: 93). Tales from Guthlac's life are also found in two poems, *Guthlac A* and *Guthlac B*, but the description of his structure on the mound is most detailed in Felix's *Life* (Hall 2007). Felix's description of Guthlac's dwelling sounds remarkably like an SFB dug into a mound, as Hamerow (2002: 34) has observed. The findings of the present research have revealed that the saint's dwelling and its position on an earlier mound were *not* unique or unusual. In light of this it is possible to suggest that the dwelling Felix described was, indeed, an SFB. The practice of constructing buildings on prehistoric earthworks had existed from the fifth or sixth century, and it took place on ordinary settlement sites; it was, therefore, an established tradition by the time Guthlac was supposedly building his dwelling.

Interestingly, Guthlac was also buried in his building on the mound, although he was disinterred some time later and reburied (Chapter LI; Colgrave 1956: 161). This not only provides parallels for the insertion of human burials into SFBs in Anglo-Saxon settlements, it also provides further evidence for the mortuary use of buildings on mounds and their links with death. In Guthlac's case the structure had previously been used as a dwelling, and it is possible that this was also true of the buildings situated on barrows discussed above. His disinterment and reburial elsewhere is equally interesting; could this explain why none of the archaeological examples of SFBs on mounds contained graves? Even if not, it may provide an explanation for the fragments of human bone that are sometimes found in the fills of SFB, to which Hamerow (2006) and Tipper (2004: 152-3) have drawn attention; these may have

been deliberately or accidentally left behind when burials were removed and reburied.

Semple (1998: 112-3, 121) interpreted Guthlac's choice of dwelling-place as an attempt by the Church to demonise the practice of monument reuse in middle Anglo-Saxon England (see Chapter 4). It does seem that, by the late seventh and early eighth century, the practice of reusing monuments in settlements had waned in comparison with the fifth to earlier seventh centuries (although it is possible that this apparent pattern is partly due to the difficulties associated with dating many Anglo-Saxon settlements; see Chapter 5). Nonetheless, in the ninth century there were still settlements which were appropriating monuments, including Catholme and Wolverton Turn Enclosure. Outside the study area, there were also settlements reusing monuments at this time, including the high-status settlement at Paddock Hill, Thwing (E Yorks) (Manby 1986: 3-6; 1988: 16-18). The Church might, therefore, still have had cause to dissuade people from reusing ancient monuments in their settlements. Yet the settlement at Eynsham Abbey had been transformed into an ecclesiastical site by the early eighth century, and it was still apparently reusing a Bronze Age enclosure, while nearby the ecclesiastical sites of Abingdon and Bampton (both Oxon) reused an Iron Age valley-fort and Bronze Age barrow respectively (Hardy et al. 2003: 7). Similarly, Anglo-Saxon minsters at Breedon-on-the-Hill (Leics) and Aylesbury (Bucks) were reusing Iron Age hillforts at this time (Blair 1992: 234).

Determining the motivation for Guthlac's reuse of a mound as his dwelling is, therefore, complex. While it could be argued that his decision to live in a building on a mound 'demonised' a pre-existing tradition which the Church wanted to be rid of, the continued reuse of monuments for ecclesiastical sites, as well as high-status and more ordinary settlements, presents a contrasting picture. It was noted in Chapter 4 that the demons who visit and taunt Guthlac on his mound do not emerge from within the earthwork; instead they fly in from the fens and fly away again (Chapters 29 to 34; Colgrave 1956: 95-111) . The fact that the saint manages to free himself

and the mound of the demons also seems rather contradictory; if the intention of the Church was to instil in the general population a fear of burial mounds, it would arguably have been more effective if the barrow remained a haunted, evil and uninhabitable place.

Perhaps the most fitting explanation for Guthlac's choice of dwelling-place stems from the hagiographic accounts of early saints, such as Anthony and Bartholomew, who inhabited an ancient tomb and an old urn respectively (Meaney 2003: 231; Semple 2003a: 251; Hall 2007: 213). If Guthlac, or at least his biographer, was inspired by the actions of these early saints, he may have sought an appropriate alternative which reflected his own surroundings. Thus, the deserts of Egypt were translated into the fens of eastern England, while the tomb of Saint Anthony and the giant urn of Saint Bartholomew were replaced by a prehistoric barrow. In this way, Guthlac made use of an indigenous and pre-existing tradition, with which many members of contemporary society may have been familiar; it was not, therefore, out of the ordinary. It is possible that, as a result, Guthlac's barrow, and perhaps barrows more generally, were transformed from having pagan ideological significance to Christian significance. Rather than being explicitly or aggressively 'demonised', the story of Guthlac may have served to draw pre-existing earthworks into a Christian milieu. Instead of forcefully encouraging the population to see monuments as fearful or evil places, Guthlac's story may have encouraged them to view barrows and other features as related to Christianity, and perhaps as Christian sacred places. This might then explain why it was still acceptable to reuse monuments on ecclesiastical and high-status settlements. If monument reuse became an activity associated with those particular types of site it would have been under greater control by the Church and newly-Christian elites, and it may have become less desirable or appropriate for the rest of the population living in lower-status or secular settlements.

Monuments as Ritual Foci

The first part of this discussion about the ideological significance of monument reuse in settlements has focused on very specific aspects of earthwork appropriation. The remainder of this section will now consider whether ancient earthworks in settlements more generally were of similar significance, even when the spatial relationships between buildings and monuments were less structured or less obvious than in the examples discussed above. When attempting to answer this question it is unfortunate that we have such a poor understanding of the functions of particular structures within settlements. If we had greater knowledge about the uses of different buildings this might reveal whether there were links between buildings used for specific activities and their locations in relation to monuments. This problem has wider repercussions beyond the present study; the lack of finds from early medieval settlements, and their inability to reveal information about the functions of particular areas within settlements, also posed problems for Jenny Walker (2009: 259) in her study of hall buildings. As discussed previously in this thesis, it is often virtually impossible to determine the functions of structures; SFB fills do not necessarily yield information about their original uses (Tipper 2004: 102-3), while the floor surfaces of post-built structures have often been ploughed or eroded away (Marshall and Marshall 1991: 31). Given the fairly restricted range of building forms available to Anglo-Saxon communities, it seems likely that most buildings may well have looked similar but performed different functions, while it is also possible that a single building could have had multiple functions, either at one time or sequentially; as James, Millett and Marshall (1984: 201) have stated 'in an architectural repertoire where the variety of forms is so limited it is unlikely that any form was used for one purpose alone'.

At all four case studies discussed in the previous chapter there was evidence to suggest that larger buildings tended to be found closer to monuments, often barrows. At Barrow Hills, and perhaps also Eye Kettleby, the post-built structures could be divided into two groups – one containing larger structures and the other smaller structures – suggesting that the larger buildings may have been used as

dwellings, while the smaller structures had ancillary functions as workshops, barns and storage buildings (Chambers and McAdam 2007: 66-7). Similarly, the structures in Zone VII at Catholme were often larger than others, and may have been dwellings. There are some indications, therefore, that structures used for inhabitation, as opposed to storage or craft-working, tended to be located closer to monuments, at least at the settlements analysed as case studies. Carolyn Ware (2005: 154) has made the point that, as there was a restricted range of building forms on Anglo-Saxon settlements, activities of social and religious importance many have been carried out in 'ordinary' looking buildings. Thus, it is possible that at least some of the apparently 'mundane' structures situated close to monuments in the Anglo-Saxon settlements under discussion here were the locations of ritual or religious activities.

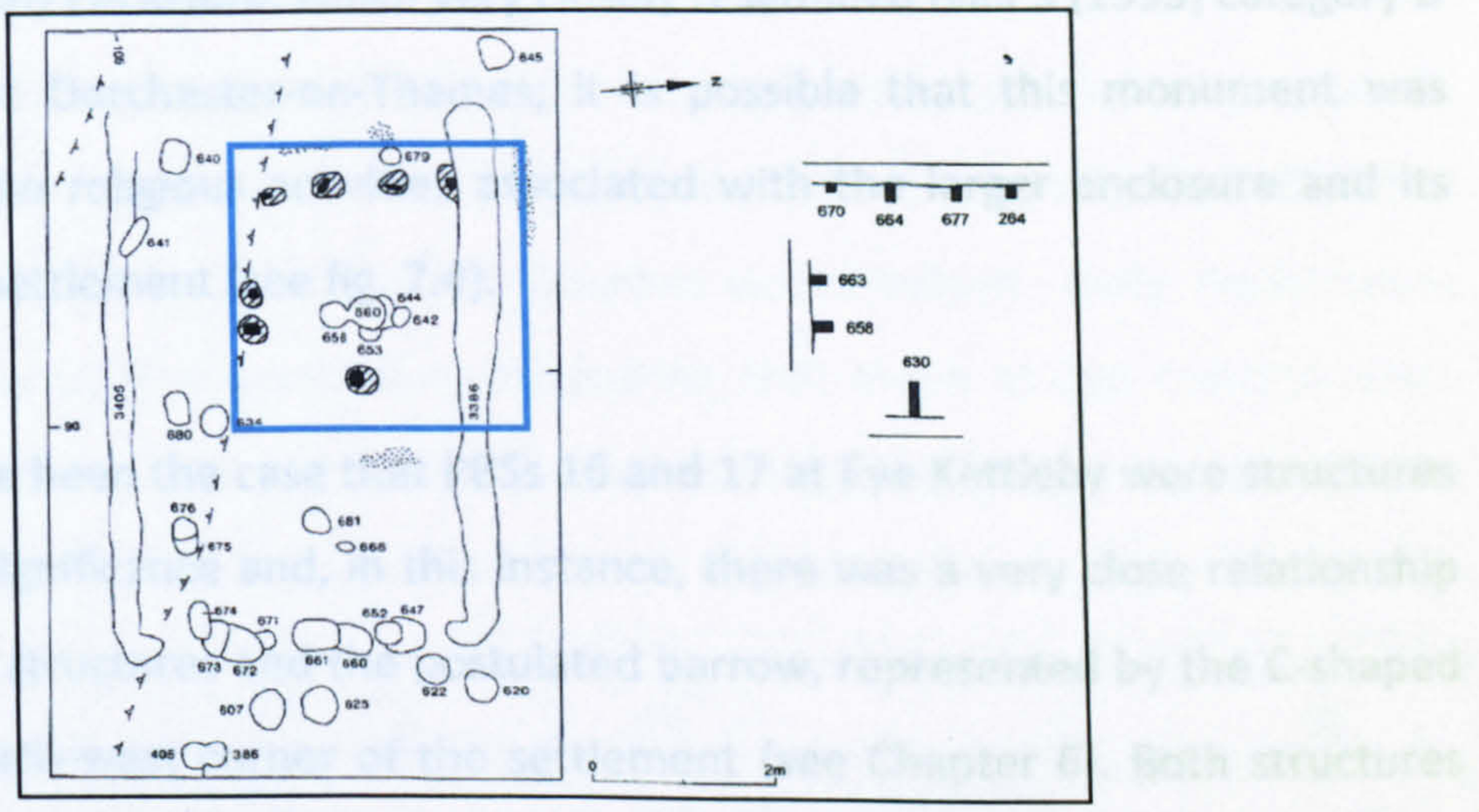
One way in which it might be possible to determine the importance of monument reuse in Anglo-Saxon belief systems is through the distribution of placed deposits within monument-appropriating settlements, since these deposits have been shown to have had ritual significance (Sayer 2003; Tipper 2004; Hamerow 2006). For example, placed deposits were often located next to transitional, liminal places such as boundaries and entrances in Anglo-Saxon settlements (Hamerow 2006: 28). Therefore, if these deposits were consistently associated with prehistoric monuments, this might well reveal that the earthworks were viewed as liminal or transitional places. At the settlements discussed in Chapter 6, however, this was not the case; there were little to suggest that placed deposits were consistently or clearly linked to earthworks within settlements, even though they were sometimes found in or near monuments. Instead, these deposits seem to have been distributed more widely across settlements. Their presence in settlements *without* associations with prehistoric monuments also indicates that they held meanings which were not necessarily related to beliefs about monuments. Ancient earthworks were not, therefore, consistently the foci of ritual activity as the locations of deliberate votive deposition.

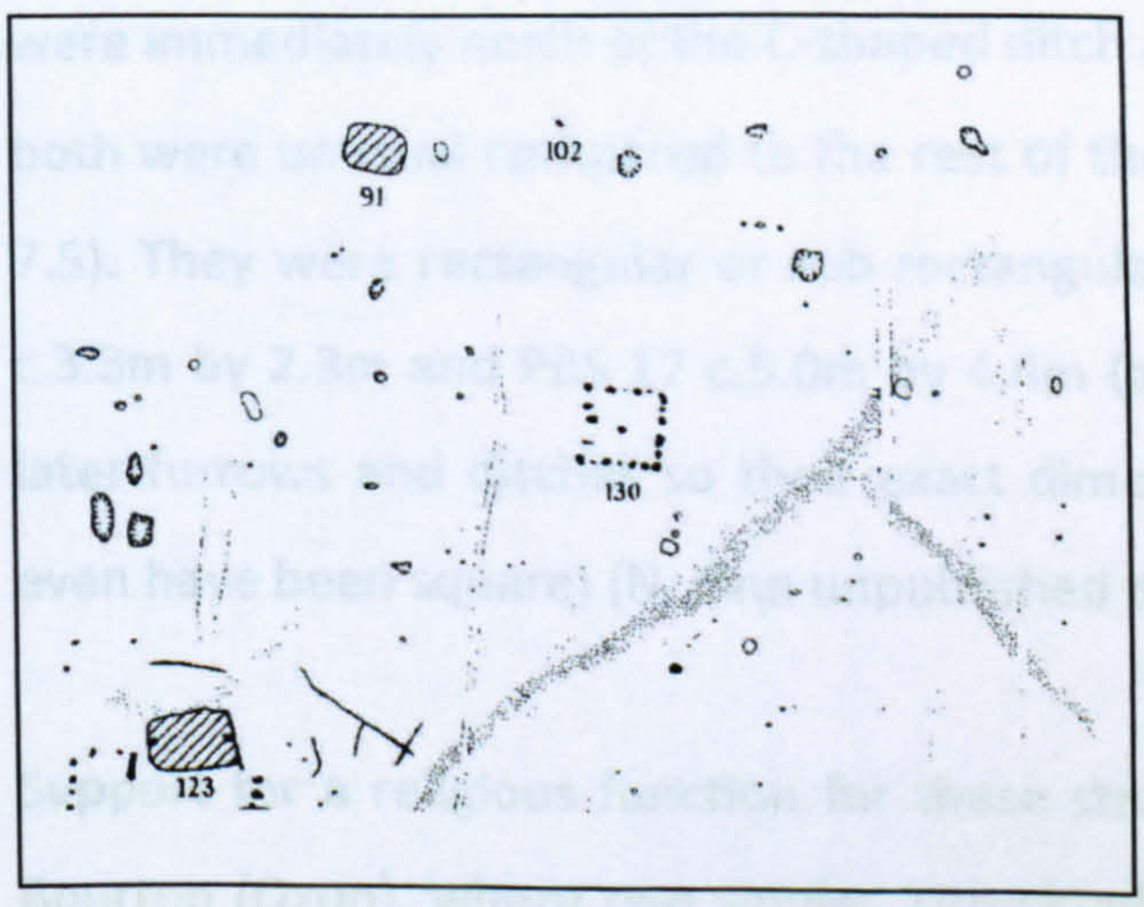
Another category of evidence which could potentially indicate whether ritual activities were taking place near to monuments are small square structures, interpreted by Blair (1995) as pagan shrines or temples. He has suggested that, as documentary sources written by Bede and Aldhelm show that they believed enclosed or roofed temples had existed in the early seventh century in England, the small square post-built structures found on some settlements may have represented these roofed shrines (Blair 1995: 1). There was a possible seventh-century example at New Wintles Farm (feature 130), which was near the centre of the site and measured 5m by 5m, with postholes interpreted as supports for a timber-laced wall c.0.5m thick (Blair 1995: 4, 19) (see fig. 7.4). The north, south and east walls were square in plan, but the western postholes were irregular, forming either two short lengths of slanting wall flanking a gap, or free-standing posts. A single post was situated in the exact centre of the square, although it was not clear if the structure was roofed or open (Blair 1995: 19). Blair suggested that it had affinities with the annexe at Yeavering on the 'temple' D2, which also had a central posthole and which he felt was a shrine structure as it was associated with burials (Blair 1995: 19).

