Barrows and Buildings, Ditches and Dwellings:

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

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Abstract

The appropriation of prehistoric monuments in the early to middle Anglo-Saxon period is a phenomenon that has been studied by archaeologists for some decades. Prehistoric earthworks were reused as the foci for burial, as the locations of churches and pre-Christian shrines, and as places of political assembly. As such, a variety of theories have been put forward regarding the meanings of these landscape features and their significance amongst communities in Anglo-Saxon England. What is striking is that fifth- to ninth-century *settlements* have not featured in these discussions. There are a few exceptions, the most notable being Richard Bradley's (1987) reassessment of the 'palace' site of Yeavering. However, these studies have often led to the assumption that monument reuse in settlements was out of the ordinary, and restricted to late sixth- and seventh-century high-status sites.

In order to redress the balance, this thesis has reviewed the Anglo-Saxon settlement evidence from central England, demonstrating that monument appropriation *did* take place in settlements between the fifth and the ninth centuries. It has revealed that a variety of prehistoric monuments were reused, including Bronze Age round barrows and Iron Age hillforts, and that this reuse could take a number of different forms. The study has also examined the religious and socio-political meanings of monument appropriation in settlement contexts. This has indicated that the practice may well have been one element in an early Anglo-Saxon 'catalogue' of religious practices. Furthermore, it has shown that reuse was already associated with the demonstration of authority in the early Anglo-Saxon period. As a result, it is now possible to suggest that the phenomenon was adopted on high-status elite settlements such as Yeavering precisely because it was *already* a recognisable and potent motif of power and ideological belief amongst communities over whom newly-emerged elites were claiming authority.

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Chapter One

Introduction and Context

'Early Anglo-Saxons belonging to the pagan or conversion periods dug graves into prehistoric mounds for their own dead, but seem to have avoided living near them' (Meaney 2003: 231).

Recent decades have witnessed a growing interest amongst early medieval archaeologists in the role played by the remains of prehistoric monuments in Anglo-Saxon society. During the last ten years or so the reuse of prehistoric monuments in the fifth- to eleventh-century burial record in England has been particularly intensively researched and widely discussed (e.g. Semple 1998; 2003a; Reynolds 1999; Lucy 2000; Williams 1997; 1998; 2006). Meanwhile, similar studies have been undertaken on material from Merovingian Gaul (Effros 2001), and Scandinavia, for which Eva Thäte (2007) has recently produced the first large-scale review of reuse in the burial record. However, there has been no systematic study of the appropriation of, and attitudes to, prehistoric monuments in contemporary settlements. Indeed, the subject has been virtually ignored. There are a few exceptions, but these have primarily focused on high-status settlement activity (e.g. Bradley 1987) or they have noted the presence of monuments in settlements without seeking to explain them (e.g. Reynolds 2003; Semple 2003a). Audrey Meaney's comment, cited above, demonstrates that as recently as 2003 it was possible to claim that early Anglo-Saxon communities actively avoided living near prehistoric mounds. This thesis will demonstrate that this was simply not the case; Anglo-Saxon communities occupied buildings in very close proximity to – and sometimes directly on top of – mounds, as well as other antecedent landscape features, such as hillforts and prehistoric enclosures. What is more, *contra* Meaney, this practice was particularly popular in the 'pagan and conversion periods'.

The aforementioned recent scholarly preoccupation with monument reuse in the early medieval period has led to the recognition of monument appropriation in a

variety of Anglo-Saxon contexts. These will be considered in greater detail in Chapter 3, but a brief review here will demonstrate that the present study is both timely and essential. As previously mentioned, burial activity is one of those realms in which particular attention has been paid to both the physical forms that monument reuse took and the motives behind it. There has been a focus on, in particular, the appropriation of prehistoric *barrows*, and recent interpretations of this practice have highlighted the role that these monuments could play in the construction of lineages of real or imagined ancestors (Shephard 1979; Bradley 1987), as mnemonic devices that perpetuated a community's shared myths, and as liminal portals to supernatural worlds (Williams 1997; 1998; 2006).

Howard Williams's ideas regarding the mnemonic and ideological roles of reused monuments in the funerary rite have been particularly influential, although they have recently received some criticism (e.g. Devlin 2007). Sarah Semple (1998; 2003a; 2003b; 2008) and Sam Lucy (2000) have also undertaken studies on the subject of reuse in the burial record. Meanwhile, John Blair (1995) has identified possible examples of archaeologically elusive pre-Christian 'pagan' shrines that focused on older monuments. He has also demonstrated that Christian ecclesiastical sites frequently made use of pre-existing enclosures (Blair 1992; 2005). There was also a tendency for some Anglo-Saxon churches to be located next to prehistoric features, such as barrows or monoliths (Semple 2003a; Blair 2005). Furthermore, it has been shown that monuments could also form meeting places for early medieval political assemblies (Adkins and Petchey 1984; Meaney 1995; Pantos 2004; Semple 2004).

Clearly, a substantial body of work exists on the subject of Anglo-Saxon monument reuse in contexts *other* than settlement. These previous studies have, thus, provided the impetus for the research presented here. If, as it has been claimed, prehistoric monuments had such a powerful influence on so many areas of Anglo-Saxon life, including funerary rites, political assembly and religious ritual, it seems remiss not to ask what effect such monuments had on people in their everyday lives, in their places of inhabitation. Settlements would arguably have been places

in which people spent most of their time, and they would have provided important opportunities for the creation and expression of identities (Reynolds 2003; Ware 2005). If we do not investigate how Anglo-Saxon communities reacted to monuments in their settlements we risk overlooking a large body of data and undermining our understanding of how those communities interpreted the physical remains of the past.

The purpose of this study is twofold. Firstly, it aims to assess how widespread the reuse of prehistoric monuments was in early to middle Anglo-Saxon settlements. In so doing, it will examine the types of settlements in which it occurred and the types of prehistoric features that were reused. This will be achieved through a review of the Anglo-Saxon settlement evidence in the study area. In addition to well-known and published sites, this review will frequently make use of small, partially excavated or unpublished settlements that have not previously attracted much attention from scholars, demonstrating that monument reuse is *not* restricted to high-status or unusual settlements. The second purpose is to assess how, and particularly *why*, monuments were appropriated in settlements. In order to answer these questions an in-depth, site-by-site approach will be taken, in which the layout and uses of space in a number of case studies will be analysed. These case studies will allow greater understanding of the ways in which older monuments could be referenced in settlements, how reuse changed over time, and why those monuments may have been significant.

The extensive studies of monument reuse in burial, religious and assembly contexts have generated a host of different interpretations of the practice and its significance in Anglo-Saxon England. A further aim of this research will be to ask whether reviewing the evidence for monument reuse in *settlements* supports those previously-postulated explanations. Does it, for example, confirm that monument reuse was linked to status, as researchers such as Shephard (1979) and Bradley (1987) have suggested? Does it support Williams's assertions that monuments were regarded as liminal doorways to other realms, and as the embodiments of society's cosmologies and origin myths? Or does studying attitudes towards ancient

earthworks in settlements reveal other, perhaps more prosaic, perspectives and beliefs?

Terminology

There are a number of phrases used in the text for which definitions are essential in order to avoid confusion. Throughout the text the terms 'Anglo-Saxon' and 'early medieval' are used interchangeably to describe the period between c.AD 450-1066. 'Early Anglo-Saxon' refers to the period between c.AD 450-650, whilst 'middle Anglo-Saxon' describes the period c.AD 650-850, and 'late Anglo-Saxon' applies to the period c.AD 850-1066. The phrase 'Anglo-Saxon' is used simply as a descriptive term to describe this period in time and the archaeological evidence pertaining to it; there are no ethnic or racial implications connected to its use.

It is also essential to explain what is meant by the terms 'reuse' and 'appropriation', which are used throughout the thesis. They are both used here to indicate the spatial referencing of prehistoric features in the landscape that do not show evidence of having been continuously occupied since their original construction. That is not to say that *no* use of these features took place in the intervening period between their initial abandonment and the Anglo-Saxon period. Indeed, in some cases there is evidence for reuse in the intervening centuries, in the form, for example, of Roman urns inserted into a prehistoric barrow that was later reused in the Anglo-Saxon period at Cossington (Leics) (Thomas 2007a; 2007b; 2008). There may also have been numerous other instances of archaeologically invisible activities taking place on or near monuments in the prehistoric and Romano-British periods. However, there is no evidence for the existence of unbroken links between the builders of those monuments and the Anglo-Saxon communities that made use of them.

Similarly, while it is possible that the Anglo-Saxon communities reusing prehistoric monuments might have had some awareness of their original functions, this is likely to have been from investigation of the features and not as a result of the continuation of cultural links. In many cases Anglo-Saxon communities may have

had no awareness of the monument's original function at all, and their understanding may have been based on beliefs and myths about those monuments, as the place-name evidence seems to suggest, with its references to barrows as the dwellings of dragons and other supernatural creatures (e.g. Gelling 1988: 142; see Chapter 4).

It also seems advisable to explain what is meant by the term 'ritual' in the context of this thesis. There has been an increasing interest in 'ritual' activity over the last twenty years or so, spurred on in part by the development of post-processual theoretical perspectives, which have focused on elucidating the social, cultural and cosmological structures of past societies (Garwood et al. 1991: vi; Brück 1999: 313). Although the term 'ritual' is now widely used in archaeology, its meanings are still debateable and are often not made explicit by its users (Hill 1995: 16; Brück 1999: 314). The debates about the meanings of ritual have primarily taken place amongst prehistorians, with historical archaeologists frequently shying away from identifying ritual activity in the archaeological record (Gilchrist 2008: 119-20). There is no room here to recount the details of these debates, suffice to say that the dichotomy that was once perceived to exist between 'rational' or 'practical' secular activity and 'irrational' or 'superstitious' ritual action is no longer accepted (Garwood et al. 1991: vi; Brück 1999: 313-9).

Brück (1999: 327) has gone as far as to reject the use of the word 'ritual' altogether, as she felt that it created a false category of evidence; she saw ritual as *part of* day-to-day activities, not a separate type of activity (see also Bradley 1991: 136). However, Brück's comments did not lead to the abandonment of the term, and it still remains in use within archaeological discourse. The term is a useful one, in that it may be applied to material remains or activities that held some special significance, beyond the purely practical, connected to a society's systems of belief (Barrett 1991: 4; Garwood et al. 1991: 11). 'Ritual' activity will, therefore, be referred to in this thesis, but with the awareness that it is not necessarily an ideal term, and that its meanings can be contentious. It is used with the awareness that ritual activities should not be viewed as trivial, bizarre or irrational, and that they

may well have had practical, functional and secular meanings for the societies undertaking these activities (Garwood et al. 1991: 11; Brück 1999: 313, 318). Activities identified as 'ritual' by modern archaeologists may have been perceived as rational, logical and effective ways of dealing with a problem or event by the society carrying out the ritual (Brück 1999: 321). It will also be borne in mind that the material remains of ritual activity are not the ritual itself, which also comprises an element of performance, and that rituals can be interpreted in different ways by their participants or viewers; they do not necessarily have one universal meaning (Barrett 1991: 5; Garwood et al. 1991: 11, 13).

Anglo-Saxon Settlement Studies

The overview of monument reuse studies presented in the first part of this chapter should, it is hoped, have convinced the reader of the need for a study such as this, which shifts the focus from burial, churches and shrines to the less well-studied settlement record. Before going any further, it is considered necessary to offer a review of the development of Anglo-Saxon settlement archaeology as a discipline in order to contextualise this research and demonstrate how it fits into the subject as a whole. Detailed overviews of this development have recently been produced by Helena Hamerow (2002), Andrew Reynolds (2003) and Jess Tipper (2004) and no attempt is made to reproduce that information in full here. Rather, some of the key themes, concerns and investigative techniques that have shaped the archaeological evidence for Anglo-Saxon settlements will now be discussed, along with the approaches used to analyse that evidence. In addition, explanations of some of the terms and features referred to in the study will also be provided.

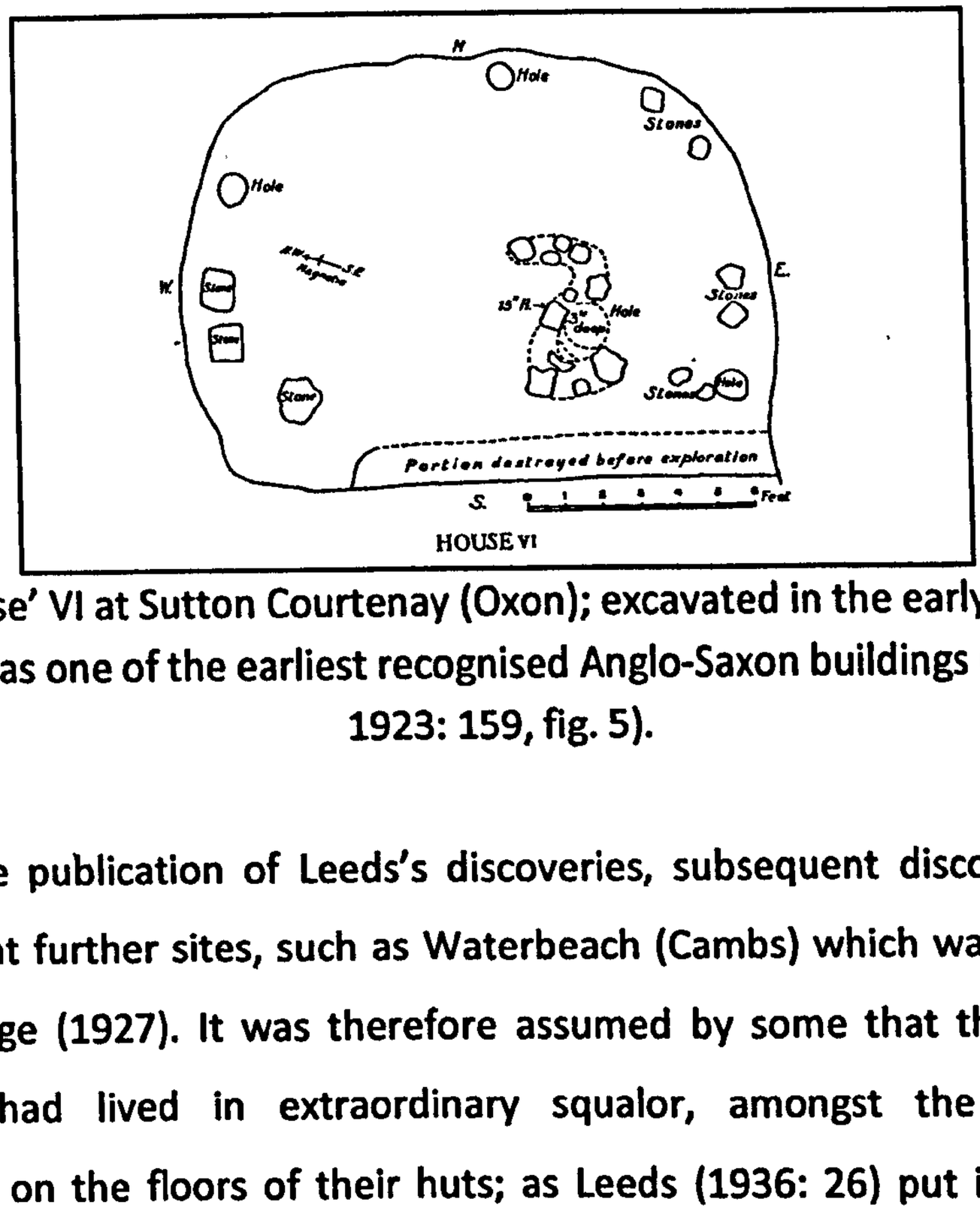
A brief overview of the development of Anglo-Saxon settlement studies as a whole will be presented first, and will be followed by more detailed overviews of two particular topics: firstly, building evidence and secondly, dating techniques. Discussion of the structural evidence is pertinent since it is an integral part of the present research; the dimensions, layouts, positions and contents of Anglo-Saxon buildings can aid the study of monument reuse in settlements. It is, therefore, crucial to establish the basic characteristics of these structures, their uses and their

appearances. A discussion of the dating techniques applied to Anglo-Saxon settlements is considered pertinent to this study as this research focuses on settlements belonging to the relatively short period between c.450-850, and one of its aims is to ascertain whether monument reuse in settlements changed over those centuries. However, the precise dating of settlements is a problem that still hinders Anglo-Saxon settlement archaeology (Reynolds 2003: 130). Thus, it is important to explain on what basis the sites referred to in the study have been assigned to this period, what techniques are available for dating and phasing settlement sites, and what the potential difficulties are with using these techniques.

Anglo-Saxon Settlement Archaeology: A Brief Overview

E.T. Leeds is often credited with undertaking the first excavation of an Anglo-Saxon settlement, which took place between 1921 and 1937 at the site of Sutton Courtenay, then in Berkshire but now in Oxfordshire (Leeds 1923; 1927; 1947). The site was being quarried for gravel at the time of excavation, and workmen had uncovered pits filled with pottery and other material (Leeds 1923: 147). Leeds recognised these as buildings, consisting of sunken pits with timber-framed structures above, now known as *Grubenhäuser* or sunken-featured buildings (SFBs)[1], which had already been found on the continent (see fig. 1.1). However, despite excavating several lines of postholes, he did not recognise any post-built structures, which led him to believe that the sunken 'houses' he had excavated represented the primary dwellings of the site's inhabitants.

[1] Various names have been applied to these buildings, but sunken-featured building (or SFB), as suggested by Rahtz (1976a) is the preferred term here. This is not to be confused with 'sunken-floored building', which SFB is sometimes suggested to stand for; this phrase is inaccurate as many of these structures are now thought to have had suspended floors at ground level (Tipper 2004: 84-7). *'Grubenhaus'* is not used because of its Germanic implications; although the building style appears to have originated in north-west Europe (Tipper 2004: 7), it flourished as an insular Anglo-Saxon building type and the use of the German moniker is avoided lest it be taken to mean that these buildings in England were solely inhabited by people of continental or Scandinavian origin.



HOUSE VI

Fig. 1.1 'House' VI at Sutton Courtenay (Oxon); excavated in the early 1920s by E.T. Leeds, it was one of the earliest recognised Anglo-Saxon buildings (from Leeds 1923: 159, fig. 5).

Following the publication of Leeds's discoveries, subsequent discoveries of SFBs were found at further sites, such as Waterbeach (Cambs) which was excavated by T.C. Lethbridge (1927). It was therefore assumed by some that the Anglo-Saxon inhabitants had lived in extraordinary squalor, amongst the debris which accumulated on the floors of their huts; as Leeds (1936: 26) put it 'amid a filthy litter of broken bones, of food and shattered pottery'. However, based on the evidence from the continent, where juxtaposed post-built structures and SFBs had been excavated, Radford (1957) questioned the assumption that SFBs represented Anglo-Saxon dwellings. He felt that the picture painted by the settlement evidence was at odds with the rich burial record, and predicted that open area excavation would reveal longhouses like those found on the continent (Radford 1957: 36). Radford was proved correct, at least in part, when post-built structures (although *not* continental-style longhouses) did start to come to light on a number of Anglo-Saxon settlement sites in the 1950s and 1960s, resulting in part from advances made in archaeology during that period, including a growing emphasis on open area excavation as a means for rapidly removing topsoil in order to uncover large areas of settlements and thereby large numbers of different settlement features (Tipper 2004: 15-16). For example, at Yeavering (Northumb) and Cheddar (Som) large, high-status 'hall' buildings were excavated in the 1950s and 1960s (although not published in full until the late 1970s, in Hope-Taylor 1977 and Rahtz 1979 respectively), whilst smaller post-built structures came to light at Maxey (Northants)

in 1960 (Addyman 1964) and West Stow (Suffolk) between 1965 and 1972 (West 1969; 1985) (see fig. 1.2).

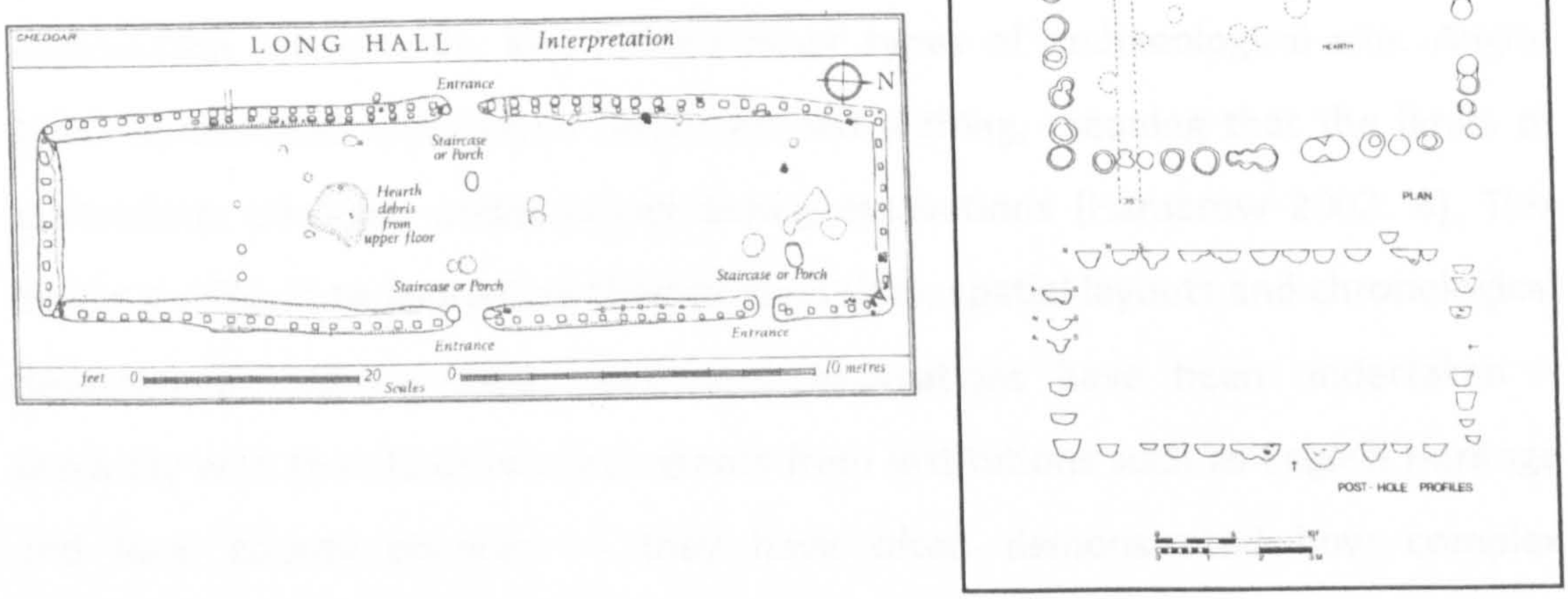


Fig. 1.2 Anglo-Saxon post-built structures discovered in the 1950s to 1970s; the post-in-slot Long Hall from Period 1 at Cheddar (Som) (left; from Rahtz 1979: 101, fig. 31) and a smaller post-built structure, Building 1, from West Stow (Suf) (right; from West 1985: fig. 8).

Whilst the recognition that open area excavation could significantly enhance and benefit our understanding of Anglo-Saxon settlements took place over half a century ago, subsequent years have not seen the application of this strategy to all settlements. When it *has* been implemented, the areas excavated have been small compared to those on the continent and rarely define the limits of settlements with any degree of certainty (Hamerow 2002: 8). This situation is in part due to the rescue archaeology atmosphere of the 1970s and 1980s; excavations, if they took place at all, were often undertaken in the midst of development or quarrying, often by volunteers who had to work as quickly as they could to record features before their destruction (e.g. Barker 1974; Rahtz 1974). The introduction of PPG16 and developer-funded archaeology in the 1990s sought to bring an end to the need for rescue excavations, setting out best practice guidelines and factoring archaeological research, investigation and preservation into the development process (Department of the Environment 1990; Darvill and Russell 2002: 3). However, this approach does not particularly promote open area excavation either. Although investigations are, in theory, carried out less hurriedly and with less threat of imminent destruction than in the era of rescue archaeology, the area of investigation is generally confined

to that which is threatened; there is little time or funding available for asking questions about material outside that threatened area.

The general lack of large-scale excavation causes problems for those studying Anglo-Saxon settlements, and indeed other types of archaeological site. Anglo-Saxon settlements were often dispersed and shifting, meaning that the limits of settlements often go undiscovered during excavations (Hamerow 2002: 8). This makes it difficult to appreciate their original sizes, spatial layouts and chronological development. Where large, open area excavations have been undertaken – generally with the aid of research grants from institutions such as English Heritage and local county councils — they have often demonstrated how complex settlement phasing and layouts could be (Tipper 2004: 18). Unfortunately none of the settlements in this study have benefited from the really extensive open area excavations famously seen at places such as West Heslerton (N Yorks) (Powlesland 2000: 19). Indeed, many are disappointingly limited and small-scale because they are the result of rescue or developer-funded excavations. Nonetheless a number – including Barrow Hills (Oxon), Eye Kettleby (Leics) and Catholme (Staffs) – have seen fairly large-scale excavations that have revealed relatively large numbers of buildings and other settlement features. It is sites such as these that have produced enough evidence to allow detailed spatial analysis of their layouts in relation to prehistoric monuments, and as a result they will be discussed as detailed case studies in Chapter 6.

Early Medieval Buildings

As a result of the development of Anglo-Saxon settlement studies since Leeds's excavations at Sutton Courtenay eighty years ago we now have a clearer picture of how and where early medieval communities in England were living. However, there is still much debate about the appearance of the buildings these communities inhabited, and what they were used for, and this is particularly true of SFBs. SFBs are typically recovered as sub-rectangular pits, around 3m by 4m and between 0.3m to 0.5m deep, with sloping sides and a flat base, and one or more postholes at each end of the pit (Tipper 2004: 1). They often produce assemblages consisting of,

essentially, rubbish; fragments of pottery, debris from craft activities and animal bone are particularly common (Tipper 2004: 184). They represent a totally new style of building within England in the fifth century, and there are no comparable Romano-British structures that might have accounted for their origins (Tipper 2004: 7). They are, however, found on the continent and in Scandinavia, and are therefore widely accepted as deriving from north-west Europe.

For many years it was assumed that the base of an SFB's sunken pit constituted the floor of the building, leading to the belief espoused by Leeds (1936: 26) and others that the build up of rubbish in the pit meant that Anglo-Saxon communities were living in uncomfortable squalor (Radford 1957: 27). This was the general opinion until the late 1960s, when West (1969) published his argument that the SFBs at West Stow had suspended floorboards which would, it was argued, have allowed air to circulate around the building, or provided storage space under the floor. West's suggestion has not been accepted by all settlement researchers, however, and the debate about whether SFBs had sunken floors or suspended floors rumbles on (Tipper 2004: 17). However, Tipper's detailed re-evaluation of the SFB surveyed much of the available evidence for these buildings. Through studying the remains of these buildings, the patterns of wear on their bases and the accumulated material in them, he was able to conclude that the most likely interpretation was that SFBs did generally have suspended wooden floorboards laid over the pit at ground level or perhaps on the base of the pit (Tipper 2004: 64, 84-7, 92-3).

Another major achievement of Tipper's work was the confirmation that SFB assemblages do, indeed, represent post-abandonment refuse, and not the accumulation of household waste during a building's inhabitation, as had previously been suspected (Tipper 2004: 102-3). He examined sherd breaks in pottery assemblages from across settlements and he was able to demonstrate that sherds from the same vessel were frequently dispersed over the whole settlement (Tipper 2004: 107-11, 147-50). Thus, parts of a single vessel might be found in an SFB on one side of a settlement, whilst other parts occur in an SFB on the other side of the site. This means that the sherds are not the result of primary deposition (i.e. the

result of the initial breakage which took the vessel out of use), or even secondary rubbish deposition (such as the sweeping up of the broken vessel and its removal to a midden or other rubbish disposal area), but often from *tertiary* deposition. In other words, rubbish was removed from the secondary disposal place and used to fill the SFB pits, probably in order to level the ground surface after the dismantling of the buildings. If the same midden was used to fill several SFBs in different parts of a settlement, sherds of a single vessel could end up in completely different areas of a site (Tipper 2004: 184). As such, assemblages recovered from SFBs need not have related to the functions of the buildings they were found in, and they do not necessarily provide an accurate date for the occupation or abandonment of the structures, since the material could have been deposited in a midden some time previously (Powlesland 2000: 25; Tipper 2004: 184).

Thus, an implication of Tipper's work is that the items found in the fills of SFBs cannot be confidently tied to their original functions during a settlement's occupation; this renders assessment of the uses of these buildings difficult. It has often been suggested that they were weaving sheds, a supposition based on the frequent finds of loomweights and other textile-working tools in their fills, but given what we now know about tertiary deposition it cannot be assumed that such items necessarily related directly to the building's use. There are instances in which rows of loomweights have been found on the bases of SFBs, apparently having been suspended on sticks or string (Hamerow 2002: 33-4; Tipper 2004: 165-7). These primarily derive from a small number of buildings found to have burnt down, and they do suggest that loomweights were kept in the buildings during their lifetimes (Tipper 2004: 165-7). At most, however, this tells us that SFBs were used for the storage of loomweights; it does not provide incontrovertible proof that weaving was taking place in these buildings. Even if those particular buildings that contain loomweights *were* used for weaving, this does not indicate that all SFBs had the same function, as has been assumed in the past (Tipper 2004: 185). Furthermore, when they are found on the bases of unburnt SFBs, it is possible that the loomweights were placed there as part of the process of abandoning the building, perhaps as a votive offering; indeed, an SFB destroyed by fire at Upton (Northants)

contained *unfired* loomweights (Gibson and Murray 2003: 210-11; Hamerow 2006: 18). After assessing the evidence, Tipper concluded that SFBs were likely to have been structures with multiple functions, serving as craft-working buildings or as places for grain storage, and perhaps also as dwellings (Tipper 2004: 184-5). The latter is supported by the reconstruction of SFBs at West Stow as relatively spacious buildings that could very feasibly have been used as dwellings (West 2001).

Whilst these discussions about the construction, appearance and use of SFBs have been useful in furthering our understanding of this type of structure, they have rarely been addressed in anything other than a functional way. Much attention has been paid to the construction techniques used to build SFBs and their resulting appearances; West (1985), for example, created categories of SFBs based on the number of end posts they had. Rarely, if ever, have researchers asked *why* particular styles of construction were used, what the builders of those structures were trying to achieve, or what those who used them believed about them (Walker 2009: 297). This is perhaps an understandable consequence of the limited information and knowledge that for so long dogged Anglo-Saxon building studies. However, we now know more than ever about the appearance and uses of SFBs, and we have a substantial number of excavated examples. As a result 'non-functional' aspects of their use are becoming apparent, and these deserve greater attention. For example, it has been noted that at a number of sites, including Catholme (Losco-Bradley and Kinsley 2002: 40) and Barrow Hills (Chambers and McAdam 2007: 201) human burials were inserted into abandoned SFBs, whilst fragmented human bone occurs in others (Tipper 2004: 153). This topic has been addressed, albeit fairly briefly, in a study by Hamerow (2006), which will be discussed below.

It has often been assumed that the realm of funerary activity was the arena in which non-functional ritual and votive actions relating to ideological beliefs were articulated in Anglo-Saxon society (e.g. Crawford 2004). Settlements have rarely been imbued with such significance, with early medieval settlement research frequently concentrating on themes such as settlement economies and land use.

However, several recent studies have tried to overcome this, taking a more modern, theoretically-driven approach to the evidence and introducing post-processual theories, such as the significance of human agency, in order to demonstrate that votive activities *did* take place in settlements, and that the inhabitants were capable of actively signalling their religious beliefs in settlement contexts. Hamerow (2006), for example, has reviewed the evidence for ritual deposition in Anglo-Saxon settlements.[2] She conducted research into 'special' or 'placed' deposits, demonstrating that artefacts, human burials and animal burials were deliberately inserted into settlement features, such as pits and SFBs, an act which she interpreted as votive and ideologically-charged (see fig. 1.3) (Hamerow 2006: 27-30).

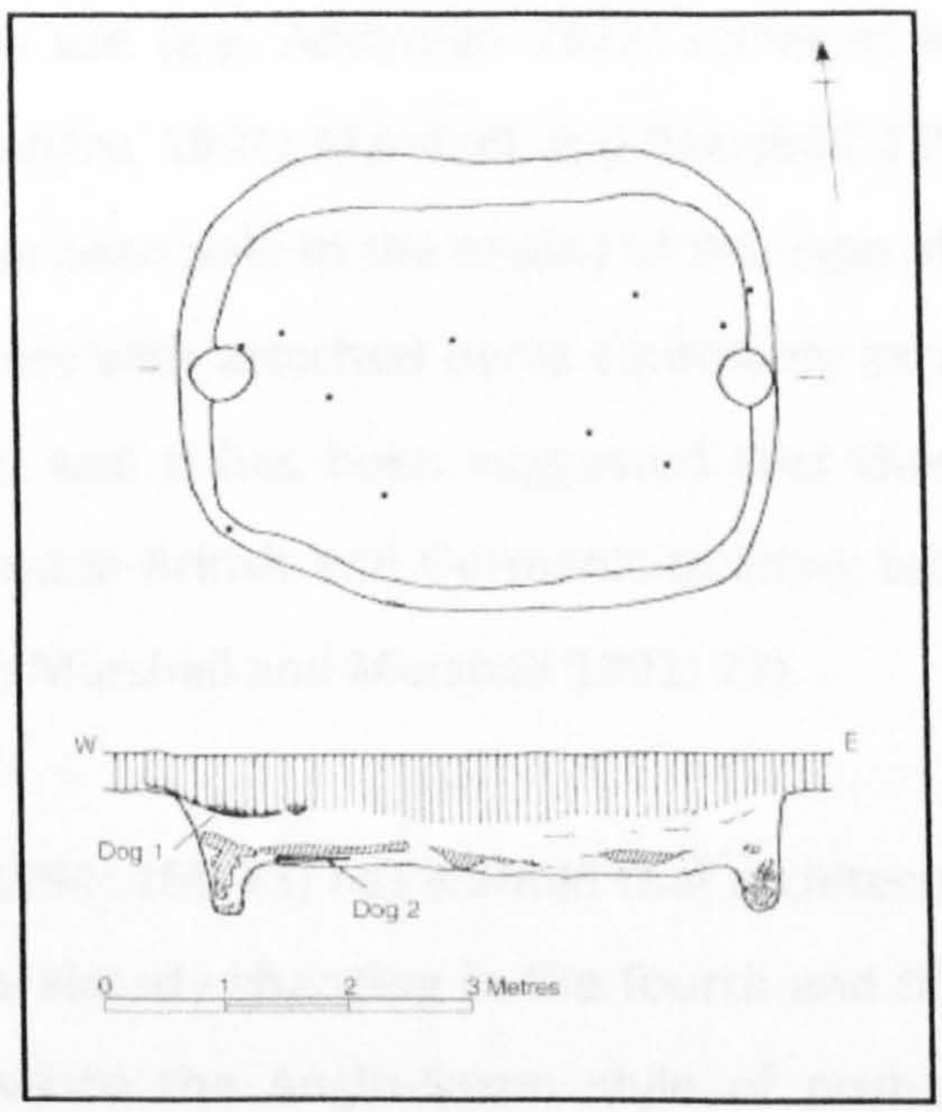


Fig. 1.3 Possible placed deposits of two dogs in an SFB at West Stow (from Hamerow 2006: 10, fig. 3).

In the case of SFBs, deposits seem to have been deliberately inserted after, or contemporaneously with, the dismantling of buildings, and they appear to represent offerings related to the end of a structure's life. Thus, rather than treating the material found in SFBs as the random remains of midden deposits, or as items

[2] This review was preliminary and therefore fairly brief; more in-depth work is being undertaken by Clifford Sofield for his DPhil at the University of Oxford. Alexandra Knox at the University of Reading is also challenging the idea that settlements were places lacking in ritual and religious importance in her doctoral research, entitled *Ritual Action from the Home to the Grave: Comparing Settlements and Cemeteries to Approach the Anglo-Saxon Worldview*.

which incidentally found their way into buildings, Hamerow's approach illustrated the benefits of interpreting SFB assemblages as the results of structured, meaningful and deliberate activities with ritual connotations. This has enhanced our understanding of 'placed' deposits in Anglo-Saxon settlements as a whole, and in particular those found in SFBs.

Advances have also been made in our understanding of post-built structures since their initial discovery. Research undertaken by numerous authors has highlighted the different construction techniques used to build timber 'halls'[3], and shown that there was remarkable consistency in the ground plans of early Anglo-Saxon structures across England, as well as exploring the possibility that standard building measurements were in use (e.g. Addyman 1972; James et al. 1984: 182; Bettess 1991; Fernie 1991; Huggins 1991; Marshall and Marshall 1991; Powlesland 2000: 26). Much attention has been paid to the origins of this type of building; they do not resemble the longhouses with attached byres commonly excavated in Scandinavia and on the continent, and it has been suggested that they represent a hybrid, insular mixture of Romano-British and Germanic building techniques (Dixon 1982; James et al. 1984: 201; Marshall and Marshall 1991: 29).

However, Hamerow (1994: 169-73) has warned that architectural styles in mainland northern Europe were already changing in the fourth and fifth centuries, and that there *were* pre-cursors to the Anglo-Saxon style of post-built structure on the continent, meaning that there was no simple division between continental and English styles of early medieval timber buildings. There are several distinctive characteristics associated with Anglo-Saxon post-built structures, including their rectangular forms, precise layouts, substantial earth-fast foundations, doors at the centres of long walls and annexes at one or both ends in some cases, although by

[3] The term 'hall' is often applied to post-built structures of all sizes and types of construction, and is used to distinguish them from SFBs. However, if we accept the interpretation of a 'hall' as a high-status and/or communal gathering building which is marked out as different from other buildings in a settlement, the widespread use of the term is not particularly helpful, especially when post-built timber structures might have had a number of functions including storage, craft-working and agricultural functions as well as dwelling functions (Walker 2009: 24). For this reason, the term 'post-built structure' (PBS), although more unwieldy, is used here to refer to above-ground, timber-built structures.

c.800 the building tradition was changing and becoming more varied in terms of shape and construction techniques (James et al. 1984: 184, 206). James et al. (1984) have also treated timber buildings as indicators of status, studying their sizes and layouts, and demonstrating that larger structures may well been linked to higher-status people or activities.

Once again, as valuable as these studies are, they have concentrated on categorising buildings and constructing typologies, or on tracing origins of building styles, without asking why those buildings were created in one way or another, or what the architects were attempting to show. Jenny Walker's recent PhD thesis has redressed the balance by investigating the ideology of the hall[4] in the early medieval period in Britain and Scandinavia (Walker 2009). She treated architecture as a form of material culture, capable of shaping people's lives and attitudes, and at the same time being shaped *by* them. Rather than asking where particular styles of building originated or how they were built, Walker's aim was to investigate how those buildings were used and *why* they were built in such a way; how did communities use them and what were the builders and/or owners trying to express or achieve (Walker 2009: 19, 28)? She was able to show how the architecture of the hall, and the use of space inside it, were used to express ideologies and social norms, to control members of society and maintain their sense of *habitus*. A similar approach has been used by Carolyn Ware (2005) in order to analyse the buildings at Yeavering. These approaches demonstrate that by applying a post-processual research framework, settlement archaeology can be used to investigate attitudes and beliefs about society, beliefs which would potentially have been extremely powerful when disseminated amongst people who were conducting their daily lives in and around those buildings.

Dating Settlements

The secure dating of settlements is a problem that still hinders Anglo-Saxon archaeology (Reynolds 2005: 117, 130). The assemblages and artefact typologies

[4] In this case, 'hall' *does* refer to the distinctively large or unusual timber-framed buildings found on some settlements (see footnote 4).

that assist in the dating of contemporary burials are frequently missing from settlements. There are also few reliable metrological or morphological guides to help phase settlement sites. Large numbers of SFBs tend to be more frequently associated with early, rather than middle, Anglo-Saxon settlements, while middle Anglo-Saxon SFBs appear to show more variation in size, but these trends are not yet sufficiently understood to be used as chronological indicators (Tipper 2004: 7, 11). Attempts have also been made to phase the various styles of post-built structures, the suggestion being that simple structures were an earlier building type, and more complex post- or plank-in-trench buildings were later (Marshall and Marshall 1991: 30). Although it does appear to be that case that foundation trench buildings became more commonplace from the later sixth century onwards (Reynolds 2003: 130), there is no simple trajectory of development from one type of post-built structure to another; indeed, it is not unusual for post-in-trench and posthole buildings to be found co-existing in the same settlements (Marshall and Marshall 1991: 31). On the whole, then, the evidence, and our understanding of it, is not refined yet enough to be used to develop chronologies of timber building styles that could be applied as general models to all settlements.

It is also possible that the presence of enclosures and planned rectilinear layouts can act as a guide to dating settlements. Reynolds (2003) has noted that boundary features within settlements, either in the form of enclosures or rectilinear arrangements of buildings, increased between the late sixth and ninth centuries. However, that is not to say that *all* sixth- to ninth-century settlements had these space-regulating features, or that earlier ones never did, and Reynolds has warned against attempting to apply a single interpretive framework to all settlements, as this can mask their highly individual and diverse natures (Reynolds 2003: 99, 130-2).

Artefacts are often used to determine the dates of settlements, and ceramic phasing, in particular, is frequently used. However, as mentioned above, there are drawbacks to attempting to date individual features, such as SFBs, from their fills (Tipper 2004: 11). Furthermore, in some parts of the country, particularly the west, there are poor ceramic records, partly due to aceramic vessel use, which make

pottery sequencing impossible (Dalwood n.d.: 1, 4). Some areas that do generally have useful ceramic sequences also seem to have had aceramic phases during the Anglo-Saxon period, such as Oxfordshire, where the local inhabitants appear to have stopped producing handmade pottery in the eighth century (Hey 2004: 269; Chambers and McAdam 2007: 229). In addition, some commonly-found undecorated ceramic types cannot be dated more closely than the 'early to middle' Anglo-Saxon period or, even less helpfully, simply the 'Anglo-Saxon period', meaning that they contribute little to refining the dates of sites belonging to this era (Reynolds 2003: 101; Hey 2004: 269). Other finds, such as metal artefacts, can provide dates but these items are often fragmentary and do not occur as regularly as they do in burial contexts. Further, in a *burial* context, the burial of objects can usually be tied to a single depositional event and therefore a point in time; similar objects found in settlement features, such as an SFB or pit, might have spent an indeterminate period of time as debris in a midden before finding their way into a feature (Tipper 2004: 10).

In some cases scientific dating methods, most frequently radiocarbon dating, are successful in providing dates for settlements. However, the expense of these methods often means that, if they are used at all, only limited numbers of samples can be analysed. These methods are reliant on the discovery of suitable, well-preserved, uncontaminated samples of material which allow analysis to take place (Aitkin 1990: 85). Ideally, in order for scientifically-determined dates to be as effective as possible, sites require clear stratigraphic data which allow relationships between features to be determined; the dating of features can then be undertaken based on their links to scientifically-dated features and a chronology can be produced. Thus, given the various uncertainties and difficulties associated with dating Anglo-Saxon settlements, it will be made clear throughout the text on what basis the sites discussed to have been assigned dates.

Organisation of the Thesis

The aim of this chapter has been to provide some background information about the focus, impetus and context of the present research. The next chapter will

address in more detail the data that forms the focus of this research and the methods used to collect and analyse that data. Chapter 3 will then review the archaeological debates that have already taken place on the subject of monument reuse in funerary, religious and assembly contexts in Anglo-Saxon England. In addition, it will consider the very limited research that has been undertaken on reuse in settlements of this period and it will also discuss the evidence for the recycling and reuse of older artefacts in Anglo-Saxon society. In Chapter 4 the literary and linguistic evidence for attitudes to the past in Anglo-Saxon England will be considered, taking into consideration place-name evidence, as well as poetic and other literary sources.

Chapter 5 will review the evidence for monument reuse in the settlements that form the corpus at the centre of this study. It will discuss the evidence from each site before examining the overarching themes and patterns that have arisen from the review. Subsequently, in Chapter 6, four case study sites – Barrow Hills, Catholme, Eye Kettleby and Sutton Courtenay – will be analysed in greater detail. Their layouts, the positions of buildings in relation to monuments, and their development over time will be considered in order to determine whether monuments were reused in different ways on different sites and at different times. Chapter 7 will then draw together the evidence from both the review of the corpus and the in-depth analysis of the case studies, placing the practice of monument appropriation in settlements in its wider context. This will involve examining the practice with reference to contemporary social and political circumstances, as well as considering the results in the light of what we know already about monument reuse and attitudes to the past in other areas of early medieval society. Finally, Chapter 8 will summarise the findings of the study and provide some concluding remarks. The main body of the thesis is supplemented by Appendices A to D, which provide more detailed data on the settlement sites referred to in Chapter 5, as well as information on the comparative data sets of burial and settlement sites used in the thesis.

Chapter Two

Data and Methods of Analysis

This chapter will begin by introducing both the chronological and geographical foci of this thesis, explaining why these were chosen and why the evidence pertaining to them is of use when investigating monument reuse. This will be followed by a discussion of how the initial search for suitable sites was conducted, and the criteria which these sites had to meet in order to be included in the final data set. The chapter will conclude with a brief discussion of how Romano-British remains were treated by Anglo-Saxon communities, particularly in settlements. This final section will outline what the archaeological evidence can tell us about Romano-British remains, but it will also explain why settlement sites which reuse Romano-British monuments do not fall into the remit of this study.

Study Period

The settlements in this study all date to the four centuries belonging to the early to middle Anglo-Saxon period, c.AD 450-850. The primary reason for selecting this period is the fact that at this time monument reuse, especially in the much-studied funerary record, was at its zenith. While there have been studies that have considered monument reuse in the *late* Anglo-Saxon period, such as Semple's (1998; 2003a) research into changing attitudes towards the remains of the past between the fifth to eleventh centuries, and Reynolds's research into the reuse of monuments as late Anglo-Saxon execution and deviant burial sites (Reynolds 1999; Pitts et al. 2002; Cessford et al. 2007), most discussions about monument reuse have focused on the early and middle Anglo-Saxon periods because this is when the practice appears to have been particularly widespread and popular. There is, therefore, a very real need to develop a comparative record of monument reuse in settlements, which can then be studied alongside what we already know about reuse in other aspects of the early to middle Anglo-Saxon archaeological record. As such, this study takes as its focus the period between the fifth and the ninth centuries.

The fifth to ninth centuries also make a particularly fruitful study era because they represent a period of upheaval and transformation in society, which may allow us to see changes in social and political structures reflected in monument reuse practices. Indeed, it has already been demonstrated that changes in the practice of funerary monument reuse can be linked to changes in society in this period (see Chapter 3). The circumstances surrounding the decline of Roman Britain remain the subject of considerable debate, but imperial control of Britain was finally and officially withdrawn in 410-11 (Esmonde Cleary 1993b: 11; Higham 1999: 32; Barnwell 2003: 1; Wickham 2005: 306-313). The traditional view of this transition period is one of turmoil, destruction and disease, but this view was strongly influenced by the sixth-century writings of the western British cleric Gildas, as well as the mid eighth-century accounts of Bede, who relied on Gildas as his major source for the events of the early post-Roman period (Esmonde Cleary 1993a: 57; Yorke 1993: 45; Barnwell 2003: 5). The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* also describes the events of the fifth century, but it too belongs to a much later date, having been completed for circulation around 890-92 (Yorke 1993: 45). These early accounts were typified by wholesale, rapid and violent change, instigated by the migration, purportedly in AD 449, of three groups of Germanic peoples who decimated the native British population. Chapter 15 in Book One of Bede's *History of the English Church and People* claims that:

> The new-comers were from the three most formidable races of Germany, the Saxons, Angles and Jutes ... it was not long before such hordes of these alien peoples vied together to crowd into the island that the natives who had invited them began to live in terror (Sherley-Price 1968: 56).

However, it has been convincingly demonstrated that these accounts are not reliable records of the events of the fifth century. Anglo-Saxon society in the fifth and sixth centuries was not literate, and thus the events of the fifth century were written about long after they occurred (Yorke 1993: 45; Wickham 2005: 50). For this reason, when they *were* written down the accounts were based on oral traditions that had been in existence for some time; these would have been vulnerable to unconscious change and deliberate manipulation in the intervening years (Yorke 1993: 45). Furthermore, the writers of these sources were recording historical

events for particular purposes. Gildas, for example, was writing with the specific aim of denouncing the misdeeds of the clergy and laity in his own time (Chadwick Hawkes 1986: 64; Yorke 1993: 45). The dates he gave for events were relative and not absolute, and the same applies to the writing of Bede and the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, meaning that they cannot be taken as accurate chronological records (Yorke 1999: 26).

It appears, then, that the transition from 'Roman Britain' to 'Anglo-Saxon England' was not as immediate and destructive as traditional accounts suggest. Late Romano-British society had grown very unstable before the fifth century, and aspects of Roman economy and society – such as industrialised production, urban centres, administrative systems and a professional army – were in decline in the late fourth and early fifth centuries (Arnold 1984: 61; Esmonde Cleary 1993a: 57-9; Hines 1995: 76; Wickham 2005: 47, 307-9). It is now generally accepted that Roman infrastructures and a feeling of *Romanitas* did not necessarily disappear immediately, but rather eroded gradually over the late fourth and early fifth centuries, when power may have passed into the hands of 'private' local aristocracies (Hills 1979: 307; Esmonde Cleary 1993a: 61; Scull 1993: 70; Pohl 1997: 43; Moreland 2000a: 32-3). Nonetheless, some aspects of Roman infrastructure may have survived into the fifth century. Road networks appear to have been preserved, and hence some elements of the transport system may still have been effective in the fifth century (Arnold 1984: 82; Gelling 1992: 19; Bassett 2000: 109). Indeed, Roman roads were influential in the placement of Anglo-Saxon cemeteries in Lincolnshire and Kent, for example, suggesting that they were still used for travelling around the landscape (Leahy 1993: 31; Brookes 2007). Moreover, a number of Roman towns also appear to have been occupied during the fifth century (Esmonde Cleary 1993b: 12) (see below).

While traditional accounts of the early post-Roman period, based on the writings of Bede and Gildas, are now regarded as inaccurate, debate still rages about the nature and extent of the movement of people across the North Sea in this period (Hamerow 1994; Woolf 2007). Hamerow (1994: 174) has summarised the situation,

pointing to the existence of two very different paradigms, both rather extreme. One treats 'Anglo-Saxon' material culture as an intrusive symbol of large-scale Germanic migration and external influence, while the other applies the term 'Anglo-Saxon' to essentially indigenous developments in the fifth and sixth centuries, with a relatively small Germanic elite controlling the transformations. Although the historical and linguistic evidence for settlement by people from north Germany and southern Scandinavia in the fifth century is overwhelming, the traditional picture of rapid and wholesale migration must now be abandoned, as migration may have taken place at different times and at a slower speed, with greater mixing of incoming and indigenous groups, than traditional accounts allowed for (Scull 1993: 70; Moreland 2000a: 37). Furthermore, it is now generally accepted that communities were mixed on the continent prior to the migration period, and they were not organised into groups of 'Angles' or 'Saxons' before leaving the continent or when arriving in England, as Bede suggested (Hills 1979: 316-7; Moreland 2000a: 35-7).

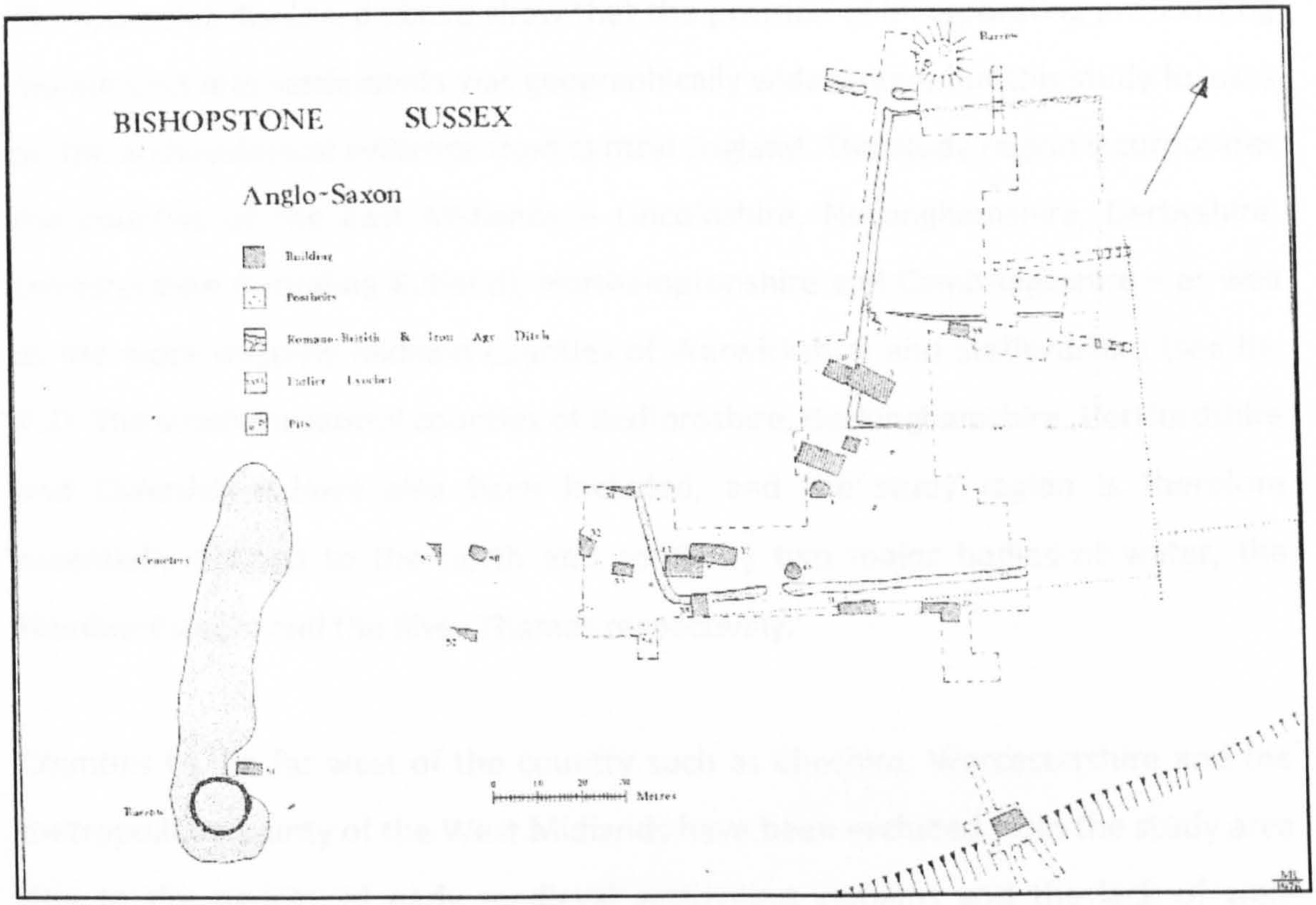
Although the events of the early post-Roman period in England do not seem to have been as catastrophic and dramatic as was once thought, they did open up opportunities for the revision and reinvention of aspects of culture and society among the population; identities in this period seem to have been in a state of flux (Lucy 2000: 4). What is clear is that the period witnessed great cultural, political and ideological change, reflected in material culture, settlement evidence, burial rites and language, and influenced by both internal and external factors. Transformations continued in the following centuries, with the late sixth and seventh centuries witnessing new developments, such as the introduction of Christianity and an increasingly stratified society, which were reflected in the settlement and burial record (Arnold 1988: 130; Scull 1992; 1999; Hamerow 2002: 97). The early to middle Anglo-Saxon period can, therefore, be considered one of fluctuation and experimentation, and as such it has the potential to reveal changing attitudes towards both prehistoric earthworks and the past more generally, as researchers such as Williams (1997; 1998) and Semple (1998; 2003a) have successfully exemplified in the case of funerary monument reuse (see Chapter 3).

Study Area

Although, as previously mentioned, little attention has been paid to the subject of monument reuse in settlements, a cursory survey of the published literature shows that there were early medieval settlements all over Anglo-Saxon England that incorporated prehistoric monuments in their layouts. For example, at the well-known site of Yeavering[1] late sixth- to early seventh-century halls and a cemetery, were aligned with reference to a prehistoric ring ditch and stone circle (Hope-Taylor 1977; Bradley 1987). At Thwing (E Yorks) a Bronze Age ringwork or hillfort had been refortified in the period AD 700-950, when structures and a cemetery were located inside it and a series of further enclosures were also attached to it (Manby 1986: 3-6; 1988: 16-18).

At Rookery Hill in Bishopstone (Sus), a fifth- to sixth-century settlement was located between two Bronze Age barrows, which lay about 140m apart (see fig. 2.1) (Bell 1977: 194, fig. 86). One barrow was located just to the north of the settlement and the other to the south-west, with the buildings dispersed between them. One building was situated several metres north of the more southerly barrow, which had also formed the focus of an associated cemetery. At Cowage Farm near Malmesbury (Wilts) the cropmarks of two annexed rectangular buildings, thought to belong to the sixth to seventh centuries, lay some 20m south-east of a ring ditch, with another, larger ring ditch c.80m west of the buildings (Hinchliffe 1986: 240-1, fig. 1). Meanwhile, at Mucking (Essex), elements of a fifth- to seventh-century settlement had been influenced in their alignment and location by prehistoric ditches running through the settlement (Hamerow 1993: 86).

[1] The site was regarded as 'Anglo-British', rather than 'Anglo-Saxon', by its excavator, Hope-Taylor, because of its location on the fringes of Anglo-Saxon influence and his belief that the buildings showed 'British' traits (Hope-Taylor 1977: 209-213). However Scull (1991) has demonstrated that the early, sixth-century, phase of the site actually resembled contemporary Anglo-Saxon settlements and it may not, therefore, represent a wholly unusual or isolated settlement style.



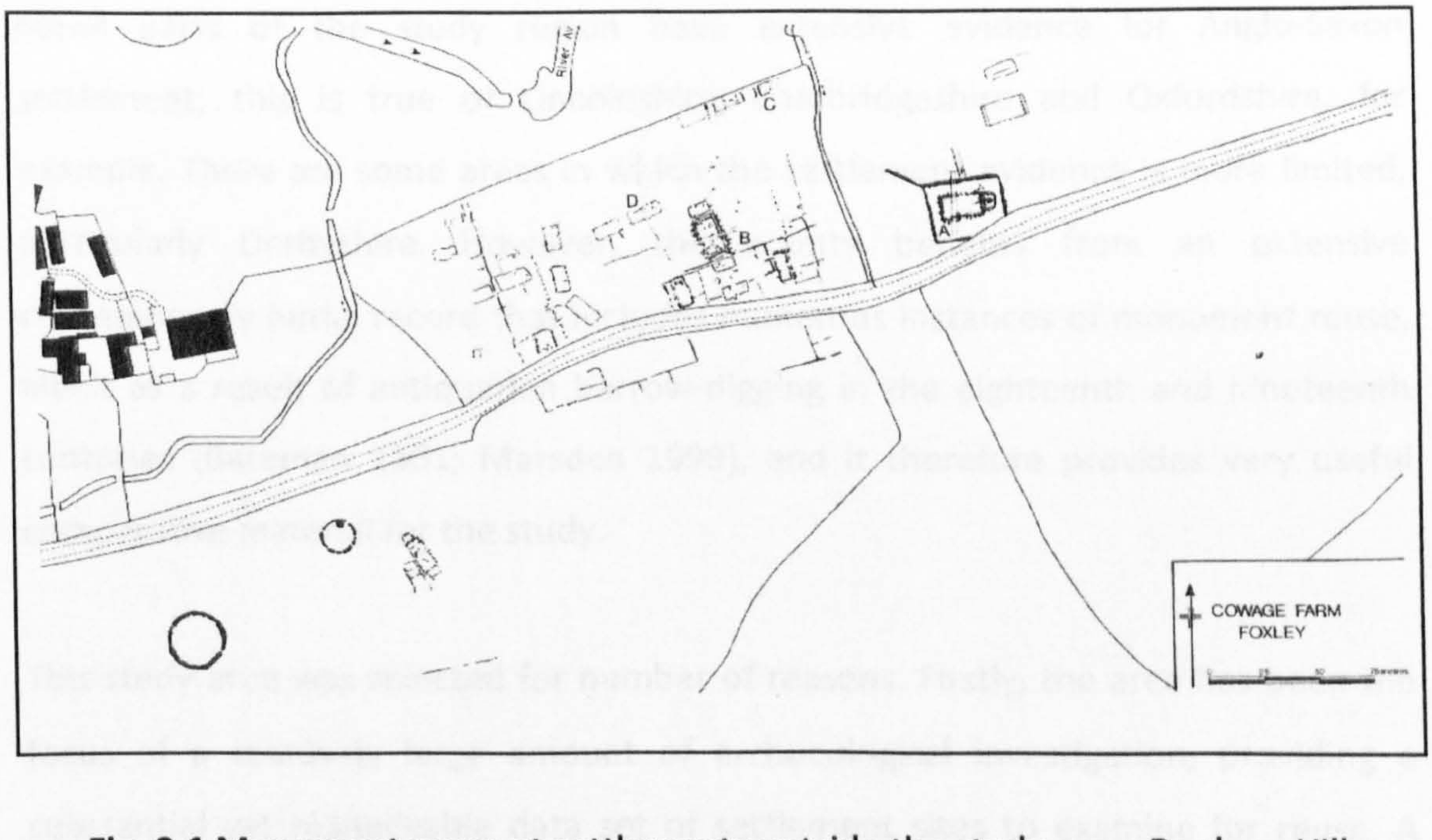


Fig. 2.1 Monument reuse at settlements outside the study area; Rookery Hill, Bishopstone (top) (from Bell 1977: 194, fig. 86) and Cowage Farm, Foxley (bottom) (from Hinchliffe 1986: fig. 1) both had buildings located close to prehistoric barrows.

The examples discussed above show that the practice of incorporating pre-existing monuments into settlements was geographically widespread, but this study focuses on the archaeological evidence from central England. The study region incorporates the counties of the East Midlands – Lincolnshire, Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire, Leicestershire (including Rutland), Northamptonshire and Cambridgeshire – as well as the more westerly midland counties of Warwickshire and Staffordshire (see fig. 2.2). The southern central counties of Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Hertfordshire and Oxfordshire have also been included, and the study region is therefore essentially defined to the north and south by two major bodies of water, the Humber Estuary and the River Thames respectively.

Counties to the far west of the country such as Cheshire, Worcestershire and the metropolitan county of the West Midlands have been excluded from the study area due to the paucity of early medieval settlement remains and the lack of well-understood ceramic phasing for these areas (Dalwood n.d.: 1-4; Bassett 2000: 115).[2] Some parts of the study region have extensive evidence for Anglo-Saxon settlement; this is true of Lincolnshire, Cambridgeshire and Oxfordshire, for example. There are some areas in which the settlement evidence is more limited, particularly Derbyshire. However, this county benefits from an extensive contemporary burial record that includes numerous instances of monument reuse, albeit as a result of antiquarian barrow-digging in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Bateman 1861; Marsden 1999), and it therefore provides very useful comparative material for the study.

This study area was selected for number of reasons. Firstly, the area has been the focus of a relatively large amount of archaeological investigation, providing a substantial yet manageable data set of settlement sites to examine for reuse. A large number of these investigations are unpublished and available only as grey

[2] The paucity of evidence for early medieval activity in this area is slightly puzzling, as parts of modern Warwickshire, Worcestershire and Gloucestershire were within the powerful middle Anglo-Saxon kingdom of Mercia (Gelling 1989). The archaeological evidence that does exist, which has recently been enhanced and improved, is still very much from the burial, rather than settlement, record (Gelling 1992: 29-52).

literature reports.[3] These have been incorporated into the study in order to build a fuller picture of settlement activity in the study area and to prevent the research relying solely on published and well-known sites. The region is also large enough to facilitate the recognition of similarities and differences between different locales within the area, but small enough to permit in-depth study of the settlement data to allow previously unrecognised examples of reuse to be identified. Furthermore, this part of the country generally benefits from well-studied ceramic sequences, such as that developed by the East Midlands Anglo-Saxon Pottery Project (Vince and Young 1992) and Paul Blinkhorn's (1999; 2009) reassessment of the dates of Ipswich ware, which assist in the dating and interpretation of sites.

Fig. 2.2 The study area.

[3] Unpublished reports of archaeological evaluation and excavation that are generally produced by commercial archaeological units as a result of developer-funded investigation ahead of development or other potentially destructive land use. These reports are generally housed in Historic Environment Records.

The limits of the study region follow the modern boundaries of the counties in the research area. It is not assumed that these boundaries necessarily bear any relation to past Anglo-Saxon land divisions, although in the middle Anglo-Saxon period parts of the region were incorporated into the kingdoms of Mercia, Wessex and Lindsey (Hassall 1986; Bassett 1989; Eagles 1989; Gelling 1989; Leahy 1999). Throughout the thesis site names are accompanied by the modern county in which they are located. Current county names have been used so that contemporary and future scholars may have the benefit of understanding the regions under discussion without the need to refer to past administrative maps and boundaries that are now outdated, such as the pre-1974 county boundaries. A further benefit is that Historic Environment Records (HERs)[4] are usually under county council administration and are assigned responsibility for archaeological data within their particular county. HER records for each county could, therefore, be searched in full with the confidence that, firstly, any sites found would be within the designated study area and, secondly, that all site records for Anglo-Saxon settlements in the study area had been found and searched for possible reuse.

A recent paper by Semple (2009) has raised a methodological issue regarding the sizes of study areas chosen by researchers investigating monument reuse. She has advocated applying a small-scale, regional approach, which facilitates comprehension of the various ways in which monuments were treated in different areas as well as allowing monument reuse to be seen in its local context. This can reveal differences in the ways that monuments were reused in particular areas, which could well have been linked to different attitudes to monuments and different social orders. On a similar note, Andrew Reynolds (2003: 99) has warned against trying to develop general rules or patterns to apply to all settlements of the period; there is likely to have been regional, and even site-specific, variety and attempts to 'shoehorn' settlements into a restricted typology of site types are not recommended. He has also noted that too often the concentration on a handful of well-known sites has failed to take account of overall variation in the settlement

[4] Previously known as Sites and Monuments Records (SMRs).

record (Reynolds 2003: 98). The recommendations of these researchers have been taken into account here. While the area under study here is not as small-scale as the ones discussed by Semple, it is manageable enough to allow comparison between different locales within the region. Further, the analysis of case studies will facilitate an appreciation of the differences within and between the forms that monument reuse took in settlements. Thus, the study area allows settlements to be placed in their local context, but at the same it assists understanding of the practice over a larger area.

Data Selection

In order to identify settlement sites that might have appropriated prehistoric monuments, initial searches were carried out by consulting published excavation reports for settlements in the study area. Articles and fieldwork notes of major journals, such as *Medieval Archaeology*, were also searched, along with notes in local archaeological journals for the counties in the study region. The gazetteer of settlement sites by Philip Rahtz (1976b) in the volume edited by David Wilson, *The Archaeology of Anglo-Saxon England*, was also a very useful starting point, although it is now over thirty years old and in desperate need of updating. The National Monument Record (NMR) database was also searched through its online portals, Pastscape and Heritage Gateway. These searches highlighted potentially relevant sites, which were then followed up by contacting HERs for more information. Subsequent searches of the HER monument records helped to confirm which of those settlements could be included in the survey, and also revealed additional sites that had not been found elsewhere. Once settlement sites had been confirmed as meeting the criteria (listed below) for inclusion in the corpus, all possible published and unpublished sources on those sites were collated.

The search for relevant sites was not without its difficulties, and it is therefore possible that there are others which were not found during the compilation of the data set. For example, some sites had to be discounted from the study because, even though a sentence or short summary in a journal fieldwork note or on an HER monument record mentioned the presence of an Anglo-Saxon settlement located

over or near older features, no information – published or unpublished – could be traced to confirm the nature of the relationship between them. For example, a Cambridgeshire HER entry (no. 04281) for a site at Drybread Road, Whittlesey recorded the discovery of SFBs during housing development in the early 1980s. The presence of ring ditches is also mentioned in the HER entry, but this information is based on personal observations and comments and there are apparently no other sources of information for this site (see Appendix D). Additionally, further relevant settlement sites may also have been excavated after the searches for sites had been completed in December 2008.

These searches led to the compilation of an initial set of settlements which appeared to show relationships between Anglo-Saxon settlement features and prehistoric monuments. Each site was then examined in detail and only included in the final corpus if it satisfied a number of essential criteria. The first requirement was that there was excavated evidence of Anglo-Saxon buildings, either post-built structures or SFBs, as this demonstrated that there had been inhabitation of the site. In light of Tipper's (2004) conclusion that SFBs were not regularly used as dwellings, it could be argued that sites where SFBs constitute the only excavated structures do not necessarily represent occupation sites. The buildings might have had storage or industrial functions, rather than domestic ones, and were perhaps therefore located some distance away from an associated domestic site. However, there are dangers associated with assuming that because SFBs are the only excavated structures on a site, they were the only structures in existence in the Anglo-Saxon period. For example, the lack of open area excavation on some sites can cause this pattern (Tipper 2004: 162). This is especially true of settlements that exhibit zoning of different structural types, such as West Heslerton or Eye Kettleby (Leics), where smaller trenches might only have uncovered the areas of the settlements containing SFBs (Finn 1997a; 1997b; 1999; Powlesland 2000).

Furthermore, Tipper's conclusions regarding the functions of SFBs were far from certain and it is possible that they were occupied as dwellings in some cases. Even if they represent craft or storage structures, rather than dwellings, they still

constitute evidence of *inhabitation*, even if this was only part-time, seasonal or occasional. As such, when they are found in association with prehistoric earthworks, they still have the potential to reveal information about people's attitudes to monuments in their domestic lives. Thus, sites where SFBs were the only buildings are still included in the corpus. Nevertheless, any distinctive patterns in the reuse exhibited on SFB-only sites will be noted, in case this sheds light on whether these sites were distinguished from those with both SFBs *and* post-built structures.

The second criterion was the requirement that some form of potentially-visible monument was in close proximity to a settlement. Excavations of Anglo-Saxon settlements often reveal traces of previous activity, such as prehistoric postholes or the ring gullies of roundhouses, many of which are too ephemeral to have survived as earthworks for long periods of time after their abandonment. Thus, the prehistoric features had to be of a type and size that could have feasibly survived as monuments into the Anglo-Saxon period; barrows, hillforts, and the banks and ditches of substantial boundary features fell into this group. In some settlements features could be directly linked to older earthworks; they were located within pre-existing enclosures, followed the alignment of older boundaries, or lay immediately next to, or even on top of, older barrows. However, at other sites the distance, and thus the relationship, between Anglo-Saxon and older features was not so clear; this raised questions about what constituted 'close proximity', and whether a monument could be classed as being part of a settlement when they were situated some distance away from each other. For example, if a Bronze Age barrow was located several hundred metres away from a group of Anglo-Saxon buildings could it be classed as *part of* the settlement? If still visible it could have been a significant feature in the landscape around the settlement, and it could have been used in some way by the Anglo-Saxon inhabitants, particularly if those inhabitants were travelling around that landscape in order to live and work.

In order to overcome this problem, the decision was taken to apply a limit of 150m to the distance between a settlement and an earlier monument. This is clearly an arbitrary measurement, and there is no suggestion that it would have been a

significant distance in the minds of the inhabitants. However, if a monument was 150m away or less from a settlement it seems likely that, in most cases, the people living there would generally have been aware of the monument as they went about their daily lives and could therefore have incorporated it into their activities, or developed stories about it. A more landscape-oriented study could have taken into account other monuments in the surrounding landscape that were even further away from settlements, and considered how people might have interacted with these as they travelled around that landscape. However, as the approach used here is a more in-depth, site-by-site one, which looks at spatial organisation with reference to monuments *within* settlements, setting a maximum distance of 150m between Anglo-Saxon and prehistoric features was deemed an appropriate way to limit the sizes of areas under study and keep spatial analysis of them manageable. Significantly, in many cases it was found that monuments were, in fact, much closer than this to settlements. Moreover, when Anglo-Saxon buildings and prehistoric features were situated some distance away from each other, the space between them had often not been excavated, and there could well have been further settlement features in the space between them.

The third, crucial, requirement that had to be met by sites before they could be included in the final inventory concerned the continued existence of prehistoric monuments as landscape features in the Anglo-Saxon period. This can be difficult to determine, as both Williams (1997: 4) and Lucy (2000: 124) have observed in their studies of monument reuse in burial contexts. In the most straightforward cases, the visibility of the prehistoric features was supported by their presence as landscape features at the time of excavation, such as at West Halton (N Lincs), where a Bronze Age barrow is still a significant landscape feature today (see fig. 2.3). When monuments were no longer visible at the time of excavation, other factors had to be considered. The agricultural history of the area had to be taken into consideration, as some regions – for example parts of Lincolnshire (Jones 1998) – have seen heavy ploughing in medieval and modern times. Often, though, this did not necessarily refute the visibility of monuments in the Anglo-Saxon landscape. In fact, in many cases the ploughing evidence indicated that monuments had been

destroyed in the medieval, post-medieval or modern eras, but that they may well have still been visible in the Anglo-Saxon period. In some instances the ploughing evidence was particularly helpful in proving visibility, as ridge and furrow marks stopped at the edge of the monument, suggesting that it had been a significant landscape feature and an obstacle to ploughing in the medieval period, for example at Catholme (Losco-Bradley and Kinsley 2002: 119) (see Chapter 5).

Fig. 2.3 The upstanding barrow on the village green at West Halton (Lincs) (photograph: D.M. Hadley).

At sites where the visibility of prehistoric features was uncertain, archaeological clues could help to ascertain whether those features had still existed in the Anglo-Saxon period. Sometimes the excavation of the monument itself could reveal whether it had been visible; for example, some ditched monuments had Anglo-Saxon pottery in their upper fills, confirming that they were visible as landscape features, even if slightly shallower ones than they had been originally; this was the case at Freiston Road (Lincs) (Copp and Toop 2006: 91). In cases where monuments had not been excavated or did not yield enough information to confirm their visibility, other features on the site could be consulted. By considering the positioning of Anglo-Saxon features it was possible in some cases to suggest that monuments were visible, for instance when settlement features seemed to deliberately avoid monuments or when they were situated directly on top of them, as at West Cotton (Northants) (Windell et al. 1990) and Barrow Hills (Oxon)

(Chambers and McAdam 2007). Williams (1997: 4) made a similar observation in his study of funerary reuse, stating that the organisation, orientation and depth of graves could support the visibility of a monument as an earthwork during the Anglo-Saxon period.

In other instances, features that post-dated prehistoric monuments, but pre-dated the Anglo-Saxon period, could give an indication of longevity for monuments that are no longer visible. For example, the northern portion of a Neolithic cursus that ran through the settlement at Sutton Courtenay had directly influenced a Romano-British field system, the ditches of which overlay part of the cursus (Barclay et al. 2003: 105) (see fig. 2.4). The writings of antiquarians, as well as monuments marked on historic maps, were also of use, as they could confirm the former visibility of monuments that may have been destroyed by development or agricultural activities in the modern era. Similarly, place-names could shed light on the visibility of monuments in the Middle Ages; this was the case at Barrow Hills, the name of which was first recorded in a document dating from 1547 (Chambers and McAdam 2007: 9).

The corpus does include several sites at which the visibility of monuments in the Anglo-Saxon period could not be confirmed through any of the means described above. This was the case at Village Farm (Beds), for example, where Anglo-Saxon buildings were located c.10-20m away from a barrow (BCAS 1995a: 22, figs. 9 and 10). The evidence was ambiguous at these sites, and could neither confirm nor deny the survival of the monument, although the positioning of nearby buildings did hint at their having been earthworks still. Crucially, however, there was no evidence to suggest that these monuments had been destroyed or eroded prior to the Anglo-Saxon period. Although they lack definitive confirmation that the monuments were still in existence in the Anglo-Saxon period, they have been included because, equally, they have no evidence to confirm that the monuments had been razed. It is hoped that by studying these sites alongside others where monuments *were*

definitely still visible it might be possible to confirm the visibility of the monuments at the 'uncertain' sites.[5]

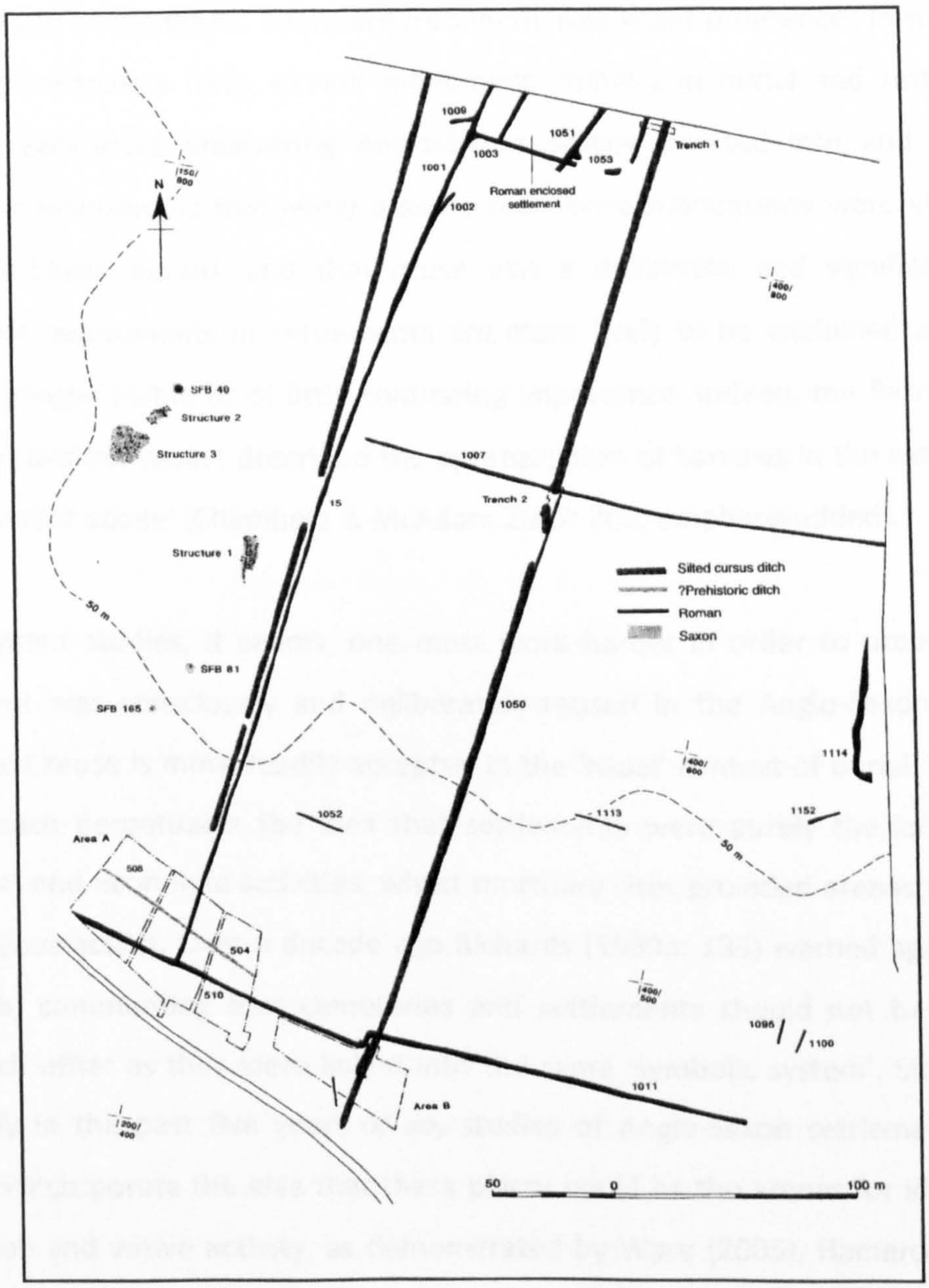


Fig. 2.4 A Roman field system overlying a Neolithic cursus at Drayton (Oxon); the positioning of the Roman features indicates that the cursus remained visible until at least that time (from Barclay et al. 2003: 17, fig. 3.1).

[5] For each of the forty-two settlement sites in the corpus it will be made clear on what basis monument visibility has been judged, either in the review of the evidence in Chapter 5, or the more detailed site descriptions in Appendix A.

Settlement and Burial Archaeology: Attitudes to Monument Visibility

The above discussion of monument longevity and visibility in the Anglo-Saxon period raises an interesting methodological issue, which it is worth highlighting at the beginning of the thesis. There are frequently significant differences in the ways in which researchers have viewed monument visibility in burial and settlement contexts. Excavators uncovering Anglo-Saxon *graves* inserted into and around prehistoric monuments frequently assume that those monuments were visible in the Anglo-Saxon period, and that reuse was a deliberate and significant act. Meanwhile, monuments in settlements are more likely to be explained away, as being no longer visible or of little continuing importance. Indeed, the Barrow Hills (Oxon) excavation report described the appropriation of barrows in the settlement as 'monument *abuse*' (Chambers & McAdam 2007: 303, emphasis added).

In settlement studies, it seems, one must work harder in order to prove that a monument was consciously and deliberately reused in the Anglo-Saxon period; monument reuse is more readily accepted in the 'ritual' context of burial. Yet such an approach perpetuates the idea that settlements were purely the location of functional and economic activities, whilst mortuary sites provided arenas for ritual and religious action. Over a decade ago Richards (1999a: 135) warned against this approach, commenting that cemeteries and settlements should not be isolated from each other as they were linked into the same 'symbolic system'. Since then, especially in the past five years or so, studies of Anglo-Saxon settlements have begun to incorporate the idea that these places could be the arenas for ideological expression and votive activity, as demonstrated by Ware (2005), Hamerow (2006) and Walker (2009) and several ongoing doctoral research projects (see Chapter 1).

It is interesting to note that monument reuse in burial contexts has not always been imbued with ideological importance; in the 1970s Hunter (1974: 50) asserted that no reverence was shown for Roman sites when they were 'misused' for burial by Anglo-Saxon communities. As the subject of funerary monument reuse has been more intensively studied and theorised over the ensuing thirty-five years or so since Hunter made that assertion, views such as his have generally been discounted. Perhaps, then, as archaeological awareness of the potential for settlements to be

the locations of ideologically-significant activities continues to grow, so too will the acceptance that the juxtaposition of prehistoric monuments and Anglo-Saxon buildings was frequently the result of conscious decisions made by Anglo-Saxon communities, rather than simply coincidence.

The quotes from Hunter, and from Chambers and McAdam, cited above also raise a further methodological issue, namely the danger of assuming that 'destruction' or 'misuse' of a monument resulted from a lack of reverence for it. Richard Hingley (1996) has studied the reuse of Neolithic chambered tombs during the later Bronze Age and early Iron Age in Atlantic Scotland, drawing attention to the sometimes partial or even total dismantling of these tombs in later periods. Dismantling the tombs could be interpreted as destructive mistreatment, but Hingley points out that this attitude might not have been shared by people in the past (Hingley 1996: 232). The practice can, instead, be interpreted as a process of modification, in which parts of the monuments were taken away and used to build elsewhere, but kept their 'special' meanings, as did the original monument. When monuments were reused in a way that compromised their original appearance or preservation, this was not necessarily an act of desecration or intentional destruction; instead it redefined the earthworks and 'reinvented' them (Hingley 1996: 241). In an Anglo-Saxon context, therefore, monuments might not necessarily have had to be 'pristine' or un-tampered with in order to be significant, and they could even have been actively altered so that they fitted the new community's needs, whilst still maintaining their importance.

Comparative Data

In addition to the corpus of settlement sites under study here, several bodies of comparative data have also been collated. The first is a list of excavated settlements *without* reuse from within the study area (see Appendix B). The second set comprises other examples of monument reuse in the study region, including burial sites, churches and pagan shrine sites with evidence for the appropriation of pre-existing earthworks (see Appendix C). These comparative bodies of evidence have been gathered in order to provide some background information with which to

compare the settlements in the corpus; the results of this comparison are presented in Chapter 5. Plotting the settlements in the corpus against Anglo-Saxon burial sites, ecclesiastical sites and pagan shrines which reused monuments will allow the general distribution of reuse across the study area to be understood, providing a detailed picture of the practice of monument reuse across central England. Meanwhile, the settlements without reuse provide a broad picture of settlement activity across the study area, against which the sites in the corpus can be viewed. The majority of the church and pagan shrine sites have been collated from data presented in Semple (2003a), whilst the burial and settlement sites have been gathered from reviews of journals, HER entries and NMR data.

Reuse of Romano-British Remains

In addition to prehistoric monuments, Anglo-Saxon communities also made use of Romano-British remains; it has been demonstrated that they were used as the locations of both churches (Bell 1998; Blair 1992; 2005) and cemeteries (Williams 1997; 1998). In this study, however, the decision has been taken to focus solely on the reuse of prehistoric features, for a number of reasons. There is no doubt that Romano-British remains were sometimes chosen as suitable places for early medieval occupation, and possible examples of this activity have been uncovered during this study.[6] Nevertheless, the inclusion of these sites would have produced a large and potentially unmanageable data set, which would have risked compromising the site-by-site approach of this study. Moreover, and more significantly, the majority of discussions about monument reuse in burial contexts have focused principally on the reuse of prehistoric monuments – particularly barrows – and their roles as socio-political 'tools' in Anglo-Saxon society (e.g. Shephard 1979; Carver 1998; 1999; 2001). Williams (1997: 17) found that Romano-British structures and monuments were reused at a relatively small number of burial sites compared to prehistoric monuments; 18% of cemeteries in his study reused Roman features, while 82% reused prehistoric features. Thus, in order to

[6] Around forty sites with evidence for both Romano-British remains and Anglo-Saxon buildings have come to light during the course of this research. As they do not form the focus of the study, however, there have been no attempts here to verify the possibility that the Romano-British remains did definitely influence the Anglo-Saxon settlement features.

develop a useful comparative data set, which could be evaluated with reference to the majority of funerary reuse sites, it was preferable to focus on the reuse of prehistoric monuments. In addition, Old English literary sources provide some evidence to suggest that Roman stone structures and prehistoric earthen monuments were attributed with different meanings and origins in Anglo-Saxon society, which may indicate that the two were perceived as distinct groups and interpreted differently (see Chapter 4).

What is more, a number of studies have already been undertaken with the explicit aim of investigating the transition from the Romano-British period to the Anglo-Saxon period in terms of settlement (e.g. Eagles 1977; Clark 2005). The emphasis in these studies has been on settlement sites that were used in both periods, and on the relationships between occupation features of Romano-British and Anglo-Saxon date. In contrast, there has been no systematic exploration of the relationships between prehistoric and Anglo-Saxon occupation features when they have been found on the same sites. The exception, as previously mentioned, is Richard Bradley's (1987) reassessment of Yeavering, which has the given the impression that monument reuse was high-status and 'out of the ordinary' (see, for example, the quote from Audrey Meaney cited at the beginning of this thesis).

The apparent 'reuse' of Romano-British sites also raises a methodological issue, namely the difficulty of distinguishing *re*occupation from *continued* occupation. Williams (1997: 13) made a similar observation with reference to cemeteries which were used in both the Roman and early Anglo-Saxon periods; it is sometimes difficult to determine whether they continued in use, or were brought back into use after a hiatus. Many of the 'reused' Roman sites encountered during the research for this study appear to have continued in use, rather than being reoccupied after initial abandonment. For example, discussions regarding the fate of Romano-British towns in the fifth century have identified some apparently unequivocal examples of continued occupation. Although many towns seem to have lost their functions and populations in the late fourth and fifth centuries, there are some examples which continuing to be occupied into the fifth century, for example Verulamium Insula

XXVII (modern St Albans; Herts) and the Wroxeter baths basilica (Shrops) (Esmonde Cleary 1993b: 11-2). Meanwhile, at Heybridge (Essex) five fifth-century SFBs and a possible post-built structure were excavated within a small Romano-British town (Drury and Wickenden 1982: 1) (see fig. 2.5). Similarly, continuity has been noted on more rural Romano-British sites. For instance, at Latimer (Bucks) timber-framed fifth-century buildings appear to have been built near to a Roman villa (Wilson and Hurst 1967: 263; Rahtz 1976b: 424).

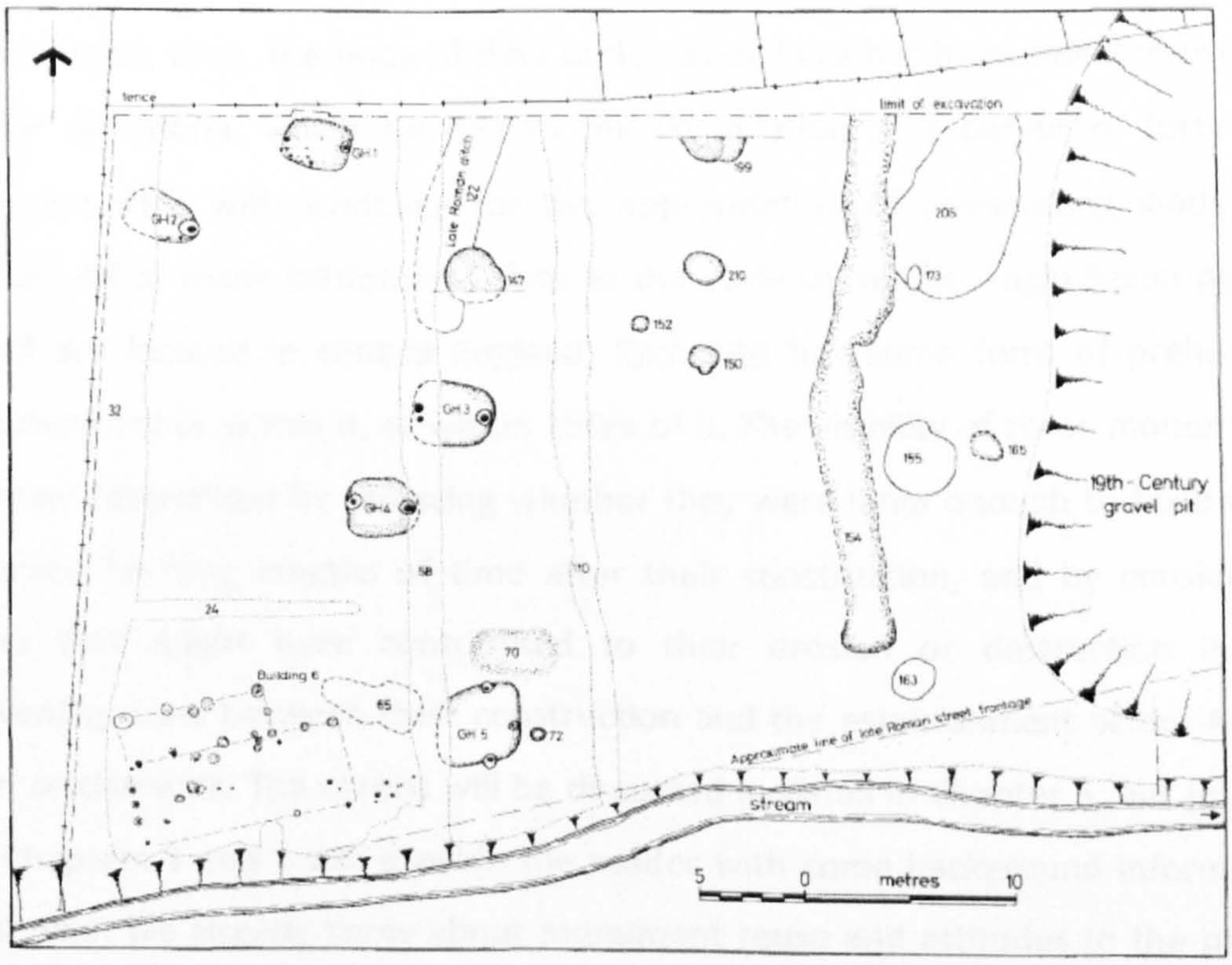


Fig. 2.5 Excavated fourth-century features (in outline only) and early Anglo-Saxon settlement features (shaded) at Heybridge (Essex) (from Drury and Wickenden 1982: 4, fig. 2).

Thus, there are potential problems associated with identifying the reuse or reoccupation of Romano-British sites. The evidence often appears to point towards continuity of occupation during the fifth century, rather than the reuse of sites after a hiatus in occupation. As the Anglo-Saxon reuse of Roman sites often seems to have dated to the *early* Anglo-Saxon period (often the fifth century, as at Latimer), there is a strong likelihood that the early Anglo-Saxon communities inhabiting these sites would have had some awareness of their original functions and perhaps their

original occupants. One of the aims of this study is to determine how Anglo-Saxon communities viewed and interpreted monuments about whose origins and functions they knew little, as researchers such as Williams and Semple have attempted for burial sites. For this reason prehistoric remains are of particular interest here, as they may well have provided a 'blank canvas' for reinterpretation and the projection of Anglo-Saxon beliefs.

Summary

To summarise, then, the body of data under study here has been selected using a number of criteria, which has led to the compilation of a corpus of forty-two settlement sites with evidence for the appropriation of pre-existing landscape features. All of these settlements date to the early to middle Anglo-Saxon period and all are located in central England. Each site has some form of prehistoric monument either within it, or within 150m of it. The visibility of these monuments has been determined by assessing whether they were large enough to have been preserved for long lengths of time after their construction, and by considering factors that might have contributed to their erosion or destruction in the intervening years between their construction and the establishment of the Anglo-Saxon settlements. The corpus will be discussed in detail in Chapter 5, but prior to that Chapters 3 and 4 will provide the reader with some background information about what we already know about monument reuse and attitudes to the past in Anglo-Saxon England.

Chapter Three

Anglo-Saxon Monument Reuse: Previous Research

The reuse of pre-existing landscape features has been recognised in a variety of early medieval contexts throughout England (as well as in other parts of the British Isles and Europe – e.g. Driscoll 1998; Newman 1998; Effros 2001; Thäte 2007). Indeed, the present study owes its origins primarily to these previous studies, which, valuable and intriguing as they are, have frequently ignored the subject of monument reuse in *settlements*. It is, therefore, deemed integral to this research that previous studies of reuse are summarised and reviewed, in order to demonstrate how this activity in other early medieval contexts has been interpreted and theorised. Essentially, the primary objective of this chapter is to present a critical overview of the work already carried out on the subject of early medieval attitudes to the past, as well as to provide the reader with an understanding of the impetus for the current study. Although Romano-British remains do not form a focus of this particular study, research into their reuse will be detailed in this chapter, in order to provide a full review of the archaeological genre of Anglo-Saxon monument reuse studies as a whole.