Although at the time he was writing Blair (1995: 19) believed the New Wintles Farm structure to be 'unique among early Anglo-Saxon domestic buildings', similar structures have been observed in a number of settlements in the corpus, including Catholme. Building AS40 was poorly preserved, but does appear to have been a square structure measuring at least 2.5m by 2.5m, which did not resemble any other buildings in the settlement (Losco-Bradley and Kinsley 2002: 67) (see fig. 7.4). Particularly intriguing is the form of construction of the building, which was also unique to the site; linear stains lying parallel with the postholes may have been wall trenches, which the excavators suggested might not have been load-bearing[1] (Losco-Bradley and Kinsley 2002: 67). The distance between the postholes and wall trenches was c.0.5m, which would have formed a thick wall similar to that at New

[1] They did not suggest why they thought this to be the case; it seems to have been because the stains were relatively insubstantial compared to the postholes.

Wintles Farm. The square structure at Catholme was not situated in particularly close proximity to the prehistoric monuments in the settlement, but it is interesting that it was in Zone VII, the apparently central and important occupation zone, whose inhabitants may have controlled access to the earthworks in the settlement.





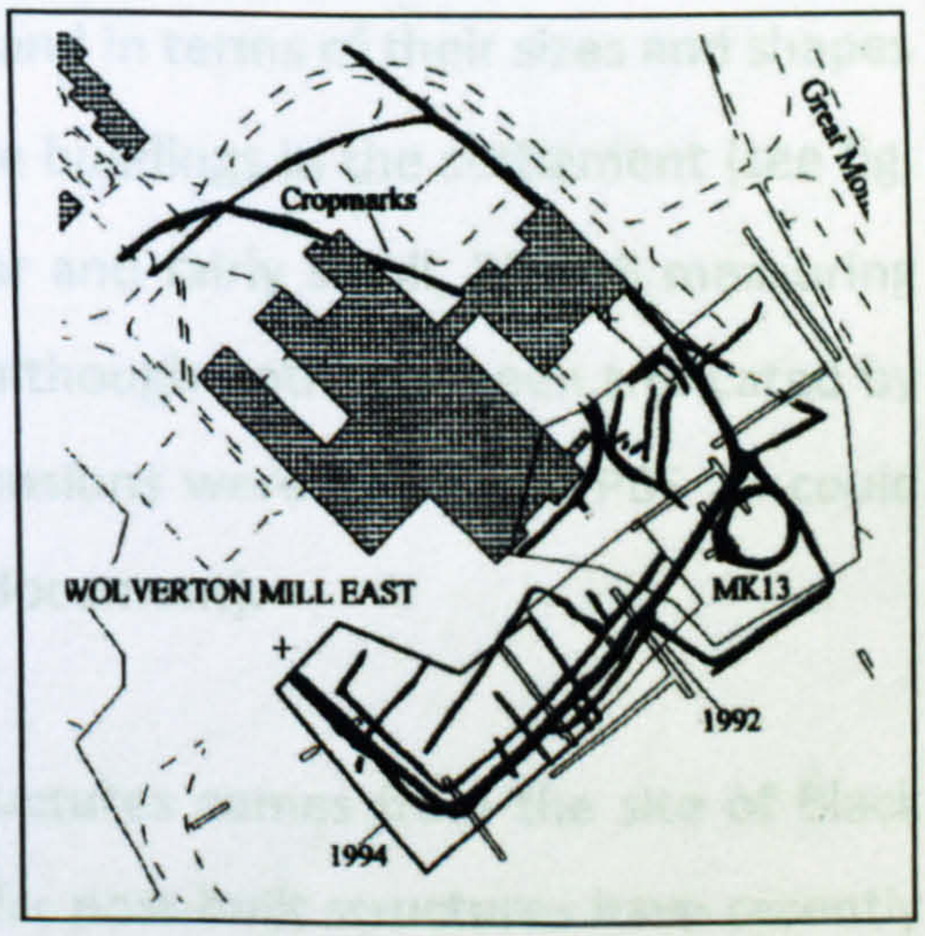


Fig. 7.4 The square post-built structure AS40 (overlain by AS41) at Catholme (top) (from Losco-Bradley and Kinsley 2002: 67, fig. 3.55); the square structure (130) at New Wintles Farm (bottom left) (from Chadwick Hawkes and Gray 1969: fig. 1); and the ditched 'annexe' containing the Bronze Age barrow at Wolverton Turn Enclosure (bottom right) (from Preston 2007: 85, fig. 2).

The structure was built over at some point by a larger building (AS41), and it is possible that its original functions were no longer required, or they were transferred elsewhere, perhaps to the larger structure that replaced it (Losco-

Bradley and Kinsley 2002: 67). It may also be of significance that Catholme had a ditched enclosure, albeit not a square one, enclosing the ring ditch PM3; could this have been a form of shrine enclosure similar to those identified by Blair (1995)? Particularly intriguing is the ditched sub-rectangular annexe enclosing the ring ditch at Wolverton Turn Enclosure, which very closely resembled Blair's (1995) category D shrines, such as Dorchester-on-Thames; it is possible that this monument was incorporated into religious activities associated with the larger enclosure and its accompanying settlement (see fig. 7.4).

It may also have been the case that PBSs 16 and 17 at Eye Kettleby were structures with religious significance and, in this instance, there was a very close relationship between these structures and the postulated barrow, represented by the C-shaped ditch in the north-west corner of the settlement (see Chapter 6). Both structures were immediately north of the C-shaped ditch and in terms of their sizes and shapes both were unusual compared to the rest of the buildings in the settlement (see fig. 7.5). They were rectangular or sub-rectangular and fairly small, PBS 16 measuring c.3.3m by 2.3m and PBS 17 c.5.0m by 4.4m (although both had been truncated by later furrows and ditches so their exact dimensions were unknown; PBS 16 could even have been square) (N. Finn unpublished document).

Support for a religious function for these structures comes from the site of Black Bourton (Oxon), where two similar, sub-circular post-built structures have recently been excavated and interpreted as early Anglo-Saxon shrines (Gilbert 2007; 2008) (see fig. 7.5). They lay within an area of early to middle Anglo-Saxon occupation, consisting of four SFBs and five post-built structures, in addition to a well (Gilbert 2008: 152-3). PBS 4 was sub-circular, measuring c.4m by 3m, and consisted of seven postholes surrounding an oval pit measuring 2m by 1.6m, while the six postholes belonging to PBS 5 formed a more regular circular structure c.5m in diameter and surrounded a cluster of three small oval intercutting pits (Gilbert 2008: 152). Each of the structures had one posthole containing early to middle Anglo-Saxon pottery. These features could have been latrines, but this possibility was discounted by the

excavators since the fills of the central pits did not contain the amount of organic material expected of such a feature, while the central pit in PBS 4 would arguably have been smaller in diameter and deeper if it were a latrine (Gilbert 2008: 152). Instead, the structures were interpreted as shrines; the site was compared to nearby New Wintles Farm, where the square 'shrine' was also within a domestic settlement, and it was suggested that their sizes and central pits were comparable with Blair's fenced pagan shrines (Gilbert 2008: 156). If it can be said that the structures at Eye Kettleby and Black Bourton were, indeed, early Anglo-Saxon religious structures, it is particularly interesting that those at Eye Kettleby were positioned in such close proximity to the C-shaped ditch of the postulated prehistoric barrow.

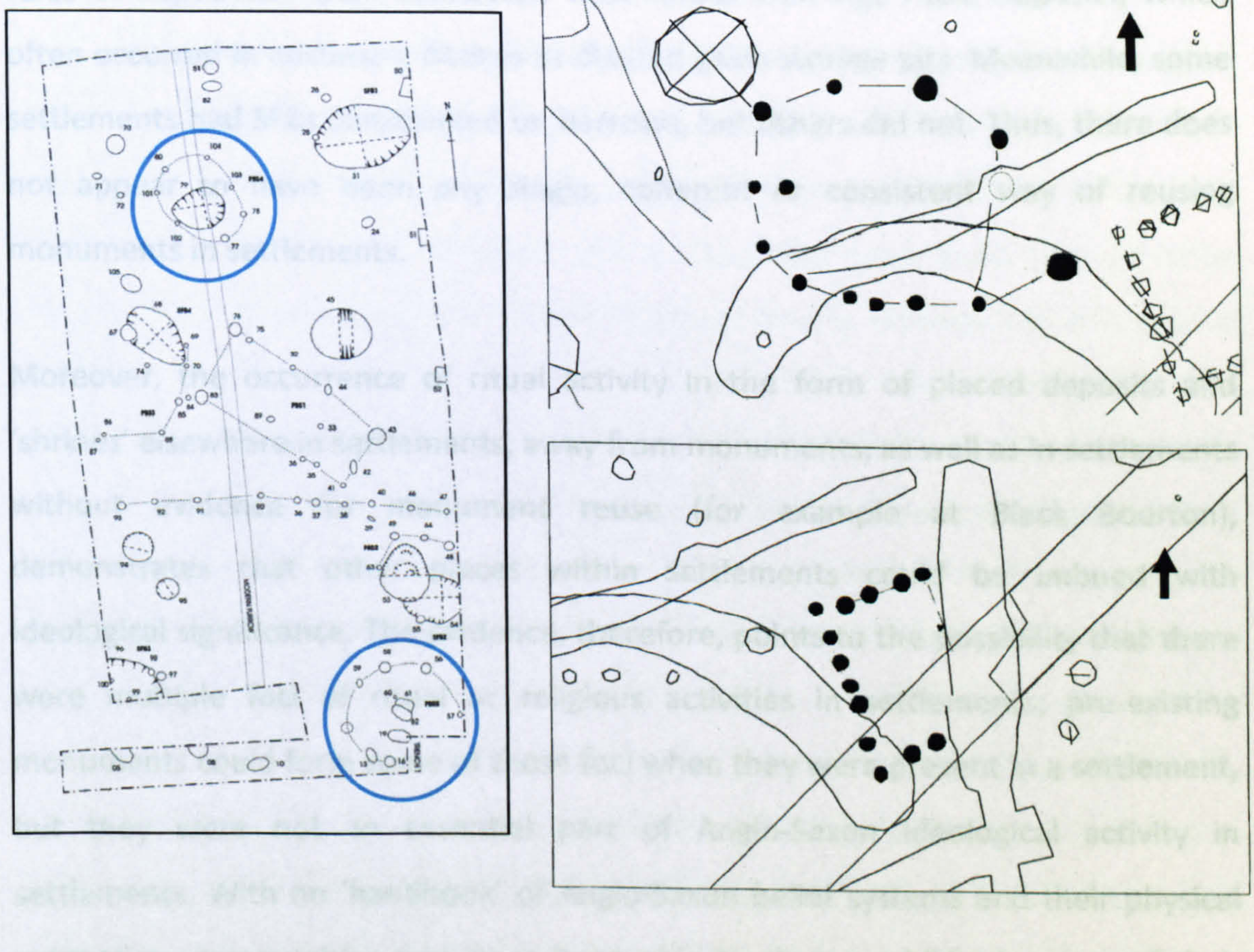


Fig. 7.5 Possible early Anglo-Saxon shrine structures. Black Bourton (Oxon) (left) (after Gilbert 2008: 149, fig. 2); PBS 17 (top right) and PBS 16 (bottom right) at Eye Kettleby (after unpublished plans by N. Finn).

This part of the thesis has considered the evidence for the ritual and religious importance of monument reuse, by investigating the links between SFBs and barrows, the implications of St Guthlac's dwelling-place on a barrow, and the possibility that monuments could have been linked to ritual activity through placed deposits and shrines in settlements. Although there are some clear and consistent patterns in the archaeological data, such as the regular relationships between SFBs and barrows, there is little evidence overall to show that monuments in settlements were the focus of ritual activity in any uniform or consistent way. Human burials were sometimes inserted into monuments, but at other times they were not, and the same is true of animal burials and other forms of placed deposit. Indeed, Sayer (2003: 104) has pointed out that Anglo-Saxon deposits seem to lack the complex rules of deposition often associated with similar Iron Age ritual deposits, which often occurred in enclosure ditches or disused grain storage pits. Meanwhile, some settlements had SFBs constructed on barrows, but others did not. Thus, there does not appear to have been any single, coherent or consistent way of reusing monuments in settlements.

Moreover, the occurrence of ritual activity in the form of placed deposits and 'shrines' elsewhere in settlements, away from monuments, as well as in settlements without evidence for monument reuse (for example at Black Bourton), demonstrates that other places within settlements could be imbued with ideological significance. The evidence, therefore, points to the possibility that there were multiple foci of ritual or religious activities in settlements; pre-existing monuments could form some of those foci when they were present in a settlement, but they were not an essential part of Anglo-Saxon ideological activity in settlements. With no 'handbook' of Anglo-Saxon belief systems and their physical expression, communities may have been able to choose which elements of their settlements were imbued with particular significance, and how they expressed that. This might have depended on a number of factors, including which, if any, monuments were available for appropriation, the time and place, or events and changes within a community. In the settlements in the corpus under study here

ancient monuments seem to have become part of that expression, and monuments may have been imbued with very particular and individual meanings from site to site (Williams 1997: 25). In some cases their reuse as the foci of ritual expression has been identified archaeologically, but in other instances it may have left no archaeological traces, perhaps because non-intrusive activities such as ceremonies or processions were taking place on or near monuments, or because the destruction or erosion of monuments since the Anglo-Saxon period has removed the traces of these activities.

The Social and Political Significance of Monument Reuse

In addition to the potential ideological significance of monument reuse in settlements, it is also possible that the appropriation of earthworks was related to contemporary social and political factors. In particular, there is evidence to suggest reuse was tied into the control of space, and perhaps people, in early and middle Anglo-Saxon England; this appears to have been the case at the four settlements discussed in the previous chapter, and it may also have been true of other settlements in the corpus. This is perhaps most clearly expressed in the case of high-status 'palace' sites of the late sixth and early seventh centuries but, significantly, it was not restricted to these settlements. In order to demonstrate this we must first consider what we already know about monument reuse and its links with elite settlement sites. The discussion will then move back in time, in order to investigate the evidence for the social and political circumstances of the fifth and sixth centuries, and their impact on monument reuse.

'Palace' Sites and Elite Monument Reuse in the Seventh Century

In the late sixth and seventh centuries high-status elite or 'palace' sites began developing across England (Scull 1992: 21; 1999: 17; Härke 1997: 147; Hamerow 2002: 97).[2] A number of these sites have been identified, Yeavering perhaps being

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[2] It should be noted that Sawyer (1983: 274) has criticised the 'over-optimistic' tendency of archaeologists to interpret all these sites as *royal* palaces or vills. This does not, however, diminish the possibility that they were used by aristocrats or other high-status members of society. For example, he dismissed Sutton Courtenay as one of these over-optimistically identified royal sites, yet

the most well-known example (Hope-Taylor 1977). Others include Cowdery's Down (Hants) (Millett & James 1983), Mount Down (Hants) (Hampton 1981), Milfield (Northumb) (Hope Taylor 1977), Atcham (Shrops) (St Joseph 1975), Long Itchington (Warwicks) (Welch 1985: 16), Northampton (Northants) (Williams 1984), Cowage Farm near Malmesbury (Wilts) (Hampton 1981; Hinchliffe 1986), and Sprouston (Rox) (St Joseph 1982), although the latter lies just over the modern Scottish border. In addition, there are the two previously-discussed examples within the study area, Sutton Courtenay (Blair 1994: 32; Hamerow et al. 2007) and Hatton Rock (Rahtz 1970). Irthlingborough, and perhaps Taplow and Cassington, also seem to have been high-status middle settlements in this period, although the evidence for the presence of buildings at each of these sites is limited (Hey 2004; Parry 2006; Allen et al. 2009). Many of these high-status settlements have only been identified on aerial photographs, which have revealed the cropmarks of what appear to be large, distinctive, rectangular halls. When excavation of these cropmarks has taken place, at Sutton Courtenay and Yeavering for example, this has confirmed that they are, indeed, unusually large halls (Hope Taylor 1977; Hamerow et al. 2007).

The presence of these substantial timber halls is characteristic of 'palace' sites; the structures often form imposing focal buildings and are frequently arranged in perpendicular fashion (Welch 1985: 16; Hamerow 2002: 97) (see fig. 7.6).[3] These sites are also typified by controlled and planned layouts, including fenced enclosures, which seventh-century lawcodes, such as that of King Ine of Wessex, suggest were particularly important for the control and demonstration of land ownership on royal and elite settlements (Hamerow 1999: 30; Turner 2003: 51). These high-status settlements seem to have signalled a significant departure from previous settlement forms, in which there was apparently little evidence for social

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on excavation the settlement yielded evidence for very high-status occupation which, even if not royal, was indicative of occupation by materially wealthy members of society.

[3] See also the plan of Yeavering in fig. 3.6, the plan of Hatton Rock in fig. 5.19, and various plans of Sutton Courtenay in fig. 5.29 and in Chapter 6.

distinction (Reynolds 2003: 103) (although this interpretation will be questioned below).

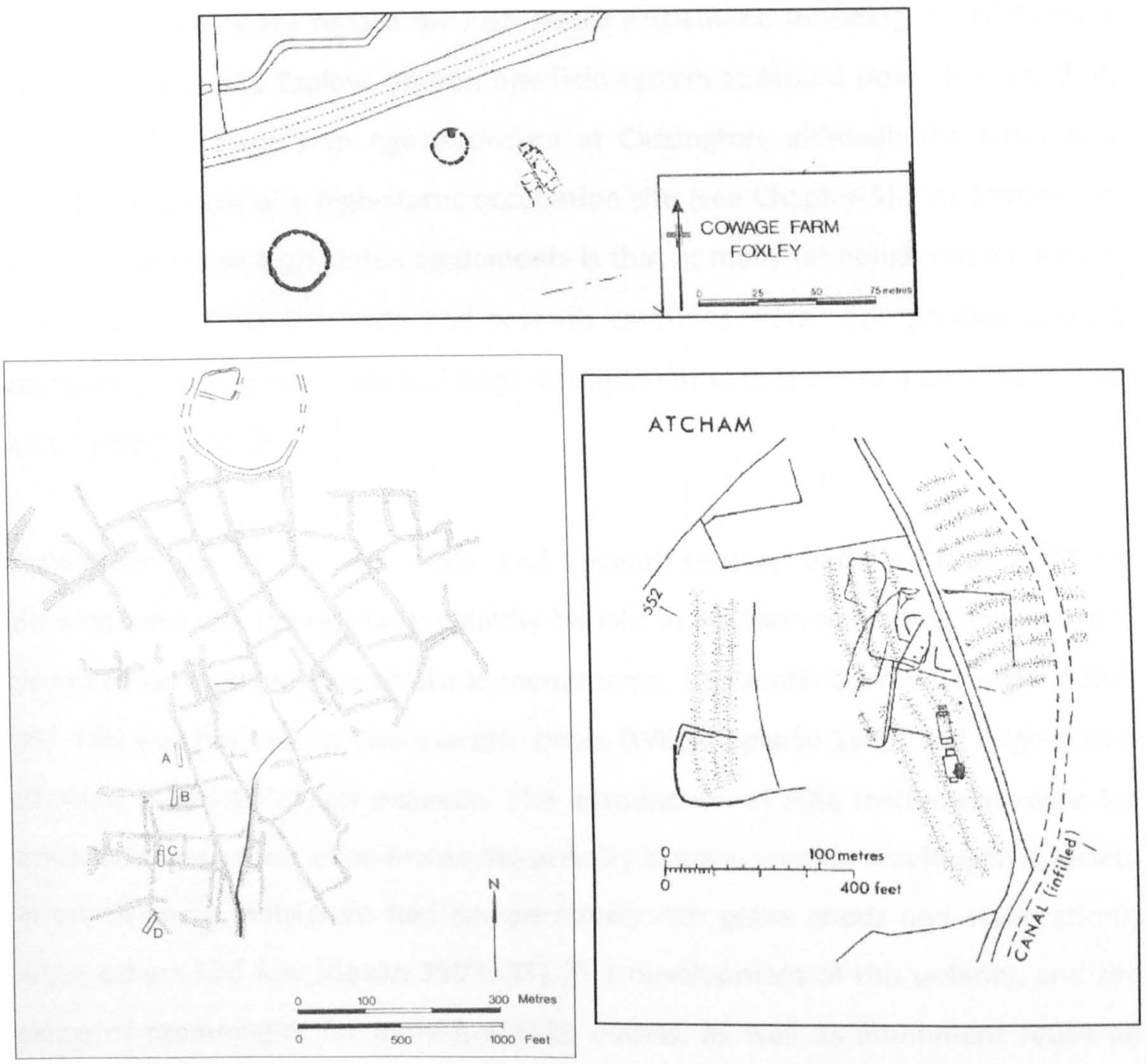

Fig. 7.6 Anglo-Saxon 'palace' sites. Cropmark halls aligned on a ring ditch at Cowage Farm (top) (after Hinchliffe 1986: fig. 1); cropmark halls positioned over an Iron Age field system at Mount Down (bottom left) (after Hampton 1981: 317, fig. 1) and cropmark halls next to an enclosure system of unknown date at Atcham (bottom right) (from St Joseph 1975: 294, fig. 1).

A number of these sites share a very distinctive form of monument reuse, in which their perpendicular complexes of halls were aligned on one or more prehistoric barrows; this was the case at Hatton Rock and Sutton Courtenay, as we have already seen, but also at Yeavering and Cowage Farm. Bradley's (1987) discussion of the evidence from Yeavering, in which he argued that elites were attempting to control the past and use it to legitimise their authority by claiming descent from

previous inhabitants, has greatly informed the interpretation of these sites (Bradley 1987: 123, 130; see Chapter 3). There are also settlements at which other pre-existing features were reused for high-status settlement, including the hillforts at Irthlingborough and Taplow, an Iron Age field system at Mount Down (see fig. 7.6), and possibly a large Iron Age enclosure at Cassington, although the latter is a tentative example of a high-status occupation site (see Chapter 5). The impression gained from these high-status settlements is that at many (although not all) Anglo-Saxon elites of the late sixth and seventh centuries were appropriating ancient earthworks and constructing buildings in alignment with them in a very distinctive and deliberate fashion.

Simultaneously, in the late sixth- and seventh-century burial record, a similar development was taking place; wealthy burials, in isolation or in very small groups, began to be interred in prehistoric monuments, frequently barrows (Geake 1992: 85). This was the case at Swallowcliffe Down (Wilts) (Speake 1989) and Wigber Low (Derbys) (Collis 1983), for example. The introduction of elite monument reuse for burial was one aspect of an increasing polarity in grave wealth, resulting in a society in which some individuals had comparatively rich grave goods and elaborations, while others had few (Geake 1992: 85). The development of this polarity, and the reuse of monuments for individual elite burials, as well as monument reuse on 'palace' sites, was contemporary with the formation of major kingdoms, which were established and consolidated from the late sixth century onwards (Scull 1993: 69). This was accompanied by a new degree of social differentiation and political centralisation, as part of which leadership became more permanent and wide-reaching, being unambiguously expressed through the construction of new types of site, including 'palace' sites, which were part of newly-developed settlement hierarchies (Scull 1999: 22; Reynolds 2003: 130; Wickham 2005: 341).

Numerous researchers have interpreted funerary monument reuse in light of these newly-consolidated power structures; they have claimed that elites were searching for new ways to stamp their authority on the landscape through the funerary

appropriation of ancient earthworks, in order to create links to previous inhabitants and rulers of that landscape (e.g. Shephard 1979: 47, 77; Arnold 1988: 130; Geake 1992: 91; Scull 1992: 20; 1999: 17, 22; Härke 1997: 151; Hadley 2001: 95; Blair 2005). As Williams (1997: 18) has commented, 'for elite groups in the seventh century this exclusive reuse may have been a deliberate symbol of status and power with reference to the past'. Rather ironically, given that so little research has been undertaken on reuse in settlements compared to burial sites, Bradley's (1987) discussion of Yeavering is frequently cited in these discussions of elite funerary reuse; in particular, his suggestion that the builders of Yeavering appropriated monuments in order legitimise their power through connecting themselves to real or fictional 'ancestors' is often applied in the context of burial.

Thus, the burial record of the late sixth and seventh centuries is similar to that of the settlement record; in both there was a comparable degree of social polarisation, increasingly expressed in spatial terms (Reynolds 2003: 104). In burial contexts, as well as in settlements, there is a clear link between late sixth- and seventh-century elites and monument reuse. As Hamerow (1999: 30) has stated, by AD 700 planned settlements with large halls would have formed important focal points in the landscape, reflecting the new monumentality of elite buildings, and these would have combined with the monumentality of elite burial in barrows in the surrounding landscape. As a result of the increasingly stratified nature of society, elite families began to display their authority through a range of methods, such as increasingly complex and innovative funerary rituals, which included the use of monumental markers, often prehistoric earthworks (Semple 2003b: 82).

A great deal of attention has clearly been given to the practice of monument appropriation when it took place on late sixth- and seventh-century high-status sites. However, much less time has been dedicated to considering the tradition of monument reuse in the period *before* the late sixth and seventh centuries, prior to the development of highly structured, high-status forms of reuse. As this thesis has demonstrated, this is especially true of settlement studies, even though monument

appropriation in settlements was, in fact, apparently taking place from the fifth century onwards. In terms of burial, the attention given to fifth- and sixth-century monument reuse has been slightly more substantial, although it is still not extensive. Research into fifth- and sixth-century funerary monument reuse has primarily been undertaken by Williams (1997; 1998; 2006), who was able to shed light on its development in the early Anglo-Saxon period. His work has shown that the use of ancient earthworks for burial was already taking place in the fifth and sixth centuries, and that it was a communal, inclusive practice at this time (Williams 1997: 16-18; 1998: 94). Burial sites around older monuments in the early Anglo-Saxon period were used inclusively and for large numbers of people, while the isolated or small groups of wealthy burials belonging to the late sixth and seventh centuries represent a much more exclusive and restricted mortuary tradition (Williams 1997: 17).

The indication, then, is that monument reuse was adopted by newly-strengthened elites from the late sixth century, in ways which differed from the forms of reuse witnessed earlier, in the fifth and earlier sixth centuries (Williams 1997: 17). Although communal cemeteries did continue to focus on monuments during the seventh century, this century saw the diversification of uses of, and attitudes to, pre-existing earthworks, moving away from their traditional role as communal burial sites to include a new form of elite reuse, characterised by exclusivity and isolated, single graves (Williams 1997: 23; 1998: 103). Crucially, this new form *derived from* the funerary practices of the fifth and sixth centuries, it was not a new creation in the late sixth and seventh centuries (Williams 1997: 22). Similar developments in the practice of reuse seem to have been taking place in settlements as well; reuse began as a more communal activity in ordinary settlements of the fifth and sixth centuries, but was then developed as an elite activity in the late sixth and seventh centuries, although during that time the earlier, communal reuse also apparently continued in ordinary settlements. Thus, the work of Howard Williams, and the research presented in this thesis, have both demonstrated that monument reuse in both burial and settlement contexts was

taking place in an apparently communal and inclusive way in the fifth and sixth centuries; the phenomenon was *not*, therefore, an elite invention of the late sixth or seventh centuries. Furthermore, this reveals that the practice of reuse transcended the conversion of Anglo-Saxon England to Christianity, meaning that it was not specifically related to pagan or Christian ideologies (Williams 1997: 25).

The recognition that monument reuse in Anglo-Saxon England was not an elite invention has an impact on how we apply Bradley's (1987) theories about reuse to the settlement evidence. On one hand, there is no reason to refute his suggestion that the high-status occupants of settlements such as Yeavering were constructing links to the past in order to display and legitimise their authority. However, Bradley *did* treat the practice as an elite innovation, without recognising that it had existed earlier, in both settlements and cemeteries. What he was not able to expand on, therefore, was *why* this pre-existing tradition was chosen by elites as a particularly effective way of demonstrating their 'right to rule'. In contrast, the understanding that monument appropriation existed prior to its adoption by late sixth and seventh-century elites *does* now allow us to ask why this tradition was adopted with such enthusiasm by high-status groups.

The evidence suggests that elites of the late sixth and seventh centuries adopted a pre-existing, established and well-known phenomenon, altering and reworking it to create new, highly-structured forms of reuse. Given that we now known that monument reuse was taking place in settlements from the fifth century, in apparently communal and inclusive ways, it is possible to argue that elites adopted the practice because they knew that the communities they were claiming authority over were already familiar with the tradition and understood its meanings. As Williams has also recognised, this approach 'had efficacy because it involved the appropriation and alteration of existing attitudes to ancient monuments; elites were not inventing these traditions *de novo*' (Williams 1998: 103). As such, many members of society would have been able to understand and interpret reuse when they saw it on high-status sites, such as Sutton Courtenay and Hatton Rock, but its

meanings could also have been manipulated in order to transmit new and different messages about the power of elites and their ability to claim authority over people and places. This might explain why there was an apparent decline in the reuse of monuments in ordinary settlements in the corpus from the seventh century. The practice seems to have co-existed on high- and lower-status sites to begin with, but may have become more restricted and associated with the display of status from the seventh century, until it was no longer practiced – at least in any regular or frequent manner – in lower-status settlements. This could have been because lower-status communities had no need to display the specific messages about power which monument reuse now transmitted, or it could have resulted from the active control of the practice by elites including, possibly, ecclesiastical powers, as we shall see later.

This discussion has, thus far, proposed that the elite adoption of monument appropriation involved the *alteration* of its meanings to suit the needs of newly-consolidated aristocratic families. There may, however, have been an additional reason for the elite adoption of monument reuse as a signifier of status in the late sixth and seventh centuries that did not involve the alteration of its meanings. Rather than manipulating the tradition and turning it into a means for displaying status, it is possible that elites adopted the practice *precisely because it already signalled status, authority and control in the early Anglo-Saxon period*. Elites may have chosen to adopt the practice because it was already intimately connected to social and political power structures in the fifth and early-mid sixth centuries. Although there may still have been some manipulation of the tradition so that it suited the elites of the seventh century, at its core the practice could have had a much longer history as a signifier of authority within settlements. This possibility will be explored in the remainder of this part of the chapter, but in order to do so we must first consider how society was organised in the fifth and sixth centuries, and how this social organisation might have been expressed in settlements.

Social Stratification in the Fifth and Sixth Centuries

Both Barbara Yorke (1993; 1999) and Chris Wickham (2005: 50) have remarked that we know very little about fifth- and sixth-century social structures in terms of leadership or ranking, as this period lacks the documentary sources of later centuries. For this reason, the social and economic structures of the fifth and sixth centuries have to be approached through archaeological remains (Scull 1993: 65-6; 1999: 17). Nonetheless, the archaeological evidence, much of which derives from the burial record, *does* suggest that society in this early period was ranked. For example, Scull (1993: 69) has claimed that marked disparities in the material wealth deposited in grave assemblages related to differences in the social rank of the interred individuals. He drew attention to the range of grave goods in the early Anglo-Saxon cemetery at West Stow (Suffolk), which lay c.300m north-east of the nearby settlement; although ranking was observed within the cemetery, this is at odds with the settlement evidence, which showed no evidence for social stratification (Scull 1993: 73). Elsewhere, in Anglo-Saxon Wessex, Stoodley (1999: 103) found that variation in fifth- and sixth-century grave assemblages indicated differences in social position. Hamerow (1999: 26, 29) has also argued that, based on the funerary evidence, fifth- and sixth-century society in England was 'undoubtedly ranked'.