Five dimensions of reuse in Anglo-Saxon society will be addressed. Firstly, the chapter will examine interpretations of what is arguably the most well-known and ubiquitous type of monument reuse, that of funerary reuse. Secondly, the role of ancient earthworks at religious sites, both pagan and Christian, will be discussed. Thirdly, the reuse of ancient earthworks as early medieval assembly or 'moot' sites will be considered. Following this will be a discussion of the few studies that *have* considered relationships between settlements and ancient monuments. The fifth issue will depart slightly from the subject of *monument* reuse, to discuss the reuse and curation of older artefacts in Anglo-Saxon contexts. This activity has primarily been noted in burial studies, but also occurs in settlements, and although not directly related to monument reuse it may help to elucidate attitudes to the past. By way of conclusion, the various strands of evidence will be united and discussed, in order to provide a broad picture of how early medieval attitudes to the past may

be illuminated through archaeological evidence. This will show how the current study fits into, and builds upon, previous work undertaken on the subject of monument reuse.

Burial

The funerary reuse of monuments is a particularly well-researched subject within early medieval archaeology, witnessing an increasing number of studies in the past decade. In particular, there has been growing interest in the theorisation of the topic. Howard Williams (1997; 1998; 2002; 2006) has been especially prolific in his publications on this subject, whilst others such as Sam Lucy (2000) and Sarah Semple (2003a; 2008; 2009) have also investigated monument reuse in burial contexts. The secondary insertion of Anglo-Saxon burials into prehistoric and Romano-British monuments had been recognised much earlier; antiquarian barrow diggers of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries dug many prehistoric burial mounds containing such interments, although they did not necessarily know the dates of the features they were digging. Recognition of these burials as secondary was intermittent, but modern researchers have often been able to confirm, or at least suggest, that reuse may have taken place on these early-excavated sites (Lucy 2000: 126).

The frequent use of older earthworks for burial, the rich and elaborate nature of many of those burials, and the deliberate building of new burial mounds in the Anglo-Saxon period all demonstrate that older monuments were influential in determining the nature of burial and expression of status in early to middle Anglo-Saxon England. In the late 1970s J. Shephard drew on anthropological evidence to support the idea that barrow burials emphasized ties to ancestors and strengthened claims to land and resources in an unstable social system (Shephard 1979: 47, 77). More recent explanations for Anglo-Saxon barrow burial have continued along the same lines; Helen Geake (1992: 91), Chris Daniell and Victoria Thompson (1999: 68), and Dawn Hadley (2001: 95) have all expressed the opinion that barrow burials represented claims to land and resources, whilst Tania Dickinson (2002: 86) has suggested that they may have created fictive links to ancestors, and others still have

asserted that they reflect the increasing stratification of society in the late sixth and seventh centuries (e.g. Scull 1999; Stoodley 1999; Blair 2005).

Robert van de Noort (1993) and Martin Carver (1998; 1999) were both of the opinion that burial reuse of monuments, particularly barrows, represented a fiercely defiant 'anti-Christian' statement by Anglo-Saxon elites in the face of encroaching influence from the Christian Church as it spread from the continent (they also applied this interpretation to newly-constructed barrows, which may have been emulations of prehistoric ones). Van de Noort (1993: 71) claimed that growing incidences of barrow burial in Europe, on the peripheries of the Merovingian kingdom, were linked to the spread of church-associated burial from the heart of the Merovingian world. As Christian burial practices spread, he argued, more barrows were used for burial in these peripheral areas as a defensive reaction to the supposed threat of new burial rites; for van de Noort, these peripheral margins of the Merovingian world included south-east England. Carver (1998: 134; 1999: 5) also argued that barrow-burial entailed an anti-Merovingian stance, as a result of perceived growth of Frankish power over early medieval England. Carver believed that the use of burial mounds made direct references to Scandinavian burial customs, representing attempts to align communities in Anglo-Saxon England with real or perceived origins in Scandinavia (Carver 1998: 136). Both the construction of barrows and the reuse of older mounds therefore represented a reinvented tradition of barrow burial in opposition to Christianity and continental authority.

The arguments of van de Noort and Carver are not, however, supported by the archaeological evidence. For a start, neither author explained how burial in pre-existing monuments other than barrows, such as Iron Age hillforts, fitted into their picture of anti-Christian attitudes. Secondly, scholars such as Edward James (1992), Ian Wood (1992), Helen Geake (1992) and Dawn Hadley (2001) have noted there is nothing overtly non-Christian about this form of mortuary commemoration. Indeed, it may have provided an alternative to churchyard burial for aristocrats seeking to express their status in death. Hadley (2001: 95) has suggested that rich barrow

burials drew on a range of national and international symbols of power, especially in the range of material culture deposited with the deceased, with the object of creating and maintaining social elites in an increasingly stratified society.

Furthermore, it has even been suggested that Merovingian – and Christian – influences may have been *welcomed* by the rulers of southern and eastern England, who appreciated the enhanced status that contact with the Merovingian world gave them (James 1992; Wood 1992; Geake 1999). There is evidence to suggest that parts of south-east England may have been considered subordinate kingdoms by Merovingian rulers, and these regions do seem to have been politically and culturally influenced by Merovingian society, as demonstrated by the presence of continental and Mediterranean artefacts in burials of the period (James 1992: 243; Wood 1992: 235). It seems more likely that, as James (1992: 253) suggested, burial in barrows derived from a desire to emulate rich Merovingian burials beneath ostentatious monuments which, in the stone-building tradition of the continent, took the form of a church or cathedral. In early medieval England, however, where stone-building was not the norm, the practice could have been translated into earthen monuments; the perception may have been that they transmitted the same messages of modernity and sophistication as the continental versions. At the same time, however, barrow burial allowed more familiar and insular motifs to be referenced, using recognisable older monument styles.

An additional problem with the arguments presented by van de Noort and Carver is their geographical bias towards south-east England. Van de Noort (1993: 71) explicitly discussed this area of the country, while Carver's ideas are largely based on his work in Suffolk (e.g. Carver 1998; 1999; 2001); indeed some counter-arguments, from Wood (1992) and James (1992) for example, also focus solely on south-east England. Neither van de Noort nor Carver explains why the tradition of burial in both old and new barrows in the late sixth and seventh centuries extended to the far north of this area, being particularly prevalent in Derbyshire and east Yorkshire, for example. Moreover, it has been shown that reused Roman and Roman-style grave goods became more popular in the sixth and seventh centuries,

including in barrow burials (e.g. White 1988; Geake 1999; Eckhardt and Williams 2003; see below for a more detailed discussion of the material culture evidence). This suggests that there were no anti-Christian or anti-continental feelings attached to barrow burial; in fact, as Geake (1999) has argued, the practice suggests an embracing of Classical styles, which may well have carried Christian resonances.

If the reuse of barrows for burial in the sixth and seventh centuries cannot, then, be attributed to an aggressive 'pagan' stance, how can it be explained? As previously mentioned, the increasing stratification of Anglo-Saxon society, and subsequent need for physical expressions of status, is one explanation for the growth of barrow burial. Christopher Scull (1999: 17) has suggested that settlement hierarchies were developing in this period, indicating increasingly territorial, centralised political and economic authority, and Nick Stoodley (1999) has agreed that this may have been a factor in the rise of barrow burial. John Blair (2005) has also stated that rich barrow burials were expressions of status by new competitive elites keen to demonstrate fresh attitudes through innovative burial techniques. The motive for barrow reuse for burial appears, therefore, to be related to political and social developments *within* Anglo-Saxon society, not aggressive defiance towards external political or religious factors. Part of their function may have been to publicise and legitimise claims to land, power and resources, acting as tools with which to stamp the actual or desired authority of those elites onto the collective consciousness of the communities who lived and worked in the landscape.

Much of the research into funerary monument reuse reviewed so far has focused primarily on rich barrow burials of the sixth and seventh centuries. This has generally been at the expense of other instances of monument reuse, including those that took place before and after this period, and which made use of other monument types. It is here that the recent work of Sarah Semple, Sam Lucy and Howard Williams has been particularly enlightening, providing a fuller picture of monument reuse in funerary contexts. Over the past decade Howard Williams has been particularly prolific in studying reuse in Anglo-Saxon burial contexts (e.g. Williams 1997; 1998; 2006). Rather than simply focusing on barrow burials, he has

elaborated on the nature and extent of monument reuse, showing that many other types of monument, such as henges, hillforts and stone circles, were also appropriated. He has shown that around a quarter of known Anglo-Saxon cemeteries of the fifth to eighth centuries reused ancient monuments, including a variety of both prehistoric and Romano-British remains, and that it occurred relatively evenly across Anglo-Saxon England (Williams 1997: 4; 1998: 92). He did note a peak in funerary reuse in the sixth and seventh centuries, but he was able to show that in the fifth and sixth centuries burial in ancient monuments was more of a communal practice, with large cemeteries making use of prehistoric and Romano-British remains; the well-known tradition of elite barrow burial during the late sixth and seventh centuries actually seems to have been a variation on an already-established practice (Williams 1998: 103; 2002: 358). This work has helped to further disprove claims that barrow burials were an 'anti-Christian' innovation, since burial in a variety of older earthworks was already an established activity well before the arrival of Christianity (Williams 1998: 102).

As well as noting the extent, form and variety of monument reuse in Anglo-Saxon mortuary contexts, Williams sought to interpret them in more depth than had been attempted previously. He agreed, to an extent, with the assertions that funerary reuse of monuments reflected social stress and competition in society, as well as signalling claims to land and resources, attempts to legitimise power and the desire to create ties to ancestors, but he also believed these explanations to be too simplistic (Williams 1997: 24; 2006: 145). He argued that reuse in burial contexts served to 'symbolize and maintain relationships with ancient monuments', and that these sites may have been considered liminal, timeless spaces where communities could reproduce idealized versions of their histories and group identities (Williams 1997: 25; 1998: 96). This he also linked to ethnic identity; for groups perceiving their roots as Germanic, images may have been evoked of imagined northern European 'homelands' where there were similar burial practices, whilst the deceased could also be linked to former inhabitants of England who built the monuments, which would have emphasized their links to the past (Williams 1997: 26; 1998: 104).

Williams has also suggested that monuments acted as nodes in complex relationships between different groups, including the living community, the dead and ancestors (Williams 2006: 145-6). One of his key claims is that monuments operated in relation to social or collective memories in various ways: 1. by influencing and interacting with ritual actions; 2. by embodying cosmologies and origin myths; 3. by acting as thresholds to other worlds; 4. by functioning as the resting places of ancestors; and 5. by acting as places of repeated contact between the living and the dead. There may have been a range of political and social motivations for monument reuse, but for Williams its primary objective was the construction and reworking of social memories, through links to ancestors and the sacred, but also through the creation of genealogies and histories for both elites and wider communities (Williams 2006: 183). These memories, he claimed, were constructed through the repeated use of burial sites and pre-existing monuments, as well as through the journeys performed between monuments and other areas of the landscape (Williams 2006: 197). Thus, mortuary monuments served as centres of commemoration as a result of the rituals conducted at them, rituals which involved both ancestors and the newly dead, as well as the living.

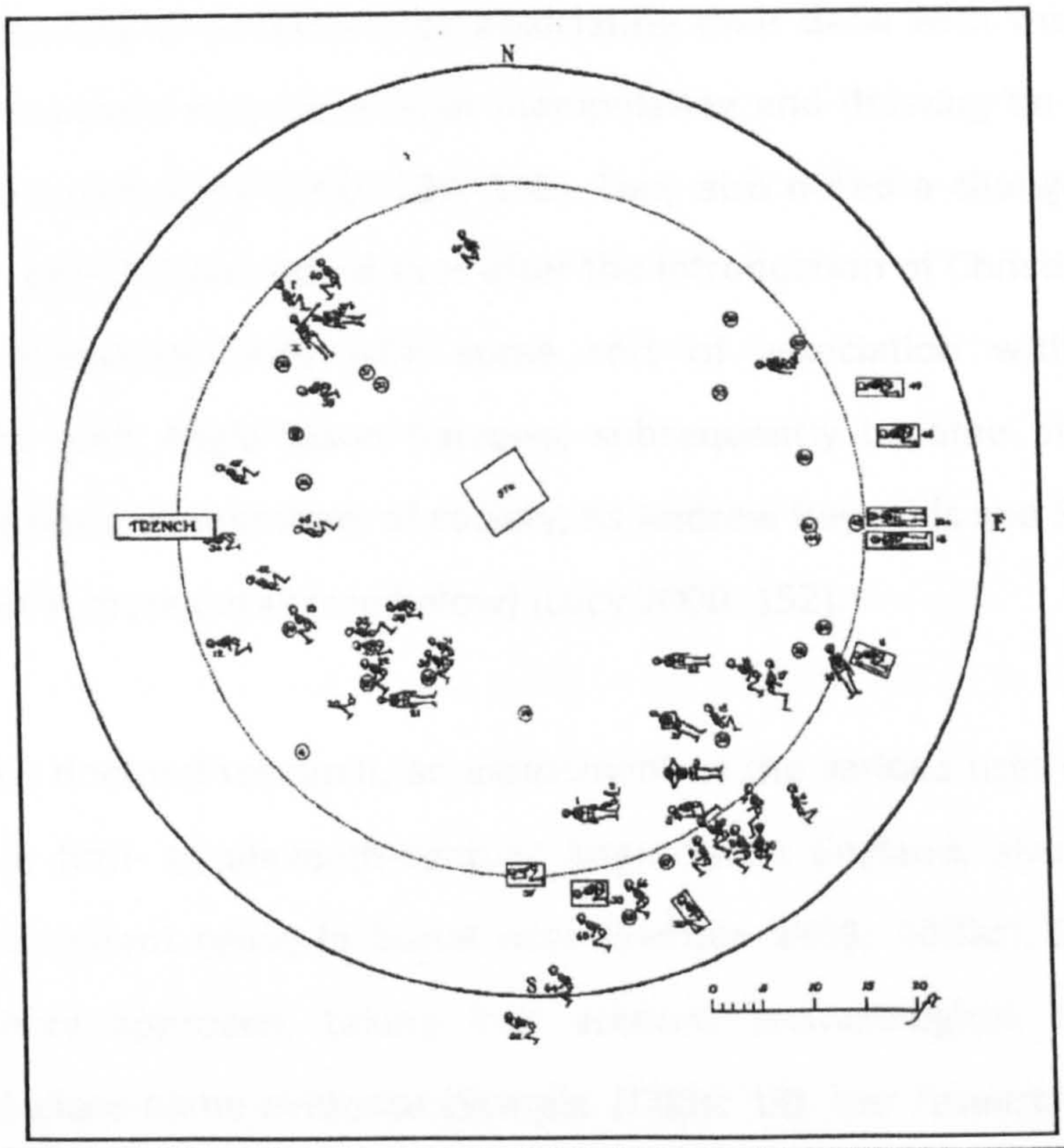
Williams's claims about reused monuments and 'social' or 'collective' memories have been influential, although Zoe Devlin's (2007) doctoral research on the application of memory theory in archaeology has thrown doubt on the reliability of some of Williams's assertions. Devlin's approach was to apply sociological theories of memory to funerary assemblages of fifth-to tenth-century south-eastern English cemeteries in order to assess how 'technologies of remembrance', such as grave goods and the layout of cemeteries, contributed to the remembrance and commemoration of the deceased. Crucially, her aim was to demonstrate that a sound understanding of the theories of memory were central to studying remembrance in the past. Devlin (2007: 1) noted that studies of memory have become increasing popular in the social sciences and humanities in the last twenty-five years. This interest has recently come to the fore in archaeology, with several studies drawing on theories of memory from the social sciences in order to apply them to archaeological material. Devlin warned, however, that theories about

memory are often varied and contrasting, with much debate on the issue of what memory actually *is*, and how it is formed. There is, therefore, a risk that archaeologists are drawing inspiration from these studies without fully understanding them, or their contexts. There is, she pointed out, a tendency for archaeologists to omit definitions of their understandings of memory, as the concept is viewed as 'self-explanatory', but she argued that theories need to be fully and thoroughly tested in relation to the past before they can be applied (Devlin 2007: 2). Indeed, her own lengthy discussion on the topic of memory theory illustrated just how much information there is on the subject, much of it complex and contradictory.

Devlin particularly highlighted concerns over the increasingly commonly-used terms 'social' and 'collective' memory. There are a number of debates within memory theory regarding the nature of social or collective memory, and whether they even exist at all (Devlin 2007: 4, 8-9, 11). Devlin criticised Williams's understanding of social memory; for example, Williams (2003) claimed that memory is a social rather than psychological concept, which can reside in society rather than the heads of individuals. Devlin pointed out, however, that Williams failed to explain exactly how he envisioned memory existing *outside* the heads of individuals (Devlin 2007: 9). She claimed that an individual can only recall their own experiences; even when memories are shared and made public they never become the *actual* memories of others. Here, Devlin drew on Sarah Foot's (1999) beliefs about the nature of social memory. Foot felt that terms such as 'social' and 'collective' memory are semantically flawed, as memory is personal and individual; she differentiated memory from a 'pool of shared remembrance', which all members of a social group may have access to. Thus, memory can be understood to be an individual attribute; concepts of 'social' and 'collective' memories should be better expressed as shared stories, histories, traditions and myths – a 'learned knowledge' of the past – which a social group can draw on for commemoration but which they do not all share personal memories of (Devlin 2007: 11). Thus, while Williams's research into funerary reuse is extremely valuable, as the first nationwide, methodical study of this activity, his interpretations of it are at times rather vague and undefined.

Like Williams's work, Sam Lucy's (2000) book, *The Anglo-Saxon Way of Death* also considered the subject of monument reuse for burial. She cited many examples of Anglo-Saxon burial sites which reused features such as Iron Age hillforts, Roman forts and villas, and Neolithic long barrows, as well as the ever-popular Bronze Age barrow (Lucy 2000: 124-6). She noted that prehistoric earthworks could form the boundaries of cemetery areas, which may shed light on the ways in which these places were separated off, physically as well as ideologically, from the arenas of the living (Lucy 2000: 123). Monuments also dictated the alignment of burials, which might, for example, all lie with their heads pointing to the centre of a feature, such as the Bronze Age barrow surrounded by burials at Mill Hill, Deal (Kent) (Lucy 2000: 130) (see fig. 3.1).

In many ways Lucy's study was similar to Williams's, as she catalogued the types and dates of monument reuse in cemeteries, searching for patterns. She noted that Roman sites tended to be used predominantly in the early Anglo-Saxon period, and that the reuse of Neolithic monuments tended to be less frequent (perhaps because these earthworks were not as common as others), but when it took place it tended to be in the sixth century and later (Lucy 2000: 124-6). For example, at West Heslerton (Yorks), a fifth- to seventh-century cemetery occupied an area already used as a late Neolithic and early Bronze Age ritual complex, consisting of a hengiform enclosure, a post-circle and a series of round barrows, as well as a major Iron Age boundary. She noted, however, that the most frequently reused monument for burial was the Bronze Age barrow, and that this reuse took place during the whole period of the fifth to early eighth centuries, at places such as Uncleby (E Yorks) (Lucy 2000: 127-8) (see fig. 3.1). Clusters were seen in Derbyshire, Sussex, Wiltshire and Yorkshire in the later sixth, seventh and eighth centuries, and Lucy believed that, despite the potential biases inherent in the commanding skyline positions of many barrows or their investigation by antiquarian diggers, these do seem to be genuine geographical and chronological patterns.



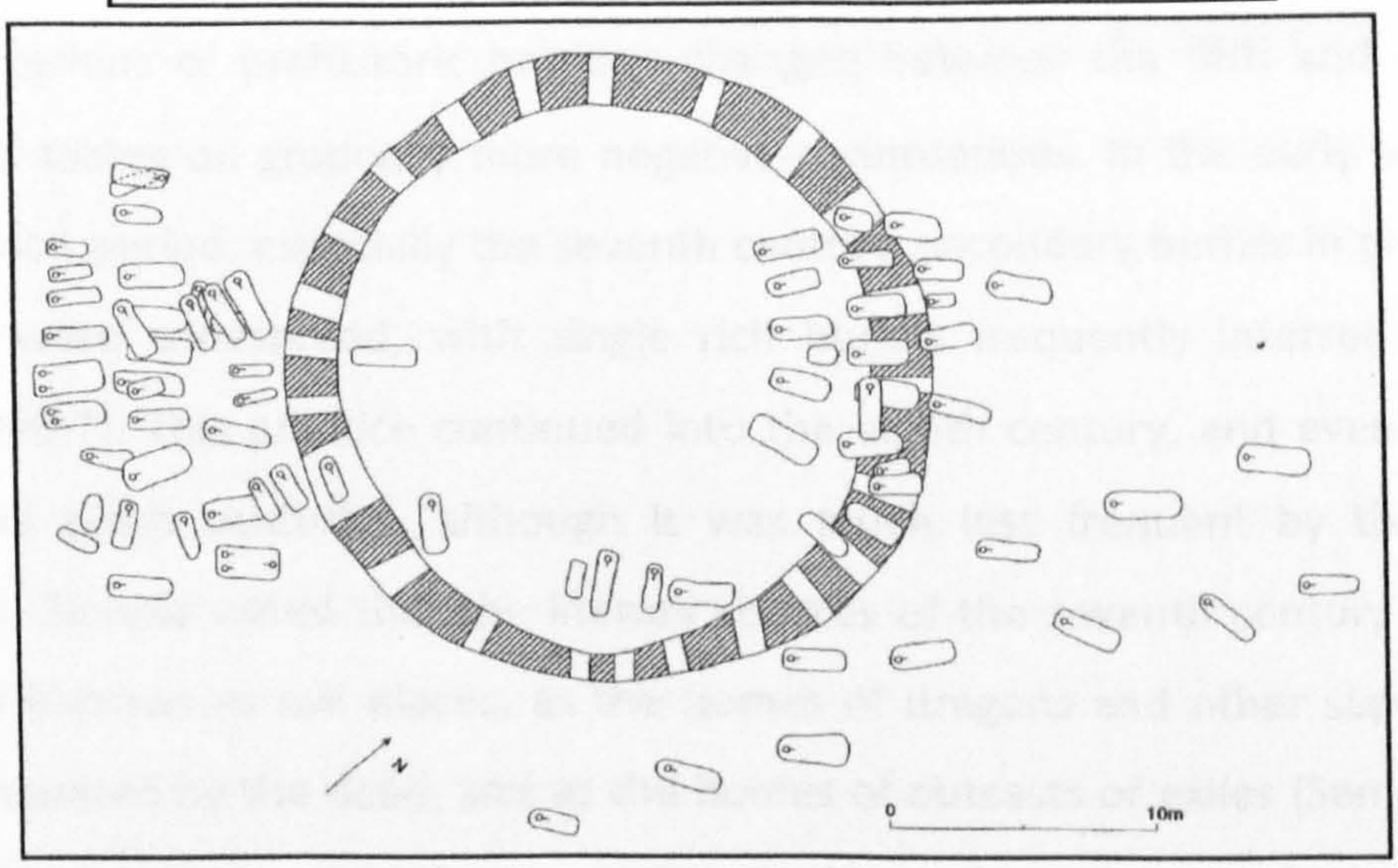


Fig. 3.1 Bronze Age round barrows reused for Anglo-Saxon inhumations at Uncleby in East Yorkshire (top) and Mill Hill, Deal in Kent (bottom) (from Lucy 2000: 81, fig. 3.6; 131, fig. 5.4).

While similarities existed between Lucy's and Williams' studies, Lucy concentrated to a greater extent on the gathering and cataloguing of evidence, illustrating her points with a large number of examples, as opposed to theorising and analysing this material. Nonetheless, she did support Williams's assertion that, from the very early Anglo-Saxon period, one intention of monument reuse may have been to create an

idealised community of ancestors; by associating their dead with these features, Anglo-Saxon mourners may have been manipulating and drawing on associations with the distant past (Lucy 2000: 130, 148). Lucy also noted a change in attitude towards some pre-Christian burial sites after the introduction of Christianity; earlier burial sites, frequently ones with some sort of association with prehistoric monuments or with Anglo-Saxon barrows, subsequently became places for the execution and burial of members of society, as Andrew Reynolds and Sarah Semple have discussed in more detail (see below) (Lucy 2000: 152).

Sarah Semple's doctoral research, an assessment of the various uses of prehistoric monuments in fifth- to eleventh-century Anglo-Saxon England, also covered the subject of monument reuse in burial rites (Semple 1998; 2003a). She applied a multi-disciplinary approach, taking into account archaeological, historical, art historical and place-name evidence (Semple 2003a: 18). Her research showed that the perceptions of prehistoric barrows changed between the fifth and eleventh centuries, taking on gradually more negative connotations. In the early to middle Anglo-Saxon period, especially the seventh century, secondary burials in prehistoric barrows were widespread, with single rich burials frequently interred (Semple 2003a: 366-7). This practice continued into the eighth century, and even into the ninth and tenth centuries, although it was much less frequent by that point. However, Semple noted that the literary sources of the seventh century onwards depicted barrows as evil places, as the homes of dragons and other supernatural beings, haunted by the dead, and as the homes of outcasts or exiles (Semple 1998: 110; 2003a: 332). She cited the story of St. Guthlac, whose quest to find an unholy, deserted and haunted place for his self-enforced exile apparently led him to the fens and to a large burial mound, where he constructed his house in a robbed-out hollow (Semple 1998: 112-3). Here, he was tormented by demons, wicked spirits and criminals, who he eventually drove out (see Chapter 4).

To an extent, archaeological evidence supports these negative associations, as in the seventh and eighth centuries barrows, particularly those on the boundaries of territories, became places for the execution and burial of criminals and outcasts, an

activity which extended into the eleventh century (Semple 2003a: 371). Semple suggested that executions at prehistoric barrows may have been attempts to bury wrongdoers where they would be tormented in the afterlife by the evil spirits and creatures inhabiting the mound (Semple 1998: 114). When barrows were located on boundaries, this might have added extra potency to the punishment, placing the victim as far away as possible from all conventional aspects of Anglo-Saxon society (Semple 2003a: 371). Semple's explanation for the changing perceptions of prehistoric monuments in this era was firmly linked to the arrival of the Christian Church. She demonstrated that the negative documentary evidence about barrows was written in the seventh century and later, contemporary with the conversion, and that this was an attempt to demonise monuments which had formerly been perfectly acceptable locations for pre-Christian, and sometimes Christian, burial (Semple 1998: 118). This approach was intermittent though; in some circumstances monuments seem to have been enveloped by Christian ideology and used as locations for churches or fairs (Semple 2003a: 194, 217). Semple's research demonstrated the complex and often contradictory views of prehistoric monuments in the early medieval period, showing that there may be more than one reason behind monument reuse in burial contexts.

Semple's study of execution burials at prehistoric monuments developed alongside work by Andrew Reynolds, who discussed execution and deviant burial practices and their relationship with justice systems in both his study of late Anglo-Saxon society (Reynolds 1998; 1999), and in his contributions to the analysis of Anglo-Saxon execution cemeteries such as Chesterton Lane Corner in Cambridge (Cessford et al. 2007) and Stonehenge (Pitts et al. 2002). Reynolds has claimed that, as monument reuse for non-deviant burials began to decline during the eighth to tenth centuries, the reuse of monuments for execution cemeteries rose simultaneously, continuing into the twelfth century (Pitts et al. 2002: 140). He stated that two thirds of the excavated execution cemeteries of the middle to late Anglo-Saxon period (around thirty of which are known in total) were located in association with barrows, of both prehistoric and Anglo-Saxon origin, whilst the remainder were located on linear earthworks; these sites frequently afforded views

over the landscape, being in sight of communication routes (Reynolds 1999: 108; Pitts et al. 2002: 141; Cessford et al. 2007: 218). They could therefore act as visual warnings to passing travellers, especially if bodies were hung from gallows, as the finds of postholes at some execution cemeteries, such as South Acre (Norfolk) and Stockbridge Down (Hants), suggest (Reynolds 1999: 109). A large number of excavated execution burial sites seem to have focused on the boundaries of administrative areas. This is supported by the written evidence from charter boundaries, which include boundary markers such as *heaðenan byrgels* (heathen burials) and *cwealmstow* (killing place) (Reynolds 1999: 109). Thus, a further motivation for the geographical location of execution cemeteries seems to have been the desire to place the offenders as far away as possible from the inhabitation areas of territories.

A classic, yet early, example of this activity was evidenced at Stonehenge, as Mike Pitts, Andrew Reynolds, Sarah Semple and others have discussed (Pitts et al. 2002: 131-4) (see fig. 3.2). Reassessment of a skeleton found in the early twentieth century within the henge, previously suggested to be Neolithic or Roman, revealed that the individual was an adult male buried in a shallow grave, not quite long enough to hold his body when fully extended. He had been decapitated and had his head placed on top of his body, and radiocarbon analysis dated him to cal AD 600-690 (Pitts et al. 2002: 134, 137). Reynolds and Semple commented on the historical context of the burial, noting that it was an early example of a clearly 'deviant' inhumation (Pitts et al. 2002: 140).

Other comparable examples include a mutilated skeleton buried in a Neolithic bank barrow inside Maiden Castle (Dorset), radiocarbon dated the first half of the seventh century, and the body of a woman found in a well in the Roman town of Mildenhall (Cunetio) (Wilts), dated to the sixth century (Pitts et al. 2002: 140). It was suggested that these seventh-century practices were related to an increasing desire to mark deviant social status through the burial rite in the conversion period (Pitts et al. 2002: 140-3). This evidence, then, shows that the perceptions of burials within or around prehistoric monuments were transformed during the middle and

later Anglo-Saxon periods. Monuments came to play an important ideological and practical role in the judicial processes of Christian Anglo-Saxon England; the relevance of pre-existing monuments in dictating other aspects of Church enterprise is a subject dealt with further in the following section.

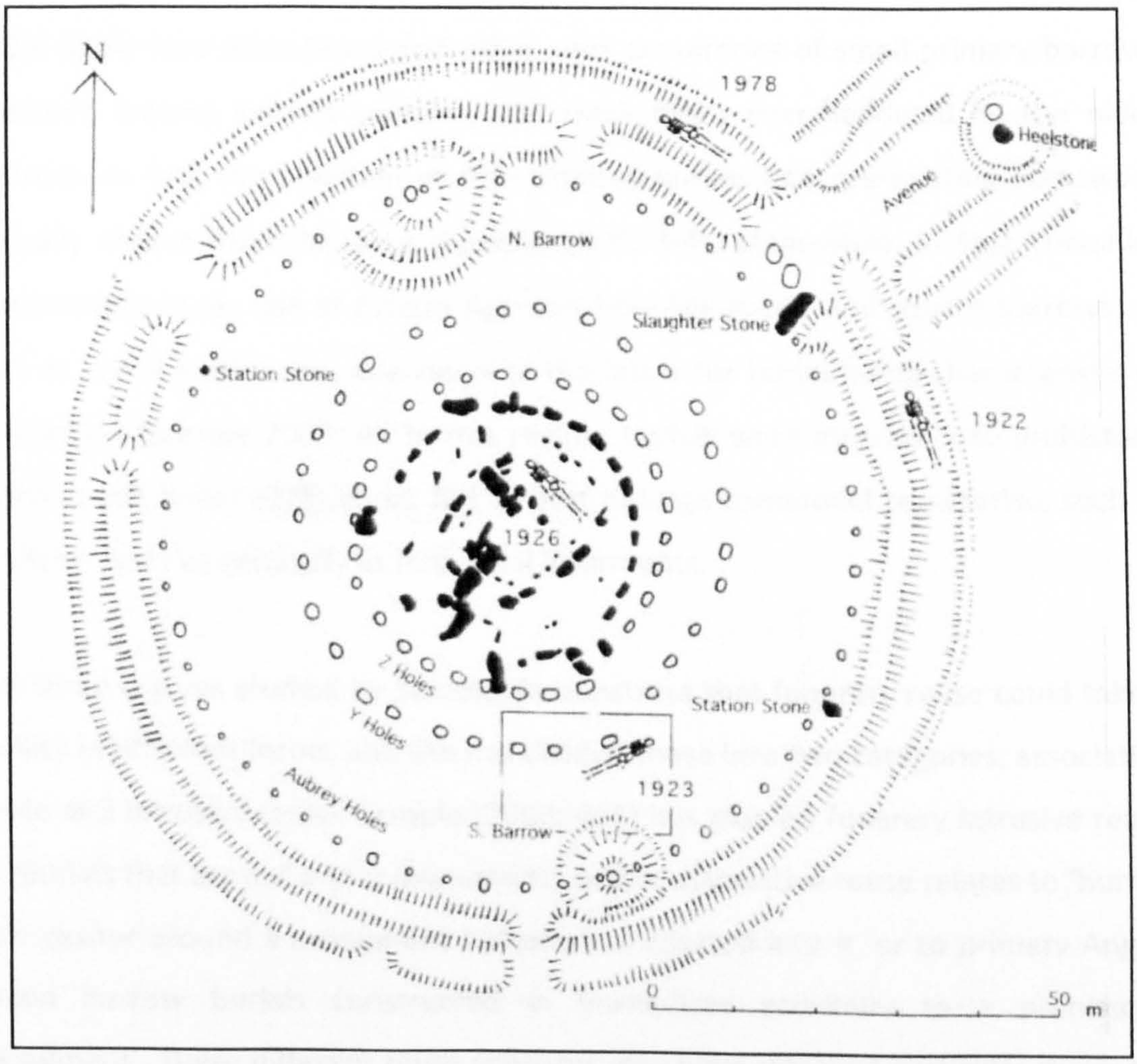


Fig. 3.2 Four articulated burials excavated during the twentieth century in Stonehenge; the skeleton excavated in 1923 was radiocarbon dated to AD 600-690 (the orientation of this inhumation is unknown) (from Pitts et al. 2002: 132, fig. 1).

More recently, Semple (2008; 2009) has taken a micro-topographical approach to studying reuse in burial contexts. Comparing burial reuse activities in different regions of the country, each with varying topographies and historical backgrounds, Semple (2009: 2) has suggested that differences in the form that reuse took signalled different attitudes towards the landscape and the past in the period AD 400-800. She found that in North Wiltshire Neolithic and Bronze Age remains were particularly frequently reused for burial; in particular, a large number of rich

isolated graves were inserted into barrows in the seventh century (Semple 2009: 3). Meanwhile, in West Sussex, prehistoric remains were also often used for burial between the fifth and eighth centuries, but a more diverse array of monuments were reused, including the mine shafts and spoil heaps of prehistoric flint mines at Blackpatch and the Neolithic house platforms at New Barn Down, Clapham (Semple 2009: 3). At New Barn Down and other sites cemeteries of small primary barrows clustered around ancient remains, and were often overshadowed by the older features; in fact, the insertion of rich, isolated burials into pre-existing barrows is virtually absent from this area (Semple 2009: 3-4). Meanwhile, in East Yorkshire communities made use of Bronze Age and Iron Age round and square barrows, as well as linear earthworks, the reuse of the latter for burial being characteristic of this region (Semple 2009: 4). In this region, burials were inserted into prehistoric barrows and linear earthworks, but as part of large communal cemeteries, such as Uncleby, and not generally as individual interments.

The three regions studied by Semple demonstrate that funerary reuse could take a variety of different forms, and she has divided these into two categories, associative reuse and intrusive reuse. Semple (2008: 411) has glossed funerary intrusive reuse as 'burials that are cut into a monument', whilst associative reuse relates to 'burials that cluster around a monument but are not inserted into it, or to primary Anglo-Saxon barrow burials constructed in immediate proximity to a prehistoric monument'. These different reuse practices may have signalled particular messages about people's attitudes towards the past and its remains. In particular, it appears that reuse was closely linked to the emergence of elite groups. In North Wiltshire, the large numbers of isolated burials intrusively inserted into monuments may have served to make clear statements about the rights of certain members of society to appropriate older monuments, which may have been used to define territorial boundaries (Semple 2009: 33). Meanwhile, in the South Saxon kingdom, it appears that the diverse array of funerary reuse practices, and the associative positioning of new mounds close to older ones, were linked to the absence of any centralized ruling group in this area during the fifth to eighth centuries (Semple 2009: 422). Instead, there seem to have been smaller competing groups, who were tying

themselves into relatively small territorial areas within the region and linking themselves to the remains of the past through association with monuments during the funerary ritual. In contrast to the other two regions, the lack of rich, isolated burials in monuments in East Yorkshire suggests that different processes were taking place, which did not involve the use of pre-existing monuments as symbols of individual, elite power (Semple 2009: 35). This particular aspect of Semple's research is very pertinent to this study, as a similar division between 'associative' and 'intrusive' reuse practices has been noted in settlements; this will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 5.

Shrines and Churches

It has been recognised that pre-existing monuments influenced the location and layout of pagan and Christian religious sites between the fifth to ninth centuries. In 1995 John Blair investigated the reuse of prehistoric and Romano-British monuments in dictating the location of archaeologically elusive pagan 'shrines', which place-name evidence suggests focused on mounds, trees and perhaps standing posts (Blair 1995: 1). However, there are seventh-century written sources which refer to *roofed* shrines containing pre-Christian idols and altars (Blair 1995: 2-3). Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* records Pope Gregory's advice to the Augustinian mission in Kent, in a letter of 601, in which he advises that 'temples of the idols' should be converted rather than destroyed (I.30; Sherley-Price 1968: 86-7). Bede also recounts the burning of Deiran royal shrines at Goodmanham, which he twice mentions had fenced or hedged enclosures (*septa*) around them (II.13; Sherley-Price 1968: 126-8). Bede's third reference is to a temple of the seventh-century King Raedwald of East Anglia, which contained both a Christian and a pagan altar (II.15; Sherley-Price 1968: 130-1). Meanwhile, a letter written by Aldhelm in the 680s also makes reference to pagan shrines containing pillars, which had been replaced by churches; 'where once the crude pillars of the same foul snake and the stag were worshipped with coarse stupidity in profane shrines, in their place dwellings for students, not to mention holy houses of prayer, are constructed' (Lapidge and Herren 1979: 160-3). Blair sought to uncover archaeological evidence for the roofed

temple structures which Bede and Aldhelm believed to have existed in the early seventh century.

Blair (1995: 4-5) alleged that a common feature of these 'shrine' sites was the use of square enclosures, a tradition which he believed had its roots in Iron Age and Romano-British ritual practices. He identified a number of square enclosures from across the British Isles, some of which were early medieval and some earlier, and divided them into six categories, A to F. Some involved the reuse of prehistoric monuments and are of particular interest here; these are categories C, D and E. Category C comprised small square-shaped ditched enclosures which seem to have been used as burial enclosures; they have been found in early medieval southern England at places such as Lyminge and Broadstairs (both Kent) although not all were associated with prehistoric earthworks (Blair 1995: 8-10). Garton Station (E Yorks) is one site which *did* reuse earlier earthworks (see fig. 3.3). Six square and four round enclosures were laid out in an L-shape and contained Iron Age burials, while a further seven square enclosures were found to contain Anglo-Saxon burials, or none at all. One of the latter seven enclosures had a central position and was larger than the others (including the Iron Age enclosures), with a causewayed entrance on its western side and eleven Anglo-Saxon graves inside. Whilst the original interpretation of the site had dated all the enclosures to the Iron Age, Blair believed that the six smaller square enclosures were Anglo-Saxon monuments deliberately copying the Iron Age ones, whilst the larger enclosure represented a development of that style into a new type of early medieval monument.

Category D sites comprised square-shaped ditched enclosures imposed on prehistoric monuments, primarily barrows; they differed from Category C sites as these enclosures were larger and more monumental, functioning as shrine sites rather than as grave enclosures (Blair 1995: 10-5). Frequently identified through aerial photography, they nearly always appear as a circle within a square, although occasionally the circle contains the square. The latter was the case at Bampton (Oxon), and Blair suggested that the square may have been added when only the central mound was visible. Some of these Category D sites are Roman, such as

Haddenham (Cambs), but there is evidence to support an Anglo-Saxon date for others.

A large proportion lie in the Upper Thames Valley, although the only excavated example is at Dorchester-on-Thames; this was published in 1951 and comprised a Neolithic oval henge monument with associated cremations, surrounded by a ditched enclosure almost perfectly square in shape (see fig. 3.4). The enclosure was originally assigned a Neolithic date on the basis of several sherds of Neolithic pottery, but Blair questioned this, as the enclosure's precise square plan is not characteristic of the Neolithic period. While an Iron Age or Roman date was possible for the enclosure, Blair stated that the absence of large finds assemblages for either period militated against this; the lack of finds is more indicative of a prehistoric or Anglo-Saxon date. Blair preferred the latter, pointing to the un-Neolithic shape of the enclosure and the fact that any later ditch dug around a Neolithic henge is likely to contain residual pottery.

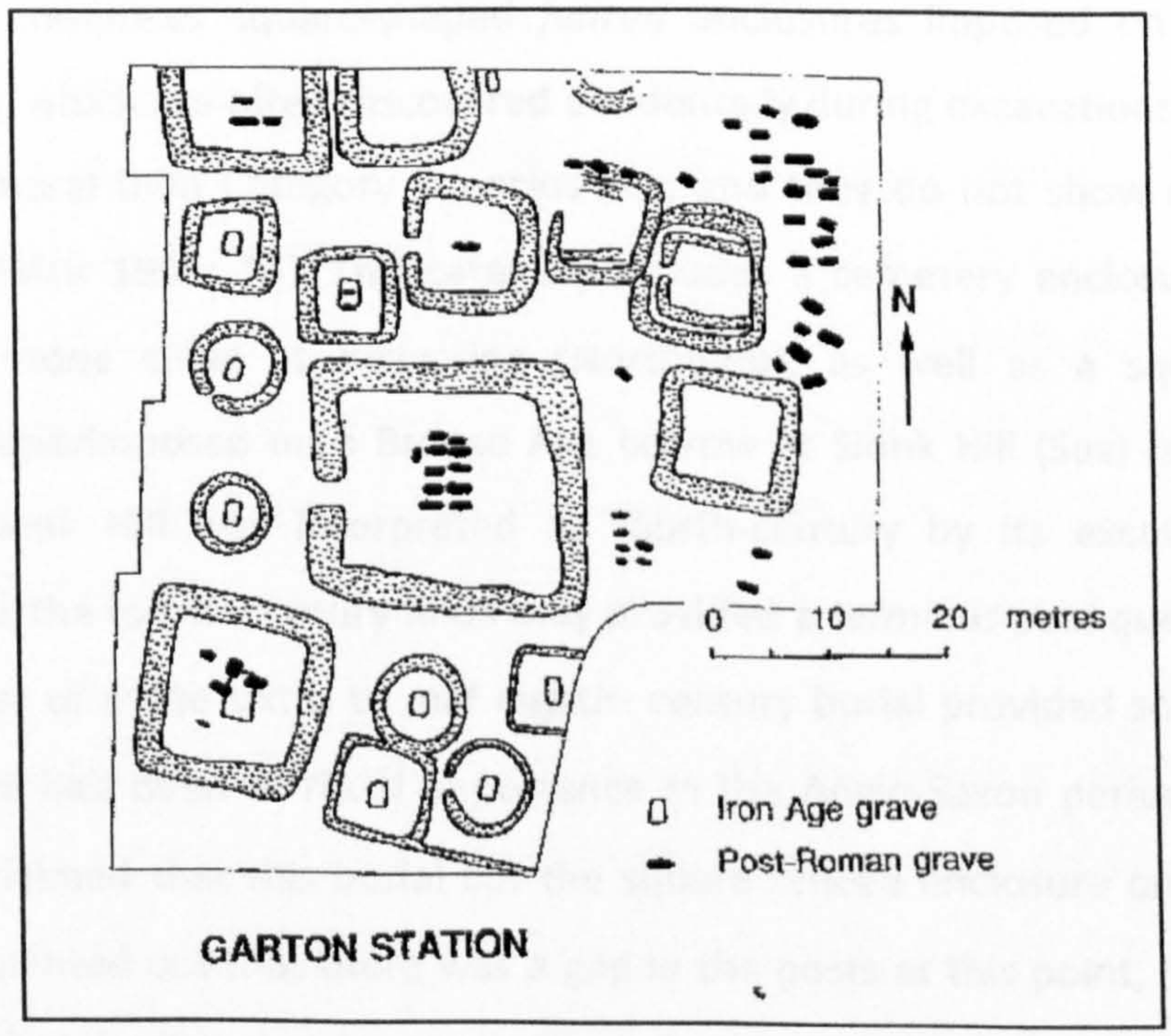


Fig. 3.3 An example of one of Blair's Category C shrine sites; reused Iron Age square barrows at the Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Garton Station (E Yorks) (after Blair 1995: 9, fig. 5).

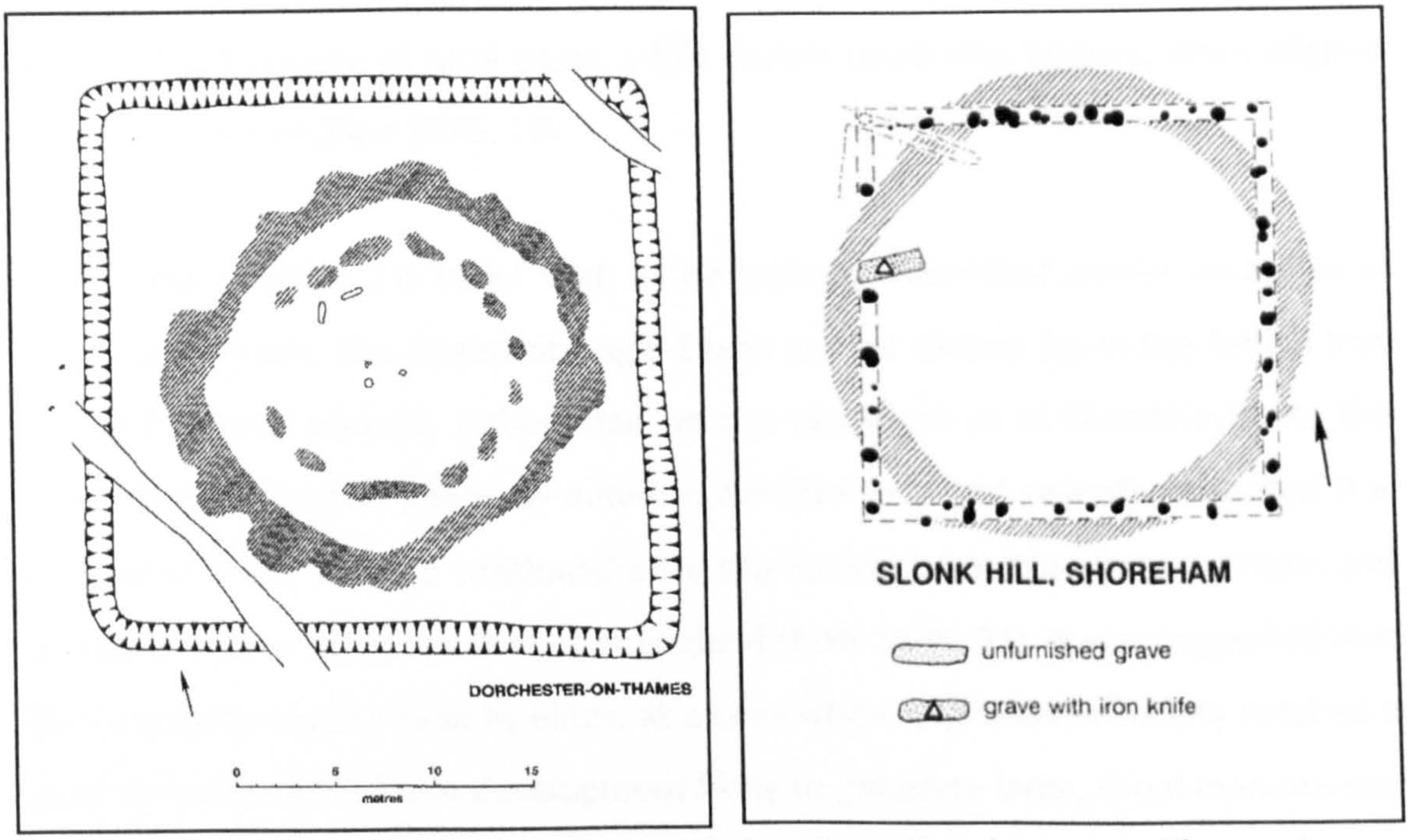


Fig. 3.4 A possible Category D pagan shrine site at Dorchester-on-Thames in Oxfordshire (left) and a possible Category E shrine at Slonk Hill, Sussex (right) (after Blair 1995: 12, fig. 7; 17, fig. 11).

Category E comprises square-shaped *fenced* enclosures imposed on prehistoric monuments, which are often discovered accidentally during excavations as they are more ephemeral than Category D enclosures, and they do not show up easily as cropmarks (Blair 1995: 16). This category includes a cemetery enclosure within a prehistoric stone circle at Yeavering (Northumb), as well as a square-fenced enclosure superimposed on a Bronze Age barrow at Slonk Hill (Sus) (see fig. 3.4). Although Slonk Hill was interpreted as fourth-century by its excavators, Blair claimed that the fourth-century finds only provided a *terminus post quem*, and that the presence of a late sixth- to mid eighth- century burial provided solid evidence that the site had been of ritual importance in the Anglo-Saxon period. While the excavator claimed that this burial cut the square fenced enclosure on its western side, Blair pointed out that there was a gap in the posts at this point, large enough to suggest that the burial was actually located at the entrance to the enclosure, not over it, making an Anglo-Saxon date for the Category E enclosure more likely. Blair's study led him to suggest that there are three archaeological 'signposts' indicative of Anglo-Saxon pagan sacred sites. Square ditched or fenced enclosures are one

'signpost', as are the reuse of prehistoric monuments (especially Bronze Age barrows) and the use of focal posts, while burials could also feature, often aligned on the focal posts (Blair 1995: 19).

It was Blair's (1995: 21) belief that, as he had also identified *earlier* examples of square enclosures, the origins of Anglo-Saxon square shrines lay in the British Iron Age and Roman periods, rather than on the continent or in Scandinavia. As the Anglo-Saxon examples generally dated to the late sixth and seventh centuries, it is possible that the practice continued after the Roman period in western Britain and Scotland, before being re-adopted in England (Blair 1995: 21). It was suggested that the re-adoption was driven by elites, at a time when Anglo-Saxon society reached a state of social and cultural development likely to generate large, ritual monuments; elites were seeking legitimacy through identifying themselves with former rulers and former places of authority by building new monuments over older ones. Blair's study was a very useful exercise in searching for archaeological indicators of pagan belief systems, and it did reveal another way in which prehistoric monuments were used in Anglo-Saxon society. However, his claim that seventh-century society had developed to the point that it had 'a capacity for systematic planning and an urge to express power in monumental form' is rather thrown into doubt when we consider that the appropriation of monuments was a tradition established earlier, in the fifth and sixth centuries; it is possible that earlier Anglo-Saxon traditions influenced the establishment of these shrines as much as, if not more than, traditions from elsewhere in Britain.

In studies published in 1992 and 2005 Blair also commented on the relationships between *Christian* sacred sites and pre-existing earthworks. Whilst Anglo-Saxon churches located on or next to older monuments had once been treated as evidence of cultural continuity, they may be better interpreted as the purposeful re-adoption of ancient sites (Blair 2005: 183-4). It is probable that some pagan cult sites at older monuments formed the locations for churches, as this would have been an effective way of dealing with remnants of the previous religion and it would have given the sites a new, Christian, lease of life. Positive identification of

such sites is, however, rare. It may have been the case at Bampton (Oxon), where the main church, its chapel and a cemetery (the latter radiocarbon dated to at least the ninth century) were superimposed on two Bronze Age barrows, which may have had earlier, pre-Christian religious significance (Blair 2005: 186) (see fig. 3.5). Other possible examples include a minster at Hanbury (Worcs), founded before the end of the seventh century, which stood within the ramparts of an Iron Age hillfort, the name *heanburh* (the high *burh*) referring to the hillfort itself (Blair 1992: 234; Hooke 1998: 13). Meanwhile, minsters at Tetbury (Glos), Breedon-on-the-Hill (Leics) and Aylesbury (Bucks) were all also built within the remains of Iron Age hillforts (Blair 1992: 234). The church and part of the village of Great Wolford (Warwicks) are surrounded by the ramparts of a hillfort; the village is recorded in Domesday Book as *Volwarde* (a compound of *wulf* and *weard*, possibly meaning 'the wolf's lookout place'), perhaps indicating that the settlement and church had earlier origins in the Anglo-Saxon period (Hooke 1998: 15).

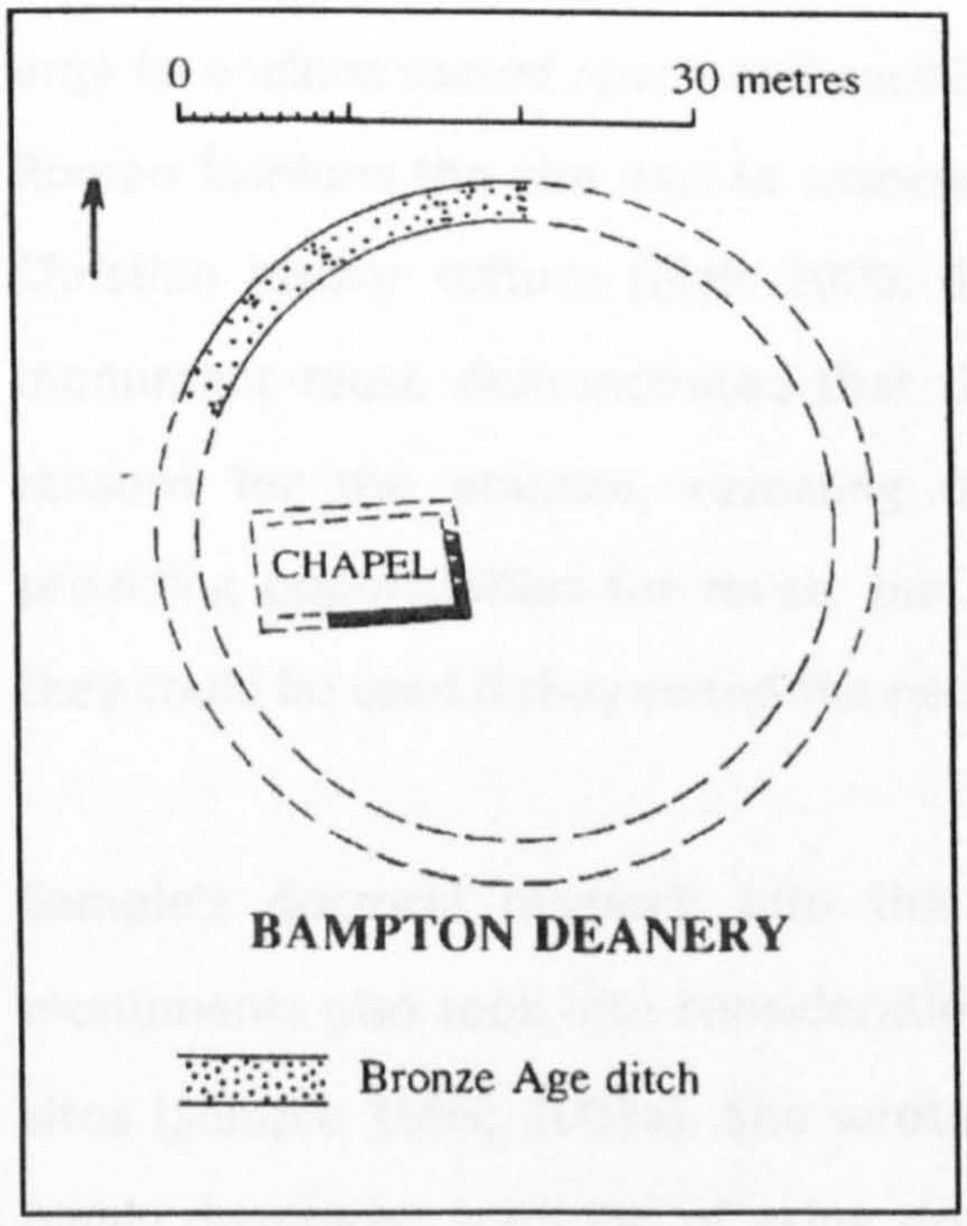


Fig. 3.5 A Bronze Age ring ditch at Bampton (Oxon) enclosed the late eleventh-century chapel and lay immediately west of the main church. There was a cemetery on the site in the ninth century, and the monument and its surrounding area may have had earlier Christian, and pre-Christian, significance as well (after Blair 1994: 33, fig. 31).

Blair (2005: 186) noted that many of the sites reused for minsters and other churches were actually those which were less popular among early medieval communities before the adoption of Christianity; this is especially true of Romano-British towns, forts and buildings. For example, churches at Reculver (Kent) and

Ilkley (N Yorks) were located amongst Roman ruins, whilst the granting of Roman towns to monasteries by kings was common, exemplified at Bradwell-on-Sea (Essex) where King Sigebert gave the Roman town to St. Cedd (Blair 2005: 186). Blair linked this to the expectation that minsters of the fifth to ninth centuries would be enclosed by stone or earthwork boundaries, or sometimes simply by the topography of their surrounding landscapes, which acted as divisions between sacred and secular space, rather than defensive boundaries (Blair 1992: 231; 2005: 196). A similar form of appropriation was undertaken in the Mediterranean world, where early Christian centres from the fourth century were frequently established in the deserted remains of Roman towns (Blair 1992: 245). It seems that the founders of seventh-century Anglo-Saxon ecclesiastical sites were reclaiming Roman civic spaces partly because they were convenient as enclosures, but also because they witnessed their Christian mentors in the Gallo-Roman world doing the same, and perceived it as good practice (Blair 1992: 246; 2005: 189). There may have been a different explanation for the reuse of hillforts; this also represented an urge to enclose sacred space and reclaim the past, but rather than copying Gallo-Roman fashions the aim was to associate churches with the practices of the pre-Christian insular culture (Blair 2005: 190). Blair's consideration of ecclesiastical monument reuse demonstrated that there were both ideological and functional reasons for the practice, revealing that ancient monuments were 'enabling', providing opportunities for reuse, but they were not constraining or dictatorial; they could be used if they suited the needs of the Church, but ignored if not.

Semple's doctoral research into the various Anglo-Saxon uses of prehistoric monuments also took into consideration their roles as pagan and Christian sacred sites (Semple 1998; 2003a). She wrote that by the seventh century there was a highly developed tradition of using prehistoric monuments as 'pagan' shrines (as Blair's Category E demonstrated), which existed in tandem with the popular use of monuments as burial locations (Semple 2003a: 366). She attributed both activities to beliefs about the liminal properties of pre-existing monuments, claiming that they were thought to be prime sites for communication with spirits, other worlds and ancestors (Semple 1998: 118; 2003a: 372). Like Blair, Semple pointed out that

monuments were also important *after* the conversion, and she listed a compendium of churches juxtaposed with prehistoric monuments, including Neolithic, Bronze Age and Iron Age earthwork enclosures, Bronze Age barrows and megaliths (Semple 1998: 120). She interpreted this as a reaction to the previous 'pagan' use of such monuments, bringing them into a Christian milieu (Semple 2003a: 217). It was noted, however, that in most cases the origins of the churches concerned, and the dates of their associated monuments, have not been conclusively established through archaeological investigation.

Other scholars have also noted the proximity of churches to older monuments. David Stocker and David Went (1995: 441, 447-50) have discussed the location of the demolished church of St Nicholas at Taplow (Bucks), which parchmarks and geophysical survey revealed to be some 10-15m north-west of the well-known seventh-century Taplow burial mound. The footprint of the earliest phase of the church suggests that it may have had its origins in the eighth or ninth centuries, based on the lack of structural division between the nave and chancel and the presence of small side chambers (*porticus*) on either side of the building, both of which are characteristic of Anglo-Saxon churches. Other eighth- and ninth-century churches with *porticus* and similar footprints are known from Bishopstone (Sus), Britford (Wilts) and Ledsham (W Yorks) (Stocker and Went 1995: 449). The church may have been positioned in close proximity to this mound either with or without knowledge of its recent origins, while more recent investigations in the area have revealed that the church and mound lay within an Iron Age hillfort (Allen et al. 2009). Elsewhere, the Anglo-Saxon church of St John sub Castro in Lewes (Sus) may occupy an earlier ritual site, as it is located next to a pre-Christian cemetery and it lies within an enclosure containing a mound (albeit of unknown date) and evidence for Romano-British activity (Bleach 1997: 133).

Tyler Bell (1998) has discussed the ecclesiastical reuse of Romano-British remains, noting that villas were the most commonly reused structures, although forts and signal stations were also appropriated. The majority of the examples he identified were associated with secular Roman buildings, which had been abandoned for over

a century before their reuse, and thus there was little evidence for any continuity of use for these structures (Bell 1998: 1, 4). Bell (1998: 5) suggested that part of the attraction of these buildings might have been their geographical or topographical positions, often near natural springs or in commanding positions (this would have particularly been the case with military buildings), whilst the distinctive style of the stone buildings might have marked them out as different and appealing. In an argument reminiscent of Blair's, Bell (1998: 6-7, 17) believed that 'Roman' might have become synonymous with 'Christian' in the seventh century and that the appeal of these monuments was their ability to enclose space. He concluded that the reuse of Roman remains by church-builders did not result from any single factor, but rather it reflected 'the range of developing responses to the Roman landscape from the seventh century' (Bell 1998: 17).

Places of Assembly

A number of researchers have expounded the belief that relationships existed between pre-existing monuments, especially barrows, and the meeting places of Anglo-Saxon administrative units. Many of the papers discussed in this section have centred on identifying assembly places of the early to middle Anglo-Saxon period, although these sites are difficult to trace archaeologically, and we know relatively little about the nature and functions of administrative assembly in this period. Only in the first half of the tenth century do we get more of an idea about assembly, with the development of the 'hundred' system of communal, regional units of local government (Cam 1963: 64; Loyn 1974: 3). The term hundred is a rather ambiguous one, referring to both a territorial land division and to a court or gathering, two closely connected concepts (Cam 1963: 107-8; Loyn 1974: 1). Hundred territories defined geographical units within a shire, and at their largest could encompass up to sixty-five square miles, although units were usually smaller than this (Loyn 1974: 1). The hundred *court*, meanwhile, met monthly and dealt with issues such as taxation, land disputes, confirming the good character of members of the community and judging offenders, particularly those accused of theft (Loyn 1974: 9-11). In some cases a hundred court might actually consist of members from several hundred territories, demonstrating the ambiguity and occasional lack of correlation

between the court and the geographical unit. Even though Henry Loyn's (1974: 13) often-cited paper on the hundred system stated that prior to the tenth century disputes over issues such as land and tax took place more intermittently and in a less regularised way than under the hundred system, many of the functions of the hundred court may well have existed earlier in the Anglo-Saxon period. Thus, it is possible to speculate that assemblies, and assembly sites, prior to the tenth century shared certain characteristics with the later hundreds, although it should be borne in mind that we know much less about the precise functions of assemblies, or their locations, in the early and middle Anglo-Saxon period.

Aliki Pantos (2004) has combined place-name evidence with archaeological and historical data in order to elucidate the location and form of Anglo-Saxon assembly sites.[1] The law courts of Anglo-Saxon England seem to have convened and conducted political and judicial business outdoors, at places removed from primary areas of settlement, and often located on natural features or older monuments (Pantos 2004: 155-6). Common locations for assembly included landmarks such as mounds, trees, stones, earthworks, as well as points of communication, such as crossroads, fords, bridges and routeways. In addition to newly-constructed mounds, prehistoric barrows were also used; Spellow Hills (Lincs) is a Neolithic long barrow whose Old English name, *spel-hlaw*, means 'speech-mound', while a mound known as Moat Lowe (Derbys) derives from (*ge*)*mot* + *hlaw*, meaning 'assembly mound' (Pantos 2004: 172). Despite the usefulness of the place-name in detecting assembly sites, Pantos (2004: 156-8) warned that a more wide-ranging research method is needed to identify further examples. In some cases the place-name of a meeting place records a single feature, even though there might be two or more natural features or earthworks in the vicinity. For example, Copthorne Hundred (Surrey) derives from a name meaning 'pollarded thorn-tree', but investigation at the moot site revealed not only a group of fields nearby still called Copthorne, but also a linear earthwork known as Nutshambles, believed to derive from OE (*ge*)*mot-*

[1] This paper, as well as articles by Semple (2004) and Williams (2004) which are also discussed here, appeared in a single edited volume, *Assembly Places and Practices in Medieval Europe*, dedicated to the subject of assembly in northern Europe.

sceamol or 'assembly bench', which may refer to a structure specifically built on the site for meetings. It seems possible that some place-names reflect just one aspect of assembly places, whilst there may actually have been a variety of connected points within a locale, perhaps with different functions including law-making, judicial courts, gaming or trading (Pantos 2004: 161, 165).

Pantos (2004: 170) also noted that public assembly places were often connected with the exercising of royal power, as well as the expression of group solidarity through communal activities. As such, these sites may have had strong ideological connotations for the people using them, which could have developed as a site was repeatedly used over many generations. Ideological factors could also have influenced the positioning of the site in the first place, especially where pre-existing monuments were used as focal points. Pantos (2004: 170-72) pointed out that the assembly places are often attributed with functional meanings; mounds act as platforms, and trees or stones as distinctive markers. Although these functional properties were perhaps important, they may not have been the only factors influencing the use of markers such as mounds. If they were also perceived as places of divine or ancestral influence, barrows might well have been seen as appropriate places for judicial or legislative business, the supernatural power within the mound affecting or legitimating judgements made there (Pantos 2004: 172).

Attention has also been drawn to the similarities between meeting places and pagan shrines, both in terms of their locations and the pre-existing features they were associated with; this may indicate that the moot sites of early administrative units coincided with sacred sites, a suggestion made by both Meaney (1995: 37) and Pantos (2004: 172). This could explain why mounds continued to be used as meeting places even after the Church's attempts to malign their reuse (Semple 1998). In fact, Meaney (1995: 37) has claimed that the popularity of using mounds as assembly places actually increased in the later Anglo-Saxon period. It is possible that, as these were places associated with communality and religious activity in the pagan period, they may have been converted to Christian religious sites and continued in use as places for assembly, free from fearful connotations (Pantos

2004: 172-3). The construction of new mounds in this period might even have represented attempts to create similar, but 'clean', mounds. Further, Pantos has argued that assembly sites were on boundaries, away from settlement, not because of 'neutrality' – i.e. they belonged to nobody – but because of 'community' – they belonged to *everybody*. Similarly, the location of many Anglo-Saxon assemblies on sites of earlier importance (or at least *perceived* earlier importance), such as pre-existing monuments, could have been an exercise in communality, which served to emphasise ties to the past. Selecting sites which could be 'marketed' as the venues of assemblies in the ancestral past meant that later courts could claim precedent and boost their authority (Pantos 2004: 175).

Semple (1998; 2004) has also written on this subject, compiling a list of possible defining features of assembly sites, with the aim of making these places less archaeologically elusive. These assembly site signifiers include the reuse of prehistoric monuments (in particular complexes of monuments), the creation of contemporary monumental structures, the presence of buildings or indicators of royal residence, evidence for ritual or religious activity such as standing posts or unusual burials, evidence for kingship such as elaborate burials, and features which could indicate expression of authority such as deviant burials and deliberate killings (Semple 2004: 138-9). She noted that ritual, kingship and assembly are known to coincide with ancient monuments in other European areas in the early medieval period. The seats of royal power in first millennium AD Ireland, for example, often centred on mounds, which it is thought represented central places sacred to the gods as well as functioning as platforms from which a king could communicate with the 'otherworld' (Semple 2004: 136). Mounds also played a role in early medieval Scandinavia as frequent symbols of administration, kingship, assembly and ritual, as well as places for burial.

Having highlighted the importance of the prehistoric mound to assembly sites in other areas of early medieval Europe, Semple (2004: 139) suggested that Anglo-Saxon burial sites (ranging from isolated interments to large cemeteries) associated with prehistoric monuments were potential places of assembly. Extensively reused

barrows, such as the one at Uncleby (E Yorks), may have been emblematic of a 'cumulative ancestral presence', and could have developed into a suitable places of 'interface' between the living and the dead (Semple 2004: 140-2). Indeed, it was Semple's belief that for an early ritual and/or assembly site to develop from a cemetery site, some sort of monument would have been a pre-requisite. In particular, multi-focal monumental burial sites (i.e. those that reused several prehistoric monuments within a given locale), such as Uncleby, Garton Station and Garton II (all E Yorks), Harford Farm (Norfolk), and Dorchester-on-Thames (Oxon) may be prime potential meeting places because the multi-focal and dispersed use of the landscape for burials led to the delineation of a ritual area surrounded by monuments (Semple 2004: 140-2).

A further indicator of assembly might be ritual structures, such as buildings, square enclosures and standing posts, at burial sites – simple square structures were located at both Harford Farm and Dorchester-on-Thames, for example (Semple 2003a: 145). These resemble John Blair's 'pagan' shrines or temples, and it was Semple's suggestion that their presence may indicate communal ritual activity, and therefore assembly. In Semple's appraisal it was suggested that pre-existing features were treated as points of interface between ancestors and the living, and that their reuse demonstrated a need to associate the dead, and the ceremonies of the living, with monuments representative of the 'otherworld', (Semple 2003a: 150-1). She claimed that the majority of these sites would have ceased to be used as ritual, royal or ceremonial centres after the conversion, and would therefore remain in the archaeological record only as cemeteries; their former significance as central places of assembly and communal meeting would have been more ephemeral and would remain undetected.

A similar argument was made by Williams (2004: 109-10), who also pointed out the difficulty of identifying sites of communal gatherings in the archaeological record, claiming that burial sites may well have fulfilled this role. Williams stated that, as distinctively high-status sites (such as 'palace' sites; see below) began to develop in the seventh century, these may have formed the foci of assembly in this period, but

it is not clear where gatherings might have taken place prior to this. Perhaps, then, fifth- and sixth-century meeting places, if they indeed existed, overlapped with a site type which we *do* frequently find archaeologically from that period – cemeteries. Focusing on large cremation cemeteries in eastern England, such as Spong Hill (Norfolk) and Loveden Hill (Lincs), Williams suggested that, as substantial numbers of cremations were interred at these cemeteries, dispersed communities from large catchment areas must have been using them and thus, these locations could have acted as assembly places for sizeable groups of people (Williams 2004: 113-5).

As many cemeteries can be linked to pre-existing features, including mounds, this again suggests that monuments may have played a part in communal gatherings (Williams 2004: 119). Loveden Hill, for example, was thought to have been located on an older burial mound; excavations revealed that this was in fact a natural knoll, but the early medieval communities burying their dead there might not have been aware of this (Williams 2004: 122-3). Furthermore, aerial photographs hint at the presence of barrows in the vicinity of the cemetery, which Williams suggested were 'nodes' of contact with other worlds; they may have acted as the foci of gatherings and ceremonies, perhaps providing a monumental focus for the cemetery and a ready-made 'stage' for ritual performance (Williams 2004: 123). What Williams did not clarify, however, is how he saw 'assembly' activities fitting into the funerary process. Both Pantos and Semple have emphasised the administrative and judicial functions of communal meetings, but Williams did not explain how these particular functions might have been carried out alongside mortuary activities and 'ritual ceremonies', nor how the timing and organisation of the assemblies might have been decided. Thus, while communal cemeteries *are* meeting places in that they bring together mourners (and perhaps other involved individuals such as grave diggers or ritual specialists), Williams offered little insight into how these mortuary gatherings were transformed into judicial and administrative assemblies.

Settlements

Studies on the subject of monument reuse in settlements are sparse, and those that have taken place have tended to focus on high-status residences. The classic example which 'kick-started' the discussion of monument reuse among early medievalists was Richard Bradley's (1987) reassessment of the settlement at Yeavering (Northumb), which had been excavated by Brian Hope-Taylor in the 1950s (Hope-Taylor 1977). The excavation had revealed two prehistoric ceremonial centres – a ring ditch and a stone circle – both dated by fragments of Bronze Age pottery (Bradley 1987: 125) (see fig. 3.6). The stone circle had formed the focus of a Bronze Age cremation cemetery and was reused in the early medieval period as the site of an inhumation cemetery; a nearby timber building was interpreted as a pre-Christian temple. The ring ditch at the opposite end of the excavation area was presumed to mark the site of a barrow, and had been emphasised by a large post in the early medieval period; in time, this was also incorporated into the earthworks of a massive enclosure (Bradley 1987: 125). This ring ditch was also augmented by an early medieval inhumation cemetery, and later by a church and associated graves. Unlike the stone circle, this monument formed the focal point of the alignment of timber buildings on the settlement; the layout of this early medieval Northumbrian site had therefore been determined by two prehistoric monuments, both of which were modified and brought back into use (Bradley 1987: 125). A further monument mentioned by Bradley was the cropmark of a henge, which had been wrongly identified as part of a Roman temple by Hope-Taylor in the excavation report.

Hope-Taylor had argued for ritual continuity, suggesting that the site had been important politically and ritually from the Bronze Age through to the early medieval period. In contrast, Bradley believed that the early medieval inhabitants had deliberately reused the Bronze Age monuments after a break in occupation in order to claim local ancestry, and thereby authority. Bradley (1987: 127) was able to show that any knowledge of the original prehistoric layout of the site at Yeavering would not have been transmitted into the early medieval period, and ritual continuity was therefore not likely, since the position of the prehistoric henge had dictated the Bronze Age axis of the monument complex, whilst the early medieval settlement

took its axis from the ring ditch and stone circle. Further proof of discontinuity was demonstrated by limited activity in the late prehistoric and Roman periods, during which time a field system was constructed over the site on a completely different axis from the Bronze Age monuments. It was Bradley's belief that a local Northumbrian elite group was 'making a considered effort to strengthen its position through reference to the past' (Bradley 1987: 123, 130). The past was, therefore, being used as a resource by groups who wanted to legitimise the social order to which they belonged, and thereby reinforce their positions of authority within that order. Bradley (1987: 123, 130) suggested that periods of rapid change and insecurity are often emphasised by significant investment in ideology, sometimes involving the construction of impressive monuments and public ritual; this may have been the case at Yeavering. While his paper concentrated on an unusual and high-status site – the exception rather than the norm – Bradley's ideas about reuse were seminal in the development of our understanding of monument reuse in the early medieval period, and his work has been very influential.

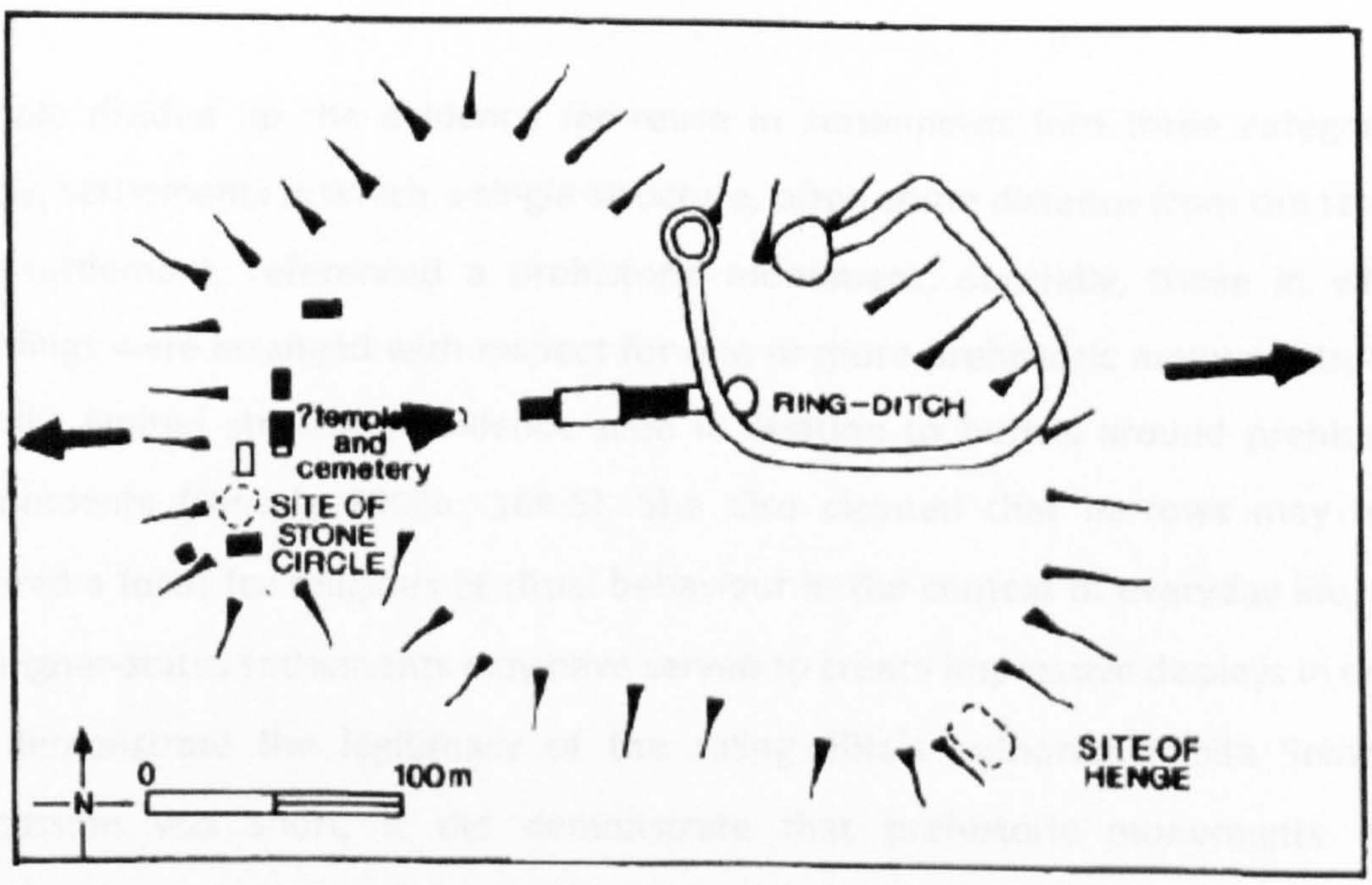


Fig. 3.6 The early medieval settlement at Yeavering (Northumb), demonstrating the alignment of the site on a prehistoric ring ditch (to the east) and a stone circle (to the west) (after Bradley 1987: 6, fig.1).

More recently, Semple's doctoral research into the appropriation of prehistoric monuments in Anglo-Saxon England included perhaps the only other serious consideration of the relationships between prehistoric features and settlements (Semple 2003a). Even so, this is a rather brief discussion – just a few pages in the whole thesis, despite the fact one of Semple's main objectives was 'to establish that in England prehistoric monuments were used throughout the early medieval period for *a variety of purposes*' (Semple 2003a: 375; emphasis added). Nevertheless she did cite some examples of sites where she felt there were credible relationships between settlement and pre-existing features. At Sutton Courtenay (Oxon), which is thought to be sixth- or seventh-century in date, the alignment of buildings in relation to several Neolithic and Bronze Age ring ditches may have implied an 'extensive and formal' relationship (Semple 2003a: 162; we will return to this site later in this thesis). Mucking was also cited as a convincing example of reuse in a settlement; Semple felt, as Hamerow (1993: 86) did, that the locations of SFBs confirmed that they had been influenced by the underlying remains of prehistoric and Romano-British field systems and enclosures.

Semple divided up the evidence for reuse in settlements into three categories: firstly, settlements in which a single structure, often some distance from the rest of the settlement, referenced a prehistoric monument; secondly, those in which buildings were arranged with respect for one or more prehistoric monuments; and thirdly, limited structural evidence seen in relation to burials around prehistoric monuments (Semple 2003a: 164-5). She also claimed that barrows may have offered a focus for religious or ritual behaviour in the context of everyday life, and on higher-status settlements may have served to create impressive displays in order to demonstrate the legitimacy of the ruling elite's authority. While Semple's discussion was short, it did demonstrate that prehistoric monuments *were* sometimes reused in settlements, and that those settlements were not necessarily high-status examples, such as Yeavering.

The possibility that Anglo-Saxon settlements reused older earthworks has been raised by several other researchers, although usually in the form of passing

comments, with little by way of interpretation. For example, Andrew Reynolds (2003: 100), in his extensive review of the development of bounded settlements in sixth- to eleventh-century England, stated that 'it is difficult to find an Anglo-Saxon settlement which is not associated in some way with earlier remains', but warned that each example must be judged individually to assess the significance of the relationships between the two. Margaret Gray (1974: 54) believed that associations between Anglo-Saxon settlement features and ring ditches at New Wintles Farm were for 'reasons not considered to be coincidental', although she did not elaborate any further on this.

Similarly, excavation reports for other settlements have also noted that Anglo-Saxon buildings reference older monuments, but they have not attempted to interpret this activity; the report for Glebe Farm, Brough (Notts), for example, noted that buildings followed the alignment of an Iron Age field system (Jones forthcoming). Paul Everson has also pointed out that ring ditches 'feature' in various early medieval parishes of Lindsey, suggesting that this was 'interesting in the context of [Richard] Bradley's "legitimisation"'; however he offered no explanation as to *how* these ring ditches might have acted as legitimising forces (Everson 1993: 95). Thus, despite the fact that Bradley's often-quoted theories were published over twenty years ago, very little analysis of monument reuse in Anglo-Saxon settlement contexts has been carried out since; when we contrast this with other contexts in which monument reuse *has* been shown to take place, such as burial, assembly and religious activity, this gap in our knowledge becomes particularly palpable.

The Reuse of Artefacts

The presence of prehistoric or Roman-British artefacts in early medieval contexts – particularly graves – has also been recognised. Roger White (1988) examined Roman objects from Anglo-Saxon graves, finding that certain objects, such as brooches, vessels, spoons, keys and rings, were purposefully selected for inclusion in graves, particularly those of women and children. He offered several possible reasons for this phenomenon; in some instances Roman objects might have had an amuletic role, for example when sherds of Roman glass or pottery were placed in

bags or pouches in the grave, or when artefacts such as brooches were suspended from girdles (White 1988: 161). He also proposed that, when Roman artefacts resembled Anglo-Saxon ones, they were used as substitutes amongst members of society who could not obtain or afford the contemporary items (White 1988: 163). A further suggestion was that objects deposited in graves, especially in the fifth century, were survivals from the Roman period which were still in circulation and perhaps treasured, or they were retrieved from abandoned Roman sites (White 1988: 164). In the sixth century, White suggested, these items would have become harder to come by, as they would have been buried or destroyed, although they could have been recovered, accidentally or intentionally, during digging on Roman sites.

More recently, Hella Eckhardt and Howard Williams (2003) have studied reused Roman objects from Anglo-Saxon burials in eastern and southern pre-Christian England. Reused coins and items of personal adornment, such as pins, brooches and buckles were found frequently in these fifth- to seventh-century graves (Eckhardt and Williams 2003: 149). Like White, they found that these objects tended to be associated with female and child burials, often as components of the burial costume; sometimes items were used for their original purpose, but on other occasions their functions had been changed, with brooches being reused as pendants, for example (Eckhardt and Williams 2003: 161). In some cases Roman artefacts were used to construct graves; sarcophagi were reused, parts of Roman pillars covered burials, and Roman tiles lined graves or formed the lids of cremation urns (Eckhardt and Williams 2003: 163). Both White (1988: 159-60) and Eckhardt and Williams (2003: 155) noted, albeit briefly, that the collection and reuse of Roman objects also took place in Anglo-Saxon *settlements*. The discovery of similar items to those recovered from graves demonstrated that the deliberate selection of certain items was taking place among Anglo-Saxon communities. At West Stow (Suffolk), for example, Roman coins, brooches, spoons, pins, bracelets and rings were found inside buildings, while Roman pottery and coins were at Mucking and Heybridge (both Essex) (White 1988: 159-60; Eckhardt and Williams 2003: 163).

The restricted numbers and types of Roman items discovered in Anglo-Saxon graves indicate that these items are not residual, and that their reuse was selective (Eckhardt and Williams 2003: 156). Eckhardt and Williams (2003: 163) echoed White's claims that the objects may have had amuletic or protective properties, for example when they were used as the coverings for cremation urns or graves. On the whole, though, they considered many of White's conclusions unsatisfactory and too functional. They refuted the suggestion that Roman artefacts were reused as poor substitutes for contemporary decorative or expensive items, since reused items appear in both wealthy and poorer grave assemblages (Eckhardt and Williams 2003: 157). The crux of Eckhardt and Williams's argument was that the *age* of Roman items gave them their appeal; removed from their temporal and spatial contexts, the objects could be imbued with new and reworked meanings, while cultural and ideological links could have been created between the past and the present (Eckhardt and Williams 2003: 142-3). Rather than having 'practical' properties, as imitations of contemporary high-status items, or 'magical' properties, as amulets, the reuse of these objects may have been related to attempts to 'define social memories relating to the past', their lack of known biographies of production, ownership and use making the artefacts mysterious and open to reinterpretation (Eckhardt and Williams 2003: 146, 159).

There are, however, several problems with the arguments presented by Eckhart and Williams. Firstly their reference to the creation of 'social memories' draws criticism in the same vein as Zoe Devlin's (2007) critique of memory studies in archaeology discussed above; the authors do not define what they mean by this term, nor do they offer examples of *how* social memories might have been created through the reuse of artefacts. Secondly, their assumption that fifth- and sixth-century communities would have been unaware of the 'biographies' of Roman artefacts is inherently problematic. It cannot be assumed that all knowledge of the Roman past would have been lost, especially in the century or so following the decline of Roman rule. Artefacts – as well as stories about their production, ownership and use – might have been passed down through the generations spanning the Romano-British to Anglo-Saxon transition. Devlin (2007: 20) has made a similar point,

criticising the assumption that artefacts were not passed down from Romano-British generations. Indeed, rather than providing a blank canvas for reinterpretation as simply 'old' objects, these items could have had long and complex histories, perhaps with multiple meanings. Moreover, if similar objects were known from the continent, where Gallo-Roman fashions were still current (Blair 1995), early medieval communities might have considered Roman objects familiar rather than mysterious, and their appeal could have stemmed from their resemblance to continental and Mediterranean objects. Despite these criticisms, it is pertinent that White, and Eckhardt and Williams, have highlighted another way in which the physical remains of the past were reused in Anglo-Saxon England.

On a similar note, Geake (1999) drew attention to the seventh- and eighth-century popularity of Roman-*style* (as opposed to Roman) artefacts, which seem to have been inspired by both earlier Romano-British and contemporary Byzantine design (see fig. 3.7). She has stated that 'a distinct contrast can be seen between the old Germanic-style jewellery and the newer classical-style jewellery' (Geake 1999: 209). For example, sixth-century 'Germanic' brooches found in female graves declined rapidly in the seventh century, while the crystal balls, sieve spoons and bronze girdle hangers that hung from women's belts were replaced by Roman-style items such as iron latch-lifters, small iron spoons, toilet sets, bags and work-boxes (Geake 1999: 203-4). 'Gender-neutral' items also changed, with bronze-bound buckets being replaced by iron-bound ones and glass vessels decreasing in popularity, while in masculine assemblages the seax joined the repertoire of weapons (Geake 1999: 204). In both feminine and gender-neutral assemblages the new artefacts were more delicate, fragile and neatly-made than before.

These changes took place widely over much of seventh-century Anglo-Saxon England, making the newly-emerged kingdoms almost indistinguishable from each other in terms of burial (Geake 1999: 205). It is possible that the arrival of the Christian Church was a factor in these transformations, bringing with it visitors, and in turn objects, from the Mediterranean (Geake 1999: 209). Whilst she was happy to name the Church as a possible *mechanism* for this change, however, Geake

stopped short of naming it as the *cause*, partly because the change in grave goods began around 600, while the conversion process took most of the seventh century:

> Instead of seeing the use of classical-style grave goods as a way of advertising Christian allegiance in death, we could instead see it as a way of advertising something else, but given an impetus by the presence of the Church in England (Geake 1999: 212).

Accordingly, Geake suggested that the cause was another common factor shared by these kingdoms, dynastic kingship. Geake (1999: 212) suggested that this form of rule would have required legitimisation in order to be accepted, and that the early kings harked back to a time when Britain had last had a united leader – the Roman period. Elites could have claimed to be the direct descendents of Roman rulers, or they could have constructed an image of themselves as 'inheriting the mantle of Rome'; neither idea necessarily excludes the other (Geake 1999: 212). Paradoxically, by reusing the motifs of Roman rule in their attempts to bolster strength, power and territory, the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms ended up making themselves archaeologically invisible from the point of view of burial (Geake 1999: 214). Once again, we can see that the past in early medieval England was treated as a resource to be 'mined' for inspiration and legitimisation.

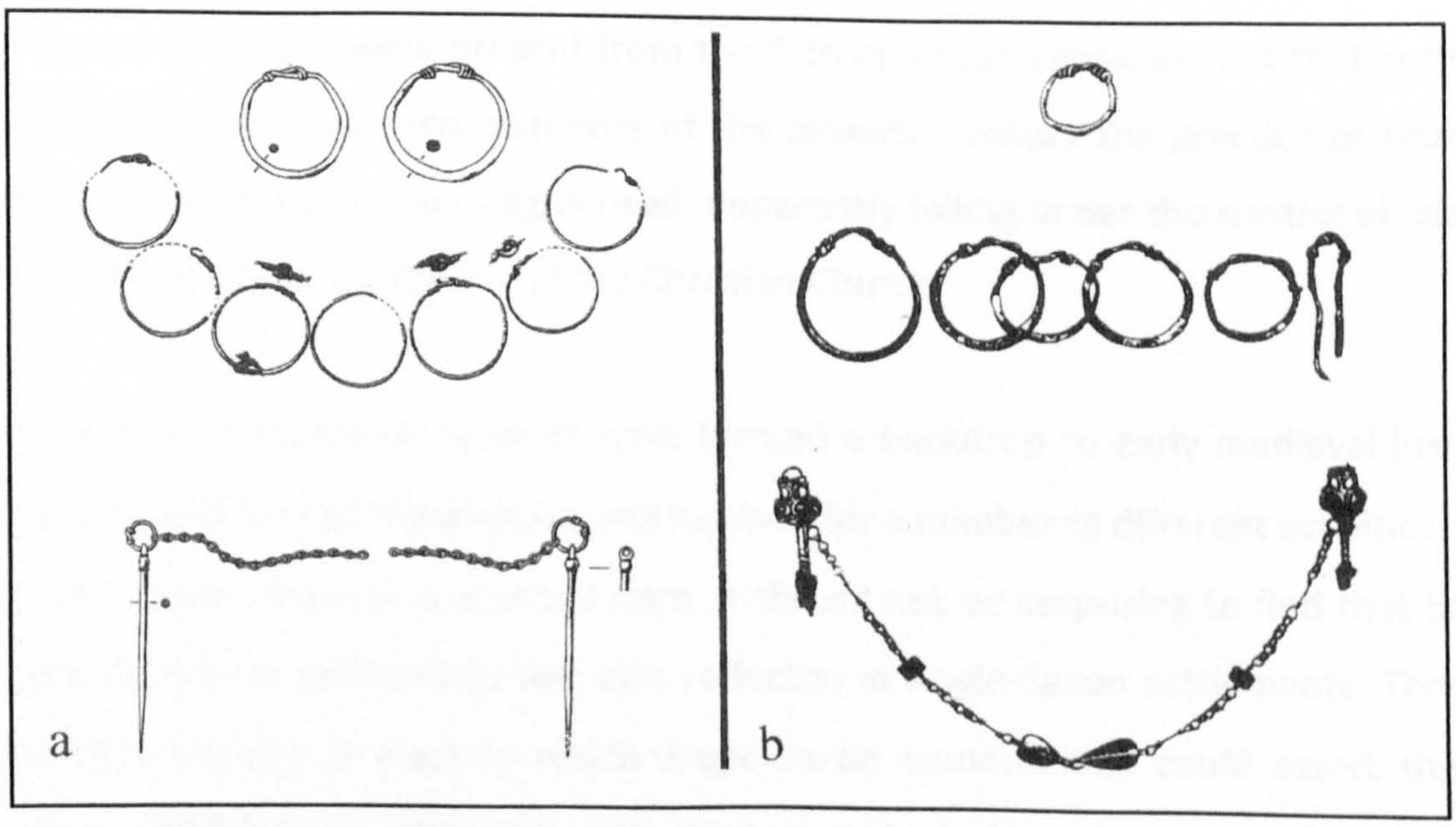


Fig. 3.7 Wire rings and linked pins from seventh- and early eighth-century Anglo-Saxon contexts (a) and from Roman and Byzantine contexts (b) (from Geake 1999: 210, fig. 4).

Summary

To summarise, there is evidence to suggest considerable interest in the past and its remains amongst early and middle Anglo-Saxon communities, beginning in the fifth and sixth centuries, perhaps peaking in the seventh, but continuing into the ninth century. This interest was expressed through the reuse of both monuments and artefacts. Where monument appropriation is concerned, some interesting chronological patterns have been noted, particularly by Williams, who has shown that in the fifth and sixth centuries communal burial sites clustered around barrows and other prehistoric monuments in what appears to be a fairly egalitarian way. It is only in the late sixth and seventh centuries that rich, individual, secondary interments began to emerge. Meanwhile, monument reuse existed at pagan sacred sites of the fifth and sixth centuries and was replaced by Christian churches from the seventh century onwards. Similarly, it is in the seventh century that we see particular interest in Roman and Roman-style artefacts, as Geake (1999), White (1988) and Eckhardt and Williams (2003) have demonstrated. It is interesting to note that the seventh century was the period in which social stratification and emerging kingship seem to have increased social and political competition. What these different strands of evidence appear to show is that monument reuse, and an interest in the past, were present from the fifth and sixth centuries, but that in the specific socio-political circumstances of the seventh century the practice of reuse became more frequent and regularised, apparently falling under the control of, and being manipulated by, elites and the Christian Church.

Pre-existing monuments seem to have formed a backdrop to early medieval lives, and they could act as the impetus and location for a number of different activities. In light of the evidence presented here, it should not be surprising to find that the reuse of ancient earthworks was also reflected in Anglo-Saxon settlements. There existed a variety of ways in which Anglo-Saxon communities could assert their claims and interests in the past, while the archaeological interpretations offered for the phenomenon of reuse also vary. For some, reuse is seen as largely functional, while for others it is explained through social, political and cultural circumstances. Some researchers, such as Williams, Semple and Bradley, have considered in detail

the reasons for reuse, providing more in-depth interpretations than had previously been attempted. All the studies, ideas and interpretations reviewed here provide a valuable starting point from which to approach the study of monument reuse in settlements, and one of the aims of the present study is to determine whether analysis of the tradition in settlements can, in conjunction with these previous studies, enhance our understanding of Anglo-Saxon attitudes towards the past.