In fact, early Anglo-Saxon society may have been ranked from its very earliest beginnings; as Roman Imperial authority and administration waned, power in Roman Britain seems to have devolved to local aristocracies (Scull 1993: 70). Wickham (2005: 330-2) has suggested that powerful landowners at this time could have used the imagery of kinship, geographical identity and religion to attract groups of followers cohesive enough to be considered a tribe, who looked to their leader as a 'protector'. The leader's power would no longer have been based on tenurial landholding, but rather on their ability to make material concessions to followers, through feasting for instance, or on their personality. Therefore, society could have been structured from the fifth century, with 'leading' characters or groups claiming authority over others. Similarly, migrants from the continent came

from hierarchical societies with complex social structures, not from free, egalitarian societies; it is unlikely that these social structures would have been forgotten in the journey to England, especially if migration took place in groups (Scull 1993: 71; Moreland 2000a: 38). Moreover, the early processes of state formation need not have been built up from scratch all over Anglo-Saxon England, since remainders of Roman power and social structures were partially preserved; this is indicated by middle Anglo-Saxon kingdoms with Roman-influenced names, such as Lindsey, whose name is thought to have derived from a Roman civitas capital (*Lindon*, modern Lincoln) (Bassett 1989: 7; Yorke 2000: 85).

Further support for the existence of social ranking during the early Anglo-Saxon period comes from the work of John Hines (1995). In the latter half of the fifth century, Hines (1995: 77-8) has suggested that there was an era of competition for positions of social eminence, which reached a particularly intense phase around c.475. This was accompanied by the widespread breakdown of older elite groups, and the appearance of rivalry on a more individual level (Hines 1995: 78). This period witnessed the establishment of political units, referred to in later historical sources as small groups bearing names of the type 'N-ingas', such as the Sunningas (Hines 1995: 82). Their presence in the seventh-century assessment of tribute, the *Tribal Hidage*, suggests that they developed and strengthened their positions, and came to have some form of organisational or administrative character later in the Anglo-Saxon period (Hines 1995: 82).

A popular model in archaeology sees these smaller 'tribal' units evolving from the settlement areas of extended families, with middle Anglo-Saxon kings emerging from competition between these groups (Yorke 2000: 82). However, this evidence must be used with caution; although it is often assumed that the smaller units listed in the *Tribal Hidage* were old, small kingdoms, which came to form the building blocks of larger, later kingdoms, it is also possible that some were subdivisions of the later kingdoms, created during the seventh century (Yorke 1999). Nevertheless, some of these 'N-ingas' units may well have developed early in the Anglo-Saxon

period, and Hines (1995: 82) has questioned what these political units actually meant for their inhabitants, pointing out that there is little reason to assume that they expressed the consensual group identity of all the inhabitants. Rather than meaning 'the people of N', which suggests a family or kin group led by a prominent individual, such names might have meant 'the people belonging to N'; as such, the term was an administrative and possessive one, imposed on the inhabitants of a particular area under a particular leader (Hines 1995: 82). We may be seeing in this early period the development of a stratified and ranked society, in which there were leaders and those who followed them, or who even belonged to them.

In the sixth century, the development of specific ethnic 'Anglian', 'Saxon' and 'Jutish' identities may also have been connected to social stratification (Moreland 2000a). It was once thought that these ethnic identities represented the ethnic groups in which Germanic people migrated in the fifth century, but it has been demonstrated, by Catherine Hills (1979: 316), for example, that this was not the case; the identities actually developed *within* England during the sixth century. These ethnic identities were expressed through material culture, especially jewellery, and they were constructed from a diverse range of sources in the particular social and political circumstances of sixth-century England (Hines 1992; Moreland 2000a: 42-3). The development of these regional ethnic groups within England allowed people in different areas of the country to 'exclude' each other and construct identities in opposition to each other, a process which was the product of the emergence of regional power structures in this period (Moreland 2000a: 44). These ethnic signifiers were, in fact, restricted to the *gens*, the higher-status members of society; these groups were developing their power over others, claiming particular ethnic backgrounds and identities in order to create a sense of cohesion among the populations they were ruling (Moreland 2000a: 45). Once again, then, there is evidence to suggest that sixth-century society exhibited a degree of stratification.

Based on the evidence discussed here, there is no reason to assume that in its earliest forms Anglo-Saxon society lacked hierarchical or ranked social structures. Indeed, Hamerow (1999: 23) has noted that changes associated with the development of social stratification in the middle Anglo-Saxon period were already underway in the Upper Thames Valley in the sixth century, including the rapid and widespread adoption of continental styles of building, costume, weaponry, burial rites and pottery; she notes that many of these factors can be seen across the rest of Anglo-Saxon England too. Further, in the sixth and seventh centuries the Upper Thames Valley seems to have been involved in bullion exchange with Kent, probably in return for imported glass vessels and jewellery, which helped elites to further increase their power and prestige (Hamerow 1999: 31). By the end of the sixth century the Anglo-Saxon elite had the means to consolidate and increase their territorial control and access to portable wealth, while barrows became a visible way of a descent group establishing ties with ancestors and staking their claims to 'ancestral' territory (Hamerow 1999: 28).

While there is evidence to support the claim that society was ranked in some way during the fifth and sixth centuries, the evidence also suggests that the level of social stratification was on a smaller, and less permanent, scale than it was to become during the emergence of kingdoms and established elites in the middle Anglo-Saxon period (Wickham 2005: 340). Prior to the later sixth century, the cemetery data indicates that there was greater social differentiation *within* communities than there was *between* them, with no clear evidence for extreme social differentiation relating to regional elites, as these do not seem to have developed until the later sixth and early seventh centuries (Scull 1993: 73, 76; 1999: 21; Hamerow 1999: 26-9). Rather than 'rich' leading families and 'poor' dependent families in the fifth and sixth centuries, there appear to have been different ranks *within* families; it seems that 'identity, status and affiliation in this period were almost entirely kin-based' (Hamerow 1999: 26-9). The burial evidence supports the existence of individuals who were of local importance, as evidenced by their more elaborate and materially richer graves, but these individuals did not necessarily

wield power on a larger scale, outside of their own communities (Scull 1993: 73). The implication is that ranking was 'internal to the basic social unit of the community' and that graves which were marked out as different from others within a cemetery were those of important figures in a lineage or descent group, which might include several nuclear families in a generation (Scull 1993: 73). The apparent need for the public display and disposal of material wealth in graves at this time points to negotiable and unstable distinctions of rank, enacted on a local level, rather than permanent or overarching positions of status, which would arguably have required fewer obvious or local visual indicators of status as they would have been more established (Wickham 2005: 340).

A note of caution is required here, as we do not know exactly on what grounds social status or rank might have been assigned in early Anglo-Saxon society. There are a number of possible 'axes of inequality' which might have marked out important individuals from the rest of their community and caused unequal social relations between people (Scull 1993: 73; 1999: 21). These individuals could have been of a particular age, or known for their achievements, abilities or charisma, or they could have been heads of families (Scull 1993: 73). Ranking within the general population, and the burial forms attributed to people of different ranks, could have been dictated by factors including membership of a lineage, position within a lineage, age, gender or cultural identity (Scull 1993: 73; 1999: 21; Hadley 2004: 301-3). As such, we should not necessarily see authority or rank as permanent, stable or non-negotiable, as it may have changed and fluctuated depending on social circumstances, such as marriages or deaths, or the political prowess of individuals.

We might envisage that those individuals who did hold powerful or influential roles within their communities might have had social obligations and responsibilities to fulfil, and they might also have had the power to collect and redistribute resources (Scull 1993: 73). Individuals or families who established themselves in socially prominent roles could have accentuated the social ranking within their community, in order to display and perpetuate their status, although it seems unlikely that that

this was accompanied by clearly marked stratification until one group was able to establish a permanent regional overlordship (Scull 1993: 75). Nonetheless, local leaders *may* occasionally have been able to exert their authority outside their communities, on a wider scale, on an impermanent or cyclical basis (Scull 1999: 23). However, the establishment and maintenance of a *permanent* regional overlordship did not happen until social and political changes, such as the establishment of the Church and the ascendency of select, powerful aristocratic groups, took place in the later sixth and seventh centuries (Scull 1999: 23; Wickham 2005: 342, 503).

It is possible to surmise, then, that in the fifth and sixth centuries society *was* ranked, but generally this was on an internal level, with households of broadly equal status, perhaps farming or exploiting ancestral territories, being internally ranked based on factors such as age, gender, position in a lineage or achievements (Scull 1993: 77; 1999: 21; Hamerow 1999: 27). Power seems to have been localised and unstable, based on specific people and their abilities to impose and negotiate power relations (Esmonde Cleary 1993a: 60; Hamerow 1999: 27). This may have involved controlling the redistribution of goods and commodities, resulting in differential access to these items and leading to social constraints over who could own them and, therefore, give them away, as well as who could hold feasts and keep allies (Esmonde Cleary 1993a: 60-1; Scull 1993: 77).

In contrast to the cemetery record, social stratification does not appear to have been manifested in settlements prior to the late sixth or seventh century. Indeed, it is often asserted that settlements belonging to that period did not demonstrate social stratification, either within or between sites. Richard Hodges (1989: 34-6) has stated that early Anglo-Saxon England is 'notable for the egalitarian quality of its modest farmsteads', while Lewis et al. (1997: 98) have remarked that 'the absence of a clear settlement hierarchy in the early Anglo-Saxon period reflects a restricted social stratification and the lack of a well defined state structure'. In his discussion of the West Stow cemetery, cited above, Scull (1993: 72) also observed that the settlement at West Stow had no evidence for buildings or layouts showing marked

social differentiation in the community in the fifth and sixth centuries, and that this was similar to contemporary settlements elsewhere. Both Moreland (2000a: 49) and Wickham (2005: 313, 340) have also noted that settlements in the fifth and sixth centuries displayed a profound lack of social differentiation, while a settlement hierarchy was also absent.

The assertions that fifth- and sixth-century settlements did not display social differentiation have primarily been based on the lack of evidence for obvious and ostentatious markers of status resembling those found in middle Anglo-Saxon settlements, such as enclosures or the alignments of unusually large halls discussed above, which tended to be absent in this earlier period (Scull 1993: 72; Powlesland 1997: 115; Hamerow 2002: 97). Instead, fifth- to seventh-century settlements, on the whole, had loosely-structured layouts, limited variation in the sizes of post-built structures and no obvious central or focal buildings; given the apparent lack of high-status or focal structures, ranking within society does not seem to have been expressed through architecture (Hamerow 1999: 29). Doubt as to whether status was reflected in settlement forms also stems from the visualisation of early Anglo-Saxon social stratification discussed above, in which social and political authority are pictured as moveable and kinship-based, related to specific *people* rather than specific *places* (Scull 1992: 20; 1993: 73; Härke 1997: 140).

However, as this part of the thesis has shown, studies of fifth- and sixth-century burial practices have demonstrated that society in the early Anglo-Saxon period *was* ranked, albeit on a local, perhaps kin-based level. Meanwhile, the discussion of 'palace' sites has also demonstrated that settlements from the late sixth century onwards *did* react to, and reflect, changes in society. It would not be unexpected, therefore, to find that fifth- and sixth-century settlement forms also responded to, and reflected, the specific social, cultural and political circumstances of the time. Indeed, Reynolds (2003: 130) has argued that 'it is unthinkable to suggest that Anglo-Saxon society in its earliest form existed without any form of physical constraint in a settlement and landscape context'. Turner (2003: 51) has also noted

that, as middle Anglo-Saxon settlement forms were related to the consolidation of kingdoms and changes in economic structures, there may have been similar impetuses in the early Anglo-Saxon centuries. This is especially true given that settlements were places in which many of the relationships between people of different ranks in society are likely to have been acted out, negotiated, maintained or altered.

As previously stated, it is important to exercise caution when considering the basis upon which social status was assigned in the early Anglo-Saxon period, since there were a number of different 'axes of inequality' that might have marked out particular people who exerted power or influence over others. Disparities in rank might not have been determined solely by material wealth, and they did not necessarily translate to physical differentiation in architecture (Hamerow 2002: 89). Nonetheless, it is possible that status and social differentiation *were* expressed in physical form in fifth- and sixth-century settlements, but that these forms of expression were more subtle than the ostentatious markers found on middle Anglo-Saxon settlements; as such, it is possible that they have not yet been recognised by archaeologists. One possibility, which will now be explored, is that monument reuse was part of this process, not just from the late sixth century, but from the beginning of the Anglo-Saxon period.

Monument Reuse and Social Stratification in Early Anglo-Saxon England

A number of the settlements in the corpus under study here have yielded evidence to suggest that monuments were under some form of management or control in the fifth and sixth centuries. In some cases it appears that monuments within settlements may have been 'owned', or that access to them was restricted. Wolverton Turn Enclosure, which was established in the fifth or sixth century, is one such site; the ditched enclosure or 'annexe' surrounding a Bronze Age round barrow may have served to restrict access to the monument (Preston 2007: 86-91). There were also indications that the control or management of monuments was taking place at the three case study settlements which were occupied in the early Anglo-

Saxon period: Barrow Hills, Sutton Courtenay and Eye Kettleby. During the earlier phase of the settlement at Barrow Hills there is little archaeological evidence to suggest that particular members of the community were claiming authority over the barrows in the settlement, although the majority of the buildings were within an area defined by the barrows, and archaeologically-invisible activities may have taken place on or near them in this early phase. In a later phase, possibly belonging to the sixth century, there are clearer indications that 'possession' of the barrows was increasing in importance. This is exemplified by the construction of buildings on top of several barrows, and extremely close to them, as well as by the trend for constructing larger buildings closer to the earthworks, which hints at the possibility that those members of the community with greater resources and perhaps more powerful roles were taking control of the monuments and the space around them. The positioning of the entrances to some of these buildings would have had an impact on the ways in which members of the community interacted with the monuments, while it appears that some of the buildings and fence structures prevented clear and easy access to some of the barrows.

The northern portion of the settlement at Sutton Courtenay appears to have had its origins in the sixth century, although a fifth-century date is not impossible, and occupation appears to have continued into the seventh century (Hamerow et al. 2007: 115). Here, each of the three prehistoric barrows on the northern edge of the settlement had an SFB constructed on it, although at what point in the settlement's life this took place is uncertain. Given the circumstances at Barrow Hills, just 5km away, it is tempting to speculate that the buildings on the barrows also belonged to a later phase of the settlement, but this cannot be proven due to the early date and salvage nature of the excavation. The nature of the investigation also meant that the original extent of the settlement is unlikely to have been fully revealed, but there is some evidence to suggest that larger structures may also have been built closer to the three barrows. Again, the positioning of a number of buildings very close to the monuments would also have resulted in close interaction between members of the community and the barrows, and may also have managed access to

the earthworks. Furthermore, the row of SFBs aligned east-west to the south of the three barrows might also have formed a boundary, separating the area containing the monuments from the rest of the site.

Similarly, Eye Kettleby appears to have been established in the sixth century, although it too could have had fifth-century origins (Finn 1999: 5; Bradley and Gaimster 2000: 289). The postulated barrow within the settlement appears to have been surrounded by post-built structures that were frequently larger than those elsewhere in the settlement, while they also had also been given more complex layouts (and perhaps uses) by the addition of annexes. These buildings were also arranged in such a way that they may have restricted views of the potential earthwork, and perhaps also regulated access to it. The use of the Bronze Age enclosures within the settlement may also have been controlled, due to the positioning of one, perhaps two, buildings over the entrances to these enclosures. Even though none of the structures close to barrows at these three sites was as large as those at high-status sites such as Yeavering (Hope Taylor 1977) or Cowdery's Down (Millett and James 1983), it is significant that they were large in comparison to the rest of the buildings in each settlement. This pattern fits well with the supposition that social ranking in this period was within settlements and communities, rather than between them, and serves as a reminder that differences in status or social position at this time might have been signalled through relatively subtle differences between buildings or other settlement features, or through aspects of their appearance that are now lost.

Other settlements in the corpus also appear to indicate that monuments were dominated or managed by particular members of society in the early Anglo-Saxon period. At Manor Farm and West Cotton fifth- to sixth-century buildings were constructed on top of barrows (Windell et al. 1990: 16; Malim 1993: 23-6). Like those at Barrow Hills, these buildings may demonstrate that certain members of the community were stamping a visual symbol of their authority or ownership on the earthworks. This may also have been the case at Frieston Road, where an SFB was

built over a prehistoric ring ditch; although this building may have been abandoned in the seventh century, there is some ceramic evidence to suggest that it was occupied earlier, in the sixth century (Copp and Toop 2006: 89-93).