Chapter Four

Literary and Linguistic References to the Past

The written evidence pertaining to the Anglo-Saxon period is, on the whole, restricted to the seventh to eleventh centuries, as society in the fifth and sixth centuries was not literate (Yorke 1993: 45). The available documentary evidence from the seventh century onwards includes genealogical lists, poetry and charters; these sources will be discussed in this chapter as from them it is possible glean information about attitudes towards the past and its physical remains. Indeed, on the basis of the written evidence, Matthew Innes (2000: 1) has described the past as 'a very real presence in the early Middle Ages'. It could function as a template, which helped to legitimise or explain the current order of the world, or as an ideal – a Golden Age – against which that current order could be judged. Moreover, a shared set of beliefs about the past, perpetuated in written form, could provide a common source of identity amongst a disparate group of people (Innes 2000: 1).

This chapter will consider what the textual sources can reveal about attitudes toward, and beliefs about, the past in Anglo-Saxon England. The intention is not to attempt a radical re-evaluation of the evidence, which has received extensive attention already, but rather to review previous research on this subject. However, there is an original element to this review, as the chapter will reflect on the implications of these previous findings in relation to the settlement evidence, an approach that has not been taken before. The first documents to be considered are the genealogical lists belonging to the royal houses of Anglo-Saxon England. A number of Old English poetry and prose sources will then be discussed in order to determine what they might reveal about attitudes to the past, followed by the evidence from charters employed in the transfer of land ownership. Additionally, place-name evidence will then be reviewed, as the names applied to ancient earthworks can also reveal information about their perceived ages, properties and functions. The final section will summarise the written evidence and discuss it with specific reference to monument reuse and settlements in Anglo-Saxon England.

Genealogies

The eighth and ninth centuries in England witnessed the production of written royal genealogies, which survive for the kingdoms of Deira, Bernicia, Lindsey, East Anglia, Wessex, Mercia, Kent and Essex (Sisam 1953: 326; Moisl 1981: 215). Each pedigree, at least in its earliest form, began with a pagan god, in most cases Woden although for Essex it was Seaxnet. They then proceeded to name a number of legendary and mythical heroic figures, ending in the names of historical characters and finally the current king (Dumville 1977: 78; Moisl 1981: 216-7; Davis 1992: 29). They had a standard length, generally incorporating around fourteen names after Woden, and they always implied direct patrilineal descent, despite the fact that competition for kingship appears to have been a much more complex process, open to claims from sons and grandsons of kings (Moisl 1981: 236; Davis 1992: 32). Later on, the lists were augmented with the addition of further characters from a variety of sources, which will be discussed below. The genealogies are not historical records or true reflections of reality; rather, they represent the construction of fictitious ancestries (Sisam 1953: 328-9; Hunter 1974: 33; Dumville 1977: 76, 94, 98; Davis 1992: 33).

The lists were compiled by clerics after the conversion to Christianity, during the eighth and ninth centuries, but they do not seem to have been a Christian invention (Dumville 1977: 76; Yorke 2000: 79). The inclusion of pagan gods at the beginning of the genealogies is perhaps the most obvious indication of a pre-Christian origin, and it suggests that the inhabitants of pre-Christian Anglo-Saxon England may have already been tracing their ancestry back to deities (Moisl 1981: 216; Yorke 2000: 79). Indeed, Moisl (1981: 233-4) had little doubt that the literate, ecclesiastical compilers of the lists were following pre-existing, orally transmitted dynastic legends, and stated that it is difficult to see how and why pagan characters would have been used in Christian society if they did not display recognisable links with earlier legends that were still in existence. It is possible that the genealogies in this early period were transmitted through song or poetry, perhaps by a court *scop* or poet, and there may have been well-known legends involving the characters named in the lists (Moisl 1981: 231-3). Further support for the claim that the genealogies

were initially devised to be recited and remembered through oral tradition comes from the alliterative nature of the names in them (Sisam 1953: 288, 300).

Initially, the genealogies traced ancestry back to Woden, but in the late eighth or early ninth century some royal houses then began to push back their ancestries even further, elaborating them and adding in new characters, thereby exaggerating their own ancestries in relation to their counterparts in other kingdoms (Dumville 1977: 95; Moisl 1981: 220; Davis 1992: 28). At this time Mercia, Bernicia, Deira, Kent and East Anglia added a father for Woden in the character of Frealaf (Davis 1992: 29). Lindsey's ruling family pushed their genealogy back five generations beyond Woden to Geat, and others, such as the Northumbrian, Kentish and East Anglian rulers followed suit (Sisam 1953: 308; 324; Davis 1992: 29). Then, during the rise of the house of Wessex in the ninth century, the West Saxon kings began to extend their histories even further, making use of Scandinavian heroes and other fallen pagan gods but also, crucially, patriarchal biblical characters (Davis 1992: 30). The pedigree of King Æthelweulf of the West Saxons — the father of King Alfred — states that Woden was descended from a son of Noah; Noah was linked to Adam, and therefore Christ (Davis 1992: 30). Tying their ancestries into biblical history enabled West Saxon kings to maintain and enhance their existing Germanic pedigree, while at the same time obtaining more impressive biblical ancestors, who were the most prestigious progenitors available in the Christian period (Davis 1992: 30-1).

The continued use of genealogies after the conversion of the royal houses to Christianity suggests that belief in divine descent continued to be ideologically and politically important after overt links with paganism were severed (Moisl 1981: 228). Rather than being destroyed, the mythology of the pre-Christian elites was augmented with a 'sacred history of the Bible' (Davis 1992: 23). In this way, royal pedigrees became an appropriate medium for combining the different pre- and post-conversion traditions that were important in society at the time (Davis 1992: 28). They allowed ruling dynasties to link themselves to the most powerful people in Europe, often Scandinavian characters, both past and present, and the Church

was able to add further characters from the Bible (Yorke 2000: 81-2). Even though the royal histories contained pagan gods such as Woden, the Christian authorities may have allowed them to continue because they were still essential for legitimising royal authority (Davis 1992: 23). Although these pagan characters were no longer called gods, they could still be present as human characters of the same name, and perhaps associated with the same heroic deeds; despite their 'demotion' they were still powerful characters and they still had a role to play in legitimising a royal dynasty's power (Davis 1992: 23-4). Indeed, by this time, the inclusion of these characters in a royal pedigree could have been a convention required for the legitimisation of kingship; their role in the lists would not have been of religious importance so much as required convention, a 'stage' in the demonstration of royal power (Dumville 1977: 78-9; Davis 1992: 25).

A primary function of the genealogies, then, was their role in legitimising the current political order, and their production may have been an essential part of establishing new kingships; once a kingship was established, a genealogical document tracing the ancestry of the royal house would then be constructed or amended (Dumville 1977: 75; Davis 1992: 28). Moisl (1981: 217) has asserted that the belief in common descent amongst both leaders and ordinary members of a community facilitated the development of perceived ethnic coherence. Even though every person was, in theory, a descendent of the characters named in the genealogies, it was the elites who had the wherewithal to demonstrate that, initially in songs and stories and later in written texts (Davis 1992: 31). The implication was that, by directly and clearly tracing their ancestors, elites could demonstrate continuous political authority and that their authority was divinely sanctioned. As Davis (1992: 36) has stated, 'kings could gaze down the length of a pedigree to God's creation of cosmic order of the world and could contemplate the direct source of their own political descent from divinity'.

Hunter (1974: 33) has stated that it was the impression of age that genealogies conveyed that made them important. Davis (1992: 28), on the other hand, has suggested that it was *not* antiquity as such that mattered, but rather direct and

demonstrable descent from divinity. However, Davis *has* shown that there was some degree of 'periodization' in the lists, with the demoted Germanic gods and heroes merged into a single mythical 'heroic age', which came before the current dynasties but after the biblical characters (Davis 1992: 33). These periods were divided and prioritized based on contemporary levels of ideological value, with Christ and biblical characters at the top of the 'family tree', followed by mythical and pseudo-historical figures from legend (Davis 1992: 36). Thus, it can be argued that the genealogies *do* show a concern for the past, and that it was classified based on contemporary beliefs and values. Even if the genealogies were not accurate in terms of the characters and dates they claimed to record, they do clearly show a propensity for 'things that had gone before', whether they were in living memory, the mythical past or somewhere in between.

Of course, it should be noted that this evidence is, it appears, uniquely high-status in origin and dissemination (Yorke 2000: 76). However, it is possible that the names of characters from the oral and written genealogies, and stories about them, were well-known amongst many members of the population (Moisl 1981: 231-3). Indeed, their effectiveness as tools for legitimising royal power might well have depended upon the fact that the population being ruled over believed in the historical, mythical and divine characters, and could be convinced that kings did indeed descend from them; without that, their claims to power could have been tenuous and fragile. In sum, the royal genealogies of Anglo-Saxon England were a sophisticated means of manipulating the past, both real and imagined, in order to justify the elevated political and social position of certain members of society (Yorke 1993: 48; 1999: 25). It is these rulers, and their ecclesiastical cohorts, who were responsible for producing and amending the genealogical records in written form. At the same time, though, the characters and stories in them might well have been more widely disseminated amongst the general populace, and indeed, seen as an integral part of *their* ancestry too.

Poetry and Prose

A number of poetic and prose sources of the Anglo-Saxon period contain interesting references to ancient monuments, which may aid our understanding of how people viewed these features in the early medieval period. Notably, there are references to mounds as the dwelling places of dragons, for instance in the Old English poem *Beowulf*, which is thought to have been composed in the eighth century, although it survives in a later manuscript (Lapidge 2000: 36-42). The poet uses a variety of terms to describe the dragon's dwelling, including stone-barrow (*stan-beorh*), earth-dwelling (*ðam eorð-[hu]se*), earthen dug-out (*eorðsele*), stone cleft or crag (*stan-cleofu*) and earth-cave (*eorð-scrafa*) with stone bows or vaults (*stan-bogan*), which all suggest that the poet envisaged the dwelling as a form of stone-chambered burial mound (Semple 2003a: 243). That the mound was considered ancient is confirmed by the assertion in the poem that 'giants in old days had made it' (Hall 2002: 8). The author also recognised that ancient burial mounds could be filled with treasure, described as 'heathen gold' (Semple 1998: 109), perhaps indicating a familiarity with these earthworks and their contents within the circle of author and audience, as well as the wider community.

Whatever the contemporary pragmatic knowledge about these monuments and their contents, the poem suggests that barrows were considered evil and frightening places, as the dragon is depicted as a malicious and monstrous creature: 'the ravager of the night, the burner who has sought out barrows from of old, then found this hoard of undefended joy. The smooth evil dragon swims through the gloom enfolded in flame' (*hord-wynne fond eald uht-sceað opene standan, se ðe byrnende biorgas seceð nacod nið-draca, nihtes fleogeð fyre befangen*) (Alexander 1987: 122-3; Semple 2003a: 244). Similar sentiments are expressed in the gnomic poem *Maxims II*, which consists of numerous short statements representing universal 'truths'; lines 26-7 record the expectation that a mound would contain both a dragon and treasure; 'the dragon belongs in its barrow canny and jealous of its jewels' (*draca sceal on hlæwe / frod, frætwum wlanc*) (Greenfield and Evert 1975: 341, 347-8; Bradley 1982: 513-4). As will become clear later, this link between

mounds and dragons, as well as other supernatural creatures, is one that is also expressed in the toponymic evidence.

References to ancient stone structures appear in the Old English poem known as *The Ruin*, which is preserved in the Exeter Book manuscript, written at some point in the second half of the tenth century (Bradley 1982: 201; Howe 2002). The poem describes the masonry of what appear to be ruined Roman baths, the work of 'giants', which decays slowly over time (Howe 2002: 95). The imagery of the poem emphasises that different people once lived in the landscape, building very different structures from those timber ones which would have been familiar to early medieval inhabitants (Howe 2002: 96). That the structures are old is highlighted by the description of the walls as *ræghar* and *readfah*, translated by Howe as 'grey with lichen and stained with red', the red stain caused by wall braces made of metal or wire (*weallwalan wirum*) (Howe 2002: 96). Howe points out similarities between the Anglo-Saxon reuse of Roman stone work or *spolia* and the use of Romano-British building imagery in *The Ruin*, both of which he describes as 'gestures of appreciation' towards the Romano-British remains (Howe 2002: 97).

There would have been numerous visible remnants of the past in Anglo-Saxon England – including barrows, hillforts, embankments, ditches, roads, buildings and artefacts – and Howe has stated that 'an inherited landscape can be marked by past creations that make it attractive for a present generation and then again for future occupants' (Howe 2002: 95). The poem suggests that an essential part of inhabiting a landscape is the need to contemplate its pre-existing remains, and to understand their historical and spiritual significance, whilst the fact that the builders of those impressive remains no longer survive and are unknown becomes a cautionary tale (Howe 2002: 96). As Howe points out, Anglo-Saxon writers did not know the luxury of inhabiting a landscape without prior occupants; their reactions to the landscape that they perceived, lived in and wrote about were always entwined with ideas about past inhabitants, their actions and the remains they left behind (Howe 2002: 93). Again, *Maxims II* contains a comment along similar lines, highlighting that stone-built structures in a timber-dominated landscape would have been visually

striking; Howe's translation reads 'cities are visible from afar, the original work of giants, those which are on this earth, the cunning work of masonry walls' (*ceastra beoð feorran gesyne / orðanc enta geweorc / þa þe on þysse eorðan syndon / wrætlic weallstana geweorc*) (Greenfield and Evert 1975: 340; Howe 2002: 96).

Another, later poetic source, the poem known as *The Wife's Lament*, also includes enigmatic references to features that appear to be ancient in date. The poem, the original title of which is unknown, is also found in the Exeter Book (Bradley 1982: 201). The protagonist is a woman, who appears to be living in or around a barrow. The text says that she has been forced to live there by herself, and that she laments the loss of her husband and friends:

> I was bidden to dwell among a thicket of trees under an oak tree in this earthen dugout. Ancient is this earthen abode – I am quite consumed by longing – the dales are dark, the hills high, the bastioned towns grievously overgrown with briars, their habitations void of pleasures. Here full often my lord's departure has bitterly obsessed me. My friends, loved while they lived, are in earth; they keep their rest while I in the dawning pace alone under the oak-tree around this earthen dug-out. There I must sit the summer-long day. There I may weep for the ways of my exile, my many hardships; for never shall I be able to soothe this my anxiousness of mind nor all the longing which has obsessed me in this life (Bradley 1982: 385).

The woman's dwelling is described as an *eorðscræf*, translated by Bradley (1982: 385) as an 'earthen dug-out', while Hall translates it as 'earth-cave' and points out that her dwelling is referred to elsewhere in the poem as an *eorðsele*, an 'earth chamber' or 'earth hall' (Hall 2002: 9). The indications are then that this is a burial mound, the phrase 'this earth-hall is old' indicating ancient origins for the feature (Hall 2002: 9). The words used to describe the mound are similar to those found in *Beowulf*, and in both texts the 'earth-hall' is portrayed as belonging to an ancient, mysterious society (Hall 2002: 8; Semple 2003a: 247).

The phrase *bitre burgtunas* also appears in the poem, and was translated by Bradley (1982: 385) as 'bastioned towns' (see the quote above). Gelling (1989: 145-8) has interpreted *burgtunas* as the ruins of a fortified place, while Semple (2003a: 247) has suggested that such features were indicative of the passing of time and decay,

especially since they are described as being overgrown with briars. More recently, Hall (2002: 7) has questioned Bradley's translation, suggesting that a more literal translation of *bitre burgtunas* as 'bitter defence-enclosures' might be appropriate. He has also explored the possibility that the phrase actually means 'bitter barrow-enclosures', as *burg* and *be(o)rg* were often confused in West Saxon, the version of Old English used in the poem (Hall 2002: 7). He suggests that, given that the woman's dwelling seems to be a barrow, this could well be the correct understanding of the phrase, and we might therefore envisage the speaker's dwelling place as a burial mound, surrounded by an enclosure overgrown with briars (Hall 2002: 7).

As *The Wife's Lament* appears to describe a woman living in or on a barrow, it may be particularly pertinent to this study. However, the reason for the woman's dwelling-place is difficult to discern, as the poem does not explicitly reveal why she is living there. Semple (1998: 111) has suggested that the woman has been banished and forced to live as an outcast, and that she may be a ghost, speaking from beyond the grave and lamenting that she is separated from other people by being confined to her burial mound. The poem's feeling of gloom, emptiness and loneliness emphasises her ghostly state and, if the barrow is her grave, or even her execution site, this would fit with Reynolds's (1998) findings that barrows were used as execution sites and deviant cemeteries in later Anglo-Saxon England (Semple 1998: 111). More recently, Hall (2002: 14) has looked in more detail at the story, and suggests that the woman is neither dead nor exiled, but confined in sanctuary for her own safety. The poem describes the woman's lord leaving her, after which she suffers *uhtceare* — translated by Hall as 'troubles in the twilight before dawn' — over his whereabouts, and Hall believes that the character's husband may have commanded her to live in sanctuary there. In support for his claim that the couple are separated by a force other than death, he cites the speaker's declaration that 'often indeed the two of us vowed that nothing should part us except death alone', the implication being that it is *not* death that has forced them apart, it is something else (Hall 2002: 21). A family or clan feud is suggested by the line 'I must, far or near, / suffer the ?blood-feud of my much-beloved' (*sceal ic*

feor ge neah / mines felaleofan fæhðu dreogan) and there is a suggestion that her husband may have been at fault in this feud, which is why she is suffering (Hall 2002: 21). Thus, the reason for the character dwelling in the barrow is difficult to determine; it could have negative connotations, as a form of prison or grave, but she could alternatively be exiled for her own safety, in which case the enclosures and barrow could, in fact, have a protective function.

Clues to the meaning of the character's dwelling-place in *The Wife's Lament* may be found in the carved decorative schema on one end panel of the Franks Casket, an artefact of early eighth-century Northumbrian production (Webster 1982: 28-30; Semple 2003a: 248-9) (see fig. 4.1). The panel depicts a scene thought to derive from an unpreserved Germanic legend, which appears to have parallels with the story of *The Wife's Lament* (Hall 2002: 2-3; Semple 2003a: 248-9). On the left hand side of the panel is a creature, muzzled by a serpent, who sits on a small hump, with a helmeted warrior either confronting or guarding it, and in the centre of the panel is a horse, surrounded by foliage, standing at the side of what appears to be another mound, looking across to the face of a man on the opposite side (Hall 2002: 2-3; Semple 2003a: 249). The inscription on the panel is runic, and translation is difficult, but Page (1973: 182) has suggested that it reads 'Here Hos sits on the sorrow-mound; she suffers distress in that Ertae has decreed for her a wretched den (?wood) of sorrows and torments of mind', and this translation is supported by Hall (2002: 2). It is possible that the similarities between the Casket imagery and the later poem indicate that the poem set down in writing a legend already current in society and depicted in pictorial form on the Franks Casket (Hall 2002: 2-3; Semple 2003a: 250).

There is some debate over what the runic inscription tells us about Hos and her relationship to the mound. Semple's (2003a: 249-50) interpretation, that Hos is the muzzled figure sitting *on* the mound, rests on her linking the runic inscription to the image on the left-hand side of the Franks Casket. Hall, on the other hand, points out that the runes could read 'in' rather than 'on', implying that Hos sits *in* the sorrow-mound (Hall 2002: 2). He believes that the inscription refers to the central image,

the mound with the figure inside it, as elsewhere on the Casket the inscriptions accompanying tripartite panels refer to the *central* scene (Hall 2002: 3). Thus, Hall believes that Hos may be the figure *inside* the mound in the centre of the panel, whilst Semple has suggested that Hos is the figure *on* a mound on the left-hand side of the panel (it seems possible that both may be true). Therefore, while the Franks Casket provides intriguing parallels with the *The Wife's Lament*, it still does not make clear the exact nature of the character's dwelling in relation to the mound.

Fig. 4.1 An end panel of the Franks Casket, depicting scenes thought to be from the story recorded in the *Wife's Lament* (photograph: British Museum).

Regardless of which part of the Franks Casket images the inscription applies to, the description of Hos's dwelling-place as a wretched den of sorrows implies that barrow-dwelling in this case has negative connotations. However, like the poem, the theme of sanctuary, as opposed to exile or death, cannot be ruled out of Hos's story, even though the runic inscriptions imply that she has been forced to live in or on the mound (Hall 2002: 21). Page's translation of the runic inscription does not necessarily indicate that the woman has been exiled from society or is living in a ghostly state; she could have been commanded to live in sanctuary, even if she is not particularly willing to do so. It is also possible that, to the audience of the poem,

the casket inscription and the legend that inspired the inscription, the dwelling on or in the mound had multiple meanings, depending on what they chose to believe about the character and her story. Indeed, the inclusion of Old English legal terms in the poem indicates the need for contextual and semantic knowledge amongst the audience, and there may be unspoken aspects of the story that are lost to the modern reader (Howe 2002: 21).

Reuse of a pre-existing mound as a dwelling is also recorded in the eighth-century hagiographical account, Felix's *Life of St Guthlac*, composed for King Æfwald of East Anglia probably between 730 and 749 (Bradley 1982: 249; Hall 2007: 207). The *Life* documents Guthlac's early life as a warrior, his conversion to Christianity, and his subsequent search for a lonely and uninhabited location for a hermitage (Colgrave 1956). The saint is said to have settled on an island in the fens of eastern England, on which there was a burial mound, and Chapter 28 of the *Life* describes Guthlac dwelling 'in the side of a barrow which had been dug open, building a hut over it' (Colgrave 1956: 93). He builds his house over a 'sort of cistern', supposedly left by barrow-robbers; this sounds remarkably like a form of SFB, constructed over the hollow of a robber trench, as Hamerow (2002: 34) has noted. Thus, even though it is not possible to say for certain that it *was* a SFB, the *Life* does offer a literary example of a building located on, or in the side of, an earlier barrow. Additionally, Chapter 51 records Guthlac's sister Pega burying him in his oratory on the mound (Colgrave 1956: 161). This draws intriguing links between the role of the monument in both the saint's life and his death, as well as paralleling the contemporary practice of placing burials in infilled SFBs after they went out of use, a characteristic feature of 'placed' deposits in early to middle Anglo-Saxon England (Hamerow 2006).

Semple (1998: 112-3, 121) has discussed Guthlac's decision to dwell on a barrow, linking it to the growth of Christian influence in middle Anglo-Saxon England. She claimed that, as Guthlac is forced to drive away malevolent demons and ghosts who haunt the mound before he can live there in peace, this was part of the Church's attempt to demonise the practice of monument reuse, with its unpalatable pre-

Christian overtones. She has argued that it was the hellish, demonic associations which were the attraction for Guthlac, and, indeed, the text does state that the saint chose the location because it was fearful, horrible and uninhabited (Semple 1998: 113). On the other hand, Hilda Ellis Davidson (1950: 176-7) has suggested that it was the perceived *sanctity* of burial mounds that influenced Guthlac's decision to live on one. The *Life* claims that several people had tried to dwell there before and been forced to leave by the demons, whilst another priest tries to kill Guthlac so he can take his place on the mound (Ellis Davidson 1950: 176-7). Both Semple's and Ellis Davidson's interpretations may be right, in that the significance of the mound as a holy dwelling-place might have been linked to the ability of the inhabitant to persevere and overcome the demons, as a result of which they, and the mound, would be revered.

In Semple's interpretation, the mound in Guthlac's story is significant because of its haunted state, and because Guthlac had to prove his sanctity by overcoming the devils and demons that visited him there. However, it is interesting that the creatures described in the text actually approach from the *outside*; they fly in from the fens and fly out again, and they do not appear from *within* the mound, as we might expect if the mound itself were haunted (see Chapters 29 to 34; Colgrave 1956: 95-111). An alternative interpretation might be that the negative connotations associated with Guthlac's dwelling were the result of the lonely and desolate fenland in which the barrow was located, and not the barrow itself. His hut's precise location *may* actually have had more to do with the fact that other people elsewhere at this time were also living on burial mounds (as the following chapters will demonstrate). If so, it might have been detail which reflected the actions of other members of the population at that time, and not a piece of dissuasive Church rhetoric. Indeed, if Guthlac's story was intended as a way of marginalising the practice of settling on or near barrows, a more extreme conclusion to the story might be expected, in which, for example, the barrow continued to be haunted by evil forces, rendering it uninhabitable, although of course Guthlac's perseverance and ability to defeat the evil forces could represent the 'Christianisation' of the mound.

It must be noted that Felix's *Life* follows a conventional hagiographic format, inspired by fourth-century sources such as Evagrius' *Vita Antonii* (thought to date to the late 350s), the life of the Egyptian saint Antony, who had himself shut in a tomb, Sulpicius Severus' *Vita Martini* and Jerome's *Vita Pauli*, (written between 374 and 379), and the hagiographic account of St Bartholomew, who lived in a large empty urn (Barnard 1974; Meaney 2003: 231; Semple 2003a: 251; Hall 2007: 213). The extent to which it truly reflects Guthlac's life and dwelling is therefore open to question, although archaeological support comes from aerial photographs, which have shown that a possible site of Guthlac's cell, Anchor Hill (Lincs), does indeed have the remains of a chapel overlying a round barrow within an enclosure (Meaney 2003: 229; Semple 2003a: 252). As a documentary record of the inhabitation of an ancient monument, the source is pertinent in the context of this study. Furthermore, whilst Felix may well have been drawing on the imagery of sources such as the *Vita Antonii* in his text, it is interesting that he (or indeed Guthlac himself) consciously 'translated' the saint's dwelling place into something more contextually fitting for the audience of the *Life*; rather than dwelling in a giant urn, or in a desert tomb, Guthlac lived in or on a mound, a practice that, as this study will show, would have been familiar to many people at that time.

Guthlac was one of Anglo-Saxon England's first native saints, and as a result several other texts were written about him (Hall 2007: 207). The poem *Guthlac A* also seems to belong to the eighth century and may have been influenced by Felix's *Life*, but could also have been drawn together separately from contemporary oral narratives about St Guthlac (Semple 2003a: 253; Hall 2007: 208). Unlike the *Life*, *Guthlac A* was composed in Old English, and concerns itself almost wholly with Guthlac's efforts to fight off the ghosts of murderers and criminals, who in this case *do* reside in the barrows near the saint's hermitage (Semple 2003a: 254; Hall 2007: 215). Rather than just one barrow, *Guthlac A* mentions multiple haunted barrows (*beorgas*) on the island, all of which the saint cleanses (Hall 2007: 216). It also differs from the *Life* in that it describes Guthlac building his house on top of one of the mounds, with no mention of the barrow having been previously robbed or broken (Hall 2007: 218). *Guthlac A* therefore differs slightly from the version of

events as recorded by Felix, but it does still record the saint living on a pre-existing mound.

A second poem, *Guthlac B*, was written down in the Exeter Book in the tenth century, where it was combined with *Guthlac A* (Hall 2007: 208). Semple sees the poem as later than *Guthlac A* and the *Life*, composed as a poetic interpretation of the saint's life using the two other earlier sources, and Bradley suggests a late eighth-century date for its composition (Bradley 1982: 249; Semple 2003a: 256). *Guthlac B* focuses almost exclusively on the events surround the saint's death (Bradley 1982: 269; Hall 2007: 208). In this version the demons are supernatural beasts, rather than ghosts as they were in *Guthlac A* (Semple 2003a: 255). This poem is of less help in this study as it makes no mention of Guthlac making his home on the mound, although as he lies dying he does tell his attendant that he wishes to be buried in the 'hill' (*beorge*; ln.1193), which could feasibly be interpreted as 'barrow' (Roberts 1979: 118; Bradley 1982: 279). Given that in Felix's *Life* the saint asks to be buried in the mound on which he lived, it seems likely here that 'the hill' might also be interpreted as the mound in this poem.

The interpretations of the Anglo-Saxon written sources presented here have been developed primarily from an archaeological point of view. Archaeologists, such as Semple, have broadened their approach to researching ideas about the 'the past in the past' through studying the documentary evidence alongside the archaeological data, and this work has been widely quoted amongst those working in early medieval archaeology. However, it should be noted that discussions of these written sources are many and varied. They are the focus of an extensive body of research produced by literary scholars, who at times differ from archaeologists in their interpretations, and their work is not always taken into account in the archaeological discussions of the poetic and prose evidence. Alaric Hall's recent papers provide extremely useful reviews of these arguments, as well as taking into account archaeological evidence alongside his work on the textual evidence. Hall (2007: 217) has warned that the handling of the literary evidence by archaeologists has at times been inaccurate. In fact, his criticism was chiefly levelled at Sarah

Semple's (1998) interpretation of the Old English literary evidence, particularly the later Anglo-Saxon evidence for the links between hell or damnation and older monuments, which Hall felt was at times inaccurate. He did, nonetheless, believe that Semple's arguments and conclusions were broadly convincing and useful. This issue must be borne in mind when using these sources to enhance our understanding of the archaeological evidence; the written evidence discussed in this section can be of great value when combined with archaeological evidence in the context of studies such as this, but they must be used and interpreted with caution.

Land Charters

Land charters were legal documents produced from the late seventh century onwards in order to define the bounds of estates and record transfers of land (Kelly 1990: 40; Hooke 1998: 10, 85; Keynes 2001: 99). The Christian Church was at the forefront of this practice, using tenets of Roman law in order to produce charters that were based upon Roman land documents (Kelly 1990: 44; Hooke 1998: 85). It was usually one of the parties involved in the land transfers, although in the eighth century lay people began to be named as beneficiaries too (Kelly 1990: 44; Keynes 2001: 99; Wickham 2005: 315). As a large proportion of the charters detail gifts to or by ecclesiastical houses, they often survive because they were preserved in the libraries or scriptoria of cathedrals and monasteries (Kelly 1990: 45; Hooke 1998: 86). Around 1500 land charters survive, although they are distributed unevenly throughout the country; some areas have none surviving and others, such as Kent, Surrey, Hampshire and Worcestershire, yield them in fairly large numbers as a result of their preservation in large religious houses in those areas (Sawyer 1974: 110; Kelly 1990: 40; Hooke 1998: 85; Wickham 2005: 314). Although around 228 charters claim to have been written before c.800, only twenty survive as copies genuinely written before then; of these, seven survive from Kent, two from the kingdom of the Hwicce, two from Essex, eight from Mercia and one from Sussex (Sawyer 1974: 111). Some are fabrications and claim to have been produced earlier than they actually were, while others were altered, intentionally or accidentally, by transcribers who were copying earlier versions of charters, and on occasions

churches claimed early dates for documents which were later but which they hoped or believed to be true in content (Sawyer 1974: 111; Hooke 1998: 85).

Charters tended to be divided into four parts; they opened with a statement that named God and/or Christ as the authority through which the giver granted the property, followed by a section detailing the bounds of the property, a warning about what would happen to any person who tried to impede the grant, and a list of those who had witnessed the grant (Howe 2002: 99). Earlier charters included brief, vague descriptions of the estate boundaries in Latin, mentioning just the cardinal points of the land being granted (Kelly 1990: 46). However, in the ninth century, boundary descriptions became more common and more detailed, specifying a large number of topographic features (Kelly 1990: 46; Hooke 1998: 10, 87). They often began with a distinctive feature, such as at a point in a corner of the estate, along a river or stream, or at a barrow, and then generally ran clockwise around the estate (Grinsell 1991: 51; Hooke 1998: 92, 95). The boundary clause for a charter relating to land at Staunton (Herts; S677[1]), dating to 958, exemplifies this more detailed style:

> First from the mill ford along the Arrow, then to *Washford*; from *Washford* along the Arrow round the top of *Holaneig*; from the top of *Holaneig* to the top of the oak edge, then along the top of the oak edge, then to the front of the *snæd* way, from the *snæd* way round *Hanley* to the *æcna*-bridge, up along the brook, then to the dyke, along the dyke to *Tanesbæc*, from *Tanesbæc* along the boundary-fence, then to the boundary of the community of *Lene*, along the boundary of the community of *Lene*, then to Æthelwold's hedge, from Æthelwold's hedge to *Heanoldan*, from *Heanoldan* to the boundary thorn, from the boundary thorn along the fence to the swing-gate, from the swing-gate along the paved road to the dyke-gate, from the dyke-gate to the third gate, then along the paved road back to *Milford* (Whitelock 1955: 514-6).

Before the exact boundaries of estates were written down there seems to have been a reliance on estate boundaries being generally well-known (Kelly 1990: 46). Ceremonies such as 'beating the bounds' may have impressed boundaries on people's memories, and in the earliest known land charter (S8), from 679, King

[1] Charter number from Sawyer (1968); charters throughout this chapter will be referred to with their Sawyer number in this format.

Hlothhere of Kent states that land is to be held 'according to the well-known boundaries demonstrated by myself and my officers' (Whitelock 1955: 443; Kelly 1990: 46). In this early phase, the granting of land seems to have been accompanied by visible rituals, which impressed on the general lay community that land had changed hands; the charter was more of a visual symbol of this, and of ownership, than a written record for these people (Kelly 1990: 44). Later, as details about the exact boundaries of estates began to be included more often in charters, the documents became more of a written record to be used as a source of information, rather than a symbol. It is possible that this resulted from the splitting up of earlier, larger estates, as closer attention had to be paid to the terrain that outlined the new smaller parcels of land within that area (Hooke 1998: 92).

The development of detailed boundary descriptions in charters in the ninth century was accompanied by the development in the use of the vernacular language (Kelly 1990: 46). Some ninth-century and later charters are bilingual; Latin, the language of the Church and elite, was used for the parts of the document that made statements about political authority, such as the recording of rights to give and receive property, whereas Old English was used to record boundary markers (Howe 2002: 100). Reading the boundary clauses aloud in the vernacular language of the general population would have allowed the people working and living in the landscape to understand where the new boundaries lay, and who owned the newly-defined area within them (Howe 2002: 100-1). This may explain the composition of the clauses, in which landmark features are mentioned twice, first as a location of departure and then as a point of arrival; 'from A to B, from B to C, from C to D' and so on. Such a structure would have aided memorisation of the boundary features, and may have been read out loud as part of a perambulation around an estate (Kelly 1990: 57; Howe 2002: 102). Furthermore, the use of the vernacular would also have been beneficial since finding direct Latin translations for place-names in the vernacular would have been difficult (Kelly 1990: 56).

Land charters are useful in the context of this study because of the detailed topographical information frequently included in the later examples. Numerous

charters, many dating to the tenth century, used features such as trees, hills, roads and – significantly – ancient earthworks as markers (Sawyer 1974: 112; Grinsell 1991: 46; Hooke 1998: 10, 86). References to barrows are particularly frequent, and a variety of descriptive terms are applied to them, illustrating aspects of their appearance such as colour, condition and number.[2] 'Rough barrows' (*ruh* and *ruwan beorh*) appear in charters such as a tenth-century example from Winkfield (Berks; S482), perhaps indicating a barrow covered with vegetation (Grinsell 1991: 47; Semple 2003a: 273, 292). 'Little barrow' also occurs in charters such as that from Donnington (Glos; S1026) and Alton (Wilts; S368), and 'stone barrow' occurs in a charter from Watchfield (Oxon; S413) (Grinsell 1991: 47).

Some charters used groups of barrows as markers; 'five barrows' (*fif beorg*) appears in a tenth-century charter of Fyfield (Hants; S800) while 'three barrows' (*thrim beorg*) appears in a charter of similar date from Medmerry (Sus; S403) (Semple 2003a: 303, 308). Meanwhile 'giant's barrow' (*enta hlæw*), appears in a charter for Poolhampton in Overton (Hants; S970), demonstrating links between barrows and supernatural creatures that will also be seen in the discussion of place-names below (Grinsell 1991: 49-50; Semple 2003a: 306). Similar links are seen in references to a 'goblin/demon barrow' (*scuccan hlæw*) in an eighth-century charter from Horwood (Bucks; S138), 'Woden's barrow' (*wodnes beorge*) in a ninth-century example from Alton Priors (Wilts; S272), and 'heathen barrow' (*hæþenan beorge*) in an early eleventh-century example from Drayton (Hants; S956), the latter perhaps referring to execution sites or pre-Christian cemeteries (Semple 2003a: 277, 284-6, 321-4). References were also made to 'broken/robbed barrows': *brocenan beorg* appears in a tenth-century charter from Farnborough (Berks; S411) and *abrocenan beorg* in another tenth-century example referring to Long Sutton (Hants; S835) (Grinsell 1991: 50; Semple 2003a: 290, 300). The terms stone (*stan*), stony (*stanige*), broad

[2] For further examples see Semple (2003a: 290-324), who has fully catalogued the descriptive terms applied to monuments in charters from the counties of Berkshire, Hampshire, Sussex and Wiltshire. Grinsell (1991) has also produced a detailed catalogue for Dorset, Gloucestershire, Oxfordshire, Somerset, Surrey, Wiltshire, Berkshire, Hampshire and the Isle of Wight. The majority of examples cited here derive from these two sources.

(*braden*), great (*myclen*) and fern (*fearn*) were also used to describe barrows in charters (Semple 2003a: 273; 290-324).

There is some disagreement over interpretation of the words *hlæw* and *beorg* in these charters, both of which can be translated as either barrow or hill. Both Hooke (1998: 99) and Grinsell (1991: 61) have claimed that Anglo-Saxon communities were using the words differently, *beorg* referring mostly to barrows of prehistoric date and *hlæw* to ones of Anglo-Saxon date. Indeed, Grinsell asserted that the frequent references to 'rough barrows' in charters indicates that Anglo-Saxon communities were much more willing to allow older barrows to fall into a state of disrepair than they were their own (Grinsell 1991: 61). However, this simple division is not particularly convincing.

It seems unlikely that Anglo-Saxon communities were able to distinguish between barrows of different ages, unless they were very distinctive in form. In any case, the secondary use of prehistoric burials would have blurred the line between what was 'old' and what was 'new', whilst barrows built earlier in the Anglo-Saxon period might well have been considered 'old' a century or so later. Furthermore, in Beowulf both words are used to describe the dragon's barrow, which is also explicitly described as ancient (Semple 2003a: 271). Similarly, the barrow at Swallowcliffe Down (Wilts) is described as *hlæw* in a tenth-century charter (S468), even though it is a reused prehistoric mound (Semple 2003a: 271, 318). Thus, there is little evidence to commend the notion that Anglo-Saxon communities differentiated between barrows of different dates.

Barrows were the most frequently-mentioned monuments in charters, but references were also made to other ancient landmarks. A number of hillforts were used as boundary markers, such as one on the boundary of Adlestrop, on the border of Oxfordshire and Gloucestershire, which was referred to as 'the old castle fort' (*bære aldan cestelbyrig*) in a purportedly early eighth-century charter (S1250) (Hooke 1998: 98). Similarly, according to a late eighth-century charter (S57), the bounds of the Kemerton estate on the border of Gloucestershire and

Worcestershire ran to 'the summit of the aforesaid hill Breedon on the top of which is the fortification anciently called *Bænintesburg*', the name of which survives as the moniker of the Banbury Stone, a large block of limestone which still stands inside the ramparts of the hillfort (Hooke 1998: 99).

Detailed descriptions of boundaries running *through* hillforts come from two tenth-century charters, the first (S524) from Uffington (Oxon), in which the boundary runs through the centre of Uffington Castle, an Iron Age hillfort (at that time called Ashbury); the bounds ran 'into Ashbury's south gate and thus out at the north gate' (Hooke 1998: 99). Meanwhile, the eastern boundary of East Woolstone, the adjacent estate to Uffington, was recorded in 958 (S575) as running through the same hillfort in the opposite direction, progressing 'to the north gate, then to the south gate', the 'gates' being cuts made through the ramparts during the Romano-British period (Hooke 1998: 99; Semple 2003a: 297). Semple (1998: 116) has suggested that in these cases hillforts seem to have been shared out between estates, and were possibly used as communal meeting places. She pointed to the work of Rigold and Metcalf (1977: 31-52), who noted the presence of Anglo-Saxon sceattas at a number of Iron Age hillforts, suggesting that there may have been a tradition of using them as trading sites, which would have emphasised their role as communal meeting places.

Ditches were used as markers, often prefixed by 'old' (*eald* or *ealden*), for example in charters from Appleford (Berks; S355), Eccinswell (Hants; S412) and Dauntsey (Wilts; S301/S1580) indicating a perceived ancient date (Semple 2003a: 275, 290-324). Other adjectives were used as well, including curly (*curspan*) in a charter from Brightwalton (Berks; S448), wrinkled/twisting (*gewrincloda*) in an example from King's Worthy (Hants; S962), and red (*readen*) in a charter from Buttermere (Wilts; S336) (Semple 2003a: 275, 294, 305, 317). Single standing stones were sometimes mentioned, nearly always associated with personal names indicating ownership of the stone or the land it stood on, although colours and other physical descriptors were also used as prefixes for them (Semple 2003a: 276). For example, there was a 'giant's stone' (*flecge stan*) in a charter from Chilton (Berks; S934), 'four stones'

(*foer stan*) were referred to in an example from Liddington (Wilts; S459), and a 'stone row' (*stan ræwe*) was mentioned in a charter from Hardwell (Berks; S369), the latter probably indicating a prehistoric monument (Semple 2003a: 298, 319). Many of these *stan* names have been recorded in Wiltshire, a county with a rich record of prehistoric stone monuments (Semple 2003a: 275-7).

The land charters are pertinent to this study for two main reasons; firstly, they demonstrate that early medieval communities were very aware of ancient features, especially barrows, in the landscape. The documentary records show that people made use of them as topographical markers from at least the late seventh century, but this may have perpetuated a tradition already in place before the introduction of written documents. It is perhaps no coincidence that monuments were used as burial and meeting places if they were seen as distinctive focal points in the landscape at this time. Secondly, the people who dictated estate boundaries also named, classified and described monuments according to their appearance and condition. Given the legal nature of the documents, it seems likely that the descriptive terms would have had to be both accurate and in use locally, so that boundaries could be easily re-established should disagreements arise over their extent or ownership (Semple 2003a: 270). That the descriptive terms employed in the documents were current amongst local communities would have been crucial if, as Howe has suggested, the bounds were read aloud in Old English so that the general non-Latin-speaking population could understand them. The evidence supports the proposition that barrows, as well as other monuments such as hillforts, could be at the forefront of people's minds as distinctive markers in the landscape, with which they would have interacted as they moved through, and inhabited, the landscape.

Place-Names and Monuments

Place-name evidence can also be of use when assessing attitudes towards ancient monuments in the Anglo-Saxon period, as in some cases they preserve the Old English names applied to monuments. They can reveal beliefs about the antiquity and previous functions of monuments, as well as shedding light on their uses and

associations in the early medieval period (Gelling 1988: 130). Much attention has been paid to the enigmatic associations between supernatural entities and monuments that are preserved in place-names and this will be reflected in the following discussion. However, it must be noted that supernatural monikers make up only a small proportion of the known Old English names given to monuments, while words pertaining to other characteristics of earthworks, such as colour, size and shape have frequently been preserved in place-names (Semple 1998; 2003a).

Margaret Gelling, in her thorough and extremely useful review of place-names relating to archaeological features, has stated that place-names referring to prehistoric monuments often clearly demonstrate a break in the historical sequence, as the monuments were often viewed as the remains of other cultures and times, their names being unrelated to their original functions (Gelling 1988: 130-1). She noted that Anglo-Saxon names for prehistoric monuments generally imbued them with either defensive or funerary functions, with little thought given to the relative antiquity of monuments. However, she did warn against underestimating the abilities of early medieval communities to identify human-made landscape features. For example, although the three main words used to describe barrows or mounds — *beorg*, *hlāw/hlæw* and *haugr* — were also sometimes applied to natural hills, there are other terms that refer *only* to natural features. Thus, Gelling saw these three words as, at least partially, specialised terms indicating a certain amount of understanding about, and classification of, barrows (Gelling 1988: 132).

A number of names applied to pre-existing monuments reveal attitudes about their characters, properties and antiquity, some of which Gelling (1988: 132-42) has discussed. Idel Barrow (Glos) and Idlebush Barrow (Berks) contain the element *idel* ('vacant', 'empty' or 'useless'), while Brokenborough (Wilts) derives from *brocenan beorge* ('broken barrow'), which may indicate that the barrow had a robber's hollow at its peak. *Langan beorge* ('long barrow') was also applied to some monuments, becoming Lambrough and Longborough (both Glos). Meanwhile, Ploughly Hill (Oxon) comes from the earlier name *Pokedelawe* ('baggy tumulus'),

whilst Copley Hill (Cambs) stems from *Coppelawe* meaning 'rounded tumulus', and Sharplow (Derbys) means 'pointed tumulus'. As discussed in Chapter 3, the use of barrows as meeting places was also sometimes reflected in their nomenclature; examples include Modbury (from *gemōtbeorge* or moot barrow) and Hundredsbarrow (both Dorset), and Mutlow (Cambs and Essex). Barrows were also associated with dragons and treasure, as demonstrated by names such as Drakelow (Beds, Derbys, Worcs) and Dragley (Lincs), both meaning 'dragon tumulus', and Drechowe (N Yorks) and Drakehow (W Yorks). Wormwood Hill (Cambs) (previously *Wyrmelawe*), is translated as 'dragon tumulus' too, as *wyrm* also meant dragon. The name Hurdlow (Derbys) reveals the association of hoards with barrows, as it combines *hord* ('hoard') with *hlāw*. Similarly, the name Drake North (Wilts) (from *Drakenhorde*) means 'dragon's treasure', and was perpetuated in a field name close to a place named *brocenebereue*, suggesting that some kind of treasure had been found in the vicinity during barrow digging (Cameron 1996: 122; Semple 2003a: 283).

Hillforts would have constituted particularly impressive pre-existing monuments, and the most commonly occurring name for these is *burh* ('defended place') (Gelling 1988: 143-4). Sometimes this was combined with the word 'old', as in Oldbury (Warwicks), or with the name of an animal or bird, as in Ramsbury (Berks and Wilts), which derived from *hræfnesbyrig* ('raven's fort'), which could be a mocking name for a deserted fort, or could refer obliquely to the god Woden, whose emblem was the raven (Meaney 1966; Chaney 1970: 132, 135). Other names for hillforts include *weard-setl*, meaning 'guard-house', *tōt-ærn*, combining 'look-out place' and 'house', and *eorth-burh*, meaning 'earth fort' (Gelling 1988: 147). Other names show awareness that hillforts were nearby; the name Burghill appears to mean 'hill with a fort', and Burley means 'wood by a fort', whilst Burlton (Shrops) derives from *burh-hyll-tūn*, meaning 'settlement by a hill with a fort', an interpretation supported by the presence of a large enclosure just west of the village (Gelling 1988: 145).

Linear earthworks, embankments and fortified enclosures were another form of prehistoric monument noted and named in the early medieval period (Gelling 1998: 148; Semple 2003a: 282). The name *Grīm*, translated as 'the masked one', was commonly associated with linear earthworks in names such as Grim's Dyke, as well as with hillforts and other prehistoric monuments (Gelling 1988: 149; Cameron 1996: 117). *Grīm* was a nickname for Woden, alluding to his habit of disguising himself, and Gelling (1988: 149) has suggested that the numerous earthworks associated with *Grīm* may have been believed to be the work of the god, or they were named after him as a vague expression of superstitious belief concerning the origins of the site. Audrey Meaney (1995: 33) expressed a similar belief, suggesting that Woden had been reduced from a god to a giant or supernatural builder in these circumstances. *Grīm* is found in Grimley (Worcs), which was centred on a Roman fort, as well as the Neolithic flint mines Grimes Graves, and Grimspound, a prehistoric enclosure on Dartmoor (Hooke 1998: 16). In Norfolk there is also an example of a Grimshoe, associating *Grīm* with a mound (Semple 2003a: 282). Execution sites or heathen cemeteries associated with linear features are also possibly indicated by place-names such as Fleam Ditch (Cambs) ('ditch of the fugitives') and Thieves Dikes (from *theovesdiches*) (N Yorks) (Semple 2003a: 286). Other supernatural beings were also occasionally allied with earthworks, such as *pūca* and *hob*, both meaning 'goblin', as in Hobditch Causeway (Worcs) (Gelling 1988: 150). There is also an association between a giant (*thyrs*) and a barrow in the place-name Thirshowe (E Yorks) (Semple 2003a: 330).

Thus, the place-name evidence, like the charter documents, demonstrates that early medieval communities not only recognised ancient monuments in the landscape, but also named them. While it could be argued that the landmarks named in boundary clauses of land charters were perpetuated primarily by a relatively small group of high-status people involved in land transfers, the survival of place-names relating to monuments suggests that they were indeed part of the shared language of the general population. These remnants of ancient landscapes were enough a part of everyday life to require naming and describing, and in some instances it seems that they also inspired stories about their supposed ancient and

supernatural origins. However it should be noted that monuments were only given supernatural names in a very small number of cases, and supernatural associations are not restricted to monuments; occasionally other features in the landscape might be imbued with the similar associations, such as the use of 'dwarf' (*dwerg*) in Dwarriden (W Yorks) (Semple 2003a: 279). It must also be kept in mind that almost all the place-names we know about survive in documents dating to after 1066 and some Old English terms used for prehistoric monuments, such as *hlæw*, *beorg*, *burh* and *dic*, survived in use in a variety of forms in Middle English, as did some of the adjectives used to describe these features (Semple 2003a: 268). Thus, it is possible that place-names such as Green Barrow or Brokenberwe found in post-Conquest sources could have an Old English origin, but could alternatively have a Middle English one.

Summary

It was acknowledged at the start of this chapter that the sources discussed here have been examined before by other researchers, some on numerous occasions. The sections on genealogies, poetry and prose, charters, and place-names have drawn on many of these previously-published discussions, and have not sought to radically re-interpret any of the sources. Rather, the aim was to review them in a way that allowed the evidence to be linked to the settlement record. Writers such as Sisam (1953), Dumville (1977), Moisl (1981) and Davies (1992) have shown that the genealogical lists used the past as an integral part of displaying and sanctioning kingship in the Anglo-Saxon era; this seems to have been the case from the early Anglo-Saxon period, but it only becomes visible to us with the introduction of literacy. The royal pedigrees seem to have been less concerned with the *specifics* of the past or historical accuracy, but with the past or 'what had come before' as a more general concept. Although the lists do not specifically shine any light on the *settlement* evidence, they do reveal that the past was crucial to the upper echelons of society, and this might have also been true of the rest of the population. Unlike landscape features, which provoked reactions due to their immediate physicality, the past as it was used in the genealogies was more abstract and open to adaptation, although that is not to say that it was any less powerful or influential.

The work of scholars such as Semple (1998; 2003a), Howe (2002) and Hall (2002; 2007) has shown that Old English poetry and prose can be of use when attempting to understand Anglo-Saxon beliefs about the past and its remains. In contrast to the genealogical evidence, in some cases these sources *can* be directly linked to dwellings on or in ancient monuments, often mounds. Sources such as *Beowulf* and *Maxims II* convey the belief that dragons lived in mounds, surrounded by treasure, but whether this is a literary device or representative of widespread belief is difficult to say. *The Ruin* expresses appreciation of the stone-work of Roman buildings, which are described as the work of giants, again displaying supernatural associations, although the extent to which this might be a literary device is also once again uncertain.

The Wife's Lament contains more mysterious and puzzling references to monuments. The protagonist's dwelling appears to be an ancient burial mound, but whether she is living in or on it, or both, is open to question. Also debateable is her reason for living there; she may be dead, banished, or exiled for her own safety. Whatever the reason, in this poem there appear to have been negative connotations associated with living on or in the barrow. Perhaps the most interesting source in the context of this study is the *Life of St Guthlac*, which records occupation on a barrow by a real person, rather than a literary character, although some details of Guthlac's story may have been influenced by earlier hagiographic accounts. Again, it has been suggested that there were negative connotations to Guthlac's choice of dwelling, although it is interesting that the ghosts and demons who haunt him do not inhabit the mound themselves, and that once he has banished them the barrow becomes a suitable – and safe – place for the saint to live out his life, so much so that he is eventually buried in it.

There are some indications from these literary sources that prehistoric and Roman remains were interpreted differently in Anglo-Saxon society. Both *The Ruin* and *Maxims II* attribute the origins of ruined Roman stone structures to ancient races of giants (Greenfield and Evert 1975: 340; Howe 2002: 95-6). In contrast, poetic descriptions of mounds do not, generally, attribute the building of these

monuments to giants. In *The Wife's Lament*, the mound is described in earthy, rather than stony, terms, as an 'earthen dug-out' or 'earth-cave' (*eorðscræf*) and an 'earth chamber' or 'earth hall' (*eorðsele*) (Bradley 1982: 385; Hall 2002: 9). The 'earth-hall' is declared to be old, but it does not seem to have been attributed to a gigantic, stone-building people, nor were the *bitre burgtunas* surrounding the mound (Hall 2002: 9). Similarly, in Felix's *Life of St Guthlac* the building of the mound inhabited by the saint is not attributed to giants either (Colgrave 1956). *Beowulf* is different, in that it *does* describe a mound as a stone-barrow (*stan-beorh*), a stone cleft or crag (*stan-cleofu*), and as an earth-cave (*eorð-scrafa*) with stone bows or vaults (*stan-bogan*), which was made by 'giants in old days' (Hall 2002: 8; Semple 2003a: 243). However, there are also terms referring to the mound which are more akin to those used in *The Wife's Lament*, such as earth-dwelling (*ðam eorð-[hu]se*) and earthen dug-out (*eorðsele*) (Semple 2003a: 243). In Beowulf, therefore, the barrow is linked to both giants and dragons, while the belief that the mound contained piles of gold and treasure is clearly expressed (Semple 2003a: 243-4). Meanwhile, in *Maxims II* a mound was also linked to a treasure-guarding dragon (Greenfield and Evert 1975: 347-8).

There appear, then, to be some differences in the characteristics attributed to Roman stone ruins and prehistoric earthen mounds in the poetic sources. The construction of the former is associated with ancient races of giants, but there are no references to dragons and little mention is made of their use during the Anglo-Saxon period; indeed, in both *The Ruin* and *Maxims II* the abandonment and desolation of the stone-built cities is emphasised. In the case of the latter, little mention is made of their origins, apart from the fact that they are old, and it is their inhabitation by dragons that is focused on. *Maxims II* highlights this distinction well; if the mound it describes as the home of a dragon was perceived as being created by the same race of giants believed to have constructed the stone cities portrayed elsewhere in the source, we might expect the composer to have stated this. Could it have been the case that the Anglo-Saxon composers of these poetic sources distinguished between the different types of monument, and that this reflected more widely disseminated beliefs about their origins? Although the monuments

would not have been categorised as 'Roman' and 'prehistoric' it is possible that they were believed to have been made and used in different ways in the past.

The nomenclature applied to monuments reveals that Anglo-Saxon society did pay close attention to the appearance and characteristics of earthworks, supporting the suggestion that different types of landscape feature were distinguished and interpreted differently. Land charters and toponymic evidence demonstrate that early medieval communities were more than capable of recognising ancient monuments in the landscape, and that they often chose to categorise them according to their appearance, but could also name them based on ownership, nearby flora and fauna, and supernatural associations. Only a small proportion disclose supernatural associations, such as links with giants, dragons, goblins, and Woden's alter ego Grīm (Gelling 1988: 130-50; Semple 2003a: 282). Much more frequent were descriptive adjectives, which are pertinent to this study as they reveal how communities interpreted and named monuments outside of the literary sphere, on a more prosaic and practical level. These include references to colour, shape, topographic position, and animals or plants that might have lived in or near the monuments, whilst personal names were also used (Gelling 1988: 130-50; Semple 2003a: 278-83). This evidence demonstrates that there was, at least in some cases, a *need* to name monuments, and that they must therefore have been referred to by people in the course of daily life; naming a monument would have been pointless if people did not encounter, engage with and talk about those earthworks, and land charters reveal to us one way in which people would have to do all three.

The documentary and linguistic evidence discussed in this chapter falls loosely into two categories; sources in which monuments were imbued with negative connotations, and those in which the connotations were more positive. The genealogical lists, although they do not refer directly to monuments, can be classed as falling into the latter category as they record the use of the past, albeit it a rather loose and manipulated version thereof, in positive terms as a tool for demonstrating legitimate authority. Negative views of monuments, and in particular

of living in or on monuments, are most clearly seen in the Old English literature. This may be related to the *dates* of those sources. The earliest sources under consideration here are likely to be the *Life of St Guthlac*, composed between 730 and 749 (Bradley 1982: 249), and *Beowulf*, also thought to have been written down in the eighth century (Lapidge 2000: 36-42). *Guthlac A* and *Guthlac B* are both thought to have been composed in the eighth century as well, although they survive in the Exeter Book manuscript, which dates from the second half of the tenth century (Bradley 1982: 201, 249). *The Wife's Lament*, *The Ruin* and *Maxims II* also survive in the Exeter Book, although as the correlations between *The Wife's Lament* and the eighth-century Franks Casket show, there may also have been earlier origins to these stories (Webster 1982: 28-30).

Semple (1998: 110; 2003a: 332) has discussed changing attitudes towards ancient monuments in Anglo-Saxon society and the increasingly negative views of monuments expressed in literary sources of the seventh century and later. This she has linked to the growing influence of the Church, and its desire to sever links with pre-Christian uses and beliefs about ancient monuments (Semple 1998: 118). It is possible, then, that the literary sources discussed here were part of this tradition of 'demonising' the reuse of monuments. Semple did also note that the Church's approach was not always wholesale or consistent, as ancient monuments continued to be used as the locations of churches and fairs, for example (Semple 2003a: 194, 217). This inconsistency is reflected in the other written sources under consideration here, since detailed boundary clauses in charters were frequently produced in the ninth and tenth centuries (Kelly 1990: 46) and written royal genealogies are thought to belong to the eighth and ninth centuries (Sisam 1953: 326; Moisl 1981: 215). Ecclesiastical input was frequently seen in both, as discussed above, and thus in the middle and late Anglo-Saxon period the Church was also involved in producing documents that did not contain particularly negative accounts of ancient monuments or the pre-Christian past, many of which were more likely to have been used in everyday life as practical documents.

Of course, a potential problem with using the sources discussed in this chapter is that they often date to the latter part of the study period, or even later. However, many actually appear to have had earlier origins, and their visibility in the middle or later Anglo-Saxon periods is related to the introduction of literacy, as opposed to their 'invention' at this time. For instance, boundaries may have been marked by prehistoric monuments before the practice was set down in written documents (Kelly 1990: 46), genealogical lists may have been perpetuated through oral traditions prior to the eighth century (Moisl 1981: 216; Yorke 2000: 79), and poems such as *Beowulf* and *The Wife's Lament* may have been in existence prior to being written down (Lapidge 2000: 36-42; Hall 2002: 21). While it is possible that the versions of stories and royal pedigrees written down in the middle Anglo-Saxon period were different from earlier, orally-transmitted versions (Yorke 1993: 46), they still provide a valuable window onto contemporary, and perhaps earlier, views of the past and its physical remains.

It is also necessary to consider the audiences and purposes of the written and linguistic evidence, which in some cases were produced for particular members of society. Genealogical lists, for example, were created for an elite audience, although it is possible that dissemination of the information they contained was essential for impressing upon the communities being ruled over the legitimacy of their ruler. Similarly, the boundary clauses in land charters were ostensibly intended for a high-status audience of those wealthy enough to give and receive land, but lower-status members of the community would have been privy to these documents if they were involved in beating the bounds, or if the documents were read aloud, as Kelly (1990: 46, 57) and Howe (2002: 101) have suggested. The poetry and prose documents might also have had a high-status audience, as they were created in an ecclesiastical setting, often for wealthy benefactors. For example, the *Life of St Guthlac* was produced for King Ælfwald of East Anglia, although its influence need not have been so limited, since the poem *Guthlac A* may have been produced from separate narrative sources current in society after Guthlac's death, and his story could therefore have been well-known, at least in the east of England (Hall 2007). Thus, although at first glance many of these sources were written for, and sometimes by,

elite groups in society, they may have had much wider currency amongst the general population, and it is possible that in some cases they reflected the views and beliefs of these people.

In sum, the purpose of this chapter has been to consider some of the documentary and linguistic evidence from Anglo-Saxon England in order to investigate how beliefs about the past and its physical remains are reflected in these sources, with particular reference to what they might reveal about the practice of living on or near ancient monuments. There appears to have been a literary tradition, from the eighth century onwards, of portraying monuments, particularly barrows, as negative dwelling-places (Hall 2002). However, this is not the case in other written documents, such as land charters and genealogies, which were also the products of ecclesiastical scribes. The genealogical lists show that the past could be a very important tool in the creation and maintenance of royal authority, whilst the descriptive terms used in place-names and boundary clauses show that ancient monuments were used as distinctive markers in the landscape. The fact that these monuments were described and named suggests that they were interacted with, talked about, and classified by people, indicating that they became part of people's lives and landscapes. They were not, therefore, necessarily avoided or shunned as evil or haunted places; instead they were actively made use of by Anglo-Saxon communities. Although most of the settlements considered in this study do not have any evidence for names that might have been applied to the prehistoric monuments they encompassed, it is still possible that the earthworks were recognised and classified in similar ways to those whose names have survived. The people settling around these monuments would not have been ignorant of their presence, and might at the very least have thought of them as being a particular type of earthwork, such as a 'green', 'rough' or 'broken' barrow, or as an 'old' hillfort. Therefore, it seems likely that when communities constructed dwellings near to still-visible monuments people would have been conscious of an earthwork's presence as well as being capable of categorising it based on their observations of, or beliefs about, the monument.

Chapter Five

Monument Reuse in Early to Middle Anglo-Saxon Settlements: A Review of the Evidence

Having outlined the impetus for, and background to, this study in the previous four chapters, this chapter will now review the evidence for monument reuse in the early to middle Anglo-Saxon settlement record of central England. A corpus of forty-two settlements with evidence for monument reuse has been collated, and the chapter will begin by briefly outlining the settlements that make up the corpus and their locations within the study area. Subsequently, the evidence from each settlement will be discussed in greater detail. The sites have been divided into two groups for this more detailed discussion, the first focusing on settlements where prehistoric barrows were appropriated, the second focusing on sites where linear features, such as enclosures and boundaries, were reused. As several settlements overlay both barrows and linear features, they have been discussed in both sections. In order to limit the amount of detailed archaeological data in this chapter, more comprehensive accounts of the excavations at each site are provided in Appendix A, where the reader will find in-depth information regarding aspects of the settlements and their excavation histories, including evidence for dating and monument visibility. More detailed information about four sites, Barrow Hills, Sutton Courtenay, Catholme and Eye Kettleby will also be found in Chapter 6, where they will be discussed as case studies.

After presenting the evidence from the settlements in the corpus, the chapter will then review and discuss this evidence, identifying patterns and themes in the data, such as the types of monuments that were reused, the forms that reuse took, and the dates at which it occurred. The final part of the chapter will then compare the settlements with other types of Anglo-Saxon site in the study area. Firstly, the sites in the corpus will be compared with the settlement record more generally across the study area, in order to determine whether there are any distinctive patterns in the settlements with evidence for monument reuse compared to those without. Secondly, it will consider the settlements in relation to other types of site with monument reuse, primarily burial sites, but also church and pre-Christian shrine

sites. It is hoped that this comparative exercise will help to create a clearer picture of the practice of monument reuse across the midland counties of England.

PART 1: THE CORPUS

The corpus consists of forty-two[1] settlement sites at which buildings appear to have been constructed in the vicinity of pre-existing earthworks (see fig. 5.1). Some were located on or adjacent to Neolithic and Bronze Age barrows, some were within Bronze Age and Iron Age enclosures, and others were aligned on earlier boundaries. At some sites just one pre-existing earthwork was reused while at others a number of different monuments had been incorporated into a settlement; the monuments associated with each site are listed in table 5.1. All of the sites in the final inventory are of a rural nature, in most part because urban settlement sites do not appear to have begun developing until around the ninth century (Scull 1997: 274).[2]

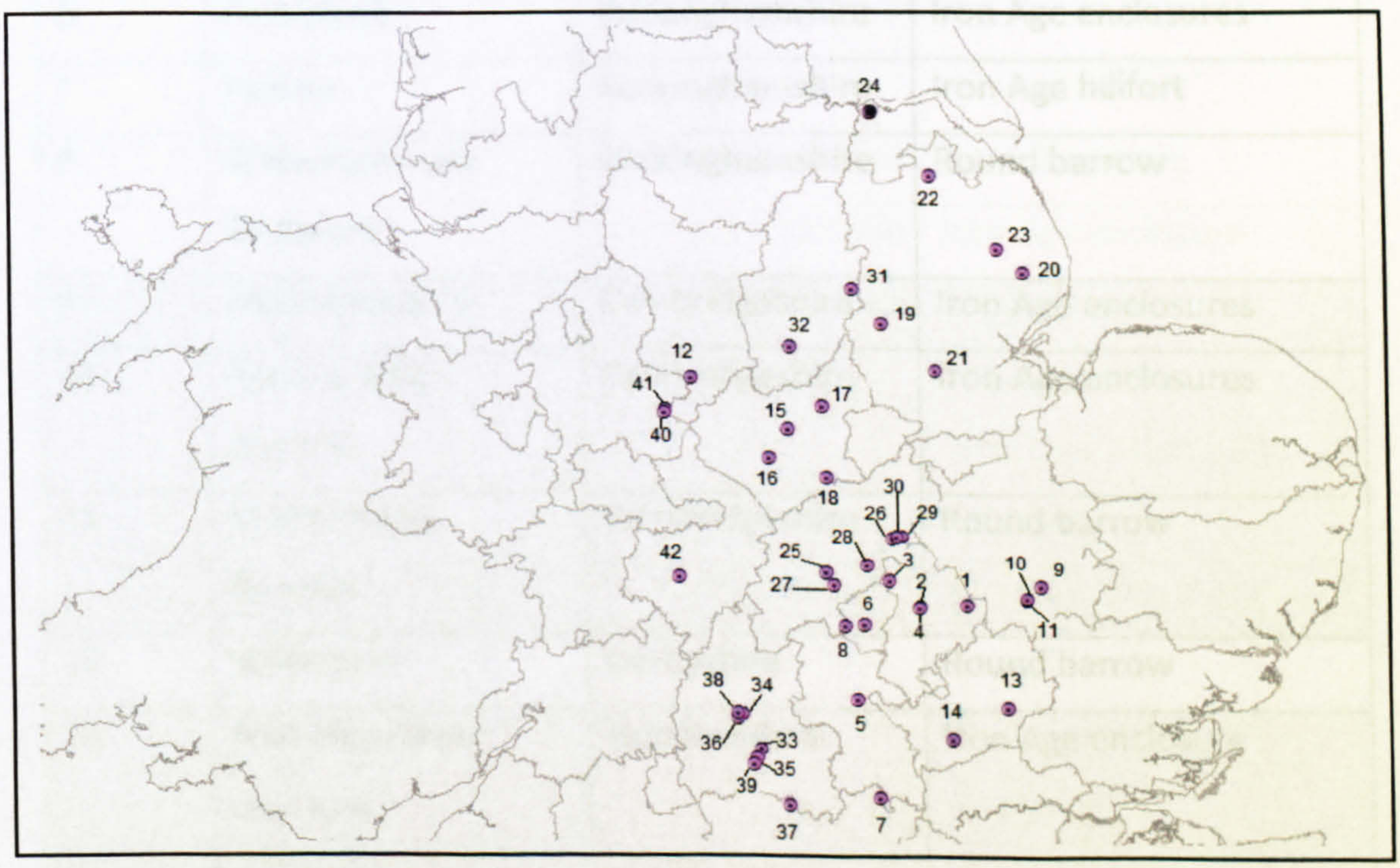


Fig. 5.1 Locations of settlements in the corpus (numbers correlate with those in Table 5.1).

[1] In Crewe (2008) it was stated that forty-nine preliminary examples had been identified. However, subsequent reassessment of the material led to seven examples being excluded because the evidence for reuse was not strong enough, or because crucial evidence to confirm the nature of the relationship between Anglo-Saxon and prehistoric features could not be located.

[2] Exceptions are the sixth- to eighth-century *wics* or emporia of Southampton, London, Ipswich and York (Scull 1997: 275-280), which are all outside the study area.

No. On Map	Site Name	County	Prehistoric Monument(s)
1	Biddenham Loop	Bedfordshire	Round barrow Bronze Age enclosures
2	Elstow Harrowden	Bedfordshire	Round barrow Iron Age enclosures
3	Harrold	Bedfordshire	Round barrows
4	Village Farm/Medbury Lane, Elstow	Bedfordshire	Round barrows
5	Church Farm, Bierton	Buckinghamshire	Round barrow Penannular ring ditch/barrow
6	Pennyland	Buckinghamshire	Iron Age enclosures
7	Taplow	Buckinghamshire	Iron Age hillfort
8	Wolverton Turn Enclosure	Buckinghamshire	Round barrow
9	Addenbrooke's	Cambridgeshire	Iron Age enclosures
10	Harston Mill, Harston	Cambridgeshire	Iron Age enclosures
11	Manor Farm, Harston	Cambridgeshire	Round barrow
12	Willington	Derbyshire	Round barrow
13	Foxholes Farm, Hertford	Hertfordshire	Iron Age enclosure
14	Old Parkbury	Hertfordshire	Barrow (unknown type)
15	Cossington Quarry	Leicestershire	Round barrow Iron Age enclosures
16	Enderby	Leicestershire	Iron Age enclosure
17	Eye Kettleby	Leicestershire	Barrow (unknown type) Bronze Age enclosures

18	Knave Hill, Stonton Wyville	Leicestershire	Iron Age enclosures
19	Frieston Road	Lincolnshire	Round barrow
20	High Farm, Halton Holegate	Lincolnshire	Round barrow
21	Hoe Hills, Dowsby	Lincolnshire	Round barrow
22	Nettleton Top	Lincolnshire	Barrow (unknown type)
23	Salmonby	Lincolnshire	Round barrow Long barrow
24	West Halton	Lincolnshire	Round barrows
25	Briar Hill	Northamptonshire	Neolithic enclosure
26	Crow Hill, Irthlingborough	Northamptonshire	Iron Age hillfort
27	Grange Park, Courteenhall	Northamptonshire	Iron Age enclosures
28	Grendon	Northamptonshire	Round barrows
29	Thorpe End, Raunds	Northamptonshire	Iron Age enclosure
30	West Cotton	Northamptonshire	Long barrow Round barrows Neolithic/Bronze Age enclosures
31	Glebe Farm, Brough	Nottinghamshire	Iron Age enclosures
32	Holme Pierrepont	Nottinghamshire	Round barrows
33	Barrow Hills	Oxfordshire	Round barrows Oval barrow Pond barrows
34	Cassington	Oxfordshire	Round barrows Iron Age enclosure
35	Corporation Farm, Abingdon	Oxfordshire	Round barrows Neolithic henge
36	Eynsham Abbey	Oxfordshire	Bronze Age enclosure

37	Gatehampton Farm, Goring	Oxfordshire	Round barrows
38	New Wintles Farm, Eynsham	Oxfordshire	Round barrows Neolithic henge
39	Sutton Courtenay	Oxfordshire	Round barrows Neolithic cursus
40	Catholme	Staffordshire	Penannular ring ditch/barrow Prehistoric ditch
41	Fatholme	Staffordshire	Prehistoric circular enclosure
42	Hatton Rock	Warwickshire	Round barrow

Table 5.1 The settlements in the corpus, with their number on the map in fig. 5.1, the modern counties they are located in and the monuments associated with them.

Prehistoric Monument Forms

As a variety of different types of prehistoric monument will be referred to in this chapter, it is necessary at this point to explain the forms of these monuments and the terminology used to describe them. This is particularly true of barrows, as this category encompasses a wide variety of different shapes and sizes of monument. The term 'round barrow', for example, actually refers to a variety of different types of circular barrow, which are usually all represented archaeologically by ring ditches. Bowl barrows are one such type, consisting of a central mound surrounded by a ring ditch, occasionally with an outer bank, while bell barrows are another; they also have central mounds but these are separated from the ring ditch by a flat berm or platform, and they also sometimes have an external bank (Megaw and Simpson 1979: 209; Grinsell 1990: 34-5). Disc barrows were present at some sites in the corpus; these are similar to bell barrows in that they have a central mound on a platform surrounded by a ring ditch and external bank, but the mound is usually comparatively small and set in the centre of the platform (Megaw and Simpson 1979: 209; Grinsell 1990: 35).

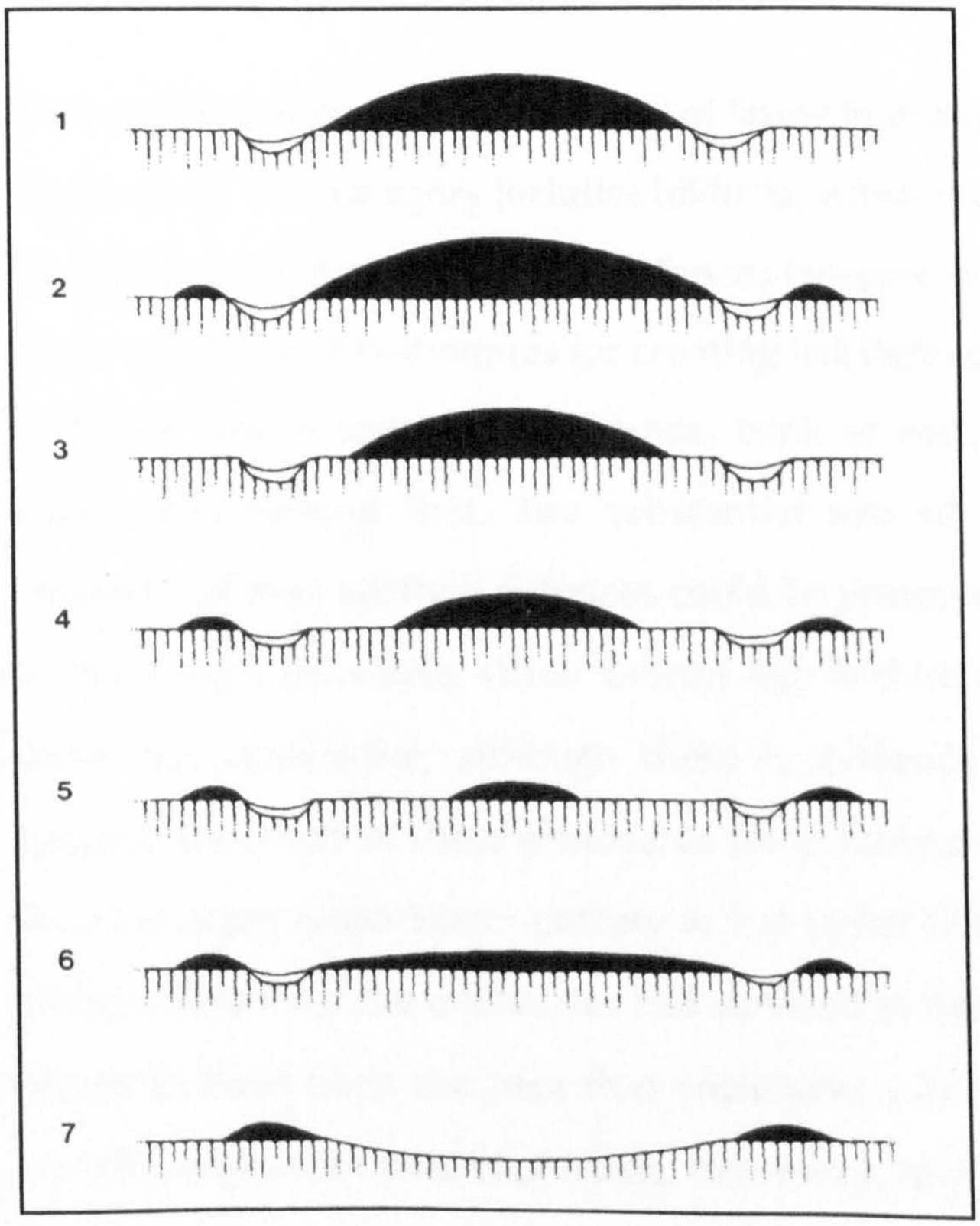


Fig. 5.2 Schematic cross sections of Bronze Age round barrow types (from Megaw and Simpson 1979: 210, fig. 5.11).

Bowl barrows (1 and 2).
Bell barrows (3 and 4).
Disc barrow (5).
Saucer barrow (6).
Pond barrow (7).

Other forms of barrow without ring ditches were also reused at settlements in the corpus. Penannular or C-shaped ditches could also partially surround circular mounds (Losco-Bradley and Kinsley 2002: 15), while mounds without surrounding ditches are also known (Ashbee 1960: 25). Pond barrows are also circular monuments, formed by an external bank surrounding a central dip or 'pond' (Grinsell 1990: 35; Barclay and Halpin 1999: 48-52). Meanwhile, long barrows were also reused; they consist of an elongated mound surrounded by quarry ditches, usually varying in length from 30m to 60m, although they can be up to c.122m long (Megaw and Simpson 1979: 89). There are two basic forms of long barrow, one with parallel sides and a mound of even height all the way along its length, the other trapezoid in plan with a mound that is higher towards the broader end (Megaw and Simpson 1979: 89). The examples that appear at the sites under study here fall into the former category. The height of these barrows originally varied between 1m and 7m (Grinsell 1990: 11). Oval barrows are rare in the corpus, and were rare also generally across prehistoric England; they are a type of long barrow, but they are usually smaller and rounder than long barrows (Megaw and Simpson 1979: 89).

Monuments falling into the category of linear features also varied in their shape and appearance. This category includes hillforts, which are usually found on high ground and have earth, timber or stone defences (Megaw and Simpson 1979: 355). A wide range of structural techniques for creating the defences are known, but they usually comprise one or more lines of fence, bank or wall, with an external ditch and a small bank beyond that. The substantial size of these enclosures meant that elements of their earthen defences could be preserved into the Anglo-Saxon period as imposing earthworks. Other Bronze Age and Iron Age enclosures in the corpus were less substantial, although there is evidence to demonstrate, or at least suggest, that most of these enclosures were marked out by banks as well as ditches. In some cases Anglo-Saxon pottery in the upper fills of ditches demonstrated that these elements of the enclosures had survived as hollows in the ground, but often it seems to have been the case that enclosures were preserved in the landscape as the above-ground remains of banks. Droveways might have been preserved into the Anglo-Saxon period as hollows in the ground, perhaps accompanied by flanking

ditches or banks (Hamerow et al. 2007). A Neolithic causewayed enclosure was also reused at one site, Briar Hill; this was circular, with concentric ditches formed by short ditch sections, and it was partially surrounded by banks (Bamford 1985). The remains of a cursus were present at Sutton Courtenay; these monuments are long rectangular earthworks defined by pairs of parallel banks and ditches, the bank lying within the ditch (Megaw and Simpson 1979: 94). Meanwhile, small henges were found at two sites; these monuments comprised pairs of ditches enclosing an oval area c.9-12m long, one accompanied by external banks and the other by internal banks or a mound (Brown 1969: 104; Kenward 1982: 51; Barclay et al. 2003: 34).

Review of the Corpus: Reuse of Barrows

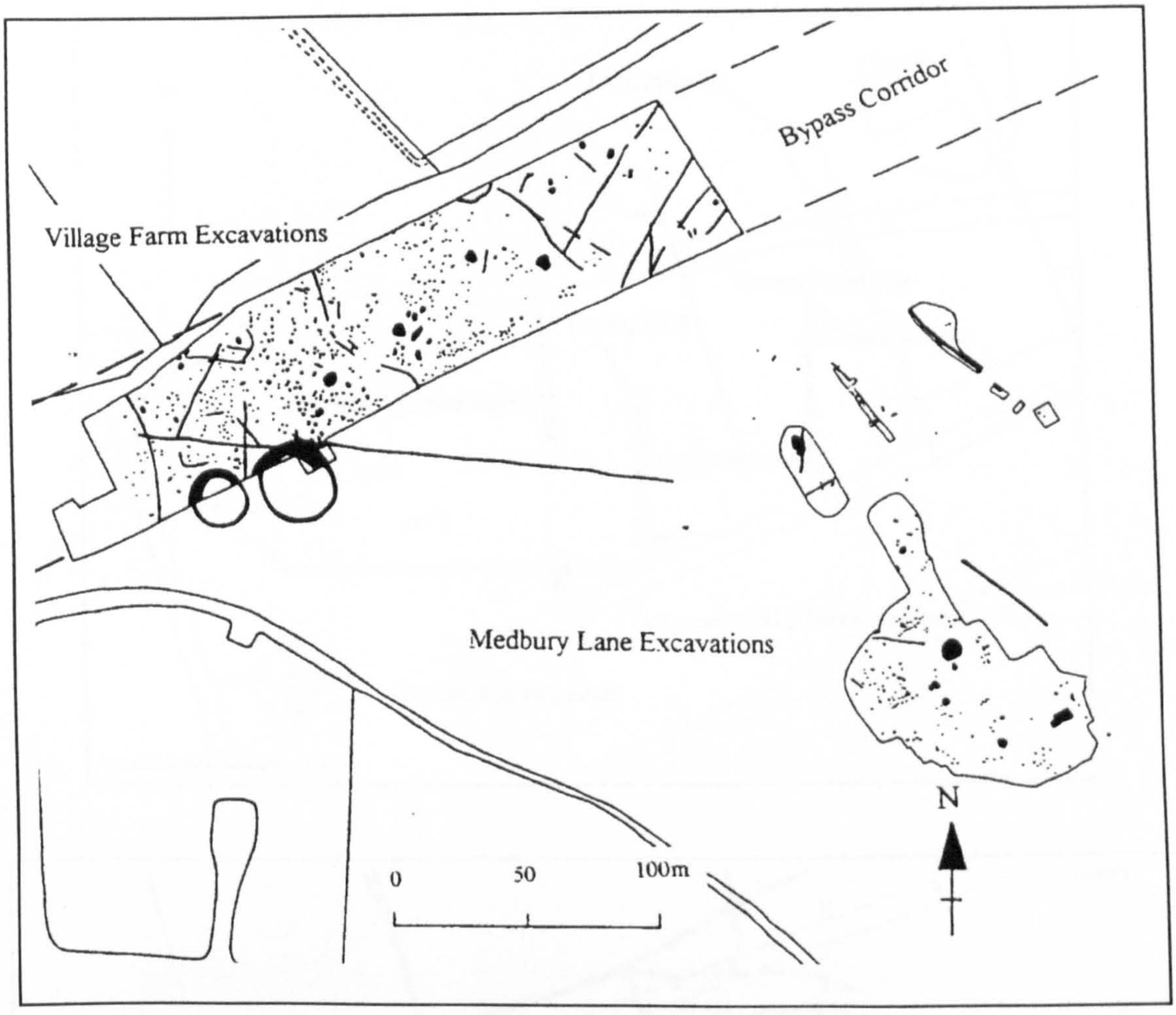
Excavations at **Village Farm/Medbury Lane, Elstow** have revealed the ring ditches of two late Neolithic or early Bronze Age round barrows, with internal diameters of 22m and 13m respectively (see fig. 5.3) (BCAS 1995a: 22; BCAS 1995b: 13). About 12m north-east of the larger ring ditch was a small SFB (17), whilst 10m to the north-east of that was another, larger SFB (16) (BCAS 1995a: 22, fig. 9, fig. 10). Both buildings were therefore within about 22m of the larger barrow, and both were identified as being broadly early to middle Anglo-Saxon in date (BCAS 1995a: 22). They were accompanied by a scatter of several contemporary pits to the north-east of the buildings. There was also a Saxo-Norman phase of occupation, as well as evidence for Iron Age activity (BCAS 1995a: 22, 24). The lack of disturbance to the two barrows in both the Iron Age and Anglo-Saxon periods appears to indicate that they were still visible earthworks, and that they were respected, a point also noted in the excavation report (BCAS 1995b: 12).

Further early to middle Anglo-Saxon settlement features were found approximately 200m to the south-east of Village Farm at Medbury Lane, where two SFBs, three post-built structures and two wells were excavated (BCAS 1995a: fig. 27; fig. 28; BCAS 1995b: 17). Given their close proximity the two sites may well have been related, with both forming parts of one dispersed settlement. As the Village Farm site was excavated in a long, relatively thin road corridor trench it did not expose the complete circuits of the ring ditches, or the land between the two sites,

meaning that further buildings could have been present to the south, east and west of the barrows (BCAS 1995a; 1995b).

A similar pattern can be observed at **Elstow Harrowden**, about a kilometre north-east of Village Farm/Medbury Lane, which also yielded evidence for early to middle Anglo-Saxon settlement close to a Bronze Age ring ditch (Shepherd 1997: figs. 1 and 6) (see fig. 5.4). The ring ditch was situated to the west of the site, with ditches 1.5m wide and an internal diameter of c.17m (Shepherd 1997: 8). Pits and postholes of early to middle Anglo-Saxon date were found in Trench 17, within c.20m of the barrow, and in Trench 13, around 100m north-east of the monument (Shepherd 1997: fig.6). The postholes excavated in both trenches were interpreted as forming post-built structures (Shepherd 1997: 5), although unfortunately no plans of these potential buildings were included in the excavation report.

Immediately south of the first Elstow Harrowden site was another excavated area at Manor Farm, containing further possible middle Anglo-Saxon post-built structures (see fig. 5.4) (BCAS 1995a: 33). Once again, however, there were no plans of these features in the excavation report. Nonetheless, it can be seen on the site plan that the middle Anglo-Saxon features were dispersed across the two long, narrow trenches, with a concentration towards the eastern end, closer to the Elstow Harrowden site. Although the site plan is not detailed enough to show where the postulated buildings might have been, it does appear to demonstrate that the two sites were part of one early to middle Anglo-Saxon settlement, which lay to the north and east of a Bronze Age ring ditch. Some of the settlement features were particularly close to the ring ditch, whilst others were more dispersed and lay further away, such as those at the eastern ends of the trenches.



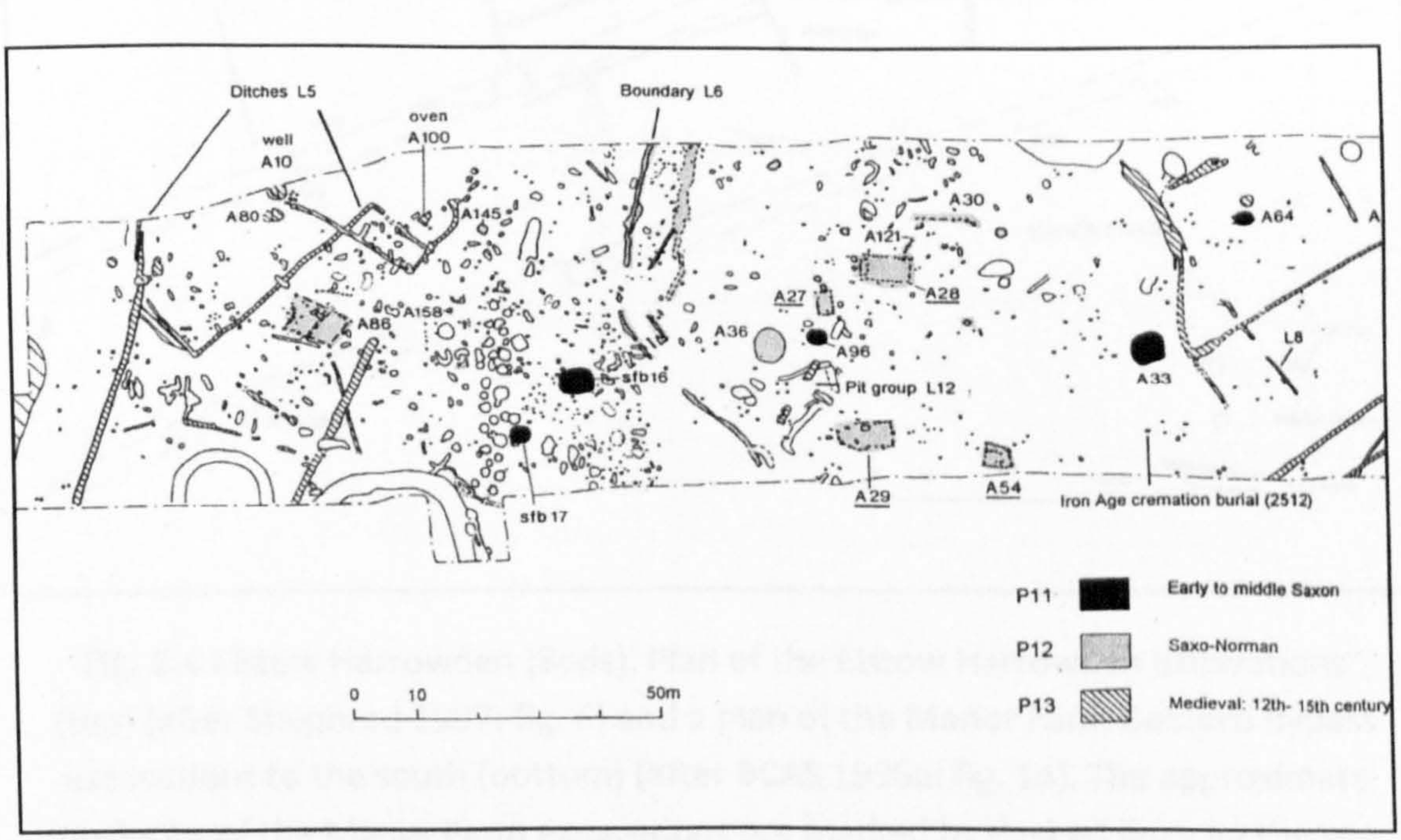
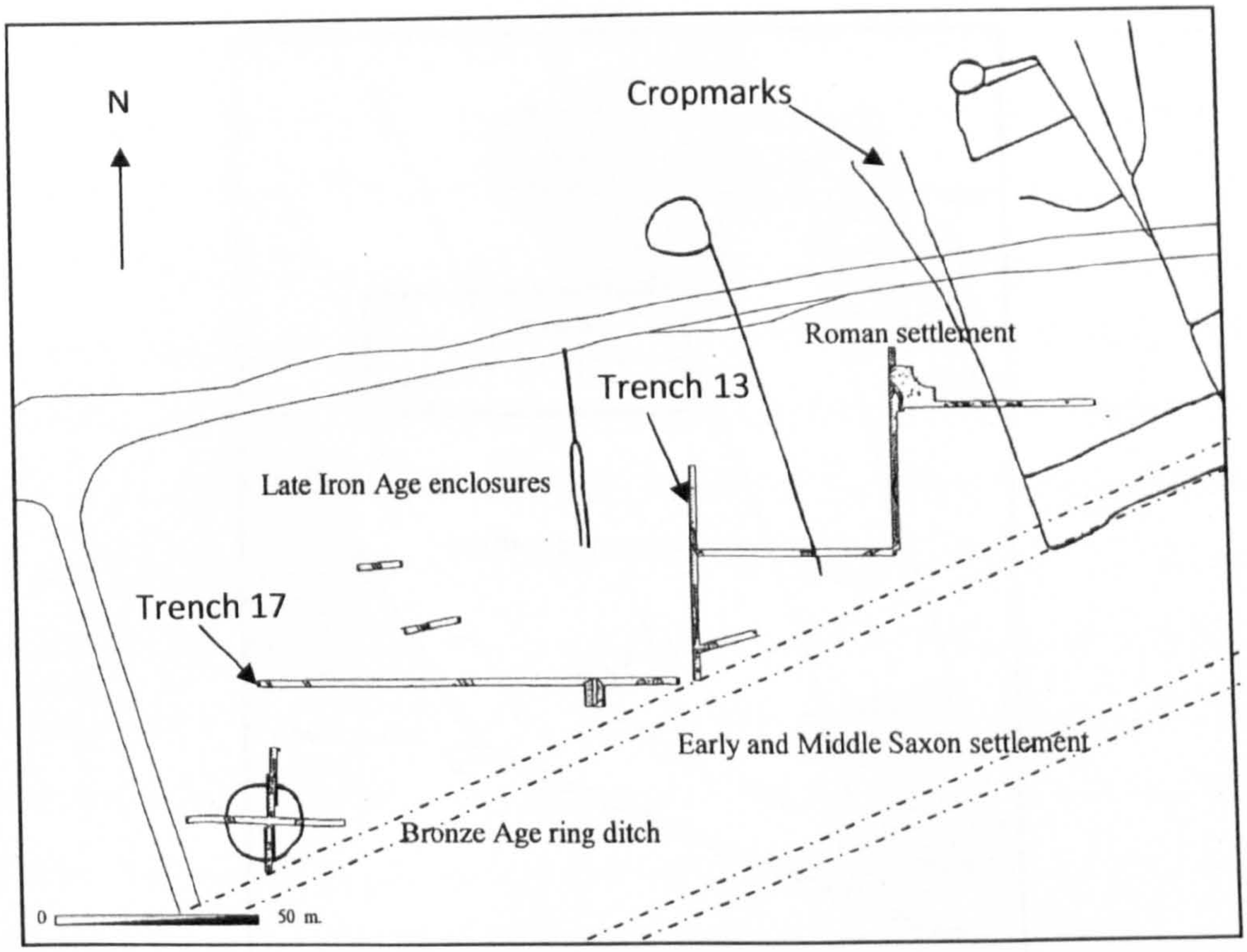


Fig. 5.3 Village Farm (Beds). Overview of the Village Farm and Medbury Lane sites (top) (from BCAS 1995a: fig. 27) and detail of the Village Farm excavation with the early to middle Anglo-Saxon features shaded in black (bottom) (from BCAS 1995a: fig. 10). The two prehistoric ring ditches can be seen in the south-west corner of the excavated area.