Similarly, the sixth-century building constructed over the ring ditch around a substantial round barrow at Corporation Farm may have transmitted similar messages about ownership and control (ADAS 1973: 40). Another example comes from New Wintles Farm, which was established in the sixth century and occupied until the early eighth century, where there were two examples of buildings constructed on top of monuments, although it is not clear to which phase of the settlement they belong (Clayton 1973: 384; Gray 1973: 18; 1974: 54). Meanwhile, at Gatehampton Farm, a possible building on a barrow was revealed during a magnetometer survey and may also have belonged to the fifth or sixth century (Allen 1995: 45-7, 97). The building on top of the bank around the Neolithic causewayed enclosure at Briar Hill displays a similar form of reuse, although occupation at this site may have belonged to the middle Anglo-Saxon period (Bamford 1985: 7, 122).

The practice of building structures on top of barrows or immediately adjacent to them may have served to draw attention to particular buildings, their owners or their functions, emphasising their visibility as 'special' or unusual places in a settlement. The builders or users of the structures might then have exerted control over the monuments and the buildings, managing, dictating or overseeing what took place in and around them. Earlier in this chapter it was suggested that these structures might have been used in some way during funerary rites. This is not at odds with the suggestion that they were owned, rather than shared or communal buildings, as their use during funerals could have been reserved for a particular individual, family or group, who would then have been able to clearly and visibly demonstrate their links with specific monuments. Even if the structures did not, in fact, have a mortuary use, it is still possible that their construction and use were

dictated by an owner or group of owners, and that the structures were still visible markers of the connection between those people and the earlier monuments.

Elsewhere, enclosures were also reused in ways which appear to indicate that access to them was being controlled, or that the enclosures themselves were being used to restrict space. At Knave Hill, which may have been established in the fifth or sixth century, buildings were located just inside the enclosure and just outside it (Wessex Archaeology 2008: 6-8). These buildings were adjacent to a possible entrance, albeit one indicated by a geophysical survey rather than excavation, suggesting that there was perhaps a degree of control over who could enter and leave the enclosure. It is also possible to speculate that the buildings inside and outside the enclosure might have had different functions or belonged to different people, although the ephemeral and inconclusive nature of the building evidence made this difficult to investigate.

At Foxholes Farm, which was established in the sixth century and occupied until the eighth century, the presence of Anglo-Saxon buildings within an Iron Age enclosure suggests that access to these structures may have been controlled (Partridge 1989: 25-32). There were other buildings on the site outside the enclosure; it might be significant that, like at Knave Hill, some were inside the older enclosure while others were not, perhaps due to differences in their uses or owners. At Eynsham Abbey there were also indications that the reused Bronze Age enclosure might have restricted access to the Anglo-Saxon buildings inside it (Hardy et al. 2003: 25-38). A fence associated with the earliest, sixth-century, phase may have formed an entrance structure, which could have been used to manage access to the enclosure. It is also possible that the enclosure around the early Anglo-Saxon settlement at West Halton used the two nearby Bronze Age barrows as entrance terminals (D.M. Hadley pers. comm.). Although this is a rather tentative suggestion, as only a small proportion of the ditch has been excavated, it is interesting that it resembles the layout of the settlement at Cottam (Yorks), where geophysical survey has revealed an enclosure flanked by what appear to be ring ditches (Richards 1999b). The

barrows may have been worked into the enclosures at both sites in a way that restricted access to the enclosure in which the Anglo-Saxon settlement features lay, but also directly related those structures to the prehistoric earthworks, and thereby regulated who could access them; perhaps in both cases their apparent incorporation into the enclosure was intended to demonstrate to outsiders that the inhabitants could exert control over the physical remains of the past.

There are several other settlements at which the dating of the Anglo-Saxon occupation was more tentative, but where there is some suggestion that enclosures were being used in similar to control people's movements in the early Anglo-Saxon period. Although the reoccupation of Taplow hillfort has been dated to the late sixth or seventh century based on the material from the ditches, there were sherds from within the hillfort to suggest that occupation had been established within the enclosure in the fifth or earlier sixth century, in which case it might have been used in a similar way to Knave Hill and the other sites discussed above (Allen et al. 2009). Indeed, it is possible that, like Sutton Courtenay, an earlier settlement at Taplow developed into a more ostentatious high-status seventh-century settlement. Similarly, the building inside the enclosure at Thorpe End may have been established in the early Anglo-Saxon period, although this was uncertain (Parry 2006: 236-7).

Sam Turner's (2003) discussion of the significance of enclosures on Anglo-Saxon ecclesiastical sites may aid our understanding of how pre-existing enclosures could have been important in earlier, secular settlements. He noted that enclosures make statements about power over the landscape and the control of space, with a defined space marking an area under the power of an individual or group (Turner 2003: 50). Concurrently, enclosures also imply the ability to exercise power over certain people, as access to an enclosure can be controlled; those with free access have power over those who do not. They also demonstrate power over defined areas of the landscape, which in turn can imply authority over the wider landscape in which the enclosure is sited (Turner 2003: 50). Furthermore, enclosures in

general tend to have a durable physical presence, making them 'monumental', and as such they are likely to have been important factors in the definition of power relations within society (Turner 2003: 51). All of these factors could have made the reuse of pre-existing enclosure particularly desirable.

It is particularly interesting that none of the reused enclosures whose dates of occupation could be determined were reoccupied before the sixth century. It was at this time that the use of enclosures generally in Anglo-Saxon settlements began to become more frequent and widespread (Reynolds 2003). It is possible that the appropriation of pre-existing enclosures was related to this practice, and the socio-political circumstances that precipitated it. The fact that these enclosures were old might have made them attractive since, on a prosaic level, they did not require building from scratch. Indeed, the reuse of enclosures and field systems may have stemmed from increasing pressures on production. For example, Moreland (2000b) has discussed the settlement at Pennyland, where the pre-existing system of enclosures might have aided the control of livestock, and it is also a possibility that this was the case at Glebe Farm and Harston Mill. Pre-existing enclosures might have provided useful resources for increasing production with minimal effort on the part of the communities who reused the features. The fact that the enclosures were old at the time of their reuse, however, may have given them added potency, and perhaps added legitimacy to their new uses, or their new owners, in a situation reminiscent of Bradley's (1987) interpretation of Yeavering and Hummler's (2005) arguments for Sutton Hoo. Not only could reused enclosures have defined and controlled space on behalf of certain members of society, the fact that they pre-existed may have added a feeling of continuity and rightfulness to the social order that they helped to create.

Thus, it has been shown that there a number of early Anglo-Saxon settlements in the corpus under study at which monuments appear to have been controlled, managed or 'owned'. Interestingly, a number of those listed above appear to have either been established in the sixth century, or their forms of appropriation became

more intense at this time. This was the case at Barrow Hills, where the buildings appear to have begun 'encroaching' on the earthworks in the sixth century, reusing them intrusively rather than just associatively, as they had done previously. Eye Kettleby and Sutton Courtney may well have been established in the sixth century, while at Corporation Farm the SFB situated over the ring ditch of the substantial barrow was believed to be of sixth-century date, while the SFB further away to the south was thought to have been fifth-century (ADAS 1973: 40; Finn 1999; 5; Hamerow et al. 2007: 115). Similarly, the buildings on barrows at Manor Farm, West Cotton, Gatehampton Farm may all have been sixth-century in date, while the prehistoric enclosures at Foxholes Farm, Eynsham Abbey and perhaps Taplow were reoccupied at this time (Partridge 1989: 25-9; Windell et al. 1990: 16; Malim 1993: 23-6; Allen 1995: 45-7, 97; Hardy et al. 2003: 25; Allen et al. 2009: 105).

This pattern is not restricted to those sites with evidence for the intrusive reuse or active control of monuments; it also seems to have been the case for settlements with less obvious control or management of earthworks. For example, Willington, Nettleton Top, Old Parkbury, West Halton and Enderby may all have been established in the sixth century (Wheeler 1979: 125-31; Clay 1992: 1-5; Field and Leahy 1993: 10-15, 20-4; Niblett 2001: 159-61; Hadley and Willmott forthcoming). The same may be true of Pennyland, which in its earliest, sixth-century phase had less intrusive and less structured relationships between buildings and the older enclosures than it was to have later (Williams 1993: 93). Although these sites seem to lack the encroachment of occupation features onto, or into, monuments in the sixth century, they demonstrate that *associative* relationships were also forming in the sixth century. It appears, therefore, that in the sixth century there was an increase in, firstly, the number of settlements established near monuments and, secondly, the likelihood that buildings would be situated on or very close to monuments. Interestingly, Wickham (2005: 341) has proposed that the period 550-600 saw the stabilization of social status, which was to lay the way in subsequent centuries for the development of hierarchical society, political power and elite wealth. The majority of these sites cannot be dated any more precisely within the

sixth century, but it is possible that they began to reuse monuments more intensively in the latter half of the sixth century in response to the socio-political stabilization proposed by Wickham.

The control of monuments appears to have continued into the middle Anglo-Saxon period on settlements that were not apparently of high status. For example, at Catholme there was clear evidence to suggest that prehistoric monuments were enclosed and that access to them was restricted (see Chapter 6). Several of the fifth- to sixth-century sites mentioned above also continued to be occupied into the middle Anglo-Saxon period, including the settlements at New Wintles Farm, Eynsham Abbey and Foxholes Farm (Chadwick Hawkes and Gray 1969: 2-3; Partridge 1989: 25-9; Hardy et al. 2003: 28). Thus, at the time that high-status 'palace' sites were reusing prehistoric monuments, lower-status settlements were also still reusing them, albeit perhaps in different ways. This seems to support the claims made by Williams (1998: 103) that reuse was diversifying in the seventh century, with new elite forms of monument appropriation existing alongside earlier forms. The evidence suggests, however, that on middle Anglo-Saxon lower-status settlements monument reuse retained some of its earlier meanings. For instance, the settlement at Catholme clearly demonstrates that access to monuments was being restricted and controlled in the seventh to ninth centuries. This implies that reuse was, as suggested, linked to the demonstration of authority and status in lower-status settlements, as well as higher-status ones, during the middle Anglo-Saxon period.

The presence of human burials within some monuments in settlements adds weight to the idea that some, if not all, monuments were in the possession of particular individuals, or that the earthworks were very closely associated with certain people. For example, at Barrow Hills a burial had been inserted into the bank around one of the pond barrows in the early seventh century, while several others were inserted into barrows just to the north-east of the settlement (Chambers and McAdam 2007: 201). At West Halton radiocarbon dating of human bone from the upstanding

Bronze Age barrow indicated that it had a burial inserted into it during the seventh century (Hadley and Willmott forthcoming). At both of these sites the graves were inserted into the monuments *after* the settlements had been inhabited for some time. This may represent an even greater encroachment onto (or rather into) the monuments, and a further intensification of their reuse in the later phases of both settlements. There may have been increasing social or political pressures which meant that it became important to specifically associate certain people with these particular monuments, and perhaps this burial rite was reserved for specific members of society.

At first glance this burial evidence from settlements appears to be at odds with the phenomenon of reusing monuments as execution cemeteries, since these two forms of reuse, one apparently 'positive' and the other 'negative', were taking place at the same time (see Chapter 3). For instance, the 'deviant' decapitated burial inserted into the centre of Stonehenge yielded a radiocarbon date of AD 600-670, almost exactly the same as that from the mound at West Halton[4] and very similar in date to the burial in the pond barrow at Barrow Hills (Pitts et al. 2002: 134-7; Chambers and McAdam 2007: 201; Hadley and Willmott forthcoming). As discussed in Chapter 3, Semple has drawn attention to the complexity of funerary monument reuse, particularly in the seventh and eighth centuries. The burial of outcasts and criminals at this time (and, indeed, into the twelfth century) often took place at monuments on boundaries and the edges of territories, apparently to position the damned dead away from the living and perhaps to subject them to torment from supernatural creatures inhabiting the monuments and the deserted marginal land on which they lay (Semple 1998: 114; 2003a: 371). However, the use of monuments for 'ordinary' burial continued into the eighth centuries and even occasionally beyond (Lucy 2000: 127-8; Hadley 2004: 306). In the light of the increasing evidence for the control of monuments discussed in this chapter, it is possible to suggest that

[4] Although admittedly the latter was disturbed and it is not possible to definitively claim that it was not a deviant burial; the fact that no other burials were discovered during investigation of the mound hints towards the absence of an execution cemetery.

the reuse of monuments for both deviant and ordinary burials was not as contradictory as it might first appear. It may well have been yet another form of 'resource management' relating to the remains of the past; perhaps those who dictated whether ordinary burials were inserted into barrows, including those in settlements such as Barrow Hills, also deemed that specific monuments were suitable places for the burial of outcasts and wrongdoers.

This part of the chapter has so far considered the impact of physical features, such as buildings and fences, on the control and management of monuments, but it is also possible that their manipulation and reuse by specific individuals or groups did not involve activities which left archaeological traces. At settlements such as Village Farm, Willington, High Farm and Hoe Hills buildings were situated some distance from monuments, but the earthworks still appear to have been incorporated into the settlements. As discussed above, religious ceremonies may have taken place near, in or on ancient earthworks at these sites (these could also have been carried out at settlements with more obvious forms of control as well); the right to initiate, dictate, carry out or oversee these activities might have marked out certain members of a community from others. As Williams (1997: 26) has suggested in the context of funerary practices, 'rituals taking place around old structures in the landscape may have been used by elite groups to impose their identities upon the wider populace by demonstrating their power and authority through an ideology of common mythical origins and divine descent'. Funerary rituals with minimal archaeological impact might have included feasts, processions and ceremonies related to religious belief (Hadley 2004: 305), and similar activities may have taken place near to monuments in settlements.

Furthermore, it is also possible that ancient earthworks in settlements were used as meeting places; we saw in Chapter 3 that the evidence for early Anglo-Saxon assembly sites is sparse. As early Anglo-Saxon assembly places have proved difficult to identify, Williams (2004) and Semple (2004) have both suggested that cemeteries (especially those centred on prehistoric monuments) may have fulfilled this role.

Meanwhile, Meaney (1995: 37), Pantos (2004: 172) and Semple (2004: 136-9) have all suggested that early assembly places coincided with sacred sites. Semple proposed that the defining characteristics of these sites included the reuse of prehistoric monuments, the creation of contemporary monumental structures, the presence of buildings or indicators of royal residence and evidence for ritual or religious activity such as standing posts or unusual burials. Given the evidence presented in this thesis for the potentially sacred significance of monuments in settlements, perhaps we ought to envisage them playing a part in early Anglo-Saxon assembly as well. Indeed, many of Semple's defining characteristics listed above can be applied to settlements. While it is true that the evidence we have tends to point towards assemblies taking place *away* from settlements (Pantos 2004: 155-6), attempts to identify earlier Anglo-Saxon meeting places have generally been unsuccessful; perhaps, therefore, we should be looking more closely at those sites which *have* been identified, as Williams (2004: 109-10) proposed when arguing for the use of early Anglo-Saxon cemeteries as assembly places. This could have been another way in which monuments in settlements were used for activities that did not necessarily leave archaeological traces, but which were connected to socio-political organisation and the regulating of a community's social structure.

Thus, despite the fact that some settlements, such as Village Farm/Medbury Lane and Willington, did not yield physical traces of control over monument reuse there may have been other, invisible, forces at work controlling their use. Social rules may have prevented people from accessing or using monuments, and control over land or people need not have been articulated through architecture. Similar claims have been made in relation to high-status settlements of the middle Anglo-Saxon period. For example, Ryan Lavelle (2007, cited in Semple 2009) has noted that the position of a documented palace at Grately (Hants) would have been approached along a Roman road, with a visually prominent hillfort nearby. He has argued that the prominence and visibility of these pre-existing features would have impressed on people the pre-eminence and age of the site, and the power of the people in control of it. Semple (2009: 39) has added to this, arguing that the site might have

been chosen specifically for this reason, a suggestion which Lavelle stopped short of making. She has also argued that the visibility of barrows next to routes in Wiltshire might have been used to impress travellers, as the earthworks represented highly visible symbols of authority (Semple 2003b: 81).

Thus, associative forms of reuse might have been just as powerful as more obvious, intrusive forms, but their influence may have been rooted in what the people viewing monuments knew or believed about their origins, uses and symbolism. Turner (2003: 51) has suggested that the lack of strictly defined property boundaries and other permanent systems of control in many early Anglo-Saxon settlements suggests that there was a degree of cooperation between people within communities. It is possible, therefore, that invisible social boundaries, rather than physical ones, regulated and controlled the movement of people around settlements and monuments.