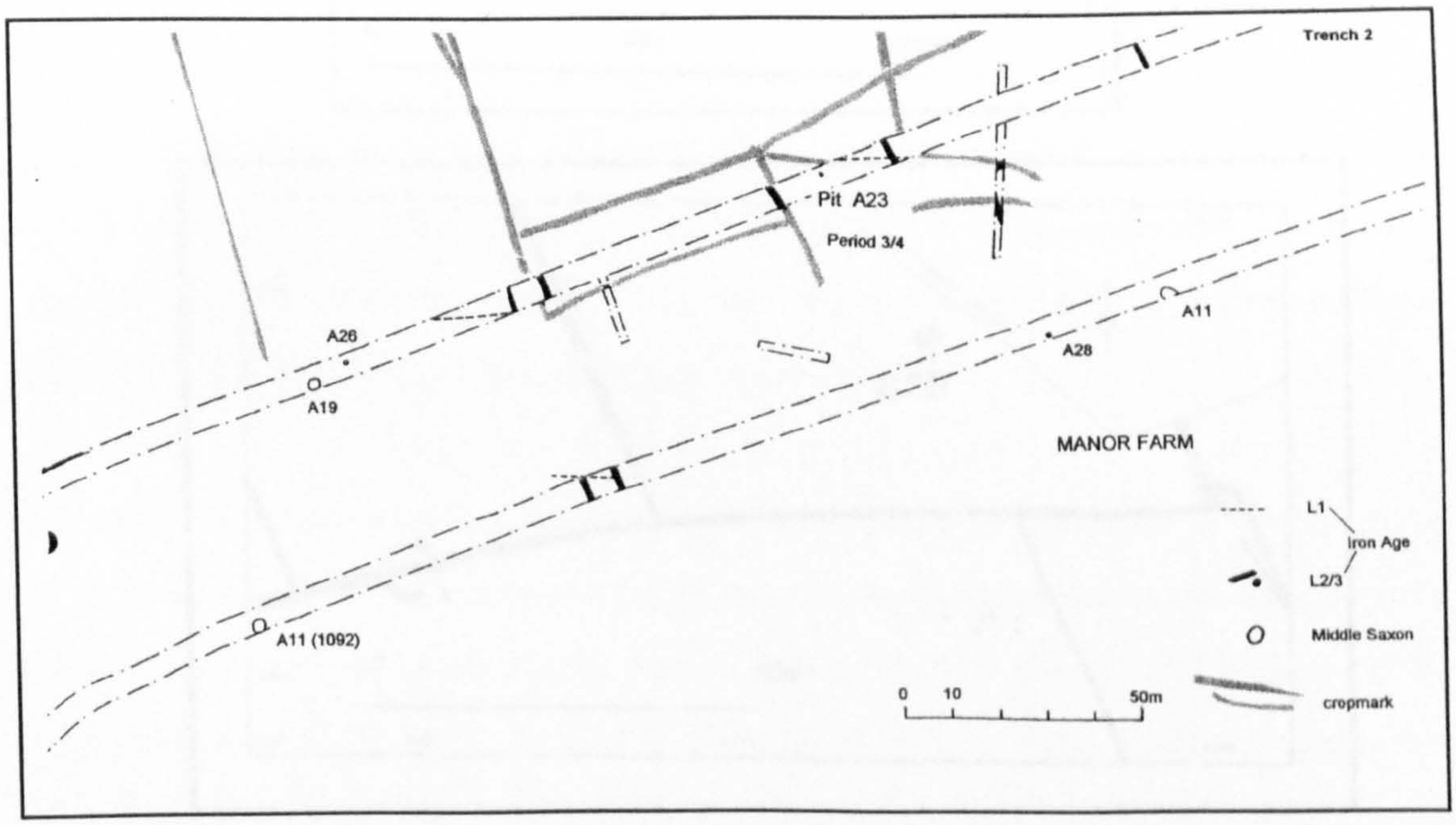
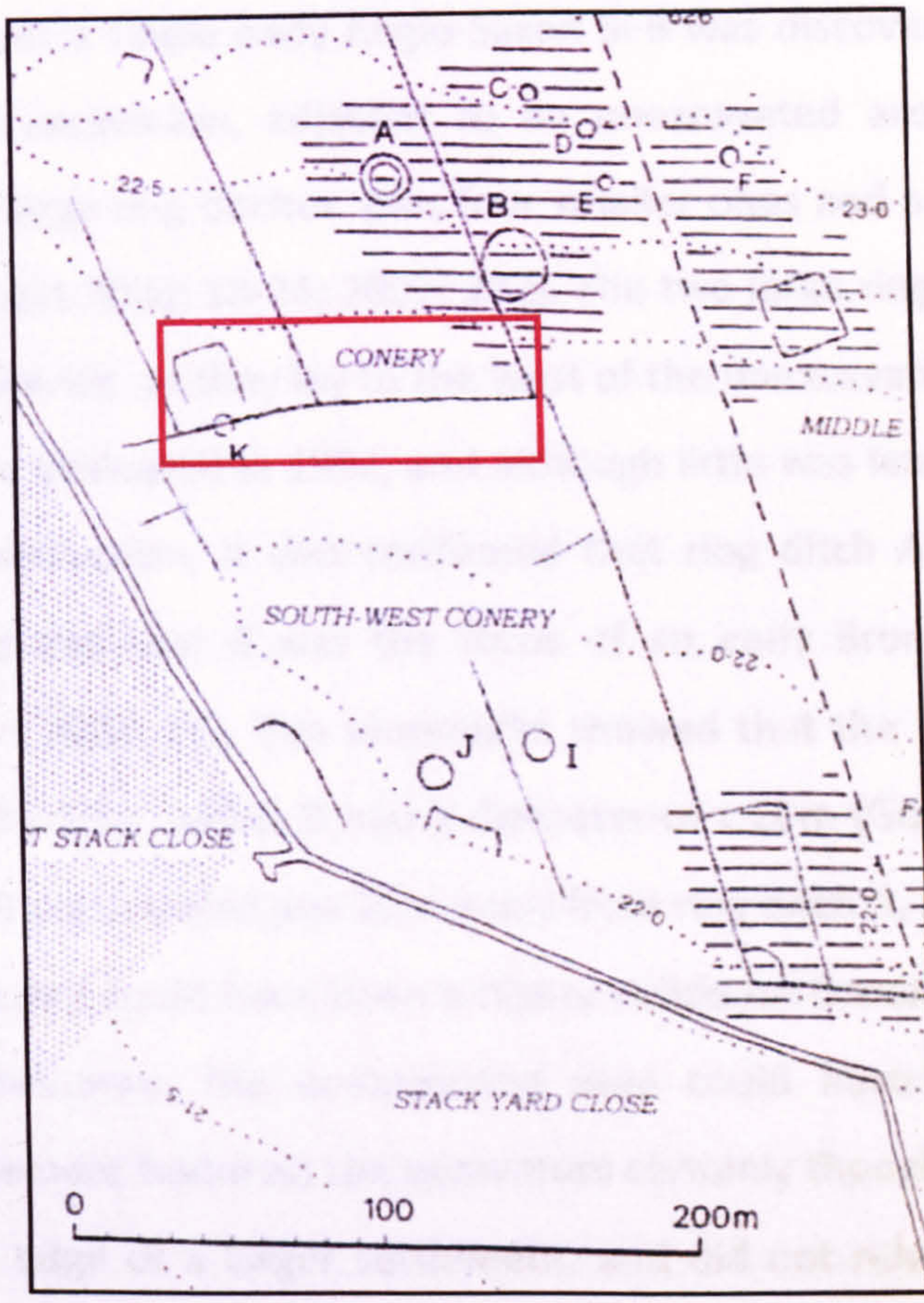


Fig. 5.4 Elstow Harrowden (Beds). Plan of the Elstow Harrowden excavations (top) (after Shepherd 1997: fig. 6) and a plan of the Manor Farm Bedford Bypass excavations to the south (bottom) (after BCAS 1995a: fig. 14). The approximate positions of the Manor Farm excavations are marked by dashed lines on the top figure. See p.178 for a discussion of the Iron Age enclosures.



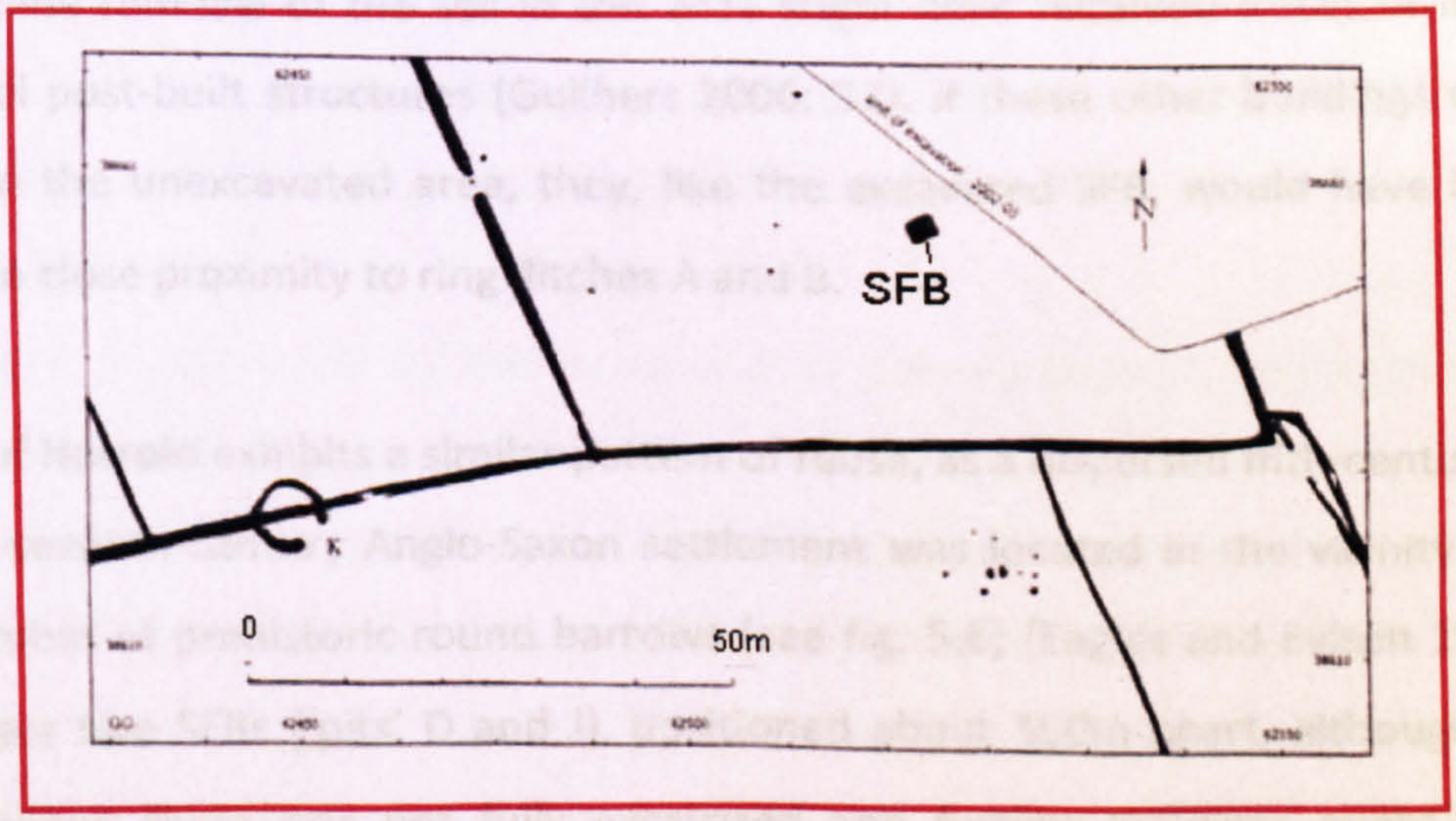


Fig. 5.5 Holme Pierrepont (Notts). General overview of the quarry area showing the cropmarks, including ring ditches A and B in the preserved 'island' of land to the north-west of the site (top) (after Guilbert 2006: 22, fig. 2). A more detailed plan of the area containing the excavated SFB (bottom) (from Guilbert 2006: 29, fig. 6).

At **Holme Pierrepont** a single early Anglo-Saxon SFB was discovered just 4m away from the limit of excavation, adjacent to an unexcavated area containing the cropmarks of two large ring ditches, plus four smaller ones and a square enclosure (see fig. 5.5) (Guilbert 2006: 18-24; 2007: 282). The two large ring ditches, A and B, are of particular interest, as they lay to the west of the unexcavated area, closest to the SFB. They were evaluated in 1992, and although little was learnt about them or their dates of construction, it was confirmed that ring ditch A consisted of two concentric ditches and that B was the focus of an early Bronze Age cremation cemetery (Guilbert 2006: 18). The cropmarks showed that the external ditch of A had a diameter of c.15m, whilst B had a diameter of c.20m (Guilbert 2006: fig. 2). The excavated SFB was located just 20m away from ring ditch B, suggesting that the accompanying mound could have been a highly visible earthwork for the building's inhabitants. Furthermore, the unexcavated area could have contained further Anglo-Saxon settlement features; the excavators certainly thought it likely that they had exposed the edge of a larger settlement, and did not rule out the possibility that machine removal of the soil in this area might have removed traces of more ephemeral post-built structures (Guilbert 2006: 37). If these other buildings were present in the unexcavated area, they, like the excavated SFB, would have been situated in close proximity to ring ditches A and B.

The site of **Harrold** exhibits a similar pattern of reuse, as a dispersed fifth-century to sixth- or seventh-century Anglo-Saxon settlement was located in the vicinity of a large number of prehistoric round barrows (see fig. 5.6) (Eagles and Evison 1970). There were two SFBs ('pits' D and J), positioned about 150m apart, although the area between them was not fully excavated and further buildings might have existed; ephemeral post-hole buildings were particularly likely candidates for destruction by the quarrying activity that damaged the site and prompted excavation (Eagles and Evison 1970: 17, 46-8). There were up to ten Bronze Age barrows on the site, ranging in diameter from about 8m to 40m, but those of particular interest are Barrows 5, 6, 7 and 13 (Eagles and Evison 1970: 20-1). Barrow 13 was the largest on site, with a diameter of 40m and a ditch 1.3m deep and 3m wide, and although the other three were removed by bulldozers their diameters

were noted before destruction; Barrow 5 was 18m in diameter, Barrow 6 was 8m and Barrow 7 was 13m.

SFB D was situated c.100m east of Barrow 13, and c.60m south-east of another circular feature (feature 9), which had a maximum diameter of c.27m and could have been another barrow (Eagles and Evison 1970: 19-20). SFB J, meanwhile, was closer to Barrow 13, lying about 50m south-west of it. Given the large size of this barrow it may well have been a substantial earthwork during the period of Anglo-Saxon occupation. Barrow 5, some 100m south-east of SFB J, was certainly a surviving earthwork in this period, as seventh-century burials were recovered from within the ring ditch and from immediately outside it (Eagles and Evison 1970: 17, 20, 39). It is debateable whether the adjacent barrows, 6 and 7, would have also been visible, as they were smaller, with diameters of 8m and 13m respectively. In addition to these monuments, the remains of several further barrows were noted during destruction of the site, but they could not be archaeologically recorded. Although their exact positions were not known, at least one of these barrows was found in Area I, and it would therefore have been in the vicinity of the SFBs and barrows discussed above (Eagles and Evison 1970: 39).

Immediately to the south of the barrows and SFBs documented by Eagles and Evison, on a site known as Meadway, there were further early to middle Anglo-Saxon features, including five possible SFBs and several incomplete posthole buildings (see fig. 5.6) (Gaimster et al. 1998: 115; Bradley et al. 1999: 232-3; Albion 2005: 4-5). There was also a possible Neolithic ring ditch with an internal diameter of 20m, situated roughly 10m south-east of the focus of Anglo-Saxon occupation (Albion 2005: fig. 2). It seems likely that the features of both phases relate to the site to the north. However, an undated linear feature bisects the ring ditch; if this pre-dates the Anglo-Saxon period it could mean that the ring ditch no longer represented a visible earthwork (Albion 2005: fig. 2). The details of this excavation are to be published in a forthcoming volume of *Bedfordshire Archaeology* (A. Slowikowski pers. comm.), although unfortunately no pre-publication drafts of the findings from Meadway were available for consultation at the time of writing, and

thus the date of the linear feature is unknown. As the Meadway site is immediately adjacent to the area excavated by Eagles and Evison the buildings may belong to one dispersed settlement, interspersed with a number of round barrows of various sizes, although without further information on the dates of the buildings the relationship between the two sites is difficult to ascertain.

Extensive gravel quarrying and the construction of the Oxford Northern Bypass (now the A40) at **Cassington** in the 1930s to 1950s revealed a pattern of Anglo-Saxon settlement and funerary activity in an area containing prehistoric monuments (see fig. 5.7) (Benson and Miles 1974a: 84; Hey 2004: 10). The site was bisected from east to west by the A40, and to the north of the road a single SFB was found during quarrying in Partridge's gravel pit (Hey 2004: 10). Much more extensive features of prehistoric and Anglo-Saxon date, including a large Iron Age enclosure, were situated to the south of the road (Atkinson and Crouch 1945: 93; Atkinson 1947: 7; Hey 2004: 10) (see p.184 for further discussion of the Iron Age enclosure). In this area were two Bronze Age barrows, located in Smith's Pit II, lying just to the north-east of the Iron Age enclosure (Anon 1939: 195; Harden 1942: 104-5). Ring ditch A had an external diameter of c.30m and ring ditch B a diameter of c.36.5m, and both had traces of gravel slumping in their ditches, indicating that there had been a bank around the outside (Harden 1942: 106). These monuments appear to have been disc barrows, comprising a central mound, or mounds, on a platform surrounded by a ditch and external bank (Harden 1942: 106; Grinsell 1990: 34). A Bronze Age round barrow, c.33.5m diameter, was also excavated inside the Iron Age enclosure in 1943-4, at which time it still survived as a low mound (Atkinson 1947: 5-7).

Anglo-Saxon features at Cassington were primarily dispersed across an area to the east of the two disc barrows. Leeds (1934: pl. XXXII) uncovered Anglo-Saxon settlement features in the eastern half of Tolley's Pit, but although he plotted these on a site plan, he did not elaborate on his finds any further. Five features are labelled as Anglo-Saxon on the site plan, although only one (feature III) resembles a building; measuring roughly 3m by 2.5m, this might have been an SFB (Leeds 1934:

pl. XXXII). The other features cannot be easily interpreted from Leeds's plan, but they are marked as 'Saxon pits' on a site plan produced by Harden (1940: 3) (see fig. 5.7), which plotted all the finds from the various Cassington investigations. A further feature on Leeds's site plan is a double ring ditch approximately 20m in diameter, half of which he managed to salvage before destruction, confirming that it was a double ditched prehistoric monument, probably a barrow (Leeds 1934: 269; Benson and Miles 1974a: 84). In the western half of Tolley's Pit an Anglo-Saxon hut was excavated by workmen in 1938 (it is labelled on the site plan in the north-west corner of Tolley's Pit; see fig. 5.7) (Anon 1938: 164). Neolithic pits and 'a few Saxon hearth bottoms' containing finds were also found in this area at a similar time (Benson and Miles 1974a: 84). The site plan also shows a dashed ring ditch lying partially under the course of the A40 in the north-west corner of Tolley's Pit, near to a 'Saxon hut'. As this area is rich in prehistoric earthwork remains, it seems likely that the dashed ring ditch was a further prehistoric barrow of some form, although no records of any investigations of this feature have been found.

Some years after the destruction of the land on either side of the A40 at Cassington, Benson and Miles (1974a) reconsidered the cropmark evidence from aerial photographs taken before the site's obliteration. Numerous circular features were visible, numbering many more than the excavations records of the 1930s and 1940s suggest; in addition to the excavated examples, an estimated twenty to forty ring ditches were noted as cropmarks, many interpreted as further Bronze Age barrows (Benson and Miles 1974a: 84). Also marked on Benson and Miles's (1974a: 85, fig. 13) cropmark plan is an intriguing rectangular feature to the north of the A40 road, in what was Partridge's Pit (see fig. 5.7). The authors made no mention of this feature in their discussion of the cropmarks, but it appears on the plan as a rectangle measuring roughly 30m by 15m, with a gap along its southern edge. It resembles the cropmarks of large Anglo-Saxon hall buildings at other sites nearby, notably Sutton Courtenay (see Blair 1994: 32, fig. 30 and the discussion of Sutton Courtenay below). The buildings at Sutton Courtenay have been interpreted as belonging to a high-status settlement site (Blair 1994: 32; Hamerow et al. 2007: 109) and the rectangular cropmark may indicate that there had been a high-status

element to the Anglo-Saxon settlement at Cassington too. Given the apparent rarity of such large halls, and their postulated high-status associations (Rahtz 1970; James et al. 1984; Hamerow 2002: 97) it may unfortunately be the case that an unusual and potentially high-status Anglo-Saxon settlement site, in association with earlier monuments like the one at Sutton Courtenay, was lost without proper investigation at Cassington.

Recent excavations at **West Halton** have revealed a number of buildings in close proximity to two Bronze Age round barrows, one of which is still a substantial landscape feature today (see fig. 5.8). The upstanding mound was not considered to be a prehistoric feature prior to the excavations; indeed, an antiquarian investigation in the 1830s had concluded that it was not a barrow (Dudley 1931: 28). However, resistivity survey and excavation revealed that the feature *was* a Bronze Age barrow, with a ring ditch c.30m in diameter (Hadley and Willmott forthcoming). Human remains, recovered from the backfill of the antiquarian trench, yielded radiocarbon dates of AD 600-670 (at 95% confidence), indicating that the mound had been reused for at least one secondary interment in the seventh century (Hadley and Willmott forthcoming). A second denuded Bronze Age barrow, which was found to contain a primary child inhumation and secondary prehistoric cremation, had been levelled for use as a medieval building platform, was subsequently discovered to the south of the upstanding one (D.M. Hadley pers. comm.).

To the east of the Bronze Age barrows, in Trench 6, was an area containing early to middle Anglo-Saxon post-built structures, which lay c.60m south-east of the upstanding barrow and c.40m east of the denuded one. Post-excavation analysis is ongoing, but it appears that there were at least three or four buildings in the excavated area, one of continuous foundation trench construction, the others of post-hole construction (Hadley and Willmott forthcoming). Another significant feature excavated in this part of the site was a large early to middle Anglo-Saxon ditch, up to 2m wide in places and up to 1m deep, which had been cut into the bedrock and may have had an internal rubble bank. There had been at least two

phases of activity in this area, since at least one of the buildings had been dissected by the enclosure ditch. It was difficult to be certain how large an area the ditch enclosed, but geophysical survey suggested that it might have had a diameter of c.40-50m. Although the geophysics did not reveal an entrance in the enclosure ditch, it is just possible that the entrance was in fact flanked by the two Bronze Age barrows; a similar layout is suggested by cropmarks at Cottam in East Yorkshire, some 45 miles north of West Halton (Richards 1999b) (see fig. 5.8).

To the north of the upstanding barrow, in Trench 12, further Anglo-Saxon features have recently been found, although they are also still undergoing post-excavation analysis. Immediately north of the upstanding barrow was a square ditched enclosure, about 30m wide, which had been identified by geophysical survey (Hadley and Willmott forthcoming). Excavation of about a quarter of the enclosure revealed that it was enclosed by a steep-sided palisade ditch; the feature resembled one of Blair's (1995) pagan shrines, which generally date to the sixth and seventh centuries. However, the enclosure ditch at West Halton yielded very little dating evidence, and an Anglo-Saxon date cannot be attributed with certainty. Inside it, though, there lay an SFB and at least one post-built structure, alongside hundreds of narrow postholes, some of which clearly relate to small rectangular structures, which respected the layout of the Anglo-Saxon buildings and may therefore be associated with them (Hadley and Willmott forthcoming). Although West Halton is still undergoing post-excavation analysis, it is evident that there were at least two phases of Anglo-Saxon settlement in the vicinity of at least two Bronze Age barrows, and that some form of enigmatic building activity was taking place within the square-ditched enclosure immediately north of one of the barrows, which had also formed the focus of secondary burial activity.

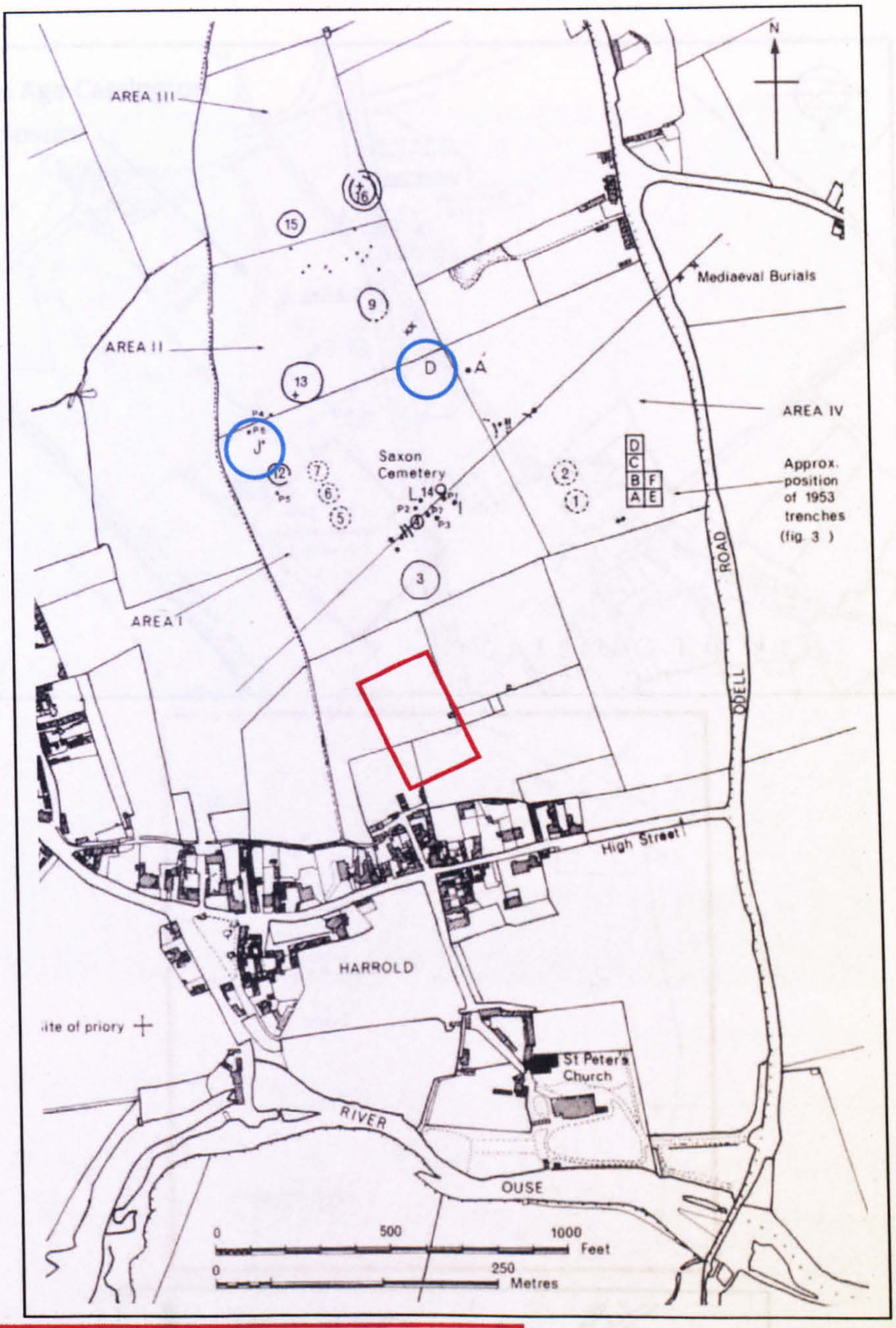
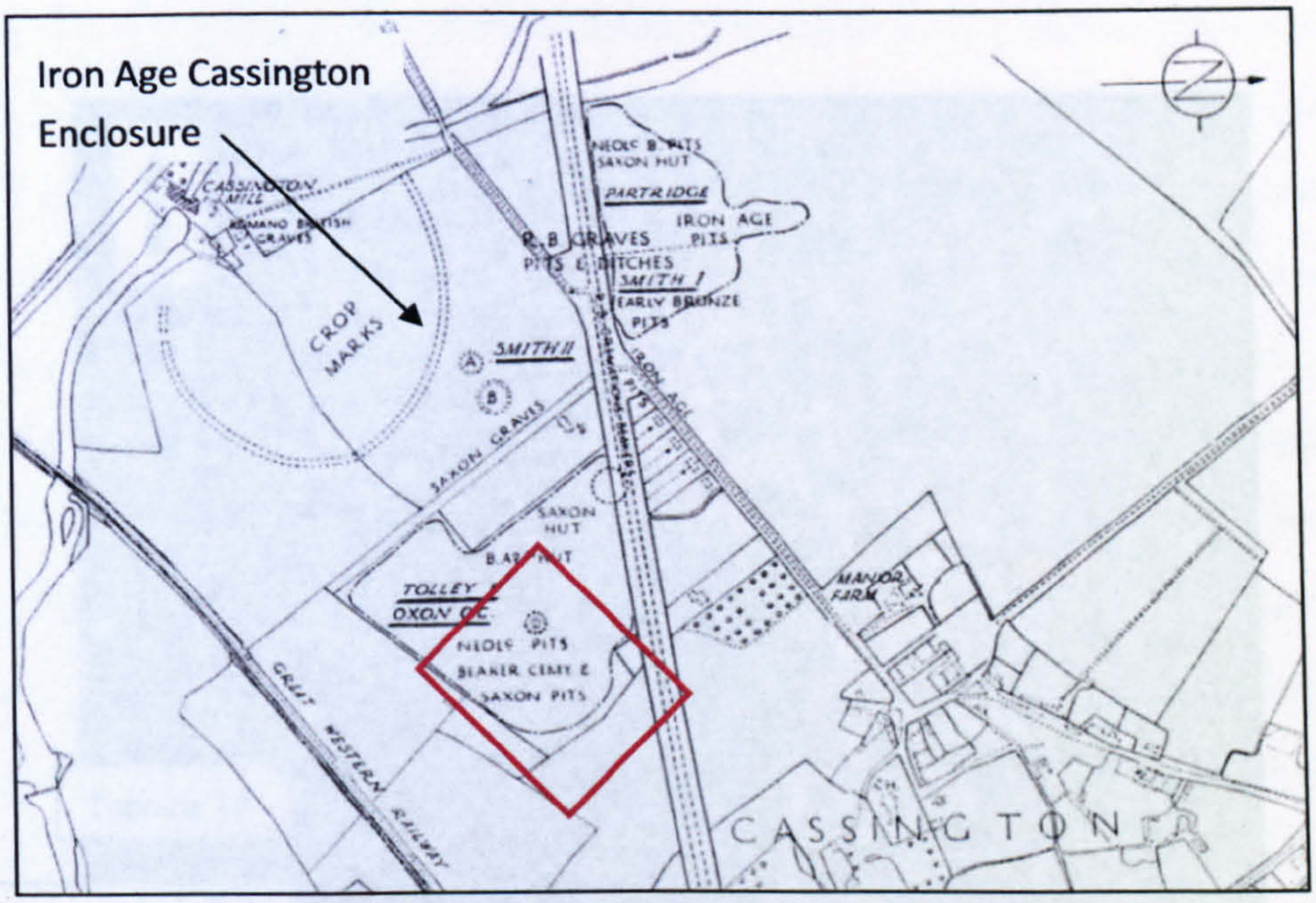


Fig. 5.6 Harrold (Beds). Plan of the area investigated in the 1950s; the ring ditches are numbered, SFBs D and J are circled in blue, and the approximate position of the Meadway excavation area is marked in red (above) (after Eagles and Evison 1970: 19, fig. 2). Detailed plan of the Meadway site, with Anglo-Saxon settlement features surrounding the Neolithic ring ditch (left) (from Albion 2005: fig. 2).



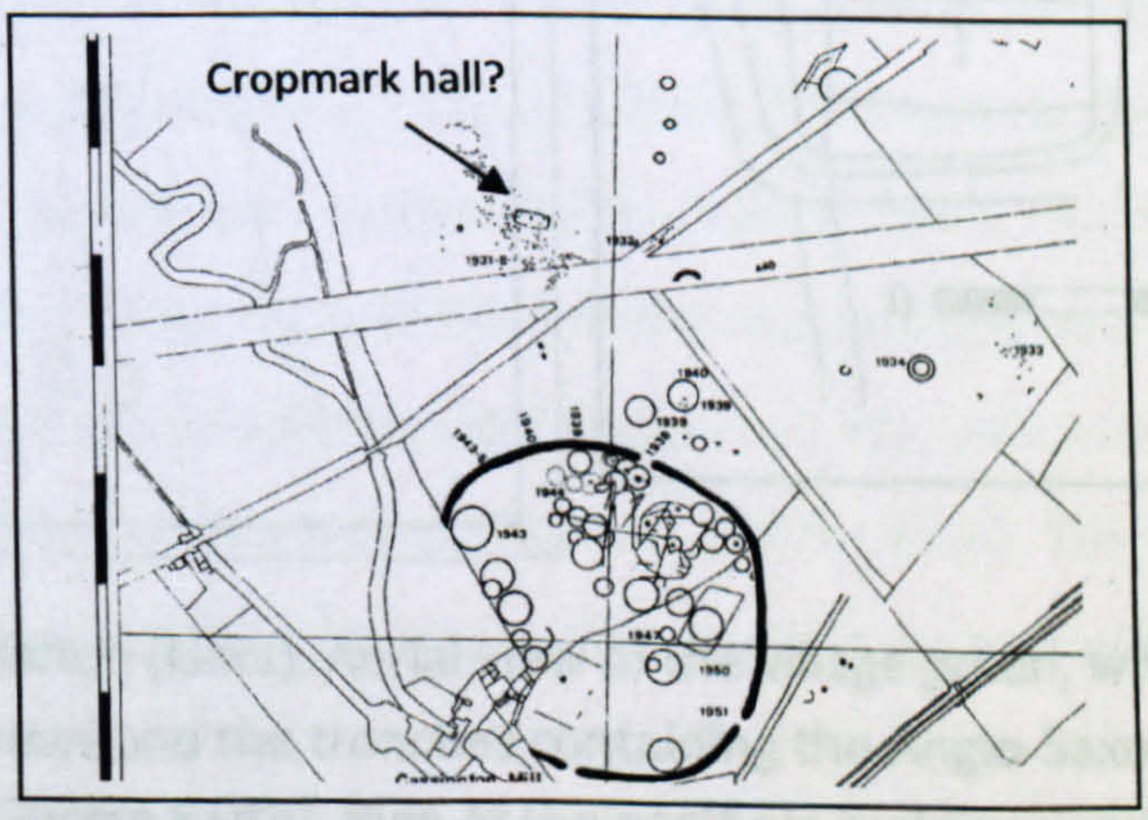
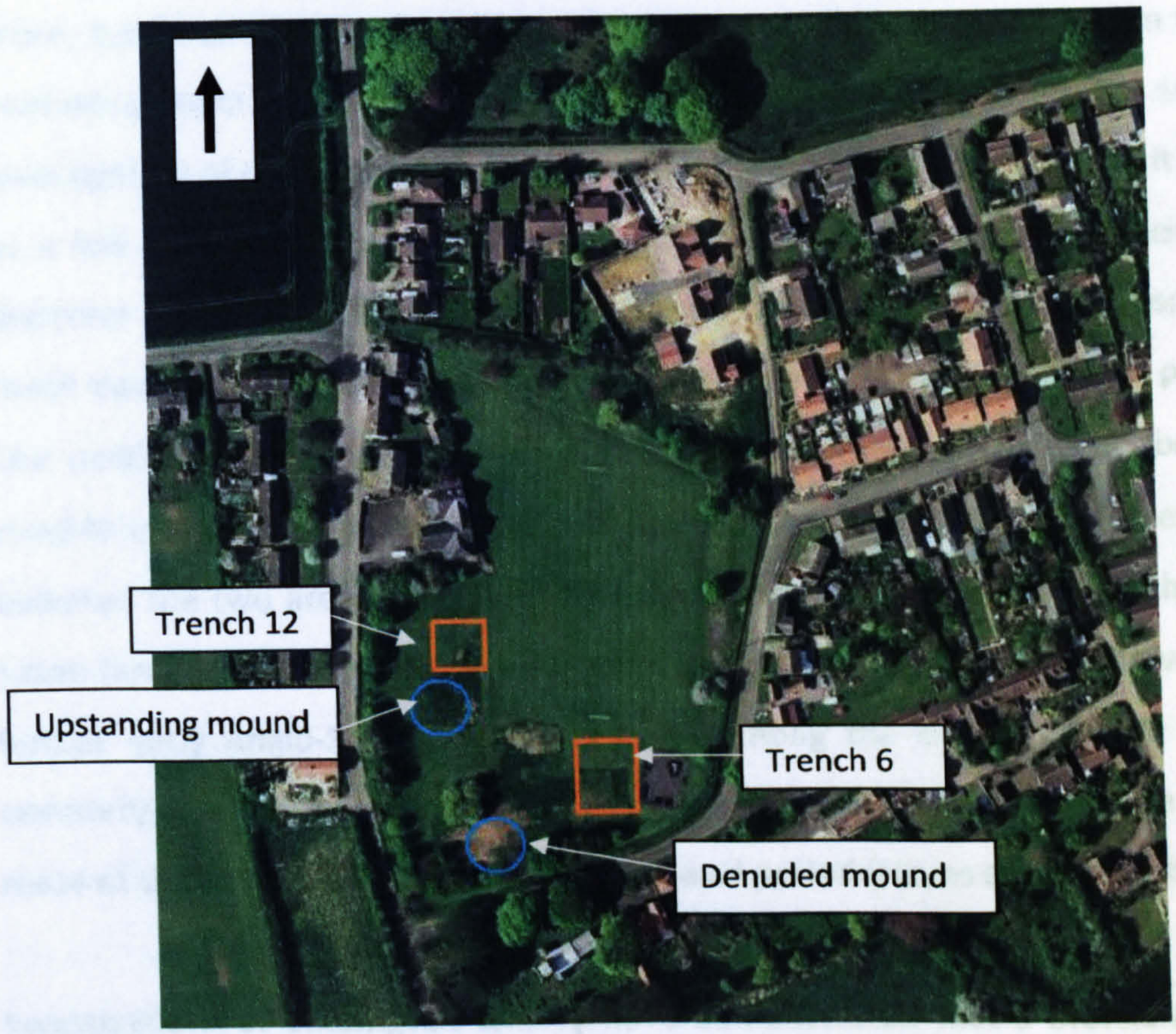


Fig. 5.7 Cassington (Oxon). Plan of the quarried area at Cassington (top) (after Harden 1940: 3, fig. 1). Plan of the features excavated by Leeds in Tolley's Pit (middle) (after Leeds 1934: pl. XXXII). Cropmark plan of the Cassington area (bottom) (after Benson and Miles 1974a: 85, fig. 3). See p.184 for a discussion of the Iron Age enclosure.



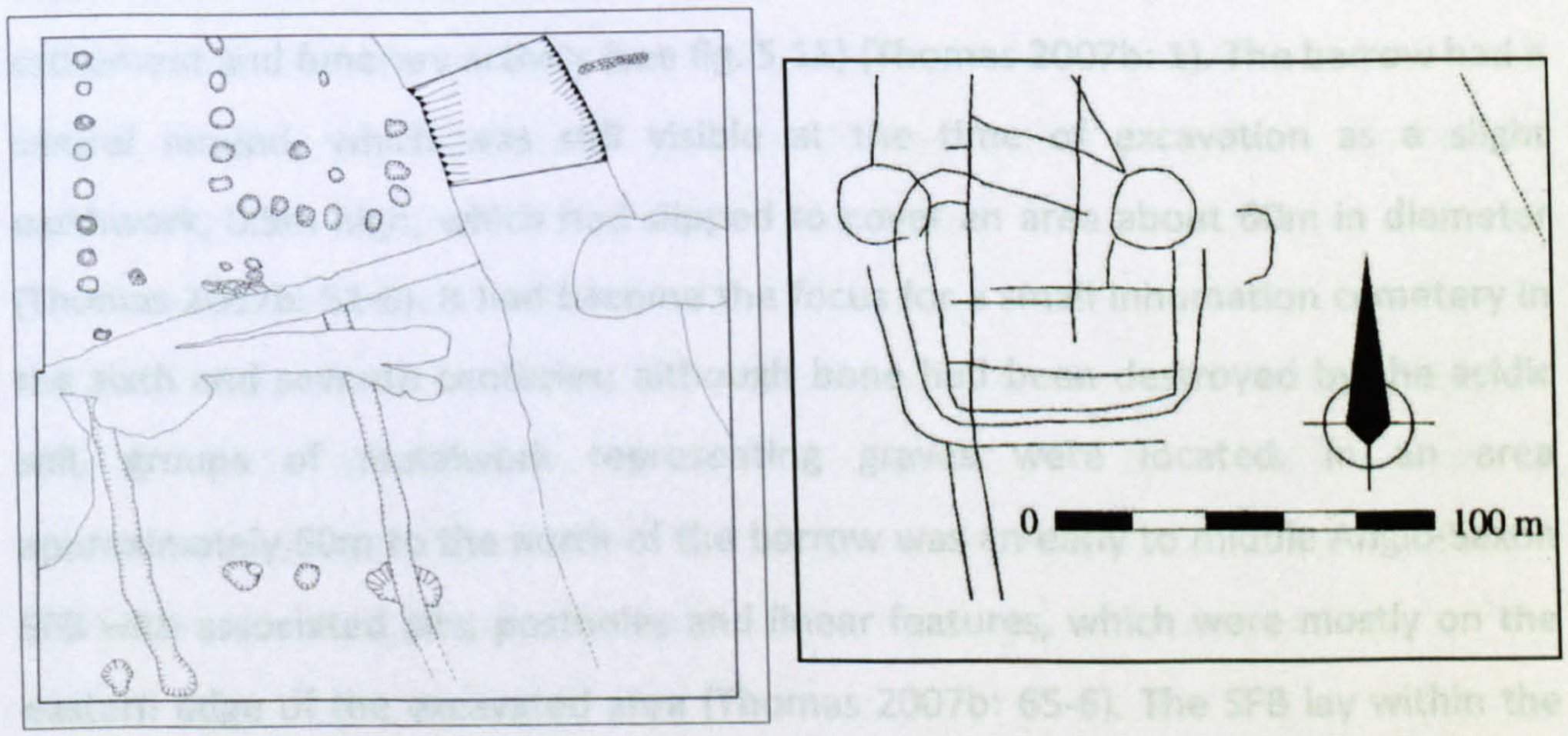


Fig. 5.8 West Halton (Lincs). Aerial view of the village green, with the locations of the two barrows and the trenches containing the Anglo-Saxon features (top) (photograph: Google Earth). Plan of the posthole buildings and post-in-trench building adjacent to the Anglo-Saxon enclosure ditch in Trench 6 (bottom left) (from Hadley and Willmott forthcoming). The cropmark enclosure at Cottam, which may have been flanked by two ring ditches (bottom right) (after Richards 1999b: 16, illus. 9).

At **Hoe Hills, Dowsby** a prehistoric barrow cemetery of up to seven tumuli, perhaps more, has been identified, some of which survived into the 1940s when the field containing them was levelled for ploughing (Lane 2000: 99) (see figs. 5.9 and 5.10). Investigation of one of the tumuli confirmed that it was Bronze Age, that it survived as a low mound at the time of excavation, and that it had a ring ditch 27m in diameter (Lane 2000: 104-7). A nearby scatter of Anglo-Saxon pottery, some 100m south-east of the barrow, was found to cover early Anglo-Saxon pits and postholes. The postholes formed at least two putative Anglo-Saxon structures, both on a roughly east-west alignment (Lane 2000: 101-3, fig. 34). The lack of excavation between the two areas unfortunately means that it is not known if further Anglo-Saxon features were present even closer to the barrows. There were, however, four further early Anglo-Saxon pottery scatters among the barrows in the Hoe Hills cemetery, possibly indicating that the complex as a whole had seen more extensive reuse of the barrows during the early medieval period (Hayes and Lane 1992: 74).

Investigations at **Cossington Quarry** have demonstrated that a Bronze Age round barrow with an internal diameter of c.25m formed the focus of early medieval settlement and funerary activity (see fig. 5.11) (Thomas 2007b: 1). The barrow had a central mound, which was still visible at the time of excavation as a slight earthwork, 0.5m high, which had slipped to cover an area about 60m in diameter (Thomas 2007b: 51-6). It had become the focus for a small inhumation cemetery in the sixth and seventh centuries; although bone had been destroyed by the acidic soil, groups of metalwork representing graves were located. In an area approximately 60m to the north of the barrow was an early to middle Anglo-Saxon SFB with associated pits, postholes and linear features, which were mostly on the eastern edge of the excavated area (Thomas 2007b: 65-6). The SFB lay within the corner of a right-angled linear feature, which was not excavated but was thought to be contemporary.

Excavation did not take place in the 60m between the barrows and the settlement area, meaning that there was no indication of what, if anything, lay between the two areas or how the cemetery and settlement related to each other spatially.

However, traces of Anglo-Saxon activity were located around 500m away, near to two other prehistoric barrows (Thomas 2007b: 1). Anglo-Saxon pottery was scattered across the area around the barrows, whilst sherds were found in both the inner and outer ditches of one (Thomas 2007b: 48). The pottery might represent the vestiges of more widespread activity in this area, associated with the remains of the monuments, especially as there were sherds in the barrow ditches, but the nature of that activity could not be ascertained without further excavation.

At **Willington** a large late Neolithic or Bronze Age barrow was investigated; although half of the monument had been destroyed by quarrying when it was found, its original diameter was found to have been c.36m, with a ditch 1.3m wide and 1.4m deep (see fig. 5.12) (Wheeler 1979: 61, 73). The mound was still visible as a slight rise when investigated, although the original edge was difficult to define as it had been eroded and spread by ploughing. Approximately 60m south-west of the barrow was a possible sixth-century post-built structure (Wheeler 1979: 125-31). It was situated in an area that also contained Neolithic post-built structures, but the Anglo-Saxon postholes differed from the Neolithic examples as they were both wider and deeper, containing a darker fill, and Anglo-Saxon pottery was recovered from a plough furrow that overlay the postholes. Further away from the barrow were three sixth-century SFBs, which overlay a first- to second-century Romano-British farmstead (Wheeler 1979: 125, 133). These elements of the Anglo-Saxon settlement appear to have been more influenced by the Romano-British landscape than by the prehistoric barrow located to the north-east of them, but the presence of the post-built structure closer to the large, and certainly visible, barrow indicates that the barrow may have had an influence on the Anglo-Saxon settlement.

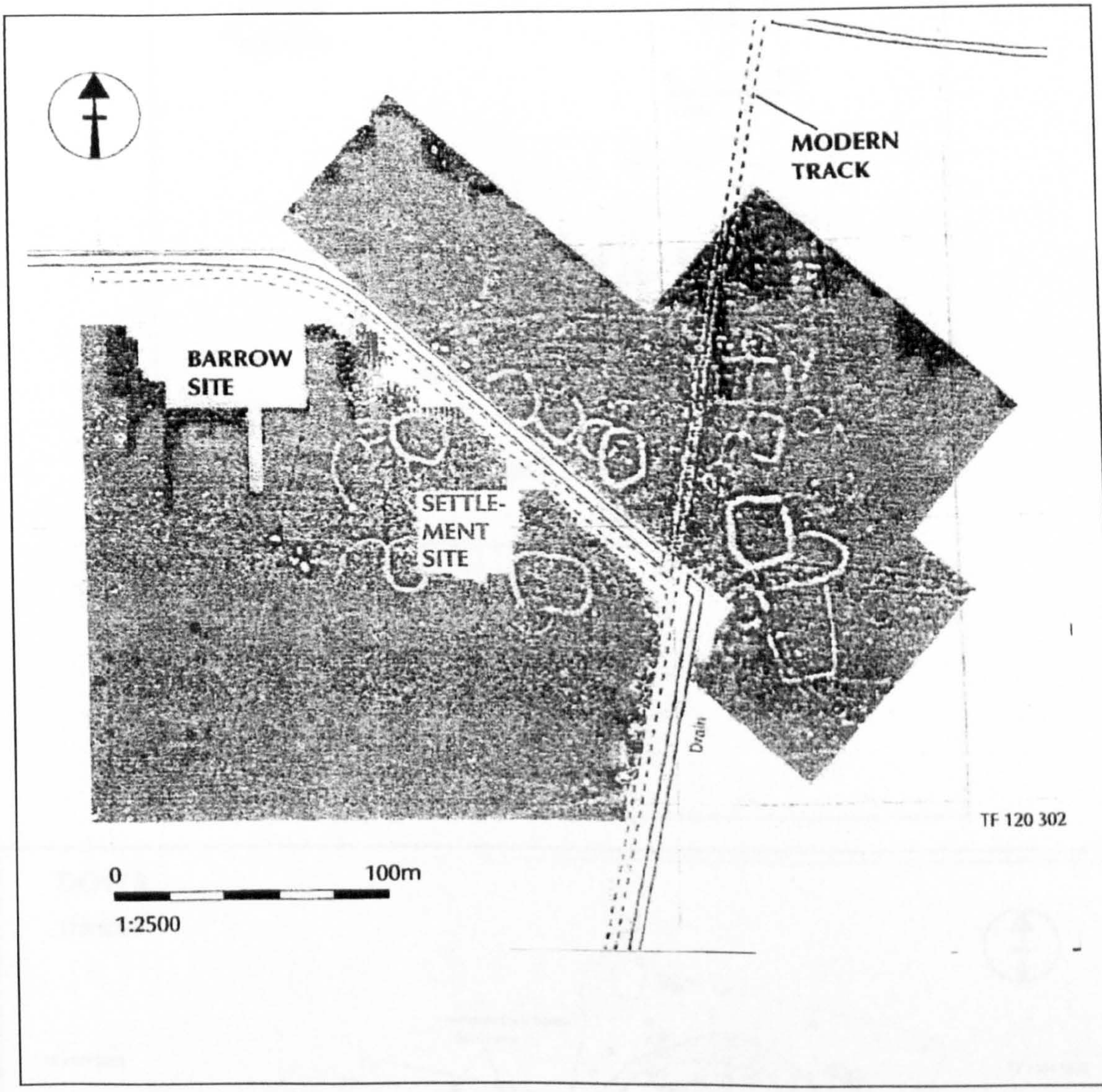
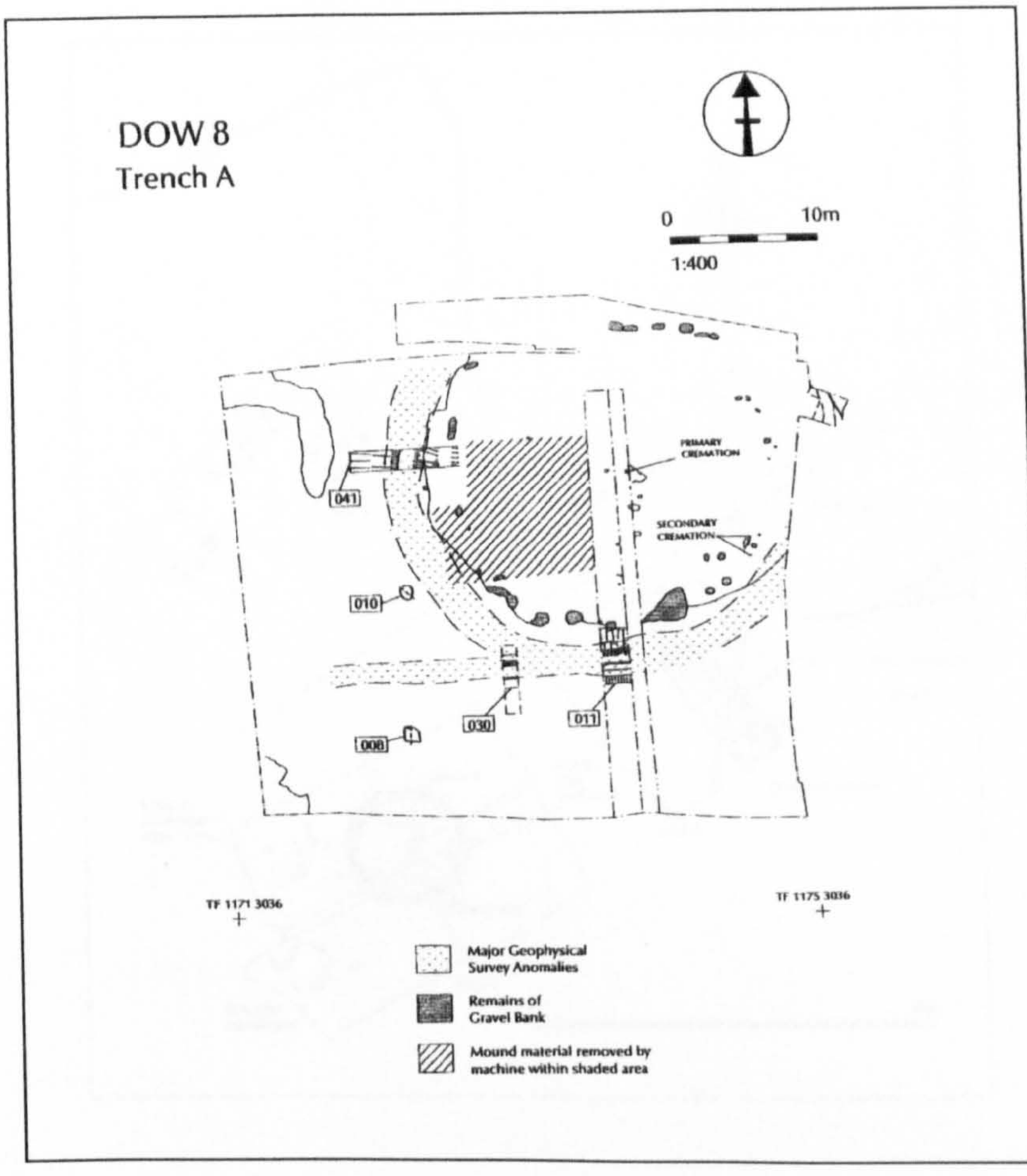


Fig. 5.9 Hoe Hills, Dowsby (Lincs). Magnetometer survey plot showing the positions of the excavated barrow and the Anglo-Saxon settlement (after Lane 2000: 101, fig. 33).



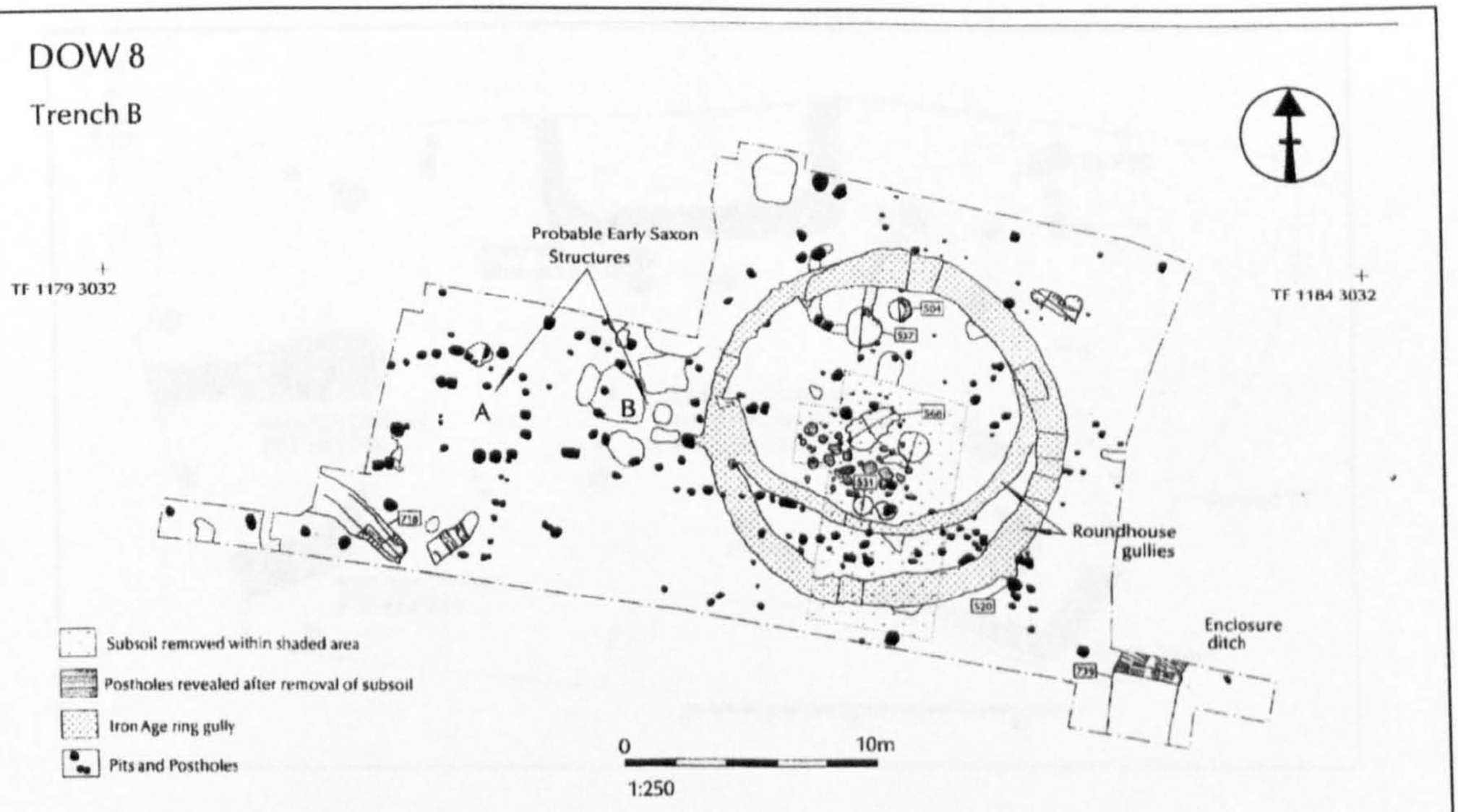
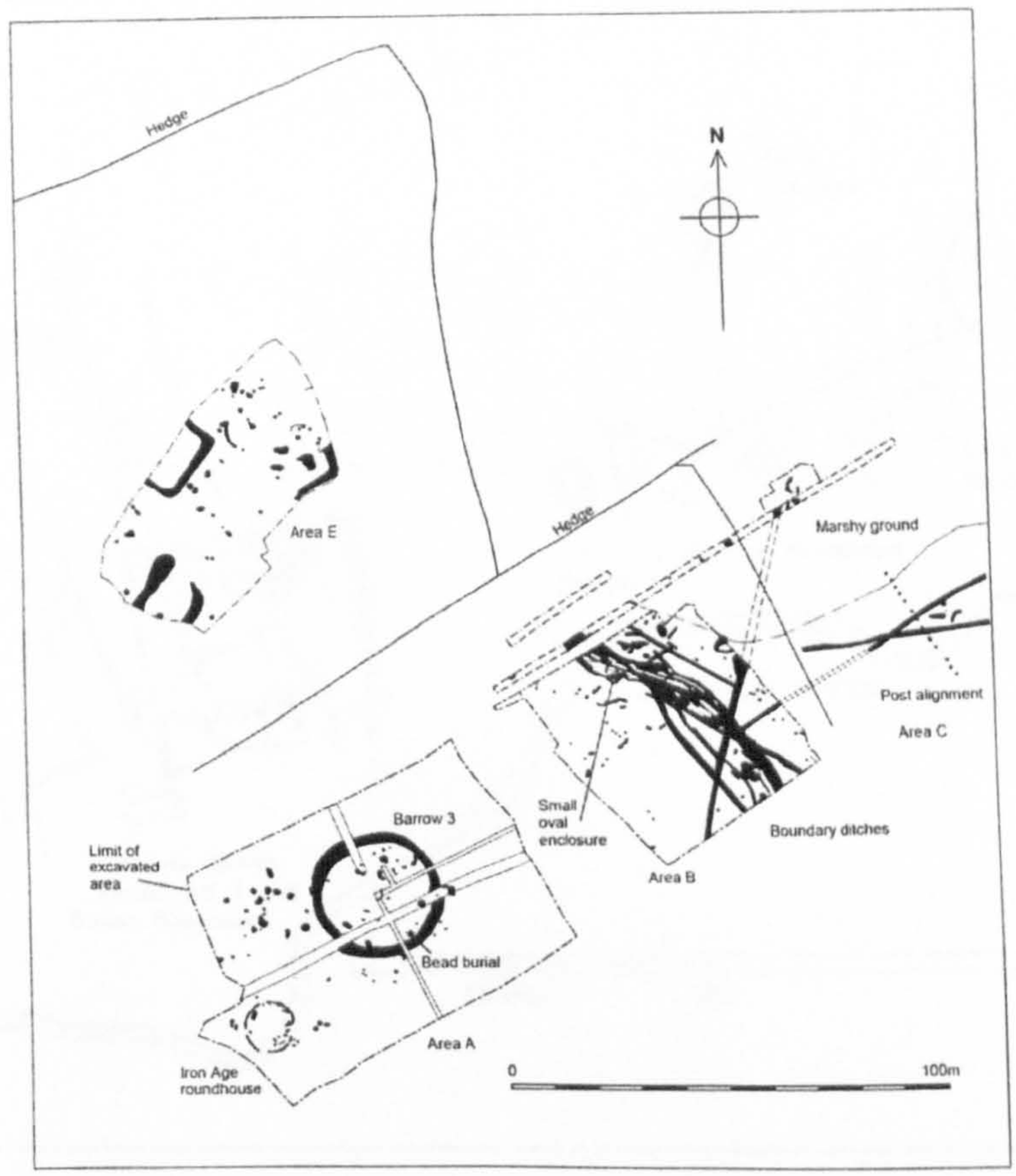


Fig. 5.10 Hoe Hills, Dowsby (Lincs). Trench A, containing the Bronze Age barrow (top) (from Lane 2000: 100, fig. 32) and Trench B containing the Anglo-Saxon features (bottom) (from Lane 2000: 103, fig. 34).



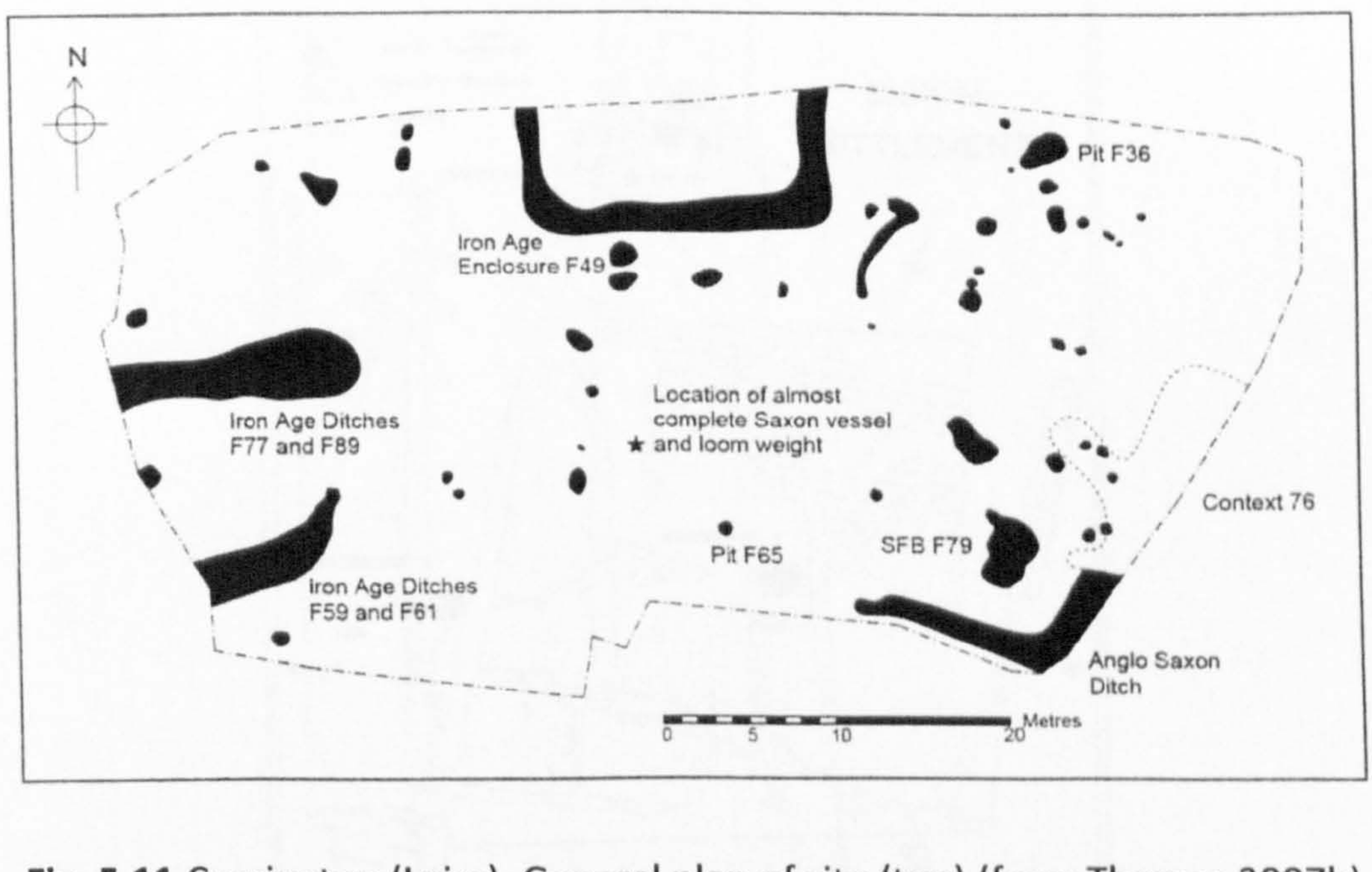
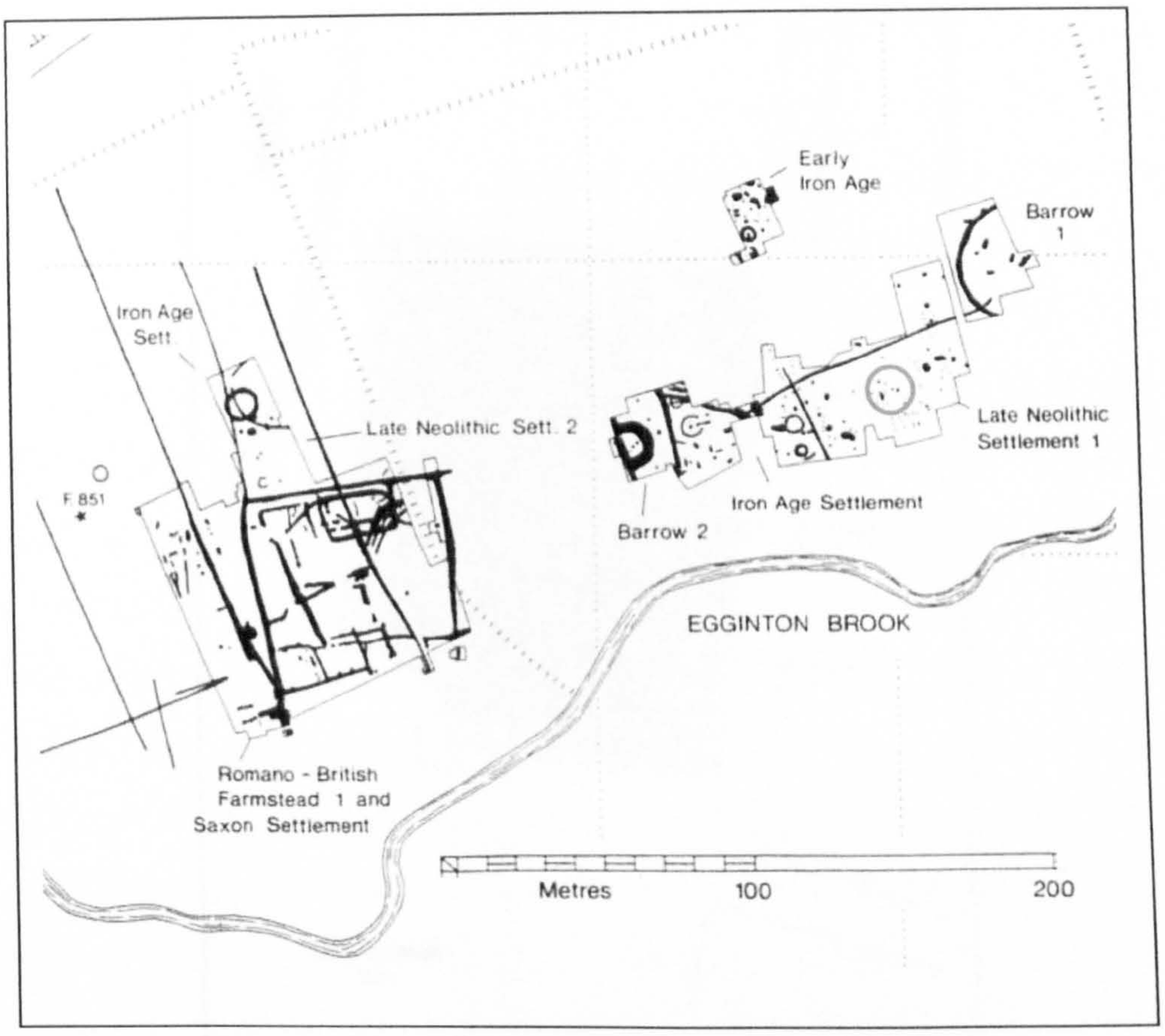


Fig. 5.11 Cossington (Leics). General plan of site (top) (from Thomas 2007b) and a detailed plan of Area E, which contained the Anglo-Saxon occupation features (bottom) (from Thomas 2007b). See p.180 for a discussion of the Iron Age linear features in Area A.



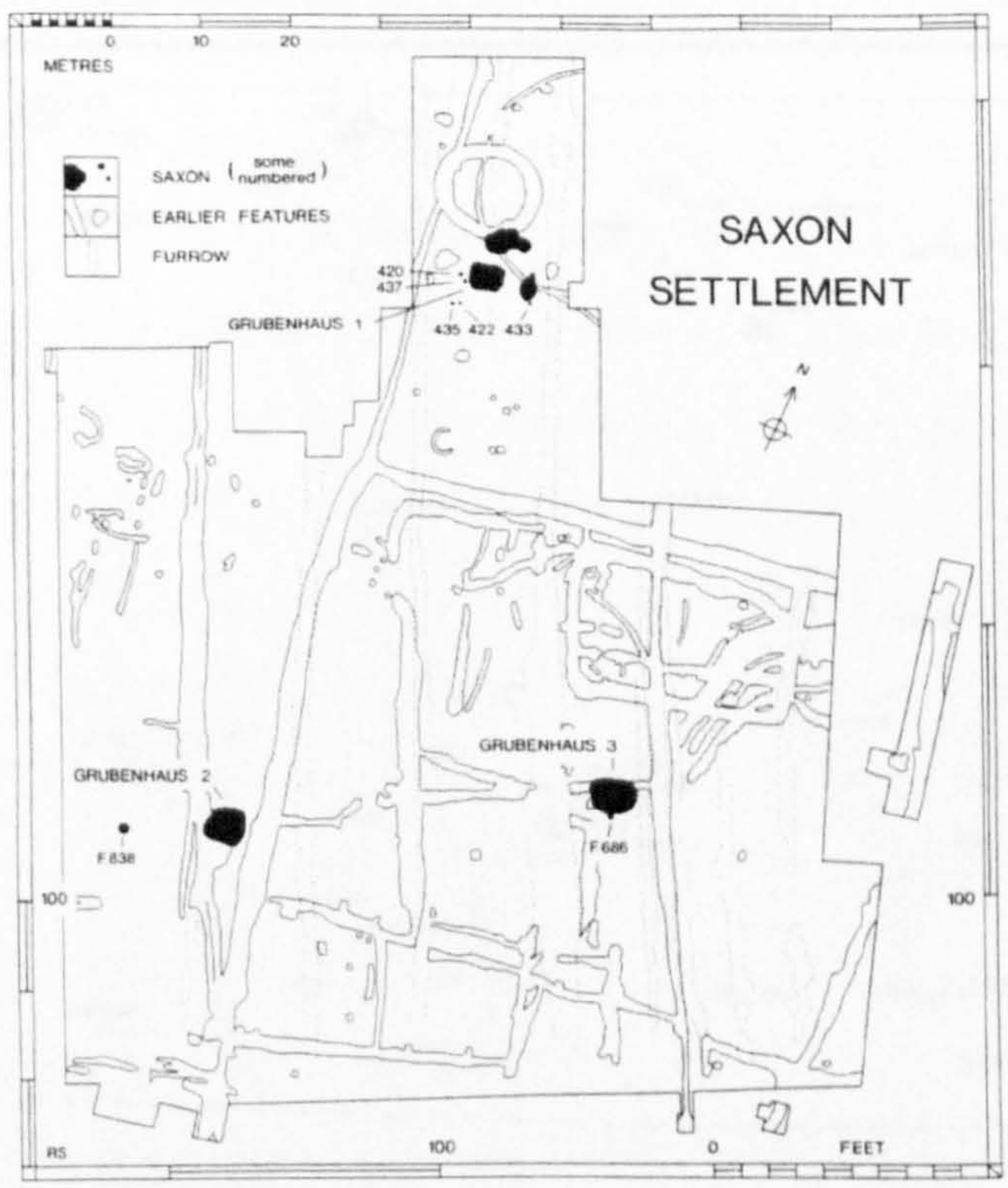


Fig. 5.12 Willington (Derbys). General site plan showing Barrow 1 to the far east of the site, with the Anglo-Saxon building represented by posthole Group G circled in blue (top) (after Wheeler 1979: 62, fig. 2). Detailed plan of the three SFBs overlying Romano-British farmstead 1 (bottom) (from Wheeler 1979: 127, fig. 48).

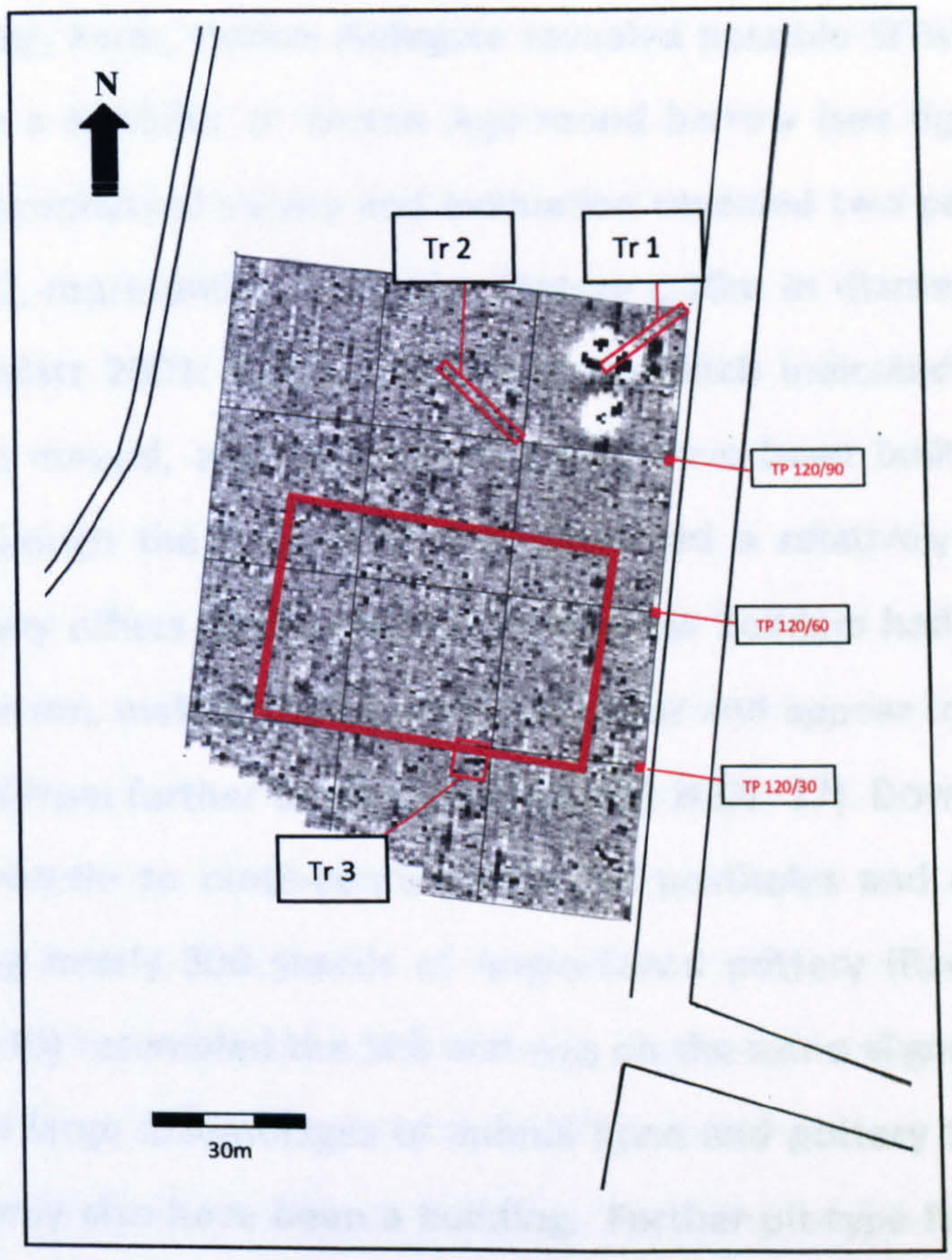


Fig. 5.13 High Farm, Halton Holegate (Lincs). Plan of the geophysical survey and the positions of the evaluation trenches (top) (after Rylatt 2001: fig. 2) and detail of the excavated area to the south of the site containing the Anglo-Saxon occupation features (bottom) (from Ramsey 2001: fig. 3).

Excavations at **High Farm, Halton Holegate** revealed possible SFBs located slightly down slope from a Neolithic or Bronze Age round barrow (see fig. 5.13) (Ramsey 2001: 3). Initial geophysical survey and evaluation revealed two parts of a curving ditch in Trench 2, representing a circular feature c.10m in diameter with a ditch c.1.35m wide (Rylatt 2001: 9-10). The fills of the ditch indicated that there had originally been a mound, and that material may have been built up around the outside too. Although the excavated ring ditch had a relatively small diameter compared to many others in the corpus, the barrow builders had positioned it to create a false horizon, making the barrow look larger and appear to project into the sky when viewed from further down the hill (Rylatt 2001: 17). Down slope from the barrow were seventh- to ninth-century pits and postholes and at least one SFB (F428) containing nearly 300 sherds of Anglo-Saxon pottery (Ramsey 2001: 3-5). Another 'pit' (F410) resembled the SFB and was on the same alignment, although it did not yield the large assemblages of animal bone and pottery that the SFB had; nevertheless it may also have been a building. Further pit-type features (F404 and F425), on the north-eastern edge of the excavation area were smaller and also yielded few finds; whilst they were less convincing as buildings, the site was heavily truncated and it is possible that some or all of them represented the damaged remains of further SFBs (Ramsey 2001: 3). As at many other sites in the corpus, the area between the settlement and the barrow was not investigated, meaning that the relationship between the two was not fully understood. Although the barrow at High Farm was small in comparison to other barrows in the corpus, its prominent position and the location of the settlement down slope from it may mean that the barrow was a noticeable feature on the skyline from the settlement.

At **Eye Kettleby** it is also possible that settlement features clustered around an earlier barrow, although the interpretation of the feature as a barrow is tentative. Large-scale excavations revealed multi-period features, including twenty-five SFBs and twenty post-built structures ranging from the fifth or sixth century to the seventh century (see fig. 5.14) (Finn 1998: 178; Bradley and Gaimster 2000: 289; Finn 2007). In the north-west corner of the site a C-shaped ditch was excavated, which in interim reports was interpreted as part of a prehistoric ring ditch c.19m in

diameter (Finn 1997a; 1997b: 91). However, the excavator has recently expressed doubt about whether it was part of a ring ditch, based on its shape (N. Finn pers. comm.). Nonetheless, there *is* some evidence to support the interpretation of the C-shaped ditch as part of a barrow; as Eye Kettleby is considered in more detail as a case study in Chapter 6, this evidence will be discussed in detail there.

If the C-shaped ditch at Eye Kettleby *did* represent the remains of a prehistoric barrow, then one of the groups of Anglo-Saxon buildings would have formed a cluster around it. None of the buildings in this cluster encroached on the 'barrow', although two post-built structures were aligned roughly longitudinally on what could have been its edge, whilst on its south-eastern side there was an SFB, which could have abutted the monument. The excavator's doubt about the presence of a barrow was in part due to the proximity of these buildings to the postulated monument, but this pattern has been noted at many other sites in the corpus, including Barrow Hills, Sutton Courtenay, Frieston Road and Corporation Farm; it should not be assumed, therefore, that the proximity of the buildings to the postulated monument at Eye Kettleby indicates that there was no barrow there.

Twenty early Anglo-Saxon SFBs at **Biddenham Loop** were also situated in an area of pre-existing monuments, in a field in the north-east corner of the site (site SL62; see fig. 5.15) (Luke 2008: 1; Luke and Barker 2008: 9-12; Luke and Barker 2010: 74). Immediately north-west of the settlement was an early Bronze Age ring ditch (L2104), with an internal diameter of c.25m (Luke and Barker 2008: 12). This was part of a complex of monuments (SL5), containing a Neolithic oval monument and a number of Bronze Age ring ditches (Luke and Barker 2010: 42-3). Two of these ring ditches contained centrally-placed and off-centre cremations, while in another were small pits containing sherds of Collared Urns, which may have been truncated graves (Luke and Barker 2010: 43). Radiocarbon dating of samples from graves within all three monuments yielded early Bronze Age dates, and the presence of burials in the ring ditches strongly suggested that they represented barrows, although no above-ground remains of mounds survived. As far as it is possible to tell from the available (unpublished) reports, the Anglo-Saxon buildings were not

directly on the ring ditch nearest to the settlement, but they were extremely close to it. The buildings also seem to have been influenced by the enclosures of a Romano-British settlement, the core of which lay to the east, as thirteen SFBs lay within a Romano-British enclosure, and others were located on top of ditches belonging to the Romano-British phase (Luke and Barker 2010: 75). A small number of pits and postholes were also found across this area, although no post-built structures were found, possibly as a result of the site's truncation by ploughing (Luke and Barker 2010: 75, 77). This area of settlement appears to date to the early Anglo-Saxon period, based on the absence of characteristically middle Anglo-Saxon pottery, such as Maxey and Ipswich wares, and the presence of stamped sherds which are thought to date to the period AD 450-650 (Luke and Barker 2010: 75).

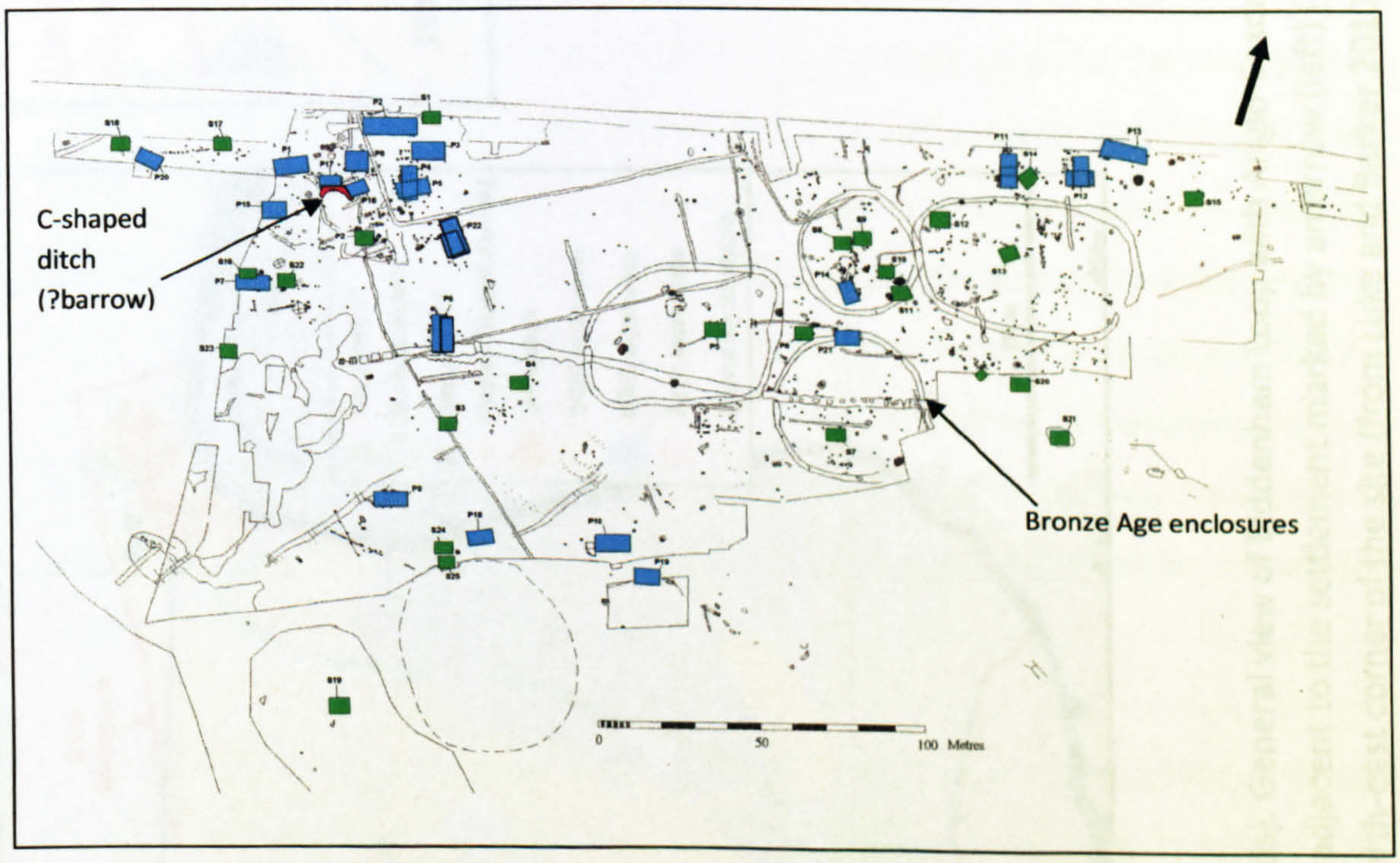
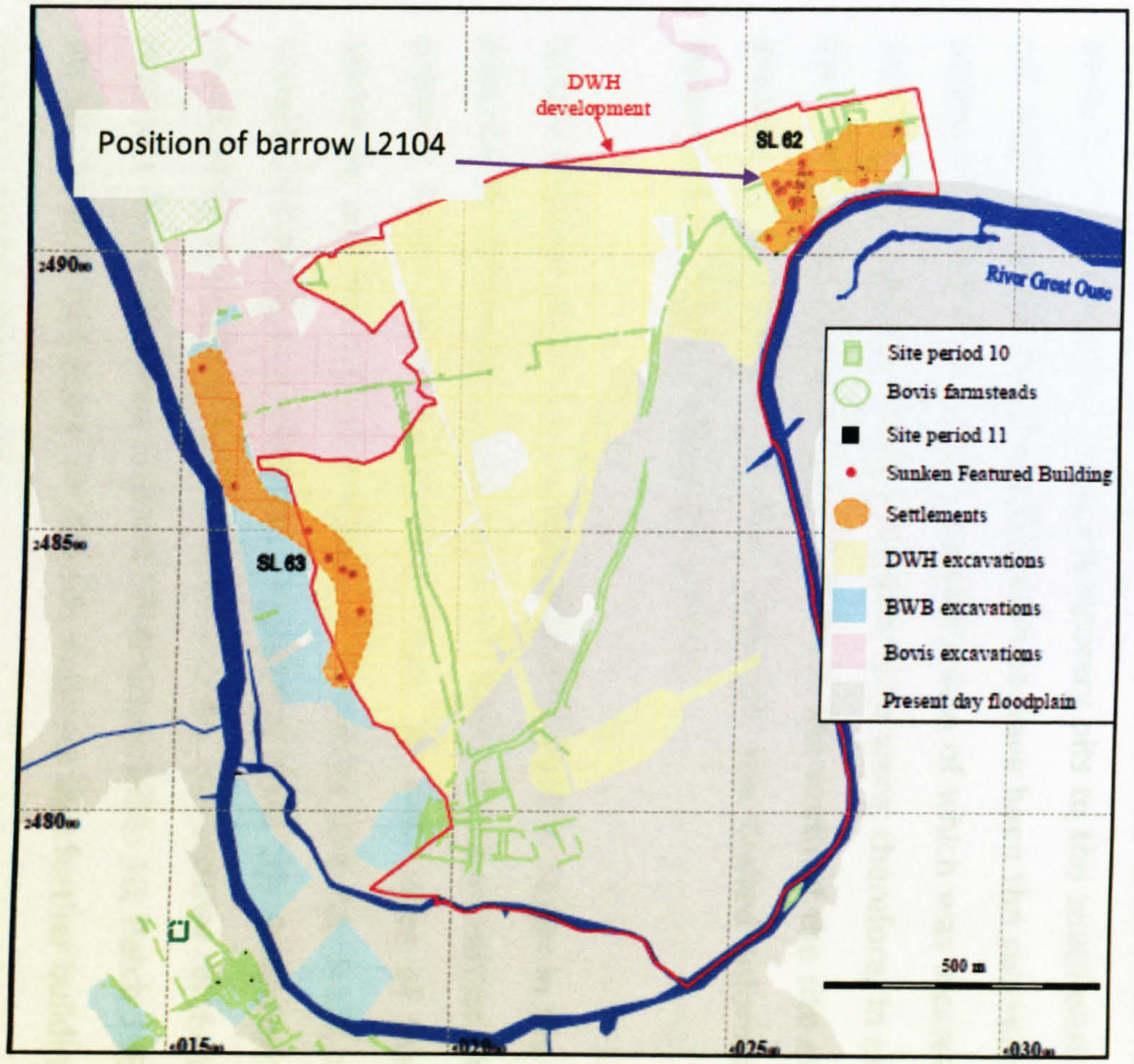
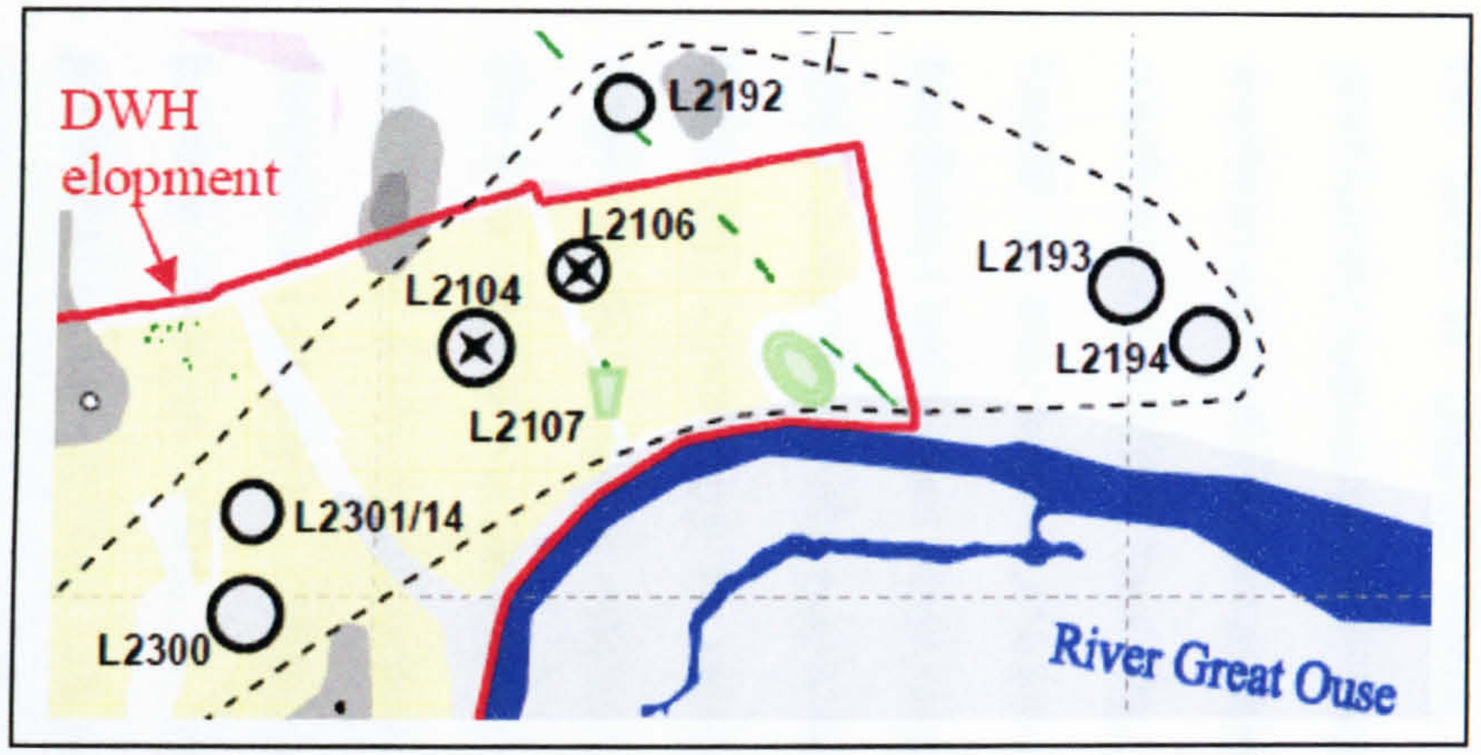


Fig. 5.14 Eye Kettleby (Leics). General site plan, with SFBs marked in green and post-built structures in blue (after an unpublished plan by N. Finn). See p.194 for a discussion of the Bronze Age enclosures.