This suggestion is supported by Jenny Walker's (2009) recent research on the use of the hall in early medieval society, in which she proposed that part of the social role of the hall building in early medieval Britain and Scandinavia was to manipulate and control society. Elites, rather than simply imposing their authority over a community by brute force, used the architecture of the hall to impress on people their rank in society. The higher-status members of society who commissioned or built halls drew on a number of 'ideo-symbolic' elements in order to construct and maintain their ideal society, by designing halls which both permitted and prohibited the actions of particular members of society (Walker 2009: 101). These 'ideo-symbolic' elements included the position of the hall in relation to the rest of the settlement (for example in a prominent position or in an enclosure), the positions and use of external and internal doorways, the use of internal partitions and the positioning of a central 'high seat' or focal point used by the hall owner and their guests (Walker 2009: 298). The organisation of the hall was planned so that elites could manage the activities taking place within it in a way that explicitly, and

implicitly, demonstrated that the hall owner was legitimately in control and that this was the natural order (Walker 2009: 301).

The intention, argues Walker (2009: 300), was to ensure that the social position of elites was maintained and accepted as it became part of the *habitus*[5] of the community. In other words, hall builders used these structures to impress on people how society, in their view, should be structured, and attempted to turn this into the norm. People viewing and entering halls knew their place and how to use these buildings in an appropriate way for their social position (such as which doorway to use or where to stand) because this had become second nature and they did not need to question or consciously think about where their place within society was; it just *was*. Rather than using force to impress upon people where their place was in society, elites used the layout of the hall and the wider settlement to convince the population they were claiming authority over that this was simply 'how things were'. Where monument appropriation is concerned we might picture a similar situation; certain members of a community could have influenced the structure of society and maintained their own powerful positions through the reuse of monuments and the creation of 'social norms' which dictated, encouraged or prohibited access to, and use of, earthworks. There may have been unseen restrictions on how different members of society could access and use monuments, therefore, which would not be archaeologically tangible.

To summarise, it is possible to suggest that there *was* an element of social stratification within early Anglo-Saxon settlements. This correlates with the evidence from contemporary cemeteries, which exhibit ranking between individual graves, as scholars such as Scull (1993) and Hamerow (1999) have demonstrated. Social ranking may have been internal to communities, rather than between them,

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[5] *Habitus*, as defined by Bourdieu (1977: 86), is a 'subjective but not individual system of internalised structures, schemes of perception, conception and actions common to all members of the same group'. It allows people to react to any situation and to understand society around them, without having to make conscious decisions about how to act.

and on a relatively small scale, perhaps within families; few of the early Anglo-Saxon settlements in the corpus under discussion were particularly large, and they might have been occupied by extended family groups. Although the demonstration of authority through monument reuse was not necessarily as obvious and ostentatious as it was in high-status 'palace' sites of the late sixth and seventh centuries, there is evidence to suggest that in smaller, earlier and lower-status settlements the practice had similar meanings. It may have been the case that particular individuals of groups had a central role within the communities living at settlements which contained monuments. This might have brought with it certain rights and responsibilities, some of which may have involved the control of monuments and the activities that took place on and around them. There may have been a benefit in terms of personal gain for these people, but their role could also have been a custodial or curatorial one, protecting or using the monuments for the perceived good of the community, controlling whatever power the monument was thought to possess. At some sites the archaeology has revealed remains of structures which might have served to manage, control or display possession of monuments, while at others there is little archaeologically-tangible evidence, although it is still possible that control of these earthworks was taking place through the manipulation of social norms and rules about who could access earthworks.

The social and political circumstances of the fifth and sixth centuries seem to have contributed to the development of monument reuse in settlements, and it seems that these centuries did not lack socio-political complexity, as it is sometimes assumed (e.g. Lewis et al. 1997: 98). It was in this period that the development of social, political and economic complexity led to the establishment of overarching systems of control (Scull 1993: 67; Wickham 2005: 340-2). As Semple (2008: 415) has stated, 'in the vacuum created by the collapse of Roman rule, many different groups, indigenous and otherwise, were seeking to define themselves in new ways'. It does not seem to have been the case, then, that early Anglo-Saxon society was without competing groups, social stratification, and systems of control over people and land (Turner 2003: 55). While power in the fifth and sixth centuries is often

envisaged as being linked to specific people, rather than specific places, the two need not have been mutually exclusive. Those members of a community with greater authority, wealth or influence could have enhanced the visibility of their power by linking themselves to specific places within their settlements, in this case monuments. Even if this was only on a local and relatively impermanent level, it could still have been very significant for each local community.

This study has, therefore, demonstrated that monument reuse in settlements was not a practice which elites of the late sixth and seventh centuries invented. Ancient earthworks were already being reused in earlier settlements, and middle Anglo-Saxon elites seem to have drawn on these pre-existing traditions when planning 'palace' sites such as those at Yeavering, Sutton Courtenay, Hatton Rock and Cowage Farm. It has also been shown that, rather than altering the meaning of monument reuse in their high-status settlements, elites may have adopted the practice precisely because it was *already* linked to the display of social status and the imposition of authority over a community by specific groups or individuals in the fifth and sixth centuries. Although high-status settlement sites made use of regular and highly structured forms of monument reuse which were not seen earlier, particularly the alignment of rows of large halls on barrows, at the core of the tradition may have been this connection with the management, supervision and control of both ancient monuments and people.

As a result, not only would seventh-century elites have been able to claim descent from ancient, mythical ancestors in order to legitimise their powerful positions, as Bradley (1987) has claimed, they would also have been able to legitimise their positions with reference to earlier Anglo-Saxon socio-political systems. It was mentioned earlier in this chapter that the developments of the fifth and sixth centuries paved the way for the emergence of regional elites and major kingdoms from the seventh century (e.g. Hamerow 1999: 23; Wickham 2005: 342). It may, therefore, have been important for seventh-century elites to give the impression that they had emerged from a long line of earlier, pre-eminent Anglo-Saxon

ancestors, especially those who displayed their rank through the appropriation of monuments during the fifth and sixth centuries; the adoption of traditions practiced by these 'ancestors' may have given the impression of continuity and family longevity. Just such a situation can be proposed for Sutton Courtenay, where the carefully planned positions of large timber halls close to several larger barrows represented an important political focal point in seventh- to ninth-century Wessex (Hamerow et al. 2007: 190). This complex seems to have evolved from an apparently ordinary settlement, in which the construction of SFBs on and near Circles A to C suggests that the monuments were already important to the community living in the northern portion of the site, whose settlement may have existed from the fifth or sixth century. Indeed, we might even speculate that the family or group who initiated or controlled reuse of the barrows to the north of the site in its earliest phases were the same group whose power grew and developed to the point that they were then able to establish a new and impressive complex of halls to the south, maintaining a concern for reusing the prehistoric remains in the area, but doing so in a more ostentatious way than they had previously.

Overview: The Interweaving of Ideologies and Socio-Political Structures

It was noted at the beginning of this chapter that, although the ideological and socio-political meanings of monument reuse have been considered separately here for ease of discussion, the two themes were certainly not mutually exclusive. On the contrary, they seem to have been intimately connected. The very fact that ancient monuments seem to have been so important in social and political terms during fifth to ninth centuries may well have stemmed from their roles as ideologically-charged ritual foci; the control and management of monuments may in turn have facilitated the manipulation and maintenance of ideologies and social norms. It is interesting that, in his description of a hypothetical late seventh-century village of Malling, Wickham (2005: 428-431) describes one of the two leading families in the village running the local religious rituals of the community both before and after the conversion to Christianity. It must be stressed that this is a conjectural account, written with reference to the available archaeological evidence, but it does allow us

to imagine how a group further up the social scale in Anglo-Saxon England might be responsible for the control of belief systems and thereby, perhaps, monument reuse on behalf of a whole community.

The supernatural and ritual interpretations of monuments in the context of burial were detailed in Chapter 3, but Howard Williams's (1998: 103) claim that 'ancient monuments were probably envisaged as powerful, liminal places, that may have been regarded as the dwellings of supernatural beings, ancient or ancestral peoples' sums up his views on the subject. Despite the fact that there is simply not enough evidence to confirm or deny that Anglo-Saxon people held these beliefs, especially where settlements are concerned, the conjectured meanings of monument reuse provided by researchers such as Williams do provide some insights into why asserting authority over ancient monuments might have been particularly important and desirable. If, for example, SFBs on monuments were used as mortuary structures, this may have been due to the perceived powers or properties of the monuments on which they stood, but it could also have visually emphasised the pre-eminence of the individual or group associated with the structure, thereby enhancing their social position and reminding other members of the community that they did not have the privilege of being so closely linked to the earthworks, or their magical or religious characteristics. This may be another reason why elites chose to adopt the practice of monument reuse in order to demonstrate their legitimacy and authority with respect to the past. If monuments were already powerful tools for manipulating ideologies and social order, their control would have been very useful for the emerging, unstable elites, who needed to express their authority visually and to be in control of the belief systems that structured people's lives.

The close link between the ideological and socio-political meanings of monument reuse is also suggested by the architectural evidence from early medieval settlements. For example, the interweaving of social and religious activities in some early medieval halls in Britain and Scandinavia demonstrates that elites often

recognised the advantages that arose from combining religion and ritual with the secular hall (Walker 2009: 302). Studies of non-western societies have frequently observed that, when house forms are fairly standardised, they are often an important medium for the 'negotiation and reproduction of social relationships', as well as representing the 'image of a society or universe' (Ware 2005: 156). If houses are at the centres of peoples' worlds, then we might expect to find examples of ways in which buildings were treated socially and culturally (Johnston forthcoming). The hall was undoubtedly important in early medieval society, and the very act of building is charged with meaning and, despite their apparently restricted forms Anglo-Saxon buildings may have played very important roles in society (Marshall and Marshall 1991; Ware 2005: 154).

It was previously mentioned that the evidence for ritual activity on or near monuments in the settlements under study is fairly limited. There are some indications that placed deposits and shrines were situated close to monuments at some sites, but not all, and monuments seem to have formed just one type of focal point in a wider system of ritual and religious activity. Indeed, the evidence for this form of activity in Anglo-Saxon settlements as a whole is quite limited and has only recently begun to be appreciated (see Chapter 1). This may, in part, stem from the possibly that 'ordinary'-looking buildings had multiple functions, which included ritual activities. Significantly, Ware (2005: 154) has suggested that:

> in the early Anglo-Saxon, pre-Christian, period there is little evidence for dedicated public buildings and civic institutions per se. Rather, political, economic and social activities were played out at the everyday level of the house or as we seem to prefer to call it in early medieval England – hall.

The separation of religious, social and political realms of activity does not appear to have been the norm in this period. Instead, these activities were combined and inseparable, taking place in similar surroundings and perhaps all overlapping within ceremonies or events. This means that identifying different forms of activity can be difficult, especially as so many of the buildings in which they may have taken place are so badly preserved archaeologically. At the large and politically-important site of

Yeavering there were obvious 'ritual embellishments' to some structures, such as the cache of ox skulls in a pit within building D2, which has been interpreted as a temple (Ware 2005: 156; Hamerow 2006: 12). Perhaps in smaller-scale, less regionally-important settlements this 'ritual embellishment' was of a more ephemeral or less ostentatious nature, meaning that it has not survived archaeologically. This might explain why ritual activities related to belief systems are difficult to identify, as they may have taken place in apparently 'ordinary' buildings whose remains survive in a poor state of preservation. However, this does allow us to speculate that those 'typical'-looking structures close to barrows and other monuments in settlements were not just 'dwellings' and 'ancillary' structures, as they were categorised at Barrow Hills, but that they also played a part in the construction and maintenance of social and ideological orders within communities.

Ware (2005: 156-7) has also suggested, again with reference to Yeavering, that the familiarity of high-status architecture meant that it was not completely 'otherworldly' to lower-status members of the community, but drew on people's everyday knowledge. As she put it, 'social elites appropriated, as a means of legitimising power, symbols and metaphors easily recognisable within wider society' (Ware 2005: 156-7). This resembles the argument of this thesis, made above, regarding the adoption of monument reuse by elites when it was already an established tradition in earlier settlements. In both cases, elite groups appear to have deliberately taken up pre-existing traditions with the aim of creating sites which members of the wider population could interpret and understand, the aim being to show the population where their rank in society was in comparison to the elites. Indeed, there would arguably have been no point in using established architectural forms or monument reuse practices if the populations over which high-status groups were claiming authority could not interpret the messages of dominance, longevity and legitimacy that the elites were attempting to convey.

Ware (2005: 154) has also suggested that the construction of the complex of halls at Yeavering 'secured links' between a particular lineage or group and the local

landscape. This suggestion can be applied to the settlements under study here; it is possible that constructing buildings, albeit not particularly ostentatious ones, near to monuments could have secured links between a particular individual or group and the earthworks. Ware (2005: 154) has also stated that the act of building establishes and enhances links between people and places. This adds further weight to the argument that, even though power is often visualised as related to specific people rather than specific places, in both the early and middle Anglo-Saxon periods person-based power could have been articulated and maintained through connections with specific areas of a settlement. Even if these places do not resemble grand, permanent centres of power to modern archaeologists, they may still have been very significant for members of Anglo-Saxon communities.

In light of the evidence reviewed in this chapter, it is possible to claim that monument reuse was driven by religious, social and political factors, which seem to have been amalgamated and interwoven, manifested in the same surroundings and events. Although this is more clearly seen at ostentatious and unusual settlements such as Yeavering, it may well also have been the case for more 'ordinary' settlements, albeit on a smaller scale (or a less well-preserved one). We should not, it seems, expect to find clear, unambiguous pointers to 'ritual' or religious activity in settlements; instead, this type of activity appears to have been intermingled with other aspects of domestic life. Thus, while buildings on top of barrows, for example, provide clear evidence for intrusive reuse and raise the possibility that the ownership or management of monuments was being expressed, connections between ideological or socio-political activities and monuments were not necessarily always evinced so clearly and physically; they may have been lost archaeologically as they were woven into 'everyday' activities.

Reynolds (2003: 132) has claimed that the development of more rigid, structured settlement layouts from the mid sixth century may have denoted increased 'ritual planning', with some settlements such as Yeavering performing a variety of social functions beyond housing in the seventh century, as expressed through alignments

of standing posts and barrows, human burials in settlements (often near boundary features), and animal deposits. What seems to be becoming clear, however, is that, although 'ritual planning' was perhaps more obvious in high-status settlements, it was not restricted to them, as the discovery of monument reuse and placed deposits in early Anglo-Saxon settlements and lower-status middle Anglo-Saxon settlements indicates. In short, the use of these motifs, especially monument reuse, on late sixth- and seventh-century Anglo-Saxon settlements of high status may well have been adopted because of their pre-existing significance to early Anglo-Saxon communities, and the messages they already relayed.

It is interesting to note that, in his discussion of pagan shrines Blair (1995: 21), suggested that their use was re-adopted by late sixth- and seventh-century elites from western British aristocratic practices, to which the elites became more receptive around the year 600, when kingdoms and royal dynasties were beginning to emerge. He has stated that:

> this generation, with its capacities for systematic planning and its urge to express power in monumental form, was paradoxically more likely than its predecessors to assimilate the high-status practices of British neighbours, or to adopt and reproduce ancient monuments (Blair 1995: 21).

Based on the evidence presented here, however, it might instead be argued that elites made use of prehistoric monuments for shrines, as well as for settlements and burial sites, because they were already familiar with the practice, as the communities they emerged from and claimed authority over had been for most of the Anglo-Saxon period. Thus, while the influence of western British elites may have made the reuse of monuments for negotiating power more attractive, monument reuse was already a well-developed practice in early Anglo-Saxon England, which elites drew on precisely because it was familiar to many people and because it was already transmitting messages about both ideology and social status.