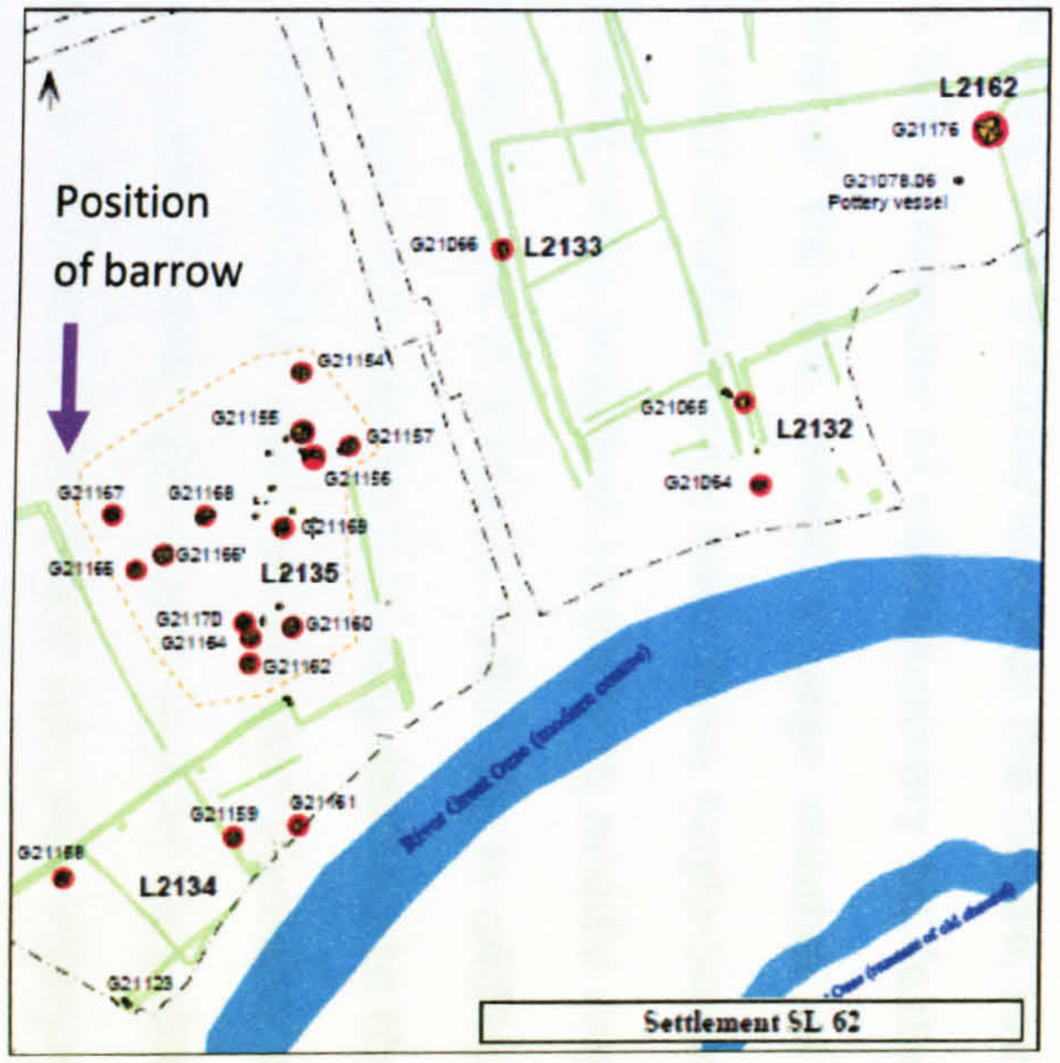


Fig. 5.15 Biddenham Loop (Beds). General view of Biddenham Loop with Anglo-Saxon settlement (SL62) in the north-east corner of the site and the position of the barrow adjacent to the settlement marked by an arrow (left) (after Luke and Barker 2010: fig. 11.2). Detail of the ring ditches (grey circles) in the north-east corner of the site (from Luke and Barker 2010: fig. 5.2). Detailed plan of site SL62 with the approximate position of the barrow marked by an arrow (bottom) (after Luke and Barker 2010: fig. 11.4).

On land at **Church Farm, Bierton** two SFBs were excavated alongside two prehistoric monuments (Fenton 1996; Roseff 1996). SFB I was located on the north-western edge of the excavation area, and SFB II lay towards the centre, roughly 30m south-east of SFB I (see fig. 5.16). A number of contemporary pit features were found at the south-eastern end of the site, whilst a large number of undated postholes were also observed, some of which may have been Anglo-Saxon (Fenton 1996: 3-4). The settlement features were assigned an early to middle Anglo-Saxon date, but could not be more closely dated (Fenton 1996: 1). In addition to the Anglo-Saxon features, there were also two Bronze Age ring ditches; to the west of the site was a penannular, V-profiled ditch with an internal diameter of c.13m, which may have been a barrow, and to the east was a second ring ditch, which formed a complete circuit c.10m in diameter and which was also interpreted as a barrow (Fenton 1996: 2). The buildings lay to the north and east of the two prehistoric ring ditches, with SFB II located roughly 13m north of the circular ring ditch and a similar distance east of the penannular one, while SFB I was further away to the north-west. The contemporary pits to the south-east of the site were not labelled on the site plan, but seem to have been the sub-rectangular features scattered around the circular ring ditch, one of which was located *on* the barrow (see fig. 5.16). The buildings at Church Farm were, therefore, in close proximity to the two potential barrows, and the pits to the south of the site may have directly modified one of those barrows, although the limited information about the excavations makes this difficult to confirm.

Similar patterns were observed at **Salmonby** by G.V. Taylor in the 1950s, although plans for this site have proved elusive if, indeed, any ever existed (A. Thornton pers. comm.). Taylor found Anglo-Saxon 'huts' on both sides of the road between Salmonby and the adjacent village of Somersby (see fig. 5.17), which had been brought to light as a result of ploughing (Petch 1960: 20). Published features include one building in a field known as Sandy Knobbs, and another on the north side of the road in a field called New England (Thompson 1955: 10; Petch 1960: 21), although the Lincolnshire HER entry[3] for the site suggests that further buildings were located.

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[3] See Appendix A for the relevant HER numbers.

There is also evidence for prehistoric funerary activity in the area, although this too is unpublished. A scheduled cropmark of an oval-shaped long barrow 44m long was noted at Salmonby (Jones 1998: 107; Lincs HER). A ring ditch was situated some 20m to the north-west of the long barrow according to Jones (1998: 107), although the Lincolnshire HER entry for this site records a distance of 70m between the two monuments. This ring ditch is believed to have been a bowl barrow, c.25m in diameter (Lincs HER). The grid references for these features show that the buildings and cropmarks were situated in the same field, no more than 100m away from each other (see fig. 5.17). Thus, while the limited quality and extent of excavation at Salmonby mean that the relationships between the Anglo-Saxon and prehistoric features cannot be known for certain, the evidence suggests that the SFBs were situated in fairly close proximity to the prehistoric monuments.

Grendon also has tentative evidence for the intermingling of Anglo-Saxon buildings with prehistoric features although, like Salmonby, information about the site has proved difficult to obtain. Limited records reveal that salvage excavations uncovered ring ditches, as well as Anglo-Saxon postholes, pits and three SFBs, which apparently overlay the prehistoric features (Jackson 1978: 179; Youngs and Clark 1981: 175; RCHM 1982: 199). Unfortunately, site plans and any more detailed information about the investigations have been impossible to locate. However, a short summary of the investigations recorded that a round barrow was found in the same area as the three SFBs, along with a deep feature containing possible human bones and Anglo-Saxon sherds (Foard 1977: 224). The barrow in the vicinity of the three SFBs might have had some influence on their layout, although without site plans this cannot be investigated further.

At **Old Parkbury** a Neolithic logboat, 5.3m long and 1.07m wide, and containing a human burial has been excavated (see fig. 5.18) (Niblett 2001: 159-61). No trace of a mound or ring ditch was found during the excavation, but a mound may have been present originally; the removal of topsoil by a mechanical digger could have destroyed any remaining traces of it. Furthermore, modern ploughing and erosion had also truncated much of the site, meaning that traces of any surviving mound

material could have been removed relatively recently (Niblett 2001: 163). A middle Bronze Age urn had been placed in a pit 7.7m to the north-west of the logboat, possibly indicating that some form of marker had been raised over the burial, and that it attracted later funerary activity (Niblett 2001: 161). In the same field as the logboat were two SFBs, one located roughly 30m north of the logboat, the other around 5m south of it (Niblett 2001: 162, fig. 8, 171). The excavation report for Old Parkbury is not particularly informative about the spatial layout of the site, particularly the relationships between features of different dates, since there are flaws in the site plans, including mislabelling of features and incorrect scales. However, the plan does show that there were no features overlaying the logboat and that the area surrounding the boat was free of later archaeological features. The burial of the Bronze Age urn 7.7m away from the logboat (unfortunately *not* marked on the plan), combined with the evidence for the survival of mounds from as early as the Neolithic period at other sites (e.g. Barrow Hills), means that there is a case for suggesting that there was a mound over the logboat at Old Parkbury, and that it may have formed the focus of Anglo-Saxon activity in the sixth to eighth centuries.

Nettleton Top is similar to Old Parkbury, in that it too has evidence to indicate that a mound might once have been present, although no traces of an earthwork or surrounding ring ditch were found (see fig. 5.19). Three Bronze Age funerary vessels were found within an area measuring roughly 5m by 1m, their presence so close to each other strongly suggesting that they might have been placed in or under a mound (Field and Leahy 1993: 9). The lack of surrounding ring ditch would not be unusual in Lincolnshire, as other examples of barrows without ring ditches have been excavated elsewhere in the county (Field and Leahy 1993: 36). Furthermore, flat Bronze Age cemeteries without mounds are rare in the area, and tended to be established in the late Bronze Age rather than the period that the urns belonged to.

Three sixth- to seventh-century SFBs were also uncovered at Nettleton Top (Field and Leahy 1993: 10-15, 20-24). The first was in Area One, roughly 50m west of the possible barrow site, alongside contemporary pits and an eroded hearth.

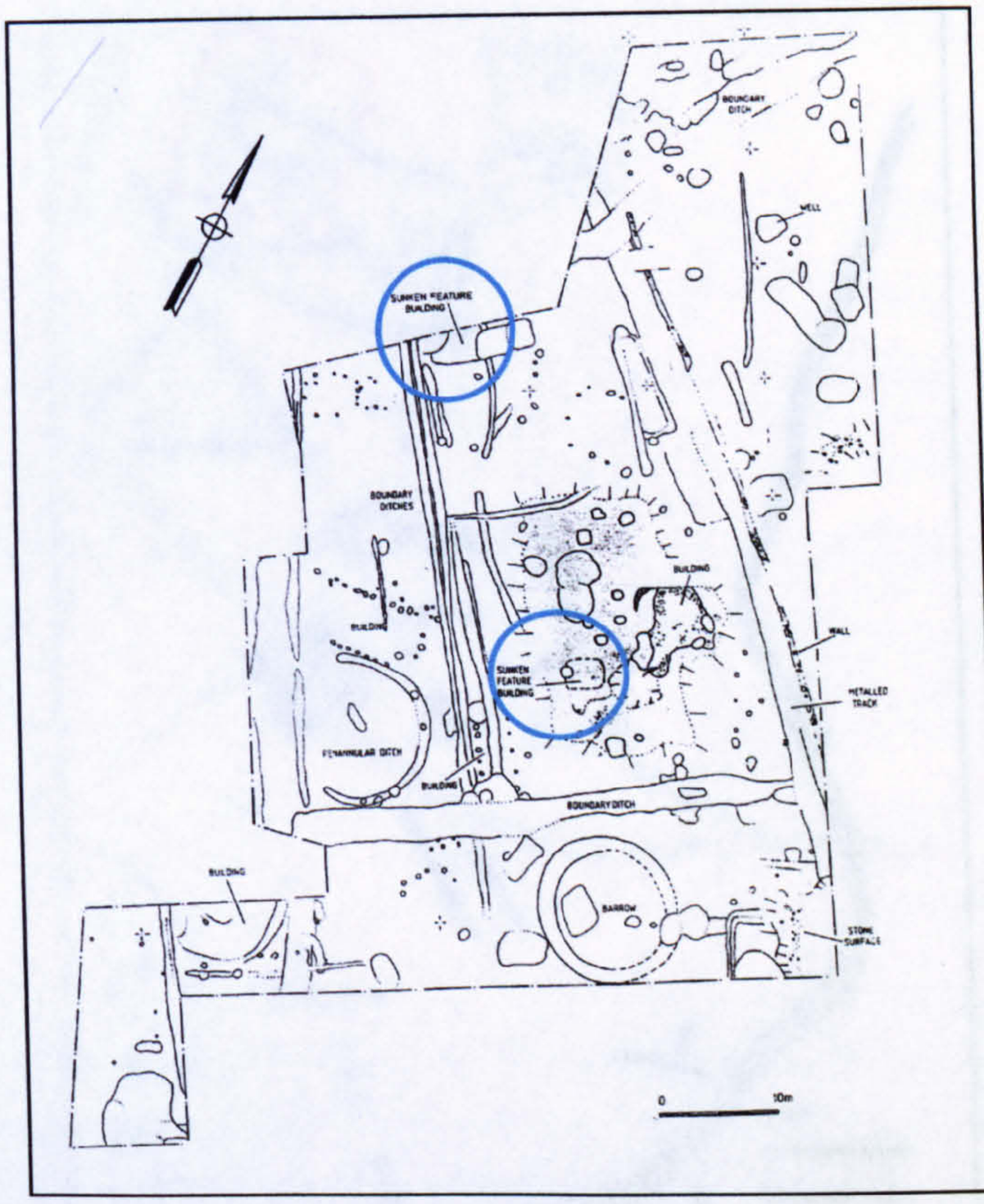
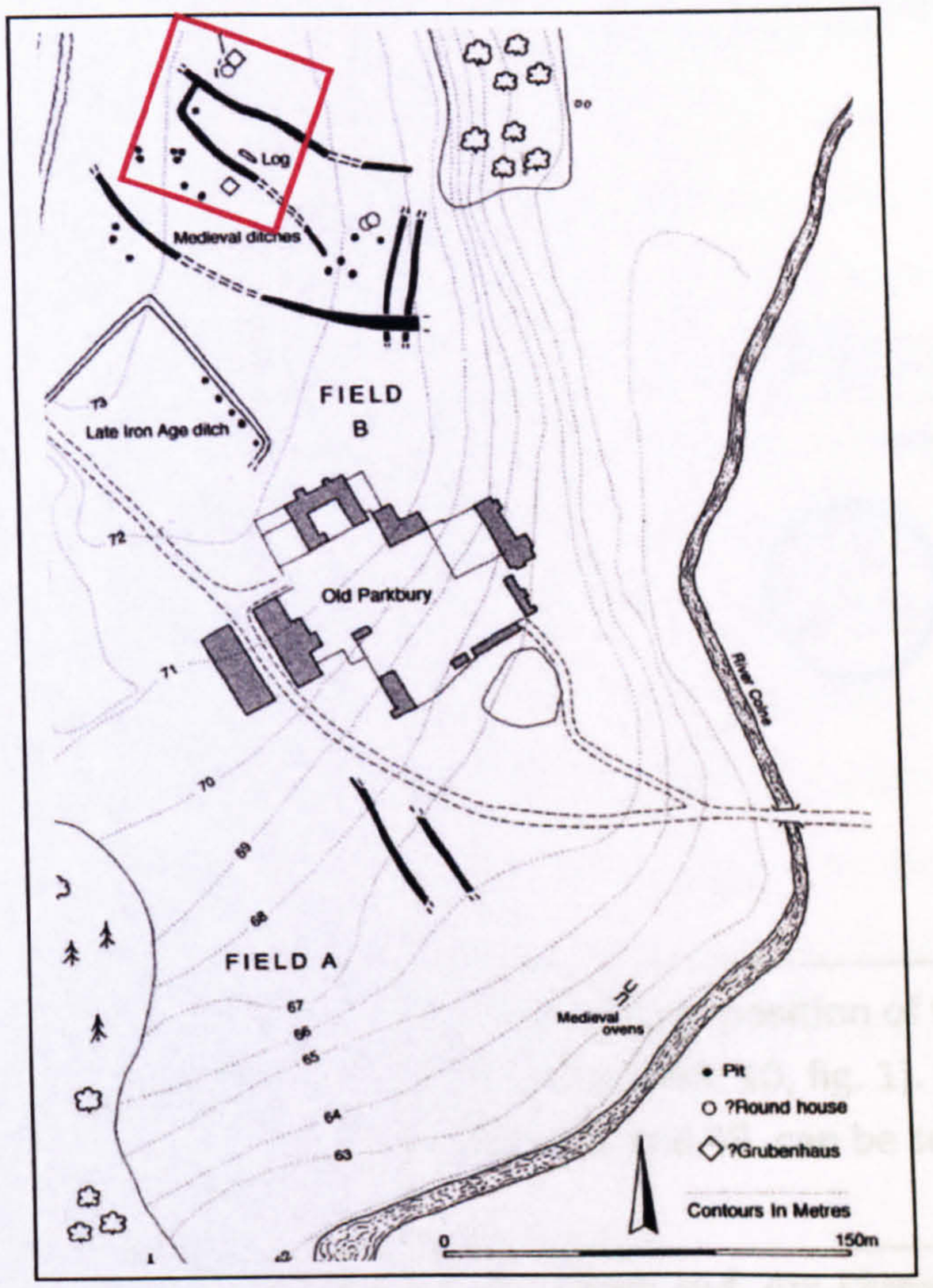


Fig. 5.16 Church Farm, Bierton (Bucks). General site plan with SFBs circled in blue (from Fenton 1996: fig. 1).

Fig. 5.17 Salmonby (Lincs). Approximate positions of the Anglo-Saxon settlement and prehistoric barrows (based on grid references provided in HER records) (photograph: Google Earth).



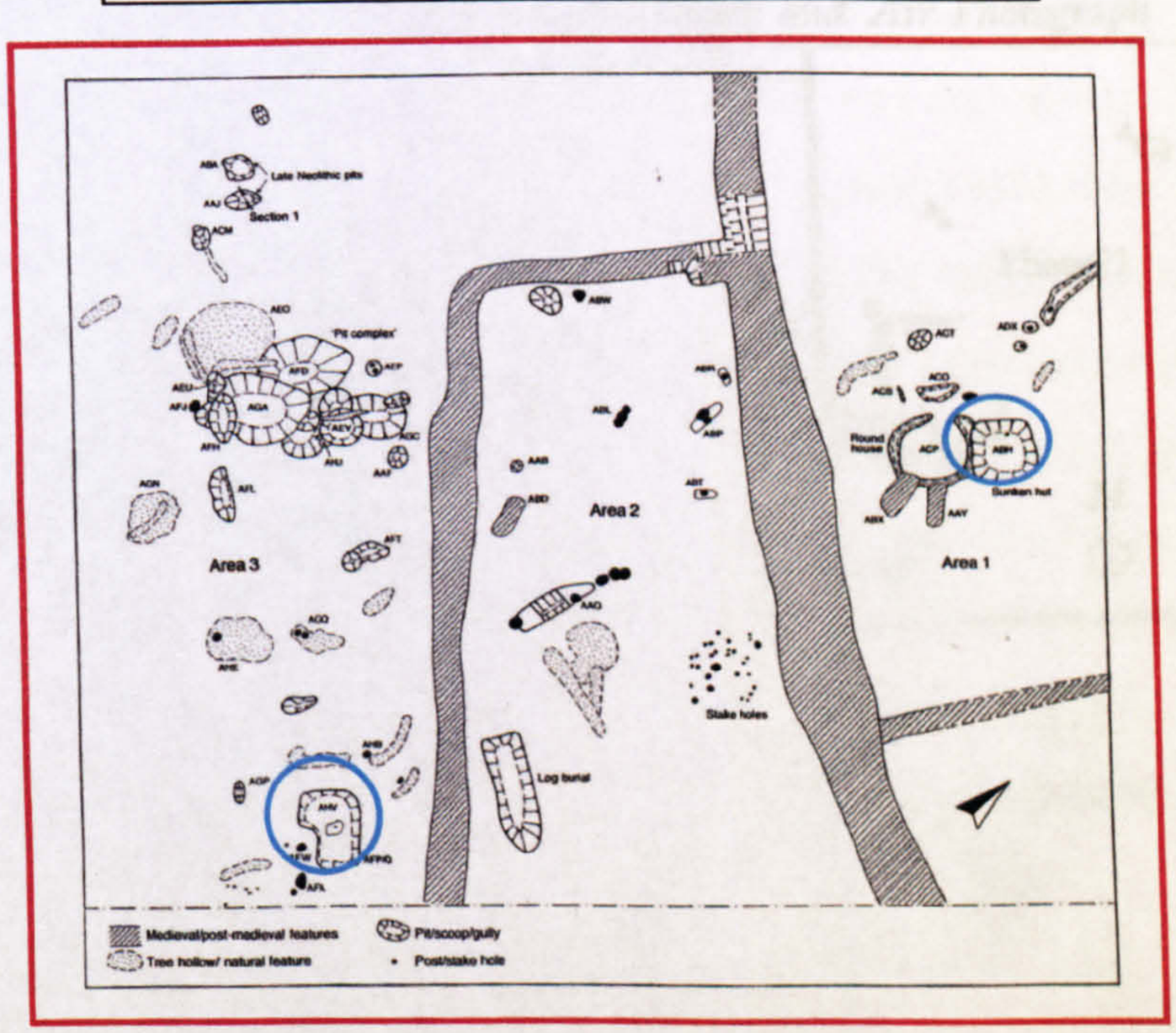


Fig. 5.18 Old Parkbury (Herts). General site plan with the area containing the logboat and SFBs marked by the red square (top) (after Niblett 2001: 158, fig. 3). Detailed plan of the logboat burial and its surrounding area including the two SFBs (bottom; NB the scale on this plan has been omitted as it was incorrect in the publication, but 1cm is approximately equal to 3.5m) (after Niblett 2001: 162, fig. 8).

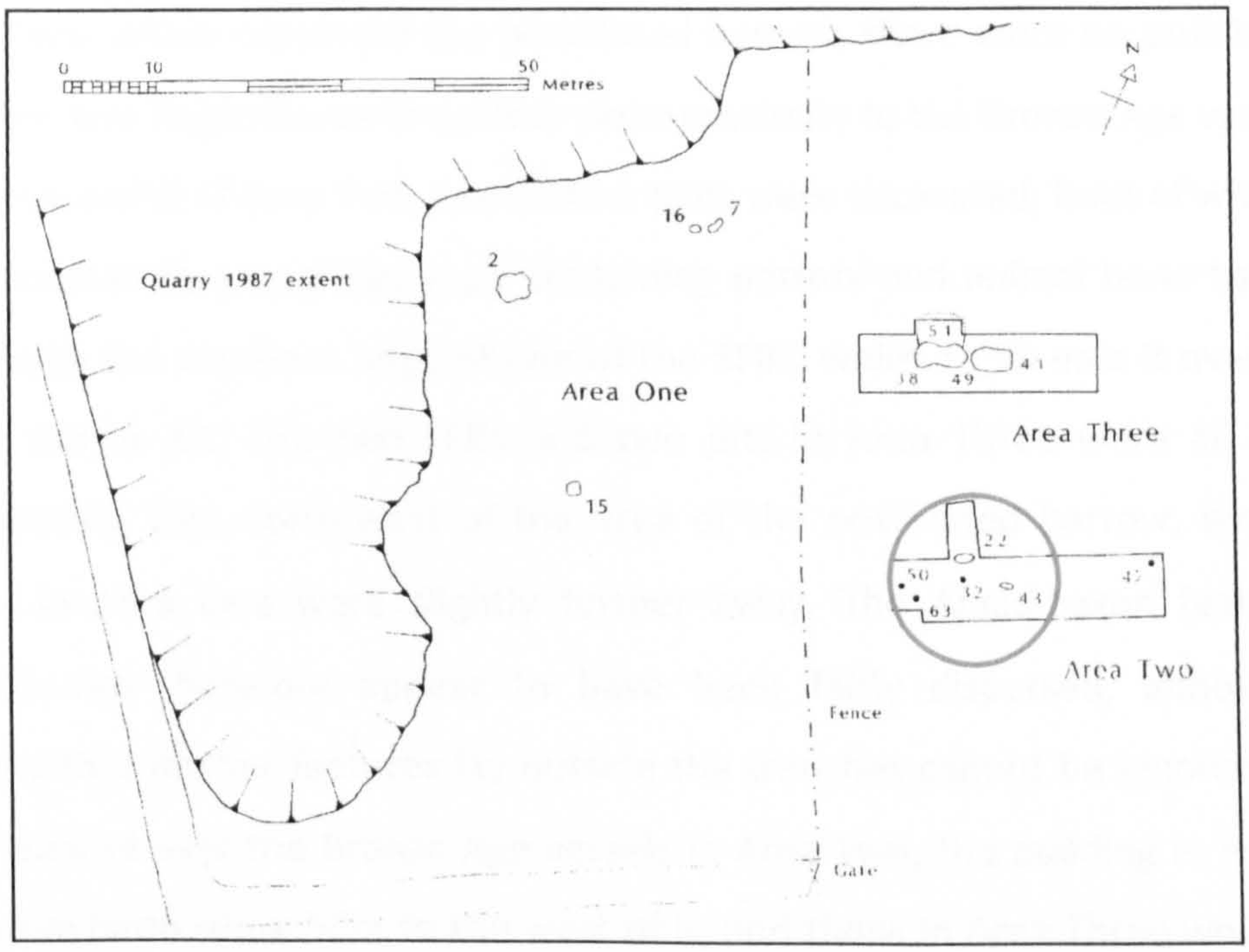


Fig. 5.19 Nettleton Top (Lincs). The approximate position of the postulated barrow is circled in blue (after Field and Leahy 1993: 10, fig. 1). SFB 2 can be seen in Area One, while SFBs 41 and 51, and pits 38 and 49, can be seen in Area Three.

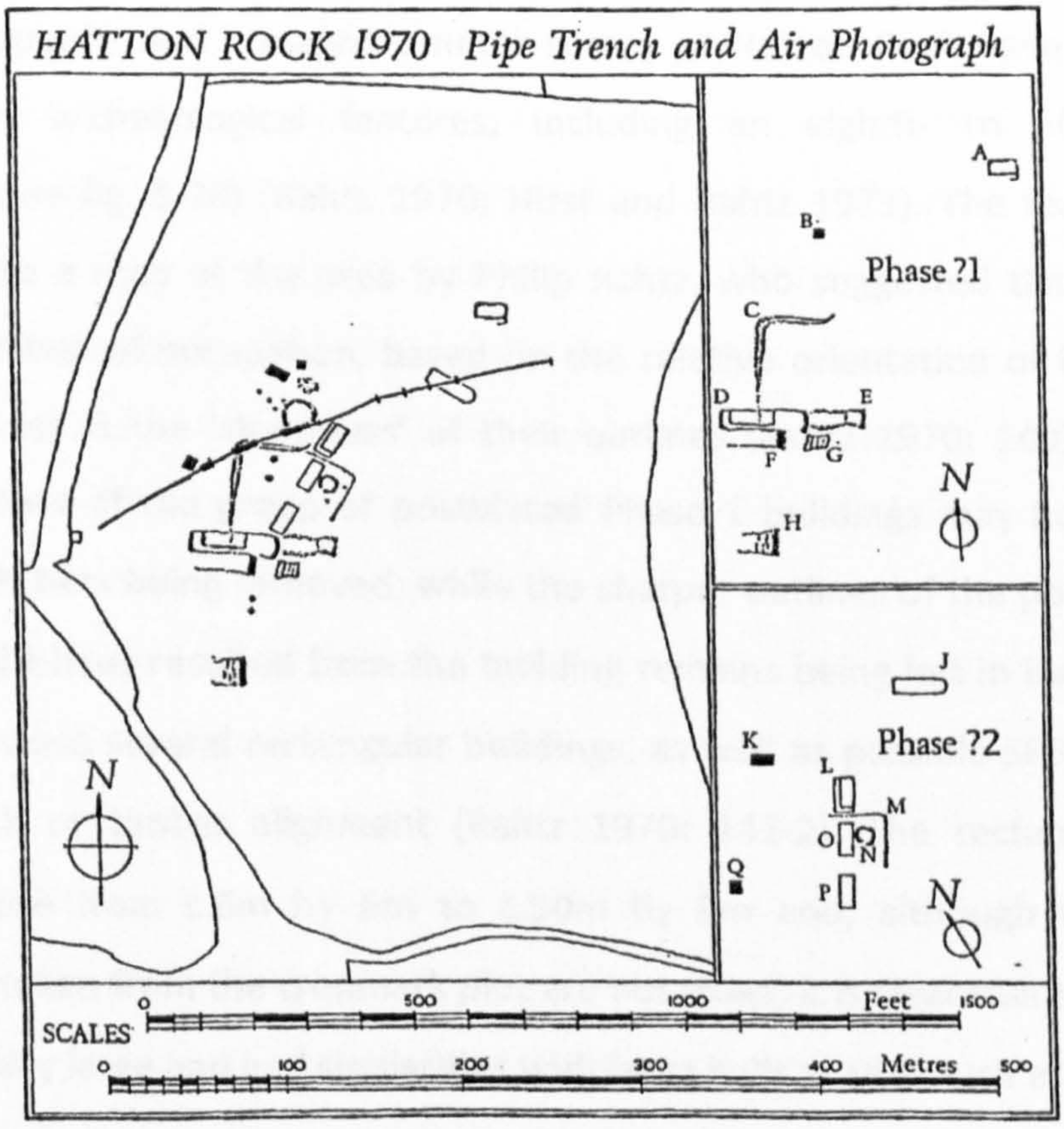


Fig. 5.20 Hatton Rock (Warwicks). The course of the pipe trench can be seen running from south-west to north-east across the site, and the two suggested phases are to the right of the picture (from Hirst and Rahtz 1973: 168, fig.6).

In Area Two, which contained the postulated barrow, there were no buildings but there were two Anglo-Saxon fire pits in close proximity to the Bronze Age vessels. In Area Three, north of Area Two, two further SFBs were excavated, both of which had been truncated by ploughing. A pit containing pottery and animal bone had been dug through the southern edge of one of the SFBs, whilst to its east it overlapped another similar pit. The two SFBs and two pits in Area Three were all located approximately 25m north-west of the area of the postulated barrow, whilst the features in Area One were slightly further away. The Anglo-Saxon features at Nettleton Top therefore appear to have been fairly dispersed, although the possibility that further features lay outside the trenches cannot be ignored. Had a mound existed over the Bronze Age vessels in Area Two, the building in Area One would have been some 50m to the west of it, and those in Area Three would have been closer, around 20m to the north, while the fire pits in Area Two could have been adjacent to it.

Aerial photographs and a magnetometer survey at **Hatton Rock** have brought to light various archaeological features, including an eighth- to ninth-century settlement (see fig. 5.20) (Rahtz 1970; Hirst and Rahtz 1973). The features were sketched onto a map of the area by Philip Rahtz, who suggested that there had been two phases of occupation, based on the relative orientation of the features and differences in the 'sharpness' of their outlines (Rahtz 1970: 140). The more blurred outlines of the group of postulated Phase 1 buildings may have resulted from their timbers being removed, while the sharper outlines of the possible Phase 2 group might have resulted from the building remains being left in the ground. In each group were several rectangular buildings, as well as possible SFBs, and an L-shaped ditch or timber alignment (Rahtz 1970: 141-2). The rectangular 'halls' ranged in size from c.6m by 6m to c.50m by 9m and, although the building dimensions taken from the cropmark plot are not exact, it is clear that the buildings were unusually large and had similarities with large halls at sites such as Yeavering.

A narrow pipe trench subsequently dug across the site allowed the features at Hatton Rock to be considered in more detail (Rahtz 1970: 142; Hirst and Rahtz 1973:

161). Some of the exposed features could be correlated with cropmarks; part of the small square cropmark Q and the corner of L-shaped ditch C were excavated, whilst another excavated feature (14) appeared to correlate with the north wall of building J (Hirst and Rahtz 1973: 167). The excavation of part of cropmark Q suggested that it was an SFB, in which case cropmarks B and K might also have represented SFBs (Hirst and Rahtz 1973: 164, 169). Although the limited excavation did not greatly add to understanding of the settlement's function or status, it did confirm that the interpretation of the features on the cropmark and geophysical plots were on the whole correct.

Also on the cropmark plot and magnetometer survey was a ring ditch, measuring roughly 20m in diameter (Rahtz 1970: 141, fig. 3). The pipe trench made an oblique cut through the ring ditch, confirming that it was stratigraphically earlier than an apparent timber-slot of a building and supporting the supposition that it was a prehistoric feature (Hirst and Rahtz 1973: 167). Belonging to each of the two proposed phases at Hatton Rock was a row of three or more aligned timber buildings, the Phase 2 row of buildings situated immediately east of the ring ditch. The postulated barrow may therefore have influenced the layout of the settlement in one or all of its phases, particularly in the case of the alignment of rectangular buildings belonging to Phase 2. In this way the site also displays a resemblance to the high-status settlements at Yeavering and Sutton Courtenay, where large timber halls were aligned on prehistoric barrows (Bradley 1987; Blair 1994: 32).

The buildings and possible barrow at Hatton Rock may therefore have been part of a high-status settlement and, indeed, there are textual references that suggest that much of the land in the area of Hatton Rock was part of a large royal Mercian estate until the eighth century (Rahtz 1970: 139, 142). For example, a charter of 781[4] records an agreement between King Offa of Mercia and the Bishop of Worcester, in which the king confirmed the bishop's ownership of Hampton Lucy, the manor in which Hatton Rock lay and which had belonged to Offa's predecessor Aethelbald, in return for land elsewhere (Rahtz 1970: 139; Finberg 1972: 95-6). Further, a piece of

[4] Charter 228 in Finberg (1972).

land called Ingon within the manor of Hampton Lucy and close to Hatton Rock, was sold by two Hwiccan princes, Æthilheard and Æthilweard, in c.704-709 (Rahtz 1970: 139; Finberg 1972: 135).[5] The royal estate seems to have been gradually diminished by grants during the eighth century, although nearby Wellesbourne appears to have still had a palace in the ninth century, as in 840 a bishop of Worcester handed over horses and jewellery to King Berhtwulf of Mercia[6], and in 862 a charter signed by members of the Mercian council was granted there (Rahtz 1970: 139; Finberg 1972: 46, 153-66).

The settlement at **Catholme** displayed a rather unusual, highly structured pattern of association between Anglo-Saxon and prehistoric features, although as this settlement forms a case study in the following chapter, it will not be discussed in great detail here. The excavation revealed sixty-five early seventh- to late ninth-century sunken-featured and post-built buildings (see fig. 5.21) (Losco-Bradley and Kinsley 2002: 85, 117). These were located in a number of different 'zones' within the settlement, which may have represented farmsteads. On the eastern side of the settlement were three further prehistoric features: a small ring ditch (PM1), a segmented-ditch monument (PM2) and a large penannular ditch (PM3) (Losco-Bradley and Kinsley 2002: 15). The penannular ditch had an internal diameter of approximately 25m and may have originally had a mound, whilst the other two features were roughly 10m in diameter, but their original forms were not known (Losco-Bradley and Kinsley 2002: 116, fig. 3.97). The excavators suggested that PM3 could have been 'sufficiently preserved to influence the layout of the Anglo-Saxon settlement', whilst the other two *may* have been similarly preserved (Losco-Bradley and Kinsley 2002: 15).

The preservation of PM2 and PM3 was supported by the fact that they were 'annexed' by the Anglo-Saxon settlement, which had an organised structure, delineated by numerous ditched and fenced boundaries (Losco-Bradley and Kinsley 2002: 28, 41). The area containing PM2 and PM3 was divided from the rest of the

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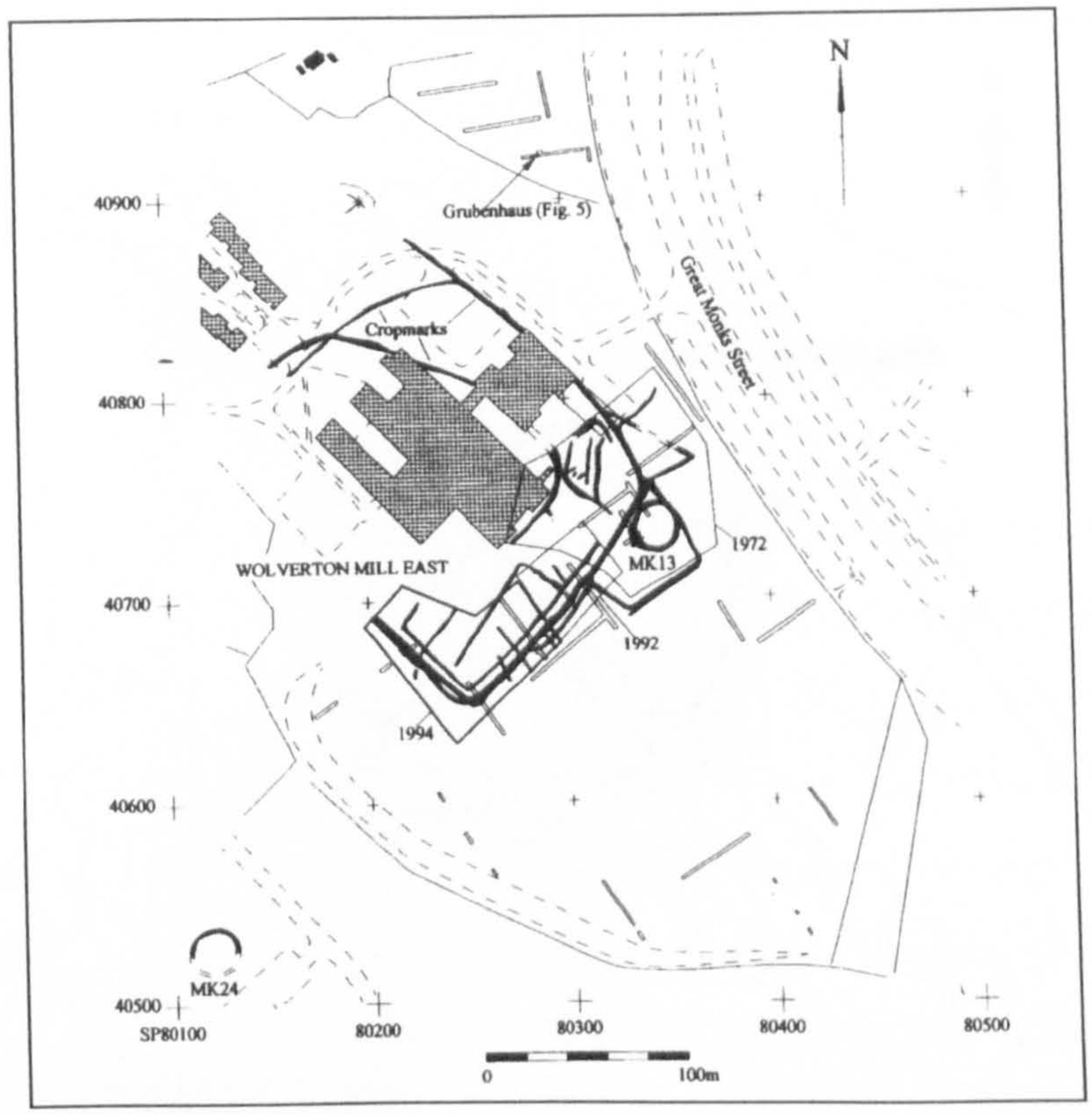
[5] This charter is number 382 in Finberg (1972) and it also appears in Sawyer (1968) as charter 1177.
[6] Charter 65 in Finberg (1972).

settlement by lengths of ditch and a trackway. The annexe was kept clear of occupation, and the only Anglo-Saxon features within the area were a cow burial and human burial. The area containing PM2 and PM3 certainly seems to have been separated from the rest of the settlement, but the reason for this is unknown. However the burials and the lack of buildings and other settlement features in this area suggests that the space might have had some special function or status, which may have been enhanced by the fact that it was delineated to the west by a long-lived boundary which had its origins in the prehistoric period (see p. 197).

There was a similar situation at **Wolverton Turn Enclosure**, where a Bronze Age round barrow had been enclosed within another Anglo-Saxon 'annexe', this time projecting off a larger contemporary enclosure. The main enclosure was large and sub-rectangular, up to 155m wide and c.175m long, enclosing an area of roughly 2.6ha (see fig. 5.22) (Preston 2007: 81, 90-2). The ditches had been re-cut on a number of occasions, with some re-cuts diverging from the original ditches and then joining them again, and inside there were also smaller sub-enclosures, indicated by internal ditches. The round barrow was tightly fitted into the northern corner of the smaller enclosure, which measured c.30m by 50m, and this precise fit almost certainly indicates that it was still a visible earthwork when the enclosure was dug (Preston 2007: 81, 86-91). The relationship between the small enclosure and the larger one was uncertain; they might have been constructed at the same time, but this could not be confirmed. On the south-west side of the smaller enclosure there appears to have been an entrance where Ditch 9 terminated before it reached Ditch 1 of the large enclosure, suggesting that the smaller enclosure was contemporary with or later than the large enclosure (Preston 2007: 91). It seems clear that, as was the case at Catholme, the barrow at Wolverton was separated or protected from the rest of the enclosure and surrounding landscape, but that access to the monument through the entrance was possible – and perhaps necessary – although for what reason excavation could not discern (Preston 2007: 114).

Fig. 5.21 Catholme (Staffs). The large penannular ring ditch (PM3) can be seen on the eastern side of the settlement, with PM1 and PM2 to the south and south-east. The re-cut prehistoric ditch is represented by the lengths of ditch (marked in green) running down the eastern side of the settlement, including ditches D47, D48 and D49 (see p.197 for a discussion of this boundary). Fences are shown in red, ditches in green and buildings in blue (from Losco-Bradley and Kinsley 2002: 116, fig. 3.97).



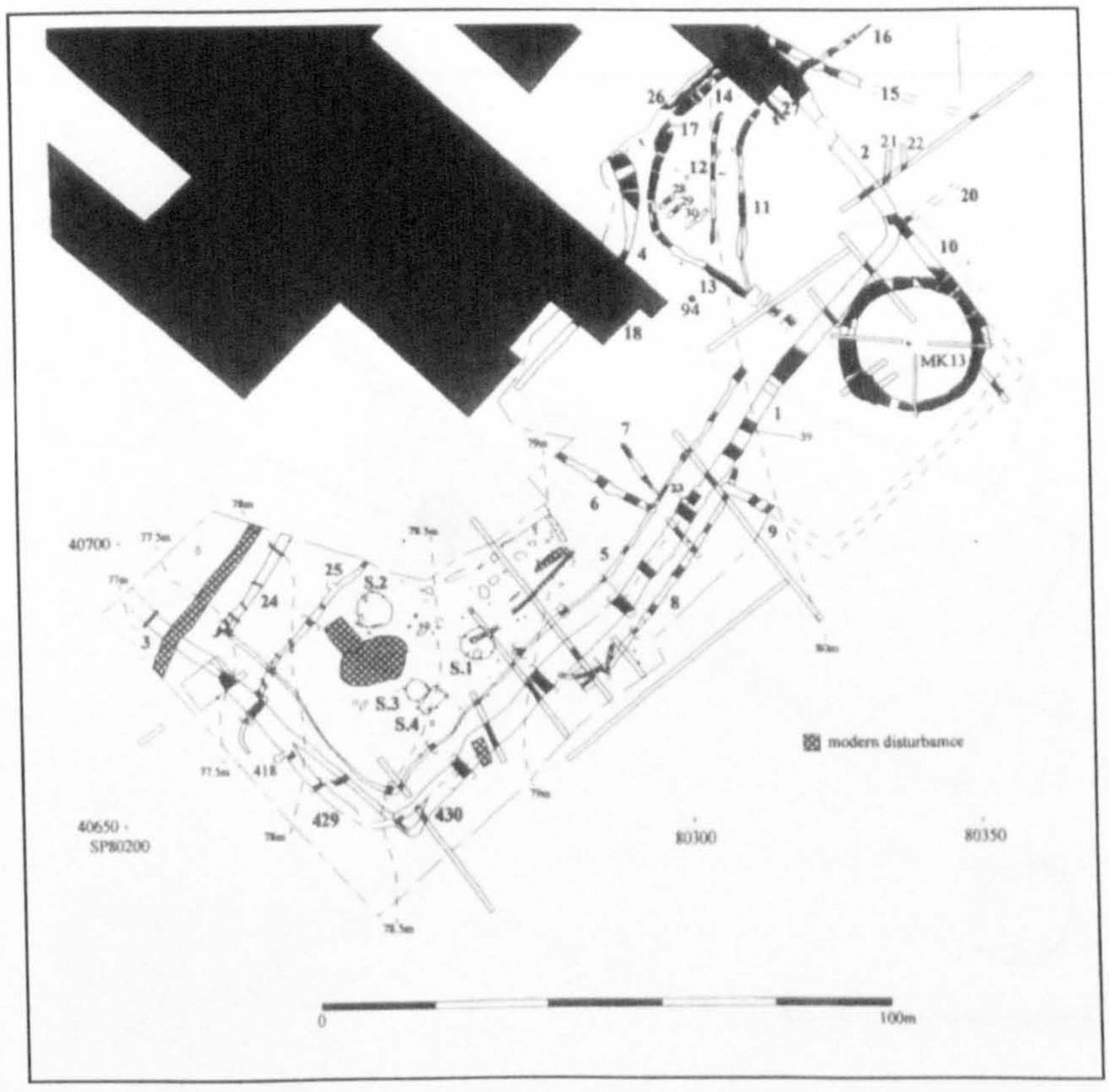


Fig. 5.22 Wolverton Turn Enclosure (Bucks). Plan of the cropmark enclosure and round barrow with the position of SFB 5 marked to the north of the enclosure (top) (from Preston 2007: 85, fig. 2). Plan of the excavated portion of the enclosure, showing the structures investigated inside it, the Bronze Age ring ditch in its 'annexe' and the excavated sections of the main enclosure ditches (bottom) (from Preston 2007: 87, fig. 3).

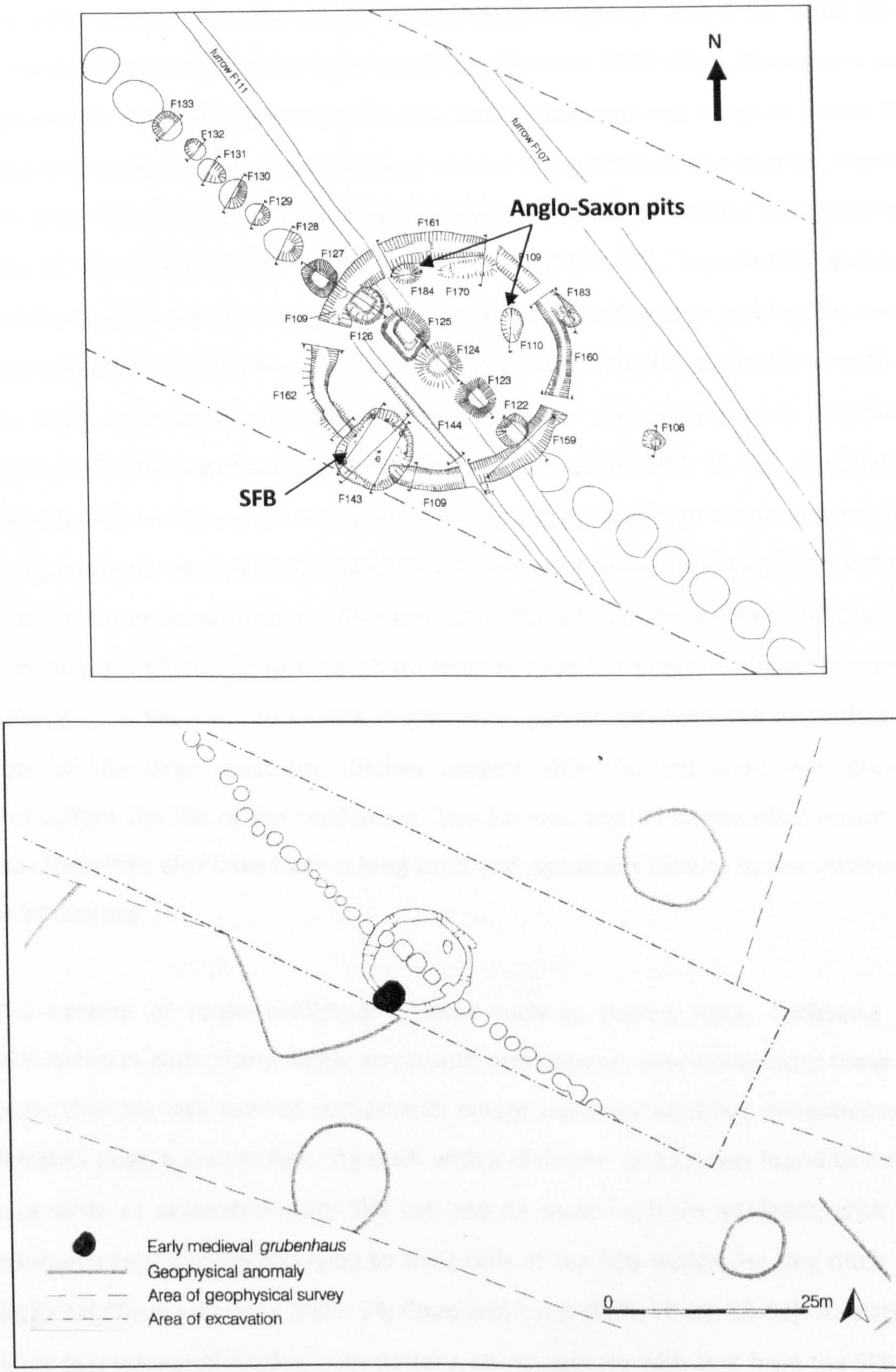


Fig. 5.23 Frieston Road (Lincs). Plan of the ring ditch, pit alignment, SFB and Anglo-Saxon pits (top; scale 1:200) (after Copp and Toop 2006: fig. 48). Geophysical anomalies in the area around the trench, including further ring ditches; although anomalies thought to be SFBs were noted, they are not marked on the plan (bottom) (from Toop and Copp 2005: 28, fig. 6).

The enclosures were accompanied by post-built structures and SFBs, some lying inside and others outside the larger enclosure (Preston 2007: 93-5). Structure 4 was a post-built structure measuring roughly 5m by 3m, and was situated inside the large enclosure. Outside the enclosure, around 200m north of the barrow, was an SFB (Structure 5), animal bone from the lower fill of which yielded a radiocarbon date of AD 430-600 (95% confidence) (Preston 2007: 95). Two further early to middle Anglo-Saxon SFBs, along with associated features such as cesspits, were identified around 100m west of the previously excavated SFB, about 60m north of the large enclosure, while dark patches on aerial photographs may represent further SFBs (Gaimster and O'Connor 2005: 357; Preston 2007: 85, 95). Occupation dated to between the sixth or seventh century and the eighth or ninth century, with radiocarbon dates of AD 690-890 (95% confidence) coming from two different fills in the main enclosure Ditch 1 (Preston 2007: 90, 98). As these dates and the one from Structure 5 did not overlap, there seem to have been several phases of activity belonging to the early to middle Anglo-Saxon period, although the numerous re-cuts of the large enclosure ditches suggest that the enclosure was present throughout the life of the settlement. The barrow, and its surrounding enclosure, may therefore also have been a long-lived and significant feature in the settlement at Wolverton

The pattern of reuse exhibited at sites such as Hatton Rock, Catholme and Wolverton is particularly highly structured and appears very deliberate; these are traits that are also seen at settlements where buildings modified monuments. At **Frieston Road** a Bronze Age ring ditch with a diameter of 13m was found to have a late sixth- or seventh-century SFB cut into its south-western quadrant, with two contemporary shallow pits lying to the north of the SFB within the ring ditch (see fig. 5.23) (Toop and Copp 2005: 24; Copp and Toop 2006: 78-83, 89-91). A relatively large assemblage of Anglo-Saxon pottery, contemporary with that from the SFB and pits, was discovered in the upper fills of the ring ditch, indicating that it was present to some extent as an earthwork in the sixth or seventh century (Copp and Toop 2006: 91). The ring ditch appears to have been part of a prehistoric funerary monument, probably a barrow, as an early Bronze Age accessory vessel was

recovered from it (Copp and Toop 2006: 92, 152). Although the excavators noted that there was no surviving evidence of a mound, the shallowness of the Anglo-Saxon pits situated inside the ring ditch may indicate that they had been dug from a higher level when a mound was still present, and that this was a barrow.

The form and visibility of the monument in the Anglo-Saxon period was thrown into question, however, by the discovery of an Iron Age pit alignment crossing it (Copp and Toop 2006: 84-8). Thirty pits were identified over a distance of 70m, twelve of which were excavated, five of them within the ring ditch. The pits and ring ditch contained remarkably similar fills, which made it difficult to determine their stratigraphic relationships and relative dates (Copp and Toop 2006: 92). Nonetheless, one of the pits produced sherds of late Bronze Age or early Iron Age date, which was consistent with the suggested dates for this type of monument, and the excavators proposed that the pit alignment reinforced an earlier boundary that had been previously marked by the ring ditch, since the precise bisection of the ring ditch was unlikely to be a coincidence (Toop and Copp 2005: 27-8; Copp and Toop 2006: 93, 151). The presence of the pit alignment makes it difficult to determine to what extent a mound would have been present during the Anglo-Saxon period, and the appearance of the pits at this time is uncertain too, although they may have been visible as hollows in the ground. Nonetheless, the locations of the SFB and pits, and the relatively large assemblage of Anglo-Saxon pottery in the ring ditch, indicate that the monument was still visible in some form in the seventh century. The excavated features appear to have been part of a larger complex, as similar ring ditches were noted on a magnetometer survey of the area to the south-west and north-east of the excavated example, while further anomalies thought to be SFBs were also noted on either side of the pipeline easement (FAS 2001: 19; Toop and Copp 2005: 24; Copp and Toop 2006: 93, 152).

A similar form of reuse has also been noted at **Manor Farm, Harston** where fifth- to sixth-century settlement features and a Bronze Age barrow have been excavated (see figs. 5.24 and 5.25) (Malim 1993: 23-6). Two possible timber slot buildings were located (in Trenches 6 and 13), whilst the ditches of a large cropmark enclosure

were excavated in Trench 7 and found to contain Anglo-Saxon material. A Bronze Age ring ditch with an external diameter of 19m was found to have had a central mound or internal bank. Cut into this mound material were two SFBs (pits 15 and 16), which represented two phases of building activity, since pit 15 had cut pit 16 (see fig. 5.25). Charcoal found on the base of the latter yielded a radiocarbon date of AD 460-645 (68% confidence). The two SFBs were thus located on top of a pre-existing mound, towards its southern edge and, given their relatively shallow depths of 0.15m and 0.25m, it seems likely that they had originally been cut deeper into a now-eroded mound. The excavator suggested that the presence of sophisticated timber-framed buildings, which were located a little to the north of the SFBs on the mound, as well as a possible nearby cemetery identified on aerial photographs, and the site's position near to a parish boundary, raise the possibility that this may have been an important early Anglo-Saxon estate centre (Malim 1993: 38). This suggestion was supported by the discovery of a sixth-century gilt and garnet disc brooch with animal motif decoration, which was found in the vicinity of the site and which the excavator believed to be indicative of a high-status presence (Malim 1993: 38-9).

Similarly, at **West Cotton**, a settlement was found to lie within an extensive complex of Neolithic and Bronze Age monuments close to the banks of the River Nene (see fig. 5.26) (Windell et al. 1990: 5, 7). This complex included three round mounds or barrows; the first, known as the Turf Mound, was an unditched mound that was probably originally ovoid, c.19m wide by at least 25m long (Windell et al. 1990: 11, 89). The mound was not considered to be a barrow by the excavators since it lacked a burial and it may have had some form of fenced structure on its summit. The Turf Mound had been eroded by ridge and furrow ploughing and then covered by alluvium in the medieval period, but still survived to a height of 0.5m when it was excavated. The other two mounds *did* contain burials, and were therefore classed as barrows (Windell et al. 1990: 11-3). Barrow 1 had been constructed in several phases, but in its final form it was a disc barrow, c.30m in diameter, with a mound in the middle of the ring ditch and a berm between it and the ditch. Barrow 2, meanwhile, was located 70m south-west of the long enclosure,

overlapping the Turf Mound, and consisted of a mound within a ring ditch with a diameter of c.21m diameter.

A long mound was also discovered, and at the time of excavation its eastern end still stood to height of between 0.5m and 0.8m (Windell et al. 1993: 9). Parts of the monument were badly preserved, the western end having been destroyed by quarrying, whilst a central portion c.35m long had been almost completely eroded away by a medieval stream (Windell 1989: 87; Windell et al. 1990: 9). Nonetheless, there were two intact lengths of the monument surviving for investigation, at either end of the 35m gap caused by the stream, and it was possible to ascertain that the mound had been 135m long and between 13m and 19m wide. The monument complex is evidently even more extensive, as at least four more round barrows, a causewayed ditched enclosure and a henge have also been identified on aerial photographs or through excavation to the west, east and north-east of the site (Windell 1989: 87; Windell et al. 1993: 13-5; Parry 2006: 175).

In the early Anglo-Saxon period an SFB was constructed approximately 30m north of the long mound, and 60m west of Barrow 1 (Windell et al. 1990: 8, fig. 4). The building contained early Anglo-Saxon pottery and produced a radiocarbon date of AD 421-597 (confidence not specified) (Parry 2006: 175). Meanwhile, on top of the long mound another SFB was identified (Windell et al. 1990: 16). Although the excavation report did not specify exactly where on the mound the second building lay, the fact that only two lengths of the mound were available for excavation narrows down the building's possible location; it must have been situated somewhere on one of those lengths, either at the eastern end of the monument or to the west of the mound's centre. The second building was only 0.1m deep, whilst the first was 0.4m deep, suggesting that the second may well have been dug into the mound at a higher level originally (Windell et al. 1990: 16). There was a scatter of around 300 early Anglo-Saxon potsherds around the two buildings, and another scatter roughly 200m to the east (Windell et al 1990: 16). A scatter of early to middle Anglo-Saxon sherds was also discovered in a field containing three cropmark ring ditches to the north of the excavated area (Parry 2006: 175), and there may

therefore have been even more extensive occupation in and around the monument complex at West Cotton in the early to middle Anglo-Saxon period.

The Anglo-Saxon features at **Corporation Farm, Abingdon** were also located within a complex of Neolithic and Bronze Age monuments (see fig. 5.27) (ADAS 1973; Parrington and Henderson 1974; Barclay et al. 2003: 32). Three SFBs were excavated, one described as 'small' and associated with an early fifth-century bowl and another as 'large' and probably sixth-century in date (ADAS 1973: 40). Of the third building only postholes remained, whilst near to it were two pits, dug below the water level, which contained clay, wood and fifth-century pottery. Another feature, containing a stone-lined hearth, was interpreted as a 'lean-to', and was found to overlay a ditch of a Romano-British enclosure (Parrington and Henderson 1974: 10). This had apparently been replaced by a further SFB on a slightly different alignment, containing later fifth-century pottery. The monument complex at Corporation Farm consisted of at least seven excavated ring ditches and another thirteen cropmark ring ditches, as well as a possible henge (Parkinson 1994: 1; Barclay et al. 2003: 32). A middle Bronze Age enclosure complex and a middle second-century Romano-British enclosure have also been identified (ADAS 1973: 40; Barclay et al. 2003: 37-9).

The Anglo-Saxon buildings were situated in Area J, close to a number of the prehistoric monuments, including two of the excavated ring ditches, as well as three further cropmark ring ditches and the Romano-British enclosure (ADAS 1973: 40-1; Barclay et al. 2003: 31, fig. 3.6). One of the excavated ring ditches (feature 2) was small and had been overlain by a much larger ring ditch (3), making it highly unlikely that the smaller example survived into the fifth and sixth centuries (Barclay et al. 2003: 35). Ring ditch 3 was a much larger Bronze Age monument, with a ditch 1.4m wide, up to 1.2m deep and 30.5m in diameter, which had been accompanied by an internal mound or bank. The 'large', sixth-century, SFB was situated on the north-east side of ring ditch 3 (ADAS 1973: 40). The building might well, therefore, have abutted the central mound or bank of the barrow. The other buildings were not as closely associated with monuments; the partially preserved SFB lay just under 30m

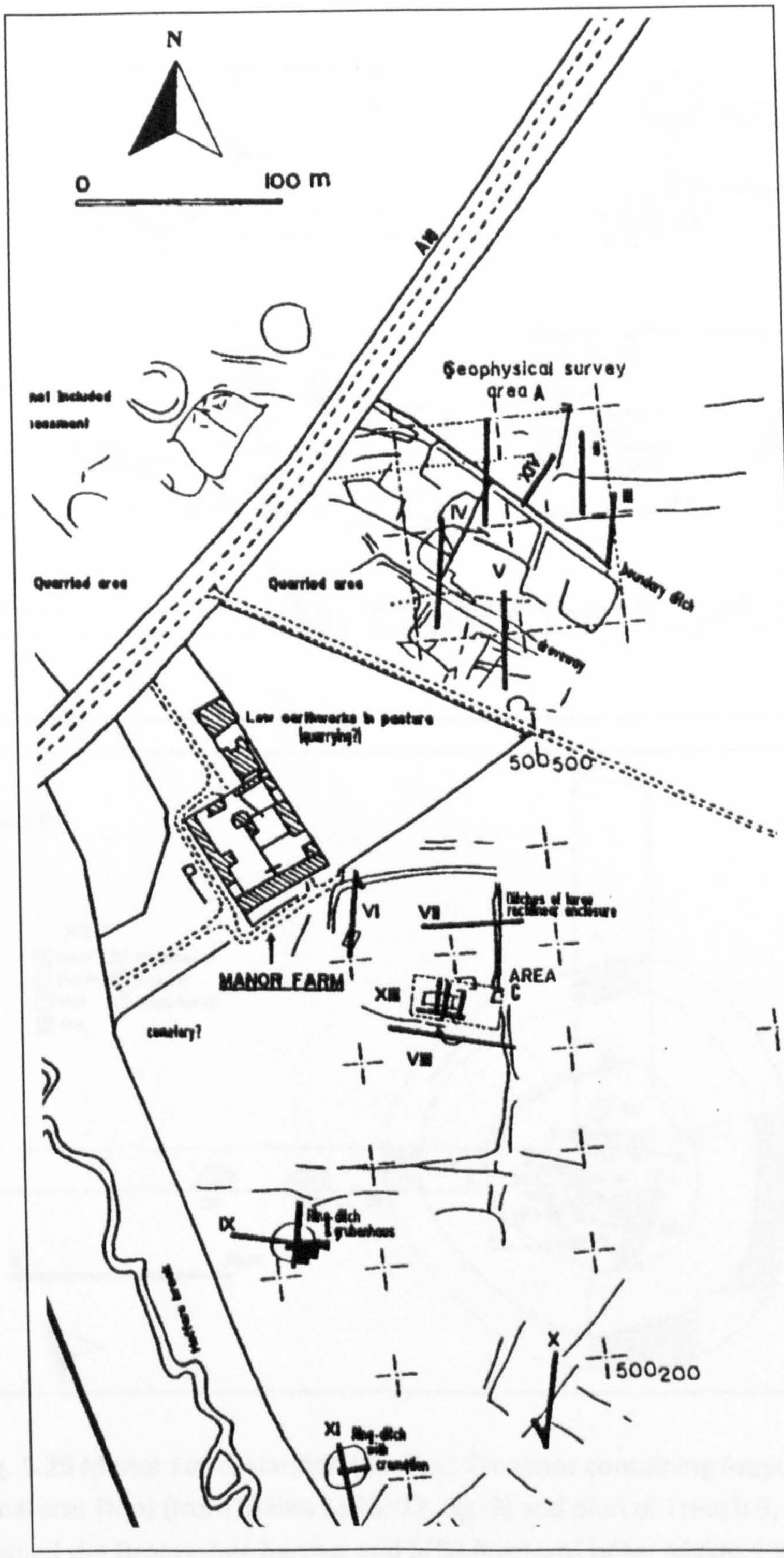
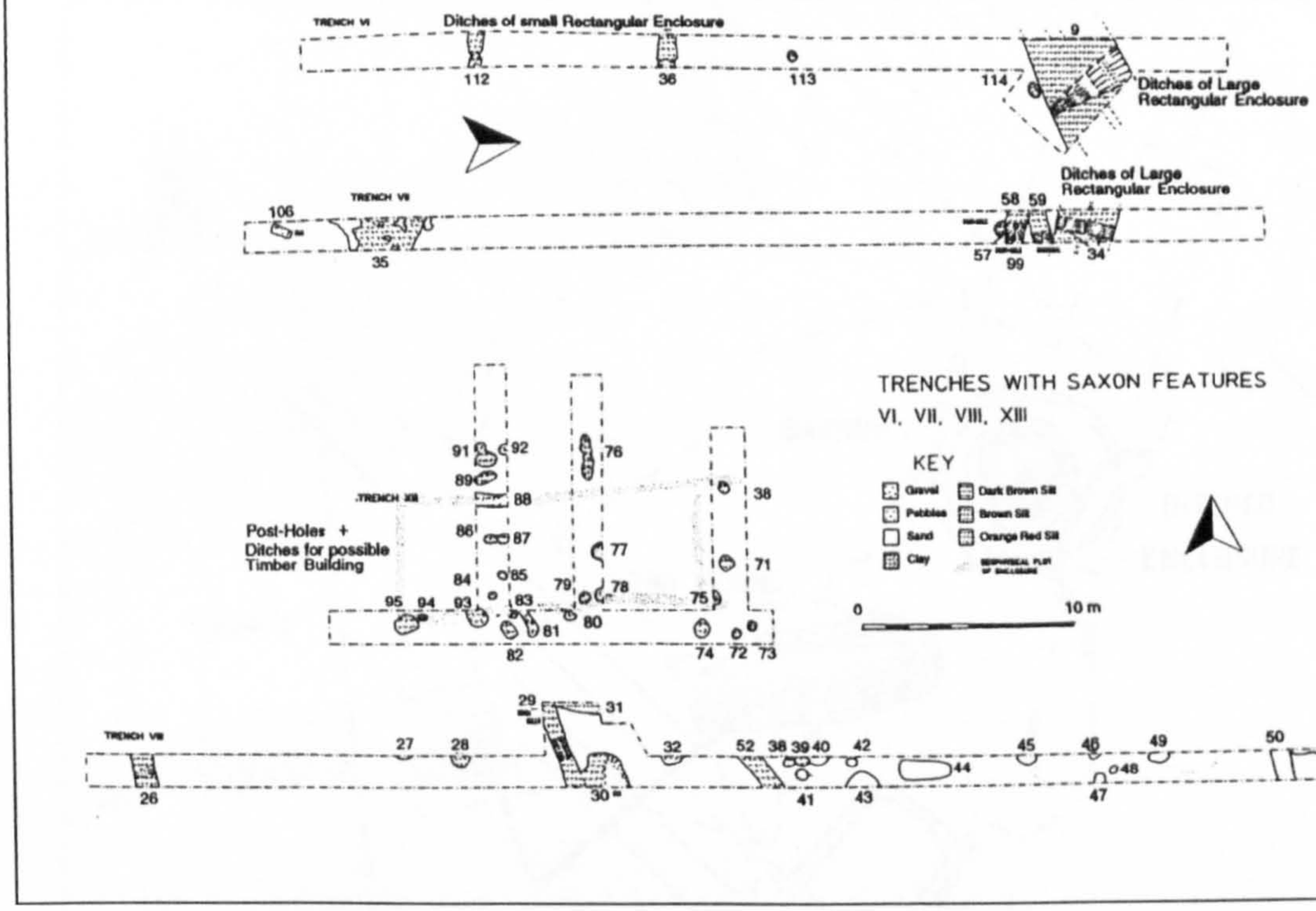


Fig. 5.24 Manor Farm, Harston (Cambs). General site plan with the positions of cropmarks and trenches (from Malim 1993: 17, fig. 4).



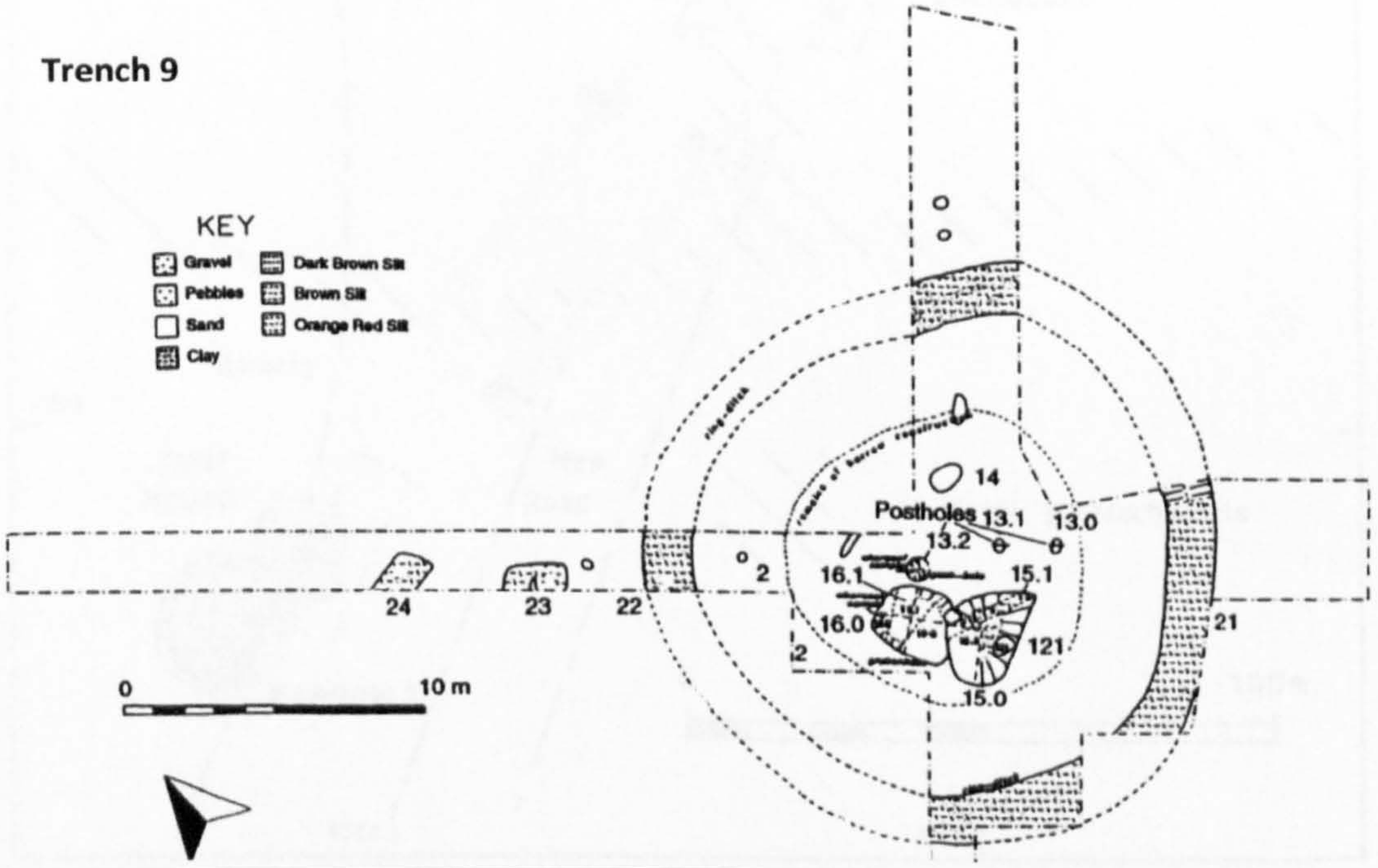


Fig. 5.25 Manor Farm, Harston (Cambs). Trenches containing Anglo-Saxon features (top) (from Malim 1993: 22, fig. 9) and plan of Trench 9, which contained the Bronze Age barrow and SFBs (bottom) (after Malim 1993: 28, fig. 13).

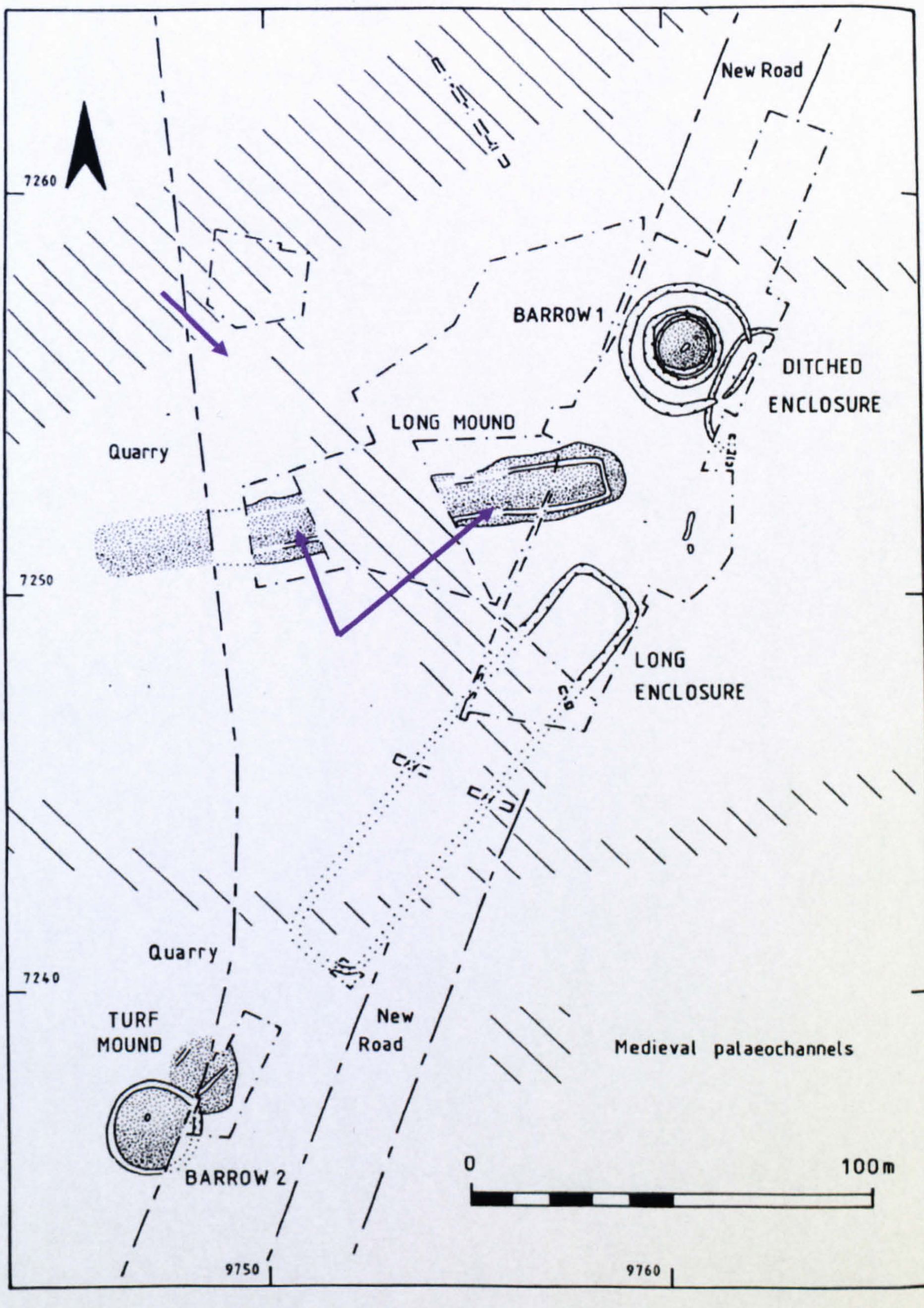


Fig. 5.26 West Cotton (Northants). General site plan with the approximate positions of the SFBs marked by arrows (the exact location of the SFB on the mound is uncertain; it could have been in either of the positions marked by the arrows) (after Windell 1989: 88, fig. 5.3). See p.195 for a discussion of the prehistoric enclosures.

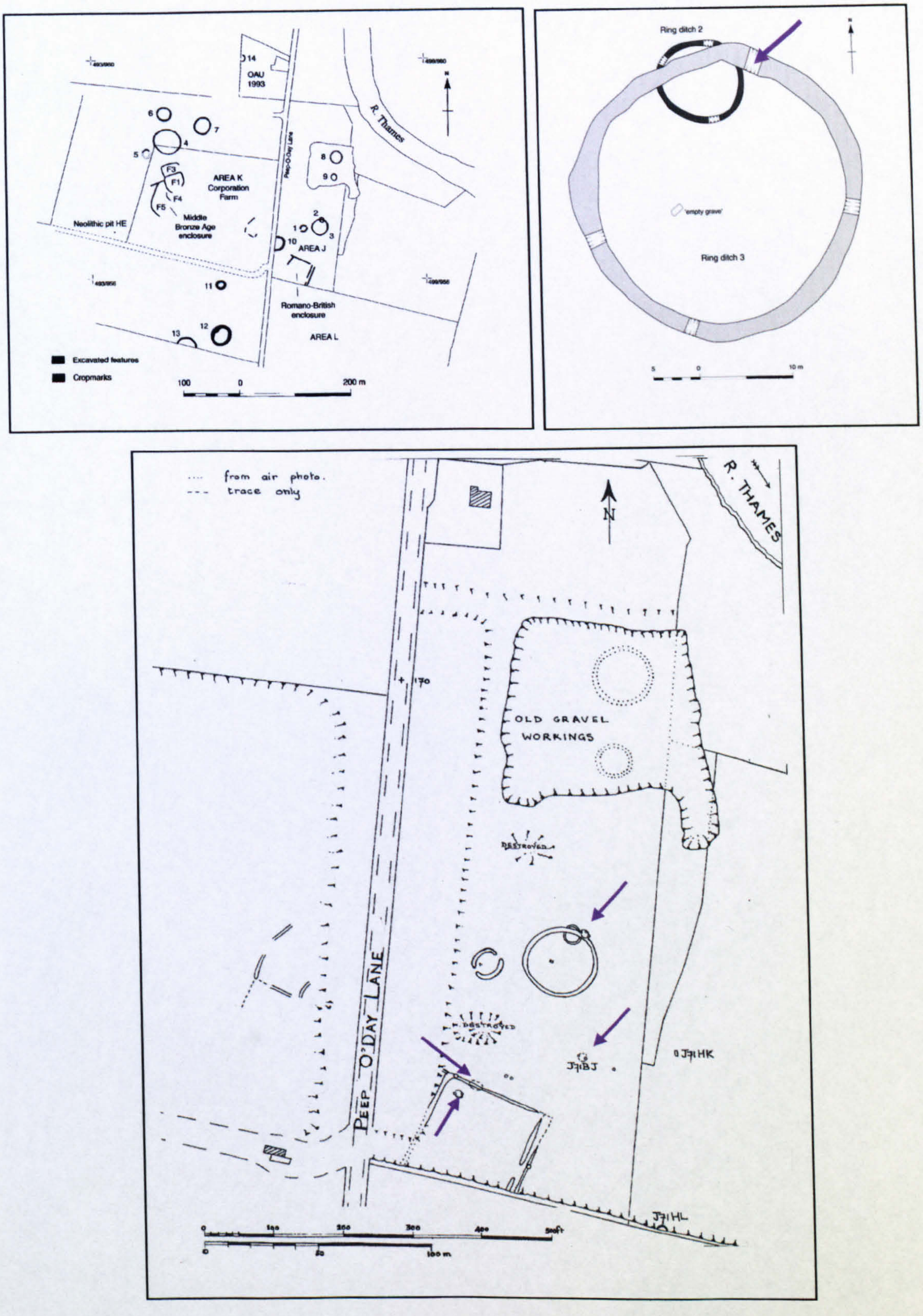


Fig. 5.27 Corporation Farm (Oxon). Overview of prehistoric and Romano-British features (top left) (from Barclay et al. 2003: 31, fig. 3.6). Detail of ring ditches 2 and 3 with the position of the SFB marked by an arrow (top right) (after Barclay et al. 2003: 33, fig. 3.7). Detail of the area containing the Anglo-Saxon occupation features with buildings marked by arrows (bottom) (after ADAS 1973: 41).

south of ring ditch 3, whilst the smaller SFB lay within the second-century enclosure and the 'lean-to' lay on the enclosure ditch (Barclay et al. 2003: 31, fig. 3.6). Nonetheless, the settlement was situated in a landscape rich in prehistoric remains, the nearby henge and ring ditches defining the northern and western edges of the area containing the buildings.

At **New Wintles Farm, Eynsham** archaeological investigation took place on four separate occasions in three adjacent fields, which were subsequently labelled Areas A to D (see figs. 5.28 and 5.29) (Clayton 1973: 382). The four episodes of excavation revealed four or five post-built structures, a well, scattered pits of various sizes, and twenty-one SFBs, two of which lay within ring ditches in Areas C and D (Clayton 1973: 384). Area A, to the north of the site, contained SFBs and post-built structures, which had been bounded to the east by palisade trenches containing substantial timbers (see fig. 5.29) (Chadwick Hawkes and Gray 1969: 2-3). Three post-built structures and eleven dispersed SFBs were discovered in Area A, representing several phases of settlement. SFBs 38 and 91 and posthole building 122 were thought to be sixth-century, whilst SFBs 36, 123 and 124 and a square posthole building were assigned a seventh-century date, and SFB 9 contained an unspecified decorated metal 'object' that might have been early eighth-century (Chadwick Hawkes and Gray 1969: 3). To the west of this settlement focus was Area D, which contained three Bronze Age ring ditches. Gray (1973: 18) found an SFB inside the most northerly of ring ditches, which had an internal diameter of c.20m, as well as another SFB and a post-built structure approximately 25m north of another ring ditch, and several pits and a well scattered across Area D.

The available information about Areas B and C was limited, and although the excavated features were marked on the general site plan, individual features were not labelled. However, the findings from these areas were briefly summarised by Gray (1974: 54), revealing that a further eight SFBs were exposed in Areas B and C. There were also many Anglo-Saxon pits of unknown function in these areas; these and the SFBs cannot be told apart on the site plan, so the exact positions of the buildings remain uncertain (Gray 1974: 55). It is known, however, that in Area C

there was another example of an SFB situated inside a ring ditch; this can be seen towards the south of Area C (see fig. 5.28) (a very similar feature, feasibly another SFB, also abuts the ring ditch on the plan, although this was not mentioned in the publications) (Gray 1973: 18; Clayton 1973: 384; Gray 1974: 54). In addition to the excavated settlement features at this site, there may have been more to south, where cropmarks of more SFBs and another ring ditch were noted (Gray 1974: 53).

Gray (1974: 54) believed that the associations between the SFBs and ring ditches in Areas C and D at New Wintles Farm were for 'reasons not considered to be coincidental', although she did not elaborate any further on her ideas. More recently, Semple (2003a: 162) has claimed that the barrows at New Wintles Farm would not have been visible in the Anglo-Saxon period as they had been completely ploughed away by the Iron Age or Roman period. However, all the evidence for ploughing on the site was medieval in date; there were no traces of prehistoric or Roman ploughing (Clayton 1973: 384). Thus, on the contrary, there *is* evidence to suggest that there could have been visible prehistoric earthworks at New Wintles during the Anglo-Saxon period, including a possible henge, and perhaps as many as six barrows scattered across Areas C and D, and to the south of the site.

The settlement at **Gatehampton Farm, Goring** was similarly situated within a prehistoric barrow cemetery consisting of at least twelve barrows (see fig. 5.30) (Allen 1995: 4). The excavated Anglo-Saxon features were not extensive. All but the eastern end of an SFB, which may have been fifth- or sixth-century in date, and a scatter of postholes to the north and south were exposed (Allen 1995: 45-7, 97). Some postholes formed lines, and were possibly the partial remains of post-built structures contemporary with the SFB. Around 200m to the west of the SFB, in what appeared to be part of a buried water channel, was a midden deposit containing charcoal, animal bones and sherds of Anglo-Saxon pottery, which indicated that occupation in the early medieval period might have been more widespread, a suggestion supported by the presence of residual Anglo-Saxon pottery in features across the site, between the excavated SFB and the midden (Allen 1995: 47, 97).

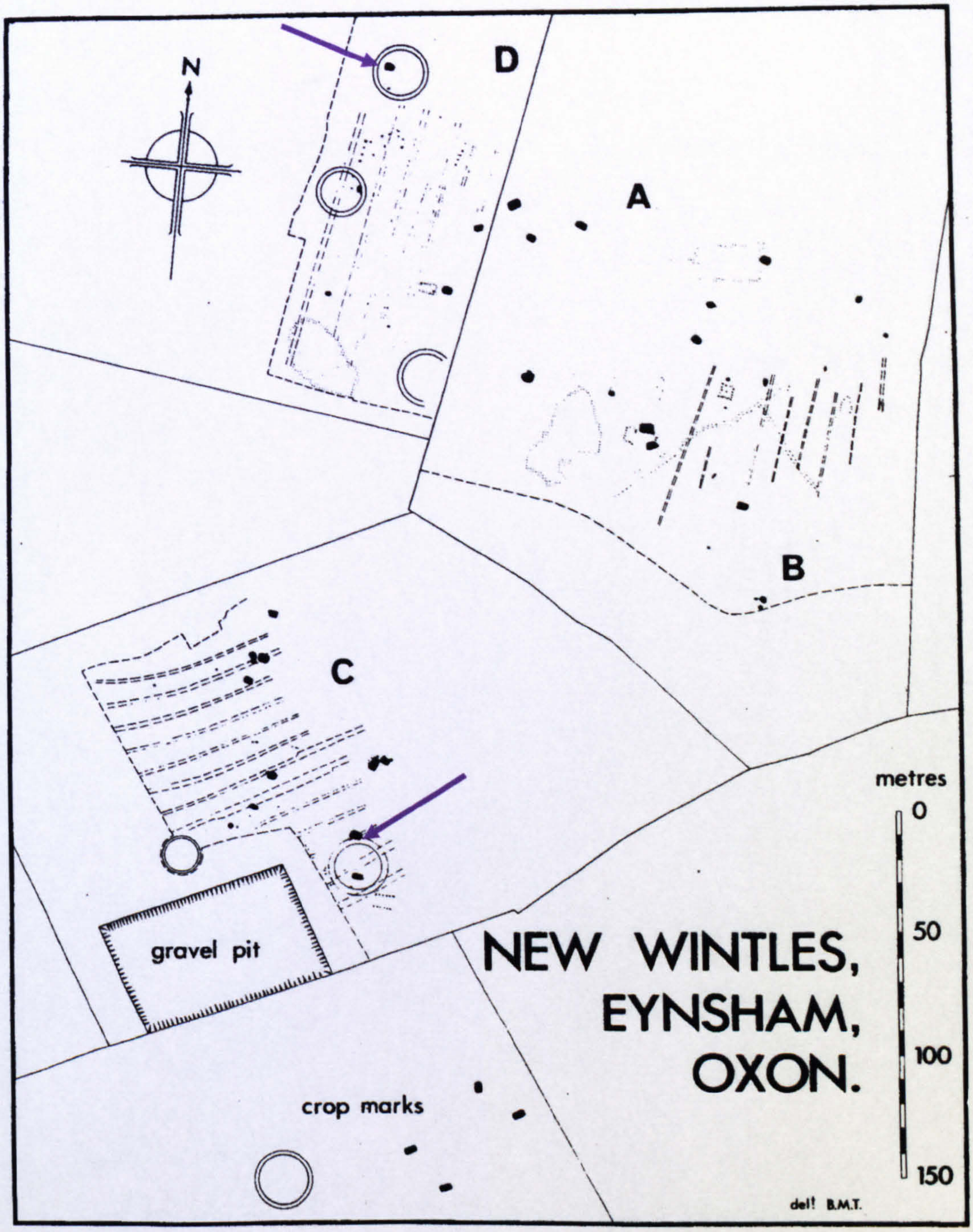


Fig. 5.28 New Wintles Farm, Eynsham (Oxon). General site plan showing the positions of Areas A to D and cropmarks to the south of the site, with the SFBs inside ring ditches in Areas C and D marked with arrows (from Gray 1974: 52, fig. 6).

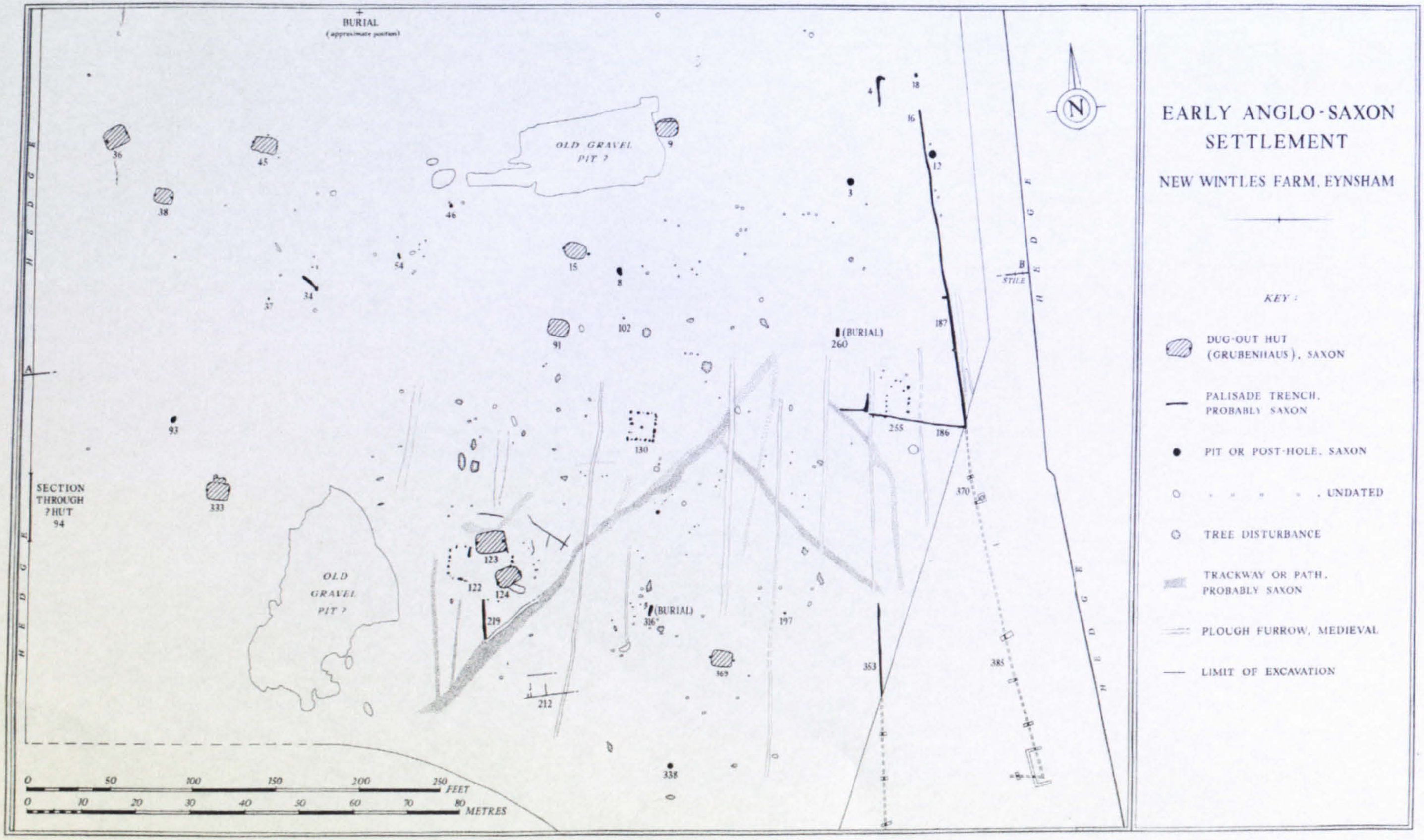
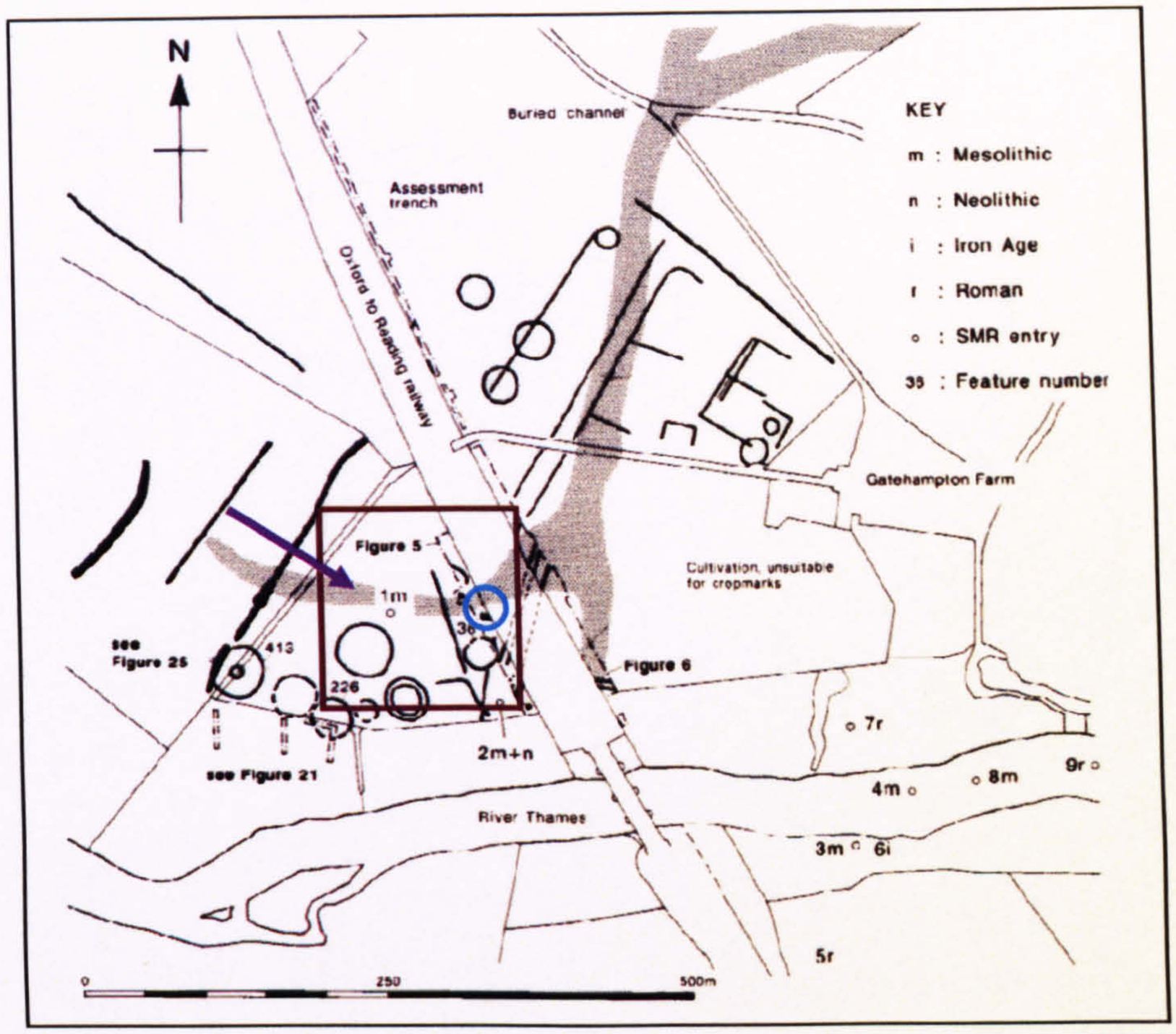


Fig. 5.29 New Wintles Farm, Eynsham (Oxon). Detail of the features excavated in Area A (from Chadwick Hawkes and Gray 1969: fig. 1).