Chronology: The Development of Reuse

This thesis has demonstrated that there was a chronological development in the practice of reusing monuments in settlements. The activity has been recorded in apparently 'ordinary' and 'egalitarian' settlements during the fifth and sixth centuries, although whether these settlements were, in fact, egalitarian has been questioned here, as the phenomenon may already have signalled the pre-eminence of certain members of a community at this time. It appears to have transmitted similar meanings in the seventh to ninth centuries on settlements that were apparently further down the settlement hierarchy, but there was also a development in the tradition in the late sixth and seventh centuries, with its adoption on high-status so-called 'palace' sites, with their distinctive alignments of buildings on barrows and their reuse of imposing enclosures such as hillforts. Appropriation of ancient earthworks appears to have become an important signifier of elite power at the time that major kingdoms were emerging. Although there are seventh- to ninth-century lower-status settlements where reuse continued to take place, such as Catholme, these sites are fewer in number than they were in the fifth to seventh centuries, suggesting that the practice was waning, perhaps because it was being transformed into a tool increasingly reserved for elite use.

On a more subtle level there may have been changes in the tradition of reuse in settlements during the early Anglo-Saxon period too. Although the dating evidence is not always as detailed as we might like, as discussed above there may have been an intensification in reuse during the sixth century, which saw the construction of SFBs on barrows and the encroachment of buildings into the spaces around monuments. There may also have been an increase in the number of reused enclosures at this time, perhaps related to the burgeoning trend for enclosing space within settlements more generally from the mid sixth century onwards (Reynolds 2003). Intrusive and highly structured monument reuse during the sixth century was noted at three of the four case study settlements discussed in the previous chapter – Barrow Hills, Eye Kettleby and Sutton Courtenay – as well as at other sites in the corpus. A similar pattern has also been noted in the burial record; there are few

cemeteries at which earlier burials clustered around a monument and later ones lay further away, as might be expected (Williams 1998: 99). This could be because there were multiple foci in these cemeteries, perhaps based on household groups. Some cemeteries exhibit the opposite pattern, with the earliest graves located away from a monument and later graves closer to it, for example at the fifth- to seventh-century cemetery at Buckland, Dover (Kent), where graves were inserted into a round barrow over a hundred years after the cemetery had been established some distance away from the mound (Williams 1998: 99).

Monument reuse appears to have signalled authority and social status throughout the early to middle Anglo-Saxon period. It was passed from local, small-scale elites onto later, more powerful and regional elites, on both settlements and burial sites. The changes and transitions in society which seems to have taken place around the year 600 are often attributed to a dismantling of earlier social structures and their replacement with new forms of governance and religion (e.g. Blair 1995; Stoodley 1999: 104-5). While it certainly seems to be true that changes were afoot at this time, hypothesising the transition as a dislocation or dismantling of earlier social systems might in fact obscure elements of continuity. Instead, the changes may well have been part of a longer evolutionary process. For example, Yorke (1989) has suggested that during the late sixth and seventh centuries, small communities in south-west England that had existed in the previous two centuries were coming together and consolidating their group status, merging into a larger regional units that foreshadowed the rise of the West Saxon kingdom. This situation speaks more of a process of development, with groups, and their leaders, emerging out of earlier social structures. Thus, emergent elites of the late sixth and seventh centuries may well have displayed their power through monument reuse because they and their followers were familiar with it and knew its meanings.

A subsequent development in the practice of monument reuse is also of interest in light of these findings. The Christian Church adopted the practice from the seventh century, despite the fact that its leaders seem to have dissuaded others from

reusing monuments (see Chapter 3). Why did ecclesiastics consider this an appropriate course of action? The answer might, again, lie in the reuse of monuments as an indicator of authority. We know that, as monument reuse was taking place from the fifth century, it pre-dated the conversion to Roman Mediterranean Christianity. Furthermore, since 'palace' sites and elite burial sites adopted monument reuse in the late sixth and early seventh centuries, this pre-dated the conversion of the elites to Christianity. The process of conversion began with the arrival of St Augustine and a group of monks to the court of the Kentish King Æthelbert in 597, and by the mid to late seventh century the royal houses for which sufficient written evidence survives had been converted (Yorke 1990: 1; 2003: 245). The practice was, therefore, in existence at the time when the Church began its missionary processes (Yorke 1990: 1).

Church leaders and missionaries may, therefore, have observed that monument reuse was a marker of status and legitimate authority in the settlements of the elites they were attempting to convert. Turner (2003: 51) has stated that the Church needed to gain a cultural presence in everyday conceptions of landscape in Anglo-Saxon England in order to be accepted and gain power. Choosing to make use of pre-existing earthworks in the landscape would have allowed the Church to do this, making use of widely-recognised motifs that signalled rightful and lawful authority. It is possible to suggest that, like the emerging elites of the late sixth century, the Church adopted the tradition of reuse and assimilated itself into earlier Anglo-Saxon traditions, creating a heritage and antiquity for itself which allowed it blend into pre-existing social, cultural and political structures. Ecclesiastical sites which reused monuments would, therefore, have shared certain spatial and physical characteristics with elite settlements, helping them to blend into the top rung of an existing settlement hierarchy.

It would also have been in the Church's interest to maintain the *status quo* as it was encountered; even though kingdoms and hierarchical social structures were the product of fairly recent developments, the Church helped to crystallize and

formalize what had originally been transient relationships; any attempts at rapid or wholesale changes in society might not have been favourably received (Scull 1993: 76). By embracing the practice of monument reuse the Church could have transformed it from a potentially threatening aspect of pagan belief into one related to Christian doctrines. This might have been a gradual process, followed by the phasing out the practice. This is exemplified at Eynsham Abbey, where a secular settlement appears to have been established in a Bronze Age enclosure around AD 600 (Hardy et al. 2003). This was transformed into an ecclesiastical site at some point in the eighth century, at which time the location of the earlier settlement and the monument were respected. In subsequent centuries the Bronze Age enclosure was built over, and the pre-existing earthwork had clearly diminished in importance. In contrast, the barrows at West Halton may well have been adopted into the minster that appears to have been established there in the seventh century; in this case the monuments were preserved, although though their meanings are likely to have changed (Hadley and Willmott forthcoming).

A complex of buildings excavated at Northampton is also of interest here; in the eighth and ninth centuries, several phases of a substantial hall building were positioned between two churches, St Peter's and St Gregory's (Blair 1996: 105). This closely resembled the alignment of large halls on barrows at late sixth- and seventh-century 'palace' sites. Indeed, Blair (1996: 105) noted that the layout at Northampton echoed that at Yeavering, where hall buildings were aligned between two pagan cult foci (both focused on prehistoric monuments). This form of alignment was associated with some of the earliest ecclesiastical Anglo-Saxon sites elsewhere too, for example Canterbury, and Blair (1996: 105; 2005: 199-200) has argued that this arrangement of halls and churches had its origins in earlier high-status settlements and their alignments of buildings. It should be noted that there is some debate about the function of the hall at Northampton; Blair's (1996) paper argued that the hall could have belonged to a minster, rather than a royal site as has frequently been assumed. Nonetheless, this site may well exemplify the ecclesiastical adoption of earlier techniques of exhibiting power through the

association of a hall with the two churches, whether this hall had a royal or an ecclesiastical use. Churches replaced prehistoric monuments as the foci of these axial alignments, and this served to 'translate' the arrangement from one belief system to another. As Christianity was firmly established in the eighth century, when the hall and churches at Northampton were initially constructed, the arrangement may have by that time been adopted into a Christian architectural repertoire, removing any lingering reminders of paganism from this form of high-status building complex. The indications are that ecclesiastical leaders were appropriating earlier spatial and architectural indicators of authority from established 'palace' sites, and that barrows and churches had similar functions in these complexes, as one replaced the other. As such, there is further evidence to support the argument that barrows had a religious and perhaps ceremonial role prior to their replacement by churches. We might, therefore, draw comparisons between the religious functions of barrows in earlier high-status settlements, such as Sutton Courtenay and Yeavering, and the role of churches on later ecclesiastical and high-status sites, such as Northampton.

Perhaps, then, the Church adopted the practice of reusing monuments as a way of assimilating itself with Anglo-Saxon social structures and high-status activity. This would have 'translated' the messages that the monuments transmitted, from pagan to Christian, and allowed the Church to phase out the practice gradually. The discovery of eighth-to tenth-century burials in barrows and other landscape features at Thwing (E Yorks), Swinhope (Lincs) and Winton Hill, Alfriston (Sus), and a ninth-century example at Bevis's Grave, Bedhampton (Hants), demonstrates that these practices were not explicitly outlawed by the Church until later, perhaps in the tenth century when it began to take a greater interest in controlling burial practices (Hadley 2004: 306). As discussed in Chapter 3, the reuse of monuments for burial after the conversion may have been perceived as a perfectly acceptable, sophisticated alternative to the Merovingian practices of stone memorials (James 1992: 253; Hadley 2001: 95). This implies that the high-status connotations of the practice were preserved, but that its pre-Christian ideological significance had been

erased. A gradual process of acceptance and 'translation' would have helped to avoid the potential disruption, conflict and ill-feeling associated with trying to veto the practice when it had been in existence for most of the Anglo-Saxon period. Further, as the Church moved the focus of religious activity from everyday dwellings to specific places (Ware 2005: 160), this would have removed the need for monument reuse as a religious activity in settlements. This hypothesis may explain Guthlac's choice of dwelling-place; as the Church sought to assimilate monument reuse and transform its meanings to ones that it sanctioned, Guthlac's barrow could have been portrayed as a distinctly Christian and sacred place, one which could only be safely inhabited by a saintly or ecclesiastical figure. The aim may have been to encourage ordinary, secular members of society to believe that reuse was no longer appropriate for them, and that it was an activity which could only be effectively, and perhaps safely, carried out and controlled by more godly individuals.

Chapter Eight

Conclusions

The aims of this study have been threefold. Its first objective was to determine whether monument reuse did, indeed, take place in Anglo-Saxon settlements. Once this had been confirmed, its second aim was to find out *how* monument reuse in settlements took place; what forms it took, which monuments were used, and whether the practice changed over time. The third intention was then to interpret and understand the activity, to attempt to discover its meanings and significance, and to ascertain how it compared to the phenomenon of monument appropriation in other contexts. This concluding chapter will, firstly, consider some of the methodological issues that have arisen during this study. It will then highlight some further avenues of research brought to light by the study, before summarising its findings.

Studying Monument Reuse: Some Methodological Issues

A certain amount of scepticism appears to surround the idea that monument reuse took place in Anglo-Saxon settlements; archaeologists are, it seems, often more prepared to accept that monument reuse took place in what are understood to be 'ritual' contexts, such as burial, as opposed to perceived 'mundane' settlement contexts. This attitude is succinctly expressed in the Barrow Hills excavation report, in which the treatment of the earthworks in the settlement was described as monument 'abuse', and contrasted with the reverential 'reuse' exhibited by nearby burials (Chambers and McAdam 2007: 303). While it is true that the ring ditches around the monuments at Barrow Hills were filled in during the Anglo-Saxon period, this actually enabled the community to construct buildings closer to the above-ground earthwork remains than they could have if the ditches had been open. Further, the work of Richard Hingley (1996), discussed in Chapter 2, reminds us that the modification of a pre-existing earthwork need not have been disrespectful; it could have been part of the process of reuse, bringing the monument into the contemporary milieu.

It is important to stress that this scepticism is by no means universal. As this thesis has already stated, Richard Bradley (1987), Sarah Semple (2003a), Andrew Reynolds (2003) and Helena Hamerow (2002) have all expressed the opinion that ancient monuments influenced Anglo-Saxon settlement layouts. Arguably, the scepticism surrounding monument reuse in settlements stems from the underestimation of them as places of ideological importance where actions related to belief and ritual could be carried out (e.g. Crawford 2004). Fortunately, studies discussed throughout this thesis by researchers such as Jess Tipper (2004), Carolyn Ware (2005), Helena Hamerow (2006) and Jenny Walker (2009), as well as ongoing doctoral research by students such as Clifford Sofield at the University of Oxford and Alexandra Knox at the University of Reading, are helping to dispel this assumption, demonstrating that settlements could, in fact, be arenas for ritual, ideological and ceremonial activity (see Chapter 1). As Reynolds (2003: 130) has noted, 'the settlement record appears to reflect the nature of society as accurately as do the cemeteries; their message is more subtle, yet hardly of less importance'.

A methodological problem facing anyone researching monument reuse is the need to assess the longevity and continued visibility of earthworks. It is certainly true that the preservation of earthworks into the Anglo-Saxon period can be difficult to prove, and visibility should not be assumed at every site where prehistoric and Anglo-Saxon remains coincide. The review of the corpus in Chapter 5, however, demonstrated that agricultural practices, quarrying and construction activities carried out since the medieval period have impacted on a large number of archaeological sites (see also Jones 1998). We should, therefore, take care not to assume that the present day landscape is similar to that of the Anglo-Saxon period; the chronological gulf that divides the two eras is filled with destructive processes that have levelled a great many prehistoric landscape features, and the early medieval landscape undoubtedly contained many more earthworks, and better-preserved ones, than it does today. Thus, it can be argued that a more optimistic attitude towards the survival of prehistoric earthworks in the Anglo-Saxon period

would be beneficial, and that it might lead to the identification of further examples of monument reuse.

This research has attempted to strike a balance between providing a wide-ranging review of monument reuse in settlements through the compilation of a regional corpus and offering a more in-depth analysis of several sites in order to understand, in a more nuanced and subtle way, how appropriation took place. The use of a restricted study area has allowed sites to be reviewed on an individual, site-by-site basis, as advocated by Reynolds (2003), Semple (2008) and Walker (2009), but at the same time the corpus is large enough to draw out shared themes and patterns, as well as differences, between the sites. A further benefit is that it has allowed the inclusion of unpublished sites, particularly those whose excavation is recorded in grey literature reports residing in Historic Environment Records. This was considered preferential to an approach that took into account only well-known and published sites, as these would not have provided a 'cross-section' of settlement activity in one region. The unpublished material is not always easy to use; often the excavations are small-scale, or post-excavation analysis is limited or absent, while on some occasions only brief interim reports are available, even for sites excavated many years ago. These sites do, however, repay consideration; reuse at settlements such as Village Farm/Medbury Lane, Eye Kettleby, Frieston Road, Elstow Harrowden, Glebe Farm and Biddenham Loop would not have been identified without the use of grey literature reports.

Recommendations for Further Work

This study has brought to light a number of avenues of research which, it is hoped, may be followed up in the future, expanding on the present study and increasing our understanding of the phenomenon of reuse in Anglo-Saxon settlements. The geographical remit of the study was restricted to central England, but an obvious starting point for further research would be to explore reuse in settlements across the rest of the country. Some of these sites were referred to in Chapter 2, and they include the eighth- to tenth-century high-status settlement at Paddock Hill in

Thwing (E Yorks), which reused a Bronze Age enclosure (Manby 1986; 1988), as well as the settlement located between two prehistoric barrows at Rookery Hill Bishopstone (Sus) (Bell 1977). Developing a fuller picture of monument appropriation in settlements across the country would enable a micro-topographical study, resembling that undertaken on the burial evidence by Semple (2008; 2009), to be conducted, as part of which areas of the country with particularly rich records of settlement monument reuse could be compared.

Further work might take into account monument appropriation in ninth- to eleventh-century settlements and, as noted in Chapter 2, a study of the reuse of Romano-British remains would also help to create a fuller picture of the practice as a whole. Comparison with reuse practices on the continent and in Scandinavia might also be of interest, and could reveal similarities between different regions of northern Europe. It has been noted that many settlements in the corpus yielded reused artefacts, particularly Romano-British items but also prehistoric ones. There have been several brief discussions of this phenomenon – such as Plouviez's examination of the Roman finds from West Stow in West (1985), or Leary's assessment of the Roman material from Anglo-Saxon contexts in the Catholme report (Losco-Bradley and Kinsley 2002) – but these have not been extensive and the focus has tended to be on the discovery of these artefacts in graves (e.g. White 1988; Eckhardt and Williams 2003). A comprehensive study of reused artefacts in settlements could be particularly valuable in enhancing our understanding of Anglo-Saxon attitudes towards the physical remains of the past, especially if this data was combined with the evidence for monument appropriation.