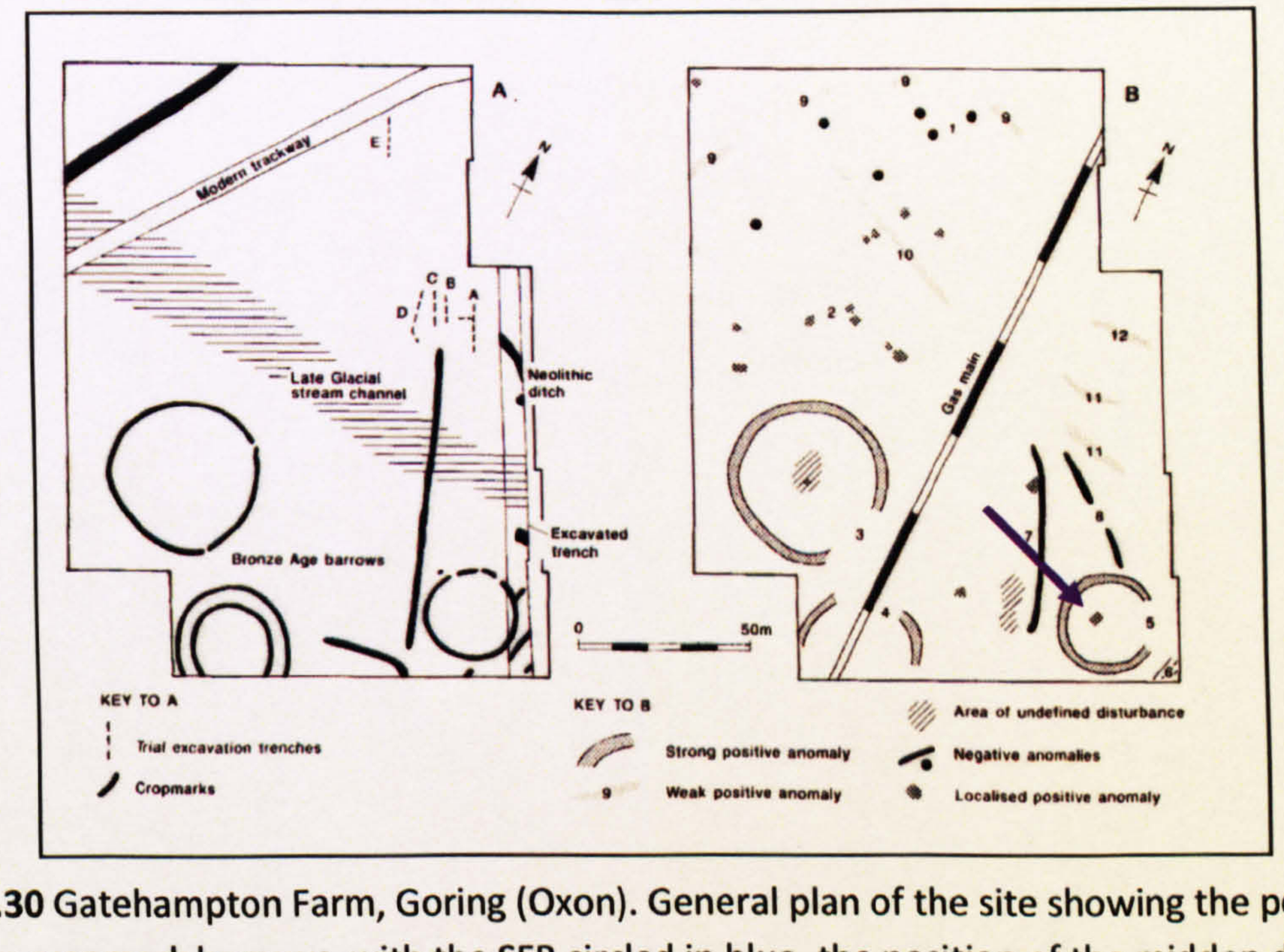


Fig. 5.30 Gatehampton Farm, Goring (Oxon). General plan of the site showing the positions of the cropmark barrows, with the SFB circled in blue, the position of the midden deposit marked by an arrow and the approximate position of magnetometer survey marked in red (top) (after Allen 1995: 2, fig. 1). Cropmark plot of the area subjected to geophysical survey (on the left) and interpretation of the geophysical anomalies (on the right), with the anomaly inside ring ditch 36 marked by an arrow (bottom) (from Allen 1995: 52, fig. 40).

The excavated SFB was located approximately 12m north of the ring ditch of a round barrow (feature 36), which had a diameter of c.25m (Allen 1995: 2, 32). Within an area c.200m wide to the south-west of the excavated SFB and barrow 36 were six further ring ditches. At least two of these (413 and an un-numbered example) had visible mounds at the time of excavation, standing between 0.10m and 0.75m tall, whilst another (226) had surviving mound material under the topsoil and may have originally been up to 2.2m high (Allen 1995: 31-5). A number of the barrows in the cemetery were therefore certainly visible in the Anglo-Saxon period, whilst others, including barrow 36, might also have had surviving mounds. The possibility that further ring ditches and Anglo-Saxon occupation lay to the west of the excavation area was confirmed by a magnetometer survey, which confirmed the presence of two other un-numbered ring ditches near to barrow 226 that had also been seen as cropmarks (Allen 1995: 49-53). Numerous discrete positive anomalies were also identified, some of which were likely to be further SFBs. Interestingly, one anomaly was situated in the middle of barrow 36; although the magnetometer survey cannot be considered a reliable indicator of the exact size of the feature, the anomaly measured roughly 4m by 3m; these dimensions are arguably too large for a grave, but are characteristic of SFBs (Tipper 2004: 1). At Gatehampton Farm, then, there seems to have been a potentially large Anglo-Saxon settlement situated within an area of prehistoric barrows, including one possible instance of a building located on top of a mound.

More extensive settlements within prehistoric monument complexes have been excavated at two more Oxfordshire sites, Barrow Hills and Sutton Courtenay, both of which will be discussed as case studies in the following chapter, so the evidence pertaining to them will be summarised fairly briefly here. At **Barrow Hills**, thirteen post-built structures and forty-five SFBs were identified, dating from the fifth to seventh centuries (see fig. 5.31) (Chambers and McAdam 2007: 66, 85-89, 297). The settlement lay at one end of a prehistoric monument complex that extended beyond the excavated area along a ridge to the north-east (Barclay and Halpin 1999: 1; Chambers and McAdam 2007: 4). Within the settlement were numerous prehistoric features, some of which certainly survived as earthworks into the Anglo-

Saxon period. These include a Neolithic oval barrow, two small ring ditches (801 and 201) that may have had mounds, and two pond barrows (4583 and 4866) with central 'ponds' and external banks (Barclay and Halpin 1999: 20-1, 48-52, 111-5). There were also three larger barrows within the settlement; Barrow 12 was a particularly large example and may have had both a central mound and an external encircling bank (Barclay and Halpin 1999: 97-102). Barrow 13, immediately north-east of Barrow 12, was also large and had an internal mound or bank, whilst Barrow 1 was similar in size and probably also similar in form to Barrow 13 (Barclay and Halpin 1999: 111, 141). There were also further prehistoric monuments that seem to have been too insubstantial to have survived, or that were destroyed by other earthworks, such as a pond barrow that was overlain by Barrow 12 (Barclay and Halpin 1999: 35).

The Anglo-Saxon buildings lay amongst the pre-existing barrows, mostly in an area defined to the south by Barrows 12 and 13 and to the east by Barrow 1. A number of buildings had modified barrows, such as one SFB (9) that had been dug into the centre of the Neolithic oval barrow, the ditches of which also contained Anglo-Saxon pottery (Barclay and Halpin 1999: 23; Chambers and McAdam 2007: 203-18). The upper levels of the ring ditch around Barrow 12 contained large amounts of Anglo-Saxon material, whilst an SFB (26) lay inside the ring ditch, apparently between the central mound and external bank (Barclay and Halpin 1999: 99-101; Chambers and McAdam 2007: 203-18). The ditch around Barrow 13 also contained Anglo-Saxon material, while an SFB (24) lay on top of the ditch (Barclay and Halpin 1999: 115). One of the smaller ring ditches (801) had three SFBs (14, 17 and 18) overlying its ring ditch too, potentially abutting its associated mound. A small quantity of Anglo-Saxon pottery also came from the top of the internal pit or 'pond' of pond barrow 4866, and an Anglo-Saxon burial had been placed near it, probably cut through the encircling bank (Barclay and Halpin 1999: 118). The buildings at Barrow Hills had, therefore, been located within an area containing many prehistoric monuments, with six buildings located on top of the mounds and ring ditches belonging to a number of different types of barrow.

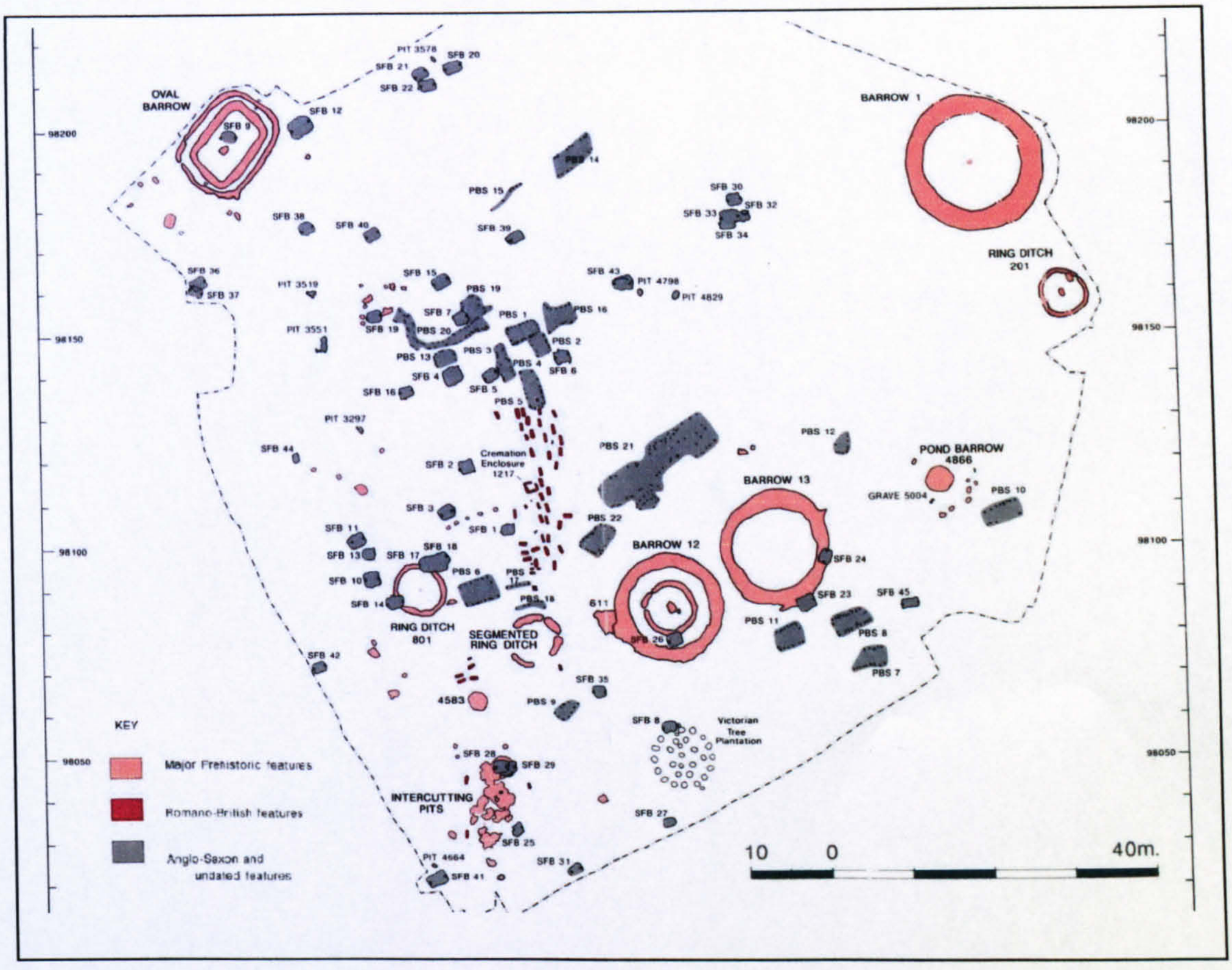


Fig. 5.31 Barrow Hills (Oxon). General site plan (after Barclay and Halpin 1999: fig. 1.9).

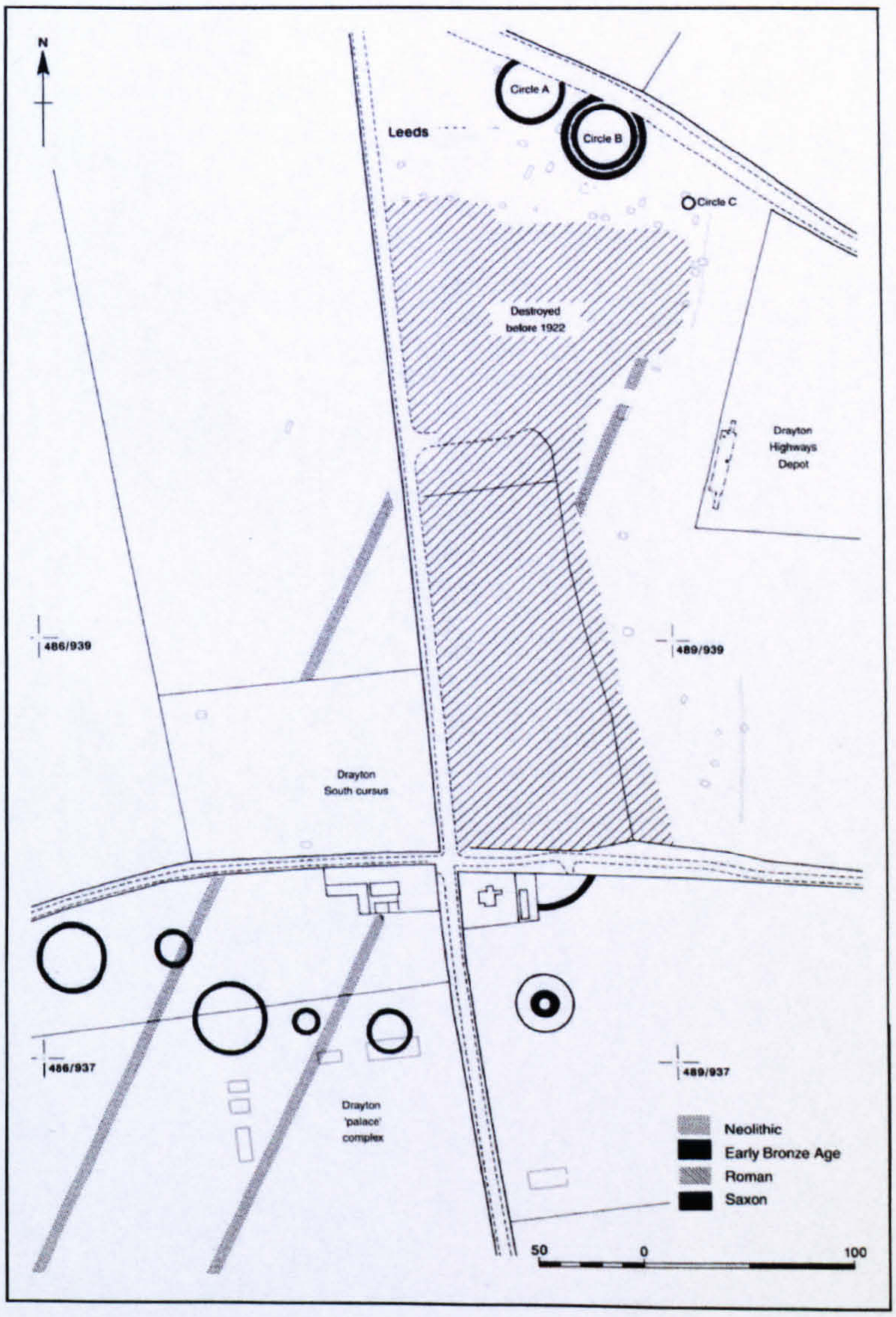
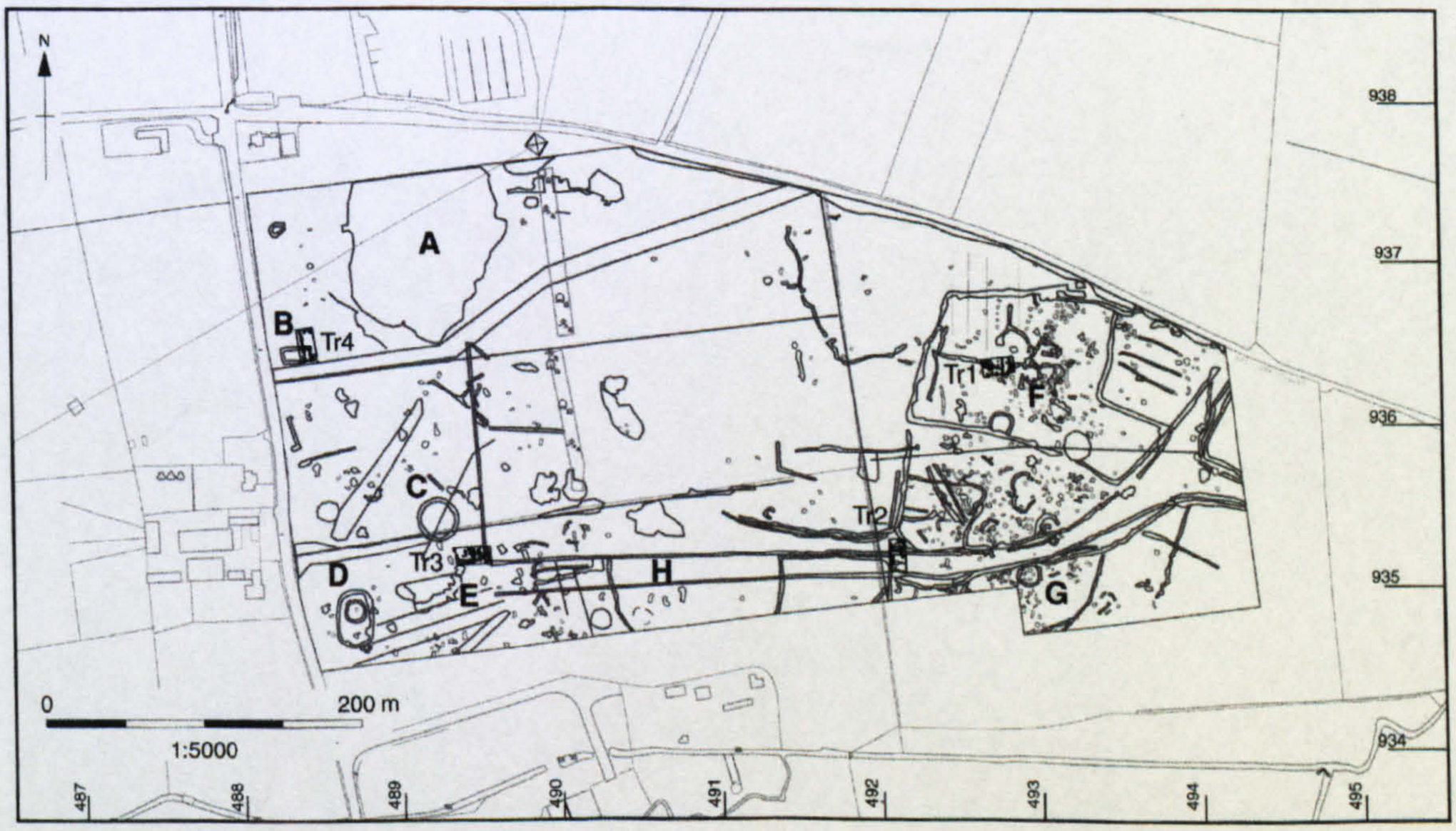


Fig. 5.32 Sutton Courtenay (Oxon). Overview of the site with Leeds's excavation area to the north and the complex of cropmark halls to the south (left) (after Barclay et al. 2003: 17, fig. 3.1). Magnetometer survey of the area investigated by Hamerow et al., showing the hall to the south-west of the main complex (B), ring ditch (C) and possible oval barrow (D) (below) (from Hamerow et al. 2007: illus. 4). See p.200 for discussion of the prehistoric linear features in the settlement.



The settlement at **Sutton Courtenay** was also extensive, and has been investigated on a number of occasions during the last century, revealing both prehistoric and early medieval elements to the site. E.T. Leeds first investigated the Anglo-Saxon settlement in 1921, when he was informed that 'pits' were being destroyed by gravel quarrying on land on the border of the parishes of Drayton and Sutton Courtenay (see fig. 5.32) (Leeds 1923: 147).[7] His investigations exposed traces of thirty-three fifth- to seventh-century SFBs and two possible post-built structures (Leeds 1923; 1927; 1947). In addition, several Bronze Age features were excavated at the northern end of the site, including a ring ditch (Circle A) with an internal diameter of c.20m (Leeds 1927: 60). A second excavated ring ditch (Circle B), was found to have sloping berms on both the inside and outside, whilst another smaller example (Circle C) was slightly to the south-east of Circle B (Leeds 1927: 60; Barclay et al. 2003: 22). An SFB had been constructed just outside the ring ditch of Circle A, another lay partially over the ditch of Circle B, and one also overlay the smaller ring ditch; each ring ditch therefore had an SFB either immediately adjacent to it or directly over it.

To the south of the area excavated by Leeds the cropmarks of five large timber buildings have also been identified, lying in an L-shape (Benson and Miles 1974b). These are particularly large buildings, and may represent a seventh-century or later 'palace' site (Blair 1994: 32; Hamerow et al. 2007: 187). A sixth building has recently been identified and partially excavated to the south-east of the others (Hamerow et al. 2007: 115). The buildings were located close to another cluster at least six of ring ditches; the three north-south orientated buildings were in line with the largest ring ditch, whilst another building cut across a smaller example (Barclay et al. 2003: 17, fig. 3.1). Along with the sixth building, recent work has also identified a previously unknown Neolithic oval barrow and another ring ditch on a geophysical survey, located to the south-west of the cropmark 'palace' site (Hamerow et al. 2007: 113, 131). Thus, the extensive site at Sutton Courtenay contained a dispersed Anglo-Saxon settlement within an area measuring around 750m north to south, within

[7] The settlement spans the parish boundary, but is commonly referred to as Sutton Courtenay (Hamerow et al. 2007: 113).

which were the remains of up to eleven barrows and a Neolithic cursus (see p.200); the relationships between these features will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 6.

Review of the Corpus: Reuse of Linear Features

At the fifth-to seventh-century settlement of **Glebe Farm, Brough** the positions and alignments of buildings appear to have been influenced by prehistoric enclosures; up to nine SFBs and fifteen post-built structures were found in amongst the enclosures of an Iron Age field system, following the east-west alignment of the pre-existing ditches (Jones forthcoming). There were also two Anglo-Saxon enclosures, which continued the Iron Age preference for an east-west by north-south alignment, and which formed a southern extension to the earlier ditch system, rather than a replacement of it. The buildings, on the whole, followed the alignment of the earlier ditches without modifying them in any way, although one SFB had been dug into an earlier ditch, and the walls of one post-built structure terminated at an earlier ditch, its south wall cutting into the ditch (Jones forthcoming). Unfortunately, site plans for Glebe Farm were not available for analysis, with the exception of one published but unlabelled interim plan (Knight and Howard 2004: 100, fig. 5.16; see fig. 5.33 below), meaning that there is little visual information to assess the relationships between the buildings and enclosures. However, the excavator was confident that the prehistoric landscape had influenced the Anglo-Saxon settlement layout (Jones forthcoming). In what form the enclosures remained is unknown; they may have had accompanying banks, or perhaps hedges, while the presence of medieval furrows overlying some of the Iron Age ditches supports the preservation of at least some of the ditches as hollows in the landscape into and beyond the Anglo-Saxon period (Jones forthcoming).

Similarly, at **Addenbrooke's,** several middle Anglo-Saxon buildings were located immediately adjacent to earlier enclosure ditches. A late Iron Age phase of settlement was dominated by a large sub-rectangular enclosure divided into smaller compounds, and had been replaced by a Romano-British enclosure system (Evans et al. 2005: 22). The Anglo-Saxon features were situated in the south-east corner of

the site, in the vicinity of one of the late Iron Age compounds (J6) (see fig. 5.34). They included two rectangular post-built structures (14 and 15), as well as five wells and a curvilinear length of ditch (F6) (Evans et al. 2005: 57-60). Structure 15 lay in a corner created by an Iron Age ditch and the northern ditch of an early Romano-British droveway that ran across the southern part of the site, on the same alignment as the adjacent Iron Age ditch. Structure 14 was on the same alignment as 15, and was also aligned on an adjacent ditch, in this case an early Romano-British one. Additionally, three of the wells were aligned in a north-south row, two lying on another Iron Age boundary ditch.

Although the first- to second-century Roman phase of enclosures at Addenbrooke's do not strictly correspond with the criteria of this study because they are not prehistoric, there are indications that elements of the previous phase of Iron Age enclosures survived, and that they remained visible into the Anglo-Saxon period. The enclosures may have been associated with banks or hedges, given that structure 15 and two of the wells were so precisely tied into the position and alignment of the Iron Age ditches (Evans et al. 2005: 65). The Roman enclosures formed droveways and appeared to have had an agricultural function, with little evidence for occupation; this lack of intense domestic occupation might have aided the preservation of the Iron Age features (Evans et al. 2005: 55). Furthermore, of course, the remains of both phases may well have had a very similar appearance as landscape features after their abandonment, meaning that the community living at Addenbrooke's may not have distinguished between the two, a possibility discussed in more detail below.

On the western edge of **Biddenham Loop**, approximately 1km south-west of the cluster of SFBs close to the Bronze Age barrow (SL62), was a second focus of settlement (SL63), consisting of eight SFBs (see fig. 5.35) (Luke and Barker 2010: 74). They were much more widely dispersed than those in settlement area SL62, being scattered over a distance of 600m from north to south along the river edge (Luke and Barker 2010: 75). Five buildings were arranged in a broad SE-NW orientated band 170m long, while the others were more isolated and closer to the river, two to

the north of the band and one to the south. These structures were located within a middle Bronze Age field system on the western side of the Loop, some in the middle of the fields and others around the edges, and it was suggested that they had been influenced by the continued presence of Bronze Age boundaries or hedges (Luke and Barker 2010: 75). The fields had, themselves, been orientated around earlier Bronze Age ring ditches in this area of the site; towards the north-eastern end of the field system each field contained a monument, and in some cases the monuments were incorporated into the boundaries at the corners of the fields (Luke and Barker 2010: 47). Thus, it is possible that at least some of these monuments were also visible in the area around the western cluster of SFBs. The small quantity of domestic debris recovered from these buildings included early Anglo-Saxon pottery, loomweights and two strap mounts (Luke and Barker 2010: 75). It is unclear exactly how these structures related to those to the north-east, although the early Anglo-Saxon pottery recovered from both may indicate that they were in use at roughly the same time.

Trial trenches dug on land at **Harston Mill, Harston** also revealed dispersed early to middle Anglo-Saxon features alongside late Iron Age ones (see fig. 5.36) (McDonald et al. 2000: 1). Part of a SFB was revealed in the middle of the evaluation area, whilst large subrectangular or sub-circular pits were found elsewhere, all partially uncovered in the narrow evaluation trenches (McDonald et al. 2000: 4-9). Although they were not interpreted as SFBs by the excavators, a number of these pits closely resembled the SFB in their sizes, forms and fills, although admittedly many were deeper than the SFB (see table 5.2) (McDonald et al. 2000: 4-9, 14). Thus, the settlement just might have been more extensive in terms of building numbers than the initial interpretation suggested. Also belonging to the Anglo-Saxon period were four ditches, all on a west-north-west/east-south-east alignment, and six closely-spaced narrow, intercutting gullies of field boundaries on a north-west/south-east alignment (McDonald et al. 2000: 6-13, fig. 2).

Feature No.	Trench	Size	Depth	Description	Fill
F1159 (SFB)	12	3.8m x 1.1m+	0.32m	Steep, straight sides and concave base	Pottery, animal bone, struck flint
Pit 1041	1	2.1m x 1.85m+	0.68m	Steep sides flat base	Pottery, animal bone
Pit 1051	1	1.8m x 1.5m+	0.85m	Vertical sides and flat base	Pottery, daub fragment, animal bone
Pit 1107	2	2.9m+ x 0.9m+	0.84m	Steep sides and flat base	Pottery, animal bone, slag, daub, tile, struck flint
Pit 1080	3	1.52m x 1.2m+	0.59m	Nearly vertical sides and flat base	Pottery, animal bone, struck flint
Pit 1015	4	2.1m x 1.4m+	0.63m	Steep sides and flat base	Pottery, animal bone
Pit 1017	4	1.8m+ x 1.1m	1.0m	Steep sides and concave base	Tile, daub, animal bone, slag, oyster shell
Pit 1026	4	2.0m x 1.2m+	0.63m	Sides and base concave	Pottery, animal bone, struck flint
Pit 1019	4	2.4m x 1.8m+	0.61m	Nearly vertical sides and flattish base	Pottery
Pit 1023	4	2.2m x 1.4m+	0.64m	Nearly vertical sides and concave base	Pottery, animal bone

Table 5.2 Dimensions, shapes and contents of the SFB and similar pits at Harston Mill.

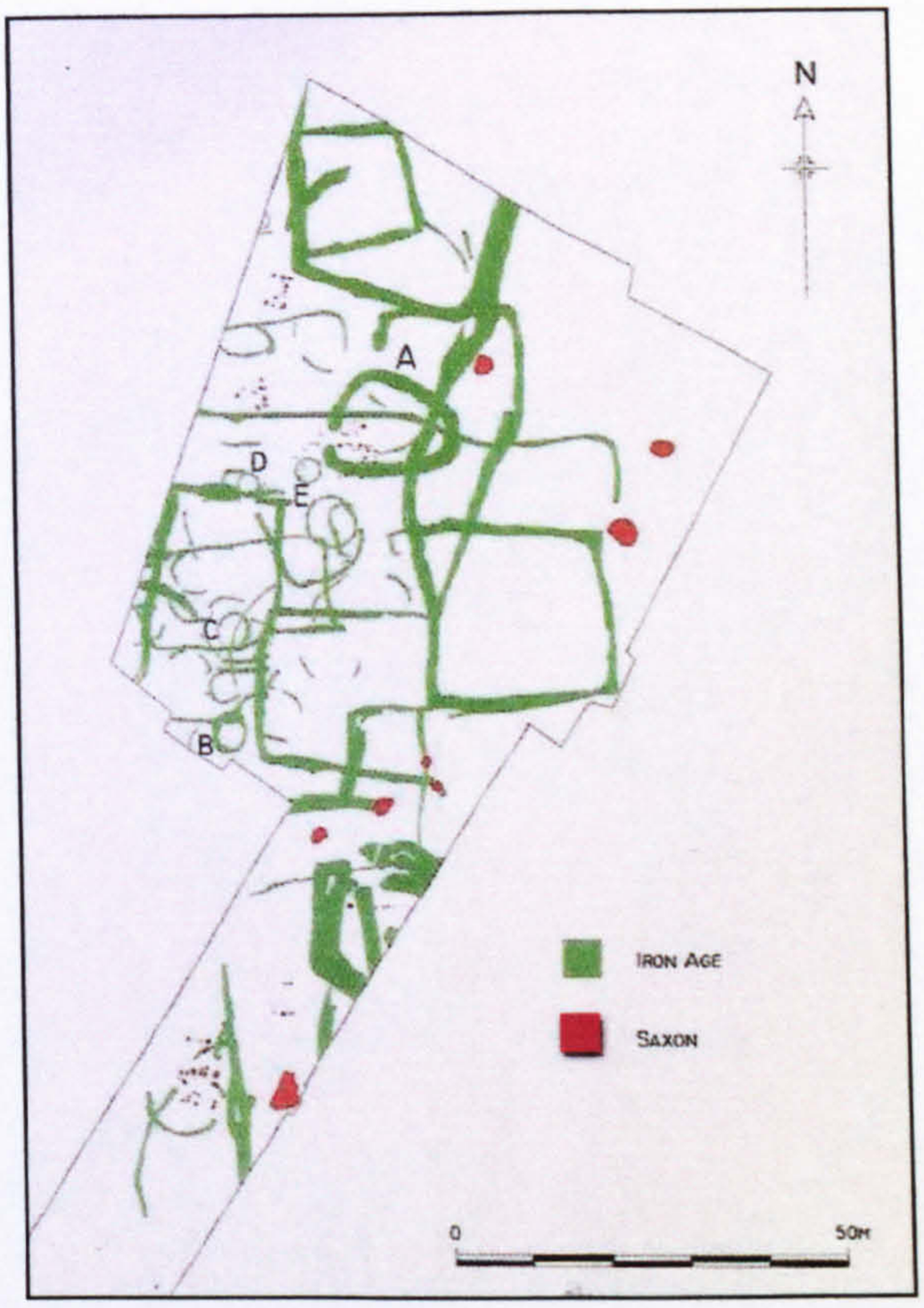


Fig. 5.33 Glebe Farm, Brough (Notts). The Iron Age field system is in green and the Anglo-Saxon buildings are red (from Knight and Howard 2004: 100, fig. 5.16).

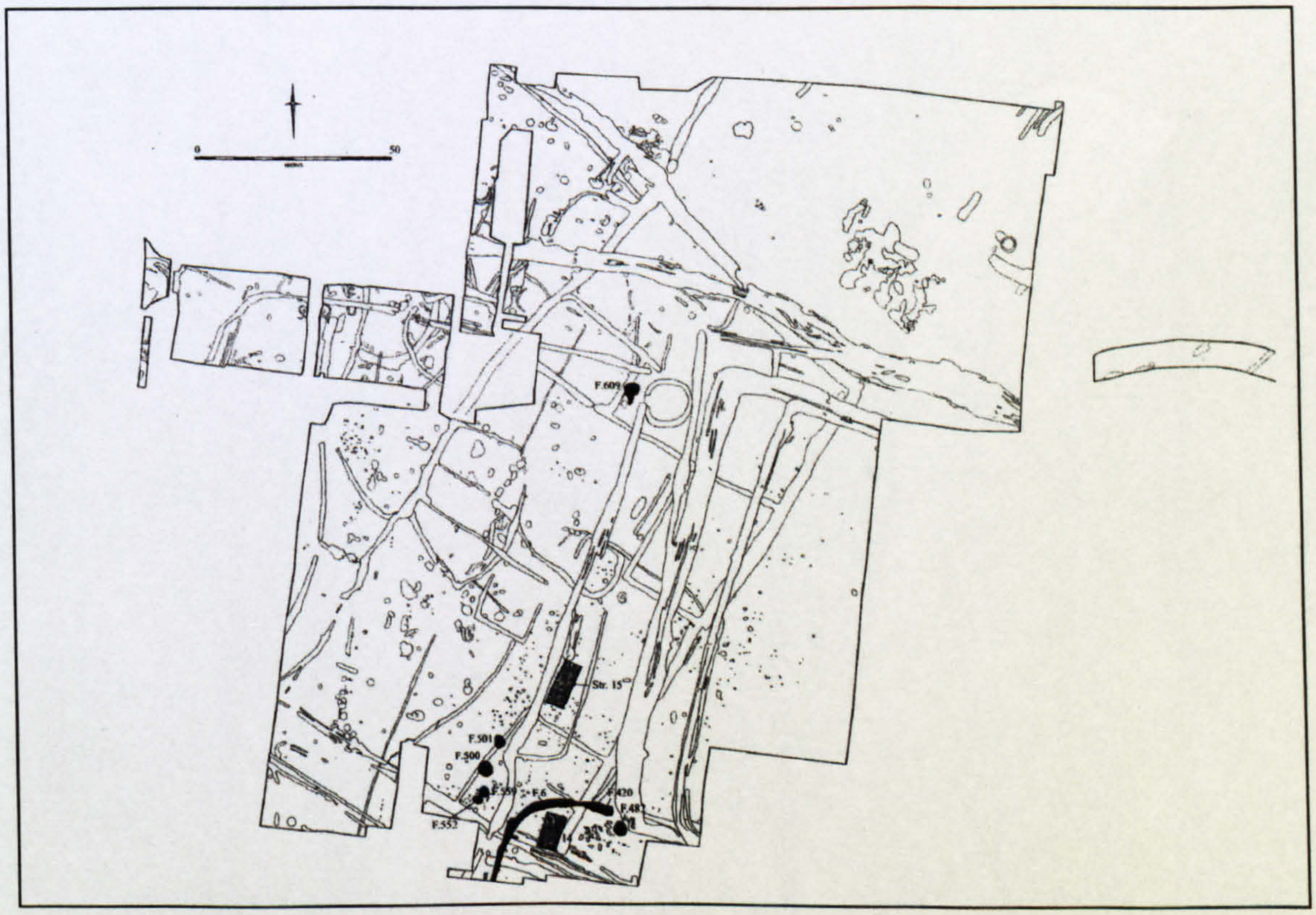


Fig. 5.34 Addenbrooke's (Cambs) with Anglo-Saxon features shaded in black (from Evans et al. 2004: fig. 19).

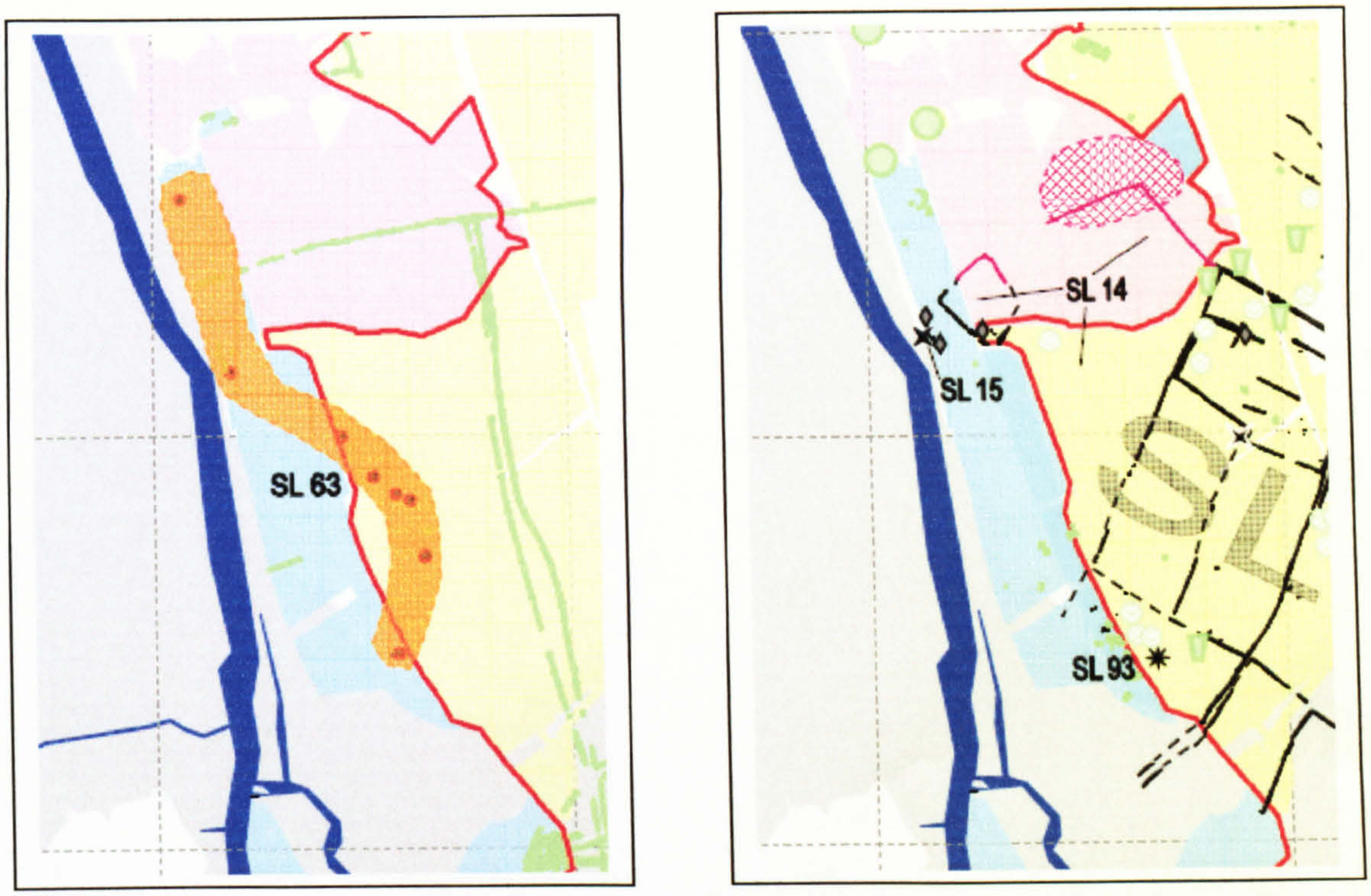
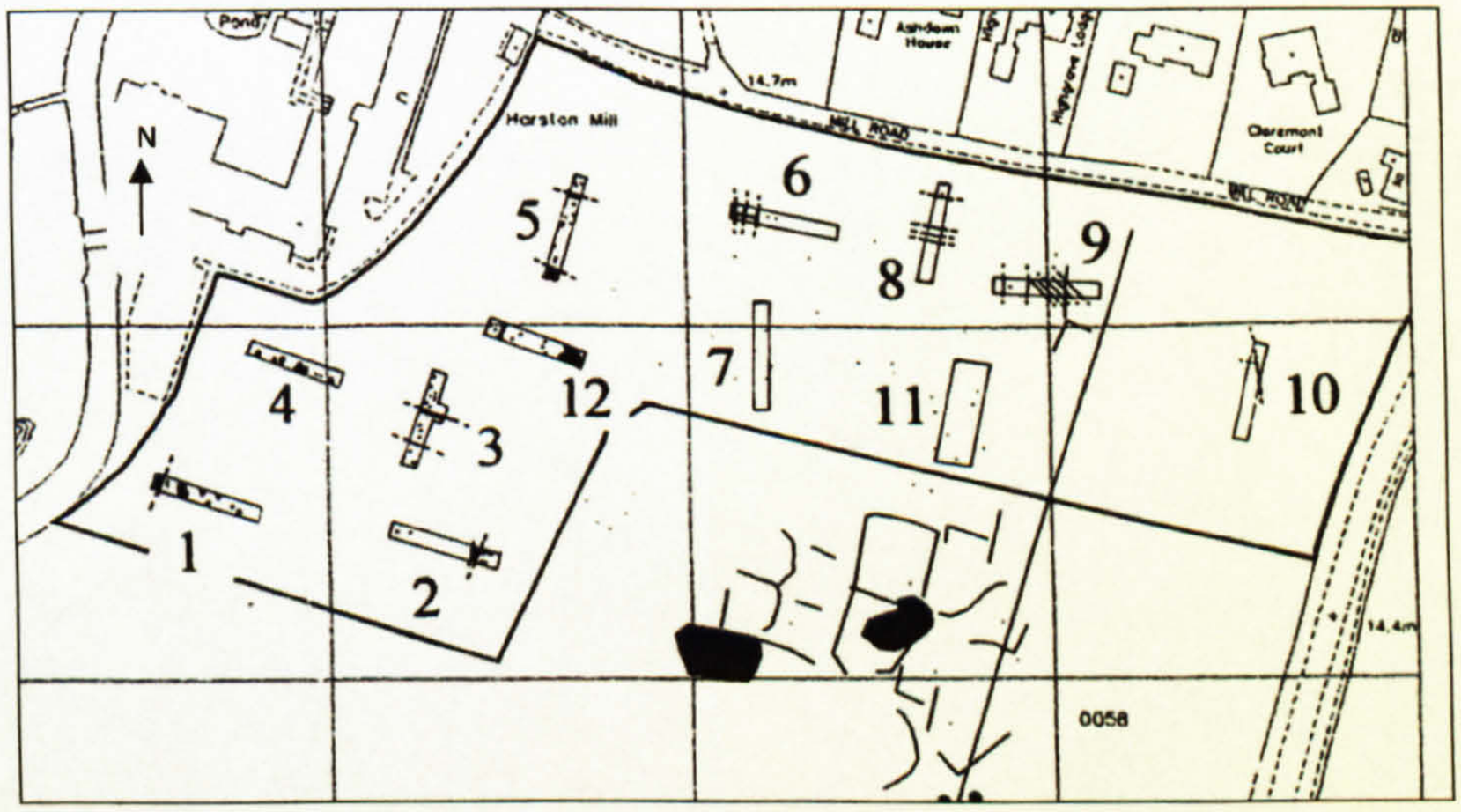


Fig. 5.35 Biddenham Loop (Beds). Detailed plan of settlement SL63 (left) (from Luke and Barker 2010: fig. 11.2). Plan of the same area showing the middle Bronze Age field system in black (right) (from Luke and Barker 2010: fig. 5.6) (see fig. 5.15 for an overview of the Biddenham Loop site).



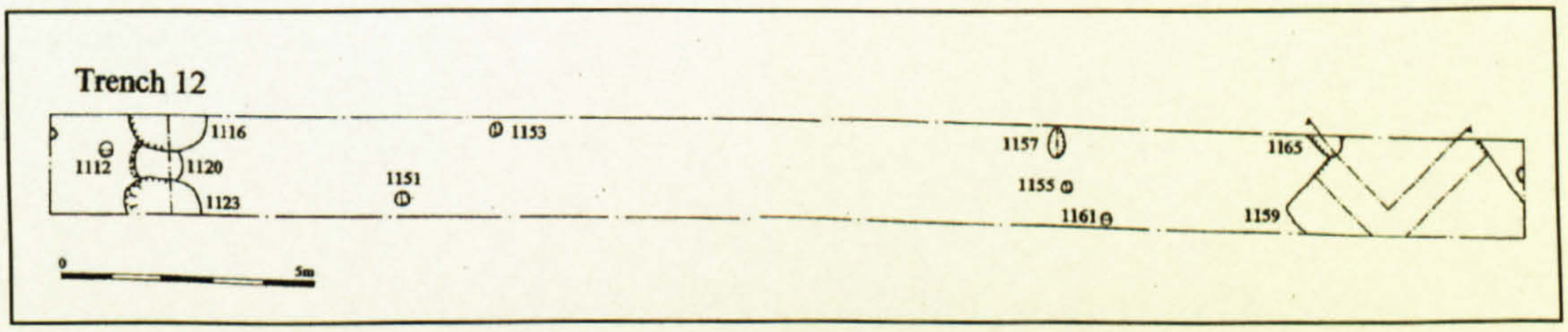


Fig. 5.36 Harston Mill, Harston (Cambs). General plan showing the positions of trial trenches and the cropmark field system to the south-east of the site; the courses of the Anglo-Saxon ditches in trenches 3 and 5 have been extrapolated (top) (after McDonald et al. 2000: fig. 2). Trench 12, with the SFB (F1159) at the south-eastern end of the trench (bottom) (after McDonald et al. 2000; fig. 6).

Features belonging to the late Iron Age at Harston Mill included a section of ditch that shared its alignment with a group of cropmark ditches noted to the south of the evaluation area, suggesting that it was part of a complex of enclosures that extended across the unexcavated part of the Harston Mill site (McDonald et al. 2000: 11, 16). If the line of the four Anglo-Saxon west-north-west/east-south-east ditches is extrapolated it appears that they were also on the same alignment as the cropmark complex, and it is possible that the field system survived as a feature which influenced the Anglo-Saxon site layout (McDonald et al. 2000: 16). However, the precise nature of this potential influence is difficult to ascertain due to the evaluative nature of the investigation, which could only reveal limited information about the size and function of excavated features and left large areas of the site unexcavated. Nevertheless, although the investigation was limited, it did appear to show that the Anglo-Saxon and Iron Age boundaries shared the same alignment, perhaps resembling the layout of the settlement at Glebe Farm.

Similarly, at **Elstow Harrowden**, in addition to a round barrow (see above), elements of an Iron Age field system were found amongst the early to middle Anglo-Saxon settlement features (see fig. 5.4) (Shepherd 1997: 8). Traces of Iron Age enclosures, including a 3m-wide ditch, were found in trenches to the north-east of the Bronze Age ring ditch, and further east were the cropmarks of more enclosures, which excavation confirmed were formed by large ditches containing Iron Age pottery. Similarly, on the site immediately to the south of the Elstow Harrowden trenches, the excavation of cropmarks confirmed that they were further Iron Age ditches, interspersed with Anglo-Saxon features (BCAS 1995a: 33-4). This site, like Harston Mill, lacked large-scale excavation, making interpretation of the relationships between the Iron Age and Anglo-Saxon features difficult. However, it does constitute another example of a settlement established over an Iron Age enclosure system, and may represent another site similar to Glebe Farm.

At **Pennyland** a sixth- to late eighth-century Anglo-Saxon settlement had been established on the site of an Iron Age enclosure system (see fig. 5.37) (Williams 1993: 3). However, the relationships between the two phases were less clearly

structured than at sites such as Glebe Farm and Addenbrooke's, and thus the suggestion that it displays reuse is more tentative. There were several phases of settlement, the first comprising a small dispersed settlement, established around the first half of the sixth century, which was followed by a major reorganisation involving the establishment of enclosures and droveways, imposed over the previous occupation area (Williams 1993: 93). Williams (1993: 93) placed this second phase in the late sixth or early seventh century, based on the presence of Ipswich ware, but subsequent re-evaluation of the dates of this pottery have suggested that it began to be produced in the seventh century or even as late as AD 720, continuing until around the mid ninth century (Blinkhorn 1999: 9; Moreland 2000b: 90; Blinkhorn 2009: 359). In the final phase, assigned a mid eighth-century date by Williams (1993: 93), the settlement reverted to a more dispersed layout again, consisting of two loose clusters of buildings.

The Anglo-Saxon settlement remains were on the site of an Iron Age field system and settlement (Williams 1993: 9). Possible associations between Anglo-Saxon and Iron Age features were in some cases fairly convincing, such as SFB 2 situated in the entrance to Iron Age Enclosure 3. On the other hand there were less convincing associations, such as SFB 7 located within Iron Age Enclosure 4, which could indicate that the enclosure was being reused; however, it also lay within the much larger Anglo-Saxon Enclosure 1, and thus the location of the SFB may have been coincidental. However, there is the possibility that the smaller, earlier enclosure was used as an internal feature, as its eastern corner coincides almost exactly with the eastern boundary of the larger Anglo-Saxon enclosure.

Elsewhere, SFB 10 was situated on top of a ditch of Iron Age Enclosure 2, while on the south-east side of the site timber hall 2 appeared to abut Iron Age ditch 582 (Williams 1993: 74). Meanwhile in the eastern part of the site the Anglo-Saxon Enclosures 2 and 3 and Droveway 1 shared a relatively similar alignment with the Iron Age ditch 582 and droveway, with both droveways leading off to the east or south-east of the site. However, this might have been related to local topography, as the land sloped downwards at this point. Plough damage and overstripping

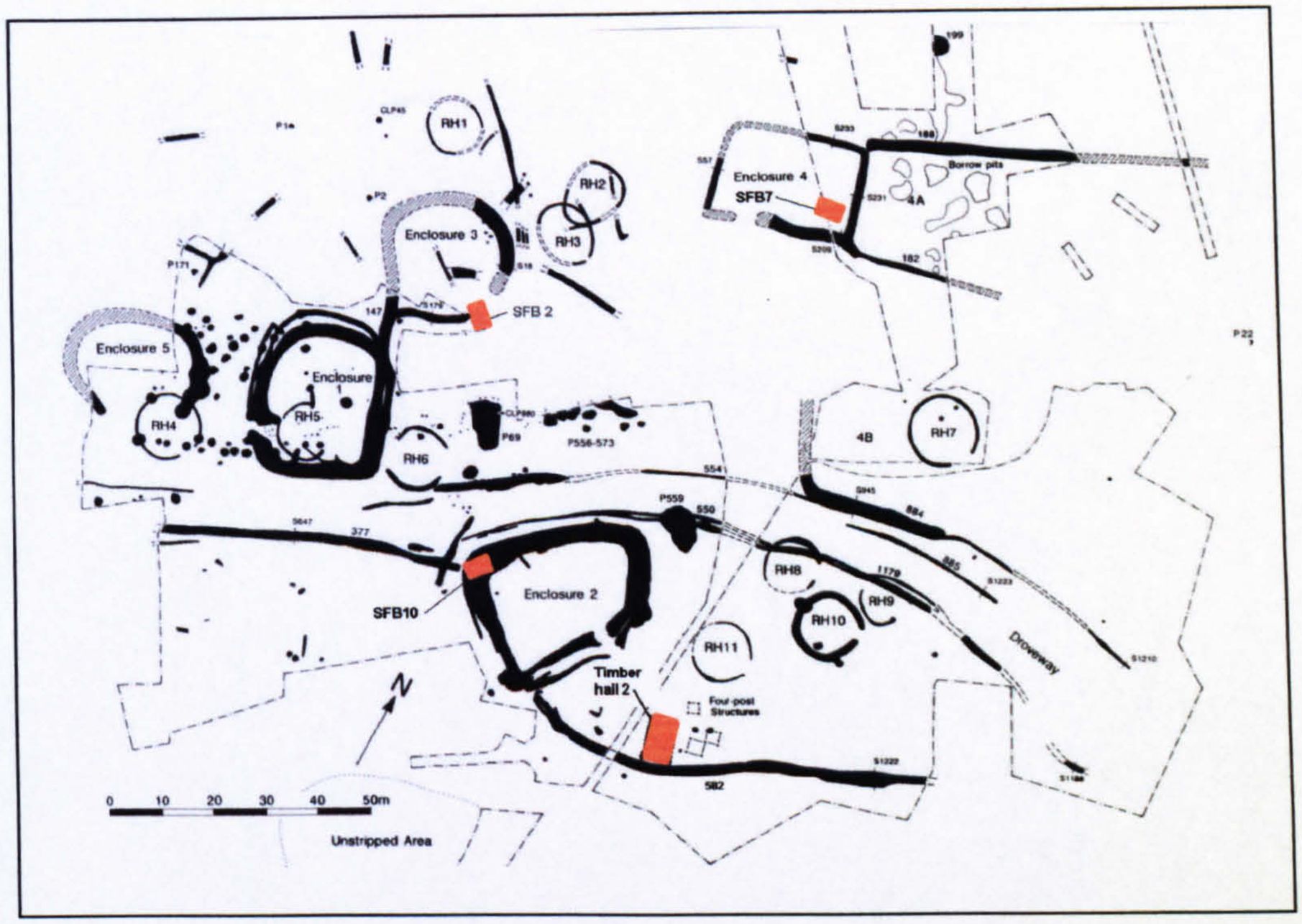
ahead of excavation at Pennyland made it impossible to ascertain whether the Iron Age ditches had been accompanied by banks, although as they were interpreted as livestock enclosures some form of bank or hedge would have been expected (Williams 1993: 19). It was, therefore, difficult to determine whether the Iron Age features had survived as earthworks into the Anglo-Saxon period, although there are relationships between features of both dates, such as the SFB located in the entrance to Iron Age Enclosure 3, that support the assertion that at least some of these enclosures remained to influence the later settlement.

At **Cossington**, in addition to the barrow excavated to the south of the Anglo-Saxon settlement (see above), several large Iron Age ditches were located in the same trench as the settlement (see fig. 5.11) (Thomas 2007b: 65-7). On the northern edge of the excavation area was a right-angled enclosure ditch, which contained Iron Age pottery. The exposed part of the enclosure measured c.15m in width and may have been part of a larger square enclosure, the ditch of which was up to 2.7m wide and 0.6m deep and may have been re-cut a number of times. There were also the ends of two substantial ditches on the western edge of the trench. The Anglo-Saxon settlement features were towards the east of the trench, and there is little evidence to show any obvious associations with the Iron Age enclosures. However, the fact that all these features were located at the edges of the trench and only partially exposed may have resulted in relationships between the two phases being poorly understood. Furthermore, the SFB lay in the angle of a ditch that was not excavated; Anglo-Saxon material was observed in it, but there is the possibility that it in fact belonged to the Iron Age phase, especially since further ditches of that date were discovered to the south-east of the trench (Thomas 2007b: 66).

At **Grange Park, Courteenhall** fieldwalking identified four scatters of broadly early to middle Anglo-Saxon pottery and several foci of Iron Age settlement in an area of c.9ha (see figs. 5.38 and 5.39) (Buteux 2001: 1). The only Anglo-Saxon building to be excavated was an SFB, which lay under a pottery scatter in Area 10 of the site (Buteux 2001: 20). The building was situated close to a complex of Iron Age boundaries and enclosures, including a 5m-wide droveway and five subrectangular

and polygonal enclosures, which were all to the west and south of the SFB (Buteux 2001: 26). Although the enclosures to the south seem to have been substantial, the building was located some distance away from them and they may have had little effect on the building's location. It was closer to the Iron Age droveway, which ran from south-east to north-west c.15m to the west of the building; if this droveway was still visible in the landscape during the Anglo-Saxon period, it might feasibly have formed a useful route across the site and might therefore have influenced the building's position.

Elsewhere at Grange Park, in Area 6, a scatter of Anglo-Saxon pits seemed to have been more convincingly positioned in relation to two Iron Age enclosures, EN 13 and EN 14 (Buteux 2001: 20-1). There were three pits lying within EN 14, all fairly close to the entrance in its eastern side, whilst there were three more to the north in EN 13, including an elongated pit, at least 1.82m long that, interestingly, formed a partial re-cut of a Iron Age roundhouse ring ditch (Buteux 2001: 35-6). Although further Iron Age and early Roman enclosures were found to the east of EN 13 and EN 14, the Anglo-Saxon pits all clustered within EN 13 and EN 14 (Buteux 2001: 29-32). The eastern edges of EN 13 and EN 14 and the western edges of the other enclosures formed a trackway running north-west to south-east across the site; if it survived into the Anglo-Saxon period it would have provided access to the two reused enclosures. The large assemblage of Anglo-Saxon pottery recovered implies that there had been more extensive occupation, including further buildings, in both Areas 6 and 10, but plough damage from the medieval to modern periods had caused significant damage to many features, and may have eradicated more ephemeral ones belonging to the Anglo-Saxon period (Buteux 2001: 23, 38-9). Nonetheless, there is some evidence to suggest that the earlier droveways at Grange Park may have influenced the Anglo-Saxon settlement, and the pits in enclosures EN 13 and EN 14 may also indicate that they were reused by a later settlement, much of which has now been destroyed.



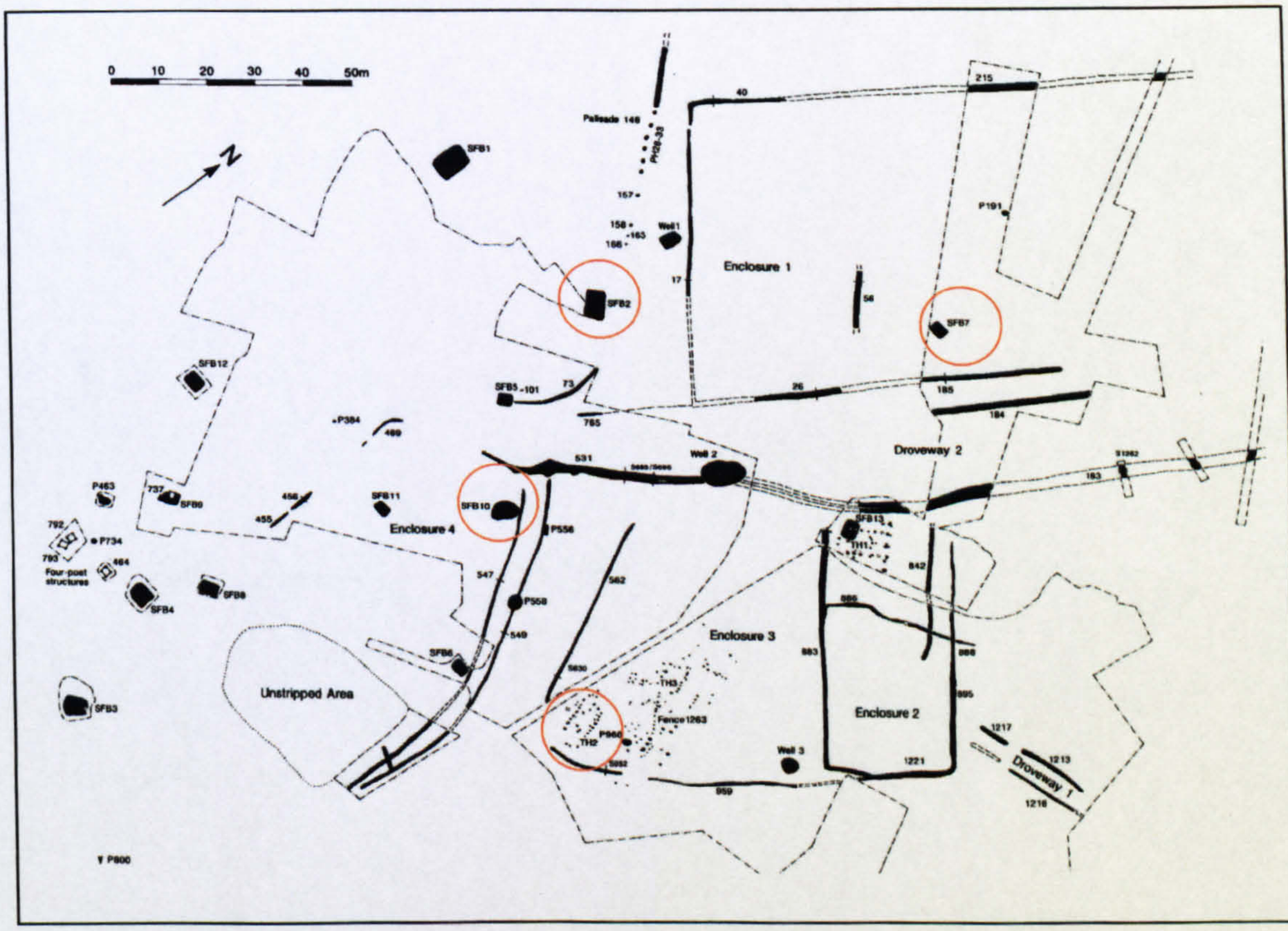


Fig. 5.37 Pennyland (Bucks). Plan of the Iron Age features with the Anglo-Saxon structures discussed in the text highlighted in orange (top) (after Williams 1993: 8, fig. 5). Plan of the Anglo-Saxon features with the features discussed in the text circled so that their forms, sizes and positions in relation to the rest of the settlement can be more clearly seen (bottom) (after Williams 1993: 48, fig. 25).

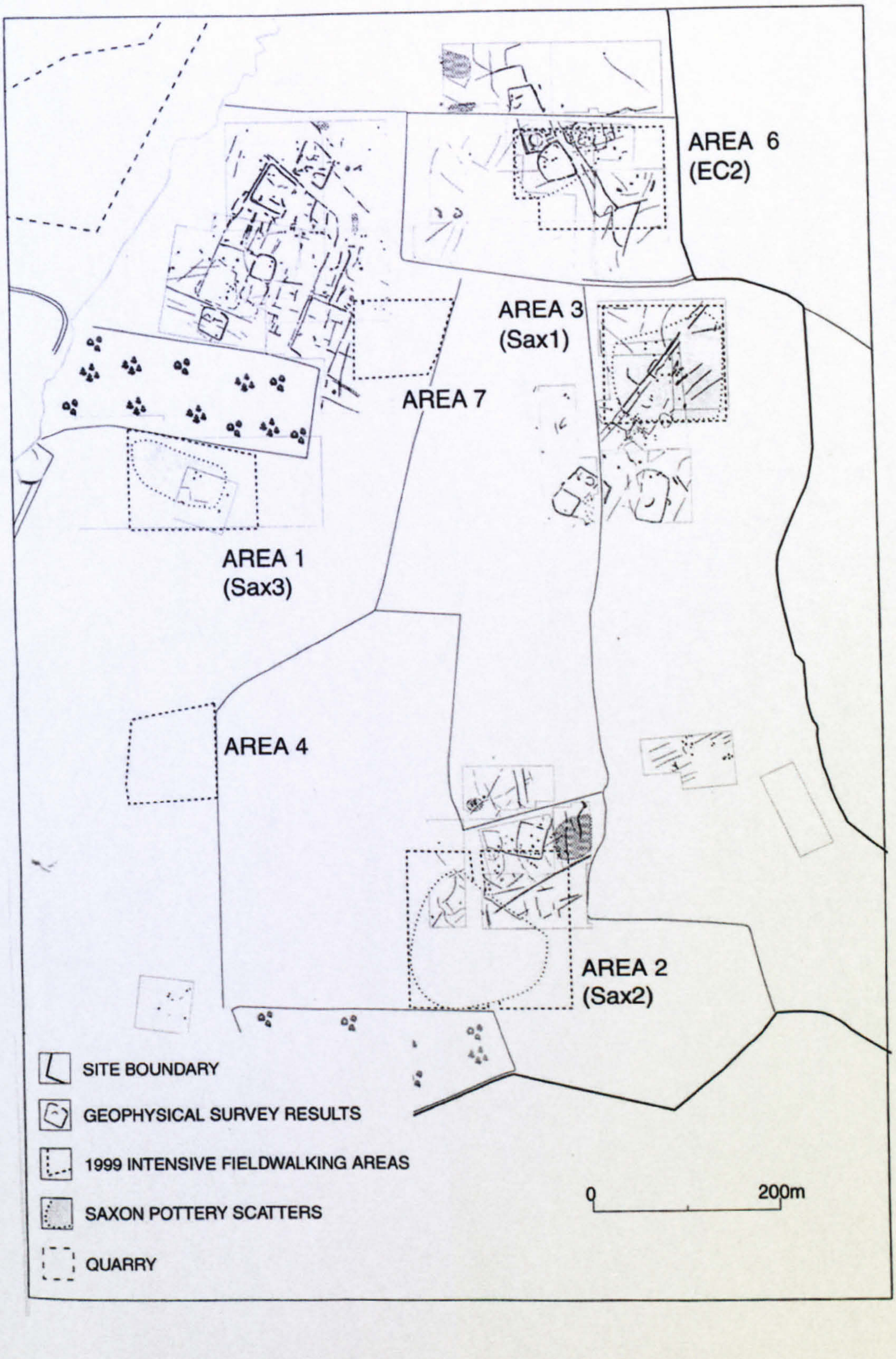
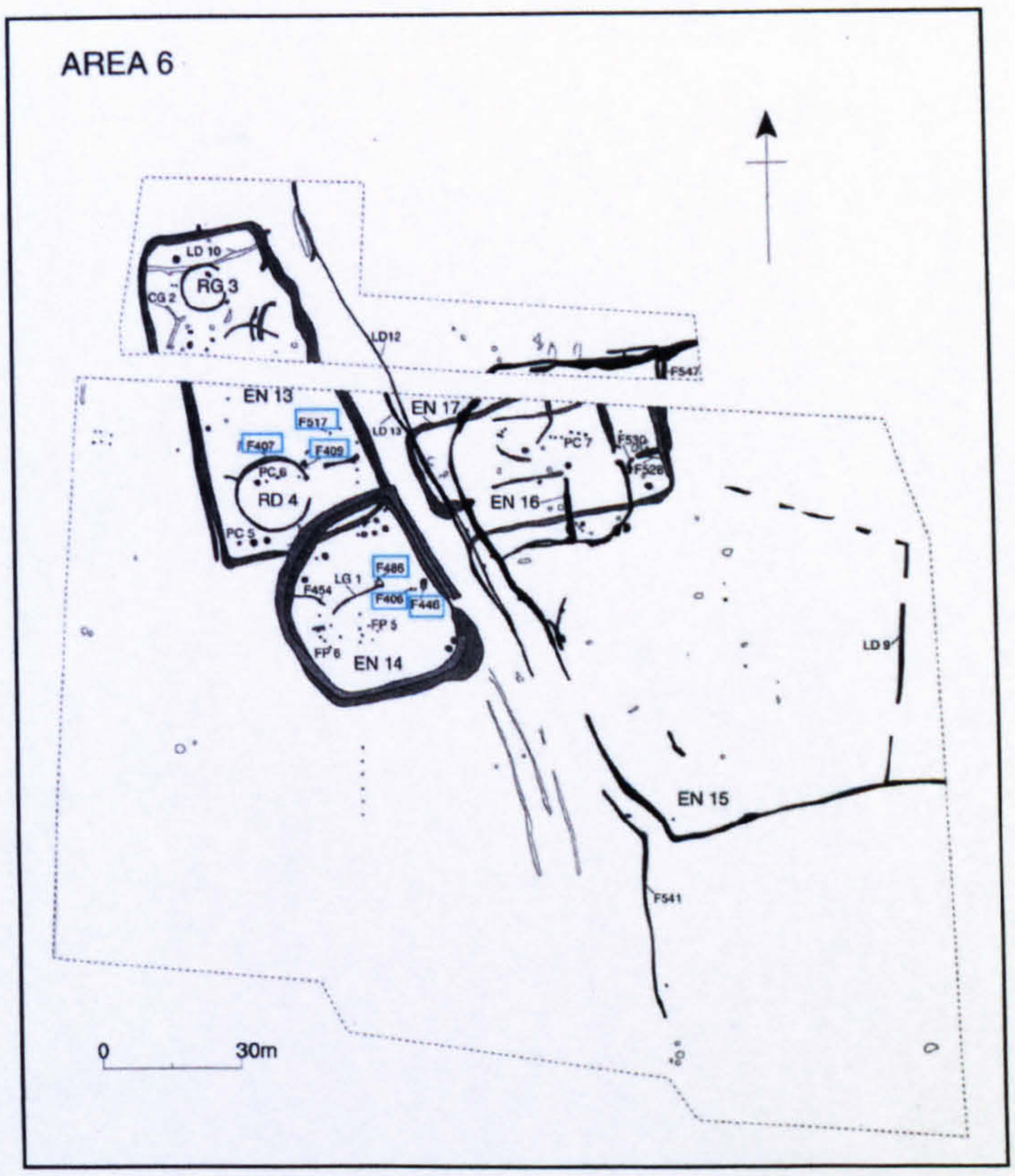


Fig. 5.38 Grange Park, Courteenhall (Northants). General plan of the site showing the positions of Anglo-Saxon pottery scatters and the excavation areas (from Buteux 2001: fig. 23).



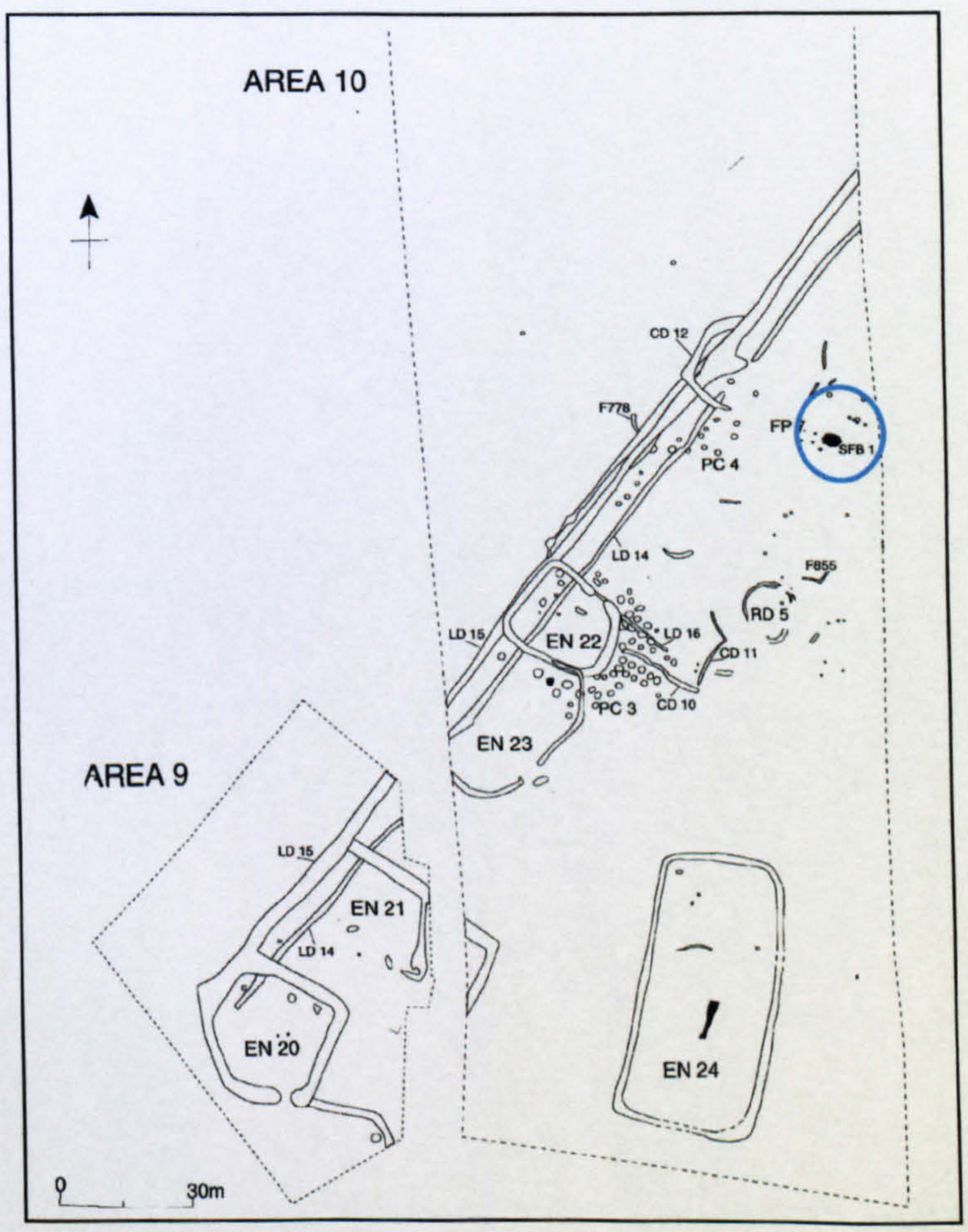


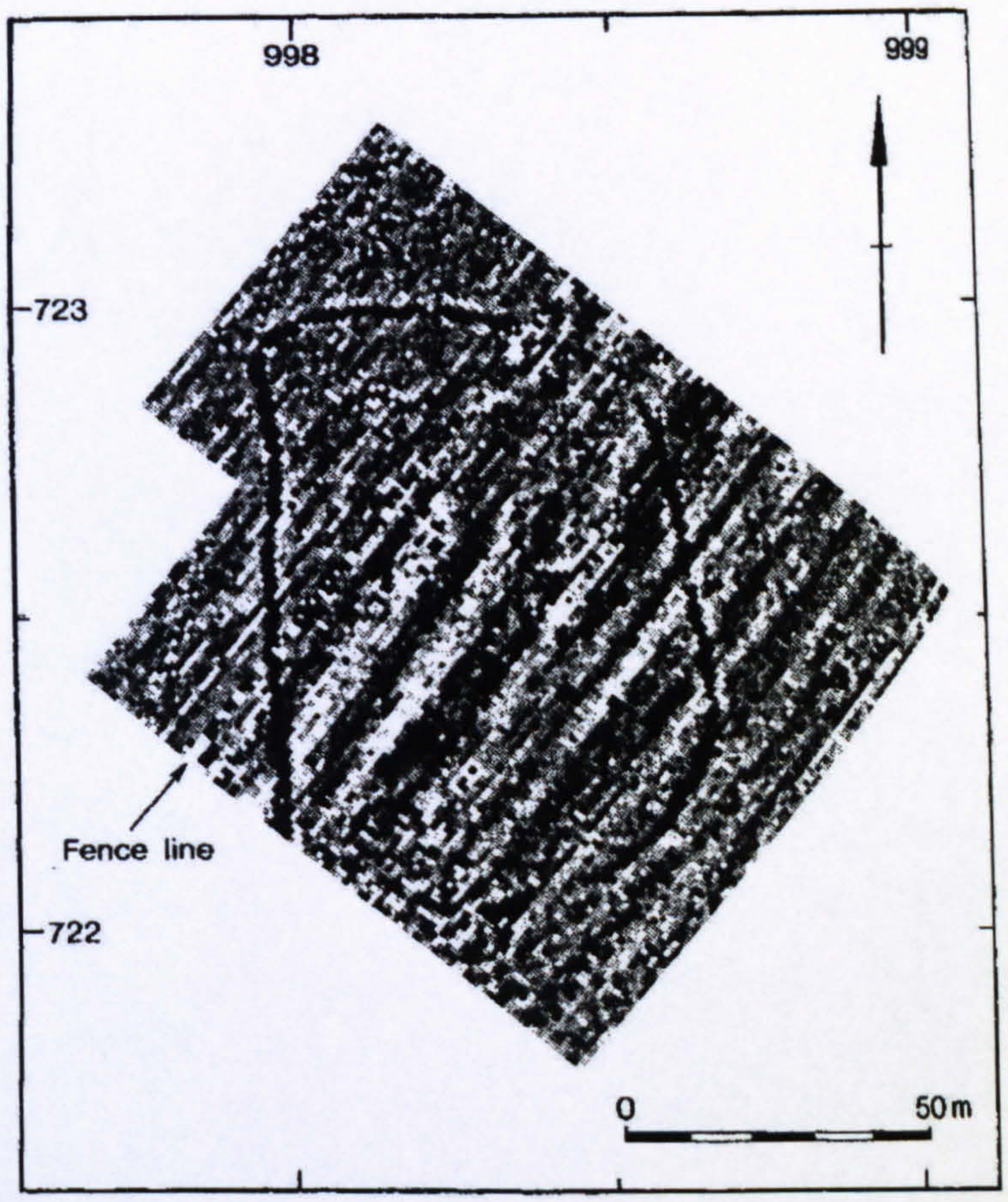
Fig. 5.39 Grange Park, Courteenhall (Northants). Area 6 with Anglo-Saxon pits marked in blue (top) (after Buteux 2001: fig. 28) and Area 10 with SFB circled in blue (bottom) (after Buteux 2001: fig. 29).

At **Cassington**, as well as numerous round barrows (see above), there was also a large Iron Age enclosure, known as the Cassington Great Enclosure, situated south of the A40 (see fig. 5.7) (Atkinson and Crouch 1945: 93; Atkinson 1947: 7; Hey 2004: 10). The enclosure had a circumference of c.700m (Benson and Miles 1974a: 87) and sections across the ditch indicated that it was c.9m-11m wide and c.3.5-4m deep with an internal bank and possibly an external one too (Harden 1942: 106; Atkinson and Crouch 1945: 93; Atkinson 1947: 7). The Anglo-Saxon buildings at Cassington were generally located to the east and north of the enclosure, but the enclosure ditch was found to contain early to middle Anglo-Saxon pottery, indicating that it had been open, or re-cut, in this period (Atkinson and Crouch 1945: 94; Hey 2004: 10). As much of the inside of the enclosure was destroyed without investigation there is no way of knowing whether further buildings or other occupation features might have been situated within the enclosed area (Benson and Miles 1974a: 84). The banks, and possibly the ditches, of the enclosure seem to have become a focus of Anglo-Saxon activity at the site, and in combination with the many barrows may have created a backdrop of earthworks that attracted interest in the early medieval period.

Magnetometer survey and excavation at **Thorpe End, Raunds** revealed the presence of an Iron Age enclosure containing Anglo-Saxon features (see figs. 5.40 and 5.41) (Parry 2006: 234). Part of an early to middle Anglo-Saxon post-in-slot structure was excavated, while 200m to the west, in another trench, were irregular pits of the same date (Parry 2006: 236-7). The building's post-in-slot trench had two phases, indicating at least one re-building of the structure, whilst the remains of a clay floor were also found. The building was situated in the north-west corner of the Iron Age enclosure, which was D-shaped and measured 97m by 68m, with a possible 10m-wide entrance in its southern side (Parry 2006: 235-7). Sections across the ditch on the northern and western sides of the enclosure showed that it was c.2m wide and cut up to 0.85m deep into the natural limestone, and that it may have had an associated bank. The excavations at Thorpe End took place on a small scale, but it was clear from the amount and spread of pottery recovered during

fieldwalking that further Anglo-Saxon activity had taken place over much of the area in and around the Iron Age enclosure (Parry 2006: 235, fig. 6.49).

A similar situation to Thorpe End was witnessed at **Enderby**, where fieldwalking recovered fifth- to sixth-century pottery from within another D-shaped Iron Age enclosure (see fig. 5.42) (Clay 1992: 1-5). Although excavation inside the enclosure did not uncover any Anglo-Saxon remains, about 20m outside of it part of an SFB was found at the limit of the excavation (Clay 1992: 30). Nearby postholes and gullies were undated, but may have been associated with the SFB, whilst considerable plough damage had destroyed all features except those cut into the subsoil, which may explain the lack of further Anglo-Saxon features (Clay 1992: 6, 30). The enclosure was found to have been modified several times, ending up as a D-shaped area with wide, deep ditches and possible banks (Clay 1992: 22-4). Charcoal from all the ditch phases included hedgerow species, possibly indicating that hedges were used to augment the boundaries. The eastern ditch of the enclosure had evidence for bank material being ploughed back into it as late as the early post-medieval period, when stone drains were also inserted into the older ditch, suggesting that both the bank and ditch were preserved in the landscape at that time (Clay 1992: 32). Furthermore, around 350m south of the D-shaped enclosure was another Iron Age enclosure of a similar size and shape, with possible evidence for Anglo-Saxon funerary activity (Sharman and Clay 1991; Meek et al. 2004: 5-13). A cremation in a possible fifth- to seventh-century vessel had been buried outside an entrance to a roundhouse within the enclosure. This enclosure also had substantial ditches, the upcast from which may have been used to form a bank. Both enclosures at Enderby therefore seem to have formed the focus of Anglo-Saxon activity, comprising both burial and settlement activity, but whether this is because the two enclosures were in fact reused for different activities by one community or if it is simply the result of the partial excavation of the enclosures is unknown.



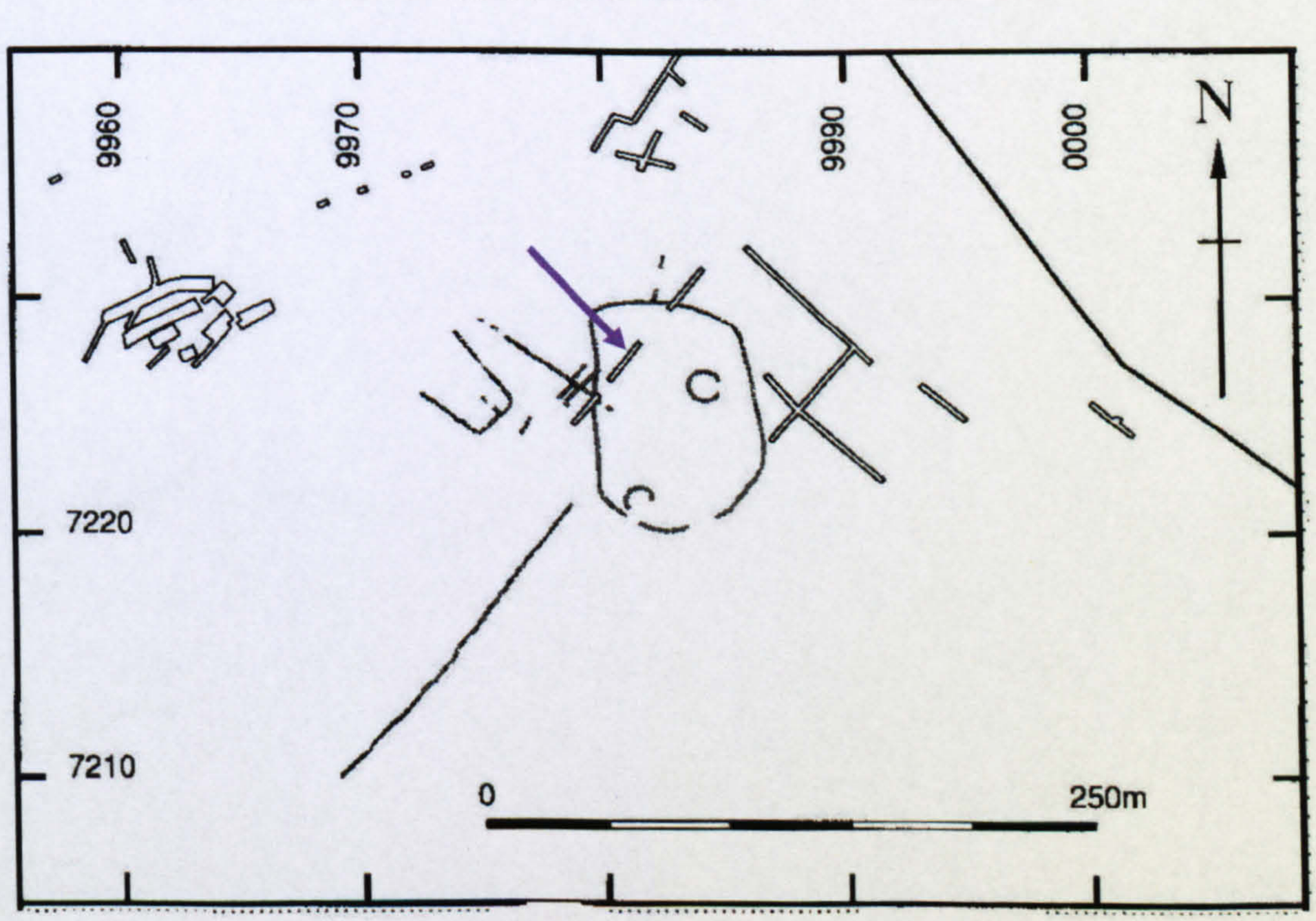
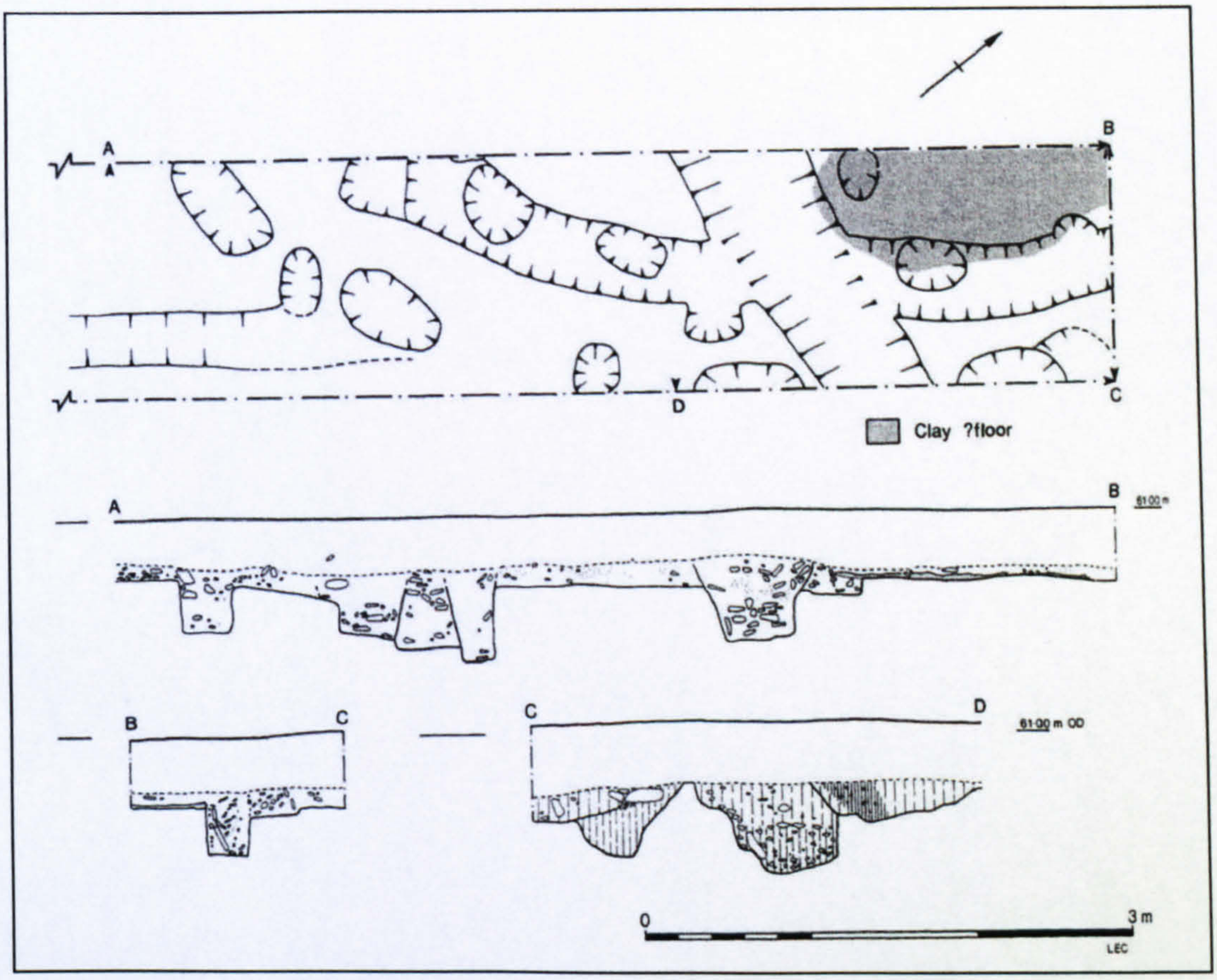


Fig. 5.40 Thorpe End, Raunds (Northants). Magnetometer survey plot of the enclosure (top) (from Parry 2006: 234, fig. 6.48) and magnetic anomalies, cropmarks and trenches, with the position of the Anglo-Saxon building marked by an arrow (bottom) (after Parry 2006: 235, fig. 6.49).



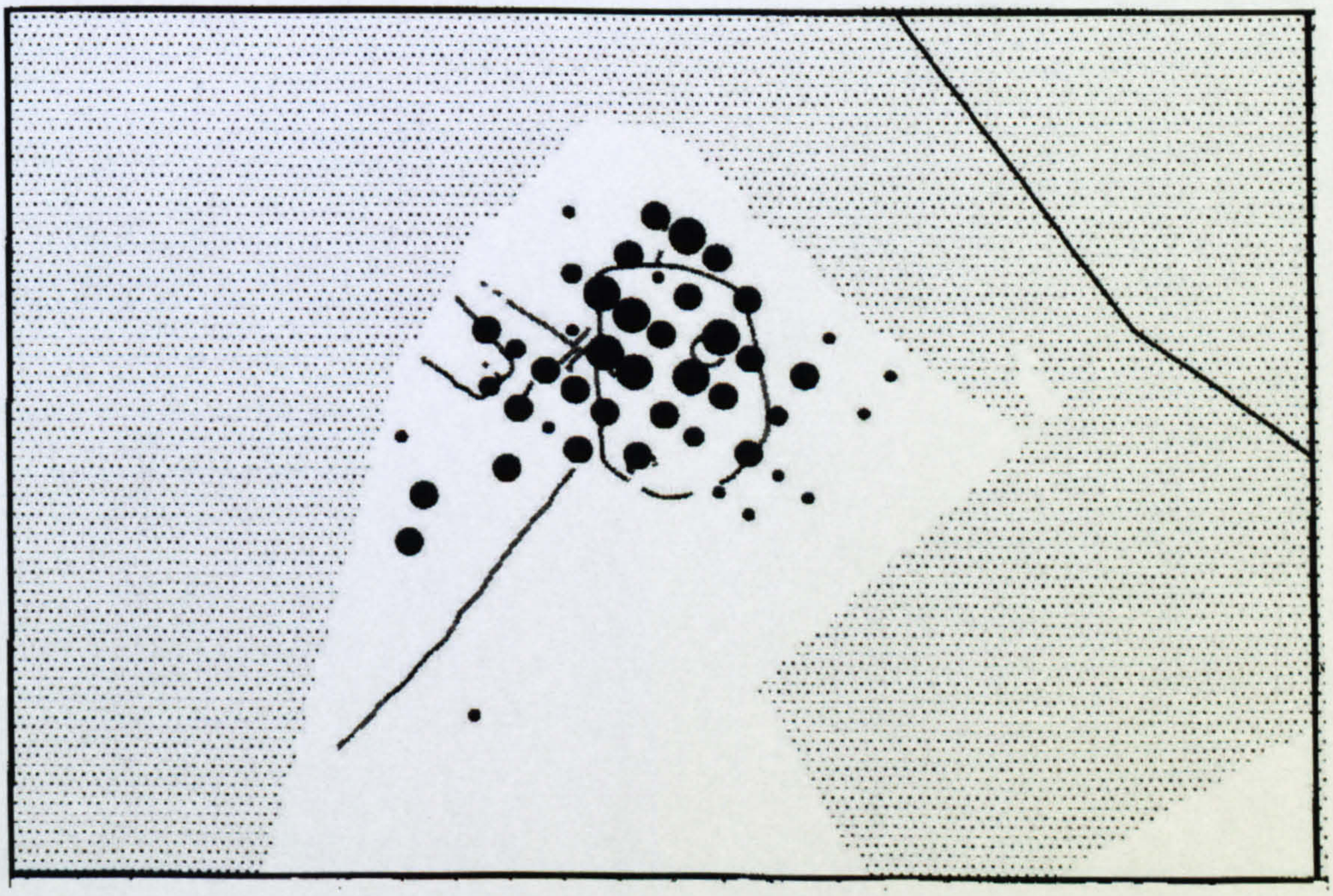


Fig. 5.41 Thorpe End, Raunds (Northants). Plan of the trench containing the early to middle Anglo-Saxon building (top) (from Parry 2006: 238, fig. 6.51) and early to middle Anglo-Saxon pottery distribution (bottom) (from Parry 2006: 235, fig. 6.49).