It would also be particularly interesting to explore the possibility that there are more examples of monument appropriation in settlements, which are as yet unexcavated or unrecognised. During the course of this study a number of occupation sites with possible monument reuse have been identified, but they did not meet the criteria for inclusion in the corpus, often because they did not have excavated evidence for buildings (see Appendix D for a list of these sites). Included

in this group are sites where Anglo-Saxon pottery scatters have been found on top of prehistoric monuments. Pottery scatters do not *necessarily* indicate settlement activity, as they can derive from cemeteries or manuring (Lane 2000: 100), but since a number of settlements in the corpus were initially identified as pottery scatters (e.g. Knave Hill, Thorpe End, Crow Hill, Eye Kettleby and Grange Park; see Chapter 5) there is the potential that at least some of these scatters represent further settlements in the vicinity of prehistoric remains. For example, Anglo-Saxon pottery scatters have been discovered on top of Iron Age enclosures at Muston (Leics; HER no. 3400) and Frisby on the Wreake (Leics; Thompson 2000: 238). Similarly, at the Iron Age hillfort of Hunsbury (Northants) around 100 sherds of early to middle Anglo-Saxon pottery have been discovered, along with a loomweight and a silver sceat of AD c.575-775 (Moore 1973: 41; Jackson 1994).

There are also sites at which the cropmarks of possible SFBs have been noted in close proximity to prehistoric features. At Asgarby (Lincs), possible cropmarks of SFBs have been noted alongside a partial cropmark of a ring ditch, thought to represent a Bronze Age barrow (Lincs HER no. MLE45191). A number of similar sites were noted by Benson and Miles (1974a) in their thorough study of the cropmark evidence from the Upper Thames Valley; at Fawler (Oxon), three round barrows were recorded on aerial photographs, the largest of which was flanked to the north-east by six Anglo-Saxon pits (which were excavated) and an unexcavated cropmark thought to be an SFB (Benson and Miles 1974a: 50). The list in Appendix D also includes sites at which Anglo-Saxon features suggestive of occupation have been excavated, but where there are no buildings. At Salford (Beds) three Bronze Age ring ditches, as well as Iron Age ditches and a pit alignment, were excavated alongside an early Anglo-Saxon watering hole, dated to between AD c.450 to 650 on the basis of the domestic debris it contained (Albion Archaeology 2005b; Dawson 2005). This implies that a settlement site might have been nearby, but the presence of buildings was not confirmed through excavation.

Finally, there are also a number of sites listed in Appendix D for which HER entries recorded Anglo-Saxon and prehistoric features in close proximity, but no sources could be found to confirm this. For example, Leicestershire HER entries MLE366 and MLE367 state that double-ditched boundaries enclosed a rectangular area near Narborough Bogs in Blaby, and within this were four smaller rectangular enclosures and a ring ditch, with nearby Anglo-Saxon pottery suggesting occupation of this date. No further information about the site, however, could be traced. There is evidently scope for identifying further settlements with monument reuse, and it would be particularly interesting to determine whether any of the potential examples listed in Appendix D do, indeed, represent instances of monument appropriation.

Summary of Findings

This thesis has demonstrated that – in common with cemeteries, shrines, churches and moot sites – Anglo-Saxon settlements of the fifth to ninth centuries *did* reuse prehistoric monuments. The most frequently appropriated monument type in the study area was the round barrow, closely followed by prehistoric enclosures and field systems, although long barrows, pond barrows and henges were also reused. The forms that reuse took can be divided into 'associative' and 'intrusive', reflecting differences in the level of physical modification that monuments were subjected to. There is some evidence to suggest that reuse took place more frequently in settlements of the fifth to seventh centuries, and that it became less regular from the seventh century onwards, although there were still settlements, such as Catholme, which reused monuments in the eighth and ninth centuries. Monument appropriation took place on a variety of different types of settlement, from apparently 'ordinary', relatively low-status sites, such as New Wintles Farm or Eye Kettleby, to high-status 'palace' sites, such as Hatton Rock and Sutton Courtenay (and perhaps also Taplow and Crow Hill) as well as ecclesiastical sites such as Eynsham Abbey.

Anglo-Saxon communities appear to have been making conscious decisions about which monuments they reused, and they exploited these earthworks in different ways. This was probably based on the above-ground appearances of these earthworks, which could have been varied, even though their below-ground remains may look similar archaeologically (see Chapter 5). That communities *did* distinguish between monuments on the basis of their appearances is confirmed by the toponymic evidence, which records the application of adjectives such as 'green' and 'broken' to monuments (see Chapter 4). Enclosures and other linear features were often used in a way that resembled their original use, perhaps inevitably so, since even after a great deal of time had passed their forms may still have lent themselves to enclosing space. Even if this type of reuse had a prosaic and practical element to it, this does not mean that it was without ideological meaning. The age of an enclosure may have made its appropriation particularly attractive, and it was perhaps perceived as giving the enclosure added effectiveness or protection, or as a legitimising force for the activities that took place inside it. The reuse of barrows is more enigmatic, and this activity does not appear to have a practical function; the positioning of SFBs on top of barrows at some settlements is particularly intriguing.

The different types of reuse seem to have been fairly widely distributed across the study area, with relatively consistent trends in the positioning of buildings in relation to monuments across central England. Could it, then, have had similar meanings across the region, perhaps with some accompanying localised variations? There is certainly evidence to suggest that other characteristics of Anglo-Saxon settlements, such as building techniques and settlement layouts, were similar and widespread across England (James et al. 1984; Powlesland 1997: 104, 110; Hamerow 2002: 51, 94; Tipper 2004: 1). There will undoubtedly have been variations; as Reynolds (2003: 99) has noted, to expect uniformity in settlement form is unrealistic, and any attempt to make a single interpretative framework for all settlements would overlook the presence of variation between them. Nonetheless, there are some general trends that can be identified across the study area, for example the positioning of SFBs on top of mounds or the ring ditches

around them, which took place in Lincolnshire, Northamptonshire, Oxfordshire and Cambridgeshire.

Another aspect of monument reuse which appears to have had shared meanings across the study area, and further afield, is the late sixth- and seventh-century development of the tradition as an elite tool for demonstrating power, which seems to have arisen across much of Anglo-Saxon England. Much attention has been paid to this phenomenon, especially in the context of burial. In terms of settlement, Richard Bradley's (1987) reassessment of Yeavering, and his suggestion that elites were appropriating monuments there in order to legitimise their powerful positions, has been extremely influential, but it did not consider *why* the aristocratic builders of the settlement viewed monument reuse as an effectual tool for expressing and legitimising authority. This study, it is argued, has helped to clarify this. Just as Howard Williams (1997; 1998) has asserted in the case of burial, we should not see the reuse of monuments in the settlements of late sixth- and seventh-century elites as a new invention; it already existed prior to that period. The messages it transmitted to the general population, and its effectiveness as a signifier of legitimate authority, stemmed from the fact that the practice had existed from the fifth century amongst communities over whom elites were claiming power. What is more, it appears to have already relayed messages about control and authority from the early Anglo-Saxon period.

Thus, many members of early Anglo-Saxon society may well have been familiar with idea that the control of monuments was a signifier of authority; by managing and restricting access to monuments through ostentatious buildings and burials, newly-emerging high-status groups could clearly signal to the general populace that they were now in charge. Arguably, this would have been much more effective if people were already familiar with the idea that monument reuse was linked to the expression of power; if elites adopted the practice from earlier communities but *changed* its meanings, they would have had to communicate these new meanings

to the rest of the population and wait for them to be disseminated, which might have diminished the message that the elites were attempting to convey.

An additional benefit of adopting the practice of reuse for high-status groups could well have been the links it created with the *recent* past, as well as the distant past. Perhaps demonstrating their knowledge of the tradition of monument reuse in settlements enabled elites to show that they had emerged from the same communities as the people they were ruling over, or even that it was their families who had controlled reuse on smaller, more impermanent scale during the fifth and sixth centuries. Elites might, therefore, have created an impression of unbroken authority, projecting this back both to the fifth century and the more remote and mythical past. As such, these higher-status members of society could have created an identity which rested on being 'of the people', but which marked them out as special, entitled to rule over the rest of the population.

A further aspect of monument reuse worthy of consideration is the Christian Church's attitude to the practice, although this seems to have been complex. As Semple (1998; 2003a) has shown, the Church vilified the practice through the depiction of monuments as haunted and evil places in written sources, most of which date to the eighth to tenth centuries, as well as through the reuse of monuments as execution cemeteries. Yet prior to this, in the seventh century, the Church's attitudes towards prehistoric monuments, although they are often harder to comprehend, appear to have been more flexible. For example, some early churches, and their associated settlements, were established in, on or near prehistoric monuments, such as Breedon-on-the-Hill (Leics) and Aylesbury (Bucks), which were both within Iron Age hillforts (Blair 1992: 234; Semple 2003a; see Chapter 3). Additionally, the Church does not appear to have immediately discouraged the occupation of sites with traces of earlier activity at the high-status settlement sites of converted seventh-century elites; at Yeavering, for example, after Bishop Paulinus had commenced his mission there, the wooden standing post and ring ditch within the Great Enclosure at the eastern end of the site continued to

be used as a place of burial, augmented by the construction of a church (Hope Taylor 1977: 169; Frodsham 2005: 24). John Blair has argued that the ecclesiastical reuse of monuments was an attempt to emulate Mediterranean church-building traditions (specifically through the reuse of pre-existing enclosures) and he has also proposed that the intention of the Church was to Christianize the tradition of reuse (Blair 1992: 245; 2005: 183-4). The latter proposal, in particular, is supported by the findings of this study, which suggest that monument reuse may well have been a manifestation of pagan belief systems in early Anglo-Saxon settlements (see below for a summary of this aspect of reuse).

While, admittedly, monument appropriation at ecclesiastical settlements has made up only a small proportion of the discussion in this thesis[1], the conclusions about reuse in earlier and contemporary secular settlements may shed some additional light on the Church's attitudes towards reuse. It is possible that the Church initially adopted and accepted monument reuse for the same reasons that high-status groups had earlier, prior to the introduction of Christianity. Firstly, as Sam Turner (2003) has suggested, the early Church needed to assimilate itself into society without dramatically altering it, in order to avoid rejection. Adopting monument reuse might have been a pragmatic decision, which allowed Church sites to 'blend into' the landscape. It could also have helped to create the impression that they were the rightful heirs to a tradition which had begun several centuries earlier, as elites had also previously done. Secondly, the Church could use a pre-existing method of signalling authority in order to establish itself as a powerful force in society; again, this was something that elites had begun to do a short time before. It is possible that, once monument reuse began to be associated with Christianity through strategies such as the positioning of churches, the burial of Christian elites in pre-existing monuments, and the reuse of earthworks in the settlements of converted high-status groups, the Church could then start to phase out the practice by manipulating its meanings, ultimately demonising it where settlements and

[1] These sites have generally been identified as a result of the fact that they were established on earlier, secular settlements e.g. Eynsham Abbey and perhaps West Halton.

cemeteries were concerned (although Semple (1998) has noted that monuments continued to be used for some activities, for example as fair or market sites, into the late Anglo-Saxon period, adding another layer to the Church's complex attitude towards reuse). This does not seem to have been a straightforward practice, however, and it may have taken some time, since settlements such as Catholme were still reusing monuments in the ninth century. Perhaps, though, this was because Catholme had been established in the seventh century, when the practice was more acceptable; it is interesting to note that none of the settlements in the corpus seem to have been founded in the eighth and ninth centuries.

We must also consider what this study has revealed about the role of monuments in early medieval belief systems, since one of its aims was to examine whether the settlement evidence supported the ideas put forward by scholars such as Williams (1997; 1998; 2006) about the significance of monument appropriation in burial. There is limited archaeological evidence to indicate that monuments were consistently reused as the foci for religious or ritual activity in Anglo-Saxon settlements. There are hints at this, such as the insertion of burials into monuments in some settlements, and the construction of SFBs on top of mounds or ring ditches. It has been suggested here that these structures had some ritual function, perhaps as buildings used in the funerary process; they are certainly a mysterious and enigmatic aspect of reuse. These features are not, however, found in all settlements in the corpus, and there are no consistent patterns between, for example, the locations of ritual placed deposits and monuments. Indeed, placed deposits and human burials also occur in settlements with no trace of monument reuse. Of course, it should be borne in mind that activities carried out on or near monuments in settlements need not have left any archaeological traces. Furthermore, when we consider the level of damage caused to so many monuments by agricultural practices and other destructive activities in recent centuries, it is possible that evidence for further activity on monuments, perhaps much of it ephemeral, has been lost; this possibility has also been noted in cemetery contexts by Williams (1997: 4).

Thus, it seems to have been the case that monument reuse was a practice that was undertaken depending on the needs of a community, and that it was determined by what was available to that community in the area they chose to establish their settlement. At some settlements reuse took place, while at others it did not. At those sites where it *did* take place, many of which date to the pre-Christian era, there are some indications that the tradition was ideologically important. Perhaps, then, we might see it as one element in a whole 'package' of activities related to early Anglo-Saxon pagan belief systems. The flexible, adaptable and heterogeneous nature of early medieval belief has been discussed by a number of researchers; Geake (2003) has pointed out that a huge variety of different burial practices were available to early Anglo-Saxon communities, from which certain elements could be selected for particular individuals.

A key finding of Jenny Walker's (2009) study of the early medieval hall was that those commissioning or building halls could select different 'pieces' from an assortment of architectural elements. This included positioning the building in a prominent position on a hill or within an enclosure, as well as dividing the interior in particular ways and placing doorways in certain places, in order to control how people viewed, approached and moved around the building. Through the selection of these particular architectural elements the hall-builders – usually elite groups – could control how the structure was used and make sure that the rest of the community knew their place within it. Additionally, hall-builders could decide whether to integrate religious practices into the hall or to separate them by building separate structures such as 'cult houses' (Walker 2009: 306). These seem to be pieces of an architectural 'puzzle', some of which could be selected while others were not. As such, Walker suggested that it was pointless to try to search for any one, single way in which early medieval religion was practiced, or to attempt to discern whether an early medieval hall was a religious building or a secular one, as the beliefs of both spheres were merged (Walker 2009: 306).

Perhaps, then, monument reuse was a single element in a 'catalogue' of early medieval religious practices; it was one of a number of different activities of religious significance which could be used by a community, but it was by no means essential to the enacting of religious ceremonies in all communities, as it was not found on all settlements.[2] Moreover, like the halls in Walker's study, it seems that these monuments had both a religious and socio-political significance. If monument appropriation was connected to religious belief, its control may well have been imperative in the exertion of social and political influence over others. This might well explain why certain individuals or groups sought to command and manage reuse, including the Church, which then 'translated' its religious significance from a pagan to a Christian one.

The purpose of this study has not been to suggest that prehistoric monuments were the only factor influencing the positioning of Anglo-Saxon settlements; of course, there may have been numerous factors dictating this decision. Further, it is acknowledged that there are many early to middle Anglo-Saxon settlements from which there is no evidence for monument reuse (although see footnote 2). Where they *were* reused, however, they habitually seem to have been important places within the settlements. There is little positive archaeological evidence to corroborate the suggestion that they were imbued with the specific properties that Williams (1997; 1998) has speculated about in relation to funerary reuse, such as acting as the homes of ancestors or liminal portals to supernatural worlds. Nevertheless, they may well have been places of both socio-political and religious significance. As such, the results of this study have contributed to the increasing appreciation that activities of a religious and ritual nature in fifth- to ninth-century England were not restricted to what are traditionally regarded as 'ideologically significant' contexts, such as burial, but were also intimately connected to

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[2] The comparison with the rest of the settlement record in Chapter 5 suggested that around 16-26% of early to middle Anglo-Saxon settlements in the study area reused monuments, although the number of sites listed in Appendix D, and the fact that reuse has been so rarely explicitly searched for during excavations of settlements, raises the possibility that the proportion may be higher.

settlements as well. After all, the same communities were reusing monuments in both cemeteries and settlements; indeed, there is a growing realisation that Anglo-Saxon populations blurred the lines between the two, constructing buildings in their cemeteries and burying the dead in their settlements. As a final coda, it seems to fitting to end this thesis as it began, with a quote from a paper by Audrey Meaney, in which she states that 'just over 1,300 years ago, according to his hagiographer Felix, St Guthlac did something until then unrecorded in England; he went to live on a burial mound' (Meaney 2003: 229). Unrecorded in documentary form this practice may have been, but Guthlac's actions echoed those of many other Anglo-Saxons who, from the fifth century, chose to live on, in and around the preserved remains of ancient monuments.

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