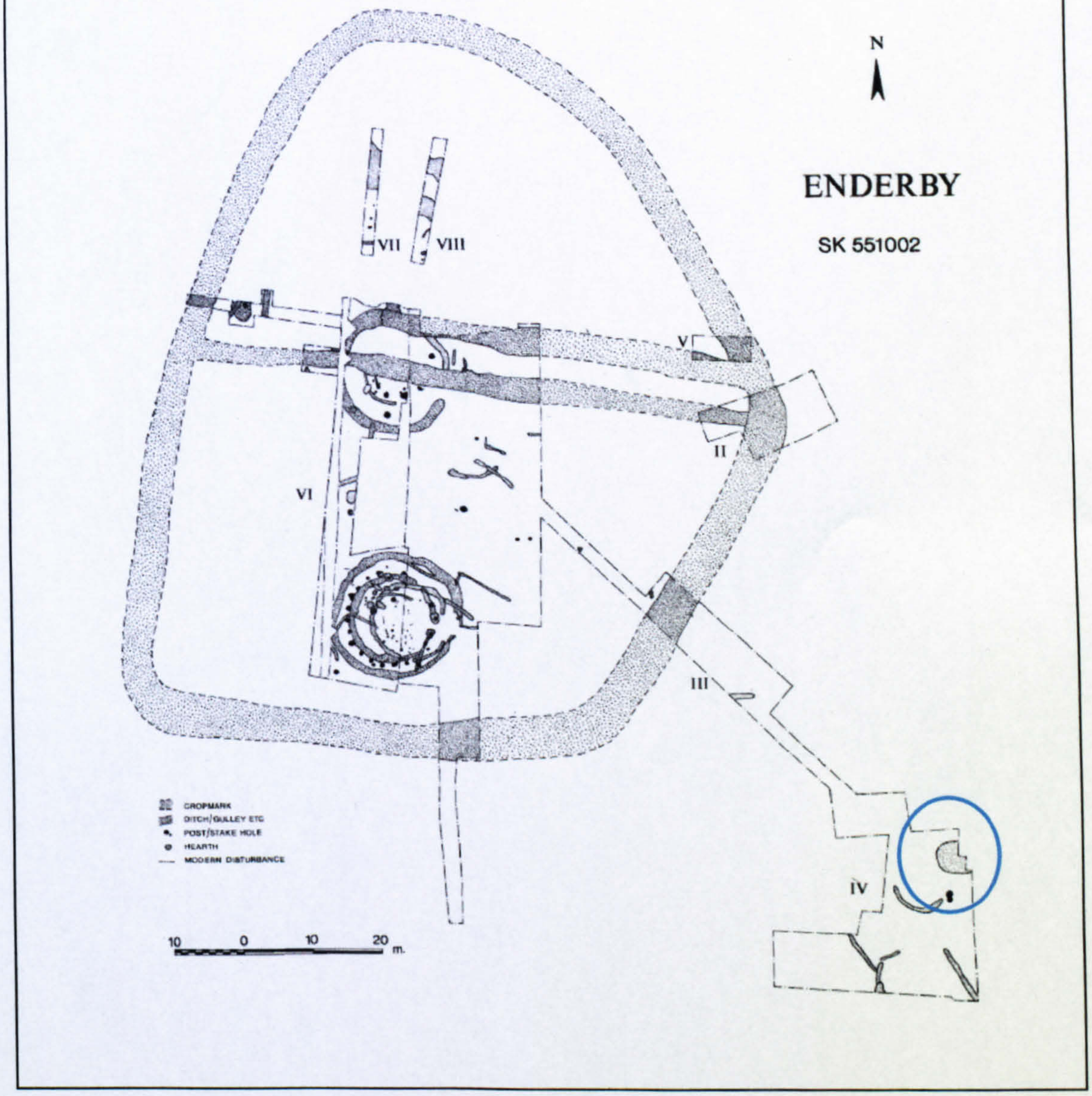


Fig. 5.42 Enderby (Leics). Iron Age enclosure, with the partially excavated SFB circled in blue (after Clay 1992: 5, fig. 7).

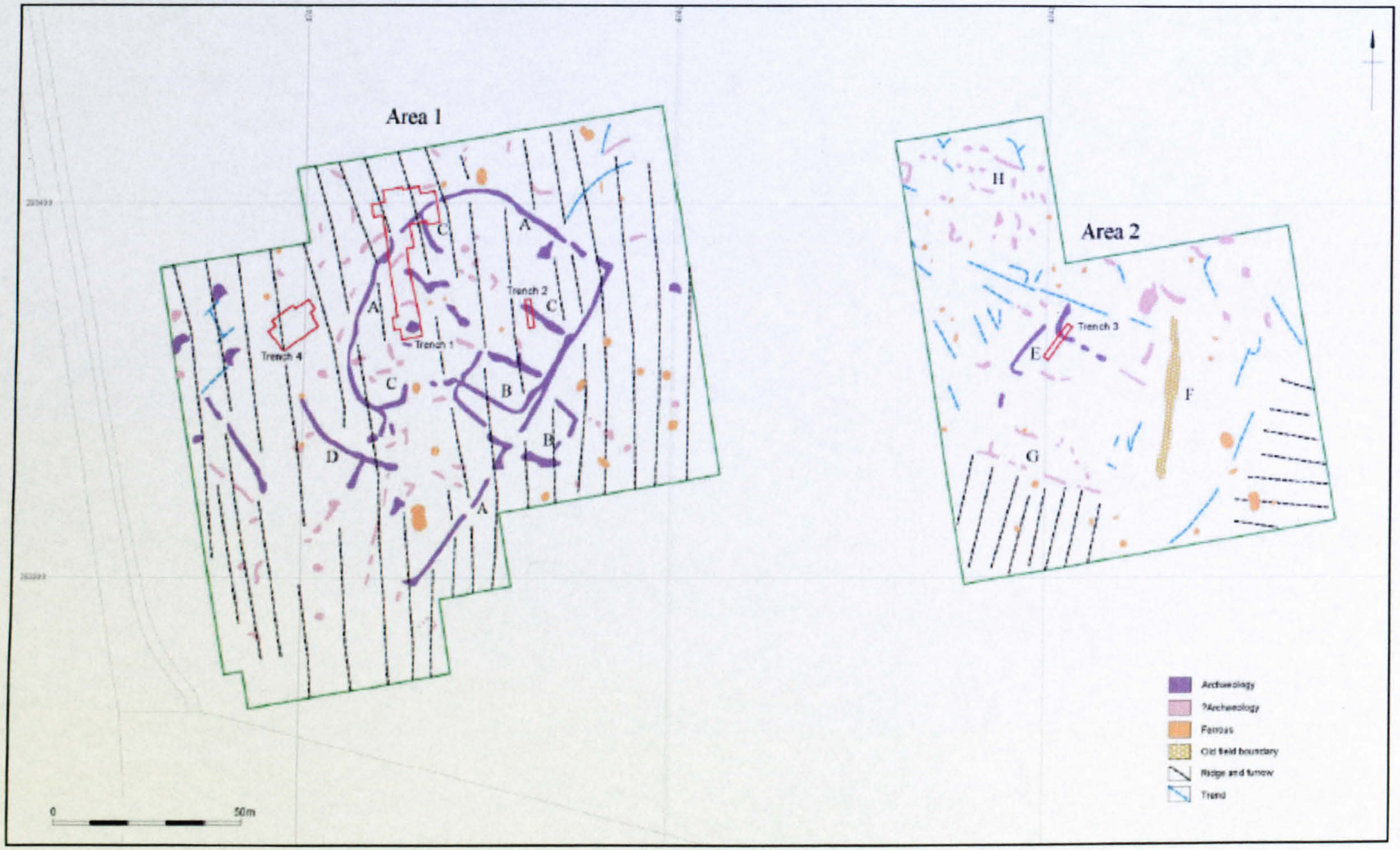
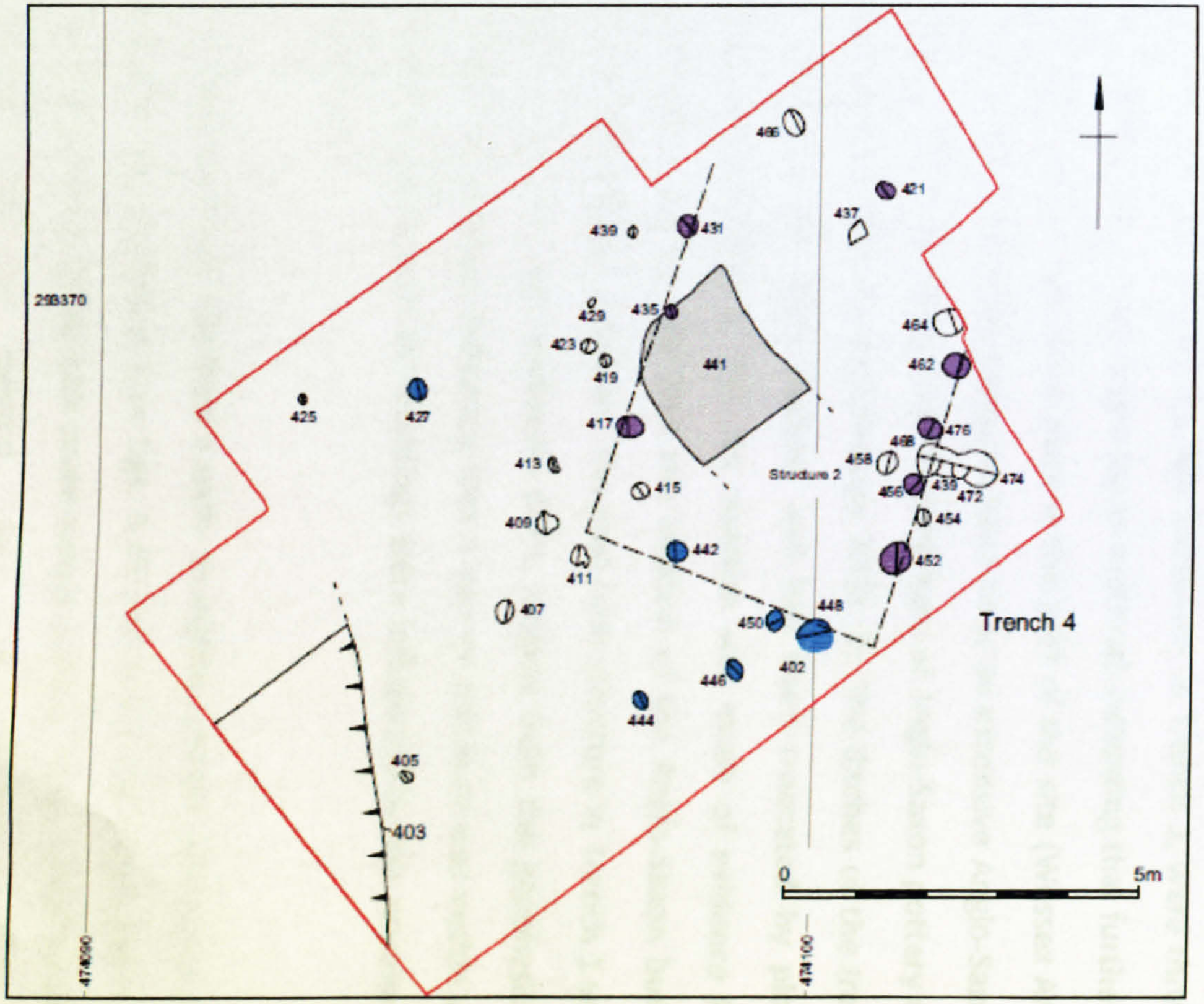


Fig. 5.43 Knave Hill, Stonton Wyville (Leics). General view of the site showing geophysical anomalies and the positions of the trenches (from Wessex Archaeology 2008: fig. 2).



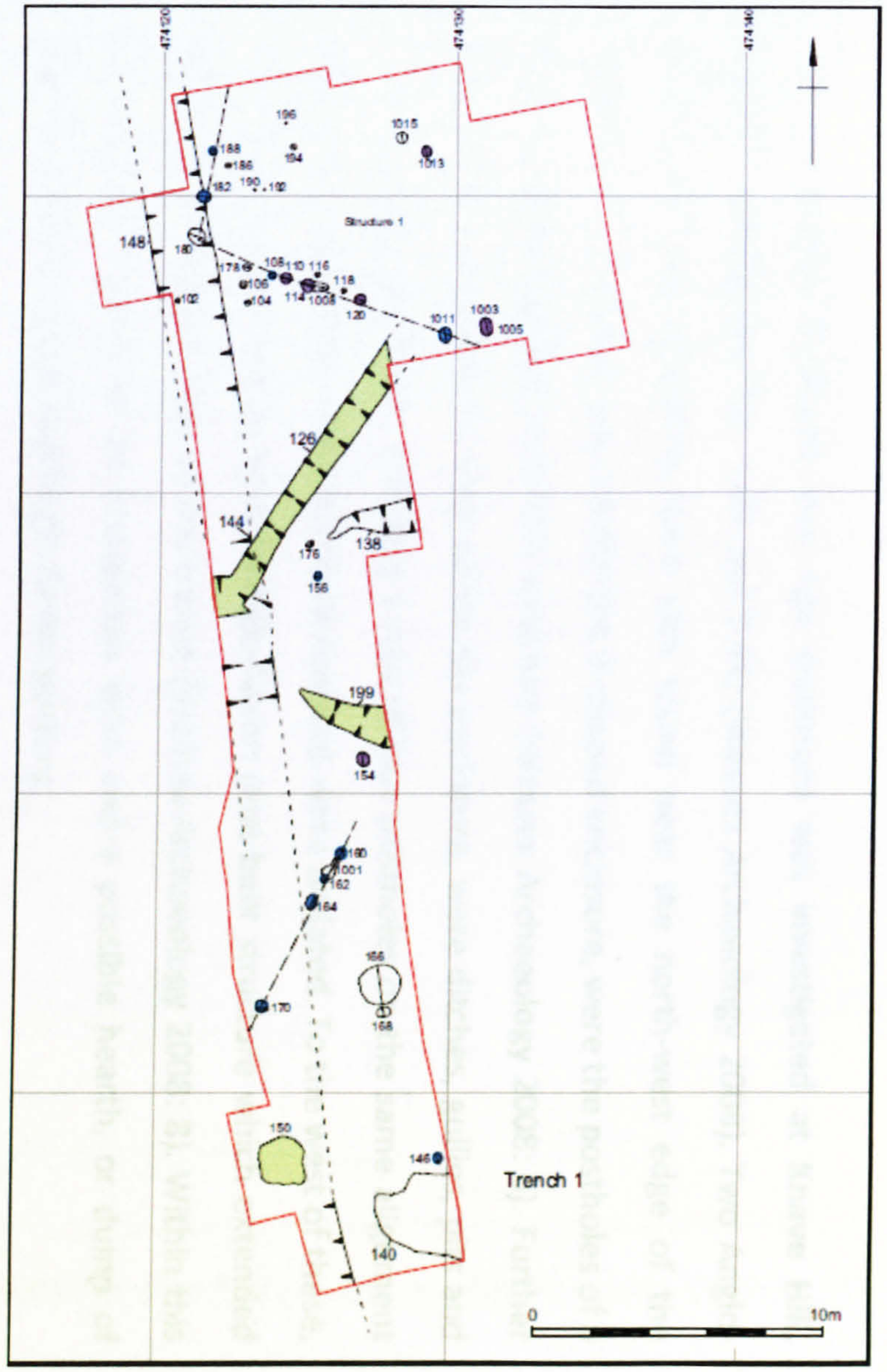


Fig. 5.44 Knave Hill, Stonton Wyville (Leics). Detail of Trench 4 with definite Anglo-Saxon postholes in purple and possible examples in blue (left) (from Wessex Archaeology 2008: fig. 7). Detail of Trench 1; the posthole colours are the same as in the Trench 4 plan (right) (from Wessex Archaeology 2008: fig. 3).

Part of another D-shaped Iron Age enclosure was investigated at **Knave Hill, Stonton Wyville** (see figs. 5.43 and 5.44) (Wessex Archaeology 2008). Two Anglo-Saxon post-built structures were also found near the north-west edge of the enclosure. In Trench 1, just outside the D-shaped enclosure, were the postholes of a fifth- to eighth-century post-built structure (Wessex Archaeology 2008: 6). Further south in the same trench, lying within the enclosure, were ditches, gullies, pits and more possible postholes, including a row of four postholes on the same alignment as the enclosure ditch, although these features were undated. To the west of these, in Trench 4, was another partial Anglo-Saxon post-built structure which extended beyond the northern limit of the trench (Wessex Archaeology 2008: 8). Within this building were traces of an occupation layer and a possible hearth, or dump of hearth material, containing Anglo-Saxon pottery.

Some 150m east of the Iron Age enclosure, in Trench 3, were three linear features containing Roman and Anglo-Saxon material, indicating that further fifth- to eighth-century activity had taken place in this part of the site (Wessex Archaeology 2008: 7, 15). There certainly seems to have been an extensive Anglo-Saxon settlement at Knave Hill, hinted at by large assemblages of Anglo-Saxon pottery recovered during fieldwalking (Wessex Archaeology 2008: 3). The ditches of the Iron Age enclosure were wide and fairly shallow, and had been truncated by ploughing (Wessex Archaeology 2008: 6, 14). No mention was made of evidence for banks in the excavation report, and thus the location of the Anglo-Saxon buildings may have been coincidental. However, the post-built structure in Trench 1 was placed over a gap in the Iron Age enclosure ditch, judging from the geophysical survey of the enclosure, perhaps indicating that a gap or entrance was visible at this point and that the positions of the buildings were influenced by the remains of the Iron Age enclosure.

At **Foxholes Farm, Hertford** a sixth- to eighth-century settlement was found within an Iron Age enclosure (see figs. 5.45 and 5.46) (Partridge 1989: 25-9). Two SFBs were excavated, along with seven rather unusual 'ridge-spine' buildings, which were formed by a central line of postholes and end posts.

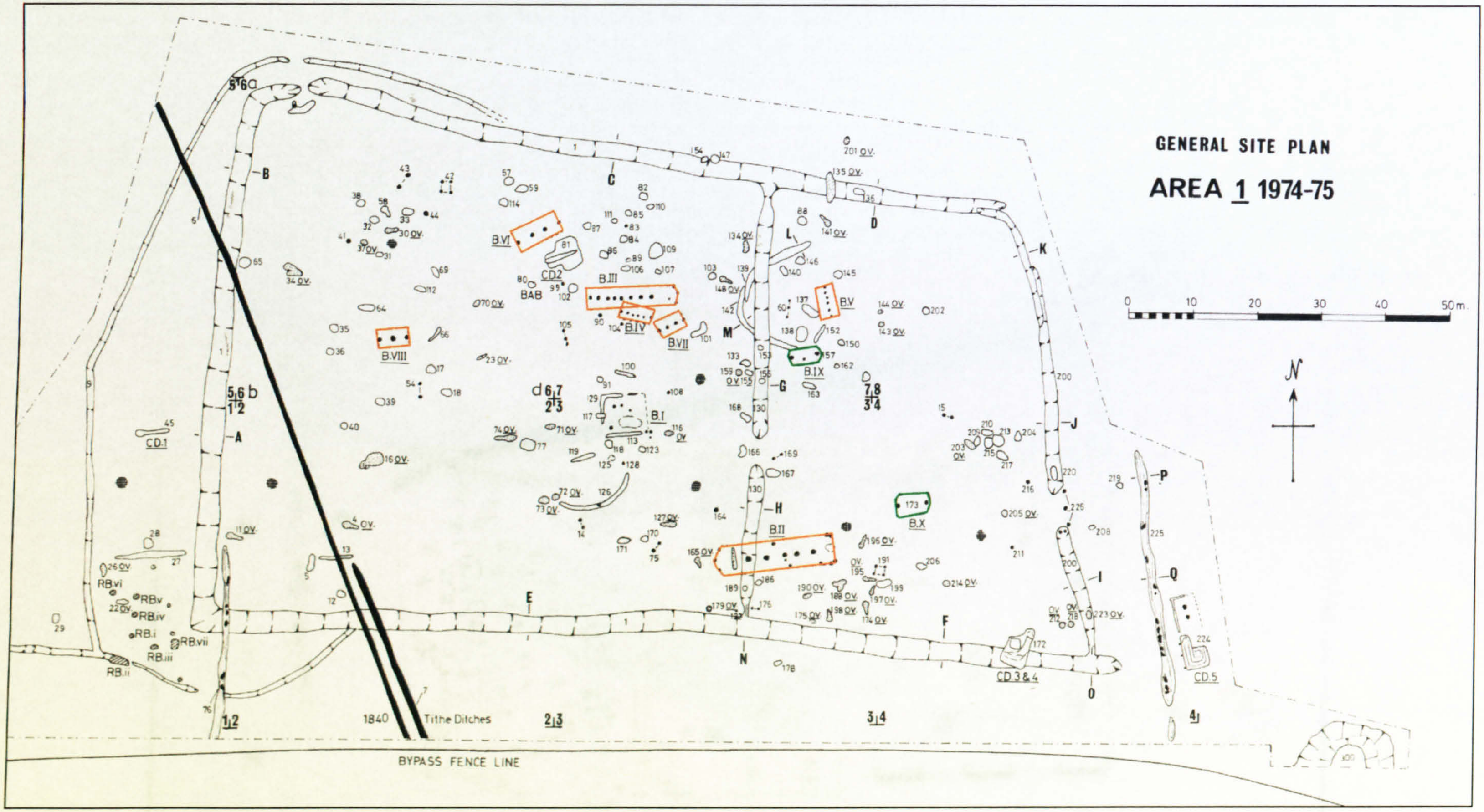


Fig. 5.45 Foxholes Farm (Herts). Area 1; ridge-spine buildings (orange) and SFBs (green) inside an Iron Age enclosure (after Partridge 1989: fig. 4).

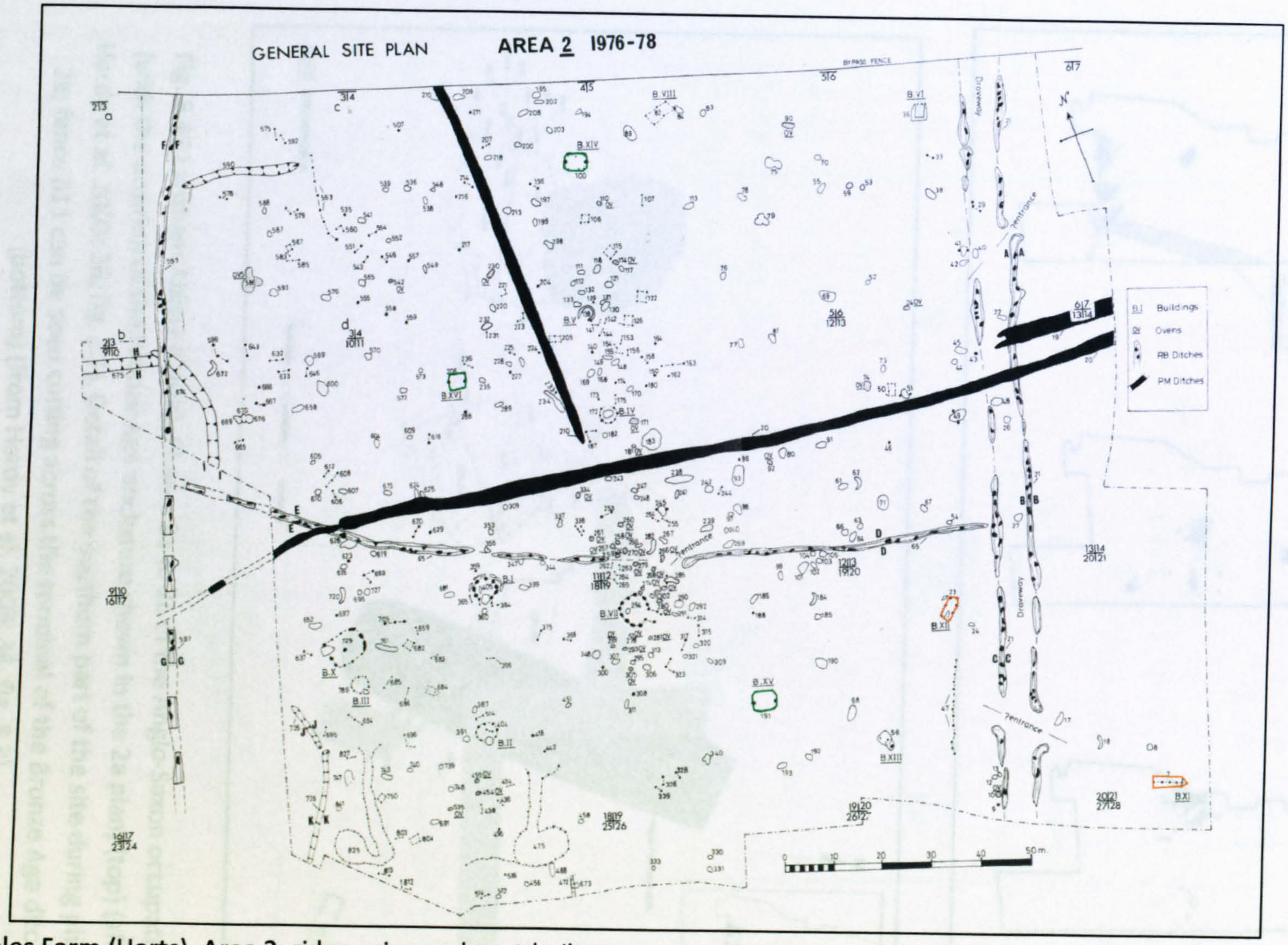
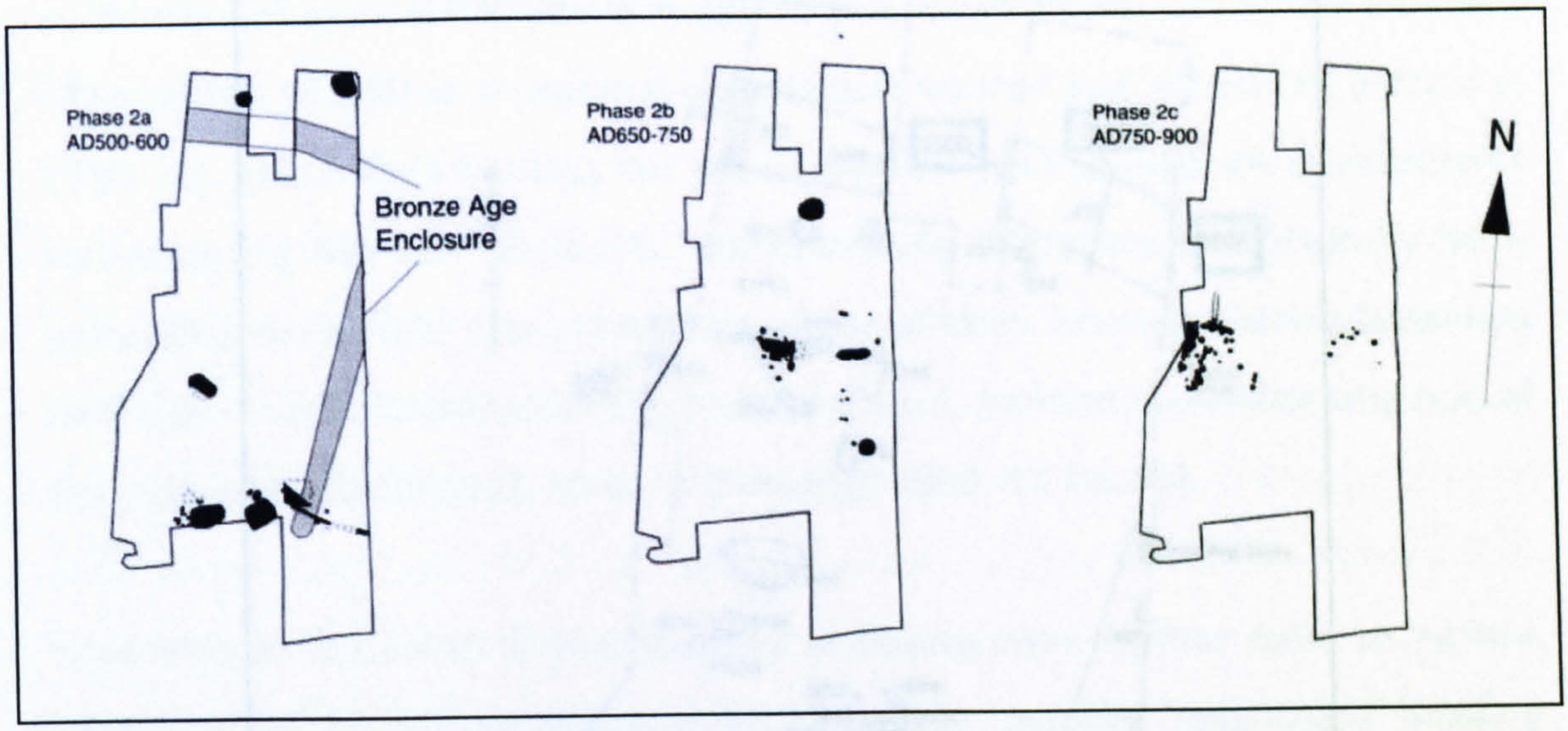


Fig. 5.46 Foxholes Farm (Herts). Area 2; ridge-spine and post-built structures and SFBs set within Iron Age and Roman ditches (after Partridge 1989: fig. 5).



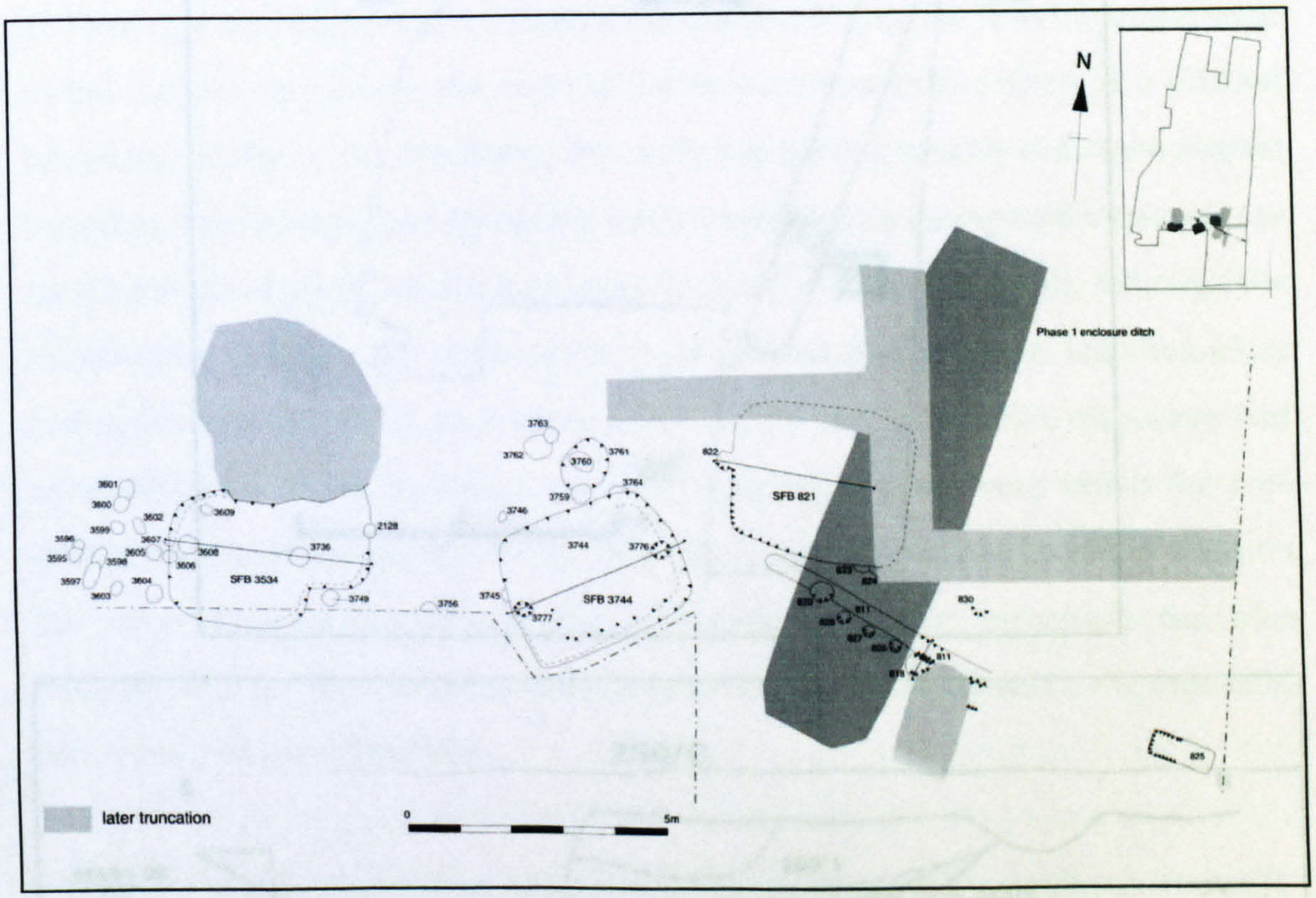
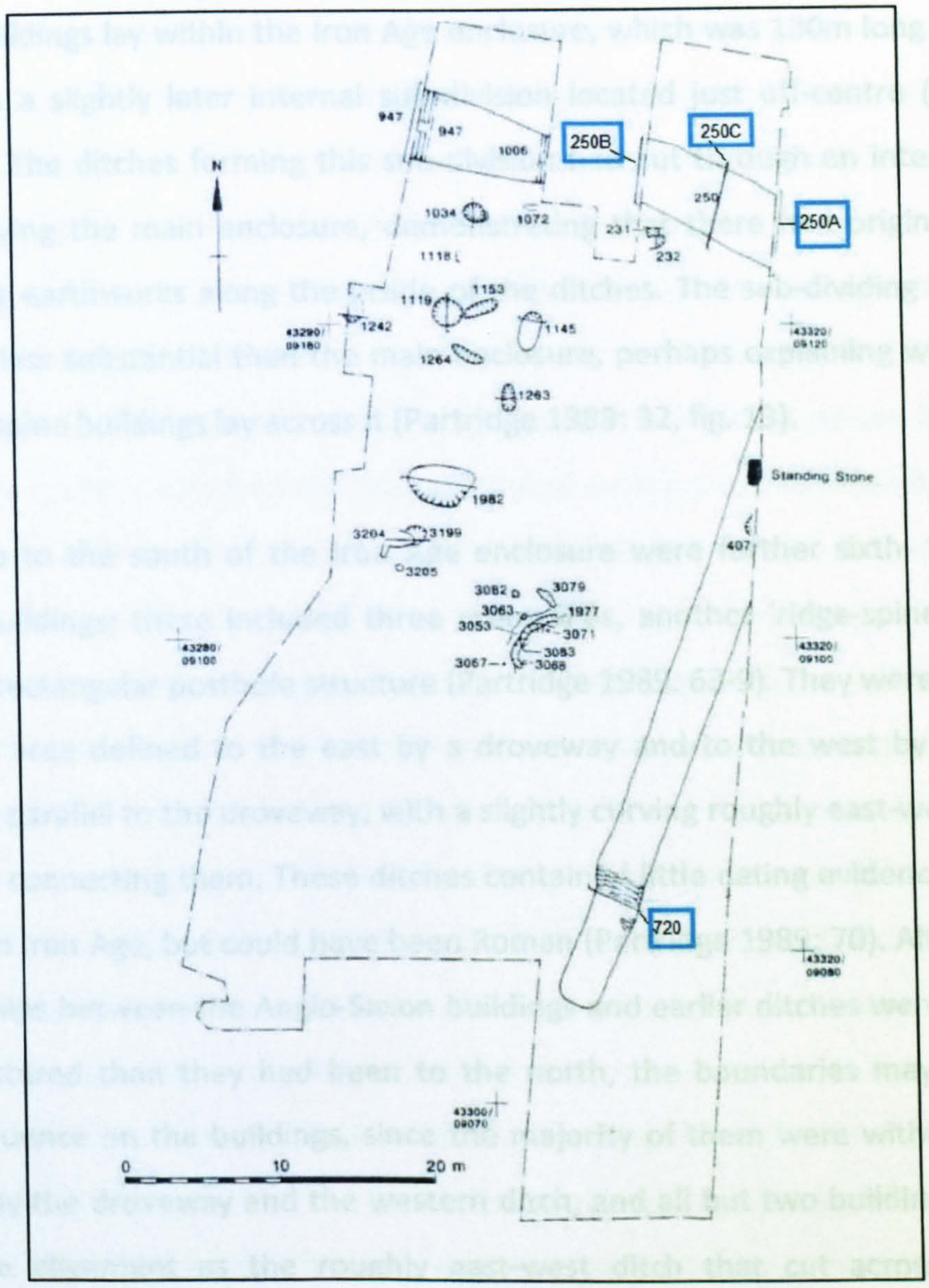


Fig. 5.47 Eynsham Abbey (Oxon). Phases 2a to 2c of the Anglo-Saxon occupation (with the position of the Bronze Age enclosure shown in the 2a plan) (top) (after Hardy et al. 2003: 26, fig. 2.1). Detail of the southern part of the site during phase 2a; fence 811 can be seen cutting across the terminal of the Bronze Age ditch (bottom) (from Hardy et al. 2003: 34, fig. 3.3).



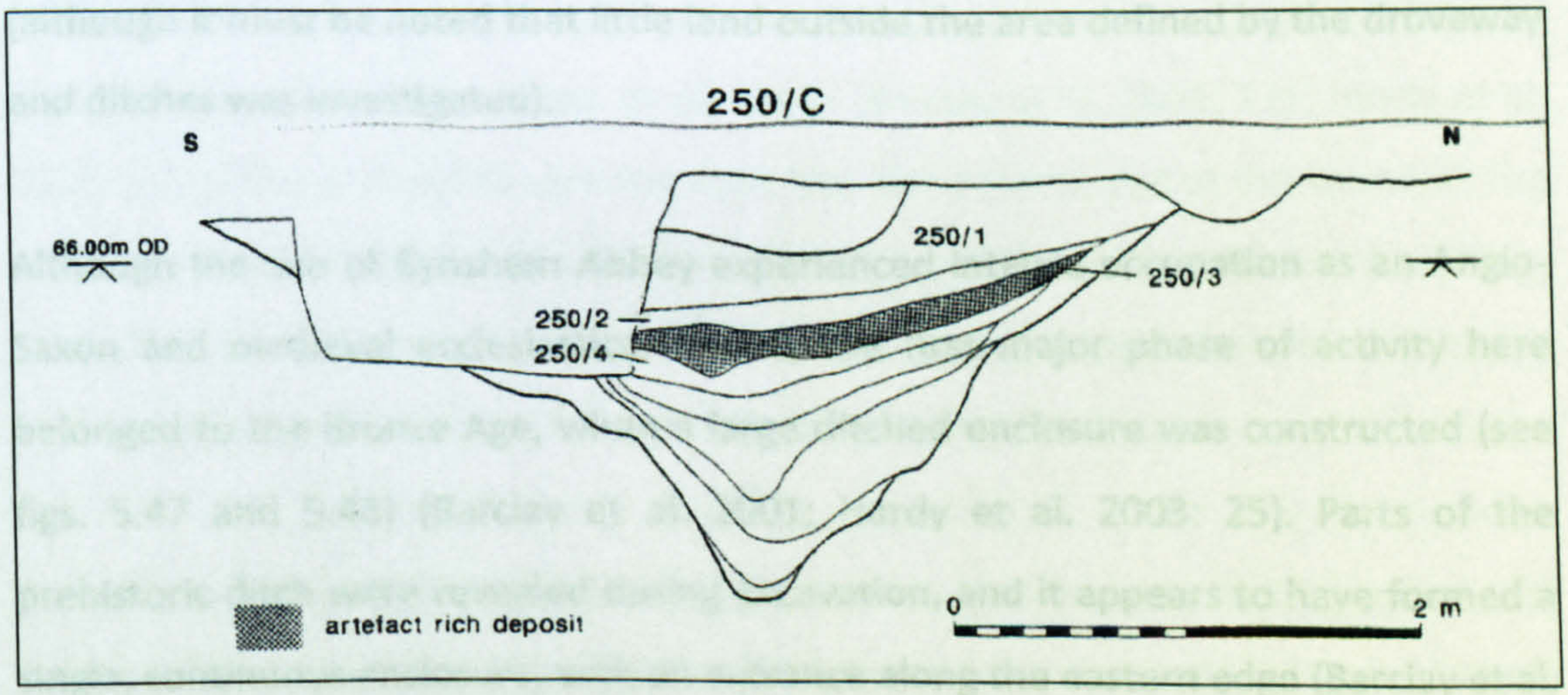


Fig. 5.48 Eynsham Abbey (Oxon). Positions of sections across the Bronze Age ditch (top) (after Barclay et al. 2001: 112, fig. 4). Detail of Section 250C, showing filling from the north (bottom) (from Barclay et al. 2001: 114, fig. 5).

All nine buildings lay within the Iron Age enclosure, which was 130m long and 80m wide, with a slightly later internal sub-division located just off-centre (Partridge 1989: 31). The ditches forming this sub-division had cut through an internal bank accompanying the main enclosure, demonstrating that there had originally been upstanding earthworks along the inside of the ditches. The sub-dividing boundary itself was less substantial than the main enclosure, perhaps explaining why one of the ridge-spine buildings lay across it (Partridge 1989: 32, fig. 13).

In an area to the south of the Iron Age enclosure were further sixth- to eighth-century buildings; these included three more SFBs, another 'ridge-spine' building and a subrectangular posthole structure (Partridge 1989: 63-9). They were scattered across an area defined to the east by a droveway and to the west by a ditched boundary parallel to the droveway, with a slightly curving roughly east-west aligned boundary connecting them. These ditches contained little dating evidence and may have been Iron Age, but could have been Roman (Partridge 1989: 70). Although the relationships between the Anglo-Saxon buildings and earlier ditches were less clear and structured than they had been to the north, the boundaries may have had some influence on the buildings, since the majority of them were within the area defined by the droveway and the western ditch, and all but two buildings were on the same alignment as the roughly east-west ditch that cut across the area (although it must be noted that little land outside the area defined by the droveway and ditches was investigated).

Although the site of **Eynsham Abbey** experienced intense occupation as an Anglo-Saxon and medieval ecclesiastical centre, the first major phase of activity here belonged to the Bronze Age, when a large ditched enclosure was constructed (see figs. 5.47 and 5.48) (Barclay et al. 2001; Hardy et al. 2003: 25). Parts of the prehistoric ditch were revealed during excavation, and it appears to have formed a single, continuous enclosure, with an entrance along the eastern edge (Barclay et al. 2001: 111). The overall area of the enclosure could not be discerned since it was only partially revealed, but the ditches varied in width from 3m to 4.5m and in depth from 1.6m to 1.9m. Although sections across the enclosure ditch revealed

that it had filled in during the late Bronze Age, gravel fills were present in the lower fills of the ditch, and appeared to have formed from the outer edge (sections 250A, 250B and 250C had all filled from the north, while section 720 had filled from the south-east; see fig. 5.48) (Barclay et al. 2001: 113, 155). This raises the possibility that an external bank, formed by the upcast gravel from the substantial ditches, might have been present. Indeed, the apparently rapid filling of the middle and upper layers of the ditch with deliberate deposits of domestic refuse in the late Bronze Age might have aided the preservation of such a bank, as there would then have been no ditch for the bank material to erode into.

The Bronze Age enclosure was overlain by later buildings, most of which belonged to the abbey, and several phases of Anglo-Saxon occupation were noted. The first phase (phase 2a) consisted of five sixth-century SFBs; one in the extreme north-east corner of the site, a group of three to the south of the investigation area, and another to the north of those (Hardy et al. 2003: 25). Although there were few other structural features, postholes to the west of the group of three SFBs might have belonged to a fence or other structure and a pit excavated in the north-west corner of the site also probably belonged to this phase. To the south of the easternmost SFB (feature 821) in the cluster of three was a fence, which led off to the east beyond the edge of the site at a right angle to the prehistoric ditch. The fence cut across the ditch, and SFB 821 had been partly cut into it, but both lay at the terminal of the eastern side of the ditch (Barclay et al. 2001: 111; Hardy et al. 2003: 35). If the postulated external bank had also petered out at this terminal, the fence cutting across the ditch might actually have formed a related boundary, extending from the terminal of the Bronze Age enclosure across to the east; it may even have been part of some form of entrance into the enclosure.

Between c.650 and 750 (phase 2b), occupation was represented by numerous hearths, burnt areas and pits, and in some areas at this time activity was relatively intense and on a large scale (Hardy et al. 2003: 28). Numerous postholes, beam slots and stakeholes were cut into and around one of the central hearths, suggesting the presence of associated structures. The features attributed to this

phase may, in fact, be related to the earlier phase, but the lack of stratigraphic relationships between features meant that this could not be confirmed. In Phase 2b activity was restricted to the area within the prehistoric enclosure, the exception being one pit located over the eastern section of the Bronze Age ditch. The following phase (2c) was dated to between c.750 and 900, although it too lacked stratigraphic relationships to confirm that it was chronologically distinct from the preceding phase (Hardy et al. 2003: 28). This phase comprised a pit group, boundary features and two probable posthole buildings. These features were also within the area defined by the enclosure ditch, with one posthole building situated over the infilled ditch. A church is known to have been in existence at Eynsham in this period, as in 864 King Burgred of Mercia granted fives hides at Water Eaton to the bishop of Worcester on the condition that 'after a year he renders thirty shillings to Eynsham to that church from the tribute' (Birch 1885-93: 2, 199 cited in Hardy et al. 2003: 3). It is likely, then, that the features attributed to Phase 2c were associated with this ecclesiastical use of the site (Hardy et al. 2003: 28). Although in phases 2b and 2c the relationships between the Anglo-Saxon features and the earlier enclosure were not as obvious and direct as they seem to have been in the first phase, the settlement features were still located within the enclosure. In later Anglo-Saxon and medieval phases the buildings at Eynsham became more substantial and began to heavily truncate the prehistoric remains (Hardy et al. 2003: 31), but between the sixth and ninth centuries the enclosure may have exerted some influence over the settlement.

The fifth- to seventh-century settlement at **Eye Kettleby** was established in an area that contained four early Bronze Age ditched enclosures, as well as the possible barrow discussed earlier (see fig. 5.14) (Finn 2007). There were two sub-circular prehistoric enclosures, one north of the other, flanked by two D-shaped enclosures to the west and east, all of which were considered roughly contemporary. The enclosures were scheduled to be covered by a car park, meaning that they could be preserved to a high degree compared with other areas of the site, and thus only limited excavation of the ditches took place (Finn 2007). Investigation did, however, demonstrate that the ditches were fairly shallow and narrow, and that there was

little evidence for re-cutting, except near the entrance to the western D-shaped enclosure. Along the northern edge of the eastern D-shaped enclosure there was evidence of silting from a possible bank, suggesting that at least some of the ditches may have been accompanied by raised earthworks (Finn 2007).

The visibility of the enclosures during the Anglo-Saxon period cannot be ascertained with certainty, but remnants of banks accompanying some, if not all, of the enclosures might have survived as earthworks. An Anglo-Saxon building had been constructed in the entrance to the southern circular enclosure, precisely where the associated banks, if there had been any, would have terminated; if they were still visible features, it is possible that this building might have been positioned in a gap between the earthworks. Other buildings lay within the Bronze Age enclosures, although their placement may of course be coincidental if remains of the enclosures no longer existed. Additionally, 200m of a late Bronze Age east-west oriented pit alignment was traced across the excavation area, neatly bisecting the southern circular enclosure (Finn 2007). This pit alignment was subsequently re-cut as a ditch at an unknown point in time, probably in prehistory, and had been redefined at least once. It is interesting to note that a possible Anglo-Saxon trackway, although it was only traced for c.25m, followed a very similar alignment to the pit alignment (Finn 1997a). The settlement at Eye Kettleby is discussed in greater detail as a case study in the following chapter.

The monument complex at **West Cotton** included a Neolithic or Bronze Age long enclosure, in addition to the barrows discussed above, which measured 120m by 20m, and which may have had internal banks or spoil mounds formed by ditch upcast (see fig. 5.26) (Windell et al. 1990: 10). There were also traces of a smaller oval or egg-shaped ditched enclosure measuring roughly 33m by 25m, which may also have had an internal bank (Windell et al. 1990: 11). The long enclosure lay to the south of the SFBs and the egg-shaped enclosure to the east, and although they were, therefore, further away from the buildings than the long mound and Barrow 1, they were within the monument complex surrounding the SFBs, and within the area containing the scatter of Anglo-Saxon pottery. Indeed, much of the long

enclosure had been eroded by medieval streams and alluvium, whilst part of the egg-shaped enclosure lay outside the excavation area, meaning that, had there been any further Anglo-Saxon settlement features in the vicinity of these monuments, they might not have been uncovered.

Rather unusually, an even earlier enclosure appears to have influenced the layout of an Anglo-Saxon settlement at **Briar Hill**, where a late Neolithic causewayed enclosure has been excavated (see fig. 5.49) (Bamford 1985: 1-2). The enclosure covered c.3ha in total, and was delineated by two ditch circles dug in concentric arcs, with a smaller internal enclosure on the eastern side formed by the inner ditch spiralling inwards. The circuits of the enclosure were formed by ditch segments up to 2m deep and all the circuits had been subject to repeated re-cutting (Bamford 1985: 7). The ditch fills suggested that banks had accompanied the circuits, the first extending around the entire enclosure close to the inner edge of the outer circuit (Bamford 1985: 37-8). A second bank may have existed around the inner edge of the *inner* ditch circuit on its north, west and south-west sides, and almost certainly on its north-east side. This did not extend around the smaller spiral enclosure, but there was probably a bank on the outside of the southern side of the spiral as well.

Three or four SFBs had been constructed on the eastern side of the enclosure in the early to middle Anglo-Saxon period, possibly during the seventh century (Bamford 1985: 7, 122). The buildings lay in an area c.60m by 20m, three (10, 12 and 30) located fairly close to each other and another (29) c.34m east of them. SFB 29 was not considered a definite example of an SFB because, unlike the other three, it lacked postholes, but it seems likely that this *was* an SFB since its size and form were comparable to the others, and examples of SFBs without postholes are known from elsewhere (Bamford 1985: 55; Tipper 2004: 1). The outlying SFB to the east of the others would have been situated approximately 10m away from the outermost bank. Meanwhile, the cluster of three SFBs would have been very close to the bank running around the inner circuit, as well as the bank along the southern portion of the small spiral enclosure. All three appear to have been aligned with their long axes along the banks. Indeed, the most northerly building in the cluster of three

(SFB 30) may well have been adjacent to the remains of a bank, while SFB 12 may have lain directly on top of a section of bank.

In addition to the 'annexing' of the ring ditches in the early seventh- to late ninth-century settlement at **Catholme**, a later prehistoric ditch that formed a terrace-edge boundary along the eastern side of the settlement had been re-cut in the Anglo-Saxon period (see fig. 5.21) (Losco-Bradley and Kinsley 2002: 18-20). The settlement lay on the banks of the River Trent, along which the terrace-edge boundary had been constructed at some point in the later prehistoric period, although its exact date was not known. What *was* clear is that there had been numerous phases of the boundary. It began as a pit alignment accompanied by a fence 1-2m to the east, which was later replaced by a bank. Later, three successive lengths of ditch replaced the pits, and they were subsequently replaced by a longer ditch, which followed the line of the earlier boundary and had been redefined by re-cuts later in its life. The final re-cut of the boundary dated to the Anglo-Saxon period, at which time it had once again been re-defined and had been used to form the eastern boundary of the Anglo-Saxon settlement.

The excavation records for **Fatholme** are limited and result from a salvage excavation, but an early prehistoric enclosure may have been reused here too. Excavation revealed intercutting Bronze Age ring ditch circuits, with an internal area at least c.17m in diameter, containing a post-built structure that pre-dated the ring ditch (see fig. 5.50) (Losco-Bradley 1984: 402; TPAT 1984). There was no evidence to suggest that this was a barrow, and it may instead have been a circular enclosure. The excavation report was brief and focused largely on the ring ditch but it did record the discovery of other features, including the corner of a small late prehistoric enclosure (TPAT 1984). There were also pits, a ditched boundary and postholes of an eroded rectangular structure belonging to the Anglo-Saxon period (TPAT 1984). The Anglo-Saxon features were not labelled on the site plan, but comparing the features described in the report with those on the plan reveals that a ditch running across the southern edge of the site on the plan is a likely candidate for the Anglo-Saxon ditch.

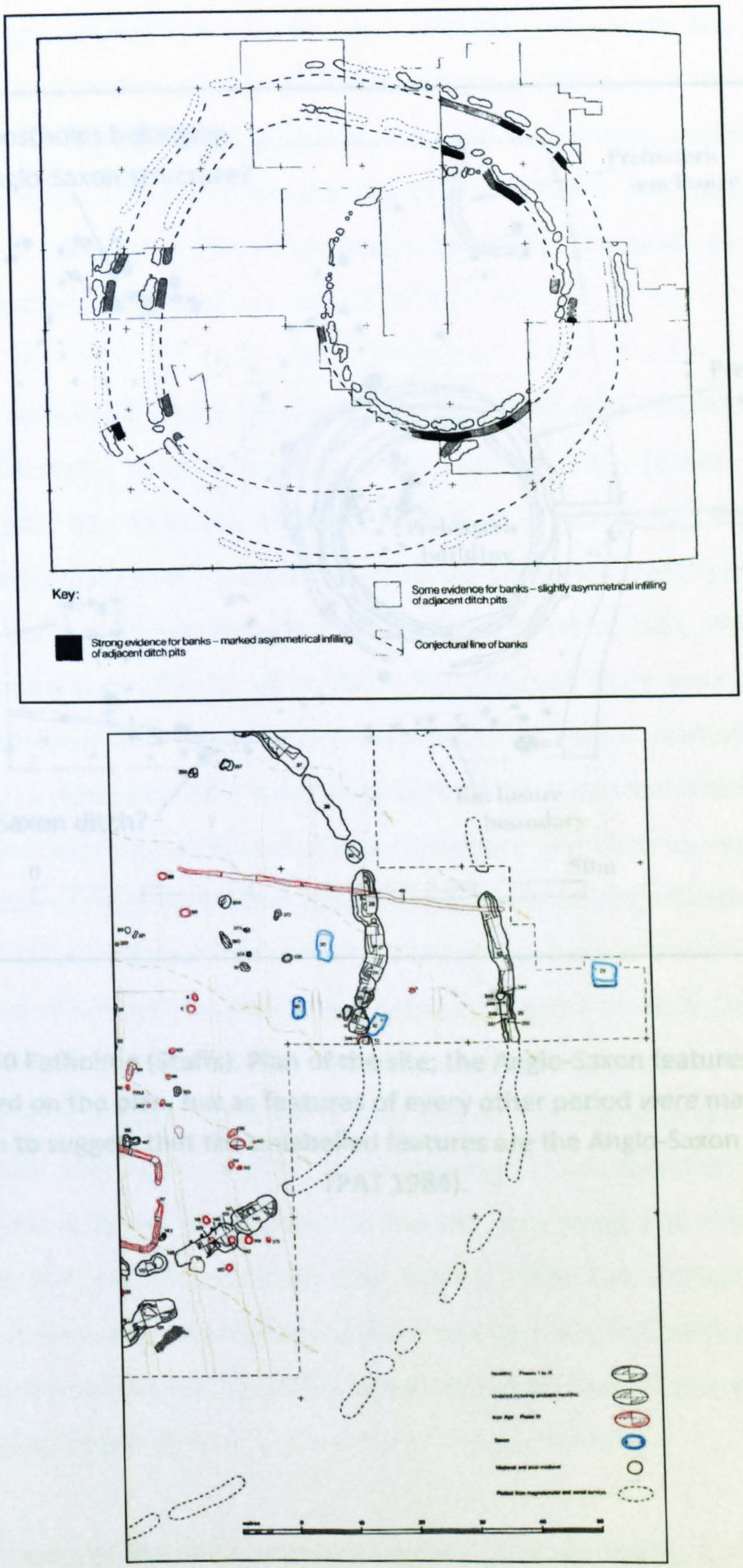


Fig. 5.49 Briar Hill (Northants). General plan of the Neolithic causewayed enclosure with the likely positions of banks (top) (from Bamford 1985: 38, fig. 20). Detail of the eastern portion of the causewayed enclosure containing the SFBs (bottom) (after Bamford 1985).

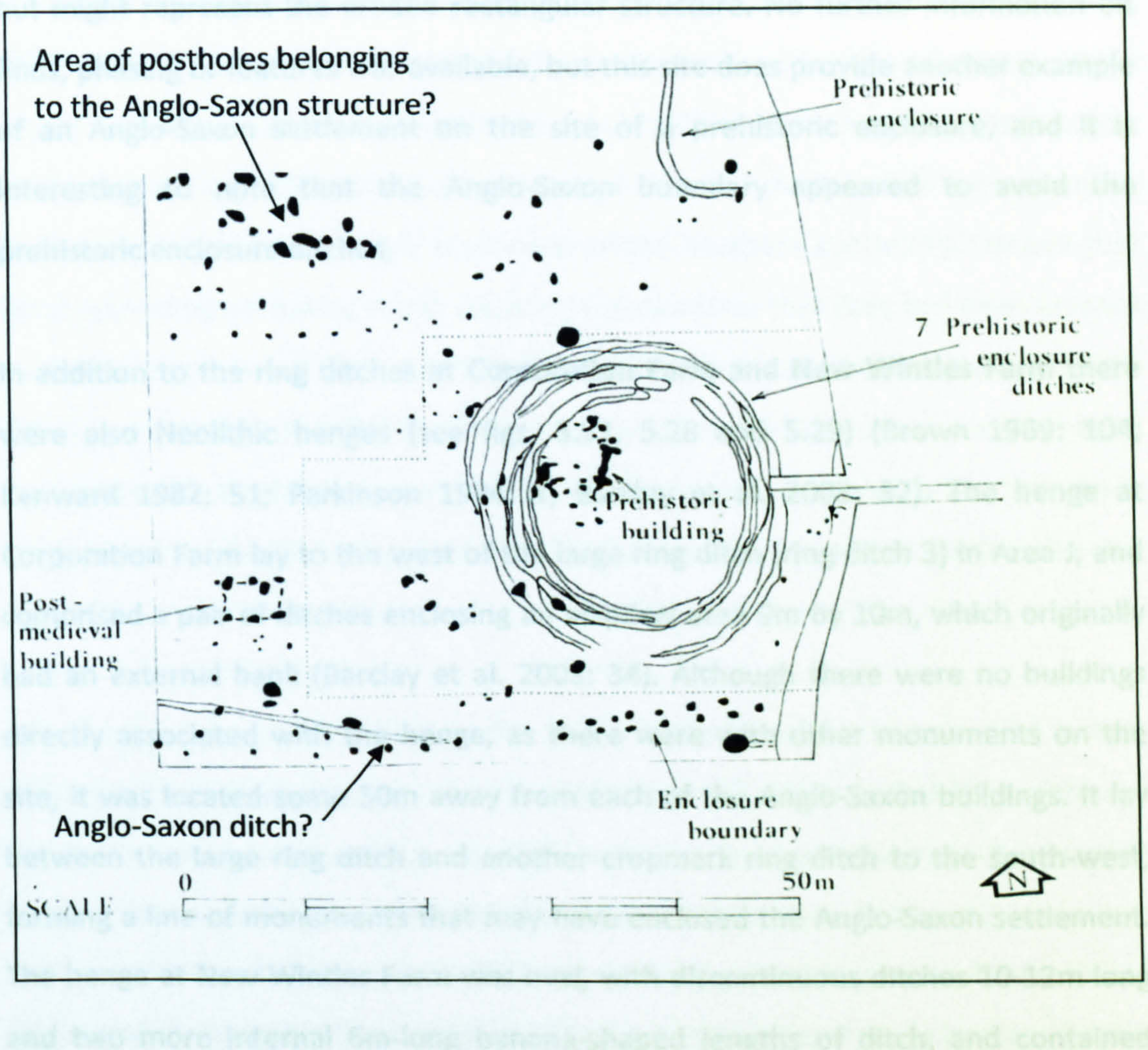


Fig. 5.50 Fatholme (Staffs). Plan of the site; the Anglo-Saxon features were not marked on the plan, but as features of every other period *were* marked, it is possible to suggest that the unlabelled features are the Anglo-Saxon ones (after TPAT 1984).

A collection of postholes in the north-west corner of the plan were also unlabelled, but might represent the eroded rectangular structure. No further information on finds, phasing or features was available, but this site does provide another example of an Anglo-Saxon settlement on the site of a prehistoric enclosure, and it is interesting to note that the Anglo-Saxon boundary appeared to avoid the prehistoric enclosure ditches.

In addition to the ring ditches at **Corporation Farm** and **New Wintles Farm** there were also Neolithic henges (see figs. 5.27, 5.28 and 5.29) (Brown 1969: 104; Kenward 1982: 51; Parkinson 1994: 1; Barclay et al. 2003: 32). The henge at Corporation Farm lay to the west of the large ring ditch (ring ditch 3) in Area J, and comprised a pair of ditches enclosing an elliptical area 9m by 10m, which originally had an external bank (Barclay et al. 2003: 34). Although there were no buildings directly associated with the henge, as there were with other monuments on the site, it was located some 50m away from each of the Anglo-Saxon buildings. It lay between the large ring ditch and another cropmark ring ditch to the south-west, forming a line of monuments that may have enclosed the Anglo-Saxon settlement. The henge at New Wintles Farm was oval, with discontinuous ditches 10-12m long and two more internal 6m-long banana-shaped lengths of ditch, and contained Neolithic cremations (Brown 1969: 104; Kenward 1982: 51). It had a mound or bank formed by up-cast gravel and was interpreted as a Neolithic henge or enclosure (Brown 1968: 138; Kenward 1982: 51-4). Although it was found on the northern edge of Area A, it was not marked on the site plan along with the Anglo-Saxon settlement features (Brown 1968: 138; Brown 1969: 104; Kenward 1982: 51). However, it was situated somewhere along the northern boundary of the site, in which case it would have been within about 30m of the most northerly SFBs in Area A, buildings 9, 36 and 45.

A further aspect of **Sutton Courtenay's** long history of occupation is the 1700m-long Drayton Neolithic cursus, part of the southern portion of which extended across the area investigated by Leeds in the 1920s and 1930s (see fig. 5.32) (Thomas and Wallis 1982: 184; Barclay et al. 2003: 16). Most of the cursus had been destroyed by gravel

extraction before Leeds became aware of it, although part of the eastern ditch may have been traced by Leeds for c.55m (Barclay et al. 2003: 16). The smallest ring ditch, Circle C, was close to the line of the cursus ditch, and might even have sat on a bank associated with the ditch (Barclay et al. 2003: 22). Although the destruction of the southern portion of the cursus meant that the existence of accompanying banks could not be confirmed, excavation of the northern portion has shown that there were internal banks, which supports the assertion that they had been present to the south as well (Thomas and Wallis 1982: 188; Ainslie and Wallis 1987: 1-2). Even so, as Barclay et al. (2003: 23) have pointed out, had the cursus survived as an earthwork into the Anglo-Saxon period its influence would probably not have been as dramatic as the three barrow mounds that 'no doubt existed' within the ring ditches.

The northern part of the cursus also had a second-century Roman field system aligned on it, indicating that at least part of it was still visible at that time, although the Roman agricultural activity may have added to the destruction of what was left of the monument (Moore 1986: 100; Ainslie and Wallis 1987: 7). About 50m west of the cursus were three probable SFBs and three probable post-built structures, attributed to the Anglo-Saxon period although dating evidence was limited (Barclay et al. 2003: 117-121). It is possible that the location of the buildings was influenced by the remains of the cursus or by the Roman field system, as one post-built structure was on the same alignment as the Neolithic ditch and the Roman one that overlay it. The possible Anglo-Saxon buildings were between about 100m and 250m north of Leeds's site, although the lack of dating evidence makes the relationship between the two sites difficult to determine. They might, however, represent a northerly element to the site, influenced in this case by the remains of the Neolithic cursus, or perhaps the Romano-British field system, or both.

There were two settlements in the corpus at which prehistoric hillforts had been reused in the Anglo-Saxon period. One of these was **Taplow**, where an Iron Age hillfort was discovered, and found to encircle the well-known Anglo-Saxon Taplow burial mound (see figs. 5.51 and 5.52) (Allen and Lamdin-Whymark 2001: 287; Allen

et al. 2009: 7). There had been at least three phases of hillfort, the first being a late Bronze Age hilltop enclosure marked by fence lines, a palisade and a rampart (Allen and Lamdin-Whymark 2001: 288; Allen et al. 2009: 35-71). After a hiatus the hillfort was remodelled in the Iron Age when a large V-profiled ditch was dug, which was in turn replaced by a larger parallel U-shaped ditch and a timber rampart inserted into the fill of the V-shaped ditch (Allen and Lamdin-Whymark 2001: 287-8; Allen et al. 2009: 73-95). There may have been another phase of enclosure, as another substantial, undated V-shaped ditch was found to the east of the main excavation area; although it was undated, judging from its position and size it seems likely to have related to the Iron Age hillfort (Allen and Lamdin-Whymark 2001: 288; Allen et al. 2009: 95-99). The earlier phases of the hillfort were smaller than the latest phase, the U-profiled ditch of which continued to the south of the site and enclosed the Taplow burial mound.

The hillfort had been reoccupied in the late sixth or early seventh century (around the time that the Anglo-Saxon burial mound was built) and occupation seems to have ceased in the ninth century (Allen et al. 2009: 101-7). The U-profiled ditch and undated V-profiled ditch contained large assemblages of Anglo-Saxon material in their upper fills, which yielded calibrated radiocarbon dates ranging from AD 650 and 980 (95% confidence) (Allen et al. 2009: 101-3). The Anglo-Saxon finds were generally those expected from a settlement of the period, including a range of agricultural, domestic and craft-working items, but there were also some items that might indicate a high-status presence, including a possible sherd from a late Roman eastern Mediterranean vessel, found in an Anglo-Saxon context (Allen et al. 2009: 104-5, 139). The animal bone assemblage included commonly-found species such as cattle, horse, pig and sheep/goat, but also red and roe deer, which also hinted at a high-status presence (Allen et al. 2009: 149).

The quantity of Anglo-Saxon material retrieved from the ditches suggests that intense occupation occurred nearby, although few structural remains were excavated (Allen et al. 2009: 101). The possible foundation trench of an Anglo-Saxon building was partially revealed and lay just to the north-east of the terminal of the

U-shaped ditch, in an entrance to the hillfort (Allen and Lamdin-Whymark 2001: 287; Allen et al. 2009: 105). Given the large quantity of material in the undated V-shaped ditch, which was located slightly away from the other ditches, the focus of settlement may have been in the unexcavated area between this ditch and the U-profiled one, or it could have been elsewhere in the hillfort. Indeed the earliest Anglo-Saxon evidence from the site, a fifth- or sixth-century decorated pot sherd, came from an evaluation trench some distance away within the hillfort; it was found alongside similar pottery to that in the hillfort ditches, suggesting that occupation took place within the enclosure at this time (Allen et al. 2009: 105).

The Taplow hillfort was still a substantial feature in the landscape in the early medieval period. At the time of its reoccupation the undated V-profiled ditch was still up to 2m deep, while the U-profiled one was 1.5m to 2m deep (Allen et al. 2009: 103). The remains of a gravel rampart also seem to have survived in the early medieval period, since the Anglo-Saxon fills of the hillfort ditches contained fire-reddened gravel thought to have derived from the preserved Iron Age rampart (Allen and Lamdin-Whymark 2001: 288; Allen et al. 2009: 103). There was little evidence to suggest that the hillfort had been renovated or maintained in the Anglo-Saxon period, although a pit and a posthole at the entrance to the hillfort may have belonged to the Anglo-Saxon phase of reoccupation (Allen et al. 2009: 103-4). They did not contain any dating evidence but they were stratigraphically later than the hillfort and they may have represented the remains of fences that had been inserted into the tops of the surviving ramparts, which then eroded away to leave no trace except at the entrance where the rampart had ended but the fence continued. It is not clear exactly when the Anglo-Saxon material was deposited in the hillfort ditches; they could have filled slowly during the occupation of the hillfort, or they might have been filled in when the settlement was abandoned (Allen et al. 2009: 104-5). There is some evidence to suggest that the material was redeposited, as there were several later Anglo-Saxon sherds at the bottom of the ditch fills (Allen et al. 2009: 105, 137-8). This could mean that the material was placed in the ditches after occupation had ceased, and that they remained substantial earthworks throughout the period of reoccupation.

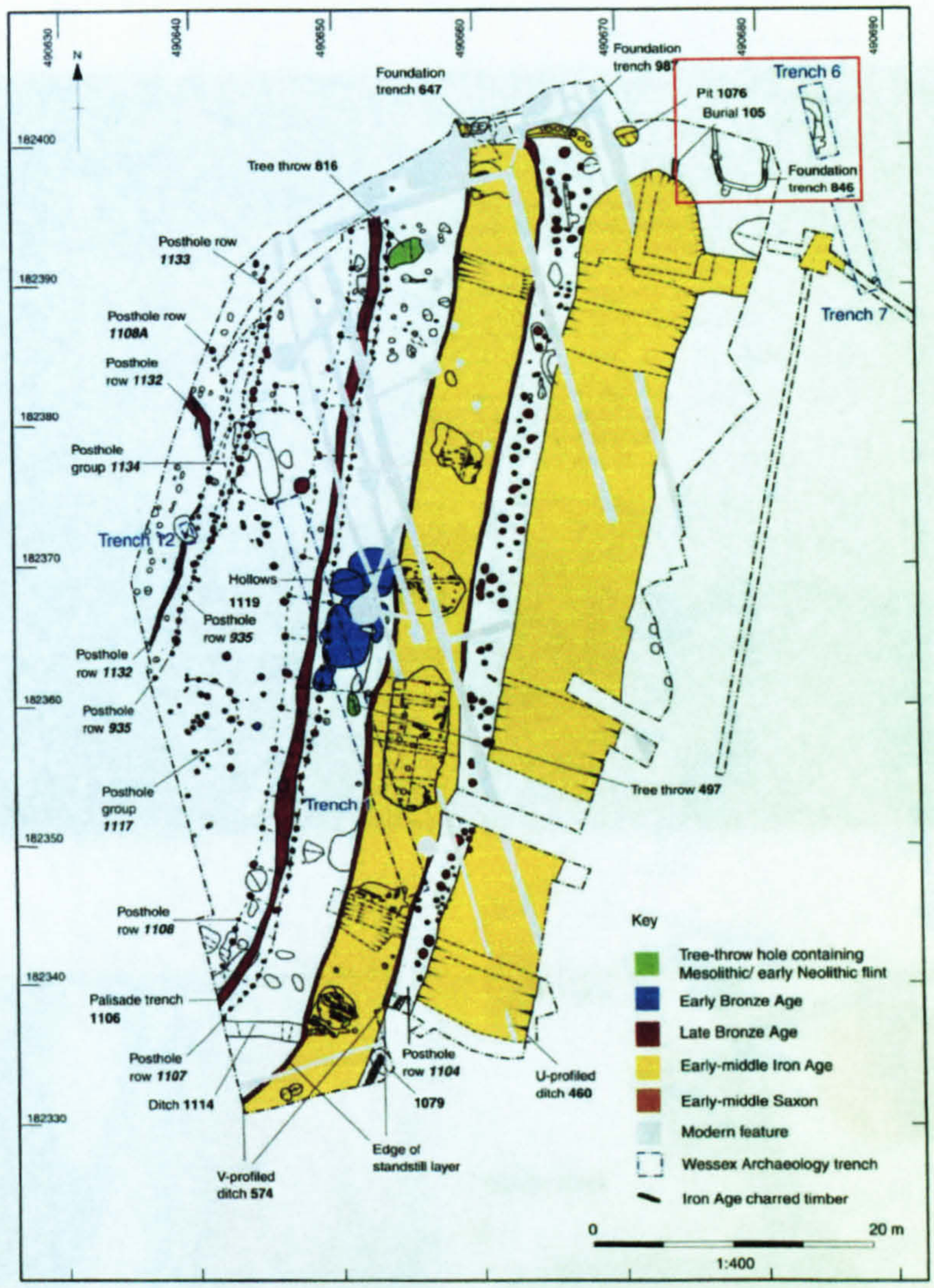
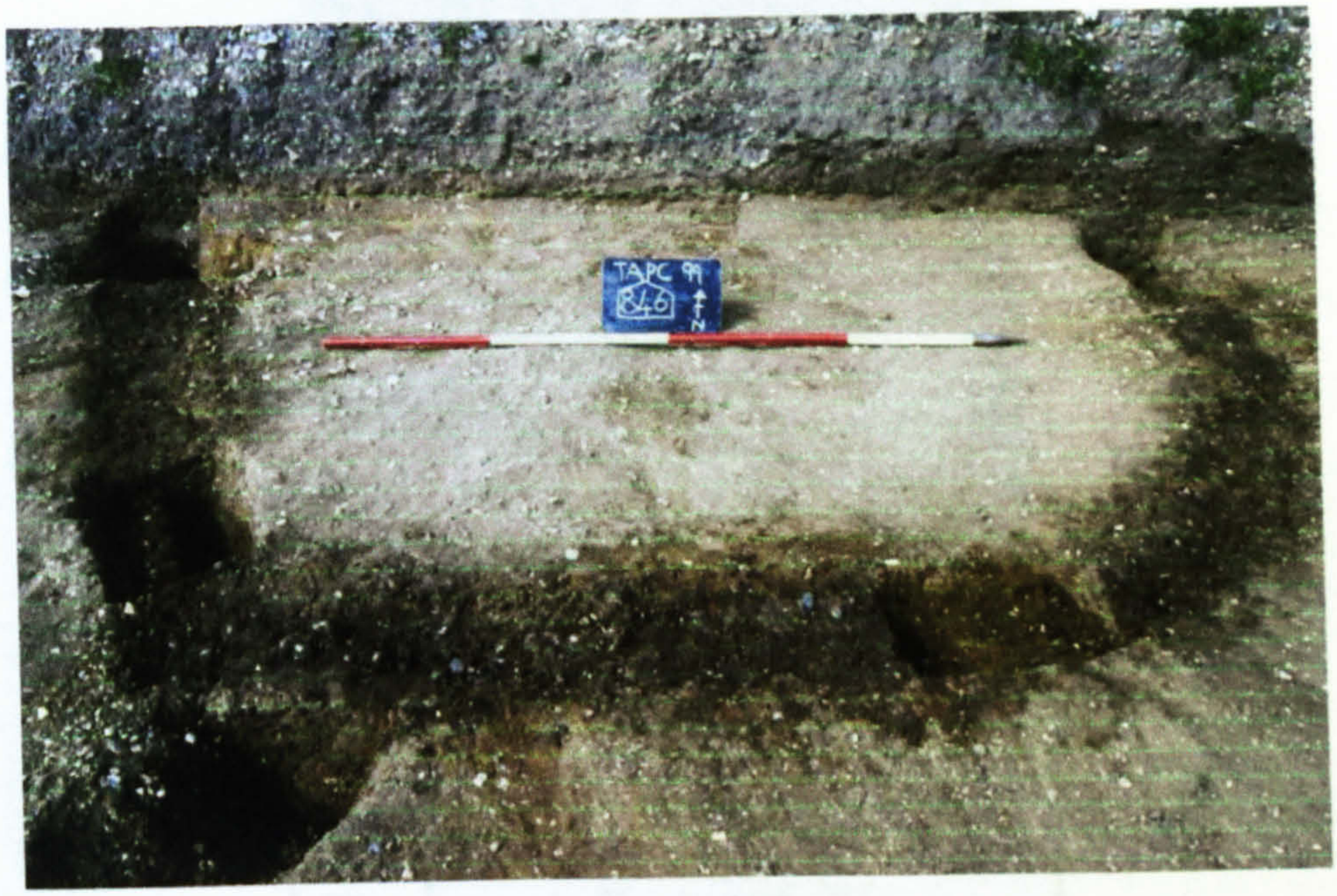


Fig. 5.51 Taplow (Bucks). Plan of the excavated hillfort defences from all periods with the position of the possible Anglo-Saxon building to the north-west of the site marked in red (top) (after Allen et al. 2009: 16, fig. 2.1). Detail of the foundation trench (bottom) (after Allen et al. 2009: 16, fig. 2.1).



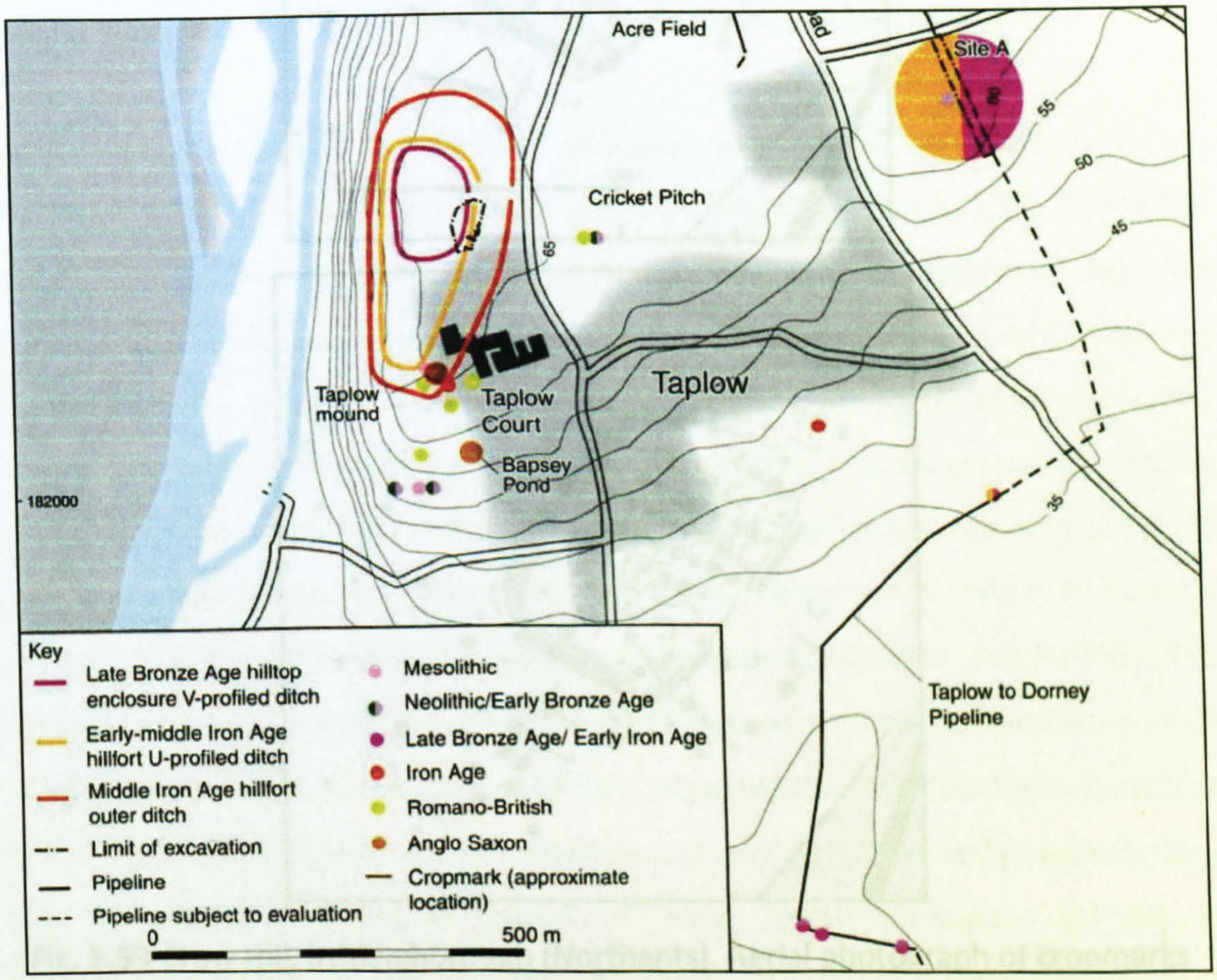


Fig. 5.52 Taplow (Bucks). Photograph of the excavated foundation trench (top) (from Allen et al. 2009: 107, plate 6.3) and overview of the Taplow area showing the extent of the various phases of hillfort and the position of the Taplow mound inside the defences (bottom) (after Allen et al. 2009: 189, fig. 11.1).

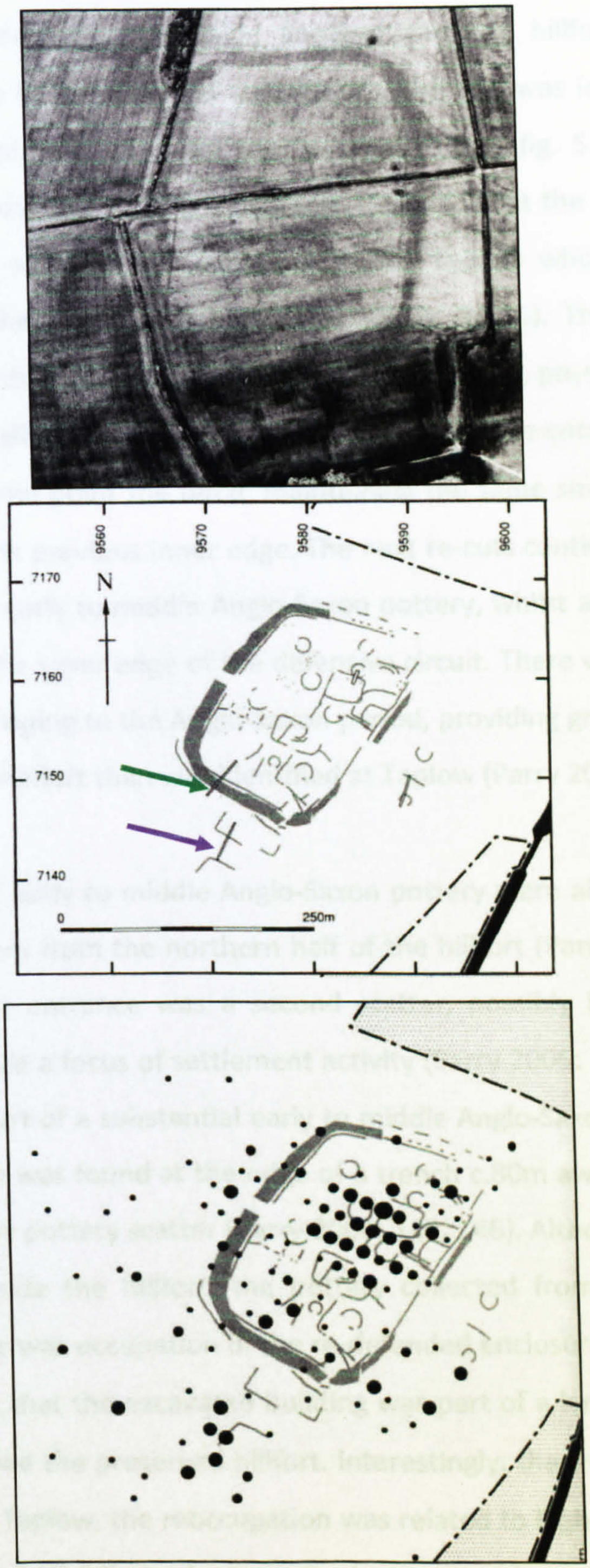


Fig. 5.53 Crow Hill, Irthlingborough (Northants). Aerial photograph of cropmarks (top) (from Parry 2006: 140, fig. 6.1). Cropmarks, magnetic anomalies and trenches, with the re-cut defences marked by a green arrow and the position of the Anglo-Saxon building marked by a purple arrow (middle) (after Parry 2006: 142, fig. 6.3). Early to middle Anglo-Saxon pottery distribution across the site (bottom) (after Parry 2006: 142, fig. 6.3).

Buildings were discovered just outside another Iron Age hillfort at **Crow Hill, Irthlingborough.** The hillfort covered an area of c.3ha and was identified through field survey, aerial photography and trial excavation (see fig. 5.53) (Parry 2006: 139). Excavation across the southern defences revealed that the hillfort ditch was 17m wide in total, although this included several re-cuts whose positions had shifted each time they were redefined (Parry 2006: 143-5). The first two ditch phases were substantial, 3m to 5m wide and over 3.3m deep, possibly accompanied by a rampart strengthened by timber posts. Subsequent re-cuts were wider and shallower and at some point the ditch, maintaining the same size and profile, was moved 2m outside its previous inner edge. The next re-cuts continued this outward drift and contained early to middle Anglo-Saxon pottery, whilst a final Anglo-Saxon re-cut returned to the inner edge of the defensive circuit. There were at least three phases of ditch belonging to the Anglo-Saxon period, providing greater evidence for modification of the hillfort than was identified at Taplow (Parry 2006: 145).

Over 700 sherds of early to middle Anglo-Saxon pottery were also recovered from the site, 457 of them from the northern half of the hillfort (Parry 2006: 139, 141). Outside the hillfort entrance was a second scatter, possibly indicating that the entrance had formed a focus of settlement activity (Parry 2006: 141, 146). This was confirmed when part of a substantial early to middle Anglo-Saxon building of post-in-slot construction was found at the edge of a trench c.80m away from the hillfort entrance, under the pottery scatter (Parry 2006: 143, 146). Although excavation did not take place inside the hillfort, the pottery collected from within it strongly suggests that there was occupation in the re-defended enclosure (Parry 2006: 145), perhaps indicating that the excavated building was part of a larger settlement that reused and modified the preserved hillfort. Interestingly, there are indications that at Crow Hill, as at Taplow, the reoccupation was related to high-status activity. King Offa of Mercia (757-96) is known to have signed a charter (S1184) at Irthlingborough between 787 and 796, when he held an assembly there (Lewis et al. 1997: 98; Blinkhorn 1999: 10; Reynolds 2003: 102). The hillfort appears, then, to have been a place of royal authority in the eighth century, and the excavated building could have related to this phase of activity (Reynolds 2003: 102).

PART 2: RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Monument Forms

The monuments discussed in this chapter have thus far been classed as falling into one of two general categories – barrows or linear features – for ease of discussion. Barrows were reused at twenty-eight settlements in the corpus, while linear features were appropriated at twenty-four of the settlements (see table 5.2).

General Category	Monument Type	Number of Sites With Monument
Barrows	Long barrow	2
	Oval barrow	2
	Disc barrow	4
	Bowl barrow	10
	Bell barrow	1
	Pond barrow	1
	Round barrow (exact form unknown)	14
	Barrow (type unknown)	5
Linear Features	Enclosure/field system	18
	Droveway	3
	Hillfort	2
	Boundary ditch	1
	Cursus	1
	Henge	2

Table 5.3 Monument types reused at settlements in the corpus.

These two categories express the differences in the form and, to some extent, function of the two types of earthwork; barrows generally constitute discrete 'lumps and bumps' in the landscape, whereas enclosures and boundaries generally define, divide and enclose areas of the landscape. However, as discussed at the beginning of the chapter, these general classifications belie great variety in the

different forms exhibited by the barrows, enclosures and boundaries that were present in Anglo-Saxon settlement sites in the corpus. It is important to bear in mind these differences in form and appearance, as they may have impacted on how communities interpreted and reused the different monuments.

Let us first consider barrows, the most frequently reused form of monument in the corpus. A large number of settlements were established on or close to round barrows, which in many cases were indicated archaeologically simply by the presence of a ring ditch, at sites such as Village Farm/Medbury Lane, Elstow Harrowden, Harrold, Biddenham Loop and Corporation Farm, for example. As stated at the beginning of this chapter, the term 'round barrow' can refer to a number of different forms of circular barrow; while a ring ditch indicates that a circular barrow was present, without further evidence for the *above-ground* element of the barrow, such as a mound or bank, it is difficult to determine exactly what these would have looked like before their destruction. At some settlements, however, the above-ground form of monuments could be discerned. For example, bowl barrows are known from Cassington, West Halton, Cossington Quarry, Hoe Hills, Gatehampton Farm, Salmonby, Manor Farm, West Cotton, Corporation Farm and Barrow Hills. Disc barrows are known from Cassington, where there were two examples, and from West Cotton and Barrow Hills, while the barrow at Willington had a berm between the mound and the ring ditch, suggesting that it was a bell barrow. Pond barrows were found at Barrow Hills, and long barrows were reused at Salmonby and West Cotton, while the settlement at Barrow Hills also had an oval barrow in it, as did the settlement at Sutton Courtenay. There also sites with penannular ring ditches, which may have represented circular barrows of some sort, although the exact form was uncertain; this was the case at Catholme, Church Farm and possibly at Eye Kettleby. Meanwhile, at Old Parkbury and Nettleton Top the presence of barrows was suggested by finds that might have lain under those barrows, rather than by traces of the barrows themselves, making it virtually impossible to determine what form the barrows might have taken.

Monuments falling into the category of linear features also varied in their shape and appearance. The reused hillforts at Taplow and Crow Hill were still substantial earthwork enclosures in the Anglo-Saxon period. The reoccupation of earlier fortified enclosures has been noted in western Britain, such as at Dinas Powys (Glam) and Cadbury Castle (Som), and it is interesting that Arnold (1984: 73-7) believed these to be 'unique to south-west England and Wales'. The excavations at Taplow and Crow Hill have shown that the practice was in existence in Anglo-Saxon England too. Other prehistoric enclosures and boundaries have evidence for having been preserved as banks, rather than as ditches, as in many cases the ditches had filled before the Anglo-Saxon period. Iron Age enclosures at Knave Hill, Enderby, Grange Park, Thorpe End and Pennyland were D-shaped, whilst the Bronze and Iron Age enclosures at Foxholes Farm and Eynsham Abbey were sub-rectangular. At sites such as Biddenham Loop, Glebe Farm and Addenbrooke's, and perhaps Elstow Harrowden and Harston Mill, there seem to have been multiple prehistoric field boundaries and enclosures.

The causewayed enclosure at Briar Hill, with its curved sections of bank, was different from other enclosures, while the possible enclosure at Fatholme was also slightly unusual in that it was circular, and one of the enclosures at West Cotton was egg-shaped. The remains of the cursus at Sutton Courtenay, if still visible, would probably have been seen as two parallel banks running through the area of the settlement site, and the prehistoric boundary at Catholme would have formed a discrete, linear boundary feature, possibly accompanied by a bank. Meanwhile, the two possible henges at Corporation Farm and New Wintles Farm were formed by two elliptical lengths of ditch, c.10m long, accompanied by banks. Droveways, which may have been reused at Addenbrooke's and Grange Park, could have been preserved as hollows, perhaps with accompanying ditches or banks.

Both barrows and linear features, then, would have been visible in the Anglo-Saxon period as a variety of different shapes and sizes of earthwork. These earthworks formed either 'negative' features, such as ditches and hollows, 'positive' features, such as banks and mounds, or a combination of the two. At the majority of sites in

the corpus the evidence appears to demonstrate that it was the positive, above-ground elements of monuments that survived to have an impact on later settlement. This is especially true of barrows, but it is also the case with many linear features, which were often delineated by raised banks. Thus, even when pre-existing ditches had silted up prior to the Anglo-Saxon period – at Eynsham Abbey and Foxholes Farm for example – there was evidence to suggest that the banks had survived. On the other hand, there were several instances in which the negative parts of earthworks were preserved; there was Anglo-Saxon material in the prehistoric ditches at Taplow and Cassington, and in the upper fills of ring ditches at Frieston Road and Barrow Hills, for instance. Vegetation could also have had an impact on the appearance of monuments during the Anglo-Saxon period. The excavators of some sites, such as Biddenham Loop, Pennyland and Enderby, suggested that hedges were used to enhance the boundaries around enclosures. These hedges may have survived into the Anglo-Saxon period and impacted upon the layout of later settlements, as Hamerow (1993: 86) has suggested in the case of Mucking (Essex). There may have been a similar situation where ring ditches were concerned, as they may have experienced preferential growth of vegetation, perhaps increasing their distinctiveness in the landscape (R. Darrah pers. comm.).

An appreciation of the various forms that barrows and enclosures could have taken is an important aspect of this study, as Anglo-Saxon communities may well have viewed different forms of monument in different ways. The fact that people in the early medieval period *did* recognise differences in the appearance of monuments is demonstrated linguistically, as discussed in Chapter 4. The use of specific terms for monuments such as barrows (*hlæw* and *beorgh*) and hillforts (*burh*), as well as the use of adjectives to describe those monuments, as 'broken' (*brocenan*) or 'long' (*langan*) barrows for instance (Gelling 1988: 132-42), demonstrates that people were aware of monuments, and mindful of their appearances, similarities and differences. As such, they may have held different beliefs about the origins and characteristics of the different forms of monument.

When considering the appearance of prehistoric monuments during the Anglo-Saxon period, it should also be noted that Roman remains could, in some cases, have closely resembled prehistoric remains, and Anglo-Saxon communities may not have distinguished between them. At several sites in the corpus Iron Age and Romano-British remains lay side by side; this was the case at Grange Park, Willington and Addenbrooke's, for example. These sites demonstrate that Romano-British landscape features were not necessarily appropriated or interpreted differently from prehistoric ones, especially when their forms were very similar and when they were already centuries old by the time they were reoccupied. It seems more likely that there may have been differences in the way that people viewed more distinctive Roman remains, such as stone buildings, which would not have resembled the earthen remains of prehistoric monuments. Thus, although Roman landscape features are not considered in this study for the reasons outlined in Chapter 1, it is worth noting that Anglo-Saxon communities might not have always distinguished between them and prehistoric features when they were similar in form. Settlement sites with a Roman element to their history of occupation, such as Addenbrooke's, have been kept in the corpus because there is evidence to show that the earlier, Iron Age, aspects of the site also remained visible and were reused in the Anglo-Saxon period.

Monument Visibility

While a monument's form would have had an impact on its appearance for those viewing it in the early medieval period, so too would its level of preservation. Monuments had to be preserved as visible earthworks in order to have been reused and, indeed, the confidence with which monument reuse can be said to have taken place at a site is generally dependent on the evidence for visibility in the Anglo-Saxon period. In Chapter 2 it was stated that a basic – and obvious – criterion for including sites in the settlement corpus was that there was evidence to suggest that the monument had been visible in the Anglo-Saxon period. At one end of the scale there are settlements in the corpus at which monuments were definitely visible during the fifth to ninth centuries. The hillforts at Taplow and Crow Hill were visible when they were reoccupied and at least one of the hillforts was modified at that

time. At Barrow Hills there is no doubt that the ditches, mounds and banks of various barrows were preserved as earthworks in the fifth to seventh centuries (Chambers and McAdam 2007: 303). Similarly, the survival of barrows into the nineteenth, twentieth and twenty-first centuries at West Halton, Gatehampton Farm, Willington, Cossington Quarry, Hoe Hills, West Cotton and Cassington demonstrates that those monuments would still have been visible earthworks in the Anglo-Saxon period. At sites such as Frieston Road, Manor Farm and West Cotton the precise positioning of SFBs on barrows strongly suggests that those monuments survived as visible features in the landscape. Meanwhile, at Catholme and Wolverton Turn Enclosure the 'annexing' of barrows provides strong evidence for the desire to enclose, and perhaps restrict or protect, earlier monuments.

At the other end of the scale are settlements where the proposed visibility of monuments is more tentative, although, crucially, there is no evidence to prove that the monuments had been destroyed prior to the Anglo-Saxon period. At Eynsham Abbey, for example, there may have been an external bank surrounding the Bronze Age enclosure, which then influenced the sixth- to ninth-century settlement, but this was not certain. The positioning of so many settlement features inside the earlier enclosure, however, seems more than coincidental. Similarly, there is some uncertainty about the level of preservation of the Iron Age and Bronze Age enclosures at sites such as Pennyland and Eye Kettleby but, again, the presence of buildings within the enclosures does seem to suggest that the earthworks were visible and exerted some influence over the later settlements. Meanwhile, at settlements such as Village Farm/Medbury Lane, Elstow Harrowden, Biddenham Loop and Holme Pierrepont ring ditches indicate that there had been some form of round barrow present, but as there were no traces of mounds or banks (and in some cases because detailed excavation records were not available) it is difficult to determine to what extent they would have been preserved in the early medieval period.

It could be argued that the lack of confirmation for monument visibility at some sites diminishes the likelihood that reuse had taken place. However, by drawing

parallels between sites at which monument visibility in the Anglo-Saxon period has been confirmed, and sites where the evidence is less compelling, it is possible to demonstrate there were precedents for the styles of monument reuse seen at the more 'tentative' sites. For example, at Village Farm/Medbury Lane, Biddenham Loop and High Farm there is no evidence to demonstrate that barrows were visible in the Anglo-Saxon period but, equally, there is no evidence to confirm that they were not. On the other hand, sites such as West Halton, Cossington Quarry and West Cotton confirm that barrows *could* survive into the Anglo-Saxon period as substantial earthworks, and that settlements *were* established around them. As such, they show that the postulated relationships between buildings and barrows at sites such as Village Farm/Medbury Lane did exist elsewhere, supporting the notion that monument reuse was taking place at settlements where monument visibility could not be definitively confirmed archaeologically.

Furthermore, an additional advantage of drawing parallels between sites is that it can assist the visualisation of how less well-understood sites, such as those with small-scale investigations or poor recording, might have reused monuments. For example, Harston Mill and Elstow Harrowden might have originally exhibited patterns of reuse similar to Glebe Farm, where Anglo-Saxon buildings and enclosures followed the alignment of an Iron Age field system, but the small scale excavation of the two sites limits our understanding of the relationships between features of different phases. The benefits of drawing parallels between settlements in order to unravel the relationships between buildings and monuments at less well-understood sites will be explored in Chapter 6, where Eye Kettleby will be compared to settlements with definite reuse to assist in determining whether the postulated barrow was incorporated into the Anglo-Saxon settlement or not.

It is clear from the settlement sites discussed in this chapter that one of the major factors affecting monument preservation in the present day has been ploughing in the medieval, post-medieval and modern periods, which has caused severe truncation at many sites. On one hand, this can make determining the level of monument visibility in the Anglo-Saxon period very difficult. On the other, it

demonstrates just how much damage has been caused to prehistoric monuments since the medieval period, and adds support to the notion that many more monuments remained as visible earthworks prior to this destruction than we might initially imagine. Table 5.3 demonstrates just how extensive plough damage was on settlements across the study area, with over half the sites in the corpus having evidence for ploughing from the medieval period to the present day. Moreover, the sites listed in the table were those at which plough damage was noted in excavation reports; there may well have been further sites with plough damage that was not mentioned by the excavators.

Jones (1998) has made a similar point in relation to the discovery of levelled Neolithic long barrows in Lincolnshire. A study of aerial photographs from the county revealed over fifty examples of levelled and ploughed out long barrows, the existence of which was unknown until they were revealed by aerial photography (Jones 1998: 83). His study highlighted the increasingly intensive agricultural practices used in the county since World War II, particularly in the last quarter of a century, which have had a significant impact on ancient landscapes (Jones 1998: 97-8). In addition, the marks of ridge and furrow cultivation covering some sites indicate that the process of erosion through ploughing was underway in the medieval period (Jones 1998: 98). Monuments in Lincolnshire, as an intensively cultivated region of the country, have therefore suffered particularly badly due to ploughing, and the same can also be said of many other regions in England (Jones 1998: 101; Barker 1974: 29, 33).

Site	County	Plough Damage	Source
Biddenham Loop	Beds	The site had been truncated by ploughing	Luke and Barker 2010: 77
Pennyland	Bucks	Plough damage across the site	Williams 1993: 19
Willington	Derbys	Ploughing had spread barrow material; medieval plough furrows across site	Wheeler 1979: 73, 116
Old Parkbury	Herts	Modern ploughing had truncated many features	Niblett 2001: 163
Cossington Quarry	Leics	Barrow had been badly plough damaged	Thomas 2007b: 56
Enderby	Leics	The site had suffered considerable plough damage; post-medieval ploughing may have pushed a bank into the ditch	Clay 1992: 6, 32
Eye Kettleby	Leics	Medieval ridge and furrow across the site; deep ploughing in recent decades	Finn 1997a; Finn 1997b: 91
Knave Hill	Leics	Archaeological features had been truncated by ploughing	Wessex Archaeology 2008: 6, 14
Frieston Road	Lincs	Medieval or post-medieval plough furrows were observed in the trench	Copp and Toop 2006: 91
High Farm	Lincs	Significant truncation of features	Ramsay 2001: 3
Hoe Hills	Lincs	Barrows levelled and ploughed from the 1940s onwards	Lane 2000: 99
Nettleton Top	Lincs	Plough marks; ploughing had truncated two SFBs; plough damage to two Bronze Age vessels, which were possibly under ploughed away mound	Field and Leahy 1993: 14
Salmonby	Lincs	SFBs were revealed by modern ploughing; round barrow much reduced by ploughing	Petch 1960: 20; HER record
Briar Hill	Northants	Ploughing across the site had probably levelled Neolithic banks	Bamford 1985: 37
Crow Hill	Northants	Hillfort had been much reduced by ploughing when discovered	Parry 2006: 139

Grange Park	Northants	Medieval plough furrows across the site; post-medieval and modern ploughing had caused damage too	Buteux 2001: 38-9
West Cotton	Northants	Mound eroded by medieval ridge and furrow ploughing	Windell et al. 1990: 11
Glebe Farm	Notts	High degree of erosion caused by ploughing	Jones forthcoming
Holme Pierrepont	Notts	Modern ploughing	Guilbert 2006: 36
Barrow Hills	Oxon	Traces of ridge and furrow (presumed to be medieval); recent heavy cultivation had left share marks	Chambers and McAdam 2007: 9
New Wintles Farm	Oxon	The site has suffered due to medieval, post-medieval and modern ploughing; furrows overlay much of the site	Gray 1973: 18; Gray 1974: 53
Sutton Courtenay	Oxon	The field investigated by Hamerow et al. had been severely truncated by deep ploughing in recent years	Hamerow et al. 2007: 113
Catholme	Staffs	Medieval and post-medieval plough furrows over most of the site	Losco-Bradley and Wheeler 2002: 12

Table 5.4 Effects of medieval to modern plough damage at sites in the corpus (where mentioned in excavation reports).

In addition to ploughing, archaeological features at some settlements had been affected by other forms of erosion. Recent soil erosion was noted at Old Parkbury (Niblett 2001: 163) and road building in the early to mid twentieth century at Cassington had destroyed parts of the landscape (Hey 2004: 10). Features at Barrow Hills had suffered as a result of extensive animal burrowing (Chambers and McAdam 2007: 9) and at Eynsham Abbey medieval building activity had truncated earlier features (Barclay et al. 2001: 157). Alluviation post-dating the Anglo-Saxon period had caused damage to prehistoric monuments at West Cotton, where medieval activity had also caused the diversion of streams which then destroyed parts of some monuments (Windell 1989: 89; Windell et al. 1990: 9-10). Medieval activity at West Halton included levelling a Bronze Age barrow and using the resulting platform for building on (Hadley and Willmott forthcoming). Quarrying had also taken its toll on a number of settlements, especially when it had taken place in

the nineteenth and mid twentieth centuries without archaeological recording, at Harrold (Eagles and Evison 1970: 17, 48), Sutton Courtenay (Leeds 1923: 147-9) and Cassington (Benson and Miles 1974a: 84), for instance.

Thus, much of the evidence for the erosion and disturbance of prehistoric monuments in the settlements under study here points to their destruction during the medieval, post-medieval and modern periods, as a result of agricultural activities, quarrying or building. A significant amount of damage and truncation has therefore occurred in recent centuries, and this has a bearing not only on the visibility of features in the present day, but also on our ability to assess their preservation in the Anglo-Saxon period. While agricultural activities in the prehistoric and Romano-British eras could potentially have truncated pre-existing remains, at very few sites in the corpus was there evidence for such activity. There was evidence for Roman ploughing at Gatehampton Farm but, although ploughsoil overlay some mounds, this did not prevent them from being visible at the time of excavation (Allen 1995: 125). Thus, many of the monuments present in and around the settlements in this study witnessed most damage and destruction in the period between the medieval era and the modern day. A large proportion of them may well have been significant landscape features prior to this and could, therefore, have had a substantial impact on the communities living near them in the early medieval period.

Intrusive and Associative Reuse

As discussed in Chapter 3, Semple (2008; 2009) has distinguished between associative and intrusive forms of reuse in the funerary record. To recapitulate, she classed intrusive reuse as 'burials that are cut into a monument', and associative reuse as 'burials that cluster around a monument but are not inserted into it, or to primary Anglo-Saxon barrow burials constructed in immediate proximity to a prehistoric monument' (Semple 2008: 411). Analysis of the sites in the corpus has

revealed that monument reuse in settlements also fell into these two categories.[8] In cases of associative reuse, buildings and other settlement features were situated in close proximity to a monument (up to c.150m away), or a monument was encompassed by a settlement, with buildings located around it. In some of these associative cases buildings appear to have been aligned on the monuments, arranged in a row next to a barrow or echoing the alignment of prehistoric boundaries, but the buildings did not modify or touch the monuments. On the other hand, intrusive reuse was characterised by the modification of monuments, with buildings constructed on top of, or abutting, pre-existing features.

Intrusive reuse was frequently seen in connection with barrows, at sites including Barrow Hills, Frieston Road, Sutton Courtenay, Manor Farm, West Cotton, New Wintles Farm, Corporation Farm and possibly at Gatehampton Farm and Eye Kettleby (see table 5.5). In each of these cases buildings sat on top of the barrows, or they were directly over a ring ditch and positioned in such a way that would have been adjacent to the mound or abutting it. There were also instances of intrusive reuse involving enclosures and boundaries, at Glebe Farm and Pennyland for example, where buildings had been dug into Iron Age ditches. Intrusive reuse through the modification of prehistoric ditches was seen at Catholme, Crow Hill and possibly at Cassington, while the hillfort at Taplow may have been modified too. At Briar Hill an SFB seems to have been placed on top of a Neolithic bank, and another may have abutted a section of bank, a situation reminiscent of the associations between buildings and *barrows* seen elsewhere. Intrusive reuse, then, appears to be the result of definite, deliberate and structured relationships between Anglo-Saxon buildings and the earlier features they appropriated.

[8] The term 'direct' was applied instead of 'intrusive' in Crewe (2008), but 'intrusive' has been used here because it more accurately conveys the form of reuse being described. This also means that the terms correspond with those used by Semple (2008).

Site	County	Form of Intrusive Reuse
Pennyland	Bucks	SFB dug into ditch
Taplow	Bucks	Possible modification of hillfort
Manor Farm	Cambs	Two phases of SFB dug into barrow
Eye Kettleby	Leics	Post-built structures abutting possible barrow
Frieston Road	Lincs	SFB dug across ring ditch
Briar Hill	Northants	SFB dug into bank SFB abutting bank
Crow Hill	Northants	Modification of hillfort
West Cotton	Northants	SFB dug into long barrow
Glebe Farm	Notts	SFB dug into ditch
Barrow Hills	Oxon	SFB dug into oval barrow SFB on berm of barrow Four SFBs abutting barrows
Corporation Farm	Oxon	SFB abutting barrow
Gatehampton Farm	Oxon	Possible SFB on barrow
New Wintles Farm	Oxon	Two SFBs dug into barrows
Sutton Courtenay	Oxon	Three SFBs abutting barrows
Catholme	Staffs	Modification of prehistoric boundary

Table 5.5 Intrusive reuse of monuments in the corpus.

Deliberate and structured appropriation of monuments is not restricted to intrusive reuse, however. At Catholme and Wolverton Turn Enclosure the enclosing of earlier barrows can be classed as associative, as the barrows were not modified, but the pattern of reuse still indicates that premeditated and conscious decisions were made about the way in which the monuments were to be incorporated into, and at the same time separated from, the rest of the settlement (see table 5.6). The alignment of buildings on earlier earthworks is also indicative of intentional and organised associative reuse. The timber halls at Hatton Rock and Sutton Courtenay were aligned very precisely in rows next to the ring ditches of probable barrows, whilst at Glebe Farm and Addenbrooke's buildings followed the alignment of earlier ditches. The positioning of buildings within earlier enclosures, at Foxholes Farm and

possibly at Eynsham, also suggests deliberate and planned associative appropriation.

In other instances associative reuse was looser, with fewer structured relationships between buildings and monuments (see table 5.6). Barrows were located within or near settlements at Village Farm/Medbury Lane, Elstow Harrowden, Church Farm, Hoe Hills, Cassington, High Farm, Harrold, Holme Pierrepont and Willington, and perhaps Salmonby, Grendon, Nettleton Top and Old Parkbury, but there was no evidence to suggest that they were modified or referenced by the buildings in any obvious or direct way. Buildings were loosely arranged in proximity to prehistoric linear features too; at Sutton Courtenay the cursus was not referenced in any obvious way by the Anglo-Saxon buildings, nor were the henges at New Wintles Farm and Corporation Farm, although they were located very near to buildings.

However, it must be noted that the apparent lack of structured relationships between buildings and monuments at some sites could have resulted from methods of excavation, rather than real archaeological patterns. For example, at Holme Pierrepont, Cossington, West Halton, Hoe Hills and High Farm there were unexcavated areas of up to 100m between the buildings and the barrows; it is possible, therefore, that further buildings existed closer to the monuments. Meanwhile, barrows at sites such as Village Farm/Medbury Lane and Willington had only been partially excavated, meaning that any further buildings on their unexcavated sides would have gone unnoticed. At Salmonby and Grendon the lack of published evidence from the excavations means that very little is known about the spatial relationships between Anglo-Saxon and prehistoric features.

Site	County	Form of Associative Reuse
Biddenham Loop	Beds	SFBs c.20m from a barrow **SFBs within Bronze Age fields**
Elstow Harrowden	Beds	Post-built structures 20-100m away from a barrow Structures situated amongst Iron Age enclosures

Harrold	Beds	SFBs 50-100m away from barrows within a monument complex
Village Farm/Medbury Lane	Beds	SFBs 12-22m away from two barrows Further settlement features 200m to the south-east
Church Farm	Bucks	SFBs 13-40m away from two barrows
Pennyland	Bucks	SFBs and post-built structures amongst Iron Age enclosures **SFB in entrance to Iron Age enclosure**
Taplow	Bucks	**Post-built structure in entrance to hillfort**
Wolverton Turn Enclosure	Bucks	**Barrow enclosed and 'annexed' by settlement**
Addenbrooke's	Cambs	**Post-built structures aligned on Iron Age ditches**
Harston Mill	Cambs	At least one SFB amongst Iron Age enclosures
Willington	Derbys	Post-built structure 60m from a barrow
Foxholes Farm	Herts	**SFBs and post-built structures within an Iron Age enclosure**
Old Parkbury	Herts	SFBs 5-30m away from a possible barrow
Cossington Quarry	Leics	SFB 60m away from a barrow
Enderby	Leics	SFB 20m outside an Iron Age enclosure
Eye Kettleby	Leics	SFBs and post-built structures in and around Bronze Age enclosures **One building in an entrance to an enclosure** SFBs and post-built structures c.5-250m from a possible barrow
Knave Hill	Leics	Post-built structures inside and outside an Iron Age enclosure **One building in a possible entrance to enclosure**
Frieston Road	Lincs	**SFB dug across ring ditch**
Hoe Hills	Lincs	Post-built structures c.100m away from a barrow
High Farm	Lincs	At least one SFB c.50m away from a barrow
Nettleton Top	Lincs	SFBs 20-50m away from a possible barrow
Salmonby	Lincs	SFBs c.100m away from barrows
West Halton	Lincs	Post-built structures and an SFB 5-60m away from barrows
Briar Hill	Northants	SFBs 10-34m away from causewayed enclosure banks

Crow Hill	Northants	**Post-built structure outside entrance to hillfort**
Grange Park	Northants	SFB c.15m away from an earlier droveway
Grendon	Northants	SFBs in close proximity to barrow
Thorpe End	Northants	**Post-built structure inside an Iron Age enclosure**
West Cotton	Northants	SFBs c.30-60m away from barrows and enclosures within a monument complex
Glebe Farm	Notts	**SFBs and post-built structures aligned on ditches**
Holme Pierrepont	Notts	SFB 20m from a possible barrow and close to other cropmarks in complex
Barrow Hills	Oxon	Numerous SFBs and post-built structures within a monument complex, c.1-75m away from barrows.
Cassington	Oxon	SFBs within a monument complex, c.20-250m away from barrows and Iron Age enclosure
Corporation Farm	Oxon	SFBs c.30-60m away from barrows and a henge
Eynsham Abbey	Oxon	**SFBs and post-built structures within a Bronze Age enclosure**
Gatehampton Farm	Oxon	SFB within monument complex, 12m from nearest barrow and up to c.200m from others
New Wintles Farm	Oxon	SFBs and post-built structures within a monument complex, c.20-150m away from barrows
Sutton Courtenay	Oxon	**Row of buildings aligned on a barrow** Numerous SFBs and two post-built structures within a monument complex, c.5-200m away from barrows and a cursus
Catholme	Staffs	**Barrows enclosed and 'annexed' by settlement**
Fatholme	Staffs	Post-built structure c.10m from a circular enclosure
Hatton Rock	Warwicks	**Row of buildings aligned on a barrow**

Table 5.6 Associative reuse, with more 'structured' examples in bold.

Similarly, there are indications that some buildings may have been associated more closely with linear features than initial excavation suggested. At Harston Mill and Elstow Harrowden, for example, buildings were situated amongst the remains of Iron Age field systems, but without further excavation it is impossible to determine whether any of those buildings were aligned on the enclosures or situated inside them. The apparent lack of intrusive or structured relationships between buildings and monuments at many sites could, therefore, have resulted from the positioning and sizes of trenches, in which case there may have been an even greater number of settlements with closer and more structured associations between buildings and older earthworks. The geophysical survey undertaken at Gatehampton Farm, which revealed the presence of further possible buildings including one on top of a barrow, demonstrates the advantages of investigating areas between monuments and buildings, even if it is through non-intrusive means rather than excavation.

One particularly interesting pattern emerging from this research is a link between SFBs and the intrusive reuse of monuments. This is especially apparent in relation to barrows; every instance of a building situated on top of a mound or ring ditch involves an SFB (see table 5.5). SFBs were located on top of barrows at Manor Farm, West Cotton, New Wintles Farm, Barrow Hills, and possibly at Frieston Road and Gatehampton Farm as well. They were situated over ring ditches at Barrow Hills, Sutton Courtenay and Corporation Farm, and possibly at New Wintles and Eye Kettleby. To a lesser extent SFBs intrusively reused linear features too; SFBs had been dug into the ditches of Iron Age enclosures at Glebe Farm and Pennyland, and an SFB may have sat on top of a bank, with another immediately adjacent to the bank, at Briar Hill. At the latter, the insertion of the building into the bank is akin to the insertion of SFBs into barrows, adding support to the argument that there was a definite and deliberate link between upstanding earthworks and SFBs. Furthermore, given the evidence for the medieval, post-medieval and modern levelling of monuments through ploughing and other activities, it would not be surprising to find that further cases of SFBs intrusively reusing earthworks had once existed, but that they had been destroyed along with the monuments. Williams (1997: 4) has made similar claims in relation to funerary monument reuse; post-depositional

processes such as ploughing, erosion, tree planting and deliberate levelling of monuments mean that burials (and therefore also buildings) positioned on monuments are less likely to have survived than those situated around monuments.

A practical explanation for the association between upstanding earthworks and SFBs, as opposed to post-built structures, is that the construction of an SFB lends itself much more easily to building on a curved, uneven surface than a post-built structure would do. SFBs, which typically measure c.4m by c.3m (although their sizes do vary), tend to be smaller than post-built structures (Addyman 1972; Tipper 2004: 1), and might therefore have fitted more easily on the tops of monuments or immediately next to them. Additionally, the digging of the sunken pit under an SFB would have been more effective at levelling of an uneven land surface, whereas a post-built structure would have had greater need for a level surface in order to create a flat, well-drained floor, and would have been less likely to fit easily on top of an earthwork.

This may explain why SFBs, and not post-built structures, were associated with barrows, but it does not explain *why* Anglo-Saxon communities wanted to construct buildings on top of and immediately next to prehistoric earthworks. None of these buildings is isolated; they were all part of larger settlements, although in some cases the existence of further buildings was only revealed through aerial photography and geophysical survey, rather than by excavation, for example at Frieston Road. The indication is, then, that at some settlements it was considered important that a building lay on top of or immediately next to a monument, and that those buildings had a particular role to play within those settlements, and there may have been different forces in play dictating whether to place a building on top of a mound or next to it. The specific link between SFBs and monuments is supported further when we look at sites such as West Halton and the Village Farm/Medbury Lane site where, although reuse was not intrusive, SFBs were situated closer to monuments than post-built structures were, although of course it is possible that excavation strategies influenced this pattern.

Another notable pattern emerging from this research is a link between Anglo-Saxon buildings and the entrances to pre-existing enclosures. At Taplow the remains of Anglo-Saxon occupation were concentrated in an area around the entrance to the hillfort, with a building situated directly next to the terminal of one of the substantial hillfort ditches. The building at Crow Hill was c.80m outside the entrance to the hillfort, although another focus of occupation inside the enclosure was indicated by a pottery scatter (Parry 2006: 141). Buildings may have been placed in the entrances to enclosures at Pennyland, Eye Kettleby and Knave Hill, while at Eynsham Abbey, in the earliest phase, several buildings were clustered near to the entrance of the Bronze Age enclosure, and there may even have been a fence augmenting the entrance to the earlier enclosure. That is not to say that early medieval buildings *only* used the entrances to enclosures; there are examples of the corpus at which this was not the case, for example at Foxholes Farm, where buildings were located inside the Iron Age enclosure but none specifically made use of the entrances to the enclosure. Nonetheless, the examples listed above demonstrate that, in some cases, entrances could form a focus of reoccupation, and buildings appear to have been deliberately placed directly in entrances, or near to them. This may signify that the uses of pre-existing enclosures during the Anglo-Saxon period resembled the original uses of these monuments, and that they were once again being used as enclosures in the Anglo-Saxon period. Situating buildings in and near entrance gaps may have been linked to a need to control access to the enclosures, or it may demonstrate that occupation took place outside the enclosures, with the interiors being reserved for some function other than settlement.

Settlements with Funerary Reuse

A small number of settlements in the corpus had contemporary burials inserted into SFBs or buried between buildings; this was the case at Eye Kettleby (Sayer 2003: 105-6) and New Wintles Farm (Chadwick Hawkes and Gray 1969: 3), for example. Of particular interest are the settlements that contained evidence for funerary monument reuse (see table 5.7). At Cossington Quarry the prehistoric barrow south of the Anglo-Saxon settlement had been reused as the focus for a number of

secondary burials (Thomas 2007b: 56; Thomas 2008), and at Barrow Hills the pond barrow on the eastern edge of the site had been reused for a burial thought to be contemporary with the final phase of the settlement (Barclay and Halpin 1999: 118). Meanwhile, human bones recovered from the upstanding Bronze Age barrow at West Halton revealed that it had been reused for at least one secondary burial in the early to mid seventh century (Hadley and Willmott forthcoming).

At Taplow a late sixth- to seventh-century burial was found just to the north of the substantial U-profiled hillfort ditch (Allen et al. 2009). The late sixth- or seventh-century Taplow burial mound had also been constructed within the confines of the hillfort (Allen and Lamdin-Whymark 2001: 287). At Catholme a human burial had been inserted into the long-lived terrace-edge boundary just to the north of an entrance gap, while a cow burial was located just to south-east of another entrance through this boundary (Losco-Bradley and Kinsley 2002: 41). These instances of funerary monument reuse add an additional layer of complexity to the relationships between settlements and monuments in the study region, and seem to have been particularly prevalent in the sixth and seventh centuries. The significance of these burials will be discussed further later in this thesis (see Chapter 7).

Site	County	Funerary Monument Reuse	Date of Burial
Taplow	Bucks	Adult male burial in hillfort Adult burial in Taplow burial mound	AD 590-680 (95% confidence) C6th-7th
Cossington Quarry	Leics	Numerous secondary burials in a barrow (indicated by clusters of grave goods)	C6th-7th
West Halton	Lincs	Fragmentary human bones in a barrow	AD 600-670 (95% confidence)
Barrow Hills	Oxon	Adult female burial in the bank of a pond barrow	C7th
Catholme	Staffs	Burial adjacent to entrance in a prehistoric boundary	C7th to C9th

Table 5.7 Settlements with examples of funerary monument reuse.

Dates of Settlements

The summaries of settlements in this chapter and the more detailed overviews in Appendix A both show that the precise dating of sites in the corpus is not always possible. However, where dates of occupation *have* been established (albeit in some cases tentatively), they seem to indicate that monument reuse saw a peak in popularity during the fifth to seventh centuries (see table 5.8); not only were many settlements established in this period, a large proportion had also apparently been abandoned by the seventh century, with relatively few sites being established or occupied between the seventh and ninth centuries. Although this evidence is tentative, as in only a few cases was radiocarbon dating carried out, it may indicate that there was a particular preference for situating buildings near older monuments in the early, compared to the middle, Anglo-Saxon period.

Settlements at which occupation could not be dated more closely than the early to middle Anglo-Saxon period have been excluded from table 5.8. Although these sites generally yielded broadly fifth- to ninth-century pottery assemblages, they lacked diagnostic pottery, and other finds, that would have dated them more accurately. There is, on the other hand, a possibility that the dates attributed to the settlements in table 5.8 have been biased by the inclusion of diagnostic pottery. For example, decorated pottery is generally considered indicative of a fifth- or sixth-century date (Hamerow 1993; Chambers and McAdam 2007: 232). When it appears in an assemblage of broadly-dated, uncharacteristic early to middle Anglo-Saxon handmade pottery, it can lead to an interpretation of that assemblage as fifth- or sixth-century, when there might in fact be a middle Anglo-Saxon element too, which is not represented by such distinct decoration or vessel forms. Nonetheless, in the study area a middle Anglo-Saxon date is often indicated by the presence of Ipswich ware, which began to be produced around AD 720 and Maxey wares, the earliest fabrics of which (Maxey Fabric A) began to be produced in the mid to late seventh century (Chambers and McAdam 2007: 228; Blinkhorn 1999: 9; Young et al. 2009). Thus, although dating settlements can be difficult, there *are* relatively reliable ceramic indicators of date available for the midland counties of England, and many of the settlement dates in table 5.8 are based on these.

Site	County	Dates Occupied	Dating Source
Corporation Farm	Oxon	C5th to C6th	Pottery
West Cotton	Northants	C5th to C6th	C14 date
Manor Farm, Harston	Cambs	C5th to C6th	Pottery
Biddenham Loop	Beds	C5th to C7th	Pottery
Barrow Hills	Oxon	C5th to C7th	Pottery
Hoe Hills	Lincs	C5th to C7th	Pottery
West Halton	Lincs	C5th to C7th	Pottery
Glebe Farm	Notts	Late C5th to C7th	C14 dates/pottery
Wolverton Turn	Bucks	C5th to C9th	C14 dates/pottery
Pennyland	Bucks	Early C6th to C7th/8th	Pottery/other finds
Willington	Derbys	C6th	Pottery
Nettleton Top	Lincs	C6th	Pottery/other finds
Frieston Road	Lincs	C6th to 7th	Pottery
New Wintles Farm	Oxon	C6th to early C8th	Pottery/other finds
Foxholes Farm	Herts	C6th to C8th	Pottery
Old Parkbury	Herts	C6th to C8th	Pottery
Eye Kettleby	Leics	C6th to C7th	C14 dates/pottery
Eynsham Abbey	Oxon	C6th to C9th	Pottery/coins/ other finds
Taplow	Bucks	C6/7th to 9th	C14 dates/ pottery/other finds
Catholme	Staffs	C7th to C9th	C14 dates

Table 5.8 Dates of settlements in the corpus; those established in the fifth century are shaded green, those established in the sixth century purple and those in the seventh century blue (sites with unknown or very uncertain dating are excluded).

Table 5.8 shows the general dates over which settlements were inhabited, but does not convey information about the development of those sites throughout their occupation. The ways in which a settlement appropriated a pre-existing monument could change as time went by, and as buildings were constructed, decayed and replaced. For example, the three phases at Pennyland show great variety in the

extent and positioning of buildings in relation to the Iron Age enclosure system. Again, due to the restrictions of dating, it is often not possible to fully appreciate the exact phasing of buildings within Anglo-Saxon settlements. However, there are several settlements in the corpus, such as Barrow Hills, at which we do have enough evidence to explore the influence of monuments over buildings at different points in time, and these will be discussed further in Chapter 6.

Settlement Types and Functions

Whilst establishing the dates of Anglo-Saxon settlements can be difficult, obtaining clues about their status or function is often even harder. This is particularly true for the early Anglo-Saxon period, when there is little to distinguish settlements from each other in terms of function or status (Scull 1993: 72; Powlesland 1997: 115; Hamerow 2002: 97). The small-scale excavations at many sites in the corpus also hinder understanding of their functions. However, there are several settlements in the corpus about whose functions we can say more. The site at Eynsham Abbey is known to have been the site of an important church in the ninth century (around the end of phase 2c of the settlement), as it appears in a charter of 864, at which point it is giving land away, suggesting that it had been in existence long enough to amass it; it could, therefore, have had an ecclesiastical function earlier than 864, although the settlement's origins may well lie in a secular centre (Hardy et al. 2003: 7, 28). Similarly, West Halton may have been an ecclesiastical site in the middle Anglo-Saxon period, although it is not currently known whether the excavated features related to that period of use; initial indications are that there was settlement activity from early on in the Anglo-Saxon period, which would have pre-dated any ecclesiastical phase (Hadley and Willmott forthcoming).

One form of middle Anglo-Saxon settlement that particularly stands out is the 'palace' site, thought to have been identified at both Sutton Courtenay and Hatton Rock. Their distinctive layouts in relation to monuments, and their unusually large timber buildings constructed using foundation trenches, mark them out as different from many other sites in the corpus. These distinctive characteristics are recognised as belonging to 'palace' sites elsewhere in the country, most notably at Yeavering

(Hope-Taylor 1977; Bradley 1987; Hamerow 2002: 97). Additionally, at Taplow, although the evidence for buildings is more limited than at the 'palace' sites, the assemblages of material culture in the hillfort ditches may also indicate a high-status presence, as indeed might the foundation slot construction of the possible Anglo-Saxon building (Allen et al. 2009). Similarly, there is evidence to support high-status activity at Irthlingborough, where King Offa of Mercia is known to have signed a charter and presided over an assembly in the late eighth century (Lewis et al. 1997: 98; Reynolds 2003: 102).

Also of interest is Manor Farm in Harston, where the position of the settlement, the possible nearby cemetery, and the discovery of a gold disc brooch suggested to the excavator the possibility that the site was an early Anglo-Saxon estate centre (Malim 1993: 38-9). Meanwhile Cassington, like Manor Farm, lacks the distinctive alignments of large halls seen at Hatton Rock and Sutton Courtenay, but cropmark plots of the now-destroyed site hint at the former existence of a large timber hall close to a complex of prehistoric monuments, which included numerous barrows and a large Iron Age enclosure (Benson and Miles 1974a: 85, fig. 3). Although they represent a small proportion of the data set, there does appear to have been a deliberate and structured relationship between the buildings at these high-status settlements and prehistoric monuments. Equally, however, it is just as significant that many more apparently 'ordinary' settlements appropriated monuments, some in very similar ways to the higher-status settlements; possible motivations and reasons for monument reuse at both types of site will be explored further in Chapter 7.

It was previously noted in this thesis that there are potential difficulties associated with designating as 'settlements' sites at which SFBs are the only building type, as there is some debate over whether these structures functioned as dwellings (see Chapter 2). A number of sites in the corpus are SFB-only sites, including Biddenham Loop, Old Parkbury, Harrold, Frieston Road, Nettleton Top, High Farm and West Cotton. This *could* indicate that SFB-only sites had some role or function which led to their establishment close to monuments, in which case it could be argued that

they formed a distinct site type, separate from 'settlements' (the latter being characterised by the presence of post-built structures). A closer look at the evidence from SFB-only sites, and those with post-built structures, however, throws this into question, as this study has yielded little evidence to suggest that SFB-only sites were distinctive in their forms of reuse in comparison to sites where post-built structures were present. For example, the presence of SFBs on barrows is not restricted to SFB-only sites, such as Frieston Road and West Cotton; it is also seen at larger settlements with mixed building types, such as New Wintles Farm and Barrow Hills. The same is true of sites where linear features were reused. For instance, a post-built structure was located outside the entrance to the Iron Age hillfort at Crow Hill, while similar structures were found inside and outside the enclosure at Knave Hill. At Enderby the only excavated building was a single SFB, but this was also just outside an Iron Age enclosure. Meanwhile at Addenbrooke's post-built structures were aligned on prehistoric ditches, while at Glebe Farm both SFBs and post-built structures were aligned on pre-existing boundaries, and at Harston Mill, an SFB-only site, it appears that the buildings may also have been aligned on Iron Age field boundaries.

The findings of this study provide little evidence to support the suggestion that, where monument reuse is concerned, SFB-only sites are different from those with post-built structures; monument reuse took similar forms at both. The discovery of SFB-only sites close to barrows may, in fact, be an accident of preservation, as the postholes of post-built structures at these sites may have been poorly preserved (Marshall and Marshall 1991: 31). At Harrold, it was noted that in the salvage excavation which took place amidst the quarrying of the site, ephemeral postholes were likely candidates for destruction without even being seen, let alone recorded (Eagles and Evison 1970: 17, 46-8). Meanwhile, the SFBs at High Farm in Halton Holegate were heavily truncated when excavated, and any remains of post-built structures could have been completely destroyed (Ramsey 2001: 3). Given the level of truncation, particularly through plough damage, at many sites (noted in table 5.4, above) it would not be surprising to find that post-built structures had originally stood on these SFB-only sites. Furthermore, the locations and sizes of trenches may

well have influenced the discovery of particular building types. Consider, for instance, the settlement of Eye Kettleby, where a smaller excavation area might have uncovered only the area of the settlement containing SFBs. Meanwhile, the trenches at some SFB-only sites, such as Frieston Road, were relatively small, and it is possible that further buildings lay beyond the limits of excavation. At Village Farm, the two excavated SFBs appear to have been part of a larger settlement which continued to the south-east at Medbury Lane; without the discoveries at Medbury Lane, this site would have been classed as an SFB-only site.

What the SFB-only sites *may* reveal, however, is additional evidence to support the assertion that there were very close links between SFBs and ancient monuments, particularly barrows. It has been noted that at Village Farm/Medbury Lane, for example, both SFBs and post-built structures were present, but the SFBs were closest to the two barrows (at least, as far as it is possible to tell from the areas selected for excavation). Perhaps, then, at places such as Frieston Road, Nettleton Top and West Cotton we are not looking at sites which *only* had SFBs; rather, we may be looking at the parts of the settlements that contained SFBs, which were situated closer to monuments than were post-built structures. If so, this adds weight to the argument that there was a particularly close link between SFBs and monuments, and it suggests that the function, or functions, of these particular buildings made them appropriate candidates for situating close to pre-existing earthworks in some settlements. On the whole, and on the basis of current evidence, the argument that SFB-only sites represent a distinctive site type in comparison to 'proper' settlements is unconvincing. A greater number of extensive, open-area excavations on well-preserved settlement sites would be needed to confirm that there were Anglo-Saxon sites which *only* had SFBs (Tipper 2004: 163). Furthermore, there is currently no conclusive proof to validate the suggestion that SFBs did not function as dwellings (the reconstructions at West Stow convincingly demonstrate that these structures need not have been cramped subterranean huts). Thus, if there *were* SFB-only sites, they could still have been inhabited. Finally, even if we were to accept that SFB-only sites did exist, and that they were not inhabited but perhaps had some craft-working or storage function, these sites

would still be worthy of attention, especially in the context of this study, as *occupation* sites used by Anglo-Saxon communities.

Regional Variation

The settlements in the corpus demonstrate that monument reuse was, on the whole, fairly widespread and consistent within the study area, with barrows and linear features being appropriated across the region. The most frequently-reused type of monument was the round barrow, in particular the bowl barrow, and this may stem, at least in part, from their ubiquity across England (Ashbee 1960: 24; Williams 1997: 14). There are one or two regional patterns, however. Settlements in Oxfordshire appear to have made use of a greater variety of monuments than other areas; a cursus, two small henges, two oval barrows and two pond barrows were reused in this county, but these types of monument were not appropriated elsewhere. This county also had a high proportion of settlements reusing barrows in comparison to linear features, and there seems to have been a particular trend for intrusively reusing monuments, with SFBs inserted into mounds or ring ditches at sites such as Corporation Farm, New Wintles Farm, Barrow Hills and Sutton Courtenay. All the Lincolnshire settlements in the corpus reused barrows, as did the majority of settlements in Bedfordshire. Meanwhile, Iron Age enclosures, including D-shaped enclosures and hillforts, seem to have been particularly frequently reused in an area running centrally down the study region in the modern counties of Leicestershire, Northamptonshire and Buckinghamshire.

However, there are numerous factors that might have affected the reuse of monuments in particular areas, and these need to be taken into account. Intense Neolithic and early Bronze Age activity in Oxfordshire resulted in a landscape filled with remains, such as cursuses and henges, which were not necessarily found elsewhere in the study area. Similarly, hillforts are not present across the whole country; there are large areas of eastern England where few, if any, are found (Megaw and Simpson 1979: 365). This might explain why hillforts were reused in centrally-located counties, such as Northamptonshire, but not others. Furthermore, regional variation can be affected by the differential preservation of monuments in

particular areas, as well as the quality and quantity of the antiquarian and archaeological investigation that has taken place (Williams 1997: 19). A number of the settlements in the corpus were discovered unexpectedly, as a result of investigations aimed at uncovering prehistoric remains. Thus, decisions about which prehistoric monuments to excavate will also have contributed to the patterns of monument reuse within the study area.

Any possible regional patterns in the settlements under study here can, therefore, only be tentatively suggested. The patterns would only be meaningful if a large array of different monument types in the study area had been excavated and certain forms found to be consistently associated with Anglo-Saxon settlements. Without this, it is virtually impossible to draw any firm conclusions about regional patterns in the data, although perhaps as more Anglo-Saxon settlements are uncovered these patterns may become clearer. However, there are some indications that the preference for round barrows across the study area is real. Williams (1997: 6; 1998: 92), Lucy (2000: 124) and Semple (2008: 412) have all noted that round barrows were the most frequently-reused monument type in funerary activity, and that this appears to be a real pattern across much of Anglo-Saxon England. Semple (2008: 413; 2009: 35) has suggested that people may have been making use of what was readily available to them within their landscape, but with clear preferences for certain earthworks within that milieu. This is a feasible suggestion, especially given that there might be many factors to consider in the selection of a site on which to build a settlement, including proximity to resources such as water, land and wood, as well as the local topography (Fowler 1976: 32).

It is possible, then, that people made use of monuments that happened to be in areas that were conducive to occupation in other ways. That is not to say, however, that the presence of a particular type of monument might not be one of the factors dictating the location of settlements; the establishment of settlements within pre-existing enclosures, or adjacent to barrows, demonstrates that the selection of particular monuments could be deliberate and purposeful. Irrespective of whether particular monuments were actively sought out for occupation or reused more

pragmatically due to their proximity to a settlement site that had been selected for other reasons, the people living near, in and on pre-existing earthworks must have interpreted them, had beliefs about their origins and functions, and may well have incorporated them into their own identity as a community. It is these reactions towards, and beliefs about, monuments that are of particular importance in this study, and as such they will be explored in greater detail later in the thesis.

A consistent characteristic of reuse in the study area is the form that appropriation took; similar relationships between buildings and monuments were seen in settlements across central England. For example, SFBs were inserted into barrows at Manor Farm in Cambridgeshire, West Cotton in Northamptonshire, Frieston Road in Lincolnshire, and a number of settlements in Oxfordshire. Meanwhile, buildings lay inside earlier enclosures at Foxholes Farm in Hertfordshire, Eynsham Abbey in Oxfordshire, Thorpe End in Leicestershire, and Pennyland in Buckinghamshire. This consistency is not surprising in light of the similarities in other aspects of settlement across Anglo-Saxon England. It has been noted, for example, that regular building forms and settlement layouts were also geographically dispersed (James et al. 1984; Powlesland 1997: 104, 110; Hamerow 2002: 51, 94; Tipper 2004: 1). The combination of SFBs and post-built structures in settlements is seen all over the country, at Mucking (Essex) (Hamerow 1993), West Stow (Suffolk) (West 1985) and West Heslerton (N Yorks) (Powlesland 1997), for instance. Meanwhile, from the sixth century onwards, settlements across the country appear to have developed more structured layouts, with rectilinear arrangements of buildings and the increasing use of boundaries (Reynolds 2003). Many characteristics of Anglo-Saxon settlements were, therefore, shared by sites across England, and it is possible that the appropriation of monuments was one of these characteristics. This may mean that the reasons for monument reuse were also shared across much of the country, perhaps with some regional variations.

Topography

As stated at the beginning of the thesis, the aim of this study is primarily to elucidate the forms that monument reuse took *within* settlements, rather than

attempting to understand their settings within the wider landscape (although the latter approach could, of course, produce interesting results). Nonetheless, there may be some advantages to considering the topographical positions of the settlements in the corpus, as this could reveal particular trends in the positions of these occupation sites or distinctive topographic qualities that mark them out from others without reuse. A large number of settlements in the corpus were situated on fairly low-lying land on the terraces of river valleys. For example, Harrold lay some 500m north of the River Great Ouse at c.44m above OD, while Elstow Harrowden and Village Farm/Medbury Lane both lay along the valley bottom of the River Great Ouse (Eagles and Evison 1970: 17-9; BCAS 1995a: 5; BCAS 1997: fig. 1; Albion 2005: 5). Biddenham Loop was on flat land at c.30m above OD, within a 'loop' formed by the same river (Luke et al. 2004; Luke 2008). Harston Mill lay on flat land too, in the shallow valley of the River Cam at 15m above OD, while Manor Farm was also in the Cam Valley (Malim 1993: 13; McDonald 2000: 2). Catholme and Fatholme lay on terraces of the River Trent, just above the floodplain of the river, while Holme Pierrepont was situated on a fairly flat terrace of the Trent on a 'tongue' of slightly higher ground surrounded by floodplain, at about 23.5m above OD (TPAT 1984; Losco-Bradley and Kinsley 2002: 1; Guilbert 2006: 15-16).

West Cotton was located on a slightly raised gravel platform at the eastern edge of the River Nene floodplain at c.35m above OD, while Grendon lay on the slopes of the valley of the Nene, and Grange Park and Thorpe End both lay on the flanks of streams within small valleys (McCormick 1975: 12; Windell et al. 1990: 5; Buteux 2001: 5; Parry 2006: 172, 234). Corporation Farm in Oxfordshire was on the first gravel floodplain of the Thames at 52m above OD, some 200m south-west of the present course of the Thames, while Eynsham Abbey was also located close to the confluence of the Rivers Evenlode and Thames, and Gatehampton Farm in Goring was located on the north bank of the Thames (Harding and Lee 1987: 233; Allen 1995: xiii, 2; Hardy et al. 2003: 3). Cassington was also on a gravel terrace of the Thames at c.67m above OD, close to the confluence of the Rivers Thames and Evenlode (Atkinson 1947: 5).

A number of other sites were also on river terraces, but slightly higher up the valley sides, further away from the rivers and their floodplains. Briar Hill was on a slope on the south side of the Nene Valley, at 75-85m above OD, 650m south of the river, while Old Parkbury in was on a terrace on the north-east side of the River Colne, at 70m above OD, and Willington lay on gently sloping land on a terrace some 600m north of the River Trent (Wheeler 1979: 58-60; Bamford 1985: 3; Niblett 2001: 157). Barrow Hills was on the second gravel terrace of the Thames, 1.5km away from the river at 60m above OD (Chambers and McAdam 2007: 1). Some settlements occupied more prominent ridges and spurs overlooking rivers; Enderby lay on a ridge at 69m above OD overlooking the confluence of several streams which flowed into the River Soar 1km to the east (Clay 1992: 1). New Wintles Farm was on a gravel ridge west of the River Evenlode c.67m above OD, while Hatton Rock was on the south end of a spur of land overlooking the River Avon, some 500m north-east of the river, at a height of c.52m above OD (Chadwick Hawkes and Gray 1969: 1-2; Rahtz 1970: 138-9; Gray 1974: 51). The hillfort at Taplow was in a similar position, at 65m above OD on a projecting spur of land on the east bank of the River Thames, overlooking the river valley, with the ground dropping steeply to the west and south (Allen et al. 2009: 1). The hillfort at Crow Hill, meanwhile, was on a prominent scarp overlooking the Nene Valley at c.70m above OD (Parry 2006: 141). Wolverton Turn Enclosure was also near the top of a ridge at 78.5m above OD, while Foxholes Farm was on a chalk scarp overlooking a wide river valley at 71m above OD, with the River Lea around half a mile away (Partridge 1989: 3, 5-6; Preston 2007: 84).

Several settlements in the corpus were located on uplands rather than in valleys, although these were relatively few in number. Church Farm in Bierton was on a ridge at a height of 93.7m above OD (Fenton 1996: 1; Roseff 1996: 2), while Pennyland lay on level land on a gravel spur at 80m above OD, with the ground dropping away at the margins, especially to the east of the site (Williams 1993: 4) and Knave Hill lay on high ground which sloped from 90-100m above OD (Wessex Archaeology 2008: 1). Frieston Road was also on high ground, on the flanks of the Lincoln Edge limestone escarpment, at 57m above OD, and High Farm in Halton Holegate lay at the southern edge of the Lincolnshire Wolds, on the crest of a ridge

(Rylatt 2001: 2; Toop and Copp 2005: 24-5). Nettleton Top was on very high land, at one of the highest points in the Lincolnshire Wolds, at 120m above OD, with extensive views over the Trent and Witham Valleys and the Humber (Field and Leahy 1993: 9). Only two sites stand out as being in fairly unusual topographical positions compared to the rest of the corpus, both of which are in Lincolnshire and on low land. The settlement at Hoe Hills was on the western margins of the Lincolnshire fens at c.10m above OD, with a limestone ridge rising to the west of the site (Lane 2000: 99-102). The other site, West Halton, was at the northern end of the Lincoln Edge escarpment, which rose to 70m above OD to the north of the parish, but the settlement itself was on a spur of land at 10m above OD (Hadley and Willmott forthcoming).

The majority of the settlements in the corpus, then, appear to have been located on gravel terraces or floodplains in river valleys, while a small proportion were on uplands, with commanding views over the landscape, or in the case of Hoe Hills and West Halton, on very low-lying land. These positions are fairly typical for contemporary Anglo-Saxon settlements in general; many fifth- to seventh-century settlements were located on the gravel terraces of river valleys (Fowler 1976: 32; Hamerow 2002: 121). The fact that so many sites in the corpus were located in river valleys does raise the possibility that their discovery was biased against other landscape types, given that so many were discovered ahead of, or during, gravel quarrying. Furthermore, aerial photography is most effective at revealing cropmarks on river gravels, which may well have brought more of these sites to archaeological attention compared to other landscapes (Benson and Miles 1974a: 15). On the other hand, it is true that there are characteristics of river gravels which would have made them attractive for settlement in the past, including the proximity of rivers and streams for transport, food and water, the ability to collect clean, filtered water in wells as it rose through the gravels, and the presence of light, easy-to-work soils (Gray 1974: 51; Losco-Bradley and Kinsley 2002: 1). The bias towards this landscape type may well reflect real preferences amongst Anglo-Saxon communities. Either way, the potential bias towards river valleys, if caused by quarrying activity and aerial photography, is likely to have affected the settlement record as a whole,

rather than just settlements with reuse, and it cannot be solved without greater investigation of other landscape types. Nonetheless, it is worth highlighting here as it just possible that investigation of these other areas of the landscape might reveal further, different, examples of monument reuse. At the moment, however, there is little to suggest that the topographic settings of the settlements in the corpus were in any way distinct from those of other contemporary Anglo-Saxon settlements. This lends support to the proposal made earlier in this chapter that prehistoric monuments were one factor among many that influenced the positioning of Anglo-Saxon settlements; there is little to suggest that the desire to reuse monument enticed communities away from their preferred settlement locations.

Settlements without Reuse: a Comparison

By comparing the settlements in this study with the regional settlement record more generally, it might be possible to determine whether there were any areas in which monument reuse was particularly popular. For example, Oxfordshire, Northamptonshire and Lincolnshire have the highest numbers of sites displaying reuse, while Warwickshire and Derbyshire have the smallest numbers, with just one each (see table 5.9). However, this too has its associated problems, as in the absence of a complete settlement record it is extremely difficult to ascertain whether the proportions of settlements with monument reuse are representative of the settlement record as a whole across the study area. Table 5.9 suggests that in counties such as Nottinghamshire and Staffordshire at least 50% of known settlements were associated with older earthworks; however, it also reveals that just three and four settlements respectively have been excavated in these counties. Indeed, the discovery of Anglo-Saxon settlements in counties such as Staffordshire, Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire has often been a consequence of the investigation of prehistoric sites; this was the case at Willington (Wheeler 1979) and Fatholme (Losco-Bradley 1984: 402; TPAT 1984), for example. It is no wonder, therefore, that there is a bias towards settlements associated with prehistoric features in these counties. Without a fuller understanding of Anglo-Saxon settlement patterns in these particular counties, it is not possible to attach any significance to the numbers relating to them in table 5.9.

County	Settlements Without Reuse	Settlements With Reuse	Total No. of Settlements	Percentage of Settlements with Reuse
Bedfordshire	16	4	20	20%
Buckinghamshire	12	4	16	25%
Cambridgeshire	48	3	51	6%
Derbyshire	1	1	2	50%
Hertfordshire	5	2	7	29%
Leicestershire	19	4	23	17%
Lincolnshire	21	6	27	22%
Northamptonshire	18	6	24	25%
Nottinghamshire	1	2	3	66%
Oxfordshire	24	7	31	23%
Staffordshire	2	2	4	50%
Warwickshire	6	1	7	14%
Total	**173**	**42**	**215**	**20%**

Table 5.9 Numbers of excavated early to middle Anglo-Saxon settlements in the study area, including those with and without evidence for monument reuse.

In counties where there is more extensive settlement evidence on the whole, it is possible that the proportions of settlements with monument reuse are more reliable. Oxfordshire, Northamptonshire and Lincolnshire not only have the highest numbers of settlements displaying reuse, they also have some of the largest numbers of excavated settlements overall. These counties have benefited from relatively extensive archaeological investigation, as have others such as Leicestershire and Cambridgeshire. For example, Oxfordshire has been subject to extensive archaeological activity since the nineteenth century, often prompted by the intensive gravel quarrying that has taken place there, although few sites have been systematically excavated and recording has often been poor (Benson and Miles 1974a; Hamerow et al. 2007: 115). Northamptonshire has also benefited in recent decades from widespread fieldwalking activity, which has been undertaken with the express purpose of finding evidence for Anglo-Saxon settlement, and the same is true of Leicestershire (Shaw 1994; Lewis et al. 1997: 92; Brown and Foard 1998: 68).

If we exclude from table 5.9 the counties with fewer than sixteen excavated settlements in total, we see that for those counties that remain (Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Cambridgeshire, Leicestershire, Lincolnshire, Northamptonshire and Oxfordshire) there is a tendency for the proportion of settlements with monument reuse to range between 17% and 25% (the exception being Cambridgeshire at 6%). It is *possible* that this might roughly reflect the overall proportion of Anglo-Saxon settlements that reused monuments, although it must of course be borne in mind that patterns may have differed according to region and at any given time. However, it may be significant that this correlates with Williams's (1997: 4; 1998: 92) findings, which revealed that around a quarter of cemeteries in Anglo-Saxon England reused prehistoric monuments. It is interesting that Cambridgeshire, with its sizeable settlement record, has only three examples of settlements associated with monuments; it has been noted during the course of this research that this particular county appears to have had a relatively large number of settlements associated with Roman sites, and it may be the case that the trend for monument reuse in this area was focused more on Roman remains than prehistoric ones, although to substantiate such a claim would require further research.

A crucial point to note here is that the majority of comparative settlements *without* monument reuse are unlikely to have been investigated with the possibility of monument reuse in mind, given that this subject has been so under-studied in the past. A large number of the settlements without reuse listed in Appendix B were excavated on a small scale; in many cases just one or two SFBs have been uncovered. As such, the investigations have not been sufficiently large to confirm whether there were any prehistoric monuments nearby or not. Thus, the proportion of settlements that appropriated earlier monuments may have been even larger than the numbers in table 5.9 initially suggest. Moreover, the possible existence of further early to middle Anglo-Saxon settlements with monument reuse in the study area is attested to by a number of sites that did not meet the criteria for inclusion in the corpus, but which reveal evidence for associations between Anglo-Saxon occupation and ancient earthworks, such as cropmark sites, or Anglo-Saxon pottery scatters covering prehistoric earthworks (see Chapter 8 and Appendix

D for further discussion of these sites). For example, at Clanfield (Oxon) cropmarks thought to represent SFBs have been noted in close proximity to the cropmarks of ring ditches (Benson and Miles 1974a: 34). Although these sites require more detailed investigation before it can be claimed that they represent settlements which reused earlier monuments, they point to the likelihood that there were probably many more settlement sites with monument reuse than the corpus initially suggests.

Reuse in Other Contexts: a Comparison

In order to gain a clearer insight into how monument reuse in settlements fitted into the practice as a whole, the settlement data will now be compared to the evidence for monument appropriation in other early to middle Anglo-Saxon archaeological contexts in central England. This will primarily involve comparison with the reuse of older earthworks for burial, for which there is a great deal of archaeological evidence, but it will also consider monument appropriation by churches and shrine sites as well.

Funerary Sites

As table 5.10 demonstrates, 150 examples of funerary reuse have been identified in the study area (see fig. 5.54). There are particularly high numbers in Derbyshire, as a result of the large number of preserved prehistoric barrows in the uplands of the county, and the archaeological attention that they have attracted, particularly from antiquarian barrow-diggers (Williams 1997: 19; Marsden 1999: 49). The overwhelming majority of burial reuse sites in the study area appropriated barrows, primarily round barrows (see fig. 5.55). These were reused at 57% of sites, with a further 4% of sites reusing long barrows, and 27% reusing unknown or unspecified barrow types. Linear features had been reused for burial at just 11% of sites. Williams (1997: 17) obtained similar results in his study of funerary monument reuse across England, in which he found that 61% of burial sites reused round barrows, 8% reused long barrows and 13% reused henges, hillforts and other linear earthworks. Again, however, it is possible that the bias towards round barrows is influenced by the fact that they were so often the targets of antiquarian

investigations, although it could also be attributable to the frequency with which these monuments are found across much of England (Williams 1997: 14; Lucy 2000: 126-7). The situation in burial contexts, then, is similar to that in settlements, in that barrows were the most frequently reused form of monument. However, within the study area, a much greater number of settlement sites made use of older linear features, while the proportion of linear features reused at burial sites was fairly small.

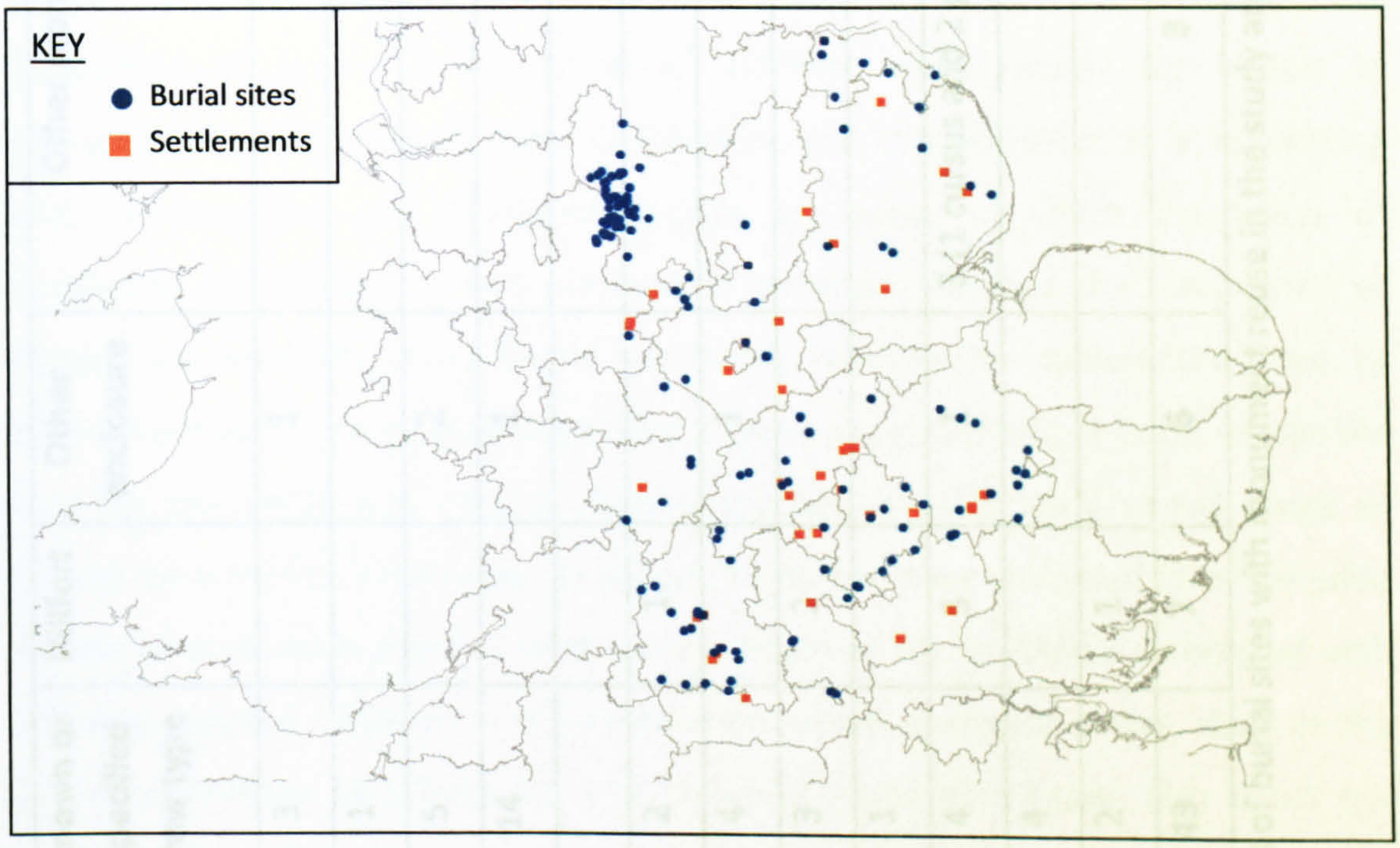


Fig. 5.54 Sites with funerary monument reuse in the study area, with settlement sites in the corpus shown for comparison.

County	Round barrow	Long barrow	Unknown or unspecified barrow type	Hillfort	Other enclosure	Other monument	Total no. of burial sites with reuse
Bedfordshire	5		3		1		9
Buckinghamshire	5		1				6
Cambridgeshire	5	1	5		2		13
Derbyshire	32	1	14		1		48
Hertfordshire	2	1					3
Leicestershire	2		2	1			5
Lincolnshire	9		4		1		14
Northamptonshire	3	2	3	2			10
Nottinghamshire	2		1				3
Oxfordshire	11	2	4	3	1	3 (1 cursus and 2 pond barrows)	22
Staffordshire	8		4				12
Warwickshire	2		2	1			5
Total	**86**	**7**	**43**	**7**	**6**	**3**	**150**

Table 5.10 Numbers of burial sites with monument reuse in the study area.

As with the settlement sites, there are difficulties associated with searching for regional patterns in the data, since regional variation is dependent on the preservation of monuments, as well as the quality and quantity of antiquarian and archaeological research in particular areas (Williams 1997: 19). There were, however, some variations in the monuments used in particular counties, and this may be significant. In every county round barrows were the most frequently-reused monument type, closely followed by barrows of unknown or unspecified type, a number of which may also have been round barrows, which would increase the proportion of reused round barrows.[9] Hillforts were reused for burials in Leicestershire, Northamptonshire, Oxfordshire and Warwickshire; it is interesting that Leicestershire and Northamptonshire are areas in which the reuse of enclosures for settlement was particularly common. Perhaps the inhabitants of these areas were influenced by the prehistoric remains that surrounded them, or they affixed some special meaning to these types of monument, or both. As was the case for the settlement record, Oxfordshire had a particularly varied range of reused monuments, which may, as suggested above, have stemmed from the wide variety of prehistoric remains in this area. Many of the problems associated with studying regional variation in the settlement record discussed above, such as the lack of excavation of a large array of different monument types, also affect our understanding of monument reuse in the burial record. However, it does seem to have been the case that round barrows were particularly popular and that, on the whole, the range of reused monuments in each county of the study area was fairly uniform. This is supported by Williams's findings, which showed that monument reuse in burial was, indeed, equally popular and similar in form across much of Anglo-Saxon England (Williams 1997: 19; 1998: 95).

[9] See Appendix C. Many of the unknown or unspecified barrows were described as 'mounds' or 'Bronze Age barrows', which suggests that they may have been round barrows, but this was not explicitly stated in the descriptions of them.

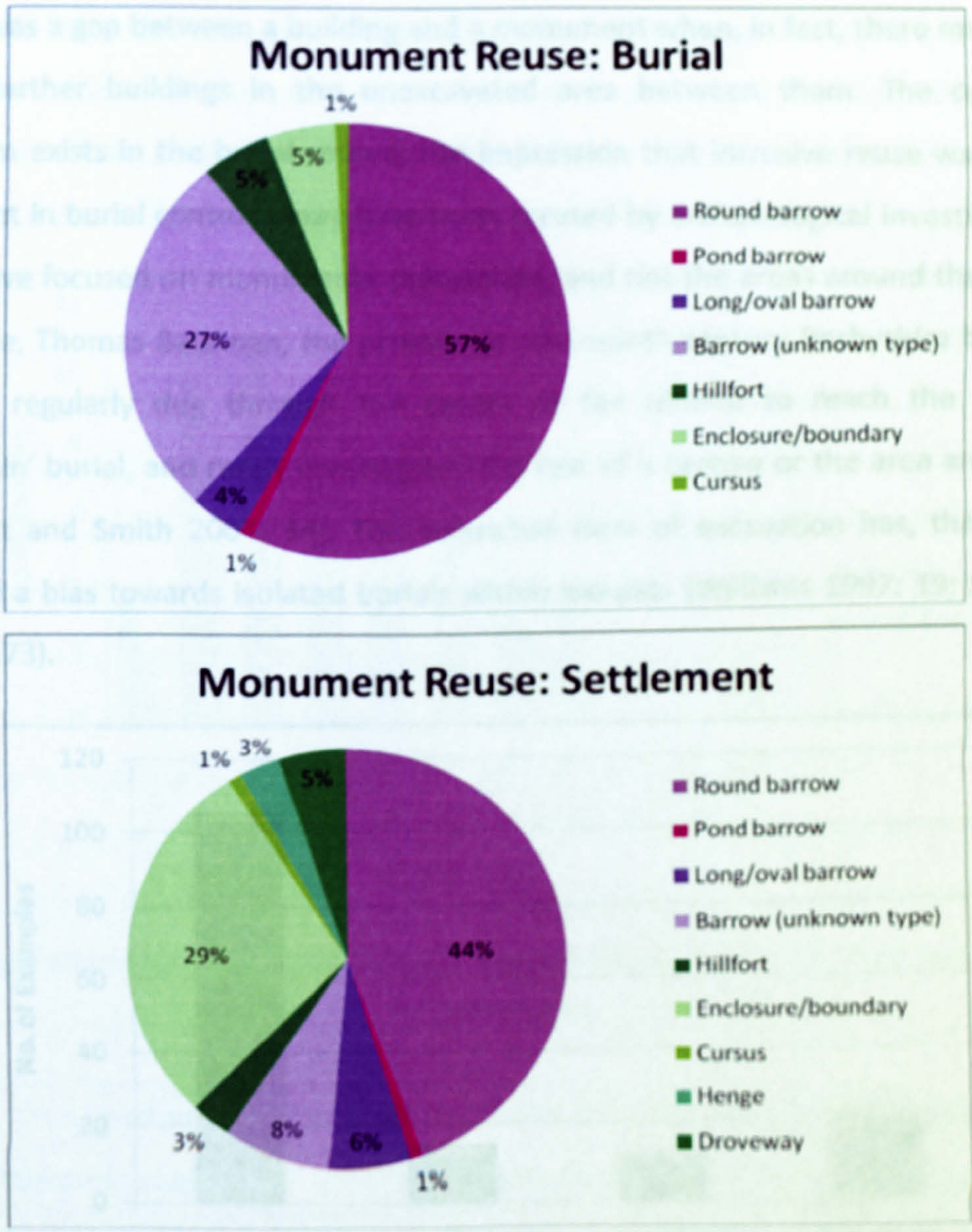


Fig. 5.55 Proportions of monument types reused in burial and settlement contexts in the study area. Barrows are shown in shades of purple and linear features in green. A higher proportion of settlement sites than burial sites reuse linear features, and in both cases round barrows were the most frequently reused monument type.

A particular aspect of monument reuse that can be compared between settlement and burial sites is the popularity of intrusive and associative forms of reuse. Fig. 5.56 (below) shows that the majority of funerary reuse sites reused monuments intrusively, with graves inserted into ancient earthworks. This is in contrast to the settlement evidence, which appears to show that intrusive reuse was rarer than associative reuse. However, it was noted above, in the discussion of associative and intrusive reuse, that the choice of excavation area can create the impression that

there was a gap between a building and a monument when, in fact, there may have been further buildings in the unexcavated area between them. The opposite problem exists in the burial record; the impression that intrusive reuse was more frequent in burial contexts may have been created by archaeological investigations that have focused on monuments themselves, and not the areas around them. For example, Thomas Bateman, the prominent nineteenth-century Derbyshire barrow-digger, regularly dug through the centre of the mound to reach the central 'chieftain' burial, and rarely investigated the rest of a barrow or the area around it (Barnatt and Smith 2004: 34). This restricted form of excavation has, therefore, created a bias towards isolated burials within mounds (Williams 1997: 19; Semple 2003b: 73).

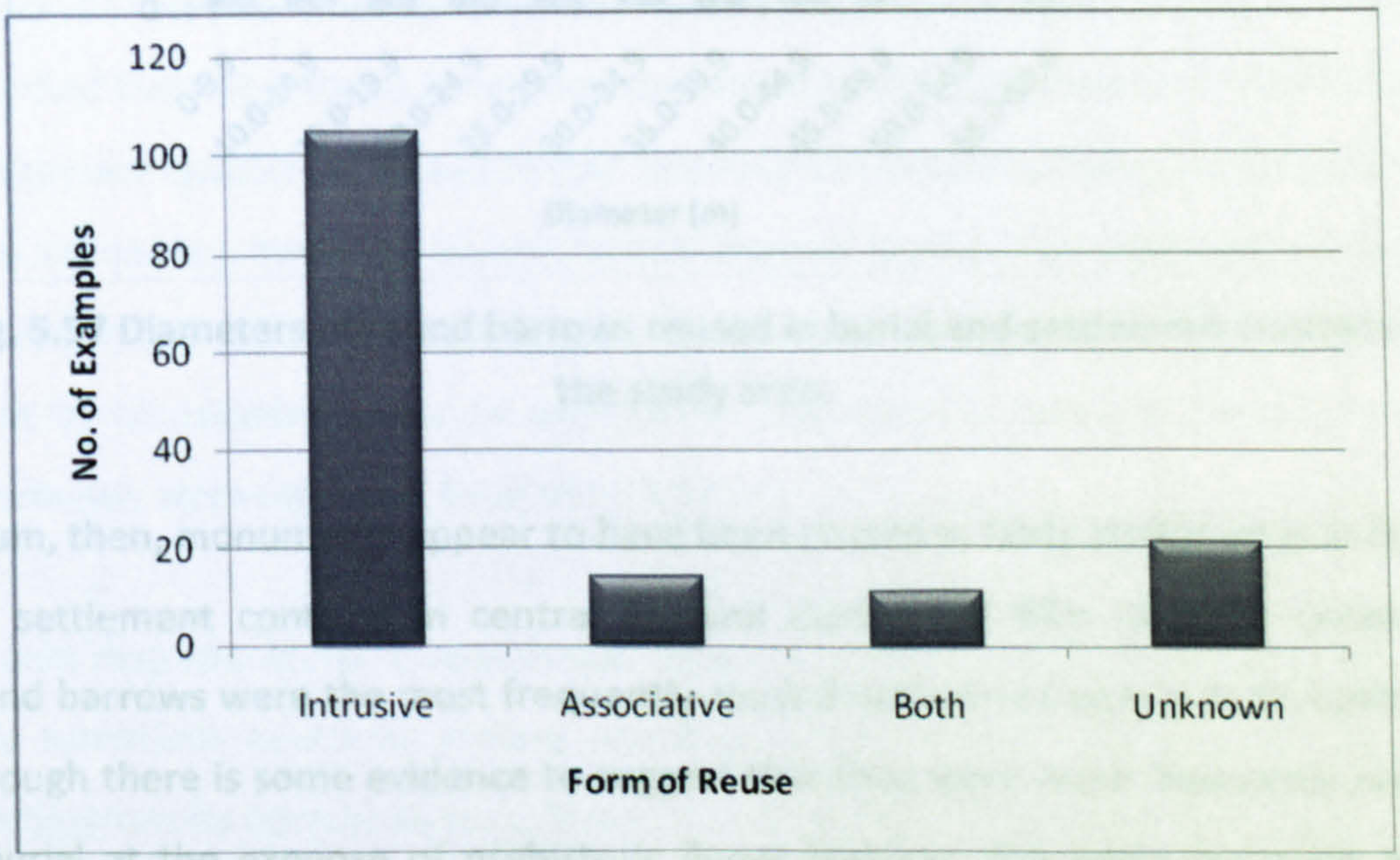


Fig. 5.56 Numbers of burial sites exhibiting associative and intrusive forms of monument reuse in the study area.

Another comparison that can be made is between the sizes of monuments reused in burial and settlement contexts (see fig. 5.57). As the majority of burial and settlement sites with monument reuse appropriated round barrows, a comparison of the sizes of barrows from the different sites was undertaken. Where available, the diameters of the ring ditches around barrows were compared.[10] There is some

[10] These sizes are from a variety of sources and may refer to diameters of ring ditches seen as cropmarks, or to the diameter of a barrow when it was excavated, so they are approximate.

indication from the data that burials reused monuments with a greater range of sizes than settlement sites, as well as more monuments at the lower end of the size scale. There is no evidence to suggest, therefore, that particular sizes of monument were reserved for burial or for settlement.

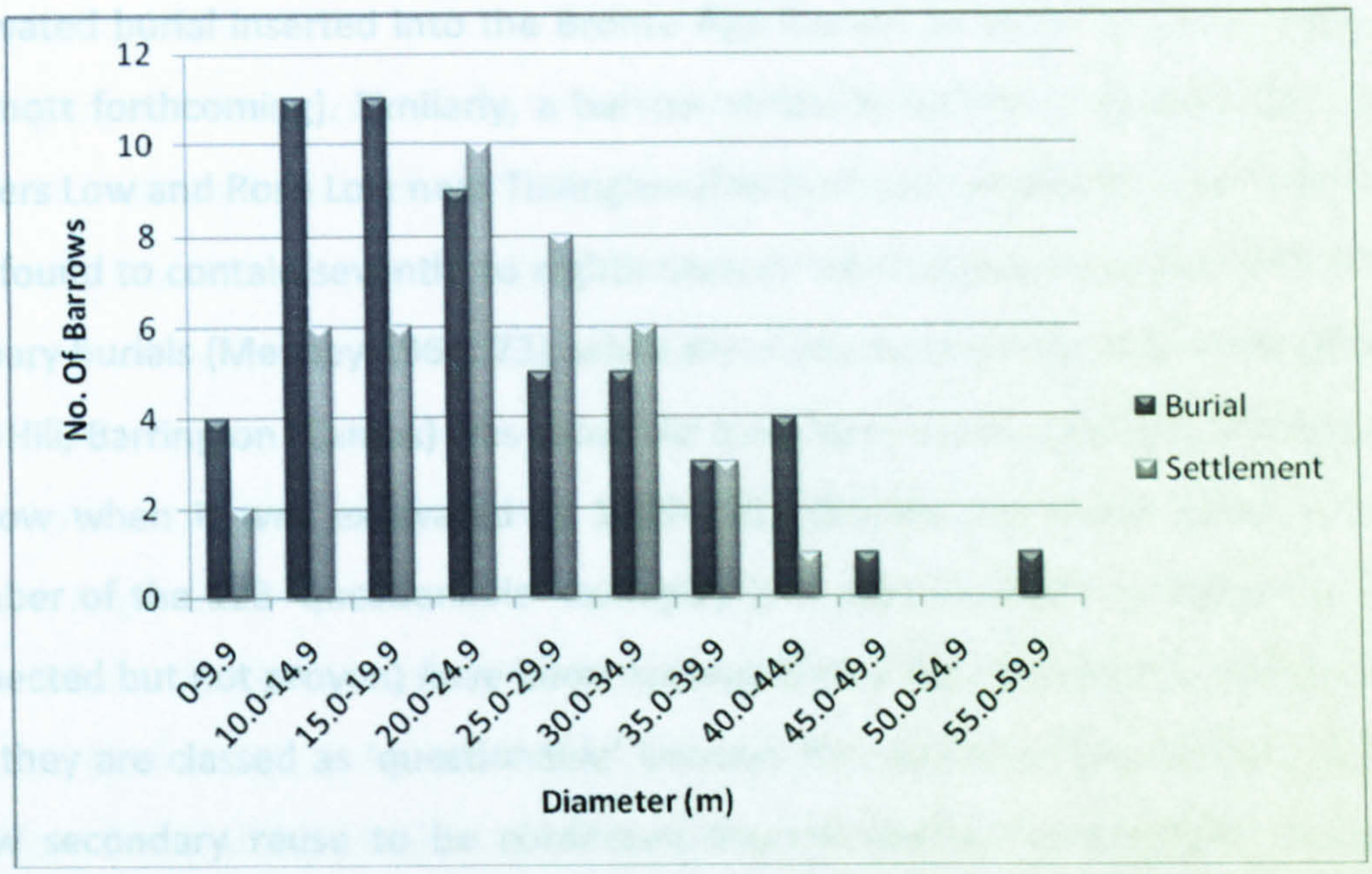


Fig. 5.57 Diameters of round barrows reused in burial and settlement contexts in the study area.

In sum, then, monuments appear to have been reused in fairly similar ways in burial and settlement contexts in central England during the fifth to ninth centuries. Round barrows were the most frequently-reused monument type in both contexts, although there is some evidence to suggest that they were more frequently reused in burial at the expense of prehistoric linear features, the latter occurring more frequently on settlement sites. Similarly, there are no obvious differences in the sizes of the barrows reused in settlement and burial contexts. However, there are problems associated with determining trends in the data, not least the difficulty of assessing whether excavated sites are representative of the original extent of Anglo-Saxon activity.

A further problem is created by the methods used to excavate many of the monuments associated with Anglo-Saxon burials. Of all the funerary reuse sites identified in the study area (150 sites in total), only twenty-seven (18%) of these are 'definite' examples of reuse (i.e. sites where modern, rigorous archaeological

excavations have confirmed that there was secondary reuse of prehistoric monuments). These include the burials inserted into earthworks in the Barrow Hills prehistoric barrow cemetery in Oxfordshire, which have been excavated at various times between 1944 and 1985 (Chambers and McAdams 2007) and the recently-excavated burial inserted into the Bronze Age barrow at West Halton (Hadley and Willmott forthcoming). Similarly, a barrow variously known as Boslow, Boar Low, Bowers Low and Rose Low near Tissington (Derbys) was excavated in the mid 1960s and found to contain seventh- to eighth-century inhumations as well as Bronze Age primary burials (Meaney 1964: 73), while the sixth- to seventh-century cemetery at Edix Hill, Barrington (Cambs) was shown to have been associated with a Bronze Age barrow when it was excavated in 1989-1991 (Malim and Hines 1998). A small number of the 123 'questionable' examples (i.e. sites at which secondary reuse is suspected but not proven) *have* been excavated to a high standard in recent times, but they are classed as 'questionable' because the nature of the evidence did not allow secondary reuse to be confirmed beyond doubt. For example, at Holme Pierrepont (Notts) early Anglo-Saxon graves were excavated in 2002, and were found to be situated close to and within ring ditches, but the dates of these monuments were unknown (Guilbert 2006).

The vast majority of the 'questionable' sites were discovered in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries during activities, such as road building, or through investigations by barrow diggers. There is a danger that these early investigators did not adequately distinguish between primary and secondary burials, or Anglo-Saxon and prehistoric mounds (Williams 1997: 4). Furthermore, the *modus operandi* of many of the early barrow-diggers is unlikely to have revealed burials surrounding monuments. On a similar note, they would also have missed any related settlement features which might have been nearby. What this *may* reveal, however, is that burial reuse was not as widespread as the list in table 5.10 initially suggests, in which case its popularity could, feasibly, have been on a par with monument reuse in settlements. The disparity between the numbers of *settlements* with monument reuse (forty-two) and *cemeteries* (150) with reuse may not be as large as it initially appears. So, while so many studies have focused on funerary reuse as a noteworthy

and remarkable phenomenon in Anglo-Saxon England, the evidence from this comparison suggests that reuse in settlement contexts had the potential to be as popular and as important as it was in burial.

Ecclesiastical Sites

Making use of data from Sarah Semple's (2003a: 497-520) survey of monument reuse in a variety of contexts, it was also possible to compare the settlement data with evidence for monument reuse at early ecclesiastical sites. Within Semple's corpus there were seventeen examples of churches associated with ancient earthworks that lay within the study area, and it has also been possible to add three more to this list (see table 5.11 and fig. 5.58). Hardy et al. (2003: 7) noted that the middle Anglo-Saxon minster at Abingdon (Oxon) reused an Iron Age valley fort, while Hooke (1998: 15) has stated that the church and part of the village at Great Wolford (Warwicks), which was mentioned in Domesday Book, were situated within a hillfort. Meanwhile, a church at Elstow Abbey (Beds) may have been located next to a prehistoric barrow. A Benedictine nunnery was established at Elstow around the 1080s and although no traces of an earlier church were found (it may have been underneath the medieval church), a fragment of eighth-century cross shaft had been built into a sixteenth-century wall (Wilson and Hurst 1968: 164; 1969: 230). Over 260 late Anglo-Saxon burials were also discovered, suggesting that there may have been an ecclesiastical focus here prior to the foundation of the nunnery (Wilson and Hurst 1969: 230; 1970: 166). Towards the east end of the medieval abbey church were fifth- and sixth-century finds, including a domestic cooking pot containing a cremation, and decorated sherds of pottery, indicating that the site had been used for burial earlier in the Anglo-Saxon period (Wilson and Hurst 1969: 230). There was also a ring ditch, c.40m in diameter, passing under the modern churchyard, which may have been of Bronze Age date although no evidence was uncovered to confirm this. It is possible, therefore, that an early church was established at Elstow on the site of an earlier cemetery, which may have been associated with a prehistoric barrow. It should be noted, however, that Semple (2003a) has warned against relying too heavily on her list of churches associated with monuments, since archaeological investigation at many of these sites has been

infrequent, and at a number of the sites the mounds next to churches have not been confirmed archaeologically as barrows. The same applies to instances of reuse not noted by Semple; monument reuse at these sites has rarely been confirmed archaeologically.

Nevertheless, there are some interesting trends within the data. At twelve sites possible barrows had been reused, while at nine enclosures had been reused. It appears that there was greater use of enclosures than in both the burial and settlement record, with Iron Age hillforts proving particularly popular. This is a trend observed by John Blair (1992: 234; 2005: 190), which he interpreted as an attempt by the Christian authorities to enclose church sites and reclaim the past with reference to the practices of the pre-Christian elite (see Chapter 3). The different types of reused monuments are distributed fairly evenly throughout the study area. However, it is interesting that so many churches associated with ancient earthworks have been noted in Buckinghamshire, although whether this is a real pattern in the archaeological record or the result of investigative activities it is difficult to tell.

Site	County	Monument	Relationship	Source
Elstow Abbey	Beds	Barrow	Next to mound	Wilson and Hurst 1968; 1969; 1970
Edlesborough	Bucks	Undated stepped mound/earthwork	On mound	Semple 2003a
Stone	Bucks	Artificial mound/barrow	On mound	Semple 2003a
Taplow	Bucks	Barrow. Also within IA hillfort	Next to mound	Semple 2003a
Aylesbury	Bucks	IA hillfort	Adjacent to/within enclosure	Semple 2003a
Cholesbury	Bucks	Prehistoric sub-circular earthwork enclosing c.10 acres; partly *double*-ditched	Adjacent to/within enclosure	Semple 2003a

Great Kimble	Bucks	Entrenchments and mound to N of church	Adjacent to/within enclosure	Semple 2003a
West Wycombe	Bucks	Nearly circular earthwork	Adjacent to/within enclosure	Semple 2003a
Breedon-on-the-Hill	Leics	IA hillfort	Adjacent to/within enclosure	Semple 2003a
Edenham	Lincs	Platform, bounded by earthworks	On mound	Semple 2003a
Crowland	Lincs	Barrow	Next to mound	Semple 2003a
Winwick	Northants	Large circular mound	On mound	Semple 2003a
Abingdon	Oxon	IA valley fort	Within enclosure	Hardy et al. 2003
Bampton	Oxon	Barrows	On mound	Semple 2003a
Eynsham	Oxon	BA enclosure	Adjacent to/within enclosure	Semple 2003a; Hardy et al. 2003
Croxall	Staffs	Barrow	Next to mound	Semple 2003a
Wednesbury	Staffs	IA hillfort	Adjacent to/within enclosure	Semple 2003a
Brinklow	Warwicks	Barrow	Next to mound	Semple 2003a
Great Wolford	Warwicks	IA hillfort	Within enclosure	Hooke 1998
Stoneleigh	Warwicks	Mound	Next to mound	Semple 2003a

Table 5.11 Anglo-Saxon ecclesiastical sites associated with prehistoric monuments in the study area.

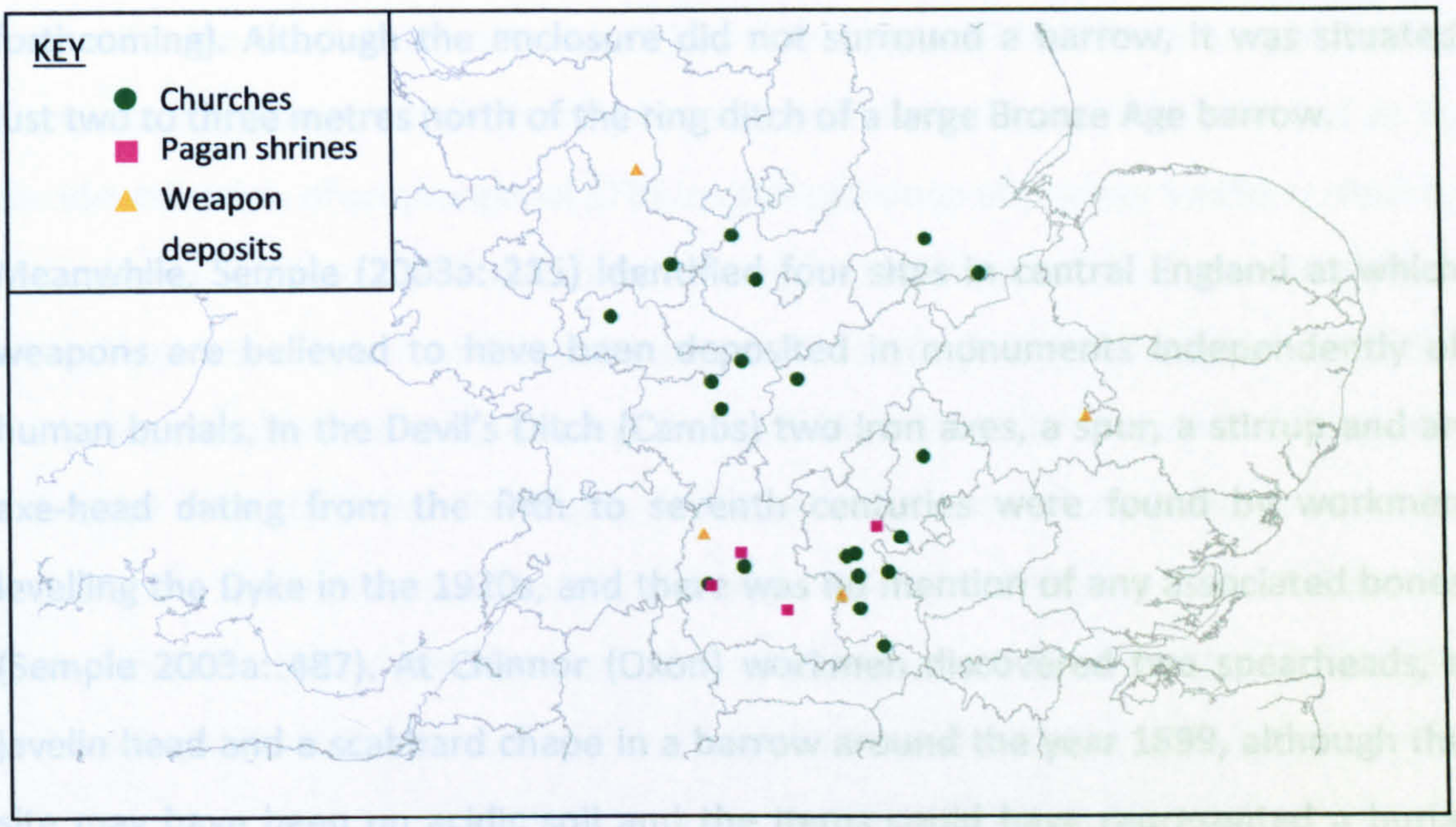


Fig. 5.58 Prehistoric monuments reused as the locations of churches, pagan shrines and weapon deposits in the study area.

Shrine Sites and Weapon Deposits

In addition to burial and ecclesiastical sites, there are also two other categories of archaeological site that appear to show associations with pre-existing monuments, although in both cases the numbers of sites involved are extremely small (see fig. 5.58). There are five possible shrine sites associated with prehistoric monuments in the study area. Blair (1995: 13-4) suggested that a square ditched enclosure around a Neolithic oval henge at Dorchester-on-Thames (Oxon) was, in fact, of Anglo-Saxon date due to a number of factors, as discussed in Chapter 3. The ditch had been dated to the Neolithic period on the basis of just a few sherds of pottery, but Blair suggested that these were residual, while the form of the square enclosure was unlike other Neolithic monuments. Morphologically, it could have been Iron Age or Roman, but there was no pottery to support use in either of these periods, which would be unusual for an Iron Age or Roman site. Furthermore, the feature was situated in an area rich in Anglo-Saxon activity, and just 120m north of the enclosed henge was a round barrow that had formed the focus of nine Anglo-Saxon burials. In addition to this example, Semple (2003a: 212) identified several more; Long Hanborough (Oxon), Littleworth (Bucks) and Bampton (Oxon). The square-ditched enclosure at West Halton also resembled one of these shrines (Hadley and Willmott

forthcoming). Although the enclosure did not surround a barrow, it was situated just two to three metres north of the ring ditch of a large Bronze Age barrow.

Meanwhile, Semple (2003a: 215) identified four sites in central England at which weapons are believed to have been deposited in monuments independently of human burials. In the Devil's Ditch (Cambs) two iron axes, a spur, a stirrup and an axe-head dating from the fifth to seventh centuries were found by workmen levelling the Dyke in the 1920s, and there was no mention of any associated bones (Semple 2003a: 487). At Chinnor (Oxon) workmen discovered two spearheads, a javelin head and a scabbard chape in a barrow around the year 1899, although the site may have been on acidic soil and the items could have represented a burial (Semple 2003a: 491). Elsewhere in Oxfordshire, at Lyneham, a shield boss, and a seventh- to eighth-century seax were discovered at the north-east end of a long barrow. They were not associated with human remains, although there was secondary burial activity in the vicinity, which demonstrated that bone did survive in the mound (Semple 2003a: 492). Finally, at Wredon Hill in Ramshorn (Staffs) an iron spearhead and knife were found in a barrow, apparently unaccompanied by human remains, although, as at Lyneham, other burials elsewhere in the mound demonstrated that bone did survive in it (Semple 2003a: 492).

Both types of site are, however, extremely limited in number, and few firm conclusions can be drawn from them. They do, nonetheless, demonstrate that monuments could be reused in a variety of different ways. In particular they reveal that barrows were, again, popular foci for secondary Anglo-Saxon activity, since nearly all the known shrine sites and weapon deposits were associated with barrows. The evidence for pre-Christian shrine sites is also particularly interesting, demonstrating as it does that earlier earthworks were important as religious centres prior to the conversion to Christianity.

Summary

What has this analysis of the sites in the corpus revealed about monument reuse in settlements? Firstly, it has shown that forty-two settlement sites in the study area

have evidence for monument reuse. It has also suggested that there are potentially many more settlements which may have reused monuments. This is hinted at by the identification of cropmarks of SFBs, or the presence of pottery scatters, close to monuments. It is also significant that many of the settlements which apparently lack monument reuse have not been investigated in enough detail to confirm or deny the presence of monuments nearby. It seems likely that the forty-two settlements discussed here do not, therefore, represent all cases of monument reuse in settlements within the study area, although they are the ones about which we know the most due to the fact that they have been investigated through archaeological excavation.

The analysis has demonstrated that, as was the case for burial, round barrows were particularly frequently reused in settlements. In contrast to burial sites, a relatively large number of settlements in the corpus reused linear features, especially enclosures and field systems. Together with round barrows, enclosures accounted for the majority of the appropriated monuments in the corpus, but other reused earthworks included long barrows, pond barrows, cursuses and henges. Some of the settlements reused just one monument, while others were situated within monument complexes and made use of a number of earthworks. A particularly important point to remember is that these monuments may well have had a variety of different above-ground appearances in the Anglo-Saxon period. This is exemplified in the case of round barrows; while these monuments are generally represented in the ground by a ring ditch, the above-ground form of the monument could vary. In some cases they had central mounds, while in others they had banks, or banks and mounds. It is particularly important, therefore, when studying monument reuse, to bear in mind the different forms that monuments may have had, as this may have influenced how they were reused.

A further point to make in relation to the appearance of monuments in the Anglo-Saxon period concerns their visibility. As discussed in this chapter, and earlier in the thesis, determining the visibility of earthworks in the Anglo-Saxon period is often challenging, except in the most straightforward of cases, such as those sites where

monuments are still visible at the time of excavation. Reviewing the evidence from the corpus has revealed, however, that agricultural activities since the medieval period have had a major impact on the majority of sites in the corpus. In addition, activities such as road building and quarrying have also impacted on the visibility of many monuments, often destroying them altogether. There is considerable evidence, therefore, to suggest that much of the destruction of these monuments has taken place in the medieval, post-medieval and modern periods. As such, the present-day landscape is very different from that viewed by people in the Anglo-Saxon period. There is sometimes a tendency to be pessimistic, and to err on the side of caution, when considering the visibility of prehistoric monuments in the Anglo-Saxon period but perhaps we should be approaching this subject in a more optimistic way; it seems that the Anglo-Saxon landscape was filled with many more substantial earthworks than are visible today.

In light of this review, it is also possible to draw some conclusions about the forms that monument appropriation took. Reuse could be associative or intrusive; at the former earthworks were modified or changed in some way, while at the latter there was no physical modification but settlement features were situated close to the earthworks. A particularly interesting form of intrusive reuse is the insertion of SFBs into the tops of mounds or their ring ditches; given the widespread erosion of monuments through ploughing discussed above, we might even speculate that many more of these structures originally existed on top of earthworks. Associative reuse could be looser, with buildings clustering around a monument or near it, but without any obvious direct spatial references to it. At other times associative reuse *was* more structured, for instance when buildings were aligned on prehistoric field boundaries, within enclosures, or by the entrances to enclosures.

Monument reuse in settlements appears to have been particularly frequent in the early Anglo-Saxon period, between the fifth and seventh centuries, although it did take place on some settlements into the eighth and ninth centuries. It also took place on a cross-section of settlements; in the corpus there are ecclesiastical sites, such as Eynsham Abbey and perhaps West Halton, as well as high-status sites, such

as Hatton Rock and Sutton Courtenay, in addition to a large number of apparently 'ordinary' settlements. Ascertaining whether there are regional differences across the study area is made difficult by the fact that excavated settlements are not necessarily representative of the settlement record as a whole. For example, it was noted earlier that a large number of sites in the corpus, and Anglo-Saxon settlements more generally, are situated on gravel terraces in river valleys, but this could reflect patterns in excavation areas rather than real settlement distributions. There are some regional patterns in the data, such as the use of varied monuments in Oxfordshire, but it is likely that this reflects the reuse of 'what was there' in this county of rich prehistoric remains. Overall, it is not currently possible to draw out any obvious regional or topographic characteristics from the corpus which would distinguish the settlements in the corpus from each other, or from other settlements without reuse. An approach resembling that of Sarah Semple (2008; 2009), in which she conducted micro-topographical studies of funerary monument reuse in certain areas of the country, might prove that there were more subtle differences between certain areas, especially if it took into account reuse in settlements in other parts of the country. For the time being, however, in many regions there are simply too few identified instances of reuse in settlements for this to be fruitful; as more examples of reuse in settlements are identified, it is hoped that studies resembling Semple's will be undertaken. A number of the patterns and trends noted here, such as the potential differences in attitudes towards barrows and linear features, and the intrusive reuse of barrows by SFBs, will be explored in further detail in Chapter 7, but before that the following chapter will now consider how an in-depth approach to a number of case study sites might enhance our understanding of reuse